Laurel J. Brinton, Alexander Bergs (Eds.)

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH
OLD ENGLISH

Laurel J. Brinton and Alexander Bergs (Eds.)
The History of English
Volume 2

The History of English

Volume 2: Old English

Edited by
Laurel J. Brinton and Alexander Bergs

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
ACT	active
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AN	Anglo-Norman
Angl.	Anglian
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
COMPR	comparative
DAT	dative case
DEM	demonstrative
DU	dual
EModE	Early Modern English
EWSax.	Early West Saxon
FEM	feminine
Fr.	French
GEN	genitive case
Ger.	German
Gk.	Greek
Go.	Gothic
Grmc.	Germanic
IE	Indo-European
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INFL	inflected
INSTR	instrumental case
Kent.	Kentish
LAEME	*A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*
LALME	*A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*
Lt.	Latin
LModE	Late Modern English
LWSax.	Late West Saxon
MASC	masculine
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
ModE	Modern English
NEG	negative

NEUT	neuter
N	noun
NOM	nominative case
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OBJ	objective case
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OFr.	Old French
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
P	person
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PDE	Present-day English
PGrmc.	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
PRON	pronoun
PRTC	participle
PRES	present tense
PRET	preterit
S	subject
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive mood
SUP	superlative
SOV	subject-object-verb word order
SVO	subject-verb-object word order
T	tense
V	verb
v2	verb second
V	vowel
VO	verb-object word order
VP	verb phrase
WGrmc.	West Germanic
WSax.	West Saxon
>	changes to, becomes
<	derives from

Ø	no ending
*	reconstructed form, ungrammatical form
< >	spelling

Laurel J. Brinton and Alexander Bergs

Chapter 1:
Introduction

1 English Language Studies

The study of the English language has a lengthy history. The second half of the 18th century saw a phenomenal increase in the number of published grammars of the vernacular language, while the field of comparative linguistics arising in the 19th century was concerned in large part with the Germanic languages, including English. Moreover, in the field of theoretical linguistics that English has played a truly central role. While there are no reliable statistics, it seems safe to say that the majority of studies in contemporary linguistics deal at least in part with English, and are also written in English.

During the 20th century, monumental works concerned with the English language, both synchronic and diachronic, were produced, following historical/ comparative and more contemporary linguistic approaches. In keeping with developments on the field of general linguistics, today it is possible to find descriptions and analyses of the history and development of English from virtually any linguistic perspective: external, internal, generative, functional, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, comparative, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic. There are numerous "Histories of English" to cater to just about every (theoretical) taste, as well as detailed descriptions of historical periods, language levels, or theoretical frameworks of English and specialized studies of individual topics in the development of the language.

Work on the history of English has culminated most recently in the a series of edited handbooks and histories of English: the six-volume *Cambridge History of the English Language,* edited by Richard M. Hogg (1992–2001), *The Handbook of the History of English,* edited by Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los (2006), *The*

Laurel J. Brinton: Vancouver (Canada)
Alexander Bergs: Osnabrück (Germany)

Oxford History of English, edited by Lynda Mugglestone (2012 [2006]), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, edited by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Terttu Nevalainen (2012), the two-volume *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook,* edited by Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton (2012), and most recently *The Cambridge Handbook of English Historical Linguistics,* edited by Päiva Pahta and Merja Kytö (2015).

While study of the history of any language begins with texts, increasingly scholars are turning to dictionaries and corpora of English that are available online or electronically. The third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) online, while still undergoing revision, is now fully integrated with the *Historical Thesaurus*. The *Middle English Dictionary* (MED), completed in 2001, is freely available online along with the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse.* The pioneer historical corpus of English, *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts,* was first released to scholars in 1991. The *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, containing all Old English texts, is searchable online. ARCHER, *A Representative Corpus of English Registers 1650–1900,* accessible at a number of universities, provides a balanced selection of historical texts in electronic form. COHA, a 400-million-word, balanced *Corpus of Historical American English 1810–2009,* was launched online in 2010. Smaller corpora, such as the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560– 1760,* the *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts,* the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, the *Corpus of Early English Medical Writing*, the *Corpus of Late Modern English 3.0,* and the newly expanded *Old Bailey Corpus*, have made more specialized corpora – covering more periods and more text types – available to scholars. Archives of historical newspapers online, including the *Zurich English Newspaper Corpus* and the *Rostock Newspaper Corpus,* provide another source of electronic data. Finally, syntactically annotated corpora for historical stages of English are being produced, including *The York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry, The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English,* and *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*. (For information on all of the corpora listed here, see http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/).

2 Description of the Series

The two-volume *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (Bergs and Brinton 2012) serves as the textual basis for the current five-volume reader series *The History of English*. The aim of this series is to make selected papers from this important handbook accessible and affordable for a wider audience, and in particular for younger scholars and students, and to allow their use in the class-

room. Each chapter is written by a recognized specialist in the topic and includes extensive bibliography suitable for a range of levels and interests.

While conventional histories of English (e.g., Brinton and Arnovick 2016) are almost universally organized chronologically, the six-volume *Cambridge History of English* (Hogg 1992–2001) is organized by linguistic level, as is the shortened version (Hogg and Denison 2006) and to a lesser extent *The Handbook of the History of English* (van Kemanade and Los 2006). Volumes 1 to 4 of this series likewise follow this pattern:

Volume 1: The History of English: Historical Outlines from Sound to Text provides a comprehensive overview of the history of English and explores key questions and debates. The volume begins with a re-evaluation of the concept of periodization in the history of English. This is followed by overviews of changes in the traditional areas of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics as well as chapters covering areas less often treated in histories of English, including prosody, idioms and fixed expressions, pragmatics and discourse, onomastics, orthography, style/register/text types, and standardization.

Volume 2: The History of English: Old English provides an in-depth account of Old English. Individual chapters review the state of the art in phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic studies of Old English. Key areas of debate, including dialectology, language contact, standardization, and literary language, are also explored. The volume sets the scene with a chapter on pre-Old English and ends with a chapter discussing textual resources available for the study of earlier English.

Volume 3: The History of English: Middle English provides a wide-ranging account of Middle English. Not only are the traditional areas of linguistic study explored in state-of-the-art chapters on Middle English phonology morphology, syntax, and semantics, but the volume also covers less traditional areas of study, including Middle English creolization, sociolinguistics, literary language (including the language of Chaucer), pragmatics and discourse, dialectology, standardization, language contact, and multilingualism.

Volume 4: The History of English: Early Modern English provides a comprehensive account of Early Modern English. In seventeen chapters, this volume not only presents detailed outlines of the traditional language levels, such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, but it also explores key questions and debates, such as *do*-periphrasis, the Great Vowel Shift, pronouns and relativization, literary language (including the language of Shakespeare), and sociolinguistics, including contact and standardization.

The last volume in the series turns its attention to the spread of English worldwide. **Volume 5: The History of English: Varieties of English** is one of the first detailed expositions of the history of different varieties of English. It explores

language variation and varieties of English from an historical perspective, covering theoretical topics such as diffusion and supra-regionalization as well as concrete descriptions of the internal and external historical developments of more than a dozen varieties of English including American English, African American Vernacular English, Received Pronunciation, Estuary English, and English in Canada, Africa, India, Wales, among many others.

Taking into account the important developments in the study of English effected by the availability of electronic corpora, this series of readers on *The History of English* offers a comprehensive, interdisciplinary, and theory-neutral synopsis of the field. It is meant to facilitate both research and teaching by offering up-to-date overviews of all the relevant aspects of the historical linguistics of English and by referring scholars, teachers, and students to more in-depth coverage. To that end, many chapters have been updated from the 2012 edition to include more recent publications.

3 Description of this Volume

This volume provides a comprehensive and wide-ranging treatment of Old English, covering the standard topics included in traditional histories of English (such as Old English phonology, morphology, and syntax) as well as a range of topics usually reserved for more specialized texts (such as pragmatics and discourse, standardization, and literary language).

The chapter on "Pre-Old English" by **Jeannette Marsh** provides crucial background for the study of Old English. Briefly surveying the history of the Germanic groups, the chapter then traces the development of the Germanic phonological system, treating the important phonological changes (e.g. gemination, breaking, palatalization, umlaut, brightening) which result in the sound system recorded in Old English. The morphological and syntactic systems of Old English are viewed in respect to their Germanic and Proto-Indo-European origins. The second chapter by **Ferdinand von Mengden**, "Old English: Overview", sets the scene by discussing much of the non-linguistic history which shapes the Old English period. Starting with the bookends – the beginning and the end of the Old English period – the chapter then describes the important political and cultural events: the Anglo-Saxon migration, Christianization, Viking invasions and colonization, King Alfred's educational reforms, and the Cluniac reform. The influence of French and loss of inflections in the transitional stage from Old to Middle English is seen as important to understanding the period.

The next four chapters cover the traditional components of linguistic study: phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. **Robert Murray** begins his chap-

ter on Old English "Phonology" by noting the degree of scholarly consensus regarding our knowledge in this area. The chapter is divided along synchronic/diachronic lines. In the first half, the vowel and consonant systems of Old English are described, as well as stress, quantity, and phonological/orthographic correspondences. This section ends with a very helpful set of "phonological generalizations" relevant to Old English. The second half of the chapter focuses on umlaut and changes in quantity. Focusing on the system of later Old English (and perforce ignoring questions of the dialectal variation, which are taken up in a later chapter), **Ferdinand von Mengden** provides a systematic explication of the "Morphology" of Old English. The chapter focuses on the inflectional morphology of the noun phrase and verb phrase; the use of numerous tables along with concise descriptions results in a very clear explication of this most detailed area of the Old English language. Copious examples are used by **Rafał Molencki** to illustrate the complexities of Old English "Syntax". Taking up controversies concerning word order in Old English, the chapter describes basic word order patterns before turning to the specifics of noun phrase and verb phrase syntax. The chapter ends with a discussion of the syntax of complex sentences. As **Christian Kay** notes, a number of new resources, most importantly *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (now incorporated with the online 3rd edition of the dictionary), offer rich opportunities for the study of Old English "Semantics and the Lexicon". The chapter discusses the size and nature of the Old English vocabulary as well as processes for innovation, ranging from affixation and compounding to borrowing. The chapter argues that "[o]ne of the commonest, most economical (and least noticeable) ways of supplying a new word at all periods of English is to extend the meaning of an existing one", through, for example, metonymy and metaphor, though this view raises the matter of the sometimes unclear distinction between polysemy and homonymy.

Moving beyond the standard linguistic components, the remaining chapters discuss a variety of larger topics pertaining to Old English. In "Pragmatics and discourse", **Ursula Lenker** suggests that pragmatic and discourse analysis, when applied to the rich data of Old English texts, helps us to understand the "otherness" of Anglo-Saxon culture, for example, the lack of negative politeness strategies and 'face' work, the ritual insult practices of flyting, and ritual behavior embedded in Old English charms. The chapter considers both "form-to function" studies focused on interjections, discourse markers, and insulting epithets as well as of "function-to-form" studies focused on speech acts such as directives. A topic frequently omitted in introductory Old English textbooks, with their focus on late West Saxon, is covered by the chapter on Old English "Dialects" by **Hans Sauer** and **Gaby Waxenberger**; After introducing important people associated with different dialects (e.g. writers, clerics) as well as sketching the challenges of Old

English dialect study (e.g. gaps in documentation, dialectal adaptation by scribes, mixed texts) and contemplating the origin of the different dialects, the chapter provides detailed descriptions of the four main dialects, including the extant documentary evidence, the phonology, the inflectional morphology, word formation processes, and the vocabulary of each dialect. Special attention is paid to early runic inscriptions, to the Winchester vocabulary, and to Wulfstan's vocabulary. Despite ongoing debate about the degree of standardization in Old English, **Lucia Kornexl** argues in her chapter on "Standardization" that "a more detailed and more informed picture of linguistic normativity in Anglo-Saxon England can emerge". The chapter focuses on two processes of standardization: the Winchester vocabulary (a lexical norm practiced at Winchester cathedral in the late 10th to 11th century) and "Standard Old English" (an orthographic and morphological norm based on the West Saxon dialect, appearing in manuscripts from all parts of England ranging from the late 10th to early 12th century). The questions of standard and dialects arise again in the chapter on "Literary Language" by **Robert D. Fulk**. The chapter argues that the language of Old English verse represents a dialect mixture, chiefly West Saxon but with an admixture of other dialects, most especially Anglican, as can be seen in its phonology, morphology, and syntax. Old English verse exhibits distinctive vocabulary and rhetorical patterns. Since Old English prose is usually translated from Latin, its distinctive features can be difficult to assess, though as the chapter suggests, prose style seems to be "neither wholly poetic nor prosaic". Literary prose survives only in West Saxon, again with a mixture of dialect features.

Two chapters are concerned with language contact during the Old English period. In the first of these, **Gernot Wieland** concentrates on the influence of Latin contact on the vocabulary of Old English (both through direct contact in continental Europe and less directly through Christianity). Comparison with Old High German allows for identification of the first set of popular, non-religious words. While loanwords acquired as a result of Christianization number approximately 600, with the largest influx during the later part of the period, Anglo-Saxons also adapted native vocabulary, via semantic extension and calquing, for example. In the second chapter, **Richard Dance** evaluates the influence of "Norse" (the Scandinavian languages) upon English. The chapter argues that the contact situation "must be understood as shorthand for a long period of contacts in diverse local settings" and that the effects of contact include both borrowing proper and "shift-based interference" (such as the adoption of more basic vocabulary, function words, and morphosyntactic features). Norse vocabulary is recorded in late Old English, especially in the north and east of England, but the full extent of lexical borrowing is not obvious until the Middle English period, with Norse vocabulary widely disseminated geographically. The chapter con-

cludes that borrowing outside the lexicon is "plausible" but "often harder to pinpoint".

The final chapter in the volume, by **Kathryn A. Lowe**, details textual resources for the study of earlier – especially Old – English. The *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* now makes all Old English texts readily available, but the chapter alerts the student and researcher to a number of difficulties. While a wide variety of text types are preserved in Old English, texts of different dialects and different periods are not evenly preserved, nor do scholars necessarily agree upon their dating and place of origin; many texts are not preserved in their original form but in antiquarian transcriptions; and editions of texts are of varying quality and completeness. Onomastic evidence (place- and personal-names) may be available to fill in gaps, as may glossed material. The chapter ends by discussing the available resources for the study of Middle English, where for early Middle English certainly the same difficulties exist as for Old English.

4 References

Bergs, Alexander and Laurel J. Brinton. 2012. *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook.* 2 vols. (HSK 34.1-34.2.) Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

Brinton, Laurel J. and Leslie K. Arnovick. 2016. *The English Language: A Linguistic History.* 3rd edn. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Hogg, Richard (ed.). 1992–2001. *The Cambridge History of the English Language.* 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogg, Richard and David Denison (eds.). 2006. *A History of the English Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kemenade, Ans van and Bettelou Los (eds.). 2006. *The Handbook of the History of English.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kytö, Merja and Päiva Pahta (eds.). 2015. *The Cambridge Handbook of English Historical Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nevalainen, Terrtu and Elizabeth Closs Traugott (eds.). 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mugglestone, Lynda (ed.). 2012. *The Oxford History of English.* Updated edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [First published 2006]

Jeannette K. Marsh
Chapter 2:
Pre-Old English

Abstract: The topic of this chapter is the pre-historic stage of English as it developed between the 5th-century Germanic migrations to Britain and its first attestations in the 7th century. The beginnings of Old English are situated with respect to the language's closest West Germanic relatives as well as to its Indo-European linguistic heritage. The phonological system is traced from Indo-European through Proto-Germanic and West Germanic stages with a focus on those innovations that occurred during the pre-Old English period. Brief descriptions of Indo-European and Proto-Germanic morphological structure provide the basis of the sketch of pre-Old English morphology, while both phonological and morphological changes that later obscured these systems in the early development of English are illustrated. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the development of pre-Old English syntax.

1 Introduction

Though this chapter is titled "Pre-Old English", there was, of course, no clear-cut division between the attested Old English (OE) language and what came before. What is meant by "Pre-Old English" here is the pre-historic stages of English, that is, the Germanic language spoken in Britain after the migrations of Germanic speakers (Germani) from their continental home, but prior to the language's first textual transmission, i.e. from the 5th to the 7th century. The Northwest branch of

Jeannette K. Marsh: Waco (USA)

Germanic from which English descends is only meagerly attested prior to and during this period in the form of runic inscriptions. We must therefore base our sketch of pre-Old English on comparative reconstruction of other Germanic and even Indo-European languages and then interpolate the specific features of this stage of the language using the first attestations of Old English. Thus the role of the Germanic linguistic inheritance on Old English will figure prominently in this chapter.

2 Origins of English

The English language owes much of its character to its ancestry in the Indo-European (IE) family of languages. The Germani's ultimate homeland is attested by a number of classical sources including Caesar, Tacitus, and Jordanes, all of whom describe Germanic tribes living in northern Europe and along the North Sea coast. The Goths' late 2nd-century migration toward the Black Sea left the remaining northern and western branches of Germanic to develop separately. It was the tribes that remained along the shores of present-day Germany, southern Denmark, and the Netherlands after more southerly West Germanic tribes had pushed toward the Danube and the Alps that formed the linguistic stock of what would become Old English, Old Frisian (first attested from the 13th century), and probably some of Old Saxon as well (attested from the 9th century). This broad dialect group is referred to as "North Sea Germanic" or "Ingvaeonic" and the term "Anglo-Frisian" refers to the Ingvaeonic sub-grouping from which English, or at least dialects of it, derived.

Archaeologists have observed a continuity of cultural artifacts between areas of Germanic settlement in Britain and those in the settlers' original homelands on the continent and there are linguistic parallels as well which link Anglian, Kentish, and, to a lesser degree, Northumbrian dialects with Old Frisian (see Nielsen 1989: 53–65 for an overview of scholarship on these parallels). Generally speaking, this group of dialects was more innovative than the rest of West Germanic (WGrmc.), likely due, at least in part, to the social upheaval and ensuing linguistic contact that was precipitated by the migrations and subsequent settlement of Britain.

While the North Sea linguistic ancestry of the OE dialects is undisputed, there has been a more recent scholarly movement to trace some of the innovations seen in OE and Middle English (ME) texts to Celtic influence in Britain. Only about a dozen Celtic loanwords survive in Old English, these being mostly place names and names of geographical features. Traditional scholarship held that it was only under limited linguistic contact that Celtic could have had so little influence on

the Germanic (Grmc.) dialects. But new scholarship suggests that Romanized Celts and Germanic people probably lived in close contact, sharing cultural items and communicating with each other in the languages of the invading Germanic tribes.

Some scholars propose a contact situation in which the Celts, though far outnumbering the Germanic settlers, learned the language of the Germanic speakers imperfectly. The large ratio of bilingual Celts to invading Germanic speakers, in conjunction with the Celts' limited access to Germanic, would have resulted in the Celts imposing a number of features of their native language onto their second language (pre-Old English) (see, for example, van Coetsem 1988: 7–45, 83–91; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 35–63; Guy 1990: 48–54, for discussions of the social and linguistic circumstances that foster imposition of first-language features onto the second language, instead of borrowing). The sheer number of partially bilingual Celts would have nearly ensured transmission of those features into the following generations of British Germanic speakers. For an introduction to the current scholarship in this area, see Flippula et al. (2002: 5–26).

Many of the Old English grammatical handbooks treat the phonological and morphological development of Germanic from its IE ancestor. Among these are Luick (1964a [1914–21], 1964b [1929–40]), Wright and Wright (1925), Campbell (1959), Brunner (1965), Hogg (1992), and Hogg and Fulk (2011). More detail on the sound changes and morphological structures of the early Germanic stages are presented in Prokosch (1939), Krahe and Meid (1969), the essays in van Coetsem and Kufner (1972), and, more recently, in Ringe (2017) and Ringe and Taylor (2014). In the sections to follow we present an overview of both the features that English inherited from its Germanic ancestors and the changes which occurred in the intervening periods that gave Old English its particular character. The phonology section consists of a description of the features which West Germanic inherited from its IE ancestor, followed by a description of the specific developments which occurred during the pre-OE period. Since changes in the phonology also had an impact on the morphology of the language, those changes will be introduced in the phonology section. The morphology section will provide an overview of the development of morphological categories and structure from the ancestors of Old English. Syntax, being considerably more difficult to reconstruct without substantial attestation, will comprise a final, brief, section of the chapter.

3 The phonology of Proto-Germanic

3.1 The consonant system

The linguistic change that is most commonly used as a marker of the Germanic language family is the First Germanic Consonant Shift – also referred to as Grimm's Law – in which the entire system of IE stop consonants is alleged to have shifted. The version of the shift presented here is the traditional one and that most commonly assumed today. For details of an alternative reconstruction of the IE stop system and its ensuing shift into Germanic, the reader is referred to the Glottalic Theory proposed separately by Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995) and by Hopper (1973). The consonant system of late western Indo-European is traditionally reconstructed as having had the stops shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Late western Indo-European stops

	labials	coronals	velars	labiovelars
voiceless	p	t	k	k^w
voiced	(b)	d	g	g^w
voiced aspirates	bh	dh	gh	g^wh

The First Germanic Consonant Shift shifted the IE voiceless stops, *p, *t, *k, *kʷ*, to fricatives, *f, *θ, *x, *xʷ*. The IE voiced stops, *b, *d, *g, *gʷ*, then shifted into the vacated position of the voiceless stops, *p, *t, *k, *kʷ*, and the voiced aspirates, *bh, *dh, *gh, *gʷh*, shifted to voiced fricatives, *β, *ð, *ɣ, *ɣʷ*. The consonants of later Latin (Lt.) loanwords did not undergo the same shifts as the native Grmc. consonants and therefore often demonstrate a more transparent reflex of the original IE stop. For example, the native Germanic development of the IE roots *dékm* 'ten' and *bhrā́ter* 'brother' illustrate the Germanic consonant shift, while Latinate loanwords from these same roots do not show these shifts: IE *dékm* > PGrmc.*texun* (OE *tīen*) vs. Lt. *decimal*; IE *bhrā́ter* > PGrmc. *brṓθar* (OE *brōþor*) vs. *fraternity* (< Old French < Latin, in which IE *bh* > Lt. *f*).

The accent of Indo-European was a pitch accent whose placement was morphologically and lexically determined. When the original IE pitch accent had preceded a medial voiceless stop, the stop spirantized to a voiceless fricative as predicted by Grimm's Law, e.g. IE *bhrā́ter* > PGrmc. *brṓθar*. But when a high pitch accent had followed the stop, a major exception to the expected outcome occurred. Presumably due to the slack vocal folds and comparatively low pitch of the preceding unaccented syllable (D'Alquen 1988: 17–20; Page 1998: 186–188; Petrova 2004: 376–381), the fricative was perceived as voiced instead of voiceless

as in IE *patḗr > PGrmc. *fáðēr. This exceptional voicing, known as Verner's Law, affected all voiceless fricatives including */s/. Thus, IE *géus appears in OE *cēosan* 'to choose' (with /s/), but in the PGrmc. 1P PL PRET *gusúm, where the accent had followed the fricative, the /s/ was voiced to /z/ and ultimately rhotacized to /r/ in Northwest Grmc. (cf. Section 4.1.5), thus OE *curon* 'we chose'. The effects of Verner's Law are evident in all of the Grmc. languages, though its appearance is much more restricted in Gothic. The resulting system is shown in Table 2.2. Following the application of Verner's Law, the IE accent shifted to the root syllable. This increase in energy and duration of the root syllable would be responsible for enormous changes from the inception of the Grmc. languages through the Modern period. A number of these are described in the sections which follow.

Table 2.2: The early Germanic consonant system

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
stops, voiceless	p		t		k
fricatives voiceless	f	θ	s		x
voiced	b		ð		ɣ
nasals	m		n		
liquids			l, r		
glides				j	w (labiovelar)

In addition to the singleton consonants, geminate consonants could also appear in postvocalic environments. These developed in Proto-Germanic through contact assimilations of adjacent consonants and resulted in a system that included geminate versions of all of the stops, nasals, liquids, /s/, and probably of both of the glides as well.

The voiced fricatives that developed from both IE voiced aspirated stops and from the voiced output of IE voiceless stops through Verner's Law hardened into voiced stops (*b, *d, *g, *gʷ) at various times according to dialect and phonological environment. When following nasals, *ß and *ð probably became stops within the PGrmc. period. The process would have continued in later periods with word-initial and perhaps post-liquid environments. The fricative articulation was preserved the longest for *ɣ, while *ð eventually developed a stop articulation in all environments in the WGrmc. branch of languages. Goblirsch (2003: 111–119) provides a detailed review of the scholarship on the development of the voiced fricatives in English and Frisian.

3.2 Indo-European to Proto-Germanic vowels

The late IE vowel system consisted of long and short *i, *e, *a, *o and *u. Non-syllabic high vowels could combine with preceding vowels to produce the diphthongs *ăi, *ău, *ĕi, *ĕu, *ŏi, and *ŏu. Liquids and nasals could also function as syllabic nuclei in Indo-European but were reinterpreted by the early Germanic speakers as short *u + resonant, e.g. IE *wr̥g- > PGrmc. *wurk-. These reflexes are highly visible in the third and fourth principal parts of Grmc. strong verb classes III and IV where *u + resonant developed from the earlier syllabic resonant of the root syllable (Murray, Chapter 4: Section 2.4).

3.2.1 Long vowels

Germanic preserved the distinction between long and short vowels from Indo-European with some shifting of the quality of those vowels within their respective systems. In the long vowel system Indo-European *ā moved up to merge with the existing *ō and IE *ē moved downward toward [æ] (also called "ē₁"). The vacated ē position was filled in Germanic by a monophthongization of IE *ēi and by a front vowel with a relatively limited distribution that demonstrated *ī~*ē alternations in North Sea and North Germanic. The resulting ē is often referred to as "ē₂". Original IE *ī, *ō, and *ū remained as phonemes into Proto-Germanic. Original *ī was reinforced by a monophthongization of IE *ei. Thus the PGrmc. long vowel system was as in Figure 2.1.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\bar{\imath} & \bar{u} \\[1em]
\bar{e}_2 & \bar{o} \\[1em]
\bar{æ}(\bar{e}_1) &
\end{array}
$$

Figure 2.1: Proto-Germanic long vowels

3.2.2 Short vowels

In the short vowel system, movement was in the other direction so that IE *o and *a merged unconditionally into the existing *a, which continued into West Germanic. IE *e shifted to *i, and *u to *o in Proto-Germanic, but the application of these shifts was dependent on the following segments, demonstrating the

developing preference for harmony between the stressed root vowel and the following vowels. Clusters of nasal + C preferred preceding high vowels, so nasal clusters facilitated the shift of *e to *i, but blocked the fall of *u to *o. We also see the effect of two kinds of distance vowel assimilations at this stage, a raising umlaut, "*i*-umlaut", conditioned by a following high vowel or glide and a lowering umlaut (often called "*a*-umlaut") conditioned by non-high back vowels. Thus the PGrmc. shift of *e to *i occurred unless an *a or *o followed in the next syllable. PGrmc. *u shifted to *o unless a nasal or *i followed and PGrmc. *i sometimes shifted to *e under similar conditions. The outcomes of some of these shifts are particularly evident in the principal parts of the OE strong class III verb. When a nasal follows the root vowel, as in PGrmc. *bendan-, *band, *bundun, *bundan, it is responsible for raising the *e of the present stem to *i* as well as for preventing the *u* of the past participle from being pulled to *o* by the *a* in the following syllable. Thus class III pre-OE principal parts *bindan*, *band*, *bundun*, *bundan,* but *helpan* (with no raising of *e* to *i* before *l*), *healp* (cf. Section 4.2.3 for a discussion of the diphthongized vowel), *hulpun*, *holpan* (with lowered root vowel). The resulting system of short vowel phonemes appears in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: Proto-Germanic short vowels

3.2.3 Diphthongs

The Grmc. reflexes of the IE diphthongs suggest that the first element of the IE long diphthongs had generally shortened prior to subsequent Grmc. developments. Both IE *ōi and *oi, for instance, developed into PGrmc. *ai. IE *ēi and *ei are exceptions to this pattern. As described above, *ēi became *ē₂ and *ei became PGrmc. *ī. IE *eu was retained into Proto-Germanic and was joined by a new diphthong, *iu. Thus, the PGrmc. diphthongs were *ai, *au, *eu, and *iu.

4 Phonology: Proto-Germanic to Pre-Old English

The North Sea Germanic dialect which would develop into English and Frisian was differentiated from surrounding dialects by a number of phonological and morphological features. The consonantal features of the North Sea dialects that differentiated them from the rest of Germanic were the seeds of velar palatalization and a generalized loss of nasals before voiceless fricatives. The vowel system of this group also developed differently both through shifts in the quality of inherited vowels and in how vowels were affected by neighboring sounds. The most significant of these developments are outlined below.

4.1 Consonantal changes

4.1.1 Geminates

The Grmc. inventory of geminate consonants was bolstered by the output of West Germanic consonant gemination, an innovation of the WGrmc. branch (with traces in North Germanic) that resulted from the effects of the resonants *j, *w, *l, and *r, on preceding consonants (except *r) following a short vowel, e.g. PGrmc. *lagjan > WGrmc. *laggjan; *wilja > *willja; *bitr- > *bittr-; *apl- > *appl-; *nakw- > *nakk-. As unstressed final vowels were reduced and lost, some originally medial geminates came to be word final. These tended to be simplified gradually in the early WGrmc. dialects. Degemination continues throughout the OE period where we find doublets with both geminate and simple final consonants, e.g., *cynn ~ cyn*, *will ~ wil*.

4.1.2 Palatalization

Palatalization of velar consonants in the environment of adjacent (originally) front vowels is a feature shared by all of the North Sea Grmc. dialects, but whether the process began during an early period of their relative unity continues to be debated. If it did, then it is probable that pre-palatal *k developed an allophonically palatalized articulation during this period and only later developed fully phonemicized assibilated phonemes in Old English, Old Frisian, and Old Saxon. (The reader is referred to the discussion of the OE palatalization of velars in Murray, Chapter 4: Section 3.3.)

4.1.3 The Pre-Old English consonant inventory

PGrmc. *ð* was closed to *d* in all of West Germanic and *β* had become a stop in most positions by prehistoric English, while the fricative articulation of *ɣ* persisted intervocalically. Thus, the PGrmc. series of voiced fricatives had become a series of voiced stops at this stage. The voiceless velar fricative had also begun to change. It had weakened to [h] word-initially and between sonorants and vowels, where it ultimately was lost. Its effect on preceding vowels (described in Section 4.2.3) suggests that it may also have been weakening in other coda positions during this period. The early English inventory had been enriched by West Germanic consonant gemination which produced geminates of all original (i.e. non-palatalized) stops, fricatives, nasals, and liquids except *r*. Geminate *f* appeared as <bb> in Old English and geminate glides usually combined with the preceding vowel to form sequences of diphthong + singleton glide. Thus the pre-OE system would have had the singleton consonants shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Pre-Old English simple consonants

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
stops					
voiceless	p		t		k
voiced	b		d		g
fricatives	f	θ	s		x
nasals	m		n		
liquids			l, r		
glides				j	w
					(labiovelar)

4.1.4 Nasal loss and compensatory lengthening

All of West Germanic underwent a loss of postvocalic nasals before PGrmc. *x* (< IE *k*). The North Sea dialects extended it to apply to postvocalic nasals before any voiceless fricative. The nasal cluster had the usual raising effect on preceding vowels, but the loss of the nasal conditioned a compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel. In Old English the nasalized, now lengthened, *ã* appears as *ō*. Thus we have from late PGrmc. *sanft*, *gans*, *kunþs* > OE *sōft*, *gōs*, and *cūþ* with nasal loss, compensatory lengthening, and raising of the original *a* to *ō*. This change is responsible for the now opaque relationship between Present-day English PDE *bring* and *brought*, the latter having gone through the intermediary stages PGrmc. *branx-te* > WGrmc. *brãxte* > OE *brōhte*.

4.1.5 Rhotics and their effects

WGrmc. languages are also marked by a rhotacism of the IE *s that had undergone voicing to /z/ as a result of Verner's Law. Proto-Germanic already had a rhotic which was presumably coronal in articulation (see Denton 2003: 15–16, 19–30 for a discussion of the articulatory qualities of early Grmc. rhotics and their articulatory effects in OE dialects). The rhotacism of *z eventually led to a merger with the original *r which is visible in the third and fourth principal parts of strong verbs that had originally had medial *s voiced through Verner's Law (see examples in Section 3.1). But in word-final or unstressed position, rhotacized *z was lost. This loss makes for a difference between the 1/2ᴘ sɢ personal pronouns in North Sea Germanic and those in the rest of West Germanic: OE ᴅᴀᴛ sɢ *me*, *þe* compared to Old High German (OHG) *mir* and *dir*.

4.2 The vowel system

By the end of the PGrmc. period, the short vowel system had only one low vowel phoneme and the mid back vowel had been vacated by an earlier merger with the reflex of IE *a. Following this period the short vowels were further modified by their phonological environments and the long vowel system was enriched by the monophthongization of the PGrmc. diphthongs. By the start of the OE period PGrmc. *ai had become long *ā* and *au had become long *ǣa*, written <ea>. Reflexes of PGrmc. *eu and *iu (long or short) remained largely distinct in Mercian and Northumbrian dialects (appearing as *eo* and *io*, respectively), but had merged in most environments in the earliest West Saxon (WSax.) texts, though both spellings remained.

The long high and mid vowels (*ī, *ē₂, *ū, and *ō) continued into the Pre-OE period, but *ē₁ underwent different developments in the various OE dialects, appearing as *ǣ* in West Saxon and as *ē* elsewhere. When followed by a nasal, it appeared as *ō* in all of Old English. The WSax. *ǣ* was irregularly retracted before mid and high back vowels in the following syllable (referred to as *u*-umlaut), but otherwise continued as a front vowel.

4.2.1 Anglo-Frisian brightening and retraction

A similar process of allophonic split before nasals occurred with PGrmc. short *a (< IE *a and *o). While it shows up as *a* in the rest of West Germanic, in the Anglo-Frisian area it originally developed two allophones, a back variant before nasals

and a front variant everywhere else. The back variant is alternately spelled either <a> or <o> in Old English as in the doublet *mann ~ monn*. Since this nasalized vowel was distinct from the existing *o* and eventually merged with *a* in most of Old English, it probably had a quality similar to [ɔ]. The non-nasalized variant, [æ], is the output of the process called "Anglo-Frisian brightening" (AFB) or "First Fronting" in the entire Ingvaeonic area. This variant behaved as a true front vowel, diphthongizing in Old English breaking environments (cf. Section 4.2.3) and palatalizing some velar consonants, e.g. PGrmc. **gastiz* > (AFB) *gæste* > (palatalization) *ġeaste* > (*i*-umlaut, cf. Section 4.2.4) *ġieste*. A subsequent process of retraction, however, pulled the front vowel back to *a* before an immediately following *w* in all dialects, while Anglian also retracted the front vowel before *r*C, and Northumbrian before *l*C.

4.2.2 Restoration of *a*

The result of Anglo-Frisian brightening was subject to the early mutating effects of back vowels in the following syllable. This process, known as "restoration of *a*", foreshadows the back vowel umlauts of the early OE period and is visible in the OE masculine and neuter *a*-stem paradigms. When the root vowel of the nominative/accusative, genitive, and dative singular (sg) is *æ*, as in *dæġ* 'day', *dæġes*, *dæġe*, it appears as *a* in the plural (pl) due to the retracting effect of the suffixes' back vowels: nom/acc *dagas*, gen *daga*, dat *dagum*. The phonological conditioning and particular interactions of Anglo-Frisian brightening, retraction, restoration of *a*, and breaking are responsible for much of the dialectal variation in Old English and are discussed in detail, in the modern Old English grammatical handbooks (e.g. Brunner 1965: 38–46, 54–60; Luick 1964a [1914–21]: 122–166; Campbell 1959: 50–64; Hogg 1992: 76–101; Lass and Anderson 1975: 59–69; Lass 1994: 39–44; Ringe and Taylor 2014: 167–202; Wright and Wright 1925: 38–68).

4.2.3 Breaking

Breaking was a process of front vowel mutations conditioned by the following consonantism. Though preserved in its most regular form in the WSax. dialect of Old English, breaking appears to have applied with slight variation in all of pre-Old English and was even shared, in part, by Old Frisian and Old Norse. The graphic realization of the output of breaking in Old English was <ie>, <eo>, and <ea> from the high, mid, and low front vowels, respectively. Prior to breaking, the Grmc. languages had no short diphthongs, which are typologically marked.

Whether those sounds represented by short digraphs in Old English were true short diphthongs phonemically is part of a larger controversy, though OE metrics confirm that they were indeed distinguished from long diphthongs quantitatively. Stockwell and Barritt (1951: 14) first questioned the literal reading of these digraphs and many scholars since have argued that the output of breaking was monophthongal and that the addition of a central or back vowel grapheme indicated either a retraction of the original vowel quality or a secondary articulation on the following consonant. The entire controversy is nicely presented in brief in Lass and Anderson (1975: 75–83) (see also Murray, Chapter 4: Section 3.2), while more recently, White (2004: 58–59) takes up Daunt's (1939) argument that the OE spelling pattern had Irish origins. Breaking appears to have applied only in stressed syllables in the pre-OE period and was more regular the lower and the shorter the vowel. Early textual evidence suggests that the breaking environments originally caused the front vowels to develop central- or back-vowel off-glides at the corresponding height, /i/ > [iu], /e/ > [eo], /æ/ > [æa]. The factors which conditioned breaking were the reflex of PGrmc. /x/, whether alone or followed by another consonant, *r* + C, *w*, and, to a lesser degree, *l* + C.

The conditioning factors of breaking are generally assumed to have had back articulations that spurred a transitional glide between the palatal front vowel and the following consonant. Thus *x* and *w* are velar, the *l* of *l*C clusters are presumed velarized, and the *r* in *r*C clusters were also presumed to have had a back articulation similar, perhaps, to the Scots "burred" *r*. Howell (1991: 83–105) has refuted this assumption, demonstrating that the kinds of diphthongizations seen in breaking rarely occur with sequences of stressed front vowel + velar liquid or *x* in modern Grmc. dialects, though analogous diphthongizations are quite common when the coda contains a weakened, non-velar, articulation of these same segments. Howell adduces dialectal evidence that all breaking factors had less constricted, even vocalic, articulations in coda positions and Denton (2003: 21–30) makes a similar argument about OE *r* on articulatory grounds.

The preserved effects of breaking with limited retraction and restoration of *a* in West Saxon contribute to the marked difference in sound and appearance of this dialect compared to that of Anglian and Northumbrian. This fact was compounded by Anglian's later monophthongization or "smoothing" of many of these diphthongs. The output of breaking has morphological consequences, perhaps the most obvious being the subclass of class III strong verbs which are characterized by a short root vowel followed by a liquid-consonant cluster, e.g., Pre-OE **werþan*, **wærþ*; **helpan*, **hælp* > OE *weorþan*, *wearþ*; *helpan*, *h(e)alp*. Breaking before *h* (<*x) is visible in the PRET SG of strong class V contracted verbs, e.g., *seah* (INF *sēon*) as well as in other verbal roots and stems ending in -*w* and -*l*.

4.2.4 *i*-umlaut

i-umlaut, like the restoration of *a* (cf. Section 4.2.2) and the even earlier developments of PGrmc. mid vowels discussed in Section 3.2.2, was a kind of vowel harmony conditioned by the quality of the vowel in an immediately following syllable. Conditioned by both **i* and **j*, *i*-umlaut was the most widespread and general of the umlauts, affecting all of North and West Germanic, though its application occurred in stages that varied according to geography and dialect. In Pre-Old English its action was most regular in the fronting of both long and short back vowels to the corresponding front vowels, i.e. *u > y, o > œ, a > æ*, though it also raised the low and mid front vowels with less regularity. (See Section 5.1 in Murray, Chapter 4 as well as the OE grammatical handbooks for a description of the conditioning and output of *i*-umlaut in Old English).

The effects of *i*-umlaut are responsible for the root vowel change in the mutated plurals: NOM SG *mann*, *gōs*, *mūs*; NOM PL *menn*, *gœs ~ gēs*, *mȳs* < earlier **mann-i, *gōs-i, *mūs-i*. Even more visible are the mutated vowels in the 2/3P PRES IND of strong verbs which originally had the suffixes *-is* and *-iþ*, respectively: *ċēosan* 2/3P SG PRES IND *ċīest < *cēosis, *cēosiþ; faran, færst < *farist, færþ < *fariþ*. The entire system of class I weak verbs is subject to *i*-umlaut from the *j* of the *-jan* suffix that had originally marked the class. This fact is only evident when compared to the unumlauted root from which a class I weak verb was derived, e.g., early OE *dœ̄man* 'to judge' < early WGrmc. **dōm-jan-*.

4.2.5 Stress and its immediate effects

A dominating stress accent on the root syllable was one of the hallmarks of the Grmc. languages, but a secondary stress accent on polysyllabic words was also likely, though scholars don't agree on the rules of its placement. What we can surmise about the placement of all stresses in early Germanic comes from the metrics of the first attested languages and from the manner and order in which medial and final syllables were reduced in the period prior to the first transmission of texts. This reduction began in word-final position with the loss of short unstressed vowels. Final unstressed diphthongs were monophthongized and unstressed medial vowels in open syllables were often lost prior to the earliest OE texts. Final nasals were also lost eventually, leaving the nuclear vowels exposed to a new round of reductions. Generally more resistant to loss were unstressed high vowels. Their ultimate loss in both unstressed final and medial syllables was usually conditioned by a preceding heavy foot, i.e. a single stressed heavy syllable (CV̄, CVV, or CVC(C)) or a stressed light syllable followed by another

syllable. This conditioned loss was responsible for -*u*~-Ø and -*i*~-Ø alternations in the WGrmc. *u*- and *i*-stem nominal paradigms as illustrated by the OE examples in Table 2.4. The nominative singular of feminine *ō*-stems also shows an alternation between -*u* after light stems and -Ø after heavy, e.g. *giefu* vs. *lār*.

Table 2.4: High vowel loss in nominal paradigms

	i-stem, MASC		*u*-stem, MASC	
	light	heavy	light	heavy
SG NOM	win-e (‹ -i)	giest (‹ -i)	sun-u	feld (‹ -u)
ACC	win-e (‹ -i)	giest (‹ -i)	sun-u	feld (‹ -u)
GEN	win-es	giest-es	sun-a	feld-a
DAT	win-e	giest-e	sun-a	feld-a
PL NOM/ACC	win-e, -as	giest-as	sun-a	feld-a
GEN	win-a	giest-a	sun-a	feld-a
DAT	win-um	giest-um	sun-um	feld-um

While unstressed vowels tended toward reduction, the stressed root vowels of the North Sea Grmc. and pre-OE periods were affected in a different manner, being further differentiated through the assimilatory effects of following sounds. Sound changes of this type included breaking, retraction, and the umlauts described above.

5 Morphology

5.1 Morphological structure

Pre-Old English inherited a large percentage of its word stock from Indo-European, though at least 30% of its lexicon may have come from other sources. Vennemann (2003: xiii–20) provides an introduction to some of the issues inherent in identifying IE origins for both Germanic lexemes and morphosyntactic structures while he provides background for innovative theories of early Germanic contact with non-IE languages. Germanic did inherit much of its morphological structure from its IE ancestor along with its primary word-formation processes of compounding and derivation. IE roots were monosyllabic CVC structures with slots for a nasal, liquid, or glide on either side of the vowel. While the consonants of the root remained fairly stable across morphological categories, the radical vowel could vary between the *e*- or "full" grade, the *o*-grade, and the zero-grade, according to the word's function. This kind of vowel alternation is the source of many of the ablaut, or root vowel substitution, patterns in the Grmc. languages.

Various types of suffixes could be added to the root and these also could display different vowel grades within the same consonantal context. The position of the IE accent was partially dependent on the grade of the root and of its suffix. Thus, the overall structure of all IE morphology was that of root + suffix + inflectional ending, the combination of root + suffix constituting the stem. This structure continued to be the foundation of the nominal, adjectival, and verbal classes of the Grmc. languages.

5.2 Nominal morphology

5.2.1 The case system

The IE nominal categories were of three types: the nouns and adjectives, the demonstrative pronouns, and the personal pronouns. All of these were marked for case and number. Indo-European probably had eight cases which indicated the relationship of the noun phrases in the sentence both to each other and to the action of the verb. These cases were the nominative (NOM), accusative (ACC), dative (DAT), genitive (GEN), ablative, locative, instrumental (INSTR), and vocative. Four cases were preserved in West Germanic with a vestige of a fifth. The nominative remained the case of the subject of the sentence (as well as of predicate nominals), but was also used for direct address. The accusative remained for the direct object, duration of time, and extent of space. The dative expressed a less direct impact or reference of the action of the verb on a noun such as with the indirect object, motion-toward, and many of the functions of the original locative and often the instrumental. The genitive was used for possession, for a part of a larger whole, and with certain adjectives and prepositions. In Old English and Old Frisian the instrumental forms were only preserved in the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns and in the strong adjective declension.

5.2.2 Gender

Late Indo-European had three genders which were preserved into the OE period: masculine (MASC), feminine (FEM), and neuter (NEUT). While these categories probably had some connection to real-world physical and/or cultural characteristics at one time, by early Germanic they largely served only a grammatical function. Masculine and neuter nouns, pronouns, and adjectives are closely related and always share a number of endings. The difference between the two genders often lies in the way in which the nominative and accusative singular are

marked. While these categories may be formally differentiated in the masculine, they are always identical in the neuter singular, a feature that goes back to Indo-European (e.g. NEUT NOM and ACC SG *hit* 'it', *scip* 'ship'). In the most common declensions the IE feminine differed from the masculine and neuter in the presence of the feminine's *⋆ā* theme vowel, which developed into PGrmc. *⋆ō*. Forms of other feminine declensions were also heavily influenced by the *⋆ō*-stem endings. Though in the earliest OE paradigms the endings of the feminine are wholly different from those of the masculine and neuter, the endings of all three genders of all stem types derived from a single set of inflectional endings.

5.2.3 Nouns and adjectives

Nouns and adjectives were indistinguishable in Indo-European and continued to share many of their endings into the OE period. It was the particular quality of the theme or stem vowel (or the lack thereof) which determined a noun's or adjective's class. Each class had a particular set of inflectional endings associated with it which likely derived from a single set of endings for all noun classes in Indo-European. The differences in inflectional endings that we see across the early Grmc. paradigms are the result of a combination of factors among which are :

a. variations in the original placement of the IE accent which resulted in different grades of the stem vowel and different developments of IE *⋆s* (which could appear as either OE *s* or *r*, depending on the application of Verner's Law) (cf. Section 3.1);

b. the coalescence of stem vowels with the endings; and

c. the Grmc. reductions of final syllables. An example of the masculine *a*-stems, feminine *ō*-stems and masculine and feminine *n*-stems illustrates this development below. The reconstructions have been simplified somewhat for clarity in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5: Reflexes of the Proto-Germanic case inflections in Old English declensions

	PGrmc.	*a*-stem	*ō*-stem	*i*-stem	*u*-stem	*n*-stem
SG	MASC	MASC	FEM	MASC	MASC	MASC
NOM	-V-z	stan ‹ az	gief-u ‹ ő	win-e ‹ iz	sun-u ‹ uz	nam-a ‹ ōn
ACC	-V-m	stan ‹ am	gief-e ‹ őn	win-e ‹ im	sun-u ‹ um	nam-an ‹ anam
GEN	-V-so	stan-es ‹ áso	gief-e ‹ ōz	win-es ‹ iza	sun-a ‹ auz	nam-an ‹ in(e/a)z
DAT	-V-i	stane- ‹ ai	gief-e ‹ ai	win-e ‹ ī	sun-a ‹ au	nam-an ‹ ini
PL						
NOM	-V-z(ez)	stan-as ‹ ōz(ez)	gief-e ‹ ōz	win-e ‹ īz	sun-a ‹ iuiz	nam-an ‹ anez
ACC	-V-nz	stan-as ‹ (NOM PL)	gief-e ‹ őnz	win-e ‹ (NOM PL)	sun-a ‹ uns	nam-an ‹ anunz
GEN	-V-n	stan-a ‹ ōn	gief-e ‹ ōn	win-a ‹ iōn	sun-a ‹ ōn	nam-an ‹ anon
DAT	-V-miz	stan-um ‹ amiz	gief-um ‹ ōmiz	win-um ‹ imiz	sun-um ‹ umiz	nam-um ‹ anmiz

The classes that became dominant in Germanic were the *a*-stems, *ō*-stems, and the weak *n*-stems. The Grmc. *i*- and *u*-stems, though still viable, were no longer robust since many of their former members had moved over to *a*- and *ō*-stem declensions. Other minor classes could be marked by reflexes of a consonantal suffix added to the root or by a lack of theme as in the *athematic* or root nouns, the latter marked in Old English by *i*-umlauted root vowels. (See von Mengden, Chapter 5: Section 1.2.8 for a description of these.) The adjectives originally had the same thematic classes as the nouns, including *a*- and *ō*-stems (as well as *ja*- and *jō*-stem subtypes), *i*-stem, and *u*-stems, but these were heavily influenced by the pronominal declension in the transition from Indo-European to Germanic. The resulting strong adjectival endings are consequently a mixture of the strong nominal and the demonstrative pronominal declensions. By the early OE period most adjectives of the minor declensions, as well as many nouns of the minor declensions, had moved over to those of the *a*- and *ō*-stems and the *ja*- and *jō*-stems.

A major innovation of the Grmc. languages was the development of a weak adjectival declension similar in form to the weak *n*-stems nouns. The weak adjectival suffix derived from IE **-en-*/-*on-* which appears in Latin and Greek nicknames *Cato* (GEN *Catonis*) 'smart/shrewd (one)' < *catus* 'smart, shrewd' and Greek *Strabōn* 'squint-eyed (one)' < *strabos* 'squint-eyed'. This suffix was probably used in Grmc. phrases like the precursor of OE *se blinda mann* to mean 'the blind one, a man'. The individualizing character of this suffix was gradually grammaticalized into the form of the adjective that appeared with definite noun phrases,

while the strong adjectival suffixes came to be used with indefinite noun phrases (Jasanoff 2008: 205; Krause 1968: 175; Osthoff 1876: 120–133). All nominal elements of the noun phrase agreed in case, number, and gender.

Comparative and superlative adjectives were formed from suffixation to the adjectival stem. Two WGrmc. suffixes, *-iz- and *-ōz-, were responsible for the OE comparatives, whose consonants both developed into OE -r- via Verner's Law and subsequent rhotacism (cf. Section 3.1 and Section 4.1.5). The original -i- of the first of these caused umlaut of the preceding vowel. The OE superlatives -est and -ost/-ast also developed from two different suffixes, *-ist- and *-ōst-, respectively, the first of which also caused *i*-umlaut of the preceding vowel. Thus Old English has root vowel alternations in some adjectives like *eald*/*ieldra*/*ieldest* and *long*/*lengra*/*lengest*, but not in others *earm*/*earmra*/*earmost*. Adverbs were also derived from adjectives. (See von Mengden, Chapter 5: Section 1.3.4 for an overview of these and for a description of numerals.)

5.2.4 Pronouns

Old English had two demonstrative pronouns and an interrogative pronoun that agreed with the other members of their noun phrase in case, number, and gender, though there was no gender distinction in the plural. These three pronominal paradigms derive from demonstrative pronouns in the earlier IE language and show substantial similarities in their endings. The main demonstrative was the *se*/*þæt*/*sēo* 'the, that (one)' paradigm which served as both definite article and the unmarked demonstrative pronoun. Its suppletive merging of the IE *s- and *t- pronominal bases in a single paradigm was evident as far back as Greek and Sanskrit. A second, derivative, pronoun came to serve as the proximal demonstrative, *þes*/*þis*/*þēos* 'this (one)', which derived from the same IE *t- base as the other demonstrative, but with the addition of an *-s(s)- suffix following the vowel. This pronoun could also function both pronominally and as a determiner. Only Northwest Germanic has a paradigm of this particular construction.

Both demonstratives preserved a fifth case form in the masculine and neuter singulars only. This was *þȳ~þon* in the *se*/*þæt*/*sēo* paradigm and *þȳs* in the *þes*/*þis*/*þēos* paradigm. These forms, though labeled "instrumental" in the grammars and handbooks, neither derive directly from an earlier instrumental case nor are they used only to express instrumentality. Rather they are used for adverbial and idiomatic expressions such as *þȳ geare* 'in that year', *þȳ læs* 'lest', *ǣr þon* 'before that', *þȳ māre þȳ* ... 'the more, the...' The Grmc. interrogatives have clear cognates in other IE languages, descending from IE roots in *kʷ-. Though the inflectional endings of this paradigm are quite similar to those of the demonstrative pronouns,

the interrogatives differ in that they have no plural forms and the singular forms combine the masculine and feminine into a single, animate, category. Outside of the nominative in *hwā*, the endings of the masculine/feminine forms resemble those of the demonstratives. The neuter has a separate nominative/accusative singular form, but is otherwise identical to the masculine-feminine paradigm.

The Grmc. first (1P) and second (2P) personal pronouns are also derived from IE material. Though Gothic (Go.) demonstrates that the dual (DU) pronouns originally required agreement with dual verbal forms in early Germanic, by Old English the dual forms of verbs had been lost and dual pronouns therefore agreed only with plural verbs. Unlike the first and second person pronouns, the Grmc. third person (3P) pronouns are marked for gender as well as for case and number. This fact may be due to their origins in demonstrative bases that were, themselves, marked for gender. Indeed, the personal pronouns' heritage is heterogeneous. Four separate bases fed into the development of the various Grmc. third person pronominal paradigms. Those responsible for the English system were first the IE deictic in *k- (PGrmc. *x), which developed into the OE singular forms in *h-*, i.e. *he*, *hine*, *heo*, *his*, etc. The second base derived from an IE demonstrative pronoun in *ei- ~ -i- that formed the base of the OE plurals in *h-* (the initial *h-* was probably added later by analogy to the singular forms in *h-*) (Lass 1994: 141). Proto-Germanic had no common pronoun for introducing relative clauses, but the indeclinable pronoun *þe* developed as the most common means of expressing this kind of syntactic relationship in Old English.

5.3 Verbal morphology

The ablauting verbs of Indo-European are divided into seven classes of strong verbs in Old English, all of which employ ablaut in conjunction with suffixation to express differences in tense, mood, and number. A small group of anomalous verbs also derived from IE origins. Perhaps the most significant innovation in the Grmc. verbs was the shift of what was primarily an aspectual system to a binary one of present (PRES) versus past (PAST) tense. As with the nouns, the dual was lost from the verbs. The indicative was preserved as the mood of declaratives and the second person imperatives continued to express commands, but only in the present tense. The infinitive was a present tense verbal noun which retained case marking in the early Grmc. inflected infinitive forms of which Old English preserves the original dative case. The present participle was a verbal adjective whose form is cognate with that of other IE languages. A Grmc. subjunctive, used in both present and preterit tenses, was formed from the IE optative, which had expressed the wish of the speaker. In the Ingvaeonic languages the three persons

of the indicative plural were collapsed into one and the subjunctive had only a single form in each of the singular and plural of both tenses. West Germanic retained only the active voice with vestiges of the passive. The passive/past participle was a passive adjective when transitive, but was simply preterit when intransitive. OE *hātte/hātton* 'is or was/are or were called' preserves the original passive, while all other uses of a passive in Old English were periphrastic constructions using *weorþan* or *bēon/wesan* with the passive participle.

5.3.1 Strong verbs

In the WGrmc. languages each strong verb had four principal parts: a present stem, a preterit first and third person singular stem, a preterit plural and second person singular stem, and a passive participle stem. For at least the first five classes it is presumed that there was root stress on the first two principal parts and suffix stress on the third and fourth. This assumption is supported by the output of Verner's Law visible in the alternation between root-final voiceless fricatives in the first two principal parts and voiced fricatives or stops in the third and fourth (Section 3.1). For a detailed discussion of the development of the PGrmc. strong verbs from both Indo-European and non-IE origins, the reader is referred to Mailhammer (2007).

5.3.2 Weak verbs

The weak verbs, though an innovation of the Grmc. languages, formed their stems from the same morphological material as the strong verbs, i.e. a root – often in the *o*-grade – followed by a stressed suffix. What identified the weak verbs was a dental suffix marking the preterit rather than a root vowel alternation. One of the more popular hypotheses regarding the origin of the dental suffix was that it was a grammaticalization of the preterit forms of the verb *to do* suffixed to the verbal stem. The formal similarity between the Gothic forms of the weak preterit suffix and those of the PGrmc. verb *do*n constitute the basis for this claim, e.g. PGrmc. 3P PL *dādun/dedun* 'they did' compared to the Go. 3P PL PRET IND suffix -*dēdun*.

    Germanic probably had four classes of weak verbs all of which contained verbs derived from other categories. The first class suffix was from IE *-*eja*- which became *-ja* in Germanic. The palatal glide was responsible for both *i*-umlaut of the root vowel and for gemination of the preceding consonant (cf. Section 4.2.4 and Section 4.1.1, respectively) when the *j* was preserved into West Germanic. In

the second and third singular present indicative, the imperative, and the entirety of the preterit system, the original glide merged with following vowels to form a high front vowel rather than a glide. Because *i* did not spur gemination of a preceding consonant as *j* did, we find no gemination in these forms of the verb, though *i*-umlaut is present in all forms of the weak class *i*.

In the second class the suffix derived from IE *-*āje-*/*-*ājo-* which developed to *-*ōi-* in Germanic. At this stage there was no longer a trigger for gemination of the root consonant since the original *j* had collapsed into a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Unlike in class one, there is therefore no gemination in class two and also no *i*-umlaut in the root. If the following inflection began with a vowel, then the thematic *-*ōi-* sequence generally became *-*ia-* in Old English as in the infinitive PGrmc.**luf-*āje-onom* > OE *lufian*. If the suffix were followed by a consonant, the glide of the diphthong was lost and the long, unstressed, *ō* developed regularly to *a*. Thus we find 2/3P SG PRES IND *lufast*, *lufaþ* in class two where we found *fremest*, *fremeþ* in class one.

OE class three verbs have no reflex of a stem vowel, though one does appear in this class elsewhere in Germanic. Thus, the OE personal endings are added directly to the root. There is no trace of a fourth class of weak verbs in Old English and even the third class has been reduced through the migration of its verbs into the first two classes.

5.3.3 Preterit-present verbs

The preterit-present verbs constitute a third system of verbs in the Grmc. languages. They began as strong verbs whose past tense forms developed stative, present-tense, meaning. The strong class I preterit singular, *wāt* < **wītan* 'to see' (cf. Lt. *vīdere*), for instance, came to mean 'I know' (presumably through the development 'I saw' > 'I saw, therefore I know'). In order to express a past tense of this new meaning, speakers created a new preterit form using a dental suffix which has sometimes been associated with the dental preterit marker of the weak verbs, though there are other theories of its origin (see, for example, Prokosch 1927: 334–335). Thus the preterit-presents have a present tense which resembles a strong preterit and a new weak preterit tense. It preserves some of the more archaic endings of the IE perfect seen in the present singular forms in which the earlier *-e* of the 1/3P SG was lost in WGrmc., e.g., *sceal*, and in the *-t* of the 2P SG which predated the *-st* that predominates elsewhere, e.g., *scealt*. The preterit marker was added to the original perfect stem with no intervening stem vowel: *wiste*/*wisse* and *wiston* (< **wit-te and *wit-ton*, respectively). Old English had preterit-present verbs for each of the first six classes of strong verbs.

6 Syntax

Though case marking on noun phrases allowed early Grmc. word order considerable flexibility, the unmarked word order for main clauses was ov, an order inherited from Indo-European. Modifiers most commonly occurred after the phrasal heads. Prepositions far outnumbered postpositions and were closely related to verbal particles which also preceded their heads. In Pre-Old English and later these particles were often written as separate words, although by the OE period we consider them verbal prefixes. Between the Northwest Grmc. runic inscriptions of the 3rd–7th centuries and the first OE texts, svo word order became somewhat more common and modifiers also commonly appeared before their heads (Lass 1994: 218–222). Pre-Old English must have experienced substantial variation in word order as the language shifted from ov, which dominated the Northwest Grmc. runic inscriptions, to allowing verb-second order, which was quite common in Old English (Lass 1994: 225).

7 Summary

The history of the Germanic speakers who migrated to Britain is characterized by migration, ongoing social upheaval, and heavy linguistic contact. It is therefore not surprising that the Pre-OE period was one of substantial linguistic change. Indeed, Old English may be the most innovative of the early Grmc. languages in terms of sound change alone. Though social instability and linguistic contact continued to spur innovation in the history of English, the process of rapid differentiation began with the first waves of migration to Britain and can be seen in the first OE texts.

8 References

Brunner, Karl. 1965. *Altenglische Grammatik. Nach der Angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers. Dritte, neubearbeitete Auflage*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

van Coetsem, Frans. 1988. *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact*. Dordrecht/Providence, RI: Foris.

van Coetsem, Frans and Herbert L. Kufner. 1972. *Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Curzan, Anne and Kimberly Emmons (eds.). 2004. *Studies in the History of the English Language II: Unfolding Conversations*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

D'Alquen, Richard. 1988. *Germanic Accent, Grammatical Change and the Laws of Unaccented Syllables*. New York: Peter Lang.

Daunt, Marjorie. 1939. Old English sound-changes reconsidered in relation to scribal tradition and practice. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 38(1): 108–137.

Denton, Jeannette M. 2003. Reconstructing Germanic *r. *Diachronica* 20(1): 11–43.

Flippula, Markku, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Pitkänen. 2002. Introduction: Early contacts between English and the Celtic languages. In: Markku Flippula, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Pitkänen (eds.), *The Celtic Roots of English*, 1–26. Joensuu: University of Joensuu, Faculty of the Humanities.

Gamkrelidze, Thomas V. and Vjacheslav V. Ivanov. 1995. *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*. Trans. by Johanna Nichols. 2 vols. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Goblirsch, Kurt Gustav. 2003. The voicing of fricatives in West Germanic and the partial consonant shift. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 24(1–2): 111–152.

Guy, Gregory. 1990. The sociolinguistic types of language change. *Diachronica* 7: 47–67.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. I: *Phonology*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Hogg, Richard M. and R. D. Fulk. 2011. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. II: *Morphology*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hopper, Paul J. 1973. Glottalized and murmured occlusives in Indo-European. *Glossa* 7(2): 141–166.

Howell, Robert B. 1991. *Old English Breaking and its Germanic Analogues*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Jasanoff, Jay. 2008. Gothic. In: Roger D. Woodard (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Europe*, 189–214. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krahe, H. and W. Meid. 1969. *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*. 7th edn. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Krause, Wolfgang. 1968. *Handbuch des Gotischen*. 3rd edn. Munich: Beck.

Lass, Roger. 1994. *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lass, Roger and John M. Anderson. 1975. *Old English Phonology*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Luick, Karl. 1964a [1914–21]. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache,* Vol. I, Part 1. Stuttgart: Bernhard Tauchnitz.

Luick, Karl. 1964b [1929–40]. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache,* Vol. I, Part 2. Stuttgart: Bernhard Tauchnitz.

Mailhammer, Robert. 2007. *The Germanic Strong Verbs*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Nielsen, Hans Frede. 1989. *The Germanic Languages: Origins and Early Dialectal Interrelations*. Tuscaloosa/London: University of Alabama Press.

Osthoff, Hermann. 1876. *Zur Geschichte des schwachen deutschen Adjecktivums. Forschung im Gebiet der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildung*. Vol. II. Jena: Pältz.

Page, Richard B. 1998. Verner's Law. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 122(2): 175–193.

Petrova, Olga. 2004. The role of perceptual contrast in Verner's law. In: Curzan and Emmons (eds.), 371–408.

Prokosch, Eduard. 1927. The Old English weak preterits without medial vowel. *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 42(2): 331–338.

Prokosch, Eduard. 1939. *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America.

Ringe, Don. 2017. *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic*. (A Linguistic History of English, Vol. I.) 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ringe, Don and Ann Taylor. 2014. *The Development of Old English*. (A Linguistic History of English, Vol. II). New York: Oxford University Press.

Stockwell, Robert P. and C. Westbrook Barritt. 1951. *Some Old English Graphemic-Phonemic Correspondences – ae, ea and a*. (Studies in Linguistics, Occasional Papers, 4.) Norman, OK: Battenburg Press.

Thomason, Sarah, Gray and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Vennemann, Theo. 2003. Bemerkung zum frühgermanischen Wortschatz. In: Theo Vennemann (ed.), *Europa Vasconica – Europa Semitica*, 1–20. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

White, David L. 2004. Why we should not believe in short diphthongs. In: Curzan and Emmons (eds.), 57–84.

Wright, Joseph and Elizabeth Mary Wright. 1925. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ferdinand von Mengden
Chapter 3:
Old English: Overview

Abstract: This chapter offers a survey of the main linguistic changes that took place during the Old English period – from the Anglo-Saxon migration around 450 CE to the beginning of the Norman rule of England. Considering that the major features and developments on all linguistic levels will be presented in later chapters in more detail, the present chapter sketches the most salient and important linguistic features of Old English and otherwise focuses on political and cultural events of the period, which had an impact on the development of the English language. Predominantly, these are events that lead to the emergence of new contact situations – such as the Christianization (Latin), the Viking raids (Old Norse) and the emerging Norman influence on the English court in the 11th century (French) – and the most important waves of literary productivity – e.g. King Alfred's educational program and the increasing book production following the Benedictine Reform.

1 Preliminaries

The term "Old English" refers to those varieties of Germanic which were spoken in Great Britain from the Anglo-Saxon migration around 450 up until the end of the 11th century. While the geographical delimitation of the Old English language is unproblematic, the chronological limits are more difficult to determine and to some degree based on convention. Before I describe some of the main developments and characteristics of the Old English period, the most relevant approaches

Ferdinand von Mengden: Berlin (Germany)

to and motivations for defining a chronological starting point and end point of Old English will be discussed briefly (Section 2).

Taking into consideration that the main characteristics of the different domains of linguistic description are discussed in later chapters, they will remain in the background in this chapter. The largest part of this chapter (Section 3) will focus on those aspects or developments of Old English that are related with or influenced by the non-linguistic history of its speakers. However, Section 4 will deal with language-internal developments. It will be shown in this context that, while the choice of external dates for period boundaries may of course be associated with salient linguistic features during the development of a language, the relation between the internal and external factors is nevertheless mutual: once a choice of period boundaries has become conventional, the typological characterization of a language (in a given period) is dependent on this choice, which may be useful, but by no means necessary.

2 A chronological delimitation of Old English

2.1 The beginning of Old English

In the case of Old English, it is easier to determine the beginning of the period than its end. Nevertheless, there are three historical events that can reasonably be interpreted as starting points in different respects. One is the settlement of Germanic tribes in England in the middle of the 5th century, the second is their Christianization around 600, and the third is the date of the earliest surviving written records around 700.

With the arrival of Germanic settlers in England in the middle of the 5th century, their varieties of Germanic develop independently from the varieties of the cognate tribes that have remained on the Continent. Although the differences between the varieties of the settlers and those on the Continent cannot have been too great at the time of the migration, it is the settlers' geographic and political independence as a consequence of the migration which constitutes the basis for the development of English as a variety distinct and independent from the continental varieties of the West Germanic speech community (cf. Section 3.1).

Because close relations with the Continent persist for a relatively long time after the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, it takes another one and a half centuries until their conversion to the Christian religion constitutes the first landmark of an independent Anglo-Saxon history. The Christianization and its impact on the Old English language will be discussed below in Section 3.2. At this point it may suffice to mention that, because the conversion is the first major change in the

society and culture of the Anglo-Saxons that is not shared by the related tribes on the Continent, it is similarly significant for (the beginning of) an independent linguistic history of English as the settlement in Britain. Moreover, the immediate impact of the conversion on the language of the Anglo-Saxons is much more obvious than that of the migration: first, the Latin influence on English grows in intensity and, perhaps more crucially, enters new domains of social life; second, a new writing system, the Latin alphabet, is introduced, and third, a new medium of (linguistic) communication comes to be used – the book.

Finally, one could approach the question of the starting point of Old English from a modern perspective. It is only indirect evidence that gives us a clue about the linguistic consequences of the two aforementioned events. Our direct evidence of any characteristic of (Old) English begins with the oldest surviving written sources containing Old English. Apart from onomastic material in Latin texts and short inscriptions, the earliest documents written in Old English date from the early 8th century. A distinction between a reconstructed "pre-Old English" before 700 and an attested "Old English" after 700, as drawn e.g. in Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 265), therefore does not seem implausible.

While this criterion for determining the beginning of Old English is mainly based on a change in our modern access to the earliest stages of English (reconstruction vs. written evidence), some aspects of Anglo-Saxon history may in fact play a role here: as Hogg (1992b: 6) points out, it is feasible that the shift from a heptarchy of more or less equally influential Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to the cultural dominance of Northumbria in the time after Christianization may be connected with the fact that texts are produced not exclusively in Latin, but also in the vernacular. In other words, we may speculate (but no more than that) that the emergence of the earliest Anglo-Saxon cultural and political centre in Northumbria in the 8th century may lead the Anglo-Saxons to view themselves as one group rather than as different Germanic tribes, and, accordingly, to view their language as English (or, Anglo-Saxon) rather than as the Saxon, Anglian, Kentish, Jutish, etc. varieties of Germanic (but cf. an opposing point raised below in Section 3.1). Evidence for this change in attitude may be the composition of the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* by Bede in 731, in which the *gens anglorum* of the title comprises all Germanic inhabitants of Britain and not only the Angles. Yet, as we can see from the earliest written evidence, the English language is not only sufficiently distinct from its closest cognates on the Continent around the year 700 with respect to its structure, its lexicon, and its phonology, it is at this point also considerably heterogeneous in itself – and continues to be so.

I would therefore propose that, whatever happens to the language of the Anglo-Saxon settlers in Britain and for whatever reason it happens, any development after 450 should be taken as specifically English and before 450 should be

taken as common (West) Germanic. That our knowledge of the underlying developments is necessarily based on a different method of access before and after around 700 is ultimately secondary to the relevant linguistic changes themselves and for any categorization of Old English.

2.2 The end of Old English

The end point of Old English is marked by the Norman Conquest of 1066. The accession to the throne by William of Normandy in December of that year is considered a landmark in the history of England and, thus, of the community of speakers of English. It should, however, be questioned whether, or to what extent, the events of the year 1066 have only a symbolic value for the history of England rather than constituting an actual break. As will be discussed below (Section 3.6), in terms of the development of the contact situation between (Norman) French and English, the immediate relevance of the Norman Conquest is by far smaller than the prominence of this date in both the history books and in the handbooks on the history of English might suggest.

The major linguistic changes that may be taken as relevant for a distinction between Old and Middle English take place in different linguistic domains – and, accordingly, at different times. The prototypical morphosyntactic features of Middle English – increasing syncretism of inflectional distinctions – begin to emerge as early as in the 10th century, whereas the typical Old English lexicon – largely Germanic with a moderate share of Latin borrowings but hardly any Romance elements – continues to exist up until the end of the 12th century and is attested even in Early Middle English texts such as *The Owl and the Nightingale* or Lagamon's *Brut*; cf. Lutz (2002).

In sum, if we define the Old English period as ranging from 450 to 1100 we mainly follow conventions. The distinction between Old and Middle English cannot be said to be motivated by sufficiently significant linguistic criteria and it is largely arbitrary to refer to the Norman Conquest in this context. Whether we determine 1066, 1100, or 1150 as the endpoint of Old English, it has become conventional to draw the line between Old and Middle English around this time. If we follow purely linguistic criteria, the transition from Old to Middle English expands at least over the period from the end of the 10th century to the end of the 12th century.

3 The external history and internal development of Old English

3.1 The Anglo-Saxon migration

The 7th-century historian Bede reports that in the year 449 Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, "de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus" – 'from the strongest tribes of the Germanic people' (Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.15; see Colgrave and Mynors [eds.] 1969: 50) – come to Britain and settle there. It has been mentioned above that the migration of the Anglo-Saxons means the beginning of a new speech community whose linguistic and non-linguistic history is now independent of the related tribes and their language(s).

The main significance of the Anglo-Saxon migration therefore lies in the geographical reorganization of the Germanic speech community leading to the emergence of a new society and hence to a new, separate continuum of varieties. Although we do not know much about the social and political organization of these early Germanic settlers, some considerations are possible in this context. It is, on the one hand, reasonable to assume that the people involved in the migration speak varieties that originate in one and the same Continental Germanic dialect continuum. On the other hand, we do not know how close their varieties are or even to what extent there is mutual intelligibility among the settlers. But it is largely irrelevant how heterogeneous the language(s) of the Anglo-Saxons are at the time of their conquest. What we can reasonably assume is that, upon arrival in Britain, all the different groups involved in the settlement view themselves as speaking the same language in contradistinction to the Celtic inhabitants they encounter on the island. The identity of the settlers in their new homelands is necessarily based, among other things, on their common (albeit probably not quite uniform) linguistic background. The migration leads, moreover, to a new group identity of a subset of speakers of Germanic, who, irrespective of the heterogeneity of their own language(s), distinguish themselves both from the earlier inhabitants of Britain and from their relatives on the Continent. It is plausible to argue that it is this socio-psychological aspect which, more than anything else, constitutes the birth of the English language. Accepting this, we can assume, in turn, that it does not take too long after the settlement before the Anglo-Saxons view their version of Germanic as noticeably distinct from other Germanic varieties spoken by those who have stayed behind on the Continent.

The migration itself does not immediately trigger any major change in the linguistic system. The earliest linguistic changes that English does not share with

the cognate Germanic languages seem to be, at a first glance, independent of non-linguistic events. In the earliest period of Old English, a larger rearrangement of the phonological system takes place that affects mainly, but not exclusively, stressed vowels. (For a detailed description see Murray, Chapter 4; also cf. Campbell [1959: 50–112] and Hogg [1992a: 76–218] and for a shorter overview cf. Hogg [1992c: 100–119].) Two circumstances are employed in dating these sound changes. One is that other Germanic languages do not seem to have been affected by these changes. And secondly, the earliest written sources of Old English provide evidence that the relevant sound changes must have been completed by the date of their composition. Both these facts together suggest that all these sound changes take place in the time between 450 and 700.

Although this dating is undisputed, the question nevertheless arises whether it is plausible to assume that, within the relatively narrow time frame between 450 and 700, the phonological system is considerably rearranged whereas it remains relatively stable for significantly more than 250 years both before and after this period. Any attempt to answer this question would have to remain speculative to some degree. But it is feasible to assume that the new social and political identity of the settlers leads to some cross-adaptations in the linguistic usage of the settlers. That dialectal differences among the settlers persist and, as we know, never cease to exist, does not exclude the possibility that some of the heterogeneity of these dialects is levelled out as a consequence of the formation of a new community. And since many of the obvious dialectal differences of a continuum are phonological, it is plausible that these adjustments take place predominantly on the phonological level. Bearing in mind the narrow time frame of the early Old English sound changes, it is therefore not implausible to assume that they have been enforced, if not triggered, by the formation of a new speech community as a consequence of the migration.

3.2 Christianization

From around 600 onward, the Christian religion spreads quickly across the country both from the north, under the influence of the Irish Church, and from the south, by St. Augustine of Canterbury and his missionaries, sent to England by Pope Gregory I in 597. As indicated above, the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons has consequences on two domains of the English language – the lexicon and the writing system.

Language contact with Latin is not a new phenomenon in those days. There has always been a moderate-to-intensive exchange of words between Latin and Germanic, ever since the two languages were neighbors on the Continent. Even

after the migration to England, the Anglo-Saxons adopt some Latin words, although the exact settings of these bilingual contacts are unclear. Plausible contexts are continuing relations with the other Germanic tribes on the continent, scattered speakers of Latin who have stayed in Britain after the Roman armies withdrew in 410, or speakers of Celtic who either use Latin as a *lingua franca* in communication with the Anglo-Saxons or whose language contains itself words borrowed from Latin which are then passed on to the Anglo-Saxons. But the words that are imported into the English language in the course of and after Christianization are of a considerably different kind than earlier, predominantly common-Germanic loans from Latin.

While earlier Latin loans are words related to trading, to the military, or expressions for every-day concepts like household devices, the vocabulary imported with Christianization mostly denotes either concepts immediately related to the new religion and its institutions (e.g. *abbod* 'abbot', *alter* 'altar', *munuc* 'monk') or, generally, more abstract concepts. Another difference from earlier Latin loanwords is the medium through which they are introduced. Because many words come into English via books rather than via oral communication, the words are transferred from written registers of Medieval Latin rather than from Vulgar Latin, which is the source language of the pre-Christian borrowings. For the linguistic observer (rather than for the speaker of Old English), there is another notable difference. Earlier loanwords participate in most or all of the major sound changes that take place in the earliest period of Old English. That is, with respect to their phonology, the pre-Christian words from Latin have adapted to the phonological system of Old English in their written attestations. By contrast, the more recent Latin words, introduced through Christianization, often retain a Latinate shape. The different phonological characteristics are best exemplified by Latin words that are borrowed both in the early and in the later period and that, accordingly appear in different forms in the Old English records. Thus, Lt. *calix* 'chalice' occurs in Old English in an older form, *celc* and a later form, *calic*. Likewise, OE *leahtrice* and OE *lactuce* are both borrowed from Lt. *lactuca* 'lettuce' at different times. (See Wieland, Chapter 10 for further discussion.)

A far-reaching side-effect of Christianization is the introduction of the Latin alphabet in Anglo-Saxon England. Originally introduced as the medium on which the new religion is based, it soon comes to be used for the composition of other texts not immediately related to the Christian faith. Moreover, from about 700 onwards texts written in Latin script are composed in or translated into the English vernacular. Although never widespread in the early Middle Ages, through the introduction of the book and of Latin writing literacy enters new domains of social life which have not been reached by the use of the older writing system, the runic Futhorc.

The first vernacular texts are mostly written in the north of England, in the monastic centers of Northumbria and Mercia. More than in the south, Christianity in the north is influenced by its Irish variety. The Irish use the Latin script themselves, although with a considerable number of stylistic alterations. Consequently, some of the Latin characters used in England in the early Middle Ages are of a slightly different shape than those used on the Continent. The 'yogh' or 'insular G', shaped ⟨ʒ⟩, is used in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts to represent the voiced velar stop /g/, the velar fricative /ɣ/ and the glide /j/. Only in the late Old English literature do we find instances of the 'Carolingian G', shaped ⟨g⟩, then used to distinguish the stop from the fricative. The phonemes /æ/ and /æ:/ are represented by an 'ash' ⟨æ⟩, a character shaped as a ligature of Latin ⟨a⟩ and ⟨e⟩. Other Latin letters used in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts differ considerably in shape from the variants we use today in printing.

Three other characters are either not or indirectly taken from the Latin alphabet. Two of them certainly originate in the Futhorc, the set of Runic letters that is used by the Anglo-Saxons before the introduction of Latin writing: ⟨ᵖ⟩ ('wynn') represents the bilabial glide /w/. Although the character ⟨w⟩ is usually employed in modern editions of Old English texts, Anglo-Saxon manuscripts use ⟨ᵖ⟩ almost throughout, and only occasionally ⟨u⟩ or ⟨uu⟩ for /w/. When Old English is represented by the Latin alphabet, 'thorn' ⟨þ⟩ and 'eth' ⟨ð⟩ are used indistinguishably as allographs for both the voiced and the unvoiced dental fricatives, /θ/ and /ð/. While the former is also adopted from the Futhorc, the origin of the latter is uncertain (cf. Hogg 1992c: 75).

3.3 The Vikings in England

The raid on the Lindisfarne monastery in 793 is the first known instance of a series of increasingly intense attacks on England by Vikings. While initially local plundering rather than attempts at gaining political influence motivates the raids, their quality and purpose change, and by the middle of the 9th century, a large area of England comprising almost all parts of Northumbria and Mercia is under Danish control. When King Alfred of Wessex comes to the throne in 871, his West Saxon kingdom is the only autonomous area of what once used to be the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. Alfred succeeds in protecting his own territory from Danish rule and also in re-conquering the western parts of Mercia. Moreover, as a consequence of his military success he manages to negotiate a truce resulting in the Treaty of Wedmore in 878. In this treaty Alfred and the Danish leader Guthrum agree on a borderline between an area of Danish legislation (the *Danelaw*) and an independent Wessex.

The linguistic consequences of the Viking rule in England are difficult to measure. Because of the division of England into a Danish and an English political sphere, the situation in the 10th century is as follows: in the south, a relatively stable and peaceful political situation allows Alfred to instigate an educational reform. He supports the import of new books from the continent and the production of new books in England, and he also initiates the translation of Latin books into English and the production of books written in the vernacular. Thus, for the remaining two centuries of the Anglo-Saxon period, the vast majority of sources comes from the area of the West Saxon kingdom.

In the north, by contrast, Viking influence on English is naturally much stronger. Therefore, judging from surviving Old English texts alone, the evidence of language contact between Old Norse and Old English in England is quite small – about 150 words of Scandinavian origin are attested in the Old English sources. Judging however from Middle English evidence, we may assume that there must have been a very intensive contact situation, at least in the area of the Danelaw (cf. Kastovsky 1992: 320). This can be seen from the type of loanwords and their features, rather than from the mere number of words of Scandinavian origin in the English of today. In contrast to the Latin loanwords introduced through the influence of Christianization, Scandinavian loanwords in English are less technical and much more part of the basic vocabulary of English. Words like *skirt*, *egg*, or *sky*, for example, denote everyday concepts rather than more abstract and learned concepts as represented by the Latin borrowings.

Much more efficiently than Latin words, Old Norse loanwords seem to have been integrated into the basic vocabulary with a high token frequency. An example is Old Norse *tacan* 'take' which replaces the highly frequent Old English *niman* and which is one of the few borrowed verbs that is (even today) inflected as a strong verb. Similarly, the verb *get* is, if not borrowed from Old Norse, at least influenced in its phonological shape, as the Old English equivalent *gietan* was pronounced with an initial glide, i.e. /ˈjetɑn/, and would have resulted in PDE **yet* rather than *get*. Moreover, more than the French influence during the Middle English period, Old Norse at some points enters grammatical structures of English, as we have traces of Old Norse in the pronominal paradigms (e.g. *they*, *them*, *their*) and in the inflectional paradigms (e.g. *-s* 3P SG for southern *-[e]þ*).

It should also be noted that Old Norse and Old English are quite close cognates. It is impossible to say whether or to what extent the two languages are mutually intelligible in the 9th and 10th centuries, but many words seem close enough. Townend argues that there is no full comprehensibility between Old Norse and Old English, but that there is what he calls "adequate" or "pragmatic intelligibility" (Townend 2002: 181–183), i.e. a degree of comprehension that allows for basic conversation, but that does not cover the full morphosyntactic

complexities of the two systems. Whether or not two etymologically equivalent lexemes can be confused, it is more crucial that, in some cases, their phonological differences cannot be distinguished by the spelling conventions of Old English. What matters therefore is to what degree, given the close relatedness of the two languages, the spelling conventions of Old English allow us to identify traces of linguistic transfer. In other words: how can an Old Norse loanword be distinguished from its Old English cognate in a nearly contemporary source? For instance, the fricative /ʃ/ is represented in Old English manuscripts by the digraph ⟨sc⟩, but this is at the same time the combination of letters which serves best to represent the Old Norse cluster /sk-/. As a consequence cognate pairs like Old Norse /ˈskyrte/ (PDE *skirt*) and Old English /ˈʃyrte/ (PDE *shirt*) are impossible to distinguish by the Old English spelling: both forms would appear as ⟨scyrte⟩, and it is therefore impossible to say when the Scandinavian loanword *skirt* entered the English language. (See Dance, Chapter 11, for further dicussion.)

3.4 Alfred's educational reform

King Alfred's contribution to the history of the English language is twofold. One aspect is that, as a result of his military success, the Danish conquest of England comes to a halt (Section 3.3). The claim that Old Norse would have become the major language of England if the Danish troops had also occupied the south of the country must necessarily remain speculative, but it can at least be assumed that Old English would have been a threatened language and that, had Alfred not defended a stable (in political and military terms) English-speaking area, English would have lost its role as a predominant language in England.

There is another achievement of King Alfred which may not influence the development of English with the same intensity as the contact with Old Norse does, but which influences considerably our knowledge of the English language in the early Middle Ages. Alfred's educational reform is the impetus for a considerable increase in the production (and import) of books in general, and in the production of written literature in Old English in particular. Alfred himself initiates the translation of a number of important and influential Latin texts: Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* and *Dialogi*, Augustine of Hippo's *Soliloquia*, Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, Paulus Orosius's *Historiae adversus paganos* and, perhaps most important of all, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. The degree of Alfred's personal participation in the translation process varies (and remains disputed), but it can be said that all these translations result from his education policy. Moreover, a number of vernacular texts are composed in the same context, again with varying degrees of Alfred's personal involvement,

e.g. the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is continued in several versions up until the 12th century, and a *Martyrology*.

As a result, up until the end of the Anglo-Saxon period the vast majority of texts of various genres is produced in the royal court or in the monastic centers of the West Saxon kingdom, most of all in the capital Winchester. For the first time in the history of Old English a large corpus of long prose texts is produced, and for the first time there is evidence of a more standardized written language mainly based on features of the West Saxon dialect, but not without traces from the variety attributed to Mercia (cf. Section 3.5). Up to the end of the Old English period, a large number of Old English documents originate in West Saxon or are heavily infiltrated by features of the West Saxon dialect. The evidence from the Old English sources for our knowledge of the history of the English (spoken) language is therefore clearly misleading, because the varieties spoken in the Midlands (i.e. what in Anglo-Saxon times was the Mercian variety) contribute much more to the development of Present Day (Standard) English than those of West Saxon do.

3.5 The Cluniac reform

Half a century after Alfred's reign, the flourishing book production receives a further impulse. This is triggered by a movement that affects the ecclesiastical history of England rather than, as in the case of Alfred's contribution, the political history, although the two are tightly connected. A monastic reform movement aiming for a stricter and more ascetic interpretation of the Benedictine Rule initiated in the monasteries of Cluny and Fleury (later Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire) in France spreads to England in the middle of the 10th century. One of the central figures in the Cluniac reform movement in England is Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester 963–984. Educated at the court of King Æthelstan (reigned 921–939), one of Alfred's brothers and successors on the West Saxon throne, Æthelwold continues what Alfred has begun. Although Alfred and Æthelwold carry out two different reform projects, both instigate a revival of literary and intellectual productivity after a period of a constant Viking threat has, at least in this region of England, come to an end. While Æthelwold's commitment is religious rather than political, he can be sure of royal support for his work.

The school founded by Æthelwold at the New Minster in Winchester produces not only books in high numbers. The texts that emerge from the scriptorium at Winchester also have a remarkable stability in orthography and also, as far as we can judge, in their vocabulary. From this, it has been deduced that the language of many documents composed or copied in Winchester and in related scriptoria

represents the first attempt at a standardization of the English language. It is, on the one hand, obvious that West Saxon texts from the end of the 10th century onwards often show a remarkable uniformity in the choice and orthographic form of words. But it should also be taken into consideration that we are dealing with a set of texts covering a limited range of scholarly fields. It would be problematic to deduce the existence of a genuine standard language from the relative homogeneity of the Winchester texts alone. Indeed, the very fact that the documents representing "Standard Old English" all derive from a tight network of authors and instigators in a predominantly monastic context – all in all a rather small, albeit influential, group of people – speaks against rather than in favor of the wider use of their linguistic features outside these circles. It is therefore justified to speak of orthographic conventions characteristic of the Winchester school, perhaps of a West Saxon *Schriftsprache*, but it is difficult, if not impossible to make judgments about the scope and influence of the Winchester conventions. The impression that the "Winchester standard" spread widely is not only owed to the political situation described in the Section 3.4, i.e. to the fact that other dialect areas were to a larger or smaller extent excluded from the production of books – at least judging from the material that has survived until today – it is also due to the fact that the most productive single author of the Anglo-Saxon period, Ælfric of Eynsham (c.955–c.1010), is a disciple of Æthelwold. Therefore, it is perhaps more appropriate to say that a large share of West Saxon texts of the later Old English period (and thus of the corpus of Old English texts in general) has some roots in the Winchester tradition rather than that the Winchester tradition contributes to the standardization of Old English.

A few general caveats should be expressed in this context. First, not many of the texts that have survived until today can be said to be pure representatives of one specific variety. Perhaps such a statement would apply most to prototypical representatives of the variety of 10th century Northumbria, such as the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Durham Ritual*. But pure West Saxon texts are rare, for several reasons, such as the fact that many of the West Saxon texts, including Winchester documents, are copies of older, lost versions and attest to an earlier layer of Mercian linguistic features. Second, West Saxon cannot have been a dialect as uniform as the descriptions of the Old English dialects often suggest. Kastovsky (1992: 346) points out that the traditional distinction between "Early West Saxon" for the language prototypically represented by the Alfredian translations and "Late West Saxon", prototypically represented by Ælfric's texts, is misleading, as it suggests a mere diachronic distinction between two varieties within only a little more than a hundred years. Rather, it should be assumed that the differences between the two groups of documents are diatopic at least to the same extent as they are diachronic. Third, as indicated above, the idea of an Old English stan-

dard language presupposes not only a process of deliberate regulation; it also requires a broader distribution of a standard language in larger parts of the population.

As to the last point it should be noted that perhaps the term "standard", introduced in this context by Gneuss (1972), is the main problem in this context. If a standard is understood as an institutionalized variety that, among other things, serves as a means of communication bridging several local and social differences in the usage of a language, the hypothesis of a Late West Saxon standard involves two problems. First, it is not falsifiable, because we have no clues as to how widely a deliberately regulated variety may have made its way outside the scriptoria. And second, the idea is implausible because it is not clear how a variety attested in a number of specialized scholarly texts should have spread into other areas of society given that literacy was limited to a rather small elite. What is plausible, though, and for this we do have evidence, is that there is an influential intellectual elite which has an enormous impact on the literary productivity in late Anglo-Saxon England, and who seem to have used the language of their works in a deliberate and comparatively uniform way. (See further Kornexl, Chapter 12.).

3.6 Old English and Old French

In addition to the impetus for the production of literature, the import of the Cluniac reform into England must also be seen in a different context of the history of English. It has briefly been discussed earlier (Section 2.2), that French influence on English begins gradually and not abruptly with the Norman Conquest. The monastic reform is in fact the first instance of contact between speakers of French and English. That the Gallo-Romance vernacular is perceived as sufficiently distinct from Latin can be deduced from the explicitly trilingual character of the Oaths of Strasbourg of 842. Although the Oaths can hardly be employed as a data source for the Old French language, it nevertheless attests to the fact that the French vernacular is considered an idiom independent from any variety of Medieval Latin. That this applies not only to the perspective of the speakers of early Old French but also to that of the Anglo-Saxons around the turn of the millennium is confirmed by an English source composed in 1011 by Byrhtferth of Ramsey, i.e. his *Manual* or *Enchiridion*, in which Byrhtferth makes a remark on the correct use of Latin versus French (Byrhtferth, *Enchiridion* 2.1. 449–454; see Baker and Lapidge [eds.] 1995: 88–90).

In spite of the fact that French and Latin were without doubt two distinct idioms in the late 10th century, it is nevertheless impossible in many cases to

distinguish clearly whether Romance material in English documents is of Latin or of French origin. For this reason alone there are hardly any clear traces of contact between French and English. Yet traces do exist: particularly in 11th-century (but pre-Conquest) glossaries, we do occasionally find French words among the Old English interpretations. Most of them, provided they are unambiguously of French rather than of Latin origin, are attested only once, so that we cannot assume that they have ever been part of the English lexicon. Only two such words are clearly French and are attested more than once: *capun* 'capon' in the Antwerpen and Brussels glossaries and *iugelere* 'magician' occurring several times in different glossaries to Aldhelm's *De laude virginitatis* and, notably, once with a different spelling in an anonymous homiletic text, i.e. not as a gloss but in a prose text (cf. von Mengden 1999).

The period of the monastic reform is certainly the earliest date from which contact between speakers of the two languages is attested. It is plausible, therefore, to assume at least a slight degree of lexical transfer. The contact situation continues in the early 11th century when the relations of the Crown with the Duke of Normandy intensify, at the latest under the reign of Æthelred II (reigned 978–1016), who married Emma, the sister of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. That is, in both royal and ecclesiastical circles, there are tight connections between French and English speaking people around the year 1000.

It is difficult to determine how far-reaching and how widespread contacts between these two groups are in England in the first half of the 11th century. But there is some evidence of Norman influence in pre-Conquest England. The occupation of official positions by native speakers of (Norman) French began, albeit on a small scale, as early as the 1040s, with Robert of Jumièges being appointed Bishop of London in 1044 (and promoted to Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051). And both of the two separate entries for the year 1052 in the *Worcester Chronicle* refer to a Norman castle in England (ChronD 1052.1 15 and 1052.2 2; see Cubbin [ed.] 1996: 70, l. 19 and 71, l. 6). These passages clearly imply that the Normans must have been numerous and powerful enough to erect their own military fortifications on English soil – some fifteen years before the Conquest.

But this passage in the *Chronicle* at the same time directly attests to ongoing language contact: the expression used to refer to the fortification is in fact the first instance of the English word *castle*, in its Old English form *castel*. Its meaning and its grammatical gender (MASC) reveal that it must be a borrowing from Norman French and that it cannot be identical with the homonymous Latin loanword *castel* (NEUT) 'town, village'.

One should, of course, not overstate the linguistic transfer between French and English before the Conquest. But these aspects may suffice to support the point made above in Section 2.2, i.e. that the Norman Conquest as such did not

have any immediate consequences for the English language. The events of the year 1066 seem to have been the consequence of a series of steps by the Norman nobility to gain political influence in England – a development always accompanied by support from an influential pro-Norman party in the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy. It is therefore feasible to assume that the intensity of French influence, although traceable, is not considerably greater in the years immediately following the Norman Conquest than it is before. From this perspective, the Norman Conquest stabilizes, but by no means ignites or reinforces, the growing intensity of Anglo-Norman relations. As such, William's victory at Hastings may be seen as one of several important events that pave the way for the enormous influence that French exerts on English in the 13th and 14th centuries. The beginnings of this development are clearly part of the history of Old English rather than of Middle English.

4 Language-internal development: the decline of inflections

The previous section focused on those developments that were either triggered by language-external events or, at least, should be seen and explained in the context of the history of the speech community. A selection of instances of internal change taking place during the Old English period will be discussed briefly in the following.

Old English is often described as an inflecting language. This label follows a particular classification according to morphosyntactic types of languages, which can be observed cross-linguistically. It is particularly prominent in the descriptions of Old English because it is motivated by the contrast with the analytic character of Present Day English. In this context, the classification goes back to Henry Sweet (1874: 160) who took the "full inflections" of Old English as the main defining criterion for his periodization of the English language. According to this approach, Middle English is the period with a "limited" set of inflectional categories.

The decline of a complex system of case inflections begins, however, long before the period that we have defined as Old English. During Old English times, the dual number is retained only in some pronominal forms and disappears almost completely by the end of the Old English period. Case syncretism has been a continuous process at all times. While for Proto-Indo-European eight cases are reconstructed, all daughter languages of Indo-European have less than eight cases even in their earliest attested stages. At the beginning of the literary period

of Old English, the merger of instrumental and dative has almost been completed, with distinctions retained only in some pronominal forms and in a few adjectives. But to say that during the Old English period a system of formerly five cases reduces to four cases, would again be a simplification, because in many forms of masculine and feminine nouns (neuter nouns never encode the distinction), nominative and accusative are not any longer distinguishable in 11th-century sources. Thus, in spite of the categorization as the "period of full inflections", during the Old English period as many distinctively encoded case values get lost as in Middle English.

The causes of this particular stage in the reduction of the case system are predominantly phonological. The fixed, initial stress characteristic of the Germanic languages generally entails unstressed final syllables. The result is that front vowels begin to merge in final syllables in the earlier stages of Old English, a process naturally affecting many inflectional endings. Only in the 11th century does the phonetic reduction also affect back vowels. Thus the dative plural suffix -*um* is comparatively stable and even in its reduced forms /-on/ or /-ən/, it is still distinguishable from the other case/gender suffixes in most noun classes because of the nasal; cf. Hogg (1992a: 3n. 2).

If we consider that the loss of case distinctions necessitates the (ultimately Middle English) replacement of the predominant v2 word order in Old English by a rigid svo order, we can observe a long term development of cross-influences of various linguistic domains: intonation (Germanic initial stress) → phonology → inflectional morphology → syntax. Of these, Old English particularly observes the phonological changes, the syncretism of some of the inflectional markers and also the reduction (or loss) of some inflectional categories.

The decline of morphological values during the Old English period is more substantial in the nominal paradigms than in the verbal forms. While verbal endings are affected by the phonological reduction too, the main difference between the nominal and the verbal system is that the reduction of verb endings does not result in a syncretism of inflectional values to the same extent to which it does in the nominal paradigms. Throughout the Old English period three person values are distinguished in the singular, but not in the plural. There is a general tense distinction between past and present. Finally an indicative and a subjunctive mood are distinguished morphologically.

The most salient feature of the Old English verbal system is shared with all other Germanic languages: the distinction between strong and weak verbs. While weak verbs mark their inflectional values by suffixes, strong verbs use a combination of suffixes and systematic vowel alternations. In this context, the typical descriptions are again more idealized for Old English than they are for later stages of English. The relatively clear set of seven classes of strong verbs that we often

find in handbook descriptions is, naturally, full of idiosyncrasies. Moreover, the traditional class distinctions are based on a set of criteria which are not completely consistent (cf. the more detailed discussion in von Mengden, Chapter 5, Morphology, Section 2.4). Again, the impression that the Old English system of strong verbs appears to be more regular and systematic than the Middle English system is certainly not wrong. Yet, it should be noted that handbook descriptions of the verbal system of Middle English tend to include variation among and within the paradigms of the verb classes, whereas equivalent descriptions of Old English focus more on their regularity.

Therefore, although we can generally assign the label 'inflectional language' to Old English – irrespective of its wide diachronic and diatopic variation – it should at the same time be borne in mind that the decline of inflectional categories has been a continuous process since long before the Anglo-Saxon migration. If we refer to Old English as the period of "full inflections" (Sweet 1874: 160), the attribute "full" wrongly implies that the Old English system has reached the highest possible degree of morphological complexity – both from the point of view of the history of English and from a cross-linguistic perspective. Rather, the factors which justify assigning a new label – "English" – to a language whose history does not really have a beginning, and on the basis of which we have defined a starting point of Old English in Section 2.1, are of a sociolinguistic nature. But neither the beginning nor the end of Old English coincide with any salient changes in the inflectional system.

5 Summary

Bearing in mind the various problems involved in both periodization and categorization discussed above, we may say that Old English is, particularly in contrast to later stages of English, a typically Germanic language in many respects. The share of inherited Germanic words in the vocabulary is much greater than it is today, and even the moderate share of Latin loanwords is a feature that applies to all Germanic languages in the early Middle Ages. Its syntactic (v2) and morphological (inflectional) features are similarly characteristic of Germanic. Finally, in spite of a major rearrangement of stressed vowels at an early stage of the Old English period, the phoneme inventory, too, is basically the same as that of the other early Germanic languages.

6 References

Baker, Peter S. and Michael Lapidge (eds.). 1995. *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, A. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Colgrave, Bertram and R. A. B. Mynors (eds.). 1969. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Cubbin, G. P. (ed.). 1996. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*. Vol. 6: *MS D*. Cambridge: Brewer.

Gneuss, Helmut. 1972. The origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's school at Winchester. *Anglo-Saxon England* 1: 63–83.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992a. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. 1: *Phonology*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992b. Introduction. In: Hogg (ed.), 1–25.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992c. Phonology and Morphology. In: Hogg (ed.), 67–167.

Hogg, Richard M. (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. 1. *The Beginnings to 1066*, 1–25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1992. Semantics and vocabulary. In: Hogg (ed.), 290–408.

Lutz, Angelika. 2002. When did English begin? In: Teresa Fanego, Belén Méndez-Naya, and Elena Seoane (eds.), *Sounds, Words, Texts and Change: Selected Papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago di Compostela, 7–11 September 2000*, 145–171. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Sweet, Henry. 1874. *A History of English Sounds from the Earliest Period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Townend, Matthew. 2002. *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*. Turnhout: Brepols.

von Mengden, Ferdinand. 1999. Französische Lehnwörter im Altenglischen. In: Wolfgang Schindler and Jürgen Untermann (eds.), *Grippe, Kamm und Eulenspiegel: Festschrift für Elmar Seebold zum 65. Geburtstag*, 277–294. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Robert Murray

Chapter 4:
Phonology

Abstract: The investigation of Old English phonology has been incessant over the decades and carried out from the vantage point of many different theoretical perspectives, but it remains a remarkable fact of our neogrammarian legacy that fundamental aspects of their Old English analyses have weathered the changing theoretical winds particularly well. This high degree of consensus allows us to present a very broad, relatively uncontroversial overview of many fundamental aspects of OE phonology. At the same time, of course, problematic areas remain, and some controversies of perennial interest are indicated.

1 Introduction

Old English (OE) phonology has been the subject of scientific investigation for well over 100 years. At the end of the 19th century, an informal group of linguists and philologers based in Leipzig and known as the "neogrammarians" (German [Ger.] *Junggrammatiker*) constituted the dominant force in linguistic science. Their primary interest was the study of language change – especially sound change in light of the budding science of phonetics (see Sievers 1901) – and a significant amount of their scholarly attention was directed at the investigation of the earliest stages of the Germanic languages. Much of this work was codified in grammars and historical handbooks, which – in keeping with the neogrammarian emphasis – focused primarily on phonological reconstruction and sound change, as well as inflectional morphology. As an early Germanic dialect with a relatively long documented history that included significant literary works such as *Beowulf*, Old

Robert Murray: Calgary (Canada)

English was of natural interest to the neogrammarians. Eduard Sievers – perhaps the most accomplished and renowned neogrammarian – published his *Angelsächsische Grammatik* ('Old English Grammar') in 1882, and other grammars and classic works strongly influenced by the neogrammarian perspective followed, such as Sweet (1888), Bülbring (1902), Wright and Wright (1925), Campbell (1959), and Brunner (1965 – the last revision of Sievers's grammar). Luick (1964a [1914–21], 1964b [1929–40]) is of special note in its copious treatment of the sound changes through the entire history of English from its Proto-Indo-European origins to the modern stages. (Luick 1964a [1914–1921]: 94–320 treats phonology and sound changes up to the end of the Old English period.) Although there were many areas of disagreement, for the main part our classic grammars and handbooks reflect a kind of rough neogrammarian consensus achieved by the early 20th century after decades of intensive research. These works, and especially the much more comprehensive studies on which they are built, remain invaluable research tools to the present day, which in many respects have not been superseded.

2 Terminology, evidence, methods

Before presenting our overview of OE phonology, a brief discussion of terminology is in order. In fact, the designation "Old English" is a very broad cover term that abstracts away from the dialectal and chronological realities. The OE period is traditionally set at 700–1100 CE, and four major dialect groups are recognized: Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon, and Kentish (where Northumbrian and Mercian together form Anglian). As such, it is sometimes not particularly meaningful to speak of OE phonology without qualification, given the inherent dialectal diversity and the significant changes that occurred over the four hundred year time span. In fact, most traditional descriptions focus on the best-documented dialect group, West Saxon, in which one variant became a kind of standard language around the end of the 10th century. This classical Old English, best represented in the works of Ælfric, is the default reference point for our treatment. It is also worth noting here that there is no direct line of descent from this classical Old English to any of the modern standard varieties, which are based primarily on the Mercian dialect group (see Hogg 1992a: 83–84 and Hogg 2006, Lass 1994: 1–5; see also Sauer and Waxenberger, Chapter 9; Kornexl, Chapter 12).

We also briefly consider the types of evidence used in the reconstruction of OE phonology (see Lass 1992: 27–32 for a good discussion of the role of various kinds of evidence). It is an unfortunate fact of the Old and Middle English periods that we have no direct descriptions of the spoken form of any dialect, since such

descriptions of English only begin in the 16th century. Accordingly, the most direct evidence available for the OE period is primarily of three types: spelling, poetic metrical conventions, and borrowing. In the case of writing, although it is an exaggeration to state that the "scribes wrote as they spoke", spelling during the OE period was more or less phonologically based, so generally there was a fairly close match between the respective phonological and written forms. This fact, along with the use of the Roman alphabet, means that the first level of analysis – that is, a very broad phonological rendering – is relatively straightforward at the segmental level, although of course not entirely without controversy. At the same time, orthographic systems are inevitably deficient in various ways, and some properties, such as vowel length, were not indicated by the OE scribes. Vowel length, however, can be reconstructed on the basis of the metrical principles derived from such poetic works as *Beowulf*. The meter of this type of poetry is based on a crucial distinction between light and heavy syllables, which depends in part on the contrast between a short and a long vowel in an open syllable. For example, the first syllables in the words *cwĕ.ne* 'woman' and *dē.man* 'to judge, deem' function metrically as light and heavy, respectively (see Section 3.6 below). Further corroboration of a length contrast is found in the borrowing of words from Latin into Old English, which although quite limited in scope allows for some cross-referencing in light of our more detailed knowledge of Latin phonology. For example, the borrowing of Lt. *nōna* as OE *nōn* 'noon', beyond suggesting a phonetic similarity in the quality of Lt. and OE *ō*, dovetails more generally with the reconstruction of a vowel length contrast for both languages.

Most importantly, though, the task of reconstructing the synchrony and diachrony of OE phonology is governed by the general principles and methods of linguistic reconstruction (Fox 1995). Fundamental principles here are uniformity (reconstructed systems must be compatible with our knowledge of present-day systems), plausibility (all assumed sound changes must be well motivated), and regularity (generalized regular sound change is assumed, all things being equal).

3 Synchrony

3.1 Vowels

In the neogrammarian tradition, a system consisting of seven vowels and contrastive length is reconstructed for Old English (Table 4.1). An additional vowel, [ø] (usually written <oe>), occurred in very early West Saxon, but by the classical OE period it had undergone derounding and merger with *e* ([ø] survived longer in

Mercian and Northumbrian); for example, *twoelf ~ twelf* 'twelve', *fōet ~ fēt* 'feet' (Hogg 1992b: 124–126). From a typological perspective, the posited Old English vowel system is not particularly unusual, finding a close modern parallel, for example, in Finnish (Maddieson 1984: 275).

Table 4.1: Old English vowel system

	Unrounded Front	Rounded Front	Unrounded Back	Rounded Back
High	i	y		u
Mid	e			o
Low	æ		a	

| Long	Short	Long	Short
īs 'ice'	fisc 'fish'	hlūd 'loud'	hŭnd 'hound, dog'
fēdan 'to feed'	lĕþer 'leather'	brōþor 'brother'	bŏga 'bow'
dǣd 'deed'	glæd 'glad'	sāda 'snare'	sŏdol 'saddle'
hȳdan 'to hide'	dȳppan 'to dip'		

Although traditionally duration is considered the primary property distinguishing the Old English short and long vowel pairs, it is common – especially in textbooks on the history of English – to find confident statements about tense/lax distinctions. For example, Pyles and Algeo (1993: 103) state that the short vowels "were approximately [ɛ], [ɪ], [ɔ], and [ʊ] respectively, as in *net*, *nit*, *nought*, and *nut*". A more systematic and comprehensive type of challenge to the traditional position was initiated by Stockwell (1952), who analyzed the contrast between the vowel pairs in terms of simple vs. complex (diphthongal) nuclei rather than in terms of duration (Lass and Anderson 1975: 201–205 remains a good discussion of the general issues; see also Hogg 1992a: 85–86 for a discussion of possible special properties of the low vowels). Nevertheless, although the reconstruction of some type of tense/lax contrast is intuitively appealing from the perspective of most present-day standard varieties of English, the phonetic and phonological interplay of vowel length and quality is an extremely complex area (see, for example, Rosner and Pickering 1994). While it is not uncommon for quality differences (usually described in terms of tenseness or peripherality) to accompany a vowel length contrast, modern languages such as Finnish attest to the fact that salient quality differences are not *necessary* concomitants of vowel length.

In fact, a comparison of Old and Middle English sound changes supports the traditional reconstruction's focus on the durational – as opposed to qualitative – basis of the OE vowel pairs. In late Old English, in a change known as Homorganic Cluster Lengthening (see also Section 5.2 below), an original short vowel length-

ened before clusters such as *-ld*, *-nd*, and *-mb*. In this lengthening, no vowel quality change is evident, as in *fēld* (< *fĕld*) 'field', *grūnd* (< *grŭnd*) 'ground', and *clīmban* (< *clĭmban*) 'to climb', thus implying the qualitative matching of the short/long pairs. By contrast, in Middle English, when another set of vowel lengthenings occurred (Open Syllable Lengthening), quality differences are apparent; for example, [ĕ] > open [ɛ] (not [ē]), as in *brĕken* > *brę̄ken* 'to break'); [ŭ] > [ō], *dŭres* > *dǭres* 'doors'; and [ĭ] > [ē], *wĭkes* > *wę̄kes* 'weeks'. This later Middle English treatment implies significant quality differences between the short and long counterparts, and justifies the assumption that the vowel pairs were no longer paired strictly in terms of duration.

In sum, although by early Middle English an increasing qualitative differentiation between the vowel pairs is evident, for Old English the default assumption is a contrast built primarily on duration. Phonologically, the difference can be represented in terms of mono- versus bimoraicity; that is, there are seven vowels, each participating in the suprasegmental length contrast (where μ represents a mora), as in (1):

(1) Vowel length contrast

μ   μ   μ
| \   /
e   e
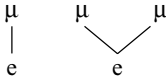
3.2 Diphthongs

Classical Old English had only two diphthongs, usually written <eo> and <ea>, as in *dēop* 'deep' and *dēaþ* 'death'. These falling or off-gliding diphthongs, like the vowels, carried a length contrast, as confirmed, for example, by their historical development and participation in the syllable weight conventions of OE poetic meter. The length difference was a property of the overall diphthong, not of the individual segments; that is, *e͞o* vs. *ēo*, not *ĕo* vs. *ēo* or *eŏ* vs. *eō* (following convention we continue to use *ĕo* and *ēo* below). The quality of the off-glide is difficult to determine, but the practice of writing <iu> and <eu> in older manuscripts suggests an original high rounded [w]-like element, which was subject to further assimilatory and reductive changes over time (Lass 1994: 50). In fact, although not represented orthographically, the primary difference between the two diphthongs lay in the quality of the initial portion; that is, <eo> began with a mid *e*-type vowel and <ea> with a more open *æ*-type. This qualitative difference is suggested by the orthographic variation in older manuscripts in which <eo> alternates with <io>, and <ea> with both <æo> and <æa>. It is also suggested by

the fact that some instances of *eo* and *ea* derive historically from earlier *e* and *a*, respectively, through sound changes. For example, in a change traditionally known as "breaking", diphthongization of the vowel occurs when it is followed by specific consonants (*l*, *r*, *h*), as in *ĕorþe* (*ĕo* < *ĕ*) 'earth' and *eahta* (*ĕa* < *a*) 'eight'. Accordingly, the standardized use of <ea> (as opposed to a more phonologically accurate rendering, <aea> or <æa>) can be considered an artifact of a scribal preference for avoiding the repetition of certain graph sequences.

Most of the confident description presented in the previous paragraph can be gleaned from our earliest grammars and reference works (for example, Sievers 1898: 14; 1901: 194–195, 293; and Luick 1964a [1914–21]: 138). However, one seemingly innocuous aspect of the traditional view – namely, the assumption of a length contrast – has proved very troubling to succeeding generations of linguists and resulted in a massive amount of scholarly attention apparently disproportionate to the importance of two humble diphthongs destined to disappear without a trace in Middle English (Hogg 1992a: 104). In fact, however, the scholarly effort is justified in that the reconstruction of diphthongal length raises important theoretical and typological issues, given the apparent rarity – or absence according to White (2004) – of such a contrast in the languages of the world. From a uniformitarian perspective, the failure to find a parallel in any modern language would strongly suggest the inappropriateness of the reconstruction for an obsolescent language.

Skepticism relating to phonological plausibility has been at the root of numerous attempts to revise the traditional analysis, beginning with Daunt (1939) whose interpretation is developed on the assumption that OE scribes adopted the Irish scribal practice of using vowels as diacritics to indicate specific qualities of an immediately following consonant; that is, the primary function of the second part of the short digraph was not to indicate diphthongal qualities, but rather the backness of the following consonant. In other words, the OE phonological system did not contain short diphthongs at all, and the digraphs <eo> and <ea>, when "short", were simply an orthographic convention (the existence of the long diphthongs is not questioned). Intense debate on this topic continued over the decades – especially under the rubric of American structuralism; see, for example, Stockwell and Barritt (1955) and Hockett (1959) – but no consensus was ever reached. (For a good overview of the issues and literature, see Hogg 1992b: 16–24.)

Part of the difficulty in reaching a consensus is that the plausibility issues are not as easily resolved as one might naively expect. The empirical waters are muddy in part because diphthongs are theory-dependent entities. For example, length contrasts involving apparent diphthongal pairs such as *ĕw* vs. *ēw* are relatively common in languages. However, if for example *ēw* is analyzed as a

sequence of V̄ + C – that is, not as a "true" diphthong involving a complex nucleus – then the existence of such pairs becomes irrelevant to the OE situation. Furthermore, in cases where diphthongal length is assumed, it is often argued that the contrast rests on an opposition of long vs. overlong, rather than on short vs. long as assumed for Old English. For example, in a language such as standard Thai (which has been analyzed with a diphthongal length contrast) the short/long diphthongs are indeed phonetically longer than the simple short/long vowel pairs. At the same time, however, both vowels and diphthongs pattern in the same way in terms of the length contrast – that is, there is close to a 1:2 durational difference between short and long pairs regardless of whether simple vowels or diphthongs are involved (Noss 1964: 15). Thus, given that a diphthongal length contrast is possible in principle, for a language such as Old English – with its strict syllable weight system – there would seem to be nothing implausible about pairs of diphthongs conforming phonologically to the short/long system, as opposed to building some other independent sub-system such as long vs. over-long.

Although some scholars (for example, White 2004) have attempted to reject the possible existence of short diphthongs on theoretical grounds, the arguments are difficult to sustain. If the primary difference between a diphthong and a vowel is expressed in terms of a branching vs. non-branching nucleus, the default assumption is that diphthongs and vowels can, in principle, pattern phonologically in the same way as in (2), regardless of the phonetic details. This is the type of interpretation implied in the traditional descriptions of Old English (see also Lass 1994: 45–48), and its rejection as a theoretical possibility would have to derive from some – yet to be proposed – independently well-motivated principle.

(2) Vowel/diphthongal length contrast
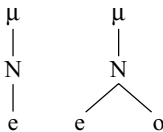
    a. Short   b. Long
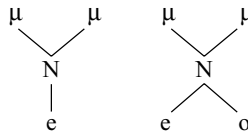
In sum, there is no doubt that the typological and theoretical issues relating to the Old English diphthongs are worthy of continued discussion, but in the meantime Hogg's (1992b: 20) conclusion remains the most reasonable: "The evidence from both OE and ME suggests very strongly that the traditional position is in essence correct […]".

3.3 Consonants

With some exceptions, the general traits of the OE consonantal system are not particularly controversial. The basic inventory is provided in Table 4.2 (see Section 3.7 below for a set of phonological generalizations). In comparison with present-day standard varieties, there are differences in the inventory (for example, OE [ç, x, ɣ]), suprasegmentals (almost all segments participate in a length contrast), and phonotactics (word edge clusters such as [kn-], [hl-], and [-mb], as in *cnēo* 'knee', *hlūd* loud', *lamb* 'lamb'). One striking difference involves pairs of segments that are contrastive in modern varieties but only distributional variants in Old English (distributional pairs are boxed in Table 4.2). That is, the OE voiced fricatives [v, ð, z] occur only in a surrounding voiced environment – otherwise the voiceless counterparts occur – and [ŋ] occurs only preceding a velar. As is typically the case in writing systems, such phonetic detail was not usually indicated by the scribes, as in <wulf> [f], <wulfas> [v] 'wolf, wolves'. In the case of the velar voiceless fricative pair (both written as <h>), it is usually assumed that [ç] occurred in a palatal environment (<cniht> 'boy'), whereas [x] occurred elsewhere (<brohte> 'brought', <sulh> 'plough'). A reflection of this type of pattern can still be seen in modern standard German pairs such as *ich* [ç] 'I' and *acht* [x] 'eight'. Since the distribution of [h] (also written as <h>) was restricted (see Section 3.7, generalization l below), it is often treated as a distributional variant along with [ç, x].

Further phonetic detail for individual segments beyond what is indicated in Table 4.2 can sometimes be reconstructed. For example, in the diphthongization process traditionally known as breaking (*e > eo* and *a > ea* triggered by specific post-vocalic consonants), the patterning of *r* with *h* [x] suggests a velarized variant of *r* in coda position, as in *eorþe* (< *erþe*) 'earth' and *feohtan* (< *fehtan*) 'to fight' (see Howell 1991). Particularly controversial areas of reconstruction involve the three segments in parentheses in Table 4.2; namely, [ʃ] (< [sk]), [tʃ] (< [kʲ]), and [dʒ] (< [gʲ]). The difficulties lie not so much in the understanding of the general developments, but rather in attempting to determine a precise chronology of events.

Table 4.2: Old English consonant system (late 10th century)

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	voiceless	p			t		kʲ	k	
	voiced	b			d		gʲ	g	
Fricatives	voiceless		f	θ	s	(ʃ)	ç	x	h
	voiced		v	ð	z			ɣ	
Nasals		m			n			ŋ	
Affricates						(tʃ)			
						(dʒ)			
Liquids									
	Lateral				l				
	Central				r				
Approximants							j		w

In the case of [ʃ], there is no doubt of an assimilatory change involving coarticulatory effects by which early OE *sk* (usually written <sc>) became [ʃ] by Middle English, a segment that is still maintained in Present-day English (*ship* < OE *scip*). The question that arises, though, is whether this change should be ascribed to the Old or early Middle English period. In fact, although [ʃ] is commonly reconstructed for Old English, the correctness of this assumption can be challenged in various ways. For example, in most OE poetry, as in Germanic generally, a cluster consisting of *sp-*, *st-*, or *sk-* can only self-alliterate. In late Old English, however, this strict system begins to break down, and there are cases of *sp-*, *st-*, and *sk-* alliterating with *s-*. Although the issues are complex, the alliteration of *sk-* with *s-* suggests that even in this later period we are still dealing with an *sk-* cluster, since alliteration of [ʃ] and [s] would be entirely unexpected (for detailed discussion, see Minkova 2003: 130–133).

The evolution of the original voiceless velar plosive is a particularly problematic area. Again, from a bird's eye diachronic perspective, the situation is relatively straightforward. We are dealing with phonological split arising from a very common type of sound change whose beginning and end points are clear; that is, a front vowel or *j* environment results in a palatalized [kʲ], which ultimately evolves into an affricate, [tʃ] (as in OE *cild* 'child' with original [k]). From a synchronic perspective, however, determining the chronology of the intermediate stages is a complex issue, and difficulties arise in reconstructing both the phonological status and the phonetic details of the evolving segments during the OE period. Although it is fair to say that the reconstruction of [tʃ] already for early Old English has become a kind of standard theory (see, for example, Hogg 1992a: 95;

Lass 2006: 54), in fact, robust evidence for the assumption of an affricate is strikingly absent. Indeed, the alliterative evidence once again suggests a more conservative progression of palatalization, since even in late OE verse, no distinction is made between *k* and the palatalized *k* for the purposes of alliteration, a practice that seems unlikely if palatalized *k* had already fully progressed to an affricate (for detailed discussion, see again Minkova 2003: 71–113, who argues further that the palatalized segment was not yet phonologized even in late Old English).

The voiced velar obstruents also display a complex history, and the chronological and phonetic details are especially difficult due to the orthographic indeterminacy. The scribes did not consistently differentiate [g], [ɣ], [gʲ], and [j], all of which could be written as <g> (although the palatal quality could be indicated by adding an <e>, as in <sengean> [gʲ] 'to singe' and <geoc> [j] 'yoke'). In addition, the velar [gg] and palatal [ggʲ] geminates could be written as <gg> or <cg>, as in <dogga> ~ <docga> [gg] 'dog' and <leggan> ~ <lecgan> [ggʲ] 'lay'. In a nutshell, early Old English displays the following phonological distribution of [j], [ɣ], and [g]: (a) the palatal fricative [j] occurred in the front vowel environment (*g(e)arn* 'yarn', *nægel* 'nail'), (b) the velar fricative [ɣ] occurred in a back vowel environment (*gāst* 'spirit, ghost', *fugol* 'bird'), and (c) the plosive [g] occurred only following a nasal and as a geminate (*tunge* 'tongue', *dogga* 'dog'). By the classical OE period, the palatal fricative had merged with original [j], and [ɣ] had become [g] word initially, so [ɣ] only occurred in the back vowel environment. Palatalized [gʲ] was found in the environment between a nasal and an original front vowel or *j* (*seng(e)an < *sangjan* 'to singe') or as the result of earlier West Germanic gemination (see OE *lecgan* vs. Go. *lagjan* 'to lay'). This segment ultimately evolved into the affricate [dʒ] by Middle English, but for Old English an intermediate stage of palatalization can be assumed (represented here as [gʲ], in parallel with the case of [kʲ] discussed above). Even some modern dialects have forms such as *brig* 'bridge' and *rig* 'ridge' (OE *brycg* and *hrycg*), which suggest that in these dialects at least the affrication stage was never reached (Wright and Wright 1925: Section 319, note).

In sum, the segments [ʃ], [tʃ], and [dʒ] arguably do not belong to the OE inventory (hence their parenthetic status in Table 4.2), and in the case of the palatalized plosives it is plausible to assume an intermediate stage, which we represent here as [kʲ] and [gʲ].

3.4 Stress

Although the ultimate details of OE stress are a complex matter, the location of primary word stress is relatively straightforward. In fact, for all words belonging to a major lexical category, except verbs, the primary generalization is simply: stress the initial syllable (regardless of whether it is a prefix or root syllable), as in *ánd-saca* 'adversary', *wǽter* 'water', *mánigum* 'many-DAT.SG', and also compounds such as *brýdguma* 'bridegroom'. At the same time, though, morphological factors come into play, and certain prefixes, such as *ge-* and *be-*, are never stressed, as in *gewíder* 'storm' and *begáng* 'practice'.

Verb stress, however, is somewhat more complicated. Prefixes are ignored for stress purposes – so the generalization here is: stress the initial root syllable of a verb, as in *of-wúndrian* 'to be astonished', *on-sácan* 'to dispute' – unless the prefix is an adverbial or the verb derives from a noun carrying initial stress, in which case the stress falls on the prefix, as in *íncuman* 'to come in', *ándswarian* 'to answer', cf. *ándswaru* 'answer'. Although traditionally it is assumed that such verbal prefixes receive primary stress, Minkova (2003: 24–34) argues that stress on the prefix is subordinate to that of the root syllable. In fact, the topic of secondary stress in morphologically complex forms is a particularly difficult chapter of OE studies, especially since our primary source of evidence for stress patterns derives from the study of the complex interplay of stress and the metrical conventions of Old English poetry. For detailed discussion, see Lass 1994: 83–95 and Minkova 2006.

3.5 Unstressed syllables

The segmental inventories presented in Section 3.2 and Section 3.3 above reflect the full set of contrasts found in the stressed environment. In many languages, unstressed syllables tolerate less complexity than stressed syllables. For example, unstressed syllable heads in Old English tend to be more restricted than stressed ones, so clusters such as *kn-* and *hl-* do not occur in the unstressed environment. In the case of vowels, unstressed syllables do not allow a vowel length contrast (although such a contrast can be reconstructed for pre-Old English; see Section 3.6 below). In addition, increasing vowel quality restrictions develop in unstressed syllables throughout the OE period. Although for classical Old English it is still possible to identify five vowels in unstressed syllables (that is, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*; original *æ* had merged with *e*, and diphthongs are not possible), many mergers had in fact already taken place in specific environments. The general diachronic trend is for high vowels to lower to mid vowels, with local environmental factors facilitating

or hindering the process. For example, *-i* becomes *-e* word finally, as in *wine* (< *wini) 'friend', but is preserved preceding palatal consonants and *-ng*, as in *hefig* 'heavy' (<g> = [j]) and *cyning* 'king'. Similarly, *-u* generally becomes *-o*, although specific environments – for example, a following *m* – favor retention of *u*, as in *heofon* (< *heofun*) 'heaven' and *fato* (< *fatu*) 'vats', but *sunum* 'son-DAT.PL'. Synchronically, given the relatively straightforward distribution of *i ~ e*, some argument can be made for treating them as distributional variants in unstressed syllables, but this is less likely in the case of *u* and *o* (see Hogg 1992a: 88). An important general issue here, however, is the possible effect of orthographic conservatism – particularly in the classical Old English manuscripts – since the written forms likely lag behind changes in pronunciation and do not reflect the full extent of phonological reduction (see Hogg 1992a: 121). Regardless, although once again it is difficult to determine with precision the Old English intermediate stages, the original vowel contrasts were neutralized in unstressed syllables by early Middle English, as reflected in the orthographic conflation of suffixal vowels to <e>, as in *name* (OE *nama*) and *tale* (OE *talu*).

Old English, like other early Germanic languages, allowed liquids and nasals to form the nucleus of an unstressed syllable, as in <hriðr> [hrīðr̩] 'head of cattle' and <adl> [ādl̩] 'disease' (similarly, Go. *akrs* [akr̩s] 'acre' and *tagl* [taɣl̩] 'hair'). The diachronic source of such forms is found in vowel loss and, judging from OE poetry, the reduced forms were originally monosyllabic (that is, *akr < **akra-* 'acre'). However, they regained a syllable probably first through the nuclearization of the liquid or nasal with later insertion of an anaptyctic vowel *-i* (later *e*) if the preceding vowel was front, and *u* (later *o*) if the preceding vowel was back. In fact, determining whether the nucleus of the unstressed syllable consisted of a sonorant or an anaptyctic vowel is difficult. Orthographic <el>, for example, could be adopted by convention to represent nuclear *l*, just as writing <l> might simply reflect a conservative use of orthography and not necessarily the absence of an anaptyctic vowel; thus <at(o)r> [ātr̩ ~ ātor] 'poison', <næd(e)l> [nǣdl̩] ~ [nǣdel] 'needle', <wæp(e)n> [wǣpn̩ ~ wǣpen] 'weapon' (Campbell 1959: 151, Wright and Wright 1925: 100f). However, using the – not necessarily dependable – orthographic trends as a guide, it would appear that *l*, *m*, and *n*, which are often written in syllables without a vowel, were most likely to be nuclear. By contrast, *r* is seldom written alone, suggesting consistent anaptyxis. This would also reflect the pattern of earlier nuclearization, since the metrical evidence suggests that *r* was the first sonorant to nuclearize (Sievers 1893: Section 79,4a; Hogg 1992b: 237).

3.6 Quantity

Old English, like the other early Germanic languages, is classified as a quantity language. Although all quantity languages – by definition – distinguish syllables in terms of weight, the phonological details of the weight contrast can vary from language to language. In fact, a common type of contrast is displayed in early Germanic: a codeless syllable with a short nucleus is light (monomoraic), all other syllables are heavy (bi- or polymoraic). This distinction is reflected in both sound change and poetic meter. For example, pre-Old English apocope of high vowels occurred after a heavy syllable but not after a light syllable, as in *dēor* (< **dēo.ru*) 'deer-PL' but *sŭnu* (< **sŭ.nu*) 'son'. In the case of Old English poetry, a property called resolution is displayed in which a sequence consisting of a light stressed syllable plus any immediately following syllable is treated as equivalent to a single heavy syllable, thus bisyllabic forms such as *scipu* 'ships' and *werod* 'army' can fill the same metrical position as heavy monosyllables such as *wīf* 'woman' and *word* 'word' (see, for example, Russom 1987: 12).

In addition, quantity languages typically contrast both vowel and consonant length, but again there can be significant language-specific differences in the interplay of length, syllable structure, and stress. For example, a quantity language such as Finnish demonstrates complete independence of the three variables: the vowel length contrast is found in both stressed and unstressed syllables and in open and closed syllables, and geminate consonants can follow a long or short vowel, regardless of whether the vowel's syllable is stressed or not (Becker 1998: 61–65). "Syllable-based quantity language" is the cover term for languages in which the weight contrast is found in both accented and unaccented syllables. Although Proto-Germanic – as well as the Indo-European classical languages such as Latin – belonged to this type, the attested early Germanic languages reflect a very strong tendency to begin restricting the full set of length contrasts and the weight contrast itself to stressed syllables only, leading to the designation "stress-based quantity language" (for full discussion, see Vennemann 1994, 1995). Late Old English, in its complete elimination of vowel and consonant length contrasts from unstressed syllables, had moved much further along this path than other Germanic languages such as Gothic and Old High German; for example, OE *mihtĭg*, Go. *mahteigs* (<ei> = [ī]), OHG *mahtīg* 'mighty'; OE *sealfŭde ~ sealfŏde*, Go. *salbōda*, OHG *salbōta* 'I anointed' (see also Section 5.2 below).

In sum, Old English can be described as a stress-based quantity language with morphologically-determined stress assignment (for further theoretical discussion, see also Dresher and Lahiri 1991 and Hayes 1995).

3.7 Phonological generalizations

We present here a set of phonological generalizations that includes some of the main properties discussed above, as well as some other properties that distinguish Old English from present-day standard varieties. It is intended to be representative, not exhaustive. Below read "following" as "immediately following". Standard orthographic forms are used (see Section 4). (For similar generalizations for Gothic, see Vennemann 1985.)

a. Length contrasts occur only in a stressed environment: *hwǽlas* 'whales', *ǽlas* 'eels'; *-béde* 'prayer-DAT', *bédde* 'bed-DAT'.

b. All segments except voiced fricatives, approximants, [ŋ], and [h] participate in the length contrast.

c. Long consonants occur only in intersonorant environment following a stressed, short vowel: *cynnes* 'kin-GEN', *bettra* 'better'.

d. Long consonants are geminates; that is, they close and give weight to the preceding syllable; *pyffan* [pyf.fan] 'puff', *dogga* [dog.ga] 'dog'.

e. [v, ð, z] occur only in a surrounding voiced environment: *seofon* 'seven', *wulfas* 'wolves', *lifde* 's/he lived'.

f. Non-geminate [f, θ, s] do not occur in a surrounding voiced environment (see e).

g. Non-geminate [b] occurs only word-initially or following a nasal: *blōd* 'blood', *climban* 'to climb'.

h. Non-geminate [g] occurs only following a nasal: *singan* 'to sing'. In late Old English, it also occurs word initially; *gūþ* 'combat, war'.

i. [ɣ] does not occur following a nasal or a front vowel (compare *fugol* 'bird', *swelgan* 'to swallow', both with [ɣ]). In late Old English, it also does not occur word initially (see h).

j. [j] does not occur following a back vowel (compare *dæġ* [j] 'day').

k. Non-geminate [gʲ] occurs only following [n] and word finally: *seng(e)an* 'singe', *ecg* 'edge'.

l. [h] occurs only in word initial position or following certain prefixes such as *be-* and *ge-*: *hof* 'enclosure, court', *behindan* 'behind', *geheald* 'keeping custody'.

m. [ç], [çç] occur only following a front vowel or diphthong, and non-geminate [ç] occurs only in syllable coda: *hliehhan* 'to laugh', *cnihtas* 'boys', *riht* 'right'.

n. [x] does not occur word initially, and [x], [xx] do not occur following a front vowel or diphthong (see (m); compare *pohha* 'pocket', *dohtor* 'daughter', *tōh* 'tough', *sulh* 'plow', all with [x]).

o. [ŋ] occurs only preceding a velar: *drincan* 'to drink', *singan* 'to sing'.

p. The sequences below can form syllable heads (onsets) under stress:
[k] or [h] plus one of [n, l, r, w]: *cnāwan* 'to know', *clæne* 'pure, clean', *crēda* 'belief, creed', *cwēn* 'woman, queen'; *hnutu* 'nut', *hlūd* 'loud', *hring* 'ring, fetter', *hwæt* 'what'.
[g] plus one of [n, l, r]: *gnagan* 'to gnaw', *glīdan* 'to glide', *grētan* 'to greet'.
[f] plus one of [n, l, r]: *fnēsan* 'to sneeze', *flōd* 'flood', *friþa* 'protector'.
[w] plus one of [l, r]: *wlitig* 'radiant, beautiful', *wræc* 'misery'.

q. [mb], [ng] can form syllable codas: *lamb* 'lamb', *lang* 'long'.

r. Only vowels and diphthongs can form the nucleus of a stressed syllable.

s. Only (short) vowels (specifically [i, e, a, o, u]), *m*, *n*, *l*, and probably *r* can form the nucleus of an unstressed syllable: *māþṃ ~ māþum* 'gift', *bēacṇ ~ bēacen* 'sign, beacon', *segḷ ~ segel* 'sail', *ātṛ ~ ātor* 'poison'.

4 Phonological–orthographic correspondences

As mentioned above, for the most part OE orthography is phonologically based and, in fact, most graphs can be roughly interpreted in terms of their equivalent IPA values; for example, <æ>, <y> represent [æ], [y], respectively, as in *fæder* 'father' and *hyll* 'hill'. At the same time, a consistent indication of vowel and diphthongal length is notably absent in the manuscripts, so <y>, for example, represents both the short and long vowel; <cyning> [ky̌niŋg] 'king', <bryd> [brȳd] 'bride'. In addition, orthographic geminates are often maintained word finally, although phonological geminates are not found in this position, as in *bedd* [bed], *bedde* [bedde] 'bed-NOM/DAT'. Some primary conventions that are not transparent or self-resolving are listed below. Although we abstract away from the significant variation evident in the manuscripts, the correspondences given in Table 4.3 provide a reasonable reflection of classic OE practices. (We include [ø], although in fact it underwent early derounding in West Saxon; see Section 3.1 above.)

Table 4.3: Old English phonological–orthographical correspondences

	Phonology	Orthography	Example	Phonological Form	Gloss
(a)	[f] ~ [v]	‹f›	wulf	wulf	'wolf'
			wulfe	wulve	'wolf-ᴅᴀᴛ'
	[ff]	‹ff›	pyffan	pyffan	'puff'
(b)	[θ] ~ [ð]	‹ð› ~ ‹þ›	þencan ~ ðencan	θeŋkʲan	'to think'
			broþor ~ broðor	brōðor	'brother'
	[θθ]	‹ðð› ~ ‹þþ›	moðða ~ moþþe	moθθe	'moth'
(c)	[s] ~ [z]	‹s›	sæ	sæ	'sea'
			nosu	nozu	'nose'
			is	īs	'ice'
	[ss]	‹ss›	cyssan	kyssan	'to kiss'
(d)	[k]	‹c›, also ‹k›	cræft	kræft	'skill'
			weorc	weork	'work'
			kyning	kyniŋ	'king'
(e)	[kʲ] (› [tʃ])	‹c›, also ‹ce›	cinn	kʲinn	'chin'
			bec	bēkʲ	'books'
			þeccean	θekkʲan	'to cover
(f)	[g] ~ [ɣ]	‹ȝ›	ȝast	gāst	'spirit'
			brinȝan	briŋgan	'to bring'
			laȝu	laɣu	'law'
(g)	[j]	‹ȝ›, also ‹ȝe›	ȝift	jift	'marriage gift'
			ȝeong	joŋg	'young'
			dæȝ	dæj	'day'
(h)	[gʲ] (› [dʒ])	‹cȝ›, also ‹ȝ›	brycȝ	brigʲ	'bridge'
(i)	[ggʲ] (› [(d)dʒ])	‹cȝ (e)› ~ ‹ȝȝ(e)›	lecȝan ~ leȝȝan	leggʲan	'to lay'
(j)	[gg]	‹ȝȝ› ~ ‹cȝ›	froȝȝa ~ frocȝa	frogga	'frog'
(k)	[h], [x] ~ [ç]	‹h›	hamor	hamor	'hammer'
			behindan	behindan	'behind'
			dohtor	doxtor	'daughter'
			crohha	kroxxa	'crock pot'
			flyht	flyçt	'flight'
(l)	[n] ~ [ŋ]	‹n›	hnutu	hnutu	'nut'
			spinnan	spinnan	'to spin'
			tunȝol	tuŋgol	'star'
(m)	[w]	‹p›	polcen	wolkṇ	'cloud'
			sapol	sāwol	'soul'
(n)	[ǽ]	‹æ›	fæstan	fǽstan	'to fast'
			sæd	sǽd	'seed'
(o)	[ý]	‹y›	þyncan	θýŋkʲan	'to seem'
			yþ	ýθ	'wave'
(p)	[ǿ]	‹oe›	oele	ǿle	'oil'
			cwoen	kwǿn	'queen'
(q)	[ǽ̞a̯]	‹ea›	eall	ǽ̞a̯l	'all'
			deaþ	dǽ̞a̯θ	'death'

Table 4.3: (continued).

	Phonology	Orthography	Example	Phonological Form	Gloss
(r)	[ĕǫ]	‹eo›	ȝeolo	jĕǫlo	'yellow'
			deop	dēǫp	'deep'
(s)	[ks]	‹x›	axian	āksian	'to ask'

The scribes typically did not make any phonological distinction in their use of ‹ð› and ‹þ› (Hogg 1992b: 33–34). The graph ‹k› was occasionally used instead of ‹c›, especially preceding ‹y›, as in *kyning* 'king'. If the sound change *sk > [ʃ] is posited for Old English (see Section 4.3 above), then [ʃ] is represented by ‹sc›. By the time of Middle English, [ʃ] was usually written ‹sch› or ‹sh›. For the diphthongs note that we give here a literal transcription ([eǫ] and [æạ]), although various off-gliding values can be assumed (see Section 3.2).

Old English texts are subjected to modern editorial conventions. For example, although the symbol ‹ȝ› was used by OE scribes, most modern works transliterate using ‹g›. Note, however, that by early Middle English ‹ȝ› and ‹g› were used contrastively for [j] and [g], respectively. Similarly, the symbols ‹ċ› (for [kʲ], later [tʃ]), ‹ġ› (for [j]), and ‹ġ(ċ)›/‹ċġ› (for [(g)gʲ], later [dʒ]), are not found in the manuscripts; they are used by modern editors to distinguish the palatal and velar counterparts; see (d)–(j) above. Finally, although both ‹u› and ‹uu› were used in early texts, in fact [w] was typically represented by runic wynn, ƿ. In modern works, the rune symbol is invariably transliterated as ‹w›.

5 Diachrony

5.1 The "age of harmony": Umlaut

No outline of Old English phonology would be complete without mention of what Lass (1994: 59) labels "the age of harmony", which subsumes the various types of umlaut (vowel harmony changes) that took place from the Proto-Germanic to early Old English periods. Germanic umlaut is a type of partial regressive assimilation in which the target vowel – typically the stressed vowel – takes on qualities of a following trigger vowel. Umlaut is pervasive in all the early Germanic languages with the exception of Gothic, and its effects include all the logical possibilities of lowering, backing, fronting, and raising. Lowering of *u* to *o*, for example, is evident in West Germanic *a*-umlaut, as in OE *gold* (< *gulda) 'gold'.

Backing of *⋆æ* to *a* in the environment of a following back vowel is found in later pre-Old English in a change that is often called Restoration, since pre-OE *æ*, which arose through an earlier general fronting of original *a*, was "restored" to *a* under back umlaut conditions, as reflected, for example, in paradigmatic allomorphy of the type *dæg*, *dagas* 'day, days' and *fæt*, *fatu* 'vat, vats'. Back umlaut can also produce diphthongs (assuming the existence of short diphthongs; see Section 3.2 above), although this change had only limited effect in West Saxon; *eofor* (< *efor*) 'boar', *heorut* (< *herut*) 'hart'. In Old English, the most generalized and systematic subtype is *i*-umlaut, which involves primarily the fronting of vowels and diphthongs under the influence of a following *i* or *j*, although raising in the case of the short low vowel can also occur (see Table 4.4). (Note that *e* had already been raised to *i* in earlier Germanic. Also, umlauted *ă* preceding a nasal is found as *ắ* in early texts, and then usually *ĕ* in later ones.)

Table 4.4: Old English *i*-umlaut (vowels)

ắ › ĕ	bedd	(Go. *badi*)	'bed'
ă › ắ › ĕ	senda	(Go. *sandjan*)	'to send'
ā › ǣ	dǣlan	(*dāljan)	'to divide'
ŏ › ŏ̈ (› ĕ)	dehter	(*dohtri)	'daughter-DAT'
ō › ō̈ (› ē)	sēcan	(Go. *sōkjan*)	'to seek'
ŭ › ў̈	cynn	(Go. *kuni*)	'race, generation'
ū › ȳ	dȳstig	(cf. *dūst* 'dust')	'dusty'

In general, *i*-umlaut in Old English does not display the complexity it does in the other Germanic languages. In Old High German, for example, the intervening consonantal environment plays a significant role in facilitating or hindering umlaut, and in Old Norse there is a complex interaction between umlaut and other sound changes, especially *i*-syncope (Howell and Salmons 1997; Iverson and Salmons 2004). By contrast, the West Saxon situation reflects a relatively straightforward, highly generalized application in which long and short *u*, *o*, and *a* regularly undergo umlaut. At the same time, though, there are two primary restrictions. First, raising umlaut of short *æ* (> *e*) can be blocked by (non-geminate) clusters; for example, umlaut is found in *hebban* 'to raise' but not in *fæstan* 'to make firm' (both with an original *⋆-jan* suffix). Second, long *ǣ* resists umlaut

altogether, as in *lǣce* 'physician', where *ǣ* remains in spite of the original **-ja-*
(> *e*) suffix. In fact, these restrictions constitute a pattern in conformance with
other Germanic languages and general principles governing umlaut. Howell and
Salmons (1997: 89) show that the propensity to undergo umlaut increases in
accordance with the degree of qualitative difference between trigger and target
vowels, which in the case of Old English relates primarily to the back–front
dimension. Thus, although fronting of the back vowels (*u*, *o*, *a*) is regular, short
æ, which is already front, can resist raising umlaut in the cluster environment.
Similarly, the even greater resistance to umlaut displayed by the long vowel *ǣ* is
typical, as umlaut preferentially affects short vowels. For example, in Old High
German, short *a* is most susceptible to umlaut (known as primary umlaut), and in
Dutch only short vowels undergo umlaut.

These assimilatory changes had a significant impact on OE phonology and
morphology. At first, the umlaut vowels [ø] and [y] were only distributional
variants of *o* and *u* occurring under specific conditions, but already in pre-Old
English they were phonologized, yielding two new segments. Although *ø* under-
went early derounding in West Saxon, *y* was relatively stable. Along with this
phonologization came a dramatic increase in allomorphy, which is evident
throughout the lexicon; for example *hnutu, hnyte* 'nut-NOM, nut-DAT', *ic dō, he dēþ*
'I do, he does, *brād, brǣdra* 'broad, broader'. Although most of the allomorphy
was leveled out in later stages, some traces remain even into Present-day English.
Modern pairs displaying lexical split such as *older, elder* and *brothers, brethren*
have developed in accordance with Kuryłowicz's (1947) fourth "law" governing
leveling; that is, the original form (umlauted *elder*, *brethren*) took on a specialized
meaning, while the new form carries the primary meaning. Finally, *i*-umlaut was
morphologized as a plural marker, although only a handful of these umlaut
plurals remain in present day English, as in *man, men*; *foot, feet*; and *mouse, mice*
(compare OE *āc, ǣc* 'oak, oaks'; *bōc, bēc* 'book, books', and *cū, cȳ* 'cow, cows').

5.2 Quantity changes

Both the pre-Old English and late Old English/early Middle English stages were
robust periods of quantity change. The early Germanic and pre-Old English
changes primarily affected unstressed syllables, while stressed syllables were
targeted in the later changes. In comparison with these early and late stages, the
OE period itself was relatively stable, especially with regard to the stressed
syllable.

The pre-Old English period involved a severe reduction of unstressed sylla-
bles, including various kinds of vowel and consonant deletions and loss of vowel

length, as in *bend* (Ø < -*i*; compare Go. *bandi* 'band, ribbon'); *hand* (Ø < -*uz*; Go. *handus* 'hand'), and *sealfude* (*ŭ* < *ō*; Go. *salbōda* 'he anoints'). Traditionally, this reduction is commonly linked to the shift from pitch to stress accent and the fixing of stress on the root syllable that occurred in Proto-Germanic. In addition, although difficult to quantify, it is also sometimes claimed that the intensity of the stress accent gradually increased throughout the history of English with concomitant weakening of unstressed syllables. (See Luick 1914–21: 267–362; Lass 1994: 95–102; Lutz 1991: 281–282.) In fact, the amount of diachronic reduction that unstressed syllables undergo can vary significantly from one language to the next. For example, Finnish (with its initial stress accent) is extremely conservative in maintaining contrasts in unstressed syllables, a fact strikingly apparent in its treatment of very early borrowings from Germanic; for example, Finnish *kuningas*, PGrmc. *kuningaz 'king-NOM'. (For further discussion, see van Coetsem et al. 1981; Salmons 1992: 166–168; Boutkan 1995.)

The late Old English and Middle English changes are particularly significant, since they involve the complete breakdown of the original quantity system, an event that occurred in almost all Germanic dialects at one point or another during the medieval period. Three of the main quantity changes assumed are Closed Syllable Shortening (CSS), which eliminated the vowel length contrast in closed disyllables (*kēpte* > *kĕpte* 'kept'); Degemination, which eliminated the contrast between short and long consonants (OE *æppel* [pp], ME *apel* [p], where usually an ambisyllabic consonant is assumed for the latter); and Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL), which eliminated the vowel length contrast in open syllables (OE *năma*, ME *nāme* 'name'). Although these changes are properly ascribed to the late Old English (CSS) and Middle English periods (Degemination, OSL), Luick's (1898, 1964a [1914–21]) view that they represent a continuation of a process that began in pre-Old English, and even in West Germanic, has been extremely influential (see, for example, Ritt 1994). According to Luick (1898), there was a rhythmic tendency operative throughout early English in which syllable weight was gradually being standardized according to a set of prosodic weight templates. For example, in the case of disyllables, the ideal stressed syllable was assumed to be bimoraic. Thus, CSS (through shortening and loss of a mora) and OSL (through lengthening and addition of a mora) yielded this ideal type (*kĕp.te*, *nā.me*), while syllables already bimoraic remained unchanged. In fact, though, for the Old English period, evidence for a standardization of quantity is not particularly robust, and in the late Old English period, at least one important change moved the stressed syllable away from the bimoraic ideal. In the change known as Homorganic Cluster Lengthening (see Section 3.1), in which vowels lengthened before clusters such as -*ld*, -*mb*, and -*nd*, an already bimoraic syllable became overlong, as in ME *clīm.ben*

(< OE *clĭm.ban*) 'to climb'. Further, even in the case of Middle English, Degemination does not conform to the bimoraic preference, since the stressed syllable is already bimoraic at the pre-Degemination stage, as in OE *æp.pel*. For detailed discussion and an alternative interpretation, see Murray 2000 (and references there) and Mailhammer 2007.

6 References

Becker, Thomas. 1998. *Das Vokalsystem der deutschen Standardsprache*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Brunner, Karl. 1965. *Altenglische Grammatik. Nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers*. 3rd edn. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Boutkan, Dirk. 1995. *The Germanic "Auslautgesetze"*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Bülbring, Karl D. 1902. *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*. Vol. I: *Lautlehre*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Campbell, A. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Daunt, Marjorie. 1939. Old English sound changes reconsidered in relation to scribal tradition and practice. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 38(1): 108–137.

Dresher, B. Elan and Aditi Lahiri. 1991. The Germanic foot: Metrical coherence in Germanic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22(2): 251–286.

Fox, Anthony. 1995. *Linguistic Reconstruction: An Introduction to Theory and Method*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hayes, Bruce. 1995. *Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and Case Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hockett, Charles F. 1959. The stressed syllabics of Old English. *Language* 35: 575–597.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992a. Phonology and morphology. In: Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. I. *The Beginning to 1066*, 67–167. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992b. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. 1. *Phonology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hogg, Richard M. 2006. *Old English Dialectology*. In: van Kemenade and Los (eds.), 395–416.

Howell, Robert B. 1991. *Old English Breaking and its Germanic Analogues*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Howell, Robert B. and Joseph C. Salmons. 1997. Umlautless residues in Germanic. *American Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 9: 83–111.

Iverson, Gregory K. and Joseph C. Salmons. 2004. The conundrum of Old Norse umlaut: Sound change versus crisis analogy. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 16: 77–110.

Kemenade, Ans van and Bettelou Los (eds.). 2006. *The Handbook of the History of English*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1947. La nature des procès dits analogiques. *Acta Linguistica* 5: 15–37. (Reprinted in Eric P. Hamp, Fred W. Householder, and Robert Austerlitz (eds.), *Readings in Linguistics 2*, 158–174. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966.)

Lass, Roger. 1992. Phonology and morphology. In: Norman Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. II. *1066–1476*, 23–155. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lass, Roger. 1994. *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lass, Roger. 2006. Phonology and morphology. In: Richard Hogg and David Denison (eds.), *A History of the English Language*, 43–108. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lass, Roger and John M. Anderson. 1975. *Old English Phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Luick, Karl. 1898. Beiträge zur englischen Grammatik III: Die Quantitätsveränderungen im Laufe der englischen Sprachentwicklung. *Anglia* 20: 335–362.

Luick, Karl. 1964a [1914–1921]. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Vol. 1, Part 1. Stuttgart: Bernhard Tauchnitz.

Luick, Karl. 1964b [1929–1940]. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Vol. 1, Part 2. Stuttgart: Bernhard Tauchnitz.

Lutz, Angelika. 1991. *Phonotaktisch gesteuerte Konsonantenveränderungen in der Geschichte des Englischen*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Maddieson, Ian. 1984. *Patterns of Sounds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mailhammer, Robert. 2007. On syllable cut in the *Orrmulum*. In: Christopher M. Cain and Geoffrey Russom (eds.), *Studies in the History of the English Language III – Managing Chaos: Strategies for Identifying Change in English*, 37–61. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Minkova, Donka. 2003. *Alliteration and Sound Change in Early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Minkova, Donka. 2006. Old and Middle English prosody. In: van Kemenade and Los (eds.), 95–124.

Minkova, Donka and Robert P. Stockwell. 1992. Homorganic clusters as moric busters in the history of English: The case of -*ld*, -*nd*, *mb*. In: Matti Rissanen, Ossi Ihalainen, Terttu Nevalainen and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, 191–207. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Murray, Robert W. 2000. Syllable cut prosody in Early Middle English. *Language* 76: 617–681.

Noss, Richard B. 1964. *Thai Reference Grammar*. Washington, DC: Foreign Service Institute.

Pyles, Thomas and John Algeo. 1993. *The Origins and Development of the English Language*. 4th edn. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Ritt, Nikolaus. 1994. *Quantity Adjustment: Vowel Lengthening and Shortening in Early Middle English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosner, B. S. and J. B. Pickering. 1994. *Vowel Perception and Production*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Russom, Geoffrey. 1987. *Old English Meter and Linguistic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salmons, Joseph. 1992. *Accentual Change and Language Contact: Comparative Survey and Case Study of Early Northern Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sievers, Eduard. 1893. *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Sievers, Eduard. 1898 [1882]. *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Sievers, Eduard. 1901. *Grundzüge der Phonetik zur Einführung in das Studium der Lautlehre der indogermanischen Sprachen*. 5th edn. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Stockwell, Robert P. 1952. *Chaucerian Graphemics and Phonemics: A Study in Historical Methodology*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Stockwell, Robert P. and C. Westbrook Barritt. 1951. *Some Old English Graphemic-Phonemic Correspondences – ae, ea and a*. (Studies in Linguistics, Occasional Papers, 4.) Norman, OK: Battenburg Press.

Stockwell, Robert P. and C. Westbrook Barritt. 1955. The Old English short digraphs: Some considerations. *Language* 31: 373–389.

Stockwell, Robert P. and Donka Minkova. 1990. The Early Modern English vowels, more o' Lass. *Diachronica* 7: 199–214.

Sweet, Henry. 1888. *History of English Sounds*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

van Coetsem, Frans, Ronald Hendricks and Susan McCormick. 1981. Accent typology and sound change. *Lingua* 53: 295–315.

Vennemann, Theo. 1985. Phonologically conditioned morphological change: Exceptions to Sievers' Law in Gothic. In: Edmund Gussman (ed.), *Phonomorphology: Studies in the Interaction of Phonology and Morphology*, 193–219. Lublin: Katholische Universität Lublin.

Vennemann, Theo. 1994. Universelle Nuklearphonologie mit epiphänomenaler Silbenstruktur. In: Karl Heinz Ramers, Heinz Vater, and Henning Wode (eds.), *Universale phonologische Strukturen und Prozesse*, 7–54. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Vennemann, Theo. 1995. Der Zusammenbruch der Quantität im Spätmittelalter und sein Einfluß auf die Metrik. *Quantitätsproblematik und Metrik. Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* (special volume ed. by Hans Fix) 42: 185–223.

White, David L. 2004. Why we should not believe in short diphthongs. In: Anne Curzan and Kimberly Emmons (eds.), *Studies in the History of the English Language II. Unfolding Conversations*, 57–84. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wright, Joseph and Elizabeth Mary Wright. 1925. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ferdinand von Mengden
Chapter 5: Morphology

Abstract: Old English is in many respects a typical Indo-European language. This is particularly true of its morphological categories and its complex inflectional systems. It is mainly due to this complexity that this chapter cannot treat all aspects of OE morphology in full detail. It therefore focuses on the most important inflectional systems of Old English. Morphological word-formation patterns are necessarily treated only marginally. Moreover, there is a considerable degree of dialectal and diachronic variation in Old English which also affects in the morphological paradigms. This variation cannot be covered here comprehensively. This chapter therefore has a strong bias towards the later stages of the West Saxon variety – the dialect and period from which the greatest share of our extant sources is transmitted. For more comprehensive accounts, including the details of the diachronic and diatopic variation, I refer the reader to the relevant sections in Hogg and Fulk (2011) as well as to the older, but still valuable works by Campbell (1959) and Brunner (1965).

1 Inflectional morphology of the noun phrase

1.1 The inflectional categories of the noun phrase

Case/number is marked by inflection (as opposed to agglutination), that is, there is no distinctive marker encoding a value of only one of the two categories. Case/number is generally marked on any element of the noun phrase, i.e. on all modifiers and on the head noun. The noun paradigms are the least distinctive of all, so that in many instances only the case marking on the adjective and/or determiner can unambiguously indicate the case/number value of the entire noun phrase.

Ferdinand von Mengden: Berlin (Germany)

Old English has a typically Indo-European case system. Therefore any general descriptions of the functions of IE cases can well be applied to Old English. Of the eight IE cases, five survived: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, and instrumental. The former three are used predominantly to mark grammatical relations. The genitive case marks a noun phrase as a modifier of a superordinate noun phrase. The instrumental is formally distinguished from the dative only in some adjectival and pronominal paradigms. If it is encoded, it marks complements that take the semantic role of an Instrument. For good descriptions of the functions of the five OE cases cf. Blake (2001: Section 2.3) or, specifically for Old English, Mitchell (1985, I: Sections 1240–1427).

There are two number values for English nouns: singular and plural. A third number value, the dual, can be encoded in some pronominal paradigms.

There are three gender values, all inherited from Proto-Indo-European, masculine, feminine, and neuter. The gender value of a noun determines agreement patterns on pronouns and on dependent adjectives and determiners so that, while inherent in the lexical entry of a noun, gender is morphologically encoded on any noun modifier. As in Indo-European languages in general, there is no distribution along the lines of natural gender. Particularly expressions denoting female persons can have masculine (*wīfman* 'woman') or neuter (*wīf* 'woman') gender. Expressions for inanimate referents do not necessarily have neuter gender. Only some expressions that may refer to either a female or a male person, such as e.g. names of occupations, can have both a masculine and a feminine form, which is then used to semantically distinguish between a female and a male member of that class (e.g. *munuc* 'monk' vs. *mynecen* 'nun').

1.2 The inflectional paradigms of nouns

In every noun class there is some degree of syncretism of forms. As in all IE languages, the following values are not distinguished formally in any noun class of Old English: nominative and accusative of neuter nouns for both number values, and the genitive plural and the dative plural of all three genders.

The traditional labels of the major noun classes refer to the thematic morpheme reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European, which was inserted between the lexical root and the inflectional suffixes. Although the thematic elements "are not synchronically transparent and reflect the product of historical reconstructions" (Blake 2001: 4; cf. also Lass 1994: 123), they are still in common use in the description of Indo-European daughter languages. There is a major division into vocalic classes (classes 1 to 4) and consonantal classes (classes 5 and 6) according to whether the thematic element was a vowel or a consonant. Outside the vocalic/

consonantal distinctions, there are other classes that originally did not have a thematic element and are therefore called "athematic" nouns. None of these terms refer to properties that are synchronically transparent in Old English. In the following, I simply specify the noun classes by numbers from 1 to 8; but I add the traditional labels in the section headings.

1.2.1 Class 1 – Germanic *a*-stems, Indo-European *o*-stems

The nouns of class 1 are all either masculine or neuter. There are three main paradigms of this class, according to whether the noun is masculine (class 1a), neuter with a short root syllable (class 1b), or neuter with long root syllables, i.e., either with a long root vowel or with a V(:)C-cluster in the nucleus of the root (class 1c); cf. Tables 5.1–5.3. Phonological cross-influences created a number of variant paradigms, an overview of which will be presented in the following.

Table 5.1: Class 1a (*stān* 'stone')

	SG	PL
NOM	*stān-Ø*	*stān-as*
ACC	*stān-Ø*	*stān-as*
DAT	*stān-e*	*stān-um*
GEN	*stān-es*	*stān-a*

Table 5.2: Class 1b (*scip* 'ship')

	SG	PL
NOM	*scip-Ø*	*scip-u*
ACC	*scip-Ø*	*scip-u*
DAT	*scip-e*	*scip-um*
GEN	*scip-es*	*scip-a*

Table 5.3: Class 1c (*word* 'word')

	SG	PL
NOM	*word-Ø*	*word-Ø*
ACC	*word-Ø*	*word-Ø*
DAT	*word-e*	*word-um*
GEN	*word-es*	*word-a*

Apophonic variation: Because /ɛ/ was lowered to /a/ before palatal vowels in pre-Old English, nouns with the root vowel /ɛ/ show an apophonic alternation between the singular (uninflected or with suffixes containing a back vowel) and the plural forms (with suffixes all containing a front vowel). This applies to 1a and 1b nouns, so that there is a root variation as in *dæg-* 'day-sɢ', *fæt-* 'vessel-sɢ' vs. *dag-* 'day-ᴘʟ', *fat-* 'vessel-ᴘʟ'.

Root-final /-χ/: If followed by a vowel, root-final /-χ/ was lost. It was retained only in the uninflected forms, in which it was represented as ⟨-h⟩. In the relevant nouns we find, *mearh-∅* 'horse-ɴᴏᴍ/ᴀᴄᴄ.sɢ', but *mear-* for all other values.

Syncope and epenthesis: Two types of paradigm-internal variation may look synchronically like one and the same phenomenon, but result from two opposing processes: there is both a syncope of an unstressed vowel in a bisyllabic root, e.g. *engel-∅* 'angel-ɴᴏᴍ/ᴀᴄᴄ.sɢ' vs. *engl-es* 'angel-ɢᴇɴ.sɢ', and a vowel epenthesis in a cluster consisting of a stop and a liquid, e.g. *fugol-∅* 'bird-ɴᴏᴍ/ᴀᴄᴄ.sɢ' formed from *fugl-* 'bird'.

The Germanic *ja*-stems: This variant is considered a distinct subclass in Proto-Germanic. Originally, the thematic element preceding the inflectional suffixes was */-ja-/. In many forms originally belonging to this subclass, there are no differences from the default paradigms of classes 1a–1c in Tables 5.1–5.3. In some cases, however, the glide may still be represented as a root-final /-j-/ (usually spelled ⟨-g-⟩), or as /-ə/ following the root. Such traces can be found, for example, in *her-e-∅* 'army-ᴛʜᴍ-ɴᴏᴍ/ᴀᴄᴄ.sɢ' vs. *her-g-* (/ˈher-j-/) for all other values. (ᴛʜᴍ=thematic element.)

The Grmc. *wa*-stems: Similar to the previous group there are some nouns descending from the PGrmc. sub-class with */-wa-/ as thematic element. It has been retained in some OE nouns as a root-final /-u/ in the uninflected forms and as a glide between root and suffix in the inflected forms. This is the case, for instance, in *bear-u-∅* 'grove-ᴛʜᴍ-ɴᴏᴍ/ᴀᴄᴄ.sɢ' vs. *bear-w-* for all other values.

1.2.2 Class 2 – Germanic *ō*-stems, Indo-European *ā*-stems

The nouns of this class are all feminine. The nominative/accusative plural forms differ in West Saxon from the other regional varieties of Old English. As in the neuter nouns of class 1, there is a distinction between nouns with short syllables (class 2a) and with long syllables (class 2b). In class 2a, later West Saxon texts show the genitive plural ending *-ena* for *-a*. Cf. Tables 5.4 and 5.5. Phonological cross-influences are less numerous than those of class 1. The most important ones are briefly presented below:

Table 5.4: Class 2a (*talu* 'tale')

	SG	**PL**
NOM	*tal-u*	*tal-a* (WSax.), *tal-e* (non-WSax.)
ACC	*tal-e*	*tal-a* (WSax.), *tal-e* (non-WSax.)
DAT	*tal-e*	*tal-um*
GEN	*tal-e*	*tal-a*, *tal-ena* (late WSax.)

Table 5.5: Class 2b (*wund* 'wound')

	SG	**PL**
NOM	*wund*	*wund-a* (WSax.), *wund-e* (non-WSax.)
ACC	*wund-e*	*wund-a* (WSax.), *wund-e* (non-WSax.)
DAT	*wund-e*	*wund-um*
GEN	*wund-e*	*wund-a*

The Grmc. *jō*-stems: As in class 1, there is a subclass postulated for those nouns of class 2, in which the thematic element was */-joː-/. The glide is usually no longer present, but it caused the nominative singular suffix *-u* to be reduced to /-ə/ and to be dropped subsequently. Otherwise the paradigm does not differ from the default ones shown above in Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

The Grmc. *wō*-stems: The thematic morpheme */-woː-/ is usually retained in inflected forms as /-u/ after short root syllables and before inflectional suffixes, for instance in *sin-u-∅* 'sinew-THM-NOM.SG'. In forms with an inflectional suffix it remained a glide, e.g. *sin-w-* 'sinew-THM-'. After long root syllables the thematic element was dropped.

1.2.3 Class 3 – Germanic *i*-stems

The forms of class 3 merged to a large extent with those of class 1a, class 2, and classes 1b or 1c, depending, respectively, on whether they are masculine, feminine, or neuter. The original thematic vowel of class 3, */-i-/, is no longer retained in most OE forms. Only in the nominative and accusative singular forms of masculine and neuter nouns with short syllables does final /-ə/ attest to the former *i*-suffix, e.g. *win-e* 'friend-NOM/ACC.SG(MASC)', *sper-e* 'spear-NOM/ACC.SG (NEUT)'. However, the suffix left a trace in all members of this class as it caused *i*-umlaut in the root vowel. So, in spite of the fact that a number of inflectional suffixes were transferred from other noun classes, the umlauted root vowel constitutes the major formal difference between class 3 and classes 1 and 2. Yet,

since there is no alternation of the root vowels within the paradigms of any subgroup of class 3, this is basically a diachronic feature and has no significance synchronically.

Where there are original *i*-stem suffixes, they usually occur in doublets with corresponding forms of classes 1 and 2. For instance, in masculine nouns with short syllables inherited suffixes still compete with those of class 1. In the nominative and accusative plural we find both a reflex of the original *-i* (reduced to /-ə/) and the class 1 suffix *-as*. In the genitive plural, the original suffix /-ija/ (usually spelled ⟨-iga⟩) is still attested in poetry. This results in forms like *win-e* next to *win-as* 'friend-NOM/ACC.PL', *win-iga* (poetic) next to *win-a* 'friend-GEN.PL'.

In the plural forms of masculine nouns with long syllable the pattern is generally that of class 1a. Only exceptionally do we find suffixes of the original class 3 in some tribal names as e.g. *Engl-e* 'Angle-NOM/ACC.PL'.

In the paradigm of feminine nouns of class 3 with long root syllables, original forms in /-ə/ (< /-i/) and those of class 2a compete only in the accusative singular, so that both *dǣd-∅* and *dǣd-e* 'deed-ACC.SG' can occur. All other forms correspond with those of class 2a.

The neuter *i*-stems were influenced less strongly by other paradigms. The original suffix for the nominative and accusative singular, /-ə/ (< */-i/), has been retained in nouns with short root syllables and was dropped in nouns with long root syllables. The same holds for the nominative/accusative plural suffix /-u/. This results in forms like *sper-e* 'spear-NOM/ACC.SG' and *sper-u* 'spear-NOM/ACC.PL (short root) vs. *flǣsc-∅* 'flesh-NOM/ACC.SG/PL' (long root).

1.2.4 Class 4 – Germanic *u*-stems

The nouns of class 4 were either masculine or feminine (but cf. Brunner 1965: Section 275; Hogg and Fulk 2011: Section 2.71 for neuter relics). There is no formal distinction between the two gender values, but there is again a distinction between short and long root syllables. In the former the old stem syllable in the nominative/accusative singular has been retained (cf. Table 5.6), whereas the suffixes for the same values were dropped in the latter (*hand-∅* 'hand-NOM/ACC.SG'). As with most OE nouns, there is some conflation with classes 1 and 2. However the pattern of class 4 has been preserved much better than that of class 3.

Table 5.6: Class 4 with short root syllables (*sunu* 'son')

	SG	PL
NOM	*sun-u*	*sun-a*
ACC	*sun-u*	*sun-a*
DAT	*sun-a*	*sun-um*
GEN	*sun-a*	*sun-a*

1.2.5 Class 5 – Germanic *n*-stems

In Proto-Indo-European, the thematic element of this noun class was formed by a nasal and had the structure /-Vn-/, with the vowel being subject to ablaut alternation. (Here and in the following, I distinguish between "apophony" as a term for any morphological or morphophonemic alternation of a vowel creating an allomorphic distinction irrespective of how it came into being. "Ablaut" only refers to those apophonic alternations that go back to the gradation patterns of Proto-Indo-European; i.e., zero-grade, full grade, etc.) The grammars distinguish three different paradigms for the three gender values, but the patterns differ only slightly in the nominative and accusative singular forms. All other values show the same forms for all three gender values. Cf. Tables 5.7–5.9.

Table 5.7: Class 5 masculine (*guma* 'man')

	SG	PL
NOM	*gum-a*	*gum-an*
DAT	*gum-an*	*gum-um*
ACC	*gum-an*	*gum-an*
GEN	*gum-an*	*gum-ena*

Table 5.8: Class 5 feminine (*tunge* 'tongue')

	SG	PL
NOM	*tung-e*	*tung-an*
DAT	*tung-an*	*tung-um*
ACC	*tung-an*	*tung-an*
GEN	*tung-an*	*tung-ena*

Table 5.9: Class 5 neuter (*ēage* 'eye')

	SG	**PL**
NOM	*ēag-e*	*ēag-an*
DAT	*ēag-an*	*ēag-um*
ACC	*ēag-e*	*ēag-an*
GEN	*ēag-an*	*ēag-ena*

If the root ended with a vowel, the vocalic elements of the suffixes were dropped, as in *gefē-a* 'joy-NOM.SG', *gefēa-na* 'joy-GEN.PL', *gefēa-m* 'joy-DAT.PL' and *gefēa-n* for all other values. Also, some traces of an alternation in the vowel preceding the nasal survived into Old English, as in *ox-(e)na* 'OX-GEN.PL', *ox-num* 'OX-DAT.PL'.

1.2.6 Class 6 – Germanic *s*-stems

The original thematic element */-s-/, which, according to Verner's Law, became */-z-/ and subsequently /-r-/, has been retained in class 6 in the plural forms and occasionally also in the singular where it was lost in most words. Cf. Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10: Class 6 (*lamb* 'lamb')

	SG	**PL**
NOM	*lamb*	*lamb-ru*
ACC	*lamb*	*lamb-ru*
DAT	*lamb-e*	*lamb-rum*
GEN	*lamb-es*	*lamb-ra*

1.2.7 Class 7 – Germanic *r*-stems; kinship terms

Class 7 consists of only a small number of kinship terms. They had */-r-/ as a thematic element. Except in *fæder* 'father' and *sweostor* 'sister', the dative singular form has an umlauted root vowel. In particular, the masculine nouns of this class show strong influence from class 1, so that the nominative/accusative plural forms *fæd(e)r-as* can be said to be the common forms in some nouns. Cf. Table 5.11.

Table 5.11: Class 7 (*dohtor* 'daughter')

	SG	PL
NOM	*dohtor*	*dohtor*
ACC	*dohtor*	*dohtor*
DAT	*dehter*	*dohtrum*
GEN	*dohtor*	*dohtra*

1.2.8 Class 8 – Root nouns

The nouns of Class 8 are labelled "athematic" or "root nouns" in traditional descriptions because in earlier stages they lacked a thematic element between root and inflectional suffix. These nouns are either masculine or feminine. The paradigms of the two gender values differ from each other slightly, both because they showed different paradigms already in Proto-Germanic, which later caused different patterns of apophonic alternations, and because they were influenced by the forms of classes 1a and 2 respectively.

The nominative and accusative forms of masculine root nouns contained */-i(-)/ in the inflectional suffix in pre-Old English. The respective forms therefore can be identified by the umlauted root vowel (cf. Table 5.12). In northern documents and in early texts, if /-oː-/ is the root vowel, the umlauted vowel is /-œː-/ rather than /-eː-/, represented in the documents by ⟨-oe-⟩ or occasionally by ⟨-œ-⟩.

The feminine nouns of class 8 originally followed the same pattern as the masculine nouns. However, influence from class 2 was stronger on feminine than that of class 1a on masculine nouns. Particularly in the genitive and dative singular, umlauted root forms competed with non-umlauted affixed forms (cf. Table 5.13).

Table 5.12: Class 8: masculine root nouns (*fōt* 'foot')

	SG	PL
NOM	*fōt*	*fēt*
ACC	*fōt*	*fēt*
DAT	*fēt*	*fōt-um*
GEN	*fōt-es*	*fōt-a*

Table 5.13: Class 8b: feminine root nouns (*bōc* 'book')

	SG	PL
NOM	*bōc*	*bēc*
ACC	*bōc*	*bēc*
DAT	*bēc, bōc*	*bōc-um*
GEN	*bēc, bōc-e*	*bōc-a*

1.2.9 Marginal paradigms

Some paradigms do not fit in any of the above patterns, either because they are historically derived from extinct noun classes or because several patterns were conflated randomly. Two groups should be mentioned here:

Nouns like *frēond* 'friend' or *hettend* 'enemy' are derived from present participles and show the formative element *-nd-* (cf. below Section 2). However, present participles, if inflected, use the suffixes of the *ja*-stems (cf. Section 1.2.1), whereas the nouns of this group may follow several different, though not uniform, patterns. Not only is there some inconsistency in the inflectional endings of one word (e.g. *frīend-∅*, *frēond-e* 'friend-DAT.SG'; *hettend-∅*, *hettend-e*, *hettend-as* 'enemy-NOM.PL'), there is also no uniform pattern among these nouns so that there is no point in postulating an independent class for these nouns. Ultimately, these lexemes have to be taken as idiosyncratic.

Remainders of the PGrmc. dental stems sometimes still display the dental fricative following the root. Yet, this is again far from resulting in a consistent pattern: *ealu* exists, for instance, beside *ealoþ* 'ale' and *monaþ* 'month' shows the dental fricative consistently, but its inflection follows that of class 1a. Again, the small number of lexemes to which this applies and the lack of regularity within and across the respective paradigms does not justify postulating an independent noun class for these cases.

1.3 Adjectives

OE adjectives agree with the noun they modify in case, number, and gender. For these three categories, there are two different types of declensions of adjectives in Old English. These two patterns are commonly referred to as "strong declension" and "weak declension" and for want of a better term I use these labels here. However, in contrast to the same labels used for different verb classes (Section 2.1), the strong/weak-distinction of adjectives is functional rather than lex-

ical: the weak declension is used when preceded by a demonstrative or a posses-
sive pronoun, the strong declension is generally used in any other case. In the
predicative use, adjectives can be either strong or uninflected. Hogg and Fulk
(2011) employ the labels "indefinite" and "definite" adjectives for the two classes,
respectively. However, that the pattern of strong and weak adjectives does not
quite follow the indefinite/definite distinction, can be seen by the fact that
inherently definite pronouns like *ælc* 'every' are followed by a strong adjective. So
is the ordinal *ōþer* 'second' even when it is preceded by a demonstrative. It is
therefore difficult to determine a specific function of this distinction since neither
[± demonstrative] nor [± definite] reflect the actual use in Old English properly.
Cf. the discussion in Mitchell (1985, I:) Sections 136–141).

In poetry, there was a more liberal distribution of the two declensions. If
Campbell (1959: 261, Section 638) is right, that "the later the verse the less it
diverges from the syntax of prose in this matter", then this suggests that the
distribution between strong and weak adjectives was quite stable up until the end
of the OE period and that in an early stage the necessities of the meter could
overrule the constraints of adjective inflection.

Different from the noun paradigm, there are distinct instrumental forms for
strong masculine and neuter singular adjectives. Like in the nominal paradigms,
there is some syncretism of forms as can be seen in Tables 5.14 and 5.15 below.

1.3.1 Strong adjectives

Strong adjectives follow a pattern which is often referred to as "*a*- and *ō*-declen-
sions". However, because a number of values are marked by suffixes different
from those of noun classes 1 or 2, this label is rather misleading particularly from
a synchronic point of view. Those suffixes that do not correspond to the nominal
forms are mostly the same as in some pronominal paradigms (cf. below Sec-
tion 1.5). The default forms for strong adjectives are displayed in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Strong adjectives (*gōd* 'good')

	SG			PL		
	MASC	**FEM**	**NEUT**	**MASC**	**FEM**	**NEUT**
NOM	*gōd-∅*	*gōd-e*	*gōd-∅*	*gōd-e*	*gōd-e, gōd-a*	*gōd-∅*
ACC	*gōd-ne*	*gōd-e*	*gōd-∅*	*gōd-e*	*gōd-e, gōd-a*	*gōd-∅*
DAT	*gōd-um*	*gōd-re*	*gōd-um*	*gōd-um*	*gōd-um*	*gōd-um*
GEN	*gōd-es*	*gōd-re*	*gōd-es*	*gōd-ra*	*gōd-ra*	*gōd-ra*
INSTR	*gōd-e*	–	*gōd-e*	–	–	–

Some values can differ according to whether the root syllable is long or short. The resulting variation parallels the differences between the noun classes 1a and 1c (Section 1.2.1) for neuter forms and between the noun classes 2a and 2b (Section 1.2.2) for feminine forms. There is also some diachronic variation in the paradigm. Final ⟨-e⟩ can appear as ⟨-æ⟩ in early texts. Late texts in West Saxon and Kentish can insert an epenthetic vowel in the endings for the genitive plural (-*era*) and for the dative and genitive singular of feminine adjectives (-*ere*). There are a number of phonologically conditioned modifications of the root in some forms of some (groups of) adjectives. These correspond in general with those alternations described in Section 1.2.1 for nouns. Slight variations in the paradigms depending on the existence of a root-final glides /-j-/ and /-w-/ (historically the -*ja*-/-*jō*- and the -*wa*-/-*wō*-stems) correspond to those described above for nouns in Section 1.2.1 and in Section 1.2.2.

1.3.2 Weak adjectives

The endings of the weak adjectives correspond to those of the nominal class 5 (cf. Section 1.2.5). Only the forms of the genitive plural correspond to the pronominal paradigms. However, while most forms use the pronominal -*ra*, some early West Saxon texts attest to the alternative suffix -*ena* for the genitive plural. In contrast to the strong adjectives, there is no form distinguishing the instrumental case from the dative. Gender distinctions exist only in the nominative and accusative singular. The default forms are shown in Table 5.15:

Table 5.15: Weak adjectives (*gōd* 'good')

	SG			PL
	MASC	**FEM**	**NEUT**	
NOM	*gōd-a*	*gōd-e*	*gōd-e*	*gōd-an*
ACC	*gōd-an*	*gōd-an*	*gōd-e*	*gōd-an*
DAT		*gōd-an*		*gōd-um*
GEN		*gōd-an*		*gōd-ra, gōd-ena* (early WSax.)

1.3.3 Comparison of adjectives

As in most IE languages, the only independent morphological category of adjectives is comparison with the positive as the default value and the marked values comparative and superlative. The comparative (COMPR) is formed with the suffix *-ra*. Because this is homophonous with the genitive plural suffix, the forms for this value usually have only one of the two suffixes, so that the form for the comparative in the nominative singular is identical with that for the positive in the genitive plural. An alternative strategy is used in Northumbrian where the suffix *-rena* is used for the genitive plural of comparative forms.

The suffix for the superlative (SUP) varies between *-ost*, *-ast*, and *-est*. More archaic variants of the same morpheme are *-ust* (whence *-ost*). The variation is probably owed to two competing sets of suffixes in Proto-Germanic: **-ōzan-/ *-ōsta-* and **-izan-/*-ista-* (COMPR/SUP). The fact that some adjectives show *i*-umlaut in the comparative and superlative forms whereas most adjectives do not (cf. Table 5.16) is further evidence for the different sets of suffixes. The predominance of the superlative *-est* (< **-ista-*) in Old English (and in the later history of English) must therefore have developed after *i*-umlaut affected the roots.

While some adjectives show irregular formations due to phonological cross-influences of suffixes and roots, but use etymologically the same root (labelled "idiosyncratic" in Table 5.16), some frequent adjectives employ hybrid paradigms, i.e., their forms are based on an etymologically different root in the comparative and superlative forms than the positive form. Cf. Table 5.16.

Table 5.16: Comparison of adjectives

	POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE
regular without *i*-umlaut	*earm* 'poor'	*earm-ra*	*earm-ost, -ast, -est*
	glæd 'glad'	*glæd-ra*	*glæd-ost, -ast, -est*
regular with *i*-umlaut	*eald* 'old'	*ield-ra*	*ield-est*
	lang 'long'	*leng-ra*	*leng-est*
idiosyncratic	*micel* 'great'	*māra*	*mǣst*
	lȳtel 'little'	*lǣssa*	*lǣst*
hybrid	*gōd* 'good'	*bet(t)(e)ra*	*bet(e)st, best*
		sēlra, sella	*sēlest*
	yfel 'bad'	*wiersa*	*wierrest, wierst*

1.3.4 The formation of adverbs

There are two (sets of) suffixes to form adverbs from adjectives. Most frequent is the suffix *-e*, as in *clǣn* 'pure', *clǣn-e* 'purely'. The ultimate source of this suffix is, according to Brunner (1965: 249, Section 315), a PIE ablative marker. Because adverbs from adjectives formed with the adjectivizer *-lic* frequently occur, the two suffixes (*-lic-* and *-e*) are reanalysed as one adverbial marker, so that sometimes adjectives form their adverbial forms with *-lice* (whence PDE *-ly* ADV). Moreover, two suffix variants *-unga* and *-inga* form adverbs out of any other word class. Hence, *ān-inga* 'entirely' from *ān* 'one', *fǣr-inga* 'suddenly' from *fǣr* 'attack', *eall-unga* 'entirely' from *eall* 'all'.

Some inflected forms of adjectives – mostly genitive forms – can be used adverbially and have been lexicalized as adverbs, e.g. *eall-es* 'entirely' from 'all-GEN.MASC', *micl-es* 'very' from 'great-GEN.MASC', *singal-es* 'always' from 'constant-GEN.MASC'. In the same way case/number forms of nouns can be used as adverbial adjuncts from which some forms became lexicalized as adverbs. Examples are *dæg-es* 'day-GEN.SG' > 'by day', *þonc-es* 'gratitude-GEN.SG' > 'willingly', *hwēn-e* 'small amount-INSTR.SG' > 'a little (ADV)', *fācn-e* 'fraud-DAT.SG' > 'deceitfully', *hwīl-um* 'while-DAT.PL' > 'sometimes'. Adverbs formed from adjectives and a number of lexicalized adverbs form their comparative with *-or* and their superlative with *-ost*, with some variation in the vowel of the suffix.

1.4 Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numerals are uninflected if they immediately precede a quantified noun. If not, cardinal numerals from '1' to '12' inflect for case and gender. The numerals *ān* '1', and those from '4' to '12' use adjectival endings. The numerals for '2' and '3' have their own paradigms, displayed in Tables 5.17 and 5.18, respectively. They contain partly independent forms, and partly forms that correspond roughly with the pronominal paradigms. Multiples of '10' may or may not be inflected. If they are, the relevant suffixes are those of noun class 1b or of 3. In the genitive they may also use the suffix *-ra*. The same holds for *hund* '100' and for *þusend* '1000'. For a detailed description of the Old English numeral system, the numeral forms and their morphological variants, and for the principles of the formation of complex numerals see von Mengden (2010: Chapters II and III).

Table 5.17: Inflectional paradigm of *twā* '2'

	MASC	**FEM**	**NEUT**
NOM/ACC	*twēgen*	*twā*	*twā, tū*
DAT		*twām, twǣm*	
GEN		*twēg(e)a, twēg(e)ra*	

Table 5.18: Inflectional paradigm of *þrēo* '3'

	MASC	**FEM**	**NEUT**
NOM/ACC	*þrīe*	*þrēo*	*þrēo*
DAT		*þrim*	
GEN		*þrēora*	

1.5 Pronouns

The four main types of pronouns in Old English – demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, and interrogative pronouns – all show slightly different patterns with respect to inflectional categories. When modifying a noun or when used anaphorically, pronouns generally agree with the co-referential noun in number, case, and gender. There is no gender distinction in the plural. If appropriate, differences in the agreement patterns among the four types are mentioned individually in the following sections.

1.5.1 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns, often labelled "simple" vs. "composite" (Brunner 1965: Section 337–338: "einfach" vs. "zusammengesetzt") and "definite article" vs. "demonstrative" (Lass 1994: Section 6.2.2). The latter distinction is justified in so far as the one demonstrative develops into a definite marker. However, although towards the end of the period marking definite reference increasingly becomes its main function, this is never a necessary use and even in late texts definiteness is not systematically encoded. The former distinction – simple vs. composite – is motivated by the etymology of the composite demonstrative, which emerged from the fusion of the inflected form of the simple demonstrative form and a particle *-si*. Neither of these sets of labels describes the

synchronic situation of the OE period adequately. Because the distribution of the two sets of demonstratives roughly corresponds to that of the PDE pronouns *that* and *this*, the terms "distal" and "proximal" appear more adequate. As the distal demonstratives are clearly more frequent, they can be said to be the default set of demonstrative pronouns (cf. Hogg and Fulk 2011: Section 5.3).

Both sets of demonstratives distinguish five case/number values, including instrumental forms for masculine and neuter singular. The most frequent forms of the two paradigms are shown in Tables 5.19 and 5.20.

Table 5.19: Distal demonstratives

	SG			PL
	MASC	**FEM**	**NEUT**	
NOM	*se*	*sēo*	*þæt*	*þā*
DAT	*þām*	*þǣre*	*þām*	*þām, þǣm*
ACC	*þone*	*þā*	*þæt*	*þā*
GEN	*þæs*	*þǣre*	*þæs*	*þāra, þǣra*
INSTR	*þon*, *þȳ*	–	*þon*, *þȳ*	–

Table 5.20: Proximal demonstratives

	SG			PL
	MASC	**FEM**	**NEUT**	
NOM	*þes*	*þēos*	*þis*	*þās*
ACC	*þisne*	*þās*	*þis*	*þās*
DAT	*þissum*	*þisse*	*þissum*	*þissum*
GEN	*þisses*	*þisse*	*þisses*	*þissa*
INSTR	*þȳs*	–	*þȳs*	–

1.5.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish case/number as described above. Additionally there are distinct forms for the first, second, and third person. There is no distinction between an inclusive and an exclusive use of the first person plural. The pronoun of the third person also distinguishes gender in the singular. There are four case values (no instrumental) and three number values (singular, dual, plural) for the first and second person and two (no dual) for the third person. The first and second person paradigms show no formal distinction between dative

and accusative, except in Anglian texts where the accusative forms *mec* '1P.SG', *uncet* '1P.DU', *ūsic* '1P.PL' and *ðec* '2P.SG', *incit* '2P.DU' and *ēowic* '2P.PL' occur. Cf. Tables 5.21–5.23.

Table 5.21: Personal pronoun of the first person

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	*ic*	*wit*	*we*
ACC/DAT	*me*	*unc*	*ūs*
GEN	*mīn*	*uncer*	*ūre*

Table 5.22: Personal pronoun of the second person

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	*þu*	*git*	*ge*
ACC/DAT	*þe*	*inc*	*ēow*
GEN	*þīn*	*incer*	*ēower*

Table 5.23: Personal pronoun of the third person

	SG			PL
	MASC	FEM	NEUT	
NOM	*he*	*hēo*	*hit*	*hī(e)*, *hēo*
ACC	*hine*	*hī(e)*	*hit*	*hī(e)*, *hēo*
DAT	*him*	*hire*	*him*	*him*
GEN	*his*	*hire*	*his*	*hira*, *heora*

Possessive pronouns are derived from the genitive forms of personal pronouns. In addition to their original case value they can inflect for cases using the suffixes of the strong adjectives (Section 1.3.1). For the third person, there is an independent possessive *sīn*, but it is clearly less frequent than the forms based on *his*.

1.5.3 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns have a reduced gender distinction. Nominative and accusative forms distinguish between common and neuter, whereas the other case forms have no gender distinction at all. There are forms for five cases, i.e., including the instrumental. Plural forms do not exist. The forms are shown in Table 5.24.

Table 5.24: Interrogative pronoun

	MASC/FEM	NEUT
NOM	*hwa*	*hwæt*
ACC	*hwone*	*hwæt*
DAT	*hwām, hwǣm*	
GEN	*hwæs*	
INSTR	*hwī, hwȳ*	

2 Inflectional morphology of verbs

2.1 The morphological categories of verbs

All verbs generally encode two tense values, past and present. For both tenses, there are two mood values, indicative (IND) and subjunctive (SUBJ). The indicative is the default value and the subjunctive is mainly used when the predication represents the wish of the speaker rather than a real event. In some handbooks it is therefore referred to as "optative". A third mood value, the imperative (IMP), does not distinguish tense.

As in all Grmc. languages, there are two main groups of verbs in Old English, traditionally called "weak" and "strong", which do not differ in the inflectional categories/values they encode, but do differ considerably in the morphological strategy used for encoding the values. While weak verbs employ suffixes only (and one circumfix), strong verbs use a system of transfixes (on the distinction between the various types of affixes and the terminology involved cf. Mel'čuk 2000: Sections 3.2.2–5; Mel'čuk 2006: Sections 3.3.2–5.) The transfix-patterns go back to morphophonemic ablaut alternations in Proto-Indo-European; see von Mengden (2011). The affix system of weak verbs emerged during the common Germanic period. Weak and strong verbs will be treated differently in the main sections 2.2 and 2.3 below.

The verb agrees with the subject in person and number. Number is distinguished between singular and plural (the latter also used when the subject is in the dual). Only in the indicative singular are first, second, and third person distinguished. Generally, the degree of syncretism is considerably smaller among the inflectional markers of verbs than in the nominal paradigms. There are three types of infinite verb forms for each OE verb, the infinitive (INF), a present participle (PRTC.PRES) and a past participle (PRTC.PAST), all inflecting for case/ number and gender like adjectives (cf. Section 1.3). Analytic constructions with

auxiliaries (most commonly *beon*/*wesan* 'be', *habban* 'have' and *weorðan* 'become') and participles are attested, but they do not seem to be used as systematically for particular tense/aspect/mood values as they are in Present-day English; for details cf. Mitchell (1985, I: Sections 682–743). Finally, the combination of an auxiliary (*beon*/*wesan* or *weorðan*) with the past participle can be used to form past constructions; cf. Mitchell (1985, I: Sections 744–858). On the functions of the two participles cf. further Mitchell (1985, I: Sections 972–989) and on the infinitive cf. Mitchell (1985, I, Sections 920–971).

2.2 Weak verbs

2.2.1 Preliminaries

Synchronically, the three classes of weak verbs postulated in traditional descriptions do not differ in the paradigmatic use of inflectional endings. The only differences are morphophonemic alternations in a number of forms affecting either suffix or root which result from different derivational suffixes in Proto-Germanic. Such alternations can, however, also be observed within some of the three classes – resulting from later morphophonemic cross-influences between suffix and root – so that the traditional class distinction is based on an arbitrary choice of criteria.

I therefore assume a strictly synchronic perspective and deviate slightly from the common classification. In order to avoid confusion with other descriptions, I use letters instead of Arabic numerals to label the classes. My classes a, b, and c correspond to the three subclasses of what is commonly labelled class 1 (but note that the order of the sub-classes of 1 differs from handbook to handbook), while my classes d and e correspond to the traditional classes 2 and 3, respectively. Of these five classes of weak verbs only class a does not show any significant systematic alternation in the root. I will therefore take this class as the prototypical paradigm, on the basis of which I will discuss some general characteristics of weak verbs and then, in the subsequent subsection, present the other classes.

2.2.2 Class a

The default paradigm of weak verbs is exemplified in Table 5.25. It is remarkable that in a strongly inflecting language like Old English (in contrast to both agglutinating and to analytic), there is a suffix (-*d*-) which is an unambiguous marker of the tense value past. The fact that this suffix -*d*- is the only morphologi-

cal marker in all the paradigms of Old English with a truly distinctive one-to-one relation between form and value may indicate that this morpheme is rather young. The participle is marked either by the circumfix *ge-__-d* or by the suffix *-d*. The two are used in free variation except with prefixed verbs, when the suffix is used throughout.

Table 5.25: Class a of weak verbs (*hīeran* 'hear')

		P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST.SUBJ
finite	SG	1	*hīer-e*	—	*hīer-e*	*hīer-d-e*	*hīer-d-e*
		2	*hīer-est*	*hīer-Ø*	*hīer-e*	*hīer-d-est*	*hīer-d-e*
		3	*hīer-þ*	—	*hīer-e*	*hīer-d-e*	*hīer-d-e*
	PL		*hīer-i-aþ*	—	*hīer-en*	*hīer-d-on*	*hīer-d-en*

	INF			
UNINFLECTED	**INFLECTED**		**PRTC.PRES**	**PRTC.PAST**
hīer-i-an	*hīer-i-enn-*		*hīer-i-end-*	*(ge-)hīer-d-*

In many handbooks the suffix *-aþ* is specified to mark the imperative plural. But since in negations the imperative function can be expressed by the uninflected infinitive or by the subjunctive plural (Brunner 1965: Sections 362.2–3), it seems doubtful to assume a distinct form for the value imperative plural, which is homophonous with the indicative plural and which is not used in a number of contexts which are functionally imperative.

2.2.3 Other classes of weak verbs

The following three classes – b, c, and d – show corresponding patterns of a secondary stem formation. In contrast to class a, classes b, c, and d insert a linking element between root and suffix. Synchronically, linkers could be interpreted as a thematic element, but historically they are remainders of derivational suffixes. Within each paradigm, these elements occur in the second and third person of the present indicative, in the imperative, in all past tense forms, and in the past participle.

Class b: These are verbs whose root consists of a short syllable ending in /-r-/. Here, the linker is a glide, usually /-j-/, which is represented in the manuscripts either as ⟨-g-⟩ or as ⟨-i-⟩. Sometimes, the glide is /-w-/, as in *ic gierwe* 'I prepare', *þu gierest* 'thou preparest'. Cf. Table 5.26.

Table 5.26: Class b of weak verbs (*herian* 'ravage')

		P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST.SUBJ
finite	SG	1	*her-i-e*	—	*her-i-e*	*her-ed-e*	*her-ed-e*
		2	*her-est*	*her-e*	*her-i-e*	*her-ed-est*	*her-ed-e*
		3	*her-eþ*	—	*her-i-e*	*her-ed-e*	*her-ed-e*
	PL		*her-i-aþ*	—	*her-i-en*	*her-ed-on*	*her-ed-en*

non-finite	INF		
	UNINFLECTED	INFLECTED	PRTC.PRES	PRTC.PAST
	her-i-an	*her-i-enn-*	*her-i-end-*	*(ge-)her-ed-*

Class c: In principle, the pattern of class c is the same as that of class b. The verbs of this class have short syllables ending in a consonant other than /-r-/. Instead of inserting a glide as linker between root and suffix in the relevant forms, the root-final consonant is geminated. Classes b and c also share the past tense marker *-ed-* and the imperative singular marker *-e* and the marker for the past participle *(ge-)__-ed*. Cf. Table 5.27.

Table 5.27: Class c of weak verbs (*fremman* 'accomplish')

		P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST.SUBJ
finite	SG	1	*frem-m-e*	—	*frem-m-e*	*frem-ed-e*	*freme-d-e*
		2	*frem-(e)st*	*frem-e*	*frem-m-e*	*freme-ed-est*	*freme-d-e*
		3	*frem-(e)þ*	—	*frem-m-e*	*freme-ed-e*	*freme-d-e*
	PL		*frem-m-aþ*	—	*frem-m-en*	*frem-ed-on*	*freme-d-en*

non-finite	INF		
	UNINFLECTED	INFLECTED	PRTC.PRES	PRTC.PAST
	frem-m-an	*frem-m-enn-*	*frem-m-end-*	*(ge-)frem-ed-*

Class d: The linking element of this class is /-i-/. In those forms in which this results in a pattern /-i-ə/, an epenthetic glide, spelled ⟨-g-⟩, is inserted. The markers for the second and third person in the present tense are *-ast* and *-aþ* rather than *-est* and *-eþ*. The marker for the imperative singular is *-a*. Also the past tense marker is different from the other classes, i.e., *-od*, and accordingly, the circumfix for the past participle is *(ge-)__-od*. Cf. Table 5.28.

Table 5.28: Class d of weak verbs (*lōcian* 'look')

		P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST.SUBJ
finite	SG	1	*lōc-ig-e*	—	*lōc-ig-e*	*lōc-od-e*	*lōc-od-e*
		2	*lōc-ast*	*lōc-a*	*lōc-ig-e*	*lōc-od-est*	*lōc-od-e*
		3	*lōc-aþ*	—	*lōc-ig-e*	*lōc-od-e*	*lōc-od-e*
	PL		*lōc-i-aþ*	—	*lōc-ig-en*	*lōc-od-on*	*lōc-od-en*

	INF		
non-finite UNINFLECTED	INFLECTED	PRTC.PRES	PRTC.PAST
lōc-i-an	*lōc-i-enn-*	*lōc-i-end-*	(*ge-*)*lōc-od-*

Class e: Only four verbs survive that historically go back to a different derivational pattern. They are therefore usually grouped into a distinct class of weak verbs. The relevant verbs are all frequent lexemes (*habban* 'have', *libban* 'live', *secgan* 'say', and *hycgan* 'think') so that their forms are not completely irrelevant in spite of the low type-frequency of this class.

There is, as in all marginal classes, considerable variation among the four patterns. It may therefore suffice to say that their inflectional pattern is generally the same as that of the other classes; there is a high degree of alternation in the root because both the root vowel (*i*-umlaut) and the root final consonants alternate within the paradigms (e.g. *habban* 'have', *ic hæbbe* 'I have', *þu hæfst/þu hafast* 'thou hast').

2.3 Strong verbs

Strong verbs use a complex pattern of transfixes to mark tense/aspect/mood, person, and number values. Historically, the paradigm combines an inherited system of suffixation and a systematization of the once morphophonological IE ablaut alternation. For this reason, the traditional description distinguishes between ablaut vowels and suffixes as markers of strong verbs. Apart from being historically justified, this approach is also motivated by the fact that there are strong parallels in the paradigms of weak and strong verbs in regard to the suffixes encoding person/number distinctions, whereas the apophonic alternation of the root vowels is an exclusive feature of the strong verbs.

For each verb paradigm, there are four different variants of root-medial vowels – vowel 1 for the present tense, the infinitive and the present participle, vowel 2 for the first and third person singular of the past tense, vowel 3 for the

second person singular and the plural of the past tense and, finally, vowel 4 for the past participle. The seven classes of strong verbs are distinguished by the different sets of root-medial vowels they use in the respective sets of values. Table 5.29 shows the general pattern that holds for all classes of strong verbs. In the following, the four different ablaut vowels are marked by Arabic numerals and are also distinguished by the different shades of the boxes. "C" indicates the two consonantal segments constituting the root template.

Table 5.29: General pattern of transfixes of Old English strong verbs

		P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST.SUBJ
finite	SG	1	*C-1-C-e*			*C-1-C-Ø*	
		2	*C-1-C-st*	*C-2-C-Ø*	*C-3-C-e*	*C-3-C-e*	*C-1-C-e*
		3	*C-1-C-þ*			*C-2-C-Ø*	
	PL		*C-1-C-aþ*	—	*C-1-C-en*	*C-3-C-on*	*C-3-C-en*

	INF			
non-finite	UNINFLECTED	INFLECTED	PRTC.PRES	PRTC.PAST
	C-1-C-an	*C-1-C-enn-*	*C-1-C-end-*	*(ge-)C-4-C-en-*

Table 5.29 shows that in most cases neither ablaut nor suffix alone suffice to unambiguously encode a particular value, but that both strategies have to be used in combination. From a synchronic perspective, it is in this respect clearly a system of transfixes rather than an ablaut system combined with a set of suffixes (which it is diachronically). But even from a diachronic perspective, the classification is not consistent: the seven sets of apophonic vowels which are taken as definitory of the seven verb classes do not correspond with the original ablaut series of Proto-Indo-European. If the classification were strictly diachronic, classes I to III would have to be comprised as one, similarly classes IV and V. Class VII, by contrast, is based on a completely different morphological strategy, i.e., reduplication rather than apophony (cf. Mailhammer 2007: 53–111). Moreover, the distinction between classes I, II and III is based on the same grounds as the subclassification of class III into IIIa, IIIb, and IIIc, namely morphophonemic alterations. The only period for which the seven classes are postulated to have been regular is Proto-Germanic. However, it remains an open question whether it is a plausible hypothesis to reconstruct a regular system, when any earlier and any later stage contained idiosyncrasies. Therefore, although the seven sets of ablaut vowels have some significance for Old English (they do at least have a mnemonic value) they cannot be taken as a morphological system independent of that of the suffixes. I will therefore treat the system of OE strong verbs as a system

of transfixes, but retain the traditional categorization into seven classes; see von Mengden (2011).

In Table 5.30, the templates of Table 5.29 are applied to the class II verb *crēopan* 'creep', so that at least one full paradigm is shown. Table 5.31 presents the vowel series of the seven classes and the most important subclasses. Table 5.32 gives one representative of each of the four ablaut vowels for every class. The whole transfixal pattern can then be inferred easily from Table 5.29 and from the respective set of ablaut vowels of Table 5.31.

Finally, it should be noted that the suffixes for the second and third person singular indicative caused *i*-umlaut on the medial vowel (vowel 1 in Tables 5.29 and 5.31). The disruption of the paradigm is sometimes levelled out, but is retained in most cases. The resulting variation of vowel 1 is disregarded in Table 5.29, but can be seen in the present indicative forms of *crēopan* in Table 5.30.

Table 5.30: Class II of Old English strong verbs

		P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST.SUBJ
finite	SG	1	*cr-ēo-p-e*			*cr-ēo-p-Ø*	
		2	*cr-īe-p-st*	*cr-ēa-p-Ø*	*cr-ēo-p-e*	*cr-u-p-e*	*cr-u-p-e*
		3	*cr-īe-p-þ*			*cr-ēa-p-Ø*	
	PL		*cr-ēo-p-aþ*	—	*cr-ēo-p-en*	*cr-u-p-on*	*cr-u-p-en*

		INF				
non-finite	UNINFLECTED		INFLECTED	PRTC.PRES	PRTC.PAST
	cr-ēo-p-an		*cr-ēo-p-enn-*	*cr-ēo-p-end-*	*(ge-)cr-o-p-en-*

Table 5.31: The ablaut vowels of the strong verbs

	1	2	3	4
I	*-ī-*	*-ā-*	*-i-*	*-i-*
II	*-ēo-*	*-ēa-*	*-u-*	*-o-*
IIIa	*-i-*	*-a-*	*-u-*	*-u-*
IIIb	*-e-*	*-ea-*	*-u-*	*-o-*
IIIc	*-eo-*	*-ea-*	*-u-*	*-o-*
IV	*-e-*	*-æ-*	*-ǣ-*	*-o-*
V	*-e-*	*-æ-*	*-ǣ-*	*-e-*
VI	*-a-*	*-ō-*	*-ō-*	*-a-*
VIIa	*-V-*	*-ē-*	*-ē-*	*-V-*
VIIb	*-V-*	*-ēo-*	*-ēo-*	*-V-*

Table 5.32: Examples of strong verbs

	INF	1P.PAST.IND	PL.PAST.IND	PRTC.PAST	
I	*sc-ī-n-an*	*sc-ā-n*	*sc-i-n-on*	*(ge-)sc-i-n-en-*	'shine'
II	*cr-ēo-p-an*	*cr-ēa-p*	*cr-u-p-on*	*(ge-)cr-o-p-en-*	'creep'
IIIa	*b-i-nd-an*	*b-a-nd*	*b-u-nd-on*	*(ge-)b-u-nd-en-*	'bind'
IIIb	*h-e-lp-an*	*h-ea-lp*	*h-u-lp-on*	*(ge-)h-o-lp-en-*	'help'
IIIc	*w-eo-rp-an*	*w-ea-rp*	*w-u-rp-on*	*(ge-)w-o-rp-en-*	'throw'
IV	*b-e-r-an*	*b-æ-r*	*b-ǣ-r-on*	*(ge-)b-o-r-en-*	'bear'
V	*spr-e-c-an*	*spr-æ-c*	*spr-ǣ-c-on*	*(ge-)spr-o-c-en-*	'speak'
VI	*f-a-r-an*	*f-ō-r*	*f-ō-r-on*	*(ge-)f-a-r-en-*	'travel'
VIIa	*h-a-t-an*	*h-ē-t*	*h-ē-t-on*	*(ge-)h-a-t-en-*	'command'
VIIb	*cn-ā-w-an*	*cn-ēo-w*	*cn-ēo-w-on*	*(ge-)cn-ā-w-en-*	'know'

The characteristic of class III is that the second root segment consists of two elements. Different consonant combinations in this cluster define the sub-classification of class III: in IIIa, a nasal (N) follows the ablaut vowel (C-V-NC-), in IIIb it is /-l-/ (C-V-lC-) and in IIIc it is /-r-/ (C-V-rC-). Vowel 2 varies in class IIIa due to the free variation between [-a-] and [-ɑ-] of the phoneme /-a-/ before nasals, so that *band* occurs in the sources equivalent to *bond*. The second form of class IIIb varies between /-ea-/ in West Saxon and /-a-/ in non-West Saxon varieties.

Vowel 3 varies dialectally in classes IV and V between *-ǣ-* in West Saxon and *-ē-* in non-West-Saxon varieties. In class VI, vowel 1 is to some degree subject to variation, partly dialectal, partly morphophonemic.

Synchronically, the verbs of class VII inflect according to the same principle as the other classes of strong verbs. Historically, however, their vowel alternation does not go back to the Indo-European ablaut pattern. Formerly, these verbs formed their past tense through reduplication. The vowel patterns of this class arose through contraction of the root and the reduplicating syllable. In class VII, the root vowels 2 and 3 are always the same. This vowel can be either *-ē-* or *-ēo-* and the subclassification into VIIa and VIIb is according to this distinction. Vowels 1 and 4 are also the same in almost all verbs of this class. However, there is a greater variety of vowels that are used in these positions. Most frequently it is *-a-*, but other vowels often occur, while the identity of vowels 1 and 4 is always maintained.

2.4 Irregular verbs

Some verbs show patterns that cannot be grouped as weak or strong. Their irregularities have various sources. The most important group of irregular verbs are called "preterit-present" verbs, because they are derived from past tense forms of (mostly extinct) strong verbs. The past tense acquired a present meaning which then developed an independent inflectional paradigm. For example, the past tense of a verb 'see' gives rise to a perfective interpretation. Because 'having seen' implies 'knowledge', a new verb meaning 'know' is lexicalized on the basis of the old past tense form. This is the case with OE *wit-an* 'know' which is cognate with Lt. *vid-ere* 'see'. OE *witan* 'know' serves as an example of a paradigm of preterit-present verbs in Table 5.33. However, none of the verbs have identical paradigms and the paradigms of some of these verbs are incomplete, either because the relevant forms are not attested or because they never developed. It is therefore not possible to infer from Table 5.33 the forms of other verbs of this group. Some, but by far not all of them, are used as modal verbs. These are: *sceal* 'have to', *mōt* 'be allowed to', *mæg* 'be able to'.

Table 5.33: *witan* 'know'

	P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST.SUBJ
finite SG	1	*wāt*	*wite*	*wiste*	–
	2	*wāst*	*wite*	*wiste*	–
	3	*wāt*	*wite*	*wiste*	–
PL		*witan*	*witen*	*wistan*	–

non-finite	INF	PRTC.PRES	PRTC.PAST
	witan	*witende*	*gewiten*

There are a few other irregular verbs which are not preterit-present verbs. They share the characteristic that the past tense root differs from that of the present tense. These paradigms can be either idiosyncratic through morphophonemic changes (*willan* 'want' – *wold-e* 'want-PAST'; *dōn* 'do' – *dyd-e* 'do-PAST') or they can be completely hybrid in that there are two completely different roots involved (*gān* 'go' – *ēod-e* 'go-PAST').

Finally, the forms of the copula constitute a hybrid paradigm consisting of three different roots. For some values, forms from two different roots exist. Cf. Table 5.34:

Table 5.34: The copula BE

		P	PRES.IND	IMP	PRES.SUBJ	PAST.IND	PAST. SUBJ
finite	SG	1	*eom/bēo*	—	*sīe/bēo*	*wæs*	*wǣre*
		2	*eart/bist*	*wes*	*sīe/bēo*	*wǣre*	*wǣre*
		3	*is/biþ*	—	*sīe/bēo*	*wæs*	*wǣre*
	PL		*sind*(*on*)/*bēoþ*	—	*sīen/bēon*	*wǣron*	*wǣren*

non-finite	INF			
	UNINFLECTED	INFLECTED	PRTC.PRES	PRTC.PAST
	wesan/bēon	*wesann-/bēonn-*	*wesende/bēonde*	*gebēon*

3 References

Blake, Barry J. 2001. *Case*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brunner, Karl. 1965. *Altenglische Grammatik: Nach der Angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers. Dritte, neubearbeitete Auflage*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Hogg, Richard M. and R. D. Fulk. 2011. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. II. *Morphology*. Malden, MA/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lass, Roger. 1994. *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mailhammer, Robert. 2007. *The Germanic Strong Verbs: Foundation and Development of a New System*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mel'čuk, Igor. 2000. Morphological processes. In: Geert Booij, Christian Lehmann, and Joachim Mugdan in collaboration with Wolfgang Kesselheim and Stavros Skopeteas (eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*, 523–535. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mel'čuk, Igor. 2006. *Aspects of the Theory of Morphology*. Ed. by David Beck. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

von Mengden, Ferdinand. 2010. *Cardinal Numerals: Old English from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

von Mengden, Ferdinand. 2011. Ablaut or Transfixation? On the Old English Strong Verbs. In: Renate Bauer und Ulrike Krischke (eds.), *More than Words: English Lexicography and Lexicology Past and Present. Essays Presented to Hans Sauer on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Part I, 123–139. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.

Rafał Molencki
Chapter 6:
Syntax

Abstract: As a typical Germanic language, Old English has a predominantly synthetic syntax. Flexible word order is determined on pragmatic grounds rather than according to strict syntactic rules. There is a theoretical controversy as to whether the underlying order is sov or in transition from sov to svo. Nouns take four cases, but since in most declensions nominative and accusative forms are identical, the subject-object contrast has to be shown by position rather than by inflectional endings. Finite verbs basically take two tenses (present and preterit), but complex tense forms (especially ancestors of the modern perfect) are also found. The subjunctive mood is the norm in nonfactive contexts and/or in some types of subordinate clauses. Old English makes use of two infinitives (plain vs. inflected) and two participles (active vs. passive). In clause combining paratactic devices (very often repetitive) are much more frequent than subordination.

1 Introduction

Old English displays many features of a synthetic language, whose grammar relies heavily on inflectional endings rather than position of sentence elements and use of independent grammatical words. Nouns take four cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative), while adjectives and certain pronouns additionally have the instrumental. Finite verbs have two morphological tenses (present and preterit), but many instances of complex tense-aspect forms, particularly

Rafał Molencki: Katowice (Poland)

perfect, are also attested. The passive voice is analytic as well. The subjunctive mood has a wide range of predominantly nonfactive uses and is also obligatory in some types of subordinate clauses. Nonfinite forms include the plain infinitive, the inflected infinitive and the active and passive participles. Pragmatically-oriented word order is far more flexible than in Modern English (ModE). Although parataxis is a much more common device of clause combining than subordination, numerous types of subordinate clauses are available. In many cases, however, the borderline between parataxis and hypotaxis is blurred at this early stage of the development of English syntax. There are many parallels between the syntaxes of Old English, Modern German, and Modern Dutch, which is the evidence of their common Germanic heritage.

Old English syntax has been studied for more than a century within various theoretical frameworks: traditional philological, structural, generative, semantics-based (including grammaticalization and cognitive theory). We can find purely descriptive accounts and highly abstract theoretical models of explanation. Space does not allow us to present all the interpretations, but some attention will be paid to the main theoretical debates. The illustrating language material in this chapter comes mostly from both early and late Old English prose, as poetic texts were subject to the formal requirements of meter and alliteration and also to deliberate archaizing, which affected their syntax significantly. The short titles of the texts follow the standard conventions for Old English (cf. Mitchell 1985).

2 Word order

2.1 Word order patterns

As a synthetic language, Old English is characterized by a flexible word order where pragmatic factors such as old vs. new information, topicalization, and the "heaviness" of an element play a decisive role. The categorial status of the element (e.g. pronoun vs. full NP, simple vs. complex VP) matters a great deal, too. There is rich literature concerning Old English word order (e.g. Bean 1983; Mitchell 1985; Traugott 1992; Denison 1993). Within the generative framework (e.g. Traugott 1972; Koopman 1990; Stockwell and Minkova 1991), labels such as SVO, SVO stand for the abstract underlying order rather than the patterns frequently attested in the available texts. Some studies (e.g. van Kemenade 1987; Colman 1988; Pintzuk and Kroch 1989) claim that the underlying order was (S)OV, while others (e.g. Vennemann 1974; Allen 1980; Pintzuk 1996) believe that Old English was in transition from the original Germanic (S)OV towards (S)VO (possibly via an intermediate obligatory verb-second stage), especially since later texts have fewer

occurrences of verb-final patterns. Finite verb fronting is much more common in main clauses, whereas nonfinites tend to be final. But there is a great deal of variation between ov and vo in all kinds of clauses. All surface arrangements are possible, but statistically subordinate clauses tend to be (s)ov while the most common (and pragmatically unmarked) sequencing in the affirmative main clause is (s)vo, as in (1). When the object is pronominal, it usually precedes the verb (2a), but svo is also possible (2b):

(1) *se cyning 7 þa ricostan men drincað myran meolc* (*Or* 16.7)
     'the king and the noblest men drink mare's milk'

(2) a. *Gregorius hine afligde* (*ÆCHom* i.22.624)
        Gregory   him   expelled
        'Gregory expelled him'
    b. *Mathathias ofsloh hine sona* (*ÆLS* [*Maccabees*] 224)
        'Mathathias killed him soon'

The presence of an adverbial at the beginning of a sentence usually triggers inversion, making the clause verb-second xvs(o) (e.g. 3, 4b, 11c, 20a, 30, 50). The same order is also used in main clauses starting with topics (i.e. syntactically prominent elements referring to what the clause is about, as in 5c, 10b) as well as with negative and interrogative words (4a). In dependent questions the subject follows the interrogative pronoun immediately (4b):

(3) *Her gewende Cnut cyng to Denmearcon* (*ChronE* 1019)
     'Here (=this year) went King Canute to Denmark'

(4) a. *Hwæt sprycest þu cyning?* (*Bede* 196.21)
        what speakest thou king
        'What do you say, my king?'
    b. *Ða fregn he mec hwæðer ic wiste hwa ðæt wære* (*Bede* 402.13)
        then asked he me whether I knew who that were-subj
        'then he asked me if I knew who it was'

Other word orders are possible for pragmatic reasons, such as focus, emphasis, old vs. new information, heaviness of elements, etc. For example, direct objects are given prominence by being fronted at the head of their clauses in (5b) and (5c):

(5) a. *Ic ðinum gedwylde dearnunge miltsige* (*ÆCHom* ii.138.2)   sov
     I thy heresy secretly pity
     'I secretly pity your heresy'

    b. *Fela Godes wundra we habbað gehyred* (*ÆCHom* i.578.28)   osv
     many God's wonders we have heard
     'We have heard of God's many wonders'

    c. *hiene ofslog an efor* (*ChronA* 885)   ovs
     him killed one boar
     'a wild boar killed him'

    d. *ða andswarudon him sume þara bocera* (*Lk* [*WSCp*] 20.30)   vos
     'then some of the scribes answered him'

The typical Germanic word order in subordinate clauses (e.g. 6a, 34, 51, 57) and, interestingly, in coordinate main clauses (52, 53), is sov, but svo is also possible in the subordinate clause (6b, 43d, 54):

(6) a. ... *gif he þa ylde hæfde* (*ÆLS* 31.27)
       if he the age had
     '... if he had been old enough'

    b. *he cwæð ðæt ðær se iil hæfde his holh* (*CP* 241.5)
     'he said that there the hedgehog had his hole'

Complex verb phrases usually occur in the so-called "brace construction", where the auxiliary follows the subject immediately and the nonfinite main verb appears at the end of the clause (7a), though the two verbs can also be clustered (7b, 44b, 62). In subordinate clauses the finite auxiliary is usually put at the end, but the brace construction and the juxtaposition can be found too, as in the examples from *Orosius* under (8):

(7) a. *Wif **sceal** wiþ wer wære **gehealdan*** (*Max I* 100)
     wife shall with husband faith hold
     'A wife must keep faith with her man'

    b. *Se lareow **sceal bion** on his weorcum healic* (*CP* 81.2)
     'the teacher shall be in his works excellent'

(8) a. *æfter þæm þe hie þiss **gesprecen** **hæfdon** ...* (51.29)
     after this that they this promised had
     'After they had promised that ...'

b. *æfter þæm þe Philippus* **hæfde** *ealle Crecas on his*
after this that Philip had all Greeks in his
geweald **gedon** ... (118.26)
power put
'After Philip had put all the Greeks in his power ...'

c. *Æfter þæm þe Læcedemonie* **hæfdon oferwunnen** *Ahtene*
after this that Laecedemonians had conquered Athens
þa burg ... (53.20)
the town
'After Laecedemonians had conquered the town of Athens ...'

2.2 Subjectless and impersonal constructions

Clauses without surface subjects are possible, especially with reference to natural phenomena (9a); cf. Hulk and van Kemenade (1993), who discuss the conditions for the "expletive *pro*-drop" in early Germanic. Apart from such structures, Old English developed the use of the empty pronominal subjects *hit* and *þær*, which are neither anaphoric nor cataphoric (9b, c, d):

(9) a. *gif on sæternesdæg geðunrað* (*Prog* 1.2 7)
if on Saturn's-day thunders
'If it thunders on Saturday'

b. **hit** *hagolade seofon niht* (*Or* 123.17)
'it hailed seven nights'

c. *Ða gelamp* **hit** *þet se cyng æðelred forðferde* (*ChronE* 1016)
then happened it that the king Ethelred died
'Then it happened that King Ethelred died'

d. **þær** *is mid Estum þeaw* (*Or* 17.6)
there is among Ests custom
'There is a custom among Ests'

Impersonal verbs usually refer to some states of mind, predominantly unpleasant. Since they do not take the nominative subject, the clauses that impersonals appear in are also considered subjectless (cf. Jespersen 1909–49: III, 208–212; Anderson 1986; Denison 1993: Chapter 5). The "logical" subject of the clause denotes the animate experiencer and appears in the oblique case, dative (10a) or accusative (10b), while the cause is optionally expressed by the genitive NP.

A significant group of impersonal verbs such as *behofian, gedafenian* 'behoove', *(ge)limpan, (ge)weorþan* 'happen' and *þyncan* 'seem' take finite and/or

nonfinite clausal complementation (11a, b). It is remarkable that the verb itself invariably has the third person singular form regardless of the NP form (e.g. 11c); cf. Fischer and van der Leek (1983). Verbs of liking (e.g. *cweman, (ge)lician*) are often included in the group of impersonals on semantic grounds, though they do have a grammatical nominative subject, the experiencer taking the dative case. The group of impersonal verbs disappeared in Middle English when a reanalysis occurred whereby non-subject NPS were reinterpreted as subjects (Lightfoot 1979: Section 5.1).

(10) a. *him   **ofhreow**   þæs   mannes* (*ÆCHom* i.192.16)
        him-DAT   rued   the   man-GEN
        'He pitied the man'
     b. *Hine   **þyrste**   hwylum   7   hwilum   **hingrode*** (*WHom* 6 168)
        him-ACC thirsted sometimes and sometimes hungered
        'He was sometimes thirsty and sometimes hungry'

(11) a. *ðæm   hearpere   ða   **ðuhte**   ðæt   hine   nanes   ðinges*
        that   harpist-DAT then seemed that him-ACC no   thing-GEN
        *ne   **lyste*** (*Bo* 102.9)
        not   liked
        'Then it seemed to the harpist that he did not like anything'
     b. *Ðe   **gedafenað**   to lerrenne   and   me   to   hlistenne* (*Solil 1* 33.4)
        thee   behooves   to study   and   me   to   listen
        'It is appropriate for you to study and for me to listen'
     c. *Þonne   **þuhte***   eow   þas   tida   beteran* (*Or* 66.1)
        then   seemed-SG   you-DAT those times-PL better
        'Then those times would seem better to you'

2.3 Negation

The clause is negated by adding the particle *ne* immediately before the finite verb (12a, 31b). The negative verb is often fronted, as in (13) and (48b). *Ne* can be reduced (cliticized) and attached to some forms of frequent verbs (*wesan, habban, agan, witan, willan*, e.g. 12b, 28b, 65). Old English optionally allows multiple negation, otherwise called "negative concord", as in (13), which is, however, interpreted as a single logical negation.

(12) a. *He **ne** andwyrde ðam wife æt fruman* (*ÆCHom* ii.110.33)
'He didn't answer the woman at first'
b. ***Nis** angelcynn bedæled drihtnes halgen* (*ÆLS* [*Edmund*] 259)
not-is England deprived Lord's saints
'England is not deprived of Lord's saints'

(13) ***Ne** geseah **nan** cepa ealand **ne** weroð, **ne** geherde **non***
not saw no merchant island nor shore not heard no
*mon þa get **nanne** sciphere, **ne** furþon ymbe **nan** gefeoht*
man then yet none fleet not even about no fight
sprecan (*Bo* 34.1)
speak
'No merchant saw an island or a shore; nor did he yet hear anybody speak
about any fleet, or even any fight'

3 Noun phrase

3.1 Cases

The nominative is the (syntactic) subject case, often expressing the agent (14a),
and is also used as a form of address (vocative, e.g. 4b, 14b):

(14) a. ***God** gesceop us twa eagan and twa earan* (*ÆGenPref* 105)
'God created for us two eyes and two ears'
b. ***Sunu** hwi dydest þu unc ðus?* (*Lk* [*WSCp*] 2.48)
son why didst thou us-DUAL thus
'Son, why did you do it to us?'

The major function of the genitive is to indicate possession, membership, and
source. It also has partitive uses, as in (16, 52). The accusative case most
commonly expresses the (direct) object, the patient of an action (15). The dative
typically refers to the indirect object, the recipient of an action (16). It additionally
denotes the experiencer, especially in impersonal constructions (cf. Section 2.2).

But case assignment is furthermore an idiosyncratic property of individual
verbs, adjectives, and prepositions. There are verbs whose direct objects take the
genitive (e.g. *fandian* 'try', *brucan* 'use') and dative (e.g. *helpan* 'help', *andswarian*
'answer'). When passivized, these objects retain their case, unlike accusative
objects which become nominative under passivization (cf. Fischer et al. 2000: 41),
as in (17).

(15) *ofslogon*   **anne   giongne   brettisc   monnan**, *swiþe* **eþelne monnan**
(they) killed one   young   British   man-ACC very   noble   man-ACC
'... slew a young Briton, a very noble man' (*ChronA* 501)

(16) **Þam biscope**   *Wulfhere se cining gesealde* **landes**   *fiftig hida* (*LS* 3.54)
the   bishop-DAT Wulfhere the king   gave   land-GEN fifty hides
'King Wulfhere gave the bishop fifty hides of land'

(17) **him**   *ðurh*   *his*   *hreowsung*   *7*   *ðurh*   *Godes*   *miltse*
him-DAT through his   repentance   and   through God's   mercy
geholpen   weorðe (*CP* 251.16)
helped   is
'He is helped by his repentance and God's mercy'

Some verbs (e.g. *onfon* 'receive') govern more than one case without much semantic difference. In the local uses, the accusative usually indicates direction or motion whereas the dative refers to static position, rest. The dative also plays the role of earlier instrumental, ablative and locative, mainly as a complement of prepositions.

Moreover, in most declensions nominative and accusative forms are identical, so the subject-object contrast has to be shown by position rather than by inflectional endings. For these reasons the nominative and the accusative are often described in the literature as structural cases (subject vs. direct object) while the genitive and the dative are inherent cases. When morphological contrasts appeared less distinct in late Old English, prepositions became better markers of the earlier semantic case roles.

3.2 Determiners

Old English does not yet have the category of the article. Singular indefinite countable nouns normally occur on their own, as in (18), (31). Nonetheless, the numeral *an* and the indefinite pronoun *sum* sometimes correspond to the modern indefinite article, introducing new information (19). The demonstrative pronoun is often used as an equivalent of the modern definite article (20a). Unlike in Modern English it can also accompany proper names (20b).

(18) *Þa*   *heht*   *æðelberht*   *cyning*   *in*   *Lundenceastre*   **cirican** *getimbran*
then   ordered Ethelberht king   in   London   church build
'Then King Ethelberht ordered a church to be built in London' (*Bede* 104.21)

(19) *þin fæder ofsloh* **an** *fæt celf* (*Lk* [*WSCp*] 15.27)
    'thy father slew a/one fat calf'

(20) a. *on þysum geare for*   **se**   *micla here*   *þe*   *we*   *gefyrn*
        in   this   year   went   the/that big   army   that   we   before
        ymbe   *spræcon* (*ChronA* 892)
        about   spoke
        'In this year went the big army that we spoke about before'
    b. **se** *Cyneheard wæs* **þæs** *Sigebryhtes broþur* (*ChronA* 755)
        'that Cyneheard was that Sigebryht's brother'

3.3 Word order within the NP

There is a strong tendency for the head to appear at the end of the NP (15, 21), cf. Mitchell (1985, I: Section 743). Postmodification is mostly found with quantifiers, numerals and -*weard* words (22), but the same quantifiers can also occur at the beginning of the NP (23). Finally, the determiner and the head can be separated (the so-called floating structures), as in (24).

     Unlike in Modern English, demonstrative and possessive pronouns can occur in the same NP (25). In appositive structures when one element specifies the other, the name precedes the title, e.g. (3), (16), (18).

(21) *þæra*   *eadigra*   *seofon slæpera*   **ðrowung** (*LS* 34.1)
     the   holy-GEN   seven   sleepers-GEN   martyrdom
     'the martyrdom of the holy seven sleepers'

(22) a. *þa*   *cingas*   **begen**   *ofslegene*   *wæron* (*ChronC* 868)
        those   kings   both   slain   were
        'Those kings were both slain'
    b. *alle Cent* **eastewearde** (*ChronA* 865)
        'all Kent eastward'

(23) *on* **eallen** *Godes beboden* (*LS* 28.33)
     'in all God's commandments'

(24) *þa*   *comon* **þa sacerdas** *to þam cynincge* **ealle** (*ÆLS* [*Book of Kings*] 374)
     then   came   the priests   to the   king   all
     'Then all the priests came to the king'

(25) **min se** *leofesta freond* (*ApT* 15.1)
   'my the dearest friend'

There is a tendency to split heavy groups by means of the conjunction *and* and the extraposition of the conjoined element to the end of the clause, e.g. split objects (26):

(26) *he   þone   cniht   agef   7   þæt   wif* (*ChronA* 893)
    he   the   boy   gave and   the   woman
    'he restored the boy and the lady'

Prepositions usually stand before the NP, but Old English also makes use of postpositions, especially if the NP is a personal pronoun (27a). Postpositions might be a Proto-Germanic heritage and their existence is used as an argument for SOV as the underlying word order in Old English (cf. van Kemenade 1987; Pintzuk and Kroch 1989). The postposition is also found in clausal complements (27b), and is obligatory in the relative clauses introduced by *þe* (27c; also 20a, 57b). Interestingly, no examples of preposition stranding in questions are found in Old English.

(27) a. *se   engel   him   gewat   **fram*** (*ÆCHom* ii.221.20)
       the angel   them   departed   from
       'The angel left them'
    b. *Seo   burg   wæs   swiþe   fæger   **an**   to   locianne* (*Or* 43.23)
       the   town   was   very   fair   on   to   look
       'The town was beautiful to look at'
    c. *þa   adle   forecwæde þe   heo   **on**   forðferde* (*Bede* 318.24)
       the disease   foretold that she   on   died
       'she foretold the disease of which she died'

3.4 Adjective

3.4.1 Strong-weak distinction

Adjectives (and the accompanying pronouns) typically agree in number, gender, and case with the nouns that they modify. A Germanic peculiarity evident in Old English is the morphological distinction of adjectives into strong and weak, which is connected with their definiteness. Typically, strong adjectives modify nouns with indefinite reference (28a), while weak adjectives modify definite nouns

(28b). However, some adjectives (quantifiers), e.g. *eall, manig, oðer*, appear only in strong forms. Predicative adjectives are invariably strong and agree in number and gender with their subject NPS (29). Adjectives tend to occur before the nouns that they modify, which is often used as an argument for the sov character of Old English syntax (van Kemenade 1987; Pintzuk and Kroch 1989). However, when the adjective postmodifies a definite noun, it always takes the strong form (cf. 28b vs. 30).

(28) a. *Hu mæg he* **gastlicne** *wæstm habban?* (*HomS* 17 7)
how may he spiritual-ACC.MASC.STRONG fruit have
'How can he have spiritual fruit?'
b. **se æþela** *cyning nolde Criste*
the noble-NOM.MASC.WEAK king not-would Christ
wiðsacan (*ÆLS* [*Edmund*] 119)
deny
'The noble king didn't want to deny Christ'

(29) *Seo eorðe soðlice wæs* **idel** *ond* **æmti** (*Gen* 1.2)
'the earth truly was desolate and empty'

(30) *on þone seofoðan dæg eode* **se cyning sarig**
on the seventh day went the king sorry-NOM.MASC.STRONG
to þam seaðe (*ÆHom 22* 484)
to the pit
'on the seventh day the sad king went to the pit'

3.4.2 Adjective stacking

Although Old English usually avoids putting two or three adjectives one after another, preferring to arrange them on both sides of the head or to use coordinate structures, as in (31), the stacking of two and even three adjectives is occasionally used, as in (15) and (32). Both strong and weak forms are attested. However, in later texts we can observe some confusion in the strong-weak distinction, due to the phonetic weakening of inflectional endings.

(31) a. *Ða tungelwitegan gesawon* **niwne** *steorran* **beorhtne** (*ÆCHom* i.106.24)
the astronomers saw new star bright
'The astronomers saw a new bright star'

b. ***æþele*** *lareow* ***arfæst*** *7* ***gedefe.*** ***gesceadwis*** *7*
noble preacher pious and gentle prudent and
syfre *ne sceolde swa þrowian* (*ÆCHom* i.518.315)
temperate not should so suffer
'a noble pious preacher, so gentle and temperate, should not suffer so much'

(32) a. *Þa ageat openlice se* ***earma bearnleasa*** *ceorl* (*GD* 84.51)
then found-out openly the poor childless man
'Then he openly found the poor childless man'

b. *þæt* ***ofstandene þicce slipige*** *horh þu scealt mid*
the remaining thick slimy humor thou shalt with
þam ærgenemnedan læcedomum wyrman (*Lch II [2]* 16.1.14)
the before-mentioned medicine warm
'You must warm the remaining thick slimy humor with the before men-tioned medicine'

4 Verb phrase

4.1 Finite verb

4.1.1 Simple tenses

Like other early Germanic languages, Old English has two morphologically sim-ple tenses: present and past (preterit). The present tense refers to the present situation, habitual actions, general states, and the future (33). The preterit refers to past states and events (34). The historical present is not used. Verbs usually agree in number with their subject NPS though inverted word order (e.g. 40b), or conjoining can override that rule.

(33) a. *Ðu wast þæt ic þe* ***lufige*** (*Jn* [*WSCp*] 21.15)
Thou knowest that I thee love
'You know that I love you'

b. *ic* ***arise*** *of deaðe on þam þriddan dæge* (*ÆCHom* i.258.7)
I will-arise of death on the third day
'I will be resurrected on the third day'

(34) **sægdon** *þæt heo swutolice engla song* **geherdon** (*Bede* 174.14)
said that they clearly angels' song heard
'(they) said that they clearly heard the angels' song'

Beon is unique in often having future reference (in addition to expressing habitual states):

(35) *He* **wæs** *æfre soð Godd 7* **is** *7 aa* **bið** (*WHom 6* 138)
'he was ever true God and is and always will be'

4.1.2 Periphrastic constructions

In both poetic and prose texts, we find numerous instances of what look like complex tenses, whose origin and grammaticalization are a matter of dispute among researchers. Lockwood (1968: 114–117) and Traugott (1972: 92) point to many parallels between Germanic and Romance in this respect. Brinton (1988: 99) believes that the development of the perfect in Germanic was preliterary. There are instances of both present and past perfect made up from the auxiliary *habban* for transitive verbs and the passive participle of the main verb (8, 36) while intransitive verbs typically take the auxiliary *beon/wesan* (37, 60c):

(36) a. *Ic* **hæbbe gebunden** *þone feond* (*ÆCHom* i.458.18)
'I have bound the enemy'
b. *hig* **hæfdon** *heora lufsang* **gesunggenne** (*Mt* [*WSCp*] 26.30)
they had their hymn sung-ACC.MASC
'They had sung their hymn'

(37) a. **wæs** *Hæsten þa þær* **cumen** *mid his herge* (*ChronA* 894)
was Hæsten then there come with his army
'Then Hæsten had come there with his host'
b. *Swæ clæne hio* **wæs oðfeallenu** *on Angelcynne* (*CP Pref* 13)
so entirely it-FEM was fallen-NOM.FEM in England
'So completely had it [wisdom] fallen off in England'

The participle is either inflected (in concord with the accusative object of transitives and the subject of intransitives, thus more adjectival), as in (36b) and (37b), or uninflected, especially but by no means exclusively in later texts (Mitchell 1985, I: Section 710). The loss of inflection indicates reinterpretation toward inclusion of the participle within the VP and the auxiliation of *habban/wesan/*

beon. We can occasionally observe manuscript differences in this respect. Intransitive verbs sometimes also take the auxiliary *habban*, especially when some kind of accomplishment is described:

(38) *Þa Moyses **hæfde gefaren** ofer ða Readan Sæ ...* (*Exod* 15.1)
    'When Moses had gone over the Red Sea ...'

Especially in later texts the auxiliary and the participle tend to be juxtaposed, as in (8c), (36a), (37b), and (38). Nevertheless, the Old English perfect forms are not fully grammaticalized yet, which is best illustrated by Ælfric's translation of the Latin *plusquamperfectum* form *steteram* by means of *ic stod gefyrn* (= 'I stood long-ago') rather than *ic hæfde (ge)standen*. The perfect aspect can also be indicated by adverbs, particles, and verbal prefixes (cf. Brinton 1988).

Old English also has a construction which is believed to be the ancestor of the modern progressive aspect. However, its etymology and semantics are unclear. Sometimes it resembles ModE usage (39a), but this "expanded form" (Visser 1963–73: 1920) is also used to describe habitual and permanent states where a modern speaker would use a simple form (39b):

(39) a. *þæt scip **wæs** ealne weg **yrnende** under segle* (*Or* 16.21)
        that ship Was all way running under sail
        'that ship was running under sail all the way'
    b. *seo ea **bið flowende** ofer eal Ægypta land* (*Or* 11.17)
        that river is flowing over all Egyptians' land
        'That river flows all over Egypt'

4.1.3 Moods

The indicative mood refers to facts. There are two non-indicative moods, the imperative and the subjunctive. The imperative expresses orders and prohibitions (40a, b). The personal pronoun is often retained (40b). The first person plural adhortative is formed by means of the auxiliary verb *utan*, etymologically derived from *witan* 'go' (41). The equivalent of the modern third-person imperative is the hortative subjunctive, as in (42).

(40) a. *Cedmon, **sing** me hwæthwugu* (*Bede* 342.26)
        'Caedmon, sing me something'

b. *ne* **nyme** **ge** *nan* *þing* *on* *wege* (*Lk* [*WSCp*] 9.3)
   not take you-PL no thing on way
   'don't take anything away'

(41) **utan** *God* *lufian* (*WHom 20.1* 121)
   let-us God love
   'let's love God'

(42) **Syo** *hys blod* *ofer* *us* *and* *ofer* *ure* *bearn* (*Mt* [WSCp] 5.23)
   Be-SUBJ hi blood over us and over our children
   'Let his blood be over us and over our children'

The subjunctive is a nonfactive mood, which refers to orders, wishes, fears, doubts, etc., as in (43a, b, c) It expresses improbability and unreality in modally colored contexts and is employed in different types of subordinate clauses (cf. Section 5.3), e.g. (4b), (60b), (65), (68). The subjunctive is also used for indirect discourse (43d, 54a).

(43) a. *God us* **gerihtlæce** (*ÆCHom* ii.271.104)
     'May God correct us'
  b. **ahte** *ic* *minra* *handa* *geweald* (*GenA* 368)
     had I my hands power
     'If only I had the power of my hands!'
  c. *ic* *þe* *bebead* *þæt* *þu* *ne* **æte** (*Gen* 3.11)
     I thee bade that thou not ate
     'I forbade you to eat'
  d. *Sume* *men* *cweðaþ* *ðæt* *hit* **sy** *feaxede* *steorra* (*ChronA* 892)
     some men say that it be long-haired star
     'Some men say that it is a long-haired star'

Due to the weakening of inflectional endings, the indicative-subjunctive contrast becomes blurred in late Old English, so the morphological subjunctive is being replaced with a periphrastic construction made up of a semantically bleached premodal (especially *wolde* and *sceolde*) and the infinitive of the main verb (cf. Traugott 1972; Lightfoot 1979; Warner 1993). First instances are already found in the early Alfredian texts:

(44) a. *þa   Darius   geseah   þæt   he   oferwunnen   **beon   wolde**   þa*
      then   Darius   saw   that   he   conquered   be   would   then
      wolde   he   hiene   selfne   on   ðæm   gefeohte   forspillan (*Or* 70.2)
      would   he   him   self   in   the   fight   destroy
      'When Darius saw that he would be conquered, he wanted to kill himself
      in the battle'

   b. *ðu   geherdest   oft   reccan   on   ealdum   leasum   spellum   þætte*
      thou   heardst   often   say   in   old   lying   tales   that
      *Iob   Saturnes   sunu   **sceolde   bion**   se   hehsta   God* (*Bo* 35.98.25)
      Jove   Saturn's   son   **should   be**   the   highest   God
      'You have heard often told in old lying tales that Jove, Saturn's son, was
      to be the highest God'

4.2 Nonfinite verb

Old English makes use of two kinds of infinitive. The plain (bare) infinitive is
the complement of many more verbs than in Modern English, including most
preterit-present and causative verbs (45a, b), whereas the inflected infinitive (*to*
v-*enne*) is the only possible complement of nouns and adjectives (27b) (cf.
Callaway 1913). It expresses purpose, obligation (11b), or something imminent,
and often has a passive sense (46). There are some controversies concerning its
status: some scholars (e.g. Jespersen 1909–1949; Lightfoot 1979) believe *to* to
have been the preposition that governed the dative form of the infinitive (of
nominal origin), while others have shown that inflected infinitives behaved
more like clauses (e.g. Mitchell 1985, I: Section 921, 1985, II: Section 3749). The
change of the categorial status of the *to*-infinitive from noun to verb is dis-
cussed, among others, by Lightfoot (1979) and Los (1999). The passive infinitive
(e.g. 44a) is infrequent and is believed to be a Latin calque. There are instances
of what looks like the perfect infinitive (47), but the interpretation of the
construction premodal + *habban* + passive participle is a matter of dispute,
owing to the ambiguity of *habban*, which could have perfect, resultative, experi-
ential and possessive senses.

(45) a. *Sceap **sceal gongan** mid his fliese oð midne sumor* (*LawIne* 69)
      'Sheep shall go with its fleece until mid summer'

   b. *se   Cenwalh   **het   atimbran**   þa   ciricean   on   Wintanceastre*
      that   Cenwalh   ordered   build   the   church   in   Winchester
      'Cenwalh ordered a church to be built in Winchester' (*ChronA* 643)

(46) *ælc broð is **to forganne*** (*Lch II* 2.23.1.6)
'every broth is to be avoided'

(47) *for his micclan wundrum þe   eft   he **gedon habban wolde*** (*LS* 34.230)
 for his great   wonders that again he done   have   would
 'for his great miracles that he would work again'

The origin of the accusative with infinitive structure in English is unclear. The structure is probably native with causative and perception verbs (48a), and its use might have been extended to other groups of verbs (of speaking and thinking, e.g. 48b) under the Latin influence. However, Fischer (1989) provides the same syntactic analysis for both kinds. The same verbs are also complemented by participial constructions, as in (49).

(48) a. *he **gesawe ðæt leoht** of   hiofonum on eorðan **scinan*** (*Bede* 418.11)
   he saw   that light from heaven   on earth   shine
   'he saw the light shine from heaven to earth'
  b. *ne **tellað**   we synne **weosan   gesincipe*** (*Bede* 82.4)
   not consider we sin   be   wedlock
   'we do not account wedlock a sin'

(49) a. *ða   sona   instepe   **gefelde** ic   **mec   batiende**   7*
   then soon   instantly   felt   I   me   growing-better and
   werpende (*Bede* 404.1)
   recovering
   'at once I felt myself growing better and recovering'
  b. *ic   wat   þæt   he   **mec   ofslegene   talað*** (*Bede* 328.10)
   I   know   that he   me   slain   considers
   'I am sure that he accounts me slain'

4.3 Passive voice

One of the common ways of expressing impersonality is the use of the pronoun *man* (grammaticalized from the noun *mann*) with an active verb form, as in (50). Only one verb *hatte* (plural *hatton*) has preserved the Germanic synthetic passive form. Otherwise, the passive voice is periphrastic, made up from the auxiliaries *weorðan* or *beon/wesan* and the passive participle of the main verb, usually in agreement with the nominative subject. There does not seem to be a significant difference in the choice of auxiliaries, though *beon/wesan* more often

refers to the state resulting from some action (51a) rather than to the action itself (17, 51b).

(50) *þa   sticode him   **mon** þa   eagan   ut* (*Or* 90.13)
    then   stuck   him   one   the   eyes   out
    'then his eyes were gouged out'

(51) a. *sægde   him   mon þæt   heo   of   Breotone   ealonde   **brohte***
      said   him   one   that   they   of   Britain   island   brought
      wæron (*Bede* 96.13)
      were
      'He was told that they had been brought from the island of Britain'
    b. *Ðær **wearð** Alexander **þurhscoten** mid anre flan* (*Or* 73.181)
      'There was Alexander pierced with an arrow'

5 Complex sentences

5.1 Parataxis vs. hypotaxis

As in other European languages, Latin syntax has provided a pattern for developing Old English complex sentences, which are, however, less hierarchical than their Modern English equivalents and resemble spoken discourse. Apart from asyndetic (uncoordinated) clauses, in the original Old English texts paratactic devices (very often repetitive) are much more frequent than subordination (cf. e.g. Mitchell 1985; Traugott 1992). In fact, the most common conjunction is the word *and*; for example, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we find long series of clauses connected just by *and*. The sequences of events are also expressed by means of clauses beginning with the word *þa* 'then' (e.g. 60a), which develops into a subordinating conjunction equivalent to modern *when*. Similar ambiguous adverbs/pronouns/conjunctions occur in adjectival and adverbial clauses. Thus the borderline between parataxis and hypotaxis is rather vague at this early stage of development of the English syntax as the syntactic (in)dependence of clauses cannot be easily identified. Even the common multifunctional subordinating particle *þe*, used on its own or attached to other conjunctions, sometimes appears in coordinate clauses, as well as in main clauses (e.g. 63). The punctuation does not help either, as in most cases it was added by modern editors. Medieval scribes used a completely different system of punctuation to mark pauses for breath rather than syntactic units.

5.2 Coordinate clauses

Coordinate clauses often have the "subordinate" word order with a final finite verb. The most frequent coordinating conjunction is *and*, usually found in manuscripts in an abbreviated form consisting of the Tironian sign *7* (52). The contrasting conjunctions are *ac, hwæðere* 'but', 'yet' (53). Other signals of coordination are *oððe* 'or', *ne* 'and not' and correlative conjunctions *ge … ge*, *begen … ge* 'both … and', *ægþer … ge* 'either … or', *nawþer … ne*, *ne … ne* 'neither … nor'.

(52) *þa   hergodon hie   up on Suð   Seaxum   neah Cisseceastre,*
     then   harried   they   up on South   Saxons   near Chichester
     7   þa burgware hie gefliemdon, 7   hira   monig hund
     and   the garrison them drove-away and of-them   many   hundred
     ofslogon,   7   hira scipu   sumu   genamon (*ChronA* 894)
     killed   and   of-their-ships some   took
     'Then they harried inland in Sussex near Chichester, but the garrison put them to flight and slew many hundreds of them, capturing some of their ships'

(53) *hie   ne   mehton Suðseaxna   lond utan berowan, **ac**   hira*
     they   not   might   South-Saxons'   land out   row   but   of-them
     þær   tu   sæ   on lond   wearp (*ChronA* 896)
     there two   sea   on land   threw
     'They were unable to row past Sussex, but there the sea cast two of them ashore'

5.3 Finite subordinate clauses

5.3.1 Nominal (complement) clauses

Complement clauses are introduced by the conjunction *þæt*, sometimes supported by the subordinating particle *þe*, both merging into *þætte* (54a, b). The paratactic origin of the structure is evident in the reinterpretation of the demonstrative pronoun as a subordinator. The conjunction can be deleted after some common *verba dicendi* (55), though this is far less frequent than in Modern English. On the other hand, the clause can also be anticipated by the cataphoric pronoun *þæt* (56):

(54) a. *Wulfstan sæde **þæt** he gefore of Hæðum* (*Or* 16.21)
       'Wulfstan said that he went from Hedeby'
   b. *ongyten **þætte** þæt is hefig synn* (*Bede* 70.27)
       '(they) understand that that is a grievous sin'

(55) *sægde he he hit gehyrde from þæm seolfan Uttan*
    said   he he it heard from the   self   Utta
    mæssepreoste (*Bede* 200.25)
    mass-priest
    'he said he heard it from the priest Utta himself'

(56) *þa geascade se cyng **þæt þæt** hie ut on hergað*
    then learnt the king that   that they out on   harrying
    foron (*ChronA* 911)
    went
    'Then the king learnt that they had gone out harrying'

Many verbs can take both finite and nonfinite complement clauses without any apparent semantic difference, but on the whole nonfinite complementation is less common than in Modern English. Furthermore, there are verbs that take only finite complementation though their modern complements undergo obligatory infinitivization.

5.3.2 Relative (adjectival) clauses

Although it is difficult to specify fully reliable rules for the use of relative pronouns, one can observe certain general tendencies, which have numerous exceptions. Restrictive (defining) relative clauses are usually introduced by the indeclinable particle *þe*, the most frequent relativizer (57a). In late texts we find invariant *þæt*, which totally replaced *þe* in Middle English (57b).

    Less hypotactic nonrestrictive (appositive) clauses tend to have demonstrative pronouns used in the function of relativizers, which have to agree in number, gender and case with the NP that they refer to (58). Both devices can also be combined in restrictive clauses (59). Yet the criteria of the classification are not as clear-cut as in Modern English.

(57) a. *he ofslog þone aldormon **þe** him lengest wunode* (*ChronA* 755)
        he slew the aldorman who him longest remained
        'he killed the aldorman who stood by him the longest'

b. *þa   halgo rode **þet** Crist   wæs   on   þrowod* (*ChronE* 963)
   the   holy   cross that   Christ was   on   tortured
   'the holy cross on which Christ suffered'

(58) *in Cantwara byrig **seo**   wæs   ealles his   rices*
     in Canterbury-F this-FEM (=which) was   all   his   kingdom's
     ealdorburg (*Bede* 60.11)
     capital
     'in Canterbury that was capital of all his kingdom'

(59) *stodon his   geferan   oðre   **þa**   **ðe**   mid   him   cwomon*
     stood his   companions others those that   with him   came
     'stood his other companions who had come with him' (*Bede* 296.7)

5.3.3 Adverbial clauses

Old English makes use of the whole range of adverbial clauses, which are usually classified on semantic grounds. Some of them have specific subordinating conjunctions, while others have adopted various pronouns and adverbs to this function (cf. e.g. Kortmann 1997; Lenker and Meurman-Solin 2007). There are both simple conjunctions (e.g. *gif, þeah, ær*) and complex prepositional phrases playing the role of conjunctions (e.g. *forþæm þe, ær þæm þe, foran þa timan þe*). The latter type is a peculiar feature of the period, as such formations disappear from English later on. Some clauses obligatorily employ the subjunctive mood.

Clauses of place are introduced by conjunctions which were identical in form to spatial adverbs (*þær, þider, þanon*). There are a number of simple and complex temporal subordinators which denote simultaneity (*þa, þa hwile þe*), anteriority (*ær, ær þæm þe, foran þam (timan) þe, oð*), posteriority (*siþþan, æfter þæm þe, þæs þe, þa, þonne, sona swa*) as in (60):

(60) a. ***Ða** se cyng undergeat þas   þing   **þa**   ferde he   æfter*
        then the king understood those things then   rode   he   after
        mid þam   here (*ChronE* 1087)
        with the   host
        'When the king understood those things, he went in pursuit with the host'

b. *ðu   min   ætsæcst þriwa todæg **ær**   se   hana   crawe*
   thou   me   deniest thrice today   before the   cock   crow-sbjv
   'You will deny me three times today before the cock crows' (*Lk* [*WSCp*] 22.61)

c. *þa   cwæð se   cyningc to his mannum **siððan** Apollonius*
   then   said   the   king   to his men   after   Apollonius
   agan   wæs (*ApT* 14.1)
   gone   was
   'Then the king spoke to his men after Apollonius had gone'

Comparative clauses are introduced by *(swa) swa, swylce*. If the semblance is hypothetical, the subjunctive is used. Clauses of result (61) and purpose are similar, except that the latter use the subjunctive or a premodal, as in (62). The negative purpose is expressed either by negating the lower verb or by the phrase *þy læs (þe)*.

(61) *þa   wæs he sona monad* ... **þæt** *he* **wearp**   *þæt sweord*
     then   was he soon warned   that   he   threw-IND the sword
     onweg (*Bede* 38.20)
     away
     'then he was soon warned ..., so that he threw his sword away'

(62) *Þa   man sloh eac CC preosta ða   comon ðyder **þæt** hi*
     there one slew also 200 priests who   came   thither that   they
     scoldon gebiddan *for Walena   here* (*ChronA* 606)
     should pray   for Welsh-GEN.PL host
     'Two hundred priests were also slain there who had come there to pray for the Welsh host'

The most common causal conjunction is the complex phrase *for þæm/forþon (þe)* (literally: 'for this [that]'), which introduces both subordinate clauses of reason and coordinate clauses of explanation. It is particularly difficult to distinguish between hypotaxis and parataxis as in (63) (cf. Molenki 2012):

(63) **forþam þe**   *þa iudeas ehton   þone hælend* **forþam þe***
     for-this that   the Jews persecuted the saviour for-this that
     he dyde þas   þing   on restedaige (*Jn* [*WSCp*] 5.16)
     he did those things on Sabbath
     'The Jews persecuted the Saviour because he did those things on the Sabbath day'

The usual concessive subordinator is *þeah (þe)*. Conditional clauses are introduced either by the conjunctions *gif* (64), *nemne* or, less frequently, by inversion (65). Real conditionals use the present tense. Hypothetical clauses employ past verbs, regardless of their time reference. Both clauses of the unreal conditional period make use of parallel past tense forms (65, 68), but in later and northern texts we find the first uses of periphrastic structures with a premodal in the main clause (66b):

(64) **Gif** *þu*   *hunig*   *to*   *dest*   *þæt*   *deah* (*Lch II* 2.11.5)
     If   hou   honey   to   dost   that   avails
     'If you add honey, it is good'

(65) **Næron**   *swa*   *manega*   *martyras* **nære**   *seo mycele ehtnyss* (*ÆLS* 11.328)
     not-were so   many   martyrs   not-were the big   persecution
     'There would not have been so many martyrs had there not been this great persecution'

(66) a.   *gif god wære eowre fæder. witodlice ge* **lufedon** *me* (*Jn* [*WSCp*] 8.42)
     b.   *gif god faeder iuer uoere gie* **ualde lufiga** *uutudlice mec* (*JnGl* [*Li*])
          'if God were your father you would truly love me'

5.3.4 Correlative adverbs

Subordinating conjunctions of the lower clause are often accompanied by correlative adverbs in the main clause. In numerous cases the adverb is identical with the subordinator (*þa … þa …, forþon … forþon …*), which often makes it difficult to determine which of the clauses is subordinate. The presence of the subordinating particle *þe* sometimes helps (67), but the problem is that it can also occur in the main clause. The situation is much clearer in conditional and concessive clauses, where the correlative adverb is a different word (68).

(67) **Þider** **ðe**   *Stephanus forestop …* **þider** *folgode*   *Paulus* (*ÆCHom* i.202.116)
     thither that Stephen   stepped   thither followed Paul
     'Where Stephen stepped … Paul followed him'

(68) **gif** *þu*   *wistest*   *hwæt* *þe*   *toweard* *is*   **þonne** *weope*   *þu*
     If   thou knewest what thee   future   is   then   wept-SBJV thou
     mid   *me* (*ÆCHom* i.412.67)
     with   me
     'If you knew what is to come to you, then you would weep with me'

6 Summary

Old English syntax was typically Germanic, in that synthetic devices prevailed. In the following centuries the English language became more analytic due to the reduction of inflections brought about by the weakening of final syllables, accelerated by extensive foreign contacts. This resulted in the fixing of the svo word order and rapid development of periphrastic constructions (e.g. complex verb phrases making use of auxiliaries, prepositional phrases). Furthermore, Old English paratactic ways of combining clauses were gradually replaced with more and more common as well as more complex and hierarchical subordination, including the use of nonfinite constructions.

7 References

Allen, Cynthia. 1980. Movement and deletion in Old English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11: 261–323.

Anderson, John. 1986. A note on Old English impersonals. *Journal of Linguistics* 22: 167–177.

Bean, Marian. 1983. *The Development of Word Order Patterns in Old English*. London: Croom Helm.

Brinton, Laurel J. 1988. *The Development of English Aspectual Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Reprint: 2009)

Callaway, Morgan. 1913. *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution.

Colman, Fran. 1988. Heavy arguments in Old English. In: John Anderson and Norman MacLeod (eds.), *Edinburgh Studies in the English Language* 1: 33–89.

Denison, David. 1993. *English Historical Syntax: Verbal Constructions*. London: Longman.

Fischer, Olga. 1989. The origin and spread of the accusative and infinitive construction in English. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 8: 143–217.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman, and Wim van der Wurff. 2000. *The Syntax of Early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fischer, Olga and Frederike van der Leek. 1983. The demise of the Old English impersonal construction. *Journal of Linguistics* 19: 337–368.

Hulk, Aafke and Ans van Kemenade. 1993. Subjects, nominative case, agreement and functional heads. *Lingua* 89: 181–215.

Jespersen, Otto. 1909–49. *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. 7 vols. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.). 1991. *Historical English Syntax*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kemenade, Ans van. 1987. *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Koopman, Willem. 1990. *Word Order in Old English: With Special Reference to the Verb Phrase*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Kortmann, Bernd. 1997. *Adverbial Subordination. A Typology and History of Adverbial Subordinators Based on European Languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lenker, Ursula and Anneli Meurman-Solin (eds.). 2007. *Connectives in the History of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Lightfoot, David. 1979. *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lockwood, William Burley. 1968. *Historical German Syntax*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Los, Bettelou. 1999. *Infinitival Complementation in Old and Middle English*. The Hague: Theseus.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Molencki, Rafał. 2012. *Causal Conjunctions in Mediaeval English: A Corpus-Based Study of Grammaticalization*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski/Oficyna Wydawnicza WW.

Pintzuk, Susan. 1996. Old English verb-complement word order and the change from OV to VO. *York Papers in Linguistics* 17: 241–264.

Pintzuk, Susan and Anthony Kroch. 1989. The rightward movement of complements and adjuncts in the Old English of *Beowulf*. *Language Variation and Change* 1: 115–143.

Robert, Stockwell and Donka Minkova. 1991. Subordination and word order change in the history of English. In: Kastovsky (ed.), 367–408.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1972. *A History of English Syntax*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1992. Syntax. In: Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. I. *The Beginning to 1066*, 168–289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vennemann, Theo. 1974. Topics, subjects, and word order: from SXV to SVX via TVX. In: John Anderson and Charles Jones (eds.), *Historical Linguistics I: Syntax, Morphology, Internal and Comparative Reconstruction*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 339–376.

Visser, Frederikus Theodor. 1963–73. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*. 3 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Warner, Anthony. 1993. *English Auxiliaries: Structure and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Christian Kay
Chapter 7:
Semantics and Lexicon

Abstract: Following an introduction on the relationship between Old and Modern English vocabulary, Section 2 outlines resources for studying the OE lexicon, notably the *Dictionary of Old English* at the University of Toronto, the online third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and the *of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Section 3 deals with the nature of the lexicon, covering the size of the vocabulary, cognate words, foreign language loans, and features of lexical structure such as affixation and compounding. Section 4 is concerned with aspects of innovation and change, particularly polysemy and homonymy as processes of semantic change and cognitive approaches to metonymy and metaphor. The concluding sections deal with some of the problems posed by the nature of the evidence in studying the OE lexicon, and interdisciplinary word and field studies in a selection of projects.

1 Introduction

The vocabulary of Old English forms the core lexicon of the many varieties of English spoken around the world today. Even without a knowledge of Old English, it is not difficult to see the connection between such OE and ModE pairs as *eorðe > earth, sǣ > sea, mōdor > mother, fōt > foot, gōd > good*. Examples such as these abound in shared areas of vocabulary like those dealing with the natural world, people, relationships, and activities. Common grammatical words, such as the conjunction *and* or the preposition *in*, also survive, though their range of

Christian Kay †: Glasgow (UK)

meaning may not be identical to that in Modern English. On the other hand, many OE words would be unfamiliar to a modern reader, either because they have disappeared from use or because they designate objects, concepts or activities which are no longer part of people's lives. According to Baugh and Cable (2013: 52), only around 15% of recorded OE words have survived into Modern English. Others again may never have reached us, since our knowledge of Old English depends on the hazardous transmission of texts over a period of more than a thousand years. Such texts as survive, moreover, offer limited evidence since they mostly represent formal and literary registers rather than everyday spoken language.

2 Resources

Resources for the study of Old English are continually improving (see, e.g., Lowe, Chapter 14). For students of the OE lexicon, by far the most significant development in recent years has been the ongoing *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) (Cameron et al. [eds.] 1986–) project at the University of Toronto. Using a computerized corpus containing at least one copy of every surviving OE text, the team of lexicographers is engaged in a comprehensive re-examination of the entire OE lexicon, employing contextual analysis to determine and group meanings. DOE is thus a huge step forward in what up until now has been a largely 19th century dictionary tradition. Special features which are particularly useful for lexicologists are those indicating the currency of a word, such as information about frequency of occurrence and the inclusion of usage labels where there is significant restriction to a particular period, dialect, author or genre. Spelling variants are also listed. Publication is by fascicle in a variety of formats, including *DOE: A to H online* (Cameron et al. 2016), which offers Boolean searches on the ten fields in which the various types of information are stored and has the added bonus of providing links to the online *Oxford English Dictionary* (Proffitt [ed.] 2000–), thereby allowing the user to trace the development (or absence) of OE words in later periods. The corpus on which the dictionary is based, comprising over 3,000 texts, has also been released, enabling scholars to see for the first time the full range of contexts in which a word appears.

    A further step forward is the substantial revision of Old English materials in the third edition of the OED, although there has been no change in that dictionary's policy of excluding words which became obsolete before 1150. Esposito (2002) describes the scope of the revision:

> The dating of quotations has been radically revised: the *New English Dictionary*'s practice of assigning putative composition dates to quotations typically preserved in manuscripts of much later date [...] has been abandoned. In fact, individual dating of Old English quotations has itself been abandoned and replaced by a simple threefold division of all pre-1150 quotations into 'early OE' (600–950), 'OE' (950–1100), and 'late OE' (1100–1150), based firmly on manuscript dates as agreed by the most recent authorities.

An onomasiological version of the OED has been produced at Glasgow University and published as *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED) (Kay et al. 2009), enabling study of the development of meaning from Old English to the present within a framework of semantic categories. The coverage of Old English in HTOED has been extended beyond the OED's provision by integrating materials from *A Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE) (Roberts and Kay 2000) into this framework and joining them where appropriate to OED entries. HTOED is based on the second edition of the OED (Simpson and Weiner 1989), and dates all Old English words simply as "OE", but is now linked to the OED online.

3 The nature of the lexicon

Figures derived from TOE (Roberts and Kay 2000) give a total of around 34,000 separate word forms in Old English, less than half the number that might be found in a modern desk dictionary. The total rises to 50,700 meanings if polysemy and the occasional case of homonymy are taken into account. For comparison, *DOE: A to H online* (Cameron et al. 2016), which covers the first nine of the 22 letters of the OE alphabet, contains 15,327 headwords. In TOE, nouns predominate at just over 50%, followed by verbs at 24% and adjectives at 19%. The OE figures will undoubtedly change as editing of DOE progresses (see Section 2 above).

Any examination of the OE lexicon reveals its essentially Germanic character. Words like those in Section 1 often have cognate forms in other Germanic languages, for example modern German *Erde*, *See*, *Mutter*, *Fuss*, *gut*, or Swedish *jord*, *sjö*, *moder*, *fot*, *god*. The differences between cognate languages, and the differences between old and modern versions of the same language, show how word forms develop and diverge over the years.

Compared with Modern English, Old English contains very few words borrowed from foreign languages. When the Anglo-Saxons arrived in Britain, their language already contained some words borrowed from Latin through contact with Roman activities on the European mainland. These include *coper* 'copper', *strǣt* 'road', and *wīn* 'wine'. Following the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to

Christianity, Latin terms increasingly appear in the vocabulary of religion and education as well as in more general areas where new commodities, ideas, or practices were introduced. From the several hundred words recorded, examples include *abbod* 'abbot', *sealm* 'psalm', *scōl* 'school', *discipul* 'disciple, student', *plante* 'plant'. Many individual plant-names, often for plants useful in medicine, were borrowed from Latin. Religious influences also came from France, and a few French loans are recorded late in the OE period, notably *prūd* 'proud, arrogant', leading to derived forms such as *oferprūt* 'haughty' and *woruldprūdo* 'worldly pride'. Native words, however, might continue to be preferred over synonymous foreign ones. *Discipul* was a relatively rare word in OE; the word used in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels and elsewhere was the native *leorningcniht*. They might also be more productive: unlike *plante*, native *wyrt* 'plant, herb' generates a host of compounds, such as *wyrtcynn* 'species of plant'. (See further, Wieland, Chapter 10.)

A mere handful of words, perhaps around 20 in all (Hogg 1992: 3), were borrowed into the general language from the Celtic-speaking people who already inhabited Britain. The best known of these are probably *brocc* 'brock, badger' and *āncor* 'anchorite, hermit'. According to Breeze, however, many Celtic loans in English remain to be identified: he puts forward a case for, among others, OE *syrce* 'coat of mail' and *trum* 'strong' (Breeze 2002: 175–176). Less controversial is the fact that many place-names in certain parts of the British Isles are Celtic in origin. A more significant contact, linguistically at least, was with the Old Norse (ON) language of the Scandinavian Vikings, who raided, and later settled in, much of the east and north of the country. Unusually, and probably because of the cognate nature of the two languages and the fact that transmission occurred during everyday spoken interaction, Scandinavian-derived words replaced their OE counterparts in core areas of the language, resulting in ModE words such as *take* (OE *(ge)niman*), *sky* (OE *lyft*) and the pronoun *they* (OE *hīe*). Often the cognate words were very similar in form, as OE *sweostor* and ON *syster*, the latter giving ModE *sister*. Because such words were likely to have been restricted to casual spoken use in the early stages, only a few of them appear in the OE written record, but many more are found in early Middle English. Thus, *take* (OE *tacan*) is recorded in the OED late in the OE period, but *sky* is not listed until the 13th century, although it was probably in use before then (see Dance, Chapter 11).

A full account of foreign borrowings into Old English is given in Baugh and Cable (2013: 70–103) and Kastovsky (1992: 299–338). Words throughout this paper are generally given in the form found in Clark Hall's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1960); Clark Hall's brief definitions are also followed. A useful feature of this dictionary for those interested in tracing the development of words is the

inclusion of OED headword forms of OE words surviving into Middle and Modern English.

3.1 Lexical structure: affixation

Basic OE words tended to be short forms of one or two syllables. Stress fell on the root syllable, which was usually the first syllable. Grammatical information was conveyed by variable endings on words, identifying their role in the clause (see von Mengden, Chapter 5). Prefixes and suffixes were added to roots to create a variety of kinds of new words. In general, prefixes tended to change meaning, for example by negating or intensifying the root meaning, as in *oferfull* 'too full' or *mislǣdan* 'mislead'. Prefixes were often used to form verbs, for example *ūpflēogan* 'to fly up' and *āflēogan* 'to fly away, flee' from *flēogan* 'to fly'. Suffixes were used to create different parts of speech, such as the adverb *hearde* 'fiercely' from the adjective *heard* 'hard, fierce'. Many OE adjectives end in *-ful* (*caru/cearu* 'care, sorrow', *carful/cearful* 'sorrowful'), *-ig* (*wæter* 'water', *wæterig* 'watery'), *-isc* (*cild* 'child', *cildisc* 'childish'), *-lēas* (*līf* 'life', *līflēas* 'lifeless'), *-lic* (*sige* 'victory', *sigelic* 'victorious'). Common adverbial suffixes include *-e* (*dēop* 'deep', *dēope* 'deeply') and *-līce* (*dēoplic* 'deep', *dēoplīce* 'deeply'). Both *-end* and *-ere* were used to form agent nouns, as in *lærend* 'teacher' and *leornere* 'pupil, disciple'. Abstract nouns often end in *-dōm* (*wīs* 'wise', *wīsdōm* 'wisdom'), *-hād* (*cild* 'child', *cildhād* 'child-hood'), *-nes* (*yfel* 'evil', *yfelnes* 'wickedness'), *-scipe* (*frēond* 'friend', *frēondscipe* 'friendship'). Other common ModE suffixes, such as those in words like emo*tion*, magni*tude*, gener*ous*, gener*osity*, soci*al*, soci*able*, soci*ability*, were adopted after the OE period from French or Latin.

One result of the frequency and flexibility of word formation in Old English is that we often find groups of words clustered round a shared root, as in the following words derived from *sorg* 'sorrow, distress': *sorgung* 'sorrowing', *sorgful* 'sorrowful', *sorglēas* 'sorrowless', *sorig* 'sorry', *sorgian* 'to feel sorrow', *unsorh* 'unsorry, free from care'. All of these affixes, except for the *-an* which indicates the infinitive form of the verb in *sorgian*, survive in Modern English, although particular forms and meanings may have been lost. For example, an adverb from the group, *sorglīce* 'miserably', survives into Middle English as *sorrowly*, with a last date in the 13th century, but of the adjective *sorglic* 'miserable', which might have survived in the same form, there is no trace beyond Old English. Likewise, there is no trace in the record of *unsorh* between Old English and the 20th century, where the OED (s.v. *un-* prefix[1], def. 7) finds three citations for *unsorry*. This may be an accident of collection, or may reflect the flexibility of prefixes such as *un-*, which speakers can use to invent new words as occasion demands.

Sometimes prefixes have little if any effect; *giefan* and *forgiefan*, for example, both mean 'to give', although only *forgiefan* develops the meaning 'forgive'. Many verbs may occur with or without the prefix *ge-*: *niman* and *geniman* both mean 'to take'. Such variation is sometimes summarized in OE dictionaries and grammars by bracketing the prefix, as in *(ge)niman*, and the *ge* is ignored for purposes of alphabetization.

3.2 Compounds

The root *sorg* also yields a number of characteristic OE compounds, where two independent words are joined to express a complex idea, as in *sorg* plus *cearu* 'care', yielding *sorgcearu*, meaning 'anxiety'. Compounding was a favorite way of creating new words in Old English, with the combination of two nouns, as in *sorgcearu*, being the most frequent type (Kastovsky 1992: 365). Other types include noun plus adjective (*nihtlang* 'night-long'), adjective plus adjective (*blǣhǣwen* 'light blue') and adjective plus noun (*ealdfæder* 'forefather'). However, as Hogg (1992: 23–24) points out, we often cannot be sure from a manuscript, let alone a subsequent edition, whether one word or two was intended; possible solutions to this problem are discussed by Kastovsky (1992: 362–363), although it may be a problem which bothers modern readers, used to the consistent conventions of the printed page, more than it did Anglo-Saxon scribes. Compounds were used where Modern English is more likely to use a phrase, as in *sorglufu* 'sorry or sad love'. Sometimes they contained a good deal of information, as in *heorotsol* 'a stag's wallowing place' or *paddanīeg* 'an island populated by toads or frogs'. Many of them have disappeared from the language: we no longer express distress with *sorgword* 'sad words' or *sorglēoþ* 'sad song', but with the Latin-derived *dirge* or with *lamentation*, also from Latin but possibly entering English through French; these are first recorded in the OED in c.1225 and 1382 respectively (s.v.v. *dirge* n. and *lamentation* n.). The group centring on *sorg* thus illustrates in microcosm both how the OE vocabulary was structured and how the language has changed since OE times.

Many compounds, such as those above, are transparent in meaning, i.e. the meaning of the whole is obvious from its parts. Others, known as "kennings", are more opaque, relying on a metaphorical interpretation. Kennings, and compounds generally, abound in OE poetry and therefore refer to subjects often treated in poetry, such as emotions, epic voyages, and heroic deeds. Thus we find kennings for the sea like *swanrād* 'swan's road', *hwælweg* 'whale's path', and *fisces bæð* 'fish's bathing place' (which may be a phrase rather than a compound). If we look up expressions for 'ship, boat' in *A Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts

and Kay 2000: 331), we find 47 general words for the concept as well as 42 more specialized ones. Such a high degree of lexicalization, comprising both synonyms for the central concept and words for more specific concepts associated with it, indicates the importance of this concept in the culture of the time. Many of these words occur in poetry, often only in poetry. By far the most frequent metaphor is that of the horse, a common mode of transport on land at the time, shown in examples such as *brimhengest*, *merehengest*, *sǣmearh*, *sundhengest* and *ȳðmearh*, where the first element means 'sea' and the second 'horse'. Some of these compounds also occur in more prosaic contexts; for example *sǣgenga*, meaning 'sea companion, ship' in the poem *Beowulf*, is used more literally elsewhere to mean 'sailor', while *sǣhengest* means 'hippopotamus' as well as 'ship'. A vexed, and probably unanswerable, question about such words, as about synonyms generally, is whether an Anglo-Saxon speaker would be aware of their etymological differences and possible shades of meaning or would simply regard them as approximately synonymous and thus interchangeable in most contexts. Taken together with the frequent repetition of initial sounds, these examples also reflect the twin demands of Old English poetic style, alliterating stressed syllables and "elegant variation" through synonymy (see Fulk, Chapter 13).

A comprehensive treatment of all aspects of word-formation can be found in Kastovsky (1992: 355–400) and the works cited there.

4 Innovation and change

All languages have ways of acquiring new words as the need arises. As we have seen in Section 2, Old English, like other Germanic languages past and present, favored using internal resources such as affixation and compounding for this purpose, but occasionally borrowed words from foreign languages. Since Old English was a predominantly synthetic language, using inflectional endings to express grammatical relationships, words could not usually be borrowed in the foreign form but had to be adapted to fit OE patterns, as when the Latin word *discipulus* 'a disciple' was adopted into Old English as *discipul*. Sometimes words from two sources existed side by side for a time. For example, alongside *discipul* we find native derivatives such as *leornere* 'learner' and compounds such as *leorningcniht* and *leornungmann* 'learningboy/man', the latter glossed in Clark Hall (1960: 216) as "used even of women". Sometimes the foreign word is effectively translated into Old English, reproducing the form of the loanword in what is termed a "loan-translation" or "calque". Thus the Latin word *patriarcha* 'chief father/bishop, patriarch' becomes OE *hēahfæder* 'high father'. By a similar process, Latin *sanctus* 'holy person, saint' becomes OE *hālga* 'holy one, saint', and

trinitas 'group of three, Trinity' becomes *ðrines* 'threeness, Trinity'. It is typical of the history of English vocabulary that the OE terms were replaced in later periods by borrowing the Latin words which they had once translated. However, we do retain the expression Holy Ghost, OE *Hālig Gāst,* a calque of Latin *Spiritus Sanctus*, rendered somewhat strange to modern ears by the narrowing of meaning of the word *gāst* to refer to the particular kind of spirit we call a *ghost*.

One of the commonest, most economical (and least noticeable) ways of supplying a new word at all periods of English is to extend the meaning of an existing one, for example to embrace a new concept. Following the introduction of Christianity, concepts such as 'God', 'heaven' and 'hell' took on new meanings for the Anglo-Saxons but were expressed by words which had referred to similar concepts in the old religion: *God*, *heofon*, *hell*. The use of such familiar terms presumably made the new ideas more acceptable to potential converts, and illustrate the effect that cultural change can have on language.

4.1 Polysemy and homonymy

Various processes of semantic change can bring about the condition known as polysemy, where a single form has two or more distinct but ultimately related meanings either simultaneously or at different stages of a language's development. Sometimes a borrowed word already has more than one meaning, as in *torr* 'rock, crag' and 'tower, watch-tower', which had both meanings in the original Latin before the word entered Old English through Celtic. Two of the commonest of these processes of change are "narrowing" or "specialization", where a word's meaning becomes more restricted, and "pejoration", where the word comes to refer to something which is regarded as in some way inferior. For example, the OE word *fēond* meant both an enemy and, by a process of narrowing, the supreme enemy, the Devil. Likewise, the word *æppel* in Old English usually referred to any kind of fruit, as in *palmæppel* 'fruit of the palm, date', but there is evidence in the OE corpus of the beginning of a narrowing process to meaning the fruit we now call an apple. Narrowing often precedes pejoration. The word *cniht* basically meant 'a boy, youth', but came to refer to those performing roles commonly filled by boys, including the role of servant. In this case, the role was often at the relatively high social level of an attendant or retainer, resulting eventually in the modern word *knight*. However, in the case of *cnafa/cnapa*, meaning 'child, youth' and then 'servant', pejoration gave us ModE *knave*. The parallel processes of widening or generalization and amelioration are much rarer. An example of the former can be found in the word *hlāford* 'lord', which originally referred to the specific role of a lord within the Anglo-Saxon social system, but was extended

more generally to people in authority, leading to compounds such as *hlāforddōm* and *hlāfordscipe,* both meaning 'authority'. This word also exhibits narrowing in its meaning of 'husband' and possibly amelioration as one of the many OE terms for 'ruler' applied to the Christian God.

Most semanticists distinguish between "polysemy", where new meanings are linked to old, and "homonymy", where two words just happen to have the same form through historical accident. There are very few homonyms in Old English, both because its vocabulary derives largely from a single source and because it is an inflected language, less hospitable to borrowed forms, which are a frequent cause of homonymy. DOE treats as homonyms the etymologically unrelated *fāh* 'at feud, hostile' and *fāh* 'variegated, stained, shining', but Healey (2006: 85–86) notes that the distinction is not always clearcut and can be deliberately exploited to create ambiguity. Possible occurrences of homonyms are often masked by the fact that modern editions of OE texts indicate vowel length by a diacritic; Anglo-Saxon scribes did not use such marks. Thus *ac* 'but' and *āc* 'oak' would have looked the same on the manuscript page, as would *sæl* 'room, hall' and *sǣl* 'time, season' or *broc* 'misery, affliction' and *brōc* 'brook'. Homonymy can cause ambiguity in understanding a text if both words make sense in a given context, which seems unlikely in these cases. However, much critical ink has been spilled over the interpretation of *gæst* in line 2312 of the poem *Beowulf*, describing the first appearance of the dragon that will eventually kill the hero:

(1) *Đa   se   gæst   ongan   glēdum   spīwan.*
     Then   the   ?   began   fire   to spew forth
     'Then the ? began to spew forth fire'

Is our mystery word an ironic use of *gæst* 'visitor, stranger' or is it *gǣst* 'demon, fiend'? The point is discussed in Hough and Corbett (2007: 120–124), who also note that Beowulf describes himself as a *gæst*, presumably 'visitor, stranger', in line 1800, while the monster Grendel is described as *se grimma gǣst*, presumably 'demon, fiend', in line 102. As modern readers, we can never be sure which meaning is intended in context; an Anglo-Saxon audience, listening to the poem rather than reading it, would have the difference in pronunciation to help them.

4.2 Metonymy and metaphor

Two other kinds of semantic change which lead to polysemy are metonymy and metaphor, which have been a focus of study in semantics generally since the pioneering work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Following their lead, most work on

this topic has been done within the framework of Cognitive Semantics, which draws on both linguistic and psychological theories of meaning. "Metonymy", which many scholars consider to be the root of metaphor, usually occurs within semantically close areas of meaning when some aspect of an object or concept comes to refer to the whole, as when *fām* 'foam' or *wǣg* 'wave' are used as synonyms for 'sea', or *bord* 'plank, board' is used to refer to a shield, ship or table, all of which are made of boards. In "metaphor", words are transferred from one field of meaning to another, usually from concrete to abstract, as when *hāt* 'hot' from the field of physical temperature is transferred to the field of emotions, with meanings such as 'fervent, excited'. From a diachronic point of view, one of the most interesting aspects of metaphor is its persistence through time. Sweetser (1990: 32–40) analyzes metaphors of sense perception deriving from physical concepts, such as 'grasping an idea' or 'seeing the truth', which can be traced back to Indo-European, claiming that "[d]eep and pervasive metaphorical connections link our vocabulary of physical perception and our vocabulary of intellect and knowledge" (Sweetser 1990: 21). In Old English many words transfer from a meaning of physical vision to one of mental vision, including *behealdan, besēon*, *lōcian, scēawian,* all with a literal meaning of *look at, gaze*, and a metaphorical one of *observe, regard, scrutinize.* Kay (2000: 284) comments: "The Vision group of words incorporates an even more fundamental metaphor, that of holding/grasping or possession. Thus *behealdan* presumably follows an etymological path from holding in the hand to holding in the eye (that is seeing), to holding in the mind, that is understanding [...] expressions for remembering include *(ge)healdan,* and *habban/niman/lettan on gemynde*". Both Trim (2007) and Allan (2009) offer further insights into the evolution of metaphor. A good deal of work on the development of metaphor and metonymy within various theoretical frameworks has been done by G.A. Kleparski and his students at the University of Rzeszów, for example Kleparski (1990), and a major new development, the *Mapping Metaphor* project. *Mapping Metaphor* uses *Historical Thesaurus* data to make metaphorical links between areas of meaning, allowing scholars to track metaphorical ways of expression since Old English times (see http://mappingmetaphor.arts.gla.ac.uk/old-english/).

Not all metaphors survive, however. In some cases, the metaphorical connection remains even if it is differently lexicalized at various stages of a language, as when French *fine* replaces OE *ðynne* 'thin' in describing delicacy of perception. In other cases, the metaphorical connection itself is lost, as happened to a group of metaphors for the body, mostly poetic compounds, where *bān* 'bone' is followed by a word denoting some kind of container, as in *bāncofa* 'chest', *bānfæt* 'vessel', *bānhūs* 'house', *bānsele* 'hall'. Containers and their properties, however, continue to supply metaphors, especially for the mind, as shown in an influential paper by

Reddy on "The Conduit Metaphor" (Reddy 1979). Modern English examples include expressions like 'the thought entered my head', paralleled in Old English by uses of *cuman/irnan on gemynde/on mōd* 'come to mind, occur to one'; *hweorfan* literally 'turn', metaphorically 'turn the mind to'; *bewindan* literally 'wind, wind round', metaphorically 'revolve in the mind'. Such examples show the underlying continuity of human conceptual processes even when, as in the case of *hweorfan*, the word itself has been lost.

5 The nature of the evidence

Many of the problems encountered in studying the OE lexicon arise from the nature of the available data. Old English was spoken and written for over 600 years, with consequent diachronic, diatopic, and stylistic variation, but our evidence for such variation is patchy. Smith (1996: 17–19) notes how the survival of materials in the four generally recognized OE dialects, Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish, and West Saxon, correlates with periods of historical importance for the areas concerned, and comments: "Apart from West Saxon, the dialect materials from Anglo-Saxon England are slight and fragmentary, and major parts of the country are almost entirely unrepresented (e.g. East Anglia)". The majority of surviving texts, including the considerable body of poetry, are in West Saxon, which flourished along with the kingdom of Wessex in the 10th and 11th centuries. Late West Saxon is widely used as a model in grammars and dictionaries, and has been chosen as "the preferred spelling for headwords in the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*)" (Healey 2006: 78). However, as Hogg (1992: 20) points out, while OE dialect features can be identified, "[...] there is almost complete social homogeneity between texts. Virtually every linguistic item we possess must have come from a very narrow social band indeed", that is the small number of literate people.

The extent of the problem of unrepresentativeness can be seen by a glance at the section below from TOE (Roberts and Kay 2000):

> 01.01.02.01.04.01 Marsh, bog, swamp: *gebrǣc, cwabba[o], fenn, fengelād[op], fenhleoþu[op], fenhop[op], fenland, flēotham[q], fynig, gyr(u), gyrwefenn[o], hop, lǣc(e)[q], mersc, merschop[o], merscland[o], mōr, mōrhop[o], mos, pidu[q], polra[q], sǣge[q], slæd, snæp[o], strōd, strōdett[q], sucga[q], sumpt[q], wǣsse[q], wereþ[q]*
> [...]
> Quicksand: *cwecesond[og], sandgeweorp[g], sandrid[og]* (Roberts and Kay 2000: 7)

It will be observed that the majority of words are followed by one or more superscript flags which give a rough indication of the currency of the words (as opposed to particular meanings in the case of polysemous words). These are 'o'

indicating infrequent use, 'g' for words occurring only in glossed texts or glossaries, 'p' for poetic register, and 'q' for doubtful forms. The flags are explained more fully in Roberts and Kay (2000: xxi–xxxi) where the authors state: "The flags point to aspects of word frequency that should always be held in mind, given that the extant corpus of Old English is small and probably skewed in its representation of Anglo-Saxon vocabulary". Whereas the relatively small numbers of grammatical patterns in a language can be captured in a limited body of texts, parts of the larger and less stable corpus of lexical items may disappear wholly or partly from the record simply because the texts containing them are lost. In any lexical analysis, but especially in historical lexicology, frequency and context need to be taken into account. On the other hand, where evidence is scarce, any that survives must be of value.

One area where we have a relatively large body of surviving texts is poetry (see Fulk, Chapter 13). Discussing traditional OE poetic diction, Godden (1992: 494) writes: "In both diction and syntax verse differs strikingly from contemporary prose and, one must assume, from contemporary speech". As well as the compounds discussed in Section 3.2 above, poetic diction included simplex words not found in prose, such as *Frēa* and *Metod* as terms for 'God', and *beorn* and *guma* as terms for 'man'. Such poetic words as *naca* 'ship', *gār* 'spear', and *wine* 'friend' have prose equivalents in *scip*, *spere*, and *frēond*. It is interesting, but perhaps not surprising, that the prosaic words, which are more likely to have been used in speech, are also more likely to survive into later stages of the language. It is also of interest that polysemous words could have both a poetic and a prosaic meaning. Thus Godden (1992: 498) notes: "[...] *lind* and *helm* are in general use in the senses 'lime tree' and 'helmet' but limited to poetry in the senses 'shield' and 'protector'".

6 Word and field studies

Research on the OE lexicon takes many approaches, focussing on areas such as word structure (see Section 3), attempts to elucidate the meaning of individual words, and analyses of semantic fields and sub-fields. Much of this research is necessarily and desirably interdisciplinary in character, drawing on subjects such as archaeology, anthropology, and cultural history, as well as linguistics. A substantial body of lexicographical work at the interface of grammar and semantics has been carried out at universities in Spain using the Functional-Lexematic Model. Examples of this approach, and of others, can be found in Diaz Vera (2002). An accessible general account of recent work in English historical semantics, including Old English studies, is Kay and Allan (2015).

Earlier semantic field studies are listed and discussed in Strite (1989) and Kastovsky (1992: 400–407). There is space here to mention only a few of the studies which have been carried out since then; for additional information, the reader is referred to the bibliographies and reviews in that invaluable help to Anglo-Saxonists, the *Old English Newsletter* (see: http://www.oenewsletter.org/OEN/index.php; last accessed 3 July 2017). An example of a very focussed study is Schwyter (1996), which brings legal knowledge to bear on a primarily linguistic study of the lexical field of theft. The considerable body of work on kinship systems and terminologies carried out by anthropologists and ethnographers has informed work on the bifurcate OE kinship system, which largely disappeared after the Norman Conquest, for example in Fischer (2002). Cross-cultural approaches also provide many interesting insights in Anderson's (2003) book on folk taxonomies for categories including color, seasons of the year, shapes, the five senses, psychology, and plant and animal life forms.

Topics which have been particularly well-served in recent years include color, dress, food, and plants. Two notable interdisciplinary studies are Biggam (1997, 1998), which provide detailed analysis of terms for the concepts of 'blue' and 'grey' in Old English, drawing, for example, on botany and mineralogy to help identify the colors attached to plants and gem-stones respectively. She comments with feeling: "The basis of interdisciplinary semantics is the belief that the semantic study of a dead language needs all the help it can get" (Biggam 1997: 27; see further Biggam 2012 for a more general discussion). In another major study, Owen-Crocker (2004) uses evidence from a wide range of sources including archaeology, art, literature, and historical documents such as wills to build up a picture of Anglo-Saxon clothing, textiles and ornaments, thereby helping to elucidate the meanings of the words used to describe them. Various aspects of the production, processing and consumption of food are discussed in Hagen (1992, 1995) and Banham (2004). Plant-names, which are notorious for their uncertain meanings and diatopic variation, are the subject of two major projects. The Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey (ASPNS) at the University of Glasgow aims to elucidate unknown names and review earlier studies; the proceedings of its first symposium appear in Biggam (2003). A joint project of the Universities of Graz and Munich has produced an online *Dictionary of Old English Plant Names*, building on the extensive previous work of Peter Bierbaumer, one of its editors (Bierbaumer et al. 2007–09). Given the increasing availability of online resources and electronic publication, it is to be hoped that many more such projects will be undertaken in future.

7 References

Allan, Kathryn. 2009. *A Diachronic Approach to Metaphor and Metonymy: How Target Concepts for Intelligence are Cognitively and Culturally Motivated*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Anderson, Earl R. 2003. *Folk-taxonomies in early English*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Banham, Debby. 2004. *Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon England*. Stroud: Tempus.

Baugh, Albert C. and Thomas Cable. 2013. *A History of the English Language*. 6th edn. London: Routledge.

Bierbaumer, Peter and Hans Sauer, with Helmut W. Klug and Ulrike Krischke (eds.). 2007–09. *Dictionary of Old English Plant Names*. http://oldenglish-plantnames.org; last accessed 31 December 2016.

Biggam, C. P. 1997. *Blue in Old English: An Interdisciplinary Semantic Study*. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.

Biggam, C. P. 1998. *Grey in Old English*. London: Runetree Press.

Biggam, C. P. (ed.). 2003. *From Earth to Art: The Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England: Proceedings of the First ASPNS Symposium, University of Glasgow, 5–7 April 2000*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Biggam, C. 2012. *The Semantics of Colour: A Historical Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Breeze, Andrew. 2002. Seven types of Celtic loanword. In: Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Pitkänen (eds.), *The Celtic Roots of English*, 175–181. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandall Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey. (eds.). 1986–. *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE). University of Toronto. http://doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html; last accessed 31 December 2016.

Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandall Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey. 2016. *Dictionary of Old English: A to H Online*. Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project. https://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html; last accessed 31 December 2016.

Clark Hall, J. R., with supplement by H. D Merritt. 1960. *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. 4th edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Diaz Vera, Javier E. (ed.). 2002. *A Changing World of Words: Studies in English Historical Semantics and Lexis*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Esposito, Anthony. 2002. Revising the coverage of Old English in the OED. http://public.oed.com/aspects-of-english/english-in-time/old-english-in-the-oed/; last accessed 31 December 2016.

Fischer, Andreas. 2002. Notes on kinship terminology in the history of English. In: Katja Lenz and Ruth Möhlig (eds.), *Of Dyuersitie & Chaunge of Langage: Essays presented to Manfred Görlach on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, 115–128. Heidelberg: Winter.

Godden, Malcolm R. 1992. Literary language. In: Hogg (ed.), 490–535.

Hagen, Ann. 1992. *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food: Processing and Consumption*. Pinner, Middlesex: Anglo-Saxon Books.

Hagen, Ann. 1995. *A Second Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food: Production and Distribution*. Hockwold cum Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books.

Healey, Antonette diPaolo. 2006. Straining words and striving voices: Polysemy and ambiguity and the importance of context in the disclosure of meaning. In: John Walmsley (ed.), *Inside Old English: Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell*, 74–90. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992. Introduction. In: Hogg (ed.), 1–25.

Hogg, Richard M. (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. I. *The beginnings to 1066*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hough, Carole and John Corbett. 2007. *Beginning Old English*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1992. Semantics and vocabulary. In: Hogg (ed.), 290–408.

Kay, Christian. 2000. Metaphors we lived by: Pathways between Old and Modern English. In: Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Dr Lynne Grundy*, 273–285. London: King's College London Medieval Studies.

Kay, Christian and Kathryn Allan. 2015. *English Historical Semantics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kay, Christian, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels, and Irené Wotherspoon. 2009. *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kleparski, G. A. 1990. *Semantic Change in English: A Study of Evaluative Developments in the Domain of HUMANS*. Lublin: University Press of the Catholic University of Lublin.

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Owen-Crocker, Gale R. 2004. *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Proffitt, Michael (ed.). 2000–. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 3rd edn. online. Oxford University Press. www.oed.com

Reddy, Michael. 1979. The conduit metaphor. In: Andrew Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, 284–324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roberts, Jane and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy. 2000. *A Thesaurus of Old English*. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.

Schwyter, J. R. 1996. *Old English Legal Language: The Lexical Field of Theft*. Odense: Odense University Press.

Simpson, John A. and Edmund S. C. Weiner (eds.). 1989. *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Jeremy. 1996. *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change*. London: Routledge.

Strite, Vic. 1989. *Old English Semantic Field Studies*. New York: Peter Lang.

Sweetser, Eve E. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trim, Richard. 2007. *Metaphor Networks: Comparative Evolution of Figurative Language*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ursula Lenker
Chapter 8:
Pragmatics and Discourse

Abstract: This chapter suggests that OE pragmatics and discourse should be approached from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective, rather than seeing Old English as a pre-stage for the later periods of English. It is its cultural and linguistic "otherness" which makes Old English, in spite of the lack of good data, a particularly interesting area for pragmatic study. The different culture(s) of the Anglo-Saxon world required forms for the negotiation of meaning different from those we are familiar with today. Thus the conspicuous lack of structures attesting to politeness as face work, the existence of distinct speech events such as flyting or the prominent role of silence allow cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparison which both corroborates and challenges issues like the uniformitarian principle. Similarly, the different typological character of the morpho-syntax of Old English allows a degree of word order flexibility that is exploited by discourse strategies.

1 Old English discourse: data, texts, and discourse communities

Pragmatics focuses on how meaning is negotiated, i.e., how speakers and hearers in certain contexts – to echo the title of Austin's (1975 [1962]) groundbreaking lecture – "do things with words". It thus concerns the analysis of mental processes in speakers and hearers, but also issues of linguistic and social interaction in specific socio-historical and cultural settings. While it is generally, also for speakers and hearers of Present-day languages, hard to isolate the crucial cogni-

Ursula Lenker: Munich (Germany)

tive processes operating in the human minds, the study of OE pragmatics is complicated by at least two further factors: not only, as for all early periods of a language, the lack of good data, but also the length of the period and consequently and more importantly for the present subject, the changing linguistic and socio-historical conditions during and after the Anglo-Saxon period, which fundamentally affected the bases for and principles of social as well as linguistic interaction.

The OE period – traditionally considered to last from the middle of the 5th century to about 1100/1150 – is the longest among the conventional periods of English and covers more than 600 years (see von Mengden, Chapter 3), from the time when Germanic tribes, as pagan merchants or mercenaries, came to Britain to the late Anglo-Saxon England of the 10th and 11th centuries, when the Anglo-Saxon society was one of the most sophisticated societies of the medieval West, renowned for its ecclesiastical, literary, and cultural achievements. Fortuitously, a wide variety of vernacular OE texts – many more than from any of the other early medieval Germanic societies – are extant from the Anglo-Saxon period. The online database *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (Healey [ed.] 2009), which consists of at least one copy of every extant OE text, comprises about three million words of Old English, starting with Æthelberht's vernacular law code from the late 6th century to a collection of diverse texts produced during and after the Benedictine Reform in the 10th and 11th centuries (see also the about 600 – a surprisingly large number – OE words designating textual categories and speech acts collected in Görlach 2004: 91–97). Yet despite this exceptionally good preservation of data, it is still hard to study pragmatic and discourse patterns of the vernacular: Anglo-Saxon England may, at least for the majority of Anglo-Saxons, during its whole period be characterized as an oral rather than a literate society, but all of our extant texts are, of course, in the written medium, and all of them are strongly linked to the monastic settings in which most of the manuscripts were produced; accordingly, all of them are strongly influenced by a long literary tradition in Latin. When studying OE pragmatics and discourse, we thus have to be aware – much more than in later centuries – that we have access only to a very small proportion of the language actually used in Anglo-Saxon England.

Furthermore, if we take a narrow approach and understand discourse as the spoken equivalent of a text, i.e., a stretch of conversation or dialogue, and discourse analysis as the examination of, for instance, patterns of turn-taking in a dialogue, its methods cannot be fruitfully applied to our OE material. For older stages of a language which are only extant in the written medium, it has been suggested that much can be deduced from so-called "speech-based genres" such as court records, drama or from more colloquial written genres such as personal letters or diaries (see Biber and Finegan 1992). Yet virtually no such speech-based

genres are extant from the OE period, except for the didactic dialogues found in the OE version of Ælfric's *Colloquy* and the indirect instances of direct speech in OE fictional texts attested in poetry, homilies, or prose narratives such as the OE *Apollonius*. Most of the homilies and narratives, however, are translations from Latin, so that we cannot be sure whether the speech conventions recorded there echo actual OE speech interaction or whether they were typical of the Latin discourse tradition or a hybrid Anglo-Saxon/Latin tradition. In his study of interjections in the OE part of the *Helsinki Corpus* (Rissanen et al. 1991), for instance, Hiltunen (2006: 92) finds that OE *eala*, the most frequent interjection in the corpus (66 instances), is attested in a broad variety of texts as an attention getter or emphasizer, but only in texts translated or adapted from Latin Christian models. It is thus an OE interjection with decidedly literary, especially Christian, associations (for a similar text-specific distribution of OE insulting epithets, see Chapman 2008 and Section 3.2). Even in the more monolingual context of heroic poetry (which survives in revised Christianized form only) and other instances of oral formulaic poetry, such as examples of Anglo-Saxon verbal duelling, we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with actual language interaction or merely literary topoi typical of the literary traditions in the vernacular or in Latin (see the discussion of "flyting" in Knappe 2008 and Section 2.2 below).

If we take a broader view of the concept of discourse and capture it as a domain of communication denoting the totality of linguistic practices that pertain to a particular field of knowledge (such as, for instance, the discourses of the courtroom, of law, of news, of science) and the dissemination of information within a certain group of speakers, i.e., a specific discourse community (communities with a common set of assumptions and a shared discourse), the only promising field for Old English is the "discourse of religion" (see also Kohnen 2007a), which is widely attested in translations of the psalms and the gospels as well as translations of works by the Fathers (Gregory the Great, Augustine, Bede) and in text types such as prayers, homilies, monastic rules (St. Benedict, Chrodegang) or penitentials. It is exactly the emergence of new text types and forms of discourse which characterizes the Middle English period.

2 Old English pragmatics as cross-cultural pragmatics

This survey of existing texts and their contexts shows that a comprehensive study of OE pragmatics and discourse would have to cover concepts as diverse as the discourse traditions of the Germanic heroic age and those of a recently Christian-

ized society, and also the scholarly activities in the vein of the Benedictine reform (the last two strongly influenced by Latin literacy and its discourse traditions). Anglo-Saxon culture – or rather, Anglo-Saxon cultures – thus was very much different from later cultures: it not only saw the transition from an oral to a literate society, but also – an aspect relevant for the major principles of social interaction central to pragmatic analysis – the transition from a heroic to a Christian society.

The Anglo-Saxon period thus has very different medial and cultural backgrounds compared to later periods of English. Yet the period is sometimes in danger of losing what has come to be called its essential "alterity", its otherness compared to our habits of mind, modes of expression, and principles of social organization (see Jauss 1979; Lerer 1991: 7–8). Very little of this otherness, for example, seems to have been acknowledged in studies of OE pragmatics, most probably because many of the studies are based on the OE corpus material selected for the *Helsinki Corpus* (Rissanen et al. 1991), which aims at the comparability of genres and text types during the history of English and not their divergence.

2.1 Politeness

Some issues of divergence or otherness are enunciated in Kohnen's more recent discussions of the question whether there was anything like face work in terms of the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) in Anglo-Saxon England and if so, whether these norms were more oriented towards positive or negative politeness (Kohnen 2008a, 2008b). In his studies on different manifestations of OE directives (Kohnen 2000, 2007b, 2008a, 2008c; see also Section 3.1.2), Kohnen finds no instances of negative politeness, i.e. the wish that one's actions go unimpeded by others, in texts set in Germanic or secular contexts. Instead, direct performatives *Ic bidde eow þæt …* 'I ask you to …' or constructions with *þu scealt* 'thou shalt' are preferred. In texts set within a Christian context, many strategies implying a basic kind of solidarity are attested, such as constructions with hortative *uton* 'let us', stressing the necessity of the required action from both addresser and addressee. Kohnen argues that the solidarity expressed by common ground strategies reflects the Christian and monastic models of 'humilitas' and 'oboedientia' which, in his opinion, cannot necessarily be taken as strategies of face work (Kohnen 2008b: 143). These findings suggest that linguistic politeness in the sense of face work may not have been important in Anglo-Saxon communication, at least with regard to negative politeness.

A similar distribution across text categories is suggested by Kohnen's study of OE terms of address, such as *leof* 'dear one, friend', *broþor* 'brother', or *hlaford*

'master, ruler; lord'. *Leof*, the most general courteous address in Old English communicating sympathy, affection, and friendship, is neither typically formal nor typically authoritative, but applicable in a wide range of relationships and settings (so that the usual ModE translations *Sir* or *My/Dear Lord*, which imply a certain authoritative hierarchy, are inaccurate). *Broþor* designates a friendly and affectionate relationship and seems to combine the intimate, mostly affectionate bond associated with blood relationship and the basic solidarity among humans being requested by Christian morals (Kohnen 2008b: 145–152). In secular texts, the use of *hlaford* reflects a static hierarchical society, a fixed rank in a hierarchical society characterized by mutual obligation and kin loyalty; in religious contexts, it is used to address God or Christ (translating Lt. *dominus*, i.e. 'the Lord'). Kohnen summarizes that the prevalent picture of a warlike society of (secular) Anglo-Saxon England may have followed different underlying assumptions and customs, suggesting that face-threatening acts were not felt as a menace but rather as an accomplishment and that face-enhancing acts, like self-praise and boasting (see Section 2.2 on flyting), were not considered to be embarrassing.

Politeness as face work may thus not have played a major role in Anglo-Saxon society. This highlights the intrinsically culture-specific nature of phenomena like politeness and suggests in accordance with other cross-cultural studies that the universal validity or significance of politeness theory – as devised by Brown and Levinson (1987) – is a gross mistake. Negative politeness in particular is fundamentally culture-specific, reflecting the typical patterns of today's Western, or even more particular, Anglo-American, politeness culture (see also Jucker and Taavitsainen 2008: 7–9). The study of Anglo-Saxon pragmatics thus does not only affect our understanding of the historicity of verbal interaction but also challenges issues of universality.

2.2 Flyting

Similar factors of "otherness" have also been studied – in literary as well as pragmatic investigations – in the analysis of Anglo-Saxon "flyting" (cf. OE *flitan* 'strive, quarrel, dispute'), the defiant, proud provocation in verbal duelling in heroic poetry (see Arnovick 1999: 15–40; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000; Knappe 2008). In particular Byrhtnoth's flyting in the *Battle of Maldon* (lines 25–61) or the so-called Unferth episode in *Beowulf* (lines 499–610) exemplify the Germanic genre with its highly stylized and conventional rhetoric (following the standard sequence "claim – defence – counterclaim") and also the subtlety of the combination of insult and boast. In flyting, power and status are negotiated on a verbal battlefield; typical topics of the insults are crimes of kinship (cowardice, failure of

honor, irresponsible behavior). In the Unferth episode, for instance, Beowulf is invited to tell of his famous victories, but first Unferth addresses Beowulf with an insulting speech, accusing Beowulf of having risked his life for a foolish contest with Breca and for having lost the contest (lines 506–518). In the passage given, (1), Unferth provocatively doubts that Beowulf is going to be successful in his encounter with Grendel (lines 522–528) and Beowulf counters in the appropriate style of flyting by accusing Unferth of being drunk (see Arnovick 1999: 608–609 and Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000: 77–78).

(1) [Unferth] *"Ðonne wene ic to þe   wyrsan geþingea*
       ðeah þu heaðoræsa   gehwær dohte
       grimre guðe,   gif þu Grendles dearst
       nihtlongne fyrst nean bidan."
       Beowulf maþelode,   bearn Ecgþeowes:
       "Hwæt, þu worn fela,   wine min Unferð
       beore druncen   ymb Brecan spræce
       sægdest from his siðe!" (*Beowulf* 525–532a)
       'Unferth: "Therefore I anticipate worse outcome for you – though you may always have proved competent in the onslaughts of battle and fierce fight-ing – if you dare to await Grendel at close quarters for the duration of a night". Beowulf, son of Ecgtheow, spoke out: "Well now, Unferth, my friend, you have a lot to say about Breca and to tell about this enterprise for one who is drunk with beer!"'

Ritual insults like these continue beyond the period of heroic poetry in the literary challenges between later medieval knights or its revival as a Scots literary genre in the Renaissance. In cross-cultural approaches, its characteristics have recently also been compared to the – also predominantly oral – ritual insults in the sounding or playing the dozens by African-American adolescents. Both flyting and sounding can be described as rule-governed and therefore ritual, but Anglo-Saxon flyting, arguably (see the discussion in Knappe 2008), lacks the ludic character of the sounding of urban black adolescents in the English-speaking world (for this distinction, see Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000: 77).

2.3 Frame analysis: Old English charms

Studies like these call attention to Bax's (2001) suggestion that comparative frame analysis as conceived by Goffman (1974) may be an effective device for an analysis of the "otherness" of distinct medieval speech events such as ritual

challenging. Yet until now very little use has been made of the historical dimensions of frame analysis, such as the recognition of "scripts" or "frames", i.e., preexisting knowledge structures for interpreting event sequences with a fixed static pattern (see Yule 1996: 85–89). Related ideas and approaches have, however, been applied in the studies on Anglo-Saxon "flyting" summarized in Section 2.2 and particularly in Arnovick's (2006) investigation of verbal performatives in a corpus of 463 OE and Anglo-Latin CHARM INCANTATIONS from the *Lacnunga* and the *Leechbook*. In an interdisciplinary approach inspired by both historical-pragmatic and oral theory, CHARM INCANTATIONS are seen as "speech events", i.e. culturally recognized social activities within a very particular social and linguistic context in which language plays a specific role. The speech event CHARM INCANTATIONS is characterized by a ritual communication with spirits. Arnovick's analysis concentrates on elements with a clear pragmatic function, most of which cannot be studied by corpus methods because they comprise words with non-propositional meaning ("Speaking Gibberish"; Chapter 2), foreign language elements ("Praying the Pater Noster"; Chapter 3), or use no words at all ("Keeping Silence"; Chapter 5). In her close readings of these charms, Arnovick shows that gibberish utterances, which seem to address the spirits in their own tongue, are used as performative relics which perform the illocutionary work of the charm. Gibberish is thus essentially performative because it is the medium of word magic. Similar functions are established for the Latin *Pater Noster* and for silence: If the *Pater Noster* follows a gibberish utterance, it serves to sanctify its command; if the *Pater Noster* appears as the single incantation in the charm, it shoulders the whole illocutionary burden of this charm. Silence – as a metacommunicative marker of the incantation, introducing or framing the magical utterance – does not only signal respect to the deity addressed, but it also indicates respect to the audience of the ritual. Arnovick's analyses, which are also based on a detailed analysis of contextual settings as testified by contemporary texts such as monastic Rules, are a pertinent example of how such a close analysis may depict past and no longer existing models of verbal interaction, which thus expose the "alterity" of Anglo-Saxon social and linguistic interaction.

3 Historical discourse analysis

In addition to these pragmaphilological and interdisciplinary approaches, we find various investigations in the scope of historical discourse analysis (for the term, see Brinton 2015: 225), both function-to-form and form-to-function mappings. Function-to-form mapping, i.e. the identification of OE forms which realize particular discourse functions, is relevant both for larger frames or scripts such as

flyting (see Section 2.2 above) or the investigation into certain speech acts (see Section 3.1 below). Form-to-function mapping, i.e. the explication of pragmatic and discourse functions of a particular OE item, is central for the analysis of, for example, speech act verbs such as *biddan* 'ask' and *beodan* 'command', which are used as performative directives (also see Section 3.1.2) or for investigations into the functions of polyfunctional items such as *þa*, *soþlice*, or *hwæt*, which have been analyzed as discourse markers in Old English (see Section 3.2.3).

If we survey these recent contributions to OE discourse analysis, however, we cannot fail to notice a conspicuous *ad hoc* character of most of the studies and their rather large conceptual variety and methodological pluriformity. Again, most of these studies prefer analyzing features and patterns attested for Present-day English, sometimes neglecting the fact that Old English differentiated – as a still much more inflecting language – more nominal and verbal categories (grammatical gender, case; mood), which allow the pragmatic exploitation of structures which are no longer possible in Present-day English. For directives, Old English could employ not only imperative, but also subjunctive/optative inflections (Traugott 1991: 398), instead of or in addition to the employment of various speech act verbs comparable to, for example, PDE *order* (OE *beodan*) or *ask* (OE *biddan*). Similarly, tense-aspect morphology and, in particular, the employment of specific different patterns of word order to signal focus or topic relations (which are no longer applicable in the fixed system svo in Present-day English), play an important role in foregrounding and narrative segmentation in Old English, instead of or in addition to discourse markers such as *þa*, *hwæt*, or *soþlice* (see Section 3.2.3).

3.1 Function-to-form mapping: speech acts

3.1.1 Methodological issues

In the beginnings of historical pragmatics following Jucker's (1995) landmark volume, the study of speech act verbs and speech acts was considered to be particularly promising (see the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 2000) and so a number of studies on English diachronic pragmatics have dealt with speech acts (for the methodologically most consistent approaches, see Jucker and Taavitsainen 2008 [eds.]). Apart from Kohnen's intense synchronic investigations into OE directives (see Section 3.1.2), most of these studies aim at comparing certain speech acts through the history of English; see Traugott (1991) on the history of English speech act verbs, Arnovick (1994, 1999: 57–94) on promising and curses, Jucker and Taavitsainen (2000) on insults, and Grzega

(2008) on greetings. Accordingly, their primary focus is on regular patterns in language change, such as regularities in the semantic shift from non-epistemic to epistemic in the development of speech act verbs (Traugott 1991) or an increasing subjectification in promising or cursing (Arnovick 1994, 1999).

Much of this research is not only inhibited by the lack of comparative data, but also – as Bertuccelli Papi (2000) has pointed out – by the theoretical divergence of the Austinian, Gricean, and Searlian traditions, which emphasize the detailed investigation of the socio-historical context, on the one hand, or, on the other, an essentially cognitive notion of context, i.e., speaker intentions, felicity conditions, and mental attitudes (which are particularly hard to reveal for OE speakers). Many of the studies on English historical pragmatics employ a mixed approach, which is, however, basically structured along the lines of the five types of speech acts distinguished by Searle (1969; representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives). Because of the conspicuous synchronic and diachronic variation in speech acts, Jucker and Taavitsainen (2000, 2008) have suggested a prototype approach, viewing speech acts within the "multidimensional pragmatic space" they share with neighboring speech acts whose coordinates are context-specific, culture-specific and time-specific. The pragmatic space of "antagonistic verbal behaviour" (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2008), for example, would thus include insults and threats as found in medieval flyting, Shakespearian name-calling, or present-day sounding or flaming, since basic patterns of the speech act VERBAL INSULT are repeated there in slightly modified forms (see Section 2.2 above). Studies following this approach have thus confirmed the importance of long-term investigations in historical pragmatics, since they both corroborate and challenge issues like the uniformitarian principle (for the challenges, see also Section 2.1 on politeness, above).

Again, however, it has to be acknowledged that it is in particular divergence which is crucial for the study of OE speech acts. In her pioneering account outlining the chances and challenges of historical pragmatics, Schlieben-Lange (1976) warned that we have to be very careful when transferring our understanding of today's speech acts and their principles to older stages of a language. Not only were there different, or at least much more important and more highly institutionalized, speech acts, such as BANISHING, OUTLAWING, SCORNING, OFFERING ONE'S SERVICE, but some speech acts and events which seem equivalent to present-day ones may have changed in their pragmatic function. In his study of the Old High German performative formula in the speech event of baptism, Wagner (1994), for example, accordingly finds that the pragmatic functions of certain performatives have changed tremendously: while in the medieval theocentric world view of the early Middle Ages, the utterance of performative

formulas employing the verbs *gelouban* 'believe' and *forsahhan* 'forsake' was an act of abjuring the devils and subjecting oneself to the Christian god, i.e. a declarative speech act in Searlian terms (speaker causes the situation X, direction of fit: words change the world), it is – for many speakers – now rather a solemn profession of faith or a solemn promise and therefore a commissive speech act (the speaker intends X, direction of fit: make the world fit words).

3.1.2 Directives in Old English

In general, Schlieben-Lange (1976) suggested that indirect speech acts, ambiguous in their illocution or perlocution, were rare, reflecting the different social contexts in a strongly hierarchical society. For Old English, these suggestions were corroborated for directives and their development, the as yet only systematically studied OE speech act (see Kohnen 2000, 2008a, 2008c). In an early study, Kohnen (2000) found that performative directives, i.e., instances in which the speaker explicitly refers to the act of requesting or commanding, were more common in Old English than in Present-day English, where directives are often realized in indirect or hedged form (e.g. *Could you give me a hand?* or *Will you do me a favor?*). The following examples, (2a, b) from Ælfric's letter to Wulfsige and the OE laws of King Canute illustrate the "typical explicit performative pattern", i.e. constructions with verbs in 1P SG active, (preferentially) an object referring to the addressee, and a subordinate clause introduced by *þæt* naming the requested action:

(2)   a.   *And we beodað   þæt   man Cristene men   for*
            and we command-1P.PL.ACT that [SUB. CONJ.] one Christian men-ACC.PL for
            ealles   lytlum   huru   to deaþe   ne forræde
            all-GEN.SG little (things)-DAT.PL certainly to death-DAT.SG not sentence-3P.SG.ACT.SUBJ
            'And we command that Christian men be not sentenced to death for the slightest reason' (c.1020 LawIICn, 2.1; Kohnen 2000: 304)
   b.   *ic bidde   eow   þæt   ge   gymon*
            I ask-1P.SG.ACT you-2P.PL.ACC that [SUB. CONJ.] you-2P.PL.NOM take care-2P.ACT.SUBJ
            eowra   sylfra   swa eowere   bec   eow
            your-2P.PL.GEN selves-2P.PL.GEN as your-2P.PL.GEN books-NOM.PL you-2P.PL.ACC
            wissiað
            instruct-3P.PL.ACT
            'I ask you to take care of yourselves in such a way as your books instruct you'
            (c.1000 ÆLet 1 [Wulfsige Xa] 117; Kohnen 2000: 304)

In Old English, the performative function was found to be restricted to only five out of the altogether 40 relevant speech act verbs, namely *biddan* 'ask', *læran*

'teach', *halsian* 'implore', *bebeodan* 'bid', and *beodan* 'command'. This means that only those directive acts were prominent which imply an unambiguous and asymmetric relationship between addresser and addressee: Either the addresser holds a superior rank (as in the case of so-called *beodan*-verbs such as *beodan*, *bebeodan*, *hatan* 'command', *læran*, *mynegian* 'exhort', *manian* 'exhort') or the addresser is not in a superior position (as in the case of so-called *biddan*-verbs such as *biddan*, *gebiddan* 'ask', *halsian*). Furthermore, the conspicuous lack of verbs denoting suggestion and advice such as PDE *suggest* or *recommend* shows that indirect directives and, consequently, the tendency to avoid face-threatening acts seem to have developed relatively late in the history of English, in Early Modern English (see Kohnen 2002, 2007b; see also Section 2.1, above).

In his subsequent studies, charting the complete inventory of the various manifestations of directives, Kohnen finds that the manifestations of directives fall into four classes: performatives, imperatives, modal expressions, and indirect manifestations (see Kohnen 2007b and 2008c). Over the history of English, performatives, modals, and in particular imperatives, with 2ᴘ imperatives as their unmarked manifestation, have been most frequent (Kohnen 2008c: 309). The most problematic class of directives for all periods of English are indirect directives, in which an utterance contains neither imperatives, nor the relevant modals, nor performatives; in his OE data, Kohnen could not find any instances of such indirect directives (Kohnen 2008c: 301): both their frequency and their variability increase only over the centuries. All in all, the findings thus again suggest that negative politeness did not play a major role in Anglo-Saxon communication (see also Section 2.1 above).

3.1.3 Other speech acts

In her study on the history of promises in English, Arnovick (1994, 1999: 57–71) similarly proposes a "straightforward nature of the promise" in Old English: promises in Old English are described as direct, sentence-length utterances; many of the promissory statements rely upon *sculan* or *willan*, such as in (3):

(3)   *Nu ic, Beowulf, þec,*
      secg betsta,   me for sunu wylle
      freogan on ferhþe. (*Beowulf* 946b–948a)
      'Now, Beowulf, best of men, in my heart I will love you as a son'

Arnovick further argues that the development of *will* and *shall* from deontic modals to epistemic tense markers, marking predominantly futurity and no long-

er obligation, results in an expansion of the discourse needed to convey the illocutionary force of promising in the course of the history of English.

In the development of the manifestations of SWEARING/CURSING, Arnovick also finds a movement toward greater subjectivity from Old English, when curses were so standard as to appear formulaic and had an exclusively deontic, religious meaning (Arnovick 1999: 73–94 "Subjectification in the Common Curse"). Analogous stylized forms have also been found for the related speech act INSULT in Old English (cf. Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000 and the account of OE flyting, also Section 2.2 above).

3.2 Form-to-function mappings

3.2.1 Insulting epithets

With respect to form-to-function mapping, i.e., the explication of pragmatic and discourse functions of particular OE items, a similar importance of stylized forms is seen in Chapman's (2008) study of insulting epithets in Old English, which highlights the highly conventional character of insulting epithets. OE speakers/ writers use common, well-worn words, which are frequently repeated in the epithets (*earm* and *earmig* 'poor' are most versatile; there are only four hapax legomena, such as *wambscyldig* 'belly-guilty; sinful') and they fall into a fairly well-defined set of semantic categories, typical of insults in other languages, such as "low social standing" (e.g. *earm/earmig* 'poor; miserable, wretched', *ungesælig* 'unfortunate; miserable, wretched'), "intellectual, mental deviations" (e.g. *dysig* 'foolish', *stunt* 'foolish'), "individual deviations in character" (e.g. *lyþre* 'wicked, evil', *wælhreow* 'cruel, barbarous'), or "individual transgressions of societal norms", in Old English overwhelmingly characterized as sins (e.g. *druncene* 'drunk', *leas* 'vain, false; lying', *wlanc* 'proud', *licettere* 'hypocrite', *wedloga* 'oath-breaker'). In sum, Chapman finds a preponderance of terms naming sins or other moral shortcomings, such as *wedloga* 'oath-breaker' or *licettere* 'hypocrite'. Notably missing from the OE data are sexual and scatological epithets, which appear to have been common in Germanic traditions, but which might not be attested because of the predominance of religious genres in the surviving OE texts (Chapman 2008: 4). The most creative expressions are found in addresses to devils and in an exceptional passage in an OE debate between the body and the soul from the *Vercelli Homilies*, where the soul accuses the body of getting them both damned:

(4) *La, ðu eorðan lamb & dust & wyrma gifel, & þu wambscyldiga fætels & gealstor & fulnes & hræw, hwig forgeate ðu me & þa toweardan tide?* (HomU 9 [ScraggVerc 4] 207)

'Hey, you mud of the earth and dust and food for worms, and you belly-guilty bag and pestilence and foulness and corpse, why did you forget me and the future?' (translation Chapman 2008: 2)

While this passage may indeed allow a better idea of spoken OE interaction, the common conventionality of insults is not specific to Old English, but has already been noted for many other languages. Indeed, this speech act actually invites conventionality, because an inherent characteristic of an insult is that the insulting label must be recognized as such by the target and other listeners.

3.2.2 Interjections

Single OE elements with pragmatic function which have received some attention in the literature are interjections and, in particular, discourse particles. Some approaches propose a cline between interjections and discourse markers (see the review of scholarship in Hiltunen 2006: 93–94) and there are a number of polyfunctional items such as OE *hwæt* 'what', which may function as interjections or discourse particles. The main difference between interjections and discourse markers, however, is that while the latter work on the textual and interpersonal level only, interjections predominantly function as full speech acts, i.e., as equivalents to a full sentence (PDE *Wow!* 'I am surprised', PDE *sh* 'I want silence here').

The studies on interjections have until now mainly concentrated on charting the inventory of interjections in Old English by means of a corpus analysis (Hiltunen 2006) and investigations into the use and descriptions of OE interjections (and their relation to Latin ones) in OE texts and also metalinguistic sources such as Ælfric's *Grammar* (Hiltunen 2006; Sauer 2007, 2008). An investigation of Ælfric's *Grammar* shows that Ælfric was aware of the role and significance of interjections in English, since he discusses them in some detail. A more functional approach to interjections is likely to yield not only further insights into interjections but also, since they signal full speech acts, into speech acts and their analysis.

3.2.3 Discourse markers

Starting with Enkvist's analyses of OE *þa* 'then; when' (Enkvist 1972, 1986) and, in particular, Brinton's pioneering monograph on "mystery features" of Old and Middle English (Brinton 1996), most attention in OE pragmatic research has until recently been paid to what have been termed "discourse markers" (Schiffrin 1987) or "pragmatic markers" (Brinton 1996). Due to the difficulties of sentence and discourse segmentation arising from the lack of punctuation in OE manuscripts and also due to the oral or oral-literate character of some OE texts, the discourse-structuring function of adverbs and phrases which segment OE texts was registered in philological approaches to Anglo-Saxon literature before the beginning of historical pragmatics as a discipline proper. OE adverbs such as *her* 'here' and *nu* 'now', for example, have been described in their text deictic, i.e., textual, functions (Clemoes 1985; Fries 1993; see also Lenker 2000). Much valuable material can also be found in glossaries and introductions to editions of OE texts or monographs discussing the language of individual Anglo-Saxon authors (for the Alfredian works, see, e.g., Wülfing 1894–1901), material which tends to be neglected in studies based on language corpora such as the *Helsinki Corpus* (Rissanen et al. 1991).

The OE items best studied for their various functions are *þa* and *hwæt*, not only in linguistic but also in literary and philological studies – *hwæt* in particular because of its prominent appearance at the beginning of several well-known OE poems such as *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, *The Dream of the Rood*, *Exodus*, *Fates of the Apostles*, *Judgement Day II*, *Solomon and Saturn*, and *Vainglory* (see Brinton 1996: Chapter 7 and Stanley 2000). Yet, with the advent of text linguistics and pragmatics, the investigations into these items have become much more methodological. Brinton's pragmatic analysis of the uses of OE *hwæt*, for example, shows that it – in addition to its employment as an interrogative and complementizer – serves as an attention getter and as a marker of shared knowledge (Brinton 1996: 187–189).

OE *þa* may be employed as a temporal adverb 'then' or as a temporal conjunction 'when; then … when'. Within a discourse perspective, *þa* has been seen to function as a discourse marker denoting foregrounded action, narrative segmentation, or shifts on the discourse level (see, for example, Enkvist 1972, 1986; Enkvist and Wårvik 1987; Kim 1992; Brinton 2006). In most of the studies, word order patterns (mainly verb-second, i.e., *þa* v…) are considered to analyze and highlight the various text-structuring function of *þa* (Wårvik 1995, 2011; see also below, Section 3.4). Similar functions have been found for two collocations comprising *þa*: *hwæt þa* 'what then' moves the narrative forward, expressing the fact that the event that follows can be inferred from the previous event (Brinton 1996: 193–199).

The phrases *þa gelamp / gewearþ / wæs (hit) (þæt)* 'then it happened that' – termed *gelamp*-constructions by Brinton (1996: Chapter 5) – serve as episode boundary markers, expressing the "subsidiary foreground", the instigating event of an episode. Comparable to OE *þa* and OE *þa gelamp hit*, OE *soþlice* and *witodlice*, lit. 'truly, verily', may not only be employed as manner adverbs with a scope within the predicate or as truth-intensifying emphasizers, but, more often, as pragmatic markers functioning as highlighters or – denoting episode boundaries – as markers of discourse discontinuity in OE prose (Lenker 2000).

3.2.4 Word order and information structure

Recent work has highlighted the relevance of information structure to the choice of word order options in Old English. Again, it is the difference of Old English vs. Middle (and Present-day) English structures which has to be stressed: much more than in later periods of English, morphological features (tense-aspect inflection) and distinct word order patterns were central for text-structuring. Tense-aspect morphology, which serves the function of placing events in time (with aspect dependent on the speakers' perspective), played an important role in foregrounding and narrative segmentation: In his analysis of fore- and backgrounding in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Hopper suggests that the foreground in OE narratives, in accordance with general principles of grounding, is indicated by the perfective aspect (single dynamic, punctual, or telic events), whereas the background (durative/iterative/habitual/atelic processes) is indicated by the imperfective aspect. Foregrounding may also be indicated through vs and ov structures and backgrounding by sv structures (Hopper 1979: 220–226).

The idea that discourse relations are signalled by specific word order patterns is thus not new, but research into the relation of information structure and word order has seen an upsurge of interest in recent years. So Los (2000) finds that different word orders with *onginnan/beginnan* 'begin' in the works of Ælfric yield identifiable discourse effects: *on-/beginnan* in v1 position invariably indicate discourse discontinuity, i.e. mark episodes in which the narrative takes a dramatic turn, whereas main clauses introduced by *þa* + finite *on-/beginnan* take a bare infinitive and mark discourse continuity. In her examination of word order patterns in Old English non-coordinate and coordinate clauses, i.e., clauses introduced by coordinating conjunctions, Bech (2008) finds that verb-final main clauses (sxv) are likely to signal coordinating discourse relations, for example Narration or Continuation.

In a number of recent articles, van Kemenade and colleagues highlight the fact that Old English possesses a number of morpho-syntactic properties which

allow a degree of word order flexibility that is exploited by discourse strategies and, in particular, suggest that particular adverbs (mainly *þa* and *þonne* 'then') functioned as "discourse partitioners" in Old English (van Kemenade and Los 2006; van Kemenade et al. 2008). Their examination of word order patterns with OE *þa* and *þonne* leads them to claim that these adverbs (or rather, particles) should be seen as "focus particles" with a fixed position in the clause structure, with a topic area to the left of the particle and a focus area on the right (for an alternative view on the discourse functions of adverbs in "post-first-position", i.e. the position after the first sentence constituent, see Lenker 2010: 67–72). In sum, these studies suggest that Old English is tailored to allow a certain amount of discourse flexibility: the syntactic and – undisputed – discourse properties of *þa/þonne* show that the syntactic organization of the clause in Old English is closely interwoven with discourse organization, while the transition to Middle English is one that results in a more strictly syntactic organization of the clause.

4 Summary

The studies of OE pragmatics and discourse reviewed here, though as yet very diverse in their approaches and methodologies, have shown that it is indeed possible to obtain an understanding of how meaning was negotiated in Anglo-Saxon times, in spite of the lack of good, especially spoken or speech-based, data. It is in particular the "alterity" of Anglo-Saxon England culture(s), i.e. the very different socio-historical conditions, and the typological difference of the still largely inflecting structure of Old English as compared to Present-day English, which make Old English a very interesting field for the study of pragmatics. It might thus be advisable to approach OE pragmatics more like cross-cultural, contrastive studies, rather than viewing it – as many studies so far seem to have done – as a pre-stage for Middle English, Early Modern English, and Modern English. Contrastive cross-cultural approaches to speech acts (especially by Blum-Kulka and associates; see Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) should thus be methodologically significant for the study of OE pragmatics, since they compare the realization of a particular speech act in different cultural and linguistic contexts. Although many aspects of the history of larger speech events and speech acts may prove to be cultural ones in the final analysis, it is thanks to linguistic, i.e., pragmatic, studies of Old English that many complex stories of linguistic and cultural interaction in Anglo-Saxon England have already been exposed.

5 References

Arnovick, Leslie K. 1994. The expanding discourse of promises in Present-day English: A case study in historical pragmatics. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 15: 175–191.

Arnovick, Leslie K. 1999. *Diachronic Pragmatics: Seven Case Studies in English Illocutionary Development*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Arnovick, Leslie K. 2006. *Written Reliquaries: The Resonance of Orality in Medieval English Texts*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Austin, J. L. 1975 [1962]. How to do things with words. In: J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà (eds.), *The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bax, Marcel. 2001. Historical frame analysis: Hoaxing and make-believe in a seventeenth-century Dutch play. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 2: 33–67.

Bertuccelli Papi, Marcella. 2000. Is a diachronic speech act theory possible? *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1: 57–66.

Bech, Kristin. 2008. Verb types and word order in Old and Middle English non-coordinate and coordinate clauses. In: Gotti, Dossena, and Dury (eds.), 49–67.

Biber, Douglas and Edward Finegan. 1992. The linguistic evolution of five written and speech based English genres from the 17th to the 20th centuries. In: Matti Rissanen, Ossi Ihalainen, Terttu Nevalainen, and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*, 688–704. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House, and Gabriele Kaspar (eds.). 1989. *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Apex.

Brinton, Laurel J. 1996. *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brinton, Laurel J. 2015. Historical discourse analysis. In: Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1, 222–243, Oxford: Blackwell.

Brinton, Laurel J. 2006. Pathways in the development of pragmatic markers in English. In: van Kemenade and Los (eds.), 307–334.

Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals of Language Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chapman, Don. 2008. "You belly-guilty bag". Insulting epithets in Old English. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 9: 1–19.

Clemoes, Peter. 1985. Language in context: *Her* in the 890 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. *Leeds Studies in English* 16: 27–36.

Enkvist, Nils Erik. 1972. Old English adverbial þa – an action marker? *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73: 90–96.

Enkvist, Nils Erik. 1986. More about the textual functions of the Old English adverbial þa. In: Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksaner Szwedek (eds.), *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries: In Honour of Jacek Fisiak on the Occasion of his Fiftieth Birthday*, Vol. I, 301–309. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Enkvist, Nils Erik and Brita Wårvik. 1987. Old English þa, temporal chains, and narrative structure. In: Anna Giacalone Ramat, Onofrido Carruba, and Guiliano Bernini (eds.), *Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, 221–237. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Fischer, Olga, Annette Rosenbach, and Dieter Stein (eds.). 2000. *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Fries, Udo. 1993. Towards a description of text deixis in Old English. In: Klaus R. Grinda and Claus-Dieter Wetzel (eds.), *Anglo-Saxonica: Festschrift für Hans Schabram zum 65. Geburtstag*, 527–540. Munich: Fink.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper and Row.

Görlach, Manfred. 2004. *Text Types and the History of English*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gotti, Maurizio, Marina Dossena, and Richard Dury (eds.). 2008. *English Historical Linguistics 2006. Selected Papers from the Fourteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL 14), Bergamo, 21–25 August 2006*. Vol. I: *Syntax and Morphology*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Grzega, Joachim. 2008. *Hāl, Hail, Hello, Hi*: Greeting in English language history. In: Jucker and Taavitsainen (eds.), 165–193.

Healey, Antonette di Paolo (ed.). 2009. *Dictionary of Old English Corpus Web Corpus* (DOEC). With John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang. University of Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies, Dictionary of Old English Project. http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/pub/web-corpus.html; last accessed 3 January 2017.

Hiltunen, Risto. 2006. "Eala, geferan and gode wyrhtan": On interjections in Old English. In: John Walmsley (ed.), *Inside Old English: Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell*, 91–116. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Hopper, Paul J. 1979. Aspect and foregrounding in discourse. In: Talmy Givón (ed.), *Discourse and Syntax*, 213–241. New York: Academic Press.

Jauss, Hans Robert. 1979. The alterity and modernity of medieval literature. Trans. Timothy Bahti. *New Literary History* 10: 181–227.

Jucker, Andreas H. (ed.). 1995. *Historical Pragmatics. Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Jucker, Andreas H. and Irma Taavitsainen. 2000. Diachronic speech act analysis: Insults from flyting to flaming. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1: 67–95.

Jucker, Andreas H. and Irma Taavitsainen. 2008. Speech acts now and then: Towards a pragmatic history of English. In: Jucker and Taavitsainen (eds.), 1–23.

Jucker, Andreas H. and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.). 2008. *Speech Acts in the History of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kemenade, Ans van and Bettelou Los. 2006. Discourse adverbs and clausal syntax in Old and Middle English. In: van Kemenade and Los (eds.), 224–248.

Kemenade, Ans van and Bettelou Los (eds.). 2006. *The Handbook of the History of English*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kemenade, Ans van, Tanja Milicev, and R. Harald Baayen. 2008. The balance between syntax and discourse in Old English. In: Gotti, Dossena, and Dury (eds.), 3–21.

Kim, Taejin. 1992. *The Particle* þa *in the West Saxon Gospels: A Discourse Level Analysis*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Knappe, Gabriele. 2008. *Flyting* und die Rhetorik des verbalen Konflikts in der angelsächsischen Literatur. In: Oliver Auge, Felix Biermann, Matthias Müller, and Dirk Schulze (eds.), *Bereit zum Konflikt: Strategien und Medien der Konflikterzeugung und Konfliktbewältigung im europäischen Mittelalter*, 32–46. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2000. Explicit performatives in Old English: A corpus-based study of directives. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1: 301–321.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2002. Towards a history of English directives. In: Andreas Fischer, Gunnel Tottie, and Hans Martin Lehmann (eds.), *Text Types and Corpora: Studies in Honour of Udo Fries*, 165–175. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2007a. Connective profiles in the history of English texts: Aspects of orality and literacy. In: Ursula Lenker and Anneli Meurman-Solin (eds.), *Clausal Connection in the History of English*, 289–308. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2007b. Text types and the methodology of diachronic speech act analysis. In: Susan M. Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, 139–166. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2008a. Directives in Old English: Beyond politeness. In: Jucker and Taavitsainen (eds.), 27–44.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2008b. Linguistic politeness in Anglo-Saxon England? A study of Old English address terms. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 9: 140–158.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2008c. Tracing directives through age and time: Towards a methodology of a corpus-based diachronic speech-act analysis. In: Jucker and Taavitsainen (eds.), 295–310.

Lenker, Ursula. 2000. *Soþlice* and *witodlice*: Discourse markers in Old English. In: Fischer et al. (eds.), 229–249.

Lenker, Ursula. 2010. *Argument and Rhetoric: Adverbial Connectors in the History of English*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lerer, Seth. 1991. *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature*. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press.

Los, Bettelou. 2000. *Onginnan/beginnan* + *to*-infinitive in Ælfric. In: Fischer et al. (eds.), 251–274.

Rissanen, Matti, Merja Kytö, Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Matti Kilpiö, Saara Nevanlinna, Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. 1991. *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*. For manual, see http://clu.uni.no/icame/manuals/HC/INDEX.HTM; last accessed 3 January 2017.

Sauer, Hans. 2007. Ælfric and emotion. *Poetica. An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies (Japan)* 66: 37–52.

Sauer, Hans. 2008. Interjection, emotion, grammar, literature. In: Amano Masachiyo, Michiko Ogura, and Masayuki Ohkado (eds.), *Historical Englishes in Varieties of Texts and Contexts*, 387–403. Bern: Peter Lang.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schlieben-Lange, Brigitte. 1976. Für eine historische Analyse von Sprechakten. In: Heinrich Weber and Harald Weydt (eds.), *Sprachtheorie und Pragmatik*, 113–119. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stanley, Eric G. 2000. *Hwæt*. In: Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson (eds.), *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, 525–556. London: King's College, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1991. English speech act verbs: A historical perspective. In: Linda R. Waugh and Stephen Rudy (eds.), *New Vistas in Grammar: Invariance and Variation*, 387–406. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wagner, Andreas. 1994. Wie sich Sprechakte historisch verändern. Vorstudien zu einer Typologie des historischen Wandels von Sprechakten am Beispiel von SEGNEN im Althebräischen und BEKENNEN im Deutschen. In: Dieter W. Halwachs and Irmgard Stütz (eds.), *Sprache – Sprechen – Handeln. Akten des 28. Linguistischen Kolloquiums Graz 1993*. Bd. 2, 181–187. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Wårvik, Brita. 1995. Peak marking in Old English narrative. In: Brita Wårvik, Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen, and Risto Hiltunen (eds.), *Organization and Discourse. Proceedings from the Turku Conference*, 549–558. Turku: University of Turku.

Wårvik, Brita. 2011. Connective or "disconnective" discourse marker? Old English *þa*, multi-functionality and narrative structuring. In: Anneli Meurman-Solin and Ursula Lenker (eds.), *Connectives in Synchrony and Diachrony in European Languages*. Helsinki: VARIENG. http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/08/wårvik; last accessed 3 January 2017.

Wülfing, Johann Ernst. 1894–1901. *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Großen*. 3 volumes. Bonn: Haunstein.

Yule, George. 1996. *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hans Sauer and Gaby Waxenberger
Chapter 9:
Dialects

Abstract: The chapter provides a description of the usual dialectal division of Old English into West Saxon in the South, Kentish in the South-East, and Anglian in the Midlands and the North, with a further subdivision of Anglian into Mercian and Northumbrian. Some of the Anglo-Saxon personalities that are connected with the various dialects are first introduced. A sketch of research on the OE dialects along with some problems for research follows. The chapter then deals briefly with the question of dialects and standard language and with the origin and transmission of the OE dialects. The main dialectal differences in phonology, inflectional morphology, word-formation, vocabulary, and word-geography are outlined, with special attention paid to the (early) runic inscriptions, the Winchester vocabulary, and Wulfstan's vocabulary. As far as the transmission allows us to judge, there were no differences in syntax. The chapter ends with an exploration of the question of a poetic dialect and of the role of the OE dialects in the further development of the English language.

Hans Sauer and Gaby Waxenberger: Munich (Germany)

1 The main Old English dialects

Old English was split up into several dialects from the beginning. Usually three main Old English dialects are distinguished, namely, West Saxon in the South, Kentish (Kent.) in the South-East (Kent and neighbouring areas), and Anglian (Angl.) in the Midlands and the North. Anglian can be subdivided into Mercian (Merc.; roughly the Midlands) and Northumbrian (Nhb.; roughly north of the Humber); see Map 9.1 below.

Map 9.1: The OE dialect boundaries based on the political boundaries of c.825 (map based on Sievers-Brunner 1965)

The names of the dialects are partly connected with the members of the Germanic tribes that according to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* I.15 (Colgrave and Mynors [eds.] 1969) came in 449 CE from what is today Northern Germany and Southern Denmark. They sailed across the North Sea and conquered Britain; see Map 9.2 below. West Saxon is connected with a part of the Saxons (there were also South-Saxons and East-Saxons, who, however, do not play much of a role when talking about OE dialects); Anglian is connected with the Angles; and Kentish is connected with the Jutes, who settled in Kent and also the Isle of Wight. How far there is a Jutish substratum in the WSax. dialect of Winchester is disputed (see, e.g., Seebold 1990; Sauer 1992: 322–323). Possibly Frisians also played a role in the invasion and conquest of Britain, but they do not seem to be specifically connected with any one of the OE dialects. Old English and Old Frisian as such are closely related, however, and there are a number of common Anglo-Frisian features.

Map 9.2: The homes of the Anglo-Saxons

Some sort of standard developed only in the later OE period on the basis of Late West Saxon (LWSax.); see Section 5 below. The political dominance moved from

North to South (with some overlap): the Northumbrians were dominant in the 7th century (c.625–675), the Mercians in the 8th century (c.650–825), and the West Saxons from the 9th century to the Norman Conquest (c.800–1066). The Kentish were never politically dominant (see Toon 1992: 416), although Canterbury was important as the seat of an archbishop – there were only two archbishoprics in Anglo-Saxon England, namely Canterbury (from 597 onwards) and York (from 735 onwards).

2 Some important people

Although not only most OE speakers, but also many literary authors and scribes remain anonymous, we know the names of some individuals that are connected with certain dialects. Apart from King Alfred, all of them were (or became) clerics (e.g., monks, priests, bishops). We list them here in alphabetical order (for more details see, e.g., Lapidge et al. [eds.] 2014):

– Ælfric of Eynsham (c.950–c.1010): pupil of Æthelwold at Winchester, later monk at Cerne Abbas, and finally abbot of Eynsham; the most important LWSax. prose author and representative of the Winchester vocabulary.

– Æthelwold (c.904/909–984): abbot of Abingdon, later bishop of Winchester; one of the main proponents of the Benedictine Reform; teacher of Ælfric and founder of the Winchester vocabulary.

– Aldred (fl.950–970): priest at Chester-le-Street; added the Late Northumbrian gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Durham Ritual*.

– Alfred (849–899): king of Wessex (871–899); defeated the Vikings; also attempted an educational reform and assembled a group of learned helpers. He translated a number of Latin texts into early West Saxon; his helpers also translated or compiled some texts – Alfred has therefore been called "the father of English prose".

– Bede or Beda Venerabilis (c.673–735): monk at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow; the most important Anglo-Saxon theologian and historian; wrote mainly in Latin, but his *Death Song* originally in the early Northumbrian dialect.

– Byrhtferth of Ramsey (c.970–c.1020): monk at Ramsey and prolific author, wrote mainly in Latin, but his *Enchiridion* (or *Handbook*) is partly in Late West Saxon.

– Cædmon (fl. c.660–c. 680): illiterate cow-herd and later monk at Whitby; model of an oral poet whose poetry was written down by others; also the first English poet who is known by name; composed his *Hymn* originally in the early Northumbrian dialect.

- Cynewulf (perhaps around 900): a learned Mercian poet who signed his poems with runic letters.
- Farmon (second half of 10th century): a priest who glossed part of the *Rushworth Gospels* (*Rushworth[1]*) in Mercian.
- Owun (second half of 10th century): a scribe, and probably also a cleric, who glossed part of the *Rushworth Gospels* (*Rushworth[2]*) in Northumbrian, closely following Aldred's gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.
- Wærferth of Worcester (c.840–915): bishop of Worcester (872–915); one of King Alfred's learned helpers; translated the *Dialogues* by Pope Gregory the Great into Old English (Anglian or, more specifically, Mercian).
- Wulfstan the homilist (c.960–1023): bishop of London (996–1002); archbishop of York (1002–1023) and, for a long time simultaneously, bishop of Worcester (1002–1016); besides Ælfric one of the most important LWSax. prose authors (but not connected to the Winchester vocabulary).

3 Research on the Old English dialects

The differences between the OE dialects were mainly recognized by 19th century scholars, e.g. by Sweet (1887) (on the history of research, cf. Campbell 1959: 4; Toon 1992: 434–437). There are many studies devoted to specific problems, but only a few comprehensive surveys. Phonology and inflectional morphology on the one hand and vocabulary on the other are mostly treated separately. The major grammars and handbooks, such as Campbell (1959), Hogg (1992), and Sievers-Brunner (1965), which goes back to Sievers (1882), deal with dialectal differences in phonology (and inflection) but not in vocabulary. Even in the first volume of *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Hogg [ed.] 1992), the chapter by Toon on "Old English dialects" concentrates on the historical and social background and on phonological dialect markers, whereas dialect vocabulary is discussed by Kastovsky in the chapter on "Semantics and Vocabulary", and the question of a poetic dialect is treated by Godden in the chapter on "Literary Language".

4 Some problems for research on Old English dialects

Research on the Old English dialects is fraught with a number of problems. (See also Section 11.2 and Section 14 below.)

Written language: what we have is only what was written down, usually for a specific purpose, e.g. for religious instruction of various kinds. It is, of course, even more difficult to trace the spoken language from the written documents.

Gaps in the material: the chronological as well as the geographical distribution of the material is very uneven. Apart from a few early runic inscriptions (see Waxenberger 2010: esp. 128–167; Park and Waxenberger 2011: 10) and a few special cases such as the laws of the early Kentish kings (see Section 7.4 below), the written transmission of Old English began only around CE 700. There are, however, not many documents from the 8th and 9th centuries: Ker (1957: xv) lists only eight manuscripts from this period, and 21 from the 10th century. Early personal and place names are also recorded in Latin texts, e.g. Bede's 731 *Historia ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors [eds.] 1969). The bulk of manuscripts containing Old English (more than 130) dates from the 11th century, i.e., from the period before or just after the Norman Conquest (see Ker 1957: xv–xviii). Moreover, throughout the OE period the distribution of the evidence for the dialects is also very uneven (see below). No isoglosses or exact dialect boundaries can therefore be drawn. Some centers of manuscript production are known (see, e.g., Gneuss 2001; Ker 1957), such as Abingdon, Bath, Bury St. Edmunds, Canterbury (especially Christ Church, i.e., the cathedral), Chester-le-Street, Durham, Exeter, Glastonbury, Hereford, Lichfield, Malmesbury, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, York (strikingly, there seem to be very few manuscripts from London), but not all manuscripts that were copied there show dialect features of the area; in particular, many manuscripts copied at Canterbury do not show Kentish features.

Dialectal adaptation: if scribes had to copy an OE text written in a dialect different from their own, they often adapted it to their own dialect by changing the spelling and the vocabulary. Such changes can sometimes be seen relatively easily in texts which have been transmitted in several manuscripts with adaptation to different dialects, e.g. in Cædmon's *Hymn* and Bede's *Death Song* (see Section 7.3 below), also in Wærferth of Worcester's originally Mercian translation of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, or the originally Mercian translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, both connected with King Alfred's court (cf., e.g., Schabram 1965: 42–48). Changes in dialectal forms are usually difficult to notice or to prove in texts which are transmitted in just one manuscript, because there is nothing to compare them with – this is particularly true of the majority of the Old English poetry, but also of many prose texts. Usually the direction of adaptation was from Anglian (Mercian or Northumbrian) originals to (Late) West Saxon adaptations, e.g. as with much of the OE poetry (including Cædmon and Bede), rarely the other way round. But we should not automatically conclude from this that Angl. texts are normally early and WSax. texts are normally late; counter-

examples are, e.g., the Northumbrian glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, which date from the second half of the 10th century.

Mixed texts: whether dialectally mixed texts are always the result of the West-Saxonization of originally Angl. texts as just described, is not certain. In some cases there may have been a dialectal mixture from the beginning. In other cases, especially with glosses and glossaries, which were sometimes compiled over a longer period of time and by glossators with different dialectal backgrounds, a mixture may have accordingly accumulated in the course of time.

Mobility of authors and scribes: some authors and scribes moved around, which means that their dialects do not necessarily represent the dialect of the place where they were working. Thus Wulfstan, who wrote in Late West Saxon, was originally bishop of London, but later bishop of Worcester (in the West Midlands, i.e., the Mercian dialect area) and archbishop of York (in the Northumbrian dialect area).

5 Dialects and standard

Dialects are usually seen as opposed to the standard language. Linguistic lay people often think that dialects are a sort of deviant (or even corrupt) form of the standard language. But dialects normally exist earlier than the standard language, and the standard language usually develops from the dialect of that region that is, for political, economic, or cultural reasons (or a combination of them), more powerful than other regions with their dialects (there is a saying amongst linguists that a standard language is a dialect with an army and a navy). This is certainly true for Old English: the dialects existed first, and a sort of standard developed only much later (see further Kornexl, Chapter 12).

Due to the political dominance of the West Saxon kingdom from the 9th century onwards, it was natural that West Saxon eventually developed into a kind of standard language (cf., e.g., Godden 1992: 518–520). The extent to which the Early West Saxon of King Alfred (died 899) and some of his collaborators was already a standard is, however, difficult to say for several reasons. Few manuscripts from Alfred's time survive (see Ker 1957: xv), and in these, spelling is sometimes inconsistent. Alfred had both West Saxon and Mercian helpers (among the latter were Wærferth of Worcester and the anonymous translator of the Old English Bede) and even helpers from the Continent, which shows that Anglian or Mercian was certainly tolerated at Alfred's court.

In the second half of the 10th century, Late West Saxon apparently developed into a kind of standard language (OE manuscripts from the first half of the 10th century are rare). This can be seen from the large number of manuscripts from the

second half of the 10th and from the 11th century which have WSax. features. As mentioned above, originally Anglian texts were often West-Saxonized, including the bulk of OE poetry. Ælfric in particular seems to have been very concerned about correct usage. How far this standard extended is difficult to say, however. As can be seen from Aldred's glosses, Northumbrian was not affected by West Saxon even in the second half of the 10th century. Canterbury, on the other hand, had been a meeting place of Angl. and WSax. influences for a long time and seems to have been mainly under WSax. influence in the 10th and 11th centuries (see below). And even within Late West Saxon there were differences, perhaps representing different sub-dialects; see especially Sections 12 and 13.

What we have, moreover, is only the written standard; we do not know how far there was a spoken standard as well. Usually the written standard emerges earlier and is more widespread than the spoken standard. In many countries today, including England and Germany, there is a written standard language, but there are numerous regional accents and dialects. The situation will likely have been similar in Late Anglo-Saxon England.

6 The origin of the Old English dialects

The question to be addressed here is the extent to which the differences between the OE dialects developed in England after the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons (i.e., after c.450) and the extent to which the Anglo-Saxons, who came from different areas (i.e., Angeln, Saxony, Jutland; see Section 1. above and Map 9.2), brought dialectal differences from the Continent with them. This question is difficult to answer (see, e.g., Nielsen 1985). One of the problems is that the written transmission of Old English began only around 700 (see Section 4 above), and the transmission of the Continental Germanic dialects still later. Pre-OE runic inscriptions can shed some light on the sound changes in Pre-OE (e.g., fronting of Grmc. $a/\bar{a}$; see Waxenberger 2010: 128–155; Park and Waxenberger 2011: 9).

According to Campbell (1959: 110) the distinction between WSax. $\bar{æ}$ and Anglian $\bar{e}$ (see below) was most probably brought from the Continent, whereas all other phonological differences arose in England.

As far as vocabulary is concerned, Korhammer (1980) points out that a few differences in vocabulary which exist between the MSS of the Old Saxon poem *Heliand* (first half of the 9th century) correspond to differences between Anglian and West Saxon. Fragment S of the *Heliand* has words which are paralleled in Anglian, and MSS CM have words which are paralleled in the common OE vocabulary or in West Saxon. All pairs or groups of synonyms in question are function words (adverbs or conjunctions), see Table 9.1 below.

The conclusion Korhammer draws from this lexical evidence is that some differences between Anglian and West Saxon go back to varieties within Old Saxon. Some of these correspondences are more striking than others, however, and Nielsen (1991: 244–249, 260–261) doubts that the parallels are weighty enough to justify the postulation of a dialectal difference within Old Saxon which then lived on as a dialectal difference within Old English. Moreover, he finds no phonological or morphological correspondences of the fragment S with Anglian. So the debate about the origin of the OE dialects will probably continue.

Table 9.1: Vocabulary differences within Old Saxon and within Old English

Old Saxon	Old Saxon	OE	OE
Heliand: Fragment S	*Heliand*: MSS CM	Anglian	Common Old English and West Saxon
tulgo 'very'	*switho, swiðo*	*tulge, tylige,* etc.	*swiðe*
tigene 'against'	*tegegnes*	*togeaegn*	*togeagnes, togenes*
bi huon, etc. 'why'	*bi hui*	*for hwon* 'why' *bi hwon,* etc. 'where from'	*for hwi/hwy* *to hwi/hwy*

7 The transmission of the Old English dialects

As mentioned above, the transmission of the OE dialects is very uneven. Late West Saxon is attested best and transmitted in many texts and manuscripts, whereas Kentish has the weakest attestation, and many originally Anglian texts survive only in LWSax. adaptations, for example the bulk of OE poetry (see, e.g., Campbell 1959: 4–11; Hogg 1992: 3–8; Sievers-Brunner 1965: 2–11; Toon 1992: 422–428).

7.1 West Saxon

This dialect is often divided into Early and Late West Saxon. Early West Saxon is basically represented by the writings and translations of King Alfred (849–899), and some other works that probably originated in his circle and were written, compiled, or translated by his West Saxon helpers. Many scholars accept that the OE translations of Pope Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, of the prose portion of the *Paris Psalter*, of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, and of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*,

as well as Alfred's law code, were made by Alfred, whereas the OE (WSax.) translation of Orosius's *Historia Adversus Paganos* was made by one of Alfred's West Saxon helpers and the original (WSax.) version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was also compiled in his circle. (see, e.g., Bately 2009; Frantzen 1986; and Godden 2007 for a dissenting voice). But only the OE versions of the *Cura Pastoralis*, the *Boethius*, and the *Orosius* as well as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the laws survive in more or less contemporary manuscripts, whereas the *Soliloquies* are transmitted in a manuscript from around 1150.

Late West Saxon, on the other hand, is by far the best represented OE dialect, and probably even served as a sort of standard language (at least as a written standard). It began around 950 and was dominant throughout the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period. Many texts are anonymous, e.g. the *West-Saxon Gospels*, but four named authors who represent Late West Saxon stand out: Abbot Ælfric, the most productive Old English prose writer; Ælfric's teacher, bishop Æthelwold of Winchester; Wulfstan, first bishop of London and later bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey (see Section 2).

7.2 Mercian

The main Mercian document, and also the earliest, is the OE gloss to the *Vespasian Psalter*, which was written around 850 (see Ker 1957: no. 203); there are also some originally Mercian charters (on charters, see Sawyer 1968; Kelly 1999). The *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* has been connected with a Mercian literary language; the latter has also been postulated for the *Life of St Chad*, probably an OE text, but transmitted only in a 12th century MS (see Vleeskruyer 1953). A continuation of this can be seen in the Early Middle English, so-called AB-language of the *Ancrene Riwle* (or *Ancrene Wisse*) and the Katherine Group (around 1200).

Other Mercian texts, at least in their original form, are the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (which originated around 700; cf., e.g., Ker 1957: no. 114) and the *Corpus Glossary* (c.800; cf., e.g., Ker 1957: no. 36). Wærferth of Worcester's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* and the OE translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* were originally Mercian, although both are connected with King Alfred's West Saxon court (before 900). A later Mercian text is the gloss called *Rushworth*[1] in the *Rushworth Gospels* (cf. Ker 1957: no. 292) written by Farmon.

7.3 Northumbrian

Early Northumbrian is attested by only a few short manuscript texts which were originally composed in the late 7th or early 8th centuries, namely, Cædmon's *Hymn* (which is transmitted in several manuscripts of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*), Bede's *Death Song*, and the *Leiden Riddle*. Cædmon's *Hymn* and Bede's *Death Song* are also transmitted in West Saxon versions. The corpus of Old English runic inscriptions, although relatively small (96 inscriptions altogether; see Waxenberger 2010: 16–18 and Map 9.3 below), provides valuable information on early Northumbrian as well. Two of the most prominent runic texts are on the Franks Casket (also called Auzon Casket; cf., e.g., Becker 1973; Waxenberger 2010: 28–38; 554–575; Park and Waxenberger 2011: 16–21) and on the Ruthwell Cross (Dumfrieshire; see, e.g., Waxenberger 2010: 92–99). The latter holds a short version of the *Dream of the Rood*, a poem which also exists in a later, longer, and mainly West Saxon version in the Vercelli Book. In the cases of Cædmon's *Hymn*, Bede's *Death Song*, and the *Dream of the Rood*, Early Northumbrian and Late West Saxon versions can be directly compared.

Late Northumbrian is attested in the second half of the 10th century by three long interlinear glosses, namely the gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the Northumbrian part of the gloss to the *Rushworth Gospels* (so-called Rushworth²) written by Owun, and the gloss to the *Durham Ritual*. The glosses in the Lindisfarne Gospels and also probably in the *Durham Ritual* were written by Aldred.

7.4 Kentish

Kentish is sparsely represented. There are some Kentish charters from the 9th century as well as the Kentish glosses and two poems (the Kentish *Psalm* and the Kentish *Hymn*) in manuscript Cotton Vespasian D.VI from the middle of the 10th century (see Ker 1957: no. 207; Kalbhen 2003). Some Kentish features exist in the texts of MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii (Ker 1957: no. 186). One special case is the set of laws of the early Kentish kings (especially Æthelberht). They were originally written down shortly after 600 (i.e., shortly after the conversion), but are only preserved in a MS from the 12th century (the Textus Roffensis; cf. Ker 1957: no. 373).

Map 9.3: Findspots of the Old English runic inscriptions

8 Phonology

In the following section, the main Old English phonological dialect differences are outlined in approximate chronological order. These differences are due to sound changes that occurred in the dialects. The chronology of these changes is only relative and not absolute; i.e., some sound-changes are clearly earlier than others, but often the sound-changes cannot be dated to a specific period. The changes mentioned in Sections 1–7 are generally called prehistoric; that is, they must have taken place between c.450 and c.700, i.e., before the time of the earliest written manuscripts. The changes mentioned in Sections 8–11, on the other hand, can be seen in the manuscript texts. Many words were affected by two or more sound changes in sequence, some of which were dialectally significant and others not. OE phonology is a complex area; for more details see the handbooks and historical grammars, e.g., by Campbell (1959); Hogg (1992); Luick (1921); Sievers-Brunner (1965); Toon (1992: 430–451); Waxenberger (2010) (see further Murray, Chapter 4). We have marked vowel length systematically in this section but not in the others unless it was absolutely necessary. Some sound changes are restricted to a specific dialect, whereas others are simply more frequent in one dialect; i.e., in the latter cases we have to make do with tendencies rather than rules – and there is, of course, the problem of dialectally mixed texts, see above.

a. **Development of WGrmc. *$\bar{a}$**: WGrmc. *$\bar{a}$ developed into $\bar{e}$ in Anglian and Kentish, but into $\bar{æ}$ in West Saxon. This affected native words (where it goes back to IE $\bar{e}$ > Grmc. $\bar{æ}$ [so-called $\bar{e}^1$] > WGrmc. $\bar{a}$) as well as early Lt. loanwords, e.g. Angl. $\bar{e}ton$ – WSax. $\bar{æ}ton$ (cf. Lt. $edimus$; Ger. $a\beta en$; ModE ate); Angl. $d\bar{e}d$ – WSax. $d\bar{æ}d$ (cf. Ger. Tat; ModE $deed$); Angl. $s\bar{e}d$ – WSax. $s\bar{æ}d$ (cf. Ger. $Saat$; ModE $seed$); Lt. (via) $str\bar{a}ta$ > Angl. $str\bar{e}t$ – WSax. $str\bar{æ}t$ (cf. Ger. $Stra\beta e$; ModE $street$).

b. **Grmc. *a before nasal**: Grmc. *a before nasals developed into the nasalized allophone OE [å] (this symbol is used here to mark the difference in quality between the long nasalized [*$\tilde{a}$ː] > OE [ō] and the short [å]) which was written <a> or <o>. Angl. texts show mostly <o>. Both spellings occur in Early Northumbrian; in the 10th century Northumbrian texts <o> is practically universal. The oldest Mercian glossaries, *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* and *Corpus Glossary*, have both <a> and <o>. The Mercian *Vespasian Psalter* has almost exclusively <o>. In Early WSax. (EWSax.) texts both <a> and <o> were used, whereas in LWSax. (Ælfric; *West Saxon Gospels*) <a> was almost always used. In 9th century Kent. manuscripts there was mostly <o> but predominantly <a> in the 10th century texts (cf., e.g., Campbell 1959: 51–52; Sievers-Brunner 1965: 52; Waxenberger 2010: 276–279, 371–372).

c. **Breaking (or fracture) and retraction**: the short palatal vowels *æ*, *e*, *i* before [x] <h>, *r*, *l* + consonant or simple [x] <h> were diphthongized to short *æu*, *eu*, *iu*, which then developed to short *ea*, *eo*, *io > eo*. Breaking before [x] (+ consonant) and before *r* + consonant took place in all dialects, whereas breaking of *æ* before *l* + consonant only took place in West Saxon and Kentish; in Anglian, it was usually retracted to *al* + consonant. In Anglian, the other diphthongs were also often monophthongized, if a velar vowel followed (Angl. smoothing; see no. 8 below). Examples are: WSax./Kent. *eahta* – Angl. *æhta* (Angl. smoothing) (Ger. *acht*; ModE *eight*); WSax./Kent. *bearn* 'child' – Angl. *barn* (retraction); WSax./Kent. *heard* – Angl. *hard* (retraction) (Ger. *hart*, ModE *hard*); WSax./Kent. *eall, feallan, wealdan* – Angl. *all, fallan, waldan* (Ger. *all(e), fallen, walten*; ModE *all, fall, wield*); WSax./ Kent. *ceald* – Angl. *cald* (Ger. *kalt*; ModE *cold*); WSax./Kent. *feohtan* – Angl. *fehtan* (Angl. smoothing) (Ger. *fechten*; ModE *fight*); early OE *★hiordi > WSax. *hierde* (*i*-umlaut) – Nhb. *hiorde*; Merc. *heorde* (as *io > eo* in Merc./WSax.) (Ger. *Hirte*; ModE [*shep*]*herd, herds*[*man*]). But compare: OE *helpan, meltan* without breaking (ModE *help, melt*). In LWSax. *eo, io* by breaking were later monophthongized to *ie > i* before [xs] <hs>, [xt] <ht>, e.g. OE *cneoht > cnieht > cniht* (Ger. *Knecht*; ModE *knight*); see also 8 below.

d. **Second fronting**: this is apparently mainly limited to the Mercian dialect of the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss*. Grmc. short *a* developed generally to *æ* in Pre-Old English (Anglo-Frisian fronting), but was retracted (restored) to *a* before velar vowels, e.g. Grmc. *★daga- > OE sg *dæg*, but pl *dagas*. In the Mercian dialect of the *Vespasian Psalter*, however, *æ* was fronted to *e*, and *a* to *æ*, e.g. sg *deg*, pl *dægas* (ModE *day, days*); OE *fæder* – *Vespasian Psalter feder* (ModE *father*).

e. **Palatal diphthongization**: after initial palatal consonants (/tʃ/ <c>, /j/ <ȝ> *ġ*, /ʃ/ <sc>), primary palatal vowels (short and long *æ/ǣ, e/ē*), i.e., palatal vowels not due to *i*-mutation, were diphthongized, yielding *ea/ēa, ie/īe*. Therefore, *æ/ǣ* developed to *ea/ēa* and *e/ē* became *ie/īe* (short and long). Palatal diphthongization was most frequent in West Saxon and occurred also in Late Northumbrian, but did not take place in Mercian, Kentish, and runic early Northumbrian. It is thus noticeable that this sound-change was shared by two distant dialects, but not by neighbouring dialects. Examples are: WSax. *ġiefan* [jɪəvan] – Merc./Kent. *ġefan* (Ger. *geben*; ModE *give*); WSax. *ġietan* [jɪətan] – Merc./Kent. *ġeta(n)* (ModE *get*); WSax. *sċēap* – Merc./Kent. *sċēp* (Ger. *Schaf*; ModE *sheep*); cf. also WSax. *ġeong*; *ċeaster*; *ġēar* (ModE *young, -chester, year*).

f. ***i*-mutation (*i*-umlaut)**: apart from the palatal vowels *e* and *i*, all vowels and diphthongs (*a, ā, æ, ǣ, o, ō, u, ū, ea/ēa, io/īo*) were fronted (or raised), if the following syllable contained an *i* or *j*; the *i, j* which caused the *i*-

mutation was then usually lost (or in some cases lowered to *e*). Thus: *a > æ* (*a* + nasal > *e*); *o/ō > œ/œ̄/œ(:)/* (often retained in Anglian) > *e/ē* (in WSax.); *u/ū > y/ȳ* /y(:)/; *ea/ēa >* WSax. *ie/īe* (> *i/ī, y/ȳ*), Angl./Kent. *e/ē*; *io/īo >* WSax. *ie/īe* (> *i/ī, y/ȳ*), Angl./Kent. *io/īo*. Although *i*-mutation was generally carried through in Old English, there were dialectal differences, partly due to different preceding sound changes (see above). Common OE examples are, e.g. **sand-jan >* OE *sendan* (Ger. *senden*; ModE *send*); *dohtor*, DAT SG **dohtri > dœhter >* WSax. *dehter* (Ger. *Tochter*; ModE *daughter*); **kuning- >* OE *cyning* (Ger. *König*; ModE *king*). Dialectal differences occur, for example, in: **sōk-jan >* Angl. *sœ̄can* – WSax. *sēcan* (Ger. *suchen*; ModE *seek, be-seech*); COMPR of WSax. *eald* – Angl. *ald*: WSax. **eald-ira > ieldra* (> *yldra*) – Angl. **ald-ira > ældra* (Ger. *älter*; ModE *older*); WSax. *clǣne* – Kent. *clēne* (ModE *clean*); **mahti-, *nahti- >* WSax. **meahti-, *neahti-* (breaking) > *mieht, nieht > miht, niht* – Angl. **mæhti-, *næhti-* (smoothing) > *meht, neht* (Ger. *Macht, Nacht*; ModE *might, night*); Lt. *cāseus >* WGrmc. **kāsi* (Ger. *Käse*) > **cǣsi >* WSax. **cēasi* (palatal diphthongization) > *cīese* (*i*-mutation) – Angl./Kent. **cēsi* (*i*-mutation) > *cēse* (ModE *cheese*); Grmc. **hauz-jan >* early OE **hēar-jan >* WSax. *hīeran* – Angl./Kent. *hēran* (Gr *hören*; ModE *hear*).

g. **Back mutation (velar umlaut)**: around the 8th century, the short front (palatal) vowels *æ, e, i* were diphthongized before simple consonants and a back (velar) vowel (*u, o, a*) in the following syllable: *æ > ea, e > eo, i > io > eo*. The effect was the same as with breaking, but the cause was a different one. Contrary to breaking, back mutation was most frequent in Anglian and Kentish, but rarer in West Saxon. In West Saxon, it occurred only before labials and liquids (especially *l, r*), in the other dialects, before all consonants. Examples are: OE *eofor* 'boar' (Ger. *Eber*); WSax./Kent. *setol* – Angl. *seotul, seatol* 'seat'; Kent. *spreocan* – WSax./Angl. *sprecan* (Ger. *sprechen*; ModE *speak*).

h. **Anglian smoothing**: in Anglian, the diphthongs *ea/ēa, eo/ēo, io/īo* (which had often been brought about by breaking) were monophthongized to *æ/ǣ, e/ē, i/ī* before the velar consonants <c> /k/, <ȝ> [ɣ], <h> [x] (simple or in combination with *r* or *l*). Examples are: WSax. *bēacon* – Angl. *bēcon* (ModE *beacon*); WSax./Kent. *feohtan* – Angl. *fehtan* (Ger. *fechten*; ModE *fight*); WSax./Kent. *sēoc* – Angl. *sēc* (ModE *sick*); WSax./Kent. *lēoht* (< EWSax. *līoht*) – Angl. *līht* 'light'.

i. **Late West Saxon smoothing**: in Late West Saxon, *ea/ēa* were monophthongized to *e/ē* after initial palatal [tʃ] <c> *ċ*, [ç] <h>, /k/ <c>, /j/ <ȝ> *ġ*, /ʃ/ <sc>, e.g. WSax. *ċealf >* LWSax. *ċelf* (Ger. *Kalb*; ModE *calf*); WSax. *ġēar* (< *ǣ*; see (a) above) > LWSax. *ġēr* – Angl. *ġēr* (< **ē*) (Ger. *Jahr*; ModE *year*). Thus Angl. and LWSax. forms partly look the same.

j. **Other Late West Saxon changes**: *weor-*, (EWSax. *wier-*, *wir-* >) *wyr-*, *wor-* >
    wur-, e.g. *sweord* > *swurd* 'sword'; *weorðan* > *wurðen* 'to become'; *weorold* >
    wuruld 'world'; *wiersa* > *wyrsa* > *wursa* (ModE *worse*); furthermore *sel-* > *syl-*,
    sil-, e.g. *sylf* 'self', *syllan* 'to give'.
k. **Development of OE *y/ȳ* in Kent.**: OE *y/ȳ* (which had developed due to *i*-
    umlaut, see 6 above) was unrounded and lowered to *e/ē* in Kentish: e.g.
    WSax./Angl. *yfel* – Kent. *efel* (Gr *übel*; ModE *evil*); WSax./Angl. *myriġ* – Kent.
    meri(ġ) (ModE *merry*); WSax./Angl. *syn(n)* – Kent. *sen(n)* (Ger. *Sünde*; ModE
    sin).

In sum, West Saxon is characterized by the development of WGrmc. *ā* to *ǣ*; by
extensive use of breaking; and by palatal diphthongization. Anglian, on the other
hand, is characterized by the development of WGrmc. *ā* to *ē*, by retraction (of *æ* to
a), smoothing, and back-mutation. The Mercian *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* is char-
acterized by second fronting. Kentish lost *æ/ǣ*, *œ/œ̄*, *y/ȳ* (*æ* > *e*; *ǣ* > *ē*; *y* > *e*; *ȳ* > *ē*);
as a result there was a predominance of *e/ē* in Kent.

9 Inflectional morphology

Compared to phonology, there were not as many dialectal differences in inflec-
tional morphology. Differences concern mainly the verbs. There are many specific
differences concerning single verbs (as well as nouns, pronouns, etc.), but these
are often difficult to systematize; for details see, e.g., Campbell (1959), Sievers-
Brunner (1965). Some of the more systematic differences are:

a. personal pronouns: in the accusative of the 1/2P SG and PL, WSax. has
    me, *þe*, *us*, *eow*, whereas Angl. has *mec*, *þec*, *usig*, *eowic* (ModE *me, thee, us,
    you*).
b. strong verbs: in WSax. but not in Angl, strong verbs have syncope (and
    vowel change by *i*-umlaut and by older *e* > *i*; in Angl. the *i*-umlaut and the
    change *e* > *i* is leveled away) in the 2/3P SG IND PRES; e.g. *beran* 'bear, carry':
    WSax. *bierst, bierþ* – Angl. *berest, bereþ*; *ċēosan* (> ModE *choose*): WSax.
    ċiest, ċiesþ – Angl. *ċeosest, ċeoseþ*; **sehan* [sexan] > *sēon*: WSax. 2P *siehst*,
    siehþ – Angl. *sehst, sehþ* (Ger. *sehen*, 2/3P SG IND PRES *siehst, sieht*, ModE
    see); *weorþan* 'become' (Ger. *werden*): WSax. *wierþ* – Angl. *weorþeþ* (Ger.
    wirst, *wird*).
c. Northumbrian sometimes has the 2/3P SG and PL in – (*e*)*s*; for the 3P SG this is
    the form that ultimately prevailed in ModE: WSax./Mercian *bindest* 2P SG,
    bindeþ 3P SG, *bindaþ* PL – Nhb. *bindes* (SG), *bindas* (PL) (ModE *binds* 3P SG);
    see, e.g., Sievers-Brunner (1965: 271–275); Campbell (1959: 299–301).

d.   weak verbs class 2: they form their past in WSax. usually in *-ode*, e.g., *lufode*, in Angl. and Kent. usually in *-ade, lufade* (ModE *loved*).

10 Word-formation

There were also differences in word-formation between Anglian and West Saxon, especially with suffix formations (cf. Kastovsky 1992: 349–351):

a.   verbal nouns in *-ness* (*-nis, -nys*) were typically formed with the stem of the verb in Angl. and sometimes also in EWSax., whereas in LWSax. they were mostly formed with the past participle, e.g. *forgiefan* (> ModE *forgive*): Angl. *forgyfnys*, LWSax. *forgifennis*. A comprehensive study of these formations has apparently not been made, however (see Sauer 1978: 241, with reference to earlier literature). But Gneuss (1955: 161–162) finds relatively many derivations with *-nis* from the past participle in the (Mercian) *Vespasian Psalter*.

b.   feminine agent nouns were formed with *-estre* in WSax., but with *-icge* in Angl., e.g. WSax. *hearpestre* 'female harpist', but Angl. *dryicge* 'sorceress'; see Schabram (1970). The WSax. suffix survives in ModE as *-ster* (*gangster*), whereas *-icge* died out.

c.   the adjective-forming suffix (or rather suffixoid) derived from the verb *beran* (> *to bear*) with the meaning 'bringing about, carrying' (for Lt. *-fer*, e.g. *lucifer*) normally has the form *-berend(e)* in Angl., but *-bære* in WSax., e.g. Angl. *deað-berend* 'deadly, mortal' (lit. 'death-bringing'), but WSax. *æppelbære* 'carrying apples'; see von Lindheim (1972).

d.   on the status of Aldred's Northumbrian loan-formations (loan-translations) based on Latin models, see Section 11.5 below.

11 Vocabulary and word geography

11.1 Principles and history of research

Word geography is concerned with the regional distribution of words, more precisely, of synonyms. Most words belonged to the common OE vocabulary, but some were dialectally, i.e., geographically, restricted. Since much of the OE material consists of glosses to Latin words and of translations of Latin texts, words which are used to render the same Latin word or the same meaning of a Latin word can usually be regarded as synonyms. Research on OE word-geography and on dialect vocabulary generally began later and has been less intensive

than research on phonology and inflctional morphology. The following section is partly based on Sauer (1992). After the pioneering study by Jordan (1906), a fresh start was made by Schabram (1965) and Wenisch (1979). Kitson (1995) looked at the regional vocabulary used in charter boundaries.

Schabram showed that for 'proud, pride', Lt. *superbus, superbia*, Anglian used *oferhygdig, oferhygd*, whereas West Saxon used *ofermodig, ofermod, ofermedla,* etc. and (as was shown later) the LWSax. Winchester Group used *modig, modignes* (*modig* occurs in the Angl. poetry, but in the positive sense 'high-spirited'). The ModE words *proud, pride* are among the very few French loanwords in Old English. They were borrowed very late (Late OE *prud, pryto).*

Schabram also showed that if originally Anglian texts were West-Saxonized, the original dialect vocabulary was often better preserved than phonologic features. The replacement of Angl. words by their WSax. or common OE synonyms shows moreover that the WSax. revisers must have known the meaning of the Angl. words.

11.2 Problems of research on word-geography and dialect vocabulary

The dialectal character of words can change over time. A number of words occur in Angl. and in EWSax. texts but not in Late West Saxon. These words were common OE words until the end of the 9th century, but were then dropped from WSax. usage and continued as Angl. dialect words in the 10th and 11th centuries. They died out eventually; their restriction to Anglian can be regarded as a step towards their final obsolescence. Some examples are: *blinnan* 'stop' for Lt. *sinere, cessare*; *carcern* 'prison' for Lt. *carcer*; *feogan* 'to hate' for Lt. *odisse*, etc. Conversely (but perhaps more rarely), some words were originally dialect words but later became part of the common vocabulary; e.g. ModE *sunset* is first attested in Late Nhb. (*Lindisfarne Gospels*).

Words may be characteristic of a certain dialect just in a specific meaning but not in all meanings. For example, *soðfæst* was apparently common Old English in the meaning 'true' Lt. *verus*, but Anglian in the meaning 'just' Lt. *iustus*. On *modig* ('proud' in the Winchester vocabulary, but 'high-spirited' in Angl. poetry) see above.

Also, a specific derivation may be characteristic of a certain dialect, whereas the basis and other derivations from the same basic word (especially prefix or suffix formations) may be characteristic of different dialects or of common Old English. For example, *(ge)hreowian* 'to repent' apparently was a general OE word, whereas *behreowsian* 'to repent, to regret' was restricted to the LWSax. texts of the

Winchester Group. Similarly, *ongietan* 'to understand' was apparently a general OE word, whereas *undergietan* was a typical Winchester word.

In the following paragraphs we list some of the better known OE dialect words. Often we also give the Lt. word(s) which were translated or glossed by the OE words in question.

11.3 West Saxon

The West Saxon vocabulary was not a homogeneous block. A chronological distinction has to be made between Early West Saxon and Late West Saxon, and there were also differences (sub-dialects) within Late West Saxon. Particularly striking is the so-called Winchester Vocabulary, see Section 12 below. As mentioned above, some words were still used in Early WSax. which were later restricted to Anglian. In Late West-Saxon, many new words and formations appeared. Examples of WSax. words are:

a. nouns: *cnapa, cnafa* 'child, servant' (> ModE *knave*); *ofermod*, etc. 'pride' for Lt. *superbia*; *tima* > ModE *time*; *geswinc* 'toil, effort' for Lt. *labor* (Angl. *gewinn*); LWSax. *cynehelm* 'crown' for Lt. *corona*; *eorðtilia* 'farmer' for Lt. *agricola* (Angl. *landbuend*). The following loan-words are also first attested in LWSax.: *lagu* (from ON) (> ModE *law*); *pryte* (from OFr.) (> ModE *pride*).

b   adje.ctives: *gehwæde* 'slight, small'.

c. verbs: *ætbregdan* 'to take away'; *behatan* 'to promise'; *(ge)fægnian* 'to rejoice'; *forðfaran* 'to depart, die' (Angl. *(ge)leoran*); *hopian* > ModE *hope* (Angl. *hyhtan*); *scrydan* 'to clothe, dress'; LWSax. *afeormian* 'to cleanse, clean' for Lt. *purgare* (common OE *geclænsian* > ModE *cleanse*).

11.4 Anglian

Much of the research on OE dialect vocabulary has concentrated on Anglian: see Jordan (1906) and Wenisch (1979). Specifically Anglian words occur among all the major word classes, e.g.:

a. nouns: *ambeht-* 'office' for Lt. *officium*, *ministerium*; *morðor* 'murder, homicide' (> ModE *murder*); *scua* 'shade, shadow' for Lt. *umbra*; *symbel* 'feast'; *ðreat* 'crowd, group' for Lt. *turba*; *gewinn* 'labor' for Lt. *labor* (WSax. *geswinc*).

b. adjectives: *medmicel* 'small, little' for Lt. *parvus*; *soðfæst* 'just' for Lt. *iustus*

c. verbs: *acweðan* 'to say, tell' for Lt. *dicere*; *bebycgan* 'to sell' (WSax. *sellan*); *leoran* 'to go, pass away' for Lt. *ire, obire, praeterire, transire*; *frignan* 'to ask' for Lt. *interrogare*; *winnan* 'to labor' for Lt. *laborare*.

d.   adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, etc.: *gen(a), geona* 'so far' for Lt. *adhuc*; *in*
     (WSax. *on*); *nænig* 'nobody, nothing' for Lt. *nemo*, *nihil* (common OE *nān*). See
     also Section 6 above.

The words mentioned were apparently shared by Mercian and Northumbrian. Not
much is known about a specifically Mercian vocabulary (see Kastovsky 1992:
343). On specifically Northumbrian vocabulary, see the next section.

11.5 Northumbrian

The three long Northumbrian texts or rather glosses from the second half of the
10th century (glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, *Rushworth Gospels*[2], and the
Durham Ritual; see above) which are the main witnesses for Northumbrian all
represent the language of Aldred the scribe, i.e., the language of one individual.
The question, therefore, is the extent to which the words confined to these texts
represent contemporary Northumbrian dialect words and how far they represent
Aldred's idiolect, including his own innovations, i.e., loan translations (transla-
tion idiolect). A number of words were probably not even used by Aldred in his
everyday speech. They were presumably coined by him as loan-formations (loan-
translations), not in order to enrich the OE vocabulary, but rather to explain the
morphological structure of complex Latin lemmata. Some of his formations may
even have been meaningless without recourse to the Latin word they are meant to
explain, e.g. *respicere – eftbehealdan*, lit. 'again behold'. Thus there are two
categories:

a.   some words seem to represent genuine Northumbrian dialect words, e.g.
     drysn(i)an 'extinguish' for Lt. *extinguere* and *evanescere*; *hoga* 'prudent' for
     Lt. *prudens*, and *hogascipe* 'prudence' for Lt. *prudentia*; *portcwen* 'whore' for
     Lt. *peccatrix*, *meretrix*; *sunset* > ModE *sunset* for Lt. *occasus*.
b.   other words were apparently coined by Aldred as loan-formations modeled
     on their Latin lemmata: Aldred, for example, usually renders Latin words
     beginning with *con-*, *com-* by OE words beginning with *efne-* 'evenly; equally',
     etc., and Latin words beginning with *re-* by OE formations beginning with *eft-*
     'again', etc. e.g. *commemoratio – efnegemynd* 'remembrance', lit. 'evenly-
     remembrance'; *considerare – efnesceawian* 'consider', lit. 'evenly-consider';
     respicere – eftbehealdan and *eftbeseon* 'see, behold, catch sight of', lit.
     'again-see', 'again-behold', etc.

11.6 Kentish

Although the main features of Kentish phonology are well established (see Section 8 above), comparatively little is known about Kentish dialect vocabulary; it was probably never as distinctive as the Anglian and the West Saxon vocabulary. Although Canterbury, as the starting point of the Christianization of England and as the seat of an archbishop, was one of the most important ecclesiastical centers as well as an important centre for manuscript production, in its vocabulary, it seems to have been influenced by Angl. and WSax. elements; Kent. features were apparently not stressed. At Canterbury, nobody developed the kind of standardized vocabulary that Æthelwold and his pupils did at Winchester. This is probably connected with the history of Kent: Kent was first dominated by Anglian kings, and later by West Saxon kings. Nevertheless, a number of 11th century glosses which were copied at Christ Church, the cathedral of Canterbury, or even originated there, have some words which seem to reflect a kind of Canterbury usage, although they are basically WSax. (e.g. the *Arundel Prayers*, the *Brussels Aldhelm Glosses*, etc.) and some even belong to the Winchester Group (the Interlinear Version of the *Benedictine Rule*). Some examples are: *twi-seht* 'quarrel'; *ungecoplic* 'unsuitable'; *stæfwis* 'educated' for Lt. *litteratus*.

12 The Winchester vocabulary

A distinctive sub-dialect within Late West Saxon was the language of the so-called Winchester School or Winchester Group; see Gneuss (1972); Hofstetter (1987, 1988); Kastovsky (1992: 347–349); Ono (1986) (see also Kornexl, Chapter 12). The Winchester vocabulary was probably initiated in the second half of the 10th century by bishop Æthelwold, who apparently taught it in his school at Winchester; thus it constitutes a kind of standardized school vocabulary, the product of a conscious attempt to achieve a generally accepted norm. The teacher probably said something like: for translating Lt. *superbia* we shall use *modignes* and not any other word. This vocabulary was then continued by Æthelwold's pupils. The most important of them, due to the quality as well as the quantity of his writings, was abbot Ælfric. So far fourteen semantic groups have been established where the writers connected with or influenced by the Winchester school consistently prefer a particular word or word-family to their synonyms. Hofstetter classifies the words in three groups: A) typical Winchester words; B) neutral words, used in Winchester and elsewhere (these do not occur in all semantic groups); C) words never used in Winchester (those can be Anglian or generally West Saxon). Here

we give a slightly simplified version of his list, i.e., we give only typical representatives, not all the variant forms, see Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: The Winchester vocabulary

	Semantic group	A) Winchester word(s)	B) Neutral words	C) Non-Winchester words
(1)	'strange, foreign', Lt. *alienus, extraneus*	*ælfremed*, etc.	–	*fremde, afremdan,* etc.
(2)	'martyr', Lt. *martyr, martyrium*	*cyðere*	*martir*	*þrowere*
(3)	'to dare', Lt. *audere, praesumere*	*(ge)dyrstlæcan*	*(ge)-dyrstignes*	*(a)þristian (ge)þristlæcung*, etc.
(4)	'prepare', Lt. *(prae)parare, praebere*, etc.	*(ge)gearcian*	–	*(ge)gearwian*, etc.
(5)	'church', Lt. *ecclesia* (for the people, the community of believers; not for the building or the clerics)	*(ge)laþung*	*ecclesia, geferræden*	*cirice, (halig) (ge)samnung*
(6)	'virtue', Lt. *virtus*	*miht*	*mægen*	*cræft, strengu*, etc.
(7)	'power, might, strength', Lt. *virtus* (except sense 6)	*miht*	–	*mægen, cræft, strengþ*, etc.
(8)	'fear, fright, terror', Lt. *terror, horror, timor*, etc.	*oga*	*broga, ege, fyrhto*	*anda, egesa, gefyrhtu*, etc.
(9)	'to direct, make right, make straight, correct', Lt. *dirigere, corrigere, emendare*	*(ge)rihtlæcan*	*(ge)rihtan*	*(ge)reccan, (ge)rehtan*
(10)	'to break, shatter, squash', Lt. *(at)terere, confringere, (con) quassare*, etc.	*(ge)cwysan, tobrytan*	–	*(a)breotan, (a)brytan*, etc.
(11)	'to repent', Lt. *paenitere*	*behreowsian*	–	*hreowan, (ge)hreowian*
(12)	'proud, pride', Lt. *superbus, superbia*	*modig, modignes,* etc.	*prud, prydo*	*oferhygd, oferhoga, ofermede, ofermo-dig*, etc.
(13)	'crown, wreath', Lt. *corona*	*wuldorbeag*	*cynehelm,* etc.	*beag, corona, heafodbeag*, etc.
(14)	'understand', Lt. *intellegere*	*undergietan*	–	*understandan, ongietan*

It has been pointed out (mainly by Seebold 1989a, 1989b, 1990) that the Winchester vocabulary was apparently created from two sources: (a) Some Winchester words, especially those belonging to the more general vocabulary, were probably

old and came from the dialect spoken in Winchester (according to Seebold perhaps from a Jutish substrate), (b) whereas others, especially those with theological implications, were newly formed or adapted in meaning. Latin loan-words are absent in the fourteen word-groups characteristic of the Winchester vocabulary. To group (a), the regional words, probably belong (the number given above is added in brackets): *ælfremed* (1), *(ge)dyrstlæcan* (3), *gearcian* (4), *miht* (6, 7), *oga* (8), *(ge)rihtlæcan* (9), *undergietan* (14). To group (b), the newly formed or semantically adapted words probably belong: *cyðere* (2), *gelaðung* (5), *modig (ness)* (12), *wuldorbeag* (13). The Winchester school was very influential; traces can be found in Canterbury and Exeter.

The LWSax. vocabulary was, however, by no means identical to the Winchester vocabulary. There were many LWSax. authors and texts which did not use the Winchester vocabulary, among known authors notably archbishop Wulfstan and Byrhtferth of Ramsey (see the following section).

It should also be noted that most of the Winchester words did not live on, but died out after the Norman Conquest. Of the fourteen words or word-groups given above, only two, namely *might* and *moody* (with change of meaning) live on. More of the neutral or non-Winchester words (B and C words) live on: *church*, *martyr*, *pride* (three loan-words), *craft*, *fright*, *right*, *strength*, and *understand*. But many of them also died out and were replaced by loan-words, e.g. *behreowsian* by *repent*, *wuldorbeag* by *crown*.

13 Wulfstan's vocabulary

That archbishop Wulfstan's LWSax. vocabulary is quite distinct from the vocabulary of Ælfric (and thus from the Winchester Group) was shown by Jost (1950) (who, of course, did not yet know about the Winchester Group). Wulfstan uses, for example, *geberan* 'create, beget' (not *-cennan*); *(ge)gearwian* 'prepare' (not *-gearcian*); *gesælig* 'happy, prosperous' (not *eadig*); *namian* (> *to name*) (not *hatan*), etc. Seebold (1974) argues that Wulfstan represents the same subdialect of WSax. as King Alfred about a hundred years earlier. For Lt. *prudens, prudentia* both use *wær*, *wærscipe*, not *snotor*, *snotornes* as the Winchester group; for Lt. *superbia* both use *ofermod* or *ofermettu*. Wulfstan also employs a number of Scandinavian loan-words which were apparently borrowed into late Old English, e.g. *lagu* (> *law*) and derivatives such as *utlaga* (> *outlaw*); see, e.g., Pons Sanz (2007). Presumably they reflect his stay at York.

14 The question of a poetic dialect

The bulk of OE poetry has come down to us in four manuscripts (Beowulf MS, Exeter Book, Junius MS, Vercelli Book; see, e.g., Ker 1957, nos. 216, 116, 334, 394) written probably by West Saxon scribes in the late 10th century or around 1000. Most OE poems survive in just one manuscript (e.g. *Beowulf*, Cynewulf's poetry, the OE biblical poems, the OE elegies, the OE riddles, etc.). Among the exceptions are Cædmon's *Hymn* and Bede's *Death Song*, which exist in many manuscripts and in Northumbrian as well as West Saxon versions. (see, e.g., Krapp and Dobbie [eds.] 1931–53: Vol. VI; Robinson and Stanley [eds.] 1991).

According to the traditional view most OE poems go back to earlier Anglian originals which were largely, but not entirely, West-Saxonized in the course of their transmission.

In 1953, however, Kenneth Sisam (1953: 119–39) came up with the theory that there was a common and supra-dialectal OE poetic vocabulary and that, therefore, vocabulary could not be used as evidence of the original dialect of OE poems, especially of poems thought to be early (see also Godden 1992: 497).

This theory found many followers, including some among editors of OE poetry; perhaps one reason was that scholars were saved the trouble of trying to distinguish between Anglian and West Saxon words in OE poems.

But the research by scholars such as Schabram (1965) and Wenisch (1979) showed that Sisam's theory is not entirely true. Poems thought to be of Angl. origin, i.e., the majority of OE poetry, including *Beowulf* and the poems by Cynewulf, show some typically Anglian words, whereas poems thought to be of WSax. origin, e.g. the *Metres of Boethius* (traditionally thought to have been composed by King Alfred shortly before 900), *Genesis B*, and the *Battle of Maldon* (composed shortly after 991) use some typically WSax. words. Thus *Beowulf* and Cynewulf's *Juliana* use Angl. *oferhygd-* for 'pride', whereas the WSax. poems use *ofermettu* or *ofermod* for 'pride'. This does not exclude the possibility that WSax. poets were influenced by the model of Angl. poetry (see the following paragraph), but it proves that WSax. poets also used specifically WSax. words. (See also Fulk, Chapter 13.)

Certainly there was also a specifically poetic vocabulary, i.e., many OE words were apparently only used in poetry and never in prose, e.g. *beadu* 'battle', and compounds formed with it, such as *beadu-rinc* 'warrior', *beadu-lac* 'war-play', *beadu-rof* 'strong in battle' or synonyms for 'man, warrior', such as *beorn*, *guma*, *hæleþ*, *rinc*, *secg* (see, e.g. Godden 1992: 498; Kastovsky 1992: 351–352). Conversely, some prose words were not used in poetry; this does not seem to have dialectal significance, however.

15 Further development

After the Norman Conquest of 1066, Old English gradually changed into Middle English, although OE MSS continued to be copied for c.150 years, i.e., until c.1215. The West Saxon standard collapsed and the dialects became prominent once again. A new standard only began to emerge in the second half of the 14th century, based on the language of London (itself having changed from WSax. to East Midland). Many OE words died out and French loan-words came in. When teaching Old English today, the LWSax. standard (as exemplified by Ælfric and Wulfstan) is usually taken as the basis; this is justified by the quantity as well as the quality and relative regularity of the material. But for the further development of English, especially its phonology (pronunciation), Anglian was much more important. To give just a few examples: In *eald*, *ceald* etc. WSax. shows the effects of breaking (see Section 8.c above); this would have yielded **eeld*, **cheeld*, ModE /iːld/, /tʃiːld/; the Angl. forms, however, developed regularly into the ModE forms: Angl. *cald > cāld > cōld > cold* /kəʊld/; *ald > āld > ōld > old* /əʊld/. WSax. had *ciese* (due to palatal diphthongization, see Section 8(e) above), whereas Angl. had *cese* > ModE *cheese* /tʃiːz/. WSax. has *hieran*, whereas Angl. had *heran* > ModE *hear* /hiːə/.

16 References

Bately, Janet. 2009. Did King Alfred actually translate anything? The integrity of the Alfredian canon revisited. *Medium Aevum* 78: 189–215.

Becker, Alfred. 1973. *Franks Casket: Zu den Bildern und Inschriften des Runenkästchens von Auzon*. Regensburg: Hans Carl.

Brunner, Karl. 1965. *Altenglische Grammatik nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers neubearbeitet*. 3rd edn. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Colgrave, Bertram and R. A. B. Mynors (eds.). 1969. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Frantzen, Allan J. 1986. *King Alfred*. Boston: Twayne.

Gneuss, Helmut. 1955. *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen*. Berlin: Schmidt.

Gneuss, Helmut. 1972. The origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester. *Anglo-Saxon England* 1: 63–83.

Gneuss, Helmut. 2001. *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Godden, Malcolm. 1992. Literary language. In: Hogg (ed.), 490–535.

Godden, Malcolm. 2007. Did Alfred write anything? *Medium Ævum* 76: 1–23.

Hines, John. 1991. Some observations on the runic inscriptions of early Anglo-Saxon England. In: Alfred Bammesberger (ed.), *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, 61–83. Heidelberg: Winter.

Hofstetter, Walter. 1987. *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch*. Munich: Fink.

Hofstetter, Walter. 1988. Winchester and the standardization of Old English vocabulary. *Anglo-Saxon England* 17: 139–161.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. 1. Phonology. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hogg, Richard M. (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. I. *The Beginnings to 1066*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogg, Richard M. and David Denison (eds.) 2006. *A History of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jordan, Richard. 1906. *Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Jost, Karl. 1950. *Wulfstanstudien*. Bern: Francke.

Kalbhen, Ursula. 2003. *Kentische Glossen und Kentischer Dialekt im Altenglischen*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1992. Semantics and vocabulary. In: Hogg (ed.), 290–407.

Kelly, S. E. 1999. *The Electronic Sawyer, Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*. http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html; last accessed 4 July 2017.

Ker, Neil R. 1957. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kitson, Peter. 1995. The nature of Old English dialect distributions, mainly as exhibited in charter boundaries. Part I. Vocabulary. In: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Medieval Dialectology*, 43–135. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Korhammer, Michael. 1980. Altenglische Dialekte und der Heliand. *Anglia* 98: 85–116.

Krapp, George Philip and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie (eds.). 1931–1953. *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (ASPR)., 6 vols. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lapidge, Michael, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (eds.). 2014. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. 2nd edn. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

von Lindheim, Bogislav. 1972. Das Suffix *-bære* im Altenglischen. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 208: 310–320.

Luick, Karl. 1921. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*. Band 1: 1. *Abteilung*. Stuttgart: Tauchnitz.

Nielsen, Hans F. 1985. *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages: A Survey of Morphological and Phonological Interrelations*. 2nd edn. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft [1st edn. 1981].

Nielsen, Hans F. 1991. The Straubing *Heliand*-fragment and the Old English dialects. In: P. Sture Ureland and George Broderick (eds.), *Language Contact in the British Isles*, 243–273. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Ono, Shigeru. 1986. *Undergytan* as a 'Winchester' word. In: Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek (eds.), *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries: In Honour of Jacek Fisiak on the Occasion of his Fiftieth Birthday*. Vol. I, 569–577. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Park, Young-Bae and Gaby Waxenberger. 2011. Old English runes and runic inscriptions: The state of the art. *Poetica* (Special issue: From Runes to Caxton: Aspects of Medieval English Language and Literature, ed. by Hans Sauer and Michiko Ogura) 75:1–28.

Pons-Sanz, Sara. 2007. *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts. Wulfstan's Works: A Case Study*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.

Robinson, F. C. and E. G. Stanley (eds.). 1991. *Old English Verse Texts From Many Sources: A Comprehensive Collection*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger.

Sauer, Hans. 1978. *Theodulfi Capitula in England: Die altenglischen Übersetzungen, zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text herausgegeben*. Munich: Fink.

Sauer, Hans. 1992. Old English word geography: Some problems and results. In: Wilhelm G. Busse (ed.), *Anglistentag 1991 Düsseldorf: Proceedings*, 307–326. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Sawyer, Peter (ed.). 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography*. London: Royal Historical Society.

Schabram, Hans. 1965. *Superbia: Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz*. Munich: Fink.

Schabram, Hans. 1970. Bemerkungen zu den altenglischen Nomina agentis auf *-estre* und -icge. *Anglia* 88: 94–98.

Seebold, Elmar. 1974. Die ae. Entsprechungen von lat. *sapiens* und *prudens*: Eine Untersuchung über die mundartliche Gliederung der ae. Literatur. *Anglia* 92: 291–333.

Seebold, Elmar. 1989a. Winchester und Canterbury: Zum spätaltenglischen Sprachgebrauch. *Anglia* 107: 52–60.

Seebold, Elmar. 1989b. Die altenglischen Verben auf *-læcan*. In: Karin Heller, Oswald Panagl, and Johann Tischler (eds.), *Indogermanica Europaea: Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid*, 333–357. Graz: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

Seebold, Elmar. 1990. Was ist jütisch? Was ist kentisch? In: Alfred Bammesberger and Alfred Wollmann (eds.), *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, 335–352. Heidelberg: Winter.

Sievers-Brunner. 1965; see Brunner, Karl. 1965.

Sievers, Eduard. 1882. *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. Halle: Niemeyer.

Sisam, Kenneth. 1953. *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sweet, Henry . 1887. *A Second Anglo-Saxon Reader: Archaic and Dialectal*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Toon, Thomas E. 1992. Old English dialects. In: Hogg (ed.), 409–451.

Vleeskruyer, R. 1953. *The Life of St. Chad: An Old English Homily*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Waxenberger, Gaby. 2010. *Towards a Phonology of Old English Runic Inscriptions and an Analysis of the Graphemes*. Unpublished Habilitationsschrift, LMU Munich. (Publication in preparation)

Wenisch, Franz. 1979. *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Gernot R. Wieland

Chapter 10:
Language Contact: Latin

Abstract: Latin loanwords came into Old English in two different ways: either through direct contact of the Anglo-Saxons (or of those Germanic tribes who later were to become the Anglo-Saxons) with the Romans or other Latin-speaking populations (up to about 600 CE) or through the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity (from 600 onwards to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period). Loanwords that came into Old English during the first period fall into three groups: (1) words that are common to both Old English and Old High German, and identical phonologically and semantically; (2) words that are common to both Old English and Old High German, phonologically identical but with different meanings; and (3) words existing in Old English and having no parallels in Old High German.

When the Anglo-Saxons adopted Christianity, they dealt with the new Christian vocabulary in three different ways: (1) they used existing words, but charged them with new meaning; (2) they created calques (loan translations); and (3) they adopted loanwords.

1 Introduction

Three major languages exerted an influence on Old English: Celtic, Latin, and Old Norse. This chapter will focus on the influence Latin had on Old English (see Dance, Chapter 11, on Old Norse influence). A search for any such influence needs to take into account a period of approximately eight hundred years, starting at the time when Germanic tribes on the Continent first came into contact with Romans,

Gernot R. Wieland: Vancouver (Canada)

continuing into the period when Germanic mercenaries served in the Roman armies, and ending with the period in which the Anglo-Saxons converted to and practiced Christianity. The influence Latin exerted on Old English is almost entirely limited to vocabulary. In some Old English translations of Latin texts Anglo-Saxons use the "dative absolute" in imitation of the Latin "ablative absolute" (Mitchell and Robinson 1992: 106), but this type of syntactic construction is rarely, if ever, found in texts that are not translations. In the absence of any significant and lasting syntactic and/or morphological influences of Latin on Old English, this chapter shall concentrate on lexical influence.

Latin words came into English through two distinct channels: either through direct contact with the Romans or with Latin-speaking Gauls and Britons (up to about 600 CE), or through the book-Latin of the Christian clergy (up to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, i.e. 1066, or, more generally, approximately 1100). It would, of course, be wrong to speak of "Old English" at the beginning of this period; nonetheless when the tribes who later were to become the Anglo-Saxons (whose language is Old English) were still on the Continent, they adopted Latin loanwords and retained them when they settled on the British Isles. At this stage, no distinction can as yet be made between Old English speakers and those who spoke the other West Germanic languages, and hence I shall use the more general term West Germanic for this early period.

According to Bede, the tribes who were later to become the Anglo-Saxons migrated to the British Isles in 449 in response to an invitation from the British king Vortigern who was harassed by the Picts and who could no longer rely on Roman troops who had protected southern Britain against any attackers up to about 410 but had withdrawn from the British Isles shortly thereafter (Bede, *History* [Sherley-Price, trans. 1993]: 50, 51–53, 55–57). If we are to believe Bede, these Germanic-speaking tribes from what is now northern Germany, Holland, and possibly southern Denmark came to the island after the Romans had left. The predominant language in Britain would therefore have been Celtic and to a limited extent Latin, used by the Celtic clergy and possibly by some Celtic nobility who wished to retain the Roman ways. Archaeological evidence, however, shows that at least some of the continental Saxons had arrived in Britain as early as the second half of the 4th century (Capelle 1990: 11), though it is not entirely clear whether they arrived as "laeti", i.e. relocated prisoners-of-war who were given land to settle (Myres 1986: 74–103), or as "foederati", i.e. mercenaries in the Roman army (Capelle 1990: 11; also Capelle 1998: 59–60). In either case, however, they would have had at least some direct exposure to the Latin tongue. Most recent scholarship argues that because of the similarities of the Latin spoken in Gaul and in Britain in the periods from about 300 to 600 it is next to impossible to determine whether a Latin loanword was adopted on the Continent or in Britain

(Gneuss 1993; Wollmann 1993). This argument seems convincing since the continental Saxons were "laeti" and "foederati" of the Romans as early as the second half of the 3rd century, though not necessarily in Britain (Capelle 1998: 59), and would have retained any loanwords from Latin when they emigrated to Britain. Nor were the words phonologically so different that one could distinguish between them. Neither the Saxon spoken on the Continent nor the Saxon spoken in Britain was ever written down in any lengthy documents, and hence linguists have little direct evidence for a Latin loanword's first appearance in the WGrmc. languages. The generally accepted test for determining whether a Latin loanword in Old English has come into the language at this early period is an examination of whether the same loanword exists in the same lexical meaning in other WGrmc. languages, and in approximately the same phonological form, though, of course, sound laws in both Old English and the other WGrmc. languages could intervene (Nielsen 1998: 147). Below I shall limit myself to Old High German words for comparison with Old English words since a Latin loanword common to both Old High German and Old English suggests that the word came into West Germanic when Old High German and Old English had not developed too far from each other.

Writing arrived in England with the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity in 597 and was used for the vernacular as early as the beginning of the 7th century (Greenfield and Calder 1986: 107). From that time on, the evidence for Latin words coming into Old English is more secure, as long as one remembers that the first spoken occurrence of a Latin loanword in Old English may predate the first written occurrence by as much as a decade, a century, or even several centuries. Conversely, a written Latin loanword is no guarantee for that word also being used in the spoken language. Latin loanwords first appear in glossaries, and later in the works of Alfred, whose educational reform stipulated that translations be made of certain Latin works, books which he considered "most needful for all men to know" (Alfred, *Gregory's Pastoral Care* [Sweet, ed. 1871]: 6). Towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, the writer Ælfric, who flourished around the year 1000 (Zupitza [ed.] 2000 [1880]), wrote a grammar and a large number of Old English homilies and saints' lives, and since these too are based on Latin models, they provided an opportunity for Latin loanwords being introduced into Old English. There is, then, a basic distinction in the types of words being introduced into Old English: up to about 600, the words would be mostly "popular", i.e. non-religious words denoting everyday objects and concepts, while the words being introduced after 600 would be mostly "learned", i.e. religious words and those denoting objects and concepts connected with book learning (Gneuss 1993: 113, referring to Pogatscher 1888). On the phonological differences between Latin loanwords adopted into Old English before and after c.600, see Campbell (1959: 200–219).

2 Popular/non-religious words

2.1 Latin loanwords common to both Old English and Old High German, and identical phonologically and semantically

Latin loanwords common to Old English and Old High German and retaining the same meaning in both languages can with reasonable certainty be assumed to have been borrowed by the WGrmc. speakers directly from the Romans, provided the phonology is near-identical or the phonological differences can be accounted for through later sound shifts. Thus, even though e.g. the OE and OHG words *ceapman* and *koufman*, both meaning 'merchant', do not immediately appear to be related, both in fact derive from the Lt. loanword *caupo*, to which both languages added *-man*. WGrmc. /au/ develops to /æa/ (spelled <ea>) in Old English (Campbell 1959: 203), and the initial <c>, pronounced /k/ in Latin, becomes palatalized before the front vowel, giving /tʃ/ (Campbell 1959: 65). Hence Lt. *caupo* changes to OE *ceap*, pronounced /tʃæap/, which becomes the ancestor of the *chap* part in ModE *chapman*. In the OHG version of the Lt. loanword, the initial /k/ is retained, as is the /au/, but the second Germanic consonant shift, taking place some time in the 6th to 8th centuries moves the /p/ to an /f/ (on the second Germanic consonant shift, see Bach 1965: 101–112; Lockwood 1976: 51–56). As this example shows, Lt. loanwords that come into the WGrmc. languages at an early period are fully subject to all the same sound changes that native words undergo. The Old English text *Beowulf* (Fulk et al. [eds.] 2008) has about ten such Latin loanwords, parallels of which also exist in Old High German and can therefore be accepted as words which the WGrmc. people borrowed directly from the Romans in the period prior to 450 CE. *Beowulf* seems appropriate for a study of such loanwords because it is a secular text with no direct religious concerns, and hence would seem more likely to reflect the vocabulary used and understood by the general populace rather than the more learned vocabulary of the clergy. Table 10.1 provides the Latin form which the WGrmc. speakers borrowed, the OE and OHG versions, as well as the ModE and Modern German variants, if they still exist. If Modern English now uses a different word, it is provided in square brackets.

Table 10.1: Latin Borrowings in *Beowulf*

Latin	Old English	OHG	ModE	Ger.
ancora	ancor	anker	anchor	Anker
campus	camp	champf	[fight]	Kampf
caupo	ceap	kouf	chap	Kauf
discus	disc	tisc	dish	Tisch
draco	draca	trahho	drake	Drache
gemma	gim	gimma	[gem]	Gemme
milia	mil	mila	mile	Meile
strata	stræt	straza	street	Straße
vallum	weall	wal	wall	Wall
vinum	win	win	wine	Wein

A few brief comments on some of some of the words in Table 10.1:

− On *ancora*, see Frank (2001: 7–27).

− The Lt. *campus* actually means 'field, battlefield' rather than 'fight', but both OE *camp* and OHG *champf* through metonymic shift refer to the activity on the battlefield rather than to the place itself (except in place names, where the *-camp/comb* part often refers to 'field'; see Gelling 1977: 5–8).

− The ModE *gem* clearly derives from Lt. *gemma*, but it has come into Modern English not via Old English but via French. The OE word was replaced by the French word after the Norman invasion.

− Lt. *milia* is a numeral and means 'thousand'; a thousand double steps make a mile, and hence the simple numeral became a measure of length.

− The OHG *straza* keeps the Lt. /a/, and the original /t/ becomes an /s/ in the second Germanic consonant shift. In Old English, through Anglo-Frisian fronting the /a/ of *strata* becomes an /æ/ (Campbell 1959: 52, 203), but retains the /t/.

− Similarly, Lt. *vallum* shows first Anglo-Frisian fronting to */wæll/ and then, through breaking, shifts to *weall* (Campbell 1959: 55–56).

Most of these words have to do with the areas of trade (*ancora*, *caupo*, *discus*, *gemma*, *vinum*) and war (*campus*, *draco* [on the standards of the Roman army], and *vallum*), with the streets (*strata*), that were measured in miles (*milia*), serving for both mercantile and military purposes.

Beowulf has a few more Latin loanwords that happen to be identical (taking into account sound changes) in form and meaning in both Old High German and Old English. These words are OE *deofol* ('devil') and OE *gigant* ('giant'), but since both are strongly associated with Christianity, they will be discussed further below (see Section 3).

2.2 Latin loanwords common to both Old English and OHG, phonologically identical but with different meanings

Beowulf also contains two Latin loanwords for which the Old High German has a different meaning. These words are *scrifan* (derived from Lt. *scribere*, ModE *shrive*), and *segn* (derived from Lt. *signum*, ModE *sign*, which in turn derives from Fr. *signe* and not from OE *segn*). OE *scrifan* does exist in OHG as *scriban* (for other words that have OHG <b> and Old English <f> see, e.g. OHG *geban* and OE *giefan* [ModE *to give*] or OHG *lioben* and OE *lufian* [ModE *to love*], neither of which are Lt. loanwords), but with a different meaning: whereas the OE word originally means 'to prescribe, ordain, assign, impose' and in the later OE period 'to hear confession, to receive absolution', the OHG word means 'to write' and has retained that meaning into Modern German. The OE *segn* also exists in Old High German as *segan*, but whereas the Old English translates to 'ensign, banner', the Old High German translates to 'blessing [derived from the "sign of the cross"]'.

Why do the words *scrifan*/*scriban* and *segn*/*segan* have such different meanings in the two languages? Neither of the OE words, at least in the forms and meanings in which they appear in *Beowulf*, has any religious connotations, and thus does not owe anything to the arrival of Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England. From historical records we know that the Romans employed Germanic speakers, among them Saxons, as mercenaries and employed them in the provinces Belgica II and Germania II (Capelle 1998: 63), and it would be surprising if these mercenaries, who had daily contact with their Roman overlords, did not pick up a few Latin loanwords. Unfortunately, these mercenaries did not write down their language, and hence it is next to impossible to determine the extent to which they let Latin slip into their own every-day speech. The words they would be most likely to take over from Latin presumably would be those denoting military equipment, ranks and units, and quite possibly commands, but if that was the case, most of these words did not survive until today. Modern English, for instance, uses *sword*, derived from OE *sweord*, and not a variant of the Lt. *gladius*. Similarly, it uses *shield* and *helmet* from OE *scield* and *helm* rather than from Lt. *scutum* and *cassis*. And where Modern English has Latin-derived words for military equipment or units, such as *lance* (from Lt. *lancea*), *legion* (from Lt. *legio*), or *cavalry* (ultimately from Lt. *caballus* 'horse'), it quickly becomes apparent that these words are much later borrowings, all three from French during or after the Middle English period. Some or most of the Latin words borrowed by the early Saxon mercenaries may, of course, have become defunct over the centuries and no longer exist in Modern English, but even an examination of the OE lexicon does not yield many such terms. Two possible exceptions may be the above-mentioned OE words *segn* and *scrifan*. One possible explanation for the difference

in the meanings of the identical loanword in the two languages consists in the OHG speakers taking their *segan* from the Latin clergy, and the OE speakers retaining the Latin loanword in the meaning which they had received as mercenaries from their Latin military superiors. Similarly with the word *scrifan*: the Germanic mercenaries would see Roman writing primarily as their officers' means of prescribing, ordaining, assigning, or imposing, and hence would use the word in this secondary meaning rather than, as the OHG speakers, in its primary meaning of 'writing'. With these two words, the OE speakers seem to have retained a meaning which their ancestors first encountered when they served as mercenaries in the Roman armies.

2.3 Latin loanwords existing in Old English only with no parallel in Old High German

Beowulf also contains several Latin loanwords that do not exist in Old High German. These are *candel*, *non*, and *ceaster*, of which the first two will be discussed below (see Section 3). *Ceaster* survives in Modern English primarily in place names such as *Doncaster, Leicester,* and *Winchester,* all of which name former Roman fortifications. The *-caster, -cester*, and *-chester* part of these names derives from Lt. *castra*. In Old English the word *ceaster* also existed independently, i.e. not just as a component in a place name, in the meaning of 'castle, fort, town'. The Anglo-Saxons may have taken the place names over from the Celtic inhabitants, in which case the Lt. loanword comes into Old English through Celtic. The fact, however, that Old English also has *ceaster* as an independent word opens up the possibility that the Saxons, either on the Continent or already in Britain, took over this word directly from the Romans. In some ways, the WGrmc. speakers had no need for a Latin loanword since they possessed a native word for fortification, namely OHG *burug* and OE *burh*, the latter of which develops into *-borough, -burgh, or -bury* in Modern English, and into *-burg* in German (e.g. *Augsburg, Regensburg*, both places that had Roman *castra*). And yet they did so, possibly to distinguish between the Germanic and the Roman types of fortification (the Germanic people using wooden palisades and the Romans using stone walls). There can be little doubt that *ceaster* is an early borrowing. The Lt. *castra* experiences Anglo-Frisian fronting of the /a/ > /æ/, palatalization of the /k/ to /tʃ/, and diphthongization of the /æ/ to /æa/. Despite the fact that it is an early borrowing, however, *castra* is not a word that was borrowed by both the continental Germans and the (Anglo)-Saxons (Nielsen 1998: 158). The Romans did have *castra*, i.e. fortifications, on German soil just as they did in Britain, but Old High German took as its loanword not a form of *castra*, but a form of *castellum*,

e.g. in the place names *Kassel* and *Bernkastel*, and a derivative of *castellum* later came into English from the French in the word *castle*. The difference between the continental *castellum* and the insular *castra* allows for the possibility that the (Anglo)-Saxons adopted the word *castra* only after they had arrived in Britain, though whether they learned it from Romans or Latin-speaking Celts is impossible to decide (Jackson 1953: 252).

3 Language contact as a result of conversion to Christianity

Saxon mercenaries in the Roman army, either on the Continent or in Britain, would undoubtedly come into contact with fellow soldiers who were Christian. While there is no evidence of wide-spread conversion of the Saxons at this period, at least some mercenaries inevitably would become aware of the Christian clergy, its rituals, some of its teachings, and some of the implements used during the mass, and hence would acquire some vocabulary denoting these concepts and things. The full extent of this language contact, however, cannot be determined, primarily because of lack of any written sources. The basic rule enunciated above for non-religious terms can be invoked here as well, namely that a loanword seems to have been taken over prior to about 500 if it exists in both Old English and Old High German, but that rule needs to be applied with even greater caution for religious terms for two reasons: one, the missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons may well have employed terms that were already accepted by Christian Germanic speakers on the Continent (see Bede, *History* [Sherley-Price, trans. 1993]: 69 on "interpreters from among the Franks" being present at Augustine's mission), and hence a common term for Old English and Old High German does not necessarily mean that those two groups accepted the loanword at the same time; and two, starting in the late 7th century, Anglo-Saxons went over to the Continent as missionaries, and this contact may well have brought about a harmonizing of the religious language of the OE and OHG speakers on the Continent, and one that would also have an influence on Old English.

The traditional date for the start of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity is 597, the year in which Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine to Canterbury (Bede, *History* [Sherley-Price, trans. 1993]: 68–70). The actual conversion of the Anglo-Saxons is somewhat more complex, however. Æthelbert of Kent had married the Merovingian princess Bertha, a Christian who had brought a Christian bishop and possibly priests with her (Bede, *History* [Sherley-Price, trans. 1993]: 69). It would therefore be safe to assume that some talks about religion

took place between Anglo-Saxons and Frankish clergymen before 597. Moreover, the Celtic Britons, the Welsh, and the Picts in the North all were Christians, and even though Bede asserts that the Britons refused to convert the Anglo-Saxons (Bede, *History* [Sherley-Price, trans. 1993]: 66), some Picts and some Welsh may have done so before the "official" date. In any case, some Christian vocabulary is likely to have come into Old English prior to 597, so that it is probably best to speak of the Christian Latin influence on Old English as beginning in the 6th century.

This influence is anything but uniform. The language of Christianity in the West was Latin, and when the missionaries wished to communicate the religious concepts to the laity, they had the choice of

a. using words already existing in Old English, though charging these words with a new meaning;
b. creating "calques" (loan translations), i.e. translating Latin words literally into Old English; or
c. adopting the Latin word as a loanword.

3.1 Using words already existing in Old English, though charging these words with a new meaning

A few examples may suffice. The term *deus* 'god' was rendered with a Germanic word, though in the process the concept of 'god' changed considerably, denoting a monotheistic rather than a polytheistic god. Similarly, the Latin *dominus* 'lord', was rendered as *drihten* or *frea*, and though in one of its meanings it still referred to a secular lord, once applied to the divinity, it underwent a considerable change to the divine 'Lord'. Other words falling in this category are the translations for Lt. *gehenna* ~ OE *hell*/ModE *hell* (from the Germanic goddess of the underworld, Hel), *Pascha* ~ OE *Easter*/ModE *Easter* (from the Germanic goddess Eostre; see Shaw 2011: 71), *sanctus* ~ OE *halig*/ModE *holy* (derived from *hal* 'whole, healthy'), *crux* ~ OE *rod*/ModE rood (*rod* was the word for "cross" used during most of the OE period), *eucharistia* ~ OE *husl*/ModE *housel* (*husl* originally signified 'sacrifice'), and *peccatum* ~ OE *syn*/ModE *sin* (*syn* originally meant 'injury, mischief, feud, guilt, crime'). It is hardly surprising that the clergy sought to find equivalents for the Latin terms in the language of the Anglo-Saxons, but the choice of two Germanic goddesses for Christian concepts is unexpected. It should be mentioned here that several of the above terms are almost identical in Old High German, such as *god* = *got*, *Easter* = *ostarun*, *hell* = *hella*, *syn* = *sunta*, and *halig* = *heilag*. This fact might lead to the conclusion that these words were already fixed in their new meaning on the Continent and that the Anglo-Saxons brought these words from

there (i.e. prior to about 500). Although this possibility cannot be entirely excluded, the question arises why pagan Anglo-Saxons would have brought these Christian words with them to England where they would have had no need or even opportunity to use them. Considering the continued cultural contacts between England and the Continent throughout the 6th and later centuries, it seems more likely that the missionaries would not invent new translations but introduce those that were already in use among Germanic speakers, such as *god*, *Easter*, *Hell*, and *sin*. For at least two of the above words we know that the direction of the influence was from England to the Continent: Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the 8th century took the OE *halig* to the Continent, where it displaced the OHG *wih* (cf. words such as *Weihnacht* ['Christmas'], literally 'Holy night'; *Weihrauch* ['incense'], literally 'holy smoke'; or the place name *Weihenstephan* 'St. Stephen'; see Bach 1965: 158; Braune 1918: 400; Bach 1965: 158 also mentions *easter* as a word brought by Anglo-Saxon missionaries to Germany). Continued cultural exchanges into the 8th century between the Continent and England are a more likely explanation for identical words translating Latin Christian concepts than the assumption that the pagan Saxons somehow brought these Christian words to England from the Continent.

3.2 Creating "calques" (loan translations)

Prior to the coming of Christianity to England, the Anglo-Saxons had no need to find equivalents for such Lt. words as *trinitas* ('Trinity'), *evangelium* ('gospel'), *discipulus* ('disciple'), *omnipotens* ('almighty'), *dies judicii* ('Dooms Day'), or *patriarchus* ('patriarch'). There were no convenient native words that could have expressed these concepts. The Anglo-Saxons could have taken these Latin words over in their Latin forms as loanwords, but they did not do so. Instead, they chose a middle way, i.e. they translated the components of the Latin words literally into Old English and thus created words (or lexical units) that had never existed in Old English before. These loan translations are also called "calques". Most often these calques literally translate the two concepts of the Latin word. Thus the OE *godspel*, from *god* 'good' and *spel* 'narrative, history, tale, fable, message, news', literally translates the two component parts of the Lt. (originally Greek [Gk.]) *evangelium*, the first of which is *eu-*, meaning 'good', and the second *angelium*, meaning 'message'. Similarly, the Lt. *omnipotens*, consisting of *omni-* 'all' and *potens* 'powerful, mighty' is translated into Old English as *ælmihtig*, combining OE *æl-* 'all' and *mihtig* 'mighty'. In these examples, nouns plus adjectives or adjectives plus adjectives are combined, but occasionally Old English can also combine an adjective and a suffix, especially when the Latin has the same pattern. This happens for the OE equivalent to the Lt. *trinitas*, which is *ðrines*,

consisting of *ðrie* 'three' and the suffix *-nes*, which Modern English still has in words such as *dark-ness, numb-ness, red-ness*. The Lt. *discipulus*, from *discere* 'to learn', is rendered into Old English as *leorning cniht*, literally a 'learning boy', as though it derived from *discere* 'to learn' + the suffix *-pulus* 'boy' (De Vaan 2008 derives it from *dis-* + Proto-Italic **kapelo*, with a suggested meaning of 'one who grasps mentally'). Other translations likewise are totally accurate. The Lt. *patri-archus*, which in turn derives from Greek, has as its components *pater* 'father' and *arche* 'beginning, leadership' and the OE rendering of this word *heah fæder*, literally 'high father' seems to confuse Gk. *arche* with Gk. *akros* 'high'. Most calques, though, are correctly translated, and their staying power is attested by the fact that words such as *Almighty, gospel,* and *Doomsday* are still retained in Modern English.

3.3 Adopting loanwords

3.3.1 Religious loanwords common to Old English and Old High German

Old English and Old High German have some religious Latin loanwords in common, and they agree semantically as well as phonologically (taking into account sound changes). Two of these words we have already encountered in *Beowulf*: OE *deofol* and *gigant* (OHG *tiufal* and *gigant*, ModE *devil* and *giant*, whereby the ModE term derives not from Old English, but from Fr. *geant*), and there are more, though not in *Beowulf*: OE *cirice*/OHG *kiricha* (ModE *church*), OE *biscop*/OHG *biscof* (ModE *bishop*), OE *preost*/OHG *prestar*, and OE *engel*/OHG *engil* (ModE *angel*). All of these words are originally Greek, but with one exception were taken over as loanwords in Latin in the forms *diabolus*, *gigas* (with oblique forms in *gigant-*), *episcopus*, *presbyter* and *angelus*, and came into the Germanic languages from Latin (with *presbyter* being shortened to *prestar* in Old High German and further shortened to *preost* in Old English). The one exception is OE *cirice*/OHG *kiricha*, which derives from Gk. *kyriakón* '[house] belonging to the Lord', which was not borrowed by Latin speakers (their word is *ecclesia*, itself derived from Greek). Let us deal with *cirice*/*kiricha* first: the word appears to have been used in the Lyon area in Southern Gaul, and spread from there first to Latin-speaking Trier in the 4th century and from Trier into the Germanic speaking world as a loanword (Gneuss 1993: 121; relying on Masser 1966: 17–25, Müller and Frings 1966–1968: 228–232, and Schäferdiek 1984: 46–50). Churches would no doubt have impressed the pagan Germanic speakers on account of their size and architectural grandeur, and hence it is not difficult to accept the likelihood that the Germanic speakers would have taken over the term denoting the impressive

building (though it is far from clear why they did not adopt the word more commonly used in Romance-speaking countries, namely *ecclesia*). Similarly, through their robes and retinues bishops and priests would be distinguished from both the common man and the nobility, and the pagans would easily have adopted the word they heard the Romans use to speak about them. Why, however, the pagans would have adopted words denoting religious concepts such as *devil* and *angel* is harder to explain. For these one has to resort to the same reasons as mentioned above for *Hell*, *Easter*, *sin*, and *God*: continued cultural exchanges between the pagan Anglo-Saxons and the Continent, a desire by the Christian missionaries to create a uniform vocabulary for the newly converted Germanic pagans, and the Anglo-Saxon missionary activity on the Continent all combined to create some verbal overlap between Old English and Old High German.

3.3.2 Religious loanwords in Old English but not in Old High German

Two Latin loanwords in *Beowulf*, *candel* and *non*, both taken from the religious sphere, have no equivalence in Old High German, and thus seem to have been accepted into Old English at a time when the speakers of these languages had less contact, i.e. in the 9th century and later when Anglo-Saxon missionaries no longer went to the Continent. *Candel* derives from Lt. *candela*; the lack of i-mutation (*candil > *cendel as in *angil > *engel)* suggests that this is indeed a later borrowing (Campbell 1959: 205). The OHG equivalent to *candel* is *cherza*. *Non* is a word from the monastic sphere, denoting the ninth hour (Lt. *nona* [*hora*]), i.e. 3 pm, which gradually, though after the Anglo-Saxon period, came to shift to noon, i.e. 12 o'clock. The OHG equivalent is *mittilatag* 'midday'. These two loanwords differ from the loanwords listed in the following category because they are not "learned" words. It seems apparent that they were not borrowed on the Continent nor were they harmonized with Christian words from the Continent, but once taken over into Old English, they quickly became "everyday" words.

3.3.3 Learned or religious loanwords

The largest influx of Latin loanwords into Old English occurred in the later part of the Anglo-Saxon period, primarily in the translations made directly or commissioned by Alfred (in the last two decades of the 9th century), and then again in the grammar, homilies and saints' lives written by Ælfric (around the year 1000). Both Alfred's and Ælfric's translations were based on Latin originals and the

difficulty in always finding a native word to express the Mediterranean concept led to their adopting Latin loanwords. In the translation of Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos*, which appears to have been commissioned by Alfred, we encounter, among others, the following loanwords: *consul*, *legie*, *senatus*, *talente*, *triumphe*, and *tictator* ('consul', 'legion', 'senate', 'talent', 'triumph', and 'dictator') (*Orosius* [Bately, ed. 1980]). All of these terms indicate Roman institutions or monetary units and are untranslatable. Modern English still has these same terms, although, as the differences between OE *legie* and ModE *legion*, OE *tictator* and ModE *dictator* show, not directly from Old English, but from French and Latin respectively. At times, the Latin loanwords seem to ignore cultural differences, when the translator, for instance, renders the word for 'pagan priests', namely *pontifices*, with the OE loanword *bisceapas*, or when he refers to a Vestal Virgin with the OE loanword *nunne* (from late Lt. *nonna* 'mother', ModE *nun*). Ælfric, too, introduced Latin loanwords into his texts. He could draw on words that had been used before him (such as *creda*, *altar*, *regol*; ModE *creed, altar, rule*), or introduce new ones (such as *cranic*, *pistol*, or *sanct*; ModE *chronicle, epistle, saint*). In his *Grammar* he carefully translates every grammatical concept (e.g. *nominativus ys nemnendlyc*, *genitivus is gestrynedlic*, *dativus ys forgyfendlic*, etc.), but despite these translations he uses the Latin terms for the cases throughout. Similarly, he speaks of *casus* or of *dyptongon*, and for ModE *declination* he uses the OE hybrid word *declinung*, combining the Lt. *declin-* with the OE suffix *-ung*. It is doubtful that many of these learned Latin loanwords introduced by Alfred (or his circle) and Ælfric made it into the vocabulary of the ordinary Anglo-Saxon. Many did not survive: the Alfredian *legie* has been replaced by *legion*, *tictator* by *dictator*, and the Ælfrician *declinung* by *declination*, *pistol* by *epistle*, and *cranic* by *chronicle*. Nonetheless, during approximately the last 200 years of the Anglo-Saxon period they had a limited currency among the learned.

4 Summary

Old English borrowed a total of about 600 words from Latin (Nielsen 1998: 141) of which by necessity only very few could be discussed here. A fuller list is given by Mary Serjeantson (1935) in *A History of Foreign Words in English*, in the chapter "Latin Words before the Conquest" (11–50) and in "Appendix A" entitled "Pre-Conquest Loan-Words from Latin" (271–288). Though the exact dating of many of these words is disputed, especially Serjeantson's list of words "probably borrowed in Britain, 450–650", her Appendix A provides an excellent guide to the various areas in which Latin, whether through direct contact with the Romans or

through the book-learning of the clergy, influenced Old English. Overall, the Anglo-Saxons were reluctant to accept Latin loanwords. They preferred to rely on their own linguistic resources, either through infusing a native word with new meaning or through creating a calque, to express the concepts inherent in the Latin words. Old English had an approximate total vocabulary of about 30,000 words (Nielsen 1998: 141); 600 loanwords from Latin, and that over a period of about 800 years, seems a very small proportion indeed. Though Latin might seem to be the language of the superior culture, first as the language of the Roman Empire and then as the language of Christianity, the Anglo-Saxons did not seem overly impressed: they adopted loanwords when they were absolutely necessary, but that necessity was not felt too frequently since Old English possessed the ability to deal with the highly sophisticated concepts of the Latin words through its own Germanic vocabulary.

5 References

Bach, Adolf. 1965. *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. 8th edn. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer.

Bately, Janet (ed.). 1980. *The Old English Orosius*. (Early English Text Society, S. S. 6.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Braune, Wilhelm. 1918. Althochdeutsch und Angelsächsisch. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 43: 398–409.

Campbell, A. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Capelle, Torsten. 1998. *Die Sachsen des Frühen Mittelalters*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Capelle, Torsten. 1990. *Archäologie der Angelsachsen: Eigenständigkeit und kontinentale Bindung vom 5. bis 9. Jahrhundert*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

De Vaan, Michiel. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and other Italic Languages*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Frank, Roberta. 2001. Old English *ancor* 'anchor': Transformation of a Latin loanword. In: K. E. Olsen, A. Harbus, and T. Hofstra (eds.), *Germanic Texts and Latin Models: Medieval Reconstructions*. Leuven: Peeters.

Fulk, R. D., Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles (eds.). 2008. *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Gelling, Margaret. 1977. Latin loan-words in Old English place-names. *Anglo-Saxon England* 6: 1–13.

Gneuss, Helmut. 1993. Anglicae linguae interpretatio: Language contact, lexical borrowing and glossing in Anglo-Saxon England. In: *Proceedings of the British Academy 82, 1992 Lectures and Memoirs*, 107–148. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greenfield, Stanley B. and Daniel G. Calder. 1986. *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*. New York/London: New York University Press.

Jackson, Kenneth. 1953. *Language and History in Early Britain*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lockwood, W. B. 1976. *An Informal History of the German Language*. London: Deutsch.

Masser, Achim. 1966. *Die Bezeichnungen für das christliche Gotteshaus in der deutschen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Berlin: Schmidt.

Mitchell, Bruce and Fred C. Robinson. 1992. *A Guide to Old English*. 5th edn. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Müller, Gertraud and Theodor Frings. 1966–1968. *Germania Romana II*. 2nd edn. Halle: Niemeyer.

Myres, J. N. L. 1986. *The English Settlements. The Oxford History of England*. Vol. 1B. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nielsen, Hans Frede. 1998. *The Continental Backgrounds of English and its Insular Development until 1154*. Odense: Odense University Press.

Pogatscher, Alois. 1888. *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Schäferdiek, Knut. 1984. Kirihha – *cyrica – kyriakon: Zum geschichtlichen Hintergrund einer Etymologie. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 106: 46–50.

Serjeantson, Mary. 1935. *A History of Foreign Words in English*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Shaw, Philip A. 2011. *Pagan Goddesses in the early Germanic World: Eostre, Hreda and the Cult of Matrons*. London: Bristol Classical Press.

Sherley-Price, Leo (trans.). 1993. *A History of the English Church and People [by] Bede*. Revised edn. New York: Barnes & Noble.

Sweet, Henry (ed.). 1871–72. *King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*. With an English translation, the Latin text, notes, and an introduction. (Early English Text Society 45.) London: N. Trübner & Co.

Wollmann, Alfred. 1993. Early Latin loan-words in Old English. *Anglo-Saxon England* 22: 1–26.

Zupitza, Julius (ed.). 2000 [1880]. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*. 3rd edn, with a new introduction by Helmut Gneuss. Berlin: Weidmann.

Richard Dance
Chapter 11:
English Contact: Norse

Abstract: This chapter begins by introducing the Scandinavian languages, and considering the Germanic background of their relationship with English. The main focus of the discussion is the contact of speakers of Old English and Old Norse in Viking Age England. I introduce the historical context of this interaction, and discuss its likely nature and the models available for interpreting it. I then go on to its linguistic consequences, beginning with an assessment of the criteria used to deduce the (usually later) English forms/structures that have been derived from Old Norse (drawing attention to the difficulties involved in the tests that are generally employed and the assumptions behind them). I survey the material in English which is usually reckoned to derive from contact with Norse, considering it diachronically and diatopically, and in terms of the linguistic systems affected (lexis beside morphology, syntax, etc.).

1 Introduction

This chapter treats the effects of contact with the Scandinavian language family ("Norse"). This is a phenomenon of very long standing, and considerable significance. Encounters with the Scandinavian languages in the modern period have produced the occasional loan, familiar examples deriving from topography (*fiord, floe, geyser*), antiquarianism/folklore (*berserk, saga, troll*) and (more recently)

Richard Dance: Cambridge (UK)

cooking and sport (*smorgasbord, orienteering*; see Bandle et al. 2002–2005: 2071). But the best-known series of interactions between speakers of English and Norse took place in Viking Age England, and these rate amongst the most important instances of linguistic contact in the history of English. Their effects will be my main focus here. In Section 3 I shall introduce the context and likely nature of the Viking Age contacts, including the models of loan transfer which one might use to interpret the resultant borrowing of linguistic material by English. I shall then move on to a survey of the English vocabulary which etymologists generally derive from Old Norse, as recorded in the Old English textual record (Section 4.2) and in the Middle English period and later (Section 4.3), preceded by a discussion of the evidence by which these words are identified (Section 4.1); and Section 5 will treat suggested effects beyond the lexicon, especially on morphology and syntax. These matters are nonetheless complicated by the descent of English and Norse from a common Germanic ancestor, the complex interconnection of their early (pre-)histories as distinct "languages", and their continuing similarity. I shall therefore touch upon these and other aspects of the background to the subject first (Section 2).

2 Backgrounds

2.1 The Scandinavian languages in the early medieval period

From their beginnings as an identifiably distinct branch of the Germanic group (c.500 CE) up until the 11th century, the early Scandinavian languages ("Old Norse") may be treated as a relatively undifferentiated entity. (Note that I adopt here the term "Old Norse" in its broad, conventional usage (by English-speaking philologists) to refer to the Scandinavian languages down to about 1500 CE, in any or all of their dialectal forms. For discussions of terminology and periodization, see Bandle et al. 2002–2005: especially 31–38, 615–619, 691–698). There was undoubtedly variation during this period, but the major (especially phonological) innovations which allow one to classify these languages into something like the modern sub-groups of the Scandinavian family are usually dated no earlier than the millennium (on the history of the Scandinavian languages to c.1100 CE, see e.g. Andersson 2002; Bandle et al. 2002–2005: 615–619, 649–664, 691–698, 703–745). The main branches usefully recognized during the Middle Ages are Old East Norse (Danish and Swedish) and Old West Norse (Norwegian and Icelandic; this branch later includes Faroese) (on the textual corpora, see Bandle et al. 2002–2005: 793–824). Icelandic is by far the best attested in writing (from c.1100), as well as the most conservative linguistically; for these reasons it is conventional to

give Old Icelandic (OIcel) forms when citing suggested Norse etyma for early medieval borrowings into English (noticing earlier or dialectally-different reflexes where relevant).

2.2 English and Norse: pre-Viking Age Germanic contexts

Reconstructing the interrelations of the Germanic languages for the period prior to their earliest manuscript records is fraught with difficulty. Traditional stemmatic description separates "West Germanic" (including Old English) from "North Germanic" (Norse) as descendants of the Germanic parent language. In recent decades it has however become normal to argue for a North-West Germanic "unity" at the start of the "Migration Period"; some regard this common language as effectively witnessed by the very earliest "Scandinavian" runic inscriptions of c.200–500 CE (see e.g. Nielsen 1989: 5–11, 95–100; Townend 2002: 21–25; Bandle et al. 2002–2005: 558–568). The subsequent division of North Germanic and West Germanic which we hypothesize is on the whole justified by the series of key innovations which distinguish the two groups, but their separation is by no means clean and unequivocal: Old Norse shares a number of phonological and morphological features with one or more of the West Germanic languages (specifically of the Ingvaeonic group), such that it is sensible to allow for ongoing contacts (areal changes) in the regions abutting the North Sea up at least until the period of the Anglo-Saxon migrations, and reasonable to speak in terms of a North-West Germanic dialect continuum in which the nascent English dialects and the language varieties spoken in Scandinavia participated. (For discussions see Nielsen 1985: especially 187–220; Hines 1998; Townend 2002: 25–26, 29; Bandle et al. 2002–2005: 544–572, 770–771.) Special affinities with Norse have occasionally been claimed for particular dialects of Old English, usually Anglian, supposing a closer pre-migration relationship with North Germanic; but the evidence is at best contentious, and normally now approached sceptically (see the conclusions in Nielsen 1985: 65–72, 249–259, and further Hines 1998; Townend 2002: 26–28; Dance 2003: 87–88). Contact with Norse speakers in some parts of England between the Anglo-Saxon settlement period and the onset of the Viking Age has also occasionally been mooted on non-linguistic grounds; for discussion and references see Townend (2002: 29–31).

3 Contact in Viking Age England

3.1 Historical background

The historical context for encounters between speakers of Old English and Old Norse in Viking Age England is well documented, not to say infamous. Sea-borne expeditions mounted by Scandinavian raiders (called "Vikings" by later historians) began in the late 8th century and increased in severity, culminating in the full-blown military incursions and conquests of the 850s–870s, and in the ceding of most of northern and eastern England to Danish control. Thereafter large parts of the country participated in the extensive Scandinavian cultural diaspora for the next century and a half, with a second high water-mark in the reign of Cnut and his sons (1016–1042) (for summaries of the relevant historical sources and scholarship, see e.g. Keynes 1997). The numbers of Norse speakers who settled permanently in England during this period remain a matter of scholarly controversy; but the quantity, concentration, and diversity of the Scandinavian place- and personal names recorded, especially from Cumbria, Yorkshire and parts of Lincolnshire, argue compellingly in favor of Norse communities of a very significant total size (see Townend 2002: 47–48). (On the place-name evidence, which is best considered separately from the lexicon proper, see especially the accounts in Abrams and Parsons 2004 and Townend 2013.) It is usually (and plausibly) supposed that Old East Norse speakers were in the majority, with West Norse (Norwegian) settlement in the North-West of England, though inevitably this is an over-simplification of the evidence (which must reckon with the general difficulty of distinguishing the two branches of Norse at this period; see above). It is hard to assess how long Norse continued to be spoken by Scandinavian communities in England, and the rate of attrition must have differed markedly from place to place; but it is a reasonable assumption that (forms of) Norse remained in use throughout the eleventh century in parts of the north of England (perhaps into the twelfth century in the North-West; see Parsons 2001).

3.2 Contact models and the transfer of linguistic material

It is worth stressing that when scholars refer to "the Anglo-Norse contact situation", this must be understood as shorthand for a long period of contacts in diverse local settings. It would have encompassed the widest possible variety of interactions, from the most superficial (trade, negotiation) to the most intimate (mixed communities, intermarriage), and every shade of relative political/cultural "dominance" by one group of speakers or the other. Accordingly, one should be wary of assuming

that all the (putative) effects of this contact arose from a single type of encounter (or a series of encounters on a simple chronological cline of intensity), even if historical distance has effectively turned them into one cluster of phenomena.

Even at a conservative estimation, the linguistic material transferred from Norse to English during this period is unusual in its extent, going far beyond the casual "need-based" borrowing of words for new concepts. (See Sections 4.2 and 4.3 below. On loans into Norse from English during the medieval period, see the discussion and references in Bandle et al. [2002–2005: 769, 1034] and Gammeltoft and Holck [2007]). Attempts at characterizing the contact situation have therefore sought to describe the "special" nature of the relations between speakers that these end-products imply. While earlier work on the subject refers somewhat imprecisely to language "mixing" or "blending", research in recent decades has introduced more sophisticated models, drawn from cross-linguistic evidence for the processes and results of contact-based change in (often) better-documented cases. This principle of comparison is in general terms a sound one, and has produced important advances in our appreciation of the mechanics of how Norse-derived material might have made it into English; but in applying such models one must remain acutely sensitive to the particularities of the Anglo-Norse situation, and to the nature of the evidence for it (including the contentiousness of much of the claimed loaned material, which is not always sufficiently signposted; see Sections 4.1 and 5 below). One of the most important specifics is the sheer similarity of Old English and Old Norse, with their very closely-related (in many ways identical) phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical constituents. The fullest assessment of the implications of this formal closeness is by Townend, who concludes that there was probably mutual intelligibility between speakers of the two languages sufficient at least for pragmatic face-to-face communication (Townend 2002: 181–185). It is therefore questionable whether models for contact-motivated change predicated upon more radical differences between the varieties involved are entirely appropriate in this case. The communicative situation here might equally well be labeled a sort of (extreme) "dialect contact", facilitating a relatively easy transfer of linguistic material; in some instances it put new forms into circulation in the recipient language which effectively acted as variants of native ones (and see Townend 2002: 205–210).

All in all, the linguistic outcomes for English of this long period of contact are probably best read as a combination of two basic processes (whose effects are nonetheless sometimes difficult to distinguish, and would have overlapped). The first, "borrowing" proper (recipient language agentivity), describes the adoption of Old Norse material led by speakers of Old English, and is sufficient to account for common-or-garden lexical importations, especially words for novel concepts or activities associated with the cultural ambit of the Scandinavian incomers. The

second process, shift-based interference (source language agentivity), is needed to explain the transfer into English of less patently "necessary" Norse-derived elements, including more fundamental components of the lexicon (basic vocabulary and function-words) and morphosyntactic features; these are likely to have been carried over by Norse speakers switching to speaking English and bringing some of the more basic building blocks of their language with them (see Townend 2002: 201–207). It is questionable to what extent one needs to invoke more extreme models of (especially shift-based) development, and to treat the outcome of Anglo-Norse contact in terms of something classifiable as an essentially "new" language variety, an inter-language or a creole. This issue has been much debated in the scholarly literature. Suffice it to notice that the "creolization" arguments most enthusiastically propounded in the 1970s and 80s have been succeeded by more careful assessments of the grounds for such labels, and a more moderated sense of what is applicable to the Anglo-Norse situation in particular. The consensus now seems to be that, significant though this period of interaction may have been for the development of English (and most supposed effects beyond the lexical remain controversial; see Section 5 below), contact with Norse in the Viking Age should not be regarded as the midwife for the birth of a "new language" – see the summaries of the debate by Townend (2002: 196–201), Dance (2003: 295–298; 2016: 65–66), Bandle et al. (2002–2005: 1032–1033).

4 The effects of Viking Age contact: lexical material derived from Old Norse

4.1 On evidence

As intimated above and exemplified below, contact with Norse has had significant consequences for English, most demonstrably in the lexicon. But while some instances of Scandinavian input may be identified with reasonable certainty, several even of the most routinely cited Norse-derived words are etymologically debatable, and there are many further suggestions in the scholarly literature that are still less secure. (Note that I shall use the inelegant but unambiguous term "Norse-derived word" to refer generally to lexis borrowed from or influenced by Old Norse in any of the ways that this is possible, i.e. encompassing what conventional taxonomy distinguishes as "loanwords proper" next to "loan shifts" [semantic loans and loan translations].)

The difficulties with identifying material drawn from Old Norse are well known in principle, but their implications for the Norse-derived elements conven-

tionally listed by the handbooks are rarely pursued. They stem from two funda-
mental problems. The first is the genetic closeness and hence similarity of Old
English and Old Norse, as discussed above (Section 2.2); this has self-evident
consequences not only for the relatively easy transfer of material between the
two, but for our capacity to identify it after the fact. The second problem is the
patchiness of the record of both languages in the periods before and during which
contact took place. In the case of Old English this is especially true for the
dialectal areas most affected (northern and eastern England); and Old Norse is
sparsely attested throughout the Viking Age, the evidence for it largely restricted
to runic inscriptions and some skaldic poetry (see Bandle et al. 2002–2005: 698–
703). These factors collude to make it difficult to demonstrate that an English
word-form or usage first appearing from later Old English onwards must derive
from Norse, rather than its being a native item previously unattested in writing, or
an instance of parallel (convergent) development in the two languages; see Björk-
man (1900–02: 8–12) for a general account of the issues.

Crucially, some formal comparative tests of Scandinavian derivation are
available. That is, subject to the confident identification of their Germanic roots, it
is possible to state that certain morphemes have undergone phonological
changes diagnostic of their evolution in Norse rather than those we would expect
to see in English cognates; indeed in the clearest cases native cognates exist with
which to compare them (for discussion see Björkman [1900–02: 30–185], still the
fullest delineation of the principles behind such identifications). Amongst the
more reliable phonological discriminators are the following. In each case the
Middle English word cited shows characteristically Scandinavian vowel or con-
sonant developments, in contrast to the native equivalents found in (or recon-
structed for) Old English:

PGrmc. */ai/ > ON /ɛi/, compared to OE /ɑ:/. E.g. ME *ai* 'always', cp. OIcel *ei*,
contrast OE *ā*; ME *heil* 'healthy', cp. OIcel *heill*, contrast OE *hāl*; ME *nai* 'no', cp.
OIcel *nei*, contrast OE *nā*.

PGrmc. */au/ > ON /ɑu, ɔu/ (usually > ME /oː/), compared to OE /æːɑ/. E.g. ME *gōk*
'cuckoo' (PDE dialectal *gowk, gawk* 'cuckoo, fool'), cp. OIcel *gaukr*, contrast OE
gēac; ME *lōs* 'loose', cp. OIcel *lauss*, contrast OE *lēas*.

PGrmc. */eː/ (NWGmc. */aː/) > ON /ɑː/ (> ME /ɔː/), compared to OE (WS) /æː/
(> /oː/ before nasals). E.g. ME *loue* 'low', cp. OIcel *lágr*, contrast OE *lǣg-* 'fallow';
ME *wōn(e)* 'expectation', cp. OIcel *ván*, contrast the related OE *wēn* (< *wōni* <
PrGmc. **wēni*-).

PGrmc. /ð/ > ON /ð/ (medially or finally), compared to OE /d/. E.g. ME *baithen* 'inquire, grant', cp. OIcel *beiða*, contrast OE *bædan*; ME *greith* 'ready', cp. OIcel *greiðr*, contrast OE *gerād* 'disposed, wise'.

PGrmc. /g/, /k/ > ON /g/, /k/, compared to OE /j/, /ʤ/, /ʧ/ in palatalization environments. E.g. ME *gēre*, PDE *gear* 'clothes, equipment', cp. OIcel *gervi*, contrast OE *gearwe* with /j/; ME *eggen*, PDE *egg* 'to incite', cp. OIcel *eggja*, contrast OE *ecgan* 'to harrow' with /ʤ/; ME *casten* 'throw', cp. OIcel *kasta* (would have produced OE (WS) *ceastan with /ʧ/).

PGrmc. /sk/ > ON /sk/, compared to OE /ʃ/. E.g. ME *scāth(e)* 'injury', cp. OIcel *skaði*, contrast OE *sceaða* with /ʃ/; ME *skēt(e)* 'quickly', cp. OIcel *skjótt*, contrast OE *scēot-* with /ʃ/.

Occasionally the evidence for loan consists of identifiably Norse morphological material. Most often cited are the nominal *-r* (nom. sg. masc *a*-stem; e.g. ME *hauer* 'skilful', cp. OIcel *hag-r*) and adjectival *-t* (nom./acc. sg. neuter strong, also used adverbially in Old Norse, as in e.g. ME *thwert* 'crosswise', cp. OIcel *þver-t*).

It is important to recognize that the words identified using these criteria (let us call them collectively "Type A") are by far the most secure instances of Old Norse input. It is obvious that items containing morphemic material amenable to the available formal tests will account for only a very small proportion of the set of all English words first recorded in late Old English or after, and which resemble the equivalent word in Norse (or which are first then recorded in a novel sense or usage that resembles one in Norse); and it is of course implausible that only the formally testable words should be those that were borrowed or influenced. But, equally, it would be absurd to jump to the opposite conclusion and assume that every such novelty really were affected by contact with Norse. Accordingly, and inevitably, most scholars' lists of Norse-derived words fall between these minimal and maximal poles. In the case of items for which formal comparative tests are unavailable, etymologists opt to ascribe Scandinavian influence on the basis of whatever other evidence is to hand, and (more or less cautiously) to weigh its value in each individual instance. Classification of these remaining words, where it is essayed at all, tends therefore to reflect relative degrees of conviction in divining Norse input: hence Björkman lists them in two groups, those of greater ("tolerably certain") and lesser likelihoods. Taking into account the characteristics that they present to the etymologist at first blush, I suggest that putative Norse-derived words below Type A consistently divide into three broad categories:

B. The (Germanic) root of the lexeme is not recorded (early enough) in Old English, but is found in Old Norse. Loan from Norse has therefore been proposed. Conventionally admitted examples include ME *il(le)* 'ill' (cp. OIcel *illr*), *knīf* 'knife' (cp. OIcel *knífr*), *tāken* 'take' (cp. OIcel *taka*) and *thrīven* 'thrive' (cp. OIcel *þrífa(sk)*).

C. The root of the lexeme is recorded (early enough) in some form in Old English. Some aspects of form/sense/usage are however new, and paralleled in Old Norse. Loan or influence from Norse has therefore been posited, more or less convincingly, to account for these developments. Perhaps the most frequently cited semantic loan is ME *drēm* 'dream', whose form clearly derives from OE *drēam* '(happy) noise', but for whose sense cp. OIcel *draumr* 'dream'. Scandinavian parallels are also often invoked to explain new compounds or idioms (e.g. *for the sake (of)*, cp. OIcel *fyrir sakir*) and grammatical/derivational forms (e.g. ME *main*, adj., is sometimes compared to OIcel *megn*, since OE *mægen* is only recorded as a noun); and, more controversially, to account for the sheer frequency in Middle English of some words recorded only very fleetingly earlier on (e.g. ME *til* 'to, until', cp. OIcel *til* rather than the vanishingly rare OE (early Northumbrian) *til*).

D. The etymology of the lexeme is obscure. Comparable forms in Norse have sometimes been suggested as sources, but their explanatory ability is at best partial. Examples include ME *loupe* 'loop' (there is perhaps some connection with ON *hlaup* 'leap', but its sense has more in common with Scots Gaelic *lûb* 'a loop, bend'; or cp. Middle Dutch *lûpen* 'lie in wait'?) and ME *nōk* 'nook' (possibly connected to Norwegian dial. *nók* 'hook, person bent with age' and/or Middle Low German *(n)ôke* 'acute-angled piece of land', but cp. also ME *nok(ke)* 'tip of a bow, notch of an arrow').

Clearly, each of these groupings will contain within it a wide range of items more or less plausibly derivable from Old Norse, all of which must ultimately be assessed on their own merits. Just occasionally one can trace some association with a specifically Scandinavian cultural product or practice (e.g. OE *marc* 'unit of monetary weight', cp. OIcel *mǫrk*) and/or an early usage tied to references to Scandinavian communities (e.g. OE *lagu* 'law', cp. OIcel *lǫg* < **lagu*; on these words see Pons-Sanz 2013). But such traces are very rare. In their absence, etymologists have tended to give most weight to two distributional "tests" of loan: (a) dialectal distribution within English, i.e. whether an item is restricted by and large to northern or eastern dialects in its (early) occurrences; and (b) group distribution within Germanic, i.e. whether an item is confined to English (of a late enough date) and Norse, and not attested otherwise in West Germanic. These criteria are sensible enough in principle, and at times (especially in combination)

their implications are compelling: a good example is *ill*, a word which lexicalizes a fundamental adjectival/adverbial concept expressed by the same root in Old Norse, and which in its earliest occurrences is especially associated with northern and eastern English dialects and nowhere else in West Germanic (where the PGrmc. **ubil-* root dominates this lexical field, as in Old English [OE *yfel*]). But not all cases are in practice as straightforward as this. Attractive though it may be (and sometimes it is the best we can do), we must remember that evidence from distribution is ultimately circumstantial. Its value diminishes rapidly, moreover, the less frequent a word's attestation and the less common the concept it embodies: it is one thing to cite such restricted occurrence as meaningful for *ill*, and another for a rare, perhaps "ideophonic" Middle English word like *glam* 'din, merrymaking' (cp. OIcel *glam[m]*), which occurs only a few times in northern/north-western alliterative verse. Though Björkman (1900–02: 197) favors English dialect distribution (in particular) as an important criterion, he sensibly concludes that, especially when put next to formal evidence, "Such tests are, however, all more or less unreliable". Often one is left simply having to weigh how plausible it would be for a given word, if it were indeed native, to have been in spoken use in the period before Norse influence began to be felt, but not to have been attested (at all, or in the required sense/form/usage) in the surviving textual record. In the more finely balanced cases this can be genuinely imponderable, and one sometimes senses that the attribution of a Norse derivation has as much to do with the enthusiasm of the scholar applying the labels as it does anything else (for a sceptical position see Lass 1997: 203–205).

I have labored the issues in this section, but they need to be appreciated before any presentation of "Norse-derived" material is attempted. In what follows I have confined myself to relatively uncontroversial (and conventionally accepted) examples, but any figures given must naturally be taken as very approximate.

4.2 The Old English period

About 100 different words usually derived from Old Norse are recorded in texts classified as belonging to the Old English period (i.e. down to the early 12th century; see esp. Hofmann 1955; Peters 1981; Hug 1987: 3–5; Kastovsky 1992: 333–336; Pons-Sanz 2013). It is conventional to list these words by broad conceptual area, since many (including some of the most frequently attested) are confined to one or another of a relatively small set of fields. The most manifest of these can loosely be called "legal", though it incorporates words not only for aspects of legislation and attendant activities but also for relationships definable in law,

including matters of social rank, and other ideas recurrent in texts delineating rights and responsibilities. Words in this field generally identified as Norse-derived and most ingrained in textual culture by the end of the Old English period include: *lagu* 'law' (cp. OIcel *lǫg*, < earlier **lagu*), *grið* 'protection, peace, sanctuary' (cp. OIcel *grið*), *hūsting* 'assembly' (cp. OIcel *húsþing*), *māl* 'lawsuit' (cp. OIcel *mál*), *saht* 'agreement, peace' (cp. OIcel *sátt* < earlier **saht*); *bōnda* '(free) peasant, farmer' (cp. OIcel *bóndi*, also the source of the second element of OE *hūsbōnda* 'householder', cp. OIcel *húsbóndi*), *fēolaga* 'fellow, partner' (cp. OIcel *félagi*, with substitution of the English cognate for the first element of the Norse word), *hold* 'holder of allodial land' (cp. OIcel *hǫldr, hauldr*), *hūscarl* 'member of the king's bodyguard' (cp. OIcel *húskarl*), *þrǣl* 'slave, thrall' (cp. OIcel *þrǽll*), *ūtlaga* 'outlaw' (cp. OIcel *útlagi*) and the semantic loan *eorl* in the sense 'earl' (cp. OIcel *jarl*, 'earl'; OE *eorl* meant 'nobleman, warrior'). Other conceptual areas containing a number of identifiable Norse derivations include those of seafaring (e.g. *barða* '[beaked] ship' [cp. OIcel *barði*], *scegð* 'warship' [cp. OIcel *skeið*]), measures and coins (e.g. *marc* 'mark, unit of [monetary] weight' [cp. OIcel *mǫrk*], *ōra* 'eighth of a mark' [cp. OIcel *aurar*, pl.]) and military activity/accoutrements (e.g. *brynige* 'mailcoat' [cp. OIcel *brynja*], *lið* 'fleet, troop' [cp. OIcel *lið*]).

Most of these words arguably represent "need-based" loans, that is they reflect the desire to name some newly-imported Scandinavian cultural artefact (whether an object, a practice or an idea) that could not be expressed so precisely or succinctly using existing native vocabulary, or to which a Scandinavian association adhered. Lexical items of this type are usually regarded as the most straightforward, easily adoptable form of borrowed material, and it is hardly surprising that they should be amongst the first to appear and to be accepted in written texts dominated by the language of the South and West of England. But already during this period there are occurrences of Norse-derived items marked by no recognizable conceptual novelty, standing for ideas with words for which the English lexicon was well stocked. Examples include nouns like *band* 'bond' (cp. OIcel *band*), *gærsum* 'treasure' (cp. OIcel *gersemi, gørsemi*), *loft* 'sky, air' (cp. OIcel *loft*), *scinn* 'skin' (cp. OIcel *skinn*); adjectives like *dearf* 'bold' (cp. OIcel *djarfr*), *stōr* 'strong' (cp. OIcel *stórr*); verbs like *eggian* 'egg, incite' (cp. OIcel *eggja*), *hyttan* 'meet' (cp. OIcel *hitta*), *tacan* 'take' (cp. OIcel *taka*); and (making their first appearances in the 12th-century continuations and interpolations in the Peterborough text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) the 'function-words' *frā* 'from' (cp. OIcel *frá*) and perhaps *bāðe* 'both' (cp. OIcel *báðir*). Words of this stamp are as yet relatively infrequently recorded, and are sometimes to be associated with northern dialects (e.g. the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels, the so-called "northern recension" of the *Chronicle*). But it is important to recognize that Old English texts already exhibit some signs of the diffusion of "basic" Norse-derived vocabu-

lary that comes into its own in the Middle English record; and indeed it is highly probable that the vast majority of Scandinavian derivations first attested in later centuries were in spoken usage somewhere in England before the 11th century was very old (and see Dance 2003: 143–149).

4.3 Middle English and later

By the end of the Middle English period, with a vigorous textual culture in the vernacular representing dialects from across England, the Norse influence on the lexicon is visible to its full extent (on the Middle English evidence see especially Björkman 1900–02; Rynell 1948; Burnley 1992: 414–423 and further Miller 2012: 91–147; Durkin 2014: 171–221). Figures are, as ever, to be treated with caution, but a recent survey has found some 1500 words cited with a Norse etymon in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Hogg and Denison 2006: 2); approximately 600 are usually claimed to be current in general standard Modern English (Hug 1987: 7–9), with several hundreds more in dialect usage. Though these are modest sums compared to the total lexical input from French and Latin, these words encompass a wide range of conceptual areas, and operate at all levels of the vocabulary. A small sample in their Middle English forms (amongst the more securely etymologized, and in addition to the descendants of those already cited) gives: (nouns) *anger, bagge, bōne* ('prayer'), *club(be), eg(ge), gest, hap* ('luck'), *leg, lōn(e)* ('loan'), *mensk(e)* ('honour'), *scōr(e), skirt(e), scul(le)* ('skull'), *skī(e)* ('sky'), *want, windou(e), wing(e)* (cp. respectively OIcel *angr, baggi, bón, klubba, egg, gestr, happ, leggr, lán, mennska, skor, skyrta*, Swedish dial. *skull(a)*, OIcel *ský, vant, vindauga, vængr* [Swedish/Danish *vinge*]); (adjectives) *blō* ('black'), *boun* ('prepared'), *gein* ('direct, beneficial'), *greith* ('ready'), *heil* ('healthy'), *il(le), lōs* ('loose'), *loue* ('low'), *mēk, odde, scant, sēr(e)* ('various'), *sleigh* ('clever, sly'), *thwert* ('crosswise'), *ugli* (cp. OIcel *blá, búinn, gegn, greiðr, heill, illr, lauss, lágr, mjúkr, oddi* [n.], *skammt, sér, slœgr, þvert, uggligr*); (adverbs) *ai* ('ay, always'), *hethen* ('hence'), *thethen* ('thence'), *whethen* ('whence') (cp. OIcel *ei, héðan, þaðan, hvaðan*); (verbs) *atlen* ('intend, advance'), *carpen* ('talk'), *casten, flitten, gāpen, gēren* ('make'), *geten, given, reisen* ('raise'), *scāthen, sēmen, thrīven* (cp. OIcel *ætla, karpa, kasta, flytja, gapa, gør(v)a, geta, gefa* [Danish *give*], *reisa, skaða, sœma, þrífa(sk)*), and perhaps *dīen* and *callen* (OIcel *deyja, kalla*); and 'grammatical', 'closed-class' items such as (prepositions) *again(e)s* ('against'), *frō, til* (cp. OIcel *í gegn, frá, til*), (conjunctions) *though, sum* ('as, soever'), *oc* ('and') (cp. OIcel *þó* [< **þauh*], Old Danish/Swedish *sum*, OIcel *ok*), (pronouns) *thei, their(e), theim* (cp. OIcel *þeir, þeira, þeim*), the future auxiliary verb *monen* ('shall, will'; PDE northern dial. *mun*) (cp. OIcel *munu*), and the interjection *nai* ('no') (cp. OIcel *nei*).

The quantity and type of Norse-derived words attested in the dialects of the North and East Midlands are particularly impressive, especially in the Middle English period (before which the language of many of these areas had been nearly or entirely invisible in the textual record). Many of the basic "function-words" drawn from Norse are at first confined to these dialects (including the third person pronouns); and several remain "northern" words throughout their history (e.g. the directional adverbs ME *hethen, thethen, whethen*, the future auxiliary *mun*). Scandinavian influence seems to manifest itself most forcefully of all in a core area, "a belt stretching from Cumberland and Westmorland in the west to the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire in the east, often including part of Lincoln-shire but excluding the old kingdom of Bernicia in Durham and Northumberland" (Samuels 1985: 269; see also Kolb 1965, and Kries 2003 who would include south-west Scotland). Features confined to this area in Middle English include the peculiarly Norse-looking *er(e)*, 'are' (rather than *ar(e)*), and *at* to introduce an infinitive (Samuels 1985); and in the modern period a number of Norse-derived words are only current in this "great Scandinavian belt" (e.g. *laik* 'play', *brant* 'steep', *slaip* 'slippery'; cp. OIcel *leika, brattr* [< *brant-], *sleipr*; Kolb 1965).

The dissemination from northern and eastern dialects of some words that have descended into the modern standard (including *they*, followed by *their* and *them*) is well documented, because it is witnessed relatively late in the medieval period (in the case of *they* it happened in the 14th and 15th centuries). But even by the first efflorescence of Middle English literature in the early 13th century, a substantial body of Norse-derived words is already attested well outside the areas principally settled by Scandinavian speakers, including the majority of the nouns, adjectives and verbs cited above (on the South-West Midlands see Dance 2003). The presence of these words is best explained as the result of a diffusion from the areas of primary Scandinavian settlement which began early (it is already evi-denced in Old English texts to some extent), rather than as indicative of any meaningful independent loan traffic in the south and west. Even in the earliest Middle English, then, the difference between the Norse-derived words recorded in northern/eastern as opposed to southern/western dialects is one of more versus less, not an absolute matter of presence versus absence, and their distribution is not as predictable as sometimes assumed. At its clearest there is a division in lexical type, the more ingrained "grammatical" items including pronouns seem-ingly being more resistant to dissemination, but this distinction is increasingly undermined as the period progresses. Neither should the occurrence of Norse-derived vocabulary in medieval texts be interpreted solely (or simplistically) in diatopic terms: as for other elements in the Middle English lexicon (including many items labeled as "dialect words"), geographical origin is sometimes less germane than literary-stylistic tradition. The best-known instance is the vocabu-

lary characteristic of alliterative poetry, whose constituents, sometimes with modified senses and in distinctive collocations, could be diffused widely via the alliterative tradition; Norse-derived examples include Middle English *busken, carpen, cairen* (cp. OIcel *búask, karpa, keyra*), found not only in northern texts but in southern and western alliterative verse like *Piers Plowman* and *Joseph of Arimathie* (see e.g. Turville-Petre 1977: 69–83). But there is a more general principle at work here: the occurrence of Norse-derived lexis in the language of Middle English textual traditions at large stands to be much better understood through the detailed analysis of its paradigmatic and syntagmatic contexts, which is to say the competition between these words and their available synonyms and the stylistic constraints that operate upon it (the classic overview is Rynell 1948; for more focused work see Hug 1987; Dance 2003). Certainly, by the Middle English period (if at all) the simple occurrence of a Norse-derived word in a text from a particular dialect area cannot be regarded as a straightforward index of "Scandinavian influence" on that area, but represents the end-product of a complex series of transmissions. In this light, much work remains to be done collecting and analysing the Norse-derived vocabulary of medieval English (and Scots) texts; despite the inroads made by recent studies such as Dance (2003), Kries (2003), Pons-Sanz (2007 and 2013), the challenge laid down by McIntosh (1978) to gather this material stands to a great extent unanswered.

5 Effects outside the lexicon

Given the influence from Norse noticed above upon the "grammatical" reaches of the English lexicon, it would seem reasonable to expect some effects on morphology (derivational and inflectional) and syntax too. A number of suggestions have been made in the scholarly literature for contact-derived input into the development of these systems, both by the "direct" adoption of Old Norse morphemic material and syntactic features, and as the "indirect" result of simplifications and accommodations brought about by the period of intense contact often posited during the Viking Age. (For some [speculative] attempts to attribute changes in the English phonological system to contact with Norse, see also e.g. Samuels 1985: 277–279).

A good example of a direct Scandinavian import into the stock of English affixes is ME *-laic, -lec* (cp. OIcel *-leikr*, and contrast OE *-lāc*), which is used to derive abstract nouns upon adjectives (e.g. *gōdlec* 'goodness', *frēolec* 'generosity') and is recorded from the South-West Midlands as well as northern and eastern dialects from early in the Middle English period. Norse influence on inflectional morphology is more difficult to trace with confidence. Amongst the most convinc-

ing candidates is the northern/eastern Middle English present participle ending *-ande* (cp. OIcel *-andi* with the usual OE *-ende*); but few if any other suggestions for this category are so compelling, since almost all lack decisive formal evidence of the sort characterized above (Section 4.1). Arguments in favor of features having been borrowed from Norse, or generated (or even significantly propelled) by the contact situation, tend therefore to be reliant on less secure evidence such as dialect distribution within English, and/or to proceed from their supposed typicality as contact phenomena in the context of cross-linguistic studies of language change. A case in point is verbal *-s*, in standard Modern English the ending of the third person singular present (indicative), but available as an ending for other persons in certain other periods/dialects. This is a familiar proposal for Norse derivation, and has started to creep into handbook descriptions as if it were an uncontroversial incidence. But though the early northern distribution of *-s* is suggestive, attempts to derive it directly from Norse morphological material are unconvincing; the most plausible explanation for its earliest recorded usages is as an analogical extension from the native second person singular *-s*, motivations for which include, but are certainly not confined to, morphological simplifications stimulated by the contact situation (see Miller 2002). With such arguments one finds oneself drawn into the more general matter of the (acceleration of) inflectional leveling and loss at the transition between Old and Middle English, including the reduction in case agreement and the decline of grammatical gender. This whole nexus of developments has itself plausibly been interpreted as exhibiting the hallmarks of contact phenomena, sometimes in the context of creolization and other inter-language hypotheses. But one's enthusiasm or scepticism in this connection is dependent to a significant degree on theoretical position, and in some instances on the extent to which one is minded to regard the actuation of reasonably common types of change as in need of specific propulsion beyond the circumstances of "normal" language-internal processes (see Section 3.2 above; and compare Lass [1997: 197–209] on the principles).

Much the same issues naturally bear upon the other developments in medieval English morphology and syntax for which contact with Norse has often been invoked as an explanation. These include (see especially the survey in Miller 2004): the marked increase in productivity of the derivational verbal affixes *-n-* (as in *harden, deepen*) and *-l-* (e.g. *crackle, sparkle*); the rise of the "phrasal verb" (verb plus adverb/preposition) at the expense of the verbal prefix, most persuasively the development of *up* in an aspectual (completive) function; the development of non-introduced relative clauses; the employment of *shall* and *will* as future auxiliaries; certain aspects of v2 syntax (including the development of 'Complement phrase–v2' syntax in northern Middle English); and the general shift to vo order.

6 Summary

This chapter has focused on the contact between speakers of Old English and Old Norse in Viking Age England, and its substantial consequences for English. The circumstances of the contact, most importantly the similarity of the language varieties involved, mean that it is not always easy to recognize its effects, and their extent continues to be debated. They are clearest in the lexicon where, paying due attention to the difficulties of the etymological evidence, we can identify a significant number of probable loans. These words begin to be recorded in the late Old English period, when they cluster in a few conceptual areas (e.g. legal terminology, seafaring), but when a few items expressing more "basic" ideas are already to be found. In Middle English their number and variety increase dramatically, extending to every part of the vocabulary (including pronouns and prepositions). Words derived from Old Norse are especially densely attested in the north and east of England, where the bulk of the contact took place, but many are widely disseminated by the early Middle English period, and patterns of distribution in terms of literary tradition as well as date and dialect require further study. There have also been many plausible suggestions for contact-induced changes beyond the lexicon, particularly as regards morphology and syntax, though contact influence in these domains is often harder still to pinpoint.

7 References

Abrams, Lesley and David N. Parsons. 2004. Place-names and the history of Scandinavian settlement in England. In: John Hines, Alan Lane, and Mark Redknap (eds.), *Land, Sea and Home*, 379–431. Leeds: Maney.

Andersson, Thorsten. 2002. Nordgermanische Sprachen. In: Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich and Heiko Steuer (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops*, 2nd edn., XXI, 289–306. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Bandle, Oscar, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann, and Ulf Teleman (eds.). 2002–2005. *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. 2 vols. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Björkman, Erik. 1900–02. *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*. 2 vols. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Burnley, David. 1992. Lexis and semantics. In: Norman Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language,* Vol. II. *1066–1476*, 409–499. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dance, Richard. 2003. *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts*. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Dance, Richard. 2016. *North Sea currents: Old English and Old Norse in comparison and in contact*. In: Paul E. Szarmach (ed.), *Books Most Needful to Know: Contexts for the Study of Anglo-Saxon England*, 61–84. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

Durkin, Philip. 2014. *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gammeltoft, Peder and Jakob Povl Holck. 2007. *Gemstēn* and other Old English pearls – a survey of early Old English loanwords in Scandinavian. *NOWELE* 50–51: 131–161.

Hines, John. 1998. Archaeology and language in a historical context: The creation of English. In: Roger Blench, and Matthew Spriggs (eds.), *Archaeology and Language II: Archaeological Data and Linguistic Hypotheses*, 283–294. London/New York: Routledge.

Hofmann, Dietrich. 1955. *Nordisch-Englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit.* Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard.

Hogg, Richard and David Denison. 2006. Overview. In Richard Hogg and David Denison (eds.), *A History of the English Language*, 1–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hug, Sibylle. 1987. *Scandinavian Loanwords and their Equivalents in Middle English*. Bern/Frankfurt am Main/New York/Paris: Peter Lang.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1992. Semantics and vocabulary. In: Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language,* Vol. I. *The Beginnings to 1066*, 290–408. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keynes, Simon. 1997. The Vikings in England, c. 790–1016. In: Peter Sawyer (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, 48–82. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Kolb, Eduard. 1965. Skandinavisches in den nordenglischen Dialekten. *Anglia* 83: 127–153.

Kries, Susanne. 2003. *Skandinavisch-schottische Sprachbeziehungen im Mittelalter: der altnordische Lehneinfluss*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.

Lass, Roger. 1997. *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McIntosh, Angus. 1978. Middle English word geography: its potential role in the study of the long-term impact of the Scandinavian settlements upon English. In: Thorsten Andersen and Karl Inge Sandred (eds.), *The Vikings, Proceedings of the Symposium of the Faculty of Arts of Uppsala University, June 6–9, 1977*, 124–130. Uppsala/Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Miller, D. Gary. 2002. The origin and diffusion of English 3 sg -s. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 38: 353–361.

Miller, D. Gary. 2004. The morphosyntactic legacy of Scand-English contact. In: Marcin Krygier and Liliana Sikorska (eds.), *For the Loue of Inglis Lede*, 9–39. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Miller, D. Gary. 2012. *External Influences on English, from its Beginnings to the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nielsen, Hans Frede. 1985. *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages*. 2nd edn. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Nielsen, Hans Frede. 1989. *The Germanic Languages: Origins and Early Dialectal Interrelations*. Tuscaloosa/London: University of Alabama Press.

Parsons, David N. 2001. How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? Again. In: James Graham-Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch, and David N. Parsons (eds.), *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21–30 August 1997*, 299–312. Oxford: Oxbow.

Peters, Hans. 1981. Zum skandinavischen Lehngut im Altenglischen. *Sprachwissenschaft* 6: 85–124.

Pons-Sanz, Sara M. 2007. *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts: Wulfstan's Works, a Case Study*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.

Pons-Sanz, Sara M. 2013 *The Lexical Effects of Anglo-Scandinavian Linguistic Contact on Old English*. Turnhout: Brepols.

EBSCOhost - printed on 2/9/2023 11:48 PM via . All use subject to https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use

Rynell, Alarik. 1948. *The Rivalry of Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in Middle English, Especially* taken *and* nimen *(with an excursus on* nema *and* taka *in Old Scandinavian)*. Lund: Håkon Ohlssons Boktryckeri.

Samuels, Michael L. 1985. The great Scandinavian belt. In: Roger Eaton, Olga Fischer, Willem F. Koopman, and Frederike van der Leek (eds.), *Papers from the 4th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, Amsterdam, April 10–13, 1985*, 269–281. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Townend, Matthew. 2002. *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations Between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Townend, Matthew. 2013. Scandinavian place-names in England. In: Jayne Carroll and David N. Parsons (eds.), *Perceptions of Place: Twenty-first-century Reassessments of English Place-name Studies*, 103–126. Nottingham: English Place-Name Society.

Turville-Petre, Thorlac. 1977. *The Alliterative Revival*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Lucia Kornexl
Chapter 12:
Standardization

Abstract: Despite the ongoing debate about the appropriateness of the concept of standardization in an Old English context, scholars concur that the earliest stage of the English language exhibits clear traces of language regulation. Two major processes that differ in their linguistic character and geographical extension have been identified: (1) the so-called "Winchester vocabulary", a lexical norm taught and practiced at Winchester cathedral school in the late 10th and in the 11th century, and (2) "Standard Old English", an orthographic norm based on the West Saxon dialect, whose regulating effect on spelling and inflectional morphology manifests itself in late Old English manuscripts originating in all parts of England from the late 10th to the early 12th century. The sociolinguistic turn brought about by the Norman Conquest deprived the normative tendencies manifest in Old English of their linguistic foundation and their institutional support. The dearth of vernacular sources in early Middle English and the unregulated character of their language highlight the unique position Old English holds among the vernaculars of early medieval Europe as regards its great appreciation as well as its conscious handling and use by the intellectual elites of Anglo-Saxon England.

Lucia Kornexl: Rostock (Germany)

1 Introduction

> If William the Conqueror had not invaded England in the year 1066, standard English would have looked completely different today. Not only would the enormous French component in the English vocabulary have been considerably smaller, the standard language would in all likelihood have had its origin in a different dialect as well.

Introducing the topic of "Standardisation" in the history of English, Terttu Nevalainen and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006: 271) thus point to the fact that the story of Standard English is markedly discontinuous in chronological as well as in geographical terms. The standardizing process in pre-Conquest times which the above quotation alludes to is subsequently concretized as having "affected the West Saxon dialect, with Winchester as its main cultural centre" (2006: 271). While this statement can be said to be representative of traditional scholarly opinion, Richard Hogg in a handbook article on "Old English Dialectology" published in the same year takes a much more radical stance by concluding "that it is doubtful that there ever existed a variety of West Saxon which could properly be described as forming a 'Standard Old English'" (Hogg 2006: 402).

As will be shown in more detail in Section 2, the history of research into standardization – just like its object of study – is by no means straightforward in its development. Current scholarship is still in search of an adequate descriptive framework for the normative processes operative in Old English that is suitable for capturing the differences between the notions of "standardization" and "a standard" in the earliest period of English as compared to its later stages (cf. Section 3). The major forms of standardization in Old English that have been established – the so-called "Winchester vocabulary" and "Standard Old English" – will be dealt with in Section 4. Further instances of standardization that have been identified are briefly addressed in Section 5.

The divergences in scholarly interpretation become more understandable if we look at the nature of the available material. Due to its unusually rich and varied transmission of vernacular texts, Old English holds a unique position among the Germanic dialects. Still, the uneven distribution of the manuscript evidence over time and place and the restricted nature of the data make an adequate assessment of regularizing processes in Anglo-Saxon times difficult. Impressive as the vernacular legacy of the Anglo-Saxons may be, it is representative of a small and educationally privileged section of society only. Scholars in search of normative tendencies face in fact quite similar problems to those who look for variation, and it is from historical dialectology that research into standardization in Old English has received both major new impulses and serious challenges during the past few decades.

2 Establishing a norm: earlier scholarly approaches to standardization in Old English

The relatively great linguistic homogeneity of the majority of Old English texts preserved in manuscripts dating from c.1000 and later was already recognized by Early Modern English scholars who developed an interest in Anglo-Saxon studies. George Hickes, the author of the first grammar of Old English (1689), based his work (subsequently integrated into his monumental *Linguarum Vet[erum] Septen-trionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archæologicus*, 1703–5), on the "pure, sweet and regular" type of language transmitted by writers in the south-western parts of Anglo-Saxon England ("Hactenus de *Anglo-Saxonico* sermone, quem in auctoribus, qui in australibus & occidentalibus nostræ Britanniæ parti-bus floruerunt, habemus purum, suavem & regularem, tractavimus"; Hickes 1970 [1703–5] 1: 87).

What is now known as "Late West Saxon" lost its status as a reference dialect for the study of Old English when Henry Sweet published his edition of King Alfred's translation of Pope Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* in 1871. With his claim that West Saxon was "fixed and regulated by the literary labours of Alfred and his successors", Sweet (1871: xxxii–xxxiii) triggered off "something approaching a revolution in English philology" (Gneuss 1972: 65). Not only was Alfred's language assigned a normative character and the king seen as the initiator and promoter of an Old English literary standard. Sweet's didactic concerns had far-reaching consequences for the subject as a whole: the perceived Early West Saxon standard was turned into "the standard for Old English" (Wrenn 1933: 68) and in a normalized form became imported into grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks.

A paper by C. L. Wrenn on "'Standard' Old English", presented at a meeting of the Philological Society in 1933, served as a major corrective to this develop-ment. Wrenn demonstrated that the spellings in the few surviving Alfredian manuscripts from the late 9th and early 10th centuries were too varied and too inconsistent to provide a suitable model for a supraregional standard. Instead, Wrenn pointed to Ælfric's much more regulated and regular language as a proto-typical example of "classical Old English", "a common and universally used West-Saxon *Schriftsprache* in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries" (Wrenn 1933: 66, 85).

The issue of an Old English standard was taken up again by Helmut Gneuss in a seminal article published in 1972 under the title "The origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's school at Winchester". Gneuss combined philological expertise with insights from other historical disciplines to provide a more differ-entiated picture of the late Old English "standard literary language" and to locate

the standardizing forces in a specific intellectual and institutional environment. The two normative systems he identified – the so-called "Late West Saxon *Schriftsprache*" and the "Winchester vocabulary" – were both assigned a common origin: the school established by Bishop Æthelwold (963–984) at his cathedral, the Old Minster in Winchester. Though Gneuss (1972: 81) stressed the hypothetical character of this assumption and the need for further research, uncritical reception of this much-quoted publication has led to a frequent confounding of the two norms, which differ in linguistic character, geographical reach, and purpose (cf. Gneuss 1972/1996: Addenda).

3 Theoretical and descriptive frameworks in current research

Standardization is the stepchild of Old English grammar writing, which, for obvious reasons, has primarily sought to document the full amount of dialectal diversity in vernacular texts. Thus standardizing processes have usually not been traced in a systematic way and statements on the nature of particular "standards" are few and far between. Alistair Campbell (1959: 7–8), for instance, in his *Old English Grammar* explicitly acknowledges the existence of an Old English standard, stating that "[a]fter 900 the use of West-Saxon as a standard language reduced the writing of Mercian". Subsequently, however, he takes a much more cautious stance: "Even when West-Saxon had become a well-established literary dialect, and was used *as something of a standard written language*, many manuscripts display a considerable non-West-Saxon element in their orthography and inflexions" (Campbell 1959: 9 [my italics]). In the light of his later position, Richard Hogg in his *Grammar of Old English* describes the emergence of an Old English standard in remarkably unequivocal terms:

> there begins to emerge in the latter part of the tenth century a written standard language or *Schriftsprache* with a stable orthographic system. The *Schriftsprache* is most obviously associated with the works of Ælfric, [...], but is more generally found, and it may be taken as the basis of a standard or classical OE, extending for about the last hundred years before the Norman Conquest (Hogg 1992: 3).

Hogg's later doubts "about the usefulness of the concept of standardization in the Old English context" (Hogg 2006: 414) resulted from a critical examination of the terminological foundations of Old English dialectology. Further theoretical and methodological impulses have come from scholars taking a wider diachronic perspective, who are inevitably confronted with the problem that the various

"standards" identified in the history of English are only comparable to a limited extent. Major attempts to increase the explanatory potential of the terminology involve, for example, the establishment of a distinction between "standard" or "fixed" and "standardized" or "focused" languages, though in practice these categories can be so differently conceptualized that they turn out to be incompatible. Norman Blake (1996: 7–8), for example, defines the difference between "standard" and "standardized" as "largely political and educational": "A standardized language" – i.e., "a language which has achieved a reasonable measure of regularity in its written form" – "remains either regional or personal; a standard language has been adopted widely throughout the country". By contrast, Jeremy Smith's distinction between "standard/fixed" and "standardized/focused" codes is based on linguistic criteria, with medieval written standards being understood as "a sort of mean towards which scribes tend". Smith (1996: 67) suggests that in pre-modern times "we are dealing with a process of normative focusing rather than with a fixed set of forms". His concept of a "standardized" or "focused" norm allows for much more internal variation than the traditional notion of "a standard" is usually thought to permit. Its prestige may make the standardized variety the focus of attraction for other varieties and may thus function as a norm-enforcing mechanism. There is also no inbuilt tendency that necessarily turns a "standardized" into a "standard" variety. The state of "fixity" and normative rigidity, which forms a defining characteristic of Smith's concept of a "standard language", is absent from Blake's scheme. Here the chief locus of linguistic regularization is the "standardized language", while the "standard language", whose "characterizing feature is the political and educational will to impose a standard on the country as a whole" (Blake 1996: 8), may exhibit varying degrees of normative regularity. He therefore regards the development of a "standard language" into a "standardized language" as a natural process, which, however, does not work in reverse (Blake 1996: 7). Such fundamental differences in the understanding of linguistic core concepts inevitably lead to different, at times even contradictory, results in the classification and evaluation of normative developments in Anglo-Saxon England.

Further attempts to take a more theoretically informed approach to standardization in Old English include the application of Haugen's classical four-stage model to "Ælfrician English" (cf. Hogg 2006) and the explanation of the regularizing activities of the "Winchester School" in terms of social network theory (cf. Lenker 2000). While the first and the last step in Haugen's (1966: 933) scheme – (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community – acknowledge the role of society in the construction of a standard, social-network approaches to language change take the nature and strength of community ties as determining factors for the creation,

enforcement, and maintenance of linguistic norms. Following Labov (1994: 78), the standardization of Old English has also been described as a conscious "change from above" and, in James and Lesley Milroy's terms (Milroy and Milroy 2012: 6, 22), as an instance of "suppression of optional variability" resulting from "a need for uniformity that is felt by influential portions of society at a given time" (cf. Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006: 272–273). In practice, though, the systematic testing of the Milroys' extended model, which distinguishes seven stages of implementation, has been reserved for the standardizing processes starting in Late Middle English (cf. Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006: 272–286).

It seems clear that we cannot judge the degree of standardization in Old English by applying modern standards. The search for an appropriate mode of classification does, however, raise important questions: If standardization means "intolerance of optional variability" (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 22), how much tolerance can, or perhaps even must, be built into the standard classificatory systems to accommodate the conditions of a distant period? It is hardly possible to determine exactly how much variation would still have been regarded as "normal" by a norm-conscious Anglo-Saxon writer or any of the scribes and copyists trained in a specific normative system. Yet on the basis of new textual editions which offer material that was not available to former editors (and usually also not to the authors of the major grammars of Old English), and with the help of searchable digitalized corpora, a more detailed and more informed picture of linguistic normativity in Anglo-Saxon England can emerge.

4 Major forms of standardization in Old English

4.1 The historical and cultural background

There is a general consensus that a successful standardization process requires a sufficient amount of institutional support. Most scholars have followed Gneuss (1972) in locating the Anglo-Saxon norm-setting elites primarily in ecclesiastical and monastic circles backed by monarchic governments. The exact role which the chancery – "the royal writing office of the tenth and eleventh centuries, staffed by priests who served in the royal household" (Keynes 2014: 97) – may have taken in this context is not clear; as the production of charters (usually in Latin) and writs (in the vernacular) lay in ecclesiastical hands, the chancery scribes in all likelihood received their training also in religious houses.

Though references to King Alfred and his program of translation are still common in textbooks on the history of English, most scholars agree that both on

linguistic grounds and on the basis of other historical evidence the King cannot be assigned a key role in the standardization of Old English. As "king of the Anglo-Saxons" Alfred no doubt "provided the springboard for his successors of the tenth century to become kings of England" (Yorke 2014: 30). There is, however, still no proof that his literary activities (on which see the sceptical remarks by Godden 2007 and the rejoinder by Bately 2009) "raised West Saxon above the status of a dialect" (Gneuss 1972: 68). Thus, Blake's claim that the dissemination of the Old English translation of the *Pastoral Care* throughout Anglo-Saxon England "marks the start of a standard English, even if the form it took was not at first highly standardised" (Blake 1996: 86) remains highly controversial.

The decisive impetus for the main regulative processes affecting Old English came from the 10th-century revival of monasticism, culture, and learning known as the "Benedictine Reform" (see Stephenson 2015). As suggested by Gneuss (1972), Bishop Æthelwold's cathedral school in the royal capital Winchester is still regarded as a focal place for the cultivation of linguistic norms; recent research has, however, provided a more differentiated picture of the political and cultural environments in which such normative ideas could unfold. In a number of publications, Mechthild Gretsch (cf. especially 1999, 2001) has demonstrated that the formation of the "Kingdom of the English" during the 10th century and the ideological principles guiding the West Saxon rule over all England were essential for the monastic zeal for uniformity to take effect. Gretsch ascribes the origins of the "Winchester vocabulary" to the formative years of Benedictine reformed monasticism when we find the chief protagonists of the religious reform movement, Æthelwold and Dunstan (the later archbishop of Canterbury, 959–988) at the court of King Æthelstan (reigned 924–939) and in joint study at Glastonbury Abbey (c.939–954). The orthographic standardization of Old English is assigned to the concluding years of King Edgar's reign (959–975), a period characterized by a close cooperation between the monarch and the leading monastics, and by strong normative tendencies on both sides. The early 970s saw such important regulative acts as the introduction of a new currency by the king ("King Edgar's reform of coinage") and the promulgation of the *Regularis concordia* – a monastic customary that was to secure a uniform observance in Benedictine houses throughout the country. The reformers' interest in standardizing the use of the written medium, which will be discussed in the following sections, also manifests itself in a systematic use of two different types of scripts: Anglo-Caroline minuscule for Latin texts and Anglo-Saxon minuscule for texts in the vernacular (see the brief overview in Gretsch 2003: 36–39).

4.2 The "Winchester vocabulary"

The most prominent example of lexical standardization in Old English is the so-called "Winchester vocabulary", which Gneuss (1972: 78) described as "a specific and planned vocabulary, prevalent in one school and restricted to a certain area" (see also Sauer and Waxenberger, Chapter 9). As the late 10th- and early 11th-century texts in which this lexical norm can be traced are all in some way connected to Winchester, he dubbed them "the Winchester group" (1972: 76). Its core component is the work of Ælfric of Eynsham (c.950–c.1010), the most outstanding product of the famous cathedral school, who in various contexts defined himself as "alumnus Æthelwoldi" 'a pupil of Æthelwold', or "Wintoniensis alumnus" 'a pupil of Winchester' (cf. Wilcox 1994: 7). As Lenker (2000: 238) argues, the fixation of lexical choices for certain key concepts by the "Winchester circle" makes the "Winchester vocabulary" "a model case of cultural and linguistic focusing in a tightknit network".

In an extensive study, Walter Hofstetter (1987; conveniently summarized in Hofstetter 1988) investigated the degree to which this regulated vocabulary permeates Old English literature. His testing material consisted of thirteen word groups from different semantic fields, with each word group comprising three types of "synonyms", i.e. lexical items "which can, in certain contexts, fulfil the same semantic function" (Hofstetter 1988: 143): "A words", reflecting Winchester usage, "C words", which were avoided there, and "B words", which show an indistinctive distribution and therefore proved unsuitable for classifying the relevant texts. Thus, for 'virtue' in the religious or moral sense (Lt. *virtus*) the Winchester word (A) is *miht*, the non-Winchester words (C) are *cræft*, *mægenðrymm*, *strengð*, and *strengu*, and the "B word" occurring in texts with either affiliation is *mægen*. In sum, the study yielded two large groups of texts (see Hofstetter 1988: 151–156) which by their marked preference for or avoidance of "Winchester words" were apt to prove the existence of this lexical norm and to define the limits of its sphere of influence in a more precise way. It seems not surprising that Ælfric's work – the norm for the norm – scored highest among the texts characterized by Winchester usage (98.3%). What begs for an explanation, however, is the relatively modest rating of the main Old English work produced by his revered teacher – Æthelwold's translation of the Benedictine Rule (62.1%). Hofstetter's (1988: 142, 157) argument that this text as well as the Old English interlinear gloss to the Royal Psalter – another work associated with Æthelwold – show the Winchester usage *in statu nascendi* has been expounded by Gretsch (1999, 2001: 45–46), who sees the leading reformer experimenting with the relevant lexis already during his studies at Glastonbury in the 940s or early 950s.

Confirmation of a regularized lexical usage linked to Winchester has also come from studies in Old English word geography such as Elmar Seebold's (1974) examination of the Old English equivalents of Lt. *sapiens* and *prudens*. One of the four groups of Old English texts of southern provenance which Seebold established, the so-called "Benediktiner-Gruppe", corresponds to Gneuss's "Winchester group". In contrast to Gneuss (1972: 76), who ascribed the distinctive choice of vocabulary discernible in these texts to "stylistic considerations", Seebold (1974: 330–331) interpreted the lexical divergences between his "Benedictine group" and the other three groups as manifestations of particular South English subdialects. The question if and to what extent the "Winchester vocabulary" is rooted in specific local or regional varieties is still a disputed matter. Peter Kitson, whose dialect studies are based mainly on an analysis of vernacular charter boundaries, has repeatedly pointed out that "'Winchester usage' in the words covered by it cuts across ordinary dialect distributions" (Kitson 1995: 103 n. 20).

The current state of scholarship suggests that there is probably no single answer to the question about the origin of the "Winchester vocabulary". In fact the proponents of "Winchester usage" seem to have drawn on various types of lexical material – including genuine dialect terms such as *oga* 'terror' – and adapted it to their needs. Most of the "Winchester words" occur in religious writings; they can thus be assigned to a theological register or show specific usages in accordance with Christian doctrine (cf. e.g. the nominal concepts 'martyr' and 'martyrdom', 'virtue', and 'pride', and verbal concepts such as 'to correct' and 'to repent'). Even though no uniform picture about the character of the "Winchester vocabulary" has emerged so far, research has revealed a number of principles that appear to have guided the selection, formation, and appropriation of particular items.

As Gretsch (2001: 57) has pointed out, it is essential to keep in mind that Winchester usage was "introduced and established on the foil of Latin". The "Winchester group" consists primarily of prose translations of Latin texts or Old English interlinear glosses. The teaching of standard Latin-Old English equivalents and the practice of glossing exercised at Æthelwold's school in Winchester may thus have exerted a considerable influence on the fixation and enforcement of this educated usage. In a fashion characteristic for Old English translation procedures, the "Winchester vocabulary" extends into the field of word-formation. Three examples may suffice to demonstrate the principles of this regulated usage, which in a number of cases turns out to be much more specific than the polysemous Latin models.

Gelaðung 'church = the whole Christian community' (derived from OE *laðian* 'to invite, summon') and *cyþere* 'martyr' (derived from OE *cyþan* 'to proclaim, testify, confess') can be classified as "etymologizing translations" which – in

accordance with current glossematic techniques – bring out the original meaning of the lemmata they render (Lt. *ecclesia* and *martyr*; cf. Gretsch 2001: 54–55). In addition, these neologisms were probably coined with "pastoral considerations" in mind: in employing such transparent formations "the reformers probably wanted to express concepts central to the Christian religion more vividly by the use of native terms than could be done with the corresponding loanwords *cirice* and *martir*" (Hofstetter 1988: 160). A conscious creative act of a different type can be assumed in the case of *wuldorbeag* (*wuldor* 'glory' + *beag* 'ring'), which renders Lt. *corona* in the metaphorical sense 'crown of glory'. The usage of this term not only secured a greater degree of semantic precision than the alternative terms *beag* (a "C word") and *cynehelm* (a "B word"), which were also employed in a secular sense (Hofstetter 1988: 160). According to Gretsch (2001: 58, 66–68), this "flamboyant coinage" also echoes Æthelwold's predilection for the Latin "hermeneutic style" and the spirit of the time.

Gretsch's plea for an augmentation of the acknowledged set of "Winchester words" by other words "revealing the philological preoccupations of Æthelwold's school" (Gretsch 2001: 48) has led her into the field of technical terminologies. Her study embraces the language of liturgy, whose use is attested in "Glastonbury-Winchester circles", and Ælfric's grammatical terminology, which can be shown to have gained some currency outside Winchester circles (Gretsch 2001: 48–53). Though consistency in use was no doubt an important aim for the practitioners of Winchester usage, their "concern for style" and "elegant variation" seems to have admitted of a greater freedom of choice than traditional notions about the rigidity of this norm usually concede. Such motivated "deviations from the Winchester standard" (Hofstetter 1988: 161 n. 113) have especially been demonstrated for Ælfric (see also Gretsch 2001: 46, 51, 63, with further bibliographical references).

4.3 The Late West Saxon *Schriftsprache* and the concept of "Standard Old English"

Though "Standard Old English" and the "Winchester vocabulary" share some common traits as regards their institutional foundations, their assumed promoters and their underlying motivation, they clearly differ in linguistic character and scope. The *locus classicus* for successful standardization in past ages was – and still is – spelling. "Standard Old English" is commonly defined as an orthographic norm based on the Late West Saxon dialect, but attested in late 10th-, and especially 11th-century English manuscripts throughout the country. Its designation as a "*Schriftsprache*" implies that no claim can be made that this formal

written code also gained a wider currency as a spoken prestige norm. As the conservative character of the standardized spellings masked changes in pronunciation, the distance between symbols and sounds must have continuously increased even in the dialectal home of the standard. The distinctive features of "Standard Old English" have chiefly been located in the graphemic representation of stressed vowels and in morphosyntax: the preservation in writing of full vowels in inflectional endings largely conceals the phonetic reduction of unaccented vowels to schwa /ə/. As deviant spellings reveal, this levelling process must have been fairly progressed in late Old English speech.

It is now commonly agreed that the highly regulated orthography that shows up in late Old English texts is no direct continuation of what has variously been termed "Early West Saxon" or "Alfredian Old English". Hogg (2006: 402) has tentatively assigned this variety the status of an "earlier, but ultimately less successful, focused language". The doubtful nature of the term "Alfredian Old English" from a norm-oriented perspective has been demonstrated by Gretsch (2000). A substantial part of the small "Alfredian" corpus of four manuscripts represents a later stage of transmission, approximately from the 920s, and shows scribal and linguistic links to the Old English gloss to the Junius Psalter, itself a "West-Saxonized" version of the Mercian Vespasian Psalter gloss. Gretsch (2001: 77) postulates that "by the time of King Edward the Elder (899–924) a type of literary language had developed which, although basically West Saxon, tolerated Anglian forms and words, and would thus have been England's first supra-dialectal language, reflecting the political order of its time, the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons".

In a similar vein, the relationship between "Late West Saxon", "Standard Old English", and "Ælfrician Old English" has recently come under closer scrutiny, not least because an indiscriminate use of these concepts carries the danger of circular reasoning. There is a general consensus that, like all Old English dialect labels, "Late West Saxon" is an abstraction which has to allow for a considerable degree of internal variation. As has already been pointed out in Section 3, this is to some extent also true for its written form, which is frequently equated with "Standard Old English" without further qualification. "Standard Old English" in turn becomes personalized in the term "Ælfrician Old English", because the prolific Old English prose writer is commonly regarded as a model practitioner of the Late West Saxon *Schriftsprache*. Doubts about the status of "Ælfrician Old English" as a standard language may thus lead to quite radical conclusions: after applying Haugen's (1966) criteria for a fully developed standard to Ælfric's language (albeit in a rather cursory way), Hogg (2006: 402) calls into question the whole idea of a "Standard Old English" that grew out of a particular variety of West Saxon (cf. quotation in Section 1). In his opinion, Ælfrician Old English only

fulfils Haugen's first criterion – selection and use in an important center (the Old Minster at Winchester) – but fails to meet the other essential requirements of a standard, i.e., codification by some external authority, elaboration by extending into new, in this case non-religious, areas, and nationwide acceptance (Hogg 2006: 401).

Though one may prefer to classify Ælfric's writings as attestations of "a focused language rather than a standard language" (Hogg 2006: 401), the outstanding regularity of his usage and his great concern for linguistic correctness are beyond question. There is proof that Ælfric supervised the production of copies of his two series of *Catholic Homilies* (cf. Gretsch 2003: 41–42, with bibliographical references). His own correcting hand has been identified in the earliest surviving manuscript of the First Series (London, British Library, Royal 7. C. xii). Summarizing the results of her examination of the inflectional forms, Connie Eble (1970: 85) describes "the West Saxon language in Royal" as "regular, conservative, and to some extent artificial – all characteristics generally associated with standard languages". To what extent Ælfric himself and the manuscripts of his works came to function as linguistic norm-setters has still to be researched in detail. In this context we must not underrate the norm-enforcing influence exerted by his Latin-Old English *Grammar* (ed. Zupitza 2003 [1880]). Judging by the number of surviving manuscripts, there was at least one copy available in every library in 11th-century England, and the text remained in active use for some time after the Norman Conquest (Gneuss 1996: 11). Inflectional morphology – a core field of orthographic standardization in late Old English – is the centre of grammatical attention in this standard textbook. As with the "Winchester vocabulary", the prestigious model of Latin as a highly standardized written language has probably served as an important source of inspiration for Anglo-Saxon scholars to regularize their vernacular (cf. Gretsch 2001: 76–77; 2003: 60; 2009: 118–122).

Recent systematic research into Ælfric's own forms as compared to scribal forms in Ælfrician manuscripts in and outside his sphere of influence has yielded valuable information about individual spelling practices and competing orthographic norms. Examining manuscript variants recorded in the electronic "Inventory of script categories and spellings in eleventh-century English" (https://dhcommons.org/projects/inventory-script-categories-and-spellings-eleventh-century-english), Scragg (2006: 185) concludes that "Ælfric's scribes, although for the most part very consistent in their copying, are not necessarily transmitting his spellings". Two further pilot studies into the linguistic transmission of the *Lives of Saints* and a selected example from the *Catholic Homilies* conducted by Gretsch (2003, 2006) provide some indications that "inflexional morphology was considered the more important branch of Standard Old English" (Gretsch

2003: 60) and show Ælfric in a number of cases experimenting in search of a stable norm. As regards the relationship of "Ælfrician Old English" and "Standard Old English", Gretsch (2006: 172) tentatively assumes that "what Ælfric wrote was not 'Standard Old English' *per se*, but 'Ælfric's Standard Old English', and that this existed side by side with other standards, though perhaps none as systematic as his was".

"Standard Old English *per se*" turns out to be a surprisingly under-researched subject. We still lack a comprehensive survey of the linguistic forms attested in late 10th- and 11th-century Old English manuscripts that could tell us more about patterns of normative adherence and margins of tolerance in texts that were newly produced or copied from older models in particular scriptoria or by individual scribes. Gretsch's survey on "Standard Old English and its acceptance" in a number of non-Ælfrician manuscripts (Gretsch 2001: 69–75) reveals a varying degree of conformity to the supposed standard. That Late West Saxon served as a centripetal prestige norm that attracted users of other varieties can, for example, be demonstrated by the attempts of Farman, the late 10th-century Mercian glossator of part of the *Rushworth Gospels* (*Ru*[1]), to adapt his own usage to West Saxon forms, which resulted in a number of hyperadaptations (cf. Smith 1996: 26–29). Texts in the Late West Saxon standard orthography continued to be copied after the Norman Conquest well into the 12th century – often very faithfully, as for instance the annals for 1070–1121 in the *Peterborough Chronicle* show (cf. Gretsch 2001: 71–72). However, without the necessary institutional support and cultural grounding this "artificial" norm was doomed to die.

5 Further instances of standardization

Besides the major processes outlined above, scholars have identified a number of non-West Saxon writing traditions connected with certain dialect areas, institutions, or manuscript groups. Alistair Campbell (1959: 11) has emphasized the difficulties in tracing such local norms, because even the evidence we have from known centers can be quite contradictory. He notes, for example, a "steady tendency towards the development of a local *Schriftsprache*" in the 9th-century Kentish charters, while later documents from this area are often characterized by "the wide use of a south-eastern *koine*, which had gained prestige by use at Canterbury" (1959: 11). Specifically referring to lexical conventions, Elmar Seebold (1989: 59–60) finds the "church language" ("*Kirchensprache*") of Canterbury characterized by a conscious attempt to avoid the use of regionalisms in order to secure general understandability – quite in contrast to Winchester, which tended to promote local usage.

The most enduring of the locally restricted norms that have been postulated by scholars is the so-called "Mercian literary language". It has been traced in the 9th-century *Vespasian Psalter* gloss, in the post-Conquest *Life of St Chad*, and – as a later Middle English reflex – in the 13th-century AB-language. Hogg (2006: 404) describes it as a "focused language" that represents "an attempt to rationalize spelling traditions to a much greater extent than elsewhere".

A special case of regulated usage is the language of Old English poetry, which came under the standardizing influence of Late West Saxon in the process of transliteration around the turn of the millennium. This specialized language is "relatively homogeneous" (Godden 1992: 491) in its mixed character. Whether this justifies the assumption of a "general Old English poetic dialect" is a moot point (see Fulk, Chapter 13).

6 Summary

Despite its long and impressive scholarly history the subject of standardization in Old English still calls for further work on the theoretical and on the practical side to define the exact nature of the various "standards" that have been identified, their dissemination and their acceptance. Investigations into the details of regulated usage on the basis of an extended range of data have confirmed the existence of normative systems, while at the same time demonstrating the need for a less rigid conceptualization of their homogeneity and the consistency of their application. As Richard Hogg (2006: 414) pointed out, "it is quite possible that what we are witnessing in the West Saxon area during the tenth century is something more complex but also more interesting than has been previously thought".

7 References

Bately, Janet. 2009. Did King Alfred actually translate anything? The integrity of the Alfredian canon revisited. *Medium Ævum* 78: 189–215.

Blake, N. F. 1996. *A History of the English Language*. Houndmills: Macmillan.

Campbell, A. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Eble, Connie. 1970. *Noun Inflection in Royal 7.C.XII, Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Gneuss, Helmut. 1972. The origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's school at Winchester. *Anglo-Saxon England* 1: 63–83. (Reprinted with Addenda in: Helmut Gneuss, *Language and History in Early England*, no. I. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996.)

Gneuss, Helmut. 1996. *English Language Scholarship: A Survey and Bibliography from the Beginnings to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies.

Godden, Malcolm. 1992. Literary language. In: Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. I. *The Beginnings to 1066*, 490–535. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Godden, Malcolm. 2007. Did King Alfred write anything? *Medium Ævum* 76: 1–23.

Gretsch, Mechthild. 1999. *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gretsch, Mechthild. 2000. The Junius Psalter gloss: Its historical and intellectual context. *Anglo-Saxon England* 29: 85–121.

Gretsch, Mechthild. 2001. Winchester vocabulary and Standard Old English: The vernacular in Late Anglo-Saxon England. The T. N. Toller Memorial Lecture 2000. *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 83: 41–87.

Gretsch, Mechthild. 2003. In search of Standard Old English. In: Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker (eds.), *Bookmarks from the Past. Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, 33–67. Munich: Fink.

Gretsch, Mechthild. 2006. A key to Ælfric's Standard Old English. In: Swan (ed.), 161–177.

Gretsch, Mechthild. 2009. Ælfric, language and Winchester. In: Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (eds.), *A Companion to Ælfric*, 109–137. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Haugen, Einar. 1966. Dialect, language, nation. *American Anthropologist* 68: 922–935.

Hickes, George. 1970 [1703–5]. *Linguarum Vet[erum] Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archæologicus*. (2 volumes in 1.) Hildesheim: Olms. (First published Oxford: Theatrum Sheldonianum.)

Hofstetter, Walter. 1987. *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch. Untersuchungen zur geographischen und zeitlichen Verbreitung altenglischer Synonyme*. Munich: Fink.

Hofstetter, Walter. 1988. Winchester and the standardization of Old English vocabulary. *Anglo-Saxon England* 17: 139–161.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. 1. *Phonology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hogg, Richard. 2006. Old English dialectology. In: Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los (eds.), *The Handbook of the History of English*, 395–416. Oxford: Blackwell.

Keynes, Simon. 2014. Chancery, royal. In: Lapidge et al. (eds.), 97–98.

Kitson, Peter. 1995. The nature of Old English dialect distributions, mainly as exhibited in charter boundaries. Part I: Vocabulary. In: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Medieval Dialectology*, 43–135. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Labov, William. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Vol. 1. *Internal Factors*. Oxford/Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Lapidge, Michael, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (eds.). 2014. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. 2nd edn. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Lenker, Ursula. 2000. The monasteries of the Benedictine Reform and the "Winchester School": Model cases of social networks in Anglo-Saxon England? *European Journal of English Studies* 4: 225–238.

Milroy, James and Lesley Milroy. 2012. *Authority in Language. Investigating Standard English*. 4th edn. London/New York: Routledge.

Nevalainen, Terttu and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade. 2006. Standardisation. In: Richard Hogg and David Denison (eds.), *A History of the English Language*, 271–311. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scragg, Donald. 2006. Ælfric's scribes. In: Swan (ed.), 179–189.

Seebold, Elmar. 1974. Die ae. Entsprechungen von lat. *sapiens* und *prudens*: Eine Untersuchung über die mundartliche Gliederung der ae. Literatur. *Anglia* 92: 291–333.

Seebold, Elmar. 1989. Winchester und Canterbury: Zum spätaltenglischen Sprachgebrauch. *Anglia* 107: 52–60.

Smith, Jeremy J. 1996. *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change*. London: Routledge.

Stephenson, Rebecca. 2015. *The Politics of Language: Byrhtferth, Ælfric, and the Multilingual Identity of the Benedictine Reform*. Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press.

Swan, Mary (ed.). 2006. *Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday*. (Leeds Studies in English 37.) Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds.

Sweet, Henry (ed.). 1871. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*. (Early English Text Society, OS 45, 50.) London: Oxford University Press.

Wilcox, Jonathan (ed.). 1994. *Ælfric's Prefaces*. Durham: Department of English Studies.

Wrenn, C. L. 1933. "Standard" Old English. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 32: 65–88.

Yorke, B. A. E. 2014. Alfred. In: Lapidge . (eds.), 29–30.

Zupitza, Julius (ed.). 2003 [1880]. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar Text und Varianten*. 4th edn., with an introduction by Helmut Gneuss. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann. (First published Berlin: Weidmann.)

Robert D. Fulk
Chapter 13:
Literary Language

Abstract: Old English as it is preserved represents a variety of literary standards in competition, often within a single text. A range of registers is evident in both poetry and prose, and many of the features characteristic of an elevated style are to be associated with the Anglian dialects (Mercian and Northumbrian), due to the political and cultural ascendancy of the Anglian kingdoms in the early portion of the period. The language of nearly all of the preserved poetry is a *koine*, chiefly West Saxon in character but with a strong admixture of orthographic, morphological, and syntactic features from other dialects. In varying degrees, such non-standard characteristics may also be found in prose. Lexis is keyed to register, as well, there being many items of strictly poetic vocabulary (some of them occasionally used for rhetorical effect in prose) and a smaller number of strictly prosaic words. Figures of rhetoric, some Latinate, are frequent in poetry, and in prose they are especially common in homilies.

1 Introduction

A remarkable range of registers is detectable in the language of Old English literature. Even when discontinuous discourse, such as various sorts of lists and glosses on Latin texts, is excluded, the language of prose varies widely in its linguistic features (and at multiple levels of analysis), from the telegraphic and obscure expressions of legal and penitential literature to the complex, hypotactic structures of some Alfredian prose. The elevated features of poetic literary language are far more distinctive than those of prose. Yet in poetry, too, there is an obvious range of registers, from the relatively prosaic syntax and lexis of the

Robert D. Fulk: Bloomington (USA)

Alfredian *Meters of Boethius*, along with a great deal of later verse, to the intricate periods of poems composed in the classical manner, i.e. in the most traditional and archaic-seeming style, especially *Beowulf*. A consideration that complicates the analysis of literary language is that a large portion of the Old English corpus is translated from Latin. This complication is of greater significance in regard to prose, since poetic translations tend to be freer. But even in poetry, certain syntactic patterns are likely to be due to the influence of Latin models. No Latin model is required, however, for the marked differences between the language of verse and of prose, as many of the relevant features of Old English poetic discourse are observable also in languages cognate with Old English.

2 The language of poetry

There exist four codices, informally known as the Junius Manuscript, the Vercelli Book, the Exeter Book, and the *Beowulf* Manuscript, in which most of the approximately 30,000 surviving lines of Old English poetry are preserved. The poems range in length from 2 to 3,181 lines, in date of composition from the 7th century to the early 12th (though few poems can be dated securely), in quality of execution from doggerel to the sublime, and in subject across a range of categories including lyric, liturgy, medical charms, saints' lives, scripture, philosophy, proverbs, history, and heroic legend. Nearly all the poetry is preserved in a variety of the Late West Saxon dialect that displays a strong admixture of features normally encountered in other dialects, particularly Anglian (Mercian and Northumbrian). Almost certainly, most of the surviving poems were composed in Anglian and subsequently rendered into West Saxon. But West Saxon scribes plainly allowed Anglian forms in poetry that they did not allow in prose, and even some poems known to have been composed in Wessex, including those by King Alfred the Great, contain some Anglian forms. Therefore, it is generally assumed that the language of verse is a *koine*, a poetic dialect native to no one place, like Homeric Greek (Sisam 1953: 119–139). The reason for the admixture of particularly Anglian elements is the greater prestige and association with ancient traditions that attached to Anglian linguistic forms, since Northumbria and Mercia were the chief centers of power and culture in the early years of the Anglo-Saxon period. Accordingly, Mercian influence is also apparent in West Saxon and Kentish prose of the 9th century (A. Campbell 1969 [1959]: 9–11). (See further Sauer and Waxenberger, Chapter 9.)

2.1 Phonology

Examples of Anglian features in the poetic *koine* are the following:
- retraction (rather than breaking) of *æ* before covered (i.e., anteconsonantal) *l* (as in *cald*, WSax. *ceald* 'cold');
- *æ* as the front mutation of the vowel thus produced (as in *wælm*, EWSax. *wielm*, LWSax. *wylm* 'fervor');
- West Mercian (and Kentish) raising of *æ* to *e* (as in *meþel*, WSax. *mæþel* 'council');
- Anglian (and Kentish) *e* as the front mutation of *ea* before covered *r* (as in *ermðu*, EWSax. *iermðu*, LWSax. *yrmðu* 'misery');
- Anglian (and Kentish) *ē* as the reflex of Germanic *ē¹* (as in *dēd*, WSax. *dǣd* 'deed');
- Anglian (and Kentish) *ē* as the front mutation of *ēa* (as in *gēman*, EWSax. *gīeman*, LWSax. *gȳman* 'observe');
- Anglian (and Kentish) failure of diphthongization by initial palatal consonant (as in *gelp*, EWSax. *gielp*, LWSax. *gylp* 'boast'); and
- breaking in *seolf* 'self' (WSax. *self, silf, sylf*).

Distinctively Kentish are:
- *e* as the front mutation of *æ* broken to *ea* before covered *l* (e.g. in *elde*, EWSax. *ielde*, LWSax. *ylde*, Angl. *ælde* 'men');
- graphic confusion of *ĕ* and *ў̆* due to their merger (as in *senne*, elsewhere *synne* 'sin');
- *eo* as the front mutation of *io* before covered *r* (as in *beorhto*, EWSax. *bierhtu*, LWSax. *byrhto*, Angl. *birhtu* 'brightness'); and
- *ĭo* for *ĕo* (as in *wiorðan*, WSax. *weorðan* 'become').

Almost all of the phonological dialect features of the *koine* are also found in poems of West Saxon as well as of Anglian composition (see Fulk 1992: 283–308, with references). They are, however, more common in poems generally regarded as Anglian in origin. This is particularly true of Anglian smoothing, which monophthongized back diphthongs before (presumably) palatal consonants (as in *ferh*, WSax. *feorh* 'life'). It is also true of back mutation (diphthongization of a front vowel due to the appearance of a back vowel in the following syllable), which in verse occurs in many more environments than it does in West Saxon prose (as in *riodon*, WSax. *ridon* ᴘʟ 'rode').

Phonology naturally plays a fundamental role in the construction of verse form, to which alliteration is essential. The poetic line comprises a pair of verses, in which the onset of the first fully stressed syllable in the first verse (and, in many

types, a second such onset) is identical to that of the first fully stressed onset in the second verse (in which a second alliterating onset is disallowed). Under the rules of alliteration, any vowel alliterates with any other vowel, while a consonant alliterates only with an identical consonant. An exception is that [j] and [g] (both spelt <g> and deriving, in part, from [ɣ]) are matched, as are [tʃ] and [k] (both spelt <c> and deriving from [k]). It is only in compositions of the second half of the 10th century and later that the different sounds represented by identical orthographic symbols are no longer consistently matched: in *The Battle of Maldon* (991 or later), for example, [j] alliterates only with [j], and [g] only with [g]. Furthermore, in poetry of all dates, each of the graphemic clusters <sc> (= [ʃ]), <st>, and <sp> alliterates only with itself, and not with <s> alone (see Minkova 2003).

Prosody also plays a key role in the construction of verse form. Under the most widely credited analysis of the poetic meter (Sievers 1885, 1893, and other approaches based on Sievers's views; for a concise account, see Pope 2001: 129–158), at least three levels of stress play a role (full stress, half-stress, non-stress), and syllable quantity is also crucial. In respect to prosody, a salient feature of the language of poetry is the extent to which meter indicates the preservation of archaic phonological patterns. Thus, for example, a verb like *sēon* 'see', from earlier **seohan*, may demand scansion as two syllables as late as the end of the 9th century, though loss of *h* and subsequent vowel contraction must have occurred much earlier. Similarly, a word like *hleahtor* 'laughter' may require scansion as a monosyllable, as if it had not undergone syllabification of the final resonant, a process that (as regards *r*, at least) antedated any extant Old English manuscript. The most plausible explanation is not that the relevant changes were incomplete even late in the Old English period but that the traditional language of verse preserved phonological values that had long since changed. There are, however, limits to the conservative power of verse tradition, and some archaic features must be regarded almost certainly as genuinely indicative of the composition of some poems long before the late 10th-century versions in which most verse is recorded (see the discussion in Fulk et al. 2008: clxv–clxvii).

2.2 Morphology

Anglian morphological features in verse are much more restrictively distributed than phonological ones: morphological differences are considerably more pronounced than phonological between poems known to have been composed south of the Thames and poems of presumably Anglian provenance. An exception to this generalization is the use of unsyncopated forms of the second and third persons singular of strong verbs (as in *bindeþ*, WSax. *bint* 'binds'), of long-

stemmed weak verbs of the first class (as in *cȳðeð*, WSax. *cȳðð* or *cȳð* 'reveals'), and of preterit/passive participles of long-stemmed weak verbs of the first class with stems ending in an oral dental stop (as in *lǣded*, WSax. *lǣdd* or *lǣd* 'led'). Unsyncopated forms, alternating with syncopated ones, are to be found even in compositions of West Saxon and Kentish origin (though syncopated forms do not, conversely, appear in poems of Anglian origin). Most other Anglian features are found rarely or not at all in southern compositions, and so they are more likely indications of dialect origins than features of the *koine*. But because most poetry by far would appear to be Anglian in origin, these features might be said generally to characterize the language of poetry. Some of the most readily recognizable features are these:

– consistent use of the verb stem *lifi*(*g*)- rather than WSax. *libb-* 'live';
– first person singular present indicative ending *-u/o* rather than WSax. *-e;*
– preterit of *cuman* 'come' as *cwōm*(-) rather than WSax. *cōm*(-);
– preterit plural *sēgon* (WSax. *sāwon*) and participle *segen* (WSax. *sewen*) to *sēon* 'see';
– unstressed preposition *fore* 'before' (WSax. *for*);
– preterit plural *dēdon* 'did' (WSax. *dydon*), sometimes detectable only metrically behind the WSax. orthography;
– nominative and accusative plural *fēondas* 'enemies' and *frēondas* 'friends' (EWSax. *fīend*, *frīend*); and
– accusative pronouns *mec* 'me', *þec* 'you (SG)', *incit* 'you (DUAL)', *ūsic* 'you (PL)' (WSax. *mē*, *þē*, *inc*, *ūs*).

The tradition-bound language of verse also preserves certain morphological archaisms that are rare in or missing altogether from prose, regardless of dialect. One of these is so-called uninflected infinitives after *tō*, for example *tō friclan* 'to request' (usually *tō friclanne*), though uninflected usage is frequently detectable only on a metrical basis, due to scribal alteration to the more usual, inflected form (Sievers 1885: 255–256, 312, 482). Another is the use of genitive and dative *gehwǣm* 'each' in reference to feminine nouns, again sometimes apparent only in scansion, since scribes may substitute analogical LWSax. *gehwǣre*. Limited almost exclusively to the poem *Beowulf* are *i*-stem genitive plurals like *Deniga* 'Danes' (beside newer, analogical *Dena*) and spellings of (-)*þēo* 'slave' (mostly in names) without final *w*.

2.3 Syntax

It should be noted that every verse (i.e., half-line) tends to be a syntactically complete constituent (Minkova 2003: 40–41). It is uncommon, for example, for an attributive adjective to modify a noun in the next verse. The syntax of verse is more difficult to analyze than that of prose, in part because the much more extensive use of apposition and the more frequent suppression of pronominal subjects and objects in poetry render ambiguous the relation of many clauses to one another. But this ambiguity is effected chiefly by the nonconformity of verse to normal prose constraints on what sorts of constituents may appear in the crucial second position of clauses. In prose, the second position in principal clauses (after, among many possibilities, a subject, which may be phrasal, or after an adverbial element, such as a prepositional phrase) is normally occupied by a finite verb, while in dependent clauses the second position is normally occupied by any element other than a finite verb, which very commonly appears finally (as in New High German). Thus, for example, *þā wæs hē ārisen* is independent, 'then he had arisen', while *þā hē ārisen wæs* is dependent, 'when he had arisen'. Attempts to analyze the syntax of verse according to the same patterns of word order have met with little acceptance (to the arguments of Andrew 1940, 1948, cf., e.g., Mitchell 1985, II: 88–94). And as the example illustrates, the ambiguity is fed by the homonymy of many adverbs and conjunctions, e.g. *þonne* 'then/when', *þǣr* 'there/where', and *nū* 'now/now that'.

Aside from such ambiguity of clause dependencies, the most striking syntactic feature of verse pertains to the treatment of certain words of variable stress, referred to as *particles*, which occupy an intermediate prosodic position between fully stressed content words and unstressed clitics. The particles comprise chiefly finite verbs, pronouns, and adverbs of low lexical salience (e.g. demonstrative adverbs, such as *þā* 'then' and *þǣr* 'there'). In prose, the position of such particles (aside from finite verbs) is relatively unconstrained, while in verse there is a strong tendency for them to cluster at or near the beginning of clauses. Precise formulation of the constraint depends upon both syntactic and prosodic considerations, since particles, in order to remain unstressed, must appear in the first sequence of metrically unstressed syllables in a clause, either before the first fully stressed element (e.g. unstressed adverb *þā* 'then' in *þā wæs on burgum* 'then there was in fortresses', with the first stress on *burgum*) or immediately after it, when the stressed element is not preceded by any unstressed syllable (e.g. in *bugon þā tō bence* '(they) bent then to (the) bench', i.e., 'they sat down', with stress on *bugon*). Otherwise, poetic meter shows, the particle must be stressed, as in *ālēdon þā* '(they) laid then', in which prior stress falls on the syllable *-lē-* as well as on *þā*. This principle is referred to as the *Satzpartikelgesetz*, or Kuhn's first law,

after its discoverer Hans Kuhn (1933: esp. 8–11). *Beowulf* is the most conservative poem in a Germanic language in regard to the law, containing fewer than ten exceptions, not all of which are secure. (See Fulk et al. 2008: 324. Kuhn's laws have provoked considerable controversy. For references, see Momma 1997. Studies that have appeared subsequently include Getty 1997, Orton 1999, Mines 2002, and Suzuki 2002. A particularly perceptive defense of the first law is offered by Donoghue 1997: 71–76.)

Even clitics (a category that includes prepositions, pronominal adjectives, coordinating conjunctions, and most prefixes) may bear stress in verse under certain conditions. Thus, a preposition is stressed when it does not stand immediately before its object (e.g. *Scedelandum in* 'in Skåne', *Beowulf* 19b; see Lapidge 2006) or, occasionally, if its object is a pronoun (e.g. *and æfter þon* 'and after that', *Phoenix* 238b, with initial stress on the last two words). Likewise, a pronominal adjective is stressed when postposed (e.g. *grundwong þone*, literally 'ground-plain that', *Beowulf* 2588a). Normally, however, clitics remain unstressed, with the further restriction that the unstressed opening of a clause in verse must not comprise only clitics; it must contain at least one particle. The principle is referred to as the *Satzspitzengesetz*, or Kuhn's second law. It is violated more frequently than Kuhn's first law: thus, Orton (1999: 298) finds some thirteen reliable instances of exceptions in *Beowulf*, including, for example, *þone cwealm gewræc* 'avenged that killing' (107b), which begins a clause.

A small number of syntactic features characteristic of the Anglian dialects are also common in verse. The most familiar of these are the use of the accusative case with the preposition *mid* 'with' (only the dative is thus used in West Saxon) and the masculine gender of *sæ* 'sea' (it is usually feminine in West Saxon). Except in late compositions, the poets aim for economy in the use of grammatical words such as demonstratives, pronouns and conjunctions (especially *ond* 'and'), which are deployed much less often than in prose. Verbs of motion are also frequently omitted when an auxiliary will suffice.

In view of the opposition between paratactic and hypotactic styles discussed below (Section 3.2), it is worthy of note that the syntax of verse, even disregarding its frequent appositions, can be appreciably complex. An example, (1), is *Beowulf* 1441b–1454, describing the hero's arming for combat with Grendel's mother. (*Beowulf* is cited from Fulk et al. 2008, except that overpunctuation has been omitted. Other poetic texts are cited from Krapp and Dobbie 1931–53, except that macrons have been added to indicate vowel quantities.)

(1)   *Gyrede hine Bēowulf*
eorlgewǣdum,   nalles for ealdre mearn;
scolde herebyrne   hondum gebrōden,
sīd ond searofāh,   sund cunnian,
sēo ðe bāncofan   beorgan cūþe,
þæt him hildegrāp   hreþre ne mihte,
eorres inwitfeng,   aldre gesceþðan;
ac se hwīta helm   hafelan werede,
sē þe meregrundas   mengan scolde,
sēcan sundgebland   since geweorðad,
befongen frēawrāsnum,   swā hine fyrndagum
worhte wǣpna smið,   wundrum tēode,
besette swīnlīcum,   þæt hine syðþan nō
brond ne beadomēcas   bītan ne meahton.

(*Beowulf* 1441b–1454; Fulk et al. 2008)

'Beowulf appareled himself with manly costume, cared not at all for his life; his war-mail-shirt, interlinked by hand, broad and cunningly decorated, was to make trial of its swimming ability, [that armor] which knew how to defend the bone-chamber [i.e. body] so that no war-grasp, no malicious assault of an angry [enemy], could harm the life in his breast; but the bright helmet protected the head, [the helmet] which was to stir up the lakebed, seek out the intermixed waters, adorned with treasure, enclosed by a curtain of chain-mail, just as a weaponsmith had designed it in days of old, wondrously fashioned it, embellished it with boar-images, so that afterward no swords or battle-blades could penetrate it'.

The passage combines typical poetic apposition and asyndetic parataxis with various kinds of syntactic dependencies, including participial phrases, relative clauses, and clauses of result and manner. Many similar passages could be cited.

2.4 Lexis and semantics

Even more than its formal features of meter and alliteration, what distinguishes Old English verse from prose is its store of poetic vocabulary. Much of this is poetic in the sense that it is used exclusively, or nearly so, in verse, but some is poetic in the sense that the meanings of a word in verse may differ from those found in prose (see Frank 1986; Griffith 1991; Cronan 2003). Thus, for example, *ford* in prose has its modern meaning, while in poetry (it appears only in *Beowulf*) it seems to refer to the sea; and prior to the reign of Knut (1016–1035), *eorl* in prose

referred only to a Scandinavian nobleman, while in verse it meant simply 'man' (McKinnell 1975). Poetic simplices are generally assumed to be words that passed out of everyday vocabulary (like *erst*, *ope*, and *falchion* in Modern English), and this assumption is lent support by the fact that some poetic words in Old English have cognates that are exclusively poetic also in cognate traditions, for example *þengel* 'prince' and *hæle*(ð) 'hero' (cf. the cognates, Old Icelandic *þengill* and *halr*, both poetic). This analysis is surely correct: most Old English poetry is deeply traditional, aiming to summon up remembrance of a Germanic heroic age, and so antique vocabulary is designed to lend poetic authority to compositions by associating them with ancient traditions (cf., for example, *billow* and *main* for 'wave' and 'sea' in 19th-century poetry). Nouns and adjectives, it has been noted, are the chief varieties of poetic vocabulary; not many verbs or adverbs can be called poetic (Godden 1992: 501).

Increasing the store of poetic vocabulary is the extensive use of compound nouns and adjectives. As in the other Germanic languages, compounds are also common in prose, where they generally have a lexicalized, semantically fixed quality, while in verse, compounding is more spontaneous, many poetic compounds appearing as hapax legomena, such as *heals-gebedda* 'consort (lit. neck-bedfellow)' and *sadol-beorht* 'saddle-bright'. Compounds of a particularly metaphoric nature are referred to as *kennings* (though not all kennings are compounds); examples are *hron-rād* 'whale-road', i.e. 'ocean', and *feorh-hūs* 'soul-house', i.e. 'body'. In addition to enlarging the fund of poetic diction, compounding serves the purpose of facilitating alliteration. This is evident in, for example, the example (2):

(2)   *Gamele ne mōston*
    hāre heaðorincas,   hilde onþēon,
    gif him mōdheapum   mægen swīðrade.
                    (240b–242; Krapp and Dobbie 1931–53, Vol. 1: 99)
    'The elderly were not permitted, hoary battle-warriors, to serve in combat, if for them, fit in mind, their strength had diminished'.

Here *heaðo-rincas* 'battle-warriors', as an appositive to *gamele* 'the elderly', is not required by syntax or sense, but it serves to provide the alliteration on *h* that makes possible the off-verse *hilde onþēon* 'serve in combat', which is a narrative essential. Likewise, *mōd-heapum* 'fit in mind' is not essential information, but it provides the alliteration on *m* that is required by the off-verse *mægen swīðrade* 'their strength had diminished', demanded by sense and syntax. As a result of the use of such alliterative devices, frequent apposition is a notable feature of verse syntax (see Robinson 1985). The alliterative function of compounding is espe-

cially transparent in the interchange of ethnic names like *Beorht-Dene* 'Brilliant-Danes', *Gār-Dene* 'Spear-Danes', *Norð-*, *Sūð- Ēast-*, *West-Dene* 'North-, South-, East-, West-Danes', and so forth, which are used without distinction of meaning (see Niles 1983: 138–151). Such examples illustrate the nature of formulaic language in Old English verse. That is, whereas formulas in classical epic are fairly rigid, set expressions (like Homeric *rhododáktulos Ēôs* 'rosy-fingered Dawn') designed to fill a particular metrical requirement, Old English formulas are more flexible, being adaptable to various metrical and alliterative needs.

2.5 Pragmatics and rhetoric

It seems impossible to prove that there is any difference between the pragmatics of verse and of prose. Yet they may seem different, because representations of speech (especially representations not translated from Latin) are commoner in verse. Due to the formality of poetic discourse, dialogue usually bears less of a resemblance to linguistic interaction than to set speeches. The best poetic source of dialogue is *Beowulf*, and yet its testimony is impaired by the likelihood that its dialogue is designed, for poetic effect, to reflect a gradual disintegration of communicative ability as the poem progresses (Bjork 1994).

In a corpus of about 30,000 poetic lines in a dead language, it is of course difficult to discern any distinctively Anglo-Saxon principles of pragmatics. Nonetheless, Shippey (1993), after examining speeches in *Beowulf* that illustrate the operation of such pragmatic principles as the Cooperative Principle of Grice (1975), the Politeness Principle of Leech (1983), and the Face Threatening Act studied by Brown and Levinson (1987), argues convincingly for a Conflictive Principle that characterizes Old English heroic speech:

> In all verbal exchanges, ensure that one's own worth is stated and acknowledged. If it is acknowledged by hearer, be prepared to acknowledge hearer's worth. If not, respond with an appropriate degree of reciprocal non-acknowledgement (Shippey 1993: 121).

The pattern is discernible in many speeches in *Beowulf*, including the hero's encounters with the shore watch (237–300), with Wulfgar (333–355), and, for the first time, with Hrothgar (407–455).

Certain rhetorical patterns, more likely of classical than of native inspiration, are common to both prose and verse, for example polysyndeton, as in example (3):

(3) *Hēr bið feoh lǣne,   hēr bið frēond lǣne,*
     hēr bið mon lǣne   hēr bið mǣg lǣne.
                    (*The Wanderer* 108–109; Krapp and Dobbie 1931–53, Vol. 3: 137)
     ('Here wealth is fleeting, here a friend is fleeting, here a man is fleeting, here
     a kinsman is fleeting'.

Likewise, it has been maintained that poetry is pervaded by elaborate patterns of
ring-composition, whereby paired compositional elements successively enclose
similarly paired elements, in a pattern like the layers of a halved onion (see, e.g.,
Niles 1983: 157–162), a necessarily literate pattern, and one previously claimed for
many classical compositions, including Homeric and Virgilian epic.

A few rhetorical patterns are peculiar to verse, or at least are commoner
there, and thus they are likely to reflect native Germanic compositional habits.
The classical poetic style is characterized by a high proportion of enjambed
lines, in which there is no major syntactic division between one line and the
next, and clauses tend to begin directly after the mid-line caesura, as does, for
example, the sentence beginning at *Exodus* 240b, quoted above (for references,
see Calder 1979: 37–39). The pattern contrasts markedly with early Scandinavian
verse, which is strophic, and with late and relatively prosaic (i.e., non-classical)
Old English verse, such as *Instructions for Christians* and *Judgment Day II*,
which, with their predominantly end-stopped lines, are rhetorically more
monotonous. Notable also in verse of the classical style is the pattern of closing
a passage with an off-verse that is a complete sentence, providing a kind of
aural punctuation. For example, the praise of God that closes *Andreas* is capped
by a succinct assessment, the last verse in the poem (1722b): *Þæt is æðele cyning*
'That is a noble king'. Cf. *Þæt wæs gōd cyning* (*Beowulf* 11b, 2390b), serving a
similar function (see Fulk 1996: 77–78). Also, contrast is a controlling principle
in Anglo-Saxon thought. In poetry it produces a common rhetorical structure
wherein a negative proposition (often introduced by *ne* 'not') is invoked in order
to affirm its immediately following positive opposite (introduced by *ac* 'but'), for
example in *The Battle of Maldon* 81–83, where reference is made to Ælfhere and
Maccus, defenders of the ford, (4)

(4) *þā noldon æt þām forda   flēam gewyrcan*
     ac hī fæstlīce,   wið ðā fȳnd weredon
     þā hwīle þe hī wǣpna   wealdan mōston.
                    (*The Battle of Maldon* 81–83; Krapp and Dobbie 1931–53, Vol. 6: 9)
     ('who would not at the ford take flight, but they firmly made defense against
     the enemy, the while that they could wield weapons'.

Not infrequently in verse (though rarely in prose), the positive opposite is omitted from the comparison, resulting in a kind of understatement (litotes or meiosis), as when the poet of *Beowulf* expresses the pleasure of humans at the death of Grendel: *Nō his līfgedāl / sārlic þūhte secga ænegum* 'His parting from life did not seem distressing to anyone' (841b–842). But understatement may take many forms, as when, in *Beowulf*, it is said of a sea-beast killed by an arrow, *hē on holme wæs / sundes þē sænra* 'in the sea it was slower at swimming' (1435b–1436a; see Bracher 1937).

3 The language of literary prose

The corpus of non-poetic Old English is varied in its textual types, including wisdom and travel literature, penitentials, medical books, chronicles, laws, homilies and works of theology, letters, and many shorter medical recipes, prognostics, liturgical and penitential texts, inscriptions, records, and charters, as well as countless glosses. In literary studies, it is no longer the norm to distinguish literary from other types of texts, but for linguistic purposes the distinction is a useful one, since the language of texts composed as continuous prose differs markedly from, for example, that of books of law, penance, and medicine, which were composed for reference rather than sustained reading (and hence are often cryptic in their terseness), and from that of interlinear glosses, which were designed to provide guidance as to sense rather than to be read through as full-fledged translations, even when every word of a text was glossed. For present purposes, then, the discussion will be limited to literary prose, which comprises chiefly homilies, letters, and works translated from Latin literary prose, such as the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*, Bede's ecclesiastical history, travel literature, and the works of the Alfredian program of translation (Orosius, Boethius, Gregory's *Cura pastoralis*, Augustine's *Soliloquia*, and the prose Psalms). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* may also be considered literary.

Once literary prose is thus defined, it can be seen that no prose of any substance survives in a dialect other than West Saxon. Literary texts nonetheless conform to one of three West Saxon types: (1) those in Early West Saxon (the Alfredian texts just listed); (2) those in standard Late West Saxon, which dialect is defined by its conformity to the standards of Æthelwold and his student Ælfric; (3) other Late West Saxon texts, which may simply lack many of the defining features of the Æthelwoldian dialect (as do, for example, most copies of works by the homilist and jurist Wulfstan), but which may show a remarkable admixture of such seemingly Anglian and Kentish features as characterize most of the poetry. Texts of the last sort include nearly all the anon-

ymous homilies (although the nonstandard features vary considerably in variety and incidence in this group). Anglian features are also particularly pronounced in *Solomon and Saturn I* & *II*, *Scriftboc*, the *Herbarium* and *Medicina de quadrupedibus*, *Lacnunga*, *Bald's Leechbook*, the translation of Boniface's letter to Eadburga, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*, and *The Marvels of the East*. Less frequent Anglian features are evident in the Worcester and Peterborough Chronicles, and in the translation of capitula 1–16 of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv. Mercian features are especially frequent in some earlier texts: Bishop Wærferth's translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, the Old English Bede, and the various fragments of the *Old English Martyrology* (see Fulk 2008).

The reasons for this admixture of nonstandard features is disputed: it may be due to original composition wholly or partly in another dialect, with subsequent "translation" into West Saxon (as is certainly the case with, for example, the Old English Bede: see J. Campbell 1951), but it may be due to regional or social variation within West Saxon, to competition among different artificial, literary standards or focused varieties, to register, to scribal idiosyncrasies, or to a combination of such factors.

3.1 Phonology, lexis, and rhetoric

The homilies of Ælfric (Clemoes and Godden [eds.] 1997–2000; Pope [ed.] 1967–68) make up a large part of the prose corpus, and a significant number of these are composed in an alliterative prose that bears a superficial resemblance to verse. It is divisible into lines, but it lacks a definite metrical structure, its vocabulary is rarely poetic, apposition plays no significant role, and the placement and number of alliterative staves are freer than in verse. Ælfric himself seems not to have regarded this as poetry, as he refers at one place to composing *on ūre wīsan* 'after our manner', as opposed to *on lēoðwīson* 'in verse'. (The two phrases are used, respectively, in Ælfric's letter for Sigeweard and in the 'Excusatio dictantis' appended to his homily on the deposition of St. Martin, no. xxxiv in the second series of *Catholic Homilies*.)

The less numerous homilies of Ælfric's contemporary Wulfstan are also marked by a heightened rhetorical style. They make frequent use of pleonastic binomials like *gesǣlig and ēadig* 'prosperous and fortunate' and *unwīsdom and swicdom* 'foolishness and error', which sometimes alliterate (e.g. *habban and healdan* 'to have and to hold'), though they more frequently rhyme (e.g. *stalu and cwalu* 'theft and killing' and *sacu and clacu* 'strife and injury'). Wulfstan also favors certain kinds of Latinate parallelisms (see Bethurum 1957: 91) and frequent

intensifiers, such as *ǣfre* 'ever', *ealles tō swīðe* 'all too much', and *oft and gelōme* 'again and again'.

The appearance of Anglian vocabulary in anonymous prose (e.g. *nymðe* 'unless' and *oferhygd* 'pride') possibly indicates the Anglian origins of the text. When, on the other hand, Anglian words and forms are to be found in the West Saxon writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan, they are presumably a mark of elevated, quasi-poetic diction. Thus, for example, Ælfric uses the Anglian verb *lifigan* in *ðone lifigende God* 'the living God' and synonymous expressions, whereas everywhere else he uses the West Saxon verb *libban*. He also uses the poetic words *metod* (in reference to God) and *heolstor* 'darkness', and some others (see Godden 1980: 217–219; Frank 1994). Conversely, just as there was a body of exclusively poetic diction, some vocabulary was plainly regarded as prosaic (most of it, probably, neologistic) and unsuited to verse. Examples are *cēpan* 'seize', *cnapa* 'child', *fultum* 'assistance', *macian* 'make', *namian* 'name', and *wīfmann* 'woman'. The occurrence of prosaic words in verse (e.g. *hopian* 'hope' in *Judith*) is now generally taken to be a sign of a poem's late composition (see Stanley 1971).

3.2 Syntax

The syntax of texts that are (presumably) not translated from Latin can be remarkably varied. The style of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* generally gives the impression of simplicity, rarely deviating from a pattern of short paratactic clauses, most commonly conjoined by *and*. This style is no doubt largely dictated by the content: the annals record events in sequence, with little or no analysis or comment. By contrast, the syntax of King Alfred's more literary epistle prefaced to his translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura pastoralis* can be quite complex, with multiple varieties of hypotaxis, as in this much-remarked example, (5):

(5) *Forðȳ mē ðyncð betre, gif īow swǣ ðyncð, ðæt wē ēac sumæ bēc, ðā ðe nīedbeðearfosta sīen eallum monnum tō wiotonne, ðæt wē ðā on ðæt geðīode wenden ðe wē ealle gecnāwan mægen, and gedōn swǣ wē swīðe ēaðe magon mid Godes fultume, gif wē ðā stilnesse habbað, ðæt eall sīo gioguð ðe nū is on Angelcynne frīora monna, ðāra ðe ðā spēda hæbben ðæt hīe ðǣm befēolan mægen, sīen tō liornunga oðfæste, ðā hwīle ðe hīe tō nānre ōðerre note ne mægen, oð ðone first ðe hīe wel cunnen Englisc gewrit ārǣdan; lǣre mon siððan furður on Lǣdengeðīode ðā ðe mon furðor lǣran wille and tō hīeran hāde dōn wille.* (King Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* 6–15; Sweet [ed.] 1871: 6)

'Therefore it seems to me better, if it seems so to you, that we also translate certain books – those that are most necessary for all people to know – into that language that we can all understand, and arrange (as we very easily can with God's help, if we have the [necessary] respite from war) that all the sons now in England of those free men who have the wherewithal that they can be devoted to it, be committed to schooling, for the period that they cannot [be put] to other employment, until the time that they can well read writing in English; afterward, let those be taught further in the Latin language whom one would like to teach further and place in a higher [i.e. ecclesiastical] order'.

The subject of the sentence is an elaborate nominal clause beginning with the first *ðæt*, in which various subordinate clauses are embedded, including a number of relative clauses, adverbial clauses of time and manner, a conditional clause, and a clausal complement dependent on the notion of sufficiency that is implied but unexpressed in *spēda* 'wherewithal'. On the whole, Old English lends itself better to this degree of complexity than does Modern English, as represented by the translation. For example, whereas the construction 'sons [...] be committed to schooling' in the translation is awkward because of the length of the intervening material containing modifiers, relative clause, and clausal complement, there is no ambiguity of structure in the Old English. The only noticeable sign of possible awkwardness in the Old English is the pleonasm (eliminated in the translation above) of *ðæt wē ēac sumæ bēc* [...] *ðæt wē ðā on ðæt geðīode wenden*, literally 'that we also certain books [...] that we them into that language translate', occasioned by the intervening relative clause. But the seeming awkwardness is perhaps due only to the avoidance of such pleonasms in Modern English. Old English was plainly less rigidly Latinate in its syntactic logic (e.g. requiring multiple negation in negative clauses containing indefinite elements), and the structure of the Old English appears both idiomatic and transparent.

The native and natural quality of such syntax is suggested by the fact that literature translated from Latin does not normally reach such a degree of complexity, and, in general, the less slavishly dependent a translation is (like, e.g., Alfred's translation of Boethius), the likelier the syntax is to be complex. Conversely, translations often evince syntactic structures that are more likely to reflect Latinate syntax than native idiom. Particularly noteworthy are dative constructions resembling the Latin ablative absolute, for example *swāpendum windum* 'when the winds were blowing' (Bede 3, 14.202.14, rendering *ventis ferentibus*), though these do not always translate Latin ablatives (see Mitchell 1985, II: 914–937, with references).

4 Summary

The language of Old English poetry is understandably more formal and artificial than that of prose, especially in its lexis and syntax, though graphemic features corresponding to Anglian phonological traits also attest to the elevated register of the genre, given the historical prestige of the Anglian communities. Certain pragmatic and rhetorical features are discernible more plainly in verse than in prose, probably because of the dialogic and heroic mode of much poetry. In regard to prose it is more difficult to distinguish native features of literary language because most prose is translated from Latin. Even though nearly all prose in the sense employed here is preserved in the Early or Late West Saxon dialect, it is far from uniform in nature, much of it showing an admixture of non-West Saxon features that correlate most probably to both register and textual history (i.e., derivation from Anglian originals), though regional variation may also have played a role. Much of this variation is plainly intentional, and the crafted styles of such writers as Ælfric and Wulfstan attest to the value attached to varieties of literary language neither wholly poetic nor prosaic.

5 References

Andrew, S. O. 1940. *Syntax and Style in Old English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Andrew, S. O. 1948. *Postscript on Beowulf*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bethurum, Dorothy (ed.). 1957. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bjork, Robert E. 1994. Speech as gift in *Beowulf. Speculum* 69: 993–1022.

Bracher, Frederick. 1937. Understatement in Old English poetry. *PMLA* 52: 915–934.

Brown, Penelope, and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calder, Daniel G. 1979. The study of style in Old English poetry: A historical introduction. In: Daniel G. Calder (ed.), *Old English Poetry: Essays on Style*, 1–65. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Campbell, A. 1969 [1959]. *Old English Grammar*. Reprinted from corrected sheets of the 1st edn. Oxford: Clarendon.

Campbell, Jackson J. 1951. The dialect vocabulary of the Old English Bede. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 50: 349–372.

Clemoes, Peter and Malcolm Godden (eds.). 1979–2000. Ælfric*'s Catholic Homilies*. 3 vols. (Early English Text Society, S. S. 5, 17, 18.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cronan, Dennis. 2003. Poetic meanings in the Old English poetic vocabulary. *English Studies* 84: 397–425.

Donoghue, Daniel. 1997. Language matters. In: Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (ed.), *Reading Old English Texts*, 59–78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frank, Roberta. 1986. "Mere" and "sund": Two sea-changes in *Beowulf*. In: Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred Robinson (eds.), *Modes of Interpretation in Old English*

Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield, 153–172. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Frank, Roberta. 1994. Poetic words in Late Old English prose. In: Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (eds.), *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, 87–107. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fulk, R. D. 1992. *A History of Old English Meter*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fulk, R. D. 1996. Rhetoric, form, and linguistic structure in early Germanic verse: Toward a synthesis. *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 1: 63–88.

Fulk, R. D. 2008. Anglian dialect features in Old English anonymous homiletic literature: A survey, with preliminary findings. In: Susan Fitzmaurice and Donka Minkova (eds.), *Studies in the History of the English Language IV: Empirical and Analytical Advances in the Study of English Language Change*, 81–100. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fulk, R. D., Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles (eds.). 2008. *Klaeber's "Beowulf" and "The Fight at Finnsburg"*. 4th edn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Getty, Michael. 1997. Was finite verb placement in Germanic prosodically conditioned?: Evidence from Beowulf *and* Heliand. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 96: 155–181.

Godden, Malcolm. 1980. Ælfric's changing vocabulary. *English Studies* 61: 206–223.

Godden, Malcolm. 1992. Literary language. In: Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. I. *The Beginnings to 1066*, 490–535. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grice, H. P. 1975. Logic and conversation. In: Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Speech Acts*, 41–58. New York: Academic Press.

Griffith, M. S. 1991. Poetic language and the Paris Psalter: The decay of the Old English tradition. *Anglo-Saxon England* 20: 167–186.

Krapp, George Philip and Eliott Van Kirk Dobbie (eds.). 1931–53. *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records: A Collective Edition*. 6 vols. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kuhn, Hans. 1933. Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 57: 1–101.

Lapidge, Michael. 2006. An aspect of Old English poetic diction: The postpositioning of prepositions. In: John Walmsley (ed.), *Inside Old English: Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell*, 153–180. Oxford: Blackwell.

Leech, Geoffrey. 1983. *The Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

McKinnell, John. 1975. The date of *The Battle of Maldon*. *Medium Ævum* 44: 121–136.

Mines, Rachel. 2002. An examination of Kuhn's second law and its validity as a metrical-syntactical rule. *Studies in Philology* 99: 337–355.

Minkova, Donka. 2003. *Alliteration and Sound Change in Early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.

Momma, H. 1997. *The Composition of Old English Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Niles, John D. 1983. *Beowulf: The Poem and Its Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Orton, Peter. 1999. Anglo-Saxon attitudes to Kuhn's laws. *Review of English Studies* N. S. 50: 287–303.

Pope, John C. (ed.). 1967–68. *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*. 2 vols. (Early English Text Society, O. S. 259–60.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pope, John C. (ed.). 2001. *Eight Old English Poems*. 3rd edn. rev. by R. D. Fulk. New York: W. W. Norton.

Robinson, Fred C. 1985. *"Beowulf" and the Appositive Style*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Shippey, T. A. 1993. Principles of conversation in Beowulfian speech. In: John M. Sinclair, Michael Hoey, Gwyneth Fox, and Malcolm Coulthard (eds.), *Techniques of Description: Spoken and Written Discourse: A Festschrift for Malcolm Coulthard*, 109–126. London: Routledge.

Sievers, Eduard. 1885. Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 10: 209–314, 451–545.

Sievers, Eduard. 1893. *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle: Niemeyer.

Sisam, Kenneth. 1953. *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Stanley, E. G. 1971. The prosaic vocabulary of Old English verse. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 72: 385–418.

Suzuki, Yasuko. 2002. The prosody and syntax of light elements in West Germanic alliterative verse: With special reference to *Beowulf*. In: Irmengard Rauch and Gerald F. Carr (eds.), *New Insights in Germanic Linguistics II*, 225–250. New York: Peter Lang.

Sweet, Henry (ed.). 1871. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*. 2 vols. (Early English Text Society, O. S. 45, 50.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kathryn A. Lowe

Chapter 14:
Early Textual Resources

Abstract: This introduction to the resources available for the history of English focuses on the nature of the evidence and the difficulties associated with individual text types. The chapter focuses on the Old and Middle English periods which perhaps pose the greatest challenge to those who are not specialists in these areas. An overview of the resources available for the early periods highlights general problems in terms of uneven diatopic and diachronic coverage, the uncertainties of dating and localization, together with broader issues relating to manuscript production and scribal practice. Topics surveyed include (for the Anglo-Saxon period) runic and non-runic inscriptions, place- and personal-names, glosses and glossaries, charters, and literary texts. Sections include a discussion of each text type with relevant bibliography, together with consideration of the principles underpinning their study. Texts surviving from the early Middle English period are similarly assessed in terms of their value for the historical study of English, as are selected resources for later Middle English. There is emphasis throughout on methodology and the importance of primary research.

Kathryn A. Lowe: Glasgow (UK)

1 The corpus

The corpus of Old English is comparatively small (under 3,000,000 word tokens). This manageable size permits full concordancing, and a fully searchable version has been available online (http://www.utoronto.ca/pages/pub/web-corpus.html) from 1997 as part of the *Dictionary of Old English* project (DOE) (Cameron et al. [eds.] 2016) essentially replacing the microfiche versions of 1980 and 1985 (high-frequency words). The importance of this resource to the study of Old English cannot be overestimated. The historical linguist working with the corpus, however, needs to be aware of certain issues relating to its production.

A potential problem concerns the treatment of variant texts. As Koopman (1992: 607) observes, there is some inconsistency in the inclusion of texts that appear in more than one version: thus only one version of Bede, but two of the Alfredian translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. Lexical variants are generally supplied, but only occasionally syntactic, morphological, or phonological variants; this is unsurprising given the origins of this resource as a by-product of the Dictionary project, but does mean that the concordance, while comprehensive, is incomplete. A futher concern of relevance here, noted by Jenkyns (1991: 385) is the DOE policy of expanding abbreviations silently. Other issues relate to the varying quality of the editions used as base texts: it turned out not to be practical to undertake the level of checking of editions against manuscripts initially proposed; reviewers have also noted some lapses in recording editorial emendations. However, the DOE policy of checking dictionary citations against editions means that the Corpus undergoes continual refinement as the Dictionary itself progresses.

The corpus of Old English may not be extensive, but there exists a considerable variety of text types. The range is well summarized by DOE's editor, Antonette diPaolo Healey:

> The body of surviving Old English texts encompasses a rich diversity of records written on parchment, carved in stone and inscribed in jewelry. These texts fall into several categories: prose, poetry, glosses to Latin texts and inscriptions. In the prose in particular, there is a wide range of texts: saints' lives, sermons, biblical translations, penitential writings, laws, charters and wills, records (of manumissions, land grants, land sales, land surveys), chronicles, a set of tables for computing the moveable feasts of the Church calendar and for astrological calculations, medical texts, prognostics (the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the horoscope), charms (such as those for a toothache or for an easy labour), and even cryptograms. (http://doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html; last accessed 5 January 2017)

Some historical linguists appear to assume that one text is broadly equivalent to another in terms of the evidence it supplies; texts are too frequently mined for individual forms generally without discussion of their status, value, or circum-

stances relating to their production; the tendency to take such shortcuts is no doubt exacerbated by the way in which online search engines present their results. Further sections in this chapter elaborate on some of the issues relating to individual text types and their study.

2 Dialect materials and methodology

Old English dialectology as a discipline is compromised by the fact that diatopic investigation is hampered by the patchy survival of texts and their diachronic diversity. Crowley's summary of the situation makes for depressing reading in this regard:

> There is no evidence for Northumbrian of the ninth century and the early tenth; for Mercian before c.750, or of the later two thirds of the eleventh century; for Kentish before c.800 and after c.1000; and for West Saxon before c.850. Relatively few witnesses date before 950. Those that do are quite important, because texts after 950 are usually affected by the standard Late West Saxon literary language. (Crowley 1986: 103)

Crowley here references the four traditionally-assigned distinct dialect areas for which linguistic materials survive: Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon, and Kentish. Such divisions stem from political structures deriving ultimately from the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. This approach is conceptually flawed because, as Hogg (1988; 1992: 4) has importantly observed, the texts that survive are to be associated not with such political but rather ecclesiastical structures. He proposes (Hogg 1992: 4) instead an alternate classification based on dioceses, although does not adopt this taxonomy in his own work. There is much, however, to commend such an approach (or one broadly similar to it) not least because it coheres better with modern dialectological theory such as that which informs *The Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME) (McIntosh et al. 1986) and *The Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME) (Laing 2013–).

The study of Old English dialectology has developed in an altogether strange way: as a whole and in general, Old English has a limited, defined, and accessible corpus, but the basic groundwork required to establish dialectal witnesses appears not to have been undertaken or at least is nowhere set out adequately or in full. This has hampered not just phonology but also word-geographical studies (see Kastovsky 1992: 338). There is nothing, therefore, that corresponds either to volume 1 of LALME (McIntosh et al. 1986) or Laing (1993), despite the fundamental nature of these works.

For example, no consensus exists as to what constitutes even the basic witnesses of non West Saxon dialects, in particular Kentish and Mercian. The

texts highlighted by Crowley (1986: 102) as "substantial, fairly well dated and localized, and linguistically consistent" (a phrase replete with difficulties) for these dialect areas are, for Mercian, two charters and, for Kentish, nothing. This statement is at variance with the source material identified by both Campbell (1959) and Hogg (1992), although they are not in full agreement either. Behind these discrepancies lie serious issues relating to matters of transmission, status, and localization which are of great consequence to, but too often overlooked by, the linguistic historian. In consequence, historical linguists working in this period tend endlessly to redeploy examples derived from Campbell and Hogg, or, at best, use only a small subset of source material potentially available to them.

3 Kentish: a case study

The case study of Kentish demonstrates some of the difficulties with preliminary assessment of the material. In terms of charters, the small number of differences between Hogg's (1992) and Campbell's (1959) lists is largely due to the inclusion or omission of early (pre 9th-century) charters, written in Latin, and which therefore only include names. Hogg does not formally list such texts, although he does adduce onomastic evidence in his grammar. For Crowley (1986: 101), such evidence is "non-textual" and therefore not considered primary. Both Hogg and Campbell list the later (10th-century) material surviving in MS BL Cotton Vespasian D. vi (comprising the texts short-titled as KtHy, KtPs and CollGl 13). Only Campbell makes it clear that these three texts appear in the same manuscript, but does not explain that only the two poetic texts (KtHy, KtPs) are in the same hand. Both Hogg and Campbell note that the language of the texts is mixed which accounts for their omission from Crowley.

In fact, neither Hogg nor Campbell has done justice to the charter material surviving from Kent. Lowe (2001) lists a series of ten single-sheet charters from Kentish charters written in English, 14 Latin diplomas with some significant element of English (generally in the shape of boundary clauses) and 42 Latin diplomas. Most of these contain only place- or personal names, but a few additionally feature some contemporary (or near-contemporary) vernacular endorsements. As a whole, the material amounts to well in excess of four thousand words, and should form the basis of serious future study into the dialect. Similar work needs to be undertaken for other varieties of Old English.

4 Charters

Campbell, working in 1959, assembled his corpus of pre-10th-century charters from Sweet (1885), and it seems as though Hogg (1992) essentially followed suit, despite the publication in the meantime of Sawyer (1968), which has revolutionized charter study. Now available in revised and updated form online, the "electronic Sawyer" (eSawyer, see http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html; last accessed 8 July 2017) lists each charter, together with information about the manuscript(s) in which it is preserved, the monastic archive it belongs to, and a summary of scholarly opinion. The bibliography is strong on historical and palaeographical information, rather less so on linguistic work. The most recent items currently date to 2007; more up-to-date bibliography may be found by consulting the relevant sections in the journal *Anglo-Saxon England*. Most vernacular charters have been reliably edited by Harmer (1914; 1989 [1952]), Whitelock (1930) and Robertson (1956 [1939]). The ongoing British Academy/Royal Society Anglo-Saxon Charters project (since 1968 see www.britac.ac.uk/anglo-saxon-charters; last accessed 3 July 2017) seeks to reedit the entire corpus (which numbers over 1,500 complete texts) of charters on an archive-by-archive basis with full commentary. To date, 19 volumes have appeared. For the others, one is still obliged to rely on the 19th-century scholarship of Thorpe (1865), Earle (1888), Kemble (1839–48) and Birch (1885–99). These texts (particularly those of the first three) need to be used with caution; Kemble, for example, sporadically normalized texts which do not survive in contemporary form.

A trawl through eSawyer reveals that under a fifth of charters survive in anything like their original form; the rest are preserved in cartularies (mostly dating from the 13th through to the 15th centuries) or in antiquarian transcripts. Although many of the single sheets are of known date and provenance and therefore seem to offer the tempting prospect of supplying a matrix of anchor texts, there is a limit to their value as evidence for several reasons. The first echoes the problem with the chronological and geographical spread observed in the Old English corpus at large. Very few charters survive from northern archives, for example, and the majority of pre-10th-century charters are from Kent making comparison between varieties problematic. Palaeography is an inexact science which can at best add only general support to external evidence for dating. Thus a palaeographer can only confirm whether the script of a particular charter is in her or his opinion broadly consonant with its given date or dating range (see further Lowe 2005) and in general there is insufficient material to permit the dating of a particular script more closely than to within around three decades. This precludes attempts to identify phonological trends and developments on a timescale shorter than this.

4.1 Charter boundary clauses

It seems to have been normal practice to include vernacular bounds in diplomas from the beginning of the 10th century (Lowe 1998: 74); before then some single-sheet (i.e. those existing in contemporary or near-contemporary form) charters contain topographical terms in English housed within Latin prose. Boundary clauses offer considerable scope for linguistic research particularly from an onomastic, lexicological, and word-geographical approach, and important work has been undertaken in this area by Peter Kitson (1995, 2004). The phonological value of these texts is, however, likely compromised by the centralization of diploma production from the 930s, after which such clauses, originally compiled locally, were recopied into the diploma by the main text scribe (Lowe 1998: 64–65). The helpful LangScape database (http://www.langscape.org.uk/index.html; last accessed 5 January 2017) has recently opened this area to non-specialists. It presents fully-searchable transcriptions of boundary clauses (with variant texts) together with a variety of other search options (including indices of topographical terms, archive and manuscripts) with associated mapping.

5 Onomastics

Place- and personal name materials represent some of the most extensive evidence for periods where little else survives. Names in Bede are important witnesses to 8th-century Northumbrian, whereas the Domesday and Little Domesday surveys (the latter comprising circuit summaries of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) represent aspects of the language (albeit viewed through the filter of foreign scribes using Latin spelling conventions) at the end of the 11th century. The value of names for the study of phonological development has often been questioned in vague and rather unhelpful terms (for example, "[t]here are difficulties in using the evidence of names too freely" [Hogg 1992: 5]). The clearest statement of their limitation as evidence is supplied by Clark:

> Once semantically emptied, names draw partly aloof from language at large. Although the phonological tendencies that affect them cannot be alien to those bearing on common vocabulary, the loss of denotation allows development to be freer, with compounds obscured and elements blurred and merged earlier and more thoroughly than in analogous "meaningful" forms. Sound-developments seen in names may therefore antedate or exceed in scope those operating elsewhere in the language; and this makes any use of name-material for study of general or dialectal phonology an exercise requiring caution. (Clark 1992: 453)

Important, however, is the point Clark makes here that names will not operate under a set of phonological rules entirely different from that which affects other vocabulary. It is clear that the value of names as evidence will depend entirely on their context, on the conditions and circumstances that gave rise to their transmission, and a case needs to be made for their use on a source-by-source basis; no shortcuts or easy generalizations can be made.

Place-name elements offer us insights into the lexis of the quotidian as a necessary corollary to the specialized poetic vocabulary of better-studied Old English texts. Personal names also, importantly, allow us to compare naming practices across the social scale, from those of kings and ealdormen, through thegns and reeves to lesser farm workers and slaves.

6 Editions and manuscripts

Editions naturally vary considerably in terms of the level of detail they preserve from the manuscripts; it is always worth paying attention to the section on editorial conventions in any given edition and, if it is unclear or none exists, drawing appropriate conclusions. Certain series draw up guidelines for their editors to ensure that similar methods are employed throughout. It is surprisingly rare, even in scholarly editions, for the expansion of abbreviations to be signalled, and the majority of Old English texts are punctuated in accordance with modern conventions. It is also worth attempting to establish the principal audience of a given edition; certain editorial decisions (for example, the inclusion or exclusion of variant readings, emendations, and so on) that seem surprising to linguists and render the result unserviceable will be entirely acceptable, even welcomed, in other disciplines. By way of (extreme) example, the crowning glory of the series *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, containing meticulously-edited texts of the separate manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, will be, if we are to believe one of the general editors, "reconstructed texts of the several text-historically defined stages of development of the Chronicle" (Dumville 1994: 48). It seems that these composite texts will be presented in the language of one of the main manuscript witnesses: quite how this will be accomplished for those passages which do not appear in the selected base text is not revealed. This reveals the gulf that exists between the needs and requirements of two separate academic constituencies who nevertheless share many of the same texts.

Manuscripts written mostly or entirely in Old English before c.1200 are catalogued in Ker (1957 with additions 1977 incorporated as an appendix to the reissue of 1990). This seminal work is now supplemented by Gneuss (2001; additions 2003).

7 Glosses, glossaries, and texts derived from Latin

Glossed material is perhaps the most under-utilized source of linguistic evidence in pre-Conquest England. Some, of course, is well known to and heavily exploited by linguists: in particular, glosses in the *Vespasian Psalter*, the *Durham Ritual, Rushworth* and *Lindisfarne Gospels* provide much of our evidence for Mercian and Northumbrian. There are celebrated glossaries, too, which are mined in much the same way: the *Épinal,* the *Erfurt* and the *Corpus Glossary*, again for Mercian. Lexical glosses have been collected and many published; it is of course important to signal words which appear only in glosses as the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts and Kay 2000) and DOE (Cameron et al. [eds.] 2016) do. It is important to investigate the transmission and interdependence of manuscripts when assessing and attempting to explain this material, and no justice can be done in print to the complexities of a typical glossed page, as Page (1992) effectively demonstrates.

Far less well explored than the lexical glosses are the syntactical glosses, a topic best treated by Robinson (1973) who argues persuasively for their importance:

> Syntactical glossing offers a source of evidence about Old English word-order quite different from any of the evidence used by syntacticians up to now, and it is possible that further study will show this glossing to be a uniquely valuable witness to functional word-order in Old English. Unlike the prose texts, which invariably have at least some literary pretensions, the sequential syntactical marks would seem to be designed to signal straightforward Old English word-order uncomplicated by any distortions or irregularities for the sake of stylistic effect... It has been observed that when an Old English translator is confronted by a complicated Latin sentence with interlocking clauses he will often take the easy way of breaking the thought down into two or more simple Old English sentences, even though the vernacular is known to have been capable of hypotactic as well as paratactic constructions. The conditions of syntactical glossing do not permit such evasions, and so they offer a richer variety of sentence types and sentence lengths than do some of the more pedestrian prose translations in Old English. (Robinson 1973: 471–472)

This statement is reproduced at length here because it makes the important and under-acknowledged point that much Old English literature is derived directly or indirectly from Latin sources. As Mitchell (1985, I: lxi) wisely says "[w]e therefore have to study Latin loan syntax". In his conclusion, Mitchell (1985, II: 1006–1007) identifies Latin influence on Old English syntax and syntactical glossing as two of several topics particularly worth investigation. Over twenty years on, little progress has been made in these areas.

It is remarkable that Mitchell (1985, I: lxiv) produced his monumental work without access to the DOE microfiche concordance, the first volume of which was issued only when his work was in its final draft. More recent work in this area has undoubtedly profited from the online corpus, despite the reservations expressed

by Koopman (1992). Relevant bibliography is collected and annotated by Mitchell (1990; Mitchell and Irvine 1992) and then at intervals (Mitchell and Irvine 1996, 2002, 2006).

8 Runes, coins, and inscriptions

Crowley considers the evidence supplied by coins, inscriptions, and names in general as "supplementary" (with the apparent exception of the inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross and Auzon (Franks) Casket), and this option seems largely to be shared, although perhaps less baldly stated, by the grammarians. The value of coinage to Old English phonology has been highlighted by scholars such as Fran Colman (1991, 1996) and Jayne Carroll (2010; Carroll and Parsons 2007). Here the ongoing *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (since 1958) is of the utmost importance, separate volumes of which may be consulted in conjunction with the searchable SCBI electronic database (http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/scbi/; last accessed 5 January 2017). Non-runic inscriptions have been collected and edited by Elisabeth Okasha (1971 with three supplements 1982, 1992, 2004).

A corpus of Anglo-Saxon runes remains a desideratum, although a project is ongoing at the University of Eichstätt to present the material in both paper and database form (see http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/SLF/EngluVglSW/AeRunen.htm and http://www.runenprojekt.uni-kiel.de/, both last accessed 5 January 2017). Meanwhile, scholars will find the bibliographical listing of individual English runic inscriptions in Page (1999 [1973]) invaluable, supplemented by more recent volumes of *Anglo-Saxon England*: fresh finds are not uncommon.

Even more so than with manuscripts, matters concerning layout must be considered by the historical linguist and there is no substitute for looking at the inscription itself instead of simply its transcription or transliteration; peculiarities in orthography may well result from consideration of space or aesthetics. As inscriptions and runes can easily become abraded over time, antiquarian drawings of material, used with due caution, can be of considerable value.

9 Middle English

9.1 Early Middle English

The early Middle English period shares many of the same problems as the Old English period in terms of the comparative scarcity of sources. The materials

available in manuscripts dating from 1150 to 1350 are conveniently assembled in Laing (1993) with an admirably clear introduction as to method and selection criteria. This work, an essential research tool in its own right, was a necessary precursor to *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English 1150–1325* (Laing 2013–), and should be read in conjunction with the online introduction to the project. There Laing makes the important point that, without the Second Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, the *terminus a quo* for the project would be c.1200 (Laing and Lass 2008: Section 1.4). Before then survive a few charters from the reigns of William I (now re-edited by Bates 1998), William II, Henry I and Stephen catalogued in Pelteret (1990), the *Peterborough Chronicle* with its First and Second Continuations (Irvine 2004; Clark 1970 [1958]), some post-Conquest memoranda of uncertain date, and Domesday Book.

9.2 *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (LAEME)

Laing (1993: 3) distinguishes in her Catalogue between texts created during the period and those that are copies of Old English texts; research shows that, with a few notable exceptions, post-Conquest scribes are timid when faced with Old English material and tend in the main (especially as the period progresses) to duplicate what they see (or think they see) in front of them (see Laing 1991; Lowe 2008). This makes the use of these charters as "anchor" texts difficult, and the paucity of freshly-composed documentary materials exacerbates the problem. Careful manuscript study has allowed Laing to ascribe an small additional number of literary texts to specific areas with varying degrees of certainty; her work emphasizes the importance of paying attention to the broader manuscript context in which an individual text appears.

LAEME (Laing 2013–) rejects the questionnaire method of analyzing texts employed for LALME (McIntosh et al. 1986); instead the texts are lexico-grammatically tagged. Particular care has been taken to disentangle distinct scribal contributions. The decision as to whether to tag a text in its entirety was not made purely on the basis of its length, but rather on a number of factors including significance, the nature of the scribal language and other "interpretative complexities" (Laing and Lass 2008: Section 3.1). Time constraints led to more restrictive sampling than originally intended: it is important to recognize that the corpus is not, and is not intended to be, fully comprehensive. Nevertheless, it consists of 650,000 fully tagged words which are searchable in a variety of ways: as a research tool for the study of orthography, phonology and morphology of the period it is therefore unparalleled. A specific advantage is that the texts were transcribed diplomatically from the manuscript witnesses themselves importantly

retaining consistency of practice across the corpus and a level of faithfulness to scribal usage (such as the retention of *wynn*, <v> and <u>) rarely encountered elsewhere.

A sister project of LAEME is the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (LAOS) project (Williamson 2013–), which uses the same tagging system for Older Scots texts. At present the database (version 1.2 at http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1. html; last accessed 5 January 2017) covers mainly anchor texts dating 1380–1500, but will eventually extend across the entire period (1150–1700) considerably expanding the coverage in LALME.

9.3 Late Middle English: *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME)

Over twenty years, LALME (McIntosh et al. 1986) continues to define and dominate the field of medieval dialectology, with many new projects built upon its achievements. Its usefulness is not restricted to dialectology: its list of sources justifiably claimed in 1986 to be the "largest and most comprehensive list of manuscripts containing Middle English yet published" (i. 39) and its localized texts form the basis of the ongoing Middle English Grammar Project which eventually aims to produce a reference grammar to replace Jordan's of 1925 (http://www.uis.no/research-and-phd-studies/research-areas/history-languages-and-literature/the-middle-english-scribal-texts-programme/meg-c/; last accessed 5 January 2017). Thirty-five years in the making without benefit of electronic aids, with analysis of over a thousand manuscripts, and principally the work of just two scholars, LALME is bound to contain errors. What follows is derived from Benskin's (1991) response to Burton's (1991) review of LALME. Some inaccuracies exist in the southern (essentially south of the Wash area) survey, largely as a result of perceived time pressures and resultant scanning. The questionnaire required refinement and supplementation as the project progressed, producing unevenness in the early analyses in the southern survey and omission of some relevant features. These and other issues are addressed in the project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) for eLALME (2007–10) which makes the materials freely available online with the exciting addition of powerful interactive mapping functionality.

There are wider methodological issues. LALME's authors were well aware themselves of the deficiencies of the questionnaire approach to interrogation of the data, quoting Gilliéron's (1915: 45) trenchant observation that "L'établissement du questionnaire [...] pour être sensiblement meilleur, aurait dû être fait après l'enquête". As Laing and Lass (2008: Section 1.5.2) additionally observe,

different types of text may well not include examples of particular items: "For instance, a past tense narrative may not have examples of items that elicit present tense verb morphology [...], while instruction manuals may not have examples of those that elicit past tenses". Short texts are less likely to exhibit the full range of forms, and specific genres (such as the all-important documentary texts) may have a limited range of vocabulary items of those identified as displaying dialectally-conditioned variation. In consequence, some Linguistic Profiles are at best sketchy, but the number of texts analyzed and the strength of diatopic coverage compensates for this. LALME's 280-item checklist is still routinely used by scholars from all disciplines to reach preliminary conclusions about the dialect of a particular text.

9.4 The *Middle English Dictionary* (MED) and *Compendium*

The first fascicle of the print MED was published in 1952; it was completed in 2001 (Kurath et al. 1952–2001). Its achievement is extraordinary, but its long genesis inevitably resulted in some changes in editorial focus and inconsistencies. These are discussed by Blake (2002) whose article should be read alongside the *MED's Plan and Bibliography* (Kurath 1954) and *Supplement I* (Lewis 1985). Blake draws attention in particular to a rather ill-tempered exchange between MED editor Kurath and reviewer Visser concerning the omission of words (many from Barbour's *Bruce*) from the MED; this apparently was a deliberate decision because of the coterminous production of *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Craigie et al. 1931–2002), but not one reported in the *Plan*, nor indeed it seems, implemented consistently in the dictionary itself.

 For the majority of users, the print MED has been superseded by the rich textual resources of the online *Middle English Compendium* (McSparran 2002) with its searchable database, hyper-bibliography and a full-text corpus of Middle English prose and verse at present containing some fifty works. As its chief editor, Frances McSparran (2002: 130), notes, "[e]lectronic search mechanisms open up the whole of the dictionary and its 54,000-odd entries for complex searches, restricted by user-specified criteria such as date, manuscript, author, language of etymon, language associated with a field like law or medicine, etc.". The incorporation of LALME references to manuscript information allowing searches restricted by county is particularly useful. Such a powerful search engine is, however, not necessarily easy or intuitive to use, and the scholar new to the resource is advised to spend time working through the online help pages in order to make the most from it. It is important to remember that the MED itself has not been updated: although bibliographic references have been stan-

dardized, and revised datings implemented in order to facilitate searches, no attempt has been made to (for example) replace quotations from editions superseded during the course of the print publication.

10 Summary

The discussion above has sought to emphasize the recent developments in resources for this early period that together have the potential to revolutionize work in historical linguistics; this is an exciting time to be working in the field. It has also endeavored to demonstrate that what lies behind all of these corpora, grammars and dictionaries is a series of individual texts. We forget at our peril that (to adapt a phrase) *chaque texte a son histoire*. Each (and this goes as much for colloborative scholarly projects as for a runic inscription) must be interrogated in a way that is sensitive to the individual mechanics and manifold complexities of its production and history. Without this requisite spadework, we build our house on sand.

11 References

Bates, David. 1998. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Benskin, Michael. 1991. In reply to Dr Burton. *Leeds Studies in English* 22: 209–262.

Birch, Walter de Gray (ed.). 1885–99. *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*. 3 vols. London: Whiting & Co.

Blake, N. F. 2002. The early history of, and its impact upon, the Middle English Dictionary. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 23: 48–75.

Burton, Thomas L. 1991. On the current state of Middle English dialectology. *Leeds Studies in English* 22: 167–208.

Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandall Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey (eds.) 2016. *Dictionary of Old English: A-H Online*. University of Toronto. http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/; last accessed 5 January 2017.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carroll, Jayne and David N. Parsons. 2007. *Anglo-Saxon Mint-Names*, I. *Axbridge–Hythe*. Nottingham: English Place-Name Society.

Carroll, Jayne. 2010. Coins and the Chronicle: mint-signatures, history, and language. In: Alice Jorgensen (ed.), *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Literature, History, Language*, 243–273. Turnhout: Brepols.

Clark, Cecily (ed.) 1970 [1958]. *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070–1154*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon.

Clark, Cecily. 1992. Onomastics. In: Hogg (ed.), 452–488.

Colman, Fran. 1991. *Money Talks: Reconstructing Old English*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Colman, Fran. 1996. Names will never hurt me. In: M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (eds.), *'Doubt Wisely': Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, 13–28. London: Routledge.

Craigie, Sir William et al. (eds.). 1931–2002. *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*. 12 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press. See also http://www.dsl.ac.uk.

Crowley, Joseph P. 1986. The study of Old English dialects. *English Studies* 67: 97–112.

Dumville, David N. 1994. Editing Old English texts for historians and other troublemakers. In: Donald G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (eds.), *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, 45–52. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Earle, John (ed.). 1888. *A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters, and Other Saxonic Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Gilliéron, Jules. 1915. *Pathologie et thérapeutique verbales*. Bern: Beerstecher.

Gneuss, Helmut. 2001. *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Gneuss, Helmut. 2003. Addenda and corrigenda to the Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. *Anglo-Saxon England* 32: 293–305.

Harmer, Florence E. (ed.). 1914. *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harmer, Florence E. (ed.) 1989 [1952]. *Anglo-Saxon Writs*. 2nd edn. Paul Watkins: Stamford.

Hogg, Richard M. 1988. On the impossibility of Old English dialectology. In: Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer (eds.), *Luick revisited: Papers read at the Luick-Symposium at Schloß Liechtenstein, 15–18 September 1985*, 183–203. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Hogg, Richard M. 1992. *A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. 1: *Phonology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hogg, Richard M. (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. I. *The Beginnings to 1066*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Irvine, Susan (ed.). 2004. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*. Vol. 7, MS. E. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Jenkyns, Joy. 1991. The *Toronto Dictionary of Old English resources*: A user's view. *The Review of English Studies* 42: 380–416.

Kastovsky, Dieter. 1992. Semantics and vocabulary. In: Hogg (ed.), 290–408.

Kemble, John M (ed.). 1839–48. *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*. 6 vols. London: Sumptibus Societatis.

Ker, Neil R. 1957. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reissued in 1990 with Ker. 1977 appended.

Ker, Neil R. 1977. Supplement to Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon. *Anglo-Saxon England* 5: 121–131.

Kitson, Peter R. 1995. The nature of Old English dialect distributions, mainly as exhibited in charter boundaries. In: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Medieval Dialectology*, 43–135. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kitson, Peter R. 2004. On margins of error in placing Old English literary dialects. In: Marina Dossena and Roger Lass (eds.), *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, 219–239. Bern: Peter Lang.

Koopman, Willem F. 1992. The study of Old English syntax and the Toronto Dictionary of Old English. *Neophilologus* 76: 605–615.

Kurath, Hans. 1954. *Middle English Dictionary: Plan and Bibliography*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Kurath, Hans, Sherman M. Kuhn, John Reidy, and Robert E. Lewis (eds.). 1952–2001. *Middle English Dictionary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/.

Laing, Margaret. 1991. Anchor texts and literary manuscripts in Early Middle English. In: Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, 27–52. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Laing, Margaret. 1993. *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Laing, Margaret. 2013–. *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325* (LAEME). Version 3.2. Edinburgh: © The University of Edinburgh. http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme2.html; last accessed 5 March 2017.

Laing, Margaret and Roger Lass. 2008. *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English: Introduction*. http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme_intro.html; last accessed 5 March 2017.

Lewis, Robert E. 1985. *Middle English Dictionary: Plan and Bibliography*. Supplement I. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Lowe, Kathryn A. 1998. The development of the Anglo Saxon boundary clause. *Nomina* 21: 63–100.

Lowe, Kathryn A. 2001. On the plausibility of Old English dialectology: The ninth-century Kentish charter material. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 22: 136–170.

Lowe, Kathryn A. 2005. Paleography, Greek and Latin. In: Keith Brown (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. 2nd edn. 14 vols. ix. 134–141. Oxford: Elsevier.

Lowe, Kathryn A. 2008. The Exchequer, the Chancery, and the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds: *Inspeximus* charters and their enrolments. *English Manuscript Studies* 14: 1–26.

McIntosh, Angus, Michael L. Samuels and Michael Benskin. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME). 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press (see also eLALME: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html).

McSparran, Frances. 2002. *The Middle English Compendium*: Past, present, future. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 23: 126–141.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1990. *A Critical Bibliography of Old English Syntax to the End of 1984 Including Addenda and Corrigenda to* Old English Syntax. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mitchell, Bruce and Susan Irvine. 1992. A critical bibliography of *Old English Syntax*: Supplement 1985–1988. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 93: 1–53

Mitchell, Bruce and Susan Irvine. 1996. A critical bibliography of *Old English Syntax*: Supplement 1989–1992. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 97: 1–28.

Mitchell, Bruce and Susan Irvine. 2002. A critical bibliography of *Old English Syntax*: Supplement 1993–1996. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 103: 3–32.

Mitchell, Bruce and Susan Irvine. 2006. A critical bibliography of *Old English Syntax*: Supplement 1997–2000. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 107: 91–116.

Okasha, Elisabeth. 1971. *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Okasha, Elisabeth. 1982. A supplement to *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*. *Anglo-Saxon England* 11: 83–118.

Okasha, Elisabeth. 1992. A second supplement to *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*. *Anglo-Saxon England* 21: 37–85.

Okasha, Elisabeth. 2004. A third supplement to *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*. *Anglo-Saxon England* 33: 225–281.

Page, Raymond I. 1992. On the feasibility of a corpus of Anglo-Saxon glosses: The view from the library. In: René Derolez (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Glossography: Papers Read at the International Conference Brussels, 8 and 9 September 1986*, 77–95. Brussels: Paleis der Academien.

Page, Raymond I. 1999 [1973]. *An Introduction to English Runes*. 2nd edn. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.

Pelteret, David A. E. 1990. *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Roberts, Jane and Christian Kay. 2000. *A Thesaurus of Old English*. 2nd edn. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Robertson, Agnes J. (ed.) 1956 [1939]. *Anglo-Saxon Charters*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, Fred C. 1973. Syntactical glosses in Latin manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon provenance. *Speculum* 48: 443–475.

Sawyer, Peter H. 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. Revised and updated version. http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html; last accessed 5 January 2017.

Sweet, Henry (ed.). 1885. *The Oldest English Texts*. London: Oxford University Press.

Thorpe, Bernard (ed.). 1865. *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*. London: MacMillan & Co.

Whitelock, Dorothy (ed.). 1930. *Anglo-Saxon Wills*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williamson, Keith. 2013–. *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots, Phase 1: 1380–1500* (LAOS). Version 1.2. http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1.html; last accessed 5 January 2017.

Index