A DEMONSTRATION OF THE APPLICABILITY OF DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTIC TECHNIQUES TO DISCOURSE RECORDED IN LITERARY TEXTS: PROBLEMS IN THE MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF ELEVENTH CENTURY ENGLISH NOUNS

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To my wife

DOROTHY ELIZABETH PILLSBURY

PREFACE

The inspiration for this analysis of a historical stage of the language rests in large part with my former teacher and mentor, Dr. Charles C. Fries. His stimulating courses in the history of the English language and in the structure of modern English grammar were fundamental influences on my thinking in those areas of language study. The lucidity of Fries' writing on the English language in general, and in the Structure of English in particular, no doubt enhanced the natural appeal of the subject for me.

My former chairman, Professor Sherman M. Kuhn, contributed generously detailed suggestions, which strengthened the presentation in many places. For the knowledgeable guidance of my labors at all stages, I am singularly grateful to my chairman, Professor Albert H. Marckwardt. For their patient reading of preliminary drafts and for their helpful suggestions at many turns, I am grateful to the members of my dissertation committee, Professor James W. Downer, Professor Hans Kurath, and Professor Herbert Penzl.

Professor William G. Moulton of Cornell University graciously read and commented on the preliminary chapters; his comments were especially helpful in shaping the analytical

attack in Chapters Three and Four. My undergraduate tutor, Professor Thomas Vance of Dartmouth College, graciously read the entire manuscript and offered most perceptive criticism as to matters of organization and presentation.

Finally, I am most grateful to the directors of the Library of the University of Michigan, the Dartmouth College Library, and the Cornell University Library for the use of their collections, and to their staffs for unfailing cooperation.

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LIST OF TITLE ABBREVIATIONS

Below is a list of title-tags to identify the primary texts used in this study. Comprehensive information concerning manuscripts and editions may be found in the Bibliography.

A	Apollonius of Tyre
AeD	Aelfric's Homily on the Dedication of a Church
AeH	Aelfric's Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church
AeL	Aelfric's Lives of the Saints
Gu	Life of St. Guthlac
GM	Gospel According to St. Matthew
GN	Gospel of Nicodemus
HB	A homily, Be heofonwarum and be helwarum
HH	Homily on the Harrowing of Hell
HJo	Homily on John 13:1-30
HJu	Homily on the Last Judgment
HL	Lenten Homily
HMa	Homily on the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary
HMg	Homily on the Passion of the Virgin St. Margaret
HR	Rogation Homily
M	Malchus
Q	Questions of the Priest Sigewulf
TL	Two lives from De Vitis Patrum

Citations from the primary texts are indicated in one of three simple methods: (1) by page and line in the case of single-volume texts: Gu 171.9 indicates a citation from page 171 of the Life of St. Guthlac beginning at the ninth line of the text; (2) by volume, page, and line in the case of multi-volume texts: AeL 2.206.252 identifies a citation from page 206 of the second volume of Aelfric's Lives of the Saints beginning at line 252 of the text; (3) by chapter and verse, following traditional practice in the case of Biblical citations: GM 9:17 identifies a citation from chapter 9, verse 17, of the Gospel According to St. Matthew.

The conventional three-dot signal of textual ellipsis frequently appears in citations. Three dots at the beginning or the end of a citation indicate that the cited material occurred non-initially or non-finally in the utterance from which it was taken; three dots within a citation indicate the excision, for the sake of brevity and clarity of explanation, of material not essential to the structural pattern under consideration.

CHAPTER I

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

1.1. The purpose of this study.--The purpose of this investigation was to formulate a descriptive statement of eleventh century English noun morphology and syntax, utilizing in so far as applicable, the analytical methods of modern descriptive linguistics.

The project was an outgrowth of graduate studies in the history of the English language and in descriptive linguistic methods. As originally projected, the study would have provided an eleventh century parallel to Fries' study of modern English sentence structure.[1]

But early in the investigation it became abundantly clear that a description of the complete syntax of the period chosen would be beyond the scope of a dissertation; hence the decision to focus upon the noun classes followed. Thus the original attack was refocussed upon a lesser but more manageable objective. The study as redefined was undertaken to ascertain if a statement of eleventh century noun classes,

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[1] The published works which were most directly influential upon procedures followed here were, for the initial stages dealing with functional matters, C. C. Fries, The Structure of English (New York, 1952) and, for the later stages dealing with noun form, A. A. Hill, Introduction to Linguistic Structures (New York, 1958).

based upon modern methods of analysis, would yield significantly different results from older, traditional procedures of analysis. Since the correlations and agreements between nouns and other parts of speech are fundamental grammatical operations in English, as in all Indo-European languages, this limitation in scope could represent a reasonable preliminary to the study as originally proposed, rather than an abandonment of it.

1.2. The period under investigation.--The precise definition of the period of our study is in keeping with a developing trend in historical linguistics. To be sure, the earlier OE text writers such as Sweet and Wright approached the matter of period definition fairly casually. They divided the OE era into two periods, supposedly linguistically homogeneous within themselves yet appreciably distinct from each other. The earlier of these two periods (700-900) was held to culminate in the work of Alfred and his school; the later one (900-1100) was regarded as being dominated by the work of Wulfstan and Aelfric. Furthermore, the earlier editors commonly took the first of these periods as the linguistic norm for OE to which they introduced their students; in the advanced sections of their texts, they introduced students to the language of the later period, through the reading of selected texts.[2]

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[2]H. Sweet, An Anglo-Saxon Primer, pp. vi-vii: "The spelling has been made rigorously uniform throughout on an Early West Saxon basis. Injurious as normalizing is to the advanced student, it is an absolute necessity to the beginner. . . . From early West-Saxon it is an easy step to late West-Saxon and to the Mercian forms from which Modern English

Among more recent editors, however, there has been a tendency to treat the matter of linguistic chronology with greater precision. The period which their investigation covers is considerably more accurately defined than among the earlier text writers. Mossé, for example, writing in 1945, recognizes four periods for OE instead of the earlier two: a pre-Alfredian period, the period of Alfred himself, the period of Wulfstan and Aelfric, and finally, a transitional period between these last two writers and the era usually designated as Middle English.[3]

Such a four-stage chronological division of OE might well be redefined for the sake of simplicity in terms of centuries as referring to the language of the eighth century, the ninth century, the tenth century, and the eleventh century respectively.[4] Although the century is also an admittedly

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is derived. That I give Aelfric in a spelling slightly earlier is no more unreasonable than it is for a classical scholar to print Ausonius (who doubtless spoke Latin with an almost Italian pronunciation) in the same spelling as Virgil." [Note that the Germanic scholar still looks to the classical scholar for procedural authority. P.W.P.] See also S. Moore and T. A. Knott, Elements of Old English (Ann Arbor, 1942), p. 1: "As the norm of these studies we take EWS, and consequently all the selections in the Elementary Grammar are normalized to that dialect."

[3] F. Mossé, Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen-Âge, I, 19.

[4] The exact dating of Aelfric's career is impossible (955?-?1020). Although he may have lived into the early eleventh century, it is generally estimated that his literary output was completed during the last quarter of the tenth century. Thus his language can fairly be taken to represent that of the tenth century. The collotype edition of his Catholic Homilies projected in the Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile series will reproduce the British Museum MS Royal C xii which is estimated to be contemporaneous with its author and is supposed to contain corrections and marginalia

arbitrary division in describing a continuous development such as language, the study of developments within the limits of hundred year periods does offer certain advantages over studies of more extended scope. Covering as it does roughly three human generations, the century is sufficiently long for significant changes to occur, without being so long that the concept of period homogeneity becomes implausible. Wyld's views on grammatical change clarify this point well.

> Writers upon the history of language are very careful to insist that the process of development or evolution of speech takes place in the living, spoken language, and not in written documents. It is pointed out that changes in pronunciation, accidence, and the rest come about gradually, and by imperceptible degrees, within the life of a single generation, and in transmission from one generation to another. A history of a language is an accumulation of these slight and gradual changes, the cumulative results of which, in the course of several generations, may be very considerable.[5]

Quirk and Wrenn, writing a decade later than Mossé, define the period of their concentration very exactly as being what they call classical OE, i.e., the OE of about AD 1000, rather than with the early language of the Alfredian period or with other OE dialects. "It was in this literary or classical koiné, basically WS, that all the earlier poetry was copied, and so preserved, at the time of the Benedictine

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in his hand. However, the version we have used, Cambridge University MS Gg 3 28, represents the labor of scribes who were working in the second half of the eleventh century.

[5] A History of Modern Colloquial English (Oxford, 1935), p. 1.

Renaissance at the close of the tenth century and early in the eleventh century."[6]

These two scholars are also interesting for their explicit endorsement of descriptive methods in dealing with a historic period of the language: "We have forsaken the historical in favor of a descriptive approach . . . we have tried to avoid assuming a knowledge of--or indeed interest in--Germanic philology as such."[7]

Such precision of focus is, of course, in keeping with the descriptive linguist's careful distinction between diachronic and synchronic studies. A series of century--or even half-century--studies should precede a scholarly history of English grammar. A complete series of such synchronic descriptive studies would permit us to observe the inception of particular grammatical changes with precision, thus allowing us to establish an accurate chronology for English grammar.

Naturally, in this proposed study of noun classes we will be working with texts from a single century, so that chronological developments will be outside our scope. We will, however, be interested in general implications as to grammatical innovations in the noun system within the period, especially since writers have traditionally regarded the eleventh century as a period of transition between OE and ME.

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[6] Old English Grammar, p. vii and p. 5.

[7] Old English Grammar, p. vi.

In this respect, the present investigation might be regarded as pilot study for a series of studies upon which an exact diachronic study of English grammar might be based.

1.3. The use of dialogue in literary texts.--The descriptive scholar generally regards the spoken language or the colloquial dialects of a language as being more important for his purposes than the diction of formal speech or of formal prose.[8] A live informant from the language or dialect provides the investigator with a corpus of utterances from the speech system to be described; if the corpus is large enough and sufficiently representative, the investigator assumes that it exemplifies the salient grammatical features of the language.

In this study the principal rationale for the use of colloquial passages only from the primary texts is to attempt to preserve this procedural rigorousness. Taking dialogue in literary texts as the basis of investigation is as far as we can go toward recalling the colloquial speech of a historical period. Intuitively it seems likely that a writer will be closer to the colloquial language of his era when he is dramatically simulating the discourse of individuals in his text than when, for example, he is developing the narrative

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[8] Quirk and Wrenn express an appreciation for this focus on the spoken language, although they are explicitly committed to the study of the literary language: "Our knowledge of OE is inevitably limited in general to literary and learned usage, though some occasional glimpses of the spoken language may be had from such texts as Aelfric's Colloquy and from relics of an oral poetic tradition in the formulaic style of Beowulf." (Old English Grammar, p. 1).

details of a saint's life or expounding a sermon text. We cannot, however, expect bald stenographic realism on the part of a writer who is as surely professional as Aelfric. For instance, in the transport of woe of the father Paphnutius over the supposed kidnapping and rape of his only daughter Euphrosyne, we have an expression of intense grief, but of a grief aesthetically composed; in the imagery of the speech and in the careful sentence balance, there is suggested the artistry of the rhetorician rather than the emotional outpouring of a father over a shattering loss.

> wa me mine sweteste bearn wa me mira [sic] eagena leoht and mines lifes frofor hwa be-reafode me minra speda oððe tostencte mine æhta hwa forcearf minne win-geard oððe hwa adwæscte min leoht-fæt hwa bescirede me mines hihtes oþþe hwa gewemde þone wlite mire dohtor hwilc wulf gelæhte min lamb oþþe hwylc stow on sæ oððe on lande hæfð behyd swa cynelice ansyne heo wæs geomrigendra frofor and geswencendra rest eala þu eorþe ne swelh þu næfre min blod ær ic geseo hwæt sy gedon be eufrosinan mire dehter (AeL 2.346.193)

Admittedly no hard and fast assertions can be made <u>a priori</u> distinguishing the rhetorical styles of exposition from dialogue,of formal discourse from colloquial speech; but in general we operate on the assumption that passages of discourse more nearly approximate colloquial speech than do passages of narrative exposition or theological disquisition.

The contrast between the stylistic levels of dialogue and prose narrative is perhaps best demonstrated in such a writer as the translator of the Apollonius novella. For example, in the account of Apollonius' reception by the king of Pentapolis, the following dialogue passes between the king

and one of his servants in which prosaic matters are prosaically dealt with (A 25.27):

King: ga and gewite hwæt se iunga man sy þe me to dæg swa wel gehirsumode

Serv.: se iunga man þe þu æfter axsodest is forliden man

King: ðurh hwæt wast ðu þæt

Serv.: þeah he hit silf forswige his gegirla hine geswutelaþ

King: ga rædlice and sege him þæt se cyngc bit ðe þæt ðu cume to his gereorde

Serv.: se forlidena man is cumen þe ðu æfter sændest ac he ne mæg for scame in gan buton scrude

At this point the author resumes with the narrative giving an account of Apollonius' reception at court and the suspicions of the courtiers at this newcomer in their midst:

ða het se cyngc hine sona gescridan mid wurðfullan scrude and het hine in gan to ðam gereorde ða eode apollonius in and gesæt þar him getæht wæs ongean ðone cyngc ðar wearð ða seo þenung in geboren and æfter þam cynelice gebeorscipe and apollonius nan ðingc ne æt ðeah ðe ealle oðre men æton and bliðe wæron ac he geheold þæt gold and þæt seolfor and ða deorwurðan reaf and þa beodas and þa cynelican þenunga ða ða he þis eal mid sarnesse beheold ða sæt sum æfestig ealdorman be þam cyngc mid þi þe he geseah þæt apollonius swa sarlice sæt and ealle þinc beheold and nan ðingc ne æt ða cwæð he to ðam cyngc:

ðu goda cyngc efne þes man þe þu swa wel wið gedest he is swiðe æfestful for ðinum gode

King: þe mispingð soðlice þes iunga man ne æfestigað on nanum ðingum ðe he her gesihð ac he cyð þæt he hæfð fela forloren [to Apollonius] ðu iunga man beo bliðe mid us and gehiht on god þæt þu mote silf to ðam selran becuman

With this likelihood of greater approximation to the speech of the age we shall have to be content; for the study

of dialogue in literary texts is as far as we can go toward reviving an informant from a past era. As a matter of fact, a writer fabricating dialogue in a narrative momentarily abandons what is usually referred to as the impersonal or author point of view and adopts a perspective apposite to a speaker. In other words, the narrator momentarily adopts a self-oriented perspective toward things and events in the narration. To describe the same operation as a grammatical process, we might say that the narrator shifts temporarily from a type of discourse in which nouns and noun replacives fill the substantive role (se coccel, þæt rip, þa ungesceadwisan nytena, and he, heo, hit, se, seo, þæt, hig, þa, þe, etc.) to a type of discourse in which person indicators in addition to nouns and pronouns fill the substantive role (ic, þu, we, and ge as well as se coccel, þæt rip, etc. and se, seo, þa, þe, etc.). The presence of the person indicators (ic, we, etc.) in a passage of discourse establishes the fact that the author is either simulating the speech of people in his account or else is including himself in the events of the narrative, i.e., is telling the story as if from his personal perspective.[9]

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[9]The Malchus fragment is the unique example among the primary sources of first-person narration in which events throughout are related and viewed as if from the author's point of view. Compare the grammatical orientation of the passage below from the Malchus with the extended passage of impersonal narrative which we recorded from Apollonius beginning "ða het se cyngc hine . . . ." on page 8.

> . . . and þa hwyrfde ic eft to minum huse þa gearn me ongean min þæt ungesælige wif and hio me gegrette . . . þa gehyrde hio fram me þæt ic hig hwette to fleame and

1.4. Other technical accommodations to historical analysis.--Of course, the researcher who attempts a procedurally rigorous grammatical investigation of a historical stage of language will have to accommodate his procedures to the special nature of his evidence. Instead of having a phonetic transcription of the observed speech habits of an informant, the worker with a historical period of the language has to deal with the conventional orthographic system of the period under investigation; and conventional orthographies are notably inadequate, inconsistent, and unsystematic in their capacities to record significant information on the phonetic level. Not only is the level of phonetic accuracy in any conventional orthographic system highly problematical, but also the element of doubt is greatly increased when the worker attempts to deal with a period for which living informants are lacking.

While descriptive workers with modern languages customarily begin their investigations on the phonemic level, the special problems peculiar to historical phonemics comprise

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þa sette hio swigunge betwuh hire geleafan hiht and wit þa wæron on midnesse miccles eges þa genamon wit on midnyss þæs eowdes twegen buccan þa wæron on wundorlicre micelnesse and wit hig acwealdon and wit geworhton þa hyde to twam kyllum . . . and þa on æfenne wende uncer hlaford þæt wit wæron in uncres cofan digolnesse þa ongunnon wit feran and wit dydon þæs flæsces hwylcne hwugudæl in þa kylla and þa coman wit to anre ea seo wæs on tyn milum and þa bleowan wit þa kylla and astigon þæron and scufon hig þa ut on þa ea and wit reowan sticcmælum mid uncrum fotum oð þæt hig unc asetton swiðe feor on oðre healfe þære ea þæt þa ne mihton uncre swaðe findon þa þe unc æfter ferdon. . . . (M 205.335)

a study in themselves, discrete from our defined focus on syntactic and morphological matters.[10] Furthermore, the absence of a phonemic statement need not be crippling to work on the higher levels of grammatical structure, as several recent studies of syntax will indicate.[11]

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[10]For a demonstration of the methodology of phonemic recreation, see C. F. Hockett, Course in Modern Linguistics, pp. 485-504. For a more extended exposition of the relevance of phonemic theory to historical phonology, see H. Hoenigswald, "Sound Change and Linguistic Structure," Language, 22 (1946), 138-143; more lately his Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction (Chicago, 1960) provides a handbook of current theory on the subject. For studies related specifically to the problem of OE phonemic reconstruction, the article of H. Penzl "The Phonemic Split of Germanic k in Old English," Language, 23 (1947), 34-42 is most illuminating methodologically. Several studies of late have dealt with the interdependence of phonetic-phonemic data in OE studies: M. Daunt, "Old English Sound-Changes Reconsidered in Relation to Scribal Tradition and Practice," Transactions of the Philological Society, 1939 (1939), 108-137; R. P. Stockwell and C. W. Barritt, Some Old English Graphemic-Phonemic Correspondences--æ, ea, and a (Washington, D.C., 1951); S. M. Kuhn and R. Quirk, "Some Recent Interpretations of Old English Digraph Spellings," Language, 29 (1953), 143-156; M. L. Samuels, "The Study of Old English Phonology," Transactions of the Philological Society, 1952 (1953), 15-47; M. Daunt, "Some Notes on Old English Phonology," Transactions of the Philological Society, 1952 (1953), 48-54; R. P. Stockwell and C. W. Barritt, "The Old English Short Digraphs: Some Considerations," Language, 31 (1955), 372-389; S. Kuhn and R. Quirk, "The Old English Digraphs: A Reply," Language, 29 (1955), 390-401; C. F. Hockett, "The Stressed Syllabics of Old English," Language, 35 (1959), 575-597.

[11]In actuality several recent studies have been carried on in the absence of accompanying phonemic or morphemic statements: C. F. Hockett, "Potawatomi Syntax," Language, 15 (1939), 235-248; L. Bloomfield, "An Outline of Ilocano Syntax," Language, 18 (1942), 193-200; B. Bloch, "Studies in Colloquial Japanese II," Language, 22 (1946), 200-246; E. H. Jorden, The Syntax of Modern Colloquial Japanese, Language Dissertation No. 52 (Baltimore, 1955).

Just as the researcher is hindered on the phonetic levels of investigation, so also on the suprasegmental level he can engage in little more than exercises in conjecture. Prosodic studies may yield inferences as to word stress; but punctuation devices generally raise more queries than they answer. A glance at any facsimile page of eleventh century writing shows that a black dot--like our period, but clearly not having the same functional or intonational values--is the main punctuation symbol. Capital letters are also employed by eleventh century scribes, but not for the same purpose that they are in modern English orthographic practice. Structurally the black dots seem to act as phrase markers, in which case they may have signalled a whole range of segmental junctures, open and close, internal and terminal. But the modern reader of eleventh century texts is simply at a loss to know what intonational pattern to supply as accompaniment to a given stretch of dialogue. Indeed, for any historic period of the language, including periods fairly close to the modern one, suprasegmental features are irrecoverable.

For these theoretical considerations and for other matters of procedure, we find Fries' approach to the structure of modern English to be a congenial guide for research in a historical period. His order of analysis, from the undifferentiated chunk of the utterance unit down to the component parts-of-speech is an especially workable plan with colloquial

citations from literary texts.[12] This order of analysis is paralleled by the order observed in the definition of the parts-of-speech, which are inductively derived on the basis of their function within the same or similar patterns of utterance. Subsequent to their functional identification, parts-of-speech are formally described.

Furthermore, Fries' distinction between part-of-speech and syntactic classes such as "subject" and "object" is especially significant for an earlier and more highly inflected period of the language than modern English. The identification of these latter classes as syntactic functions rather than as formal classes is especially relevant in OE where several different inflectional classes function as the same syntactic class: under the appropriate circumstances accusative, dative, or genitive nouns may all function as objects.

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[12] Hjelmslev also endorses the same analytical order from large units to small in his Prolegomena, p. 7: "If the linguistic investigator is given anything . . . it is the as yet unanalyzed text in its undivided and absolute integrity. Our only possible procedure, if we wish to order a system to that text, will be an analysis in which the text is regarded as a class divided into segments, then these segments as classes into segments, and so on until the analysis is exhausted. This procedure may therefore be defined briefly as a progression from class to segment, not from segment to class, as an analytic and specifying, not a synthetic and generalizing, movement, as the opposite of induction in the same sense established in linguistics." Jorden works in the same order in her study of Japanese syntax, p. 7: "My starting point for analysis is any given Japanese utterance, and my procedure is to divide it into successively smaller sequences."

In the latter chapters where we take up the formal characteristics and the inflectional behavior of noun classes in detail, the procedures of Hill are particularly useful as guides.[13]

1.5. The relevance of recent "transform" techniques.-- We should also consider in passing the relevance to our study of the latest analytical procedures, particularly the work of Harris and Chomsky with transform grammar, in which the kernel sentence types of a language are converted or transformed into the full range of possible sentence structures in the grammar of that language. According to the transform analysis, descriptive economy is served by devising methods through which,for example, a kernel statement can be transformed into a question, an active form of the statement can be transformed into a passive one, or several simple sentences plus combiners can be united into a complex sentence structure.[14]

Harris' work with transform analysis came about originally through his attempts to achieve an economical description of complex sentence structure.[15] In this area

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[13] Introduction to Linguistic Structures, pp. 129-145; pp. 446-464.

[14] Z. S. Harris, "Discourse Analysis," Language, 28 (1952), pp. 1-30 and 474-494.

[15] Z. S. Harris, "Co-occurrence and Transformation," Language, 33 (1957) 283-340; N. Chomsky, Syntactic Structures (s-Gravenhage, 1957), pp. 35-44. For an application of transform theories to a language analysis, see S. C. Gudschinsky, "Mazatec Kernel Constructions and Transformations,"

of analysis, transformation grammar seems to be particularly promising.[16] There is, however, a serious deterrent to its application to the language of historical periods. A fundamental procedure in transform technique is the testing of transformations against native reaction.[17] Transform grammar is, in effect, a generative grammar. Although we may become highly sophisticated in the grammar of the utterances that were recorded in literary texts, our language medium is a static thing, not a living continuum. We do not know for sure how a speaker would have reacted to any particular transform which we might hazard in our sophistication about recorded forms. We may be able to perform a transform operation on the basis of long acquaintance and intuition with a high probability of accuracy or acceptability, and

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International Journal of American Linguistics, 25 (1959), pp. 81-89, and "Discourse Analysis of a Mazatec Text," International Journal of American Linguistics, 25 (1959), pp. 139-146.

[16]For one of the most promising and detailed "pre-transformation" analyses of complex sentence structure, see A. A. Hill, Introduction to Linguistic Structures, pp. 354-405.

[17]N. Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, p. 13: "The grammar of L will thus be a device that generates all of the grammatical sequences of L and none of the ungrammatical ones. One way to test the adequacy of a grammar proposed for L is to determine whether or not the sentences that it generates are actually grammatical, i.e., acceptable to a native speaker, etc." Also R. B. Lees' "Review of Noam Chomsky's Syntactic Structures," Language, 33 (1957), p. 382: "Furthermore, if it is to be useful in explicating the behavior of speakers, a grammar must be able to satisfy certain external, empirical requirements. It must permit us to generate automatically all and only the grammatical sentences of the language, else it could not be called a description at all. Moreover, these

occasionally we may be able to ratify our transforms on the basis of later fortuitous discoveries in our corpus. But lacking an informant against whom we can readily check the grammaticalness of our constructions, the checking operation is procedurally inefficient and leaves too many gaps for systematic description.

1.6. A summary of basic assumptions.--In conclusion, the fundamental assumption upon which this study rests is that stages of a language for which evidence exists only in the form of written materials will yield to objectively descriptive treatment. In attaching primacy of interest to the language of discourse rather than to the language of narrative prose generally or to formal exposition, we have followed the preferred practice of our discipline.[18] Our insistence upon the use of dialogue as the basis of study is aimed at getting as close as possible to realistic speech conditions.

1.7. A preview of the investigation.--In the initial stage of the investigation, nouns will be identified by their substitutability within a common framework utterance; thus

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sentences cannot be restricted to some finite corpus, say a text, or the set of all sentences which had been uttered up to the time of the construction of the grammar, else it could not account for the fact that speakers are able to extend the corpus indefinitely."

[18] This point is developed by Fries, Structure of English, pp. 4-5. For an earlier and extended discussion of this theoretical assumption, see L. Bloomfield, Language, (New York, 1933), chap. 3.

the definition of a particular class of words is dependent upon syntactic or functional criteria at the outset. Other word classes are isolated and defined through their substitutability for other items in the common framework utterance. Subsequently, a cross-class restriction in substitution possibilities exposes the operation of number correlation in OE grammar. Then a comparison of noun-phrase shapes permits a description of recurrent items of noun expansion, and the identification of the classes which act as noun expanders--articles and adjectives (Chapter 1). Finally, the items which can function as replacives and substitutes for nouns in the framework utterances are identified and classified (Chapter 2).

A study of the constituent elements of the framework utterances--subject-predicate constructions--introduces the matter of case (Chapter 3).

Three succeeding chapters deal in detail with matters of noun form; with noun morphotactics, with inflectional suffixes, and with the inflectional series into which eleventh century nouns fall.

CHAPTER II

SUBSTANTIVE TYPES

2.1. The definition of utterance units.--The investigator who works with literary texts naturally does not have recourse to behavioral clues to assist him in the identification or classification of utterances; he has instead only a rough approximation to this kind of information in the narrative context in which the utterances occur.

All instances of direct utterance in the primary texts listed on page viii were recorded on approximately 5,000 citation slips as a permanent corpus of reference. This corpus contains patches of discourse and dialogue either recorded or simulated in the narratives and the expositions of eleventh century writers; some are fairly extensive, others are quite short; some involve discourse between individuals, some are soliloquies; some record complete discourses, but most record only selected portions from a dialogue. (These master citation slips in turn yielded 23,000 secondary slips containing instances of nouns in context, which could be conveniently surveyed for examples of like grammatical function and like formal construction.)

While the analyst often finds useful signals of the opening of a conversation such as the common OE greeting eala,

the beginning of every dialogue is by no means circumstantially recorded. For rhetorical considerations, a writer may have recorded only the climactic utterance in a dialogue, submerging the rest of the exchange in a narrative summary. Or, in recording a dialogue, an author may have quoted utterance and response exchanges verbatim for a short period, then have resorted to narrative paraphrase when he had achieved his particular effect with the direct discourse.

Whatever the contextual circumstances in which particular instances of dialogue occur, the worker can use the details of this contextual matter in lieu of behavioral characteristics to define the utterance unit with procedural rigor. Utterance units are bounded on one side by the narrative or by the author's exposition and on the other side by the response of another speaker, by the resumption of the narrative, or by the resumption of the exposition.[1]

2.2. The order of analysis.--The order of attack in this study is that recommended by Hjelmslev and demonstrated by Fries, beginning with the unanalyzed text and working down, first, to the particular part of speech class selected for observation and, ultimately, to the formal characteristics

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[1] For an analogous definition dealing with a spoken language, see Z. S. Harris, Methods in Structural Linguistics, p. 14: "An utterance is any stretch of talk, by one person, before and after which there is silence on the part of the person. The utterance is, in general, not identical with sentence (as that word is commonly used), since a great many utterances, in English for example, consist of single words, phrases, 'incomplete sentences,' etc."

of this class. Lacking the suprasegmental features which would facilitate the definition and isolation of like syntactic constructions, we had recourse to the only other descriptive approach available, the comparison of utterances within the corpus with the aim of discovering recurring patterns of like grammatical structure.

2.3. The use of substitution frames.--Even a casual survey of the citation slips disclosed resemblances among utterances. The analytical usefulness of this method can be demonstrated succinctly with the following examples.

. . . se man syngað . . . Q 22.27

. . . se man æt . . . Q 17.34

. . . se man . . . gæð . . . GM 13:44

. . . se welega gæð . . . GM 19:23

The phrase se man is common to the first three utterances, as gæð is common to the last two utterances; in fact, these two phrases together constitute the third utterance itself. This overlap of the two phrases conveniently allows us to perform a simple substitution which gives us two further, though potential, actualizations of the pattern: se welega syngað and se welega æt. This capacity of different items to fill a common position in partially like utterances is taken as evidence of membership in a common class. Similarly, gæð, syngað, and æt are taken to be members of a separate class.

2.4. Subject expressions.--The substitution operation is extremely important in that it allows us to isolate classes

of phrases from utterances. Applying the substitution operation to the mass of citations, we find an impressive variety of items substitutable for se man before gæð in the substitution frame se man gæð.[2]

se man	gæð
man	
se unholda man	
seo getydeste fæmne	
seo fæmne	
se	
hit	
þe	
swa hwylc man swa	

These examples will exemplify the range of structural complexity apparent in this class to which we give the designation subject expression, hereafter symbolized as S.

2.5. Predicate expressions.--Returning to the original utterance frame, we can perform the same substitution operation in the other or gæð slot in the frame, thus deriving another class of forms to which we give the designation predicate expressions (P's).

se man	gæð
	deð
	gesyhð
	geneałæcþ
	syngað
	astigeð
	arist
	com

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[2]Of course, not all the items in the left-hand column actually occur before gæð in the primary texts; rather, they occur before a form analogous to gæð in a like frame; for example, . . . man . . . bewinde . . . Gu 164.67; . . . se unholda man is . . . GM 13:39; . . . seo getydeste fæmne wæs . . . HMa 135.656; . . . seo fæmne hæfð . . . GM 1:23; . . . se lufað AeD 11.17; . . . hit onlihte . . . GM 5:15; . . . þe lið . . . HB 42.15; . . . swa hwylc man swa writeþ . . . HMg 47.3.

se man generede
geswutelode
lifde
genealæhte
astige

The substitution of items within the same frame can be demonstrated with the P expressions, just as we substituted S expressions in section 2.4, until the full range of possible combinations has been exemplified: se man gæð, se man deð, se man gesyhð, se man genealæcþ, etc.

2.6. Number agreement in S-P expressions.--In order to describe the membership of these two classes fully, it is necessary to bring into consideration the grammatical category of number and the operation of number agreement between different classes. Although we have already seen that free substitution is possible in our frame to the extent that any item in the S list may be tied to any item in the P list in that order, substitution of this sort is soon restricted by number agreement as exemplified in the following paired utterance segments.

. . . se tima	cymð . . .	AeL 1.510.384
. . . þa dagas	cumað . . .	GM 9:15
an munuc	com . . .	TL 197.78
þyne twegen getrywan cnyhtas	comon . . .	V 191.294
. . . hire wer	lifde . . .	M 203.259
. . . þa munucas	lifdon . . .	M 200.181

According to the substitution process we could expect to find the following potential utterances: an munuc com, an munuc lifde. However, because of the operation of grammatical agreement between these two classes of expressions,

we will never find, normally, such forms as *an munuc comon or *an munuc lifdon.[3] In other words, certain morphological changes in one list necessitate a corresponding change in the other list: these formal changes are signals of number. Taking our original frame se man gæð and adding to it the element of number (plurality), we arrive at another actualization of the frame, þa menn gaþ, in which the following S substitutions are potential:

þa menn	gað[4]
we	
þas	
þe	
manige	
englas	
niniuetisce weras	
ðas gymwyrhtan	
ealle ðas goldsmiðas	

In the second position of the (plural) frame, the following P substitutions are possible:

þa menn	gað
	doð

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[3]The asterisk, conventionally employed in historical linguistics to signify a reconstructed form, or in descriptive linguistics to signal a hypothetical form, is here used to signal a suppositious form, one whose occurrence we have not observed and do not anticipate.

[4]The following citations account for some actual items before gað and its equivalents: . . . we geleƒað and hihteð . . . HL 57.5; . . . hig teoð . . . and hig fæstniað . . . M 199.129; . . . ðas ðweorigað . . . AeH 1.380.8; . . . manige cumað . . . wuniað . . . GM 8:11; . . . englas cumaþ . . . neamaþ . . . lædaþ . . . HMg 47.29; . . . niniuetisce weras arisað . . . GM 12:41; . . . ealle ðas goldsmiðas secgað . . . AeH 1.64.7 . . .

þa menn geseoþ
arisaþ
syngiað
comon
lifdon
generedon
geswuteledon
genealæhton
astigen

2.7. Substantives and substantive phrases.--From the entire corpus, a tremendous list of items were found which could fill the S slot in the frame se man gæð, or the analogous position in the frame's plural alternate. All items which can fill this slot are referred to as substantives (SB's) or substantive phrases. Actually, the term is introduced somewhat prematurely, for it will be seen later that the SB class is more inclusive than the S class; in other words, all S's are SB's but not all SB's are S's. Some SB's are objects (see section 3.15). However, the mechanical efficiency achieved through the use of this concept at the outset more than makes up for the disruption of descriptive order.

2.8. Nouns and noun-headed phrases.--Among the SB's listed in section 2.4 which can substitute for se man in the S slot, two examples are of immediate concern: man and se unholda man. In these three separate actualizations of S a recurrent form man occurs either alone or as part of an expanded construction. Similarly, the form fæmne recurs in two expanded constructions seo getydeste fæmne and seo fæmne. Throughout the S list many such expanded and unexpanded forms occur: the unexpanded forms are conventionally referred to as nouns (N's) and the patterns

of expansion in which N's are the ultimate constituent are called N-headed phrases.

2.9. The articles.--Before proceeding to describe the range of items which can fill the substitution list in section 2.4, it is necessary to introduce the other parts of speech which can expand N's into N-headed phrases. From the list of S expressions occurring in the corpus, we observe three analogous and obviously related subclasses of a common grammatical type.

a. . . . se oxa spyrnð . . . AeH 1.390.10
. . . þes spæc . . . spryngað . . . GN 486.13

b. . . . seo tunge swygað . . . HB 38.16
. . . þeos ceaster wunige . . . A 21.16

c. . . . þæt deor fuhte . . . M 207.402
. . . þis wif apwoh . . . AeD 19.10

Members of each subclass pair are mutually substitutable; for example, þes oxa or se spæc may occur as well as the original examples. But subclasses are mutually exclusive; tunge cannot substitute for oxa after se/þes, nor wif for tunge or ceaster after seo/þeos. These three pairs of N expansion items belonging to a single grammatical class, of restricted membership, are called articles (ART's).[5]

2.10. Grammatical gender.--The observed exclusiveness between subclasses of the ART is by no means unique among OE

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[5]The ART is here distinguished as a class from the stream of utterance on syntactic grounds, as an item within a substitution frame. When the concept of grammatical case has been defined (see section 3.13), the ART can be procedurally identified in full paradigmatic detail; see sections 3.15-3.16 for examples of case inflections.

parts-of-speech (see section 2.22 on the direct replacives). This exclusiveness does, however, facilitate the definition of the grammatical category of gender. On the basis of just such formal, obligatory correlations between subclasses of ART's and subclasses of N's, we can differentiate the three gender classes, "masculine," "feminine," and "neuter."

The traditional terms for the OE gender classes are metaphorically connotative rather than descriptively exact. The N's deor and wif among the neuters attest to the fact that grammatical gender does not reflect biological or sexual classification. Similarly, spæc is no more innately masculine than ceaster or tunge are feminine.

2.11. The plural of the ART's.--The gender distinctions are peculiar to the singular of the ART class; in the plural category a single pair, non-distinctive for gender, balances the three singular pairs.

. . . þa bytta forwurþað . . . GM 9:17
. . . þas ymbstandendan . . . AeH 1.426.26

2.12. Adjectives.--After identifying the ART as a N-correlating and N-expanding class, we turn our attention to other examples of N-headed phrases which begin with the ART's in section 2.4. The examples cited there are supplemented by further examples from the general list of S expressions.

se unholda man[6]
seo getydeste fæmne
. . . þæt halige gewit wile . . . Q 21.2

. . . þas reðan deor gehyrsumiað . . . AeH 2.492.15

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[6]In the Apollonius and Margaret fragments, and in the Questions of Sigewulf, four instances of atypical masculine

The items in N-headed phrases which fill the slot between the phrase-initial ART's and the N head are called adjectives (ADJ's); later we shall see that what we have isolated here is one type of the ADJ class.[7]

2.13. Phrase-internal ADJ's.--Although reference to inflectional characteristics at this stage of the analysis is an anticipation of later descriptive stages, number and gender correlations among ADJ's, ART's, and N's can only be described on a combined syntactic and inflectional basis.

As we shall see, the distinction between types of ADJ classes is determined both by position of occurrence in a particular frame and by inflectional endings. The following syntactic-inflectional formula sums up the number and gender correlations observed by this particular ADJ type, occurring in an internal position in N-headed phrases.

1.		se/þes	ADJ -(a	N (sing.)
2.	seo/þeos,	þæt/þis	ADJ -(e	N (sing.)
3.		þa/þas	ADJ -(an	N (plur.)

2.14. Phrase-initial ADJ's.--Another N-headed phrase pattern occurs similar to that described in section 2.13, except that another inflectional type of the ADJ fills the se or phrase-initial slot.

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phrase-internal ADJ's occur: se forliden (e man, A 25.38; se unclæn (e gast, HMg 47.13; se eald(e æ, Q 22.24; se twyfeald(e deaþ, Q 19.28.

[7]See Hill, Introduction to Linguistic Structures, pp. 175-190, for an analysis of the same problem for modern English.

min	leofa	sunu	(se) GM 17:15
ful	stincendiste	hell	(seo) GN 504.19
nan	dihle	þing	(þæt) GM 10:26
eowre	lyðran	magas	(þa) AeH 1.504.296

ADJ's of the phrase-initial type also expand N's directly.

. . . min	cnapa	lið . . .	(se type) GM 8:6
. . . min	dohtor	gewilnað . . .	(seo) A 30.29
. . . min	gebed . . .	gefare . . .	(þæt) HMg 42.16
. . . god	man . . .	bringþ . . .	(se) GM 12:35
. . . yfel	cneorys	secþ . . .	(seo) GM 12:35
. . . wynsum	leoht . . .	com . . .	(þæt) HH 511.13
. . . mine	fæderas	ahengon	(þa) HMg 41.2
. . . romanisce	ealdras	awurpon . . .	AeH 1.588.17

An even simpler formula than that for phrase-internal ADJ's sums up the gender-number correlations of this phrase-initial ADJ type.

1. ADJ (zero) ADJ -(a N (se type)
2. ADJ (zero) ADJ -(e N (seo and þæt types)

3. ADJ -(e ADJ -(an N (þa type)

2.15. The distinction between ADJ types.--The distinction between the two types of ADJ is a contrast in inflectional behavior between a phrase-initial ADJ type--traditionally called "strong"--which follows one pattern of inflectional correlation, and a phrase-internal ADJ type--traditionally called "weak"--which follows another pattern of inflectional correlation.

2.16. Anomalous patterns of ADJ expansion.--So far we have considered the general or normative N expansion patterns. However, in both the initial and the internal ADJ slots, particular items occur which do not fit these general patterns

of ADJ inflectional behavior: for example, when ælc, eall/ealle, manega, nan, sum/sume, etc., and numbers fill the phrase-initial spot, the internal ADJ's, contrary to the general formula, end in the initial ADJ endings--zero/ -(e.[8]

an	geong	man (se type) AeL 1.532.710
ælc	yfel	treow (þæt) GM 23.35
eall	mennisc	cynn (þæt) GN 510.34
nan	rihtwis	man (se) HMa 129.410
sum	wundorlic	gesihð (seo) AeL 1.534.746
ealle	eorðlice	mægða (þa) Q 23.6
manega	lease	witegan GM 24:11
twege	æðele	naman A 18.22
twegen	hebreisce	men AeH 2.494.8

Likewise, such items as agen/agene, min/mine, oþer/oþre, invariably inflect with the ADJ initial endings whether preceded by ART's or by other ADJ's.

se	min	fæder M 201.190
se	oþer	sumu Q 21.31
seo	oþer	boc Q 22.18
ænig	oþer	byrig AeL 1.520.541
þa	oðre	fæmnan GM 25:11
þas	mine	twegen suna GM 20:21
eowre	agene	þeoda GN 474.33
ealle þyne	agene	þeoda V 189.23

2.17. Number expansion.--Numbers are uninflected in either phrase-initial or phrase-internal position: an ælmihtig god, AeH 1.464.28; twegen geonga [sic] cnihtas, AeL 2.212.373; se an fyrst, AeL 1.532.730; þa twa pund, GM 25:20.

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[8]But if an ADJ of the normal phrase-initial type (see section 2.14) intervenes between the anomalous eall/ealle, etc. the normal pattern obtains: ealle eorðlice mægða but ealle mine arleasan þenas.

2.18. The ranking of expansion items.--The ranking of ART's and ADJ's in patterns of expansion with respect to the N heads and to each other can be conveniently illustrated in a simple chart with the N heads in the far right-hand column and the various ranks of potential expansion in consecutive columns to the left of the N heads.

	V	IV	III	II	IA	IB	IC	N
					singular			
1.		se			ealda			hord
		seo			soðe			lufu
		þæt			gode			sæd
2.			min		leofa			fæder
			þin		swiðre			hand
			þin		swyðre			eage
3.		se	min					fæder
4.	eall					mennisc		cynn
	sum					ælþeodig		man
5.		seo					oþer	boc
			his				agen	folc
	ænig						oþer	byrig
6.		se		an				ege
		þæt		an				fyrst
				an		geong		man
					plural			
1.		þa			hæðenan			leoda
2.			eowre		lyðran			magas
3.		þas	mine	twegen				suna
4.	ealle					eorðlice		mægða
5.		þa					oþre	gesceafta
	ealle		þyne				agene	þeoda
6.				þry		berene		hlafas
		þa		seofon	dweligendan			steorran

The potential and obligatory relationships which obtain among the various ranks of expansion elements can now be stated in economical summary fashion.

1. Ranks V through II are filled by phrase-initial types of ADJ's. Rank V takes precedence over all other ranks; it is filled by a special list of enumerating or quantifying ADJ's: eall/ealle, ælc, nan, manega, etc. Ranks IV, III, and II may all begin a phrase or may be preceded by another ADJ of higher rank: ealle (V) þas (IV) suna; se (IV) min (III) fæder; endeleas (III) cwylming; an (II) boc.

Rank IV is filled by ART's, rank III by the general phrase-initial ADJ list, and rank II by numbers: þas (IV) mine (III) twegen (II) suna; se (IV) an (II) god.

2. Ranks IA, IB, and IC contain phrase-internal types of the ADJ; they are mutually exclusive among themselves. Selection of types A and B is contingent upon the occurrence of preceding initial ranks.

a. ADJ's of rank IV and rank III select ADJ's of rank IA (but not of rank IB): se (IV) ealda (IA) man; min (III) leofa (IA) fæder.

b. ADJ's of rank V and rank II select ADJ's of rank IB (but not of rank IA): sum (V) ælþeodig (IB) man; þry (II) berene (IB) hlafas.

c. ADJ's of rank IC--consisting of a list of special bases such as agen/agene, oþer/oþre are not contingent upon preceding ranks: seo (IV) oþer (IC) boc; ealle (V) þyne (III) agene (IC) þeoda.

3. Although the inflectional endings of rank IA and IB are mutually exclusive in occurrence, the ADJ bases in these ranks are interchangeable:

a. seo (IV) soðe (IA) lufu
an (III) soð (IB) god

b. þæt (IV) gode (IA) sæd
ælc (V) god (IB) treow

4. One of the ADJ bases of rank IC can also function as a base of rank III: oþre (III) leorning-men, AeH 2.414.31.

2.19. An irregular expansion pattern.--One irregular pattern of expansion occurs in the corpus, in which a base of rank III appears before ART's (rank IV); the contexts of these patterns is in all cases one where the speaker is pointing out or identifying an object with proprietary emphasis or intensification: min se leofa fæder, Gu 164.70; min se leofesta freond, A23.2; min se leofa þeow, AeL 2.192.50; min se gecorena sunu, GM 3:17; min þæt niowe wif, M 203.267.

2.20. The replacives.--In section 2.4 we introduced a list of substitution items which can occur before the P expression gæð and its analogues. The description of the first class of these S expressions to be identified, the N's, occupied our attention from section 2.8 to 2.17. Now, in returning to the original substitution list of section 2.4, we find that another group of S expressions regularly function as replacements or replacives (R's) for other SB's.

Two classes of these R's function in materially different ways from each other. The first group, like all SB's, are S substitutes in the test frame se man gæð, but unlike SB's of the N class, this group does not correspond to items in the world of objective reality. While the N phrase

se man used by an eleventh century writer ostensibly referred to a particular example of that type, such expressions as ælc þæra manna þe or swa hwylc man swa designate a suppositious entity only; they function as verbal counters or fillers in the frame, but do not designate an individual of the type man. Such indefinite fillers of the se man slot are referred to as indefinite replacives (IR's): ælc þe, ælc þæra þe, ælc þæra manna þe, se þe, swa hwa swa, swa hwylc swa, swa hwylc man swa : þa þe.

Once, however, a N or an IR has been posited in the stream of utterance, either can be referred to--i.e., replaced--in subsequent but related utterances by a definite replacive (DR): he, heo, hit, se, seo, þæt, þes, þeos, þis, þe : hig, þa, þas, þa ðe, þe.

To sum up the functional differences between these two types of R's, IR's fill a slot but do not designate a definite, referrable entity either in the world of reality or in the grammatical context; DR's replace previously identified, grammatically related N's or IR's in sequential utterances.

2.21. The indefinite replacives.--The following citations exemplify the principal IR types and the formulae of reference to them by DR's.

a. ælc þe . . . he

. . . ælc þe forlæt . . . he onfehþ . . . GM 19:29

b. <u>ælc þæra þe . . . he, se</u>

. . . ælc þæra þe gesyhð . . . se ge-syngað . . . GM 5:28

. . . ælc þæra þe bit he onfehþ . . . GM 7:8

c. <u>ælc þæra manna þe . . . he</u>

ælc þæra manna þe . . . forlætt he onfehð . . . V 190.272

d. <u>se þe . . . he, se</u>

. . . se ðe þigeð . . . he ahefð . . . HJo 161.222

. . . seþe . . . deþ and lærð se biþ . . . GM 5:19

e. <u>swa hwa swa . . . he, se</u>

. . . swa hwa swa ahwineþ . . . he biþ . . . HMg 47.31

. . . swa hwa swa forlætt . . . se un-riht-hæmð . . . GM 19:9

f. <u>swa hwylc swa . . . he, se</u>

. . . swa hwylc swa . . . forlæt he sylle . . . GM 5:31

. . . swa hwylc swa gefylð . . . se byð . . . GN 486.32

g. <u>swa hwylc man swa . . . he, se</u>

. . . swa hwylc man swa wyðersacað . . . he byð . . . GN 480.1

swa hwilc man swa . . . lufað he hafað . . . HJu 186.123

h. <u>þa þe . . . hig</u>

. . . þa ðe wunedon . . . hig sceoldon . . . GN 496.23

. . . þa ðe nymað . . . hig forwurþað . . . GM 26:52

2.22. <u>The direct replacives</u>.--The DR's are illustrated in the following instances. As in the ART's (sections 2.9 and 2.10) gender correlation is operative. Contrasting gender forms among DR's such as <u>he</u>, <u>se</u>/<u>heo</u>, <u>seo</u>/<u>þæt</u> allow for a high level of efficiency in the process of grammatical reference.

a. masc. sing. SB . . . he, se, se ðe, þe

þes scinenda is . . . he nereð . . . he reafeð . . . HH 611.17
. . . se þeowa uteode he gemette . . . se sceolde GM 18:28
. . . þin fæder agylt . . . se þe gesyhþ . . . GM 6:4
. . . se iunga man sy . . . þe gehirsumode . . . A 25.31

b. fem. sing. SB . . . heo, seo, seo þe, þe þe

seo eorðe geopenode and forswealh . . . heo oferwreah . . . AeH 2.420.21
. . . sum wif wæs . . . seo wæs . . . heo genealæhte . . . heo wearð . . . V 182.46
. . . mine efenþeowene seo þe wæs . . . M 203.256
. . . seo æ is . . . ðe ðe gebylde . . . AeH 1.428.21

c. neut. sing. SB . . . þæt, hit,[9] þe

. . . þæt sealt awyrð . . . hit sy . . . GM 5:13
. . . leoht cymð . . . þæt liehteð . . . HMa 133.574
þys leoht ys . . . þæt scyneð . . . þæt fæderlice leoht ys . . . hyt ys . . . GN 496.13

d. plur. SB . . . hig, ða, þa ðe, þe

. . . niniuetisce weras arisað . . . hig genyðeriað . . . hig dydon . . . GM 12:41
. . . her cumað . . . twegen hebreisce men ða sind . . . hi tæcað . . . AeH 2.494.7
. . . ealle fleoð . . . þa þe hatiað . . . Gu 160.16
. . . þa þry weras sædon þe comon . . . GN 488.17

2.23. Expansion of R's.--Only a few R expressions occur with expansion items; the expanded R's are all in the plural and are expanded by rank V expansion items.

. . . sume hig feollon . . . GM 13:4
. . . sume hig twiccedan . . . M 204.316
. . . ealle þa ðe . . . nymað . . . GM 26:52

---

[9]The form hit is here exemplified among the DR expressions; actually it has dual class membership in the R expressions. Cf. . . . hyt byþ smylte weder . . . GM 16:2. Gender reference in eleventh century English is generally, but not absolutely, observed: . . . se oxa spyrnð . . . hit dereð . . . AeH 1.390.10.

2.24. The person indicators.--In addition to N's and R's a third class of SB expressions fill the S slot. The four members of the class, ic, þu : ge, hig, serve to establish the rhetorical point of view in discourse, i.e., the person speaking, the person spoken to; hence these four forms are called person indicators (PI's).

When the writer or speaker characterizes himself or identifies himself as the observer of action, he uses a grammatical form indicating that perspective: . . . ic eom þin broðor . . . AeL 2.210.337; . . . ic eom apollonius se tirisca ealdorman . . . A 24.18. When, on the other hand, the writer or speaker includes others along with himself as observers, or the agents of action, he uses the characteristic form we:[10] . . . we wæron fægne . . . HH 611.7; we beoð þine geholan and . . . þine mid-sprecan . . . AeL 1.524.590.

When the writer addresses himself directly to another person or persons, or when he characterizes another person or persons, or when he identifies others as the observers of events or the performers of actions, he uses the characteristic pair of PI's þu : ge to establish this separation of himself from the phenomena which he is observing: eala þu sæ neptune manna bereafigend . . . A 24.8; . . . þu eart stænen . . .

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[10]There are only occasional remains of the OE dual inflection in the eleventh century texts. When the speaker or writer included only one other person with himself (wit), or when he addresses two individuals only (git), he occasionally employs these relic forms: þa wæron wit twegen on anum olfende . . . M 202.226; . . . wit secað . . . AeL 2.206.267; . . . git godwrecan and . . . git rode wurðan [sic] . . . M 206.389.

AeH 1.364.21: ge sind meldan and manslagan . . . AeL 1.46. 24.

When the writer or speaker includes neither himself nor his hearer in his discourse, he uses N's, IR's, and DR's solely.

2.25. The expansion of PI's.--Expansion of PI's was observed only with the inclusive or plural forms we and ge: as in the case of R's, expansion was by rank V ADJ's (section 2.21): ealle we singað . . . AeL 2.338.70; . . . ealle ge wurþað . . . GM 26.31.

In conclusion, the inference that the recognition of recurrent utterance segments in literary dialogue can be the basis of an analytical procedure was workable. The substitution of functionally like items within the same position in a test frame (se man gæð) allows for the isolation of classes of syntactic expressions (S,P); similarly, within syntactic expressions, separate part-of-speech classes are identifiable (N, ART, ADJ, R, PI). The regularity of number agreement between S and P, the operation of gender and number agreement among ART, ADJ, and N, and the operation of selection among ranks of N expansion items reinforce the applicability of our basic assumption and the validity of our procedures of analysis to the materials of the investigation.

CHAPTER III

NOUN CASE

3.1. The analysis of P expressions.--In the description of S expressions, we came eventually to focus on N's and N-headed phrases. In this chapter a similar concern at the outset with the varieties of P expansion will restore a descriptive balance. Here also, however, the N will claim our main interest.

3.2. The unexpanded P's.--In the test frame se man gæð, P occurs frequently in unexpanded form; in other words, P is often fully realized by a single item for which the conventional designation of verb (V) is quite adequate.

3.3. The SB-V tie.--Since the test frame coheres syntactically on the basis of the number agreement or "tie"[1] between S and V, the details of V morphology which signal this tie should be explored first of all. The details of these number-contrastive V endings are summarized in the following formulae. (The slash / indicates that items occur in contrast to each other in the same syntactic environment; the colon indicates formal number contrast.)

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[1]For a similar application of this term, see C. C. Fries, Structure of English, pp. 144-148.

3.4. The V ties with N's, PR's, and IR's.--The following V endings signal number correlation between V's and N's (man : menn), DR's (he : hig), and IR's (swa hwa swa : þa ðe) only. The V endings which correlate with PI's will be dealt with in section 3.5.

a. -(eð[2] / -(ð / -(t[3] : -(að

se þe astig(eð	þa ðe astig(að
aris(t	aris(að
syl(þ /	syll(að
syll(eð	

---

[2]In the primary texts, the V -(eð endings agree almost exclusively with the items in the sing. S list. Only in the Lenten Homily (Hatton 85 and 86) and in the life of Guthlac (Cotton Vespasian D 21) are there a few instances of -(eð correlation with forms analagous to þa menn, i.e., . . . we gelefað and hihteð . . . HL 57.5, . . . se lichama and seo sawul hi todæleð . . . Gu 161.66, etc. However, in the list of V endings, -(eð is frequently found in alternation with -(ð : genealæc(þ, GM 26:45; genealæc(eð, GM 3:2, 10:21; syl(þ, GM 16:26; syll(eþ, HMg 46.2; syl(eþ, Gu 160.15; sell(eð, HJo 161.229. Other examples of the syll(eð type are adryf(eð, GN 471.30; astig(eð, HMa 122.189; fornym(eð, Gu 160.17; heald(eð, HJo 161.215; cenn(eð, HMa 122.185; þig(eð, HJo 161.222; wið-worp(eð, HR 46.23; etc.

[3]The historical development of -(t after -d-, -þ-, and -s- is described by Moore and Knott, The Elements of Old English, sections 124-125, as the result of assimilation subsequent to vowel syncopation. Carl Brühl exemplifies these suffixes in his lists of the V endings, by ablautsreihe, in his study Die Flexion des Verbums in Aelfrics Heptateuch und Buch Hiob (Marburg, 1892). B. W. Wells also noted that "the second and third singular of the present indicative is always in the short form, except wiðstandeð . . . . A double consonant is simplified (winð, fylð), and ðð and tð become t (tt), while dst, tst become st (fint, bitt, finst, bytst, etc.) in "Strong Verbs in Aelfric's Saints," Modern Language Notes, 3 (1888), 179.

b. -(að[4] : -(iað

heo syng(að : hig syng(iað
þol(að þol(iað

c. -(ð : -(ð, with stem vowel alternation

se gesyh(ð : þa geseo(þ
by(þ beo(þ
de(þ do(þ

d. zero ending : -(on / -(un / -(an / -(en[5]

se wulf æt : þa hwelpas æt(on

---

[4]The occurrence of the ending -(að as a plur. ending in the first statement and as a sing. ending in the second statement would appear to destroy the contrastive value of this ending as a signal of number distinction. The behavior of the ending is admittedly paradoxical in that it can, in one syntactic situation, signal sing. number, and in another situation it can signal plur. number. However, since the sing. ending -(að never occurs in direct contrast with the plur. ending -(að, the contrast is between two lists of forms, one set of which terminates with V sing. -(að, the other set of which terminates in V plur. -(að also. In other words the contrast -(að : -(að is completely supposititious. The confusion in form is more apparent than real, more a matter of analytical abstraction than an obstacle to communication. In the continuum of speech records, unquestionably the ending -(að in the frame bearn arisaþ is ambiguous for the moment, until one encounters a contrasting frame bearn arist, or until one can establish number by cross reference to an unambiguous number signal such as þa in þa menn arisaþ. In summation, some eleventh century V's select the sing. ending -(að from alternative sing. endings -(að, -(eð, -(ð, and -(t; other V's select the plur. ending -(að from alternative plur. endings -(að and -(iað. Thus the factor of selection partially compensates for the inflectional ambiguity resulting from the presence of identical endings in both the sing. and plur. lists, since the V's selecting -(að sing. and -(að plur. belong to mutually exclusive lists.

[5]The fluctuations in the graphemic representation of the vowels--listed in order of frequency of appearance--in this undoubtedly unstressed syllable suggest that vocalic neutralization was in progress during the period. The phonetically effective signal of number contrast in this location seems quite clearly to have been between zero ending and an ending consisting of a phonetically neutral vowel plus

e. zero ending : zero ending

þis ys : þa synd[6]

f. -(e : -(on / -(un / -(an / -(en

hire mod astig(e : þa mod astig(en

3.5. The V ties with PI's.--The following V endings tie solely with PI's. The first series tie with the speaker indicators ic : we solely; the subsequent examples tie with the hearer indicators þu : ge.

a. -(e / -(ie : -(að / -(iað

ic gelyf(e : we gelyf(að
luf(ie luf(iaþ

---

a dental nasal, perhaps close to MdnE [en]. The Gospel scribe (Corpus Christi College 140) favored the spelling -(un when he departed from the historic ending: . . . we sungun . . . ge fricudun . . . we cwiþdun . . . ge wepun . . . GM 11:16; . . . hig æteowun . . . hig onfengon . . . GM 6:16; . . . sume hig feollon . . . fuglas comun . . . æton . . . GM 13:4. The inconsistencies in the spelling practices of the homilists in Corpus Christi College 41, margin, and in Hatton 85-86 and of the author of Malchus (Cotton Otho C 1) suggest the neutrality of this vowel even more convincingly: . . . we gesawun . . . HH 611.11; . . . we mihtan . . . [illegible] 318.18; . . . we syndan . . . HL 53.2; . . . hio bæran . . . hiora lichaman wæron . . . sume hio twiccedan . . . sume hio wurpon . . . M 204.315; manige cristes cyrcan . . . weoxen . . . M 199.138; . . . wide sceos hangodan . . . bogan hangodan . . . M 202.221.

[6]Note that in the language of some writers of the period is / ys alternates with sind / synd; with others it alternates with sindon / syndon. In the first case is / ys is part of a contrastive pattern containing many other items like com : comon; in the second case, is / ys is the unique member of a contrastive pattern ys : synd.

b. -(ast / -(st : -(að

þu gehyr(ast	: ge gehyr(aþ
haf(ast /	haf(að[7]
hæf(st	
ondræt(st	ondræd(að
swinc(st	swinc(að

c. -(st / -(est : -(að

þu gemet(st /	; ge met(aþ
met(est	
læd(est	læd(aþ
wit(est	wit(að

d. -(st / -(est, with stem vowel alternation : -(ð / -(að

þu cym(est /	: ge cum(að
cym(st	
cwy(st	cweþ(að
dē(st	dō(þ
gesih(st	geseō(ð
tih(st	teōh(þ
yt(st	et(að

e. -(ast : -(iað

þu hop(ast	: ge hop(iað
luf(ast	luf(iað

f. -(e : -(on / -(un / -(an / -(en

þu betæht(e	: ge betæht(on
clypod(e	clypod(un
cwēd(e	cwēd(un

3.6. The expansions of P.--Having described in detail the various number-contrastive signal patterns by which S and V can be linked, we may now turn to the varieties of P expansion.

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[7] The V habban not only demonstrates the general tendency toward vowel syncopation in unstressed V endings, but also clear and frequent examples of the spread of sing. stem spreading into plur. stem territory: þu hæf(st / haf(ast : ge habb(að / haf(aþ.

The principal types of P expansion in a particular order of arrangement are listed below for convenient comparison and description. It should be noted, however, that although six types of expansion are listed here, the observed possibilities of combination among these types in the flow of speech are practically indefinite.

a.	. . . he wæs hæðen . . .	AeL 2.212.258
b.	. . . þas gymstanas synd tocwysede . . .	AeH 1.62.6
c.	. . . we comon hider . . .	A 29.16
d.	. . . man mot gehælan . . .	GN 471.26
e.	. . . wildeor habbað toslyten . . .	TL 196.33
f.	. . . ic lufige þone forlidenan man . . .	A 31.2

The items which expand P may often be classified with certitude only by reference to morphological form and syntactic function. Formally, P's are classifiable as (1) unexpanded--or invariant--base forms: her, hider, nu, siððan, etc., (2) inflectionally expanded forms: man, mann(um, tocwysed(e, gehæled(e, þearfend(e, and (3) derivationally expanded forms: gehæl-ed, þearf-ende, cum-an.

Items such as gehæled and þearfende are formally equivocal, since they are potentially members of two different part-of-speech classes. This fact makes it procedurally necessary to distinguish part-of-speech classes, which are definable as a class of items filling a particular syntactic function, and morphological classes, which are marked by formal expansion--inflectional or derivational--but which may be syntactically ambivalent.

3.7. ADJ expansion.--When the P position is filled by one of the items from the special list byð : beoð, is : synt,

sie : syn, wæs : wæron, wearð : wurdon, etc.,--hereafter referred to as the V(ys) list--, P is expanded by forms which are base-homonymous with ADJ's (section 2.12) and which are number-inflectionally expanded like ADJ's of type III, min : min(e (section 2.18). Therefore, we are able to distinguish between the various orders of ADJ's which fit the subject slot (S-ADJ's) and the ADJ's which expand the predicate (P-ADJ's); whereas the S-ADJ's correlate with N for case, number, and gender, P-ADJ's correlate with V's for number only.

. . . ic	eom	frig . . .	HM 41.1
. . . þin lichama	bið	ðysterful . . .	GM 6:23
. . . þes heofon	ys	read . . .	GM 16:2
. . . he	wæs	hæðen . . .	AeL 2.212.359
. . . se siðfætt	wearð	geendod . . .	M 202.232
. . . þa bearn	sind	frige . . .	GM 17:26
. . . þa bytta	beoþ	tobrecene . . .	GM 9:17
. . . þa cnyhtas	wæron	hebreisce . . .	GN 472.23
. . . þa sodomitiscan	wurdon	forswælede . . .	Q 22.31

3.8. Uninflected P-ADJ's.--Although P-ADJ's of section 3.7 are distinguished by their number agreement with V's, a second class of P-ADJ's are inflectionally invariable; hence they can be defined only on syntactic grounds as filling the P-ADJ slot in P after the V(ys) list.

. . . ðeos stow	is	arwyrðe . . .	AeL 2.352.297
. . . ðeos stow	ys	weste . . .	GM 14:15
. . . se wyrhta		wyrþe . . .	GM 10:10
. . . ðyllic feoh	wæs	farende . . .	AeL 1.530.702
. . . sume	synt	standende . . .	GM 16:28
. . . we	syndon	geomriende . . .	V 184.103

3.9. Adverb expansion.--When the V slot in the S-P frame is filled by a V of the general list--V(com) in contrast to

the two special lists, V(ys) or V(mot), (see section 3.1)--then P may be expanded by items called adverbs (ADV's).

ADV's, in contrast to ADJ's, never show inflectional agreement with V's. Two classes of ADV's are distinguishable on a formal basis: invariant or unexpanded forms, and forms which are expanded by one of the recurrent derivational markers -e, -ende, -es, -lice, -um, -unga, etc.

. . . þæt wif	wende	underbæc . . .	Q 22.46
. . . ic	sohte	eft . . .	M 200.184
. . . we	comon	hider . . .	A 29.16
. . . ðu	dest	yfele . . .	A 27.15
. . . ic	wat	fullgeorne . . .	HMa 188.202
. . . þine gebroþra	standaþ	herute . . .	GM 12.47
. . . hi	gað	unþances . . .	Q 18.42
. . . þeos leoft	scinð	unwederlice . . .	GM 16.3
. . . wit	reowan	sticcmælum . . .	M 205.348
. . . mannes sunu	com	etende . . .	GM 11:19

Furthermore, ADV's may serve to expand other ADV's in a series.

. . . þu	cymest	ful ær . . .	HL 53.10
. . . wit	locodon	swiðe oft underbæc . . .	M 205.355
. . . wit	eoden	hweþere þider in . . .	M 206.368
. . . we	comon	hider todæg þus togædere . . .	A 29.16
. . . ealle we	singað	gemænelice ætgædere . . .	AeL 2.338.70

In section 3.6 we noted that the variety of possible combinations among P expansion items was high. The ADV is the most versatile of these items as far as word-order is concerned. Not only may it occur in the post-V position described but also in pre-V, post-O position and in S territory as well.

. . . eallunga þus ic niðerstige . . . AeL 2.350.271
. . . efne nu ge habbað . . . AeH 1.464.9
. . . rihtlice þu demdest . . . AeD 10.7

. . . apollianus [sic] færinga nahwar ne ætywde . . . A 21.20
. . . hi þa ealle eadmodlice bædon . . . M 136.666
. . . heo wepende gebæd . . . HMa 122.177
. . . þeos spræc to wide spryngð . . . GN 486.13
. . . sio sunne swearte scine . . . M 206.365

Another function of ADV's is the expansion of P-ADJ's.

. . . se halga gast is æfre forðstæppende . . . AeH 1.464.35
. . . min dohtor hreowlice awed . . . AeH 1.458.10
. . . min dohtor nu swiðe bisy . . . A 29.20
. . . se casere nu gyt smeagende . . . AeH 1.514.452

. . . þa hlafas wæron swiðe eaðelice . . . AeL 1.514.469
. . . sume synt her standende . . . GM 16.28

3.10. V-an expansion.--When the V position of the S-P frame is filled by a special list of items, the V(mot) list--hate: heton, mæg : magon, mihte : mihton, mot : moton, sceolde : sceoldon, wile : willað, wolde : woldon, etc.--, P may be expanded by a form consisting of V base expanded by the recurrent marker -an / -ian. These P expansion forms are infinitives or V-an's. They show no inflectional agreement with other forms.

. . . se husbonda hate arisan . . . GM 20:27
. . . þes calic mæge gewitan . . . GM 26:42
. . . man mot gehælan . . . GN 471.26
. . . he sealde etan and drincan . . . V 188.223
. . . man sceolde þeowian . . . M 203.253

. . . iudeisce men sceoldon cuman . . . V 182.24
. . . þa indiscan willað beon . . . AeH 2.482.30
. . . men woldon forhtian . . . Q 21.22

3.11. V-ende expansion.--Another P expansion form, the so-called present participle, also derives formally from the V base, with the recurrent marker -ende / -iende / igende added. When V-ende expands V(ys)'s, it functions as an uninflected P-ADJ;[8] when V-ende expands V(com)'s, it functions as an ADV.[9]

a. V-ende's as ADJ's

. . . ðyllic feoh	wæs	farende . . .	AeL 1.530.702
. . . sum wif	wæs	þoligende . . .	V 182.46
. . . sume	synt	standende . . .	GM 16:28
. . . ge	wæron	for-þyldiende . . .	AeL 2.216.446

b. V-ende's as ADV's

. . . mannes sunu com etende and dryncynde . . . GM 11.19
. . . þu . . . swigende tælst . . . A 27.15
. . . heofende ic niðerstige . . . AeL 2.352.274

3.12. V-ed expansion.--When the V slot is filled by a member of the V(ys) list or by one of the V's hæfþ : hafaþ, næfþ : næfaþ, P can be expanded by the so-called past participle of

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[8]The writer of the Margaret passion is idiosyncratic in making V-ende's agree with V's: . . . min god . . . is fultumiend . . . 42.17, . . . his nama is scinend . . . 44.26.

[9]The extraordinary versatility of the V-ende form may be reinforced by recalling that they also occurred among the N's and S-ADJ's: . . . þes scinenda is cyme . . . HH 611.17, . . . se lapienda cwepe . . . GM 20:27, . . . se arfæsta miltsigend . . . underfo . . . AeH 2.198.126, . . . þa timbiendan awurpon . . . GM 21:42, . . . þas ymbstandendan oncnawon . . . AeH 1.426.26; they are exemplified as S-ADJ's in the following cases: . . . reafigende wulfas æton . . . GM 7:15, . . . þa seofon dweligendan steorran wiðhæfton . . . Q 18.25, . . . hig beoð innane reafigende wulfas . . . GM 8:11.

the V, a form consisting of V base and one of the recurrent morphological markers -d / -ed / -od / -en.

Like V-ende's, V-ed's fill a double function.[10] When V-ed's function as verbal adjuncts in the expansion of hæfð, næfð, they are invariable in form showing no number agreement with V's.

. . . god ælmihtig	hæfð	gedihtod . . .	GN 476.6
. . . heo	næfð	geleornod . . .	A 27.19
. . . ðu	hæfst	oferswiþd . . .	HMg 44.20
. . . wildeor	habbað	toslyten . . .	TL 196.33
. . . þa yldestan sacerdas	habbað	geseald . . .	GN 478.7

When V-ed's expand V(ys)'s they function as P-ADJ's, and like P-ADJ's they show number agreement with V's.

. . . þeos untrume menigu	sy	gehæled . . .	AeL 1.466.6
. . . hyre sæd	bið	gebletsod . . .	A 26.24
. . . se hælend	wæs	ofslagen . . .	V 191.306
. . . se siðfætt	wearð	geendod . . .	M 202.232
. . . þa bytta	beoþ	tobrecene . . .	GM 9:19
. . . þas deadan	beoð	arærede . . .	AeH 2.294.23
. . . þas untruman	synd	gehælede . . .	AeH 1.466.15

3.13. SB expansion.--The analysis of SB expansion of P has been put off until last because the special problem of case is involved in these expansion types.

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[10] Like V-ende's, V-ed's also show a further versatility as they extend into N and ADJ function: as N's, . . . ic eom ana forlæten . . . AeL 2.202.195, . . . se geslagena bið . . . AeH 2.124.12, . . . þu eart ana gecoren . . . HMa 131.517; as S-ADJ's, . . . þæt gesceapene leoht geswutelode . . . Q 19.6, . . . se awyrgeda feond astyrige . . . AeL 2.198.135, . . . se gedrefeda gast is . . . AeH 1.430.9, . . . þa foresædon tunglan gangon . . . Q 18.41, . . . þa gecorenan godes þegenas sceolon . . . Q 21.40. Bernard Schrader likewise notes the ADJ function of both V-ed and V-ende forms in Studien zur Aelfricschen Syntax (Jena, 1887), section 105.5.

Given the following examples, how do we go about uniting them into the same class? In other words, what system of analysis will determine SB case on the basis of structural behavior?

Relying on the fortuitous presence of the stem man- as head in each of the P expansion below--and relying also on an equally fortuitous parallel word-order--the analyst might draw the inference that each of the expressions in which this stem occurs is a N phrase.

. . . ic	lufige	þone forlidenan man . . .	A 31.2
. . . ic	tæhte	ðam medeman mannum . . .	AeH 1.378.20
. . . god	afandode	þæs mannes . . .	Q 23.1

This intuitive uniting of þone forlidenan man, ðam medeman mannum, and þæs mannes, into the same paradigm, happens to be accurate in this instance, but overlooks entirely the intricate structural relationships involved in grammatical case, the subclasses of mutually exclusive inflections based on cross-paradigm agreement.

3.14. The tagmemic approach.--At this point in the analysis, the most immediately applicable thinking seems to be that of Pike on the item-in-slot or tagmemic approach.[11] The tagmemic

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[11] K. L. Pike, Language, part III, pp. 27 and 31-32; especially the ideas expressed in the following statements: "In . . . Part I we emphasized the fact that, in our view, the relationship of an item to a slot which it fills in a higher-layered structure should be given priority in theory and analysis over the relationship between one item and another on the same level, or in the same structure with it. . . . We would say, rather, that each unit is classified primarily by its occurrence--its external distribution--in one or more slots of one or more higher-layered structures, and secondarily by its internal organization; both criteria are

formula $S^{N}P^{V}O^{N}$ can be adapted to OE conditions so as to elucidate the SB paradigmatic situation quite elegantly.

Since we have already seen that the class SB and the term SB serve our greater operational convenience by allowing us to treat pu, he, man, and se þe as members of a common class on functional grounds, it would be well as a preliminary step to substitute SB for N in the tagmemic formula as applied in eleventh century English.

Another strategic adaptation is involved in the use of the symbol O--and the concept it represents, the V object. In the first place, O is imprecise for OE which had not one but three O cases. In the second instance, the SPO formula does violence to the analytical order. It may be adequate for MdnE in which word-order has practically precluded the necessity of case forms, though even in MdnE the vestigial case forms me, him, and her require special notes.

We have seen earlier that S-P constructions are tied by number agreement between S and P; hence, analytically, they can be "untied" in only the same place. However, a formula SPO is essentially faulty for the OE situation--or

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crucial, but in any clash of analysis the first gets priority." (p. 27) and "The need for setting up the hyperclasses occurs in other areas also if we wish to preserve some of the groupings of traditional grammar. One of these, especially, is the paradigm, in which nouns of different cases do not occur in the same functional slot; the pulling together of these non-distribution classes of nouns into comparable paradigms is not by distribution of the total word, but rather by a complex of criteria including identity of stem across the paradigm, comparability of kinds of relations between stem and affix, mutual exclusiveness of the stem in this hyperclass with stems in a verb hyperclass, etc." (p. 31).

for any case-inflected language--since it violates the binary nature of the construction S-P. In other words O is not on a parity with S or P: we might say, in analytical terms, that O does not exist on the S-P level; at least it is indistinguishable from other integral P elements--V, ADV, ADJ, V-ed, etc. If, however, we operate analytically with full awareness of the binary nature of the construction, we can rewrite Pike's formula so as to admit O as a potential expansion of P: $_{S}SB_{-P}V/O$.

At this stage we can see that, while the N's which fill the S slot and the N's which fill the O slot can never be inflectionally substitutable--with the sole exception of neut. sing. N's, there is no effective bar to joining the inflectionally unlike N's of S and O in the same hyperclass, or paradigm, especially since we have previously noted an instance of base homonymous stems in both slots of the formula, an instance which may be generalized extensively in the citations. Now our hunch that the heads of the P phrases in the list at the beginning of this section all belong to the N class acquires analytical force. Thus, the amended tagmemic formula may be further detailed with the appropriate case and number labels.

$_{S}SB(nom.)_{-P}V/O\ (acc.)\ /\ O(dat.)/O(gen.)$[12]

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[12]The descriptive terms for the O forms--dative, accusative, genitive--are used here purely as classificatory labels, without inherent "meaning." In the formula the O types are listed arbitrarily; the order demonstrated here has no descriptive implications as to frequency or incidence of

However, since SB function and nom. case are mutually obligatory, the S need not be detailed in the formula separately from SB ordinarily.

$$_{S}\text{-}P^{V} \;/\; O(\text{acc.}) \;/\; (\text{dat.}) \;/\; (\text{gen.})$$

3.15. The O expansions.--Following are some examples from the primary sources of P-SB expansion patterns with the special O case forms labelled:

a. P: V / O(acc.)

. . . ic	lufige	þone forlidenan man . . . A 31.2
. . . god	ne costnað	nænne man . . . Q 22.47
. . . eal middaneard	hæfde	ane spræce . . . AeH 2.472.22
. . . þa wif	aþwoh	mine fet . . . AeD 10.10

b. P: V / O(dat.)

. . . ic	cyðde	þam abbode . . . AeL 2.352.295
. . . þa iudeas	wæron ofslagene	þam fulostan deaðe . . . V 191.307
. . . ðu	onfoh	minre dohtor . . . A 20.20
. . . ge	magon ætwindan	þam egeslicum witum . . . AeH 2.420.13

c. P: V / O(gen.)

. . . god	afandað	þæs mannes . . . Q 23.1
. . . þines fæder	findað	yrfeweardes . . . AeL 2.342.117
. . . we	ne behofiað	þyssera eorðlicera æhta . . . AeH 2.486.1

OE word-order patterns. Potentially all three cases could occur in a single utterance pattern, although no instance of this event was discovered in the materials. See also Schrader, Studien zur Aelfricschen Syntax, sections 28-33, for a description of N case in contextual patterns in a grammar of the traditional approach.

d. P: V / O(acc.) / O(dat.)

. . . abel	geoffrode	þa selostan lac	gode . . . Q 18.5
. . . he	brohte	twyfealde gyfe	drihtne . . . HMa 129.412
. . . he	sealdon	sceattas	minum þegenum . . . AeH 2.484.14
. . . ic	sende	minne ðeowan paulum	þe . . . AeH 1.374.20

e. P: V / O(dat.) / O(acc.)

. . . hi	gelæston	þam menniscum gecynde	þone deað . . . Q 18.12
. . . þu	sealdest	eallum gesceaftum	byrþor . . . HMa 120.120
. . . se forma	læfde	hys breþer	his wif . . . GM 22:25

3.16. The "equational" frame.--When the V slot is filled by a member of the V(ys) list, the P-SB is identical in inflectional shape with S-SB; in other words, SB(nom.)'s occur both before and after V(ys)'s.

Since number agreement is generally maintained throughout this construction, it is aptly designated as "equational"; sing. SB's are equated with sing. SB's, plur. SB's with plur. SB's.

. . . hit	wyrþ	treow . . . GM 13:32
. . . ephese	hatte	þeos burh . . . AeL 1.520.549
. . . se feorða	is	seo sunna . . . Q 18.34
. . . uncer wæta	wæs	olfenda miolc . . . M 202.230
þis	is	þæt fæderlice leoht . . . GN 496.19
. . . we	syndon	þyne ceasterwaran . . . A 29.17
. . . gyt	beoð	manna fisceras GM 4:19
þas	synd	idele word . . . AeH 1.588.15

3.17. "Non-equivalent" equational utterances.--Certain atypical utterances in this equational frame must be accounted for--"non-equivalent" equational constructions in which sing.

nom. N's are equated with plur. nom. N's as in metaphorical speech, in statements where plur. items are equated with the name of a force or substance, or in statements in which hit, þæt, or þis are equated with a plur. item. In non-equational S-P utterances where the number of S and that of P-SB(nom.) are not in accord, the V agrees in number with the plur. SB in the equation.

. . . se coccel	synt	þa manfullan bearn . . .	GM 13:38
. . . þæt leoht	synt	þystru . . .	GM 6:23
ðis	syndon	fægere gerefan	HR 50.35
hyt	syndon	hæðenra manna bearn . . .	GN 476.5
. . . þæt	synd	þæs heofonlican rices bearn	GM 13:38
. . . þeostru	ne synd	nan þing	Q 20.46
. . . ge	synt	eorþan sealt . . .	GM 5:13

3.18. Word-order in S-P constructions.--Although we have achieved a sharpening of focus in the descriptive exposition by leaving out of consideration the multiplicity of possible combinations of V with ADJ's, ADV's, V-an's, V-ed's, and N's in P, and also the possible order in which items may occur in P, the particular order in which N's may occur in S-P constructions is a more lively concern to us.

Given the following utterances, how usable is the tagmemic formulation of section 3.14 in dealing with disparate word-orders?

a. . . . he þam men hus getimbrode . . . Q 17.32
b. . . . him man drincan mengde . . . GN 500.19
c. . . . scinað ða rihtwisan . . . GM 13:43
d. . . . bleowan wit þa kylla . . . M 205.347
e. . . . manegra soþfæstra manna ic genam . . . HMg 45.6

3.19. Discontinuous word-orders.--In sentences a and b, our fundamental procedural reliance on number agreement between S and

V provides a ready solution to this problem; he ties only with getimbrode and man ties only with mengde. Unlike se man gæð, however, the tied items are not contiguous; but, nevertheless, the essential tie is signalled in spite of this discontinuity. Since the essential connection between S and P is number agreement, and number agreement only, the formula is not invalidated by physical discontinuity. Word-order patterns in eleventh century English can, therefore, vary without affecting the fundamental structure of the frame. These two sentences exemplify discontinous word-order in the S-P frame.

In a discontinous construction, however, there remains the problem of determining whether þam men and hus or him and drincan are part of S or P in their respective examples? In other words, when a discontinuous S-P construction is expanded by O, on what theoretical grounds is O assigned to P rather than to S? As a matter of fact, both case and gender factors bear on the solution of this problem. In all utterances the number signals of the O forms correlate with the extra-grammatical factors involved in the communication; there is no intrinsic number correlation between O forms and any other form in the utterance. However, a very definite correlative relationship can be observed between V's and O's. In fact, V's can be classified according to the SB case which they govern: eg., he afandað mannes (or manna), he costnað man (or menn), he sylleþ hlaf (or hlafas) menn (or mannum). Conditions within the linguistic structure of the utterance

determine O case distinctions; V's like afandað govern gen. SB's; V's like costnað govern acc. SB's; V's like sylleð govern dat. SB's. In conclusion, the observable case-government of O forms by V's determines that all O's are excluded from S even in the examples of discontinuous S-P construction.

3.20. Reversed word-orders.--In sentences c and d, scinað ða rihtwisan and bleowan wit þa kylla, word-order variation explains the difference in the shape of the construction; the tied items are here contiguous, but their order is reversed from that which obtains in our initial frame utterance se man gæþ. These two sentences both exemplify reversed word order.

In sentence b, him man drincan mengde, in sentence d, bleowan wit þa kylla, and in sentence e, manegra soþfæstra manna ic genam, elements of P are separated from each other. Can our tagmemic formula for the S-P type of utterance be adjusted to include this variation of word-order with reasonable efficiency?

The substitution of parentheses for P in the formula allows us to handle discontinuous order in the S-P construction: S-( ) for S-P which can become ( )S-( ) in the case of a discontinuous P; the tie between S-P can still be signalled irrespectively of the discontinuous order. Furthermore, we can detail elements within the parenthetical units as the descriptive occasion demands: (O acc. / V)-S (O dat. / ADV), etc. Following are examples of eleventh century S-P constructions in both "normal" and "reversed" word order, and with discontinuous elements.

a. S-P "normal" order.

S-(V), S-(V / ADV), S-(V / O), etc.

an munuc com . . . TL 197.78
. . . ealle ean eft gewendað þanon . . . Q 21.15
foxas habbað holu . . . GM 8:20
. . . hig sætnodan manna . . . M 201.212

S-(O / V), S-(O / O / V)

arleasnes þa scilde gefremode . . . A 18.28
adle me gelamp . . . Gu 162.23
. . . þæt þæt sand uncre swaðe geypte . . . M 206.365
. . . þæt hi him þæt feoh forguldon AeD 10.1
. . . ac ic eow nu gyt sumes fyrstes geann . . . AeL 1.498.187
. . . buton ic hys hrægles fnædes oðhran . . . V 189.227

S-(O / V / O)

. . . þe læs þe ðin wiðerwinna þe sylle þam deman and se dema þe sylle ðam þene . . . GM 5:25

. . . nu to dæg ic me æteowde þinum gemæccan . . . HMa 122.178
. . . ic þe betæce ðine scep . . . AeH 1.382.23
hys agene þeoda and þa yldestan bisceopas hyne sealdon me V 189.232

b. S-P "normal" order discontinuous

(O) S-(V)

. . . þa ceafu he forbærnð . . . GM 3:12

. . . þyrnenne helm man sette on min heafod . . . HH 613.1

scylde ic þolige . . . A 20.2

þysne geongan man we cunnon . . . GN 471.19

. . . þæt me menn þenodon . . . HJo 156.106

wildeor hi gelæhton AeL 2.212.367

(O) S-(V / O)

. . . and min sawule he sylleþ wuldres beh HMg 46.2

. . . and anum he sealde fif pund . . . GM 25:15

(O) S-(O / V)

. . . þancas ic þe secge . . . HMg 44.2

. . . and me god nan bearn of hyre ne sealde . . . HMa 122.168

. . . þæt hym man drincan mengde . . . GN 500.19

. . . gode anum we ure neode betæcnað . . . AeL 1.489.174

c. S-P "reversed" order

(V)-S

. . . nu to dæg forwurdon twege æðele naman . . . A 18.21

. . . nu genealæcþ seo tid . . . GM 26:45

. . . þa sona aforhtade uncer mod . . . M 206.362

. . . þær nan fugel flyhð . . . AeH 1.464.24

. . . þær wunodon þa wildeor and þa reþan wurmas . . . Q 21.8

(V / O)-S, (V / O / O)-S

. . . þa ætywde me michael se heah engel . . . GN 498.12

. . . þa cegde me se min fæder . . . M 201.190

. . . þonne andswariað hyre þa englas . . . HR 52.13

(O / V)-S, (O / O / V)-S

wundor me ðincð eower ðingræden . . . AeH 2.484.14

me awehton þa gecneordnessan . . . A 28.31

. . . and þisne twyfealdan deað towearp crist . . . Q 19.30

. . . me hylt unaræfnedlic sar . . . AeL 2.350.272

. . . þissum broþrum cymð micel hryre . . . AeL 2.344.166

d. S-P "reversed" order discontinuous

(V)-S (O)

. . . þa geseah ic micelne æmettena heap up astigendne . . . M 204.314

. . . þa onfengon hig syndrige penegas . . . GM 20:10

. . . þa sealde ge me mete HH 613.35

nat ic her nanne swilcne wer . . . AeL 2.206.256

3.21. Free and restricted word-order.--In addition to classifying S-P constructions according to their word-order patterns, one can classify them as to their occurrence in larger segments of utterance. For instance, S-(V), S-(V / O), S-(O / V), S-(O / V / O), (O) S-(V), and (O / V)-S are unlimited in their occurrence, potentially appearing in absolute position--in which the construction coincides with the utterance unit--or as a constituent construction in a longer utterance unit, either as an initial or as a sequential unit.[13]

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[13]Two early studies of word-order are of historical importance on the subject: C. A. Smith, The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose (Baltimore, 1893)and August Dahlstedt, Rhythm and Word-Order in Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon (Lund, 1901). Several later studies deal with important special problems or with statistical studies of word-order in the language of our period: Hans Kuhn examines the historical and comparative Germanic background in "Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 57 (1933), 1-109; M. K. Magers traces the development to the fifteenth century of the SVO order and shows with statistical evidence the stages by which this word-order pattern came to be the dominant one in MdnE in The Development of the Grammatical Use of Word-Order for Relationships Expressed by the Accusative (Ann Arbor, 1943); F. G. Cassidy makes a historical and statistical study of a similar development in The Background in Old English of the Modern English Substitutes for the Dative Object (Ann Arbor, 1938); C. R. Barrett compares statistically the word-order patterns in narrative and alliterative prose in Studies in the Word-Order of Aelfric's Catholic Homilies and Lives of the Saints (Cambridge, 1953).

The other S-P arrangements, (V)-S, (V / O)-S, (O) S-(O / V), (O) S-(V / O), and (V)-S (O), were restricted in occurrence to sequential positions, being preceded always by one of the permitted initial arrangements above, or by another sequential construction and a connective (ac, and, forþam þe, þe læs þe, þæt, þonne, etc.), or by a special introductory ADV (ne, nu, þa, þonne, witodlice, etc.). Even these few details of factors conditioning S-P word-order indicate that the eleventh century speaker or writer employed a greater variety of word-order patterns than does his MdnE counterpart.

3.22. Word-order and N case.--Since word-order varied so considerably in the earlier period, then order can hardly be such a reliable clue to meaning in the grammar of the period as it is in MdnE.[14] For the eleventh century English sentence foxas habbaþ holu a probable translation is Foxes have holes, but an equally grammatical one is Holes have foxes: S-(V / O) or (O / V)-S. In the same way salomon þis tempel getimbrode and þa iudeas hyrdas gesetton are ambiguous unless one goes outside the linguistic system: S-(O / V) or (O) S-(V). However,

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[14] For an indication of the opposite emphasis in MdnE, see C. C. Fries, Structure of English, p. 263: "Over and over again in the discussion of this book we have pointed out that, in present-day English, the word-order arrangements of the various form-classes furnished many of the significant contrasts which constitute our structural signals. It is the contrastive arrangement of Class 1 and Class 2 words for example that form the basic signals of the kind of utterance--aquestion, a request, or a report. These word-order contrasts are not matters of an absolute order of words as words, but an order of selected form-classes or parts of speech."

other syntactic clues generally provide clear signals of meaning. In þæt sand uncre swaðe geypte, number agreement clearly establishes the order as S-(O / V); in þisne twyfealdan deað towearp crist, case forms clearly determine the pattern (OV)-S; however, deað towearp crist might be equally well read S-(V / O) or (O / V)-S. Quite clearly order in eleventh century English S-P constructions was sometimes syntactically determined, sometimes stylistically variable. Because of this variability, the factor of word-order is not the important signal of meaning that it is in MdnE.

In conclusion, this investigation of the constituents of P in eleventh century S-P constructions is relevant to our particular interest in the SB's, since it enlarges our understanding of N functions and of the grammatical category of case. The definition of subject and predicate structures leads eventually to the concept of grammatical case, not as an analytical abstraction, but as an essential part of the signalling system of the language of this period. Furthermore, the determination of N object function in P constructions reinforces the importance of formal contrast in a linguistic system utilizing case distinctions; in the eleventh century the O's are still identified, in part at least, by formal contrasts in the SB case system.

CHAPTER IV

MORPHOTACTICS OF THE NOUNS

4.1. Invariant part-of-speech forms.--On the basis of our observations of recurrent forms throughout a large corpus of eleventh century discourse citations, we concluded that part of the vocabulary at least consisted of invariant, non-expansible forms. Such vocabulary items as the explètives (eala, wa), the connectives or conjunctions (ac, and, forþam / forþon, gyf, hwæþer, oððe, swa, þus, þonne), certain ADV's (eft, her, hu, na, ne, nu, þær), and the prepositions (æfter, ær, be, fram, mid, ofer, toweard, þurh, under, wiþ.[1]

4.2. Inflectional and derivational expansion.--But by far the greater part of the vocabulary belongs to those part-of-speech classes where the details of derivation and inflection are overt, particularly the N class. In the following sentences and phrases a single N is demonstrated in all possible syntactic functions, with all possible inflectional variations, and with one possibility of base expansion exemplified.

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[1]There well may be bases in other part-of-speech categories homonymous with ær, æfter, toweard, etc. But in their function as prepositions they occur without inflectional suffixes or derivational morphemes. Some analogous bases occur in the N phrases such as se æftera, GM 21:31, and on toweardnysse, Gu 125.47; observe also the ADJ bases in uran ærran life, AeL 1.514.460, þæt æftre gedwyld, GM 27:64.

a.	. . . min	broþor	syngaþ wiδ me . . . GM 18:21
b.	. . . he is min	broþur	. . . GM 12:50
c.	. . .	broþer	þu wære gode gecoren . . . [speaker addressing one] AeH 1.380.18
d.	. . . þu min	broþor	acwealdest . . . HMg 45.10
e.	. . . ic sende hrufum min	broþur	HMg 45.5
f.	. . . se forma læfde hys	breþer[2]	hys wif . . . GM 22:25
g.	. . . þæt mot þines	broþor	egan . . . GM 7:3
h.	syb sy mid eow	broþr(a	. . . [speaker addressing two] AeL 2.204.250
i.	. . . hu ne hatte . . . hys	broþr(u	iacob and ioseph and simon and iudas . . . GM 13:55
j.	. . . þine	gebroþr(a	standaþ her-ute . . . GM 12:47
k.	. . . hi sind	gebroþr(u	. . . AeH 1.378.30
l.	. . . ge eowre	gebroþr(a	wylcumiaþ . . . GM 5:47
m.	. . . þyssum	broþr(um	cymδ micel hryre . . . AeL 2.344.166
n.	. . . cyþaδ minum	gebroþr(um	. . . [speaker addressing several] GM 28:10
o.	. . . of δysum minum læstum	gebroδor(um	. . . GM 25:40
p.	. . . nelle god forseon	broþr(a	geswinc . . . AeL 2.348.223

4.3. N bases, pre-bases, post-bases.--Hill's morphotactic analysis of the formal structure of part-of-speech classes is the descriptive method which seems most easily applicable to late OE N's.[3] In our analysis, of course, we have to rely on

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[2]The form breþer represents a paradigmatic subclass of the N's. Allomorphic base vowel replacives occur with some N's in the dat. sing. and with other N's in the nom.-acc. plur. also. The "normal" base vowel--normal in that it occurs with the majority of the paradigmatic forms for a given N--is replaced by an "umlauted" base vowel: man / men, boc- / bec, freond- / friend. The umlaut dat. sing. suffix N(zero) contrasts with the general dat. sing. suffix N -(e.

[3]Introduction to Linguistic Structures, pp. 119-145, 446-464.

the recurrence of forms to establish linguistic units rather than on stress. Thus, in the paradigm of broþor the recurrent nucleus to which various elements are potentially added at either end is called the base (B) of the formation. Expansion elements coming before the B are called pre-bases (PreB's): ge-broþra, ut-faru. For a N like broþor the formation is closed by a case-number signal called a suffix (Su): zero, -(u, -(a.[4] N's may be expanded after the B but before the Su by other morphemic units called post-bases (PoB), although broþor does not have examples of derivational expansion in our paradigmatic samples in section 4.2.

4.4. PreB morphs.--Inasmuch as not every N base occurs with a PreB, they should be regarded as potential units only in N formation, not as obligatory. If a N has no PreB morph, then obviously the B itself is the initial morph of the formation.

Some of the more actively recurrent PreB's which turned up in our corpus are listed below.

a. a-

a-lætnesse, a-lysend, a-teorung, a-wordene

b. æf-

æf-weardan, æf-estignysse

c. an-

eowrum an-ginne, seo an-licnys, þa an-sware

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[4] We posit the zero inflectional ending, because in the OE N paradigm, the absence of a palpable ending can be an effective signal of case-number distinction.

d. and-

hire and-git, þa and-weardnysse, mynon and-wlitan

e. ar-

þines ar-fæstnysse, ar-leasnes

f. be-

þa be-bodu, þas be-hat, þa be-listnode

g. big-

geornful big-genga, big-wiste, eowrum big-yrdlum

h. ed-

ed-cenninge, þa ecean ed-lean, ed-wite

i. for- / fore-

mycle fore-beacn, fore-byrd, for-gægednysse, for-lidennesse, for-ligru, þa for-screnctan

j. ge-

hys ge-corenan, þa ge-cypsedan, þa ge-bletsode þas ge-scy, þæt ge-swinc, an ge-þeaht,

k. in-

þinum in-gange, þone in-noð, se in-tinga

l. mid-

hyra mid-lene, þine mid-sprecan

m. ofer-

se ofer-eaca, ofer-drynce, mines modes ofer-stige

n. on-

þa on-fundennesse, þeos on-gitenysse, ðancwurðe on-sægednysse, þa on-sceonunge, ecum on-tendnyssum

o. un-

þam un-cuðan, ealle un-cyste, þa uñ-rihtwisan, ða un-trum, þam un-warum, minum un-ýðnysan

p. wiþer- / wyðer-

se wyðer-saca, mine wiþer-weardan

q. ymb- / emb(e)-

þa ymb-farendan, þone embe-gang, þas ymb-standendan, hys ymb-hogan

4.5. PreB series.--PreB's may occur in series; one PreB may precede another. From the materials of our corpus, the following examples illustrate the three orders of PreB arrangement. In no case were more than two PreB's found in a single formation.

	PreB 1	PreB 2	PreB 3	B (PoB's and Su's)
his	in-	-ge-		-hyd
þa	ofer-	-ge-		-writu
seo	un-	-ge-		-þungennes
þa	un-	-a-		-blinnu
þam	to-	-for-		-læstennesse
þam		ge-	-fyrn-	-dagum
		ge-	-be-	-ganne

PreB's of the first order occurred in initial position only; PreB's of the second or third order were either initial or internal in occurrence, depending on the formation they were part of. With certain B's, PreB's were obligatory: an-wealde, big-genga, ge-slagena. With other B's, PreB's are optional: broþor / ge-broþor, sæðele / un-sæðele, drincan / ofer-drynce.

4.6. Base allomorph types.--The paradigm of broþor demonstrates allomorphic B forms of two rather distinct types. The first type of allomorphic variation is exemplified in the case contrast signalled by the forms broþor- / breþer-.[5] The other

[5]An underlined form broþor without hyphen represents a particular citation form, a representative member of a

type of allomorphic variation is phonetic, as illustrated in the series of formal variations broþor- / broþur- / broþer- / broþr-, where vowel weakening and vowel syncopation are illustrated. Allomorphic variations of this type in B's is especially common for this period, particularly before the alveolars [d], [n], [l], and [r]: heofon / heofenan, apostolas / aposteles, broþor / broðer, bysmor / bysmer. The vowel fluctuation between e and o is often resolved with a u spelling, which strengthens the idea of vowel neutralization in this environment: abbod / abbud, sawol / sawel / sawul, bysmor / bysmur, modor / modur.

But perhaps even more frequently vowel weakening has gone all the way to vowel syncopation, again before the same series of accompanying consonant phonemes as above: hired(e / hyrd(es, heafod / heafd(es, bysen / bysn(e, mægen(u / mægn(a, þegen(as / þegn, fugel(as / fuhl(as, hrægel(es / hrægl(e, sawel / sawl(as, deofol / deofl(u, tungol / tungl(an, antimber / ge-timbr-ung, ceaster / ceastr(e, mynster / mynstr(e, oðer / oðr(es, attor / attr(es, frofor / frofr(e, ealdor / ealdr(es, wundor / wundr(es.

4.7. PoB morph series.--To turn to a consideration of PoB's--which, it so happened, were not exemplified in the

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particular class, or a general lexical item. The hyphenated form broþor- is used to signal a base form. Since we posit the zero Su, a B cannot, descriptively speaking, close the N formation. The N niwelnyss is thus analyzed morphemically as B, niwel-, PoB 3, -nyss-, Su, zero. The hyphen is useful to indicate the morphemic analysis of an expanded N formation; see section 4.7: unwæstmbærnysse; PreB 1, un-, B, -wæstm-, PoB 1, -bær-, PoB 3, -nyss-, Su, (e. The single parenthesis distinguishes the suffix from preceding PoB morphs.

paradigm of broþor in section 4.2--we note that, by definition they never occur initially nor finally; PoB's are always followed by an overt inflectional Su or by zero inflection.

To the PoB morpheme classes belong the derivational expansion forms of the N. Like PreB's, PoB's occur in definite orders of arrangement.

PreB 1	PreB 2	PreB 3	B	PoB 1	PoB 2	PoB 3	Su
un-	-ge-		-sæl-	-ig-	-end-		(a
un-			-wæstm-	-ber-	-end-	-nyss-	(e
	ge-		-scead-		-wis-	-nyss-	(e
	ge-		-fer-	-ræd-	-en-		(e
	ge-		-drecc-		-ed-	-nyss-	(e
		el-	-þeod-	-ig-		-ness-	(e
		eð	-staðel-			-ung-	(um
			æðel-	-ber-	-en-	-nyss-	zero
			ende-		-byrd-	-nyss-	zero
			licc-	-et-	-er-		(e
			tintr-		-eg-	-ung-	(as
			sodom-	-it-	-isc-		(an
			ðoft-	-ræd-	-en-	-nyss-	(e

4.8. Homonymous B and PoB morphs.--It is necessary to make a distinction between homonymous B and PoB morphs. For instance, in the B's, with the allomorphic segments -er-, -ed-, -od-, -en-, there is the likelihood of confusion between B and homonymous PoB segments. They should, however, be distinguished analytically, since they are separate morphotactic entities.

For example, among the PoB's of the third order, we listed the morph -er-, a particularly active eleventh century formative PoB: boc-er(e, eht-er(e, fisc-er(e, folg-er(e, fulluht-er(e, gafolgyld-er(as, mang-er(um, witn-er(e. That these are definitely PoB and not allomorphs of B's is attested by the occurrence of the PoB after B's or after other

PoB's: licc-et-er(e, witn-er(e, etc. At this time, the ceaster list was in the way of enlargement as a result of the process of vowel weakening by which allomorphs of other bases came to fit the ceaster list: broþor- / broþer-, bysmor- / bysmer-, modor- / moder-.

Further distinctions between the two kinds of B's represented by ceaster- and boc-er- can be established on the basis of their behavior with other PoB's and with Su's. For instance, the B's of the bocere class can be expanded by other PoB's to form other N's: the B's eht-, witn- of the N's ehtere, witnere can be expanded by the PoB's -nyss-, -ung- to form the N's ehtnysse, witnung. On the other hand, the ceast- element of the B ceaster- cannot be so expanded.

Furthermore, B's of the bocere list can be expanded by other PoB's to form other parts-of-speech: boc-, sæd- can be expanded by the PoB -lic- to form ADJ's boclic, sædlic. The ceast- Bof ceaster cannot be expanded in this fashion.

Finally, some B's of the bocere list can be terminated by Su's, without PoB expansion: boc(um, fisc(as, sæd. The ceast-, fæd- B elements cannot be terminated by Su's.

Other examples of homonymity between B elements and full-fledged PoB's are nyten-, þeowen- versus ðoft-ræd-en-; dyseg-, witeg- versus tintr-eg-ung; abbod-, werod- versus belistn-od-.

To sum up, we are required to recognize that eleventh century N's admit of three formal possibilities in base

structure; a one-syllable type such as gæg-, gang-, mann-, etc., a two-syllable type such as abbod-, sodom-, etc., and a type with allomorphic variants, wæter(es / wætr(u, heafod / for-heafd-nyss(e, etc.

4.9. Compound B's.--N formation becomes complex when one examines the kinds of compounding possibilities which can occur. The simplest and most common variety is the compound B, where two simple B's are joined; structural complexity is, of course, increased when the combinations of PreB, B, and PoB are admitted. Following are the commonest combinations which occurred in our citations:

a. B-B (Su

bæð-sted(e, bysmer-spræc, cwyrn-stan(as, fisc-cynn, gold-hord, gold-smið(as, gym-stan(as

b. B-B-PoB (Su

dæl-nim-end(e, eorð-styr-ung, gafol-gyld-er(as, grist-bit-ung, mild-heort-ness(e

c. B-B-PoB-PoB (Su

eorð-bug-ig-end(e

d. PreB-B-B (Su

ge-bed-hus, ge-mynd-stow(a

e. PreB-B-B-PoB (Su

un-riht-hæm-ed(u

f. B-PreB-B (Su

hiw-ge-dæl(es, hand-ge-weorc

g. B-PoB-B (Su

leorn-ing-man, lær-ingc-man

4.10. Allomorphic combinatory B forms.--In the great majority of N forms observed, complex N structures do not admit of internal suffixation; the case-number Su retains its terminal position. Two forms, however, raise a problem on this analytical point. Are helleduru and mæssepreostas to be analyzed as B-Su-B-Su--an uncharacteristic pattern--or are helle and mæsse allomorphic combinatory forms of hell- and mæss-? The latter analysis has at least the virtue of preserving descriptive symmetry and is tentatively substantiated by the formation eorðbugigende, the first element of which is analagous to helle,mæsse in its lexical form, i.e. eorðe.

In the next chapter, we will take up the suffixal morphemes in detail.

CHAPTER V

NOUN SUFFIXES

5.1. The N suffixes.--In this chapter the survey of N morphemic elements will conclude with a consideration of the suffixes. We noted throughout Chapter 4--but in particular in section 4.2--that the suffix, either overt as in wulf(as or covert as in cwen--i.e. zero suffix or N(zero)--is the terminating element in any N formation. In addition to this formal definition, we need also to account for the syntactic function of suffixes.

5.2. The grammatical categories of N's.--In sections 2.3 and 2.4 we discussed the substitution of items within a slot in a given syntactic pattern. There it was apparent that one function of suffixes was to signal the particular slot-in-pattern role which a given N was filling. In other words, one function of suffixes is to signal the grammatical category of case. For example, a N filling the S slot in the S-P construction terminates with one of the several nom. suffixes; however, a N filling the O slot in an S-(VO) construction terminates with one of the V case-correlating suffixes, i.e., the acc., the dat., or the gen. case. Likewise, when the N fills an analogous O slot in a prepositional phrase, it

terminates with an acc. or dat. suffix.[1] When, also, a N fills either the N pre-positive or N post-positive position (indicating possession of, or close relationship to, the N with which it occurs) the pre-positive or post-positive N terminates in a gen. suffix.[2] Finally, in a construction such as þu ealda or ge tharsysce ceasterwaran, where the speaker addresses the hearer directly by PI and identifying N phrase, we recognize a function similar to that of the vocative in Greek or Latin. But since in OE these N occurrences are not in any way formally distinguishable from other occurrences of the nom. case, it is descriptively more economical to treat them as an added function of the nom. case, rather than to establish a separate but homonymous vocative case form. Thus, our outline of the eleventh century N case system accounts for five syntactic functions signalled by four potentially distinctive forms.

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[1]Prepositions (PREP's) have not been categorically identified in the analytical exposition so far. In OE they function principally as expansions of V's, signalling directional relationships--in which function they are appropriately ascribed to the ADV class; see the citations in section 3.9: þine gebroþra standaþ herute, wit eoden hwebere þider in, etc., and as periphrastic expansions of V's with SB's: V-PREP-O. In such P structures as the following, PREP's, like V's, are characterized by definite case tolerances; they command either the acc. or dat. case of object SB's: . . . wit astigon on þa olfendan . . . M 207.411; . . . ic hine awende fram hæðenum gylde . . . AeH 1.468.14. See also Fries' treatment in MdnE of Group F Function Words in The Structure of English, pp. 95-96.

[2]N gen. forms can accompany nom. forms, acc. forms, dat. forms, or 0 gen. forms: . . . efne her is se frefrigend ures geswinces and weorces . . . AeH 1.560.33; . . . we underfoð . . . scortne ryne þæs leohtran gewinnes . . . AeH 1.418.9; . . . ge magon astwindan þam egeslicum witum þæs

We saw earlier in section 2.6 that the grammatical category of number is closely related to that of case; furthermore case and gender are closely related in eleventh century English. In short, a speaker or writer of the period had to account for three grammatical categories for every N, either directly in the choice of distinctive categorical suffixes, or, lacking unique suffix signals where coalescence of forms had disturbed inflectional distinctiveness, in the selection of ART or ADJ forms or by agreement with V, DR, or IR forms which might be case-, gender-, or number-distinctive.

The N inflection, then, may be said to involve a tripartite system of contrasts in which, ideally, twenty-four separate morphemes should be so arranged as to signal four cases, three genders, and singular and plural number values. Every N in the language should fall within one of the three gender paradigms, and should show a full set of case-number signals. In the most consistent inflectional system possible, a given N would fall into one of the three gender series, in which there would be eight possible case-number distinctions.

5.3. Inflectional "skewness."--Rather than demonstrating any such ideal system, the eleventh century N inflectional series exemplify instead the principle of "skewness," most easily defined as the asymmetry which results when a potentially

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ecan fyres . . . AeH 2.420.13; . . . heo . . . his hrægles fnædes æthran . . . V 182.48. Here is one instance when it seems extremely difficult not to fall back upon semantic criteria in the definition of grammatical structure.

symmetrical system of inflectional contrasts becomes blurred or muddled.[3]

We can perhaps best clarify the problem of correspondence between form and function by comparing inflectional behavior to derivational behavior on the PoB level of N construction. In section 4.5 one of the recurrent second order PoB elements is -en-, which has presumably the semantic value of "the recipient of past action," eg., se ge-slag-en(a "he who was struck down or slain, the dead one"; æðel-bor-en-nyss(e "the state of having been nobly born." In short, each derivational unit appears to have a regular and predictable semantic value.

If, on the other hand, our suffix units were to signal three syntactic categories--case, gender, and number--in such a regularly recurrent fashion, each suffix would be in actuality an aggregate or complex of three identifiable and recurrent morphemic elements. In analysis, however, we find that in a great many cases, there is only one overt suffix signal, i.e., -(a, -(e, -(u, etc., and sometimes only zero suffix.

Conversely, we find that several case-number distinctions are signalled by more than the three suffixes which the triple gender contrast would require in our putative ideal

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[3]Hill develops the principle of skewness in handling linguistic materials which suggest symmetrical inflectional patterns in gross outline, but which display gaps in the details of any particular inflectional series; cf. Introduction to Linguistic Structures, pp. 60-61. He applies this principle most effectively in his description of the Latin N inflectional system, which in this respect has interesting parallels to eleventh century English; see pages 450-451.

system: eg. acc. sing., zero, -(a, -(an, -(e; gen. sing., zero, -(a, -(an, -(e, -(es.

The N suffix contrasts are skewed also by the fact that a single suffix may serve to signal several different grammatical categories. The suffix -(a, for instance, frequently coincides with masculine gender, viz., se unhold(a, se labigend(a, lybra þeow(a, etc. In these same cases it also coincides with sing. number and nom. case. With the form sun(a, the suffix may coincide with both gen. and dat. case, in addition to sing. number. In one list of N's, the suffix -(a, signals plur. number, nom.-acc. case: þa bytt(a, þa gegirl(a, his swustr(a, þa leod(a. And -(a is the universal signal of the gen. plural; see section 5.5.

Coalescence of forms has greatly skewed the lines of inflectional distinctiveness. In N's like oxa or heorte, five out of eight possible case distinctions are signalled by one suffix form, -(an.

5.4. Unequivocal N suffixes.--What precisely are the unequivocal suffix endings? First, in the matter of case, two endings are absolutely distinctive: the suffix -(es, with its free orthographic variants -(is, -(ys, and the phonetically determined variant -(s, signals gen. case[4] and

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[4] It is not to be inferred that -(es is treated as if it were the sole gen. sing. suffix, which it clearly is not; rather, the -(es suffix is the only suffix which signals gen. case, and no other case.

-(um, with its orthographic variants -(on, -(un, -(an,[5] signals dat. case (plural, all genders).

Secondly, in the matter of gender, one suffix is distinctive: -(as occurs only with masc. N's.

Thirdly, in the matter of number, the -(es suffix, contrasting with all plural suffixes, is sing.; similarly, the endings -(as and -(um, contrasting with all sing. suffixes, are plural.

In short, three suffixes signal two categorical distinctions apiece: -(es and -(um, case and number; -(as, gender and number.

5.5. The incidence of inflectional suffixes.--The following list of eleventh century N suffixes gives a percentage index of their rate of occurrence in our materials. The percentages are computed on the basis of the total number of N case-number occurrences of each suffix, unequivocally identified by suffix, V number agreement, ADJ or ART agreement, cross reference with PI's, IR's, DR's.

Singular

nom.		acc.	
zero,	.80	zero,	.56
-(a,	.10	-(a	.04
-(e,	.01	-(an	.13
-(u, -(o,	.03	-(e	.24
		-(u, -(o	.03

[5]The occurrence of the orthographic variants of dat. plur. -(um in our materials is corroborated by distinctive ART-ADJ combinations: bissum ungewissum word(um, minum word(on, þam sceap(un. Similarly, the non-distinctive dat. plur. variant suffix -(an is established by corollary forms: þam manfullestan man(an.

dat.		gen.	
zero,	.05	zero,	.04
zero, with base vowel umlaut alternate,	.04	-(a,	.01
-(a,	.01	-(an,	.11
-(an,	.14	-(e,	.12
-(e,	.76	-(es,	.72

Plural

nom.[6]		acc.	
zero,	.16	zero,	.25
zero, with base vowel umlaut alternate,	.07	zero, with base vowel umlaut alternate,	.04
-(a,	.13	-(a,	.20
-(an,	.21	-(an,	.13
-(as,	.27	-(as,	.20
-(e,[7]	.12	-(e,	.10
-(u, -(o,	.04	-(u, -(o,	.08

dat.

-(um / -(on / -(un / -(an 100

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[6]Although nom. and acc. plur. suffixes have coalesced throughout the N paradigm, naturally a random sampling will not turn up identical percentages for the occurrences of corresponding nom. and acc. suffixes. However, it is to be noted that the nom. suffixes and acc. suffixes do occur in roughly the same proportion to total number of nom's and acc's respectively.

[7]Nom.-acc. plur -(e suffixes derive from three principal sources: first, N's derived from ADJ's take the -(e ending generally, i.e., þa æðel(e, þa dead(e, þa earm(e, þa rihtwis(e, etc.; secondly, the -(e suffix was spreading as an alternate nom.-acc. plur. suffix among Second Series (Fem.) N's: synn(a / synn(e, byrgen(a / byrgen(e, miht(a / miht(e, gyrd(a / gyrd(e; and especially among N's expanded by the PoB's -ing-, -nyss-, and -ung-: tiht-ing(a / tiht-ing(e, gal-nyss-a gal-nyss(e, costn-ung(a / costn-ung(e; and third, the -(e suffix alternates with masc. and neut. suffixes, zero and -(as although to a lesser frequency than with fem. suffixes: cræft(as / cræft(e, fingr(as / fingr(e, behat / behat(e, tuddor / tuddr(e, wæpen / wæpn(e, swað(u / swað(e, ðeostr(u / ðeostr(e, þystr(e.

gen.

-(a[8] 100

5.6. The resolution of suffix ambiguity.--Ambiguity of suffix endings resulting from skewness or from a high incidence of coalescence is often resolved by reference to other parts-of-speech which may retain distinctive case-gender-number markers where the N has lost them. The ART, ADJ, DR, IR, and PI are helpful sources of contingent evidence; furthermore, S-V agreement signals sing. and plur. forms.

5.7. Case signals.--In signalling case distinctions, the N inflectional suffixes are not notably proficient by themselves.

a. The N suffixes -(es / -is / -ys / -s signal genitive case.

b. The N suffixes -(um / -(on / -(un signal dative case.

The remainder of the N suffixes, zero, zero with stem vowel replacive, -(a, -(an, -(as, -(e, -(u / -(o are less exact, potentially signalling a variety of cases. However, N-modifying ADJ's and ART's distinguish the following cases unambiguously. (The figures after the examples indicate the number of instances of that particular pattern.)

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[8]Two groups of N's show allomorphic base variants before the gen. plur. suffixes. The bases eag-, fæmn-, witeg-, etc., are regular throughout the paradigm, except before the gen. plur. suffix, where the variant base occurs; eagen-, fæmnen-, witegen-. Likewise, the N's of the group hæbben-, scæððig-, geswencend-, etc. have a variant base form before the gen. plur. suffix also: hæbenr-, scæððigr-, geswencendr-, etc.

c. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's se or þes is a nominative N.

se coccel, se ent, þes cempa, etc.,	285
se stranga wind, þes iunga man, etc.,	58
se forlidene man, etc.,	4
se oþer sunu, etc.,	4

d. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's seo or þeos is a nominative N.

seo æ, þeos costnung, seo stuntnys, etc.,	64
seo gecyndelice æ, ðeos arlease siniðþe, etc.,	11
seo oþer boc,	1

e. The head of a N phrase expanded by an ADJ -(a without -r- stem replacive expansion is a nominative N.[9]

ungeþungen(a hund, eald(a hord, etc.,	48
min god(a fæder, þu wyrrest(a deofol, etc.,	6
earm(a wiðerweard(a gast	1
an(a soð god	1

f. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's þone or þisne, or an ADJ -(ne is an accusative N.

þone æcer, þisne coccel, cyrlisc(ne man, etc.,	325
þone heardestan hungor, ðin(ne accennedan sunu,	79
æn(ne heah(ne torr, etc.,	11
sum(ne gode ræd	1

g. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's þam / þon / þan or þisum / þyssum / þison / þisan, or an ADJ -(um / -(on is a dative N (sing. or plur.)

þam menn, ful(um wætere, eowr(um swynon, etc.,	654
þam wæterlan bleo, littl(um sælic(um fixum,	124
þam mennisc(um gecynde, þys oðr(um cyningum,	20
þyson menn, þyllic(on þyngon, etc.,	3

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[9]ADJ stems have allomorphic variant stems before gen. plur. suffixes also. The regular ADJ stem variant consists of the normal ADJ stem plus the special post base -r-: þu eald(a man but þæra sælic-r(a fixa.

h. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's þæs or þises, or an ADJ -(es, is a genitive N.

þæs fæder, þises rihtwisan, ceald(es wæteres, 219
min(es godan hlafordes, etc., 24
þæs lyfigend(es godes, eall(es eowr(es heafdes, 7

i. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's þæra, þissa, or þissera / þisra, or an ADJ-(a with stem replacive is a genitive N.

þæra þeowa, ðyssera mæddrena, þinr(a þinga, 109
þissa lytylr(a manna, ealr(a mynr(a digolnessa, 14
þæra seofon hlafa, etc., 4

5.8. Case-ambiguous forms.--But the usefulness of concurrent ART and ADJ forms as criteria of N case identity is soon exhausted because of the high incidence of homonymity among case forms. In many instances, however, ambiguous ART or ADJ identity is resolved by N-V ties.

a. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's þæt or þes is potentially identifiable as a nom. or acc. N. If such a phrase is V tied, the head is a nominative N.

þæt folc, þis mæden, etc., 76
þæt reðe werod, þis mennisce cynn, etc., 11

b. Lacking the V tie--that is, functioning as a V or PREP object (V- or PREP-O)--the phrase head is an accusative N.

þæt folc, þis feoh, etc., 54
þis halige gewrit, etc., 20
þæt gebohtan wurð, etc., 3

c. The head of a N phrase expanded by an ADJ (zero) is potentially identifiable as a nom. or acc. N (masc.,

sing.). If such a phrase is V tied, the head is a nominative N.

min fæder, þin cwylming, nan wyrgung, etc., 420
god geong man, eall mennisc cynn, etc., 35

d. As in item b of this section, the head of a phrase which lacks the V tie, or functions as a PREP object, is an accusative N.

earm folc, ful spatl, god sæd, etc., 206
þin agen gescead, ælc idel word, etc., 11

e. The head of a N phrase expanded by an ADJ (zero) plus ADJ -(e is potentially identifiable as a nom. or acc. N. With the V tie, the head is a nominative N.

ful stincendist(e hel, nan dihl(e þing, etc., 9

f. Lacking the V tie, or functioning as a PREP object, the N head is an accusative N.

nan gesceadf[e]n(e sawle, eal min(e rice, etc., 8

g. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's þa or þas is potentially identifiable as an acc. (sing.) or a nom.-acc. (plur.) N. When tied to a V, the N is a nominative N (plur.).

ða deor, þa þeostre, ðas mægenu, etc., 91
þa halgan gewritu, þas reðan deor, etc., 20
þa oðre gesceafta, ðas mine word, etc., 6
þa twa pund, ða þreo utfaru, etc., 5

h. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ADJ -(e--or expanded by an ADJ -(e in first position in a series of ADJ's--is potentially identifiable as a nom. N (sing. or plur.) or as an acc. N (sing. or plur.). Clearly, the V tie is the economical means for

separating the nom.'s from the homonymously expanded acc.'s.

i. Tied to a V (sing.), the N's of 5.8 h are nominative N's.

getryw(e wer, eadig(e cwen, þyllic(e lif, etc., 47
min(e swetest(e bearn 1

j. Tied to a V (plur.), the N's of 5.8 h are nominative N's.

tallic(e word, min(e fet, þin(e wæpne, etc., 87

manig(e oðr(e men, etc., 6
myn(e arleasan þenas, etc., 3

k. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's þære or þyssere / þysre, or þisse, or by an ADJ -(re, is potentially identifiable only as a dat. or gen. N.

þisse byrig, hludd(re stemne, etc., 255
þære ealdan æ, þin(re leasan tale, 56
þisse þin(re þeowenne, sum(re oþ(re scire, etc., 11
þissere hungrige ceasterwaran, etc., 5

5.9. Gender signals.--Although eleventh century N's are classifiable into gender classes, only one N suffix is gender distinctive: N -(as signals masculine N's.

a. The ART's se, þes (5.7 c), þone, þisne and the ADJ -(ne (5.7 f), or the ADJ -(a without stem replacive (5.7 e) signal masculine N's.

b. The ART's seo, þeos (5.7 d), þære, þysre, þisse, etc., or an ADJ -(re (5.7 k) signal feminine N's.

c. The ART's þæt and þes (5.8 a and b) signal neuter N's.

5.10. Gender-ambiguous signals.--Certain expansion patterns are contingent patterns: gender can be certified if

the categories of case and number have been defined *a priori*.

a. The head of a N phrase expanded by an ADJ (zero), functioning as a V-or PREP-object (sing.), is a *neuter* N (5.8 d).

b. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's *þam / þon*, etc., *þyssum / þison*, etc., or the ADJ's *-(um / -(on*, etc., are *masculine* or *neuter* N's (sing. or plur.) (5.7 g).

c. The head of a N phrase expanded by the ART's *þæs, þises*, or an ADJ *-(es*, is a *masculine* or *neuter* N (sing.) (5.7 h).

d. The head of a N phrase expanded by ADJ (zero) plus ADJ *-(e* is potentially identifiable as a *feminine* or *neuter* N (nom. or acc., sing.) (5.8 e and f).[10]

The usefulness of concurrent part-of-speech classes--especially the ART's and ADJ's--in establishing N gender is soon reached. In the plur., gender distinctions have entirely coalesced; in the sing., several contingent patterns also make no distinction among the N gender classifications; eg., ADJ (zero) in the nom. case, ADJ *-(e* or ADJ *-(e* as the first

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[10]There is not a particularly large census of this pattern in our materials. Although we might expect the decay of internal ADJ *-(a* to *-(e* to have deposited some *masc*. N's in this pattern, such does not seem to be the case in our materials. The nearest analogy is the appearance of four masc. N's expanded by ART's plus ADJ *-(e* in section 2.12, footnote 6; *se forliden(e man*, etc.

element in some ADJ series is either nom. or acc. sing. In these sing. patterns of expansion we can only refer to other gender signalling part-of-speech classes when they fortuitously occur--such as DR's, IR's, and PI's:

getryw(e wer (he, se, þone þe, etc.)
eadig(e cwen (heo, seo, etc.)
þyllic(e lif (hit, þæt, etc.)

5.11. Number signals.--Number distinctions among N are probably the most carefully marked of the three N categories for the period, though again the bulk of the signalling job is done by the N expanding part-of-speech classes. Among N suffixes only a few are number distinctive.

a. The N -(es signals singular N's.

b. The N -(um, etc., signal plural N's.

c. The N -(as signals plural N's.

The N (zero), N (zero) with stem replacive, and the N suffixes -(a, -(an, -(e, -(u / -(o are number-ambiguous. However, ART's and ADJ's signal number with a high degree of proficiency.

d. The ART's se, þes (5.7 c), seo, þeos (5.7 d), þæt, þis (5.8 a and b), þone, þisne (5.7 f), þæs, þises (5.7 h), þære, þisre (5.8 k) signal singular N's.

e. The ADJ's -(a without stem replacive (5.7 e), -(ne (5.7 f), -(es (5.7 h), -(re (5.8 k) signal singular N's.

f. The ART's þara, þisra, etc., and the ADJ -(a with stem replacive (5.7 i) signal plural N's.

g. The head of a N phrase expanded by ADJ (zero) (5.8 c and d), or by ADJ (zero) plus ADJ -(e (5.8 e and f), is a singular N.

5.12. Number-ambiguous forms.--The ART's þa, þas (5.8 g), þam, þisum, etc., and the ADJ's -(um (5.7 g) are number-ambiguous.

Within the O slot the determination of number classes among homonymously expanded forms is especially laboriously established in contrast with the number classes in the S case. For example, in the phrases man gæð : menn gað or þu blind(a : ge blind(e / blind(an, two grammatical categories are established by inter-class agreement--case and number. However, the correlation of V-O or PREP-O signals only one category--case. For example, in the phrases afandode mannes, habbað holu, hyrað mine word, into minum berne, þurh þyne mægenu, the choice among acc., dat., or gen. forms is determined by the peculiar case tolerance of the V or PREP involved. In the phrases afandode mannes and afandode manna, the use of the gen. case is obligatory. But the choice between sing. or plur. number forms depends upon facts external to the grammatical situation. Hence, the determination of number is often a moot point among object phrases.

a. The head of a N phrase, in the O slot, expanded by the ART's þa or þas is potentially identifiable as a sing. N (fem., acc.) or as a plur. N (acc.). The head of a N phrase, in the O slot, expanded by the

ADJ -(e, is potentially identifiable as a sing. or plur. N (acc.) (5.8 h).

b. To establish number distinctions in these kinds of contexts, the analyst is driven back upon rather minutely detailed evidence from the inflectional system of the N's themselves.

A N (zero) with stem vowel umlaut replacive or N -(as, expanded by þa, þas, is unequivocally a plural N.

þa fet, cristen(e men, sid(e beard(as, etc.,	55
ða ysenan scyttels(as, ðin(e awyrgedan gast(as, etc.,	17

c. The heads of all other N phrases, in the 0 slot, expanded by the ART's þa, þas or by the ADJ -(e are potentially sing. or plur., unless the textual context produces a specific number contrast such as þa nyten : þa nyten(a, þas myht(e : þas myht(a, min(e bebod : min(e bebod(a / bebod(u. On purely inflectional grounds, therefore, such contrasts as þa nam(an : þa nam(an, sealt(e sæ : sealt(e sæ are number-ambiguous.

þa æ, þa wif, æwfæst(e behat, etc.,	389
ða asmeadan tintreg(an, etc.,	70
god(e gecwem(e lac, etc.,	7

d. The head of a N phrase, in the 0 slot, expanded by the ART's þam / þon, etc., þisum, etc., or an ADJ -(um, etc., is potentially identifiable as a sing. or plur. N (dat., masc. or neut.) (5.7 g).

e. A N (zero), N (zero) with stem vowel umlaut replacive, or N -(e, expanded by þam, etc., or an ADJ -(um, etc., in the O slot, is a singular N.

þyssum menn, ful(um wæter(e, etc.,	353
þam wæterian bleo, þin(um ærran wuldr(e, etc.,	84
þam mennisc(um gecynd(e, etc.,	10
þyson men, myn(on cyneric(e, ælc(on leas(e,	15

f. A N -(um, etc., expanded by þam, etc. or an ADJ -(um, etc. in the O slot, is a plural N.

þam riper(um, þyssum broþr(um, eall(um cræft(um, etc.,	240
þam fyrmestan hearg(um, þin(um ungewiss(um word(um, etc.,	29
þyllic(on þyng(on, etc.,	2
deorwurð(an gymm(um, etc.,	3

g. A N -(an, expanded by þam, etc. or by an ADJ -(um etc. in the O slot, is potentially identifiable as a sing. or plur. N.

þisum licham(an, min(um geref(an, etc.,	61
þam clænan fæmn(an, etc.,	11
þam ec(um gefe(an, þin(um egen(um eag(an, etc.,	9
nan(an þing(an, min(an eag(an, etc.,	5
þin(on awyrgedan deofolgild(an	1

5.13. The indeclinable forms.--The usefulness of contingent classes in the identification of noun categories is exhausted, however, when the so-called indeclinable ADJ's are reached: heora, hira / hyra, hire / hyre, his / hys, etc. Since these forms are completely lacking in case, gender, and number distinctiveness, a reader is forced back upon whatever contrasts may be inherent in the N inflections themselves, or which may be conferred upon the N by the V's or PREP's: . . . næs his reaf horig . . . AeH 1.456.20, . . . ic his wegas gegearwian sceal . . . GN 498.1, . . . seo henn hyre cicenu under hyre

fyberu gegaderað . . . GM 23:37, . . . on heora yldrena endebyrdnysse . . . HMa 129.444, . . . mid his leohtes leoman . . . HH 611.6.

5.14. The "uncovered" N's.--Finally, when one reaches the "uncovered" N's, N's totally without expansion, distinguishability of all three grammatical categories is reduced to what can be gleaned from inflections, from V's, or from PREP's: . . . nu sende he hundas to me . . . AeH 1.378.2, . . . gif me nu mettas . . . AeL 2.206.260, . . . on arleasra handa . . . HMg 40.34, . . . on synfulra hand . . . GM 26:45, . . . to fæmnena mynstre . . . AeL 2.342.127.

5.15. Summary of the categorical signals.--To sum up the details of the signalling of grammatical categories in the N class, we have listed the most active signalling patterns of each category in outline fashion. What, for instance, are the recurrent signalling patterns among N expansions for signalling case, gender, and number? The following list gives the important unequivocal patterns of N expansion for each category in descending order of occurrence in the materials of our study.

a. case signals

nominative

1. ADJ (zero); V tie,	455
2. ART's se, þes,	351
3. ADJ -(e, ADJ -(e first in series,	144
4. ART's þa, þas; V tie,	122
5. ART's þæt, þis, V tie,	87
6. ART's seo, þeos,	76
7. ADJ -(a without stem replacive,	56

accusative

1. ART's þone, þisne, ADJ -(ne, 416
2. ADJ (zero); V- or PREP-0, 217
3. ART's þæt, þis; V- or PREP-0, 77

dative

1. ART's þam, þisum, ADJ -(um; V- or PREP-0, 801

genitive

1. ART's þæs, þises, ADJ -(es, 240
2. ART's þæra, ADJ -(a with stem replacive, 127

b. gender signals

masculine

1. ART's þone, þisne, ADJ -(ne, 416
2. ART's se, þes, 351
3. ADJ -(a without stem replacive, 56

feminine

1. ART's þære, þisre, ADJ -(re, 327
2. ART's seo, þeos, 76

neuter

1. ADJ (zero); V- or PREP-0, 217
2. ART's þæt, þis, 87

c. number signals

singular

1. ADJ (zero), ADJ (zero) plus ADJ -(e, 689
2. N (zero), N (zero) with stem vowel replacive, N -(e, expanded by þam, etc.; V- or PREP-0, 452
3. ART's þone, þisne, ADJ -(ne, 416
4. ART's se, þis, 351
5. ART's þære, þisre, ADJ -(re, 327
6. ART's þæs, þises, ADJ -(es, 240
7. ART's þæt, þis, 164
8. ART's seo, þeos, 76
9. ADJ -(a without stem replacive, 56

plural

1. N -(um, etc. expanded by ART þam, etc. in 0 slot, 292
2. ART's þæra, þisra, ADJ -(a without stem replacive, 127
3. ART's þa, þas; V tie, 122
4. N (zero) with stem replacive, N -(as, expanded by þa, þas in 0 slot, 72

5.16. Categorical syncretism.--Thus on the one hand we see the unequivocal signals of case, gender, and number.

On the other hand, there are numerous instances of syncretism or ambiguous readings due to the levelling of distinguishing categorical markers.

a. Within the categories of gender and number, case syncretism has occurred.

nom. (neut.) sing.
acc. (neut.) sing.

þæt cild, þis mæden

nom. (fem. or neut.) sing.
acc. (fem. or neut.) sing.

min bearn, nan dihle þing

dat. (fem.) sing.
gen. (fem.) sing.

þære sæ, þisse burh, þinre ceastre

nom. (all genders) sing.
acc. (all genders) sing.

ece susle, þine swiþran healfe

nom. (no gender) plur.
acc. (no gender) plur.

þa word, þas ærenan gatu

nom. (no gender) plur.
nom. (no gender) plur.

mine word, þine bena

b. Within the categories of case and gender, number syncretism has occurred (except for N (zero) with stem vowel replacive, N -(as).

nom. (all genders) sing.
nom. (no gender) plur.

soðe word, tharsysce ceasterwaran

acc. (all genders) sing. (section 5.10 d)
acc. (no gender) plur.

eorðlice welan, mine ðearfendlican gegirlan

c. Within the category of case, gender and number syncretism have occurred.

acc. (fem.) sing. (except for N (zero) with stem vowel replacive, N -(as)
acc. (no gender) plur.

þa wif, þas halgan weorc, ealde fæmnan

dat. (masc. and neut.) sing. (N -(an; section 5.12 g)
dat. (no gender) plur.

þinum eagan, minum smeðan wordan

d. Within the category of number, case and gender syncretism have occurred.

nom. (all genders) sing.
acc. (neut.) sing.

micel wunder, hreoh weder

e. Within the categories of case and number, gender syncretism has occurred.

gen. (masc.) sing.
gen. (neut.) sing.

þæs witegan, þæs ecan fyres

dat. (masc.) sing.
dat. (neut.) sing.

þam dæge, þam cilde, þam wæstmme

f. Throughout the plural series, all gender distinctions have levelled.

nom.-acc: þa weras, þa fæmnan, þa word
dat.: þam mannum, þam cwenum, þam wifum
gen.: þara arleasra, þara fæmnena, þara wifa

Thus, though the N inflectional system itself in the eleventh century is marked by a high incidence of skewness, the grammatical categories for the N class are still discoverable on the basis of maintained categorical distinctions in other part-of-speech classes, or in particular patterns of N expansion. Although many N forms are ambiguous when they occur in unexpanded contexts, we can usually still detect some, if not all categorical information about a given N from its grammatical context. Only the indeclinable ADJ's and the unmodified N's without distinctive inflectional endings are totally without categorical information of one sort or another.

CHAPTER VI

THE NOUN INFLECTIONAL SERIES

6.1. Principal and minor inflectional series.--Rather than the economical and the ideal pattern of categorical contrasts in which four cases, three genders, and two number distinctions might be carefully yet efficiently distinguished, we find that eleventh century N's inflect according to one of six inflectional series--three principal series and three minor series. Principal series are distinguished from minor series (1) in being the series with the higher census of vocabulary items, (2) in containing more sub-classes, and (3) in showing a greater number of case-gender-number distinctions within any given series.

Minor series generally have a lower census of vocabulary items, but a correspondingly higher rate of occurrence of any given item; i.e. there are many words in the language which inflect like First Series se fox, but their rate of occurrence is low in comparison to the total census of the series, or in comparison to the rate of occurrence of items in the smaller series. In general, the minor series show a notable amount of formal coalescence within the inflectional pattern.

6.2. Distinctions among N series.--Among the six inflectional series, the gen. sing. suffix is the suffix which serves to distinguish one series from another most efficiently. In other words, all sub-classes of a series will coincide in the use of a particular gen. suffix, no matter how else they may contrast in inflectional respects. Thus the six series can be handily designated by an arbitrary number, eg., 1, 2, 3, 1M, 2M, or 3M, or, more circumstantially, by the number of the series and the characteristic gen. sing. suffix for the series: First Series or -(es Series, Second Series or -(e Series, Third Series or -(an Series, First Minor Series or (a Series, Second Minor Series or -(u / -(o Series, Third Minor Series or Zero Series.

6.3. Sub-classes of the N series.--Sub-classes within the series are defined by several different kinds of formal contrasts: most frequently the contrast of nom.-acc. sing. suffix with nom.-acc. plur. suffix as in the First and Second Series (se cyning--þa cyning(as, se fiscer(e--þa fiscer(as, and seo sawl--þa sawl(a, etc.); secondly, by gender contrasts in the Third Series where nom. sing. masc. -(a suffix contrasts with non-masc. -(e suffixes (se wyrhta--seo næddre, þys rice); similarly, in the First Series gender, as well as number and case, operate to establish a sub-class in such a contrast as þæt tacen--þa tacn(u; thirdly, sub-classes are established by the contrast of alternative bases within a series. The umlaut vowel replacive of the dat. sing. and of the nom.-acc. plur.

base of one sub-class in the First Series contrasts with all other base forms in the series; boc- / bec. Likewise, in the Third Series, two sub-classes are established by the occurrence of an expanded base alternate form before the gen. plur. suffix only: tungl- / tungl-en-(a and ælþeodig- / ælþeodig-r-(a.

6.4. The principal series.

a. First Inflectional Series.

The First Series is characterized by the gen. sing. suffix -(es; the series unites non-feminine N's. This series preserves more inflectional distinctions than any other N class. In some sub-classes of this series there are as many as six inflectional distinctions operating; in others, such as the sub-class which has -(e throughout the sing. except for gen. -(es, the total number of inflectional suffix distinctions falls to four in N's like mete, wine: -(e, -(es, -(um, -(a.

Nom.-acc. sing.	zero, -(e, -(u	
Dat. sing.	-(e, zero with base vowel "umlaut" replacive	
Gen. sing.	-(es	
Nom.-acc. plur.	zero, zero with base vowel replacive, -(as, -(e, -(u	
Dat. plur.	-(um,	
Gen. plur.	-(a	

The number of sub-classes is higher in the -(es class than in any other N class. First Series sub-classes are established on the basis of nom.-acc. sing. suffix contrasts with nom.-acc. plur. suffixes.

1. zero with -(as: se cyning, þa cyning(as
2. -(e with -(as: se met(e, þa mett(as
3. -(e with -(e: se sted(e, þa sted(e

4. zero with zero: þæt land, þa land
5. zero with -(u: þæt scip, þa scip(u
6. -(e with -(u: þæt wit(e, þa wit(u

7. zero with zero and base vowel alternate se fot, þa fet

b. Second Inflectional Series.

The Second Series is characterized by the gen. sing. suffix -(e, and consists of fem. N's. In the main, the inflection preserves four inflectional distinctions, although the operation of free variation can reduce this number to three.

Nom. sing.	zero / -(e, -(u
Acc.-dat.-gen. sing.	-(e
Nom.-acc.-gen. plur.	-(a, with -(e as a free variant for nom.-acc.
Dat. plur.	-(um

The sub-classes established on the nom.-acc. sing.-plur. contrast are considerably fewer than in the First Series.

1. zero / -(e with -(a / -(e: seo syn / synn(e, þa synn(a / synn(e
2. -(u with -(a / -(e: seo tal(u, þa tal(a / tal(e

c. Third Inflectional Series.

The Third Series is characterized by the gen. sing. suffix -(an, and contains N's of all three genders. The series preserves four inflectional distinctions generally.

Nom.-acc.	-(a, masc. N suffix -(e, neut. and fem. N suffix
Acc.-dat.-gen. sing.	-(an; -(e with neuter sub-class only
Nom.-acc. plur.	-(an, with -(e occurring in nom.-acc. plur. in certain syntactic situations; see section 6.16.
Gen. plur.	-(a

Unlike the First and Second Series, in which sub-classes are established on a case-number contrast, sub-classes in the Third Series are established on a case-gender contrast: non.-acc. sing.

1. -(a with -(an: se lycham(a, þone lycham(an
2. -(e with -(e: þæt ric(e, þæt ric(e
3. -(e with -(an: seo tung(e, þa tung(an

6.5. The Minor series.

a. First Minor Inflectional Series.

The First Minor Series is composed of a short list of masc. and fem. N's, characterized by the gen. sing. suffix -(a.

Nom.-acc. sing. zero, -(u
Dat.-gen. sing. } -(a
Nom.-acc.-gen. plur. }
Dat. plur. -(um

In spite of the gender contrasts in the series, the sub-classes are established by the nom.-acc. sing. and plur. contrast, as in the First and Second Series.

1. -(u with -(a: se sun(u, þa sun(a
2. zero with -(a: seo hand, þa hand(a

b. Second Minor Inflectional Series.

The Second Minor Series is characterized by the gen. sing. suffix -(u / -(o; the series contains fem. N's only.

Nom.-acc.-dat.-gen. sing. } -(u / -(o
Nom.-acc. plur. }
Dat. plur. -(um
Gen. plur. -(a

There are no sub-classes in this series, which includes such N's as hæl(u / -(o, hæt(u / -(o, yld(u / -(o, etc.

f. Third Minor Inflectional Series.

The Third Minor Series contains a short list of N's consisting of the terms for familial relationship. They are inflectionally unstable, particularly in the plural; they are, however, united by the use of the gen. sing. suffix zero. The series contains both masc. and fem. N's.

Nom.-acc.-gen. sing. zero
Dat. sing. zero, zero with base vowel umlaut replacive

Nom.-acc. plur. zero, -(a, -(as, -(u
Dat. plur. -(um
Gen. plur. -(a

Sub-classes are established by case-number contrast and by contrasting bases within a particular N inflection.

1. zero with -(as: se fæder, þa fæder(as
2. zero with -(u / -(a: seo modor, þa moddr(u, moddr(a
3. zero with zero: seo swustor, þa swustor
4. base replacives: dohtor-dehter, brobor--breþer

6.6. Inflectional instability.--The foregoing descriptions of the N inflectional series give the norm of inflectional behavior; but they do not account for all instances of inflectional behavior. Certainly a significant fact about eleventh century N inflectional behavior is the high incidence of free fluctuation among suffixes. For instance, a writer may indicate his ascription of a N to the First Series by the use of -(es in a particular inflectional situation; but another writer--or even the same writer on another occasion in the same text--may assign the same N to the Third Series by the use of the suffix -(an in the same inflectional situation.

While our evidence will not allow of exact mathematical computations, we can, nevertheless, point out from the direction and general frequency of these transfers, some interesting trends in the inflectional behavior of the period. Particularly significant are the classes to which transfers are made and the classes from which the transfers are made.

6.7. The spread of N -(e.--The salient fact about inflectional suffix variation from the inflectional norms is the spread of the -(e suffix into both sing. and plur. territory. A likely interpretation of this fact might involve the probable phonetic similarity of unstressed -(a to -(e by this time, particularly in such contexts as Second Series nom.-acc. plur.: þa ansyn(e þara sacerda, HMa 134.617, ealle mine dæd(e, HMg 45.15, etc.

But the equally frequent fluctuation of -(e with plurals of other classes, presumably more phonetically distinct from -(e than -(a, suggests that the fluctuation was one between syntactic entities rather than between phonetic entities.

In the following list the intrusive suffix -(e is listed first, and the inflectional series with the particular suffix which -(e is displacing is listed second.

a. -(e -- 1: -(as, mænigfealde cræft(e, Gu 123.15, etc.

b. -(e -- 1: zero, hi synd tyddr(e, Q 22.37; ealle mine wæpn(e, HMg 45.11, etc.

c. -(e -- M2: -(u / -(o, þa ðyostr(e, HL 43.5,14; uncre swað(e, M 205.350, etc.

In addition, -(e was spreading into singular territory, most notably into the zero territory of the nom. sing. of First and Second Series N's. This spread may be encouraged by the analogous -(e suffix of neut. and fem. N's of the Third Series: þis mennisc(e, AeH 1.588.5; þæt gescop(e, HH 612.32; seo mettrumnyss(e, Gu 162.25; þes [sic] ongitenyss(e, Gu 162.27; soþfæstness(e, HMg 47.15; dæl-nimend(e (referring to a girl), AeL 2.338.53.

6.8. Spread of Third Series suffixes.--The expansion of -(e into the singular inflectional territory of First and Second Series nom.'s coincides, of course, with the situation in the Third Series in which -(e is the inflectional suffix for neut. and fem. N's. The third sing. suffix, nom. masc. -(a is likewise extended.

As in 6.7, the intrusive suffix is listed first with the inflectional series into which it is intruding indicated second.

3: -(a -- 1: zero, se lifigend(a, AeL 2.212.360; þes scinend(a, HH 611.17; se lapiend(a, GM 20:28; etc. (22 instances)

3: -(a -- 2: zero, se [sic] synn(a, HMg 47.5 (1)

3: -(an -- 1: zero (acc.), þone mann(an, Q 19.46 (1)

3: -(an -- 1: -(es, þæs sawend(an, GM 13:18 (1)

3: -(an -- 2: -(e (dat.), þissere hungrige ceasterwar(an, A 23.7; for þære soðan luf(an, AeL 2. 338.63 (8)

3: -(an -- M1: -(a, be þære hand(an, GN 492.16 (3)

3: -(an -- M2: -(u / -(o, on þises dæges hæt(an, GM 20:12 (3)

Third Series plur. -(an makes some expansion into the plur. area of other series.

3: -(an -- 1: -as, þa timbriend(an, etc., GM 21:42 (18)

3: -(an -- 1: -(u, þas seofon tungl(an, etc., Q 18.39 (5)

6.9. Spread of Second Series Suffixes.

a. singular suffixes.

2: -(e -- 1: -(es, þises ric(e, Gu 172.28 (1)

2: -(e -- 2: zero, deað(e, Q 19.27 (1)

2: -(e -- 3: -(an (acc.), halig godedes [sic] fæmn(e HMg 48.11 (2)

2: -(e -- M1: -(a, apene þine hand, GM 12:13 (1)

2: -(e -- M2: -(u / -(o (dat.) for eowre hæl(e, AeH 2.482.20
ðine yld(e, AeH 1.418.31 (5)

(gen.) his agenre hæl(e, Q 18.1 (3)

b. plural suffixes

2: -(a -- 1: zero, þurh swilce tacn(a, AeL 2.194.79 (2)

2: -(a -- 1: -(as, þa ungesceadwisan nyten(a, Q 17.31 (3)

2: -(a -- 1: -(u, þas gewrit(a, A 29.31; lichamlice wit(a AeH 1.592.9, etc. (9)

6.10. Spread of First Series Suffixes.

a. singular suffixes

1: zero -- 3: -(a (nom.), ana gecoren, HMa 131.516 (3)

1: -(es -- 2: -(e, woruld(es ende, HMa 121.139 (2)

1: -(es -- 3: -(an (gen.), strang(es hus, GM 12:28 (2)

1: -(es -- 3M: zero (gen.) fæder(es, GN 486.32 (1)

b. plural suffixes

1: zero -- 1: -(as, for nean twelf monað, Q 21.10 (1)

6.11. Spread of First Minor Series Suffixes.

M1: -(a -- 1: zero, on þone þriddan flering(a, Q 21.8 (2)

M1: -(a -- 1: -(e (dat.), for þreaging(a, Q 20.2 (2)

M1: -(a -- 2: -(e (dat.), to þyllicre drohtnung(a, AeL 2. 338.74 (3)

M1: -(a -- 3: -(e (nom.), seo sunn(a, Q 18.34

M1: -(a -- 3: -(an (acc.), hire nacode licham(a, M 204.304 (4)

6.12. Spread of Second Minor Series Suffixes.

M2: -(u -- 1: zero (acc. sing.), þyne flæsc(u, GN 482.22 (2)

M2: -(u -- 2: -(e (dat. sing.), on soðre luf(u, HR 50.2 (3)

6.13. Spread of Third Minor Series Suffixes.

M3: zero -- 2: -(e (acc. sing.), þa clænnyss, M 204.295 (3)

M3: zero -- 2: -(a (nom. plur.), geswipornys sindon, M 202.248 (1)

6.14. The incidence of N -(e spread.--To sum up, the first fact of note about the inflectional series of eleventh century English is, unquestionably, the great number of instances in which the suffix series are clearly undisturbed, the great majority of historic series suffixes. However, a reader of eleventh century texts cannot overlook the equally evident indications of inflectional variations, the spread of one classes suffixes into the area of another class. The following list, given in descending order of frequency, cites the total number of clear instances for the spread of particular class endings into other class areas.

1. Spread of -(e.....89
2. Spread of Third Series suffixes.....83
3. Spread of Second Series suffixes.....24
4. Spread of First Minor Series suffixes.....12
5. Spread of First Series suffixes.....10
6. Spread of Third Minor Series suffixes.....5
7. Spread of Second Minor Series suffixes.....4

The reasons for the active spread of the -(e suffix can be inferred from several directions: in the sing., (1) a small sub-class of the First Series N's has the -(e suffix in both nom.-acc. (N's like met(e, win(e; (2) among several writers (notably the authors of AeL, Gu, HMg), the -(e suffix spreads into the zero area of the nom. sing. of the Second Series, where -(e is already the normative acc. suffix (eg. seo synn(e, þa synn(e; seo geomrung(e, þa geomrung(e); (3) in the Third Series, as we have already noted, the -(e suffix occurs as the nom. neut. and fem. suffixes.

Finally, the spread of -(e into both the sing. and plur. was expedited by the process of coinage of "new" N's, particularly from ADJ bases and from various verbal bases, and to a lesser extent from PREP's and numerals. The principal grammatical "port of entry" seems to have been, by general agreement, the Third Series. The coincidence of ADJ suffixes--in the so-called "weak" inflection--with those of the Third Series is exemplified in numerous N's formed on original ADJ bases: þu stunt(a, AeL 1.530.695, GM 5:22; se besorgest(a, AeL 1.496.143; seo ungesælig(e, TL 169.50; ic earm(e (the daughter Euphrosyne speaking), AeL 2.352.291; þæt halig(e, GM 7:6.

6.15. New N formations.--This coincidence of suffixes would seem natural enough between two parts-of-speech which agreed in the maintenance of case-gender-number distinctions. But the same contrast of neut.-fem. -(e suffix with masc. -(a suffix prevails in the new formations established on V-end bases; þes scinend(a, HH 611.17; se lapigend(a, GM 20:28; heo sy dæl-nimend(e, AeL 2.338.55;[1] on V-ed / -od / -t bases: þu awyriged(a, AeH 2.164.28; on V-en bases: se geslagen(a, AeH 2.124.12; þu aworden(a, GM 5:22; on PREP bases: se æfter(a, GM 21:31; on numeral bases: se feorð(a, Q 18:34; se fift(a, Q 18:35; þæt feorð(e, Q 18.18; þæt ðridd(e, Q 18.17.

In the plur. inflection, such formations take the -(an suffixes, analogous to the Third Series plurals (or the "weak" ADJ inflection): N's established on V-end bases, þa timbriend(an, GM 21:42, ða dweliend(an, AeL 2.194.67; or on V- ed / -od / t bases: þa gecypsed(an, AeH 2.414.23, þa gelaðod(an, GM 22.3 þa forscrenct(an, AeH 2.414.23; on V-en bases: his gecoren(an, GM 24.31; on PREP. bases: þa ærr(an, GM 21.36.

6.16. The fluctuations of N -(an / N -(e in new N's.--In the plur. inflection of N's of later than historic Germanic origin, two suffixes fluctuate in the nom.-acc.: first, the -(an suffix, which we should readily expect from the analogy with the Third Series N's (or from the so-called "weak" ADJ inflection), and second, the -(e suffix, which is analogous with the suffixes of the "strong" ADJ inflection.

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[1]These forms fluctuate with "old" V-end N forms, i.e., N forms with -end- within the First Series nom.-acc. zero sub-class; se arfæsta miltsigend, AeH 2.420.17; se æðela scyppend, Q 19.46; se ylca hælend, GM 506.17.

This variation between -(an and -(e in these new formations (i.e. N's formed on former ADJ and verbal bases, etc.) seems not to be a matter of free variation, as in the Second Series plur. nom.-acc., but a matter of regular syntactic determination at this stage of the language. The fluctuation between -(an / -(e in the nom.-acc. plur. of new N formations corresponds roughly to the inflectional behavior of the two ADJ inflections: unexpanded N's (or N's expanded by DR's we, hig and by the PI ge) terminate in -(e, corresponding to the behavior of strong ADJ's: gewitað awyrgyd(e fram me, GM 25:41; gehyran ge ceasterwaran [sic] gehyran ge ælþeodig(e and þeow(e frig(e and þeow(e æðel(e and unæðel(e, A 25.1; blind(e geseoþ healt(e gað hreof(e synt aclænsude deaf(e gehyraþ dead(e arisað þearf(an [sic] bodiað, GM 11:5; we untrum(e gehælon and blind(e onlihton hreoflig(e geclænsian dead(e æræran, AeH 1.466.1; ge gebletsod(e, GM 25:34, but also ge ungesælig(an, AeH 1.430.12; in the second instance, N's expanded by ART's and ADJ's terminate in -(an, corresponding to the weak ADJ inflection: we ða unscæððig(an alyson, AeH 2.492.2; læt dead(e [sic] bebyrigean hyra dead(an, GM 8:22; þa fif dyseg(an, GM 25:3; ealle þa halg(an, V 183.57; þa gastlican þearf(an, GM 5:3; þa clæn(an, þa unwemm(an, M 207.421; þa hæþen(an, Q 18.32.

6.17. Conservation versus variation.--In conclusion, our evidence on the eleventh century N class inflectional system indicates that the historical inflectional classes are still

viable and still reasonably efficient signallers of case and number, especially when the N suffixes are complemented by the analogous inflections of the ADJ or the ART. In other words, linguistic conservatism operates with sufficient force in the period to maintain the main shape of the inherited Germanic inflectional system.

Other forces, however, are at work in opposition to the force of conservation. The instances of fluctuation between suffixes of one series and those of another for the same base are indicative of a trend which, if nothing else, is disruptive of the historic system. But our evidence on the matter of suffix variation seems to indicate one fact with considerable force: the occurrences of Third Series suffixes seem to lead over those of other classes.

This lead of Third Series suffixes in these anomalous exchanges is complemented by the increased activity of Third Series suffixes in the formation of N's from bases of other parts of speech. The -(e suffix, an active suffix historically in several of the series, increases in frequency of occurrences with the spread of new formations suffixed like the Third Series with fem.-neut. nom. sing. in -(e. Furthermore, the -(e suffix makes an incursion into plural territory as a variant nom.-acc. suffix of these same new formations, on analogy with the strong ADJ's.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

At the outset of this study, two complementary aims were announced for the investigation, one extensive in scope, the other intensive.

The extensive aim was to show that a descriptive approach to historical stages of the English language is both methodologically feasible and descriptively rewarding. The intensive aim of the work was to describe the salient characteristics of noun morphology and syntax.

The written materials at the disposal of the worker in a historical period of a language require different analytical methods from those of the linguistic field worker. But both language historian and language recorder are fundamentally concerned with languages as consistent systems of communication, and both work toward apprehending as much of those systems as their time and materials allow.

The attempt to describe historical materials with the procedural rigorousness of modern linguistic techniques began with the definition of part-of-speech classes through the substitution of items within a set of common frames. From this initial definition of classes, an investigator

could proceed to a detailed description of formal characteristics and syntactic behavior of a selected class--in this case, the nouns.

The fundamental descriptive generalization which this study reinforced was that in dealing with eleventh century English it is not feasible to keep the layers of investigation rigidly compartmentalized either in the procedures of analysis or in the descriptive exposition. The analyst is frequently driven from syntactic criteria to formal criteria or from formal criteria to syntactic criteria in the resolution of particular descriptive problems.

Although it is procedurally expedient to cross the line between morphology and syntax, it is essential to keep clearly in mind that while grammatical form and function have complementary roles, these roles are distinctly separate. For instance, in eleventh century English,nominative case is not coincidental nor identical with subject function; nouns in the nominative case may also fill the vocative function. Similarly, genitive nouns can fill either object or possessive function. Conversely, the verb-object slot may be filled by three inflectional classes, the preposition-object slot by two.

The distinction between form and function relates also to the matter of word-order in the language of the period. That writers had at their disposal a variety of word-order patterns of high frequency is possible in part

because the language was fundamentally still an order-signalling system.

Turning now to the intensive aim of our investigation, we found that while much of the signalling of grammatical meaning was done by the inflectional suffixes, there are unmistakeable indications that this system of form-contrastive signals is becoming less clear-cut. The generalization of the suffixes N-(an and N-(e in both singular and plural is a case in point.

Furthermore, the noun class has obviously enlarged to include many ADJ stems (þa iudeisc(e as compared to twa iudeisc(an cnihtas) and V-ed stems (he arærð þa forscrenct(an as compared to seo wurt forscrenct(e). These new formations also fluctuate between N-(an and N-(e in the nom.-acc. plur., increasing the tendency toward number inflectional indistinctiveness: ge awirged(e, ge blind-an / þa blind(e, earm(e . . . ge, þa fyrmest(an / manige fyrmest(e, ge geblētsod(an / ge gebletsod(e, ge gecypsed(an, ða hæðen(an / hæþen(e, ða timbriend(an, untrum(an / untrum(e.

In addition, the singular suffixes N(zero), N-(an, N-(e are indistinct signals of gender, as are all the plural suffixes with the exception of N-(as. Consequently, the levelling of a few gender-critical articles such as se, seo, þæt, and þære, and adjective suffixes such as ADJ -(ne and ADJ -(re will almost completely efface the categorical distinction of gender among nouns, except as a matter of reference and substitution.

On the other hand, certain noun inflectional suffixes seem particularly likely to endure a general systematic reshaping. N-(es, with its phonetic variants, is the most distinctive genitive and singular ending; although it is gender-ambiguous, it is the sole inflectional suffix which does not coincide with any other case ending. Similarly, N-(as--while case-ambiguous--is a clear signal of number; it contrasts effectively with all singular endings.

Probably the two formal developments of greatest significance in the history of the language from the eleventh century to the modern era were the generalization of these two noun suffixes and the attendant reduction of the six historical classes of the noun to the three modern classes. Clearly related to this formal development was the syntactic shift from a still fundamentally form-signalling system of grammar to a fundamentally order-signalling system.

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