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SYNTAX OF THE OLD ENGLISH CHARTERS

by

Charles R. Carlton

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Doctoral Committee:

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SYNTAX OF THE OLD ENGLISH CHARTERS

By Charles R. Carlton

The object of this study is to describe the syntax of the Old English language found in a carefully selected group of original charters contemporary with the period covered, 805 A.D. to 1066 A.D., and to document the descriptive statements with examples taken from this corpus.

Traditional linguistic methods have been combined with the methods of modern structural linguistics. The method used by Charles C. Fries in The Structure of English (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1952) has been adapted to the Old English language, for which there is no native informant and for which the material is limited to written records which cannot be expanded. By this method, a corpus of unedited texts is divided into basic syntactic units (sentences) according to formal and structural criteria; the sentences are then divided into their functional parts: basic elements (subject, object, complement, etc.) and secondary elements (modifiers).

Inflection is the primary syntactic signal. Inflections for nouns, pronouns, and adjectives are ambiguous in many single words but there is less ambiguity in concord groups (composed of a noun and its modifiers). Verb inflections are often ambiguous unless supplemented by nouns or pronouns which show person distinctions, by adverbial expressions of time, or by combination with other verbs (in verb phrases).

Word order is a secondary syntactic signal. Old English word order shows a high degree of regularity and conformity in particular

types of constructions. Although the major word order patterns are usually followed when inflections are unambiguous, word order is sometimes freer when the case inflections are unambiguous and more stable when the case inflections are ambiguous. Some previous statements about the non-existence or unimportance of word order in Old English must be considerably modified.

In general, the Old English charters conform to the syntax found in other types of Old English writing. However, in some of the usages for case, mood, and tense, this corpus differs markedly.

Dependent clauses can be divided into three definite types which are distinguished by their structural characteristics and functions rather than by meaning. Each type of dependent clause has a particular structure, introductory word or words, word order, and function.

In modification structures, both inflection and word order operate. Modifiers of nouns agree with the noun in gender, case, and number (except modifiers which are personal pronouns or nouns in the genitive case). Modifiers of nouns usually occupy a particular position and order in relation to the head word.

Uninflected parts of speech (adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions) fill syntactic positions which usually have a fixed word order: sequence indicators, indicators of inclusion, the preposition in prepositional phrases, and the conjunction when it functions as a connective between two units (rather than as an indicator of sequence or inclusion).

Although this corpus contains texts in West Saxon, Mercian, Kentish, and Northumbrian dialects, there is nothing in the syntax

which significantly and consistently differentiates one dialect from another.

In the later documents, a change toward Modern English word order is noticeable especially in the dependent clauses. Simple sentences and independent clauses have a word order that is much the same as that of Modern English throughout the period. Any diachronic statement about this corpus must be qualified because the number and the type of texts differ in each century.

The syntax of Old English does not depend wholly upon one type of system for indicating the relationships between words; it employs inflection and word order (which may operate simultaneously or which may supplement each other) as well as supplementary words, phrases, and clauses.

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PREFACE

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I am particularly grateful to Professor Sherman M. Kuhn, who has served as chairman of the committee and who has been most generous in devoting time and energy to this work. Only his patience, encouragement, and valuable suggestions have enabled me to complete this study.

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Downer who, although a late-comer to the committee, made pertinent and helpful comments and suggestions.

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Finally, I would like to thank Professor Hans Kurath, Editor of the Middle English Dictionary, and the staff of the Middle English Dictionary, for the use of books and for other assistance.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	accusative case
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
B	Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum
cl.	clause
conj.	conjunction
CS	subject complement-subject of the verb word order
CV	subject complement-verb word order
CVS	subject complement-verb-subject word order
dat.	dative case
dep.	dependent clause
E	Earle, A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters, and Other Saxonic Documents
fem.	feminine gender
gen.	genitive case
H	Harmer, Anglo-Saxon Writs
imper.	imperative mood
ind.	indicative mood
IO	indirect object-direct object word order
IS	indirect object-subject word order
IV	indirect object-verb word order
K	Kentish dialect
M	Mercian dialect

masc.	masculine gender
N	Northumbrian dialect
neg.	negative
neut.	neuter gender
nom.	nominative case
ø	zero inflectional ending, or absence of inflection
OE	Old English
OI	direct object-indirect object word order
OS	direct object-subject word order
OV	direct object-verb word order
part.	participle
pers.	person
pos.	position
prep.	preposition
pres.	present tense
pret.	preterit tense
pl.	plural number
pron.	pronoun
R	Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters
S	Sweet, The Oldest English Texts
SC	subject of verb-subject complement word order
SCV	subject-subject complement-verb word order
sen.	sentence
SI	subject-indirect object word order
sing.	singular number
sg.	singular number
SO	subject-direct object word order

subj.	subject of the verb
SV	subject-verb order
SVC	subject-verb-subject complement word order
V	inflected verb form
vb.	verb
VC	verb-subject complement word order
VI	verb-indirect object word order
V^{i}	infinitive form of verb
VO	verb-direct object word order
V^{p}	present or past participle form of verb
VS	verb-subject word order
VSC	verb-subject-subject complement word order
W	Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills
WS	West Saxon dialect
ø	[see above, under O]

INTRODUCTION

PREVIOUS STUDIES IN OLD ENGLISH SYNTAX

The study of Old English grammar and syntax has gone through three phases. In the first phase, linguists were strongly influenced by the study of the classical languages, Greek and Latin. These languages were set up as models; if Greek and Latin had vocative, locative, and ablative cases, then Old English must have the same cases. These early books, as well as later ones, are based on the tacit assumption that syntactic relationships between units were expressed entirely by inflectional endings; therefore, the possibility of any other syntactic system was ignored. This first phase may be represented by George Hickes' Institutiones grammaticae (Oxford, 1703) which has a strong bias toward Latin.

The second phase was brought about by the discovery and study of the relations between the various members of the Indo-European family of languages. In those early days of scientific language study, linguists were concerned primarily with phonology and morphology so that syntax was largely excluded. Actually this was a logical development at that time, for the theory and techniques of modern linguistic science were just being developed then, and, too, syntax, by its very nature, presupposes the working out and organization of the phonological and morphological systems. Therefore, the Old English grammars of this period (which may be represented by the

grammars of Eduard Sievers and Joseph Wright) discussed Indo-European, Primitive Germanic, Primitive Old English, phonology in elaborate detail, sound laws, and word classes according to Indo-European stems. Again, as in the first phase, it was assumed that inflection was the only syntactic expression of relationships between units and word order continued to be overlooked.

Although as early as 1882 Sievers broke away from the traditional listing of five to seven cases for Old English (he listed only three for most nouns: nominative-accusative, genitive, and dative-instrumental[1]), the influence of these early periods in emphasizing phonology and morphology to the exclusion of syntax has been continued until fairly recent times. Typical books are: George T. Flom, Introductory Old English Grammar and Reader (Boston, 1930); Moore and Knott, The Elements of Old English (Ann Arbor, 1942); James Bright, Anglo-Saxon Reader, revised and enlarged by James R. Hulbert (New York, 1935).

This is not to say that syntax was never mentioned in any history or grammar. For instance, an early though brief reference to word order is found in Rasmus Rask, Angelsaksisk Sproglaere (Stockholm, 1817), although he still adheres to the belief in the autonomy of inflection.[2]

Others who made some mention of word order in Old English were Wundt, Deutschbein, Ten Brink, and Jespersen.

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[1]Eduard Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik (Halle, 1882), p. 122.

[2]Benjamin Thorpe, A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, of Erasmus Rask (London, 1865).

The third phase is the inclusion of syntax in grammars and recognition of word order as an operating syntactic signal in Old English. Grammars used in the study of Old English in the United States have generally contained no discussion of syntax. From abroad have come five books which include discussions of syntax although they are admittedly incomplete and restricted in their coverage.

Fernand Mossé's Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge is largely a history of the English language, but it devotes thirty-seven pages to syntax based on the ninth-century writings of Alfred. Mossé notes:

> La syntaxe est fondée sur les textes. C'est dire qu'elle n'a aucune prétention à être complète. Elle est seulement faite pour servir à l'intelligence de ces textes.[1]

However, Mossé further comments:

> En vieil anglais, l'ordre dans lequel se placent les divers éléments de la phrase ... est beaucoup plus libre qu'en anglais moderne.... La flexion est encore suffisamment riche pour permettre d'aperçevoir le rôle joué par chacun de ces éléments .... Il n'y a aucun système et la phrase reste très souple.[2]

Norman Davis's revision of Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer contains eighteen and one-half pages on syntax, but he comments:

> In so limited a space the grammar could not aim at anything like completeness. It sets out to cover the texts in this book, and all examples are drawn from them.[3]
>
> This grammar deals only with the West Saxon dialect...and with the early form of it -- that is, the language of about the time of King Alfred.[4]

---

[1]Fernand Mossé, Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge, Vol. I (Paris, 1945), p. 7.

[2]Ibid., p. 167.

[3]Norman Davis, Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer (London, 1955), p. v.

[4]Ibid., p. 1.

G. L. Brook's An Introduction to Old English devotes approximately eleven pages to syntax:

> In many respects the syntax of Old English is similar to that of Modern English. The object of the present chapter is not to give a complete survey of Old English syntax but to call attention to such differences between the syntax of Old English and that of Modern English as are likely to cause difficulty to a student reading Old English texts.[1]

Randolph Quirk and C. L. Wrenn provide a forty-five page discussion of syntax in An Old English Grammar:[2]

> The treatment of inflexions, syntax, word-formation, and phonology represents an attempt to describe realistically the forms that occur most prominently in the important literary manuscripts, systematised in a manner that seems most significant for the Classical Old English which they generally present.[3]

> We are not therefore attempting a systematic description of Old English syntax as a whole.[4]

P. S. Ardern's First Readings in Old English includes a "Synopsis of Syntax" of twenty-four pages in outline form which allows little explanation and few examples:

> Our texts do not afford material for a complete survey of the syntax of the language, but they exemplify a wide range of usage.[5]

Word order is discussed in all of the above-mentioned grammars although it is summarized and oversimplified so that many features are omitted.

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[1]G. L. Brook, An Introduction to Old English (Manchester, 1955), p. 83.

[2]See book review by Sherman M. Kuhn, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LVII, No. 1 (January, 1958), pp. 114-117.

[3]Randolph Quirk and C. L. Wrenn, An Old English Grammar (London, 1955), p. vii.

[4]Ibid., p. 59.

[5]P. S. Ardern, First Readings in Old English (Wellington, 1951), p. ix.

Specific syntactic studies of Old English were made as early as 1851[1] and have continued to be made down to the present day. Usually only one limited problem of syntax was investigated in a particular work. Generally these studies were based on a wide and casual selection of materials; the linguistic methods and sampling methods were questionable because they were often unexplained; therefore, the conclusions were misleading or restricted in application. Often, too, the statements were very subjective, giving the author's feelings or philosophical theories rather than the facts of grammar.[2] The investigators were not content merely to describe the linguistic situation as it existed or the language as it was used in preserved records.

In Kennedy's Bibliography of Writings on the English Language (from the beginning of printing to the end of 1922), there are seventy-three items on Old English syntax listed from 1851 to 1922.[3] These range from short "notes" or comments to exhaustive studies like Johann Ernst Wülfing's Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds den Grossen (Bonn, 1894-1901).[4]

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[1]Edwin Guest, "On a Curious Tmesis, Which Is Sometimes Met With, in Anglo-Saxon and Early-English Syntax," Proceedings of the Philological Society, V (1851), pp. 97-101.

[2]See, for instance, the various theories to account for the change from inflection to word order expressed by Morsbach, Humboldt, and Jespersen, summarized by G. Hübener, "Das Problem des Flexionsschwundes im Angelsächsischen," Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur, XLV (1920), pp. 84-101.

[3]Arthur G. Kennedy, A Bibliography of Writings on the English Language (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 153-157.

[4]Although extensive, Wülfing's work is not a complete syntax; he handles the parts of speech but not the sentence.

The works are divided into ten categories: general syntax (based on one particular work or related body of materials), sentence types, parts of the sentence, concord, clauses and phrases, word order, case, number, modification, and ellipsis.[1]

Since 1922 the same types of studies have been written, usually emphasizing one limited problem of syntax which may give the reader a distorted view of that particular item in its relation to the complete grammatical system.[2]

As stated before, Old English has been described until recently as a language, like Latin, in which syntactic relationships depended on inflection alone or at least to a very high degree; therefore, word order was ignored as having little or no significance. In 1940 Charles C. Fries summarized this viewpoint: "In Old English, however, the order of the words in such sentences (actor-action-goal or subject-verb-object) has no bearing whatever upon the grammatical relationship involved. Taxemes of selection do the work, and word-order is non-distinctive and connotative."[3] These statements may be qualified somewhat by the following considerations. The purpose of the article

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[1]Representative studies are: Christian E. Bale, "The Syntax of the Genitive Case in the Lindisfarne Gospels," Iowa Studies in Language and Literature, The State University of Iowa, 1907; Hugh M. Blain, "Syntax of the Verb in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 787 AD to 1001 AD," University of Virginia Monographs, No. II, 1901; Morgan Calloway, Jr., Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels (Baltimore, 1918).

[2]The studies by Morgan Callaway, Jr., The Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English (Boston, 1933) and by Howard M. Moroney, Old English upp, uppe, uppan and upon (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1943), are typical of this group.

[3]Charles C. Fries, "On the Development of the Structural Use of Word-Order in Modern English," Language, XVI (1940), p. 199.

was to emphasize the contrast between Old English and Modern English in the use of one syntactic device: Old English dependence on inflection to distinguish the subject and object and Modern English dependence on word order for the same distinction. The conclusions regarding Old English seem to be restricted to evidence from Ælfric's sermons (c.1000 A.D.).

Some of the earlier linguists had various theories to account for the change from inflection in Old English to word order in Modern English; Morsbach and Humboldt thought that the rise of word order was after and because of the loss of inflections;[1] Hübener, Wundt, Deutschbein, and Ten Brink suggested that loss of inflections occurred after the beginning of analytic word order;[2] Jespersen agreed that "fixed word order must have come in first."[3]

Several more recent and more detailed analyses of a wider range of materials have shown that the present dependence of Modern English on word order to indicate syntactic relationships was established and functioning in the Old English period, and that the change from inflection as a major syntactic force to word order was neither a sudden nor a complete change.

Russell Thomas has shown that the word order of the prepositive genitive was fixed by the end of the eleventh century,[4]

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[1] Hübener, "Das Problem," pp. 84-101. [2] Ibid.

[3] Otto Jespersen, Progress in Language (London, 1894), p. 97.

[4] Russell Thomas, Syntactical Processes Involved in the Development of the Adnominal Periphrastic Genitive in the English Language (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1931), p. 111.

and that it was functional in some patterns much earlier.[1]

Frederic G. Cassidy states: "From c. 900, when case-distinction is still strong, the word order patterns found in Modern English were already well established, at least in their parts."[2] Later, he states, "By c. 1050, then, word-order in the major Old English pattern is already over 75% the same as in the modern pattern."[3]

Mildred K. Magers, in her study, concludes that SVO word order was a definite trend established by the tenth century.[4] She further concludes that word order was established as a grammatical device before the loss of inflections in Old English.[5]

Robert L. Saitz investigated the subject-object order in Old English; he states:

> If the concord group (pronoun or adjective plus noun) was syntactically functional in the 9th century SO (subject-object) patterns, it could have been so in not more than 41% of the patterns. If we assume the necessity for a subject-object distinction, there must have been other syntactic signals to account for the remaining 59%.[6]
>
> If we examine those SO patterns of the 9th century which are not distinct on the basis of inflection, we find that in 94%

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[1] Ibid., p. 113.

[2] Frederic G. Cassidy, The Backgrounds in Old English of the Modern English Substitutes for the Dative-Object in the Group Verb + Dative-Object + Accusative-Object (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1938), p. 86.

[3] Ibid., p. 87.

[4] Mildred K. Magers, The Development of the Grammatical Use of Word-Order for Relationships Expressed by the Accusative with Special Reference to the Development in Subordinate Clauses (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1943), p. 44.

[5] Ibid., p. 89.

[6] Robert L. Saitz, Functional Word Order in Old English Subject-Object Patterns (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University

of these patterns, the word order of subject before object prevails.[1]

We must conclude from the evidence presented in these studies that the Old English system of syntax employed both inflection and word order; that they operated simultaneously and cooperatively; that just as there are some distinctive and some non-distinctive inflections, there may be some distinctive and some non-distinctive word order patterns. In situations where the inflectional signals are ambiguous, perhaps it is the word order signals which are operatively dominant; in situations where the word order signals are ambiguous or non-distinctive, then perhaps the inflectional signals are operatively dominant.

Problem

Ultimately, a definitive treatment of Old English syntax must be based on analyses of all the various types of writing in Old English which are now available. Such a work has not yet been completed because the basic work, that is, the analysis of particular types and groups of writings, has not been done. The purpose of this dissertation, then, is to use the techniques of modern descriptive linguistics in a syntactic analysis of the Old English charters in order to ascertain the facts of the word order and structure of the sentences, clauses, and phrases, and the use of syntactic signals (inflections to show case, number, person, mood, tense, etc.) in the individual words as they pertain to structural meaning in the charters.

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of Wisconsin, 1955), p. 84.

[1] Ibid., p. 87.

This is not necessarily a definitive work, nor even a complete one; it is a part of the basic work of Old English syntax based upon a corpus not yet covered. One can only state and analyze the features of syntax found in these texts; unique, rare, and ambiguous usages will necessarily have to be deferred for full treatment when the complete body of Old English writings has been covered and synthesized.

Definition of Charters

The term charters is used to designate legal or semi-legal documents. British scholars who have collected and partially edited and annotated the materials have included not only land-charters but also wills, manumissions, writs, notitiae or evidential writings, declarations, and memoria causa or the recounting of the history of certain estates or of litigations. It is this broader meaning of charters that is used in this dissertation.

Source Materials

An important consideration is the selection of documents to be used as source materials for this study. Many of the charters are translations or summaries of Latin charters. To avoid misleading linguistic evidence (the influence of Latin) which might be found in summaries, translations, and late copies, only original manuscripts and well-authenticated copies contemporary with the event described will be used. The selection is based primarily on the opinions of Walter DeGray Birch and Edward A. Bond, who have made a thorough study of the manuscripts using both internal and external evidence for

verifying the dates and authenticity of the manuscripts. Questionable documents and documents in which the amount of Old English is small or in which the syntax is obviously of little value (e.g., land boundaries described by a series of prepositional phrases) have been excluded.

The following volumes contain the source materials for this study:

Birch, Walter DeGray, Cartularium Saxonicum
Bond, Edward E., Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum
Earle, John, A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters, and Other Saxonic Documents
Harmer, Florence E., Anglo-Saxon Writs
Robertson, A. J., Anglo-Saxon Charters
Sweet, Henry, The Oldest English Texts
Whitelock, Dorothy, Anglo-Saxon Wills

Subsequent references to the source materials will be by letter and number: the first letter of the editor's last name and the number of the text in the particular collection (page numbers are given for Earle and Sweet). For instance, B 318 refers to No. 318 in Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum; R 66 refers to No. 66 in Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters; S 175 refers to page 175 in Sweet, The Oldest English Texts.

The following list gives all the texts included in this study, their location in the sources, date, dialect,[1] and number of lines. When there are characteristics of two dialects, the letters representing the dialects will be hyphenated; the predominant dialect will be put first: M-K, Mercian characteristics are predominant.

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[1]The dialects will be abbreviated in the usual way: WS -- West Saxon; M -- Mercian; K -- Kentish; N -- Northumbrian.

TABLE 1 -- LIST OF DOCUMENTS

	Source	No.	Page (Vol.)	Grantor	Date	Dialect	No. Lines
1.	Birch	318	446 (I)	Æðelnoð	805-31	M-K	12
2.	B	330	459-60(I)	Osuulf	805-10	M-K	44
3.	B	403	560 (I)	Ealhburg	850	K-M	15
4.	B	404	560-61(I)	Eadwald Oshering	850	K-M	15
5.	B	405	562-63(I)	Lufa	850	K-M	19
6.	B	412	575-77(I)	Abba	833	M-K	56
7.	B	416	583 (I)	King Wiglaf	836	M	10
8.	B	417	583-4 (I)	Badanoð Beotting	850	K-M	21
9.	B	452	35-36 (II)	King Berchtwulf	848	M	14
10.	B	496	101 (II)	King Ethelbearht	858	K-WS	7
11.	B	507	117-8 (II)	Eadwald	863	K-WS	4
12.	B	558	195-7 (II)	Ælfred (dux)	870	M-WS	55
13.	B	591	236-7 (II)	(Narrative)	901-24	WS	68
14.	B	609	268 (II)	Bishop Werfrid	904	WS-M	10
15.	B	631	306 (II)	Aldred (presbyter)	909	N	17
16.	B	639	315 (II)	Æthelstan	925	WS	6
17.	B	678	366-7 (II)	Wulfgar (thane)	931	WS	31
18.	B	1010	213 (III)	Æthelwyrd	958	WS-K	23
19.	B	1063	282-3 (III)	(Narrative)	960-2	WS	43
20.	B	1064	284-5 (III)	Queen Eadgifu	961	WS	45
21.	B	1097	328-9 (III)	King Æthelbryht	961-95	WS	37
22.	B	1233	523-4 (III)	Bishop Oswold	969	WS	20
23.	B	1267	560-2 (III)	King Eadgar	970	WS	57
24.	B	1306	629-31(III)	Ælfhelm	973-4	WS	51
25.	B	1317	652-3 (III)	Wulfgat	1000-99	WS	28
26.	B	1318	653 (III)	Convent (Worcester)	1000-99	WS	9
27.	Robertson	66	136 & 138	Wynflaed	990-2	WS	37
28.	R	75	148	Godwine	1020	WS	9
29.	R	81	156	Abbot Ælfweard	1023	WS	20
30.	R	83	162 & 164	Bishop Æthelstan	1023	WS	49
31.	R	87	172	Bishop Brihtheah	1033	WS	9
32.	R	94	180	Bishop Leofinc	1040	WS	23
33.	R	101	188 & 190	Archbishop Eadsige	1044	WS	38
34.	R	102	190	Abbot Ælfstan	1044-5	WS	18
35.	R	103	192	Godric	1044-8	WS	12
36.	R	108	204	Archbishop Eadsige	1048	WS	15
37.	Harmer	1	120	King Edward	1053-8	WS	5
38.	H	24	164-5	King Edward	1065-6	WS	16
39.	H	27	182-3	Archbishop Wulfstan	1020	WS	8
40.	H	28	183	King Cnut	1020	WS	10
41.	H	55	245	King Edward	1053-7	WS	9
42.	H	63	269	Bishop Æthelric	1001-12	WS	12
43.	H	96	360-1	King Edward	1062-6	WS	8
44.	H	115	410-1	King Edward	1062	WS	9
45.	Whitelock	16(1)	42	Æthelric	995-9	WS	19
46.	W	16(2)	44 & 46	King Ethelred	995-9	WS	33
47.	W	20	56, 58, 60, 62	Ætheling Æthelstan	1015	WS	91
48.	W	30	78	Thurstan	1042-3	WS	16
49.	Earle	--	240-1	Bishop Ælfric	1038	WS	38
50.	Sweet	--	175	Ælfred (dux)	870	M-WS	15

Latin Influence

Since Latin was widely used for writing in the Old English period and since many charters have Latin versions, there is the question of Latin influence on Old English syntax in the charters.

In selecting the corpus, I included only original Old English charters which do not have a Latin version with the exception of one charter (B 1267) which does have a Latin version.

The scarcity of Old English material makes it difficult to find Old English prose which is not a translation. However, we do have charters which are not translated into or from Latin. Therefore, this source of original Old English prose should not be ignored.

Scholars who have worked with this problem have come to conclusions which minimize or negate the influence of Latin on Old English. George W. Small states that "there is no clearly demonstrated taking over of a construction into the living language (Old English) that had no previous existence in English."[1]

W. B. Owen, in discussing the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Latin Gospels, concludes that the Anglo-Saxon retains its own idiomatic structure.[2] Translators of the Bible probably tried to follow the original as closely as possible because it is a sacred book; on the other hand, the scribes writing legal documents for laymen would

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[1]George W. Small, "On the Study of Old English Syntax," Publications of the Modern Language Association, LI (March, 1936), p. 1.

[2]W. B. Owen, "The Influence of the Latin Syntax in Anglo-Saxon Gospels," Transactions of the American Philological Association, XIII (1882), p. 60.

probably not be influenced so strongly in this respect. It must be assumed that these charters were clear and effective communications to the people concerned, most of whom knew no Latin, and that the charters represent a certain norm as English.

F. M. Stenton offers King Alfred's testimony of the lack of classical learning in ninth-century England (preface to Alfred's translation of Gregory's Cura pastoralis) and suggests that lack of knowledge of Latin many times forced the scribes to write the charters in English and, where we have both Old English and Latin versions of the same charter, that the Old English was often written first and then translated into Latin, a process which would decrease the Latin influence on Old English.[1]

Finally, it can be said that the Latin influences, where they exist, would be of interest only in a comparative study, not in a structural or descriptive study. The mere occurrence of a particular construction intended as Old English in a charter is enough for its inclusion in a description of the language from a structural viewpoint. Therefore, the conclusions reached in this study may not necessarily reflect the usage of colloquial speech nor that of the best writers of the age;[2] the conclusions will give a description of the language used in one phase of life in the Old English period.

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[1]F. M. Stenton, The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period (Oxford, 1955), pp. 39-45.

[2]Stenton, ibid., pp. 43-44, has the following to say about one of the texts in this corpus (B 1063): "They [English wills] were soon followed by the first appearance of an anomalous type of document which persists throughout the remainder of the Old English history, and becomes very important in the tenth century. Its object is to record the settlement of a dispute or to indicate the stage which has been reached in its progress, and it proceeds by way of a narrative of

Basic Assumptions

A knowledge of the lexical meanings and the morphology of the Old English words is assumed. Standard dictionaries and handbooks, which are listed in the bibliography, were used for reference.

Standard terminology traditionally used and understood in grammatical discussions has been used insofar as possible. When the use of a traditional term departs from generally recognized usage, a definition is given; when a new term is introduced, its definition is given on its first usage. For instance, the parts of speech are referred to as noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, and conjunction (no interjections occur in this corpus).[1] The parts of the sentence are the subject, predicate (verb), object, complement, and modifier. Structural units are the sentence, clause, and phrase.

Edition of Texts

The texts have been changed as little as possible in transliterating them into modern type. Original spellings and forms of

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events which is often elaborate and covers a long period. One of the most interesting of these documents, which has survived in a contemporary text [B 1063] is described in an endorsement as a talu, that is, a statement of a case, and there seems no doubt that many of these records were intended by those who wrote them to be used in pleas, before the king or in some local court. The number of surviving examples, though considerable, does not adequately represent the popularity of this form of composition in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Many narratives of this sort, originally written in English, are only known through translation into Latin made by the compilers of such works as the Chronicon of Ramsey Abbey and the Liber Eliensis. The finest documents of this class have a vividness of detail which entitles them to rank as literature. As a whole, they are remarkable as pieces of free composition in English prose and they have unique interest as illustrations of the way in which the fortunes of individuals were affected by the salient events of history."

[1]Of the parts of speech, the noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, and

words are retained with the following exceptions:

(1) w is used for the symbol wen.

(2) Two words written separately in the original which are listed as a compound in Bosworth-Toller's Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language are written as one word.

(3) The prefix ge-, which is often written separately in the original, is joined to the word it precedes.

(4) Capital letters are substituted for small letters which begin proper nouns and words which begin sentences.

(5) Abbreviations in the originals are expanded to their normal forms:

abb	abbud
arceb	arcebisceop
b	bisceop
sca	sancta
sce	sancte
þ or ð	ðæt
xpes	Cristes
7	and

(6) Final m or n is often indicated by a suprascript symbol in the manuscripts; where so indicated, the appropriate letter has been added to the word.

(7) Sentences with illegible or omitted parts due to erasure, fading, holes, etc., have been excluded.

(8) Modern English translations immediately follow the Old English examples and are put in quotation marks.

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adjective are morphologically determined word classes because of their inflectional endings. However, conjunctions and prepositions are not inflected; they belong to syntactically determined word classes; see Chapter VIII, p. 212 ff.

Dialects

The documents in this collection, covering parts of three centuries and representing various geographical regions, are not uniform in dialect. Recognized dialects represented, in order of importance, are: West Saxon, Mercian, Kentish, and Northumbrian (see list of texts, p. 12). Some texts seem to have characteristics of at least two dialects; this fact is indicated by hyphenating the dialects concerned, placing the predominant dialect first. Since dialectal differences are fewer and less prominent in syntax than in phonology or morphology, a specific dialect will be mentioned only when it differs consistently in a particular syntactic construction from the other dialects. Only when dialects have oppositions or alternate forms for the same syntactic construction will attention be called to the fact.

Method Used in This Study

In general, the method used in this study is derived from the descriptive techniques of modern linguistic science; in particular, it is an adaptation of the method used by Charles C. Fries in The Structure of English.[1]

The techniques of linguistic science have been developed to enable a linguist to collect a body of reliable and authentic language material (the corpus) and to proceed step by step looking objectively for the linguistic facts; he takes into account everything in the

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[1]Charles C. Fries, The Structure of English (New York, 1952).

evidence and ignores or changes nothing; he states the assumptions under which he is working; he tells as completely as possible how the analysis is done; by noting the "samenesses" and "differences" he can thereby recognize recurrent patterns and deviations from the patterns; these patterns reveal a system which the linguist describes or reduces to statements which indicate realistically the operation or function of each unit or part. These techniques apply in turn to each level of analysis and each level of analysis depends on the earlier or lower level as a starting point: phonology must precede morphology and both must precede syntax (this is not to say that each level is entirely separated from the others, but an attempt has to be made to keep them separate as much as possible). He does not allow meaning to obscure the structural facts. The final analysis must be complete in that it covers everything in the corpus; it must accurately describe the facts, both regular patterns and departures from the patterns (exceptions); it must be adequately documented and it must be verifiable when tested by other linguists.

Fries offers a method of syntactic analysis which differs from the traditional analysis in that it focuses attention strictly on formal characteristics of language as it actually functions rather than on meaning or "content." In so doing he is forced to re-examine the former definitions and classifications of sentences, parts of speech, and word groups; he offers proof that the former definitions and classifications cannot be consistently applied, and therefore he works out new concepts, definitions, and classifications which do accurately represent the language system and its usages.

Briefly, his method is this. Having collected recorded telephone conversations for his corpus, he isolated for examination all those stretches of speech that were bounded by a change of speaker (utterance units). Using Bloomfield's definition of a sentence as a starting point,[1] he assumed that each utterance unit could stand alone as "a single minimum free utterance; a single free utterance, not minimum but expanded; or a sequence of two or more free utterances."[2] Then utterance units were separated by formal distinctions into situation utterances (which begin conversations) and sequence utterances (those which follow situation utterances and which contain sequence signals). By a process of examination, comparing and seeking recurrent partials,[3] it was possible to separate the utterance units into single free utterances and units which contained two or more free utterances; then by further examination of the single free utterances it was possible to arrive at minimum free utterance forms (basic sentence structure frames) and to find the forms or arrangements by which the minimum free utterances are expanded (modifiers).

Utterances were then classified according to stimulus-response behavior: oral response (to stimulus of greetings, calls, questions), action response (to requests, commands), and attention

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[1] Fries, Structure, p. 21: "Each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form."

[2] Ibid., p. 37.

[3] Ibid., p. 8, footnote 6: "This study assumes that we must control enough of the meaning of the utterances examined, that we can get from an informant (ourselves as native speakers of the language, or others) such a response as to determine whether any two items are the 'same' in a particular aspect of meaning or 'different.'" (Italics mine.)

response (to statements).

He shows that "An English sentence, then, is not a group of words as words but rather a structure made up of form-classes or parts of speech,"[1] and proceeds to define and describe the formal characteristics of parts of speech by substitution in a frame sentence.

Then he describes the structural patterns of "the contrastive differences that signal the various types of utterances,"[2] and the structural meanings of the parts of sentences (subject, object, modifiers, etc.), concluding with a discussion of the layers of structure (immediate constituents).

In working with written records of Old English, I have necessarily had to make some changes and adaptations in the method as presented by Fries.

First, the lack of a native informant places an added handicap on the linguist working with historical records of a language no longer spoken. Of course, a scholar may become thoroughly saturated with a language by constant and thorough study over a number of years so that he may become a secondary "native informant" in his reaction to the language situations. At any rate, the linguist must serve in this situation as his own informant with such expert assistance as he may obtain from scholars of the language.

The second consideration is that of the "frames" or "frame sentences," used to such advantage by Fries. The use of these "frames" is definitely limited in its application to historic languages no longer spoken. This is easily seen in the fact that the materials

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[1] Ibid., p. 64. [2] Ibid., p. 143.

are definitely limited to what we have remaining and recorded and in the fact that there can be no additions to the materials. There is no way to check for alternative possibilities of a particular structure; one must assume that the only possibilities of variation of a particular structure are those which actually do occur.

Third, the discussion of immediate constituents has been excluded because there seems to be no way of working out an analysis which would be objective, complete, and verifiable. Since there is no generally accepted linguistic technique to deal with this problem, it has not seemed practicable to go into the matter here.

I will summarize here the procedure I have followed and present it more fully in later chapters.

The first step was to collect the texts with proper consideration of their authenticity and reliability as linguistic evidence.

The next step was to break up each document into its largest independent parts (sentences) and to determine the characteristics or "signals" of these parts or sentences.

Then the sentences were broken up into their component parts, resulting in basic elements and secondary elements, on the basis of formal characteristics. One way to do this is to list groups of sentences, first those containing the same verb, for sentences containing the same verb often have the same structure, then those which contain the same elements (different words may be substituted for a particular element). This listing process is long and tedious, but it is very helpful in making the functional patterns evident by noting comparisons and contrasts. This process showed that certain elements or "spots" in the sentence structure could be filled by a

word, a phrase, or a clause, i.e., the process of substitution in a pattern. The recognition of functional substitution is helpful in avoiding preconceived notions and allows one to see the actual operation of particular words, phrases, and clauses, and to group the words, phrases, and clauses into function classes (or operational classes) which is the goal of a syntactic analysis.

The next step was an examination of the form of individual inflected words: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles, and verbs. When there were divided usages or various forms for the same construction, all have been described, for although the more numerous patterns are usually considered the "normal" usage, the exceptions or alternates are just as important in a descriptive analysis. In many instances, inflected words are ambiguous in case or person (or some other category); therefore, an accurate description must rely only on those forms which are clearly unambiguous. However, after the pattern has been established, the doubtful instances can usually be classified.

The final step was to analyze the position or placement of parts in the sentences and words in phrases and clauses (word order). This is an important consideration in Old English because of the frequent ambiguity in the inflectional systems and the increasing reliance on word order to signal syntactic relations. In these texts both systems function simultaneously and therefore both must be analyzed.

The method, then, has been to approach the analysis from the whole to the part, beginning with whole documents, dividing each of them into its isolatable parts (sentences), analyzing the sentences

into their elements (words, phrases, clauses), and further analyzing the complex elements (phrases and clauses) into their components, in order to ascertain the formal signals (inflections) and positional signals (word order) which give syntactic meaning to the Old English language. In dealing with written records, rather than speech, this is as far as syntactic analysis can go.

CHAPTER I

BASIS SYNTACTIC UNITS IN OLD ENGLISH

The object of the study of syntax is to analyze the grammatical relationships between words and word groups and to discover how the relationships are indicated. In the past, much of the work in Old English syntax has been based on phrases and clauses as basic syntactic units. Lacking any more definite formal criteria which may characterize these units, it is fairly easy to locate the shorter related word groups (phrases and clauses) because they "hang together" and function as a unit which is usually readily recognizable, especially those which function as modifiers. However, modifying phrases and dependent clauses, from their classification and function, must have something outside themselves to modify and depend on. Therefore, there must be a unit larger than the modifying phrase and dependent clause to contain them in that function: a basic syntactic unit other than the phrase or clause.

In translating Old English into Modern English, we compare statement with statement and are forced by convention to put the Modern English equivalents into sentences. One can assume that Old English had a structural unit comparable to the modern sentence, but one must examine the materials to see if there is evidence to support such an assumption, to see if there are any structural criteria which can be regularly applied and which indicate independent units that

contain internal modifiers and dependent clauses but do not go outside themselves in dependence or modification.

Sentences are not formally indicated in Old English manuscripts by capital letters at the beginning and punctuation at the end as they are in Modern English. In fact, a first reading of an Old English manuscript is likely to give the impression that there is only one long, rambling unit composed of many clauses and phrases loosely joined by connectives. Some editors and translators, therefore, have disagreed on what is included in a particular sentence and how it should be punctuated. This is a situation which may affect the meaning of the translation since our understanding of Old English is in terms of Modern English arranged in formal sentences. Kruisinga goes so far as to state categorically: "The division of speech into words and syntactic groups presupposes an analysis of speech into sentences."[1] He is, or course, speaking of Modern English syntax, but the same principle may well apply to Old English syntax, especially when we consider the added convenience in dealing with shorter units rather than the entire manuscript and the accuracy and definiteness of statements which can be made about a fixed unit. Certainly focus of attention is attained more easily on a particular unit and the relationships in that unit become more apparent when the unit is separated from other units which precede and follow. Therefore, it seems desirable, if not mandatory, to divide Old English into sentences if possible for the sake of clarity, convenience, and efficiency.

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[1]Etsko Kruisinga, A Handbook of Present-Day English (Groningen, 1932), Vol. 3, p. 262.

Needless to say, we cannot assume that the writer of Old English necessarily had the same conception of the structure and variety of sentences as they occur in Modern English, or indeed, that he had any conception of the sentence as a unit at all. Unfortunately, we have no grammars of the language written in the Old English period. However, we must assume that the charters were written to convey some kind of information; that the facts or ideas composing the information can be given only one word at a time (recognizing that one word can give simultaneously multiple grammatical meanings such as person, number, tense, etc.,); that being related to the idea or fact, the words are related to each other; that these ideas or facts follow each other in some order; and that, therefore, they (the series of ideas or facts) can be divided or separated into word groups in which the constituents are more closely related to each other than they are to other word groups outside themselves. These larger word groups which can stand alone and give an intelligible idea, fact, or piece of information we may consider to be sentences, whether they fit any preconceived definition of the sentence or not.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to demonstrate that it is possible to divide the individual documents into basic syntactic units called sentences, to establish the procedure for so doing, and to note the structural criteria of these sentences.

Procedure for Isolating Sentences (Initial)

Bloomfield's definition may be used for a starting point: "Each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by

virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form."[1]

Since the longer documents are confusing at first approach, the shortest complete document was selected:

> Ic Eadwald sello and forgeofu þis lond et Wifelesberge Augustines higum into hiora beode minre sawle to are and to leedome [sic] and iow fer Godes lufe bidde þet ge hit minre sawle nyt gedeo and me hit for Gode leanie eow to elmessum amen. (B 507)
>
> "I, Eadwald, give and grant this land at Wifelsburg to the brotherhood of Augustine into their control for mercy and salvation of my soul and pray you for God's love that you make it useful for my soul and repay it to me before God as alms from you. Amen."

The above example could be one of three possibilities: "(1) a single minimum free utterance; (2) a single free utterance, not minimum but expanded; (3) a sequence of two or more free utterances."[2] Since this study deals with the written language rather than the spoken language, the word sentence will be substituted for utterance in the above quotation.

In the example given above, B 507, we find the 1st person, singular, nominative case form of the personal pronoun ic (the noun Eadwald will be omitted at present) which agrees in person and number with the verbs sello, forgeofu, and bidde; the noun lond does not agree with the verb in person.[3] The only other unit composed of noun or pronoun in the nominative case agreeing with a verb in person and number is found following the word þet; this unit serves as a noun substitute (whose function is direct object of the verb) following the

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[1]Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933), p. 170.

[2]Fries, Structure, p. 37.

[3]For list of possibilities of agreement in person, see Chapter VII, p. 138.

verb bidde; it is, therefore, a dependent or included element in a "larger linguistic form" and cannot be considered a single free sentence. Since this complete document contains only one combination of noun or pronoun in the nominative case agreeing with the verb or verbs in person and number "not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form," it is concluded that a sentence can be defined by the presence of that combination. Since the example contains an included element or dependent clause, it is an expanded single free sentence or a complex sentence.

The next step is to list and compare the beginning word group which can be separated grammatically and which has an intelligible meaning in each document. The sentences have been grouped and arranged in the following list so that their common points of structure coincide. The noun or pronoun in the nominative case which agrees in person and number with the verb is called its subject; nouns or pronouns in the accusative case or dative case are called objects. Titles of rank, appositives, prepositional phrases and modifying or qualifying elements have been omitted; lists of names have been reduced to one name.

TABLE 2 -- LIST OF INITIAL SENTENCES

I. Subject	Verb	Object(s)	Dependent Clause
1. Eadward	gret	Alfwold	
2. Eadweard	gret	Ægelmær	
3. Wulfstan	gret	cyning	
4. Cnut	gret	bisceopas	
5. Eadward	grett	Wulfwig	
6. Æþelric	gret	Æþelmær	
7. Eadweard	gret	Leofwine	
8. Eadward	gret	Harold	

TABLE 2 -- Continued

I.	Subject	Verb	Object(s)	Dependent Clause
9.	Ic	cyðe		hu min willa is
10.	Ic	cyðo		hu min willa is
11.	Eadgifu	cyþ	þam arcebiscop	hu hire land com
12.	Ic	cyþe		þæt ic gean...
13.	Ic and B.	sellað	ðæt lond	
14.	Æðelnoð and G.	ræddan	hiora erfe	
15.	God	gemyne	ðu	
16.	Ic and W.	begetan	ðas bec	
17.	Se fruma	wæs		þæt mon forstæl...
18.	Æðelstan	gefreode	Eadelm	
19.	Ic	wes soecende		
20.	Ðes friodom	wæs begeten		
21.	Ic	hatu writan	Ælfrede - ða men	
22.	Ego	sile	Forðrede - lond	
23.	Ic	an	þæs landes - Effan	

II.	Subject	Object(s)	Verb	Object(s)	Dependent Clause
24.	Ic	ðe	cyðe		hu hit wæs...
25.	Ic		sello	þis lond-higum	
		and iow	bidde		ðæt ge...
26.	Ic	sumne dæl-cnihte	forgeaf		

III.	Adverb	Verb	Subject	Dependent Clause
27.	Her	swutelað	(no subject)	(no dependent clause)
28.	Her	swutelað		hu Æðelred geuðe...
29.	Her	swytelað		hu Ælfric wille...
30.	Her	swutelað		þæt Godwine geann...
31.	Her	swutelað		þæt Æpelstan gebohte...
32.	Her	swutelað	(no subject)	(no dependent clause)
33.	Her	swutelað		hu Godric begeat...
34.	Her	swutelað		þæt Eadsi hæfð geunnan...
35.	Her	cyð		þæt þurstan geann...
36.	Her	cyþ		hu Wynflæd gelædde...
37.	Her	is		hu Ælfhelm geuadod hæfð...
38.	Her	swutelað	ða foreweard	
39.	Her	cyð	Æperic	hwam he geann...
40.	þus	wæron	ða seox sulung	

IV.	Expletive	Verb	Subject
41.	Ðis	sindan	geðinga
42.	Ðis	is	geðinge
43.	Ðis	siondan	ðes landes boec

TABLE 2 -- Continued

IV. Expletive	Verb	Subject
44. Þis	is	Æðelwyrdes cwide
45. Ðis	is	Wulfgates gecwide
46. Ðis	syndon	þa foreword

V. Introductory Prepositional Phrase	Subject	Verb	Object
47. In ures drihtnes naman hælendes Cristes	ic	gebocige	dæl
48. On Godes ælmihtiges naman	ic	geswutelige	

VI. Noun (Not Subject)	Subject	Verb	Object(s)
49. Rixiendum on ecnisse ussum drihtne hælende Criste	ic	sylle	Wulfsige-lond
50. Gode ælmihtigum rixiende	ic	arære	d

This list shows that all the initial sentences have the basic structure observed in the shortest complete document (B 507), that is, noun or pronoun in the nominative case agreeing with the verb in person and number (plus other elements which will be discussed in Chapter II), except numbers 27-37; in addition, numbers 41-46 need a word of explanation.

In group III, numbers 27-37 have no inflected subjects agreeing with the verbs beon, cyþan, and swutelian.[1] However, nine of these verbs are followed by dependent clauses introduced by hu or þæt which may be considered the subjects.

> Her is on sio swutelung hu Ælfhelm his are and his æhta geuadod hæfð for Gode... (B 1306) "Here is in this declaration how Ælfhelm has given his property and possessions for God..."
>
> Her swutelað on ðysan gewrite þæt Godwine geann Leofwine Readan ðæs dænnes æt Swiðrædingdænne... (R 75) "Here is declared in

[1]For other verbs in this type of construction, see pp. 34, 53, and 73.

this writ that Godwin grants Leofwin the Red the swinepasture at Surrenden..."

Her cyþ on þysum gewrite hu Wynflæd gelædde hyre gewitnesse æt Wulfamere beforan Æþelrede cyninge... (R 66) "Here is made known in this writ how Wynflæd produced her witnesses at Woolmer before King Æthelred..."

Number 38 in group III has a noun which is ambiguous in case; the form could be either nominative or accusative case.

Her swutelað on þissum gewrite þa foreweard... (R 102) "Here is declared in this the agreements..."

Numbers 27 and 32 have neither noun or pronoun or clause which could be the subject.

Her swutelað on ymb þa foreward þe wæron geworhte betwux þam hirede on Wihgeraceastre and Fuldre... (B 1318) "Here is declared concerning the agreements that were made between the brotherhood at Winchester and Fuldre..."

Her swutelað on þisum gewrite embe þa forewyrd þe Ægelric worhte wið Eadsige arcebisceop... (R 101) "Here is declared in this writ concerning the agreements that Ægelric made with Archbishop Eadsige..."

One must conclude from this evidence that, although most sentences have a subject in the nominative case agreeing with the verb in person and number, some sentences contain a verb whose subject is a dependent clause and some sentences contain a verb which has no expressed subject but is always inflected to show third person.

In group IV, Numbers 41-46 all begin with þis before both singular and plural forms of beon. þis is the neuter nominative-accusative singular form of the demonstrative pronoun þes, þeos, þis "this" and might conceivably function as subject of a verb. However, since in these sentences it does not always agree with the verb in number and since there is a noun in the nominative case after each verb agreeing with the verb in number as well as person, we are

justified in labeling þis a type of expletive which causes the subject to follow the verb. By interpreting the facts in this way, we can avoid setting up special criteria for this type of sentence.

Further Procedures in Isolating Sentences (Sequence)

Taking an initial sentence which is a single minimum free sentence: Æðelric bisceop gret Æðelmær freondlice (H 63) "Bishop Æthelric greets Æthelmær in friendly manner," we find that it is followed by a word group composed of a conjunction plus subject (nominative case) agreeing with the verb in person and number: And ic cyþe þæt... (dependent clause) (H 63) "And I make known that..."; this second word group is not included grammatically in the preceding sentence and it is independent in meaning. Other texts contain the same type of construction following the initial sentence; each can be set off from the preceding sentence, independent in grammar and meaning, if attention is given to include only, but all, the parts of the sentence and their modifiers; this makes a self-contained unit. The following list gives some examples of sentences which follow first sentences:

	Subject	Verb	Object(s)	Dependent Clause
ond	ic	bebiade	Eadwealde	ðet he healde...
ond	he	salde	xxx mancessan-him	
ond	heo	tilige	uncer begen sawla þearfe	
ond	he	gean	þæs landes	
and	ic	gean	Leofwynne-calles þæs	
and	ic	cyþe	inc	þæt we habbað...
and	ic	cyðe	eow	þæt ic hæbbe...

	Verb	Subject	Object(s)
ond	agefe	mon	ðæt land
þa	sende	ce cyning	
and	gelæste	se hired	
nu	ann	Leofwine	þæs dæmnes

We will call these sequence sentences, defined by Fries as "all the single free utterances or sentences after the one at the beginning."[1]

At this stage of analysis there are, then, two types of sentences: (1) initial sentences which occur at the beginnings of documents and which never begin with a connective word; and (2) sequence sentences which follow the initial sentence and which are usually introduced or linked by a connective word. Either type may be a single minimum free sentence (simple) or a single free sentence expanded (complex).

At this point it seems desirable to define the term clause. There are two types of clauses: independent and dependent; they both have the basic characteristics of sentences but there is a formal distinction to be made.

An independent clause is just like a single minimum free sentence (simple sentence) except it is not free; that is, it does not stand alone; it always contains or is accompanied by an included element (dependent clause) which also has the basic characteristics of a sentence but functions as a basic or secondary element (see Chapters II and III) in an independent clause. In other words, when an independent clause does not contain or is not accompanied by a dependent clause, it is a simple sentence; when an independent clause does

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[1]Fries, Structure, p. 241.

contain or is accompanied by a dependent clause, it is a part of a single free sentence expanded (complex sentence).

Dependent clauses are formally distinguished by signals of inclusion which associate them with an independent clause in a single free sentence expanded (see p. 72 for a further discussion of the dependent clause).

Problems in Isolating Sentences

If the procedures described above are carried out consistently, each succeeding sentence will be separated from what precedes and follows it until the end of the document is reached. In some instances it is possible to do that; but in other texts problems are encountered which require more definite and detailed criteria in order to isolate a particular sentence.

Just as in the initial sentences, we find verbs which have a dependent clause as subject rather than a subject which can show agreement in person and number (see p. 30). These verbs are usually called "impersonal verbs."

> Ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð... (B 591)
> "Then (it) seemed to all of us that Helmstan should be permitted to go forth..."

> Nu is me on mode æfter mynegungum Æðeluuoldes biscopes þe me oft manode þæt ic wille goodian...þæt mynster... (B 1267)
> "Now (it) is in my mind after admonition of Bishop Æthelwold who often advised me that I will endow...that monastery..."

> Gemang þam getidde þæt Myrce gecuran Eadgar to cynge... (B 1063)
> "In the meantime, (it) happened that the Mercians chose Eadgar as king..."

> Þa gelamp on fyrste þæt se cyninc̄g Godan oncuþe... (B 1064)
> "Then (it) happened in time that the king blamed Goda..."

Ða gelicode me þæt he hit swa gelogode mid Godes þeowum Gode to lofe. (B 1267) "Then (it) pleased me that he so filled it with God's servants as praise to God."

A second problem was encountered in sentences containing a clause introduced by þa. þa is used to introduce both dependent and independent clauses as well as to form a correlative construction: þa...þa... "when...then...." On listing all clauses introduced by þa, I found that word order is pertinent to the solution.

1. þa followed by VS indicates an independent clause or simple sentence.

Ða het he hie seman. (B 591) "Then he called a judgment for them."

Þa was þæt swa. (B 1063) "Then was that so."

Þa cwæþ heo þæt heo ne dorste... (B 1064) "Then she said that she did not dare..."

Ða gebohte hit Ælfstan Heahstaninc æt ðam cince... (B 1097) "Then Ælfstan Heahstaninc bought it from the king..."

2. þa followed by SV indicates a dependent clause.

Æðelm Higa eode of ðam geflite ða cing wæs æt Worgemynster. (B 591) "Æthelm Higa went from the dispute when the king was at Warminster."

Mine witan habbað ætrecð Ecgferðe ealle his are þurh þe swyrd þe him on hype hangode þa he adranc. (B 1063) "My counsellors have deprived Ecgferth of all his property through (by reason of) the sword that hung on his hip when he drowned."

3. þa SV...þa VS... indicates a dependent clause followed by an independent clause.

Ða we hie æt Weardoran nu semdan ða bær mon ða boc forð... (B 591) "When we now brought them to agreement at Wardour, then one bore the deed forth..."

Þa he geendod wæs þa rad se biscop to þam cynge... (B 1063) "When he died, then the bishop rode to the king..."

Þa he on wigge afeallen wæs þa ætsoc Goda þæs feos ægiftes... (B 1064) "When he was killed in battle, then Goda denied the

restitution of the property..."

Þa man þæt ðam biscope cyðde ða gelædde se biscop ahnunga ealles Ælfehes cwides to Earhiðe. (B 1097) "When one made that known to the bishop, then the bishop brought forth proof of ownership of all Ælfeh's bequest at Earhithe."

Another problem is that of word groups beginning þæt is/wæs. Since þæt is the nominative-accusative, neuter, singular form of the demonstrative pronoun se, seo, þæt, it might be interpreted as subject and verb except for the fact that we also find þæt sint/sind/syndon in which there is lack of agreement in number. The expression is used either to explain something in the preceding word group or to enumerate specific things or persons previously mentioned by a general term. There is sometimes agreement in number between the verb and the noun which follows it; the plural verbs sint/sind/syndon are always followed by plural numerals and what could be a plural noun form, but the singular verb forms is/wæs are followed by both singular and plural nouns. This construction, therefore, is a parenthetical expression which serves merely as a connective and is an included element in the preceding sentence. The following examples show the use of this expression:

Her swutelað seo gewitnes and se borh þe þæræt wæron þæt wæs ærest se bisceop and Leofric and... [list of names] (R 83) "Here is declared the witness and the surety who were there, that is, first the bishop and Leofric and..."

...ðonne yftær his dæge Eadric gif he lifbe his dæg wið ðon gefole ðe hit gecwedæn is ðæt sint V pund... (B 1010) "...then after his day Eadric (is to possess the land) if he lives for his day with the rent which it is agreed, that is, five pounds..."

...æt ðon sceatte ðe Leofsunu him geldan scolde þæt is feowertig penega and twa pund and eahta ambra cornes. (R 75) "...for the price which Leofsunu had to pay him, that is, two pounds and forty pence and eight ambers of corn."

It is sometimes difficult to tell whether or not a word group introduced by gif should end one sentence or begin a new one. Gif clauses are usually followed by independent clauses introduced by þonne. The following conditions indicate that gif introduces a dependent clause which begins a new sentence.

1. When the gif clause is followed by þonne, which is usually in the independent clause but may be in the dependent gif clause.

> Gif hio bearn hæbbe ðonne foe ðæt ofer hiora boega dagas to londe and to æhta. (B 318) "If she should have a child, then that one is to inherit the land and property after both their days."

> Gif hio ðonne bearn næbbe...þonne foe he to ðæm londe... (B 318) "If she then should not have a child, then he is to inherit the land..."

> Gif hit ðonne festendæg sie selle mon uuæge cæsa ond fisces ond butran... (B 330) "If it then should be a fast-day, one is to give a weight of cheese and fish and butter..."

2. When the gif clause is preceded by and, provided there is no other gif clause immediately preceding; þonne is less frequently found in the independent clause.

> Ond gif heo bearn hæbbe feo ðæt bearn to ðæm londum. (B 558) "And if she should have a child, that child is to inherit the lands."

> And gif hyt þin willa wære þu mihtest eaðe gedon þæt ic hyt eal swa hæfde. (H 63) "And if it were your wish, you might easily bring about that I had it also."

3. If two gif clauses follow one another without the connective and between them, they are separated, the first ending one sentence, the second beginning a new sentence.

> ...ann ic his Freoðomunde gif he ðonne lifes bið gif him elles hwæt sæleð ðonne ann ic his minra swæstar suna swælcum se hit geðian wile... (B 412) "...I grant it to Freothomund if he

then be alive. If anything else happens to him, then I grant it to whichever of my sister's sons who will increase it..."

Ðonne bebeode ic ðæt mon ðas ðing selle...gif hit fuguldæg sie gif hit ðonne festendæg sie selle mon uuæge cæsa and fisces... (B 330) "Then I command that one give those things...if it be a flesh-day (feast-day). If it then be a fast-day, one should give a weight of cheese and fish..."

Prepositional phrases are sometimes structurally ambiguous when they are situated so that they might be interpreted as belonging to the end of one sentence or the beginning of another. The decision must be based on the syntactic function of the phrase. A prepositional phrase which modifies a noun follows that noun; a prepositional phrase which functions as an adverb often comes at the first of a sentence.

Ðis is geðinge Eadwaldes Osheringes and Cyneðryðe Eðelmodes lafe aldormonnes ymbe ðæt lond et Cert ðe hire Eðelmod hire hlabard salde wes hit becueden Osbearte... (B 404) "This is the agreement between Eadwald Oshering and Cynethrythe, widow of Aldorman Ethelmod, concerning the land at Chart that Ethelmod, her lord, gave to her. It was bequeathed to Osbeart..."

Þa cende he tem and let þone forberstan and forbeh þone andagan æfter þam bæd Ælfsige agiftes his mannes. (B 1063) "Then he delcared 'team' and allowed that one to go by default and (he) escaped the appointed day. After that, Ælfsige asked return of the person."

"Included" Independent Clauses

There are some independent clauses which seem at first glance to be structurally independent according to the criteria previously given. However, independent clauses are not set off as separate sentences in two instances because they are included in larger linguistic constructions:

1. Direct quotation, in which the quotation functions as

direct object of the verb in an independent clause; the quotation, then, has a basic function in and is included in the clause which precedes it.

> Ða cwæð Eadweard hit is wyrse ðe uncer naðor hit næbbe. (B 1063)
> "Then Edward said, 'It is worse that neither of us should have it.'"

2. Parenthetical statements, in which an independent clause may be imbedded between the dependent and independent clauses of the sentence.

> Se man se þe minne cwyde wende buton þu hyt sy leof and ic hæbbe geleauan þæt þu nelle God afyrre hine of his rice... (B 1306)
> "Whoever changes my will, unless it be you, beloved, and I have confidence that you will not, God expel him from his kingdom..."

My general practice in this analysis was to separate all independent clauses into separate sentences unless they are obviously included in a larger structure as mentioned above. The object of this procedure was to give the shortest possible units which are easier to handle and which give a less complicated analysis.

Sentence Endings

After all initial and sequence sentences had been surveyed for significant details which signal beginnings of sentences, the ends of documents were investigated to see if there were any structural patterns indicating the ends of sentences. It was found that

> 27 ended with a noun or pronoun;
> 22 ended with a verb form;
> 1 ended with an adverb.

There did not seem to be any discernible mandatory ending structure. Therefore, we have to say that a sentence ends when a new sentence is signaled by previously defined criteria.

Summary: Structural Criteria for Sentences

There are two types of sentences, according to their position in the text, which have different characteristics: (1) initial sentences; and (2) sequence sentences.

Initial sentences are signaled by their position as first words in a document; they contain a subject (nominative case) which agrees with the verb in person and number except that the verbs swutelian, cyþan, and beon may have a dependent clause as subject or may have no expressed subject.

Initial sentences are introduced by the following parts of speech:

			No.	Per Cent
noun or pronoun (subject)	word order	SV	26	52
adverb	" "	VS	14	28
prepositional phrase	" "	SV	6	12
noun (not the subject)	" "	SV	2	4
expletive (þis)	" "	VS	2	4
			50	100

SV word order predominates: 34 sentences or 68%; inversion or VS word order occurs only after introductory adverbs and the expletive þis.

Initial sentences contrast with sequence sentences principally in the fact that initial sentences never begin with conjunctions or connective words.

Sequence sentences follow the initial sentence; they contain a subject (nominative case) which agrees with the verb in person and number, except that some verbs may take a dependent clause as subject and the following verbs may not have an expressed subject: cyþan,

swutelian, gelician, gelimpan, getidan, þyncan, beon.

Sequence sentences are introduced by the following parts of speech (N: noun; Pr: pronoun; etc.):

9th Century			10th Century			11th Century		
	No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent
Conj.	65	69.1	Conj.	120	48.6	Conj.	113	72.4
N., Pr.	14	14.9	Adv.	95	38.5	Adv.	22	14.1
Adv.	12	12.8	N., Pr.	21	8.5	N., Pr.	19	12.3
Vb.	2	3.2	Prep.	6	4.4	Vb.	2	1.2
Prep.	1		Vb.	5			156	100
	94	100		247	100			

Most sequence sentences are introduced by conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases as is shown above. These parts of speech function as sequence indicators; they indicate sequence in a series of statements or sequence of events in time (also, see Chapter VIII, p. 212). The following list shows the occurrences of these words which function as sequence indicators:

9th Century			10th Century			11th Century		
	No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent
and	50	64.1	and	112	50.7	and	111	82.2
gif	14	17.9	þa	85	38.5	nu	13	9.6
þonne	5	19.0	gif	5	10.8	þa	5	8.2
eac	5		nu	4		gif	1	
forþan	1		æfter	4		git	1	
her	1		þonne	3		her	1	
ærest	1		her	2		forðon	1	
on	1		binnan	1		þonne	1	
	78	100	gemang	1		eac	1	
			þus	1			135	100
			oððe	1				
			forþon	1				
			eac	1				
				221	100			

Either the independent or the dependent clause may come first in a complex sequence sentence.

SV word order predominates in sequence sentences but its frequency of occurrence is not as high as in initial sentences (see p. 40). VS word order is less restricted in the sequence sentences. Word order of sequence sentences will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Sentence Classification according to Purpose

Another type of classification of the sentence (besides initial and sequence) is by purpose or intention of the sentence. The nature of these charters limits the variety in this respect. However, we find examples of declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences which can be recognized not only by meaning or content but also by formal structure.

Declarative sentences are statements of fact in the past or present, or statements of future intentions or desires; they are either initial or sequence sentences; they contain a subject and verb and never have an interrogative word. Since there are only two imperative and two interrogative sentences in this corpus, it can be said that all sentences which are not imperative or interrogative are declarative sentences.

> Eadward kingc gret Alfwold biscop freondlice. (H 1) "King Edward greets Bishop Alfwold in a friendly manner."
>
> Þa wæs þæt swa. (B 1063) "Then that was so."

Imperative sentences are marked by the absence of a subject and by the verb in the imperative mood (a unique form in the 2nd person singular). Since there are only two imperative sentences

in this corpus, there is little upon which to base a comparison.

> Læt me þæt land to handa. (B 1063) "Turn the land over to me."

> And Æðelsige, leof, cyð þis mine hlaforde and ealle mine freondum. (B 1317) "And Æthelsige, beloved, make this known to my lord and all my friends."

Interrogative sentences are marked by an interrogative word in the independent clause and VS word order. Again, there are only two interrogative sentences, which is little evidence for any conclusive statements. Hwonne is the interrogative word in these sentences.

> And leof hwonne bið engu spæc geendedu gif mon ne mæg nowðer ne mid feo ne mid aða geendigan? (B 591) "And, beloved, when is any suit settled if one is not able to settle it either with money or with oaths?"

> Oððe gif mon ælcne dom wile onwendan ðe Ælfred cing gesette hwonne habbe we ðonne gemotad? (B 591) "Or, if one will turn aside each judgment that King Alfred gave, when (to what purpose) have we negotiated?"

Sentence Classification by Clause Content (Clauses Contained)

Another sentence classification can be made according to the kind and number of clauses contained in the sentence:[1] simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex.

The simple sentence contains one independent clause and no other clause.

> And he hit hæfde VII winter. (B 1064) "And he had it seven winters."

> And feng Eadwig to rice. (B 1063) "And Eadwig inherited the kingdom."

---

[1]For definition of the clause, see p. 33.

The compound sentence contains two or more independent clauses and no dependent clause. As stated before, almost any two adjoining simple sentences could be combined to make a compound sentence. However, in order to keep the syntactic units as short as possible, independent clauses have been indicated as simple sentences except when they are parenthetical elements or direct quotations (see p. 38) and when there is a close connection to the preceding clause so that separation would leave an anomalous syntactic element. The latter occurs once.

> And we ridan ða to ðon andagan ic and Wiðbord rad mid me and Byrhthelm rad ðider mid Æðelme. (B 591)

Ordinarily this would be divided into three simple sentences each beginning with and. If this were done, the pronoun ic would have no function in the first sentence. Ic cannot be part of a compound subject ic and Wiðbord because the verb rad is singular. However, if we conclude that the words ic, Wiðbord, and Byrhthelm are an enumeration of the people included in the pronoun we (which indicates more than two in contrast to the dual wit), we have established a close connection which justifies including all the clauses in one sentence which would be translated:

> "And we then rode to the appointed day: I, and Withbord rode with me, and Byrhthelm rode there with Æthelm."

Complex sentences, which contain one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses, are numerous.

> Gif hio bearn hæbbe ðonne foe ðæt ofer hiora boega dagas to londe and to æhta. (B 318) "If she should have a child, then that one is to inherit the land and property after both their lives."

Gif hie ne gestrionen oðða him sylfum ælles hwæt sæle æfter hiora dege ann ic his Freoðomunde gif he ðonne lifes bið. (B 412) "If they do not beget (an heir) or anything else happens to them, after their life I grant it to Freothomund if he then be alive."

Compound-complex sentences contain two or more independent clauses and one or more dependent clauses. Theoretically, almost any simple sentence could be joined to an adjacent complex sentence. In this corpus, compound-complex sentences are formed by a parenthetical independent clause placed between the dependent and independent clauses of the sentence.

Se man se þe minne cwyde wende buton þu hyt sy leof and ic hæbbe geleuan þæt þu nelle God afyrre hine of his rice buton he þe hraþor ongen wende. (B 1306) "Whoever changes my will except it be you, beloved, and I have confidence that you will not, God expel him from his kingdom unless he promptly change it back again."

CHAPTER II

BASIC ELEMENTS IN OLD ENGLISH SENTENCES

Procedure for Determining Elements of the Sentence

After the process described in Chapter I has been completed, the texts with which we are dealing are divided into free linguistic constructions which we call sentences by definition. The next step is to examine the sentences to see what the elements are which compose them.

The list of all initial sentences (pp. 28-30) shows that a number of sentences contain the same part of speech repeated in the same position or relation to the other parts of the sentence, thus forming a pattern of structure:

Subject	Verb	Object	Adverb
Eadward	gret	Alfwold	freondlice
Wulfstan	gret	cyning	eadmodlice
Cnut	gret	bisceopas	freondlice
Ic & B	sellað	ðæt lond	
A & G	aræddan	hiora erfe	
Ic and W	begetan	ðas bec	

Phrases and clauses show the same sort of pattern repetition:

Adverb	Verb	Prepositional Phrase
Her	swutelað	on þison gewrite
Her	swytelað	on þissum gewrite
Her	cyð	on þisan gewritu
Her	is	on sio swutelung

Subject	Verb	Object	Dependent Clause
Ic	cyðe		hu min willa is...
Eadgifu	cyþ	þam arcebiscop	hu hire land com...
Ic	cyþe		þæt ic gean
Ic	cyðe		hu hit wæs...

If we strip away the grammatically secondary elements[1] (modifying words, phrases, and clauses, which will be discussed in Chapter III), there are left the basic elements of the sentence which Fries calls "formal structures."[2]

Listing the sentences in tabular form has several advantages in working with the structure of sentences. It can readily be seen which elements are present in every sentence and which are not. Frequency of occurrence may be noted. It may be seen if the position or order of the same element is always the same or if it varies in different sentences. Therefore, it seems that this listing and grouping of sentences according to a common pattern is the best method to show the relationships that exist and recur in the syntactic system.

Since the initial sentences have already been listed in Chapter I (pp. 28-30), the next step is to list the sequence sentences. To avoid numerous examples repeating the same pattern and order, I have decided to give only a few examples of each type of structure and order found in the simple and complex sequence sentences.

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[1]Secondary elements are not necessarily less important but they operate on a different functional level; they occur with a basic element or a head word and, whereas a basic element or head word may occur alone as a part of a sentence, the secondary element does not occur alone.

[2]Fries, Structure, p. 175.

We find that there are two classes of basic elements: (1) mandatory, those that are found in every sentence, and (2) optional, those which may or may not be used in combination with other basic elements.

Mandatory Basic Elements

The mandatory class includes the subject and verb.

1. The verb is the one element found in all sentences; it may occur as a single word (finite verb).

> And se cincg þa swa dyde. (B 1064) "And the king then so did."
>
> And þridde hæfð Godric mid him. (R 103) "And Godric has the third (one) with him."

The verb may also occur as a phrase (auxiliary verb plus infinitive or participle).

> And þis wæs gedon on Æþelstanes kynincges gewitnesse. (B 1064) "And this was done on King Æthelstan's testimony."
>
> ...ðonne sceal ic and wylle beon gehealden. (B 591) "...then I am obliged and wish to be contented."

Person, number, tense, and mood of verbs will be discussed in Chapter VII.

2. The subject may be classified as mandatory since all sentences have a subject except

a. Imperative sentences.

> Læt me þæt land to handa. (B 1063) "Turn over to me the land."
>
> Cyð þis mine hlaforde... (B 1317) "Make this known to my lord."

b. Some impersonal verbs (see pp. 30 and 34).

A noun or pronoun subject is in the nominative case. Examples of subjects are the following.

a. Proper noun.

And þridde hæfð Æðelmer. (R 81) "And Æthelmer has the third."

b. Common noun.

And se cyncg þa swa dyde. (B 1064) "And the king then so did."

c. Personal pronoun.

And he hit hæfde VII winter. (B 1064) "And he had it for seven winters."

d. Indefinite pronoun.

And agefe mon to Liminge I eawa. (B 412) "And one is to give one ewe to Liming."

And hine mon ðæræt aparade. (B 591) "And one captured him there."

e. Demonstrative pronoun.

And þis wæs gedon on Æþelstanes kynincges gewitnesse. (B 1064) "And this was done on King Æthelstan's testimony."

And dæt sie simle... (B 405) "And that be similarly..."

f. Numeral.

And an wæs teoðinglond. (B 591) "And one was tithing-land."

g. Dependent clause.

Her swutelaþ þæt Wulfgar geuþe Hamme... (B 678) "Here is declared that Wulfgar grants Ham..."

Inflected subjects agree with the verb in number and person when these distinctions are possible (see pp. 138 and 139).

1st person, sing.

Ic ne eom gecnawe þæt... (H 24) "I am not aware that..."

2nd person, sing.

...þu mihtest eaðe gedon þæt ic hyt eal swa hæfde. (H 63)
"...you might easily bring about that I had it also."

3rd person, sing.

God is min gewyta. (B 1306) "God is my witness."

And þridde bið mid heom sylfa. (W 30) "And the third is with himself."

3rd person, plural

And hæfdon hit cynegas oð Eadmund cinc. (B 1097) "And kings had it until King Eadmund."

The details of case, person, number, and gender of nouns and pronouns will be discussed in Chapter VI.

There is no minimal sentence composed only of subject and verb in this corpus; however, several sentences occur with the addition of conjunction, adverb, or prepositional phrase.

And gewat Eadræd cyng. (B 1063) "And King Eadraed died."

And he swa dyde. (B 591) "And he so did."

And fencg Æþelstan to rice. (B 1064) "And Æthelstan inherited the kingdom."

Position or placement of subject and verb in the sentence will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Optional Basic Elements

Optional syntactic elements in the sentence are the following:

1. Direct object of the verb. The direct object can best be defined in negative terms which eliminate other noun functions. The direct object is the noun or pronoun which is grammatically related to a transitive verb, which does not necessarily agree with the verb

in person and number, which is not in the nominative case, which does not indicate the person or thing to or for whom (which) something is done, and which does not modify another word. The direct object is the receiver of the physical action performed or mental action held by the subject of the transitive verb. The direct object is in the accusative, dative, or genitive case. It may be a dependent clause.

a. Accusative.

And hine mon ðæræt aparade. (B 591) "And one captured him there."

b. Dative.

Þa God forgylde þam cincge. (W 16-2) "Then God reward the king."

c. Genitive.

And ic gean him þæs landes. (B 1306) "And I grant him the land."

d. Dependent clause.

Ic cyðe eow þæt ic hæbbe geunnen him... (H 28) "I declare to you that I have granted to him..."

2. Indirect object. The indirect object of the verb is a noun or pronoun, grammatically related to the transitive verb, to which something is given or done; it is always accompanied by a direct object; the indirect object is usually in the dative case, but it may be in the accusative case if the direct object is a dependent clause.

a. Dative case.

And mon selle him IIII oxan. (B 412) "And one is to give him four oxen."

And him mon forgefe ðeran ðreotenehund pending. (B 412) "And one is to give him in addition 1300 pennies."

And Ælfred cing ða Osulfe his hondsetene sealde... (B 591)
"And King Alfred then gave Osulf his signature..."

b. Accusative case.

Ða cwæð ic ðæt he wolde cunnigan and bæd ðone cing ðæt he hit andagade. (B 591) "Then I said that he wished to try and prayed the king that he appoint a day for it."

Ða ascade ic hine hwy he swa dyde. (B 591) "Then I asked him why he so did."

Nu bidde ic þone bisceop Ælfstan þæt he amundige mine lafe... (W 16-1)
"Now I bid that bishop, Ælfstan, that he protect my wife..."

And ic hine þæs bidde for Godes lufan...þæt hit standan mote. (W 20) "And I pray him for God's love...that it may stand."

3. Person of interest or benefit. Verbs which do not take a direct object in the usual sense and verbs in some special constructions are sometimes accompanied by a noun or pronoun (usually in the dative case) which functions neither as modifier nor as one of the other basic elements. This noun or pronoun indicates the person benefitted or in whose interest something is done. This element occurs

a. With intransitive verbs in regular constructions.

Ðonne leof is me micel neodðearf... (B 591) "Then, beloved, (it) is a great need to me..."

Nu is me on mode...þæt ic wille goodian... (B 1267) "Now it is in my mind...that I wish to endow..."

Ic wæs þinum fæder swa gehyrsum swa ic fyrmest myhte. (B 1306)
"I was as obedient to your father as I might be."

Ða...ic...ðingade him to Ælfrede cinge. (B 591) "Then I interceded for him to King Ælfred."

Ða het he hie seman. (B 591) "Then he called an arbitration for them."

...gange þæt land on Boccinge into Cristes circean þam herede. (W 16-1) "...that land at Boccing is to go into Christchurch for the brotherhood."

...ga þænne þæt land þam arcebisceope Eadsige. (R 101)
"...then that land goes to the Archbishop Eadsige."

b. With passive verb constructions.

Wes hit becueden Osbearte. (B 404) "It was bequeathed to Osbeart."

...se him seald and gehealden sia hiabenlice bledsung. (B 405)
"...may the heavenly blessing be given to him and held for him."

...sy him Godes ar and his ece edlean æfre ætbroden. (B 1306)
"...may God's mercy and his eternal reward forever be taken from him."

...ne gewurðe hit him næfre forgifen. (B 1318) "...may it never be forgiven him."

Seo stow wæs gehalgod iu fram ealdum dagum þam halgan Petre. (B 1267) "The place was consecrated formerly in early days to St. Peter."

c. Impersonal verbs.

Ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð... (B 591)
"Then (it) seemed to all of us that Helmstan must go forth..."

Ða gelicode me þæt he hit swa gelogode... (B 1267) "Then (it) pleased me that he so filled it..."

4. Subject complement (noun). A noun in the nominative case or a dependent clause with the verbs beon or hatan which has the same referent as the subject is a subject complement.

God is min gewyta. (B 1306) "God is my witness."

Þurwif hatte se wimman. (B 1063) "The woman is called Þurwif."

Ærest is min willa ðæt hit [bearn] foe to londe. (B 412)
"First, my wish is that he (the child) inherit the land."

5. Subject complement (adjective). An adjective which refers to the subject but is not an immediate constituent of the subject is a subject complement or predicate adjective.

Þa gewat Eadric cwideleas. (B 1097) "Then Eadric died intestate."

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "It is to be free of each thing."

And beon heora menn frige... (W 30) "And their men are to be free..."

6. Object complement. A noun in the accusative case which has the same referent as the direct object.

And tu hine hete ða flyman. (B 591) "And you then called him an outlaw."

7. Absolute expressions. Nouns in the genitive or dative case which do not function as modifiers or any other basic element may be absolute expressions.

a. Genitive.

And wende Æðelstan hine eft into Sunnanbyrg ungebetra þinga. (B 1063) "And Æthelstan returned again to Sunnanbyrg things (being) unatoned."

b. Dative.

Rixiendum on ecnisse ussum drihtne hælende Criste ic sylle Wulfsige anes hides lond... (B 609) "Our Lord Savior Christ (being) ruler in eternity, I grant one hide of land to Wulfsige..."

8. Direct address. A noun or adjective used as a noun in the nominative case which addresses the person to whom the sentence is written is direct address.

Leof ic ðe cyðe... (B 591) "Beloved, I make known to you..."

Nu bydde ic þe leof hlaford þæt... (B 1306) "Now I bid you, beloved lord, that..."

And Æðelsige leof cyð þis mine hlaforde... (B 1317) "And Æthelsige, beloved, make this known to my lord..."

9. Connectives or sequence indicators. The first element in almost every sequence sentence is a conjunction, adverb, or uninflected particle; the most frequent of these are and, þa, and þonne. The function is to indicate that the particular statement is one of a

series of statements after the first or initial sentence or to indicate a time sequence in which the particular statement occurred after the preceding statement.

> And mon selle him IIII oxan. (B 412) "And one is to give to him four oxen."
>
> Þa gewat Eadweard. (B 1064) "Then Edward died."
>
> Þonne gebygcge he þa lond. (B 558) "Then he is to buy those lands."

Other words, phrases, and clauses which do not fall in the above categories are formal structures of secondary nature because their function, rather than to fill a basic structural spot in the sentence, is to modify the word or words in basic structural spots in the relationship of immediate constituent to a head word. Secondary formal structures or modifiers will be discussed in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY ELEMENTS (MODIFIERS) IN OLD ENGLISH SENTENCES

Function and Description of Modification Structure

Modifiers are words, phrases, or clauses which function as sub-units of the basic elements (subject, verb, object, etc.) which compose a sentence in Old English. The modification structure always has at least two units: the head word (the word which is modified) and the modifier (one or more words). A modifier as a modifier does not necessarily function as a part of speech. Either the head word or the modifier can be any part of speech except a conjunction or preposition[1] (interjections do not occur in this corpus) although each part of speech used as a head word is more often modified by one particular part of speech than the others (i.e., nouns are more often modified by adjectives, verbs are more often modified by adverbs).

A modification structure differs from other structures in the fact that the whole structure enters into other structures as a complete unit and functions in these structures just as the single head word alone would function. For instance, a modification structure may be composed of a noun (head word) and an adjective (modifier). This whole unit (noun plus adjective) functions in any of the other

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[1]Prepositional phrases occur as modifiers; see pp. 65 and 70.

structures of the sentence in which a noun alone is a constituent. It can be made a part of any of these other structures by placing the whole unit in the position in which the noun alone would appear and by giving the noun the inflection it would have alone in that spot.

Modification is a structure of connection, but it is a particular kind of connection in which the modifiers are connected to the head word. This connection is different in form and position from the connection between a subject and verb. This difference is shown by the fact that a modification structure cannot stand alone whereas the combination of subject and verb can.

The meanings in the modification structure or the relationships between the head word and its modifiers vary widely. These meanings or relationships are shown by the formal characteristics of the words (inflection, agreement) and position or word order, or a combination of both word order and inflection.

In general, we may say that modifiers add information to the head word by clarifying, specifying, or giving details of time, place, manner, degree. More specific statements will be made in the discussion of each modifier.

To describe the modification structure, we first take each part of speech used as a head word and list the various types of modifiers it has; second, we note the characteristic arrangements of the units making up the modification structure; and third, we note the meanings or relationships between the head word and modifiers indicated by the structures.

Noun as Head Word

Modifiers of nouns usually immediately precede or follow the noun; they indicate a number of different meanings but generally tend to identify, specify, qualify, limit, or describe the noun.

1. Noun as modifier.

a. Appositives are nouns which follow other nouns and have the same referent; the appositive usually immediately follows the noun modified and agrees with it in case and number.

(1) A restrictive appositive is a proper noun which follows a common noun which has a demonstrative pronoun or other modifier; the proper noun gives specific identification of the individual (his name):

> And ic gean Ælfmære and his breðer Ælfstane þara twegra landa. (B 1306) "And I grant the two lands to Ælfmaer and his brother Ælfstan."

> Þa namon Godan twegen suna Leofstan and Leofric on Eadgife ðas twa forespecenan land. (B 1064) "Then Goda's two sons Leofstan and Leofric seized from Eadgifu the two above-mentioned lands."

(2) Non-restrictive appositives are common nouns with modifiers which follow proper nouns; they usually indicate family relationships but may also indicate feudal relationships or the office, rank, or position held by the individual; most appositives are of this type:

> And ic sello Æðelwalde minum sunu III hida boclondes. (B 558) "And I give three hides of bookland to Æthelwald, my son."

> Ic...and Beornðryð min gemecca sellað... (B 330) "I and Beornthryth, my wife, give..."

> Æðelnoð se gerefa to Eastorege... (B 318) "Æthelnoth, the reeve at Eastry..."

The noun and its appositive are occasionally separated by one or more

words:

> Þis siondan ðes landes boec ðet Eðelbearht cyning Wullafe sealde his ðegne. (B 496) "These are the deeds of the land that King Ethelbearht gave Wullaf, his thane."
>
> Her swutelaþ þæt Wulfgar geuþe Hamme into Ealdan Mynstre æfter Æffan dæge hys wifes. (B 678) "Here (it) is declared that Wulfgar granted Ham to Old Minster after Æffe's, his wife's, day."

b. Titles of rank or position (both ecclesiastical and lay) immediately follow the name of a person and agree with it in case and number. These titles are similar to appositives but they can be distinguished and separated from appositives on a formal basis. Titles are common nouns which are never accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun or other modifier, which occur only after proper nouns and never before, and which indicate only position or rank. Common nouns which function as appositives always are accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun or other modifier, they occur both before and after proper nouns, and they frequently indicate family and feudal relationships. A count of the number of occurrences (which does not include lists of witnesses at the end of documents) shows:

proper noun -- common noun	(title: Eadræd cyng)	147
common noun -- proper noun	(*cyng Eadræd)[1]	0
pronoun -- common noun -- proper noun	(þone kyningc Æðelstan)	10
proper noun -- pronoun -- common noun	(Ælfgyfu seo hlæfdige)	7

If we assume that the presence or absence of a particular form (demonstrative pronoun) and the frequent and consistent occurrence of a particular structural pattern in opposition to another structural pattern (which has the characteristics of an established group) have significance, then we must separate titles from appositives as a

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[1]The asterisk (*) indicates hypothetical forms which do not occur in this corpus.

distinct class of noun modifiers.

And gewat Eadred cyng. (B1063) "And King Eadraed died."

Her is seo hondseten Oswoldes bisceopes. (B 1233) "Here is the signature of Bishop Oswold."

...beforan Wulfrede arcebiscope. (B 416) "...before Archbishop Wulfred."

...ic Æþelstan æþeling geswutelige on þysum gewrite... (W 20) "...I, Atheling Æthelstan, declare in this writ..."

Eadward kyning gret Harold eorl... (H 115) "King Edward greets Earl Harold..."

When the demonstrative pronoun or other modifier appears with the title, either the title or the proper noun, whichever comes second, is an appositive.

And se cyng het þone arcebiscop Wulfstan þærto boc settan. (R 83) "And the king commanded that archbishop, Wulfstan, to draw up a charter to this effect."

And þises is to gewitnesse Eadweard cyng and Ælfgyfu seo hlæfdige. (R 101) "And as witnesses to this were King Edward and Ælfgyfu, the lady."

Nu bidde ic þone bisceop Ælfstan þæt he... (W 16-1) "Now I bid (ask) that bishop, Ælfstan, that he..."

c. Nouns in the genitive case frequently modify nouns which are in another case. The modifier immediately precedes the head word. Since there are a number of relationships expressed in this way, a complete discussion will be given in the section on noun uses of the genitive case in Chapter VI (pp. 111-116).

(1) Possessive genitive.

Ða Helmstan ða undæde gedyde ðæt he Æðeredes belt forstæl... (B 591) "When Helmstan committed the crime, that he stole Æthelred's belt..."

(2) Subjective genitive.

...þæt we hit unnon him on Godes est... (R 81) "...that we grant it to him with God's blessing."

(3) Objective genitive.

...ðe þæn ah mynstres geweald. (R 81) "...who then has control of the monastery."

d. Attributive nouns do not occur in this corpus. Uninflected nouns written separately in the manuscripts have been treated as compound words and written together if so listed in Bosworth-Toller's Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

2. Pronoun as modifier.

a. The demonstrative pronouns, se, seo, þæt "that" and þes, þeos, þis "this," precede the noun they modify and agree with it in number, gender, and case. In general, they have the function of specifying or singling out. They may also indicate the closer in time or space (this) versus the farther away in time or space (that), although there is no contrasting situation in this corpus. In addition, se, seo, þæt functions as the definite article "the" or a specifier with less intensity. Often when the noun form is ambiguous, the demonstrative pronouns formally signal the case, number, and gender.

(1) se, seo, þæt is more frequently used than þes, þeos, þis.

And se cyncg þa swa dyde. (B 1064) "And the king then so did."

And þyses wæs Ælfgar þæs cyninges gerefa to gewitnesse. (R 66) "And Ælfgar, the king's reeve, was witness to this."

Ic agife þinne wer ðam cynge. (B 1063) "I will pay your wergeld to the king."

...and bæd ðone cing ðæt he hit andagade. (B 591) "...and asked the king that he appoint a day for it."

And Eadgifu hæfde land mid bocum þara twegea cyninga dagas. (B 1064) "And Eadgifu had the land with the deeds for the lives of the (those) two kings."

When there are other modifiers of the same noun, the demonstrative is in first position.

...into þære halgan stowe. (B 1233) "...into the holy place."

...sia hiabenlice bledsung... (B 405) "...the heavenly blessing..."

(2) þes, þeos, þis is less frequently used and always refers to something just previously mentioned or discussed.

Nu synd þissa gewrita þreo. (R 103) "Now (there) are three of these writs."

Þisses londes earan ðrie sulong æt Hægyðeðorne. (B 318) "Three swulungs of this land are at Hegythethorn."

Þes ceap wæs geceapod on Wii ætforan ealra scyre. (R 103) "This payment was made at Wii before all the shire."

b. The possessive pronoun occurs in this corpus in only the first and second persons; it is declined like a strong adjective, always precedes the noun it modifies, and agrees with the noun in case, number, and gender.

And ic cipe eow þæt Urk min huskarl habbe his strand. (H 1) "And I make known to you that Urk, my housecarl, is to have his shore."

...inmto Sancte Eadmundes byrig mines mæges... (H 24) "...at the bury of St. Edmund, my kinsman..."

...be minum fullan bebode. (H 1) "...by my full command."

...ic...geswutelige...hu ic mine are and mine æhta geunnen hæbbe. (W 20) "I...declare...how I have granted my property and my possessions..."

Eadweard cyngc gret Leofwine biscop...and ealle mine þegnas... freondlice. (H 96) "King Edward greets Bishop Leofwine... and all my thanes in a friendly manner."

Gif hit þin willa wære... (H 63) "If it were your wish..."

Ða gesahte he ðines fæder lic... (B 591) "Then he sought your father's body..."

Ic agife þinne wer ðam cynge. (B 1063) "I will give your wergeld to the king."

c. Personal pronouns of the third person which modify nouns are in the genitive case and are not further inflected.

Æðelnoð...and Gænburg his wif aræddan hiora erfe... (B 318)
"Æthelnoth and Gaenburg, his wife, arrange their property..."

...and aeghwilc diacon arede twa passione fore his sawle. (B 330)
"...and each deacon read two passions for his soul."

And Ælfred cing ða Osulfe his hondsetene sealde... (B 591)
"And King Alfred gave then Osulf his signature..."

3. Adjective as modifier. The adjective usually precedes the noun it modifies (exceptions are noted below) and agrees with the noun in number, case, and gender. In general, the adjective characterizes, specifies, limits, qualifies, or adds some descriptive information about the noun.

...mid fullum friodome. (B 417) "...with full freedom."

Ðonne leof is me micel neodðearf ðæt... (B 591) "Then, beloved, (it) is to me a great need that..."

...into þære halgan stowe. (B 1233) "...into the holy place."

...mid ten pundan reddes goldes and hwites siolfres. (R 83)
"...with ten pounds of red gold and white silver."

More than one adjective may modify the same noun.

...and menig god man toeacan him. (R 66) "...and many a good man in addition to him."

...and manig oðer god man. (R 75) "...and many another good man."

Adjectives sometimes follow the nouns they modify.

...gewonie him God Almahtig his weorldare... (B 558) "...may Almighty God decrease his worldly goods..."

The phrase God Ælmihtig occurs frequently and is the only instance of an otherwise unmodified noun followed by its adjective.

Since this pattern is different from the usual Old English structure and since it is so consistently followed, this seems to be influenced by the Latin Deus omnipotens which it translates. When this phrase modifies a noun, we find the usual order.

ælmæhtigan Godes unhlis. (B 452) "Almighty God's disgrace."

The adjective also follows the noun when the adjective is modified (usually by a genitive complement).

...mittan fulne huniges. (B 330, B 405) "...a mitta full of honey."

The adjective often follows the noun when the noun is preceded by one of the demonstrative pronouns or another modifier.

...enig meghond neor. (B 404) "...any nearer relative."

...in þissum life ondwardum. (B 558) "...in this present life."

Ða stod seo hondseten eal ðæron. (B 591) "Then all the signature stood thereon."

Adjectives inflected to show comparative and superlative degree also precede the noun and use the weak declension.

...wiððan ðe min wiif þær benuge innganges swæ mid minum lice swæ sioððan yferran dogre. (B 412) "...provided that my wife enjoys entrance either with my body or afterwards in later days."

...on þam ytemestan dæge þysses lifes. (B 1233) "...on the last day of this life."

4. Numerals as modifiers precede the noun and agree with it in number, gender, and case.

And mon selle him...anne horn. (B 412) "And let one give to him...one horn."

Ic geann into Cristes cyrican þæs landes æt Holungaburnan buton þære anre sulunge þe ic Siferðe geunnen hæbbe. (W 20) "I grant that land at Hollingbourne to Christchurch except the one swulung that I have granted to Siferth."

5. Verb as modifier (verbals). Present and past participle forms of verbs modify nouns and are inflected like adjectives to show case, number, and gender. Participles precede the noun they modify and have the same function as adjectives.

Đe lifigiende God gemyne ðu... (B 631) "May the living God be mindful of you..."

...on geceapodne ceap. (R 103) "...as bargained payment."

Ga þis foresprecene land into Cristes cyricean. (R 101) "This aforementioned land is to go to Christchurch."

6. Prepositional phrases as modifiers are not inflected and can show no agreement with the nouns modified. The prepositional phrase immediately follows the noun modified.

...ðonne gedele he ælcum messepreost binnan Cent ...and ælcum Godes ðiowe. (B 412) "...then he is to distribute to each mass priest within Kent...and to each of God's servants."

...and manig oðer god man binnan byrig and butan. (R 75) "...and many another good man within the town and outside."

...ten hida land æt Croglea. (B 416) "...ten hides of land at Croyley."

Eadweard cyngc gret...and ealle mine þegnas on Stæffordscire freondlice. (H 96) "King Edward greets...and all my thanes in Staffordshire in a friendly manner."

He hæbbe þæt land æt Ludintune III gear... (B 1318) "He is to have that land at Luddington for three years."

7. Dependent clauses as modifiers follow the nouns they modify. They are introduced by relative pronouns some of which are declined and some of which are indeclinable.

a. þe is indeclinable but functions to introduce dependent clauses which modify nouns.

Aec ic bebeode minum æfterfylgendum ðe ðæt lond hæbben... (B 330) "Also, I command my successors who have that land..."

...ænig þæra þinga þe he mid rihte into his biseoprice ahge to habbanne. (H 115) "...any of those things which he with right ought to have for his bishopric."

And ic geann Ælmære þæs landes æt Hamelandene þe he ær ahte. (W 20) "And I grant to Ælmer the land at Hambledon which he had before."

b. se, seo, þæt is declined when it functions as a relative to introduce dependent clauses; the pronoun agrees with the noun modified in gender and number (but not case).

...and ða menn ða ðær hlafordas wæron. (B 330) "...and those men who were lords there."

Ic...landes sumne dæl...sumum cnihte þæm is Osulf nama... forgeaf. (B 1233) "I give a certain part of land to a certain knight whose name is Osulf..."

...and þæt land æt Mordune þæt min fæder me tolet... (W 20) "...and the land at Morden which my father leased to me..."

Pronoun as Head Word

1. Noun as modifier. A noun which modifies a pronoun is always in apposition with the pronoun and agrees with it in number and case.

...ofer hiora dei wifes and cilda. (B 417) "...after their, the wife's and child's, day."

Ic Uuerfrid biscop...sylle... (B 609) "I, Bishop Werfrid, give..."

...ic Æþelstan æþeling geswutelige on þysum gewrite... (W 20) "...I, Æthelíng Æthelstan, declare in this writ..."

2. Pronoun as modifier. The pronoun self is used with personal pronouns to emphasize or stress the person indicated by the pronoun so modified. Self follows the personal pronoun and agrees with it in case, number, and gender.

Gif higan ðonne oððe hlaford þæt nylle hire mynsterlifes geunnan oðða hia siolf nylle... (B 412) "If the brotherhood then or

the lord does not wish to grant monastic life to her or she herself does not wish it..."

...swa full and swa forð swa hitt me sylfan on hande stod... (H 55) "...as fully and as completely as it stood in possession of myself..."

And þridde biþ mid heom sylfan. (W 30) "And the third is with himself."

3. Adjective as modifier. The indefinite pronoun man may be modified by an adjective which agrees with it in case, gender, and number.

And suelc man se ðisses landes bruce agebe... (B 403) "And such a one who (whoever) enjoys the land is to give..."

...ðæt nænig mon seo to ðon gedyrstig... (S 175) "...that no one be so daring..."

And gif ænig man...þisne cwyde wille awendan... (R 101) "And if anyone wishes to change this will..."

4. Verb as modifier (participle).

Ða he hit unforbodan and unbesacan bohte. (R 83) "Then he bought it unopposed and uncontested."

Wite he hine amansumadne mid Annaniam and Saphiram. (R 94) "May he find himself cast out with Ananias and Sapphira."

Adjective as Head Word

1. Noun as modifier. Noun modifiers of adjectives are always complements of the adjective and in the genitive case (genitive complement).

And bio he ælces wites wyrðe. (B 1010) "And may he be entitled to each fine."

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "It is to be free of every thing (burden)."

...þæt he mote beon ælc þæra gerihta wurðe... (H 24) "...that he may be entitled to each of those rights..."

2. Adverb as modifier. The adverb immediately precedes the adjective it modifies; the adverb is not inflected for person, number, or case.

...swa me mæst ræd þuhte. (W 20) "...as seemed to me most advisable."

Ic cyþe þæt me ys wana æt þam scypgesceote þus micelys... (H 63) "I make known that (it) is lacking to me from the ship-scot thus much..."

Numeral as Head Word

A noun may modify a numeral; it is always in the genitive case (genitive complement).

Nu synd þissa gewrita þreo. (R 103) "Now (there) are three of these writs."

Ny synd ðissa gewrita twa. (R 108) "Now (there) are two of these writs."

And þissera gewritu syndan þreo. (W 30) "And (there) are three of these writs."

Verb as Head Word

In general, modifiers of verbs indicate something about time, place, or manner; these modifiers may be a single word, a phrase, or a dependent clause. There is no inflectional signal to indicate relationships between the head word and modifier.

1. Noun as modifier. Nouns in the genitive and accusative cases which do not function as basic elements of the sentence, objects of prepositions, or modifiers of other nouns are used adverbially to modify the verb. They usually occur at or near the end of the sentence:

a. Genitive (only one example in this corpus).

...þam Godes þeowan...þe þærinne Godes lof dreogan sceolan dæges and nihtes. (R 101) "...for God's servants who shall celebrate the praise of God therein day and night."

b. Accusative.

And ic wille þæt Æffe feormige...ða Godes þeowas æt Cynetanbyrig þrie dagas... (B 678) "And I wish that Æffe is to provide food for three days for God's servants at Kintbury."

And ic gean Ælfgare þæs landes his dæg. (B 1306) "And I grant the land to Ælfgar for his day."

...ðet he ðis wel healde his dei. (B 403) "...that he is to keep this well for his day."

...to ðæm gerade ðæt heo mon arede eghwelce monaðe for Ælfred and for Werburge...ða hwile ðe God gesegen hæbbe ðæt fulwiht æt ðeosse stowe beon mote. (S 175) "...on the condition that one read them (the books of the Bible) each month for Ælfred and Werburg... the while (the period of time) that God has said that baptism may be at this place."

2. Adverb as modifier. The position of adverbs seems to be flexible; often the adverb is first or last word in a clause; often the adverb immediately precedes the verb in dependent clauses and immediately follows the verb in independent clauses.

a. Time.

...ðe in Cristes circan dæghwæmlice Godes lof rærað. (S 175) "...who raise God's praise daily in Christchurch."

...and ma monna ðonne ic nu genemnan mæge. (B 591) "...and more men than I now can name."

b. Place.

Ond of higna gemænum godum ðær æt Ham mon geselle... (B 330) "And from the common provisions of the community there at the manor one is to give..."

Her sindon ðæra manna naman awritene. (B 558) "Here are written the names of the men."

c. Manner.

...ðet he ðis wel healde his dei. (B 403) "...that he is to observe this well during his day."

And his cwyde fæste stode. (W 16-2) "And his will stood fast (firmly)."

d. Interrogative.

And leof hwonne bið engu spæc geendedu. (B 591) "And, beloved, when is any suit settled...?"

Hwonne habbe we ðonne gemotad. (B 591) "When (to what purpose) have we settled?"

e. Relative or conjunctive adverb.

And heo...formige þrie dagas þa Godes þeowas þær min lic reste. (B 678) "And she is to sustain for three days God's servants where my body rests."

f. Negative adverb (see Chapter V., pp. 86-87).

Þa gyt heo ne moste landes brucan ær... (B 1064) "Still she was not able to enjoy the land before..."

Gif hit þæt ne sio þonne selle hio him... (B 558) "If it may not be that, then she is to give him..."

And he næfre ne wurth [sic] on his myltse gemet... (B 1306) "And may he never be found in his mercy..."

3. Prepositional phrase as modifier.

And æfter þreora manna dæge gange þæt land in mid I men... (B 51) "And after three men's day, the land goes in (to the monastery) with one man..."

And æfter heora dæge agefe mon þæt land... (B 416) "And after her day, one is to give that land..."

Ond efter Werburge dæge seo Alhðryðe þa lond... (B 558) "And after Werburg's day, the land is to be Alhthryth's..."

Æðelm Higa eode of ðam geflite ða cing wæs æt Worgemynster. (B 591) "Æthelm Higa withdrew from the dispute when the king was at Warminster."

A prepositional phrase composed of to plus a noun or pronoun in the dative case indicates a relationship comparable to that expressed by the indirect object; it denotes the person or institution (sometimes the location of a church or monastery) to whom or to which something is given, granted, said, brought, or done.

And agefe mon to Liminge I eawa... (B 412) "And one is to give one ewe to Lyming..."

And Sigulf geselle of ðem londe C pæninga to Cristes Cirican. (B 558) "And Sigulf is to give from the land 100 pennies to Christchurch."

Aec mon ðæt weax agæfe to ciricican [sic]... (B 330) "Also one is to give that wax to the church."

And heo cwæð to Osulfe ðæt heo hit ahte... (B 591) "And she said to Osulf that she possessed it..."

Ða gesahte he ðines fæder lic and brohte insigle to me. (B 591) "Then he sought your father's body and brought the seal to me."

Þa tymde Wulfstan hine to Æðelstane. (B 1063) "Then Wulfstan vouched (for) him to Æthelstan."

...ac ic hæbbe ealle þa spæce to Ælfhege læten. (B 1063) "...but I have allowed (assigned) all the judgment to Ælfhege."

Þa sende se cyning be Ælmere abbude his insegel to þam gemote. (R 66) "Then the king sent his seal to the meeting by Abbot Ælmer."

Þa nolde he butan hit man sceote to sciregemote. (R 66) "Then he would not unless one refer it to the shiremeeting."

4. Dependent clause as modifier (see Chapter IV, p. 76).

Æðelstan gefreode Eadelm forraðe þæs ðe he ærest cyng wæs. (B 639) "Æthelstan freed Eadelm as soon as he first was king."

And Eðiluald hit uta giðryde and gibelde sua he uel cuðe. (B 631) "And Ethilwald bound and covered it on the outside as he well knew how."

And he brytniæ suæ higum mæst red sie. (B 330) "And he may distribute (it) as will be most benefit to the brotherhood."

Adverb as Head Word

1. Adverb as modifier.

...ðe his lof alicge to swyðe. (B 1267) "...that his praise perishes too greatly."

...ær heo wyste hu getriwlice he hi æt landum healdan wolde. (B 1064) "...before she knew how truly (faithfully) he would hold himself in regard to the lands."

CHAPTER IV

THE DEPENDENT CLAUSE

The dependent clause is a structural unit which has the same basic characteristics as a free sentence except that its functions cause it to be included in the larger structure called a sentence. These "included sentences"[1] have the same basic and secondary elements that free sentences have; they have a subject which agrees with the verb in person and number; however, they are introduced by conjunctive words which relate them to certain parts within the sentence structure or to the whole independent element so that they do not function independently but subordinately.

The words which most frequently signal inclusion, when they are followed by a subject and verb in agreement, are: þe, þæt, hu, swa, gif, þa, for þon, for þa þe, wiþþon þe, þider, þær, hwy, butan, ær, oþ, and se (including its inflected forms). When these words appear at the beginning of a word group, they often signal the structural fact that the unit they introduce is not free but is to be included, with the independent clause which immediately follows it, in a larger single sentence unit. These words may also signal the inclusion of the unit they introduce, together with the unit preceding (if it is an independent clause), in a larger unit.

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[1]Fries, Structure, p. 253.

Dependent clauses can be divided into three classes based on their functions: Class I functions as a basic element of the sentence (subject, object, complement, etc.); Class II functions as a secondary element in the sentence (modifier); and Class III includes all other uses of the dependent clause; usually Class III functions as an extension of the statement in the independent clause but does not function as a basic element or a secondary element; that is, it is not related to nor does it modify any particular part of the independent clause. There is sometimes difficulty in distinguishing between the adverbial function of Class II clauses and the function of Class III clauses. Class III seems to be more general and pertains to the whole independent clause rather than to the verb, adjective, or adverb alone.

Class I Clauses

The Class I dependent clause functions as the basic elements of the sentence which usually are nouns or pronouns; it never functions as a verb.

1. Subject of the verb. The Class I clause is used as subject of the verb in both independent and dependent clauses. It is usually the subject of an impersonal verb, one that rarely takes a personal noun or pronoun as subject. Such verbs are þyncan, swutelian, getidan, gelimpan, gelician, cyþan; but it is also used as subject of beon/wesan. These clauses are introduced by þæt or hu.

a. In independent clauses:

Her swutelað...þæt Godwine geann Leofwine...ðæs damnes. (R 75)
"Here is declared that Godwine grants to Leofwine the swine-pasture."

Her swytelað...hu Ælfric biscop wille his are beteon. (E 240)
"Here is declared how Bishop Ælfric wishes to bestow (bequeath) his property."

Her cyð...þæt þurstan geann þæs landes æt Wimbisc... (W 30)
"Here is made known that Thurstan grants the land at Wimbisc..."

Ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð and geagnigean him ðæt land. (B 591) "Then (it) seemed to all of us that Helmstan was able to go forth and claim the land for himself."

Gemang þæm getidde þæt Myrce gecuran Eadgar to cynge. (B 1063)
"In the meantime, (it) happened that the Mercians chose Eadgar as king."

Þa gelamp on fyrste þæt se cyninc̄ Godan oncuþe. (B 1064) "Then (it) happened in time that the king accused Goda."

Ða gelicode me þæt he hit swa gelogode mid Godes þeowum Gode to lofe. (B 1267) "Then (it) pleased me that he consequently filled it with God's servants as praise to God."

Nu is me on mode...þæt ic wille goodian...þæt mynster. (B 1267)
"Now (it) is in my mind that I will endow that monastery."

b. In dependent clauses.

Gif me ðonne gifeðe sie ðæt ic bearn begeotan ne mege... (B 412)
"If (it) be granted by fate to me then that I may not beget a child..."

...swæ hueðer hiora swæ leng lifes were foe to londe. (B 318)
"...whichever of them lives longer inherits the land."

2. Direct object. A Class I dependent clause is used as the direct object of a transitive verb in both independent and dependent clauses; it is introduced by þæt, hu, hwy, or hwæt. The verbs which most frequently take a dependent clause as object are: biddan, bebeodan, cyþan, cweþan, and willan.

Leof ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs ymb ðæt lond æt Funtial. (B 591)
"Beloved, I make known to you how it was concerning that land at Funtial."

And ic wille þæt man nime þæt feoh... (W 20) "And I wish that one take that property..."

And ic bidde minne fæder...þæt he þæs geunne... (W 20) "And I ask my father that he grant this..."

Ðonne bebeode ic ðæt mon ðas ðing selle... (B 330) "Then I command that one give these things..."

And heo cwæð to Osulfe ðæt heo hit ahte him wel to syllanne. (B 591) "And she said to Oswulf that she possessed it to give him completely."

Ða ascade ic hine hwy he swa dyde. (B 591) "Then I asked him why he so did."

3. Subject complement. The dependent clause may function as subject complement in both independent and dependent clauses; it is introduced by ðæt and follows the verbs beon/wesan, gelimpan, gebyrian, and geselian when they have an expressed subject.

a. In independent clauses.

Donne [sic] is min willa ðæt ðissa gewriota sien twa gelice. (B 417) "Then my will is that these writs be two alike."

Se fruma wæs þæt mon forstæl ænne wimman. (B 1063) "The beginning was that one stole a woman."

Hit gelamp þæt hire fæder aborgude XXX punda æt Godan. (B 1064) "It happened that her father borrowed 30 pounds from Goda."

b. In dependent clauses.

Ic...cyðe and writan hate hu min willa is þæt mon ymb min ærfe gedoe... (B 412) "I make known and order to be written how my will is that one do concerning my inheritance..."

And gif þæt gesele þæt min cynn to ðan clane gewite... (B 412) "And if that happens that my kin entirely die out..."

Gif hit ðonne gebærige ðæt Æþelwyrd læng libbe ðone Eadric... (B 1010) "If it then happens that Æthelwyrd lives longer than Eadric..."

4. Object complement. A dependent clause may be the complement of a direct object; the dependent clause is introduced by þæt.

And ufenen þæt twelfa sum hire aþ sealde for geborenne and ungeborenne þæt þis æfre gesett spæc wære. (B 1064) "And besides that one of twelve gave oath to her for those born and those unborn that this suit was forever settled."

And ic hæbbe geleauan þæt þu nelle. (B 1306) "And I have confidence that you will not."

Class II Clauses

The Class II dependent clause functions as a secondary element in the sentence. In this class are clauses which modify nouns and pronouns and clauses which modify verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

1. Noun, pronoun, or noun clause as head word. This group of clauses is introduced by þe, þæt, þær, and se (including se þe, þæm, þa, and þa þe). Usually the dependent clause immediately follows the noun modified.

> ...and mid allum ðingum ðe to londum belimpað. (B 558) "...and with all the things which belong to the land."
>
> ...and ða menn ða ðær hlafordas wæron. (B 330) "...and those men who were lords there."
>
> ...and se mann se to londe foe. (B 412) "...and the man who inherits the land."
>
> Ðis siondan ðes landes boec...ðet Eðelbearht cyning Wullafe sealde. (B 496) "These are the land deeds that King Ethelbearht gave Wullafe."
>
> ...and allum ðæm halgum gimænelice ða ðe in eolonde sint. (B 631) "...and all the saints in common that are in the island."
>
> ...sumum cnihte þæm is Osulf nama. (B 1233) "...a certain knight whose name is Osulf."
>
> Ic hit ðider selle ðe se monn se ðe Kristes cirican hlaford sie... (B 412) "I give it thither that the man who may be lord of Christchurch..."
>
> ...to Cocham brohte þær he his witan widan gesomnod hæfde. (W 16-2) "...brought to Cocham where he had summoned his witan from afar."

The dependent clause introduced by þæt is often preceded by a parenthetical expression þæt is/wæs; the clause is usually separated at some distance from the word it modifies; it is used to explain, expand, or give specific details of a grant or agreement.

Þis Æðelwyrdes cwide...þæt is ðonne þæt Æðelwyrd bruce ðæs landæs...his dæg...ðonne yfter his dæge Eadric... (B 1010) "This is Æthelwyrd's will...that is, then, that Æthelwyrd is to enjoy the land for his day...then after his day Eadric..."

Nu þancige ic minon fæder...þære andsware...þæt wæs þæt he me cydde mines fæder worde þæt ic moste...geunnan minre are... (W 20) "Now I thank my father for the answer...that was, that he made known to me my father's word that I might grant my property..."

Her swutelaŏ on ymb þa foreward...þæt is þæt he hæbbe þæt land... (B 1318) "Here is declared concerning the agreements...that is, that he is to have the land..."

Worhtan þa hyra seht þæt wæs þæt Leofric sealde Wulfstane and his suna an pund... (R 83) "They made their agreement, that is, that Leofric should give Wulfstan and his son a pound..."

The same type of construction may refer to a noun clause introduced by hu which is the subject or object of a verb.

Ic Æþestan [sic] æþeling geswutelige...hu ic mine are and mine æhta geunnen hæbbe...þæt is ærest þæt ic geann... (W 20) "I, Ætheling Æthelstan, declare how I have granted my property and my possessions, that is, first, that I grant..."

Her swutelaŏ...hu Godric begeat þæt land...þæt is ðonne þæt he sealde Eadgyuan an marc goldes... (R 103) "Here is made known how Godric acquired the land...that is, then, that he gave Eadgyuan one mark of gold..."

2. The Class II dependent clause may modify a verb or verbal, an adjective or an adverb. It is introduced by swa, þider, þær, or þonne.

a. Verb or verbal as head word.

...ðæt hit mote stondan swa hit nu gedon is and gefyrn was. (B 591) "...that it might remain as it is now done and formerly was."

And Eðiluald hit uta giðryde and gibelde sua he wel cuðæ. (B 631) "And Ethilwald bound and covered it on the outside as he well knew how."

And he brytniæ suæ higum mæst red sie. (B 330) "And he may distribute (it) as will be most benefit to the brotherhood."

And æfter his dæge ga hyt for uncra begra sawle þider him leouest sy. (B 1306) "And after his day it is to go for both our souls thither (there where) is most pleasing to him."

God ælmihtig and Sancta Maria and ealle his leofan halgan þæne aniðerige ægþær ge her on life ge þær he længast wunian sceal. (R 83) "May God Almighty and St. Mary and all his beloved saints abase him both here in this life and there where he must longest dwell."

b. Adverb as head word.

...and (he) ðæt wiorð gedæle suæ ælmslice and suæ rehtlice suæ he him seolfa on his wisdome geleornie. (B 318) "...and (he) is to distribute the price as charitably and as justly as he himself considers in his wisdom."

Ic gean Wulmære twegra hida landes swa ful and swa forð swa he hit hæfde under Leofsige. (R 87) "I grant to Wulmer two hides of land as fully and completely as he held it under Leofsige."

c. Adjective as head word.

And gehealde mon of minon golde Ælfric and Godwine...swa miclon swa Eadmund min broðor wat þæt ic heom mid rihte to gyldanne ah. (W 20) "And one is to hold from my gold for Ælfric and Godwine as much as my brother Edmund knows that I ought rightly to pay them."

...and binnon þrym gearum agife þæt land þam hirede mid swa myclum swa se hired him on hand sette. (B 1318) "...and within three years (he) is to give the land to the brotherhood with as much as the brotherhood gave over to him."

...and ofer swa feala þegna swa ic him tolætan hæbbe. (H 28) "...and over as many thanes as I have permitted him."

...and ma monna ðonne ic nu genemnan mæge. (B 591) "...and more men than I now can name."

...mid læssan ðeowdome þonne us gelicode. (B 1267) "...with fewer services than was pleasing to us."

Ic wæs þinum fæder swa gehyrsum swa ic fyrmest myhte. (B 1306) "I was as obedient to your father as I was most able to be."

Class III Clauses

Class III dependent clauses function in a subordinate relation to the complete statement of the independent clause rather than

in a modifying relation to any particular part. These clauses are usually classified as adverbial modifiers of the verb, but they seem to be more general in function. Whereas modification indicates a close relationship and a specific limitation of a definite word, Class III clauses give added information in formal structures which are not independent or free but which depend on independent statements for their significance. They add conditions, give results or explanations, make introductory or speculative statements, indicate sequence, exceptions or alternatives, none of which pertains to any particular part of the independent clause. Because of this function of adding a statement to a free sentence, the Class III dependent clause must be distinguished from the other types of dependent clauses which merely add information to specific words or parts of sentences. This distinction is based on meaning rather than any particular structural signal except that some words which introduce Class III clauses (gif, for þon, butan, and wiþþon þe) are not found in other types of dependent clauses.

Class III dependent clauses are most often introduced by gif, þæt, for þon, se (þe), þa, butan, and wiþþon þe. These clauses have here been divided into groups on the basis of their meaning in relation to the independent clauses.

1. Conditional statements, introduced by gif and wiþþon þe.

Gif heo bearn hæbbe ðonne foe ðæt...to londe. (B 318) "If she should have a child, then that one is to inherit the land."

Gif hit ðonne festendæg sie selle mon uuæge cæsa ond fisces... (B 330) "If it then is a fast-day, one is to give a weight of cheese and fish..."

And twa þusenda swina ic heom sello...gif hit hio gehaldeð mid

þare clænisse. (B 558) "And I grant them 2000 swine if she holds it with purity."

Ðonne he ðone að agifan moste gif he meahte. (B 591) "Then he was obliged to give the oath if he was able."

And him man sælle an half swulung an Ciollandene to habbanne and to brucanne wiððan ðe he ðy geornliocar hire hire ðearfa bega and bewiotige. (B 412) "And one is to give to him a half swulung in Ciollandale to have and to use on condition that he more carefully care for and attend to her needs."

And mon selle to Folcanstane in mid minum lice X oxan...and higum ansundran D pending wiððan ðe min wiif þær benuge inganges. (B 412) "And one is to give to Folcanstan with my body 10 oxen...and to the brotherhood separately 500 pennies on condition that my wife possess entrance."

2. Statements giving reason for or explanation; introduced by for þon (þe).

Ða sohte he me and bæd me ðæt ic him wære forespeca for ðon ic his hæfde ær onfongen. (B 591) "Then he sought me and entreated me that I should be advocate for him because I had stood sponsor for him before."

Þa cwædon þa witan þe þær wæron þæt betere wære þæt man þene aþ aweg lete þonne hine man sealde forþan þær syþþan nan freondscype nære. (R 66) "Then the councilors who were there declared that it would be better for the oath to be dispensed with rather than sworn because afterwards no friendship would be there."

And ic nelle þæt ænig mann aht þær on teo buton he and his wicneras for þam ic hæbbe Criste þas gerihta forgyfen. (H 28) "And I do not wish that any man should take aught from there except him and his officers because I have given these rights to Christ."

And ðæt wit deodan for Godes lufan and for uncre saule ðearfe ond for ðon ðe wit nolðan ðæt ðas halgan beoc lencg in ðære hæðenesse wunaden. (S 175) "And we two did that for God's love and for our souls' need and because we two did not wish that the holy book(s) longer remain in that heathendom."

3. Statements giving alternative or exception; introduced by butan or ac.

And toll and team sy agifen into þam mynstre butan he hit geearnian mæge to þam ðe þæn ah mynstres geweald. (R 81) "And

'toll and team' shall be rendered to the monastery unless he can acquire them from whoever is in control of the monastery then."

God adilgie his noman of lifes bocum and habbe him gemæne wið hine on þam ytemestan dæge þysses lifes butan he to rihtere bote gecerre. (B 1233) "May God erase his name from the books of life and have him account with him on the last day of this life unless he submit to proper repentance."

God ælmihtig and Sancta Maria...aniðerige ægþær ge her on life ge þær he længast wunian sceal butaon he hit þe deoppor ær gebete swa bisceop him tæce. (R 83) "May God Almighty and St. Mary...abase him both here in this life and there where he must longest dwell unless he should make amends before as fully as possible as the bishop directs him."

Þa cwæð se cyng þæt mihte beon geboden him wið clænum legere ac ic hæbbe ealle þa spæce to Ælfhege læten. (B 1063) "Then the king said, 'That might be offered to obtain a consecrated grave for him but I have allowed (assigned) all the judgment to Ælfhege.'"

And he næfre ne wurthe [sic] on his myltse gemet ac he sy amansumod of þam gemanan ealra gecorenra Cristes heapa. (B 1306) "And may he never be found in his mercy but may he be outlawed from the community of all the chosen of Christ's host."

4. Speculative statements about indefinite and unknown persons whose future actions are approved or condemned in the independent clause; introduced by se or se þe or se mann se þe.

Se þe ðæt onwende hæbbe he Godes unmiltse. (B 639) "He who changes that, may he have God's wrath."

Se man se þe minne cwyde wende...God afyrre hine of his rice. (B 1306) "The man who changes my will, may God expel him from his kingdom."

And se ðe þas foreward to breke ne gewurðe hit him næfre forgifen ac beo he fordemed into helle wite and þær mid deofle wunige oð to domes dæge. (B 1318) "And he who breaks this agreement, may it never be forgiven him but may he be condemned into hell's torment and there dwell with devils until doomsday."

Se þe þis gehealde gehealde hine God. (R 81) "He who upholds this, may God uphold him."

Se his ferwerne oððe hit agele se him seald and healden helle wite bute he to fulre bote gecerran wille Gode and mannum.

(B 405) "He who prevents it or hinders it, may hell's punishment be given and reserved for him unless he should submit in full repentance to God and man."

5. Statements of result; introduced by þæt and þætte.

And gif þæt gesele þæt min cynn to ðan clane gewite ðæt ðer ðeara nan ne sie ðe londes weorðe sie... (B 412) "And if that happens that my kin die out completely so that there is none of them entitled to the land..."

Aec ic bidde higon ðette hie ðas godcundan god gedon...ðaette ge fore uueorolde sien geblitsade... (B 330) "Also I pray the brotherhood that they perform this religious service...so that you may be blessed before the world..."

And Ælfred cing ða Osulfe his hondsetene sealde ða he ðæt lond æt Æðelðryðe bohte ðæt hit swa stondan moste. (B 591) "And King Alfred then gave Osulf his signature when he bought the land from Æthelthryth so that it so must stand."

And he hæfð nu gewyld to minum anwealde Scottas and Cumbras and ealc swylce Bryttas and eall þæt ðis igland him oninnan hæfð þæt ic nu on sibbe gesitte minne cynestol. (B 1267) "And he has now subdued to my rule Scots and Cumbrians and likewise such Britons and all that this island has within it so that I now occupy my throne in peace."

6. Statements indicating the sequence of events, one of which occurred before the other; introduced by þa.

Da we hie æt Weardoran nu semdan ða bær mon ða boc forð. (B 591) "Now when we brought them to agreement at Wardour, then one bore the deed forth."

Þa man þæt ðam biscope cyðde ða gelædde se biscop ahnunga ealles Ælfehes cwides to Earhiðe. (B 1097) "When one made that known to the bishop, then the bishop brought forth claims of all Ælfeh's bequest at Earhithe."

CHAPTER V

NEGATION

In this corpus negation is indicated by pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions.

The following table of occurrences of the negative in these texts indicates that the most frequently used forms of negation are the negative form of the verb and the adverb ne:

9th Century			10th Century			11th Century		
	No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent
Neg. vb.	6	40	Neg. vb.	14	31	Neg. vb.	5	33
ne (adv.)	4	27	ne (adv.)	13	29	ne (adv.)	4	27
nænig (adj.)	3	20	nan (pron.)	4	9	nan (adj.)	3	20
nan (pron.)	1	13	næfre (adv.)	4	9	nænig (adj.)	1	20
næs (conj.)	1		na (adv.)	3	7	næfre (adv.)	1	
			nan (adj.)	3	7	na (adv.)	1	
	15	100	ne (conj.)	2	8		15	100
			nabor (pron.)	1				
			nowþer ne... ne (conj.)	1				
				45	100			

Pronouns Used as Negatives

1. Subject of the verb (nan, nabor).

And gif þæt gesele þæt min cynn to ðan clane gewite ðæt ðer ðeara nan ne sie ðe londes weorðe sie... (B 412) "And if it happens that my kin entirely die out so that there none of them (will) be entitled to the land..."

...swa þæt nan þæra cyninga ðe cumað æfter me oððe ealdorman... ðiss ne awende. (B 1267) "...so that none of the kings or chiefs who come after me may change this."

Ða cwæð Eadweard hit is wyrse ðe uncer naðor hit næbbe. (B 1063) "Then Edward said, 'It is worse that neither of us should have it.'"

2. Object of the verb (nan).

Ða hæfde Ælfric suna Eadric hatte and Ælfeh nænne. (B 1097) "Then Ælfric had a son called Eadric and Ælfeh none."

...(he) cwæð ðæt he nan ryhtre geðencan ne meahte. (B 591) "...he said that he could conceive nothing more right."

Negative Verb Forms

Some verbs regularly form the negative by substituting the letter n for an initial h or w of the verb form or by prefixing the letter n to the verb form if it has a vowel initially. The following verbs express the negative in this way:

1. beon/wesan.

Forða hit begetan nis Eðelmode enig meghond neor ðes cynnes ðanne Eadwald... (B 404) "Since it has not befallen to Ethelmod any nearer relative of the family than Eadwald..."

Þa næs he þagyt on þam gehealden... (R 66) "Then still he was not satisfied with it..."

...forþan þær syþþan nan freondscype nære. (R 66) "...because afterwards friendship would not be there."

One exception occurs:

And ic ne eom gecnawe þæt ic ænigean menn geafe þa socne þanon ut... (H 24) "And I am not aware that I gave any man the soc thence out..."

2. habban.

Gif hio ðonne bearn næbbe... (B 318) "If she does not have a child..."

Þa cwæð Æðelstan þæt he næfde him to syllanne. (B 1063) "Then Æthelstan said that he did not have it to give to him."

3. willan.

Forþan ic nylle geþafian þæt... (H 115) "Therefore, I do not wish to permit that..."

And gif þa nellað þa ælmessan geforðian... (W 20) "And if those do not wish to discharge those charities..."

...ond for ðon ðe wit nolðan ðæt ðas halgan beoc in ðære hæðenesse wunaden. (S 175) "...and because we two did not wish that the holy book(s) remain longer in that heathendom."

4. witan.

Ða onufan ðæt ymb an oðer healf gear nat ic hweðer ðe ymb tua... (B 591) "Then after that about a year and a half I do not know whether two..."

Adjectives Used as Negatives (nan, nænig)

The negative adjective immediately precedes the noun modified and agrees with it in case and number.

1. nan.

Ða hæfde Eadric lafe and nan bearn. (B 1097) "Then Eadric had a wife and no child."

...forþan þær syþþan nan freondscype nære. (R 66) "...because afterwards no friendship would be there."

Þa nold Sigelm hire fæder to wigge faron mid nanes mannes scette unagifnum. (B 1064) "Then Sigelm, her father, would not go to battle with any man's scott unpaid."

And na stinge nan mann æfter heora dæge. (W 30) "And may no man lay claim to that land after their day."

And ic nylle nane men geþafian þæt þær geutige ænig þæra þinga þæs þe þær into hyrð. (H 96) "And I do not wish to permit any man that (he) take away any of those things which belong thereto."

2. nænig.

...and siððan neniggra meihanda ma ðes cynnes. (B 404) "...and afterwards to no other member of the family."

And ða sprece nænig mon uferran dogor on nænge oðre halfe oncærrende sie nymne swæ þis gewrit hafað. (B 318) "And let no one in later days pervert the transaction in any other direction except as this writ has."

Ec swelce ic Ælfred dux and Werburg biddað...ðæt nænig mon seo to ðon gedyrstig ðætte ðas halgan beoc aselle... (S 175) "Also, I, Duke Alfred, and Werburg command...that no one be that daring that he take away this holy book..."

Adverbs Used as Negatives (ne, na, næfre)

1. ne always precedes an inflected verb form.

Gif hit þæt ne sio þonne selle hio him... (B 558) "If it may not be that, then she is to give to him..."

Þa gyt heo ne moste landes brucan ær... (B 1064) "Still she was not able to enjoy the land before..."

...and menig god þegen and god wif þe we ealle atellan ne magon. (R 66) "...and many a good thane and good woman, all of whom we cannot enumerate."

2. na.

And heo...selle...þara oþra ælcum twegum and ofer hiere dæg to Winteceastre þam niwan hierede for mine sawle to habbenne and to brucenne and na of þam mynstre to sellanne. (B 678) "And she is to give to the others each two (pennies) and after her day to Winchester for the New Minster for my soul for holding and enjoying and not for granting from the monastery."

For ðon hit was his læn ðæt he onsæt he ne meahte na his forwyrcan. (B 591) "Because it was his grant that he occupied, he could never forfeit it."

And na stinge nan mann æfter heora dæge on þæt land buton se hired æt Cristes circean. (W 30) "And never may any man lay claim to that land after their day except the brotherhood at Christchurch."

Ða næs Æðelm na fullice geðafa ær we eodan into cinge. (B 591) "Then Æthelm did not fully agree until (before) we went into the king."

3. næfre.

And se ðe þas foreward to breke ne gewurðe hit him næfre forgifen. (B 1318) "And he who breaks this agreement, may it never be forgiven him."

Ða cwæð ic ðæt ic him wolde fylstan to ryhte and næfre to nanan wo on ða gerada ðe he his me uðe. (B 591) "Then I said that I would help him in justice and never in anything else on the agreement that he grant me his (land)."

...to habbenne and to brucenne and næfre ut to sellanne (B 678) "...to hold and to enjoy and never to grant outside (the monastery)."

And he næfre ne wurthe [sic] on his myltse gemet ac he sy amansumod of þam gemanan. (B 1306) "And may he never be found in his mercy but may he be outlawed from the community."

Conjunctions Used as Negatives (næs, ne, nowþer ne...ne)

1. næs.

And suilc man sue hit awege ðonne se hit on his sawale nas on ðes ðe hit don het. (B 403) "And whoever destroys it, then may it be on his soul not on his who commanded it done."

2. ne joins negative clauses or elliptical constructions.

Þa næfde he hwanon ne he hit Eadwearde his breðer geðafian nolde. (B 1063) "Then he did not have means nor would he permit it from Eadweard, his brother."

Þa cwæþ hio þæt hio ne mihte hyre dæles ne he his. (R 66) "Then she said that she could not (do so) for her part nor (could) he for his."

3. nowþer ne...ne joins two units of the same type.

And leof hwonne bið engu spæc geendedu gif mon ne mæg nowðer ne mid feo ne mid aða geendigan. (B 591) "And, beloved, when is any suit settled if one is not able either with money or with an oath to settle (it)?"

Double Negatives

Some sentences contain more than one negative expression or double negatives. However, this is not an essential feature since

we find practically the same statements repeated with single negatives. Out of 75 negative statements, only 16 (21%) are double negatives. The purpose of the double negative seems to be emphasis of the negative idea by repetition.

Double negatives occur in the following combinations (translations are literal to show the use of the negatives).

1. Negative pronoun plus negative adverb or negative verb form.

...hit is wyrse þe uncer naðor hit næbbe. (B 1063) "...it is worse that neither of us should not have it."

...swa þæt nan þæra cyninga ðe cumað æfter me...ðiss ne awende. (B 1267) "...so that none of the kings who come after me may not change this."

...cwæð ðæt he nan ryhtre geðencan ne meahte. (B 591) "...said that he was not able to conceive nothing more right."

...ðæt ðer ðeara nan ne sie ðe londes weorðe sie. (B 412) "...that there might not be none of them who would be worthy of the land."

2. Negative adjective plus negative adverb or negative verb form.

...þæt nan oþer ne sy. (H 24) "...so that no other may not be."

And na stinge nan mann æfter heora dæge on þæt land. (W 30) "And may no man not lay claim to that land after their day."

And ic nylle nane men geþafian þæt... (H 96) "And I do not wish to permit to no man that..."

...forþan þær syþþan nan freondscype nære. (R 66) "...because afterwards no friendship would not be there."

Similar statements with single negatives.

And ic nelle þæt æfre ænig mann þis abrece be minum freondscipe. (H 28) "And I do not wish that ever any man should break this by my friendship."

Forþan ic nylle geþafian þæt him ænig mann æt ænigan þingan misbeode. (H 115) "Therefore, I do not wish to permit that any man do him wrong in any thing."

And ic ne eom gecnawe þæt ic ænigean menn geafe þa socne þanon ut. (H 24) "And I am not aware that I have given the soc then out to any man."

3. Negative verb form or negative adverb plus negative adverb.

Forðon hit wæs his læn ðæt he onsæt he ne meahte na his forwyrcan. (B 591) "Because it was his grant that he occupied, he might not never forfeit it."

Ða næs Æðelm na fullice geðafa... (B 591) "Then Æthelm was not never fully agreed..."

And he næfre ne wurthe [sic] on his myltse gemet... (B 1306) "And may he never not be found in his mercy..."

And se ðe þas foreward to breke ne gewurðe hit him næfre forgifen. (B 1318) "And he who breaks this agreement, may it not be forgiven him never."

4. Combination of two negative adjectives or a negative adverb and negative conjunction.

And ða sprece nænig mon uferran dogor on nænge oðre halfe oncærrende sie. (B 318) "And let no one in later days pervert the transaction in no other direction..."

...gif mon ne mæg nowðer ne mid feo ne mid aða geendigan... (B 591) "...if one may not settle (the suit) neither with money nor with oaths."

CHAPTER VI

SYNTACTIC SIGNALS: NOUN, PRONOUN, AND ADJECTIVE

Certain syntactic relations are denoted by inflection of the noun, pronoun, and adjective. A single inflection indicates, or may indicate, case, number, and grammatical gender simultaneously. However, no inflection represents either case or number or gender alone since all three are requisite for each noun occurrence and since there is only one inflection per noun occurrence. In the period of Old English represented by this corpus, the inflections are not completely differentiated for each case, number, and gender. We find the same inflection for different cases, different genders, and different numbers in varying combinations. Therefore, it is only by working within a frame of reference, that is, by knowing the gender of a noun and the class to which it belongs and by knowing the possibilities of inflection within this class, that one can recognize the case or number or gender of a particular noun from its form. Often in a concord group, a noun with its modifiers, either the demonstrative pronoun or an adjective will have a distinctive form or the combination of inflections will be distinctive for case and number.

Gender

The term gender has two meanings. One refers to grammatical gender, which is a morphological classification of nouns into groups,

the members of which follow the same declension pattern and require the same forms of the demonstrative pronouns and other modifiers. The other refers to the actual or physical gender of human beings: natural gender. All references to gender in this work pertain to grammatical gender unless otherwise stated.

In Old English grammar there seems to be no necessary correlation between the two types of gender except when the third person singular personal pronouns refer to human beings. Otherwise, we find inanimate objects and abstract nouns assigned to masculine, feminine, and neuter categories; we find nouns denoting masculine and feminine human beings assigned to the neuter category and feminine human beings assigned to the masculine category. Some examples of the disparity between grammatical and natural gender are the following:

wifman	"woman"	declined as a masculine noun
wif	"wife, woman"	" " " neuter "
boc	"book"	" " " feminine "
dæg	"day"	" " " masculine "
word	"word"	" " " neuter "

Nouns

Although the Old English nouns have three grammatical genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, the gender distinction is mostly the opposition of masculine-neuter versus feminine since the neuter nouns are declined according to the masculine pattern except in the nominative and accusative plural. However, the demonstrative pronouns and other modifiers often indicate the gender when there would otherwise be ambiguity.

The only inflection which is distinctive for gender is the strong masculine nominative and accusative plural: -as.

And hæfdon hit cynegas oð Eadmund cinc. (B 1097) "And kings had it until King Eadmund."

A noun does not change gender, but sometimes there are corresponding or equivalent masculine and feminine forms which may or may not relate the grammatical gender with the natural gender:

hlaford	"lord"	masculine	grammatical	gender
hlæfdige	"lady"	feminine	"	"
abbad	"abbot"	masculine	"	"
abbodesse	"abbess"	feminine	"	"
bryd	"bride"	feminine	"	"
brydguma	"bridegroom"	masculine	"	"
mann	"man"	masculine	"	"
wifman	"woman"	masculine	"	"
(mægden	"maiden"	neuter	"	")
(bearn	"child"	neuter	"	")

Pronouns

1. The 1st and 2nd persons of the personal pronouns have no forms that indicate gender, the same form being used for both male and female.

The 3rd person of the personal pronouns has masculine, feminine, and neuter forms in the singular but the same form in the plural for all genders.

The 3rd person singular personal pronoun usually agrees in natural gender with the individual referred to.

Eadgifu cyþ þam arcebiscop and Cristes Cyrcean hyrede hu hire land com æt Culingon. (B 1064) "Eadgifu makes known to the archbishop and the brotherhood of Christchurch how her land at Culingan came."

Æðelstan cyng gefreode Eadelm forraðe þæs ðe he ærest cyng wæs. (B 639) "King Æthelstan freed Eadelm as soon as he was first king."

...þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif [neut.] ða hwile ðe hia [fem.] hit mid clennisse gehaldan wile... (B 412) "...then my will is that my wife is to have it the while that she will hold it with chastity."

> And he ann his wife [neut.] þæs landes...þa hwile hire [fem.] dæg beo. (B 1317) "And he grants the land to his wife... the while her day (life) may be."

Exceptions: (the first example probably falls in the realm of uncertainty since the natural gender of the unborn child is unknown).

> ...is min willa gif me God bearnes [neut.] unnan wille ðæt hit [neut.] foe to londe æfter me... (B 412) "...my will is, if God will grant to me a child, that it is to inherit the land after me..."

> Se fruma wæs þæt mon forstæl ænne wimman [masc.]...þurwif hatte se wimman. Þa befeng Ælfsige þone mann [masc.] æt Wulfstane... Þa tymde Wulfstan hine [masc.] to Æþelstane... (B 1063) "The beginning was that one stole a woman... The woman was called Thurwif. Then Ælfsige traced the man (person -- Thurwif) to Wulfstan... Then Wulfstan vouched him (Thurwif) to Æthelstan..."

The 3rd person singular personal pronouns which refer to inanimate nouns agree with the grammatical gender of the word.

> Seo stow [fem.] wæs gehalgod...þam halga Petre...and heo wæs geglengd þurh Godes sylfes wundra... (B 1267) "The place was dedicated...to St. Peter...and it was embellished by the miracles of God himself..."

> ...þonne foe he to ðæm londe [neut.] and hit [neut.] forgelde... (B 318) "...then he is to inherit the land and pay for it..."

In the 3rd person singular personal pronoun, these forms are distinctive for gender:

Masc.	he, hine
Fem.	hiere
Neut.	hit

2. In the demonstrative pronoun se, seo, þæt, these forms are distinctive for gender:

Masc.	se, þone
Fem.	seo, þære
Neut.	ðæt

In the demonstrative pronoun þes, þeos, þis, these forms are distinctive for gender:

Masc.	þes, þisne
Fem.	þeos, þisse
Neut.	þis

3. Possessive pronouns are declined as strong adjectives and have the same gender distinctions (see Adjectives, below).

4. The most common relative pronoun, þe, is indeclinable. When se, seo, þæt is used as a relative pronoun, it agrees with its antecedent in gender.

5. Indefinite pronouns are declined as masculine nouns.

Adjectives

The declensions for adjectives give different forms for masculine, feminine, and neuter genders so that an adjective may agree in gender with any noun it modifies.

1. In the strong declension we find the following distinctive forms: singular, masc. -ne; fem. -re.

...wið ælcne mann. (B 1063) "...by any man."

...on ælre þeode gewitnesse. (B 1064) "...on the testimony of all people."

2. In the weak declension there is only one inflection which distinguishes gender: singular, masc. -a.

Nu wæs se halga stede yuele forlætan. (B 1267) "Now the holy place was evilly abandoned."

Number

The conception of number is based principally on the dichotomy of one (singular) versus more than one (plural) except in the personal pronouns which indicate singular (one), dual (two), and plural (three or more) for the first and second persons only. The use of number is

logical according to the situation and meaning.

Inflection for number is syntactically pertinent in phrases or modification structures. The modifiers of a noun adopt inflections that show agreement in number with the noun.

...menig god þegen. (R 66) "...many a good thane." (masc. sing.)

...ealle mine þegenas. (H 24) "...all my thanes." (masc. pl.)

Seo stow wæs gehalgod... (B 1267) "The place was consecrated..." (fem. sing.)

...oðran halgan stowan... (W 16-2) "...other holy places..." (fem. pl.)

Nouns

Nouns have two numbers: singular (one) and plural (more than one). The inflections are often ambiguous unless one knows the gender of the noun and the declension to which it belongs. However, by form alone one can tell the number of a noun in four inflections: singular, -es; plural, -as, -um and -ena. All other noun inflections occur as both singular and plural although not necessarily in the same declension or the same class.

And ic gean Ælfgare minum suna þæs landes æt Hwipstede. (B 1306) "And I grant to Ælfgar, my son, the land at Hwipsted."

And hæfdon hit cynegas oð Eadmund cinc. (B 1097) "And kings had it until King Eadmund."

And Æthelsige leof cyð þis mine hlaforde and ealle mine freondum. (B 1317) "And Æthelsige, beloved, make this known to my lord and all my friends."

...habban Godes awyrgednysse and his halgena and minra yldrena... (B 1267) "...may (they) have God's curse and his saints' and my parents' (curse)."

If the gender and noun class are known, then there may be as many as three possibilities for the singular and three for the plural;

for instance, in the masculine a-declension, the singular endings are ø (zero ending), -es or -e, while the plural has -as, -a, or -um according to the case function. The neuter of the same class has three distinctions in the singular and three in the plural for short stem nouns: sg. ø, -es, -e; pl. -u, -a, -um; but for long stem nouns there are only two distinctions in the singular and two in the plural: sg. -es, -e; pl. -a, -um.

> And cing stod ǒwoh his honda æt Weardoran innan ǒon bure. (B 591) "And the king stood, washed his hands at Weardoran within the bower."
>
> Þa beod se bisceop his wer þam cynge. (B 1063) "Then the bishop offered his wer to the king."
>
> And þissera gewritu syndan þreo. (W 30) "And (there) are three of these writs."
>
> Þis syndon ðæra manna naman. (W 16-2) "These are those men's names."

Pronouns

1. The personal pronouns have forms to indicate three persons which can be singular or plural (or dual for the 1st and 2nd persons): 1st person refers to the writer himself or to the group (two or more people) of which he is a member (ic, wit, we); 2nd person refers to the individual or people addressed (animals or objects are not addressed in this corpus) (þu, git, ge); 3rd person refers to the individual, thing, people, or things written about or discussed (he, heo, hit, hie). The distinctions of person are dictated by the meaning and intention of the writer and have structural significance only in the concord or agreement between the subject and verb in person.

The personal pronouns have three numbers for the 1st and 2nd persons: singular (one), dual (two), and plural (three or more). The

3rd person has only singular and plural forms.

The 1st and 2nd persons each have three distinctive forms for the singular, dual, and plural numbers:

	1st Person			2nd Person		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom.	ic	wit	we	þu	git	ge
Gen.	min	uncer	ure	þin	incer	eower
Dat.-Acc.	me	unc	us	þe	inc	eow

The 3rd person has only singular and plural number:

Singular: he, his, hine (masc.); hiere (fem.); hit, his (neuter).
Plural: hiera (refers to all three genders).

2. The demonstrative pronoun se, seo, þæt has the following distinctions for number:

Singular		Plural
se, þæs, þone, þy	(masc.)	þara (all three genders)
seo, þære	(fem.)	
þæt, þæs	(neut.)	

The demonstrative pronoun þes, þeos, þis has the following distinctive forms for number:

Singular		Plural
þes, þisses, þisne, þys	(masc.)	þissa (all three genders)
þeos, þisse	(fem.)	
þis, þisses	(neut.)	

3. Other types of pronouns are inflected like the demonstratives or like nouns.

Adjectives

Adjectives in modification structures agree in number with the word they modify. An adjective which functions as a subject complement agrees with the subject in number.

1. In the strong declension of adjectives we find the following forms distinctive for number: singular, masc. -es, -ne; fem. -re; neut. -es; plural, all genders, -ra.

> ...ðanne ann ic...alles mines ærfes. (B 558) "...then I grant...all my property."
>
> ...mid micelre eaðmodnisse. (B 330) "...with great humility."
>
> ...and mittan fullne huniges. (B 330) "...and a mitta full of honey."
>
> ...and siððan neniggra meihanda ma ðes cynnes. (B 404) "...and afterwards to no more relations of the family."

2. In the weak declension of adjectives we find the following forms distinctive for number: singular, masc. -a; fem. -e; neut. -e; plural, -ena, -ra, -um.

> ...se him seald and gehealden sia hiabenlice bledsung. (B 405) "...may the heavenly blessing be given and held to him."
>
> ...ðæt is þonne Werburg and uncer gemene bearn. (B 558) "...that is, then, Werburg and our mutual child."

Case

Case is determined by the function of a word in a sentence, clause, or phrase. According to its function, a noun or pronoun takes a particular case and the modifiers of that noun or pronoun are inflected to agree in case; however, nouns in any case may be governed by other nouns or pronouns in the genitive case.

Word groups or phrases composed of a noun plus its modifiers which show this correlation of number, gender, and case agreement are called concord groups.

Part of the meaning of inflectional signals is case, which indicates the function of a noun, pronoun, or adjective in a specific phrase, clause, or sentence. Old English had five cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, and instrumental. All are commonly used except the instrumental, which is rare and difficult to ascertain.

There has been a great difference of opinion on the role case plays in Old English syntax. Fries estimated that "less than 10% of those (words) syntactically nominative or accusative (subject-object) lack distinctive case endings."[1] A later survey by Saitz revealed that 59% of the total number of subject-object patterns were inflectionally non-distinctive.[2]

It does not take much study of the inflectional patterns to see that many of the inflections are repeated for different cases, sometimes both singular and plural and in different genders. It is this overlapping or multiplicity of possibilities that causes confusion and ambiguity. Certainly if one takes the word and its inflectional morpheme in isolation, he finds few inflections that are limited to one case, even if he disregards the differences in number and gender.

Old English syntax does not depend on any one type of signal alone to indicate grammatical relationships. Case is an important

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[1]Fries, "On the Development of the Structural Use of Word-Order in Modern English," Language, XVI (1940), p. 200.

[2]Saitz, op. cit., p. 83.

means of indicating function where it is clearly unambiguous; however, concord (the agreement in number and gender) and word order operate simultaneously with case inflection and often aid to clear up any ambiguity.

Therefore, since only distinctive or unique forms may be used in an accurate descriptive study of case and since the noun alone has few inflections that are distinctive, we have to rely to a great extent on the concord group, made up of the noun plus its article and modifying adjectives, to indicate case, for often, although no one word clearly indicates the case, the combination of inflections eliminates other possibilities and limits the case to one. After word order patterns and other patterns of usage have been established on indisputable evidence, then ambiguous examples may be interpreted in terms of the pattern.

Nouns

1. Nominative case. Nouns in the nominative case can be distinguished by form alone in few instances because the same form serves for both the nominative and accusative cases in the following places:

Strong nouns:

Masculine and neuter nouns, nominative and accusative, singular and plural;
Feminine nouns, nominative and accusative plural.

Consonantal stems:

All genders, nominative and accusative plural;
Masculine and neuter, nominative and accusative singular, excepting the -n stems.

Among the strong nouns only the feminine o-declension (including -jo and -wo) has a unique form for the nominative singular, which is -u (giefu "gift") or Ø (lar "wisdom").

Of the consonantal stems only the n-stems have unique forms for the nominative: the masculine singular -a and the feminine singular -e.

Modifiers of nouns have the following distinctive nominative forms:

Demonstrative pronouns

Masculine nominative singular: sē "that" and þes "this"
Feminine nominative singular: seo "that" and þeos "this"

Strong adjectives

Masculine nominative singular: Ø
Feminine nominative singular: -u or Ø

Weak adjectives

Masculine nominative singular: -a
Feminine nominative singular: -e

The above-listed unambiguous forms of nouns and their modifiers have been used as evidence for the nominative case in the following examples.

a. Nouns in the nominative case used as basic elements of the sentence.

(1) Subject of the verb. The noun which agrees with the verb in person and number and which often immediately precedes or follows the verb is the subject and is in the nominative case.

Seo stow was gehalgod. (B 1267) "The place was consecrated."

Þa beod se bisceop his wer. (B 1063) "Then the bishop asked for his wer."

...þæt min cwide standan mote. (B 1306) "...that my will might stand."

Se cyning sealde Wullafe fif sulung landes. (B 496) "The king gave Wullafe five swulungs of land."

Se fruma wæs þæt... (B 1063) "The beginning was that..."

(2) Complement of the subject. The subject complement is a noun in the nominative case accompanying a form of beon; it gives a definite term or name for the pronoun subject of the verb beon.

...and bæd me ðæt ic him wære forespeca. (B 591) "...and asked me that I be advocate for him."

...Aþeluuold bisceop þe his min rædbora. (B 1267) "...Bishop Athelwold, who is my advisor."

...for ðon hit wæs hire morgengifu. (B 591) "...because it was her morning gift."

The subject complement may also follow or precede the verb hatan in the sense "to be called, be named"; since both the subject and its complement are in the nominative case, they are functionally ambiguous. If we compare this construction with the beon-subject complement construction, we find that each has a noun or pronoun of more specific denotation (proper noun or particularizing noun). In the beon construction the more specific noun which gives a name to something or someone is the subject complement; therefore, by analogy, the general or common noun or relative pronoun in the hatan construction becomes the subject of the verb and the proper noun, which gives a name to something or someone, becomes the subject complement.

Þurwif hatte se wimman. (B 1063) "The woman was called Thurwif."

...þe fram cuþum mannum Teottingctun and Ælfsigestun sint gehatenne. (B 1233) "...which are called Teddington and Alston by men familiar with them."

Ic þa geeacnode þas ðry hamas ðe þus sind gehatene Meldeburna, Earnigaford, Northwold. (B 1267) "I then add the three villages which are thus called Melbourn, Erningford, Northwold."

And him ealdor gesette us eallum ful cuðne Brihtnoð gehaten. (B 1267) "And (he) appointed him elder, to all of us well known, called Brihtnoth."

(3) Direct address. Nouns used parenthetically without any grammatical relation to the functional structure of the sentence are used to address the person to whom the communication is directed. The first example is in the nominative case because the adjective leof has the Ø inflection of the nominative singular rather than the -ne of the accusative singular.

Nu bidde ic þe leof hlaford þæt... (B 1306) "Now I entreat you, beloved lord, that..."

Leof ic ðe cyðe... (B 591) "Beloved, I make known to you..."

b. Nouns in the nominative case used as modifiers.

(1) Appositives of nouns in the nominative case are in the nominative case also.

Æðelnoth se gerefa and Gænburg his wif aræddan... (B 318) "Æthelnoth, the reeve, and Gaenburg, his wife, arrange..."

Ic...and Beornðryð min gemecca sellað... (B 330) "I...and Beornthryth, my wife, give..."

(2) Titles of rank or nobility are in the nominative case when they modify nouns in the nominative case.

Eadward kingc gret Alfwold bisc... (H 1) "King Edward greets Bishop Alfwold..."

Ic Ælfred aldormon and Werburg min gefera begetan ðas bec... (S 175) "I, Alderman Ælfred, and Werburg, my wife, obtained these books..."

c. Nouns in the nominative case used as sub-units of modifiers. In one instance we find the nominative case used after the preposition on in a prepositional phrase which modifies the verb. This may or may not be a scribal error.

Her is on sio swutelung hu Ælfhelm his are geuadod hæfð. (B 1306)
"Here in the declaration is how Ælfhelm has given his property."

2. Accusative Case. There is no distinctive accusative case form, either singular or plural, for any type of noun in Old English of this period. Therefore, the accusative case can be identified only when the demonstrative pronouns and other modifiers of the nouns have distinctive forms.

The demonstrative pronouns have unique forms in the masculine accusative singular: þone "that" and þisne "this."

The strong adjective in the masculine accusative singular has the unique inflection -ne.

a. Nouns in the accusative case used as basic elements in the sentence.

(1) Direct object of the verb.

And ðæne aþ nam Wulfsige. (B 1097) "And Wulfsige took the oath."

...þæt he hæbbe...þone bryce. (B 1318) "...that he have... the profit."

Ic gebocige...sumne dæl landes. (R 94) "I deed ...a certain part of the land."

And gif ænig man...þisne cwyde wille awendan... (R 101)
"And if anyone...wishes to change this will..."

Ic agife þinne wer þam cynge. (B 1064) "I give your wer to the king."

The verb unnan "to grant" usually takes a direct object in the genitive case but in three sentences we find the direct object in the accusative case. These sentences are all from the same document (W 20) which is in the West Saxon dialect and is dated 1015. Therefore it may be assumed that this usage is late in the OE period

and peculiar to this dialect.

And ic geann into niwan mynstre ænne sylfrene hwer. (W 20) "And I grant a silver cauldron to Newminster."

And ic geann ænne sylfrene mele. (W 20) "And I grant a silver cup."

Ic geann Ælfsige ænne blacne stedan. (W 20) "I grant a black steed to Ælfsige."

(2) Object complement. A noun in the accusative case which is not the direct object of the verb and which has the same referent as the direct object is a complement of the direct object and gives the result of the action of the verb on the direct object. Only one example occurs in this corpus; although the noun flyma is a weak noun and the inflection is ambiguous, the pronoun hine is clearly the direct object in the accusative case; therefore we may consider the complement to be also in the accusative case.

And tu hine hete ða flyman. (B 591) "And you declared him then (an) outlaw."

b. Nouns in the accusative case used as modifiers.

(1) Appositives of nouns in the accusative case are also in the accusative case.

And se cyng het þone arcebisceop Wulfstan þærto boc settan. (R 83) "And the king commanded the archbishop, Wulfstan, to draw up a charter to this effect."

Wulfstan arcebisc gret Cnut cyning his hlaford. (H 27) "Archbishop Wulfstan greets King Cnut, his lord."

(2) Titles of rank or nobility are in the accusative case when the nouns they modify are in the accusative case.

Eadward kingc gret Alfwold bisc and Harold eorl and Alfred scyrgereuan and ealle mine þegenes. (H 1) "King Edward greets Bishop Alfwold and Earl Harold and Sheriff Alfred and all my thanes."

(3) Adverbial accusative. Occasionally a noun in the accusative case which does not function as a basic element of the sentence, a modifier, or an object of a preposition is used adverbially to modify the verb and gives extent of time.

> And ic gean Ælfgare þæs landes his dæg. (B 1306) "And I grant that land to Ælfgar for his day (during his life)."

> And ic...bebiade...ðet he ðis wel healde his dei and siððan forð bebeode his erbum to healdenne ða hwile ðe hit Cristen se... (B 403) "And I order that he keep this well during his life and afterwards command his heirs to keep (it) the while (period of time) that it be Christian."

> And heo...feormige þrie dagas þa Godes þeowas... (B 678) "And she is then to support (provide food for) God's servants for three days."

c. Nouns in the accusative case used as sub-units of modifiers.

(1) Object of preposition.

(a) for: indicates benefit for a person (see for under dative case, p. 122).

> Þa bæd seo wuduwe Ælfric and Æðelmær þæt hig þone cincg bædon þæt heo moste gesyllan hire morgengyfe into Cristes Cyrcean for ðone cincg and ealne his leodscype. (W 16-2) "Then the widow prayed Ælfric and Æthelmær that they beg the king that she might give her morning-gift to Christchurch for the king and all his people."

> And ic wille þæt Æffe feormige þa Godes þeowas æt Cynetanbyrig þrie dagas on twelf monþum ænne dæg for me oþerne for minne fæder þriddan for minne ieldranfæder. (B 678) "And I wish that Æffe provide three days' food-rent in twelve months (annually) for God's servants at Canterbury: one day for me, the second for my father, the third for my grandfather."

(b) fore.

> ...þonne foe he to ðæm londe and hit forgealde and ðæt wiorð gedæle fore hiora gastas... (B 318) "...then he is to inherit the land and pay for it and distribute the value (worth) for their souls..."

(c) ofer: indicates time, after a period of time.

And ic an þæs landes æt Ingepenne ofer minne dæg Æffan. (B 678) "And I grant the land at Inkpen after my day to Æffe."

Ic Wulfgar an þæs landes æt Collingaburnan ofer minne dæg Æffan hiere dæg. (B 678) "I, Wulfgar, grant the land at Collingbourn after my day to Æffe for her day."

(d) on: an equivalent or something representing something else (see to under dative case, p. 124); also indicates a particular time.

...þæt is ðonne þæt he sealde Eadgyuan his sweostor an marc goldes...on geceapodne ceap... (R 104) "...that is, then, that he gave Eadgife, his sister, one mark of gold...in (as) bargained payment..."

And heo...formige þrie dagas þa Godes þeowas þær min lic reste on þone gemynddæg... (B 678) "And she...is to sustain for three days God's servants where my body rests on the commemoration day."

(e) ongean: (Noun is either nominative or accusative).

...þæt hi wæron ealle to gewitnesse þæt Ælfric sealde Wynflæde þæt land æt Hacceburnan and æt Bradanfelda ongean þæt land æt Deccet. (R 66) "...that they were all as witnesses that Ælfric gave Wynflaed the land at Hagborne and at Bradfield in return for the land at Datchet."

(f) ðurh.

Gode ælmihtigum rixiende ðe ræt and gewissad eallum gesceaftum þurh his agenne wisdom... (B 1267) "By Almighty God the ruler who governed and directed all creatures through his own wisdom..."

And se þe þysne cwyde þurh ænig þingc awende... (W 20) "And he who changes this will on account of any thing..."

(g) wið: indicates relationship between parties to an agreement (see also wið plus dative case, p. 124).

...oððe to oþran forewyrdan swa hit man þænne findan mage wið þone arcebisceop... (R 101) "...or in accordance with such other arrangements as one may find then with the archbishop..."

...seo geredness ðe Eadric hæfð wið ðane hired... (B 1010) "...the agreement that Eadric has with the brotherhood..."

(h) ymb: (forms are either nominative or accusative).

...hu min willa is þæt mon ymb min ærfe gedoe. (B 412) "...how my will is that one do concerning my property."

Leof ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs ymb ðæt lond at Funtial. (B 591) "Beloved, I make known to you how it was concerning that land at Fonthill."

3. Genitive case. Nouns in the genitive case are easily recognizable because there are distinctive inflections for the noun itself in most of the noun classes. There are also distinctive forms for the demonstrative pronouns and modifiers.

All masculine and neuter nouns except u-, n-, and r-stems have the distinctive ending -es in the genitive singular.

All masculine and neuter nouns except u- and n-stems have the distinctive ending -a in the genitive plural.

Masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns of the n-stem class have the distinctive ending -ena in the genitive plural.

The demonstrative pronoun se, seo, þæt has distinctive genitive forms for the masculine and neuter singular, þæs, and the masculine, feminine, and neuter plural, þara.

The demonstrative pronoun þes, þeos, þis has distinctive genitive forms for the masculine and neuter singular, þisses, and the masculine, neuter, and feminine plural, þissa.

The strong adjective declension and the possessive pronouns have distinctive genitive forms for the masculine, neuter singular,

-es, and the masculine, neuter, and feminine plural, -ra.

The weak adjective declension has distinctive genitive inflections for the masculine, neuter, and feminine plural, -ena, -ra.

The genitive case is used extensively in Old English to indicate a number of relationships between two nouns as well as between nouns and other parts of speech. Some of the categories are easily set off and defined; others are vague and somewhat overlapping, one category tending to shade into another.

a. Nouns in the genitive case used as basic elements of the sentence.

(1) Direct object of certain verbs.

(a) ætsacan.

Þa ætsoc Goda þæs feos ægiftes. (B 1064) "Then Goda denied the restitution of the property."

(b) benugan.

...wiððan ðe min wiif ðær benuge innganges. (B 412) "...on the condition that my wife possess entrance there."

(c) biddan.

And man wolde biddan þæs reaflaces þæt he hit sciolde agyfan. (R 66) "And one would ask (for) the plunder (spoils) that he should give it (up)."

Æfter þam bæd Ælfsige ægiftes his mannes. (B 1063) "After that, Ælfsige asked restitution of his man."

Þa gesohte Æðelstan Eadgar cyng and bæd domes. (B 1063) "Then Æthelstan sought King Edgar and asked (for) judgment."

(d) brucan.

And hie brucen londes. (B 417) "And they are to enjoy the land."

...ðæt sio þæt ðes londes bruce... (B 558) "...that she who enjoys the land..."

...ðæt he most ðes landes brucan. (B 591) "...that he might enjoy that land."

(e) ofteon.

And ofteah Ælfrice his breðer landes. (B 1097) "And Ælfrice withheld his brother's land."

(f) unnan.

...gif me God bearnes unnan wille... (B 412) "...if God will grant to me a son (child)..."

Ic Wulfgar an þæs landes... (B 678) "I, Wulfgar, grant the land..."

And he gean for his sawle þæs landes... (B 1306) "And he grants the land for his soul..."

(g) wiernan.

Þa he on wigge afeallen wæs þa ætsoc Goda þæs feos ægiftes and þæs landes wyrnde. (B 1064) "When he was killed in battle, then Goda denied the restitution of the property and withheld the land."

(h) wealdan.

...þæt is ærest Ælfgeofu seo hlæfdie þe þæs mynstres walt. (R 81) "...that is first Ælfgeofu, the lady, who controls (governs) the monastery."

(2) Complement of the subject (with the verb beon)

(Noun used as adjective equivalent.)

...þe ða on Englalande lifes wæron. (R 83) "...who then were alive in England."

...suæ hweðer hiora suæ leng lifes were. (B 318) "...whichever of them may be alive longer."

...gif he ðonne lifes bið. (B 412) "...if he then be alive."

(3) Genitive absolute. The absolute construction is grammatically independent of the rest of the sentence; it seems to express the modal relation of attendant circumstances in the one example from this corpus.

And wende Æðelstan hine eft into Sunnanbyrg ungebetra þinga. (B 1063) "And Æthelstan returned again to Sunbury, things (being) unatoned."

b. Nouns in the genitive case used as modifiers.

(1) Noun as head word. The majority of nouns in the genitive case are used with other nouns in a modification structure which indicates a number of grammatical relations. In general, the genitive case seems to indicate limitation or individualization, much like an adjective modifying a noun, and sets the modified noun off from the general class to a more specific one. Since nouns in the genitive case usually precede the noun they modify, there seems to be no formal characteristic for determining the category of a particular genitive other than meaning. Since the various meanings sometimes lend themselves to various interpretations, the categories listed are necessarily suggestive rather than conclusive.

(a) Appositives of nouns in the genitive case are in the genitive case.

...for mines leofan fæder sawle Æþelredes cyncges. (W 20) "...for my beloved father's soul, King Æthelred's."

...in ures drihtnes naman hælendes Cristes. (R 94) "...in our Lord's name, the Savior Christ's."

(b) Titles which modify nouns in the genitive case are in the genitive case.

...on Æþelstanes kyninges gewitnesse. (B 1064) "...on King Æthelstan's testimony"

Her is seo hondseten Oswoldes bisceopes. (B 1233) "Here is the signature of Bishop Oswold."

(c) Possessive genitive. One of the most important functions of the genitive case is to show possession. What goes in this category depends upon how broadly one interprets the

meaning of "to possess." Literal possession includes only tangible objects or material possessions owned or actually held by a person.

...ðæt he Æðeredes belt forstæl. (B 591) "...that he stole Æthe(l)red's belt."

And he ealra cininga cynedom gewylt. (B 1267) "And he rules all kings' kingdom."

Þis is Æðelwyrdes cwide. (B 1010) "This is Æthelwyrd's will."

Another type of possession includes something tangible or intangible which is characteristic, an integral part or due to the nature of the person or thing.

...to ðæs cinges handa. (B 1097) "...to the king's hands."

...mid nanes mannes scette unagifnum. (B 1064) "...with no man's scott unpaid."

...to Godes ciricum. (B 558) "...to God's churches."

...on Angelcynnes ealonde. (B 558) "...in the English race's island."

...for Ælfredes sawle. (B 558) "...for Alfred's soul."

...an Godes naman. (B 403) "...in God's name."

...ðerh Sancti Cuthberhtes earnunga. (B 631) "...through St. Cuthbert's merit."

(d) The genitive of personal relationship is fairly common and might be considered a part of the possessive genitive. The noun in the genitive represents the person to whom service, obligation, or allegiance is due, the superior or elder party, the more familiar or better known, or the one closer at hand.

...forðon he wæs cinges mon. (B 591) "...because he was the king's man."

Wulfsige þæs cynges gerefa. (R 103) "Wulfsige, the king's reeve."

...þaet he beo his wifes freond and his dohter. (B 1317) "...that he be his wife's and daughter's friend."

...ðe ðær Godes ðiowas siondan. (B 330) "...who are God's servants there."

Ic an þæs landes Ceolstanes sunum anes. (B 678) "I grant of the land one to Ceolstan's son."

(e) Relationship between inanimate things: the noun modified is related to, associated with, pertains to, or represents the modifier.

Ðis siondan ðes londes boec et Wassingwellan. (B 496) "These are the deeds of the land at Wassingwell."

...for þæs landes ðingon. (W 16-2) "...for the affairs (business, property, articles) of the land."

Ic hæbbe Sunnanburges boc. (B 1063) "I have Sunbury's deed."

...end ðæs londes friodom æt Hæccaham. (B 416) "...and the freedom (charter) of the land at Hawkham."

[He]...betæhte him þæt land þæs feos to anwedde. (B 1064) "(He)...made over to him that land as security for the property."

(f) The subjective genitive indicates in the modifier the author or performer of an act or deed, the result of which (the head word) is an abstract or intangible noun.

...mid mines arweorðan heorodes geðafuncga and leafe. (B 609) "...with my worthy brotherhood's consent and permission."

...mid geðæhte Odan arcebiscopæs and ðæs hioredæs. (B 1010) "...with the advice of Archbishop Odan and the brotherhood."

...habban Godes awyrgednysse. (B 1267) "...may (they) have God's curse."

Her is seo hondseten Oswoldes bisceopes and unna þæs hieredes. (B 1233) "Here is the signature of Bishop Oswold and the consent of the brotherhood."

...æfter regole þæs halgan Benedictes. (B 1267) "...after the rule of the holy Benedict."

...þurh Godes wissunge. (B 1267) "...through God's guidance."

...on þa oferhyda þære geætledan deofles lare. (R 94) "...in the arrogance of the devil's poisoned teaching."

...þurh Cristes foresceawunge. (B 1267) "...through Christ's providence."

...æfter mynegungum Aþeluuoldes biscopes. (B 1267) "...after Bishop Athelwold's admonition."

(g) The objective genitive indicates in the modifier the object or recipient of an act or deed implied or inherent in the head word.

...on þæs arcebiscopes gemede. (R 101) "...to the archbishop's satisfaction."

Þis syndon þa gewitnysse þæs cwydes. (W 30) "These are the witnesses of the will."

...and him anweald gesealdan ealra cynerihta. (B 1063) "...and gave to him control of all royal prerogatives."

...to þam ðe þæn ah mynstres geweald. (R 81) "...to them who then possess control of the monastery."

...and Godes lof geedniwian. (B 1267) "...and renew praise of God."

...þæt he him geþingude wiþ Eadgife his boca edgift. (B 1064) "...that he arrange the restitution of his deeds for him with Eadgife."

...be ðæs geltes meðe. (B 1010) "...according to the measure of the crime."

(h) The partitive genitive represents the whole or a general term from which a specified or unspecified amount or number is set off.

...on þam ytmestan dæge þyses lifes. (B 1233) "...on the last day of this life."

sum, sum dæl: "some, one, a certain part of."

Þa wæs ic ðara monna sum ðe ðærto genemned wæran. (B 591) "Then I was one of the men who were called thereto."

Ic landes sumne dæl sumum cnihte forgeaf. (B 1233) "I gave a certain part of the land to a certain knight."

Ic gebocige sumne dæl landes minan holdan þegene. (R 94) "I deed a certain part of the land to my loyal thane."

And fo se arcebisceop gyf he leng libbe þænne hi oððe loc hwa his æftergencga þænne beo butan sum heora freonda þa land furþor. (R 101) "And the archbishop inherits if he live longer than they or whoever is his successor then unless one of their friends can continue to hold the lands."

In only two examples is the genitive not used with sum:

Ic landes sumne dæl sumum cnihte forgeaf. (B 1233) "I gave a certain part of the land to a certain knight."

Þa æfter þysan manegum gearum soc Wulfstan and his sunu Wulfric on sum þæt land. (R 83) "Then many years after this, Wulfstan and his son Wulfric brought a claim against some of the land."

Fela: "much, many."

...ðaet hiae...gegeorwien ten hund hlafa and swae feola sufla. (B 330) "...that they...prepare ten hundred loaves and as many suflas."

...and ofer swa feala þegna swa ic him tolætan hæbbe. (H 28) "...and over as many thanes as I have permitted to him."

Partitive genitive with specific amounts, measures, numbers.

...þæt heo hæbbe ælce gere to þam tune ealra gearwæstma þa þrie dælas. (B 678) "...that she have each year from the town three parts of all the yearly produce."

Se cyning...gebocade Wullafe fif sulung landes. (B 496) "The king...deeded to Wullaf five sulongs of land."

And he geselle...XXX ombras cornes. (B 558) "And he gives thirty ambers of grain."

...mid ten pundan reodes goldes and hwites seolfres. (R 83) "...with ten pounds of red gold and white silver."

...and half hundred foðra cornes. (B 1318) "...and half a hundred loads of grain."

(i) Genitive of designation of specific time or place.

...innto Sancte Eadmundes byrig. (H 24) "...into St. Edmund's bury (borough)."

An is æt Cristes Cyrcean. (W 20) "One is at Christchurch."

And ic gean þæt land æt Hunstanes tune. (E 240) "And I grant the land at Hunstan's town."

...for þan lande et Tices welle. (E 240) "...for the land at Tice's Well."

...to Sancte Michælæs tide. (B 1010) "...to St. Michael's tide."

...þæs þe drihtnes gebyrtide wæs... (B 1233) "...since the Lord's birthday was..."

...æfter middessumeres mæssedæge. (W 20) "...after mid-summer's mass day."

(j) Descriptive or defining genitive.

...þæt gesibbra ærfeweard forðcymeð wepnedhades. (B 558) "...that an heir of the male sex comes forth of a kinswoman."

...gif hit wintres deg sie. (B 412) "...if it be a winter's day."

...to domes dæge. (B 1318) "...to the day of judgment."

...of lifes bocum. (B 1233) "...from the books of life."

...geholde hine heofenes cyning. (B 558) "...may heaven's king hold him."

(k) Genitive of extent or limit of time.

And he geann anes geares gafol. (B 1317) "And he grants the rent for one year."

...hæfde land mid bocum þara twegen cyninga dagas... (B 1064) "...had the land with deeds for the days of the two kings..."

...ofer ðreora monna dæg. (B 609) "...after the life of three men."

(l) Genitive of result.

...fore aedleane ðæs aecan and ðaes towardon lifes. (B 330) "...for the reward of the eternal and the future life."

(2) Pronoun as head word. Nouns functioning in the partitive genitive are used with the pronouns æghwylc, ælc, ænig, hwylc, and nan.

...ond eghwylce þara ærfewearda. (B 558) "...and each of the heirs."

...þæt ælc þara þinga stande. (W 16-1) "...that each of the things may stand."

...þæt ic hæbbe geunnan Criste ælc þæra þinga. (H 55) "...that I have granted to Christ each of those things."

And swa hwylc minra fædren mæga swa ðæt sio... (B 558) "And whichever of my father's kinsmen who lives..."

...þæt þær geutige ænig þæra þinga. (H 96) "...who takes away (from) there any of those things."

...swa þæt nan þæra cyninga ðe cumað æfter me... (B 1267) "...so that none of those kings who come after me..."

...ðæt ðer ðeara nan ne sie... (B 412) "...that there none of them may be..."

(3) Verb as head word. Nouns in the genitive case may function adverbially.

...þe þærinne Godes lof dreogan sceolan dæges and nihtes. (R 101) "...who therein shall celebrate God's praise day and night."

And þær geclænsude hire fæder þæs ægiftes be XXX punda aþe. (B 1064) "And there (she) cleansed her father of the restitution (payment) by an oath of thirty pounds."

And ic ann þæs landes...into nynnan mynstre Sancta Marian þances... (W 20) "And I grant the land...to the Nun's Minster through the favor of St. Mary..."

Þa cwæþ hio þæt hio ne mihte hyre dæles ne he his. (R 66) "Then she said that she could not (do so) for her part nor he for his."

Getiðode he ðæs for Cristes lufan...þæs costes ðe heo ðis gelæste and his cwyde fæste stode. (W 16-2) "He consented to this for Christ's love on the condition that she do this and his will might stand fast."

(4) Adjective as head word. An adjective which functions as a basic part of a sentence (subject complement) may have a noun complement in the genitive case.

...ðæt he moste beon ryhtes wyrðe. (B 591) "...that he be permitted to be entitled to the right."

...sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "...let it be free of each thing (burden)."

And bio he ælces wites wyrðe. (B 1010) "And he is to be entitled to each punishment (fine).

...to wyrðmynte ðæra apostola yldost. (B 1267) "...as honor to the eldest of the apostles."

...þæt þes mote beon eall swa rihta and gerysna wyrðe. (H 27) "...that this one is to be permitted to be also worthy of the rights and dignities."

c. Nouns in the genitive case used as sub-units of modifiers. In the following examples, prepositions are followed by nouns in the genitive case.

(1) to: (see p. 123, to with the dative case).

Ic...bebeode ðæt mon ymb twælfmonað hiora tid boega ðus geuueroðiæ to anes daeges to Osuulfes tide... (B 330) "I command that one thus celebrate annually their feast on one day at Oswulf's time..."

(2) þurh: (see p. 107, þurh with the accusative case).

And heo wæs geglengd þurh Godes sylfes wundra... (B 1267) "And it (the holy place) was embellished through (by) God's own wonders (miracles)."

4. Dative case. The dative case of nouns is distinguishable in most instances. Singular masculine and neuter nouns of all declensions have the distinctive inflection -e except some ja-stems (rice), some i-stems (wine), u-stems (sunu), n-stems (hunta), r-stems (fæder), the neuter þ-stems (ealu-ealoþ), root consonant stems (mann), and nd-stems (freond). These exceptions are small classes composed of words most of which occur infrequently. Every noun of all three genders has the distinctive inflection -um in the dative plural.

The demonstrative pronouns have distinctive forms in the masculine and neuter singular, þæm and þisum, while all genders have the dative plural þæm and þisum.

The strong masculine and neuter adjective, both singular and plural, has the inflection -um; the feminine dative plural of the strong adjective also has the inflection -um.

The weak adjective declension for masculine, feminine, and neuter plural has the inflection -um.

a. Nouns in the dative case used as basic elements of the sentence.

(1) Direct object of the verb.

(a) beorgan.

Þa dyde hio swa hio dorste hyre aþe gebiorgan. (R 66) "Then she did as she dared to protect her oath."

(b) cyþan.

...þæt he me cydde mines fæder worde. (W 20) "...that he made known to me my father's word."

(c) forgieldan.

Þa God forgylde þam cincge. (W 16-2) "Then God reward the king."

(d) hwierfan.

...þa hie ðem landum iehwerfed hafdan... (B 496) "...when they had exchanged the lands."

(e) wissian.

...ðe ræt and gewissad eallum gesceaftum. (B 1267) "...who governed and directed all creatures."

(2) Indirect object of the verb (always a human being).

Ic agife þinne wer ðam cynge. (B 1063) "I will pay your wer to the king."

Ic...gebocige sumne dæl lændes minan holdan and getreowan þegene. (R 94) "I deed a certain part of the land to my loyal and faithful thane."

...oð his laf his hergeatu þam cincge brohte... (W 16-2) "...until his wife brought his war-gear to the king."

(3) Person of benefit or interest (see p. 52).

...heo hæbbe...ealra gearwæstma þa þrie dælas and þone feorþan to Cynetanbyrig þam Godes þeowum... (B 678) "...she is to have three parts of all the year's produce and the fourth (is) for God's servants at Kintbury."

...butan ic wylle þæt man mæste minum wiue twa hund swyna. (B 1306) "...but I wish that one fatten 200 swine for my wife."

...ga þænne þæt land þam arcebisceope Eadsige. (R 101) "...then that land goes to the archbishop, Eadsige."

Sancta Maria and Sanctus Michahel...gemiltsien þis healdendum... (B 1233) "St. Mary and St. Michael be merciful to those who uphold this."

With passive verb constructions.

Wes hit becueden Osbearte. (B 404) "It was bequeathed to Osbeart."

Seo stow wæs gehalgod...þam halgan Petre. (B 1267) "The place was consecrated...to St. Peter."

b. Nouns in the dative case used as modifiers.

(1) Noun as head word.

(a) Appositive with other nouns in the dative case.

And ic gean Ælfgare minum suna þæs landes. (B 1306) "And I grant the land to Alfgar, my son."

(b) Title which modifies noun in the dative case.

...aet Wiglafe cyninge. (B 416) "...from King Wiglaf."

(2) Adjective as head word.

(a) Complement of adjective.

Ða ðuhte us eallan ðe æt ðære some wæran ðet Helmstan wære aðe ðæs ðe near. (B 591) "Then it seemed to all of us who were

at the reconciliation that Helmstan was so much nearer the oath."

(3) Verb as head word (see adverbial accusative, p. 106).

...hwet man elce gere...agiaban scel. (B 413) "...what one shall give each year."

...ðæt heo mon arede eghwelce monaðe... (S 175) "...that one is to read them each month..."

c. Nouns in the dative case used as sub-units of modifiers.

(1) Object of verbals.

(a) Infinitive.

...on eallan þingan þan abbude to bigleofan. (H 96) "...to support the abbot in all things."

(b) Gerund.

...to mundgenne his lafe and his bearne. (B 1063) "...for remembering his wife and child."

(2) Object of prepositions. Many prepositions take an object in the dative case; generally, they indicate position in time or space.

(a) æfter.

...æfter mynsterlicum þeawe. (B 1267) "...according to (after) monastic custom."

Þa æfter þysan manegum gearum... (R 83) "Then after these many years..."

(b) æt.

...æt ðæm cinge. (B 1097) "...from the king."

...æt hæðnum herge. (S 175) "...from the heathen army."

(c) ær.

...ær dæge. (R 83) "...before day."

(d) be.

...be þam arcebiscope. (R 66) "...by the archbishop."

...be minum fullan bebode. (H 1) "...by my full command."

(e) beforan.

...beforan þam cincge. (W 16-2) "...before the king."

...beforan þam ealdormen. (B 1306) "...before the nobleman."

(f) betweonan.

...betweonan Ælfstane abbude and þam hirede. (R 102) "...between Abbot Ælfstan and the brotherhood."

(g) betwux.

...betwux þam hirede...and Fuldre. (B 1318) "...between the brotherhood and Fulder."

(h) binnan.

...and binnon þrym gearum. (B 1318) "...and within three years."

...binnan þam iggoþe. (B 1367) "...within the island."

(i) butan.

...butan witena dome. (B 1097) "...without the judgment of the council."

...butan ðem merscum. (B 496) "...except the marshes."

(j) for: (see for used with the accusative, p. 106).

...for life and for legere. (B 1063) "...for life and for death."

(k) fram.

...fram ealdum dagum... (B 1267) "...from olden days..."

(l) in.

...ða ðe in eolonde sint. (B 631) "...those who were on the island."

(m) innan.

...innan ðon bure. (B 591) "...within the bower."

(n) into.

...into þam twam hundredum. (B 1267) "...into the two hundreds."

(o) mid.

...mid Godes þeowum. (B 1267) "...with God's servants."

...mid his selfes aðe. (B 1097) "...with his own oath."

(p) of.

...of lifes bocum. (B 1233) "...from life's books."

(q) on.

...on ðæm ðingum. (B 417) "...on the things."

(r) to. The preposition to has four different functions when it is used with the dative case (for to used with the genitive case, see p. 118).

Preposition indicating direction to or toward.

And he ða sænde to ðam arcebiscope. (B 1097) "And he then sent to the archbishop."

And ofer hiere dæg to þæm ealdan hierede. (B 678) "And after her day (it passes) to the old brotherhood."

A prepositional phrase composed of to plus a noun in the dative case accompanies the verbs fon "to inherit, succeed to" and limpan (belimpan) "to belong to, pertain to."

And se mann se to londe foe... (B 412) "And the man who may inherit the land..."

...swæ hueðer hiora swæ leng lifes were foe to londe and to alre æhta. (B 318) "...whichever of them who may be alive longer is to inherit the land and all property."

...ðe to ðæm lande belimppað. (B 1010) "...which belong to the land."

...and XXX ombra godes uuelesces aloð ðet limpeð to XV mittum. (B 330) "...and 30 ambers of good Welch ale which is equivalent to 15 mittas."

...mid allum ðingum ðe to landum belimpað. (B 558) "... with all the things which pertain to the lands."

A frequent construction is a prepositional phrase composed of to plus a noun in the dative case which is representative of or equivalent to something already mentioned; it is similar to the object complement and might be called an appositive phrase (see on plus the accusative case, p. 107).

Myrce gecuran Eadgar to cynge. (B 1063) "The Mercians chose Eadgar as king."

And (he) betæhte him þæt land þæs feos to anwedde. (B 1064) "And he made over to him the land as security for the money."

And þyses wæs Ælfgar to gewitnesse. (R 66) "And Ælfgar was as witness to this."

And ic geann him VI mæran mid VI coltan to þance. (B 1317) "And I grant to him six mares with six colts as thanks."

Periphrastic modifier (see p. 70).

Þa sende se cyning be Ælmere abbude his insegel to þam gemote. (R 66) "Then the king sent his seal to the meeting by Abbot Ælmer."

...ac ic hæbbe ealle þa spæce to Ælfhege læten. (B 1063) "...but I have assigned all the judgment to Ælfhege."

Þa tymde Wulfstan hine to Æþelstane. (B 1063) "Then Wulfstan vouched him to Æthelstan."

And heo cwæð to Osulfe ðæt heo hit ahte... (B 591) "And she said to Osulf that she possessed it..."

(r) under.

...under Cnute kuncge his leofue laforde. (E 240) "...under King Cnut, his beloved lord."

(s) wið: (wið plus the accusative case, p. 107).

...wið ðon londe. (B 591) "...with the land."

...wið oðrum sue miclum lande. (B 496) "...in exchange for as much other land."

...wiŏ his holdum mægene and eadmodre hernesse. (B 609)
"...for his loyal service and humble obedience."

5. Instrumental case. The Old English noun and adjective did not have a distinctive ending for the instrumental case. The only distinctive forms for the instrumental case are those of the demonstratives se (þy, þon, þe, masculine and neuter singular) and þes (þys, masculine and neuter singular).[1]

The form þe occurs occasionally in late manuscripts but must usually be interpreted as a substitute for se:

Dunstan þe God wæs...(H 27) (date, 1020) "Dunstan the Good was..."

This is an appositive of a noun in the nominative case and agrees with it in case. However, another example is more suggestive of the instrumental.

Mine witan habbaŏ ætrecŏ Ecgferðe ealle his are þurh þe swyrd þe him on hype hangode þa he adranc. (B 1063) "My advisers have deprived Ecgferth of all his property through the sword that hung on his hip when he drowned."

Although the noun swyrd has no inflection, the y suggests the i-umlaut of the usual form sweord, swurd which might be brought about by a former inflection.

The form þon occurs, but it comes after prepositions which usually take the dative case and in documents not having the usual dative form þæm and must be considered a phonetic substitute for the dative.

And we ridan þa to þon andagan. (B 591) "And we rode then to the appointed day."

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[1]George K. Anderson, "The Fifth Case in Old English," The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LVII (January, 1958), pp. 21-26. Anderson suggests assigning nouns and pronouns to instrumental, locative, or ablative case according to Indo-European derivation.

The only occurrence of **þys** is in an appositive of a noun in the genitive case, and since other appositives agree in case with the noun modified, this must be considered a genitive.

...on Ordlafes gewitnesse...and on Ælfstanes þys Blerian... (B 591) "...on the testimony of Ordlaf...and Ælfstan the Bald."

There are a few occurrences of ðy and one of uncre clæne (pronoun and adjective) which seem to be instrumental case.

a. After the preposition mid (for mid plus the dative case, see p. 123).

Ðis is Heanbirige friodom se waes bigeten mid ðy londe æt Iddeshale... (B 416) "This is the charter for Hanbury which was obtained with (by means of) the land at Iddeshall."

Ic Ælfred aldormon and Werburg min gefera begetan ðas bec æt hæðnum herge mid uncre clæne feo. (S 175) (The possessive pronoun uncer is declined like a strong adjective and would have a -um inflection for the neuter singular dative case; likewise, the adjective clæne would have the inflection -um for the dative case; therefore, this example must be the instrumental case.) "I, Aldorman Ælfred, and Werburg, my wife, obtained these books from the heathen army with our clean (pure) money."

b. After the preposition on (on plus the accusative, p. 107; on plus the dative, p. 123).

Ðis wæs gedon ymbe nigon hund wintra and nigon and seoxtig þæs þe drihtnes gebyrdtide wæs on þy nigoþan geare þæs þe Oswold bisceop to folgaþe finge. (B 1233) "This was done about 969 winters since the Lord's birthday was in the ninth year since Bishop Oswold succeeded to office."

c. In giving dates or years.

...þæs inflæscnisse ðy gere þe agen wæs DCCCC wintra and IIII winter... (B 609) "...in the year from the incarnation that had attained 904 winters..."

Ðis wæs gedon þy geare þe wæs agan from Cristes gebyrtide an þusend wintra and twa and XLII wintra. (R 94) "This was done in the year that was attained 1044 winters from Christ's birthday."

Pronouns

Pronouns are words which can be substituted for nouns and are divided into several classes: personal, possessive, demonstrative, relative, and indefinite.

1. Personal pronouns have the following distinctive case forms:

	Singular			Dual	Plural
1st person					
Nom.	ic			wit	we
Gen.	min			uncer	ure
2nd person					
Nom.	þu			git	ge
Gen.	þin			incer	eower
3rd person	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.		
Nom.	he	heo	---		---
Gen.	his	---	his		hiera, (hira, heora)
Dat.	him	---	him		him (heom)
Acc.	hine	---	---		---

a. Nominative case.

(1) Subject of verb.

...wite <u>he</u> wið God. (H 55) "...may <u>he</u> go against God."

(2) Subject of verb in impersonal expressions (pronoun has no referent).

<u>Hit</u> gelamp þæt... (B 1064) "<u>It</u> happened that..."

b. Genitive case.

(1) Possession.

And ic cyþe eow þæt Urk habbe <u>his</u> strand. (H 1) "And I make known to you that Urk is to have <u>his</u> shore."

(2) Object of the verb.

Gif him elles hwæt sæleð ðonne ann ic his minra swæstar suna. (B 412) "If anything else happens to him, then I grant it to my sister's son."

And Sigeric arcebiscop sende his swutelunga þærto and Ordbyrht biscop his. (R 66) "And Archbishop Sigeric sent his declaration thereto and Bishop Ordbyrht his."

c. Dative case.

(1) Direct object of verb.

...and habbe him gemæne wið hine. (B 1233) "...and have him subdued (accountable) with him."

(2) Indirect object of the verb.

And him sælle an half swulung. (B 412) "And one is to give to him a half swulung."

(3) Person of benefit or interest.

(a) So-called "possessive" dative.

Nu is me on mode æfter mynegungum Aþeluuoldes biscopes... (B 1267) "Now it is in my mind after admonitions of Bishop Athelwold..."

...ðæt ic him wære forespeca. (B 591) "...that I would be his advocate."

(b) With impersonal verbs or expressions.

...swa him leofust sio. (B 558) "...as may be most agreeable to him."

Ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt... (B 591) "Then (it) seemed to all of us that..."

Ða gelicode me þæt he hit... (B 1267) "Then (it) pleased me that he..."

(c) Person indirectly benefitted (quasi-indirect object).

...and bæd þæt he him geþingude wið Eadgife his boca edgift. (B 1064) "...and asked that he arrange with Eadgife the return of his deeds for him."

...oððe ða þe him gyt becumað. (B 1267) "...or those which are yet coming to him."

Ða geuðe Ælfeh þam Eadrice Earhiðes...and hæfde him sylf Æneslord. (B 1097) "Then Ælfeh granted Erith to that Eadric... and had for himself Ensford."

(d) With passive verb constructions.

...se him seald and gehealden sia hiabenlice. (B 405) "...may the heavenly blessing be given to and held for him."

Þæt mihte beon geboden him wið clænum legere... (B 1063) "That might be offered in exchange for a consecrated grave for him..."

...gief him þæt giefeþe bið. (B 1233) "...if that is granted to him."

(4) Object of preposition.

And þridde hæfð Godric mid him. (R 103) "And Godric has the third with him."

(5) Subject of gerund.

Ic bebeode ðæt mon agefe ðæt lond inn higum to heora beode him to brucanne. (B 417) "I order that one give that land to the brotherhood for their command for them to possess."

Ego Berchtwulf sile Forðrede nigen higida lond him to hiobanne. (B 452) "I, Berchtwulf, give Forthred nine hides of land for him to have."

d. Accusative case.

(1) Direct object of verb.

And tu hine hete ða flyman. (591) "And you called him then outlaw."

(2) Object of preposition.

...and habbe him gemæne wið hine. (B 1233) "...and have him in company with him."

...ælcan þara þe wið hine agylt hæbbe. (B 1317) "...to each of those who have sinned against him."

(3) Reflexive.

Ic wille ærist me siolfne Gode Ælmehtgum forgeofan. (B 417) "First, I wish to give myself to Almighty God."

2. Possessive pronouns have the same distinctive forms for case as the strong declension of adjectives for the 1st and 2nd persons, and for the 3rd person the same forms as the genitive of the personal pronoun, given above. Since these pronouns always accompany a noun and function as modifiers, they are discussed in Chapter III, p. 62.

3. Demonstrative pronouns. The distinctive forms for the demonstrative pronouns have been given in the discussion of each case under nouns.

Although the demonstrative pronouns usually function as modifiers (Chapter III), they may also function as independent pronouns.

a. se, seo, þæt.

(1) Subject of verb, nominative case.

Gif hio bearn hæbbe, ðonne foe ðæt to londe. (B 318) "If she has a child, then that one inherits the land."

(2) Object of verb, genitive case with geunnen.

Ic gean Wulfmære þæs þe ic æt Byornham hæfde. (B 1306) "I grant to Wulfmaer that which I have (had) at Byornham."

(3) Object of preposition, dative case.

Æfter þam, getidde þæt... (B 1063) "After that, it happened that..."

b. þes, þeos, þis.

(1) Subject of verb, nominative case (non-distinctive form).

And þis wæs gedon. (R 81) "And this was done."

(2) Expletive (see Chapter I).

(3) Object of verb, accusative case (non-distinctive form).

...ðæt hie ðiss gelæsten. (B 412) "...that they follow this."

4. Relative and indefinite pronouns are either indeclinable or follow the declension of the demonstrative se, seo, þæt.

a. Indefinite pronouns.

(1) ænig.

And ic nylle nane men gepafian þæt þær geutige ænig þæra þinga. (H 96) (Direct object of verb.) "And I will not permit any man that he take away from there any of those things."

...and sioððan swæ forð min cynn ða hwile ðe God wille ðæt ðeara ænig sie þe londes weorde sie. (B 412) (Subject of verb.) "...and afterwards so continually my kin (shall inherit) while God wills that any of them may be who is worthy of the land."

(2) hwa.

Gief hwa buton gewyrhtum hit awendan wille... (B 1233) (Subject of verb.) "If anyone without due cause wishes to change it..."

(3) hwæt.

Gif him elles hwæt sæleð ðonne ann ic... (B 412) (Subject of verb.) "If something else happens to him then I grant..."

He ofteah Ælfrice landes and æhta butan he hwæt aet him geearnode. (B 1097) (Object of verb.) "He deprived Ælfric of land and property except what he acquired from him."

(4) hwelc.

Gif he gewite er ðonne hia, his barna swe hwelc swe lifes sie agefe ðet feoh. (B 404) (Subject of verb.) "If he dies before she, whichever of his children that is alive is to return the land."

(5) man.

Ic wille þæt man sella þæt land. (E 240) (Subject of verb.) "I wish that one give that land."

Þa dyde man swa. (R 66) (Subject of verb.) "Then one so did."

(6) oþer.

Ðonne is min willa ðæt ðissa gewriota sien twa gelice oðer habben higon mid boecum oðer mine ærfeweardas heora dei. (B 417)

(Object of verb.) "Then my wish is that these writs be two alike; the brotherhood is to have one with the deeds, my heirs the other for their day."

(7) se þe.

Se þe ðæt onwende hæbbe he Godes unmiltse. (B 639) (Subject of verb.) "He who changes that, may he have God's wrath."

(8) self: (always used with a personal pronoun as an intensifier or to indicate reflexive action.

Ic wille ærist me siolfne Gode forgeofan. (B 417) "I wish first to give my self to God."

And þæt þridde hæfð Ægelric mid him sylfan. (R 101) "And the third Ægelric has with himself."

(9) sum.

...butan sum heora freonda. (R 101) "...except some of their friends."

Ða waes ic ðara manna sum ðe ðærto... (B 591) "Then I was one of the men who there..."

(10) swelce.

And ic cweþe on wordum be Æscmere on minum geongum magum swelce me betst gehierað. (B 678) "And I bequeath by word concerning Æscmere to whichever of my young kinsmen (who) obeys me best."

b. Relative pronouns occur only in dependent clauses; they function to link the dependent clause to an antecedent in the independent clause.

(1) hwa.

Her cyð Æþeric on þissa gewrite hwam he geann þæra æhta. (W 16-1) (Indirect object in dependent clause.) "Ætheric makes known here in this writ to whom he grants the property."

Ðis sindan geðinga Ealburge and Eadwealdes et ðem lande et Burnan hwet man ðem hiwum agiaban scel. (B 403) "These are of the things of Ealhburg and Eadweald from the land at Burnan what one shall give the brotherhood."

(2) se, seo, ðæt.

Ðis is Heanbirige friodom se wæs bigeten... (B 416) "This is the charter of Hanbury which was obtained..."

...minan holdan and getreowan þegene þam is Ægelric nama. (R 94) "...my loyal and faithful thane whose name is Æthelric."

...cnihte þæm is Osulf nama. (B 1233) "...a knight whose name is Osulf."

(3) swylc.

Ic landes sumne dæl sumum cnihte forgeaf and æfter his dæge twam erfeweardum þæt beo his bearn swilc lengest bið. (B 1233) "I grant a certain part of the land to a certain knight and after his day to two heirs whichever of his children may live longest."

Æfter hire dæge becweþe hire broþrum twam swilc hire leofest sy. (B 1233) "After her day (she) is to bequeath to whichever of her two brothers is most pleasing to her."

(4) þe: indeclinable, refers to both singular and plural, things and people, any gender.

(a) Singular.

And ic geann Leommære æt Biggrafan þæs landes þe ic him ær ofnam. (W 20) "And I grant to Leommær the land at Bygrave which I took from him before."

(b) Plural.

And Heregyð bibeadeð ðem mannum ðe efter hire to londe foen ðæt... (B 412) "And Heregyth commands the men who inherit the land after her that..."

Adjectives

The distinctive case forms for adjectives have been given in the discussion of noun cases.

1. Adjectives used as basic elements of the sentence. The adjective may function in a sentence as subject complement; it is always in the nominative case and used with the verb beon except one example of the verb gewitan.

Þa gewat Eadric cwideleas. (B 1097) "Then Eadric died intestate."

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "It is to be free of everything."

And beon heora menn frige. (W 30) "And their men are to be free."

And bio he ælces wites wyrðe. (B 1010) "And may he be worthy of each fine."

2. Adjectives used as modifiers. The major function of adjectives is the modification of nouns. The adjective takes the same case as the noun it modifies.

The strong declension is used when there is no demonstrative pronoun preceding the adjective or noun.

a. Nominative singular.

Æghwilc Godes ðiow gesinge... (B 330) "Each servant of God is to sing..."

b. Genitive singular.

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "It is to be free of each thing."

c. Dative singular.

...fram ealdum dagum. (B 1267) "...from olden days."

d. Accusative singular.

...wið ælcne mann. (B 1063) "...against any man."

e. Genitive plural.

...CXX hwætenra hlafa. (B 330) "...120 white loaves."

The weak declension is used when the demonstrative pronouns precede.

a. Nominative singular.

Nu waes se halga stede yuele forlæten. (B 1267) "Now was the holy place evilly abandoned."

3. Degree. Adjectives are inflected to show comparative and superlative degree.

a. Comparative degree has the inflection -ra regularly. Some adjectives show comparative degree by a spelling change, not inflection.

...and hire liofre sie. (B 412) "...and is more preferable to her."

...siððan yferran dogre. (B 412) "...after (since) later days."

...on uferan dagan. (R 101) "...in later days."

...to þære arran sylene. (B 1267) "...to the former grant."

b. Superlative degree has the inflections -est or -ost, or some adjectives have an irregular spelling change.

...swe hit boem rehtlicast and elmestlicast were. (B 404) "...as it might be to both most right and most charitable."

...sue hit soelest sie. (B 404) "...as it might be best."

...on þam ytemestan dæge þysses lifes. (B 1233) "...on the last day of this life."

CHAPTER VII

SYNTACTIC SIGNALS OF VERBS

The Old English verb may be inflected to show person, number, mood, and tense, although there are some limitations to the actual occurrence of each of these. In addition to inflection, tense, person, and number are sometimes accompanied by ablaut of the stem vowel; ablaut, however, does not act independently as an indicator. When the distinctions are possible in the inflectional systems, the verb agrees with its subject in person and number.

Person

The Old English verb has three persons: 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person.

In the complete conjugation of any Old English verb there are hypothetically fourteen possible person distinctions:

present indicative	1st, 2nd, 3rd persons	3
preterit indicative	1st, 2nd, 3rd persons	3
present subjunctive	1st, 2nd, 3rd persons	3
preterit subjunctive	1st, 2nd, 3rd persons	3
imperative	1st, 2nd persons	2
		14

The following table lists all of the Old English verb inflections (or verb forms) which are distinctive for person in the various verb classes:

	Strong Verbs	Weak I	Weak II	Weak III
pres. ind. sg. 2nd pers.	-(e)st	-(e)st	-ast	-(a)st
pres. ind. sg. 3rd pers.	-(e)þ	-(e)þ	-aþ	-(a)þ
imperative sg. 2nd pers.	ø	-e, ø	-a	-a
pret. ind. sg. 2nd pers.	-----	-edest	-odest	-dest

Preteritive-Present Verbs

pres. ind. sg. 2nd pers.	-st
pret. ind. sg. 2nd pers.	-est

Anomalous Verbs

	beon/is/wesan	don	gan	willan
pres. ind. sg. 1st pers.	eom	-----	-----	-----
pres. ind. sg. 2nd pers.	eart, bist	dest	gæst	wilt
pres. ind. sg. 3rd pers.	is, biþ	deþ	gæþ	wile
imperative sg. 2d pers.	wes	-----	-----	-----
pret. ind. sg. 2nd pers.	-----	dydest	eodest	woldest

This survey of the various verb conjugations reveals that person is indicated by distinctive inflections in relatively few instances:

Weak verbs	4	distinctive	out of	14	possibilities	28.6 %
beon/wesan	4	"	" "	14	"	28.6 %
Strong verbs	3	"	" "	14	"	21.4 %
Other anomalous	3	"	" "	14	"	21.4 %
Preteritive-present	2	"	" "	14	"	14.3 %

In these texts we find few occurrences of the second person and few imperatives because of the nature of the texts. There is no complete conjugation of any one verb in this corpus. The verbs which have the most nearly complete conjugation (habban and beon) each have thirteen missing forms out of twenty-four possible forms (counting both singular and plural and including only the indicative and subjunctive present and preterit).

In most instances we have to depend on the noun or pronoun subject of the verb to indicate person. The verb agrees with the subject in person by formal distinction only in the following places:

1. pres. ind. 2nd pers. sg. in all verbs.
2. pres. ind. 3rd pers. sg. in all verbs except the preteritive-present verbs.
3. pret. ind. 2nd pers. sg. in all verbs except the strong verbs and beon.
4. pres. ind. 1st pers. sg. of beon (eom).

Examples showing agreement of subject and verb in person:

And ic ne eom gecnawe þæt ic ænigean menn geafe þa socne. (H 24) "And I am not aware that I gave any man those socs."

And gif hyt þin willa wære þu mihtest eaðe gedon þæt ic hyt eal swa hæfde. (H 63) "And if it were thy will, thou might easily bring about that I had it also thus."

...gif he ðonne lifes bið. (B 412) "...if he then be alive."

And Heregyð bibeadeð ðem mannum ðæt... (B 412) "And Heregyth commands the men that..."

And hio forgifeð fiftene pund. (B 412) "And she gives 15 pounds."

Sometimes the 1st person singular present indicative has an -o or -u inflection which distinguishes the person. However, the occurrence of this inflection is found only in a few early manuscripts which show Mercian influence and it is not consistently used.

Ic Eadwald sello and forgeofu þis lond... (B 507) "I, Eadwald, grant and give this land..."

Ic Badanoð Beotting cyðo and writan hato hu min willa is... (B 417) "I, Badanoth Beotting, make known and command to be written how my will is..."

Ond ic sello Æðelwalde minum sunu III hida boclondes. (B 558) "And I give to Æthelwald, my son, three hides of bookland."

There is one exception in which the subject and verb do not agree in person:

...and iow fer Godes lufe bidde þet ge hit minre sawle nyt gedeo. (B 507) "...and I bid you for God's love that you make it useful for my soul."

Number

The Old English verb has two numbers: singular (one) and plural (more than one). Each type of verb conjugation has 100 per cent possible distinction by form for number. The only possible confusion that might arise is that of verbs of two different classes: Weak I plural demaþ "judge" and Weak II 3 sg. bodaþ "proclaim." However, in each verb conjugation there is a formal difference which distinguishes the singular from the plural:

Weak II	3 sg.	bodaþ,	plural bodiaþ
Weak III	3 sg.	hæfþ, hafaþ,	plural habbaþ, hæbbaþ
Weak I	3 sg.	demþ, demeþ,	plural demaþ
Contract verbs	3 sg.	tiehþ,	plural teoþ

The following, then, are the distinctive inflections for number in verbs:

Singular	Plural
-e	-an
-(e)st	-en
-(e)þ	-on
Ø (with pret. or infinitive stem)	
-a	

In addition to these distinctions, the anomalous verbs have special forms which distinguish singular from plural: beon singular -- eom, beo, eart, bist, is, biþ; plural -- sindon, sind, sint, beoþ, wesaþ, etc.

The verb agrees with its subject in number.

1. Singular subjects take a singular verb.

Þa hæfde Ælfric suna Eadric hatte. (B 1097) "Then Ælfric had a son called Eadric."

Se cyning sealde and gebocade Wullafe fif sulung landes. (B 496) "The king gave and deeded five sulungs of land to Wullaf.

2. Dual pronouns take the plural form of the verb.

And ðæt wit deodan...for ðon ðe wit nolðan ðæt ðas halgan beoc lencg in ðære hæðenesse wunaden. (S 175) "And we two did that...because we two did not wish that these holy books (this Holy Book) should remain longer in that heathen country."

...eall swa wit on wedd gesealdon. (B 1317) "...all (just) as we two gave in agreement."

3. Plural subjects take a plural verb.

And hæfdon hit cynegas oð Eadmund cinc. (B 1097) "And kings had it until King Eadmund."

And beon heora menn frige æfter heora beira dæge. (W 30) "And their men are to be free after both their day."

And þa munecas libban heora life æfter regole þæs halgan Benedictes. (B 1267) "And the monks are to live their life after (according to) the rule of St. Benedict."

4. Two or more substantives (singular or plural) in a compound subject usually take a plural verb.

Æðelnoð se gerefa to Eastorege and Gænburg his wif aræddan hiora erfe... (B 318) "Æthelnoth, the reeve for Eastry, and Gaenburg, his wife, arranged (disposed of) their property..."

Ic Osuulf aldormonn mid Godes gæfe one Beornðryð min gemecca sellað...ðæt lond æt Stanhamstede... (B 330) "I, Earl Oswulf by God's grace, and Beornthryth, my wife, give...the land at Stanhamsted..."

Exception:

And bruce Ægelric and Esbearn his sunu þara oðra landa... (R 101) "And let Egelric and Esbearn, his son, enjoy those other lands..."

...and toll and team sy agifen. (R 81) "...and toll and team are to be given."

5. Impersonal verbs with no expressed subject take the 3rd person singular form; if the subject is a dependent clause, the verb

is in the 3rd person singular.

Nu is me on mode...ðæt... (B 1267) "Now (it) is in my mind... that..."

Ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt... (B 591) "Then (it) seemed to all of us that..."

Her cyþ on þysum gewrite hu... (R 66) "Here (it) is declared in this writ how..."

Ða gelicode me þæt... (B 1267) "Then (it) pleased me that..."

...þider him leouest sy. (B 1306) "...thither (wherever) (it) is most pleasing to him."

6. Exceptions which do not show agreement in number between the subject and verb.

a. A numeral as subject.

...and ðreo hund hlafa ðeara bið fiftig hwita hlafa. (B 412) "...and three hundred loaves of which fifty are white loaves."

(Numerals usually agree: Nu synd þissa gewrita þreo. (R 103) "Now (there) are three of these writs.")

b. When a pronoun subject follows the verb, the inflectional ending of the verb is sometimes reduced (only one example in this corpus).

...hwonne habbe we gemotad... (B 591) "...when have we settled (a suit)...?"

Tense

Verbs in Old English have two tenses according to form: present and preterit. These tenses are found both in the indicative mood and the subjunctive (optative) mood.

Tense is indicated in the strong verbs by ablaut or a distinctive inflection (e.g. the -on of the preterit plural). The difference in tense is usually clear except in the Class I of the strong

verbs. Since Old English manuscripts do not indicate long vowels, the ablaut distinction between the long i of the infinitive stem and the short i of the preterit plural stem is lost. Thus, in a Class I strong verb the 1st person singular present indicative, the 2nd person singular preterit indicative, and all three singular forms of the present and preterit subjunctive have an identical form; likewise, the three plural forms of the present and preterit subjunctive have the same form.

Weak verbs indicate the preterit tense by adding -d (sometimes assimilated to -t), -ed, or -od to the stem before the personal inflection. Class I of the weak verbs that have a stem ending in -tt- or -dd- are partly ambiguous in tense because of the syncopation of the middle vowel of the preterit ending and assimilation of the consonant in the stems ending in -t. This makes all the forms of the present subjunctive and the 1st person singular present indicative the same as the 1st and 3rd person singular preterit indicative. Examples are the following:

> Oððe gif mon ælcne dom wile onwendan ðe Ælfred cing gesette... (B 591) "Or if one will turn aside each judgment that King Alfred gives (gave)..."
>
> And his speremon ahredde ða sporwreclas. (B 591) "And his spearman rescued that which was being tracked."
>
> And he sette ænne cwide to Cristes cyrican. (B 1097) "And he placed (places) one will at Christchurch."

The uses of tense in Old English are more complex than the two-part formal division into present and preterit would indicate. The nature of the documents in this corpus is such that they usually record statements of events that have already been accomplished and therefore the preterit is used to a great extent; some documents are statements of present action by which the deeding, granting, giving,

or transferring of certain property from one individual to another individual or an institution is accomplished and therefore the present tense is used; however, some documents are wills or requests stating gifts, grants, wishes, and commands which are to become effective in the future, often after the death of the donor. There are also statements concerning actions at different points in the past.

Inflection for tense is not the total indication of time. Differences in time are also shown by the combination of two or more verb forms, one of which is inflected in the regular way (as in the present perfect, past perfect, and future constructions), by the combination of mood and tense (the present subjunctive may indicate future time), by the use of adverbial expressions of time, and by the context.

The distinctive inflections for tense in the strong and weak verbs are the following:

Present Tense	Preterit Tense
-(e)st, -ast	Ø (with ablaut)
-(e)þ, -aþ	-on
-iaþ	-ede, -ode
	-edest, -odest
	-edon, -odon
	-eden, -oden

The preteritive-present and anomalous verbs have different stems to distinguish the present and preterit tenses (ga -- eode, wille -- wolde, do -- dyde, beo -- wæs, wat -- wisse, etc.).

1. Examples of present tense.

a. To express action or state of being concurrent with the writing of the document.

Ðis siondan ðes landes boec et Wassingwellan. (B 496) "These are the deeds of the land at Washingwell."

Ic Eadwald sello and forgeofu þis lond et Wifelesberge Agustines higum. (B 507) "I, Eadwald, grant and give this land at Wiflesbury to Augustine's brotherhood."

And ic an ðan bearnan þæs ilcan ðæs ic þan fæder an. (B 639) "And I grant the children the same that I grant the father."

Her swutelaþ on þisum gewrite hu Godric begeat þæt land æt Offaham." (R 103) "Here (it) is made known in this writ how Godric acquired the land at Offenham."

Ic ne eom gecnawe þæt... (H 24) "I am not aware that..."

b. To express future time.

(1) The present indicative with an adverbial expression of time gives a present action which is to take effect in the future.

And ic an þæs landes æt Ingepenne ofer minne dæg Æffan. (B 678) "And I (shall) grant the land at Inkpen after my day to Æffe."

And ic sello Sigewulf minum mege ofer Werburge dæg þæt lond an Netelhæmstyde. (B 558) "And I (shall) give to Sigewulf, my kinsman, after Werburg's day the land at Nettlehampstead."

The present indicative with an adverbial expression of time may indicate the simple future.

...þa socna þe into þam mynstre nu synd betytene oððe ða þe him gyt becumað. (B 1267) "...the socs that now are assigned to the monastery or those which (will) come yet (are yet to come) to them."

...þæt nan þæra cyninga ðe cumað æfter me... (B 1267) "...that none of those kings who (will) come after me..."

(2) The present subjunctive expresses an action or state of being to be accomplished in the future or a wish, command, or prohibition to be fulfilled in the future.

And dæt sie simle to adsumsio Scæ Marie ymb XII monað. (B 405) "And that will be (is to be) always from the Assumption of St. Mary about twelve months."

And agefe mon to Liminge I eawa and V cy fore hie. (B 412) "And one is to give (will give) to Liminge one ewe and five cows for them."

And beon heora menn frige æfter heora beira dæge. (W 30)
"And their men are to be free after both their day."

And æfter þreora manna dæge gange þæt land in... (R 81)
"And after three men's day, the land is to go to..."

c. To express continuous or habitual action.

...ðe in Cristes circan dæghwæmlice Godes lof rærað. (S 175)
"...who raise praise to God daily in Christchurch."

And ic gean...minan geferan healues þe me mid ridað. (B 1306)
"And I grant...half to my comrades who ride with me."

...buton anre hide ic gean into þære cyrcean þam preoste þe þar Gode þeowaþ. (W 16-1) "...except one hide I grant to the church for that priest who serves God there."

d. To express direct discourse in narration of past events.

Þa cleopode Eadweard Æðelstanes broðor and cwæd ic hæbbe Sunnanburges boc. (B 1063) "Then Eadweard, Æthelstan's brother, spoke and said: 'I have Sunbury's deed.'"

Ða cwæð Eadweard hit is wyrse ðe uncer naðor hit næbbe. (B 1063)
"Then Eadweard said: 'It is worse that neither of us two (should) have it.'"

2. Preterit tense.

a. To express a momentary action completed in the past or past state of being of short duration.

Se cyning sealde and gebocade Wullafe fif sulung landes. (B 496)
"The king gave and deeded to Wullaf five swulungs of land."

Þa ferde se bisceop to sciregemote to Wigeranceastre and draf þær his spræce. (R 83) "Then the bishop went to the shiremeeting at Worcester and urged his suit there."

And gewat Eadræd cyng. (B 1063) "And King Eadraed died."

b. To express continuous or habitual action or state of being over a period of time in the past.

Þurwif hatte se wimman. (B 1063) "The woman was called Thurwif."

...þe mine foregengan on ealles folces gewitnysse æt Niwantune hæfdon. (H 63) "...that my predecessors had by the testimony of all folk at Newton."

...þe oðre bisceopas ær hæfdon. (H 63) "...which other bishops had before."

And hæfdon hit cynegas oð Eadmund cinc. (B 1097) "And kings had it until King Eadmund."

And Eadgifu hæfde land mid bocum þara twegea cyninga dagas hire suna. (B 1064) "And Eadgifu had the land with deeds (for) the days of two kings, her sons."

c. To express two actions at different times in the past, one of which was completed before the other (note the use of þa...þa...; see also p. 35).

Þa man þæt þam bisceope cyðde þa gelædde se biscop ahnunga ealles Ælfehes cwides to Earhiðe. (B 1097) "When one made that known to the bishop, then the bishop brought forth proof of ownership of all Ælfeh's will to Erith."

Ða Helmstan ða undæde gedyde...ða ongon Higa him specan. (B 591) "When Helmstan committed the crime, then Higa began to speak (implead, bring suit) to him."

Þa Godan sæl þuhte þa gesohte he þone kyningc. (B 1064) "When it seemed a favorable opportunity to Goda, then he sought the king."

d. To express indirect discourse in the past.

Þa cwæð Æðelstan þæt him leofre wære þæt hit to fyre oððe flode gewurde þonne he hit æfre gebide. (B 1063) "Then Æthelstan said that it was preferable to him that it should become fire or flood than (that) he should ever get it."

The contrast of present and past time is shown by the use of both present and preterit tenses in the same sentence.

Ðonne leof is me micel neodðearf ðæt hit mote standan swa hit nu gedon is and gefyrn wæs. (B 591) "Then, beloved, it is a great need to me that it might remain as it is now done and formerly was."

Ic Uuerfrid biscop sylle Wulfsige anes hides lond swa swa Herred hit hæfde on ðreora monna dæg. (B 609) "I, Bishop Werfrid, give to Wulfsige one hide of land just as Herred had it for three men's day."

Þis seondan ðara monna noman ðe ðæt geðafedon and mid Cristes rode tacne gefæstnedon. (B 609) "These are the men's names who approved that and confirmed (it) with the sign of Christ's cross."

3. Verb phrases with future meaning. There is no inflection of verbs to indicate the future. Often future time is indicated by the context or by adverbial expressions of time when the verb is in the present tense, indicative or subjunctive mood, as illustrated in the discussion of the present tense.

Future time is also indicated by the combination of the present tense of sculan or willan plus an infinitive. Although these verbs have the independent meanings of obligation and volition respectively, the context often indicates that the obligation or wish is to be fulfilled in the future so that these verbs function in a dual capacity. When willan indicates volition alone, it is followed by a dependent clause introduced by þæt.

And ic wille þæt se biscop dihte boc þærto be minan fullan geleafan. (H 55) "And I wish that the bishop draw up a charter thereto with my full confidence."

When both sculan and willan are used in the same sentence, the purpose seems to be the stress of the basic or independent meanings of those two verbs.

Gif hit elleshwæt bið ðonne sceal ic and wylle beon gehealden on ðon ðe ðe to ælmessan ryht ðincð. (B 591) "If it may be otherwise, then I am obliged and wish to be content in that which seems right to you as alms."

Other occurrences of sculan and willan plus an infinitive seem to indicate future time as well as obligation or volition; in two of the following examples, volition is so strongly indicated in the verbs gebafian and healdan that willan seems superfluous unless it somehow indicates future.

And ic nylle nane men gebafian þæt þær geutige ænig þæra þinga þæs þe þær into hyrð. (H 96) "And I will not permit anyone that he take away any of those things which belong thereto."

God ælmihtig þone gehealde þe þas ure sylena and ure gerædnyssa healdan wylle on ælce healfe. (R 94) "May God Almighty uphold him who will uphold these our gifts and our enactments in every particular."

And gif se cyning him geunnan wille þæs folclondes to ðæm boclonde þonne hæbbe he and bruce. (B 558) "And if the king will grant him the folkland in addition to the bookland, then he is to possess and use (it)."

The contrast in indicating the future may be seen in the following pairs of similar statements, the first of which uses the present subjunctive and the second uses willan plus an infinitive.

Se þe þis gehealde gehealde hine God. (R 81) "He who will uphold this, may God uphold him."

God ælmihtig þone gehealde þe þis wille rihtlice healdan. (R 83) "May God Almighty uphold him who will uphold this rightly."

Se ðe hit awende oððe gelytlige gelytlige God his mede on þam toweardum life. (R 81) "He who will change or curtail it, may God curtail his reward in the future life."

Gif ænig man þonne seo þe þis awendan wille God ælmihtig... aniðerige. (R 83) "If anyone then may be who will change this, God Almighty abase (him)."

4. Verb phrases with present perfect meaning. A verb construction which has present perfect meaning is indicated by the combination of the present tense of the verb habban plus a past participle.

Although this present perfect phrase combination occurs fairly frequently, the same context often employs a verb in the preterit tense. The meaning seems to be merely that the action was accomplished in the past in relation to the present.

...ðet ic beboden hebbe an ðisem gewrite. (B 405) "...that I have commanded in this writ."

Ic...geswutelige hu ic mine are and mine æhta geunnen hæbbe. (W 20) "I make known how I have granted my property and my possessions."

Heregyð hafað ðas wisan binemned ofer hire deg ðam higum. (B 412) "Heregyth has settled this matter after her day for the brotherhood."

And ic geann into Cristes cyrican þæs landes æt Holungaburnam and þæs þe þærto hyrð buton þære anre sulunge þe ic Siferðe geunnen hæbbe. (W 20) "And I grant to Christchurch the land at Hollingbourne and that which belongs thereto except the one sulung that I have granted to Siferth."

Ic kyþe eow þæt ic habbe gegifan...þæt land. (H 96) "I declare to you that I have given that land."

...þa hwile þe God gesegen hæbbe ðæt fulwiht æt ðeosse stow beon mote. (S 175) "...the while that God has seen (taken care) that baptism may be at this place."

Although forms of the verb beon/wesan are also used with the past participle, usually in this corpus to indicate the passive construction, I find only one example which may be interpreted as the present perfect construction.

And twa þusenda swina ic heom sello mid þem londum gif hit hio gehaldeð mid þare clænnisse þe uncer word gecwædu seondan. (B 558) "And I give them two thousand swine with the lands if she holds it with the purity which our words have stated."

5. Verb phrase with past perfect meaning. A past perfect verb phrase is formed by combining the past tense of the verb habban with a past participle.

The meaning of the past perfect construction seems to be that the action was accomplished already in the past before the relating of the event, but in similar contexts the simple preterit is also used. This type of phrase is used in narration in the preterit tense.

...þe Ægelric himsylfan getimbrod hæfde. (R 101) "...which Ægelric himself had built."

...for ðon ic his hæfde ær onfongen æt biscopes honda. (B 591) "...because I had stood sponsor for him before at the bishop's hands."

Ða he ðæt gedon hæfde ða ascade he Æðelm hwy... (B 591)
"When he had done that, then he asked Æthelm why..."

...ðæt we him gereaht hæfdan. (B 591) "...that we had pronounced judgment on him."

And he me ðæt boc ða ageaf swa he me on ðon wedde ær geseald hæfde... (B 591) "And he then gave me the deed as he had pledged to me before in the agreement..."

...swa he hire to geearnud hæfde. (B 1064) "...as he had merited from her."

...þæt hy manfull reaflac gedon hæfden. (B 1064) "...that they had done wicked robbery."

...ðe he into Cristes cyrcean becweden hæfde. (W 16-2) "...that he had bequeathed to Christchurch."

...þær he his witan widan gesomnod hæfde. (W 16-2) "...where he had summoned his witan from afar."

In this corpus there occurs only one example of the use of beon/wesan plus a past participle to indicate the past perfect construction.

Þa he geendodu wæs þa rad se bisceop to þam cynge. (B 1063)
"When he had died, then the bishop rode to the king."

Indication of "Voice"

Old English verbs are not inflected to show voice. All inflected forms of verbs are "active" voice; that is, the grammatical subject is the performer of the "action" in the verb.

However, there is a passive structure which indicates that the grammatical subject is the recipient rather than the performer of the action in the verb in the actual event. The passive structure is composed of an inflected form of beon/wesan or weorðan plus the past participle of a transitive verb.

1. beon/wesen

a. Present tense.

Gif me ðonne gifeðe sie ðæt ic bearn begeotan ne mege...(B 412) "If then (it) is granted to me that I may not have a child..."

...ðe on ðissem gewrite binemned is. (B 412) "...which is declared in this writ."

b. Preterit tense.

Ðis is Heanbirige friodom se wæs begeten mid ðy londe æt Iddeshale. (B 416) "This is the charter for Hanbury which was obtained in exchange for the land at Iddeshall."

...þæt land þe wæs mid hire moder golde geboht. (B 1317) "...the land that was bought with her mother's gold."

...þa foreward þe wæron geworhte betwux þam hirede and Fuldre. (B 1318) "...the agreements that were made between the brotherhood and Fulder."

And þis wæs gedon be þyssa witena gewytnesse... (R 81) "And this was done by the witness of these councillors..."

2. weorðan (only two examples occur in this corpus).

...þæt gesibbra arfeweard forðcymeð wepnedhades and acænned weorðeð ðamne ann ic... (B 558) "...that a nearer heir of the male sex comes forth and is produced (is born), then I grant..."

And he næfre ne wurthe on his myltse gemet. (B 1306) "And may he never be found in his mercy."

3. The verb hatan occurs twice in this corpus in a form that seems to be a special passive form since it is not a part of the the regular verb conjugation. No other verb has a similar form in this function (see hatan with beon/wesan, p. 165).

Þurwif hatte se wimman. (B 1063) "The woman is called Thurwif."

Þa hæfde Ælfric suna Eadric hatte. (B 1097) "Then Ælfric had a son; (he) is called Eadric."

In a verb phrase composed of hatan plus an infinitive, the infinitive is translated in the passive voice.

Ic Abba geroefa cyðe and writan hate hu min willa is... (B 412) "I, Reeve Abba, make known and order to be written how my will is..."

Ic Badanoð Beotting cyðo and writan hato hu min willa is... (B 417) "I, Badanoth Beotting, make known and command to be written how my will is..."

Ic Ælfred dux hatu writan and cyðan an ðissum gewrite... (B 558) I, Duke Ælfred, command to be written and to be made known in this writ..."

...ðe hit don het. (B 403) "...who ordered it to be done."

4. Another passive construction is a verb phrase composed of an inflected form of magan or willan plus the infinitive form of beon plus a past participle.

Þæt mihte beon geboden him wið clænum legere... (B 1063) "That was able to be (might have been) offered in exchange for a consecrated grave for him..."

...ðonne sceal ic and wylle beon gehealden on ðon ðe ðe to to ælmessan ryht ðincð. (B 591) "...then I am obliged and wish to be contented in that which seems right to you as alms (voluntary gift)."

...þæt he on þam ilcan wolde beon gehealden... (R 83) "...that he would have been satisfied with the same..."

Mood

There are three moods in Old English according to form: indicative, subjunctive (or optative), and imperative.

There is a high degree of ambiguity in mood forms.[1] This ambiguity occurs in the following verb forms:

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[1] The confusion of -an, -en, and -on is part of the leveling process in the transition from Old English to Modern English, which seems to have begun in the tenth century; see Albert H. Marckwardt, "Verb Inflections in Late Old English," Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 79-88.

1. Strong verbs, class 1 with I - i ablaut:

   a. pres. ind. 1st pers. sing.; pres. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.; pret. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.: and pret. ind. 2nd sing.

   b. pres. ind. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. pl.; and imper. 2nd pl.

2. Other strong verbs:

   a. pres. ind. 1st pers. sg.; and pres. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.
   b. pret. ind. 2nd pers. sing.; and pret. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.
   c. pres. ind. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. pl.; and imper. 2nd pl.

3. Weak verbs (all classes):

   a. pres. ind. 1st pers. sing.; and pres. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers sing.
   b. pret. ind. 1st & 3rd pers. sing.; and pret. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.
   c. pres. ind. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. pl.; and imper. 2nd pl.

4. Preteritive-present verbs:

   a. pret. ind. 1st & 3rd pers. sing; and pret. subj. 1st., 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.
   b. pres. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.; and imper. 2nd pers. sing.

5. Anomalous verbs:

   beon/wesan:

   a. pres. ind. 1st pers. sing.; pres. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers sing.; and imper. 2nd pers. sing.
   b. pres. ind. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. pl.; and imper. 2nd pers. pl.
   c. pret. ind. 2nd pers. sing.; and pret. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.

   don, gan, willan:

   a. same as a under beon
   b. same as b under beon
   c. pret. ind. 1st & 3rd pers. sing.; and pret. subj. 1st, 2nd, 3rd pers. sing.

The distinctive inflections for mood in strong and weak verbs are the following:

Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative
-(e)st, -ast	-en	ø (with infinitive stem)
-(e)þ	-(e)den	
ø (with preterit stem)	-oden	
-on		
-(e)don		
-odon		
-(e)dest		
-odest		

The preteritive-present verbs:

pres. ind. sing.	distinctive stem (old strong preterit), ø, -(s)t
pl.	-on
pres. & pret. pl. subj.	-en

beon/wesan

Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative
eom	sie	wes
eart, bist	sien, beon	
sindon, sind, sint	wæren	
wæs		
wæron		

The other anomalous verbs:

Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative
dest	don	(none)
deþ	dyden	
dydest		
dydon		
gæst	gan	
gæþ	eoden	
eodest		
eodon		
wilt	willen	
wile	wolden	
woldest		
woldon		

Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is most often associated with statements which are factual, dealing with reality or existing conditions of the present or past. It appears in almost all independent clauses except those containing commands (either imperative or subjunctive mood) or wishes to be fulfilled in the future. The indicative mood occurs frequently in dependent relative clauses and adverbial clauses introduced by gif but less frequently in other dependent clauses.

1. Independent clauses.

And gewat Eadræd cyng. (B 1063) "And King Eadraed died."

Þa wæs þæt swa. (B 1063) "Then that was so."

God is min gewyta. (B 1306) "God is my witness."

And an wæs teoðinglond. (B 591) "And one was tithing-land."

And he com to Scylfe to him. (B 1097) "And he came to him at Scylf."

And oðer lið on Eofeshamme. (R 81) "And the other lies at Evesham."

2. Dependent clauses.

a. Relative clauses.

(1) þe.

...þæt land þe wæs mid hire moder golde geboht. (B 1317)
"...that land which was bought with her mother's gold."

...þe oðre bisceopas ær hæfdon. (H 63) "...which other bishops before had."

...þa landboc þe þærto gebyreð. (R 101) "...the land-deed which belongs thereto."

...and þam gebroþran þe binnan þam mynstre wuniað. (H 96)
"...and to the brothers who dwell within the monastery."

(2) þæt.

...and þæt þerto geherað. (E 240) "...and which belongs thereto."

...and eall þæt to hys strande gedryuen hys. (H 1) "...and all that is driven to his shore."

...and Ælfric ðæt wæs ða hrælðen. (B 591) "...and Ælfric who was the keeper of the wardrobe."

...and all ðæt inn lond beligeð. (B 609) "...and all that lies within the land."

(3) þæs þe.

...þæs þe þær mid rihte to gebyrað. (H 24) "...which with right belong there."

...and þæs þe þærto hyrð. (W 20) "...and which belong thereto."

(4) se.

Ðis is Heanbirige friodom se wæs bigeten mid ðy londe. (B 416) "This is the charter of Hanbury which was obtained with the land."

...and ðreo hund hlafa ðeara bið fiftig hwita hlafa. (B 412) "...and three hundred loaves of which fifty are white loaves."

...minan holdan and getreowan þegene þam is Ægelric nama. (R 94) "...my trusted and true thane whose name is Ægelric."

...þa ðer to londe foð. (B 1317) "...who inherit the land there."

b. Adverbial clauses.

(1) gif.

...gif he ðonne lifes bið. (B 412) "...if he then is of life (living)."

...gif him elles hwæt sæleð ðonne ann ic... (B 412) "...if something else happens to him, then I grant..."

...gif hit hio gehaldeð mid þare clænisse... (B 558) "...if she keeps it with the purity..."

...gif hie me oð ðæt onryht gehieraþ... (B 678) "...if they rightly obey me until that..."

(2) þa.

...ða heo æst to Aðulfe com. (B 591) "...when she first came to Athulf."

Þa he geendod wæs þa rad se bisceop to þam cynge. (B 1063) "When he was dead, then the bishop rode to the king."

Þa he on wigge afeallen wæs þa ætsoc Goda... (B 1064) "When he was killed in battle, then Goda sought..."

(3) swa.

...swa hitt me sylfan on hande stod. (H 55) "...as it stood in my own possession."

...swa hit nu gedon is and gefyrn wæs. (B 591) "...as it is now done and formerly was."

...suae mon æt hlaforda tidum doeð. (B 330) "...as one does at the lords' times."

...nymne suae þis gewrit hafað. (B 318) "...except as this writ has."

(4) for þon.

...for ðon hit wæs hire morgengifu. (B 591) "...because it was her morning-gift."

...for ðon he wæs cinges mon. (B 591) "...because he was the king's man."

...for ðon hit wæs his læn. (B 591) "...because it was his grant."

(5) ær.

...ær hire frynd fundon æt Eadwearde cyncge. (B 1064) "...before her friends found out from King Eadweard."

...ær we eodan into cinge and sædan eall. (B 591) "...before we went to the king and told all."

c. Noun clauses.

(1) þæt.

And ic cyþe þæt me ys wana þus micelys. (H 63) "And I make known that (it) is lacking to me thus much."

And ic cyþe inc leof þæt we habbað gedon swa swa... (H 27) "And I make known to you two, beloved, that we have done just as..."

Her swutelað on ðysan gewrite þæt Godwine geann... (R 75) "Here it is made known in this writ that Godwine grants..."

(2) hu.

Her swutelað on þisum gewrite hu Godric æt Burnan begeat þæt land æt Offaham. (R 103) "Here is made known in this writ how Godric of Bourne obtained the land at Offenham."

Leof ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs ymb ðæt land æt Funtial. (B 591) "Beloved, I make known to you how it was concerning the land at Fonthill."

Eadgifu cyþ þam arcebiscop hu hire land com æt Culingon. (B 1064) "Eadgifu makes known to the archbishop how her land came at Colling."

(3) hwæt

Ðis sindan geðinga...hwet man elce gere ob ðem lande ðem hiwum agiaban scel. (B 403) "These are of the things (property)... what one shall give each year from the land to the brotherhood."

Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood seems to deal with statements of actions or conditions the exact result or state of which is unknown or uncertain; the statements often refer to future events or possibilities of choice outside the power of the writer to make and beyond his knowledge. The main characteristic of the subjunctive mood, then, is the uncertainty or possibility of future events.

In these documents the subjunctive mood is used to express bequests, wishes, or commands to be carried out after the death of the person making the will. Sometimes it is uncertain whether there will be a legal heir alive or whether he will be entitled to or "worthy" of the inheritance; sometimes there are conditions which may or may not be carried out; it is uncertain who the successors of abbots and bishops will be; often there are alternate bequests in case there is no legal heir or the conditions are not fulfilled.

The other characteristic use of the subjunctive mood is the

command function. A verb in the subjunctive mood may indicate a command but in a less direct fashion. It is more a suggestion or strong wish, which is to be accomplished at a later date rather than immediately.

1. Independent clauses.

a. Indirect command or direction by which physical property is disposed of at a future time, usually after the death of the giver.

And agefe mon to Liminge I eawa and V cy fore hie. (B 412) "And one is to give to Lyminge one ewe and five cows for them."

And Sigulf geselle of ðem londe C pæninga to Cristes cirican. (B 558) "And Sigulf is to give five pence from the land to Christchurch."

Þonne gebygcge he þa lond æt hire mid halfe weorðe. (B 558) "Then he is to buy the lands from her at half price."

And æfter heora dæge agefe mon ðæt land into... (B 416) "And after her day, one is to give the land to..."

And Freoðomund foe to minum sweorde. (B 412) "And Freothomund is to inherit my sword."

Ond ðas forecuædenan suæsenda all agife mon ðæm reogolwarde. (B 330) "And all the foresaid provisions one is to give to the provost."

And þonne ofer ðreora monna dæg agefe mon aft ðæt lond. (B 609) "And then after three men's day one is to give back the land."

b. To confer a certain privilege or condition.

And bio he ælces wites wyrðe. (B 1010) "And he is to be entitled to all payments."

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "Let it be free of each thing."

And beon heora menn frige æfter heora beira dæge. (W 30) "And let their men be free after both their day."

And he hit hæbbe to freon ælces þinges. (R 94) "And he is to have it as free of each thing."

c. Wish or prayer to supernatural powers.

Ða God forgelde his sawle. (B 591) "Then may God repay his soul (reward his soul)."

Ðe lifigiende God gemyne ðu Eadfrið. (B 631) "May the living God remember you Eadfrith."

Sancta Maria and...eallum Godes halgum gemiltsien þis healdendum. (B 1233) "May St. Mary and all of God's saints be merciful to these protectors."

Se þe ðæt onwende hæbbe he Godes unmiltse. (B 639) "He who changes that, may he have God's wrath."

2. Dependent clauses.

a. Introduced by þæt after the verbs willan, biddan, bebeodan, cweþan, cyþan, and the expression is min willa.

Ic and Beornðryð biddað ðæt wit moten bion... (B 330) "I and Beornthryth pray that we two might be..."

Ðonne bebeode ic ðæt mon ðas ðing selle... (B 330) "Then I order that one give these things..."

Þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif... (B 412) "Then it is my will that my wife is to have it."

Ðonne is min willa ðæt ðissa gewrita sien twa gelice. (B 417) "Then it is my will that these writs be two alike."

Ða sohte he me and bæd me ðæt ic him wære forespeca. (B 591) "Then he sought me and asked me that I would be advocate for him."

Ða cwæð he ðæt he wære ðeof. (B 591) "Then he said that he might be a thief."

And ic wille þæt Æffe feormige of þæm þrim dælum... (B 678) "And I wish that Æffe provide from the three parts..."

And ic wille þæt man nime þæt feoh.,. (W 20) "And I wish that one take the money (property)..."

Nu cyðe ic þæt ealle þa þingc sy gedon. (W 20) "Now I declare that all those things be done (shall be done)."

b. Relative clauses (Class II).

(1) þæt.

Þis synd þænne þa forewyrd þæt Ægelric hæbbe þæt land... (R 101)
"These are then the arrangements that Ægelric is to have the land..."

(2) þe.

Aec ic bebeode minum aefterfylgendum öe ðaet lond hæbben...
(B 330) "Also, I order my successors who will have the land..."

...ða hwile öe hit Cristen se. (B 403) "...the while that it may be Christian."

...on þæt gerad þe þæt stande. (B 1306) "...on the agreement that that may stand."

And he geann forgifnesse ælcan þara þe wiö hine agylt hæbbe.
(B 1317) "And he grants forgiveness to each of those who may have sinned against him."

...and æfter dæge þam þe leofust sy. (R 103) "...and after (his) day to him who may happen to be most pleasing to him."

c. Adverbial clauses (Class II).

(1) swa.

...suæ hweöer hiora swæ leng lifes were. (B 318) "...to whichever of them (who) may be longer in life."

...suæ he him seolfe on his wisdome geleornie. (B 318) "...as he may learn of himself in his wisdom."

(2) gif.

Gif hio bearn hæbbe öonne... (B 318) "If she should have a child, then..."

And gif him God lifes geunne lencg þonne unc þæt he... (W 16-1)
"And if God should grant life to him longer than to us..."

Gif hyt þin willa wære þu mihtest eaöe gedon... (H 63) "If it were your wish, you might easily do..."

(3) þær.

...þær min lic reste. (B 678) "...there where my body is to rest."

(4) þonne.

And ma monna öonne ic nu genemnan mæge. (B 591) "And more men than I now am able to name."

(5) butæn.

...butan he hit forwyrce. (R 87) "...unless he should forfeit it."

...butaon he hit þe deoppor ær gebete. (R 83) "...unless he should make amends for it before the more deeply (as fully as possible)."

(6) hwonne.

...hwonne sio tid sie. (B 330) "...when the time is to be."

Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is used to give a direct order or command without employing other verbs of ordering or commanding; its use suggests immediate compliance in the present.

Only two examples of the imperative mood occur in this corpus, both of which are the 2nd person singular. This form of the imperative is distinctive in almost all verbs because it is formed by merely omitting the -an ending from the infinitive form. The imperative mood is also characterized by having no expressed subject of the verb.

Læt me þæt land to handa. (B 1063) "Turn over the land to me."

And Æðelsige leof cyð þis mine hlaforde and ealle mine freondum. (B 1317) "And Æthelsige, beloved, make this known to my lord and all my friends."

Aspect

There is no inflection to indicate aspect in Old English verbs.

The question of aspect is confusing in Old English because the usage is inconsistent and depends on context or the reader's interpretation.

It can be said that there are two basic aspects suggested: the perfective aspect, relating to momentary actions such as inception or completion, and the durative aspect, relating to both habitual and continuous actions. It seems that these ideas of aspect are conveyed simply by the meaning of the verb rather than by any syntactical signal.

The use of the present perfect and past perfect phrase constructions seems to be an attempt to distinguish the perfective aspect by combination of verb forms.

There are two examples in this corpus which might be interpreted as durative aspect since they indicate a progressive action. The verb is composed of a form of beon/wesan plus a present participle.

> Ic Lufa mid Godes gefe ancilla Dei wes soecende and smeagende ymb mine saul ðearfe... (B 405) "I, Lufa, with God's grace a servant of God, was searching and reflecting about the need of my soul..."

> And ða sprece nænig mon uferran dogor on nænge oðre halfe oncærrende sie nymne suæ þis gewrit hafað. (B 318) "And no one in later days is to be perverting this transaction in any other way except as this writ has."

Verbals

Verbals are verb forms which do not function alone as a basic element of a sentence or clause; they are not conjugated or inflected to show person, tense, or mood.

There are three classes of verbals distinguished by form and function: participles, infinitives, and gerunds.

Participles

The participle functions as modifier of a noun or as part of a verb phrase. There are two types of participles formally

distinguished: present participle and past participle.

1. The present participle has the distinctive ending -(i)ende.

a. In verb phrases, the uninflected present participle is used with the verb beon/wesan to indicate a progressive action or durative aspect.

> Ic Lufa wes soecende and smeagende... (B 405) "I, Lufa, was searching and reflecting..."

> And ða sprece nænig mon uferran dogor on nænge oðre halfe oncærrende sie... (B 318) "And let no one in later days be changing (perverting) that agreement in any other way..."

b. In modifying a noun, the present participle functions as an adjective and is inflected like an adjective, strong or weak, to agree with the noun in number, gender, and case.

> Ðe lifigiende God gemyne ðu... (B 631) "May the living God be mindful of you..."

> ...and an Godes libgendes naman... (B 405) "...and in the name of the living God..."

2. The past participle has distinctive endings only in the weak verbs: -ed, -od, -d, -t; past participles of strong and preteritive-present verbs end in -en which is identical in form with the subjunctive mood plural; anomalous verbs either have no past participle or it is the same form as the infinitive: don, gan.

a. In verb phrases the past participle is used with the present and past tenses of beon and habban.

(1) The present tense of habban plus a past participle is used to form a present perfect verb phrase (see pp. 148 and 149).

> ...ac ic hæbbe ealle þa spæce to Ælfhege læten. (B 1063)
> "...but I have assigned all the judgment to Ælfhege."

...ðet ic beboden hebbe an ðisem gewrite. (B 405) "...that I have commanded in this writ."

...hu ic mine are...geunnen hæbbe. (W 20) "...how I have granted my property."

(2) The past tense of habban plus a past participle is used to form a past perfect verb phrase (see pp. 149-150).

...for ðon ic his hæfde ær onfongen. (B 591) "...because I had sponsored him before."

...þe Ægelric himsylfan getimbrod hæfde. (R 101) "...which Ægelric himself had built."

Ða he ðæt gedon hæfde ða... (B 591) "When he had done that, then..."

(3) The present tense of beon/wesan plus a past participle (sometimes inflected) is used to form the passive structure (see p. 150).

Gif ænig þonne sy uppahofen and inblawen... (R 94) "If any then may be uplifted and inflated..."

...þe fram cuþum mannum Teottingctun and Ælfsigestun sint gehatenne... (B 1233) "...which are called Teddington and Alston by men familiar with them..."

...ðe þus sind gehatene Meldeburna Earnigaford Northwold. (B 1267) "...which are called thus: Melbourn, Erningford, (and) Northwold." (See hatan, p. 151.)

(4) The past tense of beon/wesan plus a past participle usually indicates a passive structure (see p. 151); however, in one instance this combination seems to be equivalent to the past perfect verb phrase.

Þa he geendodu wæs þa rad se bisceop to þam cynge... (B 1063) "When he had died (was dead), then the bishop rode to the king..."

b. In modifying a noun, the past participle functions as an adjective and is inflected like an adjective, strong or weak

declension, to agree with the noun in number, gender, and case.

...on geceapodne ceap. (R 103) "...as bargained payment."

Ga þis foresprecene land into Cristes cyricean... (R 101) This aforementioned land is to go to Christchurch..."

...mid XX æcerum gesawenes cornes. (R 81) "...with twenty acres of sown grain."

...mid nanes mannes scette unagifnum. (B 1064) "...with any man's scott unpaid."

...and feower hors twa gerædode twa ungerædode... (B 1306) "...and four horses, two harnessed (with trappings), two unharnessed (without trappings)."

Infinitives

The infinitive form of the verb ends in -an with the exception of verbs like don and beon. This is the same form as the 1st person plural imperative, but there are no plural imperatives in this corpus.

The infinitive functions as object or complement of finite verbs; the infinitive occurs alone (as object of another verb) or it occurs in a phrase with its own subject or object or both subject and object.

1. The infinitive alone as object or complement of a verb.

Ða he ætsacan wolde ða... (B 591) "When he wished to deny then..."

...and ma monna ðonne ic nu genemnan mæge. (B 591) "...and more men than I now am able to name."

Ða cwæð ic ðæt he wolde cunnigan and bæd ðone cing ðæt... (B 591) "Then I said that he wished to try and prayed the king that..."

2. Infinitive phrase with object of the infinitive.

Ða ongon Higa him specan. (B 591) "Then Higa began to speak to him."

...þæt heo sceolde hire fæder hand geclænsian... (B 1064) "...that she was obliged to cleanse (clear) her father's hand."

...ðæt he moste ðes londes brucan. (B 591) "...that he be permitted to enjoy (use) the land."

Gief hwa buton gewyrhtum hit awendan wille... (B 1233) "If anyone without cause wishes to change it..."

Indirect object of the infinitive.

...gif me God bearnes unnan wille... (B 412) "...if God should wish to grant a child to me..."

...and gif se cyning him geunnan wille þæs folclondes... (B 558) "...and if the king should wish to grant him the folkland..."

3. Infinitive phrase with subject of the infinitive.

And se cyng het þone arcebisceop Wulfstan þærto boc settan and Æþelstane bisceope boc and land betæcan... (R 83) "And the king commanded the archbishop, Wulfstan, to draw up a charter thereto and to entrust charter and land to Bishop Æthelstan..."

4. The infinitive used with the verbs hatan and gehieran has no subject and must be translated as a passive infinitive.

Ic...hatu writan and cyðan an ðissum gewrite... (B 558) "I... command to be written and made known in this writ..."

Ic...cyðo and writan hato hu min willa is... (B 417) "I...declare and order to be written how my will is..."

Ic...cyðe and writan hate hu min willa is... (B 412) "I...declare and order to be written how my will is..."

...þe minne cwyde gehyron rædan... (W 20) "...who may hear my will to be read..."

5. In addition to the verbs in the examples above (hatan, onginnan, gehieran, magan, sculan, and willan), infinitives are also used as objects or complements of durran and motan.

Þa cwæþ heo þæt heo ne dorste for Gode him swa leanian... (B 1064) "Then she said that she did not dare before God to repay him..."

And he him swa þa land geagnian derr... (B 1063) "And he thus dares to claim the land from him..."

...ðæt hit mote stondan swa... (B 591) "...that it be permitted to stand thus..."

...ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð... (B 591) "...that Helmstan be permitted to go forth..."

6. The infinitive may be modified by

a. An adverb.

...ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð... (B 591) "...that Helmstan be permitted to go forth."

...ðæt hit swa stondan moste. (B 591) "...that it be permitted to stand thus."

b. Prepositional phrase.

Gif min wiif ðonne hia nylle mid clennisse swæ gehaldan... (B 412) "If my wife then does not wish to hold herself thus with purity (chastity)..."

Gerunds

The gerund has the distinctive ending -enne or -anne and is always preceded by to. The gerund functions as subject of a verb, object of a verb, and adverbial modifier indicating purpose.

1. Subject of verb (the gerund takes an object or complement).

Gif...hire liofre sie oðer hemed to niomanne... (B 412) "If...to undertake another marriage should be more pleasing to her..."

Gif hire ðonne liofre sie an mynster to ganganne oððа suð to faranne... (B 412) "If to enter a monastery or to go south (to Rome) should be more pleasing to her..."

2. Object of a verb (the gerund has a subject).

...ðet he...ðis...bebeode his erbum to healdenne... (B 403) "...that he command his heirs to hold (observe) this..."

3. Modifier of verb to indicate purpose.

And ic an þæs landes æt Ingepenne ofer minne dæg Æffan to brucenne and to bewitanne. (B 678) "And I grant the land at Inkpen after my day to Æffe to enjoy (use) and to administer."

...ðæt heo hit ahte him wel to syllanne... (B 591) "...that she possessed it for giving to him completely."

...ðæt mon agefe ðæt lond inn higum...him to brucanne... (B 417) "...that one is to give that land to the brotherhood for them to possess (enjoy the use of).

Her swutelað...þæt Godwine geann Leofwine...ðæs dænnes...to habbanne and to sellanne... (R 75) "Here is declared that Godwine grants to Leofwine the swine-pasture to have and to give..."

CHAPTER VIII

WORD ORDER

Word order, the syntactic function of the positional arrangement of words in a linguistic construction, was formerly thought to be of little or no significance in Old English; in fact, some of the earlier linguists explained that the present syntactic importance of word order in Modern English was caused by the loss of case inflections so that word order had to take over the function vacated by inflection.[1] Later and more detailed studies, like those of Thomas, Cassidy, Magers, and Saitz,[2] have shown that word order (including periphrastic constructions) was in operation in Old English and had become prevalent in late Old English so that inflections were no longer necessary for many syntactic distinctions.

In the period of Old English covered by these charters, the situation is complex because both systems (inflection and word order) are actually operating; nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs are inflected (adverbs are inflected for degree only), but there is a considerable degree of ambiguity (for instance, the oblique cases of the weak noun and adjective, and the nominative-accusative of masculine and neuter nouns). Besides, there are several classes of words which are

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[1] See footnote 2, p. 5.

[2] See pp. 7 and 8.

not inflected (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and the relative pronoun þe). Therefore, one has to keep in mind, when discussing categories indicated by inflection, that this descriptive analysis is based only on forms which are clearly unambiguous and that inflection and word order are interdependent.

The texts in this corpus show that there are repeated patterns of word arrangement in many constructions; sometimes the repetitions are the same, sometimes they are varied. The restriction to a limited number of variations of a particular pattern and the non-occurrence of other possible variations indicate that the patterns or arrangements that occur do have significance and are preferred for some reason. With the assumption that word order patterns that occur and that are repeated are indicative of the significance of that pattern, our object in this chapter is to see what the operative patterns in Old English syntax were and what variations each had.

Following the plan of procedure already established, we will first examine the word order of basic elements (subject, verb, object, etc.), secondary elements (modification structures), and dependent clauses and conjunctions which do not function as basic or secondary elements.

In the following analysis, I have considered only two basic elements at a time in order to avoid unnecessary confusion. It is easier to see a pattern in smaller units, for when three or more basic elements are considered simultaneously, the word order patterns are so many and so varied that it is difficult to see any order at all. This may suggest that it is the more general features of word order that are syntactically significant rather than the exact position of

individual items which operate with optional and more varied word order patterns, any one of which occurs infrequently.

Word order of the basic elements with verb phrases is discussed later in this chapter (see p. 217 ff.).

Position of Subject and Verb

1. Initial sentences.

a. All simple initial sentences with a simple verb form have SV word order.

> Eadweard cyngc gret Leofwine biscop and Eadwine eorl and ealle mine þegnas on Stæffordscire freondlice. (H 96) "King Edward greets Bishop Leofwine and Earl Eadwine and all my thanes in Staffordshire in a friendly manner."

b. Complex sentences.

(1) In independent clauses, SV word order is more frequent than VS.

> Leof ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs... (B 591) "Beloved, I make known to you how it was..."

All independent clauses which have VS word order follow one of two types of introductory constructions.

(a) Expletive: þis is (syndon) (see p. 31).

> Ðis sindan geðinga Ealhburge... (B 403) "These are the agreements of Ealhburg..."
>
> Ðis is geðinge Eadwaldes Osheringes... (B 404) "This is the agreement of Eadwald Oshering..."
>
> Ðis siondan ðes landes boec... (B 496) "These are the charters of the land..."
>
> Þis is Æðelwyrdes cwide... (B 1010) "This is Æthelwyrd's will..."
>
> Ðis is Wulfgates gecwide... (B 1317) "This is Wulfgat's will..."

Ðis syndon þa foreward... (R 81) "These are the agreements..."

(b) Introductory adverb (her); subject is usually a dependent clause.

Her is on sio swutelung hu Ælfhelm his are...geuadod hæfð... (B 1306) "Here is in the declaration how Ælfhelm has given his property..."

Her cyþ...hu Wynflæd gelædde hyre gewitnesse... (R 66) "Here is made known how Wynflaed produced her witnesses..."

Her cyð Æþeric... (W 16-1) "Here Ætheric makes known..."

Her swutelað...hu Æðelred kyning geuðe... (W 16-2) "Here is declared how King Æthelred granted..."

Her swutelað...þæt Godwine geann... (R 75) "Here is declared that Godwin grants..."

Her swutelað...þæt Æþelstan...gebohte... (R 83) "Here is declared ...that Æthelstan...bought..."

(Also E 240, W 30, R 102, R 103, R 108.)

(2) Practically all dependent clauses in complex initial sentences have SV word order.

Her cyð on þisan gewritu þæt Þurstan geann þæs landes... (W 30) "Here is made known in this writ that Thurstan grants that land..."

Only three examples have VS word order.

...þæt hire læfde hire fæder land and boc... (B 1064) "...that her father left to her land and deed..."

...sumum cnihte þæm is Osulf nama... (B 1233) "...to a certain knight whose name is Osulf..."

...minan holdan and getreowan þegene þam is Ægelric nama... (R 94) "...to my loyal and faithful thane whose name is Ægelric..."

2. Sequence sentences.

a. Simple sentences usually have SV word order.

And þridde bið mid heom sylfan. (W 30) "And the third is with himself."

Simple sequence sentences differ from simple initial sentences in that

simple sequence sentences have a higher percentage of VS word order (see Table 3). It should be noticed that certain manuscripts have more VS sentences than others. For instance, B 591, B 1063, and B 1097, which are narrative in nature, repeat the same VS patterns in successive sentences.

The use of VS word order in simple sequence sentences falls into the following divisions.

(1) After a prepositional phrase.

And æfter heora dæge agefe mon... (B 406) "And after their day let one give..."

Ond efter Werburge dæge seo Alhðryðe ða lond... (B 558) "And after Werburg's day, the land is to be Alhthryth's..."

Æfter þam bæd Ælfsige... (B 1063) "After that, Ælfsige asked..."

Æfter Eadmunde cincge ða gebocode hit Eadred cinc... (B 1097) "After King Eadmund, then King Eadred deeded it..."

And æfter þreora manna dæge gange þæt land... (R 81) "And after three men's day, that land is to go..."

(2) Verbs in the subjunctive mood are often followed by the subject.[1]

And agefe mon... (B 412) "And let one give..."

And geselle hio... (B 558) "And she is to give..."

And bio he... (B 1010) "And let him be (he is to be)..."

And beon heora menn frige... (W 30) "And let their men be free..."

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "It is to be free of all things."

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[1]This category necessarily overlaps the other categories because of the frequent use of verbs in the subjunctive mood in these texts; specifically included in this category are those sentences which have no other feature which accounts for the VS word order.

Habban hi æfre... (B 1267) "They are to have always..."

(3) After a noun or pronoun in the genitive case.

Ond ðas forecuædenan suæsenda all agefe mon... (B 330) "And one is to give all of the above-said provisions..."

Þises londes earan ðrie sulong... (B 318) "(There) are three sulongs of this land..."

And þyses wæs Ælfgar...to gewitnesse. (R 66) "And of this Ælfgar was as witness."

And þissera gewritu syndan þreo. (W 30) "And (there) are three of these writs."

Þises is to gewitnesse...Wulfsige. (R 103) "Wulfsige is as witness to this."

(4) After introductory adverb.

(a) (and) þonne.

Þonne gebygcge he... (B 558) "Then he is to buy..."

And þonne ofer ðreora monna dæge agefe monn... (B 609) "And then after three men's day, let one give..."

(b) þa.

Da spæc ic. (B 591) "Then I spoke." (This pattern, þa plus VS, occurs eighteen times in B 591.)

Þa wæs ðæt swa. (B 1063) "Then that was so." (This pattern, þa plus VS, occurs seventeen times in B 1063.)

Þa gewat Eadric. (B 1097) "Then Eadric died." (This pattern, þa plus VS, occurs eight times in B 1097.)

Þa dyde man swa. (R 66) "Then someone did so."

Þa nold Sigelm... (B 1064) "Then Sigelm did not wish..."

Þa ferde se bisceop... (R 83) "Then the bishop went..."

(c). þus, nu, her, na.

Þus com þeos ar... (B 1064) "Thus came this property..."

Nu synd þissa gewrita þreo. (R 103) "Now (there) are three of these writs."

Her is seo hondseten... (B 1233) "Here is the signature..."

And na stinge nan mann... (W 30) "And may no man ever lay claim..."

(d) When the direct object is first element (after and).

And þridde hæfð Godric. (R 103) "And Godric has the third."

And þridde hæfð Æðelmer. (R 81) "And Æthelmer has the third."

And þæt þridde hæfð Ægelric mid him sylfan. (R 101) "And Ægelric has the third with him."

And þridde hæfð Leofwine preost. (R 102) "And Priest Leofwine has the third."

(é) After the expletive þis.

Ðis syndon þa foreword... (R 81) "These are the agreements..."

b. Complex sentences.

(1) In independent clauses, SV word order is more frequent than VS in the ninth-century texts (55%) and in the eleventh-century texts (65%).

And ic gean Leofstane dæcane þæt land... (E 240) "And I grant Deacon Leofstan that land..."

VS word order is more frequent (53%) than SV word order in the tenth-century texts because there are a number of long narrative texts which repeat the same patterns in successive sentences (B 591, B 1063, and B 1097). VS word order in independent clauses falls in the same categories as those listed above under simple sentences with the addition of the following.

(a) When a dependent clause precedes the independent clause, the independent clause has VS word order and is often introduced by ðonne.

Gif hio ðonne bearn næbbe...þonne foe he to ðæm londe... (B 318) "If she does not have a child, then he is to inherit the land..."

Gif hit ðonne festendæg sie selle mon uuæge cæsa... (B 330) "If it then is a fast day, one may give a wey (weight) of cheese..."

Ond swa hwylc mon swa hio wonie and breoce gewonie him God almahtig his weorldare... (B 558) "And whoever annuls and breaks (it), may God Almighty decrease his worldly goods..."

Ða we hie æt Weardoran nu semdan ða bær mon ða boc forð... (B 591) "When we now brought them to agreement at Wardour, then one bore the deed forth..."

And se ðe þas foreward to breke ne gewurðe hit him næfre forgifen... (B 1318) "And he who breaks this agreement, may it never be forgiven him."

(b) Interrogatives introduced by hwonne.

And leof hwonne bið engu spæc geendedu... (B 591) "And, beloved, when is any suit settled..."

...hwonne habbe we ðonne gemotad. (B 591) "...when (to what purpose) have we negotiated?"

(2) Dependent clauses. All types of dependent clauses (Class I, Class II, Class III) in sequence sentences have over 90% SV word order; in this respect they are very similar to the dependent clauses in initial sentences. Over 93% of the Class I dependent clauses have SV word order.

And ic bidde...ðet he ðas god forðleste... (B 405) "And I order that he carry out these good deeds..."

There are only five examples of VS word order out of 145 clauses.

And he cwæð ðæt him wære leofre ðæt he... (B 591) "And he said that (it) would be more pleasing to him that he..."

Þa cwæð Æðelstan þæt him leofre wære þæt hit to fyre oððe flode gewurde... (B 1063) "Then Æthelstan said that (it) would be more pleasing to him that it perish by fire or flood..."

Þa cwædon þa witan...þæt betere wære þæt man þene aþ aweg lete... (R 66) "Then the councilors said that (it) would be better that one should dispense with the oath..."

...þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif... (B 412) "...then my will is that my wife should have it..."

And ic cyþe þæt me ys wana...þus micelys... (H 63) "And I make known that thus much is lacking to me..."

Over 98% of the Class II dependent clauses have SV word order.

...þæs landes...þe ic gebohte æt minon fæder... (W 20) "...the land...which I bought from my father..."

Only one Class II clause out of 299 has VS word order; it is introduced by a relative pronoun in the genitive case.

...and ðreo hund hlafa ðeara bið fiftig hwita hlafe. (B 412) "...and three hundred loaves, of which fifty are to be white loaves."

Over 95% of the Class III dependent clauses have SV word order.

Gif heo bearn næbbe... (B 558) "If she should not have a child..."

Only six Class III dependent clauses have VS word order.

Gif me ðonne gifeðe sie ðæt ic bearn begeotan ne mege... (B 412) "If to me then is granted (by fate) that I may not beget a child..."

Gif hire ðonne liofre sie an mynster to ganganne... (B 412) "If to enter a monastery be more agreeable to her then..."

...þæs me is God gewyta. (B 1306) "...of which God is the witness."

...fo to lande se þe fo... (B 1306) "...whoever may inherit the land..."

...age land se þe age... (W 20) "...whoever owns the land."

...ac beo he fordemed into helle wite... (B 1318) "...but may he be condemned to hell's torment (punishment)..."

The following table gives the number and percentage of occurrences of SV and VS word orders in simple sentences, independent clauses and Class I, Class II, and Class III dependent clauses of initial and sequence sentences by centuries.

TABLE 3

OCCURRENCE OF SV AND VS WORD ORDERS

9th Century

		SV		VS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	2	100	0	0	2
	Independent cl.	7	70	3	30	10
	Class I dep. cl.	8	100	0	0	8
	Class II dep. cl.	9	100	0	0	9
	Class III dep. cl.	1	100	0	0	1
	Total	27	90	3	10	30
Sequence	Simple sen.	14	63.6	8	36.4	22
	Independent cl.	42	55.3	34	44.7	76
	Class I dep. cl.	29	93.5	2	6.5	31
	Class II dep. cl.	57	98.3	1	1.7	58
	Class III dep. cl.	41	95.3	2	4.7	43
	Total	183	79.6	47	20.4	230

10th Century

		SV		VS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	1	50	1	50	2
	Independent cl.	8	57.1	5	42.9	13
	Class I dep. cl.	7	100	0	0	7
	Class II dep. cl.	14	87.5	2	12.5	16
	Class III dep. cl.	6	100	0	0	6
	Total	36	81.8	8	18.2	44
Sequence	Simple sen.	48	52.7	43	47.3	91
	Independent cl.	72	46.2	84	53.8	156
	Class I dep. cl.	73	96	3	4	76
	Class II dep. cl.	125	100	0	0	125
	Class III dep. cl.	76	97.4	2	2.6	78
	Total	394	74.9	132	25.1	526

TABLE 3 -- (cont.)

11th Century

		SV		VS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	8	100	0	0	8
	Independent cl.	4	30.8	9	69.2	13
	Class I dep. cl.	10	100	0	0	10
	Class II dep. cl.	31	96.8	1	3.2	32
	Class III dep. cl.	2	100	0	0	2
	Total	55	84.6	10	15.4	65
Sequence	Simple sen.	25	52	23	48	48
	Independent cl.	71	65	38	35	109
	Class I dep. cl.	37	97.4	1	2.6	38
	Class II dep. cl.	117	100	0	0	117
	Class III dep. cl.	44	95.6	2	4.4	46
	Total	294	82.1	64	17.9	358

This table shows:

1. That SV word order is more frequent than VS in all types of sentences and clauses except the independent clauses of sequence sentences in the tenth century texts and independent clauses of initial sentences in the eleventh century texts;

2. In initial simple sentences SV is more frequent than VS, but in sequence simple sentences SV occurs in only approximately two-thirds (ninth century) to one-half (tenth and eleventh centuries) of the sentences;

3. In dependent clauses of both initial and sequence sentences, SV is much more frequent than VS.

Position of Verb and Direct Object

1. Initial sentences.

a. All initial simple sentences have VO word order.

Eadward kyning gret...ealle þa ðegnas... (H 115) "King Edward greets...all those thanes..."

b. Complex sentences.

(1) Independent clauses usually have VO word order.

Æðelstan cyng gefreode Eadelm... (B 639) "King Æthelstan freed Eadelm..."

Only one independent clause has OV word order.

Ic Oswold bisceop...landes sumne dæl...sumum cnihte...forgeaf... "I, Bishop Oswold, gave a certain part of the land to a certain knight..."

(2) Dependent clauses. In Class I clauses VO word order is more frequent than OV.

...þæt mon forstæl ænne wimman... (B 1063) "...that one stole a woman..."

Three Class I dependent clauses have OV word order.

...þet ge hit minre sawle nyt gedeo. (B 507) "...that you make it useful to (for) my soul."

...hu Ælfhelm his are and his æhta geuadod hæfð. (B 1306) "...how Ælfhelm has given his property and possessions."

In Class II dependent clauses, OV word order is more frequent than VO because the relative pronoun which comes first in the clause is often the direct object.

...þe he under Gode geernode... (E 240) "...which he merited under (from) God..."

Ten Class II dependent clauses (26.3%) have VO word order, eight of which follow a parenthetical þæt is.

...þæt is þonne þæt Æðelwyrd bruce þæs landæs. (B 1010) "...that is, then, that Æthelwyrd is to use the land."

Other VO patterns in Class II clauses are introduced by þe or þæt.

...þe ræt and gewissod eallum gesceaftum. (B 1267) "...who governed and directed all creatures."

...to gewitnesse þæt Ælfric sealde Wynflæde þæt land. (R 66) "...as a witness that Ælfric gave that land to Wynflaed."

There is only one Class III dependent clause; it has OV word order.

...and æc on aelmessan swæ mon hiora doeð. (B 330) "...and also with alms as one does theirs."

2. Sequence sentences.

a. Simple sentences. VO is the more frequent word order in simple sequence sentences.

And ic geann Siferðe þæs landes... (W 20) "And I grant the land to Siferth..."

OV word order occurs in only 19.6% of the sentences; the object is usually a pronoun or a numeral.

And he hit hæfde VII winter. (B 1064) "And he had it for seven winters."

And hine mon ðærræt aparade. (B 591) "And one captured him there."

And he hit hæbbe. (R 94) "And he is to have it."

...and ðan ðriddan sealde his lafe. (B 1097) "...and (one) is to give the third to his widow."

And þridde hæfð Godric. (R 103) "And Godric has the third."

And hi hire hire are gerehton and agefon. (B 1064) "And they decreed and gave to her her property."

b. Complex sentences.

(1) VO is the more frequent word order in independent clauses.

And ic geann Eadmunde minon breðer þæs swurdes... (W 20) "And I grant to Eadmund, my brother, the sword..."

OV word order occurs in 14.2% of the independent clauses.

And gif hiora oðrum oððe bæm suðforgelimpe biscop ðæt land gebycge... (B 318) "And if one or both of them should journey southward, the bishop is to buy that land..."

Certain manuscripts (B 318, B 330, B 591, B 631, B 1064, B 1097) have sentences in a series which repeat the OV word order pattern; from B 631 we have these successive sentences.

Eadfrið...ðis boc avrat... "Eadfrith wrote this book."

And Eðilvald...hit vta giðryde... "And Ethilwald bound it on the outside..."

And Billfrið...hit gihrinade mið golde... "And Billfrith... adorned it with gold."

And ic Aldred...hit ofergloesade on englisc..." "And I, Aldred... over-glossed it in English..."

(2) Dependent clauses. In Class I clauses VO word order is more frequent in the tenth and eleventh centuries; a change to VO word order is shown by the percentages: ninth century VO 45.5%; tenth century VO 58%; eleventh century VO 75%. That the pattern had not been established in the ninth century is shown by the fact that the same text uses both VO and OV in similar sentences.

Ic...bebeode ðæt mon ymb twælfmonað hiora tid boega ðus geuueorðiæ. (B 330) "I command that one thus annually celebrate the feast of both of them..."

Æc ic bebeode...ðæt hiæ simle ymb XII monað foranto ðære tide gegeorwien ten hund hlafa... (B 330) "Also, I command that they always annually before the feast provide ten hundred loaves..."

OV word order occurs in 94.2% of Class II dependent clauses.

...þæs landes...þe he ær ahte. (W 20) "...the land which he possessed before."

VO word order in Class II dependent clauses increases from 0% in the ninth century to 5.5% in the tenth century and 8.7% in the eleventh century.

...swa swyðe swa him man ætrehte bec and land. (B 1064)
"...so strongly that one declared forfeited the deeds and land by him."

...þæt se arcebiscop...geahnode...ða land. (B 1097) "...that the archbishop...claimed...that land."

OV word order occurs in 83.3% of Class III dependent clauses.

Gif hio bearn hæbbe... (B 318) "If she should have a child..."

In VO word order the object is frequently a dependent clause.

...for ðon ðe wit nolðan ðæt ðas halgan beoc...wunaden. (S 175)
"...because we two did not wish that the holy book(s) remain..."

...buton ic wylle þæt man mæste... (B 1306) "...but I wish that one fatten..."

...wiððan ðe min wiif þær benuge innganges. (B 412) "...on the condition that my wife obtain entrance there."

...and gif se cyning him geunnan wille þæs folclondes... (B 558)
"...and if the king will grant him the folkland..."

The following table gives the number and percentage of occurrences of VO and OV word orders in simple sentences, independent clauses and Class I, Class II, and Class III dependent clauses of initial and sequence sentences by centuries.

TABLE 4

OCCURRENCE OF VO AND OV WORD ORDERS

9th Century

		VO		OV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	1	100	0	0	1
	Independent cl.	8	100	0	0	8
	Class I dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Class II dep. cl.	0	0	7	100	7
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Total	9	50	9	50	18

TABLE 4 -- (cont.)

		VO		OV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Sequence	Simple sen.	16	80	4	20	20
	Independent cl.	42	75	14	25	56
	Class I dep. cl.	10	45.5	12	54.5	22
	Class II dep. cl.	0	0	32	100	32
	Class III dep. cl.	4	16	21	84	25
	Total	72	46.5	83	53.5	155

10th Century

		VO		OV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	1	100	0	0	1
	Independent cl.	6	85.7	1	14.3	7
	Class I dep. cl.	4	80	1	20	5
	Class II dep. cl.	4	44.4	5	55.6	9
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	15	68.2	7	31.8	22
Sequence	Simple sen.	58	82.9	12	17.1	70
	Independent cl.	103	85.1	18	14.9	121
	Class I dep. cl.	18	58	13	42	31
	Class II dep. cl.	3	5.5	52	94.5	55
	Class III dep. cl.	9	23.7	29	76.3	38
	Total	191	60.6	124	39.4	315

11th Century

		VO		OV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	7	100	0	0	7
	Independent cl.	4	100	0	0	4
	Class I dep. cl.	8	88.9	1	11.1	9
	Class II dep. cl.	6	27.3	16	72.7	22
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	25	59.5	17	40.5	42

TABLE 4 -- (cont.)

		VO		OV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Sequence	Simple sen.	16	72.7	6	27.3	22
	Independent cl.	72	94.7	4	5.3	76
	Class I dep. cl.	15	75	5	25	20
	Class II dep. cl.	6	8.7	63	91.3	69
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	15	100	15
	Total	109	53.9	93	46.1	202

From the foregoing table we see that:

1. VO word order is more frequent than OV in both initial and sequence simple sentences and independent clauses;

2. In Class I dependent clauses, OV is more frequent in the ninth century, but VO is more frequent in the tenth and eleventh centuries;

3. OV word order is more frequent in Class II and Class III dependent clauses although the percentage of VO word order increases slightly beginning with the tenth century.

Position of Subject and Direct Object

1. Initial sentences.

a. All simple sentences, independent clauses, and Class I and Class III dependent clauses have SO word order.

Ic...ond Beornðryð...sellað...ðæt lond... (B 330) "I...and Beornthryth...give...that land..."

b. Class II dependent clauses.

(1) SO word order is more frequent.

...on ælcere scire þe Æþelnoð arcebiscop and se hired...land inne habbað... (H 28) "...in each shire in which Archbishop

Æthelnoth and the brotherhood have land..."

(2) OS word order.

...embe þa forewyrd þe Ægelric worhte wið Eadsige... (R 101)
"...concerning the agreements that Ægelric made with Eadsige..."

2. Sequence sentences.

a. Simple sentences.

(1) SO word order is more frequent.

Þonne gebygcge he þa lond... (B 558) "Then he is to buy those lands..."

(2) OS word order.

Ond ðas forecuædenan suæsenda all agefe mon dæm [sic] reogolwarde. (B 330) "And let one give all the above-said provisions to the ruleward (provost)."

b. Complex sentences.

(1) SO word order occurs more frequently in independent clauses.

And he hit hæfde VII winter. (B 1064) "And he had it for seven winters."

OS word order in independent clauses.

And twa þusenda swina ic heom sello... (B 558) "And I give two thousand swine to him..."

(2) SO word order occurs more frequently in Class I dependent clauses.

...ðaet mon ðas ðing selle... (B 330) "...that one give those things..."

OS word order in Class I dependent clauses.

...þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif... (B 412)
"...then my will is that my wife is to have it..."

(3) SO word order is more frequent in ninth and tenth-century Class II dependent clauses.

...ten hundan mannan ðe þane að sealdan. (B 1097) "...ten hundred men who gave the oath."

OS word order is more frequent in eleventh-century Class II dependent clauses.

...þæs landes þe ic him ær ofnam. (W 20) "...the land that I took from him before."

(4) SO word order is more frequent in Class III dependent clauses.

Gif hio bearn hæbbe... (B 318) "If she should have a child..."

OS word order is infrequent in Class III dependent clauses.

...gif hit hio gehaldeð mid ðare clænisse... (B 558) "...if she holds it with purity (chastity)..."

TABLE 5

OCCURRENCE OF SO AND OS WORD ORDERS

9th Century

		SO		OS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	1	100	0	0	1
	Independent cl.	7	100	0	0	7
	Class I dep. cl.	2	100	0	0	2
	Class II dep. cl.	3	43	4	57	7
	Class III dep. cl.	1	100	0	0	1
	Total	14	77.8	4	22.1	18
Sequence	Simple sen.	19	95	1	5	20
	Independent cl.	50	89.3	6	10.7	56
	Class I dep. cl.	19	86.3	3	13.7	22
	Class II dep. cl.	22	68.7	10	31.3	32
	Class III dep. cl.	20	80	5	20	25
	Total	130	83.9	25	16.1	155

TABLE 5 -- (cont.)

10th Century

		SO		OS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	1	100	0	0	1
	Independent cl.	7	100	0	0	7
	Class I dep. cl.	5	100	0	0	5
	Class II dep. cl.	7	77.8	2	22.2	9
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	20	90.9	2	9.1	22
Sequence	Simple sen.	64	94.1	6	5.8	70
	Independent cl.	115	95	6	5	121
	Class I dep. cl.	29	93.5	2	6.5	31
	Class II dep. cl.	31	56.4	24	43.6	55
	Class III dep. cl.	36	94.7	2	5.3	38
	Total	275	87.3	40	12.7	315

11th Century

		SO		OS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	7	100	0	0	7
	Independent cl.	4	100	0	0	4
	Class I dep. cl.	9	100	0	0	9
	Class II dep. cl.	15	68.2	7	31.8	22
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	35	83.3	7	16.7	42
Sequence	Simple sen.	18	81.8	4	18.2	22
	Independent cl.	74	97.4	2	2.6	76
	Class I dep. cl.	19	95	1	5	20
	Class II dep. cl.	26	37.7	43	62.3	69
	Class III dep. cl.	15	100	0	0	15
	Total	152	75.2	50	24.8	202

Position of Verb and Indirect Object

1. Initial sentences. There are few indirect objects in initial sentences. They never occur in some types of clauses (Class III); in other clauses there may be only one example or there may be one or two examples of each word order (VI and IV) so that no definite conclusions are possible.

a. Independent clause, VI word order.

Ic...gebocige sumne dæl landes minan holdan and getreowan þegene... (R 94) "I deed a certain part of land to my loyal and true thane..."

b. Independent clause, IV word order.

Ic...landes sumne dæl...sumum cnihte...forgeaf... (B 1233) "I gave a certain part of land to a certain knight..."

c. Class I dependent clause, VI word order.

...þæt ic gean Wulmere...twegra hida landes... (R 87) "...that I grant Wulmer...two hides of land..."

d. Class I dependent clause, IV word order.

...hwam he geann...þæra æhta... (W 16-1) "...to whom he grants... the property..."

e. Class II dependent clause, VI word order.

...þæt we hit unnon him... (R 81) "...that we give it to him..."

f. Class II dependent clause, IV word order.

...þe hire Eðelmod...salde... (B 404) "...which Ethelmod gave to her."

2. Sequence sentences.

a. Simple sentences. The more frequent word order is VI.

And mon selle him...ænne horn. (B 412) "And let one give him one horn."

All instances of IV word order have a personal pronoun as indirect object.

And him mon forgefe ðeran ðreotenehund pending. (B 412)
"And let one give him in addition thirteen hundred pennies."

Ic...him sello þerto C swina. (B 558) "I... give him in addition 100 swine."

And hi hire hire are gerehton and agefon. (B 1064) "And they decreed and gave to her her property."

And he me ðæt onwedde gesealde. (B 591) "And he gave me that pledge."

And heo him ealle agef... (B 1064) "And she gave him all..."

b. Complex sentences.

(1) VI is the more frequent word order in independent clauses.

And ic geann Ælfsige bisceope þære gyldenan rode... (W 20)
"And I grant to Bishop Ælfsige the gold cross..."

IV word order often occurs when the indirect object is a pronoun and the direct object is a dependent clause.

Git us man segeð þæt we ne moton þæs wurðe beon... (H 63)
"Yet one says to us that we may not be worthy of that..."

And ic him gehet ðæt he moste ðes londes brucan. (B 591)
"And I promised him that he was allowed to use the land."

(2) Dependent clauses. VI word order occurs in 65% of the Class I dependent clauses.

And ic bidde...ðæt he ælce gere agefe ðem higum...L ambra maltes... (B 412) "And I command...that he each year give the brotherhood fifty ambers of malt..."

IV word order occurs usually when the indirect object is a personal pronoun.

Aec ic bebeode...ðet...him se reogolweord...gebeode...hwonne sio tid sie. (B 330) "Also, I order...that the provost proclaim to them when the time (feast) may be."

...þæt Myrce...him anweald gesealdan... (B 1063) "...that the Mercians...gave authority (control) to him..."

...þæt he him þæt land forbead... (B 1064) "...that he forbade the land to him..."

In Class II dependent clauses IV word order occurs in 85.7% of the clauses. This high percentage may be explained by the fact that the relative pronoun which introduces these clauses often functions as the direct or indirect object and the verb tends to be the last word in the clause.

> ...and þæt land æt Mordune þæt min fæder me tolet... (W 20)
> "...and that land at Morden which my father leased to me..."

VI word order occurs frequently when the indirect object is followed by an appositive or other modifier.

> ...þa healuan hyde þe ic gean Osmære minum cnihte... (B 1306)
> "...those half hides that I grant to Osmer, my knight..."
>
> (The same text has IV: ...þam feower hydon þe ic Æþelrice and Alfwolde gean... (B 1306) "...those four hides that I grant to Æthelrice and Alfwold...")
>
> ...sia elmesse ðe Ealhhere bebead Ealawynne his doehter. (B 403) "...the alms that Ealhhere commanded to Ealawynn, his daughter."
>
> ...buton anre hide ic gean into ðære cyrcean ðam preoste ðe ðar Gode ðeowað. (W 16-1) "...except one hide I grant to the priests in the church who serve God there."

IV word order occurs in 70% of the Class III dependent clauses.

> ...gif me God bearnes unnan wille... (B 412) "...if God should wish to grant me a child..."

Only three examples of VI word order are found (introduced by buton and oð).

> ...buton he his wer agulde ðam cynge. (B 1063) "...except he should give his wer to the king."
>
> ...buton ic gean Godrice...þæs landes... (B 1306) "...except I grant the land to Godric..."
>
> ...oð þa witan...gerehton Eadgife þæt heo sceolde... (B 1064)
> "...until the witan directed (to) Eadgifu that she was obliged..."

The following table gives the number and percentages of

occurrences of VI and IV word orders in simple sentences, independent clauses and Class I, Class II, and Class III dependent clauses of initial and sequence sentences by centuries.

TABLE 6

OCCURRENCE OF VI AND IV WORD ORDERS

9th Century

		VI		IV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	0	0	0	0	0
	Independent cl.	3	75	1	25	4
	Class I dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Class II dep. cl.	0	0	3	100	3
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	3	37.5	5	62.5	8
Sequence	Simple sen.	9	81.8	2	18.2	11
	Independent cl.	22	78.6	6	21.4	28
	Class I dep. cl.	3	75	1	25	4
	Class II dep. cl.	1	20	4	80	5
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	2	100	2
	Total	35	70	15	30	50

10th Century

		VI		IV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	1	100	0	0	1
	Independent cl.	2	50	2	50	4
	Class I dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Class II dep. cl.	1	33.3	2	66.7	3
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	4	44.4	5	55.6	9

TABLE 6 -- (cont.)

		VI		IV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Sequence	Simple sen.	27	90	3	10	30
	Independent cl.	37	78.7	10	21.3	47
	Class I dep. cl.	3	42.9	4	57.1	7
	Class II dep. cl.	3	25	9	75	12
	Class III dep. cl.	3	42.9	4	57.1	7
	Total	73	70.9	30	29.1	103

11th Century

		VI		IV		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	0	0	0	0	0
	Independent cl.	1	100	0	0	1
	Class I dep. cl.	3	100	0	0	3
	Class II dep. cl.	4	66.7	2	33.3	6
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	8	80	2	20	10
Sequence	Simple sen.	13	100	0	0	13
	Independent cl.	39	92.9	3	7.1	42
	Class I dep. cl.	7	77.8	2	22.2	9
	Class II dep. cl.	1	5.6	17	94.4	18
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Total	60	72.3	23	27.7	83

The foregoing table shows:

1. VI word order is more frequent than IV in simple sentences, independent clauses, and Class I dependent clauses of sequence sentences;

2. IV word order is more frequent than VI in Class II and Class III dependent clauses in sequence sentences.

Position of Subject and Indirect Object

1. Initial sentences.

a. The subject always precedes the indirect object in simple sentences and independent clauses.

Ic Wulfgar an þæs landes... Æffan... (B 678) (Simple sentence.) "I, Wulfgar, grant the land...to Effe..."

Ic...sylle Wulfsige...anes hides lond... (B 609) (Independent clause.) "I...give to Wulfsige one hide of land..."

b. Class I dependent clauses always have SI word order except in one example.

SI word order:

Ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs... (B 591) "I make known to you how it was..."

IS word order:

...hwam he geann...þæra æhta... (W 16-1) "...to whom he grants... those possessions..."

c. Class II dependent clauses have a lower percentage of SI than IS word orders until the eleventh century.

...þet Eðelbearht cyning Wullafe sealde. (B 496) "...that King Ethelbearht gave to Wullaf." ⇒

IS word order is more frequent than SI in the ninth and tenth centuries.

...þe hire Eðelmod...salde. (B 404) "...which Ethelmod gave to her."

d. There are no indirect objects in Class III clauses.

2. Sequence sentences.

a. Almost all simple sequence sentences have SI word order.

And ic geann hire Carletunes. (B 1306) "And I grant to her Carlton."

There is one example of IS word order.

And him mon forgefe ðeran ðreotenhund pending. (B 412) "And let one give to him in addition thirteen hundred pennies."

b. The majority of independent clauses have SI word order.

Aec ic bebeode minum æfterfylgendum...ðæt hiæ... (B 330) "Also I command my successors...that they..."

Less frequent is IS word order.

And him man sælle an half swulung... (B 412) "And let one give to him one half swulung..."

c. All Class I dependent clauses have SI word order.

...þæt ic ænigean menn geafe þa socne... (H 24) "...that I gave to any man those sokes..."

d. The majority of Class II dependent clauses have SI word order.

...þe ic higum selle... (B 417) "...which I give to the brotherhood..."

IS word order occurs in the ninth and tenth century texts.

...þe me God forgef... (B 405) "...which God gave me..."

e. SI word order occurs in most Class III dependent clauses.

...buton he his wer agulde þam cynge... (B 1063) "...unless he should give his wer to the king..."

IS word order occurs infrequently.

...and gif him God lifes geunne... (W 16-1) "...and if God should grant life to him..."

The complete lack of IS word order in the eleventh-century texts may be explained by the fact that most of the indirect objects occur in long wills in which the same word order patterns are repeated in successive sentences, and the indirect object is usually a proper noun.

And ic geann Eadmunde...þæs swurdes... (W 20) "And I grant to Eadmund...that sword..."

TABLE 7

OCCURRENCE OF SI AND IS WORD ORDERS

9th Century

		SI		IS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	0	0	0	0	0
	Independent cl.	4	100	0	0	4
	Class I dep. cl.	1	100	0	0	1
	Class II dep. cl.	1	33.3	2	66.7	3
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	6	75	2	25	8
Sequence	Simple sen.	10	90.9	1	9.1	11
	Independent cl.	24	85.7	4	14.3	28
	Class I dep. cl.	4	100	0	0	4
	Class II dep. cl.	3	60	2	40	5
	Class III dep. cl.	1	50	1	50	2
	Total	42	84	8	16	50

10th Century

		SI		IS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	1	100	0	0	1
	Independent cl.	4	100	0	0	4
	Class I dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Class II dep. cl.	0	0	3	100	3
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	5	55.5	4	44.5	9
Sequence	Simple sen.	30	100	0	0	30
	Independent cl.	44	93.6	3	6.4	47
	Class I dep. cl.	7	100	0	0	7
	Class II dep. cl.	11	91.7	1	8.3	12
	Class III dep. cl.	5	71.4	2	28.6	7
	Total	97	94.2	6	5.8	103

TABLE 7 -- (cont.)

11th Century

		SI		IS		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	0	0	0	0	0
	Independent cl.	1	100	0	0	1
	Class I dep. cl.	3	100	0	0	3
	Class II dep. cl.	6	100	0	0	6
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	10	100	0	0	10
Sequence	Simple sen.	13	100	0	0	13
	Independent cl.	42	100	0	0	42
	Class I dep. cl.	9	100	0	0	9
	Class II dep. cl.	18	100	0	0	18
	Class III dep. cl.	1	100	0	0	1
	Total	83	100	0	0	83

Position of Direct and Indirect Objects

1. Initial sentences. There are few examples of the indirect object in initial sentences; therefore, the evidence is inconclusive.

a. The only simple sentence that has both direct and indirect objects has OI word order.

Ic...an þæs landes..Æffan... (B 678) "I...grant the land... to Æffe..."

b. IO is the usual word order in independent clauses.

Ego...sile Forðrede...nigen higida lond... (B 452) "I give to Forthred nine hides of land..."

OI word order sometimes occurs.

Ic sello...þis lond...higum... (B 507) "I give this land to the brotherhood..."

c. OI occurs in Class I dependent clauses.

...þæt Þurstan geann þæs landes...þam hirede... (W 30)
"...that Thurstan grants the land...to the brotherhood..."

IO word order occurs in Class I dependent clauses.

...þæt ic gean Wulmære...twegra hida landes... (R 87) "...that I grant to Wulmer...two hides of land..."

d. OI word order occurs in Class II dependent clauses.

...þe hire Eðelmod...salde... (B 404) "...which Ethelmod gave to her..."

IO word order occurs in Class II dependent clauses.

...þe ic mines erfes...onn... (B 558) "...to whom I grant my inheritance (property)..."

e. Both direct and indirect objects do not occur in Class III dependent clauses in initial sentences.

2. Sequence sentences.

a. Simple sentences. IO word order occurs in approximately 65.4 % of the simple sentences. The indirect object is usually a pronoun.

And him mon forgefe ðeran ðreotenhund pending. (B 412) "And one is to give him in addition thirteen hundred pennies."

In OI word order patterns of simple sentences, the indirect object is usually a noun rather than a pronoun.

Ond ðas forecuædenan suæsenda all agefe mon dam reogolwarde. (B 330) "And let one give all the above-said provisions to the ruleward (provost)."

And ic an þæs landes... Æffan. (B 678) "And I grant that land ...to Effe."

b. Complex sentences.

(1) IO word order occurs in approximately 80 % of the independent clauses.

And him man sælle an half swulung... (B 412) "And let one give to him a half swulung..."

OI word order in independent clauses:

> Willa ic gesellan...LX ambra maltes...ðem higum... (B 405)
> "I wish to give...sixty ambers of malt...to the brotherhood..."
>
> ...ann ic his Freoðomunde... (B 412) "...I grant it to Freothomund..."

(2) Dependent clauses. In Class I dependent clauses IO word order is more frequent than OI.

> ...þæt man selle minum hlaforde þæt gold... (B 1306) "...that one is to give my lord that gold..."

There are only two examples of OI word order.

> ...hwæt ic minum wiue...sealde... (B 1306) "...what I gave to my wife..."
>
> ...þæt mon gelæste...ane dægfeorme þam hirede... (W 20)
> "...that one pay (give) one day's provisions to the brotherhood..."

In Class II dependent clauses OI word order occurs more frequently than IO.

> ...þæs swurdes þe he me ær sealde. (W 20) "...the sword which he gave me before."

IO word order in Class II dependent clauses:

> ...þæt he me cydde mines fæder worde... (W 20) "...that he told my father's words to me..."
>
> ...þe him land sealde... (R 83) "...who gave him the land..."

In Class III dependent clauses there are few examples of IO word order.

> ...buton ic gean Godrice...þæs landes... (B 1306) "...except I grant the land to Godric..."

OI word order:

> ...buton he his wer agulde þam cynge. (B 1063) "...except he should give his wer to the king."

Usually, when both direct and indirect objects occur with the same verb, both are nouns or one is a noun and one is a pronoun; however, in twenty-one instances both direct and indirect objects are pronouns. Most of these occur in dependent clauses and follow either

þe or þæt. In twenty of these examples, the direct object precedes the indirect object.

...þe Leofwine me geaf... (W 20) "...which Leofwine gave to me..."

...þe ic him ær ofnam... (W 20) "...which I before took from him..."

...þe he me sende... (W 20) "...which he sent me..."

...þe he me ær sealde... (W 20) "...which he gave to me before..."

...þe ic him geunnen hæbbe... (W 20) "...which I have granted to him..."

...þe Þurlac me sealde... (E 240) "...which Thurlac gave to me..."

...þe Ælfric me sealde... (E 240) "...which Ælfric gave to me..."

...þe hit me geuðon... (E 240) "...who granted it to me..."

...þe him God alæned hæfð... (W 16-1) "...which God has lent to him..."

...þe Leofsunu him geldan scolde... (R 75) "...which Leofsunu is obliged to pay to him..."

...þe hire Eðelmod...salde. (B 404) "...which Ethelmod gave to her..."

...þe me God forgef... (B 405) "...which God gave to me..."

...þe he his me uðe... (B 591) "...that he granted it to me..."

...þæt we hit unnon him... (R 81) "...that we grant it to him..."

...þæt ic hig ær him geunnan sceolde... (H 24) "...that I was obliged to grant them to him formerly..."

...þæt min fæder me tolet... (W 20) "...that my father leased to me..."

...swa he hit me to handa let... (E 240) "...as he turned it over to me..."

...swa hi him his wihtan gerehton... (B 1063) "...as his

counsellors directed it to him..."

And hi þam se cyng sealde... (B 1063) "And the king gave them to that one..."

And þæt him sealde... Ælfeh... (B 1097) "And Ælfeh gave that to him..."

In one example the indirect object precedes the direct object.

..þet ge..me hit...leanie... (B 507) "...that you are to repay it to me..."

The following table gives the number and percentages of occurrences of IO and OI word orders in simple sentences, independent clauses, and Class I, Class II, and Class III dependent clauses of initial and sequence sentences by centuries.

TABLE 8

OCCURRENCE OF IO AND OI WORD ORDERS

9th Century

		IO		OI		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	0	0	0	0	0
	Independent cl.	3	75	1	25	4
	Class I dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Class II dep. cl.	1	33.3	2	66.7	3
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	4	50	4	50	8
Sequence	Simple sen.	8	72.7	3	27.3	11
	Independent cl.	23	82.1	5	17.9	28
	Class I dep. cl.	4	100	0	0	4
	Class II dep. cl.	1	20	4	80	5
	Class III dep. cl.	2	100	0	0	2
	Total	38	76	12	24	50

TABLE 8 -- (cont.)

10th Century

		IO		OI		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	0	0	1	100	1
	Independent cl.	3	75	1	25	4
	Class I dep. cl.	1	100	0	0	1
	Class II dep. cl.	2	66.7	1	33.3	3
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	6	66.7	3	33.3	9
Sequence	Simple sen.	15	53.6	13	46.4	28
	Independent cl.	34	72.3	13	27.7	47
	Class I dep. cl.	6	85.7	1	14.3	7
	Class II dep. cl.	1	8.3	11	91.7	12
	Class III dep. cl.	3	42.9	4	57.1	7
	Total	59	58.4	42	41.6	101

11th Century

		IO		OI		Total
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Initial	Simple sen.	0	0	0	0	0
	Independent cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Class I dep. cl.	3	100	0	0	3
	Class II dep. cl.	3	50	3	50	6
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	6	60	4	40	10
Sequence	Simple sen.	11	84.6	2	15.4	13
	Independent cl.	37	88	5	12	42
	Class I dep. cl.	6	66.7	3	33.3	9
	Class II dep. cl.	4	22.2	14	77.8	18
	Class III dep. cl.	0	0	1	100	1
	Total	58	69.2	25	30.8	83

The preceding table indicates that:

1. IO word order occurs more frequently than OI word order in simple sentences, independent clauses, and Class I dependent clauses of sequence sentences; the Class I dependent clause shifts in the direction of OI word order: ninth-century texts -- 0%; tenth-century texts -- 14.3%; eleventh-century texts -- 33.3%.

2. OI word order occurs more frequently than IO in Class II dependent clauses.

3. In Class III dependent clauses, the more frequent word order changes from IO in the ninth-century texts to OI in the tenth and eleventh-century texts.

Position of Subject Complement and Other Basic Elements

1. Noun as subject complement.[1] Since there are relatively few nouns which function as subject complements, I have divided the examples into groups which occur in simple sentences, independent clauses, and Class I, II, and III dependent clauses without regard to century or sentence type (initial-sequence).

A complete listing of the examples of nouns used as subject complement follows.

a. Simple sentences.

And an wæs teoðingland. (B 591) "And one was tithing-land."

Þurwif hatte se wimman. (B 1063) "The woman was called Thurwif."

God is min gewyta. (B 1306) "God is my witness."

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[1]See previous discussion of subject complement, p. 102.

Ða æfter Ælfstanes dæge wæs Ælfheh his sunu his yrfeweard. (B 1097) "Then after Ælfstan's day, Ælfheh, his son, was his heir."

b. Independent clauses.

Ærest ymb min lond...is min willa...ðæt hit foe to londe... (B 412) "First, concerning my land...my will is...that it (the child) is to inherit the land..."

...þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif... (B 412) "...then my will is that my wife is to have it..."

Ðonne is min willa ðæt ðissa gewriota sien twa gelice. (B 417) "Then my will is that of these writs two be alike."

Ða wæs ic ðara monna sum... (B 591) "Then I was one of those men..."

Ðonne leof is me micel neodðearf ðæt hit mote stondan. (B 591) "Then, beloved, my great need is that it be permitted to stand."

Se fruma wæs þæt mon forstæl ænne wimman... (B 1063) "The beginning was that one stole a woman..."

Þises ys ealles wana þreo and þritig hida... (H 63) "Lacking of all of this is thirty-three hides..."

Se monn...se min and minra erfewearda forespreoca and mundbora. (B 412) "That man...is to be my and my heirs' sponsor and guardian."

c. Class I dependent clauses.

...ðæt ic him wære forespeca... (B 591) "...that I would be his advocate..."

...ðæt hit wære geendodu spæc... (B 591) "...that it would be a settled suit..."

...ðæt he wære ðeof. (B 591) "...that he might be a thief."

...þæt he beo his wifes freond. (B 1317) "...that he would be his wife's friend."

...þæt me ys wana...þus micelys. (H 63) "...that lacking to me is thus much."

d. Class II dependent clauses.

Se monn se ðe Kristes cirican hlaford sie... (B 412) "Whoever may be lord of Christchurch..."

And Ælfric ðæt wæs ða hrælðen... (B 591) "And Ælfric who was then keeper of the wardrobe..."

...ðe him ðearf sie. (B 417) "...which may be a need to him."

...forraðe þæs ðe he ærest cyng wæs. (B 639) "...as soon as he first was king."

...þæt þis æfre gesett spæc wære. (B 1064) "...that this might be forever a settled suit."

...þeam is Osulf nama. (B 1233) "...to whom Osulf is the name."

...þæt beo his bearn. (B 1233) "...that may be his child."

...þe his min rædbora. (B 1267) "...who is my advisor."

...þæs me is God gewyta. (B 1306) "...of which God is my witness."

...ðe his forespeca ða wæs. (W 16-2) "...who was then his advocate."

...ðe hire forespeca wæs. (W 16-2) "...who was her advocate."

...þe ða on Englalande lifes waron... (R 83) "...who then in England were of life (alive)..." (Noun in adjective function -- see p. 110.)

...þe hyra geferan waron... (R 83) "...who were their companions..."

...þam is Ægelric nama... (R 94) "...to whom Ægelric is the name (whose name is Ægelric)..."

e. Class III dependent clauses.

...gif hit fuguldæg sie. (B 330) "...if it should be a fowl-day (meat or flesh-day)."

Gif hit ðonne festendæg sie... (B 330) "If it then should be a fast-day..."

...gif he ðonne lifes bið... (B 412) "...if he then should be of life..."

...swæ hueðer hiora sua leng lifes were. (B 318) "...whichever of them may be longer in life."

...gif...Wulfred archibiscop lifes sie... (B 318) "...if... Archbishop Wulfred should be in life..."

...sue hwelc sue lifes sie. (B 404) "...whichever may be in life."

...gif hit wintres deg sie... (B 412) "...if it should be a winter's day."

...gif ðet Godes wille seo... (B 558) "...if that may be God's will..."

Gif hit þæt ne sio... (B 558) "If it is not to be that..."

...for ðon hit wæs hire morgengifu. (B 591) "...because it was her morning-gift."

...for ðon he wæs cinges mon. (B 591) "...because he was a man of the king."

...for ðon hit wæs his læn... (B 591) "...since it was his grant..."

Gif hit elleshwæt bið... (B 591) "If it should be otherwise..."

...buton þu hyt sy... (B 1306) "...unless you should be it..."

And gif hyt þin willa wære... (H 63) "And if it were your will..."

The following table indicates the occurrences of the subject complement (noun) with the other basic elements of the sentence.

TABLE 9

WORD ORDER IN SENTENCES AND CLAUSES CONTAINING A SUBJECT COMPLEMENT (NOUN)[1]

	SC		CS		Total
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Simple sen.	3	75	1	25	4
Independent cl.	7	87.5	1	12.5	8
Class I dep. cl.	5	100	0	0	5
Class II dep. cl.	14	100	0	0	14
Class III dep. cl.	15	100	0	0	15
Total	44	95.6	2	4.4	46

[1]Subject complement is abbreviated: C; subject of the verb is abbreviated: S.

TABLE 9 -- (cont.)

	VC		CV		Total
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Simple sen.	3	75	1	25	4
Independent cl.	8	100	0	0	8
Class I dep. cl.	5	100	0	0	5
Class II dep. cl.	6	43	8	57	14
Class III dep. cl.	4	27	11	73	15
Total	26	56.5	20	43.5	46

	SV		VS		Total
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Simple sen.	2	50	2	50	4
Independent cl.	2	25	6	75	8
Class I dep. cl.	4	80	1	20	5
Class II dep. cl.	11	79	3	21	14
Class III dep. cl.	15	100	0	0	15
Total	34	74	12	26	46

This table indicates that the predominant word orders are: VSC in independent clauses and simple sentences; SVC in Class I dependent clauses; SCV in Class II and III dependent clauses.

2. Adjective as subject complement. Again, since there are relatively few adjectives which function as subject complements, I have divided the examples into groups which occur in simple sentences, independent clauses, and Class I, II, III dependent clauses without regard to century or sentence type.

a. Simple sentences.

And beo he ælces wites <u>wyrðe</u>. (B 1010) "And may he be <u>worthy</u> (<u>entitled</u> to) of each fine."

And beon heora menn <u>frige</u>. (W 30) "And let their men be <u>free</u>."

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "Let it be free of each thing."

b. Independent clause.

Hit is wyrse uncer naðor hit næbbe... (B 1063) "It is worse that neither of us two should have it..."

c. Class I dependent clause.

...ðæt he moste beon ryhtes wyrðe... (B 591) "...that he be permitted to be worthy of the rights..."

...ðet Helmstan wære aðe ðæs ðe near... (B 591) "...that Helmstan might be nearer the oath..."

...þæt him leofre wære þæt... (B 1063) "...that (it) might be more pleasing to him that..."

...þæt he mote beon þære þinga wyrþe. (H 27) "...that he may be permitted to be worthy of those things."

...þæt he beo his saca and socne wyrðe. (H 28) "...that he may be worthy of his sac and soc."

...þæt hit betere wære þæt... (R 83) "...that it would be better that..."

...þæt he mote beon ælc þæra gerihta wurðe. (H 24) "...that he may be permitted to be worthy of each of those rights."

d. Class II dependent clauses.

...ðe hit Cristen sie. (B 403) "...that it may be Christian."

...ðe londes weorðe sie. (B 412) (Same occurs twice.) "...who may be worthy of the land."

...swilc hire leofest sy. (B 1233) "...such as may be most preferable to her."

...þa ðær nehste syn. (B 1317) "...who may be nearest there."

...ðe him leofost sy. (R 75) "...who may be most preferable to him."

...þanðe him leofest sy. (R 94) "...who may be most pleasing to him."

...þe him leofust sy. (R 103) "...who may be most pleasing to him."

...ðæt þa gebroðra him beon holde. (R 108) "...that the brothers be faithful to him."

e. Class III dependent clauses.

Gif...hire liofre sie oðer hemed to niomanne... (B 412)
"If to undertake another marriage should be more pleasing to her..."

Gif hire ðonne liofre sie an mynster to ganganne... (B 412)
"If to enter a monastery should be more pleasing to her..."

...swæ hwæder swa hire liofre sie. (B 412) "...whichever is more pleasing to her."

Gif...hire oðer ðing liofre sie... (B 412) "If another thing should be more pleasing to her..."

...sue hit soelest sie. (B 404) "...as it may be best."

And gif ic lengc beo þonne heo... (B 1317) "And if I may be (live) longer than she..."

The following table shows the word orders in which an adjective functions as subject complement (adjective represented by C).

TABLE 10

POSITION OF SUBJECT, VERB, AND COMPLEMENT (ADJ.)

	SVC		VSC		CVS		SCV		Total
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Simple sen.	0	0	3	100	0	0	0	0	3
Independent cl.	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Class I dep. cl.	6	85.7	0	0	1	14.3	0	0	7
Class II dep. cl.	1	11.1	0	0	0	0	8	88.9	9
Class III dep. cl.	0	0	0	0	2	33.3	4	66.7	6
Total	8	30.8	3	11.6	3	11.6	12	46.0	26

This indicates the same general pattern of word order as that found in the noun subject complement: SVC word order predominates in

independent clauses and Class I; VSC predominates in simple sentences; SCV predominates in Class II and III dependent clauses.

Position of Other Basic Elements Which Occur Infrequently

1. There is only one example in this corpus of the object complement; it occurs at the end of the sentence after subject, verb, and object.

> And tu hine hete ða flyman. (B 591) "And you then called him an outlaw."

2. Absolute constructions.

a. There are two examples of the dative absolute, which are probably in imitation of certain Latin charters; the absolutes occupy the first position in the sentence.

> Rixiendum on ecnisse ussum drihtne hælende Criste se ðe all ðing gemetegað... (B 609) "The ruler in eternity (being) our Lord Savior Christ, he who governs all things..."

> Gode ælmihtigum rixiende ðe ræt and gewissad eallum gesceaftum... (B 1267) "Almighty God (being) the ruler who governed and directed all creatures..."

b. There is only one example of the genitive absolute; it occurs at the end of the sentence.

> And wende Æðelstan hine eft into Sunnanbyrg ungebetra þinga. (B 1063) "And Æthelstan turned himself again to Sunbury, things (being) unatoned."

3. Direct address occurs before the subject and verb in four examples and after the subject and verb in three examples; in general, direct address is placed at the first or near the first of the sentence. Only seven examples occur in this corpus.

> Leof ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs ymb ðæt lond... (B 591) "Beloved, I make known to you how it was concerning that land..."

Leof hwonne bið engu spæc geendedu... (B 591) "Beloved, when may any suit be ended..."

Ðonne leof is me micel neodðearf ðæt... (B 591) "Then, beloved, a great need to me is that..."

Nu bydde ic þe leof hlaford þæt min cwyde standan mote. (B 1306) "Now I pray you, beloved lord, that my will be permitted to stand."

...buton þu hyt sy leof and ic hæbbe geleauan þæt... (B 1306) "...unless it should be you, beloved, and I have confidence that..."

And Æðelsige leof cyð þis mine hlaforde... (B 1317) "And Æthelsige, beloved, make this known to my lord..."

And ic cyþe inc leof þæt... (H 27) "And I make known to you two, beloved, that..."

Sequence Indicators

One of the characteristics which distinguish initial sentences from sequence sentences is the sequence indicator. This is found in the majority of sequence sentences, never in initial sentences.

Sequence indicators are conjunctions (and, gif, forþon, oððe), adverbs (þa, þonne, eac), and prepositions which introduce phrases indicating time or sequence of events.

The position of the sequence indicator is at the first of the sentence; the sequence indicator is the first word if it is a conjunction or adverb; it is the first structural unit if it is a prepositional phrase.

Æfter þam getidde þæt... (B 1063) "After that, it happened that..."

Of the 497 sequence sentences in this corpus:

No.	Per Cent	
273	54.9	begin with and;
141	28.4	begin with another conjunction, an adverb of time sequence, or a prepositional phrase;
83	16.7	have no sequence indicator.
497	100.0	

Of all sequence sentences, 372 (74.8 %) begin with either and, þa, or þonne.

Sequence sentences which have no sequence indicators often occur as a separate section of a document. For instance, a charter may have an added section (the endorsement) following a list of signatures or a list of witnesses. The first sentence of this endorsement functions as an initial sentence. There are seven such instances which are not included with the initial sentences which begin complete Old English texts.[1] Some examples are the following sentences which occur after lists.

> Ic Luba eaðmod Godes ðiwen ðas forecwedenan god and ðas elmessan gesette and gefestnie ob minem erfelande et Mundlingham ðem hiium to Cristes cirican. (B 405) "I, Luba, humble servant of God, confirm and ratify these foresaid good deeds and these alms from my inherited land at Mundlingham to the brotherhood at Christchurch."

> Heregyð hafað ðas wisan binemned ofer hire deg and ofer Abban ðam higum et Cristes cirican... (B 412) "Heregyth has settled (stipulated) this matter after her day and after Abba's for the brotherhood at Christchurch..."

The following table gives the occurrences of sequence indicators in sequence sentences. The sentences have been divided into groups which (1) begin with independent clauses, (2) begin with

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[1] B 318, B 405, B 412, B 416, B 591, B 678, and B 1306.

dependent clauses, and (3) begin with prepositional phrases.

TABLE 11

OCCURRENCE OF SEQUENCE INDICATORS

1. Sequence indicator plus independent clause:

	and	þa	þonne	eac	Total
9th Century	33	0	5	5	43
10th Century	107	73	3	1	184
11th Century	96	5	1	1	103
Total	236	78	9	7	330

2. Independent clauses without sequence indicators:

	noun	pron.	adv.	vb.	Total
9th Century	1	11	1	2	15
10th Century	6	12	7	5	30
11th Century	2	16	16	2	36
Total	9	39	24	9	81

3. Sequence indicator plus dependent clause:

	and	gif	þa	forðan	oððe	Total
9th Century	13	14	0	1	0	28
10th Century	2	5	11	1	1	20
11th Century	10	1	0	0	0	11
Total	25	20	11	2	1	59

4. Dependent clauses without sequence indicators:

	se (mann se...)	beon	Total
9th Century	1	1	2
10th Century	2	0	2
11th Century	1	0	1
Total	4	1	5

TABLE 11 -- (cont.)

5. Sequence indicator plus prepositional phrase:

	and	adv.	pron.	Total
9th Century	4	1 (ærest)	0	5
10th Century	3	1 (þa)	1 (se)	5
11th Century	5	0	0	5
Total	12	2	1	15

6. Prepositional phrases without sequence indicators:

	on	æfter	binnan	gemang	Total
9th Century	1	0	0	0	1
10th Century	0	4	1	1	6
11th Century	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	4	1	1	7

TABLE 12

SUMMARY OF WORD ORDER PATTERNS
OF THE MOST FREQUENT BASIC ELEMENTS

Simple Sentences

9th Century S V I O
10th Century S V I O
11th Century S V I O

Independent Clauses

9th Century S V I O and O S V I
10th Century V S I O
11th Century V S I O and S V I O

Class I Dependent Clauses

9th Century S O V I and S I O V
10th Century S I V O
11th Century S V I O

TABLE 12 -- (cont.)

Class II Dependent Clauses

9th Century	S O I V and O S I V
10th Century	S O I V
11th Century	S O I V and O S V I

Class III Dependent Clauses

9th Century	S O I V and S I O V
10th Century	S O I V
11th Century	S O I V

	Subject Complement (Noun)	Subject Complement (Adj.)
Simple sentences	S V C and V S C	V S C
Independent clauses	V S C	S V C
Class I dependent clauses	S V C	S V C
Class II dependent clauses	S V C and S C V	S C V
Class III dependent clauses	S C V	S C V

This table indicates that:

1. Simple sentences and independent clauses most frequently have SVO word order while Class II and Class III most frequently have SOV word order; Class I changes from SOV (which the other dependent clauses have) to SVO (the pattern in simple sentences and independent clauses);

2. The basic elements subject, object, and verb are fairly fixed in order while the indirect object seems to fluctuate.

3. VS word order is more likely to occur in independent clauses than in dependent clauses; VS often follows ðа, ðonne, or other adverbs;

4. The indirect object precedes the direct object in simple sentences and independent clauses; the direct object precedes the

indirect object in Class II and Class III; there seems to be a change in Class I dependent clauses from OI to IO word order;

5. The subject complement (both noun and adjective) follows both subject and verb (SVC or VSC) in simple sentences, independent clauses, and Class I dependent clauses; the subject complement precedes the verb (SCV) in Class II and Class III dependent clauses.

Verb Phrases

In the discussion of the verb (tenses and voice, pp. 147-150; and verbals, pp. 163-169), constructions containing two or more verb forms were described.

To form these phrases, a verb form (V) which is inflected to show person, number, tense, and mood, may be combined with a present or past participle (V^p), an infinitive (V^i), or both an infinitive and a past participle.

Since there are relatively few occurrences of verb phrases, especially in initial sentences, I have simplified the statistical presentation of the word order and examples of verb phrases in the following ways:

a. I have combined the figures for the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries because the analysis did not reveal any validly demonstrable or significant changes from the early to the late examples.

b. I have combined all examples found in initial sentences without regard to type of sentence or clause. When there are no examples in simple sequence sentences, I have omitted the category

"Simple sentences" under sequence sentences in the statistical presentation of the occurrences of verb phrases which follow. Statements and conclusions about the word order in verb phrases pertain to sequence sentences only since there are few examples in initial sentences.

c. I have not indicated percentages for the individual items because in many instances so few occurrences do not seem to afford an adequate or reliable basis for minute comparisons or conclusions. The numbers are small enough so that they may be easily compared with the total column.

d. I have given one example for each contrasting word order, without regard to sentence or clause type.

1. Verb plus present participle. There are only two examples of a verb (beon/wesan) plus a present participle in this corpus. This construction seems to indicate a progressive action.

a. V V^P.

Ic Lufa wes soecende and smeagende ymb mine saul ðearfe... (B 405) "I, Lufa, was searching and reflecting about the need of my soul..."

b. V^P V.

And ða sprece nænig mon uferran dogor on nænge oðre halfe oncærende sie... (B 318) "And let no one in later days be changing this transaction in any other way..."

2. The verbs habban, beon/wesan, and weorðan occur with a past participle.

a. Habban plus a past participle. The two verb forms are contiguous in thirty-four (80.9%) occurrences; the verb forms

are separated by one or more words in eight (19.1 %) occurrences.

(1) V V^P is more frequent in simple sentences, independent, and Class I dependent clauses.

> Heregyð hafað ðas wisan binemned... (B 412) "Heregyth has settled this matter..."

V^P V occurs more frequently in Class II and Class III dependent clauses.

> ...ðe he into Cristes cyrcean becweden hæfde. (W 16-2)
> "...that he had bequeathed to Christchurch."

Total of occurrences of habban plus past participle:

	V V^P	V^P V	Total
Initial sentences	2	4	6
Sequence -- Simple sentences	1	0	1
Independent cl.	4	0	4
Class I dep. cl.	6	2	8
Class II dep. cl.	0	17	17
Class III dep. cl.	2	4	6
Total	15	27	42

(2) Word order of subject, verb, and past participle. The subject precedes both verb forms in all sentences and clauses except one simple sentence and one independent clause (a question).

> And he hæfð nu gewyld to minum anwealde Scottas... (B 1267)
> "And he has now subdued to my rule the Scots..."

V S V^P word order:

> Ðonne hebfað Eadwald and Cyneðryð ðas wisan ðus fundene... (B 404) "Then Eadwald and Cynethryth have thus arranged this matter..."

> ...hwonne habbe we ðonne gemotad... (B 591) "...when (to what purpose) have we negotiated...?"

V V^P S or V^P V S do not occur in this corpus.

Total occurrences of subject, verb (habban), past participle:

	S V^P V or S V P^P	V S V^P	Total
Initial sentences	6	0	6
Sequence -- Simple sen.	0	1	1
Independent cl.	3	1	4
Class I dep. cl.	8	0	8
Class II dep. cl.	17	0	17
Class III dep. cl.	6	0	6
Total	40	2	42

(3) Word order of direct object, verb, and past participle. The direct object precedes both verb forms (OVV) in the majority of sentences and clauses and is more frequent than VVO or VOV in Class II and Class III dependent clauses.

...hu Ælfhelm his are and his æhta geuadod hæfð. (B 1306)
"...how Ælfhelm had given his property and possessions..."

V O V^P occurs occasionally.

...þæt we habbað hine nu gebletsod... (H 27) "...that we have now blessed (consecrated) him..."

V V^P O occurs in Independent and Class I dependent clauses.

...þæt Eadsi...hæfð geunnen Gode...V æcera landes... (R 108)
"...that Eadsi...has granted to God...five acres of land..."

Total occurrences of direct object, verb (habban), and past participle:

	O V V^P or O V^P V	V O V^P	V V^P O	Total
Initial sentences	4	0	1	5
Sequence -- Simple sen.	0	1	0	1
Independent cl.	0	1	2	3
Class I dep. cl.	2	1	4	7
Class II dep. cl.	13	0	0	13
Class III dep. cl.	4	1	0	5
Total	23	4	7	34

(4) Word order of subject and direct object with verb phrases. SO word order predominates in simple sentences, independent, and Class I and III dependent clauses.

Mine witan habbaŏ ætrecŏ Ecgferŏ ealle his are... (B 1063)
"My advisors have deprived Ecgferth of all his property..."

OS word order predominates in Class II dependent clauses (the relative pronoun which introduces the clause is usually the direct object).

...þe ic Siferðe geunnen hæbbe. (W 20) "...which I have given to Siferth."

Total occurrences of subject and direct object with verb phrases:

	SO	OS	Total
Initial sentences	5	1	6
Sequence -- Independent cl.	4	0	4
Class I dep. cl.	7	0	7
Class II dep. cl.	2	11	13
Class III dep. cl.	3	1	4
Total	21	13	34

(5) Indirect objects are infrequent in these verb phrases; total: thirteen.

(a) Independent and Class I dependent clauses: six $SVV^{P}IO$.

...þæt ic habbe geunnen Wulstane...þæt biseoprice...(H 115)
"...that I have given to Wulstan... that bishopric..."

(b) Class II dependent clauses: six $OSIV^{P}V$.

...þe ic him geunnen hæbbe. (W 20) "...which I have given to him."

(c) Class III dependent clauses: one $SVIOV^{P}$.

...for þam ic hæbbe Criste þas gerihta forgyfen... (H 28)
"...because I have given these rights to Christ..."

b. beon/wesan plus a past participle. The two verb forms are contiguous in forty-six (71.8 %) of the occurrences; they are separated by one or more words in eighteen (28.2 %) of the occurrences.

The past participle is inflected for gender, number, and case in these verb phrases infrequently.

...þe...Teottingctun and Ælfsigestun sint gehatenne... (B 1233) "...which are called Teddington and Alston..."

Her sindon ðæra manna naman awritene... (B 558) "Here are written the names of the men..."

...þe into þam mynstre nu synd betytene... (B 1267) "...which are now assigned to the monastery..."

...ðaette ge fore uueorolde sien geblitsade... (B 330) "...so that you may be blessed before the world..."

(1) V V^P is more frequent in simple sentences, independent, and Class I dependent clauses.

Þeos swutelung wæs ðærrihte gewriten... (W 16-2) "This declaration was straightway written..."

V^P V is more frequent in Class II dependent clauses.

...ðe on ðissem gewrite binemned is... (B 412) "...which is stipulated in this writ..."

Total occurrences of beon/wesan plus a past participle:

	V V^P	V^P V	Total
Initial sentences	4	2	6
Sequence -- Simple sen.	5	0	5
Independent cl.	19	1	20
Class I dep. cl.	3	2	5
Class II dep. cl.	6	13	19
Class III dep. cl.	4	4	8
Total	41	22	63

(2) The subject precedes both verb forms in the majority of instances.

Þes ceap wæs geceapod...ætforan ealra scyre... (R 103)
"This payment was made...in the presence of all the shire..."

V V^P S word order occurs infrequently; usually the verb is in the subjunctive mood.

...se him seald and gehealden sia hiabenlice bledsung. (B 405)
"...may the heavenly blessing be given to him and held (for him)."

V S V^P occurs infrequently; the verb is in the subjunctive mood or the sentence is introduced by an introductory adverb.

Her sindon ðæra manna naman awritene... (B 558) "Here are written the names of the men..."

And sy æfre seo ælmesse gelæst gearhwamlice... (W 20) "And let this charity be paid yearly forever..."

Total occurrences of subject, verb, and past participle:

	S V V^P or S V^P V	V V^P S	V S V^P	Total
Initial sentences	5	0	1	6
Sequence -- Simple sen.	4	0	1	5
Independent cl.	9	2	9	20
Class I dep. cl.	4	0	1	5
Class II dep. cl.	18	1	0	19
Class III dep. cl.	6	1	1	8
Total	46	4	13	63

(3) Direct or indirect objects do not occur with this construction.

c. weorðan plus past participle. There are only two examples of this construction with weorðan in this corpus.

...ðæt gesibbra ærfeweard forðcymeð wepnedhades and acænned weorðeð ðanne ann ic... (B 558) "...that a nearer heir of the male sex comes forth and is produced (is born), then I grant..."

And he næfre ne wurthe on his myltse gemet... (B 1306) "And may he never be found in his mercy..."

3. Verb plus infinitive. The anomalous verb willan, the preteritive-present verbs (of which cunnan, durran, magan, motan, and sculan occur in this construction in this corpus), and the verbs gehieran, hatan, and onginnan are used to form a verb phrase with the infinitive (V^i) of another verb. (See also pp. 147-148 and pp. 166-167.)

a. Anomalous and preteritive-present verbs.

(1) willan. There are forty-five occurrences of willan plus an infinitive, of which twenty-seven (60%) are contiguous and eighteen (40%) are separated by one or more words.

(a) V V^i word order is found more frequently in independent and Class I dependent clauses.

Ic wille ærist me siolfne Gode allmehtgum forgeofan... (B 417)
"I wish first to give myself to Almighty God..."

V^i V word order is more frequently found in Class II and III dependent clauses.

Gif me God bearnes unnan wille... (B 412) "If God should wish to grant a child to me..."

	V V^i	V^i V	Total
Initial sentences	2	0	2
Sequence -- Independent cl.	11	0	11
Class I dep. cl.	4	1	5
Class II dep. cl.	3	9	12
Class III dep. cl.	8	9	17
Total	28	19	47

(b) Relation of subject to verb forms. The subject precedes both verb forms in the majority of instances.

Ic wille ærist me siolfne Gode allmehtgum forgeofan... (B 417)
"I wish (will) first to give myself to Almighty God..."

V S V^i occurs only in independent clauses, usually following þa or þonne.

> Þa nold Sigelm...to wigge faron... (B 1064) "Then Sigelm did not wish to go to battle..."

V V^i S or V^i V S never occur in this corpus.

Total occurrences of subject, verb, and infinitive:

	S V V^i or S V^i V	V S V^i	Total
Initial sentences	2	0	2
Sequence -- Independent cl.	7	4	11
Class I dep. cl.	5	0	5
Class II dep. cl.	12	0	12
Class III dep. cl.	17	0	17
Total	43	4	47

(c) Relation of direct object to verb forms.

The direct object usually precedes both verb forms in Class I, Class II, and Class III dependent clauses.

> Gif anig mann þis awendan wylle... (B 1267) "If any person should wish to change this..."

V O V^i word order predominates in independent clauses.

> And heo...nolde þa bec agifan... (B 1064) "And she would not (did not wish to) give the deeds..."

V V^i O word order occurs infrequently in independent, Class I, and Class III dependent clauses.

> ...þæt ic wille goodian...þæt mynster... (B 1267) "...that I wish to endow... that monastery..."

V^i V O word order occurs only once.

> And gif se cyning him geunnan wille þæs folclondes... (B 558) "And if the king will (wishes to) grant to him the folk-land..."

Total occurrences of direct object with verb and infinitive:

	O V V^i or O V^i V	V O V^i	V V^i O	V^i V O	Total
Initial sentences	1	1	0	0	2
Sequence -- Independent cl.	0	6	3	0	9
Class I dep. cl.	2	0	1	0	3
Class II dep. cl.	9	1	0	0	10
Class III dep. cl.	10	3	1	1	15
Total	22	11	5	1	39

(d) The indirect object occurs infrequently.

(e) Relation of subject and object. The subject precedes the direct object in practically all instances.

Se man se þis healdan wille... (B 405) "Whoever will hold (keep) this..."

The direct object precedes the subject in Class II clauses (the relative pronoun is direct object).

...and ælces ðara monna ðe mon ða habban wolde. (B 591)
"...and each of those men whom one then wished to have."

Total occurrences of subject and direct object:

	SO	OS	Total
Initial sentences	2	0	2
Sequence -- Independent cl.	9	0	9
Class I dep. cl.	3	0	3
Class II dep. cl.	8	2	10
Class III dep. cl.	15	0	15
Total	37	2	39

(2) motan. Of twenty-five occurrences of motan plus an infinitive, nineteen (79%) are contiguous and five (21%) are separated by one or more words.

(a) V^i V word order predominates in Class I dependent clauses, but the occurrence of V V^i and V^i V is about the

same in other types of clauses.

V^i V:

...þæt Æðerices cwide æt Boccinge standan moste. (W 16-2)
"...that the will of Ætheric of Bocking might stand."

V V^i:

...ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð... (B 591) "...that Helmstan might be permitted to go forth..."

Total occurrences of V V^i and V^i V:

	V V^i	V^i V	Total
Initial sentences	1	1	2
Sequence -- Independent cl.	1	1	2
Class I dep. cl.	3	7	10
Class II dep. cl.	2	1	3
Class III dep. cl.	4	3	7
Total	11	13	24

(b) Relation of subject to verb forms. The subject precedes both verb forms in all occurrences.

...and an his hlaforddome we bian moten. (B 412) "...and (that) we may be permitted to be in his patronage."

(c) There are too few objects for any definite conclusions; however, the subject always precedes the direct object.

Ðonne he ðone að agifan moste. (B 591) "Then he was permitted to give the oath."

(3) magan. Of fifteen occurrences of magan plus an infinitive, nine (60%) are contiguous, six (40%) are separated by one or more words.

(a) V^i V predominates in Class I, II, and III dependent clauses.

...ðæt ic bearn begeotan ne mege... (B 412) "...that I may not be able to beget a child..."

V V^i occurs in independent clauses.

...þu mihtest eaðe gedon þæt... (H 63) "...you might easily bring about that..."

Total occurrences of magan plus an infinitive:

	V V^i	V^i V	Total
Initial sentences	0	0	0
Sequence -- Independent cl.	2	0	2
Class I dep. cl.	0	3	3
Class II dep. cl.	0	7	7
Class III dep. cl.	1	2	3
Total	3	12	15

(b) The subject precedes both verb forms in all occurrences.

...and ma monna ðonne ic nu genemnan mæge. (B 591) "...and more men than I am now able to name."

(c) The direct object precedes both verb forms in all dependent clauses.

...swa hit man þænne findan mæge... (R 101) "...as one then may be able to find (arrange) it..."

In independent clauses there is one example each of:

V O V^i:

...he ne meahte na his forwyrcan. (B 591) "...he could never forfeit it."

V V^i O:

...þu mihtest eaðe gedon þæt ic hyt eal swa hæfde. (H 63) "...you might easily bring about that I also had it."

Total occurrences of direct object with magan plus an infinitive:

	O V V^i or O V^i V	V O V^i	V V^i O	Total
Initial sentences	0	0	0	0
Sequence -- Independent cl.	0	1	1	2
Class I dep. cl.	3	0	0	3
Class II dep. cl.	4	0	0	4
Class III dep. cl.	2	0	0	2
Total	9	1	1	11

(d) Relation of subject and direct object.

OS word order occurs in all Class II dependent clauses.

...þe we ealle atellan ne magon... (R 66) "...all (of) whom we are not able to enumerate..."

SO word order occurs in all other clauses.

...butan he hit geearnian mæge... (R 81) "...unless he is able to acquire it..."

Total occurrences of subject and object:

	SO	OS	Total
Sequence -- Independent cl.	2	0	2
Class I dep. cl.	3	0	3
Class II dep. cl.	0	4	4
Class III dep. cl.	2	0	2
Total	7	4	11

(e) The indirect object does not occur with this construction.

(4) sculan. There are thirteen occurrences of sculan plus an infinitive; in ten (76.9%), the two verb forms are contiguous and in three (23.1%) they are separated by one or more words. The subject precedes both verb forms and the direct object in all sentences and clauses; otherwise the numbers of occurrences are small and indicative of no particularly dominant patterns.

Total occurrences of word order with sculan and an infinitive:

	V V^i	V^i V	Total
Initial sentences	0	2	2
Sequence -- Class I dep. cl.	3	1	4
Class II dep. cl.	3	2	5
Class III dep. cl.	0	2	2
Total	6	7	13

	OV^i V	V O V^i	V V^i O	Total
Sequence -- Class I dep. cl.	1	2	1	4
Class II dep. cl.	2	1	0	3
Class III dep. cl.	1	0	1	2
Total	4	3	2	9

(5) There are only three occurrences of durran.

(a) SOV^iV:

And he him swa þa land geagnian derr... (B 1063) "And he thus dares to claim those lands for himself..."

(b) $SVOV^i$:

...þæt heo ne dorste for Gode him swa leanian swa... (B 1064) "...that she did not dare before God so to repay him as..."

(c) $SVOV^i$:

...swa hio dorste hyre aþe gebiorgan. (R 66) "...as she dared to protect her oath."

(6) There is only one occurrence of cunnan:

SOV^iV:

...þe...land gehaldan cunne. (B 412) "...who is able to hold the land."

TABLE 13

WORD ORDER OF WILLAN AND PRETERITIVE-PRESENT VERBS PLUS INFINITIVE

1. Word order of the two verb forms:

		V V^i	V^i V	Total
willan		28	19	47
motan		11	13	24
magan		3	12	15
sculan		6	7	13
durran		2	1	3
cunnan		0	1	1
	Total	50 (48.5%)	53 (51.5%)	103

2. Word order of subject, verb, and infinitive:

		S V V^i or S V^i V	V S V^i	V V^i S or V^i V S	Total
willan		43	4	0	47
motan		24	0	0	24
magan		15	0	0	15
sculan		13	0	0	13
durran		3	0	0	3
cunnan		1	0	0	1
	Total	99 (96.1%)	4 (3.9%)	0	103

3. Word order of direct object, verb, and infinitive:

		O V V^i or O V^i V	V O V^i	V V^i O or V^i V O	Total
willan		22	11	6	39
motan		1	3	2	6
magan		9	1	1	11
sculan		4	3	2	9
durran		1	2	0	3
cunnan		1	0	0	1
	Total	38 (55%)	20 (29%)	11 (16%)	69

TABLE 13 -- (cont.)

4. Word order of subject and direct object:

	SO	OS	Total
willan	37	2	39
motan	6	0	6
magan	7	4	11
sculan	9	0	9
durran	3	0	3
cunnan	1	0	1
Total	63 (91%)	6 (9%)	69

TABLE 14

TOTAL OCCURRENCES OF WILLAN AND PRETERITIVE-PRESENT VERBS PLUS INFINITIVE

1. Word order of verb and infinitive:

		V V^i	V^i V	Total
Initial sen. --	Class I dep. cl.	2	1	3
	Class II dep. cl.	1	2	3
Sequence sen. --	Independent cl.	14	2	16
	Class I dep. cl.	11	12	23
	Class II dep. cl.	9	20	29
	Class III dep. cl.	13	16	29
	Total	50 (48.5%)	53 (51.5%)	103

2. Word order of subject, verb, and infinitive:

		S V V^i or S V^i V	V S V^i	Total
Initial sen. --	Class I dep. cl.	3	0	3
	Class II dep. cl.	3	0	3
Sequence sen. --	Independent cl.	12	4	16
	Class I dep. cl.	23	0	23
	Class II dep. cl.	26	0	26
	Class III dep. cl.	32	0	32
	Total	99 (96%)	4 (4%)	103

TABLE 14 -- (cont.)

3. Word order of direct object, verb, and infinitive:

		O V V^i or O V^i V	V O V^i	V V^i O or V^i V O	Total
Initial sen. --	Class I dep. cl.	0	1	0	1
	Class II dep. cl.	3	0	0	3
Sequence sen. --	Independent cl.	2	7	3	12
	Class I dep. cl.	6	5	3	14
	Class II dep. cl.	16	3	1	20
	Class III dep. cl.	13	3	3	19
	Total	40 (57.9 %)	19 (27.5 %)	10 (14.6 %)	69

4. Word order of subject and object:

		SO	OS	Total
Initial sen. --	Class I dep. cl.	1	0	1
	Class II dep. cl.	1	2	3
Sequence sen. --	Indep. cl.	12	0	12
	Class I dep. cl.	14	0	14
	Class II dep. cl.	14	6	20
	Class III dep. cl.	19	0	19
	Total	61 (88.4 %)	8 (11.6 %)	69

b. Other verbs occur with an infinitive infrequently in this corpus.

(1) hatan (see also p. 167) -- three examples are found.

...ðe hit don het. (B 403) "...who commanded it to be done."

Ic...hatu writan and cyðan an ðissum gewrite... (B 558)
"I...command to be written and made known in this writ..."

Ic...cyðo and writan hato hu min willa is... (B 417) "I... declare and order to be written how my will is..."

When the infinitive has a subject, the infinitive does not form a verb

phrase with hatan.

And se cyng het þone arcebisceop Wulfstan þærto boc settan... (R 83) "And the king commanded the archbishop, Wulfstan, to draw up a charter thereto..."

(2) gehieran -- only one example:

...þa witan...þe minne cwyde gehyron rædan... (W 20) "...those counselors who may hear my will to be read..."

(3) onginnan -- only one example:

Ða ongon Higa him specan. (B 591) "Then Higa began to speak to him."

4. There are three examples in this corpus which are composed of an inflected verb plus an infinitive plus a past participle (see also p. 152).

...ðonne sceal ic and wylle beon gehealden on ðon ðe ðe to ælmessan ryht ðincð. (B 591) "...then I am obliged and wish to be content in that which seems right to you as alms (voluntary gift)."

...þæt he on þam ilcan wolde beon gehealden gif... (R 83) "...that he would have been satisfied with the same if..."

Þæt mihte beon geboden him wið clænum legere... (B 1063) "That might be offered in exchange for a consecrated grave for him..."

Summary for Verb Phrases

1. The two verb forms are contiguous in approximately 60 % or more of the occurrences in all types of sentences and clauses; non-contiguous verb forms occur in both independent and dependent clauses.

2. In simple sentences and independent clauses, the inflected verb form usually precedes the infinitive or participle.

3. In Class II dependent clauses, the infinitive or participle usually precedes the inflected verb form, which often takes the clause

final position.

4. Word order in Class I and Class III dependent clauses is divided almost equally between VV^{i} or VV^{p} and $V^{i}V$ or $V^{p}V$.

Position of Modifiers

Secondary elements or modifiers were discussed in detail in Chapter III. The word order of particular items was stated there as an integral part of the modification structure. Therefore it is now necessary only to summarize those statements and add details that were not pertinent in the earlier chapter. Examples will be kept to a minimum here to avoid unnecessary repetition. Statements of agreement in case, number, and gender are omitted here.

1. Noun as head word. The modifiers of a noun usually immediately precede or follow that noun. The modifiers have two types of structure: simple and complex.

The simple modifier is short; in this corpus nouns are most frequently modified by one word, less frequently by two or three words in the simple structure. The simple structure usually precedes the noun and its direct relation to the noun is shown by concord in case, number, and gender. These modifiers are usually adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, or participles.

The complex modifier is longer; it usually has an internal structure of its own (phrase, Class II dependent clause); and it follows the noun. Only when se functions as a relative pronoun is there agreement with the noun in number and gender.

a. Simple modifiers which precede the noun have an

established order of precedence. There are six positions; all positions do not occur in any one example. When two or more modifiers occur, they precede the noun in the order illustrated below by a few examples.

1st Position sum, eall manig	2nd Position (pron.)	3rd Position (numeral)	4th Position (oper)	5th Position (adj., part.)	6th Position (noun in gen.)	Head Word (noun)
	þære			gesættredan	deofles	lare
		ænne		blacne		stedan
		an	oþer	healf		gear
	þæm	þriim				dælum
	þa		oðoro			lond
mænig			oðer	god		man
allum	þæm					halgum
ealle	his			leofan		halgan
sum	þæt					lond
ealle	mine					freondum

There are a few exceptions to the above order.

...an Godes libgendes naman... (B 405) "...in the living God's name..."

...and his þære haligran unlu... (B 452) "...and his saints' disgrace..."

...twægen mine mægas... (B 412) "...my two relatives..."

...God ælmæhtig... (B 558) "...Almighty God..." (This expression occurs frequently; when it modifies a noun, we find the usual order: ...þæs almæhtigan Godes unhlis... (B 452) "...the Almighty God's dishonor..."

Any of the six positions may occur alone with a noun.

Simple modifiers which follow the noun are the following:

(1) Appositives.

And ic sello Æðelwalde minum sunu III hida boclondes. (B 558) "And I give three hides of bookland to Æthelwald, my son."

(2) Titles of rank or position.

Eadward kyning gret Harold eorl... (H 115) "King Edward greets Earl Harold..."

(3) Adjectives.

(a) The phrase God ælmæhtig has been noted above.

(b) The adjective follows the noun when the adjective has a genitive complement.

...mittan fulne huniges... (B 330, B 405) "...a mitta full of honey..."

(c) The adjective often follows the noun when the noun is preceded by another modifier.

...enig meghond neor... (B 404) "...any nearer relative..."

...in þissum life ondwardum... (B 558) "...in this present life..."

b. Complex modifiers regularly immediately follow the noun.

(1) Prepositional phrase.

...ten hida land æt Croglea. (B 416) "...ten hides of land at Croyley."

...and manig oðer god man binnan byrig and butan. (R 75)
"...and many another good man within the town and outside."

(2) Class II dependent clauses.

And ic geann Æþelwine...þæs swurdes þe he me ær sealde. (W 20)
"And I grant to Æthelwine that sword which he gave to me before."

...þæt land þe wæs mid hire moder golde geboht... (B 1317)
"...that land which was bought with her mother's gold..."

Sometimes the dependent clause is separated from the noun it modifies; this type of modifier might be considered an appositive.

Þis is Æðelwyrdes cwide mid geðwæhte Odan arcebisscopes and ðæs hioredes æt Cristes cirican þæt is ðonne þæt Æðelwyrd bruce ðæs landæs...his dæg... (B 1010) "This is Æthelwyrd's will with the advice of Archbishop Odan and the brotherhood at

Christchurch, that is, that Æthelwyrd is to occupy the land for his day..."

2. Pronoun as head word.

a. Adjectives precede the indefinite pronoun man.

And gif ænig man...þisne cwyde wille awendan... (R 101) "And if anyone...wishes to change this will..."

...ðæt nænig mon seo to ðon gedyrstig... (S 175) "...that no one may be so daring..."

b. Modifiers which follow a pronoun.

(1) Nouns which are appositives of pronouns.

...ofer hiora dei wifes and cilda... (B 417) "...after their, the wife's and child's, day..."

Ic Uuerfrid biscop...sylle... (B 609) "I, Bishop Werfrid, give..."

(2) The pronoun self follows a personal pronoun.

And þridde biþ mid heom sylfan. (W 30) "And the third is with himself."

Gif...oðða hia siolf nylle... (B 412) "If...or she herself does not wish..."

(3) A participle follows a personal pronoun.

Wite he hine amansumadne mid Annaniam and Saphiram. (R 94) "May he know (find) himself cast out with Ananias and Sapphira."

3. Adjective as head word.

a. Nouns which function as genitive complements of adjectives precede the adjective.

And bio he ælces wites wyrðe. (B 1010) "And may he be worthy of (entitled to) each fine."

Sy hit ælces þinges freoh. (B 1233) "It is to be free of every thing (burden)."

b. An adverb immediately precedes the adjective it modifies.

...swa me mæst ræd þuhte. (W 20) "...as seemed to me most advisable."

...þæt me ys wana æt þam scypgesceote þus micelys... (H 63) "...that (it) is lacking to me from the ship-scot thus much..."

4. Numeral as head word. A noun which functions as the genitive complement of a numeral precedes the numeral but not always immediately.

Nu synd þissa gewrita þreo. (R 103) "Now (there) are three of these writs."

And þissera gewritu syndan þreo. (W 30) "And (there) are three of these writs."

5. Verb as head word.

a. Nouns sometimes function as modifiers of verbs; they follow the verb, although not always immediately, and occur at or near the end of a sentence.

...þe þærinne Godes lof dreogan sceolan dæges and nihtes. (R 101) "...who are obliged to celebrate the praise of God therein day and night."

And ic wille þæt Æffe feormige...ðа Godes þeowas...þrie dagas... (B 678) "And I wish that Æffe is to provide food for three days for God's servants..."

And ic gean Ælfgare þæs landes his dæg. (B 1306) "And I grant the land to Ælfgar for his day."

b. Adverbs. Words classified as adverbs have such diverse functions that it is difficult, if not impossible, to find any over-all consistency in the position of the whole word class among the various elements of the sentence or clause. Any statement which would cover the whole class would have to be too general, too complex, or accompanied by many exceptions.

Included in the adverb word class are modifiers of verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (which may be directly related to a particular

word or less directly to a larger syntactic unit), negatives, and conjunctive words (relative adverbs, conjunctive adverbs, correlative adverbs). Some of these adverbs are inflected for degree and some are not.

In this discussion of the adverb, we will eliminate modifiers of adjectives and adverbs in order to focus attention on the other functions of the adverb.

It is possible to find adverbs in different positions in otherwise similar sentences or clauses.

And se cyng þa swa dyde. (B 1064) "And the king then so did."

Þa dyde man swa. (R 66) "Then one did so."

And wende Æðelstan eft. (B 1063) "And Æthelstan returned again."

And he...wearp Æþelstan ut. (B 1063) "And he...threw Æthelstan out."

And he hit swa alet. (B 1064) "And so he gave it up."

Especially in long sentences and clauses, the adverb seems to fluctuate freely and to depend on recognition of the adverb as an item rather than word order for its syntactic significance (the adverb, of course, is not inflected to show any syntactic relation). However, in some types of formal structures which recur fairly frequently, it is possible to see a degree of consistency in the position of the adverb. It is, then, on this formal criterion that we will separate the functions of the adverb: (1) the structural function, by which a syntactic signal is given for structures larger than the modification structure (that is, on a different syntactic level) and in which the position of the adverb is relatively fixed; (2) the modification function, in which the adverb seems to be more directly related to a particular word (the

verb in this case) and in which the position of the adverb shows more variety.

(1) Structural function.

(a) Sentence indicator (the adverb, which is the first word, is followed by SV or VS).

Initial sentences (her, þus).

Her swutelað on þisum gewrite hu Godric...begeat... (R 103) "Here is made known in this writ how Godric...obtained..." (Also B 1097, B 1306, B 1318, R 66, R 75, R 83, R 101, R 102, R 108, E 240, W 16-1, W 16-2, and W 30.)

Sequence sentences (see sequence indicators, p. 212) (þa, þonne, eac).

Ða sohte he me... (B 591) "Then he sought me..."

Þonne hebfað Eadwald and Cyneðryð ðas wisan ðus fundene... (B 404) "Then Eadwald and Cynethryth have thus arranged the matter..."

Aec ic bebeode minum aefterfylgendum... (B 330) "Also, I command my successors..."

A final sentence or a sentence near the end of a document is often introduced by nu.

Nu bidde ic þone bisceop Ælfstan þæt... (W 16-1) "Now I bid the bishop, Ælfstan, that..."

Nu bidde ic for Godes lufon...ðæt... (H 27) "Now I pray for God's love...that..."

(b) Clause indicator.

An independent clause is often introduced by þonne when it is preceded by a Class III dependent clause introduced by gif or and gif.

Gif hio bearn hæbbe ðonne foe ðæt...to londe. (B 318) "If she should have a child, then that one is to inherit the land."

And gif ic lengc beo þonne heo þonne hæbbe ic þæt land... (B 1317) "And if I am to be (live) longer than she, then I am to have that land..."

Dependent clauses. Class II dependent clauses may be introduced by relative or conjunctive adverbs.

> And heo...feormige þrie dagas þa Godes þeowas þær min lic reste... (B 678) "And she is to sustain for three days God's servants where my body rests..."

> And se cyning dyde ðet land...him to folclande ða hie ðem landum iehwerfed hefdan... (B 496) "And the king made that land...to him as folkland when they had exchanged the lands..."

A Class III dependent clause followed by an independent clause is signaled by the correlative conjunctive adverbs þa (followed by SV word order)...þa (followed by VS word order)... "When..., then..."

> Ða we hie æt Weardoran nu semdan ða bær mon ða boc forð... (B 591) "When we now brought them to agreement at Wardour, then one bore the deed forth..."

> Þa he geendod wæs þa rad se biscop to þam cynge... (B 1063) "When he was dead, then the bishop rode to the king..."

(c) The adverbs þonne, ærest, or þonne ærest frequently follow the parenthetical expression þæt is (wæs) which indicates a list of witnesses, items bequeathed, or provisions to be carried out.

> ...ðæt is þonne Werburg min wif... (B 558) "...that is, then, Werburg, my wife..."

> ...þæt wæs þonne Sigeric arcebiscop... (R 66) "...that was, then, Archbishop Sigeric..."

> ...þæt is ærest sona minum hlaforde... (W 16-1) "...that is, first, to the son of my lord..."

> ...þæt is þonne ærest þæt ic gean... (E 240) "...that is, then, first, that I grant..."

(2) Modification function. In its function as modifier of a simple verb, the adverb usually occupies a position immediately before or after the verb or at the end or near the end of the sentence or clause.

(a) In eight initial sentences which begin a particular type of writ, the adverb comes at the end of the sentence.

> Eadward kyning gret Harold eorl...freondlice. (H 115) "King Edward greets Earl Harold...in a friendly manner."
>
> Wulfstan arcebiscop gret Cnut cyning...eadmodlice. (H 27) "Archbishop Wulfstan greets King Cnut...humbly." (Also, H 63, H 28, H 1, H 24, H 55, H 96.)

(b) In simple sequence sentences, when the subject precedes the verb, the adverb may occur before or after the verb.

> And him mon forgefe ðeran ðreotenhund pending. (B 412) "And let one give him in addition thirteen hundred pennies."
>
> And hine mon ðærætt aparade. (B 591) "And one discovered him there."

When the verb precedes the subject (sentences introduced by þa), the adverb follows both subject and verb (one exception occurs in this corpus).

> Þa sende se cyning þærrihte... (R 66) "Then the king sent straightway..."
>
> Ða wæs þæt swa. (B 1063) "Then that was so."
>
> Ða stod seo hondseten eal ðæron. (B 591) "Then the signature remained all thereon."

The one exception:

> Þa bræc syððan Leofsunu...ðæne cwide... (B 1097) "Then Leofsunu afterwards broke the will..."

(c) In Class I dependent clauses, the adverb usually precedes the verb, but it may follow the verb.

> ...þet he þis wel healde. (B 403) "...that he keep this well."
>
> ...þæt hie fulgere witen... (B 412) "...that they are to know fully..."
>
> ...þæt min wif fo æfre to healfan... (B 1306) "...that my wife is to inherit forever half..."

(d) In Class II dependent clauses, the adverb almost always occurs between the subject and verb.

...þe hit ærest begeat. (B 678) "...who first obtained it."

...þe þærto belimpað. (B 1233) "...which belongs thereto."

A few exceptions occur in which the adverb follows both subject and verb.

...þe we gelogiað þær... (B 1267) "...whom we lodge there..."

(e) In Class III dependent clauses, the adverb usually precedes the verb.

Gif hio ðonne bearn næbbe... (B 318) "If she then should not have a child..."

Gif Eadweald leng lifige... (B 404) "If Eadweald should live longer..."

...swa hit herbeforan cwyð. (W 16-2) "...as it heretofore says."

(f) With verb phrases, the adverb almost always immediately precedes the verb form which is last or both verb forms if they are contiguous.

Þonne hebfað Eadwald and Cyneðryð ðas wisan ðus fundene... (B 404) "Then Eadwald and Cynethryth have thus arranged the matter..."

...þæt we habbað hine nu gebletsod. (H 27) "...that we have now consecrated him."

...swa he me on ðon wedde ær geseald hæfde. (B 591) "...as he had given me before in the agreement."

...swa hit nu gedon is... (B 591) "...as it now is done..."

...þu mihtest eaðe gedon... (H 63) "...you are able easily to bring about..."

...þær he længast wunian sceal. (R 83) "...where he is obliged to dwell longest."

(g) The negative adverb ne always immediately precedes an inflected verb form.

Gif hit þæt ne sio þonne selle hio... (B 558) "If it is not to be that, then she is to give..."

Þagyt heo ne moste landes brucan... (B 1064) "Still she was not able to enjoy (occupy) the land..."

Other negative adverbs occur infrequently but seem to function as other adverbs do.

c. Prepositional phrases which modify verbs may either precede or follow the verb; when the prepositional phrase expresses time, it usually precedes the verb.

And æfter þreora manna dæge gange þæt land... (R 81) "And after three men's day, that land is to go..."

And æfter heora dæge agefe mon ðæt land... (B 416) "And after her day, one is to give that land..."

Ic...mid micelre eaðmodnisse biddað ðæt... (B 330) "I... with great humility pray that..."

And ðæt wit deodan for Godes lufan... (S 175) "And we two did that for God's love..."

Her cyð on þisan gewritu þæt... (W 30) "Here is declared in this writ that..."

d. Class II dependent clauses which modify verbs always follow the verb.

Æðelstan gefreode Eadelm forraðe þæs ðe he ærest cyng wæs. (B 639) "Æthelstan freed Eadelm as soon as he first was king."

And Eðiluuald hit uta giðryde and gibelde sua he wel cyðæ. (B 631) "And Ethilwald bound and covered it on the outside as he well knew how."

And he brytniæ suæ higum mæst red sie. (B 330) "And he may distribute (it) as will be most benefit to the brotherhood."

6. Adverb as head word. An adverb may be modified by another adverb which immediately precedes it; this occurs rarely in this corpus.

...ðe his lof alicge to swyðe. (B 1267) "...that his praise perishes too greatly."

...ær heo wyste hu getriwlice he hi æt landum healdan wolde. (B 1064) "...before she knew how truly (faithfully) he would hold himself in regard to the lands."

Word Order within Phrases

1. Prepositional phrase. The basic structure of a prepositional phrase is a preposition plus an object which may be a noun, pronoun, or gerund. The preposition never changes form, but the object is inflected to show case and number if it is a noun or pronoun. The preposition usually precedes its object, but in some instances the preposition follows its object.

a. Phrases in which the preposition precedes the object.

(1) Minimum prepositional phrase.

...foe þæt bearn to þæm londum æfter hire. (B 558) "...that child is to inherit the land after her."

...þa þe him gyt becumað...þurh ceap oðð þurh gife. (B 1267) "...those that are yet to come to it ...through sale or through gift."

(2) The prepositional phrase which occurs most frequently is composed of a preposition plus a noun which has one or more modifiers; the modifiers precede or follow the noun in the established order of noun modifiers (see p. 236).

(a)

Preposition	Modifier(s)						Object
	1st Pos.	2nd Pos.	3rd Pos.	4th Pos.	5th Pos.	6th Pos.	
of		þæm					londe
of		þæm			ilcan		londe
on	sum	þæt					land
æfter			þreora			manna	dæge
ymb			an	oðer	healf		gear
mid	eallæn	þam			netwyrðan		þingum
on	ealre	þæra				þegena	gewitnysse

(b) The modifiers may follow the object.

...ofer heora dei wifes and cilda... (B 417) "...after their, wife's and child's, day..."

...in þissum life onwardum... (B 558) "...in this present life..."

...æfter regole þæs halgan Benedictes. (B 1267) "...according to the rule of St. Benedict."

...mid ten pundan reodes goldes. (R 83) "...with ten pounds of red gold."

(c) When there are two modifiers of the same object which are joined by and and which represent two different people or groups of people, the shorter (one word) precedes the object and the longer (two or more words) follows.

...æfter minum dege and minra ærfewearda... (B 417) "...after my and my heirs'day..."

...for mine saule and minra frionda... (B 405) "...for my and my friends' soul..."

...mid Godes geðeahte and þæs arwyrðan hiredes... (R 87) "...with the direction of God and the honorable brotherhood..."

(3) The preposition may take two objects which are joined by and and both of which follow the preposition; modifiers may either precede or follow the nouns.

...beforan þam cincge and þam witon... (W 16-2) "...before the king and the counselors..."

...be þæs cynincges leafe and gewitnesse... (B 1064) "...with the king's permission and testimony..."

...mid þafunge and leafe Heaðacnutes cynges and þæs arwurþan hiredes... (R 94) "...with the consent and permission of King Hardacnut and the honorable brotherhood..."

(4) A prepositional phrase may be followed by and (or ge) plus another preposition or by and (or ge) plus another preposition plus genitive modifiers without an expressed object; the

second preposition refers to the object of the first prepositional phrase.

...for Ealdredes saule and for Ealhburge... (B 403) "...for Ealdred's soul and for Ealhburg's..."

...on Godes ælmæhtiges noman and on allra his haligra... (S 175) "...in Almighty God's name and in all his saints'..."

...binnan byrig and butan... (H 28, R 75, R 101) "...within the town (fort) and outside..." or "...within and without (outside of) the town..."

...ægðer ge on life ge æfter. (W 16-2) "...both in (during) and after life."

b. Phrases in which the preposition follows the object occur infrequently. When the preposition follows its object, the preposition occurs immediately before a sentence or clause final verb form; the object of the preposition immediately precedes the preposition unless the object is a relative pronoun which is the first word in a dependent clause.

...þe me mid ridað. (B 1306) "...who ride with me."

...for hine and for þa þe him land fram com. (B 1010) "...for him and for those from whom the land came to him."

...þæt þis igland him oninnan hæfð. (B 1267) "...that this island has within it."

...þæs swurdes þe seo hand is on gemearcod. (W 20) "...the sword on which the hand is marked."

...on ælcere scire þe Æðelnoð arcebiscop and se hired...land inne habbaþ. (H 28) "...in each shire in which Archbishop Æthelnoth and the brotherhood have land."

...þonne hy ænige sace hym betweonan heoldan. (R 83) "...than (that) they should hold any quarrel (dispute) between them."

2. Infinitive phrase. Other than the verb phrases already described (see p. 224), the infinitive occurs in this corpus in only one instance that may be called an infinitive phrase. This phrase

follows and is the direct object of the verb hatan. The phrase is composed of a subject (accusative case) plus two infinitives connected by and. The first infinitive is preceded by its subject, direct object (nominative or accusative form), and an adverb; the second infinitive is preceded by an indirect object (dative case), and a direct object; an adverbial modifier follows the second infinitive.

> And se cyng het þone arcebisceop Wulfstan ðærto boc settan and Æðelstane bisceope boc and land betæcan unnendere heortan. (R 83) "And the king commanded the archbishop, Wulfstan, to draw up a charter thereto and to entrust charter and land to Bishop Æthelstan with a glad heart."

3. Gerund phrase. The gerund phrase in this corpus is composed of a gerund construction (to plus a verb form ending in -anne or -enne) plus its subject (dative case), object (dative case), or adverbial modifier.

a. The subject of a gerund immediately precedes the gerund.

> ...[ðæt he ðis]...siððan forð bebeode his erbum to healdenne... (B 403) "...(that he) afterward command his heirs to keep (observe) (this)..."

> ...ðæt mon agefe ðæt lond inn higum to heora beode him to brucanne on ece ærfe. (B 417) "...that one is to give that land to the brotherhood for their control for them to enjoy in eternal heritage."

b. The object of a gerund usually immediately precedes the gerund.

> Gif...hire liofre sie oðer hemed to niomanne... (B 412) "If... to undertake another marriage should be preferable to her..."

> Gif hire ðonne liofre sie an mynster to ganganne... (B 412) "If to enter a monastery should then be preferable to her..."

> ...and ðar on Godes folce Cristendom to dælenne. (W 16-2) "...and to dispense Christianity to God's people there."

c. The gerund may be modified by an adverb, a prepositional phrase, or a Class II dependent clause.

(1) An adverb immediately precedes the gerund.

...þe he ah þærof rihtlice to habbene... (H 24) "...which he ought to have rightly thereof."

...oðða suð to faranne. (B 412) "...or to go southward."

...and næfre ut to sellanne. (B 678) "...and never to give out (away)."

(2) A prepositional phrase may precede or follow the gerund.

...and to syllanne for life. (B 1063) "...and to give for life."

...and na of ðam mynstre to sellanne. (B 678) "...and never to give from the monastery."

(3) A Class II dependent clause immediately follows the gerund.

...to ationne swæ me mest red and liofast sie. (B 417) "...to deal with as may be most advisable and most pleasing to me."

...to ateonne swa swa heo wolde. (B 1064) "...to dispose of as she might wish."

Conjunctions

The conjunction is a non-inflected word which signals that the unit in which it is the first word is included with or added to a grammatical structure which precedes it, or, in the case of some Class III dependent clauses, that the unit the conjunction precedes is included with the grammatical structure which follows (an independent clause).

Conjunctions are either single words or correlative conjunctions which function in pairs.

1. Simple (one word) conjunctions occur as first word of sequence sentences (sequence indicators), independent clauses, and dependent clauses; a simple conjunction may join two phrases or words in a series. The most frequent simple conjunction is and; few sentences occur in this corpus which do not contain at least one and.

a. Simple sequence sentence.

And se cyncg þa swa dyde. (B 1064) "And the king then so did."

b. Independent clause.

And ic cyðe eow þæt ic habbe geunnen... (H 115) "And I make known to you that I have granted..."

c. Dependent clause.

And ic wille þæt man selle þæt land... (E 240) "And I wish that one is to give that land..."

Þa dyde hio swa hio dorste hyre aþe gebiorgan. (R 66) "Then she did as she dared to protect her oath."

Gif hio bearn hæbbe ðonne foe ðæt... (B 318) "If she should have a child, then that one is to inherit..."

d. Prepositional phrases.

...and ælc þæra þinga þæs þe þær innto herð on wuda and on felda mid saca and mid socne... (H 96) "...and each of those things which belong thereto in wood and in field, with sake and with soke..."

...to syllanne on dæge and æfter dæge... (R 103) "...to give during life and after life."

e. Noun phrases.

Eadward cingc grett Wulfwig biscop and Raulf earl and ealle mine þegenas... (H 55) "King Edward greets Bishop Wulwig and Earl Raulf and all my thanes..."

f. Single words.

...mid fyrdwite and fyhtwite and æbære þeof and griðbryce and foresteall and hamsocne. (H 24) "...with military service fine and fine for fighting and public thief (fine) and breach of peace (fine) and fine for assault and fine for housebreaking."

2. Correlative conjunctions occur in pairs; that is, the same conjunction may occur before each of two successive units of the same type; the correlative conjunctions indicate not only that the two units are syntactically included with a preceding structure but also that in the meaning of the statement there is a choice or alternative given between the two items (either...or...) or that the inclusion or exclusion of both is emphasized (both...and...; neither...nor...). Correlative conjunctions usually link single words or phrases.

> ...and gange ægðer ge cyricsceat ge teoðunge into þam halgan mynstre... (R 81) "...and both the church-scot and tithes are to go to the holy monastery..."
>
> ...and mænig man þærtoeacan ge gehadude ge læwede... (R 101) "...and many a man in addition thereto both ecclesiastics and laymen..."
>
> ...ðe all ðing gemetegað ge on heofenum ge on eorðan... (B 609) "...who governs all things both in heaven and in earth..."
>
> ...ægþer ge on life ge æfter life... (R 108) "...both in life and after life..."
>
> ...gif mon ne mæg nowðer ne mid feo ne mid aða geendigan. (B 591) "...if one may (not) settle it neither with property nor with an oath."

The correlative conjunctions swa...swa... may occur before units which are different structures (including clauses).

> ...swæ mid minum lice swæ sioððan yferran dogre... (B 412) "...either with my body or afterward at a later day..."
>
> ...swæ to ationne swæ me mest red and liofast sie. (B 417) "...so to deal with as may be most advisable and pleasing to me."
>
> Ic wæs þinum fæder swa gehyrsum swa ic fyrmest myhte... (B 1306) "I was as obedient as I was best able to your father..."

The Relation of Word Order to Inflection

Unambiguous inflection for case operates as the primary syntactic signal because it is obvious and it is not subject to the variety that word order may have. Although distinctive word order may be, and usually is, present when the function of the words is indicated by inflection, the indication of function, in such instances, does not depend on word order; therefore, word order operates as a secondary or supplementary syntactic signal.

> And se cyng het þone arcebisceop... (R 83) "And the king commanded the archbishop..."

Unambiguous inflection for number is functional when two words have ambiguous case inflections and only one of the words agrees with the verb in number.

> Cnut cyncg (nom.-acc. sing.) gret (sing.) ealle mine bisceopas (nom.-acc. pl.)... (H 28) "King Cnut greets all my bishops..."
>
> And hæfdon (pl.) hit (nom.-acc. sg.) cynegas (nom.-acc. pl.)... (B 1097) "And kings had it..."

There is no instance in this corpus which depends on the indication of person agreement (between subject and verb) to clear up otherwise ambiguous case inflections.

There are some instances in which two nouns, a noun and a pronoun, or two pronouns have ambiguous inflections for case and number; in these instances, word order becomes the primary syntactic signal.

When two words are ambiguous in case in that both words could be two different cases and both agree with the verb in number, word order operates according to the word order pattern in that particular kind of construction: simple sentences, SVO.

Æðelric bisceop (nom.-acc. sing.) gret Æðelmær (nom.-acc. sing.)... (H 63) "Bishop Æthelric greets Æthelmer..."

Wulfstan arcebiscop (nom.-acc. sing.) gret Cnut cyning (nom.-acc. sing.)... (H 27) "Archbishop Wulfstan greets King Cnut..."

Æðelstan cyng gefreode Eadelm... (B 639) "King Æthelstan freed Eadelm..."

Class I dependent clauses: SVO.

...þæt Ecgferð gebohte boc and land... (B 1063) "...that Ecgferth bought the deed and land..."

Independent clauses introduced by þa have VSO word order.

Þa gesohte Æðelstan Eadgar cyng... (B 1063) "Then Æthelstan sought King Eadgar..."

A few examples occur in which the inflection is ambiguous and the word order differs from that which is usually found in the particular construction. For instance, simple sentences have SVO word order, but in some instances we find OVS; these seem to emphasize a number, and each comes at the end of a series of sentences in which documents are numbered.

Nu synd þissa gewrita þreo. An is innan Cristes cyricean and oþer æt Sancte Augustine. And þæt þridde hæfð Ægelric mid him sylfan. (R 101) "Now (there) are three of these writs. One is at Christchurch and the second at St. Augustine's. And Ægelric has the third with himself."

Nu sind þisse gewrite þreo. An is æt Cristes cyricean and oþer æt Sancte Augustine. And þridde hæfð Leofwine preost. (R 102) "Now (there) are three of these writs. One is at Christchurch and the second at St. Augustine's. And Priest Leofwine has the third."

When a noun and a pronoun, or two pronouns, are ambiguous in case and one is a person and one is inanimate, we usually assume (as the Anglo-Saxons possibly did) that the noun or pronoun which is a person is the subject of the verb. This is the case even though the word order may differ from that usually found in the particular type

of construction.

...þæt hit hæbbe min wiif... (B 412) "...that my wife is to have it..."

...þe hit ærest begeat... (B 678) "...who first obtained it..."

...þa geahsode þæt Eadwig cyng... (B 1063) "...when King Eadwig discovered that..."

Þa gebohte hit Ælfstan... (B 1097) "Then Ælfstan bought it..."

The indeclinable pronoun man always functions as subject of the verb; therefore, unusual word order may occur in sentences or clauses in which it appears.

Ond ðas forecwædenan swæsenda all agife mon... (B 330)
"And one is to give all the foresaid provisions..."

While the position of the indeclinable pronoun þe is fixed, it is always the first word in a dependent clause, its function changes according to the elements which follow it.

1. Subject.

...þe hit ærest begeat... (B 678) "...who first obtained it..."

2. Direct object.

...þe him God alæned hæfð... (W 16-1) "...which God has granted to him..."

3. Indirect object.

...þe ic mines erfes...onn... (B 558) "...to whom I grant my property..."

4. Object of a preposition.

...on ælcere scire þe Æðelnoð arcebiscop and se hired land inne habbaþ... (H 28) "...in each shire in which Archbishop Æthelnoth and the brotherhood have land..."

When one considers both inflection and word order, there are actually few ambiguous syntactic signals. The normal occurrence

of nouns and pronouns seems to eliminate many possibilities of ambiguity, for nouns (with or without modifiers) usually occur alone or with pronouns (which are usually clearly marked); pronouns usually occur alone or with nouns, and seldom do two pronouns of the same case and number occur together; when two nouns or two pronouns of the same case and number do occur together, word order operates to indicate which is subject and which is object (the relationships which are most often ambiguous); the few examples which are not cleared up by word order are made clear by the context.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The object of this study has been to describe the syntax of the Old English language found in a carefully selected group of charters dated from 805 A.D. to 1066 A.D. In the analysis, an attempt has been made to combine traditional linguistic methods with the methods and techniques of modern structural linguistics. The description covers not only the syntax which was most frequently followed but also the optional forms of syntax which occur less frequently. Statements are documented with examples taken from a corpus of original material contemporary with the period covered.

The analysis of case inflections reveals that there is considerable ambiguity in the indication of syntactic relationships by case inflection alone in single words. There is less ambiguity, however, in concord groups because pronouns and adjectives have more forms which are distinctive for case and, therefore, the combination of, say, a demonstrative pronoun, an adjective, and a noun may narrow multiple case possibilities to one particular case through the concord of the noun and its modifiers in case, number, and gender. Even concord groups are often ambiguous when the same form of the demonstrative pronoun and the same form of the adjective serve for two different cases.[1] The ambiguity of inflectional endings makes other

[1]For instance, in masculine a-stem nouns, nom.-acc. pl. *þa

syntactic devices mandatory if one assumes the necessity of making syntactic relationships clear. The inflectional system of the verb also has certain ambiguities. Again, if one assumes that it is important and necessary to make syntactic relationships clear, one must conclude that inflection is only a part of the operative system for verbs. For instance, the verb depends upon its subject to make the person distinction clear in the plural of the indicative and subjunctive moods, the singular of the subjunctive mood, and the 1st and 3rd persons of the preterit indicative.

Some of the usages for case, mood, and tense found in this corpus differ markedly from those found elsewhere in Old English. This is probably because the corpus is made up of a special body of materials. The syntax used in the prose found in the original Old English charters is not always the same as the syntax used in the Old English prose translations from the classical languages or the syntax used in Old English poetry. The same is true of Modern English which varies greatly in the syntax found in poetry, literary prose, and the prose of special types of writing such as legal documents, scientific reports, and news reports. Therefore, some differences from other types of Old English writing are to be expected. Nevertheless, the syntax found in the charters conforms, in general, to the syntax found in other types of writing in Old English.

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godan stanas "those good stones"; neuter a-stem nouns, nom.-acc. sing. *þæt gode word "the good word," and the nom.-acc. pl. *þa godan word "the good words"; feminine o-stem nouns, gen.-dat. sing. *þære godan giefe "of (or to) the good gift," and the nom-acc. pl. *þa godan giefa "the good gifts"; similar ambiguities are also to be found in the n-stem and other consonant stem nouns.

The regularity with which certain word order patterns occur in particular constructions indicates that word order is important as a supplement to inflection in indicating syntactic relationships. Word order in most word groups is neither rigidly fixed nor restricted to one pattern. When case inflections are unambiguous, the word order is freer, within certain limits, but not random. When case inflections are ambiguous, word order in a particular type of construction is more likely to follow one pattern rather than other possible variations. Therefore, some of the previous statements about the roles of inflection and word order in Old English syntax, statements like those of Mossé[1] and Fries,[2] must be considerably qualified. However, one cannot go so far as S. O. Andrew in emending the Old English texts to make exceptions conform to the most frequently recurring patterns of word order.[3]

The use of contributive or reinforcing words must be taken into consideration in describing the syntactic system of Old English. We note the use of many adverbs of time, or phrases and clauses indicating time, which either reinforce or supplement the verb. Another

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[1]Mossé, op. cit., p. 167 (the English here is my translation; original French quotation on p. 3): "In Old English, the order in which the different elements of the sentence are placed is much more free than in Modern English.... Inflection is sufficiently rich to allow one to perceive the role played by each of the elements.... There is no system at all and the sentence remains supple."

[2]Fries, Structure, p. 58: "The inflectional ending of the word, not the word order within the sentence, constitutes the structural signal in the Old English sentence." Fries was discussing Modern English, of course, and used Old English as a contrast to Modern English in the degree of dependence on syntactic word order.

[3]S. O. Andrew, Syntax and Style in Old English (Cambridge, 1940).

type of reinforcement can be seen in the use of several negative words (perhaps a negative pronoun, a negative verb form, and a negative adverb used in the same construction) to emphasize the negative idea.

Verb phrases occur as well as single verb forms. In view of later developments in English, these verb phrases suggest compound tenses, formed by word grouping or combination, which employ word order in a significant fashion.

The combination of word order, inflection, and supplementary or reinforcing expressions does not give all the signals of word relationship necessary to an understanding of Old English. Other linguistic systems, phonology (especially important in dialectal differences) and morphology, are important influences although they are beyond the scope of this study; extra-linguistic influences, such as context and the conditioning of the reader, have some bearing on all language situations, but these also are not proper considerations for a study of syntax.

An unedited Old English text which shows no syntactic unit divisions may be divided into sentences by the use of structural criteria. This does not necessarily imply that the writers of Old English in this period had any definitely defined idea of the sentence as a syntactic unit nor does it exclude such a possibility. By the same type of analysis, the sentences may be divided into their component parts.

The independent clause is the nucleus of the sentence and is structurally more important than the dependent clause, which functions only within or appended to the structure of the independent

clause. The independent clause is clearly distinguished from the dependent clause in function and structure. However, one cannot speak simply of dependent clauses since they differ in structure and function.

Dependent clauses can be divided into three definite types which are distinguished by their structural characteristics and functions. The Class I dependent clause functions as a basic element (subject, object, etc.). The Class II dependent clause functions as a secondary element (modifier). The Class III dependent clause contains additional information (usually some qualifying or conditional statement) related to the statement in the independent clause it accompanies, but it is stated in a non-independent form indicated by syntactic signals of inclusion or by the absence of "free" sentence syntactic signals.

The various types of clauses also differ in word order patterns. Independent clauses, and sometimes Class I dependent clauses, have the same pattern that simple sentences have; Class II and Class III dependent clauses often have a pattern of their own, which is different from that of the independent clause. Class I and Class III dependent clauses show variety in word order patterns more often than Class II dependent clauses; Class I and Class III dependent clauses sometimes adopt the pattern of the simple sentence and independent clause, while Class II dependent clauses have a more stable word order pattern and almost never adopt that of the simple sentence and independent clause.

The frequency of particular introductory words in a certain type of dependent clause and the infrequent occurrence or absence of

these introductory words in other types of dependent clauses is another distinction. For instance, Class I dependent clauses often begin with þæt, while Class II and Class III seldom do; Class II dependent clauses frequently begin with þe but Class I and Class III never do (except in combinations like wiþþon þe).

In modification structures with a noun as head word, inflection is of primary importance because the modifiers agree with the head word in number, gender, and case (except modifiers which are personal pronouns or nouns in the genitive case). Word order is less important in the modification structure with a noun as head word because, as was pointed out before, the modifiers of nouns (usually pronouns and adjectives) have more case distinctions than do nouns alone, and the concord group often eliminates the ambiguity when two or more cases have the same form. However, modifiers of nouns usually take a particular position and order in relation to the head word.

Uninflected parts of speech (adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions) fill syntactic positions which usually have a fixed word order: sequence indicators, indicators of inclusion, the preposition in prepositional phrases, and the conjunction when it functions as a connective between two units (rather than as an indicator of sequence or inclusion).

There are no significant syntactic differences in the dialects represented in this corpus. This may be because some dialects are represented by only one or a few documents. At any rate, the characteristic syntactic differences in a particular document are not consistently followed in other documents of the same dialect, but the same characteristics may be found in other documents of different

dialects. Syntactic differences in a particular construction seem to depend more on the type of document and perhaps the style of a particular writer; again, these differences are not restricted to any one group of documents but occur in other texts in varying degrees.

Some change from century to century has been noted. In the later documents a drift toward Modern English word order is indicated in the dependent clauses by the higher percentages of word order patterns like those of the simple sentence and independent clause. Any diachronic statement about this corpus has to be qualified by consideration of the fact that there are fewer ninth and eleventh-century texts and that the tenth-century texts include a number of long narrations which have some characteristics not found in shorter texts; the eleventh-century texts are often short and do not afford the opportunity for variety or for the occurrence of certain constructions.

The syntax of Old English does not depend wholly upon one type of system for indicating the relationships between words; it employs both inflection and word order, which may operate simultaneously or which may supplement each other.

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