

WORD-FORMATION IN THE OLD ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *ALEXANDER'S LETTER TO ARISTOTLE*

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Abstract: This article deals briefly with word-formation in the Old English version of *Alexander's Letter to Aristoteles* (*AlexArist*). *AlexArist* has been edited several times. Here the edition by Orchard 2003 has been used, because Orchard edits not only the OE *AlexArist*, but also the Latin *Epistola*, and he provides a translation of the OE text. This text shows all the word-formation patterns common in Old English, in particular compounding, prefixation and suffixation. The latter two are sometimes grouped together under the heading of derivation.

Key words: word-formation, the Old English translation, *Alexander's letter to Aristotle*
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1. Introduction

The Old English version of *Alexander's Letter to Aristoteles* (*AlexArist*) is based on a Latin text, the *Epistola Alexandri*. The *Epistola Alexandri* and accordingly *AlexArist* are largely fictitious; they deal mainly with Alexander's exploits in India, introducing many battles and many strange and often dangerous animals.¹

The OE *Alex Arist* is transmitted in the famous *Beowulf* manuscript, now MS London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.XV. The manuscript was written around 1000;² but *AlexArist* is probably a copy of a text translated earlier. Scholars who deal with the language of *AlexArist* agree that it is an originally Anglian text (see also section 4.2. below under *-berende*) and that it was probably first translated in the second half of the ninth century, which would roughly coincide with the reign of King Alfred. Because there are no OE prose texts that can definitely be dated earlier than the reign of King Alfred, *Alex Arist* may be one of the earliest OE prose texts.³ *AlexArist* certainly fits in with the convincing theory first forwarded by Sisam, namely that the *Beowulf* manuscript was compiled as a book of monsters (Sisam 1953, 96).

AlexArist has been edited several times (but not nearly as often as *Beowulf*).⁴ Here I have used the edition by Orchard 2003, because Orchard edits not only the OE *AlexArist*, but also the Latin *Epistola*, and he provides a translation of the OE text. The paragraphs (§) refer to the edition by Orchard, but I have also consulted the edition by Rypins 1924, especially Rypins's Glossarial Index, where most of the words discussed in the following are listed.

2. Word-formation in *AlexArist*

In the following I shall deal briefly with word-formation in the OE *AlexArist*. This text shows all the word-formation patterns common in Old English, in particular compounding, prefixation and suffixation. The latter two are sometimes grouped

¹ On *AlexArist* see, e.g., Sisam 1953, 83-96; Hofstetter 1987, 423 = no. 204; Orchard 2003.

² On the manuscript see, e.g., Ker 1957, no. 216 Gneuss & Lapidge 2014, no. 399, both with reference to further literature.

³ On the language and date of the OE *AlexArist* see, e.g., Sisam 1953, 83-96; Hofstetter 1987, no. 204.

⁴ On editions and translations of *Beowulf* see Sauer et al. 2011; on editions of *AlexArist* see, e.g., Gneuss & Lapidge 2014, no. 399.

together under the heading of derivation. Moreover, I have set up as separate categories prefixoids and suffixoids, combinations with particles and derivation without a suffix. What is called conversion or zero-derivation for ModE, existed also in OE, but for OE I call it derivation without a suffix. The reason is that there are some formations where the stem-vowel changes, e.g. *blodgyte* ‚bloodshed’. Change of the stem-vowel does not happen in ModE zero-derivation (conversion). It should also be noted that past participles could be the basis of word-formation, e.g. *aspringan* ‚to dwindle, cease’).

There are no instances of backformation, clipping, blending, and acronyms in *AlexArist*. These are relatively modern categories of word-formation and do not yet occur in Old English.⁵ Because handbooks dealing with Old English word-formation often mention the main patterns (including compounds, prefixes and suffixes), but not their frequency, I pay special attention to the frequency of the patterns and elements. Some formations are more complex and have, for example, a prefix and a suffix, or are a mixture of compounding plus suffixation (e.g. *elreordig*, *oferhygdlic*, *healfhunding*).

3. Compounds

Compounds usually consist of two word. Some compounds are more complex, see below.

3.1. Substantival compounds

Among the substantival compounds, the type ‚noun + noun’ is the most prominent and the most frequent one in *AlexArist* and probably in OE generally. *AlexArist* contains 54 noun+noun compounds, e.g. *eorðcýning* ‚earthly king’, *hron-fisc* ‚whale’, lit. ‚whale-fish’, *gold-hord* ‚gold-hoard’. A few noun + noun compounds were obscured as early as *AlexArist*, e.g. *hlaforð* > ‚lord’ and *lareow* ‚teacher’: *Hlaforð* is usually taken to be an obscured form of *hlaforweard* ‚bread-guardian’; *lareow* is usually explained as an obscured form of *lar-peow*: lit. ‚teaching servant’.

Other types of compounds are used much rarer or not at all in *AlexArist*. There are 14 adjective + noun cpds, e.g. *neahmunt* ‚neighbouring mountain’, lit. ‚near mountain’. To these could be added *healfhunding* lit. ‚half-dog’ (translating *cynocephalus*). This is also an example of compounding + suffixation. One adj + noun cpd. was slightly obscured, namely *wildeor* ‚wild beast’ (perhaps due to its frequent use), a compound of *wilde* ‚wild’ and *deor* ‚animal, beast’. Compounds usually consist of two words. A more complex compound is *feþerfotnieten* ‚four-footed animal: it consists of three words (morphemes), namely *feþer-* (an allomorph of *feower* ‚four’; see 4.1. below), *fot* ‚foot’ and *nieten* ‚beast, cattle’ and two immediate constituents, *feþerfot* ‚four-footed’ and *nieten*.

Combinations of ‚noun in the genitive + noun’ were probably regarded as phrases and not as compounds – among the modern editors Rypins 1924 and Orchard 2003 certainly regard them as phrases. Probably they were also regarded as phrases by the OE scribes. The most conspicuous examples are *monan trio* ‚moon’s tree, tree of the moon’, and *sunnan trio* ‚sun’s tree, tree of the sun’. They are certainly phrases in: *ða halgan trio sunnan and monan* (§ 36) ‚the holy trees of the sun and moon’.

⁵ For details, see, e.g., Koziol 1972; Marchand 1969

3.2. Adjectival compounds

Adjectival compounds are much rarer than substantival compounds. There are three compounds of the type ‚adjective + adjective’ in *AlexArist*, namely *deorweorð* ‚precious’; *fulcuð* ‚well-known’ (lit. something like ‚fully known’); *healf-nacod* ‚half-naked’.

3.3. Verbal compounds

There are no verbal compounds comparable to substantival and adjectival compounds. *Geendebyrdan* ‚to arrange, put into order’ is probably not a compound, but derived from *endebyrd* ‚order’. Some verbal compounds are formed with particles as a first element, e.g. *ingan* ‚to go in’ (probably a verb with a so-called separable prefix); on those see section 5 below.

4. Prefixoids and suffixoids

Prefixoids and suffixoids are a mixed group. What they have in common is that they stand somewhere in between words and affixes (prefixes, suffixes), and the formations with them accordingly stand somewhere in between compounds and derivations.

4.1. Prefixoids

Two first elements in *AlexArist* can be regarded as allomorphs of nouns or numerals, which are used as first elements of compounds instead of the corresponding words; those are:

- **cyne-** is an allomorph of *cyning* ‚king’, used in compounds instead of *cyning*. There are two examples in *AlexArist*, namely *kynegyryla* ‚royal attire’ and the adjectival compound *cynelic*. On *cynelic* see further 7.2. below under *-lic*.

- **feðer-** is an allomorph of *feower* ‚four’, used in compounds instead of *feower*: the examples from *AlexArist* are *feðer-fot* (a bahuvrihi adj.), ‚four-footed’ and *feðerfotnieten* ‚four-footed animal’: This occurs several times in the description of the animals used by Alexander’s army.

These allomorphs (*cyne-*, *feðer-*) no longer exist in ModE: *cyne-* has been replaced by *king* (*cynedom* > *kingdom*), and *feðer-* ‚four’ has been replaced by *four*, perhaps due to homonymic clash with *feather*. Modern English has apparently largely abandoned this kind of allomorphy and it is no longer productive (one of the few remnants in common use is *twilight*, where *twi-* is used as an allomorph of *two*; cf. G *Zwielicht*).

4.2. Suffixoids

I regard as adjectival suffixoids *-berend(e)* ‚bringing, carrying’, *-feald* ‚-fold’ and *-ful, full* ‚-ful’. The first two do not occur as independent adjectives in OE, but they are obviously derived from *beran* ‚bear, carry’ and *fealdan* ‚fold’. *Ful, full* was identical with the adjective *full*, and combinations with *full* as a second element were originally compounds. In ModE the adjective *full* /ful/ and the suffix *-ful* /f()l/ are usually distinguished in spelling, in pronunciation, and also in their morphologic behaviour: the combinations with *-ful* as the second element can be prefixed, e.g. with *un-*

(*grateful – ungrateful; lawful – unlawful*), whereas compounds can usually not be prefixed with *un-*.⁶ The transition of *-ful(l)* from a second element of compounds to a suffix was probably very gradual; here I classify *-ful* as a suffixoid. *-fold* and *-ful* still exist in ModE; whereas *-berende* (or *-bearing*) no longer exists as a suffixoid in ModE.

(1) ***-berende***: There are just three formations with *-berende* in *AlexArist*, namely *deadberende* ‚deadly‘, *wæstm-berend* ‚fruitful‘ and *wolbeorende* ‚pestilential‘. *-berende* is one of the signs of the Anglian origin of *AlexArist*, because *-berende* was typical of Anglian usage; the West-Saxon synonym was *-bære*,⁷ which like *-berende*⁸ was also derived from *beran*.

(2) ***-feald*** occurs just once in *AlexArist*, namely in *monigfeald* ‚manifold‘. It is derived from the strong verb *fealdan* > ‚fold‘. As *-fold* it still exists in ModE, and it is mainly attached to numerals (cf. Marchand 1969: 291 = § 4.38).

(3) ***-ful*** occurs twice, in *geornful* ‚keen‘ and in *gewinful* ‚laborious, hard, severe‘. In some formations it can probably be paraphrased as ‚full of‘, e.g. *gewinful* ‚full of labour [*gewin*]‘, but it is difficult to paraphrase in some other formations.

5. Compounds with particles (including so-called ‚verbs with separable prefixes‘)

Particle is the term for words that can normally be used as adverbs or as prepositions. Morphologically they are independent words, and from a purely morphologic point of view combinations with a particle as a first element are accordingly compounds, but semantically they show a certain affinity to prefixes. Therefore I have classified combinations with particles as a separate group. Especially for combinations of *forð* + verb it is difficult to say whether they should be regarded as phrases consisting of adverb + verb or as combinations of particle + verb. In *AlexArist*, the following particles are attested as first elements of combinations: *and-*, *foran-*, *fore-*, *forð-*, *in-*, *ofer-*, *to-*, *þurh-*, *up-*, *ut-*, *wið-*, *ymb(e)*. Most of those occur just in a few formations, and some occur just once, but altogether there are 25 compounds with particles. Some of those were apparently so-called verbs with separable prefixes.⁹ Many of the combinations with particles (particle + verb) have been replaced by phrasal verbs in ModE, e.g., *ingan* by *go in*, *þurhborian* by ‚to bore through‘, *upteon* by ‚to draw up‘. In some cases, the particle is difficult to distinguish from the homonymous prefix. *On-* in most formations is probably the prefix; therefore I have listed and discussed *on-* among the prefixes.

(1) ***and-*, *ond-*** expresses opposition – it is not related to the connecting conjunction *and* > ‚and‘. It is attested in *ondwlita* ‚face‘. The second element of *ond-wlita* is related to *wlitan* ‚to gaze, look‘. The original meaning of the noun is something like ‚looking against‘, cf. G. *Antlitz* and *EWDS* s.v.

(2) ***foran-*** ‚before, in front‘ occurs in *foranheafod* > ‚forehead‘ ‚lit. probably something like ‚the front part of the head‘.

⁶ Cf. Sauer 1992.

⁷ See Sauer & Waxenberger 2017, 176 (under 10c).

⁸ 6: See Marchand 1969, 108-121. Particles are treated as prefixes by, e.g. Koziol 1972.

⁹ Verbs with so-called separable prefixes still exist in German, e.g. *hineingehen – sie gingen hinein*. In ModE verbs with separable prefixes do not exist any longer; they have been largely replaced by phrasal verbs, e.g. OE *ingan* > ModE *go in*.

(3) **fore-** ‚before’ occurs in two formations: *foresecgan* ‚to foretell’, *forestihtod* (p.p. of *forestihtan*) ‚fore-ordained’.

(4) **forð-** ‚forth, forwards’ is attested as first element in three combinations: (i) *wæron forð borene* ‚(they) were brought forth’; *forðborene* is the past participle of the verb *forðberan* ‚bring forth’, which could be a compound (CIHall lists *forðberan* as a compound); (ii) *forðferan* ‚to proceed’ was apparently a so-called verb with a separable prefix:¹⁰ the particle precedes the verb in *hie ... forðferdon*, but it follows the verb in *Ferdon we þa forð*; cf. German *fortfahren*, aber wir *fuhren fort*.

(5) **in-** occurs in *infeallan* and *ingan*. Both were verbs with so-called separable prefixes.

(i) *infeallan*: *hie ... in þa feollon* (§ 17) ‚they fell into [sc. our camp];

(ii) *ingan* is used several times in *AlexArist* (§§ 8, 31, 38); it is clearly a verb with a so-called separable prefix, cf. *ic wold in þa halgan stowe gan* ‚I wanted to enter the holy place’ (§ 39).

(6) **ofer-** ‚over’ occurs in five different formation; in some it has the meaning ‚too much, more than should be’ (*oferhleodrian*), which it still has in some ModE formations (*overpaid*):

(i) *ofercuman* ‚to overcome’ (§§ 7, 8)

(ii) *oferhleodrian* probably ‚speak beyond the limit, exceed’;¹¹ cf. 8.1. below under *hleodrian*

(iii) *oferhygdlic* ‚proud, arrogant’ (not listed as such by CIHall); it is derived from *oferhygd* ‚pride’, lit. probably something like ‚too much thought’

(iv) *oferseon* ‚to observe’

(v) *oferswiðan* ‚to overpower, conquer’

(7) **to-** is attested in three different formations, all of which are particles as a whole:

(i) *toforan* ‚before’ as in *toforan dæg* (§ 21) ‚before daybreak’; (ii) *togeanes*; see also below.

(8) **þurh-** occurs in two compound verbs, namely (i) *þurhborian* ‚to bore through’ and (ii) *þurhþyrelian* ‚to pierce through’

(9) **up-** ‚up’ is attested in *AlexArist* in six different formations, represent different word-classes:

(i) *upgan* (*upeode*) ‚to go up, rise’;

(ii) *upgewende* ‚turned up’ – apparently there is no verb **upwendan* (but there is the verb *wendan*), and interestingly the prefix *ge-* follows the *up*; this shows once more that past participles can be the basis for word-formation

(iii) *upgong* ‚rising’, here specifically referring to the ‚moonrise’; cf. also section 9. below

(iv) *upheah* (adjective) ‚tall, high’

(v) *uplong* (CIHall *uplang*) ‚tall’

(vi) *upteon* ‚to draw up’ (*uptugon* ‚they snatched up’)

(10) **ut-** ‚out’ is attested in *AlexArist* just in one compound: *utcyþan* ‚to announce, promulgate’ (listed as a compound by CIHall)

¹⁰ As just indicated, *forð* is a particle and not a prefix; but ‚verbs with separable prefixes’ is the established term.

¹¹ The definition given by CIHall, ‚to surpass in loudness’ does not fit the passage from *AlexArist*.

(11) *wið-* ‚against’ is also attested in *AlexArist* in one compound: *wiðstandan* ‚withstand, resist’

(12) *ymb(e -)* ‚around’ is attested in *yumbsittan* ‚to sit around, to surround’ (*ybsæton*, probably for *y[m]bsæton*).

6. Prefixes and prefix-formations

Prefixes are elements (morphemes) that do not occur independently. However, they cannot always be strictly separated from particles, because some prefixes developed from particles (the prefix *be-* comes from the particle *be* ‚by’), and in some cases prefixes and particles are homonymous. Semantically, prefixes fall into several groups: Some OE prefixes have a specific meaning, whereas others are semantically weakened and do not seem to have a specific meaning; to put it differently, in the latter instances there does not seem to be a semantic difference between the prefixed and the unprefixed form. Thus, *un-* normally negates the basic word (*cuð* ‚known’ – *uncuð* ‚unknown’), and *el-* has the meaning ‚foreign, strange’, whereas it is often difficult or impossible to assign a specific meaning to *a-* or to *ge-*. Whether the prefix adds an element of intensification or specialisation is often difficult to prove and frequently this does not seem to be the case. For example *hebban* and *ahebban* both mean ‚to raise, to lift up’. The frequency of the prefixes varies tremendously. *El-* occurs just in one formation (and was perhaps no longer productive), whereas *ge-* is attested in 143 different words – nevertheless both *el-* and *ge-* died out. I list the prefixes in alphabetical order, whereas I distinguish suffixes according to the word-class which they normally form.

a- is semantically weak and often does not seem to have a specific meaning; in many formations, there does not seem to be a recognisable difference in meaning between the unprefixed and the prefixed form. Apparently *a-* is mainly prefixed to verbs and verbal forms. It has been claimed that *a-* often has an intensive meaning (see CIHall s.v. *a-*), but this is difficult to prove. I have counted 32 different formations with *a-*, e.g. *acwellan* ‚to kill’ (derived from *cwellan* ‚to kill’), or *agyfan*, *agefan* ‚to give’ (derived from *gyfan* ‚to give’).

and-: see below under *ond-* In *AlexArist*, as in OE generally, there is vacillation of *a-* and *o-* before nasals; *AlexArist* seems to favour *o-* before nasals.

be- bi-: the original meaning is apparently ‚around, about’: this is still apparent in *biwritan* ‚to write about’. But in many formations the prefixed and the unprefixed word are roughly synonymous, e.g. *swican* – *beswican* ‚to deceive’; *wreon* -*bewreon* ‚to cover’.

el- ‚foreign, strange’ is a rare (and possibly no longer productive) prefix; in *AlexArist* it is only attested in the adjective *elreordig* ‚of strange speech, barbarous, foreign’, which, however, occurs several times (§§ 23,33.40). *Elreordig* is derived from *reord* ‚speech, language’; cf. *G elend* (and *EWDS* s.v. *elend*).

for-: The prefix *for-* has several meanings or shades of meaning (cf., e.g., CIHall s.v. *for-*; related to *G ver-*); it is homonymous with the particle *for*:

(i) In some formations it turns the meaning of the basis into its opposite, e.g. *forbeodan* ‚to forbid’, cf. *G verbieten* (derived from *beodan* ‚to command’); *forweorðan* ‚to perish’ (derived from *weorðan* ‚to become’);

(ii) Sometimes it signals completion, as in *forbærnan* ,to burn completely, to burn up' (derived from *bærnan*, *biernan* etc. ,to burn');¹²

(iii) In some formations there does not seem to be a difference in meaning between the prefixed and the unprefixed word, as in *forlætan* and *lætan* ,to relinquish, abandon';¹³

(iv) Sometime it makes an intransitive verb transitive, e.g. *forfeallan* ,overwhelm', derived from *feallan* ,fall'.

In *AlexArist* I have counted eleven formations with *for-*.

ge- was a very common prefix in OE, probably even the most common prefix. It was added to nouns, signalling collectivity (as in *gefeht* ,fight'), to past participles (originally signalling completion, as in *gedon* ,done'), and also to other forms of the verb (*geleccan* ,to water, moisten). *Ge-* is certainly the most frequent prefix in *AlexArist*. In *AlexArist* I have counted 143 words or word-forms prefixed with *ge-*. But *ge-* seems to have lost any meaning. In ME it was weakened to *i-*, *y-* /*i/* and subsequently it was almost entirely lost. Loss of function and loss of form apparently went hand in hand. *Ge-* is probably the most striking case of a prefix that was very common in OE but was subsequently lost.

of- is attested in three different formations in *AlexArist*; it seems to imply the completion of an action:

1) *ofbeatan* ,to beat to death, kill' (derived from *beatan* ,to beat');

2) *ofslean* ,to kill' (derived from *slean* ,to strike, to kill');

3) *ofscotian* ,to shoot down'.

on- can have coalesced from several prefixes, see CIHall s.v. In *AlexArist*, there are 24 words which are prefixed with *on-*.

In some instances *on-* apparently causes an intransitive verb (or mainly intransitive verb) to become transitive, as in: *onbærnan* ,to set fire to, inflame' (derived from *bærnan* ,to burn'; *onbærnan* has also inchoative meaning), or in *oncyrran* ,to change' (derived from *cyrran*, *cierran* ,to change').

In some formations the origin of the difference between the prefixed and the unprefixed word (verb) is difficult to describe, as in *ongietan* ,to understand, to see' (derived from *gietan* ,to get'; *ongietan* perhaps ,to get mentally').

The *on-* of *onswarian* has been weakened from *and-* (*andswarian*, *ondswarian*); *AlexArist* has also the more original *ondswarodon*; apparently *onswarian* and *ondswarian* were more or less exchangeable in *AlexArist*.

ond-, *and-*: as prefix it usually has the original meaning ,against' and is homonymous with the connecting conjunction *and* ,and'. It occurs in *ondswaru* and *ondswarian* ,answer', see *onswarian* above.

to-: CIHall distinguishes formations where *to* is identical with the particle *to* ,to' (in the following: *to-1*), and formations where *to-* is the prefix with the meaning ,asunder' (related to G *zer-*; in the following *to-2*). *Toforan* and *toward* apparently have the particle as first element, whereas the verbs *tobregdan* and *toslitan* have the prefix als their first element.

¹² Cf. Ruiu Narbona 2020

¹³ Many words are polysemous and have many meanings according to their dictionary definitions; here of course I look whether the prefixed and the unprefixed word have any meanings in common.

to-1: *toforan* ‚before’ and *toward* ‚approaching, impending’ apparently have a first element which corresponds to the particle *to*.

to-2: The prefix *to-* ‚asunder’ is the first element of the verbs *tobregdan* ‚to tear into pieces’ and *toslitan* ‚to tear asunder, to tear up’.

un- has a fairly clear semantic function. As mentioned above, *un-* negates the basic word. I have counted 22 formations with the prefix *un-*, e.g. *unarlic* ‚dishonorable’ or *unrim* ‚innumerable’. In some cases, *un-* is prefixed to words which already have a prefix, as in *unarefned* ‚intolerable’, *unarimedlic* ‚countless’, *ungemetlic* ‚immeasurable’, *unoferswyðed* ‚unconquered’. I do not assume, however, that there were prefixes such as *una-*, *unge-*, *unofer-*; these formations rather show that the prefixes *a-* and *ge-* were semantically weak and did not have a distinctive meaning of their own.

7. Suffixes

7.1. Suffixes for nouns

The most frequent substantival suffix in *AlexArist* is *-nes / -nis* with 22 different formations, followed by *-ing / -ung* with ten different formations. Rarer suffixes are *-að, -e / -(e)d, -en, -end, -ett, -scipe* – some of those were perhaps no longer productive. On the whole, there are 41 nouns with suffixes in *AlexArist*.

1) Frequent suffixes in *AlexArist*

-ing2, -ung2: It is here called *-ing2*, because there is also a homonymous and rarer – *ing1*, see below. The suffix *-ing, -ung* derives nouns, mostly from verbs, especially from weak verbs 2, derivation from nouns was apparently rare. Most of the formations in *-ing, -ung* were apparently derived from weak verbs 2; *beddian* could have been derived from the noun *bedd*. In *AlexArist* there are ten derivations in *-ing, -ung* namely

1) *bedding* ‚bedding, bed-covering’; derived from the noun *bed* or from the verb *beddian*.

2) *eardung* ‚dwelling, abode’; derived from the verb *eardian* ‚to inhabit, dwell’

3) *epung* ‚breath, exhalation’; derived from the verb *eðian* ‚to breathe’.

4) *hwistlung* ‚whistling, hissing’ derived from the verb *hwistlian* ‚to whistle’.

5) *leasung* ‚lying, lie’; derived from the verb *leasian* ‚to lie’.

6) *rying* ‚grunting’; apparently derived from *rynan* ‚to roar, rage’.

7) *spellung*, attested in *idel spellung* ‚empty talk’; derived from *spellian* ‚to speak, talk’.

8) *tacnung* ‚sign’; derived from *tacnian* ‚to indicate, symbolize’.

9) *þoncung* ‚thanking’; derived from *þancian, þoncian* ‚to thank’.

10) *eorþung* ‚honour, reverence’; derived from *weorðian* ‚to honour’.

-ness, -nis: derives nouns, often from adjectives or past participles.¹⁴ There are relatively many derivations with *-nis, -nes* in *AlexArist*, namely 23:

1) *asprungenis* ‚eclipse’; derived from the past participle of *aspringan* vb strong III.

2) *gedyrstigness* ‚boldness, brashness’; derived from the adj. *dyrstig* ‚bold, daring, presumptuous’

3) *epness* ‚ease, relief’; derived from the adj. *eaðe, ieðe* ‚easy’

4) *fægernis* ‚beauty’; derived from the adj. *fæger* ‚fair, beautiful’

¹⁴ Past participles often function as adjectives.

- 5) *fromnis* ‚success, excellence, vigour’; derived from the adj. *fram, from* ‚active, strong’
- 6) *frecennis* ‚danger, uncertainty’; derived from *frēcene, frecne* ‚dangerous, perilous’
- 7) *gleawnis* ‚knowledge, wisdom’; derived from *gleaw* ‚prudent, wise’
- 8) *heanis* ‚height, highness’; derived from *hēah* ‚high’
- 9) *hefigness* ‚weight, heaviness’; derived from *hefig* ‚heavy’
- 10) *hreðnis* ‚swiftness’; derived from the adj. *hræd, hrad, hreð* ‚quick’
- 11) *hyrsumnis* ‚obedience, submission’; derived from *hyrsum* (CIHall *hiersum*) ‚obedient’; i.e. *hyrsumnis* has two suffixes.
- 12) *gelicnes* ‚likeness, similarity’ (frequent in *AlexArist*); derived from *gelīce* ‚like’
- 13) *micelnis* ‚greatness, quantity, size’ (frequent in *AlexArist*); derived from *micel* ‚great’
- 14) *missenlicnis* ‚variety, diversity’; derived from *missenlic* ‚various, diverse’
- 15) *nearonis* ‚anxiety, trouble’; derived from *nearu* ‚narrow, oppressive’
- 16) *genihtsumnis* ‚abundance, plenty’; derived from (*ge*)*nyhtsum* ‚abundant’
- 17) *onsægdness* ‚sacrifice, offering’; derived from the p.p. of *onsecgan* ‚to offer sacrifice’, apparently a sacrifice was connected with saying something
- 18) *gesælignes* ‚happiness, fertility, good fortune’; derived from (*ge*)*sælig* ‚happy’
- 19) *gesetenis* ‚creation, institution, text’; derived from the p.p. of *settan* ‚to set, put down’; lit. apparently ‚what has been set down’
- 20) *geswencnis* ‚trouble, affliction, toil’ (several times in *AlexArist*); derived from the p.p. of (*ge*)*swencan* ‚to trouble, afflict. torment’
- 21) *unmætnis* ‚vastness’; derived from *unmæte* ‚vast, immense, great’; i.e. *unmætnis* has a prefix and a suffix.
- 22) *widgalnis* ‚extent, spaciousness’ (CIHall *wīdgilnes*); derived from *widgal* (CIHall *wīd-gil(l)*) ‚broad, wide-spread’
- 23) *wynsumnes* ‚loveliness, pleasantness’; derived from *wynsum* ‚pleasant, delightful’

II) Rare and problematic suffixes

Some suffixes can still be recognized as such, but some of them were rare and probably no longer productive. A suffix which is not attested in *AlexArist* is *-ere* > ModE *-er*, which formed and forms agent nouns (*help – helper*).

-að occurs in *mōnað* ‚month’, a Germanic formation, ultimately derived from *mōna* ‚moon’. Cf. EWDS s.v. *Monat*.

-d: *-d* occurs in *fyrð* ‚army’, which was ultimately derived from *faran* ‚to travel, proceed’; the suffix apparently also occurs in *weored* ‚army’; it is not certain what the ultimate basis of *weored* is – the AEW s.v. *weorod* suggests, e.g., that *weored* may ultimately be derived from *wer* ‚man’ or from *wer* ‚troop, band’.

-el is a relatively frequent suffix in OE, but it is attested only in two different formations in *AlexArist*:

1) *hrægl* ‚clothing’ appears to have the suffix *-el*, but the basis is unknown.

2) *þyrel* ‚hole’ is apparently related to *þurh* ‚through’, cf. AEW s.v.

-en occurs in

fæsten ‚fortress, stronghold, protective surroundings’, which was probably derived from the stem of the verb *fæstan* ‚to fasten’ (cf. AEW s.v. *fæsten*)

-end is related to *-ende*, the ending of the present participle in OE. Normally it forms agent nouns. *Freond* ‚friend’ and *fynd* ‚fiend’ are Germanic formation (cf., e.g.,

Sievers & Brunner 1965: 231 = § 286). *Swæsendu* (pl.) ‚meal, food’ fits into this group neither morphologically, nor semantically, because it is not an agent noun. Apparently there is no verb from which *swæsendu* could be the present participle. According to AEW s.v. it is related to the adj. *swæ̆s* ‚dear, agreeable’.

-ig: *bysegu* (CIHall *bisigu*, *bisgu*) ‚affliction, trouble’. *bysegu* appears to have the suffix *-ig*; AEW s.v. *bisgu* relates it to the adj. *bisig* ‚busy, occupied’, but the semantic relation of the noun and the adj. is not clear.

-ingl: derives nouns from nouns, indicating descent from a certain tribe or ancestor, or belonging to the leader of a tribe. Two formations of this type are attested in *AlexArist*. 1) *cyning* (several times in *AlexArist*) > ‚king’. It is assumed that the original meaning was something like ‚man from a noble family’; *cyning* is related to *cyn*, *cynn* > *kin*.

2) *healfhunding* lit. ‚half-dog’ for *cynocephalus*, i.e. a being like a man but with a dog’s head; it consists of *healf* ‚half’ + *hund* ‚dog, hound’ + *ingl*

-scipe derives noun denoting state or condition; in *AlexArist* it is attested in three different formations; in two the basis is a noun, in one the basis is an adjective:

1) *feondscipe* ‚hostility’, lit. ‚fiendship, state of being enemies’

2) *fromscip* ‚success’; derived from *fram* / *from* ‚active, strong’

3) *wæterscief* ‚waters, sheets of water, body of water’

-t: is attested in *wyrhta* (> ModE *wright*) ‚worker’, which is ultimately (in Germanic) derived from *work* (WestGermanic **wurhtjo*). It is related to *wyrca*n, but has no immediated basis in OE.

A noun which is difficult to analyse from a morphological point of view is *mænegeo* ‚multitude, crowd’; it is obviously related to *manig*, *monig* ‚many’

7.2. Suffixes for adjectives

Adjectives are less frequent than nouns; whereas *AlexArist* has 61 complex nouns (see above), it has only 29 complex adjectives. The reason is probably that adjectives usually modify nouns, whereas nouns can be used without modifying adjectives. It is, however, striking that in OE many nouns can be used as adjectives, or to put it differently, in many cases the same basic form can be used as a noun and as an adjective, e.g. (to give just a few examples) *dæ̆gol*, *earfoðe*, *gal*, *gōd*, *isern*, *riht*.

-cund is attested in *godcund* ‚sacred, holy’

-en (-n) is attested twice:

1) *æt̆ern* ‚poisonous’; derived from *æt̆or* (*āt̆or*) ‚poison’.

2) *gylden* ‚golden’; related to *gold*; derived in Germanic from **gulþam*

-ig was a relatively frequent suffix for the derivation of adjectives, often from nouns; it is attested six times in *AlexArist*:

1) *elreordig*: see *el-* (under 5. above)

2) *gemindig* ‚remembering, mindful’; derived from *gemynd* ‚mind, memory’; the original meaning therefore is something like ‚keeping in mind’

3) *nanig* ‚none’: according to AEW s.v. *nænig* it is contracted from *ne-ænig*

4) *sarig* > ‚sorry, sorrowful’ is derived from *sār* ‚suffering, sorrow’

5) *syndrig* ‚separate, particular, distinct’; derived from *sundor* (cf. ModE *asunder*)

6) *þurstig* ‚thirsty’; derived from *þurst* ‚thirst’

-isc derives adjectives from nouns. In *AlexArist* the basis is usually a loanword.

1) *crystallisc* ‚of crystal’; derived from *crystalla* ‚crystal’.

2) *gimmisc* ‚jewelled’; derived from *gimm* ‚gem, precious stone’

- 3) *grecisc* ‚Greek’; derived from (rare) *Grecas*
- 4) *Indisc* ‚Indian’; derived from *India* or *Indeos*
- 5) *Macedonisc* ‚Macedonian’; derived from *Macedonia*
- 6) *tigrisc* ‚of a tiger’; derived from *tiger*.

-lic derives adjectives, often from nouns or adjectives: It was fairly productive; it is attested in 20 formations in *AlexArist*. The basis is usually clear. In some cases the basic adjective and the adjective derived from it with *-lic* seem to have essentially the same meaning (*fæst* – *fæstlic*; *hræd* – *hrædlic*; *mære* – *mærlic*; *monigfeald-monigfealdli*; *trum* – *trumlic*; *ungemete* – *ungemetlic*); perhaps the suffix *-lic* marked the words more clearly as adjectives.

1) *cynelic* ‚kingly, royal’: *cynelic* is another proof that *cyne-* is an allomorph of *cyning* and not a prefix (on *cyne-* see 4.1. above), because suffixes are added to words, but not to prefixes.

2) *egeslic* ‚fearsome, dreadful; is derived from *egesa* ‚fear, horror’

3) *fæstlic* ‚firm’; is derived from *fæst* ‚firm’ (with the same meaning)

4) *folcllic* ‚common’; derived from *folc* ‚people’, the basic meaning seems to be ‚belonging to the common people’

5) *hrædlic* ‚quick, swift’: derived from *hræd* ‚quick, swift’; both apparently have the same meaning

6) *hulic* ‚what sort of’ apparently derived from *hu* > ‚how’

7) *lyperlic* ‚bad, mean’; apparently related to *līðe* ‚gentle, soft’, but the meaning does not fit, and the <r> would have to be explained.

8) *mærlic* ‚great, famous, extraordinarily’; derived from *mære* ‚famous, great’, with which it is (at least partly) synonymous.

9) *micellic* ‚great, magnificent’; derived from *micel*, with which it is (at least partly) synonymous.

10) *missenlic* ‚various’; according to *AEW* related to the prefix *mis-* and the verb *missan* ‚to miss, to escape the notice’, but the semantic connection is difficult to see.

11) *monifealdlic* ‚manyfold’, derived from *monigfeald*, *manigfeald*: see above.

12) *nihtlic* ‚nocturnal, at night’; derived from *niht* ‚night’

13) *nytlic* ‚useful’; derived from *nytt* ‚use, advantage’

14) *scondlic* ‚shameful’; derived from *scond*, *scand* ‚shame, disgrace’

15) *trumlic* ‚mighty, firm’; derived from *trum* ‚firm, strong’

16) *unarllic* ‚dishonorable, disgraceful’; allows of a double explanation: possibly derived from *unar* ‚dishonour’; but a derivation from *arlic* ‚honourable’ is also possible.

17) *ungemetlic* ‚huge, immense’; derived from *ungemet* ‚immensity’ (noun) or *ungemete* ‚huge’ (adj.)

18) *wunderlic* ‚marvellous’ (attested several times in *AlexArist*); derived from *wundor* ‚wonder, marvel’

-sum is attested three times in *AlexArist*. A derivation with *-sum* is attested independently just once, but derivations with the suffix *-sum* form the basis of two suffixations in *-nes*, *-nis*; that is, *hyrsumnes* and *genihtsumnis* have two suffixes.

1) *hyrsum* ‚obedient’ (CIHall *hiersum*) is not attested independently in *AlexArist*, but it is the basis of *hyrsumnes* ‚obedience’ (see above)

2) *genihtsum* ‚abundant’ is also not attested independently in *AlexArist*, but it is the basis of *genihtsumnis* ‚abundance, plenty’

3) *wynsum* ‚pleasant‘ (ModE *winsome*) is derived from *wynn* ‚joy, delight‘

7.3. Suffixes for the formation of adverbs

The most frequent suffix for the formation of adverbs in *AlexArist* (and probably in OE generally) is *-lice* with 17 different formations; the other adverbial suffixes (*-a*, *-e*, *-inga*) are much rarer. *-a* is even attested just once, namely in *sona* which, moreover, has no basis in OE. It is generally assumed that *-e* was the original adverbial suffix, and that *-lice* arose from re-analysis: the adjectival suffix *-lic* + the adverbial suffix *-e* were re-analysed as the adverbial suffix *-lice*. But this must have happened very early: *-lice* was a common adverbial suffix even in the earliest English texts (especially the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, and *AlexArist* – if an early date for *AlexArist* is accepted). The adverbial suffix *-lice* probably marked adverbs more clearly as such than the other adverbial suffixes. Even in *AlexArist* adverbs ending in *-lice* are much more frequent than adverbs ending in *-e*. Starting from the attested adverbs it is, however, often difficult to tell whether the adverbial suffix *-lice* was added to simple adjectives, or whether the adverbial suffix *-e* was added to adjectives in *-lic*, also yielding *-lice*. Judging from the attested number it seems, however, likely that in many cases *-lice* was added to the simple adjectives.

-e: The adverbial suffix *-e* is attested just in two formations in *AlexArist*:

- 1) *swiðe* ‚very much‘; derived from *swið* ‚strong, mighty‘
- 2) *unede* ‚with difficulty‘; derived from *uned* (CIHall s.v. *unēaðe*).

-inga (cf. Koziol 1972: 271 = § 644) is attested twice in *AlexArist*:

- 1) *edniowunga* ‚again, anew‘; derived from *edniwung*, that is, the suffix of the noun and the adverbial suffix fall together.
- 2) *semninga* ‚suddenly‘; the AEW s.v. suggests a relation of *semninga* to the noun *samnung* ‚meeting, assembly‘ and the verb *samnian* ‚meet, assemble‘, but the semantic connection is not clear.

-lice: as mentioned above, *-lice* is the most frequent suffix for forming adverbs from adjectives in *AlexArist*; it occurs in 18 different formations. As also mentioned, starting from an adverb with the suffix *-lice*, it is in some cases impossible to decide whether the adverb was derived from the (morphologically and semantically) corresponding adjective in *-lic* or from the adjective without *-lic*; see below the discussion of the various adverbs in *-lice*. Later, the adjectival suffix *-lic* and the adverbial suffix *-lice* fell together under *-ly*; therefore in ModE there are some adjectives which have the suffix *-ly* (*daily*, *weekly*), but very many adverbs derived from adjectives also have the suffix *-ly*: the two suffixes should probably be regarded as homonyms. The adverbial suffix *-lice* belongs to word-formation, because it changes the word-class (usually from adjective to adverb). Some grammars (even if they do not deal with word-formation) illustrate the derivation of adverbs from adjectives within inflection, thus creating the impression that the derivation of adverbs from adjectives somehow belongs to inflection. But inflection does not change the word-class. Semantically, however, usually there is no difference between the adjective and the derived adverb. The adverbs in *-lice* attested in *AlexArist* are:

- 1) *cuplice* ‚knowledgeably‘; derived from *cūþ* or *cuplic*, both meaning ‚known, certain‘
- 2) *dæghwamlice* ‚daily, every day‘; derived from *dæghwām* (adv. according to CIHall) or probably rather from *dæghwāmlīc* (adj.) ‚daily‘

- 3) *ecelice* ‚eternal, everlasting’; derived from *ece* or from *ecelic*, both meaning ‚eternal, everlasting’
- 4) *egeslice* ‚dreadfully, fiercely’; probably derived from *egeslic* ‚dreadful’ etc.; but it could perhaps also been derived from *egesa* ‚fear, peril’ etc.
- 5) *fæstlice* ‚firmly’; derived from *fæst* or from *fæstlic*, both meaning ‚firm, fixed’ etc.
- 6) *deagollice* ‚secretly’; derived from *deagol* (CIHall *dāegol*) ‚secret’
- 7) *earfoðlice* ‚sorely, painfully, with difficulty’; derived from *earfoðlic* ‚difficult’ or from *earfoðe* ‚difficult, hard’
- 8) *eaðmodlice* ‚humbly, meekly’; derived from *eaðmodlic* ‚humble, respectful’ or from *eaðmod* ‚humble-minded’
- 9) *fremsumlice* ‚kind’; derived from *fremsumlic* or from *fremsum*, both meaning ‚kind’ etc.
- 10) *geornlice* ‚diligently, carefully’; derived from *georn* or from *geornlic*, both meaning ‚diligent’ (etc.)
- 11) *luflice* ‚amiable, loving’; probably derived from *luflic* ‚amiable, loving, lovable’, and probably not from *lufu* ‚love’ (which is only attested as a noun and not as an adjective)
- 11a) *spærllice* (CIHalls.v. *spærllice*) adv. ‚sparingly’; attested in the comparative *spærllice*
- 12) *gesundlice* ‚safely, healthily’; derived from *gesund* or from *gesundlic*, both meaning ‚sound, healthy’
- 13) *tidlice* ‚timely’; probably derived from *tīdlic* ‚timely’ or (less probably) from *tīd* ‚time’
- 14) *synderlice* ‚individually, especially’; probably derived from *synderlic* ‚special, separate’, and probably not from *sundor* (adv. according to CIHall) ‚asunder, apart’
- 15) *unmetlice* ‚enormously’; derived from *unmetlic* (CIHall *unmætlic*) ‚enormous’
- 16) *wunderlice* ‚wonderfully’: derived from *wundorlic* ‚wonderful, strange’ (and not directly from *wundor*)
- 17) *gewunelice* ‚usually, customarily’; derived from *gewunelic* ‚usual, customary’
- 18) *ypellice* ‚attested in the comparative *ypellice* ‚more easily; derived from *ypellic* (CIHall *īðellic*) or from *ype* (CIHall *īðe*) ‚easy’

8. Suffixes for the derivation of verbs

Strong verb are usually primary, i.e. non-derived from an OE (and Germanic) point of view, that is, they are not part of OE word-formation. Weak verbs are usually derived (from nouns, adjectives, or verbs).

The problem with weak verbs 1 is that the suffix which derived them (*-*jan* in Germanic) is usually no longer visible in OE; but it caused i-umlaut and weak verbs 1 therefore usually have i-mutation in their stem-vowel (e.g. *full* – *fyllan* < **full-jan* ‚to make full’; ModE *full*- *fill*). Because the original suffix is no longer visible, and because I do not regard i-umlaut as a word-formational element in OE, I do not deal with the formation of weak verbs 1 here, although there is a large number of weak verbs 1 attested in *AlexArist*, 55 according to my count. There are, however, two suffixes that derive weak verbs 1, namely *-ettan* and *-læcan*; those two are therefore listed in the following.

Weak verbs 2 are often easier to recognize as derived. For Germanic, the suffix deriving weak verbs 2 is reconstructed as *-*-ōjan*. But in OE the form of the suffix changes in different inflectional forms (*i*, *a*, *o*). In the present it is partly *-i-* (*lufian* ‚to

love'; *lufiende* ,loving'; *ic lufi(g)e* ,I love', *we lufiað* 'we love'), but partly also *-a-* (*þu lufast* ,thou lovest, you love', *he, heo lufað* ,he, she loves'; in the past it is *-o-* (*ic lufode* ,I loved' etc.; *we lufodon* ,we loved' etc.). For details see the grammars of Old English, especially Sievers & Brunner 1965 and Campbell 1959. From a strictly OE point of view it can therefore only be said that the suffix is vocalic, but its shape changes between *i, a, o*.

8.1. Suffixes deriving weak verbs 1

-ettan is a suffix that forms weak verbs 1 (for details see Koziol 1972, 266 = § 634a); its original function was apparently intensifying and iterative. The origin of the suffix is apparently not clear. In *AlexArist* there is just one formation with *-ettan*:

1) *halettan* ,to greet'; it is apparently derived from *hāl* (> *whole*) ,entire, healthy' etc.; the original meaning was perhaps something like ,to wish someone good health'.

-læcan is also attested in one formation in *AlexArist*, namely in *nealæcan* ,to come near, to approach' (cf. G. *sich nähern*). The AEW s.v. *læcan* claims that the origin of the suffix is the verb *læcan* ,to spring up, to rise, flare up', but the semantic connection between the verb and the suffix is not clear. The same applies to the verb *gelæcan*.

1) *nealæcan* (attested twice in *AlexArist*, e.g. *hit ... nealehte* ,it approached' § 30) ,to come near, to approach'. The basic word is *neah* ,near'

8.2. Weak verbs 2

As mentioned above, weak verbs 2 have a vowel as the derivative element, which appears as *i, a, o*. The boundary between weak verbs 1 and weak verbs 2 was not strict, however; the dictionaries list a number of verbs which appear in both classes, e.g., according to CIHall *dāeglan* (weak 1) appears also as *dāeglian* (weak 2; see below under *diglian*); *frætwan* appears also as *frætwan*, *timbran* appears also as *timbrian*.¹⁵

The weak verbs 2 do not form a unified semantic group; A distinct semantic group within the weak verbs 2 apparently consists of ornative verbs, whose basic meaning is ,to provide with X', see, e.g., *andswarian*, *blodgian*, *gefrætwan*, *tacnian*, *weligian*.

According to my count there are 50 weak verbs 2 in *AlexArist*; I have counted prefixed and unprefixed verbs separately. The prefix *ge-*, *however*, is ignored in the alphabetization of the following list.

Usually I have listed the immediate basis of the verbs; some of the bases (e.g. that of *bescierian*) are complex in themselves, but I do not deal with the further complexity.

1) *andswarian* (also *ondswarian*) > ,to answer'; frequent in *AlexArist*; derived from *andswaru* (noun); see also 6. above under *on-* and *ond-*.

2) *abisgian* (*abisgodon*) ,to occupy'; a verb with a prefix and a suffix; derived from *bisgu*, *bisigu* ,occupation, labour'

3) *axian* (*ahsian*, *ascian*) > ModE *ask*; a West-Germanic formation (**aiskōjan*); no basis in OE

4) *bescierian* (attested in the form *bescerede*) ,to separate from, deprive of'; derived from *scierian* ,to take off, to take away' (not listed by CIHall)

¹⁵ The frequency of the forms would have to be checked as well.

- 5) *blissian* ,to be pleased,to be glad'; derived from *blīðe* > ,blithe' (**bliðsian* > *blissian*, with assimilation)
- 6) *blodgian* (*blodgodon*) ,to make bloody'; derived from *blōd* > ,blood'
- 7) *bysmerian* ,to mock, deceive' (several times in *AlexArist*); derived from *bismer* ,mockery, scorn'
- 8) *cunnian*, *gecunnian* ,search into, investigate, find out'; derived from *cunnan* ,to know', the original meaning of *cunnian* was apparently ,to try to know'
- 9) *dagian* (*dagode*) ,to dawn'; derived from *dæg* ,day'
- 10) *gedafenian* (*gedafenode*) ,to seem right, to be right; derived from (*ge*)*dafen* ,fitting, suitable'
- 11) *diglian* (*digliað*; CIHall *dieglian*) ,to hide'; derived from *dīegol* ,hidden, secret'
- 12) *eardian* (*eardigende*) ,to dwell'; derived from *eard* ,place of living'
- 13) *ēðian* ,to breathe'; the basis is unknown
- 14) *forealdian* (*forealdod*) ,to grow very old'; derived from *ealdian* ,to grow old'; see 6. above under *for-*
- 15) *gefrætwan* (*gefrætwode*) ,to ornament, adorn'; derived from *frætwa* ,treasures, ornaments'
- 16) (*ge*)*hergian* (*hie gehegæð*) ,to plunder'; derived from *here* ,army, predatory band' (cf. G *verheerend*)
- 17) *hleodrian* (*hleodrade*) ,to resound'; derived from *hlēoðor* ,noise, sound'
- 18) *hongian* (*hongodon*) (CIHall s.v. *hangian*) ,to hang'. A Germanic or WestGermanic formation; no basis in OE
- 19) *liccian* (*hie ...liccodan*) ,to lick'; a West-Germanic formation; apparently no basis in OE (cf. G *lecken*, *schlecken*)
- 20) *locian* (*lociað*) ,to look'; a West-Germanic formation; no basis in Old English
- 21) *lufian* (*þu lufast*) ,to love'; related to *lufu* (noun) ,love'
- 22) *genihtsumian* ,to suffice, abound'; derived from (*ge*)*nyhtsum* ,abundant'
- 23) *oferhleodrian* ,to surpass in loudness'; derived from *hleodrian*, see 5. above under *ofer-*.
- 24) *onhongian* (*onhongedon*) ,to hang down'; derived from *hongian*, see above. Apparently not listed by CIHall
- 25) *onlocian* (*onlocode*) ,to look at': derived from *locian*, see above.
- 26) *onswarian*: see *andswarian* and 5. above under *and-*, *ond-*; *onswarian* shows the vacillation of *a* and *o* before nasals.
- 27) *pullian* (*pulledon*) ,to pull, draw'. The *ODEE* s.v. *pull* says that this word is first attested in Late OE, but if *AlexArist* is early, then *pullian* must also be an early word. The *ODEE* list related forms in other Germanic languages, but *pullian* has no basis in OE.
- 28) *renian* (*gerenode*) ,to prepare, arrange'; apparently there is no basis in OE (see CIHall s.v. *rēnian*)
- 29) *gesamnian* ,to gather, assemble, collect'. Related to *samnung* ,congregation, assembly', *ætsamne*, *tosamne* ,together'. There are many related words in other Germanic languages, but there is apparently no basis for (*ge*)*samnian* in OE; *samnian* is a Germanic formation

30) *sceawian* ,to look' (> ModE *to show* with change of meaning; frequent in *AlexArist*); has many related words in other Indo-European languages, cf. G *schauen*, but there is no basis in OE; the verb is a Germanic formation.

31) *scotian* (*hie scotodon*) > ,to shoot'; a Germanic formation, but there is no basis in Old English

32) *gesomnian*: see *gesamnian*

33) *timbrian* (*getimbred*),to build'; derived from *timber* (> ModE *timber*) ,building material'

34) *tiolian* (*tiolodon*) (CIHall s.v. *tilian*) ,to aim at, try'; apparently derived from *til* ,good, useful'

35) *truwian* (*he ... truwode*),to trust'; derived from *truwe*, *trēowe* as noun ,truth, fidelity', as adj. ,true, trustworthy'

36) *purhþyrelian* (*purhþyrelode*) ,to pierce, perforate; derived from *þyrelian*; on *þyrlian* with the same meaning, see 5. above under *purh-*.

37) *wæddian* (*wæddiað*) ,to be poor'; derived from *wædl* ,poverty'

38) *wæpnian* (*gewæpnod*) ,to arm':derived from *wæpen*, *wæpn* > ,weapon'

39) *wætrian*, *wæterian* ,to water, supply water'; derived from *wæter* > ,water'

40) *wandian* (*wandode*) ,to hesitate, flinch, desist from'; derived from *gewand* ,hesitation'

41) *warnian*, *warnigan*, > ,to warn, take heed'; a West-Germanic formation; there are several related words, but no basis in OE

42) *weligian* (*gewelgode*) ,to be prosperous, enrich'; derived from *welig* ,prosperous, rich'

43) *geweorþian* (*hie ... me geweorþeden*, etc.) ,to honour'; derived from *weorþ* ,worth, value'

44) *wician* (*gewicod* etc.) 'to dwell, encamp'; derived from *wīc* ,dwelling place, camp' (cf. OE *wicing* 'viking')

45) *wreðian* (*wreþedon*) ,to support'; according to *AEW* s.v. related to *wraðu* ,help, support'

46) *wridian* (*wridode*) ,flourish, grow'; derived from *wrid* ,shoot, plant, bush'

47) *wundian* (*gewundodan*) ,to wound'; derived from *wund* > ,wound'

48) *wundrian* (*to wundrienne* etc.) ,> ,to wonder, marvel at'; derived from *wundor* > ,wonder, marvel'

49) *wunian* (*hie ... wunedon*) ,to dwell, remain'; related to several OE words, but the actual basis is unclear

50) *yflian* (CIHall *yfelian*) ,to hurt, inflict evil', derived from *yfel* > ,evil'

8.3. Weak verbs 2: subgroup in *-nian*

A small subgroup of weak verbs 2 end in *-nian*. The starting point were apparently weak verb 2 which were derived from nouns ending in *-(e)n*, e.g. *tac(e)n* > *tacnian*. By way of morphological re-analysis *-nian* was then added as a suffix to words which did not end in *-(e)n*. In *AlexArist* there are three verbs ending in *-nian*:

1) *fæstnian* (several times in *AlexArist*, e.g. *gefæstnod*) ,to fasten'; probably derived from *fæst* (adj.) ,fixed, firm' with the suffix *-nian*; less probably from *fæsten* ,stronghold' with the suffix *-ian*

2) *tacnian* (*tacnode*) ,to mark, indicate'; derived from *tācen*, *tācn* ,mark, sign' etc. (> ModE *token*)

3) *wilnian* (*wilnode ic*) ,to want, wish, will’; derived from *willa* ,will’

9. Derivation without a suffix

Several nouns are derived without a suffix (from a synchronic OE point of view). I have counted nine such formations in *AlexArist*. Several subgroups can be distinguished, namely nouns without a change of the stem vowel, and nouns with a change of the stem vowel. The change can have several reasons, for example: Derivation from strong verbs was not only made from the present stem, but also from one of the past stems or the stem of the past participle. In some cases there was originally a suffix that caused i-umlaut, but which is no longer visible in the attested OE forms. Some derivations without a suffix are attested as independent nouns, whereas others are attested as second elements of compounds. But since nouns derived without a suffix form a relatively small number in *AlexArist*, I just list them alphabetically in the following, without distinguishing between the subgroups:

1) *bryne* ,burning, flame’; according to the *ODEE* s.v.*burn* the basis was conflated (with metathesis) from two OE verbs, namely *birnan* and *baernan*; cf. G *brennen* and *EWDS* s.v. *brennen*

2) *gefeht* ,fight, action of fighting’; derived from *feohtan* verb strong III, OE *feohtan – feaht – fuhton – (ge)fohten*: cf. G *Gefecht*.

3) *gefera* ,companion, comrade’; probably derived from *fēran* ,to go, travel’:original meaning probably ,one who is on the same journey’; cf. G *Gefährte*; OE *for* ,journey, path’ (CIHall *fōr*); probably derived from a past stem of the verb strong VI (OE *faran – fōr – fōron – (ge)faren*)

4) *gang*, *gong* as the second element in: *upgong* ,rising (cf. G *Aufgang*), in context ,moonrise’; probably derived from the verb OE strong VII *gangan*

5) *gyte* as the second element in *blodgyte* ,bloodshed’; derived from the verb strong II OE *geotan – geat- guton -goten*

6) *ryne* ,running, course’ ; derived from the verb strong III *rinnan*, *iernan* etc (OE *rinnan – ran- runnon- runnen*)

7) *gewrit* ,letter, document’; derived from the verb strong I OE *writan – wrāt – writon – (ge)writen*

8) *wyrd* ,fate’ (> ModE *weird*) was probably derived from the past plural stem of the verb strong III OE *weorðan – wearð – wurdon – (ge)worden* ,to happen, come to pass’

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