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Středoanglické sufigované substantivní inovace domácího původu (1200-1399)

Native nominal suffixal innovations in Middle English (1200–1399)

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Declaration of authorship:

I hereby declare that this MA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned. Further, it contains no material which has been accepted or submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

In Prague: 7. August 2018 Eliška Růžičková

Key words:

word-formation, native formations, productivity, noun, suffixation, Old English, Middle English, lexical semantics, competition

Klíčová slova:

slovotvorba, domácí formace, produktivita, substantiva, suffixace, stará angličtina, střední angličtina, lexikální sémantika, konkurence

Abstract:

This thesis examines suffixation in Middle English in the periods 1200-1299 and 1300-1399. More specifically, the work is focussed on nominal coinages of native origin only, formed with the suffixes *-ness*, *-head* / *-hood*, *-ship* and *-dom*, where the aim is to observe their productivity in time.

In the theoretical part, we explore the contribution of external (socio-political) and internal (typological and word-formational) factors to changes in the English language, including word-formation processes. Our hypothesis is that suffixation as a word-formation process will continue strongly, despite the ongoing language-internal changes and the overwhelming influx of foreign words.

Data for this research was collected from *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) through Advance Search. The data retrieved for each suffix was considered from a morphological, structural and lexico-semantic perspective. The analyses were performed to detect changes in the behaviour of each suffix and to discover the realities attesting their productivity. Moreover, the analyses uncovered additional phenomena: types that had only one quotation (hapaxes) and competition occurring between the selected suffixes. The hapaxes were also investigated for their morphological, structural and semantic features so as to identify any common traits and therefore provide an additional insight into the productivity of the selected suffixes. The competition of the suffixes manifests itself in our data due to their functional and semantic closeness and there are bases that have multiple membership as to suffixes. This phenomenon was examined as well.

Our hypothesis proved to be true partially. The individual results are diverse as each suffix has its specific intricacies, but in general, their productivity increases except for *-ship*. In addition, the bases throughout the samples are chiefly deadjectival and the types predominantly denote a quality. The transition of the Old English period to the Middle English period is marked by the significant decline of the English language in terms of prestige as well as textual production. However, English slowly regained its position as it spread to higher social classes. The increased productivity of the native means appears to correlate with the gradual ascent of the English language.

Abstrakt :

V diplomové práci zkoumáme středoanglickou sufixaci v obdobích 1200–1299 a 1300–1399. Přesněji řečeno, zaměřujeme se na substantiva čistě domácího původu, která vznikla pomocí přípon *-ness*, *-head* / *-hood*, *-ship* a *-dom*. Cílem je zkoumat jejich produktivitu v průběhu vymezeného času.

V teoretické části se věnujeme vnějším (sociopolitickým) a vnitřním (typologickým a slovotvorným) faktorům, zejména jejich možnému přispění ke změnám anglického jazyka včetně slovotvorby. Vycházíme z hypotézy, že sufixace jako slovotvorný proces bude i v námi zkoumaných obdobích produktivní, navzdory probíhajícím vnitřním změnám v jazyce a přívalu nových slov cizího původu.

Data pro výzkum byla získána z *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) pomocí Advanced Search. Data každé přípony byla analyzována z morfologického, strukturního a sémantického hlediska, jejichž účelem bylo vypozorovat změny v chování přípon a nalézt skutečnosti vypovídající o jejich produktivitě a distribuci. Provedené analýzy odhalily další dva jevy: slova, která měla doloženu pouze jednu citaci (tzv. hapaxy), a konkurenci sledovaných přípon. Hapaxy jsme zkoumali také z hlediska morfologického, strukturního a sémantického. Naším cílem bylo identifikovat možné společné rysy, které by mohly přispět k lepšímu porozumění produktivity zvolených přípon. Vzájemná funkční podobnost přípon se projevila výše zmíněnou konkurencí i v našich datech a tomuto jevu je v práci také věnována pozornost.

Hypotéza se potvrdila částečně. Výsledky rozboru jednotlivých přípon se různí, každá přípona má svůj specifický průběh a chování. Obecně však ale lze říci, že jejich produktivita roste v čase vyjma *-ship*. Většina bází napříč vzorky jsou adjektivní a výsledné deriváty nesou význam kvality (t.j. vlastnosti). Přechod z období staré angličtiny do střední je úzce spjatý s výraznou změnou postavení anglického jazyka, který se stal jazykem nižších společenských vrstev, a se značným poklesem literární produkce v angličtině. Přesto se angličtina postupem času navrací mezi vyšší společenské vrstvy a nabývá silnějšího a prestižnějšího postavení. Tato skutečnost se zdá být reflektována v našich datech, kdy produktivita ryze domácích zdrojů narůstá.

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1 Introduction

The English language in its current form is the result of a very long and intense process. This work considers the external and internal events accompanying the transition from Old English (OE) to Middle English (ME) and focuses on their consequent effect on word-formation, in particular nominal suffixation. Alterations of the language are the outcome of several independent, yet connected, factors. First, the decay of the system and phonological changes leading to the loss of inflectional endings necessitated grammatical categories to be expressed by different means. These changes left the language vulnerable to change, which also involves word-formation patters. Further, the socio-political situation of early Middle English together with the erosion of inflectional system permit a considerable number of loanwords to enter the English lexicon, which affected various strata of vocabulary. Despite the large-scale borrowing typical for Middle English, the language had its own native resources to enrich its word stock.

Word-formation, its constancy as well as its change, is the focus of this work. We analyse the word-formation in Middle English after the Norman Conquest while considering the native means only, therefore formations with a foreign element (base or affix) are removed from the data. Studies on the topic of Middle English native word-formation are sparse and most of the literature dedicated to this period captures the development of English focusing namely on the innovations brought by the profound influence of the French language. Understandably, the impact of French cannot be ignored or omitted completely. We consider the circumstances surrounding the Norman Conquest an important frame shaping the language properties of that time. The language contact and accompanying socio-political context were a catalyst to language change.

The aim was to observe and describe the potential changes in derivation occurring in the periods of 1200-1299 and 1300-1399. The data for analysis was gained from *The Oxford English Dictionary* online. The amount of data for these two periods was truly extensive (over 5000 types) and a thorough description of all the processes,

their peculiarities and types would greatly excess the extent of this work. For this reason, the scope of this research had to be narrowed down. The suffixes selected for a detailed analysis were: *-ness, -hood/-head, -ship, -dom*. Their data were analysed from various perspectives (morphological, structural, semantic and frequential) to discover the determinants for their distribution and productivity. Moreover, the suffixes overlap semantically and compete in function. Therefore, the distribution of the suffixes with regard to their relatively close relationship was another aspect that was observed and discussed.

2 Theoretical part

2.1 Introduction

"One of the features of language is its constant change. Languages change at a different pace and with different intensity in various areas of their structure but the change is always present". (Fisiak, 1993: 13) A language undergoes internal transformations on various linguistics levels - from phonology to syntax. Those changes in language can be set off by distinct external circumstances ranging from political (e.g. Norman invasion), social (prestige, shift in social classes), cultural (e.g. influence of another nation or ideology), economical and other. It thus is vital to realise that Old English had not emerged as developed immediately, but that its formation was gradual.

This whole chapter is dedicated to Old and Middle English, where the individual sections focus on external and internal aspects related (directly or indirectly) to word-formation. A thesis on a similar topic was written by Ortutayová (2016), who analysed adjectival prefixation in Middle English. Her work served us as a methodological basis and the chapter is structured as follows. First of all, the two periods are introduced within the socio-political context of that time (2.2). The external history will help us establish the major incidents that have a profound impact on the language itself and thus the word-formation processes as well. The following section 2.3 explains the typological framework to which Old and Middle English are subsequently situated. A portrait of the then lexis is provided next (2.4) and includes a passing reference about language contact and its ensuing imprint on the language. Afterwards, the word formation processes of OE and ME are described in 2.5. Finally, productivity and the chosen measure method are defined in 2.6.

2.2 External circumstances and evidence

A language is never isolated from its surroundings and its influence. In fact, it is very susceptible to change as it reacts to the external circumstances. One of the most

significant factors having an impact on the shape of the English language in OE and ME periods is undoubtedly the political and cultural situation of that time.

What is known about Old and Middle English is derived from the surviving evidence, which is regrettably scarce. Despite that, the distinctness of OE and ME is obvious, not only in terms of the language itself, but also the textual production which reflects the socio-political context of Old and Middle English.

2.2.1 Old English – socio-political perspective

The territory that is now England was invaded by Germanic tribes in approximately 5th century and this event is the notional beginning of the Old English period. Over time, Old English spread throughout the country as the land was claimed by the tribes.

2.2.1.1 Having conquered the island, the tribes turned to one another and kept warring among themselves. In the end, there were 7 kingdoms forming the so-called Anglo-Saxon heptarchy - Northumbria, Mercia, East-Anglia, Kent, Sussex, Essex and Wessex (Fisiak, 1993: 42). The borders of the kingdoms shifted as political and cultural dominance fluctuated between the individual kingdoms – Northumbria was the centre of power in the 7th century, replaced by Mercia in 8th century and then Wessex for the next two hundred years (Millward, 1996: 82). The kingdom of Wessex became the centre of political power under the reign of King Alfred, who unified the Anglo-Saxon England not only in territory, but also attempted to consolidate English and establish a standard language, since the shape of English was fragmented by dialects until then. Unfortunately, the process of standardisation never finished and stopped in the 11th century with the Norman Conquest (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 271).

The dominant dialects recognised in Old English are: Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish and West-Saxon. The four variants did not conform to the actual borderlines of the seven kingdoms (Fisiak, 1993: 44). As mentioned above, the political and cultural dominance fluctuated between individual kingdoms, which inevitably caused one dialect to be superior to others at one time and to be subsequently overthrown by another.

2.2.1.2 Additional factor in the allocation of power is the Church. It had nearly the same authority as the actual political structure in the Old English period. The power of Church resided in Canterbury, Kent, which was not a politically strong kingdom. It was constantly under pressure from the Mercians and West Saxons. "Thus, in the first half of the ninth century Mercian linguistic influence on the Kentish texts was considerable, whilst towards the end of the period West Saxon texts can sometimes be seen to have Kentish influence" (Hogg in Hogg, 1992: 10). In other words, dialects influenced one another with respect to the current prestige of the dialect, which inevitably left traces that can be recognised in the textual evidence we have.

Another important reality consequential for the evidence attesting the OE vocabulary is that literacy was uncommon and available only to some people of that time, most of which were clergymen (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 351). For this reason, majority of extant literary works are of philosophical and religious character. Naturally, the vocabulary reflects the theme and intention.

Most of the documents of the earlier periods (second half of the 7th century) were still written in Latin, the language of religion and education. Nevertheless, there is a significant increase in textual production documenting the then English language, especially thanks to the efforts of king Alfred and his "pursuit of cultural and educational reform". (Hogg in Hogg, 1992: 10). As a result, there are several manuscripts (covering both poetry and prose) from approximately 10th century that can offer us a better understanding of that time language and vocabulary.

2.2.1.3 The thriving literary production and relatively stable political situation of the 10th century was shaken to foundations by the events following the coronation of Edward. Fisiak refers to it as ''the beginning of the end of the kingdom of England'' (1993: 58). Edwards passed away, heirless, and the subsequent dispute over the succession led to the Norman Conquest in 1066.

2.2.2 Middle English socio-political perspective

The important milestone that marks the beginning of the Middle English period is the Norman Conquest in 1066. The conquest was over relatively quickly, and William the Conqueror managed to gain control of England shortly after the invasion. His victory led to several changes that significantly affected the English people and thus the language.

2.2.2.1 First of all, the invading Normans brought their own language to England - Norman French. William appointed Normans to all governing offices and substituted the original English nobility with Normans, therefore English was removed from the position of the sovereign language and replaced by Norman-French (Millward, 1996: 145). Moreover, the documentation practices of Normans were imported from the continent as well and so Latin replaced English in this sector. Ultimately, the language situation in post-conquest England was rather complex: French was the language of higher social classes, royalty and nobility, Latin maintained its position in education and religion, English declined in prestige and became the language of peasants and lower classes.

However, the rift between the Norman-French and the English was gradually closing. Servants, peasants, nurses and other positions were occupied by English speaking people. The necessity of communication urged the nobility to learn a few English words and the following generation of nobility achieved a certain degree of bilingualism. Likewise, the Anglo-Saxons themselves tried to learn French hoping to improve their social status (Millward, 1996: 145).

Apart from the suppression by other languages, another factor contributing to the decline of the English language was the feudal system established by William. The aftereffect of this structure was the seclusion of people to the land they were bound to. The isolation guaranteed increased diversity in dialectal differences due to lack of mutual contact. “Without literacy and a standard language [...] dialectal differences in English proliferated” (Millward, 1996: 145) which only supported the fragmentation of the English language.

2.2.2.2 In time, the above-described situation changed, and English was gaining in prestige. The ascension of English is the result of several circumstances.

Firstly, it is the loss of Normandy by King John in the 13th century. This event forced the nobility to divide: pledge loyalty to the English or French king and consequently lose any territory held in the rival country (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 247). Moreover, the loss of Normandy led to decreased interest in the French, which escalated to near animosity since Norman-French was "by now a recognisably different dialect called Anglo-French [...] ridiculed by speakers of the rising standard French". (Millward, 1996: 146). This aggravated the tense relationship between the speakers of the two dialects, which undermined the position of French further.

Secondly, the afore-mentioned dialectal diversity was gradually diminishing as speakers from different regions came into contact, which was a crucial prerequisite for a standard language. Since after the First Crusade "speakers from all over the nation congregated in coastal towns to travel to the Holy Land" (Millward, 1996: 146). Moreover, pilgrimages became increasingly popular which again allowed people from across the country to meet.

2.2.2.3 The decline and subsequent rise of English is naturally reflected in textual evidence. As established, the language was nearly standardised in the Old English period and writing in English was encouraged by the efforts of king Alfred. This situation changed drastically after the Norman Conquest when English became the language of peasants and the thriving textual production ceased. Therefore, the evidence we have about early Middle English is lacking.

However, since the 13th century, with the newly discovered confidence of the English nation and language, the textual production is revived, and ''the great flowering of ME literature took place from the second half of the fourteenth century'' with some major vernaculars coming into existence (Horobin and Smith, 2011: 30). "There are comparatively few manuscripts containing OE, but there are thousands of manuscripts

surviving from ME period" (Horobin and Smith, 2011: 13-14). Without a doubt, printing press brought to England by William Caxton solidified the position of English.

2.2.2.4 As we have just summarised the two periods briefly, it is unmistakable that the external circumstances surrounding the English language were far-reaching. The Old English period, despite the dialectal division, was a rather stable era with flourishing textual production and nearly standardised language. In contrast, the Middle English period was unfavourable toward the English – the language suffered from advanced dialectal fragmentation, the literary tradition of OE ceased, and the population was subdued by the French.

2.3 Typological perspective

In the previous chapter 2.2, we have covered the preeminent external conditions that contributed to language change. In order to consider the internal transformation and its impact on the word formation processes, the structural characteristic of English is explored.

There are two major approaches to describe and classify languages - genealogical and typological. Genealogy examines the ancestry of individual languages and seeks for common roots. Applied to English, it belongs to the family of Indo-European languages, more specifically, the group of Germanic languages.

Typology, however, does not consider the historical development, but the structural and functional aspects. Languages from across different genealogical language families can show the same attributes of a certain type. In other words, typological classification is not restricted by the origin of a language. Moreover, a language cannot change its genealogical classification, but it can alter its typological profile.

"Type is an extreme (not occurring in any of the actual languages) consisting in the combination of certain properties the occurrence of any one of which creates a favourable environment for the others" (Sgall, 2006: 397-398). Through these

properties, Skalička & Sgall defined distinct types that we outline briefly. Five types are distinguished (Čermák, 2011:30):

- **Agglutinative**
  In agglutinative languages, there is a plethora of affixes that are annexed to a base, where one affix represents one grammatical category. Affixes are therefore accumulated in order to convey all the information required. Closely connected to this is word-formation, which is also achieved through affixation. (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 336-337) (Finnish, Hungarian)
- **Inflectional**
  Inflectional languages also employ affixes; however, an affix can have several functions (i.e. express gender, number, case…). Every lexical word has a single grammatical ending and if derivational affixes are present, they are very different to the inflectional endings. Moreover, the inflectional endings permit free word order (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 337). (Czech)
- **Isolating** (also called analytic)
  An isolating language uses independent, auxiliary words to indicate the grammatical categories (PDE English). Affixes are absent, which in turn affects the word order. It must be fixed so that the relations between words are clear. Moreover, the absence of affixes allows conversion (zero derivation). Isolating languages contain isolated words that are semantically related, but not morphologically (*eye – ophthalmologist*) (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 337).
- **Introflectional**
  Introflection "never serves as a basis of the whole structure of a language but is always combined with the syntax of another type" (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 337). A typical feature is stem variance[1], where the vowel change within the lexeme can have a grammatical meaning (*foot -feet*). Introflection can be used for word-formation as well. (Arabic)

[1] By a stem we understand a base of inflections or derivational affixes (Plag, 2003: 11) . This topic is discussed in detail in the chapter 2.5 (word-formation).

- **Polysynthetic**
  Polysynthetic languages have grammatically fixed word order because of the absence of affixes and endings. (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 337) Grammatical categories are indicated through word order of lexical words that are joined within one construction. This type uses composition for word-formation. (Chinese)

It was established that a type is an extreme and that languages are classified with respect to the features they display, which can change in time. This behaviour is discernible in the evolution of English, which has turned from an inflectional language to isolating. This topic will be discussed in detail in the next section.

2.3.1 Old English typological features

Old English is widely recognised as an inflectional language as there are features that are characteristic for this type.

Firstly, English of that time had a rather complex paradigm of inflectional affixes. For instance nouns, adjectives and pronouns were declined with regard to gender (masc., fem., neut.), number (sg.,pl.), case (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental) and the grammatical information is condensed to one element, an ending. Inflectional languages "exhibit a large amount of synonymy and ambiguity" (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 337) within the inflectional paradigm as there is a single grammatical ending in a word. It is a typical property of inflectional languages, which, however, can become a weakness once the language begins to alter typologically, as was the case of English. As Millward points out, OE would require 30 unique adjectival declension endings in order to achieve "the maximum amount of differentiation" (1996: 98). In reality, OE had only 17 endings at its disposal.

Secondly, Old English tolerated free word order, which is a characteristic of inflectional languages since "free word order is correlated with the richness of the endings (especially with the existence of congruence)" (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 338). This is possible because the relations expressed through inflection affect the whole

construction on various levels - words, phrases, clauses and sentences. (Smith, 2009: 22). Nonetheless, the word order in OE was already similar to PDE since "the favourite order in independent declarative clauses was SVO[2]" (Millward, 1996: 115)

Verbs in Old English were normally conjugated with the use of endings, although in the case of strong verbs, the grammatical information was conveyed through vowel change (ablaut). "Ablaut whereby changes in the vowels of roots indicated such morphological categories as tense, number or even part of speech" (Millward, 1996: 439). Ablaut is an introflectional property found in English and its remains can be seen in PDE, cf. e.g. *sing-sang-sung*. However, ablaut was not limited to grammar only, it was also a word-formation means (albeit not very productive in OE) as can be seen in *bite* 'a bite' *bītan* - 'bite' (Hogg, 2002: 103). Ablaut is discussed more in 2.5.1. A related process of an introflectional nature was i-mutation (front-mutation) which also results in vowel change. It is conditioned phonologically, "if a stressed syllable was followed by an unstressed syllable containing /i/ or /j/, the vowel of the stressed syllable was fronted or raised; that is, the preceding stressed vowel partially assimilated to the following high front /i/ or /j/." (Millward, 1996: 90). It affected the inflectional paradigm since some suffixes could mutate the vowel, while others did not. This also pertained to word-formation (e.g. *dōm* 'judgment' *dēman* 'to judge' (Millward, 1996: 439)) and its traces can be found in PDE as well, for instance *long – length*.

Another characteristic attribute is the cohesiveness of word-families and consequent inhospitality towards borrowing. The relationship between the items of a word-family is transparent – semantically as well as formally. This transparency was possible because of the richness of Old English word-formation means, namely the wide range of affixes for derivation, and compounding. In effect, foreign items were typically replaced with newly coined Anglo-Saxon words rather than accepted in their original form (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 217). The OE vocabulary was therefore associative, whereas the PDE is dissociated. (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 294) This attribute can be well illustrated on PDE, German and Czech (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 203):

[2] Subject – Verb – Object

PDE (dissociative):	**eye**	→	oculist, ophthalmologist
German (associative):	**Auge**	→	**Auge**nartz
Czech (associative)	**oko**	→	**oč**ař, **oční** lékař

Old English was slowly transitioning to an analytic type of language. The impulse emanates from several realities. Firstly, it is because "the reduction of all unstressed final vowels to /ə/" removed the contrast between individual endings (and thus their functionality), which was originally communicated trough *-e, -o, -a* (Millward, 1996: 165). This consequently affected the inflectional paradigm. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, "by OE times, the language has developed a relatively fixed word order" (Millward,1996: 98), which transparently signified the role and relationship of words within a sentence. As a result, the inflectional endings were rendered less important and thus expendable. Finally, borrowing might have contributed to the disintegration of the inflectional system, even though it is "difficult to demonstrate but nonetheless important to the loss of OE inflections" (Millward, 1996: 98).

2.3.2 Middle English typological features

In the Middle English period, the language suffered "cataclysmic changes in inflectional morphology" (Millward, 1996: 164). Those changes entailed the replacement of the grammatical gender by natural (biological), decrease of the number of cases - dative and instrument faded out, and considerable loss of inflection.

The external factors (intense language contact), along with the ongoing language-internal changes (the near absence of inflection) permitted borrowing in ME to a greater extent. Adopting a lexical item from a foreign language would necessitate the item to be assigned to a paradigm, which in ME was resolved by the absence of inflectional endings. The repercussion of the large-scale borrowing was the disruption of word-families mentioned previously. The lexical fields became more complex and opaque, which persists to PDE (*ask – question – interrogate; free – liberate - freedom - liberty*). Consequently, the language turned dissociative.

If a functional mechanism becomes inactive, the language needs to substitute it by other means (Ortutayová, 2016: 18). The gradual decay of the inflectional system led

to analytical features of a language to preponderate over inflectional, since the loss of inflection had to be compensated for:

1. The grammatical information relocated to independent function words.
2. The word order becomes fixed so that the relationship between clause (or sentence etc.) elements is transparent and unambiguous.

The fact that a change in language is gradual has already been stressed and it pertains to the evolution mentioned above as well. The function words (1) were required to disambiguate the relations between individual constituents of a sentence structure and they did not appear instantaneously. A process that can supply the language with the needed function words is grammaticalisation. It is a process of "shift of an independent word to the status of a grammatical element" (McMahon, 1994: 160). This phenomenon can affect major word-class members like nouns, verbs or adjectives. (Horobin and Smith, 2011: 62) For example, the Old English verb *willan* ('to wish', 'to intend') evolved into the PDE auxiliary *will* used to express the future tense.

The exact motivation for the typological shift is uncertain, it is more the synthesis of various factors that contributed. We have already reviewed the ones occurring during the Old English period, to which we can add the intense contact with French that acted as support to the already commenced process. Additionally, as we have mentioned earlier, the word order in OE was already quite set, which provided the language with means to substitute the loss of inflections, while not directly causing the reduction (Millward, 1996: 165)

2.4 Lexis

The language change affects all aspects of language, including lexis and word-formation.

2.4.1 Old English lexis

First of all, it is necessary to realise that the evidence about OE is limited. The estimation is that the OE vocabulary data consist of approximately 24 000 lexical items. This is notably due to the "[...] limited evidence [...] in terms of registers and text-types, which are relatively restricted (prose, mainly religious-didactic, legal or medicinal and poetry)" (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 217). Nevertheless, the data available holds a significant portion of vocabulary which belongs to 'common core of the language' (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 217 from Quirk el al. 1985: 16). General observations on the behaviour of the language can be derived relatively safely from this common core.

A feature firmly associated with the preserved text types is the high density of near-synonyms in some domains. (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 298). Kastovsky distinguishes 3 types of lexemes: 1) common vocabulary present both in poetry and prose; 2) vocabulary rather typical for poetry and 3) vocabulary appearing chiefly in prose (in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 219). It is particularly the second group that is teeming with near-synonyms to achieve lexical variation, which is "the use of different lexeme side by side for the same concept [...]" (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 219). This implies the richness of Old English word-formation and its available resources. The word-formation processes are discussed in 2.5.1.

The abundance of native resources also shows in the approach of Old English towards borrowing. Contrasted to PDE, there is a remarkably low number of loan words, the estimate is approximately 3% (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 294 from Scheler 1977:74). Old English chose to mobilise its own word formation processes and coined a loan translation, which kept the vocabulary associated and the relationship between items of a word-family was transparent formally and semantically. Nevertheless, despite the hesitant approach to borrowing, there are traces of foreign lexical items. Latin and Scandinavian were the languages Old English was in contact with the most and simultaneously the main sources of borrowed items. The imprint of Latin on the OE lexicon is noticeable namely in the semantic fields of religious terminology (*abbud* -> 'abbot'), science (*vinum* -> *wīn* - 'wine') or nature (*cattus* -> 'cat') etc. Scandinavian

contributed especially technical terms - warfare (*genge* 'troops'), nautical (*cnearr* 'small ship'), legal terms (*cost* 'terms, condition') etc.

2.4.2 Middle English lexis

As we have just seen in 2.4.1, the Old English word stock consisted primarily of native lexical items and it tended to enrich the lexicon with native means. The large-scale borrowing that characterises ME became possible due to internal, structural reasons, and external factors, especially the then socio-linguistic circumstances.

The typological shift of English and the decay of the inflectional typological system opened the proverbial gates to new lexical items of foreign origin. In contrast to OE, where the proportional representation of loans is infinitesimal, the lexis of ME absorbed "several thousands" (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 320 from Hansen 1984: 63).

The intense contact with French that lasted for longer than three centuries had a substantial impact on the English language. Borrowing from French came to pass in two stages. During the first period, when English was marginalised and it was the language of lower classes, the loans came from Norman French and were mostly not adapted. These loans were not numerous and mostly pertaining to the semantic field connected to the relationship between nobility and their subjects (*servant, feast)*. As we have established in 2.2.2.1, the necessity of communication urged both the Normans and English to learn some words.

The second stage began after the political change in 13th century, as discussed in 2.2.2.2. French speakers turned to use English, which supplied the native lexicon with new items from different semantic fields: government (*authority, treaty, chancellor, mistress, liberty...*), religion (*clergy, charity, devotion, temptation...*), law (*judgement, defendant, adultery, executor...*), food (*salmon, poultry, biscuit...*), social life (*dress, boots, ornament, ...*). The second wave of borrowing was mostly from Central French. (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 249-250).

A foreign item admitted to the lexicon might contain an affix, which might eventually expand the range of original derivational elements. This, however, is achieved through a sequence of three stages (Burnley in Hogg, 1992: 445-446):

1. The word is integrated grammatically.
2. The word continues to be perceived as foreign, but its separate elements are recognised. In other words, the word is decomposed. Consequently, speakers may begin to use the affix to coin new formations with a limited assortment of bases (mostly foreign as well)
3. Over time, the affix loses its alien status and its application thus extends to bases of native origin as well.

Language contact and borrowing trigger changes in word formation as well. The processes are expanded with new patterns – derivational, compositional etc. which in turn affect the native resources. For instance, the productivity of suffix *-ness* seems to be strengthened by its French counterpart similar in form and function.

2.5 Word Formation

Word formation is closely connected to lexicon, its function is to supply it with new words. A question of what a *word* is suggests itself. There are many perspectives through which the definition of *word* can be given. For the purposes of this work, the orthographic understanding that regards word as "an uninterrupted sting of letters which is preceded or followed by a blank space or a punctuation mark." will be used (Plag, 2003: 4).

A word can be morphologically simple or complex. A morphologically simple word cannot be analysed further in its structure. Complex items contain several morphemes, which are either free or bound. Free morphemes can stand alone and do not require the presence of another morpheme (e.g. *table*). In contrast, bound morphemes need to be attached to another morpheme, word (e.g. *-er* in *teacher*).

The elements a free morpheme annexes to are roots, stems or bases. "The part of a word which an affix is attached to is called base. [...] root [refers to] bases that

cannot be analysed further into morphemes. The term 'stem' is usually used for bases of inflections, and occasionally also for bases of derivational affixes." (Plag, 2003: 10-11).

Word formation is a collective term for several processes that allow new words to be created and supplied to the lexicon. In each period, the English language employs some processes more often than others. Nevertheless, the most frequent are derivation, compounding and zero derivation, also called conversion. The respective processes are discussed in the subsequent sections as they are set in the OE and ME context.

2.5.1 Old English word formation

We have already established the approach of Old English when it comes to borrowing. The estimate is that "only about 3 percent of Old English vocabulary is taken from non-native sources and it is clear that the strong preference of Old English was to use its native resources in order to create new vocabulary.'' (Hogg, 2002: 102) These native resources are especially derivation, compounding, ablaut and i-mutation.

As mentioned in 2.3.1, ablaut and i-mutation are features pertaining to Old English and they are not restricted to inflection only. Both are also common to Germanic languages. Ablaut is a change of vowel used primarily to convey grammatical information, however, its application can be found in word formation as well. For illustration, it could form nouns from strong verbs (*bite* 'a bite' *bītan* - 'bite'; *wita* 'wise man' - *witan* 'know' *cyme* 'arrival' - *cuman* 'come') (Hogg, 2002: 103). I-mutation, also called umlaut, was another process that could enrich the lexicon, as can be illustrated with the PDE *food* / *to feed*. As word-formation processes, ablaut and i-mutation had very limited productivity as "Old English is in a stage of transition from stem-based to word-based inflection and derivation" (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 245) as we have already mentioned in the chapter 2.3

Compounding establishes a new item through the combination of two independent words, free morphemes. ***Bōccraeft*** consists of the noun *bōc* ('book') and the noun *craeft* ('craft'), which are two words joined together to form another word. Compounding was an exceptionally productive process, as "the number of compounds

used in Old English far exceeds the number used in any later period" (Hogg, 2002: 107). However, the allocation of compounds is not symmetrical. The density of compounds is much higher in poetry, due to near-synonymy used for artistic purposes, which was discussed 2.4.1.

Derivation marginally resembles compounding as it also uses two morphemes. However, derivation involves bound morphemes (affixes) that annex to a base, or root – for instance *fyx-**en*** ('vixen')**.**

Identifying a derivative is not always straightforward, which is a recurrent issue of (not only) Old English. As mentioned in 2.3.2, PDE suffixes like *-dom* and *-hood* originate from independent, standalone lexical words and their development to a suffix was gradual. Therefore, the borderline between compounds and derivatives is not as precise as would be desirable. For this reason, instances of *-dom* kind are often labelled suffixiods. (Hogg, 2002: 109).

Old English had a significant number of affixes at its disposal, both prefixes and suffixes.

The system of prefixes (especially verbal) was already deteriorating in Old English and it "was already at the end of the tenth century in a state of advanced decay" (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 377). Verbal prefixes were predisposed to loss. The possible explanation goes back to early Germanic, where verbs could be separably prefixed (as opposed to nouns), which subsequently decided the stress placement. Even when the two became inseparable, the stress was already fixed. Using Hogg's example, we find: *sácan* (V) 'fight' ~ *ándsàca* (N) 'enemy' ~ *onsácan* (V) 'deny' (2002: 105). This left the prefix *on-* unstressed and thus susceptible to reduction. Many of the prefixes productive in Old English have disappeared from language either completely (***ge**ascian* 'learn by asking') or left minimal traces in PDE (***a**rise*). (Hogg, 2002: 105-106).

The meaning of a prefix was not easily determined. The difference between the simple and prefixed form was often negligible and the two forms were synonymous. This can be noticed especially in writing, where scribes omitted verbal prefixes more and more, but the interpretation and meaning of the copied remained the same. Despite this decay of prefixation, derivation was still a very productive word formation process. (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 377).

"There was in Old English even more suffixation that prefixation." (Hogg, 2002: 106). Despite that some suffixes were gradually lost, most of the Old English suffixes survived to Middle English and later periods. Old English suffixes can be categorised according to various criteria – semantic (e.g. agent nouns, diminutives), morphological (from which word class they can derive), origin (English, French...), productivity (unproductive or productive), etc. However, our primary interest is in noun-forming suffixes. For this reason, only the most frequent nominal suffixes are listed in the overview with regard to their semantic role in Old English:

- State, condition, quality
    - **-dōm** - *wīsdōm* 'wisdom' (*wīs* 'wise')
    - **-hād** - *abbudhād* 'rank of an abbot', *camphād* 'warfare'
    - **-scipe** - *wærscipe* 'caution' (*wær* 'cautious, wary')
- Action, agent, personal nouns
    - **-end** - *wrecend* 'avenger', (*wrecan* 'avenge')
    - **-ere** - *leornere* 'pupil', *pūnere* 'pestle'
    - **-ling** - *ġeongling* 'youngling',
    - **-ung/-ing** - *weorþung* 'honour' (*weorþian* 'honour', verb).
- Abstract nouns
    - **-nes** - *beorhtnes* 'brightness' (*beorht* 'bright')
    - **-þ(o)/-t** - *hīehþ*(o) 'height'
- Gender specific
    - **-en** - *fyxen* 'vixen', *gyden* 'goddess'
    - **-estre** - *tæppestre* 'female tavern-keeper', *byrþestre* 'female carrier'
- Diminutives
    - **-incel** - *hūsincel* 'little house'
- Proceeding, associated with
    - **-ing** - *æþeling* 'son of a noble' (Smith, 2009: 62)

2.5.2 Middle English word formation

The affability of ME towards borrowing was already explored in 2.4.2. Apart from borrowing, ME used nearly the same strategies to expand its lexicon as Old English - namely derivation (affixation) and compounding.

Compounding in Middle English declined in productivity, compared to Old English, where it was a recurrent phenomenon especially in poetic text. The submission of English established by the French hegemony repressed the literary production, which eventually made compounding "an occasional device of poetic ornament' (Burnley in Hogg, 1992: 441). Despite the decrease in volume, the majority of Old English compounding patterns remain operative and their range was enriched with new types (see Burnley in Hogg 1992).

As prefixation was productive in Old English, it withdraws remarkably in Middle English period. Many of the prefixes were no longer productive and eventually vanished completely. Those that survived often underwent a transformation of semantic and morphologic application. In addition, the weakening of verbal prefixes led to later development and strengthening of the post verbal complementation, which are now prepositional (phrasal) verbs. Moreover, the arrival of French in Middle English period presumably supported the dropping of prefixes. (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 377).

The liability to loss is not exclusive to prefixes but it involves suffixes as well due to "progressive weakening and eventual loss of final unstressed syllables" (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 238), which eventually affects the range of word-formation patterns as "a number of word formation patterns [changes] from suffixation to zero derivation" (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 382). The stock of suffixes, however, survived from Old English almost fully - approximately 75% of them remained productive in the ME period. Naturally, their range was expanded with foreign items as explained in 2.4.2.

The above-mentioned functional shift concerns suffixes, too. For example *-ful* that was previously only denominal extended its compatibility to verbs as well. The

status of *-dom* changed from an independent word to a suffix or *-ster,* which formed feminine nouns began to coin masculine referents as well. (Burnley in Hogg, 1992: 447)

Contrasting the two periods, there are conspicuous developments. Old English was strongly inclined to employ its own resources to furnish its word stock, where the central processes were compounding, affixation and ablaut. Middle English was strongly affected by the external circumstances that led to a substantial influx of foreign items, which consequently altered the derivational and compositional patterns – foreign prefixes filled in the semantic gaps left by the disappeared OE prefixes, new compositional patterns emerge likely due to mirroring French coinages (*cut*^{V}*purse*^{N} - *tire*^{V}*-bouchon*^{N} 'corkscrew') (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 252-255). However, as Kastovsky points out, "Middle English word formation in general is a rather under-researched area" (in Hogg, 1992: 251).

2.6 Productivity

Productivity of an affix involves its ability to be employed and coin new words. It is not a feature of binary nature but a scale, therefore affixes can differ in their degree of productivity. According to Plag, there are several factors that can impact productivity (2003: 59)

Firstly, it is the tendency of economy. Each language resists complete synonymy and the lexicon should not contain redundant items. Absolute synonymy in a language is undesirable. If there are two words referring to the same concept and being mutually interchangeable in all contexts, one form will eventually become more dominant and suppress the other. We will return to this topic in chapter 5.5.

Economy is related to the mental lexicon, which "should be minimally redundant and everything that is predictable does not need to be listed" (Plag, 2003: 48). Predictability is supported also by frequency, thus the more often a phenomenon appears in language, the more predictable it is. Applied to affixation, *help**er*** and analogous formations will be interpreted easily, as ***–er*** is a truly recurrent suffix compared to ***–ild*** in ***beggild*** that may prove hard to comprehend nowadays.

Secondly, there is another limitation Plag calls structural restrictions (2003: 61). The restrictions may appear on various linguistic levels - phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic:

- Phonological restriction can be caused by stress placement or segmental compatibility. For illustration, the suffix *-al* cannot be annexed to bases that end with an unstressed syllable: *ar**rive** -> arrival; **en**ter -x enteral.* The suffix
  -en can follow /k/, /t/, /θ/, /s/, /d/, but not a vowel (*dark -> darken; low -x lowen*)
- Morphological restrictions can be demonstrated on the suffixes *-ize* and *-ation*. Verbs ending with *-ize* (*visualize* etc) are always derived into nouns by the suffix *-ation* (*visualisation*).
- Certain words have no place in a language as they would never be used because of their semantic aspect, even if their morphological structure allows them to be formed (*undie*, *decannibalize*…).
- Some affixes can be attached only to bases of a certain word class (syntactic restriction) that can be exemplified with suffix *-able* that chiefly combines with verbs (Plag, 2003: 61).

Furthermore, there may be pragmatic restrictions such as whether a newly formed word refers to something nameable etc. On the other hand, the vitality of an affix can be encouraged by fashion, as can be seen in PDE (and Czech as well) with *mega-* for instance. (Plag, 2003: 60).

In addition, the semantic and functional shift of affixes discussed in 2.5.2 carries weight in terms of productivity. When an affix develops and expands its application, it becomes compatible with a wider range of bases by that it accumulates the potential to increase its productivity.

Finally, productivity of an affix or a word formation pattern can be impeded by rival affixes of comparable role, denoting a similar idea and possibly coming from another language through borrowing. Nevertheless, there are cases when borrowing

strengthened the role of an affix, for example *mis-* that prevailed thanks to French *mes-* (Kastovsky in Hogg and Denison, 2006: 237).

Having covered the inherent factors affecting productivity, it is fundamental to consider the available measurement methods. Schröder recognises three ways of measurement, which are measurements based on dictionary listings, corpora analysis or psychological tests of native speaker's intuition (2008: 48).

Because of the nature of our research, which investigates the status and productivity of suffixes from the diachronic perspective while using the *OED* as the source of data, the first method is used. Plag terms this as type-frequency measure: "[...] the productivity of an affix can be discerned by counting the number of attested different words with that affix at a given point in time. This has also been called the type frequency of an affix" (2003: 52).
By **types** we understand different, unique words (formations), as the above-mentioned definition implies. To illustrate by example, there were 46 different words (i.e. **types**) in the period 1200-1299 attested with suffix *-ness*. A term closely related to type is **token**, which is "the overall number of words in a corpus" (Plag, 2003: 50). As this work is based on a dictionary and not a corpus, the concept of tokens is not relevant for our research.

The change in productivity of individual word formation processes and the possible reasons for it were outlined in this theoretical part. The objective of this research is to observe and analyse the behaviour of affixation while considering the native resources only. With this in mind, we can proceed to articulate the hypothesis and subsequently the method used to answer it.

3 Hypothesis

The analytical part treats the nominal coinages of purely native origin first attested in the periods of 1200-1299 and 1300-1399. More specifically, we examined nominal formations that comprise a base of English origin and one of the following suffixes: *-ness*, *-head*/*-hood*, *-ship* or *-dom,* to determine their productivity and idiosyncrasies.

The main external and internal factors were detailed in the previous chapter, which suggests that changes in the word-formation patterns and their productivity in time are to be expected.

H1: In contrast to prefixation, suffixation was still truly productive in the Middle English period, therefore the continuation of the selected suffixes is expected. However, their functional and semantic characteristics as well as productivity may be expected to be changing during the time under scrutiny. A suffix may extend to bases of different word-class or, on the contrary, the productivity of a pattern might cease. Moreover, the systemic position of a suffix may be weakened or strengthened by competition with another.

To address the hypothesis, the following viewpoints were used:

1. How many types were attested in the examined periods and does their number increase or decrease?
2. Has there been any development in function (semantic or in terms of word-formational patters) observable in the samples?
3. Does the suffix show, over time, a preference for bases of a particular structure?
4. What are the semantic aspects of the suffix and is any of them preferred?
5. What is the formal and semantic nature of hapaxes in the data samples?

4 Methodology

The aim was to observe and describe the tendencies of Middle English suffixation appearing in the selected periods of 1200–1299 and 1300–1399. More specifically, we examined the suffixes *-ness*, *-head*/*-hood*, *-ship* and *-dom,* their productivity and whether they change in time – in terms of derivational morphology or semantics. The research is limited to coinages of English origin and only the items that are provably of pure English origin are examined. Hybrid items containing a foreign element (base or affix) are not covered in the analysis.

4.1 Data collection

The data for this research was collected from *The Oxford English Dictionary*[3] (OED). Selecting the *OED* as the principal resource is motivated by several reasons. Firstly, the *OED* covers the periods required by this research and includes information about the lexical item's subsequent development, its current usage frequency etc. Another reason are the features and content provided by the *OED*, such as the complexity of information given with each entry and functions available (advanced search filtering etc.). Consequently, as the research is based on a dictionary, the required analytic approach is of a lexicographic nature. Data is analysed following the type frequency measure as defined by Plag, and productivity is regarded diachronically, as stated in chapter 2.6 .

The objective is to receive data from two centuries (1200–1299 and 1300–1399) that will contain nominal coinages of English origin. The data collection was carried out using the *OED*'s advanced search settings. Two inquiries were done applying identical filters, except for the time period. The search is narrowed down to nouns of English origin, with respective date filters.

[3] Edition 2 and 3

The advanced search parameters used concerned the language, time-period and part of speech:

- Language of origin: English
- Date of entry: 1200–1299 or 1300–1399
- Part of speech: Noun

The results received for the two periods comprised 1341 and 4367 items, respectively. The unequal representation of the two samples is due to different amounts of evidence from those periods. That is to say, the data available reflects the quantity and genre type of the then literature as we have discussed in 2.2. Moreover, it is likely both that not all texts of that time are digitised and that some writings had not survived. With respect to this, we do not claim that the items found could not have existed earlier, it is possible that such item was simply unattested.

Although the *OED* is an excellent source and the advanced search options filtered the data considerably, there are several obstacles that had to be overcome or considered.

Firstly, several hybrids were discovered in the samples, e.g. *culvertship* ('treachery'), which is a formation with a native suffix and a foreign base. Similar instances had to be eliminated from the results by manual analysis.

Secondly, not all dictionary entries have been updated. For instance, the entry of *geldhead* ('barrenness') was first published 1898 and has not been updated since. This can impact the preciseness and wholeness of the entry, especially the information about an item's frequency status (obsolete or still in use and to what extent) and the quotations. The entry of *bleariness* is from 1887 and the last quotation provided by the *OED* dates to 1832. Currently, this item is considered as still in use. It is possible that a future update might revise its status as well as additional information like its etymology, quotations, pronunciation etc.

Furthermore, headwords with a hyphen or a blank space were present in the search, such as *brother-in-law*. These items were removed from the samples manually as well.

Finally, the applied filters do not arrange the results with respect to word formation. Consequently, the results were sorted manually and only the items coined

through affixation were kept. Zero derivation (conversion) is not included due to the absence of an affix.

In the two refined samples, more than 30 distinct affixes were identified in the period of 1200–1299, and over 40 affixes appeared in the following period. Many of those affixes (e.g. *gain-*: *gaincall*) occurred meagrely (1-5 types).

The formal, functional and frequential (i.e. types attested) diversity of identified affixes led to reduction of the research scope to suffixes*: -ness, -ship, -dom, -head / -hood.* The reasons for this selection are several. Firstly, all these suffixes are present in both samples, which allows us to contrast data of two distinct periods and see the development of the suffixes in time. Secondly, they resemble in their function. The suffixes *-ness, -ship, -dom, -head / -hood* can all denote a quality. Due to their semantic closeness, competition of a certain degree is expected, which provides additional aspect for analysis that should further clarify the roles of the respective suffixes.

4.2 Data analysis

Each type in the two samples (1200–1299, 1300–1399) was analysed in terms of the word class of the base, of its formal features and semantics. The findings about the samples of respective suffixes were contrasted to discover any possible tendencies and changes over time.

The word class of the base is examined to determine the direction of word-formation. In other words, it was vital to identify the pattern through which the item was created to subsequently observe their productivity in time. The supplementary information (origin and etymology) given in the *OED* was used to verify the direction. Generally, determining the word class of the base is quite straightforward (e.g. *yellowness*). In some cases, however, the direction was not clear-cut (e.g. *tiler*: *tile* (N) or *tile* (V) + *er;* OED). *The Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*) was consulted as a supplementary source to confirm one of the options. Another type of items that require a special mention are words like *cursedness.* There are two opposing opinions on how to perceive *cursed-*. In Kastovsky's understanding *cursed-* is of verbal character (past participle) (in Hogg, 1992: 387-389). In contrast, Marchand identifies such formations as items with a participial adjective (1960: 272). Throughout the analysis, we adhere to Marchand's conception and *cursedness* etc. are recognised as deadjectival derivatives.

Formal features of the base structure (number of syllables, phonotactic constraints) were examined as well to observe whether a suffix exhibits a particular behaviour in relation to base form. Proneness to suffix loss is also related to phonology and the distribution of stress. Nouns are generally stressed on the first syllable (primary stress), which leaves the suffix unstressed when annexed to monosyllabic bases. An exception to this rule of stress placement are the suffixes that carry the primary stress themselves, such as *-ade*, or require the primary stress on the preceding syllable. Nevertheless, the examined suffixes do not belong to either of these categories. Consequently, the formations with a monosyllabic base may be more vulnerable since the suffix is then unstressed. However, the topic of phonology is not specifically pursued in this work.

Semantic classification of an item cannot be determined unquestionably as the different shades of meaning are often overlapping, especially in case of *-ness, -ship, -dom, -head / -hood* which can denote state, quality, condition. A superordinate term ***quality*** was introduced for these concrete semantic aspects due to their semantic closeness.

A group of items with only one *OED* quotation[4] were discovered within each sample. The Middle English Dictionary (*MED*) was used to confirm or disprove the unique quotation (e.g. *betterness*). For the purposes of this work, the items in our samples with only one quotation are called *hapaxes*, where "hapax legomena [...] are words that occur only once in a corpus [...] (Plag 2003: 54), despite that this definition is primarily applied in corpus research.

Presence of hapaxes generally implies productivity of a process (or affix etc.) since "the number of hapaxes of a given morphological category should correlate with the number of neologisms of that category, so that the number of hapaxes can be seen as an indicator of productivity" (Plag, 2003: 54). In our case, hapaxes can therefore indicate an increasing productivity of a suffix, especially if the suffix has more types attested in the latter period (1300-1399). In the opposite case, if the number of types decreases in time, hapaxes can signify the decline in productivity of the suffix.

[4] Items that had several quotations from the same publication (only) are also covered.

The definition above, however, does not mean that the hapax is an actual neologism, especially as we need to respect the nature of OE and ME evidence as mentioned in 4.1. Therefore, a hapax "could [...] simply be a rare word of the language [...] or some weird ad-hoc invention by an imaginative speaker, as sometimes found in poetry*"* (Plag 2003: 54). In our work, a hapax is thus a formation that appears to have been rare and did not last. The hapaxes were analysed analogously to the whole samples. The word class of the base, the base structure and semantics were examined as described earlier (4.2).

Hapaxes, as well as coinages that have several quotations, can be found obsolete in PDE. This information is of consequence for our analysis as well, as it implies the survivability of the coinage. Nonetheless, it is important to consider the potential complication caused by outdatedness of some *OED* entries as discussed in 4.1. A future update may reassess the status of a formation and mark it as indeed obsolete or current.

As we have mentioned in the introductory chapter, the analyses have revealed a noteworthy phenomenon. Examining suffixes of similar function made their mutual competition manifest in our samples. Suffixes *-ness, -ship, -dom, -head / -hood* share bases and a detailed analysis is performed in chapter 5.5.

4.3 Data presentation

The comparison of data is presented in a series of tables. To compensate for differences in sample sizes (e.g. there are 46 types with *-ness* in the period from 1200-1299 and 135 types in the subsequent period), the results are mostly given in percentage so that the comparison is more transparent. When there is no data available for a category, it is marked with a symbol of a dash (–) in the table.

As discussed in the second chapter, the language was not standardised, and the quotations listed within an entry can have different orthographic representation, for example *poorness* entry features the following forms: *pouernesse*, *porenesse*, *poorenesse*, *powernesse*. For easier understanding, the types presented throughout this

work are the orthographic variants that the *OED* selected as the spelling form of the headword for that type. Using the example above, the selected form is *poorness*.

OED marks obsolete items (or their specific senses) with an icon of a cross: †. In such cases, either the item itself in its form and function is extinct, such as *cleanship*, or only some semantic aspect disappeared, as can be observed in the history of *devilness*[5]. Identical marking is applied in this work.

[5] 'A devil, a demon', which is the meaning attested in the examined period.

5 Analysis

5.1 Suffix –ness

5.1.1 Derivational morphology

5.1.1.1 Language change has been detailed in the theoretical chapter, where we have established that it involves word formation patterns as well, as was illustrated with *-ful* in 2.5.2. In this section, *-ness* word formation patterns are the centre of attention, followed by the analysis of the samples.

In Old English, the suffix *-ness* coined feminine action nouns and state nouns from adjectives (*beorhtness* – 'brightness') and verbs (*costness* – 'temptation'). The verbal element could be either a present (*gebetendness* – 'correction') or a past participle (*cirredness* – 'turning') or a simple verb stem (*costness* – 'temptation'). Quite often, the semantic difference between the derivatives with such bases appears not to have been significant. This is indicated by numerous doublets or even triplets (*forgifness, forgifenness* – 'forgiveness'; *alisness, alisendness, alisedness* – 'redemption'). The verbal stem is the carrier of the meaning irrespective of its morphological representation (i.e. *alis- alised-* or *alisend-*) (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 387-388).

Formations of the type *alisendness, alisedness* were coined after the OE periods as well, as can be illustrated with *rotness*, *rottenness* and *rottingness* that appear in our data. As was already mentioned in chapter 4.2, Marchand's perspective on the nature of bases like *cursed-* is different to Kastovsky's. Formations such as *cursedness, knowingness* are analysed as formations derived from participial adjectives, whereas Kastovsky would regard them as those based on a past and present participle, respectively. We follow Marchand's classification so that items such as *cursedness, rottenness* etc. will be identified as deadjectival derivatives (Marchand, 1960: 272).

Marchand's thorough analysis of the suffix *-ness* shows that there are certain developments in the evolution of *-ness* after the OE period that could also appear in our results. Firstly, it is its ability to be attached to other bases than the ones listed above,

which were common for the period of Old English (i.e. verbal and adjectival). This extension includes nominal bases as well as bases of foreign origin (Marchand, 1960: 273) and we anticipate the presence of denominal derivatives in our data. Furthermore, Marchand points out that *-ness* cannot be used with verbal bases in Modern English, therefore it is to be expected that verbal coinages will decrease in time (1960: 271). Plag labels *-ness* in PDE as "perhaps the most productive suffix [...]. The suffix can attach to practically any adjective" (2003: 92). A strong presence of adjectival bases in our data is thus anticipated and deadjectival derivatives are indeed the most frequent, as we will see shortly.

5.1.1.2 Moving to the results found, the suffix evidently appends to distinct word class bases in the period 1200–1299: adjectives, verbs and nouns. As we have stated above, derivatives with nominal bases were not typical for Old English, but their appearance in our data seem to indicate a small beginning of this pattern. An opposite tendency was anticipated with verbal bases, which indeed show a decrease in numbers – there are four deverbal coinages in the first period, but they are completely absent in the following one. Adjectival bases are represented the most (38 out of 46 types):

Base	Example	Quantity	
Adjective	*doughtiness, poorness*[6]	38	82.6%
Verb	*knowness, arisness*	4	8.7%
Noun	*loveness, thewness*	4	8.7%

Table 1 - Patterns attested with –*ness* in 1200 1299

Proceeding to the subsequent period, the number of results found is 135 types, triple to what was in the previous sample:

Base	Example	Quantity	
Adjective	*aloneness, baldness*	125	92.6%
Verb	-	-	-
Noun	*devilness, horeness* 'foulness'	10	7.4%

Table 2 - Patterns attested with –*ness* in 1300 1399

[6] As stated in 4.3, the *OED's* headword spelling is chosen

It is indisputable that deadjectival formations are prevalent, but denominal coinages also appear in the latter period (7.4%). However, a significant change is the absence of deverbal derivatives. Deverbal coinages mostly denote an action noun and the same decreasing tendency is evident in the semantic representation of this category, thus this decline seems to be related to semantics, to which we return in detail in section 5.1.4.

Contrasting the two samples, it is obvious that deadjectival formations are prevalent in both examined periods. An interesting phenomenon is characterized by the opposite tendencies of denominal and deverbal coinages. As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, verbal bases were quite common in Old English, as opposed to the nominal ones. We also portrayed the development of *-ness* after the Old English period, which anticipated the decrease of verbal bases, since, according to Marchand, *-ness* " in MoE[7] [...] is also used with various other bases, but not with verbs" (1960: 271). Our results seem to confirm this claim, though it would be appropriate to examine the productivity of this pattern also in the subsequent periods.

Base	1200–1299	1300–1399
Adjective	82.6%	92.6%
Verb	8.7%	-
Noun	8.7%	7.4%

Table 3 – Contrasting the patterns attested with –*ness* in 1200-1299 and 1300-1399

5.1.2 Frequency

5.1.2.1 As we have seen in the last section 5.1.1, the deadjectival formations are recurrent and persistent throughout the two analysed periods. In this subchapter, the coinages with verbal and nominal bases are investigated for their frequency (quotations) and currency status (obsolete or not). Moreover, there are types throughout the two samples that have only one quotation and these cases are treated in this part as well.

[7] Modern English

The deverbal and denominal derivatives are provided in the table below so as to further investigate their absence and decrease, respectively. The status of the item (obsolete or not) is given in accordance with information provided in the *OED*. Even though the number of quotations is not indicative in terms of the item's real usage, it may nonetheless provide additional insight and for this reason the attested quotations are taken into consideration. To examine the frequency (quotations), the *OED* and *MED* were consulted:

1200–1299			1300–1399		
Formation	Meaning	Quot.	Formation	Meaning	Quot.
angetness (V)†	acknowledgement	1	*angerness* (N) †	affliction	1
arisness (V) †	resurrection	1	*bodiness* (N) †	corporeity	1+
birewness (V) †	compassion	1+[8]	*devilness* (N) †	devil	1+
knowness (V) †	acknowledgement	1	*horeness* (N) †	foulness	1
loveness (N) †	lovingness	1+	*rotness* (N) †	decayed	1+
manness (N) †	human nature	1	*shameness* (N) †	modesty	1
thewness (N) †	virtue	1	*sorrowness* (N)	sadness	1+
wonderness (N) †	wonder	1	*wasteness* (N) †	destruction	1+
			whileness (N) †	reciprocity	1+

Table 4 - Deverbal and denominal -*ness* formations from 1200-1399

All the items in the period of 1200-1299 are marked by the *OED* as obsolete and, in most cases (75%), only one occurrence of that item was found. This suggests that formations with a deverbal base are indeed rare. What is more, none of the deverbal items from the period of 1200-1299 remained in existence and all of them are obsolete. Neither did the denominal derivatives survive, all the four instances of denominal items in the 1200-1299 period are obsolete as well. Even though they did not endure, their presence still indicates the incipient tendency of denominal derivatives productivity as the language seems to pursue additional means of word-formation.

The following period shows similar development in terms of survivability, yet there is one significant development – not all coinages are obsolete. *Sorrowness* has a

[8] 1+ signifies that there was more than one quotation (both in the *OED* and *MED*).

considerable number of quotations which substantiates its continuous usage. The *OED* labels *sorrowness* as still in use, however, the *OED* also categorises it as *Frequency Band 2*.[9]

Contrasting the formations with their equivalents listed in table 4 (the column Meaning), the suffix appears to be redundant in certain cases as the formal and semantic equivalent is equal to the actual base itself (*wonderness* – 'wonder'), which correlates with the development of the English language towards a word-based derivation and inflection, as we discussed in chapter 2.5.1. Or, in other scenarios, the formation has a foreign counterpart common in PDE that is likely to have replaced the original formation (*birewness* – 'compassion'). The native-foreign competition could be a potentially influential factor in the extinction of some of the *-ness* formations listed in the table.

5.1.2.2 Analysing the complete data of *-ness* formations (all deadjectival, denominal and deverbal derivatives) from the two periods, there is a notable difference between the two samples in the proportion of items with only one quotation – i.e. hapaxes. In the period 1200-1299, 30% of items are hapaxes, in the following period this number decreases to 8%.

To determine the occurrence, both *OED* and *MED* were consulted again. The following types have only one quotation and all are obsolete (adjectival bases are marked with orange colour, verbal with blue and nominal with green):

[9] Band 2 contains words which occur fewer than 0.01 times per million words in typical modern English usage. (OED)

1200-1299	meaning	1300–1399	meaning
angetness (V) †	acknowledgement	*alangeness* (ADJ) †	loneliness
arisness (V) †	resurrection	*angerness* (N) †	trouble
iwarness (ADJ) †	wariness	*betterness* (ADJ) †	beneficence
knowness (V) †	acknowledgement	*blaseness* (ADJ) †	brightness
manness (N) †	human nature	*callowness* (ADJ) †	baldness
orrathness (ADJ) †	doubt	*cloveness* (ADJ) †	split, cloven
ruesomeness (ADJ) †	repentance	*haleness* (ADJ) †	wholeness
saughtliness (ADJ) †	reconciliation	*ironness* (ADJ) †	armoured
shendfulness (ADJ) †	vileness	*horeness* (N) †	foulness
sighingness (ADJ) †	sighing condition	*shameness* (N) †	modesty
thewness (N) †	virtue	*throness* (ADJ) †	reluctance
unbeseenness (ADJ) †	heedlessness		
wieldness (ADJ) †	command		
wonderness (N) †	wonder		

Table 5 – Hapaxes with *-ness* of the 1200 1299 and 1300 1399 periods

It was already established earlier (Table 4) that the denominal and deverbal coinages are all obsolete (except for *sorrowness*) and the same applies to the deadjectival derivatives in the table above. Out of the 25 hapaxes from 1200-1399, 16 of them comprise an adjectival base (64%). However, relating the number of hapaxes with the whole samples of the two periods, it can be noted that the hapaxes decrease over time and that actually deadjectival formations comprised the least hapaxes (proportionally):

- in the period 1200-1299, 21% of deadjectival, 75% of denominal and 75% of deverbal coinages were hapaxes.
- in the period 1300-1399, 6% of deadjectival and 30% of denominal coinages were hapaxes

There may be several factors contributing to their uniqueness, or rather their combination: the base type (nominal, adjectival etc., covered in 5.1.2), base structure

(5.1.3), semantic aspect (5.1.4) or competition of other suffixes. The competition is reviewed in a separate chapter, 5.5.

5.1.3 A structural perspective

5.1.3.1 The structure of bases is examined in this section. In addition, we will also consider the hapaxes separately to subsequently contrast the results of the whole samples and hapaxes to see whether there are any conspicuous differences.

In the matter of structure, we can often find *-ness* in complex formations, where the base has two or more syllables. These complex bases present a significant part of the results discovered for the earlier period, where only 37% of the bases were monosyllabic. In the subsequent period, the share of the monosyllabic bases increases to 47%.

Contrasting the two samples, we can state that the proportional representation is rather similar, although the presence of monosyllabic bases becomes more prominent in the latter period:

Bases	1200–1299		1300–1399	
	Quantity	Example	Quantity	Example
Monosyllabic	17 (37%)	*goodness*	64 (47%)	*coldness*
Disyllabic	24 (52%)	*deadliness*	60 (44%)	*ugliness*
Polysyllabic	5 (11%)	*sorrowfulness*	11 (9%)	*forgettingness*

Table 6 - Analysis of base structure of –*ness* formations

Applying this structural analysis to the hapaxes identified in 5.1.4, the results show that great majority of the hapaxes from the 13th century were disyllabic (64%), however, in the following period the number decreases to 55%. A contrasting tendency is noticeable in the presence of monosyllabic bases, which rises to 45% (from 29%).

- Bases of hapaxes (1200–1299): 29% monosyllabic, 64% disyllabic and 7 % polysyllabic.
- Bases of hapaxes (1300–1399): 45% monosyllabic, 55% disyllabic

Placing the hapaxes in the context of their respective, whole samples, it is noticeable that over a half of *-ness* coinages with a disyllabic base in the 1200-1299 period were hapaxes. Their amount significantly decreases in the following period, from 52.9% to 10%. The same trend is evident with monosyllabic and polysyllabic bases, although the decrease is less steep:

Hapax base	1200–1299	1300–1399
Monosyllabic	16.7%	8%
Disyllabic	52.9%	10%
Polysyllabic	20%	-

Table 7 – Analysis base structure of hapaxes with *-ness* contrasted to their whole respective samples.

It is mostly the coinages with a disyllabic base that disappear, which is especially prominent in the first period, where 64% of hapaxes have a disyllabic base. This is evidently closely connected to the actual morphological structure of the base itself. The bases in the first sample only (i.e. 1200-1299) feature an affix, in most cases: ***or**rathness, **a**risness, **i**warness*[10]*, rue**some**ness, saught**li**ness, shend**ful**ness, sigh**ing**ness*. The first three formations contain prefixes that are no longer productive, whereas the bases featuring suffixes *-ly (-li-)*, *-ful* or *-ing* have analogous coinages in PDE (e.g. *usefulness*, *willingness* etc.) The extinction of a formation may be therefore affected by several realities. Firstly, it may be due to obsoleteness of an affix (e.g. *a-*) as prefixation in ME was in decline and of limited productivity, as discussed in 2.5.1. Secondly, the base root itself may have been obsolete, as in *orrathness*. Moreover, the appearance of *orrathness* is limited to one source only (*The Ormulum*). Finally, a contributing factor may be the aforementioned redundancy of the affix itself (e.g. *wonderness* – 'wonder') and/or potential competition with an alternative, synonymous expression.

[10] From *iwar* (PDE *aware*) (OED)

5.1.4 Semantic characterisation

5.1.4.1 The semantic properties of *-ness* should offer further understanding of its productivity intricacies. Analogously to the previous sections, the individual, whole samples are evaluated followed by an analysis of hapaxes.

In Old English, *-ness* formed new items from adjectives and verbs. The formations expressed the following semantic aspects, which we take over from Kastovsky (in Hogg, 1992: 387-388):

- action nouns (*brecness* – 'breach', *blinness* - 'cessation')
- state noun (*beorhtness* – 'brightness')
- object or result (*agendness* – 'property', *streowness* - 'mattress')
- instrumental and locative nouns (*gereordness* – 'food', *wuneness* - 'dwelling')

Action, object and result involve an action (for instance transitive verbs), which is generally expressed by a verb. This implies the presence of a verb is vital. There are four deverbal types discovered in total and all are from the 1200-1299 period: *angetness* ('acknowledgment'), *arisness* ('resurrection'), *birewness* ('compassion'), *knowness* ('acknowledgement') (OED). The boundaries between the individual categories outlined above are blurred: *acknowledgement* can be recognised as an action noun (active process of understanding) or result (the outcome). The same applies to *resurrection*. *Compassion*, however, can be categorised as an object (e.g. *have pity with someone*).

In all stages of English, *-ness* coined predominantly nouns with abstract meaning of state (*rotness*), condition (*freshness*), quality (*forgetfulness*) (Marchand 1960: 271-273). Similarly to the example of *acknowledgement* discussed above, it is not simple to clearly distinguish state, condition and quality. The senses overlap greatly, as can be illustrated with the following example taken from the *OED*:

Rustiness: The state, condition, or quality of being rusty

For this reason, we unite the three senses (state, condition and quality) and use **quality** as a superordinate term as discussed in 4.2.1.

The table below introduces the semantic classification of the two samples and follows the categories discussed:

Category	1200–1299		1300–1399	
	Quantity	Example	Quantity	Example
Action noun	5	*knowness*	-	-
Object, result	4	*birewness*	2	*brotelness*
Locative	-	-	1	*inwardness*
Instrument	-	-	-	-
Quality	37	*weakness*	132	*blackness*

Table 8 - Semantic analysis of –*ness* formations

In general, the suffix -*ness* mostly forms abstract nouns (Marchand, 1960: 271), which corresponds with the results in the table above, where the category of quality forms the clear majority. Condition, quality or state would express an attribute or feature, which are usually abstract (*blackness, dumbness, greyness*...). Only very rarely can we find a formation with -*ness* referring to a concrete referent – for example:

Devilness: A devil, a demon, a false god; (also) the presence or activity of the Devil or a devil. (OED)

Furthermore, the results in the table 8 above suggest the lack of verbal bases as reflected in the semantic aspect (action noun, object and result). We have already established that verbal bases were quite frequent in Old English and generally expressed an action noun (e.g. *forgiveness*). The amount of action nouns in the first period is minor and they do not appear in the latter period at all. The scarcity of verbal bases seems to manifest itself in the representation of the semantic categories, where action nouns are sporadic. Furthermore, 75% of the deverbal derivatives in our samples are concurrently hapaxes and action nouns. The remaining hapaxes are in the category expressing quality (*iwarness, manness, betterness*...)

5.1.5 Competition within -*ness*

5.1.5.1 Very often the complexity of a base is necessary to distinguish distinct concepts. For example, comparing the PDE[11] *deadliness* with *deadness* and using the paraphrase "*the condition or quality of being*", we have the condition of being *dead* or *deadly*. Despite that the bases have an identical root, there is a significant difference in meaning. However, this is not a universal truth for all coinages and several doublets are present in the samples, all of which we list below. The doublets appear to be a consequence of the evolution of the non-standardised, regionally and socially fragmented language of that time, as we have explored in chapter 2. Competition can thus transpire between the formations of one suffix as well and the table 9 below list all the formations that are interchangeable as they are synonymous. In addition, the *OED* often cross-references between the individual words, for example:

Rotness: the state of being rotten; rottenness
Rottenness: the state of being rotten
Rottingness: = rottenness

	First occurrence	Last occurrence	Obsolete
rotness	Before 1400	1660	yes
rottenness	1350	1996	no
rottingness	1398	1998	no
wretchness	1330	1483	yes
wretchednes	1340	1887	no
blearedness	1398	1881	no
bleariness	1398	1832	no
wrongfulness	1325	1880	no
wrongousness	1325	1923	no

Table 9 - Competition occurring with –*ness*

[11] Note that both entries are currently quite outdated – both are from 1894 and it is possible that a future revision might reconsider their status and label them obsolete.

It is imperative to recall that some entries in the *OED* are not updated, as is the case of several of our examples: *bleariness* has an entry from 1887, *bleariness* as well. The entry of *wrongfulness* was published in 1928. This fact can impact the status of obsoleteness and the date of last entry. Nevertheless, for our purposes it is enough to observe whether the formation continued to exist in the following centuries or vanished relatively shortly after its first occurrence, such as *wretchness*.
Forgettingness (1387) and *forgetfulness* (1398) would also seem to be competing synonymous formations, but they are not. The *OED* gives the following interpretations:

Forgettingness: 'forgetfulness'[12] (OED)
Forgetfulness: 'the condition of forgetting or losing recollection of everything' (OED)

The sense of being apt to forget appeared in 1477, which might suggest the previous form (*forgettingness*) gave way to *forgetfulness*.

5.1.6 Summary

In conclusion of the analyses conducted above, we can make the following preliminary conclusions:

- The number of types discovered with *-ness* increased in time, which implies its rising productivity.
- Deadjectival formations were the most common and the results indicate a continuing, increasing tendency in their prevalence.
- There is a complete absence of deverbal coinages in the latter period, the productivity of this pattern elicits a decreasing tendency in time, as expected.
- Denominal derivatives appeared in the results meagrely, however, nearly all of them are obsolete in PDE.

[12] The entry's explanation refers to PDE understanding of *forgetfulness*, i.e. the quality of being forgetful

- In terms of syllabic structure, the tendency is relatively stable, though the latter period slightly inclines towards monosyllabic bases.
- The period of 1200–1299 registered a high quantity of hapaxes (30%), which chiefly comprise a base of disyllabic structure (64%). In the following period, the number of hapaxes decreased to 8%.
- The semantic analysis showed that the clear majority of items belong to the semantic category of quality. The meaning of action noun, object, or result mostly appeared with deverbal bases (*birewness, knowness*) or denominal ones (*wonderness*). The scarcity of denominal and deverbal derivatives correlates with the poor representation of these semantic categories – there were only 5 action nouns and 6 types that fall in the category of object /result.
- There were several doublets identified in the sample of identical meaning (e.g. *bleariness*, whose meaning the *OED* cross references to *bleariness*). The doublets appear to be a consequence of the non-standardised, fragmented language of that time.

5.2 Suffix –head / –hood

5.2.1 Derivational morphology

5.2.1.1 Both -*head* and -*hood* originate from the Old English *hād* or *hǣd,* which formed masculine abstract nouns (Quirk and Wrenn, 1960: 116). The approach to the derivational status of OE -*hād* is not uniform and there are two opposing views. The first regards -*hād* as a second element of a compound, thus its status would be similar to -*dom*, which was originally an independent word as well. The other view considers -*hād* as a suffix. A bridge between the two is the possible classification mentioned in 2.5.1, which perceives such items as suffixoids. Despite this difference of opinion, the meaning of -*hād* is state, rank, order, condition, character, either as an independent word or a suffix (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 386). The semantic aspect will be discussed later in detail (5.2.3). The *OED* treats -*head* / -*hood* as suffixes. We adopt this understanding and consider them suffixes too.

The behaviour of -*head* and -*hood* in terms of word-formation is not the same, despite their closeness. The variant -*hood* formed nouns mostly from other nouns, whereas -*head* coined nouns namely from adjectives (OED). Our results confirm this, as we will see shortly. In PDE, the variant -*hood* is a "living suffix [...] can be affixed at will to almost any word denoting a person or concrete thing, and adjectives [...] to express condition or state" (OED), whereas -*head* formations become very rare after 1650 (OED).

5.2.1.2 The analysis shows that nominal bases are indeed more frequent in formations with -*hood*. This does not apply to -*head* formations, where adjectival bases are the majority. An unanticipated formation, which is concurrently a hapax, emerges in the latter period (1300-1399) and comprises an adverbial base (*firelihead).*

Bases	-*hood*			-*head*		
	Example	Quantity		Example	Quantity	
Adjective	*falsehood*	2	33%	*boldhead*	20	77%
Noun	*maidhood*	4	66%	*godhead*	6	23%

Table 10 - Patterns attested with –*hood* and –*head* in 1200–1299

Bases	-*hood*			-*head*		
	Example	Quantity		Example	Quantity	
Adjective	*micklehood*	3	25%	*deafhead*	66	73%
Noun	*deaconhood*	9	75%	*lordhead*	24	26%
Adverb	-	-	-	*firelihead*	1	1%

Table 11 - Patterns attested with –*hood* and –*head* in 1300–1399

We can immediately notice that -*hood* formations show a preference for nominal bases and from the total of 18 -*hood* formations, 13 have a nominal base (72%). The suffix variant -*head* certainly favours adjectival bases (86 out of 117, i.e. 74%).

Contrasting the proportion of the two suffix variants, there are 91 types with an adjectival base and 86 of these are formed with -*head* (95%). Out of the 43 denominal derivatives, -*head* appears in 30 types (70%).

The above suggests that -*head* was the preferred variant (87 % of all coinages) and derived nouns mainly from adjectives. Even though -*hood* occurs rarely (13% of all types of both periods), it clearly favours nominal bases to adjectival.

Certain items were added to both variants, namely *thrallhood / thrallhead, chapmanhood / chapmanhead, borrowhead / borrowhood*. The *OED* entries for those items are rather outdated ranging from 1887–1912 and there is one dictionary entry for both forms (*thrallhead* | *thrallhood*). The quotations also range in form – *þralhede*, *þralhod,* which suggest an intense competition of the two variants. For the lack of clarity, those types were figured in the data of both -*head* and -*hood.*

5.2.1.3 Throughout the samples, we can find items with identical bases and appearing both with -*head* and -*hood*. The semantic characteristic of these items was analysed through the *OED* and consequently three types of situations occur:

Firstly, it is the case mentioned above. Items like *chapmanhood* and *chapmanhead* have one dictionary entry in the *OED*. Those cases are marked in grey colour in the table 12.

Secondly, there are two items with separate dictionary entries, where the senses greatly overlap: *kinghood, kinghead* – 'position of a king'. In such case the two variants can be used interchangeably (*manhood/head, micklehood/head, sisterhood/head*). *Onehood/head* falls into this category as well, however, *onehead* developed additional meanings in which *onehood* could not substitute it. The earlier formation is highlighted in yellow colour, the later in red for easier orientation in the table.

Finally, two items have their own separate entries, but they are not synonymous, as can be illustrated by *fatherhead* ('the condition of being a father, parent') and *fatherhood* ('title of respect in church' – *your fatherhood*), where the use differs. Again, the yellow and red colour indicate the earlier and later coinage, respectively.

-hood variant	First record	*-head* variant	First record
blindhood †	1340	*blindhead* †	1340
borrowhood †	1380	*borrowhead* †	1380
chapmanhood †	1386	*chapmanhead* †	1386
fatherhood †	1393	*fatherhead* †	1384
heathenhood †	1275	*heathenhead* †	1325
kinghood	1375	*kinghead* †	1393
manhood	1225	*manhead*	1230
micklehood †	before 1400	*micklehead* †	circa 1300
onehood	1225	*onehead* †	1340
sisterhood	1390	*sisterhead* †	1390
thrallhood †	1297	*thrallhead* †	1297

Table 12 - Bases found both with –*hood* and –*head* suffix between 1200–1399

Interestingly, the -*hood* formation predates the -*head* alternative in nearly all pairs (67%). It appears to be related to the word class of the base: *heathen, king, man* are all nouns; and as stated above, -*hood* variant appeared more often with nominal bases. Further, it is mostly the -*hood* formation that survived (36% of all coinages) and are not considered obsolete by the *OED,* as opposed to -*head* types, where only 9% (1 type) is still current. Nevertheless, the amount of evidence is insufficient for any conclusions to be drawn safely.

5.2.2 Frequency

5.2.2.1 Analogously to the results of -*ness*, items with a unique occurrence quotation are present in the -*head* and -*hood* samples. Hapaxes can be found in both periods and both the *OED* and *MED* were used again for their identification. Due to their quantity, a table with their respective amount is provided. The number of hapaxes is given for each base type, accompanied with the information on proportion by contrasting them against the whole samples:

	1200–1299		1300–1399	
Base	-hood	-head	-hood	-head
Adjective	-	4 (21.5%)	2 (100%)	21 (32.3%)
Noun	1 (33.3%)	-	1 (16.6%)	3 (13.6%)
Adverb	-	-	-	1 (100%)

Table 13 - Proportion of hapaxes with –*head* or –*hood* both in 1200–1299 and 1300–1399

Unfortunately, the scarcity of -*hood* formations make it virtually impossible to make any conclusions. In contrast, the coinages with -*head* are numerous and the ratio of hapaxes increases over time. The whole samples as well as the hapaxes are also studied in terms of their base structure and semantic aspects. The presence of hapaxes can be a result of coincidental innovation or they may be an indication of increasing productivity. The subsequent analysis should shed some more light on the possible causes of the increment of hapaxes.

5.2.3 A structural perspective

5.2.3.1 Considering the base structure of the whole samples, we find mono- and disyllabic bases in both periods. Their distribution is balanced, especially in the latter one:

Bases	1200–1299		1300–1399	
	-hood	*-head*	*-hood*	*-head*
Monosyllabic	5 (83%)	17 (65%)	5 (42%)	49 (52%)
Disyllabic	1 (17%)	9 (35%)	7 (58%)	45 (48%)
Polysyllabic	-	-	-	-

Table 14 - Analysis of base structure of –*head* and –*hood* formations

The analysis shows that there is an increased presence of disyllabic bases in the latter period and this applies to both -*head* and -*hood* formations, where the increment is especially obvious in the data for -*hood*. Before we contrast the variants, the asymmetry in the samples' representation must be emphasised. The number of -*hood* formations in

our samples is slight, as opposed to the data available for *-head*. Nonetheless, there appears to be no significant difference between the distribution and both variants show a preference for monosyllabic bases in the first period and an increase of disyllabic in the subsequent period. The shift in preference for disyllabic bases is likely due to the increased productivity.

5.2.3.2 Focusing on the base structure of the hapaxes, it is (again) not feasible to comment on the behaviour of *-hood* formations as their rare occurrence impedes their analysis. The data available is insufficient (18 types in total for both periods), which would render any possible observations unreliable and potentially erroneous. However, turning the attention to *-head* formations, it appears that monosyllabic formations with *-head* of the 1200-1299 period elicit a greater stability as hapaxes form only 12% of the whole sample. However, this stability may not signalise an increase in productivity. Nevertheless, in the subsequent period this amount increases to 27%. Disyllabic *-head* formations of the latter period show a similar tendency (29%), although the increase is minor.

Base	1200–1299 (*-head*)	1300–1399 (*-head*)
Monosyllabic	2 (12%)	13 (27%)
Disyllabic	2 (22%)	13 (29%)

Table 15 - Analysis base structure of hapaxes with *-head / -hood* contrasted to their whole respective samples.

5.2.4 Semantic characterisation

5.2.4.1 The common origin of the variants *-head* and *-hood* also entails their semantic closeness. Their ancestor *hād,* now obsolete, denoted (OED): person, sex, order (rank, degree, holy orders), state, condition, quality, kind (the last four are understood as **quality**).

The same semantic categories appear in our samples, some represented more than others, as listed in table 16 below. Furthermore, the current meaning *status of* (state) can refer to human life in general: *manhood* (state of being human), *widowhead* (civil state), *sisterhead* (collective), *younghead* (life period, temporal aspect). With

adjectival derivatives, the sense 'state of being or instance of' can appear (Marchand, 1960: 233)

5.2.4.2 Examining the samples for their semantic aspects, it is evident that the category of quality is represented the most in both periods. There are, however, apparent developments. The sense of a collective as well as of a rank appear in the latter period only. The bases of these formations are all nominal and refer to persons: *woman, sister, brother, king, knight, lady* or *lord*. The temporal aspect partly overlaps with other categories, especially quality (*youthhead* – 'state of youth') (OED). Clearly, the semantic categories of collective, temporal aspect and rank are peripheral. Their appearance, however, may be a sign of increased productivity of the suffix (in both its variants) – similarly to what we have discussed in the chapter 5.2.3, where the indicator could be the increase of hapaxes with a disyllabic base.

Bases	1200–1299		1300–1399	
	-hood	-head	-hood	-head
Rank	-	-	3	4
Example	-	-	*deaconhood*	*kinghead*
Quality	5	24	7	82
Example	*manhood*	*dryhead*	*christhood*	*madhead*
Collective	-	-	2	2
Example	-	-	*sisterhood*	*womanhead*
Temporal	1	2	-	3
Example	*maidhood*	*youthhead*	-	*childhead*

Table 16 - Semantic analysis of *–head* and *–hood* formations

5.2.4.3 The pervasive semantic category of quality is represented in the semantic analysis of the hapaxes as well. More interestingly, the results do not reflect the categories as given in table 16, since all hapaxes from the two periods denote a quality. To illustrate: *toomhead* ('emptiness'), *deafhead* ('deafness'), *goodfulhead* ('goodness'), *mosthead* ('supreme greatness'), *heathenhood* ('heathendom') etc. Considering the counterparts to the examples listed above, a conspicuous reality comes forward – the equivalents comprise a suffix that functionally competes with *-head.* In other words, the

bases combine with distinct suffixes of similar function and meaning. Deadjectival and denominal derivatives with the sense of quality could be formed also with *-ness*, which was discussed earlier (5.1), or other suffixes like *-ship* (5.3) or *-dom* (5.4). The competition of suffixes occurring within our data is treated in chapter 5.5.

5.2.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have analysed the data of *-head* and *-hood* coinages and the results have shown that:

- Formations with *-head* form the majority in both examined periods. One of the reasons may be the high quantity of adjectival bases. As mentioned in 5.2.1.1, the word formation pattern for *-head* and *-hood* was dissimilar and *-head* shows a preference for adjectival bases, as opposed to *-hood* that is more inclined to form denominal derivatives.
- Certain bases appeared across the *-head* and *-hood* samples and three types of situations were identified. First, the two types share one dictionary entry as there seems to have been a considerable competition between them. Also, the outdatedness of the actual dictionary entry may be a contributing factor. Second, the variants could be used interchangeably (*kinghood, kinghead*). The third scenario concerns items where the variants have a distinctive function (*fatherhood, fatherhead*).
- There were more types found in the latter period, which suggests the productivity of both variants increased, though *-hood* formations were still represented slightly, especially when contrasted to the data of *-head*.
- The syllabic structure of the bases shifted from monosyllabic to disyllabic in time as there is a prominent presence of disyllabic bases in the latter period. This tendency pertains to both variants and would seem to be a sign of increasing productivity.
- The semantic category of quality is the most frequent, the meanings of rank or collectiveness begin to appear in the latter period, which implies the productivity of the variants increases and their semantic range expands.

- In contrast to other suffixes we analyse, this suffix is the only one where hapaxes increase in time. As we have mentioned earlier in this chapter, the presence of hapaxes can signalise increasing productivity, which correlates with the increment of types as well as the emergence of additional semantic categories in the latter period.
- All identified hapaxes denote quality and there seems to be a competition between the *-head* and *-hood* coinages and alternative formations that either shared the same base but featured a rival suffix (*deafhead – deafness*) or used the rival suffix only with a different base (*toomhead – emptiness*).

5.3 Suffix –ship

5.3.1 Derivational morphology

5.3.1.1 Another noun-forming suffix is *-ship* (*-scipe*). In Old English, this very productive suffix coined masculine abstract nouns chiefly from other nouns (*bodscipe* – 'message') but also adjectives (*dearfscipe* – 'boldness'[13]) (Quirk and Wrenn, 1960: 114). Deadjectival coinages "were numerous in Old English, but few have a history extending beyond the 15th century" (OED).

5.3.1.2 In general, the 1300-1399 period has a greater number of types, which is subsequently reflected in the samples – for instance the suffix *-ness* had 46 types in the period 1200-1299 and in the following one their number tripled (135 types). In other words, their amount increases in time. Interestingly, this is not true for *-ship*.

Following the same procedure as with the previous suffixes, the analysis of the results from the 1200-1299 sample confirmed that *-ship* derives nouns from other nouns and adjectives. The adjectival bases are favoured (24 out of 34 items):

[13] Examples are taken from Kastovky in Hogg, 1992: 335

Base	Example	Quantity	
Noun	*fellowship*	10	29%
Adjective	*falseship*	24	71%

Table 17 - Patterns attested with –*ship* in 1200–1299

As has just been mentioned, the first period had 34 types, whereas there are only 18 types in the period of 1300-1399. The decrease is nearly 50%, which implies a decline in productivity that was mentioned above in 5.3.1.1. This reality manifests itself also in the analysis of competition, discussed in 5.5.

Base	Example	Quantity	
Noun	*kingship*	6	33%
Adjective	*kindship*	12	67%

Table 18 - Patterns attested with –*ship* in 1300–1399

Despite the decrease, the tendency in terms of the base word class is similar and adjectival bases are favoured, thus there is no indication of a shift in preference in time. Although the deadjectival derivatives slightly decline in time, it is necessary to emphasize the relative smallness of the samples (34 and 18 types).

Base	1200–1299	1300–1399
Noun	29 %	33 %
Adjective	71 %	67 %

Table 19 - Contrasting the patterns attested with –*ship* in 1200-1299 and 1300-1399

5.3.2 Frequency

5.3.2.1 The analysis of quotations attested with the types has shown that there is a strong presence of hapaxes in our -*ship* data. In the first period, the hapaxes form 44% of all items, however, in the following period the proportion decreases to 28%. Considering this fact in the context of the whole samples, the period 1200-1299 attested more types, but nearly a half of them were hapaxes. In the latter period, fewer types were discovered but the proportion of hapaxes decreases. As we have seen in the analyses of the previous suffixes (-*ness*, -*head* / -*hood*), the presence of hapaxes implies

an increasing productivity. However, in the case of -*ship* the hapaxes seem to indicate the struggle of the items to anchor in language. Moreover, the lack of textual evidence must be taken into consideration in such cases, as it may be possible that some types are simply undocumented.

Considering the hapaxes from the perspective of derivational morphology, it is evident that deadjectival formations are prevalent:

1200–1299		1300–1399	
Example	Meaning	Example	Meaning
arghship (ADJ) †	Cowardice	*cunningship* (ADJ) †	Knowledge
*aughtship (*ADJ) †	Valour	*lateship* (ADJ) †	Slowness
cleanship (ADJ) †	Cleanness	*rotship* (N) †	Rottenness
clerkship (N) †	Clergy	*slyship* (ADJ) †	Cleverness
deepship (ADJ) †	Depth	*steadfastship* (ADJ) †	Steadfastness
derfship (ADJ) †	Audacity		
fastship (ADJ) †	Tight grip		
lowship (ADJ) †	Humility		
mixship (N) †	Wickedness		
quickship (ADJ) †	Quickness		
sharpship (ADJ) †	Hardship		
swiftship (ADJ) †	Swiftness		
unmetheship (N) †	Intemperance		
wildship (ADJ) †	Wildness		

Table 20 - Hapaxes of the 1200–1299 and 1300–1399 periods with –*ship*

In terms of the patterns, there were 24 deadjectival derivatives in total in the period 1200-1299 and 46% of those items are hapaxes. This proportion is lesser in case of nominal bases (33%). The following period shows an overall decrease, for adjectival bases it is 36%, for nominal bases 17%. The decline in the number of hapaxes correlates with the overall decrease of types attested with -*ship* in our samples, and both tendencies suggest a decreasing productivity.

5.3.3 A structural perspective

5.3.3.1 The results reveal that the suffix *-ship* obviously favoured monosyllabic bases in both periods. Moreover, the proportions in the two samples are remarkably similar:

Bases	1200–1299		1300–1399	
	Quantity	Example	Quantity	Example
Monosyllabic	26 (76%)	*hardship*	13 (72%)	*kindship*
Disyllabic	6 (18%)	*ladyship*	4 (22%)	*workmanship*
Polysyllabic	2 (6%)	*housewifeship*	1 (6%)	*rechelesship*

Table 21 - Analysis of base structure of –*ship* formations

In the previous analyses dedicated to *-ness* (5.1) and *-head* / *-hood* (5.2), it was established that *-ness* shows an increasing preference for monosyllabic bases, to the detriment of disyllabic. The suffix *-head* / *-hood* elicits a contrasting behaviour and in time becomes more inclined to favour disyllabic bases. The results for *-ship*, however, show a noteworthy continuousness of preference.

5.3.3.2 The analysis of the base structure of hapaxes shows very heterogenous proportions:

- Hapaxes (1200–1299): 93% monosyllabic, 7% polysyllabic.
- Hapaxes (1300–1399): 40% monosyllabic, 60% disyllabic

Most hapaxes in the first period had a monosyllabic base and they present 50% of all formations with a monosyllabic base of this period (26 types). The same applies to polysyllabic coinages, however, their overall representation within the sample is truly minor (2 types in total) and for this reason it is not feasible to draw conclusions unquestionably.

The results suggest that formations with monosyllabic bases became more stable in time and continue in productivity, as seen in table 21. The number of types with a disyllabic base is relatively small (4 types in the latter period) and it is thus not feasible to reliably comment on the hapaxes with a disyllabic base in relation to the remaining types of this structure.

5.3.4 Semantic characterisation

5.3.4.1 In Old English, -*ship* created coinages with the meaning of state, act or condition (*unwærscipe* – 'carelessness') (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 388). In the course of time, this semantic aspect remains unchanged and continues appearing frequently, for example: *wholeship* ('wholeness'), *thralship* ('thraldom'), *keenship* ('keenness'), *quickship* ('quickness'), *highship* ('highness'), *greenship* ('greenness'), *rechelesship* ('recklessness'), *hendship* ('kindness').

Additional semantic categories mentioned by Marchand can be recognised in our samples as well, depending on the character of the base (1960: 281-282). These categories can be traced back to Old English (OED)

- Rank: *kingship, ladyship,*
- Land, territory*: lairdship*
- Status responsibilities: *housewifeship*
- Collectiveness: *shotship, clerkship*

The examples listed within rank could also be used to respectfully address a person by using a possessive pronoun, e.g. *your ladyship*. In PDE, such formation would be perceived as mockery, implying conceited demeanour of the referent (Marchand, 1960: 282).

Nowadays, there are also formations with -*ship* that denote a profession, where a strong connotation of skill is common (*marksmanship*) (Marchand, 1960: 282). *Workmanship*, which is from our data, would be a representative of this group, but this particular meaning of skill is attested in 1412.

In the chapter 4, the senses of condition, state or quality have been unified under one superordinate term **quality**. The table 22 below shows that this semantic category is (again) the most frequent:

Category	1200–1299		1300–1399	
	Quantity	Example	Quantity	Example
Quality	29	*cleanship*	14	*lateship*
Rank	1	*ladyship*	1	*kingship*
Land, territory	-	-	1	*lairdship*
Status respon.	1	*housewifeship*	1	*neighbourship*
Collectiveness	3	*clerkship*	-	-

Table 22 - Semantic analysis of –*ship* formations

The overlapping categories and occasional ambiguity have already been mentioned in the chapter 5.1.4 dedicated to *-ness* formations, where we discussed the difficulties of categorisation of *acknowledgement*. Naturally, it pertains to *-ship* formations as well. Consider *neighbourship* for instance, which is defined by OED as: "neighbourliness, neighbourly relations [..] frequently with a modifying word as *bad, ill* etc., [...] also neighbourly acts". The definition implies that there is certain behaviour expected, which can refer to responsibilities as well. On the other hand, 'neighbourliness' denotes the condition or fact of being neighbourly, which might place *neighbourship* in the category of quality. With respect to the information provided in OED[14], where the sense of 'neighbourliness' is attested prior to the meaning of 'state of being a neighbour', the item was semantically identified as expressing status responsibility.

5.3.4.2 Examining the hapaxes for their meaning, it is evident that they belong mostly to the semantic category of quality (except for *clerkship*) and they are chiefly deadjectival formations. As can be seen in the table 20, the explanation provided by *OED* is frequently a synonym with an identical base, which is a phenomenon we have already encountered in the chapter 5.2 and which we treat in more detail in the chapter 5.5. The similarity between the item and its equivalent is not restricted to hapaxes only, but concerns other items from our sample as well, for illustration (OED):

Cleanship: = 'cleanness'

[14] The meaning of "state of being a neighbour" appeared by the end of the 15th century (OED)

Quickship: = 'quickness'

Swiftship: = 'swiftness'

Thralship: = 'thraldom'

5.3.5 Summary

To review and summarise the analyses of this chapter, the key observations pertaining to -*ship* are as follows:

- The number of types discovered declines in time (34 and 18), which suggests a decreasing productivity of -*ship*. It is the only suffix in this work that has less types attested in the latter period.
- There is a strong and persisting preference for adjectival bases that is consistent in time (71% and 67% in the respective periods).
- In terms of base structure, -*ship* evidently favours monosyllabic bases and this inclination is steady in time. Monosyllabic bases present over 70% of the results in both periods.
- The number of hapaxes is rather high in the first period (44%) but decreases in the following period (28%). Most of the hapaxes are deadjectival derivatives denoting mostly quality (condition or state). It was mentioned already that hapaxes may signalise increase in productivity, yet in this case their presence would more likely suggest its decline, especially when the results of the other analyses (e.g. decrease in types attested) are considered.
- In terms of the structure, majority of hapaxes in the 1200–1299 period contain a monosyllabic base (91%), though in the latter period this number lowers (40%).
- Semantically, the category of quality is once again the most frequent and additional semantic categories were recognised: collectiveness, rank, status responsibility. The sense of collectiveness was common in Old English formations (Marchand, 1960: 282), but it is rare in our data. This appears to be related to the slight presence of nominal bases in our samples as collectiveness is tied to nouns (OED).

5.4 The suffix –dom

5.4.1 Analysis

This chapter is structured differently to the preceding ones. The number of types discovered in both periods is small: 7 types in total. For this reason, all analytic perspectives are treated in this one subchapter. Furthermore, due to the poor representation of *-dom* coinages in both our samples, an additional search was performed in the *OED* to establish the productivity of *-dom* in the subsequent period. Even though it is out of the scope of this research, the lack of data demanded an additional inspection.

As mentioned briefly earlier in the chapter 2.5, the suffix *-dom* originates from a standalone noun *dōm* ('judgement'). The suffix *-dom* forms abstract nouns from other nouns (OE *biscopdóm*) and adjectives (OE *fréodóm*). Deverbal derivatives are rare (Marchand, 1960: 207).

Unfortunately, the coinages with *-dom* in our samples are scarce. In the first period, only *wretchdom* (denominal) and *falsedom* (deadjectival) were found. In the following period, the total of 5 items were discovered, four denominal derivatives (*churldom, sherrifdom, shrewdom, willerdom*) and one deverbal derivate (*theedom*). We verified whether the productivity of *-dom* changes later, in the 15th century. There were 8 types found in the 15th century, which suggests its productivity is still modest. They are included in the table below for reference (in grey colour):

Base	1200–1299	1300–1399	1400–1499
Adjective	1 (*falsedom*)	-	1 (*sweerdom*)
Noun	1 (*wretchdom*)	4 (*shrewdom*)	7 (*thanedom*)
Verb	-	1 (*theedom*)	-

Table 23 - Patterns attested with *-dom* in 1200–1299, 1300–1399 and 1400–1499

Although the size of the samples is insufficient to form any conclusions, the results suggest *-dom* favours nominal bases to adjectival or verbal. Verbal bases are

generally very rare in our data. Except for *theedom*, there were only 4 other deverbal items, all of which are with *-ness*.

Hapaxes are present in the samples from the 1300-1399 and 1400-1499 periods and all of them are denominal (*shrewdom, churldom, Christdom*), the exception is deadjectival *sweerdom*.

In terms of the structure of the base, the two coinages of the 1200-1299 period are both monosyllabic. Despite that the following period contains also disyllabic items (40% of the results), the data from 15th century confirms that monosyllabic bases are favoured (86%).

The above implies that *-dom* would prefer monosyllabic bases and coin nouns mainly from other nouns. To verify this supposition, however, larger samples are required. The development of *-dom* resembles that of *-ship*, which also derived nouns predominantly from monosyllabic bases, though adjectival. In other words, monosyllabic nominal bases are frequent in the sample of *-ship*, whereas *-dom* prefers monosyllabic adjectival bases.

In Old English, the formations with *-dom* had the meaning of: state, condition, fact of being (all of which we united under the term **quality**). As can be seen below, this sense continues appearing (OED):

- *Wretchdom* (1225) – 'misery', 'distress', 'baseness' => quality
- *Falsedom* (1297) – 'treachery', 'untruth', 'a falsehood' => quality
- *Churldom* (1386) – 'the state of being a churl' => quality
- *Sherrifdom* (1385) – 'a territory under the jurisdiction of a sheriff' => territory
- *Shrewdom* (1300+) – 'wickedness' => quality
- *Theedom* (1362) – 'thriving, prosperity' => quality
- *Willerdom* (1380) – 'wilfulness' => quality
- *Brethrendom* (1481) – 'brotherhood' => collectiveness

- *Christdom* (a1483) – 'countries professing Christianity, collectively; Christian domain' => territory
- *Dukedom* (1460) – 'territory ruled by a duke' => territory
- *Makdom* (1488) – 'comeliness' => quality
- *Sweerdom* (c1480) – 'laziness' => quality
- *Thanedom* (c1425) – 'domain of a Scottish thane' => territory
- *Thirldom*[15] (1489) – 'thraldom' => quality
- *Thrildom* (c1480) – 'thraldom' => quality

In Middle English, the suffix developed semantically, and the sense of collectiveness or territory manifest themselves (Marchand, 1960: 205), as indicated by *sheriffdom* that was discovered in our sample from the period 1300-1399. The occurrence of the semantic categories of territory and quality strengthens in the 15th century.

Despite that the representation of *-dom* types is minor, there are certain observations that can be made, in summary of the analyses above:

- The productivity of *-dom* is minimal, especially compared to suffixes like *-ness*. Nonetheless, there is a preference for nominal bases that seems to increase in time. Deverbal and deadjectival derivatives are unique. This is a considerable difference to *-ness*, *-head* and *-ship*, where deadjectival derivatives were predominant. A parallel, however, can be found in the development of *-hood*, which also shows an increasing preference for nominal bases.
- Similarly to *-ship*, the bases in *-dom* formations are predominantly monosyllabic.
- The semantic senses represented are quality, collectiveness and territory, where the meaning of territory appears more often in the latter periods.
- As there are only a few hapaxes, it is not possible to establish any regularities, however their disappearance from language is likely due to

[15] Metathetic variant of thrildom (OED)

alternative, synonymous expressions that remained in language and that are coined by a competing suffix and a different base (e.g. *sweerdom* – 'laziness', *shrewdom* – 'wickedness')

As could be noticed throughout the analyses of all the examined suffixes, very often a base appeared with more than one of the set, yet both coinages were synonymous. Having analysed and explained the four suffixes individually, the items that combine with several bases will be discussed in further detail.

5.5 Competition of examined suffixes

The analysis performed on the samples has revealed an interesting phenomenon inviting further investigation. The data samples of the suffixes *-ness, -head/ -hood, -ship* and *-dom* contain formations where bases have multiple membership as to suffixes, in other words, one base can be found with different suffixes. For the purposes of this chapter, those bases are termed 'shared bases'.

There were 28 bases of this kind discovered within the two samples and they are listed in the table 24 below. These 28 bases present 8% of all bases analysed in this work. In order to achieve complete reference for these bases, the *OED* was searched for all potential combinations of these shared bases and the examined suffixes so that also formations that are out of our research scope (1200-1399) are included in the table 24. Some of these formations were first attested either earlier than in our examined periods (*fairness* – present in OE) or afterwards (*ladydom* – attested in 1553). The obsoleteness of a formation is again indicated by the cross symbol and this status was taken over from the *OED*. The information on the competition in time as well as survivability should help us detect any tendencies.

In the table 24 that follows, colours represent the timeline – green colour identifies the earliest formation; red colour marks coinages formed later; blue colour signalises that there are two types with identical date of origin and it is not possible to determine which formation was the first; yellow marks formations that were coined before 1200.

BASE	*-dom*	*-hood / -head*	*-ness*	*-ship*
argh (Adj)		c1350 †		c1275 †
blessed (Adj)		a1300 †	a1400	
bold (Adj)		a1250 †	1330 †	c1275 †
churl (N)	c1386 †	1382 †	a1500 †	
cunning (Adj)			a1400 †	a1400 †
dern (Adj*)*		a1400 †		c1225 †
devil (N)		c1300 †	a1400 †	lOE
fair (Adj)		a1300 †	OE	c1300 †
false (Adj)	1297 †	1297†	1303	1230†
high (Adj)		c1300 †	OE	c1225 †
idle (Adj)		a1325 †	c825	a 1250 †
kind (Adj)		c1300 †	c1300	a1393 †
lady (N)	1553 †	a1393 †	1671	c1225
mad (Adj)		a1400 †	c1384	c1225 †
mild (Adj)		c1300 †	OE	c1225 †
quede (Adj)		1340 †		c1225 †
rot (N)			a1400	a1400 †
shrew (N)	c1330 †	c1219 †		
shrewd (Adj)			c1315 †	c1400 †
sly (Adj)			1357	c1320 †
stalworth (Adj)		1297 †	a1340	
swift (Adj)		1340 †	c888	c1225 †
thrall (N)	c1275	1297 †		c1200 †
true (Adj)		c1325 †	lOE	a1225 †
wild (Adj)		1421 †	c1374	c1275 †
wise (Adj)	OE	1340 †	c1320	
wretch (Adj)	1225 †		1330 †	
wretched (Adj)	1320 †	a1300 †	1340	

Table 24 – Shared bases and their respective formations

In the following analysis, we look for features common to the bases above to identify the possible reason for the competition – in other words, what are the possible determinants for the multiple membership.

First of all, the competition evidently occurred mainly between the suffixes *-head* / *-hood* (23 types – 82%), *-ness* (23 types – 82%) and *-ship* (21 types – 75%). Formations with *-dom* are present in 8 cases out of 28 (29%), where two types (*wisdom*, *ladydom*) were coined outside of the time periods examined (1200-1299; 1300-1399). We have already established in chapter 5.4 that both periods contain a very small amount of *-dom* coinages, thus the slight representation of *-dom* types in the table is not surprising.

Regarding the common bases from the morphological perspective, the competition clearly involves mostly adjectival bases (79%) despite that all four suffixes could form both denominal and deadjectival formations. There is a notable parallel in the analyses performed in the preceding chapter, where the significant recurrence of adjectival bases was detailed. The common bases are chiefly simple in structure -i.e. the bases are roots (82%), the exceptions are: *wretched-, cunning-, blessed-, shrewd-* (participial adjectives) and *stalworth-* (compound of OE origin).

Considering the obsoleteness of the individual formations coined between 1200-1400, it can be stated that virtually all *-ship* coinages are obsolete (95%), the only exception is *ladyship*. Similar observation pertains to *-dom* and *-hood/-head*, where the proportion is 86% and 83%, respectively. Coinages with *-ness*, however, show the opposite trend and 33% only are labelled obsolete, which indicates that these formations anchored in the language successfully and survived to later periods.

In terms of structure, the bases are mostly monosyllabic (69%). We have already discussed that suffixes in monosyllabic bases are unstressed. Consequently, they are more susceptible to loss. The strong presence of monosyllabic bases would imply that the phonological aspect might be a potential factor contributing to the competition.

In the previous analyses, the semantic sense of **quality** (i.e. state, condition, quality) was identified as the most frequent and was recognised principally in deadjectival formations. Identical observation applies to coinages with common bases. Let us consider *false-*[16] for example, which combines with all the suffixes:

- *Falsedom* (1297): 'treachery, untruth, a falsehood'
- *Falsehead*, *falsehood* (1297): 'falseness, deceitfulness (attribute of people)'
- *Falseness* (1303): 'the quality of being false, falsehood, unreality'
- *Falseship* (1230): 'the quality of being false, dishonesty, deceit'

Note the cross-reference used by OED to explain the lexemes: *falsedom* is defined as *falsehood*, which in turn redirects to *falseness* 'the quality of being false'.

All the types from table 24 were examined analogously to *false-* in order to evaluate the degree of synonymity. The analysis revealed that the variants are semantically interchangeable with the following exceptions which do not appear to represent synonyms:

- Kind-
    - *kindhead* (c1300) – 'affection due to kinship'
    - *kindness* (c1300), kindship (a1393) – 'kind nature, being kind'
- Cunning-
    - *cunningness* (a1400) – 'knowingness, cleverness'
    - *cunningship* (a1400) – 'knowledge'
- Wise-
    - *wisdom* (OE) – 'knowledge, quality of being wise'
    - *wisehede* (1340) - 'wisdom'
    - *wiseness*[17] (c1320) – 'quality of being wise, sometimes ironical'
- Churl-
    - *churldom* (c1386), churlhood (1382) – 'state of being a churl'

[16] The semantic definitions of all types are taken from OED

[17] There is an apparent connection with compound *wisehead* 'one who has a wise head, always ironical sense' (OED)

- *churlness* (a1500) – 'churlishness, rudeness, roughness'[18]

The variants are based on the same adjective and naturally they are semantically related. The variants with -*ness* denote a quality, whereas the other suffixes form items of different meaning – abstract state noun (*kindhead, cunningship, wisehede*) or rank (*churldom, churlhood*).

Most of the variants were coined relatively close to one another, however, some had been existent already in Old English such as *fairness*. The quotations of *fairness* in the *OED* suggest continuous usage over time. Nonetheless, new, synonymous coinages with a competing suffix emerged:

- *Fairhead*: 'beauty, attractiveness'
- *Fairness*: 'beauty, attractiveness'
- *Fairship*: 'beauty, splendour'

From the total of 28 common bases, 8 of them were already present in English before the 10th century (27.6%). In addition, if some of the coinages were documented before the examined periods, they were mostly (21%) -*ness* formations (*highness, mildness, trueness…*). The only exceptions are *wisdom* (3%) and *devilship* (3%).

Following the timeline further, it is evident that -*ship* formations predate the rivalling ones in most cases. Approximately a third of the items were first attested with -*ship* which seems to parallel the development of -*ship* productivity in time mentioned in chapter 5.3. It is likely that -*ship* formations were being suppressed and substituted by coinages with a competing suffix.

Regarding the types from the opposite end of the timeline, it is not clear which suffix formed the items as the last. Suffixes -*ness* and -*head / hood* show similar results (14 and 10 items, respectively). Nonetheless, the results suggest that -*ship* coinages denoting a quality decrease to the benefit of the competing suffixes.

[18] E.g. behaviour

The suffixes compete for several reasons. They resemble in their derivational behaviour and form nouns chiefly from adjectives or, to a small degree, from other nouns. In addition, they are semantically close as all four suffixes can coin items denoting quality. Furthermore, the language of that time was not standardised, which is another contributing factor.

The data from the table 24 provided at the beginning of this chapter are presented in the form of a graph below. The vertical axis is the timeline and the horizontal axis represents the number of items coined. To contrast the tendencies, the data had to be grouped into four time periods with a time span of 50 years: 1200-1250, 1251-1300, 1301-1350 and 1351-1400. Despite that the evidence available for *-dom* is sparse, it is included in the graph for reference and comparison.

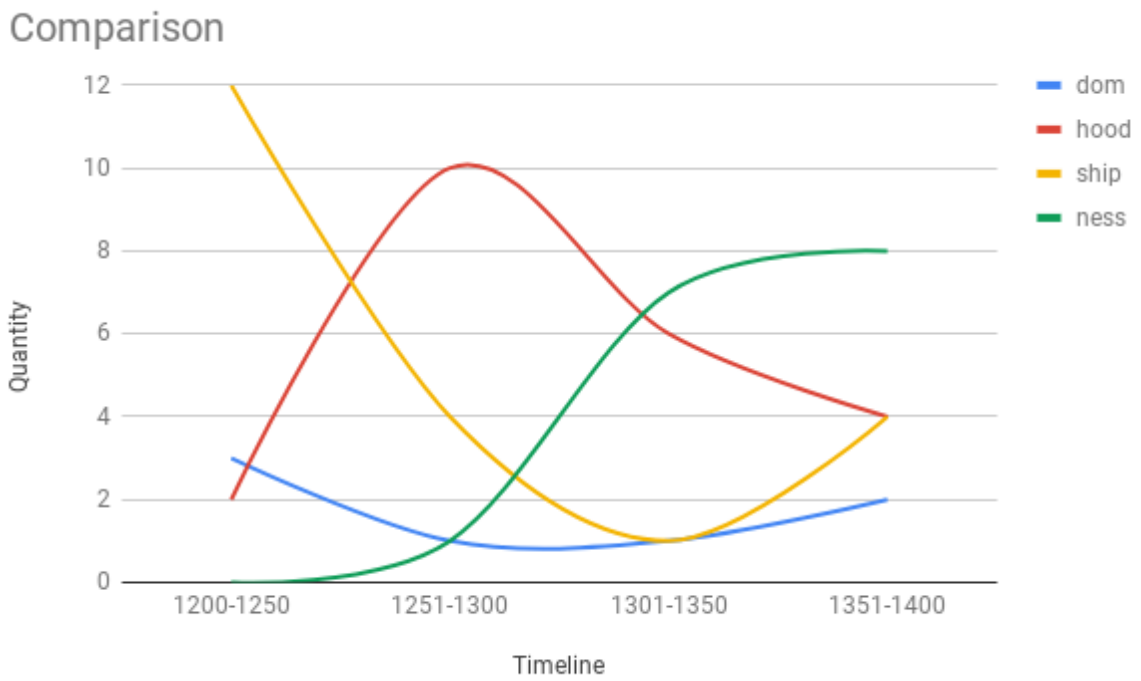

Figure 1 – Common base formations with *-ness, -hood / -head, -ship* and *-dom* in time

The graph above implies that the activity of suffixes came in waves. The suffix *-ship* was more involved at the beginning of the earlier period, *-hood/-head* peaked by the end of 13th century and the suffix *-ness* elicits an increased activity by the end of 14th century. Despite the lack of data for *-dom*, it seems its productivity is slight, yet

steady. Moreover, the fall of *-hood* coincides with the rise of *-ness* and the slight reappearance of *-ship*.

As established, the French language could strengthen the position of a native suffix in certain cases and the graph line of *-ness* appears to evidence this claim. The peak of *-ness* activity occurs in the late 14th century, when English was increasing in prestige. Moreover, most of the *-ness* formations are marked as still in use[19] suggesting that the variant with *-ness* was accepted, whereas the other forms vanished. In most cases only one formation prevailed to the detriment of the alternatives. There are only two shared bases with two variants that endured: *wise* and *lady*. Furthermore, it can be stated that if a base was attested with one of the four suffixes before our examined periods, its competing coinages did not survive to PDE (e.g. *swiftness – swifthead* †*– swiftship*†). An exception to this claim is the pair of *wisdom* and *wiseness*, which are not synonymous. In other words, their semantic dissimilarity appears to be the reason for their continuation to PDE.

In summary of the analysis of shared bases, we can state that the competition occurring in our data involves principally adjectival bases of monosyllabic structure denoting quality. There is an apparent development in time and the respective suffixes show increased activity at different time periods, which seem to reflect the complex sociolinguistic situation, which was explained in detail in the second chapter. The arrival of French led to considerable changes and the influx of new items undermined the already decaying system of affixes. The language suffered from dialectal fragmentation (thus the lack of a standard language), which contributed to the disarranged state of English. This seems to project to our data in the form of the competition of suffixes, that we have just discussed. Most of the coinages in the table 24 were formed relatively shortly after each other, which would correlate with the non-standardised state of the then language.

[19] According to OED, the formations are not marked as archaic or obsolete

6 Conclusion

We have investigated the nominal derivatives formed by suffixation in 13th and 14th century, analysing coinages of English origin. The aim of this work was to observe the productivity of individual suffixes in time, therefore the two periods were analysed separately.

Data for the research was gathered from *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) by using the Advance Search. The data comprised a spectrum of affixes of diverse function, meaning and representation. For this reason, the research scope was narrowed to nouns formed through suffixation by -*ness* (181 types in total for both periods), -*head* (117 types) / -*hood* (18 types), -*ship* (52 types) or -*dom* (7 types). All types attested with these suffixes were examined from the morphological, structural, frequential and semantic perspective. Moreover, some of the types had only one quotation (verified through the *OED* and *MED*) and therefore qualified as hapaxes. The hapaxes were also considered separately and subsequently put in contrast to the complete data, to acquire additional information on the behaviour of the selected suffixes.

We anticipated that suffixation, as a word-formation process, will continue in time, as opposed to prefixation that was retreating. However, we expected the suffixes to develop in their productivity and function (change in productivity of a pattern, semantic shift etc). The data of the four suffixes from the two periods was thus examined from the above-mentioned perspectives to investigate whether the suffix underwent any changes and what the potential changes imply in terms of the productivity of a suffix.

In general, the results show that the productivity of the selected suffixes continued and intensified in most cases. There is a significant increase in coinages attested with -*ness* and -*head*, which were chiefly formed from adjectives. The suffix -*dom* and the variant -*hood* were rather rare, however, their productivity appears to be slight, yet steady, and both show a preference for nominal bases. A surprising development, which goes against the expectation of increased productivity, is the

decline in -*ship* coinages. The first period comprised 34 types, the latter only 18. Nonetheless, -*ship* also favours adjectival bases similarly to -*ness* and -*head*. The results presented prove that the hypothesis is mostly correct – suffixation as a word-formation process is increasingly productive, where the exception to this is -*ship*.

In terms of structure, the suffixes elicit distinct behaviour. The suffix -*ness* forms more items with disyllabic bases in the first period, but the proportion between monosyllabic and disyllabic bases evens out in the following century. The variants -*head* and -*hood* seem to prefer monosyllabic bases in the first period and subsequently slightly incline to disyllabic. Interestingly, -*ship* does not change in time and over 70% of its bases are monosyllabic in both centuries. With respect to the amount of data with -*dom*, it is not possible to determine any tendencies reliably, however, the analysis suggests it also selects monosyllabic bases.

Semantically, the category generally represented the most is quality, which correlates with the significant number of deadjectival derivatives in our data. However, as each suffix has an idiosyncratic nature, there are suffix-specific observations.

The suffix -*ness* is the most productive suffix from our set. The number of types in the 1200-1299 period was 46 types and this amount tripled in the subsequent period. It steadily favours adjectival bases to form items denoting a quality. However, there is a significant difference between the samples of -*ness* of 13th and 14th century. The earlier period contains denominal and deverbal derivatives, which decrease and become absent in the period 1300–1399, respectively. Their scarcity is reflected in the semantic categories, where senses connected with an action (e.g. agent nouns) are to be found rarely. Furthermore, -*ness* is the only suffix (along with -*dom*) that contained deverbal bases in the samples. Majority of the deverbal and denominal types are concurrently hapaxes, which would indicate a retreat of these formations. Hapaxes attested with -*ness* decrease in time from 30% to 8% of the respective samples. The strong presence of hapaxes in the first period is probably due to the structure of the bases. The bases are affixed and, in some cases, the affix (***a****risness*) or the root (*or****rath****ness*) appear to have been obsolete, which probably thwarted the type's survivability.

The variants *-head* / *-hood* are dissimilar in terms of the derivational morphology. The variant *-head* coins new items chiefly from adjectives, whereas *-hood* favours nominal bases. The productivity of both variants appears to have increased in time. In the period of 1200-1299, there are 6 *-hood* types and 26 *-head* types. In the following period, their numbers increase to 12 and 91 types, respectively. In addition, there are cases where the competition of *-head* and *-hood* was apparent, for instance *chapmanhood – chapmanhead*. There are three cases identified: the types share one dictionary entry as synonyms; they have separate entries but are synonymous (*manhood - manhead*); or they have a separate entry and differ in use (*fatherhood – fatherhead*). Examining the semantic aspect of the variants *-head* / *-hood* in time, there are more semantic categories present in the latter period, which seem to coincide with the increased representation of nominal bases. Apart from quality and temporal aspect, we also find ranks and collectives. The extension of semantic categories may be a sign of increasing productivity. Another indicator appears to be the quantity of hapaxes, which, surprisingly, increase in the period 1300-1399. Generally, it is the first period (1200-1299) that comprises more hapaxes, but in the case of *-head* and *-hood*, the number of hapaxes grows in the subsequent period.

The suffix *-ship* is the only suffix that shows signs of decreasing productivity. The decline in types attested was already mentioned. The accompanying sign is a certain rigidity following from the analyses – in both periods, *-ship* favours adjectival bases (71% and 67% in the respective periods) and selects primarily monosyllabic bases (around 70% in both periods). Hapaxes are found also in the data of *-ship*, however, in this case their presence seems to indicate a decline in productivity as the coinages were not able to remain in existence. Same as the suffixes already mentioned, *-ship* also coins items mostly denoting a quality. The additional categories are rather unique, as they comprise 1-3 items, however, it appears that the sense of collectiveness recedes.

The suffix *-dom* is not a very productive suffix, which is evident from the data – 7 types in total for both periods. Nonetheless, *-dom* would seem to prefer monosyllabic bases and would favour nominal to adjectival or verbal. The aspect of quality is also present in the data of *-dom*. The sense of territory becomes more prominent in time.

The analyses revealed that there are 28 bases that appear across samples. The competition concerns namely deadjectival formations and apart from a few exceptions, the coinages are synonymous. There is a conspicuous phenomenon happening in time – the data suggest that the formations were first formed with -*ship*, followed by -*head* / -*hood* and the final wave was -*ness*. This correlates with the number of types attested for each suffix as mentioned above - the suffix -*ship* was more productive in the earlier period, whereas -*head* / -*hood* and -*ness* have more types in the samples of the subsequent period. Furthermore, nearly all of the types with -*ship*, -*head* / -*hood* are obsolete. This indicates that the -*ness* formations, most of which are still in use, replaced the preceding coinages. The strong position of -*ness* seems to be a consequence of the intense language contact with French, namely the French counterpart of -*ness* that is formally and functionally similar.

The Middle English period is marked by the incredible amount of French words that entered the English lexicon, due to the socio-political circumstances of Middle English. More studies tend to focus on the innovations brought in by the French language, especially new lexemes, new affixes etc. This leaves the area of how Old English word-formation processes coped with this influx of innovations still fairly unexplored. This thesis therefore provides an insight into the nominal derivation processes inherited from Old English and into their development in Middle English. However, the suffixes analysed in this work are only a fragment of a myriad of word-formation processes occurring in Middle English that involved native resources only. Therefore, a future study may consider other suffixes to complement this research and thus provide a more comprehensive picture of Middle English suffixation.

7 Shrnutí

V diplomové práci se soustředíme na substantivní inovace domácího původu, které byly vytvořeny pomocí přípon *-ness*, *-head*, *-hood*, *-ship* a *-dom* a jejich první doklad pochází z období 1200-1299, či 1300-1399. Cílem práce je sledovat produktivitu přípon v námi zkoumaných období s ohledem na jejich působení ve staré angličtině a následný možný vývoj.

V teoretické části se věnujeme externím a interním faktorům, které nám dopomohou objasnit, jak se střední angličtina liší od staré angličtiny, a které dokládají změny, jimiž si jazyk prošel.

Nejprve se zabýváme externími okolnostmi, které se promítají i do jazyka. Stará angličtina se postupně rozšířila po území dnešní Anglie, jak byla země postupně dobývána germánskými kmeny. Postupem času se situace ustálila a vzniklo 7 království: Northumbrie, Mercie, East Anglia (Východní Anglie), Kent, Sussex, Essex a Wessex. Zpočátku byl jazyk do značné míry dialektálně fragmentovaný. Na prestiž dialektu měly vliv jak moc církve, tak momentální nadvláda jednoho z království. Toto přelévání moci mělo za následek nadřazenost jednoho z dialektů, což se odráží i v literatuře. Dalším zásadním vlivem na literaturu tehdejší doby jsou elitní společenské vrstvy, kterým se dostalo vzdělání – zejména duchovenstvu. Literatura tuto skutečnost reflektuje a většina textů je náboženské tématiky. Koncem desátého století byla angličtina téměř standardizovaná, ovšem tento proces se nikdy nedokončil z důvodu invaze Normanů.

Příchod Normanů v roce 1066 znamenal začátek velkých změn v sociopolitické, a tedy i lingvistické situaci tehdejší doby. Angličtina byla potlačena a v ústraní, byla jazykem nejnižší vrstvy. Jazykem vlády, vzdělání a náboženství se stala francouzština a latina. Avšak v průběhu času se angličtina začala pomalu navracet zpět mezi vyšší vrstvy a získávala pevnější a prestižnější postavení. Ovšem nebyla nijak standardizovaná a je možné tedy očekávat různorodost ve slovotvorbě.

V následující části se zaměřujeme na charakteristiku staré a střední angličtiny z typologického pohledu. Vycházíme z teorie Pražské lingvistické školy, která na základě strukturních rysů rozlišuje 5 typů jazyka – aglutinační, flektivní, izolační, polysyntetický a introflektivní. Pomocí těchto rysů můžeme identifikovat starou angličtinu jako flektivní jazyk, kde jsou ovšem přítomné i rysy introflektivní. Naopak střední angličtina již vykazuje jinou typologickou charakteristiku a převládají v ní rysy izolační. Jazyk procházel výraznými změnami v průběhu této typologické transformace, která se bezpochyby promítla i do slovotvorby – například posílením konverze jako slovotvorného procesu. Přestože jsme schopni angličtinu v jednotlivých jejích fázích přiřadit k určitému typu, je nezbytné mít na paměti, že typ je extrém. Jak jsme zmínili výše, stará angličtina nese i rysy introflektivního jazyka a stejně tak ve střední angličtině (izolační typ) nalezneme znaky flektivní – např. shoda ve třetí osobě: *he works*.

Typologická charakteristika staré a střední angličtiny nám poskytuje základy, na které můžeme navázat v další části teoretické kapitoly věnované slovní zásobě a slovotvorbě. Jak jsme již naznačili, interní změny v podobě typologických změn se dozajista promítají i do slovní zásoby a způsobu jejího obohacení. Stará angličtina měla bohatou zásobu vlastních slovotvorných zdrojů – mnoho afixů, vzorců pro kompozici apod. Pomocí derivace a kompozice rozšiřovala slovní zásobu a díky užívání vlastních prostředků byl vztah mezi deriváty transparentní jak formálně, tak sémanticky. Tuto asociativnost jazyka lze pozorovat i v českém jazyce: *jídlo – jídelna – jídelní*.

Střední angličtina už asociativnost nevykazuje. Naopak, mění se v disociativní, což přetrvává až dodnes: *cow – beef – bovine*. Ztráta flektivních koncovek společně se značným vlivem francouzštiny narušili tuto soudržnost a v jazyce se tedy nachází mnoho izolovaných slov. Značný příval výpůjček s sebou přináší i nové slovotvorné prvky – ať už jsou to báze, afixy, či vzorce. Příchod cizího prvku, například afixu, může ovlivnit v jazyce již přítomný afix – buď jej posílit na základě vzájemné podobnosti, či naopak oslabit konkurencí a tím ovlivnit jeho produktivitu.

Produktivitu přípony můžeme chápat jako její schopnost a potenciál k vytváření nových formací. Vzhledem k tomu, že se zabýváme produktivitou z diachronního

hlediska a jsme limitováni dostupnými daty, produktivitu měříme s ohledem na počet unikátních slov (tzv. type-frequency measure).

Na základě teoretické části jsme vyslovili následující hypotézu:

H1: Očekáváme, že sufixace s námi zvolenými příponami bude stále produktivní. Nicméně, lze předpokládat, že funkční a sémantické chování přípon a stejně tak jejich produktivita se bude v námi zkoumaných obdobích měnit. Přípona se může pojit s jinými slovními druhy, či naopak, produktivita s konkrétním slovním druhem může ustupovat. Mimo to, pozice přípony v systému může být posílena nebo oslabena konkurenční příponou.

V této práci vycházíme zejména z děl autorů D. Kastovského a H. Marchanda, kdy informace o funkci námi zkoumaných přípon čerpáme převážně z těchto zdrojů. Přípona, tedy sufix, je vázaný morfém, který se nemůže vyskytovat osamoceně, ale vyžaduje přítomnost jiného, volného morfému. Tento volný morfém, ke kterému se přípona váže, nazýváme bází. Výsledná kombinace báze a přípony je v této práci chápána jako typ, tedy unikátní slovo.

Unikátní slova, tedy typy, jsme získali z *The Oxford English Dictionary* online pomocí Advanced Search. Vyhledávali jsme substantiva anglického původu doložená ve dvou časových obdobích: 1200-1299 a 1300-1399. Kvůli značnému objemu dat bylo nutné výzkum zúžit na derivaci, konkrétně na sufixaci příponami *-ness*, *-head*, *-hood*, *-ship* a *-dom*. Výsledky hledání v *The OED* byly ještě třízeny manuálně. Jednak aby se vyloučila přítomnost nepatřičných formací (např. hybridů), a zároveň aby formace byly identifikovány dle jejich slovotvorného původu.

Výsledné vzorky z dvou námi zkoumaných období pro sledované přípony analyzujeme z několika pohledů: derivační morfologie, struktury báze, frekvence výskytu a sémantiky. Právě tato hlediska nám pomohou určit, zda se přípona v čase mění a jak, a zda její produktivita roste, či klesá.

Analýzy jednotlivých vzorků navíc odhalily dva jevy. Některé z typů ve vzorcích byly doloženy pouze jedenkrát, tedy ve slovníkovém zápise se vyskytovala jediná citace. Tato skutečnost typy kvalifikuje jako hapaxy. Druhým jevem, který se

během zkoumání dat projevil, je vzájemná konkurence probíhající mezi námi zvolenými příponami. Oba tyto jevy zkoumáme a zohledňujeme v této práci.

Analyzovali jsme přes 370 typů, přesněji:
Období 1200-1299; typů: 46 -*ness*, 6 -*hood*, 26 -*head*, 34 -*ship*, 2 -*dom*
Období 1300-1399; typů: 135 -*ness*, 12 -*hood*, 91 -*head*, 18 -*ship*, 5 -*dom*

Jednotlivé analýzy ukázaly, že každá přípona má svůj specifický průběh a výsledky se různí. Obecně lze však říci, že napříč výsledky převládají adjektivní báze a výsledné formace nesou význam kvality (tj. vlastnosti). Hypotéza se potvrdila částečně – všechny přípony vykazovaly příznaky rostoucí produktivity vyjma -*ship*.

Přípona -*ness* se ukázala jako jedna z nejproduktivnějších. Počet doložených typů vzrostl takřka trojnásobně a nejčastěji zastoupeným typem báze jsou adjektivní. V prvním zkoumaném období byly nalezeny i doklady denominální a deverbální, které ovšem v následujícím období klesají. V případě deverbálních bází dokonce zcela vymizí. Jejich úbytek se zdá být spjatý se zastoupením sémantických kategorií, zejména s poklesem agent nouns. V datech -*ness* se v obou obdobích vyskytují hapaxy, jejichž počet klesá, nicméně jejich přítomnost nasvědčuje vzrůstající produktivitě. Báze jsou v prvním období spíše dvouslabičné, v následujícím období se tato tendence mírně mění ve prospěch jednoslabičných.

Varianty -*head* a -*hood* také vykazují výsledky, které nasvědčují rostoucí produktivitě. Počet typů doložených s těmito příponami roste v druhém zkoumaném období. Je však třeba poukázat na rozdílné zastoupení těchto variant ve vzorcích. Počet typů s -*head* je znatelně vyšší než s -*hood*. Významným faktorem je rozdílnost chování těchto variant ve slovotvorbě. Varianta -*head* upřednostňovala báze adjektivní, oproti tomu -*hood* vykazovala preferenci pro báze substantivní. V obou obdobích převládá přítomnost adjektivních bází a převážná většina z nich je spojena s variantou -*head*. Vzájemná konkurence variant se projevuje v našich vzorcích a rozeznáváme tři možné situace: formace s variantami jsou pod jedním slovníkovým zápisem; mají vlastní slovníkové zápisy, ale jsou stejného významu; mají vlastní slovníkové zápisy a liší se významem. U obou variant můžeme konstatovat preferenci pro jednoslabičné báze

v prvním období. V následujícím období se ukazuje nárůst dvouslabičných bází. Hapaxy jsou opět přítomny, jejich počet se ale zvyšuje v druhém období. Ze sémantické analýzy je patrné, že opět převládá význam kvality. Více různých sémantických kategorií bylo zjištěno v období 1300-1399, a sice význam kolektiva, hodnosti. Rozšíření sémantických kategorií svědčí o vzrůstající produktivitě přípony.

Jak jsme zmínili již výše, -*ship* je jediná přípona, u které je počet typů menší v období 1300-1399, než v období bezprostředně předcházejícím. Přípona se jeví jako ustupující v produktivitě. Analýza struktury bází a derivační morfologie ukazuje jakousi strnulost. V obou obdobích jsou si výsledky velice podobné - přítomnost adjektivních bází je přibližně 70 % a stejně tak je ustálený i poměr jednoslabičných bází (také okolo 70 %). Analýza sémantických kategorií potvrdila, že i v případě -*ship* je nejvíce zastoupena kategorie kvality. Poměr hapaxů se snižuje, což by společně s výše zmíněnými výsledky nasvědčovalo klesající produktivitě.

Z našich dat je patrné, že přípona -*dom* nebyla přespříliš produktivní. V obou obdobích bylo nalezeno pouze 7 výskytů. S ohledem na takto omezený vzorek jsme ověřili produktivitu -*dom* i ve století mimo náš záběr (15. stol), kde jsme nalezli celkem 8 dalších typů. Z důvodu nedostatku dat není možné vyvodit závěry spolehlivě. Přesto lze říci, že -*dom* preferuje spíše nominální báze (podobně jako -*hood*) a sémantické kategorie se ve 14. a 15. století rozšiřují o význam teritoria.

V poslední kapitole analytické části zkoumáme konkurenci přípon, která se projevila v datech. Nalezli jsme celkem 28 bází, které se vyskytovaly napříč vzorky jednotlivých přípon a podrobili jsme je analýze. Ukázalo se, že se jedná převážně o adjektivní báze, kdy výsledná formace měla význam kvality. Sledování časové osy (tj. kdy byla která z formací prvně doložena) ukázalo zajímavý fenomén. Většina z formací vznikla prvně s příponou -*ship*, následně s příponou -*head*, či -*hood* a až v poslední vlně byly vytvořeny formace s -*ness*. Toto koreluje s analýzami jednotlivých přípon, které ukázaly, že -*ship* byla produktivnější v dřívějším období, oproti zbylým příponám. Převážná většina konkurenčních formací jsou synonymní a nejčastěji přetrvala ve variantě s -*ness*. Zbylé alternativní formace jsou v dnešní angličtině dle *OED* obsoletní.

Na závěr můžeme říci, že slovotvorba domácího původu a využívající pouze domácí zdroje - tj. jak báze, tak přípony - pokračovala i ve střední angličtině. Výjimku představuje -*ship*, u které produktivita klesá. Přípony se vyvíjely a rozšiřovaly své sémantické kategorie, kombinovaly se s bázemi různé struktury, což obecně značí jejich setrvávající a rostoucí produktivitu. Vliv hegemonie Francie a francouzského jazyka měl na tehdejší podobu anglického jazyka podstatný vliv. Avšak i přes útlak anglického jazyka a příval cizích slov do střední angličtiny, produktivita přípon převážně přetrvává a přípony se vyvíjí.

Naše práce se zaměřila na pouhý zlomek slovotvorných procesů ve staré angličtině. Možné další práce by mohly doplnit náš výzkum o další přípony a tím poskytnout lepší vhled do sufixace ve střední angličtině s pomocí čistě domácích zdrojů.

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9 List of tables

10 Figures

11 Abbreviations

OED	Oxford English Dictionary
MED	Middle English Dictionary
ADJ	Adjective
N	Noun
V	Verb
OE	Old English
ME	Middle English

Appendix 1

Data of 1200-1299

-NESS

angetness, arisness, atterness, awfulness, birewness, cursedness, deadliness, doughtiness, forwardness, frailness, giddiness, giveness, goodness, iwarness, knowness, lawfulness, litherness, loathsomeness, loveness, lowness, manness, meekness, orrathness, poorness, quickness, ruefulness, ruesomeness, saughtliness, shamefastness, shendfulness, sibness, sighingness, soothness, sorrowfulness, thewness, traistness, unbeseenness, unbuxomness, unlikeness, unrightfulness, unwittingness, weakness, wickedness, wieldness, wilfulness, wonderness

-HEAD

blessedhead, boldhead, coldhead, darkhead, drunkenhead, dryhead, foulhead, giddihead, godhead, goodhead, hinehede, holihead, manhead, shrewhead, sickerhead, stalworthhead, sternhead, swikehead, thrallhead, threehead, toomhead, unkindhead, wickedhead, wretchedhead, younghead, youthhead

-HOOD

falsehood, heathenhood, maidhood, manhood, onehood, thrallhood

-SHIP

argship, aughtship, boldship, busyship, cleanship, clerkship, deepship, derfship, dernship, falseship, fastship, fellowship, foeship, hardiship, hardship, highship, housewifeship, idleship, keenship, ladyship, lowship, madship, mildship, mixship, quedeship, quickship, sharpship, shotship, swiftship, thralship, trueship, unmetheship, wholeship, wildship

-DOM

falsedom, wretchdom

Data of 1300-1399

-NESS

alangeness, aloness, angerness, arghness, baldness, beastliness, beggingness, betterness, blackness, blaeness, blaseness, bleaedness, bleariness, blessedness, blissfulness, bloness, bodiness, boldness, brawniness, brotelness, callowness, clearness, cloveness, coldness, comeliness, crookedness, cruelness, cunningness, deafness, dearness, dearworthiness, devilness, dryness, dullness, dumbness, earthiness, easiness, endlessness, everlastingness, fainness, falseness, farness, fearedness, fickleness, fondness, forgetfulness, forgettingness, foulness, freshness, gastness, ghostliness, greyness, grisliness, grisness, hairiness, haleness, hendness, hiddenness, homeliness, horeness, hugeness, inwardness, ironness, kindness, largeness, lewdness, liveliness, lustiness, madness, manliness, manyness, mightiness, mightsomeness, milthness, mistiness, muchness, murkness, needfulness, oddness, readiness, richness, rightfulness, rotness, rottenness, rottingness, roughness, rowness, ruddiness, rustiness, ruthness, scantness, seeliness, seemliness, shamefulness, shameness, shapeliness, shrewdness, slowness, slyness, smallness, smartness, smoothness, sorrowness, soundness, stalworthness, sternness, stiffness, stinkingness, strangeness, sunderness, throness, tickleness, ugliness, uncunningness, unevenness, unleefulness, unloathfulness, unrestfulness, wanness, wasteness, wateriness, waywardness, whileness, wightness, wildness, wiseness, worshipfulness, worthiness, wrathfulness, wretchedness, wretchness, wrongfulness, wrongousness, yellowness, youngness

-HEAD

bitterhead, blackhead, blindhead, blissfulhead, bondhead, borrowhead, brighthead, busyhead, chapmanhead, childhead, comelihead, deafhead, dernhead, devilhead, doughtihead, drearihead, fainhead, fairhead, fathead, fatherhead, filthhead, firelihead, firsthead, friendlihead, fullhead, gladhead, goodfulhead, goodlihead, greathead, greenhead, grislihead, heathenhead, heavyhead, highhead, hinderhead, idlehead, kindhead, kinghead, kinhead, knighthead, ladyhead, lighthead, likelihead, littlehead, lordhead, lustihead, madhead, maidenhead, maidhead, manlihead, manyhead, melchhead, micklehead, middlehead, mighthead, mightihead, mildhead, mosthead, motherhead, nakedhead, neshhead, newhead, notefulhead, onehead, onlihead, poorhead, quedehead, righteoushead, seemlihead, shorthead, shrewdhead, sisterhead, smarthead, softhead, sourhead, stillhead, swifthead, tamehead, thanehead, truehead, truthhead, wellhead, wethead, widowhead, wilhede, winninghead, wisehede, wittihead, womanhead, woodhead, worshiphead

-HOOD

arghhood, blindhood, borrowhood, brotherhood, chapmanhood, christhood, churlhood, deaconhood, fatherhood, kinghood, micklehood, sisterhood

-SHIP

cunningship, drunkship, fairship, ferdship, greenship, hendship, kindship, kingship, knaveship, lairdship, lateship, neighbourship, rechelesship, rotship, shendship, slyship, steadfastship, workmanship

-DOM

churldom, sheriffdom, shrewdom, theedom, willerdom