

**Univerzita Karlova**

**Filozofická fakulta**

Ústav anglického jazyka a didaktiky

# **Bakalářská práce**

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**Stará angličtina a dánština: Strukturní srovnání**

Old English and Danish: A Structural Comparison

Praha 2022

Vedoucí práce: prof. PhDr. Jan Čermák, CSc.

I would like to express my sincerest thanks to my supervisor, prof. PhDr. Jan Čermák, CSc., for his kind and patient guidance and valuable advice, without which I would not be able to write the thesis.

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze, dne 26. května 2022

I declare that the following BA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned, and that this thesis has not been used in the course of other university studies or in order to acquire the same or another type of diploma.

Prague, 26th May 2022

Souhlasím se zapůjčením bakalářské práce ke studijním účelům.

I have no objections to the BA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

## **Abstrakt**

Cílem bakalářské práce je srovnání současné dánštiny se starou angličtinou, jejich typologické zařazení a komparace základních lingvistických rysů s přihlédnutím k historii obou jazyků. Těžištěm práce bude srovnání podle typologie Pražské školy: text bude strukturován na základě schématu typologických rysů podle Františka Čermáka.

Stará angličtina nebyla tak výrazně ovlivněna latinou, a její příbuznost s ostatními germánskými jazyky, včetně dánštiny, je proto mnohem lépe viditelná než u moderní angličtiny. Podobnosti lze najít především v oblasti lexika.

Naopak z hlediska morfologické typologie můžeme mezi oběma jazyky najít výrazné rozdíly. Oproti moderní angličtině byla stará angličtina výrazně flektivnější. Dánština naopak vykazuje především izolační rysy s jistými prvky aglutinace.

Bakalářská práce si klade za cíl přiblížit historický kontext, v němž se oba jazyky vyvíjely, a přiblížit některé z typických rysů, které spolu sdílejí. V analytické části budou následně rozebrány konkrétní příklady typologických rysů, na jejichž základě lze evaluovat celkový typologický charakter obou jazyků a jejich podobnosti a rozdíly.

## **Klíčová slova**

Stará angličtina, současná dánština, germánské jazyky, lingvistická typologie, flexe, izolace, aglutinace, morfologie, syntax, slovo tvorba

**Abstract:**

The aim of the bachelor thesis is to compare Present-Day Danish and Old English, classify them from the point of view of morphological typology, and discuss some of their basic linguistic features, taking the history of both languages into account. The focus of the thesis will be a comparison according to the typology of the Prague School: the text will be structured on the basis of a typological scheme by František Čermák.

Old English was not so strongly influenced by Latin, and its relationship with other Germanic languages, including Danish, is therefore much more visible than in Present-Day English. Vocabulary is the most prominent feature that the two languages have in common.

On the other hand, there are significant differences between them in terms of morphological typology. Compared to Present-Day English, Old English was significantly more inflected, while Present-Day Danish is primarily isolating with some agglutinative elements.

The objective of the thesis is to discuss the historical context in which both languages developed and show some of the typical features that they share. In the analytical part, specific examples of typological features will be discussed, and on their basis the overall character of both languages and their similarities and differences will be evaluated.

**Key words:**

Old English, Present-Day Danish, Germanic languages, linguistic typology, inflection, isolation, agglutination, morphology, syntax, word-formation

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## 1. Introduction

Old English and Present-Day Danish, despite being divided by a time gap of nearly one thousand years, share a surprising number of similarities. They both retain a number of features typical for the Germanic languages and may therefore appear to be very alike in character. However, this likeness is not as great as it may seem, since the two languages developed quite different typological features throughout their history.

The aim of this thesis is twofold: to discuss the historical context of OE's and PDD's development, and to provide a survey of typological features which are typical for these languages. The typological theory of Vladimír Skalička will be summarized to provide a theoretical background, and the works of František Čermák will be used for the classification of the features.

The reason why it is more convenient to compare PDD with OE instead of Present-Day English is because throughout its history, English went through such massive changes that its originally Germanic character almost disappeared. If we compare PDD and OE, we especially notice the similarities in the lexicon. Since English later came into contact with French, there was a massive influx of Romance loanwords which replaced a great part of the original Germanic vocabulary (see section 2.7); Danish, on the other hand, was mainly influenced by German, and therefore preserved the originally Germanic character of the word stock (see 2.9).

From the typological point of view, we can expect somewhat bigger differences between the two languages. Unlike PDE, OE was highly inflected, and it retained many archaic Germanic features. The same cannot be said about PDD, which is predominantly characterized by isolating tendencies (Čermák, 2001: 205) with some level of agglutination (Herslund 2002: 31).

The differences in grammar provide interesting material for comparison. For example, while the OE nouns had four cases and three genders and verbs inflected for person and number (Hogg et al. 1992: 122), the PDD inflectional system is much simpler; grammatical gender is present, but there are only two classes, neuter and non-neuter, and case inflection is only found in pronouns (Auwera and König 323). We can see that however similar the languages might seem thanks to the Germanic vocabulary, their typological profiles are very different.

Another reason is that a study comparing these two particular languages from the point of view of the Prague School will offer quite a unique perspective; most of the literature focused on the typology of the Germanic languages is concerned with PDE rather than OE, and the few sources that mention both OE and PDD do not usually discuss the similarities and differences between them. A study which specifically focuses on these two languages and their typological features could provide quite a unique approach.

In the next chapters of the thesis, the main objective will be to briefly summarize the historical development of both languages and some features inherited from the earlier developmental stages, explain specific properties which are relevant for determining the morphological type of a language, and demonstrating these properties on specific examples from OE and PDD. The main objective is to provide a complex comparative study which would offer a general analysis of the languages' typological as well as genetic features, and also offer specific grammatical examples to illustrate the differences and similarities between them.

## **2. Historical Context: The Origin of Old English and Danish and Their Position in the Germanic Language Branch**

To discuss the relationship between Old English and Present-Day Danish, we must first provide some historical context. Obviously, every language is exposed to external influences, be it contact with speakers of different languages or socio-political circumstances creating a favourable environment for linguistic change. It is important to know these circumstances if we want to examine the form of a language or the way it has changed throughout history. The objective of this chapter is to briefly summarize the most important parts of OE's and PDD's development.

First, the early history of the Germanic languages and some of their key features will be discussed; this is essential for understanding the linguistic base OE and PDD come from. The individual history of the languages will then be examined, as well as some important socio-political factors which played a role in their development. The structure of OE's and PDD's lexicon will also be mentioned, as vocabulary is one of the fields in which foreign influence can be seen quite clearly.

### **2.1 The Early History of the Germanic Languages**

The common ancestor of all Germanic languages is called Proto-Germanic or Common Germanic. This language, just like its ancestor Proto-Indo-European, is unattested; but it was partially reconstructed using the comparative method, i.e. comparing its daughter languages (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 110-111). Traditionally, the origin of Germanic was thought to be the southern Baltic region (today northern Germany and Poland), which was supposedly settled by Indo-European speakers around 1000 BCE (Auwera and König 1994: 1). However, modern scholars believe that the homeland of the Germanic peoples might have extended further north-west – from northern Germany through Denmark up to southern Sweden (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 128). The speakers of Germanic inhabited this area until the second century CE; after that, they began migrating across Europe, for reasons that are not completely clear (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 128). Some headed further north in Scandinavia, others eastward and southward – these smaller groups spoke what would later become the North and East branches of Germanic (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 128).

The earliest record of East Germanic is a Gothic translation of parts of the New Testament, which was written around 350 CE (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 129). As for North and West Germanic, the oldest records were written in the runic alphabet, which was used among the Germanic peoples prior to Christianization (after which they adopted the Latin alphabet (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 129)). The oldest runic inscriptions in North Germanic date from the second century, in West Germanic from the sixth century CE (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 129). The first North Germanic documents written in the Latin alphabet, Old Norse poetry and sagas, are comparatively younger – they were written after 1000 CE (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 129).

West and North Germanic languages can be further divided into multiple subgroups: in the first case, we distinguish a High West Germanic (represented by Old High German) and a Low West Germanic branch (including Old Saxon, Old English, Old Frisian, and Old Low Franconian (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 129)). Three languages from the Low West group, Old English, Old Saxon, and Old Frisian, are sometimes grouped together as Ingvaemonic, with Old English and Old Frisian, which are especially close, forming another special subgroup, called Anglo-Frisian (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 129). It is possible that all the languages of the Low West Germanic branch were related closely enough to be mutually intelligible (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 129).

The North Germanic languages were relatively homogenous for a much longer time than the West Germanic branch, and the changes were more gradual (Harbert 2007: 19). The first evidence of notable linguistic differentiation between dialects dates from around 1150 CE; from this point on, we can distinguish the West Norse group, which gradually evolved into modern Icelandic, Faroese, and Norwegian, and the East Norse group, today represented by Swedish and Danish (Harbert 2007: 19).

## **2.2 Grammatical and Lexical Changes from PIE to Germanic**

In order to meaningfully discuss the Germanic character of Old English and Danish, we must first establish some principal characteristics of this language group. Since its separation from the common Indo-European ancestor, Germanic developed some unique features which set it apart from other members of the IE language family (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 132).

The first group of changes concerns the structure of verbs. Proto-Indo-European used the aspect/tense system, which indicated the placement of events in time and

suggested whether the action was ongoing or completed (Harbert 2007: 272). Aspect was preserved for example in Sanskrit, Classical Greek, but also Slavic languages (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 132). However, the western group of IE languages (Germanic, Italic, and Celtic) developed verbal systems based primarily on the distinction of tense (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 132). For example, where Greek would distinguish between “imperfect (used to describe continuous events in the past), aorist (used to localize events in the past without indicating their extension or shape), perfect (used to describe a past event resulting in a state which continues into the present) and pluperfect (used to describe a past event resulting in a state which continued through some reference point in the past)”, Germanic would use a single inflected form – the simple past (Harbert 2007: 272-273). Of course, some Germanic languages developed periphrastic constructions which partially make up for the loss of inflectional distinction of aspect, such as the perfect and progressive forms (Harbert 2007: 273). In the case of Present-Day English, we can see the difference between past continuous (*She was writing an essay*), expressing an ongoing action, and past simple (*She wrote an essay*), signifying a completed one (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 132). But it is important to note that these constructions are different from the original inflectional IE features.

The way of expressing the preterit tense also changed (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 133). PIE used the system of ablaut (changing the root vowel) to form the present, preterit, and past participle; Germanic inherited this feature, but also introduced a new method (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 133). As Laurel Brinton and Leslie Arnovick describe: “In addition to IE ablaut, Germanic innovated a second means of expressing the preterit, using a dental suffix, a term used to denote the final alveolar stops in Modern English. Today’s regular verbs, such as *love/loved*, *walk/walked*, *load/loaded*, form their past tense in this way, using *-d*, *-t*, or *-ed*” (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 133). The PIE ablaut survives in strong (or, as they are more often called today, irregular) verbs (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 133).

In contrast to PIE, Germanic also reduced the mood and voice distinctions in the verbal system (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 133). While PIE expressed five moods (indicative, imperative, optative, injunctive, and subjunctive), Germanic simplified this system by merging the last three into the subjunctive, “which indicates all non-factual events apart from direct commands” (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 133).

The evolution of voice in the Germanic languages is especially interesting. PIE employed the active voice and the middle voice, in which the subject is representing both

the agent and the recipient (Harbert 2007: 322) and which could be compared to the reflexive form in PDE (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 134). In Germanic, the middle voice was lost, save for two exceptions: Gothic and Old Norse (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 134). In other languages, it was gradually replaced by passive constructions (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 134). The development of the middle and passive voice in the Scandinavian languages is specific – the forms originated in constructions with reflexive pronouns which sometimes evolved into an affix (Harbert 2007: 323). The middle voice was only preserved in Icelandic; some Scandinavian languages developed an inflectional passive form, marked by the morpheme *-s(t)* (Harbert 2007: 327). This construction could be compared to Czech reflexive verbs with the pronoun *se*.

The case system of PIE was simplified significantly in Germanic (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 134). While PIE employed eight cases – nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, locative, and instrumental – Germanic (as well as some other language branches) reduced this system and only preserved four: nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive (Harbert 2007: 103). In the earlier stages, some Germanic languages still retained remnants of the other cases, in particular vocative and instrumental, but those were virtually lost in later times (Harbert 2007: 103-104).

Another important Germanic innovation occurs in the adjectival system. From PIE, a set of adjectival endings was inherited which “came to be used when an adjective alone modifies the noun, e.g. *gode batas* (‘good boats’), but Germanic developed an additional set of adjectival endings which are used when modifiers other than an adjective, such as a demonstrative (this, that) or possessive adjective (my, your, his), occur with the noun, e.g. *þa godan batas* (‘these good boats’)” (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 134).

The last field in which Germanic introduced unique innovations is the lexicon. Interestingly, a great number of common Germanic words are not found in any other IE language (Harbert 2007: 22). It is not quite clear how these words entered the Germanic vocabulary; perhaps by borrowing from non-IE languages that the early Germanic speakers came in contact with (Lass 1994: 181). It is especially interesting that some of these unique words belong to the core vocabulary: for example *boat*, *drink*, *earth*, *little* (Lass 1994: 181-182), *death*, *gold*, *sea*, or *soul* (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 134). Naturally, borrowing from neighbouring language groups was also frequent; Common Germanic, for instance, adopted many words from Italic and Celtic languages (Harbert 2007: 23). Not all of these words are, of course, taken directly in their original form.

Alongside simple borrowing, processes such as calquing or loan translation (the so-called “covert borrowing”) were in operation (Harbert 2007: 24).

### 2.3 A Brief History of Anglo-Saxon England and Old English

The OE period covers a respectable time span of almost 700 years; the exact demarcation differs source to source, but it usually starts with the year 449, which is traditionally considered to be the date of the Anglo-Saxons’ arrival in Britain (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 151).

The end of this period is traditionally placed to 1066, the year of the Norman Conquest (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 151), but OE continued to be used for some time after that, until approximately 1150 (Crystal). Prior to the Anglo-Saxon invasion, England was inhabited by the Celtic population, who is thought to have come to the island during the Bronze Age (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 151). These two groups likely lived alongside each other and partially integrated; however, the language of the Anglo-Saxon settlers replaced the native one, and although there are occasional traces of Celtic influence in OE, they are rather scarce (Barber et al. 2009: 106). Before the Anglo-Saxon settlement, the Romans were also present in Britain; but they seem to have co-existed quite peacefully with the native population, who still retained their own language (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 151). The Romans left the island in 410, after the Empire came under attack by Visigoth tribes and the troops were called back to Rome (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 151).

The traditional date for the arrival of Anglo-Saxons in Britain is based on the accounts of the Venerable Bede, particularly on his work *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, written in Latin in about 730 (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 152). We can clearly see from his text that the Anglo-Saxons were far from being a homogenous group:

“They came from three very powerful Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes. From the Saxon country, that is, the district now known as Old Saxony, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. Besides this, from the country of the Angles, that is, the land between the kingdoms of the Jutes and the Saxons, which is called *Angulus*, came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and all the Northumbrian race (that is those people who dwell north of the river Humber) as well as the other Anglian tribes” (the Venerable Bede, as cited in Barber et al. 2009: 107).

It is therefore safe to assume that dialect differences existed in OE from the very start. It also took some time before the Anglo-Saxon England became politically unified. In the beginning, there were a great number of small kingdoms, eventually reduced to seven, sometimes called the Heptarchy: Kent, Wessex, Sussex, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria (Barber et al. 2009: 108). However, by 800 only four of them – Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria – were surviving (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 154). During the seventh century, Northumbria was the most powerful one; the leadership passed to Mercia in the eighth century and finally, in the ninth century, to Wessex, whose kings eventually unified the country (Barber et al. 2009: 108-109).

## **2.4 Cultural Influences**

One of the most important events for the development of the English language was the beginning of Christianization in the late sixth century (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 154). As a matter of fact, we don't have much information about the Anglo-Saxons until their conversion to Christianity; after that, they were introduced to the Roman alphabet, which enabled them to begin writing longer texts (Barber et al. 2009: 112). Prior to Christianization, the Germanic peoples relied on the runic alphabet, but that was used primarily for short inscriptions on wood or stone, certainly not for extensive texts (Barber et al. 2009: 112). Naturally, most OE literature was produced by the clerics, who were not especially interested in the culture of pre-Christian England – therefore we unfortunately don't know much about the heathen era of the Anglo-Saxons (Barber et al. 2009: 112). However, a few traces of the pre-Christian culture can be found in the English language, even now: the names of days represent a rare linguistic remnant of these times (Barber et al. 2009: 112). As in other Germanic languages, the old pagan gods Tīw, Wōden, Thunor, and Frīg gave their names to Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, respectively (Barber et al. 2009: 112).

Christianity came to England from two directions. In the early sixth century, the Irish were Christianized, and quickly began spreading the religion throughout the western world (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 154-155). In 563 the Irish missionaries, led by St. Columba, began their Christian mission in England (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 155). The other influence was from Rome; at the very end of the sixth century, St. Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory I to Christianize the English (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 155). By the beginning of the eighth century, England was mostly Christian, though the pagan



practices still survived in certain areas (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 155). Except for the Roman alphabet, the most significant consequence of Christianization for the English language was probably the influx of Latin loanwords (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 155).

Another crucial cultural influence came from the Scandinavian settlers, who started their invasions to England in the late eighth century (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 155). Although they were referred to as *Danes* by the Anglo-Saxon population, the Vikings were not a homogeneous group; they came from various parts of Scandinavia (Barber et al. 2009: 138). The Vikings began with occasional piratical raids that usually happened during the summer, but they grew bolder with time; by the mid-ninth century, larger groups were spending winters in England, and in 865 an army landed in East Anglia which was to stay for several years (Barber et al. 2009: 138). After that, the Norsemen slowly began the conquest and settlement of England (Barber et al. 2009: 138). By 870, the only kingdom remaining under the control of the Anglo-Saxons was Wessex (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 155). Eight years later, King Alfred defeated the Danish King Guthrum at Edington; the result of this battle was a pact setting the boundary between the Anglo-Saxon territory and the land controlled by the Danes, known as the Danelaw (Barber et al. 2009: 138). The Scandinavian settlement in the northeast of England created a unique environment for language exchange. The North Germanic dialects spoken by the Danes and the West Germanic dialects of the Anglo-Saxons were close enough for the two groups to communicate (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 156-157). Intermarriages were undoubtedly common, and the Scandinavian settlers seem to have assimilated successfully into the Anglo-Saxon society (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 157). The legacy of the Danelaw can be found in many English toponyms: “Common Scandinavian place-name elements are *by* ‘village, homestead’, as in *Grimsby* ‘Grim’s village’; *thorp* ‘secondary settlement, outlying farmstead’, as in *Grimsthorpe*; *toft* ‘building-site, plot of land’, as in *Langtoft* (where the first element means ‘long’); and *thwaite* ‘woodland clearing, meadow’, as in *Micklethwaite* ‘large clearing’” (Barber et al. 2009: 138).

## **2.5 Dialects and Written Records**

OE can be divided into a number of regional dialects, four of which are of note: Kentish, West Saxon, Mercian, and Northumbrian (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 157). The last two are sometimes grouped together as Anglian, as they share many similarities (Auwera and König 1994: 110). Most of our records are in the West Saxon dialect (Baugh et al. 2010:

47). Interestingly enough, although the West Saxon variety was the most influential one in the literary culture of the Anglo-Saxon period, the vocabulary of modern standard English is mainly derived from the Anglian dialects (Barber et al. 2009: 110).

*Figure 1* shows the supposed regional distribution of the dialects – it is, however, slightly misleading, as our evidence only consists of written records limited to specific small areas (Barber et al. 2009: 110). The boundaries on the map essentially copy the political boundaries of the four Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and we cannot say for sure whether the spoken dialects were truly distributed this way (Barber et al. 2009: 110).

*Figure 1: The dialects of Old English*



Source: (Baugh et al. 2010: 48)

The written records of OE are relatively extensive; but what survived into modern times is likely only a small fragment of all the works produced in Anglo-Saxon England

(Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 159). Many texts were undoubtedly lost to Viking raids, fires, or Reformation purges in libraries (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 159). The “Golden Age” of West Saxon literary tradition begins in the late ninth century with King Alfred, who strongly encouraged literacy and learning (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 157). The language of Alfred’s period is known as Early West Saxon; it is represented by such works as the Parker manuscript of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Auwera and König 1994: 110), as well as translations of many works by Pope Gregory, St. Augustine, or Bede (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 157).

A later variety of OE, mostly known as Late West Saxon, can be found in the works of Ælfric (a very prominent tenth-century scholar); he wrote hagiographies and homilies, and also translated many important texts, such as the Heptateuch (the first seven books of the Old Testament (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 158)). Another important figure is Wulfstan, archbishop of York (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 159). There is also a good deal of poetry in Old English, most of which can be found in four manuscripts: the Beowulf manuscript, the Junius manuscript, the Exeter Book and the Vercelli Book (Auwera and König 1994: 112). Some of the earliest poems, dating from about 700 CE, are based on the pagan Germanic literary tradition (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 159). From the seventh century on, Christian texts in OE are also being produced, with the poets Cædmon and Cynewulf being two of the most prominent authors (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 159).

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* might be one of the most important OE texts in general – there are seven versions of it, compiled in different places at different times, and therefore chronicling not only the historical events in the country, but also the changes in the language (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 159). The latest version, called *The Peterborough Chronicle*, dates as late as 1154 – the transition period between OE and Middle English (Auwera and König 1994: 112). Besides, the chronicle is not a translation from Latin, and its language is therefore very natural and unaffected by Latin linguistic conventions (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 159).

## **2.6 Old English Word Stock**

Unlike in PDE, the major part of OE vocabulary is of Germanic origin (Auwera and König 1994: 139). OE inherited a number of typically Germanic word-formation processes; many of them are still productive to this day, such as the prefix *un-* or the suffix

-ness (Auwera and König 1994: 139). Other examples include suffixes forming adjectives from nouns, like *-ig* (as in *blōdig* – “bloody”), *-lēas* (*frēondlēas* – “friendless”), and *-ful* (*tankful* – “thankful” (Barber et al. 2009: 128).

For the formation of nouns from adjectives, there is, for example, the Proto-Germanic suffix *\*-iþō*, which later developed into *-th* (Barber et al. 2009: 128). Remnants of this suffix can be found in some PDE word pairs such as *strong* and *strength*, or *true* and *truth* (Barber et al. 2009: 128). Generally, OE had a rich system of affixes, which could also be combined with verbs (Barber et al. 2009: 128). Examples include *be-*, which was originally a transitivizing prefix, as in *bespeak* or *bemourn* (Auwera and König 1994: 140), and *ge-*, which is often used in perfect constructions, signifying a completed action (Barber et al. 2009: 128-129).

Apart from affixation, an important word-formation process in OE was compounding – the joining of two or more free morphemes (Barber et al. 2009: 129). Many of these words were later replaced by Romance or Greek borrowings – such as *bōccraeft*, “literature,” or *tungolcraeft*, “astronomy” (literally “book-craft” and “star-craft,” respectively (Barber et al. 2009: 129)). However, some OE compounds were preserved to modern day, like *wīfmann*, which developed into *woman* (Barber et al. 2009: 129).

Despite the prevalently Germanic nature of the language, borrowing was still an important process enriching the OE vocabulary (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 163). The most important source of loan words (not only in the OE period, but throughout the whole history) was Latin (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 164). The primary area in which Latin loan words appeared was religion, such as *apostol* (“apostle”), *munuc* (“monk”), or *mynster* (“monastery” (Barber et al. 2009: 129)). In the early stages of English, three periods of Latin borrowing occurred: the first one was caused by the contact of Roman merchants with Germanic tribes (before they even settled in England), the second one occurred during the early Anglo-Saxon period, and the third one after the start of Christianization by Roman missionaries in 597 CE (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 164-165). Beside classical borrowing, OE also used calquing to acquire new vocabulary (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 164). Some examples of such words include *þriness* (“threeness” – from Lat. *trinity*), *ānhorn* (“one-horned” for *unicorn*), *forsetnys* (“placing before” for *preposition*), or Hālig Gāst (“holy spirit” for Lat. *Spiritus Sanctus* (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 167)). Yet other words were formed by borrowing a foreign part and

a native part, such as in *prēosthād*, “priesthood,” or *cristendōm*, “Christendom” (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 166).

Celtic only had a minor influence on OE as a source of loan words, but there are a few examples, especially in toponyms (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 167). Names such as London, Kent, Thames, or Avon are of Celtic origin, as well as words like *cumb*, “deep valley,” *dunn*, “grey,” or *ancor*, “hermit” (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 167).

The last notable source of loan words in OE is Old Norse (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 167). It is estimated that about 1000 words entered the lexicon of the standard OE, and even more can be found in dialects (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 167). It is sometimes difficult to determine which words are of ON origin and which were native to OE, as the two languages were very closely related – but we have a few reliable criteria by which we can recognize an ON loan word (Baugh et al. 2010: 87). One such criterion is the difference in the development of certain phonemes in the North Germanic and West Germanic languages (Baugh et al. 2010: 87). Albert Baugh (2010: 87) gives a few examples:

“One of the simplest [differences] to recognize is the development of the sound *sk*. In Old English this was early palatalized to *sh* (written *sc*), except possibly in the combination *scr*, whereas in the Scandinavian countries it retained its hard *sk* sound. Consequently, while native words like *ship*, *shall*, *fish* have *sh* in Modern English, words borrowed from the Scandinavians are generally still pronounced with *sk*: *sky*, *skin*, *skill*, *scrape*, *scrub*, *bask*, *whisk*. The OE *scyrte* has become *shirt*, while the corresponding ON form *skyrta* gives us *skirt*. In the same way the retention of the hard pronunciation of *k* and *g* in such words as *kid*, *dike* (cf. *ditch*), *get*, *give*, *gild*, and *egg* is an indication of Scandinavian origin.”

When an ON word entered the OE lexicon, multiple things could happen. Sometimes the borrowing would replace the original native word (as did the ON *taka* – “to take” – replace OE *niman*), other times both forms would be preserved, with one of them restricted to the northern dialect (as in the case of ON *kirkja* evolving into Scottish *kirk*, in contrast to standard PDE *church*); or both words would be retained, but would develop a semantic differentiation, as in the aforementioned case of *shirt* and *skirt* (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 168).

What makes the ON influence in English so important and unique is that the borrowings were not limited to nouns, adjectives, or verbs (which are the primary categories in cases of casual language contact) but also included function words like pronouns (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 169). This usually happens when the contact between two languages is intense and long-term, as in bilingual communities (Brinton

and Arnovick 2011: 169). Among the words which made their way into English from ON were pronouns, prepositions, and adverbs (Baugh et al. 2010: 92). For example, the modern forms of third-person plural pronouns *they*, *their*, *them* was borrowed from Old Norse, and replaced the native forms *hi*, *hire*, and *him* (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 169). Words like *both*, *same*, or *though* are also of Scandinavian origin (Baugh et al. 2010: 92). English even borrowed the present plural of the verb *to be* from Scandinavian; while the OE form in the north was *we aron*, West Saxon used the verb *syndon*, reminiscent of the German *sind* (Baugh et al. 2010: 92). Given the central position of the verb *to be*, this kind of borrowing is very unusual (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 169).

## **2.7 Later Changes in the English Language**

As stated earlier, OE was a language of strong inflectional tendencies and mainly Germanic vocabulary, very unlike PDE. This, however, completely changed in the Middle English period, when the language started losing its inflectional features and started developing isolating ones (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 97).

Probably the most significant historical event which took place during this time (and which surely played a major role in the linguistic changes) is the Norman Conquest (Baugh et al. 2010: 98). Although it is disputable whether the rise of French as a prestige language directly caused the rapid changes, it definitely sped them up (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 10). Auwera and König (1994: 112) argue that “The changes in the phonology of unaccented syllables (reduction of unstressed vowels to schwa) that had a domino effect in the morphology (reducing case endings) were already on the way in the north of England in the Old English period, before French influence could take effect.” The reason French was so important for the development of these changes was that it was the language of the elite (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 9). The Norman Conquest took place in 1066, and for the following 200 years or so, French was the official language on the island – most literature was therefore written in French (or Latin (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 9)). The lack of written records in English, and therefore the lack of language standard, undoubtedly accelerated the progress which had already been under way (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 10). Another result of the French influence, perhaps even more obvious, is the massive influx of Romance loan words, which ultimately changed the English lexicon completely (Auwera and König 1994: 112).

The most significant structural changes which took place during the ME period were the levelling and loss of inflection and the development of periphrastic constructions and fixed word order (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 309). Some grammatical distinctions like the dual number, grammatical gender, or noun classes were lost; on the other hand, English developed an article system and obligatory subject placeholders “it” and “there” (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 310). We can say that during this period, English underwent the most radical changes of its history – the reduction of inflection and the shift from synthetic to analytic processes is the main reason why OE and PDE are so different (Brinton and Arnovick 2011: 310).

## **2.8 The Development of Danish**

Let us now move on to the second language in question – Danish. Though our main focus is on Present-Day Danish, it is first necessary to summarize the development of the language and discuss its position in the Germanic family.

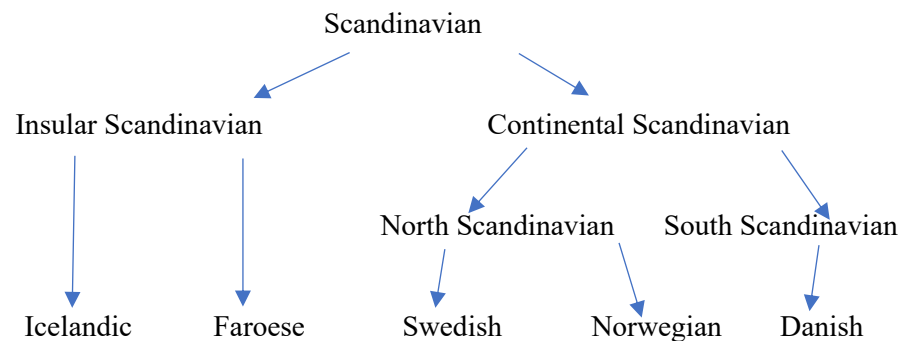
As previously established, Danish is a North Germanic language, and it belongs to the East Norse subgroup (Harbert 2007: 19). The oldest attested stage of the North Germanic languages is known as Proto-Norse or Ancient Scandinavian (*urnordisk* in Danish) and dates approximately from the second century CE (Torp 2005: 33) to the end of the seventh century CE (Torp 2005: 52). If any dialect differences existed during this stage, they were probably insignificant (Auwera and König 1994: 38). The oldest written records in Proto-Norse are runic inscriptions dating from about the year 200 (Torp 2005: 52). The next period in the development of the Scandinavian languages is Old Norse, dating approximately from 700 AD to 1350 AD (Gundersen et al.). It is during the eighth century that we can first observe differences between dialects, which would later develop into the West and East Norse branches – however, the regional variants of the language were still very close at that time (Torp 2005: 54). The East Scandinavian dialects were spoken in Denmark and Sweden, while West Scandinavian was used in Norway and also in the Norwegian settlements in the North Atlantic (namely Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, the Shetland and Orkney Islands, and even parts of Scotland (Auwera and König 1994: 38)).

After ca. the year 1200, further changes took place which separated Danish from other Scandinavian languages (Torp 2005: 56). The dialects of Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands formed the North Norse group, while Danish formed the South

Norse one; this was possibly caused by the persistent language contact between the speakers of Danish and German (Torp 2005: 56). An example of such change (which eventually also took place in Swedish and Norwegian, though later than in Danish) is the simplification of the inflectional system (Torp 2005: 57).

Even later, from about 1500, the classification of the Scandinavian languages finally settled on the distinction between Insular Nordic (*ø nordisk*) and Continental Scandinavian (*skandinavisk*), with the first group comprising Icelandic and Faroese and the second Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish (Torp 2005: 57). The reason for this is mainly the geographical isolation of the islands; while the three continental Scandinavian languages kept evolving and mutually influencing each other, Icelandic and Faroese preserved many of their archaic features (Torp 2005: 59). Danish, on the other hand, is the one who moved the farthest from the Scandinavian roots, “primarily due to Denmark's geographic location, which forms a bridge between the Nordic countries and the European mainland” (Auwera and König 1994: 6).

Figure 2: The classification of modern Scandinavian languages



(based on Torp 2005: 30)

Today, Danish is used by more than five million speakers: it is spoken in Denmark, and to some extent in Greenland, on the Faroe Islands, and in the Schleswig-Holstein region of Germany (Auwera and König 1994: 6). It is interesting that despite the relatively small number of speakers, the dialectal differences are truly significant (Auwera and König 1994: 313). Usually, three main dialect groups are recognized: Insular Danish (*ømål*), Jutlandic (*jysk*), and Bornholmian (*bornholmsk*), which can be further divided into smaller subgroups (‘Hvor Mange Dialekter Er Der i Danmark?’). The



spoken standard of Danish is called *rigsmål* (Skautrup 1968: 6) or *rigsdansk* (from Danish *rige* kingdom – it could be translated as “the language of the kingdom”), but there is some regional variation even within this standard (Auwera and König 1994: 316).

## 2.9 Danish Word Stock

Analogically to OE, the PDD lexicon is mostly of Germanic origin (Comrie 2017: 141). Auwera and König estimate that “Danish has about 2,000 non-compound words inherited from common Indo-European most of which are still in common use in Modern Danish; of these about 1,200 are nouns, 180 adjectives, more than 500 verbs and about 100 words belonging to other word classes. An additional 1,200 words, the lion’s share of which are nouns, can be traced back to the common North Germanic period, and about 300 to East North Germanic” (Auwera and König 1994: 346). This core word stock has been constantly supplemented by means of derivation, compounding, and borrowing (Auwera and König 1994: 346).

The earliest wave of loans came with traders from the Roman empire; from them, the Scandinavian languages acquired such words as *købe* (“buy” – from Lat. *caupo*) or *vin* (“wine” – from Lat. *vinum* (Comrie 2017: 141)). Religious vocabulary of Greek or Latin origin was also borrowed frequently – for example in the case of *kirke* (“church” – from Greek *kuriaikon*) or *messe* (“mass” – Lat. *missa* (Comrie 2017: 141)). In fact, these loans frequently came through various intermediaries, such as Old English, Old Saxon, or Old Frisian (Auwera and König 1994: 346). During the Middle Ages, Low German became the main source of loans (Comrie 2017: 141). This was the language of the Hanseatic League, a powerful confederation of north German trading towns, and since cities like Copenhagen were heavily settled by German merchants, it was natural that the language had major influence in Scandinavia (Comrie 2017: 141-142). During the Older Modern Danish period (ca. 1500-1700), High German and French became the most prevalent sources of loans, with a few other languages providing vocabulary in specific areas (such as Dutch in sea travel or Italian in banking (Auwera and König 1994: 346). One of the reasons High German gained importance as a source of loan words during the sixteenth century was that it was the language of Luther’s Bible, and as such became a model for the Scandinavians after the Reformation (Comrie 2017: 142). During the eighteenth century, a wave of purism arose which caused the replacement of many French words

with German loan translations (Comrie 2017: 142). The influence of English began in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and still continues today (Auwera and König 1994: 346).

Compounding is a very productive word-formation process in PDD (Herslund 2002: 34). In many cases where other Germanic languages would use derivation, PDD prefers compounding: compare for example the Dutch word *koekjes*, “cookies,” to Danish *småkager*, literally “little cakes” (Auwera and König 1994: 347). In fact, PDD often uses the *små-* prefix as a means of forming diminutives, as it has no bound diminutive morpheme (Auwera and König 1994: 347). Quite often, the two individual parts of a compound are bound together by the morpheme *-s-* (as we saw in the aforementioned example of *rigsdansk* (Herslund 2002: 34).

Danish derivative morphology is quite rich but not many bound forms are still productive; one example could be the derivative suffix *-er* as in *arbejder*, “worker” (Auwera and König 1994: 347). Other morphemes, like *-se* which forms transitive verbs from adjectives (for example *rense*, “to clean,” from *ren*, “clean”) are no longer productive (Auwera and König 1994: 347).

## **2.10 The Relationship Between OE and PDD**

The main objective of this chapter was to summarize the development of OE and PDD from their Germanic ancestor: the division of Germanic languages into the East, West (OE), and North (PDD) branch, the subsequent development of OE and PDD, and the cultural and historical influences which shaped them.

The aim was to provide context for the typological analysis which follows: to understand the common features of both languages, it is necessary to know about their common ancestors. It was also important to mention the subsequent development of English to demonstrate why it is more convenient to compare OE and PDD than PDE and PDD: on the one hand, both languages show many typically Germanic features (some of which were lost in the later stages of English), but on the other hand, OE and PDD are typologically different, and therefore provide an opportunity for a more interesting linguistic comparison.

We already established some basic features that OE and PDD have in common. From their common ancestor, Proto-Germanic, the two languages inherited not only a significant part of vocabulary, but also many grammatical principles typical for Germanic languages (such as the verbal system based on the distinction of tense or the forming of

the preterit by means of suffixation). In the following chapter, an overview of Vladimír Skalička's typology will provide a theoretical background for an analysis of linguistic properties of both languages. The analysis will then show the contrasts between OE and PDD caused by their different typological tendencies.

### 3. Typological theory and methodology

In order to meaningfully discuss the typological features of OE and PDD, we must first provide a theoretical frame, based primarily on the works of Vladimír Skalička, Petr Sgall, and František Čermák. This chapter will discuss the key properties of each of the morphological types, and also the methods which will be used in the thesis to identify the dominant type of the languages in question.

#### 3.1 Skalička's morphological typology

Vladimír Skalička sees a “type of language” as an extreme which only exists theoretically; a real human language can never be typologically “pure,” for such language would simply not be usable (Luelsdorff 1994: 339). We should therefore not view the Praguian typology as a way to classify languages into strictly defined categories. It is better to think about the morphological types as clusters of mutually favourable linguistic properties whose presence determines the overall character of a language. We cannot say that OE is purely inflectional or that PDD is purely isolating; we can, however, study specific features of various parts of their grammar and determine their dominant tendencies in conveying grammatical values. Each type can be characterized as “a collection (...) of properties intrinsically connected by *probability implications* of the form” – therefore “if a language has the property A, then it probably also has the property B” (Sgall 2006: 24). Many earlier typological theories suffered from limiting assumptions about the quality of individual languages. Some types were deemed as inherently “higher” or “more refined” than others; this also led to misleading interpretation of language change as a transition from a lower stage to a higher one – if it was acknowledged at all (Luelsdorff 1994: 334). Skalička's typology, on the other hand, enables us to study the development of languages without evaluating their “quality.”

Natural languages are limited (mostly phonetically) in their expression of grammatical values (Sgall 2006: 22). According to Sgall, they can only be conveyed by “(a) morphemes (b) alternations, and (c) the order of lexical items in a sentence.” (Sgall 2006: 22). Skalička offers a list of individual grammatical features, such as the use of affixes or the presence of fixed word order, to provide a complex image of each of the morphological types. Some of these features are connected and tend to occur at the same time (Sgall 2006: 26).

In Skalička's earlier works on typology, the following morphological types were recognized:

- a. The isolating type (dominant for example in PDE or French) is primarily characterized by the strong differentiation between word and sentence, while the differentiation between word, seme,<sup>1</sup> and morpheme is rather weak (Luelsdorff 1994: 335).
- b. The inflectional type, on the other hand, is characterized by the strong differentiation of seme and morpheme (Luelsdorff 1994: 336).
- c. In the polysynthetic type, the differentiation between word and seme (morpheme) is the strongest (Luelsdorff 1994: 336).
- d. The agglutinative type typically combines more than one seme in a single word. (Luelsdorff 1994: 336)

Skalička later described a fifth type called *introflexive*; this type, however, “never serves as a basis of a whole structure of a language, but is always combined with the syntax of another type” (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

Let us now present a short summary of the individual types' key properties as described by Skalička and Sgall.

### **3.2 Isolation**

The isolating type, sometimes also called analytic, is heavily represented in languages such as PDE, French, or Hawaiian (Luelsdorff 1994: 338). It tends to avoid the use of endings to express grammatical categories and prefers to express them by word order and auxiliary words (Skalička 2004: 478).

- a. Affixes are rather scarce. Words, both lexical and grammatical, are often monosyllabic (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- b. There is a regular connection between the lexical and grammatical morphemes, and word classes are not strictly differentiated; conversion is present (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- c. In relation to the absence of affixes, there is a great number of isolated words which are related semantically but were not created by morphemic derivation (such as *ox vs. beef* (Luelsdorff 1994: 338)).

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<sup>1</sup> Skalička and Sgall define seme as “the elementary unit of grammar (morphemics), a morpheme being composed (in the general case) of several semes such as Genitive, Plural, Feminine, or Preterite, Perfective, 3rd Person, Singular, Indicative in the declensional and conjugational morphemes of inflectional languages” (Luelsdorff 349).

- d. If the affixes are absent, there is no opposition between them and the functional means (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- e. Fixed word order is typical; numerous function words do not allow much freedom in the position of words within the clause (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- f. There are many kinds of derived clauses with conjunctions (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- g. Isolating languages also have an abundance of prepositions (Skalička 2004: 481).
- h. The occurrence of loan words is frequent (Luelsdorff 1994: 347).

### 3.3 Inflection

The inflectional type is dominant e. g. in Latin or Czech (and other Slavonic languages (Luelsdorff 1994: 337)).

- a. Every lexical word (noun, verb, adjective, sometimes also numeral) has a single ending for each of its grammatical forms. In some cases, for example in Bantu languages, there is a prefix instead of an ending (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).
- b. The endings, expressing different functions of the words, provide a basis for elaborate classification; besides word classes, various subclasses can also be distinguished (for example the gender of nouns, the transitivity of verbs, etc. (Luelsdorff 1994: 337)).
- c. The endings also have a derivative function, such as forming a word of different gender (e. g. Spanish *perro* dog vs. *perra* bitch (Luelsdorff 1994: 337)).
- d. If the derivational affixes are present, they are highly different from the inflectional endings (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).
- e. The presence of a single ending is connected to multiple features. (i) The ending does not necessarily form an independent syllable, (ii) it can express multiple functions, and (iii) it often exhibits synonymy and ambiguity (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- f. The great number of endings correlates with free word order (the function of a word is determined by its ending, therefore the fixed word order is not necessary (Luelsdorff 1994: 338)).
- g. Word classes are distinguished; this is connected to a large number of dependent clauses (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).

### **3.4 Polysynthesis**

The polysynthetic type can be found in many Asian languages, for example Thai, Vietnamese, or written Chinese (Luelsdorff 1994: 338). It has no declension or conjugation; in Chinese, for example, one form of a verb can be used to express all tenses, persons, etc. (Skalička 2004: 507).

- a. There is no strict differentiation between lexical words and function words (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- b. Word classes are not differentiated either (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- c. Composition is the main means of word-formation (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- d. There are no affixes or endings (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- e. The grammatical morphemes and the lexical words are not phonemically distinguished; there is a high degree of ambiguity (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- f. Fixed word order makes up for the lack of grammatical means (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).
- g. The polysynthetic type also uses composition in the context in which the other types would prefer dependent clauses (Luelsdorff 1994: 338).

### **3.5 Agglutination**

The agglutinative type is dominant e. g. in Hungarian, Turkish, or Finnish (Luelsdorff 1994: 336).

- a. Multiple affixes are attached to the word basis; they often express values conveyed by function words in other languages (e. g. possession, verb persons, adverbial values corresponding to prepositions (Luelsdorff 1994: 336)).
- b. Word classes are absent or not strictly differentiated; this is connected to the abundance of affixes, since “a lexical unit can play any syntactic role in the sentence” (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).
- c. Affixes are also used in word formation (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).
- d. Derivational suffixes and inflectional endings are not clearly differentiated (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).
- e. Unlike in the inflectional type, the affixes usually have their own syllable. They also have more distinct semantic functions, so there is no synonymy or ambiguity (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).
- f. Word order is fixed (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).

g. If the word classes are not distinguished, dependent clauses are absent; instead, numerous affixes are used to form infinitives, participles, gerunds, etc. (Luelsdorff 1994: 337).

### **3.6 Introflection**

Finally, the introflexive type is relatively strong in Semitic languages; but as I mentioned above, it can never be the single dominant type (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

a. Certain phonemes within a lexical morpheme can have grammatical meanings, and grammatical changes can be expressed by a change within such morpheme. An example from PDE could be the irregular plurals such as *foot – feet* or *mouse – mice* (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

b. Word classes are differentiated by introflection (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

c. Introflection is also used as a derivative means (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

d. The inflectional and derivational means are not clearly differentiated (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

e. The difference between lexical and grammatical means is phonemically clearly expressed (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

f. The construct of word order and dependent clauses is similar to the inflectional type, but in real languages, introflection is never developed to such a great extent (Luelsdorff 1994: 339).

### **3.7 Methodology**

The aim of this thesis is twofold: to provide a survey of relevant typological properties of OE and PDD, and to describe their mutual relationship.

The historical chapter provided some context regarding the common history of the two languages, and the description of some major linguistic changes and characteristics inherited from the PIE stage and the Germanic stage. But to be able to evaluate the relationship of OE and PDD thoroughly (not only from the historical point of view, but also typologically), we must first discuss the differences in properties from the fields of morphology, word formation, and syntax.

The primary features of each of the morphological types were already established. But to compare two languages of different types, it is necessary to find general qualities



whose presence (or absence) could be evaluated across all types. For this purpose, I chose to use the scheme developed by František Čermák for his study “Typology of the Germanic Languages with Special Reference to Dutch”. Čermák created a table of typological features, using Skalička’s theory as a framework, and quantified the strength of the individual features in each of the types (Čermák 1978: 65).

In order to assess the similarities and differences between the two languages, I attempted to quantify the presence of these features in OE and PDD, using Čermák’s four-grade scale: “—, (—), (+), + are assigned to a negative, next to negative, weakly positive and positive occurrence of the feature in the given language type, respectively” (Čermák 1978: 65).

*Figure 3: Table of typological features*

Typological features	OE	PDD
Affixation of auxiliary elements (affixes and endings) to the word (vs. independence)	+	(—)
Accumulation of affixes in one word (vs. the absence of it)	(+)	(—)
Accumulation of functions in one part of the word (x various parts of the word)	+	—
Syllabic character of suffixes and endings	(—)	(+)
Distinct phonological boundary between parts of the word (x fusion)	—	+
Accumulation of meanings in the word root (x in affixes, endings)	—	—

Binding of the meaningful elements in one word, composition (x word combination)	(—)	(—)
Opposition of the meaningful and auxiliary elements (x fusion)	+	(+)
Morpheme homonymy and synonymy	+	—
Difference between the parts of speech (x fusion)	+	(—)
Suppletion	(+)	(—)
Word polysemy (x monosemy)	(—)	+
Adjective-noun agreement	+	+
Numeral-noun agreement in plural (x singular)	+	+
Possessive suffixes (x pronouns)	—	—
Case system (x formal words, word order)	+	—
Number of formal words (x cases)	—	+
Fixed word order	—	+
Verbal character of the sentence (x nominal)	+	+
Infinitives and participial constructions (x subordinate clauses)	(—)	(—)

Subordinate clauses (x infinitives)	+	+
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(based on Čermák 1978: 66–67)

It is important to note that not all of these features are equally relevant for the thesis. Since it is my intention to specifically focus on the similarities and differences between OE and PDD and on the description of their overall typological character, I chose the features which are central for the morphological types in question, or which show important contrasts between the two languages. Other properties, which are not decisive for the survey, will not be discussed in detail in the analytical part. Specifically, this concerns the accumulation of meanings in the word root (which is only typical for the introflexive type), binding of the meaningful elements in one word (strongly represented in the polysynthetic type), opposition of the meaningful and auxiliary elements (which, on the other hand, is only absent from the polysynthetic type), suppletion (which is limited to a few specific areas in both languages and not very productive), possessive suffixes (represented only in the agglutinative type, but not in the case of PDD), and verbal character of the sentence (the opposite of this feature, the nominal sentence, is atypical for both languages and there is thus not many possibilities for contrastive analysis (Čermák 1978: 66–67)).

Generally, we can say that the analytical chapter is most focused on features from the field of morphology. The reason for this is morphology's special importance for the determination of a dominant type of a language. According to Vít Boček, the typological properties have to participate in expressing grammatical functions in order to be considered dominant (Boček 2011: 19). Other parts of language, such as word-formation or syntax, are therefore not considered vital for the determination of the dominant type (Boček 2011: 19). Some of the features which are omitted in the analytical part will be briefly mentioned in the conclusion, as they might still be relevant for the comparison of OE and PDD (for example the introflexive features of strong verbs); but I chose not to include them in the main analysis, as their importance for the typological evaluation is not very high.

For the typological analysis, examples from grammars were used which represent the dominant tendencies in each language. It is, of course, a selective survey: it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a complex description of the whole grammatical

systems of OE and PDD, and it is not my objective to do so. Rather, the analysis is meant to provide a list of specific ways the typological features manifest themselves in the grammatical systems of the two languages, as well as point out the connections between these features.

## 4. Analysis of Typological Features

In the following chapter, various typological features from the areas of morphology, word-formation, and syntax will be analysed. The aim is to provide a survey of the most important characteristics of OE and PDD and offer an evaluation of some differences and similarities between their grammatical systems.

### 4.1 Affixation of auxiliary elements to the word

As was established in the previous chapter (3.3), the inflectional type strongly favours the expression of grammatical categories with the use of endings. Unlike the agglutinative languages, which tend to use multiple final segments with a single meaning, the inflectional languages prefer the cumulation of several meanings within a single ending. Both the affixation of auxiliary elements and the accumulation of meanings are strongly represented in OE.

A specific example could be the declension of the noun. OE nouns are inflected for gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), case (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive; instrumental is rather obsolete and not as commonly used – for more see 4.8), and number (singular, plural). This means every word can theoretically have ten possible grammatical forms differentiated by endings. However, some of these endings are homonymous (see 4.6), which is another feature typical for the inflectional languages (Čermák 1978: 66).

The presence of grammatical gender is also an important inflectional property. As Sgall and Skalička point out (Luelsdorff 1994: 337–38), the inflectional languages typically distinguish not only word classes, but also various subclasses – gender can be one of the criteria for such classification.

Nouns of different genders are inflected by various paradigms – there are several declensional groups for each gender. E. g. for the word *stān* “stone,” which belongs in the masculine *a-stem* class, the plural form in nominative or accusative would be *stānas* (Fulk 2014: 18). For a word from the neuter *a-stem* class, e. g. *scīp* “ship”, the plural ending in nominative and accusative would be *-u*: *scīpu* (Fulk 2014: 21).

PDD, on the other hand, has much stronger isolating tendencies, and therefore doesn't employ endings to such high extent. The PDD noun, for example, does not inflect for case (except for the genitive). The PDD word for “stone” *sten* would therefore have the same form in both the nominative and the dative. In noun declension particularly,

PDD uses affixes to some degree, for example to express definiteness – but these endings behave rather agglutinatively than inflectionally (see more in 4.2).

Verb inflection is also much less complex than in OE. In each tense, there is only one form of the verb for all persons, and the number is not distinguished either (Allan et al. 2014: 75). E. g. the present form of *leve* “to live” would be *lever* for all persons and for both singular and plural (Allan et al. 2014: 75). As an isolating language, PDD also prefers to use separate auxiliary words to express grammatical categories (as opposed to the extensive use of affixes or endings). To form the perfect, past perfect, and future tense, auxiliary verbs are employed (Allan et al. 2014: 75). E. g. the perfect tense is expressed by the auxiliary verb *være* or *have* combined with the past participle: *Jeg har slået græsset*. “I have cut the grass.” (Allan et al. 2014: 91).

#### 4.2 Accumulation of affixes and endings in one word

The primarily inflectional nature of OE does not favour an accumulation of multiple endings in one word: instead, a single ending with multiple meanings is typically used. However, there are instances where we can notice a cumulation of multiple final segments in one word – a feature which is primarily associated with the agglutinative type.

The preterit form of OE verbs is a good example of this. Verbs can be divided into strong and weak, and the weak ones, as is typical for the Germanic languages (see 2.2), take a dental suffix (Fulk 2014: 23). In addition, the verb takes an ending indicating person and number (Fulk 2014: 23). A specific example of the weak verb declension could be *hīeran* “hear,” in preterit plural *hīerdon*, where *-d-* is the preterit suffix, while the ending *-on* expresses the plural (person cannot be determined in this case, because the plural ending is the same for all persons (Fulk 2014: 23)). One can clearly see the difference between the typically inflectional declension of OE noun, where a single ending expresses all grammatical categories, and the agglutinative tendency to accumulate multiple final segments with separate meanings, represented by the preterit verb.

PDD, due to its rather isolating tendencies, does generally not use endings as frequently as OE. If any final segments are present, they are primarily affixes of agglutinative character, as we can demonstrate on the declension of the noun.

PDD nouns have two genders: the common gender (with the article *en*) and the neuter (article *et* (Allan et al. 2014: 19)). In the indefinite form, the article (*en* or *et*) stands

before the noun; in the definite form, it is added to the end of the noun as a suffix (Allan et al. 2014: 19). Number is also expressed by means of suffixes (Allan et al. 2014: 22).

The Danish noun is isolating in the sense that it does not change its form in various cases – the only exception being the genitive. In this case, the nouns take the suffix *-s* (Allan et al. 2014: 29). If the noun is in the definite form, *-s* is added after the definite article.

For example in the nominal phrase *drengenes hund* “the boys’ dog,” *dreng* “boy” is the root, *-e-* a plural suffix, *-ne-* a definite suffix, and *-s* a genitive suffix (Allan et al. 2014: 29). It is clear that unlike OE nouns, PDD nouns tend to cumulate several affixes, each of which expresses a single grammatical category. The noun declension could therefore serve as a prime example of agglutinative tendencies in PDD.

### 4.3 Accumulation of functions in one part of the word

Accumulation of functions in one part of the word, specifically in endings (as opposed to the introflexive type, where meanings are rather cumulated in the word root), is one of the crucial properties of the inflectional type (Čermák 1978: 66). The declension of nouns with the help of a single ending (4.1) is one example. Another could be the declension of adjectives, which also employ endings expressing case, number, and gender at the same time (Fulk 2014: 35). The affixal declension is sometimes accompanied by a change in the root vowel (e. g. *blæc* “black” – nominative masculine singular; *blacu* – nominative feminine singular (Fulk 2014: 35). This is an example of an introflexive feature – as Vít Boček (2011: 17) points out, the introflexive type is commonly combined with the inflectional one (see more in 5). At the same time, the change of the root vowel after the addition of the ending shows a tight relationship between the ending and the rest of the word – the phonological boundary between morphemes is not clear, which is a typically inflectional feature (see 4.5).

The situation is completely different in PDD. Accumulation of meanings in the final segments is atypical for both the isolating and the agglutinative type, and as such is essentially absent from PDD. In some cases, like the noun declension, PDD prefers to use multiple affixes with a single meaning (Allan et al. 2014: 22–28). In other cases, it uses grammatical words, as is typical for the isolating languages. Verbs are a good example of this – the affixes only express tense, and person and number have to be expressed by a pronoun. For instance: *Vi plantede et træ I haven*. “We planted a tree in the garden” or

*For ti år siden boede jeg i Danmark.* “I lived in Denmark ten years ago” (Allan et al. 2014: 91). In this case, there is the same affix *-(e)de* in both examples, and the person and number are only expressed in the pronoun which functions as the subject.

#### 4.4 Syllabic character of suffixes and endings

The syllabic character of suffixes and endings is typical for the agglutinative and isolating languages, but not so much for the inflectional ones (Čermák 1978: 66).

In OE, non-syllabic endings can be found in verbs, for example the second- and third-person endings *-st* and *-ð*, respectively: for *dēman*, judge, second person singular is *dēmst*, third person singular *dēmð* (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 42–43).

In fact, inflectional affixes in PDD do not usually form independent syllables either. One example could be the preterit suffix *-(de)/-te* (*spiste* “ate”, *lagde* “laid, put” (Allan et al. 76)), but there is an overall lack of inflection in PDD, and the examples of inflectional affixes, syllabic or non-syllabic, are therefore not very numerous.

For both languages, the situation is a bit different when it comes to derivative affixes. In OE they are mostly syllabic: for example the affix *-ful*, used to form an adjective from a noun (*sorgful* “sad” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 107)) or *-nes(s)* (sometimes also spelled *-nis*, *-nys*), used to form a noun, especially from an adjective (*beorhtnes* “brightness” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 111)). An interesting example of a non-syllabic derivative affix is *-th*, found e. g. in the word *fylþ* “impurity, filth” (Barber et al. 2009: 128). The prehistoric OE form of this word was *\*fūliþa* (the affix developed from the original Proto-Germanic *\*-iþō*, used to form abstract nouns from adjectives), the *i* cause front mutation and was later lost, leaving only the remnant *-þ* affix (Barber et al. 2009: 128).

Derivative affixes in PDD form independent syllables in most cases, for example the adjectival affix *-bar*, expressing possibility (*vaskbar* “washable”) or the nominal *-sel*, describing an activity (*indførsel* “importation” (Allan et al. 2014: 177–78)).

#### 4.5 Distinct phonological boundary between parts of the word

There is a close connection between the syllabicity of affixes and endings and the phonological boundary between various parts of the word: both are typical for the



isolating and agglutinative languages and atypical for the inflectional ones (Čermák 1978: 66).

A good example of the permeable syllabic boundaries in OE is the process known as *i*-umlaut or *i*-mutation, i.e. “When *i* or *ī* stood in the following syllable, all back vowels were invariably fronted” (Campbell 1983: 71). Because there is no distinct phonological boundary between parts of the word, the sounds can influence each other across syllables.

No such thing as *i*-mutation can be found in PDD, where the phonological boundary between parts of the word is impermeable.

#### 4.6 Morpheme homonymy and synonymy

Homonymy and synonymy are typical for the inflectional languages: the higher the level of inflection is, the more common is the homonymy, especially the homonymy of endings (Čermák, ‘Typology of the Germanic Languages with Special Reference to Dutch’ 92). For example, the ending *-um* can express the dative plural (or instrumental) of both the general masculine declension (e. g. *bæcerum* “bakers”) and the general neuter declension (*scipum* “ships” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 22–23)). Endings for various cases can also be homonymous, like in the instance of *glōf* “glove,” where the ending *-e* is the same for singular accusative, genitive, dative, and instrumental (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 25).

Homonymy is highly uncommon in the agglutinative languages, and only slightly less so in the isolating languages (Čermák 1978: 66). In the first case, this is connected to the cumulation of multiple affixes, each of which has a single meaning; while in the second case, the lack of homonymy is caused by the lack of affixes and endings altogether. However, even in PDD (which has primarily isolating and agglutinative tendencies), a few examples of homonymy can be found. E. g. the present tense ending of a verb (e. g. *lever* “lives, live”) is homonymous for all persons (Allan et al. 2014: 75). To indicate person, PDD prefers to use pronouns – another typically isolating feature. Moreover, the affix *-er* can also be used to denote plural in nouns: *en avis* “a newspaper,” *to aviser* “two newspapers” (Allan et al. 2014: 22).

#### 4.7 Difference between the parts of speech, polysemy

It is characteristic for the inflectional type to exhibit clear differences between various parts of speech. Conversion is therefore not very prominent; new words are typically formed with the help of derivative affixes.

There are a great number of word pairs in OE which belong to different word classes and whose PDE equivalents would either be homonymous or would be expressed analytically. Word pairs such as *bite* “bite” and *bītan* “to bite,” *hryre* “fall” and *hrēōsan* “to fall,” or *frōfor* “comfort” and *frēfran* “to comfort” show that OE has a system of affixes that allow it to form verbs from nouns quite easily, without the need for conversion (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 105). One can also notice the introflexive tendency to change the root vowel which accompanies the affixation.

Similar correspondence exists between adjectives and verbs, for example *beald* “bold” and *byldan* “embolden” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 106). The affix *-an* is typical for the formation of verbs;<sup>2</sup> we can once again see that it is accompanied by an introflexive change in the root vowel.

The formation of adjectives from nouns is also affixal. Adjectives most commonly employ the affixes *-ig* (*blōdig* “bloody”), *-ful* (*sorgful* “sad”), *-lēās* (*frēōndlēās* “friendless”), and *-lic* (*dēōfollic* “diabolical” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 107)).

In PDD, the distinction of word classes by affixation is also quite common – for example the forming of verbs by adding the affix *-e* (*tank* “tank,” *tanke* “to fill up the tank” (Allan et al. 2014: 174)). Adverbs can be formed from adjectives by adding the *-t* to the common gender singular form (*dārlig* “bad,” *dārligt* “badly”), but in this case the adverb is then identical with the neuter singular form of the adjective, which makes the line between word classes rather fuzzy (Allan et al. 2014: 107).

Conversion is used as well: participles can undergo conversion and function as adjectives, for example *forlovet* “engaged” or *irriterende* “irritating” (Allan et al. 2014: 37–38). However, this word-forming process is not very productive anymore – new vocabulary is formed mainly by affixation or compounding (the formation of compounds is in fact most typical for the polysynthetic languages – see 3.4)

Another feature which is closely connected to the differences between word classes is polysemy. Polysemy is not really typical for the inflectional languages (Čermák

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<sup>2</sup> Quirk and Wrenn classify this word-formation process as “formative conversion” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 104).

1978: 66) – this is connected to the high number of derivational affixes – new words can be easily formed by derivation and conversion (with subsequent polysemy) is therefore not very common.

In OE, a few sporadic examples can be found, e. g. some words that can be used either as adverbs or conjunctions (depending on whether the clause they appear in is dependent or independent): *þonne* “when, then,” *þær* “where, there,” or *siððan* “after, afterwards” (Fulk 2014: 54).

In the more isolating PDD, where the distinction between parts of speech is not as strong, polysemy can be found across different word classes. For example the word *salt* can be used both as the noun “salt” and the adjective “salty” (Čermák 1978: 74). Naturally, polysemy within one word class also occurs, for example the verb *læse* can mean “read” but also “study” (Hansen et al. 2011: 111).

#### 4.8 Case system

In the inflectional type, the case system (expressed morphologically) is one of the primary means for determining a word’s role in a clause (as opposed to the use of formal words or fixed word order (Čermák 1978: 67)).

OE has five cases, one of which, however, is rather obsolete; only nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative are commonly used (Fulk 2014: 16-17).

The nominative is primarily used as the case of the subject. It can also be used for a subjective complement and in direct address (as OE has no separate form for the vocative case (Fulk 2014: 16)).

The accusative is the typical case of the direct object. It can also be used to express duration or extent and occurs commonly after certain preposition, for example *onforan* “in front of” or *þurh* “through” (Fulk 2014: 16-17).

The genitive is typically used in constructions expressing possession. Interestingly enough, OE has no periphrastic construction comparable to the PDE “the [something] of [someone]” (Fulk 2014: 17). Fulk uses the examples “Eormanric’s court” and “the court of Eormanric;” while PDE can use both phrases, OE had to rely on the former (Fulk 2014: 17).

The dative is the case of the indirect object. It can also be used to express possession (typically with body parts or attributes), as in “*Hyge wees **him** *hinfus* ‘His thoughts were on getting away’” (Fulk 2014: 17).*

The instrumental case also exists in OE, but most forms are indistinguishable from the dative ones, and it basically only survives in some pronouns and adjectives and in fixed expressions (Fulk 2014: 17).

In PDD, the use of cases as a syntactic means is negligible. The only morphologically distinguished case is the genitive, and there is no way to determine the noun's syntactic role solely from its grammatical form.

#### **4.9 Adjective-noun agreement, numeral-noun agreement in plural**

It is typical for the inflectional languages to have a grammatical concord, specifically the agreement between nouns and their various modifiers (Čermák 1978: 66). This feature is also closely connected to word order. Theoretically, since the inflectional languages do not have fixed word order, they need grammatical agreement to connect the adjective to the noun which it modifies. On the other hand, even though the word order in OE is relatively free, the adjective tends to occupy a fixed place before the modified noun. František Čermák comments on the close connection between concord and word order: “For the adjective-noun combination it is the word order which is of primary importance, beside the agreement: for all the Germanic languages it is typically the sequence adjective plus-noun that is used (i.e. adjective before noun). Although there may be cases opposed to this rule, they are always rare and exceptional (often emphatic or poetic style)” (Čermák 1978: 97).

Grammatical agreement is of great importance in OE – not only adjectives, but also demonstratives agree with nouns in case, number, and gender (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 74). Adjectives can be declined according to either strong or weak declension (with the weak declension being typically used when the adjective follows a demonstrative, the strong one in other cases (Campbell 1983: 261).

The presence of adjective-noun agreement in PDD is especially typologically interesting, since this feature is typical neither for the isolating, nor the agglutinative languages. This is again connected to the fixed word order (which is typical for both types). However, PDD exhibits quite a high degree of grammatical agreement.

The PDD adjective can have definite or indefinite declension. In the indefinite form, it agrees with the noun in number and (in the case of the singular) gender (Allan et al. 2014: 35). This applies to both the attributive and the predicative position (Allan et al. 2014: 35). For example, in the phrase *et stort hus* “a big house,” the *-t* in *stort* indicates

an agreement with the neutral gender of the noun. For plural, the ending is *-e* in all forms (Allan et al. 2014: 35). In the definite declension (after definite articles or possessive pronouns), the ending is always *-e* – *det store hus* “the big house” (Allan et al. 2014: 35).

In OE, nouns agree with numerals in plural: *fif menn* “five men” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 37). Numerals also inflect for gender and case, similarly to adjectives (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 37).

In PDD, the numeral-noun agreement is also present: *De blev der i fem uger*. “They stayed there for five weeks” (Allan et al. 2014: 123).

#### 4.10 Number of formal words

As an inflectional language, OE tends to use inflectional endings rather than formal elements to indicate grammatical relations between words. In many instances where PDE requires the use of prepositions, OE simply uses case endings, as in the sentence *Sum wæs æhtweliġ æþeles cynnes rīce ġerēfa* “There was a certain wealthy, powerful senator **of noble family**”, where the genitive is used instead of a preposition (Fulk 2014: 17). Another example is the so-called objective genitive, as in *metodes ege* “fear of the Lord”(meaning that the Lord is the object of fear (Fulk 2014: 17)). Notice that PDE would prefer the use of prepositions in this case.

PDD, on the other hand, has a great number of prepositions, which often function as a substitute for the lack of morphologically expressed case system (a feature typical for the language’s isolating character). Beyond simple (*af* “of,” *i* “in,” *efter* “after”) and compound prepositions (*iblandt* “among,” *imellem* “in between”), there are also complex prepositions, that “are made up of two or more words, including at least one preposition, which in terms of meaning form a unit” (Allan et al. 2014: 113). Combination with adverbs is commonly used to indicate direction or location, for example *Tina gik ud i haven*. “Tina went (out) into the garden.” (Allan et al. 2014: 113). Constructions of the preposition-noun-preposition type are also common, for example *i stedet for* “instead of,” *på grund af* “because of” (Allan et al. 2014: 113).

Naturally, prepositions occur in inflectional languages as well, but the difference is in the degree to which they participate in expressing grammatical values.

#### 4.11 Fixed word order

In connection with the rich case system which enables it to express grammatical categories inflectionally, OE has a rather free word order; but there are still some patterns that the language tends to follow (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 87). Generally, we can say that OE gravitates towards the S V O/C word order (that is, in non-dependent clauses), but with a considerable degree of latitude, especially in poetry (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 92). All possible permutations of subject, verb, and object (or complement) can be found in OE texts – the second most frequent being V S O/C (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 92). This divergence from the dominant S V O/C word order most commonly happens when the clause starts with an adverb: *ne mihte hē gehealdan heardne mēce* “he could not hold the grim sword” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 92). The V S O/C word order is also regular in questions (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 93). In dependent clauses, the S O/C V pattern is the most common (Quirk and Wrenn 94).

There are also other rules for OE word order, although they are usually rather loose. For example, it is normal for modifiers (demonstratives, adjectives) to precede the noun: e. g. *se gōða mann* “the/this good man” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 87–88). One of the cases in which this does not apply is when a noun is modified by two adjectives – one of them can then stand before the noun and the other after it (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 88). Adverbs can also be positioned relatively freely (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 92). The most important conclusion is that although the word order in OE follows some dominant patterns, it is not grammaticalized.

The situation in PDD is completely different. Because the language does not employ inflection as a means of determining the word’s syntactical role, it needs fixed word order to differentiate e. g. a subject and an object.

The dominant word order pattern is S V O/C (Allan et al. 2014: 153). V S O/C is also quite common (like in OE, this change occurs when a different clause element – often an adverbial – takes the first place in the clause instead of the subject). The verb always has a fixed place. In a non-dependent clause, it stands in the second place, being preceded by the so-called *forfelt*, or “forefield,” where the subject typically stands: *Han rejser hjem i dag*. “He is going home today.” (Allan et al. 2014: 153). However, an object or an adverbial can also be moved to the beginning of the sentence: *I dag rejser han hjem*. (Allan et al. 2014: 153). In yes/no questions, the verb moves to the beginning of the clause, just like in PDE (Allan et al. 2014: 153). In subordinate clauses, clausal adverbials

(for example *ikke* “not”) are moved in front of the verb: *Hun sagde, at det ikke var morsomt længere*. “She said it wasn’t funny anymore.” (Allan et al. 2014: 166–67). In a main clause, the *ikke* would stand after the verb: *Det var ikke morsomt længere*. “It wasn’t funny anymore.”

#### 4.12 Subordinate clauses and non-finite constructions

Frequent use of subordinate clauses is typical for both the inflectional and the isolating type (Skalička 2004: 976–77). In the inflectional languages, the rich arsenal of subordinate clauses is connected to the clear differentiation between word classes (Skalička 2004: 976), while in the isolating ones, it is primarily the consequence of a great number of formal elements (Skalička 2004: 977). According to František Čermák, the use of subordinate clauses stands in opposition to the employment of infinitive and participial constructions (Čermák 1978: 102).

In OE subordinate clauses, the S O/C V is the dominant word order (especially in relative, concessive, and temporal clauses), but S V O/C is also common (particularly in conditional, causal, and noun clauses (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 94)). Some subordinate clauses frequently occupy the initial position in a sentence, notably conditional and indefinite relative clauses, for example *swā hwider swā hē cōm, hē cȳdde þās wundra* “wherever he came, he proclaimed these miracles” (Quirk and Wrenn 95).

In some contexts, OE prefers the use of infinitives (which are most typical for the agglutinative type (Čermák 1978: 67)), for example in some cases where PDE would use a participle: *ond geseah hie ðar sittan* “and saw her sitting there” (Fulk 2014: 38). Infinitives are also used e. g. with verbs of causation, as in *hēt ... his hēāfod ofāslēān* “ordered his head to be struck off” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 86).<sup>3</sup> Note that unlike PDE, OE does not use “to” with infinitives.

In PDD, subordinate clauses often stand at the beginning of the sentence and function as the subject (Allan et al. 2014: 163). For example: *At holde op med at ryge er svært*. “Stopping smoking is hard.” (Allan et al. 2014: 163). The word order is S V O/C, but the position of the clausal adverbials changes in the subordinate clause (see 4.11).

PDD tends to use infinitives in contexts where PDE would prefer gerunds, for example *Han tænkte på at gå I teatret*. “He thought of going to the theatre” (Allan et al.

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<sup>3</sup> Note that Czech, which also has strong inflectional tendencies, might prefer the use of a subordinate clause in this case: “Nařídil, aby mu srazili hlavu.”

2014: 86). However, the use of subordinate clauses is still more prominent, as is typical for the isolating type. Although agglutination is present in PDD, it is mostly represented in morphology, and syntactical tendencies such as the use of infinitives and participial construction are therefore not as strong.



## 5. Conclusion

The aim of the thesis was to compare two languages from the Germanic branch, Old English and Present-Day Danish, primarily from the Praguian typology point of view, and describe the historical context which influenced some of the similarities and differences between them.

In the historical chapter, the development of OE and PDD was discussed, particularly their origin as Germanic languages and some key properties that they inherited from their ancestors. Some later changes in the English language, particularly the influence of French, were also mentioned. It is important to note that some features displayed by OE were lost in the later stages, and therefore the comparison between OE and PDD is more relevant than between PDE and PDD.

In the typological chapter, the key properties of each of the morphological types were summarized. The chapter also introduced a table of typological properties based on the works of František Čermák, which serves as a basis for the following analytical chapter.

The main part of the thesis consisted of linguistic analysis, whose aim was to show specific examples of typological properties represented in OE and PDD, and thus provide an insight into the overall character of the two languages and the differences between their grammatical systems.

It was established that OE has a strongly inflectional character. PDD, on the other hand, has rather isolating tendencies, with some degree of agglutination. The aim of the analytical part was to discuss specific examples of typologically relevant features from both languages. Principal features like the use of affixes, word order, or the use of case system were discussed.

The main hypotheses about the typological character of the two languages were confirmed. OE is strongly inflectional, and as such it tends to express grammatical values with the use of endings. The endings are often homonymous and can express multiple meanings. OE also uses derivational affixes to form new words, rather than conversion. It has a rather free word order and clearly differentiated word classes.

PDD has primarily isolating and agglutinative tendencies. Agglutination is mostly represented in noun declension, which employs multiple affixes with separate meanings. Overall, PDD avoids the use of inflectional endings and prefers to use formal elements

and fixed word order to express relationships between words, as is typical for the isolating languages.

Even though the overall typological character of OE and PDD is quite clear, it is possible to find some features in both languages which, despite not being characteristic for the dominant types, are an important part of the grammatical systems and are certainly interesting for the comparison.

One such example is the conjugation of strong verbs, which uses a change in the root vowel: a feature typical for the inflexive languages. An example of such verb conjugation in OE could be *singan, sang, sungen* “sing, sang, sung” (Fulk 2014: 23). The Danish equivalent would be *synge, sang, sunget* (Allan et al. 2014: 81). This is an example of ablaut, one of the features which both OE and PDD inherited from Proto-Indo-European.

Another feature which can be found both in OE and PDD is composition as an important word-formation process: for example PDD words *sommerferie* “summer holiday,” *kæderyge* “to chain smoke” (Allan et al. 2014: 173), or OE *dēādæg* “day of death” (Quirk and Wrenn 1960: 108). Word-formation is not decisive for the determination of the morphological type, and neither OE nor PDD uses composition to express grammatical values (this is mainly typical for the polysynthetic type). Still, it is an important common feature of both languages, and one of the key similarities between them.

Finally, OE and PDD show some similarities in their lexicon – both have a predominantly Germanic character, unlike PDE. Part of their vocabularies comes directly from their common ancestor, Proto-Germanic; but some similarities are also connected with the strong influence of Old Norse on OE.

For future research, it might be useful to examine the linguistic development of both languages more closely and discuss the origin of particular linguistic phenomena. This survey was highly selective in its treatment of the grammatical systems, and a more complex study of the typological features with more detailed examples and perhaps more focus on the linguistic origin of the particular forms would be worth conducting.

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## Shrnutí

### Úvod

V úvodu je nastíněna základní problematika práce a její struktura. Cílem práce je rozebrat vztah mezi dvěma germánskými jazyky – starou angličtinou a současnou dánštinou – a srovnat je z hlediska typologie Pražské školy. Práce je rozdělena na tři základní části: historickou kapitolu, v níž se popisuje kontext vývoje obou jazyků a některé zásadní lingvistické změny, kterými v průběhu historie prošly, teoretickou kapitolu, v níž se čtenář seznámí s morfologickou typologií Vladimíra Skaličky a s metodologií práce, a analytickou kapitolu, v níž jsou rozebrány konkrétní projevy vybraných typologických znaků v obou jazycích.

Cílem práce je dokázat, že stará angličtina vykazuje především flektivní znaky, zatímco dánština je převážně izolační s jistými prvky aglutinace. Mimoto si text klade za cíl vysvětlit genetický vztah mezi oběma jazyky a poukázat na některé důležité podobnosti mezi nimi, například v oblasti lexika či slovotvorných procesů.

### **Historický kontext: původ staré angličtiny a dánštiny a jejich pozice mezi germánskými jazyky**

Cílem historické kapitoly je seznámit čtenáře s historickým a kulturním kontextem, v němž se oba jazyky vyvíjely, a poskytnout vhled do vybraných procesů, které zásadně proměnily jejich charakter.

Společným předkem všech germánských jazyků, tedy i staré angličtiny a současné dánštiny, je proto-germánština, která se později rozdělila na východogermánskou, západogermánskou a severogermánskou větev. Zatímco stará angličtina se řadí do západní větve, dánština patří do větve severogermánské.

Germánské jazyky v průběhu svého vývoje doznaly řadu důležitých gramatických a lexikálních změn, které je odlišily od ostatních skupin indoevropských jazyků: mnohé z těchto znaků jsou důležité pro srovnání dánštiny a staré angličtiny, neboť právě v charakteristikách zděděných z proto-germánštiny se dá mezi oběma jazyky najít nejvíce podrobností. Jednou z nejdůležitějších změn oproti protoindoevropštině je specifický způsob vyjadřování préterita pomocí dentálního sufixu. Mezi další důležité změny patří výrazné zjednodušení pádového systému nebo rozvoj podvojného systému koncovek přídavných jmen. Germánské jazyky mají také specifickou slovní zásobu: velké množství

slov, které lze najít v germánské jazykové větvi, se nevyskytuje v žádné jiné skupině indoevropských jazyků.

Kapitola dále popisuje historický vývoj staré angličtiny. Staroanglické období se obvykle datuje zhruba od poloviny pátého století (tedy od příchodu Anglosasů do Británie) do roku 1066 (rok dobytí Anglie Normany). Před příchodem Anglosasů byla Británie obývána původní keltskou populací; tyto dvě skupiny se pravděpodobně částečně smísily, avšak jazyk původních obyvatel byl téměř zcela nahrazen jazykem germánských dobyvatelů.

Jednou z událostí důležitou pro vývoj angličtiny byl počátek christianizace na konci šestého století: poté, co byla do Británie přinesena latinská abeceda, výrazně vzrostla produkce literárních textů. Kromě toho vedl kontakt s latinou k přijetí mnoha latinských výpůjček (třebaže ve staroanglickém období si angličtina stále ještě uchovávala svůj silně germánský charakter).

Důležitý kulturní a jazykový vliv měli také skandinávští osadníci, kteří do Británie začali přicházet koncem osmého století. Zpočátku šlo spíše o ojedinelé pirátské výpravy, později se však Skandinávci začali v Británii usazovat a mísit se s místním obyvatelstvem. To pochopitelně vytvořilo příznivé podmínky pro jazykovou výměnu, a stará severština tak starou angličtinu značně ovlivnila.

Stará angličtina je doložena ve čtyřech hlavních dialektech: kentském, northumbrijském, mercijském a západosaském. Většina dochovaných písemných záznamů je psána v západosaském dialektu. Mezi důležitá staroanglická díla patří například Anglosaská kronika či rukopis básně Beowulf.

V kapitole je dále zmíněna struktura staroanglické slovní zásoby: stará angličtina zdědila z proto-germánštiny mnoho slovotvorných procesů, například specifické afíxy. Mimoto stará angličtina ve slovotvorbě hojně využívala kompozici. Objevovaly se pochopitelně i výpůjčky: nejdůležitějším zdrojem převzatých slov byly latina a stará severština. Severština je obzvláště zajímavá, jelikož si z ní stará angličtina nepůjčovala jen podstatná jména, přídavná jména nebo slovesa, ale například i zájmena, předložky, či příslovce.

S počátkem stredoanglického období angličtina podstoupila velké množství změn, které byly primárně způsobeny dobytím Anglie Normany. Pod vlivem francouzštiny, která se stala novým oficiálním jazykem, začala angličtina ztrácet svůj flektivní charakter a rozvinuly se v ní více izolační tendence. Začalo také docházet k masivnímu přejímání románských výpůjček, které nakonec zcela změnily podobu anglického lexika.

Kapitola pokračuje přehledem vývoje dánštiny. Moderní dánština se vyvinula ze staré severštiny, jazyka, kterým se ve Skandinávii mluvilo přibližně od osmého do čtrnáctého století. Stará severština se později rozdělila na východní a západní větev; dánština se řadila do větve východní. Od třináctého století začala dánština procházet změnami, které ji výrazně oddělily od ostatních skandinávských jazyků – například v ní jako první došlo ke zjednodušení systému skloňování. Zhruba od šestnáctého století se dělení skandinávských jazyků začalo ustalovat na takzvanou kontinentální skupinu a ostrovní skupinu. Dánština se řadí do kontinentální skupiny, která je oproti ostrovní méně konzervativní.

Dnes je dánština jazykem asi pěti milionů mluvčích, kromě Dánska se používá také v Grónsku, na Faerských ostrovech a v německém regionu Šlesvicko-Holštýnska. Jazyk lze rozdělit do několika dialektových skupin, které (navzdory malému počtu mluvčích) vykazují výrazné rozdíly. Mluvený standard dánštiny se nazývá *rigsmål*.

Dánská slovní zásoba je, stejně jako staroanglická, převážně germánského charakteru. První vlna výpůjček přišla z latiny, s níž přišli obyvatelé Skandinávie do kontaktu díky římským kupcům. Později se nejdůležitějším zdrojem přejatých slov stala němčina, dnes výpůjčky přicházejí především z angličtiny. Dánština také k obohacování slovní zásoby hojně využívá kompozici – tento slovotvorný proces je výrazně silnější než například derivace.

Cílem kapitoly bylo připravit historický podklad pro typologickou analýzu a nabídnout vhled do vybraných typicky germánských rysů, které mají oba jazyky společné.

### **Teorie: morfologická typologie Vladimíra Skaličky a metodologie práce**

V následující kapitole je nejprve popsána jazyková typologie Vladimíra Skaličky. Skalička rozlišuje pět základních typů jazyků – izolační, flektivní, polysyntetický, aglutinační a introflexivní.

Izolační typ, zastoupený například v moderní angličtině, se vyznačuje absencí koncovek a tendencí vyjadřovat gramatické kategorie primárně pomocí slovosledu a pomocných slov. Slovní druhy nejsou jasně rozlišené a často dochází ke konverzi. Slova jsou často jednoslabičná.



Flektivní typ, silně zastoupený v češtině či latině, naopak hojně využívá koncovky, které často nesou více významů. Slovosled je obvykle volný a slovní druhy jsou jasně rozlišené.

Polysyntetický typ je dominantní v mnoha asijských jazycích, například vietnamštině. Slovní druhy nejsou rozlišené a hranice mezi gramatickými a lexikálními slovy také není jasná. Polysyntetický typ nevyužívá afixy ani koncovky. Hlavním slovotvorným procesem je kompozice.

Aglutinační typ je silný například v maďarštině. Je pro něj typická kumulace velkého množství afixů, z nichž každý nese vlastní význam. Afixy jsou také hojně využívány ve slovtvorbě. Slovní druhy nejsou jasně rozlišeny. Slovosled je obvykle pevný.

Introflexivní typ je silně zastoupen v semitských jazycích. Gramatické kategorie jsou vyjadřovány pomocí změn uvnitř morfémů. Introflexe je také využívána ve slovtvorbě.

V kapitole následuje popis metodologie práce: za účelem snadnějšího srovnání dvou jazyků odlišných typů bylo použito schéma typologických rysů, které ve své studii o germánských jazycích použil František Čermák. Toto schéma umožňuje evaluaci rysů napříč všemi typy a diskuzi o jejich vzájemných souvislostech. Pro lepší přehlednost byly tyto rysy zaneseny do tabulky, na jejímž základě pak byly vybrány znaky pro podrobnou evaluaci v analytické části. Některé z těchto znaků nejsou pro hloubkovou analýzu zcela relevantní: primárně byly hodnoceny ty, které jsou alespoň v jednom z jazyků silně zastoupeny nebo jsou jinak relevantní pro typologické srovnání, dají se problematizovat.

### **Analytická část**

Cílem analytické části je uvést příklady nejdůležitějších typologicky relevantních rysů obou jazyků a na jejich základě ověřit, zda přítomnost těchto rysů odpovídá předpokládaným dominantním typům.

Kapitola začíná rozbořem vyjadřování gramatických kategorií pomocí koncovek a afixů. Primárně flektivní stará angličtina má tendenci používat jednu koncovku pro vyjádření více gramatických významů (např. ve skloňování substantiv). Dánština, která je převážně izolační, koncovky příliš nevyužívá. Pokud vyjadřuje gramatické kategorie pomocí finálních segmentů, jde většinou o aglutinační afixy – každý afix nese jeden význam, na konci slova se jich může kumulovat několik.

Zatímco pro flektivní jazyky je typická kumulace významů v jedné části slova, izolační ani aglutinační jazyky tento rys obvykle nevykazují. To se odráží i ve staré angličtině a dánštině. S tím souvisí i homonymie koncovek, která je pro starou angličtinu typická. Pár příkladů lze nalézt i v dánštině, ale tento jazyk obecně koncovky nevyužívá do tak velké míry, a proto pro něj homonymie není typická.

Dalším typicky flektivním rysem staré angličtiny je jasné rozlišení slovních druhů. Tvoření nových slov pomocí konverze není příliš obvyklé, mnohem častější je derivace či kompozice. Dánština, navzdory svým izolačním rysům, konverzi také příliš nevyužívá – tento proces v průběhu historie ztratil na produktivitě a derivace či kompozice je mnohem více zastoupená.

Dalším typicky flektivním rysem ve staré angličtině je bohatý pádový systém – role slova ve větě je vyjadřována pádovými koncovkami. Oproti tomu současná dánština vyjadřuje vztahy mezi slovy primárně pevným slovosledem (genitiv je jediným morfologicky rozlišeným pádem).

V obou jazycích existuje shoda podstatného jména s přídavným jménem a s číslovkou v plurálu. Zatímco pro flektivní jazyky je shoda podstatného a přídavného jména typická, v izolačních ani aglutinačních jazycích se obvykle nevyskytuje, a proto je její přítomnost v dánštině typologicky velmi zajímavá.

Zatímco stará angličtina spoléhá ve vyjadřování vztahů mezi slovy především pády, dánština využívá již zmíněný pevný slovosled a také gramatická slova, zejména předložky. Rozvinutý systém předložek je pro izolační jazyky typický.

Oba jazyky také hojně využívají vedlejší věty, zatímco nefinitní konstrukce, které stojí v opozici k vedlejším větám, nejsou ani pro jeden z jazyků příliš typické.

## **Závěr**

Závěr opětovně shrnuje cíle práce a poukazuje na to, že většina gramatických příkladů potvrdila hypotézy o typologickém charakteru obou jazyků: tedy že stará dánština je převážně flektivní, zatímco současná dánština mísí prvky izolace a aglutinace. V závěru jsou dále zmíněny některé rysy, které sice neodrážejí dominantní typy obou jazyků, ale lze je najít jak ve staré angličtině, tak v dánštině, například časování silných sloves pomocí ablautu.

Celkově práce splnila svůj účel tím, že porovnála konkrétní gramatické jevy v obou jazycích a odhalila jejich nejzásadnější podobnosti a rozdíly.

## **List of Abbreviations**

OE – Old English  
PDD – Present-Day Danish  
PDE – Present-Day English  
PIE – Proto-Indo-European  
IE – Indo-European  
Gmc. – Germanic  
ON – Old Norse

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