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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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Středoanglické prefigované adjektivní inovace domácího původu (1200-1400)

Middle English adjectival innovations of native origin (1200-1400) formed by prefixation

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Declaration of authorship

Hereby I declare that the following MA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned.

In Prague: 29 April 2016   Signature

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to analyse and describe the Middle English adjectival innovations of native origin coming into existence by prefixation in the period of 1200-1400. The formations are described from the point of view of their word-formation and semantics, the individual word-formation patterns are identified and analysed in terms of their productivity. In the theoretical part we present three points of view – social, typological and word-formational – which allow us to formulate our hypothesis consisting in the assumption that the native prefixation will exhibit gradual signs of decreasing productivity, brought about both by the language-external and language-internal causes – the language being overwhelmed by the an influx of foreign elements due to political and social situation at the time; as well as gradual phonological and semantic non-transparency of the native prefixes. The empirical part is based on the analysis of the 219 adjectives retrieved from the Oxford English Dictionary. Our results show that 7 out of 13 prefixes are decreasing in productivity or unproductive, yet the situation is not homogeneous and we were able to identify eight possible scenarios of development in productivity patterns. Our hypothesis is thus confirmed only partially – both the extra and intra-linguistic factors play a significant role in decreasing the productivity of the native prefixation, yet not all the prefixes in focus are influenced and rather tend to develop differently.

Key words: native, prefixation, adjective, word-formation, semantics, Middle English, Old English, productivity

ABSTRAKT

Cieľom tejto diplomovej práce je analýza a popis stredoanglických adjektívnych inovácií domáceho pôvodu, ktoré vznikli prefixáciou v období od roku 1200 do 1400. Adjektíva popisujeme zo slovotvorného a sémantického hľadiska, pričom zároveň identifikujeme jednotlivé slovotvorné vzorce, ktoré pri vzniku týchto inovácií stoja a zaoberáme sa ich produktivitou v danom období. Práca je rozdelená na dve hlavné časti: časť teoretickú a časť empirickú, resp. analýzu materiálu. V teoretickom základe sa oboznamujeme s tromi hľadiskami danej problematiky, a to konkrétne hľadiskom sociologickým, typologickým a nakoniec slovotvorným. Na ich základe formulujeme hypotézu – očakávame, že domáca prefixácia bude v danom stredoanglickom období klesať na produktivite, a to z dôvodov mimojazykových – na jazyk v danom období pôsobí veľké množstvo cudzích vplyvov vyplývajúcich z vtedajšej politickej a sociálnej situácie; a z dôvodov vnútrojazykových – postupná fonologická a sémantická netransparentnosť prefigovaných adjektív bude mať za následok celkový úpadok domácej prefixácie ako slovotvorného spôsobu. Empirická časť je založená na analýze 13 prefixov a 219 adjektív, ktoré sme získali na základe rozšíreného hľadania v Oxford English Dictionary. Výsledky dokazujú, že produktivita preukázateľne klesá u 7 prefixov z 13, avšak hypotézu môžeme potvrdiť iba čiastočne, vzhľadom na to, že identifikujeme osem rôznych scenárov vývoja domácich prefixov v danom období. Mimojazykové i vnútrojazykové faktory tak zohrávajú dôležitú úlohu pri vplývaní na znižovanie prefixácie v danom období, nepôsobia však rovnako u všetkých prefixov, a tie potom vykazujú odlišné správanie.

Kľúčové slová: domáci, prefixácia, adjektívum, slovotvorba, sémantika, Stredná angličtina, Stará angličtina, produktivita

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION

Large-scale transformations influencing the shape of English in the period of transition between Old English and Middle English were reflected not only in grammar and lexis, but also in word-formation. The collapse of the old system brought along not only re-structuring of the old morphological forms – changes in stress patterns causing erosion of inflectional endings, but also weakened the lexical system to such an extent that it was no longer capable of compensating for the loss of its elements from its own resources entirely – and this was one of the fundamental structural reasons for the borrowing of material from available contact languages. While it is complicated to re-build the morphosyntactic patterns on an intervention of foreign patterns, the word-formation is capable of absorbing them quite easily. Considering the political and social situation by the beginning of the Middle English period, it is not surprising if we claim that there was a significant influence of the French-speaking layers of the (mostly bilingual) English society and thus an immense amount of French and Latin words entered the vocabulary at the time. Large amount of loanwords penetrating the vocabulary thus cannot be disregarded and diachronically it is not inappropriate to consider borrowing a vital word-formation process. However, despite their obvious relevance for the further development of the language, the language still disposed of considerable means of native word-formation patterns (including native prefixes, suffixes, etc.). To what extent the native stock remained productive and how frequent it proved to be in the periods to come is to be the focus of our work. Specifically, we will concentrate on the adjectival innovations of native origin coming into existence by prefixation in the period between 1200 and 1400. Word-formation patterns of the native adjectival prefixes will be described and analysed, our aim being to determine their frequency and productivity in the Middle English period of our focus. In order to be able to fathom the topic thoroughly, it is necessary to consider it from three main points of view – typology, sociolinguistics and word-formation – all discussed in the theoretical part of the work. The empirical part will then follow up with an analysis of thirteen prefixes of native origin found in the Oxford English Dictionary via Advance search method.

2   THEORETICAL PART

2.1 Sociolinguistic point of view of OE and ME

2.1.1   Introduction

Political and cultural situation in the Old English (OE) and Middle English (ME) periods is one of the most significant factors having an impact on the overall structural development of the language. Language cannot be considered an entity entirely detached from its surroundings, on the contrary, it is exorbitantly sensitive to the extra-linguistic reality – contact situations with other linguistic communities, social status and relative prestige of the native speakers – serving as a stepping stone for the frequency and mode of its use (written or oral), etc.

Thus a full account of the linguistic intricacies of the two stages of the development of English cannot be fully fathomed if only the linguistic criteria were to be taken into consideration. Based on written sources only, our knowledge of the individual stages is very limited and allows us only a marginal insight into the linguistic situation of the time. If we compare the written manuscripts of Old English with the Middle English material, we can observe a large shift in what the language looked like as well as in style and mode of writing. This shift is primarily conditioned by two factors: unstable linguistic state of late OE parallel with the contemporary social, religious and political transformations.

2.1.2   Socio-political conditions and literary tradition in the OE period

A language is usually influenced by a number of factors, the socio-political conditions of the time being one of them. The following excerpt will illustrate to what extent a language may depend upon a religious and political powers viewed as two mutually competing factors:

"Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period the church existed in virtual equality as a centre of power and culture alongside the political structures. And this could give rise to considerable complication. One obvious point here is that the centre of the church quickly became Canterbury, in the heart of Kent. But politically Kent was one of the weakest kingdoms, squabbed over for centuries by the Mercians and the West Saxons. Thus, in the first half of the ninth century

Mercian linguistic influence on Kentish texts was considerable, whilst towards the end of the period West Saxon texts can sometimes be seen to have Kentish influence, either because they were written in Kent or because the ecclesiastical influence of Kent was so much stronger than its political influence." (Hogg in Hogg, 1992: 10)

One region gaining power over another being reflected also in the language accentuates the existence of a significant linguistic diversity among the Anglo-Saxon communities. Nowadays we acknowledge the existence of four major OE dialects (even though the variety was much greater): Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon and Kentish. "The best attested of all Old English varieties is the standard literary language associated with the West Saxon hegemony of the late tenth century and onwards until the Norman conquest." (Toon in Hogg, 1992: 426) Thus we can see that the shape of OE is inexorably tied with the fluctuation of power of the individual regions.

The literary tradition of the period is very closely connected with the ecclesiastical history of the country and therefore it is not surprising to claim that a number of the preserved texts are of religious character. Monasteries were perceived as centres of culture and erudition. (Hogg in Hogg, 1992: 1-25) The imprint of Christianity is visible not only in the nature of the texts but also in the religious vocabulary emerging in the language of the period. Religious imagery was very frequent and appears also in poetry of the period, e.g. in the poem *The Dream of The Rood.* (Hogg in Hogg, 1992: 11)

Not necessarily religious, yet still of immense importance, are the so-called Alfredian texts which "represent the first attempts at a written literary prose style." (Hogg in Hogg, 1992: 16) Thus except for the religious texts we find a number of legal documents, glossaries and didactic prose.

Apart from formal documents we discover a thriving literary tradition of poetry and prose at the period as well. The manuscripts from the period of approximately 1000 AD represent a valuable source of poetry, hinting at the craftiness of the language use, permitting us to compare the formal legal style with the embellished literary one. (Hogg in Hogg, 1992: 14-25) An example of elaborated literary style would be an OE riddle, "composed in the inherited formulaic style of oral heroic tradition," designated primarily for amusement. (Irving, 1994: 199) Thus we can see the language used in various instances and subsequently build a more unitary picture of OE. An extensive amount of texts written at the time implies a rather standardized status of the language which unfortunately did not last until the later centuries – mostly due to the

inconsistencies of pronunciation and writing together with a series of major political events bringing the native speakers of OE under the long-term influence of French.

2.1.3   Socio-political conditions and literary tradition in the ME period

The period of ME considerably differs from the OE stage, mostly in what concerns the political and social conditions, associated primarily with the Normans invading the country in 1066 and thus establishing a new ruling social class. "In this period three languages were used in England: French, Latin and English. French at both the spoken and written level existed at first in England in that variety known today as Anglo-Norman [northern French dialect]. It was used in literary works, official documents and religious writings. Anglo-Norman […] gave way […] to Anglo-French, which was essentially an administrative language which had to be acquired as a foreign language by the English. […] Latin remained the language of religion. […] English continued to be used at the spoken level, except in court circles, and consequently in status it was less well regarded than either Latin or French." (Blake in Blake, 2006: 5) What we can observe here is an example of two languages competing in terms of prestige. (Latin is not taken as one of the competitors since it remained the language of Church during the entire ME period.) (Blake in Blake, 2006: 5) The conquering language, naturally, was used in the official social strata, while the conquered language remained only as an informal communication device used by lower classes.

The recess in using English in a written mode had severe consequences for the language in general. A genuine non-existence of the formal documents written in English would inhibit the continuation of the OE literary tradition and it would gradually cause a disintegration of rather stable spelling habits inherited from OE. English at the onset of the 12th century is often referred to as a dialectal phase of the language (Suárez-Gómez in Gotti, Dossena and Dury, 2006: 141) – most notably because of the ambiguities governing its spelling, pronunciation and rapidly transforming morphology. The old standard was collapsing and there was no formal pressure to stabilize it again for several centuries onwards. English regained its status hand in hand with the decline of authority of French and thus it managed to renew its status of an official language, the fact which can be demonstrated by an increased number of written documents appearing in the 14th century. "The growth of the civil service in London and the rise in patronage from the court

made London a centre for English. London was now the largest city in the country and its merchants were powerful and wealthy. Inevitably, this generated a lot of writing, which was increasingly in English. The culmination of this development is the introduction of the printing press by William Caxton in 1476 […] intended to appeal to the middle and upper classes who wanted reading material in their own language." (Blake in Blake, 2006: 7) At the same time, "lyrics […] begin to make their appearance so that by the end of the [15th] century the use of English for poetic purposes is widely accepted again. […]" (Blake in Blake, 2006: 8) Spread of literacy within middle classes caused that personal correspondence became a normal way of communication as well. Rise of the middle class, establishment of a cultural and economic centre of the country, growing literacy and confidence of upper classes were thus some of the reasons which drew attention back to English.

When we compare the two stages – Old English and Middle English – we can see the immense differences in the usage and status of the language, inevitably interwoven not only with the linguistic, but also with the political situation typical for each of the periods. The era of a thriving and rich literary culture was followed by a long period of submission connected with a collapse of the old system, lack of written documents in the native language as well as its low prestige status. The sociolinguistic point of view allows us thus to understand the background of the enormous changes influencing English and simultaneously gives us an insight into why the difference between OE and ME was as prominent.

2.2 Classification of English

Changes transforming the shape of English were, as we have seen in the previous chapter, to a great extent conditioned by sociopolitical and cultural situation in the country. Internal, structural linguistic changes operating in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis proved immensely complex and therefore in order to be able to describe them, it is crucial to get acquainted with structural properties of the language, their mutual relations and a potential pattern of their development. Fathoming formal characteristics of English in various stages of its evolution will provide us with grounds for understanding and analysis of its word-formation strategies as well. Linguistic typology represents means for such a description and as such can be defined as:

"the theory of language types, i.e. of language groupings based on an affinity of properties of language systems […]." (Sgall, 1995: 49)

Typology often works with a term 'language type' as its basic unit which can be best explained as a "collection of linguistic properties characterized by the following points:

- the properties are intrinsically connected by probabilistic implications of the form 'if a language has the property A, then it probably also has the property B';
-   the types are ideal extremes […] not fully attainable by existing languages […];
-   properties of different types are combined within the structure of every existing language."
(Sgall, 1995: 50)

The first point in the definition suggests that there exists a relationship among the properties called 'probabilistic implications'. Skalička, who prefers to use the term "mutual favourability of properties" instead, explains that the properties of the language types do not appear together accidentally, but the presence of one property presupposes the presence of others. This is based on the assumption that there exists a relationship of reciprocal (symmetric) support of functionality within a set of properties appearing together. (Skalička and Sgall, 1994: 335) Based on their most characteristic properties the Prague School formulates five existing language types: agglutinative, inflectional, isolating, polysynthetic and introflectional.

English is traditionally categorized under three of the five types enumerated above (according to the respective stage of its development):

1. The inflectional type (OE and partly Early ME):
-every lexical word has its grammatical ending
-endings have usually more than one function – "cumulation of functions" - synonymy
-derivational and inflectional affixes differ considerably
-free word order
-distinct word classes

2.   The introflectional type (typically combined with the inflectional type):
-always combined with another type
-infixes
-inner interruption of morpheme
-distinct word classes

-no distinction between derivational and inflectional means

-free word order (Sgall, 1995: 54-57)

3. The isolating type (partly ME and PDE):

-monosyllabic words, minimum affixes

-conversion

-affixes are generally absent

-fixed word order

-abundance of function words

The OE system was characteristic of a large number of inflectional endings with cumulative functions which in turn allowed for a relatively free word order. Nevertheless, the stress placement (on the 1st syllable) caused that the endings were gradually undergoing phonetic erosion and a majority of words was developing a simple, uninflected form. Consequently, the word order was fixed and the grammatical function of inflections was to a large extent substituted by analytical means of expression – generally function words. Those changes had a significant impact on word-formational strategies as well – the phenomenon which is to be presented in the following chapters.

The English development model suggests that one language does not have to remain within bonds of just one specific language type, but may exhibit tendencies of development towards another. The shift will be presented in detail in the following sub-chapters focusing on behaviour of the language in the OE and ME periods. Concerning this point, Sgall emphasizes that the language types ought to be viewed only as ideal extremes as there exists a substantial amount of overlap in the real existing languages. This overlap is caused by constant linguistic changes occurring on two levels: within a language and within a language type.

Despite numerous possible methods of categorization available, in our subsequent analyses we are going to follow the typology elaborated by the Prague School (Sgall's and Skalička's approach) as it provides us with the most detailed account for distinction of languages types – and therefore our typological approach is not quantitative.

2.3 English in diachrony

2.3.1 Old English

Concerning the typology of Old English (OE), it is often referred to as an inflectional stage of English, as it conforms to copious characteristic features of this type. The most salient feature of OE is its large amount of inflections which "consisted primarily of suffixes. […] For example, OE nouns were inflected for three genders, four cases and two numbers." (Millward and Hayes, 1996: 101) In terms of the distribution of the informational load, one suffix cumulated numerous functions – expressing case, number, gender, etc. A heavy synonymy and homonymy of endings of the morphological categories was not an exception either – for example the inflectional suffix –*an* could be used both for weak masculine and feminine nouns both singular and plural, and also for weak adjectives. Along with nouns the speakers of OE inflected also adjectives, verbs, pronouns and to a certain extent, also adverbs. Declension was carried out not only by suffixation, but also by introflexion – its presence demonstrating the language types can be combined. In OE there existed two major classes of verbs: weak – using regular suffixation, and strong, which indicated the "past tense and past participle by a change in the stem vowel – or ablaut." (Millward and Hayes, 1996: 107) The examples of declension by suffixation and ablaut can be seen in Figures 1 and 2.

Presence of the inflectional endings influenced not only morphology of OE, but it was closely interwoven with its syntax as well. "Because the case endings of OE made many syntactic relations clear, the language needed fewer prepositions, […] and word order […] was relatively free." (Millward and Hayes, 1996: 110-112) OE can therefore be to a great extent characterized as a synthetic language. From the point of view of word-formation it means that "the synthetic aspect will focus on the production of word-formation syntagmas […]" (Kastovsky in Fisiak, 1985: 229) – syntagmas being the "combinations of full linguistic signs which are in a determinant (denoting the new information) / determinatum (denoting the known information) relationship to each other." (Lipka, 2002: 96) The word formation point of view will be further discussed in detail in the next chapter.

However, as Millward and Hayes (1996: 98) point out, the late OE system was troubled by a number of weaknesses. "Almost no paradigm contained the maximum amount of differentiation, and some paradigms had so few distinctions as to make the entire inflectional

group virtually useless in distinguishing function within the sentence. […] Heavy stress on the root syllables and light stress on the succeeding syllables facilitated the reduction of the vowel inflections to /e/ and the merger of /n/ and /m/ as /n/, which then dropped off, [...]" etc. This resulted in a complicated situation in which the old system was crumbling down and the language was in a process of creating new means to replace the non-functioning ones. We can thus observe the transformation of the inflectional language towards a more analytical one – which in contrast with the synthetic system "establishes quite generally which part of the vocabulary is complex and describes its morphological and semantic structure." (Kastovsky in Fisiak, 1985: 229)

		Vocalic Declensions ("Strong" Nouns)				
		-a stems (masc. and neut.)			-o stems (fem.)	
	Case	Masc. 'boat'	Neut. (Long)* 'bone'	Neut. (Short)* 'ship'	Short* 'grief'	Long* 'bridge'
Sg.	N	bāt	bān	scip	cearu	brycg
	A	bāt	bān	scip	ceare	brycge
	G	bātes	bānes	scipes	ceare	brycge
	D	bāte	bāne	scipe	ceare	brycge
Pl.	NA	bātas	bān	scipu	ceara	brycga
	G	bāta	bāna	scipa	ceara	brycga
	D	bātum	bānum	scipum	cearum	brycgum

Figure 1. Declension of nouns in OE by suffixation. (Millward and Hayes, 1996: 100)

Ablaut Series	Infinitive	3d Sg. Pres.	3d Sg. Pret.	Plur. Pret.	Past Part.
Class 1					
ī-ā-i-i	scīnan 'shine'	scīnþ	scān	scinon	(ge)scinen
Class 2					
ēo-ēa-u-o	smēocan 'smoke'	smycþ	smēac	smucon	(ge)smocen
Class 3					
(a) i-a-u-u	singan 'sing'	singþ	sang	sungon	(ge)sungen
(b) e-ea-u-o	meltan 'melt'	milt	mealt	multon	(ge)molten
(c) eo-ea-u-o	steorfan 'die'	styrfþ	stearf	sturfon	(ge)storfen
Class 4					
e-æ-ǣ-o	stelan 'steal'	stilþ	stæl	stǣlon	(ge)stolen
Class 5					
e-æ-ǣ-e	sprecan 'speak'	spricþ	spræc	sprǣcon	(ge)sprecen
Class 6					
a-ō-ō-a	scacan 'shake'	scæcþ	scōc	scōcon	(ge)scacen
Class 7					
(a) Vᵢ-ēo-ēo-Vᵢ	sāwan 'sow'	sǣwþ	sēow	sēowon	(ge)sāwen
(b) Vᵢ-ē-ē- Vᵢ	slǣpan 'sleep'	slǣpþ	slēp	slēpon	(ge)slǣpen

Figure 2. Declension of strong verbs by ablaut. (Millward and Hayes, 1996: 107)

2.3.2   Middle English

Phonological reduction of endings and loss of inflections in the OE period therefore caused a situation similar to an avalanche triggering further changes, as generally "inflectional morphology has two broad functions: (a) the actual marking of grammatical categories on words, and (b) establishing 'linkages' of various kinds between items in the sentence or discourse." (Lass in Blake, 1992: 91) An illustration of the impact the collapse in morphology had is well resumed by Millward and Hayes (1996: 165), who sum it up as follows: "Along with the loss of inflection came the loss of grammatical gender and its replacement by natural (or biological) gender. Nouns were reduced to two cases (possessive and nonpossessive). Adjectives lost most of their inflections. Personal endings remained relatively intact, but the distinction between dual and plural number had vanished." With the reduction of endings words became more invariable, which was one of the signs that the language was transforming into an isolating one. As we have demonstrated in the Chapter 2.2, the isolating type is characterized by a high presence of invariable monosyllabic words – which in Early ME start developing by losing their endings – as well we by an abundance of function words and by a fixed word order. Once a language loses a majority of its endings, it has to replace them with a mechanism that will substitute their function. The words are short, their form is to a large extent frozen and thus it would be extremely complicated to produce a meaningful, unambiguous utterance if the losses were not compensated for. Function words thus emerge to specify the relations of the words within a sentence and to determine grammatical categories and syntactic ordering of elements, including coordination and subordination of the participants of a sentence structure. They do not, however, appear in a language abruptly; they are rather an outcome of processes such as grammaticalization, which operates primarily in the systems with paucity of grammatical words, acquiring them by transformation of their lexical stock. "Words from major lexical categories, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, become minor, grammatical categories such as prepositions, adverbs and auxiliaries, which in turn may be further grammaticalised into affixes." (McMahon, 1994: 160) As an example we can point to a gradual grammaticalization of 'do' which was originally used only as a verb and only later 'bleached' into an auxiliary for questions and negations.

From the syntactic point of view, all those changes happening in morphology triggered a fixation of word order. "The most common order of elements, in both main and subordinate clauses, is SP (Subject-Predicator), where the predicator (= verb-phrase) immediately follows the

18

subject, for example *If that a prynce useth hasardye*…If a prince practices gambling..."
(Millward and Hayes, 1996: 99)

During the ME period the language changed to such an extent that even the residues of the OE grammar were subsided as the trend of development into the isolating type prevailed. Changes on morphological and phonological level were not restricted strictly to themselves, yet significantly affected the lexis in terms of word-formation strategies as well (word-formation patterns functioning in the OE inflectional system might prove unproductive in a new, isolating system) – which is what we will examine in a subsequent chapter.

Linguistic typology thus provides us with a theoretical background which enables us to determine behaviour of English during various stages of its development. Similarities and differences between the OE and ME stages – changes in phonology and morphology marking the transition period - are inexorably reflected in word-formation strategies as well. Structural comparison is further necessary in order to observe, determine and describe appearance, frequency, productivity and development of the word-formation patterns in the periods of our focus based on our knowledge of the formal development of the language.

2.4   Lexis and word-formation

The linguistic changes marking the transition period from OE to ME were not restricted to morphology and syntax only; their vastness penetrated all linguistic spheres of the language including its lexis and word-formation processes. Before turning to a characteristic of lexis of both OE and ME, our analysis warrants a brief introduction into the fundamental unit of lexis and word-formation – a 'word.' "Words seem to have a reality either as pronunciations or as written characters, they have grammatical rules for combination, and they have meanings." (Burnley in Blake, 1992: 409) Such a definition does not cover all the intricacies involved in the delimitation of what "a word" is from the point of view of orthography, semantics or word-formation, yet it suffice to keep in mind the fact that lexis is a complex net of phenomena which are often difficult to fathom. If we wish to comprehend the basis on which the OE and ME lexis was working, it is imperative that we consider them separately.

2.4.1 Old English Lexis

The OE vocabulary exhibits different traits than the lexis of PDE. Our knowledge of OE is very limited and it arises from the written sources only, counting roughly 23,000 to 24,000 lexical items which is considered the "common core of the language." (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 293) Due to the fact that we are familiar only with the written mode of OE we need to take into consideration that what we can assess is certainly not the colloquial language but rather we are dealing with the high level mode of expression (as described in the sociolinguistic chapter). Nevertheless, even such a small portion of OE lexis gives us an insight into its paradigmatic and syntagmatic structure. "The vocabulary is characterized by large morphologically related word-families, where the relationship is transparent not only formally but most often also semantically. […] OE vocabulary is derivationally related by productive word-formation patterns and […] instead of borrowing a foreign […] word, the corresponding notion is often expressed by activating one of the indigenous word formation rules. […]" (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 294) OE thus seems to possess a well-functioning vocabulary system which is capable of producing new items by using its own resources. This self-sufficiency is consequently reflected in a very low number of loan words – "roughly 3% against 70% or even more for PDE." (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 294 from Scheler 1977: 74) An almost complete absence of loans which can be ambiguous for the native speakers and generally cause competition of synonyms secures that the words of mostly Germanic origin are interconnected, being arranged into a network which is transparent enough to permit its speakers to derive the meanings of the new items from the old. "The OE vocabulary is thus 'associative'. […]"(Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 294) However, despite there being a lot of Germanic traits such as preservation of ablaut (introflexion), the language did not avoid foreign influences. Those can be reflected in various manners but mostly as loan words, semantic loans, loan translations and loan creations. New loan words are generally non-integrated items, preserving their foreign characteristics whether in terms of pronunciation or spelling. Thus they are most easily identified by the native speakers. Later, when a "loan" is successfully established it is usually modified in terms of spelling and pronunciation so that it resembles the native vocabulary. The source language for borrowings in the period would be predominantly Latin, as "it was a language of the church and of learning and scholarship." (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 304) Examples of such loans: balsam<*balsamum*, school <*scola.* (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 307)

When "existing native lexemes adopt the meaning or part of the meaning of a foreign model", we are dealing with semantic loans. "Semantic borrowing is an instance of semantic change, since no matter whether the old meaning is preserved or not, there is change of meaning involved." Example: *dryhten* 'ruler, king' –> 'Lord God' <*Dominus* (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 309-311) On the other hand, "in a loan translation each elements of the model is reproduced by a semantically corresponding element of the borrowing language. […] As an example we can show the word *godspellboc* translated from Latin *liber evangelii.* (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 313)

Loan creations, on the other hand, are in principle new formations. […] They involve the activation of some productive word-formation pattern and they allow the hearer/reader to reconstruct the meaning of the lexical item from its external form." Examples: þa regenlican weter <*pluviales aquas* (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 311 - 313)

The extent of borrowing depends not only on the frequency of the contact situations of the donor and the receptor languages, although they establish the appropriate grounds for such an exchange, but it is equally essential to pay attention to prestige of the donors involved. Thus English borrowed a lot from Latin, as its status would provide the speakers with sophisticated expressions, but at the same time admitted an almost negligible amount of Celtic words surviving only in marginal spheres of the OE vocabulary. Another significant source of borrowing in this period are the Scandinavian languages, providing OE with seafaring terms, legal terms, ranks, war terms, measures and coins, etc. (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 334) Despite the major and minor sources of influences, OE managed to preserve its Germanic character of lexis and word-formation.

2.4.2   Old English word-formation

It has already been suggested that the OE word-formation patterns to a great extent differed from the PDE. Germanic word-formation processes, such as ablaut, fully productive in OE gradually lost their functionality during the transformation of the language into the isolating type, as what works for the fusion of the inflectional and introflexional system may prove non-satisfactory or even counterproductive for the analytical one. Some processes, however, are more or less neutral and can appear without substantial complications in both language types – they only differ in frequency of appearance for a particular period of time. "OE word-formation is characterized by widespread stem-allomorphy, i.e. we find the same kind of morphophonemic

alternations as in inflexion." (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 361) Kastovsky identifies six types of stem-allomorphy occurring in OE, the two most frequent ones being ablaut and i-mutation. "Ablaut may be defined as the patterned variation of vowel sounds, in relation to meaning, in forms of the same root. Taking the consonants of a word as its minimal root, one may vary the vowel between the consonants, as in *drīfan 'drive', drāf, drifon, drifen*. […] I-mutation, shared in varying degrees by all Germanic languages except Gothic, had been completed in OEby the time of the earliest written records. It is closely related to the raising of 'e' to 'i' inasmuch as it is the direct result of the influence of 'i' or 'j' on the vowel in an immediately preceding syllable." (Quirk and Wrenn, 1957: 129, 151) The instances of ablaut and i-mutation were not only closely tied to the inflection-based morphology, but they were also distinctively Germanic features – with restricted productivity even before the period of OE when the major transformations started taking place. Nonetheless, there still existed the word-formation techniques which had a chance of surviving into the ME period, namely: compounding, prefixation and suffixation. Even though all of them exhibit high productivity in the OE period, prefixation is believed to be less prominent than compounding and suffixation. "Compounds are complex lexical items consisting of two or more lexemes. […] There are nominal, adjectival and verbal compounds." (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 362) Compounds are generally difficult to delimitate – and the problem applies not only to PDE but also to OE. As Kastovsky suggests, there have been attempts to apply various criteria to define them, including orthography, morphology and semantics, but all of them have been proved problematic. The situation is even more complicated when we try to apply the same point of view on both synchronic and diachronic development, as what behaves as a compound in OE may not be transparent enough already in ME, etc. Let us therefore focus on the core of the definition – that a compound must be a combination of at least two lexical items – "the coining of new words proceeds by way of combining linguistic elements on the basis of a determinant/determinatum relationship called syntagmas. When two or more words are combined into a morphological unit on the basis just stated, we speak of a compound." (Marchand, 1969: 11)

The definition is less complicated when concerning the prefixation and suffixation processes. We will focus on prefixes in the following chapter and let us therefore describe the OE suffixes:

Suffixes are added at the end of a word which in the Germanic languages places them under imminent threat of reduction due to the stress placement on the root syllable at certain point. The suffixes appearing in OE were: nominal (*-d/-t/-dom*, etc.), adjectival (we will analyse

them in detail in the subsequent chapter), and verbal (*-ett,-s,-n,* etc.). (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 384,389,391)

There existed also other word-formation patterns, such as affixless derivation(not a regular conversion as we know it in the later periods – example: *slæpan* [to sleep] > *slæp* [sleep]) which was "the major source of new verbs in Old English, because all verbal suffixes were fairly unproductive." (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 395) We can say, however, that the OE word-formation patterns were undergoing significant changes with respect to the transformation of the language from the inflectional type, new patterns became more productive and the old ones based on the old Germanic features were gradually suppressed. In order to explain this phenomenon, Kastovsky refers to the terms "word-based, stem-based and root-based morphology" where word is "an independent, meaningful syntactic element, susceptible of transposition in sentences", stem is "a word-class specific lexeme representation which cannot occur on its own as a word but has to combine with additional derivational and/or inflectional morphemes […] and may itself contain derivational affixes" – such as in *ungrate*-ful; and root is "an element that is left over when all derivational, stem-forming and inflectional elements are stripped away" – such as in un – *grate* – ful. (Kastovsky, 2008: 9) As stem-based morphology is characterized by having an abundance of inflectional endings, Kastovsky claims that "OE is in a stage of transition from stem-based to word-based inflection and derivation, with a residue of originally root-based patterns, which had been reinterpreted into stem-based ones." (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 397)

2.4.3   Middle English lexis

The development from the point of view of lexis changed dramatically after the period of Norman Conquest when the language started absorbing large amounts of foreign vocabulary which in turn not only transformed its structure, but also its word-formation. "The co-existence of English first with the Germanic languages of Scandinavian settlers and subsequently with French, with Latin as an ever-present background, has largely formed the English lexis which survives to this day." (Burnley in Blake, 1992: 414) The major sources of influence were again the Scandinavian languages, French, Latin and to some extent also Welsh. With such an amount of new words re-shaping English vocabulary we need to consider the possibility of bilingualism in the areas most affected by the foreign influence which would be caused mostly by the extensive contact situations between the two language communities. However, this is difficult to attest and

inevitably the contact situation of English and the Scandinavian languages differed in many respects from French concerning the prestige status of the language. Thus it can be expected that both sources would be donors of different types of words, reflecting their prestige status to a great extent. The flood of new arrivals in the vocabulary did not mean only an increased rate of synonyms in the language, but also triggered changes in the word-formation patterns, as the donor languages did not necessarily work on the same principles as English – and the vocabulary grew gradually more dissociative compared to the OE associative system.

2.4.4   Middle English word-formation

Similarly to OE, "the two methods of word formation which are of greatest importance […] are compounding and derivation." (Burnley in Blake, 1992: 439) We have already roughly outlined the problem with the definition of what is and what is not a compound and the problem goes even deeper in the ME period, mostly due to the non-stabilized writing habits and blurred boundaries of the individual compound elements – particularly when of native origin. While in OE the associative character of its lexis exorbitantly inhibited the influx of the foreign vocabulary, the immense transformations caused partly by the sociolinguistic situation by the end of the 11th century gradually undermined this feature and the language was prone to accept foreign elements more freely. Concerning prefixation, "in the Middle English period, prefixation as a means of word formation was in retreat." (Burnley in Blake, 1992: 446)

Quite an opposite was happening with the former OE suffixes. According to Burnley, almost three-quarters of them persisted into Middle English, although often undergoing changes in their form and meaning. (Burnley in Blake, 1992: 447) Simultaneously the old native stock of suffixes was being continuously replenished by the newly arriving foreign elements, mostly borrowed from French and Latin. This suggests that while prefixation subsided and did not contribute to the new creations very much, suffixation flourished. The native suffixes simultaneously often either expanded or narrowed their morphological scope. The example of such a modification is the suffix –*ful* "originally used to form adjectives from abstract nouns which now also formed adjectives from verbal bases." (Burnley in Blake, 1992: 447) Such stimulation was viable usually due to natural competition of the suffixes, each trying to justify its place within the word-formation system.

2.5 Prefixation and productivity

"Prefixes are bound morphemes which are preposed to free morphemes. In a syntagmas AB they fill the position A, i.e. they normally function as determinants of the word B to which they are prefixed. Prefixal combinations are expansions which must meet the condition of analyzability after the formula AB=B." (Marchand, 1969: 129) Prefixes in English are of two origins: native and foreign. "The so-called native prefixes have developed out of independent words. […] Prefixes of foreign origin came into the language ready-made, […] due to syntagmatic loans from other languages." (Marchand, 1969: 129)

Prefixes however tend to exhibit different traits in each phase of the development of English – which is especially prominent in their phonological behaviour.

Lass formulates the phonological properties of prefixes in OE as follows:

1. If the first element (apparent 'prefix') is an independent adverb (*inn, æfter*) it is stressed.
2. If a prefixed verb derives from an initial-stressed noun, the stress-pattern of the noun remains intact: *ánd-swárian < ánd-swáru.*
3. If a noun is derived from a verb with an unstressed prefix, the stress-pattern of the verb remains: *be-bód < be-bóden*, past participle of *be-béodan* 'command'. (Lass, 1994: 92)

A fairly frequent process of prefixation would become gradually non-transparent, the situation which would have been to a great extent caused by the existence of a large number of the prefix verbs, as the prefix in such combinations would be phonologically rather unstable due to lack of stress. Subsequent phonetic erosion thus triggered merging of various prefixes, which dramatically lowered their overall amount leading to formal non-transparency and heavy semantic ambiguities.

With the Norman Conquest "the language took to wholesale borrowing, a method which meant an enormous cut-down on the traditional patterns of word-formation out of native material. […] Some of the old prefixes disappeared because they were practically too weak phonetically." (Marchand, 1969: 130) It is therefore to be expected that the overall inventory of the native prefixes stock was significantly reduced and thus the formal and semantic scope of the remaining ones was widened or blurred. A weakened position of the native prefixes was compensated in the

language by several ways – one of them being large-scale borrowing of the Romance material to make up for the loss. Foreign segments thus often coexisted and competed with the native material. The surviving native prefixes are often not necessarily restricted to the native vocabulary word-formation only, but gradually become available for the foreign material as well, especially when the loans acquire native-like spelling and pronunciation, and the resulting formations thus become hybrids. Hybridization is a very common phenomenon in late Middle English when a large number of new formations appear, containing either a native prefix or a foreign base: *unadvanced, unaimable, indepartable*; or a foreign prefix with a native base: *enthralled.* It would often rise due to formal confusion of the native element with a homonymous foreign one, an example of which we can observe with the prefix *in-*.

The language itself was simultaneously undergoing morphological and syntactic re-structuralization which mirrored for example in the appearance of the so-called postparticle verbs where the originally prefixational element is postponed in the position after the verb. Since phonological instability of prefixes was one of the causes of their gradual decline, it is not surprising that the surviving PDE prefixes are mostly stressed with only four exceptions: *a-, be-, em-* and *en-*.

When referring to influences leading to a decrease of prefixation as a word-pattern in diachronic perspective, we often work with the term "productivity". "Some affixes are often used to create new words whereas others are less often used, or not used at all for this purpose. The property of an affix to be used to coin new complex words is referred to as the productivity of that affix." (Plag, 2002: 55) Productivity as an inherent property of affixes ought to be viewed as a scale where some affixes are more productive than the others. There are several methods which allow us to measure productivity – the most important criterion being whether the measurement is synchronic or diachronic. Diachronically (as it is relevant for our purposes), productivity can be defined as "the type-frequency of an affix: discerned by counting the number of attested different words with that affix as a given point in time." (Plag, 2002: 64)

Another perspective concerning productivity is introduced by Schröder: "diachronically, if we consider a prefix productive we assume that in a certain period of time there are recorded formations which contain it, while if there are none, we refer to it as being 'obsolete', i.e. fossilized and unproductive." (Schröder, 2008: 48)

As we have already suggested, prefixation in OE was a common and productive word-formation process. Concerning the adjectival prefixes, the most common were:

æ- (used in suffixless adjectives with the meaning 'without': *æfelle* 'withouth skin'),
æf- (denoting negativity: *æfweard* 'absent'),
ed- (meaning 'again': *edcwic* 'regenerated'),
for- (denoting 'loss, destruction': *fordon* 'destroy'),
ge- (denoting 'having, provided with': *gebirde* 'bearded', *gefræge* 'known'),
mis- (meaning 'bad/badly': *misscrence* 'distorted'),
or- (meaning 'without/lack of': *orblede* 'without blood'),
sam- (meaning 'together': *samheort* 'unanimous'),
sám- (meaning 'half': *samgrene* 'half-green'),
sin- (meaning 'perpetual': *sinbyrnende* 'ever burning'),
un- (denoting negativity: *unawemmed* 'unstained'),
wan- (meaning 'lacking': *wanhafol* 'needy'). (Kastovsky in Hogg, 1992: 378-381)

By the beginning of the ME period a considerable decline in usage of the native prefixes is observed. Among the OE prefixes eventually rendered unproductive were: *ond-, æ-, æf-, ed-, el-, o-, sam-,* etc. Some of the OE prefixes, however, managed to survive at least until the beginning of the ME period – *a-, be-, for-, to-, ge-, ymb-, etc.* There were some instances in which the prefix survived but with a modified meaning, the quintessential example being *un-*, "which in Old English expressed antithesis of the base morph with nouns and adjectives […] or gave it pejorative associations, […] or simply added intensity, […] now lost the latter two functions." (Burnley in Blake, 1992: 446)

The main focus of our work will be to find, describe and analyse adjectival formations coming into existence by means of prefixation in the period between 1200 and 1400. We will concentrate solely on the coinages where both the prefix and the base are of native origin. The analysis of the gathered material will consist in identification of the word-formation patterns of the individual prefixes, their formal and semantic origins and development, aiming to determine the productivity of the respective word-formation patterns in the ME period. Our goal is thus to

provide a unified survey of the native prefixes in word-formation patterns operating within the time span of 200 years in ME.

On the basis of the theoretical background provided in the previous chapters, we may formulate the following hypothesis.

3 HYPOTHESIS

In the experimental part we will focus on the adjectival innovations of native origin appearing for the first in the period between 1200 and 1400 in order to observe and describe their word-formation patterns and determine their productivity. Focus will be placed upon the formations coined by prefixation, in which both elements (the prefix and the base) are of native origin. With respect to what we have presented in the previous chapter of this work, we can formulate our hypothesis:

*H1:*We expect gradual decline in general productivity of the prefixes of native origin in the period of 1200-1400 from the following reasons: phonetic erosion of the prefixes mostly when not under stress and subsequent formal and semantic ambiguity of the respective elements prove them problematic to understand and apply in production of new adjectives.

The examination of the hypothesis can be conveyed with help of the research questions:

1. What is the estimated productivity of each prefix under scrutiny in Old English?
2. How many types of bases can a prefix attach to in Middle English?
3. How many semantic levels of the prefix can be identified both in Old English and Middle English?
4. Is the number of the new formations decreasing or increasing in the period of 1200-1400?
5. Are the new formations able to survive until Present-day English?

4   METHOD

For the purposes of our work we were searching for the prefixes of native origin, some of them being already identified in the theoretical chapter (2.5 Prefixation and productivity). We were using the Oxford English Dictionary Advanced search as a searching tool which we accessed via Shibboleth remote access function of the Charles University library system. Advanced search of the OED allows us to specify our search conditions according to several criteria, including language of origin, date of entry and apart of speech category. Our search was therefore specified as having English for the language of origin, date of entry included either the whole period of 1200-1400 or a smaller time span (50 years) and part of speech was set for adjectives. Figure 3 illustrates our search specifications:

Figure 3. Search specifications in OED.

The dictionary then listed all the adjectives of native origin appearing for the first time in the specific period and we were able to select those including a prefix of native origin. What we needed to take into consideration when applying such a method was the fact that some forms could have been hidden under lexicalized modern spelling and thus the prefix would not be transparent enough.

In our search we focused solely on adjectives formed primarily by prefixation. Many adjectives with corresponding earlier verbal constructions already appearing with a respective prefix were found as well, yet those forms were excluded from further analysis as the adjectival form came into existence most probably by derivation from its verbal form – and thus the prefix was employed to form a verb, not an adjective in the first place. On the other hand, if it was not possible to determine the origin of a form unambiguously and several possible origins seemed probable, we subjected it to the analysis even if one of the scenarios was derivation from an earlier verbal formation. Simultaneously we need to be aware of the fact that when we claim no earlier forms for the adjectives in the analysis, it does not signify their absolute non-existence, but rather lack of data – meaning that the earlier forms are only unattested.

The aim was to determine productivity of the prefixes we found in the OED. We have already tackled the problem of terminology and data quantification arising around the word 'productivity' and in the theoretical chapter (2.5 Prefixation and productivity) we explained the ways in which it was possible to apply the term in diachronic linguistics – pointing out that diachronically it is imperative to collect and count data appearing in a certain period of time and compare them either with earlier or later periods in order to see whether the productivity of a segment is decreasing or increasing. We will thus follow the method identified by Plag as "the type-frequency" analysis. Since productivity can be considered a scale with a segment being productive or unproductive as maxims of this scale, we have identified four categories we expected the prefixes would fall into:

1. Productive – the prefix produces more than 20 new formations, more than half of which survive the ME period,

2. Increasingly productive: the prefixes produces less than 20 new formations, more than half of which survive the ME period,

3. Increasingly unproductive: the prefix produces less than 20 new formations, less than half of which survive the ME period,

4. Unproductive: the prefix produces less than 10 new formations, less than half of which survive the ME period.

In our analysis we took into consideration several aspects in order to determine productivity of the prefixes:

- we collected and divided data into four sub-categories according to date of entry: 1200-1250, 1250-1300, 1300-1350 and 1350-1400. Such a classification allowed us to observe whether the overall number of formations with a specific prefix was gradually increasing or decreasing.

- we identified the word-formation patterns appearing with each of the prefixes. The data may show that while the overall productivity of the prefix with several distinct word-formation patterns is decreasing, some of the patterns might exhibit strong tendency of producing new formations.

- semantic levels of the individual prefixes both for Old English and Middle English period were identified, although it was often difficult to differentiate and unambiguously determine various semantic shades appearing with the prefixes. Semantic analysis was conveyed in order to observe to what extent the new formations were comprehensible at the time and whether the prefixes were employed in order to express a specific semantic function.

- we observed whether the formations were able to survive beyond the Middle English period. The formations would be classified either as still in use or obsolete, according to the definition provided by the OED: "If an entry, sense, or lemma is no longer in use in the English language, it may be considered obsolete. This usually means that no evidence for the term can be found in modern English. The latest quotation indicates the period when the term was last in use." (OED Glossary, http://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/glossary/) We assumed that the formations surviving until PDE exhibit both formal and semantic stability and the prefix employed would thus still be productive as well.

- the overall picture of the situation was supplemented by the assessment of the situation in OE (in PDE where necessary too) based on the amount of formations for each prefix found in the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary.

What we need to take into consideration is that the available documents in which the formations were frequently appearing were of formal character – with recurring religious themes, as well as poems. The language used thus might have reflected the older stage of the language – certain prefixes could have been viewed as archaic by the end of the 14th century, yet it would still appear in poems due to metrical reasons, etc.

The productivity was thus being analysed from several viewpoints:

- the overall number of formations for the individual prefixes in 1200-1400,
- specification of the word-formation patterns for each of the prefixes and the number of formation for each,
- identification of the semantic shades and their comprehensibility, serving as an important factor determining whether such formations are understandable enough to produce new coinages,
- observation of the viability of the formations for each of the prefixes.

5   ANALYSIS

In this section we will analyse the individual prefixes and their corresponding formations we found listed in the OED. Each prefix will be described in terms of its form and function both in OE and ME with focus placed upon its sources of origin – the general descriptions are based on the information from the OED unless another source of origin is directly stated. The formations will be divided according to the period in which they were recorded for the first time in order to see whether their overall amount is increasing or decreasing in the period of 1200-1400. We will then observe the word-formation patterns of the respective prefixes and try to determine their (un)productivity based on both the number of the formations they produce and their ability to survive until PDE. Simultaneously we will observe the semantic characteristics of the individual formations and in the end draw general conclusions concerning both formal and semantic behaviour of the prefixes in the period in focus.

5.1 Prefix *A-*

The prefix appearing with very high frequency in OE, often found attached to verbs in order to change aspect from durative to perfective. It was not limited to verbs only but could be easily found in combinations with nouns and deverbal adjectives. (Quirk, Wrenn, 1957: 109) In OE the prefix was rather frequently employed to form adjectives as well – the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary contains approximately 300 entries. In the ME period the prefix is found in combinations with past participles, adjectives and nouns, the word-patterns significantly differing in terms of the amount of formations they produce – as we shall see in the following analysis.

Several semantic levels of the prefix with respect to its possible origins are recognizable:

1. Originally probably an unstressed variant of *or-*the prefix carrying a denotation of "without", in OE formerly represented by the form *aa-*. *A-*segment traceable to this origin was in OE often found with verbs, expressing "a motion forward, away" and hence also intensification.
2. Partly a variant of the *of-* prefix and preposition with the meaning "away, off, from, of", adding intensity (appearing already in OE).

3. A variant of the ME *y-* prefix, expressing either completeness or being attached to past participles.
4. Carrying a meaning of "on/on to" due to being partly a variant of *on-* prefix (its reduced form) and partly a preposition (found in 17th century onwards).
5. A reduced variant of the *at-* prefix meaning "close to", already appearing with this meaning already in OE
6. A reduced variant of the prefix *and-*, meaning "against, opposite" – appearing with this meaning in OE
7. Foreign sources of origin: *en-* ("to put something in"), *es-* (from Old French, expressing addition or increase), *a-* (Greek origin, carrying negative meaning similar to PDE *un-*, found in 16th century onwards). (OED)

In Table 1 below we can see occurrences of the adjectives including the prefix *a-* formed in the period between 1200 and 1400:

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
Akimed [bewildered]	Afingered [famished]	Aburst [enraged]	Adight [adorned]
Amad [out of mind]	Afire [on fire]	Acale [being cold]	Alike [similar, identical]
Aready [ready]	Afoot [on foot]	Acold [being cold]	Alight [burning]
Across	Aghast [terrified]	Ageet [glorified]	
Adread [terrified]	Awlated [disgusted]	Anapped [sleepy]	
	Alonged [overcome with longing]	Agremed [enraged]	
		Alised [famous]	
		Asad [satisfied, tired]	
		Athirst [thirsty]	

Table 1. Adjectives of native origin formed with the *a-* prefix. Meaning in PDE is in square brackets.

We can immediately observe that the overall amount of the formations containing the prefix in the ME period is significantly lower compared with the situation in OE. Distribution of the formations containing the prefix is uneven. Throughout the course of the 13th century we come across only ten adjectival formations, but in the first half of the 14th century the prefix seems to have reached the peak of its productivity in the 1200-1400 time span. Sudden increase in new formations might have been caused by the ongoing phonetic erosion of many native prefixes which would eventually develop a simple *a-* form. Thus we come across enormous formal and semantic ambiguities and impenetrable non-transparent creations (i.e. the origins of the prefix vary and carry different semantics, yet its form remains the same –

afingered/amad/akimed etc.), which would eventually reduce the productivity of the prefix – due to which the number of such formations would fall in the second half of the 14th century. A number of conflicting senses and etymologies significantly reduces the chances of such non-transparent formations to survive until later periods and it is therefore to be expected that they would be subsequently replaced.

   If we consider frequency and the recorded time span of the individual formations we can acquire a unified image of the overall productivity of the prefix. In Table 2 we have divided the adjectives according to bases to which the prefix is attached and each word also contains information about the time span of its recorded use. Thus we can estimate not only which word-pattern was the most prominent but also which word-pattern would produce formations formally and semantically strong enough to survive until the modern era. As we can see, the prefix was most frequently attached to past participles but only 3 formations out of 17 of this type survived until PDE (those formations are marked red). This leads us to the assumption that the function of the prefix here was not unified and thus was barely comprehensible for the native speakers. On the other hand, there is a significantly lower amount of instances where the prefix is attached to nouns or adjectives, yet these patterns prove more stable as all of them persist until PDE.

PAST PARTICIPLE	NOUN	ADJECTIVE	UNCLEAR
akimed: 1250-1275	afire: 1275 onwards	alike: 1393 onwards	aready: 1250-1480
amad: 1220-1315	afoot: 1275 onwards		acold: 1330-1948
afingered: 1300-1549	across: 1250 onwards		
aghast: 1300 onwards			
aburst: 1300 only			
acale: 1300-1535			
ageet: 1350 only			
agremed: 1300-1450			
alised: 1300 only			
asad: 1306 and 1320 only			
athirst: 1305-1877			
adread: 1225-1948			
alight: 1400 onwards			
awlated: 1297 only			
anapped: 1305 only			
adight: 1390-1887			
alonged: 1300-1450			

Table 2. Amount of appearances of the prefix *a-* formations. The formations surviving until Early-Modern English and onwards are marked red.

The unclear section contains two adjectives in which it is impossible to determine whether the base is adjectival or participial.

We have made two assumptions concerning the productivity of the word-patterns above:

1   the formations with past participles are generally weak and unable to survive more than one century, which implies that the prefix itself is obscured and its informational load is ambiguous;
2   the formations with nouns and adjectives exhibit strong tendency to survive until PDE and thus the prefix is expected to have a clear formal and/or semantic function.

The assumptions will be verified in a following analysis. Let us therefore focus on the two groups respectively and examine the function and origin of the prefix in the individual formations.

5.1.1   A-+ NOUN

Across: It was first recorded in 1250 and survives with a significant frequency until PDE. The formation is believed to have been coined on the basis of a French 12th century prepositional phrase *en croix* meaning "in the form of cross", which would make it an example of a loan translation. The prefix here originally functioned as a preposition *on* which was later phonologically reduced into an *a-* element and firmly attached to the noun.

Afire/Afoot: Both formations are recorded for the first time in 1275 and successfully survive until PDE. The case is similar to *across*, the first element functions as a later reduced preposition *on*.

According to Marchand (1969: 140), in this case we are not dealing with "a real prefix as it is not the determinant of the combination. […] It is attached on the basis of a prepositional relation […] and conveys the meaning 'in a state or position of'." The prepositional relation would eventually evolve into pseudo prefixed combinations and the meaning conveyed by the first element of such formations would thus be comprehensible enough to support their ability to survive.

5.1.2 A-+ ADJECTIVE

Alike: the prefix can be of three different origins. It might represent an earlier form *an-* (OE *anlíc* – on body = 'similar') which was later reduced into *a-*; or can be traced back to the OE word *gelíc*, and thus would undergo a phonological reduction first into ME *y-/i-/ʒe-* *and* subsequently into *a-*. In OE we can also find the non-prefixed adjective líc, in which case it would be a regular prefixation carrying intensification.

5.1.3 A-+ PAST PARTICIPLE

*Akimed***:** meaning "bewildered". The OED and MED state two different sources of origin:

1. OE *cýman* – "to bewilder" and its unattested past participle: *gecýmed*. *Ge-*would undergo a regular reduction into *y-* and eventually *a-*. In this case it would not be considered a ME innovation and we would therefore exclude it from our analysis. (OED)
2. Akin to OE *ofer-cuman* – "to overcome, subdue." Meaning of the past participle: "overcome, dumbfounded." In this case we would see a significant phonological reduction of the di-syllabic prefix and a semantic shift as well. (MED) With regard to the fact that the word was recorded only twice according to the OED and once according to the MED, it is not possible to convey any further analysis and we must therefore state that its origin is obscure.

Amad, *Ageet, Agremed, Alised, Asad, Adight:* the formations can be traced down to the OE coinages in *ge-* and thus represent reduced forms of the ME *y-* (being a reduced form itself). Yet, we cannot claim that all of them are unambiguously based on this pattern only: ageet might also be a past participle of the unattested verb *agete.

Afingered, Athirst, Adread, Alonged: the prefix represents a phonologically reduced form of the earlier form *of-* expressing intensification: overcome with hunger, thirst, etc. Semantically they share the meaning of physical or emotional deprivation.

Aburst: meaning "enraged", with two possible scenarios of development:

1. *an-* + burst: instance of a prefix undergoing phonological reduction from the original form *on-*, meaning "on".
2. *a-* + burst (noun or verb): on burst(ing) = bursting out

In the case of the second scenario the word would fall under the group following the pattern of *afire*, etc.

Acale: two possible sources of origin according to OED and MED:

1. it is a past participle of the OE creation *acalan* (MED)
2. *of-* + cale (past participle of *calan*) = affected by cold (OED)

The form was recorded for the first time as *acold* and therefore it seems that the two formations coexisted for a certain period and only later *acold* proved to be semantically and formally stronger, possibly due to its formal structure – ending in a consonant it was less prone to phonological levelling and formal disintegration.

Aghast: the adjective originally came into existence as a past participle of the verb, but the semantic shift as a result of folk etymology has been recorded as the word was reinterpreted as if formed by the *a-* prefix: frightened>struck with horror. (OED)

Awlated, Anapped: the prefix *a-* carrying a participial function only, possibly expressing completeness of action (with no attested corresponding participial OE forms)

Alight: originally probably formed as *a-* + past participle but later in the 15th century underwent reinterpretation analogically with forms such as *afire* and remained productive until PDE.

Special cases:

Aready: the prefix is probably a variant of the ME participial prefix *y-/i-/ʒe-,* expressing the meaning of "in readiness." The formation might also be equivalent to the OE adjective *ge-rǣde.* (MED)

Acold: Its origin is uncertain. It is possible that it was formed as a past participle of the OE verb *acōlden*, with the participial form *acolded* which would then be reduced into *acold.* (MED, OED)

The MED at the same time provides us with a second option – that the formation came into existence as a combination of *on-* + adjective (*on cōld*) in which case it would resemble the adjectives from the previous group – being 'on cold' = feeling cold. Similarly as the *on-* + noun pattern adjectives, the formation is recorded until the PDE, even though it has become register-specific and archaic – the last time it was recorded was in Ezra Pound's *Cantos* in 1948 and before that in 1870.

The examples above show that one prefix can be identified to have many origins with different meanings which renders the analysis of such formations rather complicated and due to lack of data often downright impossible. The prefix can be found combined with past participles, nouns and adjectives.

In both OE and ME it appears mostly with past participles but the pattern does not prove to be productive in a long run as most of such formations generally disappear from the records within one century. This might have been caused specifically by a large amount of non-transparent combinations with various origins (*ge-/y-/of-/a-*), and thus an unclear semantics of the prefix would eventually make such combinations incomprehensible for the native speakers. The word-formation pattern *prefix* + past participle is represented by several types of formations. Some of them are of uncertain origin (such as *akimed*), but generally the words belonging under this pattern can be divided into three large groups:

- the formations in which the prefix is a reduced variant of the *y-* prefix (type *amad*),

- the formations in which the prefix expressed intensification of a distinctively negative physical or emotional condition (type *afingered*),

- the formations in which the prefix carries the participial function only and is not a reduction of the original attested OE forms (type *awlated*).

The pattern *prefix* + adjective does not prove particularly productive either, as only one formation of this kind was found in the OED.

On the other hand, the word-formation pattern *prefix* + noun gradually exhibits traits of increased productivity as it probably managed to preserve its semantic transparency and thus to a great extent conditioned the ability of such formations to survive until PDE as the prefix was

functioning as a residuum of the former preposition *on-*. Considering the fact that we find an early formation of this kind based on a French expression it might be possible that the pattern follows both native and foreign structure. At first, the prefix appears in this function with nouns only but later spreads by analogy to the other patterns as well.

Thus we can claim that the overall frequency of the formations with the prefix *a-* is diminishing due to phonetic erosion of several other prefixes which thus merge into one form and become formally and often semantically indistinguishable. Only one word-formation pattern originally based on the preposition *on-*proved productive, spreading from nominal to participial and adjectival combinations.

5.2 Prefix *BE-*

The prefix *be-* is recorded to have existed both in unstressed *bi-/be-* and stressed *bí-* forms. The stressed variant was employed either separately or in compounds with nouns, while the unstressed one generally formed compounds with verbs or indeclinable words. *Be-* form comes into existence due to phonological reduction of the unstressed variant during the Middle English period. Subsequently both forms (*be-* and *bi-*) were employed interchangeably until their spelling was fixed and the form *be-* was established across the paradigm. The stressed variant partly survived as well, nowadays being spelled as *by-* and used in modern adverbial formations such as *by-road*, *by-stander*. According to the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary, the prefix (both as *bi-* and *be-*) in OE appears in approximately 40 adjectives. In the ME period we find it combined with past participles and adjectives, some formations however appear to be formally non-transparent – the issue which will be further dealt with in the following analysis.

The prefix has developed several meanings already in Old English:

- the original locative meaning: 'about'
- in prepositions and adverbs the meaning is weakened into "at/near"
- in verbs it is "about/all round/throughout" with an intensifying or even figurative function
- rendering intransitive verbs transitive (connected with the 'about' meaning)
- instrumental function

- privative function (OED)

Adjectives formed with the prefix *be-* in the period from 1200 to 1400:

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
Begrown[grown over]	Besweat[sweaty all over]	Belong[beloning, along of]	Bithrett[menaced]
Bekimed[foolish]	Betorn[torn]	By-modered[bemired]	
Bemazed[bewildered]		Bewept[in tears]	
Bikenned[begotten]			
Bilenge[belonging to]			

Table 3. Adjectives with *be-* prefix recorded for the first time in the period from 1200-1400. The green-marked formations are now obsolete – not in use.

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
begrown: 1250-onwards	besweat: 1275-onwards	belong: 1325 only	bithrett: 1400 only
bekimed: 1225 only	betorn: 1300-1599	by-modered: 1307 only	
bemazed: 1225-onwards		bewept: 1320-onwards	
bikenned: 1250 only			
bilenge: 1200 only			

Table 4. Amount of appearances of the prefix *be-* formations. The formations surviving until Early Modern English and onwards are marked red.

The fact that the prefix was not originally used to form adjectives suggests broadening of its formal scope by the beginning of the 13th century, yet this branch does not seem to exhibit a tendency to become very productive. While in the first half of the 13th century 5 new adjectives came into existence, by the end of the 14th century only one *be-*prefixed adjective was recorded. With regard to the overall productivity of the prefix we need to consider not only the number of new formations coming into existence, but also frequency of their use which shows whether the formations are comprehensible or ambiguous (from the native speakers' point of view) and thus later replaced with other expressions. It is possible to assume that a low usage frequency and subsequent replacement of a word with another (often a loanword or a descriptive expression) are the indicators that the original expressions were structurally and semantically non-transparent. The green marked adjectives in Table 3 are considered obsolete and are, according to the OED, recorded only once or twice. According to the information gathered in the OED we can thus see

that only four *be*-prefixed adjectives out of eleven formed between 1200 and 1350 survived the ME period and were further recorded until the 19th century – the detailed information provided in Table 4. The productivity of the prefix therefore seems to have been gradually declining and its semantic properties thus growing continuously vague which inevitably led to the appearance of new (mostly analytical) means of expressing the same meaning. The analysis will show us the development of both surviving and obsolete formations, but not all of the adjectives listed will be subjected to it, since some of them were originally formed as verbs. Table 5 distinguishes the individual formations according to their formal characteristics:

be + past participle	be + adjective	Unclear	be + verb
begrown	belenge	by-modered	bemazed
bikenned	belong	bekimed	bewept
betorn			bithret
			besweat

Table 5. Formal characteristics of the be-prefixed adjectives.

The reason why we have decided to distinguish between the *be + past participle* and *be + verb* column (although both groups have the past participle form) is that the adjectives in the *be + verb* group were demonstrably originally formed as verbs and the adjectival form came into existence only later by transposition of the participles. On the other hand, the *be + past participle* formations have no attested OE verbal form we can take into consideration. We have therefore decided to exclude the *be- + verb* group from our analysis (which is why those formations are marked red) and divide the rest of the formations into two small groups: those undergoing regular prefixation (*begrown, betorn*) and special cases (*bikenned, belenge/belong, by-modered, bekimed*):

1. *Begrown, Betorn*: undergoing regular prefixation

Begrown: recorded as *bigrowe/begrowe/begrown*. The prefix carries the meaning of "around/all over", in this case "grown over with". The prefix is attached to the past participle of the verb 'grow', yet no original verb with the prefix has been recorded. It was frequently followed by the preposition "with":

- begrowe with wines (14th century)
- begrowe with snakes (16th century)
- begrowe with trees (19th century)

The 16th century use implies that the meaning of *be-*in later periods was not necessarily restricted to the sense of "covering" but its semantic extension is observable as well, as it could also express that a place is filled with something – e.g. snakes are everywhere.

Betorn: found with two basic meanings, although the word itself is obsolete: either "torn" or "tattered". While in the first case the prefix seemingly does not modify the semantics of the word in any way, the second meaning suggests that the prefix might have had the function of an intensifier combined with the "all around" meaning – being torn all over the place. The "tattered" meaning however appears only later and is recorded at the end of the 16th century.

2. Special cases

Bi'kenned: *be-* + kennen (OE verb – to beget) + *-ed*, recorded as *bikennedd* with the meaning of "begotten". Two possible sources for this word can be traced, the OE word *áncenned* or the Old High German word *irkenned*.

The OE source: án + cenned: one + born which blends into a compound later transformed into *ankenned* and which can be roughly translated as "the one born" or "the only born". The elision of 'n' in the first element of the word would give rise to the form *akenned* which appears approximately in the same period as the form with *be-* (1250).

The Old High German source: the OED claims that the *ir-* form is a cognate with the OE prefix *or-* meaning "out/without", which was very often found in verbal compounds and then reduced to *a-*, in which case the word would gradually develop into *akenned*.

From the semantic point of view it is interesting to notice that both *áncenned* and *bikenned* were used in a specific, Christ-related or biblical context, which suggests that the word managed to keep its semantic characteristics despite its apparent formal modification – and therefore we might ponder over a possibility that the original OE numeral was formally reduced to such an extent that it was easily confused with the *a-* prefix at the time vague enough for them to be interchangeable. The vagueness of *be-* can be demonstrated by the fact that it does not modify the past participle in any particular way, since both words *bikenned* and *kenned* mean "begotten".

The analysis cannot be, however, fully supported due to the lack of material since the word *bikenned* has been recorded only once.

Bilenge: the form itself was recorded in one source only – *Ormulum*, by the beginning of the 13th century. Its structural shape suggests that the author formed it on the basis of an OE adjective – *gelenge* meaning "along of/belonging to", possibly employing the prefix *bi-* in order to convey the sense of relatedness to something. Despite its striking formal similarity to the modern English verb *to belong,* this word seems to be unfortunately a dead end with no further development. However in the first half of the 14th century we come across another similar form – *belong*, formed using the prefix in order to express the same meaning "related to something/along of", a structure which again seems to have recycled the OE *gelenge* without any regard for the earlier *bilenge* word. It is worth noticing that the OE word did not die out, on the contrary, it developed into the ME *ylenge* which was subsequently reduced into *alenge* or as we know it nowadays – *along*. Spelling confusion of the segment (a mixed vowel) is one of the possible options, the other one is similar semantics carried by the *a-* prefix – "on/on to" = "on long" of something – leading to an affix replacement process. It is possible that the two forms would exist in parallel for a certain period of time and if we take into account the fact that their meanings overlapped considerably, the process of their semantic differentiation would eventually take place resulting in two words with related, yet distinct meanings.

By-modered: "besmeared with mud". Two possible sources of the word are identifiable:

1. *By-* (prefix) + modered (modder – "mud", possibly either a Middle Low German or Middle Dutch loan because of the unattested OE form. Its origin is uncertain and therefore we cannot claim whether it is a genuine loanword or not.) *By-* in this case would be only a spelling variant of the *be-/bi-* forms, adding its usual meaning of "covered all about/covered with".
2. The second option deals with the *by-* element not as with a prefix, but rather a preposition, adverb or even adjective. In this case *by-* would be carrying an attributive sense and thus would be formally hardly distinguishable from *by-* used as an adjective (such uses are for the first time recorded approximately in the first half of the 14th century).

Considering the semantic properties carried by the first element of the construction it seems that the first option is more acceptable. It is not, however, possible to determine it with certainty as

we cannot positively identify the origins of both elements of the formation. According to the OED, *by-* is a combining form, which is a complicated term and should be therefore used with caution.

Bekimed: meaning "bewildered". The form seems to be analogical to *akimed* we have already discussed in the chapter 5.1.3. We have not managed to determine the source of origin of *akimed* due to conflicting etymologies of the *a-* segment. According to the OED the older *bekimed* form might be the past participle of the unattested OE verb *becȳman* – "to bewilder, stupefy". The MED on the other hand provides us with the meaning "subdued, overcome" – similarly to what we have found about *akimed*. The two forms are therefore believed to be of the same origin with the earlier attested *bekimed* formation which appears only once in 1250. It is possible to assume that the two prefixes were confused possibly due to their semantic proximity in particular contexts – most probably expressing intensification – which is a phenomenon called affix replacement.

As we have seen in the analysis, the prefix *be-* did not prove productive in forming adjectives. Only four adjectives attested in the OED were found surviving until Early Modern English and onwards, three of them being formed as past participles of already existing verbs and thus we can assume that the prefix was more functional attached to verbs. The only surviving adjectival form with no earlier verbal form attested is *begrown: prefix + past participle,* with the meaning "grown all over with".

5.3 Prefix *AT-*

In OE the prefix existed in two variants: as strong/stressed *æt-* (frequently attached to nouns and adjectives), and as unstressed *ot-* [spelled also as *oþ* –or *oð-*] (with verbs and prepositions) – both carrying the meaning of "close to". However, the weak form simultaneously shared both formal and semantic similarities with two other prefixes of different origin:

oþ-: a reduced form of the original prefix *and-* meaning "against/opposite"

oð-: a reduced form of the original prefix *úð-* meaning "off/away".

The two prefixes underwent phonological reduction and thus all three forms became formally identical, which simultaneously brought along broadening of the semantic scope of *ot-*. A convergence of prefixes based on their formal and semantic proximity is a common scenario for the ME period and is most probably a result of the overall decline of the role of prefixation as a word-formation pattern at the time. The pattern is significantly impoverished and many remaining prefixes lose both their formal and semantic boundaries and thus become ambiguous. The prefix *ot-* eventually found itself in the same position and grew semantically ambiguous which might have been the cause why it gradually disappeared and by late OE it was completely replaced by the strong *æt-* which "took the place of its own weak form *ot-, oþ-, oð-,* and it also usurped the place of *oð-* [and *oþ-*] from *anð-*, and *oð-* from *úð-*." (OED)

According to the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary, the prefix can be found in 10 adjectival formations in OE, but only one instance of this prefix used to form an adjective appears in early ME:

At-old: *at-* (prefix) + adjective, formed around 1200, recorded only twice in the same source of religious character and therefore considered obsolete. The infrequency, or rather non-existence of more such adjectival formations recorded allows us to say that the prefix was effectively rendered unproductive already by the beginning of the ME period. The formation itself is extraordinary, since its meaning does not correspond to any of the suggested ones in the description above, but rather points to peculiar OE formations with *úð-*expressing "very/excessive". The examples of those formations in OE: *úþ-mǽte* (immense, very great), *úþ-wita* (very wise, respected). (Bosworth_Toller, 8.12.2015) The formation itself seems to be closely related to the OE adjective *æt-ealdod* = "too aged." (Bosworth_Toller, 1.2.2016) It might be therefore either a result of a continuous development of the expression directly from OE, or a new ME formation specifically coined on the basis of the OE original in order to convey the same meaning in the same, religious register. In order to explain how the meaning of "excessiveness" appears in this formation, let us consider the OE word *úþ-mǽte.* The prefix seems to be related to the Gothic form *unþa-*, meaning "away/off" and the adjective *mǽte* originally meaning "small", while the resulting combination carries the semantics of immenseness, pointing thus to a significant semantic shift brought along by the prefix. (Wright, E. M., Wright, J., 1914: 342) As we have seen, the unstressed variants of *æt-* and *úð-* were brought together partly due to their semantic proximity which means that the same scenario could have happened with the stressed variants as well. Since the two variants would not resemble each other formally, there would be no reason for their

phonological approximation, but we cannot exclude the possibility of their mutual semantic influence due to which *úð-* would transfer its "excessiveness" meaning to *æt-*. Nevertheless, such formations with *æt-* were only sporadic in OE and therefore it is not surprising that the pattern did not keep its productivity in the later periods.

5.4 Prefix *OF-*

This prefix was at certain point common for all major Germanic languages, forming primarily verbal compositions. In OE it was spelled as *æf-,* the form which in ME underwent phonological reduction and was therefore recorded as *af-* or *of*. Its phonological instability can be demonstrated by the fact that when followed by a consonant it became gradually reduced to *a-* which subsequently led to its confusion with other prefixes of different origin. The phonological instability causing reduction of form would simultaneously lead to a morphological instability as well – as a previous boundary between the prefix and its base would become obliterated. Thus it was not uncommon to find the instances of words in which the original *a-* prefix was substituted by *of-*, probably because of not only their formal but also semantic overlapping, the latter one often causing spelling confusion of the elements concerned.

The Bosworth_Toller Dictionary contains 18 adjectives coined with the prefix, the original meaning being that of "away/off" (thus often with intensifying function). However, concerning the potential instability of the prefix already in the OE period, many early OE verbal compositions containing this element underwent semantic modification in which the original sense of the two elements was either obscured or lost completely. The prefix itself managed to preserve most of its original sense mostly in late OE and ME formations, nevertheless it did not escape partial morphological restructuring when "the union [of the prefix and a base] is much looser, the particle being in verbs mostly separable, with its position depending on the syntax. It is only in participles, verbal adjectives, and nouns, that the combination becomes more or less permanent." (OED) A variation of *of-* with *over-* in late OE and early ME is recorded as well.

Small frequency and overall amount of the formations with this prefix throughout the span of 200 years suggests that its overall productivity had inexorably declined until it was eventually lost completely. If we search for the instances containing the prefix in its non-reduced form, the OED

48

offers an account of only three formations: *of-fought*, *of-walked* and *ofgast*, the first two of them being found only within a complex phrase: weary-of-fought/walked meaning "exhausted with fighting/walking". Nevertheless we have to take into consideration the fact that some formations originally containing the prefix would be significantly phonologically reduced by that time and thus hidden under other forms (presumably as *a-* forms).

Ofgast: recorded once in 1300, according to the MED we can trace it directly to OE as the past participle of the verb *gǣstan* – "to frighten". The form rose probably due to semantic similarity of *gǣstan* and *fǣran*. In OE *fǣran* appears also as *afǣran* where the prefix has an intensifying function – "to make very afraid, to terrify". We do not find an analogous *agǣstan* form in OE, but we come across both *agast* and *ofgast* for the first time recorded in 1330. It is possible that the *agast* form rose based on a semantic and formal analogy with the past participle of *afǣran* and given the semantic proximity of *a-* and *of-*, the *ofgast* form might have arisen from the semantic confusion of the two prefixes. Subsequent phonological reduction of the *of-* prefix combined with the existing semantically related words with the *a-* prefix would thus leave us only with the form *agast*.

The *of-fought* combination was recorded four times during the 14th century (the earliest one in 1330), while the *of-walked* formation was recorded only once in 1400 which suggests that it was probably formed on the basis of the earlier *of-fought* expression. In both of them we find the prefix attached to the past participle of the respective verb which would rather be interpreted as a verbal complement of the adjective *weary*: weary of fighting/having fought. The prefix was probably attached in order to express intensity – having fought/walked excessively and thus being exhausted.

5.5 Prefix *FOR-*

The prefix used in OE primarily to form verbs and adjectives, formally looking as *for-*, *fær-*. The vowel appearing in OE is an obscured variant of the three Germanic prefixes *fer- , fra- , fur- . The obscuring itself was caused by the stress placement in OE when the prefixes were in most cases unstressed. In OE the prefix appears in approximately 50 adjectives (Bosworth_Toller Dictionary), generally employed to express the sense of directionality: "forward, forth". It was,

however, subjected to semantic modification conditioning thus development of a great variety of meanings in later periods (the centuries illustrate when the earliest expression with such a meaning was recorded for the first time – although we cannot claim with certainty that those meanings were not existing before):

- moving forward, moving away (13th century)
- prohibition of an action (13th century)
- abstaining from (13th century)
- with a sense of 'wrongly' (13th century)
- activity with a destructing effect, sense of 'asunder' (13th century)
- covered with, sense of 'all over' (14th century)
- to weary someone (13th century)
- intensification, overpowering effect (15th century) etc.

A potential confusion of forms might arise since in the ME period the prefix became a formal variant of the prefix *fore-* expressing the meaning of "before", "in front of", "on behalf of"; as we can see for example in: ME form *forganger* vs. PDE form *foreganger*– "the one who goes before."

The new formations appearing with this prefix were not particularly numerous in the period of our focus, as we can see in Table 6:

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
forthirst	forfoughten	forswat	forfaint
		forwrought	formad
			forstraught

Table 6. Adjectives with for- prefix recorded from 1200-1400.

Concerning the word-formation pattern, in all of the cases before 1350 the new adjectives were formed by attaching the prefix to past participles, in the period between 1350 and 1400 we find two instances in which the prefix was attached to adjectives: *forfaint* and *formad*. The only formation traceable back to the OE period is *forwrought*, originally formed as a verb and thus what we find in ME is only a past participle of an earlier formation. The OED and MED suggest that *forswat* and *formad* might be the past participles of the earlier OE verbal formations with *for-*, those are however unattested. *Formad* is in the MED associated with OE *gemǣd(ed)*, where in the assumed original formation we can see the participial prefix in which case there would be an immense functional and semantic shift in the ME formation.

The prefix itself was, according to the OED, significantly productive when forming verbs in ME, the occurrences of adjectives were, on the other hand, rather rare.

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
forthirst: 1200, 1440	forfoughten (PDE)	forswat: 1325-1586	forfaint: 1400-1563
		forwrought: 1325 only	formad: 1400 only
			forstraught: 1386-1440

Table 7. Frequency of adjectives with for- prefix recorded from 1200-1400.

In Table 7 we can see that the overall frequency of the new adjectives with the prefix was very low given their sporadic appearance in written sources, and thus the productivity of the word-formation pattern containing the prefix with past participles or adjectives does not seem to be significant. The only adjective surviving through the ME era is *forfoughten* as northern dialectal expression.

Concerning the semantic load of the prefix, all of the adjectives express redundancy, intensification and excessiveness with negative connotation - connected with painful or unpleasant experience, except for *forswat* in which the sense of "all over" is more prevailing as it literally means "covered with sweat" (although the redundancy is possibly a part of the meaning expressed).

Forthirst: overpowered with thirst
Forfoughten: worn-out in fighting
Forswat: covered with sweat
Forwrought: destroyed, ruined
Forfaint: very faint
Formad: excessively violent or enthusiastic
Forstraught: distracted

Examples (OED):
1375 *William of Palerne*: Ȝour mene..þat feynt ar <u>for-fouten</u> in feld. [Your men that faint and <u>exhausted from fight</u> are in the battlefield.]

1400 *Cursor Mundi*: I murnand moder þus <u>for-madd</u>, In sterin stanging was i stadd. [I, mourning mother, thus <u>grown mad</u>, in throbbing pain was I put.]

Negative connotation of the adjectives can be seen in the two sentences above expressing rather negative contexts - exhaustion from a battle and mourning.

The original meaning of the prefix seems to be therefore to a large extent maintained. Nevertheless, in spite of a fairly clear negative connotation the prefix carried, the individual senses were probably dissipated to such an extent that the segment would soon become non-transparent. Thus the prefix in adjectival formations seems to be gradually losing its productivity as a low amount of the new formations and their overall ability to survive suggest. This is possible to demonstrate by the fact that only one of the formations listed above survived until the modern period as a dialectal expression, while the others were subsequently replaced either with loanwords (as in the case of *forstraught > distracted*) or with the analytical means of expression.

5.6 Prefix WAN-

Apart from *un-*, the OE system possessed more prefixes to express negation, although none of them was as prolific. One of the possibilities to express either negative or privative meaning was to employ the prefix *wan-* (OE *wan- won-*) which despite appearing in numerous adjectival formations in OE (approximately 10 adjectives recorded in the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary), none of the original formations survived into PDE. Its frequency was eminent mostly in the north where it continued to be productive even in the modern period and many of the expressions containing the prefix are still in current use. (OED) The southern regions did not seem inclined to 'borrow' the prefix from the northern regions, the reasons may vary – the prefix presumably being an OE loan from Old Norse, current influence of the Normans in the south, etc. It is possible that with the existence of another highly productive prefix with similar semantics, the southern regions would be reluctant to accept a non-prestigious northern element.
Two adjectives formed with this prefix were recorded in the period between 1250 and 1300:

Wanhope: *wan-* (prefix) + hope (noun)

The prefix brings a negative force and thus the meaning corresponds to "hopeless". In spite of being obsolete, the word is still in current use mostly in northern regions although its frequency is low.

Wanton: *wan-* (prefix) + towen (past participle of the verb *tee* meaning "to draw/pull/train/discipline/teach"), with a significant formal reduction of the verbal element, formed around 1300.

We can again claim that the prefix functions as a negator here in order to express lack of discipline (when talking about a person). The frequency in current use is higher when compared to *wanhope*, and the word itself was probably formed on the basis of an earlier structure *untowen*. The two formations co-existed approximately until the first half 15th century when the earlier structure disappeared from the records. It might be therefore possible that we encounter a situation in which one negative prefix was replaced by another with relatively lower frequency so we might assume that *wan-* carried a specific negative connotation not expressed by *un-*, which made *wanton* a better candidate to survive. Nowadays, however, the prefix in *wanton* is no longer naturally semantically identifiable by the native speakers and we can therefore assume that the structure has lexicalized over time – the word is therefore no longer considered a competition for other structures containing negative prefixes and if the lexicalization process started already in ME, it would explain the disappearance of *untowen* and support our idea of the overall non-productivity of the prefix.

5.7 Prefix *IN-*

An example of a prefix of Germanic origin which already in OE merged with a foreign prefix due to Latin loanwords influence. The two prefixes were not similar only in form but also in their meanings. While the Germanic prefix carried only the meaning of "in/within/internal", the prefix of Latin origin (with two identifiable cognates) was broader in scope and expressed both negation and the same semantics of "interiority" as the Germanic variant. Taking into consideration their formal and semantic identity, it is difficult to claim whether the prefix itself was viewed as foreign or native from the point of view of the native speakers. If we consult the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary we find approximately 20 adjectival formations containing the prefix which implies a certain level of popularity of the prefix which might have been caused by a learned status of the Latin loanwords – the prefix thus would gain a 'prestige' of a foreign learned element which

would eventually explain a rapid drop in the amount of formations combining the prefix and native bases in the ME period.

Simultaneously, the prefix when attached to native bases is recorded to have undergone semantic modification from its original meaning of "inly/internally" into "thoroughly" and thus subsequently "exceedingly/very". "Examples: Old English *indryhten* most noble, *infród* very wise, *inhold* thoroughly loyal; Middle English *inred* deep red." (OED) The shift happening already in Old English can be classified as that of intensification or possibly a hyperbole.

Only two adjectives formed with this prefix were found recorded:

Inred: *in-*(prefix) + red (adjective): 1200-1250

The prefix adds intensity to the adjective which therefore means "very red, exceedingly red". The word was however obsolete and such a formation is an exception rather than a regular pattern.

Inwritten: *in-* (prefix) + written (past participle of a verb "write"): 1350-1400

This is the case in which the prefix is employed in its original, unmodified function expressing "internality" – something is written inside/in. It is possible that the formation, as it appeared in a later period compared with *inred*, was already modeled upon Latin *inscriptus*. Neither of the two words have survived until PDE.

5.8 Prefix *UN-*

A very common prefix in OE, generally appearing as *un-* which later in ME and Early Modern English became highly variable with *on-* before adjectives, participles, adverbs and their derivatives (according to the OED this variation is merely a representation of spelling inconsistencies; Marchand, however, as we will see below, claims otherwise). The prefix can be found firmly attached, hyphenated or even completely loose, the last variant being common for the Middle English period and later for some modern Scots dialects with a slight modification of its meaning ("without") and spelling ("on").

The prefix was used to express three principal meanings:

- negation: "as far back as Old English, the prefix was very productive, chiefly with adjectives. There are about 1250 words recorded in Old English, but most of them had disappeared by 1250, and only a few have survived in Present-day English." (Marchand, 1969: 201) Several examples of the adjectives coined already in OE and surviving until PDE: *unclean, uneven, unfair, unripe*. (Marchand, 1969: 201)

- reversal: mostly combined with verbs but only few of them survived until PDE. "Before consonants the prefix was generally reduced to *on-* which was further weakened to *a-* and finally dropped." (Marchand, 1969: 204) The OED suggests that the prefix is going back to the OE prefix *and-* meaning "opposite/against", leading to confusion of forms due to their phonological reduction Marchand, on the other hand suggests that this explanation is not satisfactory and claims that the two forms ought not to be regarded as mere spelling variants but rather as two separate segments developing distinct semantic shades.

"We notice that *on-* had given way to *un-* as early as Old English, which certainly does not mean a mere spelling variant. Possibly starting from second participle forms [preterites], the prefix *on-* had come to be felt connected with the negative prefix *un-*. The idea of negativity is common to both. […] It is therefore […] on account of this semantic connection that *on-* did not die out […] but became a productive verbal prefix." (Marchand, 1969: 205) The *on-* prefix thus further developed senses of "opposite/away/forth", while *un-* expressed reversal of an action such as in *untie* or *unbound*.

- privation: "the implication is sometimes 'deprive of the character or quality of-', as in *unvoice, unsin, uncalm*." (Marchand, 1969: 206)

Its broad semantic scope allowed it to attach to simple adjectives, adverbs, nouns and present/past participles of strong and weak verbs, but at the same time it could serve as native means of creating new formations based on Latin vocabulary (even though those words were generally rather obscure and not part of ordinary language (*unaberendlic* - "intolerable"*, unbegrípendlic* – "incomprehensible"). (OED) It is interesting to note the well established tendency of the OE system to resist borrowing of the Latin vocabulary and rather build up new expressions using its own paradigm – in this case the prefix *un-,* preserving thus intelligibility of the new-coming formations, which is a feature of the so-called associative character of the OE vocabulary system. As we have already stated, only a fraction of the OE *un-* formations managed to survive until the

ME period, however the prefix itself does not exhibit declining tendencies. A large number of new formations are to be found in the period to come and therefore we can assume that while the transparency of the original OE formations containing *un-* was generally gradually diminishing (which can also be the result of the associativeness of the old paradigm which gradually grew incomprehensible for the speakers of ME), the prefix itself, as once powerful means of expressing negation, managed to preserve its semantic and formal characteristics. The new formations in the period 1200-1400 came into existence by combining the prefix with past participles or adjectives, as we can see in Table 8:

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
unbigged	uneaten	unblended	unanswered
unbuxom	unasked	unblessed	unbeliefull
undeemed	unfilling	unblissful	unbeseen
unearned	unbeaten	unguiltless	unbodily
unsib	unbegotten	ungiven	uncalled
unworthy	unhard	unslain	unclosed
untidy	unbowing	unseeming	unfed
unwholesome	unbowsome	unspeaking	unfulfilled
unwedded	unbroken	untaught	unfreely
unwield	uncunning	untiming	unhappy
unbecomely	unheard	unflain	unfree
unbelieved	unhid	unharmed	unbelieving
unbet	unhosed	unkept	undead
unbore	unknowing	unlight	undreadful
uncomely	unlawful	unlovesome	ungoodly
unhend	unlooked	unmade	unhealful
unwilly	unmethe	unreken	unhoped
unofearned	unnome	unspeedful	unlearned
unquenched	unseeing	untrowing	unloved
unshriven	untelling	unyolden	unlovely

Table 8. Adjectives with un- prefix recorded from 1200-1400. The orange-marked adjectives are still used in PDE.

The prefix, as we can see, could be used with adjectives formed with various suffixes. While in the first half of the 13th century we find cases of the prefix being attached to adjectives ending in *–y, -ly* or *–ed*, in the second half the paradigm is enriched with participial forms and later on we can find the prefix attached also to adjectives with suffixes such as *–ful,* or *-less*. Our examples thus support the idea of the word-formation flexibility and adaptability of the prefix which enabled it to survive until the modern period. Concerning its semantics, according to the OED all

of the examples listed above carry the meaning of negation, even though there might appear instances in which the categorization is unclear or context-dependent, such as in *unmade*, where we cannot claim with certainty whether the prefix expresses only negation of the action – "made" versus "not made" – or whether it expresses reversal of the action taking place before. As we can see in Table 8, more than half of the new formations have survived until PDE and are still in use (the words marked orange) – 46 out of 80 adjectives listed. Towards the end of the 14th century we can observe a decline in the overall amount of the instances where the prefix is attached to a native base, yet at the same time there is a rise of the hybrid formations in which the base is mostly of French or Latin origin. Thus we can see that in most cases the formations containing the prefix were comprehensible, formally and semantically transparent – due to which the prefix would be less limited in choice of the bases to which it would be attached and would eventually spread within the non-native stock as a productive word-formational element.

5.9 Prefix *Y-*

The form which is a result of the OE prefix *ge-*development. In ME its spelling was not fixed and it could therefore appear as *ȝe-, hi-, y-, i-* or even *e-* and *a-*. "The phonetic changes of Old English *ge-,* resulting in its complete disappearance in modern English […] could have been caused by the tendency for the consonant to fall, leaving *i-* or *e-*." (OED) This process would render the initial vowel phonetically unstable. Apart from formal weaknesses, throughout the ME period the prefix gradually grew semantically ambiguous as well. Its original meaning was that of "with/together" which in OE evolved into three semantic groups (OED):

1. Association in life, occupation, common relation
2. Collectivity
3. A perfective (also forming perfective aspect of verbs) or intensive notion, completeness

In ME the prefix was used almost solely in order to express completeness – in a perfective sense. Since it was often attached to participial forms already, one can assume that its presence in the construction was a remnant of the former OE structures appearing with *ge-*. Thus it exhibited no apparent formal or semantic significance (apart from possible intensifying effect), since the past

participles to which it was attached already carried the perfective meaning themselves. Nevertheless, it was still highly productive in the 13th and 14th centuries and according to the OED in the later period as well, generally as "a prominent feature of the archaistic language of Spenser and his imitators, and a few of them, the most notable of which is *yclept*[adj.], persist as conventional archaisms of poetry. [...] The choice of *y-* (and not *i-*) by Spenser and other archaists was determined by the prevalence of that form in the texts upon which he modeled his language." (OED)

Apart from being used as a stylistic device, its high frequency is to a great extent a result of the prefix "being employed for metrical reasons [...] in Chaucerian English" and thus would be easily found in poetry. (Horobin, Smith, 2002: 124) Spenserian English was "deliberately and self-consciously archaic", which was often viewed by his contemporaries as "an example of linguistic 'extremity', an unwarranted departure from current, accustomed English." (Blank in Mugglestone, 2012:229,230)It is therefore possible that in this case what we are observing are artificial attempts of supplying the language with archaic material even though its function can no longer be fully formally justifiable – they were, however, justifiable as features of prestige employed primarily in southern dialects in order to elevate the status of the language (which is closely connected with the social and political circumstances of the period described in the theoretical part). This would explain high frequency of usage of the prefix in the south, while according to the OED it was no longer present in the northern dialects as early as 1200.

Table 9 below outlines the examples of the formations spelled both with *y-* and *i-* throughout the 13th and 14th centuries where we can see that formally the spelling variant with *i-* is slowly disappearing - we find only one residual form in the second half of the 14th century, while the *y-* variant is significantly prevailing throughout both centuries in focus.

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
yblent	i'hosed	ybake	i-melt
ydemed	i-oxned	ybede	ybedded
yhacked	i-wiht	y-beten	ybenched
yhandled	i-yeten	ybrad	yborwed
yherbered	y-blessed	yclad	ydead
yholpen	yburied	ydept	ydremed
i-worded	yflawe	y-det	ygyved
ylaid	ybrent	ydolve	ylosed
	ydight	ydought	ybuld
	y-flowen	ygurd	ydouted
	yfrore	ylaht	yscore
	yharded	ylerned	ysheued
	yheled	ylet	yswerred
	ykitt	ylowed	ythewed
	yloren	yschad	ywhelped
	ysent	yspended	yshriuen
	ysmete	yued	ymolten

Table 9. Adjectives with y- prefix recorded from 1200-1400.

The prefix was generally attached to adjectives and past participles, the adjectives being denominal – and the prefix expressed the sense of possession:

Ybedded > provided with beds

Ybenched > provided with benches

Yswere >necked

In a majority of cases the formations were coined to be used in religious texts or poems – as used by Langland or Chaucer – and therefore can be assessed as poetisms which tend to be archaic. Disappearance of the prefix however does not suggest that the participles would disappear as well and it can be therefore assumed that many of the formations listed above would still remain in use after the prefix disappearance.

5.10 Prefix *OVER-*

The prefix *over-* was immensely productive not only in OE (over 30 OE formations recorded in OED) but in later periods as well. It was extended into verbal, nominal and adjectival paradigms, although the majority of words formed in OE failed to survive into the ME period as they were replaced with other, analytical expressions (*ofermōdig* > too/excessively moody*)*. The reasons why the prefix proved highly productive are of both formal and semantic character. Formally it is less prone to phonological levelling due to the fact that its disyllabic structure carrying at least secondary stress. "As *over* is of two syllables, there is necessarily a subordinate stress on *o*, even in verbal compounds, where the main stress is on the root syllable. […] In verbs, there is a distinct secondary stress on *over-* which may, in case of antithesis or emphasis, become the main stress. Adjectives, substantives, and adverbs have normally even stress: ˈover-ˈapt, ˈover-abˈstemious, ˈover-ˈworry, ˈover-ˈoften; either stress being liable to be subordinated, according to the construction and emphasis." (OED from NED 1904) Due to stress placement, the pronunciation of the element would not be as easily reduced and the prefix would thus keep its discernible form and not merge with another segments.

Considering its semantics, in combination with adjectives it carried an adverbial meaning of "over the top/ too much". Due to overuse of the prefix its semantic scope grew very large. Therefore, many new formations emerging in ME fall not only under one distinct semantic category, but combine several of them. Yet, the semantics of "effusiveness" would be still clearly present in most of them which would greatly enhance its chances of survival until the modern era. The prefix forming adjectives expressed the following broad semantic categories:

- Over the top/ too much
- Higher rank/position
- Inclination to one side (both spatial and metaphorical) (OED)

Distribution of the new *over-* formations in the 13th and 14th century in Table 10 suggests that the popularity of the prefix did not start to grow until the second half of the 14th century.

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
		overdear	overglad
			over-little
			overgreat
			overhard
			overlarge
			overlong
			overlow
			overnice

Table 10. Adjectives with over- prefix recorded from 1200-1400.

As we can see, the prefix in our formations is used only in combination with adjectives and most often expresses negative force of "excessiveness, over the top".

This prefix as used to convey excessiveness represented an element semantically transparent enough to be able to survive until the modern period – the formations listed above are semantically clear and thus available for the speakers of PDE. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that we find no recorded *over-* adjectives until the beginning of the 14th century, but at the same time the OED provides us with a large amount of the *over-* verbs– which only supports the idea of formal and semantic transparency of the prefix as it was gradually and successfully spreading to other word-classes as a word-formation element. Nowadays the prefix is in use although its semantics is partly covered by expressions such as "too/very" or phrasal constructions.

5.11 **Prefix *OUT-***

Used in OE in the form *út-*, it attached to ordinary nouns, verbal nouns and to elements forming adjectives to add meaning of "external" – 12 adjectival formations found in the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary. Its behaviour diachronically differs in certain aspects from what we have seen in the previous segments, mostly in what concerns its position with respect to its base. Originally *ūt* existed in OE as an adverb and as such it was in subordinate clauses often found in a position in front of the verb: *þā he ūt cymþ.* Many regular expressions or collocations would thus transform into compounds – *outgoing*> going out, however *outgoer* > *goer out.(OED) It is interesting to note that previously a purely adverbial element is at a certain point used to form

complex expressions the OED refers to as compounds. Such a categorization would however suggest that *út-* did not undergo grammaticalization and thus cannot be considered a prefix as compounds are "made up of at least two free lexical morphemes." (Lipka, 2002: 99) Nevertheless, this is a rather complicated issue and therefore for the purposes of our work we have decided to treat this element as a prefix. With respect to the situation of detachability in OE we can claim that the element is detachable only from verbal bases. Once it is attached to an adjective or a noun without former verbal form being attested, it is not possible to detach the two parts one from another – as we will see in our examples.

The adjectives in ME containing the prefix were generally following the pattern:

Out- + adjectives or past participles and less frequently also nouns, as we can see in Table 11:

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
		outcast	outborn
		outlands	outshining
			outsharping

Table 11. Adjectives with out- prefix formed in 1200-1400.

As we can see, none formations with this prefix were recorded in the 13th century, and only 2 in the first half of the 14[th]century. This is a surprising result since the prefix was heavily semantically loaded (in terms of having one precise stable locative meaning) and thus capable of producing semantically transparent words. Nonetheless, all of the formations are still in use nowadays possibly due to their semantic transparency. Semantically we can distinguish two broad categories:

- expressing excessiveness: *outborn, outshining, outsharping*

- expressing locative meaning: *outcast, outlands*

When we address the issue of detachability of the prefix from its base again, we can see that only those formations where the base exists also as a verb are separable.

The most interesting word in our material is "outlands", where the prefix is attached to a plural noun in order to express the sense of "foreignness". Since we do not find any more similar constructions in the following 50 years it can be assumed that it is unique and therefore probably

formally unstable and prone to dying out quickly. According to the OED we can see that the word managed to survive only until the 17th century and since then it has not been attested in this form – a new form has been introduced: *outlandish*.

5.12 Prefix *UP-*

This prefix was identical in form with the adverb *up* (in OE *upp-, up-*) and thus it was clearly identifiable as a prefix only in combinations with nouns and adjectives – 11 adjectives found in the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary to exist in OE. (in combination with verbs we might be dealing with pre-posed adverb). As an adverb, it exhibited similar behaviour to what we have seen in *out-*; as a prefix it carried a meaning of "occupying a high level position" and was often employed to create nonce formations especially for metrical reasons.

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
	uplifted	updrawn	uplaid
	uprising	uplands	upraised
		uplift	upreared
		uplooking	uphung
			uplandish
			upset

Table 12. Adjectives with up- prefix formed in 1200-1400.

As we can see in Table 12, the prefix was in most of the cases attached to past participles and adjectives but we can again find an example when the prefix is attached to the plural noun "lands" appearing also in connection with *out-*. In this case, however we can also see that the formation underwent further suffixation in the second half of the 14th century. Even though it has been mentioned that the prefix was often used to create nonce formations, it is not the case concerning the above listed adjectives as all of them are still in use in PDE. It is rather interesting to note that the examined words were coined primarily to be used in poetic diction – as they are found in psalters and in later periods in works by Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Marlowe, Browning, etc.

5.13 **Prefix** *MIS-*

The Old English prefix most often expressing the meaning of "amiss", "wrongly", but several instances denoting mere negation appear as well. According to the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary only 4 adjectival formations can be found recorded in OE. The prefix is probably originally formed by adding a participial suffix to a base – both of which are difficult to account for nowadays. In the ME period the prefix underwent semantic and formal extension when it was combined not only with words of native origin but also with foreign vocabulary, most probably due to both formal and semantic similarities with prefixes of foreign origin. According to Marchand and his account on the situation in PDE, "*mis-* is used with verbs and deverbal nouns (but it is rare with deverbal adjectives). The prefix formed the categories as early as Old English. During the ME period, many French words with *mes-* were adopted and French *mes-* had about the same senses *mis-* had. The two prefixes naturally fused into one, and *mis-* today stands for both." (Marchand, 1969: 176) Let us consider Table 13 to observe the behaviour of this prefix in the period of our focus:

1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400
Mistrum[scant, poor]		Misbeget[misbegotten]	Miscrooked[deformed]
		Misbegetten[misbegotten]	Mishale[unhealthy]
			Mishappy[unhappy]
			Misleveful[unbelieving]
			Misproud[not proud]
			Misshapen[misshapen]

Table 13. Adjectives with mis- prefix formed in 1200-1400.

We can see that the overall amount of the new formations is not large, especially in the13[th] century when only one formation is recorded. Its productivity increases in the second half of the 14th century, possibly due to a large number of French expressions arriving in the language at the time which brought along also the French prefix *mes-* we have already mentioned above. It is possible to identify two word-formation patterns:

1. Prefix + adjective: *mistrum, miscrooked, mishale, mishappy, misleveful, misproud, misshapen*

2. Prefix + past participle: *misbeget, misbegetten*

It seems that the combination of the prefix with an adjective is more productive when it comes to the number of formations. However, it is necessary to point out that only *misshapen* survived until PDE (together with *misbegotten* where the second word-formation pattern was employed). The rest was either replaced with formations containing the *un-* prefix or with completely different expressions which suggests that the prefix itself might have been only popularized by similar French expressions in a particular period but otherwise did not prove productive when forming adjectives.

6   RESULTS

6.1 Overall results

An analysis of the thirteen prefixes of native origin rendering new adjectival formations from 1200 to 1400 allows us to formulate the following observations. The OED provided us with a substantial amount of the material sufficiently suitable our research. Our search conditions specified its origin, date of entry and part-of-speech category. The aim was to determine the productivity of the respective native prefixes, having formulated the hypothesis according to which we expected a gradual decrease in prefixation as a process due to both intra and extra-linguistic factors. The productivity was measured and evaluated from several points of view including formal and semantic characteristics of the prefixes and the overall number of the new formations coming into existence as well as their capacity to survive until PDE. The word-formation patterns were identified for each prefix in order to observe potential differences in degrees of their productivity over time.

Let us first present the overall results which will be followed by a summary of the behaviour exhibited by the individual prefixes and prefix groups.

The overall amount of 219 new formations was retrieved from the OED, 39% (86 adjectives) of which managed to survive until PDE. If we take into consideration the ability of the formations to survive as one of the factors measuring productivity of the native stock, we may observe its decline due to possible low formal and semantic transparency of the formations leading to their gradual disappearance. Such a result is, however, fallacious and not genuinely reflecting the status of the native prefixation of the period - due to unequal distribution of the new formations for the individual prefixes (represented in Figure 4):
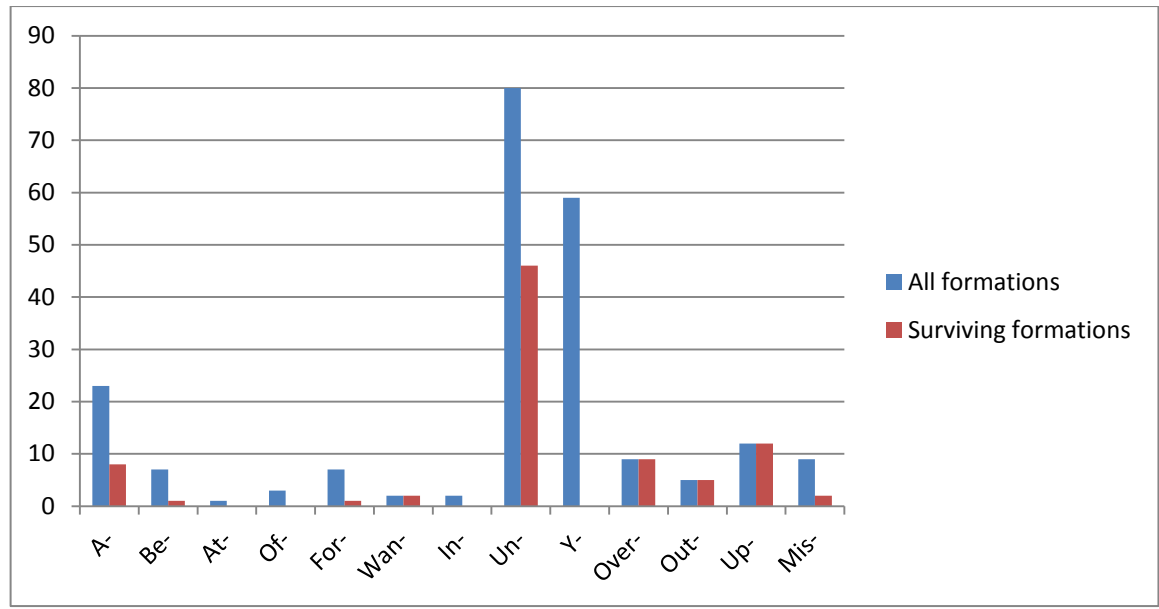
Figure 4. All and surviving formations for each prefix.

The prefixes *un-, y-* and *a-* enriched the language of the period with the largest amount of formations (80, 59 and 23). Interestingly enough, while more than 40 *un-* words survive until the modern era, none of the 59 *y-* formations seem to be strong enough to survive as well (it is, however, important to note that some *y-* formations would be hidden under the prefix *a-* and thus this information concerns only the 'overt' *y-* adjectives). This is caused primarily by the difference of functions of the two prefixes where one of them carries clearly negative denotation, while the other one is only a redundant element, a residuum from the OE era carrying a participial function employed often as a poetic device. On the other hand, we can see that 10 prefixes in Figure 4 produce less than 20 new formations, among those which produce the least are *at-, wan-, in-* and *of-*, with very low survival rates as well – only the *wan-* formations live through until PDE. Given the overall small amount of the native prefixes appearing in the period of our focus compared to OE (as discussed in the theoretical part, Chapter 2.5) together with a low quantity of formations most of them produce; it seems that the native prefixation is deteriorating. In order to acquire a more detailed picture, let us consider the word-formation patterns involved and a summary of the individual situations.

Figure 5 shows us the distribution of bases each prefix attached to:
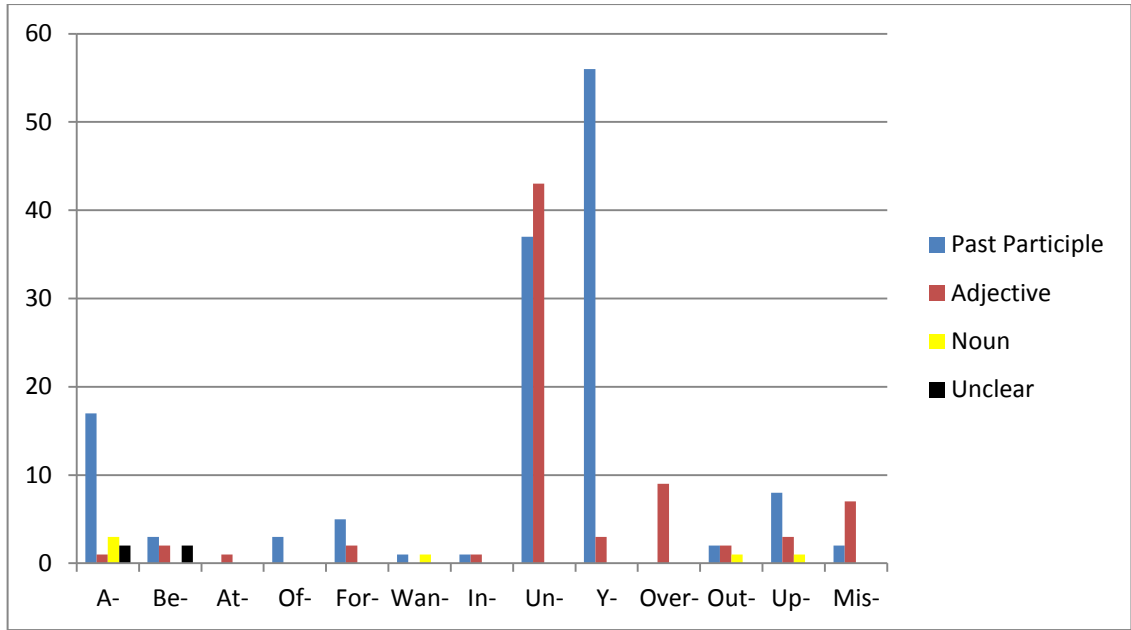
Figure 5. Word-formation patterns across the prefixes.

Three unambiguous word-formation patterns are discernible according to Figure 5, the most frequent ones being prefix + past participle/adjective, while the prefix + noun pattern appears only with 4 prefixes (*a-, wan-, out-, up-*). The most prominent pattern according to Figure 6 is prefix + past participle, being present in 62% (135) of the formations. However, a large amount of coinages does not automatically suggest that the word-formation pattern is simultaneously the most stable one.
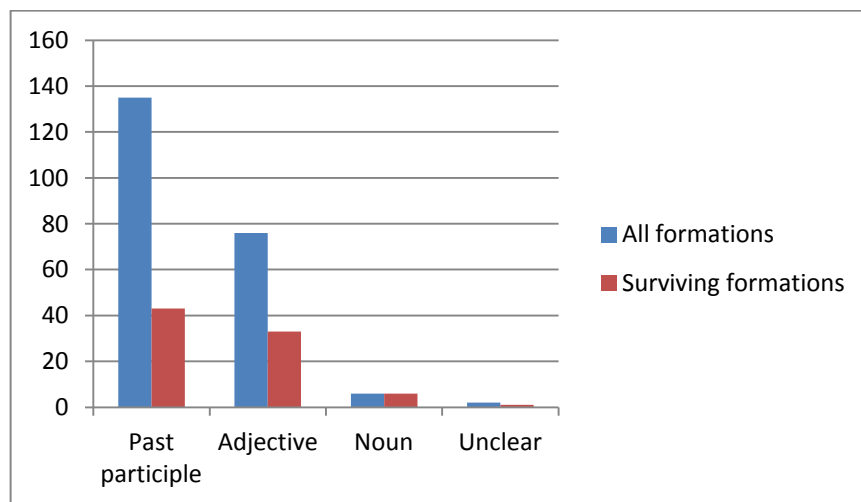

Figure 6. Word-formation patterns, all formations vs. surviving formations.

Figure 6 illustrates the overall amount of formations produced by the respective patterns, as well as the number of words surviving until PDE. We can see that even though the prefixes were in a majority of the cases attached to past participles, only 32% (43 out of 135) of such formations managed to survive the ME period. The situation is slightly better with adjectives where 47% (36 out of 76) of the coinages survive, but the strongest and most stable formations seem to be those combining a prefix and a noun.

An easy conclusion from what we have presented would be that the native prefixation in the period of 1200-1400 is suffering an inexorable decline, taking into consideration both that the majority of the prefixes under analysis did not succeed in producing more than 20 new coinages within the respective time span (as seen previously in Figure 4), and the overall 39% survival rate of the new adjectives (as presented in 6.1 Overall results chapter). However, the productivity in this case cannot be measured based solely on the amounts of the non-surviving and surviving formations, given the limited time span we focused on in our analysis. A detailed look at the particular word-formation patterns shows us that 3 distinct patterns are identifiable - past participles appearing the most frequently, with a low survival rate nevertheless, while the low-frequency nouns exhibit 100% surviving formations. It is important to note that some prefixes can be used with more than just one pattern (as we can see in Figure 5) and those patterns themselves may exhibit various degrees of productivity – which does not have to necessarily become sufficiently obvious in the period in focus. Therefore we can see that a sheer amount of the new formations rendered by one prefix can only help us estimate its productivity in a certain period of time, yet it does not provide us with the overall picture of the situation. Let us therefore consider the results for the individual prefixes.

6.2 Individual measures

6.2.1   Productive prefixes and prefixes with increasing productivity

Prefix UN-

Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of the new formations rendered by the prefix *un-*, as well as the words surviving until PDE.
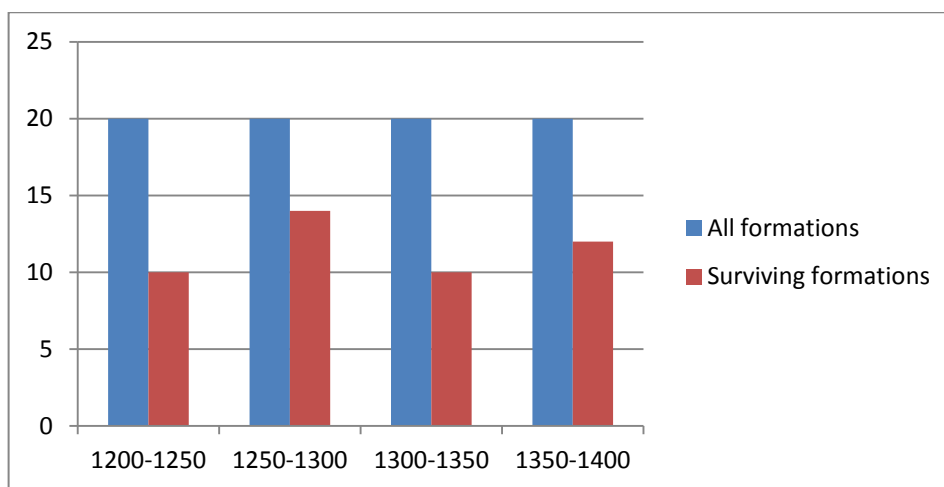
Figure 7. Prefix Un-, all formations vs. surviving formations.

The prefix seems to represent one of the deviations from the overall tendency of the native prefixes to decrease their productivity as, according to our data collected in the OED, the amount of the new formations does not decrease over time and their survival rate is 58%. When we look at the word-formation patterns employed, Figure 8 shows us that the prefix was attached either to past participles or adjectives:
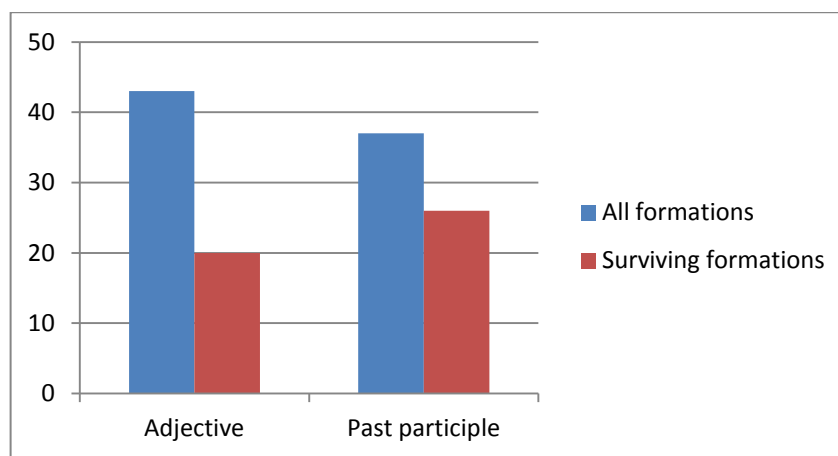

Figure 8. Prefix Un-, all formations vs. surviving formations with word-formation patterns.

The amount of combinations for each pattern is similar, although concerning the survival rate, the formations with past participles are more successful (despite the overall tendency we have seen in the previous chapter): 43 coinages with adjectives (47% survival rate) and 37 words

with past participles (70% survival rate). We can thus claim that the prefix seems to have preserved its productivity which was most probably caused by its clear semantics expressing negation or privation.

Prefix Over-

The only disyllabic prefix in our analysis found in only 9 combinations with adjectives, their distribution displayed in Figure 9:
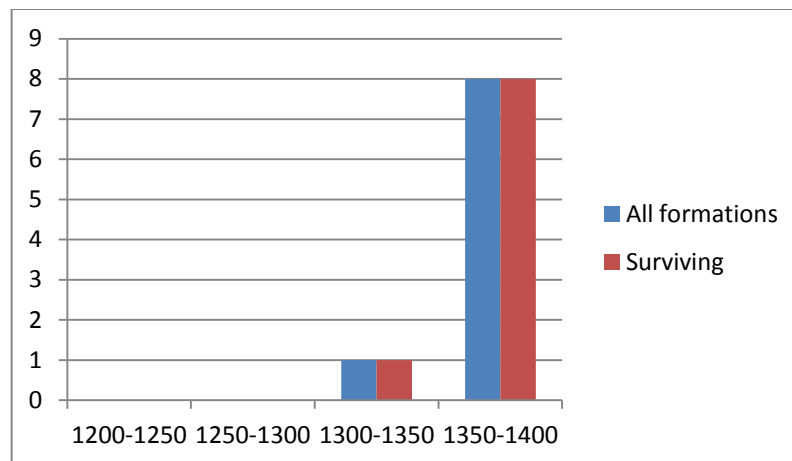

Figure 9. Prefix Over-, all formations vs. surviving formations.

As we can see in Figure 9, the prefix was not found in any combinations until the 14th century which is a surprising result since its phonological and semantic characteristics suggest great stability and resistance to possible levelling (over 30 formations recorded in OE as described in the Analysis, chapter 5.10). This can be proved by the fact that all of the combinations we have analysed are still traceable until PDE. Its disyllabic structure (which allows it to carry stress) does not yield to phonological reduction easily and thus it is much more difficult for it to merge with other elements due to which its formal properties are to a large extent preserved and consequently the speakers are capable of deriving the meaning of the formations. Its formal comprehensibility is therefore closely tied with its semantic transparency, the factor which to a great extent influences whether the formation is able to survive or not. A lack of formations with this prefix in the 13[th]century may suggest that the prefix was not 'popular' in combinations with adjectives

until later periods – we can thus assume that it was gradually spreading from other word-patterns, e.g. with verbs. The prefix can be thus considered productive.

Prefixes Out- and Up-

The prefix *out-* was found only in 5 formations in the 14th century, appearing with past participles, adjectives or nouns:
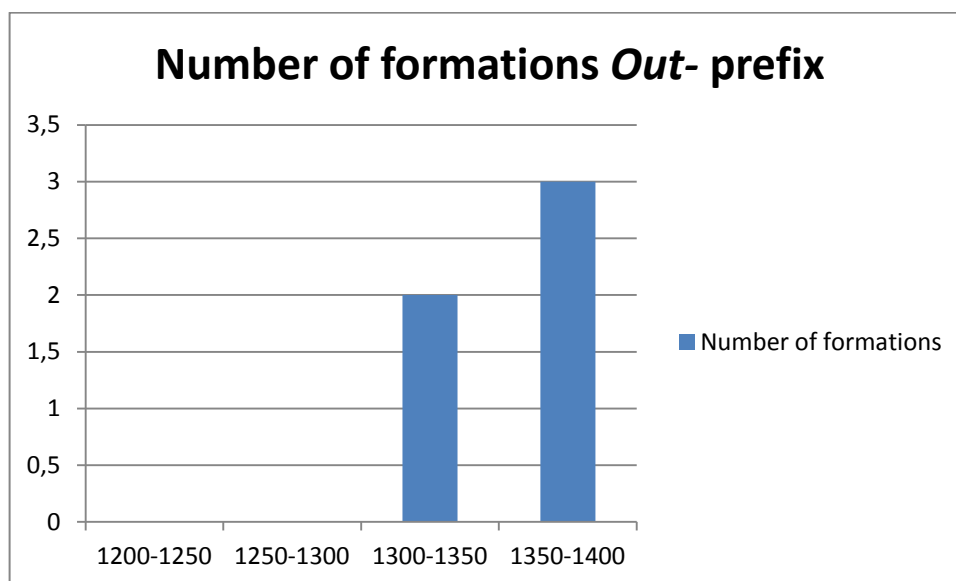

Figure 10. Prefix Out-, the distribution of formations.
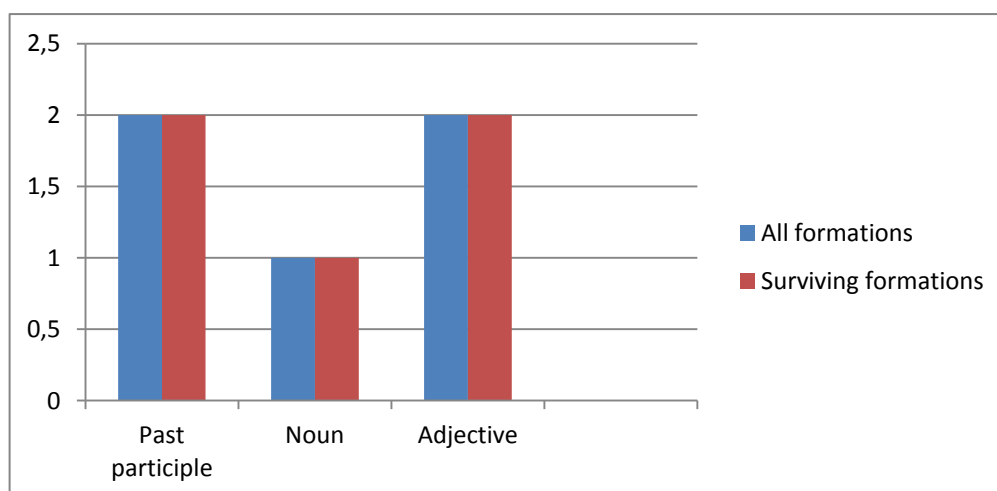

Figure 11. Prefix Out-, all formations vs. surviving formations.

According to Figures 10 and 11 we can observe a similar situation to what we have seen with the prefix *over-* -a low amount of the new formations appearing for the first time in the 14th century, all of them surviving until PDE (in OE we have found 12 adjectives to exist in the Bosworth_Toller Dictionary, as described in the Analysis, chapter 5.11). The prefix co-existing at the same time as an adverb would be sufficiently semantically transparent to survive.

A very similar development is observable also with the prefix *up-*, found in 12 combinations – the first two appearing already in the second half of the 13th century (as seen in Figures 12 and 13):
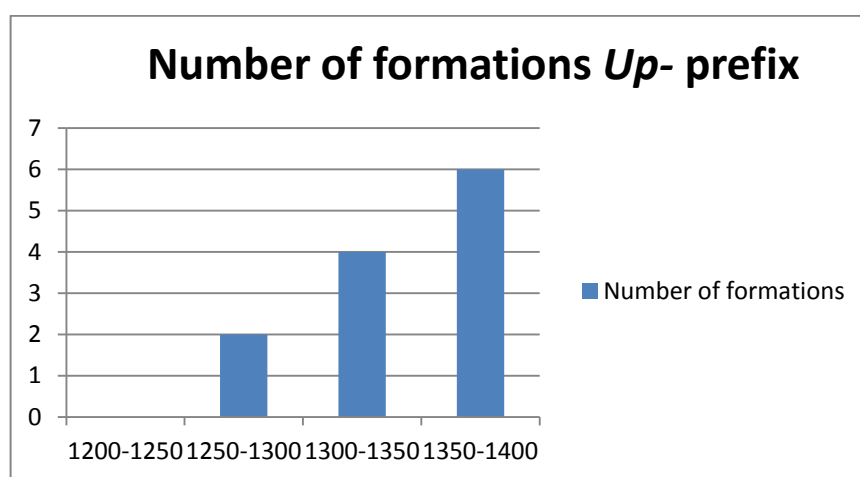
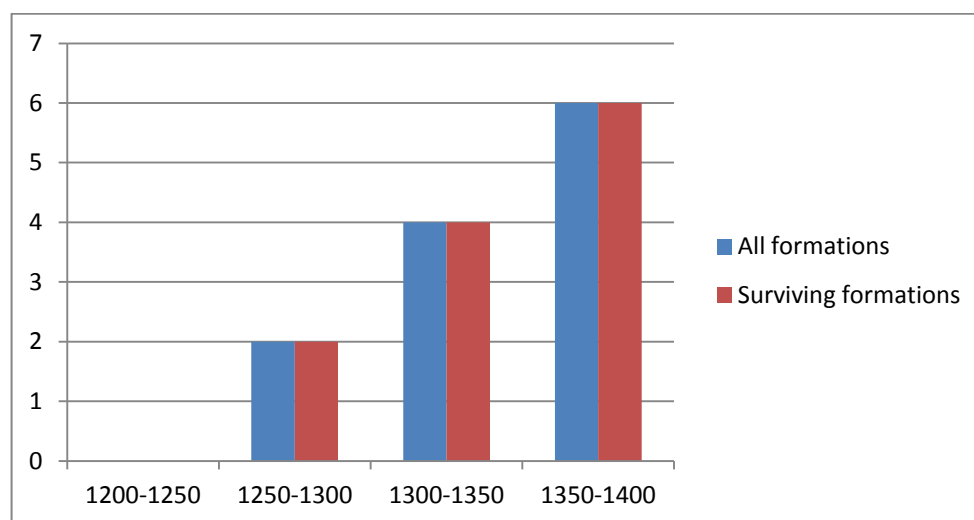

Figure 12. Prefix Up-, the distribution of formations.

Figure 13. Prefix Up-, all formations vs. surviving formations.

The strength of *up-* (as described with *over-* and *out-*) is particularly visible when compared with the situation in OE where we find approximately 11 adjectival formations with *up-* and thus we can claim with certainty that the productivity of the prefix is not decreasing.

All of the formations above (both with *out-* and *up-*) survived until the modern era due to their formal and semantic characteristics already described above and in the Analysis (chapters 5.11 and 5.12) Nevertheless, as our analysis proves, the formations were coined to be used in poetic diction and therefore in the period of focus can be considered productive only as a part of a specific register. (Marchand 1969: 116,117,120 then describes a variety of subtypes formed by *over-, out-* and *up-* in PDE which suggests that they will gradually spread into ordinary language in the periods to come as well.)

6.2.2   Prefixes with decreasing productivity

Prefix Y-

According to our data, the prefix *y-* produced the second largest amount of the new formations in the period of our focus, nonetheless its behaviour differs significantly from what we have seen with *un-*, as none of its adjectival formations survived until PDE. We have therefore decided to consider the prefix only partly productive which means that we assume that in the ME period it still functioned as an indicator of the participial meaning often employed for metrical reasons in poetry and religious texts – a remnant from the earlier periods which gradually grew redundant and subsequently disappeared from the formations, even though some of the participles would continue to stay in use without the prefix.

Prefixes In-, At-, Of-, For-, Wan-

In-: found only in two formations, combined with an adjective and a past participle – neither of which survived until PDE. It is highly probable that its productivity increased in later periods due to influence of the Latin *in-* prefix, we consider the prefix unproductive nonetheless.

At-: only one attested formation with an adjective – it did not survive until PDE and therefore we consider the prefix unproductive.

Of-: three recorded formations with past participles, none of them survived and thus the prefix is considered unproductive.

For-: the prefix with 7 recorded formations, found in combination either with past participles or adjectives – only one formation survived until PDE (possibly due to growing semantic non-transparency) and therefore we assume that its productivity is decreasing.

Wan-: only two attested formations, found either with a past participle or a noun. Both adjectives are still marginally in use in the PDE dialects, possibly due to their lexicalization – they are no longer viewed as prefixed adjectives. Therefore we conclude that it is no longer productive in the period of our focus despite its rather unambiguous negative semantics –it is possible to assume that the prefix *un-* was used in a majority of cases instead.

Prefix Be-:

The overall amount of 7 formations was subjected to analysis, only one of them survived until PDE. The prefix was found in combinations with past participles or adjectives and 2 cases were considered unclear with ambiguous etymology. We have therefore concluded that the prefix was significantly decreasing in productivity.

6.2.3   Special cases

Prefix A-

The prefix found in the overall amount of 23 formations, 8 (35%) of which survive until PDE. Three word-formations patterns are identifiable – the prefix could be attached to past participles, adjectives and nouns. The pattern was unclear in two cases. The reason why we categorize the prefix as a special case can be demonstrated by Figures 14 and 15 below:
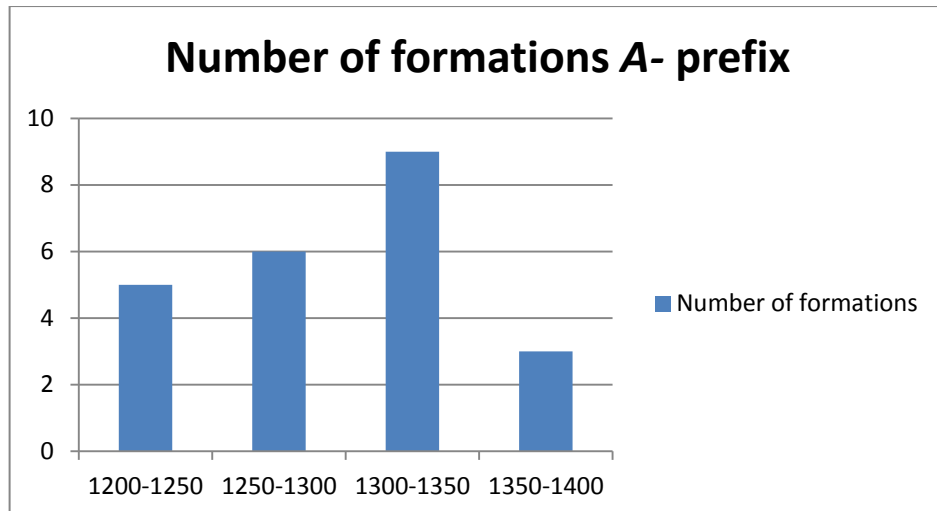
Figure 14. Prefix A-, the distribution of formations.
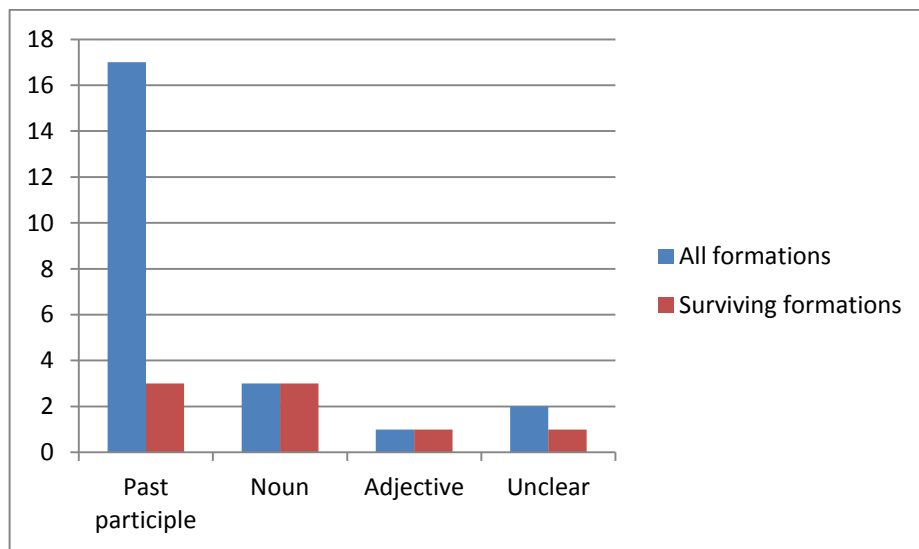
Figure 15. Prefix A-, all formations vs. surviving formations.

Figure 14 shows an uneven distribution of the new formations with the largest amount of the newly-coined adjectives appearing in the first half of the 14th century – the phenomenon probably caused by the fact that the prefix was in many cases a result of gradual phonological levelling of other prefixes or affix replacement (due to both formal and semantic similarities with the original prefix *a-*) – such as *be-,* or *of-* - which caused that the prefix acquired numerous functions. It is simultaneously interesting to examine the word-formation patterns presented in Figure 15. We can see that the majority of the adjectives came into existence as combinations of the prefix with

past participles – however, those coinages do not exhibit a strong tendency to survive: only 18% of them are still found in PDE. On the other hand, the formations with adjectives and nouns exhibit 100% survival rates. Thus it seems that while one originally prominent word-formation pattern is in gradual decline, the other two may prove sufficiently productive in the periods to come as they are capable of producing stable formations. Therefore we have decided to categorize the prefix as a special case with partial productivity.

Prefix Mis-

It was found with 9 attested formations which came into existence by combining the prefix either with adjectives or past participles. Only two formations (one of each pattern) survived until PDE. It is interesting to note that 6 adjectives came into existence in the second half of the 14th century and despite a low survival rate we assume that the prefix merged with the prefix *mes-* of French origin. Thus we cannot claim with certainty whether the prefix used in later combinations is native or non-native and therefore we consider it a special case with unclear productivity.

The individual cases results show us that the productivity in diachrony is a complicated phenomenon, the evaluation of which ought to take into consideration several aspects: the overall amount of new formations coming into existence in a certain period, a capacity of those formations to remain in use, evaluation of the situation in OE and ME, and estimation of the situation in PDE. The analysis of the word-formation patterns draws our attention to a possibility that one prefix with several patterns may exhibit variable productivity– as we have demonstrated with the prefix *a-*. We have therefore concluded that 7 prefixes out of 13 unambiguously show decreasing productivity tendencies mostly due to phonological levelling of their form and/or semantic non-transparency often caused by the semantic proximity of two or more prefixes. This would result in their potential interchangeability, as we have seen in the case of *belong* and *along* (Analysis, chapter 5.2).The phonological instability of the prefixes is simultaneously closely related to morphological non-transparency as a reduction of form brings about blurring of morphological boundaries of a prefix and a base. Such prefixes presumably grew gradually incomprehensible for the speakers and thus, apparently, functioned less frequently as a means of word-formation.

On the other hand, we have seen that 4 prefixes (*un-, over-, up-, out-*) can be classified either as productive or increasing in productivity. Interestingly enough, *up-* and *out-* seem to appear only in a specific register - poetic. Whether the prefix is productive or only increasingly productive is difficult to determine especially with the prefixes with a low amount of formations, given a limited period of focus. Thus we can only roughly estimate their further development (taking into consideration also the current situation in PDE).

Finally, two special cases were presented demonstrating possible complications which may arise when determining productivity (*a-, mis-*).

To sum it up, we can compare the analysed prefixes from three points of view:

1. The amount of new formations within 1200 – 1400

The prefixes producing most of the new adjectives (over 20) are *un-, y-* and *a-*. On the other hand, those producing the least (less than 5) are *at-, of-, in-,* and *wan-*. The distribution of the amount of new formations throughout the two centuries in focus varied for each prefix. This was primarily influenced by their formal and semantic characteristics, e.g. a large amount of new formations produced by the prefix *a-* within 1300-1350 (compared to 1200-1300 and 1350-1400) was probably caused by the phonological levelling of other prefixes at the time. Those would merge with *a-* and thus extend its semantic scope and applicability to other words. This would at the same time render the prefix in question gradually ambiguous and thus the amount of formations would eventually fall in the next 50 years.

2. Formal characteristics of the prefixes

The prefixes in our analysis were attached to three kinds of bases: participial, adjectival and nominal. The largest amount of formations involved the pattern: prefix + past participle, the prefix *y-* producing the most formations with this pattern. The least frequent pattern involved nominal bases appearing with only four prefixes: *a-, wan-, out-, up-*.

3. Semantic characteristics of the prefixes

Semantic characteristic is a property which is the most difficult one to assess, nevertheless we can divide our prefixes into two groups: those with clear semantics (*un-, over-, up-, out-*) and those with ambiguous, non-transparent semantics. It is important to take into consideration that

even though the prefix may exhibit rather unambiguous semantics (e.g. *be-*), it is not the only factor contributing to its productivity. Clear semantics thus does not guarantee that the prefix will remain in use.

Let us now recall our hypothesis:

H1: We expect gradual decline in general productivity of the prefixes of native origin in the period of 1200-1400 from the following reasons: phonetic erosion of the prefixes mostly when they are not placed under stress causing formal and semantic ambiguity of the respective elements, which proves them problematic to understand and employ to form new adjectives.

Having taken into consideration this summary we may claim that our hypothesis has been confirmed only partially. When formulating the hypothesis we quite correctly assumed that the formal disintegration of the native prefixes would cause not only their formal but also semantic confusion. Yet, we had not considered that the initial semantic proximity of the elements might result in a collapse of the form and thus be a significant factor contributing to the overall confusion of the elements as well.

Simultaneously, we can confirm that 7 prefixes out of 13 (*y-, be-, at-, of-, for-, in-, wan-*) exhibit decreasing productivity or are downright unproductive. On the other hand, we suggest assessing 4 prefixes as either productive or increasingly productive. The prefixes *un-* and *over-* can be generally characterized as semantically stable (in case of *over-* the disyllabic structure ensures its formal stability as well), both segments producing transparent and comprehensible formations capable of surviving until PDE. In the case of *un-* we can observe a continuation of its popularity dating back to OE, in case of *over-* we can observe the expansion of its morphological scope, and both of them can be thus considered productive. The prefixes *out-* and *up-*, existing previously only as adverbs, seem to be gradually growing in productivity as despite a low amount of the adjectival formations they produce in the period in focus, all of them manage to survive until PDE, even though they first appear in poetic diction. The two remaining prefixes – *a-* and *mis-* are classified as special cases due to their mixed origins and variable productivity of *a-*. The overall situation is thus more complicated and based on our results several scenarios of the changes occurring in the native prefixation can be formulated, using the phases of productivity we have determined in the Methodology chapter:

- the prefix is *increasingly unproductive*: it produces less than 20 new formations, less than half of which survive the ME period: *be-, for-*
- the prefix is *unproductive*: it produces less than 10 new formations, less than half of which survive the ME period: *of-, in-, at-*
- the prefix is *increasingly productive*: it produces less than 20 new formations, more than half of which survive the ME period: *over-, out-, up-*
- the prefix is *productive*: it produces more than 20 new formations, more than half of which survive the ME period: *un-*

We have at the same time encountered the prefixes which due to their specific behaviour do not meet the conditions of categorization we have stated in the Methodology chapter, and therefore we described them separately:

- *Wan-*: the prefix lexicalizes and is therefore no longer recognizable as a prefix: it is *unproductive.*
- *Y-*: the prefix produces more than 20 new formations, yet none of them survive until PDE as they are chiefly archaic: it is *increasingly unproductive.*
- *A-*: the prefix produces more than 20 new formations, yet less than half of them survives the ME period. It is also combined with more than one type of bases which exhibit variable productivity. It is therefore *partially productive.*
- *Mis-:* the prefix merges with the prefix *mes-* of French origin and its productivity as a native element is therefore impossible to assess.

An interesting point to be made concerns the word-formation patterns involved in the combinations which show that not all of them decrease or increase in productivity equally. While the most numerous pattern - prefix + past participle - did not seem productive enough to produce many surviving formations, the pattern with a low amount of new formations - combining a prefix and a noun - proved the contrary. Thus a significant fragmentation of the behaviour of the respective prefixes is observable.

Therefore, even though the productivity is decreasing for a majority of the prefixes under analysis, the existence of various scenarios of development suggests that the overall situation

concerning the native prefixation in the period of 1200-1400 was not as homogeneous as we had initially assumed and the individual prefixes would exhibit various scenarios of behaviour based on their formal and semantic properties.

7 CONCLUSION

The aim of our thesis was to examine new adjectival formations coming into existence in 1200-1400 by means of native prefixation in order to determine their productivity. The formations were analysed from two points of view: formal and semantic. A formal point of view allowed us to observe their phonological and morphological behaviour, as well as the word-formation patterns of the individual formations (combinability of the prefixes with various bases) which provided us with a detailed insight into their transformations in productivity. The semantic point of view, on the other hand, helped us as a guideline providing us with information about the applicability of the formations in speech and their potential in/capacity to survive.

The adjectives were retrieved from the Oxford English Dictionary using Advanced search tool which allowed us to specify the search parameters according to the period of the first entry of words, language of origin and a part of speech category. The overall amount of 219 adjectival formations of 13 native prefixes were retrieved: *a-, at-, be-, for-, in-, mis-, of-, up-, out, over-, un, y- ,wan-*. All of the prefixes were of native origin, appearing as productive elements already in Old English. Our primary focus was placed upon the adjectives containing both native prefix and native base, the hybrids (a native prefix + foreign base) were excluded from the analysis completely.

Our thesis was based on the hypothesis that the native prefixation in the period in focus would exhibit signs of gradual decline. We expected the productivity of the respective prefixes to decrease due to phonological changes and levelling resulting in reduced semantic transparency. This would consequently render the prefixes incomprehensible for the speakers and thus barely applicable in the language. Our analysis proved the hypothesis to be true only partially. Even though we were able to claim that 7 prefixes out of 13 were noticeably exhibiting the traits of decreasing productivity or were downright unproductive due to their unstable phonological properties resulting in unclear semantics, we had not considered the semantic proximity of the formally dissimilar prefixes to be one of the causes for their confusion as well – and thus the initial phonological instability resulting in formal and semantic confusion of the elements is not the only reason for such confusion, but as the examples of *a-* and *be-* (*along* vs. *belong*) showed, the prefixes could be used interchangeably (affix-replacement process) based on their semantic similarities. This would eventually weaken their position in the word-formation system of the language as well. The six remaining prefixes were then categorized either as productive or

increasingly productive (4), or as special cases in which the productivity was difficult to determine (2).

In determining the productivity of the prefixes we took into consideration several criteria – the overall amount of formations rendered by a prefix in the respective period, a capacity of the formations to survive until PDE and the behaviour and productivity of the respective prefixes in OE. The overall results show us that out of 219 adjectival formations (all prefixes combined) only 39% managed to survive until PDE. However, such a result does not prove that the productivity of the native prefixes was declining as the distribution of the formations for the individual prefixes was unequal. A unified picture of the word-formation patterns and their development can be presented as well – three unambiguous patterns were identified:

1. Prefix + past participle
2. Prefix + adjective
3. Prefix + noun

All of them exhibited various degrees of productivity. The most frequent and prominent pattern was the one combining the prefixes with past participles – it was found in 135 adjectives, interestingly enough only 32% such formations survived the ME period. The pattern with adjectival bases proved slightly stronger – 47% out of 76 formations survived. The strongest pattern in term of the ability of its formations to survive was the one with nominal bases – with 100% survival rate. Yet at the same time it was the least prominent one in terms of the amount of formations – only 6. This shows us that the productivity of an element or of a word-pattern cannot be measured based on the number of formations it produces only – we need to take into consideration whether the resulting formations are able to survive as we can assume that they are at the same time both formally and semantically transparent and therefore the element or the pattern might prove productive in the later periods. Due to unequal distribution of the formations among the prefixes we needed to consider them individually and thus we were able to formulate seven scenarios of development claiming that:

- the prefix renders more than 20 new formations, more than half of them survive the ME period > productive: *un-*

- the prefix renders less than 20 new formations, more than half of them survive the ME period > increasingly productive: *over-, up-, out-*

- the prefix renders less than 20 new formations and less than half of them survive the ME period > increasingly unproductive: *be-, for-*

- the prefix renders less than 10 new formations, less than half of which survive the ME period > unproductive: *in-, at-, of-*

- the prefix lexicalizes and is no longer recognized as a word-formation unit > unproductive: *wan-*

- the prefix renders more than 20 new formations but less than half of them survive the ME period; at the same time it is combined with several types of bases varying in degree of productivity > partially productive: *a-*

- the prefix renders more than 20 new formations but none of them survive until PDE > increasingly unproductive: *y-*

- the prefix merges with the prefix of foreign origin > its productivity cannot be assessed: *mis-*

As we can see, the situation concerning the native prefixation phenomenon in the period of 1200-1400 was not homogeneous and the prefixes can be therefore divided into six categories: productive, increasingly productive, partially productive, increasingly unproductive, unproductive and unclear. Thus it is possible to conclude that even though a larger part of the prefixes in focus exhibit either increasingly unproductive or unproductive status, the instances proving increasingly more productive show us that the native prefixation was still a functional means of a word-formation.

Native prefixation and adjectival formations of native origin are an interesting subject of study as in the Middle English period the language was overwhelmed with an influx of foreign elements in the vocabulary, which was to a great extent caused by the then political and social situation. Thus more attention has been paid to the external influences shaping the language towards what we know as PDE and only little focus has been placed upon the morphological processes inherited from the period of Old English. Our thesis thus contributes to a unified picture of the native adjectival word-formation in Middle English, providing a survey of

the native prefixes, their behaviour and productivity. The native word-formation strategies in Middle English is an extensive field to study and therefore the future research along the methodological lines of the present study might focus on native suffixation or compounding.

ZHRNUTIE

V tejto diplomovej práci sme sa zamerali na adjektívne inovácie domáceho pôvodu, ktoré boli po prvýkrát doložené v období 1200 až 1400 a ktoré vznikli prefixáciou. Tieto inovácie sme skúmali a popisovali zo slovotvorného a sémantického hľadiska s cieľom určiť ich produktivitu v danom období, s ohľadom na ich staroanglický pôvod a možný neskorší vývoj.

Práca je rozdelená na tri hlavné časti, a to na časť teoretickú, empirickú (analýzu materiálu) a výsledky. V teoretickej časti sa na problematiku dívame z troch rôznych hľadísk, ktoré nám poskytujú ucelený obraz o celkovom stave jazyka v daných obdobiach. Rozdiely medzi starou a strednou angličtinou teda vymedzujeme z hľadiska sociolingvistického, typologického a slovotvorného. Vďaka sociolingvistike predstavujeme hlavné črty oboch jazykových etáp na základe vtedajšej politicko-kultúrnej situácie a jej vývoja v daných obdobiach, pričom sa zameriavame najmä na literárnu tradíciu a rozdiely v používaní jazyka v písomnom prejave, vplyv kresťanstva a jeho prenikanie do jazykových štruktúr (primárne lexikálnych) a v neposlednom rade aj na možný vplyv elitných sociálnych vrstiev. Zisťujeme, že jazyk je do veľkej miery ovládaný extralingvistickými faktormi, akými je napríklad mocenský vplyv elitných sociálnych vrstiev: kresťanská cirkvi v staroanglickom období, či francúzskych vrstiev obyvateľstva v stredoanglickom období, ktoré do istej miery spôsobia úpadok domáceho jazyka v oficiálnom prejave a zároveň otvoria dvere prílevu prestížnych francúzskych či latinských prvkov.

Druhá časť teoretickej kapitoly sa zaoberá typologickým zaradením starej a strednej angličtiny voči dnešnému jazyku, vzhľadom na to, že jazyk v nami skúmanom období prechádzal veľkými štruktúrnymi zmenami, a je teda vysoko pravdepodobné, že sa tieto zmeny prejavia aj v slovotvorbe. Jazyková typológia je podľa Pražskej lingvistickej školy teória, ktorá sa zakladá na typoch jazykov, čiže na rozdelení jazykov a to predovšetkým podľa gramatických charakteristík, ktoré navzájom zdieľajú. Jazyková typológia pracuje s rozdelením jazykov na aglutinačné, flektívne, izolačné, polysyntetické a introflektívne. Na základe vymenovaných charakteristík zaraďujeme starú angličtinu medzi flektívne jazyky s introflektívnymi prvkami, a strednú angličtinu zas naopak radíme medzi jazyky postupne izolačné. Je však treba podotknúť, že takáto kategorizácia pracuje s typologickým konštruktom, ideálnou predstavou jazyka, a teda i stará angličtina obsahuje prvky izolačné (ako napríklad konverzia v slovotvorbe), či stredná

angličtina prvky flektívne (ako napríklad zvyšky flektívnej koncovky v tretej osobe jednotného čísla).

Tretia časť teoretickej kapitoly nám približuje jazyk z lexikálneho a slovotvorného hľadiska, ktoré sú úzko prepojené práve s jazykovou typológiou, na ktorej základe staviame. Vychádzame z primárneho predpokladu, že štruktúra jazyka sa pri prechode zo starého do stredného obdobia vývoja angličtiny pod vplyvom ako intra- tak extralingvistických faktorov mení do takej miery, že to ovplyvní aj podobu lexika a spôsob vznikania nových slov, resp. slovotvorbu. Rozlišujeme medzi asociačným charakterom staroanglického lexika a stále zreteľnejšie disociačným charakterom stredoanglického lexika. Asociačný charakter starej angličtiny sa prejavuje najmä veľkým množstvom slov, ktoré majú spoločný slovotvorný základ, a sú teda navzájom i formálne, nielen sémanticky prepojené. Ich identifikácia a dešifrovanie významu sú z pohľadu hovoriacich jednoduché, pretože sa dajú od seba navzájom odvodiť, čo zároveň napomáha sebestačnosti jazyka, ktorá do veľkej miery umožňuje odolávať prenikaniu cudzích výrazov. Naopak následné morfologické a fonologické zmeny spôsobujú úpadok asociačného princípu, jazyk prijíma čoraz viac nových výrazov (primárne francúzskych a latinských), ktoré so sebou prinesú aj nové slovotvorné segmenty. Okrem nich sa dostávajú do popredia dovtedy málo využívané spôsoby slovotvorby, a naopak zase postupne môžu upadať tie, ktoré boli v hojnej miere využívané v skoršom období. Takým prípadom je využitie konverzie a postupný úpadok prefixácie v strednej angličtine.

Prefixy definujeme podľa Marchanda (1969) ako viazané morfémy, ktoré sa pozične nachádzajú pred voľnými morfémami a spolu tvoria jeden celok. Poukazujeme na to, že miera prefixácie v staroanglickom období sa do určitej miery líši od stredoanglického obdobia, najmä čo sa týka využitia domácej zásoby prefixov. Prefixy domáceho pôvodu sú v stredoanglickom období foneticky oslabené, vzhľadom na to, že v minulosti boli primárne neprízvučné. Zároveň sú nahrádzané cudzími prefixami, ktoré sa často významovo prekrývajú s domácimi - pričom veľkú úlohu tu zohráva aj ich prestíž a postavenie konkrétneho cudzieho jazyka v spoločnosti. Šírenie cudzích prefixov sa prejavuje výskytom hybridných formácií, ako napríklad *unadvanced* (domáci prefix a základ francúzskeho pôvodu).

Vzhľadom na to, že sa v našej práci zameriavame na skúmanie produktivity domácich prefixov, bolo nutné vymedziť pojem „produktivita". Videli sme, že je nutné rozlišovať medzi synchrónnym a diachrónnym poňatím tohto pojmu, keďže diachrónne hľadisko nám umožňuje skúmať iba obmedzený počet zachovaných dát – a teda produktivitu definujeme ako fenomén

merateľný na základe počtu výskytov formácií u konkrétnych prefixov v danom období. Na záver teoretickej kapitoly vymenúvame najčastejšie používané domáce adjektívne prefixy, medzi ktoré patria: *æ-, æf- ,ed- ,for- ,ge-, mis-, or-*, atď.

Na základe teoretickej časti teda formulujeme našu hypotézu:

H1: Pri tvorbe adjektívnych inovácií v období 1200-1400 očakávame postupné klesanie produktivity domácich prefixov. Klesanie produktivity bude spôsobené najmä fonetickou eróziou daných segmentov v neprízvučnej pozícii, ktorá vyústi do formálneho a sémantického zmätenia a nezrozumiteľnosti segmentov i formácií, čo postupne znemožní ich využiteľnosť v bežnom jazyku.

Metóda spočívala vo vyhľadávaní adjektív v Oxford English Dictionary, kde sme si nastavili parametre vyhľadávania podľa jazyka pôvodu, slovného druhu a obdobia vzniku. Zamerali sme sa iba na adjektíva, ktoré vznikli prefixáciou, pričom obe zložky (prefix i základ slova) museli byť domáceho pôvodu. Hybridné formácie sme sa rozhodli do našej analýzy nezaraďovať. Pri zisťovaní produktivity prefixov sme sa zameriavali na celkový počet formácií, ktoré s týmto prefixom v nami skúmanom období vznikajú, identifikáciu slovotvorných vzorcov u každého prefixu, formálnu a sémantickú (ne)stabilitu daných segmentov a schopnosť formácií prežiť do modernej angličtiny.

Zároveň sme identifikovali štyri pásma produktivity, na základe ktorých sme v časti Výsledky rozdelili analyzované prefixy:
- prefix vytvorí viac než 20 nových formácií, viac než polovica z nich prežije stredoanglické obdobie: prefix je produktívny,

- prefix vytvorí menej ako 20 formácií, viac než polovica z nich prežije stredoanglické obdobie: produktivita prefixu stúpa,

- prefix vytvorí menej ako 20 formácií, menej než polovica z nich prežije stredoanglické obdobie: produktivita prefixu klesá,

- prefix vytvorí menej ako 10 formácií, menej než polovica z nich prežije stredoanglické obdobie: prefix je neproduktívny.

V analytickej časti sme spracovali 219 adjektívnych formácií u 13 prefixov domáceho pôvodu: *a-, be-, at-, of-, in-, for-, wan-, un-, y-, over-, mis-, out-, up-*. Výsledky nám ukazujú, že iba 39% týchto formácií prežíva do modernej angličtiny. Tento údaj však nie je natoľko relevantný, vzhľadom na to, že potláča rozdiely v množstve formácií medzi jednotlivými prefixami, a preto sme sa zamerali na spracovanie výsledkov na základe ich jednotlivých charakteristík. V prvom rade sme určili slovotvorné kombinácie, ktoré vznikali pri tvorbe adjektívnych inovácií a zistili sme, že prefixy sa spájali predovšetkým s participiálnymi, adjektívnymi a nominálnymi základmi. Najčastejším základom boli participiá, ktoré sa vyskytli až u 135 adjektív, avšak takéto formácie sa neprejavili veľmi stabilné – prežiť ich dokázalo iba 32% z nich. Najmenej adjektív vzniklo spojením prefixu a podstatného mena (iba 6), avšak tie sa prejavili byť dostatočne stabilné na to, aby v 100% miere prežili až do modernej angličtiny.

Tri najfrekventovanejšie prefixy, ktoré v nami skúmanom období vytvorili najväčšie množstvo nových adjektív (a teda ich bolo viac než 20), boli *un-*: 80, *y-:* 59, *a-:* 23. Pri skúmaní jednotlivých prefixov sme zistili, že je možné ich rozdeliť na neproduktívne, resp. s klesajúcou produktivitou, produktívne, resp. s rastúcou produktivitou a na špeciálne prípady, u ktorých je určenie produktivity komplikované. Pri aplikácii nášho rozdelenia pásiem produktivity z metodologickej časti sme prišli na to, že naše definície týchto pásiem sa nedajú vztiahnuť na všetky prípady, s ktorými sa v analýze stretávame.

Prípady, ktoré vieme zaradiť pod nami určené definície:

Prefix, ktorý vytvorí viac než 20 nových formácií, z ktorých viac než polovica prežije stredoanglické obdobie, je produktívny (*un-*). Prefix vytvorí menej ako 20 formácií, no viac než polovica z nich prežije stredoanglické obdobie, a jeho produktivita teda stúpa (*over-, up-, out-*). Prefix vytvorí menej ako 20 formácií a menej než polovica z nich prežije stredoanglické obdobie – jeho produktivita postupne klesá (*be-, for-*). Prefix vytvorí menej ako 10 formácií, ktoré neprežijú stredoanglické obdobie a môžeme ho teda považovať za neproduktívny (*in-, at-, of-*).

Naopak sme zaznamenali i prefixy, ktoré vykazujú odlišné správanie než aké sme pôvodne predpokladali:

Prefix prejde procesom lexikalizácie a prestane byť vnímaný ako prefix - je teda neproduktívny (*wan-*). Prefix vytvorí viac ako 20 nových formácií, no menej než polovica z nich prežije stredoanglické obdobie. Zároveň sa objavuje s viacerými typmi základov, ktoré vykazujú odlišnú

produktivitu, a preto ho považujeme za čiastočne produktívny (*a-*). Prefix vytvorí viac než 20 nových formácií, ktoré však neprežijú stredoanglické obdobie, a jeho produktivita teda klesá (*y-*). Prefix sa zlúči s iným prefixom cudzieho pôvodu a teda nie je možné určiť produktivitu pôvodného domáceho segmentu (*mis-*).

Na základe vyššie uvedeného rozdelenia môžeme našu hypotézu čiastočne potvrdiť, vzhľadom na to, že 7 prefixov z 13 vykazuje buď klesajúcu produktivitu, alebo ich považujeme priamo za neproduktívne. Jedná sa o prefixy *at-, in-, of-, for-, wan-, y-, be-*. K poklesu produktivity u nich dochádza najmä kvôli ich fonologickej nestabilite, ktoré spôsobuje tvarové splývanie viacerých prefixov do jedného. U takého prefixu následne dochádza k sémantickej generalizácii, či rozostreniu, čo prispieva k jeho nejednoznačnosti a výslednej nezrozumiteľnosti – prefix *a-*. Zaujímavý je prípad lexikalizácie prefixu *wan-* a prefixu *y-*, ktorý sa vyskytoval primárne ako archaický redundantný prvok, ktorý postupne vymizol z dôvodu absencie jeho funkčnej aplikácie v jazyku.

Hypotézu potvrdzujeme iba čiastočne, pretože môžeme vidieť, že naopak u troch prefixov produktivita postupne stúpa (*over-, out- up-*) a jeden považujeme za priamo produktívny: *un-*. Produktivita *un-* je do veľkej miery ovplyvnená jeho vysokým výskytom už v staroanglickom období, ktorý je daný jeho jednoznačnou sémantikou. Jednoznačná sémantika hrá dôležitú úlohu aj u ostatných troch prefixov, v prípade *over-* je nutné spomenúť aj jeho dvojslabičnú štruktúru, vďaka ktorej prefix získava dostatočnú fonetickú stabilitu a teda nepodlieha hláskovej erózii. Zaujímavosťou je, že tieto prefixy sa v staroanglickom období nevyskytovali v hojnej miere pri tvorbe nových adjektív (dokonca i v našej analýze vidíme, že takýchto adjektív je málo), čo je v prípade *over-* pravdepodobne dané tým, že sa iba postupne šíri z iných slovných druhov, a v prípade *out- a up-* sa s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou jedná o to, že tieto segmenty boli v strednej angličtine primárne využívané na tvorbu poetizmov. Stúpanie produktivity v ich prípade overujeme na základe situácie v modernej angličtine, kedy sa nepoužívajú iba na tvorbu poetizmov, ale sú bežnou súčasťou slovotvorby.

Dva prefixy sme označili ako špeciálne prípady. Prefix *mis-* v stredoanglickom období splynie s prefixom *mes-* francúzskeho pôvodu, a preto nie je pre nás možné zistiť, do akej miery bol tento prefix produktívny ako domáci element. Prefix *a-* vykazuje veľké množstvo etymológií, nachádza sa v kombináciách s participiami, adjektívami i podstatnými menami, pričom tieto slovotvorné vzorce vykazujú odlišnú produktivitu. Kým spojenie prefixu a participia na

produktivite klesá, spojenie prefixu s podstatným menom sa ukazuje byť dostatočne stabilné, aby prežilo. Preto tento prefix označujeme za čiastočne produktívny.

Naše výsledky nám ukazujú, že prefixácia domáceho pôvodu nevykazuje črty klesania produktivity u všetkých prefixov rovnako. Napriek tomu, že 7 prefixov z 13 naozaj na produktivite klesá, poukázali sme na to, že i v nami skúmanom období sa objavujú prefixy, ktoré nielen že sú stabilne produktívne, ale dokonca na produktivite postupne naberajú.

Cieľom našej práce bolo zamerať sa na skúmanie prefixov domáceho pôvodu, keďže v danom období jazyk zažíva veľké morfologické i lexikálne transformácie, na ktorých majú veľký podiel práve vplyvy cudzieho pôvodu. Týmto cudzím faktorom, ktoré dopomohli jazyk vyformovať do dnešnej podoby, bolo doteraz venovanej mnoho pozornosti, zatiaľ čo prínos našej práce spočíva práve v skúmaní domácej prefixácie ako jednej z možností využitia staroanglických zásob slovotvorby. Vzhľadom na to, že sa zameriavali iba na jeden typ slovotvorby, je možné v budúcnosti tento výskum za použitia rovnakej metodológie rozšíriť o popísanie domácej sufixácie, či kompozít.

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