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# DEVERBAL NOUNS IN OLD ENGLISH ${ }^{1}$ <br> - ANALYTIC ACCOUNT 

The focus of the paper is the recapitulation of the results originating from the research based on Old English deverbal nouns derived by means of overtly expressed suffixes. In the process of research thirteen suffixes were classified and analysed: $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a b,-b$, and $-t,-e l$ and its variants $-l$, $-o l$, and $-e l e$, -els $/-e l s e$, -en, -end, -ere, -estre, -et $(t)$, -icge, -ing $(F) /$-ung, -ing ( $\mathrm{M}, \mathrm{N}$ ), -ling, -nes(s). The research included a presentation of each suffix, a description of the derivational process along with additional processes as well as an analysis of nominal derivatives. The origin, spelling variants and other characteristic features were analysed for all thirteen suffixes. The study of the research corpus comprised examination of the derivational base, including its type and class as well as its transitivity and the derived lexeme, its membership within grammatical gender and declension as well as its structure and semantic features. The main purpose of the present article is to expound the final findings and comments on the subject concerning deverbal nouns in Old English.

## 1. Introduction

The core aim of the present article is to portray the results obtained during the investigation on deverbal nominals in Old English. The objective of the research has been to investigate deverbal nouns, along with their bases in accordance to their ascription to certain inflectional patterns.

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## 2. Research data

### 2.1. Source material and data compilation

There are 13 deverbal suffixes that can be applied to forming nominals in Old English. These are: $-d$ and its variants $-e d$, $-o b /-a p,-p$, and $-t$, $-e l$ and its variants -l, -ol, and -ele, -els/-else, -en, -end, -ere, -estre, -et(t), -icge, -ing (F)/-ung, -ing (M, N), -ling, -nes(s).

Furthermore, all examples collected for the study originate from two sources that are An Anglo-Saxon dictionary, based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth and its Supplement edited by Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (1898), the dictionary which today is considered the largest complete dictionary of Old English. In order to minimise the risk of misanalysis, other sources have been consulted with. Among others, it has been Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form A-G, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary edited by John R. Clark Hall as well as Oxford English Dictionary and Etymological Dictionary online.

### 2.2. General characteristics of the research corpus

As for the compiled data, a word of additional explanation should be provided here. Specifically, the percentages given throughout the paper relate to the total number classified as analysable, that is 3349 , which is the total number of lexemes catalogued as the proper subjects for this study. Therefore, the following Tableau 1 portrays the number of lexemes extracted from the dictionary in general and the number of lexemes classified as analysable according to criteria ${ }^{2}$ set for the present research in relation to all 13 suffixes selected:

Tableau $1^{3}$

|  | A | B | C | D |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| the suffix -d, -ed, -op/-ap, - $\boldsymbol{p},-\boldsymbol{t}$ | 4846 | 4220 | 3808 | $\mathbf{4 1 2}(\mathbf{9 , 7 6 \%})$ |
| the suffix -el, -l, -ol, -ele | 1339 | 999 | 841 | $\mathbf{1 5 8 ( 1 5 , 8 6 \% )}$ |
| the suffix -els, -else | 43 | 36 | 5 | $\mathbf{3 1 ( 8 6 , 1 1 \% )}$ |
| the suffix -en | 544 | 480 | 297 | $\mathbf{1 8 3}(\mathbf{3 8 , 1 3 \%})$ |
| the suffix -end | 484 | 454 | 63 | $\mathbf{3 9 1}(\mathbf{8 6 , 1 2 \%})$ |

[^1]| the suffix -ere | 469 | 421 | 161 | $\mathbf{2 6 0}(\mathbf{6 1 , 7 6 \%})$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| the suffix -estre | 53 | 51 | 14 | $\mathbf{3 7}(\mathbf{7 2 , 5 5 \%})$ |
| the suffix -et(t) | 115 | 103 | 88 | $\mathbf{1 5}(\mathbf{1 7 , 0 5 \%})$ |
| the suffix -icge | 15 | 15 | 7 | $\mathbf{8 ( 5 3 , 3 3 \% )}$ |
| the suffix -ing $(\boldsymbol{F})$ /-ung | 1526 | 1390 | $38 / 108$ | $\mathbf{1 2 4 4}(\mathbf{8 9 , 5 0 \%})$ |
| the suffix -ing (M, $\boldsymbol{N})$ | 177 | 160 | 141 | $\mathbf{1 9}(\mathbf{1 3 , 4 6 \%})$ |
| the suffix -ling | 103 | 93 | 80 | $\mathbf{1 3}(\mathbf{1 3 , 9 8 \%})$ |
| the suffix -nes(s) | 1003 | 921 | 343 | $\mathbf{5 7 8}(\mathbf{6 2 , 7 6 \% )}$ |

Having analysed the data collected in Tableau 1 above, a slightly different conclusion can be drawn. Explicitly, the ordering of nominals proved to be deverbal ones and applicable to the criteria set for the present research in relation to the total number of nouns gathered for the investigation within the particular suffix, can be different. The largest number of examples remains the suffix -ing $(F) /$-ung. The smallest, however, surprisingly is the suffix $-d$ and its variants -ed, $-o b /-a p,-b$, and $-t$, as it constitutes only $9,76 \%$ of the total stock of vocabulary analysed for this suffix. The following Tableau 2 orders the suffixes under discussion in line with the number of instances extracted for the analysis proper as well as according to the percentage:

Tableau 2

| ordering of nouns according to numbers | ordering of nouns according to \% |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1244 (89,50\%) the suffix -ing (F)/-ung | 1244 (89,50\%) the suffix -ing (F)/-ung |
| $578(62,76 \%)$ the suffix -nes(s) | $391(86,12 \%)$ the suffix -end |
| 412 (9,76\%) the suffix $-d$, -ed, -op/-ap, $-b,-t$ | 31 (86,11\%) the suffix -els, -else |
| $391(86,12 \%)$ the suffix -end | 37 (72,55\%) the suffix -estre |
| $260(61,76 \%)$ the suffix -ere | $578(62,76 \%)$ the suffix -nes(s) |
| 183 (38,13\%) the suffix -en | 260 (61,76\%) the suffix -ere |
| 158 (15,86\%) the suffix -el, -l, -ol, -ele | 8 (53,33\%) the suffix -icge |
| 37 (72,55\%) the suffix -estre | 183 (38,13\%) the suffix -en |
| 31 (86,11\%) the suffix -els, -else | 15 (17,05\%) the suffix -et( $(t)$ |
| 19 (13,46\%) the suffix -ing ( $M, N$ ) | $158(15,86 \%)$ the suffix -el, -l, -ol, -ele |
| 15 (17,05\%) the suffix -et( $(t)$ | 13 (13,98\%) the suffix -ling |
| 13 (13,98\%) the suffix -ling | 19 (13,46\%) the suffix -ing (M, N) |
| $8(53,33 \%)$ the suffix -icge | $412(9,76 \%)$ the suffix $-d$, $-e d,-o b /-a p$, $-b,-t$ |

### 2.3. Criteria for the analysis

When deciding which lexemes should be classified as analysable, three main criteria have been adopted. Firstly, all nominals had to be derived by means of an overtly expressed suffix ${ }^{4}$. Secondly, the nouns formed by the agency of the aforementioned suffixes had to have verbs as derivational bases. Last but not least was the criterion that enabled me to select only those lexemes that have a complex structure as far as their morphological status is concerned. As a result, all monomorphemic nominals that by pure coincidence ended in a cluster of letters identical to the extracted for the present research suffixes were also left out, as they did not constitute the proper subject of derivational investigation. Moreover, in almost all cases of the 13 suffixes chosen, spelling variants of a single lexeme were merged as not to be counted more than once and thus allowing the results to be more credible.

### 2.4. Productivity of the verbal suffixes in Old English

As mentioned above, there are 13 deverbal suffixes that can be applied to forming nominals in Old English and they are: $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o p /-a p,-p$, and $-t$, -el and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele, -els/-else, -en, -end, -ere, -estre, -et $(t)$, -icge, -ing (F)/-ung, -ing (M, N), -ling, -nes(s). There are several interesting observations that can be made from only a quantitative analysis of the suffixes under discussion. One example is the availability of the formative process in case of a particular suffix, their possible productivity based on the number of new formations, the preference for the particular type and class of the verbal base and relations between the gender and/or the declension and the verbal base (its type and/or class).

Primarily, the most conspicuous feature of the research data is the fact that some suffixes seem to be more productive than the others. As verified in the analysis, the largest group comprise examples with the suffix -ung, and its alternant -ing deriving feminine substantives. Altogether there are 1244 nouns formed from verbal stems gathered and qualified as analysable. It makes $37,15 \%$ of the whole stock of lexemes chosen. Three other suffixes that are characterised by a comparatively considerable number of instances, though much smaller than the one given earlier are the suffix -nes(s) with its 578 exemplars (17,26\%), the suffix $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o p /-a p,-b$ with 412 elements (12,30\%), and the suffix -end with its 391 cases ( $11,68 \%$ ). Three other suffixes constitute fewer instances that are characterised as analysable, yet they are still considered productive ones: the suffix -ere with its 260 elements ( $7,76 \%$ ), the suffix -en with its 183 exemplars $(5,46 \%)$, and the suffix $-e l$ and its variants $-l$, ol with its 158 examples (4,78\%). Nonetheless, two suffixes: $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-b$ and $-e l$

[^2]and its variants $-l$, ool, are debatable as far as their productivity is concerned. It is due to the fact that there is a discrepancy in cataloguing all their spelling variants into one and the same suffixal type, hence adding together all instances belonging to the said suffixes could also be unconvincing. As mentioned earlier, the productivity is sometimes difficult to establish. The reason for that may arise from the fact that both morphophonemic features, like mutation or ablaut, as well as the existence of alternative spelling variants of some suffixes, may suggest that at least some of the derivatives belong to the older stratum of the language.

The least productive suffixes happen to be: the suffix -estre ( 37 instances), the suffix -els(e), (31 cases), the suffix -ing, deriving masculine nominals, (19 exemplars), the suffix $-e t(t)$ ( 15 examples), the suffix -ling (13 representatives) and finally the suffix -icge ( 8 cases). From the above suffixes, as many as four: -estre, -icge, -ing, deriving masculine nominals and -ling, "clearly serve the naming function of word-formation rather than the function of syntactic recategorization", as Kastovsky (1984: 255) states. Without a shadow of doubt, this has an effect on the productivity, at least to some extent.

When analysing all 13 suffixes that were used in Old English to form deverbal nouns by means of an overtly expressed morpheme, a certain conclusion, in comparison to the Modern English derivational paradigms, can be drawn. Only half of the suffixes survived to the Modern English period as deverbal formatives, most of them, however, are either not productive or almost dead, for example:

1. the suffix $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-b$ is now represented by the formative -th, which is virtually dead;
2. the suffix -estre does not form female Agentive nouns but is totally sexneutral ${ }^{5}$ and not productive;
3. the suffixes -ing, deriving masculine nominals and -nes(s) became constrained to the formation of the deadjectival and denominal derivatives;
4. the suffix -els(e) merged with the suffix $-e l$ and its variants $-l$, ool and is no longer productive;
5. the suffixes -en, -end, -et(t) and -icge died out completely.

## 3. Old English deverbal nouns - analysis

### 3.1. Gender ascription of deverbal nouns in Old English

The analysis of the ascription of certain nouns to the particular gender has revealed that all three genders were present in the derivational products investigated in this study. In order to make the exposition clear, the formal features of attested nouns are presented below in Tableau 3.

[^3]

The gender analysis showed that within 3282 gender-clear instances $(98,00 \%)$, there is a great majority of feminine nouns ( 2113 examples, $63,09 \%$ ), out of which as many as 1244 are formed by means of the -ing $(F) /-u n g$ suffix. There are over half of the nouns fewer in the masculine gender, which is represented in 959 cases $(28,64 \%)$. Neuters are the nouns most seldom found in the research material ( 210 cases, $6,27 \%$ ) but even they are illustrated by quite a number of instances. For three suffixes: $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o p /-a p,-b$, and $-t,-e l$ and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele, and -en, the diversity of genders is noticeable. All three genders are represented by quite a few examples, as given in Tableau 3 above. In the remaining nine suffixes, the gender is predominant in one of the types. For example, the majority of masculines are found within nouns derived by way of the following suffixes:

- -end (380 examples ( $11,35 \%$ ); the other 3 cases ( $0,09 \%$ ) are feminines),
- -ere ( 256 examples ( $7,64 \%$ ); the remaining 4 cases $(0,12 \%$ ) belong to feminines and neuters, 2 instances ( $0,06 \%$ ), each),
- -els/-else ( 23 examples ( $0,67 \%$ ); the other 2 cases $(0,06 \%)$ are feminine and neuter, 1 exemplar ( $0,03 \%$ ) each, and
- -ling ( 12 examples ( $0,36 \%$ ); the remaining case is feminine).

In the other six suffixes: -estre ( 37 examples ( $1,10 \%$ ), all feminines), -icge (8 examples ( $0,24 \%$ ), all feminines), -ing ( F )/-ung (1244 examples ( $37,15 \%$ ), all feminines), and -nes(s) (578 examples (17,26\%), all feminines), -ing (M, N) (19 examples $(0,57 \%)$, all masculines), and $-e t(t)$ ( 15 examples $(0,45 \%)$, all neuters), the gender is clearly detectable, as seen in the results presented above.

The total stock of lexemes classified as analysable, also included 67 instances ( $2,00 \%$ ), within four suffixes, that cannot be clearly and straightforwardly characterised as far as gender is concerned, which is visualised in Tableau 3 above. The majority of such cases are representatives of the suffix $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-b$, and $-t$ ( 45 cases, $1,34 \%$ ). The remaining 22 cases ( $0,66 \%$ ) belong to the following three suffixes: $-e l$ and its variants $-l$, $-o l$, and -ele along with -end ( 8 examples, $0,24 \%$, each) as well as -els/-else ( 6 examples, $0,18 \%)$. The uncertainty of establishing the gender in particular exemplars varies between feminine and neuter, feminine and masculine, masculine and neuter as well as all three possible genders: masculine, feminine and neuter.

### 3.2. Declension ascription of deverbal nouns in Old English

The declensional motivation, as far as all 13 suffixes are concerned, is also quite diverse. In all suffixes apart from two: -estre and -icge (whose all examples decline according to WF), are subject to the declensional patterns of strong declensions. In general, within all nouns that are easily ascribed to their declensional patterns, there are 3213 nominals $(95,94 \%)$ that belong to strong declensions, the majority of them, 2088 examples ( $62,35 \%$ ), are of SF, other 952 ( $28,43 \%$ ) belong to SM and the remaining $173(5,17 \%)$ are members of SN, as illustrated below:
Tableau 4

|  | -d | -el | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text {-els } \\ & \text {-else } \end{aligned}$ | -en | -end | -ere | -estre | -ett | -icge | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text {-ing (f) } \\ \text {-ung } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text {-ing } \\ (\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}) \end{gathered}$ | -ling | -ness | total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SM | 170 | 68 | 23 | 24 | 380 | 256 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 12 | 0 | 952 |
| SF | 113 | 53 | 0 | 96 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1244 | 0 | 1 | 578 | 2088 |
| SN | 77 | 16 | 1 | 62 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 173 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SF / SN | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| SF / SM | 11 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| SM / SN | 15 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| SM / SN / SF | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| SM / WM | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| SM / WF | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| SM / SN / WF | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| SN / WF | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| SF/WM | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| SF / WF | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| WM | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| WF | 2 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 37 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 59 |
| WN | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 412 | 158 | 31 | 183 | 391 | 260 | 37 | 15 | 8 | 1244 | 19 | 13 | 578 | 3349 |

As evidenced in the results placed above in Tableau 4, in three suffixes the diversity of declensional types is high; these are:

- the suffix $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-p$, and $-t$ : 170 examples (5,08\%) belonging to SM, 113 cases $(3,37 \%)$ of SF and 77 instances $(2,30 \%)$ of SN;
- the suffix -el and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele: 68 examples (2,03\%) belonging to SM, 53 cases $(1,58 \%)$ of SF and 16 instances ( $0,48 \%$ ) of SN;
- the suffix -en: 24 examples ( $0,72 \%$ ) belonging to SM, 96 cases $(2,87 \%)$ of SF and 62 instances ( $1,85 \%$ ) of SN.
In the other four suffixes, the great majority of nominals are members of one declensional type and only isolated examples belong to other declensions. These suffixes are:
- -els/-else: 23 examples ( $0,67 \%$ ) belonging to SM and 1 ( $0,03 \%$ ) case ascribed to SN ;
- -end: 380 examples ( $11,35 \%$ ) belonging to SM and 3 ( $0,09 \%$ ) cases ascribed to SF ;
- -ere: 256 examples $(7,64 \%)$ belonging to SM and 2 ( $0,06 \%$ ) cases ascribed to SN ;
- -ling: 12 examples $(0,36 \%)$ belonging to SM and $1(0,03 \%)$ case ascribed to SF .
The remaining four suffixes: -et $(t)$ ( 15 examples ( $0,45 \%$ ) belonging to SN), -ing $(F) /$-ung (1244 cases (37,15\%) belonging to SF), -ing (M, N) (19 instances ( $0,57 \%$ ) belonging to SM) and last but not least -nes(s) (578 exemplars ( $17,26 \%$ ) belonging to SF), are homogeneous as far as declensional paradigms of their members are concerned.

The choice of the declensional pattern, however, was sometimes difficult to establish and it definitely had a strong connection with the gender of particular nouns. Whenever the gender was difficult to be recognised with full confidence, the same complication occurred with classifying certain nominals to a specific declension, as shown in Tableaux 3 and 4 above. The said complexity, related to the choice of the declensional type, appeared in the same four suffixes as in the case of the gender discrepancy, that is $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-b$, and $-t$, $-e l$ and its variants $-l,-o l$, and -ele, -end, along with -els/-else. There have been attested eight different potential declensional doublets and two triplets. On the whole, 71 such nouns have been found ( $2,12 \%$ ), mostly varying between SM and SF along with SM and SN (20 cases, $0,60 \%$, each), and SF and SN (13 instances, $0,39 \%)$. In other cases of doublets, the examples within various suffixes are isolated ones. Two diverse types of triplets vary between:

- SM, SF and SN: 8 cases ( 6 examples $(0,18 \%)$ in the suffix $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-b$, and $-t$ along with 2 instances ( $0,06 \%$ ) in the suffix -end); and
- SM, SN and WF: 1 case in the suffix -el and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele.

What is more, there are examples that declined in accordance with weak declensions, although they are only solitary cases in most situations. Altogether,
there are $65(1,94 \%)$ such nouns and they decline either like weak masculines ( 6 instances, $0,18 \%$ ) or weak feminines ( 59 exemplars, $1,76 \%$ ). In two suffixes, mentioned earlier: -estre and -icge, the whole stock of lexemes gathered for them, are ascribed to WF. Other six suffixes: -end, -et $(t)$, -ing $(F) /$-ung, -ling, and -nes $(s)$, are entirely devoid of examples declined consistent with paradigms of any weak declension. Yet, the remaining five suffixes had examples that could be characterised as weak nominals:

- $\quad-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o p /-a p,-b$, and $-t$ : 5 examples ( $0,15 \%$ ) of WM and 2 cases $(0,06 \%)$ of WF;
- -el and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele: 1 example ( $0,03 \%$ ) of WM and 8 cases (0,24\%) of WF;
- -els/-else: 1 example ( $0,03 \%$ ) of WF;
- -en : 1 example ( $0,03 \%$ ) of WF; and
- -ere: 2 examples $(0,06 \%)$ of WF.


### 3.3. Verbs as derivational bases for Old English nouns

As evidenced in the analysis, both weak and strong verbs participated in the formation of the Old English deverbal nouns. However, there is a great predominance of weak forms over the strong ones. It may arise from the fact that weak forms were younger from the strong ones, hence much more productive. As Kastovsky (1984: 236) suggests, while discussing the verbal bases for the -el and its variants $-l$, $-o l$, and -ele, " $[t]$ he preponderance of strong verbs as bases [in formation of the -el and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele nouns] suggests that many formations are probably quite old, since the strong verbs belong to the older stratum of the language."

In the investigation conducted on the data gathered for this research, a prevalence of weak verbs has been observed, too. It may imply that the suffixes that favoured weak verbs as bases were still productive in Old English, as in many occurrences they could be considered as synchronic derivatives. The present research material compiled as many as 2361 ( $70,50 \%$ ) of weak verbs and they served as derivational bases for all 13 suffixes. What is more, all three classes were present, though $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$ unquestionably prevailed. The reason for rare occurrence of $\mathrm{WV}_{3}$ does not arise from its unproductiveness but from the fact that the Old English verbal system comprised only four verbs since " $[i] n$ prehistorical Old English, relatively numerous verbs from this class [ $\mathrm{WV}_{3}$ ] moved to $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{WV}_{2} "$, as Wełna (1996: 60) states. In order to make the exposition clear, the formal features of attested verbal bases are reviewed below:
Tableau 5

|  | -d | -el | $\begin{aligned} & \text {-els } \\ & \text {-else } \end{aligned}$ | -en | -end | -ere | -estre | -ett | -icge | -ing (f) -ung | $\begin{gathered} \text {-ing } \\ (\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}) \end{gathered}$ | -ling | -ness | total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| WV ${ }_{1}$ | 149 | 29 | 20 | 71 | 146 | 57 | 17 | 6 | 4 | 353 | 7 | 8 | 229 | 1096 |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$ | 65 | 24 | 2 | 8 | 90 | 122 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 713 | 10 | 4 | 176 | 1228 |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{3}$ | 10 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 37 |
| $\mathrm{SV}_{1}$ | 8 | 11 | 5 | 8 | 26 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 125 |
| $\mathrm{SV}_{2}$ | 9 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 60 |
| $\mathrm{SV}_{3}$ | 11 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 20 | 15 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 32 | 1 | 1 | 38 | 137 |
| $\mathrm{SV}_{4}$ | 13 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 23 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 59 |
| $\mathrm{SV}_{5}$ | 14 | 46 | 0 | 65 | 17 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 182 |
| $\mathrm{SV}_{6}$ | 33 | 14 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 99 |
| $\mathrm{SV}_{7}$ | 52 | 2 | 3 | 16 | 23 | 20 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 34 | 184 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{1} / \mathbf{W} \mathbf{V}_{2}$ | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 47 |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{1} / \mathrm{SV}_{2}$ | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{2} / \mathrm{SV}_{2}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 5 |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{1} / \mathrm{SV}_{6}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{1} / \mathrm{SV}_{1}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| $\mathrm{WV}_{1} / \mathrm{SV}_{1}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Tableau 5

|  | -d | -el | -els <br> -else | -en | -end | -ere | -estre | -ett | -icge | -ing (f) <br> -ung | -ing <br> $(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n})$ | -ling | -ness | total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{W V}_{\mathbf{2}} / \mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{6}}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | $\mathbf{1}$ |
| $\mathbf{W V}_{\mathbf{2}} / \mathbf{S V}_{7}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{1}$ |
| $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{1}} / \mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{2}}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{1}$ |
| $\mathbf{W V}_{\mathbf{1}} / \mathbf{W V}_{\mathbf{2}} / \mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{1}}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{1}$ |
| $\boldsymbol{l \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \| c \|}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{P P V}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| irregular <br> verbs |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| uncertain <br> verbs | 38 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | $\mathbf{6 2}$ |
| TOTAL | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{2}$ |

1 Irregular verbs listed here are those instances that could not be classified and ascribed to any verb type and/or verb class.

### 3.3.1. Weak Verbs

As confirmed in Tableau 5 above and as mentioned earlier, within weak verbs two classes prevail: $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$ was used as a derivational morpheme 1228 times, which makes $36,67 \%$ of all verbs gathered, as well as $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ was exploited in 1096 cases of deverbal derivation, which constitutes $32,73 \% . \mathrm{WV}_{3}$, as brought up previously, was utilised only 37 times, which makes up merely $1,10 \%$. Almost half of the nouns based on weak verbs form derivatives of the suffix -ing $(F) /$-ung ( 1067 examples, $31,86 \%$ ). Nearly half of the said nouns opted for $\mathrm{WV}_{2}(713$ verbs). Other four suffixes that preferred weak verbal bases over the strong ones are: the suffix -nes(s) (412 examples), -end ( 245 examples), the suffix $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-b$, and $-t$ (224 examples), as well as the suffix -ere (180 examples). The remaining suffixes cannot be characterised by a great number of weak verbal bases but, then again they did not contribute many lexemes to the research data either. These are: -en ( 87 examples), el and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele (53 examples), -estre ( 28 examples), -els(e) (22 examples), -ing ( $\mathrm{M}, \mathrm{N}$ ) (17 examples), -ling (12 example), -et $(t)$ and -icge (7 examples, each).

### 3.3.2. Strong Verbs

As far as strong verbs are concerned, there are altogether 846 (25,26\%) of them used in the process of deverbal formations in Old English. Correspondingly to the weak verbs, all classes appeared in the data examined. However, not all classes were present in all suffixes. The greatest number of nominals derived from strong verbs were in case of suffixes $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-p$, and $-t$ (140 examples), -nes( $s$ ) (136 examples), -ing ( $F$ )/-ung (135 examples), -end (128 examples), -el and its variants -l, ool, and -ele (101 examples), -en (96 examples) along with -ere ( 80 examples). Other suffixes cannot be characterised as the ones using strong verbs as verbal bases often. All of them have no more than 30 instances, as visualised in the above Tableau 5. The suffixes -els(e) and -estre ( 9 examples, each), -et $(t)$ ( 8 examples), -ing ( $\mathrm{M}, \mathrm{N}$ ) ( 2 examples), -ling ( 1 example), and -icge ( 1 example), the least frequently opted for strong verbs. Nonetheless, the above-mentioned suffixes did not contribute to the research data as far as the number of lexemes classified for the final analysis. They had 31, 37, $15,19,13$, and 8 instances, respectively, submitted for the investigation.

Moreover, analysing the usage of strong verbs as bases for Old English deverbal nouns, two classes prevail and these are $\mathrm{SV}_{7}$, (184 cases, 5,49\%) and $\mathrm{SV}_{5}$ (182 examples, $5,43 \%$ ). Three other classes are also represented by quite a few exemplars, that is $\mathrm{SV}_{3}$ (137 instances, $4,09 \%$ ), $\mathrm{SV}_{1}$ (125 instances, 3,73\%) and $\mathrm{SV}_{6}$ ( 99 instances, $2,96 \%$ ). The remaining two classes: $\mathrm{SV}_{2}$ and $\mathrm{SV}_{4}$, had only $60(1,79 \%)$ and 59 examples ( $1,76 \%$ ), respectively.

### 3.3.3. Other Verbs (PPVs, irregular verbs, uncertain verbs)

Within verbal bases that were used in formation of the Old English deverbal nominals, there were also cases whose identity as far as the membership in the particular verb type and/or verb class was complex to establish. In total, there were $60(1,79 \%)$ of such verbs. However, as many as 47 of them were classified as either $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ or $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$. What is more, only three suffixes had such cases: -ing (F)/-ung (28 examples), -nes(s) (17 examples) and -el and its variants -l, -ol, and -ele (3 examples). There were also 5 examples of verbs whose distinctiveness varied between $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{SV}_{2}$ (they also appeared in only two suffixes, namely -nes $(s)$ : 3 examples and -ing $(F) /$-ung: 2 examples). The remaining instances of verbs whose identity was difficult to ascertain were only solitary examples and they emerged in three suffixes: -ing $(F) /-u n g$ ( 6 examples), -nes $(s)$ (3 examples) and -el and its variants $-l$, -ol, and -ele ( 1 example).

Last but not least is the issue of verbs that are recognized as preteritepresent verbs (hence PPVs), irregular verbs or those whose identity is uncertain. There are 60 such verbs, which constitute $1,79 \%$. None of the nouns happen to materialize itself in the following eight suffixes: -els(e), -en, -ere, -estre, -et (t), -icge, -ing ( $\mathrm{M}, \mathrm{N}$ ), and -ling. Without a shadow of doubt, the largest group of such anomalous verbs constitute cases that formed nominals by means of the suffix $-d$ and its variants $-e d,-o b /-a p,-p$, and $-t$. The said affix had 48 cases $(1,43 \%)$ of irregular verbs and 10 instances $(0,30 \%)$ of PPVs. The variety of those 48 verbs is not remarkable since there is only one PPV used: magan 'to be able, to have permission or power to, be allowed to', to form all 10 morphologically complex nominals and only 8 different irregular verbs. The remaining four suffixes had only isolated examples of either irregular verbs or PPVs or both. As far as verbs of uncertain membership are concerned, there were only two of them: both in case of the suffix -ing (F)/-ung, and they are: hloccet(t)ung 'sighing, groaning' $<$ hloccettan 'to utter a sound, groan, sigh' and ólehtung 'flattering, what pleases the senses' < ólehtan 'to flatter, caress'.

### 3.4. The form of the verbal base

It seems that the Old English language can be characterised by a high degree of stem allomorphy. Out of 13 suffixes investigated, as many as 7: -end, -ere, -estre, -icge, -ing $(F) /$-ung, -ing $(\mathrm{M}, \mathrm{N})$, and -ling, are morphemes attached to an unmodified infinitive stem. The remaining 6 suffixes: $-d$ and its variants -ed, $-o b /-a b,-b$, and $-t$, -el and its variants $-l$, $-o l$, and $-e l e$, -els $(e)$, -en, -et $(t)$, and -nes(s), may, at least in some cases, cause -i-mutation within the root. They may also be derived from non-infinitival stems, that are clearly exemplified in case of the suffix -nes(s). The rule-governed morphophonemic process of - $i$-mutation, mentioned earlier and present in Old English, was however lost in that period by reason of "the gradual unrounding of front round vowels, in particular /ø/ and /ø:/, which were most conspicuous result of $-i$-mutation", as

Kastovsky (1984: 256) explains. Owing to the above-mentioned phonological changes, most probably various lengthenings and shortenings of the verbal system, "this morphophonemic/allomorphic system must have broken down completely", (Kastovsky, 2006: 246). Thanks to $-i$-mutation, the Old English stem-allomorphy was an observable fact entirely phonological in nature, and it seems to have had no connection with the morphological system. However, this is not the case of stem-allomorphy caused by so-called gradation, as it functioned within the verbal paradigm and is still preserved in Modern English, though not on such regular basis as in Old English. Due to the fact that Old English is characterised by a rapid reduction of inflectional endings, it effected the morphological formation as well. The process of reorientation from stem-inflection and stem-derivation to word-inflection and word-derivation caused the death of the ablaut nouns. The disintegration of verbal ablaut paradigms on the course of some phonological developments, like the Great Vowel Shift, as well as relocating of some strong verbs into weak verbs, also had an effect on the loss of the ablaut forms. The Old English period, hence, was in transition from stem-formation to word-formation, as it is only by the end of Old English and in Middle English that the verbs suffered the loss of the infinitive ending and later developed an unmarked base form, which in turn could exist as an independent word.

The research data compiled for the present research allowed me to draw the following conclusion: the majority of weak forms (2361 weak verbal bases) prove that in Old English strong verbs were less often used as bases for deverbal nouns and even when they served as such bases, they were often accompanied by $i$-mutation, as in the case of the following suffixes:
-d and its variants $-\boldsymbol{e d},-\boldsymbol{o b} /-\boldsymbol{a p},-\boldsymbol{b}$ : átorgeblćed 'a poisonous blister' < bláwan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to blow, be blown', beresćed 'barley seed' < sáwan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to sow (seed in a field)', fléd 'mass of water, flood, wave' < flówan 'to flow, stream', andsli(e) $h t / a n d s l y h t$ 'a return-stroke, blow' < sléan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{6}\right)$ 'to strike, beat, smite', scyrft 'a scraping' < sceorfan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{3}\right)$ 'to scarify, gnaw, bite'.
-el and its variants -l, -ol: bydel 'one who bids or cries out, a herald' < béodan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{2}\right)$ 'to command, inform', pwirel 'a stick for whipping milk, whisk' $<$ pweran $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{4}\right)$ 'to stir, twirl, churn', smygel/smygels 'a burrow, place to creep into' $<$ smúgan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{2}\right)$ 'to creep, crawl', slegel 'an instrument for striking a harp' $<$ sléan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{6}\right)$ 'to strike, beat, smite', hlcedel 'an instrument for drawing water, a ladle' < hladan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{6}\right)$ 'to lade, draw in water'.
(3)
-els: oferwrigels/oferwríhgels 'a covering' < oferwréon $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{1}\right)$ 'to cover over, conceal', spennels 'a clasp' < spannan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to join one thing to another, to link, clasp', swćpels/swcépelse 'robe, wrap, garment' < swápan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to wrap'.
(4)
-en: ansién 'view, aspect, sight, thing seen' < séon $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{5}\right)$ 'to see with the eyes, look', hengen 'hanging, cross, torture, imprisonment' < hón $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to hang, suspend, crucify', onfligen/onflygen 'infectious disease' < fléogan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{2}\right)$ 'to fly, flee, take to flight'.
(5)
-et(t): híwett 'hewing, cutting' < héawan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to hew, hack, strike, cleave, cut, cut down', m'́edméwett/módmáwect 'mowing of the meadow' < máwan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to mow', réwett 'rowing, a ship' < rówan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to go by water, row, sail, swim', séwett 'sowing' < sáwan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$ 'to sow, strew seed, to sow the seeds of anything'.

However, the choice of the strong verb as a base for a deverbal noun did not trigger the $i$-mutation process as a must. Sometimes, the apophonial vowel change was dictated by another derivational possibility, like denominal formation, that could have occurred and therefore the derivation proper in certain cases is now hard to be retrieved. For example, in case of the suffixes -ing $(F) /$ ung, and -nes(s), the formation of some instances may appear debatable, as in the following examples:
(6)
býing 'a habitation, dwelling' < búan 'to stay, dwell, live, inhabit, occupy' bú 'dwelling' (SN: -es/bý)
byrneness 'hard, fiery trial' < beornan 'to burn'
byrne 'corselet' (WF: -an/-an).

### 3.5. The occurrence of particular verbal bases

The total number of verbs that participated in formation of the nouns extracted for the purpose of the present research equals 1098. Further investigation revealed that only 38 verbs ( $3,46 \%$ ) out of the total 1098 verbal bases attested, appeared more than ten times within all 13 suffixes. It may suggest that they were not very prone to nominal derivation or there was no necessity to form such a noun, as there were other corresponding forms. The verbs that occurred most often were: werian/weorian/bewerian $\left(\mathrm{WV}_{1}\right)$ : altogether 91 attestations in 5 different suffixes, sittan/gesittan/ofsittan/onsittan/ymbsittan (SV ${ }_{5}$ ): overall 40 attestations in 4 various suffixes and magan (PPV): in sum 38 attestations in 2 diverse suffixes. The following Tableau 6 gives exact numbers of other verbal bases that were present in derivation of deverbal nouns in Old English:

Tableau 6

| verbal base | meaning <br> of the verb | verb type <br> and class | nr of <br> attestations | nr of <br> suffixes* |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| beran/beoran/geberan | 'to bear, carry, take <br> away' | $\mathrm{SV}_{4}$ | 33 | 7 |
| rcédan | 'to counsel, give <br> advice, read' | $\mathrm{SV}_{7}$ | 32 | 8 |
| fcestan/befcestan/ <br> staðolfcestan | 'to fasten, establish, <br> make safe' | $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ | 29 | 3 |
| pegnian/bénian | 'to serve a person, <br> minister to' | $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$ | 27 | 5 |
| weorðian/árweorðian <br> /unárwurðian/ <br> unweorðian | 'to honour, worship | $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$ | 26 | 4 |

* It refers to the number of suffixes with which the verb occurs.

The next group of verbs participating in formation of the Old English nominals, gathered in the present data, constitute instances of verbal bases that occur between 10 and 25 times within all 13 suffixes. Altogether there are 37 of such types, which makes up $3,37 \%$. Below, there are 7 examples verbs, which appear between 20 and 25 times:
(7)
a. féran/forðféran/foreféran/oferféran/oferferian/inféran $\left(\mathrm{WV}_{1} / \mathrm{WV}_{2}\right)$ : 25 attestations within 5 suffixes;
b. scéawian/bescéawian/forescéawian/foregescéawian/oferscéawian/ ymbscéawian $\left(\mathrm{WV}_{2}\right): 25$ attestations within 3 suffixes;
c. began $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{5}\right): 25$ attestations within 1 suffix;
d. gifan/giefan/forgiefan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{5}\right): 24$ attestations within 6 suffixes;
e. flówan/eftifówan/oferflówan/tóflówan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right): 21$ attestations within 3 suffixes;
f. writan/áwrítan/gewritan/tówrítan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{1}\right)$ : 21 attestations within 4 suffixes;
g. wyrcan/efenwyrcan $\left(\mathrm{WV}_{1}\right)$ : 21 attestations within 4 suffixes.

The remaining 30 examples (2,73\%) of verbal bases occur between 10 and 19 times, however, due to a great number of them, they cannot be exemplified here in full range. Altogether, there are 2 verbs that occur 19 times, 1 verb that occurs 18 and 17 times each, 3 verbs that occur 16 times, 2 verbs that occur 15 times, 4 verbs that occur 13 and 12 times, each, 6 verbs that occur 11 times and finally 7 verbs that occur 10 times.

The next group form verbs which appear as verbal bases for the Old English deverbal nominals between four and nine times (there are quite a few of such cases). In total I have found: 13 verbs that occur nine times, 13 verbs that occur
eight times, 25 verbs that occur seven times, 46 verbs that occur six times, 50 verbs that occur five times and 67 verbs that occur four times. The last group of verbs that was analysed is a collection of verbal bases occurring once, twice or three times; this is the largest gathering and it comprises: 199 verbs that occur three times, 217 verbs that occur two times and finally 503 verbs that occur only once.

There is an interesting relationship between the number of occurrences of the single noun and the number of such nouns within the whole stock of vocabulary gathered for the present research. The more occurrences of the single verb, the fewer such verbal bases there are, and the fewer occurrences of the single verb, the more such verbal bases there are. For example, there is only one verb that appears 91 times (werian/weorian/bewerian, $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ ). On the other hand, there are as many as 503 verbal bases that emerge only once each within the whole process of analysing Old English deverbal nominals. The above relationship is clearly visualised by means of the function presented below:
(8)


Moreover, the whole stock of verbal bases compiled for this research can be analysed according to the number of suffixes attached to certain verbs. Sometimes, particular verbs were utilised in various suffixal variants. It usually applied to groups of verbs that were relatively numerous. In other set of circumstances, the verbs appear predominantly in one, two or three various suffixes, even though there are quite a few of them in total, as illustrated below:
(9)
a. sittan/gesittan/ofsittan/onsittan/ymbsittan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{5}\right): 40$ attestations within 3 suffixes;
b. fcestan/befcestan/staðolfæstan (WV $)_{1}$ : 29 attestations within 3 suffixes;
c. scéawian/bescéawian/forescéawian/foregescéawian/oferscéawian/ ymbscéawian $\left(\mathrm{WV}_{2}\right): 25$ attestations within 3 suffixes;
d. magan (PPV): 38 attestations within 2 suffixes;
e. began $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{5}\right): 25$ attestations within 1 suffix.

The above findings may suggest that the verbs that principally occurred within one, two or three various suffixes, were not very prone to other formations by means of other deverbal suffixes (on the verb to noun derivational level), due to the fact that there was no room for them, as other formations covered the semantic need for certain nouns. On the other hand, it may as well imply that the great number of nominals derived by way of the same morpheme arises from the need for creating a family of compound nominals that would cover the semantic area in the language.

In contrast, there are verbs that very eagerly contributed to the formations using various suffixes, but no more than 8 . As a matter of fact, there is only one verb that occurred in eight different suffixal variants: ródan $\left(\mathrm{SV}_{7}\right)$. The remaining verbs are classified as presented below:
(10)
a. 1 verb that occurred in 7 diverse suffixes,
b. 4 verbs that occurred in 6 diverse suffixes,
c. 19 verbs that occurred in 5 diverse suffixes,
d. 57 verbs that occurred in 4 diverse suffixes,
e. 117 verbs that occurred in 3 diverse suffixes,
f. 254 verbs that occurred in 2 diverse suffixes, and finally
g. 645 verbs that occurred in 1 suffix only.

What is more, discussing the choice of the verbal base as the stemformative brings to light the problem of debatable nouns, which, apart from the verb, could have possibly ${ }^{6}$ been derived from either a noun, an adjective, or both. This phenomenon was found in all suffixes, however, it is not equally numerous in each group. Four suffixes can be characterised by a relatively high number of debatable cases: -ing $(F) /-u n g$, -ness, -end and -ed, -ob/-ap, - $p$, and $-t$, which is shown in Tableau 7 below:

Tableau 7

| Suffix | Number of debatable cases / <br> total number |
| :--- | :---: |
| the suffix $-e d$ and its variants $-o p /-a p,-p$, and $-t$ | $\mathbf{1 3 3}(\mathbf{3 2 , 2 8 \% )} / \mathbf{4 1 2}$ |
| the suffix $-e l$ and its variants $-l,-o l$ | $\mathbf{1 7 ( \mathbf { 1 0 , 7 6 \% } ) / \mathbf { 1 5 8 }}$ |
| the suffix $-e l s$ and its variant $-e l s e$ | $\mathbf{8 ( 2 5 , 8 1 \% )} / \mathbf{3 1}$ |
| the suffix $-e n$ | $\mathbf{3 7 ( \mathbf { 2 0 , 2 2 \% } ) / \mathbf { 1 8 3 }}$ |

[^4]Tableau 7

| Suffix | Number of debatable cases / total number |
| :---: | :---: |
| the suffix -end | 141 (36,06\%) / 391 |
| the suffix -ere | 90 (34,62\%) / 260 |
| the suffix -estre | 6 (16,22\%) / 37 |
| the suffix -et ( $t$ ) | 1 (6,67\%) / 15 |
| the suffix -icge | 1 (12,50\%) / 8 |
| the suffix -ing (F) and its variant -ung | 394 (31,67\%) / 1244 |
| the suffix -ing ( $\mathrm{M}, \mathrm{N}$ ) | 14 (73,68\%) / 19 |
| the suffix -ling | 3 (23,08\%) / 13 |
| the suffix -nes(s) | 256 (44,29\%) / 578 |

The above Tableau 7 presents how many debatable instances have been found in each suffix. Altogether, as many as 1101 such cases have been detected, which constitutes $32,88 \%$ of the whole stock of lexemes gathered for the present investigation data. The remaining 2248 deverbal nouns ( $67,12 \%$ ), however, in my opinion, can serve as credible proof for the criteria set within this research. Due to the fact that such debatable occurrences are possible, I have decided to list four reasons for which Old English deverbal nouns gathered for the present research have been classified as analysable:

1. With the exception of the verbal base, I have not found nominal, adjectival or adverbial ${ }^{7}$ bases, which could possibly serve as stem-formatives, too, as in: (11)
a. neósung (SF: $-a /-e$ ) 'a visiting, visitation',
b. hergere (SM: -es/as) 'one who praises',
c. gáeling (SM: -es/as) 'delay', and many others.
2. Sometimes, the root vowel suggests the choice of the base, as in:
(12)
a. fédness (SF: $-a /-e$ ) 'nourishment' (verbal base: fédan $\left(\mathrm{WV}_{1}\right)$ 'to feed, nourish' and the potential nominal base with a different root vowel: fóda (WM: -n/-n) 'food, nourishment'),
b. fléding (SF: -a/-e) 'a flowing' (verbal base: flédan 'to overflow, flood’ and the potential nominal base with a different root vowel: flód (SM: -es/-as; SN : -es/ $/$ ) 'mass of water, flood, wave',
c. wegférend 'a wayfarer, a traveller' (verbal base: féran 'to go, come, depart, set out, travel' and the potential nominal base with a different root vowel: foer (SN: -es/-faru) 'way, journey', and others.

[^5]3. Sometimes, the consonantal extension may imply the choice of the base, as in: (13)
clónsend (SM: -es/as) 'a cleanser' (verbal base: clénsian $\left(\mathrm{WV}_{2}\right)$ 'to cleanse, purify' and the potential adjectival base with an intrusive consonant: clóne 'clean'.
4. Sometimes, the choice of the base is simply suggested by the dictionary and reference sources, as in:
a. bédling (SM: -es/-as) 'a carrier of letters or orders' [from bcédan 'to compel, solicit'],
b. brimnesen (SF: -a/-e) 'a safe sea-passage’ [from nesan 'to be saved from'],
c. cynnestre 'one who brings forth, a mother' (WF: -an/-an) [from cennan 'to bring forth'], and others.

## 4. Gender/declensional type vs. verb type/verb class

An interesting finding can be observed when the relationship between the gender and the corresponding declensional type is confronted with the verbal type and verbal class chosen as a base for a particular lexeme. Firstly, as also mentioned earlier, weak verbs definitely prevailed with their 2306 cases ( $68,86 \%$ ). There were 898 instances ( $26,81 \%$ ) of strong verbs and the remaining 145 cases ( $4,33 \%$ ) are classified as anomalous ${ }^{8}$. The following Tableau 8 provides exact numbers portraying the relationship between the gender of the derivative and the verb type/verb class of the verbal base.

Tableau 8

|  | $\mathbf{W V}_{\mathbf{1}}$ | $\mathbf{W V}_{\mathbf{2}}$ | $\mathbf{W V}_{\mathbf{3}}$ | $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{1}}$ | $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{2}}$ | $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{3}}$ | $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{4}}$ | $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{5}}$ | $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{6}}$ | $\mathbf{S V}_{\mathbf{7}}$ | irreg. | PPV | total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M/SM | 298 | 270 | 10 | 63 | 20 | 50 | 28 | 52 | 41 | 93 | 22 | 2 | $\mathbf{9 4 9}$ |
| F/SF | 665 | 918 | 19 | 50 | 36 | 74 | 20 | 52 | 32 | 79 | 34 | 11 | $\mathbf{1 9 9 0}$ |
| N/SN | 65 | 14 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 68 | 10 | 28 | 5 | 0 | $\mathbf{2 0 2}$ |
| M/WM | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{5}$ |
| F/WF | 27 | 16 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{5 8}$ |
| total | $\mathbf{1 0 5 6}$ | $\mathbf{1 2 1 8}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 1 8}$ | $\mathbf{5 7}$ | $\mathbf{1 3 0}$ | $\mathbf{5 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 7 5}$ | $\mathbf{8 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 3}$ | $\mathbf{6 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 3}$ | $\mathbf{3 2 0 4}$ |

[^6]From the above results, it is clear that within the group of weak verbs feminine nouns prevail (934 examples in $\mathrm{WV}_{2}, 692$ examples in $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ and 20 examples in $\mathrm{WV}_{3}$ ). As far as masculine nouns are concerned, the number of them ascribed to either $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ (299 example) or $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$ (270 examples) is almost identical. $\mathrm{WV}_{3}$ happens to be a base for 10 nominals. Neuter nouns are not very common within my research data, therefore their number in this comparison is also not high. Neuter nouns, however, tend to show a slight preference toward strong verbs as bases: 116 cases of neuters are based on strong verbs (mostly on $\mathrm{SV}_{5}: 68$ cases and $\mathrm{SV}_{7}: 28$ cases) and 81 exemplars are formed on weak verbs (mostly $\mathrm{WV}_{1}: 65$ cases). As far as strong verbs are concerned, there are 347 and 343 examples of masculine and feminine nouns, respectively, based on all seven classes. It is also easily recognized that strong declensions are definitely more frequently represented. Weak declensions (without WN, whose representatives have not been detected within my data) are not very common: most often neuter derivatives are based on either $\mathrm{WV}_{1}$ (27 cases) or $\mathrm{WV}_{2}$ (16 cases).

## 5. Structural complexity of Old English deverbal nouns

Last but not least in my investigation is the issue of complexity of the derived Old English nominals. For the purpose of the present exploration, I have decided to divide the extracted and analysed lexemes, into complex and simple ones. However, a word of explanation has to be given, as the division made here may appear incorrect in the light of morphological system. Namely, by 'complex nouns' I mean exclusively those instances that are compound nouns with final element having a certain suffix attached. No prefixed forms are included here (even though morphologically they are complex), as my core aim was to identify the complexity based on appending particular suffixes that served as a method for verb to noun derivation. Therefore, perhaps surprisingly, all prefixed nouns have been included in the group of simple forms. In order to make the exposition clear, the following Tableau 9 presents all cases of both simple and complex forms of nouns attested in the process of deverbal formation in Old English:

Tableau 9

|  | -d | -el | -els <br> -else | -en | -end | -ere | -estre | -ett | -icge | -ing <br> $\mathbf{( f )}$ <br> -ung | -ing <br> $\mathbf{( m ,}$ <br> $\mathbf{n})$ | -ling | -ness | total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| simple | 190 | 82 | 27 | 69 | 279 | 184 | 33 | 10 | 6 | 1030 | 18 | 12 | 492 | $\mathbf{2 4 3 2}$ |
| complex | 222 | 76 | 4 | 114 | 112 | 76 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 214 | 1 | 1 | 86 | $\mathbf{9 1 7}$ |
| TOTAL | 412 | 158 | 31 | 183 | 391 | 260 | 37 | 15 | 8 | 1244 | 19 | 13 | 578 | $\mathbf{3 3 4 9}$ |

The above results show that in case of Old English deverbal nouns, there is a definite predominance of simple forms (including the prefixed ones). Altogether, there are 2432 nominals that are of simple structure, which makes $72,62 \%$ of the whole data compiled for the research. The remaining 917 instances $(27,38 \%)$ are complex nouns, which are all compound nouns.

## 6. Conclusion

The aforementioned results of the investigation prove that due to scarcity of linguistic data, it is not always possible to confidently state that a particular phenomenon, model, or rule is productive or it can be applied to a certain type of lexemes.

The results arising from the findings of the research conducted on Old English deverbal nouns showed that only from the number of lexemes attested can one presuppose the possibility of occurrence of a certain derivational procedure with help of certain suffixes. The quantity of new formations also proves their productivity. The more derivatives of particular suffixes, the easier it is to establish any potential interrelations between the type and the class of the verbal base and the derivative and also any connections between the gender and/ or the declension and the verbal base. From thirteen suffixes analysed, most of them did not survive to Modern English. If some continued to exist, they often changed their function, as exemplified in subsection 2.4 above. Gender affiliation proved to be connected to the corresponding declensional type. The results show that feminine gender prevailed and so did feminine declensional type. In both cases instances are found that can be attributed to more than one gender and/ or declensional type. Such examples of doublets or triplets only verified the complexity of the data of the dead language. The investigation of the verbal base asserted that weak verbs definitely triumphed over strong verbs in Old English and were therefore three times more frequently chosen as bases for Old English nouns. Strong verbs were quite repetitively subject to the rule-governed morphophonemic process of $i$-mutation, which was phonologically conditioned.

Moreover, I have found out that some verbal bases definitely favoured some suffixes to other ones, though they appeared with no more than eight different suffixes. It may suggest that there was no room for other formations derived on certain verbs as other nouns covered the semantic need in the language. In contrast, if a certain verbal base was utilised frequently within one suffix, it may imply that there was a special semantic need for creating a family of compounds.

An issue of debatable nouns that, apart from a verbal base, could have also had another nominal or adjectival base, seems to also play an important role. The fact that one third of lexemes sampled for the present research could have had a base other than the verb base proves how difficult it is to unquestionably assert certain relationship between the base and the resultant lexeme. Such problems occur since the data of Old English is often scarce and unsatisfactory for credible
findings. The gaps that are found within the records very often have to be filled with presumptions.

Discussing the issue of translation, Eva Hoffman once wrote that "[i]n order to translate a language or a text without changing its meaning, one would have to transport its audience as well". I believe that the same applies to understanding the language that is no longer alive. It is not possible to retrieve everything from the data we have and very often certain aspects of analysis will have to remain as mere assumptions. We are never to find out, for instance, what the true pronunciation of the Old English was. However, it does not mean that the dead language (in this case, Old English) cannot be analysed and bring new findings which can help one to understand the changes that occurred over the centuries and also show the connection between two systems of the same tongue but set in such remote times from each other.

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[^0]:    1 The present article is based on the results retrieved from the doctoral dissertation of the author of this paper.

[^1]:    2 The criteria set for the research are described in subsection 1.3 below.
    3 Explanation for Tableau 1. A: number of lexemes extracted from the dictionary, B: number of lexemes extracted from the dictionary but reduced due to merging of spelling variants, $\mathbf{C}$ : number of lexemes disregarded as unanalysable cases, $\mathbf{D}$ : number of lexemes classified as analysable according to criteria set for the present research.

[^2]:    4 There are also so-called zero derivatives, although, these, were disregarded as the core aim of the investigation was to examine deverbal nominals formed by means of overtly expressed suffixes.

[^3]:    5 Kastovsky (2006: 239) indicates that the suffix -estre lost its female reference in Middle English. The Modern English suffix -ster, therefore, became gender-neutral, as in words like gangster, roadster or worster.

[^4]:    6 Very often only theoretically.

[^5]:    7 Adverbial bases, if existed, were extremely rare.

[^6]:    8 By anomalous are understood here all cases that cannot be classified either as far as gender of the derivative is concerned or the type/class of the verbal base.

