A PROW IN FOAM:
THE OLD ENGLISH BAHUVRIHI COMPOUND
AS A POETIC DEVICE

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0. While the rhetorical figure of variation has been characterized as 'the very soul of Old English poetic style',[1] modern scholarship has convincingly demonstrated that compounding as a specific word-formation and naming process can be figuratively located in the heart of Old English poetic diction. The so-called bahuvrihis represent a distinct type among Old English compounds and are, despite their regular occurrence in Old English prose, productive and structurally diversified primarily in the poetic register. What follows is an attempt to explore the nature of the bahuvrihi compound as a poetic device, using for evidence the text of *Beowulf* (Beo) and *Andreas* (And).

1. 'Bahuvrihi' is a traditional Sanskrit term for compounds of morphological structure **A + B** but with no genuine internal head. The most frequent morphological shape of bahuvrihis is **Adjective (Past Participle) + Noun** and **Noun + Noun**; patterns of **Numeral + Noun** and **Verb + Noun** also occur.

1.1. The 'true' head (determinatum) lies outside the compound. In other words, the bahuvrihi is a hyponym of some unexpressed semantic head. The bahuvrihi compound *hardhat* does not denote a special type of hat but rather refers to somebody habitually using, possessing,[2] or characterized by, that kind of hat. Thus the semantic head (determinatum) is implicitly understood, but not formally expressed. The compound cannot be analysed into its immediate constituents and is interpretable only as predicated of some 'third party'. The external nature of their reference qualifies bahuvrihis as structurally exocentric (in traditional classifications they share this quality with imperative compounds of the type *forget-me-not*), whereas the remaining two dominant types of compounds in Germanic, copulatives and determinatives, are structurally endocentric (e.g. *armchair* is clearly a type /hyponym/ of 'chair').[3] A 'zero' head (i.e. one lying outside the combination A + B) can thus be seen as the primary distinctive feature of the bahuvrihis.

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[1] Cf. Klaeber (1950 : lxv).
[2] Bahuvrihis are therefore also termed 'possessive' compounds.
[3] Some authors treat bahuvrihis as pseudo-compounds (zero-derivatives), as bahuvrihis fail to fulfil the condition that the combination A + B must belong to the same word-class and lexical class as the head; cf. e.g. Marchand (1960), Kastovsky (1992).

2. *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, the two Old English poetic texts quarried here for this type of compounding, have produced samples that are in keeping with current descriptions of bahuvrihis in English historical linguistics.

2.1. Of the types adduced by Marchand in what is the most comprehensive diachronic treatment of English bahuvrihis to date (1960, 1969) – *paleface*, *hunchback*, *five-finger* and *scatterbrain* – it is the first type, arisen from the syntactic combination **Adj + N**, that is by far the strongest in the two poems (cf. e.g. *brunecg*, *bliðheort*, *geomormod*, *heahstefn* in the Appendix). A distinct subtype of the *paleface* formation, and one historically associated with bahuvrihi compounds only, is that with a past participle form in the 1st element (*wollentear*, *wundenfeax*; some of these formations had already crossed the fluid diachronic boundary between participles and adjectives, such as *fætedhleor*). The types *hunchback* (based on the morphological shape of **Noun + Noun**, e.g. *stylecg*, *fetelhilt* and *hringmæl* in the Appendix) and *five-finger* (in which the 1st element of the compound is a numeral, e.g. *anhaga*, *anmod*, *syfanwintre*) are fairly exceptional;[4] the type *scatterbrain* is not attested at all.[5]

2.2. Bahuvrihi compounds in Germanic represent an Indo-European inheritance. They arose independently of determinative compounds and their origin lies in ancient processes of name-giving. Early Germanic personal names such as Old English *Widsið* ('one who has travelled far') and *Freawaru* /'one who enjoys the protection of (the god) Frey'/ encapsulate the basic semantic motivation of bahuvrihis: naming a person, animal or thing for some striking feature in his/her/its appearance or some other characteristics which will subsequently serve as a kind of identifying label in denoting the referent.

2.2.1. However, early Germanic bahuvrihis used as personal names appear as an exception in that most bahuvrihi formations in Old English and the early Germanic languages in general are adjectives. Their adjectival function probably arose out of the appositional use of bahuvrihi nouns in conjunction with personal names[6] (such as Harald Bluetooth /Blátönn/), by which they assumed attributive significance. Nouns of bahuvrihi formation are only found among the loan-translations of the type *five-finger* and among the so-called extended bahuvrihis (cf. 2.2.1.4. below and the Appendix).

2.2.1.1. The metonymical/synecdochic transfer of the name for a striking feature, function or part of the referent to the referent as a semantic whole constitutes two distinctive characteristics of the bahuvrihis. One charateristic is what was described

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[4] The type *five-finger* is exceptional also in the sense that it formed bahuvrihi nouns in Old English (in contrast to bahuvrihi adjectives produced by the types *paleface* and *hunchback*, cf. below). These nouns generally refer to plants and animals and are loan-translations from Latin (cf. *fifleaf* for 'quinquefolium', *anhorn* for 'unicornis'). They occur in neither poem; in contrast, the appended *Beowulf* and *Andreas* sample contains several bahuvrihi adjectives with *an-* as the 1st element (cf. *anmod*, *anrad*). The compounds with the (original) lexeme *feald* (ModE *-fold*) in the 2nd element (e.g. Old English *anfeald*) have not been included in the Appendix as they are treated as derivations, with *-feald* as a suffix used to form adjectives from numerals and quantifiers (cf. Kastovsky /1992 : 390/). – The only genuine noun of the type *five-finger* in the Appendix thus seems to be *anhaga*, attested in both texts.
[5] Marchand's own examples of this type are no earlier than 16th century. The type is not attested in West Germanic; in German it makes its appearance in the 14th century (cf. Marchand 1960 : 42ff.).
[6] Cf. Petersen (1914–15).

in 1. above as the 'zero' head (determinatum) of the compound. The other is what has been labelled as 'a hidden adjectival character' (*heimlicher Adjektiv-character*),[7] namely the discrepancy felt between the adjectival character (and declension) of bahuvrihi compounds and the nominal declension of the 2nd element of the compound when a simplex. Both these features, the 'zero' head quality and the hidden adjectival character will be seen as fundamental to the functions bahuvrihis have in Old English poetic texts.

2.2.1.2. The bahuvrihis having both these characteristics are traditionally categorised as *pure* ('reine'[8]). In the present article, this label has been replaced, because of its evaluative force, with the term *linear*.

2.2.1.3. From early on, there was a tendency in the linear bahuvrihis to suppress both their distinctive features: their exocentric structure ('zero' head) and their hidden adjectival character. Generally, there were two ways to accomplish this. One consisted in reversing the order of the two elements in the compound. Thus we find in both poems parallel formations of the type *geomormod* / *modgeomor*, both meaning '(one) sad of mind'. While the former has a linear structure of the *paleface* pattern, the latter is a *reversed* bahuvrihi. In its reverted form (**N** + **Adj**) the hidden adjectival character disappears while a new, internal and explicit, head is established (the compound is thus open to the interpretation 'sad with regard to mind'). Reversed bahuvrihis have another structural feature that might have promoted their productivity: they enhance the formal potential of the alliterative line by providing more head-staves for a given referent.

2.2.1.4. The other word-formation strategy to suppress the two distinctive characteristics of Old English linear bahuvrihis was based on extending their form by adding an extra morpheme to the 2nd element in the combination. By this process, nominal bahuvrihis were re-formed by changing the inflexional class (usually from strong declensions /m.n.a. stems/ to the weak declension /masculine, adding -*a*/). Compounds with -*stefn*(*a*) in their 2nd element are a case in point. The two poets seem to complement each other here: while the author of *Andreas* describes ships by means of linear bahuvrihi nouns, the *Beowulf* poet opts for *extended* ones.[9] Thus, parallel to the formations *brondstæfn* and *heahstefn* in *Andreas* ('/one/ /= ship/ with a high prow'; And 504, 266), we find in *Beowulf* the extended bahuvrihi nouns *bundenstefna* ('ship with a bound, i.e properly joined, prow'; Beo 1910), *hringedstefna* ('ring-prowed ship'; Beo 32, 1131, 1897) and *wundenstefna* ('ship with a wound/curved prow'; Beo 220). By this process, the extended bahuvrihis receive an explicit head (as it were, -*a* stands for 'ship').[10]

2.2.1.4.1. Linear adjectival bahuvrihis in Old English adopt derivational suffixes -*ed*, -*ig*, -*e*, -*ol* or -*lic* (carrying the meaning of 'having, being like, being characterised

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] *Erweiterte* by Petersen (1914–15).
[10] For this reason, some linguists see extended bahuvrihis as suffixal derivatives from compounds or syntactic groups; cf. e.g. Marchand (1960), Kastovsky (1992).

by, being made of', etc.). Of these suffixes, only the first four are represented in our sample (cf. e.g. *sidfæðmed*, Beo 302; *ellreordig*, And 1081; *sidfæðme*, Beo 1917; *hygeþancol*, And 341); the fifth suffix is recorded only in Old English prose. At the same time, none of the extended adjectival bahuvrihis has its linear counterpart in either poem. This is characteristic of the general situation in Old English. Neither the correspondence between the linear and the reversed bahuvrihis nor the relation between the linear and the extended bahuvrihis is symmetrical, i.e. parallel formations of the type *geomormod/modgeomor* and *ellreord/ellreordig* are not very frequent. This is no doubt due to gaps in our evidence, workings of analogy and – in case of extended bahuvrihis – to the exigencies of the metre, uneasily accommodating an extra syllable.

2.2.1.5. Despite the fact that extension was an ancient and gradual process in Germanic,[11] suffix extensions in Old English were less numerous than, for example, in Old High German.[12] Linear adjectival bahuvrihis in Old English had remained productive and alive until the end of the Old English period, no doubt due also to their intimate association with alliterative poetry.

2.2.2. By the Middle English period (when alliterative tradition rapidly loses ground) even the type *paleface* goes into decline even though the patterns according to which the old bahuvrihis were formed do persist.[13] The Late Middle English period sees a slow rise of nominal bahuvrihis (forms such as *court-mantle* c. 1367, *redbreast* 1401). They are rare before the 16th century and their appearance was very probably due to two factors in particular. One was the rise of the type *pickpocket*, another, and highly influential, group of exocentric compounds.[14] The other was the fact that an overwhelming majority of adjectival bahuvrihis of the type *paleface* adopted, by the process of extension, a genuine adjectival head (in most cases represented by *-ed*), which abolished the tension between the adjectival meaning of the combination and the nominal form of its 2nd element.

2.3. The text of *Beowulf* (3,182 lines) contains 58 different bahuvrihis in a total of 82 occurrences.[15] The 1,722 lines of *Andreas* have yielded 37 bahuvrihis in a total of 57 occurrences. Of the *Beowulf* bahuvrihis, 40 are linear by morphological structure, 8 are reversed and 10 are extended. The corresponding numbers for *Andreas* are 23, 10 and 4, respectively.

2.3.1. Of the *Beowulf* bahuvrihis, 27 (out of which 18 are linear, 4 reversed and 6 extended) represent nonce-formations in Old English. 19 bahuvrihi compounds in *Beowulf* (13 linear, 4 reversed and 2 extended) are poetic words, not attested

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[11] This is attested by such Old English formations as *anhorn* ('unicornis') – *anhorna* – *anhyrne* (the derivation sometimes involves i-umlaut), by variants such as *sidfæðme / sidfæðmed* in *Beowulf* or by OHG formations of the type *unarmherz / unarmherzi / armherzig*.

[12] Cf. C a r r (1939 : 262).

[13] S t r a n g (1970 : 257) considers the persistence of old compounding patterns – despite their decline in productivity – to be a marked feature of her Period IV (1370–1170).

[14] Cf. M a r c h a n d (1960 : 44).

[15] In the only statistics of the *Beowulf* bahuvrihis available to the author, G. A. B r o d e u r (1959 : 7) had counted 36 bahuvrihi compounds of the morphological structure **Adjective + Noun**. He found 15 of them peculiar (‡) to the poem.

anywhere in Old English prose. 5 (all of them linear by morphological structure) are only incidentally found in Old English prose and 2 other bahuvrihis (both of them extended) do not occur elsewhere in Old English poetic corpus, but are recorded in prose. Only 4 out of the 57 bahuvrihis of *Beowulf* appear to have been generally used in both Old English poetry and prose.

2.3.2. Of the *Andreas* bahuvrihis, 9 (out of which 3 are linear and 6 reversed) represent nonce-formations in Old English. 17 bahuvrihi compounds in *Andreas* (11 linear and 6 reversed) are poetic words, not attested anywhere in Old English prose. 4 (all of them linear by morphological structure) are only incidentally found in Old English prose and 2 other bahuvrihis (both of them extended) do not occur elsewhere in Old English poetic corpus, but are recorded in prose. Only 5 out of the 37 bahuvrihis of *Andreas* appear to have been generally used both in Old English poetry and prose.

2.3.3. Of the *Beowulf* bahuvrihis, some 82.4% appear – across the time span and gaps in our evidence – to have been associated solely with the poetic register. The corresponding number for *Andreas* is somewhat smaller – 70.2%. In contrast, the bahuvrihis that are unmarked with regard to the poetry/prose dichotomy represent only 7.01% of all the occurrences in *Beowulf* and 13.5% of those in *Andreas*.[16] Though the two texts cannot provide a representative sample of the use of bahuvrihis in Old English poetry (particularly not with regard to the range of Old English poetic styles), they seem to confirm that the Old English bahuvrihi compound is a distinctly, if not primarily, poetic device.

2.4. From a semantic point of view, the bahuvrihi compounds in the two poems are predominantly used to characterize people by reference to their character and/or state of mind (such as *bolgenmod*, 'one of a swollen, i.e. enraged mind', Beo 709, 1703, And 128, 1221; *caldheort*, 'cruel-hearted, menacing', And 138), less frequently by reference to their appearance (*gamolfeax*, 'grey-haired', Beo 608). These represent by far the most productive bahuvrihi formation in Old English poetry at large. A special case among these formations is that of Grendel, whose portrayal in *Beowulf* encompasses both human and non-human characteristics. He is described by means of such bahuvrihis as *blodigtoð* ('/one/ with bloody teeth', Beo 2082) and *gearofolm* ('/one/ of a ready hand', Beo 2085). Animal referents include horses (*fætedhleor*, '/one/ with gold-plated headgear', Beo 1036, *wundenfeax*, '/one/ with a curly mane', Beo 1400) and birds (the raven responding to the final triumph of the hero in Denmark /Beo 1802/ is described as *bliðheort*, '/one/ blithe of heart'). Of inanimate referents, by far the most popular objects characterized by means of bahuvrihis are swords (this is the case only of *Beowulf*: *heardecg*, '/one/ hard of edge', Beo 1288, 1490; *wreoðenhilt*, '/one/ with a twisted hilt', Beo 1698) and ships (*famigheals*, 'foamy-necked /one/', Beo 218, 1909, And 497; *heahstefn*, 'high-prowed /one/', And 266). The choice of non-human entities for reference by bahuvrihis is traditional and may

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[16] Owing to the size of the sample, the statistics given in 3.ff below must be taken as absolutes, i.e. the individual counts have not been considered in proportion to the number of lines in either poem.

be associated with *themes* as formal and semantic units of oral Germanic poetry. The association of bahuvrihis with the oral tradition is confirmed by their presence in formulas (cf. e.g. *hean hygegeomor* in And 1087, 1557, *hæleð higerof* in And 1005, 1054). The fact that bahuvrihis often appear in clusters (cf. e.g. And 981–985, 1232–1233, 1398–1400) seems to suggest that lexical expectation as an idea basic both to composition and enjoyment of the early poetry[17] depended also on distinct word-formation patterns.

3. In terms of syntactic function, bahuvrihis serve as (a) syntactic nouns in the role of subject and direct object (3.1.); (b) as subject complements[18] (i.e. current and resulting attributes; 3.2.); (c) as heads of supplementive adjective clauses (3.3.), and (d) as modifiers (3.4). In a number of cases, bahuvrihis that are to be construed primarily as heads of supplementive adjective clauses or modifiers can function, in the fluid texture of Old English poetry, as vehicles of apposition. What might appear – at least to modern readers who do not have access to such important disambiguating criteria as punctuation and intonation of Old English – as an effective neutralization of the contrast between (e) supplementive adjective clause and apposition, and (f) modification and apposition will be treated, respectively, in sections 3.5. and 3.6. below.

3.1. Bahuvrihi nouns and adjectives are typically used in the function of subject / direct object as in the following examples:[19]

	blondenfeaxe /S/
gomele ymb godne	ongeador spræcon
þæt hig þæs æðelinges	eft ne wendon
þæt he sigehreðig	secean come
mærne þeoden	

(Beo 1594b–1598a),

is þon geliccost	swa he on landsceare
stille stande	þær hine storm ne mæg
wind awecgan	ne wæterflodas
brecan brondstæfne /Dir Obj/	hwæðere on brim snoweð
snel under segle	

(And 501–505a).

Such uses are distinctly more frequent in *Beowulf* (there are 12 instances of subject use there in contrast to a single one in *Andreas*; the ratio in the direct object function is 5:1[20]). As exigencies of Old English metre imposed on the morphology of nouns

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[17] Cf. Quirk (1963).
[18] Grammatical terms in section 3. are used in accordance with Quirk et al. (1979).
[19] Extracts of both poems are quoted from the ASPR, but the punctuation has been suppressed to avoid interpretation, mainly with regard to the argument in 3.5. and 3.6.
[20] Subject use: *blondenfeax* (Beo 1791), *blondenfexa* (Beo 2462), *brodenmæl* (Beo 1616), *bundenstefna* (Beo 1910), *forhtferð* (And 1551), *guðmod* (Beo 306), *hringedstefna* (Beo 32, 1897), *hringmæl* (Beo 1523, 1564), *rumheort* (Beo 1709), *wundenstefna* (Beo 220). Object use: *brondstefn* (And 504), *fetelhilt* (Beo 1563), *heardecg* (Beo 1491), *higerof* (Beo 204), *hringedstefna* (Beo 1131), *wundenmæl* (Beo 1530).

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generally lead to the preference of endingless case forms, the use in both poems of bahuvrihis in cases other than those of the subject (i.e., nom.) and the direct object (acc.) is very limited.[21] The employment of adjectival bahuvrihis in these functions (just as in the functions discussed in 3.3., 3.5 and 3.6 below) is made possible by the fact that the Old English adjective inflects for grammatical categories such as number, case and gender, does not need (in poetry, due to the requirements of metre) to take the definite determiner *se* (with the resulting preference of strong adjectival forms over weak ones) and can function as the head of a noun phrase. [22]

3.2. The use of bahuvrihi adjectives in the function of subject complement is typically illustrated by the following examples:

no ðy ær ut ða gen	idelhende
bona blodigtoð	bealewa gemyndig
of ðam goldsele	gongan wolde
	(Beo 2081–3),

	wæteregsa stod
þreata þryðum	þegnas wurdon
acolmode	ænig ne wende
þæt he lifgende	land begete
	(And 375b–378).

There are 3 instances of this type in *Beowulf* and 9 in *Andreas*, with an even distribution of current and resulting attributes.[23]

3.3. The use of bahuvrihi adjectives as unequivocal realizations of adjective supplementive clauses is rare. There are probably only 2 instances in *Beowulf* (*werigmod*, Beo 1453, and *wollentear*, Beo 3032) and one in *Andreas* (*werigmod*, And 1367). In the first of these,

heo him eft hraþe	andlean forgeald
grimman grapum	ond him togeanes feng
oferwearp þa werigmod	wigena strengest
feþecempa	þæt he on fylle wearð
ofsæt þa þone selegyst	ond hyre seax geteah
brad ond brunecg	wolde hire bearn wrecan
angan eaferan	
	(Beo 1541–1547a),

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[21] Cf. *anhaga* (And 1351), *swiðferð* (Beo 170, 908), *sarigmod* (Beo 2942).

[22] Cf. Quirk, R. – Wrenn, C. L. *An Old English Grammar*, 2nd ed. London 1957, pp. 68–70.

[23] Current attributes: *acolmod* (And 377), *anræd* (And 232), *eacencræftig* (Beo 3051), *glædmod* (Beo 1785), *higerof* (And 233). Resulting attributes: *acolmod* (And 1595), *ferhðgefeonde* (And 915, 1584), *forhtferð* (And 1596), *hygegeomor* (And 1087), *idelhende* (Beo 2081), *modgeomor* (And 1113).

it is the semantic status of temporary features in the bahuvrihi *werigmod,* i.e. its reference to a quality uncharacteristic of the hero, who only momentarily stumbles, that precludes construing the bahuvrihi as a syntactic noun appositive with the phrases *wigena strengest* and *feþecempa.*

3.4. The two poems have an almost equal amount of modification by adjective bahuvrihis, such as in:

<div style="text-align:center">

symble gefegon

beornas bliðheorte burhweardes cyme

(And 660b–661).

</div>

There are 18 instances of modification by bahuvrihis in *Beowulf,* 17 in *Andreas.*[24] Of this number, there are 11 instances of postmodification in either poem; premodification is represented by 6 cases in *Beowulf* and by 5 in *Andreas.* While in postmodification no distinction between the temporary and the permanent, comparable to the situation in Modern English, is present (cf. e.g. *sarigferð* in Beo 2863 in contrast to *ðristhydig* in Beo 2810), the bahuvrihis in premodification all have the linguistic status of permanent features.[25] In 2 instances, the premodifying compound and its head are split between different half-lines (Beo 746b–747, Beo 1146).

3.5. In their discussion of supplementive clauses, Quirk et al. (1979 : 760–1) state that supplementive clauses without a subject that are positioned in the clause immediately after their 'antecedent' (i.e. the noun phrase in the main clause which is their assumed subject) may be indistinguishable from noun phrases in apposition. Quirk et al. go on to suggest that, however, most adjectival verbless clauses of the type

<div style="text-align:center">

Lawson, *implacable,* contented himself with a glare of defiance

</div>

may be unambiguously labelled supplementive.

3.5.1. In Old English poetic language the situation is different. The inflexional flexibility of linear and reversed adjectival bahuvrihis and their external reference (i.e. 'zero' head) qualifies them both for the role of the head of an appositive noun phrase and, by simultaneous reference, for the function of the head of an adjective

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[24] But see Footnote 16. From a relative point of view, modification by bahuvrihis would be almost twice as rare in *Beowulf* compared to *Andreas.*

[25] Postmodification: *anmod* (And 1638), *bliðheort* (And 660), *blodigtoð* (Beo 2082), *collenferhð* (And 538, 1578, Beo 1806), *ecgheard* (And 1181), *ellreordig* (And 1081), *famiheals* (Beo 218), *gealgmod* (And 563), *gramhydig* (And 1694), *higerof* (And 1005, 1054), *hygegiomor* (And 1557, Beo 2408), *modgeomor* (And 1708), *sarigferð* (Beo 2863), *sceadenmæl* (Beo 1939), *scirham* (Beo 1895), *ðristhydig* (Beo 2810), *wundenfeax* (Beo 1400), *wundenheals* (Beo 298). Premodification: *anræd* (And 983), *gromheort* (Beo 1682), *heahstefn* (And 266), *hringmæl* (Beo 2037), *modblind* (Beo 814), *sidfæðme* (Beo 1917), *sidfæðmed* (And 302), *rumheort* (Beo 2110), *widfæðme* (And 240, 533), *wlitebeorht* (Beo 93). – The present sample is naturally very limited but the question is not without interest. This is one of the issues in which bahuvrihis might serve as a test sample of the adjective in Old English poetry in general.

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phrase realizing the clause. Thus, a modern understanding of the bahuvrihi *bolgenmod* in the portrayal of the tyrant Heremod,

<div style="display:flex">
<div>
eaforum Ecgwelan
ne geweox he him to willan
ond to deaðcwalum
breat bolgenmod
eaxlgesteallan
mære þeoden
</div>
<div>
ne wearð Heremod swa
  Arscyldingum
   ac to wælfealle
  Deniga leodum
beodgeneatas
oþþæt he ana hwearf
mondreamum from
  (Beo 1709b–1715),
</div>
</div>

may construe it as the head of a supplementive clause, related both to the predication (*breat*) and to the implied subject ('he', *Heremod* of l. 1709b). Simultaneously, *bolgenmod* may be interpreted as the head of a noun phrase in apposition with the implied subject, standing for *Heremod*. Naturally, a third condition must be fulfilled: the bahuvrihi must be 'sufficiently' indeterminate as to the semantic distinction between the permanent and the temporary. Here, the king may be seen as a man with rage deep in his heart, killing his table-companions all the way towards self-destruction and death. This 'permanent' reading of *bolgenmod* qualifies the bahuvrihi as an appositive noun. In contrast, the 'temporary' reading ('Heremod kills in a fit of rage') construes the bahuvrihi as the sole realization of an adjective supplementive clause. It is evident that the adjective supplementive clause functionally overlaps here with adverbial supplementive clauses in what Quirk et al. describe as their 'chameleon-like semantic quality of adapting to context' (1979 : 760).

A similar example, but one with a more pronounced apposition ('he', *Wedergeata leod*), is that of *stearcheort* in Beo 2550–4:

<div style="display:flex">
<div>
let ða of breostum
Wedergeata leod
stearcheort styrmde
heaðotorht hlynnan
</div>
<div>
ða he gebolgen wæs
word ut faran
stefn in becom
under harne stan.
</div>
</div>

This use of the adjective bahuvrihi represents a distinct function in both poems, though in Andreas it is relatively more prominent. The appended sample contains 20 instances of this type in *Beowulf* and 25 in *Andreas*.[26] With a few exceptions

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[26] Cf. *anmod* (And 1565, 1601), *bliðheort* (And 1262, Beo 1802), *bolgenmod* (And 128, 1221, Beo 709, 1713), *caldheort* (And 138), *collenferhð* (And 349, 1108, Beo 2785), *deormod* (And 626, 1232), *eaðmod* (And 270), *famigheals* (And 497, Beo 1909), *gealgmod* (And 32), *gearofolm* (Beo 2085), *geomormod* (And 406, 1398, Beo 2044, 2267, 3018), *glædmod* (And 1059), *gleawmod* (And 1579), *higebliðe* (And 1691), *hreohmod* (Beo 2132, 2296), *hygeðancol* (And 341), *mildheort* (And 1285), *modgeomor* (Beo 2894), *reonigmod* (And 592), *stærcedferhð* (And 1233), *stearcheort* (Beo 2288, 2552), *stiðferhð* (And 722), *stiðmod* (Beo 2566), *swiðferhð* (Beo 493), *swiðmod* (Beo 1624), *ðryðswyð* (Beo 131), *werigferð* (And 1400), *werigmod* (Beo 844), *wiðerhydig* (And 675), *yrremod* (Beo 726).

(such as *famigheals* in Beo 1909, And 497, and *gearofolm* in Beo 2085), this function is associated with bahuvrihis denoting mental states and/or traits and formed largely on the lexemes *mod*, *fer(h)ð* and *heort* in the 2nd element of the compound.

3.6. In Beo 606–610,

þa wæs on salum	sinces brytta
gamolfeax ond guðrof	geoce gelyfde
brego Beorhtdena	gehyrde on Beowulfe
folces hyrde	fæstrædne geþoht,

King Hroðgar, the Danish dispenser of treasure, is characterized by conjoined adjectives *gamolfeax ond guðrof*. This coordination may be construed as a syntactic amphiboly not dissimilar to those in 3.5.1. Firstly, it may be seen as a postmodification of the preceding head (*brytta*), thus overlapping functionally with the uses of bahuvrihis discussed above in 3.4. Secondly, the coordination may be interpreted as a noun phrase ('one of old /i.e. grey/ hair and brave in battle') standing in apposition with the preceding noun phrase (*sinces brytta*). Here we have another instance of a transparent boundary, this time between modification and apposition.

3.6.1. Bahuvrihis in this function can only be found in *Beowulf*; there seems to be a single occurrence of this type in *Andreas* (*modrof*, And 1496).[27] Of 13 instances employed by the *Beowulf* poet, in 8 the bahuvrihi is conjoined with another adjective (like *gamolfeax* in the example above; the other adjective is not infrequently a compound, too).[28] The contextual semantic value of the bahuvrihi tends to be permanent (either intrinsically, or due to the meaning of the other adjective /as in *snotor ond swyðferhð*, Beo 826/, or due to a larger, situational context /such as in Beo 1277, where Grendel's mother is characterized as *gifre ond galgmod*/). The position of such adjectival conjoins in a given clause is one of postmodification (i.e., if interpreted appositively, the coordination does not appear as the 1st appositive).

3.6.2. The bahuvrihis in the remaining 5 occurences[29] do not seem to have constraints on position. They, too, may be interpreted as modifiers and/or appositives. Seen as modifiers, they are linked to their head in a discontinuous arrangement. They

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[27] One reason for this might be the low frequency of such adjectival conjoins in *Andreas*. There are only 11 occurrences of the type *heah ond horngeap* there, compared to 40 such occurrences in *Beowulf* (coordinations containing a past participle form, such as *dreorig ond gedrefed*, have not been included). Of these 11 occurrences, only 3 contain a bahuvrihi adjective. Of those, one has been classified under 3.2., one under 3.5.

[28] Cf. *brunecg* (Beo 1546), *galgmod* (Beo 1277), *gamolfeax* (Beo 608), *grægmæl* (Beo 2682), *sadolbeorht* (Beo 2175), *stylecg* (Beo 1533), *swyðferhð* (Beo 826), *wreoðenhilt* (Beo 1698).

[29] Cf. *blondenfeax* (Beo 1873), *brogdenmæl* (Beo 1667), *fætedhleor* (Beo 1036), *heardecg* (Beo 1288), *ðryðswyð* (Beo 736). – The use of *modgeðyldig* in Beo 981 is open to interpretation either according to 3.5., or to 3.6.

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invariably stand in variation, thus fulfilling the condition of functioning as appositives. A typical example is that of *heardecg* in Beo 1288:

þa wæs on healle   heardecg togen
sweord ofer setlum   sidrand manig
hafen handa fæst.

4. The bahuvrihis that in their syntactic function can cross the boundary between (a) apposition and the adjective (or adverbial) supplementive clause, and (b) apposition and modification are significant markers of style. While neither of these functional distinctions is of major importance semantically, the neutralization of the contrasts affects the *distribution* of meaning in the fluid paratactic style of Old English poetry and, subsequently, its rhythm.

4.1. In the following passage,

biorn under beorge   bordrand onswaf
wið ðam gryregieste   Geata dryhten
ða wæs hringbogan   heorte gefysed
sæcce to seceanne   sweord ar gebræd
god guðcyning   gomele lafe
ecgum unslaw   æghwæðrum wæs
bealohycgendra   broga fram oðrum
stiðmod gestod   wið steapne rond
winia bealdor   ða se wyrm gebeah
snude tosomne   he on searwum bad
          (Beo 2559–2568)

the bahuvrihi *stiðmod*, which can be construed either as the adjectival head of an appositive noun phrase or as the realization of a supplementive adjectival clause, is referentially unresolved with regard to the immediately preceding lines. In the atmosphere of an imminent, and fatal, battle, the narrative focus oscillates between the two opponents, the hero and the dragon (*biorn – gryregiest – Geata dryhten – hringboga – guðcyning*). Lines 2564b–2565 describe the horror that the opponents inspire in one another. Thus, the preceding context gives little clue as to the referent of *stiðmod*. In the shifting narrative perspective it might well be the dragon that is foregrounded. Moreover, such an expectation would be underscored by the following prepositional phrase *wið steapne rond* as well as by the fact that this type of formation in the *Beowulf* bahuvrihis is not limited to reference to human agents (cf. e.g. l. 2288, where the dragon is characterized as *stearcheort*). And yet, the referent of *stiðmod* is Beowulf, but his identity is only revealed by the following appositive noun phrase *winia bealdor*, a classic example of resolving variation. This particular instance illustrates how bahuvrihis participate in the multiple reference of syntactical constructions in Old English poetry and contribute to the constantly resumptive movement of the Old English verse paragraph.

4.2. Action in Old English poetry has been characterized as taking place in mental perspective, as being part of the doer.[30] The very productive bahuvrihi adjectives formed on *-heort*, *-mod* and *-fer(h)ð* in the 2nd element of the compound are consistently used to build up this perspective.[31] In the description of Beowulf's last night in Denmark,

> reste hine þa rumheort   reced hliuade
> geap ond goldfah   gæst inne swæf
> oþþæt hrefn blaca   heofones wynne
> bliðheort bodode   ða com beorht scacan
> scaþan onetton
> wæron æþelingas   eft to leodum
> fuse to farenne   wolde feor þanon
> cuma collenferhð   ceoles neosan
>   (Beo 1799–1806),

it is primarily through the bahuvrihi compounds that the abstract and the inner attributes of the scene are brought to the fore. Heorot here towers under the rising sun in a space framed, as it were, by Beowulf's magnanimity (*rumheort*), by the raven's joy (*bliðheort*) and by the courage, excitement (both captured by *collenferhð*) and eagerness (the simplex *fuse*) of the departing Geats.

4.3. Endocentric compounds in Old English poetry have been described as based on a syntactically and semantically open relationship between the determiner and the head, resulting from the lack of predication (cf. e.g. *Gardene* in Beo 1, tentatively interpreted by Robinson as 'Danes skilful with spears?', 'Danes stalwart as a spear?', 'Danes well-provided with spears?'[32]). In exocentric compounds, including bahuvrihis, such an open relationship exists between the compound and its 'zero' head, i.e. its external referent. Thus the reference to Beowulf in the preceding quotation by the bahuvrihi compound *rumheort* forces the reader to supply the missing nominal head: 'noble-spirited *hero*?', 'noble-spirited *champion*?' 'noble-spirited *young man*?', etc. Alternatively, when the bahuvrihi is used in modification, as in *cuma collenferhð* above, it regularly modifies, and in a sense justifies, the employment of a noun endowed with a highly general meaning (cf. phrases such as *gromheort guma*, *hæleð higerof*, etc.). Thus, at the close of the passage quoted above,

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[30] Cf. Peter Clemoes, "Action in *Beowulf* and Our Perception of It", In: D. G. Calder (ed.), *Old English Poetry: Essays on Style*, UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA Press, 1979, pp. 147–169.
[31] They too are intimately associated with the poetic register. Of 45 linear formations on *-mod* listed by *A Microfiche Concordance of Old English* 16 occur in a single poetic text, 12 occur in poetry only and 5 are only incidentally found in prose. None of the 14 bahuvrihis with *fer(h)ð* as the 2nd element of the compound seems to be attested in prose: 8 occur in a single poetic text, 6 are found in more than one poem. Of the three types of formation, the *-heort* pattern has the lowest percentage of poetic bahuvrihis: 5 are compounds found in a single poetic text, 1 occurs in more than one Old English poem.
[32] Cf. F. C. Robinson, "An Introduction to *Beowulf*", In: Marijane Osborn, *Beowulf. A Verse Translation with Treasures of the Ancient North*, University of California Press, 1983, pp. xiv–xv (p. xii).

Beowulf is merely 'one who came/has come'. This verbal strategy is in perfect harmony with general representation of people and places in Old English poetry – their features emphasized in Old English poetic figures are typical rather than individual, lacking visual realisation, shape, colour and measure.[33]

4.4. The basic semantic motivation of bahuvrihis – naming a person, animal or thing for some striking feature in his/her/its appearance or some other prominent characteristics – accords so well with principles of metonymy, a fundamental mode of Old English (epic) poetry,[34] that one may almost wonder why in such poems as *Beowulf* and *Andreas* bahuvrihis do not figure in higher numbers than they actually do. The role of bahuvrihis as vehicles of metonymy can be well exemplified by the famous passage describing the voyage of Beowulf and his retinue back to Geatland:

þa wæs be mæste	merehrægla sum
segl sale fæst	sundwudu þunede
no þær wegflotan	wind ofer yðum
siðes getwæfde	sægenga for
fleat famigheals	forð ofer yðe
bundenstefna	ofer brimstreamas
þæt hie Geata clifu	ongitan meahton
cuþe næssas	ceol up geþrang
lyftgeswenced	on lande stod
hraþe wæs æt holme	hyðweard geara
	(Beo 1905–1914).

The passage is built of four distinct motifs – that of the ship, the sea, the wind (the air) and the land. The structure of each motif as well as their interrelations exploit associations by contiguity. In the 10 lines there are nine compounds, including two bahuvrihis. The narrative focus moves up the mast towards the sail ('sea-cloth'). *Merehrægl* is the only noun in the passage (except its necessary appositive *segl*) that denotes a part of the ship without referring to it as a whole. The meaning of this kenning (a naming strategy rarely employed in Old English poetry) and nonce-formation is resolved by the following simplex *segl*. *Merehrægl* is not important solely for denoting the sail; by means of its determiner it brings the sea into the background and the ship in its natural setting. A similar polarity between the ship and the sea is encoded in the following compound, *sundwudu*, while the narrative focus has by this time shifted from the sail to the hull. Simultaneously, the determinatum *wudu* encapsulates the idea of trees transformed into a boat. With the following compound, *wegflota*, the narrative emphasis has changed from the sea-surface (*sund-*) to waves (*weg-*, *yð*) and from the wooden hull to the function of the ship (*-flota*). Now

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[33] Cf. Laurel J. Brinton, "A Linguistic Approach to Certain Old English Stylistic Devices", *Studia Neophilologica* 59, 1987, pp. 177–185, and Čermák (1996).
[34] Cf. Čermák (1997).

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a third element, the wind, enters the picture. The compound *sægenga* underscores the sense of motion while *famigheals* adds descriptive, and picturesque, details concerning the shape of the ship (by foregrounding the wound prow, metaphorically visualised as a neck) and the heaving mass of water (by foregrounding the idea of foam). The following bahuvrihi, *bundenstefna*, elaborates the concept of prow with regard to its making and possibly its solidity or ornament. The prow hits the currents (*brimstreamas*) and the focus is again on the ocean. In the rapid movement of the following three lines, the Geatish ship, pushed by the wind (*lyftgeswenced*), presses ahead until it stands still by the shore (*on lande stod*). By virtue of its determiner (*hyð-*, harbour as part of the ocean), *hyðweard*, the compound denoting the guard, marks the last appearance of the sea in counterpoint to the boat.

4.4.1. From a stylistic point of view, the bahuvrihis in this passage are seen as functionally dovetailing with the naming process entailed in metonymy (synecdoche) and with the rhetorical figure of variation. Bahuvrihis – just as the other compounds based on a contiguous relationship between the referent and one of its aspects, functions, parts, or inner, abstract attributes – are seen here as throwing emphasis on a symbolically, emotively or aesthetically significant facet of a thematically important concept which is subsequently elaborated by means of variation. In the verse paragraph, where textual cohesion based on word and clause variation is supported by simultaneity of reference, bahuvrihis participate in constituting what is apprehended as fluid semantic composites – such as those of the ship and the sea in the passage above. In such composites, narrative interest flickers by workings of associative imagination and additive syntax. The process of referential identification therefore remains open-ended.

5. Bahuvrihis in Old English poetry demonstrate how strongly poetic diction and stylistic arrangement are based on a specific type of vocabulary and word-formation pattern. Intimately associated with three of the most outstanding characteristics of Old English poetic language and style – the simultaneity of reference, the multifaceted narrative perspective and fluid, highly paratactic syntax – the bahuvrihi compounds contribute to the essential otherness of Old English poetry, by making its words and phrases gleam and glitter across the depths of time like crystals in changing light.

APPENDIX: Bahuvrihis in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*

In the following list, each headword is followed by an indicator of frequency/register, a modern translation and the number of occurrences in the respective text. Symbols for indicators of frequency/register have been adopted from Klaeber (1950), as follows: † indicates words (or meanings) found in OE poetry only; ‡ designates words not elsewhere found in poetry (or prose); (†) is used when the word is incidentally found in prose or when closely related words are recorded in prose; (‡)+ is employed when the word, not elsewhere found in poetry, occurs in prose as well. To these indicators symbol O has been added, marking words that occur freely both in poetry and prose. Modern translations are those given by Klaeber (1950) for *Beowulf* and by Brooks (1961) for *Andreas*. In case of variant senses in the text (such as for *gealgmod* in *Andreas*), line references are given. Compounds marked with an asterisk are forms lacking manuscript authority.[1]

1. Beowulf

a. Linear

anhaga, †, 'solitary one', (1)
anræd, O, 'resolute', (2)
bliðheort, (†), 'blithe *of* heart, cheerful', (1)
blodigtoð, ‡, '*with* bloody (tooth) *teeth*', (1)
blondenfeax, †, '*(having mixed hair,* i.e.) *grey-haired*', (4)
bolgenmod, †, 'enraged', (2)
bro(g)denmæl, †, '*(ornamented with a wavy pattern,* i.e.) *damascened sword*', (2)
brunecg, †, '*with bright* (brown) *edge*', (1)
collenfer(h)ð, †, '*bold of spirit, excited*', (2)
eacencræftig, ‡, 'exceedingly powerful, huge', (2)
fætedhleor, ‡, '*with ornamented cheeks,* i.e. *with gold-plated headgear* (or *bridle*)', (1)
famigheals, †, 'foamy-*necked*', (2)
fetelhilt, ‡, '*linked* hilt, *hilt furnished with a ring or chain*', (1)
galgmod, (†), 'sad in mind, gloomy', (1)
gamolfeax, †, '*grey-haired*', (1)
gearofolm*, ‡, '*with ready hand*', (1)
geomormod (giomor-) (†), '*sad of mind*', (3)
glædmod, O, 'glad *at heart*', (1)
grægmæl, ‡, 'grey-*coloured* ('*marked*')', (1)

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[1] One compound – *bundenheord* (‡, Beo 3151, '/one/ with hair bound up'/) – has been excluded from the present list altogether. Though this reading of the compound represents a standard emendation, the general unintelligibility of ll. 3151–55b of the poem precludes a reliable analysis of the syntactic and semantic functions of the compound.

gromheort, †, '*hostile*-heart*ed*', (1)

guþmod, ‡, '*of warlike mind*', (1)

heardecg, †, 'hard *of* edge', (2)

hreohmod, (†), '*troubled in mind, fierce*', (2)

hringmæl, ‡, 'ring-*marked*, i.e. (sword) *adorned with a ring* or *with wavy patterns*?', (3)

rumheort, O, '*large*-heart*ed, noble-spirited*', (2)

sarigferð, †, '*sad at heart*', (1)

sceadenmæl, ‡, '(*ornamented with distinctive* or *branching patterns*, i.e.) *damascened sword*', (1)

scirham, ‡, '*in bright armor*', (1)

stearcheort, ‡, '*stout*-heart*ed*', (2)

stiðmod, O, '*stout-hearted, firm*', (1)

stylecg, ‡, 'steel-edg*ed*', (1)

swiðferhð, †, '*strong-minded, brave*', (4)

swiðmod, (†), '*strong-minded, stout-hearted*', (1)

werigmod, †, '*weary, disheartened*', (2)

wollentear, ‡, '*with gushing* tears', (1)

wreoþenhilt, ‡, '*with twisted* hilt', (1)

wundenfeax, ‡, '*with* (wound) *braided hair*', '*with curly mane*', (1)

wundenhals, ‡, '*with* (wound) *curved* (neck, i.e.) *prow*', (1)

wundenmæl, ‡, '*sword with* (wound) *curved markings (ornaments)*', (1)

yrremod, ‡, '*angry of* (mood)', (1)

b. Reversed

ferhðfrec, ‡, '*bold in spirit*', (1)

higerof*, †, '*valiant*', (1)

higeðihtig, ‡, '*strong-minded, determined*', (1)

hygegiomor, †, '*sad in mind*', (1)

modgiomor, †, '*sad at heart*', (1)

sadolbeorht, ‡, '*saddle-bright*', (1)

ðryðswyð (-swið), ‡, '*strong, mighty*', (2)

wlitebeorht, †, '*beautiful*', (1)

c. Extended

anhydig, †, '*resolute, strong-minded*', (1)

bundenstefna, ‡, '*ship with* bound prow' ('bound', i.e. 'properly joined'), (1)

hringedstefna, ‡, 'ring-*prowed ship*', (3)

idelhende, (‡)+, '*empty*-hand*ed*', (1)

sidfæþme, ‡, '*roomy*', (1)

sidfæþmed, ‡, '*roomy*', (1)

syfanwintre, (‡)+, '*seven years old*', (1)

ðristhydig, †, 'bold-minded, brave', (1)
wundenstefna, ‡, '*ship with* (wound) *curved* (stem) *prow*', (1)

2. Andreas

a. Linear

acolmod, †, 'terror-stricken', (2)
anhaga, †, 'solitary one, recluse', (1)
anmod, O, 'unanimous, with one accord', 'resolute' (l. 54), (4)
anræd, O, 'resolute' (l. 983), 'resolved upon' (l. 232), (2)
bliðheort, (†), 'joyful in heart', (2)
bolgenmod, †, 'swollen-minded, enraged, savage', (2)
brondstæfn, ‡, 'high-prowed', (1)
caldheort, ‡, 'cruel-hearted, menacing', (1)
collenfer(h)ð, †, 'swollen-minded; excited, bold-hearted, courageous', (4)
deormod, †, 'bold-hearted' (l. 626), 'fierce' (l. 1232), (2)
eaðmod, O, 'humble, meek', (1)
famigheals, †, 'with foaming prow', (1)
forhtferð, ‡, 'terrified at heart, panic-stricken', (2)
gealgmod, (†), 'gloomy-minded' (l. 563), 'with cruel intent' (l. 32), (2)
geomormod (giomor-) (†), 'sad at heart', (2)
glædmod, O, 'joyful in heart', (1)
gleawmod, (†), 'wise in mind', (1)
heahstefn, †, 'with high-prow', (1)
mildheort, O, 'compassionate', (1)
reonigmod*, †, 'sad at heart, weary', (1)
stærcedfer(h)ð, †, 'stout-hearted', (1)
werigferð, †, 'sorrowful in spirit', (1)
werigmod, †, 'sad in mind, dejected', (1)

b. Reversed

ecgheard, ‡, 'hard of edge', (1)
ferhðgefeonde, ‡, 'joyful in heart', (2)
higebliðe, †, 'joyful in heart', (1)
higerof, † , 'valiant', (3)
hygegeomor, † , 'sad in mind, downcast', (2)
hygeþancol, †, 'prudent, wise', (1)
modblind, †, 'blind in heart, perverse', (1)
modgiomor, †, 'sorrowful in heart', (2)
modgeþyldig, ‡, 'patient in spirit', (1)
modrof*, ‡, 'brave-hearted', (1)

c. Extended

ellreordig, (‡)+, 'speaking a strange language', 'stranger, foreigner', (1)
gramhydig, (‡)+, 'wrathfully-minded, savage', (1)
wiðerhydig, ‡, 'malevolent', (1)
widfæðme, ‡, 'wide-bosomed, capacious' (l. 240), 'deep and broad' (l. 533), (2)

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„Příď ve vodní pěně“:
staroanglická kompozita bahuvrihi jako básnický prostředek

Résumé

Článek se zabývá otázkou, proč jsou kompozita bahuvrihi typickým jazykovým prostředkem staroanglické poezie. Na vzorku dvou epických textů – básní *Beowulf* a *Andreas* – podává morfologickou klasifikaci těchto kompozit. Na materiálu z obou epických básní analyzuje syntaktické a stylistické funkce kompozit tohoto typu. Jako specifický postup slovotvorný a pojmenovávací klade kompozita bahuvrihi do souvislosti s vypravěčskými a popisnými technikami anglosaských básníků založenými na metonymii.