An essential early step in the study of a language is to model it. A ‘model’, in this context, is not a three-dimensional miniature replica: this book does not devote its space to techniques of moulding the English language in Play-Doh®, Meccano®, or Lego®. To model the English language is, rather, to provide an abstract representation of its central characteristics, so that it becomes easier to see how it is structured and used.

Two models provide this first perspective. The first, shown below, breaks the structure of English down into a series of components; and these will be used to organize the exposition throughout Parts II to IV. On the facing page, there is a model of the uses of English; and this will be used as a perspective for Parts I and V. The omniscious eye of the English linguist surveys the whole scene, in ways which are examined in Part VI.

A coherent, self-contained unit of discourse. Texts, which may be spoken, written, computer-mediated or signed, vary greatly in size, from such tiny units as posters, captions, e-mails, and bus tickets, to such large units as novels, sermons, web pages and conversations. They provide the frame of reference within which grammatical, lexical, and other features of English can be identified and interpreted. (See Part V, §19.)

A visual language used chiefly by people who are deaf. This book refers only to those signing systems which have been devised to represent aspects of English structure, such as its spelling, grammar, or vocabulary. (See §23.)

The writing system of a language. Graphological (or orthographic) study has two main aspects: the visual segments of the written language, which take the form of vowels, consonants, punctuation marks, and certain typographical features; and the various patterns of graphic design, such as spacing and layout, which add structure and meaning to stretches of written text. (See Part IV, §18.)

The pronunciation system of a language. Phonological study has two main aspects: the sound segments of the spoken language, which take the form of vowels and consonants; and the various patterns of intonation, rhythm, and tone of voice, which add structure and meaning to stretches of speech. (See Part IV, §17.)

The vocabulary of a language. Lexical study is a wide-ranging domain, involving such diverse areas as the sense relationships between words, the use of abbreviations, puns, and euphemisms, and the compilation of dictionaries. (See Part II.)

Just occasionally, someone tries to visualize language in a way which goes beyond the purely diagrammatic. This print was made by art students as part of their degree. They were asked to attend lectures from different university courses, and then present an abstract design which reflected their perception of the topic. As may perhaps be immediately obvious, this design is the result of their attending a lecture on the structure of the English language, given by the present author. The design’s asymmetries well represent the irregularities and exotic research paths which are so much a part of English language study. (Equally, of course, they could represent the structural disorganization of the lecturer.)
Social variation
Society affects a language, in the sense that any important aspect of social structure and function is likely to have a distinctive linguistic counterpart. People belong to different social classes, perform different social roles, use different technologies, and carry on different occupations. Their use of language is affected by their sex, age, ethnic group, and educational background. English is being increasingly affected by all these factors, because its developing role as a world language is bringing it more and more into contact with new cultures and social systems. (See Part V, §21.)

Personal variation
People affect a language, in the sense that an individual’s conscious or unconscious choices and preferences can result in a distinctive or even unique style. Such variations in self-expression are most noticeable in those areas of language use where great care is being taken, such as in literature and humour. But the uniqueness of individuals, arising out of differences in their memory, personality, intelligence, social background, and personal experience, makes distinctiveness of style inevitable in everyone. (See Part V, §22.)

WHY STUDY THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE?
Because it’s fascinating
It is remarkable how often the language turns up as a topic of interest in daily conversation – whether it is a question about accents and dialects, a comment about usage and standards, or simply curiosity about a word’s origins and history.

Because it’s important
The dominant role of English as a world language forces it upon our attention in a way that no language has ever done before. As English becomes the chief means of communication between nations, it is crucial to ensure that it is taught accurately and efficiently, and to study changes in its structure and use.

Because it’s fun
One of the most popular leisure pursuits is to play with the English language – with its words, sounds, spellings, and structures. Crosswords, Scrabble®, media word shows, and many other quizzes and guessing games keep millions happily occupied every day, teasing their linguistic brain centres and sending them running to their dictionaries.

Because it’s beautiful
Each language has its unique beauty and power, as seen to best effect in the works of its great orators and writers. We can see the 1,000-year-old history of English writing only through the glass of language, and anything we learn about English as a language can serve to increase our appreciation of its oratory and literature.

Because it’s useful
Getting the language right is a major issue in almost every corner of society. No one wants to be accused of ambiguity and obscurity, or find themselves talking or writing at cross-purposes. The more we know about the language the more chance we shall have of success, whether we are advertisers, priests, politicians, journalists, doctors, lawyers – or just ordinary people at home, trying to understand and be understood.

Because it’s there
English, more than any other language, has attracted the interest of professional linguists. It has been analysed in dozens of different ways, as part of the linguist’s aim of devising a theory about the nature of language in general. The study of the English language, in this way, becomes a branch of linguistics – English linguistics.
PART I
The History of English

The history of English is a fascinating field of study in its own right, but it also provides a valuable perspective for the contemporary study of the language, and thus makes an appropriate opening section for this book. The historical account promotes a sense of identity and continuity, and enables us to find coherence in many of the fluctuations and conflicts of present-day English language use. Above all, it satisfies the deep-rooted sense of curiosity we have about our linguistic heritage. People like to be aware of their linguistic roots.

We begin as close to the beginning as we can get, using the summary accounts of early chronicles to determine the language’s continental origins (§2). The Anglo-Saxon corpus of poetry and prose, dating from around the 7th century, provides the first opportunity to examine the linguistic evidence. §3 outlines the characteristics of Old English texts, and gives a brief account of the sounds, spellings, grammar, and vocabulary which they display. A similar account is given of the Middle English period (§4), beginning with the effects on the language of the French invasion and concluding with a discussion of the origins of Standard English. At all points, special attention is paid to the historical and cultural setting to which texts relate, and to the character of the leading literary works, such as Beowulf and The Canterbury Tales.

The Early Modern English period (§5) begins with the English of Caxton and the Renaissance, continues with that of Shakespeare and the King James Bible, and ends with the landmark publication of Johnson’s Dictionary. A recurring theme is the extent and variety of language change during this period. The next section, on Modern English (§6), follows the course of further language change, examines the nature of early grammars, traces the development of new varieties and attitudes in America, and finds in literature, especially in the novel, an invaluable linguistic mirror. Several present-day usage controversies turn out to have their origins during this period. By the end of §6, we are within living memory.

The final section (§7) looks at what has happened to the English language in the 20th and 21st centuries, and in particular at its increasing presence worldwide. The approach is again historical, tracing the way English has travelled to the United States, Canada, Africa, Australia, South and South-East Asia, and several other parts of the globe. The section reviews the concept of World English, examines the statistics of usage, and discusses the problems of intelligibility and identity which arise when a language achieves such widespread use. The notion of Standard English, seen from both national and international perspectives, turns out to be of special importance. Part I then concludes with some thoughts about the future of the language, especially in Europe in a post-Brexit world, and about the relationships which have grown up (sometimes amicable, sometimes antagonistic) between English and other languages.
‘To Aëtius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons.’ Thus, according to the Anglo-Saxon historian, the Venerable Bede, began the letter written to the Roman consul by some of the Celtic people who had survived the ferocious invasions of the Scots and Picts in the early decades of the 5th century. ‘The barbarians drive us to the sea. The sea drives us back towards the barbarians. Between them we are exposed to two sorts of death: we are either slain or drowned.’

The plea fell on deaf ears. Although the Romans had sent assistance in the past, they were now fully occupied by their own wars with Bledla and Attila, kings of the Huns. The attacks from the north continued, and the British were forced to look elsewhere for help. Bede gives a succinct and sober account of what then took place.

They consulted what was to be done, and where they should seek assistance to prevent or repel the cruel and frequent incursions of the northern nations; and they all agreed with their King Vortigern to call over to their aid, from parts beyond the sea, the Saxon nation…

In the year of our Lord 449 … the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king, in the eastern part of the island, that they might thus appear to be fighting for their country, whilst their real intentions were to enslave it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and obtained the victory; which, being known at home in their own country, as also the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a still greater number of men, which, being added to the former, made up an invincible army.

Bede describes the invaders as belonging to the three most powerful nations of Germany – the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. The first group to arrive came from Jutland, in the northern part of modern Denmark, and were led, according to the chroniclers, by two Jutish brothers,
Hengist and Horsa. They landed at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet, and settled in the areas now known as Kent, the Isle of Wight, and parts of Hampshire. The Angles came from the south of the Danish peninsula, and entered Britain much later, along the eastern coast, settling in parts of Mercia, Northumbria (the land to the north of the Humber, where in 547 they established a kingdom), and what is now East Anglia. The Saxons came from an area further south and west, along the coast of the North Sea, and from 477 settled in various parts of southern and south-eastern Britain. The chroniclers talk about groups of East, West, and South Saxons – distinctions which are reflected in the later names of Essex, Wessex, and Sussex. The name Middlesex suggests that there were Middle Saxons too. Bede’s account takes up the story:

In a short time, swarms of the aforesaid nations came over the island, and they began to increase so much that they became terrible to the natives themselves who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time expelled by the force of their arms, they began to turn their weapons against their confederates.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (see p. 14), compiled over a century later than Bede under Alfred the Great, gives a grim catalogue of disasters for the Britons.

457: In this year Hengest and Æsc fought against the Britons at a place which is called Cregcanford (Crayford, Kent) and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent and fled to London in great terror.

465: In this year Hengest and Æsc fought against the Welsh near Wippedesfleot and there slew twelve Welsh nobles; and one of the thanes, whose name was Wipped, was slain there.

473: In this year Hengest and Æsc fought against the Welsh and captured innumerable spoils, and the Welsh fled from the English as one flies from fire.

The fighting went on for several decades, but the imposition of Anglo-Saxon power was never in doubt. Over a period of about a hundred years, further bands of immigrants continued to arrive, and Anglo-Saxon settlements spread to all areas apart from the highlands of the west and north. By the end of the 5th century, the foundation was established for the emergence of the English language.

THE NAME OF THE LANGUAGE

With scant respect for priorities, the Germanic invaders called the native Celts wealas (‘foreigners’), from which the name Welsh is derived. The Celts called the invaders ‘Saxons’, regardless of their tribe, and this practice was followed by the early Latin writers. By the end of the 6th century, however, the term Angli (‘Angles’) was in use – as early as 601, a king of Kent, Æthelbert, is called rex Anglorum (‘King of the Angles’) – and during the 7th century Angli or Anglia (for the country) became the usual Latin names. Old English Engle derives from this usage, and the name of the language found in Old English texts is from the outset referred to as Englisc (the sc spelling representing the sound sh, /ʃ/). References to the name of the country as Englaland (‘land of the Angles’), from which came England, do not appear until c. 1000.
THE EARLY PERIOD

Before the Anglo-Saxon invasions (§2), the language (or languages) spoken by the native inhabitants of the British Isles belonged to the Celtic family, introduced by a people who had come to the islands around the middle of the first millennium BC. Many of these settlers were, in turn, eventually subjugated by the Romans, who arrived in 43 AD. But by 410 the Roman armies had gone, withdrawn to help defend their Empire in Europe. After a millennium of settlement by Celtic speakers, and half a millennium by speakers of Latin, what effect did this have on the language spoken by the arriving Anglo-Saxons?

Celtic Borrowings

There is, surprisingly, very little Celtic influence – or perhaps it is not so surprising, given the savage way in which the Celtic communities were destroyed or pushed back into the areas we now know as Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, and the Scottish borders. Many Celts (or Romano-Celts) doubtless remained in the east and south, perhaps as slaves, perhaps intermarrying, but their identity would after a few generations have been lost within Anglo-Saxon society. Whatever we might expect from such a period of cultural contact, the Celtic language of Roman Britain influenced Old English hardly at all.

Only a handful of Celtic words were borrowed at the time, and a few have survived into modern English, sometimes in regional dialect use: crag, cumb ‘deep valley’, binn ‘bin’, carr ‘rock’, duan ‘grey, dun’, brock ‘badger’, and torr ‘peak’. Others include bannoc ‘piece’, rice ‘rule’, gafeluc ‘small spear’, bratt ‘cloak’, luh ‘lake’, dry ‘sorcerer’, and cluge ‘bell’. A few Celtic words of this period ultimately come from Latin, brought in by the Irish missionaries; these include asen ‘ass’, ancor ‘hermit’, star ‘history’, and possibly cross. But there cannot be more than two dozen loan words in all. And there are even very few Celtic-based place names (p. 151) in what is now southern/eastern England. They include such river names as Thames, Avon ‘river’, Don, Exe, Usk, and Wye. Town names include Dover ‘water’, Eccles ‘church’, Bray ‘hill’, London (possibly a tribal name), Kent (‘border land’), and the use of caer ‘fortified place’ (as in Carlisle) and pen ‘head, top, hill’ (as in Pendle).

Latin Loans

Latin has been a major influence on English throughout its history (pp. 24, 48, 60, §9), and there is evidence of its role from the earliest moments of contact. The Roman army and merchants gave new names to many local objects and experiences, and introduced several fresh concepts. About half of the new words were to do with plants, animals, food and drink, and household items: Old English pease ‘pea’, plante ‘plant’, win ‘wine’, cyse ‘cheese’, catte ‘cat’, cetel ‘kettle’, disc ‘dish’, candel ‘candle’. Other important clusters of words related to clothing (belt ‘belt’, cemes ‘shirt’, sutere ‘shoemaker’), buildings and settlements (ticle ‘tile’, weall ‘wall’, ceaster ‘city’, stræt ‘road’), military and legal institutions (wic ‘camp’, diht ‘saying’, scrifan ‘decree’), commerce (mangian ‘trade’, ceapian ‘buy’, pund ‘pound’), and religion (maesse ‘Mass’, manuc ‘monk’, mynster ‘minster’).

Whether the Latin words were already used by the Anglo-Saxon tribes on the continent of Europe, or were introduced from within Britain, is not always clear (though a detailed analysis of the sound changes they display can help, p. 19), but the total number of Latin words present in English at the very beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period is not large – less than 200. Although Vulgar Latin (the variety of spoken Latin used throughout the Empire) must have continued in use at least, as an official language – for some years after the Roman army left, for some reason it did not take root in Britain as it had so readily done in Continental Europe. Some commentators see in this the first sign of an Anglo-Saxon monolingual mentality.
Old English was first written in the runic alphabet. This alphabet was used in northern Europe – in Scandinavia, present-day Germany, and the British Isles – and it has been preserved in about 4,000 inscriptions and a few manuscripts. It dates from around the 3rd century AD. No one knows exactly where the alphabet came from, but it seems to be a development of one of the alphabets of southern Europe, probably the Roman, which runes resemble closely.

The common runic alphabet found throughout the area consisted of 24 letters. It can be written horizontally in either direction. Each letter had a name, and the alphabet as a whole was called by the name of its first six letters, the alfhar (in the same way as the word alphabet comes from Greek alpha + beta). The version found in Britain used extra letters to cope with the range of sounds found in Old English, in its most developed form, in 9th-century Northumbria, it consisted of 31 symbols. The inscriptions in Old English are found on weapons, jewellery, monuments, and other artefacts, and date largely from the 5th or 6th centuries AD, the earliest (at Caister-by-Norwich) possibly being late-4th century. They often say simply who made or owned the object. Most of the large rune stones say little more than “X raised this stone in memory of Y”, and often the message is unclear.

The meaning of rune
What rune (OE rún) means is debatable. There is a longstanding tradition which attributes to it such senses as ‘whisper’, ‘mystery’, and ‘secret’, suggesting that the symbols were originally used for magical or mystical rituals. Such associations were certainly present in the way the pagan Vikings (and possibly the Continental Germans) used the corresponding word, but there is no evidence that they were present in Old English. Current research suggests that the word run was already used in its most famous sense since the 5th century. The inscriptions in Old English give the many variant meanings (where these are known). It does not give the many variant shapes which can be found in the different inscriptions. The symbols consist mainly of intersecting straight lines, showing their purpose for engraving on stone, wood, metal, or bone. Manuscript uses of runes do exist in a few early poems (notably in four passages where the name of Cynewulf is represented), and in the solutions to some of the riddles in the Exeter Book (p. 12), and are in evidence until the 11th century, especially in the north, but there are very few of them.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Rune</th>
<th>Anglo-Saxon</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning (where known)</th>
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<td>f</td>
<td>feoh</td>
<td>sheep, ox</td>
<td>cattle, wealth</td>
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There are fewer than 30 clear runic inscriptions in Old English, some containing only a single name. The two most famous examples both date from the 8th century, and represent the Northumbrian dialect (p. 28).

Both inscriptions make some use of the Roman alphabet as well.

- The Ruthwell Cross, near Dumfries, Scotland, is 16 feet (5 m) high. Its faces contain panels depicting events in the life of Christ and the early Church, as well as carvings of birds and beasts, and lines of runes around the edges are similar to part of the Old English poem ‘The Dream of the Rood’ (rood = ‘cross’) in the Vercelli Book. A glossed extract is shown below (there are no spaces between the words in the original inscription; also some scholars transcribe ‘blood’ as blod).

**In the 5th** and **6th** **centuries** I **was** with **blood** bedewed

- The Franks Casket is a richly carved whalebone box, illustrating mythological and religious scenes, not all of which can be interpreted. The picture shows the panel with the Adoration of the Magi alongside the Germanic legend of Wayland (Weland) the Smith. The inscriptions are partly in Old English, and partly in Latin.

The box first came to light in the 19th century, owned by a farmer from Auzon, France. It is named after Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, through whom it came to be deposited in the British Museum. One side was in the Bargello Museum, Florence, and a cast was made of it, so that the box in the British Museum now appears complete.
THE OLD ENGLISH CORPUS

There is a ‘dark age’ between the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons and the first Old English manuscripts. A few scattered inscriptions in the language date from the 5th and 6th centuries, written in the runic alphabet which the invaders brought with them (p. 9), but these give very little information about what the language was like. The literary age began only after the arrival of the Roman missionaries, led by Augustine, who came to Kent in AD 597. The rapid growth of monastic centres led to large numbers of Latin manuscripts being produced, especially of the Bible and other religious texts.

Because of this increasingly literary climate, Old English manuscripts also began to be written – much earlier, indeed, than the earliest vernacular texts from other north European countries. The first texts, dating from around 700, are glossaries of Latin words translated into Old English, and a few early inscriptions and poems. But very little material remains from this period. Doubtless many manuscripts were burned during the 8th-century Viking invasions (p. 25). The chief literary work of the period, the heroic poem Beowulf, survives in a single copy, made around 1,000 – possibly some 250 years after it was composed (though the question of its composition date is highly controversial). There are a number of short poems, again almost entirely preserved in late manuscripts, over half of them concerned with Christian subjects – legends of the saints, extracts from the Bible, and devotional pieces. Several others reflect the Germanic tradition, dealing with such topics as war, travelling, patriotism, and celebration. Most extant Old English texts were written in the period following the reign of King Alfred (849–99), who arranged for many Latin works to be translated – including Bede’s Ecclesiastical History (p. 7). But the total corpus is extremely small. The number of words in the corpus of Old English compiled at the University of Toronto, which contains all the alternative manuscripts of a text), is only 3.5 million – the equivalent of about 30 medium-sized modern novels. Only c. 5 per cent of this total (c. 30,000 lines) is poetry.

THE GREGORIAN PUN

In Bede there is an account of St Gregory’s first meeting with the inhabitants of England. Gregory, evidently a punster of some ability, himself asked to be sent to Britain as a missionary, but the pope of the time refused – presumably because of Gregory’s social position, the son of a senator and former prefect of the city. When Gregory became pope himself (590), he sent Augustine to do the job for him. Bede tells the story at the end of his account of Gregory’s life (Book 2, Ch. 1).

Nor is the account of St Gregory, which has been handed down to us by the tradition of our ancestors, to be passed by in silence, in relation to his motives for taking such interest in the salvation of our nation [Britain]. It is reported that, some merchants, having just arrived at Rome on a certain day, exposed many things for sale in the market-place, and an abundance of people resorted thither to buy. Gregory himself went with the rest, and, among other things, some boys were set to sale, their bodies white, their countenances beautiful, and their hair very fine. Having viewed them, he asked, as is said, from what country or nation they were brought? and was told, from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were of such personal appearance. He again inquired whether those islanders were Christians, or still involved in the errors of paganism? and was informed that they were pagans. Then, fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, ‘Alas! what pity,’ said he, ‘that the author of darkness is possessed of men of such fair countenances; and that being remarkable for such graceful aspects, their minds should be void of inward grace.’ He therefore again asked, what was the name of that nation? and was answered, that they were called Angles. ‘Right,’ said he, ‘for they have an Angelic face, and it becomes such to be co-heirs with the Angels in heaven. What is the name,’ proceeded he, ‘of the province from which they are brought?’ It was replied, that the natives of that province were called Deiri. ‘Truly they are Deiri,’ said he, ‘withdrawn from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the king of that province called?’ They told him his name was Ælla; and he, alluding to the name, said, ‘Hallelujah, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts.’ (Trans. J. Stevens, 1723.)
This opening page of the Beowulf text is taken from the text now lodged in the British Library, London (manuscript reference, Cotton Vitellius A. xiv). The manuscript is a copy made in c.1000, but it was damaged by a fire at the Cottonian Library in 1731, hence the odd shape to the page. The name of the poet, or scop, whose version is found here is not known, nor is it clear when the work was first composed: one scholarly tradition assigns it to the 8th century; another to a somewhat later date.

This is the first great narrative poem in English. It is a heroic tale about a 6th-century Scandinavian hero, Beowulf, who comes to the aid of the Danish king Hrothgar. Hrothgar’s retinue is under daily attack from a monstrous troll, Grendel, at the hall of Heorot (‘Hurt’) in Denmark (located possibly on the site of modern Leire, near Copenhagen). Beowulf travels from Geatland, in southern Sweden, and after a great fight kills the monster, and in a second fight the monster’s vengeful mother, Beowulf returns home, recounts his story, and is later made king of the Geats, ruling for 50 years. There, as an old man, he kills a dragon in a fight that leads to his own death.

This plot summary does no justice to the depth of meaning and stylistic impact of the work. Apart from its lauding of courage, heroic defiance, loyalty to one’s lord, and other Germanic values, Beowulf introduces elements of a thoroughly Christian perspective, and there are many dramatic undercurrents and ironies. The monster is a classical figure in Germanic tradition, but it is also said to be a descendant of Cain, and a product of hell and the devil. The contrast between earthly success and mortality is a recurrent theme.

While Beowulf is being feted in Hrothgar’s court, the poet alludes to disastrous events which will one day affect the Geats, providing a note of doom that counterpoints the triumphal events of the narrative. The poem is full of dramatic contrasts of this kind. Whether the poem is a product of oral improvisation or is a more consciously contrived literary work has been a bone of scholarly contention. Many of its striking features, in particular its alliterative rhythmical formulae (p. 23), are those we would associate with use in oral poetry. (For an account of some modern investigative techniques, see p. 489.)