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AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

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PREFACE

THIS Grammar is intended primarily to provide an introduction to the standard works of Sievers and Wright, and has been undertaken to meet a wish frequently expressed by my pupils for such a grammar.

It contains therefore an outline of the Phonology with a somewhat fuller treatment of the Accidence, and in accordance with custom the Phonology has been placed first. Nevertheless, students are strongly recommended to begin with the Accidence. Until some knowledge of declensions and conjugations has been gained and a fair vocabulary collected from translation, they are advised to leave the sound laws, except in as far as the philological explanations make the grammar more intelligible and therefore easier to remember. For some time the Phonology should be taken only in connection with the Accidence in order to explain the relations between the different cases of a noun or tenses of a verb, etc. For this purpose full references are given, in dealing with the parts of speech, to the sound laws involved* For those who may wish to make a more thorough study of Old English and its connection with other languages, the sound laws have been arranged as far as practicable in chronological order, vowels and consonants being treated in separate chapters, and for their benefit a few points, which

*In many oases the more modern terminology has been adopted, the older, and to some doubtless more familiar, terms being also given. It is hoped in this way to have avoided possible confusion from any inconsistencies which may have been overlooked.

may seem rather too detailed or intricate for a grammar of this size, have been inserted, but relegated to the notes.

The compiling of a grammar of a language so well worked out as Old English must, to a great extent, consist in the selection and arrangement of accepted facts, and my debt to the many Old English Grammars already existing is obvious. I may, however, mention specially Sievers' "Angelsächsische Grammatik" and Wright's "Old English Grammar;" but I have also made use of Cosijn's "Altwestsächsische Grammatik," Wyld's "A Short History of English," and Streitberg's "Urgermanische Grammatik," besides the smaller grammars of Bright and Wyatt and other authorities. Examples for the Accidence have been largely taken from Sweet's "Anglo-Saxon Reader." Above all, however, I am indebted to the late Professor Napier for all that I have gained from his Lectures and, still more, from personal discussion with him of complicated or disputed points. To all I gratefully acknowledge my debt, as also to my colleague, Mrs. W. H. B. Somerset, who has kindly allowed me to discuss many points with her during the progress of my work.

E. E. WARDALE

February, 1922

CONTENTS

PARADIGMS

INTRODUCTION

	PAGE
Classification of Indo-Germanic and Germanic Languages. Old English Dialects	1

CHAPTER I

OLD ENGLISH ALPHABET, PRONUNCIATION AND ACCENTUATION

The Alphabet. Pronunciation of Vowels and Consonants. Accentuation. Formation of Consonants and Vowels. The Syllable. Sound Change. A Sound Law. Isolative and Combinative Changes. Analogical Formation. 5

CHAPTER II

VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

I. Indo-Germanic Vowels in Germanic. Indo-Germanic o, a, a, o in Primitive Germanic. Sonant Liquids and Nasals. Treatment of e, i, u, and eu in Germanic. Lengthening of a, 1, and u. **II. Germanic Vowels in Old English.** Modification of ai, au, eu, and iu. Treatment of a and a. Nasal influence. Breaking. Diphthongization after 3, c, sc. 1 Mutation. Baok Mutation. Monophthongizanon. Labial Influence. Influence of w. Lengthenings. Contractions. 15

CHAPTER HI

VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

Loss of Final Consonants. Long Vowels. Short Vowels in Final Syllables. Short Vowels in Medial Syllables which became Final. Short Vowels in Syllables which remained Medial. 31

CHAPTER IV

ACCENTED VOWELS IN OLD ENGLISH DIALECTS

Treatment of a, a.	Breaking.	Diphthongization after 3, c, sc.	i	
Mutation.	Back Mutation.	Monophthongization.	Influence	
of w.	.	.	.	36
<i>b</i>		vii		

CHAPTER V	PAGE
VOWEL GRADATION	41
CHAPTER VI	
CONSONANTS	
I. Indo-Germanic Consonants in Germanic Grimm's Law. <i>froep-</i> [^] tions. Velars. Vomer's Law. Loss of <i>n</i> . West Germanio Doublings. <i>o</i> and <i>z</i> in West Germanio. II. Germanio Conson- ants in Old English. Loss of <i>n</i> . Treatment of Spirants. Old English Palatals, <i>c</i> , <i>sc</i> , <i>3</i> and <i>h</i> . Germanic <i>J</i> and <i>w</i> in Old Eng- lish. Old English Doublings. Shortenings. Assimilations.	45
CHAPTER VII	
NOUNS	
Vocalic Declensions: <i>a-</i> Declension ; <i>Ja-</i> Stems; <i>wa-</i> Stems. <i>6-</i> De- clension; <i>jo-</i> Stems; <i>wo-</i> Stems. <i>i-</i> Declension, <i>u-</i> Declension. Consonant Declensions, <i>n-</i> or Weak Declension. Monosyllabic Declension. <i>p-</i> Declension, <i>r-</i> Declension, <i>nd-</i> Declension. <i>os-</i> , <i>es-</i> Declension.	61
CHAPTER VIII	
ADJECTIVES	
Strong Declension. Weak Declension. Declension of Participles. Comparison. Numerals. Declension of Numerals. Multipli- cative and Distributive Numerals. Special usages. • . .	80
CHAPTER IX	
PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS	
Personal Pronouns. Reflexive. Possessive. Demonstrative. Relative. Interrogative. Indefinite. Adverbs. Nouns and Adjectives used as Adverbs. Adverbs of Place and Time. Comparison of Adverbs.	92
CHAPTER X	
VERBS	
Classification. Conjugation of Strong Verbs. Personal Endings. Classes of Non-reduplicating Verbs. Reduplicating Verbs. Classi- fication of Weak Verbs. Endings. Subdivisions of Conjugation I. Conjugation I I. Conjugation I I I. Preterite-Present Verbs. Verbs to be ; to do; to go; and will.	100

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Ang.	☛ Anglian.	N.E.	☛ New English.
Dor.	☛ Doric	North.	☛ Northumbrian.
E. Kent.	☛ Early Kentish.	O.E.	☛ Old English.
E.O.E.	☛ Early Old English.	O.H.G.	☛ Old High German .
E.W.S.	☛ Early West Saxon.	O.N.	☛ Old Norse.
Germ.	☛ Germanic.	O.Sax.	☛ Old Saxon.
Goth.	☛ Gothic	Pre-Germ.	☛ Pre-Germanio (Gar- manio in Indo-Ger- manic Period).
Grk.	☛ Greek.	Prim. Germ.	☛ Primitive Germanic
Indg.	☛ Indo-Germanic	Skand.	☛ Skandinavian.
Kent.	☛ Kentish.	Skr.	☛ Sanskrit.
Lat.	☛ Latin.	W.S.	☛ West Saxon.
Lith.	☛ Lithuanian.	* Denotes a hypothetical form.	
L. Kent.	☛ Late Kentish.	A letter or syllable enclosed in brackets	
L.O.E.	☛ Late Old English.	indicates that the word occurs some-	
L.W.S.	☛ Late West Saxon.	times with and sometimes without	
Mero.	☛ Mercian.	that letter or syllable, as (3e) coren .	
M.E.	☛ Middle English.		

AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

Old English is the name given to the language spoken by the Germanic inhabitants of Britain till about the time of the Conquest, or, according to some scholars, till about 1100.

It is a member of the western division of Germanic, which is itself a branch of the large Indo-Germanic family of languages.

The relationship of Old English to the other Germanic languages and to the other branches into which the Indo-Germanic parent language broke up may be seen from the table on the next page, to which the following explanations apply.

Aryan may be subdivided into the Indian branch, to which belongs Sanskrit, and the Iranian or Persian branch. It is represented at the present day by the languages of India, Persia, and Afghanistan.

Under Greek three chief dialects have to be distinguished: (1) Ionic and Attic, whence comes modern Greek, (2) Doric, (3) Æolic

Under Italic are included Latin and the dialects of the Italian peninsula. Its modern representatives are the descendants of Latin, i.e. French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalanian, Roumanian, and Ræto-romanian.

Keltic consists of the Britannic branch, which includes Welsh, Cornish, and Bas Breton, and the Gaelic branch, which includes Irish, Scotch, and Manx.

Baltic Slavonic is represented at the present day principally by Russian, Bulgarian, Polish, Czech or Bohemian, Serbian, Lettic, and Lithuanian.

Germanic is nearest to Keltic and Italic on the whole, but shares certain features with Baltic Slavonic. Sanskrit and Greek represent the parent Indo-Germanic language most closely, Greek being on the other hand very near to Latin. In this Grammar, Greek and Latin are used as far as possible to represent the Indo-Germanic originals of Germanic forms, Sanskrit and other languages being quoted only when necessary.



The only representative of any importance of the East Germanic branch is Gothic. It provides the earliest recorded Germanic (of the fourth century), except for a few early inscriptions in Skandinavian. Gothic forms are used here to illustrate the sources of Old English forms, whenever they may be taken as agreeing with those of Primitive or of West Germanic.

The North Germanic branch is also known as Skandinavian and as Old Norse. It is represented now by Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish.

Of the West Germanic dialects the most closely related to Old English is Old Frisian, whence is descended Modern Frisian; Old Saxon, the parent of the Low German dialects of North Germany, comes next. The term Old Low German is sometimes used for Old Saxon, sometimes for all the non-High German forms of West Germanic.

West Germanic is represented to-day by the languages of Germany, Austria, Eastern Switzerland, Holland, the Flemish-speaking area of Belgium, the United States, and the British Empire.

Four dialects of Old English have to be distinguished :—

(1) West Saxon, the dialect spoken by the Saxon tribes who came over to Britain and took possession of all the district south of the Thames, except Cornwall, which was still held by the Kelts, and those areas occupied by the Jutes.

(2) Kentish, the dialect of the Jutes who settled in Kent, part of Surrey, the Isle of Wight, and a strip of the opposite coast of Hampshire.

(3) Mercian, the dialect of the Angles who settled between the Thames and the Humber, except in Wales, where the Kelts still held their own.

(4) Northumbrian, the dialect of the rest of the Angles who settled between the Humber and the Firth of Forth, except in the Strathclyde district, i.e. along the west coast from Morecambe Bay to the Firth of Clyde. Here Keltic still continued to be spoken.

Mercian and Northumbrian being both Anglian dialects have many points in common. West Saxon and Kentish are sometimes classed together under the term Southern. This is, however, misleading as they agree in grammatical features only; in phonetic character Kentish is in many points nearer to Mercian than to West Saxon. Under Ælfred the West Saxon dialect became the literary language, and most earlier works, though chiefly of Anglian origin, were transcribed into it. Hence nearly all Old English Literature

has come down to us in West Saxon form and that is the dialect which is generally recognised as standard Old English.

In this grammar, therefore, Old English means West Saxon and the peculiarities of the other dialects are treated separately.

Changes in language take place so gradually that it is impossible to give definite dates for the beginning or end of a period. It is however convenient to divide West Saxon into an earlier and a later period, the earlier lasting till about 900 and the later from about 900 till the end of the O.E. period.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE OLD ENGLISH ALPHABET, PRONUNCIATION AND ACCENTUATION

§ 1. The Old English Alphabet was based on that of Latin with the addition of the two symbols p (N.E.th) and p (N.E.w), borrowed from the native runic alphabet, and of 8. It contained the following vowels and consonants.

VOWELS :	Front or Palatal	æ, e, œ, i, y.
	Back or Guttural	a, o, u.
	Diphthongs	ea, eo, io, ie.

CONSONANTS:

		Labial.	Inter-Dental.	Dental.	Palatal.
Stops	voiceless	p		t	c(k)
	voiced	b		d	$\text{3}^2(=\text{g})$
Spirants	voiceless	f	p	8	h
	voiced	f(=v)	6	s(=z)	$\text{3}^2(=\text{y})$
Nasals		m		n	n n
Liquids				l, r	
Semivowel		w			

Note 1.—All vowels might be long or short. When long they are marked in this grammar with a line above them, thus ā . When the sign ˆ is used, it indicates that the vowel is short. The student should be careful from the beginning to observe the length of a vowel; a and ā should be treated as two vowels as distinct as e and ā .

Note 2.— 3 is the symbol used in O.E. M88. for g . For the sounds represented by it and for the use of the symbol 3 in this grammar see § 4, c. For 8 see § 4, a, note,

PRONUNCIATION OF THE VOWELS

§ 2. The vowels were pronounced approximately as follows:—

- a as in German *Mann*, as habban, *to have*.
- a as in N.E. *palm*, as ham, *home*.
- æ like the *a* in *hat*, as hætt, *hat*
- æ much like the *a* in *ware*, as wær, *treaty*.
- e as in *set*, as settan, *to set*.
- e nearly as the *ey* in *they*, as grene, *green*.
- i as in *sit*, as sittan, *to sit*.
- i as in *machine*, as writan, *to write*.
- o much as in *hot*, as god, *God*.
- 6 as in *bone*, as mona, *moon*.
- u as in *full*, as full, *full*.
- u as in *rude*, as hus, *house*.
- y much as in French *juste*, as cynn, *kin*.
- y with the same sound lengthened, as mys, *mice*.
- æ as in German *kennen*, as æxen, *oxen*.
- œ as in German *tide*, as dæman, *to judge*.

Note 1.—The writing *e* is used by many scholars to distinguish an *e* which has arisen from an earlier *a* before an *i* or *j* (see *i* Mutation, §§ 33, 34) from one corresponding to an *e* in other Germanic dialects. Thus O.E. *nemnan*, *to name*, is Goth. *namnjan*; O.E. *nerede*, *saved*, is Goth. *nasida*; but O.E. *beran*, *to bear*, is O.H.G. *beran*. The sounds probably fell together early.

Note 2.—In the same way, the writing *Q* is sometimes used to distinguish the *o* which occurs before nasals and corresponds to an *a* in other Germanic dialects (see § 27) from the *o* found also in other dialects. Thus O.E. *monn*, *man*, is O.H.G. *mann*, but O.E. *god*, *God*, is O.H.G. *got*.

Since the later history of *o* differs from that of *o*, it is probable that the sounds were never identical, but that the *o* used before a nasal represents a sound between that of *a* and *o*. This view is supported by the fact that both writings *a* and *o* occur in O.E. at all times side by side for Germ. *a* + nasal, as in O.E. *hand* or *hond*, *hand*. In this grammar the writing *a* is used.

Note 8.—The ligature *œ* is found only in Anglian and very early Kentish and West Saxon texts.

§ 3. In O.E. diphthongs both vowels were pronounced, the first bearing the accent, as *ea*, *ie*.

Examples are: heard, *hard*; great, *great*; weoroan, *to become*;

ceosan, *to choose* ; liornung, *learning*; lioht, *light*; ziefan, *to give* ; hieran, *to hear*.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE CONSONANTS

§ 4. Special phonetic terms are avoided here as much as possible; the student should refer to §§ 6-8 for any that may occur. For convenience of arrangement all such explanations as well as those of phonetic processes and kindred matter have been collected in those paragraphs.

Of the O.E. consonants, b, d, l, m, n, p, and t, were pronounced as in modern English, but c, f, g, h, r, s, þ, o, w, and x require notice.

(a) The rules are the same for the pronunciation of the three spirants f, s, þ (o).

Initially and finally in an accented word, medially when doubled or in combination with another voiceless consonant (such as p, t, k), they were voiceless; i.e. they had the sound of N.E. f in full, s in sing, and th in think.

Examples are : full, *full*; cealf, *calf*; offrian, *to offer* ; hæft, *prisoner*; efstan, *to hasten* ; singan, *to sing* ; hus, *house* ; cyssan, *to kiss* ; wlispian, *to lisp* ; ziest, *quest*; ricsian, *to rule* ; pencan, *to think* ; weorþ, *worth* ; blipsian, *to rejoice* ; moppe, *moth*.

Medially between vowels, between a liquid and a vowel, between a vowel and a liquid or nasal, and in unaccented words or syllables they were voiced, i.e. they were pronounced like N.E. v, 2, and the th in then.

Examples are: ofer, *over* ; ceorfan, *to carve*; efne, *even* ; of, *of* ; ceosan, *to choose*; fælsian, *to purify*; hæsl, *hazel*; hlýsnan, *to listen*; is, *is*; dazas, *days*; seooan, *to seethe, boil*; hæoen, *heathen*, byroen, *burden*; weoroan, *to become*; fæom, *fathom*; ou, *thou*; singao, *they sing*.

Note.—Most O.E. MSS. make no distinction in the use of the two symbols 8 and þ, called by its runic name, *thorn*. The student will, however, find it useful in writing to keep J? for the voiceless and 5 for the voiced sound. They are so used in this grammar.

(b) The pronunciation of c and z can sometimes be determined on etymological grounds only, but the following practical rules will cover most cases. It is important to note that though c represents

more than one sound it must never be pronounced *s*, as in N.E. *pence*, *once*.

c. Initially before *ea*, *eo*, *i*, *ie*; medially or finally after *en*; and finally after *l*, *i*, *c* was in early O.E. pronounced something like the *cy* in the dialectal *cyards* for *cards*. It usually had the same sound when doubled and after *e*, *ie*, *y*, but its sound value in these positions can only be determined on etymological grounds.

By the end of the O.E. period this *c* had probably gained the sound of N.E. *ch*.

Examples are : *ceaf*, *chaff*; *ceorl*, *churl*; *cild*, *child*; *ciele*, *chill*; *bece*, *beech*; ***benc***, *bench*; *smiec*, M.E. *smech*, *smoke*; *die*, *ditch*; *ic*, M.E. *ich*, *I*; *streccan*, *to stretch*; *bryce*, *breach*; *spræc*, *speech*; *rice*, M.E. *rlche*, *kingdom*.

Initially before, medially and finally after the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, and initially before consonants, O.E. *c* had the sound of the N.E. *c* in *cool*

Examples are : *col*, *coal*; *bacan*, *to bake*; *boc*, *book*; *clæne*, *clean*.

In the neighbourhood of the vowels *æ*, *e*, *i*, *y*, when not developed to *ch* as above, O.E. *c* had the sound of the N.E. *k* in ***kin***.

Examples are : *cene*, *bold*, *keen*; *cynn*, *race*; *wrecan*, *to punish*, *wreak*; ***bæc***, *back*.

For further details the student should refer to §§ 6, *c* and 70.

(*c*) 3 had four sounds, all of which are printed *g* in most Grammars and Readers. Here, however, 3 is kept for the spirants and *g* used for the stop consonants (§ 6).

Initially before the front vowels *ea*, *eo*, *ie*, *i*, medially and finally after *æ*, *e*, *i*, it had the sound of the *g* in German ***weg***, or much like the *y* of N.E. *yield*.

Examples are: *3ear*, *year*; *3eoc*, *yoke*; *ziefan*, *to give*; *zifeo*, *he gives*; *dæzes*, gen. sing. of *dæz*, *day*; *stizol*, *stile*; *wez*, *way*; ***wiz***, *battle*.

Medially and finally after the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, it had the sound of the *g* in German ***tag***, or an unfinished modern English *g*.

Examples are : *boza*, *bow*; *drazan*, *to draw*; *fuzol*, *fowl*; *lazu*, *law*; E.O.E. *boz*, *bough*.

The group *eg* represented a double *g*, which had probably by the end of the O.E. period gained the sound of the N.E. *dg* in *edge*. In the group *ng* it also sometimes had this sound.

Examples are *ecg*, *edge*, *sward*; *hrycg*, *back*, *ridge*; ***secgan***, *to say*; ***sengean***, *to singe*.

Initially before the back vowels a, o, u and consonants, usually before the front vowels æ, e and y and in the groups ng and gg, it had the sound of N.E. g in good.

Examples are : galan, *to sing*; gold, *gold*; gos, *goose*; ges, *geese*; gylden, *golden*; grene, *green*; frogga, *frog*; singan, *to lang*; long, *lony*.

For further details the student is referred to § 72.

(d) h was an aspirate initially before vowels and in the groups hi, hn, hr, as in habban, *to have*; hlinian, *to lean*; hnesce, *soft*; hrinan, *to touch*. It had the sound of the ch in Scotch loch in the groups hw and ht, when doubled and when final.

Examples are : hwast, *what*; hwit, *white*; niht, *night*; hliehhan, *to laugh*; boh, *bough*.

In the group hs (written x), h had the sound of k as in fox, *fox*; weaxan, *to grow*.

(e) r was strongly trilled as in modern Scotch.

(f) w. The usual symbol for w was the runic p (called *wen*), but in early texts the writings u, uu, occur.

In this grammar, as in others, the symbol w is used.

In Old English every consonant of a word was pronounced. There were no mute consonants as in N.E. gnaw, know, bough.

ACCENTUATION

§ 5. The general rule in Old English is, as in all Germanic languages, that words of more than one syllable, whether compounds or inflected forms, throw the chief accent on to the first syllable, which is usually the root syllable. In nouns and adjectives this is with very few exceptions the case, even when the first syllable of the compound is a prefix. Examples are :—

(a) With the first syllable a prefix:—

andefn, *proportion*; and zlet, *intelligence*; andsaca, *enemy*; andweald, *authority*; æfest, *envy*; æfpunca, *grudge*; forepanc, *forethought*.

(b) Compounds of two independent words :—

Cynewulf, *proper name*; horshwæl, *walrus*; modwlanc, *proud*; wordhord, *store of worde*.

(c) Nouns and adjectives formed with suffixes, inflectional or formative:—

broOor, *brother*; cyning, *king*; dæzes, gen. of *day*; haliz, *holy*; weoroan, *to become*,

Verbs compounded with prefixes, however, keep the accent on the root syllable as in *apencean*, to *devise*; *ofpyncan*, to *grudge*; *onziētan*, to *perceive*; *onsacan*, to *attack*; *opfeallan*, to *fall away*; *forbærnan*, to *burn up*; *forleosan*, to *lose*.

The prefixes *be-*, *30-*, and *for-* never take the accent, whether used with nouns, adjectives or verbs. In all such formations the accent remains on the root syllable in nouns and adjectives, as in *bebod*, *command*; *begang*, *circuit*; *behat*, *command*; *forwyrd*, *destruction*; *zebed*, *prayer*; *zefera*, *companion*; *gesund*, *healthy*; beside the corresponding verbs, *bebeodan*, *zebiddan*, etc.

§ 6. Before entering on the study of the Old English vowels and consonants and their development from those of Indo-Germanic, some knowledge of the nature of those vowels and consonants and of the way in which they are formed is essential. While any detailed treatment of them in this way is outside the scope of this grammar, the following very general remarks are offered to any readers who are unable to obtain more definite instruction in the subject.

THE FORMATION OF CONSONANTS

(a) A *consonant* is formed either by complete closure of the breath passage at some given point or by such partial closure as to cause definite friction against the walls of the breath passage.

In the first case the result is a *Stop Consonant*, such as *b*, *d*, *t*, *k*. From the slight explosion of breath which takes place when the stoppage is removed these consonants are also called *explosives*.

In the second case the result is a *spirant*, as for example *f*, *p*, *s*, or the sound of the *ch* in *Scotch loch*.

Other names for spirants are *open consonants* and *continuant*s.

(6) Both *explosives* and *spirants* may be *voiceless* or *voiced*. If formed without vibration of the vocal chords of the glottis they are *voiceless*, but if the breath sets the vocal chords vibrating they are *voiced*. Another term for voiceless consonants is *breath*. Examples of voiceless consonants are, *p*, *f*, *t*; of voiced, *g*, *v*, *d*.

(c) The determining factor in the formation of most consonants is the relative position of tongue and palate.

(1) If the back of the tongue is raised towards the back or soft palate, we get *g* and *k* or *c*. There is, however, a possibility of slight variation of sound, according to whether *g* and *k* stand in combination with one of the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u* or with a front

vowel, such as e or i. In the second case they are formed further forward under the palate than in the first.

If the middle of the tongue is raised towards the front palate and the point curved downwards we get they of modern English and the 3 of Old English (§§ 4, c and 72, 4). The corresponding stop consonants existed also in E.O.E., the voiceless in E.O.E. c (§§ 4, 6 and 70,1), and the voiced in eg (§§ 4, c and 72,1).

For these sounds, generally distinguished hitherto as guttural or palatal, the term *guttural* has been given up here as misleading, since they are not formed in the throat. The term *palatal* has, however, been retained and applied to all, whether formed under the back or front of the palate. They are not the only consonants formed under the palate, but the term is a convenient one for distinguishing them from dentals and labials, old names which are also retained for convenience.

The palatals are here distinguished as *back* and *front* according to their place of articulation, and the back palatals are further divided into *back* (1) and *back* (2). Thus c in N.E. **cool**, or O.E. col, g in N.E. go, or O.E. gan, *to go*, are back (1) palatals; k in N.E. **kin**, c in O.E. cynn, g in N.E. geese or O.E. ges, are back (2) palatals; y in N.E. **young**, 3 in O.E. **3iefan**, *to give*, c in E.O.E. **ceori**, *churl*, eg in E.O.E. **secgan**, *to say*, are front palatals.

(2) If the blade of the tongue (the part immediately behind the point) is used we get s and z.

If the point is raised to the palate just behind the teeth we get d and t; if against the upper teeth the result is p or o.

For these consonants the customary term *dental* has been kept.

(3) If the stoppage or friction take place still further forward between the lower lip and upper teeth we get the *labial spirants* f and v, and if through the two lips the result is the *labial stop consonants* p and b.

(4) If in addition to these activities the nasal passage is opened, *nasal consonants* result and we get a labial m, a dental n, and a palatal e, the sound heard in N.E. **sing**.

THE FORMATION OF VOWELS

§ 7. If neither complete closing of the breath passage nor definite friction against its walls takes place, the result is a *vowel* such as a, e, o.

(a) Of the vowels, a, o, u, are formed by raising the back of the

tongue towards the back or soft palate; æ, e, i, by raising the front part towards the front or hard palate. For e the tongue is raised higher than for æ; to form **i** it is raised still higher; hence æ can pass into e, but not directly into i.

The back of the tongue is raised higher for **u** than for **o** or for a.

If the front vowel **i** is pronounced with rounding of the lips the result is u (the **u** in French **Juste**), written **y** in O.E.; the lips are also rounded to form the back vowel **u**; hence **y** passes back easily into **u** or by unrounding into i.

If a is formed with rounding of the lips we get **o**; e modified in the same way gives æ (the o in German **können**).

(6) In every syllable it is the vowel which bears the accent. It may be the first or second vowel of a *diphthong*, and a diphthong may be defined as the combination of an accented or sonantal with an unaccented or consonantal vowel. If it is the first vowel which is accented it is called a *falling diphthong*; if the second, it is called a *rising diphthong*. Thus in N.E. **fear**, which is pronounced **fia**, with a long accented **i** and a light glide after it, we have a falling diphthong; another example is N.E. **day**, which is now pronounced **del**, with a very light **i** after the e. On the other hand, in N.E. **new**, **few**, which we pronounce **nju**, **fju**, we have a rising diphthong. In O.E. all diphthongs were accented on the first element.

(c) A liquid or nasal may play the part of a vowel if there is no true vowel in the syllable. It is then called a *vocalic* or *sonant liquid* or *nasal*. Examples are: O.E. *mapm*, *treasure*; *rezn*, *rain*; **tacn**, *token*; or the N.E. **blossom**, **fathom**, **heathen**, **sickle**, **table**, in which all that is really heard in the second syllable is a sonant l, m, or n. Such liquids and nasals are written phonetically

THE SYLLABLE

§ 8. An *open syllable* is one which ends in a vowel, such as **he**, **foe**; a *close syllable* is one which ends in a consonant, such as **can**, **wall**. In dissyllabic or polysyllabic words, a syllable is open in which the vowel is followed by one medial consonant only, since that consonant belongs to the next syllable; if, however, the vowel is followed by more than one consonant, the syllable is close, since the first consonant belongs to it and closes it. Thus the vowels **i** in O.E. *sna*, *mow*, and its gen. sing. **snawes**, and æ in **dæzes**, *gen*,

sing, of **dæz**, *day*, are in open syllables, but in *dæz*, *day*, **heard**, *hard*, gen. sing, **heardes**, the æ and **ea** are in close syllables.

A *long syllable* is one containing a long vowel, as in *wis*, *wise*, or a short vowel followed by two consonants, as in **hand**, *hand*. All others are *short*.

SOUND CHANGE

§ 9. A *sound law* is the change in pronunciation of some vowel or consonant or set of vowels or consonants resulting from a general tendency among the speakers of a language in a definite area and for a definite period.

All words containing such a vowel or consonant already in the language must be affected, but any introduced after the tendency has ceased will not be influenced, since the sound law has ceased to work.

Thus at an early period of Old English an *e*, as seen in the Old High German verb **neman**, *to take*, became **i** before *m*, giving the O.E. form **niman**. At the same time the Latin **mentha**, already borrowed, became O.E. **mint**, N.E. *mint*; but the Latin **templum**, borrowed at a later period, retained its **e** in O.E. **tempel**.

Sound laws may be classified as *isolative* and *combinative*. An isolative change is one which takes place independently of position, as when Indg. *a*, as seen in Latin **mater**, **frater**, became Germ. *5* as in O.E. **modor**, **brooor**; or when at a later period O.E. *a* became M.E. and N.E. *o* as in O.E. **ham**, **blawan**, N.E. **home**, **blow**.

A combinative change is one which takes place in combination with another sound, preceding or following, and is due to the fact that neighbouring sounds act and react upon each other. Thus the pronunciation of N.E. **Berks**, and **Herts**, with a *i* instead of the *e* written, is due to the neighbourhood of the *r*; the difference in pronunciation of the **a** in **fall** and **fallow** is due to the influence of the final *l*, which is not shared by a medial *l*.

An example of a combinative change in O.E. is the verb **weoroan**, *to become*, with *eo*, beside the **e** in O.H.G. **werdan**. Here the *eo* has arisen from an older *e* by the influence of the *-ro*. (See Breaking, § 30.)

Exceptions to sound laws are due to counteracting or modifying influences. A minor sound law may modify the working of a larger one. For example, Germ. *a* regularly becomes æ in O.E. in close syllables, as in O.E. **dæz**, beside O.H.G. **tac**, *day*; but O.E. *a* has

remained, though in **a** close syllable, before **a** doubled consonant followed by **a** back vowel as in O.E. **stagga**, *stag*.

But by far the most general cause of exceptions is the universal tendency to *analogical formation*. All speakers form word associations in their own minds which may or may not be justified, **and** the forms of words are frequently modified in accordance with those associations. The student must always be prepared for examples of this tendency.

Thus we now associate the idea of the plural with the ending -es, or -s, and we therefore form many plurals in -s which in O.E. had other endings. The tendency to this analogical formation had begun already in O.E. for all masculine nouns, when a noun **had**, *nature*, *rank*, made a plural *hadas*, instead of its right form **hada**.

Another instance of analogical formation is when the O.E. **hwæl**, *whale*, which should have a gen. sing, *hwæles* and a nom. pl. **hwalas**, appears in the gen. sing as *hwales* from a wrong association with the plural instead of with the nominative singular.

Sound laws are unconscious changes, which in the unfettered development of a language are continually modified by conscious or semi-conscious mental processes on the part of the speakers.

CHAPTER II

THE VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

I

THE TREATMENT OF INDO-GERMANIC VOWELS IN GERMANIC

§ 10. The Indo-Germanic vowel system was as follows :—

Short a, e, i, o, u, ö (1).

Long a, e, i, o, u.

Diphthongs { Short ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou.
Long ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou.

Vocalic Liquids and Nasals m, n, n, n, r, i (2).

Note 1.—The sound of ö is not certain, but it may be taken as approximately that of the e in N.E. *bitter*. In Indg. it occurred in unaccented syllables only. In Germ. its history varied according to whether the syllable remained unaccented or took the accent.

Note 2.—Liquids and Nasals playing the part of vowels are written m, n, etc., in order to distinguish them from those used as consonants (§ 7, c).

§ 11. Of these vowels, a, e, i, u, i, o, u, remained unchanged in the earliest Primitive Germanic period.

Examples are:—

a Lat. *ager*, Grk. *ἀγρός*, Goth. *akrs*, O.E. *æcer*, *acre*, *field*; Lat. *habed*, Goth. *haban*, O.E. *habban*, *to have*.

e Lat. *edd*, Grk. *ἐδομαι*, O.E. *etan*, *to eat*; Lat. *verto*, O.H.G. *werdan*, O.E. *weorðan*, *to become*; Lat. *fero*, Grk. *φέρω*, O.E. *beran*, *to bear*.

i Lat. *plscis*, Goth. *fisks*, O.E. *fisc*, *fish*; Lat. *vivus*, Goth. *qius*, O.E. *cwicu*, *quick*, *alive*,

u Grk. *θύρα*, O.E. *dura*, *door*.

i Lat. *suinus* (adj.), O.E. *swin*, *swine* ; Lat. *velimus*, Goth. *willelma* (ei — i), *if we will*.

- o Grk. Dor. *πῶς*, Goth, *fdtus*, O.E. *fot*, *foot*; Grk. *ἐρῶ*, O.E. *row*, *peace*.
 u Grk. *μῦς*, Lat. *mus*, O.E. *mus*, *mouse*] Lat. *rus*, *country*; O.E. *rum*, *room*, *space*.

ISOLATIVE CHANGES

§ 12. o, 9, a, e, were modified.

o became a in accented syllables, as Lat. *hostis*, Goth, *gasts*, O.E. *zest*, *quest*, from older **ǵastiz* (§§ 27, 32, 34); Lat. *quod*, Goth. *iva*.E. *hwaet*, *what* (§ 27).

o became a in Germanic as in Greek and Latin, but i in Sanskrit. Thus Indg. *poteris* Grk. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*, Goth. *fadar*, O.E. *fæder*, *father*, but Skr. *pitar*.

a became o, as Lat. *fagus*, *beech*, Grk. Dor. *φᾱγός*, *kind of oak*, O.E. *boc*, *beech*; Lat. *mater*, Grk. Dor. *μήτηρ*, O.E. *modor*, *mother*.

e became æ, which then later became a in the W. Germ. dialects, as Grk. *θήσω*, *I shall place*, O.H.G. *tat*, O.E. *dæd*, *deed* (§ 28); Lat. *semen*, O.H.G. *sat*, O.E. *sæd*, *seed*.

§ 13. The same rules apply to the vowels occurring in diphthongs.

ai (Lat. *æ*) remained, as Indg. **ais*, Lat. *æ*, Goth, *aiz*, O.E. *ar*, *ær*, *brass*, *copper*; Grk. *αἰών*, *tiem*, *lifetime*, Lat. *ævum*, Goth, *aiws*, O.E. *a*, *ever* (§ 23).

au remained, as Lat. *augere*, Goth, *aukan*, *to increase*-, O.E. *eac*, *also* (§ 24).

œu became au, as Lat. *auris*, Goth, *auso*, O.E. *eare*, *ear* (§ 24).

oi became ai, as Grk. *οἶα* Goth. *wait*, O.E. *wat*, *knows*; Old Lat. *oinos*, later *unus*, Goth, *ains*, O.E. *an*, *one* (§ 23).

ou became au, as Indg. **gegousa*, *has tested*; Goth, *kaus*, O.E. *ceas*, *chose* (§ 24); Grk. *ἀκουστός*, *heard*, Goth, *gahausjan*, O.E. *hieran*, *to hear*.

ei became i, as Lat. *died*, older **deico*, *I say*, Goth, *ga-teihan*, *to relate*, O.H.G. *zihan*, *to accuse*; Grk. *στείχω*, *I go*, O.E. *stizan*, *to ascend*.

The Indg. long diphthongs were shortened in Germanic and need therefore no separate treatment.

§ 14. Indg. *m*, *n*, become Germ. *um*, *un*, as Indg. **bhndhnt*, Goth, *bundun*, O.E. *bundon*, 3rd person plur. pret. indic. of *bindan*, *to bind*; Indg. *kmtom*, Lat. *centum*, O.E. *hund*, *a hundred*.

Indg. *l*, *ʒ*, became Germ. *ul*, *lu*, *ur*, *ru*, respectively, as Indg.

***plnos**, Lat. **plenus**, Goth. **fulls**, O.E. **full**, *full*; Indg. ***ulqos**, Lith. **vilkas**, Goth. **wulfs**, O.E. **wulf**, *wolf*; Indg. ***klpnt**, Goth. **hulpun**, 3rd person plur. pret. indic. of **helpan**, *to help*.

Note.—Of this origin is the **u** in the stem of the preterite plural indicative and of the preterite subjunctive of all verbs of the 8rd class of strong verbs (§ 162), as in O.E. **bruzdon**, *brandished, snatched*; **curfon**, *carved*; **hulpon**, *helped*, etc.

COMBINATIVE CHANGES

§ 15. Later than these isolative changes, certain combinative changes took place during the Primitive Germanic period. These affected **e**, **i**, and **u**, whether standing alone or in a diphthong.

e became **i**:—

(1) Before a nasal followed by another consonant. Examples are: Indg. ***bhendhonom** (cf. Lat. **offendimentum**, *chin-cloth*), Goth. and O.E. **bindan**, *to bind*; Lat. **ventus**, Goth. **winds**, O.E. **wind**, *wind*.

(2) Before an **i** or **j** in the following syllable, as Lat. **medius**, Goth. **midjis**, O.E. **midd**, *mid*; Lat. **sedere**, O.E. **sittan** from an older ***setjan**, *to sit*. Further examples are O.E. **cwide**, *speech*, from older ***cwediz** from the root of **cweoan**, *to speak*; E.O.E. **hilpist**, **hilpio**, 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. pres. indie. of **helpan**, *to help*, from older ***helpisi**, ***helpipi**.

Note.—This law explains why strong verbs of the third class (§ 162) like **bindan**, *to bind*, **climban**, *to climb*, which have stems ending in a nasal and another consonant, have **i**, while others such as **delfan**, *to delve*, **helpan**, *to help*, have **e** for the stem vowel. It also explains why strong verbs of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th classes (§ 162 *ft.*) have an **i** in the stem in the 2nd and 8rd pers. sing. of the pres. indic. beside an **e** in the other forms of the present, as in **birest**, **bireo**, **hilpest**, **hilpeo**, beside the infinitives **beran** and **helpan** (§ 158, *a*).

§ 16. **i** became **e** in most Germanic languages before **ft**, **6**, **e**, unless a nasal followed by another consonant, or an **i** or **J** came between, but only two examples are found in O.E. These are **nest**, *nest*, from earlier ***nestaz**, Lat. **nidus**, Indg. ***nizdos**, and **wer**, *man*, from earlier ***weraz**, Lat. **vir**, Indg. ***wiros**.

§ 17. **u** became **o** before **a**, **o**, **e**, in the next syllable, unless a nasal followed by another consonant, or an **i** or **J** came between.

Examples are: Grk. *θυγάτηρ*, O.E. **dohtor**, *daughter*; Prim. Germ. ***hulpenaz**, later **ho!penaz*, O.E. **holpen**, past part, of **helpan**, to *help*, beside the pret. plur. Prim. Germ. **hulpun**, O.E. **hulpon** (§ 14).

Note 1.—This law explains why most strong verbs of the 2nd and 8rd classes (§§ 161-166) which have **u** in the pret. plur. indic. have **o** in the past part, while those of the 3rd class, like **findan**, to *find*, have **u** before the nasal + consonant. It also explains the connection with later i mutation of **u** to y (§ 34) between the **o** and y seen in many pairs of related words. Examples are: O.E. **bycgan**, to *buy*, from Prim. Germ. ***buzianan**, but *bohte*, *bought*, from Prim. Germ. **buhta**; O.E. **god**, *god*, from Prim. Germ. ***zuoam**, but *gyden*, *goddess*, from ***zuoinjo**; O.E. **gold**, *gold*, from Prim. Germ. ***zulpam**, but *gylden*, *golden*, from ***zulpinaz**. Other examples are *fox*, *fox*, and *fyxen*, *vixen*; **oter**, *otter*, the noun, and **yteren**, the adjective; **wyrcan**, to *work*, and **worhte**, *wrought*

Note 2.—Since Indg. *o* became Germ. *a* (§ 12), every Germ. **o** must be of this origin.

§ 18. It will be seen that all the laws formulated in §§ 15-17 rest upon the same principle of assimilation, with the result that the high vowels, the front **i** and the back **u**, are found before a nasal + a consonant or an **l** or **j**, and **u** is found before **u**, while the lower vowels, the front **e** and the back **o**, are found in other positions. **i** however, unlike **u**, is not affected regularly by a following **e**. Hence in past participles O.E. has **holpen**, *helped*, with **o** for earlier **u**, but **biten**, *bitten*, **writen**, *written*, etc., with **i** retained.

§ 19. **eu** became **iu** (*iu*, later *ie* in O.E., §§ 26, 34) before a following **i** or **j**, as Prim. Germ. ***deupaz**, O.E. **deop**, *deep*, but Prim. Germ. ***deupjanan**, later ***diupjanan**, O.E. **diepan**, to *baptize*, *immerse*; Prim. Germ. ***freusanan**, O.E. **freosan**, to *freeze*, but Prim. Germ. ***freusipi**, later ***friusip**, O.E. **frieseo**, *friest*, *freezes*.

§ 20. Rather later than these qualitative changes came one affecting quantity, **n** fell before a following **x** (**h** with the sound of **ch** in Scotch **loch**), with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63). Examples are: Lat. **linquo**, *I leave*, Germ. ***lin_xwanan** > ***li_xwanan**, Goth. **lei_h-an**, O.E. **leon**, for ***li_han** (§73), to *lend*; Lat. **pango**, *I fasten*, Germ. ***fan_xanan** > ***fahanan**, Goth. **fahan**, O.E. **fon**, for ***fo_han**, to *seize*; Germ. ***penxanan** > ***pin_xanan** (§ 15) > ***pihanan**, Goth. **>pei_han**, O.E. **peon**, for ***pihan**, to

prosper; Old Lat. *tongeo*, *I know*, Germ. *Pankjanan, O.E. Pencean (§ 34), *to think*, but pret. *Pan χ ta > Pahta, Goth. Pahta, O.E. Pohte (§ 29, 1), *thought*; Germ. *Punkjanan, Goth. Punkjan, O.E. Pyncean (§ 34), *to appear*, but pret. Goth. Puhta, O.E. Puhte, *it appeared*.

Note 1.—From what has been said in §§ 15-17, it is clear that a, 1, and u, were the only short vowels which could stand before -n and thus be lengthened to a, I, u, respectively.

Note 2.—Since Indg. a had become 6 (§ 12) every Germ. a must be due to this law.

§ 21. During the Primitive Germanic period an e came into the language in a few words. This e must be kept distinct from Indg. e, Prim. Germ. æ (§ 12). It is preserved in three words in O.E. These are: *mese*, *table* (Lat. *mensa*), and *her*, *here*; *med*, *reward*, in which it is of uncertain origin.

II

THE TREATMENT OF GERMANIC VOWELS IN OLD ENGLISH

§ 22. The Germanic vowel system underwent great modifications in Old English, due in some degree to isolative, but chiefly to combinative changes.

It may be of use to the student to point out that Germanic diphthongs always yielded long vowels or diphthongs in Old English. Hence while O.E. long diphthongs may be of this origin or may be later developments due to the action of O.E. sound laws, short diphthongs are invariably the results of the latter.

ISOLATIVE CHANGES

§ 23. All the Germ. diphthongs were modified in passing into Old English.

ai became a, as Goth. *ains*, O.E. *an*, *one*; Goth. *bait*, O.E. *bat*, pret. of *bitan*, *to bite*; Goth. *stains*, O.E. *stan*, *stone*.

§ 24. au became ea, as Goth. *baup*, O.E. *bead*, *commanded*; Goth. *haubip*, O.E. *heafod*, *head*; Goth. *laufs*, O.E. *leaf*, *leaf*.

§ 25. eu became eo, as Germ. *beuoan, Goth. *biudan*, O.E. *beodan*, *to command*; Germ. *deupaz, Goth. *diups*, O.E. *deop*, *deep*; Germ. *Peubaz, Goth. *Piufs*, O.E. *Peof*, *thief*.

§ 26. iu became io, as Germ. *liuioiz, O.H.G. *liuti*, O.E. *liode*, *people*. In O.E. this io was usually modified to ie (see i mutation, §§ 33, 34), since it occurred chiefly before i or j (§ 19). Thus Goth. *kiusip* is O.E. *ciseo*, *ciest*, *chooses*; Goth. *liuhtjan* is O.E. *liehtan*,

to *lighten*. See also the examples given in § 19. When this modification did not take place, *io* usually became *eo*, as O.E. *leode*, older *liode*, *people*.

TREATMENT OF &

§ 27. Germ. *a* became *æ* in O.E. (the sound in N.E. *hat*). Examples are: Goth. *dags*, O.E. *dæz*, *day*; O.H.G. *faz*, O.E. *fæt*, *vat*, *vessel*; Goth. *lag*, O.E. *læz*, *lay*; Goth. *h-a*, O.E. *hwæt*, *what*; Goth. *was*, O.E. *was*, *was*; O.H.G. *aphul*, O.E. *asppel*, *apple*; Goth. *dagis*, O.E. *dæzes*, gen. sing. of *dæz*; Goth. *fadar*, O.E. *fæder*, *father*; Goth. *fagrs*, O.E. *fæzer*, *fair*; O.H.G. *wazzer*, O.E. *wæter*. *water*.

This *æ* went back again, however, to *a* in open syllables if followed by a back vowel (*a*, *o*, *u*), or before doubled consonants and the groups *sc* and *st*, if followed originally by a back vowel. Examples in open syllables are *cam*, *care*; *dazas*, plur. of *dæz*, *days*; *fatu*, plur. of *flet*, *vessels*; *faran*, *to fare*; before doubled consonants: *abbod*, *abbot*; *assa*, *ass*; *catte*, *cat*; *hassuc*, *coarse grass*; *mattoc*, *mattock*; *sacc*, *sack*; before *sc*, *st*: *flasce*, *flask*; *wascan*, *to wash*.

§ 28. W. Germ. *a*, Prim. Germ. *æ* (§ 12), became *ae* in O.E. Examples are: O.H.G. *batun*, O.E. *bædon*, *they prayed*; O.H.G. *sat*, O.E. *seed*, *seed*; O.H.G. *statun*, O.E. *stælon*, *they stole*. O.E. *æ* went back to *a* before *w*, as O.H.G. *blaen*, O.E. *blawan*, *to blow*, O.H.G. *knaen*, O.E. *cnawan*, *to know*; O.H.G. *sahun*, O.E. *sawon*, *they saw*.

a is found also in a few words before *g* and *i* if a back vowel followed, as O.H.G. *lagun*, O.E. *lazon*, *they lay*; O.E. *mazas*, plur. of *mæz*, *kinsman*; *salum*, dat. plur. of *sæI*, *opportunity*. The *æ* is, however, often introduced into these forms from those in which it was regular; thus O.E. *læzon*, *mæzas*, *sielum* are common, formed on the analogy of the subjunctive *læen* and the nom. sing. *mæz*, *sæl*.

INFLUENCE OF NASALS

§ 29. This is of twofold character, affecting quality and quantity.

(1) Affecting quality:—

(a) Germ. *a* was rounded before a nasal to an *o* sound, written sometimes *o* and sometimes *a*, as Goth. *manna*, O.E. *monn*, or *mann*, *man*; Goth. *nama*, O.E. *noma*, or *nama*, *name*; Goth. *wann*, O.E. *wonn*, or *wann*, *fought*. See Chap. I, § 2, Note 2, for the probable sound of this *o*.

The O.E. MSS. show great irregularity in the writing for Germ, a before a nasal. In the earliest texts a is usual, later in the ninth century a and o both occur, but o is more frequent than a. Still later, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, both are still found, but a has become more common than o. This fact, taken in connection with the Middle English and modern forms, such as M.E. name, N.E. name; M.E. mann, N.E. man, which generally keep the a, points to a return to a in sound in most dialects at the end of the O.E. period.

Germ, a before a nasal followed by f, s, or P was further developed to o by the loss of the nasal, as in O.E. gos, *goose*, O.H.G. gans; O.E. hos, *company*, Goth. hansa; O.E. top, *tooth*, O.H.G. zand (see below 2, Note 1).

(6) Germ, e became i before m in native words, as O.H.G. neman, O.E. niman, *to take*, and before m or n in Latin loan words, as Lat. 'gemma, O.E. 3imm, *gem*; Lat. mentha, O.E. minte, *mint*; Lat. pensare, O.E. pinsian, *to consider*. But e remained before n in native words, as Germ. *deno, O.E. denu, *valley*; O.H.G. quena, O.E. cwene, *woman*, *quean*.

Note.—Words like tempel, *temple*, spendan, *to spend*, are apparent exceptions only, having been borrowed later from Latin, after this law had ceased to work.

(c) Germ, o became u before all nasals, as O.H.G. koman, choman, O.E. cuman, *to come*; O.H.G. honag, O.E. huni3, *honey*; O.H.G. ginoman, O.E. 3enumen, *taken*.

(d) W. Germ, a, Germ, æ (§ 12), became o, as O.H.G. mano, O.E. mona, *moon*; O.H.G. namun, O.E. nomon, *they took*; O.H.G. quamun, O.E. c(w)omon, *they came*.

(e) Prim. Germ, a from an_x (§ 20) also became o, as Goth. fahan, O.E. *fohan, later fon, *to seize*; Goth. Pahta, O.E. thought, *thought*.

(J) e became i in Late Lat. pena, O.E. pin, *torment*

(2) Affecting quantity :—

Germanic i and u which occurred before a nasal and another consonant (§§ 15-17) were lengthened to i and u in compensation for the loss of the nasal if the following consonant was a spirant (f, s, p. Examples are: Goth. fimf, O.E. *fif, five*; Goth. sinps, O.E. *sip, journey, time*; Goth., O.H.G. una, O.E. us, *US*.

Note 1.—For the similar lengthening of o see above, 1 (a).

Note 2.—A comparison with §§ 15-17 will show that the influence of a nasal upon a preceding vowel in O.E. was of the same character as that in Prim. Germ., but stronger and of wider scope. In O.E. it fell before other spirants than *χ* and most vowels were affected.

Note 3.—This law explains the vowels of the verbs *niman*; *to take*, and *cuman*, *to come*, beside those of the regular verbs of the fourth class of strong verbs (§ 167, 2) such as *beran*, *to bear*.

BREAKING

§ 30. By this term is meant the breaking up of a single vowel into a diphthong, a process which took place before certain consonants and groups of consonants.

The law may be formulated. In passing from the front vowels *æ*, *e*, *i*, to certain back consonants a back vowel glide was developed, which formed a diphthong with the original vowel. The consonants producing this effect were *h*, or *h* + cons.; *i* + cons., and *r* + cons. The diphthongs which resulted were *la*, *eo*, *io*.

The vowels were not, however, affected equally and must therefore be taken separately. West Saxon only is considered here. For the working of Breaking in the Anglian and Kentish dialects the student is referred to § 47.

§ 31. *æ* was broken to *ea* before all groups and before single *h*. Examples are: Goth. *alpeis*, O.E. *eald*, *old*; Goth. *halp*, O.E. *healp*, *helped*; Goth. *hardus*, O.E. *heard*, *hard*; Goth. *warp*, O.E. *wear*?, *became*; O.H.G. *faht*, O.E. *feaht*, *fought*; Goth. *sals*, O.E. *seah*, *saw*.

e was broken to *eo* before *lh*, *r* + cons., *h* + cons., and *h*, and perhaps before *lc*. Examples are: O.H.G. *felhan*, Goth. *filhan*, O.E. *feolan*, older **feolhan* (§§ 39, c and 73), *to enter*, *adhere to*; O.H.G. *melcan*, O.E. *meolcan*, *to milk*; O.H.G. *werdan*, O.E. *weoroan*, *to become*; O.H.G. *sens*, O.E. *seox*, later *six* (§ 36, a), *six*; O.H.G. *feho*, O.E. *feoh*, *property*, *money*.

i was broken to *iu*, which became *io*, and later *eo* before *r* + cons., *h* + cons., and *h*. Examples are O.H.G. *lirnen*, O.E. *liornian*, *leornian*, *to learn*; Germ. **mihstus*, Goth. *maihstus*, O.E. *miox*, *manwe*.

Note.—Example? of the breaking of *i* are rare, because in most cases the diphthong was later modified by *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34).

æ was broken to ea before h only, as in Germ. *næh, O.H.G. nah, O.E. neah, *near*; Germ. *næhor, O.E. near, *nearer*.

i was broken to iu, which became io, later eo, before h and h + cons., as in Germ. *lihtaz, Goth. leihts, O.E. lioht, leoht, *light* (adj.); Germ. *Pihan, Goth. Peihan, O.E. Peon, for older *Peohan, *to prosper*; O.E. imperative Peoh, older *Pin, from the same verb.

Note 1.—Breaking explains the variety of form in subdivisions 2 and 8 of Class 111 of strong verbs (§§ 164, 165), according as their stems ended in 1 + cons., r + cons., or h + cons., and the eo in certain verbs of Class I (§ 160, c).

Note 2.—The explanation of Breaking is to be found in the nature of the sounds affected, h was a back spirant; r was pronounced by the tip of the tongue being turned back towards the hard palate, which gave it a certain back or guttural quality; i had something of the same quality. The transition from a front vowel to a back consonant was eased by the introduction of the glide, since it was easier to pass first from a front to a back vowel and thence to a back consonant. This glide was probably u, which formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel; then æu > ea; eu > eo; iu > io; leu > ea; iu > io, with the same development as that of the Germ. diphthongs (§§ 24-26), except that short diphthongs arose from earlier short vowels.

Note 8.—Breaking is later than the fronting of Germ. a and a to æ and æ.

Note 4.—Another term often used for Breaking is Fracture.

DIPHTHONGIZATION AFTER 3, C, SO

§ 32. Between the initial front consonants 3, whether representing Germ. 3 or J (§§ 72, 4; 74), c (§ 70, 1) and sc (§ 71), and the following front vowels æ, æ, e, e, when original (i.e. not the result of i mutation, §§ 33, 34), a glide was developed in O.E. The result was the formation of the diphthongs ea, ea, ie, ie, respectively. At first these were rising diphthongs with the accent still on the original vowel; later the accent was thrown back on to the glide and the diphthong became falling.

Thus Germ. *3efan, *to give*, became O.E. 3i6fan, then ziefan, and finally in late O.E. 3ifan, with the glide alone left (§ 36, c). If, however, æ, e, e, were due to i mutation, no diphthongization took place. Examples are:—

- æ: Lat. *castra*, O.E. **cæster* (§ 27) > *ceaster*, *city*; 0. Sax. *zat*, O.E. **zæt* > *zeat*, *gate*; Goth. *skal*, O.E. **scæl* > *seal*, *shall*
- æ: Germ. **Jær*, O.H.G. *Jar* (§ 12), O.E. **3ær* > *3ear*, *year*; Germ. **3æbun*, O.H.G. *gabun*, O.E. **zæfon* > *zeafon*, they *gave*; Germ. **scæp*, O.H.G. *scat*, O.E. **scæp* > *sceap*, *sheep*.
- e: Lat. *cerasum*, O.E. *cieres*, *cherry-tree*; O.H.G. *geban*, O.E. *ziefan*, *to give*; Germ. **sceran*, O.E. *scieran*, *to shear*, *cut*.
- e: Germ. **zet*, O.E. *3iet*, *yet*.

It is undecided whether in forms such as *zeoc*, *yoke*, from Germ. **jok*, Goth. *Juk*; *3eong*, *young*, O.H.G. *Jung*; *sceadan*, *to divide*, older *scadan*, Goth. *skaidan*; *sceort*, *short*, older **scort*, in which a back vowel followed Germ. *J*, *sc*, the writings *eo*, *ea*, represent true diphthongs or not.

Note 1.—Since the development of the glide was due to the quality of the consonant, and *j* and *sc* were front consonants in O.E. in all positions, it would be logical to conclude that all *Towels*, back or front, were diphthongized after them. As a rule, however, the later language preserves the original vowel only in these cases, as in N.E. *yoke*, *young*, *short*. Many scholars consider, therefore, that the *e* was merely a writing to distinguish the *z* for Germ.) (§ 74) from that from Germ. *3*, and the native front *sc* from that introduced from Scandinavian, which was a back consonant. On the other hand, since diphthongization was almost restricted to West Saxon, the explanation may be that the later forms are developed from other dialects.

Note 2.—Diphthongization is later than *Breaking*.

I MUTATION (UMLAUT)

§ 33. By *i* mutation is meant the modification of a vowel or diphthong which had been followed originally by an *i*, *i*, or *J*. By the O.E. time the *i* and *j* had either disappeared or come to be represented by *e*, their original existence being traced by the influence left on the vowel.

i mutation is one of the most important of the O.E. sound laws, nearly all vowels being modified by it. It will be seen from what follows that its influence is always towards bringing the original vowel nearer towards the position required for forming *i* or *j*, the result being a fronting or a raising of that vowel. Thus a back vowel such as *a* becomes *æ* or a front vowel *æ* is raised to *e*.

§ 24. The following are the results of *i* mutation :—

a became æ, as Germ. *farip, O.E. færeō, *fares* (see below, Note 1).

æ (Germ. a, § 27) became e, as Goth, agis, O.E. *æzi>eze, *fear*; Goth, hari (acc. sing.), O.E. hære > here, *army*; Goth, lagjan, O.E. *læcgan > lecgan, *to lay*; Goth. marei, O.E. *mæri > mere, *sea*.

a became æ, as Goth, braidel, O.E. *bradl (§ 23), > brædu, *breadth*; Goth, hailjan, O.E. *hal(j)an > hælān, *to heal*; Goth, (ur)raisjan, O.E. *rar(J)an > ræran, *to raise*.

o became e through the stage æ, as Germ. *dohtri>O.E. doehter>dehter, dat. sing. of dohtor, *daughter*; Germ. *oxins>O.E. æxen > exen, plur. of oxa, *ox* (see below, Note 2).

o from a + nas. became e, but in earlier texts æ. Examples are: Germ. plur. *manniz>O.E. mænn>menn, plur. of mann, *man*; Goth. manage!, O.E. mænizu>menizu, *multitude*; Goth. wandjan, O.E. wændan > wendan, *to turn*.

o became e through the stage æ, as Goth, domjan, O.E. ~~do~~man > deman, *to judge*; Germ. plur. *fotiz, > O.E. feet > fet, *feet*; Germ. *glodiz (from the root of glowan, *to glow*)>O.E. glæd>gled, *live coal*; Goth. fahip, O.E. *fdhip (§ 29, 1, e) > *fæhip > fehþ, *seizes* (3rd pers. sing. of fon, § 40, 1 6); Goth, ansts, older *anstiz, O.E. *onsti > *osti (§ 29, 1, a) > est, *favour*; O.H.G. wan, older *waniz, O.E. *won (§ 29, 1, d) > wœn > wen, *hope*.

u became y, as Goth, bugjan, O.E. bycgan, *to buy*; O.H.G. kuning, O.E. cyning, *king*.

u became y, as Goth. (ga)kunjpan, O.E. cyoan (§ 29, 2), *to make known*; Germ. plur. *musiz, O.E. mys, *mice*.

ea became ie, as Goth, atyiza, O.E. *ealdra (§ 31) > ieldra, *elder*; Goth, arbi, O.E. *earfi > ierfe, *inheritance*; Goth, gasts, older *zastiz, O.E. *zeast (§ 32) > ziest, *guest, stranger*.

ea became ie, as Goth, hauhiza, O.E. *heahra > hierra, *higher*; Goth. gahausjan, O.E. *hear(j)an > hieran, *to hear*.

io became ie, as O.H.G. hirti, O.E. *hiordi (§ 31)>hierde, *herdsman*; O.H.G. wirdit, O.E. *wioroio > wierp, *becomes*.

io became ie, as Goth, kiusty, O.E. *ciosio (§ 26) > ciest, *chooses*; Goth. liuhtjan, O.E. *lioht(J)an > liehtan, *to lighten*.

Note 1.—Examples of the *i* mutation of a are necessarily rare since a early became æ before *i* and *j* (§ 27). In a few cases, however, the a was reintroduced from forms in which it had remained, and the *i* mutation of this a was then as. Thus Germ,

***farip** gave O.E. *færeo*, then **fereo**, *fares*, with I mutation of æ to e, but a later formation ***farip**, from the infin. **faran**, gave O.E. *færeo*, with 1 mutation of a to æ.

A few instances occur of a secondary **i** mutation of a to æ before a medial e, which is itself the result of this law. Examples are *æoele*, *noble*; **æoeling**, *prince*; **gæderian**, *to gather*; *hælep*, *man*, and a few others.

Note 2.—Examples of **i** mutation of **o** are also necessarily rare, since Germ. **u** remained except before a, o, e, and therefore before i and j (§ 17). In a few words the **o** was borrowed before i, j from the forms in which it was regular, and the **i** mutation of this o was then e. Thus Prim. Germ. ***duhtri** (dat. sing.) should have given O.E. ***dyhter**, *daughter*; O.E. **dehter** comes from an earlier ***dohtri**, in which the **o** has been borrowed from the nom. *dohtor*.

Note 8.—For the same reason there can be no true i mutation of eo or eo. eo arose chiefly by the breaking of e (§ 31); eo is derived from eu (§ 25). From §§ 15 and 19 it is clear that neither e nor eu could remain before i or j, but that e must become **i** and eu must become **iu** in that position. Strictly speaking, therefore, ie is the mutation of io, the breaking of **i** (§ 81) and ie that of io, the modification of **iu** (§ 26); but for convenience *ie* is often, if inaccurately, called the **i** mutation of 60.

Note 4.—i mutation is later than Nasal influence, Fronting of a to æ, Breaking and Diphthongization, and modifies the results of those laws.

BACK OR GUTTURAL MUTATION (U, O/A UMLAUT)

§ 35. This Jaw, which is often called u, o/a Umlaut, may be formulated thus: Before a back vowel (u, o, a), a was diphthongized to ea, e to eo, and i to io, which later became eo. Thus ***alu** > **ealu**, *ale*; ***hefun** > **heofon**, *heaven*; ***herut** > **heorot**, *hart*; *sifun* > **seofon**, *seven*; ***miluc** > **miol(u)c**, **meol(u)c**, *milk*; ***silufr** > **siol(u)f(o)r**, *silver*; **hira** > **hiora**, *their*; **clifian** > **cliofian**, **cleofian**, *to cleave*. The working of this law can, however, only be illustrated fully in the dialects (§ 50); in W.S. it is restricted as follows:—

(1) Back mutation of a is only found in one example, **ealu**, **aie**, which is borrowed from Mercian.

(2) e was affected by **u** only; **i** alone being subject to both **u** and o/a mutation.

(3) The influence worked through certain consonants only; these were the labials p, b, f, m, and the liquids, i, r.

(4) Even when these conditions were present, if the diphthong was due to an inflectional ending, it was generally replaced by the simple vowel of the related forms. Thus the regular plural of **scip** would be **sciopu**, and of **lim**, **liomu**. The plurals usually found are, however, **scipu**, **limu**, new formations from the singulars **scip** and **lim**. The diphthong was only kept regularly when it occurred in all forms of the word, as in **heofon**, *heaven*, plur. **heofonas**, **heorot**, *hart*, gen. **heorotes**, etc.

A few exceptional instances occur even in W.S. texts of back mutation working through a dental or palatal consonant if the stem vowel is preceded by w. Thus **widu**, *wood*, > **wiodu**, later **wudu**; **cwicu**, *alive*, > **cwiocu**, later **cwucu**; **wita**, *counsellor*, > **wiota**. But these forms are perhaps not strict West Saxon, but borrowed (§ 50).

MONOPHTHONGIZATION

§ 36. During the O.E. period diphthongs, whether original or due to the influence of O.E. sound laws, were smoothed to monophthongs in certain positions.

(a) In E.W.S. the **eo** and **io**, which had arisen by breaking of **e** and **i** before **ht** and **hs**, were monophthongized to **y** or **i** through the stage **ie**. Examples are: O.H.G. **kneht**, O.E. ***cneoht** > **cnieht** > **cniht**, *youth, servant*; O.H.G. **reht**, O.E. ***reoht** > **rieht** > **ryht** or **riht**, *right, law*; O.H.G. **sehs**, O.E. **seox** > **siex** > **syx** or **six**, *six*; early O.E. **Pihte** became later **Peohte**, **Pyhte** or **Plhte**, *Picts*.

On the same principle **ie** from **ea** by **i** mutation also became **i** before **ht**. Examples are: Germ. nom. plur. ***nahtiz**, Goth, **nahts**, O.E. **niht**, *night*, through the stage **neaht** (§ 106); Germ. nom. sing. ***mahtiz**, Goth, **mahts**, O.E. **miht**, *might*; O.H.G. pret. sing. subjunctive, **mahti**, O.E. **mihte**, beside O.H.G. pret. sing. indicative **mahta**, O.E. **meahte**, *might*

(b) In L.W.S. **ea** became **æ**, later **e**; **ea** became **æ**, later **e**, before **h**, **3**, and **c**, as in E.W.S. **feax**, L.W.S. **lex**, *hair*, E.W.S. **seah**, L.W.S. **seh**, *saw*; E.W.S. **beacen**, L.W.S. **becen**, *beacon*; E.W.S. **eaze**, L.W.S. **eze**, *eye*; E.W.S. **neah**, L.W.S. **neh**, *nigh*,

(c) E.W.S. **ie**, whether due to **i** mutation, the influence of an initial palatal consonant, or contraction, became **y** or sometimes **i**

in L. W.S. *i* is found chiefly in the neighbourhood of *h*, *3*, *c*, or **sc**, but no definite rule can be given; the distinction may have been local

Examples are: E.W.S. **3iefan**, L.W.S. **zyfan** or **zifan**, *to give*; E.W.S. **hierde**, L.W.S. **hyrde**, *herdsman*; E.W.S. **ieldra**, L.W.S. **yldra**, *older*; E.W.S. **ciezán**, L.W.S. **cizan** or **cyzan**, *to cry out*; E.W.S. **zebiezan**, L.W.S. **zebizan**, *to bend*; E.W.S. **zeliefarf**, L.W.S. **zelyfan**, *to believe*; E.W.S. **hieran**, L.W.S. **hyran**, **hiran**, *to hear*.

(*d*) *ea* became *e*, *ea* became *e*, in L.W.S. after *c*, *z*, and *sc*, as in E.W.S. **cearf**, L.W.S. **cerf**, *carved*; E.W.S. **zeaf**, L.W.S. **zef**, *gave*; E.W.S. **zear**, L.W.S. **zer**, *year*; E.W.S. **sceap**, L.W.S. **seep**, **sheep**.

In Anglian this smoothing of diphthongs was more general. See Chap. IV, § 51.

INFLUENCE OF LABIALS

§ z7. A small number of words have **u** in O.E., though, according to § 17, **u** should have become *o*. This is due to influence of a preceding or following labial consonant, or in one or two instances to a liquid.

Examples are: O.E. **full** < Germ. ***fullaz**, O.H.G. **fol**, *full*; O.E. **fuzol** < Germ. ***fuzlaz**, O.H.G. **fogal**, *fowl, bird*; O.E. **wulf** < Germ. ***wulfaz**, O.H.G. **wolf**, *wolf*; O.E. **wulle** < Germ. ***wullo**, O.H.G. **wolla**, *wool*; O.E. **murium**, *to mourn*; **spurnan**, *to spurn*.

INFLUENCE OF W

§ z8 (a) During the O.E. period a glide was developed between the front vowels *e* and *i* and antevocalic *w*, which combined with those vowels to form the diphthongs *eo* and *io*.

Examples are: *cneowes* for older **cnewes**, gen. sing. of **cneo**, *knee*; **eowe**, **eowu** for older **ewe**, from ***awi**, *ewe*; **meowle** for older ***mewile**, from older ***mawlle**, Goth. **mawilo**, *maiden*; **treowes** for older **trewes**, gen. sing. of **treo**, *tree*; **spiowian** for older **spiwian**, *to spew*.

Note.—This development is later than 1 mutation, since *e* which is the *i* mutation of *a* is affected by it, as in **eowe**, **meowle**.

(*b*) In later W.S. **weo** became **wu**, more rarely **wo**, and **wio** became **wu**, whether due to Breaking (§ 31) or to Back Mutation (§ 35). Examples are: due to Breaking, **swurd**, *sword*, from earlier **sweord**; **wuht**, *being, thing*, from an earlier **wiht**, through the **stage**

wioht; wuroan, *to become*, earlier weoroan; due to Back Mutation: cwucu, later cucu, *alive*, from an earlier cwicu, through the stage cwioctu; swustor, *sister*, earlier sweostor; swutol, *clear*, earlier sweotol. But see § 35, 4.

Note.—Worold for weorold (§ 35), older werold, *world*, occurs early.

VOWEL LENGTHENINGS

§ 39. Short vowels were lengthened in O.E. from various causes.

(a) Already in Prim. Germ. a, i, u, had been lengthened in compensation for the loss of a nasal before the spirant x, as in Goth. >uhta, O.E. >Puhte, from *punxta, *it seemed* (§ 20).

(6) In early O.E. a second lengthening of o (a), i, u, took place in compensation for the loss of a nasal before the other voiceless spirants, f, s, p, as in Goth. fimf, O.E. fif, *five*; O.H.G. gans, O.E. gos, *goose*; Goth. kunps, O.E. cup, *known*; Germ. *tanp, O.E. top, *tooth* (§ 29, 1 a, 2).

(c) Vowels were lengthened about 700, in compensation for the loss of antevocalic h after r and i (§ 73, 6), as in the infinitive feolan, older *feolhan, *to adhere*, Goth. filhan, *to bury*; gen. sing. meares for older *mearhes, beside a nom. sing. mearh, *steed*; gen. sing. seoles for older *seolhes, beside a nom. sing. seolh, *seal*.

(d) Later, short front vowels were lengthened in compensation for the loss of 3 before d, o, n (§ 72, 7), as in breðan, older brezðan, *to weave, snatch*; rinan, older riznan, *to rain*; sæde, older sæzde, *said*.

(e) In addition to these compensatory lengthenings, short vowels were lengthened in monosyllables if accented in the sentence, as O.E. hwa, beside hwa, *who*; swa beside swa, *so*; pu beside pu, *thou*; and before certain groups of consonants of which the first was a liquid or a nasal, as E.O.E. bindan, L.O.E. bindan, *to bind*; E.O.E. feld, L.O.E. feld, *field*.

Note.—For lengthenings due to contraction see below, § 40.

CONTRACTIONS

§ 40. Long vowels and diphthongs also arose in O.E. owing to the loss of intervocalic h, J, and w, and subsequent contraction of the vowels thus coming to stand together. The vowel of the first syllable formed a diphthong with or absorbed that of the second.

(1) Contraction due to loss of h.

The following general rules may be given :—

(a) A diphthong absorbed the following vowel, short diphthongs being lengthened.

(6) A back vowel a, o, u, absorbed any following vowel, except that a + u gave ea.

(c) A front vowel æ, e, i, absorbed a following front vowel, but formed a diphthong with a back vowel.

Examples are: (a) *feo* dative of *feoh*, *cattle*, for older **feohe*; *heas*, gen. sing. of *heah*, *high*, for older **heahes*; *seon*, *to see*, for older **seohan*; *slean*, *to slay*, *strike*, for older **sleahan*; *peon*, *to prosper*, for older **peohan* from **pihan* (§ 30). (b) *fon*, *to seize*, for older **fohan*; *ta*, *toe*, for older **tahe*; but *ea*, *water*, for older **ahu*. (c) Anglian *sip*, *sees*, for older **sihip*.

(2) Intervocalic *j* fell, under conditions not yet fully ascertained, with contractions as after the loss of *h*. *i* + *e* gave *ie*.

Examples are : Prim. Germ. **frija*, *free*, O.E. *freo*, but *frize* in plur.; Goth, *fljands*, O.E. *feond*, *enemy*; Prim. Germ. **salbojan*, *to salve*, *anoint*, O.E. *sealfian*, through the stage **salbijan*; Prim. Germ. **twoja*, O.E. *two*, *doubt*; Goth, *sijai*, O.E. *sie*, *if it be*. Later a glide *z*, or before a back vowel *ze*, was sometimes inserted between the two vowels, as *sealfizean*, *to salve*; *twozan*, *to doubt*.

(3) *w* fell before *u* and *i* with contraction of the two syllables. *au*, *eu*, *iu* then fell in with the Germ. diphthongs (§§ 23-26) and gave O.E. *ea*, *eo*, *io*.

Examples are : O.E. *clea*, older **clawu*, nom. sing. of *clawe*, *claw*; O.E. *treo* (§ 75. 3), older **trewu*, neuter plur. of *treo*, *tree*; O.E. *sæ* (§ 34), older **sawi*, Germ. **saiwiz*, *sea* (§ 23),

CHAPTER III

THE VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 41. A brief outline only of the history of unaccented vowels is here attempted, anything more being outside the scope of this grammar. Only the more important points are therefore given, and the attention of the student is directed especially to §§ 43, a, and 44. But before entering upon the history of the individual vowels a few general remarks will be in place.

All final consonants fell early in Germanic, with three exceptions. *z*, which arose from *s* by Verner's Law (§ 61), remained for a while, becoming *s* again in Gothic and *r* in Old Norse, but fell in Old English, *s*, which was not affected by Verner's Law, and *r* remained in Old English. Examples are : Indg. ***jugom** (cf. Lat. **Jugum**), Prim. Germ. ***juka(n)**, O.E. *zeoc*, *yoke*; Indg. ***bhendhonom**, Prim. Germ. ***bindana(n)**, O.E. *bindan*, *to bind*; Lat. **quod**, Goth. *ha*, O.E. *hwæ(t)*, *what*; Indg. ***ghostis** (cf. Lat. **hostis**), Prim. Germ. ***zastiz**, Goth. *gasts*, O.N. *gestr*, O.E. *ziest*, *guest*, *stranger* ; but Lat. **mus**, O.E. *mus*, *mouse* ; Lat. **pater**, O.E. *feeder*, *father*.

As a rule the treatment of Indo-Germanic vowels was the same in passing into Primitive Germanic in unaccented as in accented syllables. In Primitive Germanic their history begins to diverge, and by the Old English period unaccented vowels had been shortened or weakened, or lost altogether, their treatment varying sometimes according to position. It might vary according to whether they stood final originally or became so early by the loss of a consonant, as above ; whether they were in a syllable originally medial, which early became final, or in a syllable which remained medial into Old English. In the case of long vowels a further point has to be considered. In Indo-Germanic, vowels might be not only short or long, but if long they might be simple long vowels, known as *broken*, and indicated by an acute accent, as *a*, or of *slurred* length indicated by a circumflex accent, as *i* . In the examples given below, it will

be seen that as a general principle broken long vowels had become shortened in Gothic and yielded *e* in Old English, but that slurred vowels were still long in Gothic and gave short full vowels in Old English.

In this grammar the two lengths are distinguished only when necessary.

LONG VOWELS

§ 42. (1) Indg. *e* became Germ. *æ*, Goth. *a*, O.E. *e*, except in the earliest texts which keep *as*. Examples are : Goth. *domida*, O.E. *demde*, *judged*; Goth. *nasida*, O.E. *nerede* (O. North, *neridæ*), *saved*, from an Indg. ending, **-det*.

(2) Indg. *i* became Goth. *i* (written *ei*) or *i* when final. It became O.E. *i* which fell in with Germ. *i* and had the same later history (see below under § 43, A, 2 and B). Examples are : Goth. *mahteis*, O.E. *mihti*, *mihte*, *powers*; Goth. *wileina*, O.E. *willen*, *they will*.

(3) Indg. *a* became Germ. *o*, falling in with Indg. 6.

(a) Prim. Germ. *o* from either source became *u* in O.E. if originally final. The Goth. corresponding form is *a*. Examples are: the ending of the nom. sing. of nouns of the 6 declension (Grk., Lat. *a*), as in Indg. **ghebha* (cf. Lat. *mensa*), Germ. **3ebo*, Goth. *giba*, O.E. *ziefu*, *gift*; the ending of the neut. plur. of nouns of the *a* declension, as in Indg. **juga* (Lat. *Juga*), Germ. **juko*, Goth. *Juka*, O.E. *3eocu*, *yokes*; the ending of the 1st pers. sing. pres. indic. as Indg. **bhero*, Grk. *φέρω*, Lat. *fero*, Goth. *baira*, O.E. *beru*, *I bear*.

The history of this *u* is that of Germ. *u* (§ 43, A, 4).

(b) Prim. Germ. *o* followed originally by *n* and perhaps other consonants which fell, became Goth. *o*, O.E. *a*, if it went back to Indg. *o*, *a*, but Goth. *a*, O.E. *e*, if to Indg. 6, *a*. This explains the difference of ending in the nom. sing. of nouns of the *-n* declension (§ 100 ff.), masculines like O.E. *guma*, *man*, going back to *o*, but feminines like *tunge*, *tongue*, and neuters like *eare*, *ear*, to *o*.

(c) Prim. Germ. *o* before *s* which remained became Goth. *o*, O.E. *a*, as in Indg. **dhoghos*, Germ. **dazos*, Goth. *dagos*, O.E. *dazas*, *days*,

(4) Germ. *ai* became O.E. *e*, or as in the earliest texts; Germ. *au* became O.E. *a*. Examples are: Goth. *gibai*, O.E. *3iefe*, dat. sing. of *3iefu*, *gift*; Goth. *nimai*, O.E. *nime*, 3rd pers. sing. pres. subj. of *niman*, *to take*; Goth. *ahtau*, O.E. *eahta*, *tight*; Goth. *sunau*, O.E. *sunu*, dat. sing. of *sunu*, *son*.

A. SHORT VOWELS IN FINAL SYLLABLES

§ 43. (1) Final Indg. e fell in Germ., as in the imperative sing. of strong verbs, as Indg. *bhere, Grk. *φῆρε*, O.E. *ber*, *bear*.

(2) In final syllables it became i, falling in with Indg. i and i (§ 42.2). i from any source was later lost except after short monosyllables, as in Prim. Germ. *zumanez, later *zumaniz, Goth. gumans, O.E. guman, *men*; Lac. hostis, Goth. gasts, O.E. ziest, *stranger*; Lat. pedes, Germ. *fotez, later *fotiz, O.E. *fet*, *feet*.

After short monosyllables i remained, but was weakened to e in O.E., as Prim. Germ. *winiz, O.H.G. wini, O.E. wini, wine, *friend*.

(3) Indg. o became Germ. a, falling in with Indg. a and sharing the same later history. Prim. Germ. a fell in final syllables, as in the nom. sing. of nouns of the a-declension, such as Indg. *dhoghos, Germ. *dazaz, Goth. dags, O.E. dæz, *day*; or in the earlier 2nd pers. sing. pret. indie. of strong verbs, as kept in O.E. in preterite-present verbs, as Indg. *skoltha, Goth. skalt, O.E. scealt, *shalt*.

(4) Indg. u remained in Prim. Germ., falling in with u from a vocalic liquid or nasal (§ 14); with u from vocalized w (§ 75,3); or with u from older o (§ 42, 3, a).

In O.E. u remained if followed by a consonant, as Germ. *budun, O.E. budun, later budon, pret. plur. indie. of beodan, *to offer*.

u of whatever origin fell when final: (a) after a long monosyllable, (b) after a dissyllabic stem, if the first syllable was short.

Examples are: (a) Goth. handus, O.E. hand, *hand*; but Goth. sunus, O.E. sunu, *son*; Germ. *snaiw(az), O.E. sna, *snow*; but Germ. *trew(am), O.E. treu > treo, *tree*; Germ. *Iaiso, O.E. lar, *doctrine*; but Germ. *zebo, O.E. ziefu, *gift*; Germ. *berd, O.E. (Angl.) beru, *I bear*. (6) Germ. *werudd, O.E. werod, *troops*, but Germ. *haubuoo, O.E. heafodu, *heads*, since the first syllable is long.

Note 1.—In the nom. sing. of dissyllabic tan. nouns with long first syllables, such as frofor, *consolation*, sawol, *soul*, the final u has been lost on the analogy of long monosyllabic nouns, such as Iar.

Note 2.—In the 1st pers. sing. of the pres. indie. u is retained in Anglian texts only; in West Saxon and Kentish it was early replaced by e from the 2nd and 3rd persons. In Anglian texts it is reintroduced after long syllables from the short-stemmed verbs in which it was regular. Thus sendu, *I send*, is found as well as faru, *I go*.

Note 8.—During the O.E. period unaccented u was weakened to o, later a, as in O.E. sunu, **L.O.E.** suno, *a son*; E.O.E. budun, O.E. budon, **L.O.E.** budan, *offered*.

B. SHORT VOWELS IN SYLLABLES, ORIGINALLY MEDIAL, WHICH BECAME FINAL IN WEST GERM. AND O.E.

(1) Prim. Germ. e became i before i as in the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the present indie, as Prim. Germ. *beresl, *berēpi > *berisi, *beripl; O.H.G. biris, Writ; E.O.E. Wrist, birlp, *thou bearcat, he bears*.

Before a back vowel e remained, as in Prim. Germ. *borenaz, O.E. boren, past part. of beran, *to bear*, and other past parts.; Grk. **ἥτερος**, O.E. hwæoer, *whether*.

In O.E. i, from earlier e, i, i (§§ 42, 2; 43, A, 2), usually became e except in the earliest texts, which keep i. Examples are: E.O.E. brist, birio, as above, O.H.G. Wrist, Writ, standard O.E. Wrest, bireo, *thou bearest, he bears*; Prim. Germ. *zulpinaz, Goth, gutyēins, O.E. gylden, *golden*; Goth, wlleina, O.E. willen, *they will* But before a palatal consonant i remained, as in Germ. *busizaz, O.E. bysiz, *busy*; Goth, mannisk, O.E. mennisc, *human*.

(2) Indg. o became a in Prim. Germ. except before m and u falling in with Indg. a. Prim. Germ. a of either origin remained before n, as in Prim. Germ. *beranan, Goth, bairan, O.E. beran, *to bear*, and other infinitives; Prim. Germ. *zumanēz, Goth, gumans, O.E. guman, *men*. In other positions it became e, later i, as in Prim. Germ. *auOazaz, Goth, audags, O.E. eadi3, *blessed*; Prim. Germ. *mana3az, Goth, manags, O.E. maniz, *many*.

(3) Prim. Germ. o remained before m and u and became u in O.E., as in the dat. plur. of the a-decl., as Prim. Germ. *dazomiz, O.E. dazum, *days*; and ace. sing. Prim. Germ. *broporun, O.E. bropur.

(4) In W. Germ. a vowel was developed before any liquid or nasal which had become sonant by the earlier loss of final vowels and consonants (§ 41 ff.). This was usually u, later o after a back, and e after a front vowel. Thus in the uninflected forms of nouns and adjectives, Goth, **fugls**, from *fuzlaz, is O.E. fuzol, *fowl*; Goth, maipms, *gift*, from *maipmaz, is O.E. mappum, *treasure*; Goth, **akrs**, from *akraz, is O.E. aecer, *acre, field*; Goth, baitrs, from *baitraz, is O.E. biter, *bitter*; Goth, taikns, from ***taiknaz**, is O.E. **tacen**, *token*.

VOWELS OF SYLLABLES WHICH REMAINED MEDIAL IN O.E.

§ 44. Vowels of medial syllables were syncopated in O.E. after a long syllable or a dissyllable if before a single consonant, as in O.E. **halzum**, dat. plur. of **haliz**, *holy*; **heafdes**, gen. sing. of **heafod**, *head*; **lærde**, pret. of **læran**, *to teach*, older ***lærida**,

They remained : (a) after a short syllable as in **heofones**, gen. sing. of **heofon**, *heaven*; **nerede**, pret. of **nerian**, *to save*; **werodum**, dat. plur. of **werod**, *troop*; (b) if followed by a consonant group or preceded by a cons. + r, l, as in **cynlges**, gen. sing. of **cyning**, *king*; **gydenne**, gen. sing. of **gyden**, *goddess*; **leofosta**, superl. of **leof**, *dear*; **leornunge**, gen. sing. of **leornung**, *learning*; **sezlede**, pret. of **sezlian**, *to sail*; **timbrede**, pret. of **timbrian**, *to build*.

Note 1.—Medial **o** frequently became **e** by dissimilation when the following syllable contained an **u**, **O**, or **a**, as in the pret. plur. indicative, **clipedon**, for older **clipodon**, *they called*, and the dative plural, **weredum**, for older **werodum**, *troops*.

Note 2.—**u** of medial syllables became **o** and in L.O.E. **a** as in final syllables (§ 43, A, Note 3). Examples are: L.O.E. **clipade** for **clipode**, *called*; **werades** for **werodes**, *gen. sg.*; earliest O.E. **clipude**, **werudes**.

CHAPTER IV

TREATMENT OF ACCENTED VOWELS IN THE O.E. DIALECTS

§ 45. It has been thought better hitherto to give only W.S. forms in order that the student may get a clear knowledge of standard Old English. Kentish and Anglian, however, differ in many points and, as forms from those dialects are common in O.E. poetry, which is largely of Anglian origin, and occur also sometimes in W.S. prose, & brief sketch of the principal points of difference is here added.

TREATMENT OF W. GERM. a, W.S. æ

§ 46. (1) Germ. a became æ in North, and most of Merc, as in W.S. (Chap. I I, § 27), but passed on to e in Kent., and to some extent in S.Merc. Examples are: W.S., Merc, North, *baer*, Kent., S.Merc, *ber*, *bore*; W.S., Merc, North. *daez*, Kent., S.Merc. *dez*, *day*; W.S., Merc, North. *paet*, Kent., S.Merc *pet*, *that*.

(2) W.S. æ, from W.Germ. a (§§ 12, 28), became e in Merc, North, and Kent., as O.H.G. *tat*, W.S. *dæd*, Merc, North., Kent. *ded*, *deed*; W.S. *lætan*, Merc, North., Kent, *letan*, *to allow*; W.S. *sæton*, Merc, North., Kent, *seton*, pret. of *sittan*, *to sit*

(3) W.S. æ by i mutation of O.E. a, Germ, ai (§§ 23, 34), remained in Merc. and North., but became e in Kent., as Goth, *hailjan*, W.S., Merc, North, *hatlan*, Kent, *helan*, *to heal*; W.S., Merc, North. *hwæte*, Kent, *hwete*, from Germ. **hwaitja*, *wheat*; W.S., Merc, North, *lædan*, Kent, *ledan*, from Germ. **laidjan*, *to lead* (cf. *lad*, *a journey*).

Note.—Since every æ became e in Kent., the writings æ and e were frequently confused, æ being sometimes written for e from Germ, e, as in *aetan* for *etan*, *to eat*; *hær* for *her*, *here*.

BREAKING (CHAP. II, §§ 30, 31)

§ 47. (a) *a* was not broken before *I* + cons. in Merc, North and early Kent., but remained as *a*. In later Kentish texts breaking to *ea* is found, as W.S., L.Kent. *cealf*, Merc, North, and E.Kent. *calf*, *calf* W.S., L.Kent. *eald*, Merc, North, and E.Kent. *ald*, *old*; W.S., L.Kent. *healdan*, Merc, North., E.Kent. *haldan*, *to hold*.

(b) All breakings before *h*, *Ih*, *lc*, *Iz*, *rh*, *rc*, *rz*, were reduced back to monophthongs in Merc and North., *ea* becoming *æ* or *e*; *eo* becoming *e*; *Jo* becoming *I*, and *ea* becoming *e* (see § 51).

Examples are:—

- æ. W.S., Kent. *hearz*, Merc, North. *haerz*, later *herz*, *temple*; W.S., Kent. *meahtiz*, Merc, North. *mæhtiz* or *maehtiz*, *mighty*.
- e. W.S. *seoh*, Merc, North, *seh*, imperative of *seon*, *to see*; W.S., Kent, *seolh*, Merc, North, *selh*, *seal*; W.S., Kent. *beorzan*, Merc, North, *berzan*, *to conceal*; W.S., Kent, *weorc*, Merc, North, *were*, *work*.
- i. W.S., Kent, *bierhtu*, Merc, North, *birhtu*, *brightness*] W.S., Kent, *tiohhian*, Merc, North, *tihhian*, *to consider*.

Note.—For L.W.S. *birhtu*, Bæ § 86, c.

- æ. W.S., Kent, *neah*, Merc, North, *neh*, *nigh*.

Note.—For L.W.S. monophthongization of *ea*, *ea*, see § 36, b.

- i. W.S., Kent. *pioh*, Merc, North. *pih*, imperative of *peon*, *to prosper*; W.S., Kent, *wioh*, *weoh*, Merc, North, *wih*, *idol*.

Thus breaking is only seen in Merc and North, before *r* followed by a consonant other than *h*, *z*, *c*, as in *beam*, *child*; *heard*, *hard*; *heorte*, *heart*; *sweord*, *sword*; *liornung*, *learning*, and in some early North, texts *a* remains even in that position, as in *barn*, *child*; *ward*, *guardian*.

DIPHTHONGIZATION AFTER *z*, *C*, *SO* (CHAP. II, § 32)

§ 48. This law does not work outside W.S. and a limited area of North. Thus W.S. *zeat*, *gate*, is Merc, North. *zæt*, S.Merc, Kent. *zet* (§ 46, 1); W.S. *sceal*, *shall*, is Merc, North. *scæl*, S.Merc, Kent. *seel*; W.S. *ziefan*, *to give*, is Merc, North., Kent. *zefan*, or *zeofan*, with back mutation (§ 50); W.S. *sceld*, *shield*, is Merc, North., Kent. *sceld*; W.S. *zear*, *year*, is Merc, North., Kent. *zer*; W.S. *sceap*, *sheep*, is Merc, North., Kent, *seep* (§ 46, 2); W.S. *ziet*, *yet*, is Mere, North., Kent. *zet*.

I MUTATION (CHAP. II, §§ 83, 34)

§ 49. (1) a (§§ 23, 34) became e through the stage æ in Kent, as W.S., Merc, North, clæne, Kent, dene, *clean*; W.S., Merc, North. hælæn, Kent, helan, *to heal* (see § 46, 3).

(2) The i mutation of 6 occurs more frequently and later as æ in Merc, and North, than in W.S. and Kent., as W.S., Kent. exen, Merc, North, oexen, *oxen*; W.8., Kent, deman, Merc, North. dœman, *to judge*; W.S., Kent. dep, Merc. dœp, North, dœs, *does*.

Note—æ forms are found occasionally in E.W.S. and E.Kent.; and e forms in later Merc, and North.

(3) u became e by i mutation in later Kent., as W.8., E.Kent., Merc, North, fyllan, L.Kent, fellan, *to fill*; W.S., E.Kent., Merc, North. scyldiz, L.Kent. sceldiz, *guilty*; further examples are L.Kent. senn, ontenan for synn, *sin*, ontynan, *to open*.

(4) ea due to breaking before r + cons, became e by i mutation in Kent., Merc, and North., as W.S. cierran, older *carrjan, Kent., Merc, North, cerran, *to turn*; W.S. lerfe, older *arfi, Goth, arbi, Kent., Merc, North, erfe, *inheritance*.

(5) a not broken before l + cons, in E.Kent., Merc, and North. became mutated to æ or e, as W.S. ielde, from *aldi (cf. eald, *old*), Kent., S.Merc, elde, Merc, North, aelde, *men*; W.S. cwielman, older *cwalmjan (cf. cwealm, *death*), Kent., S.Merc, cwelman, Merc, North, cwaelman, *to kill*; W.S. wiell, older *walli (cf. weallan, *to boil*), Kent., S.Merc well, Merc, North. waell, *spring, fountain*.

(6) The 1 mutation of ea before h or h + cons, is in Merc and North, æ or e, as W.S. hliehhan, Merc, North. hlehhan or hlaehhan, *to laugh*; W.S. mihtiz, Merc, North. maehtiz, mehtiz, *mighty*.

(7) ea became e by i mutation in all non-W.S. dialects, as W.S. hleran, older *hear(j)an, Goth, gahausjan, Kent., Merc, North. heran, *to hear*; or W.S. nied, older *nead, Goth. naups, Kent., Merc, North, ned, *need*.

(8) io, io do not undergo i mutation outside W.S. The usual forms in North, and Kent, are io, io, but eo, eo, occur. In Merc eo, eo are general, but io, io are found. ia, ea also occur, especially in North. Examples are : W.S. hierde, older *hirdjaz, Kent., North. hiorde, Merc heorde, *shepherd*; W.S. ierre, Kent., North. lorre, Merc, eorre, *angry*; W.S. fiend, Kent., North, fiond, Merc, feond, *enemies*,

BACK OR GUTTURAL MUTATION (CHAP. II, § 35)

§ 50. This law works more fully in all the other dialects than in W.S.

(a) *a* is affected in Merc. by both *u* and *o/a*, in North, possibly to some extent by *u* mutation, as W.S., Kent, *fare*, Merc, *fearu*, I *fare*; W.S., Kent., North, *hladan*, Merc, *hleadan*, *to load*. Before *z* and *c*, *ea* becomes *æ* (§ 51).

(b) *e* as well as *i* is affected by both *u* and *o/a* mutation in Kent, Merc, and North. In Kent, the diphthong is seen regularly before all consonants, but in Merc, and North, the mutation is counteracted by the influence of a *z* or *c* (§ 51). Examples are : *u* mutation of *+e*: W.S. *medu*, Kent., Merc, North, *meodu*, *mead*; W.S. *ziefu*, for older *zefu* (§ 32), Kent., Merc, North. *zeofu*, *gift*; but W.S., Merc, North, *brezu*, Kent, *breoju*, *prince*, *o/a* mutation of *e*: W.S. *beran*, Kent., Merc, North, *beoran*, *to bear*; but W.S., Merc, North, *sprecan*, Kent, *spreocan*, *to speak*, *u* mutation of *i*: W.S. *sidu*, Kent. Merc, North, *siodu*, *custom*, *o/a* mutation of *i*: W.S. *wita*, Kent., Merc, North, *wiota*, *wise man*, *councillor*; but W.S., Merc, North, *wicu*, Kent, *wiocu*, *week*.

(c) In the dialects the diphthong arising from back mutation was kept in any form in which it occurred. Levelling out of the mutated form is not seen as in W.S. (§ 35, 4). Thus W.S. *limu*, from *lim*, is Kent., Merc, North, *liomu*, *limbs*; W.S. *pisan*, from *pise*, is Kent., Merc, North, *piosan*, *peas*; W.S. *warum*, from *ware*, is Merc, North, *wearum*, dat. plur. *men*.

MONOPHTHONGIZATION BEFORE H, z, 0

§ 51. In Anglian all diphthongs were smoothed to monophthongs before *h*, *z*, *c*, whether following immediately, or in the groups *lc*, *lh*, *re*, *rz*, *rh* (§ 47, b).

(1) *ea* became *æ* or *e*, as Merc. **deazas* > *dæzas*, plur. of *dæz*, *day*; W.S. *feaht*, Angl. *fæht*, *fought*; W.S. *hearz*, Angl. *hærz*, *herz*, *temple*.

(2) *eo* became *e*, as W.S. *feolan*, older **feolhan*, *to enter*, *adhere to*, Angl. *felan*, older **felhan*; W.S. *feorh*, Angl. *ferh*, *life*; O.H.G. *rent*, W.S. *riht*, older **reoht* (§ 36, a), Angl. *rent*, *right*; further examples in Anglian are an infin. *sprecan*, *to speak*, beside *eotan*, *to eat*; or a plur. *wezas*, *ways*, beside *weoras*, *men*, from pg. *wez*, *wer*.

(3) *io* became *i*, as W.S. *bierhtu*, older **biorhti*, Angl. *birhtu*, (§ 47, b), *brightness*; W.S. *tiohhian*, Angl. *tihhian*, *to consider*.

(4) ea became e through the stage ae as E.W.S. beacen, Angl. becen, *beacon*; E.W.S. beaz, Angl. bez, *necklace*; E.W.S. heah, Angl. heh, *high*.

(5) eo became e, as W.S. fleozan, Angl. flezan, *to fly*; W.S. leoht, Angl. leht, *light*; W.S. seoc, Angl. sec, *sick*.

(6) io became i, as W.S. pioh, peoh, Angl. pin imperative of peon, *to prosper*.

INFLUENCE OF W

§ 52. In Northumbrian we became woe, wo, as W.S. wesan, North, wosa, *to be*; W.S. cweoan, North. cwæoa, *to speak*.

CHAPTER V

VOWEL GRADATION (ABLAUT)

§ 53. In Old English this term is used chiefly for the variation of vowel seen in the stems of strong verbs, which may be called "graded " verbs, as for instance in *ridan*, *to ride*, beside its preterite *rad* and its past participle *riden*. The vowels thus varied occur in regular series; for example, *i* can interchange with *a* or with *ī*, but not with *o* or *u*.

Vowel Gradation is due to the variation in the degree of stress with which the vowels were originally spoken. In the Indg. parent language, as in Latin or Greek, the position of the accent varied, being sometimes on the root syllable of a word and sometimes on another, and the vowel of the root syllable assumed different forms in consequence. Thus, as in Greek we have *λείπω*, *λέλοιπα*, *λείπειν*, *to leave*, we have in Prim. Germanic an infin. **beitan*, *to bite*, pret. sing. **bait*; pret. plur. **bitun*; or an infin. **beuoan*, *to offer*, pret. sing. **bauo*; pret. plur. *buoun*; or an infin. **bindan*, *to bind*, pret. sing. **band*; pret. plur. **bndun*, later *bundun*. From these examples it may be seen that *ei* and *ai* were shortened to *i* when unstressed; *eu* and *ait* to *u*; *en* and *an* to *n*, which then became *un* (§ 14). In passing down into Old English, these vowels thus graded had their regular developments, as given in Chapter I I , and we get O.E. *bitan*, *bat*, *biton*; *beodan*, *bead*, *budon*; *bindan*, *band*, *bundon*.

In Old English, Vowel Gradation is to be seen clearly in strong verbs only, but originally it worked in all parts of speech, and the same series of vowels were to be found in nouns and adjectives as in verbs. Moreover, since all root syllables and suffixes were sometimes accented and sometimes unaccented, Gradation must have occurred originally in every syllable of every word.

Henoe Vowel Gradation may be defined as the variation of the vowel in stem or suffix within certain regular series, the variation being due to the Indo-Germanic system of variable accentuation.

In Germanic, adjectives and nouns have preserved one form only of the stem, carrying it into all cases. Thus from the root of the verb *bitan* the noun is *bite*, *a bite*, and the adjective *biter*, *bitter*; from that of the verb *beodan*, there is a noun *beod*, *table*, and another, *boda*, *messenger*; connected with *bindan*, there are nouns *zebind*, *a fetter*, *band*, *a band*, and *byndel*, *a bundle*. From the root of a verb of the a—o series (see below), *calan*, pret. col, *to be cold*, there is an adjective col, *cool*, another, *ceald* < *cald*, *cold*, and a noun *ciele* < **ceali* < **caliz*, *a chill*.

In verbs all grades are kept. In Pre-Germanic the accent was on the root syllable in all forms of the present and in the pret. sing. indicative, but it was on a syllable of the ending in the pret. plur. indicative, the pret. sing. and plur. subjunctive, and the past participle. In early Primitive Germanic, however, the accent was fixed by the Germanic Accent Law on the root syllable, and accented (often called strong) grades and unaccented (or weak) grades all had henceforward the treatment of vowels of accented syllables.

Six series of vowels are to be distinguished in Germanic strong verbs:—

I. Indg.	ei	oi	i	i
Germ.	ei > I (§ 13)		i	i
II. Indg.	eu		u	u
Germ.	eu > eo (§ 25)	au	u	u > o (§ 17)
	e + N + C ¹	o	N	N (§ 10, Note 2)
III. Indg.	e + L + C	o	°	L
Germ.	i + N + C (§ 15)	a	u (§ 14)	u
	e + L + C	a	u	u > o (§ 17)
IV. Indg.	e + L or N	o	e (Note 3)	L or N
Germ.	e	a	æ (§ 12)	° u > o
V. Indg.	e	o	e	° æ (Note 4)
Germ.	e	a	æ	e
VI. Indg.	various series			
Germ.	a	o	o	a

¹N = nasal, morn, L = liquid, i or r C = consonaat,

In O.E. the results of the various sound laws given in Chapter I I require many subdivisions in Series III-V, but the following table may be given :—

I.	i	a	i	i
II.	eo	ea	u	o
III.	(a) i + N + C	a	u	u
	(b) e + 1 + C	ea	u	o
	(c) eo + r + C			
	eo + h + C	ea	u	o
IV.	(a) e + L	ae	ae	o
	(b) i + N	o	o	u
V.	e	ae	ae	e
VI.	a	o	o	a

Examples are :—

I.	drifan	draf	drifon	drifen	<i>to drive.</i>
II.	ceosan	ceas	curon	coren	<i>to choose.</i>
III.	(a) bindan	band	bundon	bunden	<i>to bind,</i>
	(b) helpan	healp	hulpon	holpen	<i>to help,</i>
	(c) weoroan	wearp	wurdon	worden	<i>to become,</i>
IV.	(a) beran	baer	baeron	boren	<i>to bear.</i>
	(b) niman	nom	nomon	numen	<i>to take,</i>
V.	metan	meet	maeton	meten	<i>to measure.</i>
VI.	faran	for	foron	faren	<i>to fare.</i>

Besides this stress accentuation, Indo-Germanic also possessed pitch or musical accent. That is to say that differences in meaning between the different forms of the same word could be expressed, not only by the variation in the position of the stress, as illustrated above, but also by a variation of the pitch of the vowel, or in other words by musical accent. The interchange between Indg. e and o, Germ. e and a, in the two forms of the strong grade is generally considered to be due to difference of pitch. From this it will be seen that, while stress accentuation produced chiefly a difference in the quantity or length of the vowel, pitch accentuation brought about a variation in its quality.

Note 1.—It will be seen that Series I-V go back to one in Indo-Germanic in which the interchanging vowels were e—O (of. Greek μένω, μύω, μύ-μνω). The five classes which grew out of it in Germanic are due to the influence of neighbouring sounds,

Note 2.—Class VI, on the other hand, represents several Indo-Germanic series which fell together in Germanic.

Note 8.—Each of the accented vowels could occur in lengthened form. The *e* in the third stem in Glasses IV and V is the lengthened form of the *e* of the present, and is an exception to the general scheme of accentuation given above.

Note 4.—*ə* in the past part, of Glass V is the weakened form of this *e*. Indg. *ə* gave *e* in Prim. Germ, in unaccented syllables, not *a* (§ 12), as when accented in Germanic.

Note 5.—The *u* of the weak grade of Classes II and I I I in Germanic will be seen to be of different origins. It goes back to Indg. *u* in Glass I I, but to a vocalic liquid or nasal in Glass I I I. The later history is, however, the same.

Note 6.—Gothic shows traces of a 7th Series, *e*, *o* for Germ. *æ*, *o*, not found in O.E. verbs, as Goth, *letan*, *lailot*, *letans*, *to cause*.

CHAPTER VI

CONSONANTS

I

THE TREATMENT OF INDO-GERMANIC CONSONANTS IN GERMANIC.

GRIMM'S LAW OR THE FIRST SOUND SHIFT

§ 54. Indo-Germanic possessed the following consonant system:

		Labials.	Dentals.	Palatals.	Velars.	
Stop Consonants.	{ Simple	{ voiceless	p	t	k	q
		{ voiced	b	d	g	0
	{ Aspirated	{ voiceless	Ph	th	kh	qh
		{ voiced	bh	dh		gh
	Spirants	{ voiceless		ʃ		
		{ voiced		z	j	
Liquids			l,r			
Nasals		m	n	ɳ	ŋ	
Semivowels		w, (u)		i,(i)		

Of these the spirants, liquids, nasals, and semivowels remained in Germanic, but the stop consonants all underwent a regular change. For the treatment of the velars see § 59. This development of the stop consonants from Indo-Germanic into Germanic is frequently called Grimm's Law, because it constitutes one stage in the history of consonants as formulated by Jacob Grimm in the second edition of his *German Grammar*, published in 1822. It is also called the First Sound Shift in order to distinguish it from the second stage, the treatment of Germanic consonants in Old High German, known as the Second Sound Shift.

Note 1.—The Indg. aspirated consonants were double consonants, with both elements heard, as in N.E. shepherd, boathook.

Note 2.—For the pronunciation and nature of the consonants treated in this Chapter the student should refer to Chapter I, §§ 4, 6. It may be useful to repeat briefly that *p* is used for the sound of the *th* in *think*, *o* for that in *then*; and to add that *r* represents approximately the sound of N.E. *v*; that of *ch* in Scotch *loch*; *z* is a voiced spirant as in German *tag*, *weg*; *g* represents the corresponding stop consonant as in N.E. *good*; *u* and *i* represent those vowels when used as consonants; the symbol 13 is used for the *n* heard before a *g* or *k*, as in N.E. *bring*, *drink*, **ŋ** for that heard before a velar (§ 59), as in Latin *in*quo.

§ 55. The Indg. voiceless stop consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, became first *ph*, *th*, *kh*, falling in at this stage with the original *ph*, *th*, *kh*, and with them passed on to the voiceless spirants *f*, *p*, *x*. Examples are:—

- p. Grk. **πούς**, Lat. *pes*, O.E. *tot*, *foot*; Grk. **πέλλα**, Lat. *pellis*, O.E. *fell*, *skin*, *hide*; Lat. *porcus*, O.E. *fearh*, *pig*; Lat. *capio*, *I take hold*, Goth. *hafjan*, O.E. *pret. sing.*, *hof*, *raised*; Lat. *nepos*, O.E. *nefa*, *nephew*, *grandson*.
- t. Grk. **τρεῖς**, Lat. *tres*, O.E. *prie*, *three*; Grk. Dor. **τύ**, Lat. *tu*, O.E. *pu*, *thou*; Grk. **φράτηρ**, member of a clan, Lat. *frater*, Goth. *bropar*, O.E. *broor*, *brother*; Lat. *verto*, *I turn*, Goth. *wairpan*, O.E. *weoroan*, *to become*.
- k. Grk. **κύων**, Lat. *canis*, O.E. *hund*, *hound*-, Lat. *cano*, *I sing*, O.E. *hana*, *cock*; Lat. *duco*, *Head*, O.E. *teon*, for older **teohan*, *to draw*; Lat. *pecus*, O.E. *feoh*, *cattle*, *property*.

Examples of *ph*, *th*, *kh* are rare, but cf. Grk. **σφάλλω**, *to trip up*, and O.E. *feallan*, *to fall*; Grk. **ἀσκηθής**, *unhurt*, and O.E. *sceppan*, *to injure*; Lat. *habere*, from Indg. root **khabh*, and O.E. *habban*, *to have*.

§ 56. The voiced stop consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, became unvoiced to *p*, *t*, *k*. Examples are:—

- b. Grk. (Thracian) **βαίτη**, O.E. *pad*, *coat*; Lat. *lubricus*, O.E. *slupan*, *to slip*.
- d. Grk. **δύω**, O.E. *twa*, *two* (neut.); Grk. **δδούς**, gen. **δδόντος**, O.E. *toʒ*, *tooth*; Lat. *edd*, O.E. *etan*, *to eat*; Lat. *seded*, O.E. *sittan*, *to sit*.
- g. Grk. **γόνυ**, Lat. *genu*, O.E. *cneo*, *knee*; Grk. **αγρός**, Lat. *ager*, O.E. *aeer*, *field*, *acre*; Grk. **ἴγω**, Lat. *ego*, O.E. *ic*, *I*.

§ 57. The voiced aspirates *bh*, *dh*, *gh* became first the voiced spirants *b*, *3*. Then in early Prim. Germ, they passed on to *b*,

d, g, after nasals, i.e. in the groups mb, nd, ng, and b, C underwent the same change initially. Examples are :—

bh. Skr. bharami, Grk. *φέρω*, Lat. fero, O.E. *beran*, *to bear*; Skr. bhratar, Grk. *φράτηρ*, member of a clan, Lat. frater, O.E. *bro or, brother*; Skr. jambhas, *tooth*, O.E. *camb, comb*; Skr. nabhas, O. Sax. nebal, *cloud*, O.E. nifol, *dark*.

dh* Skr. mi-daghas, for older *ni-dhaghas, *summer*, O.E. *dæ, day*; Grk. *θυγάτηρ* (*θ* - Indg. dh), O.E. *dohtor, daughter*; Skr. bhandhanam, *a binding*, O.E. *bindan, to bind*; Skr. madhyas, Lat. medius, Goth. midjis, O.E. midd, *middle* (§ 64).

gh. Indg. *ghostis, Lat. hostis, O.E. *3iest, stranger*) Grk. *λέχος* (from Indg. root *Iegh), O.E. *le3er, bed*; Skr. jangha, *leg*, O.E. *gangan, to go*.

Note.—Every initial b, d, g, must be of this origin, and also every O.E. d which occurs medially in forms in which Verner's Law cannot have worked (§§ 63, 66).

§ 58. Under certain conditions this development did not take place.

(1) (a) p, t, k remained unchanged after s. Examples are :—

p. Grk. *σπάθη*, *sword*, O.E. spada, *spade*; Lat. spuo, O.E. spiwan, *to spew*.

t. Grk. *ἀστήρ*, Lat. stella, O.E. steorra, *star*; Grk. *ιστάναι*, Lat. stare, O.E. standan, *to stand*; Lat. hostis, O.E. Ziest, *stranger*; Lat. hesternus, *of yesterday*, O.E. 3istran-da&3, *yesterday*.

k. Grk. *σκιὰ*, *shadow*, O.E. scinan, *to shine*; Lat. piscis, O.E. fisc, *fish*.

(6) t remained unchanged also in the Germ. groups, ft, xt» as Lat. captus, O.E. haeft, *prisoner*; Grk. *κλέπτης*, *thief*, Goth. hliftus, N.E. *to lift*, in sense of *stealing*; Grk. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. octo, O.E. eahta, *eight*.

Note.—th became t in these groups and after s, as in the original ending of the 2nd pers. sing. pret. indie, of strong verbs, seen in O.E. in preterite-present verbs, as Indg. *memoghtha, O.E. meaht, *mightest*.

(2) The following modification of the First Sound Shift is of importance since it explains the twofold development which might arise in Germanic from one root, and therefore the connection in Old English between parts of a verb as widely divergent as byegan,

to *buy*, pret. *bohte*, or between related words such as *scleppan*, to *create*, and *zesceaft*, *creature*.

Already in Pre-Germanic every labial had become *p*, every dental, *t*, and every palatal, *k*, by assimilation to a following *t* or *s*. Cf. Lat. pret. *nupsi*, past part, *nuptum*, beside *nubere*, to *veil*, *be married*; Lat. pret. *rexī*, past part, *rectum*, beside *regere*, to *rule*, and, with a later development of *tt* to *ss* or *s*, Lat. *missum*, past part, of *mittere*, to *send*; *visum*, past part, of *videre*, to *see*. In Germ, *pt*, *ps* became *ft*, *fs*; *kt*, *ks* became *xt*, *xs*, and *tt*, *ts* became *ss* or, after a long vowel, *s*. Later *ss* was frequently replaced by *st* from the influence of forms in which *st* was regular.

Examples of the twofold development which might thus arise in Germanic from one root are: Goth, *bugjan*, O.E. *bycgan*, to *buy*, from Indg. **bhughjonom*, but Goth, *bauhta*, O.E. *bohte*, in the pret. from Indg. **bhuktet*; O.E. *etan*, to *eat*, from an Indg. root **ed*, cf. Lat. *edere*, but O.E. *ces*, *food*, from Indg. **ettls*, older **edtis*; O.E. *ziefan*, to *give*, from an Indg. root **ghebh*, but O.E. *zīft*, *wedding*, from Indg. **gheptis*; Goth, *skapjan*, O.E. *scieppan*, to *create*, from an Indg. root **skob*, but O.E. *sceaft*, *shaft*, *zesceaft*, *creature*, from Indg. **skoptis* (cf. Grk. Dor. *σκάπτων*, *staff*); O.E. *witan*, to *know*, from an Indg. root **wid* (cf. Lat. *videre*, to *see*), but O.E. pret *wisse*, from Indg. **wittet*, and 2nd pers. singular O.E. *wast* for **was*, from Indg. **woitta*, older **woidtha* (§ 58, Note). Other examples are O.E. *buzan*, to *bend*, beside *byht*, a *bay*; *hebban*, to *raise*, beside *hteft*, *handle*; *hatan*, to *command*, beside *hæs*, a *command*; *mæz*, *I may*, beside the pret. *mihte*, and *meaht*, *power*.

VELARS

§ 59. The treatment of Velars in Germanic has been much obscured by analogical formation. They are not of frequent occurrence, but, as a knowledge of their history is wanted to explain the divergent forms of the much used verbs to *see* and to *come*, a brief account is given here.

Indo-Germanic possessed, besides the palatals treated above, velars or consonants formed under the soft palate. These were pronounced sometimes with labialization, or rounding of the lips, sometimes without. In the second case their history in Germanic is that of the palatals and calls for no further notice. If, however, they were pronounced with labialization, the labial element was preserved in Germanic under certain conditions, *q* becoming *xw*

and in O.E. *hw* initially, but elsewhere *h*; *9* becoming *q* (*kw* in sound, written *cw* in O.E.) and *gh* giving *5w*, which became *w* in O.K. It has been thought that the labial element was kept before the Indg. non-labial vowels, *a*, *a*, *e*, *e*, *i*, *i*, which gave Germ. *a*, *o*, *e*, *æ*, *i*, *i*, and not in other positions, but the question is not settled. Examples are: Lat. *quia*, O.E. *hwa*, *who*, whence *hw* was introduced into *hwaet*, Lat. *quod*; Indg. **giwus*, Lat. *vivus*, O.E. *cwicu*, *alive*, *quick*; O.E. *cwomon*, *came*, from an older **qæmun* (§ 29, 1, *d*), beside the infinitive *cuman*; O.E. *sawon*, pret. plur. of *seon*, *to see*, beside Anglian *scejon*.

Note.—The fall explanation of the variation in the consonants of these verbs is as follows: While the Indg. infinitive **seononm* (of. Lat. *sequor*, *1 follow*) gave Germ. **sehana(n)*, and O.E. *seon* for **seohan*, *to see*, and the Indg. pret. plur. indicative **seqnt* gave Germ. **sæhun*, later *sæzun* (§ 61), O.E. *sæzon* (preserved in the Anglian dialects), the Indg. pret. subjunctive **seqint* gave Germ. **sæzwîn*, O.E. *sawen*, with *w* from *zw*, with the labial element kept before the *i*. From this was made the W.S. indicative *sawon*. In the same way O.E. *cuman* goes back to a Germ. **kumanan*, but O.E. *cwomon* to a Germ. **qæmun*, from Indg. **gemnt*.

§ 60. In a few instances Indg. labialized *q* was replaced in Pre-Germanic by the labial *p*, if the syllable contained another labial consonant. This *p* then fell in with the original Indg. *p* and became *f* in Germ., as in Lat. *quattuor*, general Indg. **qetwores*, but Pre-Germ. **petuores*, Goth. *fidwor*, O.E. *fewer*, *four*; Lat. *quinque*, general Indg. **penque*, but Pre-Germ. **penpe*, Goth. *fimf*, O.E. *fit*, *five*; general Indg. **ulqos*, but Pre-Germ. **ulpos*, Goth. *wulfs*, O.E. *wulf*, *wolf*.

VERNER'S LAW

§ 61. Early in Primitive Germanic the voiceless spirants, *f*, *p*, *X*, *X^w*, which had arisen according to § 65, and *s* underwent an important modification. They remained only when initial or when preceded by the principally accented vowel of the word. In other positions they were voiced, becoming *b*, *8*, *z*, *zW* and *z* respectively.

A commonly accepted formulation of this law is that the medial and final voiceless spirants *f*, *p*, *x* *x^w* and *s* became voiced regularly to *b*, *8*, *z*, *zW* and *z* when the vowel immediately preceding

them did not, according to the original Indg. system of accentuation, bear the principal accent of the word.

In O.E. *b* was written *f*; by a later law *b* passed into *d* (§ 66); *X^w* into *h* (§ 59); *nx* into *x*, later *h* (§ 6z); *zW* into *w* (§ 59); *ng* remained, and *z* became *r* (§ 66). The pairs of consonants which arose by this law are therefore represented in O.E. by *p* (*C*) and *d*; *h* and *g*; *h* and *w*; *h* and *ng*; *s* and *r*, while in the labiafc the distinction is lost in writing.

Examples are most clearly seen in the conjugation of strong verbs. In Indo-Germanic the position of the accent had been variable. In Pre-Germanic it had fallen on the stem syllable in all forms of the present and in the pret. sing. indie, but in the pret. plur. indie, the pret. subj. and past part, it was on a syllable of the ending; in those parts of the verb therefore the second form of the consonant is found (see Chap. V, § 5z). Thus in Primitive Germanic we get an infin. **we'rpanan*, to *become*, pret. sing. **warp*, but pret. plur. **wuroun*, past part. **woroenaz*, and similarly **teuxanan*, to *draw*, **taux*, but **tuzun*, **tozenaz*; **sehanan*, to *see* **sah*, but **sæzun*, **sazwin*, **sezwenaz* (§ 59, Note); *fa(n)xanan*, to *seize*; but **fefangun*, **fangenaz*; **wesanan*, to *be*, **was*, but **wæzun*, **wezenaz*, and in O.E. *weoroan*, *wearp*, but *wurdon*, *worden*; *teon* (older **teoxan*), *teah*, but *tuzon*, *tozen*; *seon* (older **seoxan*), *seah*, but *sæzon* (*sawon*), *sezen* (*sewen*); *fdn* (older **foxan*), but *fengon*, *fangen*; *wesan*, *wæs*, but *wæron*.

On the other hand Prim. Germ. pret. sing. *hof*, *raised*, plur. **hobun*, past part. **hafeenaz* became in O.E. *hof*, *hofon*, *hafen*, with the distinction lost.

§ 62. Examples of Verner's Law in other parts of speech than strong verbs are: O.E. *eyre*, *choice*, beside *ceosan*, to *choose*; *cwide*, a *speech*, beside *cweoan*, to *speak*; *dead*, *dead*, beside *deap*, *death*; *lyre*, *loss*, beside *forleosan*, to *lose*; *lad*, *journey*, and *Uedan*, to *lead*, beside *lioan*, to *go*, *travel*; *reran*, to *rear*, beside *risan*, to *rise*; *sand*, a *message*, and *sendan*, to *send*, beside *sio*, a *journey*, earlier **sinps*; *-toza*, in *heretoza*, *leader*, beside *teon*, from **teoxan*, to *draw*, *lead out*; the suffix *-tiz*, as in *twentiz*, *twenty*, etc., beside *tien*, O.H.G. *tehan*, *ten*; *wyrd*, *fate*, beside *weoroan*, to *become*.

Note 1.—For this voicing of a voiceless consonant, except initially and after an accented vowel, cf. the pronunciation in N.E. of *x*, as in *exercise* and *exert*.

Note 2.—After Vomer's Law had worked, the accent was fixed on the root syllable of the word (§ 5).

Note 8.—It will be observed that the two phenomena of Verner's Law and Vowel Gradation (§ 53) are results of the same cause, the variable position of the accent in the parent language, as seen respectively in consonants and vowels.

LOSS OF N

§ 6z. After Verner's Law had worked, but still in the Prim. Germ. period, n fell before the spirant x, with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (§ 20). Examples are: Goth. *fahan*, O.E. **fohan* > *fon* (§ 7z, 2), *to seize*, from older **fan_xanan*, beside the past part. O.E. *zefangen*, in which n has been kept before g; Goth. *peihan*, O.E. **pihan* > *piohan* > *peon* (§ 20), *to prosper*, from **pinhanan*, beside O.E. *zepungen*, *excellent*, the past part, used as an adjective; the preterites, Goth. *pahta*, O.E. *pohte*, *thought*, and Goth. *puhta*, O.E. *puhte*, *seemed*, beside the presents Goth. *pagkjan*, O.E. *pencean*, *to think*, and Goth. *pugkjan*, O.E. *pyncean*, *to seem*, with n preserved before k.

DOUBLINGS

§ 64. Later, during the W.Germ. period, a number of double consonants arose. Every single consonant except r was doubled after a short vowel before j. The double voiced spirants, bb, , zz, which arose from this cause, became the stop consonants, bb, dd, gg, written eg in O.E. Examples are : Goth. plur. *badja*, O.E. *bedd*, *beds*; Goth. *bidjan*, O.E. *biddan*, *to pray*; Goth. *hafjan*, O.E. *hebban*, through the stage **haban* (§ 61), *to raise* ; Goth. *halja*, O.E. *hell*, *hell*; Goth. plur. *kunja*, O.E. *cynn*, *race*; Goth. *lagjan*, O.E. *lecgan*, *to lay*; Goth. *satjan*, O.E. *settan*, *to set*; Goth. *sibja*, O.E. *sibb*, *peace*; Goth. *skapjan*, O.E. *sceppan*, *to scathe* ; Goth. *gatalan*, O.E. *temman*, *to tame*; but Goth. *harjis*, O.E. *here*, *army* ; Goth. *nasjan*, older **nazjan*, O.E. *nerian* (§ 66), *to save*, with r undoubled.

Note.—j had disappeared at an earlier date before i (§74, 2), hence this doubling did not take place in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. pres. indie, and in the imperative sing. of verbs, since the personal endings of these forms had been in Prim. Germ. -Is, -ip, and -i. cf. O.E. *hefest*, *hefe* , *hefe*, beside *hebban*, *to raise*; *leze*st, *Ieze* , *leze*, beside *lecgan*, *to lay*; *sete*st, *sete* , *sete*, beside *settan*, *to set*.

§ 65. While a large proportion of the O.E. double consonants is due to this source, a few arose at this time from other causes.

(a) p, t, k, x were doubled after short vowels by an l or r which followed immediately. Examples are: O.Icel. epli, O.E. aeppl, *apple*; Goth. baitrs, O.E. bitter, *bitter*; Goth. snutrs, O.E. snottor, *wise*; Goth. tagrs, W. Germ. *tahr, O.E. (North.) taehher, *tear*.

Note.—A vowel was developed in early W.Germ. before any liquid or nasal which had become sonant by the loss of final syllables in Prim. Germ. (§ 48, B, 4), as in Goth. matyms, older *maipmaz, *gift*, O.E. mappum, *treasure*; Goth. fugls, older *fuzlaz, O.E. fuzol, *fowl*; Goth. snutrs, older *snutraz, O.E. snotor, *wise*. Doubling could take place, therefore, only in the inflected forms in which the liquid or nasal still followed the final consonant of the root immediately; from those it was frequently borrowed into the uninflected forms as above. On the other hand in some cases the single consonant of the uninflected forms was carried through, as in Goth. akrs, O.E. aecer, *acre*, *field*; O.E. tear, older *tahur, *tear*.

(b) Another small number of doubled consonants arose in the n-declension in those cases in which the n stood immediately after the final consonant of the root. Later the doubled consonant was usually replaced by the single consonant of the other cases, but in a certain number of instances the converse took place and the double consonant was carried through the whole declension. Examples are: cnotta, *knot*; dogga, *dog*; ebba, *ebb*; frogga, *frog*; smipple, *smithy*; stagga, *stag*.

Note 1.—For the forms in which n originally followed the stem consonant cf. Goth. abne, gen. plur., and abnam, dat. plur. of aba, *man*; watnam, dat. plur. of wato, *water*; and O.E. gen. plur. like eazna, from eaze, *eye*; Francna, gen. plur. of Francan, *Franks*.

Note 2.—The double back stop gg of O.E. is of this origin.

TREATMENT OF P, T, Z AND R

§ 66. During this period an isolative modification of two consonants took place.

(a) Prim. Germ. C from Indg. dh (§ 67), or due to Verner's Law (§ 61), became d, as Germ. *bi an, Goth. beidan (d = b), O.E. bidan,

to abide; Goth. *hatibidia*, gen. sing. of *haublp*, O.E. *heafodes*, *heafod*, *head*; Germ. **wur un*, O.E. *wurdon*, pret. plur. indic. of *weor an*, *to become*.

(b) *z* from Indg. *z* or *s* by Vomer's Law became *r*, as Goth. *huzd*, O.E. *hord*, *hoard*, *treasure*; Goth. *maiza*, O.E. *mara*, *more*. This *r* fell in O.E. when final, as Germ. **karo**z*, Goth. *karos*, O.E. *cara*, plut. of *cearu*, *care*; Germ. **dazaz*, Goth. *dags*, O.E. *dæz*, *day*.

Note.—Comparatively late in the O.E. period *r* sometimes underwent metathesis with a preceding vowel in words containing an *s* or *n*. Examples are: Goth. *brinnan*, O.E. *blernan*, *to burn*; O.H.G. *brestan*, O.E. *berstan*, *to burst*; O.H.G. *gras*, O.E. *gaers*, *grass*; O.H.G. *hros*, O.E. *hors*, *horse*; Goth. *razn*, O.E. *aern*, *house*; Goth., O.H.G. *rinnan*, O.E. *iernan*, *to run*.

This metathesis took place too late for Breaking (§ 20) to follow. *Biernan* and *iernan* have borrowed their diphthongs from other verbs of the 3rd class of strong verbs, such as *weor an*, *to become*, *zrd pers. sing. wierp*.

II

TREATMENT OF GERMANIC CONSONANTS IN OLD ENGLISH

LOSS OF N

§ 67. *n*, which had already fallen in Prim. Germ. before *x* (§ 6z), fell in early O.E. before the other spirants, *f*, *s*, *p*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (§ 29), as in Goth. *fimf*, O.E. *fit*, *five*; O.H.G. *gans*, O.E. *gos*, *goose*; Goth. *hansa*, O.E. *hos*, *company*; Goth. *munps*, O.E. *mup*, *mouth*; Goth. *sinps*, O.E. *si*?, *journey*, *time*; W. Germ. **tanp*, O.H.G. *tand*, O.E. *top*, *tooth*.

Note.—Apparent exceptions are *claensian*, older **claenisian*, *to cleanse*, in which the *n* came to stand before *s* only after the loss of a vowel; *pinsian*, *to consider*, borrowed from the Latin after this law had ceased to work; *manst*, and *canst*, 2nd pers. sing. of *munan*, *to think*, and *cunnan*, *to know*, in which the *s* was inserted later.

TREATMENT OF SPIRANTS

§ 68. The voiceless spirants, *f*, *h*, *p*, became the corresponding voiced sounds, as heard in N.E. *v*, *z*, and the *th* in *then*, (a) between vowels, between a vowel and a liquid or nasal, and between a liquid and a vowel, (6) in unaccented syllables or words. Examples are :

(a) O.E. gen. **lifes**, infin. **ceorfan**, with the *v* sound beside a nom. **lif**, *life*, or pret. sing. **cearf**, *carved*, with that of *f*; O.E. **bysiz**, *busy*; gen. sing. **huses**, and **gaerses**, with the *z* sound, beside a nom. **hus**, *house*, and **gaers**, *grass*, with that of *s*. Goth. **qipan**, but O.E. **cwe an**, *to say*; Goth. **maipms**, *gift*, but O.E. **ma mas(plur.)**, *treasure*; Goth. **wairpan**, but O.E. **weor an**, *to become*; (6) Goth. **at** with *I* sound, but O.E. of with that of *v*, *of*, *from*; Goth. **dagos** with sound of *s*, but O.E. **dazas** with that of *z*, *days*; Goth. **pata**, but O.E. **aet**, *that*; Goth. **pus**, but D.E. **u**, *thou*.

Note.—For the use of the symbols *p* and *8* see Chap. I, 4, *a*, *Note*.

§ 69. Voiced *f* for Germ. *b* (§§ 54, *Note* 2; 57) was unvoiced when final in an accented syllable, as Goth. **giban**, O.E. **ziefan**, *to give*, and Goth. **h airban**, O.E. **hweorfan**, *to turn*, in which *f* has the sound of *v*, but O.E. pret. sing. **zeaf** and **hwearf**, in which it has that of *f*; or O.E. **leafes** (*f* = *v*), but nom. **leaf** (*f* = *f*), *leaf*.

GERMANIC PALATALS IN OLD ENGLISH

C

§ 70. In Chap. I, § 4, 6, *c* some practical rules were given for the pronunciation of O.E. *c* and *g*, for the guidance of the **beginner**. A fuller treatment of the question is now possible. Germanic *k* was a voiceless back palatal stop with the sound of N.E. *c* in **cool** (back 1), or of N.E. *k* in **kin** (back 2), see § 6, *c*, 1. In O.E. the writing *c* was adopted.

(1) Initially before the originally front vowels *æ*, *æ*, *e*, *e*, *i*, *i*, *ea*, *ea*, *eo*, *eo*, and their mutated forms, *e*, *ie*, *ie*, *c* (back 2) became a front palatal in O.E., and during the O.E. period, at a time impossible to determine exactly, it was developed to the sound of N.E. **ch**, though the writing *c* was retained. Medially the same development took place when *c* had been originally followed by *i* or *i*, and finally when *c* stood after *i* or *i*. Examples are : **ceaf**, older **cæf* (§ 22), *chaff*; **ceald**, older **cæld* (§ 20), from **cald**, M.E. **chald**, *cold*; **ceorl**, older **cerl*, *churl*; **cieres**, Lat. *cerasum*, *cherry*; **cinn**, *chin*; **cidan**, *to chide*; **ceap**, Germ. **kaup* (§ 24), *cheap*; **ceosan**, Germ. **keusan* (§ 25), *to choose*; **dele** (§ 24), older **ceali* < **cæli*, *chill*; **ciese**, older **ceasi* < **cæsi*, Lat. *caseus*, *cheese*; **bene**, older **bankiz*, *bench*; **sprece**, older **sprækiz*, *speech*; **peccan**, older **pakjan* (§ 64), *to cover*, *thatch*; **tæcan**, older **taiikjan*, *to teach*; **dic**, *ditch*; **ic**, M.E. *ich*, *I*; **lie**, *body*, N.E. *lych* in *lychgate*.

Note.— This development of the *c* began after the O.B. modification of the Germ. diphthongs, since it occurs before *ea* from Germ. **au**. It preceded Diphthongization (§ 82), which was due to the fronting of the consonant. It also preceded the working of *i* mutation, since it does not take place before front vowels due to that law, as in *cene*, older ***conja**, *keen*.

(2) Initially before back vowels, whether later mutated or not, and before consonants, and medially and finally, except in the positions given above, *c* remained a back palatal stop consonant.

Initially before front vowels due to *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34), medially and finally in the neighbourhood of front vowels other than *i*, *c* was a back (2) palatal like N.E. **k** in **kin**, as in **cene**, *keen*; **cynig**, *king*; **baec**, *back*, gen. *baeces*. In other positions it was a back (1) palatal like N.E. *c* in *cool*. Examples are: **cann**, *can*; **col**, *cool*; *cup*, *known*; **claene**, *clean*; **cneo**, *knee*; **bacan**, *to bake*; *sprecan*, *to speak*; **boc**, *book*.

sc

§ 71. *sc* had a similar development to that of front *c*, becoming at some time during the O.E. period the sound represented in N.E. by *sh*, as in **scamu**, *shame*; **scan**, *shout*; **sceal**, *shall*; **sceap**, *sheep*; **sceolde**, *should*; *sceo*, *shoe*; **scunian**, *to shun*; **scleran**, *to shear*.

For the writing **see** for *sc* before back vowels see Chap. I I, § 22.

§ 72. Germanic possessed a voiced back palatal stop *g* after *n* (§ 57), or when doubled (§§ 64, 65, 6), and a voiced back palatal spirant *z*.

(1) In O.E. *g* became a front palatal stop when originally followed by a *J* (O.E. *eg*, *ng*), and at some time during the O.E. period, impossible to determine exactly, this *g* was developed to the sound of **dg** in N.E. **edge**. Examples are: Prim. Germ. ***azJd**, W.Germ. ***aggu**, O.E. *ecg*, *sword*; Prim. Germ. ***sazjan**, W.Germ. ***saggan**, O.E. **secgan**, *to say*; Prim. Germ. ***sangjan**, O.E. **seng(e)an**, *to singe*.

(2) In other positions Germ. *g* remained the back palatal stop (N.E. *g*) in O.E., as in Goth, **briggan**, O.E. **bringan**, *to bring*; O.E. **dogga**, *dog*; O.E. **frogga**, *frog*; O.E. **zefangen**, *past part*, of *Ion*, *to sei*; Goth, **laggs**, O.E. **lang**, *long*.

Note 1.—In O.E. the writing *eg* was generally used to distinguish the double front stop from the back, which was written *gg*.

Note 2.—The front *g* in the group *ng* was very rare. It may be detected by the mutation of the preceding vowel.

(3) During the O.E. period the back spirant *z* became the back stop initially before back vowels, their mutated forms, and before consonants. Examples are: O.E. *galan*, to *sirtg*; *gatu*, *gatet*; *ges*, *geese*; *god*, *good*; *guma*, *man*; *gylden*, *golden*; *grene*, *green*, from earlier *zalan*, etc.

(4) In other positions Germ. *z* remained a spirant in O.E., but its character varied according to position. Initially before the originally front vowels *at*, *æ*, *c*, *e*, *i*, *i*, *ea*, *ea*, *eo*, *eo*, and their mutated forms *e*, *ie*, *ie*, *z* was fronted to a sound approximately that of N.E. *y* in *young*.

Medially between and probably after front vowels and before *1* or *)*, and finally after front vowels, the development was the same. Examples are: *zeard*, from **zærd* (§ *z0*), *yard*; *zeat*, from **zaet* (§ *z2*), *gate*; *zeac*, *cuckoo*; *zeafon*, older *zæfon*, *gave*; *zeotan*, to *pour*; *ziefan*, older *zefan*, to *give*; *ziest*, older **zeast* (§ *z4*), from **zæst*, *stranger*; *onznann*, to *begin*; *byriz*, older **burziz*, *cities*; *byrzan*, older **burzjan* (§ *z4*), to *bury*; *dæz*, gen. sing. *dæzes*, *day*; *wez*, gen. sing. *wezes*, *way*; *wiza*, *warrior*.

(5) Medially between and probably after back vowels *z* remained a back palatal spirant (§ 4, *c*), as in *boza*, *bow*; *dazas*, *days*; *fuzol*, *bird*; *tozen*, past part. of *teon*, to *draw*.

(6) In early O.E. *z* final was probably unvoiced to *x* at the time that *D* was unvoiced to *f* (§ 69). But *z* was regularly reintroduced from related forms in which it had remained, being medial. In late O.E., however, *x*, written *h*, appears after back vowels and the liquids *r* and *l*, as in L.O.E. *boh*, earlier *boz*, *bough*; *burh*, earlier *burz*, *borough*, *town*; *zenoh*, earlier *zenoz*, *enough*; *sorh*, earlier *sorz*, *sorrow*.

Note.—The conditions under which *z* became the front palatal medially are not quite clear, analogical formations having obscured the question. Some authorities consider that it depended on the quality of the following vowel, not of the preceding, as given above.

(7) Front *z* (i.e. *z* after a front vowel) fell during the O.E. period before *d*, *C*, and *n*, as in *bredan*, from *brezdan*, to *weave*, *brandish*;

frinan, from **friznan**, *to ask*; nueden, from **madden**, *maiden*; **ren**, from rezn, *rain*; waen, from **wæzn**, *wain, waggon*.

*Not**.—z has been lost in two words after back vowels by analogy with forms in which it fell regularly, these are: broden for brozden, past part, of bre(z)dan, *to move quickly*, and frunon, frunen, for fruznon, fruznen, pret plur. and

- past part, of fri(z)nan, *to ask*.

h

§ 7z. (1) The Germanic spirant x (§§ 64, Note 2; 66) became the aspirate h in O.E. initially before vowels and in the groups hi, hn, hr, as in hand, *hand*; heorte, *heart*; hleapan, *to leap, to run*; hnizan, *to bow*; hrcefen, *raven*. It remained the voiceless palatal spirant, written h, in the groups hw, ht, when doubled and when final, as in hwit, *white*; niht, *night*; hliehhan, *to laugh*; heah, *high* (§ 4, d).

(2) Medially between or before vowels h is found only in the earliest O.E. records. Intervocalic and antevocalic h fell about the year 700, with contraction or compensatory lengthening of the vowel (§§ z9, c; 49,1). Examples are: (a) *Intervocalic h*: O.E. **peon**, from older *piohan, *to prosper*, O.H.G. dihan; feos, from *feohes, gen. sing, of feoh, *property*; near, from older *neahor, comparative of neah, *near*; seon, from older *seohan, *to see*, O.H.G. sehan; slean, from older *sleahan, *to strike*, O.H.G. slahan. (b) *Antevocalic h*: meares, gen. sing, of mearh, *horse*; series, gen. sing, of seolh, *seal*.

Note.—It will be observed that the loss of h was later than Breaking.

J

§ 74. (1) Germ. j was a front palatal spirant. Initially it remained in O.E., falling in with the front palatal z (§ 72,4), and was expressed generally by the same symbol z, as Goth. Jer, O.E. zear, *year*; Goth. **juk**, O.E. zeoc, *yoke*; Goth. Juggs, O.E. zeong, *young*.

Note 1.—For the writing ze before back vowels see § 82.

Note 2.—The writing j occurs sometimes in Anglian texts, especially before u, as in **lung**, *young*.

(2) (a) Medial J fell early before a following I, as in Goth, **lagjls**, Pre-O.E. *lazls, O.E. *lezest, layest*, beside Goth, **lagjan**, O.E. **lecgan**, *to lay* (§ 64, Note), and after a long syllable ending in a consonant, whether originally long or become so by doubling (§ 64), as in Goth, **domjan**, O.E. **deman**, *to judge*; Goth, **hairdjös**, O.E. **hierdas**,

shepherds; Goth, *badja*, O.E. *bedde*; Goth, *kunja*, O.E. **cyane dat** *sing*, of *bedd*, *bed*, and *cynn*, *kin*.

(b)) also probably fell between vowels, as in Germ. *salboJan, O.E. *sealfian*, *to salve*; Germ. *winijon, O.E. *winia*, gen. plur. of *wine*, *friend*,

(c)) was vocalized to *i* in O.E. after a short syllable ending in -r (§ 64), as in Goth, *harjos*, O.E. *herlas*, *armies*; Goth, *nasjan*, O.E. *nerian*, *to save*.

Note.—A glide *z*, or *ze* before *a*, was frequently introduced later between *1* and the following vowel, as in *herizeas*, nom. plur., and *herlze*, dat. sing. of *here*, *army*; *sealfizean*, infin., and *sealfize*, 1st pers. sing., *I salve*; *wlnizea*, gen. plur. of *wine*, *friend*.

(z)) which had become final in O.E. after the loss of an unaccented syllable (§§ 41, 4z) was vocalized to *i*, later *e*, as in Germ. *harjaz, O.E. *heri* > *here*, *army*; Germ. *hirdjaz, O.E. *hierdi* > *hierde*, *shepherd*; Germ. *rikjam, O.E. *rici > *rice*, *kingdom*.

Note.—Nouns with double consonants in the nom. sing., such as *bedd*, *bed*, *cynn*, *kin*, are new formations from the inflected forms. The true nom. forms would be *bede for *badi, Germ. •bad-Jam; *cyne for *cuni, Germ. *kunjam.

GERMANIC W IN OLD ENGLISH

§ 75. (1) Initial *w* remained as a rule in O.E., as in Goth. *Waldan*, O.E. *wealdan*, *to rule*; Goth, *wigs*, O.E. *wez*, *way*; Goth. *winds*, O.E. *wind*, *wind*; Goth, *wulfs*, O.E. *wuif*, *wolf*; Goth, *wlits*, O.E. *wlite*, *appearance*; Goth, *wraka*, O.E. *wracu*, *persecution*; or after consonants, as in Goth, *qens*, O.E. *cwen*, *queen*, *woman*; Goth. *hras*, O.E. *hwa*, *who*; Goth, *swe*, O.E. **swæ**, *so*.

Note.—Initial *w* was lost in three verbs after the negative particle *ne*, contraction of the vowels following. These verbs are *wesan*, *to be*; *wiilan*, *to will*; and *witan*, *to know*, as in the negative forms: *naes*, *I was not*; *nyllen*, *will not*; *nat*, *I know not*. (Of §§ 197, Note 4; 210, e, Note; 218.)

(2) (a) Medial *w* fell before *u*, as in Germ. *badwu, O.E. *beadu*, *battle*, beside dat. sing. *bead we*; Germ. dat. plur. *zatwum, O.E. *zeatum*, beside nom. plur. *zeatwe*, *ornaments*; L.O.E. *betuh* for *betwuh* < *betweoh*, *between*; L.O.E. *cucu* for *cwucu* < *cwicu* *alive* (§ z8, b).

(b) *w* also fell before *i*, as in Germ. **zarwida*, O.E. *zlerode*, beside *zlerwan*, *to prepare*; Germ. **salwias*, O.E. *sæ*, *sea*.

(c) Between consonants *w* became *o*, as in ace. sing. masc. *zearone*, fern. gen. sing. *zearore*, beside *zearwes*, gen. sing. masc. of *zearu*, *ready*.

(z) Finally, *w* was vocalized to *u*, which had the same later history as original *u* (§ 4z, A, 4). It fell after a long syllable, as in Goth, *snaiws*, O.E. *sna*, *snow*; Goth, *gaidw*, O.E. *gad*, *lack*; but remained after a short syllable ending in a consonant, as in *beam*, nom. sing. of *bearwas*, *grove*; *zearu*, nom. sing., beside plur. *zearwe*, *ready*; and formed a diphthong with a preceding short vowel as in nom. sing. *treo*, *tree*, from **treu* < **trew*, beside gen. sing. *trewes*; *peo*, *servant*, from **peu* < **pew*, beside gen. sing. *pewes*.

In many of the above cases *w* was, however, often reintroduced from related forms in which it had remained, as in O.E. *zeatwutn*, *sæw*, *zierwede*, *snew*, *treow*, *peow*.

*Not**.—In earliest O.E. the writings *u*, *uu* are used for *w*, later the runic *p* becomes general.

O.E. DOUBLING

§ 76. In late O.E. *p*, *t*, *k*, were doubled after long vowels and *d* after all vowels, short or long, before an *r* which followed immediately. The doubled consonant was then frequently borrowed from the forms in which it was regular into other cases of nouns and adjectives. Examples are: E.O.E. *deopra*, comparative of *deop*, *deep*, L.O.E. *deoppa*; E.O.E. *atres*, gen. sing. of *ator*, *poison*, L.O.E. *attres*, *attor*; E.O.E. *grietra*, comparative of *great*, *great*, L.O.E. *griettra*; E.O.E. *ricra*, comparative of *rice*, *mighty*, L.O.E. *riccra*; E.O.E. *aetgeedre*, *together*, L.O.E. *aetgeedre*; E.O.E. *modrlze*, *aunt*, L.O.E. *moddrize*; E.O.E. *nædre*, *adder*, L.O.E. *næddre*.

Either at the same time or later, but before the end of the O.E. period, the long vowel was shortened, giving *deoppa*, *attor*, etc.

Note.—In connection with this O.E. doubling before *r* compare g 64.

CONSONANT SHORTENING

§ 77. Double (or long) consonants were shortened.

(a) When final, as in *æfen*, nom. sing. *evening*, beside gen. sing. *aefennes*; *feor*, older *feorr*, *far*; *weal*, nom. sing. *wall*, beside gen. sing. *wealles*.

(6) Before or after another consonant, as in *clerdon*, pret. plur.

of **cierran**, *to turn*; **ealra**, gen. plur. of **eall**, *all*; **fielp**, zrd **sing**, pres. indie, of **feallan**, *to fall*; wedbryce, *breach of agreement*, beside **wedd**, *agreement*; **andwyrdon** for **andwyrddon**, pret. plur. of **andwyrdan**, *to answer*.

(c) In unaccented syllables, as in **fol**, unaccented form of **full**, *full*; **gydena**, gen. plur. for **gydenna**, *goddesses*; **rodehengene**, dat. **sing**, for **rodehengenne**, *crucifixion*.

*Note*6.—*cg*, the writing for front *gg*, is never shortened.

ASSIMILATION

§ 78. Two consonants of like character are generally assimilated if they come to stand together. Examples are very common, but two large classes may be distinguished. These are:—

(a) In the 2nd and zrd pers. sing, of the pres. indie, of verbs, as in O.E. **bitst**, **bit**, for **bid(e)st**, **bid(e)S**, *prayest*, *prays*; **sitst**, **sit**, for **sit(e)st**, **sit(e)**, *sittest*, *sits*; **stentst**, **stent**, for **stend(e)st**, **stend(e)lp**, *standest*, *stands*.

(b) In the preterites of weak verbs of Class I, as in O.E. **cydde** for **cytJde**, from **cyoan**, *to make known*; **sette** for ***setede**, from **settan**, *to set*; **iecte** for ***iecde**, from **iecan**, *to increase*. Further examples are **emm** for **emn**, from **efn**, *even*; **hremm** for **hraemn**, from **hrefn**, *raven*. For others see Chap. X, §§ 15z, 4; 179.

Note.—Assimilation may be total, as in **bit**, or partial, as in **bitst**; progressive, as in **bitst**, retrogressive, as in **iecte**.

ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER VII

NOUNS

§ 79. Ten declensions of nouns are to be distinguished in O.E. These are the a-, o-, i- and u- or vocalic declensions; the n-, **mono-syllabic**, p-, r- nd- and os-es or consonant declensions.

Of these only the a-, o-, i- and n-declensions contain any great number of nouns. So few remain in the other classes that for practical purposes they may be treated as lists of exceptions.

Note 1.—The terms vocalic and consonant are used on historic grounds, according to whether the stem ended in the earliest (Indg.) period of the language in a vowel or a consonant. The names of the individual declensions represent the form of those vowels and consonants in Germanic. Thus the stem of O.E. **ham**, *home*, was in early Germanic *haima, to which were added the endings of the various cases, as in the nom. sing. **halma-Z**. By the O.E. period the meaning of the terms had in many cases become obscured owing to the loss or weakening of unaccented syllables (§ 41 if.), though it is still to be seen fairly clearly in Gothic.

Note 2.—In some grammars the first and second declensions are called o and a respectively, since those were the forms of the final vowels of the stems in Indo-Germanic. In others, as here, they are called a and o because, since Indg. o became a and Indg. a became o in Germ. (§ 12), those were the forms of the final vowels in Germanic.

§ 80. The O.E. Noun has two numbers, singular and plural; three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter; and four cases, nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative, with traces of a fifth, the locative. It will be seen, from the paradigms which follow, that the accusative has frequently the same form as the nominative.

It should be observed that all genitive plurals end in -a (sometimes en-a); that -es always indicates genitive singular and is the usual ending for masculine and neuter nouns; that -urn is the universal ending of the dative plural, and in nouns occurs only in the dative plural; and that -as may be taken as the representative ending of the nominative and accusative plural of masculine, -a of feminine, and -u of neuter nouns, as far as the latter have a plural ending. Other endings will, however, be found for masculines and feminines.

VOCALIC DECLENSIONS

a- DECLENSION

§ 81. This declension contains masculine and neuter nouns only, and corresponds to the Greek declension of masculine nouns in -os, and neuters in -ov, Latin -us and -urn. It is subdivided into pure a- stems, Ja- stems, and wa- stems.

PURE "a" STEMS

MASCULINE

§ 82. Here belong all compound nouns formed with the suffixes -dom, -els, -ing (not having abstract meaning), and -st«f; those in -ap, -op, and -had, which originally belonged to the u- declension; and nearly all masculine nouns which end in a consonant and have an unmutated vowel.

§ 83. (a) *Monosyllabic Nouns*

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	ham , <i>home</i>	<i>daez</i> , <i>day</i>	seolh , <i>seal</i>	sc(e)oh , <i>shoe</i>
Gen.	hames	<i>dæzes</i>	seoles	sc(e)6s
Dat.	hame	<i>dæze</i>	seole	sc(e)5

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	hamas	dazas	seolas	sc(e)5s
Gen.	hama	daza	seola	sc(e)ona
Dat.	hamum	dazum	seolum	sc(e)ona, sc(e)oum

Examples of Nouns declined like ham are: *ap*, *oath*; *bat*, *boat*; *beaz*, *ring*; *bur*, *chamber*; *ceap*, *price*, *property*; *cniht*, *youth*; *eorl*, *nobleman*; *fisc*, *fish*; *fleam*, *flight*; *zeard*, *yard*; *hint*, *loaf*; *hund*, *dog*; *mor*, *moor*; *rap*, *rope*; *stol*, *seat*; *swan*, *peasant*; *tun*, *village*; *wez*, *way*; *wer*, *man*.

The following are declined like **dæz**: **hwael**, *whale*; **pæp**, *path*; **stef**, *staff*. Like **seolh go healh**, *corner*; **mearh**, *hom*; **wealh**, *foreigner*. Like **sc(e)oh** goes **eoh**, *horse*.

Note 1.—For the interchange of **ae** with **a** see § 27. A similar interchange of **ae** with **a** is seen in **mæz**, *kinsman*, plur. **mazas** or **mæzas**, with **æ** from the sing. (§ 28).

Note 2.—For the loss of **h** see §§ 29, c; 40, 1; 78, 2.

Note 8.—Traces of a locative are seen in **todæz**, *to-day*; **tomorgen**, *to-morrow*, and **ham**, *home*, used as dative.

§84.

(6) Dissyllabic Nouns

Sing.

Wom. Ace. }	dryhten , <i>lord</i>	hlaford , <i>lord</i>	cyning , <i>king</i>	heorot , <i>hart</i>	fuzol , <i>bird</i>
Gen.	dryhtnes	hlafordes	cyninges	heorotes	fujles
Dat.	dryhtne	hlaforde	cyninge	heorote	fuzle
Plur.					
Nom, Ace. }	dryhtnas	hlafordas	cyningas	heorotas	fuzlas
Gen.	dryhtna	hlaforda	cyninga	heorota	fuzla
Dat.	dryhtmim	hlafordum	cyningum	heorotum	fuzlum

Examples of nouns declined like **dryhten** are: **engel**, *angel*; **eoel**, *native land*] **ealdor**, *prince*] **cyrtel**, *coat*] **winter**, *winter* (originally u- decl.).

Examples like **cyning** and **hlaford** are: **aeoeling**, *prince* ; **fætels**, *vessel*] **heriest**, *harvest*, *autumn*; **hengest**, *horse*.

Like **heorot go eodor**, *enclosure*] **metod**, *creator*] **rodor**, *sky*] **suitior**, *summer* (originally u- decl.); and like **fozol go ofen**, *oven* **pezenn**, *thane*, and others.

Note 1.—A short medial vowel followed by a single consonant falls before the case ending, if it is preceded by a long syllable or by more than one syllable (see § 44).

Note 2.—In the case of suffixes in **i**, **m**, **n**, **r**, exceptions occur with apparent loss of the medial vowel after short syllables, as in **flutes**. Such suffixes go back to earlier **ml**, **m**, **n**, **r**, and the vowel **was** not developed except in the uninflected forms (§ 48, B, 4). Nominatives like **ofn**, **pezn**, which occur, are new formations from the inflected forms.

Note 8.—Nouns in **-op** **-ap**, usually keep the middle vowel, as in **dat. sing. flsco e**, *fishing*; **bunto e**, *hunting*.

NEUTER

§ 85. All nouns in -lac, -incel, and nearly all neuters belong here,
(a) *Monosyllabic Nouns*

Sing.					
Nom. } Ace. }	land, <i>land</i>	scip, <i>ship</i>	fæt vessel	feorh, <i>life</i>	feoh, <i>property</i>
Gen.	landes	scipes	fætēs	feores	teas
Dat.	lande	scipe	fæte	feore	feo
Plur.					
Nom. } Ace. }	land	scipu	fatu	feorh	
Gen.	landa	scipa	fata	feora	
Dat.	landum	scipum	latum	feorum	

Examples of nouns declined like *land* are: *ban*, *bone*; *bord*, *board*; *deor*, *wild beast*; *folc*, *folk*; *zear*, *year*; *hors*, *horse*; *hus*, *house*; *lie*, *body*; *mod*, *heart*; *sceap*, *sheep*; *swin*, *pig*; *ping*, *thing*; *word*, *word*.

Examples like *scip* are: *god*, *god*; *hof*, *dwelling*; *spor*, *track*; *zewrit*, *writing*.

The following are declined like *fact*: *fær*, *journey*; *gref*, *grave*; *hæf*, *inlet of the sea*; *scaef*, *cave*; *stæp*, *shore*; *swæp*, *track*; *traef*, *tent*; *waed*, *wave*; *wæl*, *slaughter*. *zeat*, *gate* (§ 32), has plural forms *gatu*, *gata*, etc. (§ 27).

Note 1.—It will be seen that the declension of neuter nouns differs from that of masculines in the nominative and accusative plural only.

Note 2.—In early O.B. final *u* was lost after long monosyllables (§4z, A, 4).

Note z.—For loss of *h* see §§ z9, c; 40, 1; 7z, 2.

§86. (b) *Dissyllabic Nouns*

Sing.			
Nom. Ace	heafod, <i>head</i>	wæp(e)n, <i>weapon</i>	waster, <i>water</i>
Gen.	heafdes	Wæpnes	wæteres
Dat.	heafde	wapne	wætere
Plur.			
Nom. Ace.	heaf(o)da	wæpn(u)	waeter
Gen.	heafda	wæpna	wætera
Dat.	heafdum	wæpnum	wæterum

Examples of nouns declined like *heafod* are: *mynster*, *minster*; *nieten*, *animal*; examples like *wæpen* are: *ator*, *poison*; *beacer*

beacon; **tacen**, *token*) and like **waster**: **gafol**, *tribute*; **hræzel**, *garment*; **lezer**, *couch*; **werod**, *troop*.

Note 1.—The rule for the syncope of the medial vowel is the same as for masculine nouns, except in the nominative and accusative plural. Dissyllabio nouns with long first syllables retain the

- final **u** of the plural, and later the medial vowel is often syncopeated; dissyllabio nouns with short first syllables lose the final **U** (§ 4z, A, 4).

Note 2.—In **wæpen**, the **en** was originally **n**, the **e**, therefore, belongs to the nom. and ace. sing, only (§ 43, B, 4); the nom. **Wæpn** is a new formation from the inflected forms. In the nominative and accusative plural the **u** is lost, since **w&pn** is a long syllable and an **e** is sometimes introduced from the singular. An irregular plur. **wtepnu** is also found, on the model of **heafdu**.

Note z.—In both masculine and neuter nouns there is, especially in later texts, much irregularity in the treatment of dissyllabio nouns, and of those which were earlier monosyllabic, having stems in **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**.

|a- STEMS

§ 87.

MASCULINE

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	secg , <i>man</i>	hierde , <i>herdsman</i>	here , <i>army</i>
Gen.	secges	hierdes	heries , herzes , herizes
Dat.	secge	hierde	herie , herze , herize

Plur.

Nom. Ace	secg(e)as	hierdas	herias , herzas , herl3(e)as
Gen.	secg(e)a	hierda	heria , heriza , heri3(e)a
Dat.	8ecg(i)um	hlerdum	herium , herizum

Nouns declined like **secg** are: **bridd**, *young bird*; **hrycg**, *back*; **mæecg**, *man*, and all masculine nouns ending in a doubled consonant after a mutated vowel (§§ 33, 34, 64).

Like **hierde** go **ende**, *end*; **esne**, *servant*; **læce**, *physician*, and all masculine nouns ending in **-e** after a long syllable containing a mutated vowel, and also all nouns in **-ere**, such as **fiscere**, *fisherman*; **fuzelere**, *fowler*.

NEUTKE

Sing.

Nom. Ace	cynn , <i>kin</i>	rice , <i>kingdom</i>	fiore , <i>wing</i>	westen , <i>wilderness</i>
Gen.	cynnes	rices	fi eres	westennes
Dat.	cynne ,	rice	fiore	westenne

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	cynn	ric(l)u	fi eru	westennu
Gen.	cynna	rica	fi era	westenna
Dat.	cynnum	ricum	fl erum	westennum

Nouns declined like **cynn** are: **bedd**, *bed*; **bill**, *sword*; **llett**, *floor*; **ziedd**, *song*, and all neuter nouns ending in a doubled consonant after a mutated vowel (§§ **zz**, **z4**, **64**).

Like **rice go ærende**, *errand*; **ierre**, *anger*; **styece**, *piece*; **wite**, *punishment*; **zepeode**, *language*, and all neuters ending in -e after a long syllable, except **eaze**, *eye*, **eare**, *ear*, and **wange**, *cheek*, which belong to the -n declension.

Like **westen go fasten**, *fastness*; **rymet**, *space*, and all neuter nouns in -en and -et For the simplification of -nn, -tt when final see § 77, c.

rice and **westen** have plurals in u since they are dissyllabic and have the first syllable long.

Note,—Nouns with ja- stems differ from those with pure a- stems in nom. and acc. only. In these nouns the a characteristic of the declension was originally preceded by J which having become final by the loss of a (§ 48, A, z), was vocalized to i in O.E. and later became e (§ 74, 8). This e was preserved after long stems and after short stems in -r, as in **hierde**, **here**, **fi ere**, but in nouns in which doubling had taken place in the inflected forms (§ 64) a new nom. was made from those forms, as in **secg**; for ***seze**; **cynn** for ***cyne**.

wa- STEMS

§88.

MASCULINE

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	sna(w) , <i>snow</i>	peo(w) , <i>servant</i>	beam , <i>grove</i>
Gen.	snawes	peowes	peowes
Dat.	snawe	peowe ,	peowe

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	snawas	peowas ,	peowas	bearwas
Gen.	snawa	pwowa ,	peowa	bearwa
Dat.	snawum	peowum ,	peowum	bearwum

NEUTER

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	treo(w), tree	bealu, evil
Gen.	treowes, treowes	bealwes
Dat.	treowe, treowe	bealwe

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	treo(w)	bealu
Gen.	treowa, treowa	bealwa
Dat.	treowum, treowum	bealwum

Like *peow* are declined : *lareow*, *teacher*; *peaw*, *custom*, and a few others.

Like *treo(w)* go *cneo(w)*, *knee*; *hleow(w)*, *protection*; *strea(w)*, *straw*, and a few others.

Like *bealu* go *searu*, *device*, and *teoru*, *tar*.

Note.—By *wa-* stems are meant nouns in which the final "a" of the stem was preceded by a *w*. In O.E. in the nom. and acc. sing, the *w* had become final after the loss of a (§ 4z, A, 8) and had been vocalized to *u* (§ 75, 8). This *u* remained after a short syllable ending in a consonant, as in *bearu*, but fell after a long syllable, as in *sna*. After a short vowel it formed a diphthong with that vowel, which had then the regular development of Germ. diphthongs in O.E. (§§ 2z-26). Thus Germ. **peu*, from **pewaz*, became O.E. *peo*.

Later *w* was reintroduced into nom. and acc. sing, from the inflected forms in which it had remained, giving O.E. *snaw*, *peow*, and the long diphthong of the nom. and acc. sing., due to the vocalization of final *w*, was carried into the inflected forms, giving gen. *peowes* for *pewes*, etc. For the short diphthong *eow* for *ew*, see § 88, a.

In the neuter plural *w* fell before the ending *u* of the nom. and acc. (§ 75, 2, a), and this *u* or the diphthong which thus arose had the same history as that from vocalized *w*, as above. Hence the plurals *bealu*, *cneo*, from **bealwu*, **cnewu*.

5- DECLENSION

§ 89. This declension contains feminine nouns only and corresponds to the Greek and Latin *a-* declension. Like the *a-* declension it is subdivided into pure *o-* stems, *jo-* stems, and *wo-* stems.

PURE O-STEMS

§ 90. Here belong all nouns formed from adjectives with the suffixes -pu, later -po, and -u (§ 91), or from verbs with the suffixes -ung, -Ing, and nearly all feminine nouns with unmutated vowels, except those in -e which belong to the n- declension.

Sing.

Nom.	3ielu, <i>gift</i>	lar, <i>doctrine</i>	firen, <i>crime</i>	frofor, <i>comfort</i>
Ace.	3iefe	fare	firene	frofre
Gen.	3iefe	lare	firene	frofre
Dat.	3lefe	tare	firene	frofre

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	3iefa(e)	lara(e)	firena(e)	frofra
Gen.	3iefa(ena)	lara(ena)	flrena	frofra
Dat.	3iefum	larum	firenum	frofrum

Examples of nouns declined like ziefu are: *cam, care; faru, journey; lufu, love; sacu, strife; talu, tale; wicu, week.*

Examples of those like lar are: *ar, honour; eln, ell; feorm, provision; glof, glove; healf, half; heord, flock; laf, remnant; rod, cross; scir, shire; peod, nation; weard, protection.*

Examples like firen are: *feter, fetter; feoer, feather; stefn, voice; and like frofor are: ceaster, city; fultum, help; sawol, soul.*

Note 1.—As in the plur. of neuter nouns (§§ 85,86), u fell after a long monosyllable, or after two syllables of which the first is short, but remained after a short monosyllable. Frdfor for *frofru is a new formation due to the influence of firen, ox of long monosyllabic nouns, such as lar (§ 4z, A, Note 1).

Note 2.—The gen. and dat. sing. of faru should be faere (§ 27). The a of the nom. sing. is however in this and other nouns of this declension usually carried through all the forms.

Note z.—The Anglian dialects have e for the ending of the nom. and acc. plural.

Note 4.—The gen. plur. ending -ena, found in monosyllabic nouns, is borrowed from the n- declension.

Note 5.—Nouns in -ting, such as Horn ling, *learning, sceawung, observation*, frequently have the ending a in gen., dat., and acc. sing. as well as in the plural.

NOUNS FORMED FROM ADJECTIVES

§ ML These were formed by means of two suffixes, -iou, later -ou (Goth. -ida, -ipa), and -i (Goth. ei). Those in -iSu belonged to

NOUNS

the o-, those in **-i** to the **n-** declension. Cf. Goth, **diupipa**, *depth*, and **managei**, *multitude*. In O.E. **i** became **i** and then **e**, but after the earlier period **e** was replaced by **u** and the nouns thus formed went over to the o- declension.

Sing.

Nom.	strengou , -o , <i>strength</i>	menizu , -o , -eo , <i>multitude</i>
Ace.	strengoe , -u , -o	menize , -u , -o
Gen.	strengoe , -u , -o	menize , -u , -o
Dat.	strengoe , -u , -o	menize , -u , -o

Plur.

Nom. Ace,	strengoa(e)
Gen.	strengoa
Dat.	strengoum

In later texts the **u**, later **o**, of the nom. sing. was carried into ace, gen., and dat. sing.

e is sometimes found between **z** and a following **u** or **o**, to indicate that the **z** was a front consonant, as in a nom. sing. **menizeo**.

§92.

JO- STEMS

}

Like **sibb** are declined: **brycg**, *bridge*; **ecg**, *sword*; **hell**, *hell*; **secg**, *sword*; **synn**, *sin*; **wynn**, *joy*, and all fem. nouns ending in a doubled consonant and mutated vowel (§§ **zz**, **z4**, 64).

Examples of nouns declined like **wylf** are: **bend**, *band*; **hild**, *battle*; **iez**, *island*; **milts**, *mercy*; **sprece**, *speech*; **yp**, *wave*.

Like **wierzen** go **fyxen**, *vixen*; **gyden**, *goddess*; **reden**, *plan*; **hæztess**, *witch*; **stilles**, *quiet*; **priness**, *Trinity*, and all fem. nouns in **-en(n)** and **-nes(s)**.

§9z.

Wo-STEMS

Sing.

Nom.	beadu, <i>battle</i>	mæd, <i>meadow</i>	stow, <i>place</i>
Acc.	beadwe	mædwe	stowe
Gen.	beadwe	nuedwe	stowe
Dat.	beadwe	mædwe	stowe

Plur.

Nom.	Ace	beadwa(e)	mædwa(e)	stowa(e)
Gen.		beadwa	mædwa	stowa
Dat.		beadwum	medwum	stowum

Like beadu are declined: sceadu, *shadow*, and frætwa(e), *ornaments*, zeatwa(e), *armour*, of which only plural forms are extant.

Like mæd is declined læs, *pasture*; like stow goes treow, *faith*.

Note 1.—In beadu and mæd, w has fallen before the u of the ending (| 76, 2, a), which hag remained after a short syllable in beadu, but fallen after a long syllable in mæd (§ 48, A, 4). In stow the w has been reintroduced from the inflected forms, as in masculine and neuter wa- stems (§ 88, Note).

Note 2.—Here belong clea, *claw*, and ea, *water, river*. In clea, from *clawu, the w has fallen before the u and Pre-O.E. a + u has given ea (§ 24). Clea is therefore the true nom. sing., but a form clawu is also found, made from the inflected forms, which are sing. clawe, plur. nom. aoc. gen. clawa, dat. clawum. The inflection of ea is very irregular. Qen. sing. forms which oocur are: ea unchanged, e for ee, eas on the model of the maso. gen. s&s, *sea*, and sometimes ie with 1 mutation. Dat. sing. forms are ea, e, ie, and ean from the n- declension. The nom. and acc. plur. are ea and ean, the gen. plur. ea, and the dat plur. earn and eaum.

i- DECLENSION

§ 94. This declension contains masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns and corresponds to the Greek and Latin 1- stems.

MASCULINE

§ 95. Here belong all nouns in -scipe; many names of nations; a large number of abstract nouns formed from the roots of verbs with the suffix -i, later -e, and a few with a dental suffix, originally feminine.

All masculine nouns with mutation of the root vowel (§§ 33,

34), and ending in e after a short syllable, or with no ending after a long syllable (§ 43, A, 2), must be of this declension.

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	wine, <i>friend</i>	cwide, <i>saying</i>	drync <i>drinking</i>
Gen.	wines	cwidea	dryncea
Dat.	, wine	cwide	drynce

Plur.

Nom.	wine, -as	cwide, -as	drynce, -as	Dene, <i>Danes</i>
Gen.	wina, winzea	cwida	drynca	Dena, Denizea
Dat.	winum	cwidum	dryncum	Denum

Like cwide are declined: eyre, *choice*; hryre, *fall*; lyre, *lost*; sleze, *blow*, and all nouns formed in the same way from verbs; also dene, *valley*; dyne, *din*; gryre, *terror*; heze, *hedge*; mere, *lake*; ryze, *rye*; pyle, *orator*, and a few others not originally belonging to this declension, such as hæle, the true nom. of haelep, *hero* (§ 107), and bere, *barley*; eze, *fear*; hete, *hatred*; mene, *necklace*; styre, *victory*, which were originally nouns of the os-, ea- 'declension.

Like drync are declined: bled, *breath*; feng, *grasp*; hyht, *hope*; wæz, *wave*, and other nouns similarly formed from verbs.

Further examples are: æsc, *ash*; ent, *giant*; flerst, *period of time*; ziest, *stranger*; mew, *sea-gull*; pyrs, *giant*; wyrn, *worm*.

Like Dene are declined: Seaxe, *Saxons*; Engle, *Angles*, and other names of nations, and the five common nouns lelde, *men*; lelfe, *elves*; leode, *people*; atede, *places*, and wine, *friends*.

Note 1.—In the sing. the inflection is the same as in the a- declension. The old ending of the nom. and ace. plur. is e, from *-lze. Most nouns, however, except in very early texts, adopted the ending -as of the a- declension, e being kept only in the names of nations and the five common nouns declined like them. In late texts even these are found with plurals in -as. Dene and wine have gen. plurals Denizea and wintyea beside the short forms Dena and wina.

Note 2.—hyse, *youth*, plur. hyssas; mete, *meat*, plur. mettass, show confusion between the i- and Ja- declensions.

Note 3.—aerlst, *resurrection*; hlyst, *hearing*; iyft, *air*, are still sometimes fern.; sæl, *time*, is also both masc. and fern., it has a dat. plur. salum or sælura ((28); sæ, *sea*, has a fern. gen. ting, sæ beside maso. sees and a dat. ting, sewe beside w.

FEMININE

§ 96. Here belong most abstract nouns formed from verbs by a dental suffix, with i mutation of the vowel from the original i of the ending (§§ 33, z4), and a few others.

Sing.

Nom.	Acc.	dæd, <i>deed</i>	cwen, <i>woman</i>
Gen.		dæde	cwene
Dat.		dæde	cwene

Plur.

Nom.	Acc.	dæde	cwene
Gen.		dæda	cwena
Dat.		dædum	cwenum

In this way are declined: *æht*, *property*; *cyst*, *choice*; *est*, *favour* (from the root of *ann*, *I grant*); *hæs*, *command*; *sped*, *success*; *wyrd*, *fate*, and other nouns similarly formed from verbs. Other examples are: *ben*, *prayer*; *bene*, *bench*; *cyf*, *tub*; *hyd*, *hide*; *tid*, *time*; *wted*, *garment*.

Only long-syllabled feminine nouns occur, those with short syllables having gone over into the 5- declension.

Feminine nouns of the i- declension differ from those of the 6- class in having no ending in the acc. sing., and in the ending e for nominative and accusative plural. Later, a is borrowed from the o- declension, as in a late plural *dæda*.

Note 1.—*æ*, *law*, has a dat. sing. a *w* e beside *æ*.

Note 2.—*wiht*, *creature*, from the root of *wezan*, *to move*; *zift*, *price of a wife*, from that of *ziefan*, *to give*, occur also with neuter endings, with change of meaning to " *anything* " and " *wedding*," respectively.

Note 8.—Nouns which do not show i mutation, such as *meaht*, *might*, beside the mutated form *miht* (§ 36, a), and *scaft*, *creation*, are formed from those cases in which i mutation did not work. For these of. the Goth. gen. sing. *mahtais*, *gaskaftais*; the dat. sing. *mahtai*, *gaskaftai*, in which the stem vowel is followed by *ai* not *i*.

NEUTER

§ 97. Here belong nouns formed with the prefix *ze-*, and ending in a consonant, such as *zedrync*, *drinking*; *zeswln*, *toil*, and a few others which originally belonged to other declensions,

Examples are: **flæsc**, *flesh*; **hæl**, *health*, from the os-, es- declension ; and **hilt**, *sword*; **orleze**, *fate*; *sife*, *sieve* ; *sper*, *spear*; **sweng**, *blow*, etc. Their inflection is that of neuters of the a- declension except that all take **u** in the nominative and accusative plural.

tfote.—**zeczynd**, *nature*; *zehyzd*, *mvnd*; *zemynd*, *memory*; *zesceaft*, *creation*; **zewyrht**, *merits*, and one or two others formed from feminine nouns, are both feminine and neuter.

u- DECLENSION

§ 98. This declension, which corresponds to the Greek and Latin u- declension, contained originally masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. Most have, however, in O.E. gone over into other declensions, nine masculines and three feminines only remaining regularly. Besides these, eleven masculines and two feminines are sometimes declined on this model, especially in keeping the ending a of the dative sing. The only trace of a neuter noun is **tela**, *much*, which has, however, become an adverb of quantity in O.E.

Sing.	Masculine	Feminine
Nom. Ace.	sunu , <i>son</i>	duru , <i>door</i> , hand , <i>hand</i>
Gen. Dat.	suna	dura handa
Plur.		
Nom. Ace.	suna	dura handa
Gen.	suna	dura handa
Dat.	sunum	durum handum

The masculine nouns declined like **sunu** are: **brezu**, *prince*; **heoru**, *sword*; **lazU**, *sea*; **mazU**, *son*; **me(o)du**, *mead*; **si(o)du**, *custom*; **spitu**, *spit*; and **wudu**, *wood*.

Note.—It will be observed that all have short stems.

Like **duru** is declined **nosu**, *nose*.

§ 99. Masculine nouns which are sometimes declined on this model are: **ceppel**, *apple*; **eard**, *native country*; **feld**, *field*; **ford**, *ford*; **gar**, *spear*; **had**, *rank, nature*; **hearz**, *temple*; **seap**, *pit*; **sumor**, **summer**; **weald**, *forest*, and **winter**, *winter*. Usually, however, these take the endings of the a- declension, except in the dat. sing. Feminine nouns which belonged originally to this declension are : **cinn**, *chin* ; **cweorn**, *handmill*; **llor**, *floor*. All, however, appear also with the endings of the o- declension.

CONSONANT DECLENSIONS

n- DECLENSION

§ 100. This declension, often called the weak declension, is very large and contains masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. It corresponds to Greek and Latin stems in -n.

MASCULINE

§ 101. Here belong all nouns in -a and a few in -a or diphthongs.

Sing.

Nom.	guma, <i>man</i>	frea, <i>lord</i>
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Gen. Dat. Ace.	guraan	frean
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Plur.

Nom. Ace.	guman	frean
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Gen.	gumena	freana
------	--------	--------

Dat.	gumum	fream, freaum
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Like *guma* are declined: *bana, murderer; bera, bear; boda, messenger; cuma, stranger; dogga, dog; eafora, child; feSa, band of infantry; flota, sailor; zefera, companion; hana, cock; hunta, huntsman; mona, moon; muoa, mouth of river; nama, name; oxa, ox; pleza, game; wela, wealth; wi(o)ta, wise man; wreca, avenger*, and many others, especially *nomina agentis* formed from verbs with the suffix -a.

Like *frea* are declined: *zefa, foe; zefea, joy; tweo, doubt; wea, woe*, and one or two others.

Note.—*oxa* has a plur. *exen* beside *oxan*: and a dat. plur. *oxnum*. To note also are dat. plur. *nefenum* and *scotenum*, from *nefa, nephew*, and *scota, archer*, in which the *oorreot* form is preserved.

FEMININE

§ 102. Here belong all feminine nouns in -e, including those with the feminine suffix -estre, and a few in -a or diphthongs.

Sing.

Nom.	hlæfdlze, <i>lady</i>	fla, <i>arrow</i>
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Ace Gen. Dat.	hlæfdizan	flan
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Plur.

Nom. Ace	hlæfdizan	flan
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Gen.	hlæfdizena	flana
------	------------	-------

Dat.	hlæfdizum	flanum
------	-----------	--------

Like hlæfdize are declined: aelmesse, *alms*; burne, *spring, brook*; byrne, *corslet*; cirice, *church*; eoroe, *earth*; flode, *channel*; folde, *earth*; hearpe, *harp*; heorte, *heart*; hruse, *earth*; miere, *mare*; modrize, *maternal aunt*; molde, *earth*; nadre, *adder*; racente, *chain*; sunne, *sun*; wise, *manner*; wice, wuce, *week*; wulle, *wool*, and many others.

Like fla are declined : beo, *bee*; sla, *sloe*; ta, *toe*, and one or two others.

Note.—Nearly all nouns ending in e with an unmutated stem vowel belong here.

NEUTER

§ 10z. Three nouns only belong here: eaze, *eye*; eare, *ear*; and wange, *cheek*.

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	eaze
Gen.	eazan
Dat.	eazan

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	eazan
Gen.	eazena
Dat.	eazum

A strong gen. sing, wanges and nom. ace. plur wangas also occur.

Note.—It will be seen that neuter nouns differ from masculines and feminities in having the acc. sing. like the nominative.

MINOR CONSONANT DECLENSIONS

§ 104. These differ from the declensions treated hitherto in that Inflection is sometimes shown by mutation (§§ 33, 34) of the stem vowel instead of by an ending. Masculine nouns have mutation in nom. and ace. plur. and in dat. sing.; feminines in gen. sing. as well as in the above cases ; neuters in dat. sing. only.

MONOSYLLABIC DECLENSION

§ 105. Here belong three masculine nouns: mann, *man*, and its compound wifmann, *woman*; fot, *foot*, and top, *tooth*; a certain number of feminine nouns, and one neuter : scrud, *shroud, garment*.

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	mann, <i>man</i>	burh, <i>city</i>	hnutu, <i>nut</i>	scrud, <i>garment</i>
Gen.	mannes	byr(l)z	hnute	scrudes
Dat	roenn	byr(l)z	bnyte	aciyd

Plur.

Norn. Acc.	mean	byr(i)3	hnyte	scrud
Gen.	manna	burza	hnuta	scruda
Dat.	mannum	burzum	hnutum	scrudum

Note,—Plurals **fotas**, **tooas** are sometimes found formed on the model of the a- declension.

§ 106. The following feminine nouns belong here :—

Declined like **burh** are: **ac**, *oak*; **boc**, *book*; **broc**, *breeches*; **cu**, *cow*; **dung**, *prison*; **gat**, *goat*; **gos**, *goose*; **grut**, *groats*; **lus**, *louse*; **meol(u)c**, *milk*; **mus**, *mouse*; **neaht**, *night*; **turf**, *turf*; **furh**, *furrow*; **sulh**, *plough*; **pruh**, *trough*; **wloh**, *fringe*.

Declined like **hnutu** are: **hnitu**, *nit*; **stuou**, *pillar*.

Many irregularities however occur, **cu** has gen. sing. **cy**, *cue*, **cus**; nom. ace. plur. **cy**, *eye*; gen. plur. **cua**, *cuna*, **cyna**. In **niht**, the mutated form with *i* is usually carried through the whole declension, **neaht** without mutation being rare (§ 36, *a*). A gen. sing. **nihtes**, formed on the model of **dæzes**, *by day*, occurs when used adverbially and meaning *at night*, *by night*.

Note 1.—Analogical gen. singulars in -e with no mutation **are** frequently found, as in **burze**, formed on the model of **lare** (§ 90).

Note 2.—Final **h** of the stem is lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel before a vocalic ending, as in gen. plur. **fura**(§§ 89, c; 40, t; 73(2)).

Note 8.—ea, gen., dat. sing. *ie*, belongs in part to the 6- declension, in part to this (§ 93, *Note 2*).

p- DECLENSION

§. 107. This declension consists of four nouns only: two masculines, **hælep**, *man*, and **monap**, *month*; one feminine, **mæzep**, *maiden*, and one neuter, **ealu**, *ale*.

Sing.

Nom.	}	hælep , <i>man</i> , <i>hero</i>	monap , <i>month</i>	mæz(e)p , <i>maiden</i>	ealu ,
Ace.					
Gen.		hæleoes	mon(e)Ses	mæz(e)o(e)	(e)alop
Dat.		hieSe	mon(e)Se	mæz(e)5(e)	(e)alop

Plur.

Nom	}	hælep , hæleas	monap , mon(e)as	mæz(e)p	
Ace.					
Gen.		hæleoa	mon(e)oa	m0z(e)oa	ealeoa
Dat.		hæleoum	mon(e)oum	mæz(e)oum	

Note 1.—This declension shows much irregularity, **eaļu** preserves the original type, which may be reconstructed from the n-declension by substituting p for n.

Note 2.—The true nom. sing. of haelep is heele, which has gone over into the i-declension (§ 95); haelep is a new formation from the inflected forms. To haelep a new gen. sing. **haeleoes** and dat. sing. haeleoe, and in later texts a new plur. haeleoas, have been made on the model of the a-declension.

The same explanations apply to monap, the true nom. sing. of which is **mona**, *moon*, which has gone over to the n-declension (§ 101), with a modification of meaning.

For the syncope of the medial vowel see § 44.

In maezep, the p has been regularly taken into the nom. sing. and the noun is frequently uninflected in the singular. Later, a gen. and dat. sing. in -e was made on the model of the 6-declension. Syncope of the middle vowel is frequent in this word, though the first syllable is short, and the syncopated form has made its way into the uninflected forms.

r- DECLENSION

§ 108. This declension contains five nouns only, names of relationship ending in -er and -or.

MASCULINE

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	faeder , <i>father</i>	brooor, <i>brother</i>
Gen.	feeder, faederes	brooor
Dat.	feeder	bneoor

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	faederas	brooor, broOru
Gen.	faedera	broora
Dat.	faederum	broorum

FEMININE

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	modor , <i>mother</i>	dohtor , <i>daughter</i>	sweostor , <i>sister</i>
Gen.	modor , meder	dohtor, dehter	sweostor
Dat.	meder	dehter	sweostor

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	mddor , modru	dohtor , dohtru	sweostor
Gen.	modra	dohtra	sweostrā
Dat.	modrum	dohtrum	sweostrum

Note 1.—feeder shows the influence of the a- declension in gen. sing. and nom. and acc. plural.

Note 2.—In the masc. brooor, mutation appears in the dat. sing. only; in the fern, modor and dohtor it is also found sometimes in the gen. sing. But no nouns of this declension have it in the plural

nd- DECLENSION

§ 109. Here belong all nouns in -nd which are old present participles of verbs. They fall into two classes, those which are declined altogether as nouns, and those which, from their participial origin, still retain two adjectival endings in the nom. plur. in -e and the gen. plur. in -ra.

Sing.

Nom. Ace.	freond, <i>friend</i>	wealdend, <i>ruler</i>
Gen.	freondes	wealdendes
Dat.	friend, later freonde	wealdende

Plur.

Nom. Ace.	friend, freond, freondas	wealdend, wealdende, wealdendas
Gen.	freonda	wealdendra
Dat.	freondum	wealdendum

Like freond are declined: feond, *enemy*, teond, *accuser*, and godddnd, *benefactor* (dat. sing. and nom. acc. and plur. goddend); all others follow wealdend. Examples are: buend, *inhabitant*; hielend, *Saviour*; neriend, *Saviour*; wigend, *warrior*, etc.

Note 1.—The verbs freo(za)n, *to love*, feo(za)n, *to hate*, were little used; no compound verb godddn existed, hence the participial origin in the case of freond, feond and godddnd was no longer felt, and these nouns assumed entirely nominal endings, teond owes its nominal forms to association in form and meaning with feond, the verb teon, *to accuse*, being not uncommon.

Note 2.—The e in the ending -end being already the result of I mutation, no further modification is possible in the dat. sing. or nom. plur. of nouns of the second class.

os-, es- DECLENSION

§ 110. Six neuters only remain in this declension, which corresponds to Greek neuters in -os, Latin in -us.

Sing.		Plur.
Nom. Ace.	Iamb , <i>lamb</i>	Nom. Ace. lambru
Gen.	lambes	Gen. latnbra
Dat.	lambe	Dat. lambrum

The other nouns are: **aez**, *egg*; **cealf**, *calf*; **did**, *child*; **speld**, *torch*; and **breadru**, *crumbs*, of which last only the plur. forma occur.

Note 1.—**cild** is sometimes declined like **land** (§ 85).

Note 2.—Originally many more nouns belonged here. Traoes **are** to be seen in all noun couples such as **size**, **sizor**, both of which mean *victory*; **size** being from the nom. or acc. sing., **sizor** from other forms in which -r remained.

Other instances are North. **dæz** and **dozor**, *day*; **hrip** and **hrioer**, *cattle*; **sacl**, **sele**, and **salor**, *hall*; **wild** and **wilder**, *wild animal*; or **hael**, *good omen*, and **halor**, *salvation*, in which different meanings have been developed.

Traces also remain in noun couples in which one **has** the mutated form of the vowel (§ 44), going back to the *-es form of the suffix, Germ. *-iz (§ 4z, A, 2); the other, the unmutated, going back to the *-os form, Germ. *-az (§ 4z, A, 3).

Instances **are**: **gaest** and **gast**, *spirit*; **hlaew**, **hlaw**, *mound*; **hraew**, **hraw**, *corpse*; **lemb**, **lamb**, *lamb*; **ael**, **sele**, *hall*.

CHAPTER VIII

ADJECTIVES

§ 111. Two declensions of adjectives are found in O.E., the strong, corresponding to the vocalic, and the weak, corresponding to the n- declension of nouns. The weak declension is used:—

(a) After the definite article *se, seo, paet*, etc., and the demonstrative pronoun *pes, peos, pis*, etc.

(b) Frequently after the possessive adjectives, *min, his*, etc.

(c) Usually in address.

(d) Sometimes in poetry without any of the preceding conditions, especially when the quality indicated is of the nature of the epic attribute.

With the exception of certain adjectives which are always declined weak, the strong forms are used in all other positions, whether attributive or predicative; and *eall, all; feawe, few; maniz, many; zenoz, enough; oer, other*, are always declined strong.

§ 112. In the parent Indg. language the declension of noun and adjective was the same, and in Gothic, i.e. in early Germanic, three classes of strong adjectives may still be distinguished, corresponding to the four vocalic declensions of nouns. These are the a/5- declension, in which masculines and neuters follow the a and feminines the 6 model; the i- and the u- declensions, each of which contains all three genders. But in O.E. traces only of the I- and u- declensions remain, most of the adjectives which originally belonged to them having gone over into the a/o- class, and in O.E., as in all Germanic languages, pronominal endings have replaced the original nominal endings for certain cases. Such pronominal endings are indicated below by italics.

§ 11z. Like nouns, O.E. adjectives have two numbers, singular and plural; three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter; and four cases fully represented, nominative, accusative, genitive, and

dative. Masculines and neuters have in addition a strong instrumental singular. Characteristic endings are: -ne for accusative singular masculine; -re for genitive and dative singular feminine; and -ra for genitive plural of all genders. Adjectives which qualify nouns of different genders take neuter endings.

STRONG DECLENSION

a/5- DECLENSION

§114. Like the first and second noun declensions, the a/o-adjective declension is subdivided into pure stems, **Ja/jo-** stems and **wa/wo-** stems.

PURE a/o- STEMS

§ 115. (a) MONOSYLLABIC

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	god, <i>good</i>	god	god
Acc.	godne	gode	god
Gen.	godes	<i>godre</i>	godes
Dat.	godum	<i>godre</i>	godum
Inst.	gode		
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>gode</i>	gdda(e)	god(e)
Gen.	godra	godra	godra
Dat.	godum	godum	godum
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	hwaet, <i>bold</i>	hwatu	hwaet
Acc.	hwaetne	hwate	hwaet
Gen.	hwates	hwaetra	hwates
Dat.	hwatum	hwaetre	hwatum
Inst.	hwate		hwate
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	hwate	hwata(e)	hwatu, o(e)
Gen.	hwaetra	hwaetra	hwaetra
Dat.	hwatumi	hwatum	hwatum

Sing.

Nom.	heah, <i>high</i>	hea	heah
Ace.	heahne, hea(n)ne	hea	heah
Gen.	heas	heahra, hea(r)re	heas
Dat.	hea(u)m	heahre, hea(r)re	hea(u)m
Inst.	hea		

Plur.

Nom.	Acc	hea	hea	hea
Gen.		heahra, hea(r)ra	heahra, hea(r)ra	heahra, hea(r)ra
Dat.		hea(u)m	hea(u)m	hea(u)m

Like god are declined : long monosyllables, such as blind, *blind*; brad, *broad*; cup, *known*; dead, *dead*; deop, *deep*; eald, *old*; call, *all*; earm, *poor*; terse, *fresh*; healf, *half*; zesund, *sound, healthy*; zeong, *young*; lang, *long*; lap, *hostile*; leof, *dear*; leoht, *light*; sop, *true*; swift, *swift*; swip, *strong*; wealt, *unsteady*; wis, *wise*; and compound adjectives in -cund, -feald, -isc, -leas, -lie, and -weard, as godcund, *divine*; manlzeald, *manifold*; clrlisc, *of low rank*; fierdleas, *undefended*; zesaelizlic, *blessed*; easteward, *eastward*, and many others.

Like hwaet are declined short monosyllables, such as dol, *foolish*; blaec, *black*; gleed, *glad*; gram, *angry*; seed, *sated*; smael, *small*; til, *good*; trum, *strong*, and a few others.

Like heah are declined: fah, *hostile*; neah, *nigh*; pweorh, *perverse*, and one or two others ending in -h.

Note 1.—The interchange of a and as does not follow the regular law (§ 27) in the inflection of adjectives. As with feminine nouns of the o- declension (§ 90, *Note 2*) a remains as a rule in open syllables, irrespective of the following vowel, ae appearing in the adjective in closed syllables.

Note 2.—u is lost regularly after a long, but remains after a short syllable (§ 4z, A, 4).

Note 8.—For the loss of h when between or before vowels and the subsequent contraction see §§ 89, c \ 40 (1); 78 (2).

Note 4.—The plurals zenozē, *enough*, unzefoze, *immense*, have singulars zen5h, unzefoh (§ 72, 6). In late O.E. forms heaves, heazum occur, formed on the analogy of zendzes, tinzefozes, etc., in which z was regular.

Note 6.—Double consonants are simplified before a consonant of the case ending, as in ealne, acc. sing. maso. of eall (§ 77, 6).

Note 6.—In later texts the e of the masculine nom. and acc. plur. is frequently found in the feminine and neuter.

§ 118.

(6) DISSYLLABIC

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine]</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	lytel , <i>little</i>	lyt(e)lu , o	lytel
Acc.	lytelne	lytle	lytel
Gen. '	lytles	lytelre	lytles
Dat.	lytlum	lytelre	lytlum
Inst.	lytle		
Plur.			
Nom. Ace.	lytle	lytla(e)	lyt(e)lu(e)
Gen.	lytelra	lytelra	lytelra
Dat.	lytlum	lytlum	lytlum
Sing.			
Nom.	maniz , <i>many</i>	manlz	manh ;
Ace	manizne	manize	maniz
Gen.	manizes	manizre	manizes
Dat.	manizum	mature	manizum
Inst.	manize		
Plur.			
Nom. Ace.	manize	maniza (e)	maniz(e)
Gen.	manizra	manizra	manizra
Dat.	manizum	manizum	manizum

Like **lytel** are declined all dissyllabic adjectives with long first syllables, such as **cettren**, *poisonous*; **gylden**, *golden*, and other adjectives in **-en**; **craeftiz**, *skilful, mighty*; **sariz**, *sorry*; **zesteliz**, *blessed*; **spediz**, *wealthy, successful*, and other adjectives in **-iz**; **deazol**, *secret*; **bitter**, *bitter*; **zeomor**, *sad*; **hador**, *bright*; **hluttur**, *loud*; **snottor**, *wise*, and other adjectives in **-er** or **-or**, and past participles used as adjectives, such as **azen**, *own*; **eacen**, *great*; **zepungen**, *noble*; **brozden**, *woven*; **wunden**, *twisted*, etc.

Like **maniz** are declined dissyllabic adjectives with short first syllables, such as **beren**, *belonging to a bear*; **faezen**, *glad*; **open**, *open*; **yteren**, *belonging to an otter*; **byslz**, *busy*; **cearlz**, *troubled*; **mlcel**, *great*; **yfel**, *evil*, and past participles, such as **boren**, *born*; **coren**, *chosen*; **slaezen**, *slain*, etc.

Note—The rules for the syncope of medial vowels and for the loss of those final are the same as for dissyllabic nouns (§§ 84, Note 1; 86, Note 1); except that before 1 syncope often takes place after short syllables. This is especially the case with **micel**, which is usually declined gen. sing, **micles**, dat. sing. **miclum**, etc.

§117.

Ja/Jo- STEMS

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	grene, green	grenu, o	grene
Acc.	grenne	grene	grene
Gen.	grenes	grenre	grenes
Dat.	grenum	grenre	grenum
Inst.	grene		grene
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	grene	grena (e)	grenu, o (e)
Gen.	grenra	grenra	grenra
Dat.	grenum	grenum	grenum

Like **grene** are declined: **ambyrne**, *favourable*; **anliepe**, *single*; **aeSele**, *noble*; **diere**, **deore**, *precious*; **dierne**, *secret*; **dryze** *dry*; **faeze**, *doomed*; **flede**, *in flood*; **filde**, *level*; **zemiene**, *common*; **zesiene**, *visible*; **maere**, *famous*; **niwe**, *new*; **rice**, *powerful*; **sefte**, *soft*; **sciene**, *beautiful*; **swete**, *sweet*; **priwintre**, *three winters old*; **weste**, *desolate, uninhabited*; **wilde**, *wild*, and others.

Note 1.—Here belongs **freo** (older ***frija**), *free*, with forms **friz-** and **frio**, **freo** occurring side by side. Thus in the nom. sing. **friz** occurs beside **frio**, **freo**, **freoh**; in the acc. sing. masc. **frizne** beside **freone**; in the acc. sing. fern. **frize** beside **freo**; the maso. gen. sing. is **frizes**, beside a dat. **frioum**; the fern. dat. sing. is **freore**; both **frize** and **freo** are found in nom. and acc. plur., but the gen. plur. is **freora**, dat. plur. **frioum**, **freoum** (§§ 40,2; 74,2,6, and Note). An occasional nom. sing. **freoh** has its **h** on the analogy of adjectives like **heah**, plur. **hea**.

Note 2.—Originally short-syllabled **Ja/jo-** stems, such as **midd** (Goth. **midjis**), *middle*, in which the consonant has been doubled (§ 64), are declined like long-syllabled pure a/5- stems.

§118.		wa/wo- STEMS		
		<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.				
Nom.		zearu , <i>ready</i>	zearu	zearu
Acc.		zearone	zearwe	zearu
Gen.		zearwes	zearore	zearwes
Dat;		zear(w)um	zearore	zear(w)um
Inst.		zearwe		
Plur.				
Nom. Acc.		zearwe	zearwa	zearu
Gen.		zearora	zearora	zearora
Dat.		zear(w)um	zear(w)um	zear(w)um

Like **zearu** are declined: **fealu**, *fallow*; **zeolu**, *yellow*; **nearu**, *narrow*, and a few others.

Note 1.—For the vocalization of **w** to **u** when final, and its disappearance before **u**, see § 75, 2, *a* and 8. In the dat. sing. maso. and neut. and the dat. plur. **w** is usually reintroduced from the forms in which it had remained regularly.

Between consonants **w** was vocalized to **o** (§ 75, 2, *c*). After a long vowel **w** was reintroduced finally, as in *gleaw*, *wise*; *slaw*, *slow*; and the declension is that of pure stems with long monosyllables, such as **god**.

Note 2.—**fea**, *few*, has nom. acc. plur. maso. *feawe*; fern, *feawa*; neut. *fea*, from **fawu*; gen. plur. *feawera* or *feara*; dat. plur. *feam*, *feaum*, *feawum*.

i- DECLENSION

§ 119. The only traces of this declension left in O.E. are a few adjectives, such as *bryce*, *useful*; *zemyne*, *mindful*; *swice*, *deceitful*, in which the **i** of the earlier ending has mutated the stem vowels (§§ 22, 24) and remained after the short syllable, becoming **e** later (§ 42, A, 2).

All adjectives with long stems have borrowed the ending **e** and gone over into the *ja-/jo-* declension.

u- DECLENSION

§ 120. The only traces left in O.E. of this declension are **cwicu**, **c(w)ucu**, *alive*, and **wlacu**, *tepid*. All others have gone over into either the pure stems or the *ja-/jo-* stems. Goth, **hardus** is O.E. **heard**, *hard*, declined like **god**; but Goth, **hnasqus** is O.E. **hnesce**, *tender*, declined like **grene**.

WEAK DECLENSION

§ 121. The weak declension of the adjective agrees entirely with that of the noun, except that the genitive plural is of rare occurrence, being usually replaced by the strong forms in -ra.

Glasses of adjectives which always follow the weak declension are comparatives, superlatives in -ma (§ 127), all ordinals except *o* er, *other* (§§ 128,130), and *ilca*, same. Superlatives in -est, -ost are usually declined weak except in the nom. and ace. sing. of the neuter.

§122.	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	<i>goda, good</i>	<i>gode</i>	<i>gode</i>
Acc.	<i>godan</i>	<i>godan</i>	<i>gode</i>
Gen.	<i>godan</i>	<i>godan</i>	<i>godan</i>
Dat.	<i>godan</i>	<i>godan</i>	<i>godan</i>
Plur.			
Nom. Ace.	<i>godan</i>	<i>godan</i>	<i>godan</i>
Gen.	<i>godena (-ra)</i>	<i>godena (-ra)</i>	<i>godena (-ra)</i>
Dat.	<i>godum</i>	<i>godum</i>	<i>godum</i>
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	<i>hea, high</i>	<i>hea</i>	<i>hea</i>
Ace.	<i>hean</i>	<i>hean</i>	<i>hea</i>
Gen.	<i>hean</i>	<i>hean</i>	<i>hean</i>
Dat.	<i>hean</i>	<i>hean</i>	<i>hean</i>
Plur.			
Nom. Ace.	<i>hean</i>	<i>hean</i>	<i>hean</i>
Gen.	<i>heana</i>	<i>heana</i>	<i>heana</i>
Dat.	<i>hea(u)m</i>	<i>hea(u)m</i>	<i>hea(u)m</i>

DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES

§ 12z. Present and past participles are declined as adjectives in O.E. when used attributively and follow the strong or weak declension on the same principles. The present participle fell in with *Ja/jo-* stems (§ 117), the past participle with pure *a/o-* stems (§ 116). Thus *singende*, *tinging*, had a nom. sing. masc. and neut. *singende*, fem, *singendu*. For examples of past participles see § 116.

When used predicatively usage varies, sometimes the inflected,

sometimes the uninflected form being found, as *hie hine ofslægenne haefdon*, *they had slain him*; *menn wurdon zehæIede*, *men were healed*; but *hi beop unforbaerned*, *they are unburnt*.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

§ 124. O.E. adjectives formed their comparative degree by the addition of the suffix -ra, -re, which might represent an older -ira, -ire or -ora, -ore, and their superlatives by that of -est (older -ist) or -ost (later -ust, -oat, -ast). fa- stems and a few pure a- stems took the suffixes -(l)ra and -ist, as shown by the mutation of the stem vowel, all others formed their comparative and superlative with -(o)ra and -ost.

Adjectives in the comparative degree always, and in the superlative generally, follow the weak declension, strong forms of the superlative being sometimes found in the neuter in the nominative and accusative singular.

Examples are:—

earm, <i>poor</i>	Comp.	earmra	Sup.	earmost
swift, <i>swift</i>		swiftra		swiftost
manizfeald, <i>manifold</i>		manizfealdra		manizfealdost
grene, <i>green</i>		grenra		grenest
ie e, <i>easy</i>		ie ra		ie est

§ 125. The following a- stems show mutation in the comparative and superlative:—

brad, <i>broad</i>	brædra	briedest
eald, <i>old</i>	ieldra	ieldest
feorr, <i>far</i>	fierra	fierrest
zeong, <i>young</i>	zyngra	zyngest
great, <i>great</i>	grietra	grietest
heah, <i>high</i>	hiehra, hierra	hiehat
lang, <i>long</i>	lengra	lengest
sceort, <i>short</i>	scyrtra	scyrtest
Strang, <i>strong</i>	strengra	strengest

neah, *nigh*, has mutation in the superlative niehst, but not in the comparative nearra; brad and heah have also unmutated forms bradra, bradoat, hearra.

Note 1.—For forms such as *earmesta* with *e* for *o* in inflected forms of the superlative see § 44, *Note 1*.

Note 2.—Syncope appears irregularly in inflected forms of the superlative although the medial vowel is followed by two consonants (§ 44), as *hiehsta*, *zyngsta*.

Note 2.—In later texts the *-est* of *ja-* stems is sometimes replaced by *-ost*, *-ast*, *-ust*.

IRREGULAR COMPARISON

§ 126. A few adjectives form their comparative and superlative from other stems than those of the positive. These are :—

god, <i>good</i>	betra	betest, betsta
	selra	selest
lytel, <i>little</i>	læssa	for Iæsa test
micel, <i>great</i>	mara	mæst
yfel, <i>evil</i>	wiersa	wierrest, wiersta

The comparatives *ærra*, *former* ; *fyrra*, *farther* ; *fur ra*, *higher*, and their superlatives *ærest* and *fyrest*, have been formed from the adverbs *aer*, *formerly*, *fore*, *before*, and *forp*, *forth*.

§ 127. O.E. retains three examples of an earlier superlative suffix *-ma*, used with adverbs and prepositions and corresponding to that seen in Lat. *primus*, *first* ; *summus*, *highest*. These are : *forma*, *first*, *medema*, *middle*, and *hindema*, *last*. But more commonly in O.E. the suffix *-est* has been added, giving a double ending *-mest*, which is used chiefly to form superlative adjectives from adverbs of place and direction.

Examples are :—

letter, <i>after</i>	aefterra	aeftemest
fore, <i>before</i>		fyrrest, formest
inne, <i>within</i>	innerra	innemest
midd, <i>mid</i>		midemest
ni an, <i>beneath</i>	ni erra	ni emest
ufan, <i>above</i>	uferra	ufemest, yfemest
ut, <i>out</i>	uterra, yterra	utemest, ytemest
	uttra, yttra	

Here belong also—

laet, <i>late</i> , <i>slow</i>	Iaetra	laetemest beside latest
	si ra	si emest beside si est

§ 128. The O.E. numerals are

Cardinals

an, *one*
 twezen, twa, tu, *two*
 prie, prio, preo, *three*
 feower, *four*
 fif, *five*
 siex, six, *six*
 seofon, *seven*
 eahta, *eight*
 nizon, *nine*
 tien, tyn, ten, *ten*
 en(d)leofan, -lefan, *eleven*
 twelf, *twelve*
 preotiene, -tyne, -tene, *thirteen*
 feowertiene, etc., *fourteen*
 fiftiene, etc., *fifteen*
 si(e)xtiene, etc., *sixteen*
 seofontiene, etc., *seventeen*
 eahtatiene, etc., *eighteen*
 nizontiene, etc., *nineteen*
 twentiz, *twenty*
 an and twentiz, *twenty-one*, etc.
 pritiz, *thirty*
 feowertiz, *forty*
 fifiz, *fifty*
 sl(e)xtiz, *sixty*
 hundseofontiz, *seventy*
 hundeahtatiz, *eighty*
 hundnizontiz, *ninety*
 hundteontlz, hund, *hundred*,
hundred
 hundendleofantiz, *a hundred and*
ten
 hundtwelftlz, *a hundred and*
twenty, etc.
 tu hund, tu *hundred*, *two*
hundred, etc.
 pusend, *thousand*

Ordinals

forma, formesta, fyresta, fyr-
 o er, aefterra [mesta, æresta
 pridda
 feower a, feor a
 fifta
 siexta, sexta
 seofo a
 eahto a
 nizo a
 teot a
 en(d)leohta, en(d)lef ta, elleofta,
 twelfta [ellefta
 preoteoza
 feowerteo a
 fiftio a
 si(e)xtio a
 seofonteo a
 eahtateo a
 nizonteo a
 twentizo a
 pritizo a
 feowertizo a
 fiftizo a
 si(e)xtizo a
 hundseofontlzo a
 hundeahtatlzo a
 hundnizontizo a
 hundteontizo a
 hundendleoltizo6a

§ 129. (1) *an*, which may follow the strong or the weak declension of the adjective, has strong acc. masculine forms *anne* and *æne*, and inst. *ane* and *æne*. In the sense of *alone* it is usually declined weak.

(2) *twezen* is declined as follows :—

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Nom. Acc.	<i>twezen</i>	<i>twa</i>	<i>tu, twa</i>
Gen. Plur.		<i>twezea, twezra</i>	
Dat. Plur.		<i>twæm, twam</i>	

Note,—Like *twezen* is declined *bezen*, *both*; fern, *ba*; neut. *bu*; gen. plur. *bezea, bezra*; dat. plur. *bæm, bam*.

When the two are combined, *ba twa* is used for *maso.* and *fern.*, and when applied to nouns of different genders. The neuter is *bu tu*. The monosyllabic forms only are found thus combined.

(3) *prie* is declined

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Nom. Acc.	<i>prie, prli</i>	<i>prio, preo</i>	<i>prio, preo</i>
Gen. Plur.	<i>priora</i>	<i>preora</i>	
Dat. Plur.		<i>prim</i>	

(4) The cardinal numerals from 4 to 19 are not as a rule inflected except when they are used after or without a noun. In those positions they sometimes take the endings of nouns of the *i*-declension, e.g. in the nom. and acc. plur. *e* for *masc.* and *fem.*, and *u* for the *neut.*, *a* in the *gen.* and *um* in the *dat.*, as *fif byriz*, *five cities*, but *byriz fife*; *hie wæron fife*, *they were five*.

Note.—To *note* are phrases such as *syxa sum*, *one of six*, *with five companions*.

(5) The ending *-Uz* of the numerals from 20 to 120 was originally a noun, as may be seen from Gothic. A trace of this origin remains in occasional *gen. sing.* forms in *-es*, and a very rare *gen. plur.* in *-a*, as in *fifties elna lang*, *fifty ells long*; *Juices mila brad*, *thirty miles broad*. More usually numerals in *-tiz* are declined like adjectives, as *aefter feowertizra daza zetele*, *after the number of forty days*; *mid twentizum pusendum*, *with twenty thousands*.

Sometimes they remain uninflected, as *sýxtiz elna Iang, sixty ells long*.

(6) *Hund* was originally a neuter noun. It is usually not declined in O.E., but a dat. sing. *hunde* and a dat. plur. *hundum* occur, as in *tetter IV hunde wintrum, after four winters counted by the hundred*; *mid twæm hundum peningum, with two hundred pence*. •

(7) *puisend* also was originally a neuter noun. It is sometimes not declined, but more generally it takes the endings of the ordinary neuter, with a nom. and ace. plur. *pusend* or *pusendu*, -o, -a, gen. plur. *pusenda*, dat. plur. *pusendum*. Numerals in -tiz, *hund, hundred*, and *pusend*, being all originally nouns, may govern the accompanying noun in the gen., as *twentiz sceapa, twenty sheep*; *hund (pusend) manna, a hundred (thousand) men*.

§ 1z0. All ordinal numbers except *o er* are inflected like weak adjectives: *o er* has only strong forms; *formest*, *fyrmost*, *fyrst* may follow either the strong or the weak declension (§ 124).

OTHER NUMERALS

§ 1z1. Multiplicative adverbs are *aene, once*; *twiwa, tuwa, twice*; *priwa, thrice*. They may also be formed with numerals and *sip, time*, as *twæm si um, twice*; *on ænne sip, once*.

Multiplicative adjectives are formed by adding -feald to the numerals. These were then declined like ordinary adjectives, as *mid seofonfealdre ziefe, with a sevenfold gift*.

Distributive numerals are *anlieplze, one each*; *be prim or prim and prim, in threes*.

To note are the phrases formed with *sip, time*, such as *o rum si e, the next time*; *hindeman si e, the last time*; and those with *healf*, such as *o er healf, one and a half*, lit. *the second half*; *pridda healf, two and a half*. In these constructions both words may be inflected, as in *d res healfes fotes zemet, the measure of 1½ feet*; *zeworht of priddan healf re hyde, made of 2½ hides*, or *healf* may be uninflected, as *priddan healf fot, two feet and a half*.

CHAPTER IX

PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§ 132. The O.E. personal pronouns have four cases, nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative. Those of the first and second persons have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. That of the third person has distinct forms for the three genders in the singular.

§133.

FIRST PERSON

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	ic, I	wit	we
Acc.	mec, mi	unc, uncit	usic, us
Gen.	min	uncer	user, ure
Dat.	me	unc	us

SECOND PERSON

Nom.	u, thou		ze
Acc.	ec, e	inc, tacit	eowic, eow, iow
Gen.	in	incer	eower, lower
Dat.	e	inc	eow, iow

Note 1.—me, **u**, e, we, ze had originally short vowels. These were retained when the pronoun was unaccented in its sentence, but lengthened in O.E. when accented.

Note 2.—The ending of the acc. is -c and corresponds to the g in Greek *ἐμὲ*. Thus **mec**, **ec**, **usic**, **eowic** are true accusatives. They are, however, only found in early texts, later they were replaced by the dative forms **me**, **Be**, **us**, **eow**.

In the same way **inc**, **unc** are the true accusatives of the dual forms; the -**it** of **illicit**, **incit** is borrowed from the nominatives **wit**, 3ft.

§134.

THIRD PERSON

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nona.	he, <i>he</i>	hio, heo, hie, <i>she</i>	hit, <i>it</i>
Acc.	hine, hiene	hie, hio, heo	hit
Gen.	his	hire, hiere	his
Dat.	him	hire, hiere	him
Plur.			
Nom. Acc. (all genders)		hie, hi, heo	
Gen.		hira, hiora, heora, hiera	
Dat.		him	

The forms *hiene, hiere, hiora, heora*, etc., are due to *o/a* mutation (§ 25).

The fern. nom. sing. *hie* is borrowed from the acc. and the acc. *hio* or *heo* from the nom. Later forms for *hie* are *hi, hy, hiz*, and *hyre* and *hyra* for *hiere* and *hiera* (§ 36, c).

The O.E. pronoun of the third person is from the same Indg. root as the Lat. *cis, citra*, *on this side*.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

§ 125. The only trace preserved of the Germ. reflexive pronoun is the gen. form *sin*, used sometimes in poetry and very rarely in prose as a possessive adjective. In O.E. the personal pronoun was used with reflexive force, either alone or with the demonstrative self (§ 129) added for emphasis. Thus *he hine werede, he defended himself*, but *ic me self urn andwyrde, I answered myself*.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

§ 126. The uninflected forms of the possessive pronouns of the first and second persons are those of the genitive of the corresponding personal pronouns (§ 122). They are declined like strong adjectives: *min, in, like god; user, eower, uncer, incer* like *lytel*, and *tire* like *grene* (§ 115 ff.).

Inflected forms which occur for *user* are: masc. sing. acc. *userne, usserne*; gen. *usses*; dat. *ussum*; fern. sing. acc. gen. and dat. *usse*; neut. sing. gen. *usses*, dat. *usum*; plur. masc. nom. *usse*, fern. *usra, ussa, usse*; gen. of all genders *usra, ussa, ussera, usernai* dat. of all genders *ussum*.

In forms with *sr*, such as *fern*, *usre*, *gen. plur. usra*, the *r* was usually assimilated to the preceding *s*, giving *ss*, which was then sometimes introduced into other cases, as in *usses*.

From *tire* the forms are: *masc. ace. sing. urne*, *gen. tires*, *dat. urum*; *fern. ace. gen. and dat. sing. tire*; *neut. gen. sing. tires*, *dat. urum*; *nom. and ace. plur. of all genders ure*; *gen. ura, urra*; *dat. urum*. For the possessive pronoun of the third person the reflexive *sin* is sometimes found, especially in poetry (§ 1z5), and is declined like a strong adjective. More often the *gen. forms* of the personal pronoun *his*, *hiere*, *hlera* (§ 1z4) are used, and these are never declined.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

(A) THE SIMPLE DEMONSTRATIVE (DEFINITE ARTICLE)

§ 1z7. The O.E. simple demonstrative is formed from two stems, one with *s* found in the *nom. sing.* of the *masc.* and *fern.* only; the other with *5*. It is used chiefly as the definite article.

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	<i>se</i>	<i>seo</i>	<i>aet</i>
Acc.	<i>Cone, ane, aene</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a*</i>
Gen.	<i>aes</i>	<i>aere</i>	<i>aes</i>
Dat.	<i>æm, am</i>	<i>Caere</i>	<i>aem, am</i>
Inst.	<i>y, e, on</i>		<i>y, e, on</i>
Plur.			
Nom. Ace (all genders)		<i>a</i>	
Gen.		<i>ara, aera</i>	
Dat.		<i>eem, am</i>	

Note.—*ie* belongs to the *dat. plur.* and has been borrowed thence into the *gen. plur.*, *gen. and dat. sing. fern.*, and *dat. sing. masc.* and *neuter*, *a* belongs to the *gen. plur.* and has been borrowed into the *dat. sing. maso.* and *neut. and dat. plur. of all genders*.

The true *gen. and dat. sing. fern. ere* is preserved only in dialects.

§ 1z8. (b) COMPOUND DEMONSTRATIVE

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	es	eos	is
Acce.	isne	as	is
Gen.	isses	isre, isse	isses
Dat.	issum	isre, isse	issum
Inst.	ys, is		ys, is
Plur.			
Nom. Acc. (all genders)	as		
Gen.		isra, issa	
Dat.		issum	

Note 1.—sr of inflected forms has been assimilated to ss here as to the possessive pronouns (§ 1z6).

Note 2.—se, es have accented forms with long, and unaccented with short vowels.

Note 3.—The compound demonstrative pronoun is formed from the simple demonstrative with the addition of the particle -se, -si.

(c) OTHER DEMONSTRATIVES

§ 1z9. These are: se ilca, *the same*, which follows the weak declension of adjectives, and self, *self, same*, declined weak or strong.

RELATIVE PRONOUN

§ 140. O.E. possesses no relative pronoun. Its place is supplied in four ways:—

(a) By the indeclinable relative particle e, as: one aldor-mon e him lengest wunode, *the alderman who had remained longest with him*; æs cyninges Peznas e him beaftan wæron, *the king's thanes who were behind him*.

(b) By the demonstrative pronoun, as: anne æ eling se wæs Cyneheard haten, *a prince who was called, etc.*; his feoh aet to lafe bip, *his property which is left*.

(c) By the demonstrative pronoun followed by the relative particle, as: tire ieldran a e as stowa heoldon, *our ancestors who possessed these places*; seo ilce burz, seo e maest wæs, *the very city, which was greatest*

(d) By the relative particle followed by the personal pronoun. In this case the pronoun does not always follow immediately, as: *æzhwylcne anra ara e him bip ezea to me, each of those in whom is the fear of me; nis nu cwicra nan e ic him modsefan minne durre asecgan, there is now no living one to whom I may declare my mind.*

§ 141,

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.		
Nom.	<i>hwa, who</i>	<i>hwaet, what</i>
Acc.	<i>hwone, hwane, hwæne</i>	<i>hwaet</i>
Gen.	<i>hwaes</i>	<i>hwaes</i>
Dat.	<i>hwæm</i>	<i>hwæm</i>
Inst.		<i>hwy, hwi, hwon</i>

The masc. form is used for both masculine and feminine pronouns, but in late O.E. the forms *zehwære, zehware* appear for dat. and gen. sing. fern., made on the model of the demonstratives *Caere*.

Other interrogative pronouns are: *hwæ er, which of two; hwilc, hwylc, hwelc, which of many; and hulic, of what kind ?* They follow the strong declension of the adjective.

INDEFINITE PRONOUN

§ 142. Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are used with indefinite meaning. The chief are :—

The interrogative pronouns *hwa, hwæ er, and hwilc*, which could be used—

(a) Alone.

(b) With the prefix *a-*: *ahwa, ahwæ er, ahwilc*.

(c) With the prefix *ze-* (*zi-*): *zehwa, zehwæ er, zehwilc*.

(d) With the double prefix *æz* (*azi-*): *aeshwa, æzhwæ er, æzhwiic*.

(e) In combination with *swa, so ; swa hwa swa, etc.*

(f) With the suffix *-hweza, -hwuzti, -huzu; as hwaethwuzu, somewhat; hweichwuzu, some one, etc.*

(g) In the phrases *nat hwaet, something, lit. I know not what; nathwelc, some one; loc hwæ er, whichever; loc hwaet, whatever.* Other indefinite pronouns are : *ælc, each ; æniz, any; næniz, none; an, a, one; nan, none; man, one; o er, other; sum, some; swilc,*

swelc, *such*; pyslic Puslic, Pyllic, *such*; wiht, wuht, *anything*, and its derivatives awiht, owiht, nawiht, nowiht; nathwær, *somewhere*, and loc hwær, *wherever*; loc hwonne, *whenever*.

ADVERBS

§ 14z. Adverbs were formed from adjectives in O.E. by the addition of the suffix -e, an old locative ending which is seen also in the instrumental of the adjective. This suffix was added :—

(a) To monosyllabic a- stems, as: deope, *deeply*; zeorne, *willingly*; glaede, *gladly*; hlude, *loudly*; lange, *long*; sweetole, *clearly*; swi e, *strongly*; unzefoze, *excessively*, formed from the adjectives deop, zeorn, gtaed, hlud, lang, sweetol, swip, unzefoz.

(b) To adjectives with ja- stems, as: bli e, *joyfully*; claene, *cleanly*; ece, *eternally*; frecne, *dangerously*; zedefe, *fitly*. Such adverbs have the same form as the corresponding adjectives.

Note.—In some instances adjectives with both a- and Ja- sterna occur, formed from the same root, such as smop, sme e, *smooth*; soft, sefte, *soft*; swot, swete, *sweet*. In these cases the adverb shows the unmutated vowel, as: smo e, softe, swote.

(c) To adjectives in -lic, as: dollice, *foolishly*; e elice, *easily*; freondlice, *in a friendly way*; zelice, *equally*; luflice, *lovingly*; singallice, *continually*.

From these a suffix -lice arose by which adverbs were formed from other adjectives. Such adverbs are holdlice, *graciously*; hwaetlice, *bravely*; swi lice, *exceedingly*, beside the adjectives hold, hwaet, swip.

§ 144. A few adverbs have the ending -a, an old ablative suffix corresponding to the common adverbial ending -6 of Gothic. Such adverbs are sona, *soon*; tela, *well*; twiwa, *twice*. But more commonly this ending is found in the combination -unga, -inga, as in eailunga, *altogether*; færinga, færunga, *suddenly*; grundlunga, *completely*; holunga, *without cause*.

§ 145. The oblique cases of nouns and adjectives were used as adverbs in O.E. Examples are:—

Gen. sing. masc. or neuter, anstreces, *at one stretch*; æzhwaes, *altogether*; diezes, *by day*; ealles, *wholly*; nealles, *by no means*; Innanbordes, *at home*; norpweardes, *northwards*; singales, *ever*;

wordes, by *word*; or with -es added to a feminine noun: **niedes**, of necessity; **nihtes**, by *night*.

Inst. dat. sing. of masc. or neuter nouns: **eine**, vigorously; **tela**, very; **ham**, home; **torne**, grievously; **wiht**, at all.

Gen. or dat. sing. of feminine nouns: **dæde**, in deed; **niede**, of necessity.

Inst. sing. of adjectives: **ealle**, altogether; **hwene**, somewhat; **micle**, greatly.

Acc. sing.: **call**, altogether; **eap**, easily; **ful**, **fol**, completely; **norpweard**, northwards.

Gen. plur.: **zeara**, of yore; **unzeara**, recently.

Dat. plur.: **firenum**, terribly; **hwilum**, at times; **stycmaelum**, here and there; **wra um**, angrily; **wundrum**, wondrously.

§ 146. O.E. adverbs are also expressed by compounds or by phrases formed from nouns, adjectives, and adverbs with prepositions.

Examples are: **aetrihte**, almost; **aetforan**, before; **beforan**, before; **ealnewez**, **ealnez**, all the way; **instaepe**, forthwith; **mid ealle**, altogether; **ofdune**, down; **onbutan**, about; **onefn**, close by; **to ahte**, in aught, at all; **todæz**, to-day; **toecan**, besides; **toemnes**, alongside; **wi innan**, within.

§ 147. Adverbs of place are sometimes formed with the suffixes -er, to indicate motion towards, and -an, to indicate motion from, but -an is also found in adverbs expressing rest. Examples of adverbs of place are:—

	<i>Motion towards</i>	<i>Motion from</i>
feorr , feorran , far	feorr	feorran
fore , foran , in front of	forp	foran
her , here	hi er	heonan
hwær , where	hwider	hwanan
Pær , thither	pider	panon
inne , innan , within	inn	innan
neah , nigh	near	nean
neo an , below	ni er	neo an
ufan , above		ufan
uppe , above	upp	uppan
ute , out	ut	utan
sup , south	sup	su an

Like sup go nor)?, east, and west

Like hwær go æzhwær, *everywhere*, and other compounds of hwær.

§ 148. Adverbs of time frequently used are: ær, *before*; fore, *before*; onne, *then*; hwanne, *when*; æfter, *after*; sippan, *after*; a, æ, *always*; na, *never*; æfre, *ever*; næfre, *never*; oft, *often*; eft, *again*. Adverbs of degree are: fela, *very*; for, *very*; ful, fol, *full*; hwon, *somewhat*; to, too; swi e, *very*.

COMPARISON OF ADVERBS

§ 149. The comparative degree is generally expressed by the suffix -or, the superlative by -ost, or sometimes by -est. Examples are the comparatives oftor, *more often*; swi or, *more*; hra or, *more quickly*, with their superlatives oftost, swi ost, hra ost, and the superlative aerest, *first*.

The following comparatives have been formed by 1 mutation of the vowel from an earlier suffix -iz (Goth, -is), which has been lost in O.E.: ær, *earlier* (Goth, airis); bet, *better* (Goth. batis); fierr, *further*; iep, *more easily*; læs, *less*; leng, *longer*; mae (also ma), *more*; nyr, *nearer*; seft, *more softly*; wiers, *worse*, and without mutation sip, *later*.

Of these, four with their superlatives are from another stem than the positive. They are:—

lyt, <i>little</i>	Comp.	læs	Sup.	læst
micle, <i>much</i>	mæ	ma		maest
wel, <i>well</i>		bet		betst
		set		selest
yfele		wiers		wierrest, wyrst

CHAPTEK X

VERBS

§ 150. In Old English, as in all Germanic languages, verbs fall into two large classes, the Strong and the Weak. Strong verbs comprise : (a) Non-Reduplicating or Graded Verbs, i.e. those which form their preterites and past participles by a change of the root vowel (see Vowel Gradation, Chap. V, § 5z), as **ridan**, *to ride*, pret. **rad**, **ridon**, past part. **riden**; (b) Reduplicating Verbs (§ 170), i.e. those which at an earlier period, as seen in Gothic, formed their preterites by a reduplicating prefix which consisted of the initial consonant of the stem and the vowel e (Gothic ai). These verbs occurred with and without gradation. In O.E., however, very few cases of reduplication remain, and these verbs also apparently form their preterites by change of vowel only, as for example **hatan**, *to command*, to which the usual preterite is **net**, **heton**, and the past participle **haten**, but to which a reduplicating preterite **heht**, corresponding to the Gothic **haihait**, is sometimes found.

Weak Verbs are those which form their preterites and past participles by the addition of a dental suffix, which may be **d**, **p**, or **t**, as **haelan**, *to heal*, pret. **haelde**, past part. **zehæled**.

Besides these large classes, a small number of mixed verbs are found. These are : (a) Preterite-Present Verbs (§ 194), i.e. verbs whose present forms are old strong preterites, which have gained a present meaning and to which weak preterites have been made, as **sceai**, *shall*, pret. **scolde**; (b) a few verbs which have weak forms in the present (-jan presents, §§ 168, e; 169, d) but strong preterites, such as **sittan**, *to sit*, pret. **stet**, **saeton**, past part, **seten**. There are besides a few other verbs which do not come into any of the above classes.

§ 151. The O.E. verb possesses one voice only, the active; four moods, the infinitive, indicative, imperative, and subjunctive (older optative), of which the indicative and subjunctive only are fully

represented; two tenses, present and preterite (older perfect); two numbers, singular and plural; and three persons, which are, however, to be distinguished only in the singular of the present and preterite indicative.

One trace of a true passive form remains in *hatte*, *is called*, to which a plural *hatton* has been formed. Usually the passive is expressed by means of the auxiliaries *beon* or *wesan*, *to be*, and later by *weor an*, *to become*, used with the past participle, as is (*wæs*, *wearp*) *haten*, *he is (was) called*. Future time is generally expressed by the present, but sometimes, especially in later texts, by the auxiliary *sceal*, *shall*, and the infinitive, as *hit wierp* or *hit sceal weor an*, *it shall come to pass*. For perfect and pluperfect either the simple preterite was used or a compound tense made up of the verb *habban*, *to have*, and the past participle, as *Sloz* or *hafa slazen*, *he has slain*, *Sloz* or *haefde slazen*, *he had slain*.

Compound tenses formed with *beon*, *wesan*, *to be*, and the present participle are sometimes found, as *waeron fleonde*, *they were fleeing*; *swelce heo sprecende sie*, *as if she were saying*.

CONJUGATION OF A STRONG VERB

§ 152.

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | <i>bere</i> , <i>I bear</i> | <i>weor e</i> , <i>I become</i> | <i>healde</i> , <i>I hold</i> | <i>teo</i> , <i>I draw</i> | <i>sltte</i> , <i>I sit</i> |
| 2. | <i>bir(e)st</i> | <i>wierst</i> | <i>hieltst</i> | <i>tiehst</i> | <i>sit(e)st</i> |
| 3. | <i>bir(e)</i> | <i>wierp</i> | <i>hielt</i> | <i>tiehp</i> | <i>sitt</i> |

Plur.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1-3. | <i>bera</i> | <i>weor a</i> | <i>healda</i> | <i>teop</i> | <i>sitta</i> |
|------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|

Subjunctive

Sing.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| 1-3. | <i>bere</i> | <i>weor e</i> | <i>healde</i> | <i>teo</i> | <i>sitte</i> |
|------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|--------------|

Plur.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1-3. | <i>beren</i> | <i>weor en</i> | <i>healden</i> | <i>teon</i> | <i>sitten</i> |
|------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|

Imperative

Sing.

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 2. | <i>ber</i> | <i>weorp</i> | <i>heald</i> | <i>teoh</i> | <i>site</i> |
|----|------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|

Plur.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| 2. | <i>bera</i> | <i>weor a</i> | <i>heaida</i> | <i>teop</i> | <i>sitta</i> |
|----|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|

Infinitive					
	beran	weor an	healdan	teon	sittan
Present Participle					
	berende	weor ende	healdende	teonde	sittende
PRETERITE					
Indicative					
Sing.					
1.	bar	wearp	heold	teah	set
2.	baere	wurde	heolde	tuze	sæte
3.	baer	wearp	heold	teah	saet
Plur.					
	bæron	wurdon	heoldon	tuzon	saeton
Subjunctive					
Sing.					
1-3.	bære	wurde	heolde	tuze	sæte
Plur.					
1-3.	baeren	wurden	heolden	tuzen	sæten
Past Participle					
	boren	worden	healden	tozen	seten

Note—For the use of P and see § 4, Note.

PERSONAL ENDINGS

§ 15z. (1) Indo-Germanic, like Greek, had two endings for the 1st pers. sing. of the present indicative, -o and -mi. In Germanic a few verbs only retained the ending -mi; the general form was -o, which became regularly -u in O.E. and should have fallen after long syllables (§§ 42, z, a; 4z, A (4)).

It is preserved as -u, later -o, in Northumbrian and Mercian and appears after short and long syllables alike. It is also sometimes found in the oldest W.S. and Kentish texts, but in these dialects it was soon replaced by the ending -e, owing in part to the influence of the endings -est and -e of the 2nd and 3rd persons, and in part to that of the -e of the subjunctive singular.

(2) The ending of the 2nd pers. sing. is that of the weak verbs, which was in Germanic *-is, from an older -esi (§ 4z, A (2), B (1)). In weak verbs the accent was originally on the ending and there-

fore the -s remained unaffected by Verner's Law (§ 61). In O.E. i was weakened to e, and t was added partly from a wrong subdivision of forms in which the personal pronoun followed, such as *bindespu*, *dost thou bind*, later *bindestu*, and partly from the influence of the 2nd pers. sing. of preterite-present verbs, such as *scealt*, *thou shalt*, in which the t was regular (§ 195).

Note—The unaccented ending of strong verbs would have resulted in an O.E. -e, through the stages -Is > -iz (§ 61) > -i > -e (§§41,4z,B(1)).

(3) The ending -ep of the 3rd pers. sing. is also the accented form of the weak verbs, which was in Germanic *-ip, from an older *-epi (§ 4z, A (2), B (1)). In O.E. > was usually voiced to , inflectional endings having later lost the accent (§§ 5, 5z), but it remained when by contraction it came to stand in the accented syllables (see below, 4).

Note.—The regular development of the unaccented form would have been *-ip > *-i (§ 61) > id (§ 66) > O.E. *-ed (§ 4z, B (1)).

(4) In W.S. and Kentish the vowel of these endings was frequently syncopated and the consonants which thus came to stand together were modified as follows:—

dst > tst: *bid(e)st* > *bitst*, *thou dost pray*,

pst and sst > st: *wier6(e)st* > *wierpst* > *wlerst*, *thou dost become* ;
cies(e)st > *ciest*, *thou choosest*.

zst sometimes > hst: *liez(e)st* > *liehst*, *thou liest*.

dp > tt, t: *bid(ep)* > *bit(t)*, *he prays*.

tp > > tt, t: *sit(ep)* > *slt(t)*, *he sits*.

p > p: *cwi (e)p* > *cwip*, *he says*; *wier (e)p* > *wierp*, *he becomes*.

sp > st: *cies(e)p* > *ciest*, *he chooses*.

3p sometimes > hp: *liez(ep)* > *lieh*?, *he lies*.

In Mercian and Northumbrian the uncontracted forms were preserved.

(5) In the plural of the present indicative the endings of the 1st and 2nd persons have been given up in favour of that of the 3rd, and again the accented ending of the weak verb has replaced that of the strong, which was unaccented. The accented ending was -anp in Germanic, which gave O.E. -a through the stage *-op (§§ 29,1, a; 67). The ending of the strong verb would have been *-and (§ 61); it is seen in the Gothic *bindand* and the O.H.G. *bintant*, *they bind*.

Note,—In North, the -e of the 3rd pers. sing. became -es, and the -a of the plur. became -as. In the 2nd pers. the " t " was not borrowed.

§ 154. The ending of the singular of the present subjunctive is regularly -e in O.E., but the oldest texts preserve an earlier form -æ (Goth. -ai).

§ 155. While regular strong verbs have no ending in the imperative singular, as for instance *ber*, *weorp*, -Jan verbs of the fifth and sixth classes of strong verbs have the -e of the first weak conjugation (§ 176), to which their present forms belong. Examples are : *site*, *sit*; *sciepe*, *create*.

§ 156. The 2nd pers. sing. preterite indicative is a new formation in W.Germanic, made by adding the ending -e to the stem of the preterite plural.

Preterite-present verbs keep the earlier form with the ending -t (§ 58, *Note*) added to the stem of the 1st and 3rd persons.

The earliest form of the ending of the pret. plural indicative is in O.E. -un (§ 14), which is preserved in the dialects and in very early W.S. texts. The usual form in W.S. is -on; later -an is found. As in the present indicative, it is the form of the 3rd person which has survived.

§ 157. The -e of the ending of the preterite subjunctive represents an earlier i, as seen in Gothic, and should have caused i mutation of the stem vowel. Traces of mutation appear in preterite-present verbs, as in *pyrfe*, from *purfan*, *to dare*, but in regular strong verbs in O.E. the unmutated vowel of the indicative was early introduced into the subjunctive.

Note 1.—In late texts the ending -on, -an of the preterite indicative is frequently found for the -en of the subjunctive present and preterite.

Note 2.—The -n of the present subjunctive and of the present indicative of preterite-present verbs was often lost when one of the pronouns *we* or *ze* followed immediately as subject, as *purfe we*, *do we need* ? Later the -a5 of the regular present indicative was replaced by -e, by analogy, as **binde ze**, *bind ye*.

§ 158. Before going on to the various classes of verbs a few further remarks may be added. It must be noted that the i of the earlier ending of the 2nd and 3rd person present indicative has had a twofold influence upon the stem*

(a) *e* has become *i*, as in *bire*, older *birip*, beside *beran*, *to bear* (§ 15), and other vowels have undergone *i* mutation, as in *ciest* beside *ceosan*, *to choose*; *hielt* beside *healdan*, *to hold*; *wierst* beside *weor an*, *to become* (§§ 33, 24).

(6) In -*Jan* verbs of the fifth and sixth classes of strong verbs, such as *licgan*, *to lie*; *hebban*, *to raise*; *scieppan*, *to create*, the consonant has not been doubled in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the present indicative; *liz(e)st*, *lize*; *hef(e)st*, *hefe*; *sciep(e)st*, *sciepe*, since the *y* which caused the doubling fell before *i* (§§ 64, Note; 74, 2). The same explanation applies to the imperative singular of these verbs.

(c) The infinitive was originally a neuter noun, of which only the accusative singular remains regularly in O.E. A trace of its nominal origin is seen in a dat. sing. formed on the model of *ja-nouns*, as in *to beranne*, etc.

(d) The past participle is found in Old English with and without the prefix *ze-*; the student must be prepared to find both forms in the same word in O.E. texts, as for example *haten* or *zehaten* for the past participle of *hatan*, *to command*.

Other parts of the verb beside the past participle show this prefix, its original force having been to express completeness. A special meaning in Old English, derived from this, is that of attainment of the object, as in *friznan*, *to ask*, but *zefriznan*, *to learn*; *winnan*, *to strive*, but *zewinnan*, *to gain*.

NON-REDUPLICATING OR GRADED VERBS

§ 159. The subject of Vowel Gradation has been dealt with briefly in Chap. V, § 5z. It may, however, be convenient to repeat here that, in O.E. strong verbs of Classes I to V, the stem vowel may assume three or four forms: that the first will be found in all the present tenses, i.e. in infinitive, imperative, and present indicative and subjunctive, the second in the 1st and 3rd person singular of the pret. indicative, the third in the 2nd person singular (§ 156) and in the plural of the preterite indicative, in the singular and plural of the preterite subjunctive, and sometimes in the past participle. Some classes have, however, a fourth form in the past participle. In the sixth class the vowel appears in two forms only.

In O.E. six classes of Non-Reduplicating Verbs are to be distinguished, as in the other Germ. languages, but many subdivisions have arisen owing to the working of special O.E. sound laws.

CLASS I. VOWEL SERIES i, a, i

§ 160. Here belong all strong verbs with i in the present.

(a) Regular type.

drifan, *to drive, go*; draf, drifon; drifen.

(b) Showing Verner's Law (§ 61).

li an, *to travel*; Iap, lidon; liden.

(c) Showing contraction and Verner's Law (§§ 40, 1; 73, 2).

peon, *to prosper*; pah, peah, pizon; pizen.

Like drifan go *bidan, to abide*; bitan, *to bite*; blican, *to shine*; zewitan, *to depart*; hrinan, *to touch*; ridan, *to ride*; risan, *to rise*; scinan, *to shine*; swican, *to wander, to cease from*; wlitan, *to look*; writan, *to write*, and many others.

Like li an goes *sni an, to cut*.

Like peon go *leon, to lend*; seon, *to sift*; teon, *to accuse*, and wreon, *to cover*.

Note 1.—peon belonged originally to the third class and had a form pinhan (§ 6z). Traces of this appear in a pret. plur. indicative oferpungon, pret. subjunctive punge, and past part. zepungen (used as an adjective) and oferpungen (§ 61).

Note 2.—Verba of class I with eo often formed their preterites and past participles on the model of those of Class I I, which also had eo in the present; as in a pret. sing. peah, plur. puzon, past part. pozen, instead of pah, pizon, pizen, from peon, *to prosper*.

Note 9.—In risan the -s of the first and second stems has been carried into the third, giving pret. plur. rison, past part. risen, for *riron, *riren.

Note 4.—In verbs with stems ending in -z, here and in other classes, as hnizan, *to bow*; sizan, *to sink*; stizan, *to rise*, the preterite singular has forms with -h, as in hnah beside hnaz (see § 72 (6)).

CLASS II. VOWEL SERIES eo, ea, u, o

§ 161. Here belong all strong verbs with eo in the present, except contracted verbs.

(a) Regular type.

beodan, *to command*; bead, budon; boden.

(6) Showing Verner's Law (§ 61).

ceosan, *to choose*; ceas, curon; coren.

(c) Showing contraction and Verner's Law (§§ 40, 1; 7z, 2).

teon, *to draw*; teah, tuzon; tozen,

(d) Aorist presents (Note 2).

buzan, *to bow*; beah, beaz, buzon; bozen.

Like beodan go breowan, *to brew*; cleofan, *to cleave*; dreozan (pret. dreah, dreaz), *to do, endure*; fleotan, *to float*; fleozan (pret. fleah, fieaz), *to fly*; zeotan, *to pour*; hreowan, *to rue*; leozan (pret. leah, leaz), *to lie*; sceotan, *to shoot*, and others.

Like ceosan go dreosan, *to fall*; forleosan, *to lose*; freosan, *to freeze*; hreosan, *to fall*; seo an, *to boil*.

Like teon goes fleon, *to flee*.

Like buzan go brucan, *to enjoy, use*; dufan, *to dive*; lutan, *to bend*; scufan, *to push, shove*, and a few others.

Note 1.—For o in the past part, here, and in Classes I I I and IV, see Chap. I I, § 17.

Note 2.—Aorist present verbs are those which have the vowel of the pret. plural and past participle (i.e. of the weak grade, Chap. V, § 53) in the present. In Class II this u appears lengthened.

Note 3.—ofhreowan, *to rue*, has an irregular pret. sing. ofhreow.

CLASS III. VOWEL SERIES e (i, eo); a (o, æ, ea); u; u (o)

§ 162. Here belong all strong verbs which had e originally in the present and whose stems end in a liquid or nasal followed by another consonant, or, in a few cases, by other consonant groups. They fall into four sub-classes, as follows:—

§ 16z. I. Verbs with stems ending in a nasal and another consonant (§§ 15, 17).

bindan, *to bind*; band, bond (§ 29, 1, a), bundon; bunden.

Like bindan go climban, *to climb*; drlncan, *to drink*; findan, *to find*; zelimpan, *to happen*; tilimman, *to resound*; onzinnan, *to begin*; sincan, *to sink*; singan, *to sing*; springan, *to spring*; swim man, *to swim*; swincan, *to toil*; pringan, *to press*; windan, *to wind*; winnan, *to strive*.

Irregular are biernan, *to burn*; barn, born, burnon; burnen; and iernan, *to run*; arn, orn, earn, urnon; urnen, with metathesis of the r and the vowel (§ 66, Note). The regular form rinnan is sometimes found, especially in the sense of *to flow*.

§ 164. I I. Verbs with stems ending in i and another consonant (§§ 20, 21).

(a) Regular type.

helpan, *to help*; healp, hulpon; holpen.

(b) With breaking in the present before *lc*, *lh* (see Note).

meolcan, *to milk*; mealc, mulcon; molcen.

(c) With initial *z* (§ 72).

zieldan, *to pay*; zeald, guldon; golden.

Like *helpan* go *belzan*, *to be angry*; *delfan*, *to delve*; *meltan*, *to melt*; *swelzan*, *to swallow*; *swellan*, *to swell*; *sweltan*, *to die*.

Like *meolcan* goes *aseolcan*, *to become languid*.

Like *zieldan* go *ziellan*, *to scream*; *zieipan*, *to boast*.

Note.—*feolan*, *to enter*, for older **feolhan* (§ 72 (2)), has regular forms *fealh*, *fulzon*, *folzen*, and later a preterite plural *faelon* and past participle *folen*, formed on the analogy of the verbs with stems in *-l* of Class IV.

§ 165. I I I . Verbs with stems ending in *r* + cons. or *h* + cons. (§§ 70, 71).

(a) Regular type.

beorzan, *to conceal*; bearz, bearh, burton; borzen.

feohtan, *to fight*; feaht, fuhton; fohten.

(b) Showing Vomer's Law (§ 61).

weor an, *to become*; wearp, wurdon; worden.

Like *beorzan* go *ceorfan*, *to carve*; *hweorfan*, *to turn*; *steorfan*, *to die*; *weorpan*, *to throw*, and a few others.

Note.—*hweorfan*, *weorpan*, *weor an* have later forms *hwurfan*, *wurpan*, *wur an* (§ 88, 6).

§ 166. Verbs with stems ending in other consonant groups.

brezdan, *to move quickly*, bræzd, bruzdon; brozden

strezdan, *to strew*, stræzd, struzdon; strozden

friznan, *to ask*, fræzn, fruznon; fruznen

berstan, *to burst*, baerst, burston; borsten

perscan, *to thrash*, pærsc, purscon; porscen

murnan, *to mourn*, mearn, murnon; murnen

spurnan, *to spurn*, spearn, spurnon; spurnen

Note 1.—*brezdan* and *strezdan* have later forms *bredan*, *stredan*, *braed*, *atrted* (§ 72, 7); *brezdan* has also a pret. plural *brudon*, and a past participle *broden*, formed by analogy with the present *bredan*.

Note 2.—finnan, which originally belonged to Class V, has the following forms: frinan, fran, frunon, (ze)frunen; also preterites fraeng, frungon, with a past participle (ze)frungen; an infin. frinnan with a pret. plural frunnon and a past participle zefrugen. The n belonged originally to the present stem only and was borrowed into the other tenses.

Note 3.—berstan, perscan have no breaking because the e and æ have come to stand before r + cons, by metathesis, after breaking had ceased to work (§ 66, Note). The older forms were *brestan, *prescan.

Note 4.—muman and spurnan are aorist presents (§ 161, Note 2).

CLASS IV. VOWEL SERIES e (i), æ (o), æ (o), O (u)

§ 167. Here belong all strong verbs which had e originally in the present and whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal.

1. Verbs whose stems end in a liquid.

(a) Regular type.

beran, *to bear*; baer, baeron; boren.

(b) With initial sc (§ z2).

scieran, *to cut*; scear, searon; sc(e)oren.

Like beran go cwelan, *to die*; helan, *to conceal*; and stelan, *to steal*; teran, *to tear*, and others.

2. Verbs whose stems end in a nasal (§ 29). Two verbs only belong here :—

cuman, *to come*; c(w)om, c(w)ornon; cumen; and niman, *to take*; nom, nomon; numen.

Note 1.—The o in the pret. sing. of cwom and nom is borrowed from the plural, the right form would be c(w)am or c(w)om, nam or nom (§ 29).

Note 2.—cuman is an aorist present verb (§ 161, Note 2). In the present subjunctive the forms cyme, cymen occur beside the regular ones with u, from the influence of the 3rd pers. sing. cyme (§ 158, a). The w in the pret. plural is regularly developed from Indg. g (§ 59) before e. It is sometimes extended to the pret. singular, sometimes lost in both forms from the influence of the infinitive cuman. A past participle cymen is found with i mutation (§ 84).

CLASS V. VOWEL SERIES e, æ, æ, e.

§ 168. Here belong all verbs which had e originally in the present and whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or nasal.

- (a) Regular type.
metan, *to measure*; maet, mæton; meten.
- (6) With initial z (§ 22).
ziefan, *to give*; zeaf, zeaf on; ziefen.
- (c) Showing Vomer's Law (§ 61).
cwe an, *to say*; cwæp, cwaedon; cweden.
- (d) Showing contraction (§§ 40, 1; 7z, 2) and Verner's Law.
zefon, *to rejoice*; zefeah, zefæzon; zefezen.
seon, *to see*; seah, sawon or sæzon; sewen, sezen or sawen.
- (e) With -jan present, i.e. with doubled consonant in the present (§ 64). (Weak-Strong Verbs.)
licgan, *to lie*; læz, læzon; lezen.

Like metan go brecan, *to break*; drepan, *to strike*; sprecan, *to speak*; swefan, *to sleep*; tredan, *to tread*; wefan, *to weave*; wezan, *to move*; wrecan, *to avenge*, etc., except that brecan and drepan sometimes have o in the past part, on the model of Class IV.

etan, *to eat*, and fretan, *to devour*, are also conjugated like metan, except that they have æ in the pret. sing.: æt, fræt.

Like ziefan go onzietan, *to perceive*, and all compounds of both verbs.

Like cwe an goes wesan, *to be*, with pret. sing. was, plur. wæron. The past part. does not occur. In lesan, *to gather*, zenesan, *to be saved*, the a of the present has been extended to all forms.

Like zefon goes pleon, *to risk*

Like licgan go biddan, *to pray*; fricgan, *to ask*; picgan, *to receive*; and sittan, *to sit*

Note 1.—sawon is the W.S. form of the indicative formed from the subjunctive in which the w is regular (§§ 59, Note; 61); sæzon is the true indicative preserved in Anglian to which a subjunctive sæzen was made. The a in the past participle sawen has not been explained.

Note 2.—For the pret. plural Iazon, see § 28.

Note 8.—fricgan has irregular past participles, zefrizen, zefraezen.

Note 4.—picgan has a pret. sing. peah for pæz, formed on the model of zefeah. In W.S. it is a weak verb with a pret. pizede, pizde, etc.

CLASS VI. VOWEL SERIES *a*, *o,o*, *a*.

§ 169. Here belong all strong verbs with **a** in the present not followed by a nasal and another consonant, and also **standan**, *to stand*.

(a) Regular type.

faran, *to fare, journey*; for, foron; faren, faeren.

(b) With initial *sc* (§ 22).

sc(e)acan, *to shake*; *sc(e)oc*, *sc(e)ocon*; *sc(e)acen*.

(c) Showing contraction (§§ 40, 1; 72, 2) and Verner's Law (§ 61).
slean, *to slay*; *Sloz*, *sloh*, *Slozon*; *slazen*, *slæzen*, *slezen*.

(d) With **-jan** present (§ 168, *e*). (Weak-Strong Verbs.)

hebban, *to raise*; *hof*, *hofon*; *hafen*, *haefen*.

Like *faran* go *bacan*, *to bake*; *galan*, *to sing*; *hladan*, *to lade*; *sacan*, *to strive*; *wacan*, *to awake*; *wadan*, *to go*; *wascan*, *to wash*.

Note.—*standan*, *to stand*, *stod*, *stodon*; *standen*, is the only example in O.E. of the infixal *n* in the present (of. Latin *vinco*, *vici*, etc.). From the present it has been introduced into the past participle.

Like *sc(e)acan* goes *sc(e)afan*, *to shave*.

Like *slean* go *flean*, *to fly*; *lean*, *to blame*; *pwean*, *to wash*.

The other **-Jan** presents are: *hliehhan*, *to laugh*; *sceppan*, *to injure*; *scieppan*, *to create*; *steppan*, *to step*, which are conjugated like *hebban*, and *swerian*, *to swear*; *swor*, *sworon*; past part. *sworen* for **swaren*, on the analogy of *boren* and other verbs with stems in *r*. For the absence of doubling in *swerian*, see § 64.

The following are irregular :—

spanan, *to entice*; *spon*, *sponon*; *spanen*, which has also a pret. *speon*, *speonon*, on the analogy of the reduplicating verb *spannan*, *to clasp*, pret. *speon(n)*.

weaxan (§ 21), *to grow*; *weox*, *weoxon*; *weaxen*, which has *eo* in the preterite on the analogy of reduplicating verbs with *ea* in the present, like *healdan*, *to hold*.

In **wacnan**, *to awake*; *woce*, *wocon*, the *n* is found in the present only.

Note 1.—The regular vowel of the past part, of this class is " *æ*" before the ending *-en* (§ 27); " *a*" is due to the influence of the infinitive or may go back to an ending *-an* as seen in

Gothic. Iezen (from lean), slezen (from slean), and pwezen (from pwean) show *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34).

Note 2.—sceppan and swerian have weak preterites, scepede, swerede, beside the regular forms.

CLASS VII. REDUPLICATING VERBS

§ 170. This is a small class of verbs which corresponds to the reduplicating verbs in Gothic (§ 160), and some of which preserve traces of reduplication in the Anglian dialects. In O.E. they have come to be conjugated by a change of vowel, the preterite having the same vowel throughout and the past participle showing that of the present. Two classes have to be distinguished, according to whether the vowel of the preterite is *e* or *eo*. The origin of these vowels is obscure.

The traces of reduplication are *heht*, pret. of *hatan*, *to call*, *command*; *leolc*, pret. of *lacan*, *to move*, *play*; *leort*, pret. of *lætan*, *to let*, *cause*; *ondreord*, pret. of *ondrædan*, *to fear*; and *reord*, pret. of *redan*, *to advise*, *heht* occurs also in W.S. texts, but is an Anglian form. The true W.S. form would have been **hiht*, which is not recorded till the M.E. period.

SUB-CLASS I. PRETERITES IN *e*

§ 171. Here belong all strong verbs which have in the present *ae*, or *a* not followed by *w*; two verbs with *o*, due to contraction, and one with *a* before a nasal + cons.

(a) *laetan*, *to let*, *cause*; *let*, *leton*; *læten*.

(b) *hatan*, *to call*, *command*; *het*, *heton*; *haten*.

(c) *fon*, *to seize*; *feng*, *fengon*; *langen*.

(d) *blandan*, *to mingle*; *blend*, *blendon*; *blanden*.

Like *lætan* go *ondredan*, *to fear*; *redan*, *to advise*; and *slæpan*, *to sleep*.

Note 1.—*ondrædan*, *redan*, and *slæpan* have also weak preterites *ondrædde*, *redde*, *slæpte*.

Like *hatan* go *lacan*, *to move*, *play*, and *sc(e)adan* (§ 22), *to divide*.

Note 2.—For the passive form *hatte* see § 151.

Note 8.—*sc(e)adan* has a preterite *scead* beside *sced*, and weak forms occur in Anglian.

. Like **ton** goes **hon**, to *hang*.

Note.—For the forms **Ion**, **hon**, older **Mohan**, ***hohan**, see §§ 29, 1, e; 63. **fens**, **heng** with -ng by Verner's Law (§ 61) are new formations from the plural.

SUB-CLASS II. PRETERITES IN **eo**

§ 172. Here belong all strong verbs which have in the present **ea** before **I** + cons.; those with **a** before **n** + cons., except **blandan** (§ 171) and **standan** (§ 169); those with **ea**, **aw**, **o**, and two with **e**.

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| (a) healdan , to <i>hold</i> , | heold , heoldon ; | healden |
| (b) bannan , to <i>summon</i> , | beon(n) , beonnon ; | bannen |
| (c) beatan , to <i>beat</i> , | beot , beoton ; | beaten |
| (d) cnawan , to <i>know</i> , | cneow , cneowon ; | cnawen |
| (e) growan , to <i>grow</i> , | greow , greowon ; | growen |
| (f) wepan , to <i>weep</i> , | weop , weopon ; | wopen |

Like **healdan** go **fealdan**, to *fold*; **feallan**, to *fall*; **wealcan**, to *roll*; **wealdan**, to *wield*; and **weallan**, to *boil*.

Note 1.—**weaxan**, **weox**, to *grow*, *wax*, is sometimes included here, but other Germanic languages prove that it belonged originally to the sixth class (§ 169).

Like **bannan** go **gangan**, to *go*, and **spannan**, to *fasten*.

Note 2.—A pret. **benn** for **beonn** also occurs, due to the influence of **biandan** (§ 171, d).

Note 8.—**gangan** has preterites **gieng**, **geng**, and, in one part of *Beowulf*, **gang**.

Like **beatan** go **ahneapan**, to *pluck*; **heawan**, to *hew*; and **hleapan**, to *run*.

Like **cnawan** go **blawan**, to *blow*, *breathe*; **crawan**, to *crow*; **mawan**, to *mow*; **sawan**, to *sow*; **wawan**, to *blow*, and one verb with **wa-**, **swapan**, to *sweep*.

Like **growan** go **blotan**, to *sacrifice*; **blowan**, to *blossom*; **flowan**, to *flow*; **hropan**, to *shout*; **hwopan**, to *threaten*; **rowan**, to *row*; **spowan**, to *succeed*; **swozan**, to *sound*, *take by force*, and one or two others.

Like **wepan** goes **hwesan**, to *wheeze*, in its pret. sing. **hweos**, these being the only forms recorded.

Note 4.—It will be observed that the vowels which occur in the present tense of reduplicating verbs are those found in the preterite of the various non-reduplicating classes

WEAK VERBS

§ 17z. The conjugation of these verbs differed in Germanic from that of strong verbs in that their presents were formed with a *j*-suffix to which the personal and other endings were added, and that their preterites were formed with a dental suffix (§ 150). Both suffixes were united to the stem by means of a vowel.

§ 174. Three conjugations are to be distinguished in O.E. The first contains those verbs whose connecting vowel was Germ. *i*, from Indg. *e*. This was lost very early in the present, but remained in the preterite, as seen in Gothic **hailjan**, *to heal*, pret. **hailida**; **warjan**, *to forbid*, pret. **warida**. To this class belong in O.E. nearly all weak verbs with infinitives in *-an*, and a few with infinitives in *-ian* and mutation of the root vowel. The medial vowel of the preterite and past participle has become *e* (§ 4z, B, 1), which is, however, usually lost except after short monosyllables (§ 44). Thus O.E. **hælan** has a pret. **hælde**, but **werian** has a pret. **werede**.

The second conjugation contains those verbs whose medial vowel was Germ. *o*, from Indg. *a*, as seen in Gothic **salbon**, *to anoint*, pret. **salboda**, with which compare Lat. **amare**. To it belong in O.E. all verbs with infinitives in *-ian* and unmutated root vowels, as in the corresponding O.E. form **sealfian**. The medial vowel of the preterite and past participle is *o*, as in **sealfode**.

The third conjugation contains those verbs whose connecting vowel was in Germ. *se*, from Indg. *e*, cf. Latin **habere**. Only four verbs remain here in O.E. with traces of others, and the conjugation of these four is very irregular.

§ 175. The dental of the preterite suffix occurs in three forms. The usual form is *d*; *t* is found after *h* and all voiceless consonants, **and** occurs in two verbs, **cunnan**, *to know*, pret. **cu e**, and **unnan**, *to grant*, pret. **u e**.

The origin of the suffix is uncertain. Some scholars connect it with the verb "*to do*," a theory which is supported by certain forms in Gothic, such as **hailidedun**, 3rd pen. plur. pret. indicative, and **hailidedeina**, 3rd pers. plur. pret. subjunctive of **hailjan**, *to heal*. In these forms the endings **-dedun**, **-dedeina**, correspond regularly to the O.H.G. **tatun**, **tatin**, pret. plur. indicative and subjunctive of the verb **tuon**, *to do*. On the other hand this theory would leave unexplained the forms with *8* and many of those with *t*.

The suffix of the past participle goes back to a Pre-Germ. *tos, corresponding to the Grk. *-τος* and Lat. -tus, and some scholars assume that that of the preterite is connected with it. This theory is supported by the fact that in all Germ. languages the consonant in preterite and past participle is the same.

PERSONAL ENDINGS

§ 176. These are the same as those of strong verbs in the present and preterite subjunctive and in the preterite plural indicative. In the first weak conjugation they are the same also throughout the present indicative. In the singular of the imperative, weak verbs of the first conjugation have an ending -e from -i, older -i, from Prim. Germ. *-iji. This e is, however, preserved only after a short monosyllable, as in *sete u*, *set thou*, but *hæl u*, older *hæle u, *heal thou*. In the second and third conjugations the vowel of the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the present indicative and the imperative sing. is -a. In the singular of the preterite indicative of all three conjugations the persons are distinct, the endings being -de, -des(t), -de.

CONJUGATION I

§ 177. Here belong, among others, a large number of verbs formed from nouns and adjectives, and causative verbs formed from the preterite singular of the related strong verbs. It has been seen (§ 174) that after the earliest period of Germanic the j- of the present forms came to stand immediately after the final consonant of the stem, as in Gothic *hailjan*, *warjan*. In the W. Germ. languages j fell after long monosyllabic stems or stems of more than one syllable; it doubled every single consonant except r after a short vowel and then fell later; after stems containing a short vowel followed by r it was vocalized to i, which remained (§§ 64, 74, 2, c). Later in all cases it mutated the vowel of the stem (§§ 33, 34). In the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the indicative and in the imperative singular, J fell early before i (§ 64, Note), no doubling took place therefore, but the i of the ending caused i mutation.

§ 178. In the preterite, medial I caused mutation, but remained only after a short monosyllable and before and after certain groups of consonants (§ 44). Early in O.E. it was weakened to e.

Between two dental consonants -i- was lost even after a short syllable, as in *sette* for **setede*, pret. of *settan*, to *set*

§ 179. Certain assimilations took place between the consonants which came to stand together by the loss of medial i. d was partially assimilated to a preceding voiceless consonant, giving t, as in *ciepan*, to *buy*, pret. *ciepte*; *iecan*, to *increase*, pret. *iecte*, later sometimes *iehte*; *pyffan*, to *puff*, pret. *pyffte*; *cyssan*, to *kiss*, pret. *cyste*. d was completely assimilated to a preceding t, as in *metan*, to *meet*, pret. *mette*; *settan*, to *set*, pret. *sette*. d became dd, as in *cy an*, to *make known*, pret. *cydde* (§ 78, b). Double consonants of the stem were generally simplified before d or t, as in *fyllan*, to *fill*, pret. *fylde*. dd and tt after a consonant were simplified, as in *sendan*, to *send*, pret. *sende*; *fæstan*, to *secure*, pret. *teste* (§ 77, 6).

§ 180. Past participles when inflected followed the same rules for syncope of the medial e as preterites (§ 178), as in *zefremed*, performed; *zewered*, worn, plur. *zefremede*, *zewerede*, but *zedemed*, judged, plur. *zedemde*. The contractions are, however, sometimes transferred to the uninflected forms, as *zedemd*.

§ 181. Weak verbs of the first weak conjugation are subdivided into two classes according to whether their stems consisted originally of (a) a short monosyllable, or (6) a long monosyllable or more than one syllable.

§ 182. SUBDIVISION I. VERBS WITH ORIGINALLY SHORT STEMS

CONJUGATION

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	<i>fremme</i> , I <i>perform</i>	<i>werie</i> , I <i>defend</i>	<i>sette</i> , I <i>set</i>
2.	<i>fremest</i>	<i>werest</i>	<i>setest</i>
3.	<i>freme</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>sete</i>
Plur. 1-3.	<i>fremma</i>	<i>weria</i>	<i>setta</i>

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-z.	<i>fremme</i>	<i>werie</i>	<i>sette</i>
Plur. 1-z.	<i>fremmen</i>	<i>werien</i>	<i>setten</i>

Imperative

Sing.	<i>frame</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>sete</i>
Plur.	<i>fremma</i>	<i>weria</i>	<i>setta</i>

Infinitive			
	fremman	werlan	settan
Present Participle			
	fremmende	weriende	settende
PRETERITE			
Indicative			
Sing. 1.	fremede	werede	sette
2.	fremedest	weredest	settest
3.	fremede	werede	sette
Plur. 1-3.	fremedon	weredon	setton
Subjunctive			
Sing. 1-3.	fremede	werede	sette
Plur. 1-3.	fremeden	wereden	setten
Past Participle			
	3efremed	zewered	zeseted

§ 18z. Like fremman are conjugated: aswebban, *to kill*; cnyssan, *to knock*; dynnan, *to din, make a noise*; hlynnan, *to roar*; temman, *to tame*; trymman, *to make strong, to arrange*; pennan, *to stretch*; wennan, *to accustom, train*, and a few others. scepan, *to injure*, and picgan, *to receive*, when conjugated as weak verbs belong here (§§ 169, Note 2; 168, Note 4).

Like werian are conjugated: andswerian, *to answer*; besc(l)erian, *to deprive*; byrian, *to pertain to*; derian, *to injure*; erian, *to plough*; ferian, *to carry*; (ze)werlan, *to wear*; herian, *to praise*; nerian, *to save*; sc(i)erian, *to assign to*; spyrian, *to enquire after*, and one or two others.

Like settan are conjugated: ahreddan, *to rescue*; ettan, *to graze*; cnyttan, *to knit, fasten*; frettan, *to graze*; hwettan, *to incite*; sarettan, *to lament*, and all verbs ending in -ettan. One verb in -cg also belongs here, leccgan, *to lay*.

Note 1.—In verbs of the werlan type the writings *z*, *iz*, and before a back vowel *ize*, occur for *i*; as in werzan, werizan, werizean.

Note 2.—leccgan has a contracted past participle zeledz, laterzeled (§72,7).

Note 3.—In late O.E. texts many irregularities are found. From the similarity of form in the preterite, verbs of the fremman type tend to adopt infinitives in -tan and presents on the werian model, as in trymian for trymman, *to strengthen*. On the other hand the double consonant of the present is sometimes found extended to preterite and past participle as in zetrymmed for zetrymed.

Because of the similarity of ending in the infinitive, verbs of the werian type tend to go over into the second conjugation. For instance, a pret. nerode is found for nerede, *saved*.

§ 184. SUBDIVISION II. VERBS WITH ORIGINALLY LONG STEMS OR STEMS OF MORE THAN ONE SYLLABLE

CONJUGATION

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	læde, <i>I lead</i>	grete, <i>I greet</i>	timbre, <i>I build</i>	zierwe, <i>I prepare</i>
2.	lædest, <i>Iaetst</i>	gret(e)st	timbreſt	zierest
3.	læde, lætt	grete, grett	timbre	ziere
Plur. 1-3.	læda	greta	timbra	zierwa

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3.	læde	grete	timbre	zierwe
Plur. 1-z.	læden	greten	timbren	zierwen

Imperative

Sing.	læd	gret	timbre	
Plur.	læda	greta	timbra	zierwa

Infinitive

lædan	gretan	timbran	zlerwan
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Present Participle

lædende	gretende	timbrende	zlerwende
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PRETERITE

Indicative

Sing. 1.	lædde	grette	timbrede	zlerede
2.	læddeſt	gretteſt	timbredeſt	ziferedeſt
3.	lædde	grette	timbrede	zlerede
Plur. 1-3.	læddon	gretton	timbredon	zleredon

Subjunctive				
Sing. 1-z.	lædde	grette	timbrede	ziederde
Plur. 1-3.	lædden	gretten	timbreden	ziederden
Past Participle				
	zelaeded	zegreted	zetimbred	zeziered

§ 185. Like *lædan* are conjugated: *aliesan*, to set free; *aernan*, to gallop; *bærnan*, to burn up; *benæman*, to deprive of; *dælan*, to share; *deman*, to judge; *draefan*, to drive out; *fedan*, to feed; *feran*, to journey; *flieman*, to put to flight; *fylzan*, to follow; (for) *wiernan* to refuse; *zehieran*, to hear; *zeliefan*, to believe; *zieman*, to take care of; *haelan*, to heal; *iewan*, to show; *læfan*, to leave; *læran*, to teach; *niedan*, to compel; *reran*, to raise; *resan*, to rush; *ryman*, to enlarge; *piedan*, to join; *wenan*, to expect, and a large number of others.

The following show assimilation of the consonant in the preterite: *cy an*, to make known; *cwi an*, to lament; *hy an*, to plunder, and one or two others.

cennan, to bring forth; *cierran*, to turn; *fyllan*, to fill; *fiellan*, to fell, etc., simplify the double consonant in the preterite.

andwyrðan, to answer; *scioldan*, to shield; *sendan*, to send; *spendan*, to spend; *wendan*, to turn, have one *d* only in the preterite. *nemnan*, to name, has a pret. *nemde*, past part, *nemned*.

Like *gretan* are conjugated: *be tan*, to make amends; *iecan*, to increase; *metan*, to meet; *scencan*, to pour out; *swencan*, to torment; *wætan*, to moisten; *wierpan*, to recover, *cyssan*, to kiss, has pret. *cyste*. *acreftan*, to devise; (be) *faestan*, to secure; (ze) *læstan*, to carry out; *pyrstan*, to thirst; *westan*, to devastate, simplify the *tt* in the preterite.

Like *timbran* are conjugated: *bytlan*, to build; *diezlan*, to conceal; *efnan*, to perform; *frefran*, to comfort; *sizian*, to sail, and a few other verbs with stems ending in a consonant followed by a liquid or nasal.

Like *zierwan* are conjugated: (be) *sierwan*, to take by craft, lie in wait for, and one or two other verbs whose stems end in *-rw*.

Note 1.—Verbs like *timbran* have *e* in the imperative sing. and 'preterite, though the stem is long (§ 178).

Note 2.—For the loss of *w* before *i* in the 2nd and 3rd sing. present indicative, imperative sing., and preterite, see § 75, 2, b.

Note 8.—Verbs with contraction due to the loss of medial -h are *hean*, *to exalt*, older **heahan*; *peon*, *to perform*; *pyn*, *to press*, with prets. *heade*, *peode*, *pyde*, and past participles *zehead*, etc. (§ 7z, b).

IRREGULAR VERBS OF CONJUGATION I

§ 186. Already in Pre-Germanic a certain number of verbs added the dental suffix of the preterite directly to the stem without the medial vowel. In consequence, while these verbs belong regularly to the first weak conjugation in the present, in the preterite they show two important points of difference.

(1) Every final palatal consonant of the stem must yield the group *ht* in combination with the *t* of the ending (§ 58, 2).

(2) There is no *i* mutation in the preterite and past participle.

§ 187. The verbs which belong here are:—

<i>cwellan</i> , <i>to kill</i> ,	<i>cwealde</i> , <i>zecweald</i>
<i>dwellan</i> , <i>to hinder</i> ,	<i>dwealde</i> , <i>zedweald</i>
<i>sellan</i> , <i>to give</i> ,	<i>sealde</i> , <i>zeseald</i>
<i>stellan</i> , <i>to place</i> ,	<i>atealde</i> , <i>zesteald</i>
<i>tellan</i> , <i>to count</i> ,	<i>tealde</i> , <i>zeteald</i>
<i>cweccan</i> , <i>to shake</i> ,	<i>cweahte</i> , <i>zecweaht</i>
<i>dreccan</i> , <i>to afflict</i> ,	<i>drahte</i> , <i>zedraht</i>
<i>laeccan</i> , <i>to seize</i> ,	<i>læhte</i> , <i>zelæht</i>
<i>leccan</i> , <i>to moisten</i> ,	<i>leahte</i> , <i>zeleaht</i>
<i>reccan</i> , <i>to narrate</i> ,	<i>reahte</i> , <i>zereahht</i>
<i>streccan</i> , <i>to stretch</i> ,	<i>streahte</i> , <i>zestreaht</i>
<i>peccan</i> , <i>to cover</i> ,	<i>peahte</i> , <i>zepeaht</i>
<i>weccan</i> , <i>to awake</i> ,	<i>weahte</i> , <i>zeweaht</i>
<i>bycgan</i> , <i>to buy</i> ,	<i>bohte</i> , <i>zeboht</i>
<i>bringan</i> , <i>to bring</i> ,	<i>brohte</i> , <i>zebroht</i>
<i>pencan</i> , <i>to think</i> ,	<i>pohte</i> , <i>zepoht</i>
<i>pyncan</i> , <i>to appear</i> , <i>seem</i> ,	<i>puhte</i> , <i>zepuht</i>
<i>secan</i> , <i>to seek</i> ,	<i>sohte</i> , <i>zesohht</i>
<i>wyrcan</i> , <i>to work</i> ,	<i>worhte</i> , <i>zeworht</i>

Note 1.—Preterites *cwehte*, *drehte*, etc., are sometimes found with *e* transferred from the present.

Note 2.—*sellan* occurs also in the form *sleiian*, *ea* having been adopted from the preterite in time to undergo *i* mutation.

Note 8.—For the *o* in the preterites *brohte*, *pohte*, see §§ 20, 29, 1, *e*; for the loss of *n*, here and in *puhte*, see § 63.

Note 4.—For the interchange of y and o in bycgan and wyrcan, see §§ 17, 24.

Note 5.—bringen is really a strong verb of the third class with a rarely found past participle brungen. The true present of brohte is brengen, which is, however, seldom found.

CONJUGATION II

§ 188. This class, which is a very large one, contains all verbs with infinitives in -ian with unmutated stem vowels and a few which show mutation, having been formed from nouns or adjectives with mutated vowels. Examples of the latter are: herian, *to ravage*, formed from here, *army*, and clænsian, *to cleanse*, from clæne, *clean*.

Many of the verbs formed from adjectives are intransitive, such as cealdian, *to grow cold*.

In Frim. Germanic the endings of the present and preterite were joined to the stem by means of the vowel 6, giving an infinitive *-ojan, a 1st person sing. pres. indicative *-ojo, etc.

In O.E. this o has been shortened and weakened to i in the present, and to u, later o, in the preterite. The I which is seen in the present in O.E. does not therefore cause i, but back mutation (§ 25).

In the 2nd and 3rd persons sing. of the pres. indicative, Prim. Germanic had short forms *-os-, *-op, as well as *-ojis, *-oJip, and these short forms have given the O.E. endings -as(t) and -a (§ 42, 3).

CONJUGATION

§ 189.

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1	lufie, <i>I love</i> .	Plur. 1-3.	lufia
2.	lufast		
3.	lufa		

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3	lufie	Plur. 1-3.	lufien
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Imperative

Sing.	lufa	Plur.	lufia
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Infinitive—lufian

Present Participle—lufiendc

PRETERITE

Indicative

Sing. 1.	lufode	Plur. 1-3.	lufodon
2.	lufodeſt		
3.	lufode		

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3	lufode	Plur. 1-3.	Iufoden
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Past Participle—zelufod

§ 190. Like *lufian* are conjugated: *beotian*, to *boast*; *bismrian*, to *insult, deride*; *bodian*, to *proclaim*; *broſnian*, to *decay*; *eardian*, to *inhabit*; *earnian*, to *earn*; *ebbian*, to *ebb*; *endian*, to *come to an end*; *fandian*, to *test*; *foizian*, to *follow*; *fulian*, to *decay*; *zæmetian*, to *empty*; *zegaderian*, to *gather*; *herian*, to *ravage*; *hiersumian*, to *obey*; *leornian*, to *learn*; *locian*, to *look*; *murcian*, to *complain*; *notian*, to *make use of*; *sceawian*, to *look at*; *sezlian*, to *sail*; *timbrian*, to *build*; *tintrlan*, to *torment*; *truwian*, to *trust*; *wician*, to *dwell*; *wunian*, to *dwell, be wont*; *wundian*, to *wound*; *wundrian*, to *wonder*; the contracted verbs: *feon*, *feozan*, older **fiojan*, to *hate*; *freon*, *freozan*, older **friojan*, to *love*; *smeazan*, older **smauhojan*, to *consider*; *teon*, *teozan*, older **tiojan*, to *arrange*; *tweon*, *tweozan*, older **twehojan*, to *doubt*; *prean*, *preazan*, to *threaten*, and many others.

Note 1.—In the preterite the medial vowel appears as *u* in the oldest texts; the usual form is *o*, which later becomes *a* (§ 44, *Note 2*).

Note 2.—In later texts medial *o* of the preterite indicative plural becomes *e* by dissimilation before the back vowel of the ending (§ 44, *Note 1*).

CONJUGATION III

§ 191. Four verbs only remain in this class in O.E. They are *habban*, to *have*; *hycgan*, to *think*; *libban*, to *live*; and *secgan*, to *say*. The conjugation of these verbs differs in the various Germanic languages. In Prehistoric Old English the *j-* of the endings of the present came to stand immediately after the final consonant of the root and doubled it, and the preterite was formed without a middle vowel. Hence these verbs have no mutation in the preterite. The endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. present indicative and of the imperative singular are the same as in the second conjugation.

CONJUGATION

§192.

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	haebbe	hycge	libbe	secge
2.	hafast, haefst	hozast	lifast, lifast	sazast, sæzst, seze
3.	hafa, <i>hæfp</i>	hoza	lifa, lifa	saza, sæzp, seze
Plur. 1-3.	habba, haebba	hycg(e)a	libba	secga

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3.	haebbe	hycge	libbe	secge
Plur. 1-3.	haebben	hycgen	libben	secgen

Imperative

Sing.	hafa	hoza	lifa, lifa	saza, sæze, seze
Plur.	habba	hycga	libba	secga

Infinitive

habban	hycgan	libban	secgan
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Present Participle

haebbende	hycgende	libbende	secgende
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PRETERITE

Indicative

Sing. 1.	haefde	hozde	lifde	sæzde, sæde
2.	hardest	hozdest	lifdest	sædest, sædest
3.	haefde	hozde	lifde	sæzde, sæde
Plur. 1-3.	haefdon	hozdon	lifdon	sæzdon, sædon

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3.	haefde	hozde	lifde	sæde, sæde
Plur. 1-3.	haefden	hozden	lifden	sæzden, sæden

Past Participle

zehaefd	zehozod	zelifd	zesæzd
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Note 1.—In *haebbe* and other forms with *æ* before *bb* the vowel has been borrowed from the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the present indicative in time to undergo *i* mutation; in *habban*, *habba* *ft* has been borrowed too late for this. The right forms would be *hebban*, etc., with doubling of the consonant (§ 64) and *i* mutation of the vowel before *i* (§§ 33,34).

Note 2.—For the interchange of o and y in the conjugation of hycg(e)an, see §§ 17, 84. Forms hyzest, hyze, hyze, with y borrowed from the 1st person, occur, as well as hozast, hozap, etc. A complete verb hozian, pret. hozode, is found in the second weak conjugation formed from hoza.

Note 8.—For the forms lifast, etc., with io, see § 85. A verb lifian, leoflan, pret. lifode, leofode, is found in the second weak conjugation.

Note 4.—*sezest, seze, seze* are late formations on the analogy of verbs of the first weak conjugation, such as *lecgan, to lay. Iezest, leze, etc.* For *sæde, saedest, etc.*, see § 72, 7.

§ 193. Further traces of verbs which originally belonged to this class and out of which two distinct verbs have been formed are to be seen in O.E. in *fylzan* and *folzian, to follow*; *treowan* and *truwian, to trust*; *tellan* and *talian, to count, recount*. In these verbs the first form has in each case gone over into the first, and the second into the second weak conjugation.

MINOR CLASSES OF VERBS

PRETERITE-PRESENT VERBS

§ 194. These are strong verbs in which in Pre-Germanic the preterite forms had gained a present meaning, and for which new weak preterites had then been made. For instance *wat, I know*, Grk *οἶδα, I know*, represents the old perfect of a verb to see, cognate of the Latin *videre*, and meant therefore originally *I have seen*. These verbs belong to one or other of the six non-reduplicating classes according to their present tenses, which show the vowel of the preterite of the corresponding class. Their preterites and past participles were formed like the irregular verbs of the first weak conjugation, without a medial vowel (§ 186). Those verbs therefore with present stems ending in a palatal consonant have *ht*, those with a labial have *ft*, and those with a dental have *ss* or *at* in the preterite (§ 58, 2). The same consonant group is seen also in the 2nd person sing. of the present indicative.

§ 195. The conjugation of these verbs offers two points of special importance: (1) The 2nd person sing. of the present indicative preserves the early method of forming the 2nd person sing. of the preterite by adding -t to the stem of the 1st and 3rd persons (§ 156), as in *sceal, scealt, shall, shalt*. In many cases an s has been introduced before the t, or a t added after the s, partly from the influence

of the regular ending -est of the 2nd person sing. of the present indicative, and partly from that of *dearst* (§ 202), in which both are regular. (2) The subjunctive forms sometimes show *i* mutation (§§ 22, 24), keeping a trace of the true endings of the preterite subjunctives, 1st pers. sing. -im, 2nd -is, etc. (§ 157). The infinitive, present participle, and imperative are new formations in Germanic from the stem of the preterite plural.

§ 196. The following are the verbs which belong here. They are arranged under the classes of strong verbs with which they are connected. In the case of many of them only certain forms are extant.

§ 197.

CLASS I. *witan, to know*

Pres. Indic. sing.	wat, wast, wat;	plur. witon, wioton, wieton, wuton
Pres. Subj. sing.	wite;	plur. witen
Imperative sing.	wite;	plur. wita
Infinitive	witan	
Pres. Participle	witende, weotende	
Pret. Indic. sing.	1st and 3rd pers. wisse, wiste;	2nd wissest, wistest;
		plur. wisson, wiston
Pret. Subj. sing.	wisse, wiste	plur. wissen, wisten
Past Participle	zewiten, zewieten;	participle used as adjective zewiss, <i>certain</i>

Note 1.—The forms *wast, wiste, wiston* have their *t* from *forma* like *dearst, dorste* (§ 202); *scealt* (§ 202); *dohte* (§ 198), in which it is regular. *wisse, wisson* are the right forms of the preterite, and the 2nd person sing. pres. indic. should be *was* (§ 58, 2).

Note 2.—For the back mutation in *wioton, wieton, weotende*, see § 25.

Note 3.—For *wuton* see § 38, *b*.

Note 4.—Negative forms occur: *nat, I know not, nyton*, etc., with contraction of the negative particle *ne* with the verb (§ 75, 1, *Note*).

§ 198.

CLASS II. *duzan, to avail, be of value*

Pres. Indic. sing.	1st and 3rd pers. deaz dean; plur. duzon
Pres. Subj. Bing.	dyze, duze
Infinitive	duzan
Pres. Participle.	duzende

Pret. Indic, sing. dohte, dohtest, dohte

Pret. Subj. sing. dohte; plur. dohten

§ 199. CLASS III. unnan, *to grant, wish well*

Pros. Indie, sing. 1st and 3rd pers. ann; plur. unnon

Pres. Subj. sing. unne; plur. unnen

Infinitive unnan

Pres. Participle unnende

Pret. Indic, sing. 1st and 3rd pers. u e; plur. u on

Pret. Subj. sing. u e; plur. u en

Past Participle zeunnen

§ 200. cunnan, *to know, be able*

Pres. Indic, sing. can(n), canst, can(n); plur. cunnon

Pres. Subj. sing. cunne; plur. cunnen

Pret. Indic, sing. cu e, cu est, cu e; plur. cu on

Pret. Subj. sing. cu5e plur. cu en

Past Participle -cunnen; participle used as adjective, *cup known*

Note 1.—The s in canst is borrowed from forms like *dearst* (§ 202), in which it is regular, see § 67, *Note*.

Note 2.—For the loss of n in u e, cu e, see § 67.

§ 201. purfan, *to need*

Pres. Indic, sing. pearf, pearft, pearf; plur. purfon

Pres. Subj. sing. pyrfe, purfe; plur. pyrfen

Infinitive purfan

Pres. Participle purfende, pyrfende, pearfende

Pret. Indic, sing. porfte, porftest, porfte; plur. porfton

Pret. Subj. sing. porfte

Note.—The pres. participle *pearfende* has its ea from the indicative sing.

§ 202. durran, *to dare*

Pres. Indic, sing. dearr, dearst, dearr; plur. durron

Pres. Subj. sing. dyrre, durre

Infinitive durran

Pret. Indic, sing. dorste; plur. dorston

Pret. Subj. sing. dorste; plur. dorsten

Note.—dearr has its rr from the plur. durron in which it has arisen regularly by Verner's Law (§ 61). The right form would be dears (Goth. gadars).

§ 203. CLASS IV. **sculan**, *to owe, have to do*

Pres. Indic, sing, **sceal, scealt, sceal**; plur. **sculon, sc(e)olon**

Pres. Subj. sing, **scyle, scule, sc(e)ole**; plur. **scylen, sculen, sc(e)olen**

Infinitive **sculan, sc(e)olan**

Pret. Indic, sing. **sc(e)olde, sc(e)oldest, sc(e)olde**; plur. **sc(e)oldon**

Pret. Subj. sing. **sc(e)olde** plur. **sc(e)olden**

Note.—For the forms **sceal, sceolon, sceolde**, see § 32.

§ 204. **munan**, *to think*

Pres. Indic, sing, **man, manst, man**; plur. **munon**

Pres. Subj. sing, **myne, mune**; plur. **munen**

Imperative **sing. (ze)mun**

Infinitive **munan**

Pres. Participle **munende**

Pret. Indic, sing, **munde**

Past Participle **zemunen**

Note.—**manst** like **canst** (§ 200) has its *s* from the form **dearst**.

§ 205. CLASS V. **mazan**, *to be able*

Pres. Indic, sing. **mæz, meahht or miht, mæz**; plur. **mazon**

Pres. Subj. sing. **mæze** plur. **mæzen**

Infinitive **mazan**

Pres. Participle **mazende**

Pret. Indic, sing. 1st and 3rd pers. **meahhte, mihte, mehte**;

2nd pers. **meahhtest, mihtest, mehtest**;

plur. **meahhton, mihton, mehton**

Pret. Subj. sing, **mihte, mehte, meahhte**

Past Participle used as adjective, **meahht, mighty**

Note.—The forms with *ea* are the true indicative, those with *1* the subjunctive, showing *1* mutation (§§ 33, 84, z6, a), but they are not kept distinct. Forms with *e* are dialectal or late W.S.

§ 206. **zenuzan, benuzan**, *to suffice*

Pres. Indic, sing, **-neah**, plur. **-nuzon**

Pres. Subj. sing. **-nuze**

Infinitive **-nuzan**

Pret. Indie, sing, **-nohte**

This verb is very sparsely recorded.

§207.

CLASS vi. *motan, may*

Pres. Indic sing.	mot, most, mot;	plur. moton
Pres. Subj. sing.	mote;	plur. moten
Infinitive	motan	
Fret. Indic, sing.	moste, mostest, moste;	plur. moston.
Fret. Subj. sing.	moste	

Note.—For the *t* in *most*, *moste*, *moston*, etc., see *wast*, *wiste* (§ 197, Note 1). The true forms would be *mos*, *mose*, *moson* (§ 68, 2).

§208.

CLASS vii. *azan, to possess*

Pres. India sing.	az, ah, ahst, az, ah;	plur. azon
Fres. Subj. sing.	aze ;	plur. azen
Infinitive	azan	
Pres. Participle	azende	
Fret. Indic, sing.	ahste, ahstest, ahste;	plur. ahston
Fret. Subj. sing.	ahste;	plur. ahsten
Fast Participle	azen	

Note 1.—*ahst*, like *canst* (§ 200), has its *s* from forms like *dearst*.

Note 2.—For the *i* mutation in *dyze*; *pyrfe*, *pyrten*; *dyrre*; *scyle*, *scylen*; *myne*; *mihte*, *mihton*, see § 195, 2, and §§ 88, 84. *pyrfende* has borrowed the *y* from the subjunctive.

Note 3.—For the *u* beside *o* in *duzon*, *dohte*; *purfon*, *porfte*; *durron*, *dorste*; *sculon*, *scolde*, see § 17.

Note 4.—For the *-ht* in *dohte*, *meahste*, *-nohte*, *ahste*, see § 58, 2.

Note 5.—For the *-h* in *deah*, *ah*, beside *deaz*, *az*, see § 72, 6.

VERBS IN *-mi* (§ 153)

§ 209. Four verbs only belong here. They are: *eom*, *I am*; *don*, *to do*; *gan*, *to go*; and *willan*, *to will*. Of these, two only retain traces of the ending *-mi* in Old English *eom* and the Anglian *dom*, *I do*; the conjugation of all is defective.

1. *eom*, *beon*

§ 210. The verb "to be" is formed from three roots in O.E. :—

(a) From a root *es-*, *er-* (cf. Grk. *εἶμι*, from older *ἐσμι*, and Lat. *esse*); (b) from a root **bheu*, related to the Lat. *fui*; and (c) from a root *wes*.

(a) From the root *es-*, *er-* come the forms:—

PRESENT		
	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	eom, I am	} sie
2.	eart	
3.	is	
Plur.	slot, sindon	sien

Note.—The ending *-on* in *sindon* is borrowed from the preterite-present verbs.

Anglian forms are: *earn* or *am*, *earp* or *arp*, *earun* or *aron*.

(b) From the root **bheu-*, come the forms:—

PRESENT			
	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1.	beo (bio), I am	} beo	beo
2.	bist		
3.	bip		
Plur.	beob	beon	beob

Infinitive *beon*; Present Participle *beonde*.

Note.—Forms with *io* occur in all parts of the verb.

Anglian forms are a let pers. sing. *beom*, with *m* borrowed from *eom*, and a plur. *bi(o)pun*, with *-un* from the preterite-present verbs and back mutation (§ 25).

(c) *wesan* is a strong verb of the fifth class (§ 168;. All the preterite tenses of "to be" are supplied from it, and some forms of the present:—

PRETERITE		
	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	waes, I was	} waere
2.	wære	
3.	wæs	
Plur.	wæron	waeren

The present forms are an infinitive *wesan*, an imperative sing. *wes* and plur. *wesa*, and a pres. participle *wesende*.

Note.—Negative forms *neom*, *nis*, *nearon*, *noes*, *naeron*, etc., occur with contraction of the negative particle *ne-* with the verb (§ 75, 1, *Note*).

§ 21L

I I . *don, to do.*

PRESENT

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1.	do	} do	do
2.	dest		
3.			
plur.	dop	don	dop
Infinitive don ; Present Participle <i>donde</i> .			

PRETERITS

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	dyde	} d e
2.	d y d e s (t) d	
3.	dyde	
Plur. 1-3.	dydon	dyden
Past Participle (3e) don		

Anglian forms are 1st pers. sing. pres. indic, *dom, doam*; 2nd, *dæst, doas*; 3rd, *dæp, doas*; plur. *doap, doas*, and a pret. plur. *dædon, dedon*.

Kentish has a pret. sing, *dede*, plur. *deodon*.

§ 212.

I I I . *gan, to go.*

PRESENT

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>ga</i>	} ga	<i>ga</i>
2.	gæst		
3.	<i>gæp</i>		
Plur.	gap	gan	<i>gap</i>

Infinitive *gan* ; Past Participle (ze)*gan*.

No preterite forms are extant. Their place is supplied by *eode*, *eodest*, plur. *eodon*, from a verb which has no present forms.

§213.

IV . *willan, to will.*

PRESENT

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	wille	} wille, wile
2.	wiit	
3.	wile	
Plur.	willa	willen

Infinitive **wlllan** ; Pres. Participle **willende**.

}

The 1st pers. sing, **wille** (Goth, **wiljau**), and the 3rd pers. **wile** (Goth, **will**), are old subjunctive forms used for the indicative. They are frequently confused in Old English, **wilt** has **t** from the preterite-present verbs; **willa**? has borrowed the ordinary ending of the present indicative. Negative forms **nylle**, **molde**, etc., occur with contraction of the negative particle "ne" with the verb (§ 75,1, Note).

INDEX

The numbers given refer to the paragraphs of the Grammar. A letter in brackets (thus bra?(z)d) means that it is sometimes omitted; a letter in brackets after a word indicates that variant or dialectal forms occur. Thus beaz, (e) indicates that the forms beaz and bez are both found.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| a, 18; 148. | aernan, 185. | ar, <i>brass</i> , 13. |
| abbod, 27. | aes, 58. | ar, <i>honour</i> , 90. |
| ac, 106. | aesc, 95. | arn, <i>see</i> iernan. |
| acraeftan, 185. | aet, 168. | asecgean, 140. |
| æ, <i>noun</i> , 96, Note 1. | aetan, <i>see</i> etan. | aseolcan, 164. |
| aewe, <i>see</i> ae. | aetforan, 146. | assa, 27. |
| ae, <i>adv.</i> , 148. | aetgaed(d)re, 76. | aswebban, 18z. |
| aecer, 11; 4z B; 56; | aetrlhte, 146. | at(t)or, 76, 86. |
| 65, Note. | aettren, 116. | ap, 83. |
| aefen, 77. | ae ele, 34, Note 1; 117. | apencean, 5. |
| aefest, 5. | aeeling, 34, Note 1; | awiht, 142. |
| aefre, 148. | 84; 140. | |
| tetter, 127; 148. | azan, 208. | ba, 129, Note. |
| aeftemest, 127. | azen, 116; 208. | bacan, 4; 70; 169. |
| aefpunca, 5. | ah, 208 and Note 5. | bæc, 4; 70. |
| aez, 110. | ahneapan, 172. | baedon, 28. |
| aezhwa, 142. | ahreddan, 18z. | baer, baeron, 46; 5z; |
| aezhwaes, 145. | ahwa, 142. | 167. |
| aehwaer, 147. | ahwae er, 142. | baernan, 185. |
| aehwae er, 142. | ahwilc, 142. | baerst, <i>see</i> berstan. |
| aehwilc, 142. | aid, <i>see</i> eald. | bam, baem, 129, Note. |
| aeht, 96. | aldormann, 140. | ban, 85. |
| aelt, 142. | aliesan, 185. | bana, 101. |
| aside, <i>see</i> ielde. | alu, <i>see</i> ealu. | band, <i>noun</i> , 5z. |
| aelmesse, 102. | ambyrne, 117. | band, <i>verb</i> , <i>see</i> bindan. |
| aene, 129; 131. | an, 13; 23; 128; 129; | bannan, 172 and Note 2. |
| aeniz, 142. | 142. | barn, <i>noun</i> , <i>see</i> bearn, |
| aenne, 129; 1z1. | andefn, 5. | barn, <i>verb</i> , <i>see</i> blernan. |
| aeppele, 27; 65; 99. | andziet, 5. | bat, <i>noun</i> , 8z. |
| aer, <i>brass</i> , 13. | andsaca, 5. | bat, <i>verb</i> , 2z; 5z. |
| aer, before, 126; 148; | andswerian, 18z. | be-, 5. |
| 149. | andweald, 5. | beacen, (e), 36; 51; 86. |
| aeresta, 128. | andwyrdan, 77; 185. | bead, 24; 53. |
| terra, aerest, 126. | anliepe, 117. | beadu, beadwe, 75; |
| aerende, 87. | anliepize, 131, | 9z and Note 1. |
| aerist, 95, Note 3. | ann, 96; 199. | beaeftan, 140. |
| aern, <i>see</i> iernan. | anstrecas, 145. | beaz, (e), 51; 83 |

- bealu, 88.
 bearz, *bearh*, *see* *beorzan*.
 beam, 47.
 beam, *bearwas*, 75; 88. and Note.
 bebeodan, 5.
 bebod, 5.
 bece, 4.
 bedd, 61; 74 and Note; 87.
 (be)fæstan, 185.
 beforan, 146.
 begang, 5.
 bezen, *bezea*, -ra, 129, Note.
 behit, 5.
 belzan, 164.
 ben, 96.
 benaeman, 185.
 bene, 4; 70; 96.
 bend, 92.
 benn, 172, Note 2.
 benuzan, 206.
 beo, 102.
 beom, 210, Note.
 beon, 151; 210.
 beod, 53.
 beodan, 25; 4z A and Note 3; 53; 161.
 beorzan, 47; 165.
 beotian, 190.
 ber, 4z A; 46.
 bera, 101.
 beran, *beoran*, 2, Note 1; 11; 15, Note; 29, Note 8; 48 B; 50; 58; 57; 152; 167; *beru*, 42, 4z A.
 beranne, 158.
 bere, 95.
 beren, 116.
 berzan, *see* *beorzan*.
 berstan, 66, Note; 166 and Note 8.
 bes(c)ierian, 188.
 (be)sierwan, 185.
 bet, *betst*, 149.
 betan, 185.
 betra, *bet(e)st*, 126.
 betweoh, *bet(w)uh*, 75.
 bidan, 66; 160.
 biddan, 64; 168.
 bidest, *bideS*, 78; 15z.
 bierhtu, *birhtu*, 47; 51.
 biernan, 66 and Note; 168.
 bill, 87.
 bindan, 14; 15 and Note; 89; 41; 58; 57; 16z.
 binde ze, 157, Note 2.
 bindestu, *bindespu*, 15z.
 bi(o)pun, *see* *beon*.
 birest, *bireff*, 15, Note; 43 B; 158.
 bismrian, 190.
 bist, *bip*, 140; 210.
 bitan, 5z; 160.
 bite, 5z.
 bitst, *bit*, 78; 15z.
 bit(t)er, 43 B; 53; 65; 116.
 blaec, 115.
 bleed, 95.
 blandan, 171; 172, Note 2.
 blawan, 9; 28; 172.
 blend, -on, *see* *blandan*.
 blican, 160.
 blind, 115.
 bli e, 14z.
 blipsian, 4.
 blotan, 172.
 blowan, 172.
 b5c, 4; 70; 106.
 boda, 5z; 101.
 boden, 161.
 bodian, 190.
 boz, *boh*, 4; 72.
 boza, 4; 72.
 bond, 163.
 bord, 85.
 boren, 43 B; 58; 116; 167; 169.
 borzen, *see* *beorzan*.
 born, 16z.
 borsten, *see* *berstan*.
 brad, 115; 129.
 bradra, -ost; *brædra*, -ost, 125.
 brædu, 24.
 bræ(z)d, *see* *bre(z)dan*.
 breadru, 110.
 brecan, 168.
 bre(z)dan, 39; 72; 166 and Note 1.
 bre(o)zU, 50; 98.
 brengan, 187, Note 5.
 breowan, 161.
 brestan, 166, Note 3.
 bridd, 87.
 bringan, 72; 187.
 broc, 106.
 bro(z)den, *see* *bre(z)dan*.
 brohte, 187 and Note 3.
 broonian, 190.
 bro or, -ur, 5; 9; 43 B; 55; 57; 108 and Note 2.
 brucan, 161.
 brungen, 187, Note 5.
 bryce, *useful*, 119.
 bryce, *breach*, 4.
 brycg, 92.
 bu, 129, Note.
 budon, -un, -an, *see* *beodan*.
 buend, 109.
 buzan, 58; 161.
 bundon, -en, 14; 53; 163.
 bur, 83.
 burz, *burh*, 72; 105; 140.
 burze, 106, Note 1.
 burzon, *see* *beodan*.
 burne, 102.
 burnon, -en, *see* *biernan*.
 burston, *see* *berstan*.
 byegan, 17, Note 1; 34; 58; 187 and Note 4.
 byht, 58.
 byndel, 53.
 byrzan, 72.
 byrian, 188.
 byr(i)3, *see* *burz*.
 byrtten, 4.
 byslz, 43; 68; 116.
 bytlan, 188.
 calan, 58.
 camb, 57.

- cann, 70; 200.
 canst, *see* cunnan.
 catte, 27.
 ceaf, 4; 70.
 c(e)ald, 53; 70.
 cealdlan, 188.
 c(e)alf, 4; 47; 110.
 ceap, 70; 88.
 cearf, 36; 68.
 ceariz, 116.
 c(e)aru, -a, 27; 66; 90.
 ceas, 18.
 ceaster, 82; 90.
 cene, 4; 70 and Note.
 cennan, 185.
 ceorfan, 4; 68; 165.
 ceorl, 4; 6; 70.
 ceosan, 8; 4; 53; 62; 70; 158; 161.
 cerf, *see* cearf.
 cidan, 70.
 ciezán, cizán, cyzán,

 ciele, 4; 58; 70.
 ciepan, 179.
 cieres, 32; 70.
 cierran, cerran, 49; 77; 185.
 ciardon, *see* cierran.
 ciese, 70.
 cieseest, -(e) , ciest, 26; 34; 153; 158.
 cild, 4; 110 and Note.
 cinn, 70; 99.
 cirice, 102.
 cirlesc, 115.
 clæne, 4; 49; 70; 143; 188
 clænsian, 67 Note; 188.
 clawu, 40; 93, Note 2.
 clea, 40; 98, Note 2.
 cleofan, 161.
 cli(o)fian, cleofian, 85.
 cllmban, 15, Note; 163.
 cliplan, 44, Notes 1 and 2.
 cnawan, 28; 172.
 cneo(w), *noun*, 38; 56; 70; 88 and Note.
 cnewes, 38.
 cniht, cniht, 36; 88.
 cnotta, 65.
 cnyssan, 188.

 cnyttan, 188.
 COL, 4.
 col, cool, 6; 53; 70.
 col, *vb*, *see* calan.
 coren, 53; 116; 161.
 craeftiz, 116.
 crawan, 172.
 cu, 106.
 cuma, 101.
 cumán, 29 and Note 3; 59 and Note; 167, 2.
 cunnan, 67, Note; 175; 200 and Note 1.
 cufte, *see* cunnan.
 Cup, 39; 70; 115; 200.
 curfon, 14, Note.
 curon, *see* ceosan.
 cwaep, cwædon, *see* cwe an.
 cwealm, 49.
 cwe(a)hte, *see* cwecan.
 cwealde, *see* cwellan.
 cweccan, 187.
 cwelan, 167.
 cwellan, 187.
 cwen, 75; 96.
 cwene, 29.
 cweorn, 99.
 cwe an, 15; 52; 62; 68; 168.
 cwi(o)cu, 11; 35; 38; 59; 75.
 cwide, 15; 62; 95.
 cw(i)elman, 49.
 cwi an, 185.
 cwi ep, cwip 153.
 cwaelman, *see* cwielman.
 cwoetta, *see* cweftan.
 c(w)om, c(w)am, 167; and Note 1.
 c(w)ucu, 35; 88; 120.
 cyf, 96.
 cyme(n), cymett, 167, Note 2.
 Cynewulf, 5.
 cýning, 5; 84; 44; 70; 84.
 cýnn, 2; 4; 6; 64; 74; 87.
 eyre, 62; 95.
 cyrtel, 84.

 cyssan, 4; 179; 185.
 cyst, 96.
 cytfan, 84; 78; 179; 185.

 dæd, 12; 46; 96.
 dæde, *adv.*, 145.
 daez, 4; 5; 8; 9; 27 42; 43 A; 43 B; 46 51; 67; 66; 68; 72 83; 106; 145.
 dcelan, 185.
 dazas, *see* daez.
 dead, 62; 115;
 deaz, deah, 198; 208, Note 5.
 deazol, 116.
 dearr, dearrst, *see* durron.
 ded, *see* dabd.
 dede, *see* don.
 dez, *see* dæz.
 deap, 62.
 dehter, *see* dohtor.
 delfan, 15, Note; 164.
 deman, 34; 49; 74; 185.
 Dene, 95 and Note 1.
 denu, 29.
 deotion, *see* don.
 deop, 19; 25; 76 and Note; 115; 143.
 deor, 85.
 deore, *see* diere.
 derlan, 183.
 dest, dep, *see* don.
 die, 4; 70.
 diezlan, 185.
 diezol, 116.
 diepan, 19.
 diere, 117.
 dierne, 117.
 dæz, 110, Note 2.
 dogga, 65; 72; 101.
 dozor, 110, Note 2.
 dohte, 197, Note 1; 198; 208, Notes 3, 4.
 dohtor, 17; 84 and Note 2; 57; 108 and Note.
 dol, 115.
 dollice, 148.
 don, 209; 211.

- dom, *vb.*, *see* don.
 dorste, *see* durran.
 draef, 185.
 draf, *see* drifan.
 drazan, 4.
 dre(a)hte, 187 and Note 1.
 dreaz, dreah, *see* dreozan.
 dreccan, 187.
 dreozan, 161.
 dreosan, 161.
 drepan, 168.
 drifan, 5z; 160.
 drincan, 16z.
 dryze, 117.
 dryhten, 84.
 drync, 95.
 dufan, 161.
 duzan, 198; 208, Note 8.
 dyze, 198; 208, Note 2.
 dung, 106.
 durran, 202; 208, Note 8.
 dyrre, *see* durran.
 duru, 11; 98.
 dyde, *see* don.
 dyne, 95.
 dynnan, 188.
 dwealde, *see* dwellan.
 dwellan, 187.
 ea, 40; 9z, Note 2; 106, Note 3.
 eac, 13.
 eacen, 116.
 eadiz, 43B.
 eafora, 101.
 eaze, 36; 65 and Note 1; 87; 103.
 eahta, 42; 58; 128.
 eahtateotia, 128.
 eahtatiene, 128.
 eahto a, 128.
 eald, 31; 47; 49; 115; 125.
 eaidor, 84.
 call, 77; 111; 115 and Note 5; 145.
 ealle, ealles, *adv.*, 145.
 eallunga, 144.
 ealn(ew)ez, 146.
 ealu, 25; 107.
 earn, 210, Note.
 eard, 99.
 eardian, 190.
 eare, 1z; 42; 87; 10z.
 earm, *adj.*, 115.
 earmra, -ost, 124.
 earnian, 190.
 eart, 210.
 east, 147.
 easteward, 115.
 eap, 145.
 ebba, 65.
 ebbian, 190.
 ece, 14z.
 ecg, 4; 72; 92.
 efn, efne, 4; 78.
 efnan, 185.
 efstan, 4.
 eft, 148.
 eze, 24, 95.
 eze, *see* eaze.
 ejesa, 140.
 elde, *see* lelde.
 eln, 90.
 elne, *adv.*, 145.
 emm, emn, 78.
 ende, 87.
 endian, 190.
 en(d)le(o)fan, 128.
 en(d)le(o)fta, 128.
 engel, 84.
 Engle, 95.
 eode, 212.
 eodor, 84.
 eoh, 8z.
 eom, 209; 210.
 eorl, 8z.
 eorre, *see* ierre.
 eortte, 102.
 ent, 95.
 eotan, 51.
 eow, eowic, 133.
 eower, 133; 136.
 eowu, e(o)we, 88 and Note.
 erfe, *see* ierfe.
 erian, 188.
 esne, 87.
 est, 84; 96.
 etan, 11; 46, Note; 56; 58; 168.
 ettan, 188.
 e el, 84.
 e elice, 148.
 exen, 84; 49.
 faeder, 12; 27; 41; 108 and Note 1.
 fæze, 117.
 faezen, 116.
 fraer, 27.
 fæht, 51.
 faelon, *see* feolan.
 fælsian, 4.
 faer, 85.
 faeren, *see* faran.
 teretf, 24 and Note 1.
 ferlŋga, -unga, 144.
 faestan, 179.
 faesten, 87.
 fset, fatu, 27; 85.
 feetels, 84.
 fae m, 4.
 fah, 115.
 fandian, 190.
 fangen, *see* fon.
 faran, 27; 34, Note 1; 53; 169.
 f(e)aru, *vb.* 43A, Note 2; 50.
 faru, *noun*, 90 and Note 2.
 feaht, 31; 51; 165.
 fealdan, 172.
 fealh, *see* feolan.
 feailan, 55; 77; 172.
 fealu, 118.
 fearh, 55.
 fea, feawe, 111; 118, Note 2.
 feax, 86.
 fedan, 185.
 fehþ, *see* fon.
 fehþ, 98; 145; 148.
 felan, *see* feolan.
 feld, 39; 99.
 fell, 55.
 feng, -on, *vb.* 61; 171 and Note 4.
 feng, *noun*, 95.
 feo(za)n, 109, Note 1;
 feoh, feo, 81; 40; 55; 78; 85.
 feohtan, 165.

- feolan, 81; 89; 51; 164, Note.
feond, 40; 49; 109.
feorh, 61; 85.
feorm, 90.
feorr, 77; 125; 147.
feorran, 147.
feower, 60; 128.
feowerteo a, 128.
feowertiene, 128.
feowertiz, 128.
feowertlzo a, 128.
feowertta, feortia, 128.
feran, 185.
fere, see faran.
ferh, 51.
ferian, 188.
fersc, 115.
fet, 84; 43A.
feter, 90.
fe a, 101.
fetter, 90.
lex, see feax.
fiellan, 185.
fielp, see feallan.
fiend, fiond, 49.
fierdleas, 115.
fierr, 149.
fierra, -est, 125.
fierst, 95.
fif, 29; 89; 60; 67; 128; 129.
fifta, 128.
fifteo a, 128.
fiftiene, 128.
fiftiz, 128.
f i f t i z o a, 128.
Hide, 117.
findan, 17, Note; 16z.
Iiren, 90 and Note 1.
firenum, adv., 145.
fise, 11; 58; 8z.
fiscere, 87.
flsco e, 84, Note 3.
fi ere, 87, Note.
fla, 102.
flaesc, 97.
flasce, 27.
fleaz, fieah, see fieon.
flean, 8z.
flean, 169.
flede, 117.
fleoan, 161.
fleon, 161.
fleonde, 151.
fleotan, 161.
flett, 87.
flieman, 1z5.
flode, 102.
flota, 101.
flor, 99.
flowan, 172.
feet, see iet.
fohten, see feohtan.
fol, 77; 145; 148.
folc, 85.
folde, 102.
fol(z)en, see feofan.
folzian, 190; 193.
fon, 20; 29; 84; 40; 61; 6z; 72; 171.
for-, 5.
for, adv., 148.
for, -on, 5z; 169.
foran, 147.
forbsernan, 5.
ford, 99.
fore, 126; 127; 147; 148.
forejanc, 5.
forleosan, 5; 62; 161.
forma, formest(a), 127; 128; 1z0.
forp, 126; 147.
(for)wiernan, 185.
forward, 5.
fot, 11; 55; 105; 1z1.
fox, 4; 17, Note 1.
fraezn, fraeng, 166 and Note 2.
fraet, 168.
fraetwa, 9z.
fran, see fri(z)nan.
Francan, 65 Note 1.
frea, 101.
frecne, 148.
frefran, 185.
fremman, 182; 18z, Note z.
freo(h), 40; 117, Note 1.
freo(za)n, 109, Note 1; 190.
freond, 109.
freondlice, 14z.
freosan, 19; 161.
fretan, 168.
frettan, 183.
fricgan, 168.
frieze, friest, 19.
frize, 40; 117, Note 1.
fri(z)nan, 72; 158; 166 and Note 2.
frinnan, 166, Note 2.
frofor, 43A, Note 1; 90.
frogga, 4; 65; 72.
fru(z)non, see fri(z)-nan.
frunnon, frungon, see frinnan.
fuz(e)lere, 87.
finol, 4; z7; 4zB; 65 Note; 72; 84 and Note 2.
fuhton, see feohtan.
fuhon, see feolan.
fulfan, 190.
ful(l), 2; 4; 14; 87; 77; 145; 148.
fultum, 90.
furf, 106 and Note 2.
furt ra, 126.
fykan, 185; 19z.
fyllan, 49; 179; 185.
fyrrest(a), 127; 128; 180.
fyrra, fyrrest(a), 126; 128; 130.
fyxen, 17, Note 1; 92.
gad, 75.
gaederian, 34, Note 1.
gcers, 66 Note; 68.
gaest, see gast.
gaep, gaest, see gan.
gafol, 86.
galan, 4; 72; 169.
gan, 6; 209; 212.
gangan, 67; 172 and Note 3.
gar, 99.
gast, 110, Note 2.
gat, 106.
gatu, 72, see seat.
geng, see gangan.
ges, 4; 6; 72.
gieng, see gangan.
glatd, 115.

- glaede**, 14z.
gleaw, 118 Note 1.
gled (æ), 84.
glof, 90.
glowan, 84.
god, 2 and Note 2; 17, Note 1; 85.
god, 72; 116; 126; 186.
godcund, 115.
goddond, 109.
gold, 4; 17, Note 1.
gos, 4; 29; 89; 67; 106.
greet, 85.
gram, 115.
great, 8; 76; 125.
grene, 2; 4; 72; 117; 186; *grenra*, 124.
greow, *see* *grdwan*.
gretan, 184.
griet(t)ra, -est, *tee* *great*,
growan, 172.
grundlunga, 144.
grut, 106.
gryre, 95.
guma, 42; 72; 101.
guman, 43A; 43B.
gyden, 17, Note 1; 44; 77; 92.
gylden, 4; 17, Note 1; 43B; 72; 116.
zæt, 48.
ze, 5.
ze, 133.
zeac, 72.
zeaemetian, 190.
zeaf, *zeafon*, z6; 69; 72, 168.
zeald, *see* *zieldan*.
zear (e), 4; 82; 36; 48; 74; 85.
zeara *adv.*, 145.
zeard, 72; 8z.
zearu, *zearwes*, 75; 118.
zeat, 32; 48; 72; 86.
zeatwa, 75; 9z.
zebed, 5.
zebiddan, 5.
zebi(e)zan, 86.
zebind, 53.
zecynd, 97, Note.
zedefe, 14z.
zedrync, 97.
zef, *see* *ziefan*.
zefa, 101.
zefæzon, *see* *gefeon*.
zefan, *see* *ziefan*.
zefea, 101.
zefeah, 168 and Note 4,
zefezen, *see* *zefeon*.
zefon, 168.
zefera, 5; 101.
zefræzen, 168, Note z
zef izen, 168, Note z.
zefriznan, 153.
zefruzen, *see* *fri(z)nan*.
zefu, *see* *ziefu*.
zegaderian, 190.
zehieran, 185.
zehwa, 142.
zehwære (a), 141.
zehwæ er, 142.
zehwilc, 142.
zehydz, 97, Note.
zelaestan, 185.
zeliefan (y), 86; 185.
zelice, 143.
zelimpan, 16z.
zemaene, 117.
zemet, 131.
zemyne, 119.
zemynd, 97, Note.
zenesan, 168.
zendz, *zenoh*, 72; 115, Note 4.
zenuzan, 206.
zeoc, 4; z2; 41; 42; 74.
zeofan, *see* *ziefan*.
zeofu, *see* *ziefu*.
zeolu, 118.
zeomor, 116.
zeong, 32; 115; 125.
zeorn, 14z.
zeorne, 14z.
zeotan, 72; 161.
zesæliz, 116.
zesælizlic, 115.
zesceaft, 58; 97, Note.
zesiene, 117.
zesund, 5; 115.
zepungen, 6z; 116; 160, Note 1.
zeswinc, 97.
zepeode, 87.
(ze)werian, 183.
zewinnan, 158.
zewiss, 197.
zewitan, 160.
zewrit, 85.
zewyrht, 97, Note.
ziedd, 87.
ziefan, 8; 4; 6; 82; z6; 48; 58; 69; 72; 96, Note 2; 168.
ziefu, *noun*, 42; 4zA; 50; 90.
zieldan, 164.
zielpa, 164.
ziellan, 164.
zieman, 185.
zierwan, 75; 184; 185.
ziest, 4; 12; 84; 41; 43A; 57; 58; 72; 95.
z(i)et, 82; 48.
zifan, *sife*, *see* *ziefan*.
zift, 58; 96, Note 2.
zimm, 29.
zistran-daez, 58.
zit, 133.
zyfan, *see* *ziefan*.
zyngra, -est, 125 and Note 2.
habban, 2; 4; 11; 55; 191; 192; and Note 1.
had, 9; 99.
hador, 116.
haef, 85.
haebbe, *see* *habban*.
haefde, -don, 151; 192.
haefen, *see* *hebban*.
haeft, *captive*, 4; 58.
haeft, *handle*, 58.
hæl, 97; 110, Note 2.
haelan, 84; 46; 49; 150; 174; 185.
haele, 95; 107, Note 2.
haelend, 109.
hælep, 34, Note 1; 95; 107 and Note 2.
hærfest, 84.
haes, 58; 96.
haesl, 4.
haett, 2.
h a e o n, 4.

- haerz, 47; 51.
 hafa, 151; 192.
 hafen, *see* hebban.
 haldan, *see* healðan.
 haliz, 5; 44.
 halor, 110, Note 2.
 ham, 2; 9; 79, Note 1; 8z; 145.
 hana, 55; 101.
 hand, 2, Note 2; 8; 4zA; 73; 98.
 hassuc, 27.
 hatan, 58; 150; 158; 170; 171.
 hatte, -on, 151; 171, Note 2.
 he, 134.
 heafod, 24; 43A; 44; 66; 86 and Note 2.
 heah, 40; 51; 73; 115; and Note 4; 117, Note 1; 125.
 healðan, 47; 152; 158; 169 • 172.
 healf, *noun*, 90; 131.
 healf, *adj.*, 115.
 healh, 83.
 healp, 31; 58; 164.
 hean, *vb.*, 185, Note 3.
 hearz, 47; 51; 99.
 hearpe, 102.
 heawan, 172.
 hebban, 58; 64 and Note; 158; 169.
 hefest, hefe, *see* hebban.
 hefun, *see* heofon.
 heze, 95.
 hent, *see* hatan.
 helan, *see* haelan.
 helan, 167, 1.
 hell, 64; 92.
 helpan, 14; 15 and Note; 17; 53; 164.
 heng, 171, Note 4.
 hengest, 84.
 heo, (hio), 184.
 heofon, 85; 44.
 heold, -on, *see* healðan.
 heonan, 147.
 heord, 90.
 he(o)rot, 35; 84.
 heorte, 47; 73; 102.
 heoru, 98.
 her, (æ), 21; 46, Note; 147.
 here, 84; 64; 74 and Note; 87 and Note.
 heretoza, 62.
 herian, *ravage*, 188; 190.
 herian, *praise*, 188.
 het, -on, *see* hatan.
 hete, 95.
 hie, hi, hiz, hy, 184.
 hiehra, hiehest, 125 and Note 2.
 hieran, (i, e), 18; 34; 36; 49.
 hlerde, (io, eo), 84; 86; 49; 74; 87 and Note.
 hi(e)ra, heora, (io), hyra, 35; 134; 136.
 hl(e)re, hyre, 134; 136.
 hierra, 34; 125.
 hiersumian, 190.
 hild, 92.
 hilpist, -est, -i, -e, *see* helpan.
 hilt, 97.
 him, 184.
 hi(e)ne, 184; 135.
 hindema, 127.
 his, 111; 184; 186; 140.
 hit, 134.
 hi er, 147.
 hiadan, 50; 169.
 hlæfdize, 102.
 hlæhhan, (e), *see* hliehhan.
 hlaew, hlaw, 110 Note 2.
 hlaf, 88.
 hlaford, 84.
 hleadan, *see* hladan.
 hleapan, 73; 172.
 hleo(w), 88.
 hliehhan, 4; 49; 78; 169.
 hlimman, 163.
 hlinian, 4.
 hlud, 143.
 hlude, 143.
 hluttor, 116.
 hlynnan, 183.
 hlysnair, 4.
 hlyst, 95, Note 8.
 hnaz, hnah, *see* hnizan.
 hnesce, 4; 120.
 hnizan, 73; 160, Note 4.
 hnitu, 106.
 hnutu, 105.
 hof, 85.
 hof, -on, 55; 61; 169.
 h0zast, -a, 192, and *see* hozlan.
 hozlan, 192, Note 2.
 hold, 148.
 holdlice, 14z.
 holpen, 17; 18; 53; 164.
 holunga, 144.
 hon, 171.
 hond, 2, Note 8.
 hord, 66.
 hors, 66, Note; 85.
 hdrshwael, 5.
 hos, 29; 67.
 hraef(e)n, 73; 78.
 hraezel, 86.
 hraemm, hriemn, 78.
 hræw, hraw, 110, Note 2.
 hra or, -ost, 149.
 hreosan, 161.
 hreowan, 161.
 hrinan, 4; 160.
 hrip; hrifer, 110, Note 2.
 hrdpan, 172.
 hruse, 102.
 hrycg, 4; 87.
 hryre, 95.
 hulic, 141.
 hulpon, *see* helpan.
 hund, *dog*, 55; 83.
 hund, *num.* 14; 128; 129.
 hundeahtatiz, 128.
 hundeahtatteo a, 128.
 hundendleoiantk, 128.
 hundendleoftizo a, 128.
 hundnizontiz, 128.
 hundnlzontlzo a, 128.
 hundred, 128.
 hundseofontiz, 128.
 hundseofontizo a, 128.

- hundteontiz, 128.
 hundteontizo a, 128.
 hundtwelftiz, 128.
 huniz, 29.
 hunta, 101.
 huntotte, 84, Note 8.
 hus, 2; 4; 68; 85.
 hwa, 89; 59; 75; 141; 142.
 hwael, hwalas, 9; 88.
 hwaem, 141.
 hwaes, 141.
 hwaet, *pr.* 4; 12; 27; 41; 59; 141; 142.
 hwaet, *adj.*, 115.
 hwæte, (e), 46.
 hwaethwuzu, 142.
 hwaetlice, 148.
 hwaer, 43B; 141; 142.
 hwalas, *see* hwael.
 hwane, (o), (ae), 141.
 hwanne, 148.
 hwatu, *see* hwaet.
 hwelchwuzu, 142.
 hwene, 145.
 hweorfan, 69; 165.
 hweos, *see* hwesan.
 hwesan, 172.
 hwettan, 188.
 hwlder, 147.
 hwyic, (i, e), 141, 142.
 hwilum, *adv.*, 145.
 hwit, 4; 78.
 hwon, 148.
 hwon, 141.
 hwonan, 147.
 hwopan, 172.
 hwurfon, *see* hweorfan.
 hwy, (i), 141.
 hycgan, 191; 192, and Note 2.
 hyd, 96.
 hyran, *see* hieran.
 hyrde, *see* hlerde.
 hyse, 95, Note 2.
 hy an, 185.
 ic, 4; 56; 70; 133.
 ie, *see* ea.
 iecan, 78; 179; 185.
 iez, 92.
 ielde, 49; 95.
 ieldra, -est, 84; 86; 125; 140.
 ielfe, 95.
 ierfe, 84; 49.
 iernan, 66 and Note; 16z.
 iep, 149.
 ierre, (io) *adj.*, 49.
 ierre, (io) *noun*, 87.
 ie e, 124.
 iewan, 185.
 ilca, 121; 189.
 inc, incit, 133.
 incer, 133; 136.
 Inn, 147.
 innan, 147.
 Innanbordes, 145.
 inne, 127; 147.
 instepe, 146.
 iow, *see* eow.
 Is, 4; 210.
 lung, 74, Note 2.
 lacan, 170; 171.
 lad, 46; 62.
 Iseccan, 187.
 laece, 87.
 Iædan, (e), 46; 62; 184.
 læfan, 185.
 læz, 27; 168.
 Iæzon, 28; 168.
 laeran, 44; 185.
 læs, *noun*, 98.
 Iæs, læst, *adv.*, 149.
 lessa, læst, *adj.*, 126.
 last, -ra, -(em)est, 127.
 lætan, 46; 170; 171.
 laf, 90.
 lazon, *see* læzon.
 laz, 98.
 lamb, 110 and Note 2.
 land, 85.
 lang, 4; 72; 115; 125.
 lange, 148.
 lar, 48A and Note 1; 90 and Note 1; 106, Note 1.
 lareow, 88.
 lap, *adj.*, 115.
 lap, *vb.*, *see* li an.
 leaf, 24; 69.
 Ieaz, leah, *see* leozan.
 lean, 169 and Note 1.
 leahste, *see* leccan.
 leccan, 187.
 Iezen, *lain*, *see* licgan.
 Iezen, *blamed*, *see* lean.
 Iezer, 57; 86.
 leccan, 84; 64 and Note; 74; 183; 192, Note 4.
 lemb, *see* lamb.
 leng, 149.
 lengra, -est, 125.
 leode, (io), 26; 95.
 leof, 44; 115.
 leoflan, *see* liflan.
 leozan, 161.
 leoht, (e), 31; 51; 115.
 leolc, *see* lacan.
 leon, 20; 160.
 leornlan, (io), 31; 190.
 leornung, (io), 8; 44; 47.
 leort, *see* lætan.
 lesan, 168.
 let, -on, *see* laetan.
 libban, 191; 192.
 lic, 70; 85.
 liez(e)st, liehst, liez(e), liehp, 153.
 liehtan, 26; 84.
 lit, 68.
 lifian, 192, Note 3.
 licgan, 158; 168.
 Ilzest, lizetf, *see* licgan.
 lim, 35; 50.
 li(o)fast, -a, 192 and Note 3.
 lioht, *adj.*, 3; 31.
 llomu, *see* lim.
 liftan, 62; 160.
 loc, 142.
 locian, 190.
 lufan, 189.
 luflice, 143.
 lufu, 90.
 lus, 106.
 lutan, 161.
 lyft, 95, Note 3.
 lyre, 62; 95.
 lyt, 149.
 lytel, 116; 126; 186.

mi, *mm*, 149.
 mæst, 126; 149.
 maecg, 87.
 mæz, 28; 83, Note 1.
 maw, 58; 205.
 mæ(z)den, 72.
 mæz(e)p, 107.
 maere, 117.
 mæt, *see* me' an.
 maew, 95.
 mazan, 205.
 mazas, *see* mæz.
 mazu, 98.
 man, *pr.* 142.
 maniz, 43B; 111; 116.
 manizfeald, 115; 124.
 mann, 29; 84; 105.
 man, manst, *see* mun-an.
 mara, 66; 126.
 mattoc, 27.
 map(pu)m, 7; 43B; 65, Note 68.
 mawan, 172.
 me, mec, 133; 135.
 meaht, *noun*, 58; 96, Note 3.
 meaht, meahte, (e), *vb.* 205; 208, Note 4.
 meahtiz, (at, e), 47.
 mealc, *see* meolcan.
 mearh, 39; 7z; 8z.
 mearn, *see* murnan.
 med, 21.
 medema, 127.
 meltan, 164.
 mene, 95.
 menizu, (æ), 34; 91.
 menn, (æ), 34.
 mennisc, 43B.
 me(o)du, 50; 98.
 meolcan, 31; 164.
 meol(u)c, (io), 35; 106.
 meox, (io), 81.
 meowle, 38 and Note.
 mere, 34; 95.
 mese, 21.
 metan, 179; 185.
 metan, 53; 168.
 mete, 95, Note 2.
 metod, 84.
 micel, 116 and Note; 126.

micle, *adv.*, 145.
 mid ealle, 146.
 midd, 15; 57; 117, Note 2; 127.
 midemest, 127.
 miere, 102.
 miht, *noun*, 36; 42; 96, Note 3.
 miht, (e), *vb.*, 86; 58; 205; 208, Note 2.
 mihti3, (æ), (e), 49.
 milts, 92.
 min, 111; 133; 136.
 minte, 9; 29.
 mod, 85.
 modor, 9; 12; 108 and Note 2.
 m5d(d)rize, 76; 102.
 modsefan, 140.
 modwlanc, 5.
 molcen, *see* meolcan.
 molde, 102.
 mona, 2; 29; 101; 107, Note 2.
 monap, 107 and Note 2.
 monn, 2, Note; 29.
 mor, 83.
 moste, *see* motan.
 motan, 207 and Note.
 moppe, 4.
 mulcon, *see* meolcan.
 munan, 67, Note; 204 and Note.
 murcian, 190.
 murnan, 37; 166 and Note 4.
 mus, 11; 41; 106.
 mup, 67.
 mu a, 101.
 myne, 204.
 mynster, 86.
 mys, 2; 34.
 na, 148.
 næd(d)re, 76; 102.
 metre, 148.
 næniz, 142.
 naes, næron, 75, Note; 210, Note.
 nam, (o), 167, Note 1.
 nama, (o), 29; 101.
 nan, 142.

nat, 75, Note; 197, Note 4.
 nathwaer, 142.
 nathwæt, 142.
 nathwelc, 142.
 nawiht, 142.
 ne, 75, Note; 197, Note 4; 210, Note; 21z.
 -neah, 206.
 neah, (e), 31; 86; 47; 78; 115; 125; 147.
 neaht, *see* niht.
 nealles, 145.
 nean, 147.
 near, 31; 73; 147.
 nearu, 118.
 nefa, 55; 101, Note.
 nemnan, 2, Note 1; 185.
 nearon, 210, Note.
 neom, 210, Note.
 neo an, 147.
 nerian, 2, Note 1; 42; 44; 64; 74; 183 and Note 3.
 neriend, 109.
 nest, 16.
 nied, (e), 49.
 niedan, 185.
 niede, -es, *adv.*, 145.
 nieht, 125.
 nieten, 86.
 nifol, 57.
 nizon, 128.
 nizonteo a, 128.
 nizontiene, 128.
 nizo a, 128.
 niht, 4; 36; 73; 106.
 nihtes, *adv.*, 145.
 niman, 9; 29 and Note 3; 42; 53; 167 and Note 1.
 nis, 210, Note.
 ni an, 127.
 ni emest, 127.
 ni er, 147.
 ni erra, 127.
 niwe, 117.
 -nohte, 206; 208, Note 4.
 noide, 213.
 nom, -on, *see* niman.

- norp, 147.
 norpweard, -es, 145.
 nosu, 98.
 notian, 190.
 nowiht, 142.
 nu, 140.
 numen, *see* niman.
 nylle, -en, 75, Note; 218.
 nyr, 149.
 nyton, 197, Note 4.

 cexen, 2; 84; 49.
 Of, 4; 68.
 ofdune, 146.
 of (e)n, 84 and Note 2.
 ofer, 4.
 oferpungen, -on, 160, Note 1.
 offrian, 4.
 offhrowan, 161, Note 8.
 Oft, 148.
 oftor, -ost, 149.
 otpyncan, 5.
 onbutan, 146.
 ondrædan, 170; 171.
 ondreord, 170.
 onefn, 146.
 onzietan, 5; 168.
 onzinnan, 72; 168.
 onsacan, 5.
 ontynan, (e), 49.
 open, 116.
 orleze, 97.
 orn, *see* lernan.
 oter, 17, Note 1.
 Offer, 111; 121; 128; 180; 181; 142.
 opfeallan, 5.
 owiht, 142.
 oxa, 34; 101.

 pad, 56.
 pæp, 83.
 peohte, (i, y), 86.
 pin, 29.
 pinsian, 29; 67, Note.
 pise, (io), 50.
 pleza, 101.
 pleon, 168.
 pyffan, 179.

 racente, 102.
 rad, *see* ridan.
 redan, 170; 171 and Note 1.
 raeden, 92.
 ræran, 84; 62; 185.
 raesan, 185.
 rap, 88.
 reahte, *see* reccan.
 reccan, 187.
 re(z)n, 7; 72.
 reord, 170.
 rice, *adj.*, 76; 117.
 rice, *noun*, 4; 74; 87.
 ricsian, 4.
 ridan, 58; 150; 160.
 ri(e)ht, 86; 51.
 rl(z)nan, 89.
 rlñnan, 168.
 risan, 62; 160 and Note 8.
 rod, 90.
 rodehengen(n)e, 77.
 rodor, 84.
 row, 11.
 rowan, 172.
 rum, 11.
 ryje, 95.
 rynt, *see* ri(e)ht.
 ryman, 185.
 rymet, 87.

 sacan, 169.
 sacc, 27.
 sacu, 90.
 sæd, 115.
 Sæd, 12; 28.
 Sæ(z)de, 89; 192 and Note 4.
 sæzun, -on, *see* seon.
 sæl, 110, Note 2.
 sæl, 28.
 sæt, *see* sittan.
 sæton, (e), *see* sittan and 46.
 sæ(w), 40; 75; 98, Note 2; 95, Note 8.
 sæwe, *dot.*, 95, Note 8.
 sazast, -a, *see* secgan.
 salor, 110, Note 2.
 salura, *see* sæl.
 sand, 62.
 saretan, 18a

 sariz, 116.
 sawan, 172.
 sawol, 48 A, Note 1; 90.
 sawon, -en, *see* aeon and 28.
 scamu, 71.
 scan, 71.
 sc(e)acan, 169.
 sc(e)adan, 82; 171 and Note 8.
 sc(e)adu, 98.
 sc(e)afan, 169.
 sceaft, 58; 96, Note 8.
 sceal, (æ, e), *see* sc(e)olan and 82; 48; 71; 150; 151; 195.
 scealt, *see* sc(e)olan and 48 A; 153; 195; 197 Note 1.
 sceap, 82; 86; 48; 71; 85.
 sceawlan, 190.
 sceawung, 90, Note 5.
 sced, *see* sc(e)adan.
 scep, *see* sceap.
 scencan, 185.
 sc(e)oc, *see* sc(e)acan.
 sceo(h), 71; 83.
 sc(e)olan, 203 and Note.
 sc(e)olde, *see* sc(e)olan and 71; 150; 208 and Note 3.
 sc(e)ort, 32; 125.
 sceotan, 161.
 scepede, *see* sceppan.
 sceppan, 55; 64; 169 and Note 2; 183.
 scieldan, 185.
 scield, sceid, 48.
 sciene, 117.
 sciepe, 155.
 scieppan, 58; 158; 169.
 scieran, 82; 71; 167.
 sc(i)erian, 188.
 scinan, 58; 160.
 scip, sciopu, 35; 85.
 scir, 90.
 scota, scotenum, 101 Note.
 scraft, 85.
 scrud, 105.
 scufan, 161.

- scunian, 71.
 sculan, *see* sc(e)olan.
 scyle, -en, *see* sc(e)olan and 208, Note 2.
 scyldiz, sceldh, 49.
 se, 111; 137; 138, Note 2; 140.
 seah, *see* seon and 31; 36.
 sealde, *see* sellan.
 sealfi(ze)an, 40; 74 and Note; 174.
 searu, 88.
 seap, 99.
 Seaxe, 95.
 secan, 187.
 secg, *man*, 87 and Note.
 secg, *sword*, 92.
 secgan, 4; 6; 72; 192.
 sezest, -e, 192 and Note 4.
 seft, 149.
 sefte, 117; 143, Note.
 sefun, *see* seofon.
 sezlian, 44; 190.
 sen, 36.
 sel, 149.
 sele, 110, Note 2.
 self, 135; 139.
 sellan, 187.
 selra, -est, 126.
 sendan, 62; 179; 185.
 senn, *see* synn.
 seo, ill; 137; 140.
 seofon, 85; 128.
 seofonfealdre, 131.
 seofonteotfe, 128.
 seof ontienne, 128.
 seofotta, 128.
 seoh, *see* seon.
 se(o)lh, seoies, 39; 47; 73; 83.
 seon, 40; 47; 59 and Note; 61; 78; 168 and Note 1.
 seo en, 4; 161.
 settan, 2; 64 and Note; 78; 178; 179; 182.
 sewen, *see* seon.
 sibb, 64; 90.
 si(o)du, 50; 98.
 8ie, vb., 40; 151; 210.
 siellan, 187, Note 2.
 Si(e)x, 31; 36; 128.
 si(e)xta, 128.
 si(e)xteo a, 128.
 si(e)xtienne, 128.
 si(e)xtiz, 128.
 si(e)xtizo, 128.
 sife, 97.
 size, 95; 110, Note 2.
 sizlan, 185.
 sizo, 110, Note 2.
 siol(u)f(o)r, 35.
 sin, 185.
 sincan, 163.
 singan, 4; 163.
 sindon, slnt, 210 and Note.
 Site, 152; 155.
 sit(e)st, siteff, sit(t), 78; 152; 153.
 sittan, 2; 15; 46; 56; 150; 152; 168.
 si>, *noun*, 29; 62; 67; 13.
 si)), *adv.*, 127; 149.
 sip, *sees*, 40.
 si ra, si emest, 127.
 sippan, 148.
 sla, 102.
 slaezen, (e), 116; 169; and Note 1.
 slæpan, 171 and Note 1.
 slazen, 151; 169.
 slaw, 118, Note 1.
 slean, 40; 73; 169.
 sleze, 95.
 SIoz, sloh, 151; 169.
 slupan, 56.
 smæl, 115.
 smeazan, 190.
 sme e, 143, Note.
 smiec, 4.
 smippe, 65.
 smo e, 143, Note.
 sna(w), 8; 43A; 75; 88 and Note.
 sni an, 160.
 snot(t)or, 65 and Note; 116.
 soft, softe, 143 Note.
 sona, 144.
 sorz, sorh, 72.
 sop, 115.
 spada, 58.
 spanan, 169.
 spannan, 169; 172.
 sped, 96.
 spediz, 116.
 speld, 110.
 spendan, 29, Note; 185.
 spearn, *see* spurnan.
 speon(n), *see* spannan.
 spon, *see* spanan.
 spere, 97.
 spi(o)wian, 38.
 spitu, 98.
 spiwan, 68.
 spor, 85.
 spniec, 4; 70; 92.
 spreacn, 50; 51; 70; 168.
 spreocan, *see* spreacn.
 springan, 163.
 spowan, 172.
 spurnan, 37; 166 and Note 4.
 spyrian, 183.
 staef, 83.
 stælon, 28.
 staep, 85.
 stagga, 9; 65.
 stan, 23.
 standan, 58; 169, and Note; 172.
 stealde, *see* stellan.
 stede, 95.
 stefn, 90.
 stelan, 167.
 stellan, 187.
 stend(e)st, *stentst*, stent, 78.
 steorfan, 165.
 steorra, 58.
 steppan, 169.
 sti3an, 13; 160, Note 4.
 stizol, 4.
 stilnes(s), 92.
 stod, *see* standan.
 stol, 83.
 stow, 93 and Note 1.
 strae(z)d, 166 and Note 1.
 Strang, 125.
 streahhte, *see* strecan.
 strea(w), 88.
 streccan, 187.

- stre(z)dan, 166 and Note 1.
 strengra, -est, 125.
 strengttu, 91.
 strozden, *see* strefo)-dan.
 stutti, 106.
 struzdon, *see* stre(z)-dan.
 stycce, 87.
 sulh, 106.
 sum, 129, Note; 142.
 sumor, 84; 99.
 sunne, 102.
 Sunu, 42; 48A and Note 3; 98.
 Sup, 147.
 supan, 147.
 swa, 89; 142.
 Swae, 75.
 SWæp, 85.
 swan, 88.
 swapan, 172.
 swefan, 168.
 swelc, 142.
 swelce, 151.
 sweljan, 164.
 swellan, 164.
 sweltan, 164.
 swencan, 185.
 sweng, 97.
 sword, 38; 47.
 sweostor, 38; 108.
 sweetol, 38; 143.
 swerian, 169.
 swete, 117; 143, Note.
 swican, 160.
 swice, 119.
 SWift, 115.
 swiftra, -ost, 124.
 swilc, 142.
 swimman, 163.
 swin, 11; 85.
 swincan, 163.
 swip, 115.
 swiSe, 143; 148.
 swifflice, 143.
 swiffor, -ost, 149.
 swdzan, 172.
 swor, *see* swerian.
 swot, 14z, Note.
 swote, 143, Note.
 swurd, *see* sword.
 swustor, *see* sweos-
 tor.
 swutol, *see* sweetol.
 synn, 49; 92.
 syx, 36; 129, Note.
 ta, 40; 102.
 tac(e)n, 7; 43B; 86.
 tæcan, 70.
 tæhher, *see* tear,
 tallan, 193.
 talu, 90.
 teah, *see* teon, *to draw*.
 tealde, *see* tellan.
 tellan, 187; 193.
 temman, 64; 183.
 tempel, 9; 29, Note.
 ten, *see* tien.
 teon, *to draw*, 55; 61;
 72; 152; 161.
 teon, *to accuse*, 109,
 Note 1; 160.
 teo(za)n, *to arrange*,
 teond, 109.
 teorū, 88.
 teo a, 128.
 tela, 144.
 teran, 167.
 tid, 96.
 tiehst, tiehp, *see* teon,
to draw.
 tien, tyn, 62; 128.
 tien, 115.
 timbran, 184; 185,
 Note.
 timbrian, 44; 190.
 tintrian, 190.
 ti(o)hhian, 47; 51.
 to, *adv.*, 148.
 to ahte, 146.
 todaez, 83, Note 3; 146.
 toeacan, 146.
 toemnes, 146.
 tozen, *see* teon.
 tomorzen, 83, Note 3.
 torne, 145.
 top, 29; 39; 56; 67;
 105.
 træf, 85.
 tredan, 168.
 treo(w), *tree*, 88; 40;
 43; 75; 88.
 treow, *faith*, 98.
 treowan, 193.
 trum, 115.
 truwwian, 190; 198.
 trymian, *see* trym-
 man.
 trymman, 183 and
 Note 8.
 tu, 128; 129.
 tuzon, *see* teon.
 tun, 88.
 tunge, 42.
 turf, 106.
 twa, 56; 128; 129.
 twæm (a), 129; 181.
 twezea, -ra, 129.
 twezen, 128; 129.
 twelf, 128.
 twelfta, 128.
 twenty, 62; 128; 129,
 twentizo a, 128.
 tweo, 40; 101.
 tweo(3a)n, 40; 190.
 twiwa, tuwa, 181; 144.
 paer, 147.
 pærsc, *see* perscan.
 æt, 46; 111; 137;
 140.
 pah, *see* peon.
 panon, 147.
 as, 138.
 e, *ec, pers. pr.*, 133.
 e, *rel.*, 140.
 peah, *see* picgan.
 peah, *see* peon.
 pearf, *see* purfan.
 pearfende, 201 and
 Note.
 peahste, *see* peccan.
 peaw, 88.
 peccan, 70; 187.
 pez(e)n, 84 and Note 2.
 penc(e)an, 4; 20; 68;
 187.
 pennan, 183.
 et, 46.
 peod, 90.
 peof, 25.
 peon, *to prosper*, 20; 81;
 40; 47; 63; 73; 160
 and Notes 1, 2.
 peon, *to perform*, 185,
 Noted.

- eos, 111; 188.
 peo(w), 75; 88 and Note.
 perscan, 166 and Note 3.
 es, 111; 188 and Note 2.
pewes, see peo(w).
 pider, 147.
 pieder, 185.
 piz(e)de, 168, Note 4.
 picgan, 168; 18z.
 pizon, *see peon.*
 in, 133; 136.
 ping, 85.
 pi(o)h, (eo), *see peon.*
 is, 111; 138.
 pozen, *see peon.*
 pOhte, 20; 29; 6z; 187 and Note 3.
 Sonne, 148.
 porfte, 201; 208, Note 3.
 porscen, *see perscan.* ;
 prea(za)n, 190.
 preo, 128; 129.
 preoteo a, 128.
 preotiene, - tene ,
 -tyne, 128.
 preora, priora, 129.
 prescan, 166, Note 8.
 pridda, 128; 1z1.
 prie, prio, 55; 128; 129.
 prim, 129; 131.
 prines(s), 92.
 pringan, 16z.
 pritz, 128; 129.
 pritzo a, 128.
 priwa, 131.
 l>rlwintre, 117.
 pruh, 106.
 u, 4; 55; 68; 133.
 puzon, *see peon.*
 punte, 20; 89; 6z; 187 and Note 3.
 punge, 160, Note 1.
 purfan, 157 and Note; 2; 201.
 puslic, 142.
 pusend, 128; 129.
 pwean, 169.
 pweorh, 115.
 pwezen, 169, Note 1.
 pyle, 95.
 pyn, 185, Note 8.
 pync(e)an, 20; 6z; 187.
 pyrfe, 157; 201; 208, Note 2.
 pyrstan, 185.
 pyslic, pyllic, 142.
 ufan, 127; 147.
 uferra, ufemest, 127.
 unc, uncit, 1zz.
 uncer, 1zz; 1z6.
 unzeara, 145.
 unzefdz, (e), -fob, 115, Note 4; 14z.
 unnan, 175; 199.
 upp, uppe, 147.
 uppan, 147.
 us, usic, 29; 1zz.
 user, ure, 1zz; 186.
 ut, 127; 147.
 utan, ute, 147.
 uterra, uttra, ute-
 mest, 127.
 u e, 175; 199; 200, Note 2.
 wacan, 169.
 wadan, 169.
 waecnan, 169.
 waed, 85.
 wæd, 96.
 wæz, 95.
 wæ(z)n, 72.
 Wæl, 85.
 wæll, well, *see wiell.*
 wæp(e)n, 86 and Note 2.
 waeron, *see wesan.*
 wær, 2.
 wæs, *see wesan,* and 27.
 waetan, 185.
 waster, 27; 86.
 wange, 87; 10z.
 wann, vb., 29.
 ward, 47.
 ware, 50.
 wascan, 27; 169.
 wat, 1z; 194; 197.
 wast, 58; 197 and Note 1; 207.
 wawan, 172.
 we, 133.
 wea, 101.
 weahte, *see weccan.*
 wealcen, 172.
 weald, 99.
 wealdan, 75; 172.
 wealdend, 109.
 wealh, 83.
 weal(I), 77.
 weailan, 49; 172.
 wealt, 115.
 weard, 90.
 wearz, 92.
 wearum, *see ware.*
 wearp, *see weor an.*
 weaxan, 4; 169; 172, Note 1.
 weccan, 187.
 wedbryce, 77.
 wedd, 77.
 wefan, 168.
 wez, 4; 51; 72; 75; 83.
 wezan, 96, Note 2; 168.
 wel, 149.
 wela, 101.
 wen, (oe), 34.
 wenan, 185.
 wendan (ae), 34; 185.
 wennan, 183.
 weoras, *see wer.*
 weorc, 47.
 weorold, 38, Note.
 weorpan, 165.
 weor an, 3; 4; 5; 9; 11; 31; 38; 53; 55; 61; 66; 68; 151; 152; 158; 165.
 weop, *see wepan.*
 weotende, 197, and Note 2.
 weox, *see weaxan.*
 wepan, 172.
 wer, 16; 51; 88.
 were, *see weorc.*
 weri(ze)an, wer3an, 174; 182; 183, and Note 1.
 werod, 43A; 44 and Notes 1, 2; 86.
 weorold, *see weorold.*
 wesan, 52; 61; 75, Note; 151; 168; 210.

- west, 147.
 westan, 185.
 weste, 117.
 westen, 87.
 wice, 102.
 wician, 190.
 wicu, 50; 90.
 wiell, 49.
 wierzen, 92.
 wierpan, 185.
 Wierb, 84; 66; 151;
 152; 158.
 wier (e)st, 152; 15z;
 158.
 wierrest, 126; 149.
 wiers, 149.
 wiersa, wiersta, 126.
 wieton, wioton, 197
 and Note 2.
 wifmann, 105.
 wiz, 4.
 wiza, 72.
 wizend, 109.
 wih, 47.
 wiht, 38; 96, Note 2;
 142.
 wihte, *adv.*, 145.
 Wild, 110, Note 2.
 wilde, 117.
 wilder, 110, Note 2.
 willan, 75, Note; 209;
 213.
 Willen, 42; 48B; 218.
 Wind, 15; 75.
 windan, 16z.
 wine, wini, 4zA; 74
 and Note; 95.
 winizea, 74, Note; 95.
 winnan, 158; 168.
 winter, 84; 99.
 WiOCU, *see* WICU.
 wi(o)du, *see* wudu.
 wioh, weoh, *see* wih.
 wioht, *see* wiht.
 wiota, *see* wita.
 wis, 8; 115.
 wise, 102.
 wisse, wiste, *see* wit-
 an, and 207, Note.
 Witan, 58; 75, Note;
 197.
 Wite, 87.
 wi innan, 146.
 wiacu, 120.
 wlispian, 4.
 wlitan, 160.
 wlite, 75.
 wl5h, 106.
 wolde, *see* willan.
 wonn, *vb.*, *see* wann.
 word, 85.
 wordes, *adv.*, 145.
 wordhord, 5.
 woc, -on, *see* wacan.
 worden, *see* weortian.
 worhte, *see* wyrcan.
 woroid, *see* weorold.
 wosa, *see* wesan.
 wracu, 75.
 wraftum, *adv.*, 145.
 wreca, 101.
 wrecan, 4; 168.
 wreon, 160.
 writan, 2; 160.
 writen, 18.
 wuce, *see* wice.
 Wudu, 85; 98.
 wuht, *see* wiht.
 wulf, 14; 37; 60; 75.
 Wulle, 87; 102.
 wunden, 116.
 wundian, 190.
 wundrian, 190.
 wundrum, *adv.*, 145.
 wunian, 190.
 wurdon, *see* weor an.
 wurpon, *see* weorpan.
 wur an, *see* weor an
 wylf, 92.
 wynn, 92.
 wyrcan, 17, Note 1;
 187 and Note 4.
 wyrd, 62; 96.
 wyrm, 95.
 wyrsti *see* wierst.
 yfel, 116; 126.
 yfeme t, *see* ufemest.
 yldra, *see* ieldra.
 yteren, 17, Note 1;
 116.
 yterra, yttra, yte-
 mest, *see* uterra.
 yp, 92.

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