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AN
JISH GRAMMAR

JEVERS

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE

SCPS

ED BY

LITERATURE
AN

OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

EDUARD ŠIEVERS

Professor of Germanic Philology in the University of Leipsic

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

ALBERT S. COOK

Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University

THIRD EDITION

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About a year ago the publisher of the 'Series of Brief Grammars of the Germanic Dialects' invited me to prepare the Old English member of the series. At that time the pressure of other duties did not justify me in promising him more than a revision of an earlier set of lectures on Old English grammar, adapted to conform to the general plan. The brief sketch which follows, therefore, makes no pretension to be anything more than such a revision, although much has been added in the process of recopying which was foreign to the original draft.

Hitherto, Old English grammars have virtually been founded upon the language of the poetical texts. This is to be deplored, especially when we consider that the manuscripts in which they are contained are uniformly late; that the texts themselves were composed at an earlier period, and frequently in another dialect; and that in our present versions ancient forms are almost hopelessly jumbled with more modern ones, and specimens of the most widely separated dialects are occasionally united in the same composition.

In the present treatise, on the other hand, the language of the older prose writings has, to a greater extent than heretofore, been chosen as the basis of grammatical investigation, since it is safe to assume that they represent in some measure a single dialect. Besides the characterization of the West Saxon, which is everywhere made the most prominent, an attempt has also been made to give,
though in the most concise terms, the chief variations of the other dialects. Moreover, the method followed has been the historical: that is, I have endeavored to discriminate between early and late forms in a somewhat more critical manner than has been customary, at least in Germany. In this respect, particularly, my work will need to be supplemented and corrected. Just here, however, I desire to anticipate one objection which may be brought against my statements. When a sound or a form is said to be 'earlier' or 'later,' these terms are to be understood as designating the relative age of two corresponding sounds or forms, or the great preponderance of the one or the other in documents of an earlier or later date, and must not be construed as denying the isolated occurrence of 'later' forms in earlier texts, or the reverse. In the present state of our knowledge of Old English, it is not possible to proceed with any nearer approach to accuracy; as regards the exact chronology of Old English sounds and forms, almost everything is yet to be done.

The citations are not usually intended to be exhaustive, since this was precluded by the very plan of the series. Many details, which appear to be confined exclusively to the language of poetry, have been intentionally omitted, because I believe that the beginner should first acquaint himself with the normal or typical forms of the language; it should be observed, however, that what is lacking in the paragraphs treating of West Saxon will frequently be found under the head of the other dialects. On the other hand, I regret that my account of heterogeneous and heteroelitic nouns is not more full and explicit.

In the phonology, and especially in that of the vowels, it was impossible to avoid touching upon the theories of comparative philology. Here, again, the utmost attainable brevity has been aimed at. In general, an elementary
knowledge of Gothic has been presupposed; Old High German and Old Saxon forms have been introduced only in exceptional instances, and then only when they were required to elucidate some difficulty.

The first effectual stimulus to a historical study of Old English, and the first outlines of Old English dialectology, we owe to Henry Sweet. In the introduction to his edition of the Curia Pastoralis the peculiarities of Early West Saxon were pointed out for the first time; and his paper entitled 'Dialects and Prehistoric Forms of English' (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1875-76, pp. 453 ff.) first directed attention to the earliest documents, and briefly characterized the principal dialects. Of prime importance are likewise his investigations into the quantity of Old English vowels (120, note); these were intended to prepare the way for a new edition of his History of English Sounds, London, 1874—a work which lean rather to a theoretical treatment of Old English phonology. Besides, the grammatical introduction to Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader (now in its third edition, Oxford, 1881, though I have been able to consult only the second) contains many valuable, and, what is deserving of special recognition in this department of research, trustworthy particulars.

The history of certain parts of the Old English vowel-system has been for the first time illustrated in the researches of H. Paul into the Germanic vowel-system (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur 4. 315 ff., and 6. 1 ff.). To these should be added the articles by Ten Brink (Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum 19. 211 ff., Anglia 1. 512 ff.), and by J. Zupitza (Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum 2. 1 ff.). Of monographs on special points but few have been published. Zupitza has fully discussed the language of the important Kentish Glosses (Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum 19. 1 ff.); while,
Besides Sweet, P. J. Cosijn has shed light upon Early West Saxon by his admirable studies of the Cura Pastoralis and the Old English Chronicle (Taalkundige Bijdragen, Haarlem, 1877 ff., 2. 115 ff., 240 ff.), as well as by his Kurzgefasste Altwestsächsische Grammatik (I. Theil, Die Vocale der Stammsilben, Leiden, 1881). The northern dialects, moreover, which had been almost overlooked since the labors of K. W. Bouterwek (Introduction to his edition of the Four Gospels in the Old Northumbrian Language, Gütersloh, 1857; the edition is totally useless so far as the text is concerned) and of M. Heyne (Kurze Grammatik der Altgermanischen Dialekte), have recently been made the objects of study. The language of the Psalter (Appendix, p. 222 1) has been very critically elucidated by R. Zenner (Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters, Halle, 1881), and compared with that of the oldest Kentish texts; the author, relying upon an earlier opinion of Sweet's, regarded the Psalter as Kentish, but this view is shown to be untenable by his own statements in the treatise referred to. Finally, a similar comprehensive investigation of the Northumbrian documents is soon to be expected from Professor Albert S. Cook.

To what extent I am indebted to these and other predecessors for opinions or material can be easily determined by comparison. To assure every one his due is rendered impossible by the compass and plan of this sketch.

To my friend W. Braune I owe grateful acknowledgments for his aid in the correction of proof-sheets, and for many valuable suggestions with regard to the text itself.

JENA, February 1, 1882.

E. SIEVERS.

1 See now p. 3. - Tr.
EDITOR'S PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

While Sievers' Angelsächsische Grammatik was passing through the press, I was a student of philology at the University of Jena. The author had obligingly allowed me to read the whole manuscript before it was placed in the printer's hands, and now favored me with copies of the proof-sheets as fast as they were issued. Under these circumstances it was natural that, when the project of an English version was mooted, I should offer myself as the translator. I did so offer myself, and received from my honored teacher his cordial permission to make such use of his work as I might deem proper; in other words, he left it to my option to expand, curtail, or otherwise modify the original in any way that commended itself to my judgment. The permission thus generously accorded, it has been my aim not to abuse.

The original plan of the grammar has been left intact. Upon first view it seemed labyrinthine, and capable of much simplification; but I was soon persuaded, upon nearer examination, that the complexity of design was owing to the multiplicity of phenomena presented by the three Old English dialects, and still further increased by the endeavor to discriminate between the earlier and later stages of West Saxon. The author might have made his Grammar easier had he chosen to ignore facts which clamored for explanation, instead of seeking to harmonize and account for them; if the work is more difficult, it is also more scientific.
and comprehensive. Moreover, much of the apparent complexity vanishes in actual use. The dialectal variations may be entirely disregarded; examples of Late West Saxon are chiefly confined to the notes; and the system of cross-references will not only facilitate the settlement of a doubtful point, but, if perseveringly utilized, will enable the student readily to comprehend the relations between the different parts of the whole organism—an organism which is not the figment of scholastic invention, but essentially natural and rational.

With the exception of one or two unimportant redistributions of matter, the modifications that have been made are confined to excisions, additions, changes in terminology, and changes in accent. The excisions are of such details as were criticised in my review of the Grammar in the American Journal of Philology 6. 228, and need not be dwelt upon in this place.

Important supplementary matter has been furnished by articles in various philological journals. Among these may be mentioned the papers contained in Englische Studien 6. 149 ff., 290 ff., and in Anglia 6. 171 ff.; the valuable contributions of F. Kluge to Kuhn's Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung 26. 68 ff., the Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur 8. 506 ff., and to Anglia, Anzeiger zu Band 5. 81 ff.; but especially the rich collections from Sievers' own hand (Beiträge 9. 197–300). So much of this store as promised to render the Grammar more serviceable has been incorporated into its pages, though frequently with such alterations of form as to become practically unrecognizable, except upon careful scrutiny. The First Half of Cosijin's Altwestsächsische Grammatik unfortunately came to hand too late to be of any service. Besides the additions made to the body of the
work, the index has been amplified to include all the new words under the head of Inflection.

The term 'Old English' has been substituted throughout for 'Anglo-Saxon.' This change will hardly call for an extended justification. Whatever reasons may be advanced for the retention of the name 'Anglo-Saxon,' the arguments in favor of 'Old English' are manifestly, and, to my mind, overwhelmingly superior. The latter rest upon the practically invariable usage of our English forefathers, and upon the need of marking, by a simple as well as intelligible nomenclature, the succession of periods or stages in the development of our language. At the very beginning of the Preface to the English Chronicle, we are told that 'in this island there are five languages: English (Englisc), British, Scotch, Pictish, and Latin.' Alfred, in his circular letter prefixed to the Pastoral Care, advises that all freemen's sons be set to learning 'until such time as they can interpret English (Englisc) writing well,' and states that he has undertaken to 'render into English' the book known in Latin as 'Pastoralis.' A century later, Ælfric, speaking of his grammar, says: 'I, Ælfric, have attempted to translate this little book into English speech'; further on, when treating of letters, he states that 'littera is staff in English' (p. 4 of Zupitza's edition); and again, that 'y is very common in English writings.' Again, in the Old English version of the Gospels, the text of Matthew 27. 46, interpreting the Aramaic, reads, 'that is in English (Englisc), My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' And while 'English' is thus repeatedly employed to denote the language, 'Anglo-Saxon' never once occurs in this sense. But, if the application of the term English to the speech of our ancestors is warranted by their own practice, the phrase Old English is at least equally well supported
by convenience, analogy, and sound philological principles. No one scruples to say Old Saxon, Old Norse, or Old French, while the sequence of Old High German, Middle High German, and Modern or New High German (Brandt's German Grammar, § 485) is too well established to be overthrown. The designation of the successive epochs in the history of English by the same terms—Old, Middle, and Modern—which have been so long and consistently applied to the sister tongue, can therefore hardly be regarded as constituting a serious innovation. These adjectives carry their meaning on their face, and do not require, for ordinary purposes, an interpretation at the hands of the professional philologist; yet, while sufficiently flexible for popular use in their current acceptations, they admit of strict scholarly definition, and are thus open to no valid objection on either score.

With regard to accent, I have followed Sweet in the third edition of his Reader; that is, I have uniformly employed the acute, and placed it over the former of the two elements in a long diphthong, thus differing from Sievers, who writes simple, long vowels with the circumflex, and places the acute over the second element of a long diphthong. A uniform adherence to one or the other accent is dictated by considerations of simplicity and economy, while Sievers himself distinctly affirms that the stress in every diphthong falls upon the first of the two components, though he ignores the theory in his notation.

In conformity with Sweet's practice, I have designated the o, standing for a before nasals, by ø, and the umlaut-e by e, original e being left unmarked. The z of the German edition has been replaced by g, since it is not easy to discern any advantage in the retention of the manuscript form. In the index, ø, whether initial or medial, has been
made to follow t, instead of being inserted, when medial, after d. . . .

In conclusion, it only remains to express the hope that what is best in this treatise may be ascribed to Professor Sievers, and that what is faulty in execution may be set down to the unwisdom of its editor.

ALBERT S. COOK.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, CAL., March 19, 1885.
AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

[In the first paragraph, the author recapitulates the substance of the second, third, and sixth paragraphs of his Preface to the First Edition, and then proceeds as follows:] Under these circumstances, I have considered it advisable to incorporate into this new edition such assured material as was ready to my hand. In addition to a number of special investigations, catalogued at the end of this volume, my own collections have again been my chief dependence. Some of these, accompanied by references to the texts from which they were drawn, have been published in Paul and Braune's Beiträge 9. 197 ff., but the labor of making excerpts has been carried on uninterruptedly, so as to include the texts which have been published in the interval between that time and the present. That the search has not brought to light any very considerable number of important facts emboldens me to assume that the more essential linguistic phenomena of Old English have been observed and expounded with sufficient completeness. To furnish an exhaustive presentation of details lay as little within the scope of the present as of the former edition. It would have been easy for me to increase materially the number of examples under each head, had such a procedure been consistent with the general plan of this compend. Notwithstanding this limitation, I trust that no considerable omissions will be discovered, except in two branches of the subject, which I have been deterred from revising more thoroughly, in deference to others who have
undertaken to investigate them. The Grammar of Northumbrian, by Albert S. Cook, the admirable redactor of the English version of this little treatise, already announced in the Preface to the First Edition, has been considerably advanced in the meantime, but not yet entirely finished; while the appearance of Sweet's Grammar of the Oldest Texts is now unfortunately postponed by Sweet himself (Oldest English Texts v ff.) to a quite indefinite future.

The manuscript of the new edition was virtually finished by the end of 1884, and the printing began early in 1885. Some of the more recent researches could not, therefore, be utilized. On the other hand, I have to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to those who have assisted me by the loan of still unpublished texts. The advance sheets of Sweet's Old English Texts were entrusted to me by the kindness of their editor as early as 1882. Professor A. Schröer has likewise courteously permitted me to use the proof-sheets of his edition of the Benedictine Rule. Finally, I am indebted to my friend F. Kluge for the loan of his apograph of Byrhtferth's Enchiridion, since published in Anglia 8. 298 ff. He has also revised the greater part of the manuscript, and furnished me with a number of valuable comments and addenda.

E. SIEVERS.

Tübingen, May 15, 1886.
EDITOR'S PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

In the present work I have endeavored to include all that is essential in the second German edition. This has demanded the rewriting of large portions, though the less important details have again been omitted, and the paragraph numbers do not in all cases correspond with those of the German. The form of my first edition was in part determined by the necessity of incorporating much new matter, not found in my original, and its general outlines have been preserved in this new one, even when previous statements have been modified, and later discoveries introduced.

The Index to the new German edition is a great improvement upon its predecessor, though it is confined to Old English words, and is not free from inaccuracies. These inaccuracies have been corrected to the best of my ability, and full Indexes of the words quoted from other languages have been added. It is hoped that this latter feature will facilitate the use of the book by students whose chief concern is with some other Germanic tongue, or with the more general problems of Comparative Philology.

I am under obligation to Professor J. M. Hart for some useful criticisms upon the first edition, to Professor Sievers for permission to use the advance sheets of the revised book, and to all those whose approbation of my former effort has encouraged me to attempt this revision.

ALBERT S. COOK.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
July 4, 1887.
AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

In accordance with the urgent desire of the publisher, I resolved last autumn to carry through for the nonce a mere reimpersion of the second edition of my Old English Grammar, and thus provide at least for the needs of the moment, instead of the complete revision which, though it had been in hand for a long time, was only partly finished. As soon as the printing began, however, I became aware that this plan was untenable. Accordingly, while typesetting and printing were in progress, I have rectified and expanded the old text, as far as was possible within the time at my disposal (October, 1897, to the beginning of January, 1898), by the aid of my own completed investigations or those of others (here I must mention with very special gratitude the names of Cosijn, Brown, Cook, and Lindelöf). Under these circumstances it was quite impossible to attain perfect uniformity in the treatment of the various parts of the book. Changes have been made, especially in the Phonology, which in some places cried out with peculiar insistence for revision, wherever I could with any assurance replace an outworn formula by a more positive one; other sections, especially 120–125, I have left unchanged, because I found it impossible to resolve my doubts concerning them. Moreover, for the technical reasons suggested above, I felt myself bound to retain, as far as possible, the former numbering of paragraphs and notes. However, since this could not always be compassed, it has resulted that a number of references
from later to earlier sheets have become incorrect in consequence of the changes which had afterward to be made in the numeration, a fact which I beg may be borne in mind as an explanation of the unpleasantly long list of errata at the end of the book.

The general plan of the book has therefore remained the same as in the previous edition. One thing, however, I wish to observe with respect to the somewhat increased number of details, especially in the Inflection; it is that, unless the context evinces the contrary, every such detailed statement is to be understood positively, and not negatively; in other words, the statement that such a form is found in such a text is not to be interpreted as meaning that it does not occur in any other, but only that it does occur there. It should also be noted that the term 'Early West Saxon' must, in case of doubt, be regarded as applying only to the texts treated in Cosijn's Altwestsächsische Grammatik (the Cura Pastoralis, Orosius, and Chronicle), and in like manner that the terms 'Kentish,' 'Mercian,' and 'Northumbrian' refer to the corresponding larger dialect texts, which could alone be regularly adduced.

The Index has this time been much amplified, in accordance with a wish which has been frequently expressed; though whether to the advantage of the subject is, to my own mind, almost more than doubtful.

I have thankfully utilized such contributions to the projected revision as interested readers and dear friends, above all A. Pogatscher and K. Luick, had made, so far as they seemed to fit into the present scheme. Besides, I am most heartily obliged to my friend Luick for a number of valuable suggestions which he made during the perusal of the proof-sheets of this edition.

E. SIEVERS.

LEIPZIG-GOLDS, June 8, 1898.
EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

In translating the new German edition I have retained practically all the matter of the original, the general principles of my translation remaining otherwise unchanged. Here and there, as in the previous editions, I have ventured to differ with the author: thus, the term 'Old English' has again been employed (cf. p. ix), and the θ and θ (p. x); g replaces ȝ, and ð has the position of th, except that initially it follows t (cf. p. x). Moreover, the macron is here employed, instead of the acute accent, to denote etymological length, and the acute accent, instead of the macron, to denote secondary lengthening. Under 127 I have introduced a note explaining ablaut more fully, having been led to think that this insertion would be welcomed by many students. In one or two instances I have added the title of some publication which has appeared since the issue of the German edition, and in several cases I have silently corrected a clerical error of the German.

I have not verified the references of the Index, nor have I appended indexes to the cognate tongues, as was done in the second edition. If I have reason to think that this latter omission is unwelcome, there may be opportunity to repair it in future impressions.

For some valuable suggestions I am indebted to Professor M. A. Harris, of Elmira College, and to Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY, July 11, 1903.
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OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

1. By Old English we mean the language of the Germanic inhabitants of England, from their earliest settlement in that country till about the middle or end of the eleventh century. From this time on the language, which differs from that of the older period by the gradual decay of inflectional forms, and the introduction of French elements, is called Middle English, and still later Modern English, or simply English.

Note 1. The OE. writers uniformly call their own language *Englisc*; the Latin authors employ, for the most part, the term *Lingua Saxonica*. The expressions *Ongulseazan, Lat. Anglosazones*, etc., were originally employed only in a political sense. The argument in favor of employing the term 'Anglo-Saxon' is merely that it has been accepted in usage as applying to the oldest period of English, while 'Old English' has been applied to what is more correctly designated as Middle English. However, this consideration is overborne by the facts that the use of 'Anglo-Saxon,' as an English term applying to the language, dates from only 1783 (cf. New Eng. Dict. s. v.); that our early ancestors did not employ it in this sense; that 'Old English' is in conformity with the terminology applied to continental tongues (see above, pp. ix, x); and that 'Old English' is used by an ever increasing number of English philologists, having, among other authorities, the support of the New English Dictionary. As a concession to usage, the original of the present work employs 'Anglo-Saxon.'

Note 2. Only an approximate date can be assigned to the close of the Old English period. Old English manuscripts were still copied
in the twelfth century, and hence the language was still employed for scholarly and literary purposes. On the other hand, we may infer, from certain indications, that the popular tongue had before 1050 lost many of the phonetic and inflectional peculiarities which distinguish Old English from the later stages of the language; for example, the distinction between dative and accusative.

Old English forms a branch of the so-called West Germanic, i.e., of the unitary language from which, in later times, proceeded Old English, Frisian, Old Saxon, Frankish, and Upper German. It is most nearly related to Frisian, but next to Old Saxon. Compare the editor's Phonological Investigation of Old English, Boston, 1888.

2. In the earliest OE. manuscripts the existence of various dialects is plainly discernible. The chief of these are the Northumbrian, in the north; the Midland or Mercian, in the interior; the Saxon, in the south; and the Kentish, in the extreme southeast.

Northumbrian and Mercian together form the Anglian group. The type of Saxon is most clearly exhibited in Wessex, the most westerly Saxon district, and thus West Saxon has come to be regarded as the chief representative of the Saxon dialects. The language of the third invading tribe, the Jutes, is represented in literature by Kentish. Hence the tribal divisions into Angles, Saxons, and Jutes have a grammatical parallel in the threefold division into Anglian, Saxon, and Kentish.

Note 1. The pre-Alfredian texts, which are exceedingly important in a linguistic point of view, have been issued in a complete edition by Sweet, Oldest English Texts, London, 1885. The OE. charters were collected by J. M. Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus Evi Saxonici, London, 1839-48 (new edition by W. de Gray Birch, Cartu-
dium Saxonicum, London, 1883 ff.); the oldest ones are also printed
in Sweet. An extended bibliography is given in R. Wül(c)ker's Grundriss zur Geschichte der Ags. Literatur, Leipzig, 1885.


Note 3. Mercian is supposed to be represented by the modified transcript of the Northumbrian gloss on Matthew (R. 1) in the so-called Rushworth MS., but the dialect seems to be a mixed one, and to contain isolated Saxon forms; as respects the other three Gospels, the dialect of the gloss (R. 2) is much closer to that of the Durham Book. The whole is printed in Skeat’s edition. The very important interlinear version of the Psalter (in MS. Cotton Vespasian A. I.), which was for some time considered to be Kentish, must certainly be regarded as Mercian in its linguistic character. It was edited by J. Stevenson, Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter, for the Surtees Society, London, 1843–47, and more correctly in Sweet’s Oldest English Texts, pp. 183 ff. The translation of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History was originally North Anglian, or perhaps Mercian, but the existing transcript is essentially West Saxon (new editions by Thomas Miller, The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People, London, 1890 ff.; Schipper, in the Grein-Wül(c)ker Bibliothek der Ags. Prosa, Leipzig, 1897–1900). Minor specimens of Mercian have been edited by A. S. Napier, Anglia 10. 121 ff. (a life of St. Chad), and by J. Zupitza, Haupt’s Zs. 33. 47 (glosses).

Note 4. The only remains which are certainly Kentish, in addition to a few early charters (printed in Sweet, Oldest English Texts), are a metrical translation of the 50th Psalm, a hymn, and a collection of glosses in MS. Vesp. D. 6 of the British Museum. The first two were published in Anglosaxonica quae primus edidit Fr. Dietrich, Marburg, 1855, and less correctly by Grein, Bibliothek der Ags. Poesie 2. 276 ff., 290 ff. (cf. Haupt’s Zs. 15. 465 ff.); the glosses by J. Zupitza in Haupt 21. 1 ff., 22. 223 ff., and in Wright-Wül(c)ker, Anglo-Saxon
and Old English Vocabularies 1. 55 ff. Not pure Kentish, but Kentish containing at least an admixture of Mercian forms, is the Epinal Glossary of the beginning of the eighth century, together with the nearly related Corpus and Erfurt Glossaries, which are the chief sources of our knowledge of the oldest English. The Epinal Glossary was edited by Henry Sweet, London, 1884, with a photolithographic facsimile of the whole manuscript; all three glossaries are in Sweet’s Oldest English Texts 1 ff., and the Corpus Glossary in Wright-Wül(c)ker 1. 1 ff.

Alfred’s translation of Boethius exists for the most part only in two MSS., the Bodleian and the Cottonian, which contain Kentish forms, while a fragment from another Bodleian MS. is in pure West Saxon; the Metres are even more distinctly Kentish (see Sedgefield’s edition, pp. xxxv, xxxvi). All are edited by Sedgefield, King Alfred’s Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae, Oxford, 1890.

Note 5. Among the ancient specimens of West Saxon are certain works by Alfred the Great, preserved in contemporary manuscripts. These are the translation of Gregory the Great’s Pastoral Care (edited by H. Sweet, King Alfred’s West Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care, London, 1871), and of the Chronicle of Orosius, edited from the Lauderdale MS. by Sweet, King Alfred’s Orosius, London, 1883. Next is the oldest text (Parker MS.) of the Saxon Chronicle, of which the oldest portion extends to A.D. 891; principal editions by B. Thorpe, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, London, 1861, and by Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles, Oxford, 1866, revised and much improved by C. Plummer, Oxford, 1892, 1890. Chief sources for LWS. are especially the numerous and still partly unpublished works of Ælfric (circa 1000). His sermons are peculiarly important, on account of their preservation of dialectical peculiarities (edited by B. Thorpe, The Homilies of Ælfric, London, 1844-46, for the Ælfric Society); Ælfric’s OE. Grammar of Latin was edited by J. Zupitza, Berlin, 1880.

By Pure West Saxon is meant so much of the language of Ælfric and Ælfric as is common to both, excluding the idiosyncrasies of the individual scribes.

Note 6. The poetical texts of Old English were collected by C. W. M. Grein, Bibliothek der Ags. Poesie, Cassel und Göttingen, 1867-64 (newly edited by R. P. Wül(c)ker, Cassel, 1881-98). They originated for the most part in the Anglian territory (compare Beitr. 10. 464 ff.), but are nearly all preserved in copies made by Southern scribes. The MSS. belong chiefly to the tenth and eleventh centuries,
and therefore represent no dialect in its purity, but consist of a medley of the most various forms. Not only have Anglian forms frequently been transferred from the originals, but earlier and later forms of the same dialect alternate with each other. The poems, therefore, can only be employed with the utmost caution for grammatical purposes. Now and then, indeed, the metre does allow an approximate determination of the original forms to be made (Beitr. 10. 209 ff., 451 ff.).

3. The chief characteristics of WS. are the representation of Germ. æ by æ (57; 150. 1); the accurate discrimination of ea and eo (150. 3); the early loss of the sound oe (27); and the displacement of the ending -n, -o, of the ind. pres. 1 sing., by -e (355).

In EWS, the umlaut of ea, eo is ie, passing later into i, y (41; 150. 2). Northumbrian has a tendency to drop final n (188. 2), and to convert we into weo, and weo into wo (156). The inflections were unsettled at an early period; especially noticeable is the frequent formation of the ind. pres. 3 sing. and of the whole plur., in -s instead of -y (357). The oldest criterion of Kentish is the vocalization of g to i (214. 2); more recent was the substitution of e for y (154).

ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION

4. The OE. alphabet is the Latin alphabet as modified by English scribes. The letters f, g, r, and s are most unlike the usual forms. Besides the Latin letters, there were ð, þ, and a character for w, the two latter being borrowed from the Runic alphabet (note 3).

English editions of OE. texts have often been printed with type made in imitation of the manuscript characters. At present, however, the Roman letters are universally
preferred, with the addition of the characters ş and ð. Occasionally, too, the OE. ȝ is employed to represent g.

Note 1. The characters ȝ and ð are not discriminated as indicating respectively spirant and sonant stops (211 ff.) until we reach the MSS. of the close of the OE. period, or later. The OE. manuscripts themselves have only the form ȝ, and the Latin manuscripts of the period, written in England, likewise employ it to represent Latin g, of which it is only a modified form; hence we can form no conclusion from the mere character regarding its pronunciation at this time. The ȝ is employed by some authorities (and so also in the original of the present work) in order not to create the impression that it was introduced later to denote the spirant, whereas in fact it was the g which was added to distinguish the sonant stop.

Note 2. Abbreviations are not very common in Old English manuscripts. They are usually denoted by " or \. \ over vowels signifies m, for example frō = from; over consonants er, as in æff, æstn, of = æfter, æstern, ofer. On the other hand, " denotes or, as in ð, fe, befan, etc. = for, fore, beforan; but ðon, hwon stand for sönne, hwonne. A ð with crossed vertical signifies þæt. The following were borrowed from Latin: ȝ for ond, and, and; and an I crossed with an undulatory stroke for oðde, or. Less common are actual Latin words, such as dñis (= dominus), or rex for OE. dryhten, cyning.

Note 3. Before the introduction of the Latin alphabet, the English already possessed Runic letters. This alphabet is an extension of the old German Runic alphabet of twenty-four letters (L.F.A. Wimmer, Die Runenschrift, tr. by F. Holthausen, Berlin, 1887). The few Runic remains may be found in G. Stephens, The Old Northern Runic Monuments, Copenhagen, 1866, 1. 381 ff., and in Sweet, Oldest English Texts, pp. 124-130 (cf. also 2, note 2). The most important of these are the inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross in Northumberland (also in Zupitza-MacLean, Old and Middle English Reader; Grein-Wüll(c)ker 2. 111-115; best in Víctor, Die Altnorthernrischen Runenstein, pp. 2 ff.; compare Cook, ‘Notes on the Ruthwell Cross,’ in Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. 17. 367-390), Bewcastle Cross in Cumberland (Stephens 1. 398; Víctor, pp. 13 ff.), and the Clermont or Franks casket (Stephens 1. 470 ff.; F. Wadstein, Ett Engelskt Formminne från 700-Talet och England’s Dátida Kultur, Göteborg, 1901; and especially A. S. Napier, ‘The Franks Casket,’ in An English Miscellany, Oxford, 1901, pp. 362-381).
5. The data for determining the pronunciation of these letters are furnished by the traditional pronunciation of Latin as it obtained in England from about the seventh century; besides, it is not improbable that Celtic (Irish) influences must be taken into account. In doubtful cases we are obliged to resort to variation in the orthography, and especially to phonetic changes and grammatical phenomena in Old English itself; as a means of determining the pronunciation. Moreover, the latter cannot have been the same at all times and in all localities.

In the following chapters on phonology the more precise pronunciation of the individual letters will be indicated, whenever it can be done with any approach to certainty, especially where this differs from the pronunciation of the corresponding Latin letters.
PHONOLOGY

PART I. — THE VOWELS

IN GENERAL

6. The Old English vowels are denoted by the six simple characters a, e, i, o, u, y, the ligature æ, and the digraphs oe, ea (ia), eo, io, and ie (rarely au, ai, ei, ol, ui, and in the oldest texts eu, iu); the latter, with the exception of oe, oi, and ui (and occasionally eo, 27, note), having the value of diphthongs.

Note 1. Ancient MSS. often write æ as æ, or even as e; so, too, the printed æ is always represented by oe. The distinctions in both cases are merely graphical, and have nothing to do with the pronunciation. For ei, which is mostly restricted to foreign words, the later MSS. have also eg(e), as in scegð, Sweg(e)u, for scealð, Swein. The occurrence of the diphthong au is very infrequent; it is found in foreign words like cawle, cole, laurthwæow, laurel, clauster, cloister; and perhaps in auht, aught, nauht, naught, saul, soul, for and beside a(w)uht, nā(w)uht (344 ff.), sā(w)ul (174. 3). The diphthongs ai, wi, ui are rare, and especially Northumbrian, graphic variants for æ, ie, and y respectively, as in enaht, fraigna (155. 3), Ceorl for Ceiling, sunnig for synning, sinful.

Note 2. Old English has no diphthongs except those already mentioned. Every other vowel combination (including in most cases ei) must be analyzed into its two component vowels: adlan = ð-idlan, quæren = ð-æren, aytan = ð-ætan, belman = be-ælman, geywed = ge-ywed, geunnan = ge-unnan, etc.; iu is generally ju (74; 157, note).

7. With respect to the position of the articulating sounds, æ, e, i, oe, ye are guttural vowels, while æ, e, i, oe, y
are palatals (see the author's Phonetik, 4 pp. 92 ff.). The diphthongs uniformly begin with a palatal sound.

Note. Of the palatal vowels, the following belong to the earliest prehistoric stage of Old English: viz., \(\text{æ} = \text{West Germ. a (49)}\); \(\text{æ} = \text{West Germ. à (57. 2)}\); \(\text{e} = \text{West Germ. e (53)}\); 1; \(\text{I}\); and the initial components of the diphthongs \(\text{ea, eo, io}\). On the other hand, the following arose in a somewhat later prehistoric period of OE, and are due to the palatalization of an originally guttural vowel by \(\text{i-umlaut} \): viz., \(\text{æ} \text{as i-umlaut of à (90)}\); \(\text{e} \text{as i-umlaut of a, q before nasals (69. 4), and of o (93. 1)}\); \(\text{ë} \text{as i-umlaut of ô (94)}\); besides \(\text{æ, oë (27)}\), and stable y, \(\text{y (32; 33)}\). These two groups may properly be designated by the terms 'primary palatal vowels' and 'secondary palatal vowels' respectively.

The following occupy an intermediate position, in so far as they are umlauts, not of guttural vowels, but of the primary palatales: viz., \(\text{æ} \text{as umlaut of æ (89. 1)}\); \(\text{ie, iæ = unstable i, i}\); \(\text{y as umlaut of ea, eo, io}\); and \(\text{y as umlaut of ëa, ëo, ëo (97 ff.)}\).

QUANTITY

8. All these vowels, together with the diphthongs, have both short and long quantity. Length is sometimes indicated, especially in the more ancient manuscripts, and again in monosyllables, by *gemination* of the simple vowel sign (yy probably never being found): \(\text{aa, breer, mîn, doom, huus}\). The ligatures and diphthongs, on the other hand, are never geminated. At a later period, length is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel sign or combination — \(\text{à, brér, mín, dóm, hús, mîs, sê, oëðel or œðel, éac or éac, treówe or treówe, etc. — though at best it is only employed sporadically, and is subject to no fixed rule. In the present work we shall, in conformity with the latest English usage — though against the German original, which}
employs the acute — designate length by the macron, and thus write:

\[ a \, \hat{a} \, e \, \hat{e} \, i \, \hat{i} \, o \, \hat{o} \, û \, \hat{u} \, y \]

Note 1. In Germany it has been customary, following Jacob Grimm, to employ the circumflex over simple vowel signs, instead of the acute: å, brêr, min, dôm, hûs, mys, etc. Short and long æ and ò were formerly discriminated as â and æ, ö and ò; these have now become almost universally â and æ, ö and ò. Grimm designated the long diphthongs as ea, ëe, ïe, which have latterly been replaced by ea, ëe, ïe, or ëa, ëo, ïo.

Note 2. The macron in long diphthongs does not denote length of the first element, but a lengthened pronunciation of the whole diphthong (34).

Note 3. The circumflex is exceptionally used in this book to distinguish compounds like é-a, i-a from the diphthongs éa, ia: Persêas, Indêas, North. wrîa, etc. For the designation of secondary lengthening by, see 124, note 3.

Note 4. Stress is denoted, when at all, by a raised period after the vowel of the stressed syllable, while an unstressed syllable is indicated by a colon; ondgît (more exactly, ondgîtt), but ongîtan, etc.

9. The originally long vowels of certain derivative and final syllables can scarcely ever be proved to have retained their length in OE.; every vowel of a derivative or final syllable must, therefore, generally be regarded as already short.

Note. Earlier writers on the subject, in deference to the authority of Jacob Grimm, have wrongly designated the -e of the instr. sing. as long. Some grammarians at present attribute length to the ending -ere, as in buêre (248. 1), and to the -l- of the Second Weak Conjugation, as in sealîtan (411 ff.).
WEST SAXON VOWELS

I. THE VOWELS OF STRESSED SYLLABLES

1. SIMPLE VOWELS

10. Short a is comparatively rare. It is more or less regularly wanting before nasals (65 ff.), and is likewise avoided in all closed syllables. Exceptions are rare: habban, nabban (415; 416); crabba, crab; hnanpian (rarely hnaæppian), nap; lappa (more rarely læppa), skirt; appla, plur. of æppel, apple; ðaccian, stroke; mattuc, mattock; gaffetung, scoffing; assa, ass; asse(n), she-ass; cassuc, hassuc, sedge; asce, axe, ashes; flasce, flaxe, flash; masce, maxe, mesh; wascan, waxan, wash; wrastlian, wraxlian, wrestle; brastlian, crackle; sahtlian, reconcile; the Latin words abbud, abbot, arc, ark, carceur, prison, sacce, sack, trahtian, treat; and the dialectic margen, morning, etc. Even in open syllables the presence of the a depends in part upon the influence of a following vowel (50).

Note. For a before l in a closed syllable, as in ald, fallan, see 80; 158. 2.

11. Short a springs regularly from a Germ. (Goth.) a (49 ff.), margen being an exception, as coming from o (10).

12. Long ðā is frequently found, and before all conso-
nants, whether in open or closed syllables: hātan, is
called; gāst, ghost; bān, bone, dat. plur. bānum, etc.;
moreover, in foreign words like sācerd, cālend, māgis-
ter, from Lat. sacerdos, calendae, magister (50, note 5).
13. æ regularly corresponds to Germ. (Goth.) ai (62); less frequently, when followed by w, to Germ. æ, Goth. ē (57. 2. a).

æ

14. Short æ is a vowel sound which is characteristic of Old English; its pronunciation seems to have been that of the modern English short a in man, hat. It occurs chiefly in closed syllables: dæg, day; fæt, vat; sæt, sat. Its use in open syllables is for the most part confined to such as were closed syllables until the Old English period, as in æcer, acre, Goth. akrs, stem akra-; fæger (beside fæger), fair, Goth. fagrs, stem fagra-; or to such as were followed by an inflectional (æ), e, as gen. dæges, dat. dæge, from nom. acc. dæg.

15. Short æ usually represents a Germ. (Goth.) a (49); it is wanting before nasals (65), before w (73), before h terminating a syllable (82), before r + consonant (79), and in WS. before l + consonant (80).

Note. æ is occasionally found in place of ę (89, note 5).

16. Long æ seems generally to have had the pronunciation of the German long ë. It occurs quite frequently, and is not restricted by any special influences.

17. The æ is of various origin. It is either

1) i-umlaut of OE. ā = Germ. (Goth.) ai, as in lærán, Goth. láisjan, teach, from OE. lær, lore; stānen, stony, from stān, stone (90); or

2) developed from Germ. æ, Goth. ē, as in bærón, bore; mæg, kinsman (Goth. bérun, mēgs) (57. 2); or
3) developed from Latin ā, as in stræt, street (57. 1); or, finally,
4) lengthened from short æ, as in sæde, said, for sægde (214. 3).

e

18. Short e is one of the commonest sounds of Old English. As regards its pronunciation, it would seem that various sounds (as in Middle High German, for example) are represented by the same letter, or at least an open and a close sound. It is, however, impossible to trace this distinction through all periods with perfect certainty.

19. The twofold pronunciation of the e is undoubted-ly to be referred to its twofold origin, it being either
1) an older e, i.e., it corresponds to a Germ., (OHG. OS.) ē, Goth. ī, as in stelān, steal (OHG. OS. stēlān, Goth. stīlan) (53); or it is
2) umlaut-e, and then either a) i-umlaut of a, or more exactly of æ, as in sættan, set, Goth. satjan (89. 1); or b) i-umlaut of o, from a before nasals, as in cennan, Goth. kannjan (89. 4); or c) i-umlaut of o, as in ēxen, from oxa, ox (93. 1).

Which of these e's had the open and which the close sound cannot be ascertained with certainty; yet it is probable that (in opposition to the OHG.) the umlaut-e was in general the more open of the two, and that the umlaut-e itself may have been variously pronounced according to its origin (89, note 5).

The umlaut-e is denoted in the present translation by œ, while the older e remains unmarked.
14

PHONOLOGY

Note. The above designation of the umlaut-e is in accordance with the practice of such scholars as Holtzmann and Sweet. Many Germans, following Jacob Grimm, denote the ancient e by ē, and this practice is followed in the original of the present book, the umlaut-e being left undesignated, because the MSS. often write ē for æ (6, note 1).

20. The older e is lacking before nasals and nasal combinations (45.2; 69), and, in common with the umlaut-e, is restricted by the influence of w (73), diphthongization after palatals (74 ff.), the various breakings (77 ff.), and the u- and o-umlauts (101 ff.).

21. Long ē, a tolerably common sound, springs from various originals. It corresponds,

1) though but seldom, to Germ. (Goth.) ē, OHG. ea, ia, as in hēr, here (58); it is
2) i-umlaut of ô (94);
3) of unknown origin in the preterit of certain reduplicating verbs (395.2). In addition to these regular correspondences, ē also occurs now and then
4) as i-umlaut of ēa (97; 99), and
5) as an occasional form of æ (57, note 2; 150.1; 151).

22. It is necessary to distinguish between two i-sounds in WS. The one evidently had a purer i-quality, and is therefore consistently expressed by i down to a late period and in all dialects; only in very late documents does y sometimes take its place. The second i-sound, which originally sprang from a diphongh, ie, io, was assimilated to the pronunciation of the y earlier than the other, for which reason the character representing it
THE VOWELS

fluctuated much earlier between i and y (and the older ie, io, cf. 97 ff.). These statements hold good without distinction both for the short and the long vowel.

We will distinguish the two sounds as stable and unstable i.

Note. In Manuscript H of the Cura Pastoralis ie does indeed occur for stable i, i.

23. Stable short i corresponds

1) usually to a Germ. i, as well when the latter represents Indo-European i as when it is a Germ. development of an Indo-European e (45; 54);

2) it is a peculiarly OE. development of a Germ. e, as in niman (69).

Unstable short i, on the other hand, is, as a rule, the more recent modification of an original ie, less frequently io (97 ff.; 105; 107. 4 ff.).

24. Stable long i is either

1) the representative of a Germ. i (59), or

2) has arisen from Germ. i by ecphrasis, contraction, etc. (185; 214. 3, 4).

Unstable long i, on the contrary, is the modification of an older ie (97 ff.).

Note. For final long i the MSS. (though hardly the oldest ones) often have ig: big (also in compounds like bigspel, example; biggenga, cultivator), bigg. sig, for bi, by, hi, they, si, be; so also igge for ige, as in wiggend, warrior, for wigend; igge from ig, island, for ige, etc. (rarely before other vowels: igga§, iggo§, island).
PHONOLOGY

25. Short o in stem syllables is of twofold origin, and accordingly represents two different sounds:

1) close o, Goth. u, as in god, God; boda, messenger, etc. (55). This o does not occur before nasals (70).

2) open o, corresponding to a Germ. (Goth.) a before nasals, and often interchanging with a, as in monn and mann, man; hona and hana, cock (65).

Note. The MSS. do not distinguish between the two o-sounds; Sweet follows the example of the old Norse MSS. in denoting the open o by o, — thus, monn, hona, as contrasted with god, boda, etc. For grammatical purposes this notation is to be recommended, and it is accordingly adopted in the present translation (though not in the original).

26. The sound of long ő cannot be ascertained with entire certainty; it is not improbable that the long as well as the short o had originally a double pronunciation, close and open, corresponding to its twofold origin. It is

1) the representative of Germ. (Goth.) ō, as in göd, good (60), and in that case was probably close from the beginning; or

2) the representative of Germ. æ before nasals, as in mōna, month (69); or

3) lengthened from on = Germ. (Goth.) an, as in gōs, goose (186).

The open pronunciation may be assumed as original in cases 2 and 3, but its continuance into the historic OE. period cannot be demonstrated.

Note. Long ŏ appears in foreign words as the representative of ON. au, as in óra, a certain coin, landeōp, purchase of land, lāhco,
THE VOWELS

legal purchase, rōda, ruddy from ON. aurar, -kaup, rauðr; but there occur on the coins such spellings as Ouðgrim, Asgout, Oustman, adhering closely to the ON. orthography.

œ

27. The two sounds œ and ō, which are of frequent occurrence in the oldest non-West Saxon texts, and more especially in the Ps. and North., are no longer to be found in the oldest documents of WS., if we except a few scattered œ’s (94, note). As substitutes for the two sounds occur the delabelized e, ē.

Note. Rarely is eo written for œ = ō; meodren-, feo, beoc (Cod. Dipl.) for mœdren-, fo, bœc.

u

28. A detailed proof of the twofold pronunciation (open and close) of OE. u cannot be given, although probabilities favor this assumption.

29. Short u occurs without limitation before all consonants. It corresponds

1) to West Germ. u (56);
2) occasionally to West Germ. o, especially before nasals, as in guma, man (70);
3) it frequently arises from io (1) and eo, in the combinations wio and weo (71; 72).

30. Long ū has a twofold origin. It is usually

1) the representative of Germ. ū, as in hūs, house (61);
2) due to the loss of a nasal from the combination un, as in mūdh, mouth (186; cf. also 214. 3, note 8).
31. In the older WS. documents, as well as in the other dialects, the letter y originally denoted a sound resembling the German ü, the 1-umlaut of u. This y we will characterize as stable. Besides this stable y, there occurs in LWS. an unstable y, interchanging with í (22).

Notes. Not till a comparatively late period does í sometimes take the place of stable y, first of all in the combination ci for cy, as in cinning, cinn (or kinning, kinn, 207, note 2); scildig, guily; before palatals, as in hige, mind; hiegean, think; biegean, buy; dihtig, doughty; genlhtsum, plentiful; drige, dry; and before n, í + palatal, as in snícean, seem; hingriian, hunger; spínce, sponge; ñspring, fount; filligan, follow; ñbilligð, anger, etc.

Before palatals, unstable y is also rare; as collateral forms of EWS. hiegan, hay; hieg, flame; smiecc, smoke; affiegan, banish; biegan, bend; tiegan, tie, there occur almost exclusively hig, lig, smic, affigan, bigan, tigan; so almost always niht, miht (98, note); but, on the other hand, beside ciegan, iccan, and cigan, ican, there are frequent instances of cygan, ycan. Instead of miel, large, there is an early occurrence of mycel, probably by analogy with lytel.

32. The etymological correspondences of short y are:

1) Stable y is í-umlaut of u (95);

2) Unstable y stands for (existing or infehrible) ie (97 ff.) or io (105; 107).

33. Long ñ appears

1) as stable: a) the regular í-umlaut of ü (96); b) y lengthened in consequence of ecdhllipsis, as in yst (186.2), -hýdig (214.3);

2) as unstable, when a late by-form for ie, the í-umlaut of éa and éo (97 ff.).

Notes. Among the unstable y's may be reckoned the LWS. y in sy, be; hy, they; ñry, three; for síc, híc, ñríc; on the other hand, always bí, big, because no * bie ever existed.
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2. DIPHTHONGS

34. All the OE. diphthongs, ea, eo, io, ie, whether short or long, are falling diphthongs, i.e., the stress is to be laid upon the former of the two sounds. The distinction of quantity is made by increasing the length of the whole diphthong in pronunciation; in other words, long ēa is not to be understood as ē + a or e + ă.

Note. In later times, as the history of English phonology shows, there is frequently a displacement of the accent, so that ea, eo become ēa, ēo (212, note 2), and then ēa, ēo. Such a displacement in the earlier period is not, however, probable.

ea and eo

35. The difference in the pronunciation of ea and eo lies presumably less in the second part of the diphthong (the a and o) than in the initial sound. In the most ancient texts ea is often written øa, æa (the latter form also in later documents), while eo interchanges with io in the older manuscripts (cf. 39). It may therefore be assumed that ea began with an open sound, resembling æ, but that the first element of eo was a close e-sound.

Note 1. In the later texts ea and æ are frequently confounded, probably because ea had begun to be pronounced like the single vowel, æ. On ëaw for ëaw, cf. 112, note 2; 118, note 2.

Note 2. Occasionally ie, ye is found for ëa in the later documents: lies, loose; biem, been; wyel, serf.

ea

36. Short ea is of manifold origin. It is
1) the so-called breaking of a before certain consonants, as in earm, eall, cahta (79; 80; 82); or
2) u-umlaut of a, as in ealu (103); or
3) has arisen from palatal + æ, as in geaf, ceaf, seeal (74 ff.)

37. Long ēa is
1) usually the representative of a Germanic au, as in bēam, ēac (63); or
2) has originated from the contraction of a with other vowels, as in slēan, ēa (111); or
3) has been developed from palatal + æ, as in gēafon, gēar (74 ff.); less frequently from palatal + ā (from Germ. ai), as in gēasne, scēan, scēadan, beside gēsne, scān, scādan (76).

eo, io

38. The two groups eo and io frequently occur side by side in the older documents; io afterwards becomes more and more infrequent, until it finally disappears. Long ēo represents an older eu, long io an older iu; similarly, short eo originally came from older e, while short io sprang from older i; yet this distinction is no longer fully carried through, even in the oldest WS. texts. We can only make the general statement that eo occurs quite frequently for io from i, but that io is less frequently found (or is Kentish) for the eo which springs from e. In the following pages eo and io will, on practical grounds, be as far as possible distinguished according to their etymological values.

Note 1. On ea and a for eo, io in slightly stressed syllables, see 43. 2. a.

Note 2. Late and rare is yo: cyo, cnyowu Gl. On eu, iu, in the oldest texts, see 64, note.
39. With respect to their origin, short eo, io are
   1) breakings of an older e, i before certain consonants, as in eorðe, liornian (leornian) (79 ff.); or
   2) u- and o-umlauts of the same e, i, as in eofor, frioðu (freoðu) (104; 105; 107); or
   3) have originated from palatal + o, û, as in geoc, geong (74; 76).

40. Long eo (io) usually corresponds to
   1) Germ. eu, Goth. iu, as in bêodan (64); stioran (100. 2); or it arises
   2) from palatal + õ in géomor (74); or
   3) from the contraction of e, i with other vowels, as in sêon (sion), see, ðêon (ðion), thrive, from * sehon, * þihan (cf. 113; 114).

41. The diphthongs ie and iæ belong to the characteristic peculiarities of Early West Saxon. At an early period their place is usurped by unstable i, ï, and at length by y, ÿ; these latter then remain characteristic of Late West Saxon (22; 31).

42. Short ie is
   1) 1-umlaut of ea and eo, as in eald–ieldu, weorpan–wierpê (97 ff.); or
   2) a less frequent form of the u- and o-umlauts of i, as in siendun, ðiessum (105, note 7); or
   3) it arose from palatal + e, as in giefan, gielpan (74 ff.).
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Long ie, on the other hand, is i-umlaut

1) of ēa, as in hēah—hielhst (99); or
2) of ēo, as in cēosan—ciesθ (100. 1. b).

Note. For ie in gīe, gīen(a), gīet(a), see 74, note 1; and for eo, lo, as unaffected by umlaut, beside le, see 100; 159. 5. In Beoth. we sometimes meet with eo for the ie which is umlaut of ēa, or the product of diphthongization, and with ēo for the corresponding ie: cērmēa, cēldran; hēoran, nēotan, gēot, instead of lērmēa, lēldran; hieran, nieten, giet.

II. THE VOWELS OF THE SLIGHTLY STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

1. STEM-VOWELS IN SLIGHTLY STRESSED WORDS

43. Under this head belong the stem-vowels of the second members of compound words, when the composition has ceased to be distinctly recognized; together with certain proclitics and enclitics, which lose their primary stress in connected discourse.

This slurring, or loss of primary stress, has frequently modified or transformed the stem-vowels of such words. The chief cases of this sort are as follows:

1) Shortening of original length, especially in the large class of compounds which end in -lic, such as fullic, full; ryhtlic, righteous; woroldlic, worldly, contrasted with gelic, like, where the stress is on the final syllable.

Note 1. The shortness of this i in the earliest Old English is clearly proved by the inflectional forms, such as nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. fullicu (294), and by the further weakening to e (43. 3). The inflected forms are, however, usually regarded as long i poetry, with the exception of those which end in -u.
2) Change of vowel-quality; thus, in particular, there is a conversion

a) of eo, io to ea, and then to a; sciptearo, ifigitearo, and sciptara, ifigtara, beside teoru, tar; wælhrēaw, cruel, beside the older wælhrēow; andwlata, countenance, beside the older ondwlota;

b) of ea to a, as in the frequent onwald, contrasted with geweald, power; tō-ward, future; i-nowneward, inward; lērfeward, heir (hardly pure WS.; found in Bede), beside tōweard, etc. A further change to o occurs in such words as twiefold, hiāford, etc. (51).

Note 2. Under a) are probably to be classed Ps. eam, North. am, am (427.1), beside WS. eom; and Ps. earun, North. aron, for *corun, which does not occur.

3) Weakening of full vowels, especially to e:

a) Weakening of originally short vowels, occurring especially in the numerous compounds ending in ārn, house, and -weard, -ward, such as hordern, treasury; bērern (still further shortened to bēren, bērn), barn (from *bērēarn); bēodern, refectory; andwerd, present; tōweard, future; forōweard, forward, etc.

b) Weakening of originally long vowels is frequent, even in the older texts, such as the Cura Pastoralis, in those inflected forms of compounds ending in -lic (43.1) which contain a guttural vowel, particularly a or o, in the inflectional ending, such as misleca, mislecan, mislecum, comp. mislecor, sup. mislecost. Occasionally in late texts these forms occur with ū, as in nēodlucor, atelucost.

Note 3. Forms like hordern are of early occurrence; those in -werd, on the other hand, are later, the older language employing either the full form -weard, or else -ward, -word(43.2.b; 51).
Note 4. Changes of a very radical nature are exhibited by the final syllables of a number of compounds, which ceased to be felt as such at an early period. Thus, for example, *freöls, *freödom; *hiläford, *lôrd, for *frî-hals, *hiläf-weard; similarly, *sulung, *swulung, and *furlong, measures of land, for *sulh-lang, *furh-lang. Long â, from Germ. âi, formerly stood in the final syllables of *ôroð, *troop, from *eoh-rätd; *bêot, *boasting, from *bi-hät; *eot, *ut, debt, from *ef-häit (compare *ehbâit Ep. Erf. = *eobot Corp.); *efolsia, *blaspheme (North. ebalsia, ebolsia, efolia), from *ef-hälsian; òret, *battle (beside ôretta, *warrior, ôrettan, *fight), from *or-häit; *ôettan, *incite, from *on-hätitjan; *fuldest beside *fylst, *aid, from which *fuldestan (once *fullêstan, Beow.) and *fylsttan, *assist, from *fûl-lêst (OHG. *follest). Germ. än, Prim. OE. än or ën, in *hiered, *family, Anglian *hiorod, from *hûw-rëd; in *âwer, *nâwer, etc., anywhere, nowhere, from (n)â-hwër; and in getawe, equipment; *frætwe, adornment, beside getëwe. OE. ë, the umlaut of û, in æfest, æfst, ænvy, zeal (Ps. æfest, North. æfest, æfist), from *æf-st, and ofoft, ofist, zeal (Ep. Corp. obst, Erf. obust, North. æfest, æfist), from *of-st (compare *éstan, *hastan, Ps. ofest(â)an, North. æfistia). Originally long ë is lost in the pronouns hwele, swele, æle, ële (339; 342; 347); compare Goth. hvileiks, svaleiks. Long ë is shortened in *oruð, *orð, later *orð, *breath (compare *orðian, *ordian, *breathe), from *or-ðð for *uz-anð, *uz-ænð (186); long û in *frûcð, *infamous, from *fræ-cûð (compare *unforcûð). From ën sprang the u of *fultum, *aid, *fultumian, *assist (*fulem is historical OE. in Erf.), and *fulteman is frequent in the earlier texts); from ën the u, o of North. lâtuw, lâruw, -ow, Ps. lâduw = WS. latégew, lærêow (250, note 4), from lâd-ððow, *lärð-ððow, and, according to Kluge, the o of *wîbud, *wêofod, altar, Ps. *wibed, North. *wigbed (222, note 1), from *wih-ððod (others say from *wih-bed). On this point compare Sweet, in Anglia 3. 151 ff., and Kluge, in Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung 26. 72 ff., Beitr. 8. 527 ff.
2. VOWELS OF DERIVATIVE AND FINAL SYLLABLES

44. The number of vowels occurring in these positions is in part limited by the notable absence of long vowels (9), in part by the non-occurrence of diphthongs. The number is thus reduced to the six following: a, æ, e, i, o, u; of these æ and i are, with the exception of derivative syllables like -ig, -ihilte, -isc, -nis, confined to the older documents, and are afterwards uniformly replaced by e. Concerning occasional fluctuations of the vowels a, o, u, detailed information will be given in the paragraphs which treat of inflection; here it is sufficient to say that u is for the most part older than o, while the latter is older than a.

Note 1. Under the head of inflections, it will be important to note the difference between the e which sprang from æ and that which sprang from i, as indicated by forms like the following: ārae, gen. dat. acc. sing., and nom. acc. plur. fem. (252); tungae, nom. sing. fem. (276); gōdnae, acc. sing. masc. (293); saldae, pret. 1 and 3 sing. (354); dōmae, dat. sing. masc. (238); gōdae, nom. plur. masc. (293); gibaen, past. part. (366); restacendi, pres. part. (363); dōmaes, gen. sing. (238); sulceae, adv. (315). On the other hand, meri, rygi, nom. acc. sing. masc. (262); riel, do. (246); nimis, -id, ind. 2 and 3 sing. (357; 358); neridae, weak pret. (401), -id, past part. (402), etc.

Note 2. In later manuscripts the obscure e of an unstressed syllable is not infrequently replaced by y: hælynd, fædryr, belocyn, wintrys, bityr, for hælend, fæder, belocen, wintres, biter, etc.
THE RELATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH VOWEL-SYSTEM TO THAT OF THE COGNATE LANGUAGES

A. THE GERMANIC AND THE WEST GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

45. The vowel-system of OE. is a modification of a general vowel-system, lying at the basis of the corresponding systems of all the Germanic tongues. This general system, while it is not accurately preserved in any one of the Germanic dialects, may yet be reconstructed with certainty by the method of comparison.

The Primitive Germanic system was composed of the following sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowels</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e, i²</th>
<th>i¹</th>
<th>[o²]</th>
<th>o¹, u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long vowels</td>
<td>[ā], æ</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>õ</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>{ai}</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this table the following observations apply:

1) The distinction between i² and i¹ rests upon purely etymological grounds, the i which was already current in the Indo-European Parent Speech (original or primary i) being represented by i¹, while the i which was developed in Germanic from an older e (Germanic or secondary i) is here designated as i² (see paragraph 2 below). There may also at one time have been a difference in pronunciation.

2) e and i² are equal in etymological value. This will be evident when we consider that the e of the
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Indo-European Parent Speech was regularly changed to Germanic i (a) when it was immediately followed by a nasal + consonant, b) when the next syllable contained an i or j. This distinction has been more or less faithfully preserved in all the various Germanic languages, with the exception of the Gothic (which has transformed every e into i). Upon a) repose such distinctions as that between OE. OS. helpan, help, and bindan, bind; OHG. helfan, bintan (where Gothic has leveled the two, hilpan, bindan); upon b) such as OE. helpan inf., and hilpō ind. pres. 3 sing.; OS. helpan and hilpid; OHG. helfan and hilfit.

Note 1. This rule applies only to the e of stressed syllables; in unstressed syllables the e seems to have passed uniformly into i.

3) In like manner, o¹ and u are of equal value, i.e., the o¹ results from a modification of older u. This modification took place when the following syllable contained an a (= o², see paragraph 4 below) and the u was not protected (a) by a nasal + consonant, or (b) by an interposed i, j. Thus, for example, we have OHG. gibuntan, OS. gibundan, OE. gebunden, bound; but OHG. giholfan, OS. giholpan, OE. geholpen, holpen, according to a); but, according to b), OS. huggian, OHG. hucken, OE. (with i-umlaut, 95) hyegan, not *hoggian, etc. Here, again, the Gothic uniformly has u: bundans, hulpans, hujian.

4) By [o²] we have probably to understand an open o-sound, corresponding to an o of the cognate languages outside the Germanic system, and, indeed, originally existent in Germanic itself. So far as we are able to
see, this sound must already have been converted into a, at least in all stressed syllables, as far back as the Primitive Germanic period (compare Gothic ahtau, OHG. OS. ahto, OE. cahta (82), with Gr. ὀχό, Lat. octo, etc.); that this o was still found in unstressed syllables as late as Primitive OE., as some assume, is extremely improbable.

Note 2. There was certainly a Prim. OE. (open) o-sound in all endings in which it was still followed by a nasal, as, for example, in infinitives like bindan, and plurals like bindanō from *bindanp; this is plain from the effects upon the vowels of preceding syllable (o/a-unumlaut; cf. 106 ff.). However, this o may very well have been a secondary development from a (65). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether contractions like those discussed in 114 oblige us to assume that in other unstressed syllables the original o² was preserved.

5) Original å no longer existed in Germanic, since Indo-European å had already become o (compare Lat. frater with Gothic brōpar, OE. brōdor, OS. brōðor, OHG. brōder, bruoder; etc.). Certain secondary å’s have, however, resulted from lengthening when accompanied by the loss of a nasal before h: thus Gothic pähta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, thought, for *pauhta, from Goth. pagkjan, etc.; compare the examples in 67. But as this å is constantly represented in OE. by o, and the substitution of o for a in OE. is always conditioned by the proximity of a nasal, we are obliged to conclude that these å’s must have been nasalized as late as the Germanic period.

Note 3. That the vowels of Germanic īh, īh (cf. 186), which have sprung in a similar way from iō, i̯h, must also have possessed nasal quality, may indeed be presumed, but is not susceptible of direct proof.
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6) By æ and ë are represented the two sounds which are indeed uniformly leveled in Gothic (as well as Kentish and Northumbrian) under e, but are distinguished in ON. OS. as ā and ē, in OHG. as ā and ē (ea, ia), in WS. as æ and ē; compare, for example, Goth. mēl, time; hēr, here, with ON. OS. OHG. māl, WS. māl, and ON. OS. WS. hēr, OHG. hēr, hear, hiar, etc. (Kent. Angl. mēl, hēr, 150. 1).

7) Parallel with eu there was once a diphthong ei; but the latter, passing through the intermediate stage of ii (45. 2. b) into i as early as the Germanic period, coincided at length with pre-Germanic i.

8) The combinations i + vowel and j + vowel interchanged with each other in such a manner that the former occurred after long radical syllables, and the latter after short radical syllables (no rule can be given for the position after syllables of derivation); thus, for example, the stem rikia-, rich, but badja-, bed. In a similar manner the Indo-European ej + vowel has been split into i + vowel and j + vowel: for example, in present stems like *dōmia-, *nazja- (from *dōmejo-, *nazejo-), in Goth. dōmjan, nasjan, 2 pers. dōmeis, from *dōmiis; but nasjis.

46. Midway between the Germanic and the OE. system lies the vowel-scheme of the West Germanic, and hence it is the latter which must be taken as the nearest point of departure in the comparisons which we are called upon to make. The latter, however, agrees with the Germanic system in every essential particular, except that the Germanic æ (45. 6) always, or at least in certain cases, underwent change to ā (Beitr. 8. 88), and eu
developed into iu before a following i or j (45.3. b; 45. 7): thus, *beudan, offer; steurē, helm; but 2 sing. *biudis, thou offerest; *stiurjan, steer, etc.

B. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WEST GERMANIC VOWELS IN WEST SAXON

47. The transformations which the Germanic vowels have undergone in OE. are essentially of a twofold character. The mutation of the vowel either takes place independently of its environment, or the latter exercises a determining influence upon it. Of the first kind is, for example, the change of Germ. ai to ā, as in nātan, be called, compared with Goth. naitan; or that of Germ. au to ēa, as in lēan, reward, compared with Goth. laun. Of the second kind are phenomena like the various umlauts and breakings, modifications of vowels by nasals, palatals, etc.

In the following survey we shall include all the changes which each Germanic vowel undergoes in OE., considering in detail only such changes as take place independently of the environment, and reserving for a separate subdivision our remarks upon the influences of neighboring sounds.

48. Besides this distinction, it must also be observed that the development of vowels in stressed or stem-syllables is, in many respects, different from that which they undergo in the more weakly stressed medial and final syllables. On this account the vowels of these latter syllables are again treated under a separate head.
I. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM

1. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CORRESPONDENCES

a

49. In an originally closed syllable, wherever special circumstances do not prevent, short a is regularly converted into æ: daæg, day; braæc, broke; sææt, sat; was, was; hææft, captive; compare Goth. dagæs, brak, sat, etc. The æ occurs also when the syllable, though originally closed, becomes open in OE. through a secondary phonetic development, as in nægl, naæl, hrææfn, ræven (with syllabic l, n), or in consequence of the development of a secondary e: ææcer, æcre; fææger, fæir; maæægen, power; compare Goth. akræs, fægræs, etc., from the stems akra-, fagra-, magna-.

Note 1. To the exceptions noted in 10 there must be added the enclitic æc, ah, but, and was, nas, was, was not, beside the regular was, næs. The second member of compounds also frequently retains a, as in hereæpad, military road; sidaæfæt, journey, etc.

Note 2. By analogy with polysyllabic inflectional forms with regular a, the imperative of strong verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class generally retains a: fæar, saæc, saæaf, etc. (368, note 2).

50. In an originally open syllable the Germ. a appears sometimes as a, sometimes as æ:

1) a regularly occurs when the following syllable contains one of the guttural vowels, a, o, u. Thus daæg has nom. plur. dagæs, gen. daga, dat. dagæum; fææt, nom. acc. plur. fætu, gen. fæta, dat. fæætum; while of hwææt the dat. sing. masc. neut. is hwæætæm, the weak nom. sing. masc. hwææta. Compare the inflections of the verb
in cases like *faran (392), 2 and 3 sing. *færest, *færeð, plur. *faran, etc., and words like *atol, *terrible; *nacod, *naked; *sadol, *saddle, etc. (but see also 103).

Note 1. A similar effect to that of the a, o, u of final syllables is produced: 1) by the I in the Second Class of weak verbs, since it sprang from an original o; hence we have *maclan, *make; *laðlan, *invite (cf. 411, note 2), the pres. 3 sing. *macað, *laðað, the preterits *macode, *laðode, etc.; 2) by the e of many medial syllables, in cases where it has been weakened from an originally guttural vowel, and is or has been followed by a guttural vowel; compare, for example, words like *staðeljan, *establish (from *staðol); *hæcele, *cloak; *adela, *fild; *hafela (beside *hafola), *head; *gaderian (poet. also *gaderian), *gather; *gedæfenian, *besee; *hafenian, *grasp; *fæg(e)nian, *rejoice; *war(e)nian, *take heed; adesa, *adz (cf. also 129).

Note 2. On the other hand, a passes into ð in a number of words, in which the originally guttural vowel of the medial syllable (u, more rarely a) is or has been followed by I (Kluges): *gædeling, *kim-sman (OS. *gaduling); *æceling, *noble, from *æpel (ON. *œðlingr); *lætest, *last, from *latumist (cf. 314); *fœ-gædere, together, from *gaduri (beside *gaderian, from *gadurōjan, note 1); *Sæeterndæg, *Saturday, from *Sæturni dies; æx, az, for æces Ps. (but North. acas), from *acust (compare Goth. aqtiz and OHG. achus); probably *hæleð, *hero (originally a plural *haluþiz, compare ON. *hölfr, and 133. b; 281. 1); and perhaps *hælfer, *halter, from *hælufrī, and *hærferst, *harvest, from *harubist (compare Ep. helustr, *hiding-place, later heolster); finally, æðele, adj., *noble, from *apali (OS. *adal); *mægden, *maiden, from *magadin (OHG. magatin). Exceptions to this rule are the infinitive and present participle of strong verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class, such as *færenne, from *faranjai, -onnjai; and *farende, from *faran, *farondi.
2) Before original e (æ of the oldest texts, 44, note 1), that is, one not weakened from a, o, u, there seems to be a rule requiring æ: dæg, day, fæt, vat; gen. dæges, fætes; dat. dæge, fæte, etc. (240). Yet there exists much discrepancy: adjectives like hwæt have, for example, gen. hwates, instr. hwate, nom. acc. plur. hwate (294); feminines like sacu, with gen. dat. acc. sæce and sace (253). There is a similar variation in the past participles of strong verbs, like hlæden and hladen, graefen and grafen, slægen and slagen, from hiadan, lade; grafan, grave; slæan, strike (392); while the present optative of these verbs regularly has a: fære, grafe, etc.

Note 4. Primitive OE. a likewise became æ before original i, j, and this æ was afterward still further affected by i-umlaut (88 ff.).

Note 5. In words borrowed from Latin the a of an open syllable is frequently lengthened: sacerd, priest; cælend, calend; mægister, master; so probably also pœlendse, palace; tālenta, talent, etc.

51. Older a passes into o (not ø) in the proclitic prepositions of, of; on, on; ot, at, contrasting with the stressed adverbs æf-, on (au), æet. Occasionally, too, this change occurs in the unstressed second member of compounds, especially when the vowel is preceded by a labial: twiefold, twofold; Grimbold: Óswold; quëdsworu, answer; hlæford, lord (for *hlæfword; thus in Ps. tóword, future; erfword, heir); likewise herëpð, beside -pað (49, note 1).

Note. In WS., ot has been almost entirely supplanted by æt; there is, besides, an extremely rare (mostly Kentish?) form, at. In some texts, unstressed on tends toward an; for this and certain similar phenomena, see 65, note 2.
52. The changes undergone by original a in cases not included under the foregoing are as follows:

1) before nasals it becomes o (64); the i-umlaut of the latter is e (89.4); in consequence of the loss of the nasal before a surd spirant, o becomes ö (66); the i-umlaut of the latter is ë (æ) (94);

2) it undergoes breaking to ea before r- and l-combinations, and before h (79 ff.); the i-umlaut of this ea is ie, i, y (97; 98);

3) it is changed to ea through the influence of a preceding palatal (74 ff.); and in this case also the i-umlaut is ie, i, y (97; 98);

4) it undergoes u-umlaut to ea (103);

5) it becomes ëa by contraction with a following u (111);

6) i-umlaut changes it to e (89) in all cases not included under heads 1–5.

53. West Germanic e often remains unchanged: helan, conceal; beran, bear; helm, helmet; helpan, help; wefan, weave; sprecan, speak; cweðan, say; compare OS. OHG. helan, beran, helm, etc.

The occurrence of the older e is limited

1) by its passage into i before nasals (69);

2) by the breaking to eo before r- and l-combinations and before h (79 ff.); the i-umlaut of this eo is then ie, i, y (100);

3) by u-umlaut to eo (104);

4) by the change to ie after palatals (74 ff.);
5) by lengthening to ē, accompanied by ecolipsis (214. 3);
6) by contraction with guttural vowels, producing ēo, īo (113);
7) by the change of weo into wo and wū (72).

i

54. West Germanic i often remains:

a) standing for Indo-European i, as in bite, bite; whīte, face; wītan, know, pret. wisse; and in the 2 sing. and the whole plur. ind., as well as in the opt. pret. of the strong verbs of the First Ablaut-Class, like stīge, plur. stīgun; opt. stīge, plur. stīgen (382);

b) as Germ. ī from e:

a) before nasal + consonant, as in the verbs bindan, bind, etc. (386); blind, blind, etc.;

b) often before the i, j which originally followed in the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of strong verbs of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Ablaut-Classes, like hilpē, hicē, itē; likewise in biddan, request; sittan, sit; liegan, lie; liegan, take (391. 3), and in many other words.

The occurrence of the i is limited

1) by the breaking to īo (ei, ie, y) before r- and l-combinations, and before h (79 ff.); the i-umlaut of these sounds is ie (i, y) (100);

2) by u- and o/a-umlaut to īo (ei, ie, y) (105; 107. 3 ff.);

3) by the change of wīo to wū (71);
4) by lengthening to i, accompanied by echlipsis (185; 214.3);
5) by contraction with guttural vowels (114).

Note. Latin i is converted into e in the borrowed word peru, pear, and Latin ï to the same in segn, from signum.

o

55. As a rule, West Germanic o is retained: boda, messenger; God, God; gold, gold; ox, ox; word, word. It is very common in the past part. of strong verbs of the Second, Third, and Fourth Ablaut-Classes (384 ff.).

In certain words, especially in the vicinity of labials, u is found instead of the o which might have been expected; thus, for example, in full, full; wulf, wolf; wulle, wool; fugol, fowl; bucca, buck; cnucian, knock; ufAN, above; ufor, higher; ufera, the upper; lufu, luflan, love; spura (beside spora), spur; spurnan (beside sporn-AN), spurn, murnan, mourn; mrecnian, murmur; fur-OR, further; fursum, indeed.

Moreover, the domain of the West Germanic o is regularly contracted

1) by its passage into u before nasals (70); the i-umlaut of this u is y (95);
2) by i-umlaut to (oe), e (93).

Note. For ð, ð in broden for brogden, see 214. 3, note 8. Latin ð is lengthened in scôl, from schôla.

u

56. West Germ. u often occurs unchanged: burg, town; lust, pleasure; sunu, son; hund, dog, etc.; very
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often in the preterits of strong verbs of the Second and Third Ablaut-Classes (384 ff.), etc. It passes into o in or- (Goth. us-, OHG. ur-), as in orsörg, careless; orđone, cleverness.

Note 1. The WS. Kent. ŏurh, through, is replaced in Mercian (Ps.) by ŏorh, and in North. by ŏerh. The negative prefix un- sometimes becomes on- in late MSS., and occasionally un- is substituted for on-, as in unbindan for onbindan, loose.

Note 2. Latin u becomes o in copor, copper; box, box.

Other restrictions of the u are:
1) the ï-umlaut to y (95);
2) the lengthening to ŭ, accompanied by eethlipsis (186; 214. 8, note 8); the ï-umlaut of the latter is y (96);
3) its conversion into io, eo after palatals (74); the ï-umlaut of the latter is ie (i, y) (100).

ä

57. West Germ. ä is of threefold origin:
1) Older a, only in foreign words, as in the Lat. sträta, nāpus, turnip, becomes æ in WS.: stræt, næp (Ep. næp, Corp. nēp).

Note 1. Of doubtful origin is the a of gān, go, which unaccountably remains unchanged before nasals (68).

2) West Germ. a, from Germ. æ, Goth. e (45. 6), regularly becomes æ in WS.: ræd, counsel; rædan, advise; slæpan, sleep; swæs, own; æðm, breath; æfen, evening; and very often in the pret. plur. of the strong verbs of the Fourth and Fifth Ablaut-Classes (390; 391).

Note 2. The vowel of the final syllable is probably short (43, note 4) in hī(e)red (Angl. hīorod, OHG. hīrōt), family; dāegred
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(OHG. tagarōd), dawn, and the adverbs (n)āwer, (n)ōwer (from ākwēr, ēkwēr, 321, note 2). On the other hand, proper names ending in -rōd, like Ėlrōd, seem to have long ē; compare also feminine names in -fōd, beside -fōd, like Ėanfōd, -fōd. Accordingly, some scholars are of opinion that West Germ. æ in slurred or unstressed syllables regularly becomes ē, and hence write hirēd, degrēd, āwēr, etc. For the normal ē in stressed syllables we occasionally find ē, but not in genuine WS. texts: rōdan, slēpan, etc.

The i-umlaut of this æ is identical with it (91). On the other hand, the occurrence of the æ is subject to the following limitations:

a) ā is retained before w in sāwe, ind. 2 sing., sāwon, ind. plur., sāwe, sāwen, subj. pret. of sēon, see (Goth. sēhwum, etc.; OS. sāwi, sāwum, etc.); getāwe, equipment; tāwian, prepare (compare Goth. tēwa, order; probably also getāwe, tāwian); and in the foreign word pāwa, peacock. On the other hand, ā seems to stand for ai in the verbs blāwan, sāwan, etc. (62), and perhaps in a few others.

Note 3. Elsewhere WS. æ occurs in an open syllable followed by a guttural vowel: in the preterits lægon, ëgon, wāgon (beside lægon, ëgon, wēgon), from lēcg(e)an, ëlcg(e)an, wegan; the plur. māgas (beside māgæ), and the fem. māge (beside māge), from mēg, kinsman; in hrēca, spittle; in the verb slēpan, sleep, and its derivatives (beside slēpan); and in the words swār (beside swēr), heavy; trāg, lazy, tāl (beside tāl), calummy; lēcnian, heal (beside lēcnian, from lēce. physician, with i-umlaut); ēcumba (rarely ēcumba), oakum. To these must be added numerous compounds beginning with æ, and perhaps certain other cases (Cluge, in Anglia, Anzeiger 5. 82).

The i-umlaut of this a is regularly æ: lēwan, betray (Goth. lēwjan); sæltæwe, complete (compare Goth. tēwa).

b) Before nasals West Germ. æ is converted into ū (68); the i-umlaut of the latter is æ, ē (94).
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e) After a preceding palatal it becomes ēa (74; 76.2).
d) Instead of ē there occurs an ēa in néah, nigh (Goth. nêhw); here the ēa is probably breaking (82).

3) Nasalized Germ. ā from an (45.5) becomes ō (67); the i-umlaut of the latter is œ, ō (94).

ē

58. West Germ. ē maintains itself in WS. unaltered:

hēr, here; cēn, torch; mēd, meed; lēf, feeble; Wēland.

Here belong also the ē's of the reduplicated preterits like hēt, slēp (395. A).

NOTE 1. To the OHG. adj. zēri, zlari, corresponds OE. tīr, glory (OS. tīr, ON. tīrr); to the OHG. wiara the OS. wir, wire. For Crēcas, Greeks, there appears also Crēcas, the form of which has not yet been accounted for.

NOTE 2. The close ē of Latin appears in early loan-words as ī: side, silk; cīpe, onion; pīn, pain; or shortened to ī: sīcor, certain; dīnor, denarius. In late loan-words we have ē, sometimes shortened to e: crēda, creed; bēte, beet; fēnīx, phœnix, etc.

ī

59. Older ī occurs almost invariably unchanged:

hwil, while; mín, nine; ðīn, thine; sīn, his; wīf, wife; rīce, kingdom; compare also the strong verbs of the First Ablaut-Class (382).

The ī is only restricted in its occurrence by contraction with a following vowel (114), as well as by occasional shortening and breaking (84).

ō

60. West Germ. ō generally remains: bōc, book; gōd, good; fōr, journeyed; sīōg, struck, etc. Its i-umlaut is œ, ō (94).
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Norse. Final wô appears as ü in hû, how; tû, two (324. 2), as does simple ô in bû, both; cû, cow, contrasted with tô, to.

ü

61. West Germ. ü is regularly represented by WS. ü: hûs, house; tûn, town; brûcan, use; lûcan, lock; even where the Gothic has au before a following vowel: bûan, build; trûwian, trust (Goth. bauan, trauan).
The i-umlaut of ü is stable y (96).

ai

62. West Germ. ai becomes a: aô, oath; stân, stone; hôt, hot; sûr, wound; hâtan, be called; wôt, wot; the pret. 1 and 3 sing. of the verbs of the First Ablaut-Class, as stûg (382), etc.
The i-umlaut of this a is âe (90).

Norse. Individual exceptions are: ô, always, ever, together with its compounds (ôwiht, ôwôr, etc., 346 ff.), for and beside ã (Goth. ãw, OHG. eo); and wëa, harm (OHG. wëwo?). With these exceptions, ai(w) passes regularly into a(a): snàw, snow; slûw, slow; sàwol, soul; compare also the verbs blàwan, cnàwan, mâwan, sàwan, wàwan (396. 2. c), where the Goth. has sal(j)an, waalan (cf. 57. 2. a). Wholly isolated is sôrig for sûrig, Cura Past. 227. 8 H (clerical blunder).

au

63. The regular equivalent of West Germ. au is WS. êa: êac, eke; êaca, increase; bêag, ring; hêafod, head; gelêafa, belief, etc.; the pret. 1 and 3 sing. of the verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class, like cêas (384; 385); even before following w (where the Goth. has ggw, and the ON. gg(v)): glêaw, wise; hêawan, hew;
hnēaw, stingy (compare Goth. glaggwus, ON. hoggva, hnoggr).

The 1-umlaut of ēa is ēi (i, ē) (99); its palatal umlaut is LWS. ē (108. 2; 109).

Eu

64. West Germ. eu occurs regularly as ēo: beōd, table; deōp, deep; deōr, animal; deōd, people; leōf, dear; sēoc, sick; in the present forms of verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class, like cēōsan, etc. (384); even before w (where the Goth. has iggw, ON. ygg(v)): hrēowan, rue, trēow, faith (ON. hryggva, tryggr, faithful, etc.). Only exceptionally is it replaced by io (38).

Note. Only the oldest documents occasionally preserve the diphthong eu: stēupfēder, trēulēnsis, etc. The tendency to change eu to eo extends even to foreign words: Dēosedit, Lēowērius, for Deusdedit, Leutherius.

The 1-umlaut of Germ. eu, or of the resultant West Germ. īu (46), is ie (i, ỹ), or, in special cases, EWS. io, later ēo (100. 2).

2. SURVEY OF THE EFFECTS PRODUCED UPON STRESSED VOWELS BY ADJOINING SOUNDS

a) Influence of Nasals

65. Germanic a before nasals undergoes change to open o in a prehistoric period of OE. (25. 2). As the alphabet has but two characters, a, o, to represent the three sounds a, o, o, there is considerable fluctuation in the sign for o. The very oldest texts, like the Epinal
Glossary, uniformly employ the a: *mann, man; brand, brand; land, land; hand, hand; nama, name; camb, comb; gangan, go. In the 9th century o has gained the upper hand: *möm, bremônd, lömônd, hönd, nöma, lömômb, gëngând (so without exception in the Ps. and North.; but cf. 386, note 3). From this time on the a increases in frequency, and finally succeeds in supplanting the o.

Notes 1. This change to o is older than the metathesis of r (179); this accounts for the preterits orn, bourn, from *rôn, *brunn (389).
Note 2. Peculiar are the accusatives ëone, the; hwone, whom; the instrumentals ëon,hwôn (337; 341); the adverbs ëonne, then, hwônne, when. These have uniformly o, which must probably be regarded as close o. So, too, the preposition on (not the stressed adverb, which conforms to the general rule) only now and then appears as an, most frequently in compound words. Only occasionally do the most ancient texts have ëanne, but in LWS. ëanne and hwônne are very common. So ëane, hwane, and ëene, hwâne, occur very frequently for ëone, hwone; they are perhaps formed by analogy with the datives ëäm, hwäm, and ëäm, hwäm, and on that account to be written with å, ë (for Kentish cf. 51). In LWS. menig (menig) regularly takes the place of the older monig, manig, many.

66. When a following nasal is lost before a surd spirant, this o is regularly lengthened to œ (186): gös, goose; hös, band; œs-, god; söd, true; tôd, tooth; œdër, other; söfte, softly; these stand for *gouns, *houns, etc. (compare Goth. hansa, anpar, OHG. gans, sansto, etc.).

67. In like manner, OE. œ corresponds to the Germanic nasalized ä from aw (45. 5) in Goth. fâhan, seize; hâhan, hang; brâhta, brought; pâhta, thought; pâhô, clay; -wâhs, blameworthy; OHG. ähta, persecution; zäuht, tough: OE. fôn, hön, brôhte, òhôte, ò (Epinal thôhâe), wôh, ôht, tôh.
68. Similarly West Germ. å from Germ. æ (45. 8; 46), is changed before nasals into o. Thus to Goth. mēna, moon, mēnops, month, nēmun, they took, qēmun, they came, correspond mōna, mōnað, nōmun, cwōmun. To the same source must be referred the o in sōna, soon; spōn, sliver; gedōn, done; brōm, broom; wōm, wōma, uproar; ēm, rust; ēōmonor, sad (74).

Note 1. Beside older sōm-, half (compare Gr. ήμι), as in sōmeceu, half alive, etc., occurs regularly in LWS. sām- (pointing perhaps to shortening). So, too, we have always the forms benēman, deprive; nēd-, nēdneume, rapacious. Perhaps diphthongal by-forms with ai may underlie these. On the other hand, the specifically LWS. form nāmon, for nōmon, must be regarded as a new formation (390, note 2).

Note 2. Here belong the following, which have undergone s-emlaut according to 94: cwēn, woman (Goth. qēns); wēn, hope (Goth. wēns); gecwēme, convenient (OHG. biquāmi); gēsēman, reconcile; getēme, suitable (OHG. gizāmi), etc. (compare the dialectic forms cwēn, wēn, gecwēme, etc.). OE. ē is, therefore, not to be considered as springing immediately from Germanic æ.

69. West Germ. e before original m becomes i in the verb niman, take, OHG. neman, but is preserved before n: cwēn, woman (OHG. quena); dēnu, valley; North. hēnu, lo (compare also foreign words like senoð, synod; senep, mustard); and before mn from fn, as in emn, stemn, from efn, stefn (193. 2). Before nasal + consonant the e of foreign words incorporated into the language at an early date becomes i: gim, gem; minte, mint; pinsian, consider, from Latin gemma, mentha, pensare.

70. West Germ. o before nasals becomes u: cuman, come; genumen, taken; -numa, receiver; wunian, dwell; ūnorn, thunder (OHG. coman, ginoman, -nomo,
wonēn, donar). So the o in the early borrowings from Latin: munuc, munt, pund, cumpæder, from Latin monachus, montem, pondus, compater; and, with subsequent i-umlaut: mynet, mynster, from Latin moneta, monasterium. An exception is font (fant), from Latin fontem.

Note. In the case of native words the rules of paragraphs 69, 70 apply only to a simple nasal, since nasal + consonant had already changed preceding e to i and o to u in the Germanic period (45. 2, 3).

b) Influences of w

71. The combination wiu, wio, arising from Germanic wi by breaking (79 ff.), or through the agency of u- and o/a-umlaut (105), usually becomes wu; yet older forms with the diphthong io (eo, 38), and even such as have simple i, now and then occur: wuton, let us; wudu, wood; wuduwe, widow; swutol, clear; wueu, week; c(w)ucu, living; wuht, thing (so also nāwuht, nāuht, nothing); betwuuh, betwux, between; side by side with wiodu (rare and old); wiudwe, weoduwe; sweotol; wicu, weocu; cwicu, ewic; betwih, etc.

Note 1. Rare and late is the occurrence of wo: wolcrēad, for wollocrēad. More usual in LWS, texts is wy: wyduwe, swytol, betwyh.

Note 2. The io of WS. wio experiences i-umlaut to ie, like any other io: wierðe, worth; wiersa, worse; wier(ri)sta, worst, etc.

72. The combination weo from Germ. we (breaking or u-umlaut, 79 ff.; 104) generally retains its form; yet beside dialectal (esp. Kentish, Mercian, and R.²) weorold, world, occurs always the pure WS. worold; thus vary weordig and worðig, courtyard, and more rarely
in LWS. certain others, like worc, worpan, geswost-
ern, swotol, beside the usual weorc, weorpan,
gesweostor, sweotol. For this eo LWS. frequently
substitutes u: swurd, wurðan, wurðian, swuster,
instead of sweord, sword; weordan, become; weordian,
estimate, prize; sweoster, sister; subsequently this u
is replaced by y: swyrd, etc.

Note. Contrariwise, the later language not seldom writes wur for
wyr: wurmas, wurd-, wurt-, wurste, for wyrmas, wyrd-, wyr-,
wyrste (EWS. wierste); quite exceptionally weor for wyr, wur, as in
weormum, ymbhwæorft, Geoweorþa, for wyrmum, ymbhwyrft,
Lat. Jugurtha.

73. 1) The combination aw remains normally
unchanged before vowels: awul, awol; clauw, claw;
gesawen, seen, etc. Where ea crops up beside it, as
in feawe, few (Goth. fawai), elea, claw, it has crept in
from forms in which original aw- had for some reason
become au (see 2, below).

Note 1. The umlaut of aw before vowels is ew: strewede,
strewed; cleweda, ich; ewe, eoe (add perhaps the part. gesawen,
seen, beside gesawen); later texts have also eo: eowu, streuwede,
etc. (but not *gesawen). In certain words, like mæowle, maiden
(Goth. mawlo), ðowde, flock, in which a middle vowel was syncopated (143 ff.), long eo seems to have occurred.

2) The combination ew before vowels regularly
becomes eow; at the end of a syllable, however, it
passes through eu into ðo: eneowes, treowes, ðoweowes,
etc., gen. sing. of eneо, kneе; treо, tree; ðeo, servant
(137); compare OHG. knewes, etc.

Note 2. From the juxtaposition of forms like eneо and eneowes
result, through mutual influence, those like enеow, where the w has
come in from the polysyllables, and such as enеowes, where the long
ео has come from the monosyllables (Beitr. 10. 489 ff.).
3) Original *iw* remains partly unchanged before vowels, and partly appears as *iow* (eow, 38): *ôrîwa*, *thrice*; *spiwe*, *spiweða*, *vomiting*; past part. *âspiwen*, *vomited*; *âsiwen*, *filtered*; *niwol*, *headlong*, beside less pure WS. forms like *niowol* (neowol), *âseowen*, etc.

Note 3. Forms with *îe*, *î, like *ni(ê)we*, *new* (Goth. *niujls*), *hi(ê)w*, *form* (Goth. *hiwii*), etc., do not go back to an old *iw*, but to an older *iuw*, which arose from West Germ. *gemination* (227). Those like *sîowian*, *sew*; *sîowian*, *vomit*, have, on the other hand, probably borrowed their *io* (eo) from forms with original *iw* before vowels.

c) Diphthongization by Palatals

74. The palatal semivowel *j* (175), when beginning a word, unites with the vowels *a* (æ) and *o* to form *gea*, *geo* (*gio*): *gêa*, *yea*; *gêar*, *year*; *gloec*, *geoc*, *yoke*; *gêomor*, *sad*; so likewise in the pronoun *geon*, that (338, note 6), and its derivatives, like *geond*, *through*; *begeondan*, *beyond* (for *jan-*; *jon*-; 65; compare EWS. *gïend*, *gïnd*, Kent. *gïnd*, North. *gïnd*, *begienda*, with *i*-umlaut). The combination *ju* quite frequently remains unchanged: *îu*, *formerly*; *iung*, *gung*, *young*; *iugiôd*, *gugôd*, *youth* (compare Goth. *ju*, *jûgs*); but its place is usually taken by *geo*, *gio* (*gêo*; *geong*, *giong*; *geogôd*, *giogôd*).

Note 1. *io* very rarely persists unchanged, as in *toc*. The source of the *ie* in *gïet*, *gïeta* (*gêt*, *gyta*), *yet*, and *gïen*, *gïena* (beside more usual *gên*, *gêna*), *yet*, is not yet determined. There is no doubt that we have an older *j* in the pers. pron. *gê*, beside occasional *gie* (332).

Note 2. On forms like *gër* for *gêar*, see 109.

75. The palatals *g*, *ê*, and *sê* have a similar effect, since they change the primary palatals *æ*, *æ* (= Germ.
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æ, 57.2), and e, into ea (with i-umlaut, ie), ēa (with i-umlaut, ie), and ie. Examples:

1) æ to ea: geæf, gave; -geæt, obtained; geæt, gate; geætwe, trappings; ceæf, chaff; ceæfas, jaws; ceæster, town; seeæl, shall; seeæft, shaft; seeæt, treasure; seeæbb, scæb; seeær, pret. 3 sing., cut; for *gæf, *gæt, *ceæster, *seeæl, etc. (compare Goth. gaf, gat, skal, Lat. castra). Similarly, with i-umlaut (98): giæst (gyst, gist), guest; cieæfes, concubine; cieæle, coolness; scieæppan, create; cieætel, kettle; from *geæsti-, *ceæfis, *scææppjan, *ceætil (compare Goth. gasts, skapan).

2) æ to ēa: gææfon, gave; -gææton, obtained; gæælas, jaws; sceæap, sheep; sceæaron, cut; for *gææfon, *gææton, *scææron (compare Goth. gëðum, gëtum).

With i-umlaut: cieæ, cyæe, cheese, for *ceæsi, from *ceæsi, from Lat. cæcus.

3) e to ie (i, y): gieæfan, give; gieæfu, gift; -gieætan, obtain; gield, offering; gieældan, pay; gieællan, yell; gieælp, boasting; gieælpan, boast; gielæd, song; scieæran, cut; scieæld, shield; beside giefæn, gyeæn; geliæd, gylædan, etc.

Note 1. Contrary to the rule, æ maintains itself in gaæælling, kinææman, sæt-, toægædere, together (50, note 2), and in certain Latin words received into LWS., such as cææppe, cap; cææfæster, hæltær, from Lat. cæppæ, capæstrærum; of course also in gaærs, grace, cæææse, cress, for graæs, etc. (179). Forms like gææst, sceæd, shæde, sceær, sceææron (instead of gæst, sceæd, sceær, sceææron), are unknown to WS. prose, but occur in poetry. The imp. sceæf (beside sceæf), for the normal sceæf (369), is of late formation.

Note 2. The e holds its ground in words like geliædan, gæælæp, sceæran, etc., to about the same extent as it is substituted for ie in general; this e, however, cannot be regarded as pure WS. Nevertheless, WS. always has sceææman (392. 4) (while poetry has a rare sceæææmæn),
and Ælfric regularly writes gesthus (otherwise an exceptional form), just as Mod. Eng. has a guttural g in guest. In the case of gesthus there is probably borrowing from the Norse.

Note 3. When the palatal diphthongization of e is in conflict with breaking (79 ff.), the latter has the preference; hence, ceorfan, care; ceorl, man; georn, eager; sceorfan, gnaew; not *cierfan, etc. Under similar circumstances the u-, o/a-umlaut (101 ff.) likewise has the preference over palatal influence: geolo, yellow; geoloca, yolk; ceole, throat; ceorlan, lament; yet pure WS. always has giefu, after the model of the gen. dat. acc. giefu, though outside of the limits of pure WS. there is also a nom. geofu.

76. 1) Other vowels undergo no change after g and e; this is true not only of the guttural vowels a, o, u, as in galan, sing; calan, be cold; gongan, go; camp, battle; gust, spirit; casere, emperor; God, God; god, good; corn, corn; guma, man; cuman, come; gud, battle; cuð, known, but also of the resulting secondary palatals æ, e, ę, y, ỹ (7, note) due to umlaut, as in gæst (beside gust), spirit; gæd, lack; gælsa, luxury; cæg, key (cf. 90); cemes, shirt; cemban, comb; cempa, warrior; cennan, beget; Cænt, Kent; -genga, goer (cf. 89.4); cællendre, coriander; cene, bold; cælan, cool; cæpan, observe; gæs, geese (cf. 93; 94); cyme, coming; cynn, kin; cysan, kiss; cyst, choice; gylden, golden; cyðan, announce (cf. 95; 96).

Note 1. An exceptional gæsne is frequently found in the poetry, for and beside gæsne, gæsne, barren (OHG. gelsinl).

2) Instead of seca, seo, there is a frequent occurrence of seca, seo: seeacan, seeoc, seeacen, shake (392), and secaen, seeoc, seeacen; seadan and seeadan, separate; seamu, secomo, and secamu, seecomu, shame: seop and seeop, poet; scōn and scōoh, shoe. This variation is
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an extremely irregular one, in regard not only to the spelling of single words, but also to the usage in the different texts.

In most cases seu remains unaffected: seu, shadow; seucca, demon; seufan, shove; sculdor, shoulder; seur, shower. Not till LWS. do we encounter single instances of seu, like seucca, seufan, and somewhat more frequently eo: secocca, secofan, secor.

No change is experienced by scy: scyld, guilt; scyndan, hasten; scyte, shot, etc.

Note 2. Even in the earlier texts sceo is a frequent substitute for seu in the verb sceoldan, shall, beside sculan (423); plur. sceolun, beside sculun. The preterit sceolde for scolde is likewise of surprisingly frequent occurrence.

Note 3. The umlaut-e derived from o (89. 4) remains unchanged in scenc, goblet; sceoncean, pour out, but is nearly always diphthongized in pure WS. in sceindan (scindan, scyndan), disgrace, as is e, the umlaut of ð (94), in gescy, shoes (for gescne, Ps. North. gescœ).

Note 4. In later texts e is even occasionally inserted between se and a, o in the midst of a word: menescce, human being, Egiptesc-ean, Ebríesccean, etc.

Note 5 (on 75-76). On account of the irregularity which prevails among the phenomena described in 76. 2, they are not to be classed, without further question, with those of 75 (and 74), which are consistently carried out in WS. It is not at all impossible that in the first case, to some extent at least, the e may have been a mere graphic insertion, to indicate that se had the pronunciation of sh (German sch). Indeed, some scholars assign the same explanation to the ea, ie of 75, or in other words assert that they merely indicate the palatal pronunciation of the g, c, sc (206), and consequently that ea is merely an abbreviated mode of writing eae. But this opinion can hardly be maintained in view of the fact that the ea and ie of 74 and 75 are treated in the subsequent evolution of the language exactly like the other ea's and ie's, which are indisputably true diphthongs; that is, that ea, e undergo palatal umlaut to e, e (108; 109), and that ie,
ie are converted to unstable i, y and i, y (41). Accordingly, the ea (eo) and ie of 74 and 75 must be regarded as genuine diphthongs.

**d) The Breakings**

77. Breaking, according to Grimm, may be defined as the change of a short e to eo, and that of a short a to ea. We propose to frame a more accurate definition by restricting the name to such of the changes as take place solely through the influence of following consonants (for ea, eo, as u- and o/a-umlauts, see 108 ff.; for ea, eo from palatal + a, o, u, see 74 ff.).

78. Breaking is older than palatal diphthongization (75, note 3) and u-umlaut, since it already prevails in the Epinal glosses, which exhibit but few traces of u-umlaut. That it is likewise older than the i-umlaut is rendered probable by the fact that the broken ea, eo undergo regular umlaut to ie, i, y (97 ff.).

The varieties of breaking in WS. are the following:

1) Before r + consonant

79. 1) Before r + consonant West Germ. e passes into eo; and Germ. a, under the same circumstances, into ea:

a) steorra, star; heorte, heart; eorde, earth; weornpan, throw = Goth. (stairnō), haertō, airpa, wairpan, OS. sterro, herta, ertha, werpan, etc.

b) earm, arm; wearp, threw; wearō, became = Goth. arms, warp, warp.

Norm 1. The breaking remains, even when the second consonant is lost: feorh, life; ðweorh, across; mearn, horse; gen. feores, ðweores, meares (on the lengthening see 218. 1, and note 1).
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Note 2. On the other hand, breaking does not occur in **berstan**, burst; **bersean**, thresh; **fæse**, fresh; **gær**, grass; **baerst**, burst; **ærn**, house; **hærn**, wave, and the causatives **ærnan**, ride; **bérmant**, burn, because in these cases the \( r \) + consonant is the result of metathesis (179). Why there should be an absence of breaking in **hærpest**, harvest (but cf. 50, note 2), and **brerd**, margin (unless in the latter word there be \( i \)-umlaut of \( o \), 93), is not evident. For **ærn** (orn), **bærn** (born), see 65, note 1; 386, note 2. But, notwithstanding the metathesis, we have **bérmant** (byrman), burn, and **færnan** (yrnan), **ræn** = Goth. **brinnan**, rinnen (see under 2 below).

Note 3. Breaking is of rare occurrence in foreign words; thus we have **ærce-**, beside **ærce-**, arch- (in such words as arcebishop, archbishop), **mærtian**, martyr; and in later texts usually arce, ark, carcarn, prison, where the earlier commonly prefer eare, earcarn.

2) West Germ. \( i \) was likewise broken to \( i o \) (later eo); but as West Germ. \( i \) scarcely appears before \( r \) + consonant except in cases where \( i \), \( j \) formerly followed this combination (45.2), WS. **io** (eo) is umlauted, as in **hierde** (Goth. hairdeis), etc. (see 100, but also note 2 above).

2) Before \( 1 \) + consonant

80. West Germ. \( a \) before \( 1 \) + consonant is usually changed to ea, but \( a \) is often retained, especially in the older documents: **feallan**, fall; **eald**, old; **healf**, half; along with **fallan**, ald, half (perhaps more precisely fallan, ald, half, according to 124.3; see also note 3), = Goth. **fallan**, etc.

Note 1. For forms like **Wealh.-Wæles**, Welshman, see 79, note 1; 242; for their \( i \)-umlaut, 98; 99.

Note 2. Breaking takes place before \( ii \) only when the latter is of Germanic origin, as in **feallan**, fall; **eall**, all; **weallan**, boil; with \( i \)-umlaut: **fæll**, **fyll**, fall, etc. (98). Before the \( ii \) from Germanic \( lj \) (227), on the other hand, we have always \( e \), i.e., the \( i \)-umlaut of the unchanged \( a \): **hell**, hell; **tellan**, tell; the only exception is the (siellan),
syllan of certain texts (North. seallan, give (for *sealljan), Goth. saljan (but CP. only sellan).

Note 3. Even in LWS. there is no sign of breaking in certain words, such as balca, beam; dalc, brooch; fald, fold. As the oldest form of the last word in OE. is fulud, fulæd, it is not improbable that there has been syncopation of a vowel following the l in the other words of this kind (compare also Ælfred, and similar names; helfter, 50, note 2).

Note 4. Breaking is not found in late loan-words: pæll, pallium.

81. West Germ. e undergoes regular breaking to eo only before lh, le: meolan, milk; aseolan, languish; heolca, hoar frost (?); seolh, gen. seoles, seal; eolh, elk; sceolh, squinting; fœolan, command (from *feolhan, see 218); then in heolfor, gore, and in scolf, self (dialectic, as, for example, in Ps.), beside sêlf, sylf (compare also siellie, syllic, strange, beside sellic), and unchanged self (this form exclusively found in CP.). In other cases, e before l + consonant is retained: swellan, swell; helm, helmet; helpan, help; swelhan, die, etc.

Note 1. Whether the eo’s in reduplicated preterits like weoll, heold, etc. (396), are to be regarded as the results of breaking, or as originally long diphthongs, remains uncertain.

Note 2. Breaking may perhaps be assumed before lw in geolo, yellow, gen. geolowes, etc. (from the stem *gelwa-); or this may be a case of u-umlaut, such as we have in its derivative geol(o)ca, yolk, and heolstor (Ep. helustr), hiding-place (104).

3) Before h

82. Before h + consonant (x = hs, 221. 2), and before the h which terminates a syllable, Germanic a is broken to ea, and æ to ëa:

   a) geneahhe, abundantly; cahta, eight; meahte, could; meah, might; neah, night (for miht, niht see
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98, note); feax, hair; weaxan, grow; also hliehhan, hlyhhan, laugh (with i-umlaut, 98); compare Goth. ahtau, mahta, mahts, nahts, fahs, wahsjan, hlahjan; WS. gefeah, seah, pret. sing. of gefeón, rejoice; sew, see (391. 2);

b) nēah (Goth. nēhw(a)).

Note. No breaking usually appears in the foreign trahtian, consider, and its derivatives.

83. Under the same conditions as in the foregoing paragraph, Germ. e was originally broken to eo, alternating in EWS. with io. However, but few forms have been preserved with an invariable eo, io: feoh, fioh, cattle; eoh, horse; pleoh, danger; imp. gefeoh, seoh (367; 391. 2); feohtan, fight; and frequently EWS. Peohtas (Angl. Pehtas), Picts. In other words EWS. eo is quite rare and hardly genuine: for example, seox, six; reoht, right; cneoht, boy; the result is usually disguised by palatal umlaut (108. 1).

84. 1) In like manner, Germ. i is broken to EWS. io, Common WS. eo: tiohhian, teohhian, arrange; teoh, order; meox (Goth. mainhstus), ordure; so now and then (but hardly genuine WS.) in proper names like Wioht, Isle of Wight; Wioththūn, Wiohtgār, etc. But there are often parallel forms with i, y (for older ie, 23), like wrixl, exchange; mixen, dunghill; Wiht, Wight; wiht, thing; gesihō, gesyhō, sight; sīhō, sīhyō, sees, etc., which are to be referred partly to i-umlaut (100), partly to the so-called palatal umlaut (108).

2) Germ. i is broken in some cases to ēo (not io): lēoht (North. lēht, Goth. leihts), easy; betwēoh, between;
(wēobud, wēofod, altar, for wēohb-, Angl. wibed, 222, note 1); compare the Common WS. imperatives lēoh, tēoh, ūēoh, wēoh (from the contract verbs lēon, etc., 383), for which EWS. instances are wanting. Elsewhere we have also EWS. io, as in Wiōsthān, and after w a u in betwuh, between (compare Goth. twēihnai, two); fulwuht, baptism, which points to shortened io (71).

Note 1. Breaking is even caused by the x arising from se by metathesis (209): betweox, between, beside betwix (329, note 1).

Note 2 (on 82-84). Even before h followed by a vowel, breaking very likely occurs. At least this is the simplest explanation of contract forms like slēan, strike (111. 2), nēar, nearer (112), for *sleahan, *nēahur from *slahan, *nēahur; and especially of those like sēon, beside sēon, see (113. 2), and tēon, beside tion, accuse (114. 3), for *siohan, beside *seohan, from *sehan (83), and *tēohan, beside tiohan, from tihan (84. 2).

e) The Umlauts

85. Umlaut, in Germanic grammar, denotes those mutations of a stressed vowel which are caused by a vowel or semivowel (j, w) of the following syllable. There is, therefore, a division into a-umlaut, i-umlaut, u-umlaut, etc., according to the sound by which the umlaut is produced.

On the so-called palatal umlaut see 108; 109.

86. The mutations of a basic vowel by umlaut are of different kinds in OE. They consist either in a partial assimilation of the basic vowel to the following sound, or in the development of the basic vowel into a diphthong. The former is the case with the i-umlaut, for example, hēre, army, older hēri, from hari; the latter is
the case with the u- and o-umlaut, as in ealu, ale, from *alü, or eofur, boar, from *ebur.

Note. Grimm regarded the second kind of umlaut as a subordinate species of breaking; but it seems better to employ the term 'breaking' in the narrower signification specified in 77, and (with Holtzmann) to speak of u- and o/a-umlaut as well as of i-umlaut.

87. As regards the relative age of the various umlauts, the i-umlaut is the oldest of all. It succeeds breaking in order of time, but precedes the u-umlaut, since it already prevails in documents which exhibit but the scantiest traces of u-umlaut (78).

1) The i-umlaut

88. The cause of i-umlaut is an i or j which originally followed the stressed syllable, it being a matter of indifference whether the i already existed in Indo-European, or whether it was transformed in the Germanic period from older e or ei (45.2.7). As the language underwent further development, the sounds which produced umlaut either grew unrecognizable (by weakening to e, 44), or were entirely lost (177). Hence the causes of this umlaut can, in the majority of cases, only be determined by a comparison with the cognate languages, which, in the preservation of the i, j, represent an older stage than OE.

89. The older short a had, before the appearance of i-umlaut, been divided into æ and ô (49 ff.; 65), and with these two was, under special circumstances, associated the form a, as well in native as in foreign words. For this reason it becomes necessary to treat of their umlaut under different heads.
1) The i-umlaut of the short æ before an originally single consonant is normally ɛ (29, note): hɛrigan, glorify; nɛrigan, save; hɛrè, army; tɛllan, count; sɛttan, set; wɛccan, awaken; lɛcgan, lay = Goth. haz- ĵan, nasjan, harjis, *taljan, satjan, wakjan, lagjan, etc.

Note 1. Beside ɛ occurs a sporadic æ, especially in sæcgan, say, beside sæcgan; wæcece(e)a, exile, beside wæcece(e)a; and æl- beside ɛl- (compare Goth. alís, another), for example, ælðodig, ælðodig, foreign. This æ is constant in stæpe, step, and in certain words which are assumed, notwithstanding the OE. geminates (225 ff.), to have originally had but a single consonant after the vowel: stæppan, step; gemæcc(e)a, mate; sæcc, dispute; wæece, watch; wæccende, watching; nas, foreland; pæððan, traverse; sæððig, injurious; stæððan, support; mæcg, man, etc.

2) The i-umlaut of short æ before consonant groups is normally æ: æsc, ash; ligraesc, lightning; dwæscean, extinguish; æspe, aspen; fæstan, fasten; -hlæstæn, burden; mæstæn, fatten; hæftæn, arrest; ræfæn, blame; æfæn, execute; stæfnæn, regulate; næglæn, nail; brægænæn, cunning; fæðmund, embrace, etc.

Note 2. Constant exceptions with ɛ are: ɛft, again; ɛstæn, rest; ɛstænæn, rest; ɛgælæn, troublesome; ɛglænæn, molest; ɛsænæn, servant; stefæn, stæmmæn, trunk. Beside æ we occasionally also find ɛ in çfænæn, stefænæn.

3) The uumlaut of the æ which must exceptionally be postulated instead of æ is æ. This is evident in foreign words like Læden, Latin; cæfester, halter; mægestær, master, from Lat. Latinum, capistrum, magister, etc. In native words it often occurs, for example, when leveling by analogy takes place between æ and æ, as in the 2 and 3 sing. færes, -æð, goest, goes, from Prim. OE. *faris, -ip (for Prim. OE. *færis, -ip), in conformity
with faru, faraðæ, etc. (371, note 2), or in words like ræced, house; hæłæð, hero; hæcele, cloak, from Prim. OE. *rakid, *halip, *hakila (for Prim. OE. *rákid, etc.), in conformity with the parallel forms *rakud, *halip, *hakula with suffixal ablaut (127; 128).

Note 3. Here probably belong the æ's of 50, note 2; cf. also 100, note 4.

4) The umlaut of a before nasals, which, as we have seen, interchanges with o (65), is in the oldest texts æ, later è: fremman, perform; mæ(n)n, men; sændan, send; strængra, stronger; dræncæn, drench, from the stems from, forwards; mæn(n), man(n), man; strong, stræng, stræng; dræncæ, drank, etc.

Note 4. The æ has persisted where it was separated from the following nasal by early metathesis; hence we have æræmæn, ride; bæræmæn, burn (causative) = Goth. rænnjan, brænnjan, and probably also æræ, house; hæræ, wave, from *rænni, *hrænni (79, note 2; 179).

Note 5. Different from this is the use of æ instead of ð, which at a later period is confined to certain texts which have a dialectal (especially Kentish) cast; these employ it frequently in a fairly uniform manner: fremman, mænn, sændan, dræncæn, sængæl, etc.

90. The i-umlaut of OE. ð (from ai and ð, 62 and 57) is æ: hæl, whole, hælan, heal; lær, lore, læran, teach; änæn, one, ænig, any; dælæ, part, hælæ, omen (i-stems). So also gænæ, go, 2 and 3 sing. gæstæ, gæðæ (430); læwan (Goth. lēwjan), betray.

91. The i-umlaut of WS. æ = Germ. æ, Goth. ð (57. 2) is likewise æ: læece (Goth. lēkeis), leech; dædæ (Goth. dēpsæ, i-stem), deed; mære, famous (jo-stem).
Note. Goth. mékels, sword, is always méce, though the OS. form is màkt. For other ē's which are only apparently identical with Goth. ē, see 68, note 2. A special umlaut-form for Germ. (Goth.) ē seems not to exist: gelefan, weaken (from *-láhyjan), like lef, weak, etc.

92. A true OE. i-umlaut of e does not exist, since every Germ. e when followed by i, j had already become i (45. 2). The interchange of e and i in groups like etan, itest, iteð (Goth. itan, itis, itip); helpan, hilpest, hilpð; OE. regn, rain, rignan, rinan, rain (for *rignjan), etc., belongs to a period antecedent to that of OE.

93. The i-umlaut of o is

1) ē from older oe (27): morgen and mergen, mornow; dohtor, dat. sing. dèhter, daughter; oxa, nom. acc. plur. exen (277, note 1); efes, eaves, beside yfes (OHG. obasa, Goth. ubizwa); efstan, hasten (from ofst, ofost, zeal, haste); so likewise in the foreign words čle, oil; cel(l)endre, coriander, from Lat. oleum, coriandrum.

2) usually y: gold, gold, gylden, golden; hold, gracious, hyldo, grace; forht, timid, tyrhtu, fear; gnorn (ā-stem) and gynrn (i-stem), grief, etc. So likewise in foreign words like cecene, kitchen; mynet, coin; mynster,minster, from Lat. coquina, moneta, monasterium (70); and mynecen(u), nun, from munuc, monk, Lat. monachus.

Note. This y is not the direct umlaut of OE. o, but of an antecedent u which (45. 3) existed already in Prim. Germ. in place of o before following i, j; compare, for example, OS. gold, guldin; hold, huld, etc. In the examples under 1, where we have the true umlaut of o, the o was transferred, before the occurrence of the i-umlaut, from the cases where the latter is absent to those where it was subsequently found. Where this explanation does not hold, the o, as in the case of čle, belongs to a foreign word.
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94. The i-umlaut of ō is ē, from older œ (27):
   a) older ō (60): döm, doom, dëman, deem; böc, book, bëc plur.; söhte, sought, sëcan inf.; glëd, gleed, spëd, success (i-stems);
   b) ō before nasals from West Germ. ā, Germ. æ (see 68, note 2);
   c) ō from older ḍo, an (66): gös, goose, plur. gës; söfte, softly, adv., sëfte, adj.; fôn, catch, fëhst, fëðë, 2 and 3 sing.; öht, persecution, ëhtan, persecute.

Note. In the oldest texts ō is found, though but very seldom, in place of ē: œðel, æðel, Cura Past. 2. 7; -dœ, ib. 8. 2, for the regular dû.

95. The i-umlaut of u is y: wulle, wool, wyllen, woollen; gesund, sound, gesynto, soundness; hungor, hunger, hyngran, hunger; burg, city, byrl)g (284), etc.; and in foreign words like cymen, cumin; pyle, pillow; pytt, pit; ynce, inch, from Lat. cuminum, pulvinum, puteus, uncia.

Note 1. The instances of y from u are very numerous, but only a few pairs of words with u and y can be adduced, since Prim. Germ. u scarcely ever occurred except before nasal + consonant and before i, j (45. 3), and therefore must of necessity have undergone umlaut in almost every instance.

Note 2. For EWS. ymb, ymbe, about, LWS. frequently has emb, embe.

96. The i-umlaut of ū is ū:
   a) older ū: brūcan, use, brýcð 3 sing.; tūn, hedge, ontýnan, open; brýd, bride (i-stem); and in foreign words like strýta, ostrich; plýme, plum, from Lat. struthio, prunea.
b) ū from un (136.1): ūs, ready, ūysan, hasten; cūō, known, cūōan, make known; yō, wave (jā-stem), etc.

Diphthongs

97. In the older texts the i-umlaut of ea and ēa is usually ie and ē, and afterward the sound designated by unstable i (22); the latter is often represented by i (beside ie), and then chiefly by y. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the y predominates, except in certain cases where there seems to have been an actual change to the pure i-sound (31, note). Besides, there occur in many texts the collateral forms e, ē, which may perhaps be regarded as reductions of ie, ē to a monophthong.

Note. In general, these e's, ē's may be regarded as dialectic (although they are written, for example, by certain copyists of the Cura Past., they are entirely wanting in Ælfric's Homilies, except in the word gestūs, 75, note 2).

98. Examples of ea:

a) broken ea (79 ff.): earm, poor, ierrezō, misery, ierming, wretch; eald, old, comp. ieldra, sup. ieldsa, ieldu, age; weallan, boil, 3 sing. wiēō, wiēlm, surge (i-stem); Weall, Welshman, wiēlisc, foreign (219): weaxan, grow, 3 sing. wiēxō (so likewise sliehō, Əwēhō, from sīēan, smite; Əwēan, wash); hliehhan (Goth. hlahjan), laugh; slieht (i-stem), battle.

b) ea after palatals (74 ff.): seleppan (Goth. skapjan), create; ciefe (OHG. kēbisa), concubine; giest (i-stem), guest.

The later forms of these words are ırımōn, ierrezing, ildra, ildesta, ildu, wiēō, wiēlm, wiēlisc, wiēxō, sliehō,
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3wih, hlihhan, sliht, scippan, cifes, gist; still later are yrmü, ydra, wyim, wylisc, hlyhhan, slyht, scyppan, cyes, gyst, etc. More rarely occur forms like eldra, welm, wergan, etc.

Note. In miht, might, and niht, night (284), the i is tolerably stable (cf. 31, note). In -sciepe, -ship (263, 1), beside the very rare -scipe, the i is probably earlier than Old English, as may be inferred from the corresponding OS. forms in -skipl.

99. Examples of ēa: hēah, high, comp. hiehræa, sup. hiehræst; hēawan, hew, 3 sing. hiewō; nēat, ani-
mal, dimin. nieten; bēacen, beacon, bīecan, beckon; geleafan, belief, geliefan, believe; hieran, hear; nied, need, lieg, flame (i-stems), etc.; afterward hihra, hihræ, ni-
ten, bicnan, gelifan, hiran, nid, lig, and hihræ, hīhræ, nyten, gelýfan, hyran, nyd; more rarely nōten, gelēfan, hēran, etc.

Note 1. Before c and g the y is but seldom written (31, note). For igg replacing ig see 24, note.

Note 2 (on 98, 99). In lightly stressed syllables even pure WS. has frequently e, ē instead of ie, ie; compare formations like æfterwéla, injury; metelēsttu, lack of food, etc.

100. 1) The i-umlaut of eo and ēo is in general exactly the same in pure WS. as that of ea and ēa, being represented by ie, i, y, and ie, i, y:

a) Examples of eo: foerr, far, āfierran, remove; weorpan, throw, 3 sing. wierpō; subst. weorō, worth, adj. wierē; ierre, anger, angry, hierde, herdsman (jo-stems); fierst (i-stem, with metathesis, 179), time; afterward āfierran, wīrpō, wīrē, irre, hierde, first, and āfyrran, wyrpō, wyrē, yrre, hyrde, fyrst, etc.
b) Examples of ēo: cēosan, choose, 3 sing. ciesō; hrēowan, rue, 3 sing. hriewō; lēoht, light, liehtan, illuminate; gestrēon, possession, striēnan, obtain; trēow, faith, getriewe, faithful; dīestre, gloomy; later cīsō, hrīwō, lihtan, strīnan, getriwe, dīstre, and cīsō, hrīwō, lihtan, strīnan, getriwe, dīstre.

Note 1. Before h + consonant the variant y is rarely met with: lēoht, easy, lihtan, lighten; wrixlan, exchange; līxan (or shortened to līxan), illuminate (Goth. *līuhsjan); yet in EWS. always ryhtan, direct (108, note 1), and Common WS. wēht, beside wēht (i-stem), and frequently gesyhō, beside gesihtō, sight, etc.

After j WS. as a rule has only i. So from geong, young (74), is formed the comp. gingra, sup. gingest, not giengra, giengesta, or gyngra, etc. Beside EWS. gīnd there is a rare glend; but geond, without umlaut, is common (74; 338, note 6). Beside EWS. gicleōna, itch, occurs a later gicēna, and so gicēcan, itch; gicideg, purulent.

2) Beside iē (i, y), there occurs in EWS. as umlaut of ēo an iō, which eventually, like all iō’s, becomes ēo, and thus comes to coincide in form with the non-umlanted ēo: dēod, people, geōiode, language, cēōiode, foreign people, cēōiodig, foreign, geōiodan (refl.), join, underēiodan, subject; stēor, helm, stioran, steer, stōra, helmsman; trēow, trust, getriow(i)an, clear oneself; beside cēōiedig, ge-, underēiodan, stieran, stōra, getriewan (but not *geōiede, etc.); LWS. gēōcode, cēōcodig, ge-, underēōodan, stēoran, stēora, getreōowan, etc.

Note 2. Not to be confounded with this phenomenon, which may perhaps be called semiumlaut, and which holds even in the purest WS. is the occurrence in less pure WS. texts, as in Anglian, of occasional (io) ēo, not due to umlaut, instead of iē, ie: āfeorran, corre, heorde, or nīowe, new; hēow, form, for strict WS. nīewe, niwe, etc.
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Note 3 (or 88–100). Occasionally the vowel of the first element of a compound is unaltered by the radical vowel of the second element: hlæf-dige, lady, beside hlæf-ord, lord (43, note 4); ānlie, beside ānīc, peerless; āysīc, āylic, beside āunsīc, āulis, such; āghwile, āghwīc, each, etc. (347); North. ānhīt, anything; nānhīt, nothing (348); and, with further mutilation of the word, endleofan (from *ainilbōn), eleven; enectere, entre (from *āunwintrī), yearling; or the foreign Wyrtgeorn from Vor-īgern, etc.

Note 4. Umlaut of the first syllable of a trisyllabic word is occasionally produced by the vowel of the final syllable (working through umlaut of the vowel of the middle syllable). Here belong especially specimens of the phonetic series a-u-l (50, note 2): geddling, kīms-man (earlier gaddling, from *gadilling, from *gaduling, etc.); then cases like āerende (from *arindī, from *ārundī), errand; āmerge (from *āmirja, from *āmurja, OHG. elmuria), embers. North. ōfīst (43, note 4, from *ofist, from *ofusti, for *of-usti-), etc.

Note 5. Now and then the umlaut of the second element of a compound affects the first, without direct phonetic influence (as in note 3): ānīg, beside ānīge (ānēage, note 7), one-eyed; ānlīpe, -īg, beside ānlīpe, -īg (North. ānlape), sole (compare ON. elhleypur), ārīest, beside ārīest (note 7), dishonor; and probably sem-, semtingses, beside samtenges, adv., together; endemes, equally (for *sōmtengis, āndēmis), etc.

Note 6. The umlaut of the first element of a compound is sometimes lacking, even when the corresponding simple word exhibits it: Cant-ware, Kentishmen, beside Ėnt, Kent; sōm-, sam-, halfr, in compounds like sōm-, samcuē, half alive (OHG. sāmücke), etc.

Note 7. Umlaut is not seldom lacking in derivatives, especially late formations, which take instead the original vowel of the underlying word: folceso, popular; hūsince, cottage; leorning, study, etc. Especially, too, to be noted is the lack of umlaut in the second element of compounds: ānēage, one-eyed; orsāwle, lifeless; sid-feaxe, long-haired; ørcnāwe, evident; orgate, evident; òbēgæate, easily obtained; subst. smalēarm, lower abdomen; poet. syn-caldu, perpetual cold (cf. 279). In LWS, this lack of umlaut occurs particularly in the abstracts ending in -least, like meteleast, want of food, beside EWS. -liest, -lestu.
2) The u- and o/a-umlaut

101. Before a following prehistoric or Prim. OE. u or o a West Germ. a may be changed in OE. to ea, e to eo, i to io.

This phenomenon is especially well marked in the Anglian dialects, particularly in Mercian (160); in WS., on the contrary, it is subject to various limitations, because (1) those vowels have less power to produce umlaut in WS., and (2) the workings of analogy have more frequently obscured the result of such umlaut. In particular, the inflections of WS. show an almost complete leveling of the forms with and without umlaut, chiefly in favor of the latter.

Again, the effect of Prim. OE. û is more extended than that of the ș-vowels, for which reason we consider the two separately. Here the following points deserve attention:

1) Under u-umlaut belong all the cases which have Prim. OE. û as their umlauting agent, regardless of its origin (whether from original û or some other Germ. vowel, especially ő), and regardless of its later development (weakening to ő, later to a, or in middle syllables even to e).

2) The prehistoric ő (whatever its source) regularly appears as historic a, except where it has become û (1, above) or has sunk to an inactive e or i; hence it may be doubtful which of the two forms, o or a, actually produced the umlaut. Accordingly we shall designate this as the o/a-umlaut, meaning by this that it occurs before a historic a which sprang from a prehistoric o (but not from prehistoric u, as in 1).
3) u- and o-umlaut act in general only through a single consonant (individual exceptions are noted below); these consonants differ in their effect upon the umlaut, some facilitating it, while others obstruct it. Most favorable are the liquids (r, l), followed by the labials (f, p); then come the gutturals g and c (h is disregarded because of breaking, 82 ff.), and finally the dentals (d, t, ð, s), which are the most obstructive.

4) Both umlauts are facilitated by a w preceding the affected vowel; here umlaut takes place before consonants which otherwise hinder its occurrence. This group of umlauts seems, too, to be older than the rest.

a) The u-umlaut

102. Besides being produced by the u of the u-stems (270 ff.), the u of the nom. sing. fem. and of the nom. acc. plur. of short-stemmed neuters (253; 238), the u of the wo- and wa-stems (249; 250; 259), and the -um of the dat. plur. (237), etc., the u-umlaut may also be occasioned by the suffixes -oc, -od, -ot, -oð, -or, -ol, -on, -um, standing for older -uc, -ud, -ut, etc. (the latter endings being occasionally found in the manuscripts). Here belongs especially the o in the pret. and past part. of the weak verbs of the Second Class, like sealfode, earlier -ude (412).

103. a to ea. This umlaut is extremely rare in pure WS. prose. The only word in which it regularly occurs is ealn, ale, gen. dat. ealoð, beside rarer aloð (281. 2). Otherwise ea is entirely lacking: arod, brisk; daroð, arrow; waroð, shore; apuldre, apple-tree; stapol, prop;
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hafoc, hawk; hagol, hail; flacor, flying; sadol, saddle; atol, terrible; staľol, foundation; lasor, cockle; also of course in inflections: calu, callow; stalu, theft; caru, care; magu, boy; hagu, haw; lagu, sea; racu, account; sacu, dispute; faľu, aunt, or the plurals salu, halls; trafu, tents; bladu, leaves; baľu, baths; fatu, vessels; dat. bladum, fatum, etc.

**Note 1.** In forms like fealu, fullow; bealu, evil (beside falu, balu), as well as in bearu, grove; nearu, distress; searu, armor, the ea is not the result of u-umlaut, but is transferred from the cases like gen. fealves, bearwes, which exhibit breaking (79 ff.); ceafor, chafer (stem *kafra*-), has ea from palatal + æ (75. 1); forms like ceafu, geatu (beside gatu, 240, note 3), follow the sing. ceaf, geat (75. 1); for sceadu, shadow; gesceapu, destiny, etc., see 76.

**Note 2.** In texts of a less purely WS. cast the ea is somewhat commoner, and in particular is very generally found in the poetry, where it is doubtless due to Anglian originals (2, note 6; 160): cearu, care; dearoľ, arrow; whearoľ, shore; safoľ, strength; eafora, posterity; heafoc, hawk; heafola, head; beadu (and so gen. beadwe, 259), battle; eatol, terrible; heľoľ-, battle, etc., beside caru, daroľ, waroľ, afora, hafola, hafoc, etc. Even the inflectional u occasionally produces ea, as in plur. heafu, treafu, from heaf, ocean, traf, tent.

104. e to eo. 1) u-umlaut of e to eo is the rule in WS. before the liquids r and l: heerot, hart; smeoru, grease; teoru, tar; poet. heorn-, sword; heolor, scales; geolo, yellow; then, with subsequent syncopation of the u, forms like heolstor (Ep. helustras, plur.), hiding-place. Yet the leveling process of analogy does away with the eo in inflection: nom. acc. plur. speru, dat sperum, werum, welum, nom. peru, like sing. spe re spear; wer, man; wela, riches, obl. peran, etc.; so generally meko (beside meolo), meal, like gen. melwes, etc., and giefu, for geofu, gift, like obl. giefe (75, note 3), etc. On the treatment of w eo- see note 2.
2) Before labials, EWS. has usually e, which later becomes normally eo: EWS. efor, boar, in Eforwic, York; hefon, heaven (WS. eofor, heofon); then beofor, beaver; poet. geofon, ocean; sweofot, sleep; compare also eofot, debt; eofolsian, blaspheme (43, note 4), and the foreign eofole, a plant (Lat. ebulus).

3) Before gutturals and dentals the eo is lacking in pure WS.: regol, rule; sprecol, loquacious; edor, enclosure; medu, mead; fetor, fetter; teso, injury. Hence, too, inflectional forms like gebrecu, gebedu, gemetu, gesetu, dat. gebrecum, etc., from gebrec, crash; gebed, prayer; gemet, measure; geset, dwelling, are to be regarded as phonetically regular forms.

Note 1. Texts which are less purely WS., especially the poetical ones, frequently have umlaut-forms with eo: reogol, eodor, meodo, feotor, poet. breogo, prince; meotod, fate; likewise in inflection: geseto, meo, from sing. geset, dwelling; met, measure, etc. Certain texts seem to prefer this umlaut before gutturals rather than before dentals.

Note 2. WS. has wo for wo before r. 1 (1, above) in woruld, worold, worid (but Kent. Merc. R.2 weorold, 72); swołoja, heat. On the other hand, werod and weorod, troop, generally werod, sweet, and the plur. weleras (from *weluras), tips.

4) Only after w does the u-umlaut of e regularly become eo in pure WS., even before consonants which otherwise do not transmit it: hweogol, wheel; sweotol, evident; weotuma, dowry; and before the combination st in sweostor, sister.

105. i to io. 1) After w, the u-umlaut of i occurs even in WS. without reference to the following consonant, but becomes wu in this case (71): ewneu, eucu, living; -hwugu, -hugu, in pronouns like hwaeth(w)ugu,
whatever (344); cwudu, cudú, cud; wudu, wood; wuduwe, widow; wuton, let us; swutol, evident; and before st in swuster (from *swistur), etc.

Note 1. This rule is broken by numerous leveling in the inflection. Sometimes u prevails throughout, as in plur. cwucee, cuexe, for cwise, like c(w)neu, or inf. swugian, sugian, keep silent, for swigian, like pret. swugode; sometimes it is i that is generalized, as in plur. twiugu, from twieg, twig; nom. swipu, whip, like the obl. wipe; or in conjugation, like vitan, know; gewitum, went, etc. In other cases, wu- and wi-forms occur more or less indiscriminately side by side: beside wuduwe, widow, LWS. often widuwe, wideve; beside sweotol (from *swetul, 104. 4) and swutol (from *switul), an occasional switol, etc. LWS. has also wy: wydewe, etc.

Note 2. Only rarely occurs wio, weo; an example is wiolue, weoloc, wheelt.

2) Apart from the position after w, u-umlaut of i to EWS. io, WS. eo takes place, as a rule, only before the liquids (r), l and the labials f and p, that is, before those consonants which also favor the u-umlaut of e to eo (104. 1, 2). Hence EWS. miolue, milk; siolue, silk; siolufr, silver; pret. tiolode, from tilian, attempt; siofun, seven; siofofa, seventh; *siyofofa, bran; pret. ciopode, from cliplan, call, etc. = Common WS. meol(o)c, seoloc, seolofor, teolode, seofon, seofofa, cleopode, etc.

Note 3. Leveling frequently takes place between i and io, eo in inflection; hence, on the one hand, forms like teolian, clicopian, and, on the other, such as tilu, fem. from till, good; plur. clifu, dat. clifum, from cli, cliff (241); pret. plur. drifon, gripoa, etc. (376, note 1; 382), or pret. tiode, bifode, from tillian, bifian, tremble, etc.

Note 4. In LWS. y occurs in certain words for the otherwise stable eo, as in syfon, sytfor.

3) Before other single consonants u-umlaut of i does not regularly take place in pure WS.: gemimor,
familiar; sinewealt (from sinu-), round; finule, fennel; sicor, certain; sicol, sickle; nigon, nine; higora, woodpecker, -tiogoņa, -th (in twentigoņa, twentieth, etc.); huitol, addicted to butting; slider, slippery; niðor, down, etc. So in inflection: brimu, limu, gesliu, hliðu, liðu, dat. brimum, etc., from brim, sea; lim, limb; gesliit, strife; hlið, slope; lið, limb; or u-stems like sidu, custom; friðu-, peace (in proper names like Friðugār); or feminines like sinu, sinew; hnutu, nit; smiðu, smithy; stigu, sty; or preterits plural like stigon, rison (382), or sticode, smiðode (from stician, stick, smiðian, forge), etc.

Note 5. Only quite sporadically do the EWS. texts have io, eo in these cases, and even then the dialect is hardly free from suspicion: Ilomu, leomu, limbs; -tiigoņa, -th; sioldo, custom; niðor, down; ðiosun, ðoesum, to this (Curia Past.), ðiosan, ðesan, this (Oros.). At a later period (Io), eo is not hard to find in texts not strictly WS., especially in the poetry.

Note 6. Beside i and Io, EWS. has occasionally ie and ye in these cases: geslietu, plur. of gesliit, strife; nieðemest, the utmost; or ðysum, to this; nyðemest; hlynigan, lean (Curia Past.). These y's are not rare in LWS.

Note 7. A u-umlaut occurs in EWS. before consonant-combinations in the words siendum, are, beside sindum (427, note 1), and ðiossum, to this, beside ðissum (338); hence LWS. frequently syndon (and after this model synd, synt) and ðyssum (to which conform ðysses, etc.).

Note 8. Syncope of u (144, note 1) is probably indicated by the acc. sing. masc. ðiosne (338), this (LWS. ðisne, ðysue, with unstable l), perhaps from the basic form *pisuna.

b) The o/a-umlaut

106. The o/a which produces this umlaut usually belongs to inflectional syllables, and often interchanges
with other vowels, (æ), e, i, as well as u, in the inflection of the same word. Compare, for example, paradigms like dōm, -es, -e; -as, -a, -um, or hof, -es, -e; -u, -a, -um (238), or lōcian, -ie; -as, -að; -iað; -ude (-ode) and -ade (414). Hence there is often leveling between the different phonetically regular forms of the same paradigm, the umlaut-vowels being generally leveled under those which had remained unaffected. There is consequently more difficulty in establishing fixed rules for the actual occurrence of the o/a-umlaut than for that of the u-umlaut.

107. 1) The West Germ. a suffers no o/a-umlaut in WS. (50; sceāða, robber; sceacan, shake, etc., belong under 76. 2).

2) In like manner, West Germ. e undergoes in general no o/a-umlaut, not even before liquids and labials (101. 3), nor after w: hence fela, much; adv. tela, well; stela, stalk; welia, riches; bera, bear; nefa, nephew; sefa, mind, like plega, play; -breca, breaker; or inf. helan, conceal; beran, bear, like wefan, weave; cweðan, speak; metan, measure, etc.

Note 1. Differently treated are ceole, obl. ceolan, throat, and ceorian, complain; but these are probably rather to be referred to u-umlaut (ceolan for prehistoric *kelun, cf. OHG. kēlun, and ceorian like the pret. ceorude, -ode).

Note 2. Otherwise the umlaut eo for e appears only in texts less purely WS., especially often in the poetry; hence forms like inf. heolan, beoran, part. beorende; weak masculines like weola, seoða; adv. feola, teola, etc.

A collateral form feala, beside fela (feola), occurring also in prose, seems to have formed its vowel on the analogy of fēawa, few (301, note 1).
3) Original wi has in some cases become wu through o/a-umlaut (105. 1), but side by side occur more frequently wio, wie, and the unumlauted wi: tuwa (from *twiwa), twice; wuta, pl. wutan, wise man (from wita, -an), beside wiotan (weotan), wietan, witan, etc.

Note 3. In pure LWS. u is found only in tuwa, and in words where the o/a-umlaut is indistinguishable from the u-umlaut, as in gen. dat. wuda, beside nom. acc. wudu, wood, etc. Elsewhere i prevails: compare, for example, the weak masculines wita, wise man; cwiða, woomb; hwitōn, breeze; swica, deceiver; wiga, warrior; inf. witan, know, etc.

4) If no w precedes, original i before liquids and labials is normally converted by o/a-umlaut to EWS. io, later WS. eo: gen. plur. hiūra (heora, beside an early hiera, later hyra, 334); ondliofa, biliofa, -leofa, food; *cliofa, cleofa (beside clīfa, clīfa), bedchamber, etc.

Note 4. The umlaut is often set aside by analogy: tillan—tillast, -að (pret. tilede), 416, note 14; libban—līfast, -að (416, note 2), beside tillan (tīlian) — tiolast, -að; libban — līlofast, -að (leofast, -að); clīf, clīf, gen. plur. clīfa, etc.

5) Before other consonants than those mentioned, an o/a-umlaut of i is in general not found in pure WS.: rima, border; prica, dot; bīta, bit; clīda, poultice; pisu, obl. pisan, peas; cinu, obl. cinan, chink (278); inf. niman, take, etc.

Note 5. An apparent contravention of this rule is furnished by such words as WS. heonan, hence; beheonan, on this side of; necōn, beneōn, beneath (for older hionan, etc.), beside hinan, nīdan, nyōnan; but more probably these are cases of u-umlaut.

Especially strange is siōōnan (scōōnan; sicōōnan, siōōan, syōōan), after, from *siōōon, with shortening of the 1 (337, note 2).

Note 6. In other cases where io, eo occurs in words of this class, we must assume another dialect: reoma, border; ondwleota, countenance, etc.
f) The So-Called Palatal Umlaut

108. Before c, g, h the diphthongs ēa, ēo, io may lose their second element, being thus simplified to ē (ā), ē, i, or otherwise qualitatively altered. In the earlier editions of this book it was assumed that these changes rested on a ‘palatalization’ of the vowels, caused by a semipalatalization of the gutturals c, g, h, and hence this phenomenon was designated palatal umlaut. But that assumption being no longer tenable, at least in this form (see note 2), the name is also to be rejected; yet since we have no other convenient term by which to describe the phenomenon, the designation has here been retained for the nonce, its rather unsatisfactory character being indicated by prefixing the term ‘so-called.’

In WS. the whole phenomenon is of slight importance, but in the Anglian dialects is developed to a considerable extent (161 ff.). The chief cases in WS. are the following:

1) In place of the eo and io produced from older e and i by breaking before h + consonant, there generally occur, apart from the exceptions noted in 83 and 84, the forms ie or unstable i, y: siex (six, syx), six; eniht, boy; Pīhṭas (Pyhtas), Piets, etc., for seox, eneōht, Peohtas; wrixt, exchange, for *wrīoxl, which might have been expected; etc. (but cf. also 84. 1).

Note 1. The word ‘right,’ with its derivatives, is nearly always ryht in EWS. (so ryhtan, etc.), almost never riht. In LWS., however, the i becomes rather firmly established: riht, rihtan, etc.

2) ea and ēa before h (x = hs), g, c become LWS. e, ē:
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a) seh, saw; sleh, blow; genehhe, abundantly; exh, shoulder; fex, hair; flex, flax; sex, knife; wexan, grow, for EWS. seah, sleah, geneahhe, eaxl, feax, etc.

b) nēh, near; teh, drew; dēh, though; hēhsta, highest; nēhsta, nearest; ége, eye; bēg, ring; bēcen, sign; éca, increase; lēc, locked, for nēah, tehah, dēah, hēahsta, nēahsta, éage, bēag, bēacen, éaca, lēac. Nevertheless, the traditional orthography ea, ēa is preserved even in some of the later texts which already exhibit e, ē.

Notes 2. Actual palatal influence proceeds only from an h, g, or c which has been palatalized in some definite way — for example, by a following i, j in the case of l-unlaut, etc. Here belongs especially the influence which these sounds exert upon a preceding ie, or stable and unstable y (31, note).

109. A similar influence, exerted in the opposite direction, appears in the frequent L.WS. transformation of ea, ēa into e, ē after g, c, sc (here really palatal, according to 206): celf, calf; cerf, slice; gef, gave; get, got; get, gate; gēt, poured; cēs, chose; scēt, shot; gēr, year; ongēn, against; scēp, sheep; gescēd, discretion, etc., for cealf, cearf (79 fl.), geoarf, geat (75. 1), gēat, cēas, scēat (63), gēar, ongēan, scēap, gescēad (75. 2).

Note. This conversion rarely occurs in an open syllable before a guttural vowel, as in gētan, they got, for gěaton (75. 2). Usually the ēa in this position remains: thus, although L.WS. has gēr, scēp, the gen. dat. plur. is mostly gēar, -um; scēapa, -um.

g) Hiatus and Contraction

110. 1) Hiatus within the word is not favored by OE. Hence, whenever a stressed vowel or diphthong collides with an unstressed vowel, whether in consequence of the
vocalization of a semivowel (w), or of the loss of certain consonants (notably h, less frequently w and j) from the interior of a word, or from any other cause, contraction to a diphthong or long vowel usually takes place.

Norw 1. It is no exception to this rule, that inflectional endings beginning with a vowel are, in some cases, attached to stems ending in a vowel, as in hēaum, dat. sing. of hēah, high; Swēoum, dat. plur. of Swēon, the Swedes. The shorter forms, like hēam, Swēom, which almost always run parallel with them, show that the fuller endings have been subsequently appended, after the analogy of stems ending in a consonant.

Norw 2. Since within a paradigm there often occur forms with and without contraction, leveling not infrequently takes place. Thus, for example, beside the older nom. sing. cīēa (111, 1), there appears the later nom. clawu, formed on the analogy of the oblique cases, like gen. dat. acc. sing. clawe; on the contrary, oblique forms like cīēa (for *cīēe) are framed like the nom. cīēa, so that finally two full paradigms, cīēa — cīēa, and clawu — clawe, run parallel to each other (cf. also 111, note 1).

Norw 3. The contractions occasioned by early vocalization or loss of w belong to the Prim. OE. stage; those wrought by the loss of h, together with certain others, arose at a later period. Not only do the oldest texts frequently exhibit uncontracted forms, but they must also be largely postulated for the poetry, as is shown by metrical considerations (cf. Beitr. 10. 475 ff.).

Norw 4. Collision of unstressed + stressed vowel results, not in contraction, but in the elision of the former: thus unstressed e in forms like b-seftan, behind; b-ufan, above; b-ūtan, outside, for be-seftan, be-urfan, be-ūtan; so in the negated verbs n-abban (415); n-ellan, n-yllan (428, note 2); n-ytan (420); add n-istig, fasting, from wist, food, etc.

2) The form which immediately preceded a given contraction is not always to be determined with complete certainty. Hence we shall, in all doubtful cases, here print the Germ. or West Germ. form for the sound which begins the combination.
The following cases occur in WS.:

111. 1) Orig. a + u (from wu or vocalized w) becomes ēa (through Prim. OE. au): ōrēa, threat; clēa, claw, from *pra(w)u, *kla(w)u (beside the analogically formed Ep. thræau, WS. clawu); then, with restoration of the w from the polysyllabic case-forms: strēaw, straw; hrēaw, raw, for strēa, hrēa, from *straw, *strau, etc.

Note 1. As the original declension of words like strēaw we must postulate nom. strēa, gen. *strawes, etc., after which leveling supervened, as in clēa-clawe (110, note 2). A possible accord with uncontracted forms appears in the compound strawberle, strawberry, beside strēa(w)berle.

For forms like strēow see 119, note.

Note 2. Here probably belongs pēa, peacock, which perhaps (in contrast with the parallel form pāwa = Lat. pavo) goes back to Prim. OE. oblique forms like acc. *pa(w)un, from Low Lat. pāvunem, with shortened vowel.

2) Orig. ah + vowel becomes ēa, after the loss of the h (probably through eah + vowel, 84, note 2). Here belong especially the contract verbs lēan, slēan, slēan, òwean (392.2), for *la(h)an, etc.; 1 sing. lēa, slēa, for *la(h)u, etc.; opt. lēa, slēa, for *lahe, etc.; gesēa, joy, for *gifāho; ēa, water, for *ah(w)u, *ahu (compare Goth. ahwa); ēar, ear of grain; tēar, tear, for *ahur, *tahur, etc.

112. Orig. ëh + vowel becomes, after loss of h, OE. ēa (probably through eah + vowel, 84, note 2): nēan, from the vicinity; nēar, nearer, for *nēhun, *nēhur.

Note 1. The stem *klǣwā-, claw, appears in the poetry in the two forms clǣ and clēo (on clēa, from the parallel stem *klǣwā-, see 111. 1). Unchanged ë = Germ. ë occurs in brǣw, brow.
Note 2. In LWS. the OE. ð + w terminating a syllable passes into ēa in brēaw, brow, for *brēa from brēw (note 1); hence comes the plur. brēawas, etc. (113, note 3; 118, note 2).

113. 1) Orig. e + u from wu or vocalized w becomes ēо (through Prim. OE. eu): ðēо, servant; cnēо, knee; trēо, tree, for *пew, *пeu, etc.; more frequently, with borrowing of the w from the polysyllabic case-forms: ðēow, cnēow, trēow.

Note 1. Occasionally EWS. has ѣо for this ēо, especially in MS. H of Cura Past.: ѣиow, etc.

2) Orig. eh + vowel becomes, after the loss of h (probably through older ioh, beside eoh, 34, note 2), EWS. io, beside ēо, WS. ēо. Hence WS. forms like the contract verbs gefēon, rejoice; pleōn, risk; sēon, see (391. 2), from *-fehan, etc.; 1 sing. gefēo, from ind. *-fehu, opt. *-fehæ, etc.; then feoh, cattle — gen. fēоs, dat. fēо, etc. (242); sēо, pupil, gen. sēоn; sveоr, father-in-law; téоðа, tenth; tēоntig, hundred, from *seha, *swehur, *tehu(n)ро, *tehuntig, etc.

Note 2. Obscure vocalism is exhibited by EWS. тиен, infл. тиене, ten; WS. тън, тъне, beside тén, тёне.

Note 3. The final ēw of a syllable is often transformed in LWS. to ōw (instead of ēо, from ēu, cf. 112, note 2; 118, note 2); flēowð, hlēowð, spēowð, instead of flēow, etc. (371, note).

114. 1) Orig. i + u becomes, through Prim. and Early OE. iu, EWS. io (beside rarer ѣо), then WS. ѣо: pron. hiо, siо (334; 337), WS. hēо, sēо (from *hi + u, *si + u, by the addition of the feminine ending -u); nom. acc. plur. neut. Ārīо, Ārēо, three (324), from *pri(j)u (Goth. prija).
2) Orig. i + orig. a, ō blends into a diphthong which fluctuates greatly in EWS. between eo and io, but appears in WS. as éo: EWS. diofol, WS. déofol, devil, from Lat. diabolus; féro (frio), free, and its derivatives, from the stem *frí(j)an-; fréog(e)an, love; féróg(e)an, hate, beside the nouns fréond, friend; fédond, enemy; then bléo, color; fréo, lady; Swéon, Swedes; béo, bee; péo, an insect; céo, chough; presumably also beon, bion (compare Lat. fio), 427. 2.

Note 1. Whether bét, boast; férolos, frelium, from *bl-hát, *frí-háls, belong here or under No. 3, can not be decided.

Hardly here belongs the pret. ēode, went (430), as in this case we have no io-forms (compare also North. ēode L., ēode R. 3, not *lode).

3) Orig. ih + vowel becomes (presumably through broken io, cō, cō, 84, note 2) EWS. io, beside more frequent eo, WS. ēo. Here belong the contract verbs teán, ðéon, wréon, lén, sèon (383), from thián, etc.; pres. 1 sing. tēo, ðěo, etc., from ind. *tīhu, opt. *tīhæ; then twēo, doubt, from *twiho, beside derivatives like twēog(e)an, twéonian, doubt; and perhaps a few others (cf. also note 1).

4) i + e gives ie, later i, ý, in síc, be, from *si(j)æ; presumably also in the masc. ðríce, three, and the pronoun hiæ, they, her (nom. plur. masc. and acc. sing. fem., 324; 334; 337), LWS. sý, ðý, hý (beside frequent disyllabic síc in the poetry).

Note 2. The dialectic occasional forms sèo (427, notes 2 and 3) and hēo (334), beside síc, hiæ, can not be explained with certainty.

115. OE. ð + vowel becomes ð: scōh, shoe, nom. acc. plur. scōs, from *scōhas (242); the contract verbs fón,
hōn, from fōhan (for fāhan with nasalized ā, 395.1); pres. 1 sing. fō, hō, from ind. *fōhu, opt. *fōhā; then ō, clay (early thōhāe, Ep.); hōh, heel, gen. hōs; wōh, perverse, gen. wōs, dat. wōm, nom. sing. fem. wō (295, note 1), etc.

Note. i-umlaut yields ē: 2 and 3 sing. dēs, dēd, dost, does, from *dōis, *dōip; dialectic participle dēn, done, from *dōin (429), etc.
For LWS. ēow from ēw, see 113, note 3.

116. Orig. ā + vowel remains unchanged in scua, beside scuwa, shadow, and generally in būan, build, and its derivatives.

Note. When e or u follows, contraction now and then occurs: opt. pres. plur. būn, past part. gebūn, beside -būn; gen. sing. cu, cūs, beside cūe (gen. plur. cūa), cow (284, note 4); ērūm, dat. plur. of ērūh, coffin.

To Goth. trauan corresponds OE. trūwan, with internal w (unlike OE. būan = Goth. bauan). A similar w appears in the oblique cases of rūh, rau, gen. rūwes, etc. (295, note 1).

117. 1) OE. y + i, e contracts to y: drīs, drī, gen. dat. sing. of drī, magician, from *drīes, *drīe; 3 sing. ōrīd, pret. ōrīde, from *prī(h)īp, *prī(h)īda, from ōrīn, press.

2) OE. y + guttural vowel becomes WS. ēo in réo, covering, obl. réon, from older rīhāe Ep. (presumably following the oblique cases, like gen. *rīhan, etc.).

Note. Forms like ōrīn, press; tīn, teach (408, note 18), for *prīhan, etc., are therefore probably patterned after inflectional forms like 2 and 3 sing. ārīs, ārīd, pret. ārīde (No. 1, above), and such as drīas, drīa, drīum, nom. gen. dat. plur. of drī, must be regarded as new formations according to 110, note 1.
118. 1) Orig. ai (= OE. ā) + vowel becomes ā:

   a) ā + u from vocalized w: ā (Goth. aiw), always, and occasional forms like snā, snow; hrū, corpse, for which more frequently occur snāw, hrūw, etc., with restoration of the w from the polysyllabic cases (but cf. also 134. d);

   b) āh + vowel: rā, roe; gefā, foe; slā, sloe; tā, toe, for rāha Corp., *gifāha, *slāhae, *tāhæ, obl. rān, gefān, slān, tān, beside new formations like tāan, tāum (278, note 2), etc.

Note 1. Certain scholars assume a change from ā + u to ēa in the etymologically very obscure wēa, woe, obl. wēan, which is referred to *wā(w)un (compare OHG. OS. wēwo).

2) In case of i-umlaut appears ē:

   a) for orig. ā + i: 2 and 3 sing. gæst, gæð, from gū-is, etc. (430);

   b) for orig. ā(w)i: ē, law; sæ, sea; hrē, corpse; add gen. sēs, dat. sæ, for *sēes, *sēe; gen. dat. acc. ē, for *ēe, etc.

Note 2. The final ēw of a syllable, derived from aiw, often becomes LWS. ēaw (112, note 2; 113, note 3): ēawfest, religious, beside ēawfæst; hrēaw, corpse (likewise inflected, gen. hrēawes, etc.), for earlier hrēw, hrēw.

119. The diphthongs ea, eo, io, and ēa, ēo, io, whatever their origin, absorb a following vowel. Beside the instances given in 111. 2; 113. 2; 114. 3, compare, for example, cases like hēah, high, gen. hēas, nom. plur. hēa, dat. hēam, weak nom. sing. masc. sē hēa, for *hēa(h)es, *hēa(h)e, *hēa(h)um, *hēa(h)a, etc.; or
the contract verbs tēon, draw; fīeon, flee (384), from *tēohan, etc.; ind. 1 sing. tēo, fīeō, from ind. *teuhu, opt. *teuhāe, etc.

For new formations, like hēaum, beside hēam; smēaung, reflection; ðrēaung, threatening; fīoung, fēoung, hate, beside older smēang, ðrēang, fēong, etc., see 110, note 1.

Norr. The ēaw terminating a syllable frequently becomes LWS. ēow: strēow, straw, for strēaw (111); pret. hrēow, rued, for hrēaw (384, note 2).

3. VARIATIONS OF QUANTITY

120. Thus far it has been tacitly assumed that the quantity of the West Germ. vowels was retained in OE., except where the appearance of contraction, e nthlsis, or the like, leads to the assumption of a change of quantity. However, by a comparison of the later development of the language with the indications of length furnished by the manuscripts (gemination, and especially accent, 8), we are led to the conclusion that a number of changes in the original quantities of vowels (particularly lengthening), hitherto usually referred to later periods of the language, do, in reality, date from OE.

We are not yet in a position to determine with entire accuracy the extent of these changes in detail; for, on the one hand, the indications of quantity in the manuscripts are but scanty; and, on the other, the editors of OE. texts have either reproduced these indications inaccurately, or entirely ignored them.

Note. According to Sweet (who was the first after Bouterwek (North. Evang., p. CXIV) to call special attention to the indications
of quantity in the manuscripts; compare Proceedings of the Philological Society, April 16, 1880, and June 3, 1881), the following editions are trustworthy in this regard: Kemble and Skeat's Gospels, Goodwin's Gēsaei, and Sweet's edition of the Onra Pastoralis and of the Lauderdale MS. of Orosius.

The formulation of precise laws of quantity is rendered more difficult by the circumstance that the phenomena in question vary, in regard to extent and period of occurrence, with the individual dialect. Such being the case, we are obliged to content ourselves with very general statements.

a) Lengthening

121. Final vowels of stressed monosyllables appear as long: hwā, who, from *hwa-(r) (Goth. hwas); swā, so (Goth. swa); sē, the (Goth. sa); hé, he; wē, we; gē, ye; mē, me; ðē, thee, from *he(r), wē(r), *mē(r), etc. (compare Goth. i-s, mi-s, etc.); nē, not (Goth. ni); bi (big, 24, note), by (Goth. bi); nu, now; ðū, thou (Goth. nu, þu); and so probably the proclitic a-, inseparable prefix (for ar-, Goth. us-, OHG. ar-, etc.).

Note. This does not, however, preclude the assumption that these words, when used as enclitics in the spoken language, were sometimes shortened in pronunciation; compare especially be, beside bi, and the inseparable ge-, older gi- (Goth. ga-), which is never lengthened.

122. There is a tendency to lengthen monosyllabic words ending in a single consonant. Under this head fall the following adverbs and particles, which are in part enclitic: áe, but; ær-, from (for example in æfweard, absent, æfwierdelsa, injury); ðf, of; ðn, on (also as a proclitic form of ond, as in ðn-dráedan, fear; ðn-gietan, understand); ør-, Lat. ex-, as in ørsorg, careless; ðn-,
un-, as in ünriht, wrong; üp, üpp, up; in, in; mid, with; gif, if. Furthermore, in wēl, well, bēt, better; the pronouns ic, I; sæt, that; hwaet, what; instr. ðon, hwôn; the copula is, is; besides nouns like fæt, vat; wēg, way; wēr, man; clif, cliff; lōf, praise; gebōd, mandate; adjectives like hōl, hollow; verbal forms like the preterits brēc, broke; sæt, sat, etc.

This tendency extends even to words whose final consonant has been simplified from an original geminate. Thus we meet with mōn, mān, man, plur. mēn; cān, can; ēal, all; gewīt, intellect; eyn, kin, gen. mónnes, calles, gewittes, etc.; then forms like gesāt, sæt, from gesēted, gesēt; sit, sits; ongāt, understands; forgāt, forgets, instead of sitē, ongite, etc.

123. Much less pronounced is the tendency to prolong a short vowel before a single consonant in disyllabic and polysyllabic words; instances of œfer, over, are frequent, and already in Cura Past. occur forms like fātu (plur. of fæt), rāce (dat. sing. of racu), stāfe (dat. sing. of stāf), sāre (opt. 3 sing. of faran), ðōne, the, ōpene, gāderað, etc.

124. The vowels which precede consonant groups are also frequently lengthened. In this respect there is the widest discrepancy between one text and another:

1) before nasal + consonant any vowel is subject to lengthening: hānd, hōnd, hand; lōnd, land; wāmb, wōmb, womb; wāng, wōng, field; ēnde, end; sēndan, send; bīndan, bind; siccan, sink; stíccan, smell; gesūnd, sound; bōndan, (they) bound; münt, mountain; stūnta, blockhead; drūncen, drunken, etc.
2) Before r + consonant: ārn, ōrn, ran; bārnan, burn; īrnan, run; cirn, uproar; wōrd, word; hōrd, hoard; ūrnon, (they) ran; wyrđ, destiny; gēard, house; ēart, thou art; sceōrt, short.

3) Before 1 + consonant: especially ā (for broken ca, 80), as in āld, old, sālde, gave; but also milde, mild; göld, gold; gedēld, patience; sceyld, guilt, etc.

Note 1. None of the prolongations in 1–3 is to be found in Cura Past., if we may judge from the lack of accents (except the isolated ūnder, Cura Past. 33. 7; suīngan, 253. 2; hlerstinge, 165. 3), and they are also rare in the Lauderdale Orosius; on the other hand, they are abundant in LWS. texts, like Ælfric’s Homilies, etc. In the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels they form the rule.

Note 2. The prolongations appear earliest and most frequently before nasal or liquid + sonant; yet combinations whose second element is a surd are not excluded, as is evident from the examples adduced above. Prolongation does not seem to be caused by īl in WS., though that effect in North., as in ālle, all.

Note 3. In the editions of texts it is the custom to retain the instances of these lengthenings as they occur in the manuscripts. For grammatical purposes it is the part of prudence to distinguish assumed secondary lengthenings from etymological length by the acute (the original German recommends the macron; cf. 8, and notes).

b) Shortening

125. As the accents which denote length are comparatively rare, it is not easy to determine with certainty when shortening has taken place. The vowel seems, however (according to Sweet), to be short in ūhote, brōhte, sōhte, from ūhote, brōhte, sōhte (407. 1); yet compare, for example, hōehtnisse, Rush. Matt. 5. 10 =WS. ēhtnisse (68, note 2).

Before other consonant combinations than h + consonant, shortening does not appear, in general, to have
taken place; compare such forms as Crist, gäst, mæst, gitslan, witnlan, fiftig, lœdde, etc.

II. THE VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

126. Only such cardinal phenomena will here be considered as it is necessary to understand before approaching the subject of inflections. The details will be treated at length under the latter head.

A. ABLAUT

127. Original ablaut. Even in the original Indo-European, inflection was often accompanied by a definite variation or gradation in the vowels of certain suffixes (suffixal ablaut). Thus we frequently encounter the ablaut series e: o: 0, the first two terms appearing, for example, in Lat. generis, genus; Gr. γένος, γένες; for *γενεσος, etc. The e of the suffix has, as it would seem, always become i in Germ. (45, note 1), while o became a (45. 4). In place of the third or zero stage, a u frequently occurs (so, for example, in the ablaut of the verb before a liquid or nasal) as a substitute for the lost vowel.

These gradations are, for the most part, no longer fully preserved in OE.; as a rule, the vowel of one stage has been introduced into all the forms of the same word; only now and then do double forms, still preserved, point to the regular interchange which formerly existed. In particular, the i-umlaut of a stem
sometimes enables us to infer the previous existence of an e or i in the following syllable.

**Note by Translator.** Ablaut, sometimes called vowel-gradation, is a variation of vowel among words of the same Indo-European root, as in English *sing, sang, sung,* and Greek *λέγω, λόγος, λέγον* (from *λέγει*), which depends upon causes no longer active or discernible in the separate languages of the family. The phenomena of ablaut, as they appear in the Germanic or other Indo-European languages, are simply inheritances from the Parent Speech. The conditions which produced the phenomena of ablaut can be discerned only by reference, through the methods of comparative linguistics, to the original Indo-European language. The relation, for instance, of German

1. ziehen, zog, gezogen
2. binden, band, gebunden

is clearer in the Gothic

1. tiuhan, tauh, tōhans,
2. bindan, band, bundans,

but is not evident until the systems are reduced to the Indo-European form:

1. denk, douk, dukt,
2. bhndh, bhondh, bhndh.

These two systems are illustrated in Greek by

1. ἔλευ(θ)-σομαι, ἔλευ-λοῦ-α, ἔ-λυ-ον,
2. ἔ-γεν-ετο, γέ-γον-α, γέ-γν-σμαι.

The ablaut of German gießen, goss, gegossen corresponds to Gothic *glutan, gaut, gutum,* and Greek *χέψω, χέφη, χέψα*.

The explanation of ablaut is to be found in the peculiar conditions of word- and sentence-accent in the Indo-European Parent Speech. Thus, by the withdrawal of the stress, the original root-elements *el,* *eu,* *el,* *er,* *en,* *es,* etc., were reduced to *i,* *u,* *l,* *r,* *n,* *s,* etc. Thus Greek *εἰμι, ἔμεν* (orig. *έμεν*), compare Skr. *émí,* Imás. So *χέψα,* χέψα; *φεύγω,* φυγέν; *πείθω,* πείθομαι; *πείδομαι,* πέδων; *δέρκεται,* δρακάν (r > ρα); *αἰθα,* ιθαρός, etc. The cause of differentiation between the e-grade and the o-grade is not so definitely determined (λέγω, λόγος; νέμω, νόμος; λέπω, λόπος; δέρκομαι, δέρνοκα; Gothic *stelgan,* *stalgi*; English *sing,* *sang,* etc.), but it most probably had its origin in a
variety of musical pitch — that is, the e-grade occurred with stress and high pitch, the o-grade with stress and lowered pitch.

The above is condensed from an article on ablaut by Benjamin I. Wheeler in Johnson’s Universal Encyclopedia, to which the student is referred.

128. The most important ablaut-changes, thus deducible, which have left perceptible traces in OE., are the following:

1) Before original s (Germ. z, OE. r, but often lost when final) in the neut. suffix -os, -es (as in γένος, genus), Germ. -az, -iz; see the examples in 288 ff. The i-stage is found in forms like sige, bere, older sigi, bēri, from * sigiz, * bariz (182); or North. lembo, Ps. North. cælf, from * lambiz, kalbiz (182; 133. b). Parallel with the latter are WS. lombo, cælf, without umlaut, and the longer forms like sigor, hrōdror, lombor, etc. (182, note).

2) Before n in the suffix -ono, -eno, Germ. -ana, -ina, of the past participle of strong verbs. The i-stage is preserved in a few umlaut forms like ægen, cymen (378, note 1).

Norrs 1. The gradation was at one time especially apparent in the suffix of the weak declension, -en, -on, -n, Germ. -in, -an, -un, but has been almost entirely obliterated in OE., the i-stage in particular (as in Goth. hanins, hanin) being totally effaced.

3) Before l in the suffix -olo, -elo (Germ. -ala = Prim. OE. -ul), -ila. The two stages are recognizable in double forms like déagol and diegol, secret, from the basic forms * daugola- and * daugila-.

4) Before r, more particularly in the suffix of nouns of relationship; for these in detail cf. 285.
THE VOWELS

Note 2. Even foreign words are frequently recast to bring them into conformity with the suffixal ablaut of OE.: thus OE. fiecele, torch, points to older *fakila, an ablauted form from Lat. facula. On the other hand, Lat. i, e, a is not seldom represented by u, o: persoe, peach; esol, ass; butor, butter; munuc, monk; from Lat. persicum, asilus, butirum, monachus, etc.

129. Later ablaut. Beside these older gradations, others of more recent date have sprung up in OE. itself, presumably depending upon the variable strength of the secondary ictus, but also in part upon the vowels of the adjacent syllables (a certain principle of alternation between palatais and gutturals being observed in the sequence of vowels). In particular, there is a tendency to convert the o, u, of a final syllable into e, whenever the word is increased by a syllable taking the secondary stress, and containing a, o, or u. Thus we generally have rodor, heaven; heorot, hart; staðol, foundation; the gen. dat. sing. rodores, heorotes, staðoles, -e; while the plur. is usually roderas, heoretas, staðelas, -u, -um, the verb staðelian, etc. Here belongs also the vowel-change in the preterit of the Second Class of weak verbs, like sealfode, plur. sealfedon (412), and no doubt originally in the abstracts ending in -ung, -ing, etc.

B. APOCOPE OF FINAL VOWELS

130. Indo-European a, o (Germ. a), when final, disappears entirely: on, Germ. (Goth.) ana, Gr. ãva; æf-, unstressed of, of, Germ. aba, Gr. ãvá, etc. In particular, many examples might be adduced of the nom. acc. sing. of the o-stems (235 ff.), basic forms -oz, -o(m).
The o has been retained in cases of early contraction, as in frío, frëo, free, stem frijo- (297, note 2).

Note. A syllabic i preceding the a, o (45. 8) becomes final without change, and afterwards passes into e (44): onde, ríce (246), earlier endi, ríci, from *andia, *ríkia, etc.

131. The originally final -e also disappears completely, and without leaving any trace of its influence upon the vowel of the preceding syllable. The chief instances are:

1) the voc. sing. masc. of the o-stems, like döm (233), compare Gr. λέγε;

2) the imp. sing. of strong verbs, like ber, help (367), compare Gr. φέπε;

3) the ind. pret. 3 sing. of strong verbs, like bær (367), wät (420), compare Gr. oìdé.

The e before any consonant that was retained in Germanic was changed, probably in the Germ. period, to i (45. 2, note 1), and its subsequent history is that of the latter sound.

132. Original i and u were uniformly preserved in Prim. OE. To these were added a secondary i and u, arising partly through a change of quality (such as that which led to the development of i from e before consonants, 131), and in part produced by a shortening of the corresponding final long vowels, i, ō; or, in the case of u, by a vocalization of consonantal w. These various i’s and u’s of Prim. OE. were all subject to the same rules of apocope, apocope being determined partly by the quantity of the immediately preceding radical syllable (when the word was originally disyllabic)
and partly by the number of syllables in the word. The principal cases may be classified as follows:

133. Prim. OE. i is preserved after a short radical syllable, first as i, and afterwards as e (44); it disappears after a long radical syllable, and as the final of words containing more than two syllables:

a) Original i, for example in the nom. acc. sing. of the i-stems (compare Gr. τόλεις, -ν): of short stems, the noun wini, wine (262), adj. bryci, bryce (302?); of long stems, the noun wyrm (265). Other cases of apocope are: the dat.-loc. sing. of consonant stems, like fet, from *fōti (281); compare Gr. τοῖς; among polysyllables, hrōðor (289), guman, heortan, tungan (276); datives plur. like ṣǣm, twǣm, basic forms *paimiz, etc.; comparative adverbs like lēng (323), basic form *lăngiz (compare Lat. magis, and for the loss of the z see 182). Of verbs: the ind. 1 sing. of the verbs in -mi (426 ff.), like dōm, do; and the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of all verbs, like 2 sing. hilpis, -es(t), 3 sing. hilp(e)ī, 3 plur. helpaī, their basic forms ending in -is, -ipl, -anpl (compare Skr. bhārasi, -ati, -anti, from y'ber, bear).

b) Prim. OE. i from original e, for example in the nom. plur. of consonant stems, like hnyte, styde (282), and fēt, mīys (281), from *hnutiz, *hnutez; *fōtiz, *fōtez, etc. (compare Gr. τοῖς); so also in the polysyllables: guman, tungan (276). Finally, in the nom. acc. sing. of the neuter es-stems: short stems, bere, sige (Goth. bariz-, sigis); long stems, Ps. North. cælf, calf; North. lēmb, lamb, etc. (288 ff.).
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e) Prim. OE. ı from original i no doubt existed in the imp. sing. of verbs with thematic jo (372; 398. ı; compare Goth. hafei, nasei, sökel, etc.): with short stem, hefe, nere, etc. (367; 409); with long stem, sec, hier, etc. (409). The ı has regularly disappeared in the nom. sing. of the long and polysyllabic ða-stems, like gierd (257), and gyden, wiergen (258. ı). Every other final Germanic i is preserved in OE., even after a long syllable, in the form of ı, e: thus in the opt. pret. 3 sing. of strong verbs like hulpe (basic form *hulpi, Goth. hulpi); or in the instr.-loc. sing. of o-stems like döme, older dömi (from *dömi, compare Gr. ἐκεῖ). Yet in the so-called dative hām (237, note 2) we perhaps have the regularly developed locative case of a long o-stem, the -i, -e of the other forms being then due to the analogy of the short stems.

Note 1. Exceptions to the rules for apocope are presented by the adverb best, better (Goth. batis), for which we should expect *bête; and by the adverb ymbe (beside ymab), with the e preserved.

Note 2. Even when the ı is lost, there is ı-umlaut of the stem-syllable which immediately preceded. The only exceptions are the verbal forms com. dömi, plur. dö∂ (for *dömpi).

134. Prim. OE. u is retained as -u, -o in originally dissyllabic words after a short stem, but disappears after a long stem:

a. Germ. u, for example in the nom. acc. sing. of the a-stems: in the short-stemmed nouns, masc. sunu, fem. sunu, next, seona (270: 274: 275), adj. ucut (303): in the long-stemmed nouns, masc. feld, fem. bound (272: 274), adj. heard (303, note 2). Of all these the basic forms and in -uz, -u/m, -u (compare Goth. sunus, -u, Alan, etc.).
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b) Prim. OE. u from Germ. ö = orig. ä, for example in the nom. sing. fem. of the ā-stems; thus in the short-stemmed giefu, adj. hwatu; in the long-stemmed ār, gōd (252; 293; compare Gr. χόρα, etc.); or in the nom. acc. plur. neut. of the o-stems, as in the short-stemmed noun fatu, adj. hwatu, and the long-stemmed noun word, adj. gōd (238; 293).

c) Prim. OE. u from Germ. ö = orig. ō appeared in the ind. pres. 1 sing. of the verb, and there became permanent, even after long stems: thus beoru, faru, but also helpu, bindu. This u has, however, been almost completely displaced in West Saxon by the optative termination -e (355).

Note. The j which originally preceded (45. 8) does not prevent the apocope; hence sibb (257), cynn (246), etc., from *sibb(j)u, *cynn(j)u. For the effect of a preceding l (45. 8) see 135. 8.

d) Prim. OE. u from vocalized w (137; 174. 2, 3): for example nom. bearu, bealu (249), gearu (300) (the feminines like beadu, and the long-stemmed mǣd, lǣs (260), stand for *bad(w)u, *mǣd(w)u, from -o, etc., according to 173. 1; 134. b).

135. In words of three or more syllables, the treatment of the final u is somewhat variable. It is regularly cast off in trisyllabic words having the radical and the middle syllable both short, but is retained after a long radical and short middle syllable. After a long middle syllable it appears to be regularly lost. The principal cases are the following:

1) Feminines of the a-declension: short stems, like firen = Goth.fairina, or tigol, from Lat. tegula (254. 2);
of the long stems, the abstract nouns with the termination -ōu, Goth. -IPA, like strēngōu (255. 3). The abstract nouns in -ung, on the other hand, always lose the u without regard to their quantity: mōnung, warning; lēasing, leasing, etc. (254. 2).

Note. The original ĥā-stems have conformed to the type of the long stems: hyrnetu, leifetu, liegetu (258. 1).

2) The nom. acc. plur. of neuters of the o-declension: short stems like reced, werod; long stems like niētenu, hēafodu (243. 1; cf. also 144. b); and especially the stems in -io (45. 8), like rīcu, from *rīciu, basic form *rīkiō (246).

3) The nom. sing. fem. and nom. plur. neut. of adjectives: short stems like micel, mōnīg, varying with micelu, mōnigu; long stems like hālīgu (296, and note 1; cf. 144. b); and particularly, again, the stems in -io, like grēnu (298), from *grōniu.

136. The vowels of other final syllables than those already instanced do not undergo apocope in OE. In particular, all vowels are retained which are still protected in OE. by a final consonant, for example, the u, o in the pret. 3 plur. of verbs: hulpun, nēredun, -on (364).

C. FURTHER CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS IN CONSEQUENCE OF APOCOPE

137. When w becomes final after consonants and short vowels, it is vocalized to u, o; after long vowels diphthongs it either remains unchanged or is lost altogether. For details see 134. d; 174.
138. If a mute followed by a liquid or nasal becomes final, the liquid or nasal falls under the operation of a universal phonetic law, according to which it assumes vocalic character; that is, acquires the power, peculiar to the vowels, of forming a syllable. This applies, for example, to the r, l, n, m in Goth. akrs, fugis, taikus, maijms (Braune, Goth. Gram. 27). In OE. these vocalic liquids and nasals often generate before them an auxiliary vowel. Thus the Gothic forms already cited become in OE. æcer, fugol, täcen, māðum. The following are the special rules which apply to these phenomena:

139. Such an auxiliary vowel occurs with most frequency before r. The vowel is regularly e when the preceding syllable contains a palatal vowel, but is generally o, in the oldest texts and in the dialects u, less frequently (and usually in the later documents) e, when the preceding vowel is guttural: winter, finger, fæger, æcer, caester (from *caester, 75. 1), but ator, tōdor, hlūtor, clūstor, etc.; compare Goth. wintrus,.figgrs, dagrs, etc.

Note. Only in the oldest texts, like the Epinal MS., does the r often remain unchanged: ātr, spaldr, cefr, along with ledfr, mapuldur, etc.

140. Vocalic l often remains unchanged, especially after dentals: nädl, needle; spätli, spittle; setl, settle; hūsl, housel; cæxl, shoulder; nægl, nail, etc.; yet e is sometimes found after a palatal vowel, as well as u, o after a guttural, without a fixed law: æppel, apple; tempel, temple; fugol, fowl, etc.
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141. Vocalic n usually remains unchanged after a short syllable: hræfn, raven; stefn, voice; regn, rain; sēgn, thane; wægn, wain, though -en is sometimes found. After a long syllable -en predominates: tācen, token; bēacen, beacon; wēpen, weapon. Still more rare is -in, as in frægin, asked; sēgin; or, especially North., -un, -on: bēcun, bēcon, sign; tācon, sign; fācon, malice; ymmon, hymn.

142. Vocalic m usually remains without change: drosm, vapor; bōsm, bosom; fæm, embrace; botm, bottom; wæstm, growth; yet wæstum, etc., are found, and mārum, jewel, is the usual form.

Note (on 138-142). Syllables with vocalic r, l, m, n are frequently not reckoned as full syllables in poetry (cf. Beitr. 10. 480 ff.).

D. SYNCOPE OF MIDDLE VOWELS

143. By ‘middle vowels’ we understand the vowels of those syllables which lie between the stem and the final syllable of polysyllabic words.

The middle vowels of Germanic are frequently syncopated in OE. Their retention or elision depends, however (like the treatment of originally final vowels), in part on the quantity of the preceding radical syllable, in part on the number of middle vowels which the word originally contained.

144. a) Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopated after a long radical syllable; after a short radical syllable this syncopation does not take
place: compare forms like gen. ē̆lēs, ē̆ngles, ē̆dōfēs, ē̆ōres, ē̆owres, ē̆agnēs, ē̆ăfēdēs, from ē̆ōlē, ē̆ngelē, ē̆dōfolē, ē̆ōerē, ē̆owĕrē, ē̆ăgenē, ē̆ăfōdē, with such as stādōlēs, rōdōres, ĕōtōnes, nācōdēs, etc.

b) In the older texts the trisyllabic forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. in -ō are exempt from the operation of syncope: thus adj. ē̆delu, cē̆oweru (296, note 2), subst. niē̆tenu, ē̆ăfōdu (243.1), along with ē̆ldē, ē̆owre, ē̆ăfēdēs, etc. This rule does not apply, however, to the feminines ending in -ō̆ (255.3), which come under the principle laid down in a.

c) Notwithstanding the short radical syllable, the following words regularly exhibit syncope: micēl, gret̄, and usually yfel̄, evīl̅, thus gen. micles, yfīles; but micēlu, beside micēl (296, note 1), and yfel̄u, beside yfel̅, in accordance with b.

Note 1. This older principle of syncopation is often violated, especially in later documents, through the influence of analogy. Particularly are middle vowels frequently restored after a long radical syllable, in imitation of the disyllabic forms of the same word: thus ē̆dēles, ē̆dēfolēs, to agree with the nominatives ē̆ēlē, ē̆dōfolē, etc. Especially is this the case in the past part. of strong verbs (gebundēnē, geholpēnē, later -ē̆nē) and the adjectives terminating in -ig (hālīges, etc., for older hālīges). More rarely do short stems exhibit syncope; this occurs principally and regularly in the r-cases (293.1) of adjectives (hwătērē, gen. dat. sing. fem.; hwătērā, gen. plur.); in the acc. sing. masc. (hwătēnē); and usually in the comparative (glǣdērā, hwătērā, etc., 307).

Note 2. Where mute + liquid or nasal precedes the middle vowel, there is irregularity as regards syncopation: ē̆fnē and ē̆fnēdē, etc.; see in particular 404; 406, note 5.

145. A vowel long by position is usually protected against the operation of syncope. So, for example,
at least in the earlier language, adjectives in -ise, like *mennisc*, together with their derivatives, remain unchanged even in their trisyllabic forms; the majority of superlatives, like *ieldesta*, 309 ff. (but always *hiehsta*, *niehsta*); nouns like *haerfest*, *cornest*, and all with liquid or nasal + consonant, like *færelrd*, *fætels*, together with all those in which the middle vowel is followed by a geminated consonant, like *çondelle*, *byrdenne* (258. 1), and the derivatives in -çttan, like *roccettan*, etc. (403, note), even when the *tt* is simplified (231. 4).

Note. In LWS. syncope is more frequent. Thus in the superlative (311), and especially after the simplification of a geminated liquid or nasal (231. 4); comparatives like *æftra*, beside *æftæra*, from *æftærra* (314, note 1); gen. dat. sing. fem. *ōðre*, gen. plur. *ōðra*, beside *ōðre*, *ōðra*, from *ōðerre*, *ōðerra* (296, note 3). Similarly in words which were originally compounds, like *dœftele*, beside *dœfol-lec*, from *dœfol-lic*.

146. Middle vowels which were originally long are sometimes synocopated in an open syllable, when preceded by a long radical syllable; in such cases the vowel had probably become short in Prim. OE. Here belong, for example, the adjectives in -ig, from -ig, the adjectives denoting material in -en, from -in (296), and perhaps the gen. plur. of weak nouns ending in -na, beside -ena (276, note 1), etc.

147. When a word contained two middle vowels, that is, was originally tetrasyllabic, the second is always synecopated without regard to the quantity of the radical syllable, provided it was originally short and has not been rendered long by position: thus, for example, accusatives like *idelne*, *diegolne*, atolne, *swicolne*,...
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œowerne, uncerne, fægerne, āgenne, hāligne, etc.; or gen. dat. sing. fem. and gen. plur. like idelre, -ra; swicole, -ra, etc.

148. In connection with these laws concerning syncope stands the treatment of words which have developed secondary vowels according to 138 ff. If the radical syllable is long, this secondary vowel does not penetrate into the interior of the word when a termination is added; thus we have wintres, fingres, temples, tācnes, mādnmes, beside winter, finger, tempel, tācen, mādum. After a short radical syllable the vowel occurs more frequently, at least before r; fæger, weder, waeter, for example, have usually gen. fægeres, wederes, waeteres, etc., though the older forms, such as waetres, do now and then occur.

149. The elision of a vowel often takes place in OE. in syllables which have become final by the loss of an original vowel ending. Especially important as regards inflection are the rules for the formation of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of verbs (359).

C. THE CHIEF DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

150. The vowel-scheme of the OE. dialects, exclusive of West Saxon, is distinguished by the following general peculiarities:

1) In place of WS. æ = Germ. ë, West Germ. a (57; 58), stands the vowel ē: strēt, street; red, advice; slēpan, sleep; with i-umlaut, mērsian, praise, etc. R.1 fluctuates between ē and ë.
2) WS. ie, ie (41) is wanting, and hence the same is true of the unstable i, ỳ (22; 31); what equivalents represent them will be shown in the course of the following paragraphs. For certain ie’s of a different origin, see, for example, 166, note 7.

3) The diphthongs ea, eo, io, as well as the corresponding long ones, are not so accurately discriminated as in WS.; in Northumbrian especially there is great confusion between ēa and ēo. Kentish is distinguished by a preference for ia, io, instead of the older ēa, ēo.

Note 1. The preference for ēa is characteristic of Northumbrian (L. and Rit.); hence the short is retained in L. almost entirely, and even the long ēa is not so very frequently replaced by ēo: bēom, tree; souē, many; sorē, ear; ëostro, Easter, etc., for bēam, etc. On the other hand, ea is very often written for short eo (though there is great variation in detail) and in general ea may be regarded as the rule, instead of eo: steorra, star; meard, reward; ëar, animal; bēada, offer; lēof, dear, for WS. steorra, *meord, ëor, bēodian, lēof, etc. Such is also the case in Rit., while R. ² has a remarkably large number of eo’s for ēa, and relatively few ēa’s for éo.

Note 2. In Mercian, ea and éo are much better discriminated, at least in R. ¹, while Ps. varies somewhat frequently.

Ps. approximates to Kentish by the appearance of a few io’s for eu, as in túla, many; hiofen, heaven. beside feolu, heofen, and especially of many io’s for éo: biod, table; bēodian, offer; ëòd, mouse; ësw, servant; hiold, held; hwiol, wheel; hof, dear, and even hnoedes, approach, for dial. nēolfēcan = WS. nēofēcan (165, note 3).

Note 3. In Kentish, ea and éo are but slightly confused.

On the other hand, éo passes into io at an early date, and thus continues with the older io (notes 4 and 6), though eo still continues to prevail alongside of io in these cases: ciortan, cat; ciort, pidecean; hlaite, horse; gīft, gift; hiofen, heaven; bēodian, offer: dior, animal; lūht, dear; lūht, light, for WS. ecorfan, bēodian, etc.

Ps. ío appears in io (yu), especially in Charters; compare forms like ëalh, vatte; rīht, right; wírraid, world; giaban, gīve; hlaebencie,
heavenly (Charters), for feoh, reohht, weorold, geofan, heofenlic; or áhríasð (K. Gl.), from hréosan, fall (see also note 6).

For ea occurs now and again la, ya: siaro-, dévice (Metra); smýagene (K. Gl.), from sméergean, investigate; likewise io, as in fornión, almost (K. Gl.), for fornêan.

Note 4. The older io is kept intact in North., especially in R.², except that io as the result of contraction frequently interchanges with eo, as in fréond, beside friond, friend; otherwise eo is only sporadic, and then is probably sometimes replaced by ea (note 1).

Note 5. In Mercian (R.¹ Ps.) the older io is sometimes preserved, but for the most part is replaced by eo: thus forms like hiorde and heorde, shepherd; hiora and heora, gen. plur. (334); siofun and sesfun, seven; friond and feond, enemy, stand side by side.

Note 6. Coincidence of io and éo occurs also in Kentish, but, in accordance with note 3, io preponderates by far (yet éo is found as a contract diphthong, as in fréond, friend), or else ia, according to the change described in note 3: Wiahtrēð; gen. sing. wiada, of wood; biån, be (427. 2); the pronouns hiån, sía (334; 337), for Wiaht-, wioda, bióu, etc.

Note 7 (on notes 1-6). The basic forms éu and íu, which are presupposed to underlie éo and io, are preserved not only in the oldest documents (cf. Beitr. 18. 411 ff.), but also (beside the usual éo, io) frequently when final, before w, even in certain later Anglian texts: thus in R.¹ the pronouns hiú, siú (334; 337); þríuwa, thríce; cnéú, knœ; tréow, treo; ðēu(w), servant; lærēu(w), teacher; látērw, leader; in L. hiú, biú; the neut. ðríu, threo; the pron. íu, etc. (332; 335); ðuíuwas, maid servants; cnéu, treu, dat. cnéum, etc.; Rit. ðíú, íu (cf. also 156. 5); also frequently ðiūl, etc., dewl, in L. and Rit. In R.² such forms are quite lacking, and so in Ps. with the exception of sporadic occurrences which perhaps belong here, such as getrēwlice, trēw, ðíwgen, which perhaps are to be interpreted according to 156, note 3.

4) The sound œ is of more extensive occurrence. Northumbrian has it throughout (even where it is short, oœ, dœhter, œxen, 93); the long sound occurs at least usually in Ps.: dœman, bœc, speed (27; 99), while R.¹ varies between é and œ.
151. 1) For WS. æ (49), Kent. and Ps. have e: deg, day; brec, broke; set, sat, etc. The same is the case in the minor Mercian texts, while in R.¹ æ prevails, as in WS. and North.

Note. In the Old Kentish Charters, however, æ is frequently preserved, or indeed predominates.

The Ps. regularly has æ only in the proclitics æt, at; Ææt, that; otherwise only sporadically. On the other hand, æ is in the Ps. the normal representative of the WS. ie as i-umlaut of ea before l or h + consonant, as in ealdra, older; healdan, bow; næht, night; næhtig, mighty (159. 3); and of the so-called palatal umlaut of ea, as in sæh, saw; dægus, days (162. 1).

The first two correspondences are also Old Kentish, while subsequently e sometimes takes their place: ealdra, elmæhtig, etc. (but sæh, dægus, as in WS.).

In like manner Kent. æ, the i-umlaut of a < ai (on WS. æ = Germ. æ see 150), passes gradually into e: K. Gl. dælan, distribute; ænig, any; mæst, most = WS. Ps. North. dælan, ænig, mæst; the Old Kentish Charters have likewise often preserved this older æ.

2) For WS. a in an open syllable (50), Ps. and North. often have the ea resulting from u-(and o/a-)umlaut (160).

3) There is no breaking of a to ea before l + consonant in Ps. and North., and only traces of it in R.¹ The same is also true before r + consonant in North., inclusive of R. The place of ea is occupied by a (158).

e, Œ

152. The occurrence of the older e (19. 1) is limited by the more frequent u- and o/a-umlaut in Kent. and
Angl. (160); the e which in the other dialects is uumlaut of o is wanting in North. (93; 150. 4). In its stead occurs an e which, on the whole, is foreign to WS.:

a) for WS. ie from palatal + e (157. 2);
b) for WS. ie when i-umlaut of ea (159); for æ as a substitute for this e, see 159;
c) as Anglian simplification of eo before gutturals (164).

Note. In texts like R. L, etc., e frequently interchanges with æ, without any fixed rule.

153. Long e corresponds to WS. ē only in the cases contained under 21. 3 (but occasionally in R., as described in 21. 2). It is otherwise

a) the representative of WS. æ from Germ. æ (150. 1);
b) the Kentish representative of WS. æ from ai (151. 1);
c) i-umlaut of ea (159. 4);
d) Anglian simplification of ea (163) and eо (165) before gutturals.

\( \nu, \tilde{\nu} \)

154. A distinctive characteristic of late Kentish is the substitution of e, ē, for y, ū: embe, desig, eppan, gelden; ontēnan, brēcō, for WS. ymbe, dysig, yppan, gylden; ontīnan, brīcō. This substitution is as yet almost unknown in the older charters.

Note. As in Kent, the sounds of ē, æ, ū gradually coincide as ū (150. 1; 151. 1), it may also happen that, contrariwise, the traditional sign y is written for the sounds of e and æ: cyrran, for cērran (WS. cierran; 157. 2); yfter, for efter (WS. æfter; 151. 1); mēgō, lyce, for mēgō, lēce (WS. mēgō, lēce; 150. 1); lēssa, for lēssa (WS. lēssa; 151. 1).
155. With regard to the diphthongs, the following facts remain to be noted in addition to the statement made in 150. 3:

1) The lack of an especial i-umlaut of io, io (159. 5).
2) The regular simplification of ëa, ëo, and io before gutturals in Angl. (161 ff.).
3) North. also possesses the diphthong ei: seista, sixth; neista, next; heista, highest (beside sesta, nêsta, hêsta); ceiga, call, etc.; and has ai for æ: fraigna, enahtas, for fraegna, enæhtas.

Note. For Kent. diphthongs whose second element is -l from -g, see 214. 2.

Influences of w (71–73)

156. 1) In the North. dialect, w often changes a following e, and even at times an æ, into œ; and in like manner an ê into œ:

a) older e: wæg, swoefn, wæl = WS. weg, swefn, wel;

b) umlaut-e (or ë) : cuoella, tueîlf, wœnda = WS. cuellan, tueîlf, wœndan;

c) ê (= WS. æ, 150. 1): huær, wœde, wœpen = WS. hwæer, wæde, wæpen; lengthened e in wœ = WS. wê;

d) æ in cwœð, hwœðre = WS. cwæð, hwæðre.

Note 1. For orthographical variants see, for example, Paul, Beitr. 6. 38, 39.

2) weo, which persists in WS. (71), usually becomes North. wo: words, words, word, worpa, suord = WS.
weorðan, weorðian, weord, weorpan, sweord; but likewise cwoda, wosa = WS. cweðan, wesan, from *cweorðan, *weosan (160).

Note 2. Notice WS. L. Rit. wor(o)ld, in contrast with Kent. Merc. R.² weorold (72).

3) In a similar manner wea (160, note 2) often becomes wa in North., but sometimes wæ: waras, wæras, plur. of wer, wæ, man, WS. weras, Ps. weoras; wala, wæla, riches, WS. wela, Kent. Ps. weola; so also tuā (beside tuia), doubt.

4) In North. and Ps. wio, after becoming wu (71), becomes, when it experiences i-umlaut, in contrast with WS., wy in the words wyrðe, worth; wyrsa, worse; wyrresta, worst, and in such derivatives as wyrsian, deteriorate, etc.; but see also 164.2. For WS. wudwe, widow, Ps. has widwe, North. widua L., widuwe R.², etc.

5) The groups ēow and āow are frequently simplified in North. to ēw (ēo, ēu, etc.) and āw (io, in): thus in L. ōewer (ōeuerring, ōe, ōer, etc.), four; hrēuces, rues; getrēweð, believes; preterits like biēwun, blew; hrēwun (hrēuun), rowed (396, note 5), for and beside ōewer, etc.; at the end of a syllable: cnēw, knee; trēwna (trēuna), trees (gen. plur.); trēwufast, faithful; getrēudon, believed; preterits like biēuun, blew; oncnēu (-cnēw, -cnēaw), knew, etc.; giwiga, giuia, desire (also pres. part. giuwende, pres. plur. giuaud); ōiwa, ōiua (or ōiwa, etc.), maid servant, beside ōiowa. Ōiwa (or ōiowa, etc.); niwe, niue, new; gen. dat. hiwes, hiwe, color; pron. ōiwh (iuh, also iuh), you;
iwer, (iuer, iur), your; ïw, you (332; 335); imp. gitriu, believe; add in Rit.: gitriwe, faithful; triwilas, faithless; gitriwia, believe, etc.

Note 3. Likewise ëaw is shortened to ëw, etc., though rarely: L. ungleu, unwise; sceâware, spy; sceâwung, observation; ëwunga, manifestly, for -gleaw; sceâware, -ung; ëawunga, etc. (or for North. -gleow, etc., derived from these, 150, note 1).

Note 4. Outside of North. such shortened forms are rarer; compare, for example, Ps. treâw, tree, for WS. treow, etc. (150, note 7).

Note 5. North. ëw, ïw are probably only graphic abbreviations of euw, iuw (150, note 7).

Influence of a Preceding Palatal (74–76)

157. 1) Original j generally causes no diphthongization in Angl.

Note 1. Ju in Merc. remains unchanged: lung, gung, young; in guð, guguð, youth Ps.; iug; in guð; ëu, gë, formerly R.¹; iug, beside ging Chad; North. has mostly ging, gigoð, beside comp. giungra L., giung Rit.; Kent. has lung, beside giong, gigoð.

For older jo compare North. geoce, yoke L., ioce, iwoce Rit., Merc. ioe R.¹; but Kent. geoce, beside ioe. For WS. gëomor, sorrowful, Ps. has géamor.

Orig. ëa = WS. gëa appears in Angl. Kent. as gë in gë, yea; gër, year; to WS. pron. gë, gie, ye corresponds Angl. gë, beside gie, gi L. R.², and always gie Rit.; similarly to WS. ëu, giu, géo, formerly, North. gé(e), gië(e), gi L., gé(e), gi R.², gie Rit.

The original vocalism of the other words beginning with j is too doubtful to permit of the formulation of decided rules of correspondence.

2) e is not diphthongized in Kent. Angl. after g, ë, së; compare, for example, forms like gefan, geldan, -getan, scele = WS. giefan, gieldan, -gietan, scele (for forms like geofan see 160); or, for umlaut-ë: gëst, gërd, cèrran = WS. giest, gierd, cierran, etc.
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Note 2. Ep. has an exceptional past part. gibben, given, and Rit. a few i’s in the same stem: gif, gifende, the noun gif, etc. (Lindelöf 26).

The same holds for Kent. Angl. e = Germ. ae (150. 1): gēfon, gēton, scēp (North. scip) = WS. gēafon, -gēaton, scēap; yet North. scēacere, roffer L. R. 2

3) There is likewise no change of e (= WS. æ) to ea in Kent. Merc.: gef, get, ceester, sceł, scect = WS. geaf, ceaster, etc.; on the other hand, R. 1 (151) oscillates between æ and ea, like North.: cæster, gæfel, etc., beside ceaster, geat, sceal (and seal) R. 1; North. has also the orthography eæ, as in ongeægn, ætgeædre, ongeæt, etc. L.

4) Unknown to the other dialects is the diphthongization in North. geōnga, go (for gōngan). Before guttural vowels e likewise follows sc more frequently in North. than in the other dialects: scēadan, sceomu, etc.

The Breakings (77–84)

158. 1) Instead of ea before r + consonant, North. frequently has a: arm, warp, warð, beside earm, etc.; R. 1 has beside the more usual ea a few æ’s (as in pærı, beside pærı) and a’s (warð, and especially the frequent farwan, beside gearwan, 408, note 2).

2) The breaking of a to ea before l + consonant is unknown in Merc. North. (but not in Kentish), being replaced by a: all, fallan, haldan, salt; an exception is North. scalla, beside sella = WS. siellan (80, note 2). R. 1 varies between a and ea. For the umlaut forms q, æ see 159.
3) Every breaking before h, as well as before a consonant-combination whose second element is g, c, or h, is simplified in Angl. by the so-called palatal umlaut (161 ff.).

The Umlauts (85–107)

159. i-umlaut (88–100). The i-umlauts of the diphthongs exhibit the widest deviations:

1) i-umlaut of ea is Old Kent. æ, for which ɛ appears later: ærfe, ældra, mæht Charters, beside ɛrfe Charters, eldra, mæht K. Gl. = WS. ierfe, ieldra, miht, etc.; similarly sceppan, gæst = WS. sceuppan, giest (but exceptional hlíhan K. Gl.).

2) i-umlaut of ea before r is Angl. ɛ: ɛrfe, dærne, ɛrmðu, færð = WS. ierfe, yrfe, etc.; yet R.1 has, beside regular e and a few æ’s, as in áwærgan, curse, numerous WS. y’s, as in áwyrgan.

3) i-umlaut of a (158. 2) before 1 + consonant, and of Germ. a, WS. ea, before h, is Angl. æ : ældu, ældra, mæltan = WS. ieldu, ieldra, mieltan; similarly before h : wælle, beside welle, well (WS. wiella); then Ps. North. hlætha(n), mæht, mæhtig = WS. hlíehhan, miht, mihtig, etc. R.1 varies between æ and ɛ: ældu, ældra, and eldra, belgas, etc. (beside WS. y in syllan, and i in niht, beside næht).

4) i-umlaut of ea is Kent. Angl. ɛ : hæran, gelæfan, néd, læg, cēgan, etc. = WS. hieran, etc. However, R.1 has occasional ɔ, æ, and WS. ɔ, as in cēgan, hæran, hýran, etc., K. Gl. ássigan.

5) i-umlaut of eo, ðo is Kent. Angl. originally io, ðo. In North. this persists according to 150. 3, but in
Merc. Kent. varies with later eō: North. giorna, desire; hiorde, shepherd; iorsiga, rage = WS. giernan, hierde, iersian; or North. diore, dear; ðiostre, gloomy; stiora, steer = WS. diere, ðiestre, stieran (on North. ðw for iow see 156.5); but already, for example, Ps. has regularly heorde; eoræ, anger; ðæostre, etc., though somewhat more frequently hiow, form; miow, new, than hæow, nēowe = WS. hiw, niwe (but, on the other hand, getrēowe, faithful, etc. = WS. getriewæ, getrywe), and so in the other texts.

Note 1. Angl. has strangely a constant afirra(n), remove Ps. L. Rit., without breaking, beside the comp. firr, further L. Such Ps also occur sporadically elsewhere; Ps. hiætæ, cherish; Corp. cirm, uproar; cænel, kernel; gesuirbetæ, 3 sing., polishes (from sweorfan, 388, note 1; Corp. gesmirwid, anointed, may have been assimilated to forms without w, 408.1), etc.

Very peculiar is also the e in Ep. Corp. sibæn-, sifunsteræl, seven stars.

Note 2. Ps. always has ðæ in onsæn, countenance (North. onsian, WS. ONSEN), and sporadically in a few other words.

Note 3. On Angl. wyrðæ, wyrsæ, etc. see 156.4.

160. u- and o/a-umlaut (101-107) are in certain respects of wider scope than in WS. In particular,

1) The distinction between the unumlauted and the unumlauted vowel is often preserved in inflected forms. Thus, for example, Kent. geofu (gíofu), gift, gen. gefe; Ps. fet, vessel, plur. featu, dat. featum; get, hole, gen. plur. geata; or, in the verb, Ps. bèornæ, biæres, biræða, beorað, inf. beoran, bear; and similarly in North. (cf. 370), in which, however, the leveling with unumlauted inflectional forms has already made considerable inroads.
2) The uumlaut also takes place before guttural and dental forms: compare, for example, Kent. *re cogol, rule; forespereoca, intercessor; be geotan, obtain; Meotod, God,* etc. Only before gutturals does it subsequently disappear in Angl. (161 ff.).

3) The uumlaut often occurs, too, before consonant-groups, but with no particular agreement among the various dialects: compare, for example, forms like North. *ionna, within; ionnað, viscera; bihionda, bihianda, behind; Ps. eacstan (obl.), ashes; cappul, apple; feadrum (dat. plur.), fathers; or North. L. gioster- (beside poetical geostran), contrasted with R.² gestor-, WS. giestran, yesterday, etc.

4) The o/a-uumlaut extends also to the older a in Merc. (especially Ps.), but not in Kent. North.: compare, as above, get, gen. plur. geata; inf. fearan, travel; hleadan, load (galan, sing, is an exception); verbs of the Second Weak Conjugation, like gleadian, rejoice; geðeafian, concur, etc.

Note 1. Since the o/a-uumlaut of a is lacking in North. (fara, hlada, geðaafian, etc.), as well as in WS., it follows that geadrin, collect, and seeaca, shake, must be referred to 157. 3.

Note 2. North. very frequently has ea for uumlaut-co (150, note 1); this must be borne in mind in explaining forms like varas, wala (156. 3), beside such as ewoða, wosa (156. 2).

The So-Called Palatal Uumlaut (108–109)

161. The development of this phenomenon forms one of the most noticeable characteristics of Anglian. Its chief occurrences are as follows:

162. 1) In Ps. and North., and for the most part in R.¹, ea becomes simplified to ae before h, ht, x (= hs,
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221. 2): gesæh, saw; geðæht, thought; mæhte, might; sex, knife; wæx, wax; wæxan, grow = WS. geseah, geðeæht, etc. R.¹ has also a few ea's, as in geseah.

Note 1. The i-umlaut of this æ is also æ (159. 3).

Note 2. In Ps. this æ also occurs before g and c as the simplification of the ea which might be expected as the result of u- or o/a-umlaut on a: magun (plur.), can; dagas, days; cwæcan, shake; dræca, dragon (beside sporadic forms like dagun, sagas, draca, hræcan and hræcan, throat; Zeuner, pp. 34, 35), for *meagun, *deagas, etc. (160. 4). In so far, however, as there is no u- or o/a-umlaut of a, there is no æ before g, c, and hence in R.¹ and North. occur magun, dagas, etc.

Note 3. In forms like the preterits rehte, wehte, beside reahte, weahte, WS. reahte, weahte, there is conformity to the e of the pres. ræcean, wecean, etc. (407, note 9). Similarly, imperatives like North. slæh, ðwæh (374) conform to the contract forms of the pres. slæ, ðwæ.

Note 4. The Kentish texts usually have ea before h, and a before g, c. For the i-umlaut cf. 159. 1.

2) Before rc, rg. Merc. has e for ea, while North. has æ, or rarely æ: Ps. erc, ark; herg, grove; merg-, marrow = WS. earc, hearg, mearg; R.¹ gemercian, designate; North. L. berg, swine, beside æerce, ark (and arg, cowardly), Rit. gimercia, beside æerce, R.² erc, berg.

Note 5. The i-umlaut of this e (æ) is q (159. 2); on forms like North. áwaerga (R.¹ áwaergan, 159. 2) see 156. 1. b.

163. Angl. ea becomes ð before h, g, c: hæh, high; næh, near; pret. tæh, drew; ðæ, eye; ðæg, ring; pret. læc, locked; bècon, sign = WS. hæah, etc. Side by side with these are a few ðæ's in R.¹, like ðage.

Note 1. Disregarding a few North. æ's (like tæh, drew; bræc, enjoyed L.), L. has mostly ðæc, beside ðæc, also, and ðæh, though (beside ðæh and sporadic ðæh, ðæh); Rit. ðæh and ðæh, R.² ðæc, ðæ,
and ðæh, ðæh; Ps. has ðæh, but ðæ, R.¹ ðæh, beside ðæh, and, beside næhsta, næht, næhsta and næhta.

Note 2. Kent. has usually preserved ðæ; but compare, for example, K. Gl. nih for WS. næh.

164. 1) Angl. eo becomes e before h (x = hs) and rc, rg, rh, lh: féh, cattle; imp. geshe, see; schēfe, behold; reht, right; encht, boy; sex, six (83); were, work; bergan, defend; ðwerh, transverse; berht, bright; elh, elk; seh, seal = WS. fœoh, gesœoh, etc. (add Ps. opt. fele, conceal = WS. fœole, from *fœole, 218).

Note 1. Beside e, North. has a few æ’s (like onæht, reæht), ai’s (onælh), and ei’s (reæht, neiænwæng, Paradise). Rit. also i in imp. biæh, behold, beside biæh.

R.¹ varies between e (æ) and eo (féh, onæht, reæht, werc, beside gefæht, onæht, wærc, and fœoh, seoh, wæore), but also has a few i’s and y’s (riæht, siæhe, and ryæht, syæxa).

Note 2. Before c and g (162, note 2) there is fluctuation, eo having often been restored by analogy: Ps. ærendreæca, messenger; plur. wegas, ways, beside the rare weogæs; occasionally spreæcan, speæk, beside spreæcan; breœcan, break, after models like beoræn, bear, etc.; in North., it is true, L. has only (beside gespreæca) breæca, spreæca (spææca), wegas (wægas, 156. 1), etc., but R.² spreæca (spææca), etc.

Note 3. On i as the corresponding l-umlaut see 2.

2) Angl. io, no matter what its origin, is simplified to i in the position indicated: rihtan, direct; gesiæh, face; mixen, dæng; wixæ(n), change; birhtan, illuminate; birhtu, splendor; mile, milk; stician, puncture; plur. twigæ, branches, etc.; also Ps. æætæleð (3 sing.) for *-ææhilp, from -fææolan (387, note 4).

The simplification of io to i is older than the passage of wio into wu (71); hence simple wi in Angl. corresponds to this WS. wu: wiæht, anything; fulwiæht, baptism; ciæcian, animate; wiæcu, week = WS.
wuht, fulwuht, cwucu, cwucian, wucu, etc. Hence also Ps. R.¹ wircan, act, as against 156. 4 (North. wyrcu L. R.², and partly R.¹, has i-umlaut of u; compare Goth. waúrkjan).

Note 4. Ps. R.¹ bergan, taste, L. R.² berga and birga, fluctuates between e and ə. Other cases, like North. berhta, brehta, beside birhta, rest on assimilation to the adj. berht, etc.

Note 5. The io (eo) occurring in inflection is often restored by analogy; so always in Ps. in the pret. plur. steogun, bisweocun, after the pattern of áreosun, fleoctun, R.¹ wríogan, wreogan, beside ástígan, etc.

165. 1) Under similar conditions, Angl. eo becomes ə: tēh, draw; fēh, flee; flēgan, fly; fēge, fly; lēgan, lie; sec, sick; lēht, light; pret. wēx, grew = WS. tēoh, fēoh, etc.

Note 1. R.¹ fluctuates between e and ə: sēc, lēht, wēx, beside sēoc, lēoht, wēox, imp. fēoh, tēoh, etc.; side by side with these occurs ə, without any discoverable reason for the change, in smi̯kende, smoking; ligende, lying; liht (noun and adj.), light, corresponding to WS. smēocan, lēogan, leóht. Also sporadically in Ps. légende, 1 sing. flīgu, fly, Rit. līhtes, gen. sing. of lēht.

2) The analogous Angl. correspondence of io is i: imp. līh, lend (WS. lēoht); cīcēn, chicken (WS. *ciecen, from *klukin); līhtan, līxan, shine (WS. līehtan, etc.); also contract forms like Ps. tīw, draws; L. fīw, flies (from orig. *tiuhiw, *fluhiw; compare WS. tiehō, fliēhō), etc.

Note 2. To WS. lēoht, from *liht, easy (34. 2) corresponds North. lēht L.; accordingly, Angl. betwih, between, must be compared rather with betwuuh, from shortened *betwihu, than with WS. betwēoht.

North. lēhta, beside lihta, shine, rests upon analogy with the noun lēht.
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Norm 3 (on 161-165). When there is early loss of h before a consonant (222, 2, beside note 1), simplification does not occur. Hence forms like Angl. hēanis, high; asm. hēane, from hēh, WS. hēah, high; proper names like Hēburg, or Pliowalh, -wald, compared with WS. pleoh, danger; nēolēcan (nēa-, etc.), approach, from nēh (contrasted with WS. nēalēcean, from Pre-WS. nēh, 150. 1), etc.

Constructions (110-119)

166. 1) Orig. a + vowel becomes North. ā in the contract verbs slā (slē), strike; òwā, wash (374, note 1) = WS. Kent. Ps. slean, òwean; R. slā(n), plur. thuað, beside slean, slēan. But also North., etc., ēa, tēar, etc., as in WS.

2) Orig. eh + guttural vowel gives a predominant North. eo, more rarely ēa: giēca, see; gefēaga, rejoice; hundtēantig, hundred = WS. gesēon, etc.; R. has predominantly eo, more rarely ēa, while in Ps. ēa, ia, and io, ēo are much interchanged: for example, inf. gesēan, -sian, infl. -sēonne, 1 sing. gesio (also -sīe), plur. -sēað, -siað, -sioð, etc.

Norm 1. For other details in the inflection of the contract verbs see 374, note 1 ff.
Norm 2. eh + e gives normally ē: Ps. opt. sē, gefē, plur. sēn, gefēn, North. gesē L., corresponding to WS. sēon, see (the by-forms plur. gesēa L., sing. gesi, gesē L. R. 2 are assimilated to the forms of the indicative), gefēon, rejoice. Compare likewise gen. fēes L., fēas R. 2, from feh, cattle = WS. feoh, gen. fēos, and note 3.

3) Angl. eh from ēoh (165.1) and from ēah (163) + guttural vowel gives predominantly ēa: flēa(n), flee; tēa(n), draw = WS. flēon, etc. (yet Ps. also 1 sing. flēom, part. flēonde); or hēh, high = WS. hēah, weak nsm. hēa, obl. hēan (from *hēha, etc., contrasted with WS. hēa, from *hēaha, etc.).
Note 3.  ēh + e gives ē in the opt. pres. flēn Ps. (compare the ind. 3 sing. flēs R.2, instead of *flis) and forms like hēra, hēsta (166. 6).

4) In the case of orig. īh and of. Angl. īh, from iōh (165. 2) the instances are hardly numerous enough to furnish a definite rule.

Note 4.  Ps. has wrēan, cover = WS. wrēon (383), R.1 plur. wroep, beside inf. wrīgan, and pret. tewood, twiode, compared with WS. twēogan, doubt; L. has the noun tuīa, beside tuīa (156. 3), doubt; pret. tuiaðe (add ind. pres. 3 sing. tuīs, adj. untuendlic, indubitable), R.2 3 sing. tuīnas, opt. twīoge, pret. twiode, twiade. For īh + a North. has presumably disyllabic i-a: L. wri-a (wriga), Rit. wri-a, giōi-a, prosper (cf. note 7).

Note 5.  īh + orig. i gives Angl. ī in forms like 2 and 3 sing. gisis(t), -sið Ps. L. R.2, wrið R.2.

5) The treatment of Angl. ī + vowel varies just as greatly.

Note 6.  In certain words ēo, or īo (iu) appears characteristic: Merc. frēond, friend, but fiōnd, beside féond, enemy Ps. R.1; North. frēond, friond L. R.2, but only friond L. R.2 Rit.; Merc. deōful, diōful, devil Ps. R.1; North. diowul (diawul, etc.) R.2, diowl, diobul, diuul (but also diuaul), etc. L.; North. biōtiga, threaten L. Rit.; then the forms corresponding to the WS. pronouns hēo, sēo, tēos (334; 337; 338), and the numeral ōrēo (324. 3); on the other hand, Ps. frēa, frēo, free, contrasted with frēo, frīo L. Rit., frīo R.2; North. hunďēantig, -nēontig, ninety L., contrasted with niōne, niōne, hunďēontig R.2. Here older forms with ī + u seem to form the basis.

Note 7.  A second group of forms (probably going back to older ī + o, a, or e) is characterized by the appearance of an ēa, which interchanges on one hand with iā, iē, ē, and on the other with ēo, īo. So, from Ps. frīgan, deliveer, the ind. 3 sing. frēað, frīað, frīoð, pret. frēade, frēde, frīode, frīode, part. gefrēad, gefrīad, gefrīod, etc.; and similarly with īgīgan, hate (see details in 416, notes 6 and 7); or Ps. pie, gabble; plur. biān, bees (beside the compound bio-, biābread, bee-bread), etc.
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Here uncontracted forms probably occur also: pī-e, bī-an, etc. (cf. note 4).

6) Especially characteristic for Angl. are contractions due to the loss of medial h in cases where WS. and Kent. retain the h and undergo syncope of a following vowel (222). This occurs especially in the inflection of contract verbs (374), for example the 2 and 3 sing. sis(t), siē, seest, sees, from *sihīs, *sihīp = WS. siehst, siehō; compare also forms like sup. hēstā, highest; nēstā, next (North. also heīstā, neīstā), from *hēhīstā, etc. = WS. hiehstā, etc., and probably also comp. hēra, from *hēhīra = WS. hieira, from *hiehra, etc. (for forms like acc. sing. masc. hēane Ps., North. hēanis, hight, from hēh, cf. 165, note 3).

Quantity (120–125)

167. Almost all cases of lengthening observed in WS. occur also in the other dialects. The lengthenings before liquid or nasal + consonant are most obvious, being demonstrated by the occurrence of accents.
PART II.—THE CONSONANTS

SURVEY OF THE OLD ENGLISH CONSONANTS

169. The consonant-signs of OE. are those of the Latin alphabet, with the addition of the letters ɔ and p, and of a special character for w. Many of these letters are, however, employed with a twofold value, as the number of characters was not sufficient to express with accuracy the distinctions current in the spoken language. The inexactness here noted is probably to be connected with the lack of uniformity in the pronunciation of the Latin letters at that time.

Note. In this respect the OE. spelling occupies about the standpoint of modern German, where, for example, g, b are employed partly as sonant stops, as in gut, bin, partly as spirants, as in tage, lebe (according to the pronunciation of many people), or where s designates both a surd and a voiced sibilant, etc.

170. The following table contains the consonants of the Common OE. period, arranged according to their phonetic relations, as nearly as can be ascertained (for the classification see Sievers' Phonetik⁴, pp. 50 ff.).

¹ Properly 168, which is omitted in the German, all subsequent sections being numbered too high by 1; in order not to create a discrepancy between the original and the translation, I have conformed.
—Tr. —
Accordingly, a double pronunciation of the following letters is here assumed:

1) of $f$, $\mathfrak{f}$, $p$, as surd and as sonant spirant;
2) of $b$, as sonant stop and sonant spirant;
3) of $g$, as semivowel, sonant stop, and sonant spirant;
4) of $n$, as dental, palatal, and guttural nasal;
5) of all the letters standing for the so-called gutturals, these having also a palatal pronunciation; such palatal pronunciation is indicated above by the addition of ' \\

A. SONOROUS CONSONANTS

1. THE SEMIVOWELS

$w$

171. $w$, here substituted for the Runic character wyn, the usual symbol employed in the manuscripts, represents the sound of English $w$; or, in other words, $w$ is non-syllabic $u$, or $u$ discharging the function of a consonant (Phonetik$^4$, pp. 37 ff., 148 ff.).

Note 1. In the oldest texts, like Ep., the wyn is hardly employed as yet, $uu$ being generally used to denote the sound in question: $uur$, $uueg$, $uurot$, $clauae$, $suualue$, etc.; sometimes simple $u$, the latter being especially common in North.: $uer$, $ueg$, $ualue$; otherwise the
employment of u for w is chiefly limited to the combinations described in 172. 3. At times we also find wu, like North. wurlotto for wrloto, etc. The Rit. very frequently employs v.

Note 2. The older German editors and grammarians often follow the sign wyn by v. This is objectionable, because it thus becomes impossible to discriminate between w and the labiodental spirant v (194).

Note 3. Lat. v is represented by w only in early loan-words, such as wín, wine; pāwa, peacock (beside pēa, 111, note 2); mealwe, mailwe; from vinum, pavo, maica (192. 2).

172. w occurs initially

1) before all vowels: wāt, knows; wer, man; wine, friend; word, word; wund, wound; wyrd, fate;
2) in the combinations wr, w1: writan, write; wroð, elephant’s trunk; wltan, see; wlnc, proud, etc.;
3) in the combinations cw, hw, dw, ðw, tw, sw: cwfnan, say; hwā, who; dweorg, dwarf; ðwēan, wash; twā, two; swfnan, sleep.

Note. The loss of an initial w occurs in the negative forms of some verbs: nāt, nytnan, nyssse (420. 1), nyllan (428, note 2), nās, nāron (427. 3); in calneg, calnng, always, from calne weg (caylorweg Cura Past.; also LWS. cailing, calning); otherwise only occasionally before u, in uton, beside wuton, let us; cuec, nāuht, betuh, betux, beside cvuceu, nāwuh, betwuh, betwux (71), etc.; finally, in hū, how; tū, two (324. 2), from *hwō, *tvō (60, note). In North. also before ë: oeg, coera L., for weg, way; cuenia, quern.

173. Medially, w stands before all vowels except u and Prim. OE. i without change: sāwan, sāwe, spiwian, spiwode. It disappears before u and i, and thus frequently gives rise to contractions:

1) Before u, as in ēa, ðrēa, cēa, etc. (111; 112; cf. also 134. d), or rēon from rēowun (396, note 8).
However, w is sometimes restored before u, following the analogy of other forms, as in clawu, sāwun, rēowun, sēowun, etc.

2) Before i, in words like æ, law; sæ, sea; hræ, corpse, for *āi, *sāi, *hrāi, from the stems *aiwi-, *saiwi-, *hraiwi-; after consonants, especially in certain forms of weak verbs in -rw and -lw, as in pres. 3 sing. giereð, wieleð, pret. gierede, wielede, from *garwis, *walwis, *garwida, *walwida (408. 1); compare also pyle, pillow, from Lat. pulvinum. But in these cases w is often restored from inflectional forms in which i was replaced in the termination by j, or some other vowel: æw, hræw, gierweð, etc.

Note 1. Echhipsis of w before original i appears not to belong to OE. in all cases, but sometimes to West Germanic. These cases are not all equally clear; for æ, sæ, etc., compare, for example, 174, note 3. The w is retained in cases like ðowie, 332 (but North. iuh, beside iuh).

Note 2. Conversely, w is sometimes inserted to prevent the hiatus which would otherwise result between ð and a following inflectional vowel: rūh, gen. rūwes, for *rū-wes (295, note 1, though this might be grammatical change, 234). The w of læwed, from laicus, is difficult of explanation.

Note 3. w is apt to disappear from the initial position of the second member of compounds, especially before o, u, as in hlæford, lord; fulluht, baptism, and proper nouns like Hrōðulf, for *hlæfword, -ward, fuluht, fuluht (compare also fullian, beside fullwian, baptize), Hrōðwulf; add such words as enetere, enitre, yearling, from ænwintré, and hwilende, hwilendlic, temporary, for hwilwende, -dlic, etc.

174. w is originally not allowed to stand as the final of a syllable.

1) After a short vowel it becomes u, and the two vowels then unite to form a diphthong: compare nom.
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ðæo, cnēo, from *pe-u, *ene-u, for *pew(a), *enew(a) (according to 113.1; 130); but ðæow, cnēow also occur, being formed upon the analogy of the inflected forms which have medial w.

2) After consonants it is vocalized to syllabic u (o). After a short syllable the latter remains as the final of a word: compare the nom. acc. sing. of wo-stems, like bearu, searu (249), and the adj. gearu (300; cf. 134. d). Likewise in the declension and comparison of adjectives: compare acc. gearone, gen. dat. sing. fem. gearore, gen. plur. gearora (300), comp. gearora (307), for *gearwne, etc. After a long stem w disappears: gād, lack (249, note 5); for feminines like beadu, battle; mæd, læs, meadow (260), cf. 134. d.

Note 1. Analogy often leads to the restoration of the w in a medial position; compare preterits like hyrwde, syrwde, from hierwan, sterwan (408.1); derivatives like nyrwð (255.3), based upon nearo, nearwes, etc.

3) After a long vowel or a diphthong w disappears (after first being vocalized to u), according to 134; 144?: ā, ō, ever (Goth. aiw); hrā, corpse (Goth. hraiw); snā, snow (Goth. snaiws). Not infrequently, however, the w of the other forms is introduced: hrāw, snāw (following gen. hrāwes, snāwes, etc.); this takes place almost invariably after diphthongs, as in glēaw (63), hrēow (64), and in the interior of a word when there is syncope of a middle vowel, as in sāwle (beside sāule, saule), from sāwol, sole; mēowle (Goth. mawilō, 73, note 1); in derivatives like hrēowsian, rue, from *hrēuwosān; especially in inflected forms, as in spēwð, cnēwð, from spōwan, cnēwan; læwde, from læwan, etc.
Nevertheless there occur, especially in North., sporadic forms without w, like gecnæð, ætæde, ðorum, North. biæde, ðede, ætæadc, for geceñæwð, knows; ætæwde, North. ætæawde, showed; ðorum, your; belæwde, betrayed, etc.

Note 2. The manuscripts often have u for w: sāule, snāu; more rarely after diphthongs, as in Kent. Gl. lātēou, hriou = WS. -tēow, -hrēow.

Note 3. Perhaps, too, ēū, sēū, hrēū (173. 2), may be explained by this rule. Contrariwise, forms like cnæð from *cnæwlp, ðede from *auwīda, ðēde from *lēwīda, may fall under the rule of 173. 2.

Note 4. In certain rather doubtful cases contraction seems to have been substituted for disappearance after a long vowel (112; 118).

Note 5 (on 171-174). For the effect of w upon neighboring sounds see 71-73; 156.

j

175. The manuscripts have no sign appropriated to the semivowel j (i.e., i when consonantal in function or non-syllabic, Phonetic 4 384), but denote it now by the vowel-sign i, and now by g.

1) i occupies the initial position in foreign words like Iōhannes, Iūdēas; in genuine OE. words it occurs rarely, and almost exclusively before u: iū, iung (74; 157. 1). As a medial it is more common: hēries, nērian, etc., though in such instances the i is perhaps to be regarded as syllabic, or as standing for ij: hē-ri-es, or hē-ri-jes (cf. 2, below).

Note. The i of the Second Class of weak verbs (411 ff.) must probably (so also according to metrical indications) be considered as syllabic, even where it is preceded by a short syllable, as in wūnian, mācian, or fēmian, ūnian (400, note 2).

2) g is by far the more usual sign. Initially it scarcely appears except before i, e, y, since j unites with any other
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vowel to form one of the diphthongs ie, ea, eo (74): gif, giet (gýt), gé, gēar, geong, etc. (but also gl in glung, etc., cf. 1, above; Ps. sporadic gung, etc., 157.1, etc.).

Medially it occurs also before guttural vowels: hērgas, hērgum, nērgan. Instead of the simple g we often find īg (eg), and before a even (i)ge: hēriges, hērigas, hēr(ī)g(ē)as, nēr(ī)g(ē)an; yet this combination is perhaps intended to denote the sounds īj (cf. 1, above). Only seldom does ge occur after u, as in Gl. bergeum, racemis.

As a final, g is rare, and is only met with after a long vowel or diphthong: āeg, egg; cæg, key; clæg, clay; ieg, island; hiæg, hay; imp. cæg, call (cf. also 24, note).

176. Germanic j is regularly preserved only when initial; when medial, only occasionally between vowels, as in frigea, Lord (beside frēa, Goth. frauja); frige, nom. plur. masc. of frēo, free; frēogan, liberate; cīegan, call, etc.; and after a short vowel + consonant (i.e., according to 227, after a short vowel + r): nērian, hērian, wērian, hēries = Goth. nasjan, hazejan, varjan, harjis; occasionally also after middle syllables having an originally short vowel, as in sēmerge, embers (OHG. cimuria); Ep. Erf. Corp. mëllyræ, sinus, beside Gl. Cleop. wellere; probably Corp. suhterga, fratruelis, beside suhtri(g)a.

Note 1. In late MSS., however, the j is occasionally wanting before ea, eo: dat. plur. ēaron, years; eogoð, youth, for gēaron, geogoð; for the explanation see 212, note 2.

Note 2. Verbs like lēmian, ūēljan, hēljan, etc. (400, note 2) have not retained the older j, but have introduced the i, j on the analogy of such as nērian.
177. On the contrary, older medial j is always lost after a long closed syllable. This rule applies not only to Germ. j, but also to Germ. i before a vowel (interchanging with j, according to 45.8). Whenever this i did not become final (130, note) it was changed in OE. (apparently rather late) to j, and thus coincided with the older j, and afterward disappeared under the same circumstances as the latter. Examples are:

a) older j in verbs like sællan, sceppan, sættan, lægjan (400), for *salijan, *skappjan, etc., OS. sællian, sceppian, sættian, læggian, for Goth. saljan, etc. (227); likewise in nouns like sceg, cynn (246), sibb (257);

b) older i in forms like hierdes, -das, -da, -dum; rices, -cu, -ca, -cum (246); gierda, -a, -um (257); and verbs like dēman (403), for *hirdies, *rikies, *gardi, *dōmian, etc.

Norm. Unequivocal traces of the former presence of j, i after a syllable are the i-umlaut, the palatalization of preceding gutturals (206), and the West Germ. gemination (227).

2. THE LIQUIDS

r

178. 1) The OE. r was probably cerebral (Phonetik 4, p. 108), that is, was pronounced with the tip of the tongue strongly recurved, as it still is by some speakers of English. Only on this supposition is it phonetically possible to account for the OE. breaking before r (79).

2) r is of frequent occurrence as initial, medial, and final; less frequently is it geminated, as
a) in feorran, far; afierran, remove; steorra, star; cierran, turn; compare Goth. fairá, OHG. sterro, etc.;
b) in ierre, angry; dyrrre, withered; mierran, prevent; durran, dare; compare Goth. *airzēs, paursūs, marzjan, daursan (131.2);
c) resulting from syncope, as in værra, comp. of vær, wary, etc.

The r is not subject to gemination before j (227).

179. Medial r often undergoes metathesis:

1) r preceding a vowel has a tendency to change positions with it when the latter is followed by nn or by s-combinations: iernan, run; bierran, burn; burna, fountain; værrna (beside wrenna), wren; hors, horse; cærse, cress; bær, perch; forsc, frog; fersc, fresh; ferscan, thresh; berstan, burst; fierst, time; forst, frost; (hond)wyrst, wrist; dærstan, yeast (compare Goth. rinnan, brinnan, etc.); so ærn, house; hærn, wave (compare Goth. ræzn, ON. rann, and ON. hrǫnn, for *rænn, from *ræzn, etc.; in the oldest texts still sometimes occur forms like Ep. Erf. ren, ren).

Metathesis perhaps occurs before single n in Corp. cornuc, crane, and before m in forma, first, beside fruma, advantage; yet in these last cases there are more probably older Germ. doublets belonging to different ablaut-grades (cf. 127, note).

Note. Wholly irregular is the LWS. metathesis in gyrstændæg, yesterday, for earlier giestran-, gystran-. On the relation of metathesis to breaking see 79, note 2.

2) The converse of the metathesis already described takes place before ht in the North. frohtiga, fear;
fryhtu, fright, beside forhtiga, fyrhtu; breht, bright, and its derivatives, beside berht. In the other dialects, -breht, -briht seems to occur only as the second element of compound proper nouns, as in Cœolbreht, ÆÆfelbreht, etc. Sporadic forms are likewise scurf, beside scourf, seurf, and wrums, pus, for wurms (185).

180. r is generally stable, whatever its position in the word. For syllabic r see 139. Isolated examples of echthipsis are: specan, spæc (at first probably Kentish), beside sprecan, speak, spræc, speech; LWS. pætig for prætig, tricky; North. wixla, exchange, beside wrixla; Ps. geëndebyrdan, arrange; ēndebyrdnis, order (Zeuner, pp. 75, 76); North. ēndebrednian, compared with OE. onbryrdnis, onbryrdan, etc. Assimilation of lr to ll in the comp. sēlla, beside sēra (312); of sr to ss in lēssa; simplified in the comp. wiersa, wyrsa (312), Goth. wairsīza; the pron. ðisse (338). In these examples r always springs from z (181.2); but compare also ðisses, etc. (336, note), from * ðires.

Note. For the loss of final Germanic z see 182.

181. OE. r is of twofold origin. It corresponds

1) to Germ. r, as in rīce, rēdan, bringan, beorgan, wer = Goth. reiki, rēdan, briggan, bairgan, wair. This r may occur in any part of a word.

2) to Germ. z, partly retained in Goth. as z, and partly represented by s: māra, greater; ēare, ear; hērian, praise; nērian, save = Goth. maiza, ausō, hazjan, nasjan. Then especially in grammatical interchange with s: cēosan, cēas, curon, coren (233 ff.).
Likewise in the combinations rz, as in ierre, etc. (178. 2. b), and zd: record, speech; hord, treasure (Goth. razda, huzd).

182. This r from z is restricted to the medial position, for initial z did not exist in Germanic, and originally final z is always lost in OE., whether belonging to inflectional or derivational forms. Under the first head belong, for example, the Germ. z (Goth. s) of the nom. sing., that of many gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur., the z of the opt. 2 sing. both pres. and pret., and other forms, concerning which information is easily gained by comparing the OE. with the Goth. paradigms; as examples may be cited the nominatives hé, hwâ (Goth. is, hwâs), the plurals wê, ge, ðā (Goth. weis, jus, þōs), and the datives mé, ðē (Goth. mis, þus). To the class of derivational forms belong especially

a) the comparative adverbs mā, bêt, lēng, etc. (323; Goth. mais, butis, laggis);

b) the nom. sing. of the os-, es-stems (288 ff.), like sige, bēre, lomb, cealf (Goth. sigis, bariz-, etc.).

Note. Where an OE. r appears in place of an originally final z, it is in consequence of a reinsertion from polysyllabic forms; so in by-forms like sigor, lombor, etc., compared with sige, lomb (289; 290).

1

183. 1) The OE. ı must (disregarding possible palatalization before i, j) have had a twofold pronunciation: first, that of an ordinary i; and secondly, a pronunciation nearly or quite guttural (Phonetik 4 293; 294), wherever it caused breaking of a preceding vowel (80; 81).
Upon what this difference of sound depends has as yet not been clearly determined; yet it would seem that the phonetic environment was not the only factor concerned (note, for example, the difference between syllan and tellan, 80, note 2; 158.2).

2) It may occur in any part of a word, is frequently geminated, and is often syllabic (140). In general it retains its position, but undergoes metathesis in the following cases:

a) After a stressed syllable it becomes id in dialectic bold, building; sedl, seat; späld, spittle (196.2, and note 1);

b) After an unstressed or weak syllable it, if, id in the proper names terminating in -gils, such as Cynegils, Eadgils, from *Cynigisil, etc.; in the derivative ending -els = OHG. -isal, as in gyrdels, girdle (Ep. gyrdils); riecels, incense; in -elfe, -ilfe = ON. -yfli, in innelfe, innilfe, viscera, beside innelfe, ON. innufli; and in -eld, -old (from ipil, -idl, etc.), as in færeld, way; ðerscold, threshold, etc.

Note. There is sporadic metathesis of final it (from pl, 201.3) and it in certain other words whose form is fixed in other respects: æld, disease, for ædl; gælshwile, cealfrædl, from gæglas, palate; cealflas, jaws.

3. THE NASALS

m, n

184. m denotes the labial, and n, in conformity with Latin usage, not only the dental, but also the guttural (or palatal) nasal, — the latter, however, only when it stands immediately before c or g. m and dental n, on
the other hand, are found in all positions, and also
geminated and syllabic (141; 142).

Note. Occasionally n stands for ng or ne, though but rarely:
strenä, strength; önenä, thinks, for strengä, öncä.

185. Metathesis of n occurs in worms (wurms, wyrms), pus; wyrmsan, corrupt, beside older worsem, wursm, and wyrsm. Metathesis of n is somewhat commoner, especially in certain texts which have frequent nc, ng for final cn, gn, as in tännc, rengn, öngen, fängen, for tännc, sign; regn, rain; ögenn, thane; fæggn, asked. Conversely, clänsnian, purify (Ps. clänsian), beside more frequent clänsian (North. clänsia), from cläne, pure (a contaminated form clänsnian is also found).

186. The occurrence of nasals is subject only to the following restrictions:

1) Before the surd spirants f, p, and s, there is loss of m and n, accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel; older a, OE. o (65), is thus converted into ö (66). Examples are:

a) of the loss of m: fif, five (Goth. fimf); the adv. söfte, softly, comp. sëft, 323 (OHG. samfto); öslë, ousel (OHG. amsala);

b) of the loss of n: gös, goose, plur. gös; hös, troop; öder, other; söö, true; töö, tooth, plur. töö; öst, favor; siö, journey; ös, us; hüisl, housel; düst, dust; cuöxe, could; cuö, known; múdo, mouth; öst, storm; wöyscan, wish = Goth. gans, hansa, anpar, etc.

Note 1. The length of the vowel is established by occasional gemination: Suetanglorum Cod. Dipl., A.D. 736; Cuutftherhi,
A.D. 756–757; Cnutfert, A.D. 706; slith, A.D. 805–831. In later documents accents often occur: cóð, síð, etc.

Note 2. Nasal pronunciation of the vowel seems to have prevailed in the earliest period, as the proper noun Ōnswini occurs once in an inscription for Common O.E. Ėoswine. The oldest Runic inscriptions, with this exception, no longer have the nasal.

Note 3. The loss of the consonant occurs also in unstressed syllables, but in this position the vowel is afterwards shortened (9): ind. pres. 3 sing. of the verbs in -að, like beræð (360. 1), from *berunþl (I) (133. a), berþp (66); geoguð, -oð, youth; duguð, -oð, virtue (gen. plur. also dukeða; dat. dugeðum, etc.); oroð, breath (later also oreð, orð, from which oredian, ordian, breathe), from *jugunþ-, *dugunþ-, *orunþ, etc.; compounds like fracoð, hateful, beside forocð, or ofoð, zeal (from which Ôfstan, hasten); aefest, jealousy, etc. (43, note 4); also in the prefix orð- (from unþ-), away, as in ôfgungan, escape, beside the adj. ôfgenge, escaping, etc.

Note 4. No n occurs in O.E. before h, the guttural surd spirant, for in this position it was already lost in Germanic. That under these circumstances the n first caused nasalization of the preceding vowel, and that as a result older anh became òn, has already been stated (45, 6; 67). Examples of òn, òn, from inh, unh, are: the verb ôcon, from *ôhan (383), part. ônþgan (234); the pret. ôunte, from ôunect (407. 1); ôhta, dawn (Goth. ûhtwô)."}

2) Exceptions to the foregoing are:

a) the 2 sing. const. monst (422; 423), and a few foreign words like pinsian, weigh;

b) all words in which m, n + spirant have been brought into juxtaposition by the syncope of a vowel, like ðrims, a coin (OHG. drimsisa); winster, winester, left (OHG. winistar); and especially derivatives in -sian (OHG. -sian), like grimsian, rage; clænsian, cleanse; minstian, diminish.

187. Final m of an inflectional syllable is changed to n in late O.E. (and indeed now and then in the Cura Past.), especially after an unstressed syllable, as in the
dat. plur. dagon for dagum, or in the dat. sing. masc. and neut. and the dat. plur. of adjectives: gōdon, -an, for gōdum; also in the pron. ðān, for ðām (337, note 2).

Note. For nymðe, except, Ps. has one occurrence of nybðe; compare also Nebrod, for Nemrod, Nimrod.

188. The following changes of n may be noted:

1) At the close of a syllable, mn often passes later into mm, m (231.1) by assimilation: em, level; hrem, hraem, raven (also inflected, hremmes, etc.), for emn, hremm, from efn, hraefn (193.2); so frequently wæp-
man, man, for wæp(e)nman; compare also occasional spellings like elmboga (also shortened, elboga), Hüm-
berht, for einboga, elbow; Hümberht.

Note 1. Assimilation to l appears in occasional forms like ællef-, beside endleofan, etc. (325), and the late ollunc, along, beside onlong, from earlier ondlong.

2) Final n of an inflectional ending is suppressed in North., particularly in the infinitive (363.1), the opt. plur. (365; but not in the ind. pret., 364.2), and the weak declension (276, note 5). In the remaining dialects, n is generally lost only in the 1 and 2 plur. before the pronouns wé, gé (360.2).

Note 2. For wolc(e)n, cloud, the older language has sometimes wolc (conversely, the later texts now and then write wolencðad, for w(l)ol(o)cræð, scarlet).

Note 3. In late texts the preposition on is frequently shortened to a (Æ?) when it occurs in a compound word or stereotyped phrase: adrædan, fear; afôn, receive, for ondrædan, onfón; abūtan, about; amang, among; aweg, away; ærht, æright, for onbūtan, on ge-
mong, onweg, ourlht, etc. Only occasionally does the transitional o occur: omiddan, amid; onht, o’ nights; owöpe, lachrymose.
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Note 4. Syllabic \( \mathbf{n} \) occasionally disappears between \( \mathbf{s} \) and \( \mathbf{l} \) in ondryslie, horrible, for ondrysntle.

Note 5. Only in very late WS. does \( \mathbf{n} \) occasionally disappear in the r-cases of \( \text{min, my; } \text{ðin, thy;} \text{ an, one;} \) gen. sing. fem. m\( \text{ire} \) ð\( \text{ire}, \) ð\( \text{are}, \) etc.

B. NON-SONOROUS CONSONANTS

1. LABIALS

189. \( \mathbf{p} \) is the surd labial stop. It is rare as an initial in Germanic words: \( \text{pæð, path; } \text{þæð, cloak;} \) pleega, play; but more frequent in foreign words like pund, pound; pil, arrow; pytt, pit. On the other hand, it is common in the medial and final positions: helpan, help; weorpan, cast; scearp, sharp; wæpen, weapon; and is frequently geminated, as in up(p), up; topp, top; loppe, fleæ; æppel, apple; sceppan, create.

\( \mathbf{p} \) always remains unchanged; only \( \mathbf{pn} \) sometimes becomes \( \text{mn} \) in wæmn, wæmnian, from wæpen, weapon; wæpnian, arm. \( \mathbf{p} \) interchanges with \( \mathbf{f} \) in the rare enafa, beside enapa, boy.

Note. For the change of \( \mathbf{p} \) to \( \mathbf{f} \) before \( \mathbf{t} \) in Germ. see 232; for the metathesis of sp to ps see 204. 3.

190. In the majority of texts \( \mathbf{b} \) is the sign for the sonant labial stop. It occurs in the simple form only as an initial: bindan, bind; bringan, bring; blöð, blood; in the medial and final positions as a geminate: habban, have; libban, live; wæb(b), web; sib(b), kin; and in the
combination mb: ləmb, lamb; cumbol, standard; symbol, banquet. When medial or final, simple b is replaced in Common OE. by f: habban, 2 and 3 sing. hafast, hafad; wæbb, web, but wefan, weave; hæbban, heave, pret. höf, part. hæfen.

Nors. In the main, b is stable; only rarely is there a change of final b to p, as in Kent. Gl. lamp, and total disappearance in ym-, em-, around, when the latter is used as a prefix.

For bb there is sometimes found pb, as in the proper noun Pypba.

191. In the oldest texts (especially Ep.) b also designates the sound of a sonant spirant, either labial or labiodental. It was then pronounced like the English v, a sound which was afterwards represented by f (192. 2; cf. also 194); so, for example, in Ep. obær, hebuc, halbæ, earbed; Cod. Dipl. giaban, hlābard; even as a final: Ep. gloob, hualb, salb; Cod. Dipl. gib, ob, etc., for EWS. ofer, hafuc, healfc, earfoð-, giefan, hlāford, glōf, hwealf, sealf, gif, of.

192. f has a twofold character, as standing for the surd and for the sonant labiodental spirant, English f and English v:

1) It is uniformly a surd spirant when initial, as in fædær, father; findan, find; when geminated in the medial position, as in gaffetung, derision; haffing, circle; woffian, rage; snoffæ, nausea; wæffetere, jester; pyffan, puff; abyffan, mutter; lyffetan, flatter; the proper names Offa, Uffe, Wuffa, and the foreign word offrian, offer; in the combinations ft and fs, as in hæft,
captive; gesceaf, creature; ræfsan, censure; and originally whenever it corresponds, as medial or final, to Germ. f, as in wulf, wolf; fif, five (see note 2).

Note 1. Lat. v is represented by OE. f in fers, verse.

2) On the other hand, it is usually a sonant spirant in the medial position, whenever it does not occur in one of the combinations ff, ft, fs. It corresponds partly to a Germ. f, Goth. f, OHG. f, v, as in wulf, gen. wulfes, wolf; gerēfa, reeve; hofer, hump (OHG. wolf, grāvo, hovar, etc.), and partly to a Germ. ß, Goth. b, OHG. b, as in ofer, over; giefan, give; carfoð, labor; sealfian, anoint (OHG. ubar, geban, arbeiet, salbōn). In loan-words it frequently corresponds to Lat. b (or to the Romanic f derived from it): tæfl, tablet; trifot, tribute; fēfor, fever; prōfian, prove; cyrfrct, pumpkin, from tabula, tributum, febris, probare, cucurbita; or to Lat. v, as in cealfre, from calvaria; lufesticus, lavourge, from levisticum; brēfian, shorten, from breviare; Muntglo̱f, from Montem Jovis; finally, to Lat. p (Romanic b, v?): prafo̱st, profo̱st, from praepositus.

Note 2. The etymological distinction between the two sounds which coincide in OE. f is preserved scarcely anywhere but in Ep., and there only to a limited degree; in this text forms like wulfes, girōfa, hofr, etc. are contrasted with such as obær, carbet-, salb, salve, etc. (Beitr. 11. 542 ff.); yet even Ep. has already some f's for b, as in ofer, sifun-. The use of f for both sounds then increases very rapidly, and soon becomes a fixed rule. The b persists for some time only before r in nēbre, never (frequently in Cura Past.), beside nēfre, and in the syncope cases of fēfor, fever, gen. fébrēs (febrēres, 229); also frequently in the poet. ūber, sacri̊fice, etc.

For WS. Kent. Merc. (Ps. R.I) dio̱fol, de̱fol, -ul, devil, North. singularly has R.2 dio̱wul (only twice dia̱ful, -ol), L. dio̱bul, dio̱bol,
diowl, diul, etc. (only once diofles), Rit. diobul, diovl, dioi, infl. diobl-, diovl-, divol-; probably these forms are influenced by Celtic parallels.

Note 3. Gemination of the sonant spirant v does not occur in OE., its place being taken by bb (190).

Note 4. At a decidedly late period f is occasionally found for w: stänhīfet, quarry; glēof, gloried; hlēf, barrow, for -hīvet, glēow, hlēw.

193. Except for the interchange with b (191) and v (194), f is tolerably stable in OE. Exceptions are as follows:

1) In the oldest texts pt sometimes represents the usual ft: Ep. sceæpt, shaft; edscæpt, palingenesis; gidopta, comrade (for sceæft, edscæft, gidosta); but side by side with these occur siftit, sifts; nift, niece, etc. (cf. 221, note 1), and even bt, as in Corp. cēoribt, knee-cloth.

2) fn (with sonant f) frequently passes into mn, especially when medial, and more particularly in later OE. (189): emne, even; stemn, voice; stēmn, stem, from efne, stefn, stefn (for later mm, m cf. 188.1); so likewise LOE. wimman, plur. wimmen, from wifmón, woman.

Note. This change does not take place in the verbs æfnan, ðifnan, and ræfnan, perform, presumably because the f is a surd.

v

194. In foreign words of late adoption, like Dāuid, Ėue, Lēui, v, or rather MS. u, denotes the sound of the Latin v (identical with the OE. sonant labiodental spirant); hence these words are occasionally written Ėfe, (gen.) Lēfes, (but not *Ēwe). Earlier loan-words, on the other hand, rather generally replace Lat. v (u) by f (192.2; but cf. also 171, note 3).
In OE. words u is employed in the earlier period to represent the semivowel w (171, note 1); more rarely to denote the sonant labiodental spirant, as in Auene (proper noun), yuel, selua, for Afene, yfel, selfa. The latter designation does not gain ground till later.

2. DENTALS

195. t always stands for the surd dental stop, and is common in all positions: toô, tooth; trêo, tree; tiên, ten; etan, eat; heorte, heart; wät, knows. It is frequently geminated, as in secat(t), secattes, money; seftan, set; hlâttor, clear; hättte, is called (367, note); grêtte, greeted, etc. For the combinations ft, st, ht, see 232; cf. also 193. 1; 221, note 1.

196. t is almost without exception stable. The only exceptions are the following:

1) In EWS. (especially in the Hatton MS. of the Cura Past.) st very frequently changes to so, particularly in the termination of the ind. pres. 2 sing.: sô, giefesô, hilpesô, etc.; also in words like fâesô, fast; düsô, dust; wæsôm, growth; ðârîsôrîgan, obscure; wâsô, knowest, and superlatives like maksô, most; æresô, erst, for giefest, hilpest, fæst, etc.

2) For WS. tl in botl, building; sel, seat; spâtl, spittle, North. has -vî, -vîl when final: L. R. seôl (dat. seôlle Rit.); this becomes dl when medial, as in gen. sedles, plur. sedlo; dat. spâdle (compare byldîa, inhabitant); fî, as in seôles, boôle, etc. Bede; beside tl,
ttl, as in WS.: nom. seatul, sætil, plur. setla, settlas, etc. L. In Ps. ld is the regular substitute for tl in seld (183. 2. a), the only one of this group occurring in this text; while seld, bold are common in poetry, beside setl, botl (spälz El. 300). Here the basic sound is everywhere p (201).

Note 1. These by-forms are almost entirely unknown to WS. prose, though there are certain somewhat doubtful instances of bold and seld.

Note 2. Beside WS. botm, bottom, there occurs once bythane, carina (Shrine 103), in a text which is strongly colored by Anglian peculiarities.

3) The combination tj (whether with orig. j or with the spirant g, 211) passes into c or cc in orceard, garden, beside ort-geard (as early as Cura Past.; also orcegard, LWS. orcedn, orceard); LWS. crafca, mechanic (also craftea, and, with secondary middle vowel, cæftica), beside cæftga, from the adj. cæftig, skilful; and pure WS. feece(e)an, fetch, beside dial. feþian (416, note 15. b); so the sporadic Municiu Wulfst., for usual Muntglof, Montem Jovis (192. 2); cf. 205, note 1; 206. 4; 216, note 2.

Note 3. Ecthripsis of t sometimes takes place in consonant-combinations, especially after h, s: drohnan, õrísnes, fæsulan, genihtsum, for drohtulan, õristnes, fæstulan, genihtsum (cf. 198. 4; 359, note 1).

Note 4. Conversely, and especially at a subsequent period, t is sometimes inserted between s and l: elmestlic-, eleemosynary; ondrystlic, dreadful; and frequently mistlic, various, for ielmellic, ondryslic (ondrysnlic, 188, note 4), mistlic; and probably maës-ling, for maësling, brass.

Note 5. For OE, st for sð see 201. 6; for t, tt from tð, dð see 201. 4.
197. The sign for the sonant dental stop, and corresponds, as a rule, to the Gothic \(d\). It may occur in any position, and is subject to gemination: \(dæg, day\); \(drifan, drive\); \(dweorg, dwarf\); \(eald, old\); \(eardian, dwell\); \(biddan, request\), etc.

Only in very ancient manuscripts does \(d\) stand for \(\text{o}\), p (199, note 1).

**Note.** In loan-words \(d\) sometimes occurs for Romanic \(d < \text{Lat. } t\): \(abbon, abbot\); \(Laedon, Latin\), from \(\text{Lat. } abbatem, Latinum\), etc.

198. \(d\) is generally stable, but the following facts are to be noted:

1) \(d\) experiences grammatical change with \(p\) (234).

2) \(ld\) corresponds in part to Goth. \(ld\), as in \(ceald, cold\); \(healdan, hold\), and in part sprang from an older \(lp\); similarly WS. \(dl\) frequently sprang from \(pl\) (201. 2, 3).

3) \(ldl\) becomes \(ll\) in \(siellic, peculiar\) (Goth. \(sildaleik\)), and likewise occasionally in North.: \(ballice, boldly\); \(mönig-, tu-, seofallice, mani-, two-, sevenfold\) (for and beside \(baldlice, -faldlice\)); \(hënhstalllic, virginal, etc.\)

4) Before and after surds \(d\) becomes \(t\):

a) for example, in the ind. pres. 2 sing., as in \(bitst, læst, bintst, stentst (359. 2)\), from \(biddan, lēdan, bindan, stōdan\); \(milts, sympathy, miltsian, compassionate\) (from \(milde\)); \(gitsian, covet\); \(bietian, bless\); and in compound words like \(metsceat, antsacodon, gesuntfulnes\) Cura Past., for \(mēd-, and-, gesund-.\)

Yet the spelling is often conformed to the etymology: \(bindst, milds, mildsian\) (rare WS. \(gidsian, bledsian\), but always \(bledsian\) in the Ps., and usually North.
bloedsiga L. Rit., contrasted with bleetsiga R. 2), or d, t is lost after consonants: mils, milsian, etc., binst, stenst (359. 2). For t from dp see 201. 4;

b) particularly in the weak pret. and past part. of verbs with long stems, like se-cente, iecte (405. 4).

5) After consonant + d, t, there is loss of d, as in pret. sconde, ehte, from sendan, ehtan (405. 4).

Note 1. d is sometimes inserted between n and l: endlufon, eleven (Goth. ainlif), and especially in adjectives ending in orig. -enlic, like ondrysendelic, horrible, etc.

Note 2. Final d has disappeared in proclitic on- from onde-, as in onfn- on, receive; ongletan, understand; onsa-can, oppose; compare ondfeng, receiver; ondget, intellect; ondsaca, opponent, etc. This led to occasional erroneous substitution of stressed onde-, and-
for stressed on-, aund-(OHG. ana): aundweald, power; aunding, complete; andsyn, face, for onweald, onwealh, onsien; even andcelow, ankle, for oncelow (OHG. anchlaus).

 ธ, ὤ

199. 1) The two letters ธ and ὤ originally denoted without distinction the dental spirant which is now represented in Eng. by th (200). German (more rarely English) editors and grammarians have long been accustomed to print ὤ as initial, and ธ as medial and final; yet German editors are now beginning to follow the haphazard arrangement of the manuscripts. In the course of this work we propose to follow the best older manuscripts (like Curia Past. Ps. L. R. 2, and the oldest charters), which more or less uniformly employ ธ: we use ธ in general for historical forms, but ὤ side by side with it in special quotations, and for the citation of prehistoric basal forms of sounds or words.
Note 1. In the oldest texts there is scarcely any trace of either character; Ep. has but a very few examples of either, and the same is true of the oldest charters. The earliest dated Ȝ (paæ) I find in a charter of Wilfrid of Kent, a.d. 700–715; the earliest dated Ƿ (Ælfpryð) in a charter of Coenwulf of Mercia, a.d. 811; but throughout the whole of the ninth century Ƿ is but sparingly employed. A sporadic exception for this oldest period is formed by Corpus, with its frequent Ƿ, and for the later period by the Lauderdale MS. of Orosius and R.¹, which are sharply distinguished from Cura Past. and R.² by the regular employment of Ƿ.

Instead of Ȝ, Ƿ, the oldest texts generally employ th in the initial position: thorn, thegn; very rarely d, as in gidōpta Ep. 195, mōdgidane Cadmon’s Hymn; in the medial position, th and d: lotha, loda Ep., Æthil-, Ædil- Cod. Dipl. (in lieu of Ȝh is written thth, tht: ææththæ, otthæ, or); in the final position for the most part th: mearth, laath, hrīolith, suũuuth Ep., but sometimes t: sittit, fœhit, strīdit Ep., Cuuttfer, Cuuttferth, Sūtangli Cod. Dipl.

2) Ȝ, Ƿ may occur in any position, and both may undergo gemination: ðing, thing; ðri, three; ðwitan, cut; weordan, become; morð, murder; odōde, or; sceōðan, injure; siððan, since; or þing, þri, weorpænan, ðpe (odōpe), etc.

Note 2. For Ȝ the North. has hō in mōhōe, mohāa, moth.

Note 3. In loan-words Ȝ sometimes corresponds to a Romanic Ȝ < Lat. t, d: morāð, spiced wine; seōðerige, savory; senōð, synod; from Lat. meratum, satureia, synodus, etc.

200. The Ƿ of Germanic represented only a surd spirant, and this pronunciation must be postulated as the original one for OE. Ȝ, Ƿ. Yet it is quite possible that the original sound had already been differentiated in OE. into surd and sonant, the sonant occurring between voiced sounds (192. 2; 203). In favor of this view may be adduced
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1) the spelling of the oldest MSS., which employ medial d (199, note 1);
2) the retention of the group ẓd (201. 5; 405. 1);
3) the passage of lp into ld, and of pl into dl (with sonant stop, 201. 2, 3).

201. With regard to the conversions of p the following observations apply:
1) p undergoes grammatical change with d (234).

Note 1. In certain words p interchanges with d, especially in (h)ræd, (h)ræd, quick, adv. (h)ræd, (h)ræd. p is characteristic for Ps. eðr, vein; Ps. North. fremde, foreign, for WS. ædr, fremde; so eðcuide, relatio Corp.; eðwitia, censure L.; eðwitscype Waldere, yðæcan Kent. Gl., for WS. ed-, back.

2) Older lp passes into ld: beald, bold; feld, field; wilde, wild; gold, gold; hold, gracious; wuldor, glory (Goth. balps, wilpeis, gulp, etc.). Occasionally lp occurs, but exclusively in the oldest documents: hald, ðhældi, spilth Ep.; Balthhæardi Cod. Dipl., A.D. 732; Balthhardi, A.D. 740. The lp which is due to syncope suffers no further change: feld, falls; gesældu, success, etc.

3) Older pl, when occurring after a long vowel, regularly becomes dl in WS.: dld, sickness; nädl, needle; wædla, beggar; midl, bit; widlan, defile. The Anglian texts, however, frequently retained the pl: näpl Ep., miðl Corp., nàdl, wæðla Ps. (no dl in Ps.), ðæl, wæðelnes, poverty Bede; North. has usually ådl, nêdl, wîdliga, beside rarer ðæl, wîdliga. On the other hand, the pl which is due to syncope suffers no further change: ðæel, house (from *þpl), gen. ðæles; the proper noun Hrðel, gen. Hrðlæs; geniðla, enemy, etc.
Note 2. The quantity of æ is doubtful in the poetical mæðl, speech; mæðlæn, converse (beside mæðelan), but it is usually printed as short. ð is lost in mæλ, mæðlæn, and in stælan, found; stælwierðe, stælwært, beside stæðol, foundation; stæðelæn, found.

Note 3. Similarly, LWS. ðm passes into ðm in the inflected forms of māðum, treasure, gen. māðmes, plur. māðmas, for EWS. māðmæs, māðmas, and in cædmód, humble, for EWS. cædmóð; so North. ðn becomes ðn in hæðen, heathen, infl. hæðna (beside rare hæðna), etc. L. (not R.3)

Note 4. For ðl, ðm, beside WS. tl, tm, see 196. 2, and note 2.

4) ðp and ðp become tt, which is simplified when final and when following a consonant:
   a) ðætæte, that, for ðæt ðe (so looser combinations like ðættæ, ðættæt, from ðæt ðæ, ðæt ðæt); bit, it(t), for *bitþ, *itþ (359. 3).
   b) cædmætto, humility; ofermættto, arrogance; wæamætto, grief; lattæow, leader; bryttofta, spousals; mitty, while; gesyntu, health; gescæntu, shame; verbal forms like bit, bint (359. 3); for *cæpmèðpu (from cæpmold, humble), lādēcæow, mid ðy, *gesyndpu, *gescændpu (255. 3), ðulp, etc. The spelling is at times conformed to the etymology, as in latþeow, lattæow, and such forms are the regular ones when the t or ð and the ð belong to different words. The assimilation of initials and finals is not carried out with entire consistency until we come to later texts, like theOrmulum.

5) ðd (with sonant ð? 200. 2) is mostly preserved, and does not pass into dd till a late period (405. 2); ðp is likewise retained, and is simplified when final only in certain cases according to 231; cýð(ð), kith, gen. cýððe; lēðð(u), affliction, from *kunþipja, *laiþipja, etc.

6) sp becomes st, though the etymological spelling often holds its ground as sð: so in the verbs ciest,
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wiext, beside ciesō, wiexō (359.8); in abstract nouns ending in -ōu, like méceliēstū, lack of food; réceliēstū, recklessness; also when final s and initial ō come together in the 2 sing. of the verb, as in hilpestu, hafastu (from hilpes ōu, hafas ōu), from which the later and usual forms of the 2 sing. in -st are then deduced (356).

Note 5. For WS. sō from older st see 196. 1.

7) ps is often retained in bliōs, bliss; bliōsian, rejoice; liōs, mildness (perhaps only etymological spelling), but usually passes into ss: bliss, blissian, liss (with short vowel ?); so also ewist (ewist ?), from ewiōest, ewiōst.

Note 6. In late texts hw- sometimes occurs for hw-, especially in Hpt. Gl.: for example, gehwærīēcan, for gehwærīēcan, asent (Archiv 88. 185–186). How far this signifies an actual phonetic change, and how far it is a mere clerical blunder, is not easy to determine.

s

202. s is one of the commonest sounds of OE., may occupy any position in the word, and is also subject to gemination: sunu, son; sīttan, sīt; sceleal, shal; sprecean, speak; stōndan, stand; sōpan, sleep; smael, small; snōttor, wise; sweltan, die; medially and finally: cēosan, choose; wesan, be; fisc, fish; giest, guest; cosp, fetter; cyssan, kiss; asa, ass, etc. Combined with preceding c, h, it becomes x (209; 221. 2).

203. The sound of Germ. s was only that of a surd sibilant; and in like manner OE. s was at first undoubt-edly a surd, as Germ. sonant z had either become r or been entirely lost (181; 182). However, it is not impossible that the modern Eng. change to a sonant spirant
(French and English z) did already take place to some extent between voiced sounds in OE., as in preterits like liesde, ræsde, from liesan, ræsan, contrasted with such as cyste from cyssan (405. 4; 200; but also 198. 4).

204. Concerning the s it is especially to be observed:

1) There is grammatical change between s and r (234).

2) For the combinations st and ss from dental + t see 232; for st from sp, 201. 6; sɔ from st, 196; ss from sr, 180; ss from ps, 201. 7; for scl, sen, sem, instead of sl, sn, sm, 210. 1.

3) The combinations se and sp, especially in later WS. and when medial, often undergo metathesis to es (hs), but usually x, and ps: āscian, ask; wascan, wash; asce, ashes; fiscas, fishes; tūscas, tusks; but also ācsian (āhsian, āxian), waxan, axe, fixas, tūxas. So also betwux, between (329); muxle, mussel, etc.; then cosp and cops, fetter; āesp and āeps, aspen; wlisp and wlips, lisping; cirpsian, crisp (cf. 179).

Note. sse often occurs for se in bisce(o)p, beside bise(e)op, etc., bishop.

205. The sound of German z is strange to Germanic; it therefore appears in OE. only a) in foreign words, or b) where vowel-synecope has brought together t, d (p) + s. Its commonest designation is ts: a) Atsur (proper noun; ON. Qzurr); Magentse, Mayence; dracentse, dracontia; palentse, palatium; yntse, ounce; b) plur. brytsena, bits (from brēotan, 384); bêtsta, best; milts, gitsian, bletsian, bitst, lētst, bintst, stentst, etc. (198. 4); more
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rarely ds: Adsur, yndse; especially in etymological spelling: milds, gidsian, etc. (198.4).

Note 1. Very rare is z: Azur, draconze, balzam, balsam; LWS. betzt, milze, Merc. R.1 bæzere, baptist; then dz: Adzur, R.1 baedzere; or tz: Corp. mertzze, merz; or finally c: ynce; North. (L. Ritt.) bæccere, and place, street (from Lat. platea; also before a guttural vowel, dat. pliccum, beside plur. plaetsa R.2), if this does not belong to 196.3 (but cf. note 2).

Note 2. After n, l there is a frequent loss of t from ts, especially in LWS.: ynsce, dragense, but especially often in the inflection: binst, stenst, wels (198.4; 359.2). Thus after vowels only in the North. dat. pliccum R.2

3. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

206. In general. 1) The letters c (k, q), g, h (x) represent in OE. both gutturals and palatals. These were sharply distinguished from each other both etymologically and phonetically. In contrast to this, Germ. probably had only one class of corresponding sounds, to which we must assign guttural (or indeterminate) articulation.

2) The following are the chief rules governing the division in OE.:

a) Initial c, g became palatal ć, ǵ as early as Prim. OE. before the primary palatal vowels æ, ā (= Germ. æ, Lat. ā), e, i, ĩ, and the diphthongs āa (from au), āo, io (from eu), and their i-umlauts, WS. e, æ, ie, ie (unstable ĩ, ţ), etc., but remained guttural before the guttural vowels a, ţ (o, Ũ), o, ŏ, u, ŭ, and their i-umlauts, WS. æ, Ą, e, ĕ (œ, ōe), y, ţ (ʔ, note), as well as before consonants. Hence their diphthongizing effect upon
the primary palatal vowels and their umlauts, but not upon the other vowels (74—76. 1).

b) Initial sc was already palatalized to sé before primary palatal vowels as early as Prim. OE., like simple ć, and hence exerted influences precisely similar. The palatalization of sc before originally guttural vowels is later; its effect on adjoining vowels is therefore different (76. 2).

c) Medial c and g (including their geminates, cc and cg, 207; 216) become in Prim. OE. the palatals ć and ġ (ćé, ġé), certainly before older i, j, and perhaps at least in part before older æ, and retain this character even after the j has disappeared (177) or the i, æ have been weakened to e (44).

d) In a similar manner orig. sc is divided into an sé with older palatalization before i, j (or æ?), and one with later palatalization (cf. b, above).

e) Preceding palatal vowels exert a palatal influence on g, c, sc at the end of a syllable, yet the OE. itself gives us few definite criteria concerning the extent of this influence (but cf., for example, note 0).

Note 1. In the inflection and word-formation there is often an occasion for the alternation of palatal and guttural sounds, together with an occasion for reciprocal leveling, but the extent of this we have scarcely any means of determining.

f) Initial h is a mere breath, and therefore undergoes no noticeable change. After a vowel, however, it was originally, as the breakings (82 ff.) show, always of a guttural nature. However, it seems even under these circumstances to have undergone later palatalization, especially under the influence of preceding palatals.
3) The criteria which OE. furnishes for the occurrence of palatalization are in part phonetic, and in part merely graphic. Here we must especially note:

a) The palatalization of initial c, g, and sce is testified by the WS. diphthongization of primary palatal vowels (75); the later palatalization of sce before guttural vowels by the spellings sce-, sceo-, etc. (76. 2); the palatalization of g by its points of contact with i and j (212 ff.).

b) To indicate palatal pronunciation there is frequently an insertion of a palatal vowel between the medial palatals c, g, or sce and a following guttural vowel. Before a and o this is generally e (rarely in old texts i); læceas, læcea; ricea (246); sæcean, reçcean, þencean (407); fylgean (416, note 9); liegean (372); sæcegan (416); flæscea, gen. plur. of flæsc, flesh (267, a); æsean, gen. dat. acc. sing. of æsce, desire (278; basic form *aiskjö); ádwæsecan, smother; offôrysecan, suppress (403 ff.; on forms like mennescea, with later palatalization, see 76, note 4), beside forms like læcas, -a, rica, sæcan, reçcan, þencean; fylgan, liegan, sæcegan; flæsca, æscean, ádwæsecan, offôrysecan, etc.; or menigeo, strengeo, wînceo (279), gefylceo, stieceo (246; also gefyleio, gescineio), andfêngeost (from andfënge, agreeable, 298), beside menigo, strengo, wîlceo, gefylceo, etc.

In a similar manner, i is sometimes inserted before u: dręncium, ëcum, drỳggium, from dręnc, drink (265); ece, eternal; drýge, dry (298), beside dręncum, ëcum, drỳgum, etc.; e is used here only seldom: ëceum, wæcecum (from wæccea, watch, 278).
Note 2. No auxiliary vowel is used before e, but the oldest texts have occasionally an i before æ (44, note 1): birceæ, birch; bringeæ, fibula Ep.

Note 3. OE. Runic writing distinguishes the different phonetic values by special characters; the rune gifu designates palatal ɣ, and the rune gar the guttural ɡ; for the sounds of c the Ruthwell Cross inscription has three different characters, of which two almost certainly denote ɛ and c (compare Victor, Die North. Runensteinel., pp. 24, 31).

Note 4. Late manuscripts often write k before palatal vowels, to denote the guttural sound (207, note 2).

4) The palatal stops ɛ and (ɛ)g became at a rather early period palatal fricatives, that is, sounds like Eng. ch and dg. This is shown by forms like orceærd, fecceæn (Eng. orchard, fetch), etc. (196.3), miegern (216, note 2).

Note 5. This change is carried through Middle English and remains in Modern English; it is the surest criterion for the old palatalization of stops. For the initial position compare Eng. chaff, cheap, churl, chew, child, chill, cheese = OE. ceæf, cæap, cœorl, cœowan, cœld, cœle (cyle), cœse (cýse); but key, Kent, keem, kin, king, kîss = OE. cœg, Ćent, cêne, cyn, cyning, cyssan, etc.; for the medial position: rich, reach, teach = OE. rice, reæcean, técean; or bridge, hedge, singe = OE. bryeg, heæg, sengeæn, etc.

Note 6. This change to fricatives is especially important, because it enables us to recognize palatalizations which we could hardly discover by means of the OE. alone. So the c at the end of a syllable after l, as in piæ, pitch; diæ, ditch; ic, I (ME. ich); hwilæ (from *hwilæ), which; swilæ (from *swalleæ), such, etc. (compare also the Runic ic, Ruthwell Cross, with its character for palatal c, note 3).


5) A special designation of palatal pronunciation, like a diacritical sign, is not regularly employed in the sections which follow.
207. c is the character for the surd guttural stop and the surd palatal stop. It stands before all vowels, even e, i, y: casere, emperor; cosp, fetter; cuō, known; as well as cennan, beget; ceald, cold; cēosan, choose; cild, child; cynn, kin; medially: sacan, quarrel; swicol, deceptive; sacu, quarrel; æcer, field; hōcīhte, curved; also geminated: sac, sacces, sack; ðeccean, cover, etc.

Note 1. For cw see 208; for et instead of ht, 221, note 1; for ce, ci, as denoting palatal c, 206. 3. b.

Note 2. Now and then the Mss. (very often R.1, for example) write k for c: kennan, kēne, knēo, folkes, æcker, giok; and likewise ck for cc: ðicke. This k is found somewhat more frequently before y, or the i which has sprung from it (31): kynn, kyning, kyne- in compound words (likewise kining, king) for cynn, etc. (so frequently as early as Cura Past.). Probably the k is intended to denote the guttural sound (206, note 4).

208. The sound of the Latin qu is generally denoted by cw, or, in the older texts, by cu: cweðan, cwic, cwōmon, older cweðan, cuic, cuōmun. Only rarely in the oldest texts is the Latin qu employed as a substitute, as in quidu Ep.; Quōnōrýð Cod. Dipl., A.D. 811 (not infrequently in Corp.).

209. For es (due to the syncope of a vowel, or to metathesis of se) x is usually found: rixian, reign; æx, ax; áxián, ask; æxe, ashes (204. 3); betweox, between (329, note 1); for and sometimes beside rixian (OHG. richisōn), ácsian, etc.

Note. Besides x and es (the latter is especially common in words like rixian, because of their visible relation to rice, etc.) several orthographical variants occur: ex, hx, xs, cs, hs, hs: rixian, áhxian, áhxsian, áhslan, rixslan, axse, ancsumnys; very seldom gs, as in ágsian; cf. also 221, note 3.
210. The following irregularities in regard to e are still to be noted:

1) e is occasionally inserted in the combinations st, sm, sn: selāt Corp. 433; sceacnes, ásclacad Kent. Gl. 694, 696; semēgendē Ps. 118. 129; senicendan Cura Past. 155. 17; scēncon Ep. Alex. 320; sceip Gen. marg., etc.

2) Before -st and -ē, the personal endings of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing., LWS. e often becomes ē; tēhst, tēhē, etc., for tēcest, tēcē (359.5); so also LWS. lēahōn (North. lēhtēn), ġārde, for lēactēn.

3) North. final e often passes (Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxxxviii, cxi) into h (written ch, and even g), especially in the conjunction aḥ, būt, and the pronouns iḥ (as an enclitic likewise īg, as in sēdgī, forgeldīg, for sēgde īc, forgeldo īc), meh (mech), ǣh, ūsīh (ūsīch, ūsīg), iūiħ (iūih) (332, note 4); aḥ instead of ae is also found in the other dialects.

4) Medial e in North. is often written ch: folches, werches, wlenches, swēnche, stēnches R.² (Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxxxviii).

Note. For e in place of g see 215. On the interchange of ce and hh see 220, note 2.

211. The letter g not only denotes the Germ. semi-vowel j (175. 2), but is also the symbol of a guttural or palatal sound, corresponding etymologically with Germ. g. From the fact that this sound alliterates with OE. g = Germ. j, and that it occasionally interchanges with
j and h, we are justified in inferring that it is to be regarded on the whole as a spirant, and not as a sonant stop.

212. Initially, g is a guttural spirant in the cases designated under 206. 2. a: galan, sing; gäst, ghost; gold, gold; guma, man; gylden, golden; glæd, glad; gnorn, sorrow; grafan, dig; also before WS. æ, as in æægædere, together (75, note 1). On the other hand, it is a palatal spirant before e, éa, éo, i, ie, io: geldan, gieldan, yield; geaf, gave; gæafon, (they) gave; gæotan, pour; gift, gift, etc.

Note 1. Change to j is shown by larwan, beside gearwan R.¹ = WS. glærwan, North. gearwia (408, note 3); likewise by Kent. Æethilæardī Cod. Dipl., A.D. 732; Æanlæard, A.D. 778; Æfælleard, A.D. 805, for -geard, etc. Also in later (especially Kentish) texts occasionally recurs for g: Gl. iæmung, bliong, ieteld, for gémung, wedding; bigong, worship; geteld, tent, etc.; occasionally also forms like lærcaen, prepare (Benet), for WS. gearclæn, etc. In such texts the prefix ge- appears also as i-, especially after un-: unlic, unequal; uniwæmmæd, unblemished Hpt. Gl., etc. (so already Beow. unigmetes, exceedingly.

Note 2. The g is often lacking before éa and éo in late texts: cella, cælor, cæglæs, cœrn, cægoð, ðoce, for gealla, gall; geador, together; gæglas, jæos; georn, willingly; gægoð, youth; gæoce, aid. Late Kent., on the contrary, sometimes prefixes g to ea, eo: gearfoðe, gæøfe, geornest, ðæode, fulgæode, for earfoðe, troublesome; éaðe, easy; cornest, earnest; ðæode, went; fullæode, helped (even in Old Kent. in Gæanberht Cod. Dipl., A.D. 781). Both phenomena are no doubt to be explained by the circumstance that, after the shifting of stress in ea, eo (34, note), these diphthongs coincided in pronunciation with the older gea, geo, and therefore the two were no longer so clearly separated in spelling.

213. Medially and finally after vowels and r, l, the pronunciation varies between guttural and palatal spirant,
according to the principles laid down in 206. 2. e, e; regn, rain; rignan, rain; daege, by day; lagu, sea; drög, drew; beorgan, conceal; belgan, grow angry. For ge as the representative of palatal g see 206. 3. b.

Note. For (palatal) g after r, l the digraph Ig is not infrequently employed when the combination is preceded by y, e, or i, especially in later texts: byrig (284); ðbyligð, anger; myrigð, mirth, for byrg, ðbyligð, myrgð, etc.; also in the interior of a word, as in fyligan, follow; wyrgian, curse; merigan, morning, for fylgan, wyrgan, mergan (cf. also 214. 2, 4 ff.). A u is rarely introduced before (guttural) g, when u precedes: burug, for burg (284, note 4).

214. That g is a spirant in the positions named above will be manifest upon a consideration of the following changes:

1) In the later documents (guttural) g, when final, passes more or less regularly into h after a long guttural vowel or r, l: genōh, enough; bēah, ring; stōh, ascended; beorh, mountain; burh, borough; sorh, care; bealh, raged, for genōg, bēag, stāg, beorg, burg, sorg, bealg: so also palatal g before surd consonants with which it combines as the result of syncope: stīhst, clīmbst; stīhð, clīmb:s; yrhōðo, cowardice, for stīgst, stīgð, yrððo. This change is more or less wanting in the older texts (wholly, for example, in Ps.).

Note 1. Final h occurs extremely seldom after a long palatal vowel: stīh, ascended; bēh, ring, for stīg, bēag (108. 2). After a short vowel h is somewhat commoner; imp. weh, weigh; wæh, weighed; ðūlōh, outlan; geðōh, pull; compounds like laðbryce, -sīte, infrac- tion of law; hohmōd, anxious; hohful, careful; North. especially in an unstressed syllable, as in ēðīth, sextīth, suīnnīh L., for ēōtīg, sextīg, synūg.

Note 2. More rarely h occurs at the end of a syllable before a voiced consonant: āhnīan, possess; āhlēca, demon; dīhlan, conceal,
for āgnlan, āglēca, diglan; still more rarely after a short vowel, as in fahnlan, rejoice; plur. fuñlas, birdês, instead of fagnlan, fuglas.

Note 3. Only a few texts (like the Boeth., which is strongly influenced by Kentish) employ h for g between vowels: dat. plur. dahum, days; 3 plur. mahan, be able; heretoht, leader; for dagum, magon, -toga.

Note 4. h + g is often assimilated to hh in LWS. and North. (L.) néhebûr (also néheche-, nêchebûr), and its derivatives, for nêahgebûr, etc., neighbor.

Note 5. As an intermediate spelling gh is also occasionally found: bōgh, shoulder; hnâgh, bowed; slâgh, slew; dâaghian, dye; tōtoghent, rent; also hg: stâhg, ascended; ñwâgh, washed; wilhûr, warrior; onwrihgent, revealed; dat. brinkge, eyelid; dat. dīghglum, secret; after 1: plur. onwealhge, whole; frequently after r: burhge, city, gen. plur. burharga; sorhglan, sorrow. Not to be confounded with this gh is the stable gh in ñeghwîlc, ñeghwâðer, etc., for *ā-gi-hwîlc, etc. (347, note 3).

Note 6. On final g for h see 223, note 1.

This interchange of g and h is to be distinguished from the grammatical change of these two sounds (233; 234).

2) When following a palatal vowel at the end of a syllable, g sometimes passes into t. This phenomenon is peculiar to Kentish, and a chief criterion of this dialect. So already Ep. gréi, bodel; meðhanda Cod. Dipl., A.D. 831; ēhwelec, Deimund, A.D. 882; dei, A.D. 837; meðhâd Kent. Gl., etc., for bodeg, mēg-, ēg-, deg-, megðhâd. Similarly, LWS. often has -ig for -g: weig, dæg, mæg, etc., for weg, dæg, mæg, etc.

3) g, when followed by one of the voiced consonants d, (ð), n, often disappears in WS. after a palatal vowel, the preceding vowel being simultaneously lengthened: mēden, maiden; sēde, gesēd (416, note 3); tēde, geleð (407, note 7); brēdan, brandish, strēdan, dissipate (389); -hýdige, -mined, for sægde, lægde, bregdan, stregdan,
-hydlig, etc.; tidian, grant, for tigdiian; ðenian, serve; ðenen, handmaid; frinan, inquire; rinan, rain, for ðegulan, signen, frigan, rignan. Synecope of g likewise takes place before originally syllabic n: wæn, wain; ræn, rain; þæn, thane, for wægn, regn, ðegn (though these forms are perhaps due to the analogy of the polysyllabic ones, like gen. wænes, rænes, þænes). Not till a later period do we now and then encounter synecope before l, as in snæel, for snægl, snail.

Note 7. The loss of g occurs almost without exception in WS. ongæn, again; tōgænes, against (only once ongegn Cura Past. H); Pa. has only ongegn, R. generally ongægn, once ongæn, North. usually ongægn, tōgægn, rarely in L. ongæn; the poetry varies between ongæn and ongegn, tōgænes and tōgænes.

Note 8. g is lost after a guttural vowel in frûnon, grefrûnen, from frinan, and brûdon, brōden, strōden, from brēdan, strēdan (389), but perhaps only through the influence of the present forms with palatal vowels. Frûn is certainly only a new formation according to the pres. friman.

Note 9. In an unstressed syllable, g disappears before n and l in holen, beside holegn, holly, and finul, finule, beside a rare early finugl, finugle, fennel.

Note 10. Loss of g between consonants takes place in mornes, morne (merne), gen. dat. sing. of morgen, morn.

4) ige, from igei, is often contracted to ı: ı, porcupine; Silhearwan, Ethiopians; list, lið, liest, lies; gelire, adultery, for igel, Sigel-, ligest, ligeð, geligere; so also siðe, acythe, from *sigiðe.

5) The ending -ig often loses its g, most frequently when medial, as in syndrie, heßle, hungrie, for syndrige, hêlige, hungrige; mënio, for mënigo, multitude; but also at the end of a word or syllable: ðeni, mænifold, dysi, acc. ðenine, etc. (frequent in later texts, and perhaps
more exactly to be written with lengthened i: æni, ænine, etc.). Even the ūg of a stressed syllable occasion-ally undergoes a similar loss: drīc, dry, dat. drūm, etc.; āffian, put to flight; biēria, blear-eyed person, for drige, drēge (31, note), āflīg(e)an, biēr-īg(e)a.

Note 11. The ūg from g (213, note) is often treated in like manner: fylīan, wyrian, merlen; also before consonants: pres. 3 sing. fylīð, pret. fylīde, etc.

6) In like manner, -īg is frequently contracted to -i in the first member of a compound word: stirēp, stirrēp; stīwita, stīward, steward; switīma, time of silence, from stigrēp, -wita, -weard, swigtīma.

7) Initial g before ea, eo is sometimes omitted in later texts: calla, gall, etc. (212, note 2); so almost regularly LWS. middaneard, world; wīneard, vineyard, for middan-, wingear.

8) After u LWS. g interchanges occasionally with w, especially in suwian, be silent; ādrūwian, wither, for s(w)ugian, ādrūgian; also after o in geswōwung, swoon, beside geswōgen, swooning.

215. The combination ūng retains its g unaltered, except that it is often (and even very early) replaced, when final, by -nc, -neg, -nge: Uuihtherinc Cod. Dipl., a.d. 811; Cymesinc, A.D. 822; Thēodninge, A.D. 779; Cāsineg, Cillineg, A.D. 814; Šełeberhtinęcg-łend, A.D. 814. This e, etc., even forces itself into the medial position: swulungena, gesōnmunęcga Cod. Dipl., a.d. 805–831. Even egg occurs: Geddinggum, a.d. 825 (North. instances in Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxxxviii).
Likewise medial ng frequently becomes nc before a surd: brincø, brings; sprincø, springs; strøncø, strength; løncøn, spring; ancøm, difficult, for bringø, støngø, løngten (and Ps. lønten), ongøm.

Note 1. That the pronunciation was nc in such cases, even when ng was written, appears from the occasional substitution of ng for original nc: dringø, drinks; ſøngø, seems; ſøngø, thinks; stingø, stinks, for drincø, etc.

Simple n is also occasionally written both for ng and nc in this position, especially in Kent. texts: stønø, lønø, for støngø, ſøncø, etc. (184, note).

Hence we must conclude that the g of ng denoted a sonant stop, which, according to 206, was either guttural or palatal; the latter subsequently passed over into the palatal fricative (dʒ = Eng. j); cf. 206. 4.

Note 2. Many later texts, which in other cases regularly reproduce older medial ng by ng, often represent older ng₁ and ng₂ by nçg: andfæncge, agreeable; þunwæncge, temples; getincge, eloquent; spincge, sponge; landbigæncga, inhabitant; giæncgan, adorn; miæcgan, mingle, etc. Here the çg (cf. 216) probably denotes palatal pronunciation, and perhaps even the sound of the fricative (dʒ = Eng. j).

216. Geminated g is of twofold origin, and therefore has twofold phonetic value:

1) Usually it arose from Germ. gj by West Germ. gemination (227), and is therefore certainly a palatal in OE. It is represented by cg, which is not simplified at the end of a word (231); before a (o) often written ege, before u also cœgi (206. 3. b): sécg, man; hrycg, back; gen. sing. sécgæs, hrygæs; nom. plur. sécg(e)as, gen. sécg(e)a, dat. sécgum (sécgium); besides verbs like sécg(e)an, say; liæg(e)an, lie, etc.
THE CONSONANTS

Note 1. Medial gg (also ge, geg) rarely occurs, and then usually in earlier texts: dat. sing. hrygge; hyggian, think; seggan, segcan, segegan, etc.; more common is egg, especially in the earlier WS. manuscripts.

Note 2. In the rather late miegern, fat, for *midgern (OHG. mittigarni), the cg sprang from dg (cf. 196. 3).

2) Only in a few words is double g not from gj, and in these it is usually written gg, not cg: dogga, dog; frogga, frog; hogclan, impend; flogclan, shine forth; floggettan, fluctuate; clugge, bell; sugga, siecdula, warbler; also sceacga, hair of the head; earwiega, earwig. Probably this spelling was intended to indicate the guttural pronunciation of this gg, contrasted with the palatal cg.

3) The pronunciation of both these groups was, according to the spelling and the later phonetic development, at least originally that of a double sonant stop; but the palatal geminate cg subsequently became the palatal fricative (dż = Eng. j); cf. note 2, and 206. 4.

h (x)

217. Initial h is simply a breath. It occurs without limitation before vowels, and likewise in the combinations hl, hr, hn, hw, which are perhaps only to be regarded as the surd l, r, n, w (like Eng. wh): hlaf, loaf; hlichhan, laugh; hræfn, raven; hring, ring; hnigan, bow; hnütu, nut; hwæt, what; hwit, white.

Initial h disappears in nabban, from ne habban (416, note 1; so in North. L. boöflic, beside behöflíc, necessary), and in the second member of certain early compounds: änliepe, single (ON. einhleypr); wælréow,
beside wælhrēow, savage; add forms like ifig, ivy; licuma, body; qondétta, confess, from *if-hēg, lic-hōma, *qond-hātjan, etc. (cf. 43, note 4, and the pronouns, 343; 348.2); so in compound proper nouns, like Waldēre, and often in the later Ælfhere, Ælfelm, Ealdelm, for Ælfhere, Ælfhelm, Ealdhelm, etc.

Note 1. In the older MS8, initial h is sometimes lost: æfde, waet, ring, for hæde, hwæt, hring; and, conversely, there is now and then prothesis of h: hierre, hæmeteg, hlæreow, for ierre, hjemeteg, lærēow (WS. instances in Cosijn, Taalk. Bijdr. 2. 130; Kent. in Zupitza, ZfdA. 21. 12; North. in Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxi, cxxi). The pronunciation actually varies, however, only in the case of the verb hweorfan and its derivatives, and more frequently in that of hraēð, quick, adv. hraēðe, which alliterate not only with h, but also with w or r (cf. Rieger, Verskunst 9).

Note 2. In certain later texts h before a consonant begins to disappear: lāford, ring, rēat, for hlāford, hring, hrēat. Sporadic are such spellings as waet, gewhǣde, rhigge, for hwæt, gehwǣde, hryege.

Note 3. In an alphabet of the eleventh century the name of h is given as ache (Wanley, Catalogus, p. 247).

218. Simple medial h, as well as original hw, disappears when followed by a vowel.

1) If a consonant precedes the h, the preceding vowel is lengthened upon the disappearance of the h; yet in the case of inflected words there are also occurrences of the short vowel, probably through analogy with forms in which the vowel did not undergo lengthening: feorh, life; mearh, horse; Wealh, Welshman, etc. (242); gen. feorhes and feores, nom. acc. plur. mēaras, Wealas, and mearas, Wealas; or s sing. -sillhō, inf. sēolan, conceal (387, note 4), or ðyrel and ðyrel, aperture (probably from ðyrel – ðyrles, for orig. *pyrhil – *pyrhles).
THE CONSONANTS

Note 1. The plur. firas, men (from feorrh) has stable length, and so does swīra, swīora (later swēora), neck (beside W.S. swūra, with doubtful quantity), if this goes back to orig. *swīrh- (but compare ON. svīr, contrasted with firar, men, etc.). Add certain original compounds treated in the same manner: òret, battle, beside derivatives; ònettan, incite (43, note 4); also sporadic forms like orrettan, orrettscipe; òfig, òvy (from *òf-hég, 217). In context (from *òf-hätt); cofolsian, blaspheme (from *òf-haúsian; cf. 43, note 4), the ò perhaps points to shortness (hence North. ò. èbalúa, etc.?).

Note 2. Certain inflectional forms point to the retention of the short vowel: such are moru, parship (278, note 1); òweorn, nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. of òweørh, transverse (295, note 1); and the verb òwyrian, for *òwyhrjan (400, note 1).

2) If two vowels thus collide through the loss of h, contraction usually takes place (110 ff.; 166): feoh, gen. fèos (242); hèah, plur. hèa (295, note 1), etc.; compare also the contract verbs (373), like seon, see, Goth. saihwian, and many similar instances.

Note 3. In the oldest texts, like Ep., the h is still frequently retained in both cases: thòhæ, wòhūm, ròhæ, furhum = W.S. òo, wòh(u)jem, réo, furum. Certain later forms, like horhìhte, unfist, for older horwehte, are new formations (after nom. horh, 242, note 4). For North. genèhwia, approach, see 222, note 4.

219. On the other hand, medial h, when geminated or followed by a surd consonant, is usually retained, and in these cases it is probably to be pronounced as a guttural or a palatal spirant, like the Germ. ch in ach and ich.

220. Geminated hh is not very common: geneahhe, sufficiently; sìohhe, strainer; tìoh, gen. tìohhe, order; tìohhian, arrange; (h)reohhe, fannus; geohhol, Yule month (beside gēola); e(e)ahhettan, croak; cohhtettan, cough; wuuhung, rage; pohha, pocket; crohha, crock;
Ep. scocha, lenocrinium; hlichhan (392. 4); North. ãhher (289), tæhher, tear (cf. 222, note 4).

Note 1. The MSS. not infrequently have simple h instead of hh: geneahe, geohol, her, hrecohe, wuhung, hilhan; even at times eh: hrecohe, hlichan (Elfr. Gr.) and, especially earlier, heh: Ehcha Cod. Dipl., a.d. 700-715; tio(h)chian, pohecha Cura Past.

Note 2. Beside pohha and erooha are also found (especially Angl.?) pocca and crocca; with scocha compare scecca, tempter.

221. The older combinations, ht (232) and hs, usually remain:

1) ht is common: eahtha, eight; ryht, right; ðōhte, thought, and similar preterits (407); beorht, bright, etc.

Note 1. The oldest texts, perhaps on account of Latin influence, frequently have et for ht: ambect, gifeht, uuyceta Ep.; mæcti, drytiant Cæd.; also cht: ambechta, sóchtae Ep.; htt: Cymberttae Cod. Dipl. a.d. 786; Êanberhttae, a.d. 755-757; and chtt: almechtittig Ruthwell Cross. Simple ht is, however, to be found in charters of the beginning of the eighth century. Very late texts sporadically introduce cht again: þæchte, taught; almcightig, almighty, etc.; and here and there gt occurs, as in forgiant, fear.

For the interchange of ht and et in preterits like dryete and dryhte see 407. 2.

Note 2. Occasionally h is lost, particularly after r: forhtian, wyrtta, for forthian, wyrtta.

2) In place of older hs the manuscripts have x: feax, hair; weaxan, grow; siex, six; miox, manure; wrixlan, change; ox, ox; ðoxn, armpit, for Goth. fahs, wahsjan, mainstus, etc.

Eeithlipsis of h has taken place in nèos(i)an, visit (Goth. niuhsjan, OS. niusón); ðisl, ðisle, wagon-pole (beside older ðixl Erf. Corp.; OHG. dihsila); wæsma, wæstm, growth (from weaxan); North. sesta, seista, the sixth.
THE CONSONANTS

Note 3. Likewise for $x = hs$ there occur the orthographical variants for $x = cs$ (209, note), like hx, xs, hs: weahxan, pres. 3 sing. wihrū, pret. wēohx; meohx, oxsa, weahsan, etc.

Note 4. Even the hs which arose through vowel-synecope (222. 1) is often designated by $x$: syxt (syxst, etc.). seest, for siehst (374); especially in the rather frequent LWS. néxta, the next (313, note).

222. 1) Moreover, $h$ (= older h and hw) maintains its ground in WS. and Kent. whenever, in consequence of vowel-synecope, it is immediately followed by a surd. The chief instances are superlatives like hirehst, nechst (310; 313); abstract nouns ending in -ţu, like hirehţu, hight; fechţu, feud (255. 3); and the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of strong contract verbs, like fēchst, fēchţ from fen (Goth. fāhan); siehst, siechţ from sēon, Goth. sailwan, 374 (in contrast to weak verbs, like 2 and 3 sing. sīyst, sīyō, from sīyn, oppress, 408. 4). On the Angl. forms see 166. 6.

Not till late was $h$ occasionally lost after r: ferō, life, instead of ferhō (also forms with ēō, like gen. ferōē, etc.).

2) On the contrary, $h$ disappears between a vowel and a sonant consonant, especially l, r, m, n: ōweal, bath (Goth. āwah); stiele, style, steel (OHG. stahal); helā, heel (from hōh, heel); fiēam, flight (from fiēon, 384, Goth. pluhan); lēoma, brightness (connected with Goth. liuhap); ymest, highest (Goth. auhmists); lēne, transitory (OS. ēhni); gesēne (Kent. Angl. gesēne), visible (for *sāhnia, from Goth. sailwan); betwēonum, between (compare Goth. tweilnai). Compare also the declension of adjectives in $h$, like wōh (295, note 1): acc. sing. mase. wōne, gen. dat. sing. fem. wōre, gen.
plur. wōrā, for wōhne, etc.; the comparative hiera, from hēah (307), etc.

Note 1. The same phenomenon is also observable in compounds, as in hēalle, high; gemālle, greedly; nēalle, near; nēallececan, approach; plēolle, dangerous; tōlle, tough; wōlle, evil, from hēah, gemāh, nēah, pleoh, tōh, wōh; then eorisc, butrush; sōrod, troop; Eomīer, from eoh, horse; hēanis, high, from hēah; nēawest, vicinity, from nēah; āwer, āwer (321, note 2), āwōr, āwēr (346), from hwēr, hwēder; Pleowald, from pleoh; Hēaberht, hēadōr, hēador, stag, from hēah; similarly, rādor, roe, from rāhdēor; WS. wiobud, wēobud (even wēofud), for *wiobed (Ps. R.1 R.2 wībed, beside R.1 wīfod, wēofud, for *wīhbed, according to 165. 2; also Kent. Ps. L. Rit. Bede wīgbed). The same ecitrilpisis occurs before f in hēafre, -u, from hēahfore, -u, North. hēhfora, heifer.

Note 2. When the final h of hēah is lost, there is frequent gemination of the following n, r; acc. hēanne, sb. hēannis, gen. plur. hēarr, comp. hiera (307). Note 3. When the etymology is apparent, the h is often restored by analogy: hēahne, hiehra, hieahnis, etc.

Note 4. The oldest texts have retained this h in several instances: thnachl Ep.; Þnuehl Corp.; bitucihn Erf.; so also late North. before l in gen. thnāhles, fihles, pannī L., before w in L. genehwign, approach, and before r in ah(h)er, ear of grain; teh(h)er, leer (220). The frequent gemination of h in the last two words leads to a suspicion that there was a gemination of originally simple h before l, w, r (228).

223. Finally, h is always preserved at the end of a word: feoh, cattle, money; hēah, high; wōh, wicked; rūh, rough; tōh, draw; after consonants: suhl, plow; Wealh, Welshman; feorh, life; furh, furrow. Likewise h for older hw, as in seah, saw, Goth. sahw, etc. Only in later texts occur also forms like sul, Weal (or sül, Wēal; cf. Beitr. 11. 559), formed upon the model of the polysyllabic cases (218).

Note 1. In the oldest texts the spelling is often ch; for example, t(h)ruch, tôch, ech, salch, thorch Ep.; subsequently now and then
g (cf. 214. 1), as in feorg, horg, mearg, purg, for feorh, horh, meargh, ðurh, etc.

Note 2. Now and then an inorganic h appears at the end of a word, as in LWS. frēoh, fre; êoh, yew; bêoh, color, for frêo, êo, bêo. This h is due to the example of such pairs as feoh — féos, hêah — hêas (218. 2).

THE OLD ENGLISH CONSONANTS IN GENERAL

1. CHANGES WHEN FINAL

224. Sonant stops and spirants seem to become surd when final; nevertheless, the spelling which predominates is the etymological, which assigns the same consonant to the end of a word as to the middle. Only of sporadic occurrence, and then for the most part in very ancient sources, are forms like lamp for lamb Kent. Gl.; felt Cod. Dipl., A.D. 662–693, Wulfhät, Peothhät, A.D. 794, for feld, -had; North. instances in Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxlv (an isolated later example of t for d is sint for sind; for the 3 pers. in -t instead of -ð see 357; 360); -nc for -ng is more common (instances in 215); h for spirant g is very common (214. 1). Any difference in the pronunciation of f, (s), ð eludes observation, since the same character represents both surd and sonant.

Note. For the treatment of gemination when final see 231.

2. GEMINATION

225. Every OE. consonant, except j and w, is subject to gemination (on cg for gg see 216). In respect to
their origin, these geminates belong in part to Germ., in part to West Germ., and in part to OE.

226. Germanic gemination of 1, r, m, n, and s is frequent. Examples are:

ll: eall, all; feallan, fall; full, full.
rr: steorra, star; feorrnan, far.
nm: onginnan, begin; môn, mônnes, man.
mm: swimman, swim; hwöm, hwönmes, corner.
ss: gewiss, certain; wisse, knew; cyssan, kiss (232).

Less frequent are the following:

kk: bucca, buck; loc, locces, lock; stoc, stocces, stock.
tt: sceat, sceattes, coin.
pp: coup, croppes, crop; top, toppes, top; hnaep, hnaeppes, bowl.

It is doubtful whether pp occurs as early as Germanic in oððe, or (Goth. aippau, but OS. eþo, Fris. ieftha) and moððe, moth (North. moððe, -a). Rare and somewhat doubtful are Germ. ff, hh, bb, dd, gg.

227. West Germanic gemination before j. All simple consonants in West Germ., with the exception of r, undergo gemination after a short vowel when they are followed by j. Thus Goth. säljan, skapjan, satjan, rakjan, are represented by OS. sèllian, skèppian, sèttian, rèkkian, and, after the loss of the j (177), by OE. sèllan, scèppan, sèttan, rècc(e)an. Original hj appears as hh in hhiehhan, laugh; and original pj as ðð in ryðða, mastiff; smidðe, smithy; sceððan, injure (Goth. skapjan), etc. (pæððan, traverse; stæððan, fix, have
possibly Germ. pp). The place of fj is taken by OE. bb: hæbben, hæave (Goth. harjan); and that of gj by eg: læcg(e)an (Goth. lagjan). On the other hand, r is not geminated: hære, hærge, armý; wærian, defend; nærian, save; nærian, glorify (= Goth. harjis, warjan, nasjan, hazjan, etc.).

Note 1. The chapters on inflection contain numerous examples of this gemination, as, for example, in the jo- and jā-stems (247; 258; adj., 297), the weak verbs of the First and Third Classes (400 ff.; 415), etc.

Note 2. For the interchange of forms with and without gemination in the conjugation of verbs with the derivative suffix -jo see 410.

228. There is a similar gemination of t, c, p, h, before r and l in certain OE. words, though it does not occur uniformly: bittor, bitter; snottor, wise; wæccer, watchful; North. æhher, ear of grain; tæhher, tear (cf. 222, note 4); æppel, apple; along with bitor, snotor, wacor, tær, tēar (from *ahur, *tahur, 111. 2), apulldre, apple-tree (compare Goth. baītris, snutris, ahs, tahrijan). So likewise, though probably not in the older texts, when the r, l has been conjoined with the preceding consonant as the result of syncope: thus, bētra, beside bētra, better (Goth. baītiza); miccles, beside micles, from micel (Goth. mikils).

Note. This irregularity presumably depends upon the fact that, before gemination had taken place, the r and l were sometimes syllabic, and subsequently passed into -ur, -ul, etc. (138 ff.). The older declensional forms must then, for example, have been nom. bitur (from *bitr), gen. bittres; tēar (from *tahur), gen. tæhhrres, etc.; and these gave rise to the double series bittur — bittres, and bitur — biteres, etc.

229. After a long vowel no such gemination before r takes place in the older texts. Gemination of tt and
dd occurs at a later period, accompanied, as is probable, with shortening of the vowel: ædre, vein; blædre, bladder; nædre, viper; mödrie, aunt, become æddre, blæddre, næddre, moddrie. In like manner, there is an interchange of ätor, venom; hlūtor, clear; tüdor. progeny; fodor, fodder; mödor, mother, with attor, hluttor, tuddor, foddor, moddor, in which the tt, dd owe their origin to the cases which had no middle vowel (144), like āttes, etc. Still more recent is the gemination of other consonants, in forms like riccer, deceppra, etc., from rīce, rich; dēop, deep.

230. Other OE. geminates arise from the conjunction of two consonants which were originally separated. Here belong (disregarding the conjunction of similar final and initial consonants in compound words) the tt from tp, dp (201. 4), and the tt and dd of weak preterits (404 ; 405).

Note 1. In certain words geminates occur side by side with simple consonants without any assignable reason, especially in the very early rececean, care, and in licettan, beside licettan, fawn. Only the later language has such gemination as in wissian, direct; seynnes, temp-tation; prinnes, trinity; prøöttyne, thirteen; prittig, thirty; tydde, taught, for older wissian, sciennes, ölnes, öriotene, öritig, tyde, etc.

Note 2. In North., inorganic geminates (probably only graphic) are very common: catta, eat; cymma, come, for cata, cyma, etc.

231. Gemination is simplified in the following cases:

1) Usually at the end of a word: compare forms like eal, feor, môn, swim, sib, sceat, bêd, sæc, teoh with ealles, feorrar, mônnes, swimman, sibbe, secettes, bêddes, sæccep, teohhe. Still, the rule is often disregarded, as, for example, in eall, mônne, upp, sibb, bêdd,
bliss, etc. The various texts exhibit great discrepancies in this respect.

eg is retained, even when final: scecg, like sceges (216).

2) Usually at the end of a syllable within a word:
caire, ealne, midne, nytné, from eal(1), ealles; mid(d), middes; ny(t), nyntes; cyste, pret. of cyssan. Yet we frequently find eallre, eallne, etc.

3) Very frequently after a consonant in compounds:
corlic, manly; enmniht, solstice; feltné (for *felttné, from *feldttun), privy; geornes, desire; wilddor, wild animal; wyrtruma, root; wyrtné, garden; gærstapa, grasshopper, for corllic, enmniht, georn-nes, wildoer, wyrt-truma, wyrt-tun, gær-stapa, etc.

Note 1. Exclusive of compounds, this case only occurs when even a syllable within a word:
caire, ealne, midne, nytné, from eal(1), ealles; mid(d), middes; ny(t), nyntes; cyste, pret. of cyssan. Yet we frequently find eallre, eallne, etc.

4) In the later language very commonly after an unstressed syllable; for example, in compounds like atelic, dreadful; swutolic, plain; digelic, secret; singalic, perpetual, for atollie, scuotolic, digollie, sallinglic. As respects inflection, this rule applies especially to derivatives in nu, Ii, tt, rr: neuters like wéstén and bærnet (248. 2, and note 2); feminines like condé and byrdéen (258. 1, and note 3); verbs like bliecettan (403, note 2); gen. wéstennes, bærnettes, condéelle, byrdéenne, and later wéstënes, bærnetes, byrdéene, inf. bliecetan, etc.; comparatives in -erra,
-era, like æfterra, æftera (314, note 1); the acc. sing. masc. of polysyllabic adjectives in -en and strong past participles, like gyldenne, geslægenne, later gyldene, geslægene; and the r-cases of polysyllabic adjectives and pronouns in -r and -re, like gen. plur. fægerra, oðerra, ðowerra, þyferra, later fægera, oðera, ðowera (296, note 3), etc.

Note 3. The geminated consonants were often written, long after the second had ceased to be pronounced. Accordingly, geminates now and then occur by mistake for an originally simple consonant, as in forenne, before; ufenne, from above; ægennes, gen., of (his) own; this is especially common in the acc. sing. masc. of cuwu, living: cuonne, etc. (303, note 1); for forene, ufene, ægenes, cucone, etc.

3. THE GROUPS ft, ht, st, ss

232. The following rule was already in force in Prim. Germ.: Every labial + t is changed to ft, and every guttural + t to ht; but a dental + t becomes either st or ss. OE. examples are:

a) Of ft: scieppan, create, gesceaf, creature; giefan, give (i.e., gieðan, 192. 2), gift, gift; ðurfan, be allowed, ðearft, ðorfte (422. 6).

b) Of ht: hycgan, hope, hyht, hope; ðagan, own; magan, be able, 2 sing. aht, meaht (420. 2; 424. 10); the noun meaht, might; but especially the weak pret-erits (407).

c) Of st: wæt, knows, 2 sing. wæst; lidan, go, last, pathway; hladan, lade, hlæst, load.

d) Of ss: witan, know, pret. wisse, adj. (part.) gewis(s), certain; cweðan, say, ðandewis(s), answer; sittan, sit, sess, seat.
The preceding rule does not apply when the t or other dental has been conjoined with the preceding labial, guttural, or dental as the result of OE. syncope: compare, for example, the weak preterits and past participles (405. 4; 406, and note), or the abstracts in -dv (255. 3), etc.

4. GRAMMATICAL CHANGE

233. By ‘grammatical change’ is to be understood an interchange of the medial surd spirants s, f, þ, h, hw with the corresponding sonant spirants, designated by z, ð, ð, g, w (but sometimes g), the interchange in question being a feature of Primitive Germanic, and taking place according to definite laws. The combinations ss, st, sp, sk, ft, ht, were not subject to this change.

Note. The explanation of this interchange was discovered by K. Verner (Kuhn’s Zeitschr. 23. 97 ff.). According to the law which he formulated, the sonant spirant always replaced the surd when the vowel next preceding did not, according to the original Indo-European accentuation, receive the principal stress.

234. In OE. the original correspondences are a trifle obscured by the fact that some of the sounds have undergone modifications. Thus hw passed into simple h (cf. 222; 223), and, like the latter, has frequently disappeared (218). Of the sonants, z passed into r; the older ð (not to be confounded with the OE. ð = þ, 199) became d; and the sound of ð is not, as a rule, graphically distinguished from that of f (192). There consequently remain in OE. only the four pairs s - r, þ - d, h - g (h - ng, according to 186, note 4), and h - w. Examples are:
a) s—r: glæs, glass, glæren, vitreous; cēosan, choose, cēas, curon, coren (384), cyre, choice; durran (422.7), dare, dearest, dorste, adj. gedyrstig, bold.

b) p—d: cweðan, say, cweð, cwædon, cweden (391), cwide, discourse; lidden, journey, -lida, -farer.

c) h—g: slēan, strike, slichst, slichð, slög, slögðon, slægen (392.2), slege, stroke; -slaga, -slayer; ðeon, thrive, ðāh, ðungen (383, note 3).

d) h—w: sēon, see (Goth. saihwan), slichst, slichð, seah, sāwon, gesewen (391.2).

Note. The regularity of this interchange has been somewhat obscured in OE, as the result of analogy. Special instances will be noticed under the head of Inflection.
INFLECTION

PART I.—DECLENSION

CHAPTER I. DECLENSION OF NOUNS

A. VOWEL OR STRONG DECLENSION

1. THE o-DECLENSION

235. The OE. o-declension comprises masculines and neuters. It corresponds to the second or o-declension of Greek and Latin (Gr. masc. -ς, neut. -σ; Lat. -us, -um). The corresponding feminines form the a-declension.

Nors. The Germ. o-declension is usually designated as the a-declension, since older o generally became Germ. a before it disappeared (45. 4). Yet it is perhaps better, in bestowing such names, to be actuated by the form of the final stem-vowel in Indo-European.

The o-stems may be subdivided as follows: (a) simple o-stems, (b) io-stems, and (c) wo-stems, the two latter groups differing, as respects certain cases, from the pure o-stems.

236. The terminations of the masculines and the neuters are the same in all cases except the nom. and acc. plur., and may therefore be included in the same scheme.
Note. In North. the gender often varies between masc. and neut.; cf. also 251, note. In the other dialects this change of gender is much rarer, and limited to a few definite words.

237. The terminations of the o-stems are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. V. A.</td>
<td>-e; -e; -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. -es</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. -e</td>
<td>-um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The parenthetical -e; -u, -o of the nom. acc. sing. are the terminations of the jo- and wo-stems (246; 249).

Note 1. In the oldest texts, and at times later in R.⁴ and North., the gen. sing. is formed in -æ: dōmes, etc. For -æs R.¹, North., and sporadically LWS., sometimes have -as: heofnas (LWS. heofonanas, etc.). For later -ys (also occasionally -is) see 44, note 2.

An unlauted gen., pointing to orig. -is, occurs in the Old Kent. adv. and gen. Ænes; cf. also 100, note 6.

Note 2. The dat. and instr. sing. coincide in the majority of texts, but in the oldest documents the dat. ends in -æ, while the instr. (at first probably a locative) ends in -i: dōme: dōmi (Beitr. 8. 324 ff.); subsequently, y is now and then found for i (folce, etc.), and in R.¹ Rit. also sporadic -æ. The instr. seems originally to have had 1-umlaut; compare the isolated form hwēne, from the neut. hwōn, trīfe, and the instr. adj. ōne, from ōn, one.

A dat. loc. sing. without inflectional ending exists in hām (very rarely hāme), from the masc. hām, home, and the adverbial formulas tō dæg, to-day (older tō dæge; later also ðelce, hwelce, sume, dōre dæg, etc.); tō morgen, mørge: to-morrow; tō ōsen, at evening.

Note 3. In North. the nom. plur. of many masculines belonging to this declension has the weak ending -o (-a, -e): gāstæs and gāsto, etc.; R.¹ likewise occasionally has -a. Very late WS. texts have -es for -as.

Note 4. The gen. plur. in North. is often formed in -ana, -ona, after the manner of the n-stems: dagana, -ona, lomana, from dæg, līm. R.¹ has, besides -a, also -æ, -e, and -ana. LWS. texts often have genitives in -ena, -ana. A rare (also North.) by-form of the ending -a is -o, as in lēohtfato.
DECLENSION OF NOUNS

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Note 5. In the nom. acc. plur. of neut. nouns -u is the older, -o the more recent form. In LWS. the -u, -o is generally replaced by -a. Ps. has almost exclusively -u, R.1 -u, rarely -a, -e, North. generally -o, but also not rarely -a; all three terminations occur in North., even in such neuters as are without endings in the other dialects (238).

Note 6. The dat. plur. frequently substitutes -un, -on, -an for -um in LWS. (cf. 293, note 2); this holds in all declensions.

a) Simple o-stems

238. Paradigms for the masculine and neuter: masc. dōm, judgment; neut. hof, dwelling; word, word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V. A. dōm</td>
<td>hof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. dōmes</td>
<td>hofes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. dōme</td>
<td>hofe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A. dōmas</td>
<td>hofu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. dōma</td>
<td>hofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. dōnum</td>
<td>hofum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like dōm are inflected primarily the monosyllabic masculines; like hof the monosyllabic neuters with a short radical syllable; and like word those with a long radical syllable.

Note 1. In certain LWS. texts the long neuters frequently take in the nom. acc. plur. the ending of the short: wordu, weorcu, etc.

Note 2. The words in -els, like brīdels, brīdle; fætels, scrip; gyrdels, girdle; rīecels, incense, are usually masc., rarely neut.

239. To this declension belong a great number of OE. nouns, and among them not a few which have been transferred to it from other declensions (especially long i- and u-stems; cf. 264; 265; 273).

1) Only those words are inflected with entire regularity which have an invariable final consonant and a
radical vowel incapable of change (except for i-umlaut, which need not here be considered). Such words are:

a) Masculines: æð, oath; hæft, captive; helm, helmet; hring, ring; wulf, wolf; earm, arm; eorl, man; mûð, mouth; dream, joy, etc.

b) Neuters: a) short monosyllables: col, coal; dor, door; geoc, yoke; loc, lock, fold; hop, recess; lot, cunning; sol, slough; spor, trail; ð) long monosyllables: bæn, bone; bearn, child; dœor, animal; fyr, fire; gœð, good; lic, body; wif, wife, etc.

2) Nouns whose radical syllable ends in a geminate simplify the latter in the cases without inflectional ending, according to 231: masc. weal(l), wall; hwæt(m), corner; neut. ful(l), cup; gen. wealles, hwætmes, fulles, etc.

The remaining nouns of this declension come under one of the following rules:

240. Words with æ before a simple consonant, like the masculines dæg, day; hwæl, whale; pæð, path; stæf, staff; the neuters bæc, back; bæð, bath; cræt, crate; dæl, dale; fæc, while; fæt, vessel; fæd, fæas, fringe; hæf, ocean; sæl, hall; stæð, shore; swæð, track; seræf, cavern; træf, tent; væd, sea; wæl, those slain in battle, change the æ into a throughout the plural: dæg—dagas, daga, dagum; fæt—fatu, fata, fatum; only rarely and in late texts does æ remain: hwælas, stæðu, seræfu, etc.

Note 1. Ps. generally has ea for this a: featu, creatum, etc. (160); and sometimes North. and the poetry before terminations containing u, o: heafu, trefum, etc. (103, note 2).
Note 2. In LWS. the a of the plur. intrudes even into the gen.
dat. sing.: pæð — paðes, paðe; fæt — fætes, fate.

Note 3. WS. geat, gate (from gæt, 75. 1) generally has plur.
gatu, rarely geatu by analogy with the vowel of the sing.; occasionally
also gen. dat. sing. gates, gate (note 2). In the poetry geatu pre-
dominates; Ps. has get — geatu (with u-umlaut). The plur. of ceaf
seems to be only ceafu. gaers, grass (by metathesis for græs, 179)
has plur. grasu.

Note 4. In like manner, mæg, kinsman, generally has plur.
mægas, beside rare mægas (57, note 3).

241. The neuters with e, i before a single consonant,
like gebed, prayer; gebrec, clamor; geset, habitation;
gespresc, conversation; brim, surf; clif, cliff; hlið, slope;
lið, limb; lim, limb; scip, ship; geslít, dispute; genip,
darkness; gewrit, document, etc., originally have eo, io
in the plur., by u- or o/a-umlaut, instead of e, i, so far
as the phonetic laws of the various dialects permit
(104 ff.; 160): gebeodu, clofù, lloðù, lìomù, etc.; but
in WS. prose this umlaut disappears, for the most part,
rather early: clífu, limù, etc.

Note. The gen. plur. is the first to lose the eo, io. In the Ps., and
to some extent in North., its occurrence is extended to the masculines:
Ps. weoræs, weoræ, weogæs (usually wegas, according to 164. 1),
North. weoræs, waræs, -a, etc. (156. 3).

242. Words in h lose this sound before a vowel
ending.

1) If the h is preceded by a consonant, the radical
vowel is lengthened when the h is lost, though it some-
times occurs as short (218. 1): masc. seolh — sœoles and
seoles, seal; neut. feorh — fœres and fœres, life. So
masc. feorh, swine; mearh, horse; calh, temple; eolh,
elk; healh, corner; seallh, willow; Wealh, Welshman.
INFLECTION

2) If the h is preceded by a vowel, the loss of the h involves contraction (110 ff.) : masc. eoh — eos, horse; neut. feoh — fæos, money (275; North. feh, gen. fæes L., fæas R.2); ðæoh — ðæos, thigh; and so masc. flæah, fleâ (usually weak masc. or fem. fleâa, according to 277, note 2); hōh, hough (plur. hōs, hōas, dat. hōm, hōum, late hōn); scōh, sceoh, shoe (plur. scōs, scēos, late dat. scōn); neut. flīh, fraud; pleoh, danger; slōh, slough (also masc. and fem.); wōh, evil; ðrōh, malice; perhaps also flēah, albugo (also flio, and with umlaut, flie).

Norm 1. In the later prose wōh usually forms its polysyllabic cases with g: wōges, wōge, as if the h of the nom. had sprung from g (214. 1), in other words, as if conforming to models like bēah — bēages. On the other hand, there are sporadic nominatives without h, like mear (223).

Norm 2. Words in vowel + h have in the later language (earlier instances are wanting) the gen. plur. in -na, like the n-stems: féona, ðēona, scēona (but North. L. scōe, seeōa).

Norm 3. The plur. of neut. holh, hole, seems to be holu, as if from the synonymous short hol.

Norm 4. horh, ðūh (generally masc., rarely neut.), forms its gen. dat. sing. and plur. as horwes, horwe, horwa, hor(e)wum, with grammatical change (234; rarely gen. hores, etc.), but nom. acc. plur. horas (beside neut. horwu); the poetry has instr. sing. horu.

243. The polysyllabic words of this declension are subject to the following rules:

1) Neuters originally trisyllabic (that is, before the operation of the law for final vowels, 130 ff.), with a long radical syllable, like nieten, cattle; hēafod, head, have u in the nom. acc. plur., like the short monosyllables (without syncope of the middle vowel, 244. 2): nietenu, hēafodu (135. 2). In Ps., however, these cases are
often without termination: hēafud, beside hēafudu, nētenu, etc.

2) Originally trisyllabic neuters with a short radical syllable have no ending in the nom. acc. plur.: reced, building; werod, bands (135. 2); yet generally yflu (yfelu), evils, beside yfel. Forms like weredu are not found till late.

3) Original disyllables, like wēp(e)n, weapon; tung-(o)l, star; tāc(e)n, sign; wund(o)r, wonder (stems * wēpna-, * tungla-, * talkna-, * wundra-; cf. 138 ff.) are treated like the other long-stemmed neuters (238), that is, the nom. acc. plur. is without ending, like the nom. acc. sing.; yet they in some cases take the ending -u at a rather early period after the pattern of the trisyllabic: wēpen, tungol, tācen, wundor, and wēp(e)nu, tunglu, tācnu, wundru. So also wæter, water (stem * watra-), plur. wæter, and more frequently wæt(e)ru.

Note. The neut. wole(e)n, cloud, sometimes throws off the final n in the earlier language: nom. acc. sing. and plur. wole, but gen. always wolcnes, etc. (188, note 2). The unlauted plur. welenu is not sufficiently vouched for. Beside tācen there is also a form tānc; beside bēacen, sign, also bēane, bēne (185; 108. 2). Instead of the plur. tunglu there is a late weak plur. tunglan.

4) The laws concerning the treatment of middle vowels (143; 144). Under these are included the following:

244. 1) Disyllabic words having a long stem syncope the vowel of the last syllable before a vocalic ending (144) when it is not rendered long by position: ēngel—ēngles, angel; tungol—tungles, star; ātor—ātres, venom; tācen—tācnes, token; mādum—mādmes, jewel; hēafod—hēafdes, head; ðeled—ðeldes,
Inflection

fire; morgen — morgnes and mornes, morn (214, note 10); but hægest — hægestes, stallion; fætels — fætelses, purse, etc.

2) The older documents do not generally exhibit syncope of the originally trisyllabic nom. acc. plur. neut., like nœtenu, hæafdu (144. b); while, on the other hand, they have wæpnu, tungli (beside older wæpen, etc., 243). In later texts the difference is obliterated: hæafdu, etc.

245. Under similar circumstances, disyllabic words having a short stem retain the original vowel of the second syllable, but reject it whenever it arose from syllabic nasal or liquid in the nom. acc.; only -er, -or, from syllabic r, generally remains (148). Hence stapol — stapol es, pillar; hamor — hamores, hammer; heofon — heofones, heaven; daroð — daroðes, arrow; Metod — Metodes, God; heorot — heorotes, hart; but fugol — fugles, fowl (fugoles, fugeles only late); and likewise leger — legeres, lair; ūnonor — ūnores, thun- der; væter — væteres (and vætres), water, etc.

b) jo-stems

246. Paradigms for the masculine: here, army; secg, man; ende, end. For the neuter: cyn, kin; rice, realm; wēsten, desert.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.V.A. here</td>
<td>secg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. hēr(l)ges</td>
<td>secg(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. hēr(l)ge</td>
<td>sege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.V.A. hēr(l)g(e)as</td>
<td>secg(e)as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. hēr(l)g(e)a</td>
<td>secg(e)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. hēr(l)gum</td>
<td>secg(l)um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Declension of Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cyn(n)</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>wêsten</td>
<td>rîces</td>
<td>wêstenennes</td>
<td>rîc(i)u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cynnes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rîce</td>
<td>wêstenna</td>
<td>rîc(e)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cynne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rîc(i)um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes
1. For the e of the nom. acc. sing. the oldest texts have iː *here*.<ref>Endl, rîel</ref> (Beitr. 8. 320 ff.).
2. Beside forms like nom. acc. plur. rîc(i)u there sometimes occur those in -ţo, -ţo, like gefýcleo, rîcco, etc.

For the insertion of e, i, to denote palatal pronunciation in the case of words in g, e, see 206. 3. b.

### 247. hêre and seeq exhibit the inflection of masculines, cyn(n) that of the neuters with a short radical syllable before the jo (stems *harja-, *sagja-, *kunja-). Of these, hêre is the only one which has retained its short syllable, as the others doubled the final consonant in West Germ. (227). Further examples of this declension are:

a) Masculines: hryceg; back; wêcg; wedge; dyn(n), din; hlyn(n), uproar; hyl(1), hill.

b) Neuters: nêt, net; fêt, floor; bêd, bed; wêd, pledge; gied, saying; nêb, beak; wieg, horse, etc.

### Notes
1. For the simplification of West Germ. geminates at the end of a word cf. 231.
2. The gen. sing. of hêre sometimes occurs as hêres, the dat. instr. sing. as here, and the nom. acc. plur. as heras. For the neut. spere see 262; 263, and note 4.
3. The neut. hî(e)g, kay (Goth. hawi, stem *hawja-) has retained the j in all its forms as g; but hîew, hiw, form (Goth. hiwi, stem *hiwja-; dial. also hiow without umlaut, 100, note 2, North. hiw, in the poetry also hêo), has generalized the w gen. hîeves (hiowes), etc. Stem *gliwja-, neut.; jov, has WS. *gliug, gîug, gen.
INFLECTION

glīges, etc.; but Ep. glīu, and in the poetry glēo, gen. glīwes, rarely glīwes, etc. Stem *blīja-, neut., color (OS. blī, neut.), occurs as blēo (and with inorganic h as blēoh, 223, note 2), gen. blēos, etc. (and late blēoges, following blēoh, cf. 242, note 1), dat. plur. blēom, blēoum (blēowum), gen. blēo (later also blēoa and blēona, 242, note 3).

248. 1) Like ende are declined the masculines, like rice the neuters, with an originally long syllable before the jo (or io, according to 45.8):

a) Masculines: ęsne, servaνt; hierde, herdsman; lēce, physician; mēce, sword; and the numerous agent-nouns in -ere (North. often -are), like bócor, scribe; fiscere, fisherman; drōwre, martyr, to which has been added the foreign word cūsere, emperor (LWS. occasionally merely -re: bōcre; ewelre, lictor; drēfre, disturber; giwre, minstrel; rimre, calculator; scēawre, spg; so also North. scēawre; drōwre, martyr; ondetrē, confessor);

b) Neuters: wāge, cup; wite, punishment; stiele, steel; stycce, piece; ārendé, errand; formations with ge-, like gewāde, clothing; gemierce, boundary; getimbre, carpentry; and many others.

Note 1. Contraction occurs in the case of *gescie, gescy, shoes, and gecy, pair of cows (?), gen. plur. gecy.

2) Like wēsten go the derivatives in -en, like āfen, evening (also masc.), faesten, fortress; and in -et, like onēlet, fire; lieget, lightning; nierwet, defile, pass; rēwet, rowing; sēwet, sowing, etc.

Note 2. In the later texts nn, tt are usually simplified: wēstenes, bārenetes, etc. (231.4), and even the preceding vowel is sometimes eliminated, as in āfnes, beside āfenes and āfennes; nom. acc. plur. wēstau, beside wēstenu and wēstenuu.
Note 3. *wêsten* is rarely fem., and in late texts masc.: plur. *wêstenas*; *liget*, too, has occasionally a late plur. *liget(t)as*, beside which stands a fem. *liget(u)*, according to 258. 1.

Note 4. Here perhaps belong the diminutives in -incel (OHG. -incl): *bêgincel*, twig; *cefincel*, cabinet; *giowincel*, servant; *haeftincel*, slave; *hûsincel*, cottage; *llîncel*, limb; *râplincel*, cord; *scipincel*, bark; *sûlincel*, little furrow; *tûnincel*, small estate; *wielincel*, slave, etc. These almost always syncopate the e when inflected: *hûsincules*, etc., but nom. acc. plur. *giowincelu* Ps., *sûlincela* Gl.

c) wo-stems

249. The paradigm for the masculine is *bearu*, *grove*; for the neuter, *searu*, armor (stems *barwa*-, *sarwa*-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V. A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearu, -ô</td>
<td>searu, -ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. bearwes</td>
<td>searwes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. bearwe</td>
<td>searwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearwas</td>
<td>searu, -ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. bearwa</td>
<td>searwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. bearwum</td>
<td>searwum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So likewise are inflected the neuters *bealu*, *evil*; *meolu*, meal; *smeoru*, *lard*; *teoru*, *tar*; *c(w)udu*, *cwiodu*, cud.

Note 1. A *u*, *o*, or *e* often occurs before the *w* in the oblique cases, the latter being especially found when the termination contains an *a*, *u*; bealowes, -we, but *bealewa*, *beawen* (260, note 1; 300, note).

Note 2. In late texts *w* intrudes into the forms without inflectional ending: *smeoruv*, meluw; on the other hand, there is an early dat. plur. without *w*: *smerum*.

Note 3. The nom. acc. plur. of the neuters subsequently ends in -wu, -wa: *searwa*, etc.; compare also *horwu* (242, note 4).

Note 4. The compound *sciptearo* (from *teoru*) has an irregular gen. *sciptearos*; otherwise this word is also weak (276).

Note 5. Of long stems there belongs here probably *gâd*, luck (Goth. *galdw*), found only in nom., which has lost its *w* according to 174. 2.
250. Words with a vowel before the w exhibit various discrepancies:

1) The originally long-stemmed masculines snāw, snow; ðēaw, custom; déaw, dew (also neut.); bēaw, gadfly; neut. bēow, grain (ON. bygg; only gen. bēowas, bēowes Ep. and its kin); sēaw (rarely masc.), sap; oncleòw, ankle (nom. acc. plur. oncleow and oncleowu); and the words formed by the prefix ge-, such as gehrēow, penitence; gehlōw, bellow, have w in all cases, if we except certain ancient forms like snā, sēa (174.3).

Note 1. So is declined masc. hlāw, hlēw, barrow (rarely late neut.; originally no doubt a neut. os-stem, 280 ff.). To Goth. hraiw, corpae (also orig. neut. os-stem) corresponds hraēw, hraēw (late also hrēaw, 118, note 2) and neut. hrē, hrā (also masc., cf. 173.2; 174.3), gen. hrēwes and hrēs, nom. acc. plur. hrā(w), hrā(w), hrēaw and hrēwas, etc., early gen. hrā, etc.

Note 2. The stems in -iwa- receive the same treatment in WS. as the other long stems: masc. briw, pottage; giw (giow), griffin; sliw, moth; Tiw; gen. briwes, etc.; Mercian has g for w: brīg, gīg, slīg(g), Tīg, gen. brīges, etc. Beside masc. iw (iow, ēow), yeu, the Runic Song has eōh. On hlīew and giwig see 247, note 3.

2) The originally short neuters strēaw, straw; trēow, tree; cnēow, knee, and the masc. ðēow, servant, with its compounds lāttēow, leader; lārēow, teacher (stems *strawa-, *trewa-, *knēwa-, *jēwa-), are declined as follows in WS.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>trēo(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>trēowes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>trēowe (trēo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>trēowe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 3. hlēo, protection (stem *hlewa-, masc. or neut.), which only occurs in the sing., has a rare form hlēow; otherwise final w
(73, note 2) is generally found in WS. With strēaw (WS. only nom. acc. sing. and a plur. strewu [?]) compare the compound strēa(w)-, strawberige, strawberry. Beside lāttēow, lārēow there is also a WS. weak masc. lātteowa, lārēowa, North. lātu(a) L., lārwa R.² (276).

Notes 4. The declension of these words in Angl. exhibits many variations:

a) Pa. has regularly masc. ðēow, ðiow (only once ðēo), gen. -es, etc., beside lādēow, plur. -as; but neut. sing. nom. acc. trēo(w), triow, trēw, gen. trēs, dat. trēo; plur. nom. acc. trēo, trēw, cnēow, gen. trēa;

b) R.¹: sing. nom. acc. -þēuw, lāttēuw, lār(e)u(w), dat. ðēuw, ðēow, plur. nom. acc. -þēu (and adj. -þēuwe), lātēuw, lātēuws, lātēwas, lārēwas, neut. sing. nom. acc. strēu, knēu, trēu(w), trēow, gen. trēowes, trēos, dat. trēo, plur. acc. cnēu, dat. trēowum;

c) L.: masc. sing. nom. acc. ðēa, gen. ðēas, dat. ðēa(u), plur. nom. acc. ðēas, gen. ðēana, dat. ðēaum; sing. nom. acc. lātu(a), lāru(a), gen. lāruas, plur. nom. acc. lātuas, lāruu(as), lārwas, gen. lārauna, dat. lāruwm; neut. sing. nom. acc. strē, trē(e), trēo, trēu, gen. strēes, trēes, dat. trē(e), trēo, cnēu, cnēw, cnēwa, gen. trēwma, trēuna, trēuana, dat. trēum, trēwum, cnēum, cnēum, cnēoum;

d) R.²: masc. sing. nom. acc. lārow, forlātōw, plur. nom. acc. lārwwas, gen. lārawa, dat. lārwum, -om; neut. sing. nom. acc. trēo, cnēo, dat. trēe, plur. nom. acc. trēo, gen. trēona, dat. trēoum, trēum, cnēoum;

e) Rit.: masc. sing. nom. acc. ðēa, gen. ðēas, dat. ðēa, plur. acc. ðēa, gen. ðēana, dat. ðēaum; sing. nom. acc. lātu(a), lār(w)u, gen. lārves, plur. nom. acc. lārwas; neut. sing. nom. acc. trē(e), plur. gen. trēona, dat. cnēum.

2. THE Æ-DECLENSION

251. The æ-declension contains the feminines corresponding to the masculines and neuters in -o.

Note. In North. many of these feminines are also employed as neuters and masculines, and then conform to the inflections of these genders (236, note).
252. Paradigms:

a) for short stems: giefu, gift;
b) for long stems: är, honor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giefu, -o</td>
<td>är</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. giefe</td>
<td>äre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. giefe</td>
<td>äre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. giefe</td>
<td>äre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giefa, -e</td>
<td>ära, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. giefa, -ena</td>
<td>ära, -na, -ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. giefum</td>
<td>ärum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. The oblique cases of the sing. and the nom. acc. plur. end in -ë in the oldest texts; only sporadically does the dat. instr. exhibit -i, as in rödi, caestr; in which the i is probably borrowed from the o-declension (237, note 2). For the declension of abstract nouns in -ung see 255. 1.

Note 2. In L. and Rit. these feminines have -es in the gen. sing., like the masc. and neut.; rödes, säules, spomnuinges, etc. Such genitives are not rare in LWS.: helpes, sorges, etc., especially in certain stereotyped phrases and constructions beginning with a genitive without the article, such as helpes biddam, ädles gränung, sybbes (257) luufu, and formulas like sorges and säres, etc.

Note 3. In WS. and Kent. the nom. acc. plur. regularly ends in -a, while -e is clearly the orig. Angl. ending; accordingly -a is wanting in Ps. (as also in the oldest texts, see note 1; but R. has -a, beside -e). In North. there is, beside -e, -a, a (weak) by-form in -o (253, note 2).

Note 4. In the gen. plur. -a is the proper and usual termination (compare Goth. gibō), while -ena has intruded from the weak declensions, occurring in WS. and Kent. only in certain short stems (such as carena, fremena, gifena, lufena); very rarely in long stems (är(e)na, lär(e)na, sorg(e)na); in Cura Past. -ena is entirely wanting. On the relation between -na and -ena, as well as on dialectic by-forms, cf. 276, note 2 ff.

Note 5. The North. declension of feminines is much disordered. Thus in L. Rit. nominative forms also stand for the acc., more rarely for the dat., and conversely (R. ² is more true in this respect to primitive conditions); and there are many other variations and uncertainties.
253. As examples of short stems may be adduced caru (cearu, 102, note 3), care; seeomu, seeamu, shame; ewalu, death; laďu, invitation; swaďu, track; sacu, persecution; ōracu, combat; wracu, persecution; ondswaru, answer; ďenu, valley; ŏegu, reception; scolu, shool; lufu, love, etc.

Note 1. Beside giefu(m), glfu(m), gyfu(m), there occurs (especially in Ps. and North.) geofu(m), with u-umlaut (106. 1). In Ps. the words with original a have ea in the nom. sing. and dat. plur., according to 160 (ondsweauru, -um, etc.). In the cases which terminate in -e, the a of the root is often replaced by æ, particularly in the words which end in -e: sæce, ōraeæ, wræce, but also laďe, swæde, beside sæce, laĎe, swaĎe, etc.

Note 2. In late texts the u of the nom. is frequently extended to the other cases of the sing.: racu, sagu, talu, lufu, etc. In North. the short-stemmed feminines have nearly lost all traces of declension; that is, they show in all cases except gen. dat. plur. an -o, more rarely -u, but also -a or -e: L. lufu, -o, -a; wræcco, -e, wrac(co); geapo, geaf(a), gefo, gefe; seeom L., seeomu, -o; R.2 lufo, wraco, geofo, gefe, nora; Rit. lufo, geaf(a), seeoma, ondswære; and sporadically also R.1 lufu, geofu, etc.; but also L. Rit. gen. sing. in -es, -aes: gefs, lufes, etc. (252, note 2).

254. 1) The number of feminines with a long stem is very considerable. Examples of monosyllabic words are: feoht, fight; fōr, journey; glōf, glove; heall, hall; lār, lore; mearc, boundary; sorg, care; stund, time; ōrīg, while; wund, wound; with a derivative consonant: āl, disease; nǣdl, needle; frōfor, consolation; wōcor, growth; ceaster, town.

2) Like the long stems, the originally trisyllabic stems with a short radical syllable discard the u of the nom. sing.: hyden, butt; cieles, concubine; firen, iniquity; tigol, tile; (but exceptionally with u there occurs ēgenu, chaff = OHG. agana). To these must
be added the original i-stems ides, woman; duguō, virtue; geoguō, youth (269, note 4), and the long stem sāwol, soul (Goth. saiwala), together with all abstract nouns in -ung, -ing, like mōnung, warning; leornung, -ing, learning (255.1).

255. The following peculiarities of this declension still remain to be noted:

1) The WS. and Kent. abstracts in -ung frequently have, in the dat. sing., but also in the gen. sing., and even in the acc. sing., the termination -unga instead of -unge: leornunga, costunga, etc.

Note 1. In Ps. there is still a gradation of the suffixal vowel, so that the dat. plur. ends in -ingum, while the other cases have -ung (the gen. plur. is not found, Zeuner, p. 58).

2) Disyllabic words with a long stem-syllable and simple final consonant syncopate the vowel of the final syllable (144) in the oblique cases, while those with a short stem retain it: sāwol — sāwle (säule), soul; frōfor — frōfre, consolation; wōcor — wōcre, usury; but firen — firene, sin; ides — idese, woman, etc.

3) The originally trisyllabic abstracts which in Goth. end in -ipā have in the nom. sing. the ending -u, -o, like the short stems, but subsequently assume a shortened form in -ā: cyeōdu and cyeō(ā) (OHG. cundida), race, kinship; strengōdu and strengō (OHG. strengida), strength; gesyntu (OHG. gasuntida), health; ūndmētu (OHG. *ūtnuotida), humility; ofermētu (OHG. *ubarnuotida), arrogance; and wēordmīnt (orig. *-mundipa), honor. Both forms intrude gradually into the oblique cases of the sing., especially into the acc., which originally had only -e, following the rule.
Note 2. This usurpation on the part of the -u is presumably caused by the abstracts in -u (279).

4) Words in ʰ lose it before a vowel termination, whereupon contraction may supervene (cf. 242): snearth — sneäre, harp-string; lēah — lēa, lea.

Note 3. LWS. lēah often has gen. lēage, etc., like words in ʰ becoming h when final (214. 1); but also frequently later masc. lēa, gen. sing. nom. acc. plur. lēas, and more rarely gen. lēages in compound place-names. The neut. masc. slōh also has occasionally the fem. gen. dat. sing. slō (242. 2).

Note 4. brū, brow, has nom. acc. plur. brūa and brūwa, dat. brūum (brūm ?) and brūwum, gen. brūna.

b) jā-stems

256. The originally short stems have all become long by the gemination of the consonant preceding the j (227), and their declension no longer differs from that of the stems originally long. The terminations are those laid down in section 252, so far as no express statements to the contrary are made below.

257. Paradigms:

a) for stems originally short: slib(b), peace;

b) for stems originally long: gierd, rod.

Sing. N.V. slib(b) gierd | Plur. N.V. sibba, -e gierda, -e
  G.  sibbe gierde      | G.  sibba gierda
  D. I. sibbe gierde    | D. I. sibbum gierdum
  A.  sibbe gierde      | A.  sibba, -e gierda, -e

Note 1. For the simplification of West Germ. geminates at the end of a word cf. 231.

Note 2. The jā-stems never take a gen. plur. in -(e)na (252, note 4). On an occasional gen. sing. in -es see 252, note 2.
Note 3. The declension of the ā-stems differs from that of the simple long ā-stems only in the total lack of the weak gen. plur., and in the l-umlaut of the radical syllable. They are distinguished from the long ĭ-stems (269) by the acc. sing. in -ē.

258. 1) Among the monosyllables which are declined like sibb are the following: bēn, death-wound; brycg, bridge; cribb, manger; ēcg, edge; fit, canto; hell, hell; hēn, hen; nyt, advantage; sæcc, contest; sæeg, sword; syll, sill. To these must be added, so far as regards the gemination of a final consonant before a vowel ending, certain derivatives in -l, -n, and -s, like cōndel, candle; gyden, goddess; wiergen, she wolf; byrdēn, burden; rāden, arrangement; hægtes, witch; forlegis, adulteress; Lindis, Lincolnshire; gen. cōndelle, wiergēnne, byrdēnne, hægtesse, etc.; together with the abstract nouns in -nes, gen. -ness, like hālīgnes, holiness.

On the other hand, certain derivatives in t, especially hyrnētu, hornet (Erf. hrnītu, Corp. hurnītu); ielfētu, swan (Ep. Corp. ælbitu); * līgetu, lightning (Ps. lēgitu), have in the earlier language -u in the nom. sing. after a single t, while the oblique cases double the t: ligette, etc. (but Ps. lēgite).

Note 1. Here belongs, likewise, the foreign word lęmpedū, lam-prey. — There are also later abbreviated nominatives like hyrnēt, and regular weak inflections like hyrnētte, ylīfette, gen. -an, etc.; on- līget as a neut. see 248. 2, with note 3. — In LWS. there is sometimes a nom. sing. in -nisse, -nyrosse, instead of -nes, -nis, -nyss. In like manner, R.1 has -nisse, beside -nis, -nes; R.2 -nisse (-nese), beside -nis; L. Rit. -nisse, -nisse, beside L. -niss(s).

Note 2. Other nouns having u in the nom. sing. are eowu, ewe (Goth. *aewi), beside eowe, cowe, gen. eowo and ēwes, cowes, and ǣowu, handmaid (Goth. plīwi), beside ēowe, from which latter form we have also weak forms, gen. ǣowan, etc. The feminine nouns derived from masculines by l-umlaut and the addition of -en
occasionally take the nominative ending -u in LWS.: gydenu, goddess; ðiñenu, mennenu, handmaiden; mynceñenu, nun; now and then there are weak forms, like nom. nefene, grand-daughter, inf. gydeman, etc.

Note 3. The double consonants of derivatives are often simplified in later texts: -rædene, etc. (233. 4).

Note 4. Here belongs also WS. cnærils, gen. cnærilsse, generation (so also R.1; Blickl. cnærilism). North. has cnær-, cnæreresu, -o, -a, -risso, -risse, also -reswu, -o, plur. -reswo L. R.2, etc.

2) With gierd belong, for example, æx, ax (Ps. æces, North. aças); hild, battle; hind, hind; hyð, booty; wulf, she wolf; yð, wave; and certain derivatives in -s, like blið, bliss, bliss; liðs, liss, favor; milds, milts, compassion.

Note 5. In ðeg, ðg (ðg), island (ON. ey, eyjar); cæg, key, the derivative j is retained as g. For bænd see 266, note 1.

c) wæ-stems

259. Nouns with a long vowel or diphthong are regularly declined like the simple a-stems: stōw (stōu), place; hrēow, repentance; trēow, faithfulness; gen. stōwe, hrēowe, etc.

Note. Without w appear ðreā, threat, throe (from *pra(w)u, compare Ep. thraneu, OHG. drawa), and clēa, clēo, clēwe (from *klu(w)u, *kluē(w)u, compare OHG. klāwa, 111; 112). The former is indeclinable, except for the dat. plur. ðreā(n)um, or more rarely inflects as a weak masc. (277, note 2). Of clēa there is only the acc. plur. clēa, clēo, dat. clēām, and poet. clām; but, besides, clāwu, a new formation, is regularly declined like glefu. On ða see 284, note 4.

260. When a consonant precedes the w, the paradigms are as follows: beadu, battle; mēd, mead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N.</th>
<th>Plur. N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beadu</td>
<td>mēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. beadwe</td>
<td>mēd (w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. beadwe</td>
<td>mēd (w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. beadwe</td>
<td>mēd (w)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like beadu are declined the short stems nearu, distress; scedu, shadow; si(o)nu, sinew; and the plur. tant. geatwe, arms; frætwe, ornaments. Like mæd are declined the long stems læs, pasture; blōð(es)læs, phlebotomy; ræs, suggestion(?).

Note 1. Occasionally a vowel appears before the w of the short stems: beadowe, nearowe, geatewe, frætewun (249, note 1).

Note 2. Scedu (also neut. scead, plur. sceadu) more generally inflects like griefu (252), as does sinu rather frequently: gen. sceada, sine, etc. The Leiden Riddle has from geatwe a dat. plur. geatum, and the Cod. Dipl. a nom. plur. hergeatu. On North. cnæreso see 258, note 4.

Note 3. The long stems have regularly lost the -u of the nom. sing. (yet we find a newly formed nom. blōðlæswu, beside blōðlæs), and so developed at an early period forms without w. mæd has an early dat. mēda, as if from a u-stem (274).

3. THE I-DECLENSION

261. The i-declension of OE. is chiefly confined to masculines and feminines, since a few words which were originally neuter, like mēre, mēne, ēle (and bēre, ēge, hēte, sige, 263, note 4), have passed over to the masculine gender.

With the exception of masc. Seaxe (264); fem. meaht, beside miht (Old Kent. Angl. mæht); gesceaft, creature; geōdeaht, thought (both also neut.), and the neut. speere (262; 263), the nouns of this declension have in all cases i-umlaut if the radical syllable will admit (liode, later lēode, people, 264, has semiumlaut to io, 100, 2; and note 2); this often furnishes the only test by which to distinguish these words from those of the o-declension, with which the masculines have much in common.
DECLENSION OF NOUNS

The masculine and neuter nouns with a short radical syllable end in -e in the nom. acc. sing., while the corresponding feminines have -u; all the long i-stems, on the other hand, terminate in a consonant without distinction of gender.

a) Masculines and Neuters

1) Short Stems

262. Paradigms: masc. wine, friend (Germ. *wihl-z); neut. spera, spear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.V.A. wine</td>
<td>sperea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.V.A. wine</td>
<td>speru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. wines</td>
<td>speres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. wina</td>
<td>spera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. wine</td>
<td>speres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. winum</td>
<td>sperum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

263. 1) Like wine are declined such masculines as bere, barley; dane, valley; ele, oil; hefe, weight; hege, hedge; mehe, necklace; mere, sea; mete, food; sele, hall; stede, place (beside styde, esp. Kentish; North. styed, note 5); cicle, coolness; haele, man; hype, hip; hyse, youth; byre, son; hyge, myne, mind; pyle, pillow; ryge, rye; oyle, orator; dile, dill; ile, sole of the foot; wite, countenance; the plural Dane, Danes (sing. in the compound Healfdene); and a great number of verbal abstracts like drepe, stroke; ece, ache; ege, terror; hete, hate; slege (sleage), blow (plur. slegeas, 206. 3. b); stepe, step (plur. steapas, etc., also late stapas); bite, bite; blize, exposure; cwide, speech; gripe, grip; (æt-, on-)hrine, touch; scrive, step; sice, sigh; sige, victory; slide, fall; snide, incision; spiw, spewing; stice, stitch; stige, ascent; stride, stride; swile (swyle),
tumor; oftige, subtraction; bryce, breach; bryce, custom; bryne, burning; byge, bend (plur. bygeas); (ge)byre, event; cyme, coming; cyre, choice; drype, blow; dryre, fall; dyne, din; flyge, flight; Gryre, horror; gyte, inundation; hryce, fall; lyge, lie; lyre, loss; foreynyme, presumption; ryne, course; scye, showe; scyte, shot; sype, sip, etc.; and the abstracts in -scipe, -ship, like fréondsceipe, friendship.

2) Neuters are such as sife, sive; ofdèle, ofdæle, declivity; gedyre, door-post; oferslege, lintel; orlege, fate; wiæce, tepidity, and probably also gemyne, care; gedyne, din; gewile, will, whose gender is doubtful.

Note 1. In the oldest texts the sing., with the exception of the gen., ends in *-is*: Æadwīns.

Note 2. The proper termination of the nom. acc. plur. of the masculines is *-e*, older *-i* (compare Goth. gastils, and 44, note 1); the termination *-as* is borrowed from the o-declension, although it is more common than *-e*. In the gen. plur. the form in *-a* is by far the more common. The ending *-ig(e)a*, *-ia* is only found in Děnig(e)a, winig(e)a.

Note 3. A few words go over more or less completely to the jo-declension, by doubling the simple consonant at the end of the radical syllable (227; 247), and dropping the *-e* in the nom. acc. sing. Thus WS. mete regularly forms the plur. mettas (more rarely a sing. mett, mettes), hyse has hyssas and hyssas (likewise in the sing. hysses, etc.), Ie has plur. illas and illas. Parallel with dyne occurs dynn, dynnes; beside ofdèle, North. æfdæll; and, beside gewile, usually gewill. Irregular are gewif, fate, gen. gewifes, plur. gewi(o)fu, beside gewef, web; sél, hall, plur. sélu, beside neut. säl, masc. séle, and (neut.?) sálor.

Note 4. bere, ege, héte, sige, and perhaps a few others, were without doubt originally neuters in -iz (compare Goth. *bariz*- (in barželms), agis, hatis, sigis), but were treated like masculines in -i-z; the neuters which remain also probably belonged to the iz-class (288 ff.), as well as speri, which appears in early compounds as spe(o)ru- (128; 288 ff.). hæle (hæle?), which only occurs in the
sing., has come from the consonant-declension (281. 1). Quite exception-
ally ecle occurs as neut., instead of masc.

Note 5. In North. the nom. acc. sing. of these words, so far as
the few instances show, is regularly shortened: wlt, countenance;
met(t), food; sig, victory (also neut. gisig); lyg, lie; neut. styd,
place; as plurals occur R.2 metas, and weak met(t)o (beside L.
mett, R.2 mete, if these are not singular forms) and styde. In
composition, too, these words lose their -e in North.: sigbög, crown;
sigfrest, victorious; stydføst, steadfast; unstydful, apostate; met-
bælg, scrip, etc. In the older language this shortening, however,
seems to be confined to the words sige and hyge: compare proper
nouns like Sigřød, Sigmund, Hygberht, Hyglæc, or Wulfslæg,
Hünsig, beside Ælfuinl, Alduinl, Sigulæc, or Hysisæl, Hysimæn,
Ulínal, Ulínæc, etc. (Lib. Vitæ).

Note 6. The short 1-stems differ from the short jo-stems like here
(246) by the uniform absence of -i(g)- in certain cases of the sing.
and plur. (and in part by the different terminations of the nom. acc. plur.).
They differ from words like secg (246), whose stem has become long,
by possessing the -e in the nom. acc. sing. and plur., as well as the
single consonant at the end of the radical syllable.

Note 7. In the declension of the short 1-stems is to be included
the plur. tant. -ware, -a, people, like Römvware, Cántware, etc.
(besides -waras and weak -waran). This was originally a plur. of
the sing. -waru, people (252).

2) Long Stems

264. The long masculines have dwindled to a scanty
remnant, and these are found only in the plural; com-
pare the paradigm Ængle, Angles (Germ. stem *Anglì-).

Plur. N. V. A. Ængle
    G. Ængla
    D. L. Ænglum

Thus are declined a few proper nouns like Seaxe,
Saxons (261); Mierce, Mercians; Dère, Deirians; Beorn-
nice, Bernicians; Norð(an)-, Suthymbre, Northum-
brids, etc.; the foreign words Êgipte, Créce, Perse
(beside Crēcas, Persēas); and the plurals ielde, yldc, men; ielfe, elves; liode, people (261). The poetry rarely has -a for the nom. acc. plur., as in lēoda.

Note. A few of the gentle nouns, particularly Seaxe and Mierce, occasionally have a weak form in -na in the gen. plur.: Seaxna, Mierena (rarely -ena); less common is weak declension in the other cases.

265. The other masculines belonging under this head have assumed the endings of the o-declension, and hence differ from the o-stems only in respect to etymology, the i-umlaut of the radical syllable, and the palatalization of final gutturals (206, 3, b). Paradigm: wyrm, worm (Prim. Germ. *wurmi-z):

Sing. N. V. wyrm
G. wyrmes
D. I. wyrme
A. wyrm

Plur. N. V. wyrmas
G. wyrma
D. I. wyrmum
A. wyrmas

266. Here belong bend, band; bielg, bag; bræw, brow; dæl, part; demm, injury; ēnt, giant; fierst, time; fyrs, furze; giest, guest; glæm, gleam; gylt, guilt; hyll, hill; lieg, flame; lyft, air; mæw, mew; sæl, time; stęng, pole (plur. stęngeas, etc.); stręng, string (plur. stręngeas, etc.); ðyrs, giant; wæg, bilow; wiell, well; and a series of verbal nouns, like brygd, brandishing; byrst, damage; cierr, turn; cierrm, clamor; drenc, drync (drinc), drink (plur. drencceas, dat. drencium, etc.); dynt, blow; fęng, grasp; fiell, fall; flyht, flight; hlyst, hearing; hwyrf, turn; hyht, hope; lēc, look; sliht, slaughter; smiċe, odor; stęnc, smell (plur. stęnceas, etc.); stiell, jump; swęg, clamor;
swæng, stroke; swyht, death; tyht, instruction; ðyrst, thirst; wrænc, wrench, trick (plur. wrænceas, dat. wræncium, etc.); wyrp, cast; ærist (ærist?), resurrection; æspræng, well; ææst, envy (43, note 4), etc.

Note 1. The nom. acc. plur. of bënd is not only bëndas, but also (especially Anglian?) bënda, bënde, of which the singular is probably a fem. bënd, belonging to 257 (Goth. bandi). Other words follow the declension of the feminines (269), like ærist, æspræng, lyft (LWS. also neut., with plur. lyftu), hlyst, sæl, etc.

Note 2. sæ, sæa (Goth. salwes), inflects partly as masc.: gen. sæs, dat. sæ, nom. acc. plur. sæs (Ps. sæsas), gen. sæwæ (?), dat. sæm (sæwum); partly as fem.: gen. dat. sæ (gen. also sæs and sæwe), nom. acc. plur. sæ, etc. (269, note 3). The foreign word dryr, wizard (from Celid drul), has gen. drys (LWS. also dryes), dat. dry, nom. acc. plur. dryas, gen. dryra (?), dat. dryum.

Note 3. On bræw (Angl. brég) — bræw see 212, note 2.

267. This class contains no neuters which originally belonged to it, that is, which belonged to it in Germ. or West Germ. (261). Notwithstanding, there are certain words, originally belonging to other declensions, which have assumed in OE. an inflectional type that can be assigned to this place, in virtue of their uniform i-umlaut and the consonant termination of their nom. acc. sing., particulars in which they agree with the long-stemmed masculines and feminines of the i-declension. Here belong:

a) Original neuters, like flæsc, flesh; flës, fleece (Angl. *flëos, Leid. flëos); hæl, welfare; hilt, hilt; læn, loan; hræð, fame(masc. ?); nouns with the prefix ge-, such as gehænn, ban; gefæg, joining; gehæld (Angl. gehæld), protection; gehëyd, clamor; geæsp, blame; geswine, tribulation; gewëd, rage; gewiele, breakers;
INFLECTION

North. Rit. onwæld, power (beside onweald, usually masc.); geswyrf (?), filings; gegrýnd, plot of ground; gedwile, error; gehnæst, conflict; and probably æcryf, fragment; felectyf, præputium (masc.?). These are declined like cyynn, 246 (dat. plur. geswincium, 206. 3. b).

Note 1. Beside these forms are occasionally found others without i-unlaut, like gebonn, gefög, geheald, gehnæst, gewealc, or by-forms with r, like hílor, hróðor; this renders it probable that these words were originally os/es-stems (288 ff.).

b) Original feminines, especially nouns with the prefix ge-: gebyrd, nature; gecynd, race; gehygð, thought; oferhygd, arrogance; gemyn, mind; genyht, sufficiency; geóyld, patience; gewyrht, deed; forwyrd, destruction; fulwiht, fulluht, baptism; grín, snare; wiht, wuht, thing. These also occur as feminines (269), and are frequently, in some instances predominantly, so declined. As neuters they follow in general the declension of cyynn (246) or word (238), but have in the nom. acc. plur. the ending -u, -o, as far as instances occur: gehygðu, oferhygðu, gewyrhtu, grínu, wihtu; yet a few forms occur without ending, like gecynd, beside gecyndu.

Note 2. To the foregoing singulairs must be added the plur. tant. giftu, nuptials; gedryhtu, elements; gehyrstu (beside gehyrste), trappings; which must originally have been feminines. In late texts other feminines of the i-declension occasionally assume the ending -u of the neut. plur.: lyftu, wistu, samwistu, from lyft, air; wist, food; samwist, matrimony. So, too, the unumlauted gesceafte, originally a feminine, according to the cognate Germanic tongues (261; 269), but likewise a neuter in OE, forms a plur. gesceafte, beside gesceafte, -a, according to 252. For geđeahť see 261; 269.
DECLENSION OF NOUNS

Note 3. wuht, wiht, in the sense of 'being,' 'creature,' is almost always fem. (though neut. in Blickl.), and does not form the plur. wihlu till LWS. (cf. note 2); but in the generalized sense of 'thing,' 'something,' it assumes the neuter gender, side by side with the feminine, at an early period. For the compound nāwuht, etc., see 348.

Note 4. Beside gecynd, fem. neut., there exist two other singul-lars, probably deduced from the plur. gecyndu: gecynde, neut. (246), and gecyndu, -o, weak fem. (279); so gebyrd has a weak form gebyrdu, -o.

b) Feminines

1) Short Stems

268. But few remains are preserved, and not all of these are certain: fremu, benefit, and perhaps hylu, hollow; -legu, laying down; and -neru, deliverance, in caldorlegu, feordlegu (or -neru), of whose nominatives we have no examples.

The declension of these words has entirely conformed to that of the short ā-stems like giefu (252), or to that of the abstracts in -u, like strengu (279), and they ought perhaps to be classed with these rather than credited to the i-declension.

2) Long Stems


Sing. N. V. bēn
G. bēne
D. I. bēne
A. bēn

Plur. N. V. bēne, -a
G. bēna
D. I. bēnum
A. bēne, -a

Thus are declined such as bēne, bench; bryd, bride; ewēn, woman; dryht, host; fyst, fist; hīd, skin; hīf, hive; hyrst, trappings; lyft, air; nied, need; tid, time;
§ryð, strength; wēn, hope; wiht, wuht, creature; wynn, pleasure; wyrd, fate; wyrt, herb, root; bysne, example (gen. bŷsne, etc.); æ(w), law, marriage, and many verbal abstracts (with the original suffix -ti): dæd, deed; fœrd, army; glêd, gleed; spêd, success; scylā, guilt; gehygd, gemynd, thought; gewyrht, deed; géyld, patience; æht, property; meaht, miht, might (261); ēst, grace; wist, sustenance; yst, storm; ærist, resurrection, etc. Regularly without umlaut occur gesceaf, creation, creature; geďeaht, thought (both also neut., 261).

Note 1. The endings of this declension are the same as those of the ǣ-declension, except in the acc. sing., which in the latter has ðæ. This termination is introduced into the 1-declension (at an early period, and to a considerable extent, in North. R. and to some extent Ps.; in WS. and Kent, it makes its appearance later, and is at first comparatively rare): tīde, cweñē, etc.

Note 2. The genuine oldest termination of the nom. acc. plur. is -i (meceti Cædmon’s Hymn; compare Goth. mahtōs), which subsequently became -e (44). Notwithstanding, there is also an early intrusion of ðæ from the ǣ-declension (Ep. uuyrðæ); cf. also note 5.

Note 3. ðæ is indeclinable in the whole sing. and the nom. acc. plur.; but there is also found a gen. dat. sing. ðæwe, in agreement with which there is formed a nom. acc. ðæw; a few texts seem to distinguish between ðæ, law, and ðæw, marriage. For ðæ see 266, note 3.

Note 4. lyht and ærst, and a few others, are also masc. (266, note 1); gecynd, gehygd, gemynd, gewyrht, wiht, wuht, etc., are also neuter (267 b). duguð, virtue; geoguð, youth; and ðedes, woman, which elsewhere belong to the 1-declension, in OE. follow the ǣ-declension (252); sîen (sīn), sión (sēon), face; onsien, face, view, etc., frequently have in WS. the acc. sing. sēon, but in Ps. always take -e, according to the ǣ-declension: onsïene; North. varies.

Note 5. In North. many of these feminines appear also as neuters (251, note). Among special deviations from the regular inflectional types are to be noted the gen. sing. in -es of L. and Rit.: tides, dēdes, etc. (and so sporadically in LWS.; cf. also 252, note 2), and the weak plur., as in nom. acc. tído, dêdo, gen. tídana, dêdana, etc.
4. THE u-DECLENSION

a) Masculines

1) Short Stems

270. Paradigm: sunu, son (Germ. *sunu-z, Goth. sunus).

Sing. N. V. sunu, -o; -a 
G. suna
D. suna; -u, -o
A. sunu, -o; -a
I. suna

Plur. N. V. suna; -u, -o
G. suna
D. I. sunum
A. suna; -u, -o

271. The number of words which follow this declension is quite limited: fully inflected are only sunu and wudu, wood. Beside nom. acc. sing. me(o)du, mead; magu, boy, there are only dat. meodu, -o, nom. acc. plur. magas. Of bregu, -o (breogo), prince; heoru, sword; lagu, lake; sidu, custom; spitu, spit, there are only nom. acc. sing. The words fri(o)du-, peace, and li(o)du-, limb (Goth. fripus, iipus), no longer occur as u-stems, except as the first member of compound words; otherwise there occur fem. fri(o)du (279), neut. frið and lið (239); and for Goth. qipus, venter, only masc. eðuð. So also for Goth. skadus, shadow, OE. has the fem. sceadu and the neut. scead (Angl. sead), according to 253 and 240.

Note 1. The nom. acc. sing. -a for -u, -o is only late. The gen. sing. subsequently has the termination -es, as in the o-declension: wudes, and similarly the nom. acc. plur. -as: wudas, sunas. There is a late weak plural, suman, in connection with the late nom. sing. in -a.

Note 2. Ps. has only nom. acc. sing. sunu, gen. wuda, dat. suna; R. has nom. acc. sing. sunu, -e, gen. sune, -e, dat. sunu, -e, plur.
nom. acc. sing. sumus, -a, -e, -ea, -ea; gen. sumus, -a, -e, dat. sumus, -a, nom. acc. plur. sumus, -o, -a; gen. sumus, -o, -ea, dat. sumus, -a; in K. nom. acc. plur. sumus, -o, -a; gen. sumus, -o, dat. sumus, -a, nom. acc. plur. sumus, -a, gen. sumus, -o, dat. sumus, -a; bin. has only sumus as nom. gen. acc. sing. and nom. plur.

2. Long Stems

272. Words with a long stem dropped the u in the nom. acc. sing., according to 194, and thus came into relation with the o-stems, whose inflection they then to some extent assumed. Paradigm: field, feild.

Sing. N. V. A. feild
G. feilds: -es
D. I. feilds: -e
Plur. N. V. A. feilds: -es
G. feilds
D. I. feilds: -e

273. Traces of this declension are more frequent in the words felde, feild: ford, föld; weald, forest, and the derivable summer, comma: winter, winter: weppel?). spring: they are less common in card, country: höfd, persæ, ræm: hearg, temtle, idli: sédf, fowatuin, and -gæl, morn, in proper nouns like Wittigær. The other words which formerly belonged to the u-declension have completely passed over to the o-declension: är, meseraper: dæll, dæli: freor, lfr: höld, fröld: skalld, stæyld. form, ðorm: hungor, vapör, etc. = Goth. núra, dæljan, féarlwan, fðesus, skeldus,浆renus, hælrum, and the numerous verbal nouns in -u-ill, -u-ill = Goth. -udus.

Notes: 1. In North, there are still found the suffixes dælla, vapona, and even a few examples of original o-stems, like bæna, vapona.

Notes 2. The rem. sing. in -u appears here section Rede bæda, liczlickibo, ðorm, wintor, Wittigær, the nom. acc. plur. seems
only to be found in the somewhat common hearga and apla (note 3). On the other hand, the dat. instr. in -a is still common in the older texts, but is subsequently replaced by -e of the o-declension.

Note 3. winter, which is always of the masc. gender in the sing., so far as can be determined, takes in the nom. acc. plur. the neuter forms wintru and winter. appel inflects in the sing. wholly according to the o-declension, but in the plural, beside ap(p)las, is more generally ap(p)la, with irregular vowel of the radical syllable, later also ap(p)lu, which is neuter, like wintru.

Note 4. A nom. acc. sing. in -u occurs exceptionally in the case of long stems in the older language: atgærnu, spear Ep.; flōdu, flood; Olwfwolju (read Wolf-), in Runic inscriptions.

b) Feminines

274. Of these there are but few remaining. Paradigms: duru, door; hōnd, hand. Their declension is as follows:

Sing. N.V. A. dura hōnd Plur. N.V. A. dura; -u hōnda
G. dura hōnda G. dura hōnda
D. I. dura; -u hōnda D. I. durum hōndum

Like duru is declined nosu (Old Kent. nasu), nose; like hōnd inflect fōr, floor; cweorne, mill.

Note 1. Rarer by-forms are gen. dat. instr. sing. dure, nose; dat. dyru, dyre, with ₁-lumlaut, and gen. dat. hōnd. fōr has in the gen. dat. sing. also fōr (but acc. sing. always fōr), and is also used as masc. (273). cweorne more commonly follows the ₁-a-declension: gen. dat. acc. sing. cweorne; there is, besides, a weak fem. cweorne (278).

Note 2. Ps. has sing. acc. duru, plur. dura; of hōnd: sing. gen. dat. and plur. nom. acc. gen. hōnda, dat. hōndum; R₁ sing. nom. acc. dat. dure (also masc.), plur. nom. duru, dat. durum; of hōnd: sing. acc. hōnd, -e, -ae, -a, dat. hōnda, plur. nom. acc. hōnde, -a, dat. hōndum.

The North. forms are:

a) of duru (also masc. and neut.): in L₁: sing. nom. duru, -a, acc. duru, -o, -æ, dat. duru, -o, -a, -e, plur. nom. duro, dat. durum;
in R.²: sing. nom. dura, acc. dura, -o, dat. dura, plur. nom. duro, dat. durum; in Rit.: sing. acc. duro, plur. dat. durum;


c) Neuters

275. There is no longer an independent u-declension of neuters in OE. The sole relic is Ps. North. feolu, feolo, and WS. felā, feola, much (the former a stereotyped nom. acc., the latter no doubt a stereotyped form of the other cases). Goth. faihu, cattle, is WS. Kent. feoh, Angl. fēh, which has gone wholly over to the o-declension (242).

B. WEAK DECLENSION (n-STEMS)

276. The three genders are scarcely distinguishable except in the nom. voc. sing. (with which the neut. acc. is identical); the masc. ending is -a, the fem. -e or -u (279), and the neut. -e. Paradigms are: masc. guma, man; fem. tunge, tongue; neut. ēage, eye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V. guma</td>
<td>tunge</td>
<td>ēage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. guman</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. guman</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. guman</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>ēage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A. guman</td>
<td>tung(e)na</td>
<td>ēag(e)na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. gumena</td>
<td>tungum</td>
<td>ēagum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. gumum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. In certain texts -on is found for -an.

Note 2. WS. has but rarely gen. plur. -ana, -ona, beside -(e)na: Cura Past. ēarana, welona; Oros. -warana, Judana, Gotona; in
texts having dialectic color these forms are rather more common (cf. also note 3. c).

Note 3. The relation to each other of the two forms for the gen. plur., -ena (-ana, -ona, note 2) and -na (including the corresponding forms of the strong declension, 252, note 4), varies greatly:

a) In WS. prose -ena is normal for both short and long stems: masc. fryena, weleena, witenne; fem. wyceena, like masc. cçmpena, telgenna; fem. biemenena, nêdrena; neut. êagenena, ëarne, etc.; only rarely do long stems exhibit syncope of the middle vowel: Cura Past. masc. wilna, fem. tungna, neut. ëagna (beside tungena and êagena).

A constant exception to this rule is formed by the gentile names of WS. prose; these have as a rule -ena after a short radical syllable, and -na after a long: Oros. Gotena (-ona), Judena (-ana); but Oros. -seaxna, Chron. -seaxna, Frænena, Longbeardena, Mierena, Sumursëtna. In the later language, too, -ena for this -na is very rare.

b) The poetry follows in general this latter principle: the short radical syllables take -ena (-ana, -ona), the long predominantly -na: masc. wilna, brôgna, fem. ërna, lærna, sorna, wíisma, wrêcena; neut. ëagna, úhtna, beside occasional forms like masc. dêmena, wrçceena, fem. tungena, neut. ëagenena, the latter being quite as secondary as the occasional Gëutena, Frësena, beside the regular Frësna, Francna, etc. In the case of long syllables, -ena is the rule only after consonant-groups which obstruct syncope; hence the poetry has regularly, for example, masc. witgena, ëldrëna; fem. ôrmenena.

c) Of the Anglian texts, Ps. always has -ena without regard to the quantity: masc. dracena (dræcena), nömena, weleona, wareena, like bucéena, steorcrena; fem. coröena, wisena; neut. êegenena, etc.; R.1 has in the masc. rarely -ana, beside -ena: witçuna (beside witçenna), sceçena, geroçena; in the fem. only -ana: nêdrana, widuwa-na, úiperana. In North., finally, -ena, -ana, -ona (rarely -una) vary widely; -a is also occasionally found, as in the strong declension.

Note 4. Sporadic occurrences are: for *(e)na LWS. also -an: ëastran, ëægean (from the strong fem. ëæg, key); or -enan: ëagenan; and strong -a: bæcistra, prica, nama; so in the sing. strong forms like Gl. gen. mältanges; Scint. ëages, Ben. ëares, Ben. dat. ëage.

Note 5. The final -n is discarded in North. (and for the most part in R.1), and the vowels of final syllables are subject to considerable variation.
The masc. has in R.¹ in the nom. sing. -a, -e, -æ (-an), obl. -a, -e, -æ; -u; -an, nom. acc. plur., beside -a, -e, -u, also -an and strong -as. Of the North. texts R.² has in the nom. sing. mostly -a (occasionally -o), obl. -a, more rarely -o, -u, nom. acc. plur. -u, -o, rarely -a, -e; L. nom. sing. -a (-o, -e), gen. -es, -æs, -as, dat. acc. -a, -o (-e), plur. -o (-a, also strong -as); Rit. nom. sing. -a (-e), gen. -a, -e, -o and -es, -æs, dat. acc. sing. and nom. acc. plur. -a, -e, -o.

Still greater variation prevails in the feminine: R.¹ has nom. sing. generally -æ, but also -a, obl. -æ, -æ, -a, and -an, plur. -æ, -e, and -an. The North. forms are: R.² sing. -a, rarely -e (but widwe always so); L. sing. nom. dat. acc. -æa, -æ, -e, -o, gen. -es, -æs, plur. -o, -æ, and strong -as; Rit. sing. nom. dat. acc. -æ, -ã, gen. -es, plur. -o, -æ, and strong -as. Unlike the rest, eor÷u, earth, has generally -u, -o in North. instead of the other vowels cited (always so in the nom. sing.; in R.¹ eor÷u varies with eorðe). The feminines also frequently become neuters.

Of neuters there are: in R.¹ nom. acc. sing. ëare (-a), ëge (-an ?), wôngæ, dat. ëge, plur. ëara(n), ë(n)gan, -um, ëgu, -e; North.: R.² nom. acc. plur. ëaru, -o, -a, nom. acc. sing. plur. ëgu, -o; L. nom. dat. acc. sing. ëare, plur. ëaro, nom. dat. acc. sing. plur. ëgo; Rit. nom. dat. sing. ëare, plur. ëaro, -a, and plur. ëgo.

On the gen. plur. see note 3. c.

1. MASCULINES

277. Like guma are declined a great number of words; thus, of short stems: bêna, murderer; cofa, room; draca, dragon; fona, flag; hôna, cock; nefa, nephew; nôma, name; seeaða, robber; sefa, mind; wela, riches; wiga, warrior; wita, wise man; plur. -waran, inhabitants; of long stems: brôga, terror; bucca, buck; cempa, warrior; crêda, creed; dêma, judge; gôma, palate; hunta, hunter; môna, moon; gerêfa, bailiff; steorra, star; telga, twig; tôena, injury; witga, prophet; wræcee, exile.

Note 1. oxa, ox, has in nom. acc. plur. oxen, eoxen, beside oxan; gen. oxna, dat. oxum, and rarely oxnum. The plur. tant. hiwan,
hīgan (North. hīgu), members of a family, forms a gen. plur. hīna, beside higna, hīwna. A late dat. plur. of nefā, nephew, grandson, is nefenum.

Note 2. frēa, lord; gefēa, joy; ḍrēa, affection; lēo, lion (North. lēa, gen. lēas); twēo, doubt (LWS. also twē and twēn, North. tuā and tuān, cf. 156. 3); Swēon, Swedes; gefā, foe; rā, roe, systematically contract the vowel of the radical syllable with that of the derivative syllable into the diphthongs ēa, ēō, or the vowel ā: gen., etc., frēan; gen. plur. lēona, gefēna, Swēona, dat. lēom, Swēom, gefām, but also lēoum, etc. (110, note 1).

Of doubtful words that belong here there are, beside fēa, flea, which might also be fem., mēo, sole (plur. mēōn); plur. *cēon, gills (Ep. cian); *scēo, shin-bone (Erf. Corp. scia, North. plur. L. sciu, R. scia, sciae).

Note 3. The uncontracted frigea occurs beside frēa; ḍrēa is oftener strong fem. (252); lēo, beside regular forms, has LWS. dat. plur. lēonum, and occasional dat. sing. lēone or lēonan.

2. FEMININES

278. The number of feminines which are declined like tunge is smaller than that of the weak masculines. Examples of long stems are: bieme, trumpet; eorðe, folde, hrūse, earth; heorte, heart; sunne, sun; wise, manner; mēowle, maiden; nǣdre, viper; swealwe, swallow; of short stems: bune (būne?), cup; ceole, throat; cliðe, clife, burdock; cwene, woman; cwice, quitchgrass; mīere, (mīere? cf. 218. 1), mare; pi(o)se, pea; of polysyllables: wuduwe, widow (156. 4), and the words in -estre, like bæcestre, female baker, etc.

Note 1. Most of the short stems borrow, at a rather early period, the nom. sing. ending -u from the short ā-stems: cinu, fissure; faðu, paternal aunt; hosu (masc. (?) hosa), hose; hracu, throat; moru, parsnip; peru, pear; spadu, spade; swi(o)pu, whip; ǫrotu, throat;
wucu, week; yet the oldest texts still keep the older ending -e: Ep. -throte, -more; Ps. hrace; hrace and faðe are later found sporadically. Compounds, too, are wont to retain the -e: iocboere, curly-haired woman; nihtegale, nightingale; æsc-, eoforðrote (plant-names), etc.

lufu, love, generally inflects like glefu (252) in pure WS. (so in Cura Past., and exclusively in Ælfric’s Homilies), elsewhere for the most part weak; Ps. has preserved an older weak nom. lufe.

Note 2. Contractions (as in 277, note 2) are exhibited by béo, bee (North. bía, Ps. plur. bián); céo,ough (Ep. chýæ, Erf. cíæ); péo (Ps. píc), gudly; róe (Ep. rýhé, but also réowe and réowu), covering; séo, pupil; flá, arrow; slá, sloe (plur. slán, beside strong slá); slá, slea(?) (Corp. sláhæ), sley; tā, toe (día? doe; instances of weak inflection not found); dó (Ep. thóhæ), clay; gen., etc., bǽon, sǽon, flán, etc. tá has tán and tāan; dat. plur. tánum, and later tānum; flá perhaps only flánum, though this may belong to the strong masc. (238) or strong fem. (252) flán, which frequently occurs beside flá. LWS. (Ælfric) similarly has a weak fem. tá, formed from the strong masc. tán, twig. Conversely, there is found a nom. sing. tán for tá, toe.

Note 3. Æastron, -un (more rarely -an), Easter, which generally occurs as plur. tant., has an irregular ending: gen. Ææstrena, -ana, also Ææstran, and strong Ææstra. Beside weak Æastron there is also an apparently strong Æastru, -o, with neuter ending; there also occurs a nom. sing. Ææstre. In North. nom. acc. L. Ææstru, Æosteru, R. 2 Ææstru, -o (R. 1 Ææstran and Ææstra), gen. L. Æætres, Æëstres, R. 2 Ææstr, Æoster, -ana, -una, dat. L. Ææstræ, Æøstæ, Æøstru. In L. the word is neut. sing., in R. 2 plur. (Luke 22. 15 L. Æis Æøstro, R. 2 Æs Æøstru).

Note 4. Like the masculines inflect gemæca (gemæca), consort; gebedda, bedfellow; gørestra, widow, and a few others, which are regarded as having common gender.

279. As respects their origin, the abstracts in -u, -o, such as brædu, breadth; hælu, salvation; mengu, menigo, multitude; strængu, strength; ieldu, age, belong to the weak declension, since they correspond to Goth. weak nouns in -el, like managei, multitude. They have, however, borrowed the nom. sing. ending -u from
the ā-declension, and thus rid themselves entirely of the old inflectional forms. Their declension is as follows:

Sing. N. strengu, -o  Plur. N. A. strenge, -a; -u, -o
G.                              G. strenka
D. I. strenge; -u, -o  D. I. stren gum
A.                              

Note 1. These abstracts are mostly indeclinable in the sing., that is, they end in -u, -o in all cases. Plurals are hardly ever found. The nom. acc. sing. has occasionally a shortened form, yld for yldo, age (cf. 255. 3).

Note 2. Here again L. and Rit. have a gen. in -es, like ældes, snytres = WS. ieldu, snytru.

Note 3. The older final -i still shows itself in the constant umlaut of the radical syllable, as well as in the palatalization of preceding gutturals: menigeo, strengeo (206. 3. b).

3. NEUTERS

280. The only word which is certainly declined like ēage is ēare, ear; heorte has become feminine.

Note 1. The declension of wonge, cheek, is much disordered, as the result of confusion with forms of the synonymous wenge and of dunwenge, temples, both of which were originally strong neuters (248. 1); nom. acc. sing. wonge, wenge, and dunwenge, dunwenge; dat. dunwengan; nom. acc. plur. wongan, dunwengan, beside dunwongan and strong dunwonge, -a; gen. dunwongena and wonga.

Note 2. LWS. has the sporadic gen. ēages and ēares, and dat. ēare (276, note 4). Doubtful is the gender of weak masc. įhta or weak neut. įhte, dawn (Goth. weak fem. īhtwō), which occurs almost exclusively in the ancient formula on īhtan (beside rare phrases like īhtna gehwylce, þām ǐcan īhte).

Note 3. For the North. declension of ēorc and ēgo see 276, note 5.
C. MINOR DECLENSIONS

1. IRREGULAR CONSONANT STEMS

a) Masculines and Neuters

281. 1) Paradigm for the masculine: fōt, foot.

Sing. N. V. A. fōt Plur. N. V. A. fēt
G. fōtes G. fōta
D. fēt D. I. fōtum
L. fōte, fēt

Thus are declined tōd, tooth, plur. tēd; mōn(n), man(n), plur. mēn(n); and likewise the disyllabic hāeleō, hero; mōnād, month.

Note 1. Besides mōn, there is also a weak masc. mōnna, manna, declined according to 276, but occurring for the most part only in the acc. sing. In North. the acc. is generally L. mōnno (sporadically mōnnu, -e, mōnn); R.2 mōn(n), less frequently mōnno, -e; Rit. mōnno, beside aldormōn; R.1 mōnnum. Proper names in -mōn seem regularly to be declined as strong (238): for example, dat. Colemanne, Gearomēnne.

Like mōn is declined the compound wīfmon, woman (later often assimilated: wīmman), except that it is sometimes used as a fem.

Note 2. The nom. acc. plur. of fōt, tōd sometimes in later (Anglian?) texts appears as fōtas, tōdas (already once Mart. fōtas, Ps. tōdas, besides more frequent tōdō); of tōd, dat. sing. North. tōde, gen. plur. tōdāna, tōda, beside tōda L. R.2 has a gen. plur. fēta, beside fōta; Rit. gen. plur. tōdāna, acc. plur. fōta; R.1 dat. sing. tōp and mōn, beside more frequent mēn.

Note 3. ās, god, which otherwise occurs only as the first member of compounds, has a gen. plur. ēsa, with perplexing l-umlaut.

Note 4. hāeleō and mōnād have a nom. acc. plur. without termination, along with hāeleōs (hāeleōe) and mōn(e)ēs; in the sing. they are regularly inflected according to the o-declension. The nom. hāeleō is a new formation for hāele (cf. ealu under 2); this older nom. has passed over to the i-declension (263, note 4).
2) The neuters which belong here are the monosyllabic *scrūd*, *garment*, and the disyllabic *ealu*, *ale*. The former has dat. sing. *scrūd* (LWS. *scrūd* and *scrūde*), nom. acc. plur. *scrūd*, gen. *scrūda*; the second, formerly a t-stem, like *hæleð* and *mōnāð*, forms the gen. dat. sing. (e)aloð, -að (very late and unusual also dat. ealoðe; North, gen. aloðes Rit.), gen. plur. ealoða, and sporadically an acc. sing. ealoð, modeled upon the gen. dat.

b) Feminines

282. The short stems which belong here are *hnutu*, *nut*; *studu*, *stūðu*, *column*; *hnitu*, *nit*. Paradigm: hnutu.

Sing. N. hnutu       Plur. N. hnyte
        G. hnyte       G. hnutæ
D. I. hnyte       D. I. hnutum
A. [hnutu]         A. hnyte

Note. The acc. sing. hnutu is supplied according to the acc. studu, stūðu; the gen. plur. is also hnutena in LWS. — studu, stūðu has, besides the nom. acc. (likewise the form feorstūdu, without ending, in the ancient North, glosses to Bede, OET. 123, for which again feorstūpū appears later; likewise durustūd, doorpost), also the dat. styde (stýde), stude, and studa. — hnutu has, beside the nom. sing., the nom. acc. plur. hnyte.

283. The long stems have in the dat. sing. and nom. acc. plur. no inflectional endings, but exhibit i-umlaut wherever phonetic laws admit of it. The gen. sing. is either identical with the dat., or is formed without umlaut and with the ending -e, as in the i-declension. Paradigm: bōc, *book*.

Sing. N. V. A. bōc       Plur. N. V. A. bēc
        G. bēc; bōcæ      G. bōca
D. I. bōc             D. I. bōcum
284. Thus are declined äc, oak; gät, goat; bröc, trousers; gös, goose; wlöh, fringe; burg, borough; dung (?), cavern; furh, furrow; suhl, plow; turf, turf; grüt, grout; lüs, louse; mūs, mouse; ërūh, trough; cū, cow; ëa, water; neaht, niht, night; and the disyllabic mægeð, mægð, maid.

Note 1. There is a twofold formation of the gen. sing. in böc—bōce (the former peculiar to the older period; Ps. böce); byr(ig) — burge; fyrh — fūre (also without umlaut, furh); on the other hand, äc, gät, gös, mūs seem to have only the longer forms äce, gāte, göse, müse, while conversely ërūh has only ërūh. The gen. sing. of suhl (note 3) is sūles, like that of the masculines.

Note 2. The dat. sing. occasionally appears without umlaut, especially in later texts: äc, böc, burg, furh, grüt, ërūh (so also North. böc L. Rit., beside böc L. R.?).

Note 3. The words in h lose it before a vowel ending (218): furh, gen. fūre, plur. gen. fūra, -ena, dat. fūrum; suhl, gen. sūles (note 1), plur. gen. sūla, dat. sūlum; ërūh, dat. plur. ërūm; later also nom. acc. sul (sūl?), dat. syl (syl?), without h.

Note 4. ëc as the name of the rune has nom. acc. plur. ëcas. — böc rarely also occurs as neut.; Cod. Dipl. a. 837 has an unumlauted dat. plur. böcum. — wlöh belongs here because of the North. plur. wlöch L. (gen. wglōana L.). — burg (burug) has in the gen., etc., byrig, for the old and rare byrig; later the word inflects also exactly like bōn (269), only without umlaut: gen. dat. sing. burge, nom. acc. plur. burge, -a. R.1 has nom. acc. plur. burgas, North. generally R.2 sing. nom. acc. burug, less frequently burg (burug), gen. R.2 burge, L. burug, burge, -a, byrig; dat. L. R.2 Rit. byrig, L. R.2 burug, R.2 burge, plur. nom. acc. L. burgas. — dung is conjecturally assigned here on the basis of the unique instance, dat. sing. þēre ding, Andr. 1272, and OHG. tung. — Beside grüt occurs also grytt, declined regularly according to 258. L. — For ërūh there occasionally occurs, even in the nom. acc. sing., the unumlauted ërūh. — cū has gen. sing. cū, cūc, cū, cūs, nom. acc. plur. cū, cē, gen. cūa, cūna, cūna. — ëa has the form ie only very seldom in the gen. sing. (also ëas), more commonly in the dat. sing.; it usually inflects in the sing., and always in the plur., according to the a-declension: sing. ëa, plur. nom. gen. acc. ëa, dat. ëam, ëaum (259, note). — neaht, niht (Angl. næht)
285. The names of relationship in -r: fæder, father; brōðor, brother; mōðor, mother; dohtor, daughter; sweostor, swuster, sister (together with the plur. tant. gebrōðor, brethren, and gesweostor, sisters), are thus inflected in WS. and Kent.

Sing. N. V. A. fæder
    G. fæder, -e(ə)res
    D. I. fæder

Plur. N. V. A. fed(e)ras
    G. fed(e)ra
    D. I. fed(e)rum

Sing. N. V. A. mōðor
    G. mōðor
    D. I. mōder

Plur. N. V. A. (mōdrū), -a
    G. mōdra
    D. I. mōdrum

brōðor
brōðor
brēder
brōðor, -āru
brōðra
brōðrum
dohtor
dohtor
dehter
{ dohtor
-tru, -tra
dohtra
dohtrum
sweostor
sweostor
sweostor
sweostor
sweostra
sweostrum
NOTE 1. Instead of -or is not infrequently found -er (but -or is never found for -er where -er is given above); rarely -ar.

NOTE 2. Syncope of e in the polysyllabic cases of fæder is peculiar to EWS; later the e becomes regular.

NOTE 3. In LWS. a gen. sing. mèder, dehter, sometimes occurs, like the dat., and conversely a dat. bròðer, dohter, -or, without umlaut.

NOTE 4. In the other dialects the declension is as follows:

a) Ps. sing. nom. acc. fæder, gen. fædur, dat. fæder, plur. nom. acc. fædrias (fæddras), gen. fædra (fæddra), dat. fædrug (fæodrum, fædrom); R.¹ nom. acc. fæder, gen. fæder, fæder; fædres, dat. fæder, plur. gen. fæderæ; North: R.² nom. acc. fæder, fæder, fædur, gen. fæd(e)res, fæder, fædrug, fædor, dat. fæder, fæder, fædres, plur. nom. acc. fædrias, gen. fædra, dat. fædrug; L. nom. acc. fæder, fæder, gen. fædores (fædores), fæd(e)res, fædor, dat. fæder, -ir, fæder, fæder, fædere, plur. nom. acc. fædoras, fædoro, gen. fædora, dat. fæd(o)rum; Rit. nom. acc. fæder (fæder, fæder), gen. fædores (fædor ?), dat. fæder (fæder), plur. gen. fædora, fædera, dat. fædoræ. The poetry has a sporadic dat. sing. fædere.

b) Ps. nom. acc. bròður, dat. bròðer, plur. nom. acc. bròður, dat. bròðrum; R.¹ nom. acc. gen. dat. bròðer, plur. nom. acc. bròðer, bròðre, bròðre, dat. bròðrum; North. R.² nom. acc. bròðer, -or, gen. bròðer, dat. bròðer, -or, plur. nom. acc. bròðer, -or, bròðro, dat. bròðrum, -om; L. nom. acc. bròðer, gen. bròð(e)res, bròðer, dat. bròð(e)re, bròðer, bròðre, bròðer, plur. nom. acc. bròð(e)ro, bròð(e)ra, bròðre, bròðer, gen. bròðra, bròðero, dat. bròðrum; Rit. bròðer-, plur. nom. acc. bròðro, dat. bròðrum.

c) Ps. sing. nom. acc. mödur, gen. mödur, möeder; R.¹ sing. nom. gen. dat. möder; North: R.² sing. nom. acc. möder, gen. möder, -or, möder, dat. möder, möder, plur. acc. möder; L. sing. nom. acc. möder, gen. möd(e)res, möderes, möder, dat. möder, möder, plur. acc. mödoro; Rit. sing. nom. möder, dat. möder.

d) Ps. sing. nom. acc. dohtur, gen. dohter, plur. nom. acc. dohtur, gen. dohtra; R.¹ sing. nom. acc. dohter; North: R.² sing. nom. acc. dohter, plur. nom. dohter, dat. dohtrom; L. sing. nom. acc. dohter, dat. dohter, dohter, plur. nom. dohtero, dat. dohterum; Rit. sing. acc. dohtor, plur. nom. dohtoro.

e) R.³ sing. nom. swuster, plur. nom. swoster, swuster; North: R.² sing. nom. acc. gen. swester, plur. nom. acc. swester, swestro; L. sing. nom. acc. swester, swoster, gen. dat. swester, plur. nom. acc. swoster, swestro, swestro; Rit. plur. dat. swesternum.
3. STEMS IN -nd

286. To this group belong present participles used as nouns (for the inflection of the participles themselves see 305; 306). Paradigms of the masculines: fréond, friend; hettend, enemy.

Sing. N. V. A. fréond  heuttend
       G. fréondes  heuttendes
       D. friend, fréonde  heuttende
       I. fréonde  heuttende

Plur. N. V. A. friend, fréond  heuttend, -de; -das
       G. fréonda  heuttendra
       D. I. fréondum  heuttendum

Like fréond (EWS. also friond; Ps. R.¹ fréond, North. fréond, friond L. R.², friond Rit.) are declined fëond, enemy (EWS. also fiond, Ps. R.¹ fëond, fiond, plur. also fienda, -um Ps.; North. fiond R.² L. Rit., L. also once fiend; WS. plur. fiend, fëond, gen. fëonda, beside the plurals gefriend, mutual friends; gefriend, mutual enemies); göddönd, benefactor (plur. göddënd El. 359). The disyllables, like ägend, owner; dëmend, judge; Hælend, Nërgend, Savior; wealdend, ruler; wigend, warrior, are all declined like hëttend, that is, take the adj. ending in the gen. plur.

Note 1. In WS. prose the dat. sing. is still rather frequently friend, fiend, etc., even in LWS., while on the other hand the poetry has only the forms frëonde, fëonde (probably Anglian; there is only one frionde (L.) recorded in Ps. North.). fëond, enemy, has a dat. fëonde. The nom. plur. in Ps. is frëond, fëond, fiond (159. 5), and so occasionally in WS. texts; R.¹ has fëondas, fiondas; North. R.² friondas, fréondas, -e; L. fréondas, friondas, fréondo, and R.² L. Rit. friondas (also L. friondes), and so frequently in the poetry frëondas, fëondas.
Note 2. The commonest forms for the nom. acc. plur. of polysyllables are ḣettend and the adjective-formation ḣettende; a few soon take in the prose the ending -das: wealdendas, lufiendadas, æfterfyldendas already in Alfred; a few also occur in the poetry: byrgendas, ēhtendas. In late texts there is occasionally found a new formation of the whole plural on the basis of the genitive: wealdendras, wealdendra, wealdendrum.

287. Feminines are rare, and probably, with the exception of swealgend, whirlpool, confined to the strictly scholastical literature: londbūend, settlement; Æós wealdend, female ruler; Æós ðōnd, female enemy (translating hæc præsul, hostis); timbrend, female builder, etc. Nothing certain can be determined respecting their declension.

Norm. swealgend has a dat. acc. sing. swealgende, and therefore has gone completely over to the ē-declension; besides, it occurs later as neuter and masculine.

4. STEMS IN -os, -es

288. These correspond to the Gr. neuters in -os, Lat. -us, -eris. In OE. they are quite limited in number, since the most of the words which originally belonged here have entirely lost the s of the suffix, and have therefore passed over to other declensions, and sometimes to other genders.

Note 1. Here probably belong all the older neuters of the OE. ē-declension, both the short stems, like sper, sife, gedyre (263. 2), and the long stems, like flēsc, hǣl, geheld, etc. (267. a); cf. also lemb, cave (290, note 1); then, with change of gender, the masculines bere, ege, bēte, sige (263, note 4), and the long stems hlēw (hlēw), barrow; hrēw (hrēw), corpse; ġæst (gæst), spirit; North. dæg, day. In these words the suffixal s has been lost according to 182; the vowel was retained after short stems as i, e, while it disappeared after long stems (133). The second form of the suffix, containing o, a, has left traces in certain unumlauted words, which coexist with
those that exhibit unant; as, for example, gefög, geheald (267, note 1), hlæw, hræw, gust (250, note 1). Other words which no doubt belong here are felt, felt; sæl, hall (263, note 3); helt, hilt (beside hilft, 267, a).

Note 2. For by-forms in r, cf. 289, note 2.

The words which have preserved at least traces of the suffixal s fall into two classes:

289. The first class comprises those words which retain under all circumstances the suffixal s as r: salor, hall; hocor (?), derision; stulor, theft; døgor, day; ēagor, sea; grandor, crime; hlælor, salvation; hræðer (subsequently also hræðer), cattle; wíldor (beside wíldeor, wílldeor, transformed by popular etymology), beast; ēar, ear of corn (from *ahur, North. also čher, æhher).

These words have, in the main, passed over to the o-declension, and hence are declined according to 238; 244; 245; yet there sometimes occurs a dat. instr. sing. without ending: døgor, hílor, hræðer, sigor, North. čher, æhher, beside frequent døg(o)re, hræðre, etc. Plural forms are døgor, hræðeru, wíldru, ēar (North. čhéra and čhras).

Note 1. The gender of salor, hocor, ēagor, grandor, hlælor is not to be determined from OE. alone; yet etymology and analogy justify us in considering them as neuters; sigor, victory, that likewise belonged here, has, like sigle, become masculine. ēagor and grandor are scarcely found save as the first element of compounds.

Note 2. By-forms without r are common (238): sæl — salor; ēag — ēagor; hlæl — hlælor; hræð — (in compounds like hræðhord, hræðfald) — hræðer; North. døg — døgor; sig — sigor masc.

Note 3. The older suffixal s may possibly be preserved in Héns- in the word Hénsbrœc, the name of a place, if the form corresponds to ON. höns, hens; then, with metathesis, in bræstfæl, leprosy, Goth. prätsfæl; perhaps húsc, húx, derision (for *húcs), should likewise be associated with hocor.
290. The second class is formed by a few words which, with individual exceptions, have cast off the r in the singular, but retain it in the plural. Here belong especially the words lomb, lamb; cealf, calf; æg, egg. The declension is:

Sing. N. A. lomb  cealf  æg
    G. lombes  cealfes  æges
    D. I. lombe  cealf  æge

Plur. N. A. lombru  cealfru  ægru
    G. lombra  cealfra  ægra
    D. I. lombrum  cealfrum  ægrim

Note 1. The sing. of these words frequently has i-umlaut; so always Ps. caelf, North. caelf and eal L., and more rarely (Rit.) lomb as well as lomb (288, note 1); the umlaut of æg depends, on the other hand, on the internal g). Beside lomb there is a sing. lombor, and beside æg a longer form æger- in ægerfelma, egg-skin, ægergelu, yolk. In Ps. the nom. acc. plur. is also calfur, lombur, beside calferu, lomberu (but gen. lombra), North. R. lombor, L. lomb(o)ro, lombor, Rit. calfero. In LWS. the whole plural is frequently formed without r; lamb, gen. lamba, dat. lambum, etc.; and there is even a masc. plur. cealfas.

Note 2. cild, child, is in general declined like word (238), and hence has plur. cild, etc. (North. also cild); yet sometimes there occurs a plur. cildru, -eru, gen. cildra (the latter also in R.1). Æelfric has, as a rule, plur. nom. acc. cild, gen. cildra, dat. cildum. Moreover, cild is now and then masc. in North., and then forms the plur. cildas, -es (beside cildo, gen. cilda, dat. cildum); Rit. plur. cildo, gen. cildra, cildena, R.2 cild).

Note 3. Isolated forms belonging under this head are nom. acc. plur. bræadru, crumps, from bræad, bread; hæmedru, from hæmed, coitus; lœower, læwera, from læow (Cod. Dipl. læuw), ham; gen. plur. speldra, from speld, torch (dat. plur. mædrum, from *mæd, measure?); North. L. stæner, R.2 stænere, plur. of masc. stân, stone; of short stems the plur. scerero, -oro, -uru, shears Ep. Erf. Corp., belonging with secar, plowshare, which is regularly declined according to 238, besides the plur. tant. hæteru, garment.
CHAPTER II. DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

291. The Germanic adjective has a twofold declension — the strong and the weak. The latter was newly formed in Germanic, while the former originally corresponded to the adjective- and substantive-declension of the cognate languages.

Most adjectives may be declined in either way; the employment of the one or the other depends chiefly upon syntactical considerations. The weak form is generally employed after the article (337), and whenever the adjective is employed as a noun; the strong form is assigned to the predicate adjective, and to the attributive adjective when used without the article (Lichtenheld, Das Schwache Adj. im Ags., ZfdA. 16. 325 ff.).

Note 1. Of the strong declension are all the pronouns except self(a) and sē līca (339); the cardinal numbers from 2 upwards, so far as they are declined like adjectives (324 ff.); ōder, the second (328); and a number of adjectives like eall, all; genōg, enough; monōg, many. Of the weak declension are the comparatives, the superlatives in -ma, and the ordinals from 3 upward.

Note 2. The adjectives won(a), wanting, and gewuna, wont, are for the most part indeclinable and restricted to predicative use; yet in a few instances they are declined as strong.

A. STRONG DECLENSION

292. The strong adjective-declension in Germanic has in many respects departed from its original form (which, as has been remarked, was identical with the
noun-declension) and become assimilated to that of the pronouns. By this means the distinctions of the three vowel-declensions, once possessed alike by adjective and noun, have been in great measure obscured. Only one vowel-declension remains clearly marked, that of the o-stems (with the feminines in -ā, as in the case of the noun, 235). As with the noun, the jo- and wo-stems form subdivisions. Of the i- and u-declensions only scanty remains have been preserved in the nom. (302; 303).

1. **PURE O-STEMS**

293. Here again we are called upon to distinguish between short and long stems, polysyllables and monosyllables. The discrepancies of the paradigms are conditioned by the laws concerning final sounds and syncopation. As a paradigm for the short stems we may take hwāt, active; for the long stems, göd, good; for polysyllables, hālig, holy. The variations from the noun-declension are indicated in 1) and 2) by italics:

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<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td>hwāt</td>
<td>hwāt</td>
<td>hwatu, -ō</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hwates</td>
<td></td>
<td>hwātōre</td>
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<td>D.</td>
<td>hwatum</td>
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<td>A.</td>
<td>hwātē</td>
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<td>I.</td>
<td>hwate</td>
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<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>hwāte</td>
<td>hwatū, -ō</td>
<td>hwatā, -ē</td>
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<td>G.</td>
<td>hwātā</td>
<td>hwātār</td>
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<td>D. I.</td>
<td>hwatum</td>
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2) Long Stems

Sing. N. V. göd  
G. gödes  
D. gödum  
A. gödne  
L. göde  

Plur. N. V. A. göde  
G. gödra  
D. L. gödum  

3) Polysyllables

Sing. N. V. hälig  
G. hälges  
D. hälgum  
A. häligne  
L. hälge  

Plur. N. V. A. hälge  
G. häligra  
D. L. hälgum  

Note 1. The -u of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. of the short stems and polysyllables: hwatu, häligu, is in general older than the -o: hwato, háligo.

Note 2. In very old (Kent. ?) texts, the dat. sing. masc. and neut. sometimes ends in -em: mīmem, etc. The -um of the same case, and of the dat. plur. of all genders, afterwards passes into -un, -on, -an: gödan, hālgan, etc. (237, note 6).

Note 3. In LWS, even the long stems sometimes take the ending -u in the nom. acc. plur. neut.; but generally the nom. acc. plur. neut. is replaced by the forms of the masc.: hwate, göde, hälge, for hwatu, göd, häligu, hálig.

Note 4. The r-cases — the gen. dat. sing. fem. and the gen. plur. — have generally no middle vowel in EWS, even after short stems, contrary to the rule of 144. In LWS., on the other hand, -ere, -era become more and more the rule, without regard to the quantity;
294. Like *hwæt* are declined the few OE. adjectives with a short stem. like *til* useful; *sum* a certain; *hol*, *bline*; *dol*, dull; *tane*; *bær*, bare; *blæc*, black; *gild*, gild; *hræd*, speedy; *læt*, late; *wær*, wary: as well as the compounds in *sum*, *some*, and *lice*, *ly*.

Note 1. The paradigm *hwæt* shows at the same time the modifications which the radical vowel *æ* undergoes, according to 49; 50. Like a monosyllabic noun, the vowel *æ* is here actually limited, as a rule, to forms with a closed radical syllable: *hwæt*—*hwates*, in contrast with *deag*—*deges*, fast—*fastes*, etc. Yet there are many irregularities: *stree* (beside *strecc*; or *streec*), obstinate. and *hræd*, *hræde*; often preserve the *æ* in an open syllable, even before a guttural vowel, as in *stræccsum*; *blæc*, *blæck*, has usually *a* in a closed radical syllable in Forms: *blæc*, *blæcne*, *blæcre*, *blæcra* (or *blæc* etc.); unless frequently in the case of other adjectives.

Note 2. In Pa. the adjectives in *-sum* have, not *-sam*; but *-sam* in the nom. sing. fem. (Zeuner, p. 138). In the older period, -lec- often stands for *lice* before a vocative ending.

295. Like *gód* are declined the majority of the OE. adjectives: *eald. old*: *hæl*, whole; *hæah*, high; *rōf*, rigorous; *fyrm*, old (originally an i-stem, as the umlaut shown), and many others.

Note 1. Words in *h* like *þweorh*, transverse; *getearh*, farrowing; *sceoð*, spouting (only weak *sceota*); *fāh*, hostile; *fāh*, deceitful; *gemāh*, importunate; *hēah*, high; *hrēoh*, rough; *sēoh*, sky; *tōh*, tough; *gewīð*, adorned; *vōh*, wrong; *rūh*, rough, drop the *h* in polysyllabic forms; those having a vowel before the *h* contract, for the most part, according to 110 ff.; hence *þweorc* — *þwēores* (218; 242); Ps. *þwēord* according to 164. 1. but dat. sing. *þwēorum*, weak *þwēora*, with *a* and *o/a*-umlaut after loss of the *h*, Zeuner, p. 85),
but wōh, nom. sing. fem. wō (for *wōhu), gen. etc. wos, wō(u)m, wōne, wō, plur. wōrn, wō(u)m, fem. wōre, etc. The acc. sing. of hēah is generally hēanne, more rarely hēane, very seldom hēahne, gen. dat. sing. fem. hēarre, gen. plur. hēarra, beside hēare, hēahre, and hēaru, hēahra (222. 2); dat. hēam and hēam; Angl. hē (163), but dat. hēam from *hēhum, acc. hēane (165, note 3), weak hēan from *hēha, as in WS. rūh has gen. rūwes, etc. (cf. 116, note).

In I.WS. forms with -g- are very general instead of the contracts: hēages, hēagum, hēage; wōges, wōgum, wōge; likewise rūges, etc., for rūwes. This is not to be regarded as grammatical change (234), but as a result of analogy from adjectives like genōh – genōges, whose h was derived from older g (214. 1).

Note 2. Words ending in a geminated consonant, like grim, fierce; still, quiet; wōn, dusky; dimm, dark; deall, proud; call, all, simplify the geminate (231) before any termination beginning with a consonant, and, as a rule, when final: grim(m), grimme, grimmre, grimmra, but grimmes, grimmum, etc. Nevertheless, ill often remains before consonants: caℓlle, caℓlra, caℓlne, etc.

296. To the polysyllables, which are declined like hālig (North. also hǣlig), belong especially the derivatives in -ig, like ēadig, fortunate; fāmig, foamy; hēmig, clamorous; mōnig, many a (North. also mēnig); in -el, -ol, like lŷtel, little; micel, large; yfel, evil; hňitol, pushing with the horns; stīcol, sharp; sweotol, manifest; in -er, -or, like fēger, fēger, fair; biter, bitter, bitter; snotor, snottor, wise; in -en, like hǣden, heathenish; gilpen, boastful; besides the adjectives denoting material, like gylden, golden; ēren, iron; stēen, stone; the past part. of verbs (306), and many others.

Note 1. The short-stemmed adjectives of this class, like mōnig, micel, yfel, and many past participles, like coren, boren, slægen, etc., generally form the nom. sing. fem. and the nom. acc. plur. neut. without ending (sporadically with u in the final syllable, like Cura Past. micul, large; hēfug, heavy); yet there are also forms like mōnigu, yfelu, etc. in early texts like the Cura Past., and especially in Ps., where they are commoner than those without ending.
Note 2. The polysyllables with the first syllable short retain the middle vowel, in all forms, whenever it is old (144): sweotes, sweotole; but not always when it arose from syllabic \( r \) in the form without ending: fiégres and fiégres (fiêgres?), etc. On the contrary, miel is always treated like a long stem, and yfel very frequently so; that is, they undergo syncope of the middle vowel: mieles, yfles, etc. In the case of the long stems, syncope does not take place in the trisyllabic forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. in the earlier period; hence only håligu, iyåelu (beside sporadic forms with \( u \), like réotugu, iachrymose; iyåulu), not hålu; not till later do we encounter forms like eòwu, hlùru, etc. In the other forms having a termination beginning with a vowel, the long stems should always undergo syncope; frequently, however, the middle vowel has again forced an entrance from the unsyncopated forms, the frequency increasing with the lateness of the period. Most irregular of all are the adjectives in -ig (which often appears before a vocalic ending as -eg-). The fewest instances of syncope occur in the past participles in -en.

Note 3. The accusative ending -ne is attached immediately to the adjectives in -en, and the endings -re, -ra to those in -er: gyldene, frierne; fiégerre, snóterra, etc. Now and then, especially in later OE., the nn, rr are simplified to n, r (231. 4). Occasionally, even in LWS., syncope of the middle vowel occurs after a long radical syllable: ôðre, ôðra, etc. (145, and note).

2. jo-STEMS

297. Stems originally short, like mid, middle; nyt, useful; gesib, related (cf. Goth. midjis, gasibjis), are declined in all respects like the pure o-stems ending in a geminated consonant (295, note 2): mid, gen. middes, fem. midre, etc.

Note 1. niwe (nïewe), nœw (Goth. nïuïjs), with its by-form nëowe (100, note 2; 159. 5), which originally belonged here, has -e in the nom. like the long stems, and retains its w even before consonants: niwne, niwre, niwræ; or nœwne, etc.

Note 2. frijo, frio, freo, Ps. frea, stem *frija- (114. 2; 166, note 6), contracts the vowel of the root with that of the suffix in the
DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

nom. sing., but originally retained the uncontracted form in the polysyllabic cases: *frío, gen. fríges, dat. frígum, plur. fríge, etc. Yet forms modeled directly on the contract nom. are frequent (and virtually the rule in WS.): gen. dat. sing. fem. fríore, gen. plur. fríora, acc. sing. masc. fríone, nom. acc. plur. masc. frío, etc. A nom. freoh, together with (un)gæblæoh, beside (un)gæbleoh, (dis)colored (from the stem *blía-, 247, note 3), is found rather frequently in LWS., being modeled on the words in h (295, note 1).

298. Stems originally long take -e in the nom. sing. masc. and neut.; they have -n, -o in the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut.; in other respects they are declined like the pure o-stems. Paradigm: grēne, grē ‘n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASC.</th>
<th>NEUT.</th>
<th>FEM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>grēnes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. grēne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>grēnu, -o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>grēnra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Words with mute + liquid or nasal before the e, like gífre, greedy; syfre, sober; fæcene, malicious, insert a vowel before the r, n when an unlike consonant follows: syferne, fæcenra; on the other hand, acc. sing. masc. fæcene for *fæcenne, gen. plur. syfra for *syftra, etc.

Adjectives ending in -nne, like ginne, spacious; ðynne, thin, do not add n in the acc. sing. masc.: ginne, ðynne.

299. This declension is followed by a tolerably large number of OE. adjectives. Examples: bliðe, friendly; brēme, famous; cēne, bold; cýme, comely; dierne, secret; dryge, dry; fæcne, deceitful; gífre, greedy; icer, angry; sæfte, soft; swēte, sweet; syfre, sober; then verbal adjectives like gēnge, current; genæme, acceptable; those in -ede (rarely -ode, OS. -ōdi), like héalede,
herniosus; hœcide, hooked; hoferede, humpbacked; those in -ihte (very rarely -iht, LWS. also -ihtig), like stänihte, stänihte, stony; ëyrnihte, thorny; and the numerous ones in -bære, like væstmbære, fruitful.

Note 1. A few adjectives fluctuate between this declension and that of the simple o-stems: smolt and Smylte, serene; strong and strengge, strong; unlæd and unlæde, wretched. Beside søfte, LWS. has söfte, without unlaute (by analogy with the adv. söfte, 315, note 3).

Note 2. Not a few adjectives have been transferred to this from the l- or u-declension (302; 303).

3. wo-STEMS

300. The words with a single consonant before the w vocalize the latter when final to -u, *-o (-a), and before a consonantal ending to -o. Here belong, for example: earu, active; gearu, ready; mearu, tender; nearu, narrow; calu, callow; falu, fallow; salu, sallow; geolu, yellow; basu, be(o)su, brown; hasu, gray, and probably cylu (cylew), spotted; *medu, in medewa win, must.

They are declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V. gearu, -o</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gearwes</td>
<td>gearore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
<td>gearore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. gearone</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A. gearwe</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
<td>gearwa, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gearora</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. A middle vowel frequently stands before the w: gearuwe, gearowe, gearewum, etc. LWS. frequently generalizes the w: gearuw, gear(u)we, gear(u)we, gear(u)vre, etc. Of sporadic occurrence are also forms like baswure, basne, basum, etc.
301. Words with a long vowel or diphthong before the w usually retain the latter in all cases, and hence conform in all respects to the declension of the simple o-stems. Examples: slāw, slow; gedēaw, dewy; gleaw, prudent; hnēaw, miserly; hrēaw, raw; gesēaw, juicy; (ge)hlēow, sheltered; rēow, rough; ōēow, serving (in ōēow man, wīfman, usually declined weak); rōw, gentle.

Note 1. The plur. tant. fēawe, few (Goth. ēawai), usually contracts in the poetry to fēa, dat. fēam (ēaum), and so in Ps. and elsewhere probably Mercian (Chad); EWS. only in the dat. plur. fēam, beside fēaum, and probably nom. acc. plur. neut. fēa (from *fawum, *fawu). Otherwise it is regular in WS. (and R.?), except that it generally forms its nom. acc. as fēawa, following fēla (275). The word is wanting in L. Rit. R.?

Note 2. The w is lost by contraction in wea, wretched, if this belongs to OHG. wewa, etc. (118, note 1); on (un)geblēo, (dis)colored, see 297, note 2. Otherwise forms without w are only occasional, like acc. rēone, from rēow.

4. i-STEMS

302. Of short stems only a few relics are left: bryce, fragile; swice, deceitful; freme, strenuous; gemyn, mindful (beside gemyn, of the o-declension). They follow the declension of the originally long jo-stems, like grēne (298); that is, they retain the simple consonant in all cases, and do not insert j before the vowel ending. Of long stems there belong here only fyrn, ancient (hardly used except as the adverbial neuter, ‘formerly’), and perhaps lýt, little, in lythwōn, a little; gen. lýtes in the adv. lýtis-nāi, lýtēs-nāi, lýtēstne, almost.

Note. The other long i-stems, whose i ought properly to be dropped when there is no case-ending, have passed over to the declension of the long jo-stems: bryce, useful; swēte, sweet; blīde, friendly; gedēfe, suitable; gemēne, common; compare Goth. brūks, sūts, bīelps, gadōfs, gamains.
5. **u-stems**

303. The only certain relics of the adjective *u*-declension are *wlaecu, tepid*, beside *wlaec*, from which latter alone all the cases but the nom. sing. (and acc. sing. neut.) are formed, together with WS. $c(w)ucu$, *living* (for *cwiocu, 71), Ps.? (only nom. plur. *cwie*) North. R.² L. *cwic* (164. ²), poetry *cwic(u)*, beside rare forms of *c(w)ucu*

Note 1. The form in -u stands for the nom. sing. and plur. of all genders, for the acc. sing. fem. and acc. sing. plur. neut., and for the weak nom. sing. Otherwise nothing is found of the regular *u*-declension but the acc. sing. masc. *cucune, -one*, also *cucunne, cucunne* (231, note 3), and further c(w)ucene, c(w)ucenne, also *cwicen(n)ear*. All the other forms, and so frequently the acc. sing. masc., are formed as if from a nom. c(w)uce or cwic; in pure WS. the forms with inner u greatly predominate.

Note 2. The long u-stems have mostly gone over to the o- or jo-declension: compare, for example, OE. *heard, hard; giēaw, sagacious*, with Goth. *hardus, glægwus; egle, troublesome; nesce* (North. L. *hnesce, R.² plur. hnesca, but R.¹ nescium), *soft; twelfwintre, twelvewintre, twelfe years old*, with Goth. *agius, hnasqu, and twallbwintwisu*. Occasionally doublets are found: *smō∂, smooth; stōrg, stronger; gnē∂, miserly, beside smō∂, strenge, ungny∂* (299, note 1).

**B. WEAK DECLENSION**

304. The weak declension of adjectives is the same as that of nouns, except that the gen. plur. is almost always replaced by the strong form -ra. **Paradigm**: *gōda, the good.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V. <em>gōda</em></td>
<td><em>gōde</em></td>
<td><em>gōde</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td><em>gōdan</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td><em>gōdan</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. <em>gōdan</em></td>
<td><em>gōde</em></td>
<td><em>gōdan</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur. N. V. A. | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| G. | *gōdan* | |
| D. I. | *gōdum* | |
DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES 225

Note 1. I. W. S. occasionally has a nom. sing. masc. in -an, as in sē forman dæg, sē tēōðan dēl.

Note 2. A gen. plur. in -ena (also rarely -ana, -na), like gōdēna, etc., perhaps belongs only to scholarly translations like the Cura Past. There are also sporadic moves toward formations in -an (modeled after the other cases in -an) or -a (after the noun-declension). Very rarely do we find in the charters contaminated forms, like hāligrana, hāligran.

Note 3. The dat. plur. -an frequently occurs at an early period (thus predominantly in the Cura Past.) instead of -um: gōdan, lēssan, etc., in advance of its appearance in the dat. of strong adjectives and the dat. plur. of nouns (237, note 6; 293, note 2). This is no doubt to be attributed to the influence of the other cases in -an.

Note 4. In a few words contraction takes place: hēa, gen. hēan, from hēōh; dat. sing. hēōn, from hēōh; wō, wōn, from wōh, etc. (295, note 1).

Note 5. The discrepancies of North. are essentially the same as those in the weak declension of nouns (276, note 5).

C. DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES

305. The present participle has adopted in full the jo-declension of adjectives, and may also be inflected as weak. Paradigm of the strong declension: giefende, giving.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td>giefende</td>
<td>giefende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>giefendes</td>
<td>giefendu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>giefendum</td>
<td>giefendre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>giefendne</td>
<td>giefende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>giefende</td>
<td>giefende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V.</td>
<td>giefende</td>
<td>giefendu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>giefendra</td>
<td>giefenda, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. L.</td>
<td>giefendum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. When used predicatively, the pres. participle is apt to be uninflected: giefende, for giefendu, giefendne (no other cases than nom. acc. in question).

Note 2. For the declension of the present participle when used as a noun see 286; 287.
306. The past participle, like a regular adjective, has both strong and weak declension. Paradigms: the participles of hātan, call; ácōsan, elect; nērian, save.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hāten</td>
<td>hāten</td>
<td>hātenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ácōren</td>
<td>ácōren</td>
<td>ácōren(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genēred</td>
<td>genēred</td>
<td>genēred(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ācōrena</td>
<td>ācōrenē</td>
<td>ācōrenē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēnēreda</td>
<td>ēnēredē</td>
<td>ēnēredē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note 1.** The nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. in -n are rare, and are almost entirely confined to attributive use, even in the case of long stems (296, and note 1). In the predicative position the uninflected form is mostly employed: hāten, ácōren, ēnēredē.

**Note 2.** With regard to syncope of vowels at the end of a syllable in polysyllabic forms see 296 (cf. also 402; 406).

D. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

1. COMPARATIVE

307. The OE. comparative has but one ending, -ra, corresponding both to the Goth. -īza and the Goth. -ōza.

This termination is usually attached to the positive, without any modification of the latter by i-umlaut: earm, poor — earmra; heard, hard — heardra; glæd, glad — glædra; fæger, fair — fægerra; gearo, ready — gearora (EWS. likewise gearra, later also gearuwrā, cf. 300, note). Only a few form the comparative with i-umlaut, like eald, old — eilda; grēat, great — grietra; geong, young — gingra (Ps. gingra, beside iungra, gungra, North. R.² gingra, beside L. giungra; cf. also 157, note 1); sceort, short — scyrtra; brād, broad — brēdra, beside the usual brādra; hēah, high — hierra,
hýra (222.2), beside hiehra and hēahra (Late Kent. also hēgra), Ps. R.² L. hēra, Rit. hērra.

308. The comparatives are declined like weak adjectives (304).

Note. Now and then there occur compounds with comparison of both elements: længlífra, from længlífe, long-líved; māfealdra, from monígféald, manifold (on læng- and mā- see 323; compare also Scint. længtogræn, protlzória, and the poetic mācræftigra, beside mācræftig).

2. SUPERLATIVE

309. The shortest form of the superlative ends in -óst (beside -úst, -úst), more rarely in -úst: læøf, dear – læøóst; heard, här – hearðóst; hwæt, sharp – hwæt-óst; rice, rích – ric(e)óst; but strong, strèng, strong – strèngest.

310. The superlative, like the comparative (307), but seldom takes i-umlaut: cald – caldeést; læng – længest; stròng – strèngest (Ps. also stròngest); geong – ging-est (Ps. gungësta, L. gingësta, beside giungësta), secoert – securtest; hēah has hichst, hŷhst, beside hēahest, hēahst, and hēhst, 108.2 (Ps. R.² L. Rit. hēsta, L. Rit. helista, L. also heigsta, hecest (166. 6), EWS. sporadically also higest, Kent. hēgest).

Note. These superlatives with umlaut have also a by-form in -úst, -úst; længust, or occasionally later shortening to -úst: gingst, ylíst.

311. With regard to the inflection, the strong declension of superlatives is almost entirely confined to that shorter form in -óst, -úst which stands for the nom.
voc. sing. and acc. sing. neut. With this exception, strong forms are rare. The superlative usually follows the weak declension.

The umlaut-forms have either the termination -esta: ieldesta, længesta, gingesta (synecope also in LWS.: yldsta, længsta, gingsta, strængsta); rarely -osta, -usta, as in sëlosta (312), ærusta (313), or shortened from the very first to -sta: hiehsta, hyhsta; niehsta, ðyhsta (for hëahsta, hëhsta, etc. see 108. 2). Even those without umlaut, ending in -ost, like heardost, lëofost, very frequently change the o of this ending into e, as soon as the word receives an additional syllable: heardesta, lëofesta, beside heardosta, lëofosta (129).

3. IRREGULAR COMPARISON

312. In a few adjectives the lack of a regular comparative or superlative is supplied by forms from a different root, to which there is no corresponding positive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>good</th>
<th>comp. bët(e)ra, bëtra</th>
<th>sup. bët(e)st, infl. bëststa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>&quot; sëlla, sëra</td>
<td>&quot; sëlest, -ost, sëlesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfel, bad</td>
<td>&quot; wiersa</td>
<td>&quot; wierrest(a), wiersta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mcell, great</td>
<td>&quot; mëra</td>
<td>&quot; mëst(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lëtel, small</td>
<td>&quot; lëssa</td>
<td>&quot; lëst(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. Beside bëtest, bëst (the latter the commonest form in WS. prose), bëstost also occurs (310, note). For wiersa R.¹ North. have wyrsa, for wierresta Ps. R.¹ North. wyrresta (156. 4). The nester noun më, Ps. R.¹ më, L. maa, më, belongs with mëra, and in like manner sël (older and in L. söl) with sëlla, sëra (older sëlra), better. North. has mëst(a), for mëst(a). Instead of lëst, -a, the only form common in WS. prose, R.¹ North. R.² L. have lësest, -a, and this is also found in the poetry (L. has also lësest (Rit. only lësest), as in the comp. L. Rit. lëssa, beside Ps. R.² L. Rit. lëssa,
DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES 229

R. lēssa). The Kentish Laws have one instance of an ancient form, lēresta, with grammatical change.

Note 2. Probably efra, the other; efera, the latter, are isolated comparative forms.

313. In a number of cases the comparative and superlative are formed from an adverb or preposition, in default of a corresponding positive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feor, far</td>
<td>comp. fierra</td>
<td>sup. fierrerest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēah, near</td>
<td>nēerra</td>
<td>nēhrest(a), nēhst(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēr, earlier</td>
<td>sēerra</td>
<td>sērest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fore, before</td>
<td>furōra</td>
<td>fyrest(a, the first)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. feor is sometimes an adj. in poetry; the Glosses have one example of nēagum as an adj. in the dative, from nēah. On LWS. nēahst(a), nēhst(a), nēxt(a) see 108. 2; on Ps. North. nēsta (L. also nēsta) see 166. 6 (but R. nēhsta, nēxta, nēhsta, nīhsta).

314. From a few words there is formed a superlative with an m-suffix. This is preserved in its simplest form only in forma, the first; meduma, the midmost; and hindema, the hindmost; the others have added the regular superlative ending -est, and consequently end in -mest. These formations, like the preceding, are in some cases derived from adverbs and prepositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(siða, late)</td>
<td>comp. siðra</td>
<td>sup. siðemest, siðest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(læt, late)</td>
<td>lætra</td>
<td>lætemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inne, within)</td>
<td>innerra</td>
<td>innemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ūte, without)</td>
<td>ūterra, ūterra</td>
<td>ūte(mest), ūte(mest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ufan, from above)</td>
<td>yerra, userra</td>
<td>yferemest, yferemest, yfermest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nioðan, from below)</td>
<td>niðerra</td>
<td>niðemest, niðemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fore, before)</td>
<td>furōra</td>
<td>forma, fyremest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(æfter, after)</td>
<td>æfterra</td>
<td>æftermest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mild, mid)</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>mest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(norð, northward)</td>
<td>norðerra, nyróra</td>
<td>norðemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sūð, southward)</td>
<td>sūðerra, sýderra</td>
<td>sūðemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ēast, eastward)</td>
<td>ēasterra</td>
<td>ēastemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(west, westward)</td>
<td>westerra</td>
<td>westemest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 1. Beside the comparatives in -erra there frequently appear forms with simple r: inněrna, ľerta, ūrerna, niďera, etc., and shortened forms in -ra after a long radical syllable: innra, ľut(Ŝ)ra (Ŷttra), æfra, nořra, etc. (145, note; 231. 4).

Note 2. Instead of the superlative ending -mest (for -myst cf. 44, note 2), the later language often has -maest (rarely -masť), which seems to indicate analogy with the superlative měst.

Note 3. Ymest probably has no etymological relation with yfe-mest, but is to be equated with Goth. auhmists.

APPENDIX

FORMATION OF ADVERBS

315. Adjectival adverbs have the ending -e: heard, hard — hearde; sōō, true — sōōe; nearō, narrow — nearwe; sweetul, manifest — sweetule; hlūtor, clear — hlūtre; wid, wide — wide. If the adjective itself ends in -e, the adverb is identical with it: clēne, clean; gedeľe, suitably.

Note 1. Thus also a few adverbs in -e, to which there are no corresponding adjectives: ædre, promptly; some, likewise; sūome, quickly.

Note 2. The adverbs of the short-stemmed adjectives with æ (294) fluctuate between a and æ: (h)raĎe and (h)raĎe, quickly; smale and smaеe, finely?

Note 3. From sėffe, soft; swēте, sweet; myrge, merry; euge, narrow, the adverbs are sōffe, swōте, murge, ąńge (sad), without umlaut (once archaic clēne, from clēne, pure); so smołtice (316), from smylте, serene; on the other hand, hēdre, from hāĎor, bright. The adverb corresponding to göd is wel.

316. For and beside this formation there is also a form compounded with -lice, -lice: hearde and heardlíce;
soðe and soðlice; sweotule and sweotullice. This mode of formation subsequently increases more and more.

317. A few adverbs, in part without corresponding adjectives, end in -a: fela, very; gēara, formerly; giena, again; geostra, yesterday; gieta (also giet), yet; singāla (also singāle and singāles), always; sōna, soon; tela, teala, properly; the numeral adverbs tuwa, ðriwa (331); and North. oðða, oðða, for which elsewhere oððe occurs. Whether -hwega (344) belongs here is doubtful.

318. Adverbs are formed from adjectives, and more rarely from other words, by means of the terminations -unga, -inga, -enga. Examples: dearnunga, secretly; ecallunga, entirely; ēawunga, publicly; eorringga, ier-ringa, angrily; hōlinga, secretly; wēninga, perhaps. Along with these are formations with -lunga, etc.: grundlunga, -linga, completely; unmyn disillusion, unexpectedly, etc.

Note. The three endings frequently interchange with one another in the same word, without causing any modification of the radical syllable. The greater number exhibit u-umlaut of the stem-vowel, where that is possible; l-umlaut of the radical syllable is rare, unless the basic word already had the umlaut: ðēninga, beside ðēmunga, ðēninga, entirely; ðēmninga, beside ðēmmunga, suddenly.

319. The case-forms of adjectives are sometimes employed as adverbs. Accusative adverbs of this sort are: lystel, lýt, little; genōg, enough; fyrm, gefyrm, for-merly; ful, fully; hēah (late also hēage, 295), high; ungemet (beside dat. ungemete and gen. ungemetes), extraordinarily; and those in -weard, like upweard.
suðweard. Among genitives are: calles, altogether; nealles (nalles, nalas, nalæs, nals), not at all; ðelles, otherwise; micles, very; simbles, singæles, always; samtænges, together; gæarlanges, a year long; dæglanges, all day long; nihtlanges, all night long; ungewisses, unconsciouslly; wēas (?), by chance; ðendemes (later ðendemest), equally; lýtes- in lýtesna (EWS. lýtisna, LWS. lýtestne), almost; the pronominal hwæthuguningas, somewhat, etc. (344, note 2); several in -weardes, -wards, like upweardes, suðweardes; others with a prepositional prefix like tōegerges, against; tōmiddes, in the midst. Datives comprise such as miclum, very; lytlum, little.

320. Of nouns, it is especially the gen. in -es (even of feminines), the instr. sing., and the dat. instr. plur., that are employed as adverbs: the genitive, for example, in dæges, by day; nihtes, by night; ðæges, and LWS. ðyðæges, the same day; (un)ðones, (un)willingly; Godes ðances, thank God; willes, selfwilles, unwilles, (un)willingly; gewealdes, of one's own power; ungewealdes, unwillingly (these also compounded with adjectives and pronouns); nēades, niedes, needs; ðōres healfes, on the other side; instæpes (beside dat. instæpe), immediately; and in certain phrases with prepositions and adverbs: tō æfenes, in the evening; tō nōnes, at noon; tō ðuhtes, at dawn; tō geflītes, emulously; tō mēdes, as reward; tō gifes, gratis; hū gerādes, how; gehū ðelles, how else; hū geares, at what time of year; gen. plur.: hū meta, how; hū nyta, wherefore; hūru ðinga, especially; ænge ðinga, anyhow;
nænge, nāne ðinga, not at all; ærest ðinga, first of all; æne sīða, once, etc. (331). The instrumental occurs, for example, in fācne, very; sāre (earlier sære, with i-umlaut, 237, note 2), sorely. The dat. plur. occurs especially in forms ending in -mælum: dropmælum, drop by drop; stundmælum, now and then.

Note. Other irregular adverbial phrases, formed of nouns and prepositions, are here omitted.

321. Adverbs of place denote rest in, motion towards, and motion from a place. The most important are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHERE?</th>
<th>WHERE?</th>
<th>WHENCE?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðær, there</td>
<td>ðider</td>
<td>ðōnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwær, where</td>
<td>hwider</td>
<td>hwōnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēr, here</td>
<td>hider</td>
<td>hionan; hine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inne, within</td>
<td>in(n)</td>
<td>innan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūte, without *</td>
<td>ūt</td>
<td>ūtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðyppe, up</td>
<td>ðup(p)</td>
<td>ðuppan, ðufan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, below</td>
<td>ðibor</td>
<td>ðiodan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, before</td>
<td>ðord</td>
<td>ðoran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, behind</td>
<td>hindere</td>
<td>hindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, east</td>
<td>ðost</td>
<td>ðostan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, west</td>
<td>ðwest</td>
<td>ðwestan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, north</td>
<td>ðord</td>
<td>ðordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, south</td>
<td>ðūd</td>
<td>ðūdan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðeòr(r), far</td>
<td>ðeòr(r)</td>
<td>ðeòran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēah, near</td>
<td>nēar</td>
<td>nēan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The missing adverbs of rest are replaced by positional compounds like be-niðan, be-ðoran, be ðestan, on innan, etc.

Note 1. Beside the adverbs in -an, there are those in -on, and, in longer form, -ane, -one: ūfon, ūfane, etc. (in the case of this adverb also ūfanan). In North, these adverbs lose the final n: ðōna, hwōna, ūfa, etc.
Note 2. For ðær, hwær, LWS. has þær, hwær. From hwær are also formed gehwær; æghwær, æghwær; (ge)wehwær, welgehwær, everywhere; ðæhwær, ðær; anywhere; næhwær, nœhwær, nowhere, with their by-forms æwær, ðær, etc. (43, note 4; 57, note 2; 222. 2; later also ðær, etc.). Similar compounds of hwider and hwôn an are æghwider, æghwôn an and ðhwôn an (North. ðuana, etc.). Emphatic by-forms of ðær and hwær are ðāra (ðara ?) and hwāra (hwara ?), in hwæthwāra, little by little.

Note 3. Beside ðider there is an archaic form ðæder, and beside hider also hider also hider. Of similar formation is ofere, from above. Hither and thither is designated by hider (ond, ne) ðider, beside híders ðæders (ðiders, sporadically hider ðideres), with the genitive ending; for here and there, hidenofer and geconofer.

The comparative of such an adverb of place is found only as an exception: hideror ðode gyt beheonon, as a translation of Lat. citerius.

COMPARISON OF ADVERBS

322. As a rule, no adverbs admit of comparison except those derived from adjectives, their comparative and superlative being identical with those in -or, -est of the corresponding adjectives: heardor — heardost; strængor — strængost; læoforic — læoflicost.

Note. seldan, seldom, has comp. seldor and seldnor; sup. seldost.

323. A few adverbs have as a comparative a peculiar monosyllabic form, without any special comparative ending, but generally distinguished from the positive by ı-umlaut. These are: bêt, better; wiers, wyrs, worse; mā, mæ, more; læs, less; ær, earlier; sid, later; fierr, farther; lēng, longer; sél (early and North. sêl), better; sêft, softer; icô, easier; tylg, more willingly; end, before (?) ; exceptionally occurs also nýr, nearer, beside regular nêar. To some of these no corresponding positives are found.

Note. These adverbs correspond to the Goth. adverbs in -is, -s, like batis, selps; the ending -is, -s, is lost, according to 133; 142.
CHAPTER III. NUMERALS

1. CARDINALS

324. The first three numerals are declinable in all cases and genders.

1. Æn is declined like a strong adjective, according to the paradigm gōd (293. 2), but usually takes in the acc. sing. masc. the form ænne (from *æñna, *æñina, compare ON. mínínō on the runic stone of Strand; the shortening of the vowel in ænne, from ænne, is proved by the spelling enne Ps. R.¹ R.² L. Rit.; but also ænne R.¹ and more rarely L.), beside later ænne; the instr. has æné (so also Ps. Rit.), beside later Æne (so also R.² L.).

Plural forms are found with the meaning only, and in the phrase Ænra gehwylc, each one; Æna, declined as weak, signifies alone.

2. \[\begin{array}{ccc}
   & \text{Masc.} & \text{Neut.} & \text{Fem.} \\
   \text{N. A.} & \text{twégen} & \text{tū, tvā} & \text{tvā} \\
   \text{G.} & \text{twége(n)} & \text{tvégra} & \\
   \text{D.} & \text{tvēm, tvēm} & \\
\end{array}\]

Note 1. So is declined bēgen, both: fem. bā, neut. bū, gen. bēg(r)a, dat. bēm, bēm. The monosyllabic forms of these two words are often used conjointly: masc. fem. bā tvā, neut. bū tū (also būtvu, būta), dat. bēm tvēm.

For twēgen occursKent. twēgen; Ps. has twēgen, neut. tū, gen. twēga; R.¹ twēgen, twēge(n), tvā, neut. tū, tvā, gen. twēgra, dat. twēm; North. R.² twēge, twēge (tū ?), fem. twē, neut. tuu, tvā, tuō, twēg, gen. twēgra, dat. twēm; L. twēge, -o (tuēge, tuēge), tuēg, tuēg, tuē, tuu, gen. tuēge, tuēgera (-ara ?), tuēra, dat. twēm (tuēm), Rit. twēgi, -o; tuu, gen. twēgra.

bēgen has ō when early and in North.; bōge R.² L. (beside bōgo L., but bēgen and bā R.²; fem. bā Rit., neut. bū R.¹), gen. bōga Cod. Dipl., dat. bēm (beside bēm) Cod. Dipl. (North. bēm L.).

For bēgen sometimes occurs later the spelling beggen, which seems to indicate shortening of the Æ.
INFLECTION

3. MASC. NEUT. FEM.
N. A. ὀρί, ὀρί, (ὁρύ)
G. ὀρίο, ὀρέο
D. ὀρίο, ὀρέο

Note 2. The length of the i in ὀρίον is established by the fact of gemination only as respects North. (L.); later texts have also ὀρύμ, ὀρεομ.

Ps. has only (nom.) acc. masc. ὀρό, R.1 ὀρεό, dat. ὀρίμ; North. R.2 ὀρίο, ὀρία, dat. ὀρίον; L. ὀρίο (ὁρύ), ὀρέο, ὀρέα, gen. ὀρέα, ὀρέα, dat. ὀρίο (ὁρύ ?), ὀρίον; Rit. ὀρίο, ὀρό, ὀρία, ὀρίγα, gen. ὀρέα.

325. The numbers from 4 to 19, when attributively used, are not generally inflected (numerous exceptions in North.). They are:

4. féowor, L. S., sporadically féowor, -ur; Kent. flower Mart.; Merc. Ps. R.1 féowor-; North. R.2 féowor, L. fé(ο)wer, fé(ο)uer, féow, -er, -ewr, féor (and fear-, in fearful, fourfold), Rit. fervor, beside féo(v)rtig, forty; add L. S. fy(ε)wer-, Ps. féowur-, R.2 L. féowur-, in compounds like fy(ε)erfōte, fourfooted, etc.

5. rīf, uniform, with examples also in Merc. North.: R.1 R.2 L. Rit.
6. scix, later six, syx, and also seox, seax; Old Kent. sīox-, beside sex Cod. Dipl.; Merc. North. sex R.1 R.2 L. Rit.
7. siofō, -an, WS. seofon, -an, later also syfon, -an, -en (sufon); EWS. sibon- Corp., sīfūn- Ep.; Merc. Ps. seofen, R.1 seofan, siofūn; North. R.2 siofū, -o, L. seofo, -a sporadically seofan, sefo; see also under 70.
8. eahta, LWS. ehta (108. 2); Merc. ahta, in Ps. hundehtatig; North. R.2 ahtowe (compare ehtuwe Rid.), L. ahta, -u (ahtu), ahtou, ahtu, Rit. ahta, -o; see also under 80.
9. nigon, -an, also nīgen (in a charter of about 840); later also nigun, nygon, -an, sporadically neogān; Merc. R.1 nīgon, North. infi. R.2 nīone, L. nīgona, -e; see also under 90.
10. tīen, WS. tūn, and less pure WS. also tēn; Kent. Merc. tēn Cod. Dipl. Ps. R.1; North. R.2 tēn, tēo, tēn; L. Rit. tēa; see also under 100.
11. en(d)lesfan EWS. (Or.), WS. endleofan, also -lefan, -lifan, -lyfan, -lufan, also with final -un, -on, or beginning with ān-, ānd-; Merc. R.1 enlefan; North. R.2 infi. ælefin, L. ælelf.
12. twelf, Old Kent. twel, tuel Cod. Dipl.; Merc. R. 1 twaelf, twelf; North. R. 1 twelf, L. tuael, tuael, Rit. tuael.

13. *treotiecn, WS. trerotyn, -ten, also treottyne, etc. (230, note), late sporadic pryttèn; no instances in Kent. Angl.

14–19. feower-, fl-, siex-, siofon-, caht-, nigontiecn, -tyn, -ten, etc. following the various forms for the simple numbers 4–9.

If these numbers stand by themselves, they inflect according to the i-declension: for example, nom. acc. fifè, neut. fifú, -o, gen. fifá, dat. fifum (dat. cahtum Bede).

Note. In Ps. such forms do not occur; R. 1 fifè, ténè, twelle, féowerènè, gen. siofuna; North. R. 2 fifè, siofune, -unæ, -one, achtowe, nione, ténè, ælæfne, twelle, fiftènè, beside sexu, -o, ténæ, -o, dat. achtovum, ælæfnam, twelfum; L. féewere, nigone, ténè, beside seofona, -ana, nigena and fé(o)wero (feoreo), fifo, seofona, ténö (-u), tuaelf (twelfo, etc.), féowerènó, gen. twelfa (tuelfa), dat. féowrum, fifum, seofonam (seofonum, seofum), ténun (ténum, tewum), ælæfnam, -om, twelfum (twelfum, etc.), fiftènun; Rit. feoreo, fifo, ténö.

326. The even tens from 20 to 60 are formed by joining the syllable -tig (= Goth. tigus, decade) to the corresponding unit; those from 70 to 120 in the same manner, but with hund prefixed (though it is occasionally lost). They are:

20. twëntig or twentig; North. R. 2 twægentig, L. tuæntig, tuëntig.

30. ðrittig, later often drittig; Merc. R. ðrittig, ðrittig; North. R. 2 ðrittig, L. ðrittig, -h, ðritt(e)ih, Rit. ðrittig.

40. féowertig, so also Merc. Ps. R. 1 and North. R. 2; L. féörtig, -h, féurtig, foertig, féowertig, Rit. foertig, feovrig.

50. fiftig; so also R. 2 Rit.; L. fift(e)ig, -t(e)ih.

60. siextig, later sixtig, syxting, and less pure WS. also sextig; Merc. North. R. 1 R. 2 sextig, L. sext(e)ig, -stih, -dig, -deith.

70. hundslofontig, -antig, WS. hundeconteftig, -antig, later also -syfontig, etc. (seofontig already in Or., beside hundsefontig);
Merc. Ps. hundseofentig, R.¹ hundseofuntig; North. R.² hundseofontig, -sifuntig, L. (h)undseofontig, hundseofuntig, unse(o)-
untig, unseofuntig, Rit. hundseofontig.

80. hundaehtatig (beside simple cahtaetig already in Or.); Merc. Ps. hundaehtatig; North. R.² hundaehtetig, L. hundhaetatig.

90. hundnigontig, -nigantig, sporadically also -nogontig, -nygontig, etc.; Merc. R.¹ hundnigontig; North. R.² hundniontig, L. hundneantig, -th, hundneontig.

100. hun(d)teontig; Merc. R.¹ hundteantig, -teontig; North. R.² hun(d)teantig, L. hun(d)teantig, -h, -teig, Rit. hunteantig.

110. hundaelleftig- Cura Past., later hundendlyftig, hundend-, -endelletig, etc.

120. hundtwelftig; beside later hundtwentig, with the same meaning.

These numbers are originally neuter nouns, and followed by the genitive; but they also occur as adjectives at a comparatively early period. They frequently form a gen. in -es, as if sing.: ōrittiges, fiftiges, etc.; but have also gen. -tega, -tiga, beside -tigra, dat. -tegum, -tigum. In some later texts they are wholly indeclinable.

Note 1. The inflected forms of Ps. are hundaehtatiges and fœower-, hundseofentigum; R.¹ hundseofuntigum; R.² twœgen-, fœower-, fîf-, hunteantigum; L. sexteiges, ðrittiges, and tuœn-, fîf-, unseofuntigum; Rit. hunteantiges, and fœovr-, fîf-, hunteantigum.

Note 2. Prefixed numbers below ten are (so far as can be determined) usually in the neut., and remain undetermined, like þâra twâ and twentigra mannot; only the monosyllabic datives, twâm and ðrim, are also usual in this position.

327. Beside hundteontig, there is a simple neut. hund (ān hund) and neut. hundred (so also R.; North. R.² hundreð, -ed, L. Rit. hundrað, beside -æð L.) for 100.
200–900 are generally formed with the neut. hund: tū hund, ūrio hund, etc.; less frequently with hund-tēontig and hundred.

1000 is neut. ūsend, gen. -des, dat. -de; the plural is ūsendu (-o, -a, sporadic -e)—but frequently uninflected, ūsend—gen. -da (sporadic -dra), dat. -dum; Ps. ūsend(u), dat. -dum, R.₁ ūsenda, -de, R.₂ ūsendo, gen. -da, dat. -dum, L. ūsend(o), dat. -dum, Rit. ūsendo, -da.

Note 1. hund has North. dat. hundum R.₂ L., but in EWS. is inflected like a sing., hunde; but the word is usually indeclinable. From hundred are formed the plurals hundredu and hundred, the former only when used absolutely.

Note 2. These numbers also are originally nouns with substantive declension, yet are often treated like adjectives, and are in many cases employed later as indeclinable.

Note 3. Numbers which exceed hundreds of thousands are, when necessary, expressed periphrastically: tēn ūsend siūm hundfealde pūsenda = a thousand millions.

2. ORDINALS

328. The ordinal corresponding to 1 is forma (also formesta, forymest(a), fyrest(a); also R.₁ North. forōmest, and subst. forwost L., forermest, forōmest, forwest R.₂) or æresta (the first of two is designated by æerra). That corresponding to 2 is ðēr, or æferta. The others are:

3. ūrida; Merc. R.₁ pridda, -a, ðrydda; North. R.₂ ðrida, L. Rit. ðird(d)a, and rarely L. ðridda.
4. ðerða, later also ðêowerða; Merc. R.₁ ðeorða, North. R.₂ L. ðerða, beside L. ðeord(a).
5. fīnta (throughout the language).
6. siexta, sixta, syxta, etc.; Merc. R.₁ sexta and syxta, R.₂ septa, sexta, L. Rit. selsta, septa.
7. sifoða, Common WS. seofoða, -eða, etc.; Merc. R.¹ siofund(a), North. R.² siofunda, L. seofunda, -onda.

8. eahtoða, -eða (eahtoða, etc., § 108. 2), LWS. also e(a)htëoða; Angl. eahtegeða Bede, North. R.² eahtoða, L. eahteða, -æðe (eahteða).

9. nigoða, -eða (later also forms like nigeoða, nygoða, neogoða, etc.); Merc. R.¹ nigoða.

10. tēoða; Mart. Bede teogeða, North. R.² -tegða, L. teigða, teóða.

11. enlefta Or., later endlifta, -lefta, -leofta, -lufta, æn(d)lyfta, etc.; Merc. R.¹ ællefta, ellefta, North. L. ællefta.

12. twelftæ.

13-19 have WS. -tēoða (note LWS. ðreottōða, beside ðrēotōða, according to 230, note 1, and e(a)htōða, beside e(a)htateða); dialectal also are -teg(e)ða, -teog(e)ða (eahtategða Mart., feower-, fïf-, seofentegða, beside eahtategða Later Mart., feower-, seofentegða, beside fifteogeða Bede), North. R.² fittegða, L. fifteða.

20-120 end in EWS. in -tigoða (-tigoða, -tegoða, -teogða), but later there occur, beside -tigoða, forms like -tigæða, -tegeða, -teogða, etc.: twentigoða, etc. (feowertegða already in Or.), beside sporadic -tega, -tiga (already feowertedge Chron.) and LWS. frequently -tēoða (already feowertēge Or.); beside dialectic twentegða Mart., twentigða Bede.

No ordinals are formed corresponding to hund, hundred, and ðuēsend, periphrasis being employed instead: sē ðē byd on ðām twām hundréadum æstæmyst, ducentesimus; sē ðē biþ æstæmyst on ðuēsendgetele, millesimus (Ælfric), etc.

Compound numbers either have the second numeral an ordinal, ðān, twā (always so as a neut.), ðrī and twentigoða, etc., or the ordinal of the unit is followed by ēac and the dat. of the cardinals denoting the tens: ðridda ēac twentigum, 23d; siēxta ēac fiftigum, 56th, etc.

All ordinals are declined like weak adjectives (304), with the exception of ðōðer, which belongs to the strong adjective declension; the superlative forms for the number 1 vary according to 311. Prefixed units are
NUMERALS

not declined (with the exception of the monosyllabic datives twǟm, twäm, and perhaps örim; cf. 326, note 2.)

3. OTHER NUMERALS

329. In OE. there are only relics of former distributives.

Note 1. The stereotyped poetic forms twïh and twé̄onum, occurring in phrases like mid un̄ twïh, between ourselves; be só̄m twé̄onum, between the seas, are related to Goth. tveïhna. More usually these forms are combined with the preposition be to the purely prepositional betwē̄h, betuw̄h, betuh (betwïh, betwȳh only in the texts with Anglian coloring, like Bede, Ep. Alex. (but Boeth. also betwȳh), Angl. betwïh Ps. R.¹ (here also betwïc̄, betwīg) R.², bi-, betuïh L., bitwïh Rit.), and betwēonum, -an (rarely later betwān̄); Ps. betwē̄n̄um; also older bitūh̄n Corp., bitūihn Erf., bitūïcn Ep., Merc. R.¹ betwïon, betwē̄on, North. R.² bitwïon, L. bi-, betwē̄n, bitūen, Rit. bitūïcn, bitūïn, bitvē̄n, post. betwē̄on), between.

In like manner there arose a preposition betweox(n), betwux(n), betux (rare older by-forms betūoɔxn, betūūx; later forms like betwȳx Boeth.; Merc. betwix, betwïls R.¹), betwïx (compare OHG. in, untar zuiskēm).

Note 2. The acc. plur. masc. prīnna, three by three, occurring only once, is probably from Old Norse.

Note 3. Otherwise, one by one is rendered by ān-, ānlepīge (Merc. North. adverbal ānlepūm R.¹, ānlepūm L.; for two by two, three by three, etc. are used the dative formulas twǟm ond twǟm (also adj. getwīmē), örim ond örim, fō̄wer ond fō̄wer, dūsēnum ond dūsēnum (also pūsēndfealde), etc.

330. Multiplicatives are formed by adding the adjective -feald to the cardinals: ānfeald, twie-, twyfeald (later also twifeald, twîgfeald), örie-, öryfeald (also örȫ-, örȫfeald, etc.), mōnigfeald, etc.

Note 1. Ps. has seofenfaldlice, R.¹ ān-, hundtēantigfald, R.² feó̄orfald, L. twu-, tuufald (also tuw-, tuufallice), feárfeald, seofōfaldlice, teafald, Rit. tvifallice, örifald (ōrifald), seofafald, seofanfaldice.
Note 2. *twiefeald* and *brífeald* sometimes inflect even the first member in the dat.: *twâmfealdum, brímsfealdum, ñrimfealdre*, etc. (compare also *twâmfealdum, duplo R.1*). From *mönigfeald* there occurs a double comparative *màfealdræ* (308, note).

331. Of simple numeral adverbs in answer to the question *how often?* only the following are in use: *æne, once* (rarely gen. *ænes*); *tuwa* (*tuwwa, tua*; also *twiwa, twywa, twewa, and twuga, twig(e)a*, later also *twia, twic*, etc.; North. R.² *twiga*, *-e, L. *twiga*, *-o*, *twice*; and *ðriwa* (*ðrywa, ðreowa*; Merc. R.¹ *priowa, priuwa*; North. R.² *ðriga, L. *ðriga, ðria, Rit. *ðriga*), *thrice*. All others, including by-forms to those just named, are formed periphrastically by means of *sìd*, *journey, time*: *æne sìða* (later *sìðe*), *once*; *twæm, ñrim, sif, twentigum sìðum*, etc.; North. R.² *siofo, tæa sìðum, huntēa(n)-tigum sìða*, *L. *feor, tæa sìðum, and *se(o)fo* (*seofa*), undseofontig, hun(d)tēantig sìða (*huntēantig sìðo*); likewise on *ænne sìð*, etc.

Note. *The first, second, third time*, etc., is expressed by *forman, ðdre, ðriddan sìðe*, etc.
CHAPTER IV. PRONOUNS

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF GENDER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. ie</td>
<td>ðu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. mîn</td>
<td>ðin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. mē</td>
<td>ðē (dec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. mē (mec)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual N. wît</td>
<td>gît</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. uncer</td>
<td>incer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. unc</td>
<td>inc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. unc (uncit?)</td>
<td>inc (incit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. wê</td>
<td>gê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. ëre (ües(s)er)</td>
<td>ëower, ëower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. ës</td>
<td>ëow, ëow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ës (üsle)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. The forms here given are those of WS. prose, except the parenthetical ones; these occur for or beside the others in texts with more or less dialectic coloring, and especially in the poetry.

Note 2. Beside ie, there occurs the negative nie, nice, with the meaning no.

Note 3. In wê, gê, etc., the length of the vowel is established by gemination and accent in the MSS., but cf. 121.

Note 4. The Anglian forms are: a) first person: Merc. Ps. ie, mîn, mē, mec (nie, me), plur. wê, ur, ës, ûsle (ûs); R.1 le (nie), mîn, mē, mec (mē), dual wît, —, une, une, plur. wê (wæ, wê), ëre, ûs, ûsle (ûs); North. R.2 le (îh), mîn, mē, mec, plur. wê, ëser, ës, ûslh; L. le (îh, ich). mîn, mē, mec (meh, mech), plur. wê (wæ, wê), ëser, ës (ûsle, -îg), ûsle (-îch, -îh, -îg), Rit. le, —, mē, mec (mehc), plur. wê, ëser (ûsera, ûslgra), ûs, ûslg; b) second person: Merc. Ps. ðû, ðin, ðē (ðēc), ðec (ðec; sporadic ðeac), plur. gê, —, ëow, ëowle (ëow); R.1 þû, þin, þē, þec (þec; þê), dual gît, dat. inc, plur. gê, ëower, ëow, ëowle (ëow); North. R.2 ðû, ðin, ðē, ðec (ðîch), plur. gê (gêc, gêc, gît), ëower (ëowera, ëowre), dat. acc. promiscuously ëow, ëowlh (ëowh, ëoh); L. ðû, ðin, ðē, ðec (ðîch, ðîch),
plur. gīe (ge, gee, gleæ, gæ), ïwer (iuer; ïurre, ïuerra, -o), dat. ïuð (ïowh, ïouh, etc., sporadie ïow, ïw), acc. ïuð (ïowh, ïowh). Rit. ðū, dat. acc. promiscuously ðē, ðēc, plur. gīe, dat. acc. promiscuously ïuð, ïuð (ïowh, ïowh).

In the North, texts the forms mē and mec, ðē and ðēc are still somewhat distinguished as dat. and acc., but the severance is no longer a strict one; on the forms with ïw-, ïu-, etc., cf. 156. 5.

2. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

333. An independent reflexive pronoun no longer exists in OE. In its stead are employed the corresponding forms of the third personal pronoun (334).

3. PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.-N.</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hiere (hire, hyre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>hiere (hire, hyre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>hī(o)ne</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>hīc (hī, hīc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hiera (hira, hyra); hīora, heora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. The I-forms often occur in LWS. with y: hys, hym, hyne, hyt.

Rarer and partially dialectic by-forms are: nom. sing. fem. hīc, hī, hīc, and conversely acc. sing. fem. hēo; plur. nom. acc. hēo, dat. heom.


Note 3. The Anglian forms are: Merc. Ps. masc. neut. hē — hit, his, him, hine — hit, fem. hīe, hire, hire, hihe, plur. hīe (hē; hē?); heara, him; R.3 masc. neut. hē — hit, his, him (heom), hīne (hīnæ) — hit, fem. hīu (hīo, hēo), hire, -æe, hire, hīo (hēo, hīe, hīe), plur,
PRONOUNS

ĥēo (ĥio, hīa, ĥīc, hīe, hīye, hī, ĥi; hē ?), heora (hiora), heom (him); North. R.2 masc. neut. hē (hee) – hit, his, him, hine – hit, fem. hio, hire (hir), hir, hīa (hīe), plur. hīe (hīa, hīe), hiora (hīara), him; L. masc. neut. hē (hee) – hit, his (is), him, hine – hit, fem. hiu (ĥio, hīa), hire (hīrae), hir (hīre, -ae), hīa (hēa), plur. hīa (hēa, hīc, hīc, hīe, hī), hiora (hīara, heora, heara), him; Rit. masc. hē, his, him, hine, fem. gen. hire (hir), acc. hīa, plur. hīa, hiora (hīara).

4. POSSESSIVES

335. The possessives are formed from the stems of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and from that of the lost reflexive: min, mine; thine; sin, his; uncer, of us two; iner, of you two; ūre, our; ɨower (ɨower), your. Beside sin, which may stand for any gender or number, and is generally employed as a reflexive (like Lat. suus), the genitives of the third personal pronoun, his, hire, plur. hiera, are also used as possessives.

Note. For ūre, the typical WS. form, the less pure WS. texts, together with the poetry, have also ūser, ūser (once dat. ĭsum in Cura Past.). The Angl. forms are: Ps. ūr, R.1 īre (beside acc. sing. masc. īsere), North. R.2 īser, L. īsor, īsa, Rit. gen. īses, etc. (336, note).

For ɨower (so also Ps. R.1) North. has R.2 ɨower, L. īer, īver, etc., Rit. īer (156. 5).

336. The declension of the possessives is the same as that of the strong adjectives (ūre like grēnc, 298; the r-cases very often have simple r: gen. dat. sing. fem. ūre, gen. plur. ūra).

Note. īser generally assimilates sr to ss in the cases which have syncope of the middle vowel (144; cf. 180): ĭses, ĭsum, for *ūsres, *ūsrum, etc.; but ĭserne. The double s forces itself, however, even into unsyncopated cases: ĭser, ĭserne, ĭsera. This assimilation is wanting in North. (hence forms like nom. acc. sing.
fem. or nom. plur., etc., ûra L., üsera R.2; in their stead occur by-forms without r, like (nom. ûsa L.) üses, üsum R.2 L. Rit., (nom. plur. üso L.), etc.

üer forms in L. Rit. the inflected forms partly with, and partly without, the middle vowel; hence on the one hand forms like üeres (üveres), beside üres, etc., and on the other in L. such also as acc. sing. masc. üerne, gen. plur. üur(r)a, etc. However, the North. declension of üser and üer (lower) is in many respects extremely uncertain, as the glossators seem often to have put down any form that occurred to them.

5. DEMONSTRATIVES

337. The pronoun sē, sīo, sāet, originally a simple demonstrative, was almost altogether restricted in Old English to the weaker function of the definite article. Its declension in WS. is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>sē</td>
<td>sāet</td>
<td>sio, sēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ûces</td>
<td></td>
<td>ûère</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ûm (ûm)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ûmëre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>ûne</td>
<td>ûet</td>
<td>ûa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ûy; ûon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. A.</td>
<td>ûa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ûāra (ûāra)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ûm (ûm)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. Forms in parenthesis are more recent, and are seldom or never found in the oldest texts.

Note 2. In very late texts sēo is frequently found for sē; still later þē, þēo occur for sē, sēo. — In the older language ûāre (Kentish? cf. note 3) rarely occurs for ûmëre, and sporadically ûār as dat. sing. Late texts frequently have the forms þāre and þāræ. — Besides ûone, there occur also ûane and ûane, both frequent in LWS. — ûām passes into the LWS. ûān (cf. 187). The instrumental ûon (ûān) appears but seldom as an attributive; it is chiefly found in phrases of comparison like ûon mā, more than that, and adverbial formulas like forbl ûon, on that account; after ûon, after that, etc. (on sloðdan, syðdan see 107, note 5).
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Note 3. Kent. has forms with sē (151. 1), beside those with e, like dét, dés, dére, dém (dám); beside dére also däre; acc. dāne, beside dōne; instr. dān, beside dōn; gen. plur. dēara, beside dāra (dāra).

Note 4. The inflectional forms of Angl. are (with the exception of ðy, ðon, which are always the same): Merc. Ps. masc. neut. sē – ðæt (ðæt), ðes (1 ðøes), ðæm, ðone, fem. sīe (1 sīo), ðere, ðere, ðā, plur. ðā, ðēara, ðēm; R.1 masc. neut. sē (pē) – ðæt, ðæs (pas), ðæm (1 ðæm), ðone (pæne, þæne, þene, þene); fem. sīo (sīu, sēo; sīe), ðære (ðäre, -ə), ðære (ðāra), ðā, plur. ðā, ðāra (ðāre, ðære), ðæm; North. R.2 masc. neut. ðē (1 ðē, rarely sē) – ðæt, ðæs, ðæm (ðān, ðān), ðone (ðāne, ðōn; ðēne, ðene), fem. ðīo (ðē, ðī?), ðäre (ðāer, ðāre), ðār (ðāer), ðā (ðā), plur. ðā, ðāra (ðāerea, -ə), ðæm (1 ðān); L. masc. neut. sē (ðē; sē, ðē) – ðæt, ðæs, ðæm (ðēm, ðēm), ðone (ðēne, ðēne), fem. sīo (ðīu, ðīo, ðīu, ðīy; also ðā?), ðāre (ðāerea, -ə, ðāer, ðāara), ðār (ðāre), ðā (ðīo, ðīu, ðīy), plur. ðā, ðāra (ðāra), ðæm; Rit. sē (ðē), ðæs, ðæm (ðēm), ðone, fem. sīo (ðīo, ðīu), ðære, ðēr, plur. ðā, ðāra, ðēm.

338. The compound demonstrative pronoun ðēs, fem. ðīos (ðēos), neut. ðīs, this, is thus declined in EWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>ðēs</td>
<td>ðīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ðīs(es), ðīs(es)</td>
<td>ðīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ðīs(sum), ðīs(sum); ðīs(um)</td>
<td>ðīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>ðīsne, ðīsne</td>
<td>ðīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>ðīs, ðīs</td>
<td>ðīs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. N. A. ðās

G. ðīssā

D. ðīss(um), ðīs(um); ðīs(um) ðīs

Note 1. In the older documents y is confined to the cases instanced above; subsequently it takes the place of i in the other cases, according to 22.

Note 2. In LWS, the gen. dat. sing. fem. and gen. plur. occur as þīssē, þīssēra, and occasionally syncopated: þīsē, þīsēra.

Note 3. Of different forms, Kent. has Cod. Dipl. dat. ðīs(um), gen. dat. fem. ðīosse, gen. plur. ðīossal.

Note 4. The Anglian forms are: a) Merc. Ps. masc. neut. ðēs – ðīs, ðīssē, ðīssum, ðīosse, fem. ðīos, ðīsse, ðīsse, ðās, plur. ðās,
Inflection

Déssum (Déossum); R.¹ masc. neut. pes (pès; déos, pios ?) — pis, piisses, piissum, piiske (péosne), fem. piös (píos), pisse, pisse (píssere), píüs, plur. píüs, pisssa (-e, -ë), piissum (l'passum); b) North. R.² masc. neut. ëes (ëes; ëis ?) — ëis, ëisses (ëasses), piissum (iassum), biösne, instr. ëisse, fem. ëios, ëisser (ëisse, ëasse), ëisser (ëasser), ëass (ëasse; ëios), plur. ëäs, ëissra, ëissum (iassum); L. masc. neut. ëes (ëes; ëis ?) — ëis (ëes ?), ëis(es), ëis(s)um (ëass(s)um), biösne (biöne), instr. ëisse (ëissa, ëiss), fem. ëios (ëius, ëyus, ëys), dat. ëis(es)er (ëisser, ëasser; ëis(s)a ?), ëäs (ëiös, ëius, ëüs, ëis), plur. ëäs, ëissra (ëissa), ëis(s)um (ëass(s)um); Rit. masc. neut. ëes — ëis, ëisses (-ëes, ëis), ëis(s)um (ëass(s)um), biösne, fem. ëios, —, ëisser, ëäss (ëäss, ëios), plur. ëäs, ëissra, ëis(s)um.

Note 5. This pronoun was originally formed by the addition of a particle, -sê, -sî (= Goth. saí, OHG. sê, behold ?), to the case-forms of the simple demonstrative. In OE. there are only such relics of this formation as dé-s, ido-s (compare North. dé, ðiu, 337, note 4), ðä-s, since the particle first became incorporated with the pronoun, and then partook of its inflection throughout.

Note 6. The pronoun jener, Goth. jains, scarcely survives in OE.; an isolated to geonre byrg (Cura Past. 443. 25) is the only occurrence known. From the same root are derived the adverbs and prepositions geond (glend, gind), through; begeondan, beyond, etc. (74).

339. The pronoun of identity (Lat. idem) is sê ilca (or ilca?) compare the adv. idæges, the same day; isidæes, at the same time; in Cura Past. often ilca, in late texts occasionally with recent middle vowel, ilica, yleca), the same, which is declined like a weak adjective, but occasionally develops also strong forms.

The equivalent of ipse is EWS. self, later usually self; Kent. self Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps., beside seolf Cod. Dipl.; Merc. Ps. seolf, R.¹ seolf, ylft, self, self'; North. R.² self, L. seolf (sulf), Rit. seolf (seolf ?); the word may follow either declension.

Notes. sê selfa anciently meant only he himself; not till late did it acquire the signification of the same.
6. RELATIVES

340. OE. has no proper relative pronoun. Its place is supplied either by the simple demonstrative sē, sīo, ðæt, or the particle ðē, alone or in combination with a demonstrative.

Note: sē, sīo, ðæt, can of course refer only to the third person. ðē but seldom stands alone; it usually refers to an antecedent demonstrative: sē, sīo, ðæt. This demonstrative frequently occupies a position immediately before the ðē (sē ðē, sīo ðē, neut. anciently ðætte, subsequently analyzed into ðæt ðē), though it belongs, grammatically, to the preceding sentence.

Less frequent is the combination with a personal pronoun, which is then appended to the ðē: ðē hē, who; ðē his, whose; ðē him, (to) whom, etc.; even double formations, sē ðē his, etc., occur. If the relative refers to the first or second person, either simple ðē (ic . . . ðē, ðū . . . ðē, or ðū ðē, etc.) or the personal pronoun follows them, as described above: ðē ic, I who; ðē wē, we who; ðē ūsic, us whom, etc.

7. INTERROGATIVES

341. The simple interrogative hwā, hwæt (= Goth. hwæs) has developed only the masc. and neut. sing. The neut. hwæt, with a following genitive (for example, hwæt mōnna), signifies what sort of a?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. hwā</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. hwæs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. hwēm (hwām)</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hwone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. —</td>
<td>hwŷ, hwī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTE 1. A second form of the instr., hwon (hwan), is met with only in adverbial phrases like to hwon, wherefore? for hwon, why? etc.; a third, hũ, only in the character of an adverb, how?

NOTE 2. On the inflection compare, in general, 337. Beside hwone (rarely hwane), hwæne is also found, especially in LWS.

NOTE 3. Kent. by-forms are hwet, beside hwæt (151. 1), instr. hwē, beside hwī (154). Ps. has hwet (once hwet), R. hwæt (once hwat); North., beside regular hwæt R., has L. hwæt (hwæt, etc.) and hwætd, hwætd, Rit. only hwætd, hwætd.

NOTE 4. The compounded gehwā, each (347), regularly has EWS. gen. dat. gehwæs, gehwæm, even when it refers to a fem.; in LWS. a newly formed gehwære, gehwære is also used in this case (Beitr. 10. 485).

342. Of the strong adjective declension are hwæðer (Goth. hwapar), which of two? and the compounds hwelc (Goth. hwileiks), which? and hülic, of what sort?

The correlative of hwelc is swele, such (Goth. swaleiks).

NOTE 1. For WS. hwæðer Kent. has also hwæðer (151. 1); Merc. R. varies between hwæper and hwæper (no examples in Ps.); North. R. hwæðer, L. hueðer (hueðer, also hueðer); the latter forms point to a basic form with original e (cf. OHG. hwedare).

NOTE 2. For EWS. hwelc LWS. generally has hwile, hwyle. Kent. has hwelc, beside hwyle Cod. Dipl. and hwile Kent. Gl.; Merc. Ps. hwelc, R. hwelc, hwælce, and hwile, huyle; North. R. hwelc, L. huele, hwelc, huele, Rit. hwelc, hwelc.

NOTE 3. Later WS. by-forms to swele are swile and swyle. Kent. has suelc, swele, sulce Cod. Dipl.; Merc. Ps. * swele (in adv. swele), R. swile; North. R. swele; L. swele, swele (adv. also sauëce, and once suilece).

8. INDEFINITES

343. The indefinite pronoun some one is expressed by sum, which is declined like a strong adjective. In negative and interrogative sentences, the interrogatives
hwað, hwæðer, hwelc may be used as indefinites. Most of the other indefinites are formed by composition.

344. 1) The indeclinable -hwugu, -hugu, etc. (see note 1), forms with hwæt the noun hwæth(w)ugu, anything, and with hwelc the noun and adjective hwelc-h(w)ugu, any one.

Note 1. The pure WS. form is generally -hwugu, -hugu; but beside it occur, especially in texts with dialectic coloring, -hwega, -u, -o; -hwiga, -hwigo, -u. Ep. has -huuæga, Corp. -huegu; R.1 -hwugu; North. R.2-hwæg(n)u, -o, -hweogne, -hwogu, L. hwelc-, huæchhuægu, -o, -e (also gen. huæchhuæges), and huot-, huod-.

Note 2. Of the same meaning as hwæth(w)ugu is EWS. hwæth-huguninges Cura. Past. MS. H, -hwuguninges MS. C and Boeth., beside -hweg(a)nungenes, -hweguninga Boeth.

For any one North. employs also L. huelec-., huæchhuæene.

2) The same meaning is expressed by nāthwā, nāt-hwelc, properly I know not who.

3) Anything is likewise rendered by āwuht (āuht, LWS. often āht), ōwuht (ōht).

Note 3. Forms with I, like āwiht, ōwiht, are hardly to be considered as pure WS. (they are common in the poetry); cf. 164. 2 and R.1 āwiht, ōwiht (R. 2 only ōht), beside 348, note 2.

345. Indefinite relatives are formed from the interrogatives by swā — swā: swā hwa swā, swā hwæðer swā, swā hwelc swā, whosoever, etc. To these add LWS. lōcahuā, lōchwā (sporadic lāhwaï), lōchwæðer, lōchwyle, with the same meaning (cf. OHG. sihuuer, sihuuelih). For other expressions in place of indefinite relatives see Kluge, Beitr. 8. 531–532.

Note. For swā hwæðer swā is occasionally found swā hwæðer swā, or, with contraction, swæðer, swæðer; similarly swille for swā hwile swā.
346. One of two, either (Lat. alterutrum) is āhwæðer (āwðer, āudder, ādeer, -or), āhwæðer (ōwðer), which is mostly confined to negative sentences. Of similar formation are āhwylc, and āhwæ, āhwæt.

347. Each is denoted by ālce, beside gehwæ (only as a substantive; for its declension see 341, note 4), gehwelc (also ānra gehwelc, each one separately), and gehwæðer, both; or strengthened to āghwæ, āghwelc, āghwæðer (shortened to āgðer). Less common are æhwæ, samhwelc, welhwæ, (ge-)welhwelc.

For everything, beside cell, there occurs the periphrasis ālce wuht, ālcuht (348. 2).

Note 1. Beside ālce, Kent. has also āle (151. 1); Ps. has žle (once also žlæ). R.3 āle, L. Rit. āle. 

Note 2. For the WS. formations with æg- the dialects have: Kent. æg-, æg-, āilwelc (151. 1; 214. 2; 342, note 2); Merc. Ps. æghwelc (compare æghuwelc Ep. Corp.); North. R.2 æghwæ, æghwelc. L. æghwelc, æhuæle (rarely æghuæle) and ægðer (ægðer), Rit. æghwæle (once æghuæle).

Note 3. This prefixed ā, æ, ţε corresponds to the Goth. æiw, OHG. eo. io (174. 3), and is unaltered from a-, ø- by the 1 of the gi which originally followed (compare OHG. eo-gi-hwelih, etc.).

348. 1) To any corresponds OE. ænig; for anything occurs also North. R.2 L. æniht (from ænwiht, 100, note 3; cf. note 2, below).

2) Neither is represented by næhwæðer (nāwðer, nāudder, nādeer) or nōhwæðer (nōwðer); none by nān or næning; nothing by näwiht (nāuht, nāht) or nōwuht (nōht); nān wuht, nānuht; nān ping (later nāping).

Note 1. nāwuht, etc., is neut. in the sing.; but there is also a plur. nāuhtas, and a later nāhte used as an adj.
PRONOUNS

Note 2. The forms in 1, like nāwylht, nōwylht, which are common in the poetry, are hardly to be considered pure WS.; compare 344, note 3, and Merc. 1's. nōwylht (nōht), R.¹ nāwylht (nauwylht; also nāht, nōht); North. R.² L. nōwylht (nōht), beside nānīht (see 1, above).

349. Such is usually denoted (342) by swelc (swylc, swylec); sometimes also by ᵒyslic, ᵒūslíc (likewise assimilated to ᵒyllic, ᵒullíc), and *ᵗᵃᵉˡⁱᶜ (in the adv. ᵒᵃᵉˡⁱᶜᵉ, ᵒᵃⁱᵗᵉ Ḵlickl. Gl.), but only in a demonstrative signification, never as a correlative.
PART II.—CONJUGATION

IN GENERAL

350. The OE. verb has the following forms:

1) Only one independently developed voice, the active. Of the medial passive, still to some extent preserved in Gothic, there remains only the single form hätté, with the plur. hätton (367. 2). With this exception, the passive is formed by means of the auxiliary verbs bēon, wesan (427), more rarely weorðan.

2) Two tenses, a present, and a general tense of past time which we call the preterit. The missing future (for bēon see 427) is generally supplied by the present, more rarely formed by means of the auxiliary verb sculan.

3) Two complete modes, an indicative and an optative (frequently called subjunctive), besides an imperative, which is only used in the present.

4) Two numbers, singular and plural.

5) Three verbal nouns, a present infinitive, a present participle with active meaning, and a past participle with intransitive or passive meaning.

Note. There is also found in late texts, but only sporadically, a 'participle of necessity,' or gerundive, imitated from the Latin, like tō dénde, faciendus; and occasionally adjectives in -llc with the same meaning: dōnlic, faciendus; sendlic, dirigendus. In L. simple present participles serve also to reproduce such Latin forms.
351. Germanic verbs are divided into two principal classes, according to the formation of the preterit:

1) **Strong Verbs.** These form their preterit either by the so-called ablaut, that is, variation of the radical vowel, as in Goth. **binda, I bind, band, I bound** (Ablaut Verbs); or by reduplication of the radical syllable, which, however, does not exclude ablaut, as in Goth. **haita, I call, haitait, I called; le̓ta, I let, lailōt, I did let** (Reduplicating Verbs).

2) **Weak Verbs.** These form their preterit by the addition of the syllable -**da, -ta** to the end (dental preterit): for example, Goth. **nasja, I save; haba, I have; salbō, I anoint, pret. nasida, habaida, salbōda; bugja, I buy, pret. bauhta, etc.** The weak verbs again fall into three classes (398).

Besides these two main divisions there are certain smaller groups, concerning which see 417 ff.

I. VERBAL ENDINGS IN GENERAL

352. The endings of the strong verbs in WS.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. -e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -(e)s, -(e)st</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>Plur. 1. -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -(e)Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. -aØ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. -aØ</td>
<td>-en, -an, -on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive: -an  Participle: -ende
INFLECTION

Preterit

**Indicative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1.</th>
<th>-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-en, -on, -an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Optative**

| Sg. 2. | -e, -a |

**Participle:** -en

**Note.** For the passive forms see 367. 2.

353. The endings of the weak verbs, Class I and Class II (for those of III see the complete paradigm, 416):

**Present**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1.</td>
<td>-l(e)g</td>
<td>-l(e)g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (e)s, (e)st</td>
<td>-a, -ast</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (e)ə</td>
<td>-aə</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. -aə</td>
<td>-l(e)gə</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Infinitive:** I. -an; II. -l(e)gə

**Participle:** I. -ende; II. -l(e)gənde

**Preterit**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -des, -dest</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Participle:** I. -ed (-t); II. -od (-ad).

354. The endings of the strong verbs, and of the First Class of weak verbs, are the same throughout the present, with the exception of the imp. 2 sing. (362). The Second Class of weak verbs has the same consonants, but different vowels. Moreover, the endings of the
CONJUGATION

plur. are identical in all verbs, and the same is true of the whole opt. pret.; except that, in both cases, allowance must be made for the preceding a, t of the weak verbs.

Note 1. For the preteritive presents, which form their present like a strong preterit, and their preterit like a weak preterit, see 417 ff.; for the different conjugation of verbs in -mi see 426 ff.

Note 2. In the North. texts the conjugation is much disordered, whether through actual disorganization in the language itself, or from mere awkwardness on the part of the glossators in rendering the Latin forms. Many forms cannot be assigned with certainty to any definite place in the paradigm (for example, it may be doubtful whether a form is ind. or opt., sing. or plur., etc.).

355. In all dialects, -u (later -o) is to be regarded as the original ending of the ind. pres. I sing.: bindu, nerciu, deemu, loci(g)u; or bindo, etc. This ending is most fully preserved in Anglian (with the exception of R.1; see note 2). In the southern dialects, it is so soon supplanted by the optative ending -e that this is to be regarded as the normal form for WS. and Kent.: binde, neri(g)e, deme, loci(g)e, etc.

Note 1. -o for -u predominates already in Corp. (in Ep. we have no instance but grætu), and also in the southern charters, so far as these have retained the old termination (individual instances of -o, -u are found till late in the 9th century, though the -e predominates much earlier). In the Cura Past. there is only a single cweðo (MS. H).

Note 2. Of the Mercian texts, Ps. has -u in a decided majority of instances, the weak verbs of the Second Class having -u, more rarely -o, or -lo (beside once each gebidda, segega, and a few -e-forms, which are probably optatives). On the other hand, R.2 has predominantly the ending -e, or -ige, beside rare exceptions in -u, -o, -a: ágeofu, dépuf; hælo, hálso; ʒrowa, seega.

Note 3. In North. -o, or -igo, is the true norm (R.2 and L. have still a few -u's); but there are also found occasional -a's: R.2 forlēta,
356. The ind. pres. 2 sing. of all verbs, as well as the ind. pret. 2 sing. of the weak verbs, ends originally in -s: thus pres. bindes, dēmes (compare Goth. bindis, dōmeis), or lōcas (compare Goth. salbōs); pret. nēredes, dēmdes (Goth. nasidēs, dōmidēs). The forms in -s frequently prevail in the older texts, almost to the exclusion of others, but are afterwards supplanted by those in -st.

Note 1. The -st establishes itself first in the monosyllabic forms of contract verbs (373 ff.) and the verbs in -mi (427 ff.); thus Corp. has already an ondēst. Ps. already has -st in nearly all these verbs, though it is decidedly rare with others. In North. -st is at least commoner in the monosyllabic forms of the present than in the polysyllabic. In L. and Rit., moreover, thepreterit shows a stronger preference for the -st than the present. In Rit. -st has already gained the upper hand in all cases. Of the southern dialects, Kent. retains the s-forms longer than WS.: while, for example, the -s is still common in Kent. Gl., the Cura Past. scarcely preserves it except in the preterit, and there rather rarely; elsewhere -st prevails (or, according to 196. 1, -sō): hēstst, sīhst, cardast, beside spripeō, sīhseō, cardaseō, etc.

Note 2. In North. the -ō of the 3 sing. intrudes into the 2 sing. (favored by the confusion of -s and -ō in the 3 sing., 357): 2 sing. R.2 áwēcēō, wyrcaē, L. geleōō, stēnaē, Rit. gīšeēō, gīhēēō, rīcesēō (on the a see 358, note 2); so once even in R.1: hūfeēp.

Note 3. Occasionally the 2 sing. coalesces with the pronoun of the second person, especially often in the formulas wēn(e)stu, wēnsōu, from wēman, think.
CONJUGATION

357. The ind. pres. 3 sing. (like the ind. pres. plur. and the imp. 2 plur., 360.1) normally ends in -p, -y: bindeð, démeð, lócað (compare Goth. bindið, dömeið, salbóp), etc. The -p, -y is generally stable (but cf. notes 1 and 2), except where fusion with other consonants, etc., occurs (359). Only in North. is there much irregular interchange with -s (most marked in L.): bindeð and bindes, etc.

Note 1. Of the oldest texts, Ep. generally has -th (-p), more rarely -d and -t: cælith, teblith, ginath (nullep), beside gremid, borettid, or sifitit, feormat); in Corp. forms in -t, like lisit, wunat, are as frequent as those in -s, while -th, and still more -d (sild, styntid) are uncommon.

Note 2. In EWS. texts -s (-p) is practically the only ending. Cura Past. has also a very few instances, perhaps doubtful, of -d, and in MS. H also a few -t's. On the other hand, -t, beside -d, is common in Kent. Gl. (perhaps it belongs in general to the characteristics of Kent.).

Ps. has, beside -s, rather frequent occurrences of -d, perhaps due only to careless writing; R.1 has, beside -s, -p, also -th (biddeth) and sporadic -d, -t (cymid, or sœcet, swerat), but no s-forms.

North., too, has in L., beside -y, -s, also a few uncrossed -d's, but on account of their rarity they are also doubtful. R.2 has also a few -t's: fallet, giscinat, spillet.

358. 1) The vowel of the ending of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of strong verbs, and of the First Weak Conjugation, is originally ɪ; hence early OE. forms like 2 sing. bindis, nёris, dёmis (compare Goth. bindið, nasjis, dёmeis); 3 sing. bindið, nёrið, dёmið (compare Goth. bindið, nasjip, dёmeið), etc.

This ɪ is often preserved in the oldest texts, but then passes, so far as it is retained at all (compare especially 3), into OE. weakened e (44) in all dialects: 2 sing.
bindes(t), neres(t), dëmes(t); 3 sing. bindeð, nereð, dëmeð, etc.

Note 1. In Ep. the i prevails wholly, while in Corp. it is replaced by e in about one third of the instances. In the 9th-century charters (no examples in those of the 8th) the e is already established, as it is in EWS. and Kent. texts, and in Ps. (which has only two -æð's, like dœmað, beside -eð). R. and North., on the other hand, have sporadic -i: R. gescēadip, cymid, R. cymidð, L. wænis, wyrcð, Rit. giscildis, -sælð, etc.

Note 2. In consequence of confusion with the endings of the Second Weak Conjugation, North. has, beside regular e, also a, and more rarely in L. Rit. also æ. Hence there occur side by side forms like 3 sing. bindes and bindas, -æs (even bindeð, -að, -æð); 3 sing. bindað, -æs, and bindað, -æð, or bindas, -æs. This confusion also extends to Rit.

2) The full ending for the 2 and 3 sing., -es, -eð, etc., stands almost unvaryingly in Anglian, while in the southern dialects its -e- is more or less regularly syncopated; this is therefore (notwithstanding much variation in the individual southern texts) an important criterion for the determination of dialect.

Note 3. Syncope played a greater part in the prehistoric period than in the extant texts. Thus, the fuller forms in -es, -eð, etc., are not always the direct continuations of the original West Germ. forms, but are to a considerable extent new formations in OE.; this is shown by the lack of -umlaut in the fuller forms of strong verbs (371). The following statements repose upon the actual data of the manuscripts.

Note 4. In pure WS. and Kent., syncope is the rule in the case of the long stems, whether strong or weak, the fuller forms constituting the exception. Only in the case of stems ending in mute + liquid or nasal has pure WS. the fuller forms (404, note 1): frefrest, timbreft, dieglest, biecest, -eð, from frefran, comfort; timbran, build; dieglan, conceat;bieenan, signify, etc. So EWS. regularly nêmnest, -eð, beside LWS. nêmast, nêmð.
Norse 5. Of the short stems of strong verbs, pure WS. and Kent. generally have syncope, except in the case of the jo-verbs (372). The strong jo-verbs, and the short-stemmed weak verbs, have their various peculiar rules:

d) The verbs in p, t, c syncopate almost always from an early period: stæppō, sitt(t), sët(t), ᄃhrycō, from stæppan, march; sittan, sit; sëttan, set; ᄃhrycc(e)an, oppress; and so probably those in s, h: cnysō, hlihō, from cnyssan, smite; hlihhan, laugh.

b) The verbs in the sonants, d, f (= b, 192. 2), and g, often vary in the earlier period: bitt and bideō, hēfō and hēfō, legō and legeō, from biddan, beeech; hēbban, lift; and lēc(e)an, lay. At a later time syncope is the rule here, even aside from the early contractions list, liest; lōh, lies (214. 4).

c) The verbs in the liquids and nasals, r, l, m, n, usually have no syncope: fercō, dweleō, fremeō, ðeneō, from ferian, carry; dwēlian, delay; fremman, complete; ðēnlan, stretch, etc.; only the verb sēllan, sīllan (407. 1) generally has syncope already in EWS.: sēllō (beside sēleō).

Norse 6. Less pure WS. texts, especially those transcribed from Anglian originals, often show a larger percentage of full forms, and these may under some circumstances prevail to the more or less complete exclusion of the syncope forms. For the poetical texts see Beitr. 10. 464 ff.

Norse 7. Of the Anglian texts, Ps. has only a few forms with syncope — twice after r, l, three times in contract verbs: ãcērs ðu, sēlō; geðīhō (geðīht), geðīht, from cerran, sēllan, gefōn, fōn; in R. 1 cwīb, dicīt, iquitt, æit, is common (but this is perhaps to be understood as cwīb, contracted from *cwīblp through loss of the first p); other syncope forms are sporadic: sēlō, cymō, gewyrō, bıt; sēlp, sēhp, from sēllan, cūman, weorðan, biddan, sēlan, fōn. Much slighter and more doubtful are the traces in the North. texts (once gehērs ðu, audīs; gehēht vel hēst, imperat L.).

3) In the Second Weak Conjugation a is the normal vowel of the ending, which therefore is -as, -að. For details on this point see 412.

359. In consequence of syncope, radical final consonants are brought into immediate contact with the
-s(t), and -p, -σ, of the ending. This occasions a series of changes in the form of the word, partly affecting the radical syllable, and partly the ending. The principal cases are as follows:

1) Gemination at the end of the radical syllable is simplified: winnan, winst, winō; feallan, fielst, fieldō; hliefhhan, hliefhest, hliefhō; yppan, ypst, ypō, etc.

2) d before the -s(t) of the second person is usually converted by phonetic law to t: biddan, bitst; rǣdan, rætst; after consonants: findan, fintst; stōndan, stēnstst; wealdan, wēlftst; andwyrdan, andwyrtst, etc.; but the etymological spelling with d often replaces it: bidst, rēdst, findst, etc. In later texts the d is often lost after consonants: finst, stēnst, hylst, holdest; gylst, repayest (from healdan, gyldan), etc.

Note 1. Even radical t occasionally disappears after a consonant before the -s(t) of the 2 sing.: compare LWS. forms like ēhst, tihst, ēftst, beside ēhtst, etc., from ēhtan, persecute; tihtan, warn; ēfstan, hasten, etc.

3) d and t are fused with the -p, -σ of the 3 sing. to t, which often becomes tt after vowels, especially in the older period: findan, fint; berstan, brst; biddan, bit(t); bidan, bit(t); etan, et(t); weak sēndan, sēnt; fēst, fēst (EWS. likewise fēsō, 196.1); grētan, grēt(t); hwēttan, hwēt(t), etc.

Note 2. Occasionally the older texts have the half etymological spelling dt, as in bidt, or d alone in the case of verbs in d: hýd, from hýdan, hide.

Note 3. bregdan, brandish (389), and the weak strendan, scatter, have in the 3 sing. the forms brett (bryt, bret) and strett(t).

4) g after a long vowel or r, I frequently (especially in later texts) becomes h before the -s(t), and -p, -σ
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(214.1): stigan, stigst, stigð, and stihst, stihð; swelgan, swilgst, swilgð, and swilhst, swilhð (or swelhst, swelhð, 371, note 3); on forms like swylcð see note 6).

Note 4. After a short vowel LWS. g usually persists, so that forms like wihð, wehð, from wegan, occur only sporadically.

Note 5. In LWS., nc occurs not infrequently for ng (215): bringan, bringst, bringð, and brincest, brincð, etc. For the converse, ng for etymological nc, see 215, note 1.

5) e following a vowel often passes in the later language into h before the -s(t), and -p, -ð, but this is almost wholly confined to weak verbs: sæcan, tæcan, ðryccan, 2 sing. sæhst, tæhst, þryhð, etc.; but more generally the etymological spelling est, eð is retained.

Note 6. That the est, eð was nevertheless pronounced hst, hð in LWS. is shown by the occasional substitution of eð for older hð and gð (see 4. above), as in geðecð, afêcð; micð, forswylcð, from geðėon, succeed; onfôn, receive; fliegan, rout; swelgan, swallow.

6) p + p is always simplified after consonants, and usually after vowels: weordan, wierð; cweðan, cwid; cyðan, cyðð(ð), etc.

Note 7. Before the -st of the 2 sing. p may pass into t, or else be preserved (or restored): sniðan, sniðst and sniðest, etc.

In weordan, become, and cweðan, speak, ð generally disappears: wierst (wyrst), cwist; but also LWS. wyðst, cweðst, beside cwyst, cwest, etc.

7) s, ss, and st coalesce with the -(s)t of the 2 sing. to simple st, and in like manner x (= hs, 221. 2) + st to xt: cēosan, ciest; cyssan, cyst; restan, rest; weaxan, wyxt, etc.

8) s + p gives regularly st (201. 6), as in cēosan, ciest, etc.; hence also forms like weaxan, wlixt, etc. For this st (xt) certain EWS. texts also have ʃð (ʃð).
ciesð, wiæxð, etc. When such an sð, xð appears elsewhere, it is to be regarded as an etymological spelling.

Note 8. By the conversion of sþ to st the syncopated forms of the 2 and 3 sing. of verbs in s, ss, x, and st become identical: cēosan, dü and hē ciest; cyssan, dü and hē cyxt; weāxan, dü and hē wiæxt; rēstan, dü and hē rēst, etc.

Note 9. After other consonants than s, t occurs very seldom for þ, Kent. showing the earliest examples: Kent. Gl. ofdrēct, gehydēct; Boeth. fitht; Metres drift, sceft, from drīccean, oppress; edēccean, repeat; fleon, flee; drīfan, drive; sceufan, shone; but Cura Past. has an ypt, from yppan, open. Compare also Angl. Ps. gefliht, gefēht (358, note 7).

360. 1) All three persons of the ind. pres. plur., together with the imp. 2 plur., end in -að (for *-anþ, *-onþ, 186, note 3; the -and of 3 plur. of the Goth. has grammatical change): bindadþ, nēriadþ, dēmað, lōei(g)að, etc.

The -ø of these forms is stable in the same degree as that of the 3 sing. (357); only in North. it interchanges even in this case with -s: bindadþ and bindas, etc.

Note 1. Rare and doubtful (357, note 2) is sporadic d: Ps. sællad, L. -delfad. Somewhat more common is -t: Corp. teldat, fitiat, Cura Past. (MS. H) fērat, bodiat; Kent. Gl. berēfat, etc.

Note 2. The a of the ending is stable in the southern texts and in Ps., with rare exceptions: Kent. Gl. rīsēð, tōdēlec; Cod. Dipl. gehaldeð; Cura Past. gehāteð, gefcallec; or Cod. Dipl. helimpoð, which are to be regarded as mere clerical errors, at least in part. On the other hand, e, beside a, is numerously represented in North. and R.¹; the resulting -eð, -es is comparatively rare in R.² and Rit., but very common in L. and R.¹, which likewise exhibits -aþ, -eþ, or -iąþ.

2) If, in the inverted word-order, a 1 or 2 plur. of the verb is followed by wē, wit, or ge, git, as its subject, shorter forms in -e are frequently substituted for the
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full ending of the paradigms: binde wé, wit, or gé, git, as ind. plur. or opt. pres.; binde wé as adhortative imp. 1 plur.; binde gé as imp. 2 plur.; or bunde wé, gé as ind. plur. or opt. pret. In like manner forms without ending, as in dō wé, gé, etc., occur in the case of the contract verbs (373) and the verbs in - mí (426 ff.).

Note 3. In WS. -e is stable as the ending of all these briefer forms; at most it happens that in LWS, verbs of the Second Weak Conjugation a further shortening of the 2 plur. is now and then found: fundi gē, forhti gē, for and beside forms like fundige gē, forhtige gē (so also R.1 forhti gē, R.2 lorni gē). It is to be noted that the inverted form for the ind. wé, gē habbað is hæbbe wé, hæbbe gē (with the vowel of the optative, cf. note 4).

Merc., too, has only -e, even for -un (compare, for example, forms like R.1 ðurfe wé, seule gē; Ps. has only twice the adhortative wynsumie wé). In North., R.2 has exceptionally -a and -o in the adhortative gonga wé, ind. cunno gē (but gisēge wé); L. -a (-æ), -u, -o: walla wé; wyrea (-æ) wé; leornada (-æ) gie; maga gē, or nabbo wé; saldo gie; aru, nutu wé, etc.; before g also i: cunni, nuti, hæfdil gie (also without ending: oncnēu, oncēaw gie), but usually -e; Rit, has -e and -a (but a sporadic adhortative forny wé, curranus).

Note 4. The shortening originally affected only the verbal forms in -n, that is, the adhortative forms of the present (the true adh. -an of the 1 plur., as well as the opt. -en, the latter used especially for the negated imperative, cf. 362. 3), the optative, and the preterit (including the present of the preterite presents). From these -n-forms the shortening spread by analogy to the original -að-forms. Here the opt. seems to have served as a model for the ind. (compare WS. hæbbe wé, note 3, but also forms like ind. habbon wé, imp. nallon gie, beside nallað gē R.2).

Note 5. The transfer of the shorter forms to the ind. and true imp. occurred on a large scale only in the south; in Cura Past. the -e already prevails. The Anglian dialects, on the other hand, while they exhibit numerous shortened forms for older -en, -an, -un, preserve older -að wé, gē for the most part unchanged; yet R.1 has exceptionally an ind. sitte git. R.2 an ind. forstonde wé (compare also ind. habbon wé, imp. nallon gie, beside the regular nallað gie); L. an
ind. nabbo wé, walla wé and walli gie. Somewhat more numerous are the shortened forms of Rit., where the basic Latin word points to an ind. pres.

361. The oldest form of the ending of the opt. pres. is sing. -æ, plur. -æn, replaced later by -e, -en in all the OE. dialects, according to 44: binde, nérie, dème, lōci(g)e, plur. -en, etc.

Note 1. The -e, -en prevail throughout EWS., with the exception of a few sporadic -æn’s, -an’s. The latter subsequently becomes more frequent; in LWS., too, the ending -on, -en intrudes from the pret. (365).

In Kent. Gl. there is one -on in the plur., beside the prevalent -an.
Ps. has, beside regular -e, -en, one example each of ðfremōne and ðōa; R. in the sing. generally -e, more rarely -æ (-e) and -a; in the plur. the -n is lacking in about half of the instances (compare North.); the n-forms are: generally -an, more rarely -en (-on); those without -n are: generally -e, more rarely -æ.

In North the -n of the plur. regularly disappears, so that the plur. becomes identical with the sing.; the ending is -a, beside -e (in L. also -æ).

Note 2. On the loss of plural -n before personal pronouns see 360. 2, with notes 3 ff.

362. 1) The imp. 2 sing. of strong verbs has no ending, except in the case of the short-stemmed jo-verbs (372); these, like the original short stems of the First Weak Class, have in Early OE. the ending -i, Common OE. -e, while the corresponding long stems are without termination (133. e; 410. 3).

2) The adhortative form of the imp. 1 plur. in -an is rather rare; in many documents it is supplanted by the corresponding optative in -en.

3) The imp. 2 plur. is like the ind. 2 plur. (360. 1); but it is often replaced in negative sentences by the optative (360, note 4).

Note. On the shortening of imperative forms before the personal pronouns which form their subjects see 360. 2, with notes 3 ff.
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363. 1) The normal ending of the uninflected infinitive is -an: bindan, nêrian, dêman, lôci(g)an, etc. This holds for all the southern dialects, up to and inclusive of the Ps. In R. the loss of -n begins, and this becomes the rule in North. (188. 2).

Note 1. The EWS. documents have a few sporadic instances of -on for -an; in Kent. Gl. the former are somewhat more numerous, and they occur sporadically in less pure WS. texts. In Ps. -an is entirely stable. R. has, beside predominant -an, rarely -en, -on, -un, beside shortened forms in -e, more rarely -u, -w. R. L. Rit. have generally -a, more rarely -e, and L. occasionally -ae: binda (-æ), binde, etc.

2) The original ending of the inflected infinitive was probably umlauted -enne (cf. OS. infinitives like liagannias, etc.). Yet this form is soon replaced, in a greater or less degree, by -anne, which stands nearer to the uninflected inf. in -an.

Note 2. In Ps. there are as yet no forms in -anne, but on the other hand they already prevail in the EWS. texts, as well as in R. and in North. Beside -anne is occasionally found EWS. -onne (compare Corp. gelêstunne). The nn is now and then simplified (231. 4), so that forms in -ene, -ane arise (also in R. and North.). In LWS. -enne again prevails; very late texts have also -ende.

Note 3. The uninflected inf. rarely occurs in the prose after tô, in place of the inflected: tô bindan, for tô bindenne, -anne, etc. For the poetry the shorter forms are to be assumed in greater measure, as the metre shows.

3) The Common OE. ending of the pres. part. is -ende = Early OE. -ændi, -endi Ep. (sporadic hlæöðrindi Ep.), which is umlauted from West Germ. -andi: bindende, nêriende, dêmende, lôci(g)ende, etc.

Note 4. In pure WS. -ende is entirely stable, but in less pure WS. texts -onde occurs sporadically; so once in Kent. Gl. sêwondum (beside frequent -ende), Kent. Charter dugunde. Ps. has only -ende, R. more rarely -ande, -onde, -ænde, beside -ende. North. has
-ende (-ënde), and -ande without umlaut, side by side, the latter especially in the Second Class of weak verbs (412, note 11).

364. 1) The ind. pret. 2 sing. of strong verbs ends regularly in e, for Early OE. *-i (= OS. OHG. -i); that of the weak verbs in orig. -daes, Common OE. -des(t) (356).

Note 1. Now and then the e of the strong verbs is lost immediately before the pronoun dú: cōm dú, drunc dú, āet dú, druh dú, gewic dú, for cōme, drunce, āte, druge, gewice dú.

Note 2. In North. certain Reduplicating Verbs (in t) form the ind. pret. 2 sing. in -es, -est: L. hēhtes, forleortes (beside forleorte), Rit. gihētest, gileortest; R.1 forlētes, beside sēve, gesēowe.

Note 3. For the t-umlaut of the ind. pret. 2 sing. see 377.

2) The oldest ending of the ind. pret. plur. is -un, for which later occur -on and -an.

Note 4. Of the oldest texts, Ep. has only -un (there is one doubtful -on), while Corpus has numerous -on's, beside the prevalent -un. In EWS. -un is already rare, especially in Or. The prevalent form is -on, beside which -an is already found, frequently in Or., rarely in Cura Past. and Chron. In Kent. Gl. and Kent. Ps. -on and -an are about equally represented. — In Merc. -un is predominant; Ps. has also frequently -on, especially in the weak pret., and again particularly in the Second Class, very rarely -an. In R.1 -an encroaches somewhat more upon -un, -on, and there are sporadic instances of -en and -æn. — Of the North. texts, R.2 frequently has -un, but also -on, while -on is prevalent in L. and Rit., L. having also a few instances of -un (an, -en), but Rit. only one each of -an and -en.

Apopoene of final -n does not generally occur in North. in R.2 L. Rit. (but elloppodo L. Luke 23. 21; færdo Mark 16. 8; gehærdo Mark I 2. 18; cuōmo John 19. 32); Ruthwell Cross has bismærædu, cwōmu.

365. The opt. pret. has in the sing. the ending -e: bunde, nērede, dēnde, lōcode, etc.; in the plur. -en: bunden, etc., quite distinct from that of the indicative. Rather early, however, the -on, -an, of the indicative begins to invade the territory of the optative (-un does not appear till LWS.).
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Note 1. The oldest ending must be assumed as sing. *-i, plur. *-in (compare forms like OS. OHG. näm, nämín), though these i-forms do not actually appear in OE.

Note 2. In EWS. -on, -an are no longer very rare; beside these, there are occasional forms in -e without -n, which probably, however, are corrupt.

In Ps. the ending -en is preserved intact, while R. ¹ varies between -en, -en, -un, (-on), and -e with loss of -n, as in North.

The North. normal form is -e (168. 2), but in L. also -o and -on, with more or less complete approach to the indicative.

Note 3. In later texts (and also in Rit.), the opt. 2 sing. is identical with the ind. 2 sing.: nœcest, dœndest, etc.

366. 1) The past participle of verbs without a prefix consisting of a preposition or particle is usually formed with the particle ge-, Early OE. gi-, as in German: gebunden, genœred, gedœmed, gelœcod, etc. Yet forms without ge are also found.

Note 1. The prefixion of the gi-, ge- originally depended on syntactical considerations, but in OE. it has already become partly stereotyped as a merely formal principle.

2) The past part. of strong verbs has throughout OE. the ending -en: (ge)bunden, etc.; but the dialects also occasionally have -an, -on, -un.

Note 2. The OE. -en corresponds partly to Early OE. -en (-en), partly to Early OE. -in, both of which occur side by side in the oldest texts: Ep. binumini, forleginum, but gibœn, ásólcœn, gibeœten, ãuunden, etc. Corp. has also -on-, in gebørone, getogone. This vowel-change belongs to suffixal ablaut (128. 2).

Note 3. The ending -en is stable in pure WS., and also in Ps. and North. (except for a few instances of North. -en; but R. ¹ has, beside -en, also -œn, -an, -un, R. ² -on, -œn) (gibrocono, gicorone, ginunune).

3) For the terminations of weak verbs see 402; 406; 414; 415; 416.
## II. STRONG VERBS

### A. THE CONJUGATION OF THE STRONG VERB

367. Paradigms.

#### 1. ACTIVE

1) **Regular Verbs**

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<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. binde</td>
<td>fare</td>
<td>helpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 2. bind</td>
<td>far(e)st</td>
<td>hilp(e)st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. bindað</td>
<td>farað</td>
<td>helpað</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sing. bind | fare | helpe |
| Plur. binden | faren | helpen |
| Sing. 2. bind | (fær), far | help |
| Plur. 1. bindan | faran | helpan |
| 2. bindað | farað | helpað |

**Infinitive**

bindan

**Participles**

bindende

**Preterit**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Participles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. bond</td>
<td>för</td>
<td>healp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. bunde</td>
<td>före</td>
<td>hulpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bond</td>
<td>för</td>
<td>healp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. bundon</td>
<td>föron</td>
<td>hulpon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sing. bunde | före | hulpe |
| Plur. bunden | fören | hulpen |

| | | |
| | | |
### 2) Contract Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Preterit</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Participles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. téō</td>
<td>téō</td>
<td>séō</td>
<td>sliēa</td>
<td>fō</td>
<td>téō</td>
<td>séō</td>
<td>sliēa</td>
<td>fō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tīehst</td>
<td>tīehst</td>
<td>sliēhst</td>
<td>sliēhst</td>
<td>fēhst</td>
<td>tīehst</td>
<td>sliēhst</td>
<td>sliēhst</td>
<td>fēhst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tīehō</td>
<td>tīehō</td>
<td>sēōō</td>
<td>sliēāō</td>
<td>fōō</td>
<td>tīehō</td>
<td>sēōō</td>
<td>sliēāō</td>
<td>fōō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. tēōō</td>
<td>tēōō</td>
<td>sēōō</td>
<td>sliēāō</td>
<td>fōō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sing. 2. téōh | téōh | sēōh | sliēah | fōh | téōh | sēōh | sliēah | fōh |
| Plur. 1. tēōn | tēōn | sēōn | sliēan | fōn | tēōn | sēōn | sliēan | fōn |
| 2. tēōō | tēōō | sēōō | sliēāō | fōō |

| tēōnde | tēōnde | sēōnde | slēande | fōnde |

#### Preterit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Participles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. tāh</td>
<td>tēah</td>
<td>sēah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tīge</td>
<td>tuge</td>
<td>sāwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. tāh</td>
<td>tēah</td>
<td>sēah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. tīgon</td>
<td>tugon</td>
<td>sāwon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sing. tīge | tug | sāwe | slōge | fēng |
| Plur. tigen | tug | sāwen | slōgen | fēngen |

| tigen | togen | sewen | slēagen | fōngen |

### 2. PASSIVE

Ind. 1 and 3 Sing.: hātte | Plur.: hāttōn

**Note.** hātte corresponds to the Goth. haitada, I am called; the plur. hāttōn is constructed on the model of the weak preterits. Both forms are used indifferently as presents and pretcrets.
INFLECTION

1) Present

Regular Verbs

368. Like bindan, faran, and helpan are conjugated all the regular strong verbs, as well of the Ablaut as of the Reduplicating Class.

1) With bindan are to be grouped all the verbs whose radical vowel undergoes neither i- nor u- or o/a-umlaut, including Class I (382) and Class III.1 (386.1) of Ablaut Verbs, and such of the Reduplicating Verbs as have the radical vowel å = Germ. æ, Goth. ē (395.2.a).

2) Like faran are inflected the strong verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class (392), in so far as they have radical a before a single consonant, liable to interchange with æ (50; 89.3).

Note 1. On the interchange of a and æ in the ind. pres. see 371, note 2; on corresponding North. forms, 371, note 8; on possible u- or o/a-umlaut, 370, note 1; on scea- for sce- and sce-, 75.1 and 76.2.

Note 2. All the instances of the imp. 2 sing. in pure WS. have the vowel a, due to the polysyllabic forms with rightful a (49, note 2): far (as early as Cura Past.), sac, etc. From sce(e)fan comes seaf, beside seaf and regular seaf. In Anglian, on the other hand, we have the forms which ought properly to be expected: Ps. fer, R.¹ R.² L. Rit. fær.

Note 3. In the opt. and pres. part. the vowel a prevails in WS., though there are occasional participles in æ, like færende Or. In Ps. the opt. does not occur (on the participle see 370, note 1). R.¹ and North. generally have æ: R.¹ ondsæce, færende, R.² féere, sæccende, L. fære, sæcece (but once ðu hlada) and færende, drægend, sæccende, Rit. fære, sæccende.

Note 4. The EWS. past part. fluctuates between a and æ; the latter is preferred in hæfen and the verbs with medial g, but there is much variation in detail: Cura Past. gedæfen, -færen, belagen, -sacen (only sporadic gedæfæn-; -færen); generally hæfen, more
CONJUGATION

rarely hafen, and always slagen, ðwægen; Or. always faren, generally hafen, slægen, more rarely hafen, slægen, and seece, beside sacen; Chron. only -slaegen. In pure LWS. the a is generally stable: faren, calen, hafen, bacen, slagen; less pure texts, and especially the poetry, have also frequently æ. After sc, WS. ea is regular: seeacen, sceapen, etc. (poet. seeceen points to an Angl. original).

Kent. Gl. has only a few occurrences of ðhafen. Ps. has only e-forms (151. 1), beside one galen: seeceen, slægen, hefen, scepen; in R.¹ and North., too, a is uniformly wanting (except for the participial adjective gefagen L., 391, note 6): R.¹ faren, hæfen, slægen (beside unlauded unðwægen), R.² hæfen, slægen, ðwægen, seeceen, L. hafen, slægen, seeceen (beside hefen, ðugen), Rit. slægen, sce(e)een, scepen (beside hefen). On forms with unlaunt-e, and other occasional variations, see 378. 2; 392, note 7.

3) The various rules for breaking, umlaut, the effects of palatalis and gutturals, etc., must always be considered.

369. Verbs with breaking, like weorpan (388), feallan (396. 1. a), preserve it through all forms of the present, but frequently modified in the ind. 2 and 3 sing. by i-umlaut (371).

370. u- and o/a-umlaut do not occur in pure WS., but do in Kent. and Angl., according to 103 ff.; 160. Here fall 1) the ind. 1 sing. in -u, -ø; 2) the inf. in -an, the ind. and imp. plur. in -að, and to some extent the pres. part. in -ende (363. 3, with note 4).

Note 1. The verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class with radical a, like faran (392), have in Ps. (160. 4) carried this umlaut through with scarcely an exception: 1 sing. fearu, plur. fearað, hlæðað; part. fearende; beside galendra, and ðoseaccenses (162, note 2). R.¹, on the other hand, has a and æ side by side (371, note 8), without observing any principle: 1 sing. sace, saece, inf. faran, faran, imp. áscakep, ferep.
Note 2. The verbs of the Fourth and Fifth Ablaut-Classes, with radical e, like beran (390), etan (391), follow approximately these normal paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WS.</th>
<th>Ps.</th>
<th>NORTH.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive: beran</td>
<td>beoran</td>
<td>beora, beara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.: berende</td>
<td>beorende</td>
<td>berende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind. Sing. 1. bere</td>
<td>beoru</td>
<td>bero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bir(e)st</td>
<td>bires</td>
<td>beres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bir(e)ð</td>
<td>bireð</td>
<td>bereð, -es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. berað</td>
<td>beorað</td>
<td>beorað, bearað, -as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative: bere</td>
<td>bere</td>
<td>bere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp. Sing. 2. ber</td>
<td>ber</td>
<td>ber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. berað</td>
<td>beorað</td>
<td>beorað, bearað, -as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where forms with eo, like beoran, bearað, beorende, occur in WS. texts, they point either to a less pure dialect or to an intrusion of alien forms.

Note 3. Kent. has (Cod. Dipl.): I sing. geofu, inf. geofan (glaban), geotan; then, with transfer of the eo, also opt. breoce, plur. ágeofen; Kent. Gl. has imp. plur. ongiotað.

Note 4. In Ps. the eo is kept throughout, strictly according to the paradigm, even, by analogy, in the verbs whose stem ends in a guttural: spreocu, -að, -an, -ende (164, note 2); the only exceptions are one spreocu and one bigetað. In R.¹ there is, on the other hand, great confusion, the eo-forms being already pressed back by those with e.

Note 5. In North., eo is the normal form of the umlaut for R.², which has only a few ea’s, while, on the other hand, ea is the norm for L. and Rit., in which the eo is correspondingly rare. Transfer of the eo to corresponding forms of the guttural verbs occurs frequently in R.², but is not common elsewhere (164, note 2).

Note 6. The North. 1 sing. has given up its umlaut (which is still preserved a few times in R.²: spreoco, cweoðo), by analogy with the e-forms of the present. Elsewhere, too, there are attempts at such leveling, either the eo or the e exceeding its just bounds in the paradigm (thus, ind. 2 and 3 sing., or opt., or part., with eo, ea; or inf., ind. imp. plur., with e, etc.). Whether the not altogether uncommon appearance of æ for e (391, note 5) is related to these shifting, is doubtful.
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Note 7. To WS. cwēđan regularly corresponds North. R.² cwēđa (cwēđa), Rit. cwēđa, cwēđa (ind. 1 sing. cwēđo); L. has a medley: cuōđa (cuōđa), cuōđa, cuēđa, cuēđa, cuōđa, and cuōđa, cuōđa; but for WS. wesan North. has uniformly R.² wōsā, L. wōs(s)a, Rit. vos(s)a (156. 2; 427. 3).

Note 8. The i-verbs resemble the e-verbs with respect to the umlaut: nīman (390, note 2), ripan, *wīsan, and North. grioppa (382, note 3).

371. i-umlaut (including the early interchange of e and i, 92) properly belongs only to the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing., and is often found in these two forms in the southern dialects, especially so far as it coincides with syncope of the vowel which caused it (358. 2). Not infrequently, however, there is a substitution of the unchanged vowel belonging to the other present forms; in this respect there is no unanimity among the various dialects.

Note 1. In the ejection of umlaut-forms, two strata are to be distinguished: an earlier (already represented in the oldest texts, and especially characteristic of Anglian), accompanied by restoration of the full form of the inflectional ending, -es(t), -ēδ (358, note 3), and a later (restricted to the south), in which syncopated forms lose the umlaut.

Note 2. The earliest documents of pure WS., like the Cura Past., exhibit umlaut of every vowel capable of undergoing it, in all forms constructed in the original manner; thus in the syncopated forms of long stems: helpan, hilpō; weorpan, wierpō; weaxan, wiexō; feallan, fieldō; stondan, stōnt; cnāwēn, cněwō; hātan, hāt; flōwān, flēwō; lūcan, lycēδ; lūtān, līt; hēawān, hiewō; cēsan, cīesō, etc. So, too, in the case of short stems, whether exhibiting syncope or not: beran, bīrēδ and bīrō; etan, itone; brecean, brieδ; cuman, cymō, etc. In the case of the latter it is to be observed that the verbs with radical e for i already have sporadic instances of the y which becomes more common in LWS. (byrīδ, brycēδ, sprycēδ Cura Past. MS. C), and that the verbs with radical a, o have the umlaut-form in (89. 3): fēr(e)cōδ, drēgōδ, sēcōδ, spēnōδ, from fēran, dragan, sagan, spōnan (but MS. H of Cura Past. has one fērēδ and one spēnōδ).
Beside these ancient forms, however, EWS. has a few newly constituted full forms without umlaut, but only from long stems: weorpeð, hāteð, fliweð, etc. (a short-stemmed hēleð Cura Past. is to be assigned to hellan, 400, note 2). Only sporadically occur full forms with umlaut (2 sing. hītest, wyriðest Cura Past.), and shortened forms without umlaut (hrēowð, weaxð, weoxð MS. H of Cura Past.).

Note 3. The pure LWS. documents also regularly preserve the umlaut, so far as they syncope the vowel of the final syllable, except that the verbs with radical e and ea frequently have the unumlauted vowel in LWS.: beran, berest, berō; etan, etest, et; helpan, helpst, helpō; fealan, fealst, fealō; weaxan, weaxō, weoxō (106. 2); also bēatan, bēast. Other syncopated forms without umlaut are very rare: stant, fliwō, lūcō, for stent, flewō (or LWS. flēowō, 113, note 3), lēcō. Besides these, the full forms without umlaut still persist, especially in less pure WS. texts (358, note 6).

Note 4. As in Kent. older eō and its l-umlaut, io, phonetically coincide as eō, io, ia, etc. (159. 5), it follows that all verbs with radical eō apparently have forms without umlaut in the 2 and 3 sing.: Kent. Gl. weorō, weorpō, siohō (374); biot, hriōsō (hrīosō, hriōsā), tiōhō (374), from weordan, weorpan, seōn; beodan, hriōsan, teōn (exceptionally once fliō, from fleōn, fleē).

The older interchange of e and i in the verbs of the Third Ablative-Case with radical e is canceled by analogy in Kent. Gl.: gelts, gelpō, swel(h)ō, from geldan, gelpan, swelgan (tret, caulcīt, belongs rather to the weak verb treddan). In other respects the umlaut remains unaffected.

Note 5. In Anglian the umlaut becomes more and more restricted, on account of the introduction of the full forms of the ending. It is everywhere kept only in the contract verbs (373; 374) and the verbs in -mi (426 ff.).

Note 6. Of the Merc. texts, Ps. still consistently observes the early interchange of e (eo) and i: beorō, bircō; cwecōdān, cwīō; geldan, gīldeō; stregdan, strigdeō (so also feolan, fileō, with loss of h, 218. 1); then the umlaut in cuman, cymes, -cō (390, note 2) and the interchange of a, ea with e, which is not clearly explainable: fearan, ferōē. As for the rest, full forms without umlaut prevail: weorpeō, falleō, stōdeō, enāveō, fleweō, fīsecō, cēsecō, etc.

On the other hand, R. retains only cuman, cym(e)ō; onsācekōp (compare WS. onsacan); sporadic gwyrō, from -weordan; (gwyrōfēp,
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demoliatur); even the interchange of e and i is given up: helpeð, bereþ, etcþ, etc. (only sporadically yet cwim, 358, note 7).

Norv 7. North. has an isolated cuðestu, numquid L., as a relic of the interchange of e and i; then, as relics of the true i-umlaut, cuna, cymeð, and perhaps the interchange of a and æ in the verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class, like fara, fiereð (but cf. notes 8, 9). But the verbs with radical e and i before a single consonant distinguish themselves from the inf. and the plural forms by the lack of u- and o/a-umlaut (370): beoræ, beora - bereð; eota, eata - eteð; niomæ - nimeð, etc., so far at least as leveling has not occurred (370, note 6).

Norv 8. In the verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class in R.¹ and North., the æ of the 2 and 3 sing. has to a considerable degree been made general: R.¹ inf. færan, beside faran, imp. plur. fierþ, etc.; R.² inf. fara, 1 sing. fiæro, opt. sing. plur. fiærc, imp. plur. farðæ; L. inf. fara (fiæra), 1 sing. fiæro, imp. plur. fiæras, opt. fiærc, etc.


Verbs in -jo-

372. Like biddan are inflected the verbs sittan, frieg(e)an, licg(e)an (391. 3), hebban, hlíchhan (Ps. hlæð(h)æn, North. hlæð(h)a, 159. 3), sceppan (Kent. Angl. sceppan, North. -a, 159. 1), stæppan (89, note 1, but Rit. stépæ), sceððan (392. 4), which form their present in Germ. with jo. The discrepancies are confined to the present, which conforms in all respects to the conjugation of the short-stemmed weak verbs of the First Class (paradigm fremman, 409).

The paradigm ncerian (409) is followed by the strong verb swerian (392. 4); the paradigm of the long stems, deman (differing from that of the strong verbs only by the invariable umlaut of the radical syllable), is followed by wepan, weep, and perhaps gierran (386, note 1) and *hwæsan (*hwæsan?) (396. 2. b).
Note. In North. the imp. sing. of the short stems is generally devoid of ending: R.² sett and sitt; L. gbidd, lig, sitt, beside sure; Rit. hæf, gibidd, beside gibidde. So also in R.¹ hæf, swer, beside bidde, lige, site. Cf. 410, note 5.

In LWS. -a is occasionally found in the imp. swera, from swerian, on the analogy of weak verbs of the Second Class (cf. also 400, note 3).

Contract Verbs

373. Contract verbs are those in vowel or diphthong + h; the h was lost before vowels (218), and the adjoining vowels were then contracted. Here belong the following verbs, arranged by Ablaut-Classes: I teon, ðeagn, wrœon, lœon, sœon (383); II fleon, tœon (384); V gefeœon, płeon, sœon (391.2); VI flean, lœan, lœan, ðwœan (392.2); and the reduplicating fœn, hœn (395).

374. In WS. and Kent. the h is retained in the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing., which have the i-umlaut and syncopated ending, and in the imp. 2 sing. (compare the paradigm, 367); in Anglian, however, it is regularly found only in the imp. sing. (166.6; 222.1; 358, note 7).

Note 1. In Kent. there are occasional forms without h: Kent. Gl. foresiðo, ðafio, from sœon, fleson, beside foresiolod, sleost, sleðo, onðeðo, oferwrifðo, ðatilbðo, etc.

Note 2. The forms of the Ps. are: 1) inf. wrœan, pres. 3 sing. wrið, imp. sing. wrjun; 2) pres. 1 sing. fleon (cf. 426 ff.), 3 sing. tið, plur. fleoð, opt. plur. fleon, imp. sing. tēh, part. fleonde; 3) inf. sœan, sian, infi. sœon, pres. 1 sing. sio, sie, gefio, gefie; 2 sing. sist, 3 sing. sið, gefið (once gefið, 20, 2, and gefiðt, 15.9), plur. sið, sioð, sið, and gefið, gefið, gefið, opt. sing. sé, gefið, plur. sën, gefið, imp. sing. sch, gefið, plur. sið, gefið, gefið, part. sïonde, sïonde; 4) pres. 1 sing. slea, ðwæa, 2 sing. slæs, ðwæs, 3 sing. sleð, ðwæð, plur. sleæð, opt. sing. slæ, imp. sleæh, ðuæh; 5) inf. fœn, pres. 1 sing. fœo, fœo (once fœn, 115.13), 2 sing. fœæst, 3 sing. fœð (once fœæht, 47.4; that is, fœæst, fœð, fœæht), plur. fœð,
opt. foe, plur. foen (that is, fōe, foen, or fōe, fōen ?), imp. sing. fōh, plur. fōh, part. fōnde.

Norn 3. In R.¹ occur: 1) inf. wrīgan, part. āsīende, pres. plur. wrēop; 2) inf. plur. fēanē, part. tēonde, pres. plur. fleāp, fleōp, imp. fleoh, tēoh, plur. fleōp; 3) inf. sēon, inf. sēonne, sēenne, part. sēonde, sēende, sēende, pres. 2 sing. sēis, see in, sē and slēst, 3 sing. sēi, sēop and sīhp, plur. sēop, sēep, sēep, opt. plur. sēo(n), imp. sīh and sēoh, plur. sēōp, sēaep (= sēaep ?), pres. 3 sing. and imp. plur. gefēaep (cf. 391, note 6); 4) inf. slā(n) and slēan, slēan, inf. slēanne, pres. 1 sing. slē, 2 sing. slēgast, 3 sing. slēp and slēhp, plur. slēp and slēhp, slēhp, thuaē, opt. slē, imp. slēg, jwāh.

Norn 4. R.² has the following instances: 1) pres. 3 sing. wrīō, imp. plur. wrīaē; 2) inf. tēa, inf. fēan(n)e, pres. 3 sing. fēes, plur. fēas; 3) inf. sēa, inf. sēan(n)e, sēana, pres. 1 sing. sīom, 2 sing. sīs(t), 3 sing. sīō (sēaō), plur. sēō, sēas and sīē, opt. sīi, sīe, plur. sīi, sīe, imp. sing. sīh, sāh, adhortative gisēa wē, 2 plur. sēaō, sēas, and imp. gefēg, plur. gefēaō (391, note 6); 4) inf. slā(a), jwā, jwē, inf. slēanne, part. slēande, pres. 1 sing. slē, jwē, 2 sing. slēs, jwēs, 3 sing. slēō, slō, plur. slēō, opt. sing. slē, jwē, imp. sing. slēh, jwēh, adhortative of slēh wē.

Norn 5. In L. occur: 1) inf. wrīga, pres. 3 sing. wrīgaō, opt. wrīa, imp. plur. wwrīaō; 2) inf. fēa, tēa, inf. fēanne, pres. 3 sing. fēio, plur. fēaō, fēas, fēas, imp. sing. fēēh, plur. fēēs; 3) inf. sēa, inf. sēane, part. sēande, sēende, pres. 1 sing. sium, sēom (sculum), 2 sing. sīs, slēst, sist, 3 sing. sīō, -s, sēaō, plur. sēō, -s, opt. sing. sīi, sīe, plur. sec, sēa, sēe, sēge (?), imp. sing. sīh, sēh, sēeh, sēagh, plur. sēaō, -s; 4) inf. slēa, slē (slēa ?) and doā, doōa, part. slēande, slēgende, slēgende (?), pres. 1 sing. slē, doā, 2 sing. slēs(t), doōās, doōaś, 3 sing. slēō, -s; doōās, plur. slē(a)s, slēō, -s; doōās; opt. sing. slēa, doā, imp. sing. slēh, jwāh, ketogenic of slēh wē.

Norn 6. Rit. has: 1) inf. gōla, inf. wriangane, part. fliende, pres. opt. sing. gōlī, imp. plur. wriang, 2) inf. fēanne, part. fleende, pres. 3 sing. fleā, tēo, opt. sing. fli, imp. plur. fēas; 3) inf. sēa, pres. 1 sing. sium, 2 sing. slēst, 3 sing. sīō, plur. sēaō, opt. sing. sīi, imp. sīh, sīgh, sēh, plur. sēaō; 4) part. slēendum.

Norn 7. On North weak gefēa see 391, note 6; 414, note 5. e.
2) Preterit

375. The preterits of the contract verbs do not differ from those of the regular conjugation, since the *h* is either final (ind. 1 and 3 sing.) or has undergone grammatical change to *g* or *w*.

376. *u*-umlaut belongs originally to the ind. plur. of the strong verbs of the First Ablaut-Class (382), as far as the special phonetic laws of the individual dialects require. However, the old conditions are much disordered by leveling (105; 160; 104. 2, etc.).

Note. In EWS. texts, the *io* due to umlaut is already gone: not only *gewiton* (105. 1), but *drifon*, *scrifon* (105. 2); WS. forms with *io*, *eo* occur therefore only sporadically in less pure texts, being especially frequent in the poetry.

Kent. Gl. has only one leveled form: *gewiton*. Ps., on the other hand, has consistently carried through the umlaut to *eo* (once *io*), and extended it by analogy to the verbs in a guttural, like *steogun*, *bisweocun*, while R.¹ fluctuates between *eo*, *io* and simple *i* (164, note 2).

The umlaut-form of North. is everywhere *io* (150, note 4). The instances in R.² strictly follow the phonetic rules, with the exception of one *fordrifon*, with a different vowel of the ending: -*driofun*, -*driotun*, -*hirionun*, -*on*, *arlosun*, contrasted with *stigun*, *wrigun* (164. 2). L. has, however, a few leveled forms in 1: *fordrifon*, *gehriionon*, *awritton*, beside the phonetically correct forms, like *biodon*, *driofon*; *stigun*, *wrigun*. Rilt. has only *a*-, *giriisonon*.

377. *i*-umlaut properly belongs to the indicative 2 sing. and the whole optative (compare OS. forms like ind. 2 sing. *bundi*, opt. 1 and 3 sing. *bundi*, plur. *bundin*). It scarcely occurs, however, except in a few optatives of the preteritive presents (421 ff.); in the regular verb it has been given up.
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Note. The few umlauted forms which might perhaps be assigned here are extremely doubtful. R.² has an apparent ind. 2 sing. ðwege, as a gloss upon lavabis; in a rubric of Rit. 114 there is an opt. wyrdē, parallel to the opt. pres. mæge; in Cura Past. 214. 7, hli(e)pen is to be classed, according to the sense, as opt. pres. (and accordingly belongs, no doubt, to a weak verb hliepan, from *hlaupjan); in like manner, a present meaning is requisite for swylte (corrected from swæte), R.³ 22. 24. There remain only a few forms with wyrf for wur, which are perhaps to be regarded as inverted spellings (72, and note): poet. hwyrfe, Dan. 221; R.² wyrdē, gewyrde, fleret, once each (compare R.¹ ind. wyrdun, -en, wyrdon, wyrfon, for wurdun, etc., and ind. plur. ðwyrep, for ðweorp).

3) Past Participle

378. The vocalism of these participles is generally stable. Only the following is to be noted:

1) In the verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class a interchanges with æ: faren, ðeren, etc. (368, note 4).

2) As a result of the original ending -in (beside -ën, -en, 366, note 2), certain verbs occasionally have i-umlaut.

Note 1. Among EWS. texts, Cura Past. has of these forms (disregarding the former gesewn, 73, note 1): in MS. C two -slægen, as against -sleegen MS. H, in the former one -cymen, two -dæwen, as against -cumen, -ðraeven MS. H. In the EWS. laws occur -sleegen, -tygen (beside -togen, from teón, census, 383, note 3), in later texts often -cymen, -owegen, -sleegen. Compare the participial adjective ðegen, oon, beside ðegen (Goth. algins, contrasted with OHF. cigan).

Sure instances are lacking in Ps. (but see note 2), as its sleegen, ðefen, etc. can be interpreted by 151. 1; R.¹ has unowegen (beside -slægen, etc.), R.² one gebraeven, Rit. -hefen, beside -slægen, etc.); in L. the umlauts are commoner: gescyfen, gecnoedæn, gesoweren, gewærden, ðærpen, -hefen, -øegen, and probably gesörycean, etc. (386, note 4); cf. also note 2.

Note 2. Here belongs also the Angl. part. ðen (poet. -ðen), from *dōn-, from the anomalous dōn, 429. On this model are framed a
few forms of contract verbs in North.: -fēn, -hēn R. 2 L. Rit. (also poet. -fēn), in L. also -hwēn, hwēn (392, note 7; 397, note).

Note 3. Only quite sporadically occur traces of unumlaut (366.2), like gewreotene in a Kentish charter of A.D. 871–889.

Note 4. In MS. C of Cura Past. occurs twice the part. witen, from witan (420.1), but its te must be derived from the te-forms of the infinitive, etc. The numerous te’s of MS. H in participles of the First Ablaut-Class are not to be regarded (22, note).

B. TENSE-FORMATION OF STRONG VERBS

1) ABLAUT VERBS

379. The tense-stems. The forms of OE. Ablaut Verbs may all be referred to four stems, which are called tense-stems. These are

1) the present-stem, to which belong all the forms of the present;
2) the first preterit-stem, to which belong only the ind. pret. 1 and 3 sing.;
3) the second preterit-stem, comprising the ind. 2 sing., the ind. plur., and the whole opt. pret.;
4) the stem of the past participle, from which only the latter is derived.

As representatives of these four stems the following are generally adduced: 1) the ind. pres. 1 sing. or the inf.; 2) the ind. pret. 1 sing.; 3) the ind. pret. 1 plur.; 4) the past participle.

380. Grammatical change. Those verbs whose present-stem ends in a surd spirant regularly experience grammatical change in the third and fourth stems: cēosan, cēas, curon, coren (384): līðan, lāð, lidon, liden (382); tēon, tēah, tugon, togen (384); sēon, shea,
sāwon, sewen (391. 2). This relation is, however, often obscured, since the grammatical change often extends to the second stem: slēan, slōg, slōgon, geslægen (392. 2). For details see under the various Ablaut-Classes.

381. The ablaut-series. The variation of radical vowel in the four stems of the verb takes place within certain well-defined vowel-groups or series, which are called ablaut-series. Of these series the Germanic verb recognizes six. Arranging the vowels according to the order of the four stems, the series form the following system:

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Note 1. For the variation of e and î, u and o, see 45. 2, 3.

The much more complicated system of the OE. ablaut-series results from the Germanic by the introduction of the changes which the Germanic vowels experienced in OE. (49 ff.). Further particulars will be given in the following surveys.

Note 2 (on 380–381). In North., especially in L., the strong conjugation is already beginning to disorganize. This results from various new formations in the pret. and past part., which now destroy the grammatical change, now the older ablaut, and now repose upon analogy with the weak conjugation. For the details see below.

382. Class I. Verbs of the First Ablaut-Class: ï, ã, i (io, eo, 105; 160; 376), i (io, eo, 378, note 3): gripan, grāp, gripon (griopun), gripen, seize; with grammatical
change in the third and fourth stems: sniðan, snæð, snidon, sniden, cut.

Note 1. a) Like gripan are inflected nipan, grow dark; elifan, adhere; drifan, drive; belifan, remain; serifan, prescribe; tōsifan, split; swifan, relieve; bitan, bite; dritan (?), cure; flitan, contend; huitan, thrust; seitan, care; slitan, tear; besmitan, defile; ðwitan, how; gewitan, go; ætwitan, scold, twist; wilitan, look; writan, write; bidan, bide; ġudan, guide; gnidan, enidan (LWS. has sporadically a pret. forgnæð), rub; hlīdan, cover; ridan, ride; slīdan, slide; strīdan, stride; wridan (?), grow; blīcan, shine; sīcan, sigh; snīcan (?), creep; strīcan, go; swīcan, abandon; wīcan, yield; *sīgan, parch (only part. áfýgen); hūgan, bow; mīgan, mingle; sīgan, sink; stīgan, ascend; cinan, gape; ācwīnan, dwinan, disappear; ġīnan, gawn; hrīnan, touch; hwīnan (?), kiss; scīnan, shine (pret. scān, scēan, 76); āhwīnan (?), grow soft; spīwan, speak; ārīsan, arise; gerīsan, befit; midōn, avoid; wrīdan, bind.

b) Like snīðan are conjugated ēdōn, go; serīdan, proceed (but part. serīðan Guthl. 1012); ætelīðan, adhere, is doubtful; on LWS. frīnan, frān, see 389, note 3.

Note 2. Occasionally strong preterits are also formed from weak verbs: rān, from rinan, for rignan, raın Bückl. Gl.; oferswāðo, from oferswīðan Saints 2. 4.

Note 3. The present of ripan, reap, is peculiarly irregular; the quantity of the i is doubtful in WS., but it is short in Angl., and therefore subject to u- and o/a-unumlaut (370, note 8): Ps. reopan, 3 sing. rīpēð. R.1 hrīopan, 1 and 3 sing. rīpe, -es. R.2 2 and 3 sing.ripes, -ēð, plur. riōpað, opt. rīpe, L. (h)rioppa, 1 sing. hrīppo, 2 hrip(pees), 3 hrioppað, plur. hrīopað, rioppas.

Thus inflects North. L. grioppa, graspt: inf. grioppa, 3 sing. gripes, opt. gripa, etc.

The defective verb -weosan, vanish, also probably belongs here: pres. part. tōweosende, past part. forveren, forweoren (forvoren, 72), from *wisanan; compare the weak wisnan, weosnian. On fioran, lēoran see 384, note 3.

Note 4. North. new formations are: R.2 pret. plur. āstāgdun (beside stāg, plur. stīgum); L. pret. grīpp(e)de (beside grūp, opt. grioppa), stīge(de), -ade, opt. stāge, stāgade (beside ind. stāg, plur. stīgun, opt. stīge), duīnde, hrīn(a)don, part. gehrinad (beside pret. plur. hrīnon).
383. 1) The contract verbs **tion, tēon, censure**; **dion, dēon, thrive**; **wrion, wrēon, cover** (for *tihan*, etc., compare Goth. *teihan, peihan*; on io, ēo see 84.2; 114.3; Ps. *wrēan*, R.¹ *wrigan*, R.² *wria*, L. *wri(g)a*, Rit. *dīa*, *wria*, 374, notes 2 ff.), lost the _h_ in certain forms of the present, which then underwent contraction (373), but retain the _h_ in the pret. 1 and 3 sing., and convert it into _g_ by grammatical change in the third and fourth stems (380): **wrion** (wrēon), **wrāh**, **wrigon**, **wrigen**.

2) This inflectional type has been preserved in Anglo in a virtually pure form (see the list of individual instances in 374), but in WS, these verbs soon went over to the Second Ablaut-Class, whose present forms coincided with theirs: thus pret. **wrēah**, plur. **wrugon**, part. **wrogen**, like **tēah**, **tugon**, **togen**, from **tion**, **tēon**, **draw** (384.2).

**Note 1.** This transfer begins in EWS. with **tēah**, **tugon** Or., in contrast with part. **geðigen** Cura Past.

The lexicons and older grammars often cite infinitives like *tihan*, etc.; these are nowhere to be met with in the literature, and are falsely deduced from forms in which the _h_ is regularly preserved (374), like 3 sing. **tī(e)hāh**.

**Note 2.** The _g_ of the third and fourth stems is occasionally transferred to the second stem: **dāg, wrāg**; in R.¹ *L. wriγa*, beside *wria* (374, notes 8 and 5), it even penetrates into the first.

**Note 3.** **dion, dēon**, in addition to the pret. plur. **dīgon, dūgon**, part. **dīgen, dōgen**, likewise forms a pret. plur. **dūgon**, opt. **dūnge**, past part. **dungen**, according to Class III (386). **tion, tēon, censure**, has also in the past part. **tygen**, with 1-umlaut (378, note 1), beside **tigen** and **togen**.

**Note 4.** Like **tion, tēon** are inflected the first and second stems of **lōn, lēon, lend**; **sēon, sēf** (Goth. *leihwan, *seihwan*), pret. **lāh, lēah**. The only other form is the past part. **āsīwen, āscowen** (73. 8, and note 3), and the contracted **besōn**.
384. Class II. Verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class: ðo, ða, ðu, 0 (Goth. in, au, u, u). Examples:

1) for regular verbs: bêdan, bêad, budon, boden, bid; cêowan, cêaw, cuwon, cowen, chew; or with grammatical change in the third and fourth stems: cêosan, cêas, curon, coren, choose; sêðan, sêð, sudon, soden, seethe;

2) for contract verbs: têon, têah, tugon, togen, draw; similarly flêon, flee (for the Anglian forms in detail see 374).

Note 1. So are also inflected:

a) Regularly: crêopan, creep; drêopan, drip; gêopan, receive; clêofan, cloure; rêofan, shatter (only part. rofen, berofen); brêotan, break; flêotan, flow; gêotan, pour; grêotan, weep; hlêotan, cast lots; nêotan, enjoy; rêotan, fall; scêotan (part. scoten and sceoten, 76), shoot; ðêotan (beside dûtan, 385), howel; ábrêotan, weary; hrêodan (generally only past part. hroden), adorn; lêodan, grow; rêodan, reddan; ábrêosan (part. ábroden), frustrate; rêocan (North. L. réca), smêocan (North. smêca, R.1 smica), smoke; drêogan, endure; flêogan (Ps. flêgan, fligan, North. L. R.2 Rit. flêga), fly; lêogan (Ps. lêgan, ligan, R.1 ligan), lie; brêowan, brew; hrêowan, rue.

b) With grammatical change: drêosan, fall; frêosan, freeze; hrêosan, fall; forlêosan, lose.

Note 2. hrêofan, lament, has the irregular pret. hrêof, after the manner of the Reduplicating Verbs, beside hêofde (on LWS. hrêow, for hrêaw, see 119, note).

rêocan has also the late pret. rêocht.

In LWS., flêon and flêogan, whose forms coincided in the (second), third, and fourth stems, also merged in the present, so that forms of flêon were used with the meaning fly, and those of flêogan with that of flee.

Note 3. Here probably also belongs the defective strong verb lêoran, go (part. geleorenne Ruin 7, corrupted from geleore, as metrical considerations demand length of the ðo in lêoran; for the rime word forweorene we must read forweoren, 382: note 3). The (only northern English) verb usually inflects as weak: pret. lêorde, part. gelêored (North. lîora, 159. 5).
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Note 4. The relation of the doublets **snéowan** and **snövan**, basten (both only poetical), and **enéodan** (Bede) and **enōdan** (Cura Past.), allot, is not clear. The length of the radical vowels in **snōwan** and part. gečnōden is established by the metre, and the verbs ought probably on that account to be referred to 396. 2. b.

Note 5. There is a North. strong pret. **spěaft**, **spěoft**, spat, which might belong either here or under 396. 2. a; but according to the part. gespěoſtad these forms would rather belong to a verb originally weak.

385. The verbs slūpan, slip; sūpan, taste; dūfan, dive; scūfan, shove; lūtan, bow; hrūtan, snore; ṭūtan (beside ēotan, 384), howl; strūdan, devastate; brūcan, enjoy; lūcan, lock; sücan, sügan, suck; būgan, bow; smūgan, creep, have in the present ū instead of ēo (compare Goth. iūkan), but are otherwise regular: lūcan, lēac, lucon, locen.

Note 1. Here probably belong the following, whose existence in the present is doubtful: *crūdan, crowd (3 sing. crydé̂d Rtd.), *sprūtan, sprout (compare Eng. crowd, sprout), and perhaps also *scūdan, seud (only part. scūdende Guthl., which might also belong to a weak verb of the Second Conjugation, *scūdlan). Here may also belong the isolated past participles adrūten, swollen; geōrien, forged (twice erroneously written gefuren in the MSS.).

Note 2. Of scūfan (L.WS. also scēufan, scēofan, 76. 2; Rit. scēfa), the past part. is scōffen, seeofen. L. scyfen with i-umlaut (378, note 1), and the pret. plur. in Rit. scyufen.

Note 3 (on 384, 385). The verbs in gutturals have in Anglian (165. 1; 163) ē for the ēo or ēa of the first and second stems (in Ps. and R.1 occasionally also i for ēo, L. ē for ēa). For the present forms of the regular verbs see 384, note 1, and for the contract verbs 374; for the pret. compare Ps. lēc, flēg, flēh, tēh, R.2 brēc, bēg, flēh, tēh, L. brēc (brēc), bēg, flēh (flēh), tēh, Rit. flēg (for brēcē, lēce, see note 4).

Note 4 (on 384, 385). North. new formations are: R.2 pret. plur. brēcon, L. pret. plur. cēason, opt. cēa (beside curon, cure), plur. brē(l)con, opt. brēcē; pret. sūpedon, beside sēap, Rit. ind. pret. 2 sing. lēce, opt. brēce, beside ind. pret. 2 sing. luce.
386. Class III. Verbs of the Third Ablaut-Class: Goth. i, a, u, u. This class includes in O.E. three main subdivisions:

1) Verbs in nasal + consonant have the ablaut-series i, ø (a, 65), u, u: bindan, bond (band), bundan, bunden, bind.

Note 1. So are also inflected findan, find; grindan, grind; brindan, thrust; swindan, vanish; ðindan, swell; windan, wind; ðrintan, swell; sprintan (only L. gisprant, eructavit); (on)ginnan, begin; linnan, cease; sinnan, meditate; spinnan, spin; winnan, labor; clingan, shrink; cringan, crinean, fall; singan, sing; springan, spring; stingan, sting; swingan, swing; ðringan, throng; wringan, wring; drinean, drink; ácwinean, vanish; sicranean, sicranean, shrink; sicanean, sink; siclanean, sink; sticane, sink; siclacin, sink; siclacin, sink; climban, climman, climb; (ge)limpan, happen; (h)rimpan, wrinkle; erimman, cram; grimman, rage; hilman, roar; serimman(?); swimman, swim.

Note 2. Here belong also iernan (irnan, yrnan, Ps. R.1 eornan, North. R.2 L. Rit. iorna), run, and biernan (birnan, byrnan, Ps. R.1 beornan, North. L. beorna, bearn/a, Rit. beorna, biorna), burn, intrans. (Goth. rinnan, brinnan, with metathesis, 179), pret. orn, born, later arn, barn, for *rōnn, *brōnn; subsequently with regular ablaut WS. earn, bearn. The form rinnan is occasionally found, especially in gerinnan, curdle (though part. rarely also geurnen).

From swingan there is an early part. sungen Mart.

Sporadic are ðungon, ðungen, from ðeon, succeed (383, note 3).

The WS. pret. of findan is also funde, as if from a weak verb.

Note 3. Of the Anglian texts, Ps. still regularly has the older ø in the pret. : drone, etc., and so orn and born; R.1 fluctuates between ø and a (the latter also in arn). On the other hand, North., which elsewhere has only ø before nasals, here has always a : band, drane, gelamp, etc., as well as arn, barn, evidently by analogy with preterits like haip, 387 (the forms with u, like fund, drune, gelump, found in the older editions, are due to misreading).

Note 4. North. new formations are : R.2 pret. sing. (weak ?) gibinde, beside giband, plur. ornum, drincon (beside druncon); L. pret. plur. ongannon, part. plur. ongindo (beside pret. ongann, plur. -gunnon), pret. ðringde, part. getringed (beside geðrungen),
pret. suin|c|g|e, part. besuingen, gesuin|c|ged (beside pret. -suang, part. -sung|e|n).

scrinca has North. L. pret. plur. geserlu|n|g|on, past part. forserlu|n|c|en, geserlu|n|c|an, geser|n|yan; compare also the adj. unasery|n|c|an (i.e., -anle), immarcess|s|ibili|a|t Rit.

387. 2) Verbs in i + consonant have the ablaut-series e, ea (a, 80; Angl. regularly a, 158. 2, but see note 5 below), u, o: helpan, heal|p| (halp), hulpon, holpen, help.

Note 1. Thus are inflected deflan, delve; belgan, be angry; swelgan, swallow; beteldan, cover; meftan, melt; sweftan, die; bellan, bellow; swellan, swell.

Isolated forms are collin- in col|l|en|ferb|ã, excited, from *ewell|a|n, well up, and wollen- in wollent|c|are, weeping, from *well|a|n, surge; yet the latter word might also belong to wcella|n (396. a).

Note 2. The following verbs exhibit slight variations in WS.: gie|l|lan, yell; sceltan (?), clash; giel|d|an, yield; giel|p|an, boast; scelf|f|an (?), shake, with ce, t, y in the present on account of initial g, se (75) (Kent. and Angl. preserve the e, 157. 2).

Note 3. meolcan, milk, and seolcan, grom languid (generally only in the past part. a-, besolec|n) have in the pres. eo in WS. (81); yet also LWS. melcan, by analogy with verbs like helpan.

Note 4. fœolan (Ps. fœlan), conceal (from *feolhan, 218. 1, compare Goth. filhan), has pret. feal|h| (Ps. falh); pres. 2 and 3 sing. WS. *fi|h|st, *fih|ã, but Ps. 3 sing. f|le|ð (164. 2), opt. Ps. fele, Rit. fe|l|a. The pret. plur. is rarely fulgon, generally fél|o|n (Ps. felan) according to 390, part. folen. An inf. *fel|g|an, which is often postulated, does not exist.

Note 5. R.1 has, beside the preterits gain, svait, also deif, by analogy with such as ber (390).

Note 6. sweftan forms in L. the weak pret. suelte, suelte.

388. 3) Verbs in r or h + consonant have the ablaut-series eo, ea, u, o: weorpan, warp, wurpon, worpen, east, or feol|t|an, feast, fu|l|to|n, folten, fight; with grammatical change: weor|f|an, wear|f|, wur|f|on, worden, become. On the Anglian forms see notes 3 ff.

Note 1. So are inflected ceorfan, cut, cæce; deorf|a|n, labor; hwceor|f|an, turn; sceor|f|an, gna|w; steor|f|an, die; sweor|f|an, polis|h;
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seorpan, scrape; beorgan, protect; beorcan, bark; * sneorcan, excidere (only pret. gesnere Ps.); sweorcæn, grow dark; smeortan, smart (only part. fyurmeortendum Or.); * ceorran, creak (only pret. plur. curron).

For the pret. plur. gurron Andr. 374 an inf. *georran is generally postulated, but more probably it is to be referred to *gierran, gyrran (which is only found in the pres.), thus assigning to this verb a present formation with jo (372); on the other hand, the unique North. imp. serd L. no doubt belongs to a weak verb *serða, WS. *sierðan, macchiri (compare OHG. sertan).

Isolated past participles of this class are áeworren, crapulatus (compare metewerorra, qualmisnness), and flohtenföt, web-footed.

Note 2. On LWS. by-forms of the present, like wurðan, wurpan (worpan), etc., see 72.

Note 3. For seothan Ps. has fehtan, North. R.² L. Rit. fehta (Rit. also adj. unaftehtenile), for beorgan R.¹ bergan (164. 1). Anglian instances are: Rit. gefeht, Ps. gesnere (note 1, above; cf. 162. 2).

Note 4. The North. forms of weorpan, weorðan are worpa, worða (156. 2); for hweorfan Rit. has hwarfa (L. only pret. plur. ymbhurfon).

R.¹, beside regular forms with weor-, has others with ea, e, æ, e, y, which are probably due to the w.

Note 5. Under ceorfan North. has the pret. L. cearf, R.² ceorf, though North. worpa, worða have warp, warð R.² L., according to 156. 3 (so also R.¹ warð, beside weard, wearp); but L. has also sporadic wearp, wearp, wearð, warð.

On the unlauteat past participle, worpen, wœrdan, see 378, note 1.

Note 6. North. new formations are: R.² pret. plur. worpadun (beside wurpon), L. pret. plur. wurpon, -un (beside warpon, -un).

389. 4) Other variations, many of which will be at once comprehended by a reference to the phonology, are exhibited by the following verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bregdan, brandish</th>
<th>wræg</th>
<th>brugdon</th>
<th>breggen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>streogdan, strove</td>
<td>streog</td>
<td>streogdon</td>
<td>strogden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berstan, burst</td>
<td>berst</td>
<td>burston</td>
<td>borsten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darscan, thresh</td>
<td>darsc</td>
<td>darscon</td>
<td>darscon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frignan, inquire, ascertain</td>
<td>frign</td>
<td>frugnon</td>
<td>frugnen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murnan, mourn</td>
<td>mearn</td>
<td>murnon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spurnan (spornan), tread down</td>
<td>spearn</td>
<td>spurnon</td>
<td>spornen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Note 1. bregdan and stregdan often lose their g in southern Eng., with lengthening of the preceding vowel: brêdan, brêd, etc., 214. 3, and note 8. The past part. of bregdan occurs as bregden in Phœn. and Blickl.

stregdan is preserved as a strong verb only in Ps. and R. ²: Ps. pret. stregd, 2 sing. strugde, opt. strugde, part. strogden, R. ² pret. strægd, part. strogden; R. ¹ and North. also introduce weak forms into the pret.: R. ¹ strægde, plur. strægdun (no *strægd), L. (pres. streigda, strægda, strægda), pret. strægd and strugde, 2 sing. strogdes corr. from strugdes, Rit. pret. strægd and strægde, but L. Rit. part. strogden. In pure WS. prose the word seems to be only weak: pres. 3 sing. stræ(t) Cura Past., pret. strèd, part. gestræd, gestræd (for *stregde, etc.); isolated exceptions, like pret. strægd (strèd) Bede, part. strogden Blickl., come from non-WS. originals.

On the 3 sing. britt, strett, etc., see 359, note 3.

Note 2. berstan and Ærscæn (North. L. Ærsca, Æarscæ, R. ² Æarscæ, Rit. Ærsea) stand by metathesis for brestan and Ærscæn (179), the latter occurring quite sporadically (brustæn R. ¹, prescænne Hpt. Gl.).

Note 3. frignan (compare Goth. fraînan) has i as the vowel of the present in WS. and Ps. In WS. the g often disappears in the polysyllabic forms (214. 3): frînan: frægn; in LWS. this is replaced by frînan, frân, by analogy with the First Ablaut-Class, yet the plur. generally persists as frunon, part. frunen, although frînon, frînen also occur. Other more uncommon by-forms are frînnan, pret. freng, plur. frungen (185).

In R. ¹ the verb is frægna (only 2 sing. frægnast found), North. R. ² fræga, fræga, L. fræga, frægna, frâigna; R. ² pret. frægn, plur. frugnum, -on, and frægnun, part. frugnen, L. pret. frægn, frâign, plur. frugnon, beside weak frægnde, frægn(a)de, frâign(a)de, part. frugnen.

In this verb the n originally belonged only to the pres. (compare Goth. frah, fréhum); a relic of the older inflection is perhaps preserved in the pret. plur. frugan R. ¹ Matt. 12. 10, and the participial forms gefrægen, gefrægen, gefrægen, gefrægen, which might, however, belong to frigean (391, note 8).

Note 4. For murnan, the only form occurring, *meornan is often wrongly assumed. The poetry has once a pret. murnde. spurnan (spornan) is the only present form in EWS.; the new formation
specornan only occurs once, and that in LWS. For North, weak forms see 416, note 11. e.

Note 5. Here perhaps belongs forcwołstan, swallow, with irregular present forms; only the inf. is found.

390. Class IV. Verbs of the Fourth Ablaut-Class:
Goth. i, a, ē, u, Ws. e, æ, æ, o (Kent. and Ps. e, e, ē, o, R. North. e, æ (e), ē (R. also æ), o, 150.1; 151.1):
beran, bær, bærən, boren, bear.

Note 1. So also are inflected əvelan, die; helan, conceal; *hwelan(?), roar (only hwileð, and hwelung, clanging, are found); stelan, steal; seferan, scyran, sheær (Wv. pret. only seær, plur. seærən, in poet. also seær, seærən); teran, tear; ðweran, stir; brecan, break; here belongs likewise the isolated past part. gedwolen, pereorse; on geduren see 385, note 1.

Note 2. Peculiarly irregular are:
niman, take nūm, nam nōmon, nāmon, numen
cumān, come c(w)ōm c(w)ōmon cūmen (cymen)

The opt. pres. of cumān occurs not infrequently as cyme, with 1-umlaut; now and then this y occurs in other pres. forms, especially in Anglian. Here belong the following inflections: a) Ps. part. cumende, ind. pres. sing. 1 cumu, 2, 3 cyms, -eð, plur. cumāð, opt. cyme, imp. cym, plur. cumāð; b) R. inf. cumān, -e, part. cumende (cumende), ind. pres. sing. 1 cume, 2 cymest (cumest), 3 cymeþ (cymat, cymeþ), plur. cumaþ (cymeþ, -eð), opt. cume (cyme), imp. cym, cyme, cum, plur. cumaþ, -eð (cymeþ); c) R.2 inf. cume, part. cymende, ind. pres. sing. 1 cymo, 2, 3 -eð, -eð, etc., plur. cumāð, cymað, opt. cyme, imp. cym, plur. cumað, cymað, past part. cumen; d) L. inf. cum(ym)a, -e, cyme, part. cym(ym)ende (cumende), ind. pres. sing. 1 cym(m)o, 2, 3 cyms, -eð, etc., plur. cymas (cumas), etc., opt. cymo, -e, imp. cym(m), plur. cym(m)ad (cumas), etc., past part. cum(m)en; e) in Rit. the y goes through the whole pres., with the exception of one each inf. gicvma, cume (past part. always cum(m)en).

The EWS. pret. is generally cōm in Cura Past. and Or., but usually cuōm in Chron. R. has only cōm, Ps. only cwōm, R.1 cwōm (once cōm), L. cwōm (once cōme opt.), Rit. cvōm (a plural form *cwāmon, which used frequently to be assumed, does not exist).
The length of the ō in e(w)ōm is certified, like that of the corresponding nōm, by accents and the doubling of the vowel.

In Angl. the forms nōm, plur. nōmun, -on prevail exclusively, but in WS. and Kent. there occurs also at an early period the new formation nam, plur. nāmon (already Ep. naamun).

Note 3. Here perhaps belongs strīman, in-, obnīti (only part. strīma(e)ndī Gl.).

Note 4. An unlauted past part. (378. 2) is North. gibroecen.

Note 5. On n- and o/a-unlaunt in verbs of this class see 370; on present forms with ae see 391, note 5.

391. Class V. 1) Verbs of the Fifth Ablaut-Class:
Goth. i, a, ē, i, WS. e, æ, ē, e (Kent. and Ps. e, e, ē, e, otherwise Angl. e, æ, ē, e, 150; 151): metan, mæt, mǣton, meten, measure; or with grammatical change: cwefian, cwæð, cwæðon, cwæden, say (cf. note 4).

Note 1. So are inflected drepan (part. also once dropen Beow. 2981), strike down; screpan, scrape; svefan, sleep; we(fan), weav(e; fetan, fell; enedan, knead; tredan, tread; sprecean (Kent. and LWS also specan), speak; wrecan, pursue; wegan, carry; leasan, collect; genesan, recover; with grammatical change only the defective wesan (427. 3).

Sporadic is the North. past part. forrepen, reprehensus L.

The verb plegan, play, has strong forms only in the pres. (beside weak plegian); the pret. is WS. plegode; R. p(l)eagade; North. R. plægede, L. plæg(e)de, plægade; Ps. has only present forms of plegian, plagian; cf. 416, note 13. b.

Very doubtful is hlīcian, glomerari (3 plur. hlēcā Cura Past. 392. 20; also part. tōhlucose, dinulcam Germ. 23. 308?; cf. the weak verb āhlōcian, erucere, effondere).

Note 2. WS. giefan, gīce; -gietan, get, are irregular only in accordance with 75: pret. geaf, -geat, plur. geafon, -gēaton (but cf. also 109, and note), part. giefen, gieten, etc. In Kent. and Angl. this diphthongization does not occur (157. 2), with the exception of a few North. geaf, -geat, and geaf, -geat, beside geaf, get in L. On the other hand, Rit. has a few ge-’s, beside ge-: imp. gif, part. gifende, beside gef (157, note 2).

Note 3. etan, eat, and fretan, devour, have the WS. pret. sing. āet, frēt (compare Goth. frēt), and hence also R. North. et(ā) (8. 3)
also once giccest, with long e (150. 1; a sporadic aet in L. may be a new formation, cf. note 10).

Note 4. For the u- and o/a-umlaut in verbs of this Class see 370; on North. we- for we- see 156. 1; on North. wo- for wo- (especially wosa, 427. 3) see 156. 2; on the pres. of cweða, etc., for WS. cweðan, see 370, note 7; the pret. is in L. cuæð, cuæð (cweð, cweð), plur. cuæðon (cuæðon), cuædon, etc., in Rit. cuæð (once cweð), opt. cuæde.

Note 5 (on 390, 391). Certain North. texts have occasionally æ in the pres., instead of e: R.1 once stælan, and often (on account of the w) cweðan, L. hæla, bærende, spræcca, 1 sing. wræco, etc.

2) The verbs gefion, geféon, rejoice; plion, pléon, adventure; and sion, sëon, sec, stand for *sfehan, *plehan, *se(h)wan (113. 2; 373). Their tense-formation in WS. is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>geféon</th>
<th>gefah</th>
<th>gefægon</th>
<th>(gefægen)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pléon</td>
<td>pleah</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëon</td>
<td>seah</td>
<td>sàwun</td>
<td>seven, sawen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 6. An inf. *gefeohan does not exist; gefægen (North. L. gefagen), glad, is, like fægen, properly an adjective (compare OS. fagan). The pret. is Merc. Ps. gefah, plur. Ps. R.1 gefægum, -on (cf. note 7). The North. verb generally inflects like a weak verb of the Second Class: R.2 L. gifæga, -e (so also 3 sing. R.1 geféap); cf. 374, notes 3 ff.; 414, note 5. c.

Note 7. In texts which are not pure WS., especially in the poetry, sägum occurs instead of sàwun. In Anglian the pret. of sëon is sah, according to 162. 1 (L. also saeh; cf. also note 6), plur. sägum, -on (R.1 also sägum and sägum), opt. säge, part. gesegen Ps. R.2 L., also geséen L. Besides, the adj. geséne, visible, is used as a part. in R.1 R.2 L. (222. 2; in R.1 also geséane, geséne).

3) The verbs biddan, request; lieg(e)an, lie; sittan, sit, form their present in Germ. with jo (compare Goth. bidjan, and 372), but are otherwise regular: pret. bæd, læg, sæt, part. beden, legen, seten.
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Note 8. So, too, ðieg(e)an, take, and frieg(e)an, ascertain, have the same present formation, but form their pret., especially in the poetry, as ðeah, ðah (there also occurs the weak pret. ðigede, ðigde, 400, note 1 b; 401, note 1, especially in pure WS., and there apparently always; the pret. of friegean does not occur), and the part. as gedegén (if ðádegén, distentus Gl. belongs here), and gefrégen, gefrugén (389, note 3).

Note 9. The verbs in g have (57, note 3) in the ind. pret. plur. WS. æ, beside more frequent æ by analogy with the other verbs: lågon, wågon, and lågon, wågon (but not *sågon, beside siègon, since the pure WS. form is sáwón, see note 7, above). In Kent. Angl. the universal non-WS. ë prevails (150. 1): lægun, etc. (for an exception in R. see note 7).

Note 10 (on 1–3). R. and North. have not altogether infrequently e, beside æ, in the pret. sing.: R. sprec, bed, sett, eweð, R. geð, bed, L. sprec, gef, bed, set, etc. In the case at least of R. this may repose upon varying representation of the sound; in that of L., which elsewhere distinguishes æ from e with exactness, we should rather assume analogy with the plur.: spréë, beside spæręc, etc.

392. Class VI. 1) Verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class: Goth. OE. a, ð, o, a: faran, för, föron, faren, go; on past participles with ð, e, see note 7.

Note 1. Thus are inflected alan, nourish; calan (nearly restricted to part. ofcalen), grow cool; galan, sing; grafan, grave; sc(e)afan, shave; hiδadan, lade; wadan, go; dragan, draw; gnagan, gnaw; acan (only present forms found), ache; bacan, bake; sacean, dispute; sc(e)acan, hasten; wascan (waxan, 204. 3), wash.

Here belong also the isolated participles gedäfen (rarely gedäfen, cf. note 7), suitable; gedräcen (?), prepared; also perhaps clawan, claw, whose pret. does not occur.

Note 2. wæcían, awake, grow up, pret. wœc (beside weak wæcían, Class II) forms its present with n.

Note 3. The irregularities of sc(e)afan and sc(e)acan, pret. sceðc, sceðc, part. sc(e)acan (poet. sceacan, 368, note 4), are explained by 76. The Angl. forms are: Ps. pres. part. sceæcende, past part. scecen, R. imp. plur. ascakep, R. imp. plur. scecas, ascecað, L. sceac(e)a, etc. (part. also sceæcende), Rit. past part. ásc(e)æccen.
Note 4. EWS. spōnan, spanan, seduce (Angl. not found), pret. spōn, later forms the pret. spéon after the manner of the Reduplicating Verbs, and in more recent texts a corresponding pres. spanan (396).

Note 5. weaxan, grow (LWS. wexan, 108. 2) has already gone over in EWS. to the conjugation of the Reduplicating Verbs; pret. wēox (396); so Angl. R.¹ wexan (plur. also wēxap), pret. wēox and plur. wēoxon (165. 1); but North. R.² wexa, L. wæxa has still the old pret. wōx.

2) The contract verbs fīēan, flay; lēan, blame; slēan, strike; ðwēan, wash (compare Goth. slahan, þwahan) form their present according to the rules of 374. In the preterit grammatical change has invaded the singular; hence the 1 and 3 sing. are flōg, lōg, slōg, ðwōg, through the influence of the plur. lōgon, slōgon, ðwōgon (380); the later forms in h: lōh, slōh, ðwōh, are to be judged according to 214. 1; cf. also 4, below: sceððan, sceðd. In the past part. grammatical change likewise prevails: slægen, ðwægen, beleagen, belagen, etc., 368, note 4 (for North. exceptions see note 7).

3) stōndan, stand, has the n only in the pres. and past part.; thus pret. stōd, stōdon, but part. stōnden.

4) The verbs swērian (swērigan, swērgan, etc.; North. L. suēri(g)a, beside suēri(g)a, 156. 1), swear; hēbban, heave; hlīchhan (hlīhhan, hlyhhan, Angl. hlæhhan), laugh; stæppan (Rit. stēpa), step; scieppan (scippan, sceppan, Kent. Angl. sceppan), create; sceððan, injure, form their present with j, which is lacking in the other forms (372): pret. swōr (in the later Ór. once swōr, 89.25), hōf, hlōg (later hlōh; plur. hlōgon), stōp, scōp (scēop), scōd (scēod; see 76, and, for the d, 2, above); part. hafen, hæfen, sceapan (75. 1), etc.
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Nørn 6. In L.W.S. hēbban has a weak pret. hēfde, part. hēfod. Along with sceōdan there is a new formation sceādan, without j; and, conversely, along with sceōd a weak pret. sceādede (400, note 1). Note 7 (on 1, 2, 4). In the past participle, the radical vowel a interchanges (358, note 4) with æ (or ea after so); occasionally there are forms with umlaut-q (378, note 1). The past part. of swerlian is very rarely sworn, generally sworn (so also North. R. 2 L. Rlt., beside umlauted suōren L.); similarly L.W.S. gēówogen. North. new formations are L. áhófen, beside hæfen, hōfen, and ðuen, ðūn, ðwāgan, beside ðueg(e)n (378, note 2).

2) Reduplicating Verbs

393. The same four stems are recognizable in the Reduplicating Verb as we have already found in the Ablaut Verb (379); only that in the former case they are not so sharply differentiated, the first and fourth stems having the same vowel on the one hand, and the second and third stems a different vowel on the other. When grammatical change takes place, it applies alike to the second, third, and fourth stems. The distinguishing characteristic of the Reduplicating Verbs lies in the manner of forming their preterit.

394. The originally disyllabic reduplicated preterits (351. 1) are uniformly shortened to monosyllables in OE., but in two different ways:

1) Only a small number of verbs have preserved forms in Anglian and in the poetry which clearly point to their formation by means of original reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
<th>(Goth.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hatan, call</td>
<td>hēht</td>
<td>(halhāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rādān, advise</td>
<td>reord</td>
<td>(rairōp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lācan, play</td>
<td>leole</td>
<td>(lālāk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ondrādān, fear</td>
<td>ondrecord</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lētān, let</td>
<td>leort</td>
<td>(lālōt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To all of these belong collateral dialectal forms according to 2.

Note 1. The quantity of the vowel of héht is not to be determined with any certainty; scholars are now inclined to regard the e as long (396, note 1).

Note 2. Isole is only found in the poetry.

Pure WS. prose has none of the reduplicated forms except one héht in the Chron., and this has perhaps been introduced from without. On the other hand, poetry which certainly belongs to the south (like the introductory poem of the Cura Past., and the Metres, which were composed in Kent) has héht, beside the Common WS. hét. Where héht appears elsewhere in pure WS. (prose) texts, it has been introduced from originals belonging to another dialect.

Bede, which has been copied from Angl., has héht and leort, beside hét and lét; R. has one forleortun, beside the usual lét, but only drecord, record, héht (the latter even in 14. 2, where Kemble read hâtt). Ps. and North. know almost none but the reduplicated forms: Ps. R. L. héht, ondrecord (L. ondrecard), leort, Rit. héht, leort; one exception is L. râdon, corrected from râdon (395, note 3).

2. Generally the contraction leads to complete fusion of the reduplicating with the radical syllable; the product exhibits either ē or the diphthong ō:

Rón, seize feng fengon fongen
hâtan, call hét hétôn hâten
feallan, fall féoll féollon feallen
hiâpan, leap hlêop hlêopen hiâpen

Note 3. The ō undergoes the usual dialectic transformations; hence occasionally conversion to ò (esp. Kentish, 150, note 3) and particularly North. ēa, beside ō, in forms like féall, féoll R. L. Rit., etc. (150, note 1).

395. 1) A few verbs with original a before n + consonant have e: blîndan, mix, pret. blend; fón, seize; hón, hang (Goth. fâhan, hâhan, from Germ. *faðhan, *hanâhan, 67); pret. with grammatical change, feng, heng, part. fongen, høngen.
Note 1. The e of the preterit forms is demonstrably short in OS. and ON.; hence the OE. vowel was probably short, though later lengthening might occur (124).

Note 2. Here probably also belongs ablongan, grow angry, of which only the past part. ablongぬ, indignati, is found in L.

2) A few verbs which end in a simple consonant have ē. Their radical vowel is:

a) WS. ē, Kent. Angl. ē (=Germ. ē, Goth. ē): (on)-drēdan, dreead; rēdan, advise, read; lætan, let; slēpan (slēpan, 57.3), sleep.

Note 3. For drecord, record, leort, beside drēd, rēd, læt, see 394. 1.

rēdan is generally weak in WS.: pret. rēdde, part. gerēdd (406), though strong forms do occur: pret. plur. rēdon Or., part. rēden Blickl. R. has pret. plur. recordun, R. rēddun = L. rēddon, corrected to rēdon (394, note 2), but part. L. gerēded.

In like manner, there are WS. weak forms: (on)slēpte, ondrēdde. In Angl. prose the pret. of slēpan is always weak: Ps. slēpte, R slēpte (slēpade), L. slēpde (plur. also slēpedon), Rit. slēpde.

b) ā (Germ. Goth. aï), neither preceded nor followed by w (396. 2. c): hātan, call; lācan, jump, play; scēdan (scēadan, 76), separate.

Note 4. The WS. pret. of scēdan, scēadan is scēad, beside scēd. The only pret. forms of Angl. prose are: R. ind. sing. tōgiscēode, interpretābatur, L. -scēādade, -scēadde (-scēadda), -scēade, plur. scēad(ad)on; Rit. 2 sing. gescēadest, plur. tōscēadon.

396. 1) The diphthong ēo is retained in the preterit by such as have original a before 1 + consonant, as well as by a few in n + consonant:

a) feallan, fall; weallan, be agitated; fealdan, fold; healdan, hold; stealdan, possess; wealdan, wield; sealtan, salt; wealcian, revolve (for Angl. fallan, -a, etc. see 158. 2);
b) bonnan, summon; sponnan, join; gongan, go;

Note 1. The quantity of eo in the preterit can not be directly ascertained; but, upon the basis of certain hypotheses of origin, it is now generally assumed that it is long, notwithstanding the following consonant-group (394, note 1).

On North. ea for eo see 394, note 3. R.1 has the plur. fellun, beside forms like hēold, fēl/on (fēllan).

Note 2. For gongan North. (157. 4) has L. geonga (ind. pres. I sing. also giunga, opt. giunga). Rit. geonga, gionga, but R.2 gonga (only once geonga). In the poetry occurs an inf. gengan Andr. 1097.

The pret. is geong or gengde in the poetry (in Beow. also gang), but is replaced by code (430) in the prose (even in Angl.). Similarly North. lacks the past part. genggen, its place being taken by gleod R.2 L.

Note 3. On weaxan, grow, see 392, note 5.

Note 4. The forms gien(g), opt. genge, and spenn, occurring in Gen. B, which was based upon an Old Saxon original, are not OE.

2) The diphthong eo falls to those verbs which end in a single consonant, and have as their radical vowel:

a) orig. au = OE. ea: bēatan, beat; hēawan, hew; hlēapan, leap; ālhēapan, pluck off;

b) orig. ō = OE. ō: hrōpan, shout; hwōpan, threaten; blōtan, sacrifice; wrōtan (pret. not found), root; flōcan (pret. not found), applaud; swōgan (pret. not found), roar; swōgan, overcome (part. geswōgen, swooning); and with i-umlaut (present formation with jo, 372): wēpan, sweep; * hwēsan (or * hwēsan ?), wheezes; with the phonetic group ōw: blōwan, bloom; flōwan, flow; grōwan, grow; hlōwan, low; rōwan, row; spōwan, thrive;

c) ā with following or preceding w: blāwan, blow; cnāwan, know; crāwan, crow; māwan, mow; sāwan, saw; dērāwan, twist; wāwan, blow; swēpan, sweep.

Note 5. To a) belong the isolated participles ēacen, great (cf. Goth. aukan, increase), and ēaden, given; to a) or b) the isolated preterits
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genēop Ex. 475 and onrēod, inbuilt Corp. 1129; to c) perhaps rāwan, cleæae (pres. part. gerāwendæ, past part. gerēwæn). For snōwan, cnōdan, and North. *speoftæ, *speaftæ, see 384, notes 4 and 5.

Note 6. A strong pret. is lacking to the strong pres. būan, diæill, past part. gebūn, gebūnen (rarely bŷn), its place being taken by būde, būde, North. bŷ(c)eðe, from the weak bū(w)lææ, North. bŷa (416, note 11. d).

Note 7. Beside sāwan, MS. H of Curæ Past. has an unlaution sæwan.

Note 8. The verbs in w have sometimes ē, instead of eo, in the pret.: EWS. Curæ Past. oncnēw, -on, opt. sæwe, Or. oncnēwen; Merc. Ps. oncnēw, -c, -un, R.1 hēu, 2 sing. sæwe, plur. blēwan.

The North. forms of these preterits are: R.2 blēw, sæow, plur. oncnēowun, but 2 sing. sæwe; L. blēu, blēoun, plur. blēwun, blēuun; oncnēw, -cnēu; -cnēw, -cnēawu, plur. -cnēawu, -cnēau, shortened (360, note 3) oncnēa, -cnēu, -cnēaw gie, opt. cnēwa; opt. cnēawæ; plur. hrēwun, hrēuæ, hrōwun; ind. sæaw(u), plur. sæawun (and weak sæawæ, sæude); opt. spēua; Rit. 2 sing. āblēawe, 3 sing. giflēwe (?).

In the pret. plur. contraction may supervene: poet. rēon, from rēowun, from rōwan.

Note 9. Of North. wēpa = WS. wēpan the pret. in R.2 is regularly wēop, in L. wēop, wēep, wēæp, wēæp, wēp (and weak wēpde).

397. The past participle originally has the vowel of the present (but R.1 āswopen, from swāpan, 396. 2. c). Grammatical change (and hence a different vowel) is found only in the participles fōngen, hōngen, from fōn, hōn (395. 1).

Note. Beside L. hōngen, the part. of these verbs is North. R.2 L. Rit. fēn and hōn (poet. -fēn, 378, note 2; but Ps. only fōngen, R.1 fōngen, hōngen).
III. WEAK VERBS

398. The weak verbs are mostly derivatives. They are divided into three classes, on the basis of the variation in their derivative suffixes:

1) The jo-(or ja-)class. Its original present suffix was Indo-European -e-jo-, from which was derived, through *-ija-, Germ. -ja-, when the radical syllable was short, and -ia- when it was long (45.8).

2) The o-class. Its suffix was Germ. -öja-, interchanging with -ö- (411).

3) The e-class (also called ai-class). This was characterized in Indo-European by the ending -e- of the stem. On the various subdivisions of this class see 415.

399. Only three stems are to be distinguished in the weak conjugation — those of the present, the preterit, and the past participle. The two latter very frequently approximate in form.

1. FIRST WEAK CONJUGATION

A) Original Short Stems

400. All forms of the regular verbs of this class have i-umlaut. In other respects they fall (including also the corresponding irregular verbs of 407) into two main divisions, according to the difference in the manner in which they make the forms of their present stem:

1) Verbs in r, like nērian (nērgan, nērgan, nērīgean, etc., 175.2), save. These retain the single consonant at the end of the radical syllable (227) in all forms of
the present, and likewise the derivative j (176) except
in the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing. (410).

2) Verbs in other consonants, like fremman, execute; 
settan, set, etc. These originally geminate the final 
consonant of the stem in all forms of the present (227) 
except the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing., and 
therefore become long in all these forms, thus losing the 
derivative j (176).

In Anglian these two groups are well distinguished 
from each other, but in Southern English the old rela-
tion is much disordered by leveling and new forma-
tions.

Note 1. Like ngrian are inflected, for example, bærían, strike; 
derían, injure; erían, plow; fiérían, carry; hérían, praise; ámerian, 
purify; selerian, arrange; á-, bescierian, separate, deprive (75. 1); 
werían, defend; gewerían, clothe, dam up; byrian, certain; onhry-
ian, emulate; snyrian, hasten; spyrian, inquire; styrian, stir; and, 
with loss of h, also LWS. jwyrian, adversari (for EWS. *dwiervian, 
from *pviorkhjan, 218, note 2).

Like fremman originally form their presents:

a) Verbs in m, n, and the liquid 1: grémon, provoke; témman, 
tame; trémon, confirm; ðennan, stretch; wynnan, accustom; clyn-
nan, sound; dynnan, resound; hlynnan, bellow; *helian, conceal; 
*ásclíllan, shell; *sylan, sully; add cwclían, etc. (407. 1).

b) Verbs in the spirants s, ð, ð, g (geminated bb, eg, 190; 216. 1): 
cnysan, thrust; hrissan, shake; secðan, injure (also strong, 392. 4); 
swéðan, swathe; wryðan, support; áswéðban, put to sleep, kill; 
weæg(e)an, agitate; ðieç(e)an, receive (also strong, 391, note 8); 
lçeg(e)an, lay; byceg(e)an, buy (407, notes 7 and 8).

C) The verbs in the stops d, t, and c: bremdan, snatch, save; 
stræddan, investigate; cnyttan, knit; hwættan, incite; lēttan, 
hinder; sêtan, set; spyttan (?), sprout; add cwç(e)an, etc. (407, 
note 9).

Note 2. In Ps. the difference between the two modes of formation 
is still clear throughout, and so in R.1 and North., except for the 
occasional lack of j after r in the first group (409, note 1); fluctuation 
between single and double consonant in verbs of the second group,
410, note 8, does not belong here). The poetry, too, has the old system well preserved.

In WS. the irregular verbs of 407 generally preserve the type of the second group in the present (but cf. 407, note 2), though in the regular verbs the mode of formation of the first group is very early extended, either in part or wholly, to those of the second group which end in a continuous consonant (nasal, liquid 1, spirant). So the Cura Past. already has, beside fremman, trymman, cnyssan, a few forms like trymian, and exclusively such as gremian, lemian, temian, behelian, sylian, wreðian; add Or. ðenian, L.W.S. ðoðian, bathé, áscyllan, hrisian, etc. Hence, in the case of most verbs in m, n, l, s, p, forms with gemination do not occur at all in pure WS.; only fremman, trymman, cnyssan persist to LWS. (beside fremian, trymian). The verbs in bb and cg yield more rarely to this new formation: swefían, hégian, instead of swëbban, *hëcgan, hedge in.

Note 3. In L.W.S. texts all the verbs in -ian which originally belong to the jo-class frequently pass over to the inflection of the Second Weak Class: nérían, pres. nérie, nérast, nérað; nérieð, pret. néréode, like fremian, pres. fremlie, fremast, fremað; fremliað, pret. fremode, etc.

Note 4. More rarely are certain of these verbs, especially fremman and trymman, treated like original long stems, yielding forms like part. getremmed, getrymmed, pret. trymde.

401. Formation of the preterit. 1) The verbs in the stops d and t take the ending -de or -te in the pret., without a middle vowel: hréddan, hréđde; lëttan, lëtte (402. 2). On sættan, and the verbs in c, see 407. 1.

2) The verbs which end in continuous consonants (liquids, nasals, spirants) take in the pret. the ending -ede (from older -idae, 44, note 1) and a single (not geminated) consonant at the end of the stem: nérían, néréde; fremman (fremian), fremede; (ðænnan) ðenian, ðænedæ; cnyssan, cnyssede; sceððan, sceðëde; swëbban, swëfdæ (190); wècg(e)an, wègede, etc. (on læcgon, lay, see 407. 1, and note 7).
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Note 1. Here also preterits without a middle vowel are occasionally formed: węgde, śęgde, enysde, North. l. seećdé, bisćódün; only later does a transfer of the double consonant of the present to the preterit probably occur: enysśede, etc.

Note 2. In LWS. the -ede of the preterit is very frequently replaced by -ode (400, note 3).

402. Formation of the past participle. 1) The ending is, in general, Early OE. -id, Common OE. -ed (44, note 1); the final consonant of the stem is single, as in the pret.: genęred, gefręmed, gęcnysed, geswęfęd, etc. In the inflected forms the vowel of the ending is retained (144. a): genęredes, etc.

2) The verbs in d and t show peculiar variations (410. 1). In Anglian they have the full ending -ed in the uninflected form, and before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, but syncopate the vowel of the ending in the inflected forms which begin with a vowel: gesęted (from sęttan, 407. 1), infl. gesęttum, etc., but gesętedne, gesętedre, -ra. Pure WS., on the other hand, generalizes the syncopation: śęhřed(d), gełęt(t), gesęt(t), infl. gesęttum, like gesętnę, gesętre, -ra, etc.; less pure WS. texts fluctuate.

B) Original Long Stems and Polysyllables

403. Formation of the present-stem. The whole present-stem of the disyllabic verbs has í-umlaut whenever the radical vowel admits (on forms with io, òo, beside ie, etc., see 100. 2, and note 2). The derivative j is lost except after vowels and diphthongs, as in cęegañ, call (408, note 13).

For examples of this numerous class see 404 ff.
Note. Among the polysyllabic verbs the derivatives in -ettan (Goth. -atjan) are especially to be noted, like bliccettan, lighten; fie(e)ettan, feign; roceettan, utter; sporetta, spur, as well as the deformed compounds öndettan, confess; önettan, incite; örettan, battle (43, note 4). These have gmination of the derivative t according to 227, although simple t is often written after a weak syllable (231. 4).

404. Formation of the preterit. The ending of the preterit is -de, which is in general attached immediately to the radical syllable. The 1-umlaut is retained: hieran, hierde; dêman, dênde.

Note 1. The -de arose by synecope (144) from prehistoric -ida. This synecope is in general very stable, except that there is great fluctuation in the verbs in mute + liquid or nasal, which, were they regularly formed, would develop a syllabic liquid or nasal in the pret. (358, note 4):

a) nêmnan, name, has nênde, with loss of the n (so also R.L.), beside LWS. nêmnode (406, note 4).

b) In EWS, synecope is the rule in the other verbs with a short vowel before cons. + l, m, n: ëglan, all; seglan, siglan, sail; prysman, smother; pret. ëglde, segldae, siglde, prysmdae (compare poet. oferstëmdae, from oferstëmdman, embrace); also frequently later ëfnan, raefnan, execute; there also occur later forms in -ede, like byttled he Curta Past., from byttian, build, sigelde Chron., LWS. ëfnede. angl. are here only Ps. ërfnde, beside ërfnedae, L. geneglede and geefnade.

c) In verbs with a closed syllable, or one containing a short vowel, before the consonant-group, EWS, regularly has -ede: symblan, feast; wrixtlan, change; frëfran, comfort; hyngran, hunger; timbran, build; ofersylefran, plate with silver, pret. symbleda, wrixtleda, frëfrede, hyngreda, timbreda, ofersylefrede (a single exception is wyrsmdae Curta Past. MS. C, in contrast with wyrmsmda MS. H, from wyrsman, wyrmsan, suppressare, 185); compare also verbs like dieglang, conceal; biecmman, beckon; forgldndran, devour, etc. This -ede is very commonly replaced later by -ode, as in the case of the short stems (400, note 3; 401, note 2), and hence present forms according to Class II then appear also: frëfran, hyngrian (hingrian, 31, note), timbrian, etc.
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Of the Anglian texts, Ps. always has -ade, according to Class II: déglade, bëcnade, hyngrade, timbrade; R.¹ several hynggrade, beside once hyngrede; R.² déglde, dégelde, beside bëcnede, hyncrede, and bëcnade, frëfrede, timbrade, L. dégelde, hyng(e)gerde, timberde, beside frëfrede, leðrede (from leðra, anoint), and bëcnade, timbrade, glendrade (a few others are doubtful). The forms with -a- are, at least in Ps., wholly restricted to the pret. (or past part., 406, note 5), and have no auxiliary inflection of the present according to Class II.

Note 2. On North. forms in -ede, -ade, in the case of the usual long-stemmed verbs, see 406, note 6.

405. As the consequence of collision between the d of the ending and the final consonant of the stem, there result in certain verbs a number of minor variations from the normal form, which will be easily understood by reference to the general phonetic laws. The most important are:

1) The following verbs take the ending -de without undergoing any special change:
   a) Those in a single liquid or nasal (except in the group mute + liquid or nasal, 404, note 1): hieran, hierde, hear; dælan, dælde, divide; deman, démde, judge; ewielman, ewielmdde, kill; wënan, wënde, expect; bærnan, bærnde, burn, etc.;
   b) The verbs in the single spirants f and s, those in g (including ng), and those in vowel or diphthong + d: geliefan, geliefde, believe; liesan, liesde, release; fëgan, fëgde, join; fylgan, fylgde, follow; lëdan, lëdde, lead, etc.

For the verbs in w see 408. 2.

Note 1. To a) belong, for example: féran, go; lëran, teach; stieran, steer; ðelan, kindle; cëlan, cool; hëlan, heal; tælan, persecute; ðieman, rout; gieman, care; hëman, marry; benëman,
deprive; rýman, vacate; híenán, deride; lênan, bend; mænán, lament; stríenán, gain; sélan, gallip; giernán, covet; wiernán, refuse, and many others.

Verbs in f and s are, for example: draéfan, drive; dréfán, trouble; lëfán, leave; álféfan, permit; hwíerfan, turn; ofyrfán, stone; beclýsan, enclose; töewýsan, crush; fýsan, hasten; glésan, gloss; rësan, storm; tásan, tear, etc.

Norn 2. The verbs in vowel or diphthong + g, like biegean, bend; drýg(e)an, dry; feg(e)an, join; áfiegean, pursue; for-gåg(e)an, transgress; svèg(e)an, resound; wrege(e)an, censure, etc. (for the verbs with g from Germ. j, like ciegean, etc., see 408. 3), and those in ng (or nég, 215, note 2), like glæng(e)an, adorn; bring(e)an, ring; ymbbringen(e)an, engraving; lëng(e)an, lengthen; meng(e)an, mingle; spreng(e)an, sprinkle; teng(e)an, hurry away, are regular.

In the case of the verbs in l, r + g, like fylg(e)an, follow; æbylg(e)an, grow angry; bierg(e)an, taste; byrg(e)an, bury; áwierg(e)an, curse; áwyrg(e)an, strangle, etc., the secondary changes of the g (213, note; 214. 5, and note 11) are to be considered, which chiefly concern the pret. (and past part.), and then the pres. Hence forms like North. pret. R. fylgde, áwerigðun, beside fylgde, býrðgðun, L. bérígde (birigde), áwérígde, áwêrigde (ýgðon?), beside býrðe, fylg(e)de, LWS. pret. fylgðe, áwyrgðe, or fylde, ówyrdde, and fylg(e)de, áwyrí(g)de (31, note), together with pres. inf. fylí(g)an, ówyrdí(g)an (fili(g)an, ówyrí(g)an, etc.

Norn 3. So, too, the verbs in d (for those with preceding consonant see 5, below) are generally quite regular: brédan, coerce; bríédan, roast; bríéðan, broaden; cídon, chide; cíedan, kill; cídmédan, humble; rédan, nourish; gefréðan, perceive; hýdán, carouse; hýdun, híde; níedan, force; rédan, counsel, read (cf. also 395, note 3); scrýdan, clothe; spráðan, spread; géðiædan, associate; underfíedan, subdued; wíédan, clothe; wíédan, rage, etc.; only in North. is the dd of the pret. frequently simplified: L. föede, lêde, plur. bráedon, cídon, etc., Rit. 2 ásing. gíæðest (for fædde, etc.).

Norn 4. Of verbs ending in the sonant stop b (190) there seems to be only cǽmban, comb, with pret. cǽmda.

2) The verbs in p, ð are regular in EWS., but in LWS. generally convert the ðd of the pret. into dd: cýðan, manifest, pret. cýðde, LWS. cýdde (cf. also 406, note 3).
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Note 5. Here belong, for example, c lædan, clothe; cwīðan, lament; áhyðan, devastate; lædan, accuse, hate; neðan, venture; sæðan, affirm; oferswīðan, overcome (382, note 2); wraðan, rage, etc.

3) Gemination is simplified: fyllan, fyldæ, fill; áfiæran, áfiærde, remove; węmman, węmdæ, defile; cęnnan, cęnde, beget; cyssan, cyste (the t according to 4. b), kiss.

Note 6. So also, for example: fiellan, fell; spillan, destroy; stillan, still; ciæran, turn; niæran, mar; North. enylla, knock; forestæmma, hinder, etc. (cf. also 4. b).

Note 7. Now and then gemination is preserved in the pret. by an etymological spelling, especially in North.: L. fyldæ, çerre, etc.

4) The ending -de becomes -te a) after the surd stops p, t, c: cępan, čepte, keep; yppan, ypte (under 3), reveal; grėtan, grėtte, greet; scęnc(e)an, scęncte, pour out; węsc(e)an, węscete, wish; ic(e)an, ictete, increase (on ihtete, etc., see 407. 2); b) after the surd double spirants ff and ss, simplified according to 3: pyffan, pyfte, puff; cyssan, cyste, kiss; c) after x: lixan, lixe, shine.

Note 8. Here belong, for example:

a) With p: ciępan, bye; bediepan, dipl; drypan, moisten; hiępan, heap; beriepan, rob; ástiæpan, rob; ciłęppan, embrace; rempan, hasten; ciærpan, sharpen; ciærpan, cloth; wierpan, throw oneself; cyssan, fetter; hyspan, mock, etc.;

b) With t after a vowel (for cons. + t see 5): bętan, bait; bętan, atone for; fiætan, adorn; hętan, heat; hvıtætan, whiten; mętan, meet; niętan, annoy; rétan, rejoice; spętan, spit; swiętan, sweat; węätan, wet, etc.;

c) With e after a consonant (for vowel + e see 407. 1, 2): ádwaesc(e)an, extinguish; oforýse(e)an, oppress; swęnc(e)an, extinguish, dręnc(e)an, drown; sceńc(e)an, pour out; scęnc(e)an, trip up; sęnc(e)an, sink; töstenc(e)an, dissipate; swęnc(e)an, plague; więnc(e)an, make proud, etc.

wyse(e)an (LWS. wiscan, 31, note) sometimes loses its c in the pret. in LWS.: wiste, beside wiscete, wysete; similarly in Ps. gehnístun, for gehnístetun, from huniscan, moliere.
Note 9. Here belong the verbs in -ettan (403, note), like ond-ettan, pret. ondette, etc.

Note 10. In LWS, there very rarely occurs the etymological spelling -de: ádwæscodon Æfr. Can.; hyspodun Matt. 27. 44; compare also gigiscæde, oppilavit Ep.; reôsd Corp., from reôsan, censure. This spelling is somewhat commoner in North. L., especially in the newly formed weak preterits of strong verbs (381, note): slépde, grippde, graëppde, from slëpa, gripa; but also forms like écde, scrëncde, genëolëcde, gemëtd(0)n, and such as stylëde, stylëte, styldë, gescyrdte, bëdtë, plur. gefædsön, from stylëta, be astonished, perplexed; scyrta, shorten; bëta, atone for; fæsta, fast (cf. 5); so also Rit. slëpde, gidrëncdæ (add the infl. past. part. gisvœncdø).

5) After a consonant + d, t, the d of the ending is entirely lost: sëndan, sëndë, sënd; gyrdan, gyrde, gird; cëhtan, cëhte, persecute; fæstan, fæste, fast; ëyrstan, ëyrste, thirst, etc.

Note 11. Here belong also, for example:

a) With consonant + d: byldan, build; -gyldan, gild; onhieldan, incline; behyldan, flyay; ieldan, defer; scïldan, shield; spïldan, destroy; wïldan, rule; onbïryrdan, incite; hierdan, harden; âwierdan, injure; ondwîlerdan, answer; geîndebïryrdan, arrange; bëndan, bend; blëndan, blind; lëndan, land; pyndan, confine; scïldan, abuse; tëndan, kindle; wëndan, turn, etc.

b) With consonant + t: âgyltan, trespass; sïltan, salt; wieltan, roll; hiertan, hearken; scïrtan, shorten; myntan, intend; ácraëftan, devise; gedæftan, arrange; hæftan, confine; âfyrhtan, frighten; hyhtan, hope; liéhtan, illumine, alleviate; ryhtan, direct; tyhtan, incite; ôftan, hasten; fylsttan, assist; hierstân, âry; hlæstân, freight; hlystân, listen; hyrstan, equip; lëstan, perform; lystan, desire; mæstän, fatten; nîstän, rest; rêstän, rest; forôræstän, crush; âwôstän, ravage, etc.

Note 12. Only occasionally are there etymological spellings: begyrdrde, fæstte, hyhtte, etc.

406. The ending of the past participle is OE. -ed, from Prim. OE. -id (44), as in the case of the short
stems (402), so that here also i-umlaut is uniform. For the attachment of the ending the same rules apply as for the short stems (402), so far as regards the uninflected form and the cases which have a termination beginning with a consonant. Before a termination beginning with a vowel the e of the -ed is always syncopated, and the rules of 405 apply. Examples of the various types are: inf. hieran, uninf. part. gehiered, acc. sing. masc. gehieredne, etc., plur. gehierde (405.1); cyðan, gecyðed, gecyðedne, gecyðe, LWS. gecyðde (405.2); fyllan, gefylded, gefyldedne, gefylde (405.3); sceæcean, gescæced, gescæcedne, gescæcándezte (405.4); grætan, gegræted, gegræt(ede)næ, gegrætte (405.4; 402.2); ðædan, gesænd(ede)næ, gesænde; æhtan, gæht(ede)næ, gæht(ede)næ, gæhte (405.5; 402.2); nemman, genæmned, genæmnedne, genæmnde; timban, getimbred (-ode), getimbredne (-odne), getimbrede (-ode) (404, note 1).

Norse 1. The rules for syncope in the inflected cases are still rigorously observed in Ps. On the other hand, EWS. has occasionally, and LWS. very generally, extended the full form -ed to all case-forms: godæmedæ, gefyldedæ, etc. So occasionally also in R.¹ (geceæredæ, ðæbralægedæ, ðærærægedæ), and frequently in R.² L. Rit.

Norse 2. Conversely, LWS. verbs in p and ne occasionally syncopate in the uninflected form: becelptæ, gæptæ, ðærænetæ, forserænetæ, besænectæ, geseænectæ; others are rare: forsæwældæ, gebæærndæ, ymbæyrndæ, geælgændæ, geæbylældæ (on gecyðde see note 4); so R.¹ once forlæeræ.

Norse 3. The rules for syncope (402.2) apply to verbs in d. t.; hence pure WS. gelæð(d)æ, gægyrdæ, gesændæ, acc. gelæðne, gægyrdne, gesændne, etc. Yet EWS. has certain new formations with the full -ed: gelæðedæ, begyrðedæ, gesændedæ, gehæftædæ, áwæstedæ, and, with especial frequency, underøëdæ, gesændedæ. In pure LWS. such forms are extremely rare (ofærbræðædæ, áwændædæ Ælf. Hom.), while less pure WS. texts vary.
In LWS. the form geccyd(d) occurs for EWS. gecyd, probably as a new formation on the pattern of inflected forms like plur. gecydde, from gecydde (cf. 405. 2).

Of the Anglian texts, R. has a few isolated short forms in befeast and gesett (407, note 6), beside -læded, -hyded, sæned, -mæted, -swiested, -seted, etc.

Note 4. The n of nemnan (cf. 404, note 1. a) is only exceptionally retained in case of syncpe: plur. genennde Chron. Forms like genemnede Cura Past. Or. also occur.

Note 5. Anglian verbs in mute + liquid or nasal (404, note 1. b, c) have a-forms even in the part.: Ps. gedeglad, plur. gewetrade, beside freofred, timbred; L. gedeglad, beside degled, timbred, etc. (R. only áfræfred, wépned; R. giedegled, gifreofred, wépned-).

Note 6. In R., and especially in the North, L. Rit., these a’s extend to other verbs: R. gefyllad, nemnad, wærgad, beside frequent -ed; in North. especially in verbs in d, t: L. gesendad, áwoendad, gewÆdad, gebætad, gemætad, -festad, æhtad, geondetad, Rit. giscildad, giwændad, unáscendido; girihtad, gilinlihtad, gehæftad, gilætadum, but also L. gehwætfad, gecætad, gedræncad, geflordad, Rit. álæsad, gimeçmadum, etc.

Note 7. The North. verbs in d, t occasionally have forms with n, on the analogy of the strong verbs, instead of the inflected case-forms with syncpe: L. ymbgyrdeno, gesændeno, etc., gewælteno, gesætuno (insectna, onætunum, etc.). Rit. áwoerdreno, inætunum (R. has only two onætunum, from sætta, 407, note 6). In Rit. this new formation goes further: giliefeno, gilæseno, for gilæftdo, gilæsdo. Cf. also 414, note 4.

C) Irregular Verbs

407. 1) As early as the West Germanic or even the Germanic period, a few verbs joined the termination of the preterit and past participle directly to the radical syllable, without the intervention of the middle vowel -i-. These forms consequently occur in OE. without ï-umlaut, though a few verbs have introduced it secondarily on the analogy of the regular verbs of the jo-class, which have also influenced them in a few other respects (especially in North.).
The verbs in a guttural, so far as their lack of a middle vowel goes back to Germanic, take hit in the pret. and past part. (232); a radical nasal disappears before this hit (45.5; 186.1).

Here belong:

cwéllan, kill
dwéllan, deceive
sellan, give
stéllan, place
télán, count
sétan, set
légean, lay
byegean, buy
cwécccean, shake
dréecean, vez
löcccean, moisten
récecean, narrate
stréecean, stretch
bécecean, cover
wécccean, wake
lécccean, seize
rócecean, reach
tiéeccean, teach
récecean, beck
sécccean, seek
dëncean, think
énycecean, seem
wyrccean, work
bringan, bring

cwealde
dwealde
sealde
stealde
tealde
sétte
légde
bohte
cweahte
dreahce
leahce
reahte
streahte
ßeahte
weahce
læhte
rähte, rähte
tähte, tähte
róhte
sóhte
böhte
núhte
worhte
bróhte
gceweald
gedweald
gescaed
gescaed
getaed
geset(t)
gelegd
geboht
gecwaeht
gedreaht
geleahc
gereahc
gestreaht
geðéahc
geweahc
getæht
geræht
getæht, getæht
—
gesöht
gedøht
gedøht
geworht
gebroht

Note 1. For cwéllan North. has R.² cwélla, pret. cwélede, L. cwélla, cwølla, pret. cuel(e)de, part. -cwélled.

Note 2. Beside dwéllan, dwoalde LWS. has also dwéllan, dwélede (400, note 2). Angl. has only L. geduøllas, part. dwoælende.

Note 3. For EWS. sellan LWS. has generally syllan, for *sielan (compare the inf. sioλlanne in a Merc. charter of about 840?). Ps. R.¹ R.² Rit. have also sellan, -a, L. an unexplained sealla, beside
sēlla; add in L. Rit. a few present forms with ē, like L. sīlo, sīleō, -sē,
Rit. sīla,-sīleō,-sē, beside the regular forms with e.

Anglian has the pres. salde (158. 2), part. sald; but R.1 has also one sēlde, and L. a few instances of sealde, modeled after the pres. seallia.

Note 4. Of stēllan there is an isolated part. onstēlėd in Or. (beside āstēlaud); add North. pret. āstēlēdē Cædmon’s Hymn (other instances lacking in Anglian).

Note 5. So, too, tēllan has a part. getēlēd in Or., the poetry, and Bede. Ps. has pres. tēlest, -ēō, pret. talde, part. getald, L. pres. 3 sing. tēlēs, part. getēlēd, Rit. pret. gitēlēde.

Note 6. WS. sēttan has gone over completely to the conjugation of the regular verbs (401. 1; 402. 2), and even in the other dialects there are only scanty traces of a pret. and part. without umlaut. Ps. has sēttan, pret. settē, part. gesettēd, plur. gesettē; R.1 sēttan, pret. sētte (once sētte), part. -sētēd and -sēttē; North. R.2 sētā, pret. sētte (sēte), part. -sētēd (-sētet, -sēttēd), infl. -sētēdō, beside -sēt(t)ē and onstētēnum (406, note 7). L. sēttā, pret. sētte and sētte, part. gesettēd, -ēt, beside infl. gesettēdo and gesettēno, etc. (see under R.2).

Note 7. On WS. forms like lēde, gēlēd, beside legde, etc., see 214. 3. Angl. has: R.1 lægde, -un, part. ālegd; R.2 pres. opt. lecce, etc., pret. lægdun, L. pres. plur. gelcēgas, pret. lægdon, part. ālegd.

Note 8. The pret. of bycgēan is found also in Ps. R.1 R.2 L., the past part. also in Ps. R.1 L. Rit.

Note 9. In the Cura Past. the verbs in ēc still regularly have ea in the pret. and past part.: leahta, reahta, āstreahta, āweahta, part. gereahta; but MS. H already has occasional ē, on the analogy of the pres.: lehta, rehta, āstrehta, part. gereht, beside reahta, āweahta, part. āweaht; in later MSS. this ē occurs throughout.

LWS. often has wrēc(e)an for wēc(e)an (so already once in Cura Past.).

In Angl. these verbs have ae (162. 1) in the pret. and past part., save in so far as ē has intruded from the pres., or other new formations have occurred. Ps. has pres. sing. ewēcē; pres. part. ēccēnde; infl. reccēne, etc.; pret. rehta, part. gereht (once gereht); pres. ēcēs, -ēō, pret. bōcēhton; pres. āwecca, etc., pret. āwehtaes, āwehtēs, part. āweht; R.1 pres. 3 sing. reccēct, imp. ēccē, part. gereht; bepeht; North. R.2 inf. āwēcca, etc., pret. āwēhte, plur. āwēchtun,
Conjugation

1. giwehtun; L. pret. gegeecton, part. gegeeccad; inf. aregengan, pret. undehtan, part. beopt; inf. awasea, awese, awese, etc., pret. -wehte, wehte, -wehte; according to Lindelöf, Rit. part-evect, pret. -wehte.

Note 10. lece(e)an has North. læhte R.² L., instead of WS. læhte; on the shortening of the vowel in the pres. see note 12.

Note 11. The verbs in æc have nearly always æ in the pret. and past part., but Or. has also geræhte, betæhte, beside geræhte, betæhte; and forms like læhte appear even in very late texts. Ps. has only the imp. pres. getæc, R.¹ pres. ræcep, getæcep, pret. getæhte; North. R.² L. Rit. ræhte, R.² L. læhte. L. betæht.

Note 12. The pres. of ræceean (from Germ. *rükjan?) has, like læcecean (note 10), a short vowel, and hence West Germ. gemination before j. The form ræcean, which is theoretically demanded, hardly occurs with certainty (one ræce wë in Ælfr. Coll.); compare also North. R.² L. ne reces ðu, non ad te pertinent Mark 4. 38 (not *recæs, with æ, 150. 4).

Note 13. The pret. of sœe(e)an (Ps. R.¹ sœcea, R.² L. sœca) and ðenc(e)an is also found in Ps. R.¹ R.² L., söhte also in Rit., the part. -søht also in Ps. R.² L.; on the other hand, the pret. and past part. of ðenc(e)an (R.¹ has also once pres. ðincap) do not occur in Ps. R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

Note 14. The part. of wyrc(e)an occurs exceptionally as gi-, gewarht once each in Corp. and Or. (pret. warhte, part. gewarht also Chad). LWS. sometimes has wohte, geworht by metathesis, instead of worhte, geworht.

The compound forwyrc(e)an, ruin, forms in LWS. the pret. forwyht, part. forwyhrt.

For WS. wyrcan Ps. has always wircan (164. 2) with another ablaut-grade (only one very extraordinary wyrctun, aptuaerant, in the Hymns), R.¹ wircce, beside wyrica, L. also a few i-forms; otherwise y prevails in North, also (one 1 plur. ué gewerco nercæ, operemur opera L. is manifestly miswritten; LWS. wircan belongs under 31, note). The pret. and part. worhte, geworht do not occur in Ps., but in R.¹ R.² L. Rit.; R.² has likewise one wrohte, and L. a few instances of worhte.

Note 15. The pres. bringan, which belongs to the strong conjugation, prevails in pure WS., as well as in Ps. R.¹. Beside it stands the weak breng(e)an (OS. brenglan); this also occurs now and again in EWS., and once in R.³, while it is the prevalent form in Kent. North.
(R.^ L. Rit.; but L. has also one bringað). The pret. and part. are always bröhte, bröht, except that the poetry has a strong part. brungen.

2) In imitation of these verbs, the other verbs in c, which were originally regular, are apt later to take ht in the pret. and past part., but retain the i-umlaut: EWS. iec(e)an, increase, pret. iecte, part. geiced, plur. geiecte, but LWS. pret. ihte, yhte, part. geiht, geiht, plur. geihte, geihte, etc.

**Note 16.** Here belong, for example: ðryce(e)an, oppress; cnyce(e)an, tie; wlec(e)an, warm; beppǣc(e)an, deceive (not EWS.); gewǣc(e)an, weaken; sce(e)an, suckle; the polysyllabic olec(e)an, olīc(e)an, flatter; and the compounds in -lēc(e)an, like nēalēc(e)an, approach.

**Note 17.** In EWS., Cura Past. has pret. ðelehte, beside ðiecte, but otherwise regularly pret. ðryete, i(e)ete, part. ðryceed, owweeced, plur. ðryete (-ðryecede, 406, note 1); or. nēalēhte, beside geiced; ðelfre, on the other hand, always has ht: ihte (yhte), -prihte, bepǣhte, gewǣhte, sīhte; ðelehte (from ðolēcan, conformed to the verbs in -lēcan), nēalēhte, part. geiht, gedyrst-, geften-, gerihtlēht, etc.; only exceptionally has ðelfr. forms like part. gedēcæd, gerihtlēcæd, from dēc(e)an (?), xmear; rihtlēc(e)an, justify.

Of wlec(e)an there occur the part. gewlēcæd, gewlēht, and gewlēcæd, gewlēht.

Bede has also a pret. ðerendwreæhte without umlaut, from *ærerrendwrēc(e)an, carry a message.

**Note 18.** Of the Angil. texts Ps. has pret. ðete, but, from nēo-, nio-, nēhlēcæn, nēlīcan, the pret. nēo-, nīo-, nīalēhte; R.^1 part. geiced, and, from pres. nēo-, nēalēcæp, part. genēleccende, the pret. -nēolīete, beside -nēalēhte.

North. R.^2: pret. ðete, part. -cæd (*nēolīcæga conjugates like the Second Class; 3 sing. nēolīcan, -as, pret. nēolīcæd, nēolācæd, part. ginēolīcæd); L. pret. geðryhton, part. gečnyht, beside pret. tōcnulceten; then ñede (also ðete and ñæde), part. -cæd (also -cæd), and, from nēolēcæn, -læcæn, the pret. nēolīcæd (rarely -lēcæn, -lēcæn, also -lēcæn, -læcæn, -læcæn; nēo-, nēlēcæn); Rit. pret. -cnyhtest, part. -cnyht, -ðryht, beside pret. -nēolīcædest.
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Note 10. In the case of certain isolated forms a full paradigm can only be conjecturally framed. So to the pret. scehtē, seduced, may be assigned an infinitive *scycecc(e)an (from sceccēa, seducer); to the part. geclīhē, collectē (Scint.), an infinitive *clycecean; to oflēhēte, hacked off (Ælfr. Ep. Past.); bedēhēte, tradēdit (Hpt. Gl.), the infinitives *hēcece(e)an and *dēcece(e)an (compare læcecean under 1, above).

408. 1) The verbs in rw and lw, like gierwan, prepare; sierwan, deceive; smierwan, anoint; wielwan, roll, originally lose their w before the i of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. (358), the imp. 2 sing. (410), the pret. (401), and the past part. (402), according to phonetic law (173. 2), and hence become short-stemmed in these forms. Compare, for example, from gierwan, the 2 and 3 sing. gierest, gierēð, imp. giere, pret. gierede, part. gegiered.

However, in LWS. numerous transformations occur, the w being either generalized or totally eliminated, or forms (with or without w) constructed according to the Second Weak Conjugation (400, note 2). The individual verbs vary greatly; in the case of a few, like hierwan, deride; nierwan, distress, there are no examples of the original conjugation.

Note 1. With the interchange of rw, lw and r, i must originally have been connected a variation of the radical vowel, since breaking of the basic vowel a or e, i (in smierwan) could only have taken place before rw, lw; for example, smierwan, but smirest, smireð, pret. smirede. This change, however, has left no distinct traces except in smierwan (note 5). In the case of gierwan all difference was regularly effaced: gierwan (98. a), gierede (98. b), etc.

Note 2. The w is restored earliest in the uninflected past part.: compare Ep. gigeruuld, Corp. gegierwold, gesmirwold. In the poetry, too, the metre often demands gegierwed, gegyrwed, beside gegyred.
Note 3. For the most part gierwan, gyrwan adheres in W.S. to the older inflection, but there is also a part. geyrwer (cf. note 2), imp. gier and gierwe Cura Past., beside gyre; in L.W.S. there is a rare 3 sing. gyrað, opt. gyrie, pres. part. gyriende, past part. geyrwood.

Ps. has regularly gærwan, pret. gēred, part. gēred. In R.\(^1\) and North. occur a few forms which belong here, but only with the meaning clothe: R.\(^1\) pres. part. gærwende, pret. plur. unģerédun, past part. ungēgerdane; R.\(^2\) past part. gēgerwed, L. pret. plur. ge-, ungēgeredon, Rit. pret. gi̇geride; for the rest we have these replaced by R.\(^1\) gearwiga (opt. plur. iarwana, pret. iarwede, part. iarwad), R.\(^2\) georwiga, L. Rit. gearwiga, according to Conj. II (inf. geger-uita, 3 sing. ĝeruað, geģerues, part. gigerwed ñ, perhaps result only from inexact spelling).

Note 4. sierwan is regular in E.W.S. prose; Or. sierwan, pret. si(e)rede, part. ge-, besi(e)red (L.W.S. also gesyrwed); but likewise already Or. 3 plur. -sieriað, while L.W.S. has pret. syrode (Kant. Ps. besheðode), beside syrede. L.W.S. usually generalizes the w: pres. 3 sing. syrwô, pret. syrwde, or, according to the ő-class: syrwian, pret. (syrywode), plur. syrwedon.

Note 5. In both E.W.S. and L.W.S. there are numerous relics of the original inflection of smierwan, like Cura Past. pres. plur. smi(e)rewað, pret. smirede. To these are soon added the new formation smirian, smyrian (already imp. plur. smiriað Cura Past. MS. II), which later conjugates also according to the ő-class: pres. 3 sing. smyrað, imp. smyra, pret. smyrode, part. gesmyrod. Moreover in less pure WS. texts there frequently occur forms with e: smerwan, smerian, opt. smerwe, smerige, pret. smereðe, etc.

Ps. has only pres. 3 sing. smireð, pret. smirede, R.\(^1\) once imp. sing. smere; *smeorwan may be assumed as the inf., at least for Ps. (159. 5). North. has R.\(^2\) inf. smiranne, pret. smiride, -ede, plur. -edun, L. inf. smirlane, pret. smiride, plur. smiridon, Rit. part. gesmearvd.

Note 6. The w is almost everywhere generalized in hierwan and nierwan (Angl. Ps. R.\(^1\) herwan, Ps. nérwan: WS. pres. 3 sing. hyrwô (R.\(^1\) herweip), imp. hyrw, pret. hyrwde (Ps. hērwduñ), part. gehyrwed (Ps. gerūwed, plur. gerūwedwe), etc. Occasionally these verbs have adopted forms of the ő-class: hyriwan, nyriwan, pret. hyrwode, nyrwode, etc. Only sporadic are poet. inf. hēr-(ge)an (?), Blickl. pret. nyrukde (for *nyrūwe, compare Blickl. pret. nuerwe), and the very late part. geniered.
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Note 7. *wielwan has pret. wylede, part. bewyled, gewylwed, besides forms according to the ő-class, like pres. wylewige, part. bewylewud, and inf. wyllan, pret. wylode.

The vocalism is obscure in *ágælwan, alarn (part. ágælwede Or., part. ágælved, ágelved Boeth.).

Note 8. fraetwan, adorn, has in the pret., beside frætwede, part. gefrætwed (404, note 1), generally frætwode, part. gefrætwod according to Conj. II; subsequently there are added present forms according to Conj. II.

Note 9. réswan, conjecture, seems also to have had a similar inflection, as there occur also réswian, and pret. réswode and réswode.

2) The verbs in long vowel or diphthong +w, like læwan, betray; forslæwan, dawdle; getriewan, believe; iéwan, show, as a rule generalize the w in all forms: pret. iéwde (sporadic ætiede, 174. 3), part. geiéwed, plur. geiéwde, etc.

Note 10. Beside iéwan, ywan, there occurs, as early as EWS., óéwan, pret. óówde, beside pres. óówian, according to Conj. II, to which is subsequently added a pret. óówode. More rare (and probably never in pure W.S.) is ñawai, especially in the pret. ñawde.

Kent. has ñawan (—WS. ñéwan, 159. 4), beside ñawan (pres. 3 sing. atéwð, atéauð Kent. Gl.), Ps. otéawan, pret. otéawde (only once each otéowan, otéowde), R.1 (at)éawan, pret. éawde, éande; North. R.2 (at)éowa, pret. éowde, part. éowed (once atéwed), L. (æd-), æt-, etc., ge-æawa, pret. -éawde, -éande and -éawde, part. -éawde and -éawad (very rare by-forms like inf. ætæwene, pres. 3 sing. ædæuð, imp. ædeew, pret. ætæuwde, part. ætæwed, also pret. ætædon, æwde), R. ædæawa, pret. -éawde and -éawde, inf. part. ædæawde, beside ædæawad.

Note 11. Under WS. læwan there occurs in North. R.2 the pret. blíede, L. beleede, with loss of w (174. 3).

Note 12. Here perhaps belongs also ñywan, press, oppress (from *þuyjan ?), pret. ñywde, part. *geðywed, infil. geðywde. Add, with very peculiar vocalism, Or. áþwde, poet. part. plur. geþwde; for other forms see note 18.

3) The verbs with orig. aw, iw manifest much irregularity.
Note 13. The verb cieɡ(e)an, cigan (cīɡan), call, name, goes back to a basic form *kaujan, and in WS. transfers the g to all the forms: pret. cī(e)gde, part. geci(e)ged, plur. geci(e)gde, etc. The Anglian forms are: Ps. cēgan, pret. cēde (from *kawida, *kewida, with loss of w, according to 173. 2), R. cēgan, cēgan, pret. cēge, cēgde, once cēgde, part. gecēged; North. R. cēga (once imp. ceig), pret. cēgde, rarely ceigde and cēde, part. gicēged, once gicēed, plur. gicēgde; L. cēga, pret. cēgde, rarely ceigde, part. gecēged, rarely gecēged, gecēged, -id; gecēgde, gecēd, gecēd, infl. gecēg(e)do, etc.; Rit. cēga, pret. -cēgde, -cēde, part. gecēged, infl. gicēgido, gicēgdo, gicēido. On the conjugation of the present see 409.

Note 14. Thus the only poet. hēgan, perform (from *haujan, ON. heyja), pret. hēde, part. gehēd; similarly the non-WS. poet. strēgan, strew (Goth. straujan), pret. streldæ, -e Erf. Corp., strēdun R. 2.

Note 15. The latter is represented in WS. by strewian, pret. strewedwe, later strewian (strewian), strewedwe or strewwode, according to Conj. II.

To the same type belong the isolated part. ā-, gebeowied, polished (OHG. gibewid), and the verbs si(o)wian, sew; spio(w)wian, spec (compare ON. syja, spýja, from *sliujan, etc.), of which the ancient inflection is scarcely illustrated save in the oldest texts (past part. -sliuud Ep., -sliowd Corp., infl. (instr.) bsiuud Ep., bsiuud Corp.); later they pass over to Conj. II, except that spiowian has also pret. spiowde, spēowde (beside plur. spiowedon; all in the poetry).

Note 16. Like the original long stems (compare especially note 12) inflects usually hlywian, hléowian, warm (compare ON. hlýja, from *hliuJan), pret. hlwyde, infl. pret. gehlwyde; but there also occur pret. hlýde, part. gehlŷd, and, in the poetry, a pres. plur. hlēðō.

4) A further series of variations is presented by the contract verbs which belong here (373; 414, note 5).

Note 17. Here belongs, with a stem originally ending in a vowel, *dian, *dēon, suckle: Ps. pres. part. mldēondra, R. diendra, North. L. part. diendra, pret. 2 sing. gedlides, suxinti (in R. mis-written as deōdes). On the other hand, hnéɡ(e)an, neigh (from *hnaian) generalizes the g: 3 sing. hnégō, etc.
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**Conjugation of the Weak Verbs of Class I**

409. *nerian* and *fremman* represent the conjugation of the original short stems, *dēman* of the original long stems (to these are added, according to 372, the presents of the strong *jo*-verbs). For examples of the former class see 400; of the latter, 403; for *gierwan* and *ciegan* see 408. 1, 3. For the form of the endings in general, compare 354 ff.

### Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 1. něrie</th>
<th>fremme</th>
<th>dēme</th>
<th>gierwe</th>
<th>ciege</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. něres(t)</td>
<td>fremes(t)</td>
<td>dēm(es)t</td>
<td>gierest</td>
<td>cieges(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nereō</td>
<td>fremēō</td>
<td>dēm(e)ō</td>
<td>glerēō</td>
<td>cieges(ō)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nēriaō</td>
<td>fremmaō</td>
<td>dēmaō</td>
<td>gierwaō</td>
<td>ciegaō</td>
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### Optative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. něrie</th>
<th>fremme</th>
<th>dēme</th>
<th>gierwe</th>
<th>ciege</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nērien</td>
<td>fremmen</td>
<td>dēmen</td>
<td>gierwen</td>
<td>ciegen</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Inflection

#### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>End</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 2.</td>
<td>nêre</td>
<td>frême</td>
<td>dêm</td>
<td>gierwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>nêrlan</td>
<td>frêmmman</td>
<td>dêmman</td>
<td>gierwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nêrlân =</td>
<td>frêmmman</td>
<td>dêmân</td>
<td>gierwan</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Infinitive

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nêrlan</td>
<td>frêmmman</td>
<td>dêmman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Participle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
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<th>End</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nêrlende</td>
<td>frêmmende</td>
<td>dêmende</td>
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#### Preterit

#### Indicative

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<th>Form</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>nêrede</td>
<td>frêmede</td>
<td>dêmde</td>
<td>gierede</td>
<td>ciegede</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nêredes(t)</td>
<td>frêmedes(t)</td>
<td>dêmdes(t)</td>
<td>gierede</td>
<td>ciegede</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nêrede</td>
<td>frêmede</td>
<td>dêmde</td>
<td>gierede</td>
<td>ciegede</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nêredon</td>
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<td>dêndon</td>
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#### Optative

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>End</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. nêrede</td>
<td>frêmede</td>
<td>dêmede</td>
<td>gierede</td>
<td>ciegede</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nêreden</td>
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<td>dêmenden</td>
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#### Participle

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. nêred</td>
<td>frêmede</td>
<td>dêmede</td>
<td>gier(w)ed</td>
<td>cieged</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nêred</td>
<td>frêmede</td>
<td>dêmede</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Note 1
For graphic variants of nêrlan, etc., like nêrgan, nêrg(e)an, etc., see in general 175. Ps. has only g, as in gedêrgan, onstyrægân, ind. pres. 1 sing. hêrgu, -ö, nêrgu, bisocergru, swergu, blvergu, plur. hêrgað, genêrgað, swergað, opt. nêrgæ, hêrgen, part. hêrgende, genêrgende, swergendan; R. inf. swêrège, swêrge (and one doubtful swêrîge, probably opt.), and fêrganne. North. R.² inf. swêrîgæ, infl. hêrganne and smîranne (408, note 5; cf. also 400, note 2), part. hêrgende and hêrendæ (cf. also 412, note 11); L. inf. suerî(g)a, suerlî(g)a, suerîge; gestyrîge, -ège, infl. hêrganne and smîranne, part. erîende, hêrgende, hêrgiendî and hêrende,
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ind. pres. 3 sing. suerias. Rit. has, beside (gi)hieriað, gihergað, also ind. opt. pres. 1 and 3 sing. ginerere, without i.

On Southern English forms like sécean, -eað, hnægean, -eað, etc., beside sécan, sécað, etc., see 206. 3. b; these -e-'s are wholly lacking in Ps. R.1 R.2 L. Rit.

Note 2. The -e of the 1 sing. preterit indicative is often lost in North. before the pronoun le: sægdig L., Æadig, æerdig Rit., for sægde ic, Æade ic, æerde ic, etc. (355, note 4).

410. Strictly speaking, the inflectional endings were originally the same in both classes, as they still are in the preterit. The actual differences in the conjugation of the OE. present are as follows:

1) The j of the suffix -jo- was retained before an unlike vowel in the case of the short stems in r, like nerian (for occasional analogical exceptions in North. see 409, note 1); in the other short-stemmed verbs it caused, before its disappearance (177), gemination of the radical final consonant in West Germanic, according to 227, as in fremman. After long stems it was dropped without having produced gemination.

Note 1. After a vowel or diphthong j either (a) totally disappeared, and contraction resulted, as in hæan, tyñ, etc. (408. 4), pres. hæa, ty, 2 sing. hæast, tyxt, 3 sing. hæað, tyð, plur. hæað, tyð, etc., or (b) is preserved, as in WS. æegan, etc. (408, note 13).

In Ps. æegan inflicts ind. pres. cegu, *cēst, cēð, cēgað, opt. cēge, imp. ce, *cēgan, cēgað, etc. (408. 3); that is, the j disappeared whenever the ending contained the vowel i. On the other hand, R.1 has pres. 3 sing. cēgæp, imp. cēg; North. R.2 pres. 3 sing. (gi)cēgeoð, -es, -að (once gleæði), imp. gleæg, L. pres. 3 sing. gecelgeði, -es, -að, plur. geceægos, -es, imp. geælæg, geælege.

2) In the forms which have i in the ending, that is, the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing., the j of the suffix was lacking as early as West Germanic,
and therefore could produce no gemination. Accordingly, the present of the originally short stems exhibits a regular interchange between geminated and simple consonants.

Note 2. Especially to be noted in this connection are the sentences of 190 and 216, relating to eg as the geminate of g, and bb as that of f: leg(e)ån, legeð; sweþban, sweþbæð, etc.

Note 3. The interchange disappears with the transformation of the WS. verbs in question according to 400, note 2. Where gemination is kept, irregularities sometimes creep in subsequently: selste and sellest, selæð and selæð, etc. This is especially marked in North. in L.

3) The imp. sing. of the short stems ends in -e (Goth. -ei), as in nere, freme, while it regularly suffers apocope in the long stems (133. c): dæm, hier, etc.

Note 4. In LWS., forms like dëme, byre, are very common. They are rarer in the case of original short stems, like teðle (on EWS. gleør and gleørwe, etc., see 408, note 3); yet sporadic forms do occur, after the manner of the long stems, as, for example, cwæð.

Note 5. While in Ps. the inflection of the imp. has been kept in all strictness, in R. 1 and North, there is already considerable irregularity; for, though the long stems mostly retain the forms without ending, yet forms with -e also occur, like R. 1 geðeræ, cège. L. cège, gehære. -lœre, seðne. Rit. griïhte, givende, geliâhte (but not R. 7). The original short stems have in R. 1 forms like sweør, bæf, sæl, beside sælæ, æþene, and, with transference of gemination, selle, sætæ, áærce, bebyïge; North. R. 2 sist, sæl, beside site, sæte. (bl)byiðæ; L. glibid, sist. lig. byg, gener. sæl, onsett, beside suetæ, genære (and fyrig, according to 412, note 8). Rit. glibidæ, áhef, sæl, beside ginære and glibdæde, gityæmæ.

4) On syncope in the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. see 358, 2, and note; 359.

5) All verbs which in WS. form their inf. in -ian are apt to develop in LWS. forms according to the Second Conjugation (400, 2, 3).
2. Second Weak Conjugation

411. 1) The present forms of this class may all be referred in essence to a common stem ending in Germ. -ōja-; only in the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing. is this replaced by a shorter stem in -ō-.

In OE. the original -ōja-, having first become umlauted -ēja-, passed into -ēja-, -ija-, etc.; hence, for example, inf. lōcian, look, from *lōkōjan, -ējan, etc., opt. lōcige, from lōkōjai, -ēja, etc.

The 0 of the present stem, on the other hand, regularly appears as a; hence ind. 2 and 3 sing. lōcas(t), lōcað, imp. lōca, from *lōkōs, *lōkōp, *lōkō, etc. (for variations see 412, notes 5 and 8).

Note 1. Since the 1 of the in, ie was developed from Ϝ, ē at a comparatively late period, it never caused i-umlaut; forms which have this umlaut do not belong here, but to the Third Conjugation (415; 416, and note 11).

Note 2. For the same reason, the forms in in, ie have no proper u- or o/a-umlaut; where it appears notwithstanding, as in cliopian, cleopian, beside cliplan, etc. (416, note 14. c), it has been adopted from forms without i.

2) The preterit and past participles are formed from the shorter stem in -ō-. OE. has for this 0 either (as in the present) an a, or else u, o; hence, for example, either lōcāde or lōcude, -ode, part. lōcad, or lōcud, -od, from older *lōkōda, *lōkōd. For details see 413.

Note 3. On the intrusion of forms from the Second Conjugation into the First see 400, note 8.

Note 4. The number of verbs belonging to the Second Conjugation is very large, especially as denominatives under this head can be formed from a great many nouns. Here, for example, belong such short stems as bodian, announce; cecrian, lament; dwolian,
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err; holian, obtain; hopian, hope; lañian, invite; loñian, praise; mañian, make; mónian, exhort; stician, stab; warian, observe; and such long stems as āscian, ask; cēapian, trade; costian, tempt; cahtian, estimate; eardian, dwell; earmian, earn; ēndian, end; fōndian, try; fundian, aspire; gearwian, prepare; grāpian, handle; hērgian, devastate; hīgian, hasten; behūfian, need; hwearfian, wander; lãian, reward; lãcian, look; loccian, entice; meldian, announce; offrían, sacrifice; señawian, see; sōñnian, collect; tīolhían, arrange; ðaccian, pat; ðōncian, thank; wealwian, roll; weordian, honor; wincían, wink; wisian, guide; wōndrian, wonder; wuldrían, glorify; wundrian, wound; wundrian, wonder, and many others. Of special groups we may emphasize the derivatives

a) in -(e)clian: bedecian, beg; āştyfeclian, extirpate; āşwefeclian, eradicate; leldclian, delay; gearclian, prepare;

b) in -(e)gian, mostly formed from adjectives in -ig: dysegian, be foolish; hef(e)gian, oppress; met(e)gian, moderate; wel(e)gian, enrich; hālgian, hallow; gemmynggian, remember; sārgian, suffer; scyldgian, sin; synglan, sin; wērgian, weary; witgian, prophesy;

c) in -(e)nian: gedafenian (Ps. gedafenian, R.1 gedafnian and gedēfnian, North. gedēfniga), befit; fag(e)nian, rejoice; hafenian, grasp; op(e)nian, open; war(e)nian, take warning; fæstnian, fasten; lãcian, care; wlinian, desire; witnian, punish;

d) in -(e)sian: ef(e)sian, shear; eg(e)sian, terrify; blietsian, bless (196. 4); blödsian, blissian, rejoice; clænsian, cleanse (185; 186. 2); gitsian, covet; grimsian, rage; hrōowsian, pity; fersian (forsian), be angry; mārsian, celebrate; miltsian, repent; ricsian, rixian, rule; unrōtsian, grieve; untrōwsian, defraud, etc.

Note 5. Many verbs which are wholly or chiefly conjugated in the -a-class have passed over to it from the ancient -e-conjugation: compare, for example, ērían, honor; cunnian, try; folgian, follow; hōngian, hang; hatian, hate; lōngian, long; līcian, please; sārian, be sad; seomian, be ashamed; sorgian, grieve; sparían, spare; ðōlían, suffer; ðōrwian, suffer; wacian, keep watch; wunian, dwell, with OHG. ērēn, (Goth. kunnan, pret. -aida), folgēn, hangēn, hazēn, langēn, līchēn, sērēn, scamēn, sorgēn, sparēn, dolēn, druōēn, wachēn, wonēn, etc.; especially belong here the numerous derivatives from adjectives: ācealdian, grow cold; geströngian, grow strong (OHG. arcaltēn, strangēn), etc.

The forms of these verbs are included without comment in what here follows, so far as they coincide with those of the ā-verbs; the
remains of the ancient ę-conjugation, which in a few cases have been preserved, are collected in 416.

3) The WS. paradigm of this class is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. lōcige</td>
<td>lōcige</td>
<td>Sing. 2. lōca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. lōcas(t)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plur. 1. lōcian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lōcað</td>
<td>lōcigen</td>
<td>2. lōclað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. lōciað</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive: lōcian
Participle: lōciende

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterit</th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. lōcode</td>
<td>lōcode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. lōcodes(t)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lōcode</td>
<td>lōcoden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. lōcodon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle
-lōcod

On the endings of the individual forms compare the general rules in 354 ff. On contract verbs see 414, note 5.

412. The inflection of the present is tolerably constant in most of the dialects, especially in WS. On Anglian peculiarities in the inflected inf. and past part. see notes 3 and 9 ff. Otherwise scarcely any but North. (and in some measure R.1) shows important variations.

Note 1. The ạ, ẹ of the ending are, likewise by the testimony of prosody, generally disyllabic (they have therefore syllabic 1: lō-ẹi-an, etc., not unsyllabic j: *lō-ẹjan or *lō-ẹjan, etc.). In a few texts
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accents occasionally occur over the ĭ, which perhaps points to a secondary displacement of the quantity of the ĭ (löčian, from *lō-ći-
jan); thus forms like inf. gemiddian, gelācnigan, plur. ellipiað, opt. forhradien, etc., are written by one scribe of MS. H of Cura Past.

In the case of the ancient ā-verbs (for ancient ā-verbs see 416, notes 2 and 15), monosyllabic ge occurs only exceptionally for disyllabic īe, especially in certain later texts, probably as a Kenticism: compare participles like Blickl. guorningende, Benet inf. hādgenne, mōtgenne, etc.; yet already in MS. H of Cura Past. one lufge (for geliornen see 416, note 15).

Note 2. In the EWS, texts -ia- is generally written (as indicated in the paradigm), much more rarely -ige- or -iga- (the latter is almost entirely wanting in MS. C of Cura Past.); but also very exceptionally -ea-: Cura Past. plygean, Or. ĕrgean. On the other hand, -ige(n) prevails throughout the ind. 1 sing. and the opt., and -ie, -ien are in the background; but in the part. -iende prevails over -igende (though there are sporadic ĕrgeende Or., yōegende Cura Past.; compare sporadic LWS. parallels like hleōðregendum, maegeregan Gl.); in the infl. inf. (cf. note 10) -iennē interchanges with -igenne.

In LWS. -ia- on the whole prevails; but -io- occurs also in the opt. plur., as in lufion, leornion, note 7 (very exceptional are spellings like wissigon, pēnigeon). Variation occurs in the case of -ie-. ÆElfr. Hom. has mostly -ige-, even in the infl. inf. and in the part., as in bodigenne, bodigende, while in ÆElfr. Gram. the part. shows a strikingly large number of -iende's; beside -igende, -ige being otherwise prevalent. In the case of other texts, it is often impossible to discover a rule.

Kent. Gl. are in general like WS.: regular -ia-, generally -ige (āfēstnige, onscunige, getumbrige, but liornic), but always part. -iend(e).

Ps. has almost always -iu (1 sing.), and so -ia- and -ie- (only one each of gearwigu, ondetīgαθ, -igen, genyhtsumegende, gedeafinedað; for Diwgen see 416, note 15); R.¹, on the other hand, has both -ige (but one wundrielde) and -ige-, -īge- (yet also a few -ia's, and one hāslo).

Of the North. texts, R.² has always -ige-, -igo-, and generally -iga-, rarely -īa-; L. Rit. have -ige-, -igo- (though there are the merest exceptions in favor of -ie-), but -ia- is common, beside -iga-.

Note 3. One chief difference between Anglian and the other dialects manifests itself in the infl. inf. and in the pres. part. (notes 10, 11). Moreover, R.¹ and North. (and here especially L. and Rit.)
exhibit a number of new formations. Here, on the one hand, there is much confusion between forms with and without -f(i)g(-) (hence, for example, L. sing. lufias, plur. lufas, etc., beside orig. sing. lufas, plur. lufias); and, on the other, the a and the ia, ie of the endings are joined to form hybrids like *-aja-, *-aje-, appearing historically as (-aia), -age-, -ega-, etc. (hence, for example, plurals in L. like losilaīð, duolages, cardegað, beside the older losigað, etc.); or, indeed, independent new formations have occurred, on the pattern of other verbs (hence, for example, forms in L. like 1 sing. drōwa, beside drōuígo, imp. hālig, beside hāliga, etc.);

Hereafter, these variations are included under the individual forms.

Note 4. To WS. Kent. -ige of the ind. 1 sing. corresponds in the Ps. -lu, more rarely -lo (355, note 2). R.1 has, beside āhsige, somnige, one hālsio, and a newly formed drōwa, ārwove (getimbre may be an early form, cf. 404, note 1). In North. prevails -igo R.2 L. Rit., as in bodigo, somnigo, etc.; but forms also occur like R.3 fulvo, gihāligo, lufo, rarely somniga; lufa, milsa; L. drōgui, hāliga, uuluðra, uordige; lufo, genuðro; lufa, drōwa, hālsa, milsa; Rit. gihēlsiga, ginhōsige; gimiŋdiga, gidxiga.

Note 5. The a of the ind. 2 and 3 sing. in WS. is entirely stable (one oferscadoð Cura Past. MS. C, contrasted with -að of MS. H, is suspicious); Kent. Gl. have a few o's, e's: onseunoð, gepafod, ofsticoð; gepafeð, áreð; a sporadic edilæaneð in Ps. is again suspicious, and so also a sporadic ádrugiað. R.2, on the other hand, beside -ast, -ap, etc., has rather numerous e-forms, like endep, gearwep, etc. (also gearwæp), and occasionally -la: arilāð, prōwlāp. In the 2 sing. the North. R.3 has for the most part -as (one glöwestu, from glöwiað, correct 416, note 15, b), in the 3 sing. generally -að, beside rare -eð (gisomnīndeð, lufed, gldēfundeð), and again somewhat more common -īgāð, -iāð, -iás: gisomnīgāð, āgnīgāð, ācīṃsīgāð, wundriāð; cīṃsīsas, etc. L. has in the 2 sing. forms like lōcās, sommas, etc. (this is the normal form); lufestu, onsdæraræstu, niwēas; wordīas; in the 3 sing. there prevail -að, -as, beside -eð, -es (and rare -eð, -es: lufed, clloppæs); beside new formations, especially in -iāð, -iás, more rarely such as somnīgāð, -as, fæstnīgeð, worōlges, syndīeð; āgnīgāð; dēadages, uordiges, fæstnīgāð, costāð, and someomīgāð. Rit. has in the 2 sing., beside -as (-ast), forms like gilores, cftnīves; glādīas (for such as rīesāð see 356, note 2); in the 3 sing., beside a few -eð's, new formations in -iāð, beside sporadic gihersumaiāð, gimilsageð, gārwyrdīgeð.
For the consonantal termination of the 2 and 3 sing. see 356; 357.

Note 6. In the ind. plur. and the imp. 2 plur. the ending -iað, etc. (cf. note 2), is stable in W.S. Kent. Ps.; but in R.¹ there occur, beside the usual -i(g)aþ, -iap (sporadically also scylldigat, lōkigæþ), new formations like gesomnap, etc. (sporadically also such as hreordep, speaðs). In North. R.² generally has -igad, -igas, beside less frequent -iað, -ias, and in the ind. new formations in -að, -as, like gisomnað, luças. L. has mostly -iað, -ias (-igað, -igas); but there occur also a few instances of -igeð, -iges, and a fairly large number of new formations like dēdageð, costages; ãnegað, eardegas (rare by-forms: losalæð, ãnagað, lufluglæð, aldaglæð, bodaglæð, worðaiges, ãneges, getegðeges, cipopagð, sceawgæs), but especially such as gesomnað, -s (rarely -es: behōfes). The Rit., too, beside the usual -i(g)að, -i(g)as, has a few new formations like gebledsað, gimpersas, gfeoresceþ.

For the consonantal termination of the ind. plur. see 360. 1; on the abbreviation before a following pers. pron., 360. 3, and note.

Note 7. The opt. sing. in W.S. and Kent. is regular throughout. For the plur. the general rules of 361 are to be observed. Thus EWS. -igen later becomes also -ián (even Or. once æscian), and then in L.W. predominantly -ián, etc., while in Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps. Kent. Hymn -ián is uniform.

Ps. regularly has sing. -iæ, plur. -iæn; R.¹, beside the predominant sing. plur. -ige, also a few -ige's and sing. folæge, gëtriveæ, plur. larwan. North. has in R.² sing. plur. -ige, less frequently -iga; in L., on the other hand, -iga, -ia prevails, beside less common sing. -ige, and new formations like sing. gerixage, losalæge, dēdage, and geberhtna, plur. dēdage, luflaige, -æ; similarly in Rit. sing. plur. mostly -ia, -iga, rarely -ige, and new formations like sing. gimilsaige, giðellege, giwiltiegægæ and gemynège, plur. githoncague and glearnigo.

Note 8. In the imp. sing. the ending -a is stable in W.S. Kent. Ps. R.¹ has, beside -a, rather frequently -æ (also -æ, in lōce). In North., R.² has a sporadic lōccæ, look, beside regular -a; L. and Rit., beside -a, have a few -æ's, and often a new formation in -ig: æríg, sceawig, hālíg (cf. also 410, note 5; one worðiga, adora Rit. is probably to be regarded as inf., and one gebraent L. is perhaps only miswritten).

For the imp. plur. see note 6.

Note 9. In the uninfl. inf., -ián, etc. (note 2), is generally stable in W.S. Kent. Ps. (363. 1, and note 1). R.¹ has, beside -igan, ián, also -ige (and one andustriga), as well as a newly formed stalle,
tinterga for WS. steallian, stand; tintregian, torture; in R.² -iga prevails (sporadically -ia), but also rarely -ige; L. has chiefly -ia, -iga, and -ige, together with new formations in -age, -ega, -ege, like dædage, wifega, ægnege (sporadic by-forms lufagie, geðeædaitaige, uuundraigae, hrifordagae, gelænegoæ, gehorogae), and like gerêosa, mîlsa, gehâliga. In Rit. only the regular -ia, -iga seem to occur with certainty (but cf. 414, note 14. c).

Note 10. For the infl. inf. the general rules of 363. 2 hold in WS. Kent.; hence EWS. generally -ianne, more rarely -i(g)enne, while in LWS. -i(g)enne predominates; Kent. -innen Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps., etc.

In Angl., on the other hand, the prevalent forms are without -ia. Pa. has -enne, as in carnennne (besides one to mildsiende, miserendi); R.¹ varies: scæawenne, bïsmere, gitsanne. Of the North. texts, R.² has, beside predominant -anne, as in ëndanne, sporadic bodiganne (for wuniganne, beside wunanne, see 416, note 16); in L. -anne prevails (but sporadic losane, embehtane, talanna, and the shortened sceawanne), rarely -enne (gehæligenne, pinenne, wordennne) or -ianne (bodíanne, lufianne, wordîanne); Rit. has only -anne.

Note 11. A similar twofold formation occurs in the pres. part. In WS. Kent. -i(g)ende prevails, as might be expected. In Ps. -îende likewise predominates, but -ende is also very common, and indeed frequently in the same verbs: blissiende and blissende, etc. R.¹ has, beside (clîpigende), wundriende, usually -ende, as in (clîppende, 416, note 14. c), lôkende, etc.; exceptionally also costãnde, lôcande, ondswarande. In R.² -ende is uniform, while in L. it interchanges with -ande (beside sporadic ondswaerande, and shortened forms like scæande, ërounde), and more rarely with i-forms, like geadrigende, etc. (once also glyrsingundum, compare the older hîfðirindî Ep.; for wunigende, etc., see 416, note 16). Rit. has, beside -ande (riesande, etc.), also lufende, wynsumanda (for wunigende, liffigendra see 416, notes 2 and 16).

In the poetry, too, the shorter forms in -ende are frequently found, and are very generally to be substituted, as the metre shows, for the manuscript reading -îende (see Beitr. 10. 482).

For new formations of a similar kind among the older jo-verbs see 409, note 1.

413. The commonest form of the WS. pret. is -ade, from Early OE. -udæ, -ude; -ade is rarer in West
Saxon, but characteristic for Kentish and especially for Anglian. Forms with (weakened) -ed- are everywhere rarer, but occur in all the dialects.

Note 1. Among the oldest texts, Ep. has forms like alsacudæ, sulcudæ, beside geregnodæ, suornodun, and genlöradæ, lithre-adæ; in Corp. -ade, etc., prevails; only sporadically there occur gemærcaðe, ðröwade, tioðudun, which in part belong to older e-verbs.

Note 2. In EWS. -ude is rather uncommon, and evidently to be regarded as an archaism; plural forms with u are wholly lacking here. In LWS., on the other hand, the u occurs in part more frequently, and in the plur. as well (evidently as an inverse spelling for o): lœcude, plur. lœcudon, etc.

Note 3. In Cura Past. the sing. -ude is found in both MSS. twice: græpude, ðröwude; and -ade three times: ðenade, bissnade, gesyn-gade; but both occur somewhat oftener in one MS. or the other, especially in H. The normal form is -ode, plur. -odon, etc.; yet for the latter there already occur five instances of -edon common to both MSS.: hirsumedon, bodedon, geðafedon, wunedon, bismredon (hence especially in older e-verbs); the sing. -ede is lacking, with the exception of a single oferfæggede MS. H.

In the Chron., too, -ode, plur. -odon is the most usual, though the sing. -ude, and especially -ade, plur. -adon, are also somewhat oftener represented (add one plur. oferhergeadanon).

In Or. the sing. has usually -ade, the plur. -edon, but also not infrequently sing. -ode, plur. -odon; to these add one plur. -adon, three opt. plur. -aden, and four sing. -ede.

Note 4. The forms with -ed- evidently arose first in the plur. There, too, they remain fairly common in LWS., beside the normal sing. -ode, plur. -odon (and rare -ade, -ude, plur. -udon; cf. note 2), while the sing. -ede is quite exceptional.

Note 5. Kent. has in Kent. Gl. onsunyed (416, note 11), geðafede, offrede, beside the prevalent -ade; in Kent. Ps. lufedest, beside two occurrences of pingode and one of beserode (408, note 4).

Note 6. In Anglian -ad is the constant norm; -ud-, -od- is, except for ð cleopude, 8 lufude Ps. (and frequent -ade), decidedly rare: only one each of duolude Ps., blearudun R.¹, trígude, ðondsuearudon L., gröðotodon R.², ðondsuerode, losodun, cleopodan
L. As the instances show, this form of ending is chiefly restricted to the original ð-verbs (416, and notes).

Somewhat more common in Ps. R.¹ is -ed-, and here, too, the original ð-verbs are especially concerned (compare, for example, Ps. 7 times cleopedun, 10 times onscunedun, etc., beside which there is no plur. -adun).

Similar are the conditions in North., except that at least in L. -edon seems to be rather commoner as the weakened form of the plur. -adon in original ð-verbs: liecedon, wordedun, ofwundredon, etc.

Note 7. Moreover, L. has a number of occasional new formations, like sceawde (secaude, secode; cf. 416, note 17. b), from sceawiga, look; hæafegde, untrymigdon, from hæafiga, lament; untrymiga, be sick (416, note 11); or, conversely, ellode, beside ellodage, ellodege, -lgde, from ellodigiga, travel abroad.

Note 8. For forms without a middle vowel, like trūwde, ðeowde, etc., see 416, note 17. b.

414. The endings of the past participle correspond in general to those of the preterit—WS. generally -od, non-WS. generally -ad, etc. — but there are many variations in detail.

Note 1. The only forms of Ep. which belong here are fetod, gefetodnæ, áfūloden (all from older ð-verbs; cf. 416, note 15. b, and OHG. fūlūn); of Corp. feotod, gefeotodne, beside the prevailing -ad, etc.

Note 2. In Cura Past., beside the normal -od, infl. -ode, -oda, etc., there are 12 instances of uninflected -ad, and one each of geágen-, -udu (144. b), gewundedan, forrotedan, in both MSS. alike (un(ge)-) ðinged and 2 instances of gewintréde are formed according to Conj. I; add in C alone 4 of -ude, etc., 2 of -edan; in H alone 5 of -ade, 4 of -udne, -udan, etc., 2 of -edan, etc. The Chron. has, besides 13 instances of -od and 4 of -ode, etc., 6 of gefulwad, 2 of gewundad, 1 of geleapade, 1 of gefulhutud, 3 of -horsude, -an. In Or. the uninflected form is usually -ad, then -od (twice -ed), infl. -ade or -ede (one each of gebroode, gewundode).

In LWS. the u, a, e are nearly parallel to those of the preterit.

Note 3. Kent. has only geclænsod Kent. Ps., and in Kent. Gl. mostly -ad, infl. -ade, but also witnod, gelīgod, gegeawrod,
Inflection

gesammnode, gemetgode, gewihta-dum, and (of older ð-verbs)
onscunede (416, notes 11. c and 15. a), geðfæden (OHG. åbandæn).

Note 4. In Anglian the norm is uniformly -ad, infl. -ade, etc.;
but Ps. has a few inflected forms like gesingæide, gewundadan,
-edra, etc.; R. an infl. gesynnæde, beside several instances of uninf.
-od, like bewæded (also one gegeardæ); R.² uninf. gidaæned,
losed (older ð-verb, 416, note 11. b); L. Rit. rather frequently uninf.
-ed, Rit. also one infl. giudværedæ. Add new formations like Rit.
gicostiged, L. gefréaten, forbodan, after the pattern of the strong
verbs (406, note 7), etc.

Note 5 (on 412-414). A few contract verbs are also found among
the ð-verbs (373; 408. 4), in which the root and the vowel of the
ending coalesce in the forms without older ð. Here belong:

a) *bōlan, *bōgan, boast (ind. 3 sing. poet. bōð, beside LWS.
newly formed bōgāð Scint.); *gōlan, lament (part. gōlende, ind.
prea. 3 sing. gōð Bede); scōolan, scēgan, shoe (ind. 1 sing. scēge,
scēge, opt. plur. -scēgen, imp. sing. scēo, plur. scēgeðað, past part.
-scōd, scēod, North. gescōd L., gisceð R.², imp. gisceðo Rit.); basic
forms *skōhōjan, etc.

b) twēog(e)an, doubt (from *twihōjan, compare OHG. zwebhōn;
pres. twēo, twēōst, twēōð, opt. twēo, part. twēogende, poet.
also -twēonde (412, note 11), pret. twēode; Merc. R.¹ ind. pres.
plur. twiyag, pret. 2 sing. getwiöstæ, plur. twēodon, North. R.²
ind. pres. 3 sing. twīas, opt. twiōge, pret. twiade, plur. twiódun,
L. ind. pres. 3 sing. tuās, tuās, opt. sing. getuiga, opt. twiade,
plur. tuaiton, getwiedon, Rit. pret. sing. gitvieda), and probably
*tēog(e)an, ordain, create, of which only contract forms seem to
occur (ind. pres. plur. poet. tēð, pret. tēode, Old North. tiade
Cædman's Hymn, part. -tēod); likewise frōeg(e)an, love (Goth.
frējōn), ind. pres. 3 sing. frēō, plur. frēogað (poet. also frēōð),
opt. frēo, imp. sing. frēa, etc.

c) North. also gefēaga, etc., rejoice (= WS. gefēan, 391. 1, and
note 6): R.² inf. gifēaga, -e, ind. pres. 1 sing. gifēo, 3 gifēað, part.
gifea(æ)nde, gifēonde, pret. gifēade, gifēode, plur. gifēadun; L.
inf. gefēage, beside gefēa, ind. pres. 1 sing. gefēo, 3 gefēað, -s, opt.
sing. gefēage, plur. gefēað, part. gefēande, pret. gefēadende, plur.
gifēadun, past part. gefēad; Rit. inf. gifēa(g)ta, gifēage, beside
gifēa, ind. pres. plur. gifēað, opt. sing. gifēage, plur. gifēa, imp.
plur. gifēað, pres. part. gifēande.
CONJUGATION

3. THIRD WEAK CONJUGATION

415. This conjugation comprises the few remains of the original ē-class (398.3) which are still preserved in OE. The class itself falls into two divisions:

1) In the first division there was an alternation in the pres. of the Germ. suffixal forms -ja- and -ai- (or -æ-, as others assume), in the same way as with Germ. -ōja- and -ō- in the ō-class. The j of the first of these caused West Germ. gemination of a preceding simple consonant (227), and later, as a rule, i-umlaut. The ai of the second form appears in WS. as a (perhaps in consequence of an early confusion of this class with the ō-class), and in Anglian, at least in part, as e. The pret. attaches the ending -de, and the past part. the ending -d, directly to the radical syllable (that is, without West Germ. middle vowel): hence, for example, inf. sæcg-(e)an, from *sagjan, ind. pres. 3 sing. sagæ, North. sægeð, etc., from orig. *sagalp, pret. sægdæ, past part. gesægd, etc. In the course of time, however, many dislocations of the older system have supervened, especially in the way of conformity to the inflection of the First or Second Weak Class.

2) The original forms of the second division can only be conjecturally determined. Probably there corresponded to a Germ. -ja- of the first division a West Germ. -i(j)a- of this, springing from Indo-Eur. -ē-jo-, which may have been then shortened in Prim. OE. to -i(j)a- and monosyllabic -ja-. This -(i)ja- was early enough to cause i-umlaut, but not West Germ. gemination; hence, for example, forms like North. R.² inf.
Infl ection

laesiga, laesga, be lost (note 11), from the stem *losējo-, *losi(j)a-. The alternative form of the suffix was, as in the first division, -ai-, which is represented here, just as there. Fixed rules for the pret. and past part. can not be given, especially as this second division has gone over almost wholly to the ō-class, so that only scanty remains of the older formation occur (416. 2, and notes).

416. 1) To the first division belong especially the verbs habban, have; libban, live; secg(e)an, say; hycg(e)an, think, and originally the contract verbs ōrēag(e)an, rebuke; smēag(e)an, investigate; frēog(e)an, free; fēog(e)an, hate (West Germ. stem-forms *haβaː:, *haβai-, pret. *haβ-, *pраnja:- *praωai-, pret. *pраan-; *frɪja:- frɪ(j)ai-, etc.). As paradigms we may assume (forms in parenthesis are such as are rarely or never found in WS.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 haebbe</td>
<td>{libbe}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{lifge}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (hafas[t])</td>
<td>{løfas(t)}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haest</td>
<td>(sagas[t])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{høgas[t]}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (hafað)</td>
<td>{løfað}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haðð</td>
<td>{sagð}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{høgð}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habbað</td>
<td>{libbað}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{lifgað}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>secg(e)að</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hycg(e)að</td>
<td>ōrēag(e)að</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frēog(e)að</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 haebbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frēoge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CONJUGATION

#### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>Plural:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 hafa</td>
<td>llofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(saga)</td>
<td>(lifgað)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sæge)</td>
<td>(lifgæ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoga</td>
<td>sceg(c)að</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òrenæ</td>
<td>hycg(e)cæð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frëo</td>
<td>òrëag(c)cæð</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Infinitive

| haðban    | (lifgan) |
| sceg(c)an | òrëag(c)cæð |
| hycg(e)cæð | frëog(c)cæð |

#### Participle

| haðbende  | (lifgæ)  |
| scegænde  | òrëagænde |
| hygænde   | frëogænde |

#### Preterit

| 1 haðfæde | lifðe |
| sægðæde   | hógðæde  |
| òrdæade   | frëode   |

#### Indicative

| etc., like demde, 409. |

#### Participle

| gehæfd | gelifð | gesægd | gehogod | gehröad | gefróod |

**Note 1.** haðban.  
1. habban coalesces with the negative ne to nabban, ind. pres. sing. 1 næbbe, 2 (nafast), næfæt, 3 (nafað), næfð, plur. nabað, opt. næbbe, pret. næfæde, past part. gehæfd.  
2. The forms haðas(t), haðað; nafað(s), nafað are extremely rare in Pure WS. (in Cura Past. haðas(t), nafað once each in both MSS., haðað once in MS. H), while in texts having dialectic coloring they may occur frequently. In the Anglian poetry they prevail exclusively, while in the south haðfæt, haðfð, etc., are collateral forms; the Anglian poetry has also a 1 sing. hafa, -o (-a).  
3. A few instances of haðbað, nabað occur in the ind. pres. plur. of Cura Past. MS. H, while æ is the rule in the WS. abbreviated hæbbe wé, gé, and in the negated næbbe gé (but once nabbe gé Cura Past. MS. H). In LWS. the a of the ind. is apt to penetrate into the opt. plur.; sing. hæbbe, plur. haðban, following the ind. sing. hæbbe, plur: haðbað.  
4. The LWS. past part. is sporadically -haðfed (frequently in Bede MS. Ca).

Note 2. a) In libban and lifgan (lifian, lifigean, etc.) there is a double formation of the present (415. 1 and 2). Of these, libban is properly the Pure WS form, lifgan that of the other dialects, though Cura Past. MS. If has an exceptional hiendan (Chron. seems to have only lifgænde, and no form with bb), and occasional deviations are subsequently found in Pure WS. In the poetry, libban is restricted to the Southern English Metres (and to Gen. B, translated from Old Saxon).

b) In the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. EWS. has once i for io (lif(i) Cura Past. MS. C), while later it is generally leofthæ, but also lifðæ, lyfðæ, etc. The io, eo thrusts itself, as a dialectic influence, even into the older j-forms, as in inf. leofian, 3 plur. leofæp Blickl.

c) The LWS. pret. is generally leofode (beside lyfode, sporadically also lifðæ Bede MS. Ca).

d) Dialectal inflection: Kent. has in Kent. Ps. the part. lifð(e)ende, lifgænde, in charters opt. lifðe, part. lifgædes, pret. oforlifðe.—Merc. Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 lifgæ, 3 leofthæ, hoftæ (leofthæ), plural. lifgæð, opt. lifðe, inf. lifgan, part. lifgænde (one lifænde), past part. lifð; —R. ind. pres. sing. 3 leofthæ, plural. lifgæð, part. lifgænde, pret. lifðe.—North. R. ind. pres. sing. 1 lifo, 3 lifðæ, plural. lifgas,
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inf. hīfge, part. hīfgenode; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 hīfgoa, -að, -aða, 
hīfgo, -es, plur. hīfgoas, hīfgoað, opt. (h)hīfgoe, part. hīfgo(g)ende (hīf-
genode, hīfgenode, etc.), pret. lifde; — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 2 hīfgoas 
(-að), 3 hīfgoað, hīfgoe, -aða, -es, plur. hīfgoað, hīfgoe, hīfgoa, opt. sing. plur. 
hīfgoe, part. hīfgo(g)ende, hīfgenode.

Norns 3. seocegan. a) The EWS. is regularly pres. sing. seoce, 
seagst, seagð, plur. seoceg(u)ð, etc., pret. seagde, part. gesægd (for 
forms like sæde, gesæd see 214. 3), except that æ occasionally 
intrudes into the old ja-forms: inf. seoceg(e)an, etc. In LWS. the 
verb abandons completely the distinction between e and æ in the 
pres., and thus goes over to the inflection of Conj. i : ind. pres. seoce, 
seoceg(e)at, seoceg(e)ð, plur. seoceg(e)uð, imp. sege, plur. seoceg(e)uð (but 
pret. sæde, etc.). In less pure WS. texts, and especially in the poetry, 
still other blendings occur (like pres. sægest, sægð, imp. sæge), as 
well as the a-forms sagast, sagað, imp. saga, which are entirely 
foreign to pure WS.

b) Dialectal inflection : Kent. has Kent. Gl. imp. nesegeðu. — Merc. 
Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 seoce, -o (one -seocega), 2 ásagas, 3 sægð, plur. 
seocegð, opt. seoce, plur. -en, imp. sing. seoce, plur. seocegð, inf. 
seocegene, part. seocegande, pret. seoce, past part. seoæ. — R. ind. 
pres. sing. 1 seoce (seocega, sege), 2 sægest, 3 sægeð, plur. sægæð 
(seægæð), opt. sing. plur. sæge, imp. sing. sæg, sæge, sæge, plur. 
sægæð, pret. sæge, past part. sægæð. — North. R. ind. pres. 
sing. 1 sægo (-o), 2 sæges, 3 sægæð (sægæð), plur. sægæð, -as 
(ásægas), imp. sæge, inf. sægga (-o, sæge), inf. sægægænne, pret. 
sægæ, past part. sægæð; — L. ind. pres. sing. 1 sægo (sæggo), 2 sæges 
(-o), 3 sægæð, -es (sægæs, -es), plur. sægægæð (sægæs), opt. sing. 
sæge, imp. sæg, sæge, plur. sægæs, pret. sægæde, past part. sægæð 
(ásægæð); — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 3 sægæð, plur. sægæð, opt. sing. 
plur. sæge, imp. sægi, -e, part. sægægende, pret. sægæde.

Norns 4. a) hyceg(e)an forms its whole pres., even in EWS., for 
the most part according to the paradigm of Conj. i : hyce, 3 sing. 
hyg(o)ð (but once hogað Cura Past. MS. H), imp. -hige Boeth. 
MS. C (hoga MS. B); in the pret. hoge already appears, beside 
hogde, and later becomes usual); only -hogod occurs as the EWS. 
past part.

The ja-inflection is later exceptionally extended to the pret.: 
-hyde Blickl. Gl., -hyge(de), -hige(de) Spelm. Ps. In pure LWS. 
the verb has more frequently gone over to Conj. ii : inf. hogian, pret. 
hogode, part. -hogod, etc.

Note 5. ðræg(e)an and smæng(e)an. Here we encounter sporadically in WS. abbreviated forms like the infl. infl. ðræanke Cura Past. MS. H. opt. plur. smęan, imp. plur. smęap Boeth. MS. B (ind. plur. smęað Metres), part. smęande Spelm. Ps.

Dialectal inflection. Kent. has Kent. Gl. ind. pres. sing. 2 ðræast, 3 ðræað, smęað, inf. smęgan, infl. smęagenne, part. ðrægende, past part. ðræad. — Merc. Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 ðrægu (ðréu), smęgu, 2 ðræast(t), 3 ðræað, plur. smęgað, opt. sing. ðrège, smęge, imp. sing. ðréa, part. ðrégende, smęgende, pret. ðréade, past part. smęad; — R.¹ inf. ðréiga. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 1 ðřia, 3 ðřeað, smęoð, plur. smęogas, imp. sing. smęoge, plur. smęogas, part. smęa(n)du[m, pret. ðřade (ðřede), smęode, plur. ðřeadun (ðředun), smęadun; — L. ind. pres. sing. 1 ðře[a, 3 ðřeað (-ðřað?), smęað, plur. smęað, -s, imp. sing. ðřea, smęage, plur. smęas, past. part. smęande, pret. sing. ðřade, smęade, plur. ðřeadon, smęadon (gesmęadon, gesmęadon); — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 3 -smęað, plur. smęað, imp. plur. ðřeað, inf. -smęga, infl. smęanne, part. -ðřeandum, smęande.

Note 6. ðrøg(e)an, ðriog(e)an (114. 2; for ðriogean, loe, see 414, note 5. b) inflects in Merc.: Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 frǐgu, 2 -frēas, 3 -fræad, -fræod, -fræod, imp. sing. -frēa (-fría), plur. -frigað, part. subst. -frigend, pret. -fréode, -fræade (frıode, -frıde), past part. -frıod, -frıad, -frıad; — R.¹ opt. pres. gesfrıegeo. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 3 -frıað, -frıoð, imp. sing. frıa, past part. -frıad, plur. -frıode; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 frıað, -frıgeð, -frveð, imp. -frig, inf. gesfrıega (opt. ?), part. friende, pret. -frıgate, past part. -frıod, -frıad, -frıonad; — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 1 frıa, opt. -frıe, imp. frıa, pret. -frıade, frıode, past part. -frıad, -frıod.

Note 7. ðéog(e)an, ðiog(e)an (114. 2; Goth. fijan) inflects in Merc.: Ps. ind. pres. sing. 3 ðiað, plur. ðigað (ðiað), imp. plur. ðiað, part. figende, pret. ðiode (fıode, fıede, also once fıedest); — R.¹ ind. pres. sing. 3 ðiað, plur. fıegað, opt. fıega. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 3 ðiað (gěeð?), inf. -fıgeo, pret. plur. -fıadun; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 -fıð, -fıað, -fıeð, -fıvoð, inf. -fıge, pret. plur. ðfıadon; the word does not occur in Rit.
2) The other ancient ē-verbs of both classes have gone over, either wholly or with trifling exceptions, to the conjugation of the ō-verbs. Less common is transfer to the jo-class, or a twofold formation according to both classes.

**Note 8.** The criteria for original ē-inflexion in the presence of Common OE. ō-inflexion are especially:

a) the occurrence of West Germ. geminatin (cf. note 10);

b) the occurrence of 1-unlaut and similar vowel-changes (cf. note 11 ff.);

c) the occurrence of monosyllabic -ga-, -ge-, in contradistinction to the -ia-, -i(ge)- of Conj. II (412, note 1; 415. 2; cf. note 15, below);

d) the occurrence of Anglian present participles in -ende, etc., as against the -ande, -ande of Conj. II, etc. (412, notes 10 and 11; cf. note 16, below);

e) the occurrence of preterits without middle vowel (cf. note 17, below);

f) the occurrence of unaccustomed vowels in the ending (cf. note 18, below).

**Note 9.** Wholly to Conj. I belongs faestan, fast (OHG. fasteu). Double formation occurs especially in the case of fylg(e)an, fylgde, and folgian, folgade, follow (OHG. folgēn), with which compare tellan, teald (407. 1) and talian, talode, (re)count.

fylg(e)an and folgian already have equal validity in EWS. (for example, in Cura Past.). Ps. L. have only forms of fylgan, -a, and the same is true of R.² Rit., except for once each imp. sing. folga R.², opt. plur. folgiga Rit. Forms of folgian are commoner in R.¹ (inf. folgian, opt. folge, imp. folga, pret. folgade, plur. -adun, -edun, beside ind. pres. 3 sing. fylgep, imp. fylge, -æ, part. fylgende, -ande, pret. fylgde, -ede.

**Note 10.** West Germ. gemination (note 8. a) occurs also in isolated forms in the case of the poet. pres. part. waecende, from waclan, watch (Ps. ind. pres. 1 sing. wæcl, plur. wæcla, pret. waecade (164, note 2); R.² North. have carried the jo-inflexion almost completely through: R.¹ inf. awaecan (?), imp. plur. wæccas, wæc(e)p, part. waecende; R.² inf. giwæcca, wæcc, opt. sing. wæce, imp. plur. wæccas, part. wæc(e)ende; L. inf. wæc(e)a, gewæccæ, infi. wæccenne, imp. plur. gewæccas, part. wæc(e)ende,
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pret. gewăhte; Rit. opt. plur. givæege, part. væceendo), and the participial noun hëttend, enemy, from hatian, hate.

Properly hnapplian, nap, also belongs here; EWS. has also once hnaëpplā L. Cur. Past.: LWS. has frequent æ-forms in Speilm. Ps. In Ps. the word inflects; ind. pres. sing. 1 neapli, 2 neppas, 3 hneap(p)æ, pret. hneap(p)ade, plur. hneapedun, -on.

Note 11. The following have l-umlaut (note 8, b) beside other criteria:

a) North. R.2 gīðelge, ind. pres. 3 sing. gīðolas (gīðelgas), imp. plur. gīðelgas, = Common OE. dōlan, endure (OHG. dōlēn);

b) North. R.2 inf. lōes(l)iga, beside loesiga, losige, infl. losanne, ind. pres. 3 sing. losað, -as, -eð (lōesigað, losigað), plur. losigað, -as, opt. lōes(l)ige, plur. lōesige, imp. losa, part. losed, beside losad, = Common OE. losian, be lost;

c) Angl. (on)scynian, etc., beside Common OE. ONSEUNLAN, shun (Ps. has chiefly forms of -scunian, but twice pret. scynnadan; L. inf. scynliga, ind. pres. 3 sing. L. Rit. onscynað; no instances in R.1 R.2);

d) North. býa, beside Common OE. būan, etc., 396, note 6, OHG. būen (not found in Ps. R.1); R.2 inf. býa, ind. pres. 2 sing. býes, pret. býede, beside fem. býend, colony; L. inf. býd, infl. býenna, ind. pres. 3 sing. býed, plur. býed, -es, imp. plur. býes, pret. -býede, plur. bý(e)don, past part. unbýed, -ld, beside ind. pres. 2 sing. būes, and fem. būend; Rit. ind. pres. sing. 1 býa, 3 býað, opt. -býe, imp. gīnþýa (?), part. býende);

e) North. on(ð)spyrn(ig)a, beside on(ð)spurn(ig)a, etc., from Common OE. spurnan, 389, note 4: R.2 ind. pres. 3 sing. œnsprynnas, opt. plur. œnsprynlige, past part. œnsprynned, plur. œnsprynnade, beside ind. pres. sing. on(ð)spurneð, plur. œnsprunnað; L. ind. pres. 3 sing. œndspyrneð, -að, -as, opt. -spyrne, plur. -spyrnlga, part. -spyrnende, past part. -spyrned, -ad (with the new formations imp. sing. geondspyre, part. geondspyrndo), beside ind. pres. 3 sing. spurnað, -as, part. -spurnendra, pret. plur. geondspurnedon, past part. geondspurnnað, -edo;

f) North. untrymiga, be sick, beside Common OE. untruman: Ps. past part. geuntrumad, infl. -ade and -ede, but R.2 pret. untrymede, -ide, plur. intrymedun, beside sing. untrumade, L. inf. untrynnma, part. untrynnende, pret. untrymade, plur. untrynnigdon (413, note 7).

l-umlaut is found more sporadically in North. pret. R. gitrygade = L. trūgude, from trūgian, Common WS. trūwian, believe (OHG.
trūên), and ind. pres. 3 sing. L. drýgās = R.² drūgaš, aruit, beside R.² pret. drūgade, part. gidrūgās, L. pret. -drūge, beside -drūgade (this also R.¹), part. gedrūgād; compare also the isolated part. soergendl (i.e., *sōrgendl ?) Ep., from sorglan, grieve (OHG. sorgēn).

The North. R.² clyniga, resound, which perhaps belongs here, occurs only in the inf.

Note 12. The interchange of eo and io in EWS. leornlan (rarely liornlan), learn (OHG. lernēn, lernēn) and North. R.² liorniga, L. leorniga (once gelearnade), less frequently liornigae, is to be explained by the changing vocalism of the ending.

Note 13. The occurrence of e, instead of a, often points to earlier ē-inflection (compare the vocalism of habban, sægeæan, etc., with that of verbs like macian, laæian, etc.). Here belong:

a) North. Rit. inf. spærla, pret. gispæarde, beside Common OE. sparan, spare (OHG. sparēn); Ps. ind. pres. 3 sing. spearað, imp. speara, pret. speared(e)

b) North. plægiga, play, etc., R.² pret. plægede, L. plæg(e)de, plægade (Ps. ind. pres. plur. plægiað, part. plægiendra, beside imp. plur. plagiæð, R.¹ pret. plægade, beside plur. plagadun, belong to 162, note 2; see also 391, note 1);

c) North. ondsweäriga, beside Common OE. ondswarian, -swarian: in R.² generally inf. -sworia, etc., only twice -swarade; but L. inf. onswærage, ind. pres. 2 sing. onswæraræsta, plur. onswærigeð, part. ondsweärerendum, pret. on(d)sweärede, geondsweärede (cf. note 17), beside ind. pres. plur. ondsweariges, opt. plur. onsdwæriga, imp. plur. ondsweäræð, part. ondsweärende, -ende, pret. ondsweärede, -ade, -alde, -swarde, ondsweäræde, -ade, plur. -adun, -udon, and ondsweärade. -ode (R.¹ has also one plur. ondswäregap, beside many a-forms). — For hneaippian and hhnappian see note 9.

Note 14. a) Of verbs with inner i there belong here bifian, tremble (beside bifian Riming Poem); clifian, adhere; ginian, gapæ; hlinian, lean; tillian, strive after (compare OHG. bīben, kiebēn, ginēn, hlīnēn, zilēn). These have u- or o-/a-umlaut in the forms with u, o, or a in the ending (105. 2; 107. 4; 160); for example, EWS. inf. tillian, ind. pres. sing. 1 tille, 2 tiolast (tielast ?), 3 tiolað (tielāð ?), plur. tillað, opt. tillē, imp. sing. tiola (tiela ?), plur. tillað, pret. tiolode; but WS. generalizes the i at an early period (tiela Cura Past. MS. H, tiolode MS. C, beside forms with io). In LWS. y often occurs: gynlan, hlynian, etc. (Cura Past. already has one opt. hlynigen in
both MSS.). In less pure WS. texts the domain of the io, eo is frequently extended: beofian, cleofian, geonian, hlconian, etc.

Dialectic inflection: Merc. R.1 pres. part. bīfgende; ind. pres. 3 sing. aetclīnað; ind. pres. plur. hlōnigap, part. hlengendes, pret. sing. hlōnede, hlōnede, plur. hlōnaddon, hlōnudun. — North. R.2 pret. plur. bī(f)gedon; ind. pres. 3 sing. -hlōnað, plur. hlōnigað, imp. hlōna (hlōniga), part. hlengendum, hlōni(g)endum, hlōnendra, -dum; — L. pres. part. bī(g)ende, pret. plur. bīfgedon; ind. pres. 3 sing. -hlēnað, plur. hlēnigað, imp. hlīnig (hlīna), part. hlīngende, etc. (hlīngindi, hlīngendum, hlīngiendo), hlīngende (hlīndra), pret. hlīnade (hlīnade, -lōnede), plur. -hlōnodon, part. ghclōnadd; — Rit. part. bhīgendo.

b) Further belong here North. L. glēwiga, giwge, demanda (compare OHG. gewēn): ind. pres. sing. 2 giues, -að, -as, 3 giueð, -að, -að (-lað, -las), plur. glūgas (giuðað), etc., imp. glūg, plur. giuðað, etc., part. glēwigende, glīendum, glūgende (giwende, etc.), pret. giuede, giuede, -ade, -ude, plur. giude, -giuð(u)don, opt. giuide, giulade; in R.2 the verb runs inf. giowlīgia, etc., and regularly follows the o-class (once giowestu, 412, note 5; compare OHG. gewēn).

c) It is more doubtful whether WS. eclīpian, call, originally belongs here. In EWS. it is conjugated just like tīlitan (see a), but has also a few forms with eo in Cura Past. like inf. cleopīlan; in LWS. eclīpian, clīpīlan predominates, though cleopīlan is also found. In Ps. cleopān (with constant eo) in general follows the o-class, but has in the pret. 5 -ude's, 15 -ede's, beside only 6 -ade's; in the plur. only -edun, -edon; in R.1 note the participle clīpīgende, beside clīpīgende, and ind. pres. 3 sing. clīpap, cleopāp, pret. clīpade, cleopade, etc. In North. it follows throughout the Inflection of Class II: R.2 clīpūga, L. clīpīla.

d) With Goth. wītan, pret. wītāda is to be compared the poet. bewītīan, observe, etc., and the frequent past part. wītōd, wētōd, decided (and so the adv. wītōdlīce, surely, verily. North. R.2 wūtōdlīce (once -wūtud-), L. wūtōdlīce, etc.

Note 15. a) Monosyllable -ge-, etc. (note 8. c) in undoubtedly old ős-verbs are to be found in the oldest texts: thus from tīlītan, gīnītan, hlīnīan (note 14), oncsīnīan (note 11) we have Ep. tīlgendum, Corp. onhlīngu, wīðerhlīngendē, geongendī, ancsīnendī, as well as dokīndī (compare OHG. tōben, rage), and so probably seobgendī, from seofītan, lamen. Cura Past. has, on the other hand, only a single sporadic gelīrīngu in MS. H (412, note 1); Ps. one opt. plur. giwgen, from giowītan, servē (cf. note 17. b); R.1
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bifgende, hiengendes; North. R.² gifalge, lœsga, etc. (note 11),
bi(f)gedon, hlingendum, L. bifgédon, hlingende, giuglende, Rit.
bibgliende (note 14), givgnæ, poet. hlingende Guthl. For the
responding forms of lifgan see note 2.

b) Here belongs also the verb fetian, fetçh, which in Pure WS.
becomes fece(e)lan, by way of *fetçlan (196. 3), but retains its
old form outside of Pure WS. Its conjugation is: inf. fetian, feccan,
ind. pres. sing. 1 fêtige, fece, 2 fetasti, 3 fetað, plur. fetið, feccæð,
op. fétige, fece, imp. sing. feța, plur. fetið, feccæð, pret. fețte
(also fetode, according to Class II), part. fețt and fetod (Ep. fetod,
Corp. fetod; North. R.² L. gl-, gefotad, for *feitad, ind. pres.
3 plur. L. fatas, for *featas, 156. 2, 3).

Norn 16. In the pres. part. the formation with -i(g)- (note 8. d)
is often found in North., in contrast to the part. of the 5-verbs (412,
note 11): R.² wuniende (compare OHG. wunên, dwell), hilion-
i(g)endum, hlingendum (beside hilonendum, etc.), L. wuni(g)ende,
wunigliende, uuniande, bli(g)ende, hli(o)ngende, etc., giwigende
(glimgende, etc.), beside forms like gtwende, ðølende, etc., Rit.
wunigliende (for lifgendi, etc., see note 2).

In the inflected inf. an analogous difference between 0- and 5-verbs
is hardly to be observed. R.² has wuniganne and wunanne (cf. bod-
iganne, 412, note 10), and L. a single wunían.

Norn 17. There is an irregular distribution of preteritss without a
middle vowel (note 8. e), especially in a few verbs in g and v:

a) WS. swigian, be silent (compare OHG. swigên), beside swugian
(71; both forms side by side in EWS.; LWS. usually swugian,
sugian, and suwian), generally follows Class II, and exhibits only
sporadically forms which are discrepant, as, in particular, the part.
swi̇gende. In Anglian the word always occurs with 1 (whose length
is established by metrical considerations); the pret. is in Ps. R.¹ swig-
Other shortened forms of this kind are North. L. -drugde (note 11),
plagde (note 13).

b) From truwian, trust (cf. OHG. trúēn), there appears sporadi-
cally a pret. trûwde (so in Cura. Past. MS. II), beside usual truwode;
from ðæowian, serve (cf. note 15), pret. ðæowde, Ps. ðæawde, plur.
ðæowdun, beside ðæowedun; for North. L. giude, etc., see note 14. b
(similarly are formed L. sceawde, etc., 413, note 7).

Other short forms occur only sporadically, as L. pret. geɔnds-
suerde, geɔnsuárde, note 13.
Note 18. For peculiarities in the vocalism of the endings, which perhaps might also serve as criteria of older e-inflection, see 413, notes 3 and 6; 416, notes 1 and 3.


IV. MINOR GROUPS

1. PRETERITIVE PRESENTS

417. The Germanic preteritive presents have sprung from originally strong verbs, whose preterits (perfects) have assumed a present meaning (like Lat. *memini*, *novi*, *coepi*, Gr. *oíδα*), while the original presents have disappeared. Their forms consist of:

1) an original strong preterit with present signification (perfect present);
2) a newly formed dental preterit (351. 2) with preterit signification.

418. The inflection of the former is in general that of the strong preterits, retaining, however, various older forms, such as the ind. 2 sing. in -t, and the i-umlaut in the optative. The dental preterit conforms entirely to the inflection of the weak preterits.

419. In the formation of their perfect presents the preteritive presents range themselves under the ablaut-classes of the strong verbs. They accordingly fall into the following order:
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420. First Ablaut-Class.

1) Ind. pres. 1 and 3 sing. wāt, I know, 2 sing. wāst, plur. witon (EWS. also wiotun, wietun), opt. wite, imp. sing. wite, plur. witan (EWS. also wiotan, wietan), pres. part. witend(e), pret. wisse, wiste, past part. gewiten, beside the old past part. gewiss, adj., certain. So also is inflected the compounded gewitan.

By fusion with the negative adverb ne, these forms become nāt, nāst, nytun, nyte, nyssse, nyste.

Note 1. Ps. has wāt (nāt, once wāt), wāst, weotun (neoton), opt. wite (nyte), imp. wite, plur. weotað, part. weotendum, pret. wiste (nyssse, nyste); — R.1 wāt, plur. witan, wutan (nīton, nytan), opt. wite (nyte), imp. witað, wite gé, part. witend(e), pret. wiste, past part. witen. — North. R.2 wāt (wātt; once wāt; nāt, nātt), wāstū (nāstu), plur. wuttūn, wuton, wutað, -as, once wittas (nuttūn, nut[t]on), opt. wito, -e, imp. plur. wutuð, -as, inf. wuta, pret. wiste (nyste); — L. wāt (nāt), wāst (nāst), plur. wuton, -að, -as, wīteð, abbreviated wuton, unt(t)ō, untū wē, gē, wutī gé (nuttūn, nutuon, abbreviated nutto, nutu, nutu, nuti), opt. witto, -a, -e, (nyta, -e), imp. wut(t)að, -as, -eð, inf. wutta, infl. wuttanne, wutanne, etc., part. wittende, uittende, pret. wiste (nyste); — Rit. wāt, vāst, wuton (nuton), wutas gē (imp.?), opt. plur. witto, inf. wutta, part. wittende, pres. wiste (nyste).

2) āg (āh, 214. 1), I have, 2 sing. āhst, plur. āgon (LWS. āgað Scint.), opt. āge, imp. āge, inf. āgan, pret. āhte, past part. āgen and āgien, adj., own (378); negated: nāh, nāgon, nāhte, etc.

Note 2. R.1 has inf. āgan, pres. plur. āgun, pret. āhte, R.2 āh, opt. āge, L. āh, 2 sing. āht, plur. āgon, -an, opt. āga, hāge, pret. āhte. In Ps. and Rit. the inflexional forms do not occur.

421. Second Ablaut-Class.

3) deag (deah, 214. 1), I avail, 2 sing. not found, plur. dugon, EWS. opt. dyge, usually duge, inf. dugan,
pres. part. dugende (EWS. dugunde Cod. Dipl.). Angl. has only the 3 sing. dēg L. (163).

422. Third Ablaut-Class.

4) qun(n), an(n), I grant (with the compounded gequn, I grant, and ofqun, grudge), plur. unnon, opt. une, imp. unne, inf. unnan, pret. üde, past part. geunnen.

Note 1. The word is lacking in Ps. R.¹ R.². L. has qun, opt. (inf.?) gewunna; Rit. ind. pres. 2 sing. giunne (giw(un)ne, giyvne), opt. giunne, -a, imp. giunna and giunne, inf. giwunna, part. unnde, pret. giūd(e) (gehūd(e)).

5) con(n), can(n), I know, can (with the compounded oncunn, reproach with), 2 sing. const, canst, plur. cunnun, opt. cunne, inf. cunnan, pret. cūde, past part. oncunnun, beside the old past part. cūd, known, used as an adjective.

Note 2. Ps. has pres. plur. cunnun, opt. cunne, pret. plur. cūdun; R.¹ conn, const, plur. cunnun, -an, and -a, -e, inf. gecunnan, pret. cūpe, past part. gecūd; North. R.² con, plur. cunnun, -an, cunnō gé, pret. cūde; L. qonn (once cann), plur. cunnun, abbreviated cunno, -i, beside gecunnas, inf. gecunna, pret. cūde; Rit. has no inflectional forms.

6) cearf, I need (with the compounded becæarfe), 2 sing. cearft, plur. cœrfoon, opt. EWS. cyrfe, usually cœrfe, inf. cœrfjan, pret. cœrfe, beside the pres. part. cœrfendæ, adj., needy (sporadically pyrfendra, egen-tum Gl.).

Note 3. Ps. has 2 sing. bicœarft, R.¹ cœarft, plur. cœrfun, cœrfe wé, part. cœrfende, porfende; North. R.² 3 sing. bicœrfeð (also pl.?), part. cœrfeðe, L. 3 sing. cœrfeð, plur. wé cœrfe and (be)cœrfeð, part. cœrfeðe (also cœrfeðo, etc., once cœrfe)n, Rit. part. cœrfeðe.
7) dear(r), I dare, 2 sing. dearst, plur. durron, opt. EWS. dyrre, usually durre, pret. dorste (inf. not found).

Nors 4. The word is lacking in Ps. Rit. R. 1 has pret. durste and dyrste (read dyrste); North. Ruthwell Cross pret. dorste, R. 2 pret. (gi)darste, plur. darstun, L. darr, pret. gi-, gedarste, plur. darston.

423. Fourth Ablaut-Class.

8) sceal, I ought, LWS. often sceall (scy1 Scint.), 2 sing. scealt, plur. sculon and sceolon (LWS. also scylon Scint.), opt. EWS. seyle and sciele, scile, LWS. scule, secole, inf. sculan, sceolan, pret. secolde (more rarely scolde; once plur. sculdon in Cura Past.).

Nors 1. The word is lacking in Ps. R. 1 has sceal, seal, 2 sing. scealt, scalt, plur. sculon, seule gé, opt. seyle, pret. sculde (once scalde), opt. scylde; North. Cædmon’s Hymn plur. scylun, R. 2 sceal, plur. sculon, opt. scile, pret. plur. scaldun, L. sceal (once sceal), scealt, plur. sculon, -sun, scelion (once gé scelolo), opt. scelle, -so, pret. secolde, Rit. (in rubrics) seal, beside sceall.

9) món, man (likewise the compounded gémon, onmón), I intend, 2 sing. mónst, manst, plur. munon, opt. LWS. myne, usually mune, imp. ge-, onmun, and gemyne, gemune, inf. munan, pres. part. munende, pret. munde, past part. gemunen.

Nors 2. LWS. has a few new formations after the model of the regular strong presents, like ind. pres. sing. 1 gemune, 2 gemunst, 3 gemanã, plur. gemunaã, imp. sing. gemune, plur. -aã.

In Anglian this confusion extends still further. Ps. has ind. pres. sing. 1 gemunu, 2 gemynes (opt. ?), opt. plur. gemynen, imp. sing. gemyne, plur. gemunaã, inf. gemunan, pret. gemundes; R. 1 ind. pres. 2 sing. gemynest, pret. gemunde; North. R. 2 imp. sing. glmyne, plur. -ns, L. ind. pres. 3 sing. gemynes, plur. gemynas, imp. sing. gemyne and gemona (or inf. ?), plur. gemynas (corrected from gemonas) and (opt.) gemyná gie, pret. gemýste (for *gemynste, 186. 1), Rit. imp. sing. gemyne.
424. *Fifth Ablaut-Class.*

10) *maeht, I can,* 2 sing. *meah,* LWS. *miht,* plur. *magon,* opt. *maege,* plur. *-en* (LWS. also *mage,* very late *muge*), inf. LWS. sporadic *magan,* pres. part. LWS. *magende,* pret. *meahht* (*mehtē,* 108. 2), LWS. *mihtē,* with i-umlaut, which no doubt originally proceeded from the opt. pret.


11) *be-, ge-neah,* *it suffices* (used only in the 3d person), plur. *-nugon,* opt. *-nge,* pret. *benohte* (inf. not found; the word does not occur at all in Anglian).

425. *Sixth Ablaut-Class.*


Note. The only Anglian instances are R.¹ *mōt,* pret. plur. *mōstun,* L. *mōt,* plur. *mōto wē,* pret. plur. *mōston.*

2. VERBS IN *-mi*

426. The ind. pres. 1 sing. of the Indo-European verb ended either in *-ō* or in *-mi* (compare the Gr. verbs in *-ω* and *-μ*, like *φέρω* and *τιθημι*, etc.). To the verbs in *-ō* belong all the regular Germanic verbs; of the verbs in *-mi* only scanty remains have been preserved; they are distinguished by the fact that the ind. 1 sing. ends in *-m*.

Here belong the following OE. verbs:
1. The Substantive Verb

427. The substantive verb is composed of forms from the four roots, es; er, or (ind. and opt. pres.); bheu (ind. and opt. pres. with future signification, inf. and imp.); and wes (inf., pres. part., and pret.). The inflection is as follows:

1) roots es and or:

Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Ps.</th>
<th>North.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EWS.</td>
<td>Ps.</td>
<td>North.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. eom</td>
<td>eam</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. eart</td>
<td>earo</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.:

- sindon, -un
  - sindun, -on
  - sindon, -un

Optative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sie, si</td>
<td>sien, sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sie, seis</td>
<td>sie, seis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prothesis of the negative adverb ne gives neam (nam), naro, naron (note 4), and Common OE. nis.

Note 1. EWS. has, beside eom, sporadic eam Or., in the plur. several instances of stent, stendon Cura Past. MS. H, but only one stendon in MS. C; in the opt. the forms sie, sien everywhere predominate, and these, according to metrical evidence, are to be regarded as disyllabic in the poet. texts (and therefore probably in the earlier language).

Note 2. The LWS. ind. 3 sing. is often ys (nys), the plur. generally sind (synd), sint (synt), more rarely sindon (syndon; poet. seondon is Kentish; cf. note 3), the opt. generally sy, plur. syn (beside si, sig, etc.); in less pure WS. texts also sio, seo, etc.
**Notes 3.** In Kentish the 2 sing. *cart* is found in Kent. Hymn; the plur. is: Kent. Gl. *sint* (slont, also sin, slon), Kent. Charters frequently *si(o)ndon*, -an, seundan, beside *sint*; the opt.: Kent. Gl. *sio* (more rarely *si*), Kent. Hymn *sio*; Kent. Charters *sio, sêo, beside sie, sê, plur. sion, beside sien*. Later texts under Kentish influence have also in the ind. plur. *send* for *synd* (154).

**Note 4.** Beside the forms adduced in the paradigm, Ps. has ind. sing. 1 *neam*, 3 *nis*, and the opt. 1 sing. one each of *siem, sion, beside sie*. The commonest form of the ind. plur. is *sind*, and the least common *earun*.

In R. the inflection is: ind. sing. 1 *eam* (once each *nam, nãm*), 2 *cart* (once each *carð, arpu*), 3 *is* (his; *nis*), plur. *sindun*, -on (rarely *syndun, -on, sendun, -on*) and more rarely *sint*, once *arun*, opt. sing. 1 *sêo, 2, 3 sie, sêe (sia, sê, sêy, sye)*, plur. *sêe (sie, sy)*, and *sien, sien*.

North. has: R. ind. sing. 2 is (rare, 356, note 2), 3 negative *nis*; L. 2 sing. sporadic *arst* and *his*, beside *arð*, in the plur. abbreviations like *aru we, aro gé*, etc., rarely also *sind*, opt. also *sêe, see, sê*; and the negated *nam, nãrð, nis, naron, naro gic*. Rít. has am, *arð, is, plur. aron (aro gíe), sint, sind, sindun, opt. *sêe, sê, negated nis, naro gic*.

The forms *eam, earð, earun* occur now and then in the poetry.

2) **root bheu:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indicative</strong></td>
<td><strong>EWS.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. <em>(bío, bêo)</em></td>
<td><em>bióm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>bist</em></td>
<td><em>bis(t)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>bîð</em></td>
<td><em>bîð</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. <em>bíoð, bêoð</em></td>
<td><em>bíoð</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bío, bêo</em></td>
<td><em>(bíonde, bêonde)</em></td>
<td>Sing. <em>bío, bêo.</em> Plur. <em>bíöð, bêöð</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes 5.** The parenthesized forms of the ind. 1 sing. and pres. part. are not found in EWS., but may be assumed with confidence according to the LWS. *bêo, bêonde*; on the interchange of *io* and *êo* see 114. 2.
CONJUGATION

Note 6. In the ind. 2 and 3 sing. OE. bist, bið are to be written with short i (notwithstanding the etymologically correspondent Lat. fitis, fitit). This is proved not only by the byst, byð which are very common in LWS., but especially by the North. plur. biðun, -on, whose u-umlaut can only be referred to the parallel biðun, -on, which again rests on the sing. bið.

Note 7. Ps. has a few instances of 2 sing. bis, without t, beside regular bist.

Note 8. Kent. shows no material variation from the WS. paradigm (Cod. Dipl. inf. bián, beside biôn 159, note 3). Ps. has, beside many instances of biôm, two of bôm, one of bêam, and one of biô, in the plur. a few cases of bêað, in the imp. sing. one of biá, beside several of biôð, biô (bið as plur. may be regarded as a clerical error). There are no examples of opt. and part. The conjugation in R.¹ is: ind. pres. sing. bôm, bist, bið, -p (and twice bêop, following the plur.), plur. bêop, -ô, more rarely biôp, -ô, and once biðon, frequently unlauteð beopan, opt. sing. bêo, plur. beôn, imp. sing. bêo, plur. bêop (biôp), inf. bêon. North. has: R.³, beside bið, once biôð (on is, beside bist, see note 4); in the plur. biðun, -on (once biôdo) predominates, biôð is rare (opt., imp., inf. not found); L., beside bôm, biôm, once biöm, beside biô, once biôð, in the plur., beside frequent biðon (twice biôð), once biôðon, twice biôð; the opt. forms biá, biô and inf. biân occur only once each (imp. lacking); Rit. biôm, bist, bið, plur. biðon. The plur. biôð occurs also in the Leiden Riddle (and Corp.). In the poetry the forms bêôð, bêon occur frequently in cases where the metre requires disyllabic forms (Beltr. 10. 477).

3) root wes:

Present

Infinitive: wesan   Participle: wesende
Imperative: sing. wes, plur. weseað

Preterit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. wæs</td>
<td>wære</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wære</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc., regularly like a strong verb (391).

Note 9. For *wæs, *næs there also occur the enclitic by-forms was, nas (49, note 1; EWS. frequently in Chron.).

Note 10. The discrepancies of the non-WS. dialects result from the relevant phonetic laws: thus, for example, Corp. part. ætweosc-
endne, beside inf. wesan (Ps. has, of the present, only the ind. sing.),
P. pret. wes, wëre, plur. wërun, etc., R.1 inf. wesa, imp. plur.
wesap, pret. wæs, wëre, and wäre, plur. wërun, wërun, etc.

North. R.2 inf. wosa, imp. sing. wes, plur. wosad, pret. wæs
(once wæs), wëre, plur. wërun, -son and wërun, etc., opt. wëre,
egnated *næs, *nérón, opt. nère; L. inf. wosa (wossa), etc., imp.
sing. wæs (wæs; once wes), plur. wosad, -as, pret. wæs (wass),
etc., wëre, plur. wëron, wëron, etc. (more rarely wëron, etc., also
once ymbwəson), opt. wëre, wëre (rarely nère, etc.), negated
pret. *næs(s), plur. nérón, nérón, opt. nère, nère, etc.

2. The Verb *will

428. The present tense of the verb *will was originally
confined in Germanic to an optative used indicatively;
to these have been added in OE. a new optative and
an imperative (the latter occurring only as a negative).
The preterit is of the weak conjugation. The WS.
infection is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. will</td>
<td>wille (wille)</td>
<td>willan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wilt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wille (wille)</td>
<td>willen</td>
<td>(\text{Participle} ) willende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. willað</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wolde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(like nerede, etc., 409)
CONJUGATION

Note 1. EWS. wille is rather rare as ind. 3 sing., and wile uncommon as opt. In LWS. all forms of the present often have the vowel y: wyle, wyhte, etc.

Note 2. The verb willan nearly always coalesces with a preceding ne, the vocalism of the individual forms exhibiting some changes in consequence. The EWS. forms of Curas Past. are: ind. pres. sing. 1 nylle (in MS. H also nelle, Or. nele), 8 nyll (MS. H also nyll, nele, nile), plur. nyllað (MS. H and Or. also nallað), opt. nylle, nyll (MS. C also once nelle), plur. nyllen, pret. noilde; in LWS. the e-forms prevail: nelle, etc.

Note 3. Kent. instances are: Kent. Gl. opt. sing. wille, Kent. Ps. ind. 1 sing. wille, pret. wolde, Cod. Dipl. ind. sing. 1 wille and willa, 3 wile, wille, opt. wille, plur. willen, pret. (Cod. Aur.) noldan (read -dæn).

Note 4. Greater variation is exhibited by Anglian:

a) Merc. Ps. ind. pres. 3 sing. wile, plur. willað, part. wellende, pret. walde; negated: imp. sing. nyll, plur. nyllað, pret. nalde; R. 1 ind. pres. sing. 1 wille (once ne wylle), 2 wilt(u), 3 wile (wille), plur. willað, opt. wille (wille), pret. wolde, walde; negated: ind. pres. sing. 1 nyll (beside ne wylle), 3 nyll (opt.?), plur. nylleð, imp. plur. ne willað, nallað, pret. noilde, plur. noldan, naldan;

b) North. R. 2 ind. sing. 1 wyll, willo, 2 wytt, willet, 3 wyl, will, plur. willað, -as, wallon wé, opt. sing. plur. welle, imp. plur. wallað, -as, pret. walde; negated: ind. plur. nallan wé, imp. sing. nelle (properly opt.), plur. nallað, -as, nallon gé; L. ind. sing. 1 willo (wille, willle; wello, -e), 2 wilt (willet), 3 will (wille), plur. wallað, -as, walla wé, wall gë (once 3 plur. nallon; one gie welle, cullis, is rather opt.), opt. welle, -a, -e, welle, -a, (imp. plur. ne wallað, ne wællað gie), pret. walde (one ind. 3 sing. wælda); negated: ind. sing. 1 nuillle, nwille, 2 nuill, plur. nallað, -as, -es, nallo wé; imp. sing. nalle, nelle, plur. nallað, -as (-eð; nalle gie) and nallað, -as (-es, -eð, -es; nalle gie), nallað, -as, pret. nalde; Rit. ind. 3 sing. vil, plur. wallað, opt. velle, pret. walde; negated: ind. 2 sing. nyll, imp. sing. nalle, plur. nallað, pret. plur. naldan,
3. **The Verb *do***

429. The verb dön, *do*, is conjugated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>R. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. dön</td>
<td>dön</td>
<td>dön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dōst</td>
<td>dōst, -a</td>
<td>dōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dō</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>dōa, -as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. dōn</td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td>dōa, -as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. dön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. dön</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 2. dön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. dön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dōn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infl. dönne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dönende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. dyde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dydes(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dyde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. dydon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dydes(tu)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dyde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dydun, -on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēdun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Conjugation

#### Optative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. dyde</th>
<th>dyde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur. dyden</td>
<td>dyden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Participle

| -dœn          | -dœn |

---

**Note 1.** WS. deviations from the paradigm are extremely rare. EWS. has in Curæ Past. MS. C one opt. doe, which probably must be interpreted as doë, in MS. II one part. weldændum (-dœndum?). The ind. plur. dædon, opt. dæde, and the past part. ge-, forðen, which occur in the poetry, are unknown to WS. prose (dede, plur. dedon in Curæ Past. MS. C II are Kenticisms for dyde, etc., 154).

**Note 2.** It is sometimes doubtful whether oe should be written ò or òe, since the MSS. do not recognize the ligature. When forms with ò occur also, òe is probable, but when the parallelism is with òa, òe, it is in general better to interpret as òe (cf. 430, note 1).

**Note 3.** Kentish agrees in general with WS.: Kent. Gl. 3 sing. dœd, dêt, imp. dô, opt. pret. dede (cf. note 1), part. (on)dœn, Kent. Ps. 3 sing. gedœd, imp. gedô; Kent. Hymn imp. gedô; Kent. charters inf. dôn and gedôan, opt. sing. gedoe, plur. gedœn (once ge gedêo, 27, note 1), once gedôn.

**Note 4.** The 2 sing. dés, without t, occurs only once in Ps., while dydes is more frequent than dydest (dœd as 3 sing. is probably only a clerical error); ic dô and dôan as opt. sing. occur only once each; the prevalent doe, as an Anglian form, is no doubt to be understood as doë; inf. dôan is found but once.

The inflection in R.¹ is: ind. sing. 1 dôm (twice dô), 2 dœst, 3 dœp, plur. dœapp (once dœpp) and dœp, -ô, opt. sing. dô (once dôa), plur. dœan, dœa, imp. sing. dô, plur. dœapp, -ôp, dœa, inf. dœan, dœa, inf. dœanne, part. dônde, doende (dœnde ?), pret. dyde, 2 dydest, plur. dydun, -on, past part. -dœan, once gedœn (gedœn ?).

North. has frequently in R.² doe as translation of a Lat. ind. 1 sing., beside the forms given in the paradigm (but very likely this should be regarded as opt.); in the 3 sing. a few instances of dœna, in the plur. a few of dœn, -es, in the imp. plur. one undœa. In the imp. sing. dô, and in the pret. plur. dœðun, is the rarer form.

The inflection in L. is: ind. sing. 1 dœam, less frequently doom, dœm (also dô, dœa, dœe or dœ, some of which are perhaps optatives),
2 dōas, -as (dōa₆), beside dōes, dōest, 3 dō₆, -s, beside dōa₆, -as, -æ₃, plur. dōa₆, -as, -e₆, -es, opt. dōe (dōe ?), beside dōa (once dō₆, i.e., dōam), imp. dō, dōo, dōa, plur. dōa₆, -as, -æ₃, -e₆, -es, inf. dōa, dōe, dōe, infl. dōan(ne), dōenne, part. dōende (dōende ?), pret. dyde, etc., plur. rarely dēdon, opt. dye, plur. rarely dēdon, part. -dōn.

Rit. ind. sing. 1 dōm, 2 dōest (once dōst), 3 dō₆, plur. dōa₆, -as, -æ₃, -e₆, opt. dōe (dōe ?), imp. sing. dō, plur. dōa₆, -e₆, inf. dōa, part. dōende (dōende ?), pret. dyde, plur. dydon, part. -dōn.

Note 5. In the poetry disyllabic forms should frequently be substituted for the monosyllabic ones which are handed down (Beitr. 10. 477).

4. The Verb go

430. The verb gān, go (beside gōngan, 396, note 2), is thus conjugated in WS.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. gā</td>
<td>gā</td>
<td>Sing. 2. gā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gāest</td>
<td>gā</td>
<td>Plur. gād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gā₆</td>
<td>gān</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. gād</td>
<td>gān, infl. gānne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterit</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1, 3. ēode</td>
<td>ēode</td>
<td>gegān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(like nērede, etc., 409)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. For ē the older MSS. often have ae, which might in itself be interpreted as ōe (429, note 2); below it is given as Æ only where the MSS. themselves employ the ligature ae, side by side with ae.

Note 2. There are no Kentish deviations to speak of except the pret. ōde, beside ōde (150, note 3).

Note 3. Ps. agrees in general with WS., but in the ind. 1 sing. has once gān, beside gā; this occurs only once as gae, that is, probably, gae; the inf. is gāne, gāne; part. is gānde.
CONJUGATION

R. has ind. sing. 1 gā, 2 gēs þu, gēst, 3 gēp, -ō (once gāð), plur. gēþ (twice gāþ), opt. sing. gā, plur. gēn (once gān), imp. sing. gā (once gae, i.e., gā), plur. gēþ, -ō, more rarely gēþ, -ō, inf. gā, gē, pret. ðode (thrice ðade); past part. is lacking (only -gongen).

Norse 4. The North. inflection is: R. ind. sing. 1 gē (once gaa), 2 gēst(u), 3 gēð, -s, and gē(a)ð, -s, plur. gēð, -s, opt. gaa, gē, imp. sing. gaa, plur. gē(a)ð, -s, inf. gā, pret. ðode, more rarely ðade, part. foreglēad; — L. ind. sing. 1 gē, gae, gāae, 2 gāst (gāð), gāes, gaaes, 3 gaað, gēð, gaeð, -s (gāeð), plur. gaað, gēð, gaeð, -s, opt. gē, gae, imp. sing. gē(a), gūae, gae, plur. ga(a)ð, gaeð, -s, inf. gaa, gē, gae, pret. ðade, more rarely ðode, part. geðad, etc.; — Rit. ind. sing. 1 gē, 2 gēst, 3 gēð, plur. gē(a)ð, -s (once geðð), opt. gē (gae), imp. plur. gē(a)ð, inf. gaa, pret. ðade.
SOME ABBREVIATIONS

Ælfr. Gramm., Hom., etc. = Ælfric’s Grammar, Homilies, etc. (2, note 5).
AfdA. = Anzeiger für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Litteratur.
Angl. = Anglian.
av. = anomalous verb.
Archiv = Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen (Herrig’s Archiv).
Beitr. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Paul und Braune’s Beiträge).
Beow. = Beowulf.
Blickl. = Blickling Homilies.
Boeth. = Boethius.
Chart. = Charters (2, note 1).
Chron. = Chronicle (2, note 5).
Cod. Dipl. = Codex Diplomaticus, ed. Kemble (for charters; 2, note 1).
Corp. = Corpus Glosses (2, note 4).
Cura Past., CP. = Cura Pastoralis (2, note 5).
Ep. Al. = Epistola Alexandri (Anglia 4. 139 ff.).
Erf. = Erfurter Glosses (2, note 4).
EWS. = Early West Saxon.
Gen. B. = Lines 235–861 (translated from Old Saxon) of the poetical Genesis.
Germ. = Germanic.
Gl. = Glosses.
Goth. = Gothic.
Haupt’s Za. = ZfdA.
SOME ABBREVIATIONS

Kent. = Kentish.
later Mart. = later Martyrology (in Cockayne’s Shrine, London, 1864 ff., pp. 44 ff.).
Leid. Rid. = Leiden Riddle.
LWS. = Late West Saxon.
Mart. = older Martyrology (for example, in Sweet’s Oldest English Texts, 177–178).
ME. = Middle English.
Merc. = Mercian.
Metr. = Metres (2, note 4).
MHG. = Middle High German.
MLN. = Modern Language Notes.
North. = Northumbrian.
OE. = Old English.
OET. = Oldest English Texts.
OHG. = Old High German.
ON. = Old Norse.
Or. = Orosius (2, note 5).
OS. = Old Saxon.
Prim. = Primitive.
Ps. = Psalter (in MS. Vesp. A. I; 2, note 3).
Q.F. = Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germ. Völker, ed. W. Scherer, etc.
R.¹ (Rushw.¹) and R.² (Rushw.²) = the two parts of the Rushworth Gloss to the Gospels (2, note 3).
Rit. = Durham Ritual (2, note 2).
sm., sf., sn., sv. = strong masculine, feminine, neuter, verb.
Spelm. Ps. = Spelman’s Psalter.
w.m., w.f., w.n., w.v. = weak masculine, feminine, neuter, verb.
WS. = West Saxon.
ZfdA. = Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum = Haupt’s Zeitschrift.
ZfdPh. = Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie.
* indicates a hypothetical form.
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1 A list of the earlier Old English Grammars is given by R. Wülcker, Grundriss 
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[The numbers refer to sections. Prefixes are disregarded in the alphabetizing. The index-words are usually given in their WS. form; in the case of dialectal variants, cross-references have been made where desirable. Unstable i and y, if not readily found, may be sought under ie; to under eo or le; a before m or n, under q; see, see under se(e)m, se(e)o; ð follows t when initial, but otherwise has the position of th; as has the position of ae. From the Phonology have been excluded the examples of accent in §§ 121-124.]

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