Grammar of Old English
AN

OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

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 heteroclitic 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 Cura 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 leans 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 Alterthum 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 (Taalvondige 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, Güttersloh, 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. 2221) has been very critically elucidated by R. Zeuner (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.

E. SIEVERS.

JENA, February 1, 1882.

1 See now p. 3.—Tr.
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 redistribu-
tions 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 Cosijn’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 stæf 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 ę, original e being left unmarked. The ß 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.
[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.
In accordance with the urgent desire of the publisher, I resolved last autumn to carry through for the nonce a mere reimpression 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-GOHLIS, 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 e and ø (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.

Yale University,
July 11, 1903.

ALBERT S. COOK.
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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 *Ongulseaxan*, Lat. *Anglosaxones*, 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 Ævi Saxonici, London, 1839–48 (new edition by W. de Gray Birch, Cartularium 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. Litteratur, 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. 1), 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. 131 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, 1899.

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, 1865, revised and much improved by C. Plummer, Oxford, 1892, 1899. 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, 1857-64 (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 W.S. 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 œ (27); and the displacement of the ending -u, -o, of the ind. pres. 1 sing., by -e (355).

In E.W.S. 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 woe, 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 -ō (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 ō, ā, 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 ð and þ. Occasionally, too, the OE. ð is employed to represent g.

**Note 1.** The characters ð and g 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 ð, 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 ð 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 æft, fæstn, of = æfter, fæstern, ofer. On the other hand, ~ denotes or, as in ð, ðe, befæn, etc. = for, fore, beforan; but ðoñi, hwoñi stand for ðonne, hwnonne. A þ with crossed vertical signifies þæt. The following were borrowed from Latin: 7 for oand, and, and; and an I crossed with an undulatory stroke for oœde, or. Less common are actual Latin words, such as dûs (= 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. 361 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-Wül(c)ker 2. 111–115; best in Vietor, Die Altnordthumsbrischen Runensteine, 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; Vietor, pp. 13 ff.), and the Clermont or Franks casket (Stephens 1. 470 ff.; E. Wadstein, Ett Engelskt Forminne från 700-Talet och Englands Dåtida 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 is 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, oi, 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 ae, or even as e; so, too, the printed oe 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)n, for sceið, Swein. The occurrence of the diphthong au is very infrequent; it is found in foreign words like cawl, cole, laurtrēow, laurel, clauster, cloister; and perhaps in auht, aught, nauht, naught, saul, soul, for and beside ā(w)uht, nā(w)uht (344 ff.), sā(w)ul (174. 3). The diphthongs ai, oi, ui are rare, and especially Northumbrian, graphic variants for æ, ø, and y respectively, as in cnaiht, fraigna (155. 3), Coenrēd for Cœnreð, suinnig for synnig, 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: aidlian = ā-īdlían, aurnen = ā-urnen, aytan = ā-ỹtán, beirnan = be-irnan, geywed = ge-ỹwed, geunnan = ge-unnan, etc.; iu is generally ju (74; 157, note).

7. With respect to the position of the articulating organs, a, o, u are guttural vowels, while æ, e, i, œ, 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., æ = West Germ. a (49); æ = West Germ. ā (57.2); e = West Germ. e (53); i; ĩ; and the initial components of the diphthongs 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 i-umlaut: viz., æ as i-umlaut of ā (90); ē as i-umlaut of a, ɔ before nasals (89.4), and of o (93.1); ē as i-umlaut of ō (94); besides œ, ō (27), and stable y, ſ (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 palatals: viz., e as umlaut of æ (89.1); ie, ie = unstable i, ĩ; y as umlaut of ea, eo, io; and ſ as umlaut of ēa, ēo, ſo (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): aa, breer, miin, 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 — ā, brér, mín, dóm, hús, mýs, sǽ, óeðel or oéðel, éac or eáe, tréowe 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:

\[
a \ ae \ e \ i \ o \ oe \ u \ y  
\]

\[
\bar{a} \ ae \ \bar{e} \ i \ \bar{o} \ oe \ \bar{u} \ y
\]

**Note 1.** In Germany it has been customary, following Jacob Grimm, to employ the circumflex over simple vowel signs, instead of the acute: ã, brêr, mîn, dôm, hûs, mys, etc. Short and long ae and œ were formerly discriminated as â and æ, ǿ and œ; these have now become almost universally âe and ûe, œe and œe. Grimm designated the long diphthongs as ea, eo, ie, which have latterly been replaced by eå, eô, iê, or eå, eô, iê.

**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 ê-a, î-a from the diphthongs êa, îa: Persêas, Indêas, North. wria, 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; o'ndgit (more exactly, o'ndgit), but ongi:tan, 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 bôcêre (248. 1), and to the -i- of the Second Weak Conjugation, as in sealfian (411 ff.).
WEST SAXON VOWELS

I. THE VOWELS OF STRESSED SYLLABLES

1. SIMPL E VOWELS

a

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; hnappian (rarely hnaeppian), nap; lappa (more rarely læppa), skirt; appla, plur. of æppel, apple; ðaccian, stroke; mattec, mattock; gaffetung, scoffing; assa, ass; asse(n), she-ass; cassuc, hassuc, sedge; asce, axe, ashes; flasce, flaxe, flask; masce, maxe, mesh; wascan, waxan, wash; wrastlian, wraxlian, wrestle; brastlian, crackle; sahtlian, reconcile; the Latin words abbud, abbot, arc, ark, carcern, prison, sacc, sack, trahtian, treat; and the dialec tic 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 ā is frequently found, and before all consonants, whether in open or closed syllables: hātan, is called; gāst, ghost; bān, bone, dat. plur. bānum, etc.; moreover, in foreign words like sācerd, cālend, māgister, from Lat. sacerdos, calendae, magister (50, note 5).
13. ā regularly corresponds to Germ. (Goth.) ai (62); less frequently, when followed by w, to Germ. ë, Goth. ë (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: daeg, day; faet, 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-; faeger (beside fæger), fair, Goth. fagrs, stem fagra-; or to such as were followed by an inflectional (æ), e, as gen. daeges, dat. dæge, from nom. acc. daeg.

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 ē (89, note 5).

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

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

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

2) developed from Germ. ë, Goth. ë, as in bærón, bore; mæg, kinsman (Goth. bērun, megs) (57. 2); or
3) developed from Latin ā, as in strāet, 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 undoubtedly 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. i, as in stelān, steal (OHG. OS. stēlan, Goth. stilan) (53); or it is
2) umlaut-e, and then either a) i-umlaut of a, or more exactly of æ, as in sēttan, set, Goth. satjan (89. 1); or b) i-umlaut of o, from a before nasals, as in ēnnnan, Goth. kannjan (89. 4); or c) i-umlaut of o, as in ēxen, from oxā, 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 e, while the older e remains unmarked.
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 ë, and this practice is followed in the original of the present book, the umlaut-e being left undesignated, because the MSS. often write ë 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 ë, a tolerably common sound, springs from various originals. It corresponds,

1) though but seldom, to Germ. (Goth.) ē, OHG. ea, ia, as in her, here (58); it is
2) i-umlaut of ō (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 diphthong, ie, io, was assimilated to the pronunciation of the y earlier than the other, for which reason the character representing it
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, ĩ.

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. ĭ (59), or

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

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

Note. For final long ĭ the MSS. (though hardly the oldest ones) often have ig: big (also in compounds like bigspel, example; big-genga, cultivator), hig, 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: iggað, iggoð, island).
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 ŏ, — 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 ō 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 gōd, good (60), and in that case was probably close from the beginning; or

2) the representative of Germ. æ before nasals, as in mōnās, month (68); or

3) lengthened from ōn = 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 ō appears in foreign words as the representative of ON. au, as in òra, a certain coin, landcōp, purchase of land, lähcōp,
legal purchase, rōda, ruddy from ON. aurar, -kaup, rauðr; but there occur on the coins such spellings as Onógrim, Asgout, Oustman, adhering closely to the ON. orthography.

27. The two sounds œ and òe, 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 òe’s (94, note). As substitutes for the two sounds occur the delabialized e, e.

Note. Rarely is eo written for oe = œ; meodren-, feo, beoc (Cod. Dipl.) for mœdren-, fœ, böc.

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 (i) and eo, in the combinations wio and weo (71; 72).

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

1) the representative of Germ. ü, as in hūs, house (61);
2) due to the loss of a nasal from the combination un, as in mūð, 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 \( \ddot{u} \), the i-umlaut of u. This \( y \) we will characterize as stable. Besides this stable \( y \), there occurs in LWS. an unstable \( y \), interchanging with i (22).

Note. Not till a comparatively late period does \( i \) sometimes take the place of stable \( y \), first of all in the combination ci for cy, as in cining, cinn (or kining, kinn, 207, note 2); scildig, guilty; before palatals, as in hige, mind; hiegean, think; biegean, buy; dihtig, doughty; genihtsum, plentiful; drique, dry; and before n, l + palatal, as in ðincean, seem; hingrian, hunger; spinege, sponge; ðespring, fount; filigan, follow; ðabiligð, anger, etc.

Before palatals, unstable \( y \) is also rare; as collateral forms of EWS. hieg, hay; lieg, flame; smiec, smoke; aßliegan, banish; biegan, bend; tiegan, tie, there occur almost exclusively hig, lig, smiec, aßliegan, bigan, ðigan; so almost always niht, miht (98, note); but, on the other hand, beside ciegan, iecan, and ciegan, iecan, there are frequent instances of ðygan, ðecan. Instead of micel, 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 i-umlaut of u (95);
2) Unstable \( y \) stands for (existing or inferrible) ie (97 ff.) or io (105; 107).

33. Long \( \ddot{y} \), appears

1) as stable: a) the regular i-umlaut of \( \ddot{u} \) (96); b) \( y \) lengthened in consequence of ecdhclipsis, as in ðyst (186. 2), -hýdig (214. 3);
2) as unstable, when a late by-form for ie, the i-umlaut of ða and ðo (97 ff.).

Note. Among the unstable \( \ddot{y} \)'s may be reckoned the LWS. \( \ddot{y} \) in s\( \ddot{y} \), be; h\( \ddot{y} \), they; d\( \ddot{y} \), three; for s\( \ddot{e} \), lie, d\( \ddot{r} \)ie; on the other hand, always b\( \ddot{i} \), big, because no *bie ever existed.
THE VOWELS

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 + ā.

Note. In later times, as the history of English phonology shows, there is frequently a displacement of the accent, so that ea, eo become jea, jeo (212, note 2), and then ja*, jo*. 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 æo, æa (the latter form also in later documents), while eo interchanges with io in the older manuscripts (cf. 38). 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 ëw, cf. 112, note 2; 118, note 2.

Note 2. Occasionally ie, ye is found for ëa in the later documents: lies, loose; bien, bean; 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, ealhta (79; 80; 82); or
2) u-umlaut of a, as in caulu (103); or
3) has arisen from palatal + æ, as in geaf, cceaf, sceal (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 + ā, as in gēafon, gēar (74 ff.); less frequently from palatal + ā (from Germ. ai), as in gēasne, scēan, sceadan, 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 eo 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, enyw 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, friodū (freodū) (104; 105; 107); or
3) have originated from palatal + o, u, as in geoc, geong (74; 76).

40. Long eo (io) usually corresponds to

1) Germ. eu, Goth. iu, as in bēodan (64); stioran (100. 2); or it arises
   2) from palatal + ō in gēomor (74); or
   3) from the contraction of e, i with other vowels, as in sēon (sīon), see, ēon (ēon), thrive, from *sehon, *pihan (cf. 113; 114).

ie

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

42. Short ie is

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

1) of \textit{ea}, as in \textit{hēah–hīchst} (99); or
2) of \textit{eo}, as in \textit{cēosan–cīesō} (100.1. b).

\textbf{Note.} For \textit{ie} in \textit{gie}, \textit{gīen(a)}, \textit{gīet(a)}, see 74, note 1; and for \textit{eo}, \textit{io}, as unaffected by umlaut, beside \textit{ie}, see 100; 159. In Boeth. we sometimes meet with \textit{eo} for the \textit{ie} which is umlaut of \textit{ea}, or the product of diphthongization, and with \textit{ēo} for the corresponding \textit{īe}: \textit{cormōa}, \textit{eoldran}; \textit{hēoran}, \textit{nēotan}, \textit{gēot}, instead of \textit{īermōa}, \textit{īeldran}; \textit{hīeran}, \textit{nīeten}, \textit{gīet}.

\section*{II. THE VOWELS OF THE SLIGHTLY STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES}

\subsection*{1. STEM-VOWELS IN SLIGHTLY STRESSED WORDS}

\textbf{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 \textit{-lic}, such as \textit{fullic}, \textit{full}; \textit{ryhtlic}, \textit{righteous}; \textit{woroldlic}, \textit{worldly}, contrasted with \textit{gelic}, \textit{like}, where the stress is on the final syllable.

\textbf{Note 1.} The shortness of this \textit{i} in the earliest Old English is clearly proved by the inflectional forms, such as nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. \textit{fullicu} (294), and by the further weakening to \textit{e} (43. 3). The inflected forms are, however, usually regarded as long in poetry, with the exception of those which end in \textit{-u}. 
2) Change of vowel-quality; thus, in particular, there is a conversion
   
a) of eo, io to ea, and then to a; sciptearo, ifigtearo, and sciptara, ifigtara, beside teoru, tar; wælhrēaw, cruel, beside the older wælhrēow; andwlata, countenance, beside the older qndwliota;

b) of ea to a, as in the frequent q·nwald, contrasted with gewea·ld, power; tō·ward, future; i·nneward, inward; ie·rfeward, heir (hardly pure WS.; found in Bede), beside tōweard, etc. A further change to o occurs in such words as twie·fold, hlāford, 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 *eorun, 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 ærn, house, and -weard, -ward, such as hordern, treasury; bërern (still further shortened to bëren, bern), barn (from *bëreærn); bëodern, refectory; andwerd, present; tōwerd, future; forðwerd, 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 u, 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, frēols, freedom; hlāford, lord, for *frī-hals, *hlāf-weard; similarly, sulung, swulung, and furlōng, measures of land, for *sulh-lang, *furh-lang. Long ā, from Germ. ai, formerly stood in the final syllables of eorod, troop, from *eoh-rād; beot, boasting, from bi-hāt; eofot, -ut, debt, from ef-hāt (compare eblāt Ep. Erf. = eobot Corp.); eofolsian, blaspheme (North. ebalsia, ebolsia, eofolsia), from *ef-hālsian; āret, battle (beside āretta, warrior, ārettan, fight), from *or-hāt; ānettan, incite, from *on-hātjan; fullest beside fylst, aid, from which fullestan (once fullāsten, Beow.) and fylstan, assist, from *ful-lāst (OHG. folleist). Germ. æ, Prim. OE. æ or ā, in hiered, family, Anglian hīrod, from *hiw-rād; in āwer, nāwer, etc., anywhere, nowhere, from (n)ā-hwār; and in geatwe, equipment; frætwe, adornment, beside getāwe. OE. ē, the umlaut of ū, in æfest, æfst, envy, zeal (Ps. efest, North. æfest, æfist), from *æf-yst, and ofost, ofst, zeal (Ep. Corp. obst, Erf. obust, North. æfest, æfist), from *of-yst (compare efstan, hasten, Ps. æfes(i)an, North. æfistia). Originally long ĭ is lost in the pronouns hwelc, swelc, ēlc, ilca (339; 342; 347); compare Goth. hwileiks, swaleiks. Long ō is shortened in orō, orū, later orū, breath (compare oreōn, ordian, breathe), from *or-ōd for *uz-anp- (186); long ū in fracoū, infamous, from *fra-eūd (compare unforcūd). From ēa sprang the u of fultum, aid, fultuman, assist (fulteam is historical OE. in Erf., and fulteman is frequent in the earlier texts); from ēo the u, o of North. lātuw, lāruw, -ow, Ps. lād tow = WS. latēow, lārēow (250, note 1); from lād-ōēow, *lār-ōēow, and, according to Kluge, the o of wīobud, wēofod, altar, Ps. wibed, North. wīged (222, note 1), from *wīh-bōd (others say from *wīh-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, -ihte, -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); restaendi, pres. part. (363); dōmaes, gen. sing. (238); suilcae, adv. (315). On the other hand, meri, rygi, nom. acc. sing. masc. (262); rici, 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, fædyr, 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:

Short vowels . . . a e i² i¹ [o²] o¹, u
Long vowels . . . [ã], æ è ī ŵ
Diphthongs . . . { ai —
                { au eu

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
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 hilpē 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) hycgan, not *hoggian, etc. Here, again, the Gothic uniformly has u : bundans, hulpans, hugjan.

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. eahta (82), with Gr. ὀκτὼ, 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 bindað from *bindanþ; this is plain from the effects upon the vowels of preceding syllable (o/a-umlaut; 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 a no longer existed in Germanic, since Indo-European a had already become o (compare Lat. frater with Gothic brōpar, OE. brōðor, OS. brōðar, OHG. brōder, bruoder, etc.). Certain secondary a's have, however, resulted from lengthening when accompanied by the loss of a nasal before n: thus Gothic pāhta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, thought, for *pandhta, from Goth. pagkjan, etc.; compare the examples in 67. But as this a 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 a's must have been nasalized as late as the Germanic period.

Note 3. That the vowels of Germanic ïh, ûh (cf. 186), which have sprung in a similar way from inth, unth, must also have possessed nasal quality, may indeed be presumed, but is not susceptible of direct proof.
6) By æ and e are represented the two sounds which are indeed uniformly leveled in Gothic (as well as Kentish and Northumbrian) under ē, 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 rīkia-, 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-, *nacejo-), 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; *steuro, 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 hātan, be called, compared with Goth. haitan; 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: dæg, day; bræc, broke; sæt, sat; wæs, was; hæft, captive; compare Goth. dags, 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, nail, hraefn, raven (with syllabic l, n), or in consequence of the development of a secondary e: æcer, acre; fæger, fair; mægen, power; compare Goth. akrs, fagrs, etc., from the stems akra-, fagra-, magna-.

Note 1. To the exceptions noted in 10 there must be added the enclitic ac, ah, but, and was, nas, was, was not, beside the regular wæs, næs. The second member of compounds also frequently retains a, as in hærepað, military road; siðfat, 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: far, sac, scaf, 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 dæg has nom. plur. dagas, gen. daga, dat. dagum; fæt, nom. acc. plur. fatu, gen. fata, dat. fatum; while of hwæt the dat. sing. masc. neut. is hwatum, the weak nom. sing. masc. hwata. Compare the inflections of the verb
in cases like *faran* (392), 2 and 3 sing. *færest*, *færed*,
plur. *farað*, 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 *macian*, make; *laðian*,
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 *staðelian*, establish (from *staðol*); *haele*, cloak; *aðela*,
filth; *hafele* (beside *hafol*), head; *gaðerian* (poet. also *gaðerian*),
gather; *gedafenian*, beseem; *hafenian*, grasp; *fag(e)niai*,
rejoice; *war(e)nian*, take heed; *adesa*, adz (cf. also 129).

**Note 2.** On the other hand, a passes into æ 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 (Kluge): *gaedeling*, kins-
man (OS. *gaduling*); *ædeling*, noble, from *æþuling* (ON. *gælignir*);
*laetemest*, last, from *latumist* (cf. 314); *to-gædere*, together, from
*gaðuri* (beside *gaðerian*, from *gadurôjan*, note 1); *Saeterndæg*,
Saturday, from *Saturni* dies; æx, ax, for æces Ps. (but North. aces),
from *acusi* (compare Goth. *aqizi* and OHG. *achüs*); probably *hæleð*,
hero (originally a plural *halupiz*, compare ON. *hóðr*, and 133. b;
281. 1); and perhaps *hælster*, halter, from *haluftrí*, and *hærfest*,
harvest, from *harubíst* (compare Ep. *helustr*, hiding-place, later
heolstór); finally, ædele, adj., noble, from *apali* (OS. *adali*);
maegden, maiden, from *magadín* (OHG. *magatín*). Exceptions
to this rule are the infinitive and present participle of strong verbs
of the Sixth Ablaut-Class, such as *farence*, from *farannjai*,
-çonjai; and *farende*, from *faranði*, *farônî*.

**Note 3.** The conversion of a to æ in the words cited in note 2
took place later than in the other cases (49; 50. 2). It evidently
occurred subsequently to the palatalization of initial gutturals (206. 1),
for only on this supposition is it possible to account for the absence
of diphthongization in *gaedeling*, *gaðere* (75, note 1). Possibly the
whole phenomenon should be regarded as a kind of umlaut (89. 3;
100, note 4).
2) Before original e (ae of the oldest texts, 44, note 1), that is, one not weakened from a, o, u, there seems to be a rule requiring ae: dæg, day, fæt, vat; gen. daeses, fætes; dat. daège, faete, 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, græfen and grafen, slægen and slagen, from hladan, lade; grafan, grave; slæan, strike (392); while the present optative of these verbs regularly has a: fare, grafe, etc.

Note 4. Primitive OE. a likewise became ae before original i, j, and this ae 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: säcerd, priest; cælend, calends; mægister, master; so probably also pælendse, palace; tælenta, talent, etc.

51. Older a passes into o (not q) in the proclitic prepositions of, of; on, on; ot, at, contrasting with the stressed adverbs æf-, on (an), æt. Occasionally, too, this change occurs in the unstressed second member of compounds, especially when the vowel is preceded by a labial: twiefold, twofold; Grímibold: Óswold; ondsworu, answer; hlæford, lord (for *hlæfword; thus in Ps. toword, future; erfeword, heir); likewise hærepoð, 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 ǫ (64); the i-umlaut of the latter is ę (89.4); in consequence of the loss of the nasal before a surd spirant, ǫ becomes ő (66); the i-umlaut of the latter is ě (ě) (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 ěa by contraction with a following u (111);

6) i-umlaut changes it to ę (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; sprecaii, speak; cweʔan, 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 ecthesis (214. 3);
6) by contraction with guttural vowels, producing eo, io (113);
7) by the change of weo into wo and wu (72).

i

54. West Germanic i often remains:

a) standing for Indo-European i, as in bite, bite; wlite, face; witan, 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 stige, plur. stigun; opt. stige, plur. stigen (382);

b) as Germ. i 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, bireī, iteī; 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 io (eo, 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 io (eo, ie, y) (105; 107. 3 ff.);

3) by the change of wio to wu (71).
4) by lengthening to í, accompanied by ecdhipsis (186; 214. 3);

5) by contraction with guttural vowels (114).

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

**o**

55. As a rule, West Germanic o is retained: boda, messenger; God, God; gold, gold; oxa, 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; enucian, knock; ufan, above; ufor, higher; ufera, the upper; lufu, lufian, love; spura (beside spora), spur; spurnan (beside spornan), spurn.; murnan, mourn; murenian, murmur; furfor, further; furðum, 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 (œ), ç (93).

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

**u**

56. West Germ. u often occurs unchanged: burg, town; lust, pleasure; sunu, son; hund, dog, etc.; very
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 orsorg, careless; orðone, cleverness.

Note 1. The WS. Kent. ðurh, through, is replaced in Mercian (Ps.) by ðorh, and in North. by ðerh. 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 i-umlaut to y (95);
2) the lengthening to ū, accompanied by echthlipsis (186; 214. 3, note 8); the i-umlaut of the latter is ŭ (96);
3) its conversion into io, eo after palatals (74); the i-umlaut of the latter is ie (i, y) (100).

57. West Germ. ã is of threefold origin:

1) Older ã, only in foreign words, as in the Lat. strāta, nāpus, turnip, becomes æ in WS.: stræt, næp (Ep. næp, Corp. n̄ep).

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

2) West Germ. ã, from Germ. ë, Goth. e (45. 6), regularly becomes æ in WS.: ræd, counsel; rædan, advise; sleæpan, 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 hî(e)red (Angl. hìorod, OHG. hìrát), family; dægred
(OHG. tagarōd), dawn, and the adverbs (n)āwer, (n)ōwer (from āhwār, ōhwār, 321, note 2). On the other hand, proper names ending in -rēd, like Elfrēd, seem to have long ē; compare also feminine names in -flēd, beside -flǣd, like Eanflēd, -flǣd. Accordingly, some scholars are of opinion that West Germ. ā in slurred or unstressed syllables regularly becomes ē, and hence write hirēd, dægrēd, āwēr, etc. For the normal ā in stressed syllables we occasionally find ē, but not in genuine WS. texts: rēdan, slēpan, etc.

The i-umlaut of this ā is identical with it (91). On the other hand, the occurrence of the ā 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, sāwun, 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. ā occurs in an open syllable followed by a guttural vowel: in the preterits lægon, ðægon, wægon (beside lægon, ðægon, wægon), from lieg(e)an, ðieg(e)an, wegan; the plur. māgas (beside māgas), and the fem. māge (beside māge), from mæg, kinsman; in hræca, spittle; in the verb slāpan, sleep, and its derivatives (beside slēpan); and in the words swār (beside swār), heavy; trāg, lazy, tāl (beside tāl), calumny; læcnian, heal (beside læcnian, from læce, physician, with i-umlaut); ðecumba (rarely ðecumba), oakum. To these must be added numerous compounds beginning with æ, and perhaps certain other cases (Kluge, in Anglia, Anzeiger 5. 82).

The i-umlaut of this ā is regularly āe: læwan, betray (Goth. lēwjan); æltæwe, complete (compare Goth. tēwa).

b) Before nāsals West Germ. ā is converted into ō (68); the i-umlaut of the latter is ōe, ō (94).
c) After a preceding palatal it becomes \( \text{ēa} \) \( (74; 76.2) \).

d) Instead of \( \text{æ} \) there occurs an \( \text{ēa} \) in \text{nēah, nigh} (Goth. \text{nēhw}) ; here the \( \text{ēa} \) is probably breaking \( (82) \).

3) Nasalized Germ. \( \text{ā} \) from \text{an} \( (45.5) \) becomes \( \text{ō} \) \( (67) \); the i-umlaut of the latter is \( \text{ōe, ē} \) \( (94) \).

\( \text{ē} \)

58. West Germ. \( \text{ē} \) maintains itself in WS. unaltered: \text{hēr, here ; cēn, torch ; mēd, meed ; lēf, feeble ; Wēland.} Here belong also the \( \text{ē} \)'s of the reduplicated preterits like \text{hēt, slēp (395. A).}

Note 1. To the OHG. adj. \text{zēri, zıari}, corresponds OE. \text{tīr, glory} (OS. \text{tīr, ON. tīrr}) ; to the OHG. \text{viara} the OS. \text{wīr, wire}. For \text{Crēcas, Greeks}, there appears also \text{Crēacas}, the form of which has not yet been accounted for.

Note 2. The close \( \text{ē} \) of Latin appears in early loan-words as \( \text{i: side, silk ; cīpe, onion ; pīn, pain ; or shortened to i: sicor, certain ; dinor, denarius}. \) In late loan-words we have \( \text{ē} \), sometimes shortened to e: \text{crēda, creed ; bēte, beet ; fēnix, phænix, etc.}

\( \text{i} \)

59. Older \( \text{i} \) occurs almost invariably unchanged: \text{hwil, while ; mīn, mine ; dīn, thine ; sīn, his ; wīf, wife ; rice, kingdom;} compare also the strong verbs of the First Ablaut-Class \( (382) \). The \( \text{i} \) is only restricted in its occurrence by contraction with a following vowel \( (114) \), as well as by occasional shortening and breaking \( (84) \).

\( \text{ō} \)

60. West Germ. \( \text{ō} \) generally remains: \text{bōc, book ; gōd, good ; fōr, journeyed ; sīlōg, struck, etc.} Its i-umlaut is \( \text{ōe, ē (94)} \).
Note. Final wo appears as ü in hû, how; tü, two (324.2), as does simple o in bû, both; eû, cow, contrasted with to, to.

\[\text{ü}\]

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 ū (96).

\[\text{ai}\]

62. West Germ. ai becomes ā: āð, oath; stān, stone; hāt, hot; sār, wound; hātan, be called; wāt, wot; the pret. 1 and 3 sing. of the verbs of the First Ablaut-Class, as stāg (382), etc.

The i-umlaut of this ā is æ (90).

Note. Individual exceptions are: ō, always, ever, together with its compounds (ôwiht, ôwðer, etc., 346 ff.), for and beside ā (Goth. òiw, OHG. eo); and wēa, harm (OHG. wëwo ?). With these exceptions, ai(w) passes regularly into ā(w): snāw, snow; slāw, slow; sāwol, soul; compare also the verbs blāwan, cnāwan, māwan, sāwan, wāwan (396.2.c), where the Goth. has sai(j)an, waian (cf. 57.2.a). Wholly isolated is sōrig for sārig, Cura Past. 227. 8 H (clerical blunder).

\[\text{au}\]

63. The regular equivalent of West Germ. au is WS. ēa: ēac, eke; ēaca, increase; bēag, ring; hēafod, head; gelēafa, belief, etc.; the pret. 1 and 3 sing. of the verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class, like cēas (384; 385); even before following w (where the Goth. has ggw, and the ON. gg(v)): glēaw, wise; hēawan, hew;
hmēaw, stingy (compare Goth. glaggwus, ON. hōggva, hnoggr).

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

64. West Germ. eu occurs regularly as ēo: bēod, table; dēop, deep; dēor, animal; pēod, people; lēof, dear; sēoc, sick; in the present forms of verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class, like cēosan, 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: stēupfaeder, trēulēnis, etc. The tendency to change eu to eo extends even to foreign words: Deosdedit, Lēowdérius, for Deusdedit, Leutherius.

The i-umlaut of Germ. eu, or of the resultant West Germ. iu (46), is ie (i, y), 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 ō in a prehistoric period of OE. (25. 2). As the alphabet has but two characters, a, o, to represent the three sounds a, ō, o, there is considerable fluctuation in the sign for ō. 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: món, brönd, lölnd, hönd, nöma, lömnb, gön̄gan (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 q.

Note 1. This change to q is older than the metathesis of r (179); this accounts for the preterits orn, børn, from *rōnn, *brønn (389).

Note 2. Peculiar are the accusatives ðone, the; hwone, whom; the instrumentals ðon, hwon (337; 341); the adverbs ðonne, then, hwonne, 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 ðanne, but in LWS. pænne and hwænne are very common. So ðane, hwane, and ðæne, hwæne, occur very frequently for ðone, hwone; they are perhaps formed by analogy with the datives ðám, hwám, and ðæm, hwæm, and on that account to be written with æ, ð (for Kentish cf. 51). In LWS. mænig (ménig) regularly takes the place of the older mônig, manig, many.

66. When a following nasal is lost before a surd spirant, this q is regularly lengthened to ŏ (186): gōs, goose; hōs, hand; ŏs-, god; sōd, true; tōd, tooth; ŏðer, other; sōfte, softly; these stand for *gōns, *hōns, etc. (compare Goth. hansa, anpar, OHG. gans, sanfto, etc.).

67. In like manner, OE. ŏ corresponds to the Germanic nasalized ā from an (45. 5) in Goth. fāhan, seize; hāhan, hang; brāhta, brought; pāhta, thought; pāhō, clay; -wāhs, blameworthy; OHG. āhta, persecution; zāhi, tough: OE. fōn, hōn, brōhte, ōhte, ŏō (Epinal thōhæ), wōh, ōht, tōh.
68. Similarly West Germ. \( \tilde{a} \) from Germ. \( \text{a} \) (45. 6; 46), is changed before nasals into \( \tilde{o} \). Thus to Goth. \( \text{m\v{e}na} \), \( \text{moon} \), \( \text{m\v{e}n\v{o}\v{p}s} \), \( \text{month} \), \( \text{n\v{e}mun} \), they took, \( \text{q\v{e}mun} \), they came, correspond \( \text{m\v{o}na} \), \( \text{m\v{o}na\v{o}} \), \( \text{n\v{e}mun} \), \( \text{cw\v{o}mun} \). To the same source must be referred the \( \tilde{o} \) in \( \text{s\v{o}na} \), soon; \( \text{sp\v{o}n} \), sliver; \( \text{ged\v{o}n} \), done; \( \text{br\v{o}m} \), broom; \( \text{w\v{o}m} \), \( \text{w\v{o}ma} \), uproar; \( \tilde{\text{om}} \), rust; \( \text{g\v{e}mor} \), sad (74).

Note 1. Beside older \( \text{s\v{o}m-} \), half (compare Gr. \( \text{t\v{a}l} \)), as in \( \text{s\v{o}meucu} \), half alive, etc., occurs regularly in LWS. \( \text{s\v{a}m-} \) (pointing perhaps to shortening). So, too, we have always the forms \( \text{ben\v{e}man} \), deprive; \( \text{n\v{e}d-} \), \( \text{n\v{y}d\v{n}\v{e}me} \), rapacious. Perhaps diphthongal by-forms with \( \text{ai} \) may underlie these. On the other hand, the specifically LWS. form \( \text{n\v{a}mon} \), for \( \text{n\v{e}mon} \), must be regarded as a new formation (390, note 2).

Note 2. Here belong the following, which have undergone i-umlaut according to 94: \( \text{cw\v{e}n} \), woman (Goth. \( \text{q\v{e}ns} \); \( \text{w\v{e}n} \), hope (Goth. \( \text{w\v{e}ns} \)); \( \text{gec\v{w}\v{e}me} \), convenient (OHG. \( \text{biqu\v{a}mi} \)); \( \text{ges\v{e}man} \), reconcile; \( \text{get\v{e}me} \), suitable (OHG. \( \text{giz\v{a}mi} \)), etc. (compare the dialectic forms \( \text{cw\v{e}n} \), \( \text{w\v{e}n} \), \( \text{gec\v{w}\v{e}me} \), etc.). OE. \( \text{\v{e}} \) is, therefore, not to be considered as springing immediately from Germanic \( \text{a} \).

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

70. West Germ. \( \text{o} \) before nasals becomes \( \tilde{u} \): \( \text{cuman} \), come; \( \text{genum\v{e}n} \), taken; \( \text{-numa} \), receiver; \( \text{wunian} \), dwell; \( \text{\v{o}numor} \), thunder (OHG. \( \text{coman} \), \( \text{ginoman} \), \( \text{-nomo} \),
wonēn, donar). So the o in the early borrowings from Latin: munuc, munt, pund, eumpæder, 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; wucu, week; c(w)ueu, living; wuht, thing (so also nāwuht, nāuht, nothing); betwuh, betwux, between; side by side with wiodu (rare and old); widuwe, weoduwe; sweotol; wieu, weocu; ewieu, ewic; betwih, etc.

Note 1. Rare and late is the occurrence of wo: wolerēad, for wiolocréad. 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: wierōe, worth; wiersa, worse; wier(re)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
THE VOWELS

in LWS. certain others, like worc, worpan, geswosterna, swotol, beside the usual weorc, weorpan, gesweoster, sweotol. For this eo LWS. frequently substitutes u: swurd, wurðan, wurðian, swuster, instead of sweord, sword; weorðan, become; weorðian, 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-, wyrt-, wyrste (EWS. wierste); quite exceptionally weor for wyr, wur, as in weormum, ymbhweorft, Geoweorþa, for wyrmum, ymbhwyrf, Lat. Jugurtha.

73. 1) The combination aw remains normally unchanged before vowels: awul, awl; clawu, claw; gesawen, seen, etc. Where ea crops up beside it, as in feawe, few (Goth. fawai), clea, 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; cleweða, itch; ewe, ewe (add perhaps the part. gesewen, seen, beside gesawen); later texts have also eo: eowu, streowede, etc. (but not *gesewen). In certain words, like mǣowle, maiden (Goth. mawilō), ēowde, 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 eo: cneowes, treowes, ðeowes, etc., gen. sing. of cnēo, knē; trēo, tree; ðēo, servant (137); compare OHG. knewes, etc.

Note 2. From the juxtaposition of forms like cnēo and cneowes result, through mutual influence, those like cnēow, where the w has come in from the polysyllables, and such as cnēowes, where the long eo has come from the monosyllables (Beitr. 10. 489 ff.).
3) Original iw remains partly unchanged before vowels, and partly appears as iow (cow, 38): ðriwa, thrice; spiwe, spiweða, vomiting; past part. áspiwen, vomited; ásiwen, filtered; niwol, headlong, beside less pure WS. forms like niowol (neowol), áseowen, etc.

Note 3. Forms with ie, i, like ní(e)we, new (Goth. niujis), hi(e)w, form (Goth. hiwi), etc., do not go back to an old iw, but to an older iuw, which arose from West Germ. gemination (227). Those like siowian, sew; spiowian, 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): gēa, yea; gēar, year; gioc, geoc, yoke; gēomor, sad; so likewise in the pronoun geon, that (338, note 6), and its derivatives, like geond, through; begcondan, beyond (for jan-, jon-, 65; compare EWS. giend, gind, Kent. gend, North. gind, begienda, with i-umlaut). The combination ju quite frequently remains unchanged: iū, formerly; iung, gung, young; iuguð, guguð, youth (compare Goth. ju, juggs); but its place is usually taken by geo, gio: gēo; geong, giong; geuguð, gioguð.

Note 1. io very rarely persists unchanged, as in ioc. The source of the ie in gīet, gīeta (gýt, gýta), yet, and gīen, gīena (beside more usual gēn, géna), yet, is not yet determined. There is no doubt that we have an older j in the pers. pron. gē, beside occasional gie (332).

Note 2. On forms like ger for gēar, see 109.

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

1) æ to ea: geaf, gave; -geat, obtained; geat, gate, geatwe, trappings; ceaf, chaff; ceaflas, jaws; ceaster, town; sceall, shall; sceaf, shaft; sceatt, treasure; sceabb, scab; scear, pret. 3 sing., cut; for *gæf, *gæt, *cæster, *scæl, etc. (compare Goth. gaf, gat, skal, Lat. castra). Similarly, with i-umlaut (98): giest (gyst, gist), guest; ciefes, concubine; ciele, coolness; scieppan, create; cietel, kettle; from *geasti-, *ceafis, *sceappjan, *ceatil, for *gæsti-, *cæfis, *scaepjan, *cætil (compare Goth. gasts, skapjan).

2) æ to ēa: gēafon, gave; -gēaton, obtained; gēaglas, jaws; scēap, sheep; scēaron, cut; for *gēfon, *gēton, *scāron (compare Goth. gēum, gētum). With i-umlaut: cīese, cīse, cheese, for *cēasi, from *cēsi, from Lat. cāseus.

3) e to ie (i, y): giefan, give; giefu, gift; -gietan, obtain; gield, offering; gieldan, pay; giellan, yell; gielp, boasting; gielpan, boast; gied, song; scieran, cut; scield, shield; beside gifan, gyfan; gildan, gyldan, etc.

Note 1. Contrary to the rule, æ maintains itself in gædeling, kinsman, æt-, tōgædere, together (50, note 2), and in certain Latin words received into LWS., such as cæppe, cap; cæfester, halter, from Lat. cappa, capistrum; of course also in gærs, grass, cærse, cress, for gras, etc. (179). Forms like gæst, scæd, shade, scær, scæron (instead of giest, scead, scar, scēaron), are unknown to WS. prose, but occur in poetry. The imp. sceaf (beside scaf), for the normal sceaf (369), is of late formation.

Note 2. The e holds its ground in words like geldan, gelp; sceran, 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 sceðjan (392. 4) (while poetry has a rare sceðjan),
and Ælfric regularly writes gësthûs (otherwise an exceptional form), just as Mod. Eng. has a guttural g in *guest. In the case of gësthus 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, caree; eëorl, man; georn, eager; sceorfan, gwaw; not *cëfian, etc. Under similar circumstances the u-, o/a-umlaut (101 ff.) likewise has the preference over palatal influence: geolo, yellow; geoloca, yolk; ceole, throat; ceorian, lament; yet pure WS. always has giefu, after the model of the gen. dat. acc. giefe, though outside of the limits of pure WS. there is also a nom. geofu.

76. 1) Other vowels undergo no change after g and c; this is true not only of the guttural vowels a, o, o, u, as in galan, sing; calan, be cold; gængan, go; comp, camp, battle; gæst, spirit; cæsere, emperor; God, God; gød, good; corn, corn; guma, man; cuman, come; gūd, battle; cūd, known, but also of the resulting secondary palatals æ, ë, ë, y, y (7, note) due to umlaut, as in gæst (beside gæst), spirit; gæd, lack; gælsa, luxury; cæg, key (cf. 90); cæmes, shirt; cæmban, comb; cæmpa, warrior; cænnan, beget; Cænt, Kent; -gænga, goer (cf. 89. 4); cællendre, coriander; cænc, bold; cælan, cool; cæpán, observe; gæs, geese (cf. 93; 94); cyme, coming; cynn, kin; cyssan, kiss; cyst, choice; gylden, golden; cĩðan, announce (cf. 95; 96).

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

2) Instead of sea, seo, there is a frequent occurrence of scea, sceo: sceacan, scœoc, sceacen, shake. (392), and scacan, scœc, scacen; scădan and scæadan, separate; scamu, scœmu, and sceamu, sceœmu, shame; seop and sceop, poet; scœh and scœoh, 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 scu remains unaffected: scua, shadow; scucca, demon; scūfan, shove; sculdor, shoulder; scūr, shower. Not till LWS. do we encounter single instances of sceu, like sceucca, scēufan, and somewhat more frequently eo: sceocca, scēofan, scēor.

No change is experienced by scy: scylē, guilt; scyndan, hasten; scythe, shot, etc.

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

Note 3. The umlaut-ē derived from ǭ (89. 4) remains unchanged in scēnc, goblet; scēncean, pour out, but is nearly always diphthongized in pure WS. in sciendan (scindan, scyndan), disgrace, as is ē, the umlaut of ǭ (94), in gescy, shoes (for gesciē, Ps. North. gescē).

Note 4. In later texts -e is even occasionally inserted between sc and a, o in the midst of a word: mēnescea, human being, Êgyptisc-ean, Ebrēiscēan, 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 sc 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, ēa undergo palatal umlaut to e, ē (108; 109), and that ie,
ie are converted to unstable i, y and i, ñ (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; weorpåan, throw = Goth. (stairnō), hairtō, airpåa, wairpan, OS. sterro, herta, ertha, werpåan, etc.

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

Note 1. The breaking remains, even when the second consonant is lost: feorh, life; ðweorh, across; mearh, horse; gen. fēores, ðwēores, mēares (on the lengthening see 218. 1, and note 1).
Note 2. On the other hand, breaking does not occur in berstan, burst; ðersean, thresh; ðerce, fresh; ðærs, grass; bærst, burst; ærn, house; hærn, wave, and the causatives ærnan, ride; bærnan, burn, because in these cases the r + consonant is the result of metathesis (179). Why there should be an absence of breaking in hærfest, 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 arn (orn), barn (børn), see 65, note 1; 386, note 2. But, notwithstanding the metathesis, we have beornan (byrnan), burn, and iernan (yrnan), run = Goth. brinnan, rinnan (see under 2 below).

Note 3. Breaking is of rare occurrence in foreign words; thus we have arce-, beside ærce-, arch- (in such words as arcebishop, archbishop), martrian, martyr; and in later texts usually arc, ark, earcern, prison, where the earlier commonly prefer earc, cearcern.

2) West Germ. i was likewise broken to io (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 fállan, áld, háf; according to 124.3; see also note 3), = Goth. fallan, etc.

Note 1. For forms like Wealh–Wéales, Welshman, see 79, note 1; 242; for their i-umlaut, 98; 99.

Note 2. Breaking takes place before ll only when the latter is of Germanic origin, as in feallan, fall; eall, all; weallan, boil; with i-umlaut: fiell, fyll, fall, etc. (98). Before the ll from Germanic lj (227), on the other hand, we have always e, i.e., the i-umlaut of the unchanged a: hell, hell; tél1an, tell; the only exception is the (siellan),
sylIan of certain texts (North. sealla), give (for *sealljan), Goth. saljan (but CP. only sIlIan).

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 falud, falæd, it is not improbable that there has been syncopation of a vowel following the 1 in the other words of this kind (compare also Ælfred, and similar names; hælfter, 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: meolcan, milk; Æseolcan, lAn-guish; heolca, hoar frost (?); seolh, gen. sēoles, seal; colh, elk; sceolh, squinting; fēolan, command (from *feolhan, see 218); then in heolfor, gore, and in seolf, self (dialectic, as, for example, in Ps.), beside sielf, sylf (compare also siellic, syllic, strange, beside sellic), and unchanged self (this form exclusively found in CP.). In other cases, e before 1 + consonant is retained: swellan, swell; helm, helmet; helpan, help; sweltan, 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 ea:

a) geneahhe, abundantly; cahta, eight; meaht; could; meaht, might; neaht, night (for niht, niht see
98, note); feax, hair; weaxan, grow; also hliehhan, hlyhhan, laugh (with i-umlaut, 98); compare Goth. ahtau, mahta, malits, nahts, fahs, wahsjan, hlahjan; WS. gefeah, seah, pret. sing. of geféon, rejoice; sēon, see (391. 2);

b) něah (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. maihstus), ordure; so now and then (but hardly genuine WS.) in proper names like Wioht, Isle of Wight; Wiohthūn, Wiohtgār, etc. But there are often parallel forms with i, y (for older ie, 23), like wrixl, exchange; mixen, dunghill; Wiht, Wight; wiht, thing; gesiḥō, gesyḥō, sight; siḥō, syḥō, 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; betweōh, between;
(weobud, weofod, altar, for weohb-, Angl. wibed, 222, note 1); compare the Common WS. imperatives lēoh, tēoh, bēoh, wēoh (from the contract verbs lēon, etc., 383), for which EWS. instances are wanting. Elsewhere we have also EWS. io, as in Wiohstān, and after w a u in betwuuh, between (compare Goth. tweihnai, two); fulwuht, baptism, which points to shortened io (71).

Note 1. Breaking is even caused by the x arising from sc 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 sleah, strike (111. 2), nēar, nearer (112), for *sleahan, *nēahur from *slahan, *nēhar; and especially of those like sīon, beside sēon, see (113. 2), and tēon, beside tion, accuse (114. 3), for *siohan, beside *seohan, from *sehan (83), and *tēohan, beside tiohan, from tīhan (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 *alu, 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 ae and o (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 \( \mathbf{ae} \) before an originally single consonant is normally \( \mathbf{e} \) (19, note): hærigan, glorify; ncrigan, save; hære, army; telian, count; sættan, set; wæccan, awaken; læcgan, lay = Goth. hasjan, nasjan, harjis, *taljan, satjan, wakjan, lagjan, etc.

**Note 1.** Beside \( \mathbf{e} \) occurs a sporadic \( \mathbf{e} \), especially in sæcægan, say, beside sæcægan; wraec(e)a, exile, beside wrec(e)a; and æl- beside el- (compare Goth. aljis, another), for example, ældiðig, elðiðig, foreign. This \( \mathbf{e} \) 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; wæce, watch; wæccende, watching; næs, foreland; pæðdan, traverse; scaæðig, injurious; stæðdan, support; mæcg, man, etc.

2) The i-umlaut of short \( \mathbf{ae} \) before consonant groups is normally \( \mathbf{æ} \): æsc, ash; ligræsc, lightning; dwæscan, extinguish; æspe, aspen; fæstan, fasten; -hlæstan, burden; mæstan, fatten; hæftan, arrest; ræfsan, blame; æfnan, execute; stæfnan, regulate; næglan, nail; brægden, cunning; fæðman, embrace, etc.

**Note 2.** Constant exceptions with \( \mathbf{e} \) are: eft, again; rest, rest; ræstan, rest; egle, troublesome; eglan, molest; esne, servant; stefn, stæmn, trunk. Beside \( \mathbf{æ} \) we occasionally also find \( \mathbf{e} \) in efnan, stefnan.

3) The umlaut of the \( \mathbf{a} \) which must exceptionally be postulated instead of \( \mathbf{ae} \) is \( \mathbf{e} \). This is evident in foreign words like Læden, Latin; cæfester, halter; mægestor, master, from Lat. Latinum, capistrum, magister, etc. In native words it often occurs, for example, when leveling by analogy takes place between \( \mathbf{a} \) and \( \mathbf{ae} \), as in the 2 and 3 sing. færes, -eð, goest, goes, from Prim. OE. *faris, -ip (for Prim. OE. *færis, -ip), in conformity
with faru, farað, etc. (371, note 2), or in words like ræced, house; hæled, hero; hæcele, cloak, from Prim. OE. *rakid, *halijp, *hakila (for Prim. OE. *rækid, etc.), in conformity with the parallel forms *rakid, *halijp, *hakila 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 ò (65), is in the oldest texts æ, later é: fremman, perform; mën(n), men; sendan, send; strengra, stronger; drenched, drench, from the stems from, forwards; mën(n), man(n), man; strong, strang, strong; drêncan, drank, etc.

Note 4. The æ has persisted where it was separated from the following nasal by early metathesis; hence we have ãrnan, ride; bærnan, burn (causative) = Goth. rannjan, brannjan, and probably also ærn, house; hærn, wave, from *ranni, *hranni (79, note 2; 179).

Note 5. Different from this is the use of æ instead of é, 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, ðæncan, ængel, etc.

90. The i-umlaut of OE. a (from ai and ā, 62 and 57) is æ: hæl, whole, hælan, heal; lær, lore, læran, teach; an, one, ænig, any; dæl, part, hæl, omen (i-stems). So also gān, go, 2 and 3 sing. gæst, gæð (430); læwan (Goth. læwjan), betray.

91. The i-umlaut of WS. Æ = Germ. Æ, Goth. ë (57. 2) is likewise æ: læce (Goth. lækeis), leech; dæd (Goth. dépþ, i-stem), deed; mære, famous (jo-stem).
Note. Goth. mēkeis, sword, is always mēce, though the OS. form is māki. For other e'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 *-leþjan), like léf, 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 *rign-jan), etc., belongs to a period antecedent to that of OE.

93. The i-umlaut of o is

1) ę from older œ (27): morgen and měrgen, mor-row; dohtor, dat. sing. dehter, 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 ęle, oil; ečl(1)endre, coriander, from Lat. oleum, coriandrum.

2) usually y: gold, gold, gylden, golden; hold, gracious, hyldo, grace; forht, timid, fyhrtu, fear; gnorn (a-stem) and gnyrn (i-stem), grief, etc. So likewise in foreign words like evecne, 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, huldi, 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 ęle, belongs to a foreign word.
94. The i-umlaut of ò is ē, from older òe (27):

a) older ò (60): dòm, doom, dèman, deem; bòc, book, bèc plur.; sòhte, sought, sècan inf.; glèd, gleed, spèd, success (i-stems);

b) ò before nasals from West Germ. ā, Germ. òe (see 68, note 2);

c) ò from older òn, an (66): gòs, goose, plur. gès; sòfte, softly, adv., sèfte, adj.; fòn, catch, fèhest, fèhò, 2 and 3 sing.; òht, persecution, êhtan, persecute.

Note. In the oldest texts òe is found, though but very seldom, in place of ē: òéel, òël, Cura Past. 2. 7; -dæ, ib. 8. 2, for the regular dō.

95. The i-umlaut of u is y: wulle, wool, wylle, woollen; gesund, sound, gesynto, soundness; hungor, hunger, hyngran, hunger; burg, city, byr(i)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 y:

a) older ū: brücan, use, brýcð 3 sing.; tūn, hedge, ontýnan, open; brýd, bride (i-stem); and in foreign words like strýta, ostrich; plýme, plum, from Lat. struthio, pruna.
b) ü from un (186:1): ūns, ready, ūysan, hasten; ĕũ, known, ĕ扬尘, make known; ūď, wave (ǯ-stem), etc.

Diphthongs

97. In the older texts the i-umlaut of ea and ěa is usually ie and ĕe, 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, ĕ, which may perhaps be regarded as reductions of ie, ĕe to a monophthong.

Note. In general, these e's, ĕ'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 gesthūs, 75, note 2).

98. Examples of ea:

a) broken ea (79 ff.): earm, poor, ĕermůu, misery, ĕerming, wretch; eald, old, comp. ieldra, sup. ieldesta, ieldu, age; weallan, boil, 3 sing. wieľ, wielm, surge (i-stem); Wealh, Welshman, wielise, foreign (218): weaxan, grow, 3 sing. wiexď (so likewise slieĥď, ówieĥď, from slēan, smite; ówčan, wash); hlieĥhan (Goth. hlahjan), laugh; slieht (i-stem), battle.

b) ea after palatals (74 ff.): scieppan (Goth. skapjan), create; ciefes (OHG. kebisa), concubine; giest (i-stem), guest.

The later forms of these words are ĕrmůu, ĕrming, ĕldra, ĕldesta, ieldu, wīlď, wīlm, wilise, wixď, slihď,
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əwihə, hlihhan, sliht, scippan, cifes, gist; still later are yrmðu, yldra, wylm, wylisc, hlyhhan, slyht, scyppan, cifes, gist, 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 -scipe, -ship (263. 1), beside the very rare -sciepe, the i is probably earlier than Old English, as may be inferred from the corresponding OS. forms in -skipí.

99. Examples of ēa: hēah, high, comp. hīehra, sup. hīehst; hēawan, hew, 3 sing. hīewə; nēat, ani-
mal, dimin. nieten; bēacen, beacon, biecnan, beckon;
gelēafa, belief, geliefan, believe; hīran, hear; nied,
need, lieg, flame (i-stems), etc.; afterward hīhra, hīhst,
niten, biecnan, gelifan, hīran, nīd, lig, and hīhra,
hīhst, nīten, gelīfan, hīran, nīd; more rarely nīten,
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, ēe; compare formations like æfwerdla,
injury; mételēstu, 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 ēe, ē, y:

a) Examples of eo: feorr, far, əfierran, remove;
weorpan, throw, 3 sing. wierpə; subst. weordə, worth,
adj. wierde; ierre, anger, angry, hierde, herdsman
(jo-stems); fierst (i-stem, with metathesis, 179), time;
afterward əfiirran, wirpə, wierde, ierre, hirde, first, and
əfiyrren, wyrpə, wyrde, yrre, hyrde, fyrst, etc.
b) Examples of ēo: cēosan, choose, 3 sing. ciesǣ; trēowan, rue, 3 sing. hriewǣ; lēoht, light, liehtan, illuminate; gestrēon, possession, striēnan, obtain; trēow, faith, getriewe, faithful; ðiestre, gloomy; later cīsǣ, hriwǣ, lihtan, strīnan, getrīwe, ðīstre.

Note 1. Before h + consonant the variant y is rarely met with: lēoht, easy, lihtan, lighten; wrixlan, exchange; lixan (or shortened to lixan), illuminate (Goth. *liuhṣjan); yet in EWS. always ryhtan, direct (108, note 1), and Common WS. wyht, beside wiht (i-stem), and frequently gesyhtǣ, beside gesihtǣ, 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. gind there is a rare giend; but geond, without umlaut, is common (74; 338, note 6). Beside EWS. giecǣa, itch, occurs a later giecǣa, and so giccian, itch; giceig, purulent.

2) Beside ie (i, y), there occurs in EWS. as umlaut of ēo an io, which eventually, like all io’s, becomes ēo, and thus comes to coincide in form with the non-umlauted ēo: ðeciōd, people, gēdīode, language, ēlōiōde, foreign people, ēlōiōdig, foreign, gēdīodan (refl.), join, underōiōdan, subject; stēor, helm, stōrian, steer, stōra, helmsman; trēow, trust, getriōw(i)an, clear oneself; beside ēlōiōdig, ge-, underōiōdan, stieran, stīera, getriēwan (but not *gētiēde, etc.); LWS. gēdīcocē, ēlōiōcocē, ge-, underēiōcocē, stōran, stēora, getrēcowan, 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 ie, ie: āfcorran, corre, heorde, or nēowe, new; héow, form, for strict WS. nīwe, nīwe, etc.
Note 3 (on 88–100). Occasionally the vowel of the first element of a compound is umlauted by the radical vowel of the second element: hlæf-dige, lady, beside hlæf-ord, lord (43, note 4); ānlic, beside ānlic, peerless; ðyslic, ðyllic, beside ðuslic, ðullic, such; ðéghwile, ðéghwile, each, etc. (347); North. āniht, anything; næniht, nothing (348); and, with further mutilation of the word, endleofan (from *ainlibôn), eleven; enetere, enitre (from *ānwintri), yearling; or the foreign Wyrtgeorn from Vor-tigern, 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-i (50, note 2): gaedeling, kinsman (earlier gaediling, from *gadiling, from *gaduling), etc.; then cases like ærèade (from *arindi, from *ārundi), errand; æmerge (from *āmirja, from *āmurja, OHG. eimuria), embers. North. œfist (43, note 4, from *ofist, from *ofusti, for *of-unsti-), 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): ānige, beside ānige (ānēage, note 7), one-eyed; ānliẹpe, -ig, beside ānliẹpe, -ig (North. ānlape), sole (compare ON. einhleypr), ārlest, beside ārléast (note 7), dishonor; and probably sæm-, sæm-tiges, beside samtenges, adv., together; endemes, equally (for *söm-tængis, āndæmis), 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-, half, in compounds like sōm-, samcucu, half alive (OHG. sämiqec), etc.

Note 7. Umlaut is not seldom lacking in derivatives, especially late formations, which take instead the original vowel of the underlying word: folcisc, popular; hūsineel, 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; sīdfeaxe, long-haired; orcnāwe, evident; orgēate, evident; ēdbegēate, easily obtained; subst. smaeldearme, lower abdomen; poet. syn-caldu, perpetual cold (cf. 279). In LWS. this lack of umlaut occurs particularly in the abstracts ending in -lest, like metelēast, want of food, beside EWS. -lest, -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. ū is more extended than that of the ó-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. ū as their umlauting agent, regardless of its origin (whether from original ū or some other Germ. vowel, especially ō), and regardless of its later development (weakening to ō, later to a, or in middle syllables even to e).

2) The prehistoric ō (whatever its source) regularly appears as historic a, except where it has become ū (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 wā-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, -ōð, -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 ealu, 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;
hafoc, hawk; hagol, hail; flacor, flying; sadol, saddle; atol, terrible; staðol, foundation; lasor, cockle; also of course in inflections: calu, callow; stalu, theft; caru, care; magu, boy; hagu, haw; lagu, sea; racu, account; sacu, dispute; faðu, aunt, or the plurals salu, halls; trafu, tents; bladu, leaves; baðu, baths; fatu, vessels; dat. bladum, fatuin, etc.

Note 1. In forms like fealu, fallow; 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. fealwes, bearwes, which exhibit breaking (79 ff.); ceafor, chafer (stem *kafra-), has ea from palatal + ae (75. 1); forms like ceafu, geatu (beside gatu, 240, note 3), follow the sing. ceaf, geat (75. 1); for sceaðu, shadow; gæceapu, 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; dearoð, arrow; wearoð, shore; eafroð, strength; eafora, posterity; heafoc, hawk; heafola, head; beadu (and so gen. beadwe, 259), battle; eatol, terrible; heaðu-, battle, etc., beside earu, daroð; waroð, afora, hafola, hafoc, etc. Even the inflectional u occasionally produces ea, as in plur. heafu, treafa, from laef, ocean, traæ, tent.

104. e to eo. 1) u-umlaut of e to eo is the rule in WS. before the liquids r and l: heorot, hart; smeoæn, grease; teoru, tar; poet. heor-, 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. spre, spear; wer, man; wela, riches, obl. perau, etc.; so generally meolo (beside meolo), meal, like gen. melwes, etc., and giefu, for geofu, gift, like obl. giefe (75, note 3), etc. On the treatment of weo- see note 2.
2) Before labials, EWS. has usually e, which later becomes normally eo: EWS. efor, boar, in Eforwic, York; hefon, heaven (WS. efor, heofon); then beofor, beaver; poet. geofon, ocean; sweofot, sleep; compare also eofot, debt; eofolsian, blaspheme (43, note 4), and the foreign ofole, 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, codor, meodo, feotor, poet. breogo, prince; meotod, fute; likewise in inflection: geseotu, meoto, 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 weo before r, l (1, above) in woruld, worold, world (but Kent. Merc. R.² weorold, 72); swoloða, heat. On the other hand, werod and weorod, troop, generally werod, sweet, and the plur. weleras (from *weluras), lips.

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): cwucu, cucu, living; -hwugu, -hugu, in pronouns like hwæth(w)ugu,
whatever (344); cwudu, cudu, 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 levelings in the inflection. Sometimes u prevails throughout, as in plur. ewuce, cuce, for ewice, like ec(w)ucu, or inf. swugian, sugian, keep silent, for swigian, like pret. swugode; sometimes it is i that is generalized, as in plur. twigu, from twig, twig; nom. swipu, whip, like the obl. swipe; or in conjugation, like witan, know; gewitun, went, etc. In other cases, wu- and wi-forms occur more or less indiscriminately side by side: beside wuduwe, widow, LWS. often wduwe, widew; 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 wioluc, weoloc, whelk.

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. mioluc, milk; sioluc, silk; siolufr, silver; pret. tiolode, from tilian, attempt; siofun, seven; siofoða, seventh; *siofoða, bran; pret. cliopode, from clipian, call, etc. = Common WS. meol(o)c, seoloc, seolfor, teolode, seofon, sefoða, cleopode, etc.

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

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

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, -tigoða, -th (in twentigoða, twentieth, etc.); huitol, addicted to butting; slidor, slippery; niðor, down, etc. So in inflection: brimu, limu, geflitu, hliðu, liðu, dat. brimum, etc., from brim, sea; lim, limb; geflit, strife; hlið, slope; lið, limb; or u-stems like sidu, custom; friðu-, peace (in proper names like Friðugár); or feminines like sinu, sinew; hniðu, níð; 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: liomu, leomu, limbs; -tiðgoða, -th; siðoðu, custom; niðor, down; ðiosun, ðeosum, to this (Cura Past.), þiosan, þeosan, 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 y in these cases: geflietu, plur. of geflit, strife; nieðemest, the undermost; or ðysum, to this; nyðemest; hlynigan, lean (Cura Past.). These y's are not rare in LWS.

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

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

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; sceadga, 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; wela, riches; bera, bear; nefa, nephew; scfa, 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. cecolan, throat, and ceorian, complain; but these are probably rather to be referred to u-umlaut (ceolan for prehistoric *kelun, cf. OHG. kelūn, 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, scofa; 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 feawa, 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; cuiâ, womb; huîda, 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. hiora (heora, beside an early hiera, later hyra, 334); ondliofa, biliofa, -leofa, food; *cliofa, cleofa (beside clifa, clyfa), bedchamber, etc.

Note 4. The umlaut is often set aside by analogy: tilian—tilast, -âð (pret. tilede), 416, note 14; libban—lifast, -âð (416, note 2), beside tilian (tiolian)—tiolast, -âð; libban—liofast, -âð (leofast, -âð); clif, cliff, gen. plur. clifa, 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; bita, bit; cliâ, 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; neoðan, beneoðan, beneath (for older hionan, etc.), beside hinan, niðan, nyðan; but more probably these are cases of u-umlaut.

Especially strange is sioðan (seoðan; sieðan, siðan, syð-ðan), after, from *sîðon, with shortening of the i (337, note 2).

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

108. Before c, g, h the diphthongs ēa, ēo, ūo may lose their second element, being thus simplified to ē (æ), ē, ǝ, 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; Pihtas (Pyhtas), Piets, etc., for seox, cneohnt, Peohtas; wrixl, exchange, for *wrixl, 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, e become LWS. e, ǝ:
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a) seh, saw; sleh, blow; genehhe, abundantly; exl, shoulder; fleh, hair; flek, flax; sex, knife; wexan, grow, for EWS. seah, sleah, geneahhe, eaxl, feax, etc.

b) neh, near; teh, drew; oeh, though; hohsta, highest; nohsta, nearest; ege, eye; beg, ring; bocen, sign; eca, increase; lcc, locked, for neah, teah, oehah, heahsta, noahsta, eage, eag, bocen, eaca, lcc. Nevertheless, the traditional orthography ea, e is preserved even in some of the later texts which already exhibit e, e.

Note 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 i-umlaut, 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 LWS. transformation of ea, e into e, e after g, c, sc (here really palatal, according to 206): celf, calf; cers, slice; gef, gave; get, got; get, gate; get, poured; ces, chose; scet, shot; ger, year; ongen, against; seep, sheep; geseed, discretion, etc., for celf, cers (79 ff.), geaf, geat (75. 1), geat, ces, sceat (63), gcar, ongen, seep, geseed (75. 2).

Note. This conversion rarely occurs in an open syllable before a guttural vowel, as in gertan, they got, for gerton (75. 2). Usually the e in this position remains: thus, although LWS. has ger, seep, the gen. dat. plur. is mostly gera, -um; sceapa, -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.

Note 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 Swēou, 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.

Note 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. clēa (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 clēa (for *clēae) are framed like the nom. clēa, so that finally two full paradigms, clēa — clēa, and clawu — clawe, run parallel to each other (cf. also 111, note 1).

Note 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.).

Note 4. Collision of unstressed + stressed vowel results, not in contraction, but in the elision of the former: thus unstressed e in forms like b-æftan, behind; b-ufan, above; b-ūtan, outside, for be-æftan, be-urfan, be-ūtæn; so in the negated verbs n-abbæn (415); n-ellæn, n-yllæn (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 ea (through Prim. OE. au): örēa, threat; clēa, claw, from *pra(w)u, *kla(w)u (beside the analogically formed Ep. thrāuw, 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 - claw (110, note 2). A possible accord with uncontracted forms appears in the compound strawberic, strawberry, beside strēa(w)beric.

For forms like strēow see 119, note.

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

2) Orig. ah + vowel becomes ea, after the loss of the h (probably through eah + vowel, 84, note 2). Here belong especially the contract verbs lēan, fēan, slēan, ōwēan (392. 2), for *la(h)an, etc.; 1 sing. lēa, slēa, for *la(h)u, etc.; opt. lēa, slēa, for *lahe, etc.; gefēa, joy, for *gifaha; ēa, water, for *ah(w)u, *ahu (compare Goth. ahwa); ēar, ear of grain; tēar, tear, for *ahur, *tahur, etc.

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

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

113. 1) Orig. e + u from wu or vocalized w becomes ēo (through Prim. OE. eu): ðēo, servant; cnēo, knee; trēo, tree, for *pew, *pēu, etc.; more frequently, with borrowing of the w from the polysyllabic case-forms: ðēow, cnēow, trēow.

Note 1. Occasionally EWS. has io for this ēo, especially in MS. H of Cura Past.: ðiow, etc.

2) Orig. eh + vowel becomes, after the loss of h (probably through older ioh, beside eoh, 84, note 2), EWS. io, beside ēo, WS. ēo. Hence WS. forms like the contract verbs gefēon, rejoice; plēon, risk; séon, see (391. 2), from *-fehan, etc.; 1 sing. gefēo, from ind. *-fehu, opt. *-fehaē, etc.; then feoh, cattle—gen. fēos, dat. fēo, etc. (242); sēo, pupil, gen. sēon; swēor, father-in-law; tēodā, tenth; tēontig, hundred, from *scha, *swehur, *tehu(n)po, *tehuntig, etc.

Note 2. Obscure vocalism is exhibited by EWS. tiēn, infl. tiēne, ten; WS. tyn, tyme, beside tēn, tēne.

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

114. 1) Orig. i + u becomes, through Prim. and Early OE. īu, EWS. īo (beside rarer ēo), then WS. ēo: pron. hīo, sīo (334; 337), WS. hēo, sēo (from *hi + u, *si + u, by the addition of the feminine ending -u); nom. acc. plur. neut. ȳrīo, ȳrēo, three (324), from *pri(j)u (Goth. prija).
2) Orig. ï + orig. a, ō blends into a diphthong which fluctuates greatly in EWS. between ěo and iо, but appears in WS. as ́ēо: EWS. diоfol, WS. dёofol, devil, from Lat. diabulus; frēo (frio), free, and its derivatives, from the stem *fri(j)a-; frēog(e)an, love; fēog(e)an, hate, beside the nouns frēond, friend; fēond, enemy; then bleо, color; frēо, lady; Swēon, Swedes; bēо, bee; pēо, an insect; cēо, cough; presumably also bēon, bion (compare Lat. fio), 427. 2.

Note 1. Whether bēot, boast; frēols, freedom, from *bi-hāt, *fri-hals, 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 iо-forms (compare also North. ēade L., ēode R. 2, not *iode).

3) Orig. ůh + vowel becomes (presumably through broken iоh, ēoh, 84, note 2) EWS. io, beside more frequent ēо, WS. ēо. Here belong the contract verbs tēon, ņеоn, wrēon, lēon, sēon (383), from tihan, etc.; pres. 1 sing. tēo, ņeо, etc., from ind. *tihu, opt. *tihāe; then twēo, doubt, from *twiho, beside derivatives like twēog(e)an, twēonian, doubt; and perhaps a few others (cf. also note 1).

4) ï + e gives ie, later ī, y, in sie, be, from *si(j)ae; presumably also in the masc. őrie, three, and the pronoun hīe, they, her (nom. plur. masc. and acc. sing. fem., 324; 334; 337), LWS. sy, õry, hy (beside frequent disyllabic sie in the poetry).

Note 2. The dialectic occasional forms sēo (427, notes 2 and 3) and hēo (334), beside sie, hīe, can not be explained with certainty.

115. OE. ō + vowel becomes ō: scōh, shoe, nom. acc. plur. scōs, from *scōhas (242); the contract verbs fōn,
hōn, from fōhan (for fāhan with nasalized ā, 395.1); pres. 1 sing. fō, hō, from ind. *fōhu, opt. *fōhā; then ōō, clay (early thōhā, 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, dēo, dost, does, from *dōis, *dōip; dialectic participle dēn, done, from *dōin (429), etc. For LWS. ēow from ēw, see 113, note 3.

116. Orig. ū + 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 -būen; gen. sing. cū, cūs, beside cūē (gen. plur. cūa), cow (284, note 4); ērūm, dat. plur. of ērūh, coffin.

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

117. 1) OE. y + i, e contracts to y: drīs, drī, gen. dat. sing. of drī, magician, from *drīyes, *drīye; 3 sing. drīdō, pret. drīde, from *prī(h)iē, *prī(h)ida, from drīn, press.

2) OE. y + guttural vowel becomes WS. ēo in rēo, covering, obl. rēon, from older rỳhā Ep. (presumably following the oblique cases, like gen. *rỳhan, etc.).

Note. Forms like ērīn, press; tīn, teach (408, note 18), for *prīhan, etc., are therefore probably patterned after inflectional forms like 2 and 3 sing. drīs, drīdō, pret. drīde (No. 1, above), and such as drīnas, 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; hrā, corpse, for which more frequently occur snāw, hrāw, 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, *slāhæ, *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. gǣst, gǣð, from gā-is, etc. (430);
   b) for orig. ā(w)i: ē, law; sē, sea; hrē, corpse; add gen. sēs, dat. sē, for *sēes, *sēe; gen. dat. acc. ē, for *ǣe, etc.

Note 2. The final ëw of a syllable, derived from aiw, often becomes LWS. ëaw (112, note 2; 113, note 3): ëawfest, religious, beside ëwfæst; hrēaw, corpse (likewise inflected, gen. hrēawes, etc.), for earlier hrēaw, 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. sé hēa, for *hēa(h)es, *hēa(h)e, *hēa(h)um, *hēa(h)a, etc.; or
the contract verbs tēon, draw; fleōn, flee (384), from *tēohan, etc.; ind. 1 sing. tēo, fleō, from ind. *teuhu, opt. *teuhæ, etc.

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

Note. 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, ecblipsis, 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 Philo-
logical Society, April 16, 1880, and June 3, 1881), the following
editions are trustworthy in this regard: Kemble and Skeat's Gospels,
Goodwin's Guðlac, and Sweet's edition of the Cura 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.

\textit{a) Lengthening}

\textbf{121.} Final vowels of stressed monosyllables appear
as long: \textit{hwa\textdegree}, \textit{who}, from \textit{hwa\textdegree}(r) (Goth. \textit{hwas}); \textit{swa\textdegree},
so (Goth. \textit{swa}); \textit{se\textdegree}, the (Goth. \textit{sa}); \textit{he\textdegree}, \textit{he}; \textit{we\textdegree}, \textit{ve}; \textit{ge\textdegree},
\textit{ye}; \textit{me\textdegree}, \textit{me}; \textit{thee}, from \textit{he\textdegree}(r), \textit{we\textdegree}(r), \textit{me\textdegree}(r), etc.
(compare Goth. \textit{i\textdegree}-s, \textit{mi\textdegree}-s, etc.); \textit{ne\textdegree}, \textit{not} (Goth. \textit{ni}); \textit{bi}
(big, 24, note), \textit{by} (Goth. \textit{bi}); \textit{nū\textdegree}, \textit{now} ; \textit{ū\textdegree}, \textit{thou} (Goth.
\textit{nu}, \textit{pu}); and so probably the proclitic \textit{a\textdegree}-, inseparable
prefix (for \textit{ar\textdegree}-, Goth. \textit{us\textdegree}-, OHG. \textit{ar\textdegree}-, etc.).

\textit{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 \textit{be\textdegree}, beside \textit{bi}, and the
inseparable \textit{ge\textdegree}-, older \textit{gi\textdegree}- (Goth. \textit{ga\textdegree}-), which is never lengthened.

\textbf{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: \textit{Æc\textdegree}, \textit{but}; \textit{Æf\textdegree}-, \textit{from} (for example in \textit{Æfwærend\textdegree},
absent, \textit{Æfwierde\textdegree}lsa, \textit{injury}); \textit{of\textdegree}, \textit{of}; \textit{ôn\textdegree}, \textit{on} (also as a
proclitic form of \textit{ond}, as in \textit{ôn\textdegree}-dæ\textdegree\textdegree dan, \textit{fear}; \textit{ôn\textdegree}-gietan,
understand); \textit{ôr\textdegree}-, Lat. \textit{ex\textdegree}-, as in \textit{ôrsorg\textdegree}, careless; \textit{ün\textdegree}-,
un-, as in unriht, wrong; up, upp, up; in, in; mid, with; gif, if. Furthermore, in wel, well, bet, better; the pronouns ic, I; ðæt, that; hwæt, what; instr. ðon, hwôn; the copula is, is; besides nouns like fæt, vat; wēg, way; wær, man; clif, cliff; lôf, praise; gebōd, mandate; adjectives like hōl, hollow; verbal forms like the preterits bræc, 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; gewit, intellect; cēn, kin, gen. mōnes, ealles, gewittes, etc.; then forms like gesēt, set, from gesēted, gesētt; sit, sits; ongít, understands; forgít, forgets, instead of siteð, ongiteð, etc.

123. Much less pronounced is the tendency to prolong a short vowel before a single consonant in disyllabic and polysyllabic words; instances of ofer, 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), fāre (opt. 3 sing. of faran), ðōne, the, ōpene, gādernað, 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; bindan, bind; sīncan, sink; stīncan, smell; gesūnd, sound; būndon, (they) bound; mūnt, mountain; stūnta, blockhead; drūncen, drunken, etc.
2) Before \( r + \) consonant: \( ārn, ōrn, ran; bāernan, burn; ĭrnan, run; cîrm, uproar; wōrd, word; hōrd, hoard; ũrnon, (they) ran; wîrd, destiny; gēard, house; eart, thou art; sceort, short.

3) Before \( l + \) consonant: especially \( ā \) (for broken ea, 80), as in āld, old, sālde, gave; but also milde, mild; göld, gold; geōyld, patience; scyld, 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; hierstînge, 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 II in WS., though it has that effect in North., as in alle, 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 ðōhte, brōhte, sōhte, from ðōhte, 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, gāst, māst, gītsian, wītnian, fīstig, lādde, 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, γένεος for *γένεσος, 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 *λέιπω, λέλοιπα, ὕλτον,* 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
to (2) binden, band, gebunden

is clearer in the Gothic

(1) tinuhan, tauh, tōhans,
(2) bindan, band, bundans,

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

(1) deuk, douk, duk,
(2) bhendh, bhondh, bhndh.

These two systems are illustrated in Greek by

(1) ε-λει(θ)-σομαι, ειλη-λονθ-α, η-λυθ-ον,
(2) ε-γέν-ετο, γέ-γον-α, γι-γν-ομαι.

The ablaut of German giessen, goss, gegossen corresponds to Gothic *giutan, gaut, gutum,* and Greek *χέθω, χο-floating, κέ-υται.*

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 *ei, eu,* el, er, en, es, etc., were reduced to *i, u, l, r, n, s,* etc. Thus Greek *εἵμι, ημεν* (orig. *ιμεν*), compare Skr. *έμι, έμας.* So *χέμα, χυτός; φεύγω, φυγεῖν; πείθω, πιθέσθαι; φείδομαι, Φίδεῖν; δέρκεται, δρακεῖν* (r>ρα); *αἴθω, άθαρός,* etc. The cause of differentiation between the e-grade and the o-grade is not so definitely determined (*λέγω, λόγος; νέμω, νόμος; λείπω, λέλοιπα; δέρκομαι, δέδορκα; Gothic steigan, staig; 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 Encyclopædia, 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, beri, from * sigiz, * bariz (182): or North. lembo, Ps. North. cælf, from * lambiz, kalbiz (182; 133 b). Parallel with the latter are WS. lemb, cealf, without umlaut, and the longer forms like sigor, hrōðor, 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).

Note 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 dēagol 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. fæcele, 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: persoc, *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 palatals 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. ává; æf-, unstressed of, of, Germ. aba, Gr. ãπό, 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 frio, frēo, 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): ēnde, rīce (246), earlier ēndi, rīci, from *andia, *rikia, 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 dōm (238), compare Gr. λόγε;
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), wāt (420), compare Gr. oiðē.

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, ē, 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. τόλυς, -uv): 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 fēt, from *fōti (281; compare Gr. ποδί); among polysyllables, hrōdor (289), guman, heortan, tungan (276); datives plur. like ūæm, twæm, basic forms *paimiz, etc.; comparative adverbs like lēng (323), basic form *langiz (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)ð, 3 plur. helpað, their basic forms ending in -isi, -içi, -ançi (compare Skr. bhārasi, -ati, -anti, from ēbher, bear).

b) Prim. OE. i from original e, for example in the nom. plur. of consonant stems, like hmyte, styde (282), and fēt, mŷs (281), from *hnutiz, *hnutez; *fōtiz, *fōtez, etc. (compare Gr. πόðes); 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.).
c) Prim. OE. i from original i no doubt existed in the imp. sing. of verbs with thematic jo (372; 398. 1; compare Goth. hæfei, nasei, sökei, etc.): with short stem, hæfe, nere, etc. (367; 409); with long stem, sæc, hier, etc. (409). The i has regularly disappeared in the nom. sing. of the long and polysyllabic iā-stems, like gierd (257), and gyden, wiergen (258. 1). Every other final Germanic i is preserved in OE., even after a long syllable, in the form of i, e: thus in the opt. pret. 3 sing. of strong verbs like hulpe (basic form *hulpī, Goth. hulpi); or in the instr.-loc. sing. of o-stems like dōme, older dōmi (from *dōmī, compare Gr. ēkēi). 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 bêt, better (Goth. batis), for which we should expect *bête; and by the adverb ymbe (beside ymb), with the e preserved.

Note 2. Even when the i is lost, there is i-umlaut of the stem-syllable which immediately preceded. The only exceptions are the verbal forms com, dōm, plur. dōð (for *dōṇpi).

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

a) Germ. u, for example in the nom. acc. sing. of the u-stems: in the short-stemmed nouns, masc. sunu, fem. duru, neut. feolu (270; 274; 275), adj. cucu (303); in the long-stemmed nouns, masc. feld, fem. hōnd (272; 274), adj. heard (303, note 2). Of all these the basic forms end in -uz, -u(m), -u (compare Goth. sunus, -u, filu, etc.).
b) Prim. OE. u from Germ.  öde = orig. ḍ, for example in the nom. sing. fem. of the ā-stems: thus in the short-stemmed giefu, adj. hwatu; in the long-stemmed är, göð (252; 293; compare Gr. χωρά, 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. göð (238; 293).

e) Prim. OE. u from Germ.  öde = orig. o 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 i (45. 8) see 135. 3.

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 mæd, læs (260), stand for *bad(w)u, *mæd(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 termina-
tion -ďu, Goth. -iþa, like strengďu (255. 3). The abstract
nouns in -ung; on the other hand, always lose the u
without regard to their quantity: monung, warning;
leasung, leasing, etc. (254. 2).

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

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

3) The nom. sing. fem. and nom. plur. neut. of adject-
tives: short stems like micel, monig, varying with
micelu, monigu; long stems like hāligu (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 pro-
tected in OE. by a final consonant, for example, the u,
o in the pret. 3 plur. of verbs: hulpun, nęredun, -on
(364).

C. FURTHER CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS IN CONSE-
QUENCE OF APOCOPE

137. When w becomes final after consonants and
short vowels, it is vocalized to u, o; after long vowels
and 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, fugls, taikns, maipms (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, tæcen, mādum. 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, ceaster (from *caester, 75. 1), but ātor, fōdor, hlūtor, clūstor, etc.; compare Goth. wintrus, figgrs, fagrs, etc.

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

140. Vocalic i often remains unchanged, especially after dentals: nædl, needle; spātl, spittle; setl, settle; hūsl, housel; eaxl, 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.
141. Vocalic n usually remains unchanged after a short syllable: hræfn, raven; stefn, voice; regn, rain; ðegn, thane; wægn, wain, though -en is sometimes found. After a long syllable -en predominates: tæcen, token; bæacen, beacon; wæpen, weapon. Still more rare is -in, as in fraegin, asked; ðegin; or, especially North., -un, -on: bæcun, bëcon, sign; tæcon, sign; fæcon, malice; ymmon, hymn.

142. Vocalic m usually remains without change: ðrosm, vapor; bōsm, bosom; fæðm, embrace; botm, bottom; wæstm, growth; yet wæstem, etc., are found, and māðum, 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. ēōles, ēngles, ēōfoles, oðres, ēowres, āngnes, hēafoles, from ēōel, ēngel, ēōfole, oðer, ēower, āgen, hēafod, with such as stāoles, rodores, eotones, nacodes, etc.

b) In the older texts the trisyllabic forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. in -u are exempt from the operation of syncope: thus adj. īdelu, ēoweri (296, note 2), subst. nietenu, hēafole (243.1), along with īdle, ēowre, hēafoles, etc. This rule does not apply, however, to the feminines ending in -ū (255.3), which come under the principle laid down in a.

c) Notwithstanding the short radical syllable, the following words regularly exhibit syncope: micel, great, and usually yfel, evil, thus gen. micles, yfles; but micelu, beside micel (296, note 1), and yfelu, beside yflu and yfel, 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 ēōles, ēōfoles, to agree with the nominatives ēōel, ēōfole, etc. Especially is this the case in the past part. of strong verbs (gehundne, geholpe, later -ene) and the adjectives terminating in -ig (hāliges, etc., for older hālges). More rarely do short stems exhibit syncope; this occurs principally and regularly in the r-cases (293.1) of adjectives (hwætre, gen. dat. sing. fem.; hwætra, gen. plur.); in the acc. sing. masc. (hwætne); and usually in the comparative (glædra, hwætra, etc., 307).

Note 2. Where mute + liquid or nasal precedes the middle vowel, there is irregularity as regards syncopation: efnde and efnedes, 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 -isc, like mennisc, together with their derivatives, remain unchanged even in their trisyllabic forms; the majority of superlatives, like ieldesta, 309 ff. (but always hichsta, nichsta); nouns like hærfest, cornest, and all with liquid or nasal + consonant, like færeld, fætels, together with all those in which the middle vowel is followed by a geminated consonant, like condelle, byrðenne (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 æftera, from æfterra (314, note 1); gen. dat. sing. fem. ðøre, gen. plur. ðöra, beside ðöere, ðöera, from ðöerre, ðöerra (296, note 3). Similarly in words which were originally compounds, like déoflie, beside déofelie, from déofol-lic.

146. Middle vowels which were originally long are sometimes syncopated 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 -īg, the adjectives denoting material in -en, from -ín (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 syncopated 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,
éowerne, uncerne, fægerne, ãgenne, hāligne, etc.; or gen. dat. sing. fem. and gen. plur. like ïdelre, -ra; swicolre, -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, māðmes, beside winter, finger, tempel, tācen, māðum. After a short radical syllable the vowel occurs more frequently, at least before r; fæger, weder, væter, for example, have usually gen. fægeres, wederes, væteres, etc., though the older forms, such as vætres, 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. æ, West Germ. a (57; 58), stands the vowel e: strēt, street; red, advice; slēpan, sleep; with i-umlaut, mērsian, praise, etc. R.¹ fluctuates between e and æ.
2) WS. ie, ie (41) is wanting, and hence the same is true of the unstable i, ɨ (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 ɨa, ɨo, 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 ɨo: bēom, tree; ɨōāe, easy; ɨōre, ear; ɨōstro, Easter, etc., for bēam, etc. On the other hand, ea is very often written for short ɨo (though there is great variation in detail) and in general ēa may be regarded as the rule, instead of ɨo: stearra, star; meard, reward; dēar, animal; bēada, offer; lēaf, dear, for WS. stcorra, *meord, dēor, bēodan, lēof, etc. Such is also the case in Rit., while R.2 has a remarkably large number of ɨo's for ēa, and relatively few ēa's for ɨo.

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

Ps. approximates to Kentish by the appearance of a few ɨo's for ɨo, as in fiola, many; hiofen, heaven, beside feolu, heofen, and especially of many ɨo's for ɨo: bɨod, table; bɨodan, offer; ɨɨod, people; ɨɨow, servant; ɨɨold, held; hвиol, wheel; ɨɨof, dear, and even nɨolæcan, approach, for dial. nēolæcan = WS. nēalæcan (165, note 3).

Note 3. In Kentish, ēa and ɨo are but slightly confused.

On the other hand, ɨo passes into ɨo at an early date, and thus coalesces with the older ɨo (notes 4 and 6), though eo still continues to persist alongside of ɨo in these cases: cɨorfan, cut; cɨorl, plebeian; hiort, heart; ɨɨofu, gift; hɨofen, heaven; bɨodan, offer; dɨor, animal; liof, dear; liōht, light, for WS. ceorfan, bēodan, etc.

For ɨo appears ɨa (ya), especially in Charters; compare forms like ɨflah, cattle; riaht, right; wiaraidental, world; giaban, give; hiabenlic,
heavenly (Charters), for feoh, reoht, weorold, geofan, heofenlic; or áhríasð (K. Gl.), from hréosan, fall (see also note 6).

For ea occurs now and again ia, ya: siaro-, device (Metra); smýageonne (K. Gl.), from smēagean, investigate; likewise io, as in fornión, almost (K. Gl.), for fornēan.

Note 4. The older ìo is kept intact in North., especially in R.², except that ío 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 ìo 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 seofun, seven; fiond and feond, enemy, stand side by side.

Note 6. Coincidence of ío and eo occurs also in Kentish, but, in accordance with note 3, ío preponderates by far (yet eo is found as a contract diphthong, as in fréond, friend), or else ía, according to the change described in note 3: Wiahtréd; gen. sing. wiada, of wood; bían, be (427. 2); the pronouns liña, síá (334; 337), for Wioht-, wioda, bion, etc.

Note 7 (on notes 1-6). The basic forms ēu and īu, which are presupposed to underlie eo and io, are preserved not only in the oldest documents (cf. Beitr. 18. 411 ff.), but also (beside the usual ëo, ío) frequently when final, before w, even in certain later Anglian texts: thus in R.¹ the pronouns híu, siú (334; 337); priuwa, thrice; cnéu, knee; tréuv, tree; ëeu(w), servant; láréu(w), teacher; látteuvw, leader; in L. híu, ðíu; the neut. ðríu, three; the pron. ðíuh, etc. (332; 335); ðíuwas, maid servants; cnéu, tréu, dat. cnéum, etc.; Rit. ðíu, ðíuh (cf. also 156. 5); also frequently díul, etc., devil, 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 getréwlice, tréw, 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, œle, dœhter, œxen, 93); the long sound occurs at least usually in Ps.: dœman, bœc, spœd (27; 99), while R.¹ varies between e and œ.
100

PHONOLOGY

a, æ

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; ðæt, 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 ældra, older; hældan, bow; næht, night; mæhtig, mighty (159.3); and of the so-called palatal umlaut of ea, as in sæh, saw; dægas, days (162.1).

The first two correspondences are also Old Kentish, while subsequently e sometimes takes their place: eldra, elmehhtig, etc. (but seah, dagas, as in WS.).

In like manner Kent. æ, the i-umlaut of ā < ai (on WS. æ = Germ. æ see 150), passes gradually into ð: K. Gl. dælan, distribute; ðænig, any; mæst, most = WS. Ps. North. dælan, ðænig, 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, ð

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 umlaut 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.¹ 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 eo (165) before gutturals.

y, Æ

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

Note. As in Kent. the sounds of ē, æ, Æ gradually coincide as e (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 cerran (WS. cierran; 157. 2); yfter, for efter (WS. æfter; 151. 1); mŷgō, lŷce, for mégō, læce (WS. mēgō, læce; 150. 1); lŷssa, for lēssa (WS. læssa; 151. 1).
Diphthongs

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, ïo (159. 5).
2) The regular simplification of ēa, ēo, and ïo before gutturals in Angl. (161 ff.).
3) North. also possesses the diphthong ei: seista, sixth; neista, next; heista, highest (beside sesta, nēsta, hēsta); ceiga, call, etc.; and has ai for æ: fraigna, enaihtas, for fraegna, enæhtas.

Note. For Kent. diphthongs whose second element is -i 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 ē into œ:

a) older e: woeg, swoefn, wœl = WS. weg, swefn, wel;
   b) umlaut-ē (or emoji): cuœlla, tuœlf, woœnda = WS. cwœllan, tuœlf, wœndan;
   c) ē (= WS. æ, 150. 1): huœr, wœde, wœpen = WS. hwœr, wœde, wœpen; lengthened e in wœ = WS. wē;
   d) æ in cwoœr, hwœœre = WS. cwœr, hwœœre.

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

2) weo, which persists in WS. (72), usually becomes North. wo: worda, wordia, wor, worpa, suord = WS.
weordan, weordian, weord, weorpan, sweord; but likewise cwoða, wosa = WS. cweðan, wesan, from *cweordan, *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, wær, man, WS. weras, Ps. weorras; wala, wæla, riches, WS. wela, Kent. Ps. weola; so also tuā (beside tua), 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 derivates as wyrsian, deteriorate (but see also 164.2). For WS. wuduwe, widow, Ps. has widwe, North. widua L., widuwe R.², etc.

5) The groups ēow and ēow are frequently simplified in North. to ēw (ēo, ēu, etc.) and ēw (īo, īu): thus in L. fēwer (fēuer, fēwr, etc.), four; hrēues, rues; getrēweð, believes; preterits like blēwun, blew; hrēwun (hrēuun), rowed (396, note 5), for and beside fēower, etc.; at the end of a syllable: cnēw, knee; trēwna (trēuna), trees (gen. plur.) ; trēwufæst, faithful; getrēudon, believed; preterits like blēuu, blew; oncnēu (-cnēw, -cnēaw), knew, etc.; giwiga, giuia, desire (also pres. part. giuwende, pres. plur. giauað); 娣wa, 娣ua (or 娣wa, etc.), maid servant, beside 娣owa, 娣uwa (or 娣owa, etc.); niwe, niue, new; gen. dat. hiwes, hiwe, color; pron. īwihi (iuih, also iuh), you;
iwer, (iuer, iur), your ; īw, you (332 ; 335); imp. gitriu, believe ; add in Rit.: gitriwe, faithful ; trīwleas, faithless ; gitriwia, believe, etc.

Note 3. Likewise ēaw is shortened to ēw, etc., though rarely: L. unglēu, unwise; seeāware, spy; seeāwung, observation; ēwunga, manifestly, for -glēaw; seeāware, -ung; ēawunga, etc. (or for North. -glēow, etc., derived from these, 150, note 1).

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

Note 5. North. ēw, īw 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: iung, gung, young; iuguð, guguð, youth Ps.; iung; iuguð; īu, īu, formerly R.1; iung, beside ging Chad; North. has mostly ging, gigoð, beside comp. giungra L., giung Rit.; Kent. has iung, beside giong, giogóð.

For older jo compare North. geocc, yoke L., iocc, iwoce Rit., Merc. ioc R.1; but Kent. geoc, beside ioe. For WS. gēomor, sorrowful, Ps. has gēamor.

Orig. jē = WS. gēa appears in Angl. Kent. as gē in gē, yea; gēr, year; to WS. pron. gē, gie, ye corresponds Angl. gē, beside gie, gi L. R.2, and always gie Rit.; similarly to WS. īu, īu, gēo, formerly, North. gē(e), gie(e), gi L., gē(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 ĝ, ē, sé; compare, for example, forms like gefan, geldan, -getan, sceld = WS. giefan, gieldan, -gietai, scield (for forms like geofan see 160); or, for umlaut-ē: gēst, gērd, cēran = WS. giest, gierd, cierran, etc.
Note 2. Ep. has an exceptional past part. gibæn, given, and Rit. a few i's in the same stem: gif, gifende, the noun gife, etc. (Lindelof 25).

The same holds for Kent. Angl. e = Germ. æ (150. 1): gêfon, gêton, sce Transport (North. scêp) = WS. gêafon, -gêaton, sceap; yet North. scêacere, robber L. R.²

3) There is likewise no change of e (= WS. æ) to ea in Kent. Merc.: gef, get, ceaster, sceel, scet = 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 scal) 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. geônga, go (for geôngan)⋯. Before guttural vowels e likewise follows se more frequently in North. than in the other dialects: sceadan, sceðmu, 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 besides the more usual ea a few æ's (as in pærf, beside pearf) and a's (warð, and especially the frequent iarwan, 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. sealla, beside sella = WS. siellan (80, note 2). R.¹ varies between a and ea. For the umlaut forms e, 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 æ appears later: ærfe, ældra, mæht Charters, beside ærfe Charters, ȝldra, mȝht K. Gl. = WS. ierfe, ieldra, miht, etc.; similarly sceþpan, gȝst = WS. sceþpan, giȝst (but exceptional ȝlihan K. Gl.).

2) i-umlaut of ea before r is Angl. ë: ërfe, ërne, ërmðu, ërd = WS. ierfe, yrfe, etc.; yet R.¹ has, beside regular e and a few æ's, as in áwærægan, curse, numerous WS. y's, as in áwyrgæn.

3) i-umlaut of a (158. 2) before 1 + consonant, and of Germ. a, WS. ea, before h, is Angl. ae: ældu, ældra, mæltan = WS. ieldu, ieldra, mielte; similarly before ȝl: wælle, beside welle, well (WS. wiella); then Ps. North. hlæha(n), mæht, mæhtig = WS. hliehhan, miht, mihtig, etc. R.¹ varies between æ and e: ældu, ældra, and ȝldra, belgas, etc. (beside WS. y in syllæn, and i in niht, beside næht).

4) i-umlaut of ëa is Kent. Angl. ë: hëræn, gelēfan, nēd, lēg, cēgan, etc. = WS. hieræn, etc. However, R.¹ has occasional ëæ, ëæ, and WS. y, as in cēgan, hëræn, hŷran, etc., K. Gl. åffigan.

5) i-umlaut of eo, ëo is Kent. Angl. originally io, io. In North. this persists according to 150. 3, but in
Merc. Kent. varies with later eo: North. giorna, desire; hiorde, shepherd; iorsiga, rage = WS. giernan, hierde, iersian; or North. diore, dear; diostre, gloomy; stiora, steer = WS. diere, diestre, stieran (on North. iow see 156.5); but already, for example, Ps. has regularly heorde; eorre, anger; diostre, etc., though somewhat more frequently hiow, form; niowe, new, than heow, nëowe = WS. hiw, niwe (but, on the other hand, getëowe, faithful, etc. = WS. getriewe, getrywe), and so in the other texts.

Note 1. Angl. has strangely a constant áfirra(n), remove Ps. L. Rit., without breaking, beside the comp. firr, further L. Such i's also occur sporadically elsewhere: Ps. hirtan, cherish; Corp. cirm, uproar; cirnel, kernel; gesuirbet, 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. sibun-, sifunsterri, seven stars.

Note 2. Ps. always has ie in onsien, countenance (North. onsiOn, WS. onsien), and sporadically in a few other words.

Note 3. On Angl. wyrSe, wyrsa, 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 umlauted and the unumlauted vowel is often preserved in inflected forms. Thus, for example, Kent. geofu (giofu), gift, gen. gefe; Ps. fet, vessel, plur. featu, dat. featum; get, hole, gen. plur. geata; or, in the verb, Ps. beoru, bires, bireD, beoraD, 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 umlaut also takes place before guttural and dental forms: compare, for example, Kent: reogol, rule; forespreoca, intercessor; begeotan, obtain; Meotod, God, etc. Only before gutturals does it subsequently disappear in Angl. (161 ff.).

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

4) The o/a-umlaut 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; geðcaéfan, concur, etc.

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

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

The So-Called Palatal Umlaut (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 æ before h, ht, x ( = hs,
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221. 2): gesæh, saw; geðæht, thought; mæhte, might; sæx, knife; waæx, wax; waæxan, grow = WS. gesæh, geðæht, etc. R.¹ has also a few ea's, as in gesæh.

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: mægun (plur.), can; dægas, days; cwæcian, shake; dræa, dragon (beside sporadic forms like dagum, sagas, draca, hraecan and hraecan, 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 ræhte, wæhte, WS. reahte, weahte, there is conformity to the e of the pres. réccan, wéccan, etc. (407, note 9). Similarly, imperatives like North. sláh, ðwāh (374) conform to the contract forms of the pres. slā, ðwā.

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 e, or rarely æ: Ps. erc, ark; herg, grove; merg-, marrow = WS. earc, hearg, mearg; R.¹ gemercian, designate; North. L. berg, swine, beside œrce, arck (and arg, cowardly), Rit. ginercia, beside œrce, R.² erc, berg.

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

163. Angl. ea becomes e before h, g, c: hēh, high; nēh, near; pret. tēh, drew; ēge, eye; bēg, ring; pret. lēc, locked; bēcon, sign = WS. hēah, etc. Side by side with these are a few ēa's in R.¹, like eage.

Note 1. Disregarding a few North. æ's (like tēh, drew; brēc, enjoyed L.), L. has mostly ēc, beside ōc, also, and ōāh, though (beside ōāh and sporadic ōēh, ōēah); Rit. ōēh and ōēah, R.² ōc, ōc,
and $\delta$eh, $\delta$ah; Ps. has $\delta$eh, but $\epsilon$e, R.1 $\rho$eh, beside $\rho$eah, and, beside n$\delta$hsta, next, n$\delta$hsta and n$\delta$hsta.

Note 2. Kent, has usually preserved $\epsilon$a; but compare, for example, K. Gl. n$\delta$h for WS. n$\epsilon$ah.

164. 1) Angl. eo becomes e before h (x = hs) and re, rg, rh, lh: feh, cattle; imp. geseh, see; seh$\delta$e, behold; reht, right; cneht, boy; sex, six (83); were, work; bergan, defend; $\delta$werh, transverse; berht, bright; elh, elk; selh, seal = WS. feoh, gesoh, etc. (add Ps. opt. fele, conceal = WS. f$\delta$ole, from *feolhe, 218).

Note 1. Beside e, North. has a few $\epsilon$e's (like cnaeht, raehht), ai's (enaht), and ei's (reiht, neirxnawong, Paradise), Rit. also i in imp. bisih, behold, beside biseh.

R.1 varies between e (ae) and eo (feh, cneht, reht, were, beside gefaeht, cnaeh, warec, and feoh, seoh, weorec), but also has a few i's and y's (riht, sihpe, and ryht, syxta).

Note 2. Before c and g (162, note 2) there is fluctuation, eo having often been restored by analogy: Ps. $\alpha$rendreca, messenger; plur. wegas, ways, beside the rare weogas; occasionally sprecan, speak, beside spreocan; breoca, break, after models like beoran, bear, etc.; in North., it is true, L. has only (beside gespreaca) breca, spreca (spr$\alpha$ca), wegas (w$\alpha$gas, 156. 1), etc., but R.2 spreoca (spreaca), etc.

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

2) Angl. io, no matter what its origin, is simplified to i in the position indicated: rihtan, direct; gesih$\delta$, face; mixen, dung; wixla(n), change; birhtan, illuminate; birhtu, splendor; mile, milk; stician, puncture; plur. twigu, branches, etc.; also Ps. ætfileð (3 sing.) for *-filhip, from -f$\delta$olan (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: wiht, anything; fulwiht, baptism; cwic, living; cwician, animate; wicu, week = WS.
wuht, fulwuht, cwucu, cwucian, wucu, etc. Hence also Ps. R.¹ wirean, act, as against 156. 4 (North. wyrca 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 i. 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, fleotun, R.¹ wriogan, wreogan, beside ástigan, etc.

165. 1) Under similar conditions, Angl. ēo becomes ē: těh, draw; fliē, flee; fliēgan, fly; fliēge, fly; lēgan, lie; sec, sick; lēht, light; pret. wēx, grew = WS. tēoh, fliēoh, etc.

Note 1. R.¹ fluctuates between ē and ēo: sēc, lēht, wēx, beside sēoc, lēoht, wēox, imp. fliēoh, tēoh, etc.; side by side with these occurs ī, without any discoverable reason for the change, in smiķende, smoking; līgende, lying; līht (noun and adj.), light, corresponding to WS. smēocan, lēogan, lēoht. Also sporadically in Ps. lēgende, 1 sing. flīgu, fly, Rit. līhtes, gen. sing. of lēht.

2) The analogous Angl. correspondence of io is i: imp. lih, lend (WS. lēoh); cicen, chicken (WS. *ciecen, from *kiukin); līhtan, līxan, shine (WS. liehtan, etc.); also contract forms like Ps. tiō, draws; L. fliō, flees (from orig. *tiuhip, *fliuhip; compare WS. tiehō, fliēhō), etc.

Note 2. To WS. lēoht, from *liht, easy (84. 2) corresponds North. lēht L.; accordingly, Angl. betwih, between, must be compared rather with betwuh, from shortened *betwih, than with WS. betweoh.

North. lēhta, beside līhta, shine, rests upon analogy with the noun lēht.
Note 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, hight; asm. hēane, from hēh, WS. hēah, high; proper names like Hēaburg, or Pleowalh, -wald, compared with WS. pleoh, danger; nēolahcan (nēa-, etc.), approach, from nēh (contrasted with WS. nēlahcean, from Pre-WS. nāh, 150. 1), etc.

Contractions (110–119)

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

2) Orig. eh + guttural vowel gives a predominant North. ēo, more rarely ēa : gisēa, see; gefēaga, rejoice; hundtēantig, hundred = WS. gesēon, etc.; R.1 has predominantly ēo, 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 -sie), plur. -sēað, -siað, -sioð, etc.

Note 1. For other details in the inflection of the contract verbs see 374, note 1 ff.

Note 2. eh + e gives normally ē: Ps. opt. sē, gefē, plur. sēn, gefēn, North. gese L., corresponding to WS. sēon, see (the by-forms plur. gesēa L., sing. gesī, gesīe 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. ēh 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.).
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Note 3.  ēh + e gives e in the opt. pres. flēn Ps. (compare the ind. 3 sing. flēs R.2, instead of *flīs) and forms like hēra, hēsta (166. 6).

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

Note 4.  Ps. has wrēan, cover = WS. wrēan (383), R.1 plur. wrēop, beside inf. wrīgan, and pret. twēode, twiōde, compared with WS. twēogeān, doubt; L. has the noun tuia, beside tuā (156. 3), doubt; pret. tuiaide (add ind. pres. 3 sing. tuāes, adj. untuēndlic, indubitable), R.2 3 sing. twīas, opt. twiōge, pret. twiōde, twiade. For ih + a North. has presumably disyllabic i-a: L. wrī-a (wrīga), Rit. wri-a, giði-a, prosper (cf. note 7).

Note 5.  i̊h + orig. i gives Angl. i in forms like 2 and 3 sing. gisis(t), -sīd Ps. L. R.2, wrīd R.2.

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

Note 6.  In certain words ēo, or io (iu) appears characteristic: Merc. frēond, friend, but fiond, beside féond, enemy Ps. R.1; North. frēond, friond L. R.2, but only fiond L. R.2 Rit.; Merc. deōful, diofūl, devil Ps. R.1; North. diowul (diawul, etc.) R.2, diowl, diobul, diul (but also diabul), etc. L.; North. biotiga, threaten L. Rit.; then the forms corresponding to the WS. pronouns hēo, sēo, ōeos (334; 337; 338), and the numeral òreō (324. 3); on the other hand, Ps. frēa, frēo, free, contrasted with frēo, friō L. Rit., friō R.2; North. hundnéantig, -nēontig, ninety L., contrasted with nione, nine, hundniōntig 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 īa, īe, ē, and on the other with ēo, io. So, from Ps. frīgan, deliver, the ind. 3 sing. frēað, friāð, friōð, pret. frēade, frēde, frēode, friode, part. gefrēad, gefriād, gefriōd, etc.; and similarly with figan, hate (see details in 416, notes 6 and 7); or Ps. pie, gadfly; plur. biān, bees (beside the compound biō-, biabrend, bee-bread), etc.
Here uncontracted forms probably occur also: į-e, į-an, etc. (cf. note 4).

6) Especially characteristic for Angl. are contractions due to the loss of medial ŋ in cases where WS. and Kent. retain the ŋ 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), sīð, seest, sees, from *sihis, *sihip = WS. siehst, siehō; compare also forms like sup. hēsta, highest; nēsta, next (North. also heista, neista), from *hehista, etc. = WS. hīehsta, etc., and probably also comp. hēra, from *hehira = WS. hīerra, from *hīehra, 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 ṣ and ṭ, 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' Phonetik, pp. 50 ff.).

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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 \( f, \phi, p \), 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: \( uuer, nueg, urort, ealae, suualuc \); etc.; sometimes simple \( u \), the latter being especially common in North: \( uer, uæg, sualue \); 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. wuriotto for wrioto, etc. The Rit. very frequently employs v.

Note 2. The older German editors and grammarians often follow the example of Jacob Grimm in representing 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, mallow; from vinum, pavo, malva (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, wl: writan, write; wrōt, elephant's trunk; wlītan, see; wlōnc, proud, etc.;

3) in the combinations cw, hw, dw, āw, tw, sw: cwēðan, say; hwā, who; dweorg, dwarf; āwēan, wash; twā, two; swefan, sleep.

Note. The loss of an initial w occurs in the negative forms of some verbs: nāt, nytan, nysse (420. 1), nyllan (428. note 2), nāes, nāeron (427. 3); in ealneg, ealnig, always, from ealne weg (ealnuweg Cura Past.; also LWS. ealling, ealnuing); otherwise only occasionally before u, in uton, beside wuton, let us; cucu, nāuht, betuh, betux, beside cwucu, nāwuht, betwuh, betwux (71), etc.; finally, in hū, how; ūtu, two (324. 2), from *hwō, *twō (60, note). In North. also before ō: oeg, coern L., for wēg, way; cuern, 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 \( \text{clawu, sāwun, rēowun, sēowun} \), etc.

2) Before \( i \), in words like \( \text{æ, law; sæ, sea; hræ, corpse} \), for \( *\text{aī}, *\text{sāi}, *\text{hrāi} \), from the stems \( *\text{aiwi-}, *\text{saiwi-}, *\text{hraiwi-} \); after consonants, especially in certain forms of weak verbs in -\( rw \) and -\( lw \), as in pres. 3 sing. giered\( ̣ \), wiele\( ̣ \), pret. gierede, wielede, from \( *\text{garwis}, *\text{walwis, *garwida, *walwida} \) (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: \( ð\text{æw, hræw, gierwed} \), etc.

Note 1. Ecthipsis 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 \( ð\text{æ, sæ, etc.} \), compare, for example, 174, note 3. The \( w \) is retained in cases like \( ð\text{owic, 332} \) (but North. ð\text{iuh, beside ð\text{iuh}}).

Note 2. Conversely, \( w \) is sometimes inserted to prevent the hiatus which would otherwise result between \( ð\text{u} \) and a following inflectional vowel: \( ð\text{uḥ, gen. ðuves, for *ðu-’es} \) (295, note 1, though this might be grammatical change, 234). The \( w \) of ð\text{æwed, 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 ð\text{lāford, lord; fulluht, baptism, and proper nouns like Hrðulf, for *hlāfword, -ward, fullvuht, fulwiht} \) (compare also ð\text{ullian, beside ð\text{ullian, baptize), Hrðwulf; add such words as eneter, enitre, yearling, from ðænvintre, and ðwïlende, ðwïlendlic, temporary, for ðwïlwende, -dlie, 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.
\( \text{o} \text{eo}, \text{en} \text{eo}, \text{from} * \text{pe-u}, * \text{ene-u}, \text{for} * \text{peu(a)}, * \text{enew(a)} \) (according to 113.1; 130); but \( \text{o} \text{eow}, \text{en} \text{eow} \) 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 \( \text{bearu}, \text{searu} \) (249), and the adj. \( \text{gearu} \) (300; cf. 134. d). Likewise in the declension and comparison of adjectives: compare acc. \( \text{gearone}, \) gen. dat. sing. fem. \( \text{gearore}, \) gen. plur. \( \text{gearora} \) (300), comp. \( \text{gearora} \) (307), for \( * \text{gearwne} \), etc. After a long stem \( w \) disappears: \( \text{gad}, \text{lack} \) (249, note 5); for feminines like \( \text{beadu}, \text{battle} \); \( \text{maed}, \text{laes}, \text{meadow} \) (260), cf. 134. d.

Note 1. Analogy often leads to the restoration of the \( w \) in a medial position; compare preterits like \( \text{hyrwe}, \text{syrywe} \), from \( \text{hierwan}, \text{sierwan} \) (408.1); derivatives like \( \text{nyrwe} \) (255.3), based upon \( \text{nearo}, \text{nearwe} \), etc.

3) After a long vowel or a diphthong \( w \) disappears (after first being vocalized to \( u \)), according to 134; 144?: \( \text{a}, \text{o}, \text{ever} \) (Goth. \( \text{aiw} \)); \( \text{hræ}, \text{corpse} \) (Goth. \( \text{hraiw} \)); \( \text{snæ}, \text{snow} \) (Goth. \( \text{snaiws} \)). Not infrequently, however, the \( w \) of the other forms is introduced: \( \text{hræw}, \text{snaw} \) (following gen. \( \text{hræwes}, \text{snæwes} \), etc.); this takes place almost invariably after diphthongs, as in \( \text{gleaw} \) (63), \( \text{hræow} \) (64), and in the interior of a word when there is syncope of a middle vowel, as in \( \text{sawle} \) (beside \( \text{sæule}, \text{saule} \)), from \( \text{sawol}, \text{soul} \); \( \text{mæowle} \) (Goth. \( \text{mawilo} \), 73, note 1); in derivatives like \( \text{hræowsian}, \text{rue} \), from \( * \text{hreuwosön} \); especially in inflected forms, as in \( \text{spewd}, \text{enæwpd} \), from \( \text{spōwan}, \text{enāwan} \); \( \text{laedwe}, \text{from} \text{læwan} \), etc.
Nevertheless there occur, especially in North., sporadic forms without w, like ge cnæd, ætiede, Æorum, North. biléde, Æde, ætæade, for ge cnæwð, knows; ætiewde, North. ætæawde, showed; Æowrum, 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, æ, sē, hræ (173. 2), may be explained by this rule. Contrariwise, forms like enæð from *enæwīp, ïede from *auwīda, ïede 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, Phonetik 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 lōhannes, lūdēas; 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 wunian, maclan, or frēmian, ðēnian (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
vowel to form one of the diphthongs ie, ea, eo (74): gif, giet (gýt), gé, gēar, geong, etc. (but also gi in giung, 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 ig (eg), and before a even (i)ge: hēriges, hērigas, hēr(i)g(e)as, nēr(i)g(e)an; yet this combination is perhaps intended to denote the sounds ij (cf. 1, above). Only seldom does ge occur before u, as in Gl. bergeum, racemis.

As a final, g is rare, and is only met with after a long vowel or diphthong: āg, egg; cāg, key; clāg, clay; ieg, island; hieg, hay; imp. cieg, call (cf. also 24, note).

176. Germanic j is regularly preserved only when initial; when medial, only occasionally between vowels, as in frīgea, 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, hazjan, warjan, harjis; occasionally also after middle syllables having an originally short vowel, as in ēmerge, embers (OHG. eimuria); Ep. Erf. Corp. uuellement, 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 ēaron, geogoð; for the explanation see 212, note 2.

Note 2. Verbs like lēmian, bēniān, hēliān, 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 sëllan, scieppan, sëttan, lëcgan (400), for *salljan, *skappjan, etc., OS. sëllian, scëppian, sëttian, lëggian, for Goth. saljan, etc. (227); likewise in nouns like sëcg, cynn (246), sibb (257);

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

Note. 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
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a) in feorran, far; áfierran, remove; steorra, star; cierran, turn; compare Goth. fairra, OHG. sterro, etc.;

b) in ierre, angry; ðyrre, withered; mierran, prevent; durran, dare; compare Goth. *airzeis, jaursus, marzjan, daursan (181.2);

c) resulting from syncope, as in wærra, comp. of wær, 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; biernan, burn; burna, fountain; wærna (beside wrenna), wren; hors, horse; cærse, cress; bærs, perch; forse, frog; ferse, fresh; ðersean, thresh; berstan, burst; fierst, time; forst, frost; (hond)wyrst, wrist; dærstan, yeast (compare Goth. rinnan, brinnan, etc.); so ãern, house; hærn, wave (compare Goth. razn, ON. rann, and ON. hrôn, for *rænn, from *ræzn, etc.; in the oldest texts still sometimes occur forms like Ep. Erf. ræn, 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 gistran-, gystran-. On the relation of metathesis to breaking see 79, note 2.

2) The converse of the metathesis already described takes place before nt 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 Ceolbreht, Æðelbreht, etc. Sporadic forms are likewise scruf, beside scurf, scurf, 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 ectlipsis are: specan, spēc (at first probably Kentish), beside sprecan, speak, sprēc, speech; LWS. pætig for prætig, tricky; North, wixla, exchanger, beside wrixla; Ps. geœndebyrdan, arrange; ḣendebyrdnis, order (Zeuner, pp. 75, 76); North. geœndebrednian, compared with OE. onbryœrdnis, onbryœrdan, etc. Assimilation of Ir to ìl in the comp. sēlla, beside sēla (312); of sr to ss in læssa; simplified in the comp. wiersa, wyrsia (312), Goth. wairisa; the pron. ìisse (338). In these examples r always springs from z (181.2); but compare also ìsses, etc. (336, note), from *ūsres.

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 rice, rœdan, bringan, beorgan, wer = Goth. reiki, rœdan, 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: reord, 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, hwá (Goth. is, hwas), the plurals vé, gé, ēi (Goth. weis, jus, pōs), and the datives mé, ëé (Goth. mis, püs). To the class of derivational forms belong especially

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

b) the nom. sing. of the os-, es-stems (288 ff.), like sige, bēre, lōmb, 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, lōmbor, etc., compared with sige, lōmb (289; 290).

183. 1) The OE. i must (disregarding possible palatalization before i, j) have had a twofold pronunciation: first, that of an ordinary 1; 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) 1 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 *dI* becomes *ld* in dialectic *bold*, *building*; *seld*, *seat*; *späld*, *spittle* (196. 2, and note 1);

b) After an unstressed or weak syllable *sI*, *fl*, and *pl* (or *dI*) become *ls*, *lf*, *ld* in the proper names terminating in *-gils*, such as *Cynegils*, *Eadgils*, from *Cynigïsl*, etc.; in the derivative ending *-els* = OHG. *-isal*, as in *gyrdels*, *girdle* (Ep. *gyrdisl*); *ríecels*, *incense*; in *-elfe*, *-ilfe* = ON. *-yfl*, in *innelfe*, *innilfe*, *viscera*; beside *innels*, ON. *innylil*; and in *-eld*, *-old* (from *ipl*, *-idl*, etc.), as in *faereld*, *way*; *ôerscold*, *threshold*, etc.

Note. There is sporadic metathesis of final *dI* (from *pl*, 201. 3) and *fl* in certain other words whose form is fixed in other respects: *äld*, *disease*, for *ädl*; *géalhswile*, *cealfädl*, from *gëaglas*, *palate*; *ceaflas*, *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 nc, though but rarely:
strēnð, strength; ðenð, thinks, for strēngð, ðencð.

185. Metathesis of m occurs in worms (wurms, wyrms), pus; wyrmsan, corrupt, beside older worsm, wursm, and wyrsman. Metathesis of n is somewhat
comer, especially in certain texts which have fre-
quent nc, ng for final en, gn, as in tānc, reng, ðeng,
freng, for tācn, sign; regn, rain; ðegn, thane; fraegn, asked. Conversely, clæsnian, purify (Ps. clæsnian),
side more frequent clænsian (North. clænsia), from
clænc, pure (a contaminated form clænsnian 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 prece-
ding vowel; older a, OE. ʒ (65), is thus converted into
ə (66). Examples are:
a) of the loss of m: fif, five (Goth. fimf); the adv.
sōfte, softly, comp. sēft, 323 (OHG. samfto); osle, ousel
(OHG. amsala);
b) of the loss of n: gōs, goose, plur. gēs; hōs, troop;
ōder, other; sōð, true; tōð, tooth, plur. tēð; ēst, favor;
sīð, journey; ūs, us; hūsl, housel; dūst, dust; cūðe,
could; cūð, known; mūð, mouth; ëst, storm; wýscan,
wish = Goth. gans, hansa, anpar, etc.

Note 1. The length of the vowel is established by occasional
gemination: Suutanglorum Cod. Dipl., A.D. 736; Cuutferthi,
A.D. 755-757; Cuutfert, A.D. 766; siith, A.D. 805-831. In later documents accents often occur: eūð, sīð, etc.

Note 2. Nasal pronunciation of the vowel seems to have prevailed in the earliest period, as the proper noun Onswini occurs once in an inscription for Common OE. Óswine. 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 -āð, like berāð (360. 1), from *beranāp(i) (133. a), berōp (66); geogūð, -ōð, youth; duguð, -ōð, virtue (gen. plur. also dugeða; dat. dugeðum, etc.); oroð, breath (later also oreð, orð, from which oreðian, orðian, breathe), from *jugunŋ-, *dugunŋ-, *oroŋp, etc.; compounds like fraeōð, hateful, beside foreuð, or ofost, zeal (from which ofstan, hasten); aefest, jealousy, etc. (43, note 4); also in the prefix oð- (from unŋ-), away, as in oðgaŋgan, escape, beside the adj. ūðgence, escaping, etc.

Note 4. No ŋ occurs in OE. before h, the guttural surd spirant, for in this position it was already lost in Germanic. That under these circumstances the ŋ first caused nasalization of the preceding vowel, and that as a result older aʊŋ became ŏh, has already been stated (45. 5; 67). Examples of ŋh, ŋh, from iraŋ, ŋaŋ, are: the verb ræon, from *rīhan (383), part. rūngen (234); the pret. ōūhte, from ðyncan (407. 1); ōhta, dawn (Goth. ūhtwō).

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. drimissa); winster, winester, left (OHG. winistar); and especially derivatives in -sian (OHG. -isōn), like grimsian, rage; clænsian, cleanse; munsian, diminish.

187. Final m of an inflectional syllable is changed to ŋ in late OE. (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. ᵃn, for ᵃm (337, note 2).

Note. For nymōe, except, Ps. has one occurrence of nybōe; 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, hræm, raven (also inflected, hremmes, etc.), for emn, hremn, from cfn, hræfn (193.2); so frequently wæp-man, man, for wæp(e)nman; compare also occasional spellings like elmboga (also shortened, elboga), Hūmberht, for elnboga, elbow; Hūnberht.

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 wē, gé (360.2).

Note 2. For wolec(e)n, cloud, the older language has sometimes wole (conversely, the later texts now and then write wolcnrēad, for w(i)ol(o)crēad, scarlet).

Note 3. In late texts the preposition on is frequently shortened to a (ā?) when it occurs in a compound word or stereotyped phrase: adrēdan, fear; afōn, receive, for ondrēdan, onfōn; abūtan, about; amang, among; aweg, away; ariht, aright, for onbūtan, on gemong, onweg, onriht, etc. Only occasionally does the transitional o occur: omiddan, amid; oniht, o’ nights; owōpe, lachrymose.
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Note 4. Syllabic \( n \) occasionally disappears between \( s \) and \( l \) in ondryslic, horrible, for ondryslic.

Note 5. Only in very late WS. does \( n \) occasionally disappear in the \( r \)-cases of \( m\text{in}, \text{my}; \text{\ddot{\text{i}}n}, \text{thy}; \text{\ddot{\text{a}}n}, \text{one}: \text{gen. sing. fem. m\text{\ddot{\text{e}}re}}, \text{\ddot{\text{e}}re}, \text{\ddot{\text{a}}re}, \text{etc.}

B. NON-SONOROUS CONSONANTS

1. LABIALS

\( p \)

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

\( p \) always remains unchanged; only \( pn \) sometimes becomes \( mn \) in \( wæmn, wænnian, from wæpen, weapon; wæpnian, arm. \) \( p \) interchanges with \( f \) in the rare \( cnafa, \) beside \( cnapa, \) \textit{boy}.\)

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

\( b \)

190. In the majority of texts \( b \) is the sign for the sonant labial stop. It occurs in the simple form only as an initial: \( b\text{indan, bind}; b\text{ringan, bring}; b\text{löd, blood}; \) in the medial and final positions as a geminate: \( h\text{abban, have; libban, live; w\text{eb(b), web; sib(b), kin}; and in the} \)
combination mb: lamb, lamb; cumbol, standard; sym-
bel, banquet. When medial or final, simple b is replaced
in Common OE. by f: habban, 2 and 3 sing. hafast,
hafor; webb, web, but wefan, weave; hebban, heave,
pret. hof, part. hæfen.

Note. 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 design-
nates 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, hlæbard; even as
a final: Ep. gloop, hualb, salb; Cod. Dipl. gib, ob,
etc., for EWS. ofer, hafuc, healfe, earfor-, giefan,
hlæford, glóf, hwealf, sealf, gif, of.

f

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
fæder, father; findan, find; when geminated in the
medial position, as in gaffetung, derision; hoffing, cir-
cle; woffian, rage; snoffa, nausea; wlaeffetere, jester;
pyffan, puff; ābyffan, 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. b, Goth. b, OHG. b, as in ofer, over; giefan, give; earfoð, labor; sealfian, anoint (OHG. ubar, geban, arbeit, salbōn). In loan-words it frequently corresponds to Lat. b (or to the Romanic f derived from it): tæfl, tablet; trifot, tribute; fêfor, fever; prōfian, prove; cyrfet, pumpkin, from tabula, tributum, febris, probare, cucurbita; or to Lat. v, as in cealfre, from calvaria; lufesticece, louflage, from levisticum; brēfian, shorten, from breviare; Muntgiof, from Montem Jovis; finally, to Lat. p (Romanic b, v?): prafost, profost, 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 uulfes, gircēfa, hofr, etc. are contrasted with such as obær, earbet-, 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 næbre, never (frequently in Cura Past.), beside næfre, and in the syncopated cases of fêfor, fever, gen. febres (febbres, 229); also frequently in the poet. tiber, sacrifice, etc.

For WS. Kent. Merc. (Ps. R.1) diofol, déofol, -ul, devil, North. singularly has R.2 dĩowul (only twice dĩaful, -ol), L. dĩobul, dĩubol,
diowl, diul, etc. (only once diofles), Rit. diobul, diovl, diol, 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: stānhifet, quarry; glēof, glowed; hlēf, barrow, for -hīvet, glēow, hlǣw.

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. scæpt, shaft; edscæpt, palingenesis; gidopta, comrade (for scæft, edscæft, giðofta); but side by side with these occur siftit, sifts; nift, niece, etc. (cf. 221, note 1), and even bt, as in Corp. cnēoribt, 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 wifmōn, woman.

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

v

194. In foreign words of late adoption, like Dāuid, Èue, 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 Èfe, (gen.) Lēfes, (but not *Èwe). 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

$\mathbf{t}$

195. $t$ always stands for the surd dental stop, and is common in all positions: *töð*, tooth; *tréo*, tree; *tien*, ten; *etan*, eat; *heorte*, heart; *wät*, knows. It is frequently geminated, as in *sceat(t)*, *sceattes*, money; *settan*, set; *hlüttor*, clear; *hätte*, is called (367, note); *grötte*, 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 $sð$, particularly in the termination of the ind. pres. 2 sing.: *ðú* gieftesð, hilpesð, etc.; also in words like *fäesð*, fast; *düßð*, dust; *wäesðm*, growth; *äðrisðrigan*, obscure; *wäðð*, knowest, and superlatives like *mäesð*, most; *äresð*, erst, for *giefest*, *hilpest*, faest, etc.

2) For WS. $tl$ in *bottl*, building; *setl*, seat; *spättl*, *spittle*, North. has -$\mathbf{ðl}$, -$\mathbf{ðel}$ when final: L. R. *seðel* (dat. *seðile* Rit.); this becomes $d\mathbf{l}$ when medial, as in gen. *sedles*, plur. *sedlo*; dat. *spædle* (compare bydla, inhabitant); $\mathbf{ðl}$, as in *seðles*, *boðle*, etc. Bede; beside $\mathbf{tl}$,
ttl, as in WS.: nom. seatul, sætil, plur. setla, settlæs, 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 (spæld 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 byðme, 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 oregeard, LWS. orcerd, ordeceard); LWS. craeftca, mechanic (also draeftca, and, with secondary middle vowel, craeftica), beside draeftga, from the adj. craeftig, skilful; and pure WS. ñeð(e)an, fetch, beside dial. ñétian (416, note 15, b); so the sporadic Munegiu Wulfst., for usual Muntgíof, Montem Jovis (192, 2); cf. 205, note 1; 206, 4; 216, note 2.

Note 3. Ecthlipsis of t sometimes takes place in consonant-combinations, especially after h, s: drohnian, drísnes, fæsnian, geniðsum, for drohtnian, drístnes, fæstnian, 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 ælmeslic, ondryslíc (ondryslíc, 188, note 4), mislic; and probably mæstling, for mæslîng, brass.

Note 5. For OE. st for sð see 201, 6; for t, tt from tð, dð see 201, 4.
197. d is 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: ðæg, day; drifan, drive; dweorg, dwarf; eald, old; eardian, dwell; biddan, request, etc.

Only in very ancient manuscripts does d stand for ð, þ (199, note 1).

Note. In loan-words d sometimes occurs for Romanic d < Lat. t: abbod, abbot; Læden, Latin, from Lat. abbatem, Latinum, etc.

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

1) d experiences grammatical change with þ (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 ðl (201.2, 3).
3) ldl becomes ll in siellie, peculiar (Goth. sildaleiks), and likewise occasionally in North.: ballice, boldly; monig-, tu-, seofofallice, mani-, two-, sevenfold (for and beside baldlice, -faldlice); héhstallie, 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, lædan, bindan, stondan; milts, sympathy, miltsian, compassionate (from milde); gitsian, covet; bletsian, bless; and in compound words like mētsceat, antsacodon, gesuntfulnes Cura Past., for méd-, and-, gesund-. Yet the spelling is often conformed to the etymology: bindst, milds, mildsian (rare WS. gĩdsian, bledsian, but always bledsian in the Ps., and usually North.
The consonants

bloëdsiga L. Rit., contrasted with bletsiga R. 2, or d, t is lost after consonants: mils, milsian, etc., binst, stënst (359. 2). For t from dp see 201. 4;

b) particularly in the weak pret. and past part. of verbs with long stems, like scëncte, ëecte (405. 4).

5) After consonant + d, t, there is loss of d, as in pret. sënde, ëhte, from sëndan, ëhtan (405. 4).

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

Note 2. Final d has disappeared in proclitic on- from ond-, as in onfo:n, receive; ongie:tan, understand; onsa:can, oppose; compare ondfengæ, receiver; ondgi:et, intellect; ondsaca, opponent, etc. This led to occasional erroneous substitution of stressed ond-, and- for stressed on-, a:n- (OHG. ana-): andweald, power; andwealh, complete; ands:yn, face, for o:nweald, o:nwealh, o:nsien; even andcéow, ankle, for o:ncéow (OHG. anchlæo).

O, P

199. 1) The two letters O and P 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 P as initial, and O 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 Cura Past.. Ps. L. R. 2, and the oldest charters), which more or less uniformly employ O; we use O in general for historical forms, but P 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 \(\text{o} (\text{pæð})\) I find in a charter of Wihtræd of Kent, A.D. 700–715; the earliest dated \(\text{p} (\text{ælfpryð})\) in a charter of Cēnwulf of Mercia, A.D. 811; but throughout the whole of the ninth century \(\text{p}\) is but sparingly employed. A sporadic exception for this oldest period is formed by Corpus, with its frequent \(\text{p}\), 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 \(\text{p}\).

Instead of \(\text{o}, \text{p}\), the oldest texts generally employ \(\text{th}\) in the initial position: \(\text{thorn, thegn}\); very rarely \(\text{d}\), as in \(\text{gidopta}\) Ep. 195, mōdgidanc Cædmon's Hymn; in the medial position, \(\text{th}\) and \(\text{d}\): lotha, loda Ep., Æthil-, Ædil- Cod. Dipl. (in lieu of \(\text{o} \) is written \(\text{thth, tht}\): æththæ, othte, or); in the final position for the most part \(\text{th}\): mearth, laath, hriosith, sniuuith Ep., but sometimes \(\text{t}\): sifit, fæhit, strîdit Ep., Cuitfert, Cuitferth, Sütangli Cod. Dipl.

2) \(\text{o}, \text{p}\) may occur in any position, and both may undergo gemination: \(\text{ding, thing}; \text{þrī, three}; \text{swītan, cut}; \text{weordān, become}; \text{morð, murder}; oððe, or; sceððan, injure}; \text{sidðan, since}; \text{or þing, þrī, weorðan, opþe (oðþe), etc.}

Note 2. For \(\text{o} \) the North. has \(\text{hō}\) in mohōe, mohōa, moth.

Note 3. In loan-words \(\text{o}\) sometimes corresponds to a Romanic \(\text{h}<\text{Lat. t, d}: \text{morað, spiced wine}; \text{sæderige, savory}; \text{senoð, synod}; \text{from Lat. meratum, satureia, synodus, etc.}

200. The \(\text{p}\) of Germanic represented only a surd spirant, and this pronunciation must be postulated as the original one for OE. \(\text{o}, \text{p}\). 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
THE CONSONANTS

1) the spelling of the oldest MSS., which employ medial d (199, note 1);
2) the retention of the group ṭd (201. 5; 405. 1);
3) the passage of ſp 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)raēð, (h)raed, quick, adv. (h)raēce, (h)raede. p is characteristic for Ps. eōr, vein; Ps. North. fremde, foreign, for WS. aēdr, fremde; so eōcuide, relatio Corp.; eōwītia, censure L.; eōwitseycpe Waldere, yōlāecan Kent. Gl., for WS. ed-, back.

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

3) Older pl, when occurring after a long vowel, regularly becomes dl in WS.: ādl, sickness; nēdl, needle; wēdla, beggar; mīdl, bit; widlan, defile. The Anglian texts, however, frequently retained the pl: nēpl Ep., mīpl Corp., nēdł, wēdła Ps. (no dl in Ps.), ādł, wēdēlnes, poverty Bede; North. has usually ādl, nēdl, widliga, beside rarer ādļ, wiðliga. On the other hand, the pl which is due to syncope suffers no further change: ēōel, house (from *ōpil), gen. ēōles; the proper noun Hrēōel, gen. Hrēōles; geniōela, enemy, etc.
Note 2. The quantity of æ is doubtful in the poetical mæðl, speech; mæðlan, converse (beside mæðelian), but it is usually printed as short. ṁ is lost in mǣl, mǣlan, and in stǣlan, found; stǣlwierde, stælwart, beside stæ dol, foundation; stædelian, found.

Note 3. Similarly, LWS. ðm passes into ðm in the inflected forms of mǣðum, treasure, gen. mǣdmes, plur. mǣdmas, for EWS. mǣdmes, mǣdmas, and in eadmōd, humble, for EWS. eadmōd; so North. ðn becomes ðn in hǣðen, heathen, infl. hǣdna (beside rare hǣðna), etc. L. (not R.2)

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

4) tþ and dþ become tt, which is simplified when final and when following a consonant:

a) tætte, that, for tæt ðe (so looser combinations like tættä, tættæt, from tæt ðä, tæt ðæt); bit, it(t), for * bítp, * itp (359. 3).

b) eadmētto, humility; ofermētto, arrogance; wēamētto, grief; lātteow, leader; brytofta, spouses; mittï, while; gesyntu, health; gescântu, shame; verbal forms like bit, bint (359. 3); for * eápmēdpù (from eadmōd, humble), lâddēcow, mid ðy, * gesyndpù, * gescēndpù (255. 3), bidp, etc. The spelling is at times conformed to the etymology, as in lātþeow, lâdþeow, and such forms are the regular ones when the t or d and the þ 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) þd (with sonant ð? 200. 2) is mostly preserved, and does not pass into dd till a late period (405. 2); þþ is likewise retained, and is simplified when final only in certain cases according to 231; cŷð(ð), kith, gen. cŷððe; lǣðð(u), affliction, from * kunþipà, * laþipà, etc.

6) sp becomes st, though the etymological spelling often holds its ground as sð: so in the verbs ciêst,
wiext, beside ciesō, wiexō (359. 8); in abstract nouns ending in -ōu, like mételiestu, lack of food; rēceliestu, 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 cwist (cwist?), from cwīōest, cwīōst.

Note 6. In late texts hw- sometimes occurs for ḷw-, especially in Hpt. Gl.: for example, gehwārlēcan, for gehwārlēcan, assent (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; sittan, sit; sceal, shall; sprecan, speak; stōndan, stand; slēpan, sleep; smāel, small; snottor, wise; sweltan, die; medially and finally: cēosan, choose; wesan, be; fisc, fish; giest, guëst; cosp, fetter; cyssan, kiss; assa, 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 undoubtedly 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; sŏ from st, 196; ss from sr, 180; ss from ps, 201.7; for sel, sen, sem, instead of sl, sn, sm, 210.1.
3) The combinations sc and sp, especially in later WS. and when medial, often undergo metathesis to cs (hs), but usually x, and ps: āscian, ask; wascian, wash; asee, ashes; tǐscas, fishes; tūscas, tusks; but also ācesian (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. ssc often occurs for sc in bissee(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-syncope 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 brêtan, 384); bêtsta, best; milts, gitsian, bletsian, bitst, lætst, bintst, stentst, etc. (198.4); more
rarely ds: Adsur, yndse; especially in etymological spelling: milds, gidsian, etc. (198.4).

**Note 1.** Very rare is z: Azur, draconze, balzam, balsam; LWS. bezt, milze, Merc. R.\(^1\) bæzere, baptist; then dz: Adzur, R.\(^1\) bædzere; or tz: Corp. mertze, merx; or finally c: ynce; North. (L. Rit.) bæcere, and plæce, street (from Lat. platea; also before a guttural vowel, dat. plæcum, beside plur. plætsa 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.: ynse, dragense, but especially often in the inflection: binst, stenst, welst (198.4; 359.2). Thus after vowels only in the North. dat, plæsum 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 ċ, ĝ as early as Prim. OE. before the primary palatal vowels æ, æ (=Germ. æ, Lat. ā), e, i, i, and the diphthongs ēa (from au), ēo, io (from eu), and their i-umlauts, WS. e, æ, ie, ie (unstable ĩ, ĭ), etc., but remained guttural before the guttural vowels a, ā (q, ř), o, ō, u, ŭ, and their i-umlauts, WS. æ, æ, e, ē (œ, ōe), y, ŭ (7, 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 é, 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 e and g (including their geminates, ec and cg, 207; 216) become in Prim. OE. the palatals é and g (éé, ég), 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, e, 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 6).

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 e, g, and sc is testified by the WS. diphthongization of primary palatal vowels (75); the later palatalization of sc before guttural vowels by the spellings seea-, seeo-, 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 e, g, or sc and a following guttural vowel. Before a and o this is generally e (rarely in old texts i); læceas, læcea; ricea (246); sæccan, reccecan, ōencecan (407); fylgean (416, note 9); liegean (372); sæcgean (416); flæscea, gen. plur. of flæsc, flesh (267, a); āescean, gen. dat. acc. sing. of āsee, desire (278; basic form *aiskjó); ádwæsccean, smother; ofôrysccean, suppress (403 ff.; on forms like mennesceea, with later palatalization, see 76, note 4), beside forms like læcas, -a, rica, sæcan, reccean, ōencean; fylgan, liegan, sæcgan; flæsca, āscan, ádwæscan, ofôryscan, etc.; or mênigeo, strëngeo, wlênceeo (279), gefyłceo, stícceo (246; also gefylcio, gescincio), and̀fëngeost (from and̀fënge, agreeable, 298), beside mênigo, strëngo, włęncgo, gefyłceo, etc.

In a similar manner, i is sometimes inserted before u: dręncium, ēcium, dryggium, from dręnc, drink (265); ēce, eternal; drýge, dry (298), beside dręncum, ēcum, drýgum, etc.; e is used here only seldom: ēceum, wæceceum (from wæcce, watch, 278).
Note 2. No auxiliary vowel is used before e, but the oldest texts have occasionally an i before ae (44, note 1): bircae, birch; hringiae, fibula Ep.

Note 3. OE. Runic writing distinguishes the different phonetic values by special characters; the rune gifu designates palatal ǵ, and the rune gār the guttural g; for the sounds of c the Ruthwell Cross inscription has three different characters, of which two almost certainly denote c and ĉ (compare Vietor, Die North. Runensteine, 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 ć and (c)ǵ became at a rather early period palatal fricatives, that is, sounds like Eng. ch and dg. This is shown by forms like orceard, fêceean (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. ceaf, cēap, cœorl, cēovan, cild, ciele (cyłe), ciese (cylфе); but key, Kent, keen, kin, king, kiss = OE. cāg, Cênt, cêne, cyn, eyning, cyssan, etc.; for the medial position: rich, reach, teach = OE. rice, rǣcean, tǣcean; or bridge, hedge, singe = OE. brycg, hēcg, sêngean, 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 i, as in pięc, pitch; dięc, ditch; ic, I (ME. iche); hwilé (from *hwilic), which; swilé (from *swalic), such, etc. (compare also the Runic ic, Ruthwell Cross, with its character for palatal e, note 3).


5) A special designation of palatal pronunciation, like a diacritical sign, is not regularly employed in the sections which follow.
c (k, q; x)

207. c is the character for the surd guttural stop and the surd palatal stop. It stands before all vowels, even c, i, y: căsere, emperor; cosp, fetter; cūd, known; as well as cēnnan, beget; ceald, cold; cēosan, choose; cild, child; cynn, kin; medially: sacan, quarrel; swicol, deceptive; sacu, quarrel; æcer, field; hōcihte, curved; also geminated: sac, sacces, sack; ðeccan, 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 cueðan, cuic, cuōmun. Only rarely in the oldest texts is the Latin qu employed as a substitute, as in quidu Ep.; Quōnōryō Cod. Dipl., A.D. 811 (not infrequently in Corp.).

209. For cs (due to the syncope of a vowel, or to metathesis of sc) x is usually found: rixian, reign; æx, ax; āxian, ask; axe, ashes (204. 3); betweox, between (329, note 1); for and sometimes beside ricsian (OHG. richisōn), ãcsian, etc.

Note. Besides x and cs (the latter is especially common in words like ricsian, because of their visible relation to rice, etc.) several orthographical variants occur: ex, hx, xs, exe, hxs, hs: rīcxian, āhxian, āhxian, āhsian, rīhsian, axse, anexsummys; very seldom gs, as in āgsian; cf. also 221, note 3.
210. The following irregularities in regard to c are still to be noted:

1) c is occasionally inserted in the combinations sl, sm, sn: sclät Corp. 433; seleaenes, åselacad Kent. Gl. 694, 696; semégende Ps. 118. 129; senícendan Cura Past. 155. 17; seluncon Ep. Alex. 320; sclēp Gen. marg., etc.

2) Before -st and -š, the personal endings of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing., LWS. c often becomes h; tāehst, tāehš, etc., for tāeest, tāeš (359. 5); so also LWS. lēahtūn (North. lēhtūn), garden, for lēactūn.

3) North. final c often passes (Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxxxviii, cxl) into h (written ch, and even g), especially in the conjunction ah, but, and the pronouns ih (as an enclitic likewise ig, as in sægdig, forgeldig, for sægde ic, forgeldo ic), meh (mech), ūeh, ūsih (ūsich, ūsig), iuih (iuh) (332, note 4); ah instead of ac is also found in the other dialects.

4) Medial c in North. is often written ch: folches, werches, wlonches, swenche, stenches R.² (Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxxxviii).

Note. For c in place of g see 215. On the interchange of cc 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 ætgædere, together (75, note 1). On the other hand, it is a palatal spirant before e, ēa, ēo, i, ie, io: geldan, gieldan, yield; geaf, gave; gēafon, (they) gave; gēotan, pour; gift, gift, etc.

Note 1. Change to j is shown by iarwan, beside gearwan R.1 = WS. gierwan, North. gearwia (408, note 3); likewise by Kent. ÆEthiliæardi Cod. Dipl., A.D. 732; Æaniardi, A.D. 778; ÆÆdelieard, A.D. 805, for -geard, etc. Also in later (especially Kentish) texts occasionally recurs for g: Gl. iémung, biióng, ieteld, for gëmung; wedding; bigong, worship; geteld, tent, etc.; occasionally also forms like iarcian, prepare (Benet), for WS. gearcian, etc. In such texts the prefix ge- appears also as i-, especially after un-: unilíc, unequal; univémmed, unblemished Hpt. Gl., etc. (so already Beow. unigmetes, exceedingly.

Note 2. The g is often lacking before ēa and ēo in late texts: calla, eador, ēaglas, eorn, eogoð, ēoce, for gealla, gall; geador, together; ēaglas, jaws; georn, willingly; geogoð, youth; ēoce, aid. Late Kent., on the contrary, sometimes prefixes g to ea, eo: gearfoðe, gēāðe, geornest, ágêode, fulgêode, for earfoðe, troublesome; ēāðe, easy; cornest, earnest; áêode, went; fulêode, helped (even in Old Kent. in Gēanberht 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; daeges, 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); ābyligō, anger; myrigō, mirigō, mirth, for byrg, ābylgō, myrgō, etc.; also in the interior of a word, as in fyligan, follow; wyrgan, curse; merigen, morning, for fylgan, wyrgan, mergen (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; stāh, 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: stihst, climbst; stihō, climbs; yrhdō, cowardice, for stigst, stīgō, yrhdō. 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, ascend; bēh, ring, for stig, bēag (108. 2). After a short vowel h is somewhat commoner: imp. weh, weigh; wæh, weighed; ūtlah, outlaw; getoh, pull; compounds like lahbryce, -slite, infraction of law; hohmōd, anxious; hohful, careful; North. especially in an unstressed syllable, as in drītih, sextih, suinnih L., for drītig, sextig, suynig.

Note 2. More rarely h occurs at the end of a syllable before a voiced consonant: āhlian, possess; āhlēca, demon; dihlan, conceal,
for āgnian, āglæca, diglan; still more rarely after a short vowel, as in fahnian, rejoice; plur. fuhlas, birds, instead of fagnian, fuglas.

Note 3. Only a few texts (like the Boeth., which is strongly influenced by Kentish) employ h for g between vowels: dat. plur. dahun, days; 3 plur. mahan, be able; heretoha, leader; for dagum, magon, -toga.

Note 4. h + g is often assimilated to hh in LWS. and North. (L.) nēhhebūr (also nēche−, nēchēbūr), and its derivatives, for nēahgebūr, etc., neighbor.

Note 5. As an intermediate spelling gh is also occasionally found: bōgh, shoulder; hnāgh, bowed; slōgh, slew; dēaghian, dye; tōtogh'en, rent; also hg: stāhg, ascended; ēwōh, washed; wīhga, warrior; onwrihgen, revealed; dat. brēhge, eyelid; dat. dihglum, secret; after l: plur. onwealhge, whole; frequently after r: burhg, city; gen. plur. burhga; sorhgian, sorrow. Not to be confound'd with this gh is the stable gh in āghwile, ēghwæder, etc., for *ā−gi−hwile, 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 i. This phenomenon is peculiar to Kentish, and a chief criterion of this dialect. So already Ep. grēi, bodei; mēihanda Cod. Dipl., A.D. 831; ēihwelc, Deimund, A.D. 832; dei, A.D. 837; meiōhād Kent. Gl., etc., for bodeg, mēg−, ēg−, deg−, megōhād. Similarly, LWS. often has -ig for -g: weig, dæig, mæig, 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: mǣden, maiden; sǣde, gesǣd (416, note 3); lēde, gelēd (407, note 7); brēdan, brandish; strēdan, dissipate (389); -hīdig, -minded, for sǣgde, lēgde, bregdan, stregdan,
-hygdi̥g, etc.; *ti̥d̥ian, grant, for *tig̊d̥ian; *d̥enian, serve; *d̥inen, handmaid; *frinian, inquire; *rīnan, rain, for *r̥eg̊nian, *d̥ignen, frignan, rignan. Syncope of *g likewise takes place before originally syllabic *n: *w̥en, wain; r̥en, rain; *d̥en, thane, for *w̥eg̊n, r̥eg̊n, *d̥eg̊n (though these forms are perhaps due to the analogy of the polysyllabic ones, like gen. *w̥enes, r̥enes, *d̥enes). Not till a later period do we now and then encounter syncope before 1, as in *sn̥el, for *sn̥egl, snail.

Note 7. The loss of *g occurs almost without exception in WS. ong̊ēan, again; tōg̊ēanes, against (only once ongeagn Cura Past. H); Ps. has only ongegn, R.1 generally ong̊egn, once ong̊ēn, North. usually ongegn, tōg̊ægnes, rarely in L. ong̊ēn; the poetry varies between ong̊ēan and ongegn, tōg̊ēanes and tōg̊egnes.

Note 8. *g is lost after a guttural vowel in frūn̥on, gefrūinen, from frīnan, and brūdon, brōden, strōden, from brēdan, strēdan (389), but perhaps only through the influence of the present forms with palatal vowels. Frān is certainly only a new formation according to the pres. frīnan.

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, finuglæ, fennel.

Note 10. Loss of *g between consonants takes place in morn̥es, morne (mērne), gen. dat. sing. of morgen, morn.

4) ige, from igi, is often contracted to i: *il, porcupine; Silhearwan, Ethiopians; list, liō, liest, lies; gelire, adultery, for igel, Sigel-, digest, līgeō, geligere; so also sīde, scythe, from *sigiōe.

5) The ending -ig often loses its *g, most frequently when medial, as in syndrie, he̥tie, hungrie, for syndrige, he̥fīge, hungrige; mēnio, for mēnigo, multitude; but also at the end of a word or syllable: *āni, mænífold, dysi, acc. ānine, etc. (frequent in later texts, and perhaps
more exactly to be written with lengthened i: Æni, Ænine, etc.). Even the ig of a stressed syllable occasionally undergoes a similar loss: drie, dry, dat. drium, etc.; aflian, put to flight; bléria, bleary-eyed person, for drige, dryge (31, note), aflig(e)an, blér-ig(e)a.

Note 11. The ig from g (213, note) is often treated in like manner: fylian, wyrian, merien; also before consonants: pres. 3 sing. fylið, pret. fylide, etc.

6) In like manner, -ig is frequently contracted to -i in the first member of a compound word: stirap, stirrup; stiwita, stiward, steward; switima, time of silence, from stigrap, -wita, -weard, swigtima.

7) Initial g before ea, eo is sometimes omitted in later texts: ealla, gall, etc. (212, note 2); so almost regularly LWS. middaneard, world; wineard, vineyard, for middan-, wingeard.

8) After u LWS. g interchanges occasionally with w, especially in suwian, be silent; ádrůwian, wither, for s(w)ugian, ádrūgian; also after o in geswōwung, swoon, beside geswōgen, swooning.

215. The combination ng retains its g unaltered, except that it is often (and even very early) replaced, when final, by -nc, -neg, -nbc: Uuihtherine Cod. Dipl., A.D. 811; Cymesinc, A.D. 822; Thēodninge, A.D. 779; Cāsincg, Cillincg, A.D. 814; Sèleberhtinecg-lond, A.D. 814. This c, etc., even forces itself into the medial position: swuluncga, gesomnuncgæ Cod. Dipl., A.D. 805–831. Even egg occurs: Geddinggum, A.D. 825 (North. instances in Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxxxviii).
Likewise medial \textit{ng} frequently becomes \textit{nc} before a surd: \textit{brincō}, brings; \textit{sprincō}, springs; \textit{strēncō}, strength; \textit{lenten}, spring; \textit{ancsum}, difficult, for \textit{bringō}, \textit{strēngō}, \textit{lēngten} (and Ps. \textit{lēnten}), \textit{qngsum}.

Note 1. That the pronunciation was \textit{nc} in such cases, even when \textit{ng} was written, appears from the occasional substitution of \textit{ng} for original \textit{nc}: \textit{dringō}, drinks; \textit{ōngō}, seems; \textit{ōngō}, thinks; \textit{stingō}, stinks, for \textit{drincō}, etc.

Simple \textit{n} is also occasionally written both for \textit{ng} and \textit{nc} in this position, especially in Kent. texts: \textit{strēngō}, \textit{ōngō}, for \textit{strēngō}, \textit{ōncō}, etc. (184, note).

Hence we must conclude that the \textit{g} of \textit{ng} denoted a sonant stop, which, according to 206, was either guttural or palatal; the latter subsequently passed over into the palatal fricative (\textit{dž} = Eng. \textit{j}); cf. 206. 4.

Note 2. Many later texts, which in other cases regularly reproduce older medial \textit{ng} by \textit{ng}, often represent older \textit{ngi} and \textit{ngj} by \textit{neg}: \textit{andfēncge}, agreeable; \textit{punwēnēge}, temples; \textit{getīnege}, eloquent; \textit{spīncge}, sponge; \textit{landbīngēnega}, inhabitant; \textit{gēnecgan}, adorn; \textit{mēncgan}, mingle, etc. Here the \textit{eg} (cf. 216) probably denotes palatal pronunciation, and perhaps even the sound of the fricative (\textit{dž} = Eng. \textit{j}).

216. Geminated \textit{g} is of twofold origin, and therefore has twofold phonetic value:

1) Usually it arose from Germ. \textit{gj} by West Germ. gemination (227), and is therefore certainly a palatal in OE. It is represented by \textit{eg}, which is not simplified at the end of a word (231); before \textit{a} (o) often written \textit{ege}, before \textit{u} also \textit{egi} (206. 3. \textit{b}): \textit{secg}, man; \textit{hryecg}, back; gen. sing. \textit{secgēs}, \textit{hryegēs}; nom. plur. \textit{secg(e)as}, gen. \textit{secg(e)a}, dat. \textit{secgum} (\textit{secgium}); besides verbs like \textit{secg(e)an}, say; \textit{lieg(e)an}, lie, etc.
Note 1. Medial gg (also gc, g,cg) rarely occurs, and then usually in earlier texts: dat. sing. hrygge; hyggean, think; səggan, səgcan, segegan, etc.; more common is egg, especially in the earlier WS. manuscripts.

Note 2. In the rather late micgern, 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; hogcian, impend; flocgian, shine forth; floggettan, fluctuate; clugge, bell; sugga, ficedula, warbler; also seeaega, hair of the head; ēarwigca, earwig. Probably this spelling was intended to indicate the guttural pronunciation of this gg, contrasted with the palatal eg.

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 eg subsequently became the palatal fricative (dʒ = 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): hlæf, loaf; hliehhan, laugh; hraefn, raven; hring, ring; hnigan, bow; hnutu, nut; hwæt, what; hwit, white.

Initial h disappears in nabban, from ne habban (416, note 1; so in North. L. boōflic, beside behōflic, necessary), and in the second member of certain early compounds: ānliēpe, single (ON. einhleypr); vælreōw,
beside wælhrēow, savage; add forms like ifig, ivy; licuma, body; qondettan, confess, from *if-hēg, li-che-ma, *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 Ælfēre, Ælfelm, EaldeIm, for Ælfhēre, Ælfhelm, Ealdhelm, etc.

Note 1. In the older MSS. initial h is sometimes lost: æfde, wæt, ring, for hæfde, hwæt, hring; and, conversely, there is now and then prothesis of h: hierre, hæmeteg, hlārēow, for ierre, āmeteg, lārēow (WS. instances in Cosijn, Taalk. Bijdr. 2. 130; Kent. in Zupitza, ZfdA. 21. 12; North. in Bouterwek, North. Ev. cxl, cxli). 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. hraēde, 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 dis-appear: lāford, ring, rēat, for hlāford, hring, hrēat. Sporadic are such spellings as whæt, gewhāде, rigge, for hwæt, gehwāede, hryce.

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. fēores and feores, nom. acc. plur. mēaras, Wealas, and mearas, Wealas; or 3 sing. -filhō, inf. fēolan, conceal (387, note 4), or ðyrrel and ðyrrel, aperture (probably from ðyrrel — ðyrles, for orig. *pyrhil — *pyrhles).
Note 1. The plur. *fīras, men* (from *feorh*) has stable length, and so does *swīra, swīora* (later *swēora*), *neck* (beside WS. *swura*, with doubtful quantity), if this goes back to orig. *swirh-* (but compare ON. *sviri*, contrasted with *fīrar*, *men*, etc.). Add certain original compounds treated in the same manner: *ōret, battle*, beside derivatives; *ōnettan, incite* (43, note 4; also sporadic forms like *orrettan, orretscipe*); *īfig, ivy* (from *if-hēg, 217*). In *eofot, contest* (from *ef-hāt*); *eofolsian, blaspheme* (from *ef-hālsian*; cf. 43, note 4), the *eo* perhaps points to shortness (hence North. L. *ēbalsia*, etc.?).

Note 2. Certain inflectional forms point to the retention of the short vowel: such are *moru, parsnip* (278, note 1); *ōweoru, nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. of *ōweorh, transverse* (295, note 1); and the verb *ōwyrian, for *pwiorhjan* (400, note).

2) If two vowels thus collide through the loss of *h*, contraction usually takes place (110 ff.; 166): *feoh, gen. feös* (242); *hēah, plur. hēa* (295, note 1), etc.; compare also the contract verbs (373), like *sēon, see*, Goth. *sailhwan*, and many similar instances.

Note 3. In the oldest texts, like Ep., the *h* is still frequently retained in both cases: *thōhe, wlobum, rīhe, furhum = WS. dō, wlob(u)m, rēo, fūrun*. Certain later forms, like *horhihte, filthy*, for older *horwehte*, are new formations (after nom. *horh, 242*, note 4). For North. *genēhwia, 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 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; siohhe, strainer; tioh, gen. tiohhe, order; tiohhian, arrange; (h)reohhe, fannus; geoohhol, Yule month* (beside *gēola*); *c(e)ahhettan, croak; cohettan, cough; wuhhung, rage; pohha, pocket; crohha, crock;
Ep. seocha, lenocinium; hliehhan (392. 4); North. æhher (289), tæhher, tear (cf. 222, note 4).

Note 1. The MSS. not infrequently have simple h instead of hh: geneaha, geohol, her, hreoho, wuhung, hlihan; even at times ch: hreoho, hliehan (Ælf. Gr.) and, especially earlier, hch: Ehcha Cod. Dipl., A.D. 700–715; tio(h)chian, pohcha Cura Past.

Note 2. Beside pohha and ecrohha are also found (especially Angl.?) pocca and crocca; with seocha compare scucca, tempter.

221. The older combinations, ht (232) and hs, usually remain:

1) ht is common: ealhta, 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 ct for ht: ambect, giseect, uuyrcta Ep.; mæcti, dryctin Cæd.; also cht: ambechtæ, sóchtae Ep.; htt: Cyniberhtæ Cod. Dipl. A.D. 736; Æanberhtæ, A.D. 755–757; and chtt: almechtig 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: tæchtae, taught; almichtig, almighty, etc.; and here and there gt occurs, as in forgteæ, fear.

For the interchange of ht and ct in preterits like ðrycete and ðryhte see 407. 2.

Note 2. Occasionally h is lost, particularly after r: fortian, wyrta, for forhtian, wyrhta.

2) In place of older hs the manuscripts have x: feax, hair; weaxan, grow; siex, six; miox, manure; wrixlan, change; oxa, ox; oxn, armpit, for Goth. fahs, wahsjan, maihstus, etc.

Ecthlpisis of h has taken place in neos(i)an, visit (Goth. niulsjan, OS. niusön); ðīsl, ðīsle, wagon-pole (beside older ðīxl Erf. Corp.; OHG. dihsila); wæsma, wæstm, growth (from weaxan); North. sesta, seista, the sixth.
Note 3. Likewise for \( x = hs \) there occur the orthographical variants for \( x = cs \) (209, note), like \( hx, xs, hs: weahxan, \) pres. 3 sing. 
\( wiwxo \), pret. \( wëohx \); \( meohx, oxsa, weahsan \), etc.

Note 4. Even the \( hs \) which arose through vowel-syncope (222. 1) is often designated by \( x: syxt \) (syxst, etc.), \( seest \), for \( siehst \) (374); especially in the rather frequent LWS. \( nëxta, the \ next \) (313, note).

222. 1) Moreover, \( h \) (= older \( h \) and \( hw \)) maintains its ground in WS. and Kent. whenever, in consequence of vowel-syncope, it is immediately followed by a surd. The chief instances are superlatives like \( hiëhsta, niëhsta \) (310; 313); abstract nouns ending in -\( ūu \), like \( hiëhōu, hight; fēhōu, feud \) (255. 3); and the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of strong contract verbs, like \( fēhst, fēhō \) from \( fōn \) (Goth. \( fāhan \)); \( siehst, siehō \) from \( sēon \), Goth. \( saihwan \), 374 (in contrast to weak verbs, like 2 and 3 sing. \( ōyst, ōyō \), from \( ōyn, oppress \), 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 \( ōō \), like gen. \( ferōōes \), etc.).

2) On the contrary, \( h \) disappears between a vowel and a sonant consonant, especially \( l, r, m, n: ōwēal, bath \) (Goth. \( ḵwahl \)); \( stīle, style, steel \) (OHG. stahal); \( hēla, heel \) (from \( hōh, heel \)); \( fēlam, flight \) (from \( fēon, 384, \) Goth. \( pliuhan \)); \( lēoma, brightness \) (connected with Goth. \( liuhap \)); \( ūmest, highest \) (Goth. auhnists); \( lēne, transitory \) (OS. \( lēhni \)); \( gesēne \) (Kent. Angl. \( gesēne \), visible (for *\( sāhnia, from \) Goth. \( saihwan \)); \( betwēonum, between \) (compare Goth. \( twiůnai \)). Compare also the declension of adjectives in \( h \), like \( wōh \) (295, note 1): acc. sing. masc. \( wōne, \) gen. dat. sing. fem. \( wōre \), gen.
plur. wōra, for wōhne, etc.; the comparative hiera, from hēah (307), etc.

Note 1. The same phenomenon is also observable in compounds, as in hēalic, high; gemālic, greedy; nēalic, near; nēalēcean, approach; pleolic, dangerous; tōlic, tough; wōlic, evil, from hēah, gemāh, nēah, pleoh, tōh, wōh; then ēorise, bulrush; ēorod, troop; Ėomāer, from eoh, horse; hēanis, hight, from hēah; nēawest, vicinity, from nēah; āver, āver (321, note 2), āwōder, āwōder (346), from hwāer, hwēder; Plicowald, from pleoh; Hēaberht, hēadōor, hēador, stag, from hēah; similarly, rādor, roe, from rāhdōor; WS. wōobud, wēobud (even wēofuđ), for *wīohbed (Ps. R.1 R.2 wībed, beside R.1 wīfod, wēofuđ, for *wīhbed, according to 165. 2; also Kent. Ps. L. Rit. Bede wīgbed). The same echthopsis 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. hēarra, comp. hīerra (307).

Note 3. When the etymology is apparent, the h is often restored by analogy: hēahne, hīehra, hēahnis, etc.

Note 4. The oldest texts have retained this h in several instances: thuachl Ep.; ëhuehl Corp.; bitnīechn Erf.; so also late North. before l in gen. ëuahles, fihles, panni L., before w in L. genēhwigia, approach, and before r in æh(h)er, ear of grain; tæh(h)er, tear (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; tēoh, draw; after consonants: sulh, plow; Wealh, Welshman; fēorh, 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 sūl, Weal; 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)rūch, tōch, elch, salch, thorch Ep.; subsequently now and then
g (cf. 214. 1), as in feorg, horg, mearg, ðurg, for feorh, horh, mearh, ðurh, etc.

Note 2. Now and then an inorganic h appears at the end of a word, as in LWS. frēoh, free; eōh, yew; blēoh, color, for frēo, ēo, blēo. This h is due to the example of such pairs as feoh — féos, hēah — hēas (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, Wulflhāt, Peohthāt, A.D. 794, for feld, -hād; 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 l, r, m, n, and s is frequent. Examples are:

ll: eall, all; feallan, fall; full, full.
rr: steorra, star; feorran, far.
mm: onginnan, begin; mòn, mònnes, man.
mm: swimman, swim; hwöm, hwömmes, 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: crop, croppes, crop; top, toppes, top; lnaëp, lnaëppes, bowl.

It is doubtful whether pp occurs as early as Germanic in oððe, or (Goth. aippau, but OS. eððo, Fris. ieftha) and moððe, moth (North. mohðe, -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. saljan, skapjan, satjan, rakjan, are represented by OS. səllian, skęppian, sęttian, rękkian, and, after the loss of the j (177), by OE. səllan, sceuṇian, sęttan, ręc(e)an. Original bj appears as hh in hliehhan, laugh; and original pj as ðð in ryðða, mastiff; smiððe, smithy; sceððan, injure (Goth. skapjan), etc. (pæððan, traverse; stæððan, fix, have
possibly Germ. pp). The place of fj is taken by OE. bb: hebban, heave (Goth. hafjan); and that of gj by cg: læg(e)an (Goth. lagjan). On the other hand, r is not geminated: høre, hørges, army; wérian, defend; nærian, save; hérian, 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; wæcêr, watchful; North. ðêhher, ear of grain; tæhher, tear (cf. 222, note 4); æppel, apple; along with bitor, snotor, wacor, ðêar, têar (from *ahur, *tahur, 111. 2), apuldre, apple-tree (compare Goth. bairts, snotrs, ahs, tahrjan). 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, bêtra, beside bêtra, better (Goth. batiza); mîcles, beside mîcles, from mîcel (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 declen-
sional forms must then, for example, have been nom. bitur (from *bitr), gen. bittres; têar (from *tahur), gen. tæhheres, 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: ðædre, vein; blædre, bladder; nædre, viper; mōdrie, aunt, become ðædre, blæddre, næddre, muddrie. In like manner, there is an interchange of ātor, venom; hlūtor, clear; tūdor, progeny; fōdor, fodder; mōdor, 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 ātres, etc. Still more recent is the gemination of other consonants, in forms like riccra, deoppra, etc., from rīce, rich; deop, 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 reccesan, care, and in licettan, beside licettan, fawn. Only the later language has such gemination as in wissian, direct; scynes, temptation; prinnas, trinity; þreottynca, thirteenth; þrittig, thirty; tydde, taught, for older wīsian, scīnes, ōrines, ōrōtiene, ōrītig, ōyde, 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, mōn, swim, sib, sceat, bēd, sēc, teoh with calles, feorrnan, mōnnes, swimman, sibbe, sceattes, bēddes, sēccce, teohhe. Still, the rule is often disregarded, as, for example, in eall, mōnn, upp, sibb, bēdd,
THE CONSONANTS 165

bliss, etc. The various texts exhibit great discrepancies in this respect.

cg is retained, even when final: sécg, like sécgés (216).

2) Usually at the end of a syllable within a word:
ealre, ealne, midne, nytne, from eal(l), ealles; mid(d), middes; nyt(t), nyttes; cyste, pret. of cyssan. Yet we frequently find eallre, eallne, etc.

3) Very frequently after a consonant in compounds:
eorlic, manly; emniht, solstice; feltún (for *felttún, from *feldtún), privy; geornes, desire; wildēor, wild animal; wyrtruma, root; wyrtūn, garden; gærstapa, grasshopper, for corl-lic, emn-niht, georn-nes, wild- dēor, wyrt-truma, wyrt-tūn, gārs-stapa, etc.

Note 1. Exclusive of compounds, this case only occurs when r undergoes metathesis: burna, brook; biernan, burn; iernan, run; hors, horse, gen. horses, etc. Here simplification is the rule, only the earlier texts having certain wholly sporadic forms like burnna, irnn, horssum, cærssan (from cærse, cress).

Note 2. Simplification is even occasionally found after a long vowel or diphthong: rūmodlic, rūmedlic, magnanimous, for rūm-mōdlīc; LWS. gelēaful, faithful, for gelēafful.

4) In the later language very commonly after an unstressed syllable; for example, in compounds like atelic, dreadful; swutolic, plain; digelic, secret; singâlic, perpetual, for atolic, swutollic, digollic, singâlic. As respects inflection, this rule applies especially to derivatives in nn, ll, tt, rr: neuters like wēsten and bærnet (248.2, and note 2); feminines like condel and byrōn (258.1, and note 3); verbs like bliccettan (403, note 2); gen. wēstennes, bærnettes, condelle, byrōrne, and later wēstenes, bærnetes, byrōne, inf. bliccetan, 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, öderra, ðowerra, syferra, later fægera, ödera, 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; āgennes, gen., of (his) own; this is especially common in the acc. sing. masc. of cucu, living: cuconne, etc. (303, note 1); for forene, ufene, āgenes, 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., gieban, 192. 2), gift, gift; ðurfan, be allowed, ðearft, ðorfte (422. 6).

b) Of ht: hyegan, hope, hyht, hope; āgan, own; magan, be able, 2 sing. āht, meah (420. 2; 424. 10); the noun meah, might; but especially the weak pret-erits (407).

c) Of st: wāt, knows, 2 sing. wāst; liðan, go, lāst, pathway; hladan, lade, hlāest, load.

d) Of ss: witan, know, pret. wisse, adj. (part.) gewis(s), certain; eweðan, say, ēndewis(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 -Øu (255. 3), etc.

4. GRAMMATICAL CHANGE

233. By 'grammatical change' is to be understood an interchange of the medial surd spirants s, f, p, 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 = p, 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, p — d, h — g (h — ng, according to 186, note 4), and h — w. Examples are:
a) s—r: glæs, glass, glæren, vitreous; céosan, choose, cēas, curon, coren (384), cyre, choice; durran (422.7), dare, dearst, dorste, adj. gedyrstig, bold.

b) þ—d: cweðan, say, cwæð, cwædon, cweden (391), cwide, discourse; līðan, journey, -lida, -farer.

c) h—g: slēan, strike, slihest, slihð, slōg, slōgon, slægen (392.2), slege, stroke; -slaga, -slayer; ðēon, thrive, ðāh, ðungen (383, note 3).

d) h—w: sēon, see (Goth. saihwian), siehst, siehð, 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 Ó-DECLENSION

235. The OE. ó-declension comprises masculines and neuters. It corresponds to the second or ó-declension of Greek and Latin (Gr. masc. -oς, neut. -oν; Lat. -us,-um). The corresponding feminines form the ñ-declension.

Note. The Germ. ó-declension is usually designated as the a-declension, since older ó 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 ó-stems may be subdivided as follows: (a) simple ó-stems, (b) jo-stems, and (c) wo-stems, the two latter groups differing, as respects certain cases, from the pure ó-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. — (-e; -u, -o)</td>
<td>Masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. -es</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. -e</td>
<td>-a</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.¹ and North., the gen. sing. is formed in -æs: dōmæs, etc. For -æs R.¹, North., and sporadically LWS., sometimes have -as: heofnas (LWS. heofonas, etc.). For later -ys (also occasionally -is) see 44, note 2.

An umlauted gen., pointing to orig. -is, occurs in the Old Kent. adv. and gen. ænes; cf. also 100, note 5.

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: dōmæ: dōmi (Beitr. 8. 324 ff.); subsequently, y is now and then found for i (folcy, etc.), and in R.¹ Rit. also sporadic -æ. The instr. seems originally to have had i-umlaut; compare the isolated form hwēne, from the neut. hwōn, trifel, and the instr. adj. ēne, from ān, 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 ālce, hwilce, sume, dōre dæg, etc.); tō morgen, mergen, to-morrow; tō ēfen, at evening.

Note 3. In North. the nom. plur. of many masculines belonging to this declension has the weak ending -o (-a, -e): gāstas 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, liomana, from dæg, lim. 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.
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 -um, -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. dōmum</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, bridle; fætels, scrip; gyrdels, girdle; rīceels, 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: āē, oath; hæft, captive; helm, helmet; hrīng, ring; wulf, wolf; earm, arm; eorl, man; mun, mouth; drēam, joy, etc.

b) Neuters: a) short monosyllables: col, coal; dor, door; geoc, yoke; loc, lock, fold; hop, recess; lot, cunning; sol, slough; spor, trail; b) long monosyllables: bān, bone; bearn, child; dōr, animal; fyr, fire; gōd, 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; hwōm(m), corner; neut. ful(l), cup; gen. wealles, hwēmmes, fulles, etc.

The remaining nouns of this declension come under one of the following rules:

240. Words with ë before a simple consonant, like the masculines daeg, day; hwæl, whale; pæð, path; stæf, staff: the neuters bæc, back; bæð, bath; cræt, crate; dael, dale; fac, while; fæt, vessel; fnæd, fnæs, fringe; hæf, ocean; sæl, hall; stæð, shore; swæð, track; scraef, cavern; traef, tent; waed, sea; wæl, those slain in battle, change the ë into a throughout the plural: daeg — dagas, daga, dagum; fæt — fatu, fata, fatum; only rarely and in late texts does ë remain: hwælas, stæðu, scraefu, 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, treafum, etc. (103, note 2).
Note 2. In LWS. the a of the plur. intrudes even into the gen. dat. sing.: pæd — pædes, pæde; fæt — fates, fate.

Note 3. WS. geat, gate (from gat, 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 predominaates; Ps. has get — geatu (with u-umlaut). The plur. of ceaf seems to be only ceafu. gærs, 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; gesprec, conversation; brim, surf; clif, cliff; hlið, slope; lið, limb; lim, limb; scip, ship; geflit, 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, cliofu, liðu, liomu, etc.; but in WS. prose this umlaut disappears, for the most part, rather early: clifu, limu, 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. weoras, weora, weogas (usually wegas, according to 164. 1), North. wearas, waras, -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 sometimes occurs as short (218. 1): masc. seolh — sēoles and seoles, seal; neut. feorh — fēores and feores, life. So masc. fearh, swine; mearh, horse; ealh, temple; eolh, elk; healh, corner; sealh, willow; Wealh, Welshman.
2) If the h is preceded by a vowel, the loss of the h involves contraction (110 ff.): masc. eoh — eōs, horse; neut. feoh — fēōs, money (275; North. feh, gen. fēes L., fēas R.2); ōeh — ōēōs, thigh; and so masc. flēah, flea (usually weak masc. or fem. fēa, according to 277, note 2); hōh, hough (plur. hōs, hōas, dat. hōm, hōum, late hōn); scōh, sceōh, shoe (plur. scōs, sceōs, late dat. scōn); neut. flōh, fraud; pleoh, danger; slōh, slough (also masc. and fem.); wōh, evil; tōh, malice; perhaps also flēah, albugo (also flio, and with umlaut, flie).

Note 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).

Note 2. Words in vowel + h have in the later language (earlier instances are wanting) the gen. plur. in -na, like the n-stems: ōēona, sceōna (but North. L. scēe, seeēa).

Note 3. The plur. of neut. hōlh, hole, seems to be hōlu, as if from the synonymous short hol.

Note 4. horh, filth (generally masc., rarely neut.), forms its gen. dat. sing. and plur. as horves, horwe, horva, 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 niēten, cattle; heāfod, head, have u in the nom. acc. plur., like the short monosyllables (without syncope of the middle vowel, 244. 2): niētenu, heāfodu (135. 2). In Ps., however, these cases are
often without termination: heafud, beside heafudu, 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 wæp(e)n, weapon; tung-(o)l, star; tāc(e)n, sign; wund(o)r, wonder (stems *wæpna-, *tungla-, *taikna-, *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: wæpen, tungol, tācen, wundor, and wæp(e)nu, tunglu, tācnu, wundru. So also wæter, water (stem *watra-), plur. wæter, and more frequently wæt(e)ru.

Note. The neut. Wolfe(e)n, cloud, sometimes throws off the final n in the earlier language: nom. acc. sing. and plur. Wolfe, but gen. always wolfnes, etc. (188, note 2). The unlauted plur. wolcnu 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 syncopate the vowel of the last syllable before a vocalic ending (144) when it is not rendered long by position: ēngel — ēngles, angel; tungol — tungeons, star; ātor — ātres, venom; tācen — tācnes, token; mādum — mādmes, jewel; hēafod — hēafdes, head; ēled — ēldes,
fire; morgen — morgnes and mornes, morn (214, note 10); but hêngest — hêngestes, stallion; fætels — fætelses, purse, etc.

2) The older documents do not generally exhibit syncope of the originally trisyllabic nom. acc. plur. neut., like nietenu, hêafodu (144. b); while, on the other hand, they have wæpnu, tunglu (beside older wæpen, etc., 243). In later texts the difference is obliterated: hêafdu, 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 — stapoles, pillar; hamor — hamores, hammer; heofon — heofones, heaven; darode — darodes, arrow; Metod — Metodes, God; heorot — heorotes, hart; but fugol — fugles, fowl (fugoles, fugeles only late); and likewise leger — legeres, lair; ðunor — ðunores, thun-der; wæter — wæteres (and wætres), water, etc.

b) jo-stems

246. Paradigms for the masculine: hêre, army; secg, man; ënde, end. For the neuter: cyn, kin; rice, realm; wêsten, desert.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N.V. A.</th>
<th>hêre</th>
<th>secg</th>
<th>ënde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. hêr(i)ges</td>
<td>secg</td>
<td>secg</td>
<td>ëndes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. hêr(i)ge</td>
<td>secg</td>
<td>ënde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.V. A.</td>
<td>hêr(i)g(e)as</td>
<td>secg(e)as</td>
<td>ëndas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. hêr(i)g(e)a</td>
<td>secg(e)a</td>
<td>ënda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. hêr(i)gum</td>
<td>secg(i)um</td>
<td>ëndum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Declension of Nouns

Sing. N.V. A. cyn(n)  rice  wēsten
   G. cynnes  rīces  wēstennes
   D. I. cynne  rīce  wēstenne
Plur. N.V. A. cyn(n)  rīc(i)u  wēsten(n)u
   G. cynna  rīc(e)a  wēstenna
   D. I. cynnum  rīc(i)um  wēstennum

Note 1. For the e of the nom. acc. sing. the oldest texts have i: hēri, ēndi, rīci (Beitr. 8. 326 ff.).

Note 2. Beside forms like nom. acc. plur. rīc(i)u there sometimes occur those in -io, -eo, like gefylcio, rīcēo, etc.
For the insertion of e, i, to denote palatal pronunciation in the case of words in g, c, see 206. 3. b.

247. hēre and sēcg 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, hēre 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: hrycg, back; wēcg, wedge; dyn(n), din; hlyn(n), uproar; hyl(l), hill.

b) Neuters: nēt, net; flēt, floor; bēd, bed; wēd, pledge; gied, saying; nēb, beak; wīcg, horse, etc.

Note 1. For the simplification of West Germ. geminates at the end of a word cf. 231.

Note 2. The gen. sing. of hēre sometimes occurs as hēres, the dat. instr. sing. as hēre, and the nom. acc. plur. as hēras. For the neut. spere see 262; 263, and note 4.

Note 3. The neut. hī(e)g, hay (Goth. hawi, stem *hawja-) has retained the j in all its forms as g; but hīew, hiw, form (Goth. hiwi, stem *hiwja-; dial. also hiow withoutumlaut, 100, note 2, North. hiū, in the poetry also hēo), has generalized the w: gen. hīewes (hiowes), etc. Stem *gliwjā-, neut., joy, has WS. *gliēg, gliēg, gen.
glīges, etc.; but Ep. gliu, and in the poetry glēo, gen. glīwes, rarely glōwes, etc. Stem *blīja-, neut., color (OS. bļi, 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: ēsne, servant; hierde, herdsman; læce, physician; mēce, sword; and the numerous agent-nouns in -ere (North. often -are), like bōcere, scribe; fiscere, fisherman; ðröwere, martyr, to which has been added the foreign word cāsere, emperor (LWS. occasionally merely -re: bōcre; cwēlre, lictor; drēfre, disturber; gliwre, minstrel; ðiwmre, calculator; scēawre, spy; so also North. scēawre; ðröwre, martyr; ondetre, confessor);

b) Neuters: wēge, cup; wite, punishment; sticle, steel; styce, piece; ðerende, errand; formations with ge-, like gewāede, clothing; gemierce, boundary; getimbre, carpentry; and many others.

Note 1. Contraction occurs in the case of *gescie, gesey, shoes, and gecy, pair of cows (?), gen. plur. gecy.

2) Like wēsten go the derivatives in -en, like ðefen, evening (also masc.), fæsten, fortress; and in -et, like onælet, fire; lieget, lightning; nierwet, defile, pass; rēwet, rowing; sæwet, sowing, etc.

Note 2. In the later texts nu, tt are usually simplified: wēstenes, bærnetes, etc. (231. 4), and even the preceding vowel is sometimes eliminated, as in ðefnes, beside ðefenes and ðefennes; nom. acc. plur. wēstnu, beside wēstenu and wēstennu.
Note 3. wēsten is rarely fem., and in late texts masc.: plur. wēstenas; lieget, 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): bōgincel, twig; cofincel, cabinet; ðiowincel, servant; hæftincel, slave; hūsincel, cottage; líðincel, limb; rāpincel, cord; scipincel, bark; sūlincel, little furrow; tūnincel, small estate; wīlincel, slave, etc. These almost always syncopate the e when inflected: hūsinecles, etc., but nom. acc. plur. ðiowincelu Ps., sūlincela 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, -o</td>
<td>searu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. bearwes</td>
<td>searwes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. bearwe</td>
<td>searwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearwas</td>
<td>searu, -o</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, ewiodu, 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, bealewum (260, note 1; 300, note).

Note 2. In late texts w intrudes into the forms without inflectional ending: smeoruw, 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 gād, lack (Goth. gaidw), found only in nom., which has lost its w according to 174. 4.
250. Words with a vowel before the w exhibit various discrepancies:

1) The originally long-stemmed masculines snāw, snow; ðēaw, custom; dēaw, dew (also neut.); bēaw, gadfly; neut. bēow, grain (ON. bygg; only gen. bēowas, bēowes Ep. and its kin); sēaw (rarely masc.), sap; oncelēow, ankle (nom. acc. plur. oncelēow and oncelēowu); 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, hlāw, barrow (rarely late neut.; originally no doubt a neut. os-stem. 288 ff.). To Goth. hraiw, corpse (also orig. neut. os-stem) corresponds hreaw, hrāw (late also hrēaw, 118, note 2) and neut. hrē, hrā (also masc., cf. 173. 2; 174. 3), gen. hrēwes and hrēs, nom. acc. plur. hrē(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; gīw (gīow), griffin; slīw, moth; Tiw; gen. briwes, etc.; Mercian has g for w: bri, gīg, slī(g), Ti, gen. briuges, etc. Besides masc. iwm (iow, ēow), yew, the Runic Song has ēoh. On hiw and glī see 247, note 3.

2) The originally short neuters strēaw, straw; trēow, tree; enēow, knee, and the masc. ðēow, servant, with its compounds lāttēow, leader; lārēow, teacher (stems *strawa-*, *trewa-*, *knewa-*, *pewa-*), are declined as follows in WS.:

Sing. N. A. trēo(w)  |  Plur. N. A. {trēowu, trēo(w)
G. trēowes                      |  dēowas
D. trēowe (trēo)               |  G. trēowa
I. trēowe                        |  D. I. trēowum

Note 3. hlēo, protection (stem *hlēwa-*, 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. lāttēowa, lārēowa, North. lāтуa, lāru(u)a L., lārwa R.² (276).

Note 4. The declension of these words in Angl. exhibits many variations:

a) Ps. has regularly masc. ōeow, ōiow (only once ōeο), gen. -es, etc., beside lādtow, 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. -þeuw, lāttēuw, lār(ē)uw, dat. ōeow, ōeow, plur. nom. acc. -þeu (and adj. -þeuve), lātēuw, lātuwas, lātevas, lārewas, neut. sing. nom. acc. strēu, knēu, trēuw, trēow, gen. trēowes, trēos, dat. trēo, plur. acc. cnēu, dat. trēowum;

c) L.: masc. sing. nom. acc. ōeα, gen. ōeαs, dat. ōeua, plur. nom. acc. ōeas, gen. ōeana, dat. ōeawum; sing. nom. acc. lātuu, lāruu, gen. lāruas, plur. nom. acc. lātuas, lāru(u)as, lārwas, gen. lāraua, dat. lārwum; neut. sing. nom. acc. strē, trē(e), trēo, trēu, gen. strēes, trēes, dat. trē(e), trēo, cnēo, cnēw, cnēwa, gen. trēwna, trēuna, trēuana, dat. trēum, trēwum, cnēum, cnēουm, cnēουm;

d) R.²: masc. sing. nom. acc. lārow, forelātow, plur. nom. acc. lārwas, gen. lārwarαa, dat. lārwum, -om; neut. sing. nom. acc. trēo, cnēo, dat. trēe, plur. nom. acc. trēo, gen. trēona, dat. trēoun, trēum, cnēom;

e) Kit.: masc. sing. nom. acc. ōeα, gen. ōeαs, dat. ōeα, plur. acc. ōeα, gen. ōeana, dat. ōeαum; sing. nom. acc. lātww, lār(w)u, gen. lārves, plur. nom. acc. lārwαs; neut. sing. nom. acc. trē(e), plur. gen. trēona, dat. cnēum.

2. THE ā-DECLENSION

251. The ā-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).
a) **Simple a-stems**

252. Paradigms:

   a) for short stems: *giefu, gift*;
   b) for long stems: *ār, honor*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT</th>
<th>LONG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td>giefu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>giefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>giefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>giefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>giefa, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>giefa, -ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>giefum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. The oblique cases of the sing. and the nom. acc. plur. end in -ae in the oldest texts; only sporadically does the dat. instr. exhibit -i, as in *rödi, caestri*, 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.: *rōdes, säules, somnungenes*, 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, ādles grānung, sybbes* (257) *lufu*, and formulas like *sorges and sāres*, 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.¹ 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 (*ār(e)na, lār(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; sceqmu, sceamu, shame; cwalu, death; laðu, invitation; swaðu, track; sacu, persecution; ðracu, combat; wracu, persecution; ðndswaru, answer; ðenu, valley; ðegu, reception; scolu, shoal; lufu, love, etc.

Note 1. Beside giefu(m), gifu(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 (ðndswearu, -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 -c: sæce, ðræce, wræce, but also laðe, swæðe, beside sæce, laðe, swæðe, 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(e)o; geafo, geafa, gefo, gefe; sceðma L., scoðmu, -o; R.² lufo, wraco, geofo, gefe, snora; Rit. lufu, geafa, scoðma, ðndsvære; and sporadically also R.¹ lufu, geofu, etc.; but also L. Rit. gen. sing. in -es, -æs: gefes, 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; för, journey; glôf, glove; heall, hall; lär, lore; mearc, boundary; sorg, care; stund, time; ðrág, while; wund, wound; with a derivative consonant: ðdl, disease; nædl, needle; frôfor, consolation; wôcor, growth; ceaster, town.

2) Like the long stems, the originally trisyllabic stems with a short radical syllable discard the u of the nom. sing.: byden, butt; ciefes, concubine; firen, iniquity; tigol, tile; (but exceptionally with u there occurs ðgenu, chaff = OHG. agana). To these must
be added the original i-stems ides, woman; duguð, virtue; geoguð, youth (269, note 4), and the long stem sāwol, soul (Goth. saiwala), together with all abstract nouns in -ung, -ing, like monung, 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 (sāule), soul; frō-fór — frōfre, consolation; wōcor — wōcre, usury; but firen — firene, sin; ides — idese, woman, etc.

3) The originally trisyllabic abstracts which in Goth. end in -iþa have in the nom. sing. the ending -u, -o, like the short stems, but subsequently assume a shortened form in -ō: cýððu and cýð(ð) (OHG. cundida), race, kinship; streŋðu and streŋða (OHG. strengida), strength; gesyntu (OHG. gasuntida), health; ēað-mēttu (OHG. *ōtmuotida), humility; ofermēttu (OHG. *ubarmuotida), arrogance; and weordmýnt (orig. *-mündþa), 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 — snēare, harp-string; lēah — lēa, lea.

Note 3. LWS. lēah often has gen. lēage, etc., like words in g 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.

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: sib(b), peace;
b) for stems originally long: gierd, rod.

| Sing. N. V. sib(b) | gierd | Plur. N. V. sibba, -e | gierda, -e |
| G. sibbe | gierde | G. sibba | gierda |
| D. I. sibbe | gierde | D. I. sibbumi | 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 ja-stems differs from that of the simple long a-stems only in the total lack of the weak gen. plur., and in the i-umlaut of the radical syllable. They are distinguished from the long i-stems (269) by the acc. sing. in -e.

258. 1) Among the monosyllables which are declined like sibb are the following: ben, death-wound; bryeg, bridge; cribb, manger; ceg, edge; fit, canto; hel, hell; hen, hen; nyt, advantage; saec, contest; sceg, 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 condel, candle; gyden, goddess; wiergen, she wolf; byrden, burden; raeden, arrangement; hægtes, witch; forlegis, adversity; Lindis, Lincolnshire; gen. condelle, wiergenne, byrdenne, hægtesse, etc.; together with the abstract nouns in -nes, gen. -nesse, like halignes, holiness.

On the other hand, certain derivatives in t, especially hyrnetu, hornet (Erf. hirnitu, Corp. hurnitu); lefetu, swan (Ep. Corp. ælbitu); *liegetu, lightning (Ps. lægitu), 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. lægite).

Note 1. Here belongs, likewise, the foreign word lempedu, lamprey. — There are also later abbreviated nominatives like hyrnet, and regular weak inflections like hyrnette, ylfette, gen. -an, etc.; on lieget as a neut. see 248. 2, with note 3. — In LWS. there is sometimes a nom. sing. in -isse, -yssse, instead of -nes, -nis, -nys. In like manner, R. has -nisse, beside -nis, -nes; R. -nisse (-nesse), beside -nis; L. Rit. -nisse, -nisse, beside L. -nisse(s).

Note 2. Other nouns having u in the nom. sing. are eowu, ewe (Goth. *awī), beside ewe, eowe, gen. eowo and ewes, eowes, and ðeowu, handmaiden (Goth. þiwi), beside ðeowe, from which latter form we have also weak forms, gen. ðeowan, etc. The feminine nouns derived from masculines by i-umlaut and the addition of -en
occasionally take the nominative ending -u in LWS.: gydenu, goddess; ðinenu, mennenu, handmaiden; mynecenu, nun; now and then there are weak forms, like nom. nefene, granddaughter, infl. gydenan, etc.

Note 3. The double consonants of derivatives are often simplified in later texts: -rædene, etc. (231. 4).

Note 4. Here belongs also WS. cnœris, gen. cnœrisse, generation (so also R.1; Blickl. cnœrisn). North. has cnœo-, cnœuresu, -o, -a, -riso, -rise, also -reswu, -o, plur. -reswo L. R.2, etc.

2) With gierd belong, for example, æx, ax (Ps. æces, North. acas); hild, battle; hind, hind; hŷð, booty; wylf, she wolf; ŝo, wave; and certain derivatives in -s, like bliðs, bliss, bliss; liðs, liss, favor; milds, milts, compassion.

Note 5. In ðeg, ðeg (ég), island (ON. ey, eyjar); cæg, key, the derivative j is retained as g. For bënd see 266, note 1.

c) wā-stems

259. Nouns with a long vowel or diphthong are regularly declined like the simple ā-stems: stōw (stōu), place; hrēcow, repentance; trēcow, faithfulness; gen. stōwe, hrēowe, etc.

Note. Without w appear ðrēa, threat, throe (from *þra(w)u, compare Ep. thrauu, OHG. drawa), and clēa, clēo, claw (from *kla(w)u, *klað(w)u, compare OHG. klāwa, 111; 112). The former is indeclinable, except for the dat. plur. ðrēa(u)m, or more rarely inflects as a weak masc. (277, note 2). Of clēa there is only the acc. plur. clēa, clēo, dat. clēam, and poet. clēm; but, besides, clawu, a new formation, is regularly declined like giefiu. On ða see 284, note 4.

260. When a consonant precedes the w, the paradigms are as follows: beadu, battle; mæd, mead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N.</th>
<th>Plur. N.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beadu mæd</td>
<td>beadwa, -e mæd(w)a, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. beadwe mæd</td>
<td>G. beadwa mæd(w)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. beadwe mæd</td>
<td>D. I. beadwum mæd(w)um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. beadwe mæd</td>
<td>A. beadwa, -e mæd(w)a, -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like beadu are declined the short stems nearu, distress; seeadu, shadow; si(o)nu, sinew; and the plur. tant. geatwe, arms; fraetwe, ornaments. Like mæd are declined the long stems læs, pasture; blôd(es)læs, phlebotomy; ræs, suggestion(?).

Note 1. Occasionally a vowel appears before the w of the short stems: beadowe, nearowe, geatewe, fraetewum (249, note 1).

Note 2. seeadu (also neut. seead, plur. seeadu) more generally inflects like giefu (252), as does sinu rather frequently: gen. sceanad, sine, etc. The Leiden Riddle has from geatwe a dat. plur. geatum, and the Cod. Dipl. a nom. plur. hergeatun. On North. enêureso 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. blôdlæswu, beside blôdlæs), and so developed at an early period forms without w. mæd has an early dat. mëda, 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 mere, mene, èle (and bêre, ëge, ëpte, 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); gesceæft, creature; geðeaht, thought (both also neut.), and the neut. spere (262; 263), the nouns of this declension have in all cases i-umlaut if the radical syllable will admit (liode, later lêode, 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.
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. *wini-z); neut. spere, spear.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.V. A. wine spere</td>
<td>Plur. N.V. A. wine, -as speru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. wines speres</td>
<td>G. wina, winig(e)a spera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. wine spere</td>
<td>D. I. winum sperum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

263. 1) Like wine are declined such masculines as bere, barley; dene, valley; ele, oil; hefe, weight; hege, hedge; mene, necklace; mere, sea; mete, food; sele, hall; stede, place (beside styde, esp. Kentish; North. styd, note 5); ciele, coolness; hæle, man; hype, hip; hyse, youth; byre, son; hyge, myne, mind; pyle, pillow; ryge, rye; øyle, orator; dile, dill; ile, sole of the foot; white, countenance; the plural Dene, Danes (sing. in the compound Healfdene); and a great number of verbal abstracts like drupe, stroke; ece, ache; ege, terror; hete, hate; slege (slæge), blow (plur. slegeas, 206. 3. b); staep, step (plur. stæpas, etc., also late stapas); bite, bite; blice, exposure; cwide, speech; gripe, grip; (æt-, on-)hrine, touch; scride, step; sice, sigh; sige, victory; slide, fall; snide, incision; spiwe, spewing; stice, stitch; stige, ascent; stride, stride; swile (swyle),
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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; hryre, fall; lyge, lie; lyre, loss; foreynie, presumption; ryie, course; scyfe, shove; scyte, shot; sypo, sip, etc.; and the abstracts in -scipe, -ship, like freondscape, friendship.

2) Neuters are such as sife, sieve; ofdle, ofdæle, declivity; gedyre, door-post; oferslege, lintel; orlege, fate; wlaece, 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 i (246, note 1): Bede has an early gen. in -is: Eadwinis.

Note 2. The proper termination of the nom. acc. plur. of the masculines is -e, older -i (compare Goth. gasteis, 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 Dælig(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 hysas and hyssas (likewise in the sing. hysses, etc.), ile has plur. illas and ilas. Parallel with dyne occurs dynn, dynnes; beside ofdle, North. æfdæl; and, beside gewile, usually gewill. Irregular are gewif, fate, gen. gewifes, plur. gewi(o)fu, beside gewef, web; sel, hall, plur. selu, beside neut. seil, masc. sele, and (neut.?) salor.

Note 4. bere, ege, hête, sige, and perhaps a few others, were without doubt originally neuters in -iz (compare Goth. *bariz- (in barizeins), 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 spere, which appears in early compounds as spe(o)ru- (128; 288 ff.). hæle (hæle?), which only occurs in the
DECLENSION OF NOUNS

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sing., has come from the consonant-declension (281. 1). Quite excep-
tionally ele 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: wlit, countenance;
met(t), food; sig, victory (also neut. gisig); lyg, lie; neut. styd,
place; as plurals occur R. \textsuperscript{2} metas, and weak met(t)o (beside L.
mett, R. \textsuperscript{2} mete, if these are not singular forms) and styde. In
composition, too, these words lose their -e in North.: sigbēg, crown;
sigfæst, victorious; stydfæst, 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 Sigrēd, Sigmund, Hygberht, Hyglāc, or Wulf sig,
Hūnsig, beside Ælifuini, Alduini, Siguini, or Hysiuulf, Hysimōn,
Uinibald, Uinilāc, etc. (Lib. Vitæ).

Note 6. The short i-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 i-stems is to be included
the plur. tant. -ware, -a, people, like Rōmware, Cantware, 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 Engle, Angles (Germ. stem *Angli-).

Plur. N. V. A. Engle
G. Engla
D. I. Englum

Thus are declined a few proper nouns like Seaxe,
Saxons (261); Mierce, Mercians; Dēre, Deirians; Beor-
nice, Bernicians; Norð(an)-, Süðhymbre, Northum-
arians, etc.; the foreign words Ėgipte, Crēce, Perse
(beside Crēcas, Persēas); and the plurals ieldē, ylde, men; ielfe, elves; liode, people (261). The poetry rarely has -a for the nom. acc. plur., as in lēoda.

Note. A few of the gentile nouns, particularly Seaxe and Mierce, occasionally have a weak form in -na in the gen. plur.: Seaxna, Miercna (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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N. V.</th>
<th>wyrm</th>
<th>Plur. N. V.</th>
<th>wyrmas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>wyrmes</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>wyrma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>wyrme</td>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>wyrnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>wyrm</td>
<td>A.</td>
<td>wyrmas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

266. Here belong bend, band; bielg, bag; bræw, brow; dæl, part; dēmm, injury; ęnt, giant; fierst, time; fyrs, furze; giest, guest; glēm, gleam; gylt, guilt; hyll, hill; lieg, flame; lyft, air; mǣw, mew; sǣl, time; stēng, pole (plur. stēngeas, etc.); strēng, string (plur. strēngeas, etc.); ęyrs, giant; wāeg, bil-low; wiell, well; and a series of verbal nouns, like brygd, brandishing; byrst, damage; cierr, turn; cierr, clamor; drēnc, drync (drine), drink (plur. drēnceas, dat. drēncium, etc.); dynt, blow; fēng, grasp; fiell, fall; flyht, flight; hlyst, hearing; hwyrft, turn; hyht, hope; lēc, look; slieht, slaughter; smiec, odor; stēnc, smell (plur. stēnceas, etc.); stiell, jump; swēg, clamor;
swęng, stroke; swylt, death; tyht, instruction; ðyrst, thirst; wrené, wrench, trick (plur. wrenéceas, dat. wren-cium, etc.); wyrp, cast; ærist (æríst?), resurrection; æspryng, well; æfst, envy (43, note 4), etc.

Note 1. The nom. acc. plur. of bènd is not only bèndas, but also (especially Anglian?) bènda, bènde, of which the singular is probably a fem. bènd, belonging to 257 (Goth. bandi). Other words follow the declension of the feminines (269), like ærist, æspryng, lyft (LWS. also neut., with plur. lyftu), hlyst, sæl, etc.

Note 2. sæ, sea (Goth. saiws), inflects partly as masc.: gen. sæs, dat. sæ, nom. acc. plur. sæs (Ps. sæas), gen. sæwa (?), 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 dry, wizard (from Celtic drúi), has gen. drýs (LWS. also drýes), dat. dry, nom. acc. plur. dryas, gen. dryra (?), dat. dryum.

Note 3. On bræw (Angl. breg) — 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; flies, fleece (Angl. *flios, flēos, Leid. Rid. flius); hæl, welfare; hilt, hilt; læn, loan; hrēō, fame (masc. ?); nouns with the prefix ge-, such as gebēnn, ban; gefēg, joining; gehield (Angl. gehæld), protection; gehlýd, clamor; gerēsp, blame; geswinc, tribulation; gewēd, rage; gewielc, breakers;
North. Rit. onwæld, power (beside onweald, usually masc.); geswyrf (?), filings; gegrynd, plot of ground; gedwild, error; gehnæst, conflict; and probably æcyrf, fragment; felcyrf, præputium (masc. ?). These are declined like cynn, 246 (dat. plur. geswincium, 206. 3. b).

Note 1. Beside these forms are occasionally found others without i-umlaut, like gebynn, gefög, geheald, gehnæst, gewealc, or by-forms with r, like hálor, hroðor; 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; gehygd, thought; oferhygd, arrogance; gemynd, mind; genyht, sufficiency; geðýld, patience; gewyrht, deed; forwyrd, destruction; fulwiht, fulluht, baptism; grin, 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 cynn (246) or word (238), but have in the nom. acc. plur. the ending -u, -o, as far as instances occur: gehygdu, oferhygdu, gewyrhtu, grinu, wihtu; yet a few forms occur without ending, like gecynd, beside gecyndu.

Note 2. To the foregoing singulars 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. gesceafteu, beside gesceafte, -a, according to 252. For gesceahht see 261; 269.
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Note 3. _wuht, wiht_, in the sense of 'being,' 'creature,' is almost always fem. (though neut. in Blickl.), and does not form the plur. _wihtu_ 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 singulars, 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: _freμu_, _benefit_, and perhaps _hylu_, _hollow_; _-legu_, laying down; and _-nēru_, deliverance, in _ealdorlegu_, _feorhlegu_ (or _-nēru_), 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


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. N. V.</th>
<th>G. bēne</th>
<th>Plur. N. V.</th>
<th>G. bēna</th>
<th>D. I. bēnum</th>
<th>A. bēne, -a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bēn</td>
<td></td>
<td>bēne, -a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. I. bēne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. I. bēnum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. bēn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. bēne, -a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus are declined such as _bēne_, _bench_; _bryd_, _bride_; _cwēn_, _woman_; _dryht_, _host_; _fyst_, _fist_; _hīd_, _skin_; _hīf_, _hive_; _hyrst_, _trappings_; _lyft_, _air_; _nied_, _need_; _tid_, _time_;
ðryð, strength; wēn, hope; wiht, wuht, creature; wynn, pleasure; wyrd, fate; wyrt, herb, root; bŷsen, example (gen. bŷsne, etc.); æ(w), law, marriage, and many verbal abstracts (with the original suffix -ti): dæd, deed; fierd, army; glēd, gleed; spēd, success; scyld, guilt; gehygd, gemynd, thought; gewyrht, deed; geðyld, patience; æh, property; meaht, miht, might (261); est, grace; wist, sustenance; ēst, storm; ārīst, resurrection, etc. Regularly without umlaut occur gesceaft, creation, creature; geðceaht, thought (both also neut., 261).

Note 1. The endings of this declension are the same as those of the ã-declension, except in the acc. sing., which in the latter has -e. This termination is introduced into the i-declension (at an early period, and to a considerable extent, in North. R.¹ and to some extent Ps.; in WS. and Kent. it makes its appearance later, and is at first comparatively rare): tide, cwene, etc.

Note 2. The genuine oldest termination of the nom. acc. plur. is -i (mæcti Cædmon’s Hymn; compare Goth. mahtēis), which subsequently became -e (44). Notwithstanding, there is also an early intrusion of -e from the a-declension (Ep. uuyrdæ); cf. also note 5.

Note 3. æ is indeclinable in the whole sing. and the nom. acc. plur.; but there is also found a gen. dat. sing. āewe, in agreement with which there is formed a nom. acc. āew; a few texts seem to distinguish between æ, law, and āew, marriage. For sēe see 266, note 3.

Note 4. lyft and ārīst, and a few others, are also masc. (266, note 1); gecyn, gehygd, gemynd, gewyrht, wiht, wuht, etc., are also neuter (267. b). duguð, virtue; geuguð, youth; and ides, woman, which elsewhere belong to the i-declension, in OE. follow the ā-declension (252); sien (syn), sion (sōn), face; onsiēn, face, view, etc., frequently have in WS. the acc. sing. sōn, but in Ps. always take -e, according to the ā-declension: onsiene; 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. tido, dēdo, gen. tidana, dēdana, 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. *frîpu, liþu*), no longer occur as u-stems, except as the first member of compound words; otherwise there occur fem. *fri(o)du* (279), neut. *frîd* and *lið* (239); and for Goth. *qîpu, venter*, only masc. *cwīð*. So also for Goth. *skadus, shadow*, OE. has the fem. *sceadudu* and the neut. *scead* (Angl. *scœd*), 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, *sunan*, in connection with the late nom. sing. in *-a*.

**Note 2.** Ps. has only nom. acc. sing. *sunu, gen. wuda, dat. suna*; R.¹ has nom. acc. sing. *sunu, -e, gen. sune, -e, dat. sunu, -æ, plur.
inflection

nom. acc. sunu, -æ, -as, -es, gen. sunu, -ena. The North.
forms are: in L.: nom. acc. sing. sunu (more rarely -o, -a, -e), gen.
sunu, -æ, -es, dat. sunu, -e, nom. acc. plur. sunu, -o, -a, gen. suna,
-o, -ana, dat. sunum; in R.: nom. acc. sunu, -o, -a, gen. sunu, -o,
dat. suno; nom. acc. plur. sunu, -o, gen. sununa, dat. sunum, -ou;
Rit. has only sunu 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 134, and thus came into
relation with the o-stems, whose inflection they then to
some extent assumed. Paradigm: feld, field.

Sing. N. V. A. feld        Plur. N. V. A. felda; -as
    G. felda; -es          G. felda
    D. I. felda; -e        D. I. feldum

273. Traces of this declension are more frequent in
the words feld, field; ford, ford; weald, forest, and the
disyllabic sumor, summer; winter, winter; æppel(?),
apple; they are less common in eard, country; hād,
person, rank; hearg, temple, idol; sæað, fountain, and
-gār, spear, in proper nouns like Wihtgār. The other
words which formerly belonged to the u-declension have
completely passed over to the o-declension: ār, mes-
senger; dēað, death; feorh, life; flōd, flood; scield,
shield; ðorn, thorn; hungor, hunger, etc. (= Goth.
airus, daupus, fairhwus, flōdus, skildus, paurnus,
hūhrus), and the numerous verbal nouns in -(n)ōð, 
-(n)āð (= Goth. -ōðus).

Note 1. In North. there are still found the datives dēoda, wōnga,
and even a few examples of original o-stems, like binna, manger.

Note 2. The gen. sing. in -a occurs but seldom (Bede hāda,
Liecifelda, Chron. wintra, Wihtgāra); the nom. acc. plur. seems
only to be found in the somewhat common hearga and applic (note 3). On the other hand, the dat. instr. in -a is still common in the older texts, but is subsequently replaced by the -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: ætgāru, spear Ep.; flōdu, flood; Olwfwolþu (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>N.V.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>N.V.</th>
<th>A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duru</td>
<td>hōnd</td>
<td></td>
<td>dura</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>hōnda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. dura</td>
<td>hōnda</td>
<td>G. dura</td>
<td>hōnda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. dura; -u hōnda</td>
<td>D. I. durum</td>
<td>hōndum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like duru is declined nosu (Old Kent. nasu), nose; like hōnd inflect flōr, floor; cweorn, mill.

Note 1. Rarer by-forms are gen. dat. instr. sing. dure, nose; dat. dyru, dyre, with i-umlaut, and gen. dat. hōnd. flōr has in the gen. dat. sing. also flōre (but acc. sing. always flōr), and is also used as masc. (273). cweorn more commonly follows the ā-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; R.¹ sing. nom. acc. dat. dure (also masc.), plur. nom. duru, dat. durum; of hōnd: sing. acc. hōnd, -e, -æ, -a, dat. hōnda, plur. nom. acc. hōnde, -a, dat. hōndum.

The North. forms are:

a) of duru (also masc. and neut.): in L.: sing. nom. duru, -a, acc. duru, -o, -e, 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. duru, 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. fela, 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. feh, 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. tungë, tongue; neut. ēage, eye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td>tungë</td>
<td>ēage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>ēage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>tung(e)na</td>
<td>ēag(e)na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>tungum</td>
<td>ēagum</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. fonena, welena, witen; fem. wucena, like masc. cempena, telgena; fem. biemen; nêdrena; neut. ëgena, ërena, etc.; only rarely do long stems exhibit syncope of the middle vowel: Cura Past. masc. wilna, fem. tungna, neut. ëgna (beside tungna and ëgena).

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, Francna, Longbeardna, Miercna, Sumursètina. 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, brögna; fem. arna, lårna, sorgna, wîsna, wrâcna; neut. ëgna, ùhtna, beside occasional forms like masc. dîmena, wrêcena, fem. tungna, neut. ëgena, the latter being quite as secondary as the occasional Gêatena, Frêzena, beside the regular Frêsna, 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. witgana, ëldrena; fem. wëmnena.

c) Of the Anglian texts, Ps. always has -ena without regard to the quantity: masc. dracena (dræcena), nômena, weolen, wearen, like buccena, steorrena; fem. eordena, wîsena; neut. ëgena, etc.; R.1 has in the masc. rarely -ana, beside -ena: wîgtana (beside wîgna), saçena, gerøfena; in the fem. only -ana: nêdrana, widuważna, uïperana. 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, çëgoan (from the strong fem. çæg, key); or -enan: ëgenan; and strong -a: bæcistra, prica, nama; so in the sing. strong forms like Gl. gen. miætanges, 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, -e; -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, -aes, -as, dat. acc. -a, -o (-e), plur. -o (-a, also strong -as); Rit. nom. sing. -a (-e), gen. -a, -e, -o and -es, -aes, dat. acc. sing. and nom. acc. plur. -a, -e, -o.

Still greater variation prevails in the feminine: R.\(^1\) has nom. sing. generally -e, but also -a, obl. -e, -æ, -a, and -an, plur. -a, -e, and -an. The North. forms are: R.\(^2\) sing. -a, rarely -e (but widwe always so); L. sing. nom. dat. acc. -a, -e, -o, gen. -es, -aes, plur. -o, -a, and strong -as; Rit. sing. nom. dat. acc. -e, -a, gen. -es, plur. -o, -a, and strong -as. Unlike the rest, eorðu, earth, has generally -u, -o in North. instead of the other vowels cited (always so in the nom. sing.; in R.\(^1\) eorðu varies with eorðe). The feminines also frequently become neuters.

Of neuters there are: in R.\(^1\) nom. acc. sing. ēar (-a), ēge (-an?), wōnge, dat. ēge, plur. ēara(n), ē(a)gan, -un, ēgu, -e; North.: R.\(^2\) nom. acc. plur. ēaru, -o, -a, nom. acc. sing. plur. ēgu, -o; L. nom. dat. acc. sing. ēare, plur. ēaro, nom. dat. acc. sing. plur. ēgo; Rit. nom. dat. sing. ēare, plur. ēaro, -a, and plur. ēgo.

On the gen. plur. see note 3. c.

1. MASCULINES

277. Like guma are declined a great number of words; thus, of short stems: bōna, murderer; cofa, room; draca, dragon; fōna, flag; hōna, cock; nēfa, nephew; nōma, name; sceaða, robber; sēfa, mind; wēla, riches; wiga, warrior; wīta, wise man; plur. -waran, inhabitants; of long stems: brōga, terror; bucca, buck; cēmpa, warrior; crēda, creed; dēma, judge; gōma, palate; hunta, hunter; mōna, moon; gerēfa, bailiff; steorra, star; telga, twig; tēona, injury; witga, prophet; wræcecea, exile.

Note 1. oxa, ox, has in nom. acc. plur. ðæxen, ðæxen, beside ðoxan; gen. ðoxna, dat. ðoxum, and rarely ðoxnum. The plur. tant. hīwan,
hīgan (North. hīgu), members of a family, forms a gen. plur. hīna, beside hīgna, hīwna. A late dat. plur. of nefa, nephew, grandson, is nefenum.

**Note 2.** frēa, lord; gefēa, joy; òrēa, affliction; lēo, lion (North. lēa, gen. lēas); twēo, doubt (LWS. also tvy and tvyn, North. tuā and tuā, cf. 156. 3); Svēon, Swedes; gefā, foe; rā, roe, systematically contract the vowel of the radical syllable with that of the derivative syllable into the diphthongs ea, eo, or the vowel a: gen., etc., frēan; gen. plur. lēona, gefāna, Svēona, dat. lēom, Svēom, gefām, but also lēoum, etc. (110, note 1).

Of doubtful words that belong here there are, beside flēa, flea, which might also be fem., mēo, sole (plur. mēon); plur. *cēon, gills (Ep. cian); *scēo, shin-bone (Erf. Corp. scia, North. plur. L. sciu, R.² scia, sciae).

**Note 3.** The uncontracted frīgea occurs beside frēa; òrēa 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; eorde, folde, hrūse, earth; heorte, heart; sunne, sun; wīse, manner; mēowle, maiden; nādre, viper; swealwe, swallow; of short stems: bune (būne?), cup; ceeole, throat; clīde, clife, burdock; cwene, woman; cwice, quitch-grass; miere, (miere? 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 a-stems: cinu, fissure; faðu, paternal aunt; hosu (masc.? hosas), hose; hracu, throat; moru, parsnip; peru, pear; spadu, spade; swi(o)pu, whip; òrotu, throat.
wuou, week; yet the oldest texts still keep the older ending -e: Ep. -throtae, -more; Ps. hræce; hræce and faðe are later found sporadically. Compounds, too, are wont to retain the -e: loebore, curly-haired woman; nihtegale, nightingale; æsc-, coforðropte (plant-names), etc.

lufu, love, generally inflects like giefu (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 beo, bee (North. bia, Ps. plur. bían); céo, chough (Ep. chyæ, Erf. ciae); péo (Ps. píe), gadfly; réo (Ep. rýhae, but also réowe and réowu), covering; séo, pupil; flâ, arrow; slâ, sloe (plur. slân, beside strong slâ); slâ, slēa (?) (Corp. slahæ), sley; tā, toe (dā? doe; instances of weak inflection not found); dō (Ep. thōhae), clay; gen., etc., bēon, sēon, flân, etc. tā has tān and tāan; dat. plur. tānum, and later tānum; flâ perhaps only flānum, though this may belong to the strong masc. (238) or strong fem. (252) flān, which frequently occurs beside flâ. LWS. (Ælfric) similarly has a weak fem. tā, formed from the strong masc. tān, twig. Conversely, there is found a nom. sing. tān for tā, toe.

Note 3. ēastron, -un (more rarely -an), Easter, which generally occurs as plur. tant., has an irregular ending: gen. ēastrena, -ana, also ēastran, and strong ēastra. Beside weak ēastron there is also an apparently strong ēastra, -o, with neuter ending; there also occurs a nom. sing. ēastre. In North. nom. acc. L. ēastro, ēostro, R.2 ēostro, -o (R.1 ēastran and ēastra), gen. L. ēastres, ēostres, R.2 ēastro, ēostro, -ana, -una, dat. L. ēastræ, ēastro, ēostro, R.2 ēostrum. In L. the word is neut. sing., in R.2 plur. (Luke 22. 15 L. ðis ēostro, R.2 ðís ēostro).

Note 4. Like the masculines inflect gemæcca (gemaca), consort; gebèdda, bedfellow; gerèsta, 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, mēnigo, multitude; strengu, strength; ieldu, age, belong to the weak declension, since they correspond to Goth. weak nouns in -ei, like mānagei, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular N.</th>
<th>Plural N. A.</th>
<th>Declension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strentg, -o</td>
<td>stränge, -a; -u, -o</td>
<td>G. strenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. stränge; -u, -o</td>
<td>D. I. strengum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, strængæo (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 wēnge and of wunwēnge, temples, both of which were originally strong neuters (248. 1): nom. acc. sing. wonge, wēnge, and wunwēnge, dunwōnge; dat. wunwēngan; nom. acc. plur. wōngan, dunwēngan, beside wunwōngan and strong dunwōnge, -a; gen. dunwōngena and wōnga.

Note 2. LWS. has the sporadic gen. ēages and ēares, and dat. ēare (276, note 4). Doubtful is the gender of weak masc. ūhta or weak neut. ūhte, dawn (Goth. weak fem. ūhtwō), which occurs almost exclusively in the ancient formula on ūhtan (beside rare phrases like ūhta gehwylce, pām ilcan ūhte).

Note 3. For the North. declension of ēore 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. N. V. A.</th>
<th>Plur. N. V. A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>fōtes</td>
<td>G. fōta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>fēt</td>
<td>D. I. fōtum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>fōte, fēt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus are declined tōð, tooth, plur. tēð; mōn(n), man(n), plur. mēn(n); and likewise the disyllabic hæleð, hero; mōnāð, month.

Note 1. Besides mōnn, 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. monno, beside aldormōn; R.¹ mōnnu. Proper names in -mōn seem regularly to be declined as strong (238): for example, dat. Colemanne, Gearomōnne.

Like mōn is declined the compound wifmōn, woman (later often assimilated: wīmman), except that it is sometimes used as a fem.

Note 2. The nom. acc. plur. of fōt, tōð sometimes in later (Anglian?) texts appears as fōtas, tōðas (already once Mart. fōtas, Ps. tōðas, besides more frequent tēð); of tōð, dat. sing. North. tōðe, gen. plur. tōðana, tēða, beside tōða L. R.² has a gen. plur. fēta, beside fōta; Rit. gen. plur. tōðana, acc. plur. fōta; R.¹ dat. sing. tōp and mōnn, beside more frequent mēnn.

Note 3. ōs, god, which otherwise occurs only as the first member of compounds, has a gen. plur. ēsa, with perplexing i-umlaut.

Note 4. hæleð and mōnāð have a nom. acc. plur. without termination, along with hæleðas (hæleðe) and mōn(e)ðas; in the sing. they are regularly inflected according to the o-declension. The nom. hæleð is a new formation for hæle (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. scryd (LWS. scrūd and scrūde), nom. acc. plur. scrūd, gen. scrūda; the second, formerly a t-stem, like hæleð and mōnað, forms the gen. dat. sing. (e)ałoð, -að (very late and unusual also dat. ealode; North. gen. ałðes Rit.), gen. plur. ealeða, and sporadically an acc. sing. ealað, modeled upon the gen. dat.

b) Feminines

282. The short stems which belong here are hnutu, nut; studu, stuðu, column; hnutu, nit. Paradigm: hnutu.

Sing. N. hnutu
     G. hnutu
     D. I. hnyte
     A. [hnyte]

Plur. N. hnyte
     G. hnutu
     D. I. hnutum
     A. hnyte

Note. The acc. sing. hnutu is supplied according to the acc. studu, stuðu; the gen. plur. is also hnutena in LWS. — studu, stuðu has, besides the nom. acc. (likewise the form fœrstud, without ending, in the ancient North. glosses to Bede, OET. 123, for which again fœrstudu appears later; likewise durustod, doorpost), also the dat. styde (styðe), stude, and studa. — hnutu has, beside the nom. sing., the nom. acc. plur. hnite.

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 ā-declension. Paradigm: bōc, book.

Sing. N. V. A. bōc
     G. bēc; bōce
     D. I. bēc

Plur. N. V. A. bēc
     G. bōca
     D. I. bōcum
284. Thus are declined āc, oak; gāt, goat; brōc, trousers; gōs, goose; wūlōh, fringe; burg, borough; dung (?), cavern; furh, furrow; sulh, plow; turf, turf; grūt, grout; lūs, louse; mūs, mouse; ōrūh, trough; cū, cow; ēa, water; neaht, niht, night; and the disyllabic māgeō, māgō, maid.

Note 1. There is a twofold formation of the gen. sing. in bēc—bōce (the former peculiar to the older period; Ps. bōc); byr(i)g—burge; fyrh—fūre (also without umlaut, furh); on the other hand, āc, gāt, gōs, mūs seem to have only the longer forms āce, gāte, gōse, mūse, while conversely ōrūh has only ōrūh. The gen. sing. of sulh (note 3) is sūles, like that of the masculines.

Note 2. The dat. sing. occasionally appears without umlaut, especially in later texts: āc, bōc, burg, furh, grūt, ōrūh (so also North. bōc L. Rit., beside bōc L. R. 2).

Note 3. The words in h lose it before a vowel ending (218): furh, gen. fūre, plur. gen. fūra, -ena, dat. fūrum; sulh, gen. sūles (note 1), plur. gen. sūla, dat. sūlum; ōrūh, dat. plur. ōrūm; later also nom. acc. sul (sūl ?), dat. syl (syl ?), without h.

Note 4. āc as the name of the rune has nom. acc. plur. ācas.—bōc rarely also occurs as neut.; Cod. Dipl. A.D. 837 has an umlauted dat. plur. bōcum.—wūlōh belongs here because of the North. plur. wūlōh L. (gen. wglōana L.).—burg (burug) has in the gen., etc., byrig, for the old and rare byrug; later the word inflects also exactly like bēn (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 (burig), 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. pāre ding, Andr. 1272, and OHG. tung.—Beside grūt occurs also grytt, declined regularly according to 258. 1.—For ōrūh there occasionally occurs, even in the nom. acc. sing., the umlauted ōrūh. —cū has gen. sing. cū, cūe, cē, cūs, nom. acc. plur. cē, cēye, gen. cūa, cūna, cēna. —ēa has the form ē only very seldom in the gen. sing. (also ēas), more commonly in the dat. sing.; it usually inflects in the sing., and always in the plur., according to the ē-declension: sing. ēa, plur.-nom. gen. acc. ēa, dat. ēam, ēaum (259, note).—neaht, niht (Angl. nāht)
and mægð, mægð are invariable in the whole sing. and in the nom. acc. plur., but niht has also a gen. dat. sing. nihte (neahте, Ps. næhte), and a gen. nihtes (also ánès nihtes, etc., Ps. næhtes), used for the most part only adverbially. In North. næht is sometimes masc. (gen. sing. always næhtes R.2 L. Rit.).

Note 5. Here also belongs the disyllabic mioluc (miolc), milk (Ps. North. milc), which, beside dat. sing. mioluc, meol(u)c, and meol(u)ce, has also an apparently plural form miolcum.

Note 6. Feminine names in -burg, like Eadburg, Wareburg, inflect regularly according to the a-declension: gen. dat. acc. -burse.

Note 7. Certain names of countries and places inflect as consonantal feminines: Cent, Cert, I, Wiht, gen. Wihtе, dat. acc. Wiht, etc. Most foreign names of places are indeclinable, and cannot be assigned to any particular gender. Uninflected forms of native names are more infrequent: aet Exanceaster, aet Wynnefeld, aet Manneðorp, aet Folestán, etc.

2. STEMS IN -r

285. The names of relationship in -r: fæder, father; brōðor, brother; mōdor, mother; dohtor, daughter; sweostor, swuster, sister (together with the plur. tant. gebrōðor, brethren, and gesweostor, sisters), are thus inflected in WS. and Kent.: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N. V. A.</th>
<th>fæder</th>
<th>mōdor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. fæder, -(e)res</td>
<td>brōðor</td>
<td>dohtor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. fæder</td>
<td>brēðer</td>
<td>sweostor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur. N. V. A.</th>
<th>fæd(e)ras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. fæd(e)ra</td>
<td>brōðra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. fæd(e)rum</td>
<td>brōðrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur. N. V. A. (mōdru), -a</th>
<th>dohtor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{ -tru, -tra }</td>
<td>sweostor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. mōdra</td>
<td>dohtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. mōdrum</td>
<td>dohtrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. mēder, dehter, sometimes occurs, like the dat., and conversely a dat. brōðer, 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. fædras (fæddras), gen. fædra (fæddra), dat. fædrum (fæodrum, fedrum); R.1 nom. acc. fæder, gen. fæder, fader; fæderes, dat. fæder, plur. gen. fædera; North.: R.2 nom. acc. fæder, fæder, fador, gen. fæð(e)res, fæder, fædur, fador, dat. fæder, fæder, fædre, plur. nom. acc. fædras, gen. fædra, dat. fædrum; L. nom. acc. fæder, fader, gen. fadores (fædores), fad(e)res, fador, dat. fæder, -ir, fader, fader, fædere, plur. nom. acc. fadoras, fado, gen. fadora, dat. fad(o)rum; Rit. nom. acc. fæder (fæder, fader), gen. fadores (fador?), dat. fæder (fæder), plur. gen. fadora, fædera, dat. fædorum. The poetry has a sporadic dat. fædere.

b) Ps. nom. acc. brōður, dat. brōðer, plur. nom. acc. brōður, dat. brōðrum; R.1 nom. acc. gen. dat. brōþer, plur. nom. acc. brōþer, brōþre, brōþre, dat. brōþrum; North. R.2 nom. acc. brōðer, -or, gen. brōðer, dat. brōðer, -or, plur. nom. acc. brōðer, -or, brōðro, dat. brōðrum, -or; L. nom. acc. brōðer, gen. brōð(e)res, brōðer, dat. brōð(e)re, brōðer, brōðre, brōðer, plur. nom. acc. brōð(e)ro, brōð(e)ra, brōðre, brōðer, gen. brōðra, brōðero, dat. brōðrum; Rit. brōðer-, plur. nom. acc. brōðro, dat. brōðrum.

c) Ps. sing. nom. acc. mōdur, gen. mōdur, māder; R.1 sing. nom. gen. dat. mōder; North.: R.2 sing. nom. acc. mōder, gen. mōder, -or, māder, dat. māder, mōder, plur. acc. mōder; L. sing. nom. acc. mōder, gen. mōð(e)res, mōderes, mōder, dat. mōder, māder, plur. acc. mōdero; Rit. sing. nom. mōder, dat. mōder.


e) R.1 sing. nom. swuster, plur. nom. sweester, swuster; North.: R.2 sing. nom. acc. gen. swester, plur. nom. acc. swester, swestro; L. sing. nom. acc. sweester, sweeter, gen. dat. sweester, plur. nom. acc. sweester, sweestro, söestro; Rit. plur. dat. söesternum.
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: frēond, friend; hĕttend, enemy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N. V. A.</th>
<th>freond</th>
<th>hĕttend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>frēondes</td>
<td>hĕttendes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>friend, frēonde</td>
<td>hĕttende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>frēonde</td>
<td>hĕttende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>friend, frēond</td>
<td>hĕttend, -de; -das</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>frēonda</td>
<td>hĕttendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>frēondum</td>
<td>hĕttendum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like frēond (EWS. also frīond; Ps. R.¹ frēond, North. frēond, friond L. R.², frīond Rit.) are declined fēond, enemy (EWS. also fīond, Ps. R.¹ fēond, fīond, plur. also fīienda, -um Ps.; North. fīond R.² L. Rit., L. also once fīend; WS. plur. fīend, fēond, gen. fēonda, beside the plurals gefrīend, mutual friends; gefriend, mutual enemies); gōddōnd, benefactor (plur. gōddēnd El. 359). The disyllables, like āgend, owner; dēmend, judge; Hǣlend, Nērgend, Savior; wealdend, ruler; wīgend, warrior, are all declined like hĕttend, 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 frēonde, fēonde (probably Anglian; there is only one frīonde (L.) recorded in Ps. North.). fēond, enemy, has a dat. fēonde. The nom. plur. in Ps. is frēond, fēond, fīond (159. 5), and so occasionally in WS. texts; R.¹ has fēondas, fīondas; North. R.² frīondas, frēondas, -e; L. frēondas, frīondas, frēondo, and R.² L. Rit. fīondas (also L. fīondes), and so frequently in the poetry frēondas, fēondas.
Note 2. The commonest forms for the nom. acc. plur. of polysyllables are heıttend and the adjective-formation heıttende; a few soon take in the prose the ending -das: wealdendas, lufiendas, æfterfylgendas already in Alfred; a few also occur in the poetry: byrgendas, ęhtendas. 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 swelgend, whirlpool, confined to the strictly scholastic literature: løndbûend, female settler; ðeōs wealdend, female ruler; ðeōs fëond, female enemy (translating hœc præsul, hostis); timbrend, female builder, etc. Nothing certain can be determined respecting their declension.

Note. swelgend has a dat. acc. sing. swelgende, and therefore has gone completely over to the á-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. i-declension, both the short stems, like spreœ, sife, gedyre (263. 2), and the long stems, like flæsc, hœl, gehield, etc. (267. a); cf. also læmb, cœlf (290, note 1); then, with change of gender, the masculines beœ, ëge, hëte, sige (263, note 4), and the long stems hlæw (hlæw), barrow; hræw (hræw), corpse; gœst (gœst), spirit; North. ðœg, day. In these words the suffixal s has been lost according to 182; the vowel was retained after short stems as ï, 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 umlaut; as, for example, gefōg, geheald (267, note 1), hlāw, hrāw, gāst (250, note 1). Other words which no doubt belong here are felt, felt; sæl, hall (263, note 3); helt, hilt (beside hilt, 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; dōgor, day; ēagor, sea; grandor, crime; hālor, salvation; hrīðer (subsequently also hrūðer), cattle; wildor (beside wildeor, wilddēor, transformed by popular etymology), beast; ēar, ear of corn (from *ahur, North. also ēher, ëhher).

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: dōgor, hālor, hrōðor, sigor, North. ēher, æhher, beside frequent dōg(o)re, hrōðre, etc. Plural forms are dōgor, hrīðeru, wildru, ēar (North. ëhera and ëhras).

Note 1. The gender of salor, hocor, ēagor, grandor, hālor 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 sige, become masculine. ēagor and grandor are scarcely found save as the first element of compounds.

Note 2. By-forms without r are common (288): sæl — salor; ēag- — ēagor; hāl — hālor; hrōð- (in compounds like hrōðhiorde, hrōðfald) — hrōðer; North. dōg — dōgor; sige — sigor masc.

Note 3. The older suffixal s may possibly be preserved in Hēns- in the word Hēnsbrōc, the name of a place, if the form corresponds to ON. hōns, hens; then, with metathesis, in ðrūstfel, leprosy, Goth. prūtsfēl; perhaps hūsc, hūx, derision (for *hūcs), 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 ləmb, lamb; cəalf, calf; æg, egg. The declension is:

Sing. N. A. ləmb
cəalf
Æg
G. ləmbes
cəalfes
Æges
D. I. ləmbe
cəalf
dəge

Plur. N. A. ləmbru
cəalfru
Ægru
G. ləmbru
cəalfra
Ægra
D. I. ləmbrum
cəalfrum
Ægrum

Note 1. The sing. of these words frequently has i-umlaut; so always Ps. cəlf, North. cəlf and cəlf L., and more rarely (Rit.) ləmb as well as ləmb (288, note 1; the umlaut of æg depends, on the other hand, on the internal g). Beside ləmb there is a sing. ləmbor, and beside æg a longer form æger- in ægerfelma, egg-skin, ægergelu, yolk. In Ps. the nom. acc. plur. is also cəlfur, ləmbur, beside cəlf- eru, ləmberu (but gen. ləmbra), North. R.2 ləmbor, L. ləmb(o)ro, ləmbor, Rit. calfero. In LWS. the whole plural is frequently formed without r; lamb, gen. lambe, dat. lambum, etc.; and there is even a masc. plur. cəalfas.

Note 2. cild, child, is in general declined like word (238), and hence has plur. cild, etc. (North. also cildo); yet sometimes there occurs a plur. cildru, -eru, gen. cildra (the latter also in R.1). Ælfric 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. brēdrus, crumbs, from brēad, bread; hānedru, from hāned, coitus; lēower, lēvera, from lēow (Cod. Dipl. lēuw), ham; gen. plur. speldra, from speld, torch (dat. plur. māedrum, from *mēd, measure?); North. L. stāner, R.2 stānemr, plur. of masc. stān, stone; of short stems the plur. scerero, -oro, -uru, shears Ep. Erf. Corp., belonging with seear, plowshare, which is regularly declined according to 238, besides the plur. tant. hāteru, garment.
DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

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 ilca (339); the cardinal numbers from 2 upwards, so far as they are declined like adjectives (324 ff.); ōōer, the second (328); and a number of adjectives like eall, all; genōg, enough; mōnig, many. Of the weak declension are the comparatives, the superlatives in -ma, and the ordinals from 3 upward.

Note 2. The adjectives wōn(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 hwæt, active; for the long stems, gōd, good; for polysyllables, hālig, holy. The variations from the noun-declension are indicated in 1) and 2) by italics:

1) Short Stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MASC.</th>
<th>NEUT.</th>
<th>FEM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
<td>hwatu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hwates</td>
<td></td>
<td>hwætre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>hwatum</td>
<td></td>
<td>hwætre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>hwætne</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
<td>hwate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>hwate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>hwate</td>
<td>hwatu, -o</td>
<td>hwata, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td></td>
<td>hwatra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td></td>
<td>hwatum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Declension of Adjectives

#### §2) Long Stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N. V.</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>göd</td>
<td>göd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gödes</td>
<td>gödre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>gödum</td>
<td>gödre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>göde</td>
<td>göde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>göde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V.</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. göde</td>
<td>göd</td>
<td>göda, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gödra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>gödum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### §3) Polysyllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. N. V.</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hälig</td>
<td>hälig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hälges</td>
<td>häligré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>hälgum</td>
<td>häligré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>häligne</td>
<td>hälige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>hälge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V.</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hälge</td>
<td>häligu, -o</td>
<td>hälga, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hälgu, -o; hälig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>häligrá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hälgum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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, häligo.

**Note 2.** In very old (Kent. ?) texts, the dat. sing. masc. and neut. sometimes ends in -em: mīnem, 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, hälig.

**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:
sumere, sumera, like gödere, gödera, etc.; -re, -ra remain only in the case of polysyllables: háligre, etc.

Note 5. In North. the gen. sing. masc. and neut. also ends in -æs, and the gen. dat. sing. fem. in -ræ; the nom. plur. has the ending -e, more rarely -æ, but very frequently (especially in Rit.) -o.

294. Like hwæt are declined the few OE. adjectives with a short stem, like til, useful; sum, a certain; hol, hollow; dol, dull; tom, tume; bær, bare; blæc, black; glæd, glad; hraed, speedy; læt, late; waer, wary; as well as the compounds in -sum, -some, and -lie, -ly.

Note 1. The paradigm hwæt shows at the same time the modifications which the radical vowel æ undergoes, according to 49; 50. In distinction from the noun, the vowel æ is here actually limited, as a rule, to forms with a closed radical syllable: hwæt — hwates, in contrast with daeg — daeges, faet — faetes, etc. Yet there are many irregularities: stræc (beside stree; or stræc ?), obstinate, and hraed, hraed, nimble, often preserve the æ in an open syllable, even before a guttural vowel, as in stræcum; blæc, black, has usually a in a closed radical syllable in LWS.: blac, blacne, blacre, blacra (or blæc, etc.); so less frequently in the case of other adjectives.

Note 2. In Ps. the adjectives in -sum have, not -sumu, but -sum in the nom. sing. fem. (Zeuner, p. 138). In the older period, -lec-often stands for -lie before a vocalic ending.

295. Like göd are declined the majority of the OE. adjectives: cæld, old; hāl, whole; hēah, high; rōf, vigorous; fyrn, old (originally an i-stem, as the umlaut shows), and many others.

Note 1. Words in h, like ðweorh, transverse; gefearh, farrowing; sceolh, squinting (only weak sceola); fah, hostile; flæh, deceitful; gemāh, importunate; hēah, high; hroth, rough; sceoh, shy; tōh, tough; gewlōh, adorned; wōh, wrong; riūh, rough, drop the h in polysyllabic forms; those having a vowel before the h contract, for the most part, according to 110 ff.; hence ðweorh — ðwēores (218; 242; Ps. ðwerh according to 164. 1, but dat. sing. ðweorum, weak ðweora, with u- and o/a-umlaut after loss of the h, Zeuner, p. 85),
but wōh, nom. sing. fem. wō (for *wōhu), gen. etc. wōs, wō(u)m, wōne, wō, plur. wōra, 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 hēara, hēahra (222. 2); dat. hēam and hēaum; Angl. hēh (163), but dat. hēam from *hēhum, acc. hēane (165, note 3), weak hēa from *hēh, as in WS. rūh has gen. rūwes, etc. (cf. 116, note).

In LWS. forms with -g- are very general instead of the contracts: hēages, hēagum, hēage; woges, wogum, wōge; likewise ruges, 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 grimm, fierce; still, quiet; wōnn, dusky; dimm, dark; deall, proud; eall, all, simplify the geminate (231) before any termination beginning with a consonant, and, as a rule, when final: grim(m), grimme, grimre, grimra, but grimmes, grimmum, etc. Nevertheless, ll often remains before consonants: eallre, eallra, eallne, etc.

296. To the polysyllables, which are declined like hālig (North. also hālig), belong especially the derivatives in -ig, like cādig, fortunate; fāmig, foamy; hrēmig, clamorous; mōnig, many a (North. also mēnig); in -el, -ol, like lŷtel, little; micel, large; yfel, evil; hnitol, pushing with the horns; sticol, sharp; sweotol, manifest; in -er, -or, like fæger, fæger, fair; biter, bitter, bitter; snotor, snottor, wise; in -en, like hēden, heathenish; gilpen, boastful; besides the adjectives denoting material, like gylden, golden; īren, iron; stānen, 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, stāegen, 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; hefug, 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): sweotoles, sweotole; but not always when it arose from syllabic r in the form without ending: fægeres and fægres (fægres?), etc. On the contrary, micel is always treated like a long stem, and yfel very frequently so; that is, they undergo syncope of the middle vowel: micles, 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 hāligu, lītelu (beside sporadic forms with u, like rēotugu, lachrymose; lītulu), not hālgu; not till later do we encounter forms like cōwru, hlūtru, 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: gyldeenne, ireenne; fægerre, snotterra, 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: ôôre, ôôra, 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 (nëewe), new (Goth. niujis), with its by-form nēowe (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, niwra; or nēowne, etc.

Note 2. frio, fréo, free, Ps. frea, stem *frija- (114. 2; 166, note 6), contracts the vowel of the root with that of the suffix in the
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. fréoh, together with (un)gebléoh, beside (un)gebléo, (dis)colored (from the stem *blíja-, 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 -u, -o in the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut.; in other respects they are declined like the pure o-stems. Paradigm: grēne, green.

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V. grēne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēnu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>grēnes</td>
<td>grēnre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td>grēne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. grēnee</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A. grēne</td>
<td>grēnu, -o</td>
<td>grēna, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>grēnra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note. Words with mute + liquid or nasal before the e, like gífre, greedy; sýfre, sober; fæcene, malicious, insert a vowel before the r, n when an unlike consonant follows: sýferne, fæcenra; on the other hand, acc. sing. masc. fæcene for *fæcenne, gen. plur. sýfra for *sýfrra, 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; cyme, comely; dierne, secret; dryge, dry; fæcene, deceitful; gífre, greedy; ierre, angry; sēfte, soft; swēte, sweet; sýfre, sober; then verbal adjectives like gēnge, current; genāme, acceptable; those in -ede (rarely -ode, OS. -ōdi), like hēalede,
herniosus; hōcede, hooked; hoferede, humpbacked; those in -ihte (very rarely -iht, LWS. also -ihtig), like stānihte, stānihte, stoney; ōrnihte, thorny; and the numerous ones in -bāre, like væstmārere, fruitful.

Note 1. A few adjectives fluctuate between this declension and that of the simple o-stems: smelt and smylte, serene; strong and strenge, strong; unlǣd and unlǣde, wretched. Beside sēfte, LWS. has sōfte, without umlaut (by analogy with the adv. sōfte, 315, note 3).

Note 2. Not a few adjectives have been transferred to this from the i- 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 celyu (cylew), spotted; *medu, in medewa win, must. They are declined as follows:

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</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>gearuwum</td>
<td>gearore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>gearone</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V.</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
<td>gearwa, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
<td>gearora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. A middle vowel frequently stands before the w: gearuwe, gearowe, gearuwum, etc. LWS. frequently generalizes the w: gearuw, gear(u)wne, gear(u)wre, gear(u)wra, etc. Of sporadic occurrence are also forms like baswere, 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; glēaw, prudent; hnēaw, miserly; hrēaw, raw; gesēaw, juicy; (ge)hlēow, sheltered; rēow, rough; dēow; serving (in dēow man, wifman, usually declined weak); rōw, gentle.

Note 1. The plur. tant. fēawe, few (Goth. fawai), usually contracts in the poetry to fēa, dat. fēam (fēaum), 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.1), except that it generally forms its nom. acc. as fēawa, following fela (275). The word is wanting in L. Rit. R.2.

Note 2. The w is lost by contraction in wēa, wretched, if this belongs to OHG. wēwo, 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; frēme, strenuous; gemyne, mindful (beside gemun, 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 lÝthwōn, a little; gen. lÝtes in the adv. lÝtis-nā, lÝtes-nā, lÝtestne, 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: brÝce, useful; swēte, sweet; blÝdē, friendly; gedÝfe, suitable; gemãne, common; compare Goth. brûks, sûts, bleip, gadôfs, gamains.
5. **u-STEMS**

303. The only certain relics of the adjective u-declension are *wlæcu, tepid*, beside *wlæc*, 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. *cwice*) 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, cuconne* (231, note 3), and further *c(w)ucene, c(w)ucenne*, also *cwicen(u)e*. All the other forms, and so frequently the acc. sing. masc., are formed as if from a nom. c(w)uc 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; gleaw, sagacious*, with Goth. *hardus, glaggwus; ægle, troublesome; hneasce* (North. L. *hneasce*, R.² plur. *hnisca*, but R.¹ *nasceum*), soft; *twelfwintre, twelve years old*, with Goth. *aglus, hnasqus, and twalibwintrus*. Occasionally doublets are found: *smōð, smooth; strong, strong; gnēað, miserly*, beside *smēðe, strenge, ungnyðe* (299, note 1).

### B. WEAK DECLENSIÓN

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.*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V. gōda</td>
<td>gōde</td>
<td>gōde</td>
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<td>G.</td>
<td>gōdan</td>
<td>gōdan</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>gōdan</td>
<td>gōde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. gōdan</td>
<td>gōde</td>
<td>gōdan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>gōdra, (-ena)</td>
<td>gōdum</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.</td>
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<td>D. I.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Note 1. LWS. occasionally has a nom. sing. masc. in -an, as in sē forman dæg, sē tēoān dæl.

Note 2. A gen. plur. in -ena (also rarely -ana, -na), like gōdena, 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 -au) 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, læssan, 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 hēol; dat. sing. hrēon, from hrēoh; 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.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. V.</td>
<td>giefende</td>
<td>giefende</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>giefendes</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>giefendum</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A. giefendne</td>
<td>giefende</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>giefende</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. V. A.</td>
<td>giefende</td>
<td>giefendu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>giefendra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</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; áccósan, elect; nērian, save.

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hāten</td>
<td>hāten</td>
<td>hātenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ácoren</td>
<td>ácoren</td>
<td>ácoren(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genêred</td>
<td>genêred</td>
<td>genêred(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ácorena</td>
<td>ácorena</td>
<td>ácoren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genêreda</td>
<td>genêreda</td>
<td>genêrede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. The nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. in -u 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, ácoren, genêred.

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. -iza and the Goth. -őza. 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 — glæдра; fæger, fair — fægerra; gearo, ready — gearora (EWS. likewise gearra, later also gearuwra, cf. 300, note). Only a few form the comparative with i-umlaut, like eald, old — ieldra; grēat, great — grietra; geong, young — gingra (Ps. gingra, beside iungra, gungra, North. R.² gingra, beside L. giungra; cf. also 157, note 1); seeort, short — seyrtra; brād, broad — brāдра, beside the usual brāдра; hēah, high — hierra,
hyrra (222.2), beside hiëhra and hëahra (Late Kent. also hëgra), Ps. R.² L. hëra, Rit. hëra.

308. The comparatives are declined like weak adjectives (304).

Note. Now and then there occur compounds with comparison of both elements: lënglîfra, from lônglîfe, long-lived; mäfealdra, from mönigfeald, manifold (on lëng- and mä- see 323; compare also Scint. lëngtogran, prolîxiora, and the poetic mäcraeftigra, beside mäcraeftig).

2. SUPERLATIVE

309. The shortest form of the superlative ends in -ost (beside -ust, -ast), more rarely in -est: lëof, dear — lëofoost; heard, hard — heardost; hwæt, sharp — hwat-ost; rîce, rich — rîc(e)ost; but strong, strënge, strong — strëngest.

310. The superlative, like the comparative (307), but seldom takes i-umlaut: eald — ieldest; lônq — lëngest; ströng — strëngest (Ps. also ströngest); geong — ging-est (Ps. gungesta, L. gingesta, beside giungesta), sceort — scyrtest; hëah has hiehst, hỳhst, beside hëahest, hëahst, and hëhst, 108.2 (Ps. R.² L. Rit. hësta, L. Rit. heista, L. also heigsta, heeist (166.6), EWS. sporadically also hïgest, Kent. hëgest).

Note. These superlatives with umlaut have also a by-form in -ust, -ost: lëngust, or occasionally later shortening to -st: gingst, yltst.

311. With regard to the inflection, the strong declension of superlatives is almost entirely confined to that shorter form in -ost, -est 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, lëngesta, gingesta (syncope also in LWS.: yldsta, lëngsta, gingsta, strëngsta); rarely -osta, -usta, as in sëlosta (312), ërusta (313), or shortened from the very first to -sta: hïehsta, hïhsta; níehsta, nìhsta (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. bèt(e)ra, bèttra</th>
<th>sup. bèt(e)st, infl. bètsta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>sëlla, sëlra</td>
<td>sëlest, -ost, sëlestà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfel, bad</td>
<td>wiersa</td>
<td>wierrest(a), wiersta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micel, great</td>
<td>mëra</td>
<td>mëst(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lëtel, small</td>
<td>lëssa</td>
<td>lëst(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. Beside bètest, bèst(a) (the latter the commonest form in WS. prose), bèost also occurs (310, note). For wiersa R.¹ North. have wyrsa, for wierresta Ps. R.¹ North. wyrresta (156. 4). The neuter noun më, Ps. R.¹ më, L. maa, më, belongs with mëra, and in like manner sël (older and in L. sël) with sëlla, sëlra (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,
R. 1 læssa). The Kentish Laws have one instance of an ancient form, læresta, with grammatical change.

Note 2. Probably elligra, the other; elligra, 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:

feor, far       comp. fierra       sup. fierrest(a)
neah, near     "    nærra        "    nierst(a), nyhst(a)
ær, earlier    "    ärra          "    ærest(a)
fore, before   "    furðra        "    fyrest(a), the first

Note. feor is sometimes an adj. in poetry; the Gloses have one example of néagum as an adj. in the dative, from néah. On LWS. néahst(a), néhst(a), nyxt(a) see 108. 2; on Ps. North. nēsta (L. also neista) see 166. 6 (but R. 1 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:

(sūd, late)       comp. sūdra       sup. sūdeman, sūdest
(læt, late)       "    lætra       "    lætemest
(inne, within)    "    innerra      "    innemest
(ūte, without)    "    ūterra, yterra "    ū(e)mest, ū(e)mest
(ufan, from above) "    yferra, uferra "    yfemest, ufemest, ūmest
(niðan, from below) "    niðerra "    niðemest, niðemest
(fore, before)    "    furðra       "    forma, fyrmest
(after, after)    "    æsterra      "    æstemest
(mid, mid)        "    —           "    midmest
(nord, northward) "    norðerra, nyrðra "    norðmest
(sūð, southward)  "    süðerra, syðerra "    süðmest
(ēast, eastward)  "    ēasterra       "    ēastmest
(west, westward)  "    westerra       "    westmest
Note 1. Beside the comparatives in -erra there frequently appear forms with simple r: innera, ûtera, ufera, niðera, etc., and shortened forms in -ra after a long radical syllable: innra, ût(t)ra (ûttra), æfttra, norðra, 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 -mast), which seems to indicate analogy with the superlative maest.

Note 3. ÿmest probably has no etymological relation with yfemest, but is to be equated with Goth. auhmists.

APPENDIX

FORMATION OF ADVERBS

315. Adjectival adverbs have the ending -e: heard, hard — hearde; söð, true — söðe; nearo, narrow — nearwe; sweotul, manifest — sweotule; hlútor, clear — hlütre; wid, wide — wide. If the adjective itself ends in -e, the adverb is identical with it: clæne, clean; gedēfe, suitably.

Note 1. Thus also a few adverbs in -e, to which there are no corresponding adjectives: ðredre, promptly; some, likewise; snēome, quickly.

Note 2. The adverbs of the short-stemmed adjectives with æ (294) fluctuate between a and æ: (h)raðe and (h)raðe, quickly; smæle and smæle, finely?

Note 3. From sōfte, soft; swēte, sweet; myrge, merry; ðenge, narrow, the adverbs are sōfte, swōte, murge, ðenge (sad), without umlaut (once archaic clāne, from clāne, pure); so smoltlīce (316), from smylte, serene; on the other hand, ðædre, from þædor, 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 heardlīce;
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; gěna, again; geostra, yesterday; gīeta (also giet), yet; singāla (also singāle and singāles), always; sōna, soon; tela, teala, properly; the numeral adverbs tuwa, ōriwa (331); and North. eōda, oōda, for which elsewhere oōde 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; callunga, entirely; ēawunga, publicly; eorringga, ier- ringa, angrily; hōlinga, secretly; wēninga, perhaps. Along with these are formations with -unga, etc.: grundlunga, -linga, completely; unmyndlunga, 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; i-umlaut of the radical syllable is rare, unless the basic word already had the umlaut: āninga, beside ānunga, āninga, entirely; sēmninga, beside sōnnunga, suddenly.

319. The case-forms of adjectives are sometimes employed as adverbs. Accusative adverbs of this sort are: lýtel, lýt, little; genōg, enough; fyrn, gefyrn, formerly; full, fully; hēah (late also hēage, 295), high; ungemet (beside dat. ungemete and gen. ungemetes), extraordinarily; and those in -weard, like upweard,
sūðweard. Among genitives are: ealles, altogether; nealles (nalles, nalas, nalæs, nals), not at all; elles otherwise; micles, very; simbles, singāles, always; samtēnges, together; gēarlanges, a year long; dæglanges, all day long; nihtlanges, all night long; ungewisses, unconsciously; wēas (?), by chance; ēndemes (later ēndemēst), equally; lītes- in lītesnā (EWS. lītisnā, LWS. lītestne), almost; the pronominal hwæt-huguniningas, somewhat, etc. (344, note 2); several in -weardes, -wards, like upweardes, sūðweardes; others with a prepositional prefix like tōgegnes, against; tōmiddes, in the midst. Datives comprise such as niclum, very; lītlum, 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; idæges, and LWS. þydaeges, the same day; (un)dōnces, (un)willingly; Godes dōnces, thank God; willes, selfwilles, unwilles, (un)willingly; gewealdes, of one's own power; ungewealdes, unwillingly (these also compounded with adjectives and pronouns); nēades, nīdes, needs; ōōres healfes, on the other side; instēpes (beside dat. instēpe), immediately; and in certain phrases with prepositions and adverbs: tō æfēnes, in the evening; tō nōnes, at noon; tō ùhtes, at dawn; tō geflites, emulously; tō mēdes, as reward; tō gifes, gratis; hū gerādes, how; gehū elles, how else; hū gēares, at what time of year; gen. plur.: hū meta, how; hū nytana, wherefore; hūru ēinga, especially; ānge ēinga, anyhow;
nænge, nāne 记者了解, not at all; ेrest 了解, first of all; ेne 了解, once, etc. (331). The instrumental occurs, for example, in 了解, very; 了解 (earlier 了解, 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>Whither?</th>
<th>Whence?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðær, there</td>
<td>ðider</td>
<td>ðonan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwær, where</td>
<td>hwider</td>
<td>hwonan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hër, here</td>
<td>hinder</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>uppe, up</td>
<td>up(p)</td>
<td>uppan, ufan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, below</td>
<td>nīðor</td>
<td>niodan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, before</td>
<td>forð</td>
<td>foran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, behind</td>
<td>hinder</td>
<td>hindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, east</td>
<td>ēast</td>
<td>ēastan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, west</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>westan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, north</td>
<td>norð</td>
<td>norðan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, south</td>
<td>sūð</td>
<td>sūðan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feor(r), far</td>
<td>feor(r)</td>
<td>feorran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēah, near</td>
<td>nēar</td>
<td>nēan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The missing adverbs of rest are replaced by prepositional compounds like be-niodan, be-foran, be ēastan, on innan, etc.

Note 1. Beside the adverbs in -an, there are those in -on, and, in longer form, -ane, -one: ufon, ufane, etc. (in the case of this adverb also ufan). In North, these adverbs lose the final n: ōna, hwōna, ufa, etc.
Note 2. For ēår, hwår, LWS. has ēår, hwår. From hwår are also formed gehwår; ēghwår, ēgehwarz; (ge)welhwår, welgehwarz, everywhere; ēhwår, ōhwår, anywhere; nāhwår, nōhwår, nowhere, with their by-forms āwēr, ōwēr, etc. (43, note 4; 57, note 2; 222. 2; later also ōwār, etc.). Similar compounds of hwider and hwənai are ēghwider, ēghwənən and ōhwənən (North. ōmuana), etc. Emphatic by-forms of ēår and hwår are ēārə (āara ?) and hwəra (hwara ?), in hwəathwəra, little by little.

Note 3. Beside ēider there is an archaic form ēæder, and beside hider also hidere. Of similar formation is ofere, from above. Hither and thither is designated by hider (ond, ne) ēider, beside hidres ēædres (didres, sporadically hider ideres), with the genitive ending; for here and there, hidenofer and geonofer.

The comparative of such an adverb of place is found only as an exception: hideror oðde 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, -ost of the corresponding adjectives: heardor — heardost; strongor — strongost; leoflicor — leoflicost.

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 i-umlaut. These are: bet, better; wiers, wyrs, worse; mā, mae, more; læs, less; ær, earlier; sid, later; fierr, farther; læng, longer; sæl (early and North. sæl), better; seft, softer; leð, easier; tylg, more willingly; end, before (?); exceptionally occurs also nyr, nearer, beside regular nær. To some of these no corresponding positives are found.

Note. These adverbs correspond to the Goth. adverbs in -is, -s, like batis, scips; the ending -is, -s, is lost, according to 133; 182.
CHAPTER III. NUMERALS

1. CARDINALS

324. The first three numerals are declinable in all cases and genders.

1. ān is declined like a strong adjective, according to the paradigm god (293. 2), but usually takes in the acc. sing. masc. the form æenne (from *ānina, *ainina, compare ON. mininō on the runic stone of Strand; the shortening of the vowel in æenne, from āenne, is proved by the spelling enne Ps. R.¹ R.² L. Rit.; but also æenne R.¹ and more rarely L.), beside later ānne; the instr. has āene (so also Ps. Rit.), beside later āne (so also R.² L.).

Plural forms are found with the meaning only, and in the phrase ánra gehwylc, each one; āna, declined as weak, signifies alone.

2. 


N. A. twēgen tū, twā twā
G. twēg(e)a, twēgra
D. twēm, twām

Note 1. So is declined bēgen, both: fem. bā, neut. bū, gen. bēg(r)a, dat. bām, bām. The monosyllabic forms of these two words are often used conjointly: masc. fem. bā twā, neut. bū tū (also būtwu, būta), dat. bām twām.

For twēgen occurs Kent. twēgen; Ps. has twēgen, neut. tū, gen. twēga; R.¹ twēgen, twēge(n), twā, neut. tū, twā, gen. twēgra, dat. twām; North. R.² twēge, twēge (tū ?), fem. twā, neut. tuu, twā, tuō, twēg, gen. twēgra, dat. twām; L. twēge, -o (tuēge, tuēge), tuēg, tuēg, tuē, tuu, gen. tuēge, tuēgera (*ara ?), tuēra, dat. twām (tuēm), Rit. twēgi, -o; tuu, gen. twēgra.

bēgen has oe when early and in North.: bēge R.² L. (beside bēgo L., but bēgen and bā R.²; fem. bā Rit., neut. bū R.¹), gen. bēga Cod. Dipl., dat. bām (beside bām) Cod. Dipl. (North. bām L.).

For bēgen sometimes occurs later the spelling beggen, which seems to indicate shortening of the ē.
3. **MASC.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>ðrí, ðríæ, (ðry)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ðríæra, ðríæra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ðrím (ðrím)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NEUT.**

| ðríø, ðríø | ðríøra, ðríøra |

**FEM.**

| ðríø, ðríø |

**Note 2.** The length of the i in ðrím is established by the fact of gemination only as respects North. (L.); later texts have also þrym, þream.

Ps. has only (nom.) acc. masc. þræo, R.¹ þræo, dat. þræm; North. R.² þríø, þríæ, dat. þrím; L. ðríø (ðríu), ðræo, ðríæ, gen. ðríæ, ðríæna, dat. ðrím (ðrím ?), ðrím; Rit. ðríø, ðríæ, ðríæ, ðríga, gen. ðríæ.

325. The numbers from 4 to 19, when attributively used, are not generally inflected (numerous exceptions in North.). They are:

4. fœower, LWS. sporadically fœowor, -ur; Kent. fœower Mart.; Merc. Ps. R.¹ fœower-; North. R.² fœower, L. fœ(o)wer, fœ(o)uer, fœur, -oer, fœwri, fœor (and fear-), in fearfald, fourfold, Rit. fœwer, beside fœo(v)r̃tig, forty; add LWS. fyder-, Ps. féod̃ur-, R.² L. féod̃or-, in compounds like fyderfote, fourfooted, etc.

5. fif, uniform, with examples also in Merc. North.: R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

6. siex, later six, syx, and also seox, seax; Old Kent. siox-, beside sex Cod. Dipl.; Merc. North. sex R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

7. siofon, -an, WS. sefoñ, -an, later also syfon, -an, -en (sufon); EWS. sibun- Corp., sifun- Ep.; Merc. Ps. seofen, R.¹ seofun, siofu; North. R.² siofu, -o, L. seofo, -a (sporadically seofon, sefo); see also under 70.

8. cahta, LWS. ehta (108. 2); Merc. æhta, in Ps. hundaæhtatig; North. R.² æhtowe (compare ehtuwe Rid.), L. æhto, -u (cahtu), æhtum, æhtun, Rit. æhta, -o; see also under 80.

9. nigon, -an, also nigen (in a charter of about 840); later also nignon, nygon, -an, sporadically neogan; Merc. R.¹ nignon, North. infl. R.² nione, L. nigona, -e; see also under 90.

10. tien, WS. týn, and less pure WS. also tēn; Kent. Merc. tēn Cod. Dipl. Ps. R.¹; North. R.² tēn, tēo, tēa; L. Rit. tēa; see also under 100.

11. en(d)lefan EWS. (Or.), WS. endleofan, also -lefan, -lifan, -lyfan, -lufan, also with final -un, -on, or beginning with æn-, ænd-; Merc. R.¹ enlefan; North. R.² infl. ællefne, L. ællef.
12. twelf, Old Kent. twelf, tuelf Cod. Dipl.; Merc. R.¹ twælf, twelf; North. R.¹ twelf, L. tuelf, tuælf, Rit. tvælf.

13. *driotyne, WS. drēotyne, -tēne, also drcottyné, etc. (230, note), late sporadic pryttēne; no instances in Kent. Angl.

14–19. fēower-, fif-, siex-, siofon-, eahta-, nigontiene, -tīne, -tēne, 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. fife, neut. fifu, -o, gen. fifa, dat. fifum (dat. eahtum Bede).

Note. In Ps. such forms do not occur; R.¹ fife, tēne, twelfe, fêowertēne, gen. siofuna; North. R.² fife, siofune, -unæ, -one, aēhtowe, nione, tēne, ællefne, twelfe, fiftēne, beside sexu, -o, tēnu, -o, dat. aēhtowum, ællefnum, twelfum; L. fēvere, nigone, tēne, beside seofona, -ana, nigona and fē(o)werō (fēuero), fifo, seofono, tēno (-u), tuêlfco (twêlfo, etc.), fêowertēno, gen. twælfα (tuælyfa), dat. fêowrum, fifum, seofanum (seofonum, seofum), tēnum (tēnum, tēwum), ællefnum, -om, twêlfum (twêlfum, etc.), fiftēnum; Rit. fēoero, fîfo, tēno.

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. twēntig or twentig; North. R.² twægentig, L. tuāntig, tuentig.

30. ðritteig, later often ðrittig; Merc. R. ðritig, ðrittig; North. R.² ðrittig, L. ðrittig, -h, ðrit(e)ih, Rit. ðrittig.

40. fêowertig, so also Merc. Ps. R.¹ and North. R.²; L. fêortig, -h, fêuortig, foertig, fêowertig, Rit. fêortig, fêovrtig.

50. fiftig; so also R.² Rit.; L. fîf(e)ig, -t(e)ih.

60. siextig, later sixtig, syxtig, and less pure WS. also sextig; Merc. North. R.¹ R.² sextig, L. sext(e)ig, -tih, -dig, -deih.

70. hundsiofontig, -antig, WS. hundseofontig, -antig, later also -syfontig, etc. (seofontig already in Or., beside hundseofontig);
Merc. Ps. hundseofentig, R.¹ hundseofuntig; North. R.² hund-sifontig, -sifuntig, L. (h)undseofontig, hundseofuntig, unse(o)-funtig, unseofontig, Rit. hundseofontig.

80. hundeahtatig (beside simple eahtatig already in Or.); Merc. Ps. hundæhtatig; North. R.² hundæhtetig, L. hundhæhtatig.

90. hundnigontig, -nigantig, sporadically also -niogontig, -nygentig, etc.; Merc. R.¹ hundnigontig; North. R.² hundnîontig, L. hundnêantig, -tih, hundnêontig.

100. hun(d)teantig; Merc. R.¹ hundtêantig, -têontig; North. R.² hun(d)têantig, L. hun(d)têantig, -h, -teig, Rit. hunteantig.

110. hundællefigtig- Cura Past., later hundendlyftig, hundend-, -ændleftig, etc.

120. hundtwêlffigcaption; 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.: ðrittiges, fiftiges, etc.; but have also gen. -tiga, -tiga, beside -tiga, dat. -tegum, -tigun. In some later texts they are wholly indeclinable.

Note 1. The inflected forms of Ps. are hundæhtatiges and feower-, hundseofentigum; R.¹ hundseofuntigum; R.² twægen-, feower-, fift-, hunteantigum; L. sexteiges, ðrittiges, and tuœn-, fift-, unseofuntigum; Rit. hunteantigum, and feovr-, fift-, hunteantigum.

Note 2. Prefixed numbers below ten are (so far as can be determined) usually in the neut., and remain undeclined, like þara twâ and twentigra manna; only the monosyllabic datives, twâm and órim, are also usual in this position.

327. Beside hundtêontig, there is a simple neut. hund (ān hund) and neut. hundred (so also R.; North. R.² hundrêd, -cd, L. Rit. hundrað, beside -æd L.) for 100.
200–900 are generally formed with the neut. hund: tū hund, šrió hund, etc.; less frequently with hund-teontig and hundred.

1000 is neut. ũūsend, gen. -des, dat. -de; the plural is ũūsendu (-o, -a, sporadic -e) — but frequently uninflected, ũūsend — gen. -da (sporadic -dra), dat. -dum; Ps. ūūsend(u), dat. -dum, R.1 ūūsenda, -de, R.2 ūūsendo, gen. -da, dat. -dum, L. ūūsend(o), dat. -dum, Rit. ūūsendo, -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 ūūsend siđum hundfealdē ūūsenda = a thousand millions.

2. ORDINALS

328. The ordinal corresponding to 1 is forma (also formesta, fyrmest(a), fyrest(a); also R.1 North. forō-mest, and subst. forwost L., fœrmest, fœrōmest, forwest R.2) or æresta (the first of two is designated by ærra). That corresponding to 2 is ūŌer, or æfterra. The others are:

3. ūridda; Merc. R.1 ľridde, -a, ľrydda; North. R.2 ľrda, L. Rit. ľird(d)a, and rarely L. ūridda.

4. feorða, later also feowerða; Merc. R.1 feorþa, North. R.2 L. feardða, beside L. feorða.

5. fiffa (throughout the language).

6. siexta, sixta, syxta, etc.; Merc. R.1 sexta and syxta, R.2 sesta, sexta, L. Rit. seista, sesta.
7. siofoða, Common WS. seofoða, -eða, etc.; Merc. R.¹ siofundo(a), North. R.² siofunda, L. seofunda, -onda.

8. eahtoða, -eða (ehtoða, etc., § 108. 2), LWS. also e(a)htéoða; Angl. eahtegeda Bede, North. R.² eahtóða, L. eahtédæ, -anda (eahtédæ).

9. nigoða, -eða (later also forms like nigeoða, nygoða, neogoða, etc.); Merc. R.¹ nígoða.

10. têoda; Mart. Bede teogða, North. R.² -tegða, L. teigða, teiða.

11. enlefta Or., later endlifta, -lefta, -leofta, -lufta, þæ(t)lyfta, etc.; Merc. R.¹ ælefta, ellefta, North. L. ælefta.

12. twelfta.

13–19 have WS. -têoða (note LWS. dreottêoða, beside dreotêoða, according to 230, note 1, and e(a)htéoða, beside e(a)htateoða); dialectal also are -teg(e)ða, -teog(e)ða (cahtategða Mart., feower-, fif-, seofentegða, beside cahtategða Later Mart., feower-, seofenteogða, beside fifteogða Bede), North. R.² fiftegða, L. fifteiða.

20–120 end in EWS. in -tigoða (-tiogoða, -tegða, -teogða), but later there occur, beside -tigoða, forms like -tigeða, -tegeða, -teogða, etc.: twentigoða, etc. (feowerteogpa already in Or.), beside sporadic -tega, -tiga (already feowertega Chron.) and LWS. frequently -têoða (already feowertêoða Or.); beside dialectic twentegða Mart., twentigða Bede.

No ordinals are formed corresponding to hund, hundred, and ðúsend, periphrasis being employed instead: se ðe byð on ðám twâm hundredum æftemyst, ducentesimus; se ðe bīð æftemyst on ðúsendgetele, millesimus (Ælfric), etc.

Compound numbers either have the second numeral an ordinal, ðn, twâ (always so as a neut.), ôrî ond twentigoða, etc., or the ordinal of the unit is followed by eac and the dat. of the cardinals denoting the tens: ôridda eac twentigum, 23d; siexta eac fiftigum, 56th, etc.

All ordinals are declined like weak adjectives (304), with the exception of ôðer, which belongs to the strong adjective declension; the superlative forms for the number 1 vary according to 311. Prefixed units are
not declined (with the exception of the monosyllabic datives **twām, twām**, and perhaps **ōrim**; cf. 326, note 2.)

3. OTHER NUMERALS

329. In OE. there are only relics of former distributives.

**Note 1.** The stereotyped poetic forms **twih** and **twēonum**, occurring in phrases like **mid unē twih**, **between ourselves**; **be sēam twēonum**, **between the seas**, are related to Goth. *twēihni*. More usually these forms are combined with the preposition **be** to the purely prepositional **betweoh, betwuh, betuh** (**betwih, betwyh** only in the texts with Anglian coloring, like Bede, Ep. Alex. (but Boeth. also **betwyh**), Angl. **betwih** Ps. R.¹ (here also **betwihc, betwīg**) R.², **bi-**, **betuīh L., bitwih** Rit.), and **betweönun, -san** (rarely later **betwyñan**; Ps. **betwīnum**; also older **bitūihn** Corp., **bitūiicn** Erf., **bituēcn** Ep., Merc. R.¹ **betwīon, betweon**, North. R.² **bitwion**, L. **bi-**, **betwīn, bituēn**, Rit. **bitwīen, bitvīn, bitvēn**, poet. **betwēon**), **between**.

In like manner there arose a preposition **betweox(n)**, **betwux(n)**, **betux** (rare older by-forms **betuoxn**, **betwiux**; later forms like **betwyx** Boeth.; Merc. **betwix, betwihs** R.¹), **betwixt** (compare OHG. **in, untar zuiskēm**).

**Note 2.** The acc. plur. masc. **prinna, three by three**, occurring only once, is probably from Old Norse.

**Note 3.** Otherwise, **one by one** is rendered by **ān-, ānīepige** (Merc. North. adverbial **ānlepum** R.¹, **ānlapum** L.; for **two by two, three by three**, etc. are used the dative formulas **twām ınd twām** (also adj. **getwinne**), **ōrim ınd ōrim, feower ınd feower, ōusendum ınd ōusendum** (also **põsendfuelde**), etc.

330. Multiplicatives are formed by adding the adjective **-feald** to the cardinals: **ānfeald, twie-, twyfeald** (later also **twifeald, twigfeald**), **ōrie-, ōryfeald** (also **ōrio-, ōreofeald**, etc.), **mönigfeald**, etc.

**Note 1.** Ps. has seofenfaldlice, R.¹ **ān-, hundfēantigfald**, R.² **feoforfald, L. twu-, tuufald** (also **tuu-, tuifallice**), **fearfald, seofafallice, tēafald**, Rit. **tvifallico, ōrifald** (**ōriffald**), seofafald, seofafallice.
Note 2. *twiefeald* and *őriefeald* sometimes inflect even the first member in the dat.: *twāmfēaldum, őrmiealdum, őrmiealdre*, etc. (compare also *twēmfēaldum, duplo R.*). From *mōnigfeald* there occurs a double comparative *māfealdra* (308, note).

331. Of simple numeral adverbs in answer to the question *how often?* only the following are in use: *āene*, *once* (rarely gen. *āenes*); *tuwa* (*tuwwa, tua*; also *twiwa, twywa*, *tweowa*, and *twuga, twig(e)a*, later also *twia, twie*, etc.); North. R.² *twiga, -e, L. twiga, -o*, *twice*; and *ősriwa* (*ősrywa, őreowa*; Merc. R.¹ *priowa, priuwa*, North. R.² *őrige, L. őriga, őria*, Rit. *őriga*), *thrice*. All others, including by-forms to those just named, are formed periphrastically by means of *siē*, *journey, time*: *āene siēa* (later *siēe*), *once*; *twēm, őrim, fif, twentigum siēum*, etc.; North. R.² *siofo, tēa siēum, Huntēa(n)-tigum siēa*, L. *fēor, tēa siēum*, and *se(o)fo* (*seofa*), *undseofontig, hun(d)tēantig siēa* (*huntēantig siēo*); likewise on *āenne siē*, etc.

Note. *The first, second, third time*, etc., is expressed by *forman, ődre, őriddan siē*, etc.
CHAPTER IV. PRONOUNS

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF GENDER

First Person

332. Sing. N. ic

G. min
D. me
A. me (mec)

Dual N. wit

G. uncer
D. unc
A. unc (uncit?)

Plur. N. we

G. ure (us(s)er)
D. us
A. us (usic)

Second Person

ðū
ðín
ðē
ðē
ðē (ðec)

Git
inc
inc (incit)
gē
ëower, iower
eow, iow (ëowic)

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 ic, there occurs the negative nic, nice, with the meaning no.

Note 3. In we, gé, 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. ic, min, me, mec (mic, me), plur. wē, ūr, ûs, ûsic (ûs); R. ic (nic), min, me, mec (mē), dual wit, —, unc, unc, plur. wē (wæ, wē), ūrc, ûs, ûsic (ûs); North. R. ic (ih), min, me, mec, plur. wē, ūser, ûs, ûsih; L. ic (ih, ich), min, me, mec (meh, mech), plur. wē (wæ, wē), ūser, ûs (ûsic, -ig), ûsic (-ich, -ih, -ig), Rit. ic, —, me, mec (mehc), plur. wē, ūser (ûsra, ûsigra), ûs, ûsig; b) second person: Merc. Ps. ðū, ðín, ðē (ðē), ðec (ðē; sporadic ðæc), plur. gē, —, ëow, ëowic (ëow); R. ðū, ðín, ðē, ðec (ðēh), dual git, dat. inc, plur. gē, ëower, ëow, ëowic (ëow); North. R. ðū, ðín, ðē, ðec (ðeh), plur. gē (gee, gie, gi), ñower (ñowera, ñowre), dat. acc. promiscuously ñow, ñowih (ñowh, ñoh); L. ðū, ðín, ðē, ðec (ðeh, ðech),
plur. gē (ge, gee, giae, gē), iwer (iuer; iurre, iuerra,-o), dat. iuh (iowh, iouh, etc.), sporadic iow, iw), acc. iuih (iwiwh, iowih); Rit. ðū, dat. acc. promiscuously ðē, ðec, plur. gē, dat. acc. promiscuously iuh, iuih (iwiwh, iwigh).

In the North. texts the forms me and mec, ðē and ðec are still somewhat distinguished as dat. and acc., but the severance is no longer a strict one; on the forms with iw-, iu-, 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>MASC.</th>
<th>NEUT.</th>
<th>FEM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. hē</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hīo, hēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. his</td>
<td>hier (hire, hyre)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. him</td>
<td>hier (hire, hyre)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hi(e)ne</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hīc (hī, hŷ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. N. A. hīe (hē, hŷ)
G. hiera (hira, hyra); hiora, heora
D. him

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. hīe, hī, hīg, 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, hīne – hit, fem. hīe, hire, hire, hīe, plur. hīe (hīo; hē’), heara, him; R.1 masc. neut. hē – hit, his, him (heom), hīne (hīne) – hit, fem. hīu (hīo, hēo), hire, -æ, hire, hīo (hēo, hīæ, hīe), plur.
heo (hío, hía, hie, híe, híe, hí; hí?), heora (hiora), heom (him); North. R.² masc. neut. hë (hee) – hit, his, him, hine – hit, fem. hío, híre (hir), hír, hía (híæ), plur. híæ (híæ, híe), híora (híara), him; L. masc. neut. hë (hee) – hit, his (is), him, hine – hit, fem. híu (hío, hía), híre (hiræ), hír (híre, -æ), hía (híæa), plur. híæ (híæa, híæe, híæ, hí), híora (híara, híora, híara), him; Rit. masc. hë, his, him, hine, fem. gen. híre (hir), acc. híæa, plur. híæ, híora (híara).

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; dîn, thine; sîn, his; uncer, of us two; incer, of you two; ûre, our; ëower (iower), your. Beside sîn, 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. híera, are also used as possessives.

Note. For ûre, the typical WS. form, the less pure WS. texts, together with the poetry, have also ûser, ûser (once dat. ûssum in Cura Past.). The Angl. forms are: Ps. ur, R.¹ ûre (beside acc. sing. masc. ûserne), North. R.² ûser, L. ûser, ûsa, Rit. gen. ûses, etc. (336, note).

For ëower (so also Ps. R.¹) North. has R.² ëower, L. ëuer, ëver, etc., Rit. ëuer (156. 5).

336. The declension of the possessives is the same as that of the strong adjectives (ûre like grîne, 298; the r-cases very often have simple r: gen. dat. sing. fem. ûre, gen. plur. ûra).

Note. ûser generally assimilates sr to ss in the cases which have syncope of the middle vowel (144; cf. 180): ûses, ûssum, for *ûses, *ûsum, etc.; but ûserne. The double s forces itself, however, even into unsyncopated cases: ûser, ûserne, ûsera. This assimilation is wanting in North. (hence forms like nom. acc. sing.
fem. or nom. plur., etc., ūsra L., ūsera R.\(^2\); in their stead occur by-forms without r, like (nom. ūsa L.) ūses, ūsum R.\(^2\) L. Rit., (nom. plur. ūso L.), etc.

īuer forms in L. Rit. the inflected forms partly with, and partly without, the middle vowel; hence on the one hand forms like īveres (īveres), beside īures, etc., and on the other in L. such also as acc. sing. masc. īurne, gen. plur. īur(r)a, etc. However, the North. declension of īser and īuer (īower) 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, sio, =oæt, 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>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>sē</td>
<td>ȝæt</td>
<td>sio, sëo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>òæs</td>
<td></td>
<td>òære</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>òâm (òæm)</td>
<td></td>
<td>òære</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>òone</td>
<td>ȝæt</td>
<td>òā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>òŷ; òôn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. A.</td>
<td>òā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>òāra (òærə)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>òâm (òæm)</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 sêo is frequently found for sē; still later þê, þêo occur for sē, sëo. — In the older language òære (Kentish? cf. note 3) rarely occurs for òære, and sporadically òâr as dat. sing. Late texts frequently have the forms þâre and þâra. — Besides òone, there occur also òæne and òane, both frequent in LWS. — òâm passes into the LWS. òân (cf. 187). The instrumental òôn (òân) appears but seldom as an attributive; it is chiefly found in phrases of comparison like òôn mā, more than that, and adverbial formulas like for, bi òôn, on that account; after òôn, after that, etc. (on siôðân, syôðan see 107, note 5).
Note 3. Kent. has forms with ē (151. 1), beside those with e, like ēt, ēs, ēre, ēm (ēm); beside ēre also ēre; acc. ēne, beside ēne; instr. ēn, beside ē; gen. plur. ēara, beside ēara (ēara).

Note 4. The inflectional forms of Angl. are (with the exception of ē, ēn, which are always the same): Merc. Ps. masc. neut. sē — sēt (sēt), sēs (1 sēs), sēm, sēne, fem. sē (1 sēo), sēre, sēre, sē, plur. sē, sēara, sēem; R. masc. neut. sē (pē) — pēt, pēs (pēs), pēm (1 pēm), pone (pēne, pēne, pēne, pēne); fem. sō (sīo, sēo; sē), pāre (pāre, -a), pāre (pāra), pā, plur. pā, pāra (pārae, pārae, -e), pām; North. R. masc. neut. ē (1 ēa, rarely sē) — ēt, ēs, ēm (ān, ēn), sone (sōne, ēon; ăene, ēne), fem. sēo (sēo, sēo), sēre (sēr, sēre), sēr (sēr), sē (sē), plur. sē, sēara (sēara, -a), sēm (1 sēm); L. masc. neut. sē (sē; sē, sē) — sēt, sēs, sēm (sēn, sēm), sone (sēne, sēne), fem. sīo (sīo, sīo, sī, sī; also sāa), sīre (sīr, -e, sīr, sīra), sīr (sīr), sā (sāio, sīy), plur. sā, sāra (sāra), sām; R. sē (sē), sīs, sīm (sīm), sōne, fem. sīo (sīo, sīo), sīre, sīr, plur. sā, sāra, sām.

338. The compound demonstrative pronoun dēs, fem. dēs (dēs), neut. dīs, this, is thus declined in EWS.:”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>dēs</td>
<td>dīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>dīs(ês), dīs(ês)</td>
<td>dīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>dīs(ûm), dīs(ûm); dīs(um)</td>
<td>dīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>dīsne, dīsne</td>
<td>dīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>dīs, dīs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. A.</td>
<td>dēs</td>
<td>dīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>dīs</td>
<td>dīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>dīs(ûm), dīs(ûm); dīs(um)</td>
<td>dīs(s)um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 pîssere, pîssera, and occasionally syncopated: pîsre, pîsra.

Note 3. Of different forms, Kent. has Cod. Dipl. dat. dīs(s)em, gen. dat. fem. dēsso, gen. plur. dēssas.

Note 4. The Anglian forms are: a) Merc. Ps. masc. neut. ēs — ēs, ēsses, ēssum, ēssne, fem. dēos, ēsse, ēsse, ēs, plur. dēas,
\(\text{dissum (deossum)}\); R.\(^1\) masc. neut. \(\text{pes (pes; deos, pios ?)}\) — \(\text{pis, pisses, pissum, pisne (peosne)},\) fem. \(\text{peos (pios), pisse, pisse (pissere)},\) \(\text{pas, plur. päs, pissa (-e, -e), pissum (1 passum)}\); b) North. R.\(^2\) masc. neut. \(\text{des (daes; dis ?)}\) — \(\text{dis, disses (dasses), dissum (dassum)},\) \(\text{dioses, instr. disse, fem. dios, disser (disse, dasse), disser (dasser)},\) \(\text{dás (dasse; dios)},\) plur. \(\text{dás, disra, dissum (dassum)}\); L. masc. neut. \(\text{des (daes; dis ?)}\) — \(\text{dis (daes ?), dis(es), dis(es)um (das(um)},\) \(\text{disne (dionne)},\) instr. \(\text{disse (dissa, dis)},\) fem. \(\text{dios (dïus, dïus, dïs)},\) dat. \(\text{dis(es)er (dissær, dasser; dis(s)a ?), ðás (ðios, ðius, ðís, ðis)},\) plur. \(\text{ðás, disra (dassa), dis(s)um (das(um)}\); Rit. masc. neut. \(\text{des — dis, disses (-æs, disis), dis(es)um (dassum)},\) \(\text{diosne, fem. dios, —, disser, dás (ðass, dios)},\) plur. \(\text{dás, disra, dis(es)um}.\)

Note 5. This pronoun was originally formed by the addition of a particle, -se, -si (= Goth. sai, OHG. sē, behold?), to the case-forms of the simple demonstrative. In OE. there are only such relics of this formation as \(\text{de-s, dio-s} (\text{compare North. dé, diu, 337, note 4), dà-s,}\) since the particle first became incorporated with the pronoun, and then partook of its inflection throughout.

Note 6. The pronoun \(\text{jener, Goth. jains, scarcely survives in OE.};\) an isolated \(\text{tō geonre byrg (Cura Past. 443. 25)}\) is the only occurrence known. From the same root are derived the adverbs and prepositions \(\text{geond (giend, gind), through; begeondan, beyond, etc. (74).}\)

339. The pronoun of identity (Lat. idem) is \(\text{sē ilca}\) (or \(\text{ilca? compare the adv. idæges, the same day; isídæs, at the same time;}\) in Cura Past. often \(\text{ilca, in late texts occasionally with recent middle vowel, ilica, yłeca), the same, which is declined like a weak adjective, but occasionally develops also strong forms.}\)

The equivalent of \(\text{ipsē}\) is EWS. self, later usually \(\text{sylf};\) Kent. \(\text{self Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps., beside seolf Cod. Dipl.};\) Merc. Ps. \(\text{seolf, R.\(^1\) seolf, sylf, self, self};\) North. R.\(^2\) \(\text{self, L. seolf (sulf), Rit. seolf (sølf?)};\) the word may follow either declension.

Note. \(\text{sē selfa anciently meant only he himself; not till látè did it acquire the signification of the same.}\)
6. RELATIVES

340. OE. has no proper relative pronoun. Its place is supplied either by the simple demonstrative sē, sīo, sēt, or the particle sē, alone or in combination with a demonstrative.

Note. sē, sīo, sēt, can of course refer only to the third person. sē but seldom stands alone; it usually refers to an antecedent demonstrative: sē, sīo, sēt. This demonstrative frequently occupies a position immediately before the sē (sē sē, sīo sē, neut. anciently sētte, subsequently analyzed into sēt sē), though it belongs, grammatically, to the preceding sentence.

Less frequent is the combination with a personal pronoun, which is then appended to the sē: sē hē, who; sē his, whose; sē him, (to) whom, etc.; even double formations, sē sē his, etc., occur. If the relative refers to the first or second person, either simple sē (ic . . . sē, sũ . . . sē, or sũ sē, etc.) or the personal pronoun follows them, as described above: sē ic, I who; sē wē, we who; sē úsic, us whom, etc.

7. INTERROGATIVES

341. The simple interrogative hwā, hwæt (= Goth. hwas) 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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hwone</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. ————</td>
<td>hwý, hwī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note 1. A second form of the instr., hwon (hwan), is met with only in adverbial phrases like tō hwon, wherefore? for hwon, why? etc.; a third, hū, only in the character of an adverb, how?

Note 2. On the inflection compare, in general, 337. Beside hwone (rarely hwane), hwāne 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.₁ hwæt (once huat); North., beside regular hwæt R.₂, has L. hwæt (huat, etc.) and huæd(d), huætd, huædt, Rit. only huæd(d), huætd.

Note 4. The compounded gehwā, each (347), regularly has EWS. gen. dat. gehwæs, gehwām, even when it refers to a fem.; in LWS. a newly formed gehwære, gehwāre 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 hwele (Goth. hwileiks), which? and hūlic, of what sort?

Thé correlative of hwele is swele, such (Goth. swaleiks).

Note 1. For WS. hwæðer Kent. has also hweðer (151. 1); Merc. R.₁ varies between hwæper and hweper (no examples in Ps.); North. R.₂ hweðer, L. huæðer (hwæder, also huæder); the latter forms point to a basic form with original e (cf. OHG. hwedar).

Note 2. For EWS. hwele LWS. generally has hwile, hwyle. Kent. has hwele, beside hwyle Cod. Dipl. and hwile Kent. Gl.; Merc. Ps. hwele, R.₁ hwele, hwæle, and hwile, huyle; North. R.₂ hwele, L. huæle, huæle, huæle, Rit. hwæle, hwæle.

Note 3. Later WS. by-forms to swele are sweile and swyle. Kent. has suele, swæle, suile Cod. Dipl.; Merc. Ps. *swele (in adv. swelece), R.₁ swile; North. R.₂ swele; L. swele, swæle (adv. also suölce, and once suiÖce).

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
hwā, hwǣder, 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 hwǣt the noun hwǣth(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, -hyigo, -u. Ep. has -hunøga, Corp. -høgu; R.¹ -hwugu; North. R.² -hwǣg(n)u, -o, -hweogne, -hwugu, L. hwelc-, huelchuoegu, -o, -e (also gen. huelchuoeges), and huot-, huod-huøgu, -o, -huoegu, -o, -e.

Note 2. Of the same meaning as hwǣth(w)ugu is EWS. hwǣth-huguningas Cura Past. MS. H, -hwugununges MS. C and Boeth., beside -hwǣg(a)nungen, -hwǣgninga Boeth.

For any one North. employs also L. huelc-, huelchuøøe.

2) The same meaning is expressed by nāthwā, nāt-hwelc, properly I know not who.

3) Anything is likewise rendered by āwuht (ãuht, LWS. often ãht), āwuht (õht).

Note 3. Forms with i, like āwiht, õwiht, are hardly to be considered as pure WS. (they are common in the poetry); cf. 164. 2 and R.¹ āwiht, õwiht (R.² only õht), beside 348, note 2.

345. Indefinite relatives are formed from the interrogatives by swā — swā: swā hwā swā, swā hwǣder swā, swā hwelc swā, whosoever, etc. To these add LWS. lœcahwā, lœchwā (sporadic lœhwā), lœchwǣder, lœchwylec, with the same meaning (cf. OHG. sihuuer, sihueliēh). For other expressions in place of indefinite relatives see Kluge, Beitr. 8. 531–532.

Note. For swā hwǣder swā is occasionally found swā hwǣder swā, or, with contraction, swǣder, swǣder; similarly swīle for swā hwile swā.
346. One of two, either (Lat. alterutus) is āhwæðer (āwðer, āuðer, āðer, -or), ōhwæðer (ōwðer), which is mostly confined to negative sentences. Of similar formation are āhwycle, and āhwā, āhwæt.

347. Each is denoted by ēlec, beside gehwā (only as a substantive; for its declension see 341, note 4), gehwelec (also ānra gehwelec, each one separately), and gehwæðer, both; or strengthened to āghwā, āghwelec, āghwæðer (shortened to āgðer). Less common are æthwā, samhwelec, welhwæt, (ge-)welhwelec.

For everything, beside eall, there occurs the periphrasis ēlec wuht, ēlecuht (348. 2).

Note 1. Beside ēlec, Kent. has also ēlec (151. 1); Ps. has ǣle (once also ēlec), R.2 ēlc, L. Rit. ōlec.

Note 2. For the WS. formations with āg- the dialects have: Kent. āg-, ēg-, ēlhwelec (151. 1; 214. 2; 342, note 2); Merc. Ps. āghwelec (compare āghuuelc Ep. Corp.); North. R.2 ēghwā, ēghwelec, L. ēghucle, -huolec (rarely ēghuolec) and ēgðer (ēghḍer), Rit. ēghvolec (once āghvolec).

Note 3. This prefixed ō, ē, ōe corresponds to the Goth. aiw, OHG. eo. io (174. 3), and is umlauted from ā-, ō- by the i of the gi which originally followed (compare OHG. eo-gi-hwelih, etc.).

348. 1) To any corresponds OE. āenig; for anything occurs also North. R.2 L. āniht (from ānwiht, 100, note 3; cf. note 2, below).

2) Neither is represented by nāhwæðer (nāwðer, nāuðer, nāðer) or nōhwæðer (nōwðer); none by nān or nāenig; nothing by nāwiht (nāuht, nāht) or nōwuht (nōht); nān wuht, nānuht; nān þing (later nāþing).

Note 1. nāwuht, etc., is neut. in the sing.; but there is also a plur. nāuhtas, and a later nāhte used as an adj.
Note 2. The forms in i, like nāwiht, nōwiht, which are common in the poetry, are hardly to be considered pure WS.; compare 344, note 3, and Merc. Ps. nōwiht (nōht), R.¹ nāwiht (nauwiht; also nēht, nōht); North. R.² L. nōwiht (nōht), beside nēniht (see 1, above).

349. Such is usually denoted (342) by swelc (swile, swyle); sometimes also by ðyslic, ðuslic (likewise assimilated to ðyllic, ðullic), and *ðæslic (in the adv. ðæslice, taliter Blickl. 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 hātte, with the plur. hātton (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 dōnde, faciendus; and occasionally adjectives in -lic with the same meaning: dōnic, 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, haihait, I called; lēta, 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>Present</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. -e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>Sing. 2. —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -(e)s, -(e)st</td>
<td>{ -e</td>
<td>Plur. 1. -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -(e)ā</td>
<td>-en, -an, -on</td>
<td>Plur. 2. -aā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. -aā</td>
<td>Infinitive: -an</td>
<td>Participle: -ende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preterit

Indicative                      Optative
Sing. 1. —                       —
2. -e                           -e
3. —                            —
Plur. -un, -on, -an             -en, -an, -on

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1. -e</td>
<td>-i(g)e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-i(g)e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -(e)s, -(e)st</td>
<td>-as, -ast</td>
<td>-i(g)e</td>
<td>Pl. 1. -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -(e)ā</td>
<td>-aā</td>
<td>2. -aā</td>
<td>-i(ge)aā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. -aā</td>
<td>-i(ge)aā</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-i(g)en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive: I. -an; II. -i(ge)an Participle: I. -ende; II. -i(g)ende

Preterit

Indicative                      Optative
Sing. 1. -de                       -de
2. -des, -dest                   -de
3. -de                           —
Plur. -dun, -don, -dan           -den, -dan, -don

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 i.ii.
plur. are identical in all verbs, and the same is true of
the whole opt. pret.; except that, in both cases, allow-
ance must be made for the preceding a, t of the weak
verbs.

Note 1. For the preterite 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. 1 sing.: bindi(u),
neriu, 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, demean, loci(g)e, etc.

Note 1. -o for -u predominates already in Corp. (in Ep. we have
no instance but grêtu), 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 eveðo (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 -iu, more rarely
-o, or -io (beside once each gebidda, segega, and a few -e-forms,
which are probably optatives). On the other hand, R.¹ has predomi-
nantly the ending -e, or -ige, beside rare exceptions in -u, -o, -a:
ágeofu, dépu; háelo, hâlsio; òrówa, sæcca.

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 forlêta,
inflection

scōniga; L. dēma, aedēa, drōwa, ṭola; drōniga, hālgiga, etc; Rit. sēca, bīa; gihalsiga, gidilga, gimyndga (cf. also 361, note 1); besides certain not wholly uncommon -e-forms, which, however, may again be regarded as optative.

Note 4. Apocope of the final vowel sometimes takes place before the pronoun ic, especially in the phrase wēnic, I ween, for wēne ic; North. L. forgeldig, willie, for forgeldu ic, willo ic, etc. (409, note 2).

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. neredes, dēndes (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, the preterit 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, sihst, cardast, beside sprīcesō, siehso, cardasō, etc.

Note 2. In North. the -sō of the 3 sing. intrudes into the 2 sing. (favored by the confusion of -s and -sō in the 3 sing., 357): 2 sing. R.2 āwecō, wyrcaō, L. gelēfeā, stēnaō, Rit. gisēleō, gilēfeō, rēsāō (on the a see 358, note 2); so once even in R.1: haecefp.

Note 3. Occasionally the 2 sing. coalesces with the pronoun of the second person, especially often in the formulas wēn(e)stu, wēnsōu, from wēnan, think.
CONJUGATION

357. The ind. pres. 3 sing. (like the ind. pres. plur. and the imp. 2 plur., 360.1) normally ends in -p, -o: bindeó, dœmeó, lōcað (compare Goth. bindiþ, dœmeip, salbōp), etc. The -p, -o 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.): bindeó and bindes, etc.

Note 1. Of the oldest texts, Ep. generally has -th (-p), more rarely -d and -t: cælith, teblith, ginath (miícip), beside grëmid, borettid, or sîftit, feórmat); in Corp. forms in -t, like lîsit, wunat, are as frequent as those in -o, while -th, and still more -d (siíd, stîtid) are uncommon.

Note 2. In EWS. texts -o (-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 -o, rather frequent occurrences of -d, perhaps due only to careless writing; R.1 has, beside -o, -p, also -th (biddeth) and sporadic -d, -t (cymið, or sœcet, swêrat), but no s-forms.

North., too, has in L., beside -o, -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: fallêt, giscînet, 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 i; hence early OE. forms like 2 sing. bindis, nēris, dœmis (compare Goth. bindis, nasjis, dœmeis); 3 sing. bindið, nērið, dœmið (compare Goth. bindiþ, nasjiþ, dœmeip), etc.

This i is often preserved in the oldest texts, but then passes, so far as it is retained at all (compare especially 2), into OE. weakened e (44) in all dialects: 2 sing.
bindes(t), neres(t), demes(t); 3 sing. binded, nered, demed, 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 -eð's, like doemæð, beside -eð). R.¹ and North., on the other hand, have sporadic -i: R.² gisceadiþ, cymid, R.² cymid, L. wœnis, wyrcid, Rit. giscildis, -selid, 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 2 sing. bindes and bindas, -aes (even binded, -að, -æð); 3 sing. binded, -es, and bindað, -æð, or bindas, -aes. 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 ï-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): frëfrest, timbrest, dieglest, biecenest, -eð, from frëfran, comfort; timbran, build; dieglan, conceal; biecnan, signify, etc. So EWS. regularly nêmnest, -eð, beside LWS. nênst, nêmð.
Note 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:

a) The verbs in p, t, c syncopate almost always from an early period: stæpð, sitt(t), sett(t), ðrycð, from stæppan, march; sittan, sit; sættan, set; ðrycc(e)an, oppress; and so probably those in s, h: cnysð, hlîhð, from cnyssan, smile; hlît(h)an, laugh.

b) The verbs in the sonants, d, f (= b, 192. 2), and g, often vary in the earlier period: bitt and bideð, hefð and hefeð, legð and legedð, from biddan, beseech; hëbban, lift; and lecg(e)an, lay. At a later time syncope is the rule here, even aside from the early contractions list, liest; lîð, lies (214. 4).

c) The verbs in the liquids and nasals, r, l, m, n, usually have no syncope: fresð, dwêlð, frencð, ðeneð, from frian, carry; dwêlian, delay; fremman, complete; ðenian, stretch, etc.; only the verb sellan, sellan (407. 1) generally has syncope already in EWS.:เสö (beside  selvð).

Note 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 syncopated forms. For the poetical texts see Beitr. 10. 464 ff.

Note 7. Of the Anglian texts, Ps. has only a few forms with syncope — twice after r, l, three times in contract verbs: acers ðu, sælð; gefiðð (gefıht), gefọht, from cerran, sellan, gefeon, fôn; in R.¹ eðið, dicit, inpıt, ait, is common (but this is perhaps to be understood as eðið, contracted from *eﬁp through loss of the first p); other syncopated forms are sporadic: sælð, cymð, gewyrð, bit; slæhp, fœhp, from sellan, cuman, wœordan, biddan, sléan, fôn. Much slighter and more doubtful are the traces in the North. texts: (once gehers ðu, audis; gehëht vel hæt, 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, -ȳ, 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, winȳ; ēcallan, ēielst, ēielȳ; hliehhan, hliehst, hliehȳ; yppan, ypst, ypȳ, etc.

2) d before the -s(t) of the second person is usually converted by phonetic law to t: biddan, bitst; rādDan, rāetst; after consonants: findan, fintst; stōndan, stōnst; wealdan, wielst; andwyrdan, andwyrtst, etc.; but the etymological spelling with d often replaces it: bidst, rādast, findst, etc. In later texts the d is often lost after consonants: finst, stōnst, 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, tihti, ēfst, beside ēhtst, etc., from ēhtan, persecute; tihtan, warn; ēfstan, hasten, etc.

3) d and t are fused with the -p, -ȳ of the 3 sing. to t, which often becomes tt after vowels, especially in the older period: findan, fint; berstan, birst; biddan, bit(t); bidan, bit(t); etan, it(t); weak sēndan, sēnt; fæstan, fæst (EWS. likewise fæsȳ, 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 stregdan, scatter, have in the 3 sing. the forms britt (bryt, bret) and stre(t).

4) g after a long vowel or r, l frequently (especially in later texts) becomes h before the -s(t), and -p, -ȳ
(214.1): stigan, stigst, stigθ; and stihst, stihθ; swelgan, swilgast, swilgθ, and swilhst, swilhθ (or swelhst, swelhθ, 371, note 3; on forms like swyleθ see note 6).

Note 4. After a short vowel LWS. g usually persists, so that forms like wilθ, wehlθ, from wegan, occur only sporadically.

Note 5. In LWS., nc occurs not infrequently for ng (215): bringan, bringst, bringθ, and brincst, brincθ, etc. For the converse, ng for etymological nc, see 215, note 1.

5) c following a vowel often passes in the later language into h before the -s(t), and -p, -θ, but this is almost wholly confined to weak verbs: sēcan, tēcan, ðryeccan, 2 sing. sēhst, tēhst, þryθθ, etc.; but more generally the etymological spelling est, cθ is retained.

Note 6. That the est, cθ was nevertheless pronounced hst, hθ in LWS. is shown by the occasional substitution of cθ for older hθ and gθ (see 4, above), as in geθθθ, afθθθ; filθθθ, forswyleθθ, from geθθθ, succeed; onfōn, receive; fliegan, rout; swelgan, swallow.

6) p + p is always simplified after consonants, and usually after vowels: weorðan, wierθ; cweðan, cwið; cθðan, cθθð(θ), etc.

Note 7. Before the -st of the 2 sing. p may pass into t, or else be preserved (or restored): sniðan, sūtst and sniθst, etc.

In weorðan, become, and cweðan, speak, θ generally disappears: wierst (wyrst), cwist; but also LWS. cwθθθ, cweθθθ, beside cwyst, ewest, 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; rēstan, rēst; weaxan, wyxt, etc.

8) s + p gives regularly st (201.6), as in cēosan, ciest, etc.; hence also forms like weaxan, wiet, etc. For this st (xt) certain EWS. texts also have sθθ (xtθθ):
ciesð, wiexð, etc. When such an sð, xð appears elsewhere, it is to be regarded as an etymological spelling.

Note 8. By the conversion of sp to st the syncopated forms of the 2 and 3 sing. of verbs in s, ss, x, and st become identical: cēosan, dhú and hé ciest; cyssan, dhú and hé cyst; weaxan, dhú and hé wiext; rēstan, dhú and hé rest, etc.

Note 9. After other consonants than s, t occurs very seldom for p, Kent. showing the earliest examples: Kent. Gl. ofōrect, gehyðléct; Boeth. lihht; Metres drīft, scyft, from drýecan, oppress; edlæcan, repeat; fleon, flee; drīfan, drive; scūfan, shove; but Cura Past. has an ypt, from yppan, open. Compare also Angl. Ps. gefiht, gefæht (358, note 7).

360. 1) All three persons of the ind. pres. plur., together with the imp. 2 plur., end in -ad (for *-anpi, *-onp, *-ōp, 186, note 3; the -and of 3 plur. of the Goth. has grammatical change): bindad, nēriað, dēmað, lōci(g)ad, etc.

The -ə 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: bindad and bindas, etc.

Note 1. Rare and doubtful (357, note 2) is sporadic d: Ps. sēllad, L. -delfad. Somewhat more common is -t: Corp. teldat, flītat, Cura Past. (MS. II) lērat, 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. riscē, tōdēlecē; Cod. Dipl. gehaldeð; Cura Past. gehātecē, gefealleð; or Cod. Dipl. belimpoð, 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 -ēð, -ēs is comparatively rare in R.2 and Rit., but very common in L. and R.1, which likewise exhibits -ap, -ẹp, or -igæp.

2) If, in the inverted word-order, a 1 or 2 plur. of the verb is followed by wē, wit, or gē, git, as its subject, shorter forms in -e are frequently substituted for the
full ending of the paradigms: \textit{binde wē}, \textit{wit}, or \textit{gē}, \textit{git}, as ind. plur. or opt. pres.; \textit{binde wē} as adhortative imp. 1 plur.; \textit{binde gē} as imp. 2 plur.; or \textit{bunde wē}, \textit{gē} as ind. plur. or opt. pret. In like manner forms without ending, as in \textit{dō wē}, \textit{gē}, etc., occur in the case of the contract verbs (373) and the verbs in -\textit{mi} (426 ff.).

\textbf{Note 3.} In WS. -\textit{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: \textit{fandi gē}, \textit{forhti gē}, for and beside forms like \textit{fandige gē}, \textit{forhtige gē} (so also R.\textdegree{} \textit{forhti gē}, R.\textdegree{} \textit{lorni gē}). It is to be noted that the inverted form for the ind. \textit{wē}, \textit{gē habbaō} is \textit{hæbbe wē}, \textit{hæbbe gē} (with the vowel of the optative, cf. note 4).

Merc., too, has only -\textit{e}, even for -\textit{un} (compare, for example, forms like R.\textdegree{} \textit{ðurfe wē}, \textit{seule gē}; Ps. has only twice the adhortative \textit{wynsumie wē}). In North., R.\textdegree{} has exceptionally -\textit{a} and -\textit{o} in the adhortative \textit{gonga wē}, ind. \textit{cunno gē} (but \textit{gisēge wē}); L. -\textit{a} (-\textit{æ}), -\textit{u}, -\textit{o}: \textit{walla wē}; \textit{wyrca (-æ) wē}; \textit{lornada (-æ) gīe}; \textit{maga gīe}, or \textit{nabbo wē}; \textit{saldo gīe}; \textit{aru, nutu wē}, etc.; before \textit{g} also \textit{i}: \textit{cunni, nuti, hæfdi gīe} (also without ending: \textit{oncæu}, \textit{oncæaw gīe}), but usually -\textit{e}; Rit. has -\textit{e} and -\textit{a} (but a sporadic adhortative \textit{lornv wē, curranus}).

\textbf{Note 4.} The shortening originally affected only the verbal forms in -\textit{n}, that is, the adhortative forms of the present (the true adh. -\textit{an} of the 1 plur., as well as the opt. -\textit{en}, the latter used especially for the negated imperative, cf. 362. 3), the optative, and the preterit (including the present of the preteritive presents). From these -\textit{n}-forms the shortening spread by analogy to the original -\textit{aō}-forms. Here the opt. seems to have served as a model for the ind. (compare WS. \textit{hæbbe wē}, note 3, but also forms like ind. \textit{habbon wē}, imp. \textit{nallon gīe}, beside \textit{nallaō gē} R.\textdegree{}).

\textbf{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 -\textit{e} already prevails. The Anglian dialects, on the other hand, while they exhibit numerous shortened forms for older -\textit{en}, -\textit{an}, -\textit{ūn}, preserve older -\textit{aō} \textit{wē}, \textit{gē} for the most part unchanged; yet R.\textdegree{} has exceptionally an ind. \textit{sitte gīt}, R.\textdegree{} an ind. \textit{forstonde wē} (compare also ind. \textit{habbon wē}, imp. \textit{nallon gīe}, beside the regular \textit{nallaō gīe}); L. an
ind. nabbo we, walla we 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, déme, löci(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 áfremsðæ and dōa; R.1 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.
363. 1) The normal ending of the uninflected infinitive is -an: bindan, nérian, dēman, lōci(g)an, etc. This holds for all the southern dialects, up to and inclusive of the Ps. In R.1 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.1 has, beside predominant -an, rarely -en, -on, -un, beside shortened forms in -e, more rarely -a, -æ. R.2 L. Rit. have generally -a, more rarely -e, and L. occasionally -æ: binda (-æ), binde, etc.

2) The original ending of the inflected infinitive was probably umlauted -enne (cf. OS. infinitives like liagan-nias, 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.1 and in North. Beside -anne is occasionally found EWS. -onne (compare Corp. geléstunne). The nn is now and then simplified (231. 4), so that forms in -ene, -ane arise (also in R.1 and North.). In LWS. -enne again prevails; very late texts have also -ende.

Note 3. The uninflected inf. rarely occurs in the prose after tō, in place of the inflected: tō bindan, for tō 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 hiæoðrindi Ep.), which is umlauted from West Germ. -andi: bindende, nériende, dēmende, lōci(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. sāwondum (beside frequent -ende), Kent. Charter dugunde. Ps. has only -ende, R.1 more rarely -ande, -onde, -ænde, beside -ende. North. has
-ende (-ænde), 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 ōu: cōm ōu, drune ōu, ēt ōu, druhs ōu, gewics ōu, for cōme, drunce, ēte, druge, gewice ōu.

Note 2. In North, certain Reduplicating Verbs (in t) form the ind. pret. 2 sing. in -es, -est: L. hēhtes, forleortes (beside forleorte), Rit. gihēhtest, gileortest; R.1 forlētes, beside séwe, gesēowe.

Note 3. For the i-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.

Apocope of final -n does not generally occur in North. in R.2 L. Rit. (but clioppodo L. Luke 23. 21; fœrdo Mark 16. 8; gehērdo Mark I 2. 18; cuōmo John 19. 32); Ruthwell Cross has bismaeraedu, cwōnu.

365. The opt. pret. has in the sing. the ending -e: bunde, nereede, dēmde, 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.)
CONJUGATION 269

Note 1. The oldest ending must be assumed as sing. *-i, plur. *-in (compare forms like OS. OHG. nāmi, nāmin), 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, -an, -un, (-on), and -e with loss of -n, as in North.

The North. normal form is -e (188. 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.: neredest, demdest, 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, genered, gedemed, gelocod, 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. -æn (-en), partly to Early OE. -in, both of which occur side by side in the oldest texts: Ep. binumini, forleginum, but gibæn, ásolcæn, gibætæn, áuunden, etc. Corp. has also -on-, in geborone, 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. -æn; but R.¹ has, beside -en, also -æn, -an, -un, R.² -on-, -un- (gibrocono, gicorone, ginumune).

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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<th>Indicative</th>
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<th>Participles</th>
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</thead>
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<td>fare</td>
<td>helpe</td>
<td>bidde</td>
<td>(fær), far</td>
<td>help</td>
<td>bide</td>
<td>bindan</td>
<td>bindende</td>
<td>farende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bindest, bintst</td>
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<td>hilp(e)st</td>
<td>biddest, bitst</td>
<td>faran</td>
<td>helpan</td>
<td>biddan</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. bindede, bint</td>
<td>fær(e)d</td>
<td>hilp(e)d</td>
<td>bided, bit</td>
<td>farað</td>
<td>helpað</td>
<td>biddað</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur. bindað</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sing. bind | fare | helpe | bidde | bidden |
Plur. binden | faren | helpen | | |

Sing. 2. bind | (fær), far | help | bide | bindan |
Plur. 1. bindan | faran | helpan | biddan |
2. bindað | farað | helpað | biddað |

Infinitive
bindan

Participles
bindende

Preterit

Indicative

Sing. 1. bønd | før | healp | bæð | bæde |
2. bunde | føre | hulpe | bæð | bæde |
3. bønd | før | healp | bæð | bæden |
Plur. bundon | førøn | hulpon | bæðon | |

Optative

Sing. bønde | føre | hulpe | bæde | bæden |
Plur. bunden | førøn | hulpen | bæden | |

Participles
bunden

faren | holpen | beden |
### 2) Contract Verbs

#### Present

**Indicative**

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<th>3. tiehō</th>
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<td>fō</td>
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<td>fehst</td>
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**Optative**

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<td>sēo</td>
<td>slēa</td>
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**Imperative**

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<td>seoh</td>
<td>sleah</td>
<td>fōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēōn</td>
<td>sēon</td>
<td>slēan</td>
<td>fōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>sēoō</td>
<td>slēaō</td>
<td>fōd</td>
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</table>

**Infinitive**

| tēon | tēon | sēon | slēan | fōn |

**Participles**

| tēonde | tēonde | sēonde | slēande | fōnde |

#### Preterit

**Indicative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. 1. tāh</th>
<th>2. tige</th>
<th>3. tāh</th>
<th>Plur. tigōn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāh</td>
<td>seah</td>
<td>slōg, -h</td>
<td>feng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tige</td>
<td>sāwe</td>
<td>slōge</td>
<td>fenge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāh</td>
<td>seah</td>
<td>slōg, -h</td>
<td>feng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigōn</td>
<td>sāwon</td>
<td>slōgon</td>
<td>fengon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Optative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. tige</th>
<th>Plur. tigen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tige</td>
<td>sāwe</td>
<td>slōge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigen</td>
<td>sāwen</td>
<td>slōgen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Participles**

| tigen | togen | sewen | slægen | fōngen |

#### 2. PASSIVE

Ind. 1 and 3 Sing.: hātte  
Plur.: hātton

**Note.** hātte corresponds to the Goth. haitada, *I am called*; the plur. hātton is constructed on the model of the weak preterits. Both forms are used indifferently as presents and preterits.
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 æ = Germ. ë, 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 seea- for sæa- and sea-, 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.), sæ, etc. From sc(e)afan comes scæf, beside sææf and regular sææf. 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 fære, sææcente, L. fære, sæce (but once ðú hlada) and færende, drægend, sææcente, Rit. fære, sææcente.

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
rarely hafen, and always slaegen, ðwaegen; Or. always faren, generally hæfen, slaegen, more rarely hafen, slagen, and sæcen, beside sæcen; Chron. only -slaegen. In pure LWS. the a is generally stable: faren, calen, hafen, bacen, slaegen; less pure texts, and especially the poetry, have also frequently æ. After se, WS. ea is regular: seeacen, sceapen, etc. (poet. sææcen points to an Angl. original).

Kent. Gl. has only a few occurrences of áhafen. Ps. has only ð-forms (151. 1), beside one galen: seeæen, slaegen, hæfen, sceæpen; in R.¹ and North., too, a is uniformly wanting (except for the participial adjective gefagen L., 391, note 6): R.¹ færen, hæfen, slaegen (beside umlauted unðwegen), R.² hæfen, slaegen, ðwægen, sæcen, L. hæfen, slaegen, sææcen (beside hæfen, ðæegen), Rit. slaegen, sc(e)ææcen, sceæpen (beside hæfen). On forms with umlaut-æ, and other occasional variations, see 378. 2; 392, note 7.

3) The various rules for breaking, umlaut, the effects of palatals 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, -o; 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, hleadað; part. fearende; beside galendra, and tōscæcendes (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, sæce, inf. faran, fær, 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:</td>
<td>beran</td>
<td>beora, bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.:</td>
<td>berende</td>
<td>berende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind. Sing. 1.</td>
<td>bere</td>
<td>beoru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. bir(e)st</td>
<td>bires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. bir(e)ō</td>
<td>birėō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. beraō</td>
<td></td>
<td>beoraō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative:</td>
<td>bere</td>
<td>bere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp. Sing. 2.</td>
<td>ber</td>
<td>ber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. beraō</td>
<td></td>
<td>beoraō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where forms with eo, like beoran, beoraō, berende, 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.): 1 sing. geofu, inf. geofan (giaban), geotan; then, with transfer of the eo, also opt. breoce, plur. ágeofen; Kent. Gl. has imp. plur. ongiotaō.

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: spreceu, -aō, -an, -ende (164, note 2); the only exceptions are one spreceu and one bigetaō. 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, eveoōo), 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.
Note 7. To WS. cweðan regularly corresponds North. R.² cweða (cweða), Rit. cweða, cweða (ind. 1 sing. cweðo); L. has a medley: cuða (cða), cuða, cuða, cuða, cuða, and cuða, cuða; but for WS. wesan North. has uniformly R.² wosa, L. wos(s)a, Rit. vos(s)a (156. 2; 427. 3).

Note 8. The i-verbs resemble the e-verbs with respect to the umlaut: niman (390, note 2), ripan, *wisan, 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), -eð (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, hilpð; weorpan, wierpð; weaxan, wiexð; feallan, fieldð; stondan, stent; cnáwan, cnæwð; hātan, hæt; flōwan, flæwð; lūcan, lūcð; lūtan, lýt; hēawan, hīewð; cēosan, cīesð, etc. So, too, in the case of short stems, whether exhibiting syncope or not: beran, bireð and birð; etan, itt; brecan, bricð; cuman, cymð, 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. (byrð, brycð, sprycð Cura Past. MS. C), and that the verbs with radical a, ð have the umlaut-form æ (89. 3): fær(e)ð, drægð, sæcð, spænð, from faran, dragan, sacan, spōnan (but MS. H of Cura Past. has one fereð and one spēnd).
Beside these ancient forms, however, EWS. has a few newly constituted full forms without umlaut, but only from long stems: weorpeð, hāteð, fĪoweð, etc. (a short-stemmed hēleð Cura Past. is to be assigned to hēlian, 400, note 2). Only sporadically occur full forms with umlaut (2 sing. hātest, wyrōest 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 syncopate the vowel of the final syllable, except that the verbs with radical e and ea frequently have the unumlauted vowel in LWS.: beran, berst, berð; etan, etst, et; helpan, helpst, helpð; feallan, fealst, fealð; weaxan, weaxð, wexð (108. 2); also bēatan, bēatst. Other syncopated forms without umlaut are very rare: stant, fōwð, lūcð, for stent, flēwð (or LWS. flēowð, 113, note 3), lūcð. Beside these, the full forms without umlaut still persist, especially in less pure WS. texts (358, note 6).

Note 4. As in Kent. older ëo and its i-umlaut, ðo, phonetically coincide as ëo, ðo, ða, etc. (159. 5), it follows that all verbs with radical ëo apparently have forms without umlaut in the 2 and 3 sing.: Kent. Gl. weordh, weorpð, siōhð (374); biōt, hrēosð (hrīosð, hrīosð), tiōhð (374), from weordan, weorpən, sēon; bēodan, hrēosan, tēon (exceptionally once flīð, from flēon, flee).

The older interchange of e and i in the verbs of the Third Ablaut-Class with radical e is canceled by analogy in Kent. Gl.: gelts, gelpð, swel(h)ð, from geldan, gelpan, swelgan (tret, calcubit, belongs rather to the weak verb trēddan). 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: beorant, bircð; cweōdan, cwið; geldan, gildedð; stregdan, strigdedð (so also feolan, fileð, with loss of h, 218. 1); then the umlaut in cuman, cymes, -ēð (390, note 2) and the interchange of a, ea with e, which is not clearly explainable: feāran, ferēð. As for the rest, full forms without umlaut prevail: weorpeð, falleð, stōndeð, enāwedeð, fōweð, lūcð, eēoseð, etc.

On the other hand, R.1 retains only cuman, cym(e)p; onsēkep (compare WS. onsacan); sporadic gewyrð, from -weordan; (gewyrfeþ,
demolitur?); even the interchange of e and i is given up: helpēð, berep, etep, etc. (only sporadically yet eartiā, 358, note 7).

Note 7. North. has an isolated cuiœstum, numquid L., as a relic of the interchange of e and i; then, as relics of the true i-umlaut, cuma, cyaned, and perhaps the interchange of a and æ in the verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class, like fara, færeð (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): beora, bearana—bereð; eota, eata—eteð; nioma—nimeð, etc., so far at least as leveling has not occurred (370, note 6).

Note 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. færeþ, etc.; R.² inf. fara, 1 sing. færo, opt. sing. plur. fære, imp. plur. farað; L. inf. færa (færa), 1 sing. færo, imp. plur. færas, opt. fære, etc.


Verbs in -jo-

372. Like biddan are inflected the verbs sittan, fricg(e)an, lieg(e)an (391. 3), hæbban, hlæhhan (Ps. hlæhða, North. hlæhða, 159. 3), scieppan (Kent. Angl. sçppe, North. -a, 159. 1), stæppan (89, note 1, but Rit. stēpa), scēðàn (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 fremmman, 409).

The paradigm nērian (409) is followed by the strong verb swērian (392. 4); the paradigm of the long stems, dēman (differing from that of the strong verbs only by the invariable umlaut of the radical syllable), is followed by wēpan, weep, and perhaps gierran (388, note 1) and *hwēsann (*hwēsan?) (396. 2. b).
Note. In North, the imp. sing. of the short stems is generally devoid of ending: R.\textsuperscript{2} sitt and site; L. gbidd, lig, sitt, beside suere; Rit. hef, gibidd, beside gibbon. So also in R.\textsuperscript{1} hef, swer, beside bidde, lige, site. Cf. \textit{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 \textit{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, ðeon, wréon, leon, sëon (383); II fleon, tæon (384); V gefeon, pleon, sëon (391.2); VI flean, lean, sléan, ðwean (392.2); and the reduplicating fon, hön (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. farsiðd, aflíd, from sëon, fleon, beside farsiðd, slest, sléð, onfeliðd, oferwriðd, átiðd, etc.

**Note 2.** The forms of the Ps. are: 1) inf. wréan, pres. 3 sing. wríð, imp. sing. wríh; 2) pres. 1 sing. fleom (cf. 426 ff.), 3 sing. tið, plur. fleodh, opt. plur. fåen, imp. sing. teh, part. fleonde; 3) inf. sëan, sian, infl. sëonne, pres. 1 sing. sio, síc, gefió, gefie, 2 sing. sist, 3 sing. sið, gefið (once gefið, 20, 2, and gefilt, 15, 9), plur. siáð, sëáð, sioð, and gefiáð, gefiáð, gefiáð, opt. sing. së, gefee, plur. sén, gefen, imp. sing. seh, gefeh, plur. siáð, gefiáð, gefiáð, part. sione, siende; 4) pres. 1 sing. sléa, ðwea, 2 sing. sléas, ðwés, 3 sing. sléð, ðwëð, plur. sléáð, opt. sing. slé, imp. sléach, ðuæh; 5) inf. fon, pres. 1 sing. fo, foo (once fóu, 115.13), 2 sing. foest, 3 sing. foð (once focht, 47.4; that is, foest, foë, foëht), plur. foð,
opt. foi, plur. fœn (that is, fœ, fœn, or fœ, fœn ?), imp. sing. fœh, plur. fœď, part. fœnde.

Note 3. In R.¹ occur: 1) inf. wrigan, part. ašiende, pres. plur. wréop; 2) inf. plur. fľeane, part. téonde, pres. plur. fľeap, fľeop, imp. fľeoh, télōh, plur. fľeop; 3) inf. sēon, infl. sēonne, sēenne, part. sēonde, sēende, sēande, pres. 2 sing. sīs, seęs and siıstå, 3 sing. sō, sēọ and siłp, plur. sēọp, sēap, sēep, opt. plur. sēo(n), imp. sīh and seoh, plur. sēọp, sēap (= sēep ?), pres. 3 sing. and imp. plur. gefeap (cf. 391, note 6); 4) inf. slā(n) and slēan, slēan, infl. slēanne, pres. 1 sing. slæ, 2 sing. slægst, 3 sing. slæp and slægp, slæhp, thuād, opt. slē, imp. slāg, ṭwāh.

Note 4. R.² has the following instances: 1) pres. 3 sing. wrīđ, imp. plur. wriad; 2) inf. tēa, infl. flēan(n)e, pres. 3 sing. flēs, plur. flēas; 3) inf. sēa, infl. sēan(n)e, sēana, pres. 1 sing. sīom, 2 sing. sis(t), 3 sing. sīō (sēā), plur. sēā, sēas and sīcō, opt. sī, sīe, plur. sīi, sīe, imp. sing. sīh, sāeh, adhortative gisēa wē, 2 plur. sēa, sēas, and imp. gefeg, plur. gefeād (391, note 6); 4) inf. slā(a), ṭwē, ṭwē, infl. slēanne, part. slēnde, pres. 1 sing. slæ, ṭwē, 2 sing. slæs, ṭwēs, 3 sing. slē, slēd, plur. slād, opt. sing. slā, ṭwē, imp. sing. slāh, ṭwāh, adhortative ofslā wē.

Note 5. In L. occur: 1) inf. wriģa, pres. 3 sing. wriгад, opt. wrīa, imp. plur. wuřiad; 2) inf. flēa, tēa, infl. flēanne, pres. 3 sing. flīď, plur. flēaď, flēas, flīas, imp. sing. flēh, plur. flēas; 3) inf. sēa, infl. sēanne, part. sēende, sēgende, pres. 1 sing. sīum, sēom (seium), 2 sing. siis, siistu, sīst, 3 sing. sīđ, -s, sēa, plur. sēaď, -s, opt. sing. sī, sīe, plur. see, sēa, sēe, sēge (?), imp. sing. sīh, seh, sāeh, sāgh, plur. sēaď, -s; 4) inf. slāa, slē (slēa ?) and doā, doa, part. slēande, slēgende (?), pres. 1 sing. slā, doa, 2 sing. slās(t), doaos, ṭuoas, 3 sing. slēď, -s; ṭwās, plur. sl(a)as, slēď, -s; ṭwās; opt. sing. slāa, doa, imp. sing. slāh, ṭuah, adhortative ofslā wē.

Note 6. Rit. has: 1) inf. giďia, infl. wrianne, part. giatan, pres. opt. sing. plur. giďii, imp. plur. wriad; 2) infl. infl. flēanne, part. fleende, pres. 3 sing. fleď, tēď, opt. sing. flee, flīi, imp. plur. fleas; 3) inf. sēa, pres. 1 sing. sīum, 2 sing. siist, 3 sing. sīď, plur. sēaď, opt. sing. sī, imp. sīh, sīgh, seh, plur. sēaď; 4) part. slēandum.

Note 7. On North. weak gefēaga see 391, note 6; 414, note 5. c.
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 fordrifen, with a different vowel of the ending: -driofun, -liotun, -hrionun, -on, áriosun, contrasted with stigun, wrigun (164.2). L. has, however, a few leveled forms in i: fordrifon, gehrinon, áwritton, beside the phonetically correct forms, like biodon, driofon; stigon, wrigon. Rit. has only á-, girioson.

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. bundín). It scarcely occurs, however, except in a few optatives of the preteritive presents (421 ff.); in the regular verb it has been given up.
Note. The few umlauted forms which might perhaps be assigned here are extremely doubtful. R. ² has an apparent ind. 2 sing. ðwæge, as a gloss upon lavabis; in a rubric of Rit. 114 there is an opt. wyrdæ, parallel to the opt. pres. màge; in Cura Past. 214. 7, hli(e)æn is to be classed, according to the sense, as opt. pres. (and accordingly belongs, no doubt, to a weak verb hlīean, from *hlæupjan); in like manner, a present meaning is requisite for swylte (corrected from swælte), R. 1 22. 24. There remain only a few forms with wyr for wür, which are perhaps to be regarded as inverted spellings (72, and note): poet. hwyrfe, Dan. 221; R. ² wyrdæ, gewyrde, fieret, once each (compare R. ¹ ind. wyrdun, -on, wyrōn, wyrpon, for würdun, etc., and ind. plur. áwyrdæn, for áweorpæn).

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, færen, etc. (368, note 4).

2) As a result of the original ending -in (beside -æn, -en, 366, note 2), certain verbs occasionally have i-umlaut.

Note 1. Among EWS. texts, Cura Past. has of these forms (disregarding the uniform gesewen, 73, note 1): in MS. C two -slegen, as against -slaegen MS. H, in the former one -cymen, two -dræwen, as against -cumen, -dræwen MS. H. In the EWS. laws occur -slegen, -tygen (beside -togen, from tōn, censure, 383, note 3), in later texts often -cymen, -drægen, -slegen. Compare the participial adjective ægen, own, beside ægen (Goth. aigins, contrasted with OHG. eigan).

Sure instances are lacking in Ps. (but see note 2), as its slegen, āhefen, etc. can be interpreted by 151. 1; R. ¹ has undwegen (beside -slaegen, etc.), R. ² one gebræcen, Rit. -hefen, beside -slaegen, etc.); in L. the umlauts are commoner: gescyfen, geecnæden, gesuoræn, gewærden, áwærden, -hefen, -ðægen, and probably geseryænæn, etc. (386, note 4); cf. also note 2.

Note 2. Here belongs also the Angl. part. dōn (poet. -dēn), 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 -ōūēn, ōūēn (392, note 7; 397, note).

Note 3. Only quite sporadically occur traces of u-umlaut (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. wieten, from witan (420.1), but its ie must be derived from the ie-forms of the infinitive, etc. The numerous ie’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); liðan, lāð, lidan, liden (382); tēon, tēah, tugon, togen (384); sēon, shea,
sawon, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Stem</th>
<th>2d Stem</th>
<th>3d Stem</th>
<th>4th Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>e, i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>e, i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>e, i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. For the variation of e and i, 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: ĭ, į, ĭ (io, eo, 105; 160; 376), ĭ (io, eo, 378, note 3): gripan, grāp, gripon (griopun), gripen, seize; with grammatical
change in the third and fourth stems: *snīdan, snāð, snidon, sniden, cut.

Note 1. a) Like grīpan are inflected nipan, grow dark; clīfan, adhere; drīfan, drive; belīfan, remain; serīfan, prescribe; tōslīfan, split; swīfan, revolve; bitan, bite; drītan(?), cacare; fītan, contend; hnītan, thrust; sētan, cacare; slītan, tear; besmnītan, defile; ēwītan, how; gewītan, go; ætwītan, scold, twit; wītan, look; wrītan, write; bīdan, bide; ēlīdan, glide; gnīdan, cnīdan (LWS. has sporadically a pret. fōrgnāð), rub; hlīdan, cover; ridan, ride; slīdan, slide; strīdan, stride; wṛīdan(?), grow; bīcan, shine; sīcan, sigh; snīcan(?), creep; strīcan, go; wīcan, abandon; wīe, yield;

b) Like snīdan are conjugated līdan, go; scrīdan, proceed (but part. scrīden Guthl. 1012); ætclīdan, adhere, is doubtful; on LWS. frīnan, frān, see 389, note 3.

Note 2. Occasionally strong preterits are also formed from weak verbs: rān, from rīnan, for rīgnan, rain Blickl. Gl.; oferswāð, from oferswīdan Saints 2. 4.

Note 3. The present of rīpan, 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-umlaut (370, note 8): Ps. reopan, 3 sing. ripecð, R.1 hriopan, 1 and 3 sing. ripe, -es, R.2 2 and 3 sing. ripes, -eð, plur. riopað, opt. ripe, L. (h)rioppa, 1 sing. hrippo, 2 hripp(e)ses, 3 hrioppað, plur. hrioppas.

Thus infects North. L. grioppa, grasp: inf. grioppa, 3 sing. gripes, opt. gripa, etc.

The defective verb -weosan, vanish, also probably belongs here: pres. part. tōweosende, past part. forweren, forweoren (forworen, 72), from *wisan; compare the weak wisnian, weosnian. On līoran, lēoran see 384, note 3.

Note 4. North. new formations are: R.2 pret. plur. āstāgdun (beside stāg, plur. stigun); L. pret. gripp(e)de (beside grāp, opt. grioppa), stīg(e)de, -ade, opt. stāge, stāgade (beside ind. stāg, plur. stigun, opt. stige), duīnde, hrīn(a)don, part. gehrīnad (beside pret. plur. hrinon).
383. 1) The contract verbs *tjon, *teon, censure; *djon, *dteon, thrive; *wrion, *wreon, cover (for *tihan, etc., compare Goth. *teihan, *peihan; on *io, *eo see 84. 2; 114. 3; Ps. *wrean, R.¹ *wrigan, R.² *wria, L. *wri(g)a, Rit. *dia, *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 (*wreon), *wrāh, *wrigon, *wrigen.

2) This inflectional type has been preserved in Anglian 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. *wreah, plur. *wrgon, part. *wrogen, like *teah, tugon, togen, from tjon, *teon, draw (384. 2).

Note 1. This transfer begins in EWS. with *teah, tugon Or., in contrast with part. geSigen 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. t(e)hō.

Note 2. The g of the third and fourth stems is occasionally transferred to the second stem: *dāg, wrāg; in R.¹ L. wrga, beside wria (374, notes 3 and 5), it even penetrates into the first.


Note 4. Like *tjon, *teon are inflected the first and second stems of liōn, leōn, lend; seōn, sift (Goth. leihwan, *seihwan), pret. lih, leāh. The only other form is the past part. āsiwen, āseowen (73. 3, and note 3), and the contracted besēon.
384. Class II. Verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class: 
\( \ddot{e}o, \ddot{c}a, u, o \) (Goth. \textit{iu, au, u, u}). Examples:

1) for regular verbs: \textit{beodan, bead, budon, boden, bid}; \textit{c\ddot{e}owan, c\ddot{e}aw, cuwon, cowen, chew}; or with grammatical change in the third and fourth stems: \textit{c\ddot{e}osan, c\ddot{e}as, curon, coren, choose}; \textit{seo\ddot{a}nan, se\ddot{a}s, sudon, soden, seethe};

2) for contract verbs: \textit{t\ddot{e}on, t\ddot{e}ah, tugon, togen, draw}; similarly \textit{f\ddot{e}on, flee} (for the Anglian forms in detail see 374).

Note 1. So are also inflected:

a) Regularly: \textit{c\ddot{r}eopan, creep}; \textit{d\ddot{r}eopan, drip}; \textit{g\ddot{e}opan, receive}; \textit{c\ddot{r}eofan, cleave}; \textit{r\ddot{e}ofan, shatter} (only part. \textit{rofen, berofen}); \textit{br\ddot{e}otan, break}; \textit{f\ddot{r}eotan, flow}; \textit{g\ddot{e}otan, pour}; \textit{gr\ddot{e}otan, weep}; \textit{hl\ddot{e}otan, cast lots}; \textit{n\ddot{e}otan, enjoy}; \textit{r\ddot{e}otan, fall}; \textit{sc\ddot{e}otan} (part. \textit{scoten} and \textit{seeoten}, 76), \textit{shoot}; \textit{d\ddot{e}otan} (beside \textit{\ddot{o}utan, 385}), \textit{howl}; \textit{\ddot{a}d\ddot{r}eotan, weary}; \textit{hr\ddot{e}odan} (generally only past part. \textit{hroden}), \textit{adorn}; \textit{l\ddot{e}odan, grow}; \textit{r\ddot{e}odan, redden}; \textit{\ddot{a}br\ddot{e}od\ddot{a}n} (part. \textit{\ddot{a}broden}), frustrate; \textit{r\ddot{e}ocan} (North. L. \textit{\ddot{r}eca}), \textit{sm\ddot{e}ocan} (North. \textit{sm\ddot{e}ca}, R.\textsuperscript{1} \textit{sm\ddot{e}ca}), \textit{smoke}; \textit{d\ddot{r}eog\ddot{a}n, endure}; \textit{f\ddot{e}ogan} (Ps. \textit{f\ddot{e}gan, fligan}, North. L. R.\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Rit. f\ddot{e}ga}), \textit{fly}; \textit{l\ddot{e}ogan} (Ps. \textit{\ddot{e}gan, ligan}, R.\textsuperscript{1} \textit{ligan}), \textit{lie}; \textit{br\ddot{e}owan, brew}; \textit{hr\ddot{e}owan, rue}.

b) With grammatical change: \textit{d\ddot{r}e\ddot{o}san, fall}; \textit{f\ddot{r}e\ddot{o}san, freeze}; \textit{hr\ddot{e}\ddot{o}san, fall}; \textit{forl\ddot{e}osan, lose}.

Note 2. \textit{h\ddot{e}ofan, lament}, has the irregular pret. \textit{h\ddot{e}of}, after the manner of the Reduplicating Verbs, beside \textit{h\ddot{e}ofde} (on LWS. \textit{hr\ddot{e}ow}, for \textit{hr\ddot{e}aw}, see 119, note).

\textit{r\ddot{e}ocan} has also the late pret. \textit{r\ddot{e}oh\ddot{t}e}.

In LWS., \textit{f\ddot{e}on} and \textit{f\ddot{e}ogan}, whose forms coincided in the (second), third, and fourth stems, also merged in the present, so that forms of \textit{f\ddot{e}on} were used with the meaning \textit{fly}, and those of \textit{f\ddot{e}ogan} with that of \textit{flee}.

Note 3. Here probably also belongs the defective strong verb \textit{l\ddot{e}oran, go} (part. \textit{gel\ddot{o}rene} Ruin 7, corrupted from \textit{gel\ddot{o}rene}, as metrical considerations demand length of the \textit{\ddot{e}o} in \textit{l\ddot{e}oran}; for the riming word \textit{for\ddot{w}e\ddot{e}onen} we must read \textit{for\ddot{w}e\ddot{e}orene}, 382, note 3). The (only northern English) verb usually inflects as weak: pret. \textit{l\ddot{e}or\ddot{d}e}, part. \textit{gel\ddot{e}ored} (North. \textit{liora, 159. 5}).
Note 4. The relation of the doublets snēowan and snōwan, hasten (both only poetical), and enēodan (Bede) and enōdan (Cura Past.), allot, is not clear. The length of the radical vowels in snōwan and part. gecnōden 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. spēaft, spēoft, spat, which might belong either here or under 396. 2. a; but according to the part. gespēoftad 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; ðūtan (beside ðēotan, 384), howl; strūdan, devastate; brūcan, enjoy; lūcan, lock; sūcan, sūgan, suck; būgan, bow; smūgan, creep, have in the present û instead of ĕo (compare Goth. lūkan), 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. crŷdeō Rit.), *sprūtan, sprout (compare Eng. crowd, sprout), and perhaps also *scūdan, scud (only part. scūdede Guthl., which might also belong to a weak verb of the Second Conjugation, *scūdian). Here may also belong the isolated past participles ádrūten, swollen; geđrūen, forged (twice erroneously written geďuren in the MSS.).

Note 2. Of scūfan (LWS. also scēufan, scēofan, 76. 2.; Rit. scýfa), the past part. is scōfen, sceofen. L. scyfen with i-umlaut (378, note 1), and the pret. plur. in Rit. scyufon.

Note 3 (on 384, 385). The verbs in gutturals have in Anglian (165. 1; 163) ē for the ĕo or ēa of the first and second stems (in Ps. and R.1 occasionally also ī for ĕo, L. ĕ 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 brēce, lēce, see note 4).

Note 4 (on 384, 385). North. new formations are: R.2 pret. plur. brēcon, L. pret. plur. cēason, opt. cēase (beside curon, cure), plur. brē(i)con, opt. brēce; 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 OE. three main subdivisions:

1) Verbs in nasal + consonant have the ablaut-series
i, o (a, 65), u, u: bindan, bond (band), bundon, bunen, bind.

Note 1. So are also inflected findan, find; grindan, grind; hrindan, 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, crincan, fall; singan, sing; springan, spring; stincan, sink; strincan, shrink; stiigan, sting; swingan, swing; ðringan, throng; wringan, wring; drincan, drink; ðewincan, vanish; serincan, seringan, shrink; sincan, sink; sicrcan, sink; stincan, sink; swincan, swink; climban, climman, climb; (ge)limpan, happen; (h)rimpan, wrinkle; crimman, cram; grimman, rage; hlimman, roar; serimman(?) swimman, swim.

Note 2. Here belong also iernan (irnan, yrn, Ps. R.1 eornan, North. R.2 L. Rit. ðorna), run, and biernan (birnan, byrnan, Ps. R.1 beornan, North. L. beorna, bearna, Rit. beorna, biorna), burn, intrans. (Goth. rinnan, ðrinnan, with metathesis, 179), pret. orn, born, later arn, barn, for *ronn, *bronn; subsequently with regular ablaut WS. earn, bear. 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 ðon, 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 o in the pret.: dronc, etc., and so orn and born; R.1 fluctuates between o and a (the latter also in arn). On the other hand, North., which elsewhere has only o before nasals, here has always a: band, dranc, gelamp, etc., as well as arn, barn, evidently by analogy with preterits like halp, 387 (the forms with u, like fund, drunc, 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. ornun, drincon (beside druncon); L. pret. plur. ongannon, part. plur. ongindo (beside pret. ongann, plur. -gunnon), pret. ðringde, part. gedringed (beside gedrungen),
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pret. suin(c)gde, part. besuiningen, gesuin(c)ged (beside pret. -suang, part. -suungen).

scrinca has North. L. pret. plur. gescriungon, past part. forseriuncen, gescriuncan, gescryuncan; compare also the adj. unáscriunci (i.e., -anlic), inmarcessibilis Rit.

387. 2) Verbs in 1 + consonant have the ablaut-series e, ea (a, 80; Angl. regularly a, 158. 2, but see note 5 below), u, o: helpan, healp (halp), hulpon, holpen, help.

Note 1. Thus are inflected delfan, delve; belgan, be angry; swelgan, swallow; beteldan, cover; meltan, melt; sweltan, die; bellan, bellow; swellan, swell.

Isolated forms are collen-, in colleferhō, excited, from *cwellan, well up, and wellen-, in wellentēare, weeping, from *wellan, surge; yet the latter word might also belong to weallan (396. a).

Note 2. The following verbs exhibit slight variations in WS.: giellan, yell; sciellan (?), clash; gieldan, yield; gielpan, boast; scielfan (?), shake, with ie, i, 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, grow languid (generally only in the past part. ā-, besolcen) have in the pres. eo in WS. (81); yet also LWS. melcan, by analogy with verbs like helpan.

Note 4. fēolan (Ps. feolan), conceal (from *feolhan, 218. 1, compare Goth. filhan), has pret. fealh (Ps. falh; pres. 2 and 3 sing. WS. *filhst, *filhō, but Ps. 3 sing. fileō (164. 2), opt. Ps. fele, Rit. fela). The pret. plur. is rarely fulgon, generally fēlōn (Ps. fēlun) according to 390, part. folen. An inf. *felgan, which is often postulated, does not exist.

Note 5. R.1 has, beside the preterits gald, swalt, also dælf, by analogy with such as bær (390).

Note 6. sweltan forms in L. the weak pret. suelte, svalte.

388. 3) Verbs in r or h + consonant have the ablaut-series eo, ea, u, o: weorpan, wearp, wurpon, worpen, cast, or feohtan, feah, fuhton, fohten, fight; with grammatical change: weorðan, wearð, wurdon, worden, become. On the Anglian forms see notes 3 ff.

Note 1. So are inflected ceorfan, cut, carve; deorfan, labor; hweorfan, turn; secorfan, gnaw; steorfan, die; sweorfan, polish;
sceorpan, scrape; beorgan, protect; beorcan, bark; *sneorcan, excidere (only pret. gesnerc Ps.); sweorcan, grow dark; smeortan, smart (only part. fyrsmeortendum Or.); *ceorcan, 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. serō L. no doubt belongs to a weak verb *serōa, WS. *sierōan, meechari (compare OHG. serten).

Isolated past participles of this class are ácoworren, crapulatus (compare métécweorra, qualmishness), and flohtenfot, web-footed.

Note 2. On LWS. by-forms of the present, like wurđan, wurpan (worpan), etc., see 72.

Note 3. For feohtan Ps. has fehtan, North. R.² L. Rit. fehta (Rit. also adj. unáfæchtenlic), for beorgan R.¹ bergan (164. 1). Anglian instances are: Rit. gefeht, Ps. gesnerc (note 1, above; cf. 162. 2).

Note 4. The North. forms of weorpan, weorđan are worpa, worđa (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, Æ, y, which are probably due to the w.

Note 5. Under ceorfan North. has the pret. L. cearf, R.² ceorf, though North. worpa, worđa have warp, warō R.² L., according to 156. 3 (so also R.¹ warō, beside weard, wearp); but L. has also sporadic wearp, wearp, weard, wærō.

On the umlauted past participles, wærpen, wærden, 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>Inflected Form</th>
<th>Short Inflected Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bregdan, brandish</td>
<td>brægd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stregdan, strew</td>
<td>strægd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berstan, burst</td>
<td>bærst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðersecan, thresh</td>
<td>ðærse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frignan, inquire, ascertain</td>
<td>fraegn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murnan, mourn</td>
<td>mearn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spurnan (spornan), tread down</td>
<td>spearn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

spornen
Note 1. bregdan and stregdan often lose their g in southern Eng., with lengthening of the preceding vowel: brēdan, brēd, 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. strēgd, 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 strægd, plur. strægdun (no *strægd), L. (pres. streigda, strægda, straigda), pret. strægd and strugde, 2 sing. strogdes corr. from strugdes, Rit. pret. strægd and strægd, but L. Rit. part. strogden. In pure WS. prose the word seems to be only weak: pres. 3 sing. stredde, part. gestred, gestreded (for *strægd, etc.); isolated exceptions, like pret. strægd (stred) Bede, part. strogden Blickl., come from non-WS. originals.

On the 3 sing. britt, strett, etc., see 359, note 3.

Note 2. berstan and ðerscan (North. L. ðærseca, ðearsca, R.² ðarsca, Rit. ðersca) stand by metathesis for brestan and ðerscan (179), the latter occurring quite sporadically (brustæn R.¹, presc-enne Hpt. Gl.).

Note 3. frignan (compare Goth. frainhan) has i as the vowel of the present in WS. and Ps. In WS. the g often disappears in the polysyllabic forms (214. 3): frīnan : frægn; in LWS. this is replaced by frīnan, frān, by analogy with the First Ablaut-Class, yet the plur. generally persists as frunon, part. frunen, although frinon, frinen also occur. Other more uncommon by-forms are frinnan, pret. freng, plur. frungon (185).

In R.¹ the verb is frægna (only 2 sing. frægnast found), North. R.² fregna, frægna, L. fregna, frægna, fraigna; R.² pret. frægn, plur. frugnun, -on, and frægnun, part. frognen, L. pret. frægn, fraign, plur. frugnon, beside weak fregnde, frægn(a)de, fraign(a)de, part. frognen.

In this verb the n originally belonged only to the pres. (compare Goth. frah, frēhum); a relic of the older inflection is perhaps preserved in the pret. plur. frugan R.¹ Matt. 12. 10, and the participial forms gefrægen, gefrege, gefrugen, gefrigen, which might, however, belong to fricgean (391, note 8).

Note 4. For murnan, the only form occurring, *meornan is often wrongly assumed. The poetry has once a pret. murnde. For North. weak forms see 416, note 11. e. spurnan (spornan) is the
only present form in EWS.; the new formation speornan only occurs once, and that in LWS.

Note 5. Here perhaps belongs forewolstan, 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, ðe, o (Kent. and Ps. e, e, ē, o, R.¹ North. e, æ (e), ē (R.¹ also ðe), o, 150.1; 151.1): beran, bær, bærón, boren, bear.

Note 1. So also are inflected cwelân, die; helan, conceal; *hwelân(?), roar (only hwileð, and hweleþ, clangor, are found); stelan, steal; scieran, scyran, shear (WS. pret. only scear, plur. scéaron, in poet. also scear, scæron); teran, tear; ðérwan, stir; brecan, break; here belongs likewise the isolated past part. gedwolen, perverse; on geðuren see 385, note 1.

Note 2. Peculiarly irregular are:

niman, take nōm, nam nōmon, nāmon numen

cuman, come c(w)ōm c(w)ōmon cumen (cymen)

The opt. pres. of cuman occurs not infrequently as cyme, with i-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 cymes, -eð, plur. cumað, opt. cyme, imp. cym, plur. cumað; b) R.¹ inf. cuman, -e, part. cumende (cymende), ind. pres. sing. 1 cume, 2 cymest (cumest), 3 cymeþ (cymaþ, cymeþ), plur. cumaþ (cymeþ, -eð), opt. cume (cyme), imp. cym, cyme, cum, plur. cumaþ, -eþ (cymeþ); c) R.² inf. cuma, part. cymende, ind. pres. sing. 1 cymo, 2, 3 -es, -eð, etc., plur. cumað, cymað, opt. cyme, imp. cym, plur. cumað, cymað, past part. cumen; d) L. inf. cum(m)a, -æ, cyme, part. cym(m)ende (cummende), ind. pres. sing. 1 cym(m)o, 2, 3 cymes, -eð, etc., plur. cymas (cumas), etc., opt. cymo, -e, imp. cym(m), plur. cym(m)að (cumas), etc., past part. cum(m)en; e) in Rit. the y goes through the whole pres., with the exception of one each inf. gicynma, cume (past part. always cum(m)en).

The EWS. pret. is generally cōm in Cura Past. and Or., but usually cūm in Chron. R.² has only cōm, Ps. only cvōm, R.¹ cvōm (once cōm), L. cvōm (once cōme opt.), Rit. cvōm (a plural form *cwōmon, which used frequently to be assumed, does not exist).
The length of the ò in c(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 striman, in-, obniti (only part. strima(e)ndi Gl.).

Note 4. An unlaunted past part. (378. 2) is North. gibraecen.

Note 5. On u- and o/a-umlaut in verbs of this class see 370; on present forms with æ see 391, note 5.

391. Class V. 1) Verbs of the Fifth Ablaut-Class: Goth. i, a, e, i, WS. e, æ, æ, e (Kent. and Ps. e, e, ē, e, otherwise Angl. e, æ, ē, e, 150; 151): metan, mæt, mæton, meten, measure; or with grammatical change: cwēðan, cwǣð, cwǣdon, cwēden, say (cf. note 4).

Note 1. So are inflected drepan (part. also once dropen Beow. 2981), strike down; screpan, scrape; swefan, sleep; wefan, weave; fetan, fell; eden, knead; tredan, tread; sprecan (Kent. and LWS. also specan), speak; wrecan, pursue; wegan, carry; lesan, 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.1 pl(e)agade; North. R.2 plægede, L. plæg(e)de, plægade; Ps. has only present forms of plegian, plagian; cf. 416, note 13. b.

Very doubtful is hlēcan, glomerari (3 plur. hlēcað Cura Past. 362. 20; also part. tōholcene, diuulsam Germ. 23. 398?; cf. the weak verb áhlōcian, eruere, effodere).

Note 2. WS. giefan, give; -gietan, get, are irregular only in accordance with 75: pret. geaf, -geat, plur. gēafon, -gēaton (but cf. also 109, and note), part. gifen, 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 gef, gæt in L. On the other hand, Rit. has a few gi-’s, beside ge-: imp. gif, part. gifende, beside gef (157, note 2).

Note 3. etan, eat, and fretan, devour, have the WS. pret. sing. æt, fræt (compare Goth. frēt), and hence also R.1 North. ēt(t) (R.1
also once gicet), with long ē (150. 1; a sporadic æt 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. wœ- for we- see 156. 1; on North. wo- for weo- (espe-
cially wosa, 427. 3) see 156. 2; on the pres. of cwœða, etc., for
WS. cwœðaun, see 370, note 7; the pret. is in L. cuœð, cuœð (cœð,
cwœð), plur. cuœdon (cuœdon), cuœdon, etc., in Rit. cwœð (once
cwœð), opt. cvœde.

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) cwæðan, L. hæla, bærende, spræcca, 1 sing. wræco, etc.

2) The verbs gefion, gefēon, rejoice; plion, plēon, adventure; and sion, sēon, see, stand for *-fehan,
*plehan, *sæh(w)an (113. 2; 373). Their tense-formation in WS. is:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
gefēon & gefæah & gefægon & (gefægen) 
plēon & pleah & --- & --- 
sēon & seah & sāwon & sewen, sawen
\end{array}
\]

Note 6. An inf. *gefeohan does not exist; gefægen (North. L.
gefægen), glad, is, like fægen, properly an adjective (compare OS.
fagan). The pret. is Merc. Ps. gefæh, plur. Ps. R.¹ gefægun, -on
(cf. note 7). The North. verb generally inflects like a weak verb of
the Second Class: R.² L. gifēaga, -e (so also 3 sing. R.¹ gefēap);
cf. 374, notes 3 ff.; 414, note 5. c.

Note 7. In texts which are not pure WS., especially in the poetry,
sāgon occurs instead of sāwon. In Anglian the pret. of sēon is
sæh, according to 162. 1 (L. also sægh; cf. also note 6), plur. sægun,
-on (R.¹ also sægæn and sægæn), opt. sæge, part. gesegæn Ps. R.² L.,
also gesēn L. Besides, the adj. gesēne, visible, is used as a part. in
R.¹ R.² L. (222. 2; in R.¹ also gesēnæ, gesēnæ).

3) The verbs biddan, request; licg(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.
Note 8. So, too, *dieg(e)an, take, and *friegea(n, ascertain, have the same present formation, but form their pret., especially in the poetry, as *deah, *dāh (there also occurs the weak pret. *digde, *digde, 400, note 1.b; 401, note 1, especially in pure WS., and there apparently always; the pret. of *friegea(n does not occur), and the part. as geōegen (if ađegen, distantus Gl. belongs here), and gefrigen, gefrugen (389, note 3).

Note 9. The verbs in g have (57, note 3) in the ind. pret. plur. WS. ā, beside more frequent æ by analogy with the other verbs: lāgon, wāgon, and lāgon, wāgon (but not *sāgon, beside sægon, since the pure WS. form is sāwōn, see note 7, above). In Kent. Angl. the universal non-WS. ē prevails (150.1): lēgun, etc. (for an exception in R.1 see note 7).

Note 10 (on 1–3). R.1 and North. have not altogether infrequently e, beside æ, in the pret. sing.: R.1 spree, bed, sett, cweō, R.2 gef, bed, L. spree, gef, bed, set, etc. In the case at least of R.1 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.: sprēc, beside spræc, etc.

392. Class VI. 1) Verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class:
Goth. OE. a, ō, ō, a: faran, för, fōron, faren, go; on past participles with æ, e, see note 7.

Note 1. Thus are inflected alan, nourish; calan (nearly restricted to part. ofcalen), grow cool; galan, sing; grafan, grave; se(e)afan, shave; hladan, lade; wadan, go; dragan, draw; gnagan, gnaw; acan (only present forms found), ache; bacan, bake; sacan, dispute; se(e)acan, hasten; wascan (waxan, 204.3), wash.

Here belong also the isolated participles gedafen (rarely gedafen, cf. note 7), suitable; geōracen (?), prepared; also perhaps clawan, claw, whose pret. does not occur.

Note 2. wæcnam, awake, grow up, pret. wōc (beside weak wæcian, Class II) forms its present with n.

Note 3. The irregularities of se(e)afan and se(e)acan, pret. seōc, seōc, part. se(e)acan (poet. scecen, 368, note 4), are explained by 76. The Angl. forms are: Ps. pres. part. sceacende, past part. scecen, R.1 imp. plur. āscakep, R.2 imp. plur. scæcas, āscæacað, L. sceac(e)a, etc. (part. also sceæcende), Rit. past part. ásc(e)æccen.
Note 4. EWS. spanan, spanan, seduce (Angl. not found), pret. spōn, later forms the pret. spēn after the manner of the Reduplicating Verbs, and in more recent texts a corresponding pres. spannan (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 wēxaᵉ), pret. wēox and plur. wēoxon (165. 1); but North. R.² wexa, L. wēxa has still the old pret. wōx.

2) The contract verbs flean, flay; lēan, blame; slēan, strike; ōwēan, wash (compare Goth. slahan, pwaahan) 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, ōwōg, through the influence of the plur. lōgon, slōgon, ōwōgon (380; the later forms in h: lōh, slōh, ōwōh, are to be judged according to 214. 1; cf. also 4, below: sceōðan, sceōd). In the past part. grammatical change likewise prevails: slægen, ðwaegen, beflagen, 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. suœri(g)a, beside suœri(g)a, 156. 1), swear; hēbban, heave; hlēhhan (hlīhhan, hlyhhan, Angl. hlæhhan), laugh; stēppan (Rit. ste⁵pa), step; sceppan (scippan, sceppan, Kent. Angl. sceppan), create; sceōðan, injure, form their present with j, which is lacking in the other forms (372): pret. swōr (in the later Or. once swēor, 89.25), hōf, hlōg (later hlōh; plur. hlōgon), stōp, scōp (scēop), scōd (scēod; see 76, and, for the d, 2, above); part. hafen, hæfen, sceapen (75. 1), etc.
Note 6. In LWS. *hebban* has a weak pret. *hefde*, part. *hefod*. Along with *seôdan* there is a new formation *scaedan*, without *j*; and, conversely, along with *seôd* a weak pret. *seôde* (400, note 1).

Note 7 (on 1, 2, 4). In the past participle, the radical vowel *a* interchanges (368, note 4) with *æ* (or *ea* after *sc*); occasionally there are forms with umlaut-ε (378, note 1).

The past part. of *swërian* is very rarely *swären*, generally *sworen* (so also North. R.² L. Rit., beside umlauted *suören* L.); similarly LWS. *geðwogen*.

North. new formations are L. *ahofen*, beside *æfen*, *hefen*, and *dœn*, *dœn*, *dœan*, beside *dœeg(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><em>hathan</em>, call</td>
<td><em>hêht</em></td>
<td><em>haihait</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rædan</em>, advise</td>
<td><em>reord</em></td>
<td><em>(rairōp)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lācan</em>, play</td>
<td><em>leole</em></td>
<td><em>(lailaik)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ondrædan</em>, fear</td>
<td><em>ondreord</em></td>
<td><em>(——)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lætan</em>, let</td>
<td><em>leort</em></td>
<td><em>(lailōt)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To all of these belong collateral dialectic forms according to 2.

**Note 1.** The quantity of the vowel of hēht is not to be determined with any certainty; scholars are now inclined to regard the e as long (396, note 1).

**Note 2.** leolc is only found in the poetry.

Pure WS. prose has none of the reduplicated forms except one hēht 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 hēht, beside the Common WS. hēt. Where hēht 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 hēht and leort, beside hēt and lēt; R.¹ has one forleortun, beside the usual lēt, but only dreord, reord, hēht (the latter even in 14. 2, where Kemble read hēt). Ps. and North. know almost none but the reduplicated forms: Ps. R.² L. hēht, ondreord (L. onldreard), leort, Rit. hēht, leort; one exception is L. rēdon, corrected from rēddon (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 ēo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fōn, seize</th>
<th>fōngon</th>
<th>fōngen</th>
<th>feng</th>
<th>fēollon</th>
<th>fēollon</th>
<th>fōngen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hātan, call</td>
<td>hēt</td>
<td>hēton</td>
<td>fēoll</td>
<td>hēop</td>
<td>fēollon</td>
<td>hētten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feallan, fall</td>
<td>hōl</td>
<td>fōngen</td>
<td>hōl</td>
<td>hōl</td>
<td>fōngen</td>
<td>hōl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlēapan, leap</td>
<td>hōl</td>
<td>fōngen</td>
<td>hōl</td>
<td>fōngen</td>
<td>hōl</td>
<td>hōl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note 3.** The ēo undergoes the usual dialectic transformations; hence occasionally conversion to io (esp. Kentish, 150, note 3) and particularly North. ēa, beside ēo, in forms like fēall, fēoll R.² L. Rit., etc. (150, note 1).

395. 1) A few verbs with original a before n + consonant have e: blōndan, mix, pret. blend; fōn, seize; hōn, hang (Goth. fāhan, hāhan, from Germ. *fanhan, *haphan, 67); pret. with grammatical change, feng, heng, part. fōngen, hōngen.
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 ablængan, grow angry, of which only the past part. ablængne, indigni, is found in L.

2) A few verbs which end in a simple consonant have e. Their radical vowel is:

a) WS. æ, Kent. Angl. ē (= Germ. æ, Goth. ē): (on)-drædan, dread; rædan, advise, read; lætan, let; slæpan (slæpan, 57.3), sleep.

Note 3. For dreord, reord, leort, beside drēd, rēd, lēt, see 394.1. rædan is generally weak in WS.: pret. rædde, part. gerædd (406), though strong forms do occur: pret. plur. rēdon Or., part. ræden Blickl. R.¹ has pret. plur. reordun, R.² 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 slæpan is always weak: Ps. slēpte, R.¹ slēpte (slēpade), L. slēpde (plur. also slēpedon), Rit. slēpde.

b) ā (Germ. Goth. ai), neither preceded nor followed by w (396.2.c): hātan, call; lācan, jump, play; scādan (scēadan, 76), separate.

Note 4. The WS. pret. of scādan, scēadan is scēad, beside scēd. The only pret. forms of Angl. prose are: R.² ind. sing. tōgiscēode, interpretabatur, L. -scēadade, -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 l + 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; wealcan, 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. ēa for ēo see 394, note 3. R.¹ has the plur. fellun, beside forms like hēold, fēollun (fēallan).

Note 2. For gongan North. (157. 4) has L. geonga (ind. pres. 1 sing. also giungo, 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. gegōngen, its place being taken by gīead R.² L.

Note 3. On weaxan, grow, see 392, note 5.

Note 4. The forms gin(g), opt. genge, and spenn, occurring in Gen. B, which was based upon an Old Saxon original, are not OE.

2) The diphthong ēo falls to those verbs which end in a single consonant, and have as their radical vowel:

a) orig. au = OE. ēa: bēatan, beat; hēawan, hew; hlecapan, leap; āhneapan, 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, weep; * hwēsan (or * hwāsan?), wheeze; 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, sow; drāwan, twist; wāwan, blow; swāpan, sweep.

Note 5. To a) belong the isolated participles ēacen, great (cf. Goth. aukan, increase), and ēaden, born; to a) or b) the isolated preterits
conjugation 301

deneop Ex. 475 and onrōd, inbuit Corp. 1129; to c) perhaps rāwan, cleave (pres. part. gerāwende, past part. gerāwen). For snōwan, cnōdan, and North. *speofta, *speafta, see 384, notes 4 and 5.

Note 6. A strong pret. is lacking to the strong pres. būan, dwell, past part. gebūn, gebūen (rarely bīn), its place being taken by būde, būede, North. bū(e)de, from the weak bū(w)ian, North. bāya (416, note 11 d).

Note 7. Beside sāwan, MS. H of Cura Past. has an umlauted sāwan.

Note 8. The verbs in w have sometimes ē, instead of ēo, in the pret.: EWS. Cura Past. oncnēw, -on, opt. sēwe, Or. oncnēwen; Merc. Ps. oncnēw, -sē, -sēun, R.1 hēu, 2 sing. sēwe, plur. blēwan.

The North. forms of these preterits are: R.2 blōw, sēow, plur. oncenōwun, but 2 sing. sāwe; L. blēun, blēoun, plur. blēwun, blēun; oncnēw, -cnē; -cnēw, -cnēawu, plur. -cnēawn, -cnēaun, shortened (360, note 3) oncnēu, -cnēu, -cnēaw gīe, opt. cnēwa; opt. crēawa; plur. hrēwun, hrēaun, hrōwun; ind. sēaw(u), plur. sēawun (and weak sēawde, sāude); opt. spēua; Rit. 2 sing. āblēawe, 3 sing. giflēave (?).

In the pret. plur. contraction may supervene: poet. rēon, from rōwun, from rōwan.

Note 9. Of North. wēpa = WS. wēpan the pret. in R.2 is regularly wēop, in L. wēop, wēap, wēap, wēap, 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 ō-class. Its suffix was Germ. -ō-ja-, interchanging with -ō- (411).

3) The ǣ-class (also called ai-class). This was characterized in Indo-European by the ending -ǣ- 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, nērigan, nērigean, 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 \( j \) (175. 3) 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 \( j \) (175. 3).

In Anglian these two groups are well distinguished from each other, but in Southern English the old relation is much disordered by leveling and new formations.

**Note 1.** Like nērian are inflected, for example, bērian, strike; dērian, injure; ērian, plow; fērian, carry; hērian, praise; ámērian, purify; scierian, arrange; á-, bescierian, separate, deprive (75. 1); werian, defend; gewerian, clothe, dam up; byrian, pertain; onhierian, emulate; snyrian, hasten; spyrian, inquire; styrian, stir; and, with loss of \( h \), also LWS. pwyrian, adversari (for EWS. *ōwierian, from *ōwiorhjan, 218, note 2).

Like fremman originally form their presents:

a) Verbs in \( m, n \), and the liquid \( l \): grēmman, provoke; temman, tame; trymman, confirm; ōennan, stretch; wēnnan, accustom; clynnan, sound; dynnan, resound; hlynnan, bellow; *hellan, conceal; *āsciellan, shell; *syllan, sully; add ewellan, etc. (407. 1).

b) Verbs in the spirants \( s, f, g \) (geminated bb, cg, 190; 216. 1): cnyssan, thrust; hrissan, shake; scêddan, injure (also strong, 392. 4); swęddan, swathe; vręddan, support; áswęddan, put to sleep, kill; wcęg(e)an, agitate; ñlęg(e)an, receive (also strong, 391, note 8); lęg(e)an, lay; bycg(e)an, buy (407, notes 7 and 8).

c) The verbs in the stops \( d, t, \) and \( c \): hręddan, snatch, save; átréddan, investigate; cnyttan, knit; hwęttan, incite; lęttan, hinder; sęttan, set; spryttan (?), sprout; add ewęcc(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 3, 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 l, spirant). So the Cura Past. already has, beside fremman, trymman, cnyssan, a few forms like trymian, and exclusively such as gremian, lêmian, têmian, behêlian, sylvian, wrêdian; add Or. ēnian, LWS. bêdian, bathe, áscylian, 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: swêfian, hêgian, instead of swêbban, *hêcgan, hedge in.

Note 3. In LWS. texts all the verbs in -ian which originally belong to the jo-class frequently pass over to the inflection of the Second Weak Class: nêrian, pres. nêrie, nêrast, nêraô; nêriaô, pret. nêrode, like frêmian, pres. frêmie, frêmast, frêmaô; frêmiaô, pret. frêmode, etc.

Note 4. More rarely are certain of these verbs, especially fremman and trymman, treated like original long stems,yielding forms like part. gefrêmmed, 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: hrëddan, hrëdde; lëttan, lëtte (402. 2). On sëttan, 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 -idæ, 44, note 1) and a single (not geminated) consonant at the end of the stem: nêrian, nêrede; fremman (frêmian), frêmede; (ōènman) ōènian, ōènede; cnyssan, cnyssede; scèdian, scèdede; swêb- ban, swêfede (190); wcëg(e)an, wcëgede, etc. (on lëcg- ean, lay, see 407. 1, and note 7).
Note 1. Here also preterits without a middle vowel are occasionally formed: wegde, digde, cnyssde, North. L. secpde, bisuepdun; only later does a transfer of the double consonant of the present to the preterit probably occur: cnyssede, 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.: genrøréd, gefréméd, gecnyséd, gesweféd, etc. In the inflected forms the vowel of the ending is retained (144.a): genrórédês, 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: gesêtéd (from sættan, 407.1), infl. gesêtûm, etc., but gesêtédne, gesêtédre, -ra. Pure WS., on the other hand, generalizes the syncopation: æhrèð(d), gelèt(t), gesèt(t), infl. gesêtûm, like gesêtne, gesêtre, -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 i-umlaut whenever the radical vowel admits (on forms with io, eo, beside ie, etc., see 100.2, and note 2). The derivative j is lost except after vowels and diphthongs, as in cìegàn, calì (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; lic(e)ettan, feign; roccettan, utter; sporettan, spur, as well as the deformed compounds ondettan, confess; önettan, incite; örettan, battle (43, note 4). These have gemination of the derivative 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 i-umlaut is retained: hieran, hierde; dēman, dēmde.

Note 1. The -de arose by syncope (144) from prehistoric -ida. This syncope 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) nēmnan, name, has neme, with loss of the n (so also R.¹ L.), beside LWS. nēnnode (406, note 4).

b) In EWS. syncope is the rule in the other verbs with a short vowel before cons. + l, m, n: ęglan, ail; seglan, siglan, sail; pyrsmde, from oferfæðmde, oferfæðman, embrace); also frequently later ęfnan, ræfnan, execute; there also occur later forms in -ede, like bytlede Cura Past., from bytlan, build, sigelede Chron., LWS. ēfnede. Angl. are here only Ps. ārefnde, beside ārefnede, L. genægfled and gejfnde.

c) In verbs with a closed syllable, or one containing a long vowel, before the consonant-group, EWS. regularly has -ede: symblan, feast; wrixlan, change; frēfran, comfort; hyngran, hunger; timbran, build; ofersylefran, plate with silver, pret. symbledle, wrixled, frēfrede, hyngrede, timbredre, ofersylefredre (a single exception is wyrsmeedy Cura Past. MS. C, in contrast with wyrsme MS. H, from wyrsman, wyrmsean, suppurate, 185); compare also verbs like diegldan, conceal; bícenan, beckon; forgłendran, 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: frēfran, hyngrian (hingrian, 31, note), timbran, etc.
Of the Anglian texts, Ps. always has -ade, according to Class II: déglade, bëenade, hynggrade, timbrade; R.¹ several hynggrade, beside once hyngrede; R.² déglde, dégelde, beside bëenede, hyngrede, and bëenade, fröfgrade, timbrade, L. dégelde, hyn(c)gerde, timberde, beside fröfrede, leôrede (from leôra, anoint), and bëenade, 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; dëman, dëmde, judge; cwielman, cwielmde, 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: fëran, go; lëran, teach; stieran, steer; ælan, kindle; cëlan, cool; hælan, heat; tælan, persecute; flieman, rout; gieman, care; hæman, marry; benæman,
deprive; rýman, vacate; híenan, deride; lénan, lend; mænan, lament; stríenan, gain; aernan, gallop; giernan, covet; wiernan, refuse, and many others.

Verbs in f and s are, for example: drêfan, drive; dréfan, trouble; lêfan, leave; áliefan, permit; hwierfan, turn; ofyrfan, stone; beclýsan, enclose; tôcwýsan, crush; fýsan, hasten; glésan, gloss; ræsan, storm; tæsan, tear, etc.

Note 2. The verbs in vowel or diphthong -e, like biegean, bend; dryg(e)an, dry; feg(e)an, join; aflieg(e)an, pursue; for-gEeg(e)an, transgress; sweg(e)an, resound; wreg(e)aii, censure, etc. (for the verbs with g from Germ, j, like ciegean, etc., see 408. 3), and those in ng (or neg, 215, note 2), like gleng(e)an, adorn; hring(e)an, ring; ymbhring(e)an, enring; l^ng(e)aii, lengthen; ni^iig(e)aii, mingle; spreng(e)an, sprinkle; t^ng(e)an, hurry away, are regular.

In the case of the verbs in l, r + g, like fy❧g(e)an, follow; æbylg-(e)an, grow angry; biegean, taste; byrg(e)an, bury; áwierg(e)an, curse; áwyrg(e)an, strange, 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.² fyli(g)de, áwerigdun, beside fyli(g)de, bibyrgdun, L. berigde (birigde), áwerigde, áwrigde (fylegdon?), beside byrgde. fy❧g(e)de, LWS. pret. fylgde, or fylde, or wyryde, and fili(g)de, -wiri(g)de (31, note), together with pres. inf. fyli(g)an, -wyri(g)an (fili(g)an, -wiri(g)an), etc.

Note 3. So, too, the verbs in d (for those with preceding consonant see 5, below) are generally quite regular: bædan, coerce; brædan, roast; brædan, broaden; cidan, chide; diedan, kill; cádmédan, humble; fædan, nourish; gefrédan, perceive; hlýdan, carouse; hýdan, hide; niédan, force; rædan, counsel, read (cf. also 395, note 3); serýdan, clothe; sprædan, spread; geótedan, associate; underótedan, subdue; wædan, clothe; wédan, rage, etc.; only in North. is the dd of the pret. frequently simplified: L. fœde, læde, plur. brædon, cídon, etc., Rit. 2 sing. gýfædest (for fœdde, etc.).

Note 4. Of verbs ending in the sonant stop b (190) there seems to be only cemban, comb, with pret. cemunde.

2) The verbs in p, ð are regular in EWS., but in LWS. generally convert the ðd of the pret. into dd: cyðan, manifest, pret. cyðde, LWS. cydde (cf. also 406, note 3).
Note 5. Here belong, for example, ciepan, clothe; cewidan, lament; ahydan, devastate; laedan, accuse, hate; nedan, venture; seidan, affirm; oferswidan, overcome (382, note 2); wrædan, rage, etc.

3) Gemination is simplified: fyllan, fylde, fill; aþierran, ásierde, remove; wémman, wémde, defile; cœnan, cënne, beget; cyssan, cyste (the t according to 4. b), kiss.

Note 6. So also, for example: fiellan, fell; spillan, destroy; stillan, still; cierran, turn; mierran, mar; North. cnylla, knock; forestemma, 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. fyllde, cœrde, etc.

4) The ending -de becomes -te a) after the surd stops p, t, c: cëpan, cëpte, keep; yppan, ypte (under 3), reveal; grëtan, grëtte, greet; seçene(an), seçente, pour out; wësc(e)an, wësecte, wish; iec(e)an, iecte, increase (on ihte, 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: liexan, liexte, shine.

Note 8. Here belong, for example:
   a) With p: ciepan, buy; bediepan, dip; drypan, moisten; hiepan, heap; beriepan, rob; ástiepan, rob; clyppan, embrace; rempan, hasten; scierpan, sharpen; scierpan, clothe; vierpan, throw oneself; cyspan, fitter; hyspan, mock, etc.;
   b) With t after a vowel (for cons. + t see 5): bëtan, bait; bëtan, atone for; fëtan, adorn; hëtan, heat; hwëtan, whiten; mëtan, meet; nëtan, annoy; rëtan, rejoice; spëtan, spit; swëtan, sweat; wëtan, wet, etc.;
   c) With c after a consonant (for vowel + c see 407. 1, 2): ádwæsec(e)an, extinguish; ofdrysec(e)an, oppress; ácwënc(e)an, extinguish; dren(e)an, drown; seçene(an), pour out; scrënc(e)an, trip up; se(v)e(an), sink; töstënc(e)an, dissipate; swënc(e)an, plague; wënc(e)an, make proud, etc.
   wësc(e)an (LWS. wiscan, 31, note) sometimes loses its c in the pret. in LWS.: wëste, beside wiscte, wësecte; similarly in Ps. gehnis-tun, for gehnisctun, from hniscan, mollire.
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: ádwaesdon Ælf. Can., hyspdun Matt. 27. 44; compare also gigisede, oppilavit Ep.; refdsde Corp., from refsan, censure. This spelling is somewhat commoner in North. L., especially in the newly formed weak preterits of strong verbs (381, note): slöpde, grippe, greppde, from slépa, grípa; but also forms like céde, serénéde, genéoléede, geméaðð(o)n, and such as styltde, styldte, stylde, gescyrdte, bødte, plur. gefesdon, from stylta, be astonished, perplexed; scyrt, shorten; bœta, atone for; fæsta, fast (cf. 5); so also Rit. slëpde, gidréndède (add the infl. past. part. gisvoënedo).

5) After a consonant + d, t, the d of the ending is entirely lost: sëndan, sënde, send; gyrdan, gyrd, gird; ëhtan, ëhte, persecute; fæstan, fæste, fast; ðyrstan, ðyrste, thirst, etc.

Note 11. Here belong also, for example:

a) With consonant + d: byldan, build; -gyldan, gild; onhieldan, incline; behyldan, fly; ieldan, defer; scildan, shield; spildan, destroy; wiieldan, rule; onbryrdan, incite; hierdan, harden; áwierdan, injure; ondvierdan, answer; geendebyrdan, arrange; bendan, bend; blëndan, blind; lëndan, lavel; pyndan, confine; sciendan, abuse; tandan, kindle; wëndan, turn, etc.

b) With consonant + t: ágyultan, trespass; siëltan, salt; wieltan, roll; hiertan, hearken; scyrtan, shorten; myntan, intend; ácræftan, devise; gedæftan, arrange; hæftan, confine; áfyrhtan, frighten; hyëhtan, hope; lëchtan, illumine, alleviate; ryhtan, direct; tyhtan, incite; ëfstan, hasten; fylstan, assist; hierstan, fry; hlæstan, freight; hyñstan, listen; hyrstan, equip; lîestan, perform; lystan, desire; maëstan, fatten; nisttan, nest; rësttan, rest; forðræstan, crush; áwësttan, ravage, etc.

Note 12. Only occasionally are there etymological spellings: begyrddde, fæsstte, hyëtthe, 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, uninfl. part. gehiered, acc. sing. masc. gehieredne, etc., plur. gehierde (405.1); cýðan, gecýðed, gecýðedne, gecýðde, LWS. gecýdde (405.2); fyllan, gefylled, gefylledne, gefylde (405.3); sceñce(e)an, gescénced, gescéncedne, gescéncete (405.4); grétan, gegrét(ed), gegrét(ed)ne, gegrétte (405.4; 402.2); sendan, gesend(ed), gesend(ed)ne, gesende; éhtan, geéht(ed), geéht(ed)ne, geéhte (405.5; 402.2); némman, genémned, genémnedne, genémnde; timbran, getimbred (-od), getimbredne (-odne), getimbrede (-ode) (404, note 1).

Note 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: gedémede, gefyllede, etc. So occasionally also in R.¹ (gecérrede, ábælgde, áwærgede), and frequently in R.² L. Rit.

Note 2. Conversely, LWS. verbs in p and nc occasionally syncopate in the uninflected form: beclypt, geypt, ádrenct, forscrenct, besènt, geswènt; others are rare: forswæld, gebærnd, ymbtyrnd, geglængd, geæbyligd (on gecýdd see note 4); so R.¹ once forlærd.

Note 3. The rules for syncope (402.2) apply to verbs in d, t; hence pure WS. gelæd(d), geyrd, gesünd, acc. gelædne, geyrdne, gesëndne, etc. Yet EWS. has certain new formations with the full -ed: gelæded, begyrded, gesënded, gehæfted, ðwësted, and, with especial frequency, underëteded, gescënded. In pure LWS. such forms are extremely rare (ofersbræded, ðwënded ÆElfr. Hom.), while less pure WS. texts vary.
In LWS. the form *gecyd(d)* occurs for EWS. *gecydde*, probably as a new formation on the pattern of inflected forms like plur. *gecydde*, from *gecyde* (cf. 405. 2).

Of the Anglian texts, R.\(^1\) has a few isolated short forms in *befæst* and *gesett* (407, note 6), beside *-læded, -hýded, sænded, -mæted, -wæsted, -sæted*, etc.

Note 4. The *n* of *nêmnan* (cf. 404, note 1. a) is only exceptionally retained in case of syncope: plur. *genênnde* Chron. Forms like *genênned* 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 *frœfred, timbred*; L. *gedeglad* beside *degled, timbred*, etc. (R.\(^1\) only *áfrofred, wêpned*; R.\(^2\) *gidegled, gifrofred, wêpned*).

Note 6. In R.\(^1\), and especially in the North. L. Rit., these a’s extend to other verbs: R.\(^1\) *geffyllad, nêmnad, værgad*, beside frequent *-ed*; in North. especially in verbs in d, t: L. *gesêndad, áwêndad, gewêdad, geboetad, gemêtad, -fæstad, ðêhtad, geândetad*, Rit. *gisêldad, giwêndad, unáscêndado, girihtad, giünlihtad, gehæftad, gibøetadum, but also L. *gehwêrfad, gecælead, gedrênegad, gelêorad, Rit. álêsad, gimêngadum*, 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 syncope: L. *ymbgyrdeno, gesêndeno*, etc., *gewælteno, gesêneno* (insêtna, onsêtënum, etc.), Rit. *áwœrdeno, insêtënum* (R.\(^2\) has only two *onzêtënum*, from *sêtta*, 407, note 6). In Rit. this new formation goes further: *gilêfeno, gilêseno, for gilêfdo, gilêsdo*. 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 *i*-umlaut, though a few verbs have introduced it secondarily on the analogy of the regular verbs of the *jo-* class, which also have 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 ht in the pret. and past part. (232); a radical nasal disappears before this ht (45.5; 186.1).

Here belong:

cwêllan, kill
dwêllan, deceive
sêllan, give
stêllan, place
têllan, count
settan, set
lêcgean, lay
bycgean, buy
cwêcccean, shake
drêcccean, vex
lêccean, moisten
rêccean, narrate
strêcccean, stretch
ďêcccean, cover
wêcccean, wake
lêccean, seize
râcccean, reach
tâcccean, teach
rêccean, reck
sôcean, seek
dêncean, think
ďyncean, seem
wyrcean, work
bringan, bring
cwealde
dwealde
sealde
stealde
tealde
sêtte
lêgde
bohte
cweahte
dreahte
leahte
reahnte
streahteh
doalhe
weahte
lähte
rähte, rãhte
tähte, tãhte
rôhte
sõhte
föhte
fûhte
worhte
brôhte
gecweald
gedweald
geseadl
gesteald
geteald
geset(t)
gelegd
geboht
gceweaht
gedreaht
gleaht
gereaht
gstreaht
gpedeaht
gewealt
gelãht
geraht
gtêaht, getäht

Note 1. For cwêllan North. has R.² cwêlla, pret. cwêlede, L. cwella, cwëlla, pret. cuoel(e)de, part. -cwëelled.

Note 2. Beside dwêllan, dwealde LWS. has also dwêlijan, dwealde (400, note 2). Angl. has only L. geduëllas, part. dweellende.

Note 3. For EWS. sêllan LWS. has generally sylan, for *siellan (compare the inf. siollanne in a Merc. charter of about 840?). Ps. R.¹ R.² Rit. have also sêllan, -a, L. an unexplained sealla, beside
sella; add in L. Rit. a few present forms with i, like L. silo, sileo, -iō, Rit. silica, -sileo, -iō, beside the regular forms with e.

Anglian has the pret. salde (158. 2), part. sál; but R. has also one sælde, and L. a few instances of sealde, modeled after the pres. sèalla.

Note 4. Of stèllan there is an isolated part. onstèled in Or. (beside ástealda); add North. pret. ástélidae Cædmon’s Hymn (other instances lacking in Anglian).

Note 5. So, too, tellan has a part. getèled in Or., the poetry, and Bede. Ps. has pres. þèlest, -cē, pret. talde, part. getald, L. pres. 3 sing. telles, part. getèled, Rit. pret. gitecède.

Note 6. WS. settan 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 settan, pret. sette, part. geseted, plur. gesètte; R. settan, pret. sette (once sætte), part. -seted and -sett; North. R. setta; pret. sette (sète), part. -seted (-setet, -setted), inf. -setedo, beside -set(t)e and onsetnum (406, note 7), L. setta, pret. sette and sætte, part. gesèt(t)e, -t, beside inf. gesattetido and gesètteno, etc. (see under R. 2).

Note 7. On WS. forms like lède, gelèd, beside legde, etc., see 214. 3. Angl. has: R. lægde, -un, part. ālégd; R. pres. opt. læcce, etc., pret. lægdun, L. pres. plur. læcgegas, pret. lægdon, part. ālégd.

Note 8. The pret. of bycgean is found also in Ps. R. R. L., the past part. also in Ps. R. L. Rit.

Note 9. In the Cura Past. the verbs in ecc still regularly have ea in the pret. and past part.: leah, reah, ástreah, áweah, part. gereah; but MS. H already has occasional e, on the analogy of the pres.: léhta, rēhta, ástrēhta, part. gehrēht, beside reah, áweah, part. áweah; in later MSS. this e occurs throughout.

LWS. often has wrēc(e)an for wc(e)an (so already once in Cura Past.).

In Angl. these verbs have æ (162. 1) in the pret. and past part., save in so far as e has intruded from the pres., or other new formations have occurred. Ps. has pres. sing. cwēcē; pres. part. wēcende; inf. récenne, etc.; pret. rēhte, part. gereht (once gereht); pres. ðeces, -cē, pret. biōehton; pres. wēcce, etc., pret. wēchte, wēchtes, part. wēcht; R. pres. 3 sing. ræcet, imp. ðrēcete, part. gereht; bēæht; North. R. inf. ðwēcca, etc., pret. ðwēhte, plur. ðwēhtun,
á-, giwæhtun; L. pret. geocæcton, part. geewœcceed; inf. áweræganne, pret. unohcton, part. bæðht; inf. áwæccæ, áwæccæ, áwæccæ, etc., pret. -wehte, wæchte, -wæhte; according to Lindelöf, Rit. part. evæct, pret. -wehte.

Note 10. læce(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 tahete appear even in very late texts. Ps. has only the imp. pres. getæe, R.¹ pres. ræeçp, getæeçp, pret. getæhte; North. R.² L. Rit. ræhte, R.² L. tahete, L. betæht.

Note 12. The pres. of reçcean (from Germ. *rökjan?) has, like læcecean (note 10), a short vowel, and hence West Germ. gemination before j. The form reçcean, which is theoretically demanded, hardly occurs with certainty (one rece wé in Ælfr. Coll.); compare also North. R.² L. ne reces ðu, non ad te pertinet Mark 4. 38 (not *ræces, with æ, 150. 4).

Note 13. The pret. of sæc(e)an (Ps. R.¹ sæecean, R.² L. sæecca) and ðenece(e)an is also found in Ps. R.¹ R.² L., söhte also in Rit., the part. -söht also in Ps. R.² L.; on the other hand, the pret. and past part. of ðynece(e)an (R.¹ has also once pres. ðineçp) 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 wrohte, gewroht by metathesis, instead of worhte, geworht.

The compound forwyrc(e)an, ruin, forms in LWS. the pret. forwyhte, part. forwyrht.

For WS. wyrcan Ps. has always wircan (164. 2) with another ablaut-grade (only one very extraordinary wyrctun, aptaverunt, in the Hymns), R.¹ wircæ, beside wyrca, L. also a few i-forms; otherwise y prevails in North. also (one 1 plur. úe gewerco uerco, 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 bræng(e)an (OS. brængian); this also occurs now and again in EWS., and once in R.¹, while it is the prevalent form in Kent. North.
(R.² L. Rit.; but L. has also one bringað). The pret. and part. are always brōhte, brōht, 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. ðec(e)an, increase, pret. ðecte, part. geićed, plur. geićete, but LWS. pret. ihtæ, ðhtæ, part. geiht, ðeyht, plur. geihtæ, ðeyhtæ, etc.

Note 16. Here belong, for example: ðrycc(e)an, oppress; cnyc-c(e)an, tie; ðlec(e)an, warm; bepæ(e)an, deceive (not EWS.); gewæc(e)an, weaken; ðyc(e)an, suckle; the polysyllabic ołecc(e)an, ðliec(e)an, flatter; and the compounds in -læc(e)an, like néalæc(e)an, approach.

Note 17. In EWS., Cura Past. has pret. ôlehte, beside ôlecte, but otherwise regularly pret. ôrycte, ð(e)cte, part. -ôrycced, owâcced, plur. -ôrycte (-ôryccede, 406, note 1); Or. nealâhtæ, beside geićed; Ælfrc, on the other hand, always has ht: ihtæ (ðhtæ), -þrîhte, bepæhte, gewæhte, sihtæ; ôlêhte (from ðlæc(e)an, conformed to the verbs in -læc(e)an), néalâhtæ, part. geiht, geðyrst-, geßen-, geriht-læht, etc.; only exceptionally has Ælfr. forms like part. gedcced, gerihtlácced, from déc(e)an (?), smear; rihtlæc(e)an, justify.

Of ðlec(e)an there occur the part. gewlæcced, gewlæht, and gewlæcced, gewlæht.

Bede has also a pret. ðërendwreæhte without umlaut, from *ðërend-wrecc(e)an, carry a message.

Note 18. Of the Angl. texts Ps. has pret. ðete, but, from nöo-, nio-, nēhlæcan, nēolican, the pret. nöo-, nio-, nialâhtæ; R.¹ part. gécced, and, from pres. nöo-, nēalâcep; part. genélecende, the pret. -nēolictæ, beside -nēalâhtæ.

North. R.²: pret. êcete, part. -êccd (*nēoliciga conjugates like the Second Class: 3 sing. nēolicað, -as, pret. nēolicade, nēlocade, part. ginélicad); L. pret. geðyrhton, part. geelnyht, beside pret. tēcncete; then êcede (also êcete and êcadc), part. -êccd (also -êcad), and, from nēoléca, -læca, the pret. nēolécced (rarely -lêctæ, -lêcete, also -lêcced, -læcced, -læcedon; nēa-, nēlêcced); Rit. pret. -enýhtest, part. -enýht, -ðryht, beside pret. -nēoléccedest.
Note 19. In the case of certain isolated forms a full paradigm can only be conjecturally framed. So to the pret. scyhte, seduced, may be assigned an infinitive *scycc(e)an (from scucca, seducer); to the part. gecliht, collecta (Scint.), an infinitive *clyccean; to ofhæhte, hacked off (Ælfr. Ep. Past.); bedæhte, tradidit (Hpt. Gl.), the infinitives *hæcc(e)an and *dæcc(e)an (compare læccean 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, giered, imp. gier, 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, smired, 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. gigerunid, Corp. gegerwed, gesmirwed. In the poetry, too, the metre often demands gegierwed, gegyrwed, beside gegyred.
Note 3. For the most part gierwan, gyrwan adheres in WS. to the older inflection, but there is also a part. gegyrwed (cf. note 2); imp. gier and gierwe Cura Past., beside gyre; in LWS. there is a rare 3 sing. gyrað, opt. gyrie, pres. part. gyriende, past part. gegyrwod.

Ps. has regularly gērwan, pret. gērede, part. gered. 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. ungēredun, past part. ungegēradne; R.² past part. gegerwed, L. pret. plur. ge-, ongeredon, Rit. pret. gigeride; for the rest we have these replaced by R.¹ gearwiga (opt. plur. iarwan, pret. iarwede, part. iarwad), R.² georwiga, L. Rit. gearwiga, according to Conj. II (inf. gegeruiga, 3 sing. geruað, gegerues, part. gigerwad L., perhaps result only from inexact spelling).

Note 4. sierwan is regular in EWS. prose: Or. sierwan, pret. si(e)rede, part. ge-, besi(e)red (LWS. also gesyrwed); but likewise already Or. 3 plur. -sieriað, while LWS. has pret. syrode (Kent. Ps. besërode), beside syrede. LWS. usually generalizes the w: pres. 3 sing. syrwð, pret. syrwde, or, according to the o-class: syrwian, pret. (syrwode), plur. syrwedon.

Note 5. In both EWS. and LWS. 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. H), which later conjugates also according to the o-class: pres. 3 sing. smyrað, imp. smyra, pret. smyrode, part. gesmyrode. Moreover in less pure WS. texts there frequently occur forms with e: smierwian, smerian, opt. smeruwe, smerige, pret. smere, 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. smiriane, pret. smiride, plur. smiredon, Rit. part. gesmearvad.

Note 6. The w is almost everywhere generalized in hierwan and nierwan (Angl. Ps. R.¹ herwan, Ps. ñerwan: WS. pres. 3 sing. hyrwð (R.¹ herweþ), imp. hyrw, pret. hyrwde (Ps. herwedu), part. gehyrwed (Ps. genërwed, plur. genërweð), etc. Occasionally these verbs have adopted forms of the o-class: hyrwan, nyrvian, pret. hyrwode, nyrwode, etc. Only sporadic are poet. inf. heri(ge)an (?), Blickl. pret. nyrugde (for *nyruwde, compare Blickl. pret. h eruwde), and the very late part. geniered.
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Note 7. *wielwan has pret. wylede, part. bewyled, gewylwed, besides forms according to the 5-class, like pres. 1 sing. wylewige, part. bewylewud, and inf. wylian, pret. wyloge.

The vocalism is obscure in *ágælwed, alarm (part. ágælwede Or., part. ágælwed, ágelwed Boeth.).

Note 8. frætwæn, adorn, has in the pret., beside frætwede, part. gefrætwed (404, note 1), generally frætwede, part. gefrætwed according to Conj. II; subsequently there are added present forms according to Conj. II.

Note 9. ræswæn, conjecture, seems also to have had a similar inflection, as there occur also ræsian, and pret. ræswode and ræsode.

Note 10. Beside iæwæn, ywan, there occurs, as early as EWS., ðowæn, pret. ðowde, beside pres. ðowian, according to Conj. II, to which is subsequently added a pret. ðowode. More rare (and probably never in pure WS.) is ðawan, especially in the pret. ðawde.

Kent. has ðwan (=WS. iæwan, 159. 4), beside ðawan (pres. 3 sing. ætewð, æteawð Kent. Gl.), Ps. otæawan, pret. otæawde (only once each otæowan, otæowde), R.1 (æt)eawan, pret. æawde, æauðe; North. R.2 (æt)éowa, pret. éowde, part. ðowed (once ætæwæd), L. (æd-, æt-, etc., ge-)éawa, pret. -æawde, -æauðe and -æawade, part. -æawed and -æawad (very rare by-forms like inf. æthewænæ, pres. 3 sing. ædæuð, imp. ædeew, pret. ætæuwðæ, part. ætæuwæd, also pret. ædæadon, ðæwæd), Rit. ædæawa, pret. -æawde and -æawade, infl. part. ædæawde, beside ædæawad.

Note 11. Under WS. ïæwan there occurs in North. R.2 the pret. bilæde, L. beleede, with loss of w (174. 3).

Note 12. Here perhaps belongs also ðywan, press, oppress (from *þuwjan ?), pret. ðywde, part. *geðywæd, infl. geðywde. Add, with very peculiar vocalism, Or. ðpéwde, poet. part. plur. geþewde; for other forms see note 18.

3) The verbs with orig. aw, iw manifest much irregularity.
Note 13. The verb *cīg(e)an, cīgan (cīgān), call, name, goes back to a basic form *kaujan, and in WS. transfers the g to all the forms: pret. cī(g)e, part. gecī(e)ged, plur. gecī(e)gde, etc. The Anglian forms are: Ps. cēgan, pret. cēde (from *kawida, *kewida, with loss of w, according to 173. 2), R.1 cēgan, cēgan, pret. cēgde, cēgde, once cēigde, part. gecēged; North. R.2 cēga (once imp. ceig), pret. cēgde, rarely gecēged, part. gicēged, once gicēded, plur. gicēgde; L. ceiga, pret. ceigde, rarely ceigede, part. gicēged, rarely gecēged, -id; giceigd, giceid, giced, infl. giceig(e)do, etc.; Rit. ceiga, pret. -ceigde, -ceide, part. geceiged, infl. giceigido, giceigdo, giceido. On the conjugation of the present see 409.

Note 14. Thus inflects the only poet. hēgan, perform (from *haujan, ON. heyja), pret. hēde, part. gehēd; similarly the non-WS. poet. strēegan, strow (Goth. straujan), pret. streidēæ, -e Erf. Corp., strēdun R.2

Note 15. The latter is represented in WS. by strewian, pret. strewede, later streowian (strawian), streowede or streowode, according to Conj. II.

To the same type belong the isolated part. ā-, gebeowed, polished (OHG. gibeuuit), and the verbs si(o)wian, sew; spi(o)wian, spew (compare ON. sēja, spēja, from *sīujan, etc.), of which the ancient inflection is scarcely illustrated save in the oldest texts (past part. -sīuidd Ep., -sīoid Corp., infl. (instr.) bīsīuidd Ep., bīsīuđi Corp.); later they pass over to Conj. II, except that spiwian has also pret. spīowde, spēowde (beside plur. spiwedon; all in the poetry).

Note 16. Like the original long stems (compare especially note 12) inflects usually hlīwian, hlēwian, warm (compare ON. hlīja, from *hlīujan), pret. hlīwde, infl. pret. gehlīwde; but there also occur pret. hlīde, part. gehlīd, and, in the poetry, a pres. plur. hlēoð.

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, *dīan, *dēon, suckle: Ps. pres. part. miledēoundra, R.1 diendra, North. L. part. diendra, pret. 2 sing. godiides, suxisti (in R.2 mis-written as deōedes). On the other hand, huāg(e)an, neigh (from *huaijan) generalizes the g: 3 sing. huāgō, etc.
Note 18. The number of contract verbs with the stem originally ending in h is larger: hēan, exalt, pret. hēade, part. hēad (Angl. geheed Bede); tyn, train; ḍyn, press (from *ṭūhjan, OHG. duhnen, compare ḍywjan, note 12 above), *ōrūn, bind (pret. ḍōrūde, expressit L., part. ḍōrūd Gl.); rūn, roar; *scēn, persuade (OHG. scūhen), pret. tyde, part. tyd, infl. tyde (also late pret., etc., tydde, 230, note 1); also infl. ðēon (cf. 117. 2, and note) and hence pret. ðēode, infl. part. ðēode (?). Add sporadic forms like gewēd, depravat, pret. gewēde (from *wōhjan); pret. plur. tēdan (from *tōhjan); inf. *wēn, *tēn?

Uncontracted forms occur in the oldest texts, like pres. 3 sing. fēhit, pret. plur. fædun Ep. from *faihjan, paint; participial noun scyðend Ep., scyend Corp., seducer, past part. áprūid, expilatam Corp. Later they are rare (there occur LWS. forms like ic ðyge, pret. ðỳgde; R. plur. scyap).

### Conjugation of the Weak Verbs of Class I

409. nērian 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

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#### Optative

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### Infinitive

| néric | fremman | deman | gierwan | ciegan |

### Participle

| neriende | fremmende | demende | gierwende | ciegende |

### Preterit

### Indicative

| Sing. 1. nerede | fremede | demede | gierede, ciegde, etc. |
| 2. neredes(t) | fremedes(t) | demdes(t) | etc. |
| 3. nerede | fremede | demde |
| Plur. neredon | fremedon | demdon |

### Optative

| Sing. nerede | fremede | demede | gierede, ciegde, etc. |
| Plur. nereden | fremeden | demden |

### Participle

| Sing. nered | fremed | demed | gier(w)ed, cieged, etc. |
| Plur. nerede | fremede | demde | etc. |

**Note 1.** For graphic variants of nérian, etc., like nergan, nerg(e)an, etc., see in general 175. Ps. has only g, as in gedergan, onstyrgan, ind. pres. 1 sing. hērgu, -o, nērgu, biserghu, swērgu, biwergu, plur. hērgað, genērgað, swērgað, opt. nērge, hērgen, part. hērgende, genērgende, swērgendan; R.₁ inf. swērige, swērge (and one doubtful swērīgæ, probably opt.), and fērganne. North. R.² inf. swērīga, infl. hērganne and smiranne (408, note 5; cf. also 400, note 2), part. hērgende and hērende (cf. also 412, note 11), L. inf. suerī(g)a, suerī(g)a, suerige; gestyrige, -ege, infl. hērganne and smiriane, part. eriende, hērgende, hērgiendū and hērende,
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ind. pres. 3 sing. suērias. Rit. has, beside (gi)hēriað, gihērgað, also ind. opt. pres. 1 and 3 sing. gīnere, without j.

On Southern English forms like sēcean, -eað, hnaegean, -eað, etc., beside sēcan, sēcað, 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 ic: sægdig L., ēadig, cērdig Rit., for sægde ic, ēade ic, cērde 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 nērian (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 hēan, tȳn, etc. (408. 4), pres. hēa, tȳ, 2 sing. hēast, tȳst, 3 sing. hēað, tȳð, plur. hēað, tȳð, etc., or (b) is preserved, as in WS. cēgan, etc. (408, note 13).

In Ps. cēgan inflects ind. pres. cēgu, *cēst, cēð, cēgað, opt. cēge, imp. cē, *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. cēgeð, imp. cēg; North. R.2 pres. 3 sing. (gi)cēgeð, -es, -að (once giceeð), imp. gicēg; L. pres. 3 sing. giceigeð, -es, -að, plur. giceigas, -es, imp. giceig, giceige.

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 statements of 190 and 216, relating to cg as the geminate of g, and bb as that of f: læcg(e)an, lægeð; swebban, swefeð, 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: sçlest and sçlest, sçleð and sçlleð, etc. This is especially marked in North, in L.

3) The imp. sing. of the short stems ends in -e (Goth. -ei), as in niere, frême, while it regularly suffers apocope in the long stems (133 e): dêm, hìer, etc.

Note 4. In LWS., forms like dême, hîre, are very common. They are rarer in the case of original short stems, like têlle (on EWS. gier and gierwe, etc., see 408, note 3); yet sporadic forms do occur, after the manner of the long stems, as, for example, ceuell.

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 gelêse, cêge, L. celge, gehêre, -lœore, sende, Rit. girihtê, givœende, geinlihte (but not R.²). The original short stems have in R.¹ forms like swêr, hêf, sêl, beside sêle, âþene, and, with transference of gemination, selle, sêtte, ârêccee, bebyege; North. R.² sitt, sêl, beside site, sête, (bi)byge; L. gbidd, sitt, lig, byg, gener, sêl, onsett, beside suere, gener (and fêrig, according to 412, note 8), Rit. gibidd, áhêf, sêl, beside ginêre and glibidde, gitrymme.

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 -eja-, -ija-, etc.; hence, for example, inf. lōcian, look, from *lōkōjan, -ējan, etc., opt. lōcige, from lōkōjai, -ēja, etc.

The o 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 i of the ia, ie was developed from ō, 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 ia, ie have no proper u- or o/a-umlaut; where it appears notwithstanding, as in cliopian, cleopian, beside clipian, 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 ō either (as in the present) an a, or else u, o; hence, for example, either lōcade 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 3.

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; ceorian, lament; dwolian,
err; holian, obtain; hopian, hope; laonian, invite; lofian, praise; macian, make; mônian, exhort; stician, stab; varian, observe; and such long stems as áscian, ask; cēapian, trade; costian, tempt; eahitian, estimate; cardian, dwell; earnian, earn; endian, end; fondian, try; fundian, aspire; gearwian, prepare; grāpian, handle; hergian, devastate; higian, hasten; behofian, need; hwearfian, wander; lēanian, reward; lōcian, look; loccian, entice; meldian, announce; offrian, sacrifice; seeawian, see; somnian, collect; tioh-hian, arrange; ðaccian, pat; ðoncian, thank; muelwian, roll; weordian, honor; wincian, wink; wisian, guide; wondrian, wander; wuldrian, glorify; wundian, wound; wundrian, wonder; and many others. Of special groups we may emphasize the derivatives

a) in -(e)cian: bedecian, beg; ástycian, extirpate; áswefecian, eradicate; iceldcian, delay; gearcian, prepare;

b) in -(e)gian, mostly formed from adjectives in -ig: dysegian, be foolish; h(e)gian, oppress; met(e)gian, moderate; wel(e)gian, enrich; hālgian, hallow; gemyndgian, remember; sārgian, suffer; seylgdian, sin; syngian, sin; wērgian, weary; witgian, prophesy;

c) in -(e)nian: gedafenian (Ps. gedæfenian, R.1 gedæfnian and gedæfnian, North. gedæfniga). bef(e)nian, rejoice; hafenian, grasp; op(e)nian, open; war(e)nian, take warning; faestnian, fasten; lācnian, cure; wilnian, desire; witnian, punish;

d) in -(e)sian: ef(e)sian, shear; eg(e)sian, terrify; blētsian, bless (198. 4); blīōsian, blissian, rejoice; clēnsian, cleanse (185; 186. 2); götsian, covet; grimsian, rage; hrēowsian, pity; iersian (iorsian), be angry; mārsian, celebrate; miltsian, repent; ricsian, rixian, rule; unrötsian, grieve; untrōwsian, defraud, etc.

Note 5. Many verbs which are wholly or chiefly conjugated in the 0-class have passed over to it from the ancient e-conjugation: compare, for example, ārian, honor; cunnian, try; folgian, follow; homgian, hang; hatian, hate; longian, long; līcian, please; sārian, be sad; sōmian, be ashamed; sorgian, grieve; sparian, spare; dōlian, suffer; ðröwian, suffer; wacian, keep watch; wunian, dwell, with OHG. ērēn, (Goth. kunnan, pret. -aida), folgēn, hangēn, haz-zēn, langēn, līchēn, sērēn, seamēn, sorgēn, sparēn, dolēn, druōēn, wachēn, wonēn, etc.; especially belong here the numerous derivatives from adjectives: ácealdian, grow cold; gestrōngian, grow strong (OHG. arecaltēn, strangēn), etc.

The forms of these verbs are included without comment in what here follows, so far as they coincide with those of the 0-verbs; the
remains of the ancient ō-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><strong>Indicative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Optative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. ōcige</td>
<td>ōcige</td>
<td>Sing. 2. ōca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ōcas(t)</td>
<td>ōcigen</td>
<td>Plur. 1. ōcian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ōcað</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. ōcian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur. ōciað</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Infinitive</strong></th>
<th><strong>Participle</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōcian</td>
<td>ōciende</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterit</th>
<th>Optative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indicative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Optative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. ōcode</td>
<td>ōcode</td>
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<td>2. ōcodes(t)</td>
<td>ōcoden</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. ōcode</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur. ōcodon</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Participle**

-ōcod

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.) shows important variations.

Note 1. The ia, ie of the ending are, likewise by the testimony of prosody, generally disyllabic (they have therefore syllabic i: ō-ci-an, etc., not unsyllabic j: *ōe-jan or *ō-ejan, etc.). In a few texts
INFLECTION

accents occasionally occur over the i, which perhaps points to a secondary displacement of the quantity of the i (lōcian, from *lō-ec-ian); thus forms like inf. gemīdlīan, gelācnīgan, plur. clīpiað, opt. forhradīen, etc., are written by one scribe of MS. H of Cura Past.

In the case of the ancient o-verbs (for ancient e-verbs see 416, notes 2 and 15), monosyllabic ge occurs only exceptionally for disyllabic ie, especially in certain later texts, probably as a Kenticism: compare participles like Blickl. gnorngende, Benet inf. hādgenne, mōtgenne, etc.; yet already in MS. H of Cura Past. one lufge (for gellorngen see 416, note 15).

Note 2. In the EWS. texts -ia- is generally written (as indicated in the paradigm), much more rarely -iga- or -iga- (the latter is almost entirely wanting in MS. C of Cura Past.); but also very exceptionally -ea-: Cura Past. plegean, Or. hērgean. 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 hērgende Or., yōegende Cura Past.; compare sporadic LWS. parallels like hlēodrēgendum, mægeregan Gl.); in the infl. inf. (cf. note 10) -ienné 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-. Ælfr. Hom. has mostly -ige-, even in the infl. inf. and in the part., as in bodigenne, bodigende, while in Ælfr. 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 (āfestnīge, onseunīge, getimbrīge, but lornie), but always part. -iend(e).

Ps. has almost always -iu (1 sing.), and so -ia- and -ie- (only one each of gearwigu, ondettigað, -igen, genyhtsumegende, gedeaxneð; for diwgen see 416, note 15); R.¹, on the other hand, has both -ige (but one wundriende) and -iga-, -iga- (yet also a few -ia's, and one hālsio).

Of the North. texts, R.² has always -ige-, -igo-, and generally -iga-, rarely -ia-; 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 -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 losiaðo, duolages, eardegað, 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. ðröwa, beside ðröuigo, imp. hältig, beside háltga, 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. -iu, more rarely -io (355, note 2). R. 1 has, beside ähsige, sönmige, one hälsio, and a newly formed ðröwa, þrówe (getimbre may be an early form, cf. 404, note 1). In North. prevails -igo R. 2 L. Rit., as in bodigo, sönmigo, etc.; but forms also occur like R. 2 fulwo, gihálgo, lufo, rarely sönmiga; lufa, milsa; L. ðröuiga, hältiga, uuldria, norðige; lufo, genidro; lufa, ðröwa, hálsla, milsa; Rit. gihélsiga, giniösige; gímynnga, gidlíga.

Note 5. The a of the ind. 2 and 3 sing. in WS. is entirely stable (one ofersceadoð Cura Past. MS. C, contrasted with -að of MS. H, is suspicious); Kent. Gl. have a few o's, e's: onseunoð, geþafod, ofsticoð; geþafed, æred; a sporadic edléaneð in Ps. is again suspicious, and so also a sporadic ádrúgiað.

R. 2, on the other hand, beside -ast, -ap, etc., has rather numerous e-forms, like endep, gearweþ, etc. (also gearwaþ), and occasionally -la-: æriað, þrówiaþ. In the 2 sing. the North. R. 2 has for the most part -as (one giowestu, from giowiað, covet, 416, note 15, b), in the 3 sing. generally -að, beside rare -eð (gísomneð, lufed, gidæfneð), and again somewhat more common -igað, -iað, -ias: gísomnigað, ægnigað, clænsigað; wundriað; clænsias, etc. L. has in the 2 sing. forms like lócas, sönmas, etc. (this is the normal form); lufestu, ondsuærastu, niveas; wordias; in the 3 sing. there prevail -að, -as, beside -eð, -es (and rare -æð, -æs: lufæð, clioppæs); beside new formations, especially in -iað, -ias, more rarely such as sönmigað, -as, fæstnigeð, norðiges, syngieð; ægnegæð; dædages, norðages, fæstnagið, costaið, and sceomiagað. Rit. has in the 2 sing., beside -as (-ast), forms like gírorses, eftnives; glāðias (for such as rícasð see 356, note 2); in the 3 sing., beside a few -eð's, new formations in -iað, beside sporadic gíhersumaiath, gímlsaegð, giárwyrdigeð.
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 WS. Kent. Ps.; but in R.¹ there occur, beside the usual -i(g)aþ, -iaþ (sporadically also seyldigat, lōkidæp), new formations like gesōmnaþ, etc. (sporadically also such as hreordeþ, speaks). In North. R.² generally has -igað, -igas, beside less frequent -iað, -ias, and in the ind. new formations in -að, -as, like gisōmnað, lufas. 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 dēadageð, costages; āgnegað, eardegas (rare by-forms: losaiað, āgnagað, lufagiað, aldagiað, bodagað, worgaiges, āneges, getegōges, clioppogað, sceawgiæs), but especially such as gesōmnað, -s (rarely -es: behöfes). The Rit., too, beside the usual -i(g)aþ, -i(g)as, has a few new formations like gebloèdsað, gìmērsas, gīfōrscipeð.

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 WS. and Kent. is regular throughout. For the plur. the general rules of 361 are to be observed. Thus EWS. -igen later becomes also -ian (even Or. once āscian), and then in LWS. predominantly -ian, etc., while in Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps. Kent. Hymn -ian is uniform.

Ps. regularly has sing. -ie, plur. -ien; R.¹, beside the predominant sing. plur. -ige, also a few -igæs and sing. folge, getriowe, plur. iarwan. 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. gerīxage, losaige, dēadege, and geberhtna, plur. dēadage, lufaiga, -e; similarly in Rit. sing. plur. mostly -īa, -īga, rarely -īge, and new formations like sing. gimsāixe, gīdlige, giwlițega and gemyndʒe, plur. gīthonecage and giearnigo.

Note 8. In the imp. sing. the ending -a is stable in WS. Kent. Ps. R.¹ has, beside -a, rather frequently -e (also -e, in lōcæ). In North., R.² has a sporadic lōcco, look, beside regular -a; L. and Rit., beside -a, have a few -e's, and often a new formation in -ig: ārig, sceawig, hālgig (cf. also 410, note 5; one worgīga, adora Rit. is probably to be regarded as inf., and one geðrēat L. is perhaps only miswritten).

For the imp. plur. see note 6.

Note 9. In the uninfl. inf., -ian, etc. (note 2), is generally stable in WS. Kent. Ps. (363.1, and note 1). R.¹ has, beside -igan, -ian, 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 dæadage, wifega, āgnege (sporadic by-forms lufagie, geðræadtaige, undraige, hiordagae, gelēcnæge, gehorogæ), and like gereofa, milsa, gehāliga. 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. -ienné Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps., etc.

In Angl., on the other hand, the prevalent forms are without -i-. Ps. has -enne, as in earnenne (besides one to mildsiende, miserendi); R.¹ varies: scēawenne, bismerene, 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, êmbehtane, talanna, and the shortened scēawnne), rarely -enne (gehâlgenne, pînenne, worðenne) or -ianne (bodianne, lufianne, worðianne); 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. -iende likewise predominates, but -ende is also very common, and indeed frequently in the same verbs: blissiende and blissende, etc. R.¹ has, beside (clipigende), wundriende, usually -ende, as in (clippende, 416, note 14. c), lôkende, etc.; exceptionally also costænde, lôcande, ðndsvarande. In R.² -ende is uniform, while in L. it interchanges with -ande (beside sporadic ðndsvarænde, and shortened forms like scēaunde, ðrōunde), and more rarely with i-forms, like geadrigende, etc. (once also gidyrsgindum, compare the older hlæodrindi Ep.; for wunigende, etc., see 416, note 16). Rit. has, beside -ande (rícsande, etc.), also lufende, wynsumænda (for wunigende, lififændra 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 -iende (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 -ode, 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 áslaæcudæ, suicudæ, beside geregnodæ, suornodun, and genifôradæ, lîthicæde; in Corp. -ade, etc., prevails; only sporadically there occur gemærecaðe, ôrôwade, tioludun, which in part belong to older ë-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 ë): lôcude, plur. lôcudon, etc.

Note 3. In Cura Past. the sing. -ude is found in both MSS. twice: grâpude, ôrôwude; and -ade three times: ônâde, bisnade, gesyngade; 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.: hîrsumedon, bodedon, geôafedon, wunedon, bismredon (hence especially in older ë-verbs); the sing. -ede is lacking, with the exception of a single ofermôdgede 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. oferhergeadon).

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. onseunede (416, note 11), geôafede, offréde, beside the prevalent -ade; in Kent. Ps. lufedest, beside two occurrences of pingode and one of besêrode (408, note 4).

Note 6. In Anglian -ad is the constant norm; -ud-, -od- is, except for 5 cleopude, 8 lufude Ps. (and frequent -ade), decidedly rare: only one each of duolude Ps., hleonudun R.1, trûgude, òndsuearudon L., giôrôotodon R.2, òndsuorode, losodun, cliopodan
L. As the instances show, this form of ending is chiefly restricted to
the original ë-verbs (416, and notes).

Somewhat more common in Ps. R. is -ed-, and here, too, the
original ë-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 ô-verbs: liccedon, worõedun, ofwunderedon, etc.

Note 7. Moreover, L. has a number of occasional new formations,
like scéawde (scëaude, scëode; cf. 416, note 17. b), from scéawiga,
look; hëafege, untrymigdon, from hëafiga, lament; untrymiga,
be sick (416, note 11); or, conversely, ëllõodade, beside ëllõodegde,
-igde, from ëllõodgtiga, travel abroad.

Note 8. For forms without a middle vowel, like trúwde, ëoeowde,
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,
gefetodnae, áfüloðan (all from older ë-verbs; cf. 416, note 15. b,
and OHG. fülên); 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 uninflleted -ad, and one each of geägen-
udu (144. b), gewundedan, forrotedan, in both MSS. alike (un(ge)-
ünded and 2 instances of gewintrede 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, beside 13 instances
of -od and 4 of -ode, etc., 6 of gefulwad, 2 of gewundad, 1 of
geleapåde, 1 of gefulluhtud, 3 of -horsude, -an. In Or. the unin-
flected form is usually -ad, then -od (twice -ed), infl. -ade or -ede
(one each of gebrocode, 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 wîtnod, gelîggod, gegearwod,
INFLECTION

infl. gesammnode, gemetgode, gewitndonum, and (of older ē-verbs) onseunede (416, notes 11. c and 15. a), gæfenedan (OHG. äbandēn).

Note 4. In Anglian the norm is uniformly -ad, infl. -ade, etc.; but Ps. has a few inflected forms like gesingāledēc, gewundedan, -edra, etc.; R.¹ an infl. gesamnode, beside several instances of uninfl. -ed, like beweddēd (also one gegeardād); R.² uninfl. gídan, losted (older ē-verb, 416, note 11. b); L. Rit. rather frequently uninfl. -ed, Rit. also one infl. géndvardedō. Add new formations like Rit. gicostiged, L. gœōrēaten, 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 ō-verbs (373; 408. 4), in which the root and the vowel of the ending coalesce in the forms without older ā. Here belong:

a) *bōian, *bōgan, boast (ind. 3 sing. poet. bōd, beside LWS. newly formed bōgað Scint.); *gōian, lament (part. gōiende, ind. pres. 3 sing. gōað Bede); scōian, scōgan, shoe (ind. 1 sing. scēge, scēoge, opt. plur. -scōgen, imp. sing. scēo, plur. scēogeað, past part. -scōd, scōd, North. gescēd L., giscēð R.², imp. giscēo Rit.); basic forms *skōhōjan, etc.

b) tvēog(e)an, doubt (from *twihōjan, compare OHG. zvehōn; pres. tvēoge, tvēost, tvēoð, opt. tvēoge, part. tvēogende, poet. also -tvēonde (412, note 11), pret. tvēode; Merc. R.¹ ind. pres. plur. tvīgap, pret. 2 sing. getwīodestu, plur. tvīōduñ, North. R.² ind. pres. 3 sing. tvīas, opt. twīoge, pret. twīade, plur. twīōdun, L. ind. pres. 3 sing. tuās, tuāes, opt. sing. getuīga, pret. tuīade, plur. tuīaton, getwīedon, Rit. pret. sing. gitvīeda), and probably *tēog(e)an, ordain, create, of which only contract forms seem to occur (ind. pres. plur. poet. tēoð, pret. tēode, Old North. tīade Cædmon’s Hymn, part. -tēod); likewise frēog(e)an, love (Goth. frijōn), ind. pres. 3 sing. frēoð, plur. frēogað (poet. also frēoð), opt. frēoge, imp. sing. frēo, etc.

c) North. also gefēaga, etc., rejoice (= WS. gefēon, 391. 1, and note 6): R.² inf. giſfēaga, -e, ind. pres. 1 sing. giſfēo, 3 giſfēað, part. giſfēa(a)nde, giſfēonde, pret. giſfēade, giſfēode, plur. giſfēadun; L. inf. gefēage, beside gefēa, ind. pres. 1 sing. gefēo, 3 gefēað, -s, opt. sing. gefēage, plur. gefēað, part. gefēande, pret. gefēade, plur. gefēadon, past part. gefēad; Rit. inf. giſfēa(g)ia, giſfēage, beside giſfēa, ind. pres. plur. giſfēað, opt. sing. giſfēage, plur. giſfēaga, imp. plur. giſfēað, pres. part. giſfēande.
3. THIRD WEAK CONJUGATION

415. This conjugation comprises the few remains of the original ō-class (389. 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. søegcam, from *sagjan, ind. pres. 3 sing. sagað, North. søecð, etc., from orig. *sagaip, pret. sægde, 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. -ǣ-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.
lœsiga, lœsga, be lost (note 11), from the stem *losējo-, *losī(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; sceg(e)an, say; hycg(e)an, think, and originally the contract verbs òrēag(e)an, rebuke; smēag(e)an, investigate; frēog(e)an, free; fēog(e)an, hate (West Germ. stem-forms *haʃja-: *haʃai-, pret. *haʃ-; *prarja-: *prarai-, pret. *prar-; *frīja-: frī(j)ai-, etc.). As paradigms we may assume (forms in parenthesis are such as are rarely or never found in WS.):

Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 hæbbe</td>
<td>1 hæbbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{libbe</td>
<td>(lifge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(hafas[t])</td>
<td>{liofas(t)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thæfst</td>
<td>{sægst</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(hafað)</td>
<td>{liofâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural: habbað</td>
<td>{libbað</td>
<td>(lifgað</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc., like fremme, 409.
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Singular:
2 haфа liofa { (saga) { hoga sӕge hyge ðrēa frēo

Plural:
habbað { libbað { (lifgað) secg(e)að hycg(e)að ðrēag(e)að frēog(e)að

Imperative

habban { libban { (lifgan) secg(e)an hycg(e)an ðrēag(e)an frēog(e)an

Participle

hæbbende { libbende { lifgende) secgende hycgende ðrēagende frēogende

Preterit

Indicative

Singular:
1 haefd lifde sægde hogde ðrēade frēode etc., like dēmde, 409.

Participle

gehæfð gelidf gesægd gehogod geðrēad gefrēod

Note 1. habban. a) habban coalesces with the negative ne to nabban, ind. pres. sing. 1 næbbe, 2 (nafast), næfst, 3 (nafað), næfð, plur. nabbað, opt. næbbe, pret. næfde, past part. genæfð.

b) The forms hafas(t), hafað; nafas(t), nafað are extremely rare in Pure WS. (in Cura Past. hafas(t), nafað once each in both MSS., hafað 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 hæfst, hæfð, etc., are collateral forms; the Anglian poetry has also a 1 sing. hafu. -o (-a).

c) A few instances of hæbbαð, næbbαð occur in the ind. pres. plur. of Cura Past. MS. H, while æ is the rule in the WS. abbreviated hæbbe wē, 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. habban, following the ind. sing. hæbbe, plur. habbað.

d) The LWS. past part. is sporadically -hæfð (frequently in Bede MS. Ca).

Note 2. a) In lifban and lifgan (lifian, lifigean, etc.) there is a double formation of the present (415. 1 and 2). Of these, lifban is properly the Pure WS. form, lifgan that of the other dialects, though Cura Past. MS. H has an exceptional lifiendan (Chron. seems to have only lifgende, and no form with bb), and occasional deviations are subsequently found in Pure WS. In the poetry, lifban 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 (lifað Cura Past. MS. C), while later it is generally leofað, but also lifað, lyfað, etc. The io, eo thrusts itself, as a dialectic influence, even into the older j-forms, as in inf. leofian, 3 plur. leofiap Blickl.

c) The LWS. pret. is generally leofode (beside lyfode, sporadically also lifede Bede MS. Ca).

d) Dialectal inflection: Kent. has in Kent. Ps. the part. lifi(g)ende, lifgende, in charters opt. lifige, part. lifgendes, pret. oferlifde. — Merc. Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 lifgu, 3 leofað, liofað (leafað), plur. lifgauð, opt. lifge, inf. lifgan, part. lifgende (one lifiende), past part. lifd; — R. ind. pres. sing. 3 leofap, plur. lifgap, part. lifgende, pret. lifde. — North. R. ind. pres. sing. 1 lifo, 3 lifð, plur. lifgas,
CONJUGATION

inf. lifga, part. lifgende; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 liofað, -æð, -eð, lifeð, -es, plur. lifías, lififgað, opt. (h)lifige, part. lifi(g)ende (lif-
ligende, lififgiene, etc.), pret. lifde; — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 2 liofas
(-að), 3 liofað, lifað, -eð, plur. lifigað, lifað, lifað, opt. sing. plur.
lifiga, part. lifi(g)ende, lififgiene.

Note 3. sæcgean. a) The EWS. is regularly pres. sing. sæcge, sægast, sægð, plur. sæcge(e)að, etc., pret. sægde, part. gesægd (for
forms like sæde, gesæð see 214. 3), except that æ occasionally
intrudes into the old ja-forms: inf. sæcg(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. sæcge,
sæg(e)st, sæg(e)ð, plur. sæcge(e)að, imp. sæge, plur. sæcge(e)að (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. ne sæge ðu.—Merc.
Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 sæcgu, -o (one -sæcga), 2 ásagas, 3 sægeð, plur.
sæcgað, opt. sæcge, plur. -en, imp. sing. sæge, plur. sæcgað, inf.
sæggenne, part. sæcgenden, pret. sægde, past part. sægd; — R.1 ind.
pres. sing. 1 sæge (sæcga, sæcge), 2 sægest, 3 sægeð, plur. sæcgað
(sæcgað), opt. sing. plur. sæge, imp. sing. sæg, sæge, sæge, plur.
sæcgað, pret. sægde, past part. sægd.—North. R.2 ind. pres.
sing. 1 sægo (-e), 2 sæges, 3 sægeð (sæcgað), plur. sæcgað, -as
(ásagas), imp. sæge, inf. sæga (-o, sæge), inf. sæganne, pret.
sægde, part. ásægd; — L. ind. pres. sing. 1 sægo (sægego), 2 sæges
(-eð), 3 sægeð, -es (sæcgas, -es), plur. sæcgað (sægas), opt. sing.
sæge, imp. sæg, sæge, plur. sæcgas, pret. sægde, past part. ásægd
(ásæged); — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 3 sægð, plur. sæcgað, opt. sing.
sæge, imp. sæg, -e, part. sægende, pret. sægde.

Note 4. a) hycge(e)an forms its whole pres., even in EWS., for
the most part according to the paradigm of Conj. I: hycge, 3 sing.
hyg(e)ð (but once hogað Cura Past. MS. II), imp. -hige Boeth.
MS. C (-hoga MS. B); in the pret. hogode 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.: 
-hygde Blickl. Gl., -hyg(e)de, -hig(e)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. ðréag(e)an and sméag(e)an. Here we encounter sporadically in WS. abbreviated forms like the infl. ðréanne Cura Past. MS. H, opt. plur. sméan, imp. plur. sméap Boeth. MS. B (ind. plur. sméad Metres), part. sméande Spelm. Ps.


Note 6. fréog(e)an, friog(e)an (114.2; for fréoguean, love, see 414, note 5. b) inflects in Merc.: Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 frigu, 2 -fréas, 3 -fréað (-fríað, -fréoð), imp. sing. -fréa (-fría), plur. -frigað, part. subst. -frigend, pret. -fréode, -fréade (fríode, 'fríede), past part. -fréod, -fréad, -fríad; — R.1 opt. pres. gefréoge. — North. R.2 ind. pres. sing. 3 -fríad, -fríð, imp. sing. fría, past part. -fríad, plur. -fríode; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 fríad, -frígeð, fréved, imp. -frig, inf. gefríega (opt.?), part. friende, pret. -frigade, past part. -fríod, -fríod, -fríuad; — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 1 fría, opt. -fríe, imp. fría, pret. -fríade, fréode, past part. -fríad, -fríod.

Note 7. féog(e)an, fiog(e)an (114.2; Goth. fijan) inflects in Merc.: Ps. ind. pres. sing. 3 fíad, plur. fíagað (fíad), imp. plur. fíad, part. figende, pret. fiode (fíode, fíede, also once fédest); — R.1 ind. pres. sing. 3 fíad, plur. fíegað, opt. fíegæ. — North. R.2 ind. pres. sing. 3 fíad (geféð?), inf. -fíoge, pret. plur. -fiadun; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 -fið, -fíad, -fíéð, -fíwéð, inf. -fíage, pret. plur. -fiadon; the word does not occur in Rit.
2) The other ancient e-verbs of both classes have gone over, either wholly or with trifling exceptions, to the conjugation of the o-verbs. Less common is transfer to the jo-class, or a twofold formation according to both classes.

Note 8. The criteria for original e-inflection in the presence of Common OE. o-inflection are especially:

a) the occurrence of West Germ. gemination (cf. note 10);

b) the occurrence of i-umlaut and similar vowel-changes (cf. note 11 ff.);

c) the occurrence of monosyllabic -ga-, -ge-, in contradistinction to the -ja-, -i(g)e- of Conj. II (412, note 1; 415. 2; cf. note 15, below);

d) the occurrence of Anglian present participles in -iende, etc., as against the -ende, -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. fastēn). 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 tialan, 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, -ae, part. fylgende, -aende, pret. fylgde, -ede.

Note 10. West Germ. gemination (note 8. a) occurs also in isolated forms in the case of the poet. pres. part. wæccende, from wacian, watch (Ps. ind. pres. 1 sing. wæcio, plur. węciaδ, pret. wæcade (164, note 2); R.² North. have carried the jo-inflection almost completely through: R.¹ inf. awæccan(?), imp. plur. wæccas, wac(e)ep, part. wæccende; R.² inf. giwæcca, wæce, opt. sing. wæce, imp. plur. wæccas, part. wæc(e)ende; L. inf. wæc(e)a, gewæccæ, infl. wæceenne, imp. plur. gewæccas, part. wæc(e)ende,
pret. gewæhte; Rit. opt. plur. givæge, part. væcendo), and the participial noun hecctend, enemy, from hatian, hate.

Properly hnappeian, nap, also belongs here: EWS. has also once hnappiad Cura Past.: LWS. has frequent æ-forms in Spelm. Ps. In Ps. the word inflects: ind. pres. sing. 1 neapiu, 2 neppas, 3 hneap(p)að, pret. hneap(p)ade, plur. hneapedun, -on.

Note 11. The following have i-umlaut (note 8. b) beside other criteria:

a) North. R.² giðœlge, ind. pres. 3 sing. giðolas (giðœlgas), imp. plur. giðœlegas, = Common OE. dolian, endure (OHG. dolên);

b) North. R.² inf. los(i)ga, beside losiga, losige, infl. losanne, ind. pres. 3 sing. losað, -as, -eð (losigadä, losigadä), plur. losigað, -as, opt. los(i)ge, plur. losige, imp. losa, part. losed, beside losad, = Common OE. losian, be lost;

c) Angl. (on)sceynian, etc., beside Common OE. onscunian, shun (Ps. has chiefly forms of -scunian, but twice pret. sceynedun; L. inf. sceyniga, ind. pres. 3 sing. L. Rit. onscynað; no instances in R.¹ R.²);

d) North. bya, beside Common OE. būan, etc., 396, note 6, OHG. būen (not found in Ps. R.¹); R.² inf. bīya, ind. pres. 2 sing. bīes, pret. bīede, beside fem. bīend, colony; L. inf. bīd, infl. bīenna, ind. pres. 3 sing. bīeð, plur. bīeð, -es, imp. plur. bīes, pret. -bīde, plur. bī(e)don, past part. unbīed, -ld, beside ind. pres. 2 sing. būes, and fem. būend; Rit. ind. pres. sing. 1 bīa, 3 -bīað, opt. -bīe, imp. giinbīa (?), part. bīende);

e) North. on(d)spyrn(ig)a, beside on(d)spurn(ig)a, etc., from Common OE. spurnan, 389, note 4: R.² ind. pres. 3 sing. onspyrnas, opt. plur. ondspyrnige, past part. onspyrned, plur. onspyrnade, beside ind. pres. sing. on(d)spurreð, plur. onspurrade; L. ind. pres. 3 sing. ondspyrnede, -að, -as, opt. -spyrne, plur. -spyrniga, part. -spyrnende, past part. -spyrned, -ad (with the new formations imp. geondspyre, part. ondspyrendo), beside ind. pres. 3 sing. spurnað, -as, part. -spurnendra, pret. plur. geondspurnedon, past part. geondspurrade, -edo;

f) North. untrymiga, be sick, beside Common OE. untrumian: Ps. past part. geuntrumad, infl. -ade and -ede, but R.² pret. untrymede, -ide, plur. intrymedun, beside sing. untrumade, L. inf. untrynnia, part. untrymiende, pret. untrymade, plur. untrymigdon (413, note 7).

i-umlaut is found more sporadically in North. pret. R. glitrygade = L. trūgude, from trūgian, Common WS. trūwian, believe (OHG.
trūēn), and ind. pres. 3 sing. L. drygeð = R.² drūgað, aruit, beside R.² pret. drūgade, part. gidrūgad, L. pret. -drūgde, beside -drūgade (this also R.¹), part. gedrūgad; compare also the isolated part. soergendi (i.e., *sœrgendi ?) Ep., from sorgian, 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. leornian (rarely liornian), learn (OHG. lirnēn, lernēn) and North. R.² liorniga, L. leorniga (once gelearnade), less frequently liorniga, is to be explained by the changing vocalism of the ending.

Note 13. The occurrence of æ, instead of a, often points to earlier braska-inflection (compare the vocalism of habban, seegean, etc., with that of verbs like macian, laðian, etc.). Here belong:

a) North. Rit. inf. spēria, pret. gispaerede, beside Common OE. sparian, spare (OHG. sparen; Ps. ind. pres. 3 sing. spearað, imp. speara, pret. speareda);

b) North. plægiga, play, etc., R.² pret. plaegede, L. plaeg(e)de, plaegade (Ps. ind. pres. plur. plaegiað, part. plaegienda, beside imp. plur. plaegiað, R.¹ pret. plaegade, beside plur. plagadun, belong to 162, note 2; see also 391, note 1);

c) North. ondsważēga, beside Common OE. ondsvarian, -swor-ian: in R.² generally inf. -sworia, etc., only twice -swarade; but L. inf. ondsuaerega, ind. pres. 2 sing. ondsuaeræstu, plur. ondsuerigeð, part. ondsuærændum, pret. on(d)suærede, geondsuaerde (cf. note 17), beside ind. pres. plur. ondsuäriges, opt. plur. ondsuaeriga, imp. plur. ondsuærð, part. ondsuærænde, -ende, pret. ondsuarede, -ade, -aide, -uandre, ondsuæræde, -ade, plur. -adun, -udon, and ondsuorede, -ode (R.¹ has also one plur. ondsuwarigaþ, beside many a-forms). — For hnæppian and hnappian see note 9.

Note 14. a) Of verbs with inner i there belong here bifian, tremble (beside bifian Rimming Poem); eliffin, adhere; ginian, gape; hlinian, lean; tilian, strive after (compare OHG. bibēn, klebēn, ginēn, hlinēn, 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. tilian, ind. pres. sing. 1 tilie, 2 tiolast (tielast ?), 3 tiolað (tielað ?), plur. tiliað, opt. tilie, imp. sing. tiola (tiela ?), plur. tiliað, pret. tiolode; but WS. generalizes the i at an early period (tielað Cura Past. MS. H, tilode MS. C, beside forms with io). In LWS. y often occurs: gynian, 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: beosian, cleosian, geonian, hleonian, etc.


c) It is more doubtful whether WS. *clipian*, *call*, originally belongs here. In EWS. it is conjugated just like *tilian* (see a), but has also a few forms with eo in Cura Past. like inf. *cleopian*; in LWS. *clipian*, *cly pian* predominates, though *cleopian* is also found. In Ps. *cleopian* (with constant eo) in general follows the o-class, but 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 *clipigende*, beside *clippende*, and ind. pres. 3 sing. *cliopap*, *cleopap*, pret. *cliopade*, *cleopade*, etc. In North. it follows throughout the inflection of Class II: R.\(^2\) *cliopiga*, L. *clio pia*.


**Note 15.** a) Monosyllabic -*ge*-, etc. (note 8. c) in undoubtedly old e-verbs are to be found in the oldest texts: thus from *tilian*, *ginian*, *hlinian* (note 14), *onscunian* (note 11) we have Ep. *til gendum*, Corp. *onhlingu*, *widerhlingendae*, *geongendi*, *anseun gendi*, as well as *dobgendi* (compare OHG. *tobên*, *rage*), and so probably *seobgendi*, from *seofian*, *lament*. Cura Past. has, on the other hand, only a single sporadic *geli orangen* in MS. H (412, note 1); Ps. one opt. plur. *giwgen*, from *deowian*, *serve* (cf. note 17. b); R.\(^1\)
bifgende, hlengendes; North. R.\(^2\) giðölge, læsga, etc. (note 11), bif(\()gedon, hlengendum, L. bifgedon, hlengende, giugiende, Rit. bifgiende (note 14), givgað, poet. hlingende Guthl. For the corresponding forms of lifgan see note 2.

b) Here belongs also the verb føtian, fetch, which in Pure WS. becomes fece\(c\)ean, by way of *føtjan (196. 3), but retains its old form outside of Pure WS. Its conjugation is: inf. føtian, feccan, ind. pres. sing. 1 føtige, féce, 2 føtast, 3 føtað, plur. føtiað, féccad, opt. føtige, féce, imp. sing. féta, plur. føtiað, féccad, pret. føtte (also føtode, according to Class II), part. føtt and føtod (Ep. føtod, Corp. føtod; North. R.\(^2\) L. gi-, gefotad, for *feotad, ind. pres. 3 plur. L. fatas, for *featas, 156. 2, 3).

Note 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 o-verbs (412, note 11): R.\(^2\) wuniende (compare OHG. wonën, dwell), hlioni(g)endum, hlengendum (beside hlionendum, etc.), L. wuni(g)ende, wungiende, uuniande, bifi(g)ende, hli(o)ngende, etc., giwigende (giugiende, etc.), beside forms like giwende, òolende, etc., Rit. wunigende (for lifgende, etc., see note 2).

In the inflected inf. an analogous difference between o- and e-verbs is hardly to be observed. R.\(^2\) has wuniganne and wunanne (cf. bodiganne, 412, note 10), and L. a single wuniað.

Note 17. There is an irregular distribution of preterits without a middle vowel (note 8. e), especially in a few verbs in g and w:

a) WS. swigian, be silent (compare OHG. swïgëñ), beside swugian (71; both forms side by side in EWS.; LWS. usually swugian, sugian, and suvian), generally follows Class II, and exhibits only sporadically forms which are discrepant, as, in particular, the part. swigende. In Anglian the word always occurs with ð (whose length is established by metrical considerations); the pret. is in Ps. R.\(^1\) swigade, but North. R.\(^2\) L. svïgde, beside svïgade (inf. suïga? L.). Other shortened forms of this kind are North. L. -drïgde (note 11), plægde (note 13).

b) From trúwian, trust (cf. OHG. trüen), there appears sporadically a pret. trувde (so in Cura Past. MS. H), beside usual truvwode; from ðeowian, serve (cf. note 15), pret. ðeowde, Ps. ðeawde, plur. ðeowdun, beside ðiwedun; for North. L. giðe, etc., see note 14. \(b\) (similarly are formed L. sceåwde, etc., 413, note 7).

Other short forms occur only sporadically, as L. pret. geôndsuarde, geônsuarde, 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.

Note 19. The conjugation of hrēppan, touch, which perhaps belongs to this class, is very irregular: inf. hrēppan (sporadically hrēpan, and LWS. hrēpian), ind. pres. sing. 1 hrēppe, 2 hrēpest and hrēpast, 3 hrēpeð and hrēpað, opt. hrēppe, imp. sing. hrēpa, pret. hrēpede, hrēpode, and hrēpod, part. hrēpod.

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. οἶδα), 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. witone (EWS. also wioton, wieton), opt. wite, imp. sing. wite, plur. witað, inf. witan (EWS. also wiotan, wietan), pres. part. witende, 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, nysse, nyste.

Note 1. Ps. has wāt (nāt, once wāt), wāst, weotun (neotun), opt. wite (nyte), imp. wite, plur. weotað, part. weotendum, pret. wiste (nysse, nyste); — R. wāt, plur. witan, wutan (niten, nyten), opt. wite (nyte), imp. witað, wite gé, part. witende, pret. wiste, past part. witen. — North. R. wāt (wātt; once wāt; nāt, nātt), wāstu (nāstu), plur. wuttun, wuton, wutað, -as, once wittas (nuttun, nut[t]on), opt. wite, -e, imp. plur. wutað, -as, inf. wuta, pret. wiste (nyste); — L. wāt (nāt), wāst (nāst), plur. wuton, -að, -as, witteð, abbreviated wuto, nut(t)o, uutu wé, gē, wuti gé (nutton, nutton, abbreviated nutto, nutu, nutu, nutu), opt. witto, -a, -e, (nyta, -e), imp. wut(t)að, -as, -eð, inf. wutta, infl. wuttanne, uutanne, etc., part. wittende, uitende, pret. wiste (nyste); — Rit. wāt, vāst, wuton (nution), wutas gē (imp.?), opt. plur. witto, inf. wutta, part. witende, pres. wiste (nyste).

2) āg (āh, 214. 1), I have, 2 sing. āhst, plur. āgon (LWS. āgāð Scint.), opt. āge, imp. āge, inf. āgan, pret. āhte, past part. āgen and āgen, adj., own (378); negated: nāh, nāgon, nāhte, etc.

Note 2. R. has inf. āgan, pres. plur. āgun, pret. āhte, R. āh, opt. āge, L. āh, 2 sing. āht, plur. āgon, -an, opt. āga, hāge, pret. āhte. In Ps. and Rit. the inflectional forms do not occur.

421. Second Ablaut-Class.

3) dēag (dēah, 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. dég L. (163).

422. Third Ablaut-Class.

4) on(n), an(n), I grant (with the compounded geonn, I grant, and ofonn, grudge), plur. unnon, opt. unne, imp. unne, inf. unnan, pret. üđe, past part. geunnen.

Note 1. The word is lacking in Ps. R.1 R.2. L. has qnn, opt. (inf.?) gewunna; Rit. ind. pres. 2 sing. giunne (giw(u)nne, givvnne), opt. giunne, -a, imp. giönn and giunne, inf. giwunna, part. unnende, pret. giüde (gehüde).

5) con(n), can(n), I know, can (with the compounded oncon, reproach with), 2 sing. const, canst, plur. cunnon, opt. cunne, inf. cunnan, pret. cüđe, past part. oncunnen, beside the old past part. cüđ, known, used as an adjective.

Note 2. Ps. has pres. plur. cunnun, opt. cunne, pret. plur. cüđun; R.1 çonn, const, plur. cunnun, -an, and -ađ, -øj, inf. gecunnan, pret. cüpe, past part. gecüđ; North. R.2 çon, plur. cunnun, -an, cunno gé, pret. cüđe; L. çonn (once kann), plur. cunnon, abbreviated cunno, -i, beside gecunnas, inf. gecunna, pret. cüđe; Rit. has no inflectional forms.

6) ñearf, I need (with the compounded beñearf), 2 sing. ñearft, plur. ñurfon, opt. EWS. ñyrfe, usually ñurfe, inf. ñurfan, pret. ñorfte, beside the pres. part. ñearfende, adj., needy (sporadically pyrfendra, egen-tum Gl.).

Note 3. Ps. has 2 sing. bidñearft, R.1 ñearf, plur. ñurfun, ñurfe wë, part. ñurfende, ñorfsende; North. R.2 3 sing. bidñorfeð (also pl.?), part. ñorfende, L. 3 sing. ñorfað, plur. wë ñurfu and (be)ñorfeð, part. ñorfende (also ñorfondo, etc., once ñærfe), Rit. part. ñorfsende.
7) dear(r), I dare, 2 sing. dearest, plur. durre, opt. EWS. dyrre, usually durre, pret. dorste (inf. not found).

Note 4. The word is lacking in Ps. Rit. R.¹ has pret. durste and dyste (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 shall, LWS. often sceall (scyl Scint.), 2 sing. scealt, plur. sculon and sceolon (LWS. also seylo Scint.), opt. EWS. scyle and sciele, scile, LWS. seule, sceole, inf. sculan, sceolan, pret. sceolde (more rarely scolde; once plur. sculdon in Cura Past.).

Note 1. The word is lacking in Ps. R.¹ has sceal, seal, 2 sing. scealt, scalt, plur. sculon, scule gé, opt. scyle, pret. sculde (once scalde), opt. scylde; North. Cædmon’s Hymn plur. scylun, R.² sceal, plur. sciolon, opt. scile, pret. plur. sceldun, L. sceal (once seal), scealt, plur. sciolon, -un, scilon (once gé sciolo), opt. scile, -o, pret. scéalde, Rit. (in rubrics) seal, beside sceall.

9) món, man (likewise the compounded gemón, 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.

Note 2. LWS. has a few new formations after the model of the regular strong presents, like ind. pres. sing. 1 gemune, 2 gemunst, 3 gemanð, plur. gemunað, imp. sing. gemune, plur. -að.

In Anglo-Saxon this confusion extends still further. Ps. has ind. pres. sing. 1 gemunu, 2 gemynes (opt.?), opt. plur. gemynen, imp. sing. gemyne, plur. gemunað, inf. gemunan, pret. gemundes; R.¹ ind. pres. 2 sing. gemynest, pret. gemunde; North. R.² imp. sing. gimyne, plur. -as, L. ind. pres. 3 sing. gemynes, plur. gemynas, imp. sing. gemyne and gemona (or inf.?), plur. gemynas (corrected from gemonas) and (opt.) gemyná gé, pret. gemyste (for *gemynste, 186. 1), Rit. imp. sing. gemyne.
424. Fifth Ablaut-Class.

10) mæg, I can, 2 sing. meaht, LWS. miht, plur. magon, opt. mæge, plur. -en (LWS. also mage, very late muge), inf. LWS. sporadic magan, pres. part. LWS. magende, pret. meaht (mehte, 108. 2), LWS. mihte, with i-umlaut, which no doubt originally proceeded from the opt. pret.

Note. Ps. has in the pres. meg, plur. magun, magon, opt. mege; R. mæg, meaht, plur. magun, -on, opt. mæge; North. R. 1 and 3 sing. mæg(e), plur. magun, -on, -an (once mægun), opt. mæge; L. sing. 1 and 3 mæg and mæge (-æ, -i, -o), 2 mæht, plur. magon, mægon (mago, -a), opt. mæge, plur. -o; Rit. sing. mæg, plur. mægon, -o, magon, opt. mægi (-e). The Anglian pret. is always mæhte Ps. R. 1 R. 2 L. Rit.

11) be-, ge-neah, it suffices (used only in the 3d person), plur. -nugon, opt. -nuge, pret. benohte (inf. not found; the word does not occur at all in Anglian).

425. Sixth Ablaut-Class.

12) mōt, I may, 2 sing. mōst, plur. mōton, opt. mōte, pret. mōste (inf. not found).

Note. The only Anglian instances are R. 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 τίθημι, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td>North.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EWS.</td>
<td>Ps.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. eom</td>
<td>eam</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. eart</td>
<td>earō</td>
<td>arō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. sint</td>
<td>earun</td>
<td>aron, -un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sindon, -un]</td>
<td>sindun, -on</td>
<td>sindon, -un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Optative | | |
| Sing. sīe, sī | sīe | sīe, sē |
| Plur. sīen, sīn | sīen | sīe, sē |

Prothesis of the negative adverb ne gives neam (nam), narō, naron (note 4), and Common OE. nis.

Note 1. EWS. has, beside eom, sporadic eam Or., in the plur. several instances of sient, siendon Cura Past. MS. H, but only one siendon in MS. C; in the opt. the forms sīe, sīen 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 sī, sig, etc.); in less pure WS. texts also sīo, seo, etc.
Note 3. In Kentish the 2 sing. eart is found in Kent. Hymn; the plur. is: Kent. Gl. sint (siont, also sin, sion), Kent. Charters frequently si(o)ndon, -an, seondan, beside sint; the opt.: Kent. Gl. sio (more rarely si), Kent. Hymn sio; Kent. Charters sio, sëo, beside sie, së, 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.\(^1\) the inflection is: ind. sing. 1 eam (once each nam, næm), 2 eart (once each earð, arþu), 3 is (his; nis), plur. sindun, -on (rarely syndun, -on, sendun, -on) and more rarely sint, once arun, opt. sing. 1 sëo, 2, 3 sëie, sëie (sia, së, sy, syæ), plur. sëie (sia, sy), and sien, sïen.

North. has: R.\(^2\) 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 ge, etc., rarely also sind, opt. also sëie, see, së; and the negatived nam, narð, nis, naron, narō gie. Rit. has am, arð, is, plur. aron (aro gie), sint, sind, sindon, opt. sëie, së, negated nis, narō gie.

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>EWS.</td>
<td>Ps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. (bio, bëo)</td>
<td>biom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bist</td>
<td>bis(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bïð</td>
<td>bið</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. bïð, bëo</td>
<td>bïð,</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</table>

Infinitive | Participle | Imperative
---|---|---
bion, bëon | (bïonde, bëonde) | Sing. bio, bëo. Plur. bïð, bëo

Note 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. bëo, bëonde; on the interchange of io and éo see 114. 2.
Note 6. In the ind. 2 and 3 sing. OE. bist, bid are to be written with short i (notwithstanding the etymologically correspondent Lat. fis, fit). This is proved not only by the byst, byd which are very common in LWS., but especially by the North. plur. bioðun, -on, whose u-ulmault can only be referred to the parallel bidun, -on, which again rests on the sing. bid.

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. bin, beside bion, 159, note 3). Ps. has, beside many instances of biom, two of beom, one of beam, and one of bio, in the plur. a few cases of beað, in the imp. sing. one of bia, beside several of bioð, bío (bid 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. beom, bist, bid, -p (and twice bêop, following the plur.), plur. beop, -o, more rarely bioþ, -o, and once bidon, frequently umlauted beopan, opt. sing. bêo, plur. bêon, imp. sing. bêo, plur. bêop (bioþ), inf. bêon.

North. has: R.², beside bid, once biað (on is, beside bist, see note 4); in the plur. bioðun, -on (once bioðo) predominates, biað is rare (opt., imp., inf. not found); L., beside beom, biom, once bium, beside bid, once bieð, in the plur., beside frequent bidon (twice bido), once bioðon, twice biað; the opt. forms bia, bie and inf. bian occur only once each (imp. lacking); Rit. biom, bist, bid, plur. bidon. The plur. biað occurs also in the Leiden Riddle (and Corp.).

In the poetry the forms bêoð, bêon occur frequently in cases where the metre requires disyllabic forms (Beitr. 10. 477).

3) root wes:

**Present**

*Infinitive:* wesan  
*Participle:* wesende  
*Imperative:* sing. wes, plur. we森

**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).
Fusion with the negative results in pret. sing. nāes, 2 nāre, plur. nāron, opt. nāre.

Note 9. For wāes, nāes 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. ætweos-endne, beside inf. wesan (Ps. has, of the present, only the ind. sing.), Ps. pret. wes, wēre, plur. wērun, etc., R.1 inf. wesa, imp. plur. wesap, pret. wāes, wēre, and wāre, plur. wērun, wārun, etc.

North. R.2 inf. wosa, imp. sing. wes, plur. wosað, pret. wāes (once was), wēre, plur. wērun, -on and wārun, etc., opt. wēre, negated nāes, nēron, opt. nēre; L. inf. wosa (wossa), etc., imp. sing. wāes (uāes; once wes), plur. wosað, -as, pret. wāes (uāes), etc., wēre, plur. wēron, wāron, etc. (more rarely wāron, etc., also once ymbwāson), opt. wēre, wēre (rarely uēre, etc.), negated pret. nāes(s), plur. nēron, nārun, opt. nēre, nāre, 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. inflection is as follows:

**Present**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. wille</td>
<td>{wille (wile)}</td>
<td>willan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wilt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wile (wille)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. willað</td>
<td>willen</td>
<td>willende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preterit**

wolde

(like nērede, etc., 409)
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*: *wylle*, *wylt*, 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 *Cura* Past. are: ind. pres. sing. 1 *nylle* (in MS. H also *nelle*, Or. *nele*), 3 *nyle* (MS. H also *nylle*, *nele*, *nile*), plur. *nyllað* (MS. H and Or. also *nellað*), opt. *nylle*, *nyle* (MS. C also once *nele*), plur. *nyllen*, pret. *nolde*; in LWS. the e-forms prevail: *nelle*, etc.


Note 4. Greater variation is exhibited by Anglian:


CONJUGATION 355
3. **The Verb do**

429. The verb *dōn*, *do*, is conjugated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Preterit</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WS.</td>
<td>Ps.</td>
<td>R.²</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. dō</td>
<td></td>
<td>dōm</td>
<td>dōm</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. dēst</td>
<td></td>
<td>dōest, -s</td>
<td>dēes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dēō</td>
<td></td>
<td>dēō</td>
<td>dōaō, -as</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>dōē</td>
<td>dōē</td>
<td>dōē</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td></td>
<td>doe</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td></td>
<td>doen</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td></td>
<td>doe, dō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td></td>
<td>dōa, dō</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. dōō</td>
<td></td>
<td>dōō</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dōaō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. dōō</td>
<td></td>
<td>dōō</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dōa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>infl.</td>
<td>dōnne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dōanne</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dōnde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>doende</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>dyde</td>
<td></td>
<td>dyde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dydes(t)</td>
<td></td>
<td>dydes, -est</td>
<td>dydes(tu)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dyde</td>
<td></td>
<td>dyde</td>
<td>dyde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>dydon</td>
<td>dydun</td>
<td>dydun, -on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dēdun</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONJUGATION 357

Optative

Sing. dyde  dyde  dyde
Plur. dyden  dyden  dyden

{dydon ?}
{dēdun ?}

Participle

-dōn  -dōen  -dōen

Note 1. WS. deviations from the paradigm are extremely rare. EWS. has in Cura Past. MS. C one opt. doe, which probably must be interpreted as dō in MS. H one part. weldonum (-dōndum ?). The ind. plur. dēdon, opt. dēde, and the past part. ge-, fordēn, which occur in the poetry, are unknown to WS. prose (dēde, plur. dedon in Cura Past. MS. C II are Kenticisms for dyde, etc., 154).

Note 2. It is sometimes doubtful whether oe should be written ō or ōe, since the MSS. do not recognize the ligature. When forms with ō occur also, ōe is probable, but when the parallelism is with ōa, ōæ, it is in general better to interpret as ōe (cf. 430, note 1).

Note 3. Kentish agrees in general with WS.: Kent. Gl. 3 sing. dēð, dēt, imp. dō, opt. pret. dēde (cf. note 1), part. (on)dōn, Kent. Ps. 3 sing. gedēð, imp. gedoo, Kent. Hymn imp. gedō; Kent. charters inf. dōn and gedōan, opt. sing. gedoe, plur. gedo(en (once gé gedelo, 27, note ?), once gedōn.

Note 4. The 2 sing. dēs, without t, occurs only once in Ps., while dydes is more frequent than dydest (dōd as 3 sing. is probably only a clerical error); ic dō and dōa as opt. sing. occur only once each; the prevalent doe, as an Anglian form, is no doubt to be understood as dō; inf. dōan is found but once.

The inflection in R.¹ is: ind. sing. 1 dōm (twice dō), 2 dēst, 3 dēp, plur. dōap (once dēp) and dēp, -ē, opt. sing. dō (once dōa), plur. dōan, dōa, imp. sing. dō, plur. dōap, -ēp, dōō, inf. dōan, dōa, infl. dōanne, part. dōnde, doende (doende ?), pret. dyde, 2 dydest, plur. dydun, -on, past part. -dōan, once gedo(en (gedōan ?).

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 dōaē, in the plur. a few of dōē, -es, in the imp. plur. one undōaē. In the imp. sing. dō, and in the pret. plur. dēdun, is the rarer form.

The inflection in L. is: ind. sing. 1 dōan, less frequently doom, dōm (also dō, dōa, dōe or dē, some of which are perhaps optatives),
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><strong>Indicative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. <em>gā</em></td>
<td><em>gā</em></td>
<td>Sing. 2. <em>gā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>gāest</em></td>
<td><em>gā</em></td>
<td>Plur. <em>gād</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>gād</em></td>
<td><em>gān</em></td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. <em>gād</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterit</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indicative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1, 3. <em>ēode</em></td>
<td><em>ēode</em></td>
<td><em>gēgān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(like <em>nērede,</em> 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 *āe* (429, note 2); below it is given as *ē* 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. *ēode,* beside *ēode* (150, note 3).

**Note 3.** Ps. agrees in general with WS., but in the ind. 1 sing. has once *gān,* beside *gā*; the opt. occurs only once as *gāe,* that is, probably, *gāe*; the inf. is lacking; the pres. part. is *gānde.*
R.¹ has ind. sing. 1 gā, 2 gās, pu, gāst, 3 gāp, -ū (once gād), plur. gāp (twice gāp), opt. sing. gā, plur. gān (once gān), imp. sing. gā (once gae, i.e., gāe), plur. gāp, -ū, more rarely gāp, -ū, inf. gā, gāe, pret. ēode (thrice ēade); past part. is lacking (only -gōngen).

Note 4. The North. inflection is: R.² ind. sing. 1 gāe (once gaa), 2 gāst(u), 3 gād, -s, and gā(a)d, -s, plur. gād, -s, opt. gaa, gāe, imp. sing. gaa, plur. gā(a)d, -s, inf. gāa, pret. ēode, more rarely ēade, part. fo̓regiēad; — L. ind. sing. 1 gāe, gee, gāae, 2 gāst (gād), gāes, gaes, 3 gaȧd, gād, gaėd, -s (gāėd), plur. gaȧd, gād, gaėd, -s, opt. gāe, gee, imp. sing. gā(a), gāae, gee, plur. gā(a)d, gaėd, -s, inf. gaa, gāe, gee, pret. ēade, more rarely ēode, part. gē̇ead, etc.; — Rit. ind. sing. 1 gā, 2 gāst, 3 gād, plur. gā(a)d, -s (once gē̇ead), opt. gā (gae), imp. plur. gā(a)d, inf. gaa, pret. ēade.
SOME ABBREVIATIONS

Æfr. Gramm., Hom., etc. = Ælfric's Grammar, Homilies, etc. (2, note 5).


anv. = 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).

Ben. = The OE. Prose Versions of the Benedictine Rule, ed. A. Schröer, I, II. Kassel, 1885-1888.


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 235-851 (translated from Old Saxon) of the poetical Genesis.

Germ. = Germanic.

Gl. = Glosses.

Goth. = Gothic.

Haupt's Zs. = ZfdA.

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).
QF. = 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., wf., wn., wv. = 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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INDEX

[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 dialectic variants, cross-references have been made where desirable. Unstable i and y, if not readily found, may be sought under ie; to under co or ie; a before m or n, under q; sca, sco under sc(e)a, sc(e)o; o follows t when initial, but otherwise has the position of th; æ has the position of ae. From the Phonology have been excluded the examples of accent in §§ 121-124.

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