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AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

by

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and

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PREFACE

This Grammar is designed especially for the literary student of English, who has long been neglected in favour of his philologically inclined colleague and who is felt to be in need of a single compact grammar which will put the emphasis where he needs it most and serve as a companion to all his undergraduate studies in Old English. It has also been felt that Old English studies stood in need of a grammar which was primarily concerned with that form of Old English in which most of the literary remains of importance have come down to us—the Classical Old English of about A.D. 1000 rather than with 'early West Saxon' or the other Old English dialects, however interesting these may be to the philological enquirer.

With the aim, then, of presenting a grammar of literary Old English to literary students, we have forsaken the historical in favour of a descriptive approach wherever this seemed expedient and practicable, and we have tried to avoid assuming a knowledge of—or indeed interest in—Germanic philology as such. The treatment of inflexions, syntax, word-formation, and phonology represents an attempt to describe realistically the forms that occur most prominently in the important literary manuscripts, systematised in a manner that seems most significant for the Classical Old English which they generally present, though this has meant to some considerable extent the replacing of categories, classifications, and even technical terms that were evolved for and suited to the structure of the 'Germanic dialects' as a whole. On the other hand, we have resisted changes of this kind wherever the traditional framework seemed readily comprehensible to non-specialists and unlikely to mislead the student who has not had a philological training. Moreover, the Introduction aims not only at providing a minimum background of knowledge, but also at indicating the kinds of evidence on which the grammatical description is based.

Among the features to which we attach importance are the
relatively detailed and practical treatment of Syntax and the attempt to make naturally intelligible the actual processes of the sound-changes described in the Phonology. We have sought throughout to help the student who has deeper linguistic and mediaeval interests to advance his studies by means of the notes set in small type, where more advanced matters could be touched upon and works of scholarship cited for further reading. In the treatment of Inflexions, these notes have often been used also to deal with the variant and exceptional forms, and by this means we have been able to keep the paradigms free from confusing by-forms. Particular care, too, has been taken with the typography throughout, with the aim of achieving clarity and ease of reference.

Our thanks are due to a long line of distinguished predecessors whose grammars of Old English we have been more eager to consult and copy than to replace; the many references in our notes by no means constitute an adequate expression of our debt. More specifically and personally, we should like to thank those colleagues and friends who have helped us with advice and criticism at various stages of our work: Mr G. N. Garmonsway, Professor Daniel Jones, Professor Helge Kökeritz, Professor Sherman M. Kuhn, Dr W. R. Lee, Professor Francis P. Magoun Jr., and Professor F. Norman. In particular, we are deeply grateful to Professor Norman Davis for his learning, patience, and labour in making detailed criticisms and improvements. Finally, we have special pleasure in acknowledging a most sympathetic and helpful general editor in Professor A. H. Smith.

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We are greatly indebted to many colleagues and friends, in private discussion or through reviews, for a good number of the corrections and improvements incorporated in this edition.

October 1957

R. Q.
C. L. W.

ABBREVIATIONS

a(cc).: accusative
adj.: adjective
adv.: adverb
Angl.: Anglian (see § 4)
AS: Anglo-Saxon
A.V.: Authorised Version
C: complement
Cl: Clase
comp.: comparative
cons.: consonant
d(at).: dative
ed.: edition (by)
EETS: Early English Text Society, London
f(em).: feminine
Fr.: French
g(en).: genitive
Germ.: German
Gmc: Germanic (see §§ 3, 178)
Ge: Gothic (see § 178)
IE: Indo-European
imperat.: imperative
impers.: impersonal (see § 120e)
ind(ic): indicative
infin.: infinitive
instru.: instrumental
Ital.: Italian
Kt: Kentish (see § 4)
l(WS, OE): late (West Saxon, Old English)
Lat.: Latin
lit.: literally
m(ascl): masculine
ME: Middle English
Mod. (E.): modern (English)
MS(S): manuscript(s)
n(eut): neuter
n(om): nominative
N.: Northumbrian
O: object
OE: Old English
OHG: Old High German
Ol: Old Irish
ON: Old Norse
p(ers): person
P.B. B.: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, Halle
pl.: plural
PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Baltimore
pple: participle
pres.: present
pret.: preterite
Pr. OE: Primitive Old English (see § 178)
pron.: pronoun
reflex.: reflexive
resp.: respectively
RP: Received Pronunciation (the educated speech of Southern England)
S: subject
sc: understand (Lat. scilicet)
sg.: singular
subj.: subjunctive
superl.: superlative
s.v.(v): under the word(s)
V, vb(s): verb(s)
WS: West Saxon (see §§ 4f)
SYMBOLS

~ indicate heavy and secondary stress resp. (see § 12)
-. indicate length and shortness resp. in vowels (see § 10)
[] enclose phonetic symbols, on which see § 176
: after phonetic symbols denotes length; between forms denotes
  a correspondence
\- expresses a relationship, alternation, or correspondence
--- denote that the forms they precede, follow, or surround are
  partial; thus gifan, -ie-
/ between forms indicates alternation or equivalence; thus d/p
( ) enclose alternative forms or parts of forms; thus sind(on)
A\V means 'changed to' or 'becomes'
means 'changed from' or 'derived from'
* denotes a reconstruction (see § 178)

INTRODUCTION

General

1. Old English is the name given to the language or group of
closely related dialects of the Germanic inhabitants of Britain
from the first conquests in the middle of the fifth century till
the close of the eleventh. The period of 'Old English' thus
extends from the earliest permanent settlements of the Anglo-
Saxons till the time when the effects of the Scandinavian
invasions and of the Norman Conquest began to be felt on the
language, and the changes in scribal habits threw into relief
the linguistic changes that had been going on during the last
century or so of the West Saxon tradition. But since the
earliest surviving written monuments scarcely go back beyond
the end of the seventh century, when the vernacular begins
to appear in charters and in the one extant poem of
Cædmon, the language to be studied in fact covers approxi-
mately the four centuries from a.d. 700 to 1100. Our knowl-
dge of OE is inevitably limited in general to literary and
learned usage, though some occasional glimpses of the spoken
language may be had from such texts as Ælfric's Colloquy and
from relics of an oral poetic tradition preserved in the formulaic
style of Beowulf.

For a reliable succinct account of all the literary monuments of the
period, see A Literary History of England (edited by Albert C. Baugh,
New York 1948), Book I, Part I: 'The Old English Period' by Kemp
Malone.

2. The Term 'Old English'

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the term Anglo-
Saxon, adapted in the early seventeenth century from Lat.
Anglo-Saxonicus, was the commonest name for the language;
but, although still sometimes used by scholars, it has gradu-
3. Position and Relationship

Old English is a member of the western branch of the Germanic family of languages and therefore belongs ultimately to the Indo-European stock. It shares the fundamental characteristics of IE with most other European languages, though these remoter basic qualities have been much obscured by distance in time and space. More clearly, it shares special Germanic features which distinguish it, together with the languages of Germany, Scandinavia and the Netherlands, from other branches of IE. Such special Germanic features include the following:

(a) the First Consonant Shift, by which Gmc consonants underwent characteristic changes in pronunciation, such as the voiced plosives $b, d, g, gw$ becoming the voiceless plosives $p, t, k, kw$ (see § 179);

(b) the fixing of the stress of words generally as near to the beginning as possible, or on the root-syllable (see §§ 12 ff);

(c) the strong tendency, resulting from (b) but varying in intensity among different Gmc languages, to weaken and lose inflexional endings;

(d) the development of derived or secondary verbs (consonantal or ‘weak’ verbs), formed from other words and distinguished by preterites and past participles formed by means of a dental suffix;

(e) the syntactical distinction between the two types of adjective inflexion—the indefinite and definite declensions (see §§ 50-4, 116);

(f) certain strata of vocabulary peculiar to the Gmc languages;

(g) the two-tense system. Verbs in the Gmc languages show by inflexion only two tenses, present and past; in OE, time-relations other than simple present and simple past had for the most part to be inferred from the context, just as in Mod.E. we allow a present tense form to indicate future time after when: ‘When I come home I shall tell you my news’; even the complex Mod.E. expressions of time-relation like...
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

'I would have had' use only a two-tense distinction in the component verbs.

Within the Gmc group of languages, OE has further special characteristics which it shares with the group generally termed West Germanic, which comprises the languages of the Netherlands, Germany, and eastern Switzerland. Within this West Germanic group, OE has still closer affinities with Frisian (though the earliest Frisian texts go back only to the thirteenth century) and Old Saxon (the language of the continental Saxons).

For an effective presentation of the facts of the Gmc languages, see Antoine Meillet, Caractères généraux des langues germaniques (Paris 3rd ed. 1927), and Edward Prokosch, Comparative Germanic Grammar (Philadelphia 1939); cf also H. M. Chadwick, Origin of the English Nation (Cambridge 1907). For a recent discussion, see Ernst Schwarz, Goten, Nordgermanen, Anglosachsen (Berne 1951). The best small handbook is still H. Hirt, Handbuch des Urgermanischen (Heidelberg 1931-4).

4. Dialects

It is possible that OE was already to some extent divided into three main dialects when the first settlements were made from the Continent. These would roughly correspond to the three racial or tribal divisions of the Gmc invaders described by Bede, and are therefore known as West Saxon or the Saxon dialect of the kingdom of Wessex (other Saxon dialects existed but did not attain to writing), Kentish, and Anglian, derived respectively from Saxons, Jutes and Angles. The Jutish or Kentish dialect covered a wide area in the S.E. of England, including for a time S. Hampshire and Wight; West Saxon expanded all over the S. and S.W. with the growing importance of Wessex; the Anglian dialects covered the Midlands and N.E. of England and parts of S. Scotland, and through geographical and political factors became divided into Northumbrian and Mercian. It is therefore customary to regard OE as comprising four principal dialects: West Saxon, Kentish or South Eastern, Mercian or W. Midland, and Northumbrian. Of the language of the E. Midlands almost nothing is known in the OE period, though ME evidence makes it seem that it must have had marked features distinguishing it from Mercian. Indeed, the only OE dialect of which we can gain an extensive and continuous knowledge is West Saxon. Moreover, WS was the only dialect to become literary in prose, and in the later OE period it was Wessex that provided the dialect which became the cultural language of the whole of England, though somewhat influenced and modified by neighbouring dialects. It was in this literary or classical koine, basically WS, that nearly all the earlier poetry was copied, and so preserved, at the time of the Benedictine Renaissance at the close of the tenth century and early in the eleventh century. It is therefore this WS, in which almost all writings of any real literary merit are to be read, that has always been taken as the basis for the study of OE and for the making of grammars and dictionaries.

On the origin of the OE dialects, see K. Brunner (ref. as in § 24), § 2 and Anm. 1.

For an important re-examination of some of the questions relating to classical OE and especially to the language of OE poetry, see K. Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford 1953).

5. Standard Language

The Elizabethans, Lawrence Nowell, Josceley, and others, who revived the study of 'Saxon' in the sixteenth century, took classical OE of the later period as their basis, and this practice was followed in dictionaries and grammars till the middle of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, from the pioneering work of Henry Sweet onwards, the language of King Alfred, generally under the name Early West Saxon, has become the regular medium for all grammatical text-books, and OE of the later period has often for teaching purposes been 'normalised' in spelling on this 'Early West Saxon' basis. Yet King Alfred's prose, though outstandingly important, survives only in one complete MS that is actually contemporary (MS Bodley Hatton 20 of his translation of St Gregory's Cura Pastoralis), and it is only in the common literary OE of a century later that prose becomes of really high literary value. It was into this same form of OE that nearly all earlier poetry was copied. While accepting, therefore, the traditional practice of taking WS as the norm of OE grammatical investigation, this book will, as far as is practicable and desirable, take the literary
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

language of Ælfric (himself a grammarian) as its foundation, since almost all texts likely to be read by the literary student of OE are extant only in this classical OE **koind**.

Of Sweet's writings, the most important for the question of WS in its Alfredian form as a basis for study are the following: the introductory apparatus to his ed. of King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care (EETS, London 1871-2); ‘Dialects and Prehistoric Forms of English', Trans. Phil. Soc. 1875-6; History of English Sounds (Oxford 1888). For a discussion of the whole problem of normalisation of OE, see C. L. Wrenn, ‘Standard Old English', Trans. Phil. Soc. 1933, pp. 65 ff. Since this grammar is intended primarily for the literary rather than the philological student, the non-WS dialects will be noticed only incidentally.

6. Periods

The history of OE is usually divided into the two main periods, **Early OE** (from about A.D. 700 to 900) and **Late OE** (from about A.D. 900 to 1100). But in fact the only considerable work of 'Early OE' upon which any thorough grammatical study can be based is that of King Alfred, which came at the very end of this 'Early OE' period, and only in the case of his Cura Pastoralis translation (since the MSS of all his other works are later) does his work survive in the forms of a scribe who wrote in one of his scriptoria. Moreover the extant MSS of the Alfredian WS already shew marks of a transition to Late OE, just as, similarly, the OE of the eleventh century begins to shew marks of the transition to Middle English.

We take, then, classical OE as the literary standard language of England from about 900 to 1100, particularly as written at its best by Ælfric and his contemporaries, and with this form of OE as its normative basis, this grammar will, as far as possible, draw its illustrative material from the texts which the student will in fact normally read, such as Beowulf and the selections in the Anglo-Saxon Readers of Sweet and of Wyatt.

Before Alfred's reign there are only one or two charters in WS, while for the non-WS dialects there are scattered remains in Northumbrian, Mercian, and Kentish. For an account of these, see K. Luick, Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache (Leipzig 1921) §§ 21-7, F. Mossé, in his Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen Âge: Vieil-Anglais (Paris 1944), suggests dividing OE into four periods: (a) pre-Alfredian, (b) Alfredian,

(c) period of Ælfric and Wulfstan, (d) period of transition which he would end at 1150. Literary OE MSS continued to be copied till late in the twelfth century.

Orthography and Pronunciation

7. The Alphabet

The Germanic invaders brought to Britain a rough method of writing magical formulae and epigrams called *runes*. This runic writing consisted at first of some 24 symbols to be scratched upon or coloured into stone or hard wood or metal—signs which generally by means of straight lines could very roughly represent common sounds. These runes, at first the secret of a priestly class (the OE word *rünst* means 'secret'), were employed in England to some extent after the conversion to Christianity for religious inscriptions such as that on the Ruthwell Cross, and also at times more widely; but they were unsuitable for any sort of continuous writing and remained only as tokens of antiquarian interest in the late OE period. The OE alphabet used throughout the MSS is the Irish form of the Latin letters, with some slight additions and modifications. It was first employed to express the vernacular in writing in the early Christian centres in Northumbria, whence it spread, aided by the Roman missionary influences from Canterbury, throughout the country.


8. This Irish-Latin alphabet (as adopted in England, commonly known as *Insular Scrip*ī) had characteristic forms for *f, g, r,* and *s,* among other less individual features, and it may still be seen to some extent in the present-day forms of Irish letters. These Celtic-Roman letters were employed to represent phonetically as possible the sounds of OE, with the same values as they had when used to represent Latin in the
contemporary pronunciation; it is largely from our knowledge of this Latin pronunciation and from the transliteration of Latin words into OE that we are able to infer the pronunciation of OE, together with further assistance from the development of OE forms in later English and from their cognates in the other Gmc languages.

At first the Latin letter û was used for the OE sound [w] and the bilateral th for the voiced [v] and voiceless [θ] sounds heard in Mod.E. in the words this and thin respectively. But in the later eighth century the letter ð was also often used for these latter sounds, since in Irish usage ð sometimes was the sign of a voiced fricative. But, with the firm establishment of the Christian church and culture, two runic symbols came to replace th, ð, and û in these functions, since runes were perhaps no longer felt to be a heathen peril: [v] and [th] came to be represented by þ and ð, and [w] by ð. A third new symbol was added to the Irish-Latin alphabet by drawing a fine line through the upper part of the Insular ð so as to form ð, and by the ninth century ð and ð were being used indifferently for the two sounds [v] and [θ]. To distinguish the characteristic OE fronting and raising of the Gmc ð to a sound approximately like that of the a in Mod.E. (RP) hat, [a] or [æ], the Latin biliteral ae, æ was used for both the long and the short sounds.

It is convenient to have names for these symbols which find no place in Mod.E. spelling: þ and ð are known by their runic mnemonic names ‘thorn’ and ‘wynn’ respectively; ð is called æth (œð is the Icelandic name for this letter as adopted from OE) and æ is called ‘ash’, the OE word æsc ‘ash’ being the name of the corresponding runic symbol.

Phonetic terms and symbols are more fully explained in §176.

9. All printed books in OE used the MS forms of most letters (the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ or ‘Saxon’ characters) till the middle of the nineteenth century, when the current practice of printing in roman type came in. All OE books agree however in retaining the symbols þ, ð, and æ; a few also retain the runic ð, but w is now normal practice so as to avoid confusion with þ and ð. As has been said, among the more remarkable features of the

INTRODUCTION

Insular script was a special form of g, written ȝ; this symbol is retained by some grammarians, including Professor Brunner in German and Miss Wardale in English, but an increasing majority prefer to use the ordinary roman symbol g, for there seems little reason to retain the OE ȝ while ignoring the fact that the OE script had special forms of f, r, and s also. In this grammar, þ, ð, and æ will be used, but all other letters will be given their modern roman form.

10. Fairly often, but without any discernible regularity or method, OE scribes used a mark over vowels resembling an acute accent, a form taken from Latin practice. This accent seems sometimes to have been an indication of stress (but not of length), and sometimes to have been used to avoid ambiguity when two different words were written with the same letters (such as god ‘good’ and god ‘God’). It will normally be ignored in this grammar, but vowel-length will be regularly indicated by a macron (˘), leaving short vowels unmarked.

Some carefully written MSS, such as the best of Ælfric, show a regular distinction (which is graphic rather than phonetic) of ð initially as against ð medially and finally: pis as compared with ðer and mòmad. Sometimes vowel-length is indicated by doubling, as in good for göd. The first OE printed book was made by one John Day in 1567; it is Ælfric’s homily on the Easter Mass (De Sacrificio in Die Paschae) and the title is of some interest: The Testimonie of Antiquitie shewing the Anciunt fayth / in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the / body and blode of the Lord here publickly preached and also received in the saxons tyme about 600 yeares ago. For a full account of OE scribal practice, see W. Keller, Angelsächische Palaeographie (Berlin 1906).

II. Vowel-Length

As we have just seen, vowel-length is not regularly indicated in OE, nor does the metre serve as a systematic basis for ascertaining it. The Latin so-called apex over vowels to shew length, from which the OE accents on vowels were adapted, did not regularly refer only to quantity even in Irish, and where its occurrence in OE seems to indicate a long vowel this is probably only because such vowels were often heavily stressed. It was, in fact, probably as a means of indicating stress and intonation that the accents were used in so far as such use was deliberate. The doubling of vowels which is fairly often to be
met with in early MSS is a much more reliable sign of length. In general, however, the length of OE vowels is to be determined from etymology, cognate forms in other languages, later development, and (to a very limited extent) from metre. But while the length of a vowel as suggested by etymology is generally taken in grammars as the norm, it must be remembered that in later OE quantity was often changed by the shortenings and lengthenings explained in § 199.

12. Stress

The stress or intensity of utterance of OE was much the same as in Mod.E. It is probable that there were four clearly observed grades: heavy (1), secondary (2), light (3), weak (4); thus a word like gelustfullice ‘joyfully’ would have a stress pattern 4-1-2-3-4. In practice, however, we need distinguish only three approximate types: heavy stress (which may be indicated by an acute accent), secondary or medium stress (which may be indicated by a grave accent), and weak stress (which is generally left unmarked).

OE words normally had the heavy stress on the initial syllable—generally the root—but there were the following exceptions:

(a) In compounds of noun plus noun, or noun plus adjective, the root syllable of the second element carried a secondary stress: cf männes ‘man’s’ beside mæncynnes ‘mankind’s’, where the second element cynnes exists as a separate word.

(b) Prefixes are as a rule unstressed, unless they dominate the meaning, and the noun and verb prefix ge- is always unstressed.

(c) While the prefix of noun and verb compounds is normally unstressed, the emphatic prefix bi- (as contrasted with its weak form be-) has heavy stress: cf besittan ‘to besiege’ beside bieofa ‘food’ (lit. ‘by-living’).

(d) While prefixes to verbs are generally unstressed, adverbal or prepositional prefixes which dominate the meaning (such as in, ut, æfter) are heavily stressed: cf ofþon ‘to deprive’ beside ingangan ‘to go in’.

13. One consequence of the fixing of the intensity or weight of utterance at or near the beginning of words was the weakening of final, unstressed, inflexional syllables (see §§ 3, 198). In late OE therefore the unstressed short vowels a, e, o, and u of final syllables began from about the tenth century to be weakened to a common sound called schwa [ə], pronounced like the final syllable of china or thorough. Since in addition final n tended to be pronounced as [n] in late OE, the inflexional endings -um, -an, -on all came to be sounded [ən], and the forms written mannum, mannon, mannan might all be pronounced alike [man(ə)n]; less careful scribes might then well use one of the latter spellings to represent the form traditionally spelt mannum, or even (though less frequently) use -um to render forms historically ending in -an or -on. But on the whole the scribes tended to preserve the traditional orthography, which thus came to lag a good deal behind actual pronunciation.

Since virtually all OE texts that students will read show the distinctive inflexional endings -an, -um, -on, -en, -ad etc. preserved in spelling, students will find it easier to learn these forms if they always give them a distinctive pronunciation, despite the fact that such pronunciation would have been archaic (to say the least) in Ælfric’s time.

PRONUNCIATION

14. During the four centuries covered by its surviving records, OE must have changed considerably in pronunciation, and at varying times and speeds in its different dialects. For practical purposes, however, as with the learning of Latin, one must select one period and type of pronunciation to adopt as
a norm or standard. In what follows, the pronunciation described will for the most part be that which may be assumed to have been employed by Ælfric in the period of classical OE about the year 1000. At this time, speakers of the various dialects who were also copyists of older MSS of varying linguistic origins, transposed them into their common cultural language, in all centres generally, and wrote in that widely diffused type of late West Saxon, with elements from neighbouring dialects and a well-developed tradition, which may fairly be termed ‘Classical OE’. Moreover, Ælfric himself was a careful user of this common language, and from his own Latin Grammar in OE we may learn a great deal (by studying it, so to speak, in reverse) of what was his own OE usage. We can infer that, just as there was a common written form of OE, so too there was, at least for formal purposes, a corresponding common spoken form, and it is this that we shall attempt to describe, rather than the colloquial usage which must by this time have been in varying stages of transition.

15. Vowels

OE had seven long and seven short vowels, spelt as follows: a, æ, e, i, o, u, y. The following illustrations show the approximate pronunciation to be attributed to the vowel symbols. OE hám ‘farmstead’ differed in its vowel [aː] from hamm ‘pasture’ [a] rather as Fr. lâche differs from pâté (though often before a nasal, the short a was pronounced like the o in Mod.E. hot). OE æ when short had the sound of a in Mod.E. egg when short and like that in Germ. See when long, [æː] as against [æː]; for example, eft ‘again’ beside está ‘favour’. The short and long i in bidan ‘to pray’ and bidan ‘to await’ respectively differed as in Mod.E. bid [i] and machine [ii]. Short and long o as in god ‘a god’ and god ‘good’ had respectively the vowel sounds in Mod.E. not [ɔ] and Fr. beau [ɔː]. Mod.E. bush and Fr. fou shew the qualities of short and long OE u, as in ful ‘full’ [u] and ful

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‘foul’ [ʊː]. The values of OE y, as in lyft ‘air’ and ȝȝ ‘wave’, may be heard in Fr. repu [y] and lune [yː].

Another symbol, œ, will occasionally be found, especially in Anglian texts, representing the front-round long and short vowels like those heard in Germ. schön and Göttingen respectively; these vowels were unrounded in early WS and spelt o (see § 208). The symbol æ, while this was the usual form, was sometimes written ae in early MSS and also—following a Latin practice—o. OE short a before m or n often appears as o (see § 186a), so that for example man(m) ‘man’ is often spelt mon(n). This suggests that there was some fluctuation in pronunciation, and that nasals had a rounding effect on short a. On phonetic symbols, see § 176.

16. The values given to the vowels, like those given to the consonant-symbols of OE, probably corresponded originally to those of the letters used to write Latin as it was pronounced by the missionaries of the seventh century. It is convenient to divide the vowels, according to the part of the mouth in which they are produced, into front vowels (æ, e, i, y) and back vowels (a, o, u). Because the consonant g was vocalised after front vowels in late OE, a frequent spelling for i in that period is -ig; for example, bigleofa for bileofa ‘food’. Similarly, because a short i could be sounded consonantally as [i], we often find a g alternating with such an i; for example, herges beside heries (gen. sg. of here ‘raiding force’), hergan beside herian ‘to praise’. Again, because the sounds originally written íe in early WS had become [i], [ii] in some words, [y], [yː] in others by King Alfred’s time, MSS of the period often shew i for íe and vice versa; thus hieder for hinder ‘hither’, hiran or hyran for hieran ‘to hear’. Later the results of older íe were mainly pronounced [y], [yː]; in areas of classical OE, so that Ælfrician texts regularly shew -y- for early WS -ie-, as in gelýfan for earlier geliefan ‘to believe’ (see further, § 193).

17. Diphthongs

Diphthongs may be described as ‘rising’ or ‘falling’; that is to say, they may be stressed more heavily on the first or on the second of the constituent vowel-sounds. OE diphthongs were generally falling; thus feallan ‘to fall’, sceæp ‘sheep’, leóð ‘light’.
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

Diphthongs which arose from the development of a glide-vowel between palatal e or g and one of the front vowels (a special feature of WS) were probably at first rising, but the late OE and early ME evidence shows that they afterwards conformed to the general pattern of falling diphthongs. For example, non-WS gefan ‘to give’ appears in early WS as giefan by the development of the glide-vowel represented by -i; this must at first have been pronounced with rising stress giefan, but late OE gefan and ME gieue would suggest that the diphthong came to be pronounced with falling stress giefan (but see §§ 193, 204). In a small number of words like géomor ‘sad’, gèdr-dagás ‘days of yore’, which go back to a Gmc consonantal [j] followed by a long vowel, the ge- is to be taken as representing [j], a spelling devised because g before a back vowel would be a plosive symbol. As we are here dealing therefore with a sequence of consonant plus simple vowel rather than with a diphthong, the macron is placed only over the vowel symbol: géomor [jo:]; gédr- [jarr]. Similarly in sceolde ‘should’, sceæda ‘toe’, geonde (gionde) ‘through’, seæcan ‘to seek’, seægan ‘to singe’, and some others, we probably have simple vowels preceded by diacritics indicating the palatal quality of the consonants; cf. the i in Ital. mangiare ‘to eat’, and the e in Fr. mangeant. Hence we should pronounce sceolde as [ʃolda], sceæda as [ʃæda], geonde as [ʒund], seæcan as [ʃetʃæn], seægan as [ʃɛndʒæn].

18. Classical OE had four diphthongs: ea, ëa, eo, ëo. It is to be remembered that, although in each of these, two vowel sounds were heard, they were pronounced as a single glide, with one crest of sonority, so that they formed one syllable and not two. The short diphthongs ea, eo may be assigned the pronunciation [ea], [eo] respectively; in the long diphthongs, the same sounds were heard, but the whole glide (and not simply the first element of it) was given greater length. Thus weard became would be pronounced [wɛrθ], scéap ‘sheep’ [ʃɛ-repeat], heorte ‘heart’ [hæ-reo], beorph ‘beer’ [bær].

On the other diphthongs that existed at other times and in other dialects than Classical OE of c. 1000, early WS ë, early WS ë, and non-WS ë, see §§ 193, 205. The existence of the short diphthongs has recently been denied, and it has been suggested that (for example) ea represented [e] together with a sign variously interpreted as indicating an allophonic variant of the vowel or the velar character of the following consonant. See especially M. Daunt, ‘Old English Sound-Changes Reconsidered in Relation to Scribal Tradition and Practice’, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1939, pp. 108-37, R. P. Stockwell and C. W. Barratt, Some Old English Graphemic-Phonemic Correspondences—the, an, a (Washington, D.C., 1951). For a criticism of such views and a re-examination of OE diphthongs, see S. M. Kuhn and R. Quirk, Some Recent Interpretations of

INTRODUCTION


19. Consonants

The following consonant symbols had much the same value as they have in Mod.E. orthography: b, d, l, m, n, p, t, w, and x (= [ks]). F, s, þ/þ were voiceless fricatives initially and finally, but were voiced between vowels (cf Mod.E. sís beside raisín): thus sitan ‘to sit’ with [s], genesan ‘to be saved’ with [z]; þencean ‘to think’ with [θ], ðer (ðer) ‘other’ with [ð]; fife ‘five’ [fïf], ofer ‘over’ [ovër]. H initially was much as in Mod.E., but medially or finally it became a palatal or velar fricative according to the front or back quality of the proximate vowel and was pronounced like the ch in Germ. ich [ç] (palatal) or ach [x] (velar). It may be most convenient for the non-specialist student to pronounce both these varieties of h medially or finally like the ch in Scots loch or in Welsh generally; for example, OE he̤ah ‘high’ as [hɛah]. K is rarely used but is sometimes found in place of c as the symbol for a plosive consonant (as in Mod.E.) before a front vowel: thus kyning ‘king’, for the more usual cyning. OE r initially may well have been strongly trilled as in Mod.Scots, but the same symbol was used for the fricative (‘burred’) sound in some positions, notably before consonants and finally (heard ‘hard’, scot ‘shower’) the r-sound of much American speech and heard also in southwestern dialects of England. Z was very rare, and may have sounded as [ts] or [dz] according to position; for example, bæð(e)zere ‘baptist’. See further, § 176.

20. One of the chief defects of the OE alphabet from a phonetic point of view was that the symbols c and g each had to serve for a variety of sounds. C was the symbol both of the plosive consonant [k] and the affricate [ʧ], the initial sounds in Mod.E. keep and cheep respectively, according to the back or front quality of the proximate vowel in early OE (see § 22, note); thus candel ‘candle’, cöl ‘cool’, cumboll ‘banner’, cnhit ‘boy’ had initial [k], but cæp ‘goods’ was pronounced [ʧæp], cild ‘child’ [ʧild], and cyrice ‘church’ [ʧjrɪtʃ]. By the time
of Classical OE, the biliteral sc had come to represent the single consonant sound [ʃ] heard initially in Mod.E. ship and in the OE form scip; in poetry, words beginning with sc- could alliterate only with other words beginning with sc-. OE g (which was written with the Irish-Latin form g till this began to be replaced by the Carolingian form g from the Continent in the twelfth century) was used as follows: initially before consonants and back vowels it represented the plosive consonant [g] as in Mod.E. good, for example gāt 'goat', gnornian ‘to morn’, guma 'man'; in all positions, when the proximate vowel had front quality, it was sounded [j] (the initial sound in Mod.E. yes), for example gif ‘if’ [jif], pegen ‘thane’ [þejan]; after or between back vowels, it had the value of the velar fricative [ɣ] (the Germ. *ach-laut' voiced), sometimes heard in German sagen, for example ägan ‘to own’ [aɣan], fuglere ‘fowler’ [fuɣlera]. The biliteral cg was the symbol of the voiced affricate [ʤ] heard initially and finally in Mod.E. judge, for example seogan ‘to say’ [secʒan].

The only one of these sounds which is difficult for present-day English-speakers is the [y] value of g, and in view of the subsequent development of the words concerned, students are for ordinary reading purposes to pronounce this g as [w]; thus dragan ‘to draw’ [drowan], Chaucer [drowə(n)], boga ‘bow’ [bowa], Chaucer [bowa]. In the earlier period, OE had many long or lengthened consonants represented in writing by doubling, resembling the long consonants of Itali. In such words as fanciullo, fratello, gatto or the single consonant sounds heard in a few Mod.E. compounds like lamp-post. By the period of Classical OE, however, long consonants had been shortened in many cases, and probably universally in final position.

21. Normally, no letters are to be left unsounded in reading OE, hence the w of wrītan ‘to write’, the c of cnāwan ‘to know’, the g of gnornian ‘to morn’ must be clearly heard before the following consonant. Similarly the biliteral hw as in hwæt ‘what’ is to be pronounced as the voiceless sound heard in Mod.Scots what, as distinct from the voiced labio-velar [w] (as in Mod.E. wing) of OE wēt 'wet'; so too hl as in hlād ‘loud’ is to be pronounced as a voiceless l-sound (like that heard in Welsh Llan-) and hr as in hring ‘ring’ is to be pronounced as a voiceless r-sound, as distinct from the normal voiced l and r
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æt him æþhwylfæ þær ymsitændra
over hræondæ hyræn foldæ,
gombæn jyldan. ætæ wæs good kyning!

We have hesitated, for reasons stated in the note to § 13, to make all inflexional endings as indeterminate as they must have been in the speech of c. 1000. Nor have we indicated the OE changes in vowel-length (see § 199), as for instance in fundæn, gyldæn, since students will find them similarly not indicated in their texts, glossaries, and the dictionaries.

II
INFLEXIONS

General Note

24. Students who are working without a tutor and who have not previously made a start on the study of OE with the help of a primer are advised to learn by heart the paradigms and lists which are printed in bold-face type in the following paragraphs. They are further advised that their first steps in reading should be preceded or accompanied by a thorough study of selected noun, adjective, pronoun, and verb paradigms before concentrating in turn on the difficulties and exceptions presented by each of these parts of speech. Thus after learning cyning (§ 26), sceæ (§ 31), and talæ (§ 36), they should proceed to the indefinite declension of adjectives (trum, § 50), and follow this with the personal pronouns (§ 63), se, þæt, sœ (§ 65), the verb fremman (§ 70) and 'to be' (§ 87).

Primers which are to be thoroughly recommended are Norman Davis, Sweet’s Anglo-Saxon Primer (Oxford 1953) and P. S. Ardem, First Readings in Old English (Wellington, N.Z. and London 1951): more advanced linguistic students will find more detailed treatment than is possible here in J. Wright, Old English Grammar (Oxford 1925), R. Girvan, Angelsaksisd Handboek (Haarlem 1931), and K. Brunner, Altenglische Grammatik nach . . . Sievers (Halle, 2nd ed., 1951).

Nouns

25. OE nouns fall into three groups, masculine, neuter and feminine, according as they require one or other form of the demonstratives se, þæt, sœ, and enforce corresponding agreement on the other demonstratives, on adjectives, and on pronouns. It must be remembered that these three genders concern grammatical agreement and do not reflect any logical contrast between (animate) masculine and feminine and (inanimate) neuter; thus OE bœc 'book' is feminine, wifmann
'woman' is masculine, and *mågd* 'girl' is neuter; but see further, § 124.

Forty-five per cent of all the nouns that the student will learn from his reading will be masculine; nearly four-fifths of these will have gen. sg. in -es and nom. acc. pl. in -as; about one fifth will have both gen. sg. and nom. acc. pl. in -an; and there will be a few very common nouns of irregular pattern.

Some thirty per cent of the nouns he meets will be feminine; five-sixths of these will have gen. sg. in -e and nom. acc. pl. in -a or -e; less than one sixth will have both gen. sg. and nom. acc. pl. in -an; again, he will find a small balance of irregulars.

Finally, twenty-five per cent of the nouns will be neuter, almost all having gen. sg. in -es and nom. acc. pl. in -u or without ending.

Regardless of gender, nouns have gen. pl. in -(r)a and dat. pl. in -um, except that nouns which have gen. sg. and nom. acc. pl. in -an have gen. pl. in -(e)na, while nouns with nom. sg. ending in a long vowel or diphthong have dat. pl. in -m.

For the purposes of learning OE grammar, we may conveniently classify the noun declensions in five groups:

A—General Masculine Declension
B—General Neuter Declension
C—General Feminine Declension
D—The -an Declension
E—Irregular Declensions

A—GENERAL MASCULINE DECLENSSION

26. The typical paradigm is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se cyning 'the king'</td>
<td>þa cyningas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pone cyning</td>
<td>þa cyningas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þes cyninges</td>
<td>þara cyninga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þæm, þy cyninge</td>
<td>þæm cyningum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the sg., þæm is dat., þy instr.; see § 65.

On this pattern are declined the majority of masculine nouns; for example, stān 'stone', ðē 'oath', bēht 'boat', hlāf 'loaf', hengest 'horse', æbeling 'prince'.

27. Stems in -th, -rh, such as wealh 'foreigner', meard 'horse', lose -h before endings (see § 189). Monosyllables with -ā in n.sg. have -a in the pl. (see § 192). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n.a.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>g.</th>
<th>d.i.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wealh</td>
<td>wealas</td>
<td>dæg</td>
<td>weale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealas</td>
<td>dæges</td>
<td>daga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dæges</td>
<td>dagum</td>
<td>dagum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The few stems ending in a vowel plus ʰ, notably eoh 'horse', sc(e)ōh 'shoe', hâh 'heel', undergo loss of ʰ with contraction in inflected cases, with lengthening of an originally short stem-vowel (see § 189): they have g.pl. in -na by analogy with nouns of the -an type (see §§ 40, 41 below): thus sg. sc(e)ōh, sc(e)ōs, sc(e)ō, pl. sc(e)ōs, sc(e)ōna, sc(e)ō(n)um, or very late, sc(e)ōn.

28. With dissyllables like heofon 'heaven', having a short first syllable and ending in a single consonant, the second vowel is often weakened to [ə] and spelt -e- in inflected cases; for example, heofenas.

Where the first syllable is long and the second short in dissyllabic nouns, the second vowel is syncopated (see § 195) in inflected cases; for example, dryhten 'lord' (g.sg. dryhtes), engel 'angel', dēnol 'devil'; syncope occurs also with a few nouns which have short first syllable (thus, fudol 'bird', nicor 'monster'), though these appear also without syncope.

A long syllable is one which has a long vowel or which ends in a long consonant or in a consonant cluster. In addition to syncopated masc. forms like those of other nouns in this class, winter 'winter' has a d.i.sg. wintra (see § 43) and n.a.pl. forms on neuter patterns: winter, wintra.
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

29. (a) Many nouns of two or more syllables and ending in -e are declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>becer 'baker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>beceres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>becer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here belong other agent nouns in -ere (see §§ 164, 172), and dissyllables such as ende 'end', h ActivatedRoute 'shepherd', hwe 川e 'wheat'. As well as having inflexions on the above pattern, here 'raising force' sometimes has a medial [j], variously spelt, in oblique cases: g.sg. heres, her(i)ges, d.sg. herie, her(i)ge, n.a.pl. herias, her(i)gas, etc. (see § 194).

(b) Also found with inflexions like becer are bite 'bite', byre 'son', cyrene 'arrival', cuide 'saying', gripe 'grasp', hyge 'mind', mere 'lake', siege 'blow', white 'beauty'; a few, notably hyse 'young man', mete 'food', appear throughout the pl. with double consonant: hyssas, meltem (see § 194).

30. Historically, the nouns in § 29b do not belong to the same declension as that which gave rise to the endings of most General Masculine nouns, and many are recorded with alternative n.a.pl. forms, especially in early texts. This alternative paradigm is often found with stede 'place':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>stede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>stedes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>stede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wine 'friend' has, in addition, variant forms of the g.pl.: wina, winige. A few nouns had the -e plural regularly: ylde 'men', ylfe 'elves', leode 'people', and, above all, racial and tribal names such as Dene 'Danes' (g.pl. as wina), Engril 'Englishmen', Myrce 'Mercians' and Seaxe 'Saxons' (g.pl. Myrca, Seaxna).

B—GENERAL NEUTER DECLEXION

31. Neuter nouns in general differ from masculines only in the n.a.pl., which may be in -u (especially short-stemmed monosyllables) or have no ending (especially long-stemmed monosyllables; see § 188):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>þæt scip 'the ship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>þæs scipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>þæm, þy scipe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The n.a.pl. ending is sometimes -o.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>þæt land 'the land'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>þæs landes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>þæm, þy lande</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. Like scip are bod 'command', brim 'sea', lim 'limb', gewrit 'writing', etc. Where the stem vowel is in n.a.sg., it sometimes appears as io, eo in the pl.: liomu 'limbs' (see § 214). Where the n.a.sg. stem vowel is ã, we find -a- in the pl.: far 'journey', færes, fære; faru, fara, farum (see § 192); so too fot 'vessel', swæþ 'track', etc.; geat 'gate' has -ea- in the sg., -a- in the pl. (see § 204).

33. Like land are bæn 'bone', bærn 'child', folc 'people', scæþ 'sheep', sweord 'sword', etc. The paradigms of two common nouns in -h, feorh 'life', feoh 'property', are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>feorh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>feores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>feore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the forms, see § 189.

Simplification of final double consonants (see § 196) produces some discrepancies as between n.a.sg. and pl. on the one hand and g.d.i.sg. and pl. on the other: thus, bedad 'bed' beside beddes, beddem; so too, cyn(n) 'race', fæt(n) 'floor', giedad 'song', wedad 'pledge', and a few others. Similarly, derivative neuter nouns in -en(n), -el(n) double the n or l before endings; thus wësten(n) 'desert' (n.a.pl. wëstennu), fæsten 'stronghold', rým 'space'.

Where the medial consonant cluster in inflected forms ends in w (as in bealwes 'of evil'), the n.a.sg. and pl. ends in -u (bealu); so too, sæaru 'device', smercu 'fæt', teoru 'tar'. In ond(we)
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‘knee(s)’, stréaw ‘straw(s)’, and treo ‘tree(s)’, all n.a.sg. and pl., the g.d.i.sg. and pl. may have short or long vowels: cnabes, stréawa, tréowum.

34. There are many neuter nouns with n.a.sg. in -e which are declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>wite 'punishment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>wites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>wite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, Ærendr 'errand', fôere 'wing', rîce 'kingdom', spere 'spear', yrfe 'inheritance', and others.

Some nouns of this type, if they are original ja-stems, have alternative forms in the pl. with a palatal vowel before the endings: this phenomenon is found especially with rîce: n.a.pl. rîcta, g.pl. rîca, d.i.pl. rîcutum; see § 194.

35. Disyllabic nouns other than the types already mentioned display considerable variation in two respects: (a) the n.a.pl. (in -u or without ending), and (b) the syncope or retention of the second vowel before inflections.

(a) In general, disyllables with short first syllable decline like land, with uninflated n.a.pl.; thus werôd 'troop', reced 'house', and others, but late forms with -u are not uncommon; wîter 'water' has frequent -u plurals (both wîteru and wîtru), and -u forms are usual with yfel 'evil'. The position is similar with a number of nouns which appear sometimes spelt as disyllables with long first syllable and sometimes without the second vowel in uninflated cases: thus tâc (e)n 'sign', tungol 'star', wundu 'wonder', wâp (e)n 'weapon' have usually the same forms in n.a.sg. and n.a.pl., but they may also have -u plurals (tâcnu, tunglu, wundru, wâpnu). On the other hand, the majority of disyllables with long first syllable have -u plurals throughout OE (heafod 'head'—heafodu, nýlen ‘animal’—nýlenu, pásend ‘thousand’—pásendu), though uninflated plurals like heafod, pásend also occur.

(b) As regards syncope of the second vowel, this is unusual where the first syllable is short (recetdes, werodes, etc.), though syncopated forms of water (wâtres, wâtru) are common enough.

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Nouns like tâc (e)n, wâp (e)n, on the other hand, which often lack a second vowel in n.a.sg. and pl., are very rarely without syncope in inflected cases: tânes, wâpne, etc. For the rest, nouns with long first syllable and with a single consonant after the second vowel normally show syncope in g.d.i.sg. and pl. (heafdes), though this is usually resisted before -u and one finds n.a.pl. forms for the most part with the second vowel preserved (heafodu).

C—GENERAL FEMININE DECLENSION

36. Many feminine nouns (especially those with short stems) have n.sg. in -u while many others (especially those with long stems) have n.sg. ending in a consonant; apart from this, there is no difference throughout the paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>sëd talu 'the tale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>þâ tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>þære tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>þære tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>sëd glôf 'the glove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>þâ glôfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>þære glôfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>þære glôfe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be noted (a) that the n.a.pl. of both types sometimes ends in -e, and (b) that the g.pl. ending, especially of the short-stemmed nouns, is often -e)nna.

37. Like talu are andswaru 'answer', c(e)aru 'grief', cvalu 'killing', sacu 'strife', and others; long-stemmed nouns with n.sg. in -u include syðdu 'native land', fæhnu 'feud', gesæolu 'prosperity', and stremmhu 'strength', though all of these have both alternative sg. forms without ending and alternative a.g.d.i.sg. forms in -u.

38. Like glôf are bôt 'advantage', brycg 'bridge', ealh 'shoulde', ecg 'edge', hwil 'space of time', rôd 'cross', sorg 'sorrow', and many others. Several nouns which may or may not have
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a final double consonant in n.sg. always have the double consonant in the rest of the paradigm: thus ben(m) 'wound', hel(l) 'Hell', sib(b) 'kinship', wyn(n) 'joy', etc., and derivatives in -en(n) and -nes(s) such as byrgen(n) 'tomb', gōdnes(s) 'goodness'.

Derivatives in -ung (see §§ 164, 170) such as lærnung 'learning' have alternative forms in -a for a.g.d.i.sg.

Dissyllables with short first syllable, such as firen 'violence', ðuot 'valour', ðes 'woman', are declined like glāf without syncope of the second vowel (e.g. firenum); dissyllables with long first syllable, such as frōfor 'comfort', swōol 'soul', have syncope before endings but are otherwise like glāf: frōfre, swōla.

Inflexional endings in a number of nouns are preceded by -w- although in the n.sg. it may appear vocalised as -u or (after a long syllable) be entirely absent; thus, beadu 'battle', sceadu 'shadow' (a.sg. beadwe, sceadwe), mǣd 'meadow' (a.sg. mǣdwe); the paradigm is otherwise like glāf, and indeed oblique cases of mǣd sometimes lack the -w- (§ 187).

Clǣ 'claw' is usually declined clawe etc.; brāw 'misery' has an alternative form prǣa throughout the sg. and n.a.pl., with a d.i.pl. prǣam; brū 'eyebrow' has the following pl. forms prǣa, brū(a), g. brūna. 

39. While most feminine nouns have their usual n.a.pl. in -a, less usually in -e, a number of common ones have their n.a.pl. in -e, less usually in -a; these also usually differ from the majority of feminine nouns in having identical, uninflexed n.a.sg., though here again analogy sometimes causes them to adopt the commoner feminine a.sg. in -e. The distinctive paradigm is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>dǣd 'dǣð'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>dǣde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>dǣde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So too, ben 'prayer', cwēn 'woman', fyrd 'levy', miht 'power', nydf 'necessity', tid 'time', wēn 'expectation', wyrd 'fate', and several others.

INFLEXIONS

With & 'law' (earlier ðlaw), we find uninflexed forms throughout the sg. and n.a.pl., & as well as g.d.i.sg. &we, n.a.pl. &w; sē 'sea' is sometimes masc. (g.s. sæs, d.i. sæ, n.a.pl. sæs, g.pl. sæwos, d.i.pl. sæwm, sæwm) and sometimes fem. (g.d.i.sg. sæ or sæwos, n.a.pl. sæ).

D—THE -AN DECLENSION

40. Many masculines (with n.sg. in -a) and feminines (with n.sg. in -e) belong here, and also two neutrals (with n.a.sg. in -e); thus guma 'man', byrnan 'coat of mail', ēage 'eye' respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.n.</td>
<td>se guma</td>
<td>sæð byrne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>þøre guman</td>
<td>þǣr byrnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>þes guman</td>
<td>þære byrnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>þǣm, þf guman</td>
<td>þære byrnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.n.a.</td>
<td>þā guman</td>
<td>þā byrnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>þāra gumenā</td>
<td>þāra byrnenā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>þǣm gumum</td>
<td>þǣm byrnum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like guma are bana 'killer', bōda 'messenger' (and other agent nouns in -a; see § 101c), nama 'name', and many others.

Like byrnan are cyrice 'church', eorðe 'earth', hēorte 'heart', hlādfige 'lady', tunge 'tongue', and many others.

Like ēage is ðāre 'ear'.

A few nouns in this class have g.pl. in -na, notably wīlna (willa 'desire'); tunna, ēagna are alternative g.pl. forms; oxna 'ox' has g.pl. oxna, d.pl. ox(n)um, n.a.pl. oxan, oxen.

41. A small number of masculines and feminines have n.sg. ending in a long vowel or diphthong; masculines are gesē 'foe', gesēa 'joy', frēa 'lord', Swēon (pl.) 'Swedes', tweo 'doubt', weō 'woe'; feminines are bōō 'bee', fēa 'arrow', tā 'toe'. These are inflected by adding -na to the n.sg. form for g.pl., -m for d.i.pl., and -n for the other cases.

In addition, the d.i.pl. is sometimes re-formed with -um (Swēōnum), sometimes preceded by the n of other cases (lēnum); lēo 'lion' sometimes has the -n of the Latin oblique cases (lēnān, lēnum) and has a d.i.sg. form lēm.
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E—IRREGULAR DECLENSIONS

42. The nouns to be considered here are more ‘irregular’ than those in the preceding paragraphs only from the point of view of learning OE; in other words, these nouns have various inflexional patterns substantially different from the four main types already dealt with. If, on the other hand, we had a more strictly philological aim and were viewing the development of Indo-European nouns as a whole, we might say that the nouns in the present group were more ‘regular’ than many of those previously listed, since by reason of their frequency of occurrence they have retained to a much greater extent the identity and individuality of old declensional patterns, whereas many nouns in the foregoing sections have lost their former inflexions and taken on other endings.

We may sub-divide the irregular nouns into four groups, classified by the plural forms: (a) -a plurals, (b) -ru plurals, (c) uninflected plurals, (d) mutation plurals.

43. (a) -a plurals

Here belong the masculines sunu ‘son’, wudu ‘wood’, and the feminines duru ‘door’, nosu ‘nose’, hond ‘hand’:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{n.a.} & \text{suna} & \text{suna} \\
\text{g.} & \text{hond} & \text{hond} \\
\text{d.i.} & \text{suna} & \text{hondum} \\
\end{array}
\]

The form sunu is sometimes carried through the sg. and n.a.pl. Other nouns having some forms like sunu and hond, while belonging in the main to the General Masculine or Feminine Declensions, are as follows: masc. meodu ‘mead’, sidu ‘custom’, eard ‘native land’, feld ‘field’, ford ‘ford’, sumor ‘summer’, weald ‘forest’, winter ‘winter’, and some others; fem. flōr (also with masc. forms of the General type) ‘floor’, cænor ‘mill’.

It will be seen that sunu and hond differ only in the n.a.sg.; on the loss or retention of -u, see § 188.

44. (b) -ru plurals

Here belong the following neuter nouns: ǣg ‘egg’, bæðru

45. (c) uninflected plurals

We have here three sub-groups, the one comprising nouns in -end, the second a few nouns which have -e- before inflexions, the third comprising some nouns of relationship.

In the first sub-group belong a considerable number of masculine agent nouns which end in -end (see § 171):

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{n.a.} & \text{ridend} & \text{ridend} \\
\text{g.} & \text{ridendes} & \text{ridendr} \\
\text{d.i.} & \text{ridende} & \text{ridendum} \\
\end{array}
\]

Nouns of this kind are found also with n.a.pl. in -e and -es, and sometimes with -r- throughout the pl.

46. In the second sub-group we have the masculines hæle(ð) ‘hero’, mónad ‘month’; a feminine, máeg(ð) ‘maid’; and a neuter, ealu ‘ale’; hæle(ð) is declined thus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{n.a.} & \text{hæle(ð)} & \text{hæleð} \\
\text{g.} & \text{hæleðes} & \text{hæleða} \\
\text{d.i.} & \text{hæleðe} & \text{hæleðum} \\
\end{array}
\]

Mónad has medial -e- or syncope in g.d.i.sg. and pl.: món(ð)es, món(ð)e, etc.; both mónad and hæle(ð) also have n.a.pl. forms in -as. The fem. máeg(ð) may or may not have syncope of the -e- throughout; it is uninflected in the sg. and in n.a.pl., but g.d.i.sg. may be máeg(ð)e. The defective neut. ealu appears as ealod in g.d.i.sg. and the only pl. form recorded is the gen. cæleða.
47. In the third sub-group are the masc. brōðor 'brother', and the fem. mōðor 'mother', dohtor 'daughter':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>brōðor</td>
<td>brōðor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>brōðor</td>
<td>brōðra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>brēðer</td>
<td>brōðrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like these is sweostor 'sister' except that this is unchanged in d.i.sg.

Brōðor, dohtor, mōðor have alternative n.a.pl. forms brōð(e)ru, dohtru, -ra, mōdra, -ra, and the latter two are found also with mutation in g.sg. (dohter, mēder). On fader 'father', which is declined mainly on the General Masc. pattern, see § 26. On the mutated form in dohtor, see § 207.

48. (d) mutated plurals

The masc. paradigm is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>fōt 'foot'</td>
<td>fēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>fōtes</td>
<td>fōta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>fēt</td>
<td>fōtum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The instr. sg. in this group is sometimes recorded in -e without mutation (e.g. fōte).

Like fōt is tōd 'tooth'; here belong also fōnd 'foe', frōnd 'friend' (n.a.pl. -r-, -r-), which have alternative n.a.pl. forms f(r)ōnd(as), mann 'man' and wifmann 'woman' (n.a.pl. -e).

The neut. scrūd 'garment' has forms like land (§ 31) but with an alternative d.sg. scrūd. On i-mutation, see §§ 208 ff.

49. The fem. paradigm is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>gōs 'goose'</td>
<td>ġēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>gōse</td>
<td>gōsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>ġēs</td>
<td>ġōsum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like gōs are bōc 'book', brōc 'breeches'; here belong also āc 'oak' (n.a.pl. āc), burg 'fortress' (n.a.pl. byr(i)g), āūs 'louse' and mūs 'mouse' (n.a.pl. -y-), and a few others. Some of these are recorded with an alternative g.sg. form with mutation and without ending: e.g. bōc, byrīg. A minor variation is repre-

50. There are two types of inflexion, the indefinite and the definite, for almost every adjective; on the distinction in usage between the two, see § 116. The exceptions are all 'all', feā(w)ē 'few', genōg 'enough', manīg 'many', and ōdor 'other', which are always indefinite; and ilca 'same', ordinal numerals (excluding ōdor), comparatives, and for the most part superlatives, which take the definite inflexion.

**Adjectives**

A. The Indefinite Declension

Although the indefinite inflexions are not exactly the same for all adjectives, there being some points of difference over the n.sg.fem. and n.a.pl.neut. and over the syncope or non-syncope of medial vowels, the following paradigm may be regarded as typical:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. n.</td>
<td>trum 'firm'</td>
<td>trum</td>
<td>trumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>trumne</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>trume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>trumes</td>
<td>trumes</td>
<td>trumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>trumum</td>
<td>trumum</td>
<td>trumre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>trume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. n.a.</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>trumu</td>
<td>truma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>trumra</td>
<td>trumra</td>
<td>trumra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>trumum</td>
<td>trumum</td>
<td>trumum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The -u of n.sg.fem. and n.a.pl.neut. is sometimes replaced by -o. In late texts the n.a.pl. is often in -e for all genders, and we occasionally find a weakened ending (spelt, for example, -an) replacing -um in the d.sg.masc.neut. and d.i.pl. all genders.

51. Short-stemmed monosyllabic adjectives are declined on the above model (e.g. gram 'fierce', til 'good'), as also compound adjectives in -lic and -sum (e.g. láblíc 'hateful', lufsím 'ami-
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

able'). Adjectives like glad 'happy', hweaet 'bold', where the stem vowel is æ, have -a- before an inflexional vowel; thus a.sg.fem. glađe beside a.sg.masc. glæðne.

Adjectives which have -e in the n.sg.masc. and n.a.sg.neut. differ from trum in these respects only; for example, seæcle 'noble', déøre 'dear', grēnæ 'green', mēre 'famous', rice 'powerful', swēte 'sweet', and many others.

Adjectives which have -u in the n.sg.masc. and n.a.sg.neut. differ also from trum in having -u- before -e and -a, and -o- before consonants; thus gearu 'ready' n.sg. all genders, gearwees g.sg.masc. and neut., gearweas a.sg.masc. etc. -u- sometimes also appears before -um. The neuter form feað 'few' (pl. only) is often an invariable n.a. form, though separate forms feæwe, -a are also common; g.pl. is feað(we)ra, d.i.pl. feað(we)um, feað.

Cucu (cuicu) 'living' is not like gearu, but remains almost the only trace of a lost paradigm; it is recorded with -u for a.sg.fem. and neut. and for n.sg. and pl. all genders, and there is an a.sg.masc. cucone; but the distinctive inflexions of cucu are rare, a more frequent form being cuic, inflected like trum. Also declined like gearu are feæu 'dark', geolu 'yellow', neæru 'narrow', and a few others.

52. Long-stemmed monosyllables differ from trum in being uninflunct in n.sg.fem. and n.a.pl.neut. where trum has -u (see § 188); thus blind 'blind', deææ 'dead', eaææ 'old', lād 'hostile', sōd 'true', wīs 'wise', and many other common adjectives. So too compound adjectives in -isc, -lēas, -weard, and other long-syllabled elements (see §§ 165, 171 f). Present and past participles belong here also, except that the former have -e in n.sg.masc. and n.a.sg.neut.

The uninflunct forms of certain adjectives sometimes end in a single, sometimes in a double consonant: e.g. eall(æ) 'all', grim(m) 'grim'; they usually have the single consonant before endings beginning with a consonant (griem, eallre), the double consonant before endings beginning with a vowel (griem, eallum).

Adjectives whose uninflunct stem ends in -h lose the h in uninflunct forms (see § 189); thus pweorh 'perverse'; with fæah 'hostile', hēah 'high', nēah 'nearer' we find in addition the doubling of the consonant in the inflexions -ne, -re, and -ra, and the disappearance of the vowel from the remaining inflexions: hēane, hēarre, hēas, hēa, etc., but we also find single consonant forms (hēane, etc.) and analogical re-formations such as hēaðre, hēaum.

Frið(æ) 'tree' has a variety of forms: a.sg.masc. frōe, frige, a.sg.fem. friðæ, frige, and similar pairs.

53. We come now to the dissyllabic (and in a few cases tri-syllabic) adjectives in -ig, -en, -el, -ol, -or, -or (§§ 170 ff). Where the stressed syllable is short (as in manig 'many', swwol 'clear'), the n.sg.fem. and n.a.pl.neut. are almost always uninflunct; in such adjectives, too, syncope is often resisted and one has forms like manige, swwole, though with micel and yfel syncope is usual before endings in or beginning with a vowel (lið(es), hálæg, hálægum), except that it tends to be resisted before -u (hálæg(æ)u, líð(e)lu) and is not frequent with adjectives in -en (cristenes).

54. B. The Definite Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. n.</th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>truma</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>trume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.d.i.</td>
<td>truman</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>truman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. n.a.</td>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>trumra</td>
<td>trumra</td>
<td>trumra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>trumum</td>
<td>trumum</td>
<td>trumum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes the g.pl. has -ena, and in late texts we sometimes find -an in n.sg.masc.: se forman dag 'the first day'. Adjectives like hēah (§ 52) have one n.sg. for all genders (hēa), adding -n etc. for oblique cases. Adjectives which have -w- in the indefinite paradigm (§ 51) or syncope before certain inflexions (§ 53) have these throughout the definite declension except before the -ra g.pl. where the conditions are the same as in the indefinite declension.
Comparison of Adjectives and Adverbs

55. Adjectives. The comparative ends in -ra and is declined on the definite pattern (§ 54); the superlative ends in -ost(a), -(e)st(a) and is also declined on the definite pattern except often for the n.sg.-masc. and fem. and n.a.sg.neut.

The commonest pattern of comparison is as follows:

earm ‘poor’
heard ‘hard’
leof ‘dear’
where the stem vowel of monosyllabic adjectives is ê, the superlative has -a- (see § 192):
glaed ‘glad’
gearu ‘ready’
nearu ‘narrow’
Adjectives like gearu are compared as follows:
gearu ‘ready’
gearu ‘ready’
nearu ‘narrow’
Adjectives like rice drop the -e before the endings:
bliðe ‘happy’
céne ‘bold’
rice ‘powerful’

Long-stemmed adjectives in -en, -or, -ig, -ol, etc. sometimes show syncope before the superlative ending and sometimes not (cræft-gost ‘strongest’, gesþigost ‘happiest’, but also gesþigost; with short-stemmed adjectives syncope is rare (swolost ‘clearest’, snotest ‘wildest’). Syncope is extremely rare before the comparative ending (cræftigara, snotera).

Several adjectives, which originally took different suffixes, show i-mutation in the comp. and superl. (§ 209); their superl. ending is generally recorded as -(e)st(a):
eald ‘old’
feor ‘far’
geong ‘young’
great ‘large’
heah ‘high’
lang ‘long’
sceort ‘short’
strang ‘strong’
yldra
fyrre
gingra
grytra
hýrra
lengra
scyrtra
strengra

57. With a small number of adjectives, the comp. and superl. have a different root from the positive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pl</th>
<th>sgn</th>
<th>pl</th>
<th>sgn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gôd ‘good’</td>
<td>betra</td>
<td>betst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lôd ‘little’</td>
<td>lôssa</td>
<td>lôst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micel ‘great’</td>
<td>már</td>
<td>màst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfel ‘evil’</td>
<td>wyr</td>
<td>wyrst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beside betra, we find also betera, betra; beside betest(a), wyrst(a), we find beest(a), wî(re)st(a).

58. Several other comp. and superl. adjectives have no positive forms at all but correspond to adverbs; the commonest are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pl</th>
<th>sgn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ār ‘before’)</td>
<td>ãrra ‘earlier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(east ‘eastwards’)</td>
<td>ãsterra ‘more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inn ‘inside’)</td>
<td>innerra ‘inner’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like ãst are nord ‘northwards’, sud ‘southwards’, west ‘westwards’; like inn is ûte ‘outside’, except that it has alternative comp. and superl. forms with mutation, yr-. The examples in -mest are, as it were, double superlatives, since the -m- represents an old superl. suffix (cf Lat. primus, optimus) which survives in forma ‘first’ but of which there are few other OE examples.

59. Adverbs. The comp. ends in -or, the superl. in -ost or -est:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pl</th>
<th>sgn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oft ‘often’</td>
<td>oftor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hraðe ‘quickly’</td>
<td>hraðor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luffice ‘lovingly’</td>
<td>lufficor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

There are a few common exceptional forms (cf § 57):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Card</th>
<th>Ord</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lýt</td>
<td>læs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micle</td>
<td>må</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wel</td>
<td>bet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfle</td>
<td>wyrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternative forms include betest and w(e)r(e)st. Seldan ‘seldom’ has comp. seld(n)or, superl. seldost. Examples with f-mutation (besides bet, wyrs, etc.) include länge ‘long’—längest, nýtr (beside nœtr) ‘nearer’, sêf ‘more softly’, sêd ‘more easily’, and one or two others.

### Numerals

#### Cardinal

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>án</td>
<td>forma, fyrsta, fyrnest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>twēgen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>prý</td>
<td>pridda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>feÓwer</td>
<td>feÓða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>fif</td>
<td>fifta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>syx</td>
<td>syxta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>seofon</td>
<td>seofóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>eahta</td>
<td>eahtóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nigon</td>
<td>nigoða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>týn</td>
<td>tóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>endleofan</td>
<td>endleofta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>twelf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>þréotýne</td>
<td>þréoteóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>twentig</td>
<td>twentigóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>án and twentig</td>
<td>án and twentigóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>prítig</td>
<td>-óða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>hundseonaldig</td>
<td>-óða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>hundeahtatig</td>
<td>-óða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>hundningontig</td>
<td>-óða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>hundteóntig, hundteóntigóða</td>
<td>hund(red)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>hundendleofantig</td>
<td>-óða</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Ordinal

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>hundtwelfig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>tů hund(red)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>þusend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numerals for 14-19 are formed as for 13; similarly, 22-29, 40-60, 130-190, 300, etc. may be inferred from the structure of 21, 30, 120, 200, etc. In place of ordinals corresponding to hund and þusend, we find periphrases such as aefestest on þám twám hundredum ‘last in the two hundred’, i.e. ‘two-hundredth’.

61. All ordinals follow the definite declension (§ 54), except óðer, which always has the indefinite inflexions (§§ 50, 53).

The first three cardinals are declined as follows. Ān can have both indefinite and definite inflexions (with the latter it means ‘alone’), except that beside ânne there is an alternative a.sg. masc. ânne. In the plural, it means ‘only, unique’. Twēgen is the n.a.pl.masc.; the n.a.pl.neut. and fem. is twá (with an alternative neut. form tâ); g.pl. twég(r)a, d.i.pl. twám or twâm. Pry is also the n.a.pl.masc., and the n.a.pl.neut. and fem. is þro, g.pl. þreóra, d.i.pl. þrim.

Like twēgen is bêgen ‘both’, n.a. neut. and fem. bâ (bâ), g. bêg(r)a, d.i. bâm, bâm.

62. The cardinals 4-19 are not usually declined when used attributively, but sometimes when they stand alone they take endings as follows: n.a. masc. and fem. -e, neut. -e, g. -a, d.i. -um. Thus fif menn ‘five men’, but ic sóð fiffe ‘I see five’. Numerals in -tig are sometimes declined as neuter nouns (thus with a g.sg., as in þrites mila brâd ‘thirty miles wide’), more frequently with adjectival inflexions agreeing with the items counted, but frequently also with no inflexion at all. Hund and þusend are either invariable or are declined as neuter nouns.

Some of the idioms involving numerals should be noted. Expressions such as syxum sun ‘one of six’ are special cases of the partitive genitive and are discussed in § 101, note; ordinals with hælf are used as follows: òðer hælf ‘one and a half’, þíde hælf ‘two and a half’, þifte hælf ‘four hundred and fifty’, etc.
### Pronouns

#### Personal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>ic</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>wē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>ús</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>mēn</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>ēre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>ús</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Second Person

| n. | pē | git | gē |
| a. | pē | inc | ēower |
| g. | pēn | inc | ēower |
| d.i. | pē | inc | ēower |

#### Third Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td>hēt</td>
<td>hēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>hine</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hire</td>
<td>hira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>hire</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the use of the personal pronouns as reflexive, see § 120c.

Early texts sometimes have distinctive a.sg. forms of the 1st and 2nd pers.: mecro, uncet, ësic; phec, incil, ëcowic; ëcow(-) often appears as ëcow(-), ëcre as ëser; in the 3rd pers. there is considerable variety of form: for example, hine, his, him, hit, etc. often appear in IWS spelt -y-, and hī, hire, hire, hira often appear as hī (hēo), hire, heora; so too we find heom for d.i.pl.

#### Possessive

The genitives of all the personal pronouns were used as possessives, and to a small extent also the general 3rd pers. form sin 'his, her, their', an old reflexive. The possessives of the 1st and 2nd pers. and sin took the indefinite adjective inflexion; his, hire, hira were not declined.

#### Demonstrative

On the distinction in usage between the following two demonstratives, see § 117:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) se 'the, that'</th>
<th>(b) pes 'this'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>neut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.n.</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>pone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>pes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>pæm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>pē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Common

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the forms of relative pronoun, see §§ 120b, 153.

In pronominal functions (§ 120a), the n.sg. masc. se and pes had a long vowel. Alternative forms among the demonstratives included: pām for pām, pōn for pē, pīse for pīse, -y- for -r-, etc.

#### Interrogative

Hwaðer 'which (of two)', hwefor (or hwele) 'which (of many)' are declined with the indefinite adjective inflexion; hwað 'who' has only masc. and neut. sg. forms, which are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>hwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>hwone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>hwæs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>hwæm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>hwæm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides hwī (or hwī), there exist the instr. forms hwon (in the phrases for or tō hwon 'why') and hā 'how'; other alternative forms are hwām for hwæm, hwone for hwone.

#### Indefinite

The interrogatives hwā, hwæder, hwec could be used indefinitely, 'any(one), any(thing)', and many other forms of indefinite pronouns were built around these three:

- ãhwā, ãhwæder, ãhwec, 'anyone', etc.;
- gehwā, gehwæder, gehwec, etc., 'each one', etc.;
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æghwā, æghwylc, etc., 'each one', etc.;
swā hwā swā, etc., 'whoever', etc.;
hwæthwugu 'something', hwelchwuugu 'someone';
nāthwā, nāthwelc 'someone' (lit. 'I don't know who').
Other indefinite pronouns include Ælc 'each', Æng 'any', man
or mon 'one' (see §§ 120e, 131), swelec (sweylec) 'such', pyclic
'such', wiht (and its compounds and variants such as Æwiht,
duht) 'anything', and several others.

Huā, hwearder, hwelec are declined as stated in § 66; swelec is like hwelec;
Ælc, Æng, and pyclic (or pyclic) take the indefinite adjective inflexions;
the rest of the forms are invariable, though wiht has -es and -e endings
in adverbial function, 'at all'.

Verbs

68. Almost three-quarters of the verbs that a student will
meet in his OE reading will be of the consonantal conjugation,
often called 'weak' conjugation. This was, and has remained,
the productive and influential conjugation, and practically all
new verbs that have been formed or adopted since the earliest
OE times are in this category. From earliest OE times, too,
verbs of the other main type of conjugation have tended to
lose their distinctive inflexions and to take on those of the
consonantal conjugation. This second type, which comprises
about one-quarter of the verbs that the student will meet, is
the vocalic (often called 'strong') conjugation. There remains
a very small balance of irregular verbs, amounting only to
about one-fiftieth of the verbs in the students' glossaries; these
irregular verbs are of several types, and many display features
both of the consonantal and of the vocalic conjugations.

Thus in order of numerical importance, we have consonantal,
vocalic, and irregular verbs. From the point of view of frequency,
however, these three main groups are of approximately
equal importance. The numerical preponderance of the
consonantal type is accounted for to a large extent by the fact
that this type comprises very many verbs which are of rare
occurrence (compare in Mod.E. the relatively rare verbs of this
kind like gesticulate, crystallise, signify, beside the common ones

INFLEXIONS

like love and hate). On the other hand, the smaller total number
of vocalic verbs are for the most part very common and are of
high frequency in texts (compare in Mod.E. sing, drink, write).
Above all, the very small number of irregular verbs (be, will,
can, etc. in Mod.E.) must be learnt very carefully, since these
are the commonest verbs in the language.

69. General Notes on Verb Inflexions

Person

(1) The pres. indic. sg. alone has distinctive forms for the
first, second, and third persons; 1 p.sg. ends in -e, 2 p.sg. in -st,
3 p.sg. in -e.

(2) The pret. indic. sg. has identical 1 and 3 p. forms (-e consonantal,
no ending vocalic), but a distinctive 2 p. (-est consonantal, -e vocalic).

(3) The pres. indic. pl. and pret. indic. pl., and the pres. and
pret. subj. sg. and pl. show no distinctions of person.

Tense

(4) The pres. indic. pl. almost always ends in -ad, the pret.
indic. pl. always in -on.

(5) Consonantal and most irregular verbs have a dental suffix
in all preterite forms (herian—herede); vocalic verbs form
the preterite with changes of stem-vowel (bindan—band—
bundan).

Mood

(6) The pres. and pret. subj. sg. are in -e, pl. in -en.

(7) There are in general but two imperative forms, a 2 p.sg.
in -e, -a, or without ending, and a 2 p.pl. in -ad.

Non-finite forms

(8) Infinitives end in -(i)an, present participles in -(i)ende;
past participles normally have the prefix ge- and end in -ed
(consonantal) or -en (vocalic).

The whole paradigm of a given verb can be inferred from
selected items (principal parts) as follows: infinitive (and pres.
indic. 3 p.sg.), pret. indic. 1 and 3 p.sg., 1-3 p.pl. (vocalic verbs
only), and past participle.
CONSONANTAL TYPE

There are two main classes of consonantal verbs.

Class I. The stem of infinitives in this class almost always has a mutated vowel (see §§ 209, 163). We may broadly distinguish two sub-classes, according as the infinitive stem has (a) a short vowel followed by a double consonant or -fr-, or (b) a long vowel regardless of the following consonant, or a short vowel followed by a consonant cluster other than a doubling.

Class II. This class comprises almost all verbs with infinitives in -ian other than those which have -fr- before this ending; the vast majority have unmutated stem vowels (see § 163).

The main distinctive features of these classes and sub-classes are illustrated in the paradigms of fremman 'perform', nerian 'save', dēman 'judge', lußian 'love':

70.

71. Other common Class I verbs are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>infin.</th>
<th>3 sg. pres. ind.</th>
<th>1, 3 sg. pret. ind.</th>
<th>past pples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>äswedban 'kill'</td>
<td>äswefed</td>
<td>äswefede</td>
<td>äswefed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like tryman are cnyssan 'strike', dynnan 'resound'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

settan 'set' | sette | -sett |

The dual pronouns, wit and gē, accompany the same verb forms as wē and gē. Between i and e we often find [j], spelt g; thus nerige, lußigen; g(e) may also replace i (nerige)an, lußigen), and ge may also come between i and a (nerige)an).
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Like settan are cnuytan ‘bind’, lettan ‘hinder’.
lecgan ‘lay’ legd legde -legd (-lêd)
derian ‘injure’ dereô derede -dered
Like derian are erian ‘plough’, ferian ‘carry’, herian ‘praise’, spyrían ‘inquire’, werian ‘defend’.

(b)
barnan ‘burn up’ bærô bærnde -bærned

cyðian ‘proclaim’ cýðô cýdde -cýdd
So too eðdân ‘lament’; both verbs have alternative pret. forms with -ôd-.

tygan ‘fill’ tylô tylde -tylded
So too cennan ‘bring forth’, cyrran ‘turn’, fyllan ‘fell’.

sendan ‘send’ sende -send
So too andwyrðan ‘answer’, spendan ‘spend’, wendan ‘turn’.

neðman ‘name’ neôneô nemde -nemned
bêtan ‘make amends’ bêtt bête -bêted
ýcan ‘increase’ ýô ýcê -ýced
Like bêtan and ýcan, with pret. formed with -ô, are grêtan ‘greet’, mêtan ‘meet’, swêcan ‘molest’, wêtan ‘moisten’.

cyssan ‘kiss’ cyssô cyste -cyssed
(ge)lêstan ‘carry out’ lêst lêste -lêsted
Like -lêستan are beßæstan ‘secure’, pyrstan ‘thirst’, wêstan ‘lay waste’.

byllan ‘build’ bytleô bytlede -bytled
So too frêfran ‘comfort’, timbran ‘build’.
gyrwan ‘prepare’ gyreô gyrede -gyr(w)ed
So too (be)syrwan ‘ensnare’; on the loss of -w-, see § 197.
têcan ‘teach’ têcô têhte -têht
So too gênnêcan ‘unite’, rêcan ‘reach’.

INFLEXIONS

On the syncope and assimilation shown in many of the preterites, see § 191. There are a few fairly rare contracted verbs, hêm ‘exalt’, ðôm ‘perform’, ðóm ‘teach’, ðôm ‘press’, with pret. hêða, pêða, têða, ðêða resp. Pret. forms ðhte, ðhte also are found for ðcan.

72. Several Class I verbs have different vowels in the present and preterite since -ômutation is lacking in the latter; secondary changes including diphthongisation, lengthening, and assimilation increase the irregularity of these verbs (see §§ 184 f, 201, 211):

settan ‘sell’ selô sealde -seald

recan ‘narrate’ recô reahte -reaht

leccan ‘catch’ læcô læhte -læht
byçgan ‘buy’ bygô bohte -boht
wyrçan ‘make’ wyrçô worhte -worht
bringan ‘bring’ brôhte -bróht
pêncan ‘think’ ðêhte -ðêht
þyncan ‘seem’ þyncô þùhte -þùht
sêcan ‘seek’ sêcô sòhte -sòht

The short vowel in the present of leccan is difficult; cf also reccan ‘care’, pret. rôhte. After c in the infinitives wyrçan, leccan, reccan, etc. we often find an orthographic -ô-. On the a~y correspondence in byçgan, wyrçan, see §§ 207, 211. Brîgan belongs historically to the vocalic Class III (see § 27), and a past pple brougen is recorded; the historically correct infinitive corresponding to bôhte is brygan, but this is rare. On the consonant alternations in these verbs, see §§ 179, 185, 197.

73. Common Class II verbs are as follows:
endian ‘end’ endô endode -endod
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macian 'make', sceawian 'look at', trūwian 'trust', weordian 'honour', wunian 'dwell', wundian 'wound'.

Here belong also a few contracted verbs of which the commonest are freō(ge)n 'love' (cf also fēōn 'hate'), smēōgan 'think', tweō(ge)n 'doubt', prēō(ge)n 'reprove'; the preterites are freōde, smēōde, tweōde, prēōde resp.

Class II verbs frequently have pret. pl. in -edon instead of -odon. In IOE several verbs of Class I tended to be used with Class II inflexions, and we find new Cl. II vbs like fremian 'perform', írmanian 'support', beside fremman, írman; as might be expected, this process was particularly common with the Class I vbs in -ian.

74. VOCALIC TYPE

There are seven classes of verbs in which tenses are distinguished by differences of stem-vowel. There is always a difference of stem-vowel between present and preterite, and in several classes the pret. pl. and past pple have each a different vowel from the pret. 1, 3 sg. The pret. indic. 2 sg. and pret. subj. sg. and pl. have always the same vowel and following consonant as the pret. indic. pl. The changes of vowel in Cl. VII are of obscure origin, but those in Cl. I-VI have arisen by gradation, on which see §§ 182f. The model paradigms given below, together with the principal parts in the paragraphs to follow, will give students the necessary equipment to recognise or reproduce any part of the commoner vocalic verbs. The verbs selected are drīfan 'drive' (a straightforward example), cēōsan 'choose' (affected by the second cons. shift: §§ 180f), hēbban 'raise' (an example of an otherwise vocalic verb with 'consonantal type' present), and sóōn 'see' (a contracted verb: § 190):

Present

Indic.

1 sg. ic drīfe cēōse hebbe sóō
2 sg. pū drīfsta cŷst hefsta syhsta
3 sg. hē, hēo, hit drīfō cŷst hefō syhō
r.3 pl. wē, gē, hi drīfōs cēōsoh hebbas sóōo

Subj.

r.3 sg. ic, pū, hē(&c) drīfe cēōse hebbe sóō
r.3 pl. wē, gē, hi drīfen cēōsen hebben sóōn

INFLEXIONS

Imperat. 2 sg. drīf cēōs hēfe sóōn
2 pl. drīfot cēōsoh hebbot sóōo

Participle drīfende cēōsende hēbbenende sóōnde

Preterite

Indic.

1 & 3 sg. ic, hē(&c) drīf cēōs hōf sóōh
2 sg. pū drīfe cure hōfe sóāwe
r.3 pl. wē, gē, hi drīfom cūron hōfom sóāwn

Subj.

r.3 sg. ic, pū, hē(&c) drīfe cure hōfe sóāwe
r.3 pl. wē, gē, hi drīfen cūren hōfen sóāwen

Participle gedrīfen gecoren gehafen gesewen

75. Class I. Apart from the contracted ones, verbs in this class have i as the stem-vowel of the infinitive; it should be noted that the i of the pret. pl. and past pple is short.

infin. 3 sg. pres. 1,3 sg. pret. pret. pl. past pple

drīfan 'drive' drīfó drīf drīfom -drīfen

So too blican 'shine', hriñan 'touch', mīdan 'hide', rīfan 'reap', scīnan 'shine', stīgan 'ascend', swīcan 'deceive'.

rīsan 'rise' rīst rās rison -risen
bīdan 'wait' bītt bād bidon -biden
bitan 'bite' bītt bāt biton -biten

Also with 3 p.sg. in -īt are gewītan 'depart', glīdan 'glide', rīdan 'ride', slītan 'tear', wītan 'look', wītan 'write'.

Affected by the second cons. shift (§§ 180f) are:

lī̆dan 'travel' līōō làō lidon -lidon
snī̄dan 'cut' snīōō snāō snidon -sniden

The contracted verbs are also so affected:

lēōn 'lend' līŷōō làn līgon -līgen

Other contracted verbs are lō̆n 'accuse', pō̆n 'prosper', wrē̆n 'cover'.

Verbs like stīgan have alternative 1 and 3 sg. pret. forms in -h (stāh beside stāg). The s of rīsan has been carried analogically into the pret. pl. s.
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and past pple; contrast clesan, § 76. The eo of the contracted infinitives caused verbs like pén to be given alternative forms on the Cl. II model: þéah, pugon, -pogen; in fact, however, pén belonged originally to Cl. III (*binhan), hence the occasional Cl. III forms of this verb, notably the past pple gepungen used as an adjective, 'excellent'.

76. Class II. The normal infinitive vowel is eo, but there are a few 'aorist-present' verbs in which the infinitive and present forms have a lengthened form of the pret. pl. vowel.

cleofan 'cleave' clýðf cleáf clúfen
So too bréowon 'brew', hréowan 'rue', sméowan 'smoke'; dórógan 'endure', fléogan 'fly', lórógan 'lie' have i and 3 sg. pret. in both -g and -h.

bédan 'offer' být béd budon -boden
bréatan 'break' brýt bréat bruton -broten

Also with 3 sg. pres. in -tí are fléatan 'float', gótan 'pour', grétan 'weep', sceóatan 'shoot'.

Affected by the second cons. shift (§§ 180ff) are:

sédan 'boil' sýðf séð sudon -soden
césan 'choose' cýst céas curon -coren

Like césan are dréósan 'fall', (for)léósan 'lose', fréósan 'freeze', hréósan 'fall'.

Contracted verbs are also affected by the second cons. shift:

félæ 'flee' flíðh flæn flugon -flogen

So too téæn 'draw'.

The aorist-present pattern is as follows:

brúcan 'enjoy' brýðf bréac bruon -brocen
So too bégan (beág, bæh) 'bend', dáfán 'dive', lúcan 'lock', lútan 'bow', scáfán 'push'.

In dréódnan 'perish', unlike sédan, the 0 has been extended to the pret. pl. and past pple. The i and 3 sg. pret. of ofhréowán 'pity' is ofhréow. In this class, as in all except Cl. I where the vowel is not subject to the change, the vowel of the stem undergoes raising of e to i or i-mutation (§ § 207 ff) in the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic.; thus with the foregoing verbs we have 3 sg. číst and flíðh, from césan and fléan respectively. These changes do not affect consonantal verbs, since Cl. I verbs already have mutated vowels (compare déman 'judge' with dóm 'judgment') and Cl. II verbs were not subject to the mutations because they...

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had different personal endings. In Angl. texts and sometimes also in IWS we find vocalic verbs with 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. in -est and -eō, preceded by the unchanged infinitive vowel, as clesēb.

77. Class III. The majority of verbs in this class have in the infinitive either (a) a followed by a nasal plus another consonant (past pple -u-), or (b) e or eo followed by a liquid plus another consonant (past pple -o-).

(a)

drícan 'drink' dríncē drícan drúcon -drúcen
So too climban 'climb', gelipan 'happen', inginnan 'begin', sincan 'sink', singan 'sing', springan 'spring', swimman 'swim', swícan 'soil', þringan 'press', winnån 'strive'.

bindan 'bind' bint band bundon -bunden
With similar 3 sg. pres. are findan 'find', wídan 'wind'.

Two verbs, byrnan (birnan) and yrnan (iran) have been affected by metathesis (§ 193; compare the Gothic forms brínan, rínan):

byrnan 'burn' byrñf barn burnon -burnen
yrnan 'run' yrñf arrn urnal -urnen

The i and 3 sg. pret. may have -o- instead of -a- (§ 188), or alternatively -ea- (§§ 193, 201). An unmetathesised verb (ger)íran in the sense of 'flow' has forms like -gínan. We sometimes find funde throughout the pret. sg. of findan.

78. (b)

helpan 'help' hilpē healp hulpon -holpen
For the -ea-, see §§ 201ff; so too helgan 'be angry', delfan 'dig', swelgan 'swallow', swellán 'swell'; melgan 'melt' and swellán 'die' have 3 sg. pres. in -ill.

gylpan 'boast' gylpē gealp gulpon -golpen
With infinitive similarly affected by palatal consonant diphthongisation (§ 204) are gyljan 'pay' (3 sg. pres. gjyl), gyljan 'yell'; these verbs occur also with -ie- in the infin. and pres. forms.

weorpan 'throw' wyrpē wearp wurpon -wurpen
Also with diphthongisation (§§ 201ff) in infin. are beorgan...
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'protect' (r, 3 sg. pret. bearh, bearth), ceorfan 'cut', seothan 'fight' (3 sg. pres. fyhld), hueorfan 'turn', stearfan 'die'. Two aorist-presents belong here, murnan 'mourn' (with an alternative consonantal pret. murne, beside mearn) and spurnan 'spurn'; both have 3 sg. pres. in -yrn.

Affected by the second cons. shift (§§ 180f) is:

weorðan 'become' wyrð wearð wurdon -worden

Fūlon 'enter' has Cl. III forms fælān, fulgon, etc. beside the more usual Cl. IV pret. pl. fālon, past pple -folen.

79. There is a small group of irregular verbs, all of which have æ in r and 3 sg. pret. In two, there has been metathesis (§ 203), which occurred after the period of diphthongisation before velarised consonants:

berstan 'burst' byrst bærst burston -borsten

So too perscan 'thresh'. With forms similar to these are a further two verbs with stems ending in -gd: bregdan 'pull, brandish', stregdan 'strew'; these have alternative forms with loss of g and lengthening (§ 197): brēdan, brād, brādon, etc. With frīgan (frīnan) 'ask', there are several variant forms, including r and 3 sg. pret. frægn, frān, fræng; pret. pl. frugnom, frūn, frungon; past pple -frugnen, -ān, -frugen; from the same root, there was also an infin. friogan and past pple -frigen on the Cl. V model (compare līcgan, § 81).

80. Class IV contains only a few verbs; most have e in the infin., followed by r or l:

beran 'bear' bīð bær bēron -boren

So too breccan 'break', helan 'conceal', stelan 'steal', teran 'tear'; scearan 'cut' has in addition forms affected by palatal consonant diphthongisation (§ 204): sceiran, scær, sceāron.

The following two are irregular, the first being an aorist-present:

cuman 'come' cymān cōm cōmon -cumen

niman 'take' nimān nōm nōmon -numen

In addition the latter pair have the pret. forms cwōm(on), nam, nāmon, resp. (see §§ 186d, e, 187).

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81. Class V verbs mainly have infinitives with e followed by a single consonant other than a liquid or nasal:

sprecan 'speak' spriċō sprec sprēcon -sprecen

So too drepān 'strike' (with alternative past pple -drepōn), metan 'measure', swefan 'sleep', tredan 'tread', wefan 'weave', wrecan 'avenge'; (fr)etan 'eat' has r and 3 sg. pret. (fr)ētō.

Two verbs, gifan 'give' and (on)gytan 'catch, perceive', have variant forms of infin. and past pple with -ē-, -y-, -eō (§ 193) and are affected throughout by palatal consonant diphthongisation (§ 204):

 gifan giftō geaf geāfōn -gifen

-gytan -gytō -geatō -geatōn -gyten

The following verb is affected by the second cons. shift (§§ 180f):

cwētan 'say' cwēōd cwēān cwēdēn -cwenō

So too the defective verb wesən 'be' (see § 87).

Contracted verbs, affected both by the second cons. shift and by velarised consonant diphthongisation (§§ 180f, 201ff) include:

gfeōn 'rejoice' gefyhtō gefēah gefōgon (gefēagen, adj.)

sēn 'see' syhtō seah sāwōn -sēwen

A few verbs have present forms of the consonantal type:

biddan 'pray' bitt bēd bēdon -beden

līcgan 'lie' līō læg lægon -legen

So too sittan 'sit', friogan (cf. frīgan, § 79) 'ask' (past pple -frigen or -fragen), biogan 'receive' (3 sg. pres. bīgōd, r and 3 sg. pret. bēah; cf. gefōn).

Līcgan has an alternative pret. pl. lægon; on the -ā- in this form and in sāwōn, see § 187c; sōm has another common past pple form -sawōn; in addition, there are forms with -ā- in the pret. pl. (sāgon, sēgon) and past pple (-segēn); see § 180.

82. Class VI. The typical verbs in this class have a in the infinitive:

faran 'go' fārō fōr fōron -faron

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So too bacan 'bake', dragan 'draw', galan 'sing', grafan 'dig', hladan 'load', wadan 'go', wescan (wescan) 'wash', scadan 'shave' and scapan 'shave' sometimes have e after sc ($\S$ 17, note); the verb 'stand' has -n- throughout the pres. and in the past pple.: stōdan -stēn stōdom -stēndon

The verb wæcnan 'awake' has pret. wēo, wēcon.

Contracted verbs, affected by the second cons. shift ($\S\S$ 180f.), include:

sleān 'strike' slyhō slēg slēgon -slagen

So too lēan 'blame', bweōan 'wash'; the 1 and 3 sg. pret. may have an alternative form in -H.

A few important verbs have present forms of consonantal type:

swērian 'swear' swērō swōr swōron -swore
hebban 'raise' hefō höf höftön -hafēn

Similarly, hīhcan 'laugh' has r, 3 sg. pret. hög (or -H), sceðban 'injure' has scōd, scyppan 'create' scōp, and stēppan 'step' stōp.

The past pple vowel in this class is -ē- almost as often as -a-, and in addition the contracted verbs frequently have -ē- (e.g. scelgen). Some of the consonantal-type presents have consonantal preterites also: hebban—hefē, swērian—swēredē.

83. Class VII. The infinitive vowels in this class are various and provide little guide; the verbs are best considered according as their preterite vowel is ē or ę. Although this class is often described as containing 'reduplicating' verbs (compare Lat. currō—currōru), the signs of reduplication are meagre in OE; leolc 'played' (lēcan), heht 'called' (hētan) are among the few vestiges recorded and even in these the phenomenon is scarcely recognisable without comparing the Gothic cognates lailling, haithait.

(a) feallan 'fall' fyllō fēll fōllon -fellen
healdan 'hold' hylt hōld hōldon -helden

So too fealdan 'fold', wealcen 'roll', weallan 'boil', wæxan 'grow'

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(with alternative pret. wōx by Cl. VI to which it originally belonged).

cnāwan 'know' cnēōn cnēow cnēown -cnāwen

So too blāwan 'blow', māwan 'mow', sāwan 'sow', and several others.

grōwan 'grow' grēōn grēow grēown -grōwen

So too būhcan 'sacrifice', buhwan 'blossom', fōwan 'flow', rōwan 'row' (pret. pl. rōw(wo)n).

wēpan 'weep' wēpō wēōn wēōpen -wēpen
hēēpan 'leap' hēpō hēōn hēēpen -hēēpen

Like hēēpan are bēētan 'beat', hēōwan 'hew'.

bannan 'summon' benōn bēōn -bannēn

So too spannan 'fasten' and gangan 'go', but besides -ō- the latter has as pret. vowels -ē-, -iē- and (in Beowulf only) -a-.

84. (b)

lētan 'let' lētt lēt lēton -lēten

So too ondrēdan 'fear', rēdan 'advise', slēpan 'sleep' (3 sg. pres. slēpō); these three also had consonantal preterites in -āde, -pte.

hētan 'call' hētt hēton -hēten

So too lācan 'play' (3 sg. pres. lēht), sc(e)ādan 'divide'.

blandan 'mix' blent blēnd blēndon -blanden

Contracted verbs, affected also by the second cons. shift ($\S\S$ 180f.), are as follows:

fēn 'seize' fēhō fēng fēngōn -fengen
hōn 'hang' ēhōn ēhōng -ēhōngan

Sc(e)ādan has an alternative pret. scēdt; on hētan, lācan see also § 83.

85. IRREGULAR VERBS

Most of the verbs presented under this head are of high frequency and should be learnt completely. We may consider them in three groups: (1) the 'have' group (usually presented as the third class of consonantal verbs), (2) anomalous verbs, 'be', 'will', 'do', 'go', (3) preterite-present verbs, such as 'can'.

With the single exception of 'be', all the verbs in these groups have consonantal preterites.

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86. Group I comprises habban 'have', libban 'live', secgan 'say', and hygan 'think'. Their forms are as follows:

Present
Indic.  
1 sg. ic haebbe libbe secge hycge
2 sg. þū hæfst leofast seegst hogast
3 sg. hē, hēo, hit hæfðo leofað saegðo hogað
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī habbað libbað secgað hycgað

Subj.  
1-3 sg. ic, þū, hē, hēo (etc.) haebbe libbe secge hycge
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī habben libben segen genygen

Imperat. 2 sg.  
hafa leofa sege hyge, hoaga
2 pl. habbað libbað secgað hycgað

Participle  
haебende libbende seгgende hycgende

Preterite
Indic.  
1, 3 sg. ic, hē, hēo (etc.) hæfde lifde sæde hog(o)de
   (etc., like dēman, § 70)

Participle  
-hæfde -lifde -sæd -hogod

Many variant forms are found; hæfast, hæfað for hæfsta, hæfð; lifge, -að, etc. for libbe, -að, etc.; liffast, -að, a for leofast, -að, -a; leofede for lifde (thus a Cl. II consonantal vb liffan is evolved beside libban); saegast, -að, -a for seegst, -að, -a; sægde, etc. for sæde, etc.; hyste, hystg for hogast, -að. There is a negative form of habban: nabban, næbbe, næfde, etc.

87. Group II
   (a) bēon, wesan 'be'. There are two forms for the pres. indic. and subj. (from two distinct roots, resp. cognate with Lat. esse and fut) and for the imperat. (one from wesan, the other from bēon). The pret. indic. and subj. are from wesan (vocalic Cl. V; § 81).

   Present           Preterite

Indic. 1 sg. ic  
2 sg. þū  eart or bēo           wæs
3 sg. hē, hēo, hit  bist           wære
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī  sind(on)  bēo         wæron

88. (b) willan 'will, wish', dōn 'do', gān 'go':

Present
Indic. 1 sg. ic  wille          dō           gā
2 sg. þū  wilt          dēst          gæst
3 sg. hē, hēo, hit  wile (wille)  dēo          gā
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī  willað  dōo          gā

Subj. 1-3 sg. ic, þū, hē, hēo (etc.)  willen  dōn          gān
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī  willen  dō           gā

Imperat. 2 sg.  
2 pl.  dōo          gā

Participle  
willende dōnde

Preterite
Indic. 1, 3 sg. ic, hē, hēo (etc.)  wolde  dyde          edē
   (etc., like dēman, § 70)

Participle  
 gedōn  gegān

There is confusion between wile and wille, the former (used in OE as 3 sg. pres. indic.) being originally an optative, the latter being a later formation. Negative forms of willan occur frequently, usually spelt in WS with -y- in the present: xyle (etc.), nolda (etc.); the negative forms include a 2 sg. and pl. imperative: nelle, nellad. The pret. forms corresponding to gān are from a different root which itself is not recorded with present forms.

89. Group 3. For a number of common verbs a new consonantal preterite was formed in Gmc because the old vocalic preterite had assumed a present meaning. Thus (ic) wāl (from wilan, cognate with Lat. vidēre) is in form a preterite, parallel
with that of *drifan* (§§ 74-5), and the meaning ‘I know’ is derived from the old perfective meaning ‘I have seen’. A new preterite (OE *ic wiste*) was therefore necessary to express the past of the new meaning, ‘know’.

While *wát* itself is easy to relate to the OE system of vocalic preterites, and while this is true also of Class III examples like *cann*—*cunnan*, *pearf*—*purfon*, several of the preterite-present verbs are but obscurely related to the vocalic series presented in §§ 75-84. For this reason, no very useful purpose is served by identifying each example with its historically appropriate vocalic class.

The more important verbs will be dealt with in more detail than the others, but it must be remembered in any case that the paradigms of several are defective since they are incompletely recorded.

90. (a) *witana* ‘know’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indic. 1 &amp; 3 sg. ic, hē (&amp;c)</td>
<td>wāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. pū</td>
<td>wāst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī</td>
<td>witon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. 1-3 sg. ic, pū, hē (&amp;c)</td>
<td>wite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī</td>
<td>witen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperat. 2 sg.</td>
<td>wite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>witað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>witen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative forms occur freely: nāt, nyton, nyste, etc.

(b) *sculan* ‘to have to, be obliged to’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indic. 1 &amp; 3 sg. ic, hē (&amp;c)</td>
<td>sceal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. pū</td>
<td>scealt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī</td>
<td>sculon (sco-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. 1-3 sg. ic, pū, hē (&amp;c)</td>
<td>sceolde (-i-,-u-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-3 pl. wē, gē, hī</td>
<td>sceolde (-i-,-u-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beside *sceolde*, etc., forms with *sco- *are common.

91. (a) *cunnan* ‘know, be able’; *unnan* ‘grant’:

| Indic. 1 & 3 sg. ic, hē (&c) | can(n) | cūde |
| 2 sg. pū | canst | cūdest |
| 1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī | cunnan | cūdon |
| Subj. sg. & pl. | cunne(n) | cūde(n) |
| Participle | -cunnen (cūn, adj.) |

So too *unnan*, except that there is no adjective form corresponding to *cūde*.

On the loss of *n* in *cūde*, etc., see §§ 189f, 188.

(b) *magan* ‘be able’:

| Indic. 1 & 3 sg. ic, hē (&c) | mæg | meahte or mihте |
| 2 sg. pū | meaht (miht) | meahtest |
| 1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī | magon | mehton |
| Subj. sg. & pl. | mæge(n) | meahte(n) |
| Participle | magende |

On the variant forms with *-ea- *and *-i- *, see § 205, note.

92. *purfan* ‘to need’; ic *dear(t) ‘I dare’; *(ge)munana* ‘remember’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indic. 1 &amp; 3 sg. ic, hē (&amp;c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. pū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. sg. &amp; pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(etc., like <em>dēman</em>, § 70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All three verbs have fairly common forms of pres. subj. with *-y*; beside *pearfende*, we find forms with stem vowel *-y* and *-u*.

93. *dagan* ‘avail, be profitable’; *āgan* ‘have’; ic *mōt* ‘I am allowed’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indic. 1 &amp; 3 sg. ic, hē (&amp;c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. pū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Subj. sg. & pl.  duge(n)  āge(n)  mōte(n)
Participle  dugende  āgende
Preterite  dohte  āhte  mōste  
  (etc., like dēman, § 70)
Participle  āgen, āgen

Beside dēah, dāh, we commonly also find dēāg, āg; an imperat. form āge is recorded. A further pret.-pres. verb, -neah 'is ample' (found with the prefixes be-, ge-), is recorded only in the 3 sg. pres. indic. with a corresponding pl. -mugon, a pres. subj. -muge, and a pret. -nōhla.

III

SYNTAX

94. General. The notes on syntax that follow are written with the aim of providing the student of our earliest literature and language with a guide to the outstanding features of OE usage. We are not therefore attempting a systematic description of OE syntax as a whole. Many relatively minor features must be ignored in order to leave room for major ones and in order that these major patterns should not be obscured and overshadowed by a plethora of minor ones which certainly coexisted with them; these, for the purposes of the ordinary student, may be treated as ad hoc exceptions when he meets them in his texts and reads an editor’s notes on them. Much must be omitted too that shows little difference from present-day usage, in order to leave room for that which shows a great deal. On the other hand, in the constructions dealt with, we shall seek to explain OE structure from time to time by reference to the parallelism existing with Mod.E. structure. As occasion arises, attention is also drawn to the possibility of Latin influence and to the differences in usage between poetry and prose in OE.

An excellent synopsis of OE syntax appears in N. Davis, Sweet’s Anglo-Saxon Primer (Oxford 1953); see also P. S. Arden, First Readings in Old English (Wellington, N.Z. and London 1951); a fuller treatment is given in F. Mossé, Manuel de l’Anglais du Moyen Âge (Paris 1945). For OE syntax viewed in the light of subsequent usage, the student is referred to K. Brunner, Die Englische Sprache 11 (Halle 1951).

Functions of the Cases

95. The nominative might be loosely defined as the case of activity; thus it is the case for the subjects of verbs: hé sǣde ‘he said’, se cyning ofslægan was ‘the king was slain’; it is also used for the subject of verbs omitted by ellipsis after than and
for the complement of the subject with verbs like 'be', 'call': sé wæs betera bonne ic 'he was better than I', pā eart fruma 'thou art the beginning', God is gehäten siō höhste ēcnes 'God is called the highest eternity'. The nominative is used in direct address, there being no vocative inflexion: Đā īunga man 'You, young man', Ėalā leof hlāfords 'Oh, dear master'.

Hātan often takes the nominative also when its subject is distinct from what is named: on pām dages pe wē hātad hlāfmasse (accus. would be -an) 'on the day that we call Lammas'.

**ACCUSATIVE**

96. In direct antithesis to the nominative, the accusative might be called the passive case, indicating that something is done to the referent of the word so inflected. It is above all else an inflexion showing a relationship to a verb.

**Direct Object.** The accusative is used for the sole object of the majority of OE verbs: hē ofslōg pone aldormon 'he killed the governor'. This object is sometimes a reflexive pronoun: hīne bestal se here 'the raiders stole away'; other verbs taking an accusative reflexive include onmunan 'care for', onsūnian 'be afraid', restan 'rest', war(e)nan 'take warning', wendan 'go'.

Some impersonal verbs are construed with an accusative object: hīne nānes binges ne lyste 'he desired nothing'. The object of a verb may be cognate with it (sīngā . . . song nōwome 'sing a new song'), or it may be an infinitive with its own subject (which is in the accus.): ne hyrde ic snotorlicor . . . guman pingian 'I have not heard a man speak more wisely'. A few OE verbs take two accus. objects: pā ācscode man hīne huylcne cræft hē cūde 'then someone asked him what skill he professed', ne melthon wē gelāran leofne pōoden . . . rēd ēnigne 'we could not persuade the dear prince of any good counsel'.

Usually however two objects with a single verb appear in different cases. Verbs of depriving, requesting, accusing often have accus. of the person and gen. of the thing: Ðī ðē . . . Bearn Alwulfan, biddan wylle millse þine 'I would pray thee for thy mercy, Son of the Almighty'. Verbs of telling, answering, giving usually have accus. of the thing and dat. of the person: Hē pēm bánwārde . . . swēard gesalde 'he gave the bodyguard a sword'. On this type of verb and others which are construed with cases other than the accus., see §§ 95, 103, 106, 107.

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objects', as in Mod.E. 'they crowned her queen', are expressed in OE as an accus. and a čō-phrase: hīne hālgode čō cyninge 'consecrated him king'.

97. **Adverbial.** The accus. is used to state extent of space or time. Space: ic heonan nelle flēon fōtēs trym 'I will not flee from here as much as a foot', him was ealne weġe wēstē land on þet stōborð 'there was waste land all the way to his starboard'. Time: ealle pā hwele þe þat tīc bīt inne 'the whole time that the body is inside', ic wolde ðæt Þi hēlne ðet ðēre stōwe wāren 'I should like them to be always in that place', pā sātōn hē pone winter æt Cwātbrycge 'they then stayed that winter at Bridgnorth'.

In hām, we find the accusative used for direction: āris, and gecyrr hām 'arise and go home'.

98. **Prepositional.** As in other IE languages, many prepositions implying movement or destination in space or time are used with the accusative: fore 'before', geond 'throughout', in 'into', ofer 'beyond', on 'into, against', ongeōan 'towards', purh 'through', wit 'against, towards, along', ymbe 'around'; for takes the accus. when it means 'as, in place of': hīora cyinglas hī weorpodon for godas 'they worshipped their kings as gods'.

Again as in other IE languages, many of these prepositions were used also with the dative when the situation is static, though the selection of case with these prepositions does not consistently rest on this mobile-static distinction.

**GENITIVE**

99. The genitive is a case of very complex functions in OE and none of the many attempts to classify these functions has been wholly successful. This is partly because many actual examples of the genitive may be interpreted in more than one way, and partly because by the very act of classifying, of naming categories and of inevitably forcing them into a genetic relationship we erect artificial barriers between functions which are intimately related, and make the distinction between others seem greater than it is. However, some kind of schematisation
of the complexity seems necessary, and provided we always remember that most of the categories shade off into others, it may be helpful to study the genitive in the following classification.

There are two primary groups of usage: subjective (or active), and objective (or passive); thus his in his murder may be subjective or objective according to whether the male person referred to did the killing or was himself killed:

He might have got off but for his murder of the other girl.

He was a fine man and it is hoped that his murder will be avenged.

100. The subjective genitive is common in idiomatic in OE; for example: Grendles dēda 'Grendel's deeds', pās biscoepes bodung 'the bishop's preaching'. Closely associated with it are the possessive genitive (as in hīora scīpu ‘their ships’) and the genitive of origin: iðes Scyllinga ‘the lady of the Scyldings’, Bēowulf Gēata ‘B. of the Geats’. Here too belongs the instrumental genitive, as in nīda ofercumen ‘overcome by afflictions’.

101. The objective genitive is illustrated by folces weard ‘protector of the people’, tō his fēonda sige ‘to the defeat of his foes’, tōðæcan peas landes sceawunge ‘besides the surveying of the land’. The following are associated with it:

- genitive of measure: fōtes trým ‘the space of a foot’, sē was fifigiges fōgemaneces lang ‘it was fifty feet long’, ānes mōndes ḵyrst ‘the space of one month’;

102. Adverbial. Related to one or other of these forms of the objective genitive is the adverbial use of the genitive: dāges ond nihtes ‘by day and night’, Godes ponces ‘through God’s grace’, wordes odde dēdæ ‘by word or deed’, ealæs ‘entirely’, pās ‘so much, thereafter’, pā hé pā was pīderweardes ond sīo opinu fierd wæs hāwemærdes ‘when he was going there and the other levy was on the way home’, rīdē ālca āhe bege ‘each rides on his way’.

Hence the use of the genitive inflexion (particularly -es) in the formation of adverbs; see § 166; in nihtes ‘by night’, -es shows a generalisation of the masc. and neut. gen. sg. for adverbial purposes: the normal gen. sg. of this fem. noun has -ē.

103. A number of verbs take a genitive which is also closely related to the categories of the objective genitive. Many examples can be classified according to the function of the genitive (thus brūcan ‘enjoy’ may be said to take a partitive genitive, fægnian ‘rejoice’ a descriptive genitive) or according to the meaning of the verbs (thus the genitive may be said to accompany verbs of depriving, rejoicing, and using): but neither method can be applied simply, still less exhaustively. In the end, the student is probably best served by noting all the common verbs which regularly or in a special context behave in this way:

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dian 'try', gesfēon 'rejoice', gýman 'notice', gyrmn 'desire', hēdan 'look after', helpan 'help' (see also § 107), hogtan 'intend', latian 'delay', gelýfan 'believe', nēós(i)an 'visit', nēdan 'use', ofhrēowan 'pity', onfōn 'receive', onnuman 'care for', reccan 'care', strýnan 'beget', swiccan 'cease', tweō(ga)n 'doubt', purfan 'need', pyrstan 'thirst (for)', wealdan 'rule', wēnan 'expect', wilān 'desire', wundrian 'wonder (at)', gewyrcan 'strive after'.

Some verbs, governing two objects, may take genitive and accusative: thus geæmat(gi)an 'free, empty', biddan 'ask', lettan 'hinder', gelystan (impers.) 'desire', sce(l)amian (impers.) 'shame'; others may take genitive and dative: thus geunman 'grant', forwyrmn 'refuse', ofpyncan (impers.) 'be displeased with'.
oftlēan 'lend', gestyrn 'restrain', tilian 'gain', tīdian 'grant', pancian 'thank', gewyan 'deprive', wyrmn 'withhold'.

104. Prepositional. No preposition in OE takes the genitive exclusively and only a few take this case at all; note however: andlāng pās fylan břoces (~ealdan weges) 'along the dirty stream (~old road)'; to, especially with reference to time, as in to pās þe 'until', to huicces tīman 'at what time'; weð, meaning 'towards', as in þa spearcan wundon wip pās hrôfes 'the sparks flew towards the roof'.

DATIVE (AND INSTRUMENTAL)

105. The functions of the OE dative, like those of the genitive, are very complex. This is partly because this case had largely come to express the functions of the old instrumental in addition to those of the dative proper. In the following outline the term 'instrumental' will, unless otherwise stated, be used to describe not an inflexion but a function, which was expressed with the instrumental case insofar as distinctive forms remained (see §§ 48, 50, 65) but more generally with the dative.

106. Dative object. The dative is frequently concerned with sharing, and this can be most clearly seen where the dative is used for the 'indirect' (personal) object with transitive verbs: þe him hrīngas geaf 'who gave him rings', þīnum māgmūn Lēof fólce ond rīce 'bequeath people and kingdom to your kinsmen',

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sege þīnum lēodum miclē lāpre spēll 'report to your people a much more disagreeable message'.

In late OE, to came to be used with the indirect object just as in Mod.E.: thus gyfian (to) ðīnum 'give (to) anyone'. With a few verbs, notably cywan and spēcan, to was normal OE practice: hē swær tō mǣ (mihi disi) 'he said to me'.

107. The dative was used for the sole 'object' of many intransitive verbs, the cognates of which in Mod.E. are regarded as transitive (for example, 'help', 'answer', 'follow'), and it was used also with several common impersonal verbs and with other verbs used reflexively. The following list comprises the commonest OE verbs which were construed with a dative:

ætwædan 'escape (from)', ætwītan 'reproach', andswærian 'answer', æðian 'honour', betēoðan 'deprive of', besōdian 'offer', beorgan 'save', betācan 'entrust', bodian 'announce', gebīdan (reflex.) 'pray', bregān 'pull', cyrran (reflex.) 'submit', (ge)dæfan 'suit', ðēman 'judge', derian 'harm', gesfēon 'rejoice', fygelan 'follow', gefremman 'benefit', fulgān 'accomplish', fylstān 'help', helpan 'help', hīrmānian 'obey', līcian 'please', gelēfan 'believe', līnnan 'cease (from)', losian 'be lost', mieltsian 'pity', mislīmpian (impers.) 'go wrong', gnecālēcan 'approach', genykhtsūman 'suffice', oflēon 'withhold', ðolecian 'flatter', onfōn 'receive', sengo 'happen', sceōdan 'injure', gespōwan (impers.) 'succeed', þegnian 'serve', þēwð(i)an 'serve', þīwian 'intercede', þīwian 'serve', gehwērian 'allow', gehwēlēcan 'agree to', hyrcan (impers.) 'seem', wealdan 'rule', wīsian 'guide', gewītan (reflex.) 'go', wītstan 'resist'. Verbs construed with a dative and an accusative include: ðēgān 'deny', ðīfyan 'allow', bcweðan 'bequeath', odþrīngan 'deprive', odwēdan 'deprive', þīwian 'mediate'.

For verbs taking gen. and dat., see above, § 103. Both weordan and wesan appear on occasion with dative pronouns, usually classed as reflexive: hē weord him on ðon scipe 'he got a board of ship', hē weord him awang 'he went away', Ædām sceal . . . wesan him on wynne 'Adam shall live in joy'. Before the end of the OE period, there are many signs that accus. and dat. were no longer sharply distinguished in verb ~ (pro)noun relationships; on this see K. Brunner, Die Englische Sprache II. 39-40 (Halle 1951) and C. L. Wrenn, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1943. pp. 29-30.
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108. **Possessive.** In a frequently recurring pattern where we have (though not necessarily in this order) subject—verb—
(object)—preposition—noun, the noun is defined by a noun or
pronoun in the dative; this use of the dative is usually called
'possessive': *hē ... sætte his ... hond him on þat hēafod 'he
placed his hand on his head', *Dyde him of healse hring gyladenne
'(he) took from his neck a gold ring'. A special case of this
idiom occurs with the preposition *to: pone God sende folce to
frōfre 'whom God sent as the people's comfort', *hælētum to
helpe 'as the heroes' aid' (*Beowulf* 1961; but note the use of the
genitive instead in line 1830: *hælēpa to helpe*), *frendum to
geweadē 'into the hands of foreigners'.

109. **Locative.** Even in OE, place is rarely indicated by the
dative without a preposition; there are however examples in
*Beowulf*, such as *wicum wunian* 'to live in the dwelling' (l. 3083,
but cf l. 3128: *on sele wunian* 'to live in the hall').

110. **Temporal.** The temporal use of the dative can be seen
in expressions like *hwilum* 'at times', *sumum dæge* 'on a certain
day' (or, with the instrumental inflexion, *sume dæge; þý dógore
'on that day'). This usage is frequent, but at the same time
prepositional phrases are also common: *et sumum cicre* 'at a
certain time', *on ðysum* (or, with the instr. form, *ðỳs* göäre
'in this year').

111. **Dative Absolute.** This idiom, not very frequent in
OE, is modelled directly on the Latin ablative absolute; the
notional relationship involved is usually temporal or modal
(see §§ 152ff). Thus, *gelfultumigendum Gode (L. deò favente)
'with God helping', *him spreccendum hit cónom (L. éo loquente
veniunt) 'while He was speaking, they came', *gewunnum syge
'victory having been won', *ástrehum handbêrum to heofonlicum
roðore 'having stretched out his palms to the heavenly sky'.
For further reading on participial constructions, see § 159, note.

112. **Instrumental.** This function, expressed through the
dat. or instr. inflexion, was very important in OE and at the
same time is among the most difficult for present-day English
speakers to understand. The instrumental can be defined in

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several ways since its range is considerable, but broadly speak-
ing it has to do with the means or manner of an action: *hondum
gerbródan* 'hand-woven', *mundum brugdon* 'you brandished
(with) your hands', *hine pā heafđe becearf* 'then (he) cut his
head off (cut him off as regards the head)', *weard dā him . . .
gelúfod* '(he) then became beloved by Him', *fyrbrêndum fæst* 'firm
with forged bands', *wundum wérig* 'exhausted through wounds',
dōmē gedýrsod 'made precious through glory'. It includes the
characteristic *comitative* function seen in expressions like the
following: *worhte Ælfric cyning lítel wëredæ gewæoc* 'King Ælfric
built a defence-work with a small force'.

Prepositions are also used: *erêa mid hórsum* 'ploughed with horses',
*hē was héafþi frám dêm tængelwitegum* 'he was deceived by the astro-
logers'; similarly, *mid* with the dative came to be used for the comitative
function: *hīm cêntlice wīd fæht mid lêtsum wërede* 'he fought boldly
against him with a small force'.

Through their ready acceptance as indications of means and manner,
the endings -e and -um (usually with adjectives and nouns resp.)
came to be widely used in the formation of adverbs: *hýe* 'loudly', *wīde
'widely', *míchum* 'greatly', *stycenētum* 'piecemeal', *unuwärnum* 'irresist-
ibly' (see also § 166).

113. Two uses of the instrumental inflexion are worthy of
special mention. Causal expressions involving *þý (pon)*, *hûý
(huon) are very common: *þý hē pone feónd oferwōm* 'therefore
he overcame the enemy', *Hûý scæl ic . . . dōwian? Why must I
serve?'; compare also, with prepositions, *fordan (fórðy)* 'for
this reason', *tu huon* 'why'. Secondly, we have the expressions
of comparison which survive in the Mod.E. pattern 'the more
the merrier': *Hige scæl þē (=þý) hearðra . . . þē (=þý) sê
mægen ìylad 'mind must be the sterner as our strength lessens',
*sege þínnum lêðum micel lêþre spell 'give your people a much
more disagreeable message (a message more disagreeable by
far)', *mærda þun mà 'the more gloryes', *þý lâs be hit ðow ðêþy
þinc 'lest (by that much less) it may seem tedious to you'.

114. **Adjectival.** Numerous adjectives (generally signifying
nearness or an emotional relationship) are used with the dative:
gelíc was hē ðám lêðum stœrcrum 'he was like the bright stars',
him was làd 'it was disagreeable to him (he was reluctant)'.

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So also, neáh 'near', lóof 'dear', hold 'loyal', nýdísbeazr 'necessary', and several others.

Comparatives sometimes take the dative but are more usually followed by ponne and the nominative; within a few lines in the Alfredian translation of Bede we find mihigra þe and crafisgra . . . ponne þu, both meaning 'mightier than thou' (cf above, § 95).

115. Prepositional. The dative is the chief case used with prepositions. For example, æftir 'after', æþor 'before', ætt 'at', bi, be 'beside', bætæon 'between', býlan 'without', for 'before', fram 'from, by', mid 'with', of 'from', to 'to, for'. Several prepositions, taking the accusative when there is motion, have the dative when there is none; for example, ofer 'beyond', on 'in, on', under 'under', wid 'opposite, against, with'.

In some frequently recurring phrases, notably æt hám 'at home', tóden 'today', the dative inflexion was to a large extent dropped quite early in the OE period.

Noun Modifiers and Pronouns

116. Adjectives. The indefinite declension (§ 50ff) was that in general use. It is found when the adjective is predicative (ðða wyrðon hi . . . dréorige 'then they became sad') and when no attempt is being made to specify and particularise the item modified (þær sint swíðe mícere f terse 'there are very large fresh-water lakes'). In practice, we may say that it is used when not preceded by one of the demonstratives or when no other reason calls for the definite declension.

By contrast, the definite declension (§ 54) is the specifying and particularising form, usually signifying that the item modified is the one expected in that context or the one referred to just previously (se forespreona here 'the above mentioned force'). Thus it is regularly used after demonstratives, whether the adjective precedes or follows the noun or is being used substantively: on þísum lánan stócife 'in this dwelling-place', under þám cealdan wætere ond þám wætman 'under the cold and wet water', þám ðáligan 'to the sick one'. It is also used with ordinal numerals except őðer (őðer wæter, briddela lyft, forþe ðyr 'the second water, the third air, the fourth fire', őðr őðeru feard 'the other levy'), and with comparative adjectives (þá wðr ðgdr ge wíþtran ge wðwætrían 'they were both faster and steadier'). The superlative is also associated with the definite inflexion, but to a large extent this is in any case already provided for under the first rule given above, since the superlative is most frequently found following a demonstrative: ponne mæþan dábl 'the largest part'; when this is not so (usually in predicative function after a copula verb and hence in the nominative case), the indefinite inflexion is generally found: pat . . . land . . . bradorst 'the land is widest'. The definite inflexion is frequently found after possessives (míd his micclan weroðe 'with his large force') and in expressions of direct address (Bórneulf láða 'dear B.', snöttra fengel 'wise king', leófan men 'beloved people'). It is also used to some extent in early verse in environments where none of these conditions obtain; for example, wisa fengel géatóc gende 'the wise king rode well-equipped'.

There are some irregularities in the recorded usage even after demonstratives, but it is likely that cases like fram þísum wíþfulum lifum 'from this miserable life' (Elfiric) display reverse spellings after the OE weakening of inflexions (cf § 13). It should be noted that átn, standing alone or following the item it modifies, appears with definite inflexion when it has the meaning 'alone' (Apolloannus ánæ swigóðe 'A. alone was silent'), but is found with indefinite inflexion, even after a demonstrative, in the sense 'one': on þær átre mile 'in that one mile'; compare in succeeding lines in Ælfric: bífæt þám ánæ þost 'except that one post', se þost átn 'that post alone'.

117. Demonstratives and Articles. The functions of the two OE demonstratives (§ 65), se (þat, séo) and þəs (þis, þəs), may be defined respectively as specifying and deictic. The first merely particularises, singles out from the generality, indicates and identifies the known and expected. The latter (which is much less frequently used in OE as a whole) points to and singles out a part of a series, the whole of which may already be specific. One line from the AS Chronicle will illustrate the distinction: on þísom gæäre for se miclæ here þe wæ gefyrn ymb yrge spæcæn 'in this year (this one, of a chronicled series of equally specific years), that (or the) large enemy force (i.e., not simply
a force of unidentified enemies not previously encountered, but the particular one) of which we spoke earlier went . . .'. In this example, se has been translated as 'that or the', and it must be emphasised that until the very close of the OE period se (rarely pe until very late) was simply an inflexional variant of past, in complementary distribution with it, and not contrasted with it as Mod.E. the is with that. The existence of a 'definite article' in OE is a vexed question, and it seems to be one which has been raised largely by our desire to impose upon OE a terminology familiar in and suitable for Mod.E.: where today we have three contrastive and formally distinct defining words, the, that, this, each with a name, in OE there were but two, se and pas, and we are left as it were with a name to spare. The problem partly disappears when we reflect that in many instances of their use today, the and that are interchangeable ('Do you remember the/that man I was speaking to last night?'); in OE se (past, sēo) embraced practically the whole range of functions performed today, jointly or separately, by the and that. Thus we have contexts in which pas and se are in contrast simply as deictic and identifying words respectively: ic lēohte āðrōse pas templ . . . Hwæt dā fārlice āðrōs pas templ 'I shall destroy your temple . . . In God's name, let this temple fall . . . Lo then suddenly the temple fell'. We have other contexts (though few of them and fairly late) in which pas and se are in partial contrast also as 'near' and 'far' deictics respectively: pas lēohte wē hæbban wip nyfenu gemēne, ac past lēohte wē scealan scētan pas wē móthan hæbban mīd englum gemēne 'this light we have in common with beasts, but that light must we seek which we may have in common with angels'.

118. Although there are numerous points in which poetry and prose differ to some extent over the use of se, the most important difference seems to be the relative infrequency of se before a noun in the poetry. Where it does occur, it seems to have precisely the same function as in the prose: Wæs se gryre læssa efne swā micle swā bid mægpa cæst . . . be wæpnedmen 'the horror (of the entry of Grendel's mother, just described) was just so much less as is women's strength compared with a man', Ne wæs āðrōxile tū 'the exchange (just mentioned) was not a good one'. But in many cases where the prose, particularly the late prose, would have se, there is nothing in the verse: Nās Bēowulfs bār, ac wē ðēor in yr geteohhod after mēðum-gife mēðum Geāt 'B. was not there, another lodging having been assigned to the glorious Geat after the treasure-giving'.

In prose generally, as well as verse, there are many environments in which Mod.E. usage requires the but in which no corresponding form is necessary in OE; thus for example in many prepositional phrases and in set expressions of all kinds: āhton wælstōwe geawal 'had (the) mastery of the battlefield'. Since however se embraced the functions of Mod.E. the and the deictic demonstrative, the reverse is also true, and we find se used where the is not a possible translation: se Cyneheard wæs pas Sigebrhtes bōþur 'this' C. was the brother of (this) S.'.

119. If anything corresponding to the 'definite article' is rare in OE verse, an 'indefinite article' is rarer still; án is usually a numeral, and when it is not it shares for the most part with sum a 'strong indefiniteness' akin to Mod.E. 'a certain' rather than the 'weak indefiniteness' of Mod.E. 'a(n)': Dā ic . . . gefrægn hord rēāfan . . . ánn mannan 'Then I heard of some man robbing the hoard', past wās án cyning 'There was a (unique) king', sume wordē hē, past ic his ērest dē ēst gesæge 'commanded, in a specific message, that I should first tell you the quality of it'. In the earlier prose too, án (when it is not purely a numeral) and sum have 'strong indefiniteness': pār is mid Estum án mægō 'among the Estonians there is a certain tribe', pā slōd him sum mon et 'then there stood by him a certain man'. For the bulk of OE usage, in fact, the function of 'indefinite article' (as contrasting with se, past, sēo) was expressed by zero, just as it is with plurals in Mod.E.: 'I like reading books but the books must be readable'. Thus: On frymbe wæs word and past word was mid Gode and past word wæs God 'In the beginning there was word, and the word was with God and the word was God'. There are however cases,
especially in IOE (in Apollonius, for example: hig worhton ... ðæne antilnceness of are ‘they made a statue of brass’), where we seem indeed to have ðan in simple indefinite function, but such cases are rare.

120. Pronouns. (a) The two demonstratives sé (past, séo) and þes (pis, þes) were used pronominally as deictics and sometimes (as in Mod.E.) as contrastive deictics: ðan ðéca was ‘one of these was ... ’; Pæs oferéode: þisses swa ðæg ‘Things passed over so far as that was concerned: so it may be with this’. The series sé, past, séo appear also to have been used exactly as personal pronouns: and sé unwiðlice ofseglen was ‘and he was unjustly slain’, þe sé forþférde ‘when he died’, and sé hæfde vii wihter rice ‘and he held the kingship for seven years’. But the chief pronominal function of sé is in relative constructions: past lýfe past hé crêde ‘the little that he ploughed’, understanðe sé de wille ‘let him understand who will’.

Despite examples like and sé ... ofseglen was, which he quotes, S. O. Andrew contends that we are here dealing with relative and not personal pronouns; see Syntax and Style in Old English (Cambridge 1940), pp. 36 ff. As a pronoun, sé had a long vowel.

(b) The most frequent relative pronoun was the invariable particle þe, sometimes preceded by the relevant form of the sé series (though, as we have seen above, a form of sé could be the sole relative pronoun), with the antecedent often preceded and defined by the same form of the sé series. For examples, see below, § 153. Sometimes, too, the relative could be zero, as in the Mod.E. expression ‘There’s a man stands at that corner every night’: on þís geare gefor Ælfred, wæs æt Bæcum geræfa ‘in this year Æ. died, who was sheriff at Bath’.

(c) The reflexive function was performed by the simple personal pronouns: se cyning hine ... wende ‘the king went (lit. turned himself)’, wit unc ... werian þohht ‘we-two intended to defend ourselves’.

See also § 107. For the most part, self was used in OE simply to emphasise and was not, as in Mod.E., associated with being a reflexive sign or a pronoun-enclitic: we hit ... ne sealf ne lufodon ‘we ourselves did not love it’.

(d) Apart from serving as reflexives, the personal pronouns have little that is distinctively OE when they are present; it is their absence that is striking. In the second of two parallel constructions we can in Mod.E. often omit the pronoun: ‘we work and slave’; in OE considerably greater freedom obtained in this connexion: hit þæt swa dydon, worhton ... ‘they then did so, built ... ’; Wære ða on wæld, sealdest mæ ‘Even though you were poor, (you) gave me ... ’; Hæfdon swuræ nacod, þæt wæt on sumd rœowun ‘(We) held bare swords, when we-two swam to sea’, gif ic wist hæ wið ðam æglæcean elles meæhtæ ‘wid-gripan’ ‘if I knew how else (I) could grapple with the monster’, inne on þám fastene sæton feawne cirisse menn on, ond wæs sàmworth ‘within the stronghold there remained a few working-men, and (it) was half-built’. The pronoun object could similarly be omitted: hit he him æsetton segen gyldenns hëah ofer hëafod, lêton holm beran, geafon on gæ-sec ‘they set a golden banner high above his head, let the sea carry (him), released (him) unto the ocean’.

(e) An OE construction all but unparalleled in Mod.E. is the impersonal verb with which regularly there was no subject expressed: hine nâmnes bynges ne lysle ‘(it) desired him of nothing, i.e. he desired nothing’, ãlcum menn þæte ‘(it) seemed to each man’. In IOE however we find hit coming to be used as the subject in such expressions (Wulfstan has swa hit þincan mag ‘as it may seem’), and we find hit also with the increasingly used periphrastic passive (§ 131) in indefinite expressions: Ys hyl ælfod ... ? ‘Is it allowed ... ?’ Instead of this periphrastic passive in general OE usage, however, we find the indefinite pronoun man as in þe mon hæt ‘which is called’, a formula often used to translate Latin vocatúr, diciuntur, and other passives.

(f) The indefinite pronouns, gehwæ, gehwylc ‘every, each’, hweylc ‘any’, etc., commonly take the gen. pl.: on mæg þæ hæwæm ‘in every tribe’, ãhtna gehwylc ‘every dawn’, Frýsna hweylc ‘any Frisian’; ‘each one’ is frequently rendered in OE by gehwylc followed or preceded by the gen. pl. ãnra: thus, ãnra gehwylc. See also § 101.
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Concord

121. Grammatical agreement was of great importance in OE structure in indicating the relationship between words which showed inflexional distinctions of number, person, case, and gender. Concord existed between the following items:

(a) Subject and verb (number and person): ðā Deniscan cōmon ‘the Danes came’, Eart pā se Bēowulf, sē þe wid Breccan wunne? ‘Are you the Beowulf that strove (2 sg.) against Breccas?’

(b) Demonstratives, adjectives, and nouns (number, case, and gender): after þæm gedrynce ‘after the drinking’, mid fullum wesime and heofonicere snoturnyssse ‘with full stature and heavenly wisdom’.

(c) Pronouns and their designata (number, case, and gender): of ðære...rōde sumne dāl pas meōses þe hēo mid bewaegen wæs ‘from the cross a certain amount of the moss with which it (fem. sg., agreeing with rōd) was overgrown’, hē...wolde Grendle forgylgan ġūdrāsa fela ðāra þe hē gewordht ‘he wanted to repay Grendel for the many attacks that (g.pl., agreeing with ġūdrāsa) he had made’.

(d) Pronouns and their modifiers (number, case, and gender): at his selfes hām ‘at his own home’, ðre ealra ‘of us all’, ðæs eallum ‘to us all’, gesælige hī wurdôn geboren ‘they were born blessed’.

With regard to (a), (c), and (d), it should be noted that the dual number (1st and 2nd pers. pron. only; see § 69) corresponds to plural in concord with other items: wēt pag gewīdhon ‘he-and-I agreed upon this’.

122. It is necessary to amplify the above statement of the norm. In the first place, the strict case agreement in appositive expressions should be noted: wæs hē se mon...gesetē ‘he, this man, was placed...’, hē wraec pone ældormon Cymbra ‘he avenged Cymbra, the governor’, feredon Aidanes swēle pas hālgen biscoepes ‘(they) bore the soul of Aidan, the holy bishop’, at Plegmundi minum ærcbiscop ‘from P., my archbishop’. But appositive phrases of the pattern ‘called X’ do not require concord: from Brytta cyninge, Seadwalla gesiged ‘from the king of the Britons, called C.’, to Westseaxena kyninge, Cynewīls gehāten (not *Cynewīlse gehātānum) ‘to the king of the West Saxons, called C.’. Nor, in other cases, is concord invariable: Ic on Hēgelaec wāi, Gēata dryhten ‘I know as to H., the lord of the Geats’.

123. Past participles display some variety of usage. With copula verbs ('be', 'become') they often agree with the subject (wæron hātene ‘were called’, ofslægennē wæron ‘were slain’), but more usually they are invariable: (rāpas) bōð of hwæles hīðe geworht ‘(the ropes) are made of whale’s hide’. With forms of habban, the participle is normally invariable (haefdôn... ġapa gesæald ‘(they) had given oaths’), but sometimes it agrees with the object: hī hine ofslægennē haefdôn ‘they had slain him’; here, no doubt, we see a survival of the normal use of this construction before it came to be used as a ‘pluperfect tense’ (§ 128),—‘they had him dead’.

124. Strict concord in grammatical gender is the rule in OE. It is particularly regular with demonstratives and adjectives (pas wiþes ‘the woman’s’), though adjectives tended to have a one-gender plural: wurdon hióra wiþ... sārige ‘their wives became sad’, earme wiþ ‘wretched women’. A mixture of genders requires neuter concord in the modifiers: Ædám gemēðe, and tō Êuan spræac: ‘...wit hē bārn stanðad’ ‘Adam spoke, and addressed Eve: “You-and-I stand here naked”’. Grammatical gender is on the whole regular also with pronouns: se hwael hī ‘the whale (m.)—it’, mycel sēo sēo is brādre ‘great sea (f.)—it is broader’, mycel ëa hī tōlub ‘great river (f.)—it separates’, weall hī is geworht of tigelan wall ‘(m.)—it is made of tile’. But pronouns, particularly when relating to human beings, are sometimes used with natural gender in spite of the normal requirements of grammatical concord: þēt māden hīo wearð ‘the maiden (n.)—she was’.

125. Analogous to the use in late OE of hit as the subject of impersonal verbs (§ 120e) is the widespread use of neuter singulars (hit, þet, þis, hwaet), without regard to gender or number, before the verb ‘to be’ or in contexts where the designatum is a statement, fact, or event: þet wæron... Finnas ‘they were Lapps’, þat wæron gesweoestor ‘who were sisters’, Hwaet bōð...?
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'What are . . .?', he nyste hwæt pæs sōpes wæs, for pæm hē hit self ne seah 'he did not know how much of this was true, because he himself did not see it', pis weard pā Haroldo cyninge gecydd 'This was then made known to King Harold', hwæt sindon gēd who are you (pl.)?'.

Note also hit man hēt Wislemūða 'it is called (lit. one calls it) Vistula-mouth', hwæt gīf hit unclēme bēop fīxas 'What if they are unclean fish?', though bēop in the latter example may be explained as a scribal error (cf. G. W. Garmonsway, Ælfric's Colloquy, London 1939, pp. 26-7). It is the use of neut. sg. for 'facts' and 'events' that leads to the evolution of the conjunctions pāt, of pāt, for pām, etc.: God sylf wæt . . . (hit) wa wímmad rihlice 'God Himself knows (this fact, namely) that we struggle righteously', op pāt man him feota 'until (this event, namely) that someone fetched him . . .', him weard pās ilpod 'he was granted this', lit. 'it was granted to him of this (matter)', for/on 'therefore, on account of this (fact)'.

126. Number-concord between subject and verb shows in two respects some variation in usage. First, a verb is often singular when it precedes a plural, especially compound, subject: pār sceal bōn gedynce and plega 'there must be drinking and merrymaking', gefeacht Æpered cyning ond Ælfred 'King Æ. and Æ. fought' (but three lines earlier, Æpered cyning ond Ælfred . . . gelædan 'King Æ. and Æ. led'), pā gægærde Æpered . . . ond Æpelmen . . . ond pā cinges pēgnas 'then Æ. and Æ. and the king's thanes assembled' (an interesting example, since the meaning of this intransitive verb itself suggests plurality), ætsonne cwom syxtig monna 'sixty men came together'. The verb is not always singular in this position however: wurdon viiiii folcgeofðeh gefohten 'nine engagements were fought'. There are also cases (see Beowulf 905, 2164) in which a plural subject precedes a singular verb, but instances of this are rare.

Secondly, indefinite pronouns and collective nouns caused much conflict between grammatical and logical concord: rīdē ðæc . . . and hyt mōstan habban 'each rides and can (pl.) have it', pīder urwum swā hwele swā þonne gæro wearp 'whoever was then ready (pl.) there', ēn māgð pāt hi magon 'one tribe who (pl.) can (pl.)', pone here ~ hī 'that raiding force ~ they', but a few lines below pone here ~ hine 'that raiding force ~ it', sīo fīrđ . . . pone here gefītēmd, ond pā hersēhpā ēhredon 'the
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reason of the type of clause: siddan hī hī geliornodon, hī hī wenden ... on hiora āgen gebōde 'after they (had) studied them, they translated them into their own language'; often too it is assisted by the presence of ār: Ne mette hē ār nān gebōn land, sibban hē from his āgnun hām for 'He had not found any inhabited land, since he had left his own place'.

128. In addition, OE saw the rise of the complex verbal forms usually called 'compound tenses'. Thus, although willan and sculan with an infinitive usually imply volition or obligation respectively, these constructions are found occasionally translating Latin futures: ic wille wyrcian mīn sell (pōnam sēdem meam) 'I shall make my throne', fordām ge sculan ... wēpan (quoniam fēbitis) 'because you will weep'. So, too, the preterite forms of these verbs could indicate reported future: Hī ē ne wēndon ðæt ðēr menn sceolden swā recceleǣse weordan 'They did not expect that people would ever become so careless'. But for the most part willan and sculan are overlaid with their other functions even when partly indicating future: Hī wīllan ēow ... ēgaras sylān 'They are about to (and want to) give you spears'.

The pluperfect was widely expressed by the preterite of habban together with the past participle of transitive verbs, and the preterite of wesan with the past participle of intransitive verbs: Sīdītan ic hē ðā geliornod hāfde ... ic hē on Englīsc āwende 'Then when I had studied them, I translated them into English', se hālga fāder was inn āgān 'the holy father had gone in'. Where the participles agree—in the one case with the object, and in the other case with the subject—we have a survival from the time when they had predicative adjectival function rather than a tense function (see §123): hī hāfdon pā heora stūm āsētēnne and hīora mēt āgenōtuēn 'they had finished their tour of duty and used up their food', (lār) was of fealēnum 'learning' had declined'. Of the two pluperfect auxiliaries, habban shows signs of becoming the preferred one even within the OE period, when it is to be found occasionally with intransitive verbs: wē tō symle gesytē hāfdon 'we had sat down to the feast'.

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129. Aspect

In speaking of the present tense of 'have' (habban, rarely āgan) and 'be' with a past participle, we pass from the consideration of tense (the expression of the time of an action) to the consideration of aspect (the expression of the manner or quality of an action). For ordinary purposes, we need distinguish only 'perfective' aspect (relating to momentary actions, such as inception or completion) and 'durative' aspect (relating to both habitual and continuous actions).

The perfect of transitive verbs expressed with 'have' (hē hāfån onfunden 'he has found') and the perfect of intransitive verbs expressed with 'be' (is nū geworden 'it has now happened') do not refer to a different time from the simple preterites (hē onfand, nū gewærde) but to the same time regarded more specifically as perfective. In OE the perfective aspect could equally well be expressed with the simple preterite form: Hīne hālig God ... ðas onsende 'Holy God has dispatched him to us'.

In other cases, the function was assisted by adverbs: nūþpearf ... þæt hē Godes lage gyme bet þonne hē ēr dyde 'necessary that he should heed God's law better than he has done formerly'.

Some verbs (such as cuman 'come', feallan 'fall', worðan 'become') are, as it were, inherently perfective and need no formal indication of aspect; for a larger number, perfective aspect was expressed not by means of an inflexion but by prefixing elements such as a-, be-, for-, ge-, of-, to- (see §§ 168, 170f): siglǣ hē ... swā swā hē mehte of þif dagum gesīgēan 'he kept sailing as far as he could (manage to) sail in five days'.

130. The durative aspect is inherent in the meaning of most verbs ('be', 'live', for example) and it is therefore not surprising that special forms and constructions were used only to a minor extent in OE to express it: deos woruld ... nēaldeð pām ende 'this world is approaching the end', wē forhealdā Ægnum Godes gerīhta ealles to gelōme 'we (repeatedly) withheld God's dues everywhere all too frequently', wæs se cyng ... on fære mid fære scīre þe mid him fieredon 'the king was on his way with the shire-men that were campaigning with him'. We find wolda with an infinitive quite frequently expressing habitual
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(as opposed to continuous) action: wilde deor dær woldon tō irtan 'wild animals were wont to run there', Hē wolede æfter æhtsange ofto hine gebiðdan 'It was usually after Matins that he would pray'. When verbs naturally perfective in meaning were intended to have durative force, they were accompanied by an infinitive or present participle: Dā cōm ... Grendel gongan 'Then came Grendel travelling', fleogende cōm 'came flying'.

We also find the verb 'be' with a present participle expressing durative aspect: ic mē gebiðde to dēm Godre be biō eardigende on heofonum 'I pray (at this moment) to the God who is dwelling (not only at this moment) in the heavens', Dēr wēron sume of dēm bōcerum siltende, and on hīera heortum bencende (Erant ... sedentes ... cogitantes) 'There were some of the scribes sitting there and thinking in their hearts'. Many cases of this construction, however, have no durative function, and it is often difficult to say in what way the expression differs from the simple tense form; at times it seems ingestive: patte nānig ... wēre ënwendende pās ëre dōmas 'that no one should set about changing these our decrees'.

131. Voice

With a single exception, OE verbs showed only active voice inflexions. The exception is hātan 'call' which, besides having a vocalic active preterite hēt, had a consonantal preterite hātte which was passive and which was used both for present and past: sēo ēa hātte Temese 'the river is called Thames', hwæt hāttum pāge 'what are those called?', Rachel hātte Æcīdes wif 'Jacob's wife was called Rachel'. For the rest, the notional passive was expressed in one of two principal ways: a copula verb with the past participle, or the indefinite pronoun man with the ordinary active verb-form. In the periphrastic expression just mentioned there were two auxiliaries: bēon | wesan and wēordan. To some extent there was a distinction of aspect involved, the former being used in durative expressions (ne bid dēr nānig cælō gebrown 'no ale is (ever) brewed there'), the latter in perfective expressions (pāt hūs wēord dā forburnen 'the house was then burnt down'). But there was much free-
volve ‘fact’ (as against ‘surmise’), ‘reality’ (as against ‘unreality’), but the use of indicative and subjunctive cannot be entirely rationalised in accordance with such dichotomies. In many cases we are simply dealing with linguistic convention, one or other mood being associated (though not invariably used) with a given type of construction.

The indicative is also found with great regularity in:

(a) relative clauses: pegen þe ær wæs hiafudr ‘thane who had formerly been his lord’;

(b) noun clauses of various kinds (including, though less frequently, indirect questions) relating to fact or certainty: þæt is gesyne ... þæt æs Godes yrre ... on sit ‘it is clear that God’s anger rests on us’, ic wål þat ic ne eom wyrd ‘I know that I am not worthy’, ne sceall nann mann æwægan þæt hæl sylfynles behæl ‘no one must revoke what he promises of his own accord’, þæt weard gefylded ... þæt his swiære hand wumæd hæl ‘it was fulfilled that his right hand remains whole’, swæ hwæst swæ him becíom ‘whatever came his way’, sǽde him hwylce gyfe hæ ofnæf ‘told him what gift he had received’;

(c) adverb clauses of place: tó Scotelande, þær se geleæga was þá ‘to Ireland, where the faith was at that time’, swæ hwær swæ hæ was ‘wherever he was’;

(d) adverb clauses of time: Pá he þá þæs andswærre ofnæf, dã ongan he ... singan ‘When he received this answer, he began to sing’, ponne he ædíge bid ‘when he is sick’, sóna swæ hæ rices gewæld ‘as soon as he possessed the kingship’, od þæt þas ... on fyre weard ‘until the house became on fire’, ná he on heofonum leofæd ‘now that he lives in the heavens’;

(e) adverb clauses of cause: for þám þe hit neþf leafe þæs Almihitgan ‘because it has not the Almighty’s permission’, þæs þe hæ wænig wæ swæ hænes Waldæn ‘because he fought against the Ruler of Heaven’;

(f) adverb clauses of manner: swæ swæ Aidanus him bæd ‘as Aidan had prayed for him’;

(g) adverb clauses of result: flómen swæ strange ... þæt oft on gefeohtæ ðæn fædæ þyne ‘pirates so strong that often in a fight one will chase ten’, sum föll on ise, þæt his earm tóðærst ‘a certain man fell on some ice so that his arm broke’;

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(h) adverb clauses of condition, where the condition is a practical possibility: gif þó gelsfman wyll, þó wurpest hál sóna ‘if you are prepared to believe, you will become well at once’, gif þó ænig þineg hæfstan ‘if you have anything’.

133. Subjunctive

The subjunctive is the mood of subjective expression, and in general its use is confined to volitional, conjectural, or hypothetical contexts. As indicated in the previous paragraph, however, usage is sometimes determined purely by convention, and it is to some extent variable. The principal uses of the subjunctive are as follows:

(a) in non-dependent clauses expressing wishes and commands: God ære helpe ‘may God help us’, cild binnan ðrægum nihta síc gefulwæd ‘let a child be (or a child must be) baptised within 30 nights’;

(b) in noun clauses (including indirect questions) in negative or conjectural contexts or dependent upon verbs of saying, thinking, or suggesting: Swá mé þæt riht ne þincet, þæt ic ðælcan ðweði purfe Godes ‘Thus it does not seem to me right that I should need to flatter God’, is nýþearef ... þæt hæ Godes lage gýne ‘it is necessary that he should heed God’s law’, hit nán wundor nys þæt se hálga cyningc untrumynysse gehæle ‘it is no wonder that the holy king should heal sickness’, se þeóst uwræt þær æn wer wære on Irlande ‘the priest said that there was a man in Ireland’, hœð hine ... lærde, þæt hæ weroldhæd forþæle ‘she advised him that he should give up secular life’, cunnian hwæ cnëc síc ‘to find out who is brave’;

(c) in adverb clauses of concession introduced by þeah (be): þeah man swæ ne wēne ‘although people do not think so’, the indicative (as in Beowulf 2467) is exceptional; the alternative (‘willy nilly’) concession has the subjunctive when there is inversion without a conjunction (bœð hæ ... bœð hæ ‘whether he is ... or whether he is ...’) and also when a conjunction such as sam is used (sam hit síc sumor sam wintor ‘whether it is summer or winter’);

(d) in adverb clauses of condition, the terms of which are extremely hypothetical or quite impossible: gify se pegen þære
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praēl...äfyle 'if the thane kills the serf', būtan God georōge
'unless God saves', swylice eal Finnsburh fyrenes wāre 'as though
all Finnsburg were on fire', pēr mē gīfede...wörde 'if it had
been granted me'; in 'impossible' conditions, expressed with
the pret. subj., both the adverbiale clause and the related non-
dependent clause have the subjunctive: him wāre betere pāt
hē næfre geborn wāre 'it would have been better for him if he
had never been born';

(c) in adverb clauses of purpose: pāt heora gelēafa wűrde
wënend eft to Gode 'in order that their faith might be turned
again to God', pī lās wē ægandere ealle forweordan 'lest we all
perish together', pī lās de hit tōw ægylī dinc 'lest it seem
tedious to you';

(f) in some adverb clauses of result, the result is anticipated:
Swā sceal geong gumā...gewyrcean...pāt hine
on ylde eft gewunigen wil-gesīpas 'So ought a young man to
bring it about that eager retainers support him in his old age';

(g) in temporal and other clauses which relate to future or
conjunctural events: Gesprāc pā se gōda...ār hē on bed stige
'The noble one then spoke, before he went (or should go) to
bed', of pāt...cumne geardē 'until he knows well', nīs nā
cwīra nān, pē ic hīm mōðēfn minne dūrē...āsekgan 'there
is now no one living to whom I dare speak my heart';

(h) in many comparative clauses, with þonne: sēðē bid
āghwām pāt hē his frōend wrecce, þonne hē fela murmē 'it will be
better for everyone that he avenges his friend than mourn
much';

(i) in clauses of various kinds, which are dependent on
clauses containing subjunctive verbs: geċnēwē sec ðē cumne 'let
him know who can (subj.)', pās ēs scamād swyde pāt wē bōte
āgīnnan, swā swā bōc lōcan 'we are very much ashamed (lit.
that we should) attempt a remedy, as the Scriptures teach
(subj.)', Deēah...hit after þām eft gewuorde pāt waēŋwærgwil
weorde 'Even though it turns out later on that armed conflict
breaks out (subj.)'.

134. During the OE period, the subjunctive came to be
expressed more and more by means of the 'modal auxiliaries',
willan, sculan, magan, (ic) mōt (§§ 88, 91, 93, 95). This was
especially so in the preterite, perhaps because it was in the
preterite that the weakening of unstressed vowels to [ə] (see
§ 13) left fewer inflectional mood distinctions. For example:
Nū ic suna minum sylan wolde gōd-gewēdu, pēr mē gīfede swā
āng yrfe-weord after wūrde 'Now I would give my son my
war-gear, if I had been granted any heir', nū wolde ic gēblēan,
ɡif ic ābīdan mōste 'now I would reform, if I might be spared',
līcette pāt hē sceolde bīon se hēhsta gōd 'he pretended that he
was the most exalted god'. In some texts we can see the two
forms of expression alternating in parallel constructions: pāt
Adam sceal...wesæn him on wynne, and wē þis wite polien
'that Adam should live in contentment and we should suffer
this torment'; similarly, sē þē slēa his fæder...sē sceal dēade
swēllan 'he who kills his father is to die', but sē þē his geweldes
monnan ofslēa, swēlle sē dēape 'he who kills a man of his own
free will is to die'.

135. Imperative

The imperative proper exists only in the second person sin-
gular and plural (Cædmon, sing mē huwæthwēgu 'C., sing me
something', Lēofan mon, geċnēwē pāt sōd is 'Beloved people,
know what is true'), though there is also a rare first person
plural form in -an, -on. Almost the only common example of
the latter is (w)uton, utan (which historically is probably an
aorist optative or subjunctive of willan 'go'; see § 214), which
is used in a frequent periphrasis to express the first person
plural imperative of other verbs: Uton feallan tō bāre rōde 'Let
us fall before the cross', utan dōn swā ēs nōd is 'let us do as is
necessary for us'. For the third person (and sometimes also
for the first), exhortations are expressed by means of the sub-
jective (see § 133a).

136. Infinitive

The infinitive is chiefly used as follows:

(a) with a small number of verbs like cūnnan, (ic) deār,
magan, sculan, purfan, willan (and, as we saw in the preceding
paragraph, uton) which to a greater or lesser extent act as
auxiliaries, and which almost all survive in Mod.E. as the
' anomalous finites': huwæt sceal ic singan? 'what am I to sing?',

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ne dear man forhealdan ‘one dare not withhold’, ne moton habban ‘(they) cannot have’, Ne purse wē ās spillan ‘We need not destroy each other’. In constructions with such verbs, infinitives relating to being or moving are often omitted, as being implicit in the context: wīra sceal gehrīdēg ‘a wise man must be patient’, ēr hē in wille ‘before he is willing to go in’. Other infinitives may be omitted if a form of the verb in question occurs in the context: understande sē de cunning ‘let him understand who can (sc. understand)’;

(b) with verbs of causation, intention, and incentive. In this group we often find the infinitive used with passive meaning (see above, § 131), and also the ‘accusative and infinitive’ construction (§ 96). For example: dō hit ās tō wītanne ‘make us know it’, hēt hine læran ‘bāde him be taught’, hēt... ēg hidof ofēstlēān ‘ordered his head to be struck off’, denceg gērīpān ‘intends to grasp’, wīnād biscehīd tō underfenne ‘wishes to receive the office of bishop’, ongan fyrene fresmen ‘began to do evil’;

(c) with verbs of motion, rest, and observation, often with durative aspect (see above, § 130), and sometimes with ‘accusative and infinitive’ (§ 96): cōm... sīdān ‘came travelling’, gesēah... stanďan twēgen... wēpan ‘saw two standing weeping’, gesēah blācne leōman... sēcīn ‘saw a bright light shining’.

In the last two classes, the infinitive was sometimes preceded by tō; the use of tō with the infinitive (almost always inflected, -anne, -enne) increased throughout the OE period and was general in the following classes of usage:

(d) purpose: nū gē moton gangan... Hrōdgar gesōn ‘now you may go to see H.’, uthādē se sēōre hit sād tō swēwenne ‘the sower went out to sow his seed’;

(e) causal: ic nū forsceamme tō secganne ‘I am now very much ashamed to say’;

(f) specificatory (especially with nouns and adjectives) and adverbial: gierd mīd tō preōgeanne... stāf mīd tō wreheanne ‘rod with which to chastise, staff with which to support’, wurpē tō beranne ‘worthy to bear’, gernfūl tō gehīrānne ‘eager to hear’, hwēdest tō secganne ‘to put it briefly’;

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strative coming first: se (or þes) mann ‘the (or this) man’, göd mann ‘a good man’, se (or þes) göda mann ‘the (or this) good man’. Adjectives used substantively are preceded by a demonstrative: sæo ædle ‘the noble (woman)’. Possessives behave like demonstratives: his brôprur ‘his brother’, minne强壮ican stól ‘my sturdy throne’. Pronouns are frequently qualified by eall and self which they usually immediately precede: wē ealle ‘we all’, þis eall ‘all this’, mē selfum ‘for me, myself’.

Outstanding exceptions to the rule demonstrative—adjective—noun are eall and adjectives in -weard which usually precede the demonstrative: eall þeōs mǣre gesceaf ‘all this (or this whole) glorious creation’, ealle þā hwile ‘all the time’, on eallum þæm geliptum ‘in all these misfortunes’, on süðeweardum þæm lande ‘in the southerly (part of the) land’, of inneweardre his heortan ‘from his inward heart’. Bēgen as a noun modifier is placed similarly (bēgen þā gebrōpru ‘both the brothers’), but numerals follow demonstratives (þisum twēm gebrōbrum ‘to these two brothers’). Thus normally disjoined from the demonstrative—adjective—noun sequence, eall and adjectives in -weard are also frequently found following the noun: fram þæm mǣgan úlweardum ‘from the outward (part of the) mouth’, Denum eallum ‘to all the Danes’, þōt eall ‘entire vow’. The adjective genōg is normally found in this position: fēondas genōge ‘foes enough’, þær bið medo genōh ‘there is ample mead’.

When a noun is qualified by two adjectives, we may find one before it and one after (swīde mīcle meras fersce ‘very big fresh-water lakes’), or the two adjectives, linked by and, may follow the noun (bīl . . . brād and brūnceg ‘broad and bright-edged sword’); both adjectives may also precede the noun, especially when the first concerns quantity: maneg hālīge stowa ‘many holy places’.

It is often difficult to decide whether eall(ī) is adjectival or adverbal; cf Beowulf 1567 (and what is said below on the variable position of adverbs, § 142): bīl eal burhweold ‘the whole sword (or the sword entirely) penetrated’.

139. It is by no means rare to find modifiers in general (especially adjectives, and especially in poetic usage) following their nouns: freodoburh fægere ‘fair stronghold’, wudu weallendu

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‘surging waters’, nīceras nīgene ‘nine water-demons’. Even possessives and emphatic demonstratives can take this position: ēpel ðyse ‘this country’, wīne mīn Unferð ‘my friend, U.’, gīngran sinre ‘to her handmaiden’. The simple demonstrative can also follow the noun when it is preceding an adjective: mine brōpru pā lēofan ‘my dear brothers (those dear brothers of mine)’, Éadweard se langa ‘E. the tall’; but it is possible that such adjectives should be interpreted as substantival: ‘my brothers, the dear ones’, ‘E., the tall one’.

Descriptive noun titles such as ‘king’ and ‘abbot’ usually follow the names they qualify: Ælfred cyning ‘King Æ.’, Ælmēr abbod ‘Abbot Æ.’, Ædric eardormann ‘Governor E.’, Mælērūns cāser ‘M. Caesar, Emperor M.’, Wæxferd bīscop ‘Bishop W.’, Godwine eorl ‘Earl G.’. With a determining modifier, however, such titles are often found preceding the name: bōe archesēsc Ælfēah ‘the Archbishop Æ.’

140. Genitive complements generally precede the words to which they are related: hīra land ‘their land’, þæs landes scēawunge ‘for a surveying of the land’, syxhteg mihta brād ‘60 miles across’, iglanda fela ‘many islands’, wēdera celodost ‘coldest of weather(s)’, sīpes wērig ‘travel-weary’, prēla hūyle ‘any serv’ (§ 120f). It is normal for the genitive complement to keep this position even when its related noun is in a prepositional phrase: of hwæles hīde ‘from whale-skin’, mid Godes fulhtume ‘with God’s help’. But when the noun is already determined by another qualifier, we find the genitive complement following its noun: on ðōre healf þæs mōres ‘on the other side of the moor’, sumne dāl þæs mēos ‘a part of the moss’, mid þæn lagan legere þæs deadan mannes inne ‘with the dead man’s lengthy lying-in-state’; yet there are exceptions to this: se beorma brego ‘the prince of men’. The adjective full usually precedes its genitive complement: full wītēa and wīra ‘full of ornaments and metal-work’. A noun often precedes its complement when the latter is a personal name: sunu Beānīnē ‘B.’s son’, cwēn Hroðgāres ‘H.’s queen’.

For some figures comparing OE and ME in this respect, see C. C. Fries, Language xvi.205. See also B. J. Timmer, English Studies xxi.49-72.
142. Prepositions

As their name should etymologically imply, prepositions in OE are generally placed in front of the items with which they are grammatically and notionally connected, and in front of any modifiers that may precede such items: on hundode ‘in hunting’, on sumum stéwum ‘in some places’, on his ägnum lande ‘in his own country’, on Godes grid ‘in God’s peace’. But they are postpositive (and should perhaps be called ‘postpositions’) with the adverbs of place which frequently have pronominal function: þæt, þær intó, þær et, hérinnde, hérdeccan ‘in addition to this’. With pronouns, the prepositions (especially those of more than one syllable) quite frequently follow: þus ævedente him tó ‘saying thus to him’, him biforan ‘before him’, him betwéoh ‘between them’; in verse, stressed postposition is not uncommon even with nouns: Scedelandum in ‘in Scandinavia’. But postposition is most frequent, both in prose and verse, when it enables the preposition to stand before a verb form: þá gotum him tó belocen hæfdon ‘they had closed the gates on themselves’, him cénlice wíd feah ‘fought stoutly against him’, him māra fullum tó cóm ‘more help came to him’; this is especially common in relative clauses in which the preposition, according to Mod.E. literary style, goes with the relative pronoun: þe wé gefyrn ymb fyræc ‘about which we spoke earlier’, þe hēo míd wicgene was ‘with which it (the cross) was overgrown’. Less commonly, we find the preposition following even the verb, either closely or remotely: Osiwold him cóm tó ‘O. came to him’; him cóm micel eaca tó ‘a great reinforcement came to them’.

This usage is not to be confused with the adverbial and elliptical use of prepositions: þá foron hī he tó ‘then they went to (that place)’. Compound prepositions like lóewhat, betwéthum sometimes have the governed item(s) between their component parts; thus, ló weald ‘shipwards’, be sæm twéthum ‘between the seas’; compare ‘to us-ward’, Psalm xi.5 (A.V.).

142. Adverbs

The variety of position taken up by adverbs and adverb phrases in OE as in Mod.E. makes general descriptive state-
ments very difficult. Ælfric writes within a few lines sōna on slēþe weard gehéled ‘was quickly healed in sleep’ and hī sendon pā sōna ‘they then immediately sent’, in one case with his adverbs placed before the verb, in the other with them placed after it. The student will recognise that the free variation available to Ælfric in the position of adverbs is available today likewise, since the translations of these two examples could both be varied considerably. But the variety seems to some extent more chaotic than it actually is because of the unsatisfactory way in which we group under the term ‘adverb’ words which (for example, very and quickly) are functionally dissimilar and which occupy mutually exclusive environments. ‘Adverbs’ may be adjective-modifiers, verb-modifiers, or sentence-modifiers; they may relate to time, place, manner, degree, or simply negation. A full treatment of their positions would have to take these and other factors into account.

143. For the present purpose, however, it may suffice to say that adverbs in general precede the items (words, phrases, clauses) that they modify: ne mihte ‘could not’, þær ærad ‘raised there’, þær stód ‘stood there’, hē vel cáþ Scyldisc ‘he knew Gaelic well’, se bispoc pā fórd ‘the bishop then went’, and munuclice loofode ‘and lived monastically’, swicde xinos-gorn ‘very charitable’, tó gelóme ‘too often’, gehwanon cumene ‘come from everywhere’, Óc wē wilan ful georne ‘Besides, we know quite certainly’.

The negative particle ne so regularly precedes the items which it modifies that it is frequently agglutinated with them; thus with parts of common verbs (nis, nāron, nābban, nolde, etc.), nāht (ne + á + wiht) ‘not, by no means’, nānig (ne + ānig) ‘none’, nāfre (ne + āfre) ‘never’, nā (ne + á) ‘never, by no means’. In OE usage, multiple negation was perfectly normal, conjunctive ne preceding a clause, and n(e) preceding verbs, asseverative adverbs, and indefinite pronouns, within the clause: ne ic ne herige ne ic ne tæle ‘nor do I praise or blame’, ne purfan gē nōði besgorian ‘you need not be at all anxious’, nis nānig swa snokor ‘there is no one so wise’, hīt nā, nā se follic ‘it by no means fell’, nis nō ðæt ān . . . ac eac . . . ‘it is not only
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this... but also... \*ne hit næfre ne gewurde 'nor may it ever happen'.

As already stated, a good deal of latitude existed in the placing of adverbs; adverbial phrases and adverbs of more than one syllable tended in particular to be placed in a relatively posterior position: clypode mid geleafan 'called out with faith', wē winnæd rihlice 'we struggle righteously', Ælfred kyning hæfde grētan Wærford... luísce ond fréondlice 'King Æ. sends greetings to W., with love and friendship'.

The dative complement of instrumentality, which is adverbial, also normally precedes the item to which it is related: mécum wunnde 'wounded by the sword', swæordum ðæswede 'slain by the sword'; cf also the dative complement with adjectives (him eallum lād 'hateful to all of them') and to some extent the nominative complement with participles (ðæswold gehātæ 'called O.').

144. Subject, Object (or Complement), and Verb (S, O/C, V)

All possible permutations of these elements are recorded in both prose and verse, and again it must be stressed that the observations to follow do not constitute an exhaustive description of the facts. There was considerable free variation in OE, and it would not be helpful—even if it were practicable—to tabulate all the factors that led to the selection of pattern in every recorded case.

The prose and to a lesser extent the late verse display a considerable tendency towards the order S V O/C in non-dependent clauses: pat Esīland is swyðe mycel 'Estonia is very large', and se cyning and þā ricostan men drincad mýran meolec 'and the king and the mightiest men drink mare's milk', hē lufode for-haēfēdunse 'he loved temperance'. Where the verb comprises a finite part plus a participle or infinitive, the two are either close together (se ādiga... weard gehædd on dāre ylcan nihte 'the sick man was healed that very night'), or the non-finite part comes at the end (Hē wolde after ūhtsange oflost hine gebiðan 'After Matins, he would usually pray').

The most frequent occasion for departing from this order is when certain adverbs (especially ne and þā) come first; the order is then V S O/C: ne mihte hē gehealdan hearðne mēcæ 'he could not hold the grim sword', Þā sende se cyning... ðām

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pearfūm pone... disic 'then the king sent the dish to the poor'; ðār also occurs with this order, especially when used expletively and not with its full local meaning: Þār bið swyðe mycel gewinn betwēōnæ him 'There is much strife between them'.

See R. Quirk, 'Expletive or Existential there', London Medieval Studies ii, 32. It should be noted that þā and other elements, which are followed by V S O/C when adverbal, do not take this order whenconjunctive; in correlative sequences there is thus a sharp distinction between the order in dependent and non-dependent clauses (see the examples in § 150).

145. The order V S O/C is regular in questions (Eart þā se Beowulf sæ pe...? 'Are you the Beowulf who...?'), in jussive and volitional expressions (Lære mon sidda trurdr on Lædengeblēde 'Let one then instruct further in Latin'), and in conditional clauses without subordinating conjunction (see § 158). The verb similarly comes first in imperative expressions: Forgif nā, Drihten, ærum mōdum 'Grant now, oh Lord, to our hearts', Swiða þā 'Be silent'. In questions where O/C is an interrogative pronoun or an interrogative plus noun, however, the order is O/C V S: Hwæt sāgest þā? 'What do you say?', Hwilce fīxs ġefēhst þā? 'What fishes do you catch?'

146. The common order S V O is also disrupted by disjunction, when first place is taken by an element which has special significance or importance in the context: Gīā, būtan nettum hūtin 'Certainly I can hunt without nets' (in reply to the question Ne canst þā hūtin būtan mid nettum? 'Can you not hunt except with nets?'). Compare also: sume wēg fōrōm 'some, war carried off' (in a series where individual fates are being listed), him sēo wēn geællæ 'him expectation deceived,' nacode wē wǣrōn ācennede, and nacode wē gewiht 'naked we were born and naked we die'. Disjunction also affects final position, especially in the separation of co-ordinate objects or complements: hē wǣrōn... gebrōcēd... mid cēças cwīlāe ond monna 'they were afflicted with the death of cattle, and of men', of hwæles hīde geworht, and of seoikes 'made of whale's hide and of seal's', hē hi fēdan scywēde and scyrdan 'he was to feed them, and find them clothes'.

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One of the minor arrangements that we might note appears in the last example. When O is a pronoun, it frequently precedes V: þā burgeware hitē gesīlīmon ‘the townsfolk routed them’. Another recurrent feature is V in initial position, in some cases for special declarative effect *(Was hit þā on ēlce wisan hefīg lýma ‘It was then in every way a grievous time’, Gegraēta þā guma ēiperne ‘Then the one man saluted the other’)*, in other cases apparently because individual writers were fond of this style (it is especially common, for instance, in the Ælfricadian Bede and in some of the poetry). In the poetry as a whole there is great variety in the disposing of S, O, and V, and it is easier to speak of the word-order in any one poem than in OE poetry as such.

147. In dependent clauses generally, the dominant order is S O/C V. This is fairly regular in relative clauses (*þe æt his mæges slege . . . fyllse ‘who assisted in the killing of his kinsman’*), in concessive clauses (*þeāh he him lēof wære ‘though he was dear to him’*), and frequent in temporal clauses (*þæt he bæl cyre ‘before he chose the funeral-fire’, þæ he płone cyningc sōhte ‘when he visited the king’*), in conditional clauses (*gif we þa stilnesse hābbad ‘if we have peace’*), in causal clauses (*for þæm hitē ðær sītan ne mehton ‘because they could not stay there’*), and in noun clauses (*hæ seleah þæt Apollonius swā sārlice sat ond ealle þingas beðolð ond nān þingas ne æt ‘he saw that A. was sitting sorrowfully thus and looking at everything and eating nothing’*). But dependent clauses are also found in large numbers with the order S V O/C, and this seems especially common with causal clauses (*for þæm hiora cyning was gewundod on þæm gefeohle ‘because their king was wounded in the battle’*), result clauses (*þæt he ēgydun on ðær wēstre cæstre ‘so that they encamped in a deserted fort’*), and noun clauses (*hæ sābe þæt Nordmanns land wære swyþe læng ‘he said that Norway was very long’*).

This subject can be pursued in more detail in S. O. Andrew, Syntax and Style in Old English (Cambridge 1940) and Postscript on Beowulf (Cambridge 1948), John Ries, Die Wortstellung im Beowulf (Halle 1907), H. Kuhn, ‘Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Althochdeutschen’.

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148. Order of Clauses

Although the criteria distinguishing dependent from non-dependent clauses in OE have not yet been completely worked out, enough is known for us to be able to state that as a rule dependent clauses follow the dependent or non-dependent clauses to which they are related: *(For þy ne sceall nān mann āwāgan þæt he sylfylle beðol þæm wīmihigan Gode ponne hē ādlig bide, þæt þæt he sylf losige, gif hē ðæth Gode þæt ‘Thus no one must nullify what he promises Almighty God of his own free will when he is sick, lest he should perish, if he denies God this’. This is true of prose and verse alike: gehwylc hīora his ferhpe trēowde, þæt hē hæfde mōd micel, þæt þæt hē hī his māgum nēre ðæt-fast æt ecgæ gelācum ‘each of them trusted his heart, that he had great courage, even though he had not been merciful to his kinsfolk in sword-play’.*

Certain types of dependent clause are found more readily in initial position than others, notably conditional clauses (*gyf þær man dā þann fīndod unforbærned, hī hit scealan midum gēlētan ‘if a single bone is found there incompletely burnt, they have to pay dearly for it’) and indefinite relative clauses of various kinds (*swā hwīder swā hī cōm, hī cīgde þās wūndra ‘wherever he came, he proclaimed these miracles’*). But on the whole, initial position has to be supported by correlation (see § 150: swā hwīder swā hī becom . . . þæt hē hrǣde dēlde ‘whatever came his way, this he promptly shared’). Thus correlated, many types of clause appear initially: *Nū ic sceal geondian earmlicuca dēlde . . . nū wolde ic gēlētan ‘Now that I must perish in a wretched death, I would like to make amends, þæt hē þā þæs ondswēre onfēng, þā ongan hē sōna singan ‘When he got this answer, he at once began to sing’.*

Clauses of most kinds are found also medially: *Hī hæfde þāsigt, ðæt hē þæt cyninge sōhte, tamra dōra unbebhīra syx hund ‘He had still, when he visited the king, 600 tame deer unsold’.*
149. Co-ordination and Parataxis

In Mod.E. and other languages, notional relationships such as cause and condition can be given linguistic expression in a sequence of non-dependent constructions related by a simple conjunction ('co-ordination') or, without a conjunction, by a feature like intonation or some kind of juncture which is not usually symbolised in a written record ('parataxis'). So too, throughout OE, such expressions were very common: hé þe æt sundre oferflæt, heafde mære magen 'he beat you at swimming—(he) had greater strength' (cause), he his feorh generede and he was of gewundod 'he saved his life but he was wounded many times' (concession). Sometimes the relationship is made more explicit by the presence of a relational adverb, as in another version of the latter example: and þæh hé was of gewundod 'and yet...'.

150. Correlation and Hypotaxis

Subordinate or grammatically dependent ('hypotactic') constructions constitute a more complex means of expressing relationship, and in OE these frequently involved correlation, that is, the linking of members in a relationship by the presence in each member of corresponding demonstrative elements: 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son'. There are many sets of correlative elements in OE; among the commonest are þa (,... þa) ... þa, þonne ... þonne, nū ... nū, þæt ... þæt, þy ... þy, þæs ... þæt, swā ... swā. For example, þæt þa þæs answære onfæl, þa ongan he sōna singan 'when he received this answer, he (then) at once began to sing', þonne he umeah ... þonne äræs he 'when he saw ... he (then) arose', nū ic sceal gegeðian ... nū wolde ic gebētan 'now that I have to die, I would like to make amends', þæt ðæf ðæf mæg ... onfælde, þæt se eorl nolde yrhðo gepolian 'when ðæf saw (this), that the earl would not tolerate cowardice', þæt hærþþy mæra widsom ... wære þy þe mæ gebōda cūðon 'that there should be the more wisdom here the more languages we knew'.

151. Hypotactic expression is found extensively also without correlation, notably with the causal, conditional, and concessive relations, and especially where the dependent clause follows the related non-dependent clause: he him eft ægeaf, for þæm þæs hīora was ðær his godsmuþ 'he gave them back to him, because one of them was his godson', wēne ic þæt he mid gode gyldan welle ucraeran, gīf þæt eal gemon 'I expect that we will require our sons with good, if he remembers all this', hi wēron þæs Hēlendes gewitan, deā hē hine DISABLE ne cūðon 'they were the Saviour’s witnesses, though they did not yet know Him'.

152. Dependence without Finite Verb

Notional relationships were often expressed in OE by means of prepositional, participial, or other phrases; thus in the following example, hé cōm dā þurh Codes saned ('he came then by reason of God’s summons'), we have a phrase expressing a causal relation equivalent to 'he came then because God had
summoned him'. Similarly, with present and past participles: 

\[\text{past man his hlæford ... of lande lifgendne drif} \text{e 'that anyone should drive his lord, living (i.e. while he lived), from the land', gedresed on his mōde, hē gebeað hine 'as he was' troubled in his mind, he prayed'. Often, in imitation of the Latin ablative absolute, such expressions appear in the dative (§ 111): ðā ... fērde hē tō heofonum, him on lōcigendum 'then he proceeded to the heavens, while they looked on', him andweardum 'with them present (i.e. in their presence)', ðrēctum handum 'with hands outstretched'. Absolute expressions are most frequently temporal in function, but they often relate to manner; they are also used causally, conditionally, and concessively.

153. Expression of Relationship

A given relationship thus found linguistic expression in several different ways.

The descriptive function usually associated with the relative clause could, for example, be expressed (a) by means of a participial expression: frōm Brytta cyninge, Ceadwalla gecegę 'from the king of the Britons, (who was) called C.('

(b) with an infinitive expression: stæf mid tō ure Daniennæ 'a staff with which to support' (§ 136f);

(c) with various relative pronoun constructions (often involving correlation), the most important of which are illustrated in the following examples (see also § 120a and b): for Osvoldes geearnungum he hine æfre wurdbe 'for O.'s merits, who constantly worshipped Him', tō Westseaxena kyninge ... sē was ðāgīt hēðen 'to the king of the West Saxons who was still heathen', Lart pā pē Bēowulf, sē pē við Breccan wunne? 'Are you the Beowulf who competed with Brecc?'...

154. Various temporal relations are expressed by means of dependent clauses introduced by common conjunctions (frequently correlated) such as sīðan (sīðan Æfreæs ... geġān hāfordon 'after the Hebrews had gone'), pā or pā ( ... ) pā (pā pē scipu gærwe wærōn 'when the ships were ready'), ponne (ponne ðēa fēsċ biġ geawenden 'when the flesh is afflicted'), penden (pēnend hē on dyssel wuhrde wunode ( ... ) 'while he dwelt in this world'), nā (nā wē hit hābben ne mōtōn 'now that we cannot possess it'), ēr pām pē (ēr ǣmē ēō hit hāll forhēgegā wēre 'before it was all completely ravaged'), od pāt (od pē Crist sylf cōmē until Christ Himself should come); those relating to the future require subjunctive verbs for the most part (§ 135g), but in general the mood in temporal clauses is indicative. Frequently, time relations are indicated by means of temporal adverbs in non-dependent constructions: pā, ponne, ēr, nā, sōna, gyl, and many others; for example, wæs Hæстан pēr cumen 'H. had then arrived there', gyl mē teowīnād 'I still doubt'. Time is also expressed by means of participial and absolute expressions (see above, § 152).

155. Purpose is generally expressed by a dependent clause containing a subjunctive verb; the clause is usually introduced by pāt(le) (pē gedænefān bāt wē ... ondswargarēn 'it is fitting for us that we (should) answer'), less frequently by tō pām ( ... ) pāt (ic cōm ... tō pām pāt hē wāre geswulod 'I came in order that he should be made manifest'); negative purpose clauses are introduced by pē lēs (pe): pē lēs pē hē sylf losige 'lest he himself perish'. Purpose can also be expressed with a coordinate construction familiar in Mod.E.: uton faran ... and gesōn 'let’s go and see', ic sende mīnne engel beforan ðē and drīfē ðē ( ... ) (mittam ... ut ējiciam) 'I shall send my angel before thee to drive out ...'. The inflected infinitive is also common in this function: hē ... cōm eordan tō dēmenē 'he came to judge the earth'. Finally, we should mention several 'purpose-equivalent' constructions, that is, constructions in which purpose is expressed simultaneously with other relationships, notably cause: ðōde ... aweg ... for ðān ðē hē ne mīhte gesōn 'he went away so that he might not see (or because he could not bear to see)'.

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156. **Result** clauses are again usually introduced by *pæt(te)*, but the verb in these is indicative: *pæt him töberst sêo heorte* 'so that his heart burst'; frequently, they are introduced by *swê* (...) *pæt(te)*, as in *swê pæt hê hréas... on eorlân* 'so that he fell to the ground'; the subjunctive is of course used when it is required in a particular context (see § 133b): *ic wille pæt hí hit halden swê kynelice... pæt þær ne hê numen of nû gelde* 'I want (this) that they may possess it so royally that there be no payment taken from it'. Result-equivalent expressions include clauses of time and degree: *pæt sælôn hê ðat on dám iñglænde... on pone forst ðe hê wurden swêð metelêse* 'then they stayed out on the island until (so that) they became very short of food', *swê him mon mære selô swê hine mû lyst* 'the more he is given the more he wants'. The **modal** relation (manner, attendant circumstances, comparison) is best regarded as embracing the result relationship. In OE it is most often expressed by means of clauses introduced by *swêð* (*swêwa*: *swê hí from þe hider cômôn, swê hí eac tô þe hionan fUNDAD* 'just as they have come here from Thee, so they likewise hasten hence to Thee'; but we also find participial and absolute expressions: *hê ealle wuruldcara ðæwepf fram his heortan, nêms þinges wilningende* 'he cast away all thoughts of the world from his heart, desiring nothing', *þepáñafenum handum langlice bæd* 'with upraised hands (he) prayed long'.

157. **Causal** clauses contain indicative verbs and the common conjunction is *fordon (þe)*, with its variants such as *forðam (þe)*, *forðy (þe)*: *for pâm de nân mihigra þe nis* 'because there is none mightier than Thou'; *fordon* (-*ðy*) is also a common connective or relational adverb in co-ordinate causal expressions: *ond hîe forðy ðat oðrêwoun* 'and they therefore rowed away'. Various forms of correlation are found: *hê for þam nolda, þê hê mid his folce getrawede* 'for this reason he would not, (namely) that along with his force he was confident', *sc for pon... ðat òðde... for pon ic nôht êude* 'for this reason I came out because I could in no way (sc. sing)'. Cause is frequently expressed paratactically or with simple co-ordination, particularly when the second member of the relationship contains a

verb of intending, saying, or thinking: *pâ fêrde hê tôe Rûmê, wolde hî hêle biddan* 'he then journeyed to Rome (because he) wanted to pray for his salvation', *se cyng mid his herfe fêrde tôereard Hrûfecestare, and wêndon pæt se bispoc wêre þærinne* 'the king with his force travelled towards Rochester because they thought that the bishop would be there'. Causal members may be phrases: prepositional phrases with *for or þurh* (*hê côm dà þurh Godes sænde* 'he then came because of God's summons'), appositional phrases (*gedrêfed on his môde, he gebad hine* 'being troubled in his mind, he prayed'), and absolute phrases (*dà gelamp onbyrdendum þâm fêonde... pæt se cyng... weard ofslagen* 'then, at the instigation of the devil, it came about that the king was slain'). In addition, we often find cause-equivalence in relative, temporal, modal, and conditional clauses: *þæt hê òðde in tô ânum his geferena, sê wæs mid þa grimmestan untrumnesse hefegad* 'that he should go in to one of his companions who (or because he) was afflicted with a most serious illness', *hî is swulcð ðat hê hêo was ungêwemmed mæðen, ðonne hire lêchama ne mihite formolnsnan* 'it is clear that she was an undefiled maiden, when (or since) her body could not decay', *þæt weard hê on slêpe swê swêð God wolde* 'then he fell asleep just as (i.e. because) God wished', *gif hê burhwead on yfelnesse... þonne sceal hê... drêwian* 'if he persists in wickedness, then he must (sc. therefore) suffer'.

158. The usual **conditional** conjunctions are *gif, þær, (and for negative conditions) bûtan, nefne (nemne) and nymde*; on the mood in conditional clauses, see above, §§ 132h, 133d. For example: *gif swê ðynd cã if it seems so to you*, *þær ic ðête minra handa geweald* 'if I had command of my hands', *bûtan hî him mûran andlyfne sealdôn 'unless they gave him more food', *nymde mec God scylde 'unless God protects me'. In conditions with *gif*, there is often a correlative *þonne*: *gif ic est gefare... þonne màg ic... 'if I later achieve... then I can...'. The inversion construction occurs but is not common: *ðête ic minra handa geweald* 'if I had command of my hands'; phrases, such as absolute expressions, are also rare conditionally. On the other hand, conditional-equivalent expressions are common;
the following relative clause translates a Latin formal condition: sē descephâde gewilmad, gōd weorc hē gewilmad 'he who (or if anyone) desires the office of bishop, he desires good works'; similarly, in OE temporal constructions, we find hiti sometimes corresponding to si in a Latin original, and Ælfric has on one occasion ponne är alternating with gif in parallel clauses. Modal clauses may be conditional (swā swā hē ondlicge gebylged wēre 'as if she were slightly angered'), and likewise noun clauses: nēflere . . . pael an cuweornstân syg geceytt abulân his swîran 'better that a millstone be fastened about his neck' (corresponding to the Vulgate, utulius . . . sî lapis molâris imponentur circa colllum eius).


159. Dependent concessive clauses (which have subjunctive verbs) are introduced by þēah (be): þēah þe hit his rice wēre 'although it was his kingdom'. In the related non-dependent clause we sometimes find such correlative items as (swā) þēah, hwædere, þēahhwædere, and we very often find these words indicating the concessive relation in co-ordinate expressions: hē wæs Criste swā þēah lēof 'he was nevertheless dear to Christ', hwæpre mē gyfte þe wærc ¿yet it was granted me'. While hwædere as the sole concessive relational item is largely confined to poetic usage, co-ordinating ac in this function is largely confined to the prose, where it is extremely frequent: þē wolde ofstingan Ædwine cinninge, ac hē ofstang Lillan hēs bœgn 'he wanted to stab King Edwin, but he stabbed Lilla his thane'. Co-ordination with and may also express concession (mād hæbbad, and ne melidian wēht 'they have a mouth, yet do not speak at all'), and paratactic expression is also well attested: hē fela fænde, fēa bōd gecorene 'he finds many but few are chosen', ic eorpan com ðēgum brǣðre . . . fēm mec mēc list 'I am everywhere broader than the earth, yet a hand can encompass me', where the Latin original has et tamen. There are many forms of indefinite concession, but perhaps the most characteristic is the 'challenge' form, with imperative or with jussive subjunctive (§ 133a): hycge swā hē wille 'let him think as he will'; the alternative concession is often on the pattern V S V S, with the subjunctive (wylle wē nelle wē 'whether we will or no', swelle ic lybbe ic 'whether I live or die'), but it may take the form of contrastive pairs separated by ne or oðde (for oðde néah 'whether far or near'). Concessive prepositional phrases are not uncommon (for eallum þissum 'for all this'), but appositive and absolute participles are fairly rare in this function. Concessive-equivalent relative clauses are very frequent; the prose Boethius, for example, has þe þâ . . . geō . . . hafsta . . . þonne syllan sceal innad '(the bellows) does not die when (or even when or although) he has to surrender his entrails', mōd sceal þē mære, þē ðær mægen līlled 'courage must be the greater as our strength lessens'.

IV

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160. Just as our knowledge of syntax enables us to express ourselves by grouping words of our own selection into conventional arrangements without our needing to know that the particular words we choose have ever been in these particular arrangements before, so our knowledge of word-formation habits enables us to express ourselves by using words or word-elements in conventional arrangements without our needing to know whether such a compound has existed before or whether a word has been given such a function before. Gas-turbine is possible not only because we already had gas-stove and steam-turbine, but because we had the pattern in motor-car. Words like evacuee, macadamize, and psychopathology are possible through our knowledge of the function of the various affixes involved. We can use coffee and contact with both noun and verb inflexions because for centuries we have had words like copy and count used similarly as both nouns and verbs. This does not mean, on the other hand, that the total word-stock in use today consists of parts which we can still use in making new formations; we can recognise that bishopric, knowledge, and wedlock have suffixes without being able to use these suffixes in other environments.

In OE, where we can observe a set of word-formation patterns of a complexity similar to that obtaining in Mod.E., it is often impossible for us to distinguish processes that were active and flourishing during the OE period from those that had ceased to be formative before the Anglo-Saxons left the continent of Europe but whose products were still very much in use. Nor, for the purposes of learning OE, would there be much object in distinguishing them.

161. Formative Conversion

The nearest approach in OE to the functional change of

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162. There are similar correspondences between many adjectives and verbs; for example:

\[(a)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beald 'bold'</td>
<td>byldan 'embolden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eāmōd 'humble'</td>
<td>eaamōdān 'humble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full 'full'</td>
<td>fyllan 'fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fūs 'eager'</td>
<td>fyssan 'impel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>georn 'eager'</td>
<td>gyrrnan 'yearn for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāl 'whole'</td>
<td>hēlān 'heal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scearp 'sharp'</td>
<td>scyrpan 'sharpen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wōd 'mad'</td>
<td>wēdan 'rage'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(b)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beorht 'bright'</td>
<td>beorhtian 'shine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fūl 'corrupt'</td>
<td>fūlian 'decay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōd 'good'</td>
<td>gōdian 'improve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lītel 'little'</td>
<td>lītlān 'diminish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open 'open'</td>
<td>openian 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweetol 'clear'</td>
<td>sweetolian 'reveal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trum 'firm'</td>
<td>trumin 'grow strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfel 'evil'</td>
<td>yflian 'insinict evil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

163. The type cyre : cēosan (§ 161a) is one of several in which noun and verb are related through gradation (see §§ 162f), in this case also with i-mutation (see §§ 208ff). The types dēmān (§ 161b), fuill (§ 162a), also with i-mutation, go back to a pre-OE process involving the use of a suffix *-ja-. This suffix also produced a number of important causative verbs in which the stem is related to the pret. sg. form of vocalic verbs, with i-mutation; thus risan 'rise', pret. sg. rās, corresponds to rēran 'cause to rise, raise' (for the s : r correspondence, see § 180); similarly, liegan 'lie' beside leegān 'lay', sittan 'sit beside settan 'set'. The types ende : endian (§ 161a), ful : fuillian (§ 162b) are similarly the OE reflexes of a much earlier process of suffixing, in this case with *-ja-, but it seems likely that this correspondence continued to be productive in the OE period, since for many of the verbs in these sets (lufian, andswarian, beorhtian, for example) there are no cognates in other Gmc languages.

On this question, as well as on the wider issue of the relation between cognate parts of speech in OE, see the first chapter of D. W. Lee,

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Functional Change in Early English (Menasha, Wis., 1948). Minor suffixes in OE verb-formation are -sian (as in mōrrsian 'proclaim'), -ettan (as in lādettan 'loathe'), and -lēcan (as in gēnēlēcan 'unite'); see the alphabetical list in § 172.

164. In lists (a) and (c) of § 161 we see two patterns on which nouns were at one time formed from verbs. One of the most prolific ways of doing this was by the use of the suffix -ung (also found as -ing), yielding feminine abstract nouns, especially from consonantal verbs of Class II; thus weordung 'honour', prōwung 'suffering'. Agent-nouns were often formed from verbs by means of the suffix -end (as in dēmend 'one who judges', hēlend 'one who heals, saviour') and -ere (as in cwellere 'killer', leornere 'learner').

Nouns were also formed from adjectives in several ways; the frequency of the suffix -nes(s) (-nis, -nys) is particularly noteworthy; for example, beorhtnes 'splendour', hādennes 'heathendom', unrihwesnes 'injustice'.

165. New adjectives were formed chiefly from existing nouns. The commonest suffixes were -ig (bōlig 'bloody', crafteg 'strong', fāmilg 'foamy'), -ful (gelaedful 'pioüs', sorfulg 'sad', ponsful 'thankful'), the corresponding negative suffix -leas (ārleās 'impious', seolhleās 'moneyless', freholdeās 'friendless'), and -lic (deolollic 'diabolical', lēollic 'bright', pρjollic 'mighty').

166. Adverbs were formed chiefly from adjectives, with the endings -e, -lice, -inga (-unga); for example, dēope 'deeply', faste 'firmly', rihte 'rightly', wide 'widely'; blindlice 'blindly', sōlice 'truly', openlice 'openly', freondlice 'amicably'; cællunga 'entirely', nēwinge 'recently', yrreinga 'angrily'.

It is not easy to distinguish the formations in -e and -lice because many adjectives had two forms, with and without -lic, and it is impossible to tell from which form the adverb in -lice comes; thus, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sār 'grovine'</td>
<td>sārlinc 'groviness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrād 'furious'</td>
<td>wrādlīc 'furiously'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gesēlig 'happy'</td>
<td>gesēlīglic 'happily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōdīc 'proud'</td>
<td>mōdlīc 'proudly'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adverbial terminations are -es and -a (extensions of the use of the genitive mentioned in § 102), as in ealles 'entirely', elles 'otherwise', hāmewarde 'homewards', ungmetes 'exceedingly', geār 'former', sóna
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'at once', tela 'well', priwa 'thrice'; -um (which, like -e, is an extension of the use of the dative and instrumental mentioned in § 112), as in furum 'even', hwilum 'at times', unwearnum 'irresistibly'; -an (usually signifying 'from the place or direction indicated in the stem'), as in ðæstan 'from the east', seorran 'from afar', gystran 'yesterday', hæowan 'hence', siðdan 'afterwards'. One might also mention the relatively infrequent adverbial use of adjectives in n.a.sg. neut., notably ear 'entirely', ful 'very'.

167. Modification

Just as in Mod. E. we can modify the noun turbine and create a new word by using the existing word gas as a prefix, so in OE new words, especially nouns and adjectives, were freely formed by modifying existing ones which might, where they existed as separate words, be various parts of speech.

(a) Nouns. With noun prefixes: būcraeft 'literature', dēólæg 'day of death', folclag 'law of the people', mannslyht 'man-slaughter', tāngerefa 'district officer'; in some cases, the prefixed noun is inflected: Englalond 'England', hellewite 'torment of hell', Sunnandæg 'Sunday'.

With adjective prefixes: eallwealdas 'the Almighty', godspel (gōd) 'gospel', hēohburg 'capital', wīdisā 'ocean'.

With adverb prefixes: eftsā 'return', inngang 'entrance'.

(b) Adjectives. With noun prefixes: beadurōn 'bold in battle', dōmgeorn 'eager for glory', fyrdhwæt 'bold in arms'.

With adjective prefixes: glāswyðig 'wise-minded', efeneald 'of equal age', scīrmǣled 'brightly adorned'.

With adverb prefixes: felamōdīg 'very brave', ērwacol 'early awake', welwillede 'benevolent'.

In addition, there are many compound adjectives on the pattern commonly known by the Sanskrit term bahvarīthi, in which the second element is a noun; among the best known of these are brānear 'bright-edged', glādmōd 'glad-hearted', mildheort 'gentle', stercedferhō 'stout-hearted', yrremōd 'angry'.

168. A considerably more widespread method of modification was the use of a large number of recurrent prefixes, many of which did not occur in the language as separate words (compare un- in Mod. E.). Prefixed to verbs, the commonest

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single effect of these elements was to cause a shift in aspect, particularly from durative to perfective (see § 129), just as in Mod. E. many verbs undergo a similar shift in becoming prasal verbs (for example, eat up, beside eat). Thus scores of common verbs are made perfective by the prefix -ā- (for example, āheawan 'cut off', āfysan 'drive away', āsendan 'dispatch') and hundreds more by ge-: for example, féaran 'go' but gefēaran 'reach', frīgan 'ask' but gefrīgan 'learn', hlēāpan 'leap' but gehlēāpan 'mount', winnan 'fight' but gewinnan 'win'. It will be seen also that ge-

often makes intransitive verbs transitive. An example of a common noun-modifier is and-, which has the force of 'opposite' or 'corresponding to' (compare Go. and, Greek antik), for example, andefn 'propportion', andēlan 'reward', andsace 'adversary', andswaru 'answer'. With adjectives and adverbs, an extremely common prefix is un-, by which the antithesis of the stem-meaning is indicated: for example, unforht 'unafraid', unlītel 'much', unrihte 'wrongly'; see further, § 170, un-.

169. Recurrent Affixes

The processes of conversion and modification already discussed may be studied in more detail in the following lists of suffixes and prefixes that recur in the most frequently read texts. For the convenience of the learner, the lists are graded; those containing the affixes of highest frequency (§§ 170, 171) should be learnt in turn and studied carefully, the other used at first rather for reference purposes.

170. Very high frequency:

ā-: used to modify verbs; in many cases it changes the aspect from durative to perfective, in many it is a mere intensifier, and in many others it appears to have no semantic function. Examples: āfysan 'drive away', āheawan 'cut off', āheban 'lift up', āleccan 'lay down', āsendan 'dispatch', ābysgian 'occupy', āþrōran 'exalt', āðidan 'wait', āríman 'count'. The prefix appears also with nouns and adjectives derived from verbs; for example: ācennednes 'birth', āröd 'resolved'.

an-: see on-.

109
be-, bi-: used primarily (as be-) to modify verbs, often adding the sense 'round, over', often with only intensifying or perfective effect; examples: bebygan 'surround', bedelis 'confine', begettan 'pour over'; belucan 'lock up', becetifan 'hurl', bestrifan 'despoil'. With many verbs, be- has the effect of making the intransitive transitive: bestyman 'make wet', bewepan 'bewail'; with others again, it has privative force: bedelan 'deprive', beniman 'take away'. With many nouns we have the special stressed form bi- (big-), with others the same form as with verbs: bigleofa 'sustenance', bismer 'insult', biword 'proverb', bebod 'command', behal 'promise', began 'region'. The prefix be- appears also with some common adverbs and prepositions: beforan 'before', beheanan 'on this side of', behindan 'behind', beneadan 'beneath', betwēnonum 'between'.

for-: used chiefly with verbs, the action of which it usually intensifies (especially in a destructive sense), often with a shift to perfective aspect: forbærnan 'burn up', fordón 'destroy', forhogan 'despire', forlædan 'lead to destruction', for- naman 'carry off, destroy', forscyppan 'transform', forweordan 'perish'. It appears also with some nouns derived from verbs: forhergung 'devastation', forlorences 'perdition', forsewenes 'contempt'. With adjectives and adverbs it is equivalent to the modification 'very': forheard 'very hard', formanig 'very many', foroft 'very often'.

ge-: commonest with verbs, but used also with many nouns and to a lesser extent with other parts of speech. With verbs, it is used chiefly to denote perfective aspect (see § 168) and this association with 'result' is seen above all in its use as a past participle inflexion; further examples: geæscian 'discover', gescaran 'cut through', gesetan 'inhabit'; as was pointed out in § 168, some of these examples show a shift also from intransitive to transitive, and this is further illustrated in geridan which is used in the sense 'ride round (somewhere)' or 'ride up to (some point) as well as 'occupy'. With some verbs, ge- gives a special sense (as with gestandan 'endure, last'), but with others it is not possible to detect the special significance of the prefix: for example, gehātan

call, promise', gehealdan 'hold, keep', gesegan 'say, tell'. The nouns involved are mainly derived from verbs, and the ge- indicates either completeness of the verbal action or collectiveness; for example, gesceatha 'that which has been created, creation', gelung 'that which has happened, event, calamity', gestrēm 'wealth, property', geþring 'crowd'. With many nouns and adjectives, and with several adverbs and pronouns, ge- introduces the idea of assembly or association: gebrṓsceps 'fraternity', gesēra 'comrade', genēl 'colleague'; gelíc 'similar', gemēn 'common', gesib 'akin'; gehāwanon 'from all quarters', gehwār 'everywhere'; geþwā 'each', geþwilc 'each' (compare the grouping function in ge . . . ge 'both . . . and'). With other nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, no special function can be discerned, and it is likely that in many cases the ge- has been carried over from related verbs; for example, gereord 'voice', geþyldig 'patient', geþunglencie 'virtuously'.

-ig: used in the formation of adjectives, mainly from nouns; examples: æðlig 'sick', blōdīg 'bloody', crafítig 'strong', cysīg 'excellent', dyrstīg 'daring', grādīg 'greedy', sylcīg 'guilty', spēdīg 'rich', wēlig 'beautiful'; -ig goes back to two earlier suffixes, *-ig- and *-ag-, the one causing i-mutation (§§ 208ff), the other not.

-līc: used in the formation of adjectives, usually from nouns or existing adjectives; examples: cynelic 'royal', dēnofollic 'diabolical', eormelic 'wretched', geðormic 'sad', hyhtīc 'pleasant', munuclic 'monastic', sellic 'rare', torhīc 'glorious', pryðic 'strong', ungelīfīc 'incredible', wērolīc 'worldly'.

-nes(s), -nis, -nys: used in the formation of adjectives, especially from adjectives, of feminine abstract nouns; examples: æfæstnes 'piety', anrædnes 'firmness', beohrines 'brightness', dygolnes 'secrecy', ēcenes 'eternity', geþyrnes 'hearing', gewennednes 'defilement', onbyrdrnes 'inspiration', sārnes 'pain', prines 'trinity', unrīhtwīnes 'injustice'.

on- (with nouns, also an-): used with several parts of speech. With verbs, it often indicates the inception of an action; for example, onberman 'incite', onbrydan 'inspire', ongylan 'perceive', onhālan 'inflame', onlīulan 'enlighten', onspringan
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'spring forth’, onwewan ‘awake”; with other verbs (where on- is the unstressed form of un-), it indicates the antithesis of the action of the stem: onbindan ‘unbind’, ongywan ‘undress’, onliscan ‘open’, onsealan ‘untie’, onwerōn ‘reveal’. In nouns (usually derived from verbs), where on- or an- is an unstressed form of and-, the prefix often clearly indicates ‘against, in reply to’: onlicnes ‘appearance’, onrēs ‘attack’, onscuning ‘detestation’, onseycie ‘calumny’; so also with other parts of speech: onenn ‘alongside’, ongean ‘against, opposite’, onsāge ‘impeding, attacking’.

un-: used mainly with adjectives and adverbs, but also with nouns and a few verbs. For the most part it is used to indicate the antithesis of the stem-meaning: unford ‘dauntless’, ungearu ‘unprepared’, ungelit ‘dissimilar’, unlytel ‘large’, unēade ‘with difficulty’, unrihte ‘unjustly’, untelia ‘amiss’, unfrēd ‘hostility’, unsmortornes ‘folly’; it is rare with verbs (see on- above): unscyldan ‘undress’, untrumian ‘weaken’. In some cases the form with un- is not simply the antithesis of the unprefixes form; compare unorne ‘simple, humble’ with or(e)ne ‘excessive’. With a fair number of nouns, un- is pejorative in force; for example, uncraft ‘malpractice’, unlag ‘injustice’, unpēaw ‘evil habit’, unweder ‘bad weather”; in a few cases, it merely intensifies; thus, uncodu ‘disease’, and possibly also unford ‘very afraid’ (Dream of the Rood 117) and unhār ‘very grey’ (Beowulf 357, MS).

-ung, often -ing: used to feminize abstract nouns, especially from consonantal verbs of Cl. II; for example, bodung ‘preaching’, earnumg ‘merit’, hēofung ‘lamentation’, provung ‘suffering’, weordung ‘honour’, wilung ‘desire’; hrawding ‘hurry’, onscuming ‘detestation’, rāding ‘lesson’, -ing being especially associated with formations from consonantal verbs of Cl. I.

111. High frequency:

and- (and-): used with nouns, with verbs which are usually derived from nouns, and in a few cases with other parts of speech; the prefix often retains its original sense of ‘against, opposite, towards’, and corresponds to on- in many verbs

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-ful(): used to form adjectives, especially from abstract nouns; for example, andgylfull ‘sensible’, bealofull ‘evil’, egesfull ‘terrible’, hyhtfull ‘joyful’, synfull ‘soulful’, weordfull ‘illustrious’, wuldorfull ‘glorious’; in some cases, the suffix is added to existing adjectives: geornfull ‘eager’, gesundfull ‘unimpaired’.

in-: used with various parts of speech but in two usually distinct ways. It can have the directional force of ‘in’, and in this function appears also as inn-; for example, ingān ‘enter’, ingenga ‘invader’, ingestān ‘household goods’, ingepone ‘cogitation’, innweard ‘inward’. It also acts as an intensifier (indrīhten ‘distinguished’, infērōd ‘very wise’), and sometimes, like on- (§ 170), indicates the inception of an action (indecrecan ‘intoxicate’, inlyhten ‘enlighten’), in which function it may be an Angl. characteristic.

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gýmeleás 'careless', gridlēás 'unprotected', recceleás 'careless', sâwolleás 'lifeless', wineleás 'friendless', wynneleás 'joyless'.

of-: used primarily with verbs, to which it usually gives perfective aspect; examples: offaran 'overtake', offerian 'carry off', ofsgian 'give up', ofsælan 'give up', ofsendan 'send for', ofseðlan 'shoot down', ofsōn 'see, understand', offoreian 'to stone to death'.

orfer-: commonest with verbs, in which it often has straightforward adverbial sense; with nouns it indicates superiority in degree or quality; examples: orfercum 'overcome', orferhelmian 'overhang', orferhygcan 'despise', orferwetian 'overpower', orferwro 'cover', orferèca 'surplus', orferfæred 'passage', orfermægen 'superior force'.

-scipe: forms masculine abstract nouns from other nouns and to a considerable extent also from adjectives; examples: dryhscipe 'valour', eorlsche 'courage', gâlsche 'pride', ge- bôrsche 'convivial gathering', geferische 'fellowship', hælensche 'heathenism', þegensche 'service', umwercscipe 'carelessness'.

tô-: with several parts of speech, it implies motion towards, addition to, or presence at; examples: tômécאתcan 'approach', tôcyrne 'arrival', tôweard 'towards', tôlêcan 'in addition to', tômennes 'besides', tômûdîes 'in the midst of', tôdæg 'today'.

With many verbs, especially verbs of force, it gives perfective aspect: tôbrecan 'break up', tôdælan 'scatter', tôhlidan 'split open', tôlêcan 'wrench apart', tôstregdan 'scatter', tôweorpan 'destroy'.

114. Other common affixes:

ά-, δ-: gives generalised meaning to pronouns and adverbs (see also ág-): áhweor 'either (of two)', áhweor (ðhweor) 'anywhere', áhuanon 'from everywhere'.

ἀ-: gives sense of 'without': ágilōd 'without payment', ámynde 'forgetfulness'.

æf-: used with nouns and corresponds to of- (§ 171): æfþonca 'grudge', æfweydla 'damage'.

æfter-: as in æfterflygan 'pursue', æftergenga 'successor'.

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ág-: like á- gives generalised meaning to pronouns and adverbs: ághwōd 'everyone', ághwōr 'everywhere', ághwōder 'in all directions'.

áo: see -oa.

-bäre: forms adjectives signifying 'productive' of the stem-meaning: lustbäre 'agreeable', wæstmbäre 'fertile'.

-bora: forms masculine agent nouns from other nouns: mundbora 'protector', rēdōrā 'councillor'.

-cund: forms adjectives signifying 'of the nature of the stem-meaning': dēofolcund 'diabolical', godcum 'sacred, divine'.

ed-: modifies various parts of speech, adding the sense 'again, back'; examples: edhweorft 'return, change', edlēan 'requisit', edwendan 'reversal', edwil 'reproach'; edstædelian 're-establish'; edtīnes 'renewed'.

-ed: forms adjectives (compare -ed as past pple inflexion of consonantal verbs), usually from nouns; examples: fæted 'plated', hilted 'hilted', hringen 'made of rings', micelheāfed 'big-headed'. In a number of words, -ed appears to signify 'deprived of', as in capped 'with the top off'.

el-: signifies 'foreign, from elsewhere' (cf. Lat. alius, OE elor 'other', elles 'otherwise') examples: elland 'foreign country', elþēòd 'foreign'.

-ol, -ul (-uf): these noun-forming suffixes appear with some common heterogeneous nouns, mostly masc., some fem.; examples: bydel 'messenger', pyrde 'belt', pyrle 'hole', stapol 'pillar', stæbol 'foundation', swædul 'flame'.

-els: forms masculine concrete nouns: byrgeles 'tomb', fætels 'vessel', ræcels 'incense'.

-en: (1) adjective suffix (as distinct from the -en of vocalic past ppies used adjectivaly, as gebungen 'excellent'): ðîrēn 'poisonous', gyloden 'golden', pæilen 'purple', silfren (made) of silver, stænen 'of stone';

(2) various noun suffixes which by the OE period had fallen together as -en(n); it is difficult to distinguish the functions of the suffix, and all genders of noun occur with it. Examples: dryhten 'lord', þéoden 'prince'; menen 'handmaid', nyðen 'animal', scepen 'cow-shed', byrgen 'burial-place', lande-
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-ere: forms masculine agent nouns, especially from other nouns (compare sangere ‘singer’ from sang ‘song’, where in Mod.E. the agent noun is formed from the verb); examples: bócere ‘scholar’, cwelleere ‘killer’, fugler ‘fowler’, godspellere ‘evangelist’, ryndere ‘plunderer’, wyrdwiterere ‘historian’.

-erne: adjectival, used with the points of the compass; for example, südernere ‘southern’.

-estre: used in forming agent nouns, originally feminine and then also masculine; for example, mildestre ‘harlot’.

-et(t): forming neuter abstract, and later concrete, nouns: bærnnet ‘burning’, rýmet ‘space’.

-ettan: used to form intensive or frequentative verbs: lódtellan ‘loathe’, ömtellan ‘hasten’.

-fæst: used in forming adjectives from nouns and from other adjectives; examples: ærendfæst ‘bound on an errand’, blædfæst ‘glorious’, sódafæst ‘righteous’, wynnfæst ‘pleasant’; wisfæst ‘wise’.

-feald: used to form adjectives, especially from numerals: ãnfeald ‘single, simple’, þrífeald ‘threesfold’; manigfeald ‘various’.

fore-: used to modify various parts of speech with the sense of ‘precedence’ or ‘pre-eminence’; examples: foregân ‘precede’, forescegan ‘mention before’, foregenga ‘attendant’, forespréac ‘preamble’, foreþanc ‘forethought’; foremære ‘very famous’, froesmoter ‘very wise’.

forð-: modifies various parts of speech, but especially verbs and forms derived from verbs, with the sense of ‘motion towards’; forðbringan ‘bring forth’, forðfaran ‘pass onwards, die’, forðgeorn ‘eager to advance’.

ful-: modifies various parts of speech with the sense of ‘completeness’; fulgân ‘accomplish’, fulléstan ‘help’, fulwyrcean ‘complete’; fulfum ‘help’, fulwite ‘full penalty’; fullremed ‘perfect’; fulnéah ‘almost’.


-lht: used in a few cases to form adjectives from nouns; thus,

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-ing: (x) forming masculine concrete nouns from adjectives and from other nouns, often with the sense of ‘proceeding or derived from (the stem)’ or ‘associated with (the stem)’; biblical forms like Léving ‘son of Levi’, Nathaning ‘son of Nathan’ show that the formation was still productive in the OE period. Examples: ædeling ‘prince’, brenting ‘ship’, cyning ‘king’, earmung ‘wretch’, höring ‘adulterer’, þen(n)ing ‘penny’, wicing ‘pirate’. See also -ling;

(2) forming feminine nouns: see -ung, § 170.

-isc: forming adjectives from nouns, including the names of persons and peoples; some of the forms in -isc are also used substantivaly. Examples: folisc ‘secular’, mennisc ‘human’ or ‘humanity’), Ebrisc ‘Hebrew’, Engisc ‘English’ (as noun, means ‘the English language’).

-lâc: used to form neuter abstract nouns: rðflâc ‘robery’, wððItalian ‘calumnny’.

-lâcan: used to form verbs, usually from adjectives and nouns: gænþlæcan ‘unite’, nealþlæcan ‘approach’.

-ling: used to form masculine concrete nouns, usually diminutives: ðorling ‘favourite’, sibbling ‘relative’, yrþling ‘farmer’. See also -ing.

mis-: modifies various parts of speech with the sense of ‘amiss, wrongly’: misstâd ‘misdeed’, miswende ‘erring’, misbôdan ‘ill-treat’, misfôn ‘fail to get’, misþimpan ‘go wrong’.

ō-: see ā-.

-ol: (1) see -el;

(2) used to form adjectives, especially from verbs; examples: hetol ‘hostile’, sweicol ‘deceitful’, pancol ‘thoughtful’.

or-: makes nouns adjectival with sense of ‘lacking, without (the stem)’; intensifies existing adjectives. Examples: or-leahre ‘blameless’, ormôd ‘despairing’, orswile ‘lifeless’, orsorg ‘free from care’; oræld ‘very old’, ornète ‘intense’.

oð-: modifies verbs, some with the sense of ‘at, close to’ (thus oðslantan ‘stand still’), more often with the sense of ‘away’: oðberan ‘carry off’, oðfeallan ‘decline’, oðröwan ‘row away’, oðwindan ‘escape’.
-oð, -að: forms masculine nouns, many of them abstract: 
drohtoð 'way of life', farod 'sea', fiscað 'fishing', hergað 'plundering', 
langod 'longing', warðod 'shore'.
-ræðen: forming feminine abstract nouns: manna-ræðen 'allegiance'.
-sám-: modifies adjectives with the sense of 'half'; for example, 
sámworth 'half-built'.
-sian: used to form verbs, usually from adjectives and nouns; 
for example, mær-sian 'proclaim', yrs-sian 'be angry'.
-sin-: modifies various parts of speech with the sense of 'extensive, 
lasting': syndolh 'serious wound', sinfréa 'permanent lord', 
sinnhit 'perpetual night', singál 'continual'.
-som: forms adjectives, especially from nouns: langsum 'enduring', 
wynsum 'delightful'.
-ð(o), -ð(u): forms feminine abstract nouns, especially from 
adjectives; examples: fæððoð 'hostility', getr ówð 'fidelity', 
hýð 'height', mærðu 'glory', myrdóð 'mirth', yrððu 'cowardice', 
yrmðúðu 'misery'.
-purh-: modifies various parts of speech, especially verbs, 
with the sense of 'through, completely': purh-brecan 'break 
through', purhðifan 'pierce', purh ðatan 'consume', purhðær 'accomplish', 
purhwanian 'persist'; purh ðacol 'sleepless'.
-under-: modifies various forms, especially verbs, with the 
actual or figurative sense of 'underlying': underfóð 'receive', 
underðyan 'understand', understandan 'perceive', unter-
ðeðan 'subjugate'.
-up-: modifies various forms with the sense of 'up, away': 
uplæg 'upright', upgang 'landing', upástáinges 'ascension'; 
upástáingoð 'spring up'.
út-: modifies various forms with the sense of 'out, away': 
últás 'eager to set out', úllag 'outlaw' (adopted from ON), 
úlgan 'go out'.
-wan-, won-: privative or negative prefix, used especially with 
nouns and adjectives: wonhýð 'recklessness', wanscaft 'misery', 
wanhál 'sick', wanspêdig 'poor'.
-weard: forms adjectives with the sense of 'in the direction 
indicated (by the stem)': eáwesteard 'eastward', háwesteard 'homeward', ufweard 'further up, upper'.

-wende: used to form adjectives from existing adjectives and 
from nouns: hálwende 'healthy', hwiþwende 'transitory', leof-
wende 'amiable'.
-wið-: used to modify various parts of speech with the sense of 
'away, against': wiþbregdan 'snatch away', wiþfón 'lay hold on', 
wiþhában 'resist', wiþsacan 'oppose, deny'; wiþ-
innan 'within', wiþsúdan 'to the south of'; wiþlæðnes 'ab-
duction'.
-wiðer-: modifies various parts of speech with the sense of 
'opposing, counter'; examples: wiðerlæðan 'requital', wiðersaca 
'adversary', wiðertrod 'retreat'; wiðerræthes 'opposite'.
ymb(e)-: modifies various forms with the sense of 'around': 
ymbgang 'circuit', ymbbespræc 'comment'; ymbbeorgan 'shield, 
protect', ymbhycgan 'consider', ymbtsittan 'besiege'; ymbtán 
'around'.

For further and more detailed study, see H. Paul, 'Wortbildungs-
lehre' in Deutsche Grammatik (Halle 1920); F. Kluge, Nominale Stamm-
bildungslrehe der Althochdeutschen Dialekte (3rd ed.: Halle 1926); F. 
Holthausen, Alteangisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg 1934); 
M. L. Samuels, 'The ge-Prex in the OE Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels', 
Trans. Phil. Soc. 1949; on -ing and other noun suffixes, see above all 
A. H. Smith, English Place-Name Elements (Cambridge 1956).
V

PHONOLOGY

Preliminary Notes

173. The attempt to describe the sounds or ‘phones’ of a language and to classify and arrange them in their more common patterns is termed phonology. But whereas the phonology of a living language can be determined with exactness and verified, the phonology of a language such as OE, which is inferred from written remains and the later history of the language, can be treated only approximately and no verification is possible through the ear or with the help of scientific equipment.

174. There are many different sounds in a language, but it is convenient to distinguish two ways in which sounds differ from each other. In the first place, speakers may recognise sounds as differing and use the contrast to distinguish different words; for example, the Mod.E. [t] and [k] in till and kill, or the [p] and [b] in cap and cab, or the [s] and [z] in hot and hut. Sounds so differing we call significantly differing sounds; they are said to be in contrastive distribution and are called phonemes. But there are other differences between the sounds of a language which are not usually noticed by the speakers of that language; careful observation will show a speaker of Mod.E. that he has, for instance, four distinct k-sounds in keep, cool, look, and looked, two distinct vowel sounds in pit and bid, two distinct t-sounds in lot and eighth. Differences like these, which occur in Mod.E. accidentally, as it were, through the influence of neighbouring sounds, are not used to distinguish one word from another; the different sounds are said to be in complementary distribution and are called allophones of the contrastive sounds or phonemes to which they are related. It must be emphasised that a given classification of sounds into phonemes and allophones belongs only to the language for which it is made; what are allophones in one language may be phonemes in another, and vice versa. Thus the l-sounds in Mod.E. plead (where the l is often entirely unvoiced) and lead (where it is voiced) are allophones, but in Welsh this difference between l-sounds is contrastive, that is, phonematic (or phonemic); on the other hand, some languages make no distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives such as we make in Mod.E., and in Tamil for instance [k] and [g] are allophones.

The concept of the phoneme has played an important part in the development of linguistic science and the term has been used in many and often conflicting senses; it is used here in its most convenient practical significance. For its early history and theory, see W. F. Twaddell, On Defining the Phoneme, Language Monographs, 1935, and for a recent clear exposition, Daniel Jones, The Phoneme, its Nature and Use (Cambridge, Heffer, 1950). On its importance for historical phonology, see H. Hoenigswald, Language vol. xxii, pp. 138-43 and H. Penzl, ibid. vol. xxiii, pp. 34-42.

175. In the sections on pronunciation (§§ 14ff, see also 11ff) the sounds of OE have been described apart from their phonetic contexts: but in order that the student may understand the more or less regular series of sound-changes which seem to upset the normal inflexional patterns, it is necessary to describe at least the more common ways in which the sounds changed of themselves (isolatively) or were affected by neighbouring sounds (combinatively). Apparent anomalies will then be seen to conform in fact to the basic patterns of OE; moreover, once the sound-changes have been grasped, the student will be able to recognise new (and seemingly irregular) forms of words and to anticipate what forms words already known are likely to have in particular linguistic circumstances.

176. In what follows it will sometimes be necessary to discuss or explain sounds not clearly represented in the OE writing or the exact relationship between spelling and sound. For this purpose it is necessary to use a phonetic alphabet, that is, one in which the value of each symbol is known and constant, on the principle of ‘one sound, one symbol’. The most convenient way to do this will be to use symbols from the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association as they are needed for transcribing the OE sounds. Phonetic symbols will, as is customary, be placed in square brackets, a colon placed after any
symbol indicating that the sound is long. A phonetic transcription which seeks to indicate every phonetic feature, whether phonematic or not, is called a narrow transcription, as distinct from a broad transcription which seeks to indicate sounds only in so far as they are contrastive and which is the more convenient for practical purposes.

**Vowels.** It is the vocalic elements in speech sounds that form, as it were, 'syllable-centres'. Vowels may be classified as back, central, and front, and low, mid, and high, according to the part of the tongue used and its relative proximity to the palate, and low vowels may be said to be more open or less close than high vowels. They may also be described as with or without (lip-)rounding, and they may be classified as slack or tense according to the relaxed or tense condition of the muscles. In the following list of phonetic symbols there are indications of the values intended by means of descriptive notes and words from current languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Symbols</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>Modern Examples</th>
<th>Transcriptions</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Fr. pâte</td>
<td>[pate]</td>
<td>low, back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>Fr. lâche</td>
<td>[læʃ]</td>
<td>low, back, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[œ]</td>
<td>œ</td>
<td>hat (RP)</td>
<td>[hæt]</td>
<td>medium-low, front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[œː]</td>
<td>œː</td>
<td>hand (drawled)</td>
<td>[hænd]</td>
<td>[œː] lengthened and tenser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>let</td>
<td>[let]</td>
<td>medium, front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>Germ. weg</td>
<td>[veɡ]</td>
<td>high-medium, front, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>a, e, o china (unstressed)</td>
<td>tʃaine[a]</td>
<td>medium, central</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[œœ]</td>
<td>œœ</td>
<td>Germ. Göttlingen</td>
<td>[œɡoːtʃɪɡn]</td>
<td>medium, front, slack, rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ϕ]</td>
<td>ϕ</td>
<td>Germ. schôn</td>
<td>[ʃɔn]</td>
<td>high-medium, front, tense, rounded, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>bit</td>
<td>[bɪt]</td>
<td>medium-high, front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>feet</td>
<td>[fɪt]</td>
<td>high, front, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>spot</td>
<td>[spot]</td>
<td>medium-low, back, rounded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Phonology**

It will be seen that we can describe the OE æ, e, i, y as front vowels, and a, o, u as back vowels.

**Semivowels.** The sounds [ʃ] and [ʒ] may be called semivowels, because one may think of them as very short [i] and [u] respectively, or as consonants with a vowel-like quality. They are respectively palatal and labio-velar and are sounded like the initial sounds in your and wagon. OE [w] is printed with w for the MS (runic) symbol p, and [j] is commonly represented in OE spelling by g, ge, gi, i, or ig.

**Consonants** function as the boundaries of syllables. They may be treated summarily, since the phonetic symbols for them correspond in general to the uses made of the consonant symbols in ordinary Mod.E. writing. But some indication of the more important phonetic descriptions will be needed in discussing some of the OE sound-changes, and a few symbols must be explained. The consonants [b], [d], [g] are voiced plosives or stops, and [p], [t], [k] are the corresponding voiceless plosives; [b], [p], [m] are bilabials, and [f], [v] labio-dentals; [d], [t], [n], [f], [s], [z] are called (post-)dentals or alveolars. [m], [n], [ŋ] (as in thing) are nasals, and the first two, with [l] and [r] (the 'liquids'), have a vowel-like quality by which they may constitute syllables (compare the sound in middle); in phonetic transcription, the syllabic property may be indicated by a small mark, thus: [l], m, n, r. [ŋ], [g], [k], [x]
(which sounds like the consonant in Germ. *ach*) are velars (formerly called gutturals). The fricatives (or spirants) are the voiced [θ] (heard initially in *then*), [v], [z], [s] (the second consonant in *measure*), [ʃ] (the usual initial sound in *road*), and [ɣ] ([x] voiced; see § 20); a velarised form of [j] is heard post-vocally in Somerset and elsewhere, formed with the tip of the tongue curled up, and is called retroflex r. The voiceless fricatives are [θ] (heard initially in *thin*), [ʃ], [s], [ʃ] (heard initially in *shed*), [ɣ] (heard finally in Germ. *ich* and sometimes initially in Mod.E. *huge*), [x] (see above). Affricate consonants consist of a plosive followed by a fricative, as [tʃ] and [dʒ], heard initially and finally in *church* and *judge* respectively.

Sounds are termed palatal when they are produced (like the [k] of *keep*) in conjunction with the hard palate, and velar when they are produced (like the [k] of *lock*) in conjunction with the soft palate (*velum*). In OE there were important consequences of the difference between palatal and velar consonants; see, for example, § 204.

For an introduction to phonetics so far as English is concerned, see D. Jones, Outline of English Phonetics (Cambridge, Heffer, 1956). Ida C. Ward, The Phonetics of English (Cambridge, Heffer, 1945); more general in scope are K. L. Pike, Phonetics (Ann Arbor 1943) and E. Dieth, Vademecum der Phonistik (Berne 1950). Throughout this Grammar, [r] is used in 'broad' transcription for any r-sound; [r] is here used only occasionally, in 'narrow' transcription, when special attention is being drawn to the fricative or 'buried' r.

177. In the following sections are described what may be called 'significant' sound-changes, that is, such changes whose understanding and memorising are necessary for the mastery of the patterns and practice of OE grammar. The changes in OE sounds and the influence upon them of neighbouring sounds are part of the history of English as a whole; we shall therefore try, in describing them, to give some idea of the phonetic processes involved, and the student will find that some understanding of these processes will be an aid to their intelligent memorising and practical employment.

In addition to works cited elsewhere in this Grammar, K. Luick, Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache (Leipzig 1914-29) should be consulted for a particularly full account of everything pertaining to OE sounds.

178. For illustrating specifically Gmc features, Latin forms will be cited in contrast, since Latin is cognate with English—that is to say, of the same ultimate IE origin—and has preserved features which the Gmc languages have changed. By Gmc is meant a mass of common features which must have been shared by the ancestors of the Gmc languages; properly, these features are best described as Common Germanic rather than Primitive Germanic, since though the Gmc languages all, as it were, look back to them, it is by no means certain that all phenomena existed at the same time or in the same place so as to form a single language. Gmc forms, being older than any written representations, are reconstructions (and are marked with an asterisk) from cognate written forms. Gothic however often provides forms, attested in writing, which are useful to illustrate Gmc developments, since they are very close to the assumed Gmc. By Gothic is meant the partial translation of the Bible into one of the Gothic dialects made by Bishop Wulfila at the close of the fourth century and preserved in the Codex Argenteus MS from the early sixth century with astonishing consistency of spelling. It comprises the oldest written remains of a Gmc language. By *Pr(imitive) OE* is meant the reconstructed forms from a period before the seventh century, when the earliest written remains begin. This Pr.OE will naturally be most used in indicating the nature of the OE sound-changes, while Latin, Gothic, and Gmc will be brought in more for comparative and historical purposes.

Some Gmc Sound-Changes Affecting OE

179. The First Gmc Consonant Shift

A most outstanding differential characteristic of Gmc is a complex series of regular consonant changes which occurred in prehistoric times. Though these changes were in part known earlier, Jakob Grimm (in 1822) was the first to formulate their basic principles, and for this reason they have been known
collectively as Grimm's Law or the First Sound Shift. For the purposes of OE, the two most important of these shifts are (a) that the series of IE voiced plosives [b], [d], [g], [gw] became respectively the corresponding voiceless plosives [p], [t], [k], [kw], and (b) that the series of originally voiceless plosives of IE became respectively the voiceless fricatives [f], [θ], [x], [χ]. Compare the following pairs of Latin and OE words, the relevant symbols being italicised:

(a) labor 'fall' : slēpan 'sleep' dentem : rōp 'tooth'
genu : cnēō(w) 'knee' vēni (<*gwēnē) : (c)wōm 'came'

(b) pedem : fōt 'foot'
tertius : pridda 'third'
collem : kyll 'hill'
quod : kwet 'what'

While a knowledge of Grimm's Law is useful rather to the Gmc philologist than to the student of OE, it may form a valuable background for his studies and at times afford clarification in difficulties. Thus, for instance, the relationship between such pairs as byegān 'buy' and its pret. bohte, scepfan 'create' and gesceaf 'creation', hyegān 'think' and hyht 'hope', magan 'be able' and the 2 sg. pres. indic. meah or mih, etc. become clearer if we know that already in IE any labial or velar when followed by t (IE had a formative t-suffix) had produced respectively pt (from labials) and kt (from velars). Thus, where the p in scefpān had regularly developed in the unvoicing of Grimm's Law, the pt of gesceaf comes from the pt of IE by the second part of Grimm's Law. We need the Go. bugjān to clarify the byegān—bohte pair, since the g had been fronted and lengthened in OE (see § 184). It should further be noted that the g in bugjān (as also in hugjān, OE hyegān) came about by a third series of changes under Grimm's Law not yet mentioned, by which IE aspirated voiced plosives (which may be symbolised [bh], [dh], [gh]) had lost their aspiration and took the place of the voiceless plosives shifted under (a) above. The g of Go. bugjān, then, goes back to IE [gh], while the kt of the pret. goes back to the IE group kt formed as outlined above.

J. Grimm, in the second edition of his Deutsche Grammatik (Vol. I, 126

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1822) first used the term 'the first sound shift' (die erste Lautverschiebung). For the best recent monograph on the phonetic processes of the shift, see J. Fourquet, Les Mutations consonantiques du germanique (Paris 1940); cf also R. A. Williams in Trans. Phil. Soc. 1934, pp. 71 ff.

180. The Second Gmc Consonant Shift

In IE and early Gmc the place of the stress in a word varied with grammatical function, but some time after the operation of Grimm's Law the stress became fixed, usually upon the root syllable. Before this happened, however, an important change in consonant pronunciation took place, the conditions of which were first clearly seen in 1877 by the Dane, Karl Vernér, and which has therefore often been known as Vernér's Law. The change was that the voiceless fricatives [f], [θ], [x], [χ] (from IE [p], [t], [k], [kw], by Grimm's Law), and [s] were voiced to [v], [β], [y], [yw], [z] when the main stress did not fall on the immediately preceding syllable, provided the change was not prevented by the proximity of other voiceless consonants. By subsequent sound-changes in West Gmc (reflected in OE), the resulting series was further modified by [β] becoming [d], [z] becoming [r], [y] remaining [y] or becoming [j] according to whether the neighbouring vowels were back or front, and [yw] becoming [w] or [y] or [i]. Since / represents both [f] and [v] in OE, Vernér's Law appears in writing as interchanges between p̥t̥ and d̥, h̥ (unless lost between vowels) and g̥; h̥(w) (again, unless lost) and w̥ or g̥; and also s̥ and r̥. Examples may most easily be seen in the vocalic verbs, for the original stress in the pret. pl. and past pple came after the consonant in question; thus, unless otherwise affected by analogy, the 2 sg. and 1-3 pl. pret. indic., the pret. subj., and the past pple of vocalic verbs in OE show the consonants resulting from Vernér's Law when the stems of such verbs end in one of the consonants affected; compare:

weordan 'become' beside wurdon &c, with [θ > δ > d];
tōn 'draw' (<*tōhan), pret. sg. tōh, besides tūgon &c, with [x > y], past pple togen;
čōsan 'choose' beside cūron &c, with [s > z > r];

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seōn ‘see’ (cf Go. satþwan, Lat. sequor) beside sāwun, sāgon &c., with [xw > yw = y or w], past pple sewen, segen, with [w] and [j] respectively.

Similarly are related the medial consonants in various other corresponding forms, such as hrēosan ‘fall’ beside the related noun hrēyre, risan ‘rise’ beside the related causative verb rēran ‘raise’.

The name ‘second consonant shift’ here given to the phenomena of Verner’s Law is commonly reserved for the series of consonant changes which distinguish Old High German and which were called die zweite Lautverschiebung by Grimm; but as this OHG shift does not concern OE at all, the term has long been used in English studies for the Verner series. This sound-shift was in fact the second chronologically, the OHG shift being the third.

Grimm, noting a fairly regular interchange in Gmc languages between pairs of words contrasted as in the Verner series, used the term ‘grammatical change’ (grammatischer Wechsel) to describe the relationship. Thus it is sometimes said that there is grammatical change as between the pret. sg. cēnas and the pl. cwron. Karl Verner set forth his views tentatively in Vol. xxii of the German periodical Kuhn’s Zeitschrift (pp. 97 ff) in 1877, as a result of his studies in Slavonic languages, which have preserved something of the freer IE stress. The voicing of fricatives when stress does not immediately precede them can be seen in the second word of such pairs as Mod. E. execute and executor, absolute and absolvo, exercise and exerci.

The d in OE fæder ‘father’ as against the fricative in brōðor is to be accounted for by Verner’s Law; study of Sanskrit cognates showed Verner that pidd and bhrēdar reflected a difference also in the IE accentuation of the two words. Hence the [t] of IE *peti; after becoming [d] by Grimm’s Law, was voiced to [d] by Verner’s Law, becoming [d] in OE; on the other hand, the [t] of bhrēdar remained voiceless by reason of the preceding stress after the operation of Grimm’s Law and until after the West Gmc change of [d > d].

The process by which Gmc [z] resulting from IE [s] by Verner’s Law became [r] in West and North Gmc is often termed rhotacism (Germ. Rhotatismus). The [z] evidently had a kind of buzzing quality and thus easily shifted to become what was probably a trilled r. Something like this phonetic process, but in reverse, occurred with the West Slavonic sounds written rz in Polish and ž in Czech, as in Polish dobrzy ‘good’ and the name of the Czech composer Dvořák; compare also Go. dags and ON dairr for a similar phenomenon. Further on Verner and this consonant shift, see O. Jespersen, Linguistics (Copenhagen and London 1933) in which more than one essay is devoted to the subject (cf especially pp. 12 ff and 229 f). Cf. also Lat. ero < *es-o, *es-o.

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181. Such apparently irregular verbs as hōn ‘hang’ and ōn ‘seize’ become clearer if we remember the lost h that alternated with g in the present and pret. pl. forms: *hōhan, *ōhan beside hēgon, -fēgon etc. The Gmc forms of the infinitives were approximately hēghan and ōghan respectively. With the rounding of the stem vowel to o and loss of nasal in this position, followed by lengthening, we get *hōhan and *ōhan which, with the usual loss of medial [x] give the OE forms hōn and ōn (see §§ 185, 189). But by Verner’s Law the [x] in forms like the pret. pl. became [y] and subsequently [g] before the loss of nasals preceding voiceless fricatives, thus determining the markedly different -ng- cluster in these forms.

In OE hw remained only initially, as in hwā ‘who’; medially it had become h early, and this h was then lost between vowels, with consequent contraction, along with original h. Hence seōn (Go. satþwan, Gmc *sehwan, Pr.OE *sehan) can be seen to be a vocalic verb of Class V, with the effects of Verner’s Law giving pret. pl. sāwun, sāgon, sēgon, past pple sēgen, segen as noted in § 180. The 1 and 3 pret. sg. show the h (from *hw) with diphthongisation before velarised consonants: sehah.

The alternation between g and w arose through Gmc [xw] becoming [yw] by Verner’s Law, and subsequently [w] or [y] in W.Gmc according to whether the proximate vowels were front or back. Angl. tended to generalise forms with g (sēgon, etc.), WS and Kt forms with w (sāwun, etc.).

182. Vowel-Gradation (‘Ablaut’)

Vowel-gradation, which Grimm termed Ablaut, may be defined as the patterned variation of vowel-sounds, in relation to meaning, in forms of the same root. Taking the consonants of a word as its minimal root, one may vary the vowel between the consonants, as in drīfan ‘drive’, drāf, drīf, drīf, drīmen. This is called root-gradation and may still be seen in Mod.E. drive—drove—driven. One may similarly vary the vowel of the suffix in infecting words, and this is termed suffix-gradation. This varying of vowel existed in IE, and was probably closely connected with variations of stress, pitch, and intonation; one may compare Mod.E. varieties such as [waz] and [waz] for was.
In particular, root-gradation was used in IE as one of the means of conjugating verbs, and it is as a development of this practice that the Gmc (and therefore the OE) vocalic verbs are differentiated in their tenses to a large extent by variation of their root-vowel in accordance with regular series (see §§ 74ff).

Gradation may be **qualitative**, when the vowel is varied in quality (as in *drīfan, drīf*), or **quantitative**, when the variation is a matter of length (as between the pret. sg. and pl. of *metan* ‘measure’: *mat, mēlōn*). Besides the conjugation of the vocalic verbs, many other groups of words sharing the same root are said to be in **gradation-relationship** (while, in some cases, shewing also the results of later sound-changes); thus, *beran* ‘bear’, *gebēre* ‘behaviour’, *byre* ‘son’; *bōdan* ‘command’, *gebod* ‘an order’, *bydel* ‘a messenger’.

183. In IE there was the basic gradation series, *e, o, lengthened, and reduced grades. That is to say, the basic vowels *e* and *o* might also be lengthened or reduced to either vanishing-point (zero-grade) or to the slight indeterminate sound [ə] called *schwa*, this reduction being caused by lack of stress and related factors. Thus for instance the IE base of the OE verb *cuman* ‘come’ was *gwem, *gwem*, and *gwem* (with zero-grade and syllabic *m*). These forms in Gmc would become *kwem* (*kwem*, *kwem*, *kwem*, short *o* being regularly *a* in Gmc and the zero-grade in conjunction with the syllabic consonants (*m, n, l, rl*) giving rise in Gmc to *um, un, ul*, and *ur*. Hence the Gmc principal parts corresponding to those of OE *cuman* were something like *kwemam, *kwem, *kwemun, *kweman;* the actual parts in Go. (with *e* raised to *i* in the inf.) are as follows: *gimam, gaim, gēmam, gumans*. Zero-grade was a characteristic feature of the *aorist* form of the IE verb, and for this reason Gmc verbs of the vocalic type which have formed their present stem from the zero-grade (*u* plus syllabic consonant in Gmc) are termed *aorist-presents*; OE *cuman* is an example of this phenomenon, though, as we have just seen, the Go. form is not.

The *w* is lost in OE before *u*. In the pret. pl. the OE verb shows the usual rounding of *a* before the nasal *m*, giving *cwōmon*; this lengthened *ō* is then analogically extended to the

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sg., giving *cwōm*; before the *ū*, the *w* later falls, and hence we have forms both with and without it in OE: *cwōm(-), cwōm(-). Similarly, though not in being an aorist-present, *niman* ‘take’ has pret. pl. *nōmmon* as well as *nāmon*, and the *ō* is often extended to the sg., giving *nōm* beside the historically expected form *nam* (see § 186e). Other aorist-presents are *mūran* ‘lament’ and *spūran* ‘kick’. A few further verbs, otherwise of the regular vocalic classes, because they have lengthened *u* in the pres. stem, are termed aorist-presents perhaps inaccurately, since the origin of the *-ū-* is not clear; it may however be a lengthening, by some sort of analogy, of the short *u* of the aorist-grade type. Of this sort are *būcan* ‘enjoy’, *būgan* ‘bend’, *lūcan* ‘shut’, *scūfan* ‘push’, and a few others.

There were, then, in the root-gradation series full grade (IE *e* and *o*), lengthened grade, and reduced grade (schwa or zero). From these forms, together with new combinations involving the diphthongal elements *i* and *u*, were formed the series of gradation which are behind most of the classes of vocalic verbs in OE:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lengthened</th>
<th>reduced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Gmc <em>i</em> (IE <em>ei</em>)</td>
<td><em>ai</em></td>
<td><em>i</em> (zero + <em>i</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE <em>bidan</em></td>
<td><em>bād</em></td>
<td><em>bidon, biden</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Gmc <em>eu</em></td>
<td><em>au</em></td>
<td><em>u, o</em> (zero + <em>u</em>/<em>o</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE <em>bēdan</em></td>
<td><em>bēd</em></td>
<td><em>budon, boden</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Gmc <em>e, i</em></td>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td><em>u, (o)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE <em>helpan</em></td>
<td><em>healp</em></td>
<td><em>hulpon, holpen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Gmc <em>e</em></td>
<td><em>æ</em></td>
<td><em>o</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE <em>beran</em></td>
<td><em>beon</em></td>
<td><em>bær</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Gmc <em>e</em></td>
<td><em>æ</em></td>
<td><em>æ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE <em>metan</em></td>
<td><em>mæt</em></td>
<td><em>mætton</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cl. V, the vowel of the past pple may perhaps be influenced or replaced by that of the present stem. See further on the Gmc sound-changes A. Meillet, *Caractères généraux des langues germaniques* (Paris, 3rd ed., 1926); see also W. Streitberg, *Ungermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg 1896), H. Hirt, *Handbuch des Urgermanischen* (Heidelberg 1932-34), and F. Kluge, *Ungermanisch* (Strassburg 1913); for a good summary of the whole question of IE accent, see A. Campbell, *Trans.*
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ised the immediately preceding consonant and then become absorbed in this palatalised form, thus lengthening it. Thus 

Ph. Soc. 1936, pp. 1 ff.; cf also Sigmund Feist, Indogermanen und 

The Class I series of gradation can be seen in the Lat. cognates 

fides (cit fides), foedus (cit foedus), and fidus. The o in the reduced 

grade of Classes II, III, and IV arises because u was lowered to o 

in past pples except before nasals. It is not easy to explain the lengthened 

grade o; we may compare the Lat. perfect edit of edere with the 

OE pret. of stan 'eat', and reckon upon some kind of reduplication 

process. The series in Cl. VI is different from the others; Greek ago 

'drive' and agnos 'furrow' point to an IE a/o series, and with a length- 

ened grade o, the two short vowels falling together in Gmc, there would 

result the a/o alternation that we find in OE faran 'go' and its pret. for.

184. Lengthening of Consonants

In West Gmc all consonants except r were lengthened after 

short syllables by the influence of an immediately following [i]. 

This is the cause of most of the doubled consonants in OE, 

though there were earlier Gmc changes which had produced 

for instance the -yl and -yn in such words as eall and mann, as 

well as later purely orthographic doublings (see § 190) to indicate 

vowel-shortening as in hlædre 'ladder' for earlier hlædre, 

nædre 'adder' for earlier nædre, moddræ 'maternal aunt' for 

earlier mdræ. The long consonants of earlier OE were indicated 

graphically by doubling, and for this reason the term gemi- 

nation (Lat. gemini 'twins') has been commonly used, especially 

in the expression 'West Gmc Gemination'; but phonetically 

the process is consonant lengthening and not consonant dou- 

bling, while the use of double letters to indicate it is merely a 

graphic device. Examples of W.Gmc consonant-lengthening 

after short vowels by means of a following -j- are: fremman 'perform' (Gmc *frömjan), tryman 'strengthen' (cf the adj. 

trum), biddan 'pray' (Go. bidjan), sittan 'sit' (cf ON sitja), 

scypjan 'create' (Go. -skapjan), etc. It will be seen that the j 

which caused lengthening also mutated the vowel (see §§ 208) 

or caused raising from e to i (§ 207) in the preceding syllable; 

fremman for instance is a consonantal verb of Class I, formed 

from fram 'forward' plus the suffix -ja- (see §§ 161-3), the j 

having mutated the vowel as well as lengthening the con- 

sonant m.

The semi-vowel j, being a palatal sound, must have palatal-

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operates in most verbs with j-present since the stress was originally after the root; hence the Gmcj (a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]) would be voiced to a bilabial fricative [β]. This voiced fricative [β] would become a plosive when lengthened in W.Gmc and this form appears in OE as -bb-; compare swebban 'put to sleep' and habban 'have'. More irregular is the vocalic verb sverian 'swear', originally Class VI; it shows the usual absence of lengthening of r and the preservation of the j as i (Gmc *swarinjan), and is thus parallel to the consonantal verb nerian 'save'; but sverian went over to Cl. IV in its past pple gesworen. Other j-presents in Cl. VI are hihtan 'laugh' (Go. hlahjan) and steppan 'go' (Gmc *stapjan).

185. Loss of nasal consonants

There was a tendency for nasal consonants to disappear in pronunciation in later Gmc before the voiceless fricative [x], and in the West Gmc group which included OE, nasals in general were lost before all voiceless fricatives, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowels and rounding of a to o. Hence Go. fimlich (compare Welsh tymus) beside OE tif, OHG gans beside OE gös, etc. The Gmc combination -an- produced OE ð and thus Gmc *fanjanan gave Pr. OE *föjanan, OE fôn 'seize', as already explained in § 181. Similarly, OE pencan, Go. pankjian 'think' and pyncan, Go. pankjian 'seem' (Go. -ank- = [ŋk]) shew retention of the nasal consonant, while the corresponding pret. forms pôhte, Gmc *panyhta, and pôhte, Gmc *panyhta, shew loss of the nasal before the voiceless fricative together with lengthening.

OE Minor Sound-Changes

186. Influence of nasals

(a) In OE the nasals tended to nasalise a preceding a and sometimes rounded it; it is these factors which probably underlie the variations in spelling in different dialects and at varying periods between a and o in such words as mann (monn) 'man', monn (munn) 'man' (see also (c) below).

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(b) The nasals m and n raised e to i when this vowel immediately preceded; thus we have niman 'take', beside ON nema, and bindan, in vocalic verb classes IV and III respectively, whose pres. stem normally has e; compare also Lat. gemma with the OE adopted form gim(m) 'gem'.

(c) When an original u was followed in Gmc by a low or mid back vowel, as in the past pple of vocalic verbs, the OE form has the lowered vowel o; but this phenomenon was generally prevented by a following m or n; thus we have geholpen, boren as the past pple of helpan and beran, with the regular lowering of u to o, while those of bindan and niman are -bunden and -numen, with the original u preserved by the nasals. See also § 207.

(d) The normal fronting of Gmc ð to d, which characterises OE, is prevented by a following nasal; compare the pret. forms braegan and band of brægdan 'pull' and bindan 'bind' respectively, members of the same class of vocalic verbs; note also mann or monn beside bad 'bath', both words having Gmc a, and the pret. pl. forms of the same class námmon (from niman 'take') and báron (from beran 'bear').

(e) Finally, the proximity of a nasal tends to round ð to d, so that we have pret. pl. námmon beside námmon, and c(w)ámmon for the historically expected c(w)ámmon (with ð instead of the normal d of Cl. IV as explained in (d) above).

187. Influence of w

The semi-vowel w has the following effects on contiguous vowels:

(a) it changes a following eo to u in late WS; thus weordan 'become'>uoridan;

(b) it may round a following l to l, as in sweðe, earlier sweðe 'very much'; compare also willian (ne + willan) 'be unwilling'; a later instance of the rounding influence of [w] is the Mod.E. pronunciation of quality [kwɔlɪtɪ], as compared with the French cognate where the w has been lost;

(c) retracts a contiguous ð to d, as in the pret. pl. sáwon (beside ságon) of séon 'see', Cl. V (see § 180), hláðu(m) 'mound' beside hláðu, and hráðu(m) 'corpse' beside hráðu.
Being a consonantal form of $u$, $w$ becomes $u$ finally after short syllables ending in a consonant; thus bearu 'grove', but gen. sg. bearesu; gearu 'ready', but gearues; beadu 'battle', but beadwe. But after long stems this $w$ or $u$ disappears in pronunciation like any other $u$ (see § 188); hence gen. sg. mæduuwe, but mædu meadow'. See further §§ 38, 51, 52.

Before $u$, $w$ tends to be lost; hence the past pple cumen from *cwynen 'come', and the noun sund 'swimming' beside the verb swimman; $w$ is sometimes lost also before $o$, as in the pret. cóm 'came' beside older cwon.

188. Vowel alternations

We have seen in the immediately preceding paragraphs some examples of the interchange of vowels under the influence of their phonetic environment. Thus, in vocable verbs of Cl. III we find helpa beside bindan, and their past pples -holpen beside -bunden. Again, short and long $u$ alternate in parts of cumunn 'be able' because of the loss of the nasal in the pret. and past pple, cûde (Go. kunpa) and cûd (Go. kunps). Here the lengthened vowel is the result of 'compensation' for the loss of the nasal. Then we have man(n) beside man(n), ongan(n) beside ongon(n) (pret. sg. of onginan 'begin'), and similar pairs. It will be seen, therefore, that besides the major variations in vowels brought about by gradation (§§ 182f) and i-mutation (§§ 208ff), there are several fairly regular interchange pairs of vowels. Those described so far are the result of the influence of nasals and of $w$. Other vowel alternations, similarly caused by neighbouring consonants, include the unrounding of $y$ in proximity to $c$, $g$, and $h$, as in driklen beside driklen 'lord', late WS bryc beside bryc (3 sg. pres. indic. of brícan 'enjoy'), and the replacement of $e$ by $y$ between $s$ and $l$ in frequent late WS spellings of self 'self', selfic 'marvellous', sellan 'give', resulting in the forms sylf, syllic, sylan.

There is a kind of alternation between final -u and zero as between short and long stems of nouns and adjectives, with $u$ lost after long syllables. Thus we get the pairs scipu 'ships' beside land 'lands' (both neut. pl.; see § 31), sunu 'son' beside hand (Go. handus) 'hand', nouns of the same declension (§ 43),

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mæd 'meadow' beside beadu 'battle' (both fem.; see § 38), the adjectival forms gód beside trumu (n.sg. fem. and n.a.pl. neut.; see §§ 50-52). For the alternation between $a$ and $e$ as in dag 'day' beside dagas, glæd 'happy' beside glades, see § 192.

189. Loss of $h$

The voiceless velar fricative [x] represented by $h$ was lost very early when it came between vowels and between the liquids $l$ or $r$ and a vowel. Thus verbs whose roots originally ended in -h have lost it in most of the OE paradigms; compare tēon 'draw', (iç) tēo, (wē) tēōd with the reconstructed early forms *tēōhan, *tēōhu, *tēōhap; so too with the rest of the present forms, except the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic., on which see § 191. The original $h$ remained of course finally, as in the sg. imperat. tēah and 1, 3 sg. pret. tēah. Original Gmc $hw$, appearing in OE as $h$ except initially (hwā 'who'), was treated in the same way; thus Gmc *swewan 'see', Pr.OE *seahon and by diphthongisation before velarised consonants (§ 201) *seohan, appears as sēon, beside pret. sg. sēah; in the same way, Gmc *līhwan 'lend' (Go. leihwan) > *līhan > *līhan > līon > lēon. Nouns and adjectives ending in $h$ generally lose it in inflexions; thus hēah 'high' but gen. sg. masc. hēas (§ 52), feorh 'life' but gen. sg. feores, wealh 'foreigner' but weales (§§ 33, 27).

In all the instances of the loss of intervocalic $h$, there was contraction of the first vowel or diphthong with the second vowel (§ 190), giving a long vowel or diphthong whatever the length of the first vowel originally; thus fēos (< *fēokes), gen. sg. of feoh 'property', sc(e)ōs, gen. sg. of sc(e)ōh 'shoe'. On the other hand, when $h$ was lost between a liquid and a vowel, the vowel or diphthong in the preceding syllable remained unchanged in length; thus weales (gen. sg. of wealth), feores (gen. sg. of feorh).

Grammarians have generally concluded without much discussion that there was the same compensatory lengthening of the vowel or diphthong when $h$ was lost after liquids as when it was lost between vowels. The only evidence usually cited for this is drawn from OE metre, but this is inconclusive; indeed, some half-lines in Beowulf seem to require a short diphthong in the oblique cases of feorh: thus Beowulf 1843a or swā
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geongum feore, where the B type requires the 'resolution' of feore as two short syllables with the weight of one long one; a parallel example is Beowulf 933b. The modern pronunciation of place-names such as Wales and Hole (from Angl. wall, halh, and thus without diphthongisation) suggests only unlengthened OE forms, nor do records reveal ME forms like *woles or *hole which would be expected if there were an OE starting point -d-'. See A. H. Smith, English Place-Name Elements (Cambridge 1956), s.v. wall, and J. Vachek, Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, vol. v (1957), especially pp. 25f. But cf also K. Brunner (ref. as in § 24) § 218.1 and R. Girvan, Beowulf and the Seventh Century (Methuen) p. 16.

190. Contraction. Vowels and diphthongs, upon loss of intervocalic h (§ 189), absorb the following vowel; thus *teðan, resulting from *tēòhan, appears as tēōn 'draw', and *heāses, from hēāhes, as hēas, masc. sg. of hēah 'high'; short vowels or diphthongs under these conditions were lengthened: *seōhan > sēōn 'see'. Contraction similarly takes place where stem-vowels and inflexional vowels are contiguous, without there having been a medial h; thus from *dōan, *dōad we get in OE dōn 'do', dōd, etc.; cf also gān 'go', gād. In many cases, however, the uncontracted forms remain in early texts and in Angl., and sometimes also inflexional syllables were restored by analogy with other words not subject to contraction.

Analogical re-formations among contracted forms are discussed by R. Quirk, 'On the Problem of Morphological Suture in Old English', Mod. Lang. Rev. vol. xiv, pp. 1-5.

191. Syncope and assimilation in verbs

The unstressed vowel of the final syllable in the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. is commonly reduced to zero or 'cut from between' in what is termed syncope in the OE verbs of Kt and WS, while Angl. tends to retain the 'unsyncopated' forms. Pr.OE endings -is and -ip, after mutating the preceding vowel where this was possible (§§ 207, 209), became in historical times -es(θ) and -eð, and it was the vowel in these forms that was syncopated. Hence the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. dēmsθ and dēmθ of dēman 'judge', hīlpsθ and hīlpsθ of hēlp 'help', fylsθ and fylsθ of fēllan 'fall', etc. It will be seen that this syncope brought together the consonant(s) of the stem with those of the inflexions, and where this produced unfamiliar consonant clusters, assimilation took place (see § 69). Thus from earlier bindes(θ), bindēθ (from bindan 'bind') would arise bindst and bindēθ, usually resulting, by assimilation, in bingst and bint; similarly cweð(θ) from cweð(θ) (cweðan 'say'), cỹst from both cỹs(θ)st and cỹs(θ) (cỹsan 'choose'), and the 3 sg. forms stem (stan dan 'stand'), sent (sendan 'send'), bit(θ) (bīdan 'ask'), birst (bīstan 'burst'), iθ (ītān 'eat'). The Angl. unsyncopated forms, however, usually have unmutated vowels; see § 76, note.

It is important to remember that the loss of h between vowels (§ 189) took place at a period later than the completion of syncope; thus verbs whose roots originally ended in h (such as sēōn 'see', lēōn 'lend') retain the h in the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic., there being no inflexional vowel left in these forms when the time came at which h was lost. Thus, for example, sēōn 'see' has 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. sikht and sið, while Angl., which had no syncope, lost the h giving the contracted and lengthened (§§ 189, 190) forms sis(θ) and siθ. Similarly from fōn 'seize', WS has fęθ and fęð, from sēan 'strike', sǐkht and sǐð, from gęfōn 'rejoice', -fěθst and -fěθ, etc.

For a recent full treatment of syncope, see J. Hedberg, The Syncope of the Old English Present Endings (Lund 1945), and also M. T. Löfvenberg, On the Syncope of the Old English Present Endings (Uppsala 1949).

192. Alternation of æ and a

West Gmc ǣ were fronted to ø in the earliest OE period, but the anticipatory or attritional influence of a following back vowel (a, o, or u) either prevented this normal fronting in the case of the short vowel (and at times also of the long) or caused the fronted sound to be retracted again. Thus, dagθ 'day' but pl. dagas and mēg 'kinsman' but pl. mēgas (though mēgas also occurs); so too beadθ 'bath' with pl. badu, eadθ 'vessel' with pl. fatu, gliedθ 'happy' with n.sg. fem. and n.pl. neut. glada, etc. (see §§ 27, 32, 51); liegan 'lie' has a pret. pl. lágon beside lágon. In this alternation, we have a kind of vowel-harmony; in pronouncing the front vowel æ, the fact that a back vowel was to follow immediately after a single consonant induced a more retracted variety of vowel.
193. ‘Unstable ɪ’

The diphthongs ɪ̆, which were a special feature of early WS (on their origin, see below §§ 204, 210), had come by King Alfred’s time to be pronounced as simple vowels; this is shown by such reverse spellings as hien for hine ‘him’, hieder for hider ‘hither’ in the contemporary Hatton MS of King Alfred’s version of the Cura Pastoralis of St Gregory, and by hiran for hieran ‘hear’, gelisfan for gelıñfan ‘believe’ in the Cotton MS (as copied by Junius in the seventeenth century) of the same text. The ɪ thus monophthongised from the earlier diphthongs ɪ̆ must have been for some time different phonemes from the original ɪ, because they regularly became Ь in classical OE, which the original ɪ did not. The new ɪ are termed ‘unstable ɪ’ because they often alternate in spelling with ie and y, and are generally spelt y in classical texts of the time of the Benedictine revival, being thus distinct from original ɪ; compare gelisfan ‘believe’ with bidan ‘wait’, and note that gelisfan has earlier variant spellings gelıñfan and gelıñfan while bidan remains constant in general. The exact pronunciation of this Alfredian unstable ɪ pair of sounds is not known, but it must have been of a nature to develop into high front rounded [y] and [yː]. When it is said, therefore, that in late WS the diphthongs ɪ̆ were monophthongised to Ь, this is a loose and misleading way of indicating that unstable ɪ were rounded to Ь. The new Ь sounds proceeded to share the development of the other Ь which resulted from the i-mutation (§ 208) of ʌ (as in trumman ‘strengthen’ beside the adjective trum ‘firm’). It will be remembered, however, that all OE Ь were frequently unrounded to ɪ in proximity to c, g, or h (see § 188), and hence such common forms as gisfan ‘give’, from early WS giefan, instead of gyfan, ongitan ‘perceive’ (early WS ongietan) instead of ongylan.

Similarly, iernan ‘run’ and biernan ‘burn’ (in which the ie, y seem to have arisen through the influence of the r or rm) are early WS forms of yrnan (irnan) and byrnan (birnan). But these verbs have undergone an early metathesis of the initial consonant and vowel, for they are vocalic verbs of Class III, developing respectively from rinnan and *brinnan (compare

winnan ‘struggle’, in the same class); Go. has in fact brinnan as well as rinnan. Because of this metathesis, they have diphthongisation before velarised consonants (§ 201) in the r and 3 sg. pret. (earm, bearn), but they retain u in the past ppie by reason of the nasal which still immediately followed it at the period when u was otherwise lowered to o in past ppies (§ 186c).

194. Miscellaneous notes on minor sound-changes

Some considerable variation arises in the forms of OE through the working of analogy, the tendency for less ‘ordinary’ forms to imitate those that are more familiar. Many nouns passed from less frequent declensional forms which they once had, and were ‘levelled’ with commoner types; others again seem to have fluctuated between two originally distinct ways of being declined. Thus mete ‘food’, which developed regularly from Pr. OE *mati (Gmc *matiz, Go. mats), also had a form met(f) as if from a Gmc *matia which would produce consonant-lengthening; indeed, in the pl. the double-consonant type, mettas, is the preferred form; similarly, hyse ‘man’, though going back to a Gmc form *husis, shows forms with lengthened consonant as if from Gmc *husja. There was originally a separate declension with stems ending in the vowel i (compared *matiz above), and also a subdivision of the common masc. and neut. declension with stems in -ja: and while these two types have mostly been absorbed in the commoner ones, forms like mete, mettas, hyse, hyssas remind us of these facts. Traces of the ‘i-declension’ survive in the gen. pl. wini(g)e(a) (beside wina) of wine ‘friend’, and Deni(g)e(a) (beside Dena) of Dene ‘Danes’. Of the ja-stem declension, traces survive in the nom. pl. ric(i)u, gen. pl. ric(e)a, and dat. pl. ric(ᵻ)um of rice ‘kingship’.

OE had a number of noun declensions which are descended from well-known IE types, but relatively few examples of most of them are current, so that these ‘minor declensions’ may simply be treated as ‘irregularities’ by the non-philological student. We are able to recognise and reconstruct these declensions because, in addition to the Gothic remains, Runic inscriptions from as early as the 4th century survive to indicate something very near to the common Gmc types, and comparison with cognate languages confirms these findings. Thus we know that
there was a common masc. and neut. declension with stem in -a, as shown in Runic skjainaz 'stone', of which the final -a is merely the mark of the nom. sg., the stem being skjain-. Similarly we know of the i-declension (compare Lat. cositis) from Runic gusatis 'stranger', which lies behind OE gis(e)xt. Again, a u-stem declension is to be inferred from Go. sumus (OE sumo) 'son' and hantanes (OE hande) 'hand'. Go. dat. sg. harja enables us to recognise the ja-stem which survives in OE here; and so on. For a selection of early Runic inscriptions, see A. Jöhannesson, Umrordische Runenschriften (Heidelberg 1923) and H. Arntz, Handbuch der Runenkunde (Halle 1944).

195. The liquid and nasal consonants l, r, m, n tend to make possible the syncope of a preceding unstressed vowel in medial syllables, and this feature is common throughout the OE inflexions; thus dryhelen 'lord' beside gen. sg. dryhelnnes, engel 'angel' beside nom. acc. pl. englæs, frorf 'comfort' beside sg. oblique cases fröfre.

On the other hand, a slight vowel-sound sometimes develops between these same consonants and another consonant, such vowels being front or back according to the phonetic environment. Thus burg 'fortress' has dat. sg. and nom. acc. pl. byr(i)g, while the nom. sg. sometimes appears as buruh; so too buruh beside burh 'through'.

A convenient term for these 'intrusive' or 'parasitic' vowels, as they are sometimes called, is the ancient Indian grammarians’ term svarabhakti (Sanskrit), literally svara 'sound' and bhakti 'part'. In pronouncing the name of the Hindu deity Indra, the old grammarians tell us, there was a sound somewhere between a half and a quarter of a full vowel between the d and the r: ind(a)ra; such a sound, a 'partial vowel' is a svarabhakti. This is a more exact term than any of the others.

196. The long ('doubled') consonants of early OE (§ 184) were later often written as single letters, the reason for this being that the phonemic distinction between long and short consonants had ceased to exist in final position for the most part. Thus the distinction between man 'man' and ma, the pron. 'one', was indicated by early scribes in the final consonant, but later both words were often written man or mon. Similarly, such nouns as cynn 'race', wedd 'pledge', wéstern 'desert' are often written with single final consonant, though the lengthened consonant continues to leave its mark in the inflected forms (cynnes, wéstennes, etc.), and medially in general (sittan 'sit').

197. There was often assimilation of consonants in the course of inflexion, quite apart from that occasioned by syncope (§ 191). Thus h tended to be lost between a vowel and a following n, as in the acc. sg. masc. of héah 'high', hænne or hæne from earlier hæhne. Again, g tends to disappear before a following d or n with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel; thus sǣde beside saegde, pret. of seegan 'say', lǣde beside legde, pret. of leccan 'lay', bǣd beside bægd, pret. of bregdan 'pull', þēn beside þegn 'retainer', frīnan beside frīgnan 'ask', etc. Before l, c often becomes h, as in thēhte, pret. of lēcan 'show', worrhle, pret. of wyrccan 'work', thīle, pret. of iccan 'increase', etc.

OE palatal g tended to be vocalised and become absorbed in a preceding front vowel, and it would probably be more accurate to describe the phenomena of sǣde, þēn, etc. as examples of the absorption of such a vocalised g in the preceding w, c, etc. Similarly, the 3 sg. pres. indic. of liecan 'lie' is often līd in WS, from lieð (Angl. lieð).

198. Before an unstressed vowel, w often ceases to be pronounced, and this phenomenon is frequently seen in the pret. and past pple of consonantal verbs formed from nouns and adjectives with stems ending in w; for example, gyruw 'prepare' (compare the adj. gærw) has pret. gyrede beside gyruwe, and similarly syruw 'deceive' (compare the noun searu 'trick') has pret. syrede beside syruwe.

Final unstressed u is often lowered to o, or even to a. Hence gærw beside gærw 'ready', sīdo beside sīdu 'custom'; there are neut. pl. noun-forms in -a in Ælfric MSS, such as dēoaf (for dēofnw) 'devils'.

199. Changes in vowel-length. During the OE period, though mainly in the latter part, there was lengthening of short vowels before -ld, -mb, -nd, sometimes also before -rl, -rn, -rs, -rl, and possibly before -rd and -ng. Thus cild > cild, gold > golđ, findan > findan, and similarly we have bindan, cilmian, hínd 'dog', and mārnan 'care'. This lengthening was brought about by the vowel-like properties of liquids and nasals (and in this way may have some affinity with diphthongisation before velarised consonants). A vocalic element from the i, r,
m, n may be thought to have coalesced with the preceding vowel and so given it length. The lengthening did not take place if a third consonant immediately followed the lengthening cluster; compare cild with the pl. ciladru (§ 44) which was never lengthened (compare Mod.E. child and children). Nor did the lengthening occur in less stressed words and positions; thus and ‘and’, sc(e)olde ‘should’, and wolde ‘would’ remained with short vowels. The ê and ō resulting from this lengthening were always the close vowels; thus feld was [feld] and gild [gild].

Just as the above lengthening failed to occur before groups of three consonants, as in wundrian ‘wonder’ beside wündian ‘wound’, so too any pair of consonants, other than the lengthening clusters, might cause shortening of preceding long vowels in the later OE period. Thus blædre ‘bladder’ became blæddre, fôdres, fôdre, etc. became fôddres, fôddre, and so by analogy the nom. födor ‘nourishment’ also became föddor; similarly, ätor ‘poison’ became ätor by reason of oblique forms with shortening before -tr- (ättrès, for example). Other instances are blæddre from blædre ‘ladder’, nêddre from nêdre ‘adder’. Doubled consonants, earlier a method of indicating contrastive consonant length (see § 184), came to be used to indicate the shortness of preceding vowels, when consonant length was no longer such a prominent phonematic feature.

Some Major OE Sound-Changes

200. Here are grouped some sound-changes which are especially important to the student, either because they play a major part in the varied forms of inflexion or because their phonetic nature is of particular interest or difficulty. They are treated in the probable order of their occurrence and in relation to other changes already described. They are severally the cause of the development of new front-round vowels and of new diphthongs beside the ēa, ēo, ō which had come down from Gmc and (in WS only) of the diphthongs ō which later became ‘unstable’ ē and then ē, as explained in § 193.

201. Diphthongisation before velarised consonants (‘Breaking’). The front vowels ē, ē, ū were diphthongised to ēa, ēo, ō (later ēo) when immediately followed by velar or velarised consonants or consonant groups. The consonants which had this effect were ll or l plus another consonant, rr or r plus a consonant, and h or h plus a consonant, though only ē was diphthongised before all these. Thus Gmc *hardus (cf Go. hart) > Pr.OE *hard > heard ‘hard’; Gmc *armas (cf Go. arms) > Pr.OE *arm > arm ‘poor’; *here > heart ‘heart’ (cf Go. harto = *hero); *werpan > werpan ‘throw’ (cf ON verpa); *fæhu >fæoh ‘cattle’ (cognate with Lat. pecu; see § 179), etc.

No diphthongisation took place before the combination rr as in nerian ‘save’ or before the ll produced by West Gmc consonant-lengthening (§ 184) as in sellan ‘give’ and sellan ‘count’ (Go. saljan, taljan). In WS no diphthongisation of ē took place before ll or any l-group except l plus h (hence the regular form helpan ‘help’) but in the pret. sg. of verbs like helpan and sellan it will be noted that diphthongisation took place: healp, seeale; here we have diphthongisation of a before l plus consonant, the doubled ll of sellan belonging only to the present.

It is important to remember that this diphthongisation is the addition of a vowel glide to the front vowel through the influence of certain velar qualities in following consonants; thus it is Pr.OE æ, not the earlier form a, that is diphthongised, and it is inaccurate to speak of ‘undiphthongised a’ in cases where the usual diphthongisation has not occurred, or of the ‘diphthongisation of a to ea’.

The term ‘breaking’ was first used in 1822 by Jakob Grimm in his Deutsche Grammatik to cover the formation of all the OE diphthongs developed from front vowels; it therefore included the analogous changes produced by diphthongisation before back vowels (§ 214) as well as the diphthongisation after palatal consonants (§ 204). What we here call ‘diphthongisation before velarised consonants’ was termed factores by Mayhew in his Synopsis of OE Phonology (Oxford 1891), and Sievers was the first to apply to it the term brechung in his fundamental Anglisitische Grammatik. The term breaking is merely the English translation of the German word by J. Wright and others, and is regrettable, since the vowels involved were in no sense ‘broken’ into a diphthong but rather had something added to them.
202. We may infer that the phonetic processes underlying this diphthongisation were as follows. Since the sounds of speech are continuous and not discrete, ‘glides’ arise between different sounds as our speech-organs, while still producing one sound, form themselves into the position for producing the next. If the difference in the position of the organs is great, the glide is considerable; compare in London English today the back-vowel glide heard between the [I] and [Ik] of milk: [mIoIk]. In OE the vowels diphthongised were front, and in words like *feh- the speech organs, in forming themselves into the position to make the voiceless velar fricative [x] would give u-quality to the off-glide from e: [fe xe > fe ox > fe ox], spelt feox. With the consonant groups beginning with l and r on the other hand (as in healp, heard), there would also be the consonantal on-glides to contribute to the diphthongisation, since l and r have vocalic properties. The l in these groups must have had ‘dark’ or velarised quality, like that in the Londoner’s milk already mentioned, and r was probably a ‘buried’ retroflex (produced with the tongue-tip curled up) rather like that heard today in Somerset, and also with u-timbre. Thus heard may be supposed to have gone through the following stages in early OE, [hæ ud > hæ ed > hæ ard], the second element of the diphthong being made up not only (as in fe oh) of the off-glide from the front vowel as the speech-organs moved towards the position to form the velarised consonant, but also of the on-glide to the consonant itself. It appears then, that at particular periods in particular dialects the difference in the positions required of the speech-organs for these contiguous sounds became so extreme as to produce glides between the sounds clearly enough heard for the scribes to notice and record them in their orthography. The glides then formed diphthongs with the original vowels, and these diphthongs often remained after the special conditions that produced them had ceased to obtain.

For recent discussion of this diphthongisation, see the references given in § 18. In her article there referred to, Miss Daunt sought to deny the diphthongal nature of the phenomenon, attributing the second element in the diphthongs to the influence of Irish scribal practice in

203. Diphthongisation before velarised consonants is important in OE grammar, especially in understanding the conjugation of vocalic verbs. Bregdan, helpan, bindan are all members of the same (Cl. III) gradation-series, but just as the influence of the nasal has given us bindan instead of *bendan and band instead of *band, so diphthongisation has produced the pret. healp beside bragd; to this same class belongs also woordan, with a diphthong, instead of *werdan. Again, the diphthongisation before a subsequently lost h produces forms where the gradation relationships are obscured; thus seo and metan both belong to Cl. V, where Gmc *sæwan passed through the stage *sehan, was then diphthongised as *seohan, and so with loss of h and contraction became seo (§§ 189, 190). The Cl. I verbs include leon ‘lend’ beside drafan; in this case we have Gmc *læwan > *le han > *le han > le on > le on; so too, wræon ‘cover’. The verb poen ‘prosper’ (§ 75) was originally of Cl. III (later Cl. I) and its history is reflected in the past pple form used adjectively, gepunen ‘excellent’; the stages here are *pi han > *pi han (§ 185) > *pi han > po n and poen. In Cl. VI, slean ‘strike’ has come through the stages *slahan > *slahan > *sleahan; so too, leon ‘blame’, fremaw ‘wash’. The diphthongisation did not take place in the infin. or pret. of verbs like bersian ‘burst’ and perscan ‘thresh’ (pret. sg. bærst,
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\(\text{pærc}\), because the post-vocalic position of \(r\) in these forms is the result of metathesis which occurred after the period of diphthongisation when they had the forms *brestan, *prescan, etc.

The diphthongisation was far less frequent in Angl. dialects because their consonants developed differently and either did not occasion diphthongisation or soon removed its results. The Angl. \(l\) and \(r\) seem to have been pronounced in a way that prevented the general fronting of Gmc \(a\) to \(\epsilon\) or that caused it to be retracted again; thus \(all\) beside WS eall ‘all’, perf beside pærf ‘need’. It should be noted that the \(i\) in eall and feallan ‘fall’ does not result from West Gmc lengthening (§ 184) but from a far older formation, and this \(i\) was of the sort that occasioned diphthongisation (compare § 201). The so-called Angl. ‘smoothing’, by which diphthongs were reduced to simple vowels before \(c, g\), and \(h\), also removed the results of diphthongisation before velarised consonants; thus, Angl. werc beside WS weorc ‘work’, feallan beside feallan ‘fight’.

204. Diphthongisation after palatal consonants

When a palatal \(c, g, \) or \(s\) immediately preceded \(\&\) or \(\&\), these vowels developed into the diphthongs \(\&\) and \(\&\) respectively. This was a characteristically WS development, and it is well illustrated in the principal parts of gifan (early WS giefan) ‘give’, a verb of Cl. V whose expected forms would be like those of metan ‘measure’ (§ 81): giefan, gæf, gæfæ, -giefæ; these forms in fact occur in non-WS. Early WS, on the other hand, has giefan, gæf, gæfæ, -giefæ. Similarly geldan ‘pay’ of Cl. III has the early WS infin. form gieldan (\(l\) did not cause diphthongisation of \(e\)); likewise gieldan ‘scream’, gieldan ‘boast’. In Cl. IV scearan ‘cut’ has the early WS infin. scieran, with sg. and pl. pret. scear, scearan. Other examples include geat ‘gate’ (non-WS gæt), pl. gatu (like fæt, pl. of fæt ‘vessel’, by reason of the following back vowel: § 192), gist (early WS giest, non-WS gæst) ‘stranger’, giet ‘yet’, and giæn ‘yet’. By King Alfred’s time, \(i\) had become ‘unstable’ (§ 193), so that classical OE forms have \(i\) or \(y\) (gifan, giefan, gieldan, gieldan, etc.).

It would seem that a front vowel-glide (\(i\) or \(e\)) developed between the strongly palatal consonant and the following vowel in these cases, giving the rising diphthongs \(i_{ε}, i_{ε}, \) etc., which later became falling diphthongs. For further remarks on their pronunciation, see § 17. In icor ‘man’,

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\(\text{gæran} \,'\text{ready},\) and some others, the diphthongs arose through the influence of velarised consonants (§ 201).

205. Notes on diphthongs

As stated in § 18, classical OE had four diphthongs, \(ea, \tilde{e}a, eo, \) and \(eo\). The \(\tilde{e}a\) developed regularly from Gmc \(au\) and had its OE form by the eighth century; thus \(\text{dead} \,'\text{death} \) beside Go. daunus. Most of the examples of IE \(eu\) were raised to \(iu\) in Gmc, and \(eu\) and \(iu\) gave OE \(\tilde{e}o\) and \(\tilde{o}\) respectively, but these diphthongs fell together as \(\tilde{e}o\) in late WS or classical OE, while in other dialects and in earlier periods they were sometimes kept apart and sometimes levelled as \(\tilde{o}\). Thus, Alfredian WS and Kt frequently show the levelling of both \(\tilde{e}o\) and \(\tilde{o}\) as \(\tilde{o}\) (for example, biðdan ‘offer’, in the Hatton MS of the Alfredian version of Cura Pastoralis). Kt in all periods tended to level the two under \(\tilde{o}\), while Nb tended to mix \(\tilde{e}a\) with \(\tilde{o}\), as in deðh in Bede’s Death Song for dead ‘death’, eore in the Lindisfarne Gospels for eare ‘ear’. The short diphthongs \(ea\) and \(eo\), as in geæf ‘gave’, heard ‘hard’, leornu ‘limbs’, seorh ‘life’, were produced in OE itself by the various diphthongisations. Here again early WS tends to use \(i_{o}\) for \(eo\) (as in liornian ‘learn’), and Kt normally raises \(eo\) to \(i_{o}\) as with the long diphthong.

Both short and long diphthongs are subject to the Angl. smoothing or monophthongisation before \(c, g, h\), singly or preceded by \(r\) or \(l\); thus Angl. hæh, hæh for hēah ‘high’, ëc for ëæc ‘also’, eh for coh ‘horse’. In most late OE MSS \(\tilde{a}\) are replaced occasionally by \(æ\) in spelling (though careful scribes retain \(ea\)-forms); such forms as hærm for hearm ‘harm’ in Classical OE texts are ‘occasional spellings’ indicative of the monophthongisation of all the OE diphthongs which was complete in most areas by the time of the earliest ME texts.

In addition to that arising from the influence of preceding palatal consonants, long and short \(ie\)-forms arose in early WS by the \(i\)-mutation (§§ 206, 210) of \(\tilde{e}a, \tilde{e}o, \tilde{o}\); thus corresponding to gelæfa ‘faith’, we have the consonantal verb gelæfan ‘believe’ and beside sveorn ‘device’ the verb sierwan ‘plot’. Such \(ie\)-spellings were partly replaced by \(i\)-forms by the end of the ninth century (thus \(hıran\), early WS hıran ‘hear’, in the Cotton MS of
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Cura Pastoralis), and these in turn by forms indicative of rounded vowels by the tenth century (as hyran, syrwan). See further § 193. Outside the area of classical OE, the i-mutation of ea is represented generally by e; thus non-WS hérn for late WS hyran 'heart', heldan for late WS hildan or hylDan 'bend'. Sometimes Mercian texts have æ for the i-mutation of Angl. á, WS é, as heldan 'bend', hiæhæan (early WS hiæhæan) 'laugh'. For i-mutation of ëo, ëo, non-WS texts generally have ëo-spellings, as iorræ (WS iorræ, later yræ) 'angry', hiordæ (WS hiordæ, later hyræ) 'shepherd', but Mercian (as represented in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss) usually has eo, and for the foregoing words has eorræ, hoordæ.

In later OE, especially in the combination ht, h often became palatal [t] and monophthongised and frequently raised the diphthongs ëo and ëa to i; thus early WS fæothæan 'fight', cneoth 'boy', liæht 'light', meæht (from magan) 'might' become fæothæn, cniæht, liæht, miæht. This tendency was checked, however, by a back vowel in the syllable immediately following, so that the pl. of Alfredian and late OE cniæht is often cneothænas and of Pfr. Pr. ñæothænas.

On the OE diphthongs, there is a useful recent study in the light of findings in acoustic phonetics by L. F. Bromsahan, Some Old English Sound-Changes (Cambridge, Heffer, 1953).

206. Mutations

Mutation, for which Grimm first used the term Umlaut which is still widely current, is the change from one vowel to another through the influence (by attraction, assimilation, or anticipation) of a vowel in an immediately following syllable. We have two important mutations to consider: first, the early Common Gmc mutations, and secondly, Pr.OE i-mutation.

207. Common Gmc mutations

There are two which significantly affect OE; first, the raising of e to i through the influence of an i or j in the immediately following syllable, or through its being in an unaccented position, or through the influence of a following nasal (see § 186b); secondly, the lowering of u to o through the influence of a back vowel in the next syllable (see § 186c). For example, bir(e)ð, 3 sg. pres. indic. of beran 'bear' (Pr.Gmc *berið), niman

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'take', from *neman-, god 'god', from Gmc *gupan (compare Go. gup), and OE gold 'gold', from Gmc *gulan (compare Go. gulf). It is important to remember that the lowering of u to o was prevented by a following nasal (hence gebunden beside geholpen, past pple. of the same class), and by an i or j in the next syllable; such an i or j caused i-mutation of the 'unlowered' u. So it is that the OE adj. corresponding to gold is gjildan, because the Gmc form of the latter was *guljan-, with subsequent i-mutation of the u, whereas in the noun the original u was lowered to o by the following a (Gmc *guljan). A similar relationship exists between OE god 'god' and gudon 'goddess', fox 'fox' and *fxen 'vixen'. OE had no short o other than this one by the lowering of Gmc u, though a subsequent source of OE o lay in Lat. adoptions; ele 'oil', from (late) Lat. oivium, had such an o, as one can tell from the mutated form e (see § 208). Analogy, however, occasionally transferred the o lowered from u to another inflected part of a word which originally ended in i and which should therefore have retained the u, having it later i-mutated to y. This is the explanation of the dat. sg. of OE dohtor 'daughter' (§ 47), which is dohtor apparently from a Gmc *dohtir; in this case, Gmc u has been analogically lowered to o before the period of i-mutation, whereas a dat. from *duhtir (the regular form) would be the rare OE dyhter. Similarly OE oxa 'ox' has a pl. (from an i-declensional type) exen, where one would have expected *fxen (compare the fox—*fxen example above).

208. i-mutation

i-mutation, shared in varying degrees by all Gmc languages except Gothic, had been completed in OE by the time of the earliest written records. It is closely related to the raising of e to i (§ 207) inasmuch as it is the direct result of the influence of i or j on the vowel in an immediately preceding syllable. By i-mutation, Pr.OE æ (before nasals), ë, ø, ð, ð are fronted or raised to mid or high front vowels:

OE æ before nasals (Gmc a) > e, as in mæn, n.a.pl. of mæn (mawn) 'man'.
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OE æ (Gmc a) > e, as in bed(a) 'bed', Gmc *baidja (cf Go. badi);
OE ð (Gmc ai) > ð, as in hælan 'heal', Gmc *hailjan (cf Go. hílljan and the OE adj. hál 'whole', Go. hális);
OE o (sometimes Gmc u analogically lowered; cf § 207) > æ [æ] > e, as in ele, Lat. olium, and exen;
OE ð > ð [ø] > e, as in gês 'geese', sg. gês (Pr.OE *gösi < Gmc *gansiz, with loss of nasal and rounding: §§ 181, 185);
OE ð > y, as in the verb trymman (< *trumjan) 'strengthen', beside the adj. trum 'strong';
OE ð > ð, as in ryman 'make space', beside the adj. rûm 'spacious'.

Angl. retained the mid-front-round forms spelt oe, as oexen 'oxen', foe ð 'feet'; the sounds are found unrounded to e, however, in classical OE: exen, føt, etc. The alternation of o and ð in such pairs as fox and *fyxen is, as has been shown in § 207, really a case of the i-mutation of ð beside other forms of the same root in which the ð had been lowered to o before the OE period.

209. Other examples of i-mutation are very commonly to be found, and this sound-change is of special importance and frequency in the structure of OE. In learning the conjugation of vocalic verbs, the student needs to know the 'mutation pairs' of vowels because in the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. there is normally i-mutation of the stem-vowel or raising of e to i (§ 207). Secondly, consonantal verbs are often formed from nouns and adjectives and from other verbs with the suffix *-ja- (§ 163), with consequent mutation; compare dêm 'judgment' with the verb dêmjan 'judge' (Go. dûmjan). Thirdly, a number of common adjectives and adverbs formed their comparative and superlative with the Gmc suffixes *-ižo, *-ižo (West Gmc *-iro, *-išto), and therefore have mutation in OE; thus eald 'old', comp. yldra, early WS yldra, where there has been i-mutation of the diphthong: ea > ie > y (for the i-mutation of diphthongs, see § 210). Again, there are nouns related to the past pples of vocalic verbs (see § 161a), with i-mutation of the reduced-grade vowel; thus byre 'son' beside boren

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(earlier *-buren), past pple of beran 'bear', where we have an i-declensional type of noun (§ 194, note), *buri, with subsequent mutation of the u to y, while in the past pple the u was lowered to o (-boren: § 186c). Compare also hryre 'fall' with the verb hreð 'fall', cyre 'choice' and ceðe 'choose', cyme 'coming' and cunnan 'come', full 'death' and feallan 'fall', wyrd 'fate, what happens' and wæorden 'become', etc. The inflexion of a group of nouns, too, shows these mutation pairs; for example, fôt 'foot' and fêt, dohtor 'daughter' and dêhtor, ðc 'oak' and ðc, burg 'fortress' and byr(i)g, frênd 'friend' and friend or frînd, etc. (see §§ 47-49).

210. The diphthongs æa, êo, ðo were all subject to i-mutation (see § 205). In WS they were all mutuated to ð and these, ða are a special mark of early WS; later, in classical OE, such forms appear as i or y (§ 193). Examples are eald 'old' but comp. and superl. yldra, yldest (earlier *-ie-), heald 'sloping' but hylde (also *-i-, earlier *-ie-) 'bend', heord 'herd' but hyrd (early WS hird) 'shepherd', leás 'deprived of' but lýsan (earlier *-ie- 'release', bêag 'ring' but bígan (earlier *-ie-) 'cause to bend', geleása 'faith' but gelugesan 'believe', etc. For the corresponding forms in other dialects, see § 205.

211. Varying forms of consonantal verbs within the conjugations, such as wyrwan 'work' beside pret. worhtes, bycwgan 'buy' beside pret. bohte, hycgan 'think' beside pret. hogâe (on the consonant alternations, see §§ 179, 184, 197), are to be explained by the alternation between the u of the present stem (which underwent i-mutation because these verbs had the suffix *-ja-) and the u of the pret. and past pple which was regularly lowered to o as explained in §§ 186c, 207 and which had no j in the suffix to cause mutation. On þyncan and þãhte, pençan and þóhte, see § 185.

212. The generally accepted phonetic explanation of i-mutation is that the high front i or j palatalised the preceding consonant and that this in turn pulled the vowel of the stem towards its own position, raising or fronting it. The i or j which had thus fronted a preceding back vowel (or raised a front one) by strong attraction in articulation through and by
means of the intervening consonant, was then absorbed into the palatalised consonant. This theory may be called 'mechanistic', because it is based entirely on the assumed workings of the speech-organs. An alternative explanation is that in pronouncing the back vowel in the root-syllable the speaker unconsciously allows his mind and his tongue to 'anticipate' the i or j that is to come in the immediately succeeding syllable, and that the sounds first resulting from i-mutation were the original vowel plus an anticipatory high front vowel which then coalesced with the original stem-vowel to constitute the new form. Thus, for instance, in pronouncing *dēmjan 'judge', the j is supposed to have been mentally anticipated by the speaker, so that he would say something like dō-i-mjan, and that later this ə and i would unite to form the compromise front-round vowel [œ:] written oe, *dōm jan becoming dōeman, a form preserved in Angl. but with unrounding to dēman in WS. This is a 'mentalistc' or psychological theory of i-mutation. The orthodox view of articulatory influence through the consonant is a theory of attraction and assimilation, while the mentalistic view is one of anticipation.

The accepted theory is supported in some measure by the OE and later spellings of the medial consonant in such words as secgan 'say' as compared with the related noun sagu. Pr. OE *sægjan has had its g palatalised by the following j as well as lengthened, and the palatalising and lengthening are both symbolised in the spelling cg; it is through this palatalised g that the vowel has been mutated. Compare also the verbs lecgan 'lay', bycgan 'buy', hycgan 'think' or nouns like brycg 'bridge', hrycg 'back'. On the other hand, there are eighth-century spellings which seem to preserve just such of forms as the 'mentalistc' theory would assume to be the first stage of i-mutation; the proper name Cēnwulf, for instance, appears in Bede as Coinwulf, the first element being cēn(e) 'bold', from Gmc *hōniz. It may be suggested that i-mutation was brought about by the joint working of both the 'attractional' and the 'anticipatory' influences, that the i or j pulled the immediately preceding consonant towards a palatal articulation and that this in turn mutated the stem-vowel, while at the same time this vowel was being affected by the anticipation of the i or j. Note, however, drū 'wizard', earlier *drūi, where there was no intervening consonant.

Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica in its earliest MSS (Moore and Leningrad) contains a number of English names in the Latin text, and Bede seems to have been careful to preserve traditional forms of earlier centuries in writing them. Names with -ei- for later -oe- and -e- occur, and these forms are confirmed by some words in eighth-century glossaries; they include Coinwulf for Cēnwulf and a number ending in -thrōid or -thrōith (for -prēj in such names as Ægelprēj). The latter element is OE prēj 'strength', from *prēpj, and it may be supposed that this *prēpj became *prēpj, with later coalescence of the ū and i to give ū. That ə > ū passed through a stage əi is further suggested by the Kunic fupor or alphabet in which the rune for ū, called ūr, was modified to form the rune called ūr in i-mutation positions; the new rune is merely the old ūr (r) with the single stroke ū for ū, the rune called ts, inserted at the bottom (rm).

With regard to the diphthongs subject to i-mutation, it seems that in ə both elements were raised in early WS, giving ə, whereas in Angl. there was a raising (or fronting and raising) only of the second element, giving l (thus Angl. galēf 'believe' beside early WS gælfan, where both dialects have the related noun in the form -æf). The Angl. əl or əl by mutation show no modification of the second element. The diphthong forms by mutation, therefore, are inconclusive from the point of view of explaining the phonetic processes. In Kt and S.E. dialects, the ū resulting from i-mutation were generally unrounded and lowered to ə; thus Kt sen(n) beside WS syn(n) 'sin'.

213. The working of i-mutation, like other sound-changes, is sometimes disturbed or altered by the influence of analogy or levelling. For instance, the i-declensional (§ 194) pl. noun Seaxe 'Saxons' has had the ea restored by analogy, where a mutated vowel or diphthong would have been expected; compare Denæ 'Danæs', where mutation (earlier *dāni) has occurred. In the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. of vocalic verbs, too, analogy seems sometimes to have replaced the expected mutated vowel by the more frequently recurring unmutated one; thus werbed from weordan 'become', and not the usual early WS wērēd (later wyrēd), occurs in the Hatton MS of Cura Pastoralis, and in the same text we find hātēb from hātan 'call' for the expected hāēt (with mutation, syncope, and assimilation). Similarly berēd, from beran 'bear', is found beside bir(e)ō. Such
forms, without syncope or mutation, are fairly common in IOE.

214. **Diphthongisation before back vowels** ('Back Mutation'). Like diphthongisation before velarised consonants (§ 201), this diphthongisation changes the Pr.OE vowels æ, e, i into the diphthongs ea, eo, io respectively. As with the other diphthongisation, too, the change affects only front vowels (that is, æ and not the earlier Gmc a). The rule in general is that in the early OE period, while the earliest written records were being made, the front vowels æ, e, i, when followed after a single consonant by a back vowel, became respectively the diphthongs ea, eo, io. Thus **lim** 'limb' has, beside **limu**, pl. forms **liomu** and **lemu** (with the usual lowering in WS and Mercian of io to eo); **hlið 'slope'** has pl. **hliðu**, and also, by this diphthongisation, **hliðu, hleðu; sidu 'custom'** has the alternative Alfredian form **siðu; witan 'know'** appears also as **witi and wotan; wita 'counsellor'** appears also as **wita, wota, and (through the influence of the w, § 187) wota; similarly we have heofon 'heaven', ealu 'ale', etc. For the most part, this sound-change belongs to the non-WS dialects, but in classical OE it is found to some extent, particularly before liquid, labial and dental consonants. It is the last of the major vowel-changes in OE, and was still apparently in progress in the earlier eighth century, on the evidence of the glossaries of that period.

The cause of the diphthongisation seems to be the rise of a glide as the speech-organs anticipated the articulation of the back vowel in the following syllable; the process is therefore very similar to that presumed in the diphthongisation before velarised consonants (§ 202). It should be noted however that while the latter affected also long vowels to some extent, the present phenomenon concerns only short vowels.

There is also something of a parallel between this diphthongisation and r-mutation (see § 212). In Kentish, the diphthongisation is very widespread and seems to have occurred even through two consonants (compare Kt **siodon** with WS **sindon** 'are', and **siodan** with WS **sindan** 'afterwards'). In Angl. too it is common, but before c, g, h its effects are removed by Angl. smoothing. Mercian of the Vespasian Psalter

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Gloss, however, often has the diphthongisation even before c and g (thus **spréocan 'speak', wœgum, d.pl. of wæg 'way'). Forms like **beoræn 'bear', eotan 'eat'** are common to non-WS dialects.

Diphthongisation before back vowels is often referred to as 'back mutation' or by the various vowels that caused it: thus 'o/a-mutation' (the common type) and 'u-mutation' (the less common type); 'u-mutation' of æ is for the most part found only in Mercian: it is not normal in WS, and ealu (§ 46) 'ale' seems to be an Angl. loan-form in WS, remaining as the regular form in classical OE; two other words, **beatu 'battle' and beatu 'evil',** perhaps originally poetical and Angl., occur commonly with this diphthongisation of æ in classical OE. Kt has alop and (on the evidence of proper names containing the elements) **badu and bain.** The diphthongisation of i after w produced io, and this through the influence of the w (§ 187a) sometimes became u in some areas; hence wutun 'counsellors' in the Cotton MS of Cura Pastoralis beside witan in the Hatton MS version. This development has left one common mark on Classical OE in the form wuton, later wton (with loss of w before w: § 187), which is used for periphrastic 1st pers. imperative or hortatory expressions (§ 135) as in (w)wton dôn 'let us do'. The origin of (w)wton is not known, but it seems to be a part of the verb witan 'go'.

215. **Conclusion.** There are many problems in OE sound-changes and many unsolved puzzles connected with individual words which have not been touched upon in the foregoing paragraphs. The phonology presented has been for the most part confined to those matters which the student needs to understand in order to learn the grammar of OE efficiently, and those aspects have been especially emphasised which are of the greatest structural importance. The student of the history of the language will consult specialist works devoted to the subject, and it is hoped that the references supplied in the notes throughout will enable the philologist to pursue further studies effectively.
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