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AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR
By Randolph Quirk, Professor of the English Language in the University of London, University College; and C. L. Wrenn, Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford.
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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
PREFACE

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 mediæval 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 Kókeritz, 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.

R. Q.
University College, Durham
C. L. W.
Pembroke College, Oxford

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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: Class
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)
Go: Gothic (see § 178)
IE: Indo-European
imperat.: imperative
impers.: impersonal (see § 120e)
ind(ic).: indicative
infin.: infinitive
i(nstr).: instrumental
Ital.: Italian
Kt: Kentish (see § 4)
l(WS, OE): late (West Saxon, Old English)
Lat.: Latin
lit.: literally
m(asc).: masculine
ME: Middle English
Mod.: modern (English)
MS(S): manuscript(s)
n(eut).: neuter
n(om).: nominative
Nb: Northumbrian
O: object
OE: Old English
OHG: Old High German
OIr: 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
ppl.: 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 §§ 41)
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 Caedmon, the language to be studied in fact covers approximately the four centuries from a.d. 700 to 1100. Our knowledge 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-
ally been replaced in the last hundred years by the more scientific term Old English. For the peoples, as distinct from their language, the Lat. Anglo-Saxones was the noun often used from the ninth century to distinguish the 'English Saxons' from the 'Old Saxons' or inhabitants of the Saxon homeland who had not migrated: and hence Anglo-Saxon is still properly used as the name of the pre-Norman Germanic inhabitants of Britain. Camden, the antiquarian scholar who first applied the Lat. Anglo-Saxonicus to the language, rendered it however into English as 'English Saxon'—a term which the Elizabethans had already used. The Anglo-Saxons themselves, though they did occasionally render as Angul-Seaxan the Lat. Anglo-Saxones in charters from the late ninth century, regularly called their language, including all its dialects, Englisc, though this term originally had meant Anglian (§ 4). While Old English preserves the idea of historic continuity in our language, it is also true that modern literary English descends more directly from an East Midland (Anglian) dialect than from the southern and south-western language of Anglo-Saxon Wessex in which nearly all the OE texts have survived—from the language of King Offa the Mercian rather than from that of King Alfred the Great. For literary monuments, therefore, the notion of a direct continuity from Old to Modern English is to some extent misleading.

Bede distinguished the Angli Saxones or Germanic conquerors of Britain from the Antiqui Saxones, the 'Old Saxons', and from this distinction the term 'Anglo-Saxon' ultimately arises. The term Saxon was applied to the conquered people of England by Latin-writing chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and hence the use of 'Saxon' from the fourteenth century onwards to describe both the people and their language. Indeed, the first OE dictionaries and grammars, written in Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, generally employ the term Saxonicus, which became 'Saxon' in the next century for such purposes and is still sometimes found. The popular, wider, non-technical use of Anglo-Saxon to cover the English-speaking world dates from early Victorian times. See N.E.D., s.vv. Anglo-Saxon and Saxon, and cf also Kemp Malone in Review of English Studies v (1929), pp. 173-85. In the S.W. Midland prose life of St Margaret, of about 1200, occurs the expression ald Englisc for 'Old English' (Seinte Marherete, ed. F. Mack, EETS, p. 52, l. 32).

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 §§ 11 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
'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, Angelsachsen (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 koiné, 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, Joscelyn, 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
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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 koine.

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 show 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,

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(c) period of Ælfric and Wulstan, (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 run 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.

The late OE runic letters, with their meanings explained in order with a commentary, are to be found conveniently in Bruce Dickins, Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples (Cambridge 1915), in the Runic Poem. See further, C. L. Wrenn, ‘Late Old English Rune-Names’, Medium Ævum i (1932), H. Arntz, Handbuch der Runenkunde (Halle, 2nd ed., 1944), and R. Dérolle, Runica Manuscripta (Bruges 1954).

8. This Irish-Latin alphabet (as adopted in England, commonly known as Insular Script) 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 as phonetically as possible the sounds of OE, with the same values as they had when used to represent Latin in the
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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 u was used for the OE sound [w] and the biliteral th for the voiced [8] and voiceless [6] 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, d, and u in these functions, since runes were perhaps no longer felt to be a heathen peril: [8] and [6] came to be represented by ð, and [w] by p. A third new symbol was added to the Irish-Latin alphabet by drawing a fine line through the upper part of the Insular d so as to form ð, and by the ninth century d and ð were being used indifferently for the two sounds [8] and [6]. 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: ð and p are known by their runic mnemonic names ‘thorn’ and ‘wynn’ respectively; ð is called æth (æth 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 letter.

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 ð, ð, and æ; a few also retain the runic p, but w is now normal practice so as to avoid confusion with ð and ð. As has been said, among the more remarkable features of the

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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, ð, 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, shew a regular distinction (which is graphic rather than phonetic) of ð initially as against ð medially and finally: pis as compared with ðer and mýnd. Sometimes vowel-length is indicated by doubling, as in good for gð. 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 Pasce) and the title is of some interest: The Testimonie of Antiquitie shewing the Anient faith in the Church of Engeland touching the sacrament of the / body and blood of the Lord here publicly preache and also receivd in the saxons tyme aboue 600 yeares agoe. For a full account of OE scribal practice, see W. Keller, Angelschische 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 mánnes ‘man’s’ beside mdncynnes ‘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 by- (as contrasted with its weak form be-) has heavy stress: cf besittan ‘to besiege’ beside bylea ‘food’ (lit. ‘by-living’).

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

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(c) Verbs formed from nouns whose first element was a prefix carrying heavy stress, generally retain this stress on the prefix: thus andswarían ‘to answer’, from the noun andswaru.

As OE metre depends primarily on patterns of stress and on alliteration which must fall on heavily stressed syllables, a study of an exactly metred poem such as Beowulf will serve to confirm the rules of OE stress; the ‘five types’ of OE half-line are but selective, regularised and rhetorically emphatic patterns from speech. On the fundamentals of OE metre, see E. Sievers, Altgermanische Metrik (Halle 1894) and the very full recent study by J. C. Pope, The Rhythm of Beowulf (New Haven 1949).

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 m tended to be pronounced as [n] in late OE, the inflexional endings -um, -an, -on all came to be sounded [an], and the forms written mannun, mannum, manun might all be pronounced alike [man(ː)an]; 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 [a:] from ham '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. (RP) hat, [a] or [æ], and roughly the vowel sound of Mod.E. mare when long, [æ]; thus OE mel and mæton (pret. sg. and pl. of metan 'to measure') differed as regards the æ as Mod.E. bat differs from Fr. bâte. OE e was similar to that in Mod.E. egg when short and like that in Germ. See when long, [e] as against [e]; for example, eft 'again' beside ét 'favour'. The short and long i in biddan '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 gode 'good' had respectively the vowel sounds in Mod.E. not [ɔ] and Fr. beau [ɔ]. Mod.E. bush and Fr. fou shew the qualities of short and long OE u, as in ful 'full' [u] and ful
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

Diphthongs which arose from the development of a glide-vowel between palatal c 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 giefan and ME gine would suggest that the diphthong came to be pronounced with falling stress giefan (but see §§ 193, 204). In a small number of words like geömör ‘sad’, gędr-dagas ‘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: geömör [joː], geďr- [jɑː]. Similarly in sceolde ‘should’, sceadu ‘toe’, geond (giond) ‘through’, sēcean ‘to seek’, sēgan ‘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 [ʃəldə], sceadu as [ʃədə], geond as [ʃjənd], sēcean as [ʃɛʃiæn], sēgan as [ʃəɡæn].

18. Classical OE had four diphthongs: ea, ēa, eo, ēo. 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, ēa may be assigned the pronunciation [eə], [eə] 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 wearð ‘became’ would be pronounced [weəð], sceāp ‘sheep’ [ʃʃəp], heorte ‘heart’ [heɔɾt], bēor ‘beer’ [bəør].

On the other diphthongs that existed at other times and in other dialects than Classical OE of c. 1000, early WS ð, early WS and non-WS ð, see §§ 193, 205. The existence of the short diphthongs has recently been denied, and it has been suggested that (for example) ea represented [eə] 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. Barritt, Some Old English Graphemic-Phonemic Correspondences—a, ea and 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, p, t, w, and x were voiceless fricatives initially and finally, but were voiced between vowels (cf Mod.E. sils beside raisin): thus sittan ‘to sit’ with [s], genesan ‘to be saved’ with [s]; þencean ‘to think’ with [θ], ðyr (ðyðr) ‘other’ with [θ]; fife ‘five’ [fiːf], ofer ‘over’ [ɔvər]. 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 [ɪ] (palatal) or ach [x] (velar). It may be most convenient for the non-specialist student to pronounce both these varieties of h medi ally or finally like the ch in Scots loch or in Welsh generally; for example, OE hēah ‘high’ as [hɛ̝ːə] 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 kynig ‘king’, for the more usual cuyning. 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’, sčnr ‘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, bær(ð)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 [tʃ], the initial sounds in Mod.E. keep and cheap respectively, according to the back or front quality of the proximate vowel in early OE (see § 22, note); thus candel ‘candle’, cōl ‘cool’, cumbol ‘banner’, cniht ‘boy’ had initial [k], but cēap ‘goods’ was pronounced [tʃe̞ːp], cild ‘child’ [tʃɪld], and cyrice ‘church’ [ʃjɪrɪʃə]. 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 ḡ 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 gàd ‘goat’, gnornian ‘to mourn’, 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], þegen ‘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 ågan ‘to own’ [ɑɣyan], fuglere ‘fowler’ [fuɣlera]. The biliteral cg was the symbol of the voiced affricate [dʒ] heard initially and finally in Mod.E. judge, for example secgan ‘to say’ [sɛdʒan].

The only one of these sounds which is difficult for present-day English-speakers is the [ɣ] value of g, and in view of the subsequent development of the words concerned, students are advised for ordinary reading purposes to pronounce this g as [w]; thus dragan ‘to draw’ [draʊgan], Chaucer [draʊn], 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 Ital. In such words as fanciuol, 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 writan ‘to write’, the c of cnåwan ‘to know’, the g of gnornian ‘to mourn’ 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 wæt ‘wet’; so too hl as in hlæd ‘loud’ is to be pronounced as a voiceless l-sound (like that heard in Welsh Llan-) and hr as in hrìng ‘ring’ is to be pronounced as a voiceless r-sound, as distinct from the normal voiced l and r of OE and Mod.E. alike. The OE group ng (for which runic writing had a separate symbol, called ‘ing’) is generally the symbol of two sounds, the velar nasal [ŋ] (the final sound in Mod.E. sing) followed by the voiced plosive [g], resulting in the sequence heard in Mod.E. finger (as opposed to singer); n before c similarly gives [ŋ] followed by the plosive [k], for example, OE singan ‘to sing’ [sɪŋɡan], drìcan ‘to drink’ [dɾɪkan].

22. There are inevitably exceptions to the above general rules of pronunciation, nor was the orthography of scribes regularly self-consistent. It is a good rule on the whole to look for guidance in doubtful cases to the practice of Mod.E. (aided if possible by ME) wherever the OE word has survived. Thus, for example, the fact that the c in Ælfc is an affricate and not a plosive may be suggested by the affricate in the Mod.E. form each. Foreign influence, however, especially Norse, may occasionally upset the correspondence, as for instance where the Norse plosive g has replaced the OE initial fricative in give and get (contrast Chaucer’s form yive).

Where OE front vowels in the stem of a word are due to the i-mutation (see § 208) of an originally back vowel, a preceding c or g tended to remain a plosive consonant, as in cynn ‘race’ [kyn] from Gmc *kun-, or cēne ‘bold’ [kēna] from Gmc *kōn-. Here too Mod.E. hin and heen serve as a guide and reminder.

23. In conclusion, here are the first eleven lines of Beowulf in a ‘broad’ phonetic transcription to represent the pronunciation of Ælfric’s time, which was the period when the extant MS of this far older poem was copied. The text followed is that of C. L. Wrenn (London 1953):

hwæt we: gardena in jardowum
θèdkyninga ðrym jafrumon,
hu: ða: æðlingas elan fremadan.
oft þyrld seving saðna ðrætum
manajum mæþum meadusetla oftæx;
esjoda earð syððan ærest wearð
fæjaft fundan; he: ðaes fromra jæbard;
weaks undar wolknum, wearðmyndum ða:x,
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 funden, gyldan, since students will find them similarly not indicated in their texts, glossaries, and the dictionaries.

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), scip (§ 31), and talu (§ 36), they should proceed to the indefinite declension of adjectives (trum, § 50), and follow this with the personal pronouns (§ 63), se, þæt, sēo (§ 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, Angelsaksisch 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, sēo, 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 bōc ‘book’ is feminine, wifmann
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'woman' is masculine, and magden '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 very few 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 DECLENSION

26. The typical paradigm is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\hline
\text{nom.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\hline
\text{se cying} & \text{þa cyingas} \\
\text{acc.} & \text{þone cying} & \text{þa cyingas} \\
\text{gen.} & \text{þees cyinges} & \text{þara cyinga} \\
\text{dat.instr.} & \text{þæm, þy cyinge} & \text{þæm cyingum} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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

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

INFLEXIONS

Simplification of final double consonants (see § 196) sometimes produces discrepancies between inflected and uninflected forms: for example, weal(l) 'wall', g.sg. wealles.

Bearu 'grove' and a few nouns with n.a.sg. forms ending in a diphthong have -w- before inflexional endings: bearuws, þēowu 'servant'—þēowses, hlēowu 'protection'—hlēowses, þēowu 'custom'—þēowses.

Fēder 'father' has an uninflected d.sg. and sometimes an uninflected g.sg. fēder (compare § 47, brōðor, etc.).

On other cases of uninflected d.sg., for example hām, see § 115.

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\hline
\text{n.} & \text{wealh} & \text{wealas} & \text{dag} & \text{dagas} \\
\text{g.} & \text{weales} & \text{weala} & \text{daøes} & \text{daga} \\
\text{d.i.} & \text{weale} & \text{wealum} & \text{daøe} & \text{dagum} \\
\end{array}
\]

The few stems ending in a vowel plus h, notably eoh 'horse', sc(e)ōh 'shoe', hā '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)ē, pl. sc(e)ōs, sc(e)ōna, sc(e)ō(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 [a] and spelt -e- in inflected cases; for example, heofenas.

Where the first syllable is long and the second short in disyllabic nouns, the second vowel is syncopated (see § 195) in inflected cases; for example, dryhten 'lord' (g.sg. dryhtnes), engel 'angel', dēofol 'devil'; syncope occurs also with a few nouns which have short first syllable (thus, fugol 'bird', nīccor '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>bæcere 'baker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>beeceræs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>bæcere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(b) Also found with inflexions like bæcere are bite 'bite', byre 'son', cyrne 'arrival', cwie 'saying', gripe 'grasp', hyge 'mind', mere 'lake', slege 'blow', wiht 'beauty'; a few, notably hisse 'young man', mete 'food', appear throughout the pl. with double consonant: hyssas, metum (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>stedæs</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, wini(ge)a. A few nouns had the -e plural regularly: yfæd 'men', ylfe 'elves', lēode 'people', and, above all, racial and tribal names such as Dene 'Danes' (g.pl. as wina), Engle 'Englishmen', Myrce 'Mercians' and Seaxe 'Saxons' (g.pl. Myrcona, Seaxna).

B—GENERAL NEUTER DECENSION

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>ṭæt scip 'the ship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>ṭæs scipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>ṭæm, ṭŷ scipe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

32. Like scip are bod 'command', brim 'sea', lim 'limb', gewrit 'writing', etc. Where the stem vowel is i 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 å, we find -a- in the pl.: HARD 'journey', færes, fære; faru, fara, farum (see § 192); so too fæt 'vessel', swæp 'track', etc.; ðead 'gate' has -ea- in the sg., -a- in the pl. (see § 204).

33. Like land are bân 'bone', bear 'child', folc 'people', scæb 'sheep', swoerd 'sword', etc. The paradigms of two common nouns in -q, 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>feorh</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, bed(d) 'bed' beside beddes, beddum; so too, cyn(n) 'race', flet(i) 'floor', gied(d) 'song', wed(d) 'pledge', and a few others. Similarly, derivative neuter nouns in -en(n), -et(i) double the n or t before endings; thus westen(n) 'desert' (n.a.pl. wæstennu), faesten 'stronghold', rymet 'space'.

Where the medial consonant cluster in inflected forms ends in w (as in bealwæs 'of evil'), the n.a.sg. and pl. ends in -u (bealu); so too, searu 'device', smeoru 'fat', teoru 'tar'. In cneō(w)
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‘knee(s)’, strea(w) ‘straw(s)’, and treo(w) ‘tree(s)’, all n.a.sg. and pl., the g.d.i.sg. and pl. may have short or long vowels: cmēnes, strēawa, trēowum.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>wite ‘punishment’</td>
<td>witu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>wites</td>
<td>wita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>wite</td>
<td>witum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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 riċe: n.a.pl. riċ(i)u, g.pl. riċ(e)a, d.i.pl. riċ(i)um; see § 194.

35. Dissyllabic 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 inflexions.

(a) In general, dissyllables with short first syllable decline like land, with uninflected n.a.pl.; thus werōd ‘troop’, reced ‘house’, and others, but late forms with -u are not uncommon; water ‘water’ has frequent -u plurals (both waetaru and waetru), and -u forms are usual with yfel ‘evil’. The position is similar with a number of nouns which appear sometimes spelt as dissyllables with long first syllable and sometimes without the second vowel in uninflected cases: thus tāc(e)n ‘sign’, tung(o)l ‘star’, wund(u)r ‘wonder’, wēp(e)n ‘weapon’ have usually the same forms in n.a.sg. and n.a.pl., but they may also have -u plurals (tācnu, tungulu, wunduru, wēpunu). On the other hand, the majority of dissyllables with long first syllable have -u plurals throughout OE (heafod ‘head’—heafodu, nyclen ‘animal’—nyclenu, pāsend ‘thousand’—pāsendu), though uninflected plurals like heafod, pāsend also occur.

(b) As regards syncope of the second vowel, this is unusual where the first syllable is short (recedes, weorodes, etc.), though syncopated forms of water (waetres, waetru) are common enough.

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></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>sēō talu ‘the tale’</td>
<td>pā talu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>pā tale</td>
<td>pā talu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>pāre tale</td>
<td>pāra talu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>pāre tale</td>
<td>pāem talum</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)na.

37. Like talu are andswear ‘answer’, c(e)aru ‘grief’, cvalu ‘killing’, sacu ‘strife’, and others; long-stemmed nouns with n.sg. in -u include cyďdu ‘native land’, fāhunu ‘feud’, gesāðu ‘prosperity’, and strenghu ‘strength’, though all of these have both alternative sg. forms without ending and alternative a.g.d.i.sg. forms in -u.

38. Like gūf are hōt ‘advantage’, brycg ‘bridge’, eaxl ‘shoul-der’, ecg ‘edge’, hwul ‘space of time’, rōd ‘cross’, sorg ‘sorrow’, and many others. Several nouns which may or may not have
a final double consonant in n.sg. always have the double consonant in the rest of the paradigm: thus *ben(n)* 'wound', *hell(l)* 'Hell', *sib(b)* 'kinship', *wyn(n)* 'joy', etc., and derivatives in -en(n) and -nes(s) such as *byrge(n)* 'tomb', *gōdnes(s)* 'goodness'. Derivatives in -ung (see §§ 164, 170) such as *leornung* 'learning' have alternative forms in -a for a.g.d.i.sg.

Dissyllables with short first syllable, such as *firen* 'violence', *dugb* 'valour', *tādē* 'woman', are declined like glōf without syncope of the second vowel (e.g. *firen*um); dissyllables with long first syllable, such as *frēfor* 'comfort', *sāwol* 'soul', have syncope before endings but are otherwise like glōf: *frēfre, sāwela*.

Inflectional 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', *scedu* 'shadow' (a.sg. *beadwe, scedwe*), *mād* 'meadow' (a.sg. *mādwe*); the paradigm is otherwise like glōf, and indeed oblique cases of *mād* sometimes lack the -w- (§ 187).

*Cīlē* 'claw' is usually declined *clave* etc.; *prawu* 'misery' has an alternative form *prēa* throughout the sg. and n.a.pl. with a d.i.pl. *prēam*; *brā* 'eyebrow' has the following pl. forms: n.a. *brā(n)a*, g. *brāna*, d.i. *brāw(um)*; *sā* 'river' is usually unchanged throughout the sg. and n.a.pl. with a d.i.pl. *sām*, but several variants occur, notably a g.sg. *sās*.

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, uninflected 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:

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{n.a.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{sg.} & \text{dēd} & \text{dēdē} \\
\text{g.} & \text{dēde} & \text{dēda} \\
\text{d.i.} & \text{dēde} & \text{dēdum} \\
\end{array}
\]

So too, *bēn* 'prayer', *cwēn* 'woman', *fyrån* 'levy', *mīht* 'power', *nyd* 'necessity', *tīd* 'time', *wēn* 'expectation', *wyrd* 'fate', and several others.

**INFLEXIONS**

With *ā* 'law' (earlier *āw*), we find uninflected forms throughout the sg. and n.a.pl. *ā*, as well as g.d.i.sg. *āwe*, n.a.pl. *āw*; *ō* 'sea' is sometimes masc. (g.sg. *sēs*, d.i. *sē, n.a.pl. *sēs*, g.pl. *sēwes*, d.i.pl. *sēn, sēwun* and sometimes fem. (g.d.i.sg. *sē or sēwe, n.a.pl. *sē*).

**D—THE -AN DECLENSION**

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{masc.} & \text{fem.} & \text{neut.} \\
\text{sg.n.} & \text{se guma} & \text{ǣō byrne} & \text{pǣt ēage} \\
\text{a.} & \text{ böne guman} & \text{þa byrnan} & \text{þæt ēagan} \\
\text{g.} & \text{þæs guman} & \text{þāre byrnan} & \text{þæt ēagan} \\
\text{d.i.} & \text{þām, þē guman} & \text{þāre byrnan} & \text{þーム, þē ēagan} \\
\text{pl.n.a.} & \text{þā guman} & \text{þā byrnan} & \text{þā ēagan} \\
\text{g.} & \text{þāra guman} & \text{þāra byrnan} & \text{þāra ēgena} \\
\text{d.i.} & \text{þām guman} & \text{þām byrnum} & \text{þーム ēgum} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

Like *byrne* are *cyrice* 'church', *eorde* 'earth', *heorte* 'heart', *hlǣfgige* 'lady', *tunge* 'tongue', and many others.

Like *ēage* is *ēare* 'ear'.

A few nouns in this class have g.pl. in -na, notably *wilna* (willa 'desire'): *tunga, ðagna* are alternative g.pl. forms; *oxa* '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 *gefā* 'foe', *gefē* 'joy', *frēa* 'lord', *Sweōn* (pl.) *Swedes*, *tuēo* 'doubt', *wēa* 'woe'; feminines are *bēō* '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 reformed with -um (*Swēnum*), sometimes preceded by the n of other cases (*lēnum*); *lēō* 'lion' sometimes has the -n of the Latin oblique cases (*lēonan, lēōnum*) and has a d.i.sg. form *lēm*.
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

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 där 'door', nosu 'nose', hond 'hand':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>sunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>suna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>sunda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *flor* (also with masc. forms of the General type) 'floor', *ceaworn* 'mill'.

It will be seen that *sunus* 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: *æg* 'egg', *bædrum*'

45. (c) uninflected plurals

We have here three sub-groups, the one comprising nouns in -end, the second a few nouns which have -u- 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>ridend 'rider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>ridendes ridendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>ridende ridendum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

46. In the second sub-group we have the masculines *hæla(ð)* 'hero', *mōnəd* 'month'; a feminine, *mæg(ð)* 'maiden'; and a neuter, *ealu* 'ale'; *hæla(ð)* is declined thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>hæla(ð)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>hælaðes hælaða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>hælaðe hælaðum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mōnəd* has medial -e- or syncope in g.d.i.sg. and pl.: *mōn(ð)eþ*, *mōn(ð)eþ*, etc.; both *mōnəd* and *hæla(ð)* also have n.a.pl. forms in -as. The fem. *mæg(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 *mæg(ð)e*. The defective neut. *ealu* appears as *ealuð* in g.d.i.sg. and the only pl. form recorded is the gen. *ealuða*.
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

47. In the third sub-group are the masc. brōðor 'brother', and the fem. mōdor '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>brōðora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>brēðor</td>
<td>brōðrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Brōðor, dohtor, mōdor have alternative n.a.pl. forms brōð(e)ru, dothru, -ra, mōdra, -ru, and the latter two are found also with mutation in g.sg. (dohtēr, mēder). On fēder '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 fēōnd 'toe', fōōnd 'friend' (n.a.pl. -ē-,-ē-), which have alternative n.a.pl. forms f(r)ōōnd(as), mann 'man' and wifmann 'woman' (n.a.pl. -ē-).

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>gēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>gōse</td>
<td>gōsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>gēs</td>
<td>gōsum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like gōs are bōc 'book', brōc 'breeches'; here belong also āc 'oak' (n.a.pl. āc), burg 'breeches' (n.a.pl. byr(i)g), lūs 'louse' and mūs 'mouse' (n.a.pl. -ūs), and a few others. Some of these are recorded with an alternative g.sg. form with mutation and without ending: e.g. bēc, byrig. A minor variation is represented by hnutu 'nut' which has g.sg. hnutu, d.i.sg. n.a.pl. hnyte. Cū 'cow' has g.sg. cū, cūē, cūy, cūs, n.a.pl. cū(e)g, g.pl. cū(n)ja, cūna; furh 'furrow' loses the h before inflexions.

Adjectives

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 cēll 'all', fēal(we) 'few', genōg 'enough', manig 'many', and ðēder 'other', which are always indefinite; and īlca 'same', ordinal numerals (except ðēder), comparatives, and for the most part superlatives, which take the definite inflexion.

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>trum</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>trumre</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>trumra</td>
<td>trumu</td>
<td>trumra</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. lādlic 'hateful', lufsum 'amid...
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

able'). Adjectives like *glæd* 'happy', *hwæt* 'bold', where the stem vowel is *ē*, have *-a*—before an inflexional vowel; thus a.sg.fem. *glade* beside a.sg.masc. *glæde*.

Adjectives which have *-e* in the n.sg.masc. and n.a.sg.neut. differ from *trum* in these respects only; for example, *axe* 'noble', *doēre* 'dear', *grēne* 'green', *māre* '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, *gearwe* g.sg.masc. and neut., *gearwe* a.sg.masc., etc.; *-u*- sometimes also appears before *-um*. The neuter form *féa* 'few' (pl. only) is often an invariable n.a. form, though separate forms *féa*-*we*, *-a* are also common; g.pl. is *féa*(we)ra, d.i.pl. *féa*(we)um, *féa*men.

*Cucu* (curcu) '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. *cucu*; but the distinctive inflexions of *cucu* are rare, a more frequent form being *cucone*, inflected like *trum*. Also declined like *gearu* are *fealu* 'dark', *geołu* 'yellow', *nearu* 'narrow', and a few others.

52. Long-stemmed monosyllables differ from *trum* in being uninflected in n.sg.fem. and n.a.pl.neut. where *trum* has *-u* (see § 188); thus *blind* 'blind', *dēad* 'dead', *eal* 'old', *lād* 'hostile', *sōd* 'true', *wīs* 'wise', and many other common adjectives. So too compound adjectives in *-isc*, *-ēas*, *-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 uninflected forms of certain adjectives sometimes end in a single, sometimes in a double consonant: e.g. *eal(l)h* 'all', *grim(m)h* 'grim'; they usually have the single consonant before endings beginning with a consonant (*grimne*, *ealre*), the double consonant before endings beginning with a vowel (*grimne*, *ealium*).

Adjectives whose uninflected stem ends in *-h* lose the *h* in inflected forms (see § 189); thus *puwcorh* 'perverse'; with *fah* 'hostile', *hēah* 'high', *nēah* 'near' we find in addition the doubling of the consonant in the inflexions *-ne*, *-re*, and *-ra*, and the

INFLEXIONS:

disappearance of the vowel from the remaining inflexions: *hēanne*, *hēarr*, *hēas*, *hēa*, etc., but we also find single consonant forms (*hēane*, etc.) and analogical re-formations such as *hēāre*, *hēaum*.

Frēð(h) 'free' has a variety of forms: a.sg.masc. *frēone*, *frigne*, a.sg.fem. *frēo*, *frige*, and similar pairs.

53. We come now to the dissyllabic (and in a few cases tri-syllabic) adjectives in -*ig*, -*en*, -*el*, -*er*, -*or* (§§ 170 ff). Where the stressed syllable is short (as in *manig* 'many', *swutol* 'clear'), the n.sg.fem. and n.a.pl.neut. are almost always uninflected; in such adjectives, too, syncope is often resisted and one has forms like *maniges*, *swuotes*, though with *micel* and *yfel* syncopated forms (*miclum*, *yffum*, etc.) are very frequent. Where the stressed syllable is long (as in *lyfel* 'little', *cristen* 'Christian', *hālīg* 'holy'), the n.sg.fem. and n.a.pl.neut. are usually in -*u* (*lylu*, *hālīgu*); syncope is usual before endings in or beginning with a vowel (*lyfles*, *hāle*, *hālgum*), except that it tends to be resisted before -*u* (*hāl(i)gus*, *lyf(e)lu*) and is not frequent with adjectives in -*en* (cristeneses).

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>truma</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>trume</td>
<td>trume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
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<tr>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
<td>truman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trumra</td>
<td>trumra</td>
<td>trumra</td>
<td>trumra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trumum</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 (§ 52) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>earm ‘poor’</td>
<td>earma ‘poorer’</td>
<td>earmost ‘poorest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heard ‘hard’</td>
<td>heardra</td>
<td>heardost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leōf ‘dear’</td>
<td>leōfra</td>
<td>leōfost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the stem vowel of monosyllabic adjectives is ā, the superlative has -a- (see § 192):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glad ‘glad’</td>
<td>gladdr</td>
<td>gladost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives like gearu are compared as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gearu ‘ready’</td>
<td>gearora</td>
<td>gearwost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nearu ‘narrow’</td>
<td>nearora</td>
<td>nearwost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives like rice drop the -e before the endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bliō ‘happy’</td>
<td>bliōra</td>
<td>bliōfost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cēne ‘bold’</td>
<td>cēnora</td>
<td>cēnost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice ‘powerful’</td>
<td>ricora</td>
<td>ricost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Long-stemmed adjectives in -en, -or, -il, etc. sometimes show syncope before the superlative ending and sometimes not (crafgost ‘strongest’, gaz[l]gost ‘happiest’, but also gaz[el]gost); with short-stemmed adjectives syncope is rare (swutolost ‘clearest’, snoterost ‘wisest’). Syncope is extremely rare before the comparative ending (crafgthra, swutolthra).

56. 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eald ‘old’</td>
<td>yldr</td>
<td>yldest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feor ‘far’</td>
<td>fyrra</td>
<td>fyrrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geong ‘young’</td>
<td>ginglya</td>
<td>ginglyest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greāt ‘large’</td>
<td>glytra</td>
<td>glyṭest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēah ‘high’</td>
<td>hýrra</td>
<td>hýrst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang ‘long’</td>
<td>lengra</td>
<td>lengest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceort ‘short’</td>
<td>scyrtra</td>
<td>scyrtest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strang ‘strong’</td>
<td>strengra</td>
<td>strengest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>göd ‘good’</td>
<td>betra</td>
<td>betst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lýtel ‘little’</td>
<td>lēsssa</td>
<td>lēst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micel ‘great’</td>
<td>māra</td>
<td>māst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfel ‘evil’</td>
<td>wyrsa</td>
<td>wyrst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beside betra, we find also betera, bettra; beside betst(a), wyrst(a), we find betest(a), wi(e)r(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>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ēr ‘before’)</td>
<td>ērra ‘earlier’</td>
<td>ērest ‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ēast ‘eastwards’)</td>
<td>ēasterra ‘more’</td>
<td>ēastmest ‘most’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inne ‘inside’)</td>
<td>innerra ‘inner’</td>
<td>innemest ‘inmost’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like ēast are nord ‘northwards’, sūd ‘southwards’, west ‘westwards’; like inne is úte ‘outside’, except that it has alternative comp. and superl. forms with mutation, yt-. 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>Adjective</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oft ‘often’</td>
<td>oftor</td>
<td>oftost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hraðe ‘quickly’</td>
<td>hraðor</td>
<td>hraðost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luflice ‘lovingly’</td>
<td>luflicer</td>
<td>luflicost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- ‘little’ lýt → lès → læst
- ‘much’ micle → mā → mæst
- ‘well’ wel → bet → betst
- ‘ill’ yfle ‘ill’ → wyrs → wyrst

Alternative forms include betst and wi(e)r(e)st. Seldan ‘rarely’ has comp. seld(n)or, superl. seldost. Examples with i-mutation (besides bet, wyrs, etc.) include lange ‘long’—langest, nyf (beside neyr) ‘nearer’, sōt ‘more softly’, sō ‘more easily’, and one or two others.

Numerals

60.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ān</td>
<td>forma, fyrtast, fyrmest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. twēgen</td>
<td>ðēr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pry</td>
<td>pridda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. feower</td>
<td>feóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. fif</td>
<td>fifta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. syx</td>
<td>syxta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. sefon</td>
<td>seofoða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. eahta</td>
<td>ehtoða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. nigon</td>
<td>nigoða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. týn</td>
<td>teóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. endleofan</td>
<td>endleofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. twelf</td>
<td>twelft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. þreotýne</td>
<td>þrteóða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. twentig</td>
<td>twentigoða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. ān and twentig</td>
<td>ān and twentigoða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. prītig</td>
<td>-oða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. hundseofontig</td>
<td>-oða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. hundeahatig</td>
<td>-oða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. hundningontig</td>
<td>-oða</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100. hundteóntig, hundteóntigoða</td>
<td>hund(red)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110. hundendleofantig</td>
<td>-oða</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 æftimest þen þam hundum hundrum ‘last in the two hundred’, i.e. ‘two-hundredth’.

61. All ordinals follow the definite declension (§ 54), except ðēr 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 twa (with an alternative neut. form tā); g.pl. twēg(r)a, d.i.pl. twēm or twām. Pry is also the n.a.pl.masc., and the n.a.pl.neut. and fem. is prēð, g.pl. þreora, d.i.pl. þrim.

Like twēgen is bēgen ‘both’, n.a. neut. and fem. bā (bā), g. bēg(r)a, d.i. bēm, bām.

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. -u, g. -a, d.i.-um. Thus fif menn ‘five men’, but ic séo fifa ‘I see five’. Numerals in -tig are sometimes declined as neuter nouns (thus with a g.sg., as in þritiges mila brād ‘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 syxa sum ‘one of six’ are special cases of the partitive genitive and are discussed in § 101, note; ordinals with healf are used as follows: ðēr healf ‘one and a half’, þride healf ‘two and a half’, fifta healf hund ‘four hundred and fifty’, etc.
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Pronouns

63. Personal

First Person

| sg. | dual | pl. 
|-----|------|------
| n.  | ic   | wit  | wē 
| a.  | mē   | unc  | ūs  
| g.  | mín   | uncer | ūre  
| d.i. | mē   | unc  | ūs  

Second Person

| n.  | pū   | git  | ġē  
| a.  | pē   | inc  | ēow  
| g.  | pēn  | inc  | ēower  
| d.i. | pē   | inc  | ēow  

Third Person

| masc. | neut. | fem. | pl. common 
|-------|-------|------|------
| n.  | hē    | hit  | hēo | hī  
| a.  | hine  | hit  | hī  | hī  
| g.  | his   | hire | hira | hira  
| d.i. | him   | hire | hira | hira  

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.: mec, uncer, ēsic; pec, incet, ēōwic; ēōw(-) often appears as ēōw(-), ēare as ēāser; in the 3rd pers. there is considerable variety of form: for example, hine, his, him, hit, etc. often appear in IWS spelt -y-, and hi, hire, hira often appear as hi (hēo), hiere, heora; so too we find hœom for d.i.pl.

64. Possessive

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

65. Demonstrative

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

---

INFLEXIONS

(a) se 'the, that'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.n.</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>pāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>pone</td>
<td>pāet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>pēes</td>
<td>pēes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>pēm</td>
<td>pēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>ēy</td>
<td>ēy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) pes 'this'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.n.a.</td>
<td>ēy</td>
<td>ēy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>ēara</td>
<td>ēara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.i.</td>
<td>ēam</td>
<td>ēam</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 pēm, pon for ēy, pīsre for pisse, -t- for -t-, etc.

66. Interrogative

Hwæder 'which (of two)', hwelc (or hwec) 'which (of many)' are declined with the indefinite adjective inflexion; hwā 'who' has only masc. and neut. sg. forms, which are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| n.    | hwā  | hwat  
| a.    | hwone | hwat  
| g.    | hwæs | hwæs  
| d.    | hwæm | hwæm  
| i.    | hwæm | hwēy  

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

67. Indefinite

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

āhwā, āhwæder, āhwelc, 'anyone', etc.;
gehwā, gehwylc, etc., 'each one', etc.;
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æhwā, æghwylc, etc., 'each one', etc.;
swā hwā swā, etc., 'whoever', etc.;
hwæthwugu 'something', hwelchwugu 'someone';
nāthwā, nāthwelc 'someone' (lit. 'I don't know who').

Other indefinite pronouns include Ælc 'each', Ænig 'any', man or mon 'one' (see §§ 120e, 131), swelec (swycle) 'such', pyllic 'such', wiht (and its compounds and variants such as Æwiht, Æuht) 'anything', and several others.

Hwā, hwader, hwelc are declined as stated in § 66; swelec is like hwelc; Ælc, Ænig, and pyllic (or pyllic) 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 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 -ð.

(2) The pret. indic. sg. has 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., 1st p.pl. (vocalic verbs only), and past participle.
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The pres. indic. 1 p.sg. is found in -u, later -o in Anglian texts; the 2 p.sg. in -(e)est is generally reckoned a development of -es before the initial dental of the pron. pù, and this earlier ending is found in some texts; instead of -(e)st, the 3 p.sg. is found in -es in Nb texts. In AN the -e of the 2 and 3 p.sg. endings has almost always been lost, with the result that the -st, -p coming immediately after the stem occasion a number of assimilations; for example: -(d)est, -(d)p, -(t) > -(st), -(t) resp., thus we have, not *biddst, *lādst, *biddp, *lādp, *sīlp, but bīst, lāst, bītl(), lātl(), sītl() from biddan 'pray', lādan 'lead', sittan 'sit'; -(st), -(st) > -(st), thus we have, not *lūst, *lūsp, *cūst, but lūst, lūst, cūst from lūsan 'loosen', cūdan 'proclaim'. See also § 76, note. Syncope of the -e in the pret. dental suffix of consonantal verbs (broadly speaking, after dentals and long syllables: see § 191) was likewise accompanied by assimilation; beside cūdā we find cūdā 'proclaimed', instead of -(e)stē, we find set(e) 'set', etc. On assimilation, see further §§ 191, 197, and for individual verbs the student's attention is directed to the principal parts as listed in the paragraphs to follow.

There are alternative 1 and 2 p.pl. forms of all tenses and moods in -e when the pronouns (wē, wē, ge, gū) immediately follow: purfe gē 'do you need?'

There is a rare 1 p.pl. imperat. in -an, -on: fremmān 'let us do', lufian 'let us love'.

The prefix ge- is not found with past participles which already have a prefix (such as be-, for-), and is not universal even with other verbs. On voice and aspect, see §§ 131, 129 f.

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 -(e)r, 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 -(e)r- 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', lufian 'love':

INFLEXIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>I(a)</th>
<th>I(b)</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indic.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg. ic</td>
<td>fremme</td>
<td>nerie</td>
<td>dēme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. pū</td>
<td>fremest</td>
<td>nerest</td>
<td>dēmist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg. hē, hē, hit</td>
<td>fremēo</td>
<td>nereō</td>
<td>dēmō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1–3 pl. wē, gē, hi</td>
<td>fremmaēo</td>
<td>neriāo</td>
<td>dēmaēo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Subj. |      |      |    |
| 1–3 sg. ic, pū, hē(&c) | fremme | nerie | dēme | lufie |
| 1–3 pl. wē, gē, hi | fremmen | neren | dēmen | lufen |

| Imperat. 2 sg. |      |      |    |
| freme | nere | dēm | lufa |
| 2 pl. | fremmaēo | neriāo | dēmaēo | lufiaēo |

| Participle |      |      |    |
| fremmende | neriende | dēmende | lufiende |

Preterite

Indic.

1 & 3 sg. ic, hē(&c) | fremede | neređe | dēmđe | lufđe |
| 2 sg. pū | fremedest | neredest | đemđest | lufđest |
| 1–3 pl. wē, gē, hi | fremedon | neredon | dēmđon | lufđon |

| Subj. |      |      |    |
| 1–3 sg. ic, pū, hē(&c) | fremede | neređe | dēmđe | lufđe |
| 1–3 pl. wē, gē, hi | fremeden | nereden | dēmden | lufđden |

| Participle |      |      |    |
| gefremed | genered | gedēmed | gelufđed |

The dual pronouns, wē and gē, accompany the same verb forms as wē and gē. Between ĭ and ĕ we often find [j], spelt g; thus nerige, lunifende; g(e) may also replace i (neri(e)an, lunifende), and ge may also come between i and a (nerigean).

71. Other common Class I verbs are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>infin.</th>
<th>3 sg.</th>
<th>1, 3 sg.</th>
<th>past pple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(a)

āswēbban 'kill' | āswēfeō | āswefede | āswefed
tryman 'strengthen' | trymeō | trymed | getrymed
Like tryman are cnyssan 'strike', dynnan 'resound'.

settān 'set' | set | sette | -sett
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Like setlan are cnyttan ‘bind’, lettan ‘hinder’.
lecgan ‘lay’ legde -legd (-léd)
derian ‘injure’ derede -dered
Like derian are erian ‘plough’, ferian ‘carry’, herian ‘praise’, spyrian ‘inquire’, werian ‘defend’.

(b) bærnan ‘burn up’ bærnđ bærnde -bærned
cyfan ‘proclaim’ cydf cydde -cydd
So too civian ‘lament’; both verbs have alternative pret. forms with -dd-.
fylan ‘fill’ fylđ fylde -fylld
So too cennan ‘bring forth’, cyran ‘turn’, fyllan ‘fell’.
sendan ‘send’ sent sende -send
So too andwyrdan ‘answer’, spendan ‘spend’, wendan ‘urn’.
nemnan ‘name’ nemmε nemde -nemned
bætan ‘make amends’ bét bête -bêted
ýcan ‘increase’ ýcö ýcete -ýced
Like bætan and ýcan, with pret. formed with -e-, are grætan ‘greet’, mélan ‘meet’, swencan ‘molest’, wætan ‘moisten’.
cysan ‘kiss’ cyssε cyste -cyssed
(ge)læstan ‘carry out’ læst -læste -læstæd
Like -læstan are befæstan ‘secure’, pyrstan ‘thirst’, wæstan ‘lay waste’.
bylan ‘build’ bytleδ bytlede -bytlæd
So too fréfran ‘comfort’, timbran ‘build’.
gyrwan ‘prepare’ gyreδ gyrede -gyr(w)ed
So too (by)gyrfan ‘ensnare’; on the loss of -w-, see §197.
tæcan ‘teach’ tæcδ tæhte -tæht
So too gænnæcan ‘unite’, ræcan ‘reach’.

INFLEXIONS

On the syncope and assimilation shown in many of the preterites, see §191. There are a few fairly rare contracted verbs, hæån ‘exalt’, fým ‘perform’, fýn ‘teach’, fýn ‘press’, with pret. hédæ, pêðe, tyðe, pêde resp. Pret. forms yathe, ïhte are also found for ñcan.

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

setlan ‘sell’ selδ seald -seald

reccan ‘narrate’ recδ reahete -rehte

leccan ‘catch’ læcδ læhte -læht
byccan ‘buy’ bycδ bohte -boht
wyrcan ‘make’ wyrδ worhte -worht
bringan ‘bring’ bringδ bróhte -bróht
þencan ‘think’ þencδ póhte - póht
þyncan ‘seem’ þyncδ póhte - póht
sécan ‘seek’ sëcδ sóhte - sóht

The short vowel in the present of leccan is difficult; cf also recan ‘care’, pret. rihte. After c in the infinitives wyrccan, leccan, recan, etc. we often find an orthographic d. On the a~y correspondence in byccan, wyrccan, see §§ 203, 211. Bringan belongs historically to the vocalic Class III (see §77), and a past pple brungen is recorded; the historically correct infinitive corresponding to bróhte is brengan, 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’ endaδ endode -endod
AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

macian 'make', sceawian 'look at', tréwian 'trust', wеordian 'honour', wunian 'dwell', wndian 'wound'.

Here belong also a few contracted verbs of which the commonest are fréodan 'love' (cf also fëon 'hate'), sméagan 'think', treódan 'doubt', préudan 'reprove'; the preterites are fréođe, sméđe, twóđe, préđe resp.

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

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 drifan 'drive' (a straightforward example), cēósan 'choose' (affected by the second cons. shift: §§ 180f), habban 'raise' (an example of an otherwise vocalic verb with 'consonantal type' present), and sēon 'see' (a contracted verb: § 190):

Present

Indic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 sg. ic</th>
<th>2 sg. pū</th>
<th>3 sg. hē, hēo, hit</th>
<th>r-3 pl. wē, gē, hi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drif</td>
<td>drife</td>
<td>drifst</td>
<td>drifō</td>
<td>drifað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin.</td>
<td>cēos</td>
<td>cīst</td>
<td>cēst</td>
<td>cēosāð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hefbe</td>
<td>hebbe</td>
<td>hefst</td>
<td>hefō</td>
<td>hebbāð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōn</td>
<td>sēo</td>
<td>syhst</td>
<td>syhō</td>
<td>sēō</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Subj.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 sg. ic, pū, hē(&amp;c)</th>
<th>2 sg. pū</th>
<th>3 sg. hē, hēo, hit</th>
<th>r-3 pl. wē, gē, hi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>drifað</td>
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<tr>
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<td>cēosāð</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hefbe</td>
<td>hebbe</td>
<td>hebbāð</td>
<td>hebbāð</td>
<td>hebben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōn</td>
<td>sēo</td>
<td>sēō</td>
<td>sēō</td>
<td>sēō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INFLEXIONS

Imperat. 2 sg. | drif | cēos | hēfe | sēo

2 pl. | drifō | cēosāð | hebbāð | sēō

Participle

|            | drifende | cēosende | hebbende | sōnde |

Preterite

Indic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>r &amp; 3 sg. ic, hē(&amp;c)</th>
<th>1 sg. ic</th>
<th>2 sg. pū</th>
<th>3 sg. hē, hēo, hit</th>
<th>r-3 pl. wē, gē, hi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Draf</td>
<td>drif</td>
<td>drifō</td>
<td>drifō</td>
<td>drifað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin.</td>
<td>cēos</td>
<td>cēst</td>
<td>cēst</td>
<td>cēosāð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēfe</td>
<td>hefte</td>
<td>hefō</td>
<td>hefō</td>
<td>hebbāð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōn</td>
<td>sēo</td>
<td>syhst</td>
<td>syhō</td>
<td>sēō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle

|            | gedrifend | gecoren | gehafen | gesewe |

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 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drif</td>
<td>drifō</td>
<td>draf</td>
<td>dripon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin.</td>
<td>cēos</td>
<td>cēosāð</td>
<td>cēosāð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>hebbāð</td>
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<td>hebbāð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōn</td>
<td>sēō</td>
<td>sēō</td>
<td>sēō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So too blican 'shine', hrinan 'touch', midan 'hide', ričan 'reap', scinan 'shine', stigan 'ascend', swican 'deceive'.

|            |            |            |            |           |
| rīsan      | rist       | rās        | rīson     | rīsen    |
| bidan 'wait'| bitt       | bād        | bidon     | bīden    |
| bitan 'bite'| bitt       | bāt        | biton     | biten    |

Also with 3 p.sg. in -tt are gewitan 'depart', glidan 'glide', ridan 'ride', sīlan 'tear', writan 'look', wrītan 'write'.

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

|            |            |            |            |           |
| līsān      | līōs       | lāō         | līdon     | -līden   |
| snīsān 'cut' | snīōs       | snāō       | snidon    | -sniden  |

The contracted verbs are also so affected:

|            |            |            |            |           |
| lēōn 'lend' | līhōs       | lāh         | līgon     | -līgen   |

Other contracted verbs are lēōn 'accuse', pōon 'prosper', tērōon 'cover'.

Verbs like stīgan have alternative 1 and 3 sg. pret. forms in -h (ståh beside stāg). The s of rīsan has been carried analogically into the pret. pl.
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and past pple; contrast closan, § 76. The eo of the contracted infinitives caused verbs like pænon to be given alternative forms on the Cl. II model: pæh, pungen, -pogen; in fact, however, pænon belonged originally to Cl. III (*pinhan), hence the occasional Cl. III forms of this verb, notably the past pple gepnun 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.

clofar 'cleave' clyf cloaf clufon -cloffen
Soo too breowan 'brew', hreowan 'rue', smecan 'smoke'; dreogan 'endure', fleogan 'fly', leogan 'lie' have 1 and 3 sg. pret. in both -g and -h.

beadan 'offer' bytt bead budon -boden
breotan 'break' byftt breat bruton -broten
Also with 3 sg. pres. in -tt are fleoten 'float', geotan 'pour', greotan 'weep', sceotan 'shoot'.

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

seoden 'boil' sydd sead sudon -soden
closan 'choose' cys cæs curon -coren

Like closan are dreosan 'fall', (for)losan 'lose', freosan 'freeze', hreosan 'fall'.

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

flæon 'flee' flyhæ flæon flugen -flogen
So too teon 'draw'.

The aorist-present pattern is as follows:

brucan 'enjoy' brycan bæc brucon -brocen
So too bågan (bæg, bæh) 'bend', dàfan 'dive', lúcan 'lock', lútan 'bow', scæfan 'push'.

In abroðan 'perish', unlike seoden, the œ has been extended to the pret. pl. and past pple. The 1 and 3 sg. pret. of ofræowan 'pity' is ofhræow. 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. cyst and flæhæ, from closan and flæon respectively. These changes do not affect consonantal verbs, since Cl. I verbs already have mutated vowels (compare demjan 'judge' with dom 'judgment') and Cl. II verbs were not subject to the mutations because they 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 -o, preceded by the unchanged infinitive vowel, as closed.

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

(a) drincan 'drink' drinc, dranc druncon -druncen
So too climban 'climb', geliman 'happen', onginan 'begin', suncan 'sink', singan 'sing', springan 'spring', swimman 'swim', swincan 'toil', frigan 'press', winnan 'strive'.

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

Two verbs, byran (birnan) and yrnan (irnan) have been affected by metathesis (§ 193; compare the Gothic forms brin-
nan, irnan):

byran 'burn' byrned barn burnon -burnen
yrnan 'run' yrned arm urmon -urnen

The 1 and 3 sg. pret. may have -a- instead of -a- (§ 188), or alternatively -a- (§§ 193, 201). An unmetathesised verb (ge)rinnan in the sense of 'flow' has forms like -ginnan. We sometimes find funda throughout the pret. sg. of findan.

78. (b) helpan 'help' hilp helpal hulpal -holpen
For the -ea-, see §§ 207ff; so too belgan 'be angry', delfan 'dig', swelgan 'swallow', swellan 'swell'; meltan 'melt' and swellan 'die' have 3 sg. pres. in -ill.

gylpan 'boast' glyp geal gulpon -golpen
With infinitive similarly affected by palatal consonant diphthongisation (§ 204) are glydan 'pay' (3 sg. pres. gyll), gyllan 'yell'; these verbs occur also with -te- in the infin. and pres. forms.

weorpan 'throw' wyreþ wearp wurpon -worpen
Also with diphthongisation (§§ 207ff) in infin. are beorgan
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'protect' (r.3 sg. pret. bearg, bearh), ceorfan 'cut', eohlan 'fight' (3 sg. pres. fyh), hueorfan 'turn', steorfan 'die'. Two aorist-presents belong here, murnan 'mourn' (with an alternative consonantal pret. murnde, beside mearn) and spurnan 'spurn'; both have 3 sg. pres. in -yrrn.

Affected by the second cons. shift (§§ r80f) is:

weordan 'become' wyrð wearð wurdon -worden
Fstron 'enter' has Cl. III forms fealh, fulgon, etc. beside the more usual Cl. IV pret. pl. fælon, past pple -felen.

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', streogan 'strew'; these have alternative forms with loss of g and lengthening (§ 197): brédan, bræd, brádon, etc. With frigian (frían) 'ask'; there are several variant forms, including r and 3 sg. pret. frægn, fran, fræng; pret. pl. frægnon, fránon, frungon; past pple -frugen, -u., -frügen; from the same root, there was also an infin. friogan and past pple -frigen on the Cl. V model (compare liegan, § 81).

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

beran 'bear' birð bær bærón -boren
So too brecan 'break', helan 'conceal', stelan 'steal', teran 'tear'; scearan 'cut' has in addition forms affected by palatal consonant diphthongisation (§ 204): scearan, scear, scearon.

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

cuman 'come' cymð cóm cómon -cumen
niman 'take' nimð nóð nómon -numen

In addition the latter pair have the pret. forms cwyðmon, nam, námon, 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' spricð spræc sprócon -sprecen
So too drepán 'strike' (with alternative past pple -drepån), metan 'measure', swefan 'sleep', trédan 'tread', wéfan 'weave', wrecan 'avenge'; (fr)étan 'eat' has r and 3 sg. pret. (fr)éti.

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

gífan gífð geað geáfôn -gífen
-gytan -gytt -geat -géaton -gyten

The following verb is affected by the second cons. shift (§§ r80f):
cweðan 'say' cwiðð cwað cwaðon -cwenen
So too the defective verb wesån 'be' (see § 87).

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

geféðn 'rejoice' géfyhð géfeah géfágon (géfægn, adj.)
seón 'see' sýhð sáh sáwon -sáwen

A few verbs have present forms of the consonantal type:

biddan 'pray' bitt bán bédón -beden
liegan 'lie' lið læg lægon -legen

So too sittan 'sit', friogan (cf frigian, § 79) 'ask' (past pple -frigen or -fågen), liegan 'receive' (3 sg. pres. piged, i and 3 sg. pret. peah; cf géfeðn).

Liegán has an alternative pret. pl. lägon; on the -a- in this form and in sáwon, see § 187f; sáðn has another common past pple form -sáwen; in addition, there are forms with -e- in the pret. pl. (ságon, sǽgon) and past pple (-segon); see § 180.

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

faran 'go' færð fór fóron -fárn
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So too bacan 'bake', dragan 'draw', galan 'sing', grafan 'dig', hladan 'load', wadan 'go', wescan (waxan) 'wash', scacan 'shake' and scafan 'shave' sometimes have e after se (§ 17, note); the verb 'stand' has -n throughout the pres. and in the past pple.: standan stent stōd stōdon -standen

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>slean</td>
<td>strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slyhō</td>
<td>slōg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slygon</td>
<td>-slagen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

A few important verbs have present forms of consonantal type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swerian</td>
<td>'swear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swreð</td>
<td>swōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swōron</td>
<td>-sworen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hebban</td>
<td>'raise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heðō</td>
<td>hōf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōfon</td>
<td>-hafen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, hlihhan 'laugh' has 1, 3 sg. pret. hōgl (or -h), scedban 'injure' has scōd, scyppan 'create' scōp, and steppan 'step' stōp.

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

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 e. Although this class is often described as containing 'reduplicating' verbs (compare Lat. currē—cucurrē), the signs of reduplication are meagre in OE; leolc 'played' (lācan), heht 'called' (hātan) are among the few vestiges recorded and even in these the phenomenon is scarcely recognisable without comparing the Gothic cognates laīlik, haihait.

(a) feallan 'fall' fylo fēoll fēollon -feallen
healdan 'hold' hylēt hēold hēoldon -healden

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

84. (b) lætan 'let' lætt let læton -lēten

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

hētan 'call' hētt hēt hēton -hāten

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

blandan 'mix' blent bland blēdond -blanden

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

fōn 'seize' fēhō fēng fēngon -fangen
hōn 'hang' hēhō hēng hēngon -hangen

Sc(e)ādan has an alternative pret. scēll; on hātan, 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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INFLEXIONS

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

cnāwan 'know' cnēwō cnēw cnēwon -cnāwen

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

grōwan 'grow' grēwō grēw grēwōn -grōwen

So too blōtan 'sacrifice', blōwan 'blossom', flōwan 'flow', rōwan 'row' (pret. pl. rē(w(wo)n)).

wēpan 'weep' wēpō wēpon -wēpon

Like hēlēpan are bētan 'beat', hēwān 'hew'.

bānan 'summon' bēnō bēn(ñ) bēnnom -bānen

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) lætan 'let' lætt let læton -lēten

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

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

Present

Indic.

1 sg. ic hæbbe libbe secege hyce
2 sg. pū hæfst leofast secgst hogast
3 sg. hē, hēo, hit hæfū leofað segðō hogāð
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī habbað libbað secgāð hyggað

Subj.

1-3 sg. ic, pū, hē(&c) hæbbe libbe secege hyce
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī habben libben seccen hygen

Imperat. 2 sg. hafa leofa sege hyge, hogā

2 pl. habbað libbað secgāð hyggað

Participle hæbbende libbende seccgende hyggende

Preterite

Indic.

1, 3 sg. ic, hē(&c) hæfde lifde sāde hog(o)de

(&c, like dēman, § 70)

Participle -hæfd -lifd -sād -hogod

Many variant forms are found; hafast, hafad for hæfst, hæfd; iffe, -ad, etc. for liowe, -ōw, -ōe, etc.; iffaste, -ad, -a for leofaste, -aō, -a; leofode for lifde (thus a Cl. II consonantal vb lifsan is evolved beside libban); sagast, -ad, -a for segst, -ō, -e; segdōe, etc. for sāde, etc.; hygast, hygō for hogast, -ō. There is a negative form of habban: nābban, nābbe, nāfde, etc.

87. Group 2

(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).

Indic. 1 sg. ic eom or beō wæs
2 sg. pū eart or beō wæs
3 sg. hē, hēo, hit is bōe wæs
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī sind(on) beō wæron

Present Preterite

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

Present

Indic. 1 sg. ic wille dō gā
2 sg. pū wīt dēst gāst
3 sg. hē, hēo, hit wil(e) (wille) dōg gāg
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī wille wille dō gā

Subj. 1-3 sg. ic, pū, hē(&c) will(e) (wille) dō gā
1-3 pl. wē, gē, hī willen dōn gān

Imperat. 2 sg.

2 pl.

Participle willende dōnde

Preterite

Indic. 1, 3 sg. ic, hē(&c) wolde dyde ēōde

(etc., like dēman, § 70)

Participle gedōn gēgān

There is confusion between wil(e) 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: xylle (etc.), noelde (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 wīlan, 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 _wisten_ itself is easy to relate to the OE system of vocalic preterites, and while this is true also of Class III examples like _cunnan_, _bearf—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) _witan_ '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><em>wāt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. pū</td>
<td><em>wāst</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 pl. wē, ā, hi</td>
<td><em>witen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. 1-3 sg. ic, pū, hē (&amp;c)</td>
<td><em>wite</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 pl. wē, ā, hi</td>
<td><em>witen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperat. 2 sg.</td>
<td><em>wite</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td><em>witað</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative forms occur freely: _nāt_, _nyton_, _nyste_, etc.

(b) _sculan_ 'to have to, be obliged to':

| Indic. 1 & 3 sg. ic, hē (&c) | _sceal_ | _sceolde_ |
| 2 sg. pū | _scealt_ | _sceoldest_ |
| 1-3 pl. wē, ā, hi | _sculon_ (scoe-) | _sceoldon_ |

Subj. 1-3 sg. ic, pū, hē (&c) _scyle_ (-i-, -u-)

1-3 pl. wē, ā, hi _scylen_ (-i-, -u-)

Beside _sceolde_, etc., forms with _scoe_ are common.

---

91. (a) _cunnan_ 'know, be able'; _unnan_ 'grant':

| Indic. 1 & 3 sg. ic, hē (&c) | _can_ (n) | _cūðe_ |
| 2 sg. pū | _canst_ | _cūðest_ |
| 1-3 pl. wē, ē, hi | _cunnan_ | _cūðon_ |

Subj. sg. & pl. _cunne(n)_ _cūðe(n)_

Participle _-cunnen_ (cūð, adj.)

So too _unnan_, except that there is no adjective form corresponding to _cūð_.

On the loss of _n_ in _cūða_, etc., see §§ 170f., 188.

(b) _magan_ 'be able':

| Indic. 1 & 3 sg. ic, hē (&c) | _mæg_ | _meahste_ or _mihte_ |
| 2 sg. pū | _meah_ (miht) | _meahst_ |
| 1-3 pl. wē, ē, hi | _magon_ | _meahton_ |

Subj. sg. & pl. _mæge(n)_ _meahste(n)_

Participle _magende_ (mægnende)_

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

92. _purfan_ 'to need'; _ic dear(r) 'I dare'; _ge_) _munan_ 'remember':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
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<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, ē, hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subj. sg. & pl. _purfe(n)_ _durre(n)_ _mune(n)_

Participle _pearfende_ _munende_ _munen_ (etc., like _deman_, § 70)

Participle

All three verbs have fairly common forms of pres. subj. with _-e-_; beside _pearfende_, we find forms with stem vowel _-y-_; _-w-_.

93. _dugan_ 'avail, be profitable'; _āgan_ 'have'; _ic mót_ '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, ē, hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subj. sg. &amp; pl.</th>
<th>duge(n)</th>
<th>æge(n)</th>
<th>móte(n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>dugende</td>
<td>ægende</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>dohte</td>
<td>áhte</td>
<td>móste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(etc., like dēman, § 70)

Beside deah, ða, we commonly also find deag, ág; an imperat. form æge 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. -nugon, a pres. subj. -nuge, and a pret. -nohte.

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 co-existed 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. Ardem, 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

NOMINATIVE

95. The nominative might be loosely defined as the case of activity; thus it is the case for the subjects of verbs: he sæde ‘he said’, se cyning ofslægon 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 bone he he was better than I’, þu eart frumna ‘thou art the beginning’, God is gehæten sio hêsté êcnes ‘God is called the highest eternity’. The nominative is used in direct address, there being no vocative inflexion: Dā ļunga man ‘You, young man’, Ælā leof hlâford ‘Oh, dear master’.

Hātan often takes the nominative also when its subject is distinct from what is named: on þâm dage þe wē hātad hlâfmasse (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 ofslóg ðone aldormon ‘he killed the governor’. This object is sometimes a reflexive pronoun: hiene bestel se here ‘the raiders stole away’; other verbs taking an accusative reflexive include omnuman ‘care for’, onsumian ‘be afraid’, restan ‘rest’, war(e)nian ‘take warning’, wendan ‘go’.

Some impersonal verbs are construed with an accusative object: hine nānes binges ne lyste ‘he desired nothing’. The object of a verb may be cognate with it (singad ... song nāowne ‘sing a new song’, or it may be an infinitive with its own subject (which is in the accus.): ne hýrde ic snotorlicor ... guman pingian ‘I have not heard a man speak more wisely’. A few OE verbs take two accus. objects: þa ļcscode man hine hweclcne cræft hē cûde ‘then someone asked him what skill he professed’, ne meahon wē gelāran leofne þoden ... rōd ānigne ‘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: Ic bē ... Bearn Alwældan, biddan wylle milise þinre ‘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 þēm bátwearde ... swēard gesælde ‘he gave the boatguard a sword’. On this type of verb and others which are construed with cases other than the accus., see §§ 95, 103, 106, 107. ‘Double

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objects’, as in Mod.E. ‘they crowned her queen’, are expressed in OE as an accus. and a tō-phrase: hine hægode tō cyninge ‘consecrated him king’.

97. **Adverbial.** The accus. is used to state extent of space or time. Space: ic heonan nelle flēon fōtes trym ‘I will not flee from here as much as a foot’, hīm was ealne wēstē laond on pæt stōrbord ‘there was waste land all the way to his starboard’. Time: ealle þa hwīle þe pæt līc hid inne ‘the whole time that the body is inside’, ic wōlde bætle hīe ealnēg at ðære sōwe wāren ‘I should like them to be always in that place’, þa sætōn hē þone winter at Cwēþryce ‘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’, ongēn ‘towards’, þurh ‘through’, wīð ‘against, towards, along’, ymbe ‘around’; for takes the accus. when it means ‘as, in place of’: hīora cyaningas 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 and idiomatic in OE; for example: Grendles ðæda 'Grendel's deeds', ðæs bisceopes bodung 'the bishop's preaching'. Closely associated with it are the possessive genitive (as in hiora scipu 'their ships') and the genitive of origin: ïdes Scyldinga 'the lady of the Scyldings', Bêowulf Gêota 'B. of the Geats'. Here too belongs the instrumental genitive, as in nida ofercum 'overcome by afflictions'.

101. The objective genitive is illustrated by folces weard 'protector of the people', to his feónda slige 'to the defeat of his foes', tódancan ðæs landes sceawunge 'besides the surveying of the land'. The following are associated with it:

genitive of measure: fòles trYM 'the space of a foot', sê was fiftiges fögemeares lang 'it was fifty feet long', ðanes mudes fyrst 'the space of one month';

descriptive and defining genitive: in Myrcona mágbe 'among the people of the Mercians', mæres lifes man 'a man of glorious life', ãr wendinga 'the messenger of the Vikings', ic was ... miccles cynn 'I was of great lineage', wiges heard 'brave in war', earfeopa gemyndig 'mindful of hardships', frûd feores 'advanced in age';

partitive genitive: wundres dêl 'small wonder', sum hund scipu 'a hundred ships', fela lâcna 'many signs', hûsa sëlest 'best of houses', ãnra gehwelic 'each one', ãn heora 'one of them'.

Sometimes fela and often sum appear without the genitive: fela wæstfan sîlthan geond þa stride 'many poor people sat in the street', sume hi sëðon 'some of them said'; moreover, even during the OE period, some of these relationships were coming to be expressed by of (with the dative) instead of by the genitive: sume of ðám cnihícum 'some of the men'. A special case of the partitive genitive consists of sum preceded by a numeral; this idiom was much used to express the numbers of a man's followers: Gedåi ða twêlfa sum 'he then departed, one of twelve', i.e. 'with eleven companions'.

102. Adverbial. Related to one or other of these forms of the objective genitive is the adverbial use of the genitive: dæges ond nihtes 'by day and night', Godes ponces 'through God's grace', words odde dæde 'by word or deed', ealces 'entirely', þæs 'so much, thereafter', þa he þæs wïderwardes ond sîo operu fêrd wæs hámweardes 'when he was going there and the other levy was on the way home', rided ðæc hys weges '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 -e.

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 brûcan '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:

ãmyrnan 'hinder (from)', bedælan 'deprive (of)', beliðan 'deprive (of)', agêotan 'drain (of)', benêman 'deprive (of)', beneah 'enjoys' (§ 95, note), berýpan 'despoil', besþrypan 'strip', beþpurfan 'need', bidan 'wait for', blissian 'rejoice (at)', brûcan 'enjoy', (ge)cunnian 'try', êhlan 'pursue', fægnian 'rejoice', fán...
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Some verbs, governing two objects, may take genitive and accusative; thus geæmet(gi)an 'free, empty', biddan 'ask', lettan 'hinder', gelystan (impers.) 'desire', sc(e)amian (impers.) 'shame'; others may take genitive and dative; thus geumnan 'grant', forwynnan 'refuse', ofpancan (impers.) 'be displeased with', onléon 'lend', gesfyrnan 'restrain', tilian 'gain', tibian 'grant', pancia 'thank', gewanian 'deprive', wyrnan 'withhold'.

104. Prepositional. No preposition in OE takes the genitive exclusively and only a few take this case at all; note however: andlang pas fulan bróces (æaldan weges) 'along the dirty stream'; to, especially with reference to time, as in to pas þe 'until', to hwæces timan 'at what time'; weð, meaning 'towards', as in þa spearcian wundon wid pas hrofes '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 terms '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 hringas geaf 'who gave him rings', þinum mágum læf folc and rice 'bequeath people and kingdom to your kinsmen'.

SYNTAX

sege þinum lēðum miclæ lápre spell '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 gyfan (to) gynum 'give (to) anyone'. With a few verbs, notably cwædan and spræcan, to was normal OE practice: hē cwæp to mó (mihi disil) '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 commoner OE verbs which were construed with a dative: ætwædan 'escape (from)', ætwætan 'reproach', andswæian 'answer', Æria 'honour', bedréosan 'deprive (of)', bëðan 'offer', beorgan 'save', betæcan 'entrust', bodian 'announce', gebiddan (reflex.) 'pray', bregdan 'pull', cyrran (reflex.) 'submit', (ge)dafænian 'suit', dæmán 'judge', derian 'harm', gesfön 'rejoice', fylgan 'follow', gefremman 'benefit', fulgan 'accomplish', fyldan 'help', helpan 'help', hyðsan 'obey', lícian 'please', gesfýan 'believe', linnan 'cease (from)', losian 'be lost', milsian 'pity', mislætan (impers.) 'go wrong', genæða-can 'approach', genyhtsumian 'suffice', oflócan 'withhold', ðæccan 'flatter', onfón 'receive', sælan 'happen', sceðan 'injure', gespówan (impers.) 'succeed', þegnian 'serve', ðéow(ian) 'serve', þipian 'intercede', þiwian 'serve', gepwærðian 'allow', gepwærðlacan 'agree to', þypcan (impers.) 'seem', wealdan 'rule', wísian 'guide', gewitan (reflex.) 'go', wíðstan 'resist'. Verbs construed with a dative and an accusative include: ælógan 'deny', ælýfan 'allow', bécwædan 'bequeath', ðódprícan 'deprive', ðobwædan 'deprive', þíþwætan 'deprive', þegnian 'mediate'.

For verbs taking gen. and dat., see above, §103. Both weorðan and wesæn appear on occasion with dative pronouns, usually classed as reflexive: hē wærð him on ánon scipe 'he got aboard a ship', hē wærð him awg 'he went away', Ædām sceal . . . wesæn 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.
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’: 

\[\text{he... sette his... hond him on } \text{pat heafod \‘he placed his hand on his head\', } \text{Dyde him of } \text{healfe } \text{hring } \text{glydenne } \text{(he) took from his neck a gold ring}.\]

A special case of this idiom occurs with the preposition to: bone God sende folce to 
frorfre ‘whom God sent as the people’s comfort’, halepum to 
helpe ‘as the heroes’ aid’ (Beowulf 1061; but note the use of the

genitive instead in line 1830: halepe to helpe, fremendum to 
gewealdhe ‘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 dage ‘on a certain
day’ (or, with the instrumental inflexion, sune dage; pjy dögor
‘on that day’). This usage is frequent, but at the same time

prepositional phrases are also common: et sumum cirre ‘at a
certain time’, on pjsum (or, with the instr. form, pjs) geäre
‘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, gefulumigendum Gode (L. deo faventem)

‘with God helping’, him sprecendum h\‘t cómon (L. eō loquente

veniant) ‘while He was speaking, they came’, gewunnum sige

‘victory having been won’, ãstreðmum handbredum to ëofenlicum

rodor ‘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

several ways since its range is considerable, but broadly speak-
ing it has to do with the means or manner of an action: hondum
gbrödum ‘hand-woven’, mundum brugdon ‘you brandished

(with) your hands’, hine pā heafde becerhe ‘then (he) cut his

head off (cut him off as regards the head)’, weord dā him...
gelufod ‘(he) then became beloved by Him’, ëyrbendum fast ‘firm

with forged bands’, wundum wèrig ‘exhausted through wounds’,
dôme gedýrsod ‘made precious through glory’. It includes the

characteristic comitative function seen in expressions like the
following: worhte Ælfrēd cyning þæt werede geweorc ‘King A.
built a defence-work with a small force’.

Prepositions are also used: erede mid horsum ‘ploughed with horses’,

hē was bepðati fram dām tungeluítum ‘he was deceived by the astro-

logers’; similarly, mid with the dative came to be used for the comitative

function: him cænlices wido feaht mid ësilm um werde ‘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: hlude ‘loudly’, wīde
‘widely’, mid ‘greatly’, stycemlum ‘piecemeal’, unwearnum ‘irresist-
ibly’ (see also § 166).

113. Two uses of the instrumental inflexion are worthy of

special mention. Causal expressions involving pjay (bon), hwý
(hwun) are very common: dy he bone feónd oferwodm ‘therefore
he overcame the enemy’, Hwý scéal ic ... ëdowian ‘Why must I
serve?’; compare also, with prepositions, fordon (fordy) ‘for

this reason’, to hwun ‘why’. Secondly, we have the expressions

of comparison which survive in the Mod.E. pattern ‘the more

the merrier’: Hige sceal hē (=pjy) hearðra ... pē (=pjy) are
mægen ëylhād ‘mind must be the sterner as our strength lessens’,
sege ðinum lodeum miclice lápre spell ‘give your people a much

more disagreeable message (a message more disagreeable by

far)’, māða pon mà ‘the more glories’, pjy læs be hit ëw ëbrý

pince ‘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:
gelic was hē þám lêdhum steorrum ‘he was like the bright stars’,
him was lád ‘it was disagreeable to him (he was reluctant).
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So also, neān ‘near’, lēof ‘dear’, hold ‘loyal’, nýðbedearf ‘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 midhūgra þa and craftigra ... ponne þa, both meaning ‘mightier than thou’ (cf above, § 95).

115. Prepositional. The dative is the chief case used with prepositions. For example, æfter ‘after’, ær ‘before’, æt ‘at’, bi, be ‘beside’, betweēman ‘between’, būtan ‘without’, for ‘before’, fram ‘from’, by’, mid ‘with’, of ‘from’, tō ‘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 hām ‘at home’, tōdæg ‘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 (dā wurdon hi ... drēóriga ‘then they became sad’) and when no attempt is being made to specify and particularise the item modified (þār sint swīðe micle meras fersce ‘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 forespresca here ‘the above mentioned force’). Thus it is regularly used after demonstratives, whether the adjective precedes or follows the noun or is being used substantivaly: on þisum lænan stōclife ‘in this fleeting dwelling-place’, under þām cealān wætere ond þām wētan ‘under the cold and wet water’, þām ðæðgy hām ‘to the sick one’. It is also used with ordinal numerals except ðōr (ðōr wæter, bridde lyft, feorpe fyr ‘the second water, the third air, the fourth fire’, ðō øþru fēr ‘the other levy’), and with comparative adjectives (þā wuron ēgler ge swiftræn ēg wuron iarfe ‘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 ðeolstan dæl ‘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: þat ... land is ... brādost ‘the land is widest’. The definite inflexion is frequently found after possessives (mīd his micclan werode ‘with his large force’) and in expressions of direct address (Bēowulf lōf ‘dear B.’, snotra fengel ‘wise king’, lōfman men ‘beloved people’). It is also used to some extent in early verse in environments where none of these conditions obtain; for example, wīsa fengel geatolc 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 frōm þisum wrēcfeolcum lif ‘from this miserable life’ (Ælfric) display reverse spellings after the OE weakening of inflexions (cf § 13). It should be noted that æn, standing alone or following the item it modifies, appears with definite inflexion when it has the meaning ‘alone’ (Apollonius ðān swigode ‘A. alone was silent’), but is found with indefinite inflexion, even after a demonstrative, in the sense ‘one’: on þār ænre mile ‘in that one mile’; compare in succeeding lines in Ælfric: þōwōn þām ðānum þoste ‘except that one post’, se þost þā ‘that post alone’.

117. Demonstratives and Articles. The functions of the two OE demonstratives (§ 65), se (pat, se) and þēs (pis, þēs), 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 þisum geār feor se micla here pe wē gefyn ymbe spræcon ‘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 *pat*, 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, but 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 pes, 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 (but, seo) embraced practically the whole range of functions performed today, jointly or separately, by the and that. Thus we have contexts in which pes and se are in contrast simply as deictic and identifying words respectively: ic tōwre ðeowr tem'pl... On Godes naman ðhrōse pis tem'pl... Hwea ða færlice ðhrēas pat tem'pl '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 pes and se are in partial contrast also as 'near' and 'far' deictics respectively: pis lēoht wē habbap wiþ nyfēnus gemēnē, ac pat lēoht wē sceal on sēcan pat wē mōtan habban mid englum gemēnē '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: Was se gryre læssa efne swā micle swā bīd mægpa craft... 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 was pat gæwixige til '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: Nas Beowulf þær, ac was ðeor in ðe gotehhod after māþum-gifē māþum Geāte '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: ðæt wælstōn gewald '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 waes ðæs Sigebrēhtes bōpur '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... gegeån hord rēasian... ānne mannan 'Then I heard of some man robbing the hoard', pat was án cyning 'There was a (unique) king', sume worde hēl, pat ic his ārest ðē est gesgeð '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 mēgð 'among the Estonians there is a certain tribe', pā slōd him sum mon æt '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, *pat, seo*) 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 fyrmeð was word and pat word was mid Gode and pat word was 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... ane aniceness of are* ‘they made a statue of brass’), where we seem indeed to have an in simple indefinite function, but such cases are rare.

120. **Pronouns.** (a) The two demonstratives sê (*past, sēo*) and hês (*pis, hêos*) were used pronominally as deictics and sometimes (as in Mod.E.) as contrastive deictics: *an bêra was* ‘one of these was... ’; *Pas ofereôde*: *pisses swa wæg* ‘Things passed over so far that was concerned: so it may be with this*. The series sê, past, sêo appear also to have been used exactly as personal pronouns: and *sê untrîhte ofsgelen was* ‘and he was unjustly slain’, *pê sê forôfêrde* ‘when he died’, and *sê haefde vii winter rice* ‘and he held the kingship for seven years’. But the chief pronominal function of sê is in relative constructions: *past lêyle past hê erede* ‘the little that he ploughed’, *understande sê de wille* ‘let him understand who will’.

Despite examples like and sê... ofsgelen 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 1949), pp. 36 ff. As a pronoun, sê had a long vowel.

(b) The most frequent relative pronoun was the invariable particle pe, sometimes preceded by the relevant form of the sê series (though, as we have seen above, a form of sê could be the sole relative pronoun), with the antecedent often preceded and defined by the same form of the sê 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 hês geaere gefor Ælfred, was set Baðum gerêifa* ‘in this year Ælfric 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 pohton* ‘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 selfe ne lufodon* ‘we ourselves did not love it’.

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(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 bê swa dydon, worhton...* ‘they then did so, build... ’; *Wære bê on wêde, sealdest mê* ‘Even though you were poor, (you) gave me... ’; *Hæfdon swêrd nacod, pê wite on sund rôwæn* *(We) held bare swords, when we-two swam to sea’, *gic i wiste hê wi wi dâm äglæcean elles meate... wîd-gripæn* ‘if I knew how else (I) could grapple with the monster’, *inne on pæm fæstenne sæton feaw cirlice menn on, and was sâmworht* ‘within the stronghold there remained a few working-men, and (it) was half-built’. The pronoun object could similarly be omitted: *hê him æskinæ segen gyldenne hêah ofer hêafod, lêton holt beran, geafon on gær-secg* ‘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 nâmes bînges ne lyste* ‘(it) desired him of nothing, i.e. he desired nothing’, *ålcm menn þâhte* ‘(it) seemed to each man’. In OE however we find hit coming to be used as the subject in such expressions (Wulfstan *swa hit þincan mag* ‘as it may seem’), and we find hit also with the increasingly used periphrastic passive (§ 131) in *indefinite* expressions: *Ys hit ðyfted... ?* ‘Is it allowed... ?’ Instead of this periphrastic passive in general OE usage, however, we find the indefinite pronoun man as in *pe mon hêt* ‘which is called’, a formula often used to translate Latin *vocâtur, dicuntur*, and other passives.

(f) The *indefinite* pronouns, *gehwâ*, *gehwyle* ‘every, each’, *hêyle* ‘any’, etc., commonly take the gen. pl.: *on mágpa gehwâm* ‘in every tribe’, *ăhna gehwylice ‘every dawn’, Frîysna hêyle ‘any Frisian’; ‘each one’ is frequently rendered in OE by *gehwyle* followed or preceded by the gen. pl. *ârâ*: thus, *ârâ gehwyle*. 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): dā Deniscan cōmon 'the Danes came', Eart pā se Bēowulf, sē pe wið Breccan wunne? 'Are you the Beowulf that strove (2 sg.) against Breccan?'

(b) Demonstratives, adjectives, and nouns (number, case, and gender): after pām gedrynce 'after the drinking', mid fullum wæstume and heofonlicere snoternysse 'with full stature and heavenly wisdom'.

(c) Pronouns (number, case, and gender): of dāre ... rōde sumne dēl pas mēōses pe hēo mid beweacen wēs 'from the cross a certain amount of the moss with which it (fem. sg., agreeing with rōd) was overgrown', hē ... wolde Grendel forgylan gūdrēsa felā dāra pe hē geworhte 'he wanted to repay Grendel for the many attacks that (g.pl., agreeing with gūdrēsa) he had made'.

(d) Pronouns and their modifiers (number, case, and gender): at his selves hām 'at his own home', ðē ealra 'of us all', ðūs eallum 'to us all', gesālīge hē wurdon geborene '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 §63) corresponds to plural in concord with other items: wēt pāt geworhdon '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: wēs hē se mon ... gesetē hē, this man, was placed ...; hē wurc pone aldorman Cumbrian 'he avenged Cumbria, the governor', feredon Aidanes sætle pas hālgan bishops 'they' bore the soul of Aidan, the holy bishop', at Plegmundes minum ærcbiscipe 'from P., my archbishop'. But appositive phrases of the pattern 'called X' do not require concord: from Brytta cyninge, Ceadwalla gecegcd 'from the king of the Britons, called C.', tō Westseaxena kyninge, Cyneegils gehāten (not *Cyneygylse gehātnum) 'to the king of the West Saxons, called C.' Nor, in other cases, is concord invariable: Ic on Higelācē wāt, Geātā 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 (wārōn hātene 'were called', ofslægene wārōn 'were slain'), but more usually they are invariable: (rāpas) bēðō hōwes hýde geworht 'the ropes are made of whale's hide'. With forms of habban, the participle is normally invariable (haefdon ... āpas gesgeald 'they had given oaths'), but sometimes it agrees with the object: hē hine ofslægenne haefdon '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 wifesc 'the woman's'), though adjectives tended to have a one-gender plural: wurdon hiora wif ... sāringe 'their wives became sad', earme wif 'wretched women'. A mixture of genders requires neuter concord in the participles: ādam gemēlde, and tō Euan sprac: ... wēt hē barn standad 'Adam spoke, and addressed Eve: "You-and-I stand here naked"'. Grammatical gender is on the whole regular also with pronouns: se hweel-hē 'the whale (m.)~it', mycel sā~sē is brādē 'great sea (l.) ~ it is broader', mycel ēa~hī tolih 'great river (l.) ~ it separates', wēl-hē 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: pāt māden-hēo weard '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 singulairs (hit, pāt, pis, hwæt), without regard to gender or number, before the verb 'to be' or in contexts where the designatum is a statement, fact, or event: pāt wāron ... Finnas 'they were Lapps', pāt wāron gesweostor 'who were sisters', Hwæt bēð ...?
'What are ... ', he nyste hwæt þæs sōpes was, for þám he hit self ne seah 'he did not know how much of this was true, because he himself did not see it', pis weard pā Haroldcyninge gecydd 'This was then made known to King Harold', hwæt sindon gē? 'who are you (pl.)?'.

Note also hit man hāt Wislemūdā 'it is called (lit. one calls it) Viatsula-mouth', hwæt gis hit unclēne bēop fixas? 'What if they are unclean fish?', though bōp in the latter example may be explained as a scribal error (cf. G. N. 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 pand, of pand, forpand, etc.: God syfl uði. ... pand we wīnnad rihlice 'God Himself knows (this fact, namely) that we struggle righteously', op pand man him fette 'until (this event, namely that) someone fetched him ...', him weard pas îpov 'he was granted this', lit. 'it was granted to him of this (matter)', forpon '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 bōen gedrunc and pēlag 'there must be drinking and Merrymaking', gefeah fancyn ond Ælfred 'King Ælfric and Ælfric fought' (but three lines earlier, Ælfric's cyning ond Ælfric ... gelæddon 'King Ælfric and Ælfric led'), pā gefagarode Ælfric ond ... Ælfric ... Ælfric ... ond Ælfric ... ond Ælfric ... 'then Ælfric, and Ælfric and the king's thanes assembled' (an interesting example, since the meaning of this intransitive verb itself suggests plurality), atsomne cwōm syxtig monna 'sixty men came together'. The verb is not always singular in this position however: wīrdon vihī folgeafeoh 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: rīded anc ... and hyt mōtan habban 'each rides and can (pl.) have it', pīder wurnon swā huelc swā ponne gærə wearp 'whoever was then ready ran (pl.) there', ān māgō pāt hā monγ 'one tribe who (pl.) can (pl.)', pōne hēre ā hi 'that raiding force ā they', but a few lines below pōne hēre ā hine 'that raiding force ā it', sō fērd ... pōne hēre gefēhemple, ond pā herhēpā ahreddon 'the
reason of the type of clause: *siddan hie hie gelornodon, hie hie wendon* ... *on hiora ægen gebiðe* 'after they (had) studied them, they translated them into their own language'; often too it is assisted by the presence of *ær*: *Ne métte hær nán gebûn land, sipher hē from his *ägnum hâm 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 wyrcæan min sell* (pōnam sēdem meam) 'I shall make my throne', *fordām gē sculon ... wēpan* (quoniam fēbitis) 'because you will weep'. So, too, the preterite forms of these verbs could indicate reported future: *Hīe ne wēndon batte ëfre menn sceolden swē rēcelās wēordan* '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: *Hīe willad ëōw ... gāras syllan* '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: *Siddan ic hē bā gelornod hafde ... ic hē on Engilisc æwende* 'Then when I had studied them, I translated them into English', *se hālga fæder wæs inn ægän* '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): *hi hæfordon þa heora steo manu gesetenne* and *hiora meo mete genotudne* 'they had finished their tour of duty and used up their food', *(lær) was oddællum* '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 symble geseten hæfdon* 'we had sat down to the feast'.

129. Aspect

In speaking of the present tense of *have* (*habban*, rarely *ågan*) 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 hafað 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 pretences (*hē onfand, nū geweard*) 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: *Hine hālig God ... ðas onsende* 'Holy God has despatched him to us'.

In other cases, the function was assisted by adverbs: *nūþþeart ... þæt hē Godes lage gýme bet ponne hē ër dye* 'necessary that he should heed God's law better than he has done formerly'. Some verbs (such as *cuman* 'come', *feallan* 'fall', *weordan* '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-*, *tō-* (see §§168, 170): *sighād hē ... swā swā hē mehte on fīf dagum gesiglān* '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: *ðōs wyrde ... néalhād þam ende* 'this world is approaching the end', *wē forhealdad ëgnum Godes gerihta ealles tō gelôme* 'we (repeatedly) withhold God's dues everywhere all too frequently', *was se cyng ... on fēre mid þære scire þe mid him fieredon* 'the king was on his way with the shire-men that were campaigning with him'. We find *wolde* with an infinitive quite frequently expressing habitual
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(as opposed to continuous) action: *wildu deor þær woldon to irnan* 'wild animals were wont to run there', *Hē wolede æfter ðëhtsan to oðrost hine gebïddan* '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 côm . . . Grendel gongan* 'Then came Grendel travelling', *flœgandende côm 'came flying'.

We also find the verb 'be' with a present participle expressing durative aspect: *ic mē gebïddo to ðâm Gode be þiþ eardigende on heofonum* 'I pray (at this moment) to the God who is dwelling (not only at this moment) in the heavens', *Dâr wêron sume of ðâm bôcerum sittende, and on hêra heortum dencende* (Eran . . . 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: *þæte mänig . . . wēræ Æþerende þâs Æðere dómas* '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 *hâtan* 'call' which, besides having a vocalic active preterite *hêt*, had a consonantal preterite *hâlle* which was passive and which was used both for present and past: *sêo êa hâlle Temese* 'the river is called Thames', *hwæt hâlton páge* 'what are those called?', *Rachel hâlle latches wiþ* '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: *bêon*/*wesan* and *weordan*. To some extent there was a distinction of aspect involved, the former being used in durative expressions (ne bid þær mânig ealo gebïrown 'no ale is (ever) brewed there'), the latter in perfective expressions (*pæt hûs weordan ðâ forburnen* 'the house was then burnt down'). But there was much free vari-

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ation, ignoring aspect, and writers seem often simply to have preferred one or the other auxiliary. The OE verb 'to be' did not develop a past participle until very late, and the 'pluperfect passive' was not distinguished from the preterite: *þe þæt hâllicge dûst on ðûhangan was* 'on which the holy dust had been hung'. A passive infinitive was usually expressed with the active form: *þâs þing sînt ðô domm* 'these things are to be done', *hêt hine lêran* (Lat. *iuscit illum . . . doceri*) 'commanded him to be taught'; but periphrastic expressions were available where the active form might be ambiguous: *sceal wesan I smâhæl hâten* 'shall be called I'.

The use of *man* calls for no comment: *mon mæg gîet geostôn hëora swæð* 'one can still see their track (or their track can still be seen)', *worhte man hit him tô wîte* 'it had been made as a punishment for them', *Éadwerd man forrêdde and syðdan âceâlde* 'E. was betrayed and then killed'.

It is to be noted that, despite its distinctive passive inflexion, *hâtan* was often used with the periphrastic construction and also with *man*: *hi sind gehâlten* 'they are called', *tô pæm þere ðe mon hût at Hëpum* 'to the trading place which is called Heleyb'. For more detailed treatment of OE tense, aspect, and voice, see J. M. Wattie, *Tense*, Essays and Studies xvi (1931), pp. 121-43. F. Mosué, *Histoire de la Forme Périphrastique être + Participe Présent* (Paris 1939), L. G. Frary, *Studies in the Syntax of the Old English Passive* (Language Dissertations, 1929), J. Fröhlich, *Die Indefinite Agens im Allenglischen* (Bern 1951). A very useful historical treatment appears in K. Brunner, *Die Englische Sprache II* (Halle 1951), 265 ff, where further specialised references may be found. On the whole question of aspect in the Gmc languages, see A. Mirowicz, *Die Aspektfrage im Gotischen* (Wilno 1935). Cf also J. Raith, *Untersuchungen zum englischen Aspekt* (Munich 1951).

132. Indicative

The indicative is the mood of general objective expression and is used in the vast majority of constructions that do not involve grammatical dependence: *hwæt saegst ðâ? 'what do you say?', Hý hergiad and hý bernad, rûpad and reãfãd, and tô sceipe lêdad* 'They rage and burn, plunder and rob, and carry off shipwards'. It is the mood also of a large number of grammatically dependent expressions. These to a large extent in-

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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 was his hliðfard ‘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 ðæs Godes yrre ... on sit ‘it is clear that God’s anger rests on us’, ic wæl þæt ic ne eom wyrd ‘I know that I am not worthy’, ne sceall nán man þæsgan þæt hæ sylfyller behæl ‘no one must revoke what he promises of his own accord’;

(c) adverb clauses of place: tó Scottand, þær se geæfæsa was þæ tó Ireland, where the faith was at that time’, swá hwær swá hæ was ‘wherever he was’;

(d) adverb clauses of time: Pæ hæ þæ pæs andaswære onþeòng, dæ ongan hæ ... singan ‘When he received this answer, he began to sing’;

(e) adverb clauses of cause: for þæm þe hit nasþ leafe þæs Almihtigian ‘because it has not the Almighty’s permission’;

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

(g) adverb clauses of result: fælmen swá strange ... þæt oft on gefeohte ðæn þæs þyne ‘pirates so strong that often in a fight one will chase ten’, sum fæll on ise, þæt his earn tóbarst ‘a certain man fell on some ice so that his arm broke’;

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133. Subjunctive

The subjunctive is the mood of subjective expression, and in general its use is confined to volitional, conjunctural, 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 ðrítecum nihta siæ gefulæad ‘let a child be (or a child must be) baptised within 30 nights’;

(b) in noun clauses (including indirect questions) in negative or conjunctural contexts or dependent upon verbs of saying, thinking, or suggesting: Swæ mé þæt riht ne pinces, þæt ic ðelecan darvíth þurfe God ‘Thus it does not seem to me right that I should need to flatter God’, is nýdfearf ... þæt hæ Godes læge gyne ‘it is necessary that he should heed God’s law’, hit nán wundor nys þæt se hálga cyningc untrumynysse gehæl ‘it is no wonder that the holy king should heal sickness’, se þróst cwæð þæt án wer wære on Írlande ‘the priest said that there was a man in Ireland’, héo hine ... lærde, þæt hæ wæoroldhæd forlæ ‘she advised him that he should give up secular life’, cunnian hwæ cène sy ‘to find out who is brave’;

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

(d) in adverb clauses of condition, the terms of which are extremely hypothetical or quite impossible: gyf se pegen þæm
præl...äfyle 'if the thane kills the serf', hûtan God george
'unless God saves', swylyce eal Finnsburh swyrm wære 'as though
all Finnsburg were on fire', þær mæ gifeode...wurde 'if it had
been granted me'; in 'impossible' conditions, expressed with
the pret. subj., both the adverbial clause and the related non-
dependent clause have the subjunctive: hûre wære bettere þæt
hæ næfr geborn wære 'it would have been better for him if he
had never been born';

(e) in adverb clauses of purpose: þæt heora gelæáfafa wurde
awend eft tò Gode 'in order that their faith might be turned
again to God', þì lêas wè ñegedere ealle forceoworðan 'lest we all
perish together', ðì lês ðì hit ñow æbrôy pînce 'lest it seem
tedious to you';

(f) in some adverb clauses of result, where the result is
anticipated: Swâ sceal geong guma...geowrycan...þæt hine
on yldc eft gewunigen wil-gesîpas '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: Gespræc þà se göda...ær hè on bead stige
'The noble one then spoke, before he went (or should go) to
bed', òf þæt...cumne geearwe 'until he knows well', nis nà
cwirca nàn, þì ic him mòdestefan minne durre...ăseçgan 'there
is now no one living to whom I dare speak my heart';

(h) in many comparative clauses, with ponne: sære bid
āghwàm þæt hè his fröond wrecce, ponne hè felâ murne 'it will be
together for everyone that he avenge his friend than mourn
much';

(i) in clauses of various kinds, which are dependent on
clauses containing subjunctive verbs: geecnàwe sê ñe cumne 'let
him know who can (subj.)', þæs ús scanað swyðe þæt we bótê
āgin nan, swâ swá bêc lêcån 'we are very much ashamed to (lit.
that we should) attempt a remedy, as the Scriptures teach
(subj.).' Deah...hit æft þám eft gewoerde þæt weðne瓜wil eorðe '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) mét (§§ 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 [ɔ] (see
§ 123) left fewer inflexional mood distinctions. For example:
Nà ic suna mínun sulan wolde gûd-gewóðu, þæt mæ gifeode swâ
ångy yrfe-æwæð after wurde 'Now I would give my son my
war-gear, if I had been granted any heir', nà wolde ic gebélæn,
gif ic ábidan móste 'now I would reform, if I might be spared',
lícte þæt hæ sceoldé bíon se hêths god 'he pretended that he
was the most exalted god'. In some texts we can see the two
forms of expression alternating in parallel constructions: þæt
Adám sceal...wesan him on wynne, and wè ðís wîte polien
'that Adam should live in contentment and we should suffer
this torment'; similarly, sê þe slêa his fæder...sê sceal déadc
swéllan 'he who kills his father is to die', but sê þe his gewealdes
monnan ofslêa, swelle sê dêâpe '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 (Cædon, sing mè hwæðwegu 'C., sing me
something', Lêtjan men, geçnàeåb þæt sôdi 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)ютan, utan (which historically is probably an
aorist optative or subjunctive of wilan 'go'; see § 214), which
is used in a frequent periphrasis to express the first person
plural imperative of other verbs: Uton feallan tò bære rôde 'Let
us fall before the cross', utan dôn swâ ús nóð 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-
junctive (see § 133a).

136. Infinitive

The infinitive is chiefly used as follows:

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

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ne dear man forhealdan 'one dare not withhold', ne mōtōn habban
('they) cannot have', Ne purfe wē ãs spillan 'We need not de-
stroy each other'. In constructions with such verbs, infinitives
relating to being or moving are often omitted, as being implicit
in the context: wīla sceal gebyldīg 'a wise man must be patient',
ār 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 cunne 'let him understand who can
(sc. understand)';

(b) with verbs of causation, intention, and intention.
In this group we often find the infinitive used with passive me-
ing (see above, § 131), and also the 'accusative and infinitive' con-
struction (§ 96). For example: dō hit ãs tō wilanne 'make us
know it', hēt hine læran 'bade him be taught', hēt...his hēafod
ōfāsēan 'ordered his head to be struck off', dānced gēgrīpān
'intends to grasp', wilnād biscephād tō underfōnne 'wishes to
receive the office of bishop', ongan fyrenā fremman 'began to
do evil';

(c) with verbs of motion, rest, and observation, often with
durative aspect (see above, § 130), and sometimes with 'accus-
avative and infinitive' (§ 96): cōm...sidan 'came travelling',
gesēah...standan twēgen...wēpan 'saw two standing weep-
ing', gesēah blācne leōman...scīnan '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 ē gē mōtōn gangan...Hrōdgār gesēōn 'now
you may go to see H.', ūl ēōde se sēdēre his sād tō swēnne 'the
sower went out to sow his seed';

(e) causal: ic nā forsceamīge tō secganne 'I am now very
much ashamed to say';

(f) specificatory (especially with nouns and adjectives) and
adverbal: gierd mid tō prēgēanne...staf mid tō wēdīanne
'rod with which to chastise, staff with which to support',
wurpē tō beranne 'worthy to bear', geornfūl tō gehēranne 'eager
to hear', hraedest tō secganne 'to put it briefly';

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(g) substantival: derēd...sumum monnum...pæt sōd tō
gēhēranne 'to hear the truth hurts some people', mē ys...ālīfād...pæt yfel tō hatanne 'I am allowed to hate evil', nīs
nān earfōnys...tō helpanne 'it is no difficulty to help'. There
is an important idiom with the copula and dative of the person
which usually implies necessity: nū is tima ās of slēpe tō
ārīsēne 'now it is time for us to arise from sleep', mē is mē
tō fērān 'it is time for me to go', ās is suide geornlice tō gehēranne
'we must listen very attentively'.

For more advanced and detailed study of mood in OE, students
are referred to F. Behre, The Subjunctive in Old English Poetry
(Gothenburg 1934), H.-O. Wilde, 'Aufforderung, Wunsch und Möglic-
keit', Anglia lxii.209-391, lxiv.10-105, M. Callaway, The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon
(Washington 1913).

Word-Order

137. It is a truism that the word-order in OE is relatively
free as compared with that in Mod.E. But it is easy to exagger-
ate this freedom and to overlook two important facts: first,
that there are in OE considerable areas of conformity to descri-
bable patterns; secondly, that these patterns to a great extent
coincide with present-day usage. In the paragraphs that fol-
low, we shall be content to draw attention only to the most
important and recurrent configurations, leaving to specialist
grammars those that are relatively irregular, since these are
less significant for the bulk of the OE literature and for the
subsequent history of English alike.

Exceptions to the patterns here described are well attested, and we
do not follow S. O. Andrew (for example, in Syntax and Style in Old
English, Cambridge 1940) in holding the statistical norm to be of such
overriding importance in OE structure as to empower us to emend these
exceptions in order to make them conform to the more frequently
recurring patterns.

138. Noun and Pronoun Modifiers

Nouns may be defined by demonstratives or adjectives or
both. It is normal for both to precede the noun, the demon-
strative coming first: se (or þes) mann 'the (or this) man', gōd
mann '(a) good man', se (or þes) gōdā mann 'the (or this) good
man'. Adjectives used substantively are preceded by a demonstrative:
see ædele 'the noble (woman)'. Possessives behave like
demonstratives: his brōpur 'his brother', minne stronglican stōl
'my sturdy throne'. Pronouns are frequently qualified by eal
and self which they usually immediately precede: wē ealle 'we
all', þis eall 'all this', mé selsefum 'for me, myself'.

Outstanding exceptions to the rule demonstrative—adjective
—noun are eall and adjectives in -weard which usually precede
the demonstrative: eall þēos māre gescaef 'all this (or this
whole) glorious creation', ealle þā hwele 'all the time', on eallum
pām gélīmpum 'in all these misfortunes', on südeweardum pām
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 brōpur 'both the brothers'), but
numerals follow demonstratives (þisum swām gebrōbūm '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 pām mātan
úteweardum 'from the outward (part of the) mouth', Denum
eallum 'to all the Danes', bōt eal 'entire vow'. The adjective
genōg is normally found in this position: fēóndas genōge 'foes
enough', þār bīd medo genōh 'there is ample meat'.

When a noun is qualified by two adjectives, we may find
one before it and one after (swiðe mīle meras forse 'very big
fresh-water lakes'), or the two adjectives, linked by and, may
follow the noun (biill . . . brād and brīnecg 'broad and bright-
edged sword'); both adjectives may also precede the noun,
especially when the first concerns quantity: maneg hālīge stōwā
'many holy places'.

It is often difficult to decide whether eall(l) is adjectival or adverbal;
cf Beowulf 1567 (and what is said below on the variable position
of adverbs, § 142): bil eal burhōb '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: frēodoburh fægere 'fair stronghold', wadu wealrendu
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'surging waters', nīceras nīgē 'nine water-demons'. Even
possessives and emphatic demonstratives can take this position:
þēp þyse 'this country', wīne mīn Unferd 'my friend, U.',
gingrān sinre 'to her handmaiden'. The simple demonstrative
can also follow the noun when it is preceding an adjective:
mīne brōpro pā lōfān 'my dear brothers (those dear brothers
of mine)', Ædweard se lānga '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: Ælfrēd cyning 'King Æ.',
Ælfrēr abbot ' Abb E.', Ædric ealdormān 'Governor E.',
Martiānus cāsere 'M. Caesar, Emperor M.', Wærfēr bīscop
'Bishop W.', Godwine eorth 'Earl G.'. With a determining modi-
fier, however, such titles are often found preceding the name:
pone aðebīscop Ælfēah 'the Archbishop Æ.'.

140. Genitive complements generally precede the words to
which they are related: hīra land 'their land', pās landes seeaw-
unge 'for a surveying of the land', syxīg mīla brād '60 miles
across', iglānda felā ' many islands', wedera cēldōst 'coldest of
weather(s)', sīpes wērig 'travel-weary', prēa hwycle 'any serf'
(§ 120f). It is normal for the genitive complement to keep this
position even when its related noun is in a prepositional phrase:
of hwætes hīde 'from whale-skin', mīd Godes fulsume 'with God’s
help'. But when the noun is already determined by another
qualifier, we find the genitive complement following its noun:
on dōre healef pas mōrē 'on the other side of the moor', sumne
dāl pas mōsēs 'a part of the moss', mīd pan lāgan legere pas
dēdan mannes inne 'with the dead man’s lengthy lying-in-
state'; yet there are exceptions to this: se beorna brego 'the
prince of men'. The adjective full usually precedes its genitive
complement: full wētītā ond wīra 'full of ornaments and metal-
work'. A noun often precedes its complement when the latter
is a personal name: sunu Beānslānes 'B.’s son’, cwēn Hūrdgāres
'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.

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141. 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 *huntode* 'in hunting', on *sumun sówum* 'in some places', on *his ägnun lande* 'in his own country', on *Godes grie* 'in God's peace'. But they are postpositive (and should perhaps be called 'postpositions') with the adverbs of place which frequently have pronominal function: *pætlo*, *pærintlo*, *pærret*, *hérinne*, *hérdeacan* 'in addition to this'. With pronouns, the prepositions (especially those of more than one syllable) quite frequently follow: *hus cwedende him tō* 'saying thus to him', *him biforan* 'before him', *him betweon* '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: *pā gatu him tō belocen hæfdon* 'they had closed the gates on themselves', *him cēnilice wīd fæhla* 'fought stoutly against him', *him māra fullum tō cōm* '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: *pe wē gefyrm ymbe sprēcōn* 'about which we spoke earlier', *pe hēo mid beweaxen wēs* 'with which it (the cross) was overgrown'. Less commonly, we find the preposition following even the verb, either closely or remotely: *Osowld him cōm tō* 'O. came to him'; *him cōm micel ēaca tō* 'a great reinforcement came to them'.

This usage is not to be confused with the adverbial and elliptical use of prepositions: *pā fōra hē tō* 'then they went to (that place)'. Compound prepositions like *lōweard*, *betwēnum* sometimes have the governed item(s) between their component parts; thus, *tō scyte weard* 'shipwards', *be sām twēnum* '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-

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', *pēr ārādē* 'raised there', *pēr stōd* 'stood there', *hē wēl cēpe Scytlisc* 'he knew Gaelic well', *se bispoc pā fērdē* 'the bishop then went', and *munuclice leofode* 'and lived monastically', *swīde xelmesghorn* 'very charitable', *tō gēlōme* 'too often', *gehwanon cūme* 'come from everywhere', *Eac 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*, *nærōn*, *nabban*, *noldē*, etc.), *nāhli* (*ne + ā + wīhē*) 'not, by no means', *nānig* (*ne + ānig*) 'none', *nēsrē* (*ne + āsrē*) 'never', *nā* (*ne + ā*) 'never, by no means'. In OE usage, multiple negation was perfectly normal, conjunctive *ne* preceding a clause, and *ne* preceding verbs, asseverative adverbs, and indefinite pronouns, within the clause: *ne ic ne herige ne ic ne tēlē* 'nor do I praise or blame', *ne purfan gē nōhī bēsornī* 'you need not be at all anxious', *nis nānig swā snōtor* 'there is no one so wise', *hēt nā ne fēlōl* 'it by no means fell', *nis nō ðæl lān . . . ac eac . . .* 'it is not only
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this... but also...’, ne hit næfre ne gewurðe ‘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: cylpode mid geleāfan ‘called out with faith’, wē wimmad rihlice ‘we struggle righteously’, Ælfrēd kynig hæþr grētan Wærferd... luflice ond frēondlice ‘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: mēcum wundē ‘wounded by the sword’, sweordum Æswēfede ‘slain by the sword’; cf. also the dative complement with adjectives (him eallum lās ‘hateful to all of them’) and to some extent the nominative complement with participles (Ōswōld gehātan ‘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 O/C in non-dependent clauses: pat Estland is swyde mycel ‘Estonia is very large’, and se cyning and pā ricostan men drincad mōryan meole ‘and the king and the mightiest men drink mare’s milk’, hē lufode for-hafedynesse ‘he loved temperance’. Where the verb comprises a finite part plus a participle or infinitive, the two are either close together (se ādliga... weard gehāeld on bāre ylican nihte ‘the sick man was healed that very night’), or the non-finite part comes at the end (Hē wolde after ūhtsan geost hine gebiddan ‘After Matins, he would usually pray’).

The most frequent occasion for departing from this order is when certain adverbs (especially ne and pā) come first; the order is then V S O/C: ne mihte hē geheladan heardne mēce ‘he could not hold the grim sword’, Pā sende se cyning... pām

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pareum pon... disc ‘then the king sent the dish to the poor’; pār also occurs with this order, especially when used expletively and not with its full local meaning: Pār bid swyde mycel gewinn betweenan him ‘There is much strife between them’.

See R. Quirk, ‘Expletive or Existential there’, London Medieval Studies ii.32. It should be noted that pā and other elements, which are followed by V S O/C when adverbial, do not take this order when conjunctive; 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 pā se Beowulf sē pe...? ‘Are you the Beowulf who...?'), in jussive and volitional expressions (Lāer mon sidān furdur on Læden-gebīdē ‘Let one then instruct further in Latin’), and in conditional clauses without subordinating conjunction (see § 158). The verb similarly comes first in imperative expressions: Forgī nā, Drihten, ērā mōdu ‘Grant now, oh Lord, to our hearts’, Swīga pā ‘Be silent’. In questions where O/C is an interrogative pronoun or an interrogative plus noun, however, the order is O/C V S: Hwēt sægest pā? ‘What do you say?’, Hwilce fixas gefēhst pā? ‘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: Gīa, būtan netum huntian ic mag ‘Certainly I can hunt without nets’ (in reply to the question Ne canst pā huntian būton mid netum? ‘Can you not hunt except with nets?’). Compare also: sume wēf fornōm ‘some, war carried off’ (in a series where individual fates are being listed), him sēo wēn geleāh ‘him expectation deceived,’ nacode wē wērfon ācenode, and nacode wē gewīlād ‘naked we were born and naked we die’. Disjunction also affects final position, especially in the separation of co-ordinate objects or complements: hē wērfon... gebrocede... mid cēpes cuwldon ond monna ‘they were afflicted with the death of cattle, and of men’, of hwæles hīde geworht, and of seoles ‘made of whale’s hide and of seal’s’, hē hī fēdan sceolde and scrydun ‘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: *pā burgwære hīe geþiðendum* 'the townsfolk routed them'. Another recurrent feature is V in initial position, in some cases for special declarative effect (*Was hit pā on ālice wisan hegif ðisma* 'It was then in every way a grievous time', *Gesetlē pā guma ōþerne* '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 Ælfrician 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 (*pe et his māges selege . . . fylyste* 'who assisted in the killing of his kinsman'), in concessive clauses (*peāh hē him lēof wære 'though he was dear to him'), and is frequent in temporal clauses (*for hē bæd curc 'before he chose the funeral-fire', dā hē pone cyninge sōhte 'when he visited the king') in conditional clauses (*gif wē dā stilnesse habbað 'if we have peace'), in causal clauses (*for dām hīe bār sittan ne mehton 'because they could not stay there'), and in noun clauses (*hē gesah pæt Apollonius swā sārlice sæt ond ealle pinge behēold ond nān pinge 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 dām hīa cyninge was geþwondod on pām gefeohhte 'because their king was wounded in the battle'), result clauses (*pæt hīa gefyld on ārne wēstrē ceastrē 'so that they encamped in a deserted fort'), and noun clauses (*hē sāde dat Nordmanna land wære swyðe lang '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 Altergermanischen', 94

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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 awāgān þæt he sylyswylles behēt pām wāmihgān gode ponne hē ðālig bid, þē þæs þē he sylf losige, gif hē ðīðhē 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: *gelwylc hīora his fērhe trēwede, þæt hē hæfde môd micel, þēah þē hē hīge māgum nēre ar-fæst æt ecga gelācun '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 þār man ðā bān fandod unforbārned, hī hit scealan midic gum gēbētan 'if a single bone is found there incompletely burnt, they have to pay dearly for it') and indefinite relative clauses of various kinds (*swā hwaðer swā hē cōm, hē cyddæ pās ēswunda 'wherever he came, he proclaimed these miracles'). But on the whole, initial position has to be supported by correlation (see § 150): *swā hwæt swā hē cōm . . . þæt hē hraðe dædē 'whatever came his way, this he promptly shared'. Thus correlated, many types of clause appear initially: *Nā ic sceal geendian earlīcīcum dēāpe . . . nā wolde ic gēbētan 'Now that I must perish in a wretched death, I would like to make amends', pā hē pā þās andswāre onfeng, dā ongan hē sōna singan 'When he got this answer, he at once began to sing'.

Clauses of most kinds are found also medially: *Hē hæfde pāgyr, þā hē pone cyninge sōhte, tamra dōrā unbebohtra syc hund 'He had still, when he visited the king, 600 tame deer unsold'.

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Sometimes death.

Relationship

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: he þe æt sunde oferflæt, hæfde mære mægen ‘he beat you at swimming —(he) had greater strength’ (cause), he his feorh generede and he was oft 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 þeðh he was of gewündod ‘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, ponne . . . ponne, nū . . . nū, þæt . . . þæt, þæþ . . . þæþ, þæs . . . þæs, swa . . . swa. For example, þa he þa þæs andswære ofnung, dā ongan he sóna singan ‘when he received this answer, he (then) at once began to sing’; ponne hē gesēah . . . ponne árās hē ‘when he saw . . . he (then) arose’, nū ic sceall gegeðian . . . nū wolde ic gebētan ‘now that I have to die, I would like to make amends’, þa þæt Ofaþ mæg . . . onfundæ, þæt se eorl noðe yrhō gebieltian ‘when Ofa’s kinsman saw (this), that the earl would not tolerate cowardice’, þæt hērþī māra wīsdom . . . wērē dēg wē mā gebieltā cūðon ‘that there should be the more wisdom here the more languages we knew’.
summoned him'. Similarly, with present and past participles: *past man his hlæford . . . of lande lifsigendne drифe* 'that anyone should drive his lord, living (i.e. while he lived), from the land', *gedeðed on his mððe, hæ ðebæd 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): *ða . . . færðe hē to heofonum, him on lócigiondum* 'then he proceeded to the heavens, while they looked on', *him andweardum* 'with them present (i.e. in their presence)', *ástrethum handan* '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: *fræm Brytia cyninge, Cædwalla geciged* 'from the king of the Britons, (who was) called C.'; (b) with an infinitive expression: *stæf mid ðæt weorðan* '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 *Óswolde geærningum þe hine æfere wurðdu* 'for O.'s merits, who constantly worshipped Him', *tô Westseaxena kyninge . . . sê wæs ðægð hēðen* 'to the king of the West Saxons who was still heathen', *Læt þæs to ðæt wærÆwulf, sê þe wæd ðæc Breçan wæmne?* 'Are you the Beowulf who competed with Breca?', *understande sê de wille* '(let him) understand who will', *þæt lylbe þæt hê ðerede* 'the little that he ploughed', *on ðæm ðæhtum þe heora spêda on þære ðe hine in those possessions in which their wealth lies*, *of ðæm mere, de Træsô stænded in stæde* 'from the lake on whose shore T. stands', *nis ðæ cwicra næm, þe ic him môdsefan minne durre . . . ðæcgan* 'there is now no one living to whom I dare speak my heart', *ân mægð ðæt hi magon* 'a tribe who can'; (d) with no relative pronoun: *mîd heora cyningham, Radgota and Eallérica wærôn hârne* 'with their kings who were called R. and E.'.

154. Various temporal relations are expressed by means of dependent clauses introduced by common conjunctions (frequently correlated) such as *siddan (siddan Æbrēas . . . gecëg hæfðon* 'after the Hebrews had gone'), *þa or þa ( . . .) þa (ða þa scipu gearwe wærôn* 'when the ships were ready'), *þonne (þonne ðæt ðlæc bid gesweoned* 'when the flesh is afflicted'), *þenden (þenden hē on ðyse wærule wunode* 'while he dwelt in this world'), *nā (nā wē hit habban ne mōtôn* 'now that we cannot possess it')*, *þær þam pe (þær þam de hit ecil forhêrgod wære* 'before it was all completely ravaged'), *of ðat (of ðat Crist sylf come* 'until Christ Himself should come'); those relating to the future require subjunctive verbs for the most part (§ 133g), but in general the mood in temporal clauses is indicative. Frequently, time relations are indicated by means of temporal adverbs in non-dependent constructions: *þa, þonne, þær, nā, sôna, gyl, and many others*; for example, *was Hēasten þær cumen* 'H. had then arrived there', *gyl móte weðcnum* '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 *bat(te) (iæ gedænafeð bat we . . . onduwarigene* 'it is fitting for us that we (should) answer'), less frequently by *þam pe ( . . .) bat* (ic côm . . . ðæt he wære geswutelod* 'I came in order that he should be made manifest'); negative purpose clauses are introduced by *þær lās (þe): þær lās þe heð sylf losige* 'lest he himself perish'. Purpose can also be expressed with a coordinate construction familiar in Mod.E.: *uton faran . . . and gesēon* 'let's go and see', *ic sende minne engel beforan ðe and drifte ut . . . (mittam . . . ut ejiciam)* 'I shall send my angel before thee to drive out . . .'. The inflected infinitive is also common in this function: *hē . . . côm eordan to dēmæne* '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: *eðð . . . aeg . . . for ðan ðe hē ne mithæ gesēon* '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 *pat(te)*, but the verb in these is indicative: *dat him töberst sæo heorte 'so that his heart burst*'; frequently, they are introduced by *swa* (... *pat(te)*, as in *swa pat hē hreása ... on eordan 'so that he fell to the ground*; the subjunctive is of course used when it is required in a particular context (see § 133h): *ic wille pat hi hit helden swa kynelice ... pat hēr ne hē numen of nā gelda '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: *pā sælion hē ut on dām iglände ... of pone first pe hē wurdon swīde metelēase 'then they stayed out on the island until (or so that) they became very short of food*, *swā him mon māre sæld swā hīne mā 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 *swa* (swā): *swā swā hī from pe hider cōmon, swā hī ēac to pe hīonan fundað 'just as they have come here from Thee, so they likewise hasten hence to Thee*; but we also find participial and appositive expressions: *hē ealle woruldcara ðeawār frum his heortan, nēmes pinges wihtigende 'he cast away all thoughts of the world from his heart, desiring nothing*, *ápāhafenum handum langlice bæd 'with upraised hands (he) prayed long*.

157. **Causal** clauses contain indicative verbs and the common conjunction is *fordon* (*pe*), with its variants such as *fordæm* (*pe*/*pat*), *fordy* (*pe*/*pat*): *for pām de nān mihtigra þē nis 'because there is none mightier than Thou*; *fordon* (−ð) is also a common connective or relational adverb in co-ordinate causal expressions: *onð hē ðe forbry ðe oðrōwewon 'and they therefore rowed away*. Various forms of correlation are found: hē *for þē mōde, þē hē mid his jofse getrunwade 'for this reason he would not* (namely) *that along with his force he was confident*, *ic for þon ... ðaæð ... for þon ic nōht cīð '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 where the second member of the relationship contains a verb of intending, saying, or thinking: *pā fērdē hē to Rōme, woldē his hēle bīdān 'he then journeyed to Rome (because he wanted to pray for his salvation), se cyng mid his hēre fērdē tōweard Hrōfeceastre, and wēndon ðat se biscop wērē þēarnne '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 purh* (*hē cōm dā purh Godes sande 'he then came because of God's summons*), appositional phrases (*gedrēfed on his mōde, he gebæd hīne 'being troubled in his mind, he prayed*), and absolute phrases (*dā gelamp onbryrdendum pām fōndē ... þat se cyning ... wearð 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: *pat hē ēode in tô ānum his geferena, sē wās mid pā grimnemstan untrumnesse hefeggād 'that he should go in to one of his companions who (or because he) was afflicted with a most serious illness*, *hit is swēðol þat hēō was ungewummed mādēn, þonne hire līchamæ ne mihte formolmsnān 'it is clear that she was an undefiled maiden, when (or since) her body could not decay*, *þa wearð hē on slēpe swā swā God woldē 'then he fell asleep just as (i.e. because) God wished*, *gīf hē hūrhwænd on yfelnesse ... þonne sceal hē ... drōwian 'if he persists in wickedness, then he must (sc. therefore) suffer*.

158. The usual **conditional** conjunctions are *gif, pār*, (and for negative conditions) *būtan, nefne* (*nemne*) and *nymbē*; on the mood in conditional clauses, see above, §§ 132h, 133d. For example: *gif saw swē dyncē 'if it seems so to you*, *pār ic āhte mina handa gewaeld 'if I had command of my hands*, *būtan hī him mārān andlyfne sealdon 'unless they gave him more food*, *nymbē mec God scylde 'unless God protects me*. In conditions with *gif*, there is often a correlative *ponne: gif ic eft gefare ... ponne meig ic ... 'if I later achieve ... then I can ... '*. The inversion construction occurs but is not common: *āhte ic mina handa gewaeld '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;
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the following relative clause translates a Latin formal condition: sē de biscephāde gewilnād, gōd weorc hē gewilnād 'he who (or if anyone) desires the office of bishop, he desires good works'; similarly, in OE temporal constructions, we find nū sometimes corresponding to si in a Latin original, and Ælfric has on one occasion ponne ēr alternating with gif in parallel clauses. Modal clauses may be conditional (swā swā hē lēōhtlice gebylgeð wēre 'as (if) she were slightly angered'), and likewise noun clauses: nēftrē . . . pei ēn cuveornstān sē geconomy ēlūtan his swītan 'better that a millstone be fastened about his neck' (corresponding to the Vulgate, utīlius . . . si lapis molāris imponētur circa collum eīus).


159. Dependent concessive clauses (which have subjunctive verbs) are introduced by peah (be): peah de hit his rice wēre 'although it was his kingdom'. In the related non-dependent clause we sometimes find such correlative items as (swā) peah, hwædere, pēahhwædere, and we very often find these words indicating the concessive relation in co-ordinate expressions: hē was Criste swā peah leōf 'he was nevertheless dear to Christ', hwæpre mē gyfē be wērē '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: hē woldle ofstingan ēadwīne cinige, ac hē ofstang līlān hīs dēgn 'he wanted to stab King Edwin, but he stabbed Lilla his thane'. Co-ordination with and may also express concession (mūd hābbad, and ne mēliad wih 'they have a mouth, yet do not speak at all'), and paratactic expression is also well attested: hē fela fīndeō, fēa bōd geCOREN 'he finds many but few are chosen', ic eorhpam com ágheardo brēdrē . . . folem mec mæg bīfōn '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): hyge swā hē wille 'let him think as he

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will'; the alternative concession is often on the pattern VS VS, with the subjunctive (wyde wē nelle we 'whether we will or no', swelte ic lybbe ic 'whether I live or die'), but it may take the form of contrastive pairs separated by ne or oddAnything (forodd neāh '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 þū . . . gēō . . . hafst where the poetic version has ðēah þū . . . gēō . . . hafst 'which or though you yet have'. Concession is also commonly expressed in modal, temporal, causal, degree, and other clauses: swā hit riht ne was 'although it was not right', ne swyllē he . . . ponne syllan sceal innad 'the bellows does not die when (or even when or although) he has to surrender his entrails', mōd sceal þē māre, þē āre mægen lyllad 'courage must be the greater as our strength lessens'.

IV

WORD-FORMATION

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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Mod.E. we coffeed, a good buy is to be seen in the regular correspondence between many nouns and verbs; for example:

(a) bite 'bite' : bitan 'to bite'
gripe 'grip' : gripan 'grip'
hrine 'sense of touch' : hrínan 'touch'
slite 'tear' : slitan 'tear'
cyme 'arrival' : cuman 'come'
cyre 'choice' : céósan 'choose'
flyge 'flight' : fléogan 'fly'
gyte 'flood' : géotan 'pour'
hryre 'fall' : hréosan 'fall'
lyre 'loss' : léosan 'lose'
scyte 'blow' : sceótan 'shoot'

(b) dóm 'judgment' : déman 'judge'
bót 'remedy' : bétan 'improve'
blód 'blood' : blédan 'let blood'
frófor 'comfort' : fréfran 'comfort'
gold 'gold' : gyldan 'gild'
weorc 'deed' : wyrzan 'work'
camb 'comb' : cemban 'comb'
lár 'learning' : læran 'teach'
lást 'track' : læstan 'follow'
scrúd 'clothing' : scrydan 'clothe'

(c) cuma 'guest' : cuman 'come'
flyma 'fugitive' : flyman 'rout'
geféra 'companion' : -fēran 'travel'
gesaca 'opponent' : -sacan 'contend'
wita 'wise man' : witan 'know'

(d) andswaru 'answer' : andswarian 'answer'
eard 'dwellings place' : eardian 'dwell'
ende 'end' : endian 'end'
elleán 'reward' : léánian 'reward'
lufu 'love' : lulian 'love'
sorg 'sorrow' : sorgian 'sorrow'
þingian 'beg, agree'
wuldor 'glory' : wuldrían 'glorify'
wundor 'wonder' : wundrian 'wonder at'

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

(a) beald 'bold': byldan 'embolden'
eāmdō 'humble': ēāmōdan 'humble'
full 'full': fyllan 'fill'
fūs 'eager': fyśan 'impel'
georn 'eager': gynnan 'yearn for'
hāl 'whole': hēlān 'heal'
scearp 'sharp': scyrpan 'sharpen'
wōd 'mad': wēdan 'rage'

(b) beorht 'bright': beorhtian 'shine'
fūl 'corrupt': fūlān 'decay'
gōd 'good': gōdian 'improve'
lītel 'little': lītlian 'diminish'
open 'open': opnian 'open'
wēdan 'clear': wēdan 'reveal'
trum 'firm': truminan 'grow strong'
yfel 'evil': yflian 'infect evil'

163. The type cyre : ceosan (§ 161a) is one of several in which noun and verb are related through gradation (see §§182f), in this case also with i-mutation (see §§208ff). The types dōm : dēman (§ 161b), fūl : fyllan (§ 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 pre-E OE. The types forn : forna (§ 160a), fur : fyr (§ 160d), are similar to 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, andswarjan, 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, 106

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Functional Change in Early English (Menasha, Wis., 1948). Minor suffixes in OE verb-formation are -sian (as in mōrsian 'proclaim'), -ettan (as in lādetan 'loth'), and -lēcan (as in geānlēcan '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 the use of the suffix -ing, yielding feminine abstract nouns, especially from consonantal verbs of Class II; thus weorhting 'honour', proswung 'suffering'. Agent-nouns were often formed from verbs by the suffix -end (as in dēmend 'one who judges', hālend 'one who heals, Saviour') and -ere (as in cwelle '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', unrihtnes 'injustice'.

165. New adjectives were formed chiefly from existing nouns. The commonest suffixes were -i (bōdīc 'bloody', crāftīc 'strong', fāmīc 'foamy'), -ful (geleāfūl 'pious', sorfūl 'sad'), pocfūl 'thankful'), the corresponding negative suffix -lēas (ārlēas 'impious', fēolēas 'moneyless', freōndēas 'friendless'), and -ic (deōfōlic 'diabolical', leōhīc 'bright', pryðīc 'mighty').

166. Adverbs were formed chiefly from adjectives, with the endings -e, -lice, -inga (-unga); for example, dēope 'deeply', faste 'firmly', rihte 'rightly', wipe 'widely'; blīndlice 'blindly', sōldlice 'truly', openlice 'openly', freōndlice 'amically'; kallunga 'entirely', nīwinda 'recently', yrringa 'angrily'.

It is not easy to distinguish the formations in -e and -lice because many adjectives had many forms, with and without -lice, and it is impossible to tell from which form the adverb in -lice comes; thus, for example: sār, adj. 'grievous' sālic, adj. 'grievous' sāllice, adv. 'grievously'
wrād 'furious' wrādlīc 'furious' wrādlīc 'furiously'
gesēlig 'happy' gesēlgīc 'happy' gesēlīgīc 'happily'
mōdīc 'proud' mōdīlīc 'proud' mōdīlīc 'proudly'

Other adverbial terminations are -es and -a (extensions of the use of the genitive mentioned in § 102), as in ealles 'entirely', elles 'otherwise', hāmweardes 'homewards', ungemetes 'exceedingly', geāra 'formerly', sōna
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'at once', tela 'well', priwa 'thrice'; -um (which, like -s, is an extension of the use of the dative and instrumental mentioned in § 112), as in furdum 'even', hwilum 'at times', unwearnum 'irresistibly'; -an (usually signifying 'from the place or direction indicated in the stem'), as in stātan 'from the east', forcoran 'from afar', gystran 'yesterday', heoman 'hence', siddan 'afterwards'. One might also mention the relatively infrequent adverbal use of adjectives in n.a.sg.neut., notably eat '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: bōccroft 'literature', dēādāeg 'day of death', folclau 'law of the people', mannyht 'manskirter', tāngerefa 'district officer'; in some cases, the prefixed noun is inflected: Englalond 'England', hellewite 'torment of hell', Sunnmandæg 'Sunday'.

With adjective prefixes: cælwælæda 'the Almighty', godspel (göd) 'gospel', hēahburg 'capital', widsō 'ocean'.

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

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

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

With adverb prefixes: fælamōdīg 'very brave', ærwacol 'early awake', welwilende 'benevolent'.

In addition, there are many compound adjectives on the pattern commonly known by the Sanskrit term bahuvrīhi, in which the second element is a noun; among the best known of these are bīrēneg 'bright-edged', glǣdmōd 'glad-hearted', mild-heort '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 phrasal verbs (for example, eat up, beside eat). Thus scores of common verbs are made perfective by the prefix -an (for example, āheawan 'cut off', āfysan 'drive away', āsendan 'dispatch') and hundreds more by ge-: for example, fēran 'go' but gefēran 'reach', frēgnan 'ask' but gefrēgnan 'learn', hleāp 'leap' but gehleāp '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 antī); for example, andēfn 'proportion', andēfæn 'reward', andsaca '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', unītel 'much', unrīhte '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:

(a): 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', āhebban 'lift up', āleagan 'lay down', āsendan 'dispatch', ābysgian 'occupy', āreran 'exalt'; ābidan 'wait', ārīman 'count'. The prefix appears also with nouns and adjectives derived from verbs; for example: ācennednes 'birth', ārīd 'resolved'.

an-: see on-. 109
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be-, bi-: used primarily (as be-) to modify verbs, often adding the sense 'round', 'over', often with only intensifying or perfective effect; examples: beágan 'surround', beólsan 'confine', beágélan 'pour over'; belúcan 'lock up', beásfán 'hurl', beárypan 'despoil'. With many verbs, be- has the effect of making the intransitive transitive: bestyman 'make wet', beówýpan 'bewail'; with others again, it has privative force: bedélan 'deprive', benúman 'take away'. With many nouns we have the special stressed form bi- (big-), with others the same form as with verbs: bigléofa 'sustenance', bismer 'insult', biword 'proverb', beóð 'command', behát 'promise', bæg 'region'. The prefix be- appears also with some common adverbs and prepositions: beforan 'before', behélpan 'on this side of', behindan 'behind', beneódan 'beneath', betwéon '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', fordóan 'destroy', forhóigian 'despise', forðólan 'lead to destruction', forniman 'carry off', destroy, forscypán 'transform', forwórdan 'perish'. It appears also with some nouns derived from verbs: forhærgan 'devastation', forlórennes 'perdition', forsewennes 'contempt'. With adjectives and adverbs it is equivalent to the modification 'very': forheard 'very hard', formanig 'very many', foróft 'very often'.

gé-: 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: géasscian 'discover', gescéran 'cut through', gesítan '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 gerídan which is used in the sense 'ride round (somewhere)' or 'ride up to (some point)' as well as 'occupy'. With some verbs, gé- gives a special sense (as with gestádan 'endure, last'), but with others it is not possible to detect the special significance of the prefix: for example, gehátan

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'call, promise', geóledan 'hold, keep, gescégan 'say, tell'. The nouns involved are mainly derived from verbs, and the ge-indicates either completeness of the verbal action or collectiveness; for example, gesceaf 'that which has been created, creation', gelímp 'that which has happened, event, calamity', gesstróin 'wealth, property', geprinc 'crowd'. With many nouns and adjectives, and with several adverbs and pronouns, ge- introduces the idea of assembly or association: gebróðorscipe 'fraternity', geséra 'comrade', géat 'colleague'; gelíc 'similar', gemíne 'common', gesib 'akin'; geówan 'from all quarters', geówar 'everywhere'; geóv 'each', geówilc 'each' (compare the grouping 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, géoróld 'voice', geójóld 'patient', gé¡jungénlice 'virtuously'.

-ig: used in the formation of adjectives, mainly from nouns; examples: adil 'sick', blód 'bloody', crafíag 'strong', cysig 'excellent', drystig 'daring', grág 'greedy', scylig 'guilty', spág 'rich', wílig 'beautiful'; -ig goes back to two earlier suffixes, *-ig- and *-ag-, the one causing i-mutation (§§ 208f), the other not.

-illé: used in the formation of adjectives, usually from nouns or existing adjectives; examples: cyneálic 'royal', dênfólic 'diabolical', earmlíc 'wretched', géomóric 'sad', hyhlíc 'pleasant', munúclic 'monastic', sellic 'rare', torhíc 'glorious', pryðíc 'strong', ungéljóediclic 'incredible', wórdilíc 'worldly'.

-nés(s), -nis, -nys: used in the formation, especially from adjectives, of feminine abstract nouns; examples: ðafésted 'piety', ánrbénnes 'firmness', behóthnes 'brightness', dýgolnes 'secrecy', éñnes 'eternity', gehyrnes 'hearing', gewémmednes 'defilement', onbryndanes 'inspiration', sárnes 'pain', prines 'trinity', un-ríhtwynnes 'injustice'.

on- (with nouns, also an-): used with several parts of speech. With verbs, it often indicates the inception of an action; for example, onbærnan 'incite', onbrydian 'inspire', ongtætan 'perceive', onhátan 'inflame', onlýhtan 'enlighten', onspringan
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'spring forth', onwægonan 'awake'; with other verbs (where on- is the unstressed form of un-), it indicates the antithesis of the action of the stem: onbindan 'unbind', ongryfan 'undress', onlæcan 'open', onsælan 'untie', onwæron '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', onrægs 'attack', onscurning 'detestation', onscyhte 'calumny'; so also with other parts of speech: onenn 'alongside', ongean 'against, opposite', onsæge 'impending, 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: unforht 'dauntless', ungearu 'unprepared', ungelic 'dissimilar', unlytel 'large', onræde 'with difficulty', unwirhte 'unjustly', untel 'amiss', unfrid 'hostility', unssnotornes 'folly'; it is rare with verbs (see on-, above): unscrjidan 'undress', untrumian 'weaken'. In some cases with un- is not simply the antithesis of the unprefixed 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', unlagu 'injustice', unþéaw 'evil habit', unweard 'bad weather'; in a few cases, it merely intensifies; thus, uncoðu 'disease', and possibly also unforht 'very afraid' (Dream of the Rood 117) and unhár 'very grey' (Beowulf 357, MS).

-ung, often -ing: used to form feminine abstract nouns, especially from consonantal verbs of Cl. II; examples: bodung 'preaching', earung 'merit', hœfung 'lamentation', hræwung 'suffering', wæorung 'honour', wimung 'desire', hræwung 'hurry', onscurning 'detestation', ræðung 'lesson', -ing being especially associated with formations from consonantal verbs of Cl. I.

171. High frequency:

and- (ond-): 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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($§ 170$). Examples: andefn 'proportion', andgyt 'sense', andlæan 'reward', andsaca 'adversary', andswaru 'answer', ondsealh 'onslaught', andettan 'confess', andswaran 'answer', ondhwæorfan 'turn against'; andwæord 'present', andgytfullice 'intelligibly', andlang 'along'.

dóm: forms abstract nouns from other nouns and from adjectives; examples: cristendóm 'Christianity', ealdóm 'age', hlaþordóm 'lordship', lêrcedóm 'medicine', martyrdom 'martyrdom', swícédóm 'treachery', þæowdóm 'slavery', widsám 'wisdom'.

-end: forms masculine agent nouns (compare present participles in -ende) from verbs; examples: dêmend 'judge', eariþend 'dwell', hældend 'saviour', headend 'chief', nergend 'saviour', râden 'ruler', scyppend 'creator', wrecend 'avenger'. A few such forms in -end (notably agend 'owner', berend 'bearer', bûend 'dwell', hæbrend 'owner', wigend 'fighter') appear over and over again as the second elements in poetic compounds; for example, folc-, foldængend 'ruler of people, of land', gær-, helmerberend 'speaker, helmbearer (= warrior), eord-, fold-, wyrldæng 'earth-, land-, world-dweller'.

-ful(l)(): used to form adjectives, especially from abstract nouns; for example, andgytful 'sensible', bealofull 'evil', egesfull 'terrible', hyhtfull 'joyful', synnfull 'sinful', wæorofull 'illustrious', wuldufoll 'glorious'; in some cases, the suffix is added to existing adjectives: geornfoll 'eager', gesundfoll '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, ingan 'enter', ingenga 'invader', ingesceald 'household goods', ingepone 'cogitation', innweard 'inward'. It also acts as an intensifier (indryhten 'distinguished', infrå 'very wise'), and sometimes, like on- (§ 170), indicates the inception of an action (indræcan 'intoxicate', inlyhtan 'enlighten'), in which function it may be an Angl. characteristic.

-leas: forms adjectives from nouns, with the sense of 'bereft of'; examples: ærleas 'impious', cwidelæs 'speechless', dómleas 'inglorious', dremlæs 'joyless', fæohleas 'destitute', feohleas 'destitute',
172. Other common affixes:

- **ā-, ō-**: gives generalised meaning to pronouns and adverbs (see also -ēg-): āhweor ‘either (of two)’, āhwēr (ōhwēr) ‘anywhere’, ōhwanon ‘from everywhere’.

- **ē-**: gives sense of ‘without’: ēgīde ‘without payment’, ēmynde ‘forgetfulness’.

- **ef-, of-**: used with nouns and corresponds to of- (§ 171): ēffonca ‘grudge’, ēfwyrda ‘damage’.

- **æfter-**: as in æfterfylgan ‘pursue’, æftergenga ‘successor’.

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- **ā- and ō-**: gives generalised meaning to pronouns and adverbs (see also -ēg-): āhweor ‘either (of two)’, āhwēr (ōhwēr) ‘anywhere’, ōhwanon ‘from everywhere’.

- **ē-**: gives sense of ‘without’: ēgīde ‘without payment’, ēmynde ‘forgetfulness’.

- **ef- and of-**: used with nouns and corresponds to of- (§ 171): ēffonca ‘grudge’, ēfwyrda ‘damage’.

- **æfter-**: as in æfterfylgan ‘pursue’, æftergenga ‘successor’.

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- **ēg-**: like ā-, gives generalised meaning to pronouns and adverbs: ēghweor ‘everyone’, ēghwēr ‘everywhere’, ēghwanon ‘in all directions’.

- **āf-**: see -ōf-

- **bāre**: forms adjectives signifying ‘productive of’ the stem-meaning: lūstbāre ‘agreeable’, wāstmbāre ‘fertile’.

- **bora**: forms masculine agent nouns from other nouns: mundbora ‘protector’, rādbora ‘councillor’.

- **cund**: forms adjectives signifying ‘of the nature of’ the stem-meaning: dēofolcund ‘diabolical’, godcund ‘sacred, divine’.

- **ēd-**: modifies various parts of speech, adding the sense ‘again, back’: examples: ēdhwyrft ‘return, change’, ēdlēan ‘requital’, ēdwenden ‘reversal’, ēdwiht ‘reproach’; ēdshōldan ‘re-establish’; ēdātes ‘renewed’.

- **ēd-**: forms adjectives (compare -ēd as past pple inflexion of consonantal verbs), usually from nouns; examples: ōhtān ‘plated’, ōhtēd ‘hilted’, ōhringēd ‘made of rings’, mīcēhūēd ‘big-headed’. In a number of words, ēd- appears to signify ‘deprived of’, as in ēcpēd ‘with the top off’.

- **el-**: signifies ‘foreign, from elsewhere’ (cf. Lat. ālis, OE elra ‘other’, elles ‘otherwise’); examples: ēlland ‘foreign country’, ēlbeōdīg ‘foreign’.


- **-en**: (1) adjective suffix (as distinct from the -ēn of vocalic past pple) used adjectivally, as gebeungen ‘excellent’): ēlēn ‘poisonous’, gylde ‘golden’, paell ‘purple’, sylfr ‘(made) of silver’, stān ‘of stone’;

- **(2) various noun suffixes which by the OE period had fallen together as -ēn(n); it is difficult to distinguish the functions of the suffix, and all genders of noun occur with it. Examples: dryhten ‘lord’, yōden ‘prince’, megen ‘handmaid’, nīten ‘animal’, scyppen ‘cow-shed’, byrgen ‘burial-place’, land-**
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haftan 'tenure of land', ræden 'condition', þīnen 'woman-servant'.
-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: böcere 'scholar', cwellere 'killer', fugler 'fowler', godspellere 'evangelist', rþpere 'plunderer', wyrdwritere 'historian'.
-erne: adjectival, used with the points of the compass; for example, südern 'southern'.
-estre: used in forming agent nouns, originally feminine and then also masculine; for example, millestren 'harlot'.
-et(t): forming neuter abstract, and later concrete, nouns: bærn 'burning', rýmet 'space'.
-ettan: used to form intensive or frequentative verbs: lādettan 'loathe', önettan 'hasten'.
-fæst: used in forming adjectives from nouns and from other adjectives; examples: ærendfæst 'bound on an errand', blædfæst 'glorious', sōdfæst 'righteous', wynnfæst 'pleasant'; willfæst 'wise'.
-feald: used to form adjectives, especially from numerals: annfeald 'single', simple', prifefald 'threefold'; manifefald 'various'.
fore-: used to modify various parts of speech with the sense of 'prece-herence' or 'pre-eminence'; examples: foregān 'precede', foressegnan 'mention before'; foregengā 'attendant', foresprēc 'preamble', forfāc 'forethought'; foremāre 'very famous', foresnōtor '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', forðgēorn 'eager to advance'.
ful-: modifies various parts of speech with the sense of 'completeness': fullgān 'accomplish', fullēstan 'help', fulwyrcan 'complete'; fullum 'help', fullwēte 'full penalty'; fullreft 'perfect'; fulnēth 'almost'.
-had: forms masculine abstract nouns: geogodhad 'time of youth', magghad 'virginity', woruldhad 'secular life'.
-lht: used in a few cases to form adjectives from nouns; thus,

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finhth 'having fins', þornihth 'thorny', -höyht- (Beowulf 1438) 'hooked'.

-ing: (1) 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 Lēving 'son of Levi', Nathaning 'son of Nathan' show that the formation was still productive in the OE period. Examples: ædeling 'prince', brenting 'ship', cinving 'king', earving 'wretch', hōring 'adulterer', penning 'penny', wicing 'pirate'. See also -ing;

(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 substantivally. Examples: folisc 'secular', mennisc 'human' (or 'humanity'), Ebriisc 'Hebrew', Engliisc 'English' (as noun, means 'the English language').

-lâc: used to form neuter abstract nouns: ræflâc 'robbery', wroðhîlc 'calumny'.

-lācan: used to form verbs, usually from adjectives and nouns: gealîc 'unite', nealîc 'approach'.

-ling: used to form masculine concrete nouns, usually diminutives: ðecorliing 'favourite', sibling 'relative', yrêling 'farmer'.

See also -ing.

mis-: modifies various parts of speech with the sense of 'amiss, wrongly': miskād 'misdeed'; miswende 'erring'; misb̥ōdum 'ill-treat', misfōn 'fail to get', misliumpan 'go wrong'.

ū: see ð-

-ol: (1) see -el;

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

or-: makes nouns adjectival with sense of 'lacking, without (the stem)'; intensifies existing adjectives. Examples: orleahþe 'blameless', ormōd 'despairing', orsāwle 'lifeless', orsorg 'free from care'; orsēld 'very old', ormēte 'intense'.

ō-: modifies verbs, some with the sense of 'at, close to' (thus oðstan 'stand still'), more often with the sense of 'away': oðberan 'carry off', oðseallan 'decline', oðrōwan 'row away', oðwindan 'escape'.

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-wende: used to form adjectives from existing adjectives and from nouns: hālwende ‘healthy’, huwtwende ‘transitory’, lōf-wende ‘amiable’.

-wif-: used to modify various parts of speech with the sense of ‘away, against’: wīdbregdan ‘snatch away’, wīdfon ‘lay hold on’, wīdhlabban ‘resist’, wīdsacan ‘oppose, deny’; wīd-innan ‘within’, wīdsūdan ‘to the south of’; wīdlēdn ‘abduction’.

-wīrder-: modifies various parts of speech with the sense of ‘opposing, counter’; examples: wīdērleān ‘reap’, wīdersaca ‘adversary’, wīdertrod ‘retreat’; wīderrāhtes ‘opposite’.

ymb(e)-: modifies various forms with the sense of ‘around’: ymbgang ‘circuit’, ymbbesprēc ‘comment’; ymbbeorgan ‘shield, protect’, ymbhycgan ‘consider’, ymbsettan ‘besiege’; ymbtān ‘around’.

For further and more detailed study, see H. Paul, ‘Wortbildungslehre’ in Deutsche Grammatik (Halle 1920); F. Kluge, Nominales Stamm-bildungslehre der Allgärmischen Dialekte (3rd ed.: Halle 1926); F. Holthausen, Alllengisches Etymologisches Woerterbuch (Heidelberg 1934); M. L. Samuels, ‘The ge-Prefix 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, phonemic (or phonetic); 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 (isotopically) 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 Symbols</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>[æː]</td>
<td>æː</td>
<td>hat (RP)</td>
<td>[hæt]</td>
<td>medium-low, front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>hand (drawled)</td>
<td>[hænd]</td>
<td>[æː] lengthened and tenser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[eː]</td>
<td>eː</td>
<td>let</td>
<td>[let]</td>
<td>medium, front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>a, e, o</td>
<td>Germ. weg</td>
<td>[veɡ]</td>
<td>high-medium, front, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>china (unstressed)</td>
<td>[tʃainə]</td>
<td>medium, central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[œ]</td>
<td>œ</td>
<td>Germ. schöen</td>
<td>[ʃœn]</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>[o]</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>spot</td>
<td>[spot]</td>
<td>medium-low, back, rounded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Semivowels.** The sounds [j] and [w] may be called semi-vowels, 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*, *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], [r], [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 *l*-sound in *middle*); in phonetic transcription, the *syllabic* property may be indicated by a small mark, thus: [l̩, m̩, n̩, r̩]. [ŋ̩, g̩, k̩, x̩].
which sounds like the consonant in Germ. *ach* are velars (formerly called gutturals). The fricatives (or spirants) are the voiced [ə] (heard initially in *then*), [v], [z], [j] (the second consonant in *measure*), [y] (the usual initial sound in *road*), and [y] (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*), [x] (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 Phonetik* (Berne 1950). Throughout this Grammar, [r] is used in ‘broad’ transcription for any r-sound; [ə] is here used only occasionally, in ‘narrow’ transcription, when special attention is being drawn to the fricative or ‘burred’ 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 such 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
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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], [hw]. Compare the following pairs of Latin and OE words, the relevant symbols being italicised:

(a) labor 'I fall': slēpān 'sleep'  
dentem: tōp 'tooth'  
genu: cęso(w) 'knee'  
vēnī (<*guenī): c(w)ōm  
'came'

(b) pedem: fōt 'foot'  
tertius: pridda 'third'  
collem: hyll 'hill'  
quod: hwet '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 bycgan 'buy' and its pret. bohte, scyppan 'create' and gesceaff 'creation', kycgan '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 ht (from velars). Thus, where the p in scyppan had regularly developed in the unvoicing of Grimm's Law, the pt of gesceaff comes from the pt of IE by the second part of Grimm's Law. We need the Go. bugjan to clarify the bycgan—bohte pair, since the g had been fronted and lengthened in OE (see §184). It should further be noted that the g in bugjan (as also in hugjan, OE hycgan) 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 voiced plosives shifted under (a) above. The g of Go. bugjan, then, goes back to IE [gh], while the ht 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 1949); 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 Verner, and which has therefore often been known as Verner's Law. The change was that the voiceless fricatives [f], [θ], [x], [hw] (from IE [p], [t], [k], [kw], by Grimm's Law), and [s] were voiced to [v], [θ], [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 [z] 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 [j]. Since f represents both [f] and [v] in OE, Verner's Law appears in writing as interchanges between [p] and [d]; [h] (unless lost between vowels) and [g]; [hw] (again, unless lost) and [w] or [g]; and also s and r. 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. ind., the pret. subj., and the past pple of vocalic verbs in OE show the consonants resulting from Verner's Law when the stems of such verbs end in one of the consonants affected; compare:

weordan 'become' beside wurdon &c, with [θ>θ>d];
tēon 'draw' (<*tēahan), pret. sg. tēah, beside tugon &c, with [x>y], past pple togen;
čēosan 'choose' beside curton &c, with [s>z>r];

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seó̄n ‘see’ (cf Go. satēwian, Lat. sequor) beside sāwōn, sāgon &c, with [xw > yw > y or w], past pple sēwēn, sēgēn, with [w] and [j] respectively.

Similarly are related the medial consonants in various other corresponding forms, such as hrēsōn ‘fall’ beside the related noun hryre, risan ‘rise’ beside the related causative verb rārān ‘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 Lauterschiebung 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. cēsān and the pl. cūron. 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. English execute and executor, absolute and absolutes, exercise and exéres.

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

The process by which Gmc [x] resulting from IE [x] by Verner’s Law became [r] in West and North Gmc is often termed rhotacism (Germ. Rhotacismus). The [x] 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 r in Polish and r in Czech, as in Polish dobrzy ‘good’ and the name of the Czech composer Dvořák; compare also Go. dags and ON dagr for a similar phenomenon. Further on Verner and this consonant shift, see O. Jespersen, Linguistica (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.

181. Such apparently irregular verbs as hōn ‘hang’ and fōn ‘seize’ become clearer if we remember the lost h that alternated with g in the present and pret. pl. forms: *hōhan, *fōhan beside hēgon, -fēgen etc. The Gmc forms of the infinitives were approximately *hāyanan and *fāyanan respectively, and with the rounding of the stem vowel to o and loss of nasal in this position, followed by lengthening, we get *hōhan and *fōhan which, with the usual loss of medial [x] give the OE forms hōn and fōn (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 hwē ‘who’; medi ally it had become h early, and this h was then lost between vowels, with consequent contraction, along with original h. Hence seōn (Go. satēwian, Gmc *sēwān, Pr. OE *sēhan) can be seen to be a vocalic verb of Class V, with the effects of Verner’s Law giving pret. pl. sāwōn, sāgōn, sāgon, past pple sēgen, sēwen as noted in § 180. The 1 and 3 pret. sg. show the h (from *hwē) with diphthongisation before velarised consonants: seah.

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 (sāwōn, 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, drīfan, -drīfen. This is called root-gradation and may still be seen in Mod. English drove—drove—driven. One may similarly vary the vowel of the suffix in inflecting 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. English varieties such as [wɔz] and [wɔz] for was.
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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 drifan, drāf), or quantitative, when the variation is a matter of length (as between the pret. sg. and pl. of metan 'measure': mat, mētōn). 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'; bēdan '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 [a] 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 *gewm, *gewm, and *gewm (with zero-grade and syllabic m). These forms in Gmc would become *kwem, *kwam, *kwum, short o being regularly a in Gmc and the zero-grade in conjunction with the syllabic consonants (m, n, l, ŋ) giving rise in Gmc to -um, -un, -ul, and -ur. Hence the Gmc principal parts corresponding to those of OE cuman were something like *kweum-, *kwam, *kwemum, *kweman-; the actual parts in Go. (with e raised to i in the infn.) are as follows: giman, gam, gēmun, glmans. 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 cwēmon; this lengthened ə is then analogically extended to the

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sg., giving cwōm; before the ə, 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, nīman 'take' has pret. pl. nīmon as well as nāmon, and the ə is often extended to the sg., giving nōm beside the historically expected form nam (see § 186e). Other aorist-presents are murnan 'lament' and spurnan '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 -a- 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 brūcan '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>leng-</th>
<th>thened</th>
<th>reduced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Gmc i (IE ei)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i (zero + i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE bidan</td>
<td>bād</td>
<td>bidon, biden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Gmc eu</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>u, o (zero + u/o)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE bēdan</td>
<td>bēad</td>
<td>budon, boden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Gmc e, i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u, (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE helpan</td>
<td>healp</td>
<td>hulpon, holpen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Gmc e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE beran</td>
<td>bare</td>
<td>bāron</td>
<td>boren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Gmc e</td>
<td></td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE metan</td>
<td>mæt</td>
<td>mæton</td>
<td>meten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cl. V, the vowel of the past pple has perhaps been 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, Urgermanische Grammatik (Heidelberg 1896), H. Hirt, Handbuch des Urgermanischen (Heidelberg 1932-34), and F. Kluge, Urgermanisch (Strassburg 1913); for a good summary of the whole question of OE accent, see A. Campbell, Trans.
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 *-ll* and *-mn* in such words as *eall* and *mann*, as well as later purely orthographic doublings (see § 199) to indicate vowel-shortening as in *hlaeddr* 'ladder' for earlier *hæoddr*, *næddr* 'adder' for earlier *nædre*, *moddrī* 'maternal aunt' for earlier *mōdrière*. The long consonants of earlier OE were indicated graphically by doubling, and for this reason the term *gemination* (Lat. *gemini* 'twins') has been commonly used, especially in the expression 'West Gmc Gemination'; but phonetically the process is consonant *lengthening* and not consonant doubling, 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: *freymmæ* 'perform' (Gmc *framjan*), *tryyman* 'strengthen' (cf the adj. *trum*), *biddan* 'pray' (Go. *bidjan*), *sittan* 'sit' (cf ON *sitja*), *scyppan* 'create' (Go. *skapjan*), etc. It will be seen that the *j* which caused lengthening also mutated the vowel (see §§ 207) or caused raising from *e* to *i* (§ 207) in the preceding syllable; *freymman* for instance is a consonantal verb of Class I, formed from *fram* 'forward' plus the suffix *-jan* (see §§ 161-3), the *j* having mutated the vowel as well as lengthening the consonant *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 Gmc / (a voiceless bilabial fricative [f]) would be voiced to a bilabial fricative [b]. This voiced fricative [b] 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 swerian ‘swear’, originally Class VI; it shows the usual absence of lengthening of r and the preservation of the j as i (Gmc *swarjan), and is thus parallel to the consonantal verb nerian ‘save’; but swerian went over to Cl. IV in its past pple gesworen. Other j-presents in Cl. VI are hithean ‘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. fimf (compare Welsh pump) beside OE fit, OHG ans beside OE gos, etc. The Gmc combination -anh-produced OE ð and thus Gmc *fanjan gave Pr.OE *fðan, OE fôn ‘seize’, as already explained in § 181. Similarly, OE pencan, Go. pagkjan ‘think’ and pyncan, Go. pkgjan ‘seem’ (Go. -gk-[gk]) shew retention of the nasal consonant, while the corresponding pret. forms pðhte, Gmc *pñxta, and pðhte, Gmc *pñxta, 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’, cann (conn) ‘can’ (see also (e) 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 pples of helpan and beran, with the regular lowering of u to o, while those of bindan and niman are -bound and -numen, with the original u preserved by the nasals. See also § 207.

(d) The normal fronting of Gmc ð to 子弟, which characterises OE, is prevented by a following nasal; compare the pret. forms brogd and band of bregdan ‘pull’ and bindan ‘bind’ respectively, members of the same class of vocalic verbs; note also mann or monn beside bæð ‘bath’, both words having Gmc a, and the pret. pl. forms of the same class námøn (from niman ‘take’) and bærøn (from beran ‘bear’).

(e) Finally, the proximity of a nasal tends to round ð to ð, so that we have pret. pl. námøn beside námøn, and cðr ømøn for the historically expected cðr ømøn (with ð instead of the normal ð 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’ > wurdan;

(b) it may round a following ð to ð, as in swýde, earlier swide ‘very much’; compare also nyllan (ne + willan) ‘be unwilling’; a later instance of the rounding influence of [w] is the Mod.E. pronunciation of quality [kwoliti], as compared with the French cognate where the v has been lost;

(c) retracts a contiguous ð to ð, as in the pret. pl. swáwn (beside ságon) of swéon ‘see’, Cl. V (see § 180), hläð(w) ‘mound’ beside hlæw, and hråð(w) ‘corps’ beside hræð(w).
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Being a consonantal form of u, w becomes u finally after short syllables ending in a consonant; thus bearu 'grove', but gen. sg. bearuwe; gearu 'ready', but gearuwe; beadu 'battle', but beadwe. But after long stems this w or u disappears in pronunciation like any other u (see §188); hence gen. sg. mæđæwe, but mæđ 'meadow'. See further §§ 38, 51, 52.

Before u, w tends to be lost; hence the past pple cumen from *cwumen 'come', and the noun sund 'swimming' beside the verb swimman; w is sometimes lost also before ð, as in the pret. côme 'came' beside older cwõm.

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 vocaic verbs of Cl. III we find helpan beside bindan, and their past pple -holpen beside -bunden. Again, short and long u alternate in parts of cumnan 'be able' because of the loss of the nasal in the pret. and past pple, cūde (Go. kūpa) and cūd (Go. kūpns). Here the lengthened vowel is the result of 'compensation' for the loss of the nasal. Then we have man(n) beside mon(n), ongan(n) beside ongnan(n) (pret. sg. of ongninnan 'begin'), and similar pairs. It will be seen, therefore, that besides the major variations in vowels brought about by gradation (§§ 182f) and i-mutation (§§ 208f), there are several fairly regular interchange parts of vowels. Those described so far are the results of the influence of nasals and of v. Other vowel alternations, similarly caused by neighbouring consonants, include the unrounding of ý in proximity to c, g, and h, as in drehten beside drehten 'lord', late WS bricþ beside brycþ (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', sellic 'marvellous', sellan 'give', resulting in the forms sylf, syllic, sylían.

There is a kind of alternation between final -n 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), sumu 'son' beside hand (Go. hanðus) 'hand', nouns of the same declension (§ 43),

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mæđ 'meadow' beside beadu 'battle' (both fem.; see § 38), the adjective forms god beside trumu (n.sg. fem. and n.a.pl. neut.; see §§ 50-52). For the alternation between æ and a as in dag 'day' beside dagas, glad 'happy' beside glædes, 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 teón 'draw', (ic) teó, (we) teóð with the reconstructed early forms *teóhan, *teóðu, *teóðab; 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. teóth and r, 3 sg. pret. teóð. Original Gmc hʷ, appearing in OE as h except initially (hwā 'who'), was treated in the same way; thus Gmc *sehwan 'see', PrOE *sēhan and by diphthongisation before velarised consonants (§ 201) *seōhan, appears as seón, beside pret. sg. seah; in the same way, Gmc *lēwan 'lend' (Go. leihwan) > *lihwan > *lihōn > lōn > lēn. Nouns and adjectives ending in h generally lose it in inflexions; thus hēd 'high' but gen. sg. masc. hēds (§ 52), feoh 'life' but gen. sg. feores, wealth 'foreigner' but wealdes (§§ 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 fēs (< *feches), gen. sg. of feoh 'property', sceðōs, gen. sg. of sceðoh '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 wealhes (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 18.432 or swā
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geongum seore, where the B type requires the 'resolution' of seore 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 Hale (from Angl. wa[h], 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 -æ-. See A. H. Smith, English Place-Name Elements (Cambridge 1956), s.v. wa[h], 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 *teōhan, resulting from *teōhan, appears as teōn 'draw', and *heōas, from *heōhes, as heās, masc. gen. sg. of heāh 'high'; short vowels or diphthongs under these conditions were lengthened: *seohan > seōn 'see'. Contraction similarly takes place where stem-vowels and inflexional vowels are contiguous, without there having been a medial h; thus from *dōan, *dōd 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.

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Analogue 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. PrOE endings -is and -īh, after mutating the preceding vowel where this was possible (§§ 207, 209), became in historical times -es(ī) and -ō, and it was the vowel in these forms that was syncopated. Hence the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. dēmst and dēmō of dēmān 'judge', hilpst and hilpō of hēlpān 'help', fyld and fyldō of feallān '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(ī), bindēp (from bindan 'bind') would arise bindst and bindō, usually resulting, by assimilation, in bintst and bint; similarly cūd(ī) from cūd(e)p (cweðan 'say'), cyst from both cūs(ī)s and cūs(e)p (cēoan 'choose'), and the 3 sg. forms stent (stāndan 'stand'), sent (sendan 'send'), bit(ī) (bidan 'ask'), birst (berstan 'burst'), iīt(ī) (etan '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 seōn 'see', leōn '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, seōn 'see' has 2 and 3 sg. pres. indic. sikst and sikō, while Angl., which had no syncope, lost the h giving the contracted and lengthened (§§ 189, 190) forms sis(ī) and sikō. Similarly from for 'seize', WS has fēhst and fēhō, from sēlan 'strike', slīhst and slīhō, from gefēon 'rejoice', -fēhst and -fēhō, 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 ð were fronted to ð in the earliest OE period, but the anticipatory or attractival 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, ādōg 'day' but pl. dōgas and māg 'kinsman' but pl. māgas (though māgas also occurs); so too bad 'bath' with pl. badō, fæt 'vessel' with pl. fætū, gled 'happy' with n.sg. fem. and n.pl. neut. glādu, etc. (see §§ 27, 32, 51); liegan 'lie' has a pret. pl. lāgōn beside lāgon. 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 i’

The diphthongs ē, 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 hiene for hinge ‘him’, hider for hinder ‘hither’ in the contemporary Hatton MS of King Alfred’s version of the Cura Pastoralis of St Gregory, and by hirnan for hieran ‘hear’, gelīfan for geliian ‘believe’ in the Cotton MS (as copied by Junius in the seventeenth century) of the same text. The ē thus monophthongised from the earlier diphthongs ēi must have been for some time different phonemes from the original ē, because they regularly became ɪ in classical OE, which the original ē did not. The new ē are termed ‘unstable i’ 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 ē; compare gelīfan ‘believe’ with bidan ‘wait’, and note that geliyan has earlier variant spellings geliefan and geliyan while bidan remains constant in general. The exact pronunciation of this Alfredian unstable ē 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 ēi were monophthongised to ɪ, this is a loose and misleading way of indicating that unstable ē were rounded to ɪ. The new ɪ sounds proceeded to share the development of the other ɪ which resulted from the i-mutation (§ 208) of ʊ (as in trymman ‘strengthen’ beside the adjective irum ‘firm’). It will be remembered, however, that all OE ɪ were frequently unrounded to ē in proximity to c, g, or h (see § 188), and hence such common forms as gifan ‘give’, from early WS gifan, instead of gyfan, ongitan ‘perceive’ (early WS ongiytan) instead of ongytan.

Similarly, iernan ‘run’ and biernan ‘burn’ (in which the ie, y seem to have arisen through the influence of the r or rn) 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

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 *mēti (Gmc *matiz, Go. mats), also had a form meti 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 *husiz, shows forms with lengthened consonant as if from Gmc *husja. There was originally a separate declension with stems ending in the vowel i (compare *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(ge)a (beside wina) of wine ‘friend’, and Deni(ge)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(i)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 stainas 'stone', of which the final -s is merely the mark of the nom. sg., the stem being staina. Similarly we know of the i-declension (compare Lat. kostis) from Runic gastis 'stranger', which lies behind OE gi(e)st. Again, a u-stem declension is to be inferred from Go. suus (OE sumu) 'son' and hanus (OE hand) 'hand'. Go. dat. sg. harja enables us to recognise the ja-stem type which survives in OE here; and so on. For a selection of early Runic inscriptions, see A. Jönhansson, 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 dryhten 'lord' beside gen. sg. dryhtnes, engel 'angel' beside nom. acc. pl. englæs, fror for 'comfort' beside sg. oblique cases frõre.

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 buru; so too buruh beside þurh '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(o)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 phonematic distinction between long and short consonants had ceased to exist in final position for the most part. Thus the distinction between mann 'man' and man, 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', westenn 'desert' are often written with single final consonant, though the lengthened consonant continues to leave its mark in the inflected forms (cynnnes, westennes, 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 hēah 'high', hēanne or hēane from earlier hēanne. Again, g tends to disappear before a following d or n with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel; thus sæde beside sægede, pret. of secan 'say', lēde beside legde, pret. of lecgan 'lay', bāde beside brægd, pret. of bregdan 'pull', þen beside þegn 'retainer', frīnan beside frīgnan 'ask', etc. Before l, c often becomes ð, as in tāðlæte, pret. of tācean 'show', worhle, pret. of wyrcean 'work', hitæ, pret. of icōn '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 sæde, þen, etc. as examples of the absorption of such a vocalised g in the preceding w, ð, etc. Similarly, the 3 sg. pres. indic. of liecgan 'lie' is often lieð in WS, from lieð (Angl. liged).

198. Before an unstressed vowel, w often ceases to be pronounced, and this phenomenon is frequently seen in the pret. and past pple of consonantals verbs formed from nouns and adjectives with stems ending in w; for example, gyrwan 'prepare' (compare the adj. gearu) has pret. gywrede beside gyrwede, and similarly syrwæn 'deceive' (compare the noun searu 'trick') has pret. syrvede beside syrvede.

Final unstressed ù is often lowered to o, or even to a. Hence gearu beside gearu 'ready', sīdo beside sīdu 'custom'; there are neut. pl. noun-forms in -a in Ælfric MSS, such as dēofla (for dēoflu) '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, -rd, and possibly before -rd and -ng. Thus cicld>cīld, gold >gōld, findan >fīndan, and similarly we have bindan, clinlan, hīnd 'dog', and mūrnan '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. cildru (§ 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 e and o resulting from this lengthening were always the close vowels; thus feld was [feld] and gold [gol:ld].

Just as the above lengthening failed to occur before groups of three consonants, as in wundrian ‘wonder’ beside wundian ‘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, födres, födre, etc. became föddres, föddre, and so by analogy the nom. födor ‘nourishment’ also became föddor; similarly, ätor ‘poison’ became ätta by reason of oblique forms with shortening before -tr- (ättres, for example). Other instances are hlæddre from hlædre ‘ladder’, næddre from nädre ‘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 phonemic 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, ēo which had come down from Gmc and (in WS only) of the diphthongs ëo which later became ‘unstable I’ and then ŋ, as explained in § 193.
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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 [lk] of milk: [mɪlk]. In OE the vowels diphthongised were front, and in words like *feoh- 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: [fex>feux>feox> feox], spelt feoh. With the consonantal 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 'burred' 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, [hæud>hæuld>hæald], the second element of the diphthong being made up not only (as in feoh) 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 digraphs to the influence of Irish scribal practice in

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which it is generally believed that back vowels written before certain consonants merely show the 'dark' quality of such consonants. Thus, for instance, OIr. fer 'man' has gen. sg. fir, dat. sg. fiur, the function of the u in the latter being to show the 'colour' of the 'dark' r. OE scribes, Miss Daunt thinks, might have developed the habit of showing by the second elements in the digraphs ea, eo, io simply the type of resonance or timbre of the following l or r. The Irish parallel however would imply a phonematic distinction in OE between the various types of consonant so indicated, and this is most unlikely. Moreover, since the same digraphs ea, eo, io were also being used for the known diphthongs from Gmc aw, eu, in respectively, it is not likely that the specifically OE use of the digraphs would be for simple vowels. The chief authorities still accept the theory of a glide-vowel origin of the digraphs, and in the article by S. M. Kuhn and R. Quirk cited in § 18 evidence is presented in favour of the view that such diphthongs, while originating as positional variants (allophones) of the original vowels, achieved phonematic status within the OE period. See, however, further exchanges of views in Language vol. xxxi (1955), pp. 372-401.

203. Diphthongisation before velarised consonants is important in OE grammar, especially in understanding the con-jugation 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 brægd; 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 sèon and mètan both belong to Cl. V, where Gmc *sweowan passed through the stage *séwan, was then diphthongised as *séwan, and so withloss of h and contraction became sèón (§§ 189, 190). The Cl. I verbs include lèoν 'lend' beside drifjan; in this case we have Gmc *lihwan>*lihan>*lihan>*lóñ>*lóñ; so too, wresč 'cover'. The verb pön 'Prosper' (§ 75) was originally of Cl. III (later Cl. I) and its history is reflected in the past pple form used adjectively, gepüngen 'excellent'; the stages here are *bíghan>*bíhan (§§ 185)>*píhan>*píhan and pön. In Cl. VI, sélán 'strike' has come through the stages *slahan>*slahan>*sleahan; so too, léan 'blame', pweáν 'wash'. The diphthongisation did not take place in the infin. or pret. of verbs like berslan 'burst' and Miscan 'thrust' (pret. sg. bærst, 147
pærsc), 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 ø or that caused it to be retracted again; thus all beside WS eall 'all', parf beside pearf 'need'. It should be noted that the il in eall and fædæ 'fall' does not result from West Gmc lengthening (§ 184) but from a far older formation, and this il 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', fehtan beside fehtan 'fight'.

204. Diphthongisation after palatal consonants

When a palatal c, g, or s immediately preceded ð or ð, these vowels developed into the diphthongs ðæ and ðe 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): gefan, gæf, gæfon, -gefen; these forms in fact occur in non-WS. Early WS, on the other hand, has giefan, geaf, gæfon, -gefen. Similarly gieldan 'pay' of Cl. III has the early WS infin. form gieldan (ld did not cause diphthongisation of e); likewise gielan 'scream', gielpan 'boast'. In Cl. IV scearan 'cut' has the early WS infin. scearan, with sg. and pl. pret. scear, scearon. Other examples include geat 'gate' (non-WS gæt), pl. gatu (like fatu, pl. of fæt 'vessel', by reason of the following back vowel: § 192), gist (early WS giest, non-WS gæst) 'stranger', giet 'yet', and gîn 'yet'. By King Alfred's time, iæ had become 'unstable t' (§ 193), so that classical OE forms have t or y (gifan, gyfan, gildan, gyldan, 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 ðæ, ðe, etc. which later became falling diphthongs. For further remarks on their pronunciation, see § 17. In cœrli 'man',

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gearn '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, eæ, eo, and eð. The eæ developed regularly from Gmc æu and had its OE form by the eighth century; thus deæd 'death' beside Go. daufus. Most of the examples of IE eu were raised to iu in Gmc, and eu and iu gave OE ðo and ði respectively, but these diphthongs fell together as ðo in late WS or classical OE, while in other dialects and in earlier periods they were sometimes kept apart and sometimes levelled as ði. Thus, Alfredian WS and Kt frequently show the levelling of both ðo and ði as ðo (for example, biðan 'offer', in the Hatton MS of the Alfredian version of Cura Pastoralis). Kt in all periods tended to level the two under ðo, while Nb tended to mix ða with ði, as in deð in Bede's Death Song for deæd 'death', ðore in the Lindisfarne Gospels for ðære 'ear'. The short diphthongs ea and eo, as in geaf 'gave', heard 'hard', leommu 'limbs', feorh 'life', were produced in OE itself by the various diphthongisations. Here again early WS tends to use io for eo (as in liornian 'learn'), and Kt normally raises eo to io 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. hæð, hë what for hëðh 'high', ðc for ðæc 'also', ðh for ðoh 'horse'. In most late OE MSS ea are replaced occasionally by æ in spelling (though careful scribes retain ea-forms); such forms as hærm for hærm '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 eæ, eð, ði, ði; thus corresponding to getæafa 'faith', we have the consonantal verb geltæfan 'believe' and beside særn 'device' the verb sierwan 'plot'. Such ie-spellings were partly replaced by i-forms by the end of the tenth century (thus hírun, early WS hírun 'heal', in the Cotton MS of
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Cura Pastoralis5), 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 hyran for late WS hýran 'hear', heldan for late WS hildan or hyldan 'bend'. Sometimes Mercian texts have a for the i-mutation of Angl. ã, WS ãa, as heldan 'bend', hlækhan (early WS hlækhan) 'laugh'. For i-mutation of eo, òo, non-WS texts generally have io-spellings, as iorre (WS iorere, later yrre) 'angry', hiorde (WS hierde, later hyrde) 'shepherd', but Mercian (as represented in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss) usually has eo, and for the foregoing words has eorre, hoorde.

In later OE, especially in the combination htr, h often became palatal [ç] and monophthongised and frequently raised the diphthongs òo and òa to i; thus early WS feohian 'fright', cneohi 'boy', íæði 'light', meæhi (from magan) 'might' become fiðhan, cniðti, liðti, miðti. This tendency was checked, however, by a back vowel in the syllable immediately following, so that the pl. of Alfredian and late OE cníðti is often cneóhtias and of Pki 'Pict' Pícæhías.

On the OE diphthongs, there is a useful study in the light of findings in acoustic phonetics by L. F. Brosnahan, 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 *beriþi). niman

'take', from *nemen-, god 'god', from Gmc *gupan (compare Go. gup), and OE gold 'gold', from Gmc *gulpan (compare Go. gulp). It is important to remember that the lowering of u to o was prevented by a following nasal (hence gebunden beside geholfen, past pples 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 guldan, because the Gmc form of the latter was *gulpin-, with subsequent i-mutation of the u, whereas in the noun the original u was lowered to o by the following a (Gmc *gulpan). A similar relationship exists between OE god 'god' and gyden 'goddess', fox 'fox' and *fyxen '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. olijum, 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 dehter apparently from a Gmc *dühtri; in this case, Gmc u has been analogically lowered to o before the period of i-mutation, whereas a dat. from *dühtri (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 *fýxen (compare the fox—*fýxen 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 ã (before nasals), ãe, ãa, ãi, ã are fronted or raised to mid or high front vowels:

OE a before nasals (Gmc a) > e, as in menn, n.a.pl. of mann (monn) 'man';
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OE æ (Gmc a) > e, as in bedæ ‘bed’, Gmc *badja (cf Go. badi);
OE æ (Gmc ai) > æ, as in hælan ‘heal’, Gmc *hailjan (cf Go. háljan and the OE adj. hál ‘whole’, Go. háils);
OE o (sometimes Gmc u analogically lowered; cf § 207) > æ [æ] > e, as in ele, Lat. olim, and exen;
OE ð > ð [ʃi] > e, as in gős ‘geese’, sg. gös (Pr.OE *gōsi < Gmc *gansiz, with loss of nasal and rounding; §§ 181, 185);
OE u > y, as in the verb trymman (< *trumjan) ‘strengthen’, beside the adj. trum ‘strong’;
OE ů > ŷ, as in řyman ‘make space’, beside the adj. rűm ‘spacious’.

Angl. retained the mid-front-round forms spelt oe, as oxen ‘oxen’, fœt ‘feet’; the sounds are found unrounded to e, however, in classical OE: xen, fět, etc. The alternation of o and y in such pairs as fox and *fyxen is, as has been shown in § 207, really a case of the i-mutation of u beside other forms of the same root in which the u 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 dōm ‘judgment’ with the verb dēman ‘judge’ (Go. dōmjan). Thirdly, a number of common adjectives and adverbs formed their comparative and superlative with the Gmc suffixes *-izo, *-isto (West Gmc *-iro, *-isto), and therefore have mutation in OE; thus eald ‘old’, comp. yldra, early WS ieldra, 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 *-boren), 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: § 186). Compare also hryre ‘fall’ with the verb hreoðan ‘fall’, cyre ‘choice’ and c eoðan ‘choose’, cyrne ‘coming’ and cuman ‘come’, fyll ‘death’ and feallan ‘fall’, wyrð ‘fate, what happens’ and wœrdan ‘become’, etc. The inflexion of a group of nouns, too, shews these mutation pairs; for example, fôt ‘foot’ and fêt, ðohlær ‘daughter’ and þælter, ðc ‘oak’ and ðc, burg ‘fortress’ and byrðigi, frœnd ‘friend’ and frôn or frýnd, etc. (see §§ 47-49).

210. The diphthongs ëa, èo, ïo were all subject to i-mutation (see § 205). In WS they were all mutated to ë and these, ë 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 hyldan (also -i-, earlier -ie-) ‘bend’, heorde ‘herd’ but hyrdæ (early WS hierde) ‘shepherd’, leás ‘deprived of’ but lysan (earlier -ie-) ‘release’, beag ‘ring’ but bigan (earlier -ie-) ‘cause to bend’, geleάfa ‘faith’ but gelýfæn ‘believe’, etc. For the corresponding forms in other dialects, see § 205.

211. Varying forms of consonantal verbs within the conjugation, such as wyrcean ‘work’ beside pret. wyrhte, bygodan ‘buy’ beside pret. bohte, hycgan ‘think’ beside pret. hogaðe (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 pyncan and púhte, pencan and põhte, 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 *dōmjan '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 \( ð \) and \( i \) would unite to form the compromise front-round vowel [œ:] written oe, *dōmjan becoming dōeman, a form preserved in Angl. but with unrounding to dōman 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 seegan '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 c\( ġ \); it is through this palatalised \( ġ \) that the vowel has been mutated. Compare also the verbs seggan 'lay', byegan 'buy', hyegan 'think' or nouns like bryeg 'bridge', hryeg '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 cēnw(e) 'bold', from Gmc *kōniz. It may be suggested that \( i \)-mutation was brought about by the joint working of both the 'attractival' 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, dryg '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 -oi- for later -oe- and -e- occur, and these forms are confirmed by some words in eighth-century glossaries; they include Coinwulch for Cēnwulc and a number ending in -thruit or -thruith (for -prjō in such names as Œdeldprjō). The latter element is OE prjō 'strength', from *prūpī, and it may be supposed that this *prūpī became *prūpī, with later coalescence of the \( ð \) and \( i \) to give \( ñ \). That \( ð \ > \ ŋ \) passed through a stage \( ði \) is further suggested by the Kunic jupor or alphabet in which the rune for \( ñ \), called ār, was modified to form the rune called ār used in \( i \)-mutation positions; the new rune is merely the old ār (\( ŋ \)) with the single stroke for \( i \), the rune called ts, inserted at the bottom (\( ŋ \)).

With regard to the diphthongs subject to \( i \)-mutation, it seems that in ā both elements were raised in early WS, giving ā, whereas in Angl. there was a raising or fronting and raising) only of the second element, giving \( ā \) (thus Angl. gélēfan 'believe' beside early WS -Tēfan, where both dialects have the related noun in the form *Tēnfan. The Angl. ā or ā was by mutation show no modification of the second element. The diph- thong forms by mutation, therefore, are inconclusive from the point of view of explaining the phonetic processes. In Kt and S.E. dialects, the \( j \) resulting from \( i \)-mutation were generally unrounded and lowered to \( ï \); thus Kt se(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 Dene 'Danies', where mutation (earlier *dani) 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 weorðed from weordan 'become', and not the usual early WS werd (later wyrd), occurs in the Hatton MS of Cura Pastoralis, and in the same text we find kēth from hātan 'call' for the expected hēalt (with mutation, syncope, and assimilation). Similarly bereð, from beran 'bear', is found beside bir(e)ð. Such
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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 \(\hat{a}, e, i\) into the diphthongs \(\hat{a}a, eo, io\) respectively. As with the other diphthongisation, too, the change affects only front vowels (that is, \(\hat{a}\) 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 \(\hat{a}, e, i\), when followed after a single consonant by a back vowel, became respectively the diphthongs \(\hat{a}a, eo, io\). Thus \(i\) 'lim' 'limb' has, beside \(limu\), pl. forms \(liomu\) and \(leomu\) (with the usual lowering in WS and Mercian of \(io\) to \(eo\)); \(hi\) 'slope' has pl. \(hli\), and also, by this diphthongisation, \(hli\); \(hle\); \(si\) 'custom' has the alternative Alfredian form \(sio\); \(wio\) 'know' appears also as \(wio\) and \(weo\); \(wita\) 'counsellor' appears also as \(wio\), \(weo\), and (through the influence of the \(w\), § 187a) \(wio\); similarly we have \(heo\) 'heaven', \(eal\) '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 \(i\)-mutation (see § 212). In Kentish, the diphthongisation is very widespread and seems to have occurred even through two consonants (compare Kt \(sion\) with WS \(sion\) 'arc', and \(siod\) with WS \(si\) '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 \(e\) and \(g\) (thus *spreo* 'speak', *weogum* d.pl. of *weg* 'way'). Forms like *beor* '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 'w-mutation' (the less common type); 'w-mutation' of \(\hat{a}\) is for the most part found only in Mercian: it is not normal in WS, and \(eal\) (§ 46) 'ale' seems to be an Angl. loan-form in WS, remaining as the regular form in classical OE; two other words, *beadu* 'battle' and *beadu* 'evil', perhaps originally poetical and Angl., occur commonly with this diphthongisation of \(\hat{a}\) in classical OE. Kt has *alop* and (on the evidence of proper names containing the elements) *badu* and *baio*. The diphthongisation of \(i\) after \(w\) produced \(io\), and this through the influence of the \(w\) (§ 187a) sometimes became \(u\) in some areas; hence *wutan* 'counsellors' in the Cotton MS of *Cura Pastoralis* beside *wio* in the Hatton MS version. This development has left one common mark on Classical OE in the form *wuton*, later *uton* (with loss of \(w\) before \(u\): § 187), which is used for periphrastic 1st pers. imperative or hortatory expressions (§ 135) as in *(w)uton* 'let us do'. The origin of *(w)uton* is not known, but it seems to be a part of the verb *ut* '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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