THE STUDENTS' SERIES OF HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMARS

EDITED BY JOSEPH WRIGHT
OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

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In writing this Grammar we have kept steadily in view the class of students for whom the Series of Grammars was originally planned. As it is not intended for specialists, some details of more or less importance have been intentionally omitted, but we venture to think that the present volume contains all that the ordinary student will require to know about the subject. The student who thoroughly masters the book will not only have gained a comprehensive knowledge of Old English, but will also have acquired the elements of Comparative Germanic grammar. But from our long experience as teachers of the subject, we should strongly recommend the beginner not to work through the phonology at the outset, but to read Chapter I and sections 47–53, and then to learn the paradigms, and at the same time to read some easy texts such as are to be found in any of the Old English Readers. This is undoubtedly the best plan in the end, and will lead to the most satisfactory results. In fact, it is in our opinion a sheer waste of time for a student to attempt to study in detail the phonology of any language before he has acquired a good working knowledge of its vocabulary and inflexions.

In selecting examples to illustrate the sound-laws we have tried as far as possible to give words which have been preserved in Modern English. A comparison of the Index to the Grammar with an Old English Dictionary would show that we have thus included nearly all the simple words which have been preserved in the modern language. Our object in doing this was to enable the
student to lay a solid foundation for his further study of historical English grammar, and to provide a basis for the next volume of the Series, which will deal with Middle English.

It was originally our intention to include in the present volume some chapters on Syntax, but it was found that the inclusion of these chapters would have rendered the book too large for the Series. This omission of the syntax cannot however be regarded as a serious drawback, because the volume dealing with historical English syntax is already in active preparation, and will, it is hoped, be ready for press this year.

Although this Grammar makes no pretence of being an exhaustive work, yet it is by far the most complete Grammar that has hitherto been written in our own language, and the first to deal with the subject in a strictly scientific manner. We gratefully acknowledge the help we have derived from the learned articles and books by that splendid band of German Anglisten which has done so much to throw light upon the history and philology of our language in all its stages. On pp. xiv–xv will be found a select list of the books which we have found most useful, but it is our pleasant duty to mention here our special indebtedness to the works of Bülbring, Cosijn, and Sievers.

In conclusion, we wish to express our sincere thanks to the Controller of the University Press for his great kindness in complying with our wishes in regard to special type, and to the Press Reader for the excellent manner in which he has read the proofs.

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**January, 1908.**
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The rapidity with which the first edition of this Grammar has been exhausted, seems to indicate that there is a real need for a Series of historical and comparative Grammars specially designed to meet the requirements of students. In our opinion the writers of grammars of modest dimensions are often more anxious to provide material useful to their colleagues than handbooks suitable to the needs of their students.

For reasons stated in the preface to the first edition we have rigidly preserved the original plan and scope of the grammar, and although the old numbering of the paragraphs has remained the same, a careful examination of the grammar and index will show that the whole has been thoroughly revised. There can hardly be any doubt that all practical teachers of the subject will agree that it is far better and easier for the student to take early West Saxon as the standard for Old English, and to group around it the chief deviations of the other dialects, than to start with a grammar which treats all the dialects as being of equal importance. For us to have treated the subject in the latter manner would have defeated the very object with which the grammar was written.

We are painfully conscious of the non-fulfilment of the two promises made in the preface to the first edition, viz. that the Middle English Grammar and the volume on historical English syntax would follow within a comparatively short space of time, but unfortunately there is even now no reason to suppose that a single line of either of these
books has ever been written. The same remarks also apply to the long promised Old French Grammar, Historical French Grammar, Historical German Syntax, and the volume on Comparative Greek Syntax. The simple fact is that most people in this country who are competent to undertake such work either cannot or will not face the drudgery which it entails.

In conclusion we wish to express our heartiest thanks to the writers of the critical and helpful reviews of the first edition, which appeared in the Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, vol. cxxv (by Professor Björkman); Athenaeum for April 18, 1908; Beiblatt zur Anglia for July, 1910 (by Professor Pogatscher); Deutsche Literaturzeitung for May 22, 1909 (by A. Eichler); Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, 1908, cols. 279–81 (by Professor Jordan); Revue Critique for July 23, 1908 (by Professor Doin).

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SELECT LIST OF BOOKS USED


Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen Dialekte. Halle, 1899.

Koch, Friedrich C. Die Satzlehre der englischen Sprache. Cassel, 1878.


Abriss der urgermanischen Lautlehre. Strassburg, 1894.


<table>
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The asterisk * prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form, as OE. dæg, day, from Prim. Germanic *dągaz.
INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Old English is a member of the West Germanic division of the Germanic (Teutonic) branch of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. This great family of languages is usually divided into eight branches:

I. **Aryan**, consisting of: (1) The Indian group, including Vedic (the language of the Vedas), classical Sanskrit, and the Prākrit dialects. (2) The Iranian group, including (a) West Iranian (Old Persian, the language of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, dating from about 520–350 B.C.); (b) East Iranian (Avesta—sometimes called Zend-Avesta, Zend, and Old Bactrian—the language of the Avesta, the sacred books of the Zoroastrians).

II. **Armenian**, the oldest monuments of which belong to the fifth century A.D.

III. **Greek**, with its numerous dialects.

IV. **Albanian**, the language of ancient Illyria. The oldest monuments belong to the seventeenth century.

V. **Italic**, consisting of Latin and the Umbrian-Samnitic dialects. From the popular form of Latin are descended the Romance languages: Portuguese, Spanish, Catalanian, Provençal, French, Italian, Raetoromanic, Roumanian or Wallachian.

VI. **Keltic**, consisting of: (1) Gaulish (known to us by Keltic names and words quoted by Latin and Greek authors, and inscriptions on coins); (2) Britannic, including Cymric or Welsh, Cornish, and Bas Breton or Armorican (the oldest records of Cymric and Bas Breton date back to the eighth or ninth century); (3) Gaelic, including Irish-
Gaelic, Scotch-Gaelic, and Manx. The oldest monuments are the old Gaelic ogam inscriptions which probably date as far back as about 500 A.D.

VII. Baltic-Slavonic, consisting of: (1) The Baltic division, embracing (a) Old Prussian, which became extinct in the seventeenth century, (b) Lithuanian, (c) Lettic (the oldest records of Lithuanian and Lettic belong to the sixteenth century); (2) the Slavonic division, embracing: (a) the South-Eastern group, including Russian (Great Russian, White Russian, and Little Russian), Bulgarian, and Illyrian (Servian, Croatian, Slovenian); (b) the Western group, including Czech (Bohemian), Sorabian (Wendish), Polish and Polabian.

VIII. Germanic, consisting of:—

(1) Gothic. Almost the only source of our knowledge of the Gothic language is the fragments of the biblical translation made in the fourth century by Ulfilas, the Bishop of the West Goths.

(2) Old Norse (Scandinavian), which is sub-divided into two groups: (a) East Norse, including Swedish, Gutnish, and Danish; (b) West Norse, including Norwegian, and Icelandic.

The oldest records of this branch are the runic inscriptions, some of which date as far back as the third or fourth century.

(3) West Germanic, which is composed of:—

(a) High German, the oldest monuments of which belong to about the middle of the eighth century.

(b) Low Franconian, called Old Low Franconian or Old Dutch until about 1200.

(c) Low German, with records dating back to the ninth century. Up to about 1200 it is generally called Old Saxon.

(d) Frisian, the oldest records of which belong to the fourteenth century.
(e) English, the oldest records of which belong to about the end of the seventh century.

Note.—1. A few of the chief characteristics of the Germanic languages as compared with the other branches of the Indo-Germanic languages are: the first sound-shifting or Grimm’s law (§§ 229-34); Verner’s law (§ 238); the development of the so-called weak declension of adjectives (§ 421); the development of the preterite of weak verbs (§ 520); the use of the old perfect as a preterite (§ 481).

2. The most characteristic differences between Gothic and Old Norse on the one hand, and of West Germanic on the other, are: the West Germanic gemination of consonants (§§ 254-6); the loss of final z which arose from Indo-Germanic s by Verner’s law (§ 252); the West Germanic development of prim. Germanic ww (§ 90), jj (§ 275); the form of the second pers. sing. pret. indicative of strong verbs (§ 481). Gothic and Old Norse preserved the old perfect ending, as Goth. Old Norse namt, thou tookest, but OE. nōme, OS. OHG. nāmi. In the West Germanic languages the t was only preserved in the preterite-present verbs, as OE. wāst, OS. wēst, OHG. weist, thou knowest.

3. The most characteristic difference between High German and the other Germanic languages is: the High German sound-shifting (§ 230).†

§ 2. The division of a language into fixed periods must of necessity be more or less arbitrary. What are given as the characteristics of one period have generally had their beginnings in the previous period, and it is impossible to say with perfect accuracy when one period begins and another ends. For practical purposes Old English may be conveniently divided into two periods: early OE. from about 700 to 900; and late OE. from 900–1100.

§ 3. The oldest records of OE. exhibit clearly defined dialectal peculiarities which have been treated in some detail in the phonology, so that the student can easily collect together for himself the chief characteristics of each dialect. In this grammar early West Saxon is taken
as the standard for OE., and is treated in greater detail than the other dialects. In using OE. poetry for grammatical purposes the student should remember that it was for the most part originally written in the Anglian dialect, but that it has come down to us chiefly in late West Saxon copies which contain many Anglian forms. OE. is usually divided into four dialects: (a) Northumbrian, embracing the district between the Firth of Forth and the Humber. (b) Mercian, between the Humber and the Thames. (c) West Saxon, south of the Thames, except Kent and Surrey. (d) Kentish, embracing Kent and Surrey. Northumbrian and Mercian are often classed together and called Anglian.

Note.—A detailed comparison of late OE. phonology with that of the Modern dialects would doubtless show that the dialects of Sussex and East Anglia were closely related to the dialect of Kent in the OE. period. This is not the place for such a comparison, so one example must suffice here. The change of ŭ to ē (§ 132, Note) in late OE. is always regarded as a special Kentish peculiarity, but the same sound-change must also have taken place in Sussex and East Anglia, where OE. ŭ has regularly become ĭ (through the older stage ē) in the Modern dialects, as līs (OE. lîys), lîce; mīs (OE. mîys), mîce; whereas had ŭ simply been unrounded to ĭ in the late OE. period of these dialects, the Modern forms would have been *lois and *mois. See also § 112, Note 1.
PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

§ 4. OE. was written in the British modified form of the Latin alphabet with the addition of ð and ð (≡ w) from the runic alphabet. Vowel length was mostly omitted in writing, but in the case of long vowels it was sometimes represented by doubling the vowel or by using the diacritic sign ' as huus, hús, house. The sign ~, placed over vowels, is used in this grammar to mark long vowels and diphthongs. The account of the pronunciation given below is only approximately accurate. It is impossible to ascertain with perfect certainty the exact pronunciation of any language in its oldest period.

A. The Vowels.

§ 5. The OE. vowel-system was represented by the six elementary letters a, e, i, o, u, y, the ligatures æ, œ, and the digraphs ea, eo, io, and ie, the digraphs having the value of diphthongs. See § 6. They all had both a short and a long quantity.

a had the same sound as the a in NHG. ab, gast, as dagas, days; habban, to have; hagol, hail; hara, hare. a before nasals was probably a low-back-wide vowel like the a as pronounced in many Scotch dialects in such words as ant, man. In OE. it was accordingly often written o and may be pronounced like the o in NE. not, as band,
bond, he bound; land, lond, land; lang, long, long; mann, monn, man; nama, noma, name. See § 59.

ā had the same sound as the a in NE. father, as ān, one; bān, bone; rāp, rope; twā, two; cnāwan, to know; māwan, to mow; sāwan, to sow.

æ had the same sound as the a in NE. hat, as dæg, day; fæder, father; fæstan, to fasten; hæfde, he had; mægden, maiden.

āe had the same sound as the ai in NE. air, and the è in French père, as dād, deed; sād, seed; wāpen, weapon; clāne, clean; hēlan, to heal; lēdan, to lead; sā, sea.

e had the same sound as the e in NE. west, end, as etan, to eat; fell, skin; helpan, to help; segl, sail; ende, end; here, army; mete, meat; exen, oxen.

ē had the same sound as the e in NHG. reh, as hēr, here; cwēn, queen; fēdan, to feed; grēne, green; tēp, teeth.

i had the same sound as the i in NE. sit, as fisc, fish; sittan, to sit; ūning, thing; niman, to take.

ī had the same sound as the i in NHG. ihn, and nearly the same sound as the ee in NE. feed, as lif, life; mīn, my; tīd, time; fīf, five; sīpe, scythe.

ō had the same sound as the o in NE. not, as col, coal; coren, chosen; dohtor, daughter; nosu, nose; oxa, ox. See a above.

ō had the same sound as the o in NHG. bote, as brōpor, brother; grōwan, to grow; mōdor, mother; mōna, moon; sōna, soon; gōs, goose; ōper, other; pōhte, he thought.

u had the same sound as the u in NE. put, as duru, door; full, full; hungor, hunger; lufian, to love; guma, man; ĭjunor, thunder.

ū had the same sound as the u in NHG. gut, and nearly the same sound as the oo in NE. food, as cū, cow; hūs, house; sūr, sour; ūt, out; mūp, mouth; ûs, us.
§ 5] **Orthography and Pronunciation**

œ had the same sound as the ö in NHG. götter, as dat. doelhter, to a daughter; œle, oil; œxen, oxen.

œ had the same sound as the ö in NHG. schön, as böc, books; dœma(n), to judge; cwœn, queen.

y had the same sound as the ü in NHG. müttter, as brycg, bridge; cyning, king; scyld, guilt; þyncan, to seem.

ŷ had the same sound as the ü in NHG. grün, as brýd, bride; mýs, mice; wyسكن, to wish; ŷþ, wave.

It is difficult to determine what was the precise pronunciation of the a, e, o in the second element of diphthongs. In these combinations they had the function of consonants and may be pronounced as very short unstressed ā, ē, ō.

The first element of the diphthongs ea, ēa was a very open sound like the æ in OE. faeder, and the a in NE. hat, but the e in the diphthongs eo, ēo was like the e in NE. bed or like the close é in French été. In the long diphthongs each of the elements was longer than in the short diphthongs.

\[ ea = æ + ā, as eall, all; healdan, to hold; earm, arm; heard, hard; eahta, eight; weaxan, to grow; geat, gate. \]

\[ ēa = ē + a, as dēap, death; hēafod, head; hlēapan, to leap; slēan, to slay; gēar, year; scēap, sheep; nēah, near; strēa, straw. \]

\[ eo = e + ö, as meolcan, to milk; heorte, heart; steorra, star; sweostor, sister; geolo, yellow. \]

\[ ēo = ē + o, as cēosan, to choose; dēop, deep; þēof, thief; séon, to see; cnēo, knee. \]

\[ ie = i + ē, as giest, guest; ieldra, older; ierfe, inheritance; hliehhan, to laugh; giefan, to give; hierde, shepherd; siehp, he sees; cnieht, boy. \]

\[ ie = i + e, as hieran, to hear; geliefan, to believe; híehra, higher; ciesþ, he chooses; liehtan, to give light; nīewe, new. \]

\[ io = i + ő, as liornian, to learn; mioluc, miolc, milk; miox, manure. \]
io = i + o, as liode, people; piostre, dark; sion, to strain; pion, to thrive.

§ 6. From what has been said above we arrive at the following OE. vowel-system:

- **Short vowels**: a, æ, e, i, o, u, œ, y
- **Long vowels**: ā, ē, ī, ĵ, ū, ē, ų
- **Short diphthongs**: ea, eo, ie, io
- **Long diphthongs**: ēa, ēo, ie, io

**Note.**—æ was often written ae, and ə in the oldest records. In the oldest period of the language there must have been two short e-sounds, viz. e = Germanic e (§ 80), and e = the i-umlaut of æ (§ 55), the latter probably being more open than the former, but the two sounds seem to have fallen together at an early date. Long i was sometimes written ig finally and occasionally also medially, as big = bi, by; hig = hi, they; big-spell = bispell, parable. The ō in words like gōs, goose (§ 61) and mōna, moon (§ 121) must originally have been an open ə like the a in N.E. all, but it fell together with Germanic long close ō (§ 128) at an early period. œ and ë, always written oe in OE. manuscripts, only occur in the Anglian dialect; in WS. and Ken. they were unrounded to e and e already in the oldest period of these dialects (§§ 107, 129). The diphthongs ea, ēa were sometimes written æo in the oldest records. ie and ïe occur chiefly in early WS.

A diphthong may be defined as the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. It is called a falling or a rising diphthong according as the stress is upon the first or the second element. The OE. diphthongs were generally falling diphthongs, but the diphthongs, which arose from the influence of initial palatal c, g, and sc upon a following palatal vowel, were originally rising diphthongs which at a later period became falling diphthongs through the shifting of the stress from the second to the first element of the diphthong. See § 51.

**B. The Consonants.**

§ 7. The OE. consonant-system was represented by the following letters:—b, c, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, ð (ð), *w, x.
v (written u) and z (= ts) were very rarely used except occasionally in late loanwords. c, cc, nc, sc; g, ng; and h (except initially), hh were guttural or palatal according to the sound-law stated in § 309. On the vocalic liquids and nasals in OE. see § 219.

Of the above letters b, d, m, n, p, t had the same sound-values as in Modern English. The remaining consonants require special attention.

c. Guttural c, sometimes written k in the oldest records, was pronounced nearly like the c in NE. could. Palatal c (often written ce before a following guttural vowel) was pronounced nearly like the k in NE. kid. In the OE. runic alphabet the two k-sounds had separate characters. Some scholars assume that palatal c and sc were pronounced like the ch and sh in NE. church; ship, fish. Examples of guttural c are: bucca, he-goat; cēlan, to cool; cnēo, knee; sprecan, to speak; cyssan, to kiss; bōc, book; weorc, work; drincan, to drink; āncian, to thank; and of palatal c: cēosan, to choose; cinn, chin; cīese, cheese; bēc, books; crycc, crutch; benc, bench; ānc(e)an, to think; of sc: sceal, shall; scēap, sheep; scōh, shoe; wascan, to wash; fisc, fish. See §§ 309, 312.

f. Initially, finally, and medially before voiceless consonants, also when doubled, f was a voiceless spirant like the f in NE. fit, shaft, as fāder, father; fōt, foot; ceaf, chaff; hrōf, roof; geaf, he gave; sceaf, shaft; pyffan, to puff. Medially between voiced sounds it was a voiced spirant (often written b in the oldest records) nearly like the v in NE. vine, five, as giefan, to give; hafa\p, he has; seofon, seven; wulfas, wolves; hræfn, raven; lifde, he lived. See §§ 229, note 5, 293.

g was used to represent several different sounds: (a) a guttural and a palatal explosive; (b) a guttural and a palatal spirant which had separate characters in the OE. runic alphabet. The palatal explosive and the palatal spirant
were often written ge before a following guttural vowel with e to indicate the palatal nature of the g.

Before guttural vowels initial g was a guttural explosive and was pronounced like the g in NE. good, but in the oldest OE. it was a guttural spirant = the g often heard in NHG. sagen (cp. § 314), as gäst, spirit; god, God; gold, gold. Before palatal vowels initial g was a palatal spirant nearly like the j in NHG. jahr and the y in NE. ye, you, as geaf, he gave; giefan, to give; giest, yeast; geoc, yoke.

Medial gg was always a guttural explosive like the g in NE. good, as dogga, dog; frogga, frog; stagga, stag. Medial and final cg was a palatal explosive nearly like the g in NE. get, as lecg(e)an, to lay; secg(e)an, to say; brycg, bridge; wecg, wedge. The g in medial and final ng was a guttural or a palatal explosive, the former being nearly like the g in NE. longer, as sungon, they sang; hungor, hunger; lang, long; and the latter nearly like the g in NE. finger, as lengra, longer; streng, string; þing, thing.

Medial intervocalic g was a guttural or a palatal spirant, the former being nearly like the g in NHG. sagen, as boga, bow; fugol, bird; lagu, law; and the latter nearly like the g in NHG. siegen, as biege(e)an, to bend; fæger, fair; hyge, mind.

Note.—1. Some scholars assume that palatal cg and ng were pronounced dž and ndž where dž = the j in NE. just. See § 319, note.

2. g is generally used for g in OE. manuscripts and printed texts, and often also in grammars. In this grammar g is only used to represent the prim. Germanic voiced spirant (§ 229, Note 5).

h. Initial h (except in the combination hw) was an aspirate like the h in NE. hand, as habban, to have; heard, hard; hüs, house; hlūd, loud. Initial hw was pronounced χw like the wh in many Scotch dialects, as hwā,
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§ 7 1

who?; hwæte, wheat. In all other positions h, including hh, was a guttural or a palatal spirant, the former being like the ch in NHG. nacht, noch, as dohtor, daughter; eahta, eight; tiohhian, to think, consider; sulh, plough; feorh, life; dah, dough; troh, trough; and the latter like the ch in NHG. nicht, ich, as flyht, flight; siehp, he sees; nēah, near; hliehhan, to laugh. In the oldest records final h was sometimes written ch, as elch = eolh, elk; salch = sealh, willow.

k was sometimes used to express the guttural c (see above), as kynn, race, generation; kynning, king; knēo, knee. See § 309.

1. In Northumbrian and the greater portion of the Mercian district, l was pronounced like the l in NHG. and in standard NE., but in West Saxon, Kentish, and parts of the southern portion of Mercia, it was a reverted sound formed by the under surface of the tip of the tongue being turned to the hard palate which imparted to the sound a kind of guttural quality. This explains why breaking (§§ 49, 63) took place in WS. and Ken. before l + consonant, but not in Anglian. The reverted l is still preserved in the dialects of the southern and south-western counties. Examples are: lædan, to lead; folc, folk; fugol, bird; eall, all; healdan, to hold; meolcan, to milk.

r was trilled in all positions as in Modern Scotch, as ridan, to ride; duru, door; word, word; fæder, father. In West Saxon, Kentish, and parts of the southern portion of Mercia, it was reverted like l (see above), which accounts for breaking taking place before r + consonant more regularly in WS. and Ken. than in Anglian, as earm, arm; heard, hard; eorpe, earth; liornian, to learn.

s. Initially, finally, medially before voiceless consonants, and when doubled, s was a voiceless spirant like the s in NE. sit, as sealt, salt; sunu, son; standan, to stand; sweostor, sister; hūs, house; is, ice; cyssan, to kiss.
Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the s in NE. *rise*, as *bōsm*, *bosom*; *cēosan*, to choose; *nosu*, nose; *ősle*, ousel.

\( \ddot{p} \). Initially, medially when doubled, and finally \( \ddot{p} \) was a voiceless spirant like the th in NE. *thin*, as *ǹencan*, to think; *ǹeof*, thief; *mōphe*, moth; *bæp*, bath; *mūp*, mouth. Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the th in NE. *then*, as *bapian*, to bathe; *brōpor*, brother; eorpe, earth; fæpm, fathom.

Initial \( \ddot{p} \) was written th until about 900 in imitation of Latin. Afterwards it was written \( \ddot{e} \), and \( \ddot{p} \) (borrowed from the runic alphabet). And the voiced spirant was often written d in imitation of the contemporary Latin pronunciation.

\( w \) does not occur in OE. manuscripts, but was represented by uu, u until about the year 900, later by \( \ddot{p} \) borrowed from the runic alphabet. It had the same sound-value as the w in NE. *wet*, as *wæter*, water; *sweltan*, to die; *wlanc*, proud; *sāwol*, soul.

\( x \) was pronounced like the x in NE. *six*, as *rixian*, to rule; *siex*, six; *weaxan*, to grow; *āxian*, to ask.

§ 8. From what has been said above we arrive at the following OE. consonant-system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Guttural</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explo-</td>
<td>(Voiceless p, pp)</td>
<td>t, tt</td>
<td>c, cc</td>
<td>c, cc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sives</td>
<td>(Voiced b, bb)</td>
<td>d, dd</td>
<td>g, gg</td>
<td>g, cg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spi-</td>
<td>(Voiceless f, ff) ( \ddot{p} ), ( \ddot{p} )</td>
<td>s, ss</td>
<td>h, hh</td>
<td>h, hh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rants</td>
<td>(Voiced f) ( \ddot{p} )</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m, mm</td>
<td>n, nn</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these must be added the aspirate h, and x. The double consonants were pronounced long as in Modern Italian and Swedish, thus *hábban = hab·ban*, to have; *swimmman = swim·man*, to swim, see §§ 258–9. From the
above table it will be seen that the OE. alphabet was very
defective, insomuch as each of the letters c, f, g, h, n, s,
and ṭ was used to represent two or more sounds.

Stress (Accent).

§ 9. By accent in its widest sense is meant the gradation
of a word or word-group according to the degree of stress
or of pitch with which its various syllables are uttered.
Although strictly speaking there are as many different
degrees of accent in a word or word-group as there are
syllables, yet for ordinary purposes it is only necessary to
distinguish three degrees, the principal accent, the sec-
dary accent, and the weak accent or, as it is generally
termed, the absence of accent. The secondary accent is
as a rule separated from the principal accent by at least
one intervening syllable.

All the Indo-Germanic languages have partly pitch
(musical) and partly stress (expiratory) accent, but one or
other of the two systems of accentuation always predomi-
nates in each language, thus in Sanskrit and Old Greek the
accent was predominantly pitch, whereas in the oldest
periods of the Italic dialects, and the Keltic and Germanic
languages, the accent was predominantly stress. The
effect of this difference in the system of accentuation is
clearly seen in Old Greek and the old Germanic languages
by the preservation of the vowels of unaccented syllables
in the former and by the weakening or loss of them in the
latter. In the early period of the parent Indg. language,
the stress accent must have been more predominant than the
pitch accent, because it is only upon this assumption that
we are able to account for the origin of the vowels ī, ū, ə
(§ 16, Note 1), the liquid and nasal sonants (§§ 34–7), and
the loss of vowel often accompanied by a loss of syllable,
as in Greek gen. πα-τρ-δς beside acc. πα-τέρ-α; πέτ-ομαι
beside ἑ-πτ-δμην; Gothic gen. pl. aúhs-nē beside acc.
*auhsa-ns. It is now a generally accepted theory that at a later period of the parent language the system of accentuation became predominantly pitch, which was preserved in Sanskrit and Old Greek, but which must have become predominantly stress again in prim. Germanic some time prior to the operation of Verner’s law (§ 238).

The quality of the prim. Indg. syllable-accent was of two kinds, the ‘broken’ or acute and the ‘slurred’ or circumflex. The former was a rising and the latter a rising-falling accent. Long vowels with the acute accent were bimoric and those with the circumflex trimoric, that is long vowels with the circumflex accent were about half as long again as those with the acute accent. All original long vowels including the first element of long diphthongs had the acute accent. The circumflex accent was unoriginal and arose in prim. Indo-Germanic in the following manner:—

(a) From the contraction of vowels, as *ās, from *ā- es in the nom. plural of ā-stems, as Skr. vīkās, she-wolves, from an original form *wlqā + es, cp. Goth. gibōs, gifts; *ōs from *ō- es in the nom. plural of o-stems, as Skr. vīkās, Goth. wulfōs, from an original form *wlqo + es, wolves; *āi from *ā-ai in the dat. singular of ā-stems, as Gr. θεό from an original form *dhwesā + ai, to a goddess, cp. Goth. gibái, to a gift; *ōi from *o-ai in the dat. singular of o-stems, as Gr. θεό from an original form *dhweso + ai, to a god.

(b) When a short vowel disappeared after a long vowel, as in the gen. singular of ā-stems, as Gr. θεό from an original form *dhwesāso, of a goddess. (c) When a medial long diphthong lost its second element, as in the acc. sing. Gr. Doric βῶν, Vedic gām (= metrically gaam), from *gōm, older *gōum, ox, cow; Gr. Zůν, Zeus, Vedic dyām (= metrically dyaam), sky, day, from *djēm, older *djēum.

(d) The same change from the acute to the circumflex accent also took place in prim. Indo-Germanic when a final nasal or liquid disappeared after a long vowel, as Lithuanian
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Accentuation

akmū (= ὀ), stone, beside Gr. ἥγεμὼν, leader; Goth. tuggō (= -ō), tongue, beside guma (= -ōn), man; Lithuanian motē (= -ē), wife, beside Gr. πατήρ, father. This distinction in the quality of the syllable-accent was preserved in prim. Germanic in final syllables containing a long vowel, as is seen by the difference in the development of the final long vowels in historic times according as they originally had the 'broken' or the 'slurred' accent. See § 217.

In the parent Indo-Germanic language the chief accent of a word did not always fall upon the same syllable, but was free or movable as in Sanskrit and Greek, cp. e.g. Gr. nom. πατήρ, father, voc. πάτερ, acc. πατέρα; Skr. émi, I go, pl. imás, we go. This free accent was still preserved in prim. Germanic at the time when Verner's law operated, whereby the medial or final voiceless spirants became voiced when the vowel immediately preceding them did not bear the chief accent of the word (§ 238). At a later period of the prim. Germanic language, the chief accent of a word became confined to the root- or stem-syllable. This confining of the chief accent to the root-syllable was the cause of the great weakening—and eventual loss—which the vowels underwent in unaccented syllables in the prehistoric period of the individual Germanic languages (§§ 212-23). And the extent to which the weakening of unaccented syllables has been carried in some of the Modern Germanic dialects is well illustrated by such sentences as, as et it möan, I shall have it in the morning; ast a dunt if id kud, I should have done it if I had been able (West Yorks.).

§ 10. The rule for the accentuation of uncompounded words is the same in Old English as in the oldest period of the other Germanic languages, viz. the chief stress fell upon the stem-syllable and always remained there even when suffixes and inflexional endings followed it, as
beran, to bear; dagas, days. grēting, greeting; hālnes, salvation; hāriht, hairy; handlung, handling; mistig, misty. hlēapettan, to leap up; ierringa, angrily; lēofosta, dearest. hēafodu, heads; lēnere, lender; sealfian, to anoint; wundrode, he wondered. berende, bearing; cyningas, kings; grimettan, to rage. gædeling, companion; heofonisc, heofonlic, heavenly. æpele, noble; hetele, hostile; macode, he made; nerede, he saved. æpelingas, noblemen; fultumian, to help; huntigestre, huntress; mapelode, he spoke. The position of the secondary stress in trisyllabic and polysyllabic words fluctuated in OE., and with the present state of our knowledge of the subject it is impossible to formulate any hard and fast rules concerning it.

In compound words it is necessary to distinguish between compounds whose second element is a noun or an adjective, and those whose second element is a verb. In the former case the first element had the chief accent in the parent Indg. language; in the latter case the first element had or had not the chief accent according to the position of the verb in the sentence. But already in prim. Germanic the second element of compound verbs nearly always had the chief accent; a change which was mostly brought about by the compound and simple verb existing side by side. This accounts for the difference in the accentuation of such pairs as ándgiet, intelligence : ongietan, to understand; ándsaca, adversary : onsácan, to deny; bígang, practice: begángan, to practise; órjanc, device : äpěncan, to devise; úpgenge, fugitive : opgángan, to escape; wípersaca, opponent : wípśácan, to oppose.

§ 11. As has been stated above, compound words, whose second element is a noun or an adjective, had originally the chief stress on the first syllable. This simple rule was preserved in OE., as äcbēam, oak-tree; æftergield, additional payment; brýdguma, bridegroom; cornhūs,
granary; deápestede, death-place; féowergield, fourfold payment; fréomæg, free kinsman; gěardagas, days of yore; godbearn, godchild; lárhús, school. æfterboren, posthumous; æpelcund, of noble origin; ārfaest, virtuous; brynehát, burning hot; gearowyrdig, eloquent; ísengræg, iron-grey; módwlanc, proud; wordsnotor, eloquent. Nouns like áliefednes, permission, onfángenennes, reception, ongíetennes, understanding, ongínn, beginning, &c., are no exception to the rule, because such nouns were formed direct from the corresponding verbs: pp. áliefed, onfángen, ongíeten, inf. ongínnan.

§ 12. Already in the oldest period of the language many nouns and adjectives were formed from verbs containing an inseparable particle, and accordingly had the chief stress on the second element, as bebod, command; bebyrignes, burying; bedelfing, digging round; begang beside bigeng, practice; behát, promise; behéfe, suitable; beláf, remainder; belimp, occurrence; forbod, prohibition; forgiétol, forgetful; forhæfednes, temperance; forlor, forloreennes, destruction; but fórwyrd, ruin. In like manner the prefix ge- was already unaccented in the oldest period of the language—probably partly also in prim. Germanic—and therefore words compounded with it had the chief stress on the second element, as gebann, decree; gebed, prayer; gebrópor, brethren; gefeohht, fight; geféra, companion; gesceafht, creation; gepeaht, counsel, thought; gewider, bad weather, storm; geæpele, congenial; gecoren, chosen; gecynde, innate, natural; geděfe, befitting; gelíc, alike; gemæne, common; gemyndig, mindful; gesund, healthy; gefyrn, long ago.

§ 13. In compound nouns the chief secondary stress was upon that syllable of the second element which would have the chief stress if it were used alone, as brýdgúma, bridegroom; féowergíeld, fourfold payment; géarowýrdig, eloquent. For further examples, see above. But compounds
which were no longer felt as such did not have a strong secondary stress upon the second element, as ēorod from eoh + rād, troop of cavalry; hlāford from hlāf + weard, lord.

§ 14. In the oldest period of the language, the compound verbs had the chief stress upon the second or first element according as the first element was inseparable or separable, as becúman, to become; behéaldan, to behold; and similarly gebæran, to behave; gehātan, to name; forbēodan, to forbid; forgiefan, to forgive; geondsēon, to survey; geondsēncan, to consider; opberstan, to break away; opfeallan, to fall off; tōberstan, to burst asunder; tōdālan, to divide. ætīewan, to exhibit; ætníman, to deprive; and similarly oferswījan, to overcome; oferweorpan, to overthrow; underberan, to support; underniman, to comprehend; þurh-pyrelīan, to pierce through; þurhwunian, to abide continuously; wipfōn, to grasp at; wiþmetan, to compare; ymbbindan, to bind round; ymbhweorfan, to revolve. Verbs like ándswarián, to answer, ándwyrdan, to answer, fúltumian, to support, ōrettan, to fight, are no exception to the rule, because such verbs were formed direct from the nouns: ándswaru, ándwyrdæ, fúltum, ōret. Examples of separable verbs are: æftersprecan, to claim; æfterfolgian, to pursue; bístandan, to support; bílibban, to live by; and similarly eftcierran, to turn back; eftflōwan, to flow back; foregangan, to precede; forescēawian, to foresee; úprāran, to raise up; úpiernan, to run up; incuman, to come in; midwunian, to live together; ongēanfealdan, to fold back; tōdōn, to put to; ūtdrifan, to drive out; ūtflōwan, to flow out.

§ 15. In compound adverbs the first element had the chief or secondary stress according as it was the more or less important element of the compound, as ēal(l)maēst, almost; ēalneg from ealne + weg, always; ēalswā, quite so; but onwēg, away; tōgædere, together; þærínne, therein.
CHAPTER II

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS OF THE INDO-GERMANIC VOWEL-SOUNDS

§ 16. The parent Indo-Germanic language had the following vowel-system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Short Vowels</th>
<th>Long Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short Vowels</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u, ø</td>
<td>á, é, í, ó, ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Diphthongs</td>
<td>ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou</td>
<td>aí, eí, oí, áu, éu, óu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Vocalic</td>
<td>l, m, n, r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—1. The short vowels i, u, ø, the long vowels í, û, and vocalic l, m, n, r occurred originally only in syllables which did not bear the principal accent of the word.

The short vowels i, u, and vocalic l, m, n, r arose from the loss of e in the strong forms ei, eu, el, em, en, er, which was caused by the principal accent having been shifted to some other syllable in the word, cp. § 229, Note 3.

ø, the quality of which cannot be precisely defined, arose from the weakening of an original ā, ē, or ō, caused by the loss of accent. It is generally pronounced like the final vowel in German Gabe.

í and ū were contractions of weak diphthongs which arose from the strong forms eia, āi, eí, oí; euæ, áu, éu, óu through the loss of accent. The e in eia, euæ had disappeared before the contraction took place. See § 9.

2. The long diphthongs aí, eí, &c., were of rare occurrence in the parent language, and their history in the prehistoric period of the various branches of the Indo-Germanic languages, except when final, is still somewhat obscure. In stem-syllables they were generally either shortened to ai, ei, &c., or the second element (i, u) disappeared. In final syllables they were generally shortened to ai, ei, &c. In this book no further account
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will be taken of the Indg. long diphthongs in stem-syllables. For their treatment in final syllables in Primitive Germanic, see § 217.

3. In philological works the vocal liquids and nasals are often written ï, ñ, ŋ in order to distinguish them from consonantal l, m, n, r. Upon theoretical grounds it is generally assumed that the parent language contained long vocalic l, m, n, r. But their history in the various Indg. languages is still uncertain. In any case they were of very rare occurrence, and are therefore left out of consideration in this book.

§ 17. a (Lat. a, Gr. α) remained, as Lat. ager, Gr. ἀγρός, Goth. akrs, O.Icel. akr, OS. akkar, OHG. ackar, OE. æcer, field, acre; Gr. αλς, Lat. gen. salis, Goth. O.Icel. OS. salt, OHG. salz, OE. sealt (§ 64), salt; Lat. aqua, Goth. ahua, OS. OHG. aha, OE. ēa from *eahu, older *ahu (§ 70), water, river.

§ 18. e (Lat. e, Gr. ε) remained, as Lat. ferō, Gr. φέρω, I bear, O.Icel. bera, OS. OHG. OE. beran, to bear; Lat. edō, Gr. εδομαί, I eat, O.Icel. eta, OHG. egzan, OS. OE. etan, to eat; Lat. pellis, Gr. πέλλα, OS. OHG. fel, OE. fell, skin, hide.

§ 19. i (Lat. i, Gr. ι) remained, as Gr. Hom. ἱδμεν, Goth. witum, O.Icel. vitum, OS. witun, OHG. wijzum, OE. witon, we know, cp. Lat. vidēre, to see; Lat. piscis, Goth. fiks, O.Icel. fiskr, OS. fisk, OHG. OE. fisc, fish; Lat. vidua (adj. fem.), bereft of; deprived of, Goth. widuwo, OS. widowa, OHG. wiwu, OE. widew, widow.

§ 20. o (Lat. o, Gr. ο) became a in stem-syllables, as Lat. octō, Gr. ὀκτῶ, Goth. ahtáu, OS. OHG. ahto, OE. eahta (§ 68), eight; Lat. hostis, stranger, enemy, Goth. gasts, OS. OHG. gast, OE. giest (§ 73), guest; Lat. quod, Goth. hva, O.Icel. hvat, OS. hwat, OHG. hva, OE. hwæt, what. See § 218, i.

§ 21. u (Lat. u, Gr. υ) remained, as Gr. κυνός (gen. sing.), Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, OS. OE. hund,
§ 22. a became a in all the Indo-Germanic languages, except in the Aryan branch, where it became i, as Lat. pater, Gr. πατήρ, O.Ir. athir, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðer, OS. fader, OHG. fater, OE. fæder, father, Skr. pitár. (from *pätér-), father; Lat. status, Gr. στατός, Skr. sthitás, standing, Goth. staþs, O.Icel. staðr, OS. stad, OHG. stat, OE. stede, prim. Germanic *staðiz, place.

§ 23. ā (Lat. ā, Gr. Doric ā, Attic, Ionic η) became ō, as Lat. māter, Gr. Dor. ματήρ, O.Icel. mōðer, OS. mōdrar, OHG. muoter, OE. mōdor, mother; Gr. Dor. φράτηρ, member of a clan, Lat. fráter, Goth. brōpar, O.Icel. brōðer, OS. bróthar, OHG. bruoder, OE. brōpor, brother; Lat. fāgus, beech, Gr. Dor. φάγος, a kind of oak, Goth. bōka, letter of the alphabet, O.Icel. OS. bók, book, OE. bōc-treow, beech-tree.

§ 24. ē (Lat. ē, Gr. η) remained, but it is generally written ā (= Goth. ā, O.Icel. OS. OHG. à, OE. ā) in works on Germanic philology, as Lat. ēdimus, Goth. ētum, O.Icel. ātum, OS. ātun, OHG. āžum, OE. āton, we ate; Lat. mēnīs, Gr. μήν, month, Goth. mēna, O.Icel. māne, OS. OHG. māno, OE. mōna (§ 121), moon; Goth. ga-dēps, O.Icel. dāð, OS. dāð, OHG. tāt, OE. dād, deed, related to Gr. θῆ-σω, I shall place.

Note.—The student should be careful to distinguish between Indg. ē and the prim. Germanic ē which is of obscure origin. See § 38, Note.

§ 25. ï (Lat. ï, Gr. ι) remained, as Lat. su-i-nus (adj.), belonging to a pig, Goth. swein, O.Icel. svin, OS. OHG. OE. swin, swine, pig; Lat. sîmus, OS. sîn, OHG. sîm, OE. sî-en, we may be.
§ 26. " (Lat. ", Gr. w) remained, as Gr. πλωτός, swimming, Goth. flōdus, O.Icel. flōð, OHG. fluot, OS. OE. flōd, flood, tide, cp. Lat. plōrāre, to weep aloud; Gr. Dor. πῶς, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, OS. OE. fōt, foot; Goth. dōms, O.Icel. dōmr, OHG. tuom, OS. OE. dōm, judgment, sentence, related to Gr. θωμός, heap.

§ 27. u (Lat. û, Gr. v) remained, as Lat. mūs, Gr. μῦς, O.Icel. OHG. OE. mūs, mouse; Lat. sūs, Gr. ὑς, OHG. OE. sū, sow, pig; Goth. fūls, O.Icel. fūll, OHG. OE. fūl, foul, related to Lat. pūteō, I smell bad, Gr. πῶθω, I make to rot.

§ 28. ai (Lat. ae, Gr. α, Goth. āi, O.Icel. ei, OS. ē, OHG. ei (ē), OE. ē) remained, as Lat. aedēs, sanctuary, originally fire-place, hearth, Gr. αἴθω, I burn, OHG. eīt, OE. ād, funeral pile, ignis, rogus; Lat. aes, Goth. āiz, O.Icel. eir, OHG. ēr, OE. ēr, brass, metal, money; Lat. caedō, I hew, cut down, Goth. skáidan, OS. skēdan, skēdan, OHG. sceidan, OE. scādan, sceādan (§ 133, Note 2), to divide, sever.

§ 29. ei (Lat. i (older ei), Gr. ei) became i, as Gr. στείχω, I go, Goth. steigan (ei = i), O.Icel. stiga, OS. OHG. OE. stīgan, to ascend; Gr. λείπω, I leave, Goth. leihvan, OS. OHG. lihan, OE. lēon from *liohan, older *lihan (§ 127), to lend; Lat. dicō, I say, tell, Gr. δείκνυμι, I show, Goth. ga-teihan, to tell, declare, OS. af-tihan, to deny, OHG. zīhan, OE. tēon, to accuse (§ 127).

§ 30. oi (O.Lat. oi (later ū), Gr. oi) became ai (cp. § 20), as Gr. oīδε, Goth. wāit, O.Icel. veit, OS. wēt, OHG. weiz, OE. wāt, he knows; O.Lat. oinos, later ūnus, Goth. āins, O.Icel. einn, OS. ēn, OHG. ein, OE. ān, one, cp. Gr. oīνή, the one on dice; Gr. τε-ποίθε, he trusts, Goth. bāip, O.Icel. beið, OS. bēð, OHG. bēt, OE. bād, he waited for.

§ 31. au (Lat. au, Gr. av, Goth. áu, O.Icel. au, OS. õ, OHG. ou (ô), OE. ēa) remained, as Lat. auris, Goth. áusō, OS. OHG. õra, OE. ēare, ear; Lat. augeō, Gr. αὐγάνω,
§ 32. eu (O.Lat. ou (later ū), Gr. ευ, Goth. iu, O.Icel. jō (jū), OS. OHG. io, OE. ēo) remained, as Gr. γευω, I give a taste of; Goth. kiusan, O.Icel. kjosa, OS. OHG. kiosan, OE. cēosan, to test, choose; Gr. πευδωμα, I inquire, Goth. ana-biudan, to order, command, O.Icel. bjǭsa, OS. biodan, OHG. biotan, OE. bēdan, to offer; O.Lat. doucō, later dūcō, I lead, Goth. tiuhan, OS. tiohan, OHG. ziohan, OE. tēon (§ 139), to lead, draw. See § 44.

§ 33. ou (O.Lat. ou (later ū), Gr. ou) became au (cp. § 20), as prim. Indg. *roudhos, Goth. rāups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rōđ, OHG. rōt, OE. rēad, red, cp. Lat. rūfus, red; prim. Indg. *bhe-bhoundhe, has waked, Goth. bāüp, O.Icel. bauđ, OS. bōd, OHG. bōt, OE. bead, has offered.

§ 34. m (Lat. em, Gr. a, αμ) became um, as Gr. ἀμο- (in ἀμιθεν, from some place or other), Goth. sums, O.Icel. sumr, OS. OHG. OE. sum, some one; Gr. ἐκατόν, Lat. centum (with n from m by assimilation to the dental, and similarly in the Germanic languages), Goth. OE. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, hundred, all from a prim. form *kmtóm.

§ 35. n (Lat. en, Gr. a, αν) became un, as Lat. commentus (pp.), invented, devised, Gr. ανταματος, acting of one's own will, Goth. ga-munds, OHG. gi-munt, OE. ge-mynd (§ 112), remembrance, prim. form *mntós (pp.) from root men-, think; OS. wundar, OHG. wuntar, OE. wundor, wonder, cp. Gr. ἄθρεω from *ἀθρέω, I gaze at.

§ 36. r (Lat. or, Gr. αρ, ρα) became ur, ru, as OHG. gi-turrum, OE. durron, we dare, cp. Gr. θαρσὺς (θαρσύς), bold, θαρσέω, I am of good courage; dat. pl. Gr. πατράσι, Goth. fadrum, OHG. faterum, OE. fæd(e)rum, to fathers; Lat. porca, the ridge between two furrows, OHG. furuh, OE. furh, furrow.

§ 37. 1 (Lat. ol, Gr. αλ, λα) became ul, īu, as Goth. fulls, O.Icel. fullr, OHG. vol, OS. OE. full, prim. form *plnós,
full; Goth. wulfs, O. Icel. ulfr, OHG. wolf, OS. OE. wulf; prim. form *wlqos, wolf.

Note.—If we summarize the vowel-changes which have been stated in this chapter, it will be seen that the following vowel-sounds fell together:—a, o, and e; original u and the u which arose from Indg. vocalic l, m, n, r; i and ei; a and ð; ai and oi; au and ou.

CHAPTER III

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

§ 38. From what has been said in §§ 17–37, we arrive at the following vowel-system for the prim. Germanic language:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Sounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, e, i, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ, ē, ĩ, ō, ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai, au, eu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—æ was an open e-sound like OE. æ. ē was a close sound like the e in NHG. reh. The origin of this vowel has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is important to remember that it is never the equivalent of Indo-Germanic e (§ 24) which appears as æ in prim. Germanic. See §§ 119, 125.

§ 39. This system underwent several modifications during the prim. Germanic period, i.e. before the parent language became differentiated into the various separate Germanic languages. The most important of these changes were:—

§ 40. a + ñχ became āχ, as Goth. OS. OHG. fāhan, O. Icel. fā, OE. fôn (§ 139), from *fanχanan, to catch, seize, cp. Lat. pangō, I fasten; Goth. þāhta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, OE. þōhte (inf. þencan), from older *fanχta, *fanχtō-, I thought, cp. O. Lat. tongueō, I know. Every prim. Germanic ā in accented syllables was of this origin. Cp. § 23.

Note.—The ā in the above and similar examples was still a nasalized vowel in prim. Germanic, as is seen by its develop-
ment to ō in OE. The ĭ (§ 41) and ū (§ 43) were also nasalized vowels in prim. Germanic. According to Professor Björkman in Herrig’s Archiv, vol. cxxv p. 189 these prim. Germanic nasalized vowels have been preserved in some Scandinavian dialects down to the present day.

§ 41. e became ĭ under the following circumstances:—

1. Before a nasal + consonant, as Goth. OS. OE. bindan; O.Icel. binda, OHG. bintan, to bind, cp. Lat. of-fendimentum, chin-cloth, of-fendix, knot, band, Gr. πενθερός, father-in-law; Lat. ventus, Goth. winds, O.Icel. vindr, OHG. wint, OS. OE. wind, wind; Gr. πέντε, Goth. fīmf, O.Icel. fīm(m), OHG. fīmf, finf, OE. fif (§ 97), five. This explains why OE. bindan, to bind, and helpan, to help, belong to the same ablaut-series. See § 226.

This ĭ became ĭ under the same conditions as those by which a became ā (§ 40), as Goth. þeihan, OS. thīhan, OHG. dīhan, OE. þēon (§ 127), from *piŋxanan, older *peŋxanan, to thrive; and similarly OHG. sīhan, OE. sēon, to strain; OHG. fīhala, OE. fēol, file; OHG. dihsala, OE. ĭxīl (ŏxīl), wagon-pole, shaft.

2. When followed by an i, ĭ, or j in the next syllable, as Goth. OS. OHG. ist, OE. is, from *isti, older *esti = Gr. ἐστί, is; OHG. irdin, earthen, beside erda, earth; Goth. midjis, O.Icel. miðr, OS. middi, OHG. mitti, OE. midd, Lat. medius, from an original form *medhjos, middle; OS. birid, OHG. birit, he bears, from an original form *bhereti, through the intermediate stages *bēredi, *bērīdi, *bīrīdi, beside inf. beran; O.Icel. sitja, OS. sitτian, OHG. sizzen, OE. sittan, from an original form *sedjonom, to sit; and similarly O.Icel. liggja, OS. liggian, OHG. liggen, OE. licgan, to lie down.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem-vowels of such pairs as OE. feld (OHG. feld), field: gefilde (OHG. gifildi), a plain; fejer, feather: fijere, wing; weder (OHG. wetar), weather: gewider (OHG. giwitiri), storm; heord (OHG. herta), herd: hierde
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(OHG. hirti), shepherd; helpan, to help: hilpst, hilpp (OHG. hilfis, hilfit); beran, to bear: bir(e)st, bir(e)b (OHG. biris, birit), and similarly in the second and third person singular of the present indicative of many other strong verbs; pp. legen, seten: inf. licgan, to lie down, sittan, to sit.

3. In unaccented syllables, except in the combination -er when not followed by an i in the next syllable, as OE. fēt, elder fæt, from *fōtiz, older *fōtes, feet, cp. Gr. πόδες, feet. Indg. e remained in unaccented syllables in the combination -er when not followed by an i in the next syllable, as acc. OS. fader, OHG. fater, OE. faeder, Gr. πατέρα, father; OE. hwæper, Gr. πότερος, which of two.

§ 42. i, followed originally by an ᾱ, ō, or ē in the next syllable, became e when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening i or j, as O.Icel. verr, OS. OHG. OE. wer, Lat. vir, from an original form *wiros, man; OHG. OE. nest, Lat. nīdus, from an original form *nīzdos. In historic times, however, this law has a great number of exceptions owing to the separate languages having levelled out in various directions, as OE. spec beside spic, bacon; OHG. lebara beside OE. lifer, hwer; OHG. leccōn beside OE. liccian, to lick; OHG. lebēn beside OE. libban, to live; OHG. quec beside OE. cwic, quick, alive.

§ 43. u, followed originally by an ᾱ, ō, ē, or the combination -eno- (cp. §§ 218, 2, 483) in the next syllable, became o when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening i or j, as OS. dohter, OHG. tohter, OE. dohtor, Gr. θυγάτηρ, daughter; O.Icel. ok, OHG. joh, OE. geoc (§ 110), Gr. ἥγος, yoke; OHG. got, OS. OE. god, from an original form *ghutōm, god; OHG. OE. gold, gold, beside OHG. guldīn, OE. gylden, golden; pp. OS. giholpan, OHG. giholfan, OE. geholpen, helped, beside pp. OS. gibundan, OHG. gibuntan, OE. gebunden,
bound; pp. OS. gibodan, OHG. gibotan, OE. geboden, offered, beside pret. pl. OS. budun, OHG. butum, OE. budon, we offered. Every prim. Germanic o in accented syllables was of this origin. Cp. § 20.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem-vowels of such pairs as OE. cnotta, knot: cnyttan from *knuttjan, to tie; coss, a kiss: cyssan, to kiss;" corn, corn: cyrnel, kernel; fox: fyxen, she-fox; god: gyden (OHG. gutin), goddess; hold, gracious: hyldo (OHG. huldi), grace, favour; pret. bohte, worhte: inf. bycgan, to buy, wyrkan, to work.

u became ū under the same conditions as those by which a and i became ā and ī, as pret. third pers. singular Goth. þūhta, OS. thūhta, OHG. dühta, OE. þūhte, beside inf. Goth. þugkjan, OS. thunkian, OHG. dunken, OE. þyncan, to seem; Goth. ūhtwō, OS. OHG. ūhta, OE. ūhte, daybreak, dawn; OHG. fūhti, OE. fūht, damp.

§ 44. The diphthong eu became iu when the next syllable originally contained an i, ī, or ū, cp. § 41 (2), but remained eu when the next syllable originally contained an ā, ō, or ē. The iu remained in OS. and OHG., but became jū (ŷ by i-umlaut) in O.Icel., and ĭo (īo by i-umlaut) in OE., as Goth. liuhtjan, OS. liuhtian, OHG. liuhten, OE. liehtan, to give light: OE. lēoht, a light; O.Icel. dýpt, OS. diupi, OHG. tiufi, OE. diepe, depth: OE. dēop, deep; OS. liudi, OHG. liuti, OE. liode, people; OS. kiusid, OHG. kiusit, O.Icel. kÝs(s), OE. ciesþ, he chooses: OE. cēosan, to choose. See § 138.

§ 45. From what has been said in §§ 40-4, it will be seen that the prim. Germanic vowel-system had assumed the following shape before the Germanic parent language became differentiated into the various separate languages:—

| Short vowels | a, e, i, o, u |
| Long | ā, āe, ē, ĭ, ō, ŭ |
| Diphthongs | ai, au, eu, iu |
The following table contains the normal development of the above vowel-system in Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. and OE. stem-syllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P. Germ.</th>
<th>Goth.</th>
<th>O.Icel.</th>
<th>OS.</th>
<th>OHG.</th>
<th>OE.</th>
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<td>jū</td>
<td>iu</td>
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<td>įo</td>
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**Note.**—The table does not include the sound-changes which were caused by umlaut, the influence of neighbouring
consonants, &c. For details of this kind the student should consult the grammars of the separate languages. But as we shall have occasion to make use of many Gothic, OS. and OHG. forms in this grammar, the following points should be noted here:

1. Goth. i and u were broken to ai (= short open e) and aú (= short open o) before r, h, and hr, as baíran, OE. beran, to bear; saívan, OHG. sehan, to see; baírip, OHG. birit, he bears; saírip, OHG. sihit, he sees; pp. baürans, OE. boren, borne; daíhtar, OE. dohtor, daughter; waurms, OHG. wurm, serpent, worm; saúhts, OHG. suht, sickness. Gothic ei was a monophthong and was pronounced like the i in the other Germanic languages. Germanic ai and au remained in Gothic, but they are generally written ai and au in order to distinguish them from the short vowels ai and aú.

2. a was the only vowel which underwent i-umlaut in OS. and OHG., as sing. gast, pl. gesti = Goth. gasteis, guests; OS. sendian, OHG. senten = Goth. sandjan, to send. When it is necessary for phonological reasons to distinguish between this e and Germanic e, the latter is written ē in this book, as bēran, to bear.

3. Prim. Germanic ai became ē in OHG. before r, w, and old h, as ēr, before = Goth. āir, soon; ëht = Goth. aihts, possession; gen. snēwes, Goth. nom. snēiws, snow.

4. Prim. Germanic au became ū in OHG. before the con-
sonants d, t, z, s, n, r, l, and old h, as tūd = Goth. dāupus, death; kūs = Goth. kāus, he chose; hūh = Goth. hāuhs, high.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD ENGLISH DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIM. GERMANIC VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 46. Before entering upon the history of the separate Germanic vowels in OE. it will be well to state and illustrate here several phenomena which concern the OE. vowels in general. For the chronological order in which the sound-changes took place see § 53 and Note.
I. Umlaut.

§ 47. Umlaut is of two kinds: Palatal and Guttural. Palatal umlaut, generally called i-umlaut, is the modification (palatalization) of an accented vowel through the influence of an ğ or j which originally stood in the following syllable. This process took place in prehistoric OE. and the ğ or j had for the most part already disappeared in the oldest OE. records. The i, which remained, mostly became e at an early period (§ 215, Note), so that for the proper understanding of the forms which underwent i-umlaut it is necessary to compare them with the corresponding forms of some other Germanic language, especially with the Gothic. The simple vowels and diphthongs which underwent i-umlaut in OE. are: a(o), æ, o, u; ā, ĕ, ù; ea, io; ēa and io.

a(o) > e (but æ in the oldest period), as benc from *baŋkiz, bench; ende, Goth. andeis, end; lengra, OHG. lengiro, longer; leng(t)u from *laŋgi(u), length; sendan, Goth. sandjan, to send (§ 60).

æ > e, as bedd, Goth. badi, bed; bet(e)ra, Goth. batiza, better; hebban, Goth. hafjan, to raise; here, Goth. harjis, army; lecgan, Goth. lagjan, to lay (§ 55).

o > e (older ð), as dat. dehter from *dohtri, beside nom. dohtor, daughter; ele, Lat. oleum, oil; exen, oxen, beside oxa, ox (§ 107).

u > y, as bycgan, Goth. bugjan, to buy; cyning, OHG. kuning, king; cynn, Goth. kuni, race, generation; gylden, OHG. guldin, golden; pyncan, Goth. þugkjan, to seem (§ 112).

ā > ā, as dælan, Goth. dāljan, to divide; ānig, any: ān, one; hælan, Goth. hāiljan, to heal; hæþ, Goth. háip, heath (§ 134); læwan from *lāwjan, Goth. lēwjan, to betray (§ 120).
§ 47

Umlaut

ō > ē (older ō), as bēc from *bōkiz, books; dēman, Goth. dōmjan, to judge; fēt, OHG. fuoçgi, feet; sēcan, Goth. sōkjan, to seek (§ 129). wēnan from *wōnjan, older *wānjan, Goth. wēnjan, to hope; cwēn from *kwōnī-, older *kwāniz, Goth. qēns, queen, wife (§ 122). ēhtan from *ōhtjan, to persecute; fēhþ, he seizes, beside inf. fōn (§ 118). ēst from *ōsti-, older *anstiz, favour; tēþ, prim. Germanic *tanþiz, teeth (§ 62).

ū > ū, as mūs from *mūsiz, mice; brūcst from *brūkis, thou enjoyest, brūcþ from *brūkip, he enjoys, beside inf. brūcan (§ 132). cī from *kū-iz, cows (§ 130). cīþan from *kūþjan, older *kunþjan, to make known; dūþ, he seizes, beside inf. fōn (§ 118). ēst from *ōsti-, older *anstiz, favour; tēþ, prim. Germanic *tanþiz, teeth (§ 62).

ea > ie (later i, y), as fiellan from *fealljan, older *falljan, to fall; ieldra, Goth. ałpiza, older (§ 65). ierfe, Goth. arbi, inheritance; iermþu, OHG. armida, poverty (§ 67). scieppan, Goth. skapjan, to create (§ 73). hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; wiexþ, OHG. wahsít, it grows (§ 69).

io > ie (later i, y), as hierde, OHG. hirti, shepherd; ierre, OHG. irri, angry; siehst, OHG. sihis, thou seest; siehþ, OHG. sihit, he sees; wiersa, OHG. wirsíro, worse (§ 99).

ēa > ie (later i, ū), as geliefan, Goth. galáubjan, to believe; hīehsta, Goth. hāuhista, highest; hīeran, Goth. háusjan, to hear (§ 136). cīse, Lat. cāseus, cheese; niēhsta from *nēahista, nearest (§ 123). stīele, Germanic stem-form *staxla-, steel (§ 71). wielisc, prim. Germanic *walxi-skaz, foreign (§ 64, Note 1).

io > ie (later i, y), as ciesþ from *kiosiþ, older *kiusip, he chooses; tiehþ from *tiohip, he draws; liehtan, Goth. liuhtjan, to give light (§ 138). liehtan from *liōhtjan, older *lixtjan, to lighten, make easier; liehþ from *liōhip, OHG. lihit, he lends (§ 127). friend, prim. Germanic *frijöndiz, friends (§ 104).
§ 48. Guttural umlaut is the modification of an accented vowel (a, e, i) through the influence of a primitive OE. guttural vowel (u, ō, a) in the next syllable, whereby a guttural glide was developed after the vowels a, e, i, which then combined with them to form the diphthongs ea, eo, io. As a rule umlaut only took place before a single consonant. When the vowel which caused umlaut was u, it is called u-umlaut, and when ō, or a, it is called o/a-umlaut.

u- and o/a-umlaut of a only took place in Mercian, as featu, vats, heafuc, hawk, steapul, pillar, steapul, foundation, beside fatu, hafoc, stapol, stapol in the other dialects. fearan, to go, fearp, they go, feata, of vats, beside faran, farap, fata in the other dialects. See § 78.

u-umlaut of e and i, and o/a-umlaut of i took place in Ken. before all single consonants, in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals (c, g), but in WS. only before labials and liquids, as eofor (OHG. ebur), boar; heolostor from older helustr, hiding place; heorut, hart. meodu, mead (drink), eosol, donkey = WS. medu, esol. Ken. breogo, prince = WS. and Anglian brego, see § 92. mioluc, milk; cliopung, calling. siodu, custom, sionu, sindw = WS. sidu, sinu. Ken. siocol, sickle, stiogol, stile = WS. and Anglian sicol, stigol, see § 101. liofast, thou livest. nioma(n), to take, niomap, they take, wiotan, to know = WS. niman, nima, witan. Ken. stiocian from *stikōjan, to prick = WS. and Anglian stician, see §§ 92-3, 102.

o/a-umlaut of e did not take place in WS. In Ken. it took place before all single consonants and in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals, as beoran, to bear, eotan, to eat, feola, many = WS. beran, etan, fela. Ken. weogas, ways, spreocan, to speak = WS. and Anglian wegas, spreca(n), see § 93.
2. Breaking.

§ 49. Breaking is due to the influence of an l, r, or h+consonant, or single h, upon a preceding vowel (Germanic a, e, i; æ, i) whereby a guttural glide was developed between the vowel and the consonant, which then combined with the vowel to form a diphthong. For the reason why breaking took place before l and r+consonant more regularly in WS. and Ken. than in Anglian, see § 7. In the examples given below we shall confine ourselves chiefly to WS.

a (æ) > ea, as ceald, Goth. kalds, cold; healdan, Goth. haldan, to hold (§ 64); bearn, Goth. barn, child; heard, Goth. hardus, hard (§ 66); eahta, Goth. ahtāu, eight; weaxan, Goth. wahsjan, to grow; seah, OHG. sah, he saw (§ 68).

e > eo, as meolcan, OHG. melkan, to milk; sceolh, OHG. scelh, wry, oblique (§ 84); eorpe, OHG. erda, earth; heorte, OHG. herza, heart (§ 85); cneoht, OHG. kneht, boy; seox, OHG. sehs, six; seoh, see thou (§ 86).

i > i0 (later eo), as liornian, leornian, from *lirnōjan, to learn; miox, meox, from *mihst, manure (§ 98).

æ > ēa in WS. before h, as nēah, Goth. nēlu, near; nēar from *nēahur, older *nēahur (§ 123).

i > i0 (later ēo) in WS. before h and ht, as lēoht, Goth. leihts, adj. light; wēoh, idol, Goth. weihs, holy (§ 127).

3. Influence of Nasals.

§ 50. a became a low-back-wide vowel, written a, o, before nasals, as camb, comb, comb; nama, noma, name; land, lond, land; lang, long, long (§ 59).

e > i before Germanic m (§ 81), and in early Latin loan-words before nasal + consonant (§ 82), as niman, OHG. neman, to take; gimm, Lat. gemma, gem; pinsian, Lat. pensāre, to weigh, ponder, consider.
Note.—In forms like gioc, geoc (OHG. joh), yoke (§ 110); giong, geong (OHG. jung), young (§ 116); geōmor (OHG. jāmar), sad (§ 121, Note), the io, eo, eō may have been rising

diphthongs, but it is difficult to determine how far they were diphthongs at all, and how far the i, e were merely inserted to indicate the palatal nature of the g = Germanic j (§ 268). It is highly probable that in forms like sceacan, to shake, sceadu, shadow, beside scacan, scadu (§ 57, Note), sceolde, OHG. scolta, should (§ 110), sceadan beside scādan, to divide (§ 133, Note 2), the e was merely inserted to indicate the palatal nature of the sc (§ 312).

5. *Influence of w.*

§ 52. e and ē (=Germanic ā) were often rounded to ðe and ðē after w in Nth., as cuœða, WS. cweðan, to say (§ 80, Note 1); cuœlā, WS. cwellan, to kill; tuœlð, WS. twelf, twelve (§ 55, Note 1). huœð, where, wœðon, were = WS. hwœð, wœðon (§ 119, Note 2).

e became eo before w + a following vowel, as gen. cneowes, treowes, beside nom. cnœo, knee, trœo, tree (§ 89); eowestre (cp. Goth. awistr), sheepfold; meowle (Goth. mawilō), maiden (§ 77).

ā became ā before w, as blāwan from *blǣwan, to blow; cnāwan, to know; sāwon, they saw (§ 120).

Initial weo· became wu· (rarely wo·) in late WS., as swurd, sword, swuster, sister, worold, woruld, world, beside older sweord (OHG. swert), sweostor (OHG. swester), weorold (OHG. weralt), see § 94.

Initial wio· became wu· in WS. and Anglian, but remained in Ken., as wudu, wood, beside Ken. wiodu (§ 103).

§ 53. The following was the chronological order in which the sound-laws stated in §§ 47-52 took place: (1) The influence of nasals. (2) Breaking. (3) The influence of initial palatal consonants. (4) i-umlaut. (5) u·, o/a-umlaut. (6) Influence of w.

Note.—In the case of words where diphthongization by preceding palatal and u·, o/a-umlaut concur, the latter has
the predominance, as geolo, yellow; geoloca, yolk; ceole (acc. ceolan, § 403), throat. This does not however prove that u-, o/a-umlaut chronologically precedes diphthongization by preceding palatals. Either geolo, &c., are not pure WS. forms (see § 92) or else the ie became eo by umlaut, in which case forms like giefu (§ 365) would have ie from the oblique cases.

A. The Short Vowels of Accented Syllables.

§ 54. Apart from the influence of neighbouring sounds the normal development of Germanic a (= Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. a) is æ in OE.

Examples in closed syllables are: dæg, Goth. dags, O.Icel. dagr, OS. dag, OHG. tag, day; þæt, Goth. þata, O.Icel. þat, OS. that, OHG. daz, the; and similarly bæc, back; bæþ, bath; blæc, black; bræs, brass; cræft, skill; dæl, dale; æfter, after; æt (unstressed ot), at; fæst, fast, firm; fæt, vat, vessel; glæd, glad; glæs, glass; græs (gærs), grass; hæfde, he had; hwæl, whale; hwæt, what; pæþ, path; sægde, he said; smæl, small; stæf, staff; in the pret. sing. of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 503) and V (§ 505), as bær (Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. bar), bore; bræc, broke; cwæþ, said; sæt, sat; wæs, was. On forms like æppel, apple, beside pl. appla, see § 57.

Examples in open syllables when followed by a palatal vowel, or a vocalic nasal or liquid in the next syllable, are: æcer (Goth. akrs), field, acre; æcern, acorn; fæder, father; fæger (Goth. fagrs), fair, beautiful; hlædel, ladle; hræfen, hræfn, raven; hwæþer, whether; mægen (Goth. *magn), power; nægel, nægl (Goth. *nagls), nail; wæter, water; fæþm (Goth. *fæþms), embrace, fathom; hægl, hail; snægl, snail; tægl, tail; wægn, wagon; sing. gen. dæges, fætes, dat. dæge, fæte, beside nom. dæg, day; fæt, vat.

Note.—1. æ became e in Ken. and partly also in Mercian, as
§55. SHORT VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

deg, feder, fet, hefde, set, wes, weter = WS. dæg, fæder, &c. This e is still a characteristic feature of the modern Ken. dialects.

2. æ became ā by loss of g (§321), as bræd, he brandished; mæden, maiden; sæde, he said; wæn, wagon, beside brægd, mægden (§58); sægde, wægn of the non-WS. dialects.

3. a often occurs where we should expect æ. In such cases the a is due to levelling and new formations, as sing. gen. pæpes, dat. pæpe, beside pæpes, pæpe, due to the plural forms pæpas, pæpa, pæpum (§336); fem. gen. dat. acc. singular sæce, swæpe, beside sæce, swæpe, due to forms like dat. sing. and plural gladum (§424); imperative of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§508), as far, sac, due to the influence of the infinitive faran, to go, travel; sacan, to quarrel; and similarly in the pp. faren; grafen, dug; hladen, loaded, beside græfen, hlaeden (cp. §508). On the analogy of such past participles was formed slagen beside slaegen, slain.

§55. æ became e by i-umlaut, as bedd, Goth. badi, OHG. betti, bed; bet(e)ra, Goth. batiza, better; hebban, Goth. hafjan, OS. heffian, to raise; here, Goth. harjis, OS. OHG. heri, army; lecgan, Goth. lagjan, OS. leggian, to lay; and similarly bere, barley; bet from *batiz, better; cwellan (wv.), to kill; ege, awe, fear; elles, else; hege, hedge; hell (Goth. halja), hell; herian, to praise; hete, hate; mere, lake; mete, meat, food; nerian, to save; nett, net; secgan, to say; sellan, to sell; settan, to set; stede, place; swerian, to swear; tellan, to count; twelf (Goth. twalif), twelve; webb, web; weccan, to awake. But stæpe beside stepe, step.

Note.—1. In Nth. e was often rounded to œ after w, as cuella, to kill; twælf, twelve.

2. The regular forms of the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§508) would have e, as in OHG. feris, thou goest; ferit, he goes, but in OE. the a of the other forms of the present was
extended to the second and third pers. singular, and then a became æ by i-umlaut, as færest, færep.

3. It is difficult to account satisfactorily for the absence of umlaut in læccan, to seize; pæppan, to traverse; sæcc, strife; wæcce, vigil; and for gemæcca, mate; hæcc, gate, hatch; mæcg, man, warrior; stæppan, to step; wræcca (OS. wrekkio), exile, beside the umlauted forms gemecca, mecg, steppan, wrecca. For an attempt to explain such forms see Büllbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 177.

§ 56. Umlaut generally did not take place before Germanic consonant combinations, as dwæscan, to extinguish; æsc from *askiz, ash-tree; æspe, aspen; fæsten, to fasten; hæftan, to hold captive; mæstæn, to fatten; næglæn, to nail; ræscan, to coruscate. But umlaut occurs in eft, again; esne, servant; rest, rest; restan, to rest; and in efnan, to perform; stefnan, to regulate, beside æfnan, stæfnan.

§ 57. Germanic a remained in open syllables when originally followed by a guttural vowel (ā, ō, ū) in the next syllable, as pl. nom. acc. dagas, gen. daga, dat. dagum, beside sing. nom. dæg, day, gen. dæges, dat. dæge; neut. nom. acc. plural bæþu, baths; bladu, leaves; fatu, vats, beside singular bæþ, blæd, fæt; O.E. Goth. OS. OHG. faran, O.Icel. fara, to go, travel; nacod, Goth. naqätz, OHG. nackot, naked; and similarly alan, to nourish; apa, ape; bacan, to bake; calan, to be cold; caru, care; cradol, cradle; dragan, to draw; pres. subj. fare (Goth. farái), he may travel; gaderian from *gaďu-rōjan, to gather; galan, to sing; gnagan, to gnaw; grafan, to dig; hafoc, hawk; hafola, hafela, head; hagol, hail; hagu, enclosure; hara, hare; hladan, to load; hr apro, more quickly; lagu, law; latost, latest, slowest; ląpaþ, he invites; ląpode, he invited; macaþ, he makes; macode, he made; magu, boy; nafula, nafela, navel; racu, narrative; sacan, to quarrel; sacu, strife; sadol, saddle; stapol,
§ 58. *pillar; sta̓p̓elian from *sta̓p̓ulōjan, to establish; talu, statement; wadan, to go, wade. macian from *makōjan, to make; and similarly in the inf. of other weak verbs belonging to class II (§ 535), as bāp̓ian, to bathe; dagian, to dawn; gladian, to be glad; hatian, to hate; lapian, to invite.

It also remained in closed syllables before double consonants (except hh), sc, and st, when the next syllable originally contained a guttural vowel, as abbod (Lat. acc. abbātem), abbot; assa, donkey; catte (OHG. kazza), cat; cassuc, sedge; gaffetung, scoffing; habban (§ 538), to have; hassuc, coarse grass; maffa, caul; mattoc, mattock; sacc, sack; ōccian, to flap, pat; flasce (flaxe), flask; masc (max), net; wascan (waxan), to wash; brastlian, to crackle. But a few words have æ beside a, as æsece, ash, cinders; æppol, apple; hnaeppian, to doze; læppa, lappet, beside asce (axe), appla, apples, hnappian, lappa.

Note.—sca. was often written scea. with e to denote the palatal pronunciation of the sc, as sceacan, to shake; sceadu, shadow; sceafan, to shave; scealu, scale (balance); sceamu (scomu, § 59), shame, beside scacan, scadu, scafan, scalu, scamu (scomu). See § 51, Note.

§ 58. a became æ when followed by an umlauted vowel in the next syllable, as æces (æx) from *ākysi, older *akusii-, axe; and similarly æpel from *āpali (OS. adali), noble; æpelinge from *āpuling, nobleman; æt-, to-gæedere from *ادة‐, together; fæstnæn (OS. fastunnia, fasting), fortress; gædelæn (OS. gaduling), companion; hæleþ from *χάλι‐, hero; hærefst from *χαρυβι‐, harvest; mægden from *mażadnæ (OHG. magatina), maiden. The æ in the above examples is sometimes called the secondary umlaut of a.

Note.—The a in the stem-syllable of the present participle and gerund of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 508) is due
to the a of the infinitive, as farende for *færende from *farandi, farenne for *færenne from *farannjai.

§ 59. Germanic a was probably a mid-back-wide vowel like the a in German Mann. In OE. it became a low-back-wide vowel before nasals like the â in French pâte, and the a as pronounced in many Scotch dialects in such words as ant, man, pass, which English people often mistake for o especially when lengthened. In the oldest OE. it was nearly always written a, in the ninth century it was mostly written o, and in late OE. mostly a again, but in some parts of Mercia it seems to have become o which has been preserved in many of the Midland dialects down to the present day. Examples are: gangan, gongan, Goth. gaggan, O.Icel. ganga, OS. OHG. gangan, to go; hana, hona, Goth. hana, O.Icel. hane, OS. OHG. hano, cock; lang, long, Goth. laggs, O.Icel. langr, OS. OHG. lang, long; nama, nomá, Goth. namo, OS. OHG. namo, name; and similarly ancor (Lat. ancora), anchor; bana, slayer; brand, firebrand; camb, comb; camp, battle; candel (Lat. candēla), candle; cann, he can; fana, banner; randra, gander; gesamnian, to collect; hamor, hammer; hand, hand;lama, lame; lamb, lamb; land, land; manig (Goth. manags), many; mann, man; ramm, ram; spannan, to clasp, fasten; standan, to stand; strang, strong; þanc, thought; þwang, thong; in the pret. singular of many strong verbs of class III (§ 498), as begann, began; dranc, drank; fand, found; sang, sang; swamm, swam; with metathesis of r in born from older bronn, brann (Goth. brann), burned; orn from older ronn, rann (Goth. rann), ran.

Note.—The a became o in unstressed adverbial and pronominal forms, as hwonne, when; on, on; þonne, then; masc. acc. singular hwone, whom; þone, the.

§ 60. a (o) became e (but æ in the oldest period) by i-umlaut, as ende, Goth. andeis, O.Icel. ende, OS. endi,
§§ 61–4] Short Vowels of Accented Syllables

OHG. enti, stem andja-, end; lengra, OS. lengira, OHG. lengiro, longer; sendan, Goth. sandjan, OS. sendian, to send; and similarly benc from *banjiz, bench; cemban, to comb; cempa, warrior; drencan, to give to drink; ened, duck; enge, narrow; englisc, English; fremman, to perform; henn, hen; lengj, length; menn, men; mengan, to mix; mennisc, human; nemnan, to name; pening, penny; strengra, stronger; pencan, to think; wendan, to turn. bærnan (Goth. brannjan), to burn; ærnan (Goth. rannjan), to run, gallop, with metathesis of r and preservation of the older stage of umlaut.

§ 61. Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants, f, ð, s, and the preceding a (o) became ə through the intermediate stage of a long nasalized vowel (cp. § 40), as hōs, Goth. OHG. hansa, band, escort, multitude; ōper, Goth. anþar, second, other; sōfte, OHG. samfto, gently, softly; and similarly gōs, goose; ōs, god; òsle (OHG. amsala), blackbird; smōþe, smoothly; sōþ, true; tōþ, tooth; þróstle, thrush, throttle; wōs, moisture.

§ 62. ō became ō (older əe) by i-umlaut, as ēst, Goth. ansts, stem-form ansti-, favour; nēþan, Goth. ana-nanþjan, to venture on; tēþ from *tanþiz, teeth; and similarly fēþe, walking, movement; gēþe, geese; gesēþan, to testify, declare; sēþte, soft; smēþe, smooth.

§ 63. a was broken to ea before l, r, and h + consonant, and before simple h. Forms without breaking often occur in the oldest period of the language. Breaking did not take place in Anglian before l + consonant, and frequently not before r + consonant. See l, r (§ 7).

§ 64. I. Before l + consonant.

eall, Goth. alls, O. Icel. allr, OS. OHG. all, all; ceald, Goth. kalds, O. Icel. kaldr, OS. kald, OHG. kalt, cold; healdan, Goth. OS. haldan, O. Icel. halda, OHG. haltan, to hold; and similarly cealc, chalk; cealf, calf; dealf, he dug; eald, old; ealh, temple; fealdan, to fold; feallan,
to fall; gealga, gallows; healf, half; heall, hall; healp, he helped; heals, neck; mealt, malt; sealf, salve, ointment; sealfian, to anoint; seall, willow; sealt, salt; tealde, he told; wealdan, to wield; wealh, foreigner, Welshman; weall, wall; weallan, to boil. Forms like bealu, bale, evil; fealu, fallow; sealu, dark, dusky, beside balu, falu, salu, have the ea from the inflected stem-form, as gen. bealwes, fealwes, sealwes (see § 265).

Note.—1. ea became ēa by loss of h (§ 329, 3) before a following vowel, as gen. singular sealas, wēalas, beside nom. singular seall, wealh. ēa became ie by i-umlaut, as wēelisc, foreign, Welsh.

2. a remained unbroken in late Latin loanwords, as albe (Lat. alba), alb; alter (Lat. altāre), altar; fals (Lat. falsus), false; palm (Lat. palma), palm-tree.

§ 65. ea became ie (later i, y) by i-umlaut, as fiellan from *fealljan, older *falljan, to fell; fielst from *feallis(t), thou fallest; ielp from *fealliþ, he falls; ieldra (Goth. alþiza), older; ieldesta, oldest; ieldu, old age; mieltan (wv.), to melt.

Note.—The corresponding vowel in Anglian is æ (also e), as ældra, eldra, ældu, fælla(n), fella(n); and in Ken. e, as eldra, eldu.

§ 66. 2. Before r + consonant.

bearn, Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. barn, child; heard, Goth. hardus, O.Icel. harðr, OS. hard, OHG. hart, hard; and similarly beard, beard; bearg, pig; bearn, bosom; cearf, he carved; dearr, I dare; earc (Lat. arca), ark; earm, arm; earm, poor; eart, thou art; fearh, boar, pig; geard, yard; gearn, yarn; gearwian, to prepare; gæmearcian, to mark; hearg, heathen temple; hearm, harm; mearc, boundary; mearg, marrow; mearh, horse; pearroc, park; scearp, sharp; swearm, swarm; weirn, warm; wearp, he threw; wearp, he became. Forms like bearu, grove; gearu, ready; mearu, tender; nearu, narrow;
searu, plot, device, have ea from the inflected stem-form, as gen. bearwes, gearwes, meawes, &c. (see § 265).

Note.—I. In Anglian ea became æ (later e) before r + guttural, as berg, erc, færh (ferh), mærç (merc), &c.

2. a remained unbroken in late Latin loanwords, as carcern, prison; martyr, martyr.

3. ea became ēa by loss of h (§ 329, 3) before a following vowel, as gen. singular fēařes, mēařes, nom. pl. fēaru, mēaru, beside nom. singular færh, meærh.

4. Forms like ārn (Goth. razn), house; pret. sing. arn (Goth. rann), ran; barr (Goth. brann), burned; bærst (OHG. brast), burst; gěaru (Goth. gras), grass; hærn, wave, are due to a late metathesis of the r.

§ 67. ea became ie (later i, y) by i-umlaut, as dierne, OS. derni, OHG. tarni, secret; ierfe, Goth. arbi, OS. OHG. erbi, inheritance; and similarly cierran, to turn; gierd, rod, twig; gierwan from *gearwjan, to prepare; ierving, pauper; iermþu (OHG. armida), poverty; wier- man, to warm.

Note.—The corresponding vowel in the non-WS. dialects is e, as derne, erfe, ermpþu, &c.

§ 68. 3. Before h + consonant (also x = hs) and simple h. eahta, Goth. ahtáu, OS. OHG. ahto, eight; seah, Goth. salv, OS. OHG. sah, he saw; weaxan, Goth. wahsjan, O.Icel. vaxa, OS. OHG. wahsan, to grow; and similarly eax, axle-tree; eaxl, shoulder; feah, he fought; fax, hair; fleax, flax; gefeah, he rejoiced; geneahhe, enough, often; hleahtor, laughter; meaht (later miht), power, might; meaht, thou mayest; meahte, he might, could; neaht (later niht), night; seax, knife; sleah (imperative), slay thou; weax, wax.

Note.—I. ea became æ in Anglian, as Æhta, fæx, hlæhtor, sæh, wæx, &c.

2. It became e in late WS., as ehta, exl, fex, seh, sex, sleh, weaxan.
§ 69. ea became ie (later i, y) by i-umlaut, as hliehhan (Goth. hlahjan), to laugh; mieht (Goth. mahts, stem-form mahti-), power, might; miehtig, mighty; nieht, night; sliehst (Goth. slahis), thou slayest; sliehp (Goth. slahit), he slays; slieht, stem-form slahti-, slaughter; wiexp (OHG. wahsit), it grows.

Note.—The corresponding vowel in Anglian is æ, as hlaeh-ha(n), mæht, mæhtig, &c.

§ 70. ea became ēa by loss of intervocalic h (§ 329, 4), as ēa, Goth. alva, OS. OHG. aha, water, river; slēan from *sleahan, Goth. OS. OHG. slahan, to slay, strike; and similarly flēan, to flay; lēa from *leahu, I blame; lēan, to blame; slēa, I slay; slēap from *sleahap, they slay; þwēan, to wash; ēar (Nth. æhher) from *eahur, older *ahur, OHG. ahir, ear of corn; tēar (Nth. tæhher) from *teahur, older *tahur, OHG. zahar, tear.

§ 71. ēa became ie (later i, ĭ) by i-umlaut, as stīele from *stēali (cp. § 329, 2), older *steahli, Germanic stem-form *staxlja-, steel.

§ 72. æ (older a) became ea (older eæ) after initial palatal c, g, and sc, as ceaf, chaff; ceafor, cockchafer; ceaster (Lat. castra), city, fortress; geafat (OS. forgot), he forgot; geaf (Goth. gaf), he gave; geat (O.Icel. OS. gat), gate, opening, hole; sceaf (OHG. scaft), shaft; sceal (Goth. skal), I shall; sceatt (Goth. skatts), money, property.

Note.—1. Anglian has æ beside ea, and Ken. e (æ), as Anglian cæster (ceaster), gæt (geat), sæl (sceal) = Ken. cester, get, scel. e also occurs occasionally in Mercian.

2. Forms like ceald, cold; cealf, calf; geard, yard; gearn, yarn; scealt, thou shalt; scearp, sharp, are due to breaking (§§ 64, 66), which took place earlier than the influence of palatals upon a following æ. In both cases the ea became e in late WS., as celf, gef, get, &c.

§ 73. ea became ie (later i, y) by i-umlaut, as ciefes from *kabisō, concubine; ciele from *kaliz, cold; cietel
(Lat. catillus), kettle; giest (Goth. gasts, stem-form gasti-), guest; scieppan (Goth. skapjan), to create.

Note.—The corresponding vowel in the non-WS. dialects is e, as cefes, cele, gest, sceppan, &c.

§ 74. Germanic a generally remained before the w which was regularly preserved in OE., as gen. dat. singular clawe beside nom. clēa, claw; awul, awel, awl; ēawian, to thaw.

§ 75. a + u (which arose from wu or vocalized w (§ 265)) became ēa (cp. § 135), as clēa from *kla(u)w, claw; nom. acc. pl. neuter fēa from *fa(w)u, few; dat. fēam from *fa(w)um; hrēa from *hraw-raw; strēa from *straw-straw; ērēa from *pra(w)u, threat.

§ 76. Prim. Germanic āw (= Goth. aggw) became auw in West Germanic, which regularly became ēaw in OE. (cp. § 135), as dēaw (Goth. *daggwa-, OHG. tou, gen. touwes), dew; glēaw (Goth. glaggwu-ba, diligently), wise; hēawan (Goth. *haggwan, OHG. houwan), to hew; scēawian (Goth. *skaggwōn, OHG. scouwōn), to examine, view.

§ 77. a became e by i-umlaut, then at a later period the e became eo before w, as ewe beside eowe, eowu (cp. Lat. ovis), ewe; eowde, flock, herd; eowestre (cp. Goth. awistr), sheepfold; meowle (Goth. mawilo), girl; strewede beside streowede (Goth. strawida), he strewed.

§ 78. In Mercian a became ea before single consonants by u- and o/a-umlaut, as ealu, ale; beadu, battle; eafora, son; featu, vats; heafuc, hawk; heafola, head; heaþu, war; steapul, pillar; steapul, foundation. fearan, to go, travel; fearæþ, they travel; gen. pl. feata, of vats; geata, of gates; gleadian, to rejoice; hleadan, to load; leatian, to be slow. For the corresponding non-Mercian forms, see § 57.

Note.—1. The ea became æ before gutturals, as dægas (= WS. dagas), days; dræca, dragon; mægun, they can.
2. Umlaut rarely took place before double consonants, as eappultūn (WS. æppeltūn), orchard; hneappian (WS. hnap-pian), to doze.

3. WS. ealu, and forms like eafora, heafoc, &c., which are common in poetry, are all originally from the Mercian dialect.

§ 79. Final a was lengthened to ā in monosyllables, as hwā (Goth. huās), who; swā (Goth. swa), so.

§ 80. Germanic e (= Goth. i, but ai before r, h, and ā, O.Icel. OS. OHG. e) often remained in OE., as OE. OS. OHG. feld, field; fēper, OS. fethara, OHG. fedara, feather; weg, Goth. wigs, O.Icel. vegr, OS. OHG. weg, way; and similarly bes(e)ma, besom; cwene (Goth. qinō, OHG. quena), woman; denu, valley; ef(e)n, even; fela, much; fell, skin; fetor, fetter; helm, helmet; leper, leather; nefa, nephew; nest, nest; reg(e)n, rain; segl, sail; seldan, seldom; senep, mustard; setl, seat; snegl, snail; snell, quick; þegn, thane; weder, weather; wel (adv.), well; wer, man; west, west; in the present of strong verbs belonging to classes III (§ 499), IV (§ 503), and V (§ 505), as helpan, Goth. hilpan, OS. helpan, OHG. helfan, to help; and similarly belgan, to swell with anger; bellan, to bellow; delfan, to dig; meltan, to melt; swellan, to swell; sweltan, to die; beran, to bear; brecan, to break; helan, to conceal; stelan, to steal; teran, to tear; cnedan, to knead; cweþan, to say; etan, to eat; fretan, to devour; lesan, to collect; metan, to measure; sprekan, to speak; tredan, to tread; wefan, to weave; wesan, to be.

Note.—1. In Nth. e was often rounded to oe after w, as cueþa, wēl, wēg = WS. cweþan, wel, weg.

2. e became ē by loss of g (§ 321), as brēdan, to brandish; rēn, rain; strēdan, to strew; þēn, thane, beside bregdan, regn, stregdan, þegn of the non-WS. dialects.

§ 81. e became i before Germanic m, as niman (OHG. neman), to take; rimā, rm. This sound-change did not
take place when the m arose from f by assimilation with n, as emn, even; stemn, voice, beside older ef(e)n, stefn (§ 293, Note).

§ 82. e became i before nasal + consonant in early Latin loanwords, but remained in later loanwords, as gimm (Lat. gemma), gem; mint (Lat. mentha), mint; pinsian (Lat. pensäre), to consider; but templ (Lat. templum), temple.

§ 83. e was broken to eo before lc, lh, before r and h + consonant, and before simple h. Breaking did not take place in Anglian before lc, lh.

§ 84. 1. Before lc, lh.

āseolcan, to become languid; eolh (OHG. elaho), elk; meolcan (OHG. melkan), to milk; seolh (OHG. selah), seal; sceolh (OHG. scelh, scelah), wry, oblique. But Anglian elh, melca(n), selh, &c.

Note.—1. eo became ēo by loss of h (§ 329, 3) before a following vowel, as fēolan from *feolah (= Goth. filhan, OHG. bifelhan), to hide; gen. ēoles, sēoles, beside nom. eolh, seolh.

2. It is difficult to account for the breaking in heolfor, blood, gore; and seolf, self, beside the commoner form self.

§ 85. 2. Before r + consonant.

eorþe, Goth. aírþa, OS. erða, OHG. erda, earth; heorte, Goth. haírtō, OS. herta, OHG. herza, heart; weorþan, Goth. waírþan, O.Icel. verða, OS. werðan, OHG. werdan, to become; and similarly beorcan, to bark; beorg, hill; beorgan, to shelter; beorht, bright; ceorfan, to cut, carve; ceorl, churl; deorc, dark; dweorg, dwarf; eorl, nobleman, earl; feorh, life; feorr, far; georn, eager; heord, herd, flock; heorþ, hearth; steorfan, to die; stearra, star; sweord, sword; weorc, work; weorpan, to throw; weorþ, worth.

Note.—1. Breaking is older than the metathesis of r in forms like berstan (OHG. brestan), to burst; fersc, fresh; perscan, to thrash.
2. The eo became e in Anglian before r + guttural, as berga(n), berht, derc, dwerg, ferh, werc = WS. beorgan, beorht, &c.

3. The eo became ea in Nth., and io in Ken. (cp. § 137), as Nth. earpe, hearte, stearra = Ken. iorpe, hiorte, stiorra = WS. and Mercian eorpe, heorte, steorra.

4. eo became ēo by loss of h (§ 329, 3) before a following vowel, as gen. fēores, pwēores, beside nom. feorh, life; pweorh, perverse, across.

§ 86. 3. Before h + consonant (also x = hs) and simple h.
cneoht (OHG. kneht), boy; eoh, horse; feoh, cattle; feohtan (OHG. fehtan), to fight; Peohtas, Picts; pleoh, danger; reoht (Goth. raihts, OS. OHG. reht), right; seox (Goth. saîhs, OS. OHG. sehs), six; imperative sing. seoh, see thou. But already at an early period the eo became ie (later i, rarely y) before hs and ht in WS. and i in Ken., as cnieht, cniht; ryht, riht; siex, six.

Note.—eo became e in Anglian, as cneht, feh, fehta(n), reht, sex = early WS. cneoht, feoh, &c.

§ 87. eo became ēo (io) by loss of intervocalic h (§ 329, 4), as sēon (sion) from *seohan, older *sehan = Goth. saîhan, OS. OHG. sehan, to see; swēor from *sweohur, older *swehr = OHG. swehr, father-in-law; and similarly gefēon, to rejoice; gefēo from *gefeohu, I rejoice; plēon, to risk; sēo from *seohu, I see; gen. singular fēos, plēos, beside nom. feoh, cattle; pleoh, danger.

§ 88. Final ew became eu, and then eu became ēo at the same time as Germanic eu became ēo (see § 137), as sing. nom. cnēo, Germanic stem-form *knewa-, knee; trēo, tree; pēo, slave, servant. See § 265.

§ 89. Antevocalic ew became eow, as sing. gen. cneowes, treowes, pēowes, dat. cneowe, treowe, pēowe; pēowian (jiowian), to serve. Forms like nom. cnēow, trēow, pēow had the w from the inflected forms. And conversely forms like gen. cnēowes, trēowes, pēowes had ēo from the uninflected forms.
§ 90. Prim. Germanic eww (= Goth. iggw) became euw in West Germanic, and then euw became ēow in OE. (cp. § 137), as trēow (OS. treuwa, OHG. triuwa), trust, faith, cp. Goth. triggwa, covenant.

Prim. Germanic ewwj became iowj through the intermediate stages iwwj, iuwj (cp. § 138), and then iowj became iew(e) in WS. and iow(e), ēow(e) in non-WS., as WS. getriewe, non-WS. getriewe, getriewe (OHG. gitriuwē), prim. Germanic *-trewwjaz, cp. Goth. triggws, true, faithful; WS. getriewan, non-WS. getriowan, getriowan, prim. Germanic *-trewwjan, to trust. And similarly West Germanic iwwj (§ 254) from prim. Germanic ewj, as WS. hīew, hīw, non-WS. hīow, hēow, prim. Germanic stem-form *χewja-, shape, colour; WS. nīewe, nīwe, non-WS. nīowe, nēowe, prim. Germanic stem-form *newja-, new.

§ 91. e became ie (later i, y) after palatal c, g, and sc in WS., but remained e in Anglian and Ken., as cieres, cires (Lat. acc. cerasum), cherry-tree; forgietan (OS. forgetan), to forget; giefan (O. Icel. gefa, OS. geban, OHG. geban), to give; giefu, gift; gieldan, to yield; giellan, to yell; gielpan, to boast; giest (cp. OHG. jesan, to ferment), yeast; scield, shield; scieran (OHG. sceran), to shear. But Anglian and Ken. gefa(n), gelda(n), sceld, &c.

Note.—The above sound-change took place later than breaking, cp. ceorfan, ceorl, georn, § 85.

§ 92. e became eo by u-umlaut in Ken. before all single consonants, in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals (c, g), and in WS. before single labials and liquids, as beofor, beaver; eofor (OHG. ebur), boar; geoloca, yolk; geolo (OS. OHG. gelo, gen. gelwes), yellow; heofon, heaven; heolor, scales, balance; heolstor from older helustr, hiding place; heorut, hart; meolu (OHG. melo, gen. mel(a)wes), meal, flour; seofon, seven; smeoru, grease, fat; teoru, tar; weorod, troop. Non-WS.
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eodor, enclosure; eosol, donkey; feotor, fetter; meodu, mead (drink); meotod, creator = WS. edor, esol, fetor, medu, metod. Ken. breogo, prince; reogol (Lat. regula), rule = WS. and Anglian brego, regol.

Note.—1. u-umlaut took place in WS. in the combination we, as hweogol, wheel; sweotol, plain, clear; weotuma, dowry, and probably also before two consonants in sweostor, sister.

2. The regular forms due to u-umlaut were often obliterated in WS. by levelling, as melu, meal, flour, with mel. from the gen. melwes, dat. melwe; pl. nom. speru, spears; dat. sperum, due to the forms of the singular, as spere, gen. speres, gen. pl. spera; and similarly for many other forms.

§ 93. e became eo by o/a-umlaut in Ken. before all single consonants, and in Anglian (but Nth. generally ea) before all single consonants except gutturals (c, g), as beoran, to bear; eotan, to eat; feola, many; meotan, to measure; seofa, heart; steolan, to steal; treodan, to tread; weofan, to weave = WS. beran, etan, fela, metan, sefa, stelan, tredan, wefan. But Ken. weogas, ways; spreocan, to speak = WS. and Anglian wegas, sprecan. Nth. beara, eata, treada = WS. beran, etan, tredan.

§ 94. The combination weo- which arose from breaking (§§ 84-6), or from u-, o/a-umlaut (§§ 92-3), became wu- (rarely wo-) in late WS., and wo- in late Nth., but remained in Mercian and Ken., as late WS. swurd (later swyrd), sword; swuster (later swyster), sister; swutol, plain, clear; wurpan beside worpan, to throw; wurp, worth, price; wurpan, to become; but worc, work; woruld, worold, world. Late Nth. sword, sword; worp, worth; worpa, to become; worold, world; wosa from older weosa = WS. wesan, to be.

§ 95. Final e was lengthened to ē in monosyllables, as ĕhe, he; mē, me; sē (masc. nom. sing.), the; wē, we; pē, relative particle (§ 468).
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i

§ 96. Germanic i (=Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. i) generally remained in OE., as biddan, Goth. bidjan, O.Icel. biðja, OS. biddian, OHG. bitten, to pray, beg, entreat; fisc, Goth. fisks, O.Icel. fiskr, OS. fisk, OHG. fisc, fish; witan, Goth. OS. witan, O.Icel. vita, OHG. wizgan, to know; and similarly bit(t)er, bitter; blind, blind; bridd, young bird; bringan, to bring; cild, child; cinn, chin; clif, cliff; crible, crib; cwide, saying; disc, dish; finger, finger; gefilde (sb.), plain; gift, price of wife; hider, hither; hild, battle, war; hind (sb.), hind; hild, lid; hring, ring; licgan, to lie down; libban, to live; lifer, liver; lim, limb; list, cunning; midd, middle; nift, niece; nifer, downwards; pic, pitch; ribb, rib; scilling, shilling; scip, ship; sibb, relationship; sife, sieve; sige, victory; sittan, to sit; smipl, smith; spinel, spindle; twig, twig; picce, thick; pider, thither; ping, thing; pridda, third; wilde, wild; wind, wind; winter, winter; in the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative of strong verbs belonging to classes III (§ 499), IV (§ 503), and V (§ 505), as hilpest, hilpeþ, birest, bireþ, itest, itep, beside inf. helpan, to help; beran, to bear; etan, to eat; in the pret. plural and pp. of strong verbs belonging to class I, as biton, bitten, ridon, ridden, stigon, stigen, beside inf. bitan, to bite; ridan, to ride; stigan, to ascend; in the inf. and present of strong verbs belonging to class III (§ 498), as bindan, to bind; drincan, to drink; findan, to find; sincan, to sink; singan, to sing; spinnan, to spin; swimman, to swim.

Note.—1. i became ï by loss of g (§ 321), as bridel, bridle; frinan, to ask; lip, he lies down; rinan, to rain; sipe, scythe; tile (Lat. tegula), tile, beside brigdel, frignan, ligeþ, sigþe, tigele of the non-WS. dialects.

2. i appears as e in the Latin loanwords, peru (Lat. pirum), pear; segn (Lat. signum), sign.

§ 97. i became ĭ by loss of nasal before a voiceless
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spirant, as fif, Goth. OHG. fif缴费, five; fifel, sea-monster;
gesip (OHG. gisindo), companion; hriper (OHG. rind),
ox; lipe (OHG. lindi), gentle; sip (Goth. sinps), way; swip
(Goth. swips), strong. But in remained when it came
to stand before a voiceless spirant at a later period, as
pinsian from Lat. pensare, to weigh, consider; winster
beside winester (OHG. winister), left (hand).

§ 98. i was broken to io before r and h + consonant, and
simple h, but already in early WS. the io became eo and
thus fell together with the eo from e (§§ 85-6), as liornian,
leornian from *lirnojan, to learn; miox, meox from
*mihst, manure, cp. Goth. mainstus, dunghill; tiohhian,
teohhian from *tihhöjan, to arrange, think, consider.
The io became ïo (éo) by loss of intervocalic h (cp.
§ 329, 4), as twiogan, twëogan from *twiohian, older
*twi|xöjan, to doubt.

Note.—1. eo then became ie, later i, in WS. before h + con-
sonant, as stihtan, to arrange, regulate; wriexl, wrixl, exchange.
2. In Anglian io became i before gutturals, as getihhian, to
arrange, think, consider.
3. In the two verbs corresponding to Goth. brinnan, to burn;
and rinnan, to run, the metathesis of the r took place earlier
than breaking, whence Anglian biorna(n), beorna(n), iorna(n),
eorna(n). In WS. we have biernan (later birnan, byrnan),
iernan (later irnan, yrnan) for *biornan, *beornan, *iornan,
*eornan, with ie from the third pers. singular biern(e)p (=Goth.
brinnip), iern(e)p (= Goth. rinnip). The new formation in WS.
was doubtless due to the fact that the two verbs were mostly
used impersonally, cp. the similar new formations in NHG.
ziemen, to beseem; and wiegen, to weigh.

§ 99. io became ie (later i, y) by i-umlaut in WS.,
as äfierran (OHG. arfirren), from *.firrjan, to remove;
bierce, birch; fiehst (OHG. fhtis), thou fightest; fieht,
he fights; gebierhtan, to make bright; gesiehп, vision;
giernan (OS. girnian), to desire; hierde (OHG. hirti),
shepherd; ierre (OS. OHG. irri), angry; rihtan, ryhtan
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(OS. rihtian), to set straight; siehst (OHG. sihis), thou seest; siehp (OHG. sihit), he sees; smierwan (OHG. smirwen), to anoint; wierresta, wiersta (OHG. wirsto), worst; wiersa (OHG. wirsiro), worse; wierpe (OHG. wirdi), worthy.

Note.—i. The i-umlaut of io generally did not take place in the non-WS. dialects, hence we have io in Nth. and Ken., and io (eo) in Mercian, as Nth. Ken. giorna(n), hiorde, iorre = Mercian geornan, heorde, iorre, WS. giernan, hierde, ierre. Forms like afirra(n), to remove; smirwan, to smear, are not pure Anglian forms.

2. io became i in Anglian before a following guttural or r + guttural, as birce, gebirhta(n), gesihp; mixen (mod. northern dialects mixen), dunghill; rihtan; wircan (OS. wirkian), to work. The i then became i by loss of intervocalic h and contraction in Nth., as sis(t) from *sihis, WS. siehst, thou seest; sip from *sihip, WS. siehp, he sees (§ 141).

3. io in the combination wio became u at an early period in Anglian, and then u became y by i-umlaut, as wyrresta, worst; wyrsa, worse; wyrsian, to worsen; wyrpe, worthy.

§ 100. i became io by u-, o/a-umlaut in Ken. before all single consonants, in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals (c, g), and in WS. before single labials and liquids. But already at an early period (ninth century) the io became eo in WS. and Mercian.

§ 101. i. u-umlaut.

Pret. cliopude, -ode, beside inf. clipian, to call; cliopung, calling; mioluc, miolc (later mile), milk; sioluc, silk; siolufr, siolfor, silver; pret. tiolude, -ode, beside inf. tilian, to aim at; tiolung, produce, labour. Anglian and Ken. liomu, leomu, limbs; niofor (WS. niñor), lower; siodu (WS. sidu), custom; sionu (WS. sinu), sinew. Ken. siocol, sickle; stiogol, stile = WS. and Anglian sicol, stigol. Forms like liomu, niofor, which are occasionally found in WS. prose, are not pure WS.

Note.—i. u-umlaut was mostly obliterated in WS. by levelling
and new formations, as plural clifu, _cliffs_; scipu, _ships_ (Anglian cliofu, _sciopu_), due to levelling out the stem-forms of those cases which had no _u_ in the ending. Pret. plural drifun, -on, _they drove_; gripun, -on, _they seized_, due to preterites like biton, _they bit_; stigon, _they ascended_. Pret. _tilode_ beside _tiolode_, _he aimed at_, formed direct from the inf. _tilian_. And conversely forms like inf. cliopian (cleopian), _tiolian_ (teolian), were formed from the pret. cliopode, _tiolode_.

2. _io_ became _i_ in Anglian before _1+guttural_, as _miIc_ from _miolc_, older _mioluc_, _milk_.

§ 102. 2. _o/a-umlaut_.

_hiora, heora, their, of them_; _liofast, thou west_. Anglian and Ken. _behionan, on this side of_; glioda, _kite, vulture_; _hionan, heonan, hence_; _nioma(n), to take_; _niomap, they take_; piosan (WS. _pisan_), _peas_; _wiota, sage, wise man_; _wiotan, to know_. Ken. _stiociian_, WS. and Anglian _stician_, to _prick_.

Note.—Forms like _behionan, wiotan_, &c., which occasionally occur in WS. prose, are not pure WS.

§ 103. The combination _wio- which arose from breaking_ (§ 98) or from _u-_, _o/a-umlaut_ (§§ 101–2), generally became _wu- in WS. and Anglian, but remained in Ken., as _betwuh_ (betuh), _between_; _betwux_ (betux), _betwixt_; _c(w)ucu, alive_; _c(w)udu, cud_; _wucu_ (Goth. _wikō_, OS. _wika_), _week_; _wudu_ (OS. _widu_, Ken. _wiodu_), _wood_; _wuduwe_ (Goth. _widuwō_, OS. _widuwa_), _widow_; _wuht_ (OS. _OHG. wiht_), _creature, thing_; _wuton_ (uton), _let us!_ But before gutturals we have _wi- in Anglian, as _betwih, betwix, cwic(u)_; _cwician_ (WS. _cwucian_), _to revive, bring to life_; _wicu, wiht_.

§ 104. _i_ or _ij_ by contraction with a following guttural vowel became _io_ (ēo), as _bia, bēo_ (OHG. _bia_, Germanic stem-form _*bijōn-_), _bee_; _diofol, dēofol_ (Lat. _diabolus_), _devil_; _fiond, feond_ (Goth. _fijands_), _enemy, fiend_; _frío, frēo_ from _*frija-, free_; _friond, frēond_ (Goth. _frijōnds_), _friend_;
§ 105. *io (ēo) became ĕe by i-umlaut, as plural fiend from *fijandiz, enemies; friend from *frijöndiz, friends.

§ 106. Germanic o, which arose from older u (§ 43), generally remained in OE. as also in the other Germanic languages except Gothic. In Gothic it became u which was broken to o (written aú) before r, h, and hu. Examples are: dohtor, Goth. daúhtar, OS. dohtar, OHG. tohter, daughter; folc, O.Icel. OS. OHG. folk, folk; hord, Goth. huzd, OS. hord, OHG. hort, treasure; oxa, Goth. aúhsa, O.Icel. oxe, OHG. ohso, ox; and similarly boda, messenger; bodig, body; boga, bow; bohte, he bought; bold, house; bolt, bolt; bord, board; botm, bottom; broj, broth; cnotta, knot; cocc, cock; col, coal; colt, colt; corn, corn; coss, kiss; dogga, dog; dor (OS. dor, OHG. tor), door, gate; dropa, drop; fola, foal; folgian, to follow; forst, frost; fox, fox; frogga, frog; god, God; gold, gold; hlot, lot; hof, enclosure; hol, hole; hold, loyal, gracious; hopian, to hope; horn, horn; hors, horse; loc, lock; lof, praise; molde, earth; morgen, morning; morj, morjor, murder; norj, north; nosu, nose; ofen, oven; ofer, over; open, open; smocc, smock; storm, storm; toll, toll; þorn, thorn; þorp, village; word, word; worhte, he worked; in the pp. of strong verbs belonging to classes II (§ 493), III (§ 499), and IV (§ 503), as boden, Goth. budans, O.Icel. boðenn, OS. gibodan, OHG. gibotan, offered, commanded; and similarly coren, chosen; froren, frozen; soden, cooked, sodden; togen, drawn; fohten, fought; holpen, helped; worden, become; worpen, thrown; boren, borne; brocen, broken; stolen, stolen; toren, torn.

Note.—o became ò by loss of consonant, as gen. höles
§ 107. o became e (older oe) by i-umlaut. All native words containing this umlaut are really new formations due to levelling or analogy, because prim. Germanic u (cp. § 43) did not become o in OE. when followed by an i or j in the next syllable. Examples are: dat. sing. dehter, to a daughter, from *dohtri with o levelled out from the other cases, the regular form would be *dyhter from older *duhtri; efes (OHG. obasa) beside yfes, eaves, cp. Goth. ubizwa, porch; pl. nom. acc. exen, beside nom. sing. oxa, ox; mergen (Goth. maúrgins), beside morgen, morning; ele (Lat. oleum), oil.

§ 108. In a certain number of words o became u in OE., especially before and after labials, as bucc (OHG. boc), buck; bucca, he-goat; fugol (OHG. fogal), bird, fowl; full (OHG. fol), full; furpor, further; furpum, even; lufian, to love; lufu, love; murnian, to murmur, grumble; murnan, to mourn; spura beside spora, spur; spurnan beside spornan, to kick; ufan (OHG. obana, from above), above; ufer(r)a, upper, higher; ufor, higher; wulf (OHG. wolf), wolf; wulle (OHG. wolla), wool; cnucian beside cnocian, to knock; scurf, scurf; turf, turf.

§ 109. o became u in OE. before nasals, as pp. cumen (OHG. quoman), come; guma (OHG. gomo), man; hunig (OHG. honag), honey; and similarly numen, taken; scu- nian, to shun; sumor, summer; þunor, thunder; wunian, to dwell. Also in early Latin loanwords, as munuc (Lat. monachus), monk; munt (Lat. acc. montem), mountain; nunne (Lat. nonna), nun; pund (Lat. pondo), pound.

This u became y by i-umlaut, as mynster (Lat. monas- terium), minster, monastery; mynet (Lat. monēta), coin, money.

§ 110. o may have become the rising diphthong ió (eó)
after g = Germanic j (§ 268), and also occasionally after sc, as gioc (geoc), OHG. joh, yoke; geon, yon, that; sceofl, shovel; sceolde, should; sceop, poet, singer; sceort, short; sceoten (pp.), shot, beside scoff, scolde, scop, scort, scoten. But see § 51, Note.

Note.—The e in the combination sceo- probably merely indicated the palatal pronunciation of the sc-

u

§ 111. Germanic u (§ 21) generally remained in OE. as also in the other Germanic languages, as dumb, Goth. dumbs, O.Icel. dumbr, OS. dumb, OHG. tumb, dumb; hund, Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OS. hund, OHG. hunt, dog, hound; and similarly burg, city; duru, door; grund, ground; hnutu, nut; hund, hundred; hungor, hunger; lust, desire; sugu, sow; sulh, plough; sunne, sun; sunu, son; tunge, tongue; tungol, star; burst, thirst; under, under; wund, wound; wundor, wonder; in the pret. plural of strong verbs belonging to classes II (§ 493) and III (§ 497), as budon, Goth. budum, O.Icel. budum, OS. budun, OHG. butum, we offered, commanded; and similarly curon, chose; flugon, flew; gruton, wept; tugon, drew; bundon, Goth. O.Icel. bundum, OS. bundun, OHG. buntum, we bound; and similarly druncen, drank; dulfon, dug; fundon, found; fuhton, fought; hulpon, helped; spunnon, spun; suncon, sank; sungon, sung; wurdon, became; wurpon, threw; in the pp. of strong verbs belonging to class III, as bunden, bound; druncen, drunk; funden, found; spunnen, spun; suncen, sunk; sungen, sung.

Note.—u became o in the prefix or- (= Goth. us-, OHG. ur-, out), as orsorg, without anxiety; orpunc, skill; orwêne, despairing. And in the Latin loanwords box (Lat. buxus), boxtree; copor (Lat. cuprum), copper.
§ 112. u became y by i-umlaut, as cyning, OS. OHG. kuning, king; cynn, Goth. kuni, OS. OHG. kunni, race, generation; þyncan, Goth. þugkján, OS. thunkian, to seem; and similarly blyscan, to blith; bryce, brittle; brycg, bridge; bycgan (Goth. bugjan), to buy; byrd, birth; clyppan, to embrace; cnyttan, to bind; crycc, crutch; cyme, advent; cyre, choice; cyrnel, kernel; cyssan, to kiss; cyst, choice; drync, potion; dyppan, to dip; dysig, foolish; flyht, flight; fyllan, to fill; fyrdhtan, to fear; fyxen, vixen; gemynd, remembrance; gesynto, health; gyden (OHG. gutin), goddess; gylden (OHG. guldín), golden; hrycgg, back, ridge; hycgan (Goth. hugjan), to think; hyge, thought; hyldu, grace, favour; hyll, hill; hynggran, to hunger; hype, hip; hyrdel, hurdle; hyrnne, of horn; lyge, falsehood; mycel, much; mycg, midge; myrprar, to murder; nytt, use; scyld, guilt; scylldig, guilty; scyrtra, shorter; stycce, piece; synn, sin; trymman, to make strong; þynne, thin; þyrstan, to thirst; yfel, evil; ymb(e), about; yppan, to open; wylle, wyllan (OHG. wullin), woollen; wynn, joy; wyrcan, to work; wyrhta (OS. wurhtio), workman; wyrm from *wurmiz, snake, dragon, worm; wyrt, herb.

Also in early Latin loanwords, as cycene (late Lat. coquina, cucína), kitchen; cylen (Lat. culína), kiln; mylen (late Lat. molína), mill; pyle (Lat. acc. pulvínum), pillow; pytt (Lat. acc. pteum), pit.

Note.—1. y became e in Ken. in the ninth century, as besig, efel, gelden, senn = WS. bysig, busý, yfel, gylden, synn. The e from OE. y in the modern dialects of East Sussex and East Anglia shows however that this change of y to e was not confined to Kent in the OE. period, cf. also § 3, Note.

2. y was often unrounded to i in late WS. and Anglian, especially before and after c, g, h, as cinn, cining, fliht, hricg, hige, scildig, pincan, &c.

§ 113. u became ū by loss of n before s and ð, as cúp
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(Goth. kunja), known, familiar; cūpe (Goth. kunja), he could; düst (OHG. tunst, storm), dust; fūs (OHG. funs), ready, eager for; gūp (OHG. gundia), war, battle; hūsl (Goth. hunsl), Eucharist; mūp (Goth. munps), mouth; ūs (Goth. OHG. uns), us; tūsc from *tunsk, tusk; sūp (OHG. sund), south.

§ 114. ū became ĭ by i-umlaut, as cīpan (Goth. gaswikenjan), to make known; dīystig (OHG. tunstig, stormy), dusty; fīsan from *funsjan, to send forth, hasten; wīscan from *wunskjan, OHG. wunsken, to wish; ĭst (OHG. unst), storm, tempest; ĭp (OHG. undea), prim. Germanic *unjo, wave.

§ 115. u became ū by loss of h after l, r, before a following vowel, as gen. sing. fūre, pl. gen. fūra, dat. fūrum, beside nom. sing. furh, furrow; pl. gen. sūla, dat. sūlum, beside nom. sing. sulh, plough (cp. § 329, 3).

§ 116. u may have become the rising diphthong iū, later iō (e6), after g = Germanic j (§ 268), and also occasionally after sc, as giung, giong, geong, older iung (gung) = Goth. juggs, OHG. jung, young; giogup, geogup, older iugujo (gugujo), youth; inf. sceolan, shall; pl. indicative sceolon, beside sculan, sculan. The i-umlaut of which was ie (later i, y), as giengra (OHG. jungiro), gingra, gyngra, younger; giengesta (OHG. jungisto), gingesta, gyngesta, youngest. But see § 51, Note.

Note.—The e in the combination sceo- probably merely indicated the palatal pronunciation of the sc.

B. The Long Vowels of Accented Syllables.

ā

§ 117. Germanic nasalized ā, which arose from a according to § 40, became ō in OE., as brōhte, Goth. OS. OHG. brāhta, I brought; fōn from *fōhan, Goth. OS. OHG. fāhan, to grasp, seize; and similarly hōh, heel; hōn, to
hang; ōht, persecution; tōh, tough; þō (Goth. þāhō), clay; þōhte, I thought; wōh, crooked, wry.

§ 118. ō became ē (older ǣ) by i-umlaut, as ēhtan (OS. āhtian), to persecute; fēhp (OS. fāhid), he seizes; hēla from older *hōhila, heel.

§ 119. Germanic ǣ (Goth. ē, OS. OHG. ā) generally remained in WS., but became ē in Anglian and Ken., as WS. dād, non-WS. dēd, Goth. ga-dēps, OS. dād, OHG. tāt, deed; WS. sād, non-WS. sēd, OS. sād, OHG. sāt, seed; WS. rādan, non-WS. rēdan, OS. rādan, OHG. rātan, to advise; and similarly bār, bier; blādre, bladder; blātān, to bleat; brār, briar; āfen, evening; āl, eel; ās, carrion; āpm, breath; hār, hair; lāce, physician; lātān, to leave; māg, kinsman; māl, meal-time; Anglian mēce (OS. māki), sword; māre, renowned; nādl, needle; nādre, snake; rād, advice; swās, pleasant; bār, there; wāg, wave; wāpen, weapon; in the pret. plural of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 503) and V (§ 505), as bāron, bore; cwādon, said; ēton, ate; stālon, stole; sāton, sat.

Note.—1. Some scholars assume that Germanic ǣ became ā in prim. West Germanic and that the ā then became ē again in prim. OE. in the above and similar examples.

2. It is difficult to account for the ā beside ē in a few words, such as lācnian, to cure; slāpan, to sleep; swār, heavy; tāl, blame; wāt, wet, beside lācnian, slāpan, swār, tāl, wāt. In forms like wāg beside wēg, wave, the ā is due to the stem-form of the plural, see § 120 (2).

3. The ē from older ā was often rounded to ē after w in Nth., as huēr, where; wāpen, weapon; wāron, they were = WS. hwār, wāpen, wāron.

4. The ā in early Latin loanwords had the same development in OE. as Germanic ā, as nāp (Lat. nāpus), turnip; strāt (Lat. strāta), street.

§ 120. Germanic ā became ā in OE. (1) before w, as blāwan (OHG. blāen), to blow; cnāwan (OHG. knāen),
to know; crāwan (OHG. krāen), to crow; māwan (OHG. māen), to mow; sāwan (OHG. sāen), to sow; sāwun (OS. sāwun), they saw; tāwian, to prepare; þrāwan, to twist; wāwan (OHG. wāen), to blow.

This ā became ā by i-umlaut, as lāwan from *lāwjan, older *lāwjan = Goth. lēwjan, to betray.

(2) In the combination āg followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable, as plural nom. māgas, gen. māga, dat. māgum, beside nom. singular māg, kinsman; pret. plural lāgon, lay; þāgon, received; wāgon, carried (§§ 505, 507).

Note.—Forms like māgas; wāgas, waves, were new formations from the singular māg, wāg. And lāgon, þāgon, wāgon were due to the analogy of such preterites as bāron, stālgon which regularly have ā.

§ 121. Before nasals Germanic ā became ō through the intermediate stage ā, as mōna, Goth. mēna, OS. OHG. māno, moon; nōmon, Goth. nēmun, OS. OHG. nāmun, they took; and similarly brōm, broom; c(w)ōmon, they came; gedōn, done; mōnap, month; ōm, rust; sōna, soon; spōn, chip; wōma, tumult.

Note.—The ō may have become the rising diphthong eō after g = Germanic j (§ 268), as geōmor (OS. OHG. jāmar), sad; geōmrian, to mourn. But see § 51, Note.

§ 122. ō became ē (older ōē) by i-umlaut, as wēnan from *wōnjan = Goth. wēnjan, OS. wānian, OHG. wānen, to hope; and similarly brēmel, bramble; cwēman, to please; cwēn, queen; gecwēme, agreeable; wēn, hope.

§ 123. In WS. ā was broken to ēa before h, as nēah, Goth. nēhu, OS. OHG. nāh, near; nēar from *nēahur, older *nāhurst, nearer. By i-umlaut ēa became ie (later i, ū), as niehsta from *nēahista, but Anglian nēsta from *nēhista (OHG. nāhisto), nearest.

§ 124. In WS. it became ēa (older éa) through the inter-
mediate stage eā after palatal c, g, and sc, as gēar, Goth. jēr, OS. OHG. jär, year; and similarly cēace, jaw; for-
gēaton, they forgot; gēa, yes; gēafon, they gave; scēap, sheep; scēaron, they sheared. eā became ie by i-umlaut, as cīese from *cēasi (Lat. cāseus), cheese.

Note.—The e (§ 119), which arose from ā, remained un-
influenced by palatals in the non-WS. dialects, as gēr, gēfon, scēp = WS. gēar, gēafon, scēap. This eā also became e in late WS.

ē

§ 125. Germanic ē, which cannot be traced back phono-
logically to Indo-Germanic ē (§ 38, Note), is of obscure
origin. In Gothic the two sounds fell together in ē, but in
the other Germanic languages they were kept quite apart,
thus Indg. ē = OE. āe (§ 119), Goth. ē, O.Icel. OS. OHG. ā,
but Germanic ē = OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. ē, OHG. ia (ie).
Germanic ē remained in OE., as cēn (OHG. kian),
torch; OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. hēr, OHG. hiar, here; OE.
mēd, OS. mēda, OHG. miata, pay, reward; in the preterite
of the old reduplicated verbs (§§ 512-14), as OE. OS. hēt,
OHG. hiaz, inf. OE. hātan, to call; and similarly preterite
fēng, rēd, slēp, beside inf. fōn, to seize; rādan, to advise;
slēpan, to sleep.

Note.—Latin ē became i in early loanwords, as cīpe, Lat.
cēpa, onion; pīn (OHG. pīna), Lat. pēna, late Lat. pēna,
torture; sīde (OHG. sīda), late Lat. sīta, silk; but ē remained
in later loanwords, as bēte, Lat. bēta, beetroot; crēda, creed,
Lat. crēdō, I believe.

i

§ 126. Germanic i generally remained in OE., as also in
the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as
OE. OS. OHG. sin, Goth. seins, his; OE. OS. OHG.
swin, Goth. swein, O.Icel. svīn, pig, swine; and similarly
blipe, blithe; hwil, space of time; hwit, white; īdel, empty.
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ifig, ivy; is, ice; isen, iren, iron; lif, life; min, mine; rice, kingdom; rim, number; side, side; slim, slime; tid, tīma, time; thin, thine; wid, wide; wif, wife; wīs, wise; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 490), as OE. OS. bitan, Goth. bēitan, O.Icel. bīta, OHG. bīzan, to bite; and similarly bidan, to remain; drīfan, to drive; glīdan, to glide; gripan, to seize; līpan, to go; rīdan, to ride; scīnan, to shine; slīdan, to slide; smītan, to smile; snīpan, to cut; stīgan, to ascend; strīdan, to stride; wītan, to write.

§ 127.ī was broken to io before h and ht in WS. But already at an early period the io mostly became ēo (= Anglian ī), as betwēoh, between, cp. Goth. tweihnái, two each; lēoh, Goth. leihts, OHG. lihti, adj. light; wēoh (Anglian wīh), idol, Goth. weihs, OHG. wīh, holy, OS. wīh, temple; imperative singular lēoh (Anglian līh), Goth. leihu, OS. OHG. līh, lend thou; and similarly tēoh, accuse; pēoh, thrive; wrēoh, cover. With loss of medial h after breaking had taken place, as betwēōnum, between; fēol (Anglian fil, OHG. fihala), file; infinitives līon, lēon (Goth. leihtan, OS. OHG. līhan), to lend; and similarly sēon, sēon, to strain; pīon, pēon, to thrive; wrīon, wrēon, to cover.

The i-umlaut of this io (ēo) is ie, as liehtan from *līohtjan, to lighten, make easier, Anglian gelihtan; liehst from *līohis (OHG. līhis), thou lendest; liehp from *līohip (OHG. līhit), he lends.

§ 128. Germanic ō (= Goth. O.Icel. OS. ō, OHG. uo) generally remained in OE., as brōpor, Goth. brōpar, O.Icel. brōðer, OS. brōder, OHG. bruoder, brother; OE. OS. fōt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, foot; and similarly blōd, blood; blōwan, to bloom; bōc, book; bōsm, bosom; brōc, brook; brōd, brood; cōl, cool; dōm, judgment, doom; dōn, to do; flōd, flood; flōwan, to flow; fōda, food; genōg, enough; glōf, glove; glōm, gloom;
glōwan, to glow; gōd, good; grōwan, to grow; hōc, hook; hōd, hood; hōf, hoof; hrōc, rook; hrōf, roof; hrōpan, to shout; mōd, mood, mind; mōdor, mother; rōwan, to row; söhte, he sought; sōt, soot; stōl, stool; in the preterite of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 508), as OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. fōr, OHG. fuor, he went, travelled; and similarly bōc, baked; hōf, raised; slōg, struck, slew; swōr, swore.

Note.—The combination scō- was often written sceō- with e to denote the palatal pronunciation of the sc, as preterite sceōc, shook; sceōp, created, beside scōc, scōp; sceōh beside scōh, shoe.

§ 129. ē became ē (older ō, preserved in Nth.) by i-umlaut, as fēt, OS. fōti, OHG. fuogi, from *fōtiz, older *fōtez, feet; sēcan, Goth. sōkjan, OS. sōkian, to seek; and similarly bēc, books; bētan, to improve; blēdan, to bleed; brēper, dat. sing. of brōpor, brother; cēlan, to cool; dēman, to judge; drēfan, to make turbid; fēdan, to feed; fēlan, to feel; glēd, live coal; grēne, green; grētan, to greet; hēdan, to heed; mēder, dat. sing. of mōdor, mother; mētan, to meet; spēd, success; swēte, sweet; wēpan, to weep.

§ 130. Final wō became ū in monosyllables, as cū, OS. kō, OHG. kuo, cow, from an original acc. form *gōm (cp. Gr. Dor. βῶ) = prim. Germanic *kwōn, older *kwōm; hū (OS. hwō), how; tū (neut.) from *twō, two. The neuter bū for older *bō, both, is due to association with tū in the combination bū tū, both, literally both two.

ū became ū by i-umlaut, as cū from older *kū-i, prim. Germanic *kwō-iz, cows.

§ 131. Germanic ū generally remained in OE., as also in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. hūs, house, cp. Goth. gud-hūs, temple; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. rūm, Goth. rūms, room;
puhte, Goth. þuhta, OS. thūhta, OHG. dühta, it seemed, inf. OE. þyncan, to seem; and similarly brū, eyebrow; brūcan, to enjoy; brūn, brown; būan, to dwell; būgan, to bow down; clūd, rock; clūt, clout; fūl, foul; hlūd, loud; hlūtor, clear, pure; lūcan, to close; lūs, louse; mūs, mouse; nū, now; prūt, proud; rūst, rust; scrūd, garment; scūfan, to push; slūpan, to glide; sūcan, to suck; sūr, shower; sūpan, to sup, drink; sūr, sour; tūn, enclosure; trūwian (pret. trūde), to trust; ūder, udder; ūhte, early dawn; ūt, out; pūma, thumb; þūsend, thousand.

Note.—OE. ū has generally been preserved in the modern dialects of Scotland and of the northern counties of England, whereas OE. i has not been preserved in any of the dialects.

§ 132. ū became ĕ by i-umlaut, as brūd, from prim. Germanic *brūdz, bride; mūs, from prim. Germanic *mūsiz, mice; rūman, Goth. *rūmjan, OS. rūmian, to make room; and similarly fūr, fire; fūst, fist; hlūdan, to make a sound; hūd, hide; hūdan, to hide, conceal; hūf, hive; ĕs, lice; ĕtel, little; ontēnan, to open; scrūdan, to dress; pūmel, thumbstall; in the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative of strong verbs which have ū in the infinitive (§ 496), as brūcst, brūcp, from older *brūkis, *brūkip, inf. brūcan, to enjoy.

Note.—ĕ became ē in Ken. in the ninth century, as Ken. hēf, mēs, ontēnan = WS. hūf, mūs, ontēnan. See § 3, Note.

C. The Diphthongs of Accented Syllables.

ai

§ 133. Germanic ai (= Goth. ái, O.Icel. ei, OS. ē, OHG. ei (ē)) became ā in OE., as ān, Goth. áins, O.Icel. einn, OS. ēn, OHG. ein, one; hāl, Goth. háils, O.Icel. heill, OS. hēl, OHG. heil, whole, sound, hale; hātan, Goth. háitan, O.Icel. heita, OS. hētan, OHG. heizan, to name, call; and similarly āc, oak; ād, heap, funeral pile; āgan,
to possess; āgen, own; ār, oar; āscian, to ask; ātor, poison; āp, oath; bā, both; bān, bone; bār, boar; bāt, boat; brād, broad; clāp, cloth; dā, doe; dāg, dough; āgast, spirit; āgāt, goat; grāpian, to grope; āhād, rank; āorder; āhām, home; āhāt, hot; āhlāf, loaf; āhlāford, lord; āhlāw, grave, mound; āhrāw, corpse; ālār, lore, learning; māpūm, treasure; rā (OHG. rēho), roe; rād, raid; rāp, rope; sāl, rope; sār, sore; sāwol, soul; slā (OHG. slēha), sloe; snāw, snow; stān, stone; swāpan, to sweep; tā (OHG. zēha), toe; tācen, token; twā, two; āhās, those; wā, woe; wāt, he knows; in the pret. singular of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 490), as bād, Goth. bāip, O.Icel. bēið, OS. bād, OHG. bēit, he awaited; and similarly bāt, bit; ālāp, went; drāf, drove; lāh, lent; rād, rode; stāg, ascending.

Note.—1. The ā in the above and similar words has generally fallen together with Germanic a in open syllables in the modern dialects north of the Humber, whereas they are still kept apart in the other dialects. On the other hand the dialects north of the Humber still preserve the distinction between the OE. ā from Germanic ai and Germanic o in open syllables, whereas in the other dialects they have generally fallen together just as in the standard language.

2. It is difficult to account for ā beside ā (Goth. āiw), ever; and similarly in the compounds āwiht, āwuht, anything; nōwiht, āwuht beside ā-wiht, nā-wiht.

3. The combination scā. was often written sceā. with e to denote the palatal pronunciation of sc, as sceādan, to divide; pret. singular sceān, shone, beside scādan, scān. See § 51, Note.

§ 134. ā became ā (late Ken. ē) by i-umlaut, as hǣp, Goth. hāipī, heath; hāelan, Goth. hāiljan, OS. hēlian, to heal; ā, āw from *āwiḥ, prim. Germanic *āiwiz, divine law; and similarly āht, possession; ānig, any; ār, formerly, before; blācan, to bleach; brēdan, to broaden; clāne, clean; dāl, part, portion; dālan, to deal; drāfan,
to drive; flæsc, flesh; gæt, goats; hætan, to heat; hlæder, ladder; hlæw, grave, mound; hræw, corpse; hwæte, wheat; lædan, to lead; læfan, to leave; læran, to teach; læstan, to follow; mænan, to mean; ræcan, to reach; ræran, to raise; sæ, sea; sprædan, to spread; stænen, of stone.

Note.—Many of the modern northern dialects still preserve the distinction between Anglian æ from Germanic æ (§ 119) and the æ from the i-umlaut of ā.

§ 135. Germanic au (= Goth. òu, O.Icel. au, OS. ð, OHG. ou (ó)) became ëa in OE., as dëap, Goth. dàupus, O.Icel. dauðe, OS. döð, OHG. töð, death; ëage, Goth. áugō, O.Icel. auga, OS. òga, OHG. ouga, eye; rëad, Goth. răups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rôð, OHG. röt, red; and similarly bëacen, beacon; bëag, ring, bracelet; bëan, bean; brëad, bread; cëap, cheap; cëapian, to buy; dëad, dead; dëaf, deaf; drëam, joy; ëac, also; ëadig (Goth. áudags), blessed; ëare, ear; ëast, east; flëa(h), flea; gelëafa, belief; grëat, great; hëafod, head; hëah, high; hëap, troop; hlëapan, to leap; lëac, leek; lëaf, leaf; lëad, lead; lëan, reward; scëaf, sheaf; stëap, steep; strëam, stream; tëag, rope; in the pret. singular of strong verbs belonging to class II (§ 493), as céas, Goth. káus, O.Icel. kaus, OS. OHG. kős, he chose, inf. OE. cëosan, to choose; and similarly bëad, offered; brëac, enjoyed; clëaf, cleft; frëas, froze; gëat, poured out; lëag, lied; scëat, shot; tëah, drew.

Note.—1. ëa became e in late WS. before c, g, h, and after c, g, sc, as bëcen, lëc, bëg, ëge, hëh, tëh; cëpian, cës, gët, scëf, scët.

2. In Anglian it became æ (later ë) before c, g, h, as ëc, lëc, flëh, hëh, tëg, later ëc, lëc, flëh, hëh, tëg.

§ 136. ëa became ìe (= non-WS. ë) by i-umlaut in the oldest period of WS. ìe then became i, ñ already in early WS., as gelëfan, early WS. gelifan, gelýfan, non-WS.
gelēfan, Goth. galāubjan, OS. gilōbian, to believe; hieran, early WS. hīran, hýran, non-WS. hēran, Goth. hāusjan, OS. hōrian, to hear; nied, early WS. nīd, nŷd, non-WS. nēd, Goth. nāups, prim. Germanic *naudiz, need; and similarly bēecnan, to beckon; biegan (Goth. *báugjan), to bend; ciepan, to buy; drieman, to rejoice; driepan, to let drop; iecan, to increase; iepe, easy; gieman, to take notice of; hīehra, higher; hiehsta (Goth. hāuhista), highest; hienan, to humiliate; niedan, to compel; sciete, sheet; sliefe, sleeve; stiepel, steeple.

§137. Germanic eu (= Goth. iu, O.Icel. jō (jū), OS. OHG. eo (io)) became ēo in OE. The ēo remained in WS. and Mercian, but was often written īo in early WS. and Mercian. In Nth. it mostly became ēa which fell together with the ēa from Germanic au (§135). In Ken. it became īo (also written īa), and thus fell together with īo from Germanic iu (§138). Examples are: dēop, Goth. diups, O.Icel. djūpr, OS. diop, OHG. tiof, deep; WS. and Mercian lēof, liof, Nth. lēaf, Ken. liof, Goth. liufs, O.Icel. ljūfr, OS. liof, OHG. liob, dear; WS. and Mercian dēor, díor, Nth. dēar, Ken. díor, dear; and similarly bēod, table; bēor, beer; flēos, fleece; lēoht, a light; sēoc, sick; stēor, rudder; þēod, nation, race; þēof, thief; þēoh, thigh; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class II (§493), as bēodan, Goth. biudan, O.Icel. bjōða, OS. biodan, OHG. biotan, to offer; cēosan, Goth. kiusan (to test), O.Icel. kjōsa, OS. OHG. kiosan, to choose; and similarly clēofan, to cleave; crēopan, to creep; drēosan, to fall; flēogan, to fly; frēosan, to freeze; gēotan, to pour out; lēogan, to lie; rēocan, to smoke; sceotan, to shoot; sēopjan, to boil, cook; tēon (Goth. tiuhan), to draw, lead.

Note.—1. The old diphthong eu was occasionally preserved in the oldest monuments, as steupfaedaer, later stēopfæder, stepfather.
2. ēo (ēa) became ē in Anglian before c, g, h, as rēca(n), sēc, fēga(n), lēga(n), lēht = WS. rēocan, sēoc, &c.

§ 138. The normal development of Germanic iu, which arose from older eu when the next syllable contained an i, i, or j (§ 44), is īo in OE. (=Goth. iu, O.Icel. jū (ŷ), OS. OHG. iu). In WS. īo generally became īe (later ī, ŷ) by i-umlaut. But when no umlaut took place, early WS. had īo beside ēo, and later generally ēo only. It is difficult to account for the non-umlauted forms, unless we may suppose that they are not pure WS. Examples are: cīesp, Goth. kiusip, O.Icel. kýs(s), OS. kiusid, OHG. kiusit, he chooses, tests, inf. OE. cēosan; tiehp, Goth. tiuhip, OS. tiuhid, OHG. ziuhit, he draws, leads, inf. OE. tēon; liehtan, Goth. liuhtjan, OS. liuhtian, OHG. liuhten, to give light. diere beside dēore, OS. diuri, OHG. tiuri, dear, beloved; dierling beside dēorling, darling; geþēdan beside geþiodan, geþēodan, to join, associate; stīeran (O.Icel. stýra, OHG. stiuren) beside stēoran, to steer; þiēfþ, þiostre (OS. thiustri), beside þēofþ, theft; þiostre, þēostre, dark. geþiode, geþēode, language; līode, lēode (OS. liudi, OHG. liuti), people; and a few other words.

The i-umlaut of īo did not take place in the other dialects, so that we have in Nth. and Ken. īo (also written iā in the latter dialect), and in Mercian īo beside ēo (later mostly ēo), as Nth. Ken. diore, līode, þiostre, stīora(n), but in Mercian īo beside ēo.

Note.—In Anglian īo became ī before c and h, as cīcen, older *kioken from *kiukin, chicken; līhta(n), tīp from *tīhip = WS. liehtan, tiehp.

Vowel Contraction.

§ 139. Vowel contraction took place in O.E. when intervocalic h, w, or j had disappeared.

A long vowel or a long diphthong absorbed a following short vowel, as rā beside older rāha, roe (§ 138); gen. sās
from *sæes older *sāwis (§ 134) beside nom. sæ, sea; Anglian nēstā from *nēhista beside WS. niehsta, nearest (§ 123); Anglian tīp from *tīhip, older *tiuxīp, he draws (§ 138, Note); fōn from *fōhan, to seize; fō from *fōhu, I seize (§ 117); pl. scōs from *scōhas, beside sing. scōh, shoe (§ 128, Note); sēon from *sēoh(an) older *seohan, to see; sēo from *sēoh(u) older *seohu, I see; gen. fēos from *fēoh(ēs) older *feohes, beside nom. feoh, cattle (§ 87); slēan from *slēa(h)an older *sleahan, to slay; slēa from *slēa(h)u older *sleahu, I slay; ēar from *ēa(h)ur older *eahur, ear of corn (§ 70); nēar from *nēa(h)ur, nearer (§ 123); lion, lēon from *lioh(an), older *lihan, to lend; lēo from *lioh(u), I lend (§ 127); tēon from *tēo(h)an, to draw, lead; dat. pl. þrūm from *þrū(h)um beside nom. sing. þrūh, trough.

§ 140. a + u (from older wu or vocalized w) became ēa, as clēa from *cla(w)u, claw; strēa from *straw-, straw (§ 75).

e + u (from w) became ēo, as cnēo from *cnewa-, knee, trēo from *trewa-, tree (§ 88).

i or ij + guttural vowel became ċo (ēo), as bio, bēo from *bijōn-, bee; fiond, fēond, Goth. fijands, enemy; friond, frēond, Goth. frijônds, friend; nom. acc. neut. þrio, þrēo, from *þrī(j)u = Goth. þrīja, three (§ 104).

§ 141. i + i became ī, as Nth. sis(t) from *sihis, thou seest; sīp from *sihip, he sees (§ 329, 4).

§ 142. Long palatal vowels absorbed a following short palatal vowel, as gāst from *gāis older *gāis, thou goest; gāp from *gāip, he goes; dēst from *dōis, thou doest; dēp from *dōip, he does; gen. drŏs from *drŏyes, beside nom. drŏy, magician.

The Lengthening of Short Vowels.

§ 143. From our knowledge of ME. phonology it is clear that short vowels must have been lengthened some time
during the OE. period before certain consonant combinations, especially before a liquid or nasal + another voiced consonant. But it is impossible to ascertain the date at which these lengthenings took place, and whether they took place in all the dialects at the same time.

§ 144. Final short vowels were lengthened in monosyllables, as hwā, who?, swā, so (§ 79); hē, he, mē, me, wē, we (§ 95).

§ 145. There was a tendency to lengthen short vowels in monosyllables ending in a single consonant, as wēl (mod. northern dial. wil from older wēl) beside wel, well. lōf, praise, wēg, way, but in words of this kind the short vowel was restored again through the influence of the inflected forms, lofes, weges, &c.

§ 146. Short vowels were lengthened through the loss of g before a following consonant, as māden, maiden, sāde, he said, beside older mægden, sægde (§ 54, Note 2); brēdan, to brandish, strēdan, to strew, beside older bregdan, stregdan (§ 80, Note 2); bridel, bridle, tile, tile, beside older brigdel, tigele (§ 96, Note 1).

§ 147. By the loss of a nasal before a following voiceless spirant, as ōper, Goth. anþar, other; gōs, OHG. gans, goose; söfte, OHG. samfto, softly (§ 61); swīþ, Goth. swīnþs, strong; fif, Goth. fimf, five (§ 97); cūþ, Goth. kunþs, known; ūs, Goth. uns, us (§ 113).

§ 148. Short diphthongs were lengthened by the loss of intervocalic h, as slēan from *sleahan, Goth. slahan, to strike, slay (§ 70); sēon from *seohan, OHG. sehan, to see (§ 87).

§ 149. By the loss of antevocalic h after l and r, as gen. sēales beside nom. sealh, seal (§ 64, Note 1); gen. meāres beside nom. mearth, horse (§ 66, Note 3); gen. ōoles beside nom. eolh, elk (§ 84, Note 1); gen. fēores beside nom. feorth, life (§ 85, Note 4); gen. hōles beside nom. holh, hole (§ 106, Note).
The Shortening of Long Vowels.

§ 150. Much uncertainty exists about the shortening of long vowels. They were probably shortened before double consonants some time during the OE. period, as bliss, joy, hlammasse, Lammas, wimman, woman, beside older blihps, hlafmasse, wifman; blæddre, bladder, deoppra, deeper, beside older blædre, dēopra, see § 260.

§ 151. In the first or second elements of compounds which were no longer felt as such, as enlefan, prim. Germanic *ainliban-, cp. Goth. dat. aínlībim, eleven; sippjan, sioþjan from sīþþan, since. ēorod from eohþrād, troop of cavalry. Adjectives ending in -lic, as dēadlic, deadly, see § 634.

§ 152. From what has been said in §§ 54–151 it will be seen that the Germanic vowel-system (§ 45) assumed the following shape in OE.:—

| Short vowels | a, æ, e, i, o, u, ō, y |
| Long ” | ā, ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, ō, ū |
| Short diphthongs | ea, eo, ie, io |
| Long ” | ēa, ēo, ie, io |

CHAPTER V

The Prim. Germanic Equivalents of the OE. Vowels of Accented Syllables

A. The Short Vowels.

§ 153. a = (r) Germanic a in open syllables when originally followed by an ā, ă, ū in the next syllable, as faran, to go; nacod, naked; pl. dagas, days, gen. daga, dat. dagum (§ 57); gen. clawe, of a claw; þawian from *þawōjan, to thaw (§ 74).
§ 154. a (o) = Germanic a before nasals, as lang, long, long; lamb, lomb, lamb; mann, monn, man; nama, noma, name (§ 59).

§ 155. æ = (1) Germanic a in closed syllables, as dæg, day; bær, he bore; sæt, he sat (§ 54).

= (2) Germanic a in open syllables when followed by a palatal vowel or vocalic nasal or liquid in the next syllable, as æcer, field; fæder, father; gen. dæges, of a day, dat. dæge; fæpm, embrace, fathom; hægl, hail (§ 54).

= (3) Germanic a by semi-umlaut, as æpel from *aþali, noble; æpelning from *aþulning, nobleman; gædeling from *gadulning, OS. gaduling, companion (§ 58).

§ 156. e = (1) Germanic e, as beran, to bear; cwene, woman; weg, way (§ 80).

= (2) i-umlaut of æ, as bedd (Goth. badi), bed; here, army; lecgan, to lay (§ 55).

= (3) i-umlaut of a (o), as ende, end; benc, bench; sendan, to send (§ 60).

= (4) i-umlaut of o, as dat. dehter, beside nom. dohtor, daughter; ele, oil; exen, oxen (§ 107).

§ 157. i = (1) Germanic i, as biddan, to pray; birep, he bears; bindan, to bind; ridon, we rode; riden, ridden (§ 96).

= (2) Germanic e before m, as niman (OHG. neman), to take (§ 81).
= (3) Latin e before nasal + consonant in early loanwords, as gimm (Lat. gemma), gem; pinsian (Lat. pensāre), to weigh, ponder (§ 82).

= (4) older eo (ie) before hs and ht, as cniht, boy; six, six (§ 86).

= (5) older ie, see § 170.

= (6) the unrounding of y before and after c, g, h in late WS. and Anglian, as cinn, race, generation; cining, king; pincan, to seem; fliht, flight (§ 112, Note 2).

§ 158. o = (1) Germanic o, as dohtor, daughter; coren, chosen; hord, treasure; oxa, ox (§ 106).

= (2) a (o), see § 154.

§ 159. u = (1) Germanic u, as curon, they chose; dumb, dumb; hund, dog; hungor, hunger (§ 111).

= (2) Germanic o before or after labials, as bucc (OHG. boc), buck; full (OHG. fol), full; fugol (OHG. fogal), bird; wulf (OHG. wolf), wolf (§ 108).

= (3) Germanic o before nasals, as guma, man; hunig, honey; punor, thunder (§ 109).

= (4) older eo in the combination weo-, as swurd, sword; swuster, sister (§ 94).

= (5) older io in the combination wio-, as wucu, week; wuduwe, widow (§ 103).

§ 160. y = (1) i-umlaut of u, as bycgan (Goth. bugjan), to buy; cyning, king; gylden, golden; wyllen, woollen (§ 112).

= (2) older ie, see § 170.

B. The Long Vowels.

§ 161. ā = (1) Germanic ai, as ān, one; bāt, he bit; hāl, whole; hātan, to call (§ 133).
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\( = (2) \) Germanic \( \ddot{a} \) before \( w \), as blastan, to blow; cnavan, to know; sawon, they saw (\( \S 120 \)).

\( = (3) \) Germanic \( \ddot{a} \) in the combination \( \ddot{ae} \) followed by a guttural vowel, as pl. magas, beside sing. mag, kinsman; pret. lagon, they lay (\( \S 120 \)).

\( = (4) \) lengthening of final \( a \) in monosyllables, as hw\( \ddot{a} \), who?; sw\( \ddot{a} \), so (\( \S 79 \)).

\( \S 162. \ \ddot{a} = (1) \) Germanic \( \ddot{a} \) (non-WS. \( \ddot{e} \)), as bareon, they bore; cwaedon, they said; daed, deed; rædan, to advise (\( \S 119 \)).

\( = (2) \) i-umlaut of \( a = \) Germanic ai, as daelan, to divide; haelan, to heal; hai\( \ddot{p} \), heath (\( \S 134 \)).

\( = (3) \) i-umlaut of \( a = \) Germanic \( \ddot{a} \) before \( w \), as cnawwyn, he knows; laewan, to betray (\( \S 120 \)).

\( = (4) \) OE. \( \ddot{ae} \), as mæden, maiden, sæde, he said, beside mægden, sægde (\( \S 54 \), Note 2).

\( = (5) \) Latin \( \ddot{a} \) in early loanwords, as nap (Lat. nāpus), turnip; stræt (Lat. strāta), street (\( \S 119 \), Note 3).

\( \S 163. \ \ddot{e} = (1) \) Germanic \( \ddot{e} \), as her, here; med, pay, reward (\( \S 125 \)).

\( = (2) \) i-umlaut of Germanic \( \ddot{o} \), as bæc, books; fæt, feet; dæman, to judge; secan, to seek (\( \S 129 \)).

\( = (3) \) i-umlaut of \( \ddot{o} = \) Germanic nasalized \( a \), as æhtan, to persecute; fehp, he seizes (\( \S 118 \)).

\( = (4) \) i-umlaut of \( \ddot{o} = \) Germanic \( \ddot{a} \) before nasals, as cwæn, queen, wife; wænan, to hope (\( \S 122 \)).
Phonology

§ 164. ɪ =

(1) Germanic ɪ, as bitan, to bite; is, ice; min, mine; ridan, to ride (§ 126).

(2) Germanic im, in before f, ŋ, as fif (Goth. fimf), fivė; lipe, gentle; swiþ, strong (§ 97).

(3) O.E. ig, as bridelbergel, bridle, sipe, scythe, beside bridgel, sigpe (§ 96, Note 1).

(4) Older ĕe, see § 174.

(5) Latin ĕ (oe) in early loanwords, as cipe (Lat. cēpa), onion; pīn (Lat. pōena, late Lat. pēna), torture (§ 125, Note).

§ 165. ō =

(1) Germanic ō, as böc, book; brōpor, brother; grōwan, to grow; fōr, he went (§ 128).

(2) Germanic nasalized ā, as brōhte, he brought; fōn from *fōhan, older *fāhan, to seize; ūōhte, he thought (§ 117).

(3) Germanic ė before nasals, as mōna, moon; nōmon, they took; sōna, soon (§ 121).

(4) Germanic am, an before f, ŋ, as sōfte, softly; gōs, goose; tōp, tooth (§ 61).

(5) From Germanic o by loss of h, as gen. hōles beside nom. holh, hole (§ 106, Note).
§ 166. û = (1) Germanic ū, as hūs, house; mūs, mouse; scūfan, topush; būsend, thousand (§ 131).

= (2) Germanic final wō, as cū, cow; hū, how (§ 130).

= (3) Germanic un before þ, s, as cūþ, known; mūþ, mouth; ûs, us (§ 113).

= (4) Germanic u by loss of h, as gen. pl. sūla beside nom. sing. sulh, plough (§ 114).

§ 167. ȳ = (1) i-umlaut of Germanic ū, as brýd, bride; mýs, mice; brýcþ, he enjoys (§ 132).

= (2) i-umlaut of ū = Germanic un before þ, s, as cūþan, to make known; ēst, storm (§ 114).

= (3) older ie, see § 174.

C. The Short Diphthongs.

§ 168. ea = (1) Germanic a by breaking, as eall, all; ceald, cold (§ 64); heard, hard; wearþ, he became (§ 66); eahta, eight; weaxan, to grow; seah, he saw (§ 68).

= (2) older æ = Germanic a, after palatal c, g, sc, as ceaster, city, fortress; geaf, he gave; sceal, shall (§ 72).

§ 169. eo = (1) Germanic e by breaking, as meolcan, to milk; sceolh, wry, oblique (§ 84); eorþe, earth; heorte, heart (§ 85); cneohht, boy; feohtan, to fight (§ 86).

= (2) i-umlaut of Germanic a before w, as eowestre, sheepfold; meowlæ, maiden (§ 77).

= (3) Germanic e before w+vowel, as gen. cneowes, treowes, beside nom. cnēo, knee, trēo, tree (§ 89).

= (4) Germanic e by u-umlaut, as eofor, boar; meolu, meal, flour; seofon, seven (§ 92).
§ 170. ie (later i, y) = (1) i-umlaut of ea = Germanic a by breaking, as fiellan, to fell; ieldra, elder, older (§ 65); ierfe, inheritance; dierne, secret (§ 67); hliehhan, to laugh; sliehþ, he slays (§ 69).

= (2) i-umlaut of io = Germanic i by breaking, as fiehst, thou fightest; ierre, angry; siehþ, he sees (§ 99).

= (3) Germanic e after palatal c, g, s, as cieres, cherry-tree; giefan, to give; scieran, to shear (§ 91).

= (4) i-umlaut of ea, after palatal c, g, as ciele, cold; giest, guest (§ 73).

§ 171. io (later eo) = (1) Germanic i by breaking, as liornian, to learn; miox, manure (§ 98).

= (2) Germanic i by u-, o/a-umlaut, as cliopung, calling; mioluc, milk (§ 101); liofast, thou livest (§ 102).

D. The Long Diphthongs.

§ 172. ēa = (1) Germanic au, as cēas, he chose; dēap, death; ēage, eye; hēafod, head; rēad, red (§ 135).

= (2) Germanic Æ after palatal c, g, s, as cēace, jaw; gēafon, they gave; gēar, year; scēap, sheep (§ 124).

= (3) Germanic Æ by breaking before h, as nēah, near; nēar, older *nēahur, nearer (§ 123).

= (4) Germanic aw which became final in prim. OE., as hrēa, raw; strēa, straw (§ 75).

= (5) from au after the loss of intervocalic w,
as clēa from *cla(w)u, claw; þrēa from *þra(w)u, threat (§ 75).

(6) Germanic aw in the combination ēaw = Germanic aww, as dēaw (Goth. *daggwa-), dew; hēawan, to hew (§ 76).

(7) OE. ea, Germanic a, by loss of antevocalic h after l and r, as gen. sēales, wēales, beside nom. sealh, willow, wealth, foreign (§ 64, Note 1); gen. fēares, mēares, beside nom. fearh, pig, mearh, horse (§ 66, Note 3).

(8) OE. ea, by loss of intervocalic h, as ēa, river; slēan, to slay; tēar, tear (§ 70).

§ 173. ēo = (1) Germanic eu, as cēosan, to choose; dēop, deep; lēof, dear; þēof, thief (§ 137).

(2) Germanic ew which became final in prim. OE., as cnēo, knee; trēo, tree (§ 88).

(3) Germanic ew in the combination ēow = Germanic eoww, as trēow, trust, faith (§ 90).

(4) OE. eo, Germanic e, by loss of antevocalic h after l and r, as fēolan, to hide; gen. ēoles, beside nom. eolh, elk (§ 84, Note 1); gen. fēores, beside nom. feorh, life (§ 85, Note 4).

(5) OE. eo by loss of intervocalic h, as sēon, to see; swēor, father-in-law; gen. fēos, beside nom. feoh, cattle (§ 87).

§ 174. ie (later i, ĕ) = (1) i-umlaut of ēa, Germanic au, as gelīefan, to believe; hīeran, to hear; hīehsta, highest (§ 136).

(2) i-umlaut of īo, Germanic īu, as cīesp, he chooses; dierling, darling; liehtan, to give light; tiehþ, he draws, leads (§ 138).
(3) i-umlaut of iō, Germanic i before h, ht by breaking, as liehst, thou lendest; liehtan, to lighten, make easier (§ 127).

(4) i-umlaut of iō (éo), Germanic ij + guttural vowel, as fiend from *fijandiz, fiends; friend from *frijōndiz, friends (§ 105).

(5) Germanic ew in the combination iew(e) = Germanic ewwj, as getriewe, true, faithful (§ 90).

(6) Germanic ew in the combination iew(e) = Germanic ewj, as niéwe, new (§ 90).

§ 175. iō (éo) = (1) Germanic iu, as geþiode, geþêode, language; liode, lêode, people; þiostre, þêostre, dark (§ 138).

(2) Germanic i or ij + guttural vowel, as fiond, fêond, Goth. fijands, fiend, enemy; friond, frêond, Goth. frijōnds, friend; neut. pl. þrío, þrêo from *þriju, Goth. þrija, three (§ 104).

(3) Germanic i by breaking before h and ht, as þiōn, þeōn, OHG. dihan, to thrive; lioh, lēoh, OHG. lih, lend thou; be-twēoh, between; lēoht, OHG. lihti, adj. light (§ 127).

The Chief Deviations of the other Dialects from West Saxon.

§ 176. a (Anglian) = WS. ea before 1+consonant, as cald, cold, fallan, to fall, haldan, to hold, WS. ceald, feallan, healdan (§ 63).

§ 177. æ (Anglian) = (1) WS. ea before h and h+consonant, as sæh, he saw, fæx, hair, æhta, eight, WS. seah, feax, eahta (§ 68, Note 1).
§ 178–82] *Prim. G. Equivalents of OE. Vowels*

§ 178. æ (later e) = (1) WS. ea before r + guttural, as berg, *pig*, *eric*, *ark*, *færh*, *ferh*, *boar*, *pig*, *mærc*, *merc*, *boundary*, WS. *bearg*, *earc*, *fearh*, *mearc* (§ 66, Note).

= (2) WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea, before h + consonant, as *hlæhha(n)*, to *laugh*, *mæhtig*, *mighty*, WS. *hliehhan*, *miehtig* (§ 69, Note).

§ 179. æ beside ea (Anglian) = WS. ea after palatal c, g, sc, as *cæster*, *city*, *fortress*, gæt, gate, scæl, shall, beside ceaster, geat, sceal (§ 72, Note 1).

§ 180. æ (Mercian for older ea by o/a-umlaut) = WS. a before gutturals, as dræca, dragon, dægas, days, WS. draca, dagas (§ 78, Note 1).

§ 181. e (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. ie after palatal c, g, sc, as gefa(n), to *give*, gelda(n), to *pay*, sceld, shield, WS. giefan, gieldan, seield (§ 91).

= (2) WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea, before r + consonant, as derne, secret, erfe, inheritance, WS. dierne, ierfe (§ 67, Note).

= (3) WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea, after palatal c, g, sc, as cele, *cold*, gest, *guest*, sceppan, to *create*, WS. ciele, giest, sceieppan (§ 73, Note).

§ 182. e (Anglian) = (1) WS. eo before lc, lh, as elh, *clk*, melca(n), to *milk*, WS. eolh, meolcan (§ 84).

= (2) WS. eo before h, hs, ht, as feh, *cattle*, sex, *six*, cneht, *boy*, early WS. feoh, seox, cneoht (§ 86, Note).
§ 183. e (Ken.) = (1) WS. æ, as deg, day, feder, father, hefde, he had, WS. dæg, fæder, hæfde (§ 54, Note 1).

= (2) WS. ea after palatal c, g, sc, as cester, city, fortress, get, gate, scel, shall, WS. ceaster, geat, sceal (§ 72, Note 1).

= (3) WS. y, i-umlaut of u, as besig, busy, efel, evil, senn, sin, WS. bysig, yfel, synn (§ 112, Note 1).

= (4) WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea, as eldra, older, eldu, old age, WS. ieldra, ieldu (§ 65, Note).

§ 184. i (Anglian) = (1) WS. ie before a guttural or r + guttural, as birce, birch, gebirhta(n), to make bright, gesihþ, vision, WS. bierce, gebierhtan, gesiehþ (§ 99, Note 2).

= (2) WS. io (u-umlaut) before 1+guttural, as milc, milk, WS. mioluc, miolc (§ 101, Note 2).

= (3) WS. io (eo) before gutturals, as getih-hia(n), WS. tiohhian, teohhian, to arrange, think, consider (§ 98, Note 2).

= (4) WS. u in the combination wu- before gutturals, as betwih, between, cwi(c(u), quick, alive, wicu, week, WS. betwuh, c(w)ucu, wucu (§ 103).

§ 185. o (late Nth.) = late WS. u in the combination wu-, as sword, sword, worþa, to become, late WS. swurd, wurþan (§ 94).

§ 186. œ (Nth.) = (1) WS. e, i-umlaut of o, as dat. deþter, to a daughter, œle, oil, WS. dehter, ele (§ 107).

(2) WS. e after w, as cuœpa, to say, woeg, way, WS. cœwan, weg (§80, Note 1); cuœella, to kill, WS. cœwellan (§55, Note 1).

§ 187. ā (Anglian) later ē = WS. ēa, Germanic au, before c, g, h, as æc, also, hēh, high, tēg, rope, later ēc, hēh, tēg, WS. ēac, hēah, tēag (§135, Note 2).

§ 188. ē (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. ā, Germanic ā, as bēron, they bore, dēd, deed, sæton, they sat, slēpan, to sleep, WS. bæron, dæd, sæton, slæpon (§119).

= (2) WS. ēa after palatal c, g, sc, as cēce, jaw, gēr, year, gēfon, they gave, scēp, sheep, WS. cēce, gēar, gēafon, scēap (§124, Note).

= (3) WS. ē, i-umlaut of ēa, Germanic au, as gelēfan, to believe, hēran, to hear, nēd, need, WS. gelēfan, hēran, nied (§136).

§ 189. ē (Anglian) = (1) WS. ēo, Germanic eu, before c, g, h, as rēca(n), to smoke, sēc, sick, flēga(n), to fly, lēht, light, WS. rēocan, sēoc, flēogan, lēoht (§137, Note 2).

= (2) WS. ē, i-umlaut of ēa from older ā by breaking, as nēsta from *nehista, WS. niehsta, nearest, next (§123).

= (3) older ā, see §187.

§ 190. e (Ken.) = Anglian and WS. y, i-umlaut of ū, as hēf, hive, mēs, mice, ontēnan, to open, Anglian and WS. hŷf, mŷs, ontŷnan (§132, Note).

§ 191. ē (late Ken.) = Anglian and WS. æ, i-umlaut of ā, as clēne, clean, hēlan, to heal, hētan, to heat, Anglian and WS. clēne, hēlan, hētan (§134).

§ 192. i (Anglian) = (1) WS. io (ēo), Germanic i, before h
and ht, as wih, idol, lih, lend thou, liht, adj. light, WS. wēoh, lēoh, lēoht (§ 127).

(2) = (2) WS. iē, i-umlaut of iō = Germanic iū, before c and ht, as cīcen, chicken, lihtan, to give light, WS. cīcen, liht (§ 138, Note).

(3) = (3) WS. iē, i-umlaut of iō, Germanic ĭ, before ht, as lihtan, to lighten, make easier (§ 127).

§ 193. i (Nth.) = WS. ieh, as sis(t) from *sihis, thou seest, sīp from *sihip, he sees, WS. siehst, sīhp (§ 99, Note 2).

§ 194. ā (Nth.) = (1) WS. ē, i-umlaut of ē of whatever origin, as bēc, books, fēt, feet, grēne, green, WS. bēc, fēt, grēne (§ 129); gēs, WS. gēs, geese (§ 62); fēhp, WS. fēhp, he seizes (§ 118).

(2) = (2) WS. ā, Germanic ā, after w, as huēr, where, wērōn, they were, WS. hwēr, wēron (§ 119, Note 2).

§ 195. ea (Anglian) beside ā, see § 179.

§ 196. ea (Nth.) = (1) WS. eo before r + consonant, as earpe, earth, hearte, heart, stearra, star, WS. eorpe, heorte, steorra (§ 85, Note 3).

(2) = (2) WS. e, Mercian eo by o/a-umlaut, bearā, to bear, eata, to eat, treada, to tread, WS. beran, etan, tredan (§ 93).

§ 197. ea (Mercian) by u-, o/a-umlaut = WS. a, as featu, vats, heafuc, hawk, fearan, to go, WS. fatu, hafuc, faran (§ 78).

§ 198. eo (Mercian and Ken.) by u-umlaut = WS. e (before all single consonants except labials and liquids), as eodor, enclosure, eosol, donkey, WS. edor, esol (§ 92).

§ 199. eo (Ken.) by u-umlaut = Anglian and WS. e before gutturals, as breogo, prince, reogol,

rule, Anglian and WS. brego, regol (§ 92).

§ 200. eo (Mercian and Ken.) by o/a-umlaut = WS. e, as beoran, to bear, eotan, to eat, feola, many, WS. beran, etan, fela (§ 93).

§ 201. eo (Mercian and Ken.) = late WS. u in the combination wu, as sweord, sword, sweostor, sister, late WS. swurd, swuster (§ 94).

§ 202. io (Anglian and Ken.) by u-umlaut = WS. i (before all single consonants except labials and liquids), as liomu, limbs, niôpor, lower, siodu, custom, sionu, sinew, WS. limu, niôpor, sidu, sinu (§ 101).

§ 203. io (Anglian and Ken.) by o/a-umlaut = WS. i, as nioman, to take, niomâ, they take, WS. niman, nima (§ 102).

§ 204. io (Nth. and Ken.) = WS. ie, i-umlaut of io, Germanic i, as hiorde, shepherd, iorre, angry, WS. hierde, ierre (§ 99, Note 1).

§ 205. io (Ken.) = WS. eo by breaking before r-consonant, as hiorte, heart, iorpe, earth, stiorra, star, WS. heorte, eorpe, stearra (§ 85, Note 3).

§ 206. io (Ken.) by o/a-umlaut = Anglian and WS. i before gutturals, as stiocian, Anglian and WS. stician, to prick (§ 102).

§ 207. io (Mercian) beside eo = WS. ie, i-umlaut of io, as iorre, eorre, angry, hiorde, heorde, shepherd, WS. ierre, hierde (§ 99, Note 1).

§ 208. ēa (Nth.) = Mercian and WS. ēo, Germanic eu, as dēap, deep, dēar, deer, lēaf, dear, Mercian and WS. dēop, dēor, lēof (§ 137).

§ 209. io (Ken.) beside ǣ = (1) Mercian and WS. ēo, Germanic eu, as diop (diap), dior, liof = Mercian and WS. dēop, dēor, lēof (§ 137).
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§ 210. iο (Mercian) beside ιο = WS. ιε, i-umlaut of ιο, as diore (diare), dear, liehtan, to give light, WS. diere, liehtan (§ 138).

§ 210. iο (Mercian) beside ιο = WS. ιε, i-umlaut of ιο, as diore (dēore), liehtan (lēohtan), WS. diere, liehtan (§ 138).

CHAPTER VI

THE OLD ENGLISH DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWELS OF UN-ACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 211. Before formulating the laws which govern the treatment of the vowels in final syllables, it will be useful to state here the laws relating to the treatment of final consonants in prehistoric OE. :—

(1) Final -m became -n, and then it, as also Indg. final -n, disappeared already in primitive Germanic. When the vowel which thus became final was short, it had the same further development as if it had been originally final, as geoc, Goth. juk, Lat. jugum, Gr. γυγόν, Indg. *jugōm, yoke; acc. sing. OE. Goth. wulf, Lat. lupum, Gr. λύκον, Indg. *wλqom, wolf; giest, Goth. gast, from *gastin, guest, cp. Lat. turrīm, tower; fōt, Goth. fōtu, from *fōtun, cp. Lat. pedem, Gr. πόδα (§ 34), foot; gen. pl. daga from *dągōn, older -ōm, of days, cp. Gr. θεῶν, of gods; fōta, of feet; and similarly in the gen. plural of the other vocalic and consonantal stems; pret. sing. nerede, Goth. nasida, prim. Germanic *nazidōn, older -ōm, I saved; nom. sing. of feminine and neuter n-stems, as tunge, tongue; āge, eye, original ending -ōn.

(2) The Indg. final explosives disappeared in prim. Germanic, except after a short accented vowel, as pres. subj. bere, Goth. bairái, Skr. bhārēt, from an original form
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*bheroit, he may bear; bærun, Goth. bērun, they bore, original ending -nt with vocalic n (§ 35); mōna, Goth. mēna, from an original form *mēnōt, moon; but þæt, that, the, Indg. *tød; hwæt = Lat. quod, what; æt = Lat. ad, at.

(3) Final -z, which arose from Indg. -s by Verner’s law (§ 252), disappeared in the West Germanic languages, as nom. sing. dæg, OS. dag, OHG. tag, beside Goth. dags, O.Icel. dagr, day, all from a prim. Germanic form *daŋaz, day; and similarly in the nom. sing. of masc. and feminine i- and u-stems; in the gen. singular of ō-, and consonantal stems; in the nom. and acc. plural of masc. and feminine nouns; in the dat. plural of all nouns, adjectives, and pronouns; &c.

Note.—It is difficult to account for the -s in the nom. plural of a-stems in OE. and OS., as dagas, OS. dagos, days, see § 334.

(4) Indg. final -r remained, as fæder, Goth. fadar, Lat. pater, Gr. πατήρ, father; mōdor, Lat. māter, Gr. Dor. μάτηρ, mother.

§ 212. (1) a (= Indg. a and o), which was originally final or became final in prim. Germanic through the loss of a following consonant, disappeared in dissyllabic and polysyllabic forms already in primitive OE., as wāt, Goth. wāit, Gr. oída, I know; wāst, Goth. wāist, Gr. oĩσθα, thou knowest; pret. first pers. singular of strong verbs, as band, I bound; bær, I bore, sæt, I sat, prim. Germanic *banda, *bara, *sata, from older *bhondha, *bhora, *soda; nom. sing. wulf from *wulfaz = Gr. λύκος, wolf; acc. wulf from *wulfan = Gr. λύκων; nom. acc. neut. geoc from *jukan = Gr. ξύγον, Lat. jugum, yoke; gen. sing. dæges from *dagesa, older -o, of a day; beran from *beranan = Indg. *bheronom, to bear; pp. boren from *burenaz, borne; pp. genered from *-nazidaz, saved; cyning from *kuninjaz, king.
§ 213. (2) Original final e disappeared in primitive OE. without leaving any trace, but when the e was originally followed by a consonant it became i in prim. Germanic, and then underwent the same further development in OE. as original i (see below), as wāt, Goth. wāit = Gr. οἶδε, he knows; pret. third pers. singular of strong verbs, as band, he bound; bær, he bore; sat, he sat, prim. Germanic *bande, *bare, *sate, from older *bhondhe, *bhore, *sode; imperative ber from *bere = Gr. φέρε, bear thou; nim from *neme, take thou = Gr. νέμε, distribute thou; voc. singular wulf from *wulfe = Gr. λύκε, Lat. lupe, wolf; fif, Goth. fimf = Gr. πέντε, Indg. *penqe, five; mec, Goth. mik, cp. Gr. ἐμέγε, me. But pl. nom. fæt, fët from *fōtiz, older -ez, cp. Gr. πόδες, feet; guman from *gumaniz, cp. Gr. ποιμένες, shepherds; hnyte from *χνυτίζ, nuts.

§ 214. (3) Final long vowels, inherited from prim. Germanic, became shortened already in prim. OE.: —

ô (= Indg. o and ā) became u, as beru from *berō = Lat. ferō, Gr. φέρω, I bear; nom. singular giefu from *gēbō, Indg. *ghebhā, gift, cp. Gr. χώρα, land; nom. acc. neut. plural geocu from *jukō, older *jukā = O.Lat. jugā, Indg. *jugā, yokes.

i became -i, later -e, as pres. subj. third pers. singular wile, he will = O.Lat. velit; imper. second pers. singular nere, Goth. nasei, OHG. neri, from *nazi, older *nazij(i), Indg. *noséje, save thou.

§ 215. (4) Short u and i, which were originally final or became final through the loss of a consonant, disappeared in trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms. They, as well as the u and i, which arose from the shortening of o and i, disappeared also in dissyllabic forms when the first syllable was long, but remained when the first syllable was short. The regular operation of this law was often disturbed by analogical formations.

Regular forms were: nom. sing. glest = Goth. gasts,
from *gastiz, guest = Lat. hostis, stranger; enemy; acc. giest = Goth. gast, from *gastin = Lat. *hostim; dat. sing. of consonantal stems, as føt, fêt (nom. föt, foot) from *fötti, cp. Gr. ποδί; dat. plural of nouns, as dagum (nom. dæg, day) from *dagomiz; giefum (nom. giefu, gift) from *gebōmiz; híer = Goth. hāusei, from *xauzī, hear thou; sēc = Goth. sōkei, seek thou; bend = Goth. bandi, from *bandī, band; in the second and third pers. singular and third pers. plural of the pres. indicative, as prim. Germanic *nimiz, thou takest; *nimid, he takes; *nemand, they take, from older *nemesi, *nemeti, *nemonti (on the OE. endings of these forms, see § 476); sing. nom. hand = Goth. handus, hand; acc. hand = Goth. handu; acc. singular of consonantal stems, as fōt = Goth. fōtu, foot; fāder from *faderun, father; guman from *gumanun, man; nom. lär from *lāru, older *laizō, lore, teaching; neut. pl. word from *wordu, older *wurdō, words; nom. acc. pl. neuter yfel from *ubilu, older *ubilō, evil; nom. acc. singular wini, wine (OHG. wini), from *winiz, *winin, friend; mere (OHG. meri), from *mari, lake; nom. plural wine (OHG. wini), from *winiz, older -ij(i)z, -ejes, friends; imperative sete from *sati, Indg. *sodeje, set thou; pres. subj. scyle from older *skuli, shall; sing. nom. sunu = Goth. sunus, son; acc. sunu = Goth. sunu; feola (fela) = Goth. filu, much; neut. pl. fatu, from *fatō, vats; beru (beoru) from *berō, I bear. Then after the analogy of these and similar forms were made feoh for *feohu, money = Goth. faīhu, OHG. fihu, Lat. pecu, cattle; bindu, I bind, helpu, I help, cēosu, I choose, for *bind, *help, *cēos. The final -u from older -w (§ 265) also disappeared after long stem-syllables, as gād, Goth. gāidw, want, lack; à, Goth. áiw, ever; hrā, Goth. hrāiw, corpse; but remained after short stem-syllables, as bealu, evil, calamity, bearu, grove, beside gen. bealwes, bearwes.

Note.—Final i, which remained in the oldest period of the
language, regularly became e in the seventh century. And final u became o at an early period, and then in late OE. a, whence forms like nom. acc. sunu, suno, suna, son; pl. fatu, fato, fata, vats.

§ 216. In trisyllabic forms final -u, which arose from prim. Germanic -ū, disappeared after a long medial syllable. It also disappeared when the stem and medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short, as leornung from *lirnunũ, learning; byden from *budinu, older buðinō, tub; pl. reced from *rakidu, older *rakidō, halls, palaces; neut. pl. yfel from *ubilu, older *ubilō, evil; but fem. nom. sing. hāligu, holy, hēafodu, heads, nītenu, animals.

§ 217. (5) The Indg. long diphthongs -āi (āi), -ōi (ōi), -ōu became shortened to -ai, -au in prim. Germanic, and then underwent the same further changes as old -ai, -au, that is, they became -æ, -ō in West Germanic.

Later than the shortening mentioned in § 214 occurred the shortening which was undergone in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words by the long vowel, after which an -n or -z had disappeared, and by the -æ and -ō from older -ai and -au, which were either already final in prim. Germanic, or had become so after the loss of -z. In this case a distinction must be made according as the long vowel originally had the ‘slurred’ (circumflex) or ‘broken’ (acute) accent (§ 9). -ō with the circumflex accent became -e (older -ae) after the loss of -z, but -a after the loss of -n. -ō with the acute accent became -e (older -ae) after the loss of -n. The -æ and -ō from older -ai and -au became -e (older -ae) and -a. All these shortenings took place in prehistoric Old English. Examples are:—gen. sing. and nom. plural gefe (Anglian) from *gēbōz = Goth. gibōs, nom. sing. giefu (WS.), gifl; gen. plural daga from *dagōn, older -ōm, of days; fōta from *fōtōn, of feet, cp. Gr. θεόν, of
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§ 217] gods; and similarly in the gen. plural of other vocalic and consonantal stems; acc. singular giefe from *gebōn, older -ōm (Indg. -ām), gifl, cp. Gr. χόρπαν; nom. singular of feminine and neuter n-stems (see below), as tungōn, tongue; eage from *augōn, eye; pret. singular nerede from *nazidōn, older -ōm, I saved; fore, before = Gr. παραί, near; dat. sing. dæge from *dażai, older -oi or -ōi, cp. Gr. locative oikoi, at home, dat. θέω (Indg. -ōi), to a god; dat. sing. giefe = Goth. gibái, Indg. *ghebhái, to a gift, cp. Gr. dat. θέω, to a goddess; fem. dat. sing. blindre from *blindizai, blind; masc. nom. plural blinde = Goth. blindái, blind; bere = Goth. baǐrái, Gr. ϕεύo, he may bear; eahta = Goth. ahtáu, from an original form *oktōu, eight; eπpa = Goth. aippáu, or; gen. singular suṇa = Goth. sunáus, of a son.

In the parent Indg. language the nom. singular of n-stems ended partly in -ōn, -ēn, and partly in -ō, -ē. The reason for this difference in the kind of accent in the ending is uncertain, but it was probably due to the loss of the final nasal under conditions which have not yet been ascertained. The various Indg. languages generalized one or other of the two forms in prehistoric times, as in Gr. nom. ἡγεμόν, leader; ποιμήν, shepherd; acc. ἡγεμόνα, ποιμένα, beside nom. Skr. ῥάγा, king; Lat. sermo, discourse; homo, man; acc. ῥάγαναμ, sermōnem, hominem. In prim. Germanic the two types existed side by side, but -ōn (= OE. -e, OHG. OS. Goth. -a) became restricted to the feminine and neuter in the West Germanic languages and to the masculine in Gothic, whereas -ō (= OE. -a, OHG. OS. -o, Goth. -ō) became restricted to the masculine in the West Germanic languages and to the feminine and neuter in Gothic, as fem. OE. tunge, OHG. zunga, OS. tunga beside Goth. tuggō, tongue; neut. OE. ēage, OHG. ouga, OS. ōga beside Goth. āugō, eye; OE. guma, OHG. gomo, OS. gumo beside Goth. guma, man. See §§ 400, 403.
§ 218. After the operation of the sound-laws described in §§ 212-17, many vowels, which originally stood in medial syllables, came to stand in final syllables in prehistoric OE. These vowels underwent various changes.

1. Indg. o remained longer in unaccented syllables than in accented syllables in prim. Germanic. It became a during the prim. Germanic period except (1) when followed by an m which remained in historic times, and (2) when the following syllable originally contained an u. In these cases the o became u in OE., as dat. plural dagum beside Goth. dagam, prim. Germanic *dāgomiz, to days; acc. sing. brōpur (later -or, -ar), from *brōporun, brother = Gr. φράτωρa (§ 34), member of a clan. Prim. Germanic a remained before n, but became e (older æ) in other cases, as inf. beran from *beranan, Indg. *bheronom, to bear; acc. sing. of masc. and feminine n-stems, as guman, man; tungan, tongue, from -anun, older -onm (with vocalic m); nom. plural guman, tungan, from -aniz, older -ones; but huneg, older hunæg (OHG. honag), honey.

2. Indg. e remained in OE. when originally not followed by a palatal vowel in the next syllable, as hwæper = Gr. πότερος, whether, which of two; gen. sing. dæges from *dagesa, older -o, of a day; pp. bunden from *bundenaz, Indg. *bhndhenos, bound; öper from *an̄peraz, other. But when e was originally followed by a palatal vowel it became i already in prim. Germanic, see below.

3. Prim. Germanic i remained in OE. before palatal consonants, as englisc, English; hefig, heavy; úsic, us. It also remained in other cases in the oldest period of the language, but became e in the seventh century (see § 215, Note), as pp. genered from *-nazidaz, saved; nimes(t), OHG. nimis, thou takest, Indg. *nemesi; nimeþ, OHG. nimit, he takes, Indg. *nemeti. The e in the second and third pers. singular was mostly syncopated in WS. and Ken., but generally remained in Anglian (see § 476).
4. Prim. Germanic ū always remained before a following m, but in other cases it became o already at an early period, and in late OE. also a (see § 215, Note), as dat. plural sunum, to sons; fōtum, to feet, prim. Germanic -umiz; pret. pl. indicative bārun, -on, they bore; neredun, -on, they saved.

5. All long vowels underwent shortening already in prehistoric Old English:

ā > e, as fāder, cp. Gr. πατήρ, father; neredes (older -daes) from *nazidēs, cp. Goth. nasidēs, thou didst save.

i > i, later e, except before palatal consonants, as gylden (OHG. guldin) from *gulþinaz; mægden = OHG. magatīn, maiden; subj. pret. plural bāren = Goth. bēreina, OHG. bārin, they might bear; but mihtīg = Goth. mahtēigs, OHG. mahtīg, mighty; gōdlic, goodly, beside the stressed form gelīc, like.

ō > u, later o, a (cp. § 215, Note), but u always remained before a following m, as huntop, -ap, from *χυντōpuz, hunting; heardost, hardest, lēofost, dearest, prim. Germanic superlative suffix -ōst-; sealfas(t) = Goth. salbōs, thou anointest; sealfap = Goth. salbōp, he anoints; pret. sing. sealfude, -ode, -ade = Goth. salbōda, I anointed; pp. ge-sealfud, -od, -ad = Goth. salbōps; but always u in the dat. pl. giefum = Goth. gibōm, to gifts; túngum = Goth. tuggōm, to tongues. The combination -ōj- was weakened to -i- (through the intermediate stages -ēj-, -ej-, -ij-), as in the inf. of the second class of weak verbs: lufian, to love; macian, to make; sealfian, to anoint. The prim. OE. ending -ōp from older -onp (see § 61), -anp, -anpi, Indg. -onti, was regularly weakened to -ap, as bērap = Gr. Dor. φέρωντι, they bear (cp. end of § 476).

ū > u (later o, a). In this case the ū arose in prim. OE. from the loss of n before a voiceless spirant (§ 286). Examples are: fracup, -op, from *frakunþaz, wicked = Goth. frakunþs, despised; dugup from *dugunþ = OHG.
tugunt, valour, strength; geoguŋ from *jugunþ. = OHG. jugunt, youth.

§ 219. If a nasal or a liquid, preceded by a mute consonant, came to stand finally after the loss of a vowel (§ 212), it became vocalic, and then a new vowel was generated before it in prehistoric OE. just as was the case in prehistoric OS. and OHG. The vowel thus generated was generally e when the preceding vowel was palatal, but o (u), later also e, when the preceding vowel was guttural, as nom. efen from *ebnaz, cp. Goth. ibns, even; nom. acc. äcer from *akr, older *akraz, *akran, cp. Goth. akrs, akr, field; nom. acc. fugul, -ol, from *fugl, older *foglaz, *foglan, cp. Goth. fugls, fugl, bird, fowl; nom. acc. mäþum from *maiþm, older *maiþmaz, *maiþman, cp. Goth. máþms, máþm, gift. In the oldest period of the language forms with and without the new vowel often existed side by side. The new vowel occurred most frequently before r. Vocalic l was common especially after dentals, and vocalic m and n generally occurred after a short syllable. The forms with vocalic l, m, n, r in the nom. acc. singular were due to levelling out the stem-form of the inflected cases. Thus regular forms were: nom. segel, sail; mäþum, gift; bēacen, sign, beacon; efen, even; äcer, field; þunor, thunder; gen. segles, mäþmes, bēacnes, efnes, æcres, þunres. Then from the latter were formed new nominatives segl, mäþm, bēacn, efn; and from the former new genitives æcres, þunores. Examples are: æppel, æpl, apple; hūsul, hūsel, hūsl, Eucharist, cp. Goth. hunsl, sacrifice; nādl (Goth. nēpla), needle; nægl, nail; setl (Goth. sitls), seat; tempel, templ (Lat. templum), temple; tungul, -ol, -el, star. bōsm, bosom; botm, bottom; æþm, breath; þrosm, smoke; wæstum, -em, wæstm, growth. hræfn, raven; regn (Goth. rign), rain; stefn, voice; tācen, tācn (Goth. tāikns), token; þegen, þegn, retainer; wægn, wagon. ātr, ātor,
§§ 220-1] Vowels of Unaccented Syllables

poison; fæger (Goth. fagrs), fair, beautiful; finger (Goth. figgrs), finger; hlútor (Goth. hlútrs), pure, clear; snotor, wise; winter (Goth. wintrus), winter; wundor, wonder.

§ 220. In OE., especially in the later period, a svarabhakti vowel was often developed between r or l + c, g, or h; and between r, l, d, or t + w. In the former case the quality of the vowel thus developed regulated itself after the quality of the stem-vowel. In the latter case it fluctuated between u (o) and e, rarely a. The development of a similar vowel in these consonant combinations also took place in OS. and OHG. Examples are: nom. sing. burug, buruh (OS. OHG. burug) beside burg, burh (OS. OHG. burg), city; but dat. sing. and nom. plural byrig beside byrg; byriga beside byrga, bail, surety; fylgan beside fylgan, to follow; myrig beside myrg, mirth; styric beside styrc, calf, cp. modern northern dial. stærk beside stāk; woruhte, worohte (OHG. worahta) beside worhte (OHG. worhta), he worked. beadu, -o, battle, gen. dat. beaduwe, -owe beside beadwe; bealu, evil, gen. bealuwes, -owes beside bealwes; bearu, grove; bearuwes, -owes beside bearwes; frætuwe, -ewe beside frætwe, trappings; gearu, ready, gen. gearuwes (OHG. garawes), -owes, -ewes beside gearwes; gearuwe (OHG. garawa), -ewe beside gearwe (OHG. garwa), yarrow; geolu, yellow, gen. geoluwes, -owes beside geolwes; melu, meolu, meal, flour; gen. meluwes (OHG. melawes), -owes, -ewes beside melwes (OHG. melwes); nearu, narrow, gen. nearuwes, -owes, -ewes beside nearwes; and similarly with several other words.

§ 221. Original short medial vowels in open syllables regularly remained in trisyllabic forms when the stem-syllable was short, as æple, noble; gen. sing. heofones, metodes, nacodes, rodores, stapoles, wæteres, beside nom. heofon, heaven; metod, creator; nacod, naked;
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rodor, sky; stapol, pillar; wäter, water; gen. dat. sing. idese beside nom. ides, woman; pret. fremedest from *framidäes, thou didst perform; neredest from *naziđäes, thou didst save; pp. gen. sing. gefremedes, generedes, nom. pl. gefremede, generede: nom. sing. gefremed, genered from prim. Germanic *-framidäes, *-naziđäes (cp. §§ 442, 523). On the syncope of i after prim. Germanic short stems in the preterite and past participle of weak verbs, see § 534.

They also remained in closed syllables irrespectively as to whether the stem-syllable was long or short, as gen. sing. cyninges, fætèleses, hengestes, wëstennes, beside nom. cyning, king; fætelis, tub; hengest, stallion; wësten, desert; fægættan, to change colour; pres. participle nimende, taking; superlatives ieldesta, oldest; lengesta, longest. It is difficult to account for the syncope in hiehsta, highest; and niehsta, nearest.

They also remained after consonant combinations, when preceded by a closed stem-syllable, or a stem-syllable containing a long diphthong or vowel, as pret. hyngrede, timbrede, dieгlede, frēfrede, pp. gen. sing. gehyngredes, getimbredes, gedieгłędes, gefrēfredes, beside inf. hynggran, to hunger, timbran, to build, dieгlan, to conceal, frē fran, to comfort; dat. pl. syndrigum beside nom. sing. syndrig, separate.

They regularly disappeared in open syllables when the stem-syllable was long, as gen. sing. diegles, engles, hālges, hēafdes, òpres, beside nom. diegol, secret; engel, angel; hālig, holy; hēafod, head; òper, other; hālgian, to make holy; strengþu from *stranfähig (OHG. strengida), strength; ieldra (Goth. alþiza), older; gen. dat. sing. frōfre, mōnþe, sawle, beside nom. frōfor, consolation; mōnþ, month; sāwol, soul; dældest (Goth. dālidēs), thou didst divide; hieðest (Goth. háusidēs), thou hearest; pp. gen. sing. gedældes, gehieðdes, nom. pl. gedælde,
§ 222. Short medial guttural vowels, followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable, often became palatal by dissimilation, as hafela, head, beside hafola; nafela, navel, beside nafola; gaderian from *gadurōjan, to gather; pl. nom. heofenas, gen. heofena, dat. heofenum, beside sing. gen. heofones, dat. heofone, nom. heofon, heaven; pl. nom. roderas, gen. rodera, dat. roderum, beside sing. gen. rodores, dat. rodare, nom. ro dor, firmament; pl. nom. stapelas, gen. stapela, dat. stapelum, beside sing. gen. stapoles, dat. stapole, nom. stapol, pillar. The interchange between e and o in forms like sealfedon (OHG. salbōtun), they anointed, beside sealfode (OHG. salbōta), he anointed, is probably due to the same cause, and may be the reason why some verbs of sub-division (b) of the first class of weak verbs often went over into the second class (see §§ 528, 532).

§ 223. In prim. OE. polysyllabic forms the second medial short vowel disappeared when it stood in an open syllable, but remained when it stood in a closed syllable, as pp. acc. sing. masc. generedne, saved, from *-nazi- danō(n); gedēmedne, judged, from *-dōmidanō(n); acc. sing. masc. ōberne from *anperanō(n), other; and similarly glædne, glad; gōdne, good; hāligne, holy; &c.; dat. fem. singular ōperre from *anperizai; and similarly glædre, gōdre, hāligre; gen. plural ōberra, prim. Germanic *anperaizō(n), older ·ōm; and similarly gōdra, hāligra. But having a secondary accent in a closed syllable, the vowel regularly remained, as nom. plural gædelingas, companions; dat. singular gaderunge, to an assembly; innemesta, innost.

Note.—1. There are many exceptions to the above sound-laws, which are due to analogical formations. Thus forms like masc. and neut. gen. singular micles, dat. miclum, great;
yfles, yflum, beside yfeles, yfelum, evil; gen. pl. glædra, glad, were made on analogy with forms having a long stem-syllable. And forms like gen. singular dēofoles (nom. dēofol, devil), ēpeles (nom. ēpel, native land), hāliges, holy, beside older dēofles, ēplies, hālges, were made on analogy with forms having a short stem-syllable.

2. In late OE. syncope often took place after short stems, and sometimes in closed syllables, as betra, better; circe, church; fægnian, to rejoice, gadrian, to gather, beside older bētara, cirice, fægenian, gaderian; betsta, best; winstre, left (hand), beside older betesta, winestre.

3. Original medial long vowels, which were shortened at an early period, were syncopated in trisyllabic forms in OE., but remained when the shortening took place at a later period, as dat. singular mōnpe beside mōnap (Goth. mēnōps), month; but lōcdest from *lōkōdēs, thou didst look.

CHAPTER VII

ABLAUT (VOWEL GRADATION)

§ 224. By ablaut is meant the gradation of vowels both in stem and suffix, which was chiefly caused by the primitive Indo-Germanic system of accentuation. See § 9.

The vowels vary within certain series of related vowels, called ablaut-series. In OE., to which this chapter will be chiefly confined, there are six such series, which appear most clearly in the stem-forms of strong verbs. Four stem-forms are to be distinguished in an OE. strong verb which has vowel gradation as the characteristic mark of its different stems:—(1) The present stem, to which belong all the forms of the present, (2) the stem of the first or third person singular of the preterite indicative, (3) the stem of the preterite plural, to which belong the second pers. pret. singular, and the whole of the pret. subjunctive, (4) the stem of the past participle.
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By arranging the vowels according to these four stems we arrive at the following system:—

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<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>ii.</th>
<th>iii.</th>
<th>iv.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>ēo</td>
<td>ēa</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
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<td>i, e</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>æ (a)</td>
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Note.—1. The six series as given above represent the simple vowels and diphthongs when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds. For the changes caused by uumlaut and the influence of consonants, see the phonology, especially §§ 47–52, and the various classes of strong verbs, §§ 490–519.

2. On the difference in Series III between i and e, see § 41; and between u and o, § 43.

3. It should be noted that the u, o in Series II are not of the same origin as the u, o in Series III and the o in Series IV. In Series II the u, o arose from Indg. u (cp. §§ 21, 43), whereas the u, o in Series III and the o in Series IV arose from Indg. vocalic l, m, n, r (cp. §§ 34–7 and Note).

4. For the æ in Series IV we have u from Indg. vocalic l, m in thepreterite presents, as sculon, shall, munon, think (§ 543). The æ (= Indg. ē, § 24) in Series IV and V represents a lengthening of e which took place in the parent Indg. language, and is called the lengthened grade of ablaut. It is the same grade of ablaut which occurs in forms like Lat. pf. legi, vexi: pres. legō, I gather, vēhō, I carry; OE. bār, bier: beran, to bear; OE. sprǣc, speech: sprecan, to speak; Goth. us-mēt with ē from older æ (§ 119), manner of life: OE. metan, to measure. It is important to remember that the æ did not arise from the contraction of the stem-vowel with a reduplicated syllable. That this is not the origin of the æ is clearly seen by the fact that it often occurs in other than verbal forms where there can be no question of a reduplicated syllable, as in OE. bār, sprǣc: beran, sprecan; Goth. qēns from *qēniz, wife, woman: qinō
from *qenō (§ 80), woman; Gr. nom. πατήρ: acc. πατέρα, father; Lat. nom. pēs (Indg. *pēts): acc. pedem (Indg. *pēdm), foot.

5. On the a, ő in Series VI, see § 228. In many verbs belonging to this series the ő is of similar origin to the ā in Series IV and V, that is it represents a lengthening of o which took place in the parent Indg. language, and is called the lengthened grade of ablaut. The verbs which have the ő of this origin in the preterite had originally e in the present, but already in prim. Germanic the e was supplanted by a after the analogy of those verbs which regularly had a in the present and ő in the preterite, as in OE. scafan, to scrape: pret. scōf = Lat. scabō, I scrape: pf. scābī (cp. § 23), and then the new a of the present was extended analogically to the past participle; see Brugmann, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. xxxii, pp. 179-95.

6. Strong verbs belonging to Series II have īe from older iu (§ 138) in the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative; and strong verbs belonging to Series III-V with e in the infinitive have i in the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative (§ 41).

§ 225. But although the series of vowels is seen most clearly in the stem-forms of strong verbs, the learner must not assume that ablaut occurs in strong verbs only. Every syllable of every word of whatever part of speech contains some form of ablaut. As for example the sonantal elements in the following stem-syllables stand in ablaut relation to each other:—

lipan, to go, lipend, sailor: lād, way, course: lida, sailor; lār, learning: liornung (leornung), learning; snījan, to cut: snād from *snādi-, morsel, slice: snide, incision; witega, prophet: wāt, he knows: witan, to know, wita, wise man, gewit, intelligence.

bēodan, to command, order: gebod, command, precept, bydel from *budil, messenger; fiōn, to flee: fiēam, flight: flyht from *fluhti-, flight; nēotan, to use: genēat, companion: notu, use, nytt (Germanic stem-form *nutja-), useful; tēon, to draw, lead: tēam, progeny: here-toga, army leader, general.
bindan, to bind: bend from *bandi-, band; drincan, to drink: drenc from *dranki-, drink: druncen, drunk; sweltan, to die: swylt from *swulti-, death; weorþan from *werþan, to become: wyrd from *wurdi-, fate.

beran, to bear: bær, bier: ge-byrd from *gi-burdi-, birth, byre from *buri-, son; cweþan, to die: cwalu, killing; stelan, to steal: stalu, theft: stulor, stealthy.

giefan, to give, giefa from *geba, giver, gift from *gefti-, price of wife: gafol, tribute; cweþan, to say: cwide, prim. Germanic *kwed-, speech; sprekan, to speak: spræc, speech.
calan, to be cold: cōl, cool; faran, to go, travel, fierd from *fardi-, army: för, journey, gefēra, prim. Germanic *-fōrjō, companion; stede from *stadi, place: stōd, herd of horses. See § 562.

Examples of ablaut relation in other than stem-syllables are:—


§ 226. In this paragraph will be given the prim. Germanic and Gothic equivalents of the above six ablaut-series, with one or two illustrations from OE. For further examples see the various classes of strong verbs, §§ 490–510.

I.

Prim. Germ.  i  ai  i  i
Gothic  ei  ái  i  i
OE.  bitan, to bite  bāt  biton  biten
liþan, to go  láþ  lidon  liden

Note.—Cp. the parallel Greek series πείθω: πέπολθα; ἐπιθον.
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II.

Prim. Germ.  eu  au  u  o
Gothic  iu  áu  u  u
OE.  bēodan, to offer  bēad  budon  boden
cēosan, to choose  cēas  curon  coren

Note.—Cp. the parallel Greek series ἐλεύθεροι (fut.):
eἰληλυθα : ἡλυθον.

III.

Prim. Germ.  e, i  a  u  u, o
Gothic  i  a  u  u
OE.  helpan, to help  healp  hulpon  holpen
weorþan, to wearþ  wurdon  worden
become
bindan, to bind  band  bundon  bunden

Note.—1. To this series belong all strong verbs having
a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which
the vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or
liquid + consonant.

2. On the forms healp, wearþ see §§ 64, 66, and on weorþan
see § 85.

3. Cp. the parallel Greek series δέρκομαι: δέδορκα: ἐδρακον;
πέμπω: πέπομφα.

IV.

Prim. Germ.  e  a  ā  o
Gothic  i  a  ē  u
OE.  beran, to bear  bær  bærón  boren
stelan, to steal  stæl  stælon  stolen

Note.—1. To this series belong all strong verbs whose stems
end in a single liquid or nasal.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series μένω: μονή: μί-μνω; δέρω:
dorά: δε-δαρ-μένος.

V.

Prim. Germ.  e  a  ā  e
Gothic  i  a  ē  i
OE.  metan, to measure  mæt  mæton  meten
cweþan, to say  cwæþ  cwæðon  cweden
Note.—1. To this series belong all strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or a nasal.


VI.

Prim. Germ.  a  ō  ō  a
Gothic  a  ō  ō  a
OE.  faran, to go  für  föron  færen, faren

§ 227. Class VII of strong verbs embracing the old reduplicated verbs (§§ 511-19) has been omitted from the ablaut-series, because the exact relation in which the vowel of the present stands to that of the preterite has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The old phases of ablaut have been preserved in the present and preterite of a few Gothic verbs, as lētan, to let, laīlōt, laīlōtum, lētans; saian, to sow, saǐ-sō, saǐ-sō-um, saians.

§ 228. The ablaut-series as given in § 226 have for practical reasons been limited to the phases of ablaut as they appear in the various classes of strong verbs. From an Indo-Germanic point of view, the series I–V belong to one and the same series, generally called the e-series, which underwent in primitive Germanic various modifications upon clearly defined lines. What is called the sixth ablaut-series in the Germanic languages is really a mixture of several original series, owing to several Indg. vowel-sounds having fallen together in prim. Germanic; thus the a, which occurs in the present and past participle, corresponds to three Indg. vowels, viz. a (§ 17), o (§ 20), and ə (§ 22); and the ō in the preterite corresponds to Indg. ā (§ 23), and Indg. ō (§ 26); see also § 224, Note 5. For the phases of ablaut which do not occur in the various parts of strong verbs, and for traces of ablaut-series other than those given above, the student should consult Brugmann’s Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, pp. 138–50.
CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST SOUND-SHIFTING, VERNER'S LAW, AND OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC LANGUAGE

§ 229. The first sound-shifting, popularly called Grimm's Law, refers to the changes which the Indo-Germanic explosives underwent in the period of the Germanic primitive community, i.e. before the Germanic parent language became differentiated into the separate Germanic languages:—Gothic, O. Norse, O. English, O. Frisian, O. Saxon (= O. Low German), O. Low Franconian (O. Dutch), and O. High German.

The Indo-Germanic parent language had the following system of consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tenues</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediae</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenues aspiratae</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediae aspiratae</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spirants

- voiceless: s
- voiced: z, j

Nasals: m, n, ñ, ñ

Liquids: l, r

Semivowels: w (u), j (i)

Note.—1. Explosives are consonants which are formed with complete closure of the mouth passage, and may be pronounced with or without voice, i.e. with or without the vocal cords being set in action; in the former case they are said to be voiced (e.g. the mediae), and in the latter voiceless (e.g. the tenues). The aspirates are pronounced like the simple tenues and mediae followed by an h, like the Anglo-Irish pronunciation of t in tell.
The palatal explosives are formed by the front or middle of the tongue and the roof of the mouth (hard palate), like g, k (c) in English get, good, kid, could; whereas the velars are formed by the root of the tongue and the soft palate (velum). The latter do not occur in English, but are common in Hebrew, and are often heard in the Swiss pronunciation of German. In the parent Indo-Germanic language there were two kinds of velars, viz. pure velars and velars with lip rounding. In philological works the former are often written q, q, qh, gh, and the latter q\(^w\), q\(^w\)h, q\(^w\)h in order to distinguish the two series of velars. The pure velars fell together with the Indg. palatals in Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Keltic, but were kept apart in the Aryan and Baltic-Slavonic languages. The velars with lip rounding appear in the Germanic languages partly with and partly without labialization, see § 237. The palatal and velar nasals only occurred before their corresponding explosives, Żk, Żg; Żq, Żgh, &c.

2. Spirants are consonants formed by the mouth passage being narrowed at one spot in such a manner that the outgoing breath gives rise to a frictional sound at the narrowed part.

z only occurred before voiced explosives, e.g. *nizdos = Lat. nīdus, English nest; *ozdos = Gr. ὄγος, Germ. ast, twig, bough.

From the above system of consonants have been excluded certain rare sounds which only existed in the parent language in combination with other sounds, viz. sh and zh, ŕ and ŕh and dh. The spirants sh, zh only occurred in combination with tenues and mediae and arose in prim. Indo-Germanic from the combinations tenues aspiratae and mediae aspiratae + s, as tsh, psh, ksh, qsh; dzh, bzh, gzh, gzh from older ths, phs, khs, qhs; dhs, bhs, ghs, qhs. These combinations had in Greek, Latin and prim. Germanic the same development as the original tenues + s, see § 240. ŕ and ŕh only occurred after palatals and velars which were originally unaspirated, as kş, qş, gd, qd. ŕh and dh only occurred after palatals and velars which were originally aspirated, as kşh, qşh, gdh, qdh from older kşř, qşř, gđh, qđh. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to determine how the four spirants ŕ and ŕh, ŕh and dh were pronounced in the parent language. In Sanskrit, Latin, Germanic
and Baltic-Slavonic they became s-sounds, and in Greek t-sounds.

3. The semivowels, nasals and liquids had the functions both of vowels and consonants. When a vowel disappeared through loss of accent in the combinations vowel + semivowel, liquid or nasal, the semivowel, liquid or nasal became vocalic or remained consonantal according as it was followed by a consonant or a vowel in the next syllable. Cp. also § 16, Note r.

4. The essential difference between the so-called semivowels and full vowels is that the latter always bear the stress (accent) of the syllable in which they occur, e. g. in English cow, stain the first element of the diphthong is a vowel, the second a consonant; but in words like French rwá (written roi), bjêr (written bière), the first element of the diphthong is a consonant, the second a vowel. In consequence of this twofold function, a diphthong may be defined as the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. And it is called a falling or rising diphthong according as the stress is upon the first or second element. In this book the second element of diphthongs is written i, u when the first element is the bearer of the stress, thus ai, au, &c., but when the second element has the stress, the first element is written j, w, thus já, wá, &c.

5. In the writing down of prim. Germanic forms the signs p (= th in Engl. thin), d (= th in Engl. then), b (= a bilabial spirant, which may be pronounced like the v in Engl. vine), g (= g often heard in German sagen), x (= NHG. ch and the ch in Scotch loch).

§ 230. In the following tables of the normal equivalents of the Indg. explosives in Latin, Greek, and the Germanic languages, Table I contains the Indg. tenues p, t, k, the mediae b, d, g and the pure velars q, q. Table II contains the Indg. mediae aspiratae and the velars q, g with labialization. The equivalents in the Germanic languages do not contain the changes caused by Verner’s Law, &c. The East Franconian dialect is taken as the normal for OHG.

The following points should be noticed:—
(1) The Indg. tenues $p, t, k$ and the mediae $b, d, g$ generally remained unchanged in Latin and Greek.

(2) The pure velars ($q, g$) fell together with the palatals $k, g$ in Latin and Greek. They became $\chi, k$ in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with the $\chi, k$ from Indg. $k, g$.

(3) The pure velar $gh$ fell together with the original palatal $gh$ in Latin and Greek.

(4) The Indg. mediae aspiratae became in prehistoric Latin and Greek tenues aspiratae, and thus fell together with the original tenues aspiratae.

(5) The Indg. tenues aspiratae became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with the voiceless spirants from the Indg. tenues. See §233.

(6) In Latin Indg. $q$ with labialization became $qu$, rarely $c$. $g$ with labialization became $v$ (but $gu$ after $n$, and $g$ when the labialized element had been lost, as $\text{gravis} = \text{Gr. } \beta\alphaρ\upsilon\varsigma$, heavy).

Indg. $ph, bh$ became $f$ initially and $b$ medially.

Indg. $th, dh$ became $f$ initially, $b$ medially before and after $r$, before $l$ and after $u (w)$, in other cases $d$.

Indg. $kh, gh$ became $h$ initially before and medially between vowels; $g$ before and after consonants, and $f$ before $u (w)$.

Indg. $qh, gh$ with labialization became $f$ initially, $v$ medially except that after $n$ they became $gu$.

(7) In Greek Indg. $q, g$ with labialization became $\pi, \beta$ before non-palatal vowels (except $u$) and before consonants (except Indg. $j$); $\tau, \delta$ before palatal vowels; and $\kappa, \gamma$ before and after $u$.

Indg. $ph, bh$ became $\phi$; $th, dh$ became $\theta$; and $kh, gh$ became $\chi$.

Indg. $qh, gh$ with labialization became $\phi$ before non-palatal vowels (except $u$) and before consonants (except Indg. $j$); $\theta$ before palatal vowels; and $\chi$ before and after $u$. 
(8) When two consecutive syllables would begin with aspirates, the first was de-aspirated in prehistoric times in Sanskrit and Greek, as Skr. bändhanam, a binding, Goth. OE. bindan, OHG. bintan, to bind, root *bhendh-. Skr. bódhati, he learns, is awake, Gr. πεῦθεται, he asks, inquires, Goth. anabídan, OE. bêoden, to bid, OHG. biotan, to offer, root *bheudh-; Gr. κανθόλη, a swelling, OE. gund, OHG. gunt, matter, pus; Gr. θρίξ, hair, gen. τρίχως; ἔχω, I have, fut. ἔχω.

(9) In OHG. the prim. Germanic explosives p, t became the affricatae pf, tz (generally written zz, z), initially, as also medially after consonants, and when doubled. But prim. Germanic p, t, k became the double spirants ff, zz, hh (also written ch) medially between vowels and finally after vowels. The double spirants were simplified to f, z, h when they became final or came to stand before other consonants, and also generally medially when preceded by a long vowel or diphthong.

**TABLE I.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indg.</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>P. Germanic</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
<th>OE.</th>
<th>OHG.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>π</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>τ</td>
<td>ϊ</td>
<td>ϊ</td>
<td>ϊ</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k, q</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>κ</td>
<td>h, χ</td>
<td>h, χ</td>
<td>h, χ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pf, ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>z, zz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k, hh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indg.</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>P. Germanic</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
<th>OE.</th>
<th>OHG.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qu, c</td>
<td>π, τ, κ</td>
<td>χw, χ</td>
<td>hu, h</td>
<td>hw, h</td>
<td>(h)w, h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>v, gu, g</td>
<td>β, δ, γ</td>
<td>kw, k</td>
<td>q, k</td>
<td>cw, c</td>
<td>qu; k, hh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bh</td>
<td>f, b</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>b, b</td>
<td>b, b</td>
<td>b, b, (f)</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>f, b, d</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>d, d</td>
<td>d, d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>h, g, f</td>
<td>χ</td>
<td>g, ʒ</td>
<td>g, ʒ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>f, v, gu</td>
<td>φ, θ, χ</td>
<td>gw, gw</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>g, w</td>
<td>g, w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 231. The Indg. tenues p, t, k, q became in prim. Germanic the voiceless spirants f, p, χ, χ (χw).

p > f. Lat. pēs, Gr. πούς, OE. OS. föt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, foot; Lat. piscis, OE. fisc, Goth. fīsk, O.Icel. fskr, OS. OHG. fisk, fish; Gr. πλωτός, floating, swimming, OE. OS. flōd, Goth. flōdus, O.Icel. flōð, OHG. fluot, flood, tide; Lat. pecu, OE. feoh, Goth. faīhu, O.Icel. fē, OS. fehu, OHG. fihu, cattle; Lat. nepos, OE. nefa, O.Icel. nefa, OHG. nefo, nephew.

t > ţ. Lat. tū, Gr. Doric τῦ, OE. O.Icel. OS. þū, Goth. þu, OHG. dü, thou; Lat. trēs, Gr. τρεῖς, OE. ŕri, OS. thria, O.Icel. þrír, OHG. drí, three; Lat. tenuis, OE. þynne, O.Icel. þannr, OHG. dùni, thin; O.Lat. tongère, to know, OE. þencan, Goth. þagkjan, OS. þenkian, OHG. denchen, to think; Lat. fräter, OE. brōpor, Goth. brōþar, O.Icel. brōðar, OS. brōðar, OHG. bruoder,
brother; Lat. vertō, I turn, OE. wearpan, Goth. wairpan, O.Icel. verða, OS. werðan, OHG. werdan, to become.

k > χ. Lat. canis, Gr. κύων, OE. OS. hund, Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, hound, dog; Lat. cor (gen. cordis), Gr. καρδιά, OE. hearte, Goth. haitō, O.Icel. hjart, OS. hert, OHG. herz, heart; Lat. centum, Gr. ε-κατός, OE. Goth. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, hundred; Lat. pecu, OE. feoh, Goth. faihu, O.Icel. fē, OS. fehu, OHG. fihu, cattle; Lat. decem, Gr. δέκα, OE. tien from *teohani-, older *teχuni- (cp. §§ 87, 447), Goth. tāihun, OS. tehan, OHG. zehan, ten; Lat. ducō, I lead, OE. tēon from *teōhan, older *teuxan (§ 137), Goth. tihuhan, OS. tiohan, OHG. ziohan, to draw, lead.

q > χ (χw). Lat. capiō, I take, seize, OE. hebban, Goth. hafjan, O.Icel. hefja, OS. hebbian, OHG. heffen, to raise; Lat. canō, I sing, OE. hana, hona, Goth. hana, O.Icel. hane, OS. OHG. hano, cock, lit. singer; Lat. vincō (perf. vici), I conquer, Goth. weihan, OHG. whan, to fight.

Lat. quis, Gr. ρίς, OE. hwā, Goth. lvus, OS. hwē, OHG. hwer, who?; Lat. linquo, Gr. λείπω, I leave, OE. lion, lēon from *liōhan, older *liχwan (see §§ 127, 248), OS. OHG. lihan, to lend.

Note.—1. The Indg. tenues remained unshifted in the combination s + tenuis.

sp. Lat. spuere, OE. OS. OHG. spiwan, Goth. speiwan, to vomit, spit; Lat. con-spiciō, I look at, OHG. spehōn, to spy.

st. Gr. στήκω, I go, Lat. vestigium, footstep, OE. OS. OHG. stīgan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stīga, to ascend; Lat. hostis, stranger, enemy, OE. giest, Goth. gasts, O.Icel. gestr, OS. OHG. gast, guest.

sk. Gr. σκάδα, shadow, OE. OS. OHG. scīn, Goth. skeinan, O.Icel. skīna, to shine; Lat. piscis, OE. fisc, Goth. fisks, O.Icel. fiskr, OS. OHG. fisk, fish.

sq. Gr. θυο-σκόος, sacrificing priest, OE. sceawian, Goth. *skaggwōn, OS. scauwōn, OHG. scouwōn, to look, view.
2. The t also remained unshifted in the Indg. combinations pt, kt, qt.

pt > ft. Lat. neptis, OE. OHG. nift, niece, granddaughter; Lat. captus, a taking, seizing, OE. hæft, OHG. halt, one seized or taken, a captive.

kt > xt. Lat. octō, Gr. ὀκτώ, OE. eahta, Goth. ahtau, OS. OHG. ahto, eight; Gr. ὄκτος, stretched out, Lat. rectus, OE. riht, Goth. rahts, OS. OHG. reht, right, straight.

qt > xt. Gen. sing. Lat. noctis, Gr. νυκτός, nom. OE. neaht, niht, Goth. nahts, OS. OHG. naht, night.

§ 232. The Indg. mediae b, d, g, q became the tenues p, t, k, k (kw).

b > p. Lithuanian dubūs, OE. dēop, Goth. diups, O.Icel. djūpr, OS. diop, OHG. tiof, deep; Lithuanian trobā, house, OE. þorp, OS. thorpe, OHG. dorf, village, Goth. þaúrp, field; O.Bulgarian slabū, slack, weak, OE. slēpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slēpan, OHG. slēfan, to sleep, originally, to be slack. b was a rare sound in the parent language.

d > t. Lat. decem, Gr. δέκα, OE. tien, Goth. taɪhun, O.Icel. tio, OS. tehan, OHG. zehen, ten; Lat. dens (gen. dentis), OE. tōp, Goth. tunþus, OS. tand, OHG. zand, tooth; Lat. vidēre, to see, OE. Goth. OS. witan, O.Icel. vita, OHG. wizzan, to know; Lat. edō, Gr. ἠδώ, I eat, OE. OS. etan, Goth. itan, O.Icel. eta, OHG. ezzan, to eat; gen. Lat. pedis, Gr. ποδός, nom. OE. OS. fōt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fōuz, foot.

g > k. Lat. genu, Gr. γόνυ, OE. cnēo, Goth. kniu, O.Icel. knē, OS. OHG. knio, knee; Lat. gustō, I taste, Gr. γεύω, I let taste, OE. cēsan, Goth. kiusan, O.Icel. kjōsa, OS. OHG. kiosan, to test, choose; Lat. ager, Gr. ἀγρός, OE. æcer, Goth. akrs, O.Icel. akr, field, acre; Lat. ego, Gr. ἐγώ, OE. ic, Goth. OS. ik, O.Icel. ek, OHG. ih, I.

q > k (kw). Lat. gelu, frost, OE. ceald, Goth. kalds, O.Icel. kaldr, OS. kald, OHG. kalt, cold; Lat. augēre, Goth. áukan, O.Icel. auka, OS. ǫkian, OHG. ouhhôn,
to add, increase, OE. participial adj. éacen, great; Lat. jugum, Gr. ἄγγον, OE. geoc, Goth. juk, OHG. joh, yoke.

Gr. Bœotian bavá, OE. cwene, Goth. qinō, OS. quena, woman, wife; Gr. βίος from *qιwos, life, Lat. vivos from *gwīwos, OE. cwicu, Goth. qius, O.Icel. kvíkr, OS. quik, OHG. quic, quick, alive; Lat. veniō from *gwemjō, I come, Gr. βαίνω from *βαυνώ, older *βαµιώ = Indg. *gmjō, I go, OE. OS. cuman, Goth. qiman, O.Icel. koma, OHG. queman, to come.

§ 233. The Indg. tenues aspiratae became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with and underwent all further changes in common with the voiceless spirants which arose from the Indg. tenues (§ 231), the latter having also passed through the intermediate stage of tenues aspiratae before they became spirants. The tenues aspiratae were, however, of so rare occurrence in the prim. Indg. language that two or three examples must suffice for the purposes of this book; for further examples and details, the learner should consult Brugmann’s Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, vol. I:—Skr. root sphal-, run violently against, OE. feallan, O.Icel. falla, OS. OHG. fallan, to fall; Gr. ἁ-σκηθῆς, unhurt, OE. sceþπan, Goth. skaþjan, OHG. skáðon, to injure; Gr. σχίζω, I split, OE. scádan, Goth. skáidan, OHG. scheidan, to divide, separate; Gr. φάλλη, OE. hwæl, O.Icel. hvæl, OHG. (h)wal, whale.

§ 234. The Indg. mediae aspiratae probably became first of all the voiced spirants b, d, g, g(w). These sounds underwent the following changes during the prim. Germanic period:—b, d initially, and b, d, g medially after their corresponding nasals, became the voiced explosives b, d, g, as

b. OE. OS. OHG. beran, Goth. baíran, O.Icel. bera, to bear, Skr. bhárāmi, Gr. φέρω, Lat. ferō, I bear; OE. OS. bitan, Goth. beitan, O.Icel. bíta, OHG. bizzan, to bite, Skr. bhédāmi, Lat. findō, I cleave; OE. bróþor, Goth.
§ 235. \( b, \ d, \ g \) remained in other positions, and their further development belongs to the history of the separate Germanic languages. In Goth. \( b, \ d \) (written \( b, \ d \)) remained medially after vowels, but became explosives (\( b, \ d \)) after consonants. They became \( f, \ p \) finally after vowels and before final -\( s \). \( g \) remained medially between vowels, and medially after vowels before voiced consonants, but became \( \chi \) (written \( g \)) finally after vowels and before final -\( s \). It became \( g \) initially, and also medially after voiced consonants. In O.Icel. \( b \) (written \( f \)) remained medially between and finally after voiced sounds, but became \( f \) before voiceless sounds. \( \delta \) (written \( \delta \)) generally remained medially and finally. \( g \) remained medially after vowels and liquids, but became \( \chi \) and then disappeared finally. It became \( g \) initially. \( \delta \) became \( d \) in all the West Germanic languages and then \( d \) became \( t \) in OHG. In OS. \( b \) (written

\( \text{OE. GR.} \)
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b, b) generally remained between voiced sounds. It became f medially before l and n, and before voiceless consonants, and also finally. ʒ (written g) remained initially and medially, but became ɣ finally, although it was generally written g. In OHG. b, ʒ became b, ɣ. On the history of b, ʒ in OE. see §§ 293–4, 313–24. Geminated bb, dd, ɡɡ, of whatever origin, became bb, dd, gg in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages. Examples are:—Goth. *nibls, OS. nebal, OHG. nebul, Lat. nebula, Gr. νεφέλη, mist, cloud, cp. Skr. nábhás, Gr. νέφος, cloud; OE. lēof, Goth. liufs, O.Icel. ljúfr, OS. liof, OHG. liob, dear, original form *leubhos, cp. Skr. lúbhyaṃi, I feel a strong desire, Lat. lubet (libet), it pleases; OE. OS. üder, OHG. üter, Skr. údhar, Gr. οὐθαρ, udder; OE. rēad, Goth. rāups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rōd, OHG. röt, prim. form *roudhos, cp. Skr. rudhirás, Gr. ῥούθρος, prim. form *rudhros, red; OE. Goth. guma, O.Icel. gume, OS. gumo, OHG. gomo, Lat. homō, prim. Germanic stem-form *guman-, -in-, man; OE. gōs, O.Icel. gās, OHG. gans, Gr. χήν, goose; OE. OS. OHG. wegan, Goth. ga-wigan, O.Icel. vega, to move, carry, Lat. vehō, prim. form *weghō, I carry; OE. giest, Goth. gasts, O.Icel. gestr, OS. OHG. gast, guest, Lat. hostis, stranger, enemy, prim. form *ghostis; OE. OS. OHG. stīgan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stīga, to ascend, Gr. στείγω, prim. form *steighō, I go, cp. Lat. vestīgium, footstep.

§ 236. Various theories have been propounded as to the chronological order in which the Indg. tenues, tenues aspiratae, mediae, and mediae aspiratae, were changed by the first sound-shifting in prim. Germanic. But not one of these theories is satisfactory. Only so much is certain that at the time when the Indg. mediae became tenues, the Indg. tenues must have been on the way to becoming voiceless spirants, otherwise the two sets of sounds would have fallen together.
§ 237. We have already seen (§ 230) that the parent Indg. language contained two series of velars: (1) pure velars which never had labialization. These velars fell together with the palatals in the Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Keltic languages, but were kept apart in the Aryan and Baltic-Slavonic languages. (2) Velars with labialization. These velars appear in the Germanic languages partly with and partly without labialization; in the latter case they fell together with prim. Germanic ɣ, k, ʒ which arose from Indg. k, g, gh. The most commonly accepted theory is that the Indg. labialized velars ɣ, g, gh regularly became ɣ, k, ʒ in prim. Germanic before Indg. ā, ō, ō (= Germanic a, § 20), and ɣw, kw, ʒw before Indg. ē, ī, ō, a, ā (= Germanic ō, § 23); and that then the law became greatly obscured during the prim. Germanic period through form-transference and levelling out in various directions, as Goth. qam, OHG. quam, prim. form *goma, I came, for Goth. OHG. *kam after the analogy of Goth. qima, OHG. quimu, original form *gめ, I come; Goth. lvas, who?, Indg. *qos, for *has after the analogy of the gen. luis = Indg. *qeso, &c.

Note.—In several words the Indg. velars, when preceded or followed by a w or another labial in the same word, appear in the Germanic languages as labials by assimilation. The most important examples are:—OE. OS. wulf, Goth. wulfs, OHG. wolf = Gr. λύκος, for *φλύκος, prim. form *wλκος, cp. Skr. वर्कन, wolf; OE. feower (but fyper-fête, four-footed), Goth. fidwör, OS. OHG. fior, prim. form *qετῶρες, cp. Lithuanian keturi, Lat. quattuor, Gr. τέσσαρες, Skr. catvāras, four; OE. OS. fīf, Goth. fimf, OHG. fimf, finf, prim. form *pενqε, cp. Skr. pānca, Gr. πέντε, Lat. quīnque (for *pινqε), five; OE. weorpan, Goth. waírpan, O.Icel. verpa, OS. werpan, OHG. werfan, to throw, cp. O. Bulgarian vригά, I throw; OE. swāpan, OHG. sweifan, to swing, cp. Lithuanian swaikstū, I become dizzy.
Verner’s Law.

§ 238. After the completion of the first sound-shifting, and while the principal accent was not yet confined to the root-syllable (see § 9), a uniform interchange took place between the voiceless and voiced spirants, which may be thus stated:—

The medial or final spirants f, ð, χ, χw, s regularly became b, d, g, gw, z when the vowel next preceding them did not, according to the original Indg. system of accentuation, bear the principal accent of the word.

The b, d, g, gw which thus arose from Indg. p, t, k, q underwent in the Germanic languages all further changes in common with the b, d, g, gw from Indg. bh, dh, gh, gh.

Verner’s law manifests itself most clearly in the various parts of strong verbs, where the infinitive, present participle, present tense, and preterite (properly perfect) singular had the principal accent on the root-syllable, but the indicative pret. plural, the pret. subjunctive (properly optative), and past participle had the principal accent on the ending, as prim. Germanic *wérþō > OE. weorþe, I become = Skr. vártā·mi, I turn; pret. indic. 3. sing. *wárþi > OE. wearþ, he became = Skr. va-várta, has turned; pret. 1. pers. pl. *wurðumí > OE. *wurđum (wurdon is the 3. pers. pl. used for all persons) = Skr. va-vṛtimá, we have turned; past participle *wurđaná· > OE. worden = Skr. va-vṛtāná·; OS. birid, OHG. birit = Skr. bhárati, he bears; Goth. 2. sing. indic. passive baírása = Skr. bhárasē; Goth. baírand, OHG. berant = Skr. bháranti, they bear; present participle OE. berende, Goth. baírands, O.Icel. berande, OS. berandi, OHG. beranti, Gr. gen. φέροντος. Or to take examples from noun-forms, &c., we have e.g. Skr. pitár-, Gr. πατέρ = prim. Germanic *faðér-, OE. fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðar, OS. fader, OHG.
§ 239. From what has been said above it follows that the interchanging pairs of consonants due to Verner’s law were in prim. Germanic: f—b, p—d, s—z, χ—ʁ, χw—ʒw. They underwent various changes partly in prim. Germanic, partly in West Germanic, and partly in Old English. Already in prim. Germanic ʒw became ʒ before u, but w in other cases (§ 241); and ŋg became ŋg. In West Germanic ð became d (§ 253); z became r medially and was dropped finally (§ 252); χw became χ (§ 246). In OE. the two sounds f—b fell together in b (written f) medially, and in f finally, see §§ 293–4, 296; χ disappeared between vowels (§ 329, 4), when preserved it was written h; and p, s became voiced between vowels, although the p, s were

father, father; Gr. πλωτός, floating, swimming, OE. OS. flōd, Goth. flōdus, O.Icel. flōð, OHG. flot, flood, tide; Skr. ćatām, Gr. ἐ-κατόν, Lat. centum = prim. Germanic *χundōm, older *χumđom, OE. Goth. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, hundred; Indg. *swēkrōs, Goth. swaíhra, OHG. swehur, OE. swēor (§ 329), father-in-law, beside Gr. ἐκυψά, OE. sweger, OHG. swigar, mother-in-law; Gr. δέκα, Goth. taíhun, OS. tehan, OHG. zehan, ten, beside Gr. δεκάς, OE. OS. -tig, OHG. -zug, Goth. pl. tigjus, decade; Skr. saptā, Gr. ἐπτά, OE. seofon, Goth. sibun, OS. sibun, OHG. sibun, seven; Gr. ννός from *σννός, OE. snoru, OHG. snura, daughter-in-law; OHG. haso beside OE. hara, hare; Goth. āusō beside OE. ēare, car.

The combinations sp, st, sk, ss, ft, fs, hs, and ht were not subject to this law.

Note.—The prim. Germanic system of accentuation was like that of Sanskrit, Greek, &c., i.e. the principal accent could fall on any syllable; it was not until a later period of the prim. Germanic language that the principal accent was confined to the root-syllable. See § 9.
preserved in writing. So that for OE. we have the following interchanging pairs of consonants:—

\[ p \rightarrow d \quad s \rightarrow r \]

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. \( \chi \))—g (§ 320)

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. \( \chi w \))—g, w (= prim. Germ. \( gw \))

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. \( \eta \chi \), § 245)—ng.

\[ p \rightarrow d. \] cwe\( \ddot{p} \)an, to say, li\( \ddot{p} \)an, to go, sni\( \ddot{p} \)an, to cut; pret. sing. cw\( \ddot{a} \)p, l\( \ddot{a} \)p, sn\( \ddot{a} \)p; pret. pl. cw\( \ddot{a} \)don, lidon, snidon; pp. cw\( \ddot{a} \)den, lidon, snidon; cwide, saying, proverb; snide, incision; d\( \ddot{a} \)ap, death, beside d\( \ddot{a} \)ad, dead.

s—r. c\( \ddot{e} \)osan, to choose, dr\( \ddot{e} \)osan, to fall, forl\( \ddot{e} \)osan, to lose; pret. sing. c\( \ddot{e} \)as, dr\( \ddot{e} \)as, forl\( \ddot{e} \)as; pret. pl. curon, druron, forluron; pp. coren, droren, forloren; cyre, choice; dryre, fall; lyre, loss.

h—g. f\( \ddot{e} \)on (OHG. fliohan), to flee, sl\( \ddot{e} \)an (Goth. sla-han), to strike, slay, t\( \ddot{e} \)on (Goth. tiuhan), to draw, lead; pret. sing. f\( \ddot{e} \)ah, sl\( \ddot{h} \)h, t\( \ddot{e} \)ah; pret. pl. flugon, sl\( \ddot{g} \)gon, tugon; pp. flogen, slægen, togen; slaga, homicide; slege, stroke, blow; here-toga, leader of an army, duke.

h—g, w. s\( \ddot{e} \)on (Goth. sai\( \ddot{v} \)an), to see; pret. sing. seah; pret. pl. WS. s\( \ddot{a} \)won, Anglian s\( \ddot{e} \)gon; pp. WS. sewen, Anglian segen; s\( \ddot{o} \)n, s\( \ddot{e} \)on (Goth. *sei\( \ddot{v} \)an, OHG. sihan), to strain; pret. sing. s\( \ddot{a} \)h; pp. siwen, sigen; horh, dirt, gen. horwes. See Note 1 below.

h—ng. f\( \ddot{o} \)n (Goth. f\( \ddot{a} \)han, prim. Germ. *fa\( \ddot{n} \)\( \ddot{x} \)anan, § 245), to seize, h\( \ddot{o} \)n (Goth. h\( \ddot{a} \)han, prim. Germ. *\( \ddot{x} \)a\( \ddot{n} \)\( \ddot{x} \)anan), to hang; pret. pl. f\( \ddot{a} \)gon, h\( \ddot{e} \)gon; pp. fangen, hangen; feng, grasp, booty; hangian, to hang; p\( \ddot{o} \)n, p\( \ddot{e} \)on (Goth. þeih\( \ddot{a} \)han, prim. Germ. þi\( \ddot{x} \)anan), to thrive; pret. pl. þungen; pp. þugen; the usual pret. pl. þigon, pp. þigen, were new formations, see § 492.

Note.—1. The results of the operation of Verner's law were often disturbed in OE. through the influence of analogy and
levelling, e.g. the p, s of the present and pret. singular were extended to the pret. plural and pp. in ābēōpan, to fail; mēpan, to avoid; wripan, to twist; ārisan, to arise; genesan, to recover; lesan, to collect; pret. pl. ābrūpon, mēpon, wripon, ārison, genēson, lēson; pp. ābrojen, mējen, wrijen, ārisen, genesen, lesen. The g of the pret. plural was levelled out into the singular in flōg, he flayed; hōg, he laughed; lōg, he blamed; slōg, he slew; pwōg, he washed, see §§ 509-10. The nd of the pret. plural and pp. was extended to the present and pret. singular in findan, pret. sing. fand. The regular forms of this verb would be *fīpan (= Goth. fīpan, OS. fīpan), to find; pret. sing. *fōp (see § 61), pret. pl. fundon, pp. funden. The WS. pret. pl. sāwon, they saw, had its w from the pp. sewen, and conversely the Anglian, pp. segen, seen, had its g from the pret. plural sēgon, see § 241.

2. Causative verbs (cp. § 521) had originally suffix accentuation, and therefore also exhibit the change of consonants given above, as weorpan, to become: ā-wierdan, to destroy, injure, cp. Skr. vārtāmi, I turn: vartāyāmi, I cause to turn; līpan, to go: lādan, to lead; ā-risan, to arise: rāran, to raise; genesan, to recover: nerian, to save.

Other Consonant Changes.

§ 240. Most of the sound-changes comprised under this paragraph might have been disposed of in the paragraphs dealing with the shifting of the Indg. mediae and mediae aspiratae, but to prevent any possible misunderstanding or confusion, it was thought advisable to reserve them for a special paragraph.

The Indg. mediae and mediae aspiratae became tenues before a suffixal t or s already in the pre-Germanic period:—
Examples are: Lat. nuptum, nūpsi, beside nūbere, *to marry*; Skr. loc. pl. patsú, beside loc. sing. pādi, *on foot*; Lat. rēxī, rēctum, beside regere, *to rule*; Lat. vēxi, vectum, beside vehere, *to carry*, root *wegh-*; Lat. lectus, Gr. λέχος, bed, OE. licgan, Goth. ligan, *to lie down*; Skr. yuktā-, Gr. ζευκτός, Lat. jūctus, *yoked*, root *jeug-*, cp. Skr. yugám, Gr. ζυγόν, Lat. jugum, OE. geoc, Goth. juk, yoke; &c.

Then pt, kt, qt; ps, ks, qs (see § 229, Note 2) were shifted to ft, χt; fs, χs at the same time as the original Indg. tenues became voiceless spirants (§ 231). And tt (through the intermediate stage of t*t), ts became ss. ss then became simplified to s after long syllables and before r, and then between the s and r there was developed a t.

This explains the frequent interchange between p, b (b), and f; between k, g (g), and h (i.e. χ); and between t, p, d (d), and ss, s in forms which are etymologically related.


k, g (g)—h. OE. wyrcan, Goth. wārkjan, OHG. wurken, *to work*, beside pret. and pp. OE. worhte, worht, Goth. wārhta, wārhnts, OHG. worhta, giworht; OE. ṭyncan, Goth. ḫugkjan, OHG. dunken, *to seem*, beside pret. and pp. OE. ḫühte, ḫüht, Goth. ḫuhta, *ḫuhts, OHG. dūhta, gidūht*; OE. magon, Goth. *magun, OHG. magun, they may, can*, beside pret. OE. meahta, Goth.
Other Consonant Changes

OHG. mahta, pp. Goth. mahts, cp. also OE. meaht, Goth. mahts, OHG. maht, might, power; OE. bycgan, Goth. bugjan, to buy, beside pret. and pp. OE. bohte, boht, Goth. baúhta, baúhts; OE. OHG. bringan, Goth. briggan, to bring, pret. and pp. OE. bröhte, bröht, OHG. brähta, gibräht, Goth. brähta, *brähts.

t, þ, d (d)—ss, s. OE. Goth. OS. witan, O.Icel. vita, to know, beside pret. OE. wisse, Goth. OS. OHG. wissa, O.Icel. vissa, participial adj. OE. gewiss, O.Icel. viss, OS. wis(s), OHG. giwis(s), sure, certain; OE. sittan, O.Icel. sitja, OS. sittian, besidOE. O.Icel. OS. sess, seat; OE. cweþan, Goth. qihan, to say, beside Goth. ga-qiss, consent; Goth. ana-biudan, to command, beside ana-busns, commandment, pre-Germanic *bhūtsni-, root *bheudh-.

ss became s after long syllables and before r, as OE. hātan, Goth. háitan, to call, beside OE. hās from *haisi-, command; OE. Goth. OS. witan, to know, beside OE. OS. OHG. wīs, wise, Goth. unweis, unknowing; OE. etan, Goth. itan, to eat, beside OE. ās, OHG. ās, carrion. OE. föstor, food, sustenance, cp. OE. fēdan, Goth. fōdjan, to feed; Goth. guþ-blōstreis, worshipper of God, OHG. blūoster, sacrifice, cp. Goth. blōtan, to worship.

Instead of ss (s) we often meet with st. In such cases the st is due to the analogy of forms where t was quite regular, e.g. regular forms were Goth. last, thou didst gather, inf. lisan; Goth. slōht, thou didst strike, inf. slahan; OE. meaht, OHG. maht, thou canst, inf. magan; then after the analogy of such forms were made OE. wāst for *wās, Goth. wāist for *wāis, OHG. weist for *weis, thou knowest; OE. mōst for *mōs, thou art allowed; regular forms were pret. sing. OE. worhte, Goth. waúrhta, OHG. wurhta, beside inf. OE. wyrcan, Goth. waurkjan, OHG. wurken, to work; then after the analogy of such forms were made OE. wiste beside wisse, OHG. wista beside
wissa, I knew; OE. mōste for *mōse (= OHG. muosa), I was allowed.

For purely practical purposes the above laws may be thus formulated:—every labial + t became ft; every guttural + t became ft; and every dental + t became ss, s (st).

§ 241. Prim. Germanic gw, which arose from Indg. gh (§ 237) and from Indg. q (§ 238) by Verner’s law, became g before u, in other cases it became w, as Goth. magus, boy, beside mawi from *ma(g)wi, girl; pret. pl. Anglian ségon from *sæg(w)un, they saw, beside pp. sewen from *se(g)wenós; OE. sien (sion, sēon, cp. § 138), Goth. siuns, from *se(g)wnís, a seeing, face; OE. snāw (with -w from the oblique cases), Goth. snáïws, from *snaí(g)waz, prim. form *snoíghos, snow; OE. OHG. sniwan for *snigan, formed from the third pers. sing. OE. sniweþ, OHG. sniwit, it snows. See § 239, Note 1, § 249.

§ 242. Assimilation: — -nw- > -nn-, as OE. Goth. OHG. rinnan from *rinwan, to run; OE. cinn, Goth. kinnus, OHG. kinni, from *genw-, Gr. γέων-, chin, cheek; Goth. minniza, OS. minnira, OHG. minniro, from *minwizō, less, cp. Lat. minuō, Gr. μινοῦω, I lessen; OE. þynne, O.Icel. þunnr, OHG. dunni, thin, cp. Skr. fem. tanvī, thin.

·md- > ·nd-, as OE. Goth. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, prim. form *kmtóm, hundred; OE. scamian, Goth. skaman, OHG. scamēn, to be ashamed, beside OE. scand, Goth. skanda, OHG. scanta, shame, disgrace.

·ln- > ·l-, as OE. full, Goth. fulls, Lithuanian pilnas, prim. form *plnós, full; OE. wulle, Goth. wulla, OHG. wolla, Lithuanian wilna, wool.

§ 243. Prim. Germanic bn, dn, gn (= Indg. pn-, tn-, kn-, qn- (by Verner’s law)), and bhn-, dhn-, ghn-, qhn-) became bb, dd, gg before the principal accent, then later bb, dd, gg; and in like manner Indg. bn-, dn-, gn-, qn- became bb, dd, gg. And these mediae were shifted to pp, tt, kk at the same time as the original Indg. mediae became tenues
§ 244-6] Other Consonant Changes

(§ 232). These geminated consonants were simplified to p, t, k after long syllables. Examples are: OE. hnæpp, OHG. napf, from *χnaδνς or *χnaβνς, basin, bowl; OE. hoppian, O.Icel. hoppa, MHG. hopfen, from *χοβνς, to hop; OE. OS. topp, O.Icel. toppr, from *tobνς or *tobnς, top, summit; OE. hęp, OS. höp, OHG. houp, from *χaubnς; OE. cnota, from *knoδνς, beside OHG. chnodo, chnoto, knot; OE. OS. hwit, Goth. hveits, from *χwίδνς, white; OE. bucc, O.Icel. bokkr, OHG. boc (gen. bokes), prim. form *bhugnós, buck; and similarly OE. bucca, he-goat; OE. liccian, OS. leccōn, OHG. lechōn, from *legνς, to lick; OE. l occ, O.Icel. lokkr, prim. form *lugnός, lock; OE. smocc, O.Icel. smokkr, from *smoγνς, smock; OE. lōcian, OS. lōkōn, from *lōγνς or *lōγνς, to look.

§ 244. Indg. z + media became s + tenuis, as Goth. asts, OHG. ast = Gr. δγς, from *ozdos, branch, twig; OE. OHG. nest, Lat. nidus, from *ni-zdos, nest, related to root *sed-, sit; OE. masc, OHG. masca, mesh, net, cp. Lithuanian mezgù, I tie in knots.

Indg. z + media aspirata became z + voiced spirant, as OE. meord, Goth. mizdō, pay, reward, cp. O. Bulgarian mizda, Gr. μιζνς, pay; OE. mearg, OHG. marg, O. Bulgarian mozgu, marrow, root *mezgh-; OE. hord, Goth. huzd, OHG. hort, hoard, treasure, root *kuzdh-.

§ 245. Guttural n (ŋ) disappeared before χ, as Goth. OS. OHG. fahan, OE. fōn, from *faŋxanan, to seize; Goth. OS. OHG. hāhan, OE. hōn, from *χanxanan, to hang; Goth. þeihan, OS. thīhan, OHG. dihan, OE. þion, þeon, from þiŋxanan, to thrive; pret. OE. þōhte, Goth. þāhta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, from *þaŋxtō-, I thought, beside inf. OE. þencan. See §§ 40-1.

§ 246. χ became an aspirate (written h) initially before vowels, as OE. Goth. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, from *χundan, prim. form *kmtόm, hundred; OE. OS. hund,
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Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, from *χυνδας, dog, hound. Some scholars assume that it also became an aspirate medially between vowels. Upon this assumption it would be difficult to account for the breaking in OE., as OE. sľēan, from *sleahan, older *slaχan-, Goth. slahan, to strike, slay; OE. swēor, from *sweohur, older *swεχur, OHG. swehur, father-in-law. See §§ 87, 329, 4.

Medial and final χw became χ in Old Norse and the West Germanic languages, as OS. OHG. sehan, OE. sēon, O.Icel. sjá, from *seχ(w)an-, beside Goth. saɪluan, to see; OS. OHG. lihan, OE. lión, lēon, O.Icel. ljá, from *liχ(w)an-, beside Goth. leɪluan, to lend; OS. OHG. aha, OE. ēa from *eahu, beside Goth. alva, water, river; OE. seah, OS. OHG. sah, beside Goth. salu, he saw; OE. nēah, OS. OHG. nāh, beside Goth. nēlu, near.

§ 247. The consonants, which arose from the Indg. final explosives (t, d), were dropped in prim. Germanic, except after a short accented vowel, as OE. OHG. bere, Goth. baɪræi, from an original form *bheroit, he may bear. See § 211.

§ 248. Original final -m became -n, and then it, as also Indg. final -n, disappeared in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words during the prim. Germanic period. For examples, see § 211.

§ 249. Postconsonantal w disappeared before u, as Goth. kauρus from *kwuruz, Gr. βαρύς, heavy; OE. æces, OHG. ackus, from *ak(w)usi-, beside Goth. aqizi, axe; OE. nacod, older *nak(w)usi-, beside Goth. naqaps, naked; OE. sund, a swimming, rom *swumda-, beside inf. swimman; OE. pp. sungen, beside inf. swingan, to swing. In verbal forms the w was mostly reintroduced in the pret. plural and pp. after the analogy of forms which regularly had w, e.g. pret. pl. swummon, swungon, swullon, pp. swummen, sungen (beside regular form sungen), swollen, beside inf. swimman, to
swim, swingan, to swing, swellan, to swell. For levelling out in the opposite direction, cp. OE. OS. OHG. singan, beside Goth. siggwan (regular form), to sing; OE. singan, OS. OHG. sinkan, beside Goth. sigqan, to sink. Cp. § 241.

§ 250. Initial and medial sr became str, as OE. strēam, O.Icel. straumr, OS. OHG. strōm, stream, cp. Skr. srāvati, it flows; pl. OE. ēastron, OHG. ōstarūn, Easter, cp. Skr. usrā, dawn; OE. sweostor, Goth. swistar, OHG. swester, sister, with t from the weak stem-form, as in the locative singular Goth. swistr = prim. Germanic *swesri, cp. Skr. dat. svāsrē.

§ 251. The remaining Indg. consonants suffered no further material changes which need be mentioned here. Summing up the results of §§ 231-50, we arrive at the following system of consonants for the close of the prim. Germanic period:—

| Inter- | Palatal and |
|—— |—— |
| Explosives | | |
| voiceless | p | t | k |
| voiced | b | d | g |
| Spirants | | | |
| voiceless | f | ħ | s | X |
| voiced | b | d | z | ù |
| Nasals | m | n | ñ |
| Liquids | l, r |
| Semivowels | w | j (palatal) |

To these must be added the aspirate h.
CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL WEST GERMANIC MODIFICATIONS OF THE GENERAL GERMANIC CONSONANT-SYSTEM

§ 252. Prim. Germanic z, which arose from s (§ 238), became r medially, and was dropped finally, as OE. māra, OHG. mēro = Goth. máiza, greater; pp. OE. coren, OHG. gikoran, beside inf. OE. cēosan, OHG. kiosan, to choose; OE. herian, Goth. hazjan, to praise; and similarly hieran, to hear, lāran, to teach; leornian from *liznōjan-, to learn; nerian, to save; OE. bet(e)ra, OS. betera, OHG. bezōro, Goth. batiza, better; OE. OS. hord, OHG. hort, Goth. huzd, hoard, treasure; OE. déor, OS. dior, OHG. tior, Goth. dius (gen. diuzis), prim. Germanic *deuzan, from an original form *dheusóm, deer, wild animal; OE. dæg, OS. dag, OHG. tag = Goth. dags, from *dagaz, day; OE. giest, OS. OHG. gast = Goth. gasts, from * gastiz, guest; OE. OS. OHG. sunu = Goth. sunus, from *sunuz, son; pl. OE. giefa, OS. geba, OHG. geba = Goth. gibōs, from *gebōz, gifts; OE. guman = Goth. gumans, from *gomaniz, cp. Gr. ποιμένες, shepherds; OE. men(n) = Goth. mans, from *maniz, men; adv. OE. OS. bet, O.Icel. betr, from * batiz, better; OE. OS. leng, O.Icel. lengr, from *langiz, longer. The following OE. pronouns are developed from original unstressed forms where -s became -z and then disappeared: gē, OS. ȝi, Goth. jus, ye; hwā, OS. hwē, Goth. īvaš, who?; dat. mē, OS. mī, Goth. mis, me; dat. þē, OS. thī, Goth. þus, thee; wē, OS. wī, Goth. weis, we.

§ 253. Prim. Germanic ð (§§ 235, 238) became d, which was shifted to t in OHG., as OE. bōdan, OS. biodan, OHG. biotan, beside O.Icel. bjōða, to offer; OE. faeder,
§ 254. All single consonants, except r, were doubled after a short vowel before a following j. This j was mostly retained in Old Saxon, but was generally dropped in OE. and OHG. bj, dj, g] became bb, dd, gg (generally written cg in OE.). Examples are: OE. hliahhan, OS. *hlahhian, OHG. hlahhen = Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; OE. lecgan, OS. leggian, OHG. leggen = Goth. lagjan, to lay; OE. settan, OS. settian, OHG. setzen = Goth. satjan, to set; OE. scieppan, OS. skeppian, OHG. skephen = Goth. skapjan, to create; and similarly OE. biddan, to pray; fremman, to perform; licgan, to lie down; scepjan, to injure; sellan, to sell, give; sittan, to sit; swebban, to huff to sleep; pennan, to stretch; pridda (Goth. pridja), third; hell (Goth. halja), hell; sibb (Goth. sibja), relationship; gen. cynnes (Goth. kunjis), of a race, generation; and similarly brycg, bridge; cribb, crib, stall; crycc, crutch; henn, hen. But OE. OS. nerian, OHG. nerien = Goth. nasjan, to save; OE. herian = Goth. hazjan, to praise. For examples of West Germanic ww from wj, see § 90.

Note.—1. The j in the combination ji had disappeared before the West Germanic doubling of consonants took place, e. g. in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. of the pres. indicative, as OE. legest, legep, OS. legis, legid, OHG. legis, legit = Goth. lagjis, lagjip, beside inf. OE. lecgan, OS. leggian, OHG. leggen, Goth. lagjan, to lay. See § 272, Note.

2. The sing. nom. and acc. of neuter nouns like bedd (Goth. nom. badi, gen. badjis), bed; cynn (Goth. kuni), race, generation; nett (Goth. nati), net, had their double consonants from the inflected forms, see § 274.
§ 255. p, t, k, and h (= χ) were also doubled in West Germanic before a following r or l. The doubling regularly took place in the inflected forms (as gen. OE. OS. OHG. bittres, OE. æpples, OS. apples, OHG. aphles), and was then generally extended to the uninfllected forms by levelling, as OE. bitter (biter), OS. OHG. bittar, cp. Goth. báitrs, bitter; OE. hl nétor (hlütor), OS. hluttar, OHG. hlütter, cp. Goth. hlúttrs, clear, pure; OHG. kupfar, beside OE. copor, Lat. cuprum, copper; OE. snottor (snotor), OS. OHG. snottar, cp. Goth. snutrs, wise; OE. wæccer (wæcer, wacor), OHG. wackar, watchful; OS. akkar, OHG. ackar, beside OE. æcer, cp. Goth. akrs, field; OE. æppel (æpl), OS. appul, OHG. aphul, cp. O.Icel. epli, apple; OS. lutttil, OHG. lutzil, beside OE. lýtel, little. In some words double forms arose through levelling out in different directions; thus regular forms were nom. sing. tēar (= OHG. zahar) from *teahur, older *taxur, tear, gen. *teahhres (Nth. teahhres), nom. pl. *teahhras (Nth. teahhras). From tēhher in Nth., whereas the other dialects generalized tēar, whence gen. sing. tēares, nom. pl. tēaras. In like manner arose ēar beside Nth. æhher, ear of corn; gēol beside geohhol, Yule, Christmas. See §§ 219, 260.

§ 256. Doubling of consonants by the assimilation of post-consonantal n to the preceding consonant also regularly took place in the weak declension of nouns, as sing. nom. *lapō, lappet, acc. *lapan(un), beside gen. pl. *lapnō(n) > *lappō(n), cp. § 401. This interchange between the single and double consonants gave rise to levelling in a twofold direction, so that one or other of the forms was extended to all cases; thus in OE. the forms with double consonants were generalized in words like ēarwigga, earwig; ebba, ebb; frogga, frog; lappa (læppa), lappet; scucca, demon; stagga, stag; sugga, water wagtail; and the forms with
single consonant in words like boga, bow; cnafa beside OHG. knabo, knappo, boy, youth; draca (Lat. draco) beside OHG. trahho, traccho, dragon; dropa beside OHG. trofio, tropfo, drop; nama, name; nefa, nephew; wita, wise man.

CHAPTER X

THE OE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENERAL GERMANIC CONSONANT-SYSTEM

§ 257. Before entering upon the history of the individual consonants, it will be well to treat here several points concerning the OE. consonants in general.

§ 258. In OE. as in the oldest period of the other Germanic languages, intervocalic double consonants were really long, and were pronounced long as in Modern Italian and Swedish, thus OE. buca, he-goat; set-tan, to set; and similarly cyssan, to kiss; feallan, to fall; feorran, from afar; frogga, frog; hebban, to raise; lecgan, to lay; sceppan, to injure; sceieppan, to create; pennan, to stretch; swimman, to swim.

§ 259. OE. double consonants were simplified in pronunciation, although they were very often retained in writing, especially finally:—

1. Finally, as buc, buck, cos, kiss, eal, all, feor, far, man, man, beside bucc, coss, eall, feorr, mann; fæsten, fortress, gyden, goddess, sæwet, sowing, beside gen. fæstennes, gydenne, sæwettes. cg was always preserved in writing in order to show that it was an explosive and not a spirant (cp. § 319), as brycg, bridge; mycg, midge; secg, man. In this grammar the double consonants are generally retained in writing, as cinn, chin; full, full; hyll, hill; pytt, pit; sceatt, treasure, money; synn, sin; swamm, he swam.
2. Medially before other consonants, as acc. masc. sing. ealne, gen. dat. fem. sing. ealre, all, beside eallne, eallre; pret. sing. āfierde, cyste, fylde, ypte, beside inf. āfierran, to remove, cyssan, to kiss, fyllan, to fill, ypkan, to reveal; third pers. sing. pres. indic. fielþ, gielþ, onginnþ, swinþ, winþ, beside inf. feallan, to fall, giellan, to yell, onginnan, to begin, swimman, to swim, winnan, to fight.

3. Medially after consonants, as geornes from georn +nes, zeal; gesynto from *gesyntu, older *gisundíþu (§ 305), health; pearlic from *pearl + lic, severe; wiersa from *wiersssa, older *wiers(i)ra, worse; wilder, wildēor from wild + dēor, wild beast; wyrtruma from wyrt + truma, root-stump; pret. sing. gewielde from *gewield-de, gyrde from *gyrd-de, læste from *læst-te, reste from *rest-te, sende from *send-de, wende from *wend-de, beside inf. gewieldan, to subdue, gyrdan, to gird, læstan, to perform, restan, to rest, sendan, to send, wendan, to turn.

4. In late OE. in unstressed syllables, as bliccetan, to glitter, lic(c)etan, to pretend, feign, beside bliccettan, lic-(c)ettan; atelic, terrible, singālice, always, yfelic, bad, beside atollic, singallice, yfellic; forgiefenes, forgiveness, forlorenes, destruction, beside forgiefennes, forlorennes; gen. sing. fæstenes, of a fortress, sæwetes, of a sowing, beside fæstennes, sæwettes; gen. pl. òpera, other, snot-(t)era, prudent, wise, beside òberra, snot(terra); fægera beside fægerra, fairer.

§ 260. Consonants were doubled during the OE. period before a following r or l, with shortening of a preceding long vowel or diphthong, as ætgæddre, together, blæddre, bladder, æddre, vein, gegadderode, he gathered, næddre, adder, beside older ætgæd(e)re, blædre, ēdre, gegad(e)-rode, nādre; comparative bettra, better, deoppra, deeper, geliccra, more like, hwittra, whiter, riccra, more powerful, yttra, outer, beside older bet(e)ra, dēopra, gelicra, hwitra, ricra, ųṭra. Gen. miccles beside older micles, nom.
Semivowels

§ 261. The Germanic voiceless spirants \( f, \theta, s \) became the voiced spirants \( b, d, z \) medially between voiced sounds, although the \( f, \theta, s \) were retained in writing, as cæfl, jaw; ofen, oven; wulflas, wolves (§ 296); āpas, oaths; brōpor, brother; eorpe, earth (§ 302); bōsm, bosom; nosu, nose; òsle, ousel (§ 307).

Note.—This voicing of \( f, \theta, s \) only took place in simple words, but not in compounds, such as āpwēan, to wash; gefeohht, battle; gesendan, to send; wynsum, pleasant.

§ 262. The Germanic voiced spirants \( b, z \) became the voiceless spirants \( f \) (§ 294), \( x \) (§§ 320, Note, 323) before voiceless sounds and finally, as geaf, OHG. gab, he gave; healf, OHG. halb, half; wīf, OHG. wīb, woman, wife; burh, city, sorh, sorrow, dāh, dough, bēah, ring, bracelet, beside gen. burge, sorge, dāges, bēages; stīhest beside older stīgest, thou ascendest.

The Semivowels.

w

§ 263. Germanic \( w = \) the \( w \) in NE. wet (written uu, u, \( \partial \) in OE. manuscripts) remained initially before vowels, and generally also initially before and after consonants, as wæs, Goth. OS. OHG. was, was; OE. OS. Goth. witan, OHG. wīzan, to know; and similarly wadan, to go, wade; wascan, to wash; wēpen, weapon; wæron, were; wæter, water; wearm, warm; weder, weather; wefan, to weave; weorpan, to become; wīd,
wide; wilde, wild; windan, to wind; winter, winter; wolcen, cloud; wundor, wonder; wyrcan, to work.

wlanc, proud; white, OS. wlti, form, beauty, Goth. wltis, face, countenance; wltig, beautiful; wracu, Goth. wraka, revenge, persecution; wræp, angry; wrætan, to write.

cwēn, Goth. qēns, queen, wife; cweþan, Goth. qipan, to say; hwā, Goth. ēnas, who?; hwēte, Goth. ēáiteis, wheat; dwellan, OHG. twellen, to tarry; dweorg, OHG. twerg, dwarf; ṣwēan, Goth. ṣwahan, to wash; ṣwœorh, Goth. ṣwairhs, angry, perverse; sweltan, Goth. swiltan, to die; sweostor, Goth. swistar, sister; twā, Goth. twái, two; twelf, Goth. twalif, twelve.

§ 264. Medial w generally remained before vowels, as OE. OS. OHG. spīwan, Goth. speiwan, to vomit, spit; and similarly awel, awl; gesewen, seen; lāwerce, lark; sāwol, Goth. sāiwala, soul; snīwan, to snow; ṣwian from *pañwōjan, to thaw. In verbs like blāwan, OHG. blāan beside blāian, to blow; blōwan, OHG. bluoan beside bluoian, bluowen, to bloom; sāwan, Goth. saian, OHG. sāan beside sāian, sāwen, to sow; wāwan, Goth. waian, OHG. wāen beside wāian, to blow (of the wind), it is difficult to determine how far the w was etymological and how far it was originally merely a consonantal glide developed between the long and the short vowel; and similarly in cnāwan, to know; crāwan, to crow; flōwan, to flow; grōwan, to grow; hlōwan, to low; māwan, to mow; rōwan, to row; ṣrāwan, to twist.

eowe, ewe; eowestre, Goth. awistr, sheepfold; hweowol, wheel; meowle, Goth. mawilō, maiden; streowede, Goth. strawida, I strewed; þeowian, to serve. See §§ 77, 89.

§265. Semivowels

læswe, mædwe, sceadwe, beside nom. læs, pasture, mæd, meadow, sceadu, shade, shadow. See §266.

fraetwan, to adorn; gearwe, completely; gearwian, to prepare; nearwe, narrowly; nierwan, to narrow; sierwan, to devise; smierwan, to anoint, smear; spearwa, Goth. sparwa, sparrow; wealwian, to wallow; wielwan, to roll.

brēowan, to brew, cp. O.Icel. pp. bruggenn, brewed; cēowan, OHG. kiuwan, to chew; getriewe, true, faithful; getriewan, to trust; hēawan, Goth. *haggwan, to hew; niewe, niwe, new; sceawian, Goth. *skaggwōn, to examine, view. See §§76, 90.

§265. When w came to stand at the end of a word or syllable, it became vocalized to u (later o). The u then combined with a preceding short vowel to form a long diphthong, but disappeared after long stems, long vowels, and diphthongs, as nom. bealu (later bealo), evil, calamity, bearu, grove, gearu, ready, mearu, tender, nearu, narrow, searu, armour, beside gen. bealwes, bearwes, gearwes, mearwes, nearwes, sarwes; masc. acc. sing. gearone from *gearwne, ready. Nom. cnēo, knee, streā, straw, trēo, tree, pēo, servant, beside gen. cneowes, strēawes with -ēa· from the nominative, treowes, pēowes. gād, Goth. gāidw, want, lack; ā, ō, Goth. āiwi, ever; hrā, Goth. hrāiw, corpse; hrēa, raw; snā, Goth. snāiws, snow.

But the w was mostly reintroduced into the nom. sing. from the inflected forms, especially after long vowels and long diphthongs. Regular forms were: nom. cnēo, snā, strēa, gen. cneowes, snāwes, *strawes, from the latter of which was formed a new nom. cnēow, snāw, strēaw; and similarly hrāw, corpse; hrēaw, raw; trēow, tree; pēow, servant; slāw, lazy; stōw, place; bēow, barley; dēaw, dew; glēaw, wise; hīew, hīw, shape, colour; hnēaw, stingy; hrēow, repentance; trēow, faith. And conversely from the new nom. was sometimes formed a
new gen., as cnēowes, trēowes, beside older cneowes, treowes.

§ 266. w disappeared before u, and e (= older i), as nom. clēa from *cla(w)u, claw; lēs from *lāes(w)u, pasture; mād from *mād(w)u, meadow; sceadu from *scad(w)u, shade, shadow; þrēa from *þra(w)u, threat, beside gen. lēswe, mādwe, sceadwe; nom. acc. neut. fēa from *fa(w)u, few; dat. fēam from *fa(w)um, see § 140; dat. pl. cnēom from *cne(w)um, beside nom. sing. cnēo, knee. And similarly at a later period: betuh, between, cucu, quick, alive, cudu, cud, uton, let us, beside older betwuh, cwucu, cwudu, wuton.

cū from *k(w)ū, older *kwō, cow; hū from *h(w)ū, older *hwō, how; neut. tū from *t(w)ū, older *twō, two. See § 130.

æ from *ā(w)i-, older *aiwi- (Goth. áiws), law; hrāe from *hrā(w)i-, older *hraiwi-, corpse; sæ from *sā(w)i-, older *saiwi- (Goth. sáiws), sea; gierēp, prim. Germanic *garwīp, he prepares; pret. gierede, prim. Germanic *garwidē-, he prepared, beside inf. gierwan; and similarly pret. nierede, sierede, smierede, wielede, beside inf. nierwan, to narrow; sierwan, to devise; smierwan, to anoint; wielwan, to roll.

The w was often reintroduced after the analogy of forms where w was regular, as nom. clauw, prawu (beside the regular nom. clēa, þrēa), new formations from the gen. and dat. clawe, prawe; dat. pl. sæwum beside sæm, with w from the gen. pl. sæwa, of seas; pret. pl. rēowun beside rēon, with w from rōwan, to row; and similarly grēowun, -on, they grew; sæowun, they sowed; &c. On forms like pret. pl. swulton, they died; swummon, they swam, see § 249. gierweip, he prepares, pret. gierwedē, beside the regular forms gierēp, gierede, with w from gierwan; cnēwp for *cnēp from *cnā(w)iēp, he knows, with w from the inf. cnāwan.
§ 267. w often disappeared in the second element of compounds, as ealneg, -ig, for ealne weg, always; fulluht from *full wuht, baptism; hlāford from hlāfweard, lord; hwilende from hwīlwende, transitory; nāuht beside older nā-wuht, naught. And in certain verbal forms with the negative prefix, as nās = ne wās, was not; nāron = ne wāron, were not; nāt = ne wāt, knows not; nolde = ne wolde, would not; nyle = ne wile, will not; nysse = ne wisse, he knew not; nyton = ne witon, they know not.

§ 268. Germanic j (= consonantal i) generally remained initially in Gothic, OS. and OHG., but disappeared in O.Icel. In OE. it had become a palatal spirant like the y in NE. yet, yon already in the oldest period of the language. It was usually written g, ge (also i, gi before a following u). Examples are: gēar, Goth. jēr, OS. OHG. jār, O.Icel. ār, year; geoc, iuc, Goth. juk, OHG. joch, O.Icel. ok, yoke; geong, giong, giung, iung, Goth. juggs, OS. OHG. jung, O.Icel. ungr, young; and similarly gē, gie, ye; gēo, gio, iū, formerly, of old; geogōp, giogōp, iugōp, youth; gēmor, sad, mournful; geond, through, beyond; giest, yeast; gingra, younger. See § 51.

§ 269. Germanic medial -ij- became -i- which combined with a following guttural vowel to form a diphthong, as bīo, bēo, Germanic stem-form *bijōn-, bee; fēond, Goth. fijands, enemy; frēō from *frija-, free; frēond, Goth. frijōnds, friend; nom. acc. neut. þrīo, þrēo, from *þriju = Goth. þrija, three, see § 104.

§ 270. It is generally assumed that Germanic j remained in OE. between vowels when the first element was a long vowel or diphthong, but it is, however, more probable that j regularly disappeared in this position and that at a later period a consonantal glide (written g, ge) was developed
between the vowels, as was sometimes the case in OS. and OHG., as cīegan from *kaujan, to call; frīgea older friēga = Goth. frāuja, lord, master; dat. hiēge, Anglian hēge = Goth. háuja; iēge = Goth. *āujái, beside nom. hięg, hay, ięg, island; prēagean from *prauōjan, to threaten; and similarly fēog(e)an, to hate; frēog(e)an, to love. Cp. § 275.

Note.—Forms like nom. hięg, Goth. hawi, hay; ięg, ľg, Goth. *awi, gen. *āujōs, had the final g from the inflected forms, as gen. hięges, dat. hięge, gen. and dat. ięge.

§ 271. Germanic medial j (written i, g; ig, eg, also ige before a) remained after r in the combination short vowel + r, as herian, hergan, herigan, heregan, herigean, Goth. hazjan, to praise; and similarly nerian, Goth. nasjan, to save; werian, Goth. wasjan, to clothe, wear; gen. sing. heries, herges, heriges, Goth. harjis, nom. pl. hergas, herigas, herigeas, Goth. harjōs, armies. The i, e in ig, eg represent a vocalic glide which was developed between the r and the j. And the e in ige merely indicates the palatal nature of the preceding g.

§ 272. Germanic medial j disappeared after original long closed syllables, or syllables which became long by the West Germanic gemination of consonants (§ 254), as dālan, Goth. dāiljan, to divide; dēman, Goth. dōmjan, to judge; fyllan, Goth. fulljan, to fill; geliefan, Goth. galáubjan, to believe; hieran, Goth. háusjan, to hear; sēcan, Goth. sōkjan, to seek. gierd from *geardju = Goth. *gardja, rod, twig; hild from *hildju = Goth. *hildja, war; gen. rices from *rikjes, Goth. reikjis, of a kingdom.

biddan, Goth. bidjan, to pray; hebban, Goth. hafjan, to raise; hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; lecgan, Goth. lagjan, to lay; scieppan, Goth. skapjan, to create; settan, Goth. satjan, to set. Gen. sing. beddes, Goth. badjīs, of a bed; cynnes, Goth. kunjīs, of a race, generation;
§§273-4] Semivowels

willa, Goth. wilja, will; henn from *hennju, older *χannjō = Goth. *hanja, hen; and similarly crycc, Goth. *krukja, crutch; hell, Goth. halja, hell; sibb, Goth. sibja, relationship; gen. helle, sibbe = Goth. haljōs, sibjōs.

Note.—j disappeared medially before i already in West Germanic; hence verbs, which have double consonants in the inf. by the West Germanic gemination of consonants, have only a single consonant in the second and third pers. sing. of the present indicative, as legest, legep = Goth. lagjis, lagjip, beside inf. lecgan = Goth. lagjan, to lay. See § 254, Note.

§ 273. Germanic final -ōjan became -ian through the intermediate stages -ējan, -ejan, -ijan, -ian, as lōcian from *lōkōjan, to look; macian from *makōjan, to make. The g in forms like lōcig(e)an, macig(e)an is merely a consonantal glide which was developed between the i and the a.

The Germanic ending -ij(i) from Indg. -eje became -i during the prim. Germanic period, then -i became shortened to -i (§ 214). This -i regularly disappeared in prehistoric OE. after original long stems, but remained -i (later -e) after original short stems, as hier, Goth. háusei, from *χauzi, hear thou; sec, Goth. sōkei, seek thou; but nere, Goth. nasei, save thou; and similarly bide, pray thou; freme, perform thou; lege, lay thou; sete, set thou.

§ 274. When j came to stand finally after the loss of the case endings -az, -an (= Indg. -os, -om), it became vocalized to -i which became -e at a later period, as hierde, OS. hirdi, OHG. herti, Goth. (acc.) haírdi, shepherd; and similarly ende, end; here, army; læce, physician; rīce, OS. rīki, OHG. rīhhi, Goth. reiki, kingdom; wite, OS. witi, punishment. The regularly developed forms of hrycg, back, secg, man, bedd, bed, cynn, race, generation, nett, net, and of similar masculine and neuter nouns with double consonants in the nom. and acc. singular, would be *hryge, Goth. (acc.) *hrugi; *sege, Goth. (acc.) *sagi; *bede, Goth. badi; *cyne, Goth. kuni; *nete, Goth. nati.
The nom. and acc. sing. are new formations with double consonants from the inflected stem-forms.

§ 275. Germanic *jj* became *ddj* in Goth. and *gg(j)* in O.Icel. In OE. *-jj* became *-i* through the intermediate stage *-ij*; and *-ajj* became *-æ* through the intermediate stages *-aij-, -aj*—t. And then between the *-i*, *-æ* and a following vowel a consonantal glide (written *g*) was developed (cp. § 270), which was often levelled out into the uninflected forms, as *frīgedæg, frīgdæg, Friday*, beside *frēo* from *frīo*, older *frījō*, OS. *frī, woman*; *ēode* from *īode, older *ījō-dæ*, Goth. *iddja, he went*; gen. *ēges, cæge, wāge*, beside nom. *ēg* (O.Icel. egg, OS. OHG. *ei*), egg, cæg, key, wāg (Goth. waddjus, O.Icel. veggr), wall; clæg, Goth. (fem.) *kladdja*, OS. klei, clay.

The Liquids.

§ 276. Germanic *l* generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as lecgan, Goth. lagjan, O.Icel. leggja, OS. leggian, OHG. leggen, *to lay*; slēpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slāpan, OHG. slāfan, *to sleep*; OE. OS. OHG. stelan, Goth. stilan, O.Icel. stela, *to steal*; OE. OS. helpan, Goth. hilpan, O.Icel. hjalpa, OHG. helfan, *to help*; sellan, Goth. saljan, O.Icel. selja, OS. sellian, OHG. sellen, *to give, sell*; feallan, O.Icel. falla, OS. OHG. fallan, *to fall*; sceal, Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. skal, *shall*; and similarly lamb, lamb; land, land; lang, long; lēdan, to lead; lēof, dear; leornian, to learn; lif, life; lufu, love; lītel, little. ealu, ale; meolu, meal; mioluc, milk; talu, number, tale. blōd, blood; clāne, clean; fleon, to flee; glæd, glad; hlāford, lord; wlonc, proud. feld, field; folc, folk; folgian, to follow; gold, gold; helm, helmet; meltan, to melt; wealdan, to wield, govern. stille, still, silent; tellan, to tell; willa, will. fyllan, to fill;
gealla, gell; weallan, to boil; wulle, wool. col, coal; cōl, cool; fūl, foul; fugol, fowl, bird; smæl, slender; sadol, saddle; stæl, he stole. hyll, hill. eall, all; full, full.

On vocalic $\mathbf{I}$ as in æpl, apple; nædl, needle; nægl, nail; segl, sail; setl, seat, see § 219.

On the simplification of medial $\mathbf{I}$ to $\mathbf{I}$, see § 259.

§ 277. sl underwent metathesis in unstressed syllables, as byrgels, OS. burgisli, tomb; rædels, OS. rādislo, MHG. rætsel, riddle; and similarly brīdels, bridle; fætels, tub, vessel; gyrdels older gyrdisl, girdle; rīecels, incense. Metathesis of $\mathbf{I}$ rarely took place in stem-syllables, as Anglian bold, dwelling, seld, seat, spāld, saliva, beside WS. bol, setl, spātl.

$\mathbf{r}$

§ 278. Germanic $\mathbf{r}$ generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as rēad, Goth. rauþs, O.Icel. raðr, OS. rød, OHG. röt, red; OE. OS. OHG. bringan, Goth. briggan, to bring; here, Goth. harjis, OS. OHG. heri, army; OE. OS. word, Goth. waúrd, OHG. wort, word; feorran, from afar, Goth. fairra, far off; fæder, Goth. OS. fadar, O.Icel. faðer, OHG. fater, father; and similarly rādan, to advise; rāp, rope; regn, rain; rice, kingdom; rīdan, to ride; rīm, number; rodor, sky; rūm, room. crēopan, to creep; drēam, mirth; frēo, free; grēne, green; hrōf, roof; strēam, stream; trēo, tree; writan, to write. beran, to bear; cearu, care, sorrow; duru, door; faran, to go, travel. bierce, birch; burg, city; earm, arm; eorþe, earth; feorh, life; heard, hard; scearp, sharp; spearwa, sparrow; steorfan, to die; þorn, thorn; þurh, through; weorc, work. āfierran (pret. āfierde, see § 259, 2), to remove; steorra, star. fyr, fire; hamor, hammer; mōdor, mother; tēar, tear; wer, man.

Note.—r disappeared in late OE. in specan, to speak, spæc, speech, beside older sprecan, spræc.
§ 279. West Germanic medial r from older z (§ 252) remained in OE., as betra, Goth. batiza, better; herian, Goth. hazjan, to praise; hord, Goth. huzd, treasure; and similarly coren, chosen; dōr (Goth. dius, gen. diuzis), deer, wild animal; ēare, ear; hieran, to hear; ieldra, elder; lēran, to teach; leornian, to learn; māra, larger; nerian, to save; wæron, they were. ierre, Goth. ārzeis, OS. OHG. irri, angry; and similarly *durran, to dare; mierran, to hinder, mar; þyrre, dry, withered.

On the simplification of medial rr (= Germanic rz) to r in unstressed syllables, see § 259, 4.

§ 280. Antevocalic r often became postvocalic by metathesis when a short vowel was followed by n, nn, s, or s + consonant, as ārn, Goth. rzn, O.Icel. rann, house; forsc, O.Icel. fróskr, OHG. frosk, frog; forst, O.Icel. OS. OHG. frost, frost; hors, O.Icel. OS. hross, OHG. ros (gen. rosse), horse; iernan, Goth. OS. OHG. rinnan, O.Icel. rína, to run; and similarly bærnan (wv.), biernan (sv.), to burn; bærs, perch (a fish); berstan, to burst; cærse, cress; fersc, fresh; fierst, space of time; gærs, grass; hærn, wave; perscan, to thresh (corn); wærna beside wraenna, wren.

§ 281. s or l + r became ss, ll by assimilation, as læssa from *læs(i)ra, smaller; fem. gen. dat. sing. þiisse (OHG. desera, desero), from *þisre, of this; gen. pl. þissa (OHG. desero), from *þisra; gen. sing. ûsses from *ûsres, of our; dat. ûssum from *ûsrum. sêlla beside sêla, better.

The Nasals.

m

§ 282. Germanic m generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as mōna, Goth. mēna, O.Icel. māne, OS. OHG. māno, moon; OE. Goth. guma, O.Icel. gume, OS. gumo, OHG. gomo, man; OE. OS.
Nasals

dumb, Goth. dumbs, O.Icel. dumbr, OHG. tumb, dumb; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. rūm, room; and similarly macian, to make; mann, man; māwan, to mow; meltan, to melt; mīn, my; mōdor, mother; mūp, mouth. cuman, to come; nama, name; niman, to take; tīma, time; pūma, thumb. besma, besom; climban, to climb; gelimpan, to happen; lamb, lamb. fremman from *framjan, to perform; swimman, to swim. bēam, tree; brōm, broom; hām, home; helm, helmet; wyrm, snake. swamm, he swam.

On vocalic m as in āpm, breath; bōsm, bosom; botm, bottom; māpm, treasure, see § 219.

§ 283. m disappeared in prehistoric OE. before f, s with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as fif, Goth. OHG. fimf, five; ōsle, OHG. amsala, ousel; sōfte, OHG. samfto, softly; sēfte, soft. But m remained when it came to stand before s at a later period, as grimsian from *grimisian = OHG. grimmisōn, to rage; þrims beside older trimes, trymesse (OHG. drimissa), a coin.

§ 284. Final -m, when an element of inflexion, became -n in late OE., as dat. pl. dagon, giefon, sunon beside older dagum, giefum, sunum; dat. sing. and pl. gōdon beside older gōdum, good.

n

§ 285. Germanic n generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as nama, Goth. namō, OS. OHG. namo, name; OE. OS. OHG. sunu, Goth. sunus, O.Icel. sunr, son; OE. Goth. OHG. spinnan, O.Icel. spinna, to spin; þennan, OS. thennian, OHG. dennen, Goth. þanjan, O.Icel. þenja, to stretch; and similarly nacod, naked; nādl, needle; nefa, nephew; nett, net. clāene, clean; grēne, green; mōna, moon; munuc, monk; wēnan, to expect. bindan, to bind; blind, blind; cnēo, knee; frēond, friend; hand, hand; hnutu, nut; sendan, to send; windan, to wind. spannan, to clasp; sunne, sun;
The long vowel became shortened in unstressed syllables, as fracuþ, -oþ, Goth. frakunþs, despised; and similarly duguþ, strength, valour; geoguþ, youth; nimaþ from *nimóþ, older *nemonþ-, they take, see § 218. But n remained when it came to stand before s at a later period, as clänsian from *clänisian, older *klainisójan, to cleanse; minsian from *minnisian, to diminish; winster older winester (OHG. winister), left, left hand; also in the Latin loanword pinsian (Lat. pensäre), to consider.

§ 287. n sometimes disappeared between consonants, as elboga beside elnboga, elbow; pret. nemde from *nemnde, he named; sæterdæg beside sæterndæg, Saturday.

§ 288. Final -n generally disappeared in verbal forms before the pronouns wë, wit; gë, git, as binde wë, let us bind; binde gë, bind ye!; bunde wë?, did we bind?. See § 477.

Final -n disappeared in Nth. in words of more than one syllable. This law was fairly well preserved in the infinitive, the pres. and pret. pl. subjunctive, the weak declension of nouns and adjectives, numerals, and adverbs, but in strong nouns and adjectives including the pp. of strong
verbs, the final -n was generally reintroduced into the nom. singular from the inflected forms. It was also mostly reintroduced into the indic. pret. plural through the influence of the (?)past participle which itself was a new formation. Examples are: bera, to bear; gehēra, to hear; lāra, to teach; senda, to send = WS. beran, gehieran, lāran, sendan; gihēre, they may hear; sprece, they may speak = WS. gehieren, sprecen; bite, they might bite = WS. biten; gen. dat. acc. sing. folā, foal, heorta, heart = WS. folan, heortan; nom. acc. pl. galga = WS. gealgan, gallows; seofo beside inflected form seofona, seven; befora, before, binna, within, fearra, from afar, norþa, from the north, westa, from the west = WS. beforan, binnan, feorran, norþan, westan; but dryhten, lord, heofon, heaven, hēpen, heathen, ārisen, arisen, genumen, taken, with -n from the inflected forms; bērun, they bore, cwōmun, they came, læddun, they led.

§ 289. The Germanic guttural nasal ñ (written g in Gothic, and n in the other Germanic languages) only occurred medially before g and k (written c in OE.). It disappeared in the combination ñx already in prim. Germanic (§ 245). In OE. it remained guttural or became palatal according as the following g, c remained guttural or became palatal, cp. § 309. Examples are: OE. OHG. bringan, Goth. briggan, to bring; drincan, Goth. drigkan, OS. drinkan, OHG. trinkan, to drink; geong, Goth. juggs, O.Icel. ungr, OS. OHG. jung, young; and similarly finger, finger; gangan, to go; hangian, to hang; hungor, hunger; lang, long; tunge, tongue; sincan, to sink; singan, to sing; swincan, to labour; tungol, star, constellation.

benc from *bānkiz, bench; lengra, OS. lengira, OHG. lengiro, longer; þencan, Goth. þagkjan, OS. thenkian,
OHG. denken, to think; and similarly drencan, to give to drink; enge, narrow; engel, angel; englisc, English; finc, finch; mengan, to mix; sengan, to singe; strengp, prim. Germanic strangipō, strength; ðyyncan, to seem.

§ 290. The guttural η disappeared in an unstressed syllable when preceded by n in a stressed syllable in the course of the OE. period, as cynig, king, penig, penny, beside older cyning, pening; hunig, O.Icel. hunang, OHG. honang beside honag, honey.

The Labials.

p

§ 291. Germanic p from Indg. b (§ 232) was of rare occurrence, especially initially. Most of the words beginning with p in OE. are Latin or Greek loanwords. p remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as pād (Goth. páida), cloak; pening, O.Icel. penningr, OHG. pfenning, penny; open, O.Icel. oppen, OS. opan, OHG. offan, open; slēpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slāpan, OHG. slāfan, to sleep; dēop, Goth. diups, O.Icel. djūpr, OS. diop, OHG. tiot, deep; and similarly pæp, path; pott, pot. plegan, to play; pliht, danger, plight; plōg, plough; prūt, proud. spere, spear; sprecan, to speak. clyppan, to embrace; grāpian, to grope; stāppan, to step; sūpan, to drink; swāpan, to sweep; wēppan, weapon; wēpan, to weep. hearpe, harp; helpan, to help; weorpan, to throw, cast. hēap, troop, heap; rāp, rope; sceap, sheep; scearp, sharp; scip, ship; ēup, up.

Examples of Lat. loanwords are: cuppe (late Lat. cuppa), cup; pāwa, pēa (Lat. pāvo), peacock; peru (Lat. pirum), pear; pic (Lat. acc. picem), pitch; pinsian (Lat. pensāre), to weigh, consider; pise (Lat. pisum), pea; pund (Lat. pondo), pound; pyle (Lat. acc. pulvinum), pillow; pytt (Lat. acc. puteum), pit.
§ 292. We have already seen that prim. Germanic b from Indg. bh became b initially, and also medially after m during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234); that prim. Germanic bj became bb in West Germanic (§ 254); and that the further development of prim. Germanic b belonged to the history of the separate Germanic languages (§ 235). Germanic b, and West Germanic bb from bj (§ 254) and bn in the weak declension of nouns (§ 256), remained in OE., as OE. OS. OHG. beran, Goth. bairan, O.Icel. bera, to bear; OE. OS. blind, Goth. blinds, O.Icel. blindr, OHG. blint, blind; brekan, Goth. brikan, OHG. brehhan, to break; and similarly baec, back; bæp, bath; bän, bone; bēam, tree; bedd (Goth. gen. badjis), bed; bēodan, to command; bindan, to bind; bitan, to bite; blæc, black; blāwan, to blow; blōd, blood; bōc, book; bodig, body; brād, broad; bringan, to bring; brycg, bridge.

dumb, Goth. dumbs, O.Icel. dumbr, OHG. tumb, dumb; and similarly camb, comb; climban, to climb; lamb, lamb; ymb(e), about, around; wamb, stomach.
sibb, Goth. sibja, OS. sibbia, OHG. sibba, relationship, peace; and similarly cribb, crib; habban, to have; libban, to live; nebb, beak; ribb, rib; webb, web. ebba (§ 256), ebb.

§ 293. Germanic medial b remained in OE. between voiced sounds. In the oldest period of the language it was mostly written b, as gibaen, given; libr, liver; ober, over. But owing to the fact that Germanic f became b medially between voiced sounds, although the f was retained in writing (§ 296), the f also came to be used regularly to represent Germanic b in OE. On the normal development of b in the other Germanic languages, see § 235. Examples are: giefan, Goth. giban, O.Icel. gefa, OS. geban, OHG. geban, to give; hæfde, Goth. habáida,
OS. habda, habda, OHG. habēta, he had; sealfian, Goth. OHG. salbōn, OS. salbon, to anoint; seofon, Goth. OHG. sibun, OS. sibun, seven; and similarly āfen, evening; beofor, beaver; cnafa, boy; delfan, to dig; drifan, to drive; hafast, thou hast; hafaþ, he has; heafoc, hawk; hēafod, head; hefig, heavy; heofon, heaven; hlāford, lord, master; hræfn, raven; lǣfan, to leave; lifde, he lived; lifer, liver; lofian, to praise; lufian, to love; ofer, over; scūfan, to push; siolufr, seolfor, silver; stefn, voice; steorfan, to die; wefan, to weave; yfel, evil; gen. wifes, OHG. wibes, dat. wife, OHG. wibe, beside nom. wif, OHG. wib, woman. Also in Lat. loanwords with b = late Lat. v, as déofol (Lat. diabolus), devil; fēfor (Lat. fēbris), fever; tæfl (Lat. tabula), chess-board, die; trifot (Lat. tribūtum), tribute.

Note.—fn, fm became mn, mm in late OE., as emn (Goth. ibns), even; stemn (Goth. stibna), voice, beside older ef(e)n, stef(e)n; wimman (pl. wimmen) beside older wifman, woman.

§ 294. Final b became the voiceless spirant f in OE. Goth. and OS. and thus fell together with Germanic final f (§ 295), as geaf, Goth. OS. gaf, OHG. gab, he gave; healf, OS. half, OHG. halb, half; hlāf, Goth. acc. hláif, OHG. hleib, loaf, bread; and similarly cealf, calf; dēaf, deaf; dealf, he dug; lēaf, leaf; lēof, dear; lif, life; lof, praise; scēaf, he pushed; wif, wife, woman.

f

§ 295. Germanic f remained initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally, as fāder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðer, OS. fadar, OHG. fater, father; OE. OS. fif, Goth. OHG. fimf, five; OE. OS. fōt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, foot; gesceaf, Goth. gaskafts, creation, OS. giskaft, destiny, OHG. giscaft, creature; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. hof, court, dwelling; OE. OS. wulf, Goth. acc. wulf, OHG. wolf, wolf; and similarly
§§ 296–8

Dentals

faeger, fair, beautiful; faet, firm; faest, vessel, vat; fea, few; feallan, to fall; feld, field; feohtan, to fight; feower, four; feper, feather; feallan, to fall; flæsc, flesh; fleax, flax; flēogan, to fly; fōda, food; folc, folk; folgian, to follow; fram, from; frēo, free; frēond, friend; frēosan, to freeze; fugol, bird; full, full; fyr, fire. æfter, after; cræft, skill; gift, marriage gift; offrian, to offer; pyffan, to puff; ræfsan, reffan, to reprove; sce aft, shaft, pole. ceaf, chaff; hōf, he raised; hrōf, roof.

§ 296. Germanic medial f became b (= the v in NE. vat) between voiced sounds and thus fell together with Germanic b in this position (§ 293). In the oldest period of the language the two Germanic sounds were mostly kept apart, the former being written f, and the latter b. Examples are: cēaf, OS. kāfl, cp. MHG. kivel, jaw; ofen, O.Icel. ofn, OHG. ofan, oven; ceafor, OHG. kefar, cockchafer; sceofi, Goth. *skufla, cp. OHG. scūsala, shovel; sing. gen. wulfes, OHG. wolfes, dat. wulfe, OHG. wolfe, beside nom. wulf, OHG. wolf, wolf; and similarly in the inflected forms of words like ceaf, chaff; hrōf, roof.

§ 297. fj became bb through the intermediate stage bj, as hebban, Goth. hafjan, to raise.

The Dentals.

t

§ 298. Germanic t remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as tōp, Goth. tunpūs, OS. tand, OHG. zan(d), tooth; tunge, Goth. tuggō, O.Icel. OS. tunga, OHG. zunga, tongue; twā, Goth. twái, two; OE. OS. etan, Goth. itan, O.Icel. eta, OHG. ezzan, to eat; OE. Goth. OS. witan, O.Icel. vita, OHG. wizzan, to know; settan, Goth. satjan, O.Icel. setja, OS. settian, OHG. setzen, to set; snottor, Goth. snutrs, O.Icel. snotr, OS. OHG. snottar, wise; sceatt, Goth. skatts,
O.Icel. skattr, money, tribute; neaht, Goth. nahts, OS. OHG. naht, night; and similarly tācn, token; tam, tame; tēar, tear; tellan, to tell, count; tīd, tīma, time; timber, timber; tōl, tool; tredan, to tread; trēo, tree; trog, trough; turf, turf; twelf, twelve; twig, twig. bitan, to bite; botm, bottom; feohtan, to fight; hatian, to hate; hwæte, wheat; meltan, to melt; mētan, to find, meet; restan, to rest; sett, seat; swēte, sweet; wāter, water. cnotta, knot; hwettan, to whet, incite; mattoc, mattock; sittan, to sit. fot, foot; gast, spirit; gylt, guilt; hwæt, what; hāt, hot; hwīt, white; pyt, pit; strāt, street.

On the simplification of medial tt to t, see § 259.

Note.—1. Medial and final st was sometimes written sp in early WS., as dūsp, dust, fæsp, fast, giefesp, thou givest, wæspm, growth, wāsp, thou knowest, for dūst, fæst, giefest, wæstm, wāst.

2. Latin medial t became d in Low Latin, so that words borrowed at an early period have t, but those borrowed at a later period have d, as bēte (Lat. bēta), beetroot; strāt (Lat. strāta), street, road; but abbod (Lat. acc. abbātem), abbot; lāden (Lat. acc. latinum), Latin (language); sīde (Lat. sēta), silk.

3. t often disappeared between consonants, as fæsnian, to fasten, rihlice, justly, prīsnes, boldness, beside fæstnian, rihtlice, prīstnes.

§ 299. Germanic d became d initially, and also medially after n during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234). And d in other positions became d in West Germanic (§ 253). On the normal development of Germanic d in Goth. and O.Icel., see § 235. d generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as dæg, Goth. dags, O.Icel. dagr, OS. dag, OHG. tag, day; dohtor, Goth. dainhtar, O.Icel. dötter, OS. dohtar, OHG. tohter, daughter; fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. fæder, OS. fadar, OHG. fater, father; OE. Goth. OS. bindan, O.Icel. binda, OHG. bintan,
§ 300. d became t before and after voiceless consonants. When two dentals thus came together, they became tt which was simplified to t finally and after consonants. And interconsonantal t generally disappeared before s. Examples are: blētsian, older blēdsian from *blōdisējan, to bless; bitst beside bidest, thou prayest; bint from *bindēp, older bindep, he binds; bit, bitt from *bidēp, older bidēp, he prays (cp. § 305); cyste (see § 259, 2) from *cyssde, he kissed; gesynto from *gesunida, health; grētte from *grētē (= Goth. *grōtida), he greeted; ēecte, Goth. *āukida, he increased; lētst beside lēdest, thou leadest. bin(t)st, older bindest, thou bindest; and similarly fin(t)st, thou findest; giel(t)st, thou yielded; sten(t)st, thou standest; mils, mercy, milsian, to pity, beside milts, milt-
sian. The ď was often restored from forms where it was regular, as findst: findan; milds, mildsian: milde, merciful.

\[§\ 301.\] Germanic ď generally remained in OE. initially, medially when doubled, and finally, as pencan, Goth. pagkjan, OS. thenkian, OHG. denken, to think; ďūsend, Goth. ďūsundi, OHG. dūsunt, thousand; sceþpan, Goth. skaþjan, to injure; oppe, eþpa, Goth. aþþau, OS. eddo, oddo, OHG. eddo, or; ďþ, Goth. acc. aþþ, OS. ďþ, OHG. eid, oath; pret. wearþ, Goth. warþ, OS. warþ, OHG. ward, he became; and similarly þancian, to thank; þecan, to cover; þœof, thief; þing, thing; þorn, thorn; þræd, thread; þringan, to press; þūma, thumb; þunor, thunder; þwang, thong; þyncan, to seem. moppe, moth; sipþan, since, afterwards; smippe, smithy. bæþ, bath; berþ, they bear; bireþ, he bears; brþp, broth; clþp, cloth; cþþ, known; cwæþ, he said; dþþp, death; hæþþ, hero, man; hþþ, heath; mþþþ, month; mþþ, mouth; nþþ, north; tþþ, tooth.

Note.—In late Nth. final ď appears as -s in the personal endings of verbs, as bindes, he binds, bindas, they bind, beside bindeþ, bindaþ. See the end of § 476.

\[§\ 302.\] Germanic medial ď became ď between voiced sounds in OE., although the ď was retained in writing. In the oldest period of the language it was often written ď. Examples are: bæþian, to bathe; brþþor, brother; byþþen, burden; eorþþe, earth; fæþþm, embrace, fathom; feþþer, feather; hæþþen, heathen; morþþor, murder; òþþer, other; wearþþan, to become. Gen. æþþes, bæþþes, beside nom. ãþþ, oath, bæþþ, bath; inf. cwþþan, to say, beside pret. sing. cwæþþ.

\[§\ 303.\] Germanic medial ÿþþ became 1d in OE. The 1d then became extended to the final position by levelling.
Examples are: fealdan, Goth. faljan, to fold; wilde, Goth. wilpeis, wild; wuldor, Goth. wulpus, glory. Gen. goldes (= Goth. *gulþis), dat. golde (= Goth. gulþa), from which a new nom. gold for *golþ (= Goth. gulþa) was formed; and similarly beald, bold; eald, old; feld, field; hold, gracious; weald, forest. But the lþ, which arose from vowel syncope, remained, as sæþ, OHG. sálda, happiness; fielþ from older *fielþis, he falls.

§ 304. Germanic lþ generally remained in Anglian, but became dþ after long vowels in WS., as àdl (Anglian åpl, ädl, åld), disease; nädþ (Anglian nëpl, Goth. nëpla), needle; wådþ (Anglian wëpl), poverty; wådþla, pauper; widþian, to defile.

§ 305. The combinations tþ, dþ became tt which was simplified to t finally and after consonants, as bit(t) from *bitþ, older bitþ, he bites; it(t) from *itþ, older itþ, he eats; þætte from þæt þe, that which. bit(t) from *bidþ, older bideþ, he prays; bit(t) from *bidþ, older bideþ, he awaits; bint from *bindþ, older bindeþ, he binds; gesynto from *gesundþþu, health; lätþþow (also lâdþþow, lâþþow due to the influence of the uncompounded forms) from older lâdþþow, leader; mittþ from mid þþ, when, while; ofer-mëþto from *ofermöþþu, pride. Cp. § 300.

The combinations s, ssþþ became st, as cïest from cïseþþ, older cïseþþ, he chooses; and similarly forlïiest, he loses; wïext, it grows; hafastu = hafþþuþþ þþu, hast thou. cyst (cp. § 259, 2) from older cysseþþ, he kisses.

þþ became assimilated to ss, as bliss, bliss, blïssian, to rejoice, liþþ, favour, beside blïþþ, blïþþian, liþþ. In late OE. þþ became assimilated to dd, as cïþþde beside older cïþþde, he made known.

þþ disappeared before st, as cwïst, older cwïþþest, thou sayest; wierþþ, older wierþþest, thou becomest, cp. § 476.

On forms like cwïþþ, wierþþ from cwïþþþþ, he says, wierþþþþ, he becomes, cp. § 259, 1.
The Sibilant s.

§ 306. Germanic s remained in OE. initially, medially in combination with voiceless consonants, and finally, as sæ, Goth. sæiws, OS. OHG. seo, sea; slēpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slēpan, OHG. slāfan, to sleep; OE. OS. OHG. sunu, Goth. sunus, O.Icel. sunr, son; gāst, OS. gēst, OHG. geist, spirit; OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. hūs, house; and similarly sadol, saddle; sād, seed; sealt, salt; sēcan, to seek; sēon, to see; sittan, to sit; slīdan, to slide; smæl, small, slender; snaca, snake; sōna, soon; sōt, soot; spearwa, sparrow; sprecan, to speak; standan, to stand; strēam, stream; sūp, south; sweostor, sister. assa, ass, donkey; cyssan, to kiss; restan, to rest; pyrstan, to thirst; cēas, he chose; gær, grass; gōs, goose; heals, neck; hors, horse; is, ice; mūs, mouse; wæs, was. It is difficult to account for the loss of the final -s in the OE. adv. mā, more, beside Goth. máis = prim. Germanic *mais, Oscan mais.

For the Germanic combinations sk and hs, see §§ 312, 327.

Note.—s sometimes underwent metathesis with p, especially in late OE.; as æps, aspen, cops, fetter, bond, wλips, lisping, wæsp, wasp, beside æsp, cosp, wλisp, wæps (wæfs).

§ 307. Germanic s became z between voiced sounds in OE., but the s was retained in writing, as bōsm, bosom; cēosan, to choose; grasian, to graze; hæsl, hazel shrub; lesan, to collect; nosu, nose; ōsle, ousel; wesole, wesle, weasel; wesan, to be, beside wæs, was; gen. hūses, dat. hūse, beside nom. hūs, house.

§ 308. We have already seen that prim. Germanic z from Indg. s became r medially and was dropped finally in West Germanic (§ 252). Examples of medial r have been given in § 279; and of the loss of final -z in § 252.
§ 309. Germanic \( k \), generally written \( c \) in OE., remained a guttural initially before consonants and before the guttural vowels \( a, \bar{a}, o, \bar{o}, u, \bar{u} \), and their umlauts \( \tilde{a} \) (e), \( \tilde{e} \), \( \tilde{e} \), \( \tilde{e} \) (\( \tilde{e} \)), \( y, \bar{y} \), but became a palatal before the palatal vowels, \( \tilde{a} \), \( \tilde{e} \) (\( \tilde{e} \)) = Germanic \( \tilde{e} \), e (= Germanic e), \( \tilde{e} \) (\( \tilde{e} \)) = Germanic \( \tilde{e} \); ea, eo, io from Germanic a, e, i by breaking (§ 49), \( \tilde{e}a \), \( \tilde{e}o \), \( \tilde{io} \), i, i, and their umlauts e, ie (= i-umlaut of ea, io), ie (= i-umlaut of \( \tilde{e}a \), \( \tilde{io} \)), see § 47.

Germanic medial \( k \) and \( kk \) remained guttural when originally followed by a guttural vowel, as bucca, he-goat; macian from *makōjan, to make; sacu, strīfe; geoc, prim. Germanic *jukan, yoke; but became palatal when originally followed by an i or j, as bryce from *brukiz, breach; sēcan = Goth. sōkjan, to seek; peccan from *pakjan, to cover.

The guttural and palatal \( c \) often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, as pret. pl. curon, pp. coren, beside inf. cēosan, to choose; breccan, to break, beside brec from *briki, he breaks.

Some scholars assume that palatal \( c \) and nc became tf (= ch in NE. chin), ntj in Mercian, WS. and Ken. in the earliest period of the language, but this is an assumption which cannot be proved. All that we know for certain is that OE. had a guttural and a palatal \( k \), that the former was sometimes written \( k \) and the latter always \( c \), and that the two \( k \)-sounds had separate characters in the OE. runic alphabet. Both the guttural and the palatal \( k \) were generally written \( c \) in OE. When \( c \) was palatal it was often written ce, ci medially before a following guttural vowel, with e, i to indicate the palatal nature of the c, as sēcean, to seek; pecccean, to cover; jencean, to think, cp. § 319, Note.
Note.—OE. fecc(e)an beside fetian (of unknown etymology), to fetch, and OE. orceard beside ortgeard (Goth. aúrti-gards), orchard, garden, are not sufficient proof that palatal c, cc became tj in the oldest periods of the above dialects. All that can be said for certain is that the change had already taken place by the beginning of the Middle English period.

§ 310. 1. Guttural c.

cēlan from *köljan, to cool; cemban from *kambjan, to comb; corn, Goth. kaúrn, corn; cūp, Goth. kunþs, known; cynn, Goth. kuni, race, generation; cnēo, Goth. kniu, knee; and similarly camb, comb, comb; cēne, keen, bold; cennan, to give birth; cēpan, to keep; cōl, cool; coss, kiss; cū, cow; cuman, to come; cyning, king; cyssan, to kiss; cŷpan, to make known. clēne, clean; climban, to climb; cnotta, knot; cræft, skill; cwēn, queen. Also in Lat. loanwords, as candel (Lat. candēla), candle; copor (Lat. cuprum), copper; cycene (late Lat. coquina, cucīna), kitchen; and similarly camp, fight, battle; cempa, warrior; cōc, cook; cuppe, cup.

æcer, Goth. akrs, prim. Germanic *akraz, field; nacod, Goth. naqþs, OHG. nakot, naked; wracu, Goth. wraka, persecution; and similarly bacan, to bake; bucca, he-goat; draca, dragon; ficol, cunning; hnecca, neck; sprecan, to speak; sticca, stick. macian from *makōjan, to make; and similarly liccian, to lick; lōcian, to look; prician, to prick. drincan, to drink; þancian, to thank.

bucc, O.Icel. bokkr, Indg. *bhugnós, buck; blæc, prim. Germanic *blakaz, black; geoc, Goth. juk, prim. Germanic *jukan, yoke; and similarly ác, oak; bæc, back; bóc, book; brocc, badger; flocc, flock; folc, folk; mioluc, milk; sēoc, sick; weorc, work; þancian, thought.

§ 311. 2. Palatal c.

cēapian, Goth. káupōn, to trade, traffic; cēosan, Goth. kiusan, to choose; cinn, chin, Goth. kinnus, cheek; and similarly ceaf, chaff; ceafor, cockchafer; cēalc, chalk;
§ 312. In the oldest period of the language sc, like c (§ 309), was guttural or palatal, but some time during the OE. period the guttural sc became palatal, except in loan-words. It was often written sce, sci before a following guttural vowel with e, i to indicate the palatal nature of the sc. There is no definite proof that sc became s (the sh in NE. ship, shape) in early OE. as is assumed by some scholars. Examples are: sc(e)acan, to shake; scand, disgrace; sc(e)adu, shadow; sceaf, shaft; sceal, shall; scēap, sheep; scearp, sharp; sc(e)ort, short; scēotan, to shoot; scield, shield; scieppan, to create; scieran, to shear; scilling, shilling; scip, ship; scōh, shoe; scrūd, dress, garment; sculdor, shoulder; scūr, shower; scyldig, guilty. blyscan, to blush; perscan, to thresh; wascan, to wash;
wýscan, to wish. englisc, English; fisc, fish; flæsc, flesh. But scōl (Lat. schola), school; scinn (O.Icel. skinn), skin.

Note.—Medial sc often underwent metathesis to cs (written x), especially in late WS., as axe, ashes, āxian, to ask, fixas, fishes, waxan, to wash, beside asce, āscian (OHG. eiskōn), fiscas, wascan.

§ 313. Germanic ʒ became ɡ after ȝ during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234). ʒj (§ 254) and ʒn (§ 256) became gg in West Germanic. Germanic ʒ remained a spirant in all other positions in the oldest period of OE. On the normal development of Germanic ʒ in the other Germanic languages, see § 235.

Germanic initial and medial ʒ became differentiated in prehistoric OE. into a guttural and a palatal voiced spirant under the same conditions as those by which Germanic k became differentiated into a guttural and a palatal explosive (§ 309).

§ 314. Initial guttural ɡ remained in the oldest period of the language, but had become the voiced explosive ɡ before the end of the OE. period. Initial palatal ʒ (written ɡ) remained a spirant (= the y in NE. yet, yon) and fell together with Germanic initial j (§ 268). This explains why Germanic initial j was written ɡ in OE.

§ 315. 1. Guttural ʒ.

gäst, OS. gēst, OHG. geist, spirit; OE. OS. gōd, Goth. gōps, O.Icel. gōðr, OHG. guot, good; OE. OS. OHG. gold, Goth. gulp, gold; OE. Goth. guma, O.Icel. gume, OS. gumo, OHG. gomo, man; græs, Goth. OS. OHG. gras, grass; and similarly gād, goad; gaderian, to gather; galan, to sing; gamen, game, amusement; gār, spear, javelin; gāt, goat; pl. gatu, gates; gēs, geese; god, God; gōs, goose; pret. pl. guton, they poured out; pp. goten,
poured out; gūp, war; gylden, golden. glæd, glad; glöf, glove; gnætt, gnat; gréne, green; grund, ground.

§ 316. 2. Palatal ĝ.

geaf, Goth. O.Icel. OS. gaf, OHG. gab, he gave; gealga, OS. OHG. galgo, gallows, Goth. galga, cross; gēotan, Goth. giutan, OS. giotan, OHG. giozan, to pour out; giefan, Goth. giban, O.Icel. gefa, OS. geban, OHG. geban, to give; and similarly gēafon, they gave; gæard, courtyard; gearn, yarn; geat (N.E. dial. yet), gate; geolu, yellow; gewiss, certain; giesu, gift; gieldan, to repay, yield; giellan, to yell; gielpan, to boast; gīeman, to take notice of; giernan, to yearn for; giest, guest; gierwan, to prepare; gift, marriage gift.

Note.—The guttural and palatal ĝ often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, as pl. gatu beside sing. geat; pret. pl. guton, pp. gotten, beside inf. gēotan, pret. sing. gēat.

§ 317. The ĝ in the combination ĝg remained guttural or became palatal according as it was originally followed by a guttural or a palatal vowel or j. It also remained guttural before consonants.

1. Guttural ĝg: OE. OS. OHG. bringan, Goth. briggan, to bring; cyning from *kuningaz, king; lang from *langaz, long; tunge, Goth. tuggō, OS. tunga, OHG. zunga, tongue; and similarly englisc, English; finger (Goth. figgrs), finger; hring, ring; hungor, hunger; singan, to sing; springan, to leap; stingan, to sting; þing, thing.

2. Palatal ĝg, often written ge medially before guttural vowels with e to denote the palatal nature of the ĝ:

seng(e)an from *sengjan, to singe; streng from *strang-giz, string; and similarly feng, grasp; gemeng(e)an, to mix; lengra (OHG. lengiro), longer; steng, pole.

§ 318. ĝg became ţc before voiceless consonants, but the ĝ was generally restored through association with forms where ĝ was regular, as brincst, thou bringest, brincp,
he brings, beside bringst, brings, with g restored from the other forms of the verb; strençp from *strangipu, beside strengp, strength, with g restored from strang, strong; and similarly ancsum, narrow, lencten, spring, springp, he leaps, beside angsum, lengthen, springp.

§ 319. West Germanic gg from prim. Germanic gn (§ 256) remained guttural in OE. and was generally written gg, as dogga, dog; earwigca, earwig; frogga, frog; stagga, stag; sugga, water wagtail.

West Germanic gg from prim. Germanic gj (§ 254) became palatal gg in OE. and was generally written cg, also cge, cgi, before a medial guttural vowel, as brycg, Goth. *brug-ja, bridge; bycg(e)an, Goth. bugjan, to buy; secg, Goth. *sagjis, man; secg, sedge; lecg(e)an, Goth. lagjan, to lay; and similarly cycgel, dart; hrycg, back, ridge; licg(e)an, to lie down; mycg, midge; secgan, to say; wecg, wedge.

Note.—Some scholars assume that palatal ng and gg became ndž, dž (= the g in NE. gem) in Mercian, WS. and Ken. in early OE., but there is no definite proof that this sound-change took place in OE., cp. § 309. It is worthy of note that the voiced explosive in OE. brycg, hrycg, secg (sedge), licg(e)an and late OE. un-fligge (implumes) has been preserved in the dialects of the northern, midland, and eastern counties down to the present day, as brig, rig, seg, lig, fligd (flegd), fledged. See Wright’s English Dialect Grammar, §§ 353–4.

§ 320. Medial g remained a guttural spirant before original guttural vowels, but became a palatal spirant when originally followed by a palatal vowel or j. It also became palatal between OE. palatal vowels.

1. Guttural g.

OE. Goth. OS. dragan, O.Icel. draga, OHG. tragan, to draw; eage, Goth. áugō, O.Icel. auga, OS. òga, OHG. ouga, eye; OE. OS. OHG. stīgan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stiga, to ascend; and similarly āgan, to possess; dagian from *daṣōjan, to dawn; duguþ, strength, virtue; belgan,
to become angry; beorgan, to protect, shelter; boga, bow; bugan, to bow down; fleogan, to fly; fleoge, fly; folgian, to follow; fugol, bird, fowl; lagu, law; leogan, to he; maga, stomach; slögon, they slew; sugu, sow; swelgan, to swallow; pl. dagas, days; wegas, ways.

2. Palatal ʒ, often written ge before a following guttural vowel:

biegan from *baugjan, to bend; ege, Goth. agis, fear; sige, Goth. sigis, victory; wāg from *wāgiz, wave; and similarly byge, traffic; eglan, to molest; hyge, mind; lyge, falsehood; myrg(i)þ, mirth. fægen, glad; fæger, fair; mægen, strength; nægel, nail; slægen, slam; tæg(e)l, tail; gen. sing. dæges, weges.

Note.—ʒ became h (= χ) before voiceless consonants, but the ʒ was often restored from forms where ʒ was regular, as stīhst, thou ascendest, stīhp, he ascends, beside older stīgest, stīgeþ; and similarly flīehst, flīehþ, beside inf. flēogan, to fly.

§ 321. ʒ often disappeared after palatal vowels before a following dental or consonantal n with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as brēdan, to brandish, brīdel, brīdels, bridle, frinan, to ask, lēde, he laid, māden, maiden, ongēn (ongēn), against, rīnan, to rain, sāde, he said, strēdan, to strew, tīpian, to grant, þēnian, to serve, beside bregdan, brigdel, brigdels, frignan, legde, mægden, ongeagn, rig-nan, sægde, stregdan, tīpian, þegnian. Gen. rēnes beside regnes, from which a new nom. rēn beside regn, rain, was formed; and similarly þēn, servant, wān, wagon, beside þegn, vægn. See §§ 54, Note 1; 80, Note 2; 96, Note 1.

§ 322. Medial -igi-, -ige- were contracted to -i- as in MHG., as gelīre beside geligere, fornication; ìl beside ìgil, hedgehog; sīpe from *sigrīpe, scythe; tile beside tigele, tile; liþ (MHG. lit) beside ligeþ (MHG. liget), he lies; list beside ligest, thou liest.
§ 323. When Germanic здание came to stand finally in OE., it is probable that it became a voiceless spirant (χ) just as in Goth. OS., and prehistoric O.Icel., but that the $\gamma$ ($\approx \mathfrak{g}$) was mostly restored again owing to the influence of the inflected forms. After liquids and guttural vowels the restoration of the $\gamma$ was merely orthographical, but the further history of the sound in OE. shows that after palatal vowels it was mostly restored in pronunciation as well, because $\cdot h$ rarely occurs after palatal vowels, as in sextih beside sextig, sixty; weh beside weg, weigh thou. The $h$ ($\approx \chi$) seldom occurs in early OE., but is common in late OE. especially after liquids and long vowels, as mearh, marrow, bealh, he became angry, beside mearg, bealg; and similarly beorh, hill; burh, city; sorh, sorrow; swealh, he swallowed. dāh, dough, plōh, plough, stāh, he ascended, beside dāg, plōg, stāg; and similarly bēah, ring, bracelet; bōh, bough; fleah, he flew; genōh, enough; stih, path; troh beside trog, trough.

§ 324. Final ڑ came to stand finally in OE., it is probable that it became a voiceless spirant (χ) just as in Goth. OS., and prehistoric O.Icel., but that the $\gamma$ ($\approx \mathfrak{g}$) was mostly restored again owing to the influence of the inflected forms. After liquids and guttural vowels the restoration of the $\gamma$ was merely orthographical, but the further history of the sound in OE. shows that after palatal vowels it was mostly restored in pronunciation as well, because $\cdot h$ rarely occurs after palatal vowels, as in sextih beside sextig, sixty; weh beside weg, weigh thou. The $h$ ($\approx \chi$) seldom occurs in early OE., but is common in late OE. especially after liquids and long vowels, as mearh, marrow, bealh, he became angry, beside mearg, bealg; and similarly beorh, hill; burh, city; sorh, sorrow; swealh, he swallowed. dāh, dough, plōh, plough, stāh, he ascended, beside dāg, plōg, stāg; and similarly bēah, ring, bracelet; bōh, bough; fleah, he flew; genōh, enough; stih, path; troh beside trog, trough.

§ 325. Initial $\chi$ had became an aspirate before vowels already in prim. Germanic (§ 246). In OE. it also became an aspirate initially before consonants except in the combination $\chi w$. The spirant remained in the combination $\chi w$
§ 326. Medial $\chi$ remained in OE. before voiceless consonants, and when doubled. It was guttural or palatal according as it was originally followed by a guttural or palatal vowel or $j$, as brôhte, Goth. OS. OHG. brähta, he brought; dohtor, Goth. dauhtar, OS. dohtar, OHG. tohter, daughter; eahta, Goth. ahtáu, OS. OHG. ahto, eight; and similarly bohte, he bought; cniht, cniht, boy; feoh-tan, to fight; hleahntor, laughter; lëoht, a light; pret. meahte, he might; reoht, rieht, ryht, right; söhte, he sought; pöhte, he thought; ühta, dawn. crohha, crock, pot; geneahhe, sufficiently; pohha, pocket; tiohhian, to think, consider.
Dat. dehter from *dohtri, beside nom. dohtor, daughter; flyht from *fluxtiz, flight; hiehsta from *xauxist-, highest; hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; liehtan, Goth. liuhtjan, to give light; siehst, OHG. sihis, thou seest; siehp, OHG. sihit, he sees; and similarly féhst, thou seizest; fēhp, he seizeth; niehsta, nearest; tyht, training, habit. § 327. x became ks (written x) in OE., as oxa, Goth. aúhsa, OS. OHG. ohso, ox; siex, Goth. saíhs, OS. OHG. sehs, six; weaxan, OS. OHG. wahsan, to grow; and similarly feax, hair; fleax, flax; fox, fox; fyxen, vixen; miox, dung; wrixlan, to exchange. § 328. Final χ remained, as hēah, OS. OHG. höh, high; nēah, OS. OHG. nāh, near; seah, OS. OHG. sah, he saw; sealh, OHG. salaha, willow; þurh, Goth. þáirh, OS. thurh, OHG. duruh, durh, through; and similarly feoh, cattle, property; rūh, rough; scōh, shoe; tōh, tough; wōh, perverse, bad; seoh, see thou; sleah, slay thou; tēoh, pull thou. eolh, elk; holh, hollow; seolh, seal; sulh, plough; wealh, foreigner. feorh, life; furh, furrow; mearh, horse. Note.—Such forms as late WS. bleoh, colour, eoh, yew, frēoh, free, beside bleo, eo, fréo, owe their final h to the analogy of words like feoh, gen. féos. § 329. Medial χ disappeared: 1. Before s + consonant, as fyst from *fuxstiz, fist; Nth. se(i)sta, sixth, beside WS. siexta, syxta which was a new formation from the cardinal; sester (Lat. sextarius), vessel, pitcher, jar; þisl beside older þixl (OHG. dihsala), wagon-pole; wæsma, wæstm, growth, beside weaxan (OHG. wahsan), to grow. But the χ remained in χs when it arose from vowel syncope, as siehst, thou seest; hiehsta from *xauxist-, highest. 2. Between a vowel and a following liquid or nasal, as betwēonan, betwēonum, between, cp. Goth. tweihnáí, two each; ēorod from *eohrád, troop; fiol, fēol (OHG. fihala),
file; hēla from *hōhila, heel; lāne (OS. lēhni), transitory; lēoma, ray of light, cp. Goth. liuhaþ, light; stiele from *stažla-, steel (§ 71); þwēal (Goth. þwahl), washing, bath; masc. acc. sing. wōne beside nom. wōh, perverse, bad; ýmest (Goth. áuhmists), highest; and similarly in compounds, as hēalic, lofty, hēanes, height, beside hēah, high; nēalēcan, to draw nigh, nēalic, near, nēawest, nearness, beside nēah, near.

3. Between a liquid and a following vowel, as fēolan (Goth. filhan), to penetrate, hide; þyrel from *þurχil, opening, aperture; sing. gen. ēoles, fēares, fēores, hōles, mēares, sēoles, wēales, beside nom. eolh, elk, fearh, pig, feorh, life, holh, hole, meareh, hourse, seolh, seal, wealth, foreigner. See §§ 64, Note 1; 66, Note 3; 84, Note 1; 106, Note.

4. Between vowels, as ēa (OHG. aha), water, river; ēam (OHG. ēheim), uncle; ēar (Nth. æhher, OHG. ahir), ear of corn; fēlan from *fleahan, older *flahan, to flay; and similarly lēan, to blame; slēan (Goth. slahan), to slay; þwēan (Goth. þwahan), to wash; fēon (OHG. fliohan), to flee; fōn (Goth. fāhan), to seize; hōn (Goth. hāhan), to hang; lion, lēon (OHG. lihan), to lend; nēar from *nēahr, near; sēon from *seohan, older *sehan (OHG. sehan), to see; sion, sēon (OHG. sīhan), to strain; slā beside older slāhæ (OHG. slēha), sloe; swēor (OHG. swēhur), father-in-law; tā beside older tāhæ (OHG. zēha), toe; tēar (Nth. tæhher, OHG. zahar), tear; jōn, jēon (Goth. þeihan), to thrive; sing. gen. fēos, plēos, beside nom. feoh, cattle, property, pleoh, danger; pl. nom. hēa from *hēahe, beside sing. hēah, high. In Anglian loss of h and contraction took place earlier than the syncope of i(e), as . flēp from *flihip, he flees, fēp, he seizes, sis(t) from *sihis, thou seest, sīp from *sihip, he sees, hēsta from *hēhista, highest, nēsta from *nēhista, nearest, beside WS. flēhp, fēhp, siehst, siehp, hiehsta, niehsta. See §§ 70, 87, 139, 141.
§ 330. In OE., as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, nouns are divided into two great classes, according as the stem originally ended in a vowel or a consonant, cp. the similar division of nouns in Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. Nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel belong to the vocalic or so-called strong declension. Those whose stems originally ended in -n belong to the weak declension. All other consonantal stems will be put together under the general heading, 'Minor Declensions.'

§ 331. Owing to the loss of final short vowels, and consonants, in prehistoric OE. (§§ 211–16), several different kinds of stems regularly fell together in the nom. and acc. singular, so that, from the point of view of OE., the nom. and acc. singular end in consonants, and we are only able to classify such stems either by starting out from prim. Germanic, or from the plural, or from a comparison with the other old Germanic languages; thus the OE. nom. and acc. singular of dæg, day; word, word; dæl, part; hand, hand; lamb, lamb, correspond to prim. Germanic *dægaz, *dægan, older -os, -om; *wurdan, older -om; *dailiz, *dailin, older -is, -im; *xanduz (Goth. handus), *xandun (Goth. handu), older -us, -um; *lambaz, older -os (cp. Lat. genus, gen. generis). The original distinction between the nom. and acc. singular of masculine and feminine nouns had disappeared in the oldest period of the English lan-
§ 332. OE. nouns have two numbers: singular and plural; three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other old Germanic languages from which the gender of nouns in OE. does not materially differ; five cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Instrumental. The dat. is generally used for the instr. in OE., so that this case is omitted in the paradigms, see § 334, Note. The vocative is like the nominative. The nom. and acc. plural are always alike; in those declensions which would regularly have different forms for the nom. and acc., the acc. disappeared and the nom. was used in its stead. Traces of an old locative occur in what is called the uninflected dat. singular of hām, home. In Northumbrian both the declension and gender of nouns fluctuated considerably as compared with the other OE. dialects.
A. THE VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

1. THE a-DECLENSION.

§ 333. The a-declension comprises masculine and neuter nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek o-declension (Lat. masc. -us, neut. -um, Gr. -os, -ov), for which reason it is sometimes called the o-declension. The a-declension is divided into pure a-stems, ja-stems, and wa-stems.

a. Pure a-stems.

§ 334. Masculine.

Sing.

Nom. Acc. stān, stone  dæg, day  mearh, horse
Gen. stānes  dæges  mēares
Dat. stāne  dæge  mēare

Plur.

Nom. Acc. stānas  dagas  mēaras
Gen. stāna  daga  mēara
Dat. stānum  dagum  mēarum

Note.—The gen. sing. ended in -æs in the oldest period of the language, and in late OE. occasionally in -as, -ys. The oldest ending of the dat. sing. is -æ. The dat. sing. is generally used for the instrumental, so that this case is omitted in the paradigms. In the oldest period of the language the instrumental (originally a locative) ended in -i, later -y, and corresponded to the Gr. loc. ending oik-ει, at home, not to oik-οι which would have become -e in OE. as in the dat. (§ 217). In late OE. the dat. pl. ended in -un, -on, -an (§ 284).

(§ 218, i). From what has been said in chapter VI on the vowels of unaccented syllables it will be seen that all the forms of the singular and plural, except the nom. acc. pl., are regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. The pl. ending -as, OS. -os, -as, beside OHG. -a, has never been satisfactorily explained. The most probable explanation is that it represents the ending of nouns which originally had the accent on the ending like Skr. gharmás, heat = Gr. ἄρμος, hot, and that this ending then came to be used also for nouns which originally had the accent on the stem. That some nouns had the accent on the ending in prim. Germanic is proved by such words as OE. cēosan, to choose, beside cyre from *kuzis (§ 252), choice, which at a later period shifted the accent and dropped the final -s (?)-z) after the analogy of nouns which originally had the accent on the stem. Upon this supposition the ending -as would regularly correspond to prim. Germanic pl. nom. -ōs or acc. -áns. In like manner is to be explained the retention of the final -s in the second pers. sing. of the present tense of strong verbs in the West Germanic languages, cp. OE. nimes(t), OS. OHG. nimis, beside Goth. nimis, thou takest (§ 476). The usual explanation that -as corresponds to an early Aryan double plural ending -āsas from older -ōses with -es from the consonant stems, is not in accordance with our present knowledge of the history of short vowels in final syllables in the oldest period of the various Germanic languages. An original ending -ōses would have become -or in OE.

§ 335. Like stān are declined by far the greater majority of monosyllabic a-stems, as āl, cel; ād, funeral pile; āþ, oath; bæst, bast; bár, boar; bát, boat; bēag, ring, bracelet; bēam, tree; beard, beard; bearm, bosom; bēod, table; beorg, hill; beorn, warrior; bōg, bough; bolt, bolt; borg, pledge; bræþ, odour; brand, firebrand; brōm, broom (the plant); būc, stomach; camb, comb; cēac, jug; cēap,
price; cēol, ship; ceorl, churl; clām (N.E. dial. cloam),
mud; clāp, cloth; clūt, patch; cniht, boy; craf, skill,
strength; cwealm, death; dōm, doom; dēam, joy, revelry;
dweorg, dwarf; earm, arm; earn, eagle; eorl, nobleman;
fisc, fish; fleam, flight; forsc, frog; forst, frost; fox,
gang, going; gāst, spirit; gēac, cuckoo; geard,
yard; gielp, boasting; hēft, captive; hām, home; healm,
haulm; heals, neck; helm, helmet; hlæst, burden; hlāf,
loaf; hōf, hoof; hrēam, cry, shout, uproar; hrīm, rime;
hring, ring; hund, dog; hwelp, whelp; löst, footprint;
mæst, mast; mōr, moor; mūp, mouth; rāp, rope; rūm,
room; sceal, shaft; sēam, seam; stōl, stool; storm,
strēam, stream; torn, grief; þanc, thought; þēof,
thief; þorp, þrop, farm, village; weg, way; wer, man;
wulf, wolf.

See § 259, i on nouns whose stems ended in double consonants: bucc, buck; cocc, cock; codd, cod, husk; coss, kiss; cnoll, knoll; cropp, sprout; hnæpp, cup; hwamm, corner; pott, pot; sceatt, property, money; smocc, smock; swamm, fungus; weall, wall.

§ 336. Like dæg are declined pæp, path; stæf, staff;
hwæl, whale, see §§ 54, 57. mæg, kinsman, pl. māgas
(§ 120) beside māgas with ā from the singular.

§ 337. Like mearh are declined ealh, temple; eolh, elk;
fearh, pig, boar; healh, corner; sealh, willow; seolh, seal
(animal); wealth, foreigner, see § 149. scōh, shoe, gen. scōs,
dat. scō, pl. scōs, see § 139; and similarly slōh (also fem.
and neut.), slough, mire; eoh (also neut.), horse, gen. eōs,
dat. ēo. horh (also neut.), durt, gen. horwes, dat. horwe,
beside hōres, hōre; pl. horwu (neut.) beside hōras, see
§ 239.

§ 338. Sing.

Nom. Acc. cyning, king engel, angel heofon, heaven
Gen. cyninges engles heofones
Dat. cyninge engle heofone
The vowel in the medial syllable generally disappeared in the inflected forms of disyllabic words when the first syllable was long and the second short. It also generally disappeared when the first syllable was short and the second syllable ended in vocalic \( l, m, n \) in West Germanic (§ 219). On the retention or the loss of the medial vowel in the inflected forms of disyllabic words, see § 221.

§ 339. Like cyning are declined æcer, field; cocer, quiver; hærfest, autumn; hengest, horse. brīdels, bridle; fætels, vessel, tub; for other examples of nouns ending in -els, see § 598. æpeling, prince; cnæpling, youth; gædling, companion; lŷtling, child; for other examples of nouns ending in -ling, see § 607.

§ 340. Like engel are declined æled, fire; angel, fishhook; ãpum, son-in-law; bealdor, prince; bietel, mallet; blōstm, blossom; bolster (also neut.), bolster; bōsm, bosom; brēmel, bramble; dēofol, devil; dryhten, lord; ealdor, prince; finger, finger; hleahtor, laughter; māpum, treasure; morgen, morning; ōfer, shore; þymel, thimble, thumbstall; wæstm, growth.

botm, bottom; ellen (also neut.), zeal, courage, strength; fæpm, embrace; fugol, bird, fowl; hæg(e), hagol, hail; ofen, oven; nægl, nail; reg(e)n, rain; þeg(e)n, thane.

But nouns like bulluc, bullock; cassuc, sedge; langoþ, longing (for other examples of nouns ending in -þ, -oþ, see § 595); mattuc, mattock; pearroc, park, generally retain the medial vowel.

§ 341. Like heofon are declined bydel, beadle; cradol, cradle; daroþ, dart, spear; eodor, enclosure; eoþ, boar; hafoc, heafoc, hawk; hamor, hammer; heorot, stag, hart;
metod, Creator; roðor, sky; saðol, saddle; staþol, pillar; punor, thunder. On the variation of the vowel in the medial syllable, see § 222.

§ 342. Neuter.

Sing.

Nom. Acc. word, word hof, dwelling fæt, vessel
Gen. wordes hofes fætes
Dat. worde hofe fæte

Plur.

Nom. Acc. word hofu, -o fatu, -o
Gen. worda hofa fata
Dat. wordum hofum fatum

The neuter a-stems had the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. and acc. plural. The prim. Germanic ending of the nom. acc. plural was -ō which became -u and then regularly disappeared after long stem-syllables (§ 215). In the nouns with short stem-syllables the -u became -o at an early period, and then in late OE. -a (§ 215, Note). In late OE. the long stems often had -u in the plural after the analogy of the short stems.

§ 343. Like word are declined a large number of monosyllables with long stem, as ār, brass; bāl, funeral pile; bān, bone; bearn, child; bēor, beer; blōd, blood; bold, dwelling; bord, board; brēost, breast; corn, corn; dēor, wild animal; dūst, dust; fām, foam; fearn, fern; feax, hair; fleax, flax; folc, folk; gēar, year; gearn, yarn; gield, payment; gold, gold; hord (also masc.), treasure, hoard; horn, horn; hors, horse; hrēod, reed; hris, twig; hūs, house; īs, ice; lām, clay; land, land; lēaf, leaf; lēan, reward; lēop, song, poem; līc, body; līn, flax, linen; mān, crime; mōd, mind, courage; morp, murder; nēat, ox; nest, nest; nīp, enmity; sār, pain; scēap, sheep; seax, knife; sweord, sword; tōl, tool; þing, thing;
weorc, work; weorp, worth, price; wif, woman. And similarly words with a prefix, as behäť, promise; gebeorc, barking. See §259, 1 on nouns whose stems ended in double consonants: fell, skin; full, cup; toll, tax, toll.

§ 344. Like hof are declined broc, affliction; brop, broth; ceaf, chaff; col, coal; dor, door; geoc, yoke; god, god (heathen); hol, hole; loc, lock; lot, deceit; sol, mud; spor, track. And similarly words with a prefix, as behat, gebat, gebeorc, barking. See §259, 1 on nouns whose stems ended in double consonants: fell, skin; full, cup; toll, tax, toll.

§ 345. Like fast are declined baec, back; bæp, bath; blaec, ink; blæd, leaf; bræs, brass; cræt, cart; dæl, dale; fæc, period of time, space; fær, journey; fnæd, fnæs, fringe; gaers from older graes (§280), grass; glæs, glass; græf, grave, cave; hæf, sea; sæp, sap; scræf, cave; swæp, track; træf, tent; þæc, thatch, roof; wæd, water, sea; wæl, slaughter. See §§ 54, 57.

§ 346. flæh, fraud, gen. flæs, dat. flæ; þeoh, thigh, gen. þeos, dat. þeo, pl. þeo, gen. þeom; pleoh, danger, gen. plæos, dat. plæo, pl. plæo; holh, hollow, hole, gen. hólæs, dat. hólæ, pl. holh, see §149. feoh, cattle, originally belonged to the u-declension (§399).

§ 347. Sing.

Nom. Ace. tungol, star væter, water hēafod, head

Gen. tungles væteres hēafdes

Dat. tungle vætere hēafde
Plur.
Nom. Acc. tungol wæter hēafodu
Gen. tungla wætera hēafda
Dat. tunglum wæterum hēafdum

Dissyllabic words which in West Germanic ended in vocalic l, n, r (§ 219) syncopated the medial vowel in the gen. and dat. sing. and plural and lost the final -u in the nom. and acc. plural when the stem-syllable was long. So that the nom. acc. sing. and plural became alike just as in the monosyllabic long stems. Original trisyllabic words (§ 223), and also dissyllabic words which in West Germanic ended in vocalic n, r, retained the medial vowel in the gen. and dat. sing. and plural, but lost the final -u in the nom. and acc. plural when the stem-syllable was short. Original trisyllabic words syncopated the medial vowel in the gen. and dat. sing. and plural, but retained the medial vowel and the final -u in the nom. and acc. plural when the stem-syllable was long. See §§ 216, 223.

Note.—In the later period of the language there was great fluctuation in the formation of the plural and in the loss or retention of the medial vowel, as nom. acc. plural tunglu, wæt(ê)ru, hēafdu beside older tungol, wæter, hēafodu; gen. sing. wætres beside older wæteres.

§ 348. Like tungol are declined ātor, poison; bēacen, beacon; cnōsl, race, progeny; fācen, deceit; fōdor, fodder; spātl, saliva; tācen, token; wāpen, weapon; wolcen, cloud; wuldor, glory; wundor, wonder.

§ 349. Like wæter are declined brægen, brain; gamen, game, sport; leger, couch; mægen, strength; ofet, fruit; reced, house, hall; weder, weather; weorod, werod, troop, pl. weredu (§ 222) beside werod. setl, seat, pl. setlu beside setl.

§ 350. Like hēafod are declined cliwen, cliwen, ball of thread, clew; māden, mægden, maiden; nieten, animal.
§ 351. Masculine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>secg, man</td>
<td>ende, end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>secges</td>
<td>endes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>secge</td>
<td>ende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>secg(e)as</td>
<td>endas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>secg(e)a</td>
<td>enda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>secg(i)um</td>
<td>endum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The j caused umlaut of the stem-vowel and then disappeared in the inflected forms except after r (§§ 271-2). When the j came to stand finally after the loss of prim. Germanic -az, -an it became vocalized to i which remained in the oldest period of the language, and then later became e (§§ 215, Note, 274), cp. here, army, ende, end, beside Goth. acc. hari, andi. The OE. forms with double consonants in the nom. and accusative singular are all new formations from the inflected forms. The regular forms would be *sege, man; *dyne, noise = Goth. acc. *sagi, *duni.

§ 352. Like secg are declined bridd, young bird; cnyll, knell; dyn(n), noise; hlyn(n), loud sound; hrycg, back, ridge; hyll, hill; mæcg (§ 55, Note 3), man; mycg, midge; wecg, wedge. See § 259, 1.

§ 353. The j (written i, g, ig; also ige before a guttural vowel, § 268) remained medially after r preceded by a short vowel, as nom. acc. here, army; gen. heries, herges, heriges; dat. herie, herge, herige; pl. nom. acc. herias, hergas, herigas, herigeas; gen. heria, heriga, herigea; dat. herium, herigum. Forms without j also occur occasionally, as gen. heres, dat. here, pl. heras.
§ 354. Like *ende are declined *esne, *servant; *hierde, *shepherd; *hwæte, *wheat; *læce, *physician; *mēce, *sword; and the nomina agentis, as *bæcere, *baker; *biddere, *petitioner; *bōcere, *scribe; *sādere, *sower; for further examples see § 602.

§ 355. Neuter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SING.</th>
<th>Neuter.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc. cyn(n), race</td>
<td>wite, punishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. cynnes</td>
<td>wîtes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. cynne</td>
<td>wite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc. cyn(n)</td>
<td>witu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. cynna</td>
<td>wîta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. cynnum</td>
<td>wîtum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the masc. ja-stems it is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The neuter ja-stems had the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. plural. The nom. acc. plural ended in prim. Germanic in -jō which became -ju in prim. OE. The j regularly disappeared after causing umlaut of the preceding vowel. And then the -u being preceded by a long syllable also disappeared (§ 215). The nom. acc. pl. of the originally short stems is regularly developed from the prim. Germanic form, as cyn(n) from *kunjō. But the -u in the originally long stems and in words containing a suffix is not the preservation of the prim. OE. -u. Such nouns owe their final -u to the analogy of the nom. acc. pl. of short a-stems (§ 342). That forms like witu, wêstennu are new formations is proved by the simple fact that from a Germanic point of view these nouns ought to have the same ending in OE. as the nom. acc. singular of the jō-stems (§ 374).
§§ 356–8] 

**Nouns** 175

The OE. forms with double consonants in the nom. acc. singular are all new formations from the inflected forms, as cyn(n), bedd, nett for *cyne, *bede, *nete = Goth. kuni, badi, nati, see § 274. On the final double consonants in the nom. acc. singular, see § 259, i. In late OE. the double consonants in words containing a suffix were generally simplified in the inflected forms, and the medial vowel was also occasionally syncopated, as gen. wēstenes, pl. wēstenu, beside wēstnu.

§ 356. Like cyn(n) are declined bedd, bed; bill, sword; denn, den; flett, floor; giedd, song; nebb, beak; nett, net; ribb, rib; webb, web; wedd, pledge; wicg, horse; witt, understanding.

§ 357. Like wite are declined Ærende, errand; fēpe, walking, power of motion; ierfe, inheritance; ierre, anger; rice, kingdom; rīne, mystery; stiele, steel; wāge, cup; nouns with the prefix ge-, as gefilde, plain; gefylce, troop; getieme, yoke (of oxen), team; getimbre, building; gemierce, boundary; gewāde, dress, clothing; geþiode, geþiode, language. ficce, prim. Germanic *flikkja-, flitch; styce, prim. Germanic *stukkja-, piece. See § 270, Note, on nouns like hieg (Goth. hawi), hay, hiew, hiw (Goth. hiwi), shape, appearance, gīg, gīw (Goth. *gliw), glee, gen. hīges, hīwes (hīowes), gīges, gīwes.

§ 358. Like wēsten are declined faesten(n), fortress, cp. § 600; bænet(t), arson; nierwe(t), narrowness; sæwet(t), sowing; þeowet(t), slavery; for further examples, see § 604. To this class probably also belong the diminutives in -incel, which generally syncopate the e in the inflected forms, as cofincel, little chamber, gen. cofincles; and similarly hæftincel, slave; hūsincel, little house; scipincel, little ship; sūlincel, small furrow; for further examples, see § 606. fiþere, wing.
c. wa-stems.

§ 359. Masculine.

Sing.

Nom. Acc. bearu, -o, grove  ṭeo, servant
Gen. bearwes  ṭeowes
Dat. bearwe  ṭeowe

Plur.

Nom. Acc. bearwas  ṭeowas
Gen. bearwa  ṭeowa
Dat. bearwum  ṭeowum

In the inflected forms the masc. wa-stems have the same endings as the pure a-stems. After the loss of prim. Germanic -az, -an in the nom. and acc. singular, the w being final became vocalized to -u which remained after short vowels followed by a consonant, but with a preceding short vowel it combined to form a diphthong (§§ 264–5); thus prim. Germanic *barwaz, -an, *ṭewaz, -an regularly became bearu (later bearo), ṭeo. After a long vowel the -u regularly disappeared, as in snā, snow, from *snaiwaz, -an. At a later period the w in the inflected forms was levelled out into the nom. acc. singular, whence ṭeow, snāw beside older ṭeo, snā. And then from ṭeow there was often formed a new gen. ṭeowes beside the regular form ṭeowes (§ 265). On forms like gen. bearuwes beside bearwes, see § 220.

§ 360. Like ṭeo, ṭeow are declined bēaw, gadfly; dēaw (also neut.), dēw; lārēow from lār + ṭeow, teacher; lāttēow from lād + ṭeow, leader; ṭēaw, custom; briw (Goth. *breiws), pottage, porridge; giw, gēow, griffin, vulture; iw, iow, ēow, yew; sliw (Goth. *sleiws), tench (a fish).
§ 361. **Neuter.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bealu, -o, evil</td>
<td>cneo, knee</td>
<td>cneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>bealwes</td>
<td>cneowes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>bealwe</td>
<td>cneowe</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The neuter wa-stems have the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. plural. What has been said in § 359 about the history of the w also applies to the neutrals. It should be noted that the nom. acc. plural bealu, cneo are from older *beal(w)u, *kne(w)u (§ 266), whereas the nom. acc. sing. bealu, cneo, are from older *bealw-, *knew- (§ 265). On the svarabhakti vowel in the inflected forms like gen. bealuwes beside bealwes, see § 220. Besides the regular nom. acc. pl. cneo, there also occurs cnéow with w from the inflected forms; and also cnéowu with -u from forms like bealu. In late OE. the pl. also ended in -wa, see § 215, Note.

§ 362. Like bealu are declined c(w)udu, cud; teoru, tar; meolu, melu, meal, flour; searu, device; smeoru, fat.

§ 363. Like cneo, cnéow are also declined ancléow (orig. masc.), anklo; bëow, barley; gehlôw, lowing, bellowing; gehrêow, lamentation; hlêo(w), protection, covering; sêaw (also masc.), juice; strêa(w), straw; trêo(w), tree.

2. The o-declension.

§ 364. The o-declension contains feminine nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek à-declension, for which reason it is sometimes called the à-declension. The o-declension is divided into pure o-stems, jō-stems, and wō-stems.
a. Pure ō-stems.

§ 365. Sing.

Nom. giefu, -o, gift  ār, honour
Acc. giefe  āre
Gen. giefe  āre
Dat. giefe  āre

Plur.

Nom. Acc. giefa, -e  āra, -e
Gen. giefa, (-ena)  āra, (-na, -ena)
Dat. giefum  ārum

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *gebō, acc. *gebōn (cp. Gr. Ἰώπαυ), gen. *gebōz (Goth. gibōs), dat. *gebai (Goth. gibai); Plur. nom. acc. *gebōz (Goth. gibōs), gen. *gebōn (Goth. gibō), dat. *gebōmiz (Goth. gibōm). The acc. gen. and dat. sing. and the nom. acc. pl. regularly fell together in œ in prehistoric OE. (§ 217). The œ remained in the oldest period of the language and then later regularly became -e. In the nom. sing. the ō became -u and then regularly disappeared after long stem-syllables (§ 215). In late OE. the gen. sing. often ended in -es after the analogy of the masc. a-stems; and sometimes the nom. of the short stems was used for all cases of the singular. The regular ending of the gen. pl. is -a, but in late OE. the gen. pl. often ended in -(e)na after the analogy of the n-stems (§ 403). On the ending -um of the dat. plural, see § 218, 5. The normally developed ending of the nom. acc. pl. is -e which was regularly preserved in the Anglian dialects, whereas -a is the usual ending in WS. and Ken. It is difficult to account for the -a in the nom. acc. pl. in WS. and Ken., and for the -a in the oblique cases of the fem. nouns ending in ōng in these dialects. Seeing that the gen. sing. and nom. pl. originally had the same ending ōz and that both cases ended in œ in the oldest OE., the ō in the nom. pl. cannot be a regular development from
§§ 366-8]  

**Nouns**

older -æ. It is sometimes assumed that -a is the regular development of prim. Germanic -ōz in OE., and that what is called the gen. sing. is morphologically the dat., but against this assumption it should be pointed out that in the oldest period of the language the gen. and dat. sing. and nom. plural had all the same ending. Short stems with a often have æ beside a in the acc. gen. and dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl., as læbe, ræce, beside læpe, race.

§ 366. Like giefu are declined caru, care; cwalu, violent death; daru, injury; denu, valley; faru, journey; hogu, solicitude; laþu, invitation; lufu (also weak), love; nafu, nave (of wheel); notu, use; racu, account, narrative; rudu, redness; sacu, strife; sagu, saw; sc(e)amu, shame; scinu, shin; scolu, troop; snoru, daughter-in-law; stalu, theft; swaþu, track; talu, tale, number; þracu, violence, combat; waru, people; wracu, revenge; &c.

§ 367. Like ār are declined a large number of nouns, as æsp, aspen-tree; bād, pledge; bær, bier; beorc, birch-tree; bōt, advantage; brōd, brood; eax, axis; eaxl, shoulder; fēol, file; gād, goad; glōf, glove; heall, hall; heord, herd, flock; hwil, space of time; lād, way, journey; lāf, remnant; lār, learning; lēod, nation; lind, linden, shield; mearc, boundary; mēd, meord, reward; mund, hand; rād, ride, riding; reord, voice, language; rōd, cross; rūn, secret; scand, disgrace; scofl, shovel; sealf, ointment; sorg, sorrow; stund, period of time, hour; tang, tongs; þearf, need; þēod, nation; þrāg, time, period; wamb, stomach; weard, protection; wund, wound; &c. brū, eyebrow, has nom. acc. pl. brūa beside brūwa, gen. brūna, dat. brūum beside brūwum.

§ 368. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>firen, crime</th>
<th>sāwol, soul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plur.

Nom. Acc. firena, -e  sāwla, -e
Gen. firena          sāwla
Dat. firenum         sāwlum

In originally trisyllabic words the final -u regularly disappeared in the nom. sing. when the stem and the medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short (§ 216). Then after the analogy of words like firen, the final -u was also dropped in words like sāwol. The medial vowel regularly disappeared in the inflected forms after long stems, but remained after short (§ 221). The nouns of this class do not have the ending -(e)na in the gen. plural.

§ 369. Like firen are declined bisen, bisn, example; byden, bushel; ciefes, concubine; feter, fetter; fēper, feather; netel, nettle; spinel, spindle; stefn, voice; but egenu, chaff.

§ 370. Like sāwol are declined ādl, disease; ceaster, city, fortress; frōfor (also masc.), consolation; nādl, needle; wōcor, increase, usury.

§ 371. Nom. strengpu, -o, strength  leornung, learning
Acc. Gen. Dat. strengpe       leornunge, -a

The fem. abstract nouns ending in prim. Germanic -iþō regularly syncopated the medial i (§ 221) and in the oldest period of the language retained the final -u in the nom. (§ 216). Then at a later period the -u (-o) was often dropped after the analogy of words like ār (§ 367). At a still later period the nom. with and without the final -o came to be used for all cases. The abstract nouns in -ung regularly syncopated the final -u in the nom. (§ 216).

§ 372. Like strengpu, -o, strengp are declined cyppu, cyp(p), native country; fæhp(u), feud; gesælp(u), prosperity;
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hliewþ(u), shelter; mægþ(u), family, kindred; þiefþ(u), theft; wraþþ(u), anger, wrath; for further examples, see § 613.

§ 373. Like leornung are declined æfnung, evening; æring, dawn; geþafung, consent; læasung, falsehood; rihtung, direction; swinsung, melody; wēnung, hope, expectation; for further examples, see § 615.

b. jō-stems.

§ 374. Sing.

Nom. hen(n), hen  gierd, rod
Acc. henne  gierde
Gen. henne  gierde
Dat. henne  gierde

Plur.

Nom. Acc. henna, -e  gierda, -e
Gen. henna  gierda
Dat. hennum  gierdum

It is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The j regularly disappeared after causing umlaut of the preceding vowel, and then the -u in the nom. sing. being preceded by a long stem also disappeared (§ 215), so that the endings of the jō-stems are the same as the long ō-stems except that the gen. pl. never has the ending -(e)nā (§ 365). On the final double consonants in the nom. singular, see § 259, 1.

§ 375. Like hen(n) are declined benn, wound; brycg, bridge; bytt, flagon; cribb, crib; crycc, crutch; ecg, edge; hell, hell; nytt, use, profit; sciell, shell; secg, sword; sibb, relationship; slecg, sledge-hammer; synn, sin; syll, sill, threshold; wynn, joy. On hæcc, gate, hatch; sæcc, strife, see § 55, Note 3.

§ 376. Like gierd are declined æx, axe; bend (also masc. and neut.), band; blīps, bliss, bliss; hild, war, battle; hind, doe; liñs, liss, favour, kindness; milts, mercy, kind-
ness; nift, niece; rest, rest; spræc, speech, language; wræc, vengeance; wylf, she-wolf; ȝp, wave. On the g in cæg, key; ieg, island, see §§ 270, 272.

§ 377. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom. byrjen(n), burden</th>
<th>Acc. byrjenne</th>
<th>Gen. byrjenne</th>
<th>Dat. byrjenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In originally trisyllabic words the final -u in the nom. singular also regularly disappeared after the medial syllable which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§§ 216, 254). The nouns ending in -en(n) sometimes took -u again in the nom. sing. after the analogy of the short ō-stems. In late OE. the double consonants were often simplified in the inflected forms.

§ 378. Like byrjen(n) are declined candel (Lat. candēla), candle; cnēoris(s), generation; haegtes(s), witch; biren, she-bear; fyxen, she-fox; gyden, goddess; ȝyften, female servant; wiergen, she-wolf; byrgen, tomb; for further examples, see § 599. colnes(s), coolness; swiftnes(s), swiftness; þrines(s), trinity; for further examples, see § 609. rāden(n), arrangement, rule; hūsrāden(n), household; for further examples, see § 610.

Note.—A few words simplified the double consonants at an early period and then added -u in the nom. singular after the analogy of the short ō-stems, as hynetu beside hynet, hornet; ielfetu, swan.

c. wō-stems.

§ 379. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom. beadu, -o, battle</th>
<th>Acc. Gen. Dat. beadwe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Nom. Acc. beadwa, -e</th>
<th>Gen. beadwa</th>
<th>Dat. beadwum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

mād, meadow
mādwe
mādwa, -e
mādwa
mādwum
In the nom. singular the prim. Germanic ending ·wō regularly became ·wu (§ 214), then the w disappeared before the ·u (§ 266). The ·u remained after consonants preceded by an original short vowel, but disappeared after consonants preceded by a long vowel (§ 215). When the ·u was preceded by a it combined with it to form a diphthong, as clēa from *cla(w)u, claw, prēa from *pra(w)u, threat (§ 75), pl. nom. acc. clēa, dat. clēam from *cla(w)um; beside the regular nom. sing. forms clēa, prēa new nominatives clawu, prawu were made from the stem-form of the oblique cases. The final ·u from older ·w also regularly disappeared after long vowels and diphthongs (§ 215), but the w was restored again from the inflected forms already in the oldest period of the language, as hrēow, repentance; stōw, place; trēow (§ 90), faith, truth.

In the inflected forms the wō-stems had the same endings as the ō-stems except that they never had the ending -e(n)ə in the gen. plural. On the svarabhakti vowel in forms like gen. beaduwe beside beadwe, see § 220.

§ 380. Like beadu are declined sinu, sionu, sinew; sceadu, shadow; and the plurals fraetwe, ornaments; geatwe, armaments, armour.

§ 381. Like mǣd are declined blōd(es)lēs, blood-letting, bleeding; lēs, pasture.

3. Feminine Abstract Nouns in ·in.

§ 382. This declension comprises the feminine abstract nouns formed from adjectives, as brādu, breadth: brād, broad; strengu, strength: strang, strong; Goth. managei, multitude: manags, many. The nouns of this category had originally the stem-ending ·in (§ 614) and were declined according to the weak declension as in Gothic. The prim. Germanic stem- and case-endings were: Sing. nom. ·in, acc. ·in-un, gen. ·in-az or ·iz, dat. ·in-i; Pl. nom. ·in-iz,
acc. -in-unz, gen. -in-ōn, dat. -in-miz. The -in, -in- regularly became -i, -in- in prehistoric OE. (§§ 211 (1), 214 (3), 218 (5)), and then the i caused umlaut of the stem-vowel. This i-umlaut of the stem-vowel is the only characteristic feature preserved in the historic period of the language of the nouns belonging to this class. The original declension was fairly well preserved in Gothic, as Sing. nom. managei for *managi with -ei from the oblique cases, acc. managein, gen. manageins, dat. managein; pl. nom. (also used for the acc.) manageins, gen. manageinō, dat. manageim which was formed direct from managei- with -m from the ending of the vocalic stems. But already in the prehistoric period of OE. this class of nouns was remodelled on analogy with the short ō-stems (§ 365), so that the nom. came to end in -u, later -o, and the oblique cases of the singular in -e. At a later period the new nominative came to be used for all forms of the singular and for the nom. acc. plural. Few nouns belonging to this class have a plural.

Sing. Plur.
Nom. strengu, -o, strength strenga, -e; -u, -o
Acc. streenge, -u, -o "
Gen. strenga
Dat. strengum
§ 383. Like strengu are declined bieldu, boldness; bierhtu, brightness; engu, narrowness; fyllu, fullness; hālu, health; hātu, heat; hyldu, favour; ieldu, age; menigu, mengu, multitude; oferfierru, great distance; snytru, wisdom; ūiestru, darkness; wlencu, wlenc(e)o, pride. See §§ 563, 614.

4. The i-declension.

§ 384. The i-declension comprises masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, and corresponds to the Lat. and Gr. i-declension (nom. masc. and fem. Lat. -is, Gr. -ις, acc. -im, -w; neut. nom. acc. -e, -i).
§ 385. SING.

Nom. Acc. wine, friend  giest, guest
Gen. wines           giestes
Dat. wine            gieste

PLUR.

Nom. Acc. wine, -as     giestas
Gen. wini(ge)a, wina   giesta
Dat. winum            giestum

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *gastiz (Goth. gasts), acc. *gastin (Goth. gast), gen. *gastaiz (cp. Goth. anstáis, of a favour), dat. (originally the locative) *gastí (cp. OHG. ensti) beside *gastēi (cp. Goth. anstái); Plur. nom. *gastiz older -ijiz = Indg. -ejes (Goth. gasteis), acc. *gastinz (Goth. gastins), gen. *gast(i)jōn, Indg. -jōm, -ijōm (cp. Gr. τριῶν, Lat. trium, of three, with regular loss of intervocalic -j-), dat. *gastimiz (Goth. gastim). The endings -iz, -in of the nom. acc. sing. regularly became -i in prehistoric OE. The -i caused umlaut of the stem-vowel and then disappeared after long stems (§ 215), but remained after short stems and later became -e (§ 215, Note). The regular ending of the gen. sing. would be -e (§ 217), the -es is from the a-stems. The dat. sing. ended in -i (later -e) in the oldest OE. and corresponded to the dative ending -i. The prim. Germanic nom. pl. ending -iz regularly became -i, later -e, which remained in the oldest period of the language. But already at an early period the nom. pl. was re-formed after the analogy of the masc. a-stems and then later the old ending -e was only preserved in a few plurals, especially in names of peoples, as Dene, Danes; Engle, the English; Mierce (gen. Miercna), Mercians; Norphymbre, Northumbrians; Seaxe (gen. Seaxna), Saxons; ielde, men; ielfe, elves; liode, lēode, people. The ending -(i)jōn regularly became -(i)ja which has only been preserved in
a few words with short stems, as Deni(ge)a, wini(ge)a. The ending -a is from the gen. pl. of the a- and consonantal stems. The dat. pl. would regularly have ended in -im, but it had -um from the other classes of nouns. Apart from the few words mentioned above, the long i-stems have the same endings as the masc. a-stems and are only distinguishable from them by the presence or absence of umlaut.

§ 386. Like wine are declined a large number of nouns, as bile, beak; bite, bite; bryce, breach; bryne, burning; byge, curve; byre, son; ciele, cold; cyme, advent; cyre, choice; cwide, saying, speech; dene, valley; drepe, stroke, blow; dryre, fall; dyne, din; flyge, flight; gripe, grasp; gryre, terror; gyte, pouring forth; hæle (orig. a cons. stem, see § 414), man, hero; hefe, weight; hege, hedge; hrine, touch; hryre, fall; hyge, mind; hype, hip; hyse (pl. hys(s)as), youth, son; ile (pl. il(l)as), sole of the foot; lyge, falsehood; lyre, loss; mere (orig. neut.), lake, pool; mete (pl. mettas), food; myne, memory; ryge, rye; ryne, course; scyfe, shove; scyte, shooting; sele, hall; sice, sigh; slege, stroke, blow; slide, slip; slite, slit; snide, incision; stæpe (see § 55), step; stede, place; stice, stitch; stige, ascent; stride, stride; swyle, swelling; yple, orator; white, brightness, beauty. bœorscipe, feast; for further examples, see § 611. bere (Goth. *baris), barley; ege (Goth. agis), fear; hete (Goth. hatis), hate; mene, necklace; sige (Goth. sigis), victory, originally belonged to the neuter -os, -es-declension (§ 419). ele (Lat. oleum), oil, was also originally neuter.

§ 387. Like giest are declined a large number of nouns, as ærist (also fem.), resurrection; æsc (see § 56), ash-tree; blæd, blast, breath; blæst, blast; brygd, brandishing; byht, bend; byrst, loss; cierm, clamour; cierr, turn, change; dæl, part; drenc, drink; dynt, dint; ent, giant; feng, grasp; fiell, fall; fierst, period of time; flyht, flight; fyrs,
§§ 388–90  

Nouns

furze; glām, gleam; gylt, guilt; hlīep, leap; hlyst (also fem.), sense of hearing; hwyrft, turning, circuit; hyht, hope; lāst, track; lēc, sight, looking at; lieg, flame; list, skill, cunning; lyft (also fem.), air; mæw, seagull; pliht, danger, peril; sāl (also fem.), time; scenc, cup, draught; slieht, slaughter; smīc, smoke; stenc, odour; steng, pole; stiell, leap; streng, string; swēg, sound, noise; swylt, death; tyht, training, instruction; ḷyrs, giant; wāg, wave; wiell, spring; wielm, boiling; wrenc, trick, stratagem; wyrm, worm.

§ 388. sæ, prim. Germanic *saiwiz, sea, gen. saes, dat. sæ, pl. nom. acc. sæs, gen. *sæwa, dat. sæm beside sæwum (a new formation); also fem. gen. dat. sæ beside sæwe; drý, magician, gen. drýs, dat. drý, pl. nom. acc. drýas, dat. drýum. On the contracted forms, see §§ 139, 142.

b. Feminine.

§ 389. Sing.

Nom. Acc. cwēn, queen  
Gen. cwēne  
Dat. cwēne

Plur.

cwēne, -a  
cwēna  
cwēnum

The masc. and fem. i-stems were originally declined alike in the sing. and plural as in Latin and Greek. The nom. acc. and gen. sing. were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms *kwāniz, *kwānin, *kwānaiz. The dat. sing. had -e after the analogy of the ō-stems, the regular form would have been *cwēn (see §§ 214–15). The nom. pl. cwēne for *cwēn had -e from the short i-stems. The gen. and dat. pl. were new formations as in the masc. i-stems. In early Nth. and then later also in WS. and Ken. the acc. sing. often had -e after the analogy of the ō-stems; and in like manner the nom. acc. pl. often had -a already in early OE.

§ 390. Like cwēn are declined āht, property; ansīen, face; bēn, prayer; benc, bench; brýd, bride; cŷf, tub;
cyst, choice; dæd, deed; dryht, troop; ēst (Goth. ansts), favour; fierd, army; fýst, fist; glēd, live coal; hās, command; hýd, hide, skin; hýf, hive; hyrst, ornament; meaht, miht, might, power; nīed, need; scyld, guilt; spēd, success; sýl, pillar; tid, time; þrýþ, strength; wād, garment; wēn, hope, expectation; wist, sustenance, food; wyrd, fate; wyrt, vegetable, herb; ýst, storm. dugúþ, strength, geogúþ, youth, ides, woman, which originally belonged to this declension, went over into the ō-declension.

Note.—ǣ, prim. Germanic *aiwiz, divine law, generally remains uninflected in the sing. and in the nom. acc. plural, but beside the gen. dat. sing. ā there also exists ēwe from which a new nom. ēw was formed.

§ 391. A certain number of nouns, which originally belonged to the fem. i-declension, partly or entirely became neuter and were then declined like cynn (§ 355) or hof (§ 342) in the singular, and like hof in the plural. Such nouns are: fulwiht, fulluht, baptism; grīn, snare, noose; oferhygd, pride; wiht, wuht, thing, creature; nouns with the prefix ge-, as gebyrd, birth; gecynd, nature, kind; gehygd, mind; gemynd, memory; gesceaf, creation; gepeaht, thought; geþyld, patience; gewyrht, merit, desert; pl. gedryhþu, elements; giftu, gifts. In late OE. other fem. i-stems also sometimes took the neut. plural ending -u (-o).

c. Neuter.

§ 392. Sing.  Plur.
Nom. Acc. spere, spear speru, -o
Gen. speres spera
Dat. spere sperum

The neuter i-stems had originally the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. sing. and plural. The nom. acc. sing. ended in -i which regularly disappeared after long stems, but remained after short stems, and then later became -e (§ 215, Note). The nom. acc. pl. ended in
-i which would regularly have become -i (§ 214), later -e, after short stems, and disappeared after long stems. The nom. acc. pl. ending -u (-o) was due to the influence of the short neuter a-stems. The endings of the other cases are of the same origin as those of the masc. short i-stems. The regular form of the nom. acc. singular would be *spire (§ 41) if spere originally belonged to the neuter i-declension.

§ 393. Like spere are declined ofdæle, downward slope, descent; oferslege, lintel; orlege, fate; sife, sieve. All these nouns probably belonged originally to the -os-, -es-declension (§ 419).

A certain number of neuter nouns which originally belonged partly to the neut. ja-stems, and partly to the -os-, -es-stems are declined like spere, except that the stem-syllable being long the final -e disappeared in the nom. acc. singular. Such nouns are: flæsc, flesh; flëes, fleece; hæl, health; hilt (also masc.), hilt; læn, loan; sweng, blow. gefeg, joining, joint; gegrynd, plot of ground; gehield, watching, protection; gehlyd, noise; gehnæst, -ast, collision; genyht, sufficiency; gersp, blame; gewėd, fury, madness; geswinc, labour, affliction.

5. The u-declension.

§ 394. The u-declension comprises masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, and corresponds to the Lat. and Gr. u-declension (nom. masc. and fem. Lat. -us, Gr. -vs, acc. -um, -uv; neut. nom. acc. -ū, -v).

a. Masculine.

§ 395. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sunu, -o, son</td>
<td>suna</td>
<td>suna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feld, field</td>
<td>felda</td>
<td>felda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>suna</td>
<td>felda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *sunuz (Goth. sunus), acc. *sunun (Goth. sunu), gen. *sunauz (Goth. sunáus), dat. *suniwai (*sunwai), loc. *suneu (OHG. suniu) beside *sunēu (Goth. sunáu); Plur. nom. *suniwiz (Goth. sunjus), acc. *sununz (Goth. sununs), gen. *sunuwōn (*sunwōn), dat. *sunumiz (Goth. sunum). The endings -uz, -un regularly became -u in prehistoric OE., and then disappeared after long stems (§§ 211, 215), but remained after short stems. This -u became -o at an early period and then in late OE. -a (§ 215, Note). The prim. Germanic gen. sing. ending -auz regularly became -a in OE. (§ 217). The OE. dat. sing. is originally the locative corresponding to Goth. sunáu. It is difficult to account for the ending -a of the nom. plural, which cannot be a normal development of prim. Germanic -iwiz = Indg. -ewes. The gen. pl. ending -a is from the a- and the consonantal stems. The dat. pl. ending -um is from older -umiz. At a later period the -u (-o) of the nom. acc. sing. was often extended to the dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. in the short stems; and likewise the -a of the gen. and dat. sing. to the nom. acc. In late OE. the short stems also often formed their gen. sing. and nom. acc. pl. after the analogy of the masc. a-stems. Already at an early period the long stems were often declined entirely like the a-stems. Many nouns which originally belonged to this class went over into the a-declension in prehistoric OE. without leaving any trace of the u-declension, as ār (Goth. āirus), messenger; deāþ (Goth. déaþus), death; feorh (also neut.), life; flōd, flood; grund, ground; lust, pleasure, desire; scIELD, shield; þorn, thorn; beofor, beaver; esol,
§ 396. Like sunu are declined bregu, prince, ruler; heoru, sword; lagu, sea, flood; magu, son, man; medu, meodu, mead (gen. meda beside medwes); sidu, custom; spitu, spit; wudu, wood.

§ 397. Like feld are declined eard, native country; ford, ford; gār (mostly in compounds), spear; hād, rank, condition (for compounds in -hād, see § 605); hearg, temple; sēap, pit, spring; weald, forest; sumor, summer; æppel (gen. æp(p)les, pl. ap(p)la beside æp(p)las, and neut. ap(p)lu), apple; winter (pl. neut. wintru beside winter), winter.

b. Feminine.

§ 398. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>duru, o, door</th>
<th>hand, hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dura</td>
<td>handa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>dura</td>
<td>handa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>dura</th>
<th>handa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>dura</td>
<td>handa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>durum</td>
<td>handum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The masculine and feminine u-stems were originally declined alike as in Latin and Greek. In the short stems the nom. acc. sing. was also sometimes used for the dat. sing. and nom. acc. plural; and the gen. and dat. sing. often had -e after the analogy of the short ō-stems. Beside the regular gen. and dat. sing. dura, there also occurs dyre, dyru with i-umlaut after the analogy of the i-declension. In the long stems the nom. acc. sing. was sometimes used for the gen. and dative. To the short stems also belongs nosu, nose; and to the long stems: cweorn (also
ō-declension), Goth. ·qaírnus, hand-mill; flōr (also masc.), floor; and originally also cin(n) (Goth. kinnus, Gr. γένος), chin.

c. Neuter.

§ 399. The neuter u-stems had originally the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. sing. and plural, the former of which ended in -u and the latter in ū. Nth. feolu, -o, and the WS. isolated inflected form fela, feola, much, many, are the only remnants of this declension in O.E. feoh (Goth. faíhu), cattle, went over into the a-declension in prehistoric O.E.

B. The Weak Declension (N-Stems).

a. Masculine.

§ 400. Sing.

Nom. guma, man frēa, lord
Acc. guman frēan
Gen. guman frēan
Dat. guman frēan

Plur.

Nom. Acc. guman frēan
Gen. gumena frēana
Dat. gumum frēa(u)um

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *gumō, acc. *gumanun, gen. *gumenaz (Goth. gumins), dat., properly locative, *gumini (Goth. gumin); Plur. nom. *gumaniz (Goth. gumans), acc. *gumanunz, gen. *gumnōn (cp. Goth. aúhs-nē, O.E. ox-na, of oxen) beside West Germanic *gumōnōn (OHG. gomōno, OS. gumono) with -ōnōn from the fem. nouns, dat. *gumunmiz beside West Germanic *gumō(n)miz (OHG. gomōm) with -ōn from the genitive. In O.E. the nom. and acc. sing. and the nom. pl. were regularly developed from the correspond-
ing prim. Germanic forms. The regular form of the gen. and dat. sing. would be *gumen, *gymen, but OE. had levelled out the -an of the acc. sing. before the period of i-umlaut. The oldest OE. form of the gen. pl. was probably gumana from *gumanðn with a from the singular and the nom. plural, and the usual form gumena was a later weakening of -an- to -en-. The endings -ana, -ona (§ 59) sometimes occur although not very frequently. The medial vowel of the ending was generally syncopated after long stems in poetry and in the names of peoples. The dat. pl. was formed direct from gum-+um, the ending of the a-stems and the other consonantal stems, or else it was from West Germanic *gumð(n)miz (§ 218, 4). On the loss of final -n in Nth., see § 288.

From a morphological point of view the n-stems should be divided into -an, -jan, and -wan stems, but in OE. as in the other Germanic languages all three classes were declined alike. The -jan stems have i-umlaut in the stem-syllable and also gemination of consonants when the stem was originally short, as déma, judge, cýta, kîte, becca, pickaxe, brytta, distributor, prince, from prim. Germanic *dómjō, *kūtjō, *bakjō, *brutjō.

§ 401. Like guma are declined a large number of nouns, as ácumba, oakum; ãra, strigil; ãrendra, messenger; áglæca, monster; anda, envy; andsaca, adversary;anga, goad; apa, ape; assa, ass; bana, slayer; bēna, suppliant; beorma, barm, yeast; bera, bear; bes(e)ma, besom; bita, bit, morsel; blanca, horse; blöstma, blossom; boda, messenger; boga, bow; bolla, bowl; brōga, terror; bucca, he-goat; bylda, builder; byrga, surety; cleofa, cleft, cave; cnapa, boy; cnotta, knot; cofa, chamber; crabba, crab; cruma, crumb; cuma, guest, stranger; dogga, dog; dora, bumble-bee; dropa, drop; dwolma, chaos; eafora, son; fana, banner; fēpa, band of infantry; fliema, fugitive; flota, sailor; fola, foal; freca, warrior; frogga, frog;
fruma, beginning; gāra, corner; gealga, gallows; gealla, gall; gefēra, companion; gehola, protector; gerēfa, reeve; gerūna, councilor; gesaca, adversary; geʃofta, companion; gewuna, custom; haca, hook; hafela, head; hana, cock; hara, hare; hunta, hunter; inca, grudge; lēoma, ray of light; lida, sailor; loca, enclosure; maga, stomach; mōna, moon; naca, boat; nama, name; nefa, nephew; ōga, terror; ōretta, warrior; oxa (pl. ōxen, exen, beside oxan, §107), ox; plega, play; pohha, pouch, bag; prica, prick, point; rima, rim; ryḥa, mastiff; sāda, cord, snare; scanca, shank; scapā, foe, enemy; scrēawa, shrew-mouse; scucca, demon; scu(w)a, shadow; sefa, mind, heart; slaga, slayer; snaca, snake; sopa, sup; spāca, spoke of a wheel; spearwa, sparrow; staca, stake; stela, stalk; steorra, star; swēora, neck; swica, deceiver; swīma, giddiness; telga, branch; trega, grief, affliction; ñearfa, pauper; þūma, thumb; welva, prosperity; wita, sage, wise man; witega, prophet; wræcc(e)a (§55, Note 3), exile; wyrhta, worker; and the pl. hiwan (gen. hina beside hiwna), members of a household.

§ 402. Like frēa are declined flēa, flea; gefā, foe; (ge)fēa, joy; lēo, lion; rā, roe; twēo, doubt; wēa, woe; and the plural Swēon, Swedes. See §139.

### b. Feminine.

#### § 403. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>tunge, tongue</td>
<td>bēo, bee</td>
<td>bēon</td>
<td>bēon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>bēo</td>
<td>bēon</td>
<td>bēon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>bēon</td>
<td>bēona</td>
<td>bēom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>bēon</td>
<td>bēon</td>
<td>bēom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Plur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tungena</td>
<td>bēona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tungum</td>
<td>bēom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The feminine n-stems were originally declined like the masculine, as in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, but already in the prehistoric period of the Germanic languages, they became differentiated in some of the cases by partly generalizing one or other of the forms; thus the nom. sing. originally ended in -ō or -ōn in both genders, the West Germanic languages restricted -ō to the masculine and -ōn to the feminine, but in Gothic the reverse took place. In the fem. Goth. O.Icel. OS. and OHG. levelled out the long vowel of the nom. into the oblique cases, whereas OE. had the same forms as the masculine except in the nom. sing. -e from prim. Germanic -ōn (§ 217). The general remarks made in § 400 concerning the masculine n-stems also apply to the feminine.

The fem. nouns with short stems began to form their nom. sing. after the analogy of the short ō-stems (§ 365) already in early OE., as cinu, chink, spadu, spade, beside cine, spade.

§ 404. Like tunge are declined ædre, artery, vein; ælmesse, alms; æsce, inquiry; ampre, sorrel; ar(e)we, arrow; asse, she-ass; asce, ash, cinders; âpexe, lizard; baæcestre (also masc.), baker (for other examples containing the suffix -estre, see § 603); bëce, beech-tree; belle, bell; berige, berry; bieme, trumpet; bicce, bitch; binde, head-band; blædre, bladder; blæse, blaze, firebrand, torch; burne, stream, brook; byrne, corslet; canne, can, cup; céace, cheek, jaw; ceole, throat; cirice, church; clugge, bell; crâwe, crow; cuppe, cup; cûslyppe, -sloppe, cowslip; cwene, woman; docce, dock (plant); dúce, duck; eorþe, earth; faæcele, torch; faþe, aunt; fîþele, fiddle; flëoge, fly; fliete, cream; folde, earth; hacele, cloak; hearpe, harp; heofone, heaven; heorte (orig. neut.), heart; hlæfdige, lady; hrûse, earth; loppe, flea; mæge, mæge, kinswoman; meowle, maiden; miere, mare; môdrige, maternal aunt; molde, earth; more, parsnip; moppe, moth; nædre, snake;
Accidence

§ 405. Like bēo are declined cēo, jackdaw, chough; flā, arrow; sēo, pupil of the eye; slā, slāh, sloe; tā, toe; þō, clay. See § 139.

c. Neuter.

§ 406. Sing.  
| Nom. Acc. | ēage, eye  |
| Gen.    | ēagan     |
| Dat.    | ēagan     |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēagena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēagum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The neuter n-stems had originally the same endings as the masculine and feminine except in the acc. sing. and the nom. acc. plural. The nom. acc. sing. had -ōn which regularly became -e in OE. (§ 217). The nom. acc. pl. had -ōna in the Indg. parent language. This was changed in prim. Germanic into -ōnō with -ō from the neuter a-stems. -ōnō regularly became -ōna in Goth., as āugō, eye, nom. acc. pl. āugōna. The OE. ending -an was due to the analogy of the masc. and fem. n-stems.

§ 407. Like ēage are only declined ēare, ear; wange (also with strong forms), cheek.

C. Minor Declensions.

1. Monosyllabic Consonant Stems.

a. Masculine.

§ 408. Sing.  
| Nom. Acc. | fōt, foot |
| Gen.    | fōtes    |
| Dat.    | fēt      |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fōta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fōtum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *fōt for older *fōs(s) (Gr. Dor. πώς) with t from the inflected forms (§ 240), and similarly tōp for older *tōs(s), acc. *fōtun (Goth. fōtu), gen. *fōtaz or -iz, dat., properly loc., *fōti; Plur. nom. *fōtiz, acc. *fōtunz (Goth. fōtuns), gen. *fōtōn, dat. *fōtumiz. The OE. correspond to the prim. Germanic forms except in the gen. sing, which is a new formation after the analogy of the a-stems. The regular form would be *fōt or *fēt.

§ 409. Like fōt are declined tōp, tooth; man(n) (beside manna, acc. mannan, n-declension), man; and wifman, wimman, woman.

b. Feminine.

§ 410. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>hnutu, mut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. bōc ; bōce</td>
<td>hnite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. bēc</td>
<td>hnyte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. bōca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. bōcum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *bōk (O.Icel. OS. bōk) which was a new formation for older *bōks (§ 240), acc. *bōkun, gen. *bōkaz or *bōkiz (= OE. bēc), dat., properly loc., *bōki; Plur. nom. *bōkiz, acc. *bōkunz, gen. *bōkōn, dat. *bōkumiz. With the exception of bōce all the OE. forms were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. The gen. sing. bōce was a new formation after the analogy of the ō-stems. The regular nom. sing. of hnutu would be *hnuss (§ 240), hnutu (prim. Ger. *χnutun) is the acc. used for the nominative. The gen. sing. was formed after the analogy of the ō-stems; the dat. sing. and nom. pl. correspond to prim.
Germanic *χnuti, *χnutiz, the final -i (later -e) being retained after a short stem (§ 215).

In nouns belonging to this class the stem-vowels ā, ō, u, ū were regularly umlauted to āe, ē (Nth. ōē), y, ū in the gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. plural. In nearly all the nouns belonging to this class, beside the gen. sing. with umlaut there exists a form ending in -e without umlaut which was made after the analogy of the ō-stems. In late OE. the dat. sing. was often like the nominative.

§ 411. Like bōc are declined āc, oak; brōc, trousers; burg, city (gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. byrig beside byrg, § 220; also declined like cwēn (§ 389), but without i-umlaut); cū, cow (also gen. sing. cūe, cūs; nom. acc. pl. cŷ, cŷe, gen. cūa, cūna, cŷna); dung, prison; gāt, goat; gōs, goose; grūt, coarse meal, groats; lūs, louse; meol(u)c, milk; mūs, mouse; neaht, niht, night (also gen. dat. sing. nihte; adv. gen. nihtes, ānes nihtes, at night, by night, formed after the analogy of dæges); turf, turf; furh, furrow (gen. sing. fūre beside fyrh, pl. gen. fūra, dat. fūrum, § 115); sulh, plough (gen. sing. sūles on analogy with the a-stems, pl. gen. sūla, dat. sūlum); ūrūh, trough (dat. pl. ūrūm, § 329, 4); wūh, fringe.

§ 412. Like hnutu are declined hnutu, nūt; studu, stūpu, pillar.

c. Neuter.

§ 413. The only remnant of this class is scrūd, garment, dat. scrūd; gen. scrūdes and late OE. dat. scrūde were formed after the analogy of the neuter a-stems, and also the nom. acc. pl. scrūd; gen. pl. scrūda, dat. scrūdum.

2. Stems in -þ.

§ 414. Of the nouns which originally belonged to this declension only four have been preserved: masc. hælep (OHG. helid), hæle, hero, man, mōnap (Goth. mēnōþs),
§ 415. To this class belong the nouns of relationship: 
faeder, father; brōpor, brother; mōdor, mother; dohtor, daughter; sweoster, sister; and the collective plurals, 
grabōpor, gebū白糖ru, brethre7t; gesweostor, tru, tra, sisters.

In the parent Indg. language the words for father, mother, and daughter had in the sing. nom. -tēr, acc. loc. -ter-, voc. -ter, gen. dat. -tr- (with consonantal r); Plur. nom. -ter-, acc. gen. -tr- (with consonantal r), dat. loc. -tr- (with vocalic r). The word for brother had sing. nom. -tōr or -tēr (cp. Gr. Dor. φράτωρ, φράτηρ, member of a clan), and the word for sister -ōr (cp. Lat. soror from older *swesōr) with
short -or- or loss of -o- in the other cases just as in -tēr, -ter-, -tr-.

**Sing.**

| Nom. Acc. | brōpor | mōdor |
| Gen. fæder, -eres | brōpor | mōdor |
| Dat. fæder | brēper | mēder |

**Plur.**

| Nom. Acc. fæderas | brōpor, -pru | mōdor, -dru, -dra |
| Gen. fædera | brōpra | mōdra |
| Dat. fæderum | brōprum | mōdrum |

**Sing.**

| Nom. Acc. dohtor | sweostor |
| Gen. dohtor | sweostor |
| Dat. dehter | sweostor |

**Plur.**

| Nom. Acc. dohtor, -tru, -tra | sweostor |
| Gen. dohtra | sweostra |
| Dat. dohtrum | sweostrum |

Before the principal accent was shifted to the stem-syllable (see § 238) the prim. Germanic forms of fæder were: Sing. nom. *fader (Gr. πατήρ), acc. *faderun (Gr. πατέρα), gen. *fadiras (Gr. πατρός) beside *fadres (Lat. patris from older *patres), dat., properly loc., *fadri (Gr. πατρί); Plur. nom. *faderez (Gr. πατέρες), acc. *fadruns (cp. Goth. brōpruns), gen. *fadrōn (Gr. πατρόν), dat. *fadrumis (cp. Goth. brōprum). After the principal accent was shifted to the stem-syllable during the prim. Germanic period the final -s became -z after the analogy of the inflected forms of the words for brother and sister and other consonantal stems which regularly had -z; and the -e- in the gen. sing. *fadrez, older *fadres, and nom. pl. *faderiz became -i- (§ 218). And similarly in the prim. Germanic case-endings of *mōdēr, Indg. *mātēr, mother. The OE.
nom. acc. and gen. sing. faeder is normally developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. On the gen. faeder from *fadraz, older *fadras, see § 219; faederes was formed on analogy with the a-stems. The prim. Germanic pl. forms (except the acc.) regularly became *faeder, fadra, faedrum, the last two of which were common in the oldest period of the language; then later -er was levelled out into the gen. and dat., and the nom. pl. *faeder became faed(e)ras on analogy with the a-stems.

The prim. Germanic case-endings of brōpor, mōdor, dohtor, and sweostor were the same as those of faeder except that brōpor and sweostor having originally the chief accent on the stem-syllable regularly had -raz in the gen. singular. The dat. forms *brōpri, *mōdri, *dōxtri (older *duxtri) with o from the nom. acc. and gen., *swestri (older *swistri) with e from the nom. acc. and gen., regularly became brēper, mēder, dehter, sweostor (cp. § 219). In late OE. the dat. mēder, dehter were often used for the gen. and vice versa. The gen. sing. *brōpraz, mōdraz, *dōxtraz, *swestraz, regularly became brōpor, mōdor, dohtor, sweostor (§ 219). The gen. and dat. pl. were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. The nom. sing. and pl. were in prim. OE. *brōper, *mōder, *dōxter, *sweostor, then -er became -or (older -ur) through the influence of the guttural vowel in the stem (cp. § 219), but the ending -er (rarely -ar) often occurs both in early and late OE. sweostor had -or in prim. Germanic, as nom. sing. *swesor, Indg. *swesōr, nom. pl. *swesoriz, Indg. *sweses; the t was developed between the s and r in the gen. sing. and pl. *swestraz, *swestrōn, and then became generalized (§ 250).

d-svgōpor and gesweostor were originally neuter collective nouns and were declined like wite (§ 355), whence the plural endings gebrōpru, gesweostru, -tra, which were afterwards extended to the plural of mōdor and dohtor.
4. The Masculine Stems in -nd.

§ 416. Sing.

Nom. Acc. frēond, friend
Gen. frēondes
Dat. friend, frēonde

Plur.

Nom. Acc. friend, frēond, -as
Gen. frēonda
Dat. frēondum

The nouns of this declension are old present participles, like Lat. ferēns, bearing, gen. ferentis, and originally had the same case-endings as the other consonantal stems. But in OE. as in the other Germanic languages they underwent various new formations. The OE. present participles had passed over into the ja-declension of adjectives (§§ 433-4) in the oldest period of the language.

The nom. sing. was a new formation with d from the inflected forms, cp. Lat. ferēns from *ferenss older *ferents (§ 240). The gen. sing. frēondes, wigendes, dat. frēonde, wigende, nom. acc. pl. frēondas, wigendas were formed after the analogy of the masc. a-stems. The dat. friend with umlaut is from *frīondi older *frijōndi; and the nom. pl. friend is also from *frīondi older *frijōndiz (Goth. frijōnds). The nom. and gen. pl. endings -e, -ra are adjectival (§ 424).

§ 417. Like frēond are declined fēond, enemy; tēond, accuser; the compound noun gōddōnd (pl. -dōnd, beside -dēnd), benefactor; and the collective plurals gefiend, enemies; gefriend, friends, which were originally neuter collective nouns and declined like wite (§ 355).

§ 418. Like wigend are declined āgend, owner; beswicend, deceiver; ēhtend, persecutor; hālend, Saviour;
helpend, helper; hettend, enemy; ner(i)gend, Saviour; sëmend, arbitrator; wealdend, ruler; for further examples, see § 601.

5. Stems in -os, -es.

§ 419. This class of nouns corresponds to the Gr. neuters in -os, Lat. -us, as Gr. γένος, race, gen. γένεος older *γένεσος, Lat. genus, gen. generis, pl. genera. A fairly large number of nouns originally belonged to this class, but owing to various levellings and new formations, of which some took place in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages, nearly all the nouns belonging here went over into other declensions in OE. The prim. Germanic forms of a word like lamb were: Sing. nom. acc. *lambaz, gen. *lambéaz, *lambiziz, dat. *lambiziz; Plur. nom. acc. *lambözö (for Indg. -ösö, cp. § 406), gen. *lambézön, dat. *lambézumiz. After the loss of the singular endings -az, -iz, -i, the following changes took place: from the gen. and dat. sing. a new nom. *lambiz beside lamb was formed. This accounts for the preservation of the i in Gothic in such words as hatis = OE. het, hate, sigis = OE. sige, victory, which would have been *hats and *sigs in Gothic, had these words ended in -iz in prim. Germanic. The new nom. ending -iz regularly became -i in OE., then it caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and disappeared after long stems, but remained after short stems and later became -e, whence forms like nom. sing. lemb, gäst, hlæw, het, sige beside lamb, gäst, hlæw. After medial -z- in the gen. and dat. sing. had become r (§ 252) it was levelled out into the nom. sing. in some nouns, as *dögr, *hálr beside *dögi, *håli, then later dögor, hålor, older -ur (cp. § 219), beside dœg (Nth.), hæl. All the nouns which underwent these new formations passed into other declensions partly with change of gender also. Thus, gäst, gäst, spirit, breath,
Accidence

§ 420. The few remaining nouns formed their gen. and dat. sing. after the analogy of the neuter a-stems. The cases of the plural were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms.

SING.

Nom. Acc. lamb, lamb  cealf, calf   āg, egg
Gen. lambes  cealfes  āges
Dat. lambe  cealfe  āge

PLUR.

Nom. Acc. lambru  cealfru  āgru
Gen. lambra  cealfra  āgra
Dat. lambrum  cealfrum  āgrum

Beside lamb there also occurs lombor and sometimes lemb; in late OE. the pl. was lamb, lamba, lambum after the analogy of the neuter a-stems. Beside the Anglian sing. calf there also occurs cælf, celf with i-umlaut.

Like lamb are declined cild (pl. cild beside cildru), child; speld, splinter, torch; pl. brēadru, crumbs.
CHAPTER XII

ADJECTIVES

A. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

§ 421. In the parent Indg. language nouns and adjectives were declined alike without any distinction in endings, as in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. What is called the un-inflected form of adjectives in the Germanic languages is a remnant of the time when nouns and adjectives were declined alike. But already in Indo-Germanic the pronominal adjectives had partly nominal and partly pronominal endings as in Sanskrit. In prim. Germanic the endings of the pronominal adjectives were extended to all adjectives. These remarks apply to what is called in the Germanic languages the strong declension of adjectives.

The so-called weak declension of adjectives is a special Germanic formation by means of the suffixes -en-, -on-, which were originally used to form nomina agentis, and attributive nouns, as Lat. edō (gen. edōnis), glutton, OE. slaga, slayer, wyrhta, worker, gen. slagan, wyrhtan; Lat. adjectives catus, sly, cunning, rūfus, red, red-haired, silus, pug-nosed, beside the proper names Catō (gen. Catōnis), lit. the sly one, Rūfō, the red-haired man, Silō, the pug-nosed man; and similarly in OE. blæc, black, frōd, wise, old, hālig, holy, beside the proper names Blaca, Frōda, Hālga. In like manner Goth. blinds, OE. blind, blind, beside Goth. OE. blinda, which originally meant, the blind man; Goth. ahma sa weiha, lit. ghost the holy one. Such nouns came to be used attributively at an early period, and then later as adjectives. And already in prim. Germanic this weak declension became the rule when the adjective followed the definite article, as Wulfmēr se
geonga, Wulfmär the Young, OHG. Ludowig ther snello, Ludwig the Brave, cp. NHG. Karl der Grosse. At a later period, but still in prim. Germanic, the two kinds of adjectives—strong and weak—became differentiated in use. When the one and when the other form was used in OE. is a question of syntax. There were adjectival n-stems in the parent Indg. language, but they did not have vocalic stems beside them as is the case in the Germanic languages. eall, all, genōg, enough, manig, many, and ōper, second, were always declined according to the strong declension. Nearly all other adjectives can be declined according to either declension.

The strong form is used predicatively in the positive and superlative degrees; and when the adjective is used attributively without any other defining word, as wæs sēo fāmne geong, the woman was young; þā menn sindon gōde, the men are good; þus wāron þā latestan fyrmeste, thus were the last, first. In the vocative the weak form exists beside the strong, as þū lēofa dryhten, thou dear Lord; þū riht cyning, thou just king.

The weak form is used after the definite article, and after demonstrative and possessive pronouns, as se ofer-mōda cyning, the proud king; þæs ēadigan weres, of the blessed man; þes ealda mann, this old man; on þissum andweardan dæge, on this present day; min lēofa sunu, my dear son; þurh þīne æpelan hand, through thy noble hand. In poetry the weak form often occurs where in prose the strong form would be used.

Note.—When the same adjective refers both to masc. and fem. beings, it is put in the neut. plural, as Wit þus baru ne magon būtū ætsomne wesan, We (Adam and Eve) may not both together be thus here naked; cp. Goth. wēsun garaihta ba in andwārþja guþs, O.Icel. þau vōro retlēt bǣpe fyr guþe, OHG. siu wārun rehtiu beidu fora gote, they (Zacharias and Elizabeth) were both righteous before God.
§ 422. In OE. the adjectives are declined as strong or weak. They have three genders, and the same cases as nouns with the addition of an instrumental in the masc. and neuter singular.

I. The Strong Declension.

§ 423. The endings of the strong declension are partly nominal and partly pronominal; the latter are printed in italics for glæd, glad, and blind, blind. The nominal endings are those of the a-, ò-declensions. The strong declension is divided into pure a-, ò-stems, ja-, jō-stems, and wa-, wō-stems, like the corresponding nouns. The original i- and u-stems passed over almost entirely into this declension in prehistoric OE. In OE. the ja-, jō-stems and the wa-, wō-stems only differed from the pure a-, ò-stems in the masc. and fem. nom. singular and the neut. nom. acc. singular.

a. Pure a-, ò-stems.

§ 424.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>glæd, glad</td>
<td>glæd</td>
<td>gladu, ò</td>
<td>glada, ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>glædne</td>
<td>glæd</td>
<td>glade</td>
<td>glædre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>glades</td>
<td>glades</td>
<td>glædre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>gladum</td>
<td>gladum</td>
<td>gladum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>glade</td>
<td>glade</td>
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Plur.

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<td>glade</td>
<td>glædra</td>
<td>glædra</td>
<td>gladum</td>
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<td>glædra</td>
<td>glædra</td>
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<td>gladum</td>
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<td>Case</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>blind, blind</td>
<td>blind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>blindne</td>
<td>blind</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>blindes</td>
<td>blindes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>blindum</td>
<td>blindum</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>blinde</td>
<td>blinde</td>
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On the syncope of the medial vowel in *blindne, blindra, blindre*, see § 221; after the analogy of such forms it was also dropped in adjectives with short stem-syllables. In late OE. *-era, -ere* are common after both long and short stem-syllables. The nom. acc. neut. pl. and nom. sing. fem. go back to prim. Germanic *blindô*, the -ô of which became -u (§ 214) and then disappeared after long stems (§ 215), whence blind beside gladu. In late WS. the masc. nom. acc. pl. form was generally used for the neuter; and occasionally the -u of the short stems was extended to the long. On the u in *blindum*, see § 218; the -um became -un, -on-, -an in late OE. (§ 284). blindra goes back to prim. OE. *blindæra, *blindera, with æ, e
from the masc. and neut. gen. singular (cp. § 334, Note). This form then came to be used for the feminine also. The remaining forms require no comment, as they are regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms.

§ 425. On the interchange between æ and a in the declension of glæd, see § 54, Note 3. Like glæd are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with short stems, as bær, bare; blæc, black; hraed, quick; hwæt, brisk, active; læt, slow; smæl, tender, small; sæd, satiated; wær, wary, cautious; dol, foolish; fram, active, bold; frec, bold; frum, original, first; gram, angry, fierce; hol, hollow; hnot, bald; til, good, useful; trum, firm, strong; wan, wanting, deficient. Adjectives with the suffixes -lic and -sum, as anlic, solitary (for other examples, see § 634); angsum, troublesome (for other examples, see § 636).

§ 426. Like blind are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with long stems, as beald, bold; beorht, bright; blæc, pale; brūn, brown; brād, broad; ceald, cold; cūp, known, familiar; dēad, dead; dēaf, deaf; dēop, deep; deorc, dark; dumb, dumb; eald, old; earg, cowardly; earm, poor; forht, fearful, timid; frōd, wise, old; fūl, foul; fūs, ready; gefōg (gefōh), joint; genōg (genōh), enough; georg, young; georn, eager; gnēap, niggardly; gōd, good; grāg, grey; grēat, large; hāl, whole, sound; hār, hoary; hās, hoarse; healt, halt, lame; hēan, lowly, despised; hold, gracious; hrōr, active, brave; hwit, white; lang, long; lāp, hateful; lēas, free from, faithless; lēof, dear; ranc, proud; rēad, red; riht, right, straight; rōf, brave, strong; rōt, glad, cheerful; rūm, roomy; sār, sore; scearp, sharp; scīr, bright, shining; scort, short; sēoc, sick; sōp, true; steap, steep, lofty; stearc, stiff; stīp, stiff, rigid; strang, strong; swift, swift; swīp, strong; torht, bright; trāg, lazy, bad; ðearl, severe; wæt, wet; wāc, weak; wealt, unsteady; wearm, warm; wīd, wide; wis, wise; wlanç,
proud; wōd, mad; wræst, firm, strong; wrāþ, wroth, angry; wund, wounded; fyrn (orig. i-stem), old, ancient; cōl (orig. u-stem), cool; heard (orig. u-stem), hard. The double consonants were simplified in the inflected forms before other consonants (§ 259) in words like dunn, dun; eall, all; feorr, far; full, full; gewiss, certain, sure; grimm, grim; snell, ready, active. For examples of adjectives like æpelcund, of noble origin; ānfeald, single; ārfæst, virtuous; ārlēas, impious, see Adjectival Suffixes, §§ 623, 627, 633.

§ 427.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hēah, high</td>
<td>hēah</td>
<td>hēa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hēa(n)ne</td>
<td>hēah</td>
<td>hēa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hēas</td>
<td>hēas</td>
<td>hēa(r)re</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hēa(u)m</td>
<td>hēa(u)m</td>
<td>hēa(r)re</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>hēa</td>
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<th>Plur.</th>
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<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
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<td>Gen.</td>
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hēanne, hēarra, hēarre were due to the assimilation of hn and hr; and hēane, hēara, hēare arose from the regular loss of h before n, r (§ 329, 2). In hēaum the u was restored after the analogy of forms like gladum, blindum. The instr., masc. and fem. nom. pl., and fem. acc. singular hēa was from older *hēahe; and the neut. nom. acc. pl. and fem. nom. singular from older *hēahu; masc. and neut. gen. sing. from *hēahes. See § 139. Late OE. forms like gen. hēages, dat. hēage, nom. pl. hēage beside older hēas, hēa(u)m, hēa were formed after the analogy of such words as gen. gefōges, genōges beside nom. gefōh, genōh (§ 323).
§ 428. Like hēah are declined fāh, hostile; flāh, deceitful; hrēoh, rude, rough, wild; nēah, nigh, near; rūh, rough; scēoh, shy; tōh, tough; wōh, crooked, bad. sceilh, awry, squinting; þweorh, cross, perverse, dropped the h and lengthened the diphthong in the inflected forms, as gen. sceolh, þweores, dat. scēolum, þweorum, cp. § 149.

§ 429.

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<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>manig, many</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>manignae</td>
<td>manig</td>
<td>manigae, -e</td>
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<td>Gen.</td>
<td>maniges</td>
<td>maniges</td>
<td>manigre</td>
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<td>manigum</td>
<td>manigum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>manige</td>
<td>manige</td>
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<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
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<td>Gen.</td>
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<td>Dat.</td>
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Original short medial vowels in open syllables regularly remained in trisyllabic forms when the stem-syllable was short. They also remained in closed syllables irrespectively as to whether the stem-syllable was long or short. But they disappeared when the stem-syllable was long.
See § 221. Final -u regularly disappeared after a long medial syllable, and also when the stem and the medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short. See § 216. There are many exceptions to the above rules due to analogical formations, as yfles, hæliges, hælgu beside older yfeles, hælges, hæligu, see § 223, Note 1. In adjectives ending in -en, -er, the combinations -enne (masc. acc. sing.), -erra (gen. pl.), and -erre (fem. gen. dat. sing.) were often simplified to -ene, -era, -ere especially in late OE. (§ 259, 4).

§ 430. Like manig are declined the dissyllabic adjectives with short stems, as atol, terrible, dire; bedol, suppliant; bræsen, of brass (for examples of other adjectives ending in -en, see § 625); efen, even; etol, glutinous; fægen, glad; fæger, fair; flacor, flickering; flugol, fleet, swift; forod, decayed; fraco, vile, bad; hnitol, given to butting; micel (see § 223, Note 1), large, great; nacod, naked; open, open; plegol, playful; recen, ready, prompt; sicor, sure; sweotol, plain, evident; yfel, evil; wacor, vigilant; bysig, busy (for other examples, see § 630); past participles, as boren, borne; coren, chosen; legen, lain; &c.

§ 431. Like hælig are declined the dissyllabic adjectives with long stems, as acol, timid, frightened; æt(t)ren, poisonous (for examples of other adjectives ending in -en, see § 625); ægen, own; bëogol, agreeing; bit(t)er, bitter; brægden, deceitful; cristen, christian; dëagol, diegol (cp. § 639), secret; eacen, great, increased; earfoþ, difficult; frettol, greedy; geomor, sad; gylden, golden; hador, bright; hæpen, heathen; hlit(t)or, clear; idel, vain; lytel, little; öper (§ 223), second; snot(t)or, wise; stægel, steep; blödig, bleeding; cæftig, skilful; cædig, rich, happy (for other examples, see § 630); cildisc, childish (for other examples, see § 632); past participles, as bunden, bound; holpen, helped, see § 442.
Adjectives

b. ja-, jō-stems.

§ 432. In the ja-, jō-stems it is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The latter class were declined in OE. like the pure a-, ō-stems ending in double consonants (§ 426); such are: gesibb, akin, related; midd, middle; nytt, useful. The regular form of the nom. sing. masc. and neut. of a word like midd would be *mide, see § 274.

§ 433.

Nom.          wilde, wild  wilde     wilde
Acc.          wildne      wilde     wilde
Gen.          wildes      wildes    wildre
Dat.          wildum      wildum    wildre
Instr.        wilde       wilde

Plur.
Nom. Acc.      wilde      wilde
Gen.          wildra     wildra
Dat.          wildum     wildum

The only difference in declension between the original long ja-, jō-stems and the long pure a-, ō-stems is in the masc. nom. sing., neut. nom. acc. sing. and plural, and the fem. nom. singular. wilde (masc. nom. sing.) is regularly developed from prim. Germanic *wilbjaiz, and the neut. nom. acc. sing. from *wilbjan (§ 274); wildu (fem. nom. sing. and neut. nom. acc. plural) was formed on analogy with the short pure a-stems (§ 424), the regular form would be *wild (see § 215). Double consonants were simplified before or after other consonants (§ 259), as masc. acc. sing. āynne, thin, fæcne, deceitful, ierne, angry, from āynnne, fæcnne, ierre; fem. gen. dat. sing. gifre, greedy, ierre from
Accidence

§ 434. Like wilde are declined a large number of adjectives, as æltæwe, entire; æpele, noble; andfenge, acceptable; andrysne, terrible; ānliepe, single; blîpe, joyful; brême, famous; brîce, useful; cêne, bold; clæne, clean; cîyme, comely, beautiful; cynde, natural; diere, dēore (cp. § 138), dear; dierne, hidden; drîge, dry; ēce, eternal; egle, troublesome; ēste, gracious; fæcne, deceitful; fæge, fated; féowerfete, four-footed; filde, level (of land); flēde, in flood; forþgenge, effective; frēcne, dangerous, wicked; frem(e)de, foreign; frêo (§ 104), free; gecnâwe, conscious of; gecwême, pleasant; gedêfe, becoming, fit; gefêre, accessible; gehende, handy; gemâne, common; genâme, acceptable; gesiene, visible; getenenge, near to; getriewe, faithful; gîfre, greedy; grêne, green; hlâne, lean; hnæsce, soft, tender; ierre, angry; iepe, easy; lâne, temporary; lætrœde, deliberate; lipe, gentle; mære, famous; manþwære, humane; medême, moderate; mēpe, tired; milde, mild; myrge, merry; nieuwe, niwe (§ 90), new; oferâte, glutinous; ofersprâce, loquacious; ormâte, immeasurable; rêpe, fierce; rîce, powerful; rîpe, ripe; sæne, slow; sammâle, agreed; sciene, beautiful; sêfte, soft; slîpe, cruel, savage; smêpe, smooth; smylte, mild, serene; stille, still; strenge, strong; swête, sweet; swige, silent; syfre, pure; þicce, thick; þiestre, dark, gloomy; þrifingre, three fingers thick; þriste, rash, daring; þríwintre, three years old; þynne, thin; þyrrre, withered; unhiere, horrible; ūþgenge, fugitive; wêste, waste, barren; wierþe, worthy; wræne, wanton. In like manner are declined the present...
participles (§ 441). For examples of adjectives like æppelbære, apple-bearing; coppede, topped, polled; hálwende, healthful, see Adjectival Suffixes, §§ 622, 624, 638.

c. wa-, wō-stems.

§ 435.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>gearu, -o, ready</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>gearone</td>
<td>gearu, -o</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>gearwes</td>
<td>gearwes</td>
<td>gearore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
<td>gearore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

| Nom. Acc. | gearwe        | gearu, -o | gearwa, -e |
| Gen.       | gearora       | gearora    | gearora    |
| Dat.       | gearwum       | gearwum    | gearwum    |

w became vocalized to u (later o) when final and before consonants in prehistoric OE. (§ 265); whence masc. nom. sing., neut. nom. acc. sing. gearu from *garw-az, -an. The u had become o before consonants in the oldest period of the language, as gearone, gearora. The fem. nom. sing. and neut. nom. acc. pl. are from older *garwu with loss of w before the following u (§ 266). The dat. gearwum for *gearum was a new formation made from forms like gearwes, gearwe, where the w was regular. On forms like gen. gearuwes, gearowes beside gearwes, see § 220.

§ 436. Like gearu are declined basu, beasu, purple; calu, bald; cylu, spotted; fealu, fallow; geolu, yellow; hasu, heasu, grey, tawny; mearu, tender; nearu, narrow; salu, sealu, dusky, dark.

§ 437. The adjectives which had a long vowel or long diphthong in the stem reintroduced the w into the nomina-
Accidence

§§ 438–9

tive from the inflected forms (§ 265) and then came to be declined like pure long a-, o-stems (§ 424); such are: fēaw, few; gedēaw, dewy; gehlēow, sheltered; gesēaw, succulent; glēaw, wise; hnēaw, stingy; hrēaw, rāw; rōw quiet, calm; slāw, slow; pēow, servile.

d. i-stems.

§ 438. Of the adjectives which originally belonged to this class, the long stems took final -i (later -e) from analogy with the short stems and then both classes went over into the ja-declension in prehistoric OE. The old short i-stems are still recognizable by the fact that they do not have double consonants in the stem-syllable. Examples are: bryce, brittle; gemyne, remembering; swice, deceitful; and of old long i-stems: blipe (Goth. bleipas), joyful; brýce (Goth. brūks), useful; clāne, clean; gecwēme, pleasant; gedēfe (Goth. gadōfs), becoming, fit; gemēne (Goth. gamáins), common; gesiene (cp. Goth. anasiuns), visible; grēne, green; sciene, beautiful; swête, sweet; &c.

e. u-stems.

§ 439. Of the adjectives which originally belonged to this class only two have preserved traces of the old u-declension, namely nom. sing. cwicu, c(w)ucu, alive, masc. acc. sing. cucone, and nom. wlacu, warm, tepid. And even these two adjectives generally have nom. cwic, wlaec and are declined like short pure a-stems. All the other adjectives passed over into the a-, ja-, or wa-declension in prehistoric OE., as heard (Goth. hardus), hard; egle (Goth. aglus), troublesome; hnesce, hnæsce (Goth. hnasqus), soft, tender; twelfwintre (Goth. twalibwintrus), twelve years old; pyrre (Goth. paûrsus), dry, withered; glēaw (Goth. glaggwus), wise.
2. THE WEAK DECISION.

§ 440.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>blinda, blind</td>
<td>blinde</td>
<td>blinde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>blindan</td>
<td>blinde</td>
<td>blindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>blindan</td>
<td>blindan</td>
<td>blindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>blindan</td>
<td>blindan</td>
<td>blindan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLUR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weak declension of adjectives has the same endings as the weak declension of nouns, except that the adjectives generally have the strong ending -ra (§ 424) instead of -(e)na in the gen. plural. Beside the regular dat. pl. ending -um there also occurs at an early period -an which was taken over from the nom. acc. plural. In trisyllabic adjectives the medial vowel remained after short stems, but disappeared after long stems, as wacora, wacore, vigilant, beside hālga, hālge, holy (§ 221). On adjectives like hēa, high, gen. hēan, see § 427. In like manner are declined the ja- and wa-stems, as wilda, wilde, wild; gearwa, gearwe, ready.

3. THE DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES.

§ 441. In the parent language the stem of the present participle ended in -nt, as in Lat. ferent-, Gr. φερων-, bearing. The masc. and neut. were originally declined like consonant stems (§ 416). The fem. nom. originally ended in -i which was shortened to -i (§ 214) in prehistoric OE. (cp. Goth. frijōndi, fem. friend). The -i of the feminine was extended to the masculine and neuter, which was the cause of their passing over into the ja-declension (§ 433). In OE. the pres.
participle was declined strong or weak like an ordinary adjective. When used predicatively it often had the un-inflected form for all genders in the nom. and accusative.

§ 442. The past participle, like the present, was declined strong or weak like an ordinary adjective. When strong it was declined like manig or hālig (§ 429) according as the stem-syllable was short or long; and similarly when it was declined weak (§ 440). When used predicatively it generally had the uninflected form for all genders. A small number of past participles of strong verbs have i-umlaut of the stem-vowel, because in prim. Germanic, beside the ordinary ending -énaz = Indg. -énos, there also existed -iniz = Indg. -énis, hence forms like āgen beside āgen, own; cymen beside cumen, come; slægen beside slægen, slagen, slain; tygen from *tuziniz beside togen from *tuzenaz, drawn. See § 483.

B. The Comparison of Adjectives.

1. The Comparative Degree.

§ 443. The Indg. parent language had several suffixes by means of which the comparative degree was formed. But in the individual branches of the parent language, one of the suffixes generally became more productive than the rest, and in the course of time came to be the principal one from which the comparative was formed, the other suffixes only being preserved in isolated forms. The only Indg. comparative suffix which remained productive in the Germanic languages is -is-, which became -iz- (= Goth. -iz-, OHG. -ir-, O.E. -r-) in prim. Germanic by Verner's law. To this suffix was added in prim. Germanic, or probably in the pre-Germanic period, the formative suffix -en-, -on-, as in Gr. ἡδίω from *σφάδισων, gen. ἡδίωνος, = Goth. sūtiza, gen. sūtizins, OHG. suoziro, gen. suoziren, (in), O.E.
Adjectives

§ 443

swētra, sweeter; gen. swētran. The original distinction in meaning between the Indg. suffix -is- and the extended form -is-en-, is-on- was that the former was adjectival and the latter substantival, but the substantival meaning became adjectival already in prim. Germanic (see § 421), and similarly in Gr. ἡδίων which originally meant the sweeter. This explains why the comparative is declined weak in the oldest periods of the Germanic languages. Beside the suffix -iz- there was also in prim. Germanic a suffix -ōz- (Goth. -ōz-, OHG. -ōr-, OE. -r-) which did not exist in Indo-Germanic. This suffix is a special Germanic new formation, and arose from the comparative of adverbs whose positive originally ended in -ō, Indg. ōd (§ 554). And then at a later period it became extended to adjectives.

In OE. polysyllabic adjectives formed with derivative suffixes and compound adjectives had the Germanic suffix -ōz-; ja-stems the suffix -iz-; and uncompounded pure a-stems mostly had -ōz-. Prim. Germanic -izō (= OHG. -iro) and -ōzō (= OHG. -ōro) fell together in -ra in OE., so that, except in the ja-stems, the presence or absence of umlaut is the only indication as to which of the two suffixes -ra goes back. The Goth. endings -iza, -ōza were from prim. Germanic -izōn, -ōzōn, see § 403. Only a small number of adjectives have umlaut in OE., of which the most common are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Old English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brād, broad</td>
<td>brādra beside brādra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eald, old</td>
<td>ieldra (Goth. aljīza)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feorr, far</td>
<td>fierra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geong, young</td>
<td>giengra, gienga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grēat, great</td>
<td>grietra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēah, high</td>
<td>hīehra, hīerra beside hēahra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang, long</td>
<td>lengra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceort, short</td>
<td>sciertra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strang, strong</td>
<td>strengra.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples without umlaut in the comparative degree are: ēadig, happy, earm, poor, fægen, glad, fæger, fair, gearu, -o, ready, glæd, glad, grimm, grim, hālig, holy, lēof, dear, nēah, near, comparative ēadigra, earmra, fægenra, fægerra, gearora, glædra, grimra, hāligra, lēofra, nēahra (nēarra).

2. The Superlative Degree.

§ 444. The superlative, like the comparative degree, was formed in the Indg. parent language by means of several suffixes. But in the individual branches of the parent language, one of the suffixes generally became more productive than the rest, and in the course of time came to be the principal one from which the superlative degree was formed, the other suffixes only being preserved in isolated forms. The only superlative suffix which remained productive in the Germanic languages is -to- in the combination -isto-, formed by adding the original superlative suffix -to- to the comparative suffix -is-, as in Sanskrit and Greek, as Gr. ἰδιοτός = Goth. sūtists, OHG. suoʒisto, OE. swētest(a), sweetest. The simple superlative suffix -to- has been preserved in Gr., Lat., and the Germanic languages in the formation of the ordinal numerals, as Gr. ἐκτός, Lat. sextus, Goth. saihsta, OHG. sehsto, OE. siexta, sixth. The Germanic suffix -ōst- was a new formation like -ōz- in the comparative. -ōst-, -ist- regularly became -ost-, -est- in OE., and the medial vowel in the superlative being in a closed syllable remained (§ 221). It is difficult to account for its early loss in hiehst(a), highest, and niehst(a), nearest (see § 221). In late OE. the medial vowel was often syncopated, as lengsta, strengsta (§ 223, Note 2). On the interchange of the medial vowel in forms like lēofesta beside lēofosta, see § 222. The adjectives which had i-umlaut in the comparative generally had -est(a), but sometimes also -ost(a),
in the superlative, and those which did not have umlaut in
the comparative generally had -ost(a), rarely -ust(a), -ast(a),
as ieldest(a), fiestest(a), giengest(a), gingest(a), giestest(a),
legest(a), siestest(a), stregest(a), but earmost(a),
faegnost(a), gearwost(a), hæligost(a), lœofost(a), &c.

In Gothic the superlative had both the strong and the
weak declension, but in OE. it generally had only the
latter except in the nom. acc. neut. which had both forms
-est, -ost, beside -este, -oste.

3. Irregular Comparison.

§ 445. The following adjectives form their comparatives
and superlatives from a different root than the positive:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>god, good</td>
<td>bet(e)ra, bettra</td>
<td>bet(e)st, betsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lýtel, little</td>
<td>læsssa</td>
<td>læst(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micel, great</td>
<td>mårå</td>
<td>mæst(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfel, evil</td>
<td>wiersa</td>
<td>wielest(a), wieirst(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—1. On the tt in bettra (Goth. batiza), see § 260.
   bet(e)st = Goth. batists. sêlla with assimilation of Ir to Il
   (§ 281). læsssa from *læs(i)ra, prim. Germanic laizsō (§ 281);
   læst(a) from *læsist-. mårå (Goth. mâiza); mæst(a) (Goth.
   máists) with æ from analogy with læst(a), Anglian mæst(a).
   wiersa (Goth. wirsiza) from *wiers(i)ra; wielest(a), wieirst(a)
   from *wiersist-. 
2. In a few words comparative and superlative adjectives
were formed from adverbs: ñar, before, ærra, former, earlier,
ærest(a), first; fyrest(a) from *furist-, first, related to fore,
before; forpra, higher, greater, related to forþ, forth.

§ 446. In a number of words the comparative was
formed from an adverb or preposition, with a superlative
in -um-, -uma (prim. Germanic -umô), cp. Lat. optimus,
best, summus, highest. The simple superlative suffix was
preserved in OE. forma (Goth. fruma), first, beside fore,
before; hindema, last, hindmost, beside hindan, behind; and meduma, medema, midway in size, related to midd, middle. But in prehistoric OE., as in Gothic, to ·um- was added the ordinary superlative suffix ·ist- which gave rise to the double superlative suffix ·umist-, as Goth. frumists, first; hindumists, hindmost. In OE. ·umist- became ·ymist- (§ 47), later ·imest-, ·emest-, ·mest-, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>Modified Old English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>æfter, after</td>
<td>Æfterra</td>
<td>Æftemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éast, eastwards</td>
<td>Æasterra</td>
<td>Æastemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fore, before</td>
<td></td>
<td>Forma,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fyrnest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inne, within</td>
<td>Ínnerra</td>
<td>Innemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>læt, late</td>
<td>Lætra</td>
<td>Ítemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midd, middle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Medema,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Midmest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nioþan, below</td>
<td>Níþerra</td>
<td>Niþemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>norþ, northwards</td>
<td>Norþerra, norþra</td>
<td>Norþemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìþ, late</td>
<td>Síþra</td>
<td>Síþemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>süþ, southwards</td>
<td>Süþerra, süþerra</td>
<td>Süþemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufan, above</td>
<td>Úferra</td>
<td>Úfemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ýferra</td>
<td>Ýfemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üte, without</td>
<td>Úterra</td>
<td>Út(e)mest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west, westwards</td>
<td>Westerra</td>
<td>Æftemest(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Numerals.

1. Cardinal and Ordinal.

§ 447.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>Modified Old English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ān, one</td>
<td></td>
<td>Forma, formest(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| twā, two   |                   | Fyrnest(a), fyrest(a),
|            |                   | Ærest(a)             |
| þri, three |                   | Óþer, æfterra        |
| fēower, four |                 | Pridda               |
|            |                   | Fœo(we)rþa           |
§447 ] Adj ectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fif, five</td>
<td>fifta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siex, six, six</td>
<td>siexta, sixta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seofon, seven</td>
<td>seofọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eahta, eight</td>
<td>eahtọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigon, nine</td>
<td>nigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tien, tëyn, tēn, ten</td>
<td>tēọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en(d)le(o)fan, eleven</td>
<td>en(d)le(o)fta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twelf, twelve</td>
<td>twelfọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þréotíene, thirteen</td>
<td>þréotẹọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fẹowertiene, fourteen</td>
<td>fẹowertiẹọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiftiene, fifteen</td>
<td>fiftọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siex-, sixiene, sixteen</td>
<td>siex-, sixẹọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seofontiene, seventeen</td>
<td>seofontọọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eahtatiene, eighteen</td>
<td>eahtatọọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigontiene, nineteen</td>
<td>nigontọọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twěntig, twenty</td>
<td>twěntigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þritig, thirty</td>
<td>þritigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fẹowertig, forty</td>
<td>fẹowertiẹọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiftig, fifty</td>
<td>fiftọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siextig, sixty</td>
<td>siextigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundseofontig, seventy</td>
<td>hundseofontigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundeahtatig, eighty</td>
<td>hundeahtatigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundnigontig, ninety</td>
<td>hundnigontigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundtēontig</td>
<td>hundtēontigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hund, hundred</td>
<td>hund, hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundendenleofantig</td>
<td>hundendenleofantigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundendlufontig, i10</td>
<td>hundendlufontigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundtwelftig, 120</td>
<td>hundtwelftigọpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tű hund, hundred, 200</td>
<td>tű hund, hundred, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þręo hund, hundred, 300</td>
<td>þręo hund, hundred, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þụsend, thousand</td>
<td>þụsend, thousand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seox, later siex, six, syx (§ 86). Seofon, nigon, tien (later tỳn) had their final -n from the inflected forms, as *sebuni-, &c., or else they were formed, as in Goth. Os.
and OHG., from the ordinals in prim. OE. before the n disappeared before p (§ 286). nīgon from older *nion (= Goth. OHG. niun); *nīon became dissyllabic and then between the two vowels a consonantal glide was developed (cp. § 270). tien, later tŷn, tēn, probably from an older inflected form *tēoni-, cp. tēopa. endleofan (endlefan, enlefan) from older *ænlefan, *ainina + liðan-, with ex- crescent d developed between the n and l and weak ending -an. twelf = Goth. twalif. endleofan and twelf originally meant something like (ten and) one left over, (ten and) two left over, cp. Lithuanian vėnûlika, eleven, dvûlika, twelve, &c., where Goth. -lif and Lith. -lika are from *liq-, the weak form of the Indg. root leiq-, to leave, and are ultimately related to OE. līon (lēon), Goth. leīvan, to lend, Gr. λείπω, Lat. linquo, I leave. The assimilation of *-lih to -lif first took place in twalif because of the preceding labial (§ 237, Note), and then, at a later period, the -lif was extended to *áinlif (cp. dat. áinlibim) for older *áinlih. 13 to 19 were formed by the simple ordinals plus the inflected form -tiene, later -tŷne, -tēne.

The decades 20 to 60 were formed in prim. Germanic from the units 2 to 6 and the abstract noun *tegund= Indg. *dekmt', decade, whence the Goth. stem-form tigu- which went over into the u-declension with a plural tigjus, as nom. twái tigjus, twenty, dat. twáim tigum. Prim. Germanic *tegund is a derivative of prim. Germanic *tęxun (= Indg. *dékm, Gr. δέκα, Lat. decem, Goth. tāihun, OE. tien) with change of χ to 3 by Verner’s law (§ 238) and the loss of the final consonants (§ 211). The stem *tegu- regularly became -tig in OE. and OS., whence OE. twēntig from twēgen+tig, lit. two decades, pritig, &c. with the following noun in the gen. case; ān and twēntig, twenty-one, twā and twēntig, twenty-two, &c. Many attempts have been made to explain the decades 70 to 120, but no satisfactory explanation of their morpho-
Adjectives

Adjectives has ever yet been given, see Osthoff-Brugmann's Morphologische Untersuchungen, vol. V, pp. 11-17, 138-44, and Brugmann's Gründriss, vol. II, second ed. pp. 35-6. The decades could be used both substantively and adjectively. When used as substantives their gen. ended in -es; when used as adjectives they were either uninflexed or formed their gen. in -ra, -a, and dat. in -um. Instead of hundseofontig, hundeahtatig, &c., the shorter forms seofontig, eahtatig, were used when immediately preceded by hund = 100, as hund and seofontig = 170, but hund and seofon and hundseofontig = 177. At a later period the shorter forms became generally used in all positions. Besides the form hundtēontig, there were in OE. the two neuter nouns hund (= Gr. ἑκατόν, Lat. centum, Indg. *kmtóm), and hundred, -rep (= O.Icel. hundrap); the second element -red, -rep is related to Gothic rapjō, number. 200 to 900 were generally expressed by the simple units and hund (also sometimes hundred, hundtēontig), as twā hund, fif hund, &c. hund was usually uninflexed, but occasionally it had a dat. ending -e, -um. hundred had a pl. form hundredu, when used absolutely. þūsend was a neuter noun and was often inflected as such.

The decades, and hund, hundred, and þūsend, being nouns, governed a following noun in the genitive case.

The forms for 'first' are old superlatives of adverbs (§§ 445, Note 2, 446). ōper (Goth. anþar, cp. NE. every other day) was always declined according to the strong declension of adjectives (§ 429). þridda (Goth. þridja, Gr. τρίτος) with weak stem-form from Indg. *tri- the weak form of *trei-, three. All the other ordinals were formed from the cardinals by means of the Indg. superlative suffix -to- (§ 444), the t of which regularly remained unshifted in fifta, siexta, endleofta, twelfta (§ 231, Notes). In other positions the t became þ by the first sound-shifting (§ 231), then þ became ð by Verner's law (§ 238).
in those ordinals which did not originally have the chief accent immediately before the ū, and later nd became nd (§ 253), as Goth. *sibunda, niunda, taíhunda, from Indg. *septmtós, *neuntós, *dekmtós. The regular forms of these would have been in OE. *seofonda, *nigonda, *tēonda, but OE. generalized those ordinal forms which in prim. Germanic had the chief accent immediately before the ū, whence the OE. new formations seofoţa, nigoţa, tēoţa from older *sēbunţō, *nijunţō, tēxunţō. In the decades the medial o may represent the older ū in *tegu- (see above). In compound ordinals the cardinal units were generally used, as fėower and fiftigoţa, fifty-fourth, but sometimes the ordinal forms of the units were used with the cardinal decades in the dative, as fėo(we)rţa āac fiftigum. hund, hundred, and þūsend had no corresponding ordinals. All the ordinals, except ōber, were declined according to the weak declension of adjectives.

§ 448. In OE. the cardinals 1 to 3 were declinable in all cases and genders as in the other Germanic languages. ān was declined according to the strong (§ 424) or weak declension (§ 440) of adjectives. The strong masc. acc. sing. is generally ānne (shortened later to ānne, enne) from prim. Germanic *aininōn, beside the less common form ānne from *ainanōn. Strong pl. forms are rare, but they occur occasionally, meaning each, all, every one, ānra gehwilc, each one. When declined weak it means alone, solus.

Nom. Acc. twēgen tū, twā twā
Gen. { twēg(e)a twēg(e)a twēg(e)a
{ twēgra twēgra twēgra
Dat. twām, twām twām, twām twām, twām

The formation of twēgen and of the genitive are difficult to explain. twēg(e)a cannot correspond to Goth.
twaddjē, prim. Germanic *twajjōn, which would have become *twēg(e)a in O.E., cp. § 275. twēm from prim. Germanic *twaimiz; twām was a new formation from twā. tū from prim. Germanic *twō (§ 130); twā corresponds to the Goth. masc. form twái.

§ 450. Like twēgen is also declined bēgen (shortened later to beggen), bū (§ 130), bā (Goth. masc. bái), both. Also in the combination masc. and fem. bā twā, neut. bū tū, often written in one word būtū, both.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>pri, priē</td>
<td>priō, priēo</td>
<td>priō, priēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>priōra</td>
<td>priōra</td>
<td>priōra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>priēra</td>
<td>priēra</td>
<td>priēra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prim</td>
<td>prim</td>
<td>prim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pri (Goth. preis) from prim. Germanic *prijiz; priē had its e from the adjectives (§ 424). priōra was formed from priō with the ending of the strong adjectives; the regular form would have been *priā from prim. Germanic *prijōn.

prim (Goth. prim) from *primiz; beside prim there also occurs priō (cp. § 145). Neut. priō (Goth. prija) from *priu older *prijō. Fem. priō from *priu older *prijō.

§ 452. The cardinal numbers 4 to 19 generally remained uninflected when they stood before a noun, whereas, if they stood after a noun or were used as nouns, they were declined according to the i-declension: nom. acc. masc. and fem. -e, neut. -u (-o); gen. -a, dat. -um, as of fif hlēfum, from five loaves; mid fēawum brōprum, pæt is, seofonum oppe eahtum, with seven or eight brothers; fifa sum, one of five.

2. Other Numerals.

§ 453. In O.E. the multiplicative numeral adjectives were formed from the cardinals and the Germanic suffix for -fold, Goth. -alpēs, OHG. -falt, OE. -feald (§ 628),

Q 2
as ānfeald, single, twie-, twifeald, twofold, priе-, prifeald, threefold, fёowerfeald, fourfold, &c., manigfeald, manifold, which were declined as ordinary adjectives. The first element of twifeald, prifeald was sometimes inflected, as dat. twæmfealdum, primfealdum.

§ 454. Of the old adverbial multiplicatives only three occur: āne (rare in gen. form ānes), once; tuwa, twiwa, twywa, twice; priwa, prywa, thrice. The remaining multiplicatives, and often also once, twice, thrice, were expressed by sip, going, way, and the cardinals, as āne sipa or on āne sip, twæm sipum (Goth. twáim sinþam), fif sipum (Goth. fimf sinþam), &c.

§ 455. For the first, second, third, &c. time, were expressed by sip and the ordinals, as forman sipе, ḷre sipе, priddan sipе, fīstan sipе, &c.

§ 456. The distributive numerals were ān-, ānliepige, one each; be twæm or twæm and twæm, be prim or prim and prim, fёower and fёower, þűsendum and þűsendum, &c. A remnant of the old distributive numeral corresponding to Gothic tweihnái, two each, has been preserved in the compound preposition betwēonum, between.

§ 457. OE. also had numerals like NHG. anderthalb, dritt(e)halb, lit. (one and) the second half, (two and) the third half. This method of expressing numbers goes back to the prim. Germanic period, and was originally common in all the Germanic languages. Originally both elements of the compound were inflected, but at a later period the compound, when used before nouns, became uninflected like other cardinal numerals, as ḷper healf hund daga, 150 days; pridda healf, two and a half, fėo(we)rja healf, three and a half; cp. Gr. τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον, two talents and a half, lit. third half talent.
CHAPTER XIII

PRONOUNS

§ 458. The most difficult chapter in works on comparative grammar is the one dealing with the pronouns. It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty how many pronouns the parent Indg. language had and what forms they had assumed at the time it became differentiated into the various branches which constitute the Indg. family of languages. The difficulty is rendered still more complicated by the fact that most of the pronouns, especially the personal and demonstrative, must have had accented and unaccented forms existing side by side in the parent language itself; and that one or other of the forms became generalized already in the prehistoric period of the individual branches of the parent language. And then at a later period, but still in prehistoric times, there arose new accented and unaccented forms side by side in the individual branches, as e.g. in prim. Germanic ek, mek beside ik, mik. The separate Germanic languages generalized one or other of these forms before the beginning of the oldest literary monuments and then new accented beside unaccented forms came into existence again. And similarly during the historic periods of the different languages. Thus, e.g. the OE. for I is ic, this became in ME. ich accented form beside i unaccented form, ich then disappeared in standard ME. (but it is still preserved in one of the modern dialects of Somersetshire) and i came to be used as the accented and unaccented form. At a later period it became i when accented and remained i when unaccented. The former has become NE. I, and the latter has disappeared from the literary language, but
it is still preserved in many northern Engl. dialects, as i. In these dialects i is regularly used in interrogative and subordinate sentences; the ME. accented form i has become ai and is only used in the dialects to express special emphasis, and from it a new unaccented form a has been developed which can only be used in making direct assertions. Thus in one and the same dialect (Windhill, Yorks.) we arrive at three forms: ai, a, i, which are never mixed up syntactically by genuine native dialect speakers. Something similar to what has happened and still is happening in the modern dialects must also have taken place in the prehistoric and historic periods of all the Indg. languages; hence in the prehistoric forms of the pronouns given below, it must not be assumed that they were the only ones existing in prim. Germanic. They are merely given as the nearest ascertainable forms from which the OE. forms were descended.

I. Personal.

§ 459. First Person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ic, I</td>
<td>wit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>mec, mē</td>
<td>uncit, unc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mīn</td>
<td>uncer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>unc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 460. Second Person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>git</th>
<th>gē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ā, thou</td>
<td>ēowic, ēow, iow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>āec, āe</td>
<td>ēower, iower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>āin</td>
<td>ēow, iow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>āe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 461. Third Person.

Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hē, he</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hīo, hēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hine, hiene</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hiere, hire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>hiere, hire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. all genders.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hīe, hī</td>
<td>hiera, hira, heora</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 462. In the parent language the nom. was rarely used except to express emphasis (cp. Skr., Lat., and Gr.), because it was sufficiently indicated by the personal endings of the verb. Beside the accented form of each case of the personal pronouns, there also existed one or more unaccented forms just as in many modern dialects, where we often find three or even four forms for the nom. case of each pronoun. Most of the OE. forms of the personal pronouns represent prim. Germanic unaccented forms.

In forms marked with both long and short vowels, as in mē, pē, gē, &c., those with long vowels were the accented, and those with short vowels were the unaccented forms, see § 95. In the pronouns of the first and second persons the gen. case singular, dual, and plural is the same as the inflected forms of the corresponding possessive pronouns (§ 464). The c in the acc. forms mec, pec, úsic, ëowic, goes back to a prim. Germanic emphatic particle, *ke = Indg. *ge, which is found in Gr. pronominal forms like ἐμέγε. The acc. forms with c only occur in the oldest records and in poetry. ëc is the old unaccented form, the accented form was preserved in O.Icel. ek (cp. Lat. ego,
Gr. ëγώ. The e in me, þe may represent Indg. e, cp. Gr. ëµέ (µέ), τέ, but it is far more likely that me, þe are old datives used for the accusative. þu (OHG. du) beside þū (OHG. ðū), NE. has preserved the old accented, and NHG. the old unaccented form. Dat. me (Goth. mis, OHG. mir), þe (OHG. dir), prim. Germanic *mes, *þes beside unaccented *miz, *þiz, with ·s, ·z from the dat. plural; OE. me, þe can represent either form, probably the latter, cp. wē, gē.

wit (Goth. OS. wit) and git (OS. git) were unaccented plurals with the addition of ·t which is of obscure origin. There are grave phonological difficulties against assuming that the ·t is related to the numeral for two. Acc. uncit, incit were formed from unc, inc, with ·it from the nominative. unc, inc are old accusatives also used for the dative; unc (OS. unc) from un (which occurs in the acc. pl. ûs = Goth. uns = Indg. ns with vocalic n) + the particle *ke = prim. Germanic *unjki; inc (OS. ink, cp. Goth. igq-is), prim. Germanic *îŋq. which is of unknown origin.

we, prim. Germanic *wîs (Goth. weis) beside the unaccented form *wiz (OHG. wir); *wiz became *wi in prim. OE. and then later we, from which a new accented form wē was formed. gē for *gû (= Goth. jûs, prim. Germanic *jûs beside *juz) with e from wē. ûsic from older *unsek (with e from mec); ûs (Goth. OHG. uns, Indg. ns with vocalic n). ëowic from older *iuwek (with e from þec); dat. ëow (OHG. iu, eu) from older *iuw, prim. Germanic *iwwiz; ëow, ïow is the old dat. also used for the accusative.

The pronoun of the third person is originally a demonstrative pronoun formed from the Indg. stem *ki-, this, which occurs in Lat. ci·s, ci·ter, on this side. It has been preserved in Goth. in only a few isolated phrases, as und hina dag, to this day; himma daga, on this day, to-day; und hita nu, till now.

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§ 463. The reflexive pronoun originally referred to the chief person of the sentence (generally the subject), irrespectively as to whether the subject was the first, second, or third person singular or plural. This usage remained in Sanskrit, but in the Germanic languages the pronouns of the first and second person came to be used reflexively already in prim. Germanic, and then the original reflexive pronoun became restricted to the third person. But the prim. Germanic reflexive pronoun of the third person *sek, unaccented *sik (Goth. sik, OHG. sih) disappeared in OE., and the old genitive (Goth. seina, OHG. sin) only remained as a possessive pronoun. So that the personal pronouns of the third person also came to be used reflex-
ively in OE. When the personal pronouns were used reflexively self, self (declined strong and weak) was often added to emphasize them.

3. Possessive.

§ 464. The possessive pronouns min, my, þin, thy, sin (mostly used in poetry), his, her, its, are originally old locatives, Indg. *mei, *tei, *sei with the addition of the nominal suffix -no-, whence prim. Germanic masc. nom. *mīnaz, *þīnaz, *sīnaz; fem. nom. *mīnō, *þīnō, *sīnō, which were declined in the sing. and plural, all genders, like blind (§ 424); but instead of sin, the gen. of the personal pronoun was often used as in Lat. eius, gen. pl. eorum, earum. The remaining possessive pronouns were formed from the personal pronouns by means of the Indg. comparative suffix -ero-, prim. Germanic -era-, as uncer (Goth. *ugkar), of us two; incer (Goth. ipkar), of you two; üser (Goth. unsar), our; éower, your, all of which were declined like hālig (§ 429). òre, our, was declined like wilde (§ 433) except that the fem. nom. sing. was òre not *űru. It is difficult to account for the form òre. In the fem. gen. and dat. sing. and gen. pl. üerre, ürra, the rr was often simplified to r. In those cases which had syncope of the medial vowel, the sr became ss (§ 281) in the declension of üser, and then the ss was sometimes extended by analogy to the other cases, as nom. sing. üsser, masc. acc. sing. üsserne beside the regular forms üser, üserne.

4. Demonstrative.

§ 465. In the parent Indg. language the nom. sing. masc. and fem. of the simple demonstrative was *so, *sā = Gr. ὅ, ἡ, Goth. sa, sō. All the other cases of the sing. and pl. were formed from the stems te-, to-, toi-; tā-, tāi-, as acc. sing. Gr. τοῦ, τῆν, Lat. is-tum, is-tam, Goth. pāna, pō; nom. pl. Gr. τοῖ, ταῖ, Lat. is-ti, is-tae, Goth. pāi, pōs.
§ 465

Pronouns

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sē, the, that</td>
<td>þæt</td>
<td>sīo, sēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þone</td>
<td>þæt</td>
<td>þā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þæs</td>
<td>þæs</td>
<td>þære</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þæm, þām</td>
<td>þæm, þām</td>
<td>þære</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>þý, þōn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. all genders.

Nom. Acc.  þā
Gen.       þāra, þāra
Dat.       þæm, þām

se was the unaccented form of prim. Germanic *sa (Goth. sa) to which a new accented form sē was made (§ 144); þone (Goth. þana) the unaccented form of prim. Germanic *þanōn, beside late OE. þæne, þane; þæs from prim. Germanic *þasa (§ 54), beside *þesa (Anglian þes, Goth. þis, OHG. des); þām from the prim. Germanic instrumental *þaimi, beside þām with ā from the plural þā, þāra, as in the dat. pl. þām. þæt (Goth. þata, Lat. is-tud, Indg. *tod); þý, þōn are difficult to explain satisfactorily; they were chiefly used before the comparative of adverbs and as a factor in adverbial and conjunctival phrases like the Goth. instrumental þē, as þōn mā, the more, cp. Gothic ni þē haldis, none the more; for þý, for þōn, because, on that account. sīo, sēo does not correspond to Goth. sō, but like OHG. siu, she, it was a new formation from the prim. Germanic fem. pronoun *sī (＝ Gr. ἕ, Goth. si, OHG. sī), she + the Germanic fem. ending -ō; *sīō regularly became sīo, sēo through the intermediate stage of siu which is found in the Anglian dialect. The reason why the new formation took place was probably due to the fact that the unaccented form of *sī would have become sē in OE. and thus have fallen together with the masc. nom,
sing., cp. OE. we, hē from the prim. Germanic unaccented forms *wiz, *χiz (§ 462); acc. þa (prim. Germanic *þōn, Goth. þō, Gr. Dor. τάν, Indg. *tām) is from the unaccented form *þa from which a new accented form þa was formed; gen. þære from *þaizjōz (cp. Skr. tásyās, Indg. *tésjās) with ai from the gen. plural; and similarly in the dat. þære from *þaizjai (cp. Skr. tásyāi, Indg. *tészjāi), beside þære from *þaizai. Pl. nom. masc. þā (= Goth. þái, Gr. τοῖς); the old nom. was also used for the nom. and acc. all genders; gen. þara from prim. Germanic *þaizōn, Indg. *toisōm (cp. the Goth. gen. pl. of adjectives, as blindaizē, -ō), beside þāra with ā from þām; þām (Goth. þaim) from prim. Germanic *þaimiz, beside þām with ā from the genitive, which became þān in late WS.

§ 466. The compound demonstrative pronoun þēs, þis, þios (þēos), this, was originally formed from the simple demonstrative + the deictic particle -se, -si which is probably related to Goth. sāi, OHG. sæ, lo!, behold! Its earliest usage was that of an emphatic demonstrative pronoun and then later it came to be used also as a simple demonstrative adjective in much the same way that this here, these here, that there, them there (= those) are used in most Modern English dialects. Originally only the first element was inflected as in OHG. masc. nom. sing. de-se, gen. des-se, pl. de-se. At a later period the -se came to be inflected also, as masc. gen. sing. OHG. des-ses = OE. þis-ses. At this stage the gen. þis- (= Goth. þis) became extended to most of the other cases. And lastly the first element ceased to be inflected and the second element took in most cases the endings of the simple demonstrative. This compound demonstrative pronoun exists in all the Germanic languages except Gothic. The nom. sing. þēs, þios (þēos) were new formations made from the oblique stem-form with þ (§ 465). The old nom. forms were preserved in the oldest Norse inscriptions, as masc. sa-si, fem. su-si, neut. þat-si.
§ 467 Pronouns

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<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>þēs</td>
<td>þís</td>
<td>þíos, þēos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þísne</td>
<td>þís</td>
<td>þās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þís(s)es</td>
<td>þís(s)es</td>
<td>þíssе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þís(s)um</td>
<td>þís(s)um</td>
<td>þíssе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>þŷs, þís</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. All Genders.

| Nom. Acc. | þās |
| Gen.      | þíssa |
| Dat.      | þís(s)um |

þēs from older *þē-se (= OHG. de-se) was the un-accented form from which a new accented form þēs was made. þíos from þius (preserved in the Anglian dialect), older *þió + se (cp. sio, § 465). The fem. acc. sing., instr., and nom. pl. represent the simple demonstrative forms +·se which regularly became -s. The other cases singular and plural generalized the þís, the i of which later became y. ss was often simplified to s. In the dat. sing. and pl. Anglian has þíos(s)um, þíos(s)um with ù-umlaut (§ 101) beside þís(s)um. Fem. gen. and dat. sing. þíssе from older *þíssre, gen. pl. þíssа from older *þíssra (§ 281); in late OE. there also occur þíssere, þíssera with ·re, ·ra from the simple demonstrative, beside þíssre, þíssra with syncope of the medial vowel and simplification of the ss.

§ 467. Ilica, same, which only occurs in combination with the def. art., as sē ilca, þæt ilce, sēo ilce, the same, is always declined weak.

self, seolf, sylf, silf, self, was declined according to the strong or weak declension of adjectives. In combination with the def. art., as sē selfa, seolfa, it meant the selfsame. See § 463.
5. Relative.

§ 468. A relative pronoun proper did not exist in prim. Germanic. The separate Germanic languages expressed it in various ways. In Goth. it was expressed by suffixing the relative particle ei to the personal pronouns for the first and second persons, and to the simple demonstrative for the third person; in O.Norse by the particles sem and es (later er) in combination with the simple demonstrative; in OS. and OHG. generally by the simple demonstrative; and in OE. by the relative particle þe alone or in combination with the personal or the simple demonstrative pronoun, as se mon-dryhten, sē ēow þā māḥmas geaf, the lord who gave you the treasures; þonne tōdālap hī his feoh þæt tō lāfe bīþ, then they divide his property which is left. ic hit ēom, þe wīp þē sprece, it is I who speak with thee; idesa scēnōst þe on wūruld cōme, the fairest one of ladies who came into the world; gē þe yfle synt, ye who are evil. sē þe brīyd hæþ, sē is brīyguma, he who hath the bride is the bridegroom; gehyre, sē þe ēaran hæbbe, let him hear who hath ears; þæt þe ācenned is of flēscē, þæt is flēsc, that which is born of the flesh is flesh. wē þās word spreacē, þe wē in carcerne sittēþ, we who sit in prison speak these words; saga hwēt ic hātte, þe ic lond rēafige, say what I am called, I who lay waste the land; þæt se mon ne wāt, þe him on foldan fægrosth limþeþ, the man to whom on earth the fairest happens knows not that.

6. Interrogative.

§ 469. The parent Indg. language had two stems from which the interrogative pronoun was formed, viz. qo- and qi- with labialized q (§ 237). The former occurs in Gr. πότερός, which of two?, Goth. hwas, OE. hwā, who?, from an original form *qos; Lat. quod, Goth. hva, O.Icel. hvat, OS. hwat, OHG. hwaz, OE. hwæt, what?, from
an original form *qod. And the latter occurs in Gr. τίς, Lat. quis, who?, from an original form *qis; Goth. huileiks, O.E. hwilc, what sort of?

The O.E. simple interrogative pronoun had no independent form for the feminine, and was declined in the singular only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. hwā</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. hwone</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. hwæs</td>
<td>hwæs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. hwæm, hwām</td>
<td>hwæm, hwām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>hwī, hwī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the long vowel in hwā, see § 79. hwone (Goth. huana) from prim. Germanic *χwanōn, is the old unaccented form; beside this there rarely occurs the accented form hwane, later hwæne. hwæs from prim. Germanic *χwasa beside Goth. luis from *χwesa. hwæm from prim. Germanic *χwaimi (instrumental) beside hwām, a new formation from hwā. Beside the instr. hwī, hwī which are difficult to explain, there also occur hwon, in such adverbial phrases as for hwon, tō hwon, why?, and hū (§ 130), how?

§ 470. hwæjer (Goth. huþar), which of two?, and hwelc, hwilc (Goth. huileiks), what sort of?, were declined according to the strong declension of adjectives.

7. Indefinite.

§ 471. O.E. had the following indefinite pronouns:— āghwā, each one, every one, from ā, ever + gi + hwa; and similarly āghwæjer, each of two, both; āghwelc, āghwilc, each one, every one. ālc, each, every; ānig, any, nānig, not any one, no one; aþhwā, each; āhwā, any one; āhwæjer, ŏhwæjer, āþþer, ŏþþer, one of two, nāhwæjer, nōhwæjer, nōþþer, nēþþer, neither of two; án, some
one, a certain one, in plur. each, every, all, nan, no one, nânþing, nothing; âwiht, õwiht, āwuht, ŏwuht, āht, õht, anything; nâwiht, nôwiht, nâwuht, nôwuht, náht, nöht, nothing; gehwâ, each one, every one; gehwæþer, each of two, both; gehwilc, each, every one; hwelchwugu, any, some, some one; hwæthwugu, somewhat, something; lóc, lôca + pronoun hwâ, hwæþer, as lôc hwæþer þæra gebrôþra, whichever of the two brothers, bide me lôce hwâs þu wille, ask me for whatever thou wilt; man, one; nät+ hwâ, hwelc, some one I know not who, which; samhwilc, some; sum, some one; swâ . . . swâ, as swâ hwâ swâ, whosoever, whoever, swâ hwæt swâ, whatsoever, whatever, swâ hwæþer swâ, whichever of two, swâ hwelc swâ, * whichever; swelc, swilc, such; þyslic, þuslic, þyllic, þullic, such.

CHAPTER XIV
VERBS

§ 472. In the parent Indg. language the verbs were divided into two great classes: athematic and thematic. In the athematic verbs the personal endings were added to the bare root which had the strong grade form of ablaut in the singular, but the weak grade in the dual and plural. Thus for example the singular and plural of the verbs for to be and to go were: *és-mi, *és-si, *és-ti, *s-més or *s-mós, *s-té, *s-énti; *éi-mi, *éi-si, *éi-ti, *i-més or *i-mós, *i-té, *j-énti. Verbs of this class are often called mi-verbs because the first person singular ends in -mi. The Germanic languages have only preserved a few traces of the mi-conjugation (§ 547). Nearly all the verbal forms, which originally belonged to this class, passed over into the ō-conjugation in the prim. Germanic period.
In the thematic verbs the stem-vowel, which could be either of the strong or weak grade of ablaut, remained unchanged throughout the present; in the former case they are called imperfect presents (as cēosan, to choose; helpan, to help; etan, to eat; &c.), and in the latter case aorist presents (as OE. lūcan, to close; murnan, to mourn; &c.). The present was formed by means of the thematic vowels, e, o, which came between the root and the personal endings, and the accent was on the root or the thematic vowel according as the root contained the strong or weak grade of ablaut, thus the present singular and plural of the verbs for to bear and to come were: *bhērō, *bhēr-e-si, *bhēr-e-ti, *bhēr-o-mes, (-mos), *bhēr-e-te, *bhēr-o-nti, but *gmō (with vocalic m throughout the present), *gm-e-si, *gm-e-ti, *gm-ō-mes, (-mos), *gm-e-te, *gm-ō-nti. Verbs of this class are generally called o-verbs because the first person singular ends in -ō. The -ō in *bhērō is generally regarded as the personal ending, but in reality it is simply the lengthened ablaut-grade of the thematic vowel. In the early period of the parent Indg. language the base *bher-o- was used for the first pers. singular, and then at a later period the thematic vowel became lengthened. It is sometimes assumed that the -ō arose from the contraction of the thematic vowel -o + -a (the original ending of the perfect, as in Gr. oître, I know), but this would have become -ō not -ō (§ 9). The old distinction between the mi- and the o-conjugation was fairly well preserved in Greek, as eimi, I am, ēmi, I go, dίdouμι, I give; μένω, I remain, πείθω, I persuade; τρίβω, I rub, τύφω, I smoke.

§ 473. In treating the history of the verbal forms in OE. it is advisable to start out partly from prim. Germanic and partly from the oldest OE. The Indg. verbal system underwent so many radical changes in prim. Germanic that it would be necessary to treat here in detail the verbal
system of the non-Germanic languages such as Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin in order to account for all the changes.

In the Germanic languages the verbs are divided into two great classes: — Strong and Weak. The strong verbs form their preterite (originally perfect) and past participle by means of ablaut (§ 224). The weak verbs form their preterite by the addition of a syllable containing a dental (Goth. -da, (-ta), OE. -de, -te), and their past participle by means of a dental suffix (Goth. -p, (-t), OE. -d, (-t)).

Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of Minor Groups.

The strong verbs were originally further sub-divided into reduplicated and non-reduplicated verbs, as Goth. haldan, to hold, lētan, to let, preterite hā̄hald, laflōt; niman, to take, hilpan, to help, preterite nam, halp. In OE. the reduplication almost entirely disappeared in the prehistoric period of the language (§ 511). The non-reduplicated verbs are divided into six classes according to the six ablaut-series (§ 226). The originally reduplicated verbs are put together in this book and called class VII.

§ 474. The OE. verb has the following independent forms: — one voice (active), two numbers, three persons, two tenses (present and preterite), two complete moods (indicative and subjunctive, the latter originally the optative), besides an imperative which is only used in the present tense; one verbal noun (the present infinitive), a present participle with active meaning, and one verbal adjective (the past participle).

The simple future was generally expressed by the present tense as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, but already in OE. the present forms of bēon, to be, sculan, shall, willan, will, with the infinitive began to be used to express the future. In the oldest OE. the perfect of transitive verbs was formed by means of the
forms of habban, to have, and the past participle, and that of intransitive verbs by means of wesan, to be, and the past participle. At a later period habban came to be used to form the perfect of intransitive verbs also. The only trace of the old passive voice preserved in OE. is hātte (Goth. hātada), is or was called, pl. hātton. Otherwise the passive was expressed by the forms of bēon, wesan, to be, occasionally also weorpan, to become, and the past participle.

A. Strong Verbs.

§ 475. We are able to conjugate a strong verb in OE. when we know the four stems, as seen (1) in the infinitive or first pers. sing. pres. indicative, (2) first pers. sing. pret. indicative, (3) first pers. pl. pret. indicative, (4) the past participle. The pret. subjunctive and the second pers. pret. indicative have the same stem-vowel as the pret. pl. indicative. The conjugation of beran, to bear, helpan, to help, bindan, to bind, ridan, to ride, cēosan, to choose, weorpan, to throw, faran, to go, biddan, to pray, feallan, to fall, tēon, to draw, slēan, to slay, fōn, to seize, will serve as models for all strong verbs, because in addition to verbal endings, one or other of them illustrates such phenomena as umlaut, the interchange between i and e in the pres. indic. of verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V, breaking, vowel contraction, vowel syncope, the simplification of double consonants, Verner’s law, and the consonant changes in the second and third pers. sing. of the pres. indicative.

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 1.</th>
<th>bere</th>
<th>helpe</th>
<th>binde</th>
<th>ride</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. bir(e)st</td>
<td>hilpst</td>
<td>bintst</td>
<td>rītst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bir(e)p</td>
<td>hilpp</td>
<td>bint</td>
<td>rī(t)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>beraṗ</td>
<td>helpaṗ</td>
<td>bindaṗ</td>
<td>rīdaṗ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Accidence

**Subjunctive.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bere</th>
<th>helpe</th>
<th>binde</th>
<th>ride</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>beren</td>
<td>helpen</td>
<td>binden</td>
<td>riden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ber</th>
<th>bind</th>
<th>rid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>ber</td>
<td>help</td>
<td>bind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>berajp</td>
<td>helpajp</td>
<td>bindajp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Infinitive.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>beran</th>
<th>bindan</th>
<th>ridan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Participle.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>berende</th>
<th>bindende</th>
<th>ridende</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preterite.**

**Indicative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bær</th>
<th>healp</th>
<th>band</th>
<th>råd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bær</td>
<td>hulpe</td>
<td>bunde</td>
<td>ride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bær</td>
<td>healp</td>
<td>band</td>
<td>råd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>bærön</td>
<td>hulpon</td>
<td>bundon</td>
<td>ridon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Present.

**Indicative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>cēose</th>
<th>weorpe</th>
<th>fare</th>
<th>bidde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>fare</td>
<td>bidde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cīest</td>
<td>wierpst</td>
<td>fær(e)st</td>
<td>bitst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>wierpajp</td>
<td>fær(e)ajp</td>
<td>bit(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>cēosaajp</td>
<td>weorpajp</td>
<td>faraajp</td>
<td>biddajp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§ 475</th>
<th></th>
<th>245</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Verbs

**Subjunctive.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>cēose</th>
<th>weorpe</th>
<th>fare</th>
<th>bidde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>cēosen</td>
<td>weorpen</td>
<td>faren</td>
<td>bidden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 2.</th>
<th>cēos</th>
<th>weorp</th>
<th>far</th>
<th>bide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 2.</td>
<td>cēosaṇ</td>
<td>weorpaṇ</td>
<td>faraṇ</td>
<td>biddaṇ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Infinitive.**

| cēosan | weorpan | faran | biddan |

**Participle.**

| cēosende | weorpende | farende | biddende |

**Preterite.**

**Indicative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 1.</th>
<th>cēas</th>
<th>warmp</th>
<th>för</th>
<th>bæd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>cure</td>
<td>wurpe</td>
<td>före</td>
<td>bāde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>cēas</td>
<td>warp</td>
<td>för</td>
<td>bæd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur.  | curon  | wurpon | föron | bædon |

**Subjunctive.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>cure</th>
<th>wurpe</th>
<th>före</th>
<th>bæde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>curen</td>
<td>wurpen</td>
<td>fören</td>
<td>bæden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Participle.**

| coren | worpen  | faren | beden |

**Present.**

**Indicative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 1.</th>
<th>fealle</th>
<th>tēo</th>
<th>slēa</th>
<th>fō</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>fielst</td>
<td>tiehst</td>
<td>sliehst</td>
<td>féhst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>fielp</td>
<td>tiehp</td>
<td>sliehp</td>
<td>féhp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur.  | feallāṇ | tēop  | slēap  | fōp |

**Subjunctive.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>fealle</th>
<th>tēo</th>
<th>slēa</th>
<th>fō</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>feallen</td>
<td>tēon</td>
<td>slēan</td>
<td>fōn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Accidence

Imperative.
Sing. 2. feall  tēoh  sleah  fōh
Plur. 2. feallap  tēop  slēap  fōp

Infinitive.
feallan  tēon  slēan  fōn
Participle.
feallende  tēonde  slēande  fōnde

Preterite.
Indicative.
Sing. 1. fēoll  tēah  slōh, slōg  fēng
  2. fēolle  tuge  slōge  fēnge
  3. fēoll  tēah  slōh, slōg  fēng
Plur.  fēollon  tugon  slōgon  fēngon

Subjunctive.
Sing.  fēolle  tuge  slōge  fēnge
Plur.  fēollen  tugon  slōgen  fēngen
Participle.
feallen  togen  slægen  fangen

The Endings of Strong Verbs.

§ 476. Pres. indicative: The Indg. and prim. Germanic ending of the first pers. sing. was -ō (cp. Lat. ferō, Gr. φέρω, Indg. *bhēro, I bear) which became -u (later -o) in prim. OE. (§ 214). The -u (-o) regularly remained after short stems and disappeared after long stems, as beru, -o beside *help, *bind (§ 215), but already in prehistoric OE. the verbs with long stems took -u again after the analogy of those with short stems. The Anglian dialect mostly preserved the -u (-o), but in early WS. and Ken. its place was taken by -e from the pres. subjunctive.
The prim. Germanic forms of the second pers. sing. of beran and bindan were *birizi, *bindizi = Indg. *bhérêsì, *bhéndhesì, which would regularly have become *birir, *bindir, later *bírer, *binder in O.E. (§§ 218, 3, 252), but already in prehistoric O.E. the second pers. sing. of strong verbs was remodelled on the analogy of the first class of weak verbs which did not have the chief accent on the stem in prim. Germanic (see Note and § 239, Note 2). The oldest O.E. forms were biris, bindis which regularly became later bires, bindes. The ending -st arose partly from analogy with the preterite-present forms wást, þearft, scealt, &c. and partly from a false etymological division of the pronoun from the verb to which it was often attached enclitically, thus birisþu became biristu, from which birist was extracted as the verbal form, cp. the similar process in OHG. The ending -st occurs earliest in the contracted verbs, tiehst, sliehst, &c.

The prim. Germanic forms of the third pers. sing. of beran and bindan were *biridi ( = OS. birid, OHG. birit), *bindidi = Indg. *bhéreti, *bhéndheti, which would regularly have become *bired, older *birid, and *bind(d) in O.E., but already in prehistoric O.E. the third pers. sing. like the second was remodelled on analogy with the first class of weak verbs. The oldest O.E. forms were birip, bindip, later bir(e)p, bint (§ 300). The -ep became -es in late Nth.

In the second and third pers. sing. the -i- (-e-) was regularly syncopated after long stems, as hilpst, hilpþ, ritst, rit(t), tiehst, tiehþ, &c., and remained after short stems, as birest, bireþ, færest, færeþ, &c. (§ 221), but there are many exceptions to this rule, especially in WS. and Ken., owing to new formations in both directions, as bindest, binedþ, hilpest, hilpeþ, &c., and on the other hand birst, birþ, færst, færþ, &c. In Anglian the forms without syncope were almost entirely generalized, but in
WS. and Ken. syncope was practically general, especially after voiceless consonants and after d, f (= b), and g, but as a rule not after a single liquid or a nasal.

The loss of -e- in the second and third pers. sing. gave rise to various consonantal changes: Double consonants were simplified before the personal endings (§ 259), as fielst, fielp, spinst, spinp, beside inf. feallan, spinnan.

d became t before -st, as bintst, bitst, ritst, wieltst beside wealdan, to wield. d and t + -p became tt (common in the older period), later t, as bint, bit(t), rit(t); birst, it(t), beside inf. berstan, to burst, etan, to eat, see §§ 300, 305. Forms like bindest, bidst, wieldst; bindep, bid(e)p, &c. were new formations after the analogy of forms which regularly had d.

After a long vowel, diphthong, or liquid, g became h before -st, -p (§ 320, Note), as stihst, stihp, inf. stigan, to ascend, fliehst, fliehp, inf. flēogan, to fly, swihst, swihp, inf. swelgan, to swallow, but the g was often restored from forms which regularly had g.

s, ss, st + -st, -p became -st (§§ 259, 305), as ciest; cyst beside inf. wv. cyssan, to kiss, birst beside birstest, birstep (new formations); x (= hs) + -st, -p became xt, as wiext beside inf. weaxan, to grow. In verbs of this type the second and third pers. singular regularly fell together.

-p disappeared before -st (§ 305), as cwist, wierst, beside inf. cweþan, to say, weorþan, to become. Forms like cwipst, wierpst, snipst (inf. sniþan, to cut), were new formations after the analogy of the other forms of the present. -p + -p became þ, as cwip, wierþ.

The forms of the first and second pers. plural had disappeared already in the oldest period of the language, their place having been taken by the form of the third person. The prim. Germanic forms of the third pers. pl. of beran, bindan were *berandi, *bindandi = Indg. *bhéronti, *bhéndhonti, which would regularly have
become in OE. *berand, *bindand = Goth. bairand, bindand, but, as in the second and third pers. singular, the third pers. pl. was remodelled on analogy with the first class of weak verbs which regularly had -ānþi in prim. Germanic. -ānþi became -aþ in OE. through the intermediate stages -anþ, -onþ, -ōþ (§ 218). -aþ became -as in late Nth. This -s plural has been preserved in the Modern northern dialects when the subject is not a simple personal pronoun placed immediately before or after the verb.

Note.—The personal endings of the second and third pers. singular and the third pers. plural of strong verbs which originally had the principal accent on the stem-syllable were in prim. Germanic -zi, -di, -ndi = Indg. -si, -ti, -nti, but the personal endings of the corresponding persons of the aorist presents (see § 472) and of the first class of weak verbs were -si, -þi, -nþi, which became generalized in prehistoric OE., cp. § 239, Note 2.

§ 477. Pres. subjunctive: This tense is properly an old optative. The original forms of the singular and plural of beran were *bhéroi-, *bhérois, *bhéroit, *bhéroim-, *bhéroite, *bhéroint. The final -t was regularly dropped in prim. Germanic (§ 211) and the oi became ai during the same period (§ 30). Then ai became æ which was shortened to æ (§ 217). The æ was preserved in the oldest period of the language and afterwards became e. In OE. the original forms of the singular regularly fell together in bere. The old forms of the first and second pers. plural disappeared and their place was taken by the third pers. beren (Goth. baírán-a). Beside -en there also occurs in late WS. -an, and also -un, -on taken over from the pret. pl. indicative. On the loss of final -n in Nth., see § 288. The final -n also disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second person came immediately after the verb, as bere wě, wit, gě, git. Then
beré wě, &c., came to be used also for the indicative and imperative.

§ 478. Imperative: The original ending of the second pers. sing. was -e which regularly disappeared without leaving any trace of its former existence (§ 213), whence OE. ber = Gr. φέρε, Indg. *bhére. On the -e in bide beside its absence in ber, bind, &c., see § 273. In OE. the third pers. plural of the pres. indicative was used for the second pers. plural. A form in -an, as beran, bindan, was occasionally used in the oldest period of the language for the first pers. plural. This form was originally identical with the first pers. pl. pres. indic. which disappeared in OE. The first pers. pl. is generally expressed by the pres. subjunctive, as beren, binden, &c.

§ 479. Pres. participle: In the parent language the stem of the pres. participle ended in -nt, as in Lat. feren-, Gr. φέρωντ-, Indg. *bhéront = OE. berend-e, Goth. bafrand-s. The masc. and neut. were originally declined like consonant stems (§ 416). The fem. nom. sing. originally ended in -i which was shortened to -i (§ 214) in prehistoric OE., cp. Goth. fem. frijōndi, friend. The -i of the feminine was extended to the masc. and neut. which was the cause of their passing over into the ja-declension (§ 433). See § 441. The oldest OE. ending is -endi, -endi, later -ende.

§ 480. Infinitive: The inf. was originally a nomen actionis, formed by means of various suffixes in the different Indg. languages. The suffix -ono-, to which was added the nom. acc. neuter ending -m, became generalized in prim. Germanic, thus the original form of beran was *bhéronom, the -onom of which regularly became -an in OE. Goth. OS. and OHG. On the loss of the final -n in Nth., see § 288. In prim. West Germanic the inf. was inflected in the gen. and dat. like an ordinary noun of the ja-declension (§ 355), gen. -ennes, dat. -enne. The inflected forms of the inf. are sometimes called the gerund. The
gen. disappeared in prehistoric OE. The dat. tō berenne generally became -anne through the influence of the inf. ending -an. Beside -enne, -anne there also occur in late OE. -ene, -ane, and -ende with d from the present participle.

§ 481. Pret. indicative: The pret. indic. is morphologically an old perfect, which already in prim. Germanic was chiefly used to express the past tense. The original endings of the perf. singular were -a, -tha, -e, cp. Gr. olāa, olāđa, olāđe. The -a and -e regularly disappeared in prehistoric OE. (§§ 212-13), whence OE. first and third pers. singular bær, band, &c. The ending of the second pers. singular would regularly have become -þ (§ 233) in OE. OS. O.Icel. and Goth., except after prim. Germanic s, f, χ where it regularly became t (§ 231, Notes), as in Goth. last, thou didst gather, slōht, thou didst slay, þarft (OE. þearft), thou needest. This -t became generalized in prim. Germanic, as Goth. O.Icel. namt, thou tookest. But in the West Germanic languages the old ending was only preserved in the preterite-present verbs, as OE. þearft, thou needest, scealt, thou shalt, meaht, thou mayest, &c. See §§ 486, 539 ff. The third pers. plural ended in the parent language in -nt (with vocalic n) which regularly became -un in prim. Germanic (§§ 35, 211). -un remained in the oldest OE. and then later became -on, and in late OE. -an beside -on occurs, whence bāron, bundon, &c.

§ 482. Pret. subjunctive: The original endings were: singular -jēm, -jēs, -jēt, plural -īm-, -ite, -īnt, consisting of the optative element -jē, (-ī-) and the personal endings. Already in prim. Germanic the -i- of the plural was levelled out into the singular. The new sing. endings -im, -is, -it would regularly have become -i (§§ 214, 218) in the oldest OE. The -i would have caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and then have disappeared after long stems and have remained (later -e) after short stems. Regular forms would have been *bynd, *hylp, *fēr, &c., but *cyre, *tyge,
&c. The pl. ending -int would regularly have become -in (later -en) with umlaut in the stem-syllable, as *bynden, *cyren, &c. But real old pret. subjunctive forms have only been preserved in OE. in a few isolated instances as in the preterite-presents, dyge, scyle, pyrfe. In OE. the old endings of the pres. subjunctive came to be used for the preterite some time before the operation of i-umlaut. This accounts for the absence of umlaut in the pret. subjunctive in OE., as bunde, bunden, &c. Already in early OE. the pret. subjunctive began to take the endings of the pret. indicative. On the loss of the final -n in Nth., see § 288. The final -n also disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second person came immediately after the verb, as bære wě, wit, gě, git. Then later bære wě, &c., came to be used also for the indicative.

§ 483. Past participle: The past participle was formed in various ways in the parent language. In prim. Germanic the suffix -eno-, -ono- became restricted to strong verbs, and the suffix -tó- to weak verbs. In the strong verbs OE. and O.Icel. generalized the form -éno-, and Goth. OS. and OHG. the form -ono-. Beside the suffix -éno-, -ono- there also existed in prim. Germanic -ini- = Indg. -éni- which was preserved in a few OE. past participles with umlaut in the stem-syllable, see § 442. Prim. Germanic -énaz, -iniz = Indg. -énos, -énis regularly fell together in -en in OE., but they were still kept apart in the oldest period of the language, the former being -æn (-en) and the latter -in.

**General Remarks on the Strong Verbs.**

§ 484. Present indicative: On the interchange between i in the second and third pers. sing. and e in the other forms of the present in verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V, as hilpst, hilp: helpan, to help; bir(e)st, bir(e)p:
beran, to bear; cwist, cwēǷ: cwēǷan, to say, see § 41. i-umlaut took place in the second and third pers. sing. of all verbs containing a vowel or diphthong capable of being umlauted. On the i-umlaut in verbs of class VI, as fær(e)st, fær(e)Ƿ, see § 55, Note 2. On the Anglian forms of the second and third pers. sing. of verbs like cēosan, tēon, see § 138. The regular forms of the second and third pers. sing. were often remodelled on analogy with the other forms of the present, especially in the Anglian dialect, as help(e)st, help(e)Ƿ; fealst, fealǷ, feallest, fealleǷ; weorpest, weorpeǷ, beside older hilpst, hilǷ; fielst, fielǷ; wierpst, wierǷ.

On u- or o/a-umlaut of a, e in the first pers. sing., and the pl. in the non-WS. dialects, see § 48. On the breaking of Germanic a to ea, as in feallan, healǷ, wearǷ, and of e to eo, as in weorpan, see § 49. On the vowel contraction in the present of the contracted verbs, see § 139.

Strong verbs like biddan, to pray, hliehhan, to laugh, licgan, to lie down, sittan, to sit, had single medial consonants in the second and third pers. sing., because the j, which caused the doubling of the consonants in the other forms of the present, had disappeared before the West Germanic doubling of consonants took place, whence bitst, bit(t); hliehst, hliehǷ; lig(e)st, lig(e)Ƿ; sitst, sit(t).

§ 485. Infinitive: On the o/a-umlaut in the non-WS. dialects, see § 48.

§ 486. Pret. indicative: The West Germanic languages only preserved the old pret. (originally perfect) of the second pers. sing. in the preterite-present verbs (see §§ 481, 539). In all other strong verbs the OE. second pers. sing. was formed direct from the pret. subjunctive, which accounts for the absence of i-umlaut in the stem-syllable and the preservation of the final -e after both short and long stems, as ride, cure, &c., and bāre, hulpe, bunde, &c. The regular forms would have been ride, *cyre, and
Accidence

[§§ 487–90]

*bær, *hylp, *bynd. These and similar forms were originally augmentless aorists which had in Indo-Germanic the ending -es and the same grades of ablaut in the stem-syllable as in the OE. pret. pl. indicative (see § 224, Notes 3–5).

On the question of u-umlaut in the plural of verbs belonging to class I, see § 101.

§ 487. Pret. subjunctive: If the OE. pret. subjunctive had been normally developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms, it would have had i-umlaut in the stem-syllable as in O. Icelandic. But this tense took the endings of the pres. subjunctive in the prehistoric period of the language before the operation of i-umlaut. See § 482.

§ 488. Past Participle: The ending of the past participle has already been explained in § 442. In prim. Germanic the prefix *gi- was added to the past participle to impart to it a perfective meaning. Verbs which were already perfective in meaning, such as bringan, to bring, cuman, to come, findan, to find, niman, to take, weorpan, to become, did not originally have it. But in OE. the simple past participle generally had ge-, irrespectively as to whether it was perfective or imperfective in meaning. On past participles which have i-umlaut, see § 442.

§ 489. On the parts of strong verbs which exhibit Verner’s law in OE., see § 238.

The Classification of the Strong Verbs.

Class I.

§ 490. The verbs of this class belong to the first ablaut-series (§ 226) and therefore have i in all forms of the present, ā in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and i in the preterite plural and past participle, thus:

bidan, to await bād bidon biden
Goth. beidan bāip bidun bidans
And similarly ætwitan, to blame, reproach; acwīnan, to dwindle away; behlīdan, to cover; belifan, to remain; bescitan, to befoul; besmitan, to pollute; bitan, to bite; blīcan, to shine; cīnan, to crack; clīfan, to stick, adhere; cnīdan, to beat; dīfan, to drive; dwīnan, to dwindle; flītan, to strive, quarrel; gewītan, to depart; gīnan, to yawn; glīdan, to glide; gnīdan, to rub together; gripan, to seize; hīnan, to knock; hrīnan, to touch; hwīnan, to whizz; nīpan, to grow dark; rīdan, to ride; sīcan, to sigh; scīnan (§133, Note 2), to shine; scrīfan, to prescribe; slīdan, to slide; slītan, to slit; sīcan, to crawl; spiwan (§265), to spew, spil; strīcan, to stroke; strīdan, to stride; swīcan, to cease from; swīfan, to sweep; tōsīlīfan, to split; hwīnan, to grow soft; hwītan, to hew; wīcan, to yield, give way; wīlan, to gaze; wīrīdan, to grow, flourish; wītan, to write. stīgan, to ascend, pret. sing. stāg beside stāh (§323); and similarly hnīgan, to incline; mīgan, to make water; sīgan, to sink.

§ 491. sniptan, to cut snāp snidon sniden
And similarly lipan, to go; scripān, to go, proceed. See § 239. In ārisan, to arise; gerīsan, to befit; mīpan, to avoid; wrīpan, to twist, the s, p of the present was extended to all forms of the verb.

§ 492. tīon, tēon, to accuse tāh ti gon tigen
tīon, tēon, from older *tiōhan, *tiθan (§127); on the g in the pret. pl. and past participle, see § 239. In the pres. the ēo from older ɨo regularly fell together with the ēo from Germanic eu (§137) which was the cause of verbs of this type often forming their preterite and past participle after the analogy of class II (§495), as tēah, tugon, togen; and similarly lēon, to lend; sēon, to strain; þeōn, to thrive; wrēon, to cover. þeōn from prim. Germanic *þiŋxanān (§41) originally belonged to class III; the regular principal parts in OE. would have been þeōn, *þoh (§40), þungon, þungen,
all of which occur except *pōh. The regular past participles of lēon (Goth. leilvan) and sēon (prim. Germanic *sixwan-) were *liwen, siwen with w from prim. Germanic gw (§ 241); ligen, sigen were formed on analogy with the other verbs of this type.

Class II.

§ 493. The verbs of this class belong to the second ablaut-series (§ 226) and therefore have ēo in the present, ēa in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, u in the pret. plural, and o in the past participle, thus:

bēodan, to command bēad budon boden
Goth. biudan báup budun budans
And similarly ābrēotan, to tire of; brēotan, to break, destroy; clēofan, to cleave asunder; crēopan, to creep; drēopan, to drip; flēotan, to flow; gēopan, to take to oneself; ēotan, to pour; grēotan, to weep; hlēotan, to cast lots; lēodan, to pour; nēotan, to use, enjoy; rēocan, to smoke, reek; rēodan, to redden; rēotan, to weep; scēotan, to shoot; smēocan, to smoke; þēotan, to howl. drēogan, to endure, pret. sing. drēag beside drēah (§ 323); and similarly fleogan, to fly; lēogan, to tell lies. brēowan, to brew, pret. sing. brēaw (§ 265); and similarly cēowan, to chew; hrēowan, to repent of, rue.

§ 494. cēosan, to choose cēas curon coren
And similarly drēosan, to fall; forlēosan, to lose; frēosan, to freeze; hrēosan, to fall; sēopan (sudon, soden), to boil. See § 239. ābrēopan, to perish, ruin, extended the p to all parts of the verb.

§ 495. teon, to draw tēah tugon togen

tēon (Goth. tiuhan) from *tēohan (§ 139); on the g in the pret. plural and past participle, see § 239; and similarly fleon, to flee.
§ 496. Here belong also the aorist presents with weak grade vowel in all forms of the present (§ 472).

brūcan, to use | breac, brucon, brocen
And similarly dūfan, to dive; hrūtan, to snore; lūcan, to lock; lūtan, to incline, bow down; scūfan, to push, shove; slūpan, to slip; sūcan, to suck; sūpan, to sup; strūdan, to pillage; pūtan, to howl. būgan, to bend, pret. sing. bēag beside bēah (§ 323); and similarly smūgan, to creep; sūgan, to suck.

Class III.

§ 497. The verbs of this class belong to the third ablaut-series (§ 226), and include the strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or liquid + consonant.

§ 498. Verbs with nasal + consonant had i in all forms of the present, a, o (§ 59) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and u in the preterite pl. and past participle, thus:

bindan, to bind | band (bond) bundon bunden
Goth. bindan | band bundun bundans

And similarly acwincan, to vanish; climban, to climb; clingan, to shrink; crimman, to insert; crincan, cringan, to fall, succumb; drincan, to drink; gelimpan, to happen; grimman, to rage; grindan, to grind; hlimman, to resound; hrindan, to push; linnan, to cease; onginnan, to begin; rinnan, to run, flow; scrincan, scringan, to shrink; sinnan, to meditate; slincan, to slink, creep; spinnan, to spin; springan, to leap; stincan, to stink; stingan, to sting; pindan, to swell; pringan, to throng, press; printan, to swell; windan, to wind; winnan, to toil, fight; wringan, to wring. On sincan (Goth. sigqan), to sink; singan (Goth. siggwan), to sing; swincan, to toil;
swindan, to disappear; swingan, to swing; swimman, to swim, see § 249. The regular principal parts of findan (Goth. finĭan) would have been fiĭan (§ 97), fōp (§ 61), fundon, funden (§ 239); the present and the pret. sing. fand were formed on analogy with verbs like bindan; beside fand there occurs funde which is the second pers. sing. also used for the first and third. On biernan (Goth. brinnan), to burn, barn (Goth. brann), born (later bearn), burnon, burnen; and iernan (Goth. rinnan, see above), to run, arn (Goth. rann), orn (later earn), urnon, urnen, see § 98, Note 3.

§ 499. Verbs with 1 + cons. except 1c (§ 84) have e in the present, ea (§ 64) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, u in the pret. plural, and o in the past participle (§ 43), thus:

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<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>help</td>
<td>hilpan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heal</td>
<td>halp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulpon</td>
<td>hulpun</td>
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<tr>
<td>holpen</td>
<td>hulpans</td>
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And similarly belgan, to swell with anger; bellan, to bellow; beteldan, to cover; delfan, to dig; meltan, to melt; swelgan, to swallow; swellan, to swell; sweltan (§ 249), to die. gieldan (§ 91), to yield, geald, guldon, golden; and similarly giellan, to yell; gielpan, to boast.

§ 500. Verbs with 1c, r or h + consonant have eo in the present (§§ 83-6), ea in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, u in the preterite plural, and o in the past participle. On the verbs with the combination weo in the present, see § 94.

<table>
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<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>weorpan</td>
<td>wearp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wearpun</td>
<td>wurpon</td>
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<tr>
<td>worpen</td>
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</table>

And similarly āseolcan, to languish; beorcan, to bark; beorgan, to protect; ceorfan, to cut, carve; deorfan, to labour; hweorfan, to turn, go; feohtan, to fight; meolcan, late WS. also melcan, to milk; sceorfan, to gnaw; sceorpan, to scrape; steorfan, to die; sweorfan, to rub;
sweorcan, to become dark. weorþan, to become, wearþ, wurdon, worden (§ 239).

§ 501. feolan from *feolhan (§ 84, Note 1), to enter, penetrate, fealh (§ 64), fulgon (§ 239) beside the more common form fælon made after the analogy of verbs of class IV, folgen; pret. pl. and pp. also fūlon from *fulhon, fōlen from *folhen with h from the pres. *feolhan.

§ 502.

bregdan, to brandish  brægd  brugdon  brogden
stregdan, to strew  strægd  strugdon  strogden
berstan, to burst  bærst  burston  borsten
þerscan, to thresh  þærs  þurscon  þorscen
frignan, to ask  frægn  frugnon  frugnen
murnan, to mourn  mearn  murnon
spurnan, to spurn  spearn  spurnon  spornen

In bregdan and stregdan, beside the forms with g there also occur forms with loss of g and lengthening of the preceding vowel, as brēdan (§ 80, Note 2), brēd (§ 54, Note 2), brūdon, brōden (§ 108, Note). berstan (OHG. brestan) and þerscan (OHG. dreskan) have metathesis of r (§ 280), hence the absence of breaking in the present and pret. singular. The i in frignan is due to the influence of the gn; beside frignan there also occurs frīnan (§ 96, Note 1) to which a new pret. sing. frān was formed after the analogy of verbs of class I; the n belonged originally to the present only, and the g to the pret. plural and past participle; the n and g were extended to all forms of the verb, cp. Goth. fraihnan, frah, frēhun for *frēgun, fraihans for *frigans; the Goth. shows that the OE. verb originally belonged to class V and that the principal parts would regularly have been *freohnan (*frēonan, § 329, 2), *freh, *frāgon (§ 120), *fregen; beside the pret. pl. frugnon there also occur frungon with metathesis of gn, and frūnon with
loss of g; and beside the pp. frugnen there also occur frūnen with loss of g, and frognen. murnan and spurnan (also spornan) are properly aorist presents (§ 472).

Class IV.

§ 503. The verbs of this class belong to the fourth ablaut-series (§ 226), which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal. They have e in the present, æ in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, æ in the pret. plural, and o in the past participle, thus:

beran, to bear
Goth. baíran
baer bær ðæron boren
børn

And similarly cwelān, to die; helan, to conceal; stelan, to steal; teran, to tear; þweran, to stir. scieran (§ 91), to shear, scēar (§ 72), scēaron (§ 124), scorēn.

§ 504.
cuman, to come
Goth. c(w)om c(w)ōmon cumen (cymen)
cumēn
niman, to take
Goth. nōm nōmon numen
nom

From the regular forms of the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic. cym(e)st, cym(e)þ, the y was often extended to other forms of the pres., especially to the pres. subjunctive as cyme beside cume; cuman is an aorist present (§ 472) from older *kwoman with regular loss of w before u (§§ 109, 266), after the analogy of which it was often dropped in the preterite; c(w)om for *cwam, *cwom, was a new formation from the plural where ō was regular (§ 121); cumen from older *kwomen; on cymen, see § 442. niman from older *neman (§ 81); nōm was a new formation from the plural which regularly had ō (§ 121); beside nōm, nōmon there also occur the new formations nam, nāmon; numen from older *nomen (§ 109).
§ 505. The verbs of this class belong to the fifth ablaut-series (§ 226), which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or a nasal. They have e in the present, æ in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, æ in the pret. plural, and e in the past participle, thus:

metan, to measure  
Goth. mitan

mat  mēton  meten

And similarly brecan (pp. brocen after the analogy of class IV), to break; cnedan, to knead; drepan, to scrape; sprecan, late OE. specan, to speak; swefan, to sleep; tredan, to tread; wefan, to weave; wegan (pret. pl. wēgon beside wēgon, see § 120), to carry; wrecan, to avenge. giefan, to give, geaf, gēafon, giefen; and similarly forgietan, to forget. etan, to eat, and fretan (Goth. fra-itan, pret. sing. frēt), to devour, had æ in the pret. sing. already in prim. Germanic, cp. Goth. ēt, O.Icel. OS. āt, OHG. āz (§ 119). cweplan, to say, cwæp, cwædon, cweden; wesan, to be, pret. pl. wēron (§ 239). genesan, to be saved, and lesan, to collect, gather, have extended the s of the present and pret. sing. to all forms of the verb.

§ 506. sēon (Goth. sailvan) from *seohan (§ 87), to see, seah (§ 68), sāwon beside sāgon (§ 241), sewen (§ 241) beside sawen with a difficult to account for, and Anglian gesegen with g from the pret. plural; and similarly gefēon, to rejoice, gefeah, pret. pl. gefēgon; pleōn, to risk, pret. sing. pleah.

§ 507. To this class also belong biddan, to pray; licgan, to lie down; sittan, to sit, which originally had j in the present (§ 254) : biddan (Goth. bidjan), bæd (Goth. baþ), bædon (Goth. bēdon). beden (Goth. bidans). The pret.
pl. of licgan is lægon beside lægon (§ 120). licgan, to receive, is a weak verb in WS.; in poetry it has the strong forms beah (باء), ñægon, ñegen. fricgan, to ask, inquire, with strong pp. gefrigen, gefrugen (cp. § 502).

**Class VI.**

§ 508. The verbs of this class belong to the sixth ablaut-series (§ 226), and have a in the present, ō in the pret. sing. and plural, and æ beside a in the past participle. There is a good deal of fluctuation between æ and a in the past participle, as færen, græfen, sæcen, slægen beside faren, grafen, sacen, slagen. The regular development of Germanic a when followed by a palatal vowel in the next syllable is æ (§ 54), so that forms with a like faren, &c., are new formations with a from the present, see § 54, Note 3.

On the origin of the a, ō in verbs belonging to this class, see §§ 224, Note 5, 228.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>faran, to go</td>
<td>faran</td>
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<tr>
<td>för</td>
<td>förun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>færen</td>
<td>faren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fôron</td>
<td>farans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And similarly alan, to grow; bacan, to bake; calan, to be cold; galan, to sing; grafan, to dig; hladan, to lade, load; sacan, to strive, quarrel; wacan, to awake, be born; wadan, to go; waskan, to wash. gnagan (pret. sing. gnôg beside gnôh, § 323), to gnaw; and similarly dragan, to draw. scacan, sceacan (§ 57, Note), to shake, scôc, sceôc (§ 128, Note), scacen, sceacen; and similarly scafan, sceafan, to shave, scrape. standan (Goth. standan), to stand, stôd, stôdon, standen with n from the present. spanan, to allure, pret. spôn beside spêon which was formed after the analogy of verbs of class VII.

§ 509.

sléan, to strike slôg, slôh slôgon slægen, slagen
sléan (Goth. slahan) from *sléahan (§ 70); slôg with g
from the plural, beside slōh (§ 323), slōgon (§ 239); beside slægen, slagen there also occurs slēgen with i-umlaut (§ 442); and similarly flēan, to flay; lēan, to blame; āwēan, to wash.

§ 510. To this class also belong hebban (Goth. hafjan), to raise; hliehhan (Goth. hlahjan), to laugh; sceþtan (Goth. skaþjan), to injure, cp. § 526; scieppan (Goth. ga-skapjan), to create; stæppan beside steppan (§ 55, Note 3), to step, go; swerian, to swear, which originally had j in the present (§ 271).

hebban höf höfon hæfen, hafen
hliehhan hlōg, hlōh hlōgon
sceþtan scōd scōdon
scieppan scōp scōpon sceapen
stæppan stōp stōpon stæpen, stapen
swerian swōr swōron sworn

hebban has also weak pret. and pp. in late WS. (hefde, hefod); beside hæfen there also occurs hefen (§ 442). hlōg with g from the plural beside hlōh (§ 323). The regular WS. form of sceþtan would be scieþtan (§ 73); scōd with d from scōdon. On sceō- beside scō-, see § 128, Note. On sceapen, see § 57, Note. sworn with o from analogy of verbs of class IV as in OHG. gisworan.

Class VII.

§ 511. To this class belong those verbs which originally had reduplicated preterites like Goth. haíhald, laílōt, faíflōk, haíháit, raírōb, laíláik, inf. haldan, to hold, lētan, to let, flōkan, to complain, háitan, to call, rēdan, to advise, láikan, to leap. Traces of the old reduplicated preterites have been preserved in Anglian and in poetry, viz. hēht (also WS.), leolc, leort, ondreord, reord, beside inf. hātan, lācan, lētan, ondrådan, rådean, see below. This class of verbs is divided into two sub-divisions according as the
preterite had ē or ēo. Much has been written about the stem-vowel in the preterite of these verbs, but little or nothing is really known of how it came about. It is usually assumed to be due to the old reduplicated syllable having undergone contraction with the stem-syllable, but this assumption leaves many phonological difficulties unexplained. The preterite sing. and pl. have the same stem-vowel. The stem-syllable of all verbs belonging to this class is long.

Sub-division 1.

§ 512. hātan, to call hēt hāten
And similarly lācan, to play; scādan, sceādan (§ 133, Note 2), to separate, pret. scēd beside sceād.

§ 513. lētan, to let, allow lēt lēten
And similarly ondrādan (WS. also weak pret. ondrāddde), to dread, fear; rādan (pret. and pp. mostly weak in WS.: rādde, gerādd), to advise; slēpan (WS. also weak pret. slēpte). blandan, to mix, pret. blēnd, pp. blanden.

§ 514. fōn (§ 117), to seize fēng (§ 239) fangen
And similarly hōn, to hang.

Sub-division 2.

§ 515. bannan, to summon bēon(n) bannen
And similarly gangan (pret. also giēng), to go; spannan, to join, clasp.

§ 516. fealdan (§ 64), to fold fēold fealden
And similarly feallan, to fall; healdan, to hold; stealdan, to possess; wealcon, to roll; wealdan, to rule; weallan, to boil; weaxan (originally belonged to class VI), to grow.

§ 517. blāwan, to blow blēow (§ 265) blāwen
And similarly cnāwan, to know; crāwan, to crow;
māwan, to mow; sāwan, to sow; swāpan, to sweep; prāwan, to turn, twist; wāwan, to blow.

§ 518. bēatan, to beat

And similarly āhnēapan, to pluck off; hēawan, to hew; hlēapan, to leap.

§ 519. blōtan, to sacrifice

And similarly blōwan, to bloom, blossom; hrōpan, to shout; hwōpan, to threaten; flōwan, to flow; grōwan, to grow; hlōwan, to low, bellow; rōwan (pret. pl. réon beside rēowon, § 266), to row; spōwan, to succeed; wēpan (Goth. wōpjans), to weep. The pret. of flōcan, to clap, strike; swōgan, to sound; wrōtan, to root up, do not occur.

B. Weak Verbs.

§ 520. The weak verbs, which for the most part are derivative or denominative, are divided in OE. into three classes according as the infinitive ends in -an (Goth. -jan), pret. -ede, -de, -te (Goth. -ida, -ta); -ian (Goth. -ōn) from older -oian (§ 273), pret. -ode (Goth. -ōda); -an (Goth. -an), pret. -de (Goth. -áida). The weak preterite is a special Germanic formation, and many points connected with its origin are still uncertain. Some scholars are inclined to regard it as a periphrastic formation which was originally confined to denominative verbs, and then at a later period became extended to primary verbs as well. The OE. ending -de, -des(t), -de, pl. -don (older -dun), would thus represent an old aorist formed from the root *dhe-, put, place (Gr. τιθέω-μι), which stands in ablaut relation to OE. dōn, to do. The old preterite (perfect) of this verb has been preserved in the preterite plural of Gothic weak verbs, as háusi-dēdum (we heard), dēduþ, dēdun = OHG. tātum, tātut, tātun (OS. dādun), the pret. pl. of tuon, to
do. But it is also probable that the dental in the OE. preterite stands in close relationship to the dental in the past participle, where the -d = prim. Germanic -dás = Gr. -tó·s. Prim. Germanic -dōn (daēn), -dēs, -dē(h), pl. third pers. -dūn(h) from Indg. *-dhnt with vocalic n, regularly became -de, -des(t), -de, -dōn older -dūn in OE. Three stems are to be distinguished in the conjugation of a weak verb: the stem of the present, preterite, and past participle, which mostly agrees with that of the preterite.

Note.—Many points concerning the inflexion of weak verbs in the oldest periods of the Germanic languages have never been satisfactorily explained. For a summary and discussion of the various explanations which have been suggested by scholars, the student should consult: Brugmann, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, p. 550, also Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, herausgegeben von W. Braune, vol. xxxix, pp. 84-97; Kluge, Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Sprachen in Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, third ed. pp. 168-72; Streitberg, Urgermanische Grammatik, pp. 334-42; Collitz, Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte, where the whole subject is treated in great detail.

Class I.

§ 521. In OE. the verbs of this class are divided into two sub-divisions: (a) verbs which originally had a short stem-syllable; (b) polysyllabic verbs and those which originally had a long stem-syllable. Nearly all the verbs belonging to this class are causative and denominative. On the personal and other endings, see §§ 273, 476-83.

Sub-division (a).

§ 522. Formation of the present stem: The present stem of verbs ending in a single consonant, except r, became long (except in the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative, and second pers. sing. imperative) by the West Germanic law of the doubling of consonants (§ 254).
The j had already disappeared in these persons before the operation of the law, for which reason they had single consonants in OE. (§ 254, Note).

§ 523. Formation of the pret. and past participle: The j, which caused the doubling of the final consonants in the present stems, never existed in the preterite or past participle, so that these stems ended in single consonants. The pret. generally had the ending -ede from prim. Germanic -idōn, but verbs whose present stems ended in dd, tt (= West Germanic dj, tj) had -de, -te on analogy with the verbs which originally had long stems (§ 528). On many verbs whose present stems ended in cc, ll (= West Germanic kj, lj), see § 534.

The past participle generally ended in -ed from older -id, prim. Germanic -idaz from older -idās, Indg. -itós, as genered, gefremen (see § 442). But in WS. and Ken. the verbs whose stems ended in d, t had vowel syncope and assimilation of consonants, as geset(t), masc. acc. sing. gesetne, dat. gesettum, fem. gen. dat. sing. gesetre, beside Anglian geseted, gesetedne, gesettum, gesetedre; gehredd beside Anglian gehreded, rescued. See § 300.

§ 524. The full conjugation of nerian (Goth. nasjan), to save; fremman (Goth. *framjan), to perform; settan (Goth. satjan), to set, will serve as models for this class.

### Present.

**Indicative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>nerie</th>
<th>fremme</th>
<th>sette</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>neres(t)</td>
<td>fremes(t)</td>
<td>setst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nereþ</td>
<td>fremeþ</td>
<td>set(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>neriaþ</td>
<td>fremmaþ</td>
<td>settaþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subjunctive.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>nerie</th>
<th>fremme</th>
<th>sette</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>nerenen</td>
<td>fremmen</td>
<td>setten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Imperative.

Sing. 2. nere  
Plur. 2. neraiḥ  

Infinitive.

nerian  
fremman  

Participle.

neriende  
fremmende  

Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. nerede  
2. neredes(t)  
3. nerede  
Plur. neredon  

Subjunctive.

Sing. nerede  
Plur. nereden  

Participle.

genered  
gefremed  

§ 525. On forms like ner gan, nerigan, nerigean, see § 271. Like nerian are conjugated amerian, to purify; andswerian, to answer; berian, to make bare; bescierian, to deprive; byrian, to pertain to, belong to; derian, to injure; erian, to plough; ferian, to carry; gewerian, to clothe; herian, to praise; onhyrian, to emulate; scierian, to allot; snyrian, to hasten; spyrian, to pursue; styrian, to stir; werian, to defend.

In late WS. many of the verbs of this type went over into class II owing to the ending of the infinitive being the same in both classes.
§ 526. Like fremman are conjugated ãswëbban, to kill; clynnan, to sound; cnyssan, to knock; dynnan, to make a noise; gremman, to anger, provoke; hlynnan, to roar; hrissan, to shake; sceþpan (also sv. § 510), to injure; sweþpan, to swathe; temman, to tame; trymman, to strengthen; þennan, to stretch; þicgan (in poetry also strong pret. þæh, þâh), to receive; weþgan, to agitate; wënnan, to accustom; wreþtan, to support.

In WS. and Ken. most of the verbs whose stems ended in l, m, n, s, þ were remodelled on analogy with verbs like nerian with single consonant, as clynnian, fremian, helian, to conceal, sylian, to sully, sweþian, and then later often went over into class II. On the pret. and past participle of verbs whose stems ended in þ, see § 305.

§ 527. Like settan are conjugated ãtreddan, to search out; cnyttan, to bind, knit; hreddan, to rescue, save; hwëttan, to whet, incite; lettan, to hinder; spryttan, to sprout; and lecgan, to lay.

Sub-division (b).

§ 528. The preterite generally ended in -de from older -ide, the i of which caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and then disappeared (§ 221). The following points should be noted in regard to the consonants: (1) Germanic double consonants were simplified before -de, as fyllan (Goth. fulljan), to fill, pret. fylde (§ 259), pp. gefyllled; (2) þ + d became dd in late WS., as cŷþan, to make known, pret. cŷþde, pp. gecŷþed, later cŷdde (§ 305), pp. gecŷd(d) with dd from the inflected forms; (3) -de became -te after voiceless consonants (§ 300), as cyssan, to kiss, pret. cyste, pp. gecýssed; grêtan, to greet, pret. grêtte, pp. gegrêt(ed); (4) the d in -de disappeared after consonant + d or t (§ 259, 3), as sendan, to send, pret. sende, pp. gesend(ed); fæstan, to make fast, pret. fæste, pp. gefæst(ed). Verbs which would regularly have vocalic l, n, r in the pret. generally
have *ede, especially in the combination long syllable +l, n, r, as hyngran, to hunger, dieglan, to hide, pret. hyngrede, dieglede (§ 221); but in the combination short syllable +l, n, r they generally had *de in the oldest period of the language and then later *ede, as eglan, to trouble, pret. egilde beside later eglede; the verbs of this type often went over into class II (cp. § 222).

The uninflected form of the past participle generally ended in *ed from older *id, prim. Germanic *idás just as in subdivision (a). In those cases where the e was regularly syncopated in the inflected forms (see § 222), the same consonantal changes took place as in the preterite, as gen. sing. gefyldes, gedrenctes, gesendes, gegrêttes, gefæstes, &c. beside nom. sing. gefylled, gedrenced, gesend(ed), gegrêt(ed), gefæst(ed). See § 442.

§ 529. The full conjugation of dēman (Goth. dōmjan), to judge, drencan (Goth. dragkjan), to submerge, hyngran (Goth. huggrijan), to hunger, and gierwan from *gearwjan, to prepare, will serve as models for this class.

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sing.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. dēme</td>
<td>drence</td>
<td>hyngre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dēm(est)</td>
<td>drenc(est)</td>
<td>hyngrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dēm(e)þ</td>
<td>drenc(e)þ</td>
<td>hyngreþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plur.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēmaþ</td>
<td>drencaþ</td>
<td>hyngraþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Sing.** |             |            |
| dēme   | drence      | hyngre     | gierwe |
| Plur.  | dēmen       | drencen    | hyngren| gierwen|

**Imperative.**

| Sing. 2. dēm | drenc | hyngre | giere |
| Plur. 2. dēmaþ| drencaþ | hyngraþ | gierwaþ|
§ 530. Like déman are conjugated a large number of verbs, as aélan, to set on fire; aèrnan, to gallop, cause to run; àfliegan, to put to flight; àliéfan, to allow; àwyrgan, to strangle, kill; bædan, to compel; bærnan, to burn up, cause to burn; benæman, to deprive of; biegan, to bend; brædan, to broaden; byrgan, to taste; byrgan, to bury; cèlan, to cool; cemban, to comb; ciegan (§ 270), to call; cwielman, to kill; dælan, to share; diedan, to kill; dræfan, to drive out; dréfan, to stir up; drýgan, to dry; ëapmèdan, to humble; fëdan, to feed; fëgan, to join; fëran, to go, journey; fìelmañ, to put to flight; fylgan, to follow; fysan, to hasten; gefrèdan, to feel, perceive; geliefan, to believe; geþiedan, to join together; gieman, to heed; giernan, to desire, yearn for; glengan, to adorn; hælan, to heal; hæman, to marry; hienan, to humiliate, ill-use; hieran, to hear; hìydan, to make a noise; hringan, to ring, sound; hwierfan, to convert; hìdan, to hide; lædan, to lead; læfan, to leave; lænan, to
lend; læran, to teach; lengan, to require; liesan, to set free; mænan, to moan, complain; mæran, to proclaim; mengan, to mix; nemnan (pret. nemde, pp. genem(n)ed), to name; niedan, to compel; ræran, to raise; ræsan, to rush; rýman, to make room; sægan, to lay low; sælan, to bind with a rope; scrýdan, to clothe; sengan, to singe; sprædan, to spread; sprengan, to burst; stieran, to steer; strienan, to acquire; swëgan, to make a sound; swegan, to make a sound; tæsan, to pull, tear; tengan, to hasten; týnan, to name; wënan, to expect; wiernan, to refuse; wrëgan, to accuse. The contracted verbs hēan (pret. hēade, pp. hēad), to heighten, raise; and similarly rýn, to roar; týn, to teach; þeon, to perform, do; þýn (also in form þýwan), to press. cýpan (pret. cýpde, later cýdde), to make known; and similarly áhýpan, to destroy, lay waste; cwípan, to lament; læpan, to hate, abuse; nēpan, to venture on; oferswípan, to overcome; sēpan, to testify; wræpan, to be angry, get angry. fyllan (pret. fyld), to fill; and similarly áfierran, to remove; cennan, to bring forth; cierran, to turn; clyppan, to embrace; cyssan (pret. cyste), to kiss; fiellan, to fell; mierran, to mar; pyffan, to puff; spillan, to destroy; stillan, to still; wemman, to defile. ieldan (pret. ielde), to delay, sendan (pret. sende), to send, gyrdan (pret. gyrde), to gird; and similarly behyldan, to flay; gewieldan, to overpower; gyldan, to gild; onhieldan, to incline; scildan, to protect; spildan, to destroy; wieldan, to control, subdue; bendan, to bind; blendan, to blind; lendan, to land, arrive; ontendan, to kindle; pyndan, to shut up, confine; scendan, to put to shame; wendan, to turn; andwyrdan, to answer; áwierdan, to destroy; hierdan, to harden; onbyr-dan, to inspire, incite. fæstan (pret. fæste), to make fast; and similarly ácraeftan, to devise, plan; áfyrhtan, to frighten; ágyILTan, to be guilty; áwëstan, to lay waste; efstan, to hasten; éhtan, to pursue, persecute; fylstan, to
help; gedæftan, to put in order; gehlæstan, to load; gehyrstan, to equip; grimettan, to roar, rage (for other examples of verbs in -ettan, see § 657); hæftan, to hold captive; hierstan, to roast; hiertan, to hearten, encourage; hlystan, to listen; hyhtan, to hope; læstan, to perform; liehtan, to give light; lystan, to please; mæstan, to feed with mast; myntan, to intend, think; restan, to rest; rihtan, to set right; scyrtan, to shorten; tyhtan, to incite, allure; ýrstan, to thirst.

§ 531. Like drencan are conjugated acwencan, to quench; adwæscan, to quench; astiepan, to bereave; bætan, to bridle; beriepan, to despoil; bétan, to atone for, amend; cépan, to keep; ciépan, to buy; cyspan, to bind, fetter; driepan, to let drop, moisten; gewlencan, to make proud; geswencan, to injure; grétan, to greet; hætan, to heat; hwitan, to whiten; hyspan, to mock; ïecan (see § 534, Note 2), to increase; liexan, to shine; métan, to meet; nætan, to afflict; oftyrfan, to stone; ofþryscan, to beat down; rētan, to cheer; scencan, to pour out; scierpan, to sharpen; screncan, to cause to tumble; sencan, to cause to sink; spætan, to spit; swætan, to sweat; swencan, to vex, afflict; tōstencan, to scatter; yppan, to open, manifest; wætan, to wet; wierpan, to recover; wýscan, to wish.

§ 532. Like hyngran are conjugated biecnan, to make a sign; dieglan, to conceal; forglendran, to devour; frēfran, to comfort; symblan, to feast; timbran, to build; wrixlan, to change, exchange. efnan (pret. efnde, later efnede, § 528), to level, perform; and similarly bytlan, to build; eglan, to trouble, afflict; ræfnan, to perform; seglan, to sail; þrysmân, to suffocate. The verbs of this type often went over into class II (cp. § 222).

§ 533. gierest, gierēþ, gierede from older *gierwis, *gierwiþ, *gierwide with regular loss of w (§ 266). At a later period the verbs of this type mostly generalized the forms with or without w, and often went over into class II.
The verbs with a long diphthong or vowel in the stem generally had \( w \) in all forms of the verb. Like gierwan are conjugated hierwan, to despise, ill-treat; nierwan, to constrain; sierwan, to contrive, plot; smierwan, to anoint, smear. læwan (pret. læwde), to betray; and similarly forslæwan, to delay, be slow; getriewan, to trust; hleo-\( \tilde{\text{w}} \)\( \text{a} \)wan, hliewan, to shelter, warm; iwan, to show, disclose.

siowan, sëowan (Goth. siujan, OHG. siuwen) from older *siuwjan (cp. § 138), to sew, pret. siowede, seowede from older *riwide; from the pret. was formed a new inf. si(o)wian after the analogy of class II, with preterite siowode, seowode. spiowan, spēowan from *spiuwjan older *spiwwjan (§ 254), to spit, pret. spiowede, speowede from *spiwide, beside spiode, spēode, formed direct from the present; from the pret. spiowede was formed a new inf. spi(o)wian after the analogy of class II. streowan (Goth. *straujan), to strew, pret. streowede beside strewede (Goth. strawida), § 77, from which a new inf. streowian, strewian was formed after the analogy of class II, pret. streowode.

§ 534. A certain number of verbs belonging to class I formed their preterite and past participle already in prim. Germanic without the medial vowel -i-, as bycgan (Goth. bugjan), to buy, pret. bohte (Goth. baúhta), pp. geboht (Goth. baúhts); pencan (Goth. þakjian), to think, pret. þohte (Goth. þáhta, § 40), pp. gepoht (Goth. þáhts), whence the absence of i-umlaut in the pret. and past participle of verbs of this type. See § 539. In addition to a few verbs which had long stems originally, they embrace verbs whose present stems end in cc, ll from West Germanic kj and lj (§ 254). On the interchange between c and h, see § 240. At a later period the preterite and pp. of verbs with -ecc- in the present were re-formed with e from the present, as cweccan, cwehte, gecweht; and similarly ræcan, tæcan, prim. Germanic *raikjian,
§534] *taikjan, generally had pret. ræhte, tæhte with æ from the present, beside the regular forms răhte, tăhte. The verbs with ll in the present often formed the pret. and pp. on analogy with the verbs of sub-division (a) especially in late OE., as dwelede, -ode, beside older dwealde. Beside sellan (Goth. saljan) there also occurs siellan (later syllan) from *sealljan with ea borrowed from the pret. and pp. in prehistoric OE. bringan, to bring, is the strong form (cp. §498); the regular weak form brengan is rare in OE.

bycgan, to buy  bohte  geboht

cweccan, to shake  cweahte  gecweahht
dreccan, to afflict  dreahte  gedreaht
leccan, to moisten  leahte  geleahht
reccan, to narrate  reahte  gereahht
streccan, to stretch  streahte  gestreahht
peccan, to cover  peahte  gepeahht
weccan, to awake  weahte  geweahht
cwellan, to kill  cwealde  gecweald
dwellan, to hinder  dwealde  gedweald
sellan, to sell  sealde  geseald
stellan, to place  stealde  gesteald
tellan, to count  tealde  geteald
ræcan, to reach  ræhte, răhte  geræht
tæcan, to teach  tæhte, tăhte  getæht, getăht
sècan, to seek  sōhte  gesōht
bringan, to bring  brōhte  gebrōht
pencan, to think  pöhte  gepöht
pyncan, to seem  pūhte  gepūht
wyrcan, to work  worhte  geworht

Note.—1. The presents reccan for *rēcan (pret. rōhte), to care for, reck; and læccan for *læcan (pret. læhte, pp. gelæht), to seize, are difficult to account for.

2. Especially in late OE. verbs with medial c, cc often formed their pret. and pp. in -hte, -ht after the analogy of the above type of verbs, but with the retention of i-umlaut, as bepæcan, to
Accidence

§ 535. With the exception of a few primary verbs all the verbs belonging to this class are denominative. The former originally belonged to the athematic and the latter to the thematic conjugation, and the endings of the two types of verbs were: Sing. -á-mi, -á-si, -á-ti, Plur. -á-mes, (-mos), -á-te, -á-nti; Sing. -á-jó, -á-jé-si, -á-jé-ti, Plur. -á-jó-mes, (-mos), -á-jé-te, -á-jó-nti. The denominative verbs were originally formed from nouns belonging to the á-declension (cp. §§ 23, 364), as Lat. plantō, older *plantājō: planta, plant; Gr. τιμάω, older *τιμάεω, Indg. -άjó: τιμά, -ή, honour. In Goth. and OHG. the athematic endings became generalized, and similarly in OE. except the first person singular and the third person plural which was also used for the first and second persons (§ 476), cp. OHG. salbōm from -ōmi, beside OE. sealfie from -ōjō, I anoint; OHG. salbont, Goth. salbōnd from -ōndi, beside OE. sealfiap from -ōjanpi. A large number of the verbs which originally belonged to class III went over into this class in prehistoric OE. On the verbs of class I which went over into this class, see §§ 525-6, 533.

The full conjugation of sealfian, to anoint, will serve as a model for the verbs of this class.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. sealfie</td>
<td>sealfie</td>
<td>sealfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sealfas(t)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sealfiap</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. sealfiap</td>
<td>sealfien</td>
<td>sealfiap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

Infinitive.
sealfian

Participle.
sealfiende

Preterite.

Sing. 1. sealfode sealfode
2. sealfodes(t) "
3. sealfode "
Plur. sealfodon sealfoden

Participle.
gesealfod

The corresponding prim. Germanic forms of the pres. indicative were: *salbōjō, *salbōsi (Goth. salbōs), *salbōpi (Goth. salbōp), pl. *salbōjanpi (§ 218, 5). In OE. -ōj. regularly became -i. (§ 273) which not being original did not cause i-umlaut in the stem-syllable. The -i. was often written -ig-, also -ige- before guttural vowels, as sealfige, sealfigan, sealfigean, beside sealfie, sealfian, see § 273. On the ending -e in the first pers. sing. of the present, see § 476. The ending -a in the imperative second pers. sing. was from sealfas(t); a form corresponding to Goth. salbō would have become in OE. *sealf from older *sealbu (§ 215). Inf. sealfian is from prim. Germanic *salbōjanan.

The corresponding prim. Germanic forms of the pret. indicative were: *salbōdōn (Goth. salbōda), *salbōdēs (Goth. salbōdēs), *salbōdēs(p) (Goth. salbōda), pl. *salbōdun(p). The medial -ō. was regularly shortened to -u. in prehistoric OE. (§ 218) and then later became -o-, -a-, the former of which is usual in WS. and the latter in Anglian and Ken. On -e. beside -o-, -a-, see § 222. And similarly in the past participle WS. -od, Anglian and Ken. -ad,
§ 536. Like sealfian are conjugated a large number of verbs, as acealdian, to become cold; arian, to honour; ascian, to ask; aswepecian, to eradicate; bedecian, to beg; behöfian, to have need of; bodian, to announce; cęapian, to buy; ceorian, to complain; costian, to try, prove; cunningian, to try, test; dysigian, to be foolish; dwolian, to err; eahtian, to esteem, consider; eardian, to dwell, inhabit; earnian, to earn; endian, to end; fæg(e)nian, to rejoice; faestnian, to fasten; fandian, to try, search out; folgian, to follow; fullian, to fulfil; fundian, to strive after; gearcian, to prepare; gearwian (§ 533), to prepare; gedafenian, to beseeem; gemidlian, to bridle, restrain; gemyngdian, to remember; geömrían, to be sad, lament; gestrangian, to make strong; grăpian, to grope, feel; hafenan, to hold; hælgian, to hallow; hangian, to hang; hatian, to hate; hef(ig)ian, to make heavy; hergian (cp. § 525), to harry; higian, to hasten; hnappian, to doze; hopian, to hope; hwearfian, to wander; ieldcian, to delay; lācnian, to heal; langian, to long for; latian, to be slow, sluggish or torpid; laþian, to invite; lēian, to reward; lēasian, to tell lies; lícian, to please; lócian, to look; lōfian, to praise; losian, to lose; lufian, to love; macian, to make; manian, to exhort; meldian, to announce; met(e)gian, to measure; offrian, to offer; op(e)nian, to open; rēafian, to plunder; samnian, to collect, gather; sārgan, to cause pain; sārian, to grieve, be sad; scamian, to be ashamed; scēawian, to look; scyld(i)gian, to sin; sīþian, to travel; sorgian, to sorrow, grieve; sparian, to spare; syngian, to sin; tiohonian, teohhian, to think, consider; paccian, to stroke; ūancian, to thank; polian, to suffer; þröwian, to suffer; wacian, to be awake; wæcnian (also as sv. wæcnan, pret. wōc), to waken, arise, spring up; wandrian, to wander; war(e)nian, to beware, take heed; warian, to beware; wealwian, to roll,
wallow; welegian, to enrich; weorþian, to honour; wēr- 
gian, to grow weary; wilnian, to desire; wincian, to wink; 
wisian, to guide; wītgian, to prophesy; witnian, to punish, 
torment; wuldrian, to glorify; wundian, to wound; wun-
drian, to wonder; wunian, to dwell. bletsian, to bless; 
blipsian, blissian, to rejoice; clānsian, to cleanse; efesian, 
to shear; eg(e)sian, to frighten, terrify; gitsian, to covet; 
gritsian, to rage; hrēowsian, to repent of, rue; iersian, 
to be angry; mærsian, to make famous; miltsian, to have 
mercy; ricsian, rixian, to rule, govern; unrōtsian, to be 
sad; untréowsian, to defraud, deceive, see § 659.

On the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic., impera-
tive sing., and pret. indicative of verbs like bifian, to 
tremble; clifian, to adhere, cleave; clipian, to call; ginian, 
to yawn, gape; hlinian, to lean, recline; stician, to prick, 
slab; tilian, to strive after, labour, see §§ 101–2.

§ 537. twēogan, Anglian twiogan, from *twiþōjan (§§ 98, 139), to doubt; pres. indic. twēoge, twēost, twēoph; 
pres. part. twēonde (poetical) beside twēogende; pret. 
indic. twēode, Anglian twiode, from *twiþōdōn; pp. 
twēod. And similarly in WS. the following verbs which 
originally belonged to class III: féog(e)an, to hate; frēo-
g(e)an, to love, make free; smēag(e)an, to ponder, consider; 
þrēag(e)an, to reprove, rebuke.

Class III.

§ 538. Nearly all the verbs of this class were originally 
primary verbs which partly belonged to the thematic and 
partly to the athematic conjugation. The stem of both 
types of verbs was disyllabic. The thematic type had the 
endings: Sing. ē-jō, -ē-je-si, -ē-je-ti, Plur. -ē-jo-mes, (-mos), 
-ē-je-te, -ē-jo-nti. The stem of the athematic type ended 
in -ē(i)- beside the weak grade of ablaut -ī· (-j· before vowels) 
which belonged to all forms of the present, as Sing. ɨ-mi,
Accidence [§ 538]

-īsi, -īti, Plur. -īmes, (-mos), -īte, -īenti. And the -ē(i)- belonged to the non-present forms. The original athematic inflexion of the present became partly or entirely thematic in the prehistoric period of all the Indg. languages, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*, §§ 458, 481.

The prim. Germanic inflexion of the present of OE. habban, Goth. haban, OHG. habēn, OS. hebbian, O.Icel. hafa, Lat. habē-re, to have, was: Sing. *χαβάεjō* (Lat. habeo from *habējō*), *χαβάεjizi* (Goth. habáis), *χαβάεjidi* (Goth. habáip), Plur. *χαβάεjomiz* (cp. § 218, r), *χαβάεjidi* (Goth. habáip), *χαβάεjandi*; beside Sing. *χαβjō* (OE. hæbbe, OS. hebbiu), *χαβizi, χαβidi*, Plur. *χαβimiz, χαβidi, χαβjandi (OE. habbaþ, OS. hebbiad). In the infinitive the prim. Germanic -ēj- like -ōj- (§ 273) in class II regularly became -i- in OE., which is the reason why nearly all the verbs of class III went over into class II in the prehistoric period of the language, cp. hatian (Goth. hatan, OHG. hazzēn) from prim. Germanic *χαtεjanan, to hate*. In OE. OS. and O.Icel. the preterite and past participle were formed from *χαb- without a medial vowel, as OE. hæfde, gehæfd, OS. habda, gihabd, O.Icel. hafþa, hafþpr, beside Goth. habáida, habáip, OHG. habēta, gihabēt. The chief verbs are: habban, to have; libban, to live; secgan, to say; and hyçgan, to think.

**Present.**

Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 1.</th>
<th>hæbbe</th>
<th>libbe</th>
<th>secge</th>
<th>hyçge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hafas(t)</td>
<td>liofas(t)</td>
<td>sargas(t)</td>
<td>hogas(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḥæfst</td>
<td></td>
<td>sægst</td>
<td>huyg(e)st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hafaþ</td>
<td>liofaþ</td>
<td>sagaþ</td>
<td>hogaþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḥæfþ</td>
<td></td>
<td>sægþ</td>
<td>huyg(e)þ</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>habbaþ</td>
<td>libbaþ</td>
<td>secge(ap)</td>
<td>hyçge(ap)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 538]

Subjunctive.

Sing.  hæbbe  |  libbe  |  secge  |  hycge
Plur.  hæbben |  libben|  secgen |  hycgen

Imperative.

Sing. 2.  hafa  |  liofa  |  saga, sæge |  hoga, hyge
Plur. 2.  habbaþ |  libbaþ |  secg(e)aþ |  hycg(e)aþ

Infinitive.

habban  |  libban  |  secg(e)an  |  hycg(e)an

Participle.

hæbbende  |  libbende  |  secgende  |  hycgende

Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.  hæfde  |  lifde  |  sægde  |  hogde
2.  hæfdes(t)  |  lifdes(t)  |  sægdes(t)  |  hogdes(t)
3.  hæfde  |  lifde  |  sægde  |  hogde
Plur.  hæfdon  |  lifdon  |  sægdon  |  hogdon

Subjunctive.

Sing.  hæfde  |  lifde  |  sægde  |  hogde
Plur.  hæfden  |  lifden  |  sægden  |  hogden

Participle.

gehæfd  |  gelifd  |  gesægd  |  gehogod

The endings -as(t), -aþ of the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative, and -a of the imperative sing., were from verbs of class II; the endings corresponding to Goth. -ais, -aþ, -ái would have become -es(t), -eþ, -e in OE. The regular form of hæbbe would be *hebbe (OS. hebbiu) from West Germanic *χabbjó, but the a of the second and third pers. sing. was extended to the first and then a became æ by i-umlaut, cp. § 55, Note 2. On the æ beside a in the second and third pers. singular, see §§ 54, 57. hafas(t),
hafaþ are rare in pure WS., the usual forms are hæfst, hæþ; and similarly with sægst, sæþ; hyg(e)st, hyg(e)þ. habbaþ, habban (West Germanic *χabbjanþi, *χabbjana-n), OS. hebbiad, hebbian, § 254) had the a in the stem-syllable from hafas(t), hafaþ. On forms like næbbe from ne hæbbe, see § 325, Note.

libbe (OS. libbiu), libban (OS. libbian), from West Germanic *libbjō, *libbjanan. Beside libban there was also lifian, common in Anglian and Ken., which was inflected like sealfian (§ 535) in the present. On the io in liofas(t) and liofaþ, see § 102.

secge (OS. seggiu), secg(e)an (OS. seggian), from West Germanic *saggjō, *saggjanan. In the present the e as in secge, secg(e)an was often extended to forms which regularly had æ, and vice versa. In late WS. the e was extended to all forms of the present. On forms like pret. sæde beside sægde, see § 54, Note 2.

On the y in hycg(e)an beside the o in hogde, see § 43. In the pret. this verb was also inflected like class II, hogode, &c.; cp. also the past participle gehogod for *gehogd.

Note.—Traces of the old inflexion of verbs which originally belonged to class III are seen in such forms as bya (Nth.), to dwell, fylg(e)an, to follow, onscynian (Anglian), to shun, wæccende, being awake, beside būan, folgian, onscunian, waciende; hettend, enemy, beside hatian, to hate; pret. plægde, trūde, beside plagode, he played, trūwian, to trust.

C. Minor Groups.

A. Preterite-Presents.

§ 539. These verbs were originally unreduplicated perfects, which acquired a present meaning like Skr. vēda, Gr. oīda, Latin nōvi, I know. In prim. Germanic a new weak preterite, an infinitive, a pres. participle, and in some
verbs a strong past participle, were formed. They are inflected in the present like the preterite of strong verbs, except that the second pers. singular has the same stem-vowel as the first and third persons, and has preserved the old ending -t (§ 481). It should be noted that the ending of the weak past participles of verbs belonging to the preterite-presents goes back to Indg. -tós, and not -itós as in the first class of weak verbs (§ 523), as ge-wiss from Indg. *wid + tós (see § 240), cūþ (Goth. kunþs) from prim. Germanic *kúnþaz, Indg. *gnós with vocalic n (§ 542, Note); and similarly with the weak past participles in the other Germanic languages. This is no doubt the reason why the preterites do not have the medial -i- which is found in the preterites and part participles of the first class of weak verbs, as nerede (Goth. nasida), genered (Goth. nasþs); and similarly with the preterites bohte (Goth. baúhta), pöhte (Goth. páhta), &c. and the past participles, see § 534.

The following verbs, many of which are defective, belong to this class:

§ 540. I. Ablaut-Series.

wät, I know, he knows, 2 sing. wäst (§ 240), pl. witon beside wiotun, wietun (§ 101), wuton (§ 103); subj. wite; imperative sing. wite, pl. witaþ with -aþ from the pres. indic. 3. pers. pl. of other verbs (§ 476); inf. witan beside wiotan, wietan (§ 102); pres. part. witende; pret. wisse, wiste (§ 240); pp. gewiten; participial adj. gewiss, certain. On forms like nät beside né wät, see § 287.

§ 541. II. Ablaut-Series.

déag (Anglian dēg) beside later dēah (§ 323), I avail, he avaïls, pl. dugon; subj. dyge beside the more common form duge (§ 482); inf. dugan, pres. part. dugende.
§ 542.  III. Ablaut-Series.

an(n), on(n), I grant, pl. unnon; subj. unne; imperative unne; inf. unnan; pret. ūbe (§ 113); pp. geunnen.

can(n), con(n), I know, can, 2 sing. canst, const with -st from forms like dearest, pl. cunnon; subj. cunne; inf. cunnan; pret. cūbe (Goth. kunja); pp. -cunnen; participial adj. cūp (Goth. kunps), known.

Note.—The preterite and past participle of these verbs presents difficulties in all the Germanic languages. The pp. OE. cūp, OS. kūp, O.Fris. kūth, O.Icel. kūpr (kunnr), OHG. kund, Goth. kunps all go back to prim. Germanic *kunftaz, Indg. *gntós with vocalic n. The regular prim. Germanic form would have been *kunđás, but the separate languages show that the accent must have been shifted from the ending to the stem some time prior to the operation of Verner's law, and that then a preterite was formed direct from the base *kunft- + the endings -ōn, (-ān), -ēs, -ē, &c. (§ 520), whence OE. cūbe, O.Icel. kunna from older *kunfta, OHG. konda, Goth. kunja; and similarly OE. ūbe, O.Icel. unna from older *unja, OHG. onda, all from prim. Germanic *unpōn.

bearn, I need, 2. sing. bеart, pl. bhurfon; subj. byrfe beside the more common form bhurse (§ 482); inf. bhurfan; pres. part. bearfende, needy; pret. borfte.

dear(r) (Goth. ga-dars), I dare, with rr from the plural, 2. sing. dearest, pl. durron (Goth. ga-daúrsum); subj. dyrre beside the more common form durre (§ 482); pret. dorste (Goth. ga-daúrsta).

§ 543.  IV. Ablaut-Series.

sceal, I shall, owe, 2. sing. scealt, pl. scolon (see § 224, Note 4) beside sceolon (§ 116); subj. scyle, later scule, sceole; inf. sculan, sceolan; pret. sceolde (§ 110).

man, mon, I think, 2. sing. manst, monst with -st from forms like dearest, pl. munon (see § 224, Note 4); subj.
myne beside the more common form mune (§ 482); impera-
tive -mun beside -myne, -mune; inf. munan; pres.
part. munende; pret. munde (Goth. munda); pp. gemunen.

§ 544. V. Ablaut-Series.

mæg, I, he can, 2. sing. meaht later miht, pl. magon;
subj. mæge, pl. mægen; inf. magan; pres. part. magende;
pret. meahte, mehte (§ 68, Note 2), later mihte; participial
adj. meaht later miht, mighty, powerful, cp. Goth. mahts,
possible.

be-neah (Goth. bi-nah), ge-neah (Goth. ga-nah), it suffices,
pl. -nugon; subj. -nuge; pret. nohte.

§ 545. VI. Ablaut-Series.
möt, I, he may, 2. sing. möst (§ 240), pl. möton; subj.
möte; pret. möste (§ 240).

§ 546. The following verb probably belonged originally
to the seventh class of strong verbs (§ 512): åg later äh
(§ 323), I have, 2. sing. ähst with -st from forms like
dearst, pl. ägon; subj. äge; imperative äge; inf. ägan;
pret. ähte; pp. ägen, Ægen (§ 442), own.

B. Verbs in -mi.

§ 547. The first pers. sing. pres. indicative of the Indo-
Germanic verb ended either in -ō or -mi (cp. Greek verbs
in -ω and -μι, like φέρω, I bear, τίθημι, I place). See § 472.
To the verbs in -ō belong all the regular Germanic verbs;
of the verbs in -mi only scanty remains have been pre-
served; they are distinguished by the fact that the first
pers. sing. pres. indicative ended in -m. Here belong the
following OE. verbs:—

§ 548. 1. The Substantive Verb.

The full conjugation of this verb is made up out of
several distinct roots, viz. es-; er- (perfect stem-form or-);
bheu- (weak grade form bhw-); and wes-. From es- and
Accidence

or. were formed a pres. indicative and subjunctive; from bhw. a pres. indicative (also with future meaning), pres. subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, and present participle; and from wes. an infinitive, present participle, imperative, and a pret. indicative and subjunctive.

**Present.**

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<td>bío, bèo</td>
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<td>eart</td>
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<td>{sint, sind</td>
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<td>bido</td>
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<td>earon, aron, -un</td>
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</table>

**Preterite.**

Indic.  | wæs, wære, wæs, pl. wæron (§ 505)  |  |  |
Subj.  | wære, pl. wæren  |  |  |

Pres. indicative: eom was the unaccented form of *eom* with ō from bèo (cp. the opposite process in Anglian
biom); the regular form would have been *im = Goth. im; eart, earp, arp, and pl. earon, aron are old perfects from the root er-, perfect stem-form or-, prim. Germanic ar-, of which nothing further is known; on the -p in earp, arp, see § 481; is with loss of -t from older *ist = Goth. ist, Lat. est; sind from prim. Germanic *sindi = Indg. *senti (§ 472); sint was the unaccented form of sind; sindon, *un, with the ending of the pret. pl. added on (§ 481); beside sint, sindon there also occur in WS. sient, siendon. bio later bēo (cp. § 104), from *biju (cp. § 138), Indg. *bhwījō, Lat. iō; Anglian biom with m from eom; bist from older bis, Indg. *bhwīsi, Lat. fis; bip from older *bipī, Indg. *bhwīti, Lat. fit; Anglian biofon with u-umlaut (§ 101) was a new formation from bip; biof from *bijanpi.

Pres. subjunctive: sie, sien later sī (OS. OHG. sī), sin (OS. OHG. sin), beside sio, sēo with io, ēo from bio, bēo.

§ 549. 2. The Verb dōn, to do.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. dō</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>dō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dēst</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dēp</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. dēp</td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td>dōp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive dōn

Participle dōnde

Preterite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. dyde</td>
<td>dyde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dydes(t)</td>
<td>„</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dyde</td>
<td>„</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. dydon</td>
<td>dyden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle gedōn
Anglian has the older form dōm for the first pers. singular; dēst, Nth. dēes(t); dēp, Nth. dēp, dēes, from *dō-is, *dō-iþ (§ 47); dōp from *dō-anþi; Anglian often has longer forms in the present, as imper. dōa, dōap, inf. dōa(n). The y from older ū in the pret. indic. and subj. is of obscure origin; in poetry there occurs the real old pret. pl. indic. dādon, corresponding to OS. dādun, OHG. tātun, Goth. dēdun which has only been preserved in the pret. of weak verbs (§ 520). Pret. subj. dyde, dyden from *dudi-, *dudin (§ 482); beside dyde there also occurs in poetry dāde, corresponding to OS. dādi, OHG. tāti, and Goth. dēdi. Beside the pp. dōn there also occurs in poetry dēn, Nth. dēn (§ 442).

§ 550. 3. The Verb gān, to go.

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. gā</td>
<td>gā</td>
<td>gā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. gæst</td>
<td></td>
<td>gā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gēp</td>
<td></td>
<td>gāp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. gēp</td>
<td>gān</td>
<td>gāp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive gān. Past participle gegān.

gæst, gēp, from older *gā-is, *gā-iþ (§ 47). The pret. indic. and subjunctive were supplied by ēode (§ 275) which was inflected like the pret. of nerian (§ 524).

§ 551. 4. The Verb willan, will.

The present tense of this verb was originally an optative (subjunctive) form of a verb in ·mi, which already in prim. Germanic came to be used indicatively. To this was formed in OE. a new infinitive, present participle, and weak preterite.
Adverbs

Present.

Sing. 1. wille wille, wile willan
2. wilt " Participle willende
3. wile, wille "
Plur. willaþ willen

The pret. indic. and subjunctive wolde was inflected like the pret. of nerian (§ 524). wilt was a new formation with -t from the preterite-present verbs, cp. OHG. wili, Goth. wileis, Lat. velis; wile, indic. and subj. = Goth. OHG. wili, Lat. velit; willaþ was a new formation with the ordinary ending of the pres. indic. (§ 476), the old form was preserved in Goth. wilein-a = Lat. velint. The various forms of this verb often underwent contraction with the negative particle ne, as nille, nylle, nelle (especially in late WS.), pret. nolde.

CHAPTER XV

ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CONJUNCTIONS

I. Adverbs.

§ 552. We shall here chiefly deal with the formation of adverbs from adjectives, and with the inflected forms of nouns and adjectives used adverbially.

§ 553. The -e, generally used to form adverbs from adjectives, is originally a locative ending and is identical with the -e (= prim. Germanic -ai, § 217) in the instrumental case of adjectives (§ 424). Examples are: dēop: dēope, deeply; nearu, -o (cp. § 435): nearwe, narrowly, closely; yfel: yf(e)le, wickedly; and similarly bit(e)re, bitterly; cāfe, quickly, boldly; cūpe, clearly; earge, badly;
Accidence

earme, wretchedly; gearwe, completely; georne, eagerly; grame, angrily; hâte, hotly; hêane, ignominiously; hearde, fiercely; hlûde, loudly; holde, graciously, loyally; late, slowly; micle, much; rihte, rightly; scearpe, sharply; singale, always, continually; smicere, elegantly; snûde, quickly; sôpe, truly; strange, violently; sweotole, clearly, evidently; swîpe, exceedingly, very; syndrige, separately; ðearle, severely; ungemete, excessively; wide, widely; wrâpe, angrily.

When the adjective ends in -e (§ 434) the adverb and adjective are alike in form, as bliþe, joyful: bliþe, joyfully; and similarly brême, famously, gloriously; clâne, fully, entirely; êce, eternally; fæcne, deceitfully; frêcne, dangerously, fiercely; gedêfe, fitly; gehende, at hand, near; milde, mercifully; myrge, merrily; swegle, clearly, brightly; ðicce, thickly. A few adverbs, the corresponding adjectives of which did not originally belong to the ja-or i-declension, do not have umlaut in the stem-syllable, as ange, anxiously, smôpe, smoothly, sôfte, gently, softly, swôte, sweetly, beside the adjectives enge, smêpe, sêfte, swête.

In adverbs like craeftlîce, skilfully; dollîce, foolishly; frêondlîce, kindly; gelîce, as, similarly; lôfîce, gloriously; hetelîce, violently, which were regularly formed from adjectives ending in -lic (see § 634), the -lîce came to be regarded as an adverbial ending, and was then used in forming adverbs from adjectives which did not end in -lic, as eornostlîce, earnestly; holdlîce, graciously; hwætlîce, quickly; lætlîce, slowly; spêdlîce, prosperously; stearclîce, vigorously, &c.

§ 554. The adverbial ending in the other Germanic languages, as Goth. -ô, OS. OHG. -o, goes back to the Indg. ablative ending -ôd which regularly became -a in OE. This -a was preserved in a few adverbs ending in -inga (= Goth. -iggô), -unga (= OS. ungo), -linga, -lunga (cp. §§ 607,
adverbs

§ 555. The comparative and superlative degrees of the adverbs in -e generally ended in -or (prim. Germanic -ōz, § 443), and -ost (prim. Germanic -ōst-, § 444), as earme, wretchedly, earmor, earmost; hearde, fiercely, heardor, heardost; holdlīce, graciously, holdlicor, holdlicost; strange, violently, strangor, strangost; but seldom, selde, seld(n)or, seldost.

§ 556. A certain number of adverbs had originally -iz (Goth. -is, -s, cp. the -is in Lat. magis, more) in the comparative and -ist (Goth. -ist, -st), rarely -öst, in the superlative (cp. §§ 443–4), as ēape, easily, Ḗię from *auþiz, ēapost; feorr, far, fierr from *ferriz, fierrest; lange, long, leng from *langiz, lengest; sōfte, softly, sēft from *samftiz; tulge, strongly, firmly, tylg from *tulgiz, tylgest; ār from *airiz (Goth. āiris), earlier, formerly; sīp from *sīpiz (Goth. āna-SEIPs, further, more), later. The following form their comparative and superlative from a different word than the positive:—lŷt, lŷtle, little, lăes from *laisiz, lăest; micle, much, mā (Goth. máis, Anglian mæ), māest; wel, well, comp. bet from *batiz, with loss of -e after the analogy of comparatives with long stems, beside sēl from *sōliz, superl. betst, sēlest; yf(e)le, badly, wretchedly, wlers, wyrs, from *wirsiz (Goth. waírs, OHG. wirs), wierrest, wyrrest, wyrrst.
§ 557. A large number of OE. adverbs consist of the various cases of nouns and adjectives used adverbially, as acc. sing. ealne weg, ealneg, always; âwiht, âwuht, at all, by any means; bæcling, back, behind. eal mæst, almost; eall tela, quite well; éast norp, north-east; éap, easily; fela, feola, very much; full, perfectly, very; fyrn, formerly; geador, together, jointly; gefyrn, once, long ago, formerly; genôg, enough, sufficiently; hēah, high; lîythwōn, little; mæst, mostly; samen, together; sîp, late; sundor, asunder, apart; tela, teola, well, befittingly; ungefyrn, not long ago; untela, amiss; west, westward; west lang, extending westwards. Compounds of -weard, as forweard, continually, always; hindanweard, hindwards, at the end; norpweard, northward; sîpweard, southward; úpweard, upwards; tōweard, towards, see § 637.

Gen. sing., as ânstreces, continuously; dæges, daily, by day; gewealdes, willingly, intentionally; hū gēares, at what time of year; hū gerâdes, how; idæges, on the same day; innanbordes, at home; ísîpes, at that time; orcēapes, without payment; orþances, heedlessly; samtinges, immediately, forthwith; selfwilles, voluntarily; sundorliepes, separately; sunganges, moving with the sun; þances, gladly, voluntarily; ungemetes, excessively, immeasurably; ungewealdes, involuntarily; unþances, unwillingly; willes, willingly; the -es was sometimes extended to fem. nouns, as endebyrdes, in an orderly manner; nïedes, of necessity, needs; nihtes (cp. NHG. nachts), at night, by night. âghwâes, altogether, in every way; dæglanges, during a day; elles, otherwise, else; ealles, entirely, wholly; endemes, equally, in like manner; gehwæperes, on all sides; nealles, not at all, by no means; nihtlanges, all night long; sîmbles, ever, always; singales, always, ever; sîpes, truly, verily; sumes, somewhat, to some extent; ðæs, after; ðweiores, athwart, transversely; ungewisses, unconsciously; hāmweardes, homewards; norpweardes, northwards; niþer-
Adverbs

§ 557

Adverbs

weardes, downwards; töweardes, towards. A preposition was sometimes prefixed to the genitive, as in-stæpes, instantly, at once; tö-ǣfenes, till evening; tö-ēmnes, alongside, beside; tö-gēanes, towards, against; tö-gefītes, in emulation; tö-gifes, freely, gratis; tö-middles, amidst, among.

Gen. pl., as ānge þinga, anyhow, in any way; gēara, of yore, formerly; hū meta, how, in what way; hū nyta, wherefore; nānge, nānge þinga, not at all; ungēara, not long ago, recently.

Dat. and instrumental sing., as bearhtme, instantly; eīne, strongly, vigorously; fācne, exceedingly; hlūdswēge, loudly; nīede, of need, necessarily; nēode, zealously, diligently; nīwan stefne, anew, again; recene; instantly, at once; torne, grievously; wihte, at all. ealle, entirely; hēo-dæg (cp. NHG. heute from OHG. hiu tagu), to-day; hwēne, somewhat. dæg-hwām, daily; furjum, even, indeed; gegnum, forwards, straight on; lēofwendum, ardently; wrājum, fiercely.

Dat. pl., as dæg-tidum, by day; fir(e)num, excessively, very; gēardagum, formerly, in days of old; geþyldum, patiently; hwil-tidum, at times, sometimes; hwilum, sometimes; of(e)stum, speedily, hastily; searwum, skilfully; snyttrum, cunningly, wisely; spēdum, speedily; stundum, from time to time; tidum, at times, occasionally; þingum, powerfully, violently, purposely; þrymmum, powerfully; ungemetum, excessively; unsnyttrum, foolishly; unsynnum, guiltlessly; unwearnum, irresistibly; unwillum, unwillingly; wundrum, wonderfully; wynnum, joyfully, pleasantly; compounds with -mælum, as byrþenmælum, by loads; dælmælum, piecemeal; dropmælum, drop by drop; flitmælum, contentiously; floccmælum, in troops; fōtmælum, step by step; hēapmælum, in troops; hīdmælum, by hides; limmælum, limb by limb; nammælum, name by name; snādmælum, bit by bit; stundmælum, gradually;
The following are the chief adverbs of place:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rest.</th>
<th>Motion towards.</th>
<th>Motion from.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feorr(an), far, afar</td>
<td>feorr</td>
<td>feorran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foran, fore, before</td>
<td>forþ</td>
<td>foran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hér, here</td>
<td>hider</td>
<td>hionan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hindan, behind</td>
<td>hinder</td>
<td>hindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwær, where</td>
<td>hwider</td>
<td>hwanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inne, innan, within</td>
<td>in(n)</td>
<td>innan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēah, near</td>
<td>nēar</td>
<td>nēan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nioþan, beneath</td>
<td>niper</td>
<td>nioþan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þær, there</td>
<td>þider</td>
<td>þanan, þonan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uppe, up, above</td>
<td>up(p)</td>
<td>uppan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úte, útan, outside</td>
<td>út</td>
<td>útan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

súþ, southwards, súþan, from the south; and similarly eást, eástan; norþ, norþan; west, westan; æftan, from behind; ufan, from above; útanc, from without; widan,
§ 559.

2. Prepositions.

(1) With the accusative: geond, throughout, during; geondan, beyond; underneopan, underneath, below; wiþgeondan, beyond; ymb, around, about, at; ymbútan, around, about; op (more rarely dat.), to, up to, as far as, until; þurh (more rarely dat. or gen.), through, during.

(2) With the genitive: andlang, andlanges, alongside.

(3) With the dative: æfter, behind, after, along, during, through, according to, in consequence of; ær, before; æftoræn, before, in the presence of; bi (be), also with instr., by, along, in; bæftan, behind; beheonan, on this side of; beneopan, beneath, below; binnan, within, in, into; eac, in addition to, besides; fram (from), also with instr., from, by; gehende, near; mid, also with instr., together with, among; nèah (also comp. nèar, superl. nìehst), near; of, from, away from, out of; ongemang, onmang, among; oninnan, in, within, into, among; onufan, upon; samod, together with, at (of time); til (NE. dial. tul), to; tò-emnes, alongside, on a level with; tòforæn, before, in front of; tòmiddes, in the midst of; wiþæftan, behind; wiþforæn, before; wiþútan, outside, without, except. The following also sometimes govern the acc.: æt, at, by, in, on, upon; beforæn, before, in the presence of; útan, outside, without, free from; fore, before, in the sight of; tò (also occasionally gen. and instr.), to, into, at, by; wiþinnan, within.

(4) With the accusative and dative: ðútæn, onbútan, around, about (of time); begeondan, beyond; behindan, behind; betwëonan, betwëonum; between, among; be-
tweox, betweoh, bet(wo)uh, betwih, betwix, between, among; bufan, above, away from; for (also instr.), before, in the sight of, during, for, on account of, instead of; gemang, among, into the midst of; in, in, into, on, among, during; ofer, over, above, beyond, contrary to; on (also instr.), on, in, into, on to, to, among; ongan, ongeagn, ongegn, ongēn, opposite, in front of, against; onuppan, on, upon; tōgēanes, tōgēnes, towards, against; under, under, beneath, among; uppan, on, above.

(5) With the genitive and dative: tōweard, tōweardes, towards.

(6) With the accusative, genitive, and dative: innan, within, in, into; wi), against, towards, to, opposite, near.

§ 560.

3. Conjunctions.

(1) Co-ordinate: ac, but; and, and; āgper ... and, āgper ... ge, both ... and; ēac, also; ēac swelc (swylc), swelc ēac, as also; for þām (þām), for þon, for þy, þonne, therefore; ge, and; ge ... ge, both ... and; hwæp(e)re, þeah, swa þeah, swā þeah hwæp(e)re, however; ne ... ne, ne ... ne ēac, nāhwæper ne ... ne, neither ... nor; oppe, or; oppe ... oppe, either ... or; samod ... and, both ... and.

(2) Subordinate: æfter þām (þām) þe, after; ær þām þe, before; būtan, unless, unless that; for þām (þām) þe, for þon þe, for þy þe, because; gelic and, as if; gif, if, whether; hwæper, whether; hwæper þe ... þe, whether ... or; mid þy þe, mid þām þe, when, although; nemne, nefne, nyme þe, unless, except; nū þe, now that; op, op þæt, op þe, until, until that; swā ... swā, so ... as; swā swā ... ealswā, just ... as; swā sōna swā, as soon as; swā þæt, tō þon þæt, so that; tō þon þe, in order that; þæs þe, sippan þe, after, since; þæt, þætte, that, in order that; þā, þā þe, when; þā hwile þe, whilst, so long as; þeah,
Although; þéah þe . . . swā þéah, hwæþ(e)re, although . . . yet; þenden, while; þonne, when; þy, because; þy þe, so that.

CHAPTER XVI
WORD-FORMATION

§ 561. By far the greater part of the word-forming elements, used in the parent language, were no longer felt as such in the oldest period of the English language. In this chapter we shall chiefly confine ourselves to those word-forming elements which were felt as such in OE., such as prefixes and suffixes.

Nouns.

§ 562. Nouns may be divided into simple, derivative, and compound. Examples of simple nouns are: ðæc, oak; bæn, bone; bōc, book; burg, city; cæg, key; cild, child; dæl, dale; dēor, deer; ende, end; feld, field; folc, folk; fōt, foot; gold, gold; hām, home; hand, hand; hūs, house; land, land; lim, limb; lic, body; lof, praise; mann, man; molde, mould; mūs, mouse; nama, name; nett, net; oxa, ox; pytt, pit; rūm, room; sæ, sea; scield, shield; spere, spear; tîma, time; trēo, tree; þēof, thief; þing, thing; weg, way; wēn, hope; weorc, work; word, word; wyrm, worm; ðyp, wave.

Many simple nouns are related to the various classes of strong verbs (§§ 490-519), as bite, cutting, bite; lād, way; course; lāf, remnant; līda, sailor; rād, riding; ridda, rider; slide, slīp; snāed, morsel, slice; snide, incision; wīta, wise man.

boga, bow; bryce, use; cyre, choice; flēoge, fly; flota, sailor; loc, lock; lyre, loss; notu, use; scēat, region.
bend, band; bryne, burning; drenc, drink; feoht, battle, fight; gield, payment; ryne, running, course; stenc, odour; steng, pole; wyrd, fate.
bær, bier; bryce, breaking; byre, son; cuma, guest; cwalu, killing; cyme, advent; stalu, theft.
spræc, specch; wæg, wave.
faru, journey; för, journey; slege, blow.
gang, going; heald, protection; hliep, jump; ræd, counsel. See § 225.
§ 563. Derivative nouns are formed in a great variety of ways:
1. From adjectives, as bieldu, boldness; brædu, breadth; cieldu, cold; fyllu, fullness; hælu, health; hætu, heat; hyldu, favour, grace; ieldu, old age; lengu, length; menigu, crowd; snytru, wisdom; strengu, strength. See §§ 383, 614.
2. By means of various suffixes which were no longer felt as such in OE., as bydel, messenger; fugol, bird; gafol, tribute; hagol, hail; nœdl, needle; nægl, nail; segl, sail; setl, seat; stapöl, foundation; tungol, star. āpm, breath; botm, bottom; māpm, treasure; væstm, growth. dryhten, lord; heofon, heaven; morgen, morning; þegen, thane; wæpen, weapon. bröpor, brother; fæder, father; finger, finger; födor, food; hamor, hammer; sweostor, sister; þunor, thunder; winter, winter.
3. From verbs by means of a dental suffix, as blæd, blowing; cyst, virtue, excellence; dæd, deed; fierd, army; flyht, flight; gebyrd, birth; genyht, sufficiency; gesceaft, creation; geþeaht, plan; gift, price of a wife; glēd, live coal; hæft, captivity; hyht, hope; lāst, track; meaht, power; mæp, mowing; sæd, seed; slieht, slaughter; spēd, success; weft, weft.
4. From verbs with inseparable particles, as bebod, command; beclyþing, cell; bedelfing, digging round; begang, practice; behāt, promise; belāf, remainder; belimp, occurrence; begiemen, care, attention. forbod, prohibition; forhæfednes, temperance; forlor, destruction; forwyrd, fate, destruction. gebann, decree, proclamation; gebed,
prayer; geblôt, sacrifice; gebrec, clamour, noise; gefeoht, fight, battle. ofcyrf, cutting off; ofslegennes, destruction; ofspræc, utterance.

5. By means of various prefixes. Some of the forms given as prefixes below are in reality independent words forming the first elements of compounds. They have been included among the real prefixes for purely practical purposes. It should be noted that the examples given below include both nouns and adjectives:—

Prefixes.

§ 564. ā-, Goth. āiw, ever, as ābrēmende, ever celebrating; ālibbende, everlasting; āwunigende, continual.

§ 565. ā-, privative prefix denoting without, like the ā in OHG. āmaht, without power, as āfelle, without skin; āgilde, without compensation; āmen(ne), depopulated; āmōd, out of heart, dismayed; āwēne, hopeless.

§ 566. ëf-, stressed form of of-, off, as ëfest, envy; ëfpanc(a), grudge; ëfweard, absent.

§ 567. æfter-, after, as æftergenga, successor; æftergield, after-payment; æfterfolgere, follower; æfterweard, following; æfterlēan, recompense; æfterieldo, old age; æfterlic, second.

§ 568. an-, stressed form of the preposition on, on, as anfilte, anvil; anginn, beginning; ansien, countenance; anweald, authority. anbrucol, rugged; anforht, alarmed; ansund, entire, sound.

§ 569. and- (Goth. and-, OHG. ant-; Gr. ἀντί, against, Lat. ante, before), the stressed form of on- (§§ 59, Note, 654), as andcwis(s), answer; andfenga, taker up, defender; andgiet, intelligence; andsaca, adversary; andswaru, answer; andweald, power; andwlita, countenance; andwyrde, answer. andfenge, acceptable; andgietol, intelligent; andlang, continuous; andweard, present; andwrāp, hostile.

§ 570. bi- (OHG. bi), the stressed form of the preposition
and adverb bi, by, of which the unstressed form is be- (§ 647), as bicwide, proverb; bifylce, neighbouring people; bigeng, practice; bigyrdel, girdle, purse; bileofa, sustenance; bispell, example; biwist, sustenance; biword, proverb.

§ 571. ed- (Goth. id-, OHG. ita-, it-), back, again, re-, as edcierr, return; edgield, repayment; edgift, restitution; edgröwung, regrowing; edlēan, reward; edroc, rumination; edwit (Goth. idweilt), reproach. edgeong, growing young again; edniwe, renewed.

§ 572. fore- (Goth. faúra, OHG. fora), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb fore, before, fore-, as forebēacen, foretoken; foreduru, vestibule; foregisil, preliminary hostage; forespreca, advocate; forepānc, fore-thought. forehālig, very holy; foremāre, illustrious.

§ 573. fram- (Goth. OHG. fram), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb fram, from, as framcyme, progeny; framlād, retreat; framsīp, departure. fram-weard, turned from.

§ 574. ge- (Goth. ga-, OHG. ga-, gi-), originally a preposition meaning together, which already in prim. Germanic was no longer used as an independent word. It was especially used in forming collective nouns, but at a later period it often had only an intensive meaning or no special meaning at all, as gebedda, consort; gebrōpor, brethren; gefēra, companion; gefylce, army; gegaderung, gathering; gehāda, brother minister; gemæcca, mate; gemōt, meeting; gesceafit, creation; gesīp, comrade; gewider, bad weather. gebyrd, birth, descent; geweorc, work; gewita, witness; gewuna, custom. ge-æpele, congenial; gecynde, innate, natural; gedēfe, befitting; gelic, similar; gemyndig, mindful; gemæne, common; gesund, healthy, sound.

§ 575. in-, the stressed form of the preposition in, in, as inādl, internal disease; inbūend, inhabitant; incniht, house-servant; incofa, inner chamber; infær, entrance; infaru,
invasion; inhere, home army; insegl, seal, signet. inpicce, very thick, coarse.

§ 576. mid- (Goth. mid, OS. mid, OHG. mit), the stressed form of the preposition mid, with, as midspreca, advocate; midwist, presence, society; midwunung, living in company; midwyrhta, co-operator.

§ 577. mis- (Goth. missa-, OHG. missa-, missi-), originally a participial adjective meaning lost, the same word as OHG. missi, different, as misfadung, misconduct; mislär, bad teaching; misrād, misguidance. misboren, misshapen at birth; mishworfen, perverted.

§ 578. ofer- (Goth. ufar, OHG. ubar, Gr. ὑπέρ, Skr. upári), the stressed form of the preposition ofer, over, as oferæt, gluttony; oferbrū, eyebrow; oferdrenc, drunkenness; oferhygd, pride; ofermægen, superior force; oferslop, surplice; oferspræc, loquacity; oferþearf, extreme need; oferweorc, tomb. oferhlůd, overloud; ofermæte, excessive; ofermicel, overmuch; ofermōdig, overbearing.

§ 579. on-, in late formations with the preposition on, on, of which the real stressed form is an, see above. Examples are: onbring, instigation; onbryce, inroad; onflæscnes, incarnation; onstigend, rider; onsting, authority. onæpele, natural to.

§ 580. or-, originally a preposition meaning out, preserved as an independent word in Goth. us, OHG. ur, cp. also NHG. urteil beside erteilen. Examples are: ordal, ordeal; orsorg, without anxiety; orþanc, skill, intelligence; orweorþ, ignominy. orcēas, free from complaint; orcnāwe, easily recognized; oreald, very old; orgiete, manifest; orgilde, unpaid for; orhleahtre, blameless; ormæte, excessive; ormōd, despairing; orsāwle, lifeless; ortydre, barren; orwēne, despairing.

§ 581. sam-, related to the adverb Goth. samana, OHG. saman, OE. samen, together; Gr. preposition ἄμα, together with, as samhīwan, members of a family; samwist, living
together; samwrædnes, union, combination; samheort, unanimous; sammæle, agreed; samwinnende, contending together.

§ 582. sam-, a prim. OE. shortening of *sāmi-, older *sāmi- = OHG. sami-, Lat. sēmi-, Gr. ἴμι, half, the unshortened form of which would have been sōmi- (§ 121), as sambærned, half-burnt; samcucu, half-dead; samhāl, in bad health; samgrēne, half-green; samlāred, half-taught; samsoden, half-cooked; samwīs, dull, foolish.

§ 583. sin- (Goth. OHG. sin-), ever, perpetual, as sindrēam, everlasting joy; sinhere, immense army; sinhiwan, married couple; sinniht, eternal night; sinscipe, marriage, wedlock; sinsorg, continual sorrow. sinceald, ever cold; sinfulle, singrēne, houseleek; singrim, ever fierce.

§ 584. tō-, the preposition tō, to, as tōcyme, approach, arrival; tōhlystend, listener; tōhyht, hope; tō-icnes, increase; tōnama, surname; tōsprēc, conversation; tōtyhting, instigation. tōcumende, foreign, strange; tōheald, inclined, leaning; tō-iernende, approaching; tō-weard, facing, approaching.

§ 585. twi- (OHG. zwi-, Lat. bi-, Gr. δί- from *δι-), two, as twibill, two-edged axe; twigilde, double payment; twiweg, place where two roads meet; twibēte, needing double compensation; twifeald, twofold; twifēre, accessible by two ways; twifēte, two-footed; twifingre, two fingers thick; twihēafode, two-headed; twi-hwēole, two-wheeled; twinihte, two days old; twirāde, irresolute; twisprēce, double-tongued, false in speech; twiwintre, of two years.

§ 586. pri- (OHG. dri-, Lat. tri-, Gr. τρι-), three, as pridæglic, lasting three days; pridæled, tripartite; pri-feald, threefold; prifēte, having three feet; prifēre, three-storied; prilēafe, trefoil; prinihte, three days old; prirēpre, having three banks of oars; priscīete, triangular.

§ 587. purh-, the preposition purh, through, as purh-
beorht, very bright; þurhbitter, very bitter; þurhfêre, penetrable; þurhhâlig, very holy; þurhscînendlic, splendid; þurhsçyldig, very guilty; þurhsþêdig, very wealthy; þurhwacol, sleepless.

§ 588. un-. (Goth. OHG. un-, Lat. en-, Gr. α-), a negative particle, un-, sometimes used intensively with the meaning bad, evil, &c., as unâr, dishonour; unbealo, innocence; uncyst, vice; unfriþ, war; unhêlo, sickness. uncræft, evil practice; undæd, crime; ungeþanc, evil thought; ungielld, excessive tax; unlagu, evil law, injustice; unlâr, false doctrine; unswefn, bad dream; unwriþere, careless scribe. unæþele, plebeian; unãgiefen, unpaid; unandgiet-full, unintelligent; unbealld, timid; unclæne, unclean; undéadhletic, immortal; undéop, shallow; undierne, manifest; unfaéger, ugly; ungeorne, reluctantly; unléof, hated; unmâre, inglorious; unriht, wrong; unslâw, active; unsôþ, untrue; unswête, sour; unsynnig, innocent; ungewiss, uncertain.

§ 589. under-, same word as the preposition under, under, as underburg, suburb; undercyning, viceroy; underdiacon, sub-deacon; underling, underling.

§ 590. ûp-, the preposition ûp, up, as ûpcyme, rising, origin; ûpende, upper end; ûpflêring, upper floor; ûpgang, rising, sunrise; ûpheofon, sky; ûplyft, upper air; ûpstige, ascent; ûpstigend, rider; ûpweg, way to heaven. ûpcund, celestial; ûphêah, uplifted; ûplendisc, rural, rustic; ûpriht, upright, erect.

§ 591. út-, the preposition út, out, as útcwealm, utter destruction; útdrêf, expulsion; útfaer, exit; útgang, exit; útgêfeoht, foreign war; útgemêre, extreme boundary; úthere, foreign army; útlagu, outlaw. útlendisc, strange, foreign; útlíc, external, foreign.

§ 592. wan-, the same word as the adjective Goth. wans, OE. OHG. wan, wanting, lacking, deficient, as wanhêlp, weakness; wanhafa, poor person; wanhoga,
thoughtless person; wanhygd, carelessness; wanspēd, poverty. wansælig, unhappy; wanscrydd, poorly clad; wanspēdig, poor.

§ 593. wiper-, the preposition Goth. wipra, OHG. widar, OE. wiper, against, as wipercwide, contradiction; wiperlēan, requital; wipersaca, adversary; wipersač, opposition; wiperterod, retreat. wiperāede, adverse.

§ 594. ymb-, the preposition ymb (OHG. *umb, Gr. ἀμφί), around, and related to the adverb ymbe, OHG. umbi, both from an older umb+bī, literally around by. Examples are: ymbfær, circuit; ymbgang, circumference; ymbhoga, consideration.

Suffixes.

§ 595. -aþ, -oþ (Goth. -oþu-, OHG. -ōd, Lat. -ātu-, Gr. -ητό-), used in forming masc. abstract nouns from the second class of weak verbs, as drohtaþ, way of life; drūgoþ, dryness, drought; fiscoþ, fishing; fugeloþ, fowling; huntoþ, hunting; langoþ, longing, desire; sweoloþ, swoloþ, heat, burning. Often extended to -noþ with n from the verbal forms, as drohtnian, to pass life; hæftnian, to take captive; whence fiscnọþ, fugelnoþ; sādnọþ, sowing; &c.

§ 596. -bora, also used as an independent noun, one who bears or sustains the charge of anything, a ruler, related to beran, to bear, as æscbora, spear-bearer; cægbora, key-bearer; mundbora, protector; rædbora, counsellor; rōdbora, cross-bearer; strālbora, archer; wæpenbora, warrior; wōpbora, poet; wrōhtbora, accuser.

§ 597. -dōm (OHG. -tuom), also used as an independent word, Goth. dōms, OE. dōm, judgment, OHG. tuom, state, condition, as abbuddōm, abbacy; campdōm, contest, war; cynedōm, kingdom; ealdordōm, authority; frēodōm, freedom; hæftedōm, captivity; hlaforddōm, lordship; læcedōm, medicine; lārēowdōm, office of teacher; recenddōm, rule, governance; swicdōm, deceit; þeowdōm, service.
§ 598. -els from older -isl by metathesis (§ 277), West
Germanic -islja- = OHG. -isli, used in forming masculine
nouns, as brædels, covering, carpet; bridels, bridle;
byrgels, tomb; cnyttels, sinew; fætels, tub; gyrdels,
girdle; hûdels, hiding-place, cave; mærels, mooring-rope;
miercels, mark; rædels, riddle; récels, incense; smierels,
ointment; sticels, goad; wrigels, covering.

§ 599. -en (OHG. -in, acc. -inna), prim. Germanic -ini,
injô- (West Germanic -innjô-, § 254), mostly used to form
the feminine from nouns denoting male beings; also used
to form fem. abstract and concrete nouns, as fyxen, she-fox;
gyden, goddess; menen, female slave; mynecen(n), nun;
pêowen(n), servant; þigen, þinen, handmaid; wiergen(n),
she-wolf. giemen(n), care, responsibility; hæften, custody;
hengen, hanging; lygen, falsehood; scielden(n), protection;
selen, sellen, gift; strêowen, bed; tyhten(n), incitement.

§ 600. -en (Goth. -ein, OHG. -in), West Germanic -in-
beside -innja-, used in forming neuter nouns often with
diminutive meaning, as cliwen, clûwen, cîw; cûcen,
chicken; embren, bucket; fæsten, fortress; filmen, film;
gâten, little goat, kid; mægden, mæDEN, maiden; ticcen,
kid; wêsten(n), desert.

§ 601. -end (-nd), originally the ending of the present
participle of verbs (§ 441), used in forming nomina agentis,
as fêond, enemy; frêond, friend; galend, enchanter;
hælend, Saviour; hettend, enemy; hlystend, listener;
læstend, doer; ljîend, sailor, traveller; metend, measurer;
reccend, ruler; ridend, rider; scêotend, warrior; sec-
gend, speaker; sellend, giver; tælend, reprover; wealdend,
ruler; wigend, warrior; wrecend, avenger.

§ 602. -ere (Goth. -areis, OHG. -âri, Lat. -ârius),
originally used to form nomina agentis from other nouns,
and then later from verbs also, as bæcere, baker; costere,
tenptcr; crêopere, cripple; drafamere, musician; drincere,
drinker; etere, cater; folgere, follower; fugelere, fowler;
gitsere, miser; godspellere, evangelist; hearpere, harper; hordere, steward, treasurer; hwistlere, piper; lænere, lender; læasere, hypocrite; læogere, liar; leornere, disciple, learner; mæpere, mower; mangere, merchant, trader; ræafere, robber; recere, ruler; sædere, sower; sangere, singer; sciper, sailor; sëamere, tailor; sütère, shoemaker; tollere, tax-gatherer; writere, writer.

§ 603. ·estre from older ·istræ, prim. Germanic ·istrjön- beside ·astrjön-, used in forming fem. nomina agentis from verbs, also occasionally from nouns as bæcestre, baker; cempestre, female novice; fylgestre, follower; hlēapestre, dancer; huntigestre, huntress; lærestre, teacher; loppestre, lobster; lufestre, lover; rædestre, reader; sangestre, songstress; sëamestre, sempstress; tæppestre, tavern-keeper; webbestre, weaver; witegestre, prophetess.

§ 604. ·et(t) (Goth. ·iti, OHG. ·izzi), prim. Germanic ·itja- beside ·atja-, used in forming neut. verbal and denominative abstract nouns, as bærent, arson; bealcet(t), belching; emnet, plain; hiewet, cutting; nierwet(t), narrowness; rëwet, rowing; rëmet, space, extent; sëwet, sowing; sweofot, sleep; þëowet, ·ot, slavery; þicct(t), thicket.

§ 605. ·häd (OHG. ·heit), used to form masc. abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives, also used as an independent word, Goth. háidus, way, manner, OE. hād, OHG. heit, grade, rank. Examples are: abbudhäd, rank of an abbot; camphäd, warfare; cildhäd, childhood; cnihthäd, boyhood; fulwihthäd, baptismal vow; geoguhäd, youth; hēalichäd, loftiness; mægdenhäd, maidenhood; mægphäd, relationship; munuchäd, monastic state; prēosthäd, priesthood; þëowhäd, service; werhäd, manhood, male sex; wifhäd, womanhood.

§ 606. ·incel (cp. OHG. ·inklín), a neuter diminutive suffix of uncertain origin, as cofincel, little chamber; hæft-incel, slave; hūsincel, little house; liþincel, little joint;
rāpincel, cord, string; scipincel, little ship; stānincel, little stone; tūnincel, small estate; þēowincel, young slave; weargincel, butcher-bird.

§ 607. -ing (O.Icel. -ingr, OHG. -ing), used in forming masc. concrete nouns, especially patronymics, as æpeling, son of a noble, prince; cyning, king; Ealdulfing, Scēfing, Scylding. biesting, first milk of a cow after calving; cāsering, a coin; scilling, shilling; hāring, herring; hearding, hero, bold man; hemming, shoe of hide; ierming, poor wretch; silfring, silver coin; swertling, titlark. From nouns like æpeling beside the adj. æpele, noble; and lýtling, child, beside lýtel, little, was extracted the suffix -ling which became common especially in forming nouns denoting persons, as cnaepling, youth; dēorling, favourite, darling; fēorpling, fourth part, farthing; föstorling, foster-child; geongling, youth; gesibling, kinsman; hæftling, prisoner; hēafodling, equal, companion; hŷrling, hireling; ierpling, ploughman; niedling, slave, bondman; ræpling, prisoner; þēowling, slave.

§ 608. -lac, used in forming neuter nouns. Also used as an independent word, Goth. láiks, dance, O.Icel. leikr, play, OHG. leih, play, song. The original meaning seems to have been ‘motion in general’, but in OE. lāc means battle; offering, sacrifice; gift, present. Examples are: æfenlāc, evening sacrifice; brēowlāc, brewing; brýdlāc, marriage gift; feohtlāc, fighting; rēaflāc, robbery, booty; sālāc, gift or offering from the sea; scīnlāc, magic; wedlāc, wedlock; witelāc, punishment; wrōhtlāc, accusation.

§ 609. -nes(s), -nis(s) (OHG. -nessi, -nissi), used in forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives, as æpelnes, nobility; biternes, bitterness; blindnes, blindness; cēlnes, coolness; clænnes, purity; drēorignes, sadness; ēadignes, prosperity; fæstnes, firmness; glēawnes, sagacity; grēnnes, greenness; hælnes, salvation; heardnes, hardness; ðelnes, idleness; lufsumnes, amiability; mildheortnes, mercy;
oferetolnes, gluttony; slæcnes, slackness; strangnes, strength; wærnes, prudence; wætersæocnes, dropsy; wödnes, madness.

§ 610. -ræden(n), used in forming fem. abstract nouns denoting a state or condition. Also used as an independent word, ræden(n), state, condition, related to the verb gerædan, to arrange, put in order. Examples are: gefērræden, companionship; gepēodræden, fellowship; hīwræden, family, household; holdræden, loyalty; hūsræden, household; hyldræden, fidelity; mādræden, grass mown on a meadow; mægræden, relationship; man(n)ræden, allegiance, homage; tēonræden, injury; trēowræden, fidelity; þingræden, intercession; witeræden, punishment.

§ 611. -scipe (related to Goth. skapjan, OE. sceippan, to create), used in forming masc. abstract nouns, as beorscipe, feast; burgscipe, township; cāfscipe, activity; dryhtscipe, sovereignty; fracodscipe, vileness; féondscipe, hostility; frēondscipe, friendship; gēapscipe, deceit; gefērscape, companionship; gemænscape, fellowship, communion; gödscape, goodness; hæpenscape, paganism; hlafordscipe, lordship; holdscipe, loyalty; hwætscipe, bravery; manscape, humanity; prūtscape, pride; sinscape, wedlock; tūnscape, inhabitants of a village; þēodscape, nation; wærscape, prudence.

§ 612. -stafas, the plural of stæf, staff, stick, used to form masc. abstract nouns, as ārstafas, kindness; fācenstafas, treachery; hearmstafas, trouble, affliction; sorgstafas, sorrow, affliction; wrohtstafas, crime; wyrdstafas, destiny.

§ 613. ·þo, ·þ, older ·þu (Goth. ·þa, OHG. ·ida, prim. Germanic ·þō), used in forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives (§ 371), as fylþ, filth; hiēhþ(o), height; hiēnþ(o), humiliation; hlīewþ, covering, shelter; hriēfþ(o), scurfiness; iermþ(o), poverty; iergþ(o), cowardice; læþþo, hatred; lengþ(o), length; mærþ(o), fame, glory; myr(i)gþ, mirth;
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sælp, happiness; slæwp, sloth; strengþ(o), strength; trêowþ, triewþ, fidelity; trymþ, firmness; þieþ, theft; wræþþ(o), wrath. On the t in words like gescentu, disgrace; gesyntu, health; ofermēttu, pride, see § 305. In nouns formed from adjectives ending in -lēas, the -þ became -t after the s (§ 305), as lærlēast, -liest, ignorance; liflēast, death; andgielēast, folly; slæplēast, sleeplessness; gīemē-liest, carelessness, negligence; hlaflēast, want of bread; hygelēast, thoughtlessness.

§ 614. -u, -o, embracing fem. abstract nouns formed from adjectives. In prim. Germanic the stem of this class of nouns ended in -in, cp. Goth. managei, multitude, gen. manageins (§ 382). The OE. nouns have -u, -o from the ò-declension (§ 365), as menniscu, -o, humanity, human state; micelu, size; wæstmbæru, fertility; wlenci, pride. For further examples, see § 563, i.

§ 615. -ung, more rarely -ing (O.Icel. -ung, -ing; OHG. -ung, -unga), used in forming fem. abstract nouns, especially from the second class of weak verbs (§§ 535–6), as ābidung, waiting; āscung, interrogation; biegung, curvature; blæc-ung, pallor; brocung, affliction; cēapung, trading; cost-ung, temptation; deorcung, twilight; gemiltsung, pity; glōmung, gloaming; handliung, handling; hārun, hoari-ness; hearpung, harping; langung, longing; lēasung, lying, leasing; murcnung, murmuring; niperung, humiliation; scēawung, contemplation; scotung, shooting; strūd-ung, robbery; swīgung, silence; tācnung, signification; tēopung, tithing; þegnung, ministration; þingung, intercession; warnung, warning; wiccung, witchcraft; wun-ung, dwelling. arning, riding, racing; grēting, greeting; ielding, delay; rāding, reading; wending, turning.

§ 616. -wist, used in forming fem. abstract nouns. Also used as an independent word. Goth. wists, OHG. OE. wist, being, existence, substance, the verbal abstract noun of OE. wesan, to be. Examples are: hūswist, household;
loswist, perdition, loss; midwist, presence; nēawist, neighbourhood; onwist, dwelling in a place; samwist, living together; stedewist, steadiness, constancy.

**Compound Nouns.**

§ 617. In compound nouns formed by composition, the second element is always a noun, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, or a particle. The declension and gender of compound nouns are determined by the final element. Examples are:

- aclēaf, oak-leaf; āfenmete, supper; æppelwin, cider; bælfyr, funeral fire; bāncofa, body; bōccræft, literature; borggielda, debtor; brōporsunu, nephew; brýdguma, bridegroom; campstede, battle-field; cornhūs, granary; cūhierde, cow-herd; dōmdæg, doomsday; earmbēag, bracelet; fæderslaga, parricide; feldhūs, tent; fierdlēop, war-song; flæschama, body; folctoga, general; gārbēam, spear-shaft; godspell, gospel; gūjfana, banner; hāmstede, homestead; handgeweorc, handiwork; lārhūs, school; mōthūs, court-house; rīmcræft, arithmetic; sangbōc, hymn-book; sæcyning, sea-king; scōhnægl, shoe-nail; stæfcræft, grammar; stānbrycg, stone-bridge; tungol-cræft, astronomy; wæterādl, dropsy; weordcāeg, workday; wīfman, woman; woruldcaru, worldly care.

ānhaga, recluse; beorhtrodor, heaven; blæcggimm, jet; brādbrim, ocean; cwicēht, live-stock; dimhūs, prison; ealdormann, magistrate; ealdsprēc, tradition; fæder(en)mæg, paternal kinsman; fēowergield, fourfold payment; frēobearn, freeborn child; hēahsynn, deadly sin; lēasgielp, vainglory; middelniht, midnight; nēahmæg, near relation; rihthand, right hand; sorglufu, sad love; sōp-word, true word; wansceaf, misfortune; wīdsē, open sea; wōhgod, false god.

angbrēost, asthma; eftcyme, return; ellorsip, departure,
death; geosceaf, destiny; hidercyme, arrival; niþergang, descent; samodspræc, colloquy.

§ 618. The first element of a compound noun regularly retained its final vowel, when it was a short i-, u-, or wa-stem. The final vowel generally remained in ja-stems whether the stem-syllable of the first element was long or short. On the other hand it regularly disappeared in n-, and short ð-stems. Examples are: bereláf, barley loaf; cwidegiedd, song; elebēam, olive-tree; merewīf, water-witch; selegiest, hall-guest; winemæg, kinsman. duruweard, door-keeper; felawyrdnes, loquacity; hagosteald, bachelor; heoruword, fierce word; magorinc, warrior; medudrēam, mead-joy; wudubearo, grove. beadocræft, skill in war; bealoþanc, evil thought.

delandáf, last remnant; hierdebōc, pastoral book; ierfe-weard, heir; witestōw, place of torment. cynerice, kindom; herefolc, army.

bangär, deadly spear; gumcynn, mankind; frumbearn, firstborn child; nambōc, register; steorsceāwere, astro-nomer; swēorbān, neck bone. ciricbōc, church-book; heortcoþu, heart-disease; moldgraef, grave; nunmynster, convent, nunnery; sunbēam, sunbeam. ēarwicga, earwig. cargāst, sad spirit; giefstōl, throne; luftācen, love token.

§ 619. Sometimes the first element of compounds appears in its inflected form, as dægesēage, daisy; gēaccessūre, wood-sorrel; hädesmann, member of a particular order; stēoresmann beside stēormann, steersman; Tiwesdæg, Tuesday. hellebryne, hell-fire; hellewīte, hell-torrent; hildestrengo, warlike strength; rōdehengen(n), crucifixion. mōnanāfen, Sunday evening; mōnandæg beside mōndæg, Monday; nunnanmynster beside nunmynster, nunnery; sunnadæg, Sunday; sunnanniht, Saturday evening. āgerfelma, film of an egg; āgergeolu, yolk of egg, beside āgsciell, egg-shell. Englaland, England; witenagemōt, parliament.
Adjectives.

§ 620. Adjectives, like nouns, may be conveniently divided into three classes: simple, derivative, and compound. Examples of simple adjectives are: beald, bold; blæc, black; ceald, cold; dēop, deep; eald, old; earm, poor; full, full; geolu, yellow; geong, young; hāl, whole, sound; heard, hard; læt, slow; lang, long; lēof, dear; māre, famous; nīewe, new; rēad, red; scearp, sharp; smæl, small; strang, strong; trum, firm; pīce, thick; wāc, weak; wis, wise.

§ 621. Derivative adjectives often have the same inseparable prefixes as nouns (§§ 564-94), as andfenge, acceptable; ansund, entire, sound; edgeong, growing young; gecynde, innate, natural; sammǣle, agreed; unsynnig, innocent.

Suffixes.

§ 622. -bēre (OHG. -bāri, Lat. -fer in lucifer, light-bearing; originally a verbal adj. from beran, to bear), as æppelbēre, apple-bearing; ātorbēre, poisonous; cwealm-bēre, deadly; fejerbēre, winged; fyrbēre, fiery; gram-bēre, passionate; hālbēre, wholesome; hornbēre, horned; lēohtbēre, bright, splendid; lustbēre, desirable; mann-bēre, producing men; tungolbēre, starry; wæstmērēre, fruitful; wīgbēre, warlike.

§ 623. -cund (Goth. -kunds, OHG. -kunt, denoting kind, sort, origin; originally a participial adj., related to cennan, to bring forth, beget), as æpelcund, of noble origin; dēofol-cund, diabolical; eorcund, noble; eorþcund, earthly; feorrcund, foreign; gæstcund, spiritual; godcund, divine; heofoncund, heavenly; innancund, inward; sāwol-cund, spiritual; weoroldcund, worldly; yfelcund, evil.

§ 624. -ede (OHG. -ōti), denoting provided with, furnished with, used in forming adjectives from nouns, as coppede,
topped, polled; hēalede, ruptured; hōcēde, shaped like a hook; hoferede, humpbacked; hringed(e), furnished with rings; micelhēafdede, big-headed; sūrēagede, blair-eyed; prihēafdede, three-headed.

§ 625. -en (Goth. -ein, OHG. -ēn, prim. Germanic -inaz = Lat. -inus), used in forming adjectives denoting the material of which a thing is made, as æscen, made of ash-wood; bræsen, of brass; fellen, of skins; flæscen, of flesh; fyren, fiery; gāten, of goats; gielpen, boastful; gylden, golden; hāren, of hair; hwāten, wheaten; hwīlen, transitory; hyrnen, made of horns; lēaden, leaden; picen, of pitch; rygen, of rye; seolfren, of silver; siden, silken; stānen, stony, of stone; sweflen, sulphurous; trēowen, wooden; tunglen, of the stars.

Note.—Forms like bræsen, fellen, lēaden, trēowen, for *bresen, *fillen, *līden, *trīwen, are new formations made direct from the corresponding nouns without umlaut.

§ 626. -erne (prim. Germanic -rōnja-), used in forming adjectives denoting direction, as āsterne, east, eastern; norerne, northern; süperne, southern; westerne, western.

§ 627. -faest, same word as the adj. faest, fast, fixed, firm, as ārendfaest, bound on an errand; ārfaest, virtuous; bīd-faest, stationary; blǣdfaest, glorious; eorfaest, fixed in the earth; gieffaest, gifted; hogfaest, prudent; hūsfaest, having a home; hygefæst, wise; mægenfaest, vigorous; sigfaest, victorious; stedefæst, steadfast; trēowfaest, faithful.

§ 628. -feald (Goth. -falps, OHG. -falt, related to fealdan, to fold), used in forming adjectives from other adjectives, especially from numerals, as ānfeald, single; felafeald, manifold; hundfeald, hundredfold; manigfeald, manifold; seofonfeald, sevenfold; twēntigfeald, twentyfold.

§ 629. -full, sometimes weakened to -fol, same word as the adj. full, full, used in forming adjectives, especially from abstract nouns, as andgietfull, intelligent; bealofull,
wicked; bismerfull, disgraceful; forhtfull, timorous; gelēaaffull, believing; geornfull, eager; hyhtfull, joyful; mōdfull, arrogant, proud; scyldfull, guilty; þancfull, thoughtfull; wordfull, wordy; wundorfull, wonderful.

§ 630. -ig (Goth. -ag, -eig, OHG. -ag, -īg). The two Germanic suffixes -ag, -ig, can only be distinguished in OE. by the presence or absence of umlaut in the stem-syllable of the derivative adjective. Examples are: andig, envious; craeftig, strong; cystig, bountiful; dēawig, dewy; fyrstig, frosty; gesāelig, happy, prosperous; gehyldig, patient; grēdig, greedy; hungrig, hungry; mōdig, brave, bold; ōmig, rusty; scyldig, guilty; stāniht beside stāniht, stony; þornig, thorny; þurstig beside þyrstig, thirsty; wordig, wordy; ȳstig, stormy.

§ 631. -iht (OHG. -aht(i), -oht(i), NHG. -icht) has much the same meaning or force as -ig, as cambiht, crested; croppiht, bunched; finiht, finny; hāriht, hairy; hāpiht, heathy; hrēodiht, reedy; ifiht, covered with ivy; sandiht, sandy; stāniht beside stāniht, stony; þorniht beside þyrniht, thorny; wudiht, wooded, forest-like.

§ 632. -isc (Goth. -isk, OHG. -isc, -isk), generally connoting the quality of the object denoted by the simplex, as centisc, Kentish; cildisc, childish; denisc, Danish; englisc, English; entisc, of giants; eorlisc, noble; folcisc, popular; heofonisc, heavenly; inlendisc, native; mennisc, human; scyttisc, Scotch; wiēlisc, foreign, Welsh.

Note.—1. Forms like eorlisc, folcisc for *ierlisc, *fylcisc, are new formations made direct from the corresponding nouns without umlaut.

2. Adjectives of this kind are sometimes used as nouns, as iedisc, property, hiwisc, family, household; mennisc, mankind, people.

§ 633. -lēas (Goth. -láus, OHG. -lōs). Also used as an independent word Goth. láus, empty; OE. lēas, OHG. lōs, devoid of. Examples are: ārlēas, impious, cruel; bānlēas,
boneless; beardleas, beardless; carleas, careless; cwideleas, speechless; fæderleas, fatherless; giemelēas, heedarless; hāmlēas, homeless; hrōflēas, roofless; mægenleas, powerless; saclēas, innocent; spræclēas, speechless; töp-leas, toothless; weorplēas, worthless.

§634. -lic (Goth. -leik, OHG. -lich). Also preserved as an independent word in Goth. ga-leiks, OHG. gi-lich, OE. ge-lic, like; originally the same word as Goth. leik, OE. lic, body. Examples are: ënlic, unique; ënlic, solitary; cildic, infantine; cynelic, royal; dæglic, daily; dēadlic, deadly; ealdic, venerable; forhtlic, afraid; gēarlic, yearly; gesinsciplic, conjugal; heofonlic, heavenly; hetelic, hostile; lofic, praiseworthy; mennisclic, human; mærlic, famous; nyttlic, useful; stōwlic, local; tidlic, temporary; wiflic, womanly.

§635. -ol (Goth. -ul, OHG. -al), mostly used in forming adjectives from verbal forms, as andgietol, intelligent; beswicol, deceitful; etol, voracious; hetol, hostile; hlagol, apt to laugh; meagol, earnest, vigorous; numol, capacious; nyttol, useful; rēafol, rapacious; slāpol, somnolent, sleepy; sprecol, talkative; āncol, thoughtful; wacol, vigilant; witol, wise.

§636. -sum (OHG. -sam; Goth. -sam only preserved in lustu-sams, longed for, much desired). Also used as an independent word Goth. sama, same, OHG. sama, in like manner, OE. swā same, similarly. -sum stands in ablaut-relation to OHG. -sam. Examples are: angsum, troublesome; ënsam, whole; fripsam, pacific; freysam, beneficent; gelēafsam, credible, faithful; genyhtsam, abundant; gesibbsam, peaceable, friendly; langsum, lasting, tedious; lufsum, amiable; wilsam, pleasant; wynsum, winsome.

§637. -weard (OHG. -wert, Goth. -wairp, originally a verbal adjective and related to weorpan, to become), used in forming adjectives denoting position or direction, as aftewead, following; andweard, present; forþweard, inclined
forward; heononweard, transitory, going hence; hiderweard, hitherward; innanweard, inward, internal; niiperweard, downward; norp(e)weard, northward; ongēanweard, going towards; tōweard, toward, about to come.

§ 638. -wende, related to wendan, to turn, used in forming adjectives from nouns and other adjectives, as hālwende, healthful, wholesome; hātwende, hot, burning; hwīlwende, transitory, temporary; lāpwende, hateful, hostile; lēofwende, loving, friendly; lufwende, amiable.

§ 639. Suffixes, which were no longer felt as such in OE., are omitted, e.g. the -od, -ol (-el), -en, -er (-or) in adjectives like forod, broken, decayed; nacod, naked. ācol, timid; dēagol (prim. Germanic *daugalaz), diēgal (prim. Germanic *daugilaz), secret; īdel, vain; lītel, little; sweotol, plain, evident; yfel, evil. efen, even; fægen, glad; open, open. bitter, bitter; fæger, fair; sicor, sure; snottor, wise; wacor, vigilant, watchful. On the suffixes in the present and past participles, see §§ 520, 601.

Compound Adjectives.

§ 640. In compound adjectives formed by composition, the second element is always an adjective or used as an adjective, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, verb, or particle. On the loss or retention of the final vowel in the first element of compounds, see § 618. Examples are: āhtspēdig, wealthy; ælfsciene, beautiful as a fairy; bæcslitol, slandering; beadocraeftig, skilful in war; blōdred, blood-red; brimceald, sea-cold; brūnfāg, brown-coloured; brynehāt, burning hot; cynegōd, noble; dādcēne, bold in deeds; dēapfēge, fated to die; dēoppancol, thoughtful; dōmgeorn, ambitious; druncengeorn, drunken; dūnlendisc, hilly; eallgōd, perfectly good; ecgheard, hard of edge; efeneald, contemporary; ellenrōf, brave; ellorfūs,
ready to depart; fæstræd, steadfast; felasynnig, very guilty; feohstræng, opulent; folcmaere, celebrated; friþgeorn, pacific; gærsgrene, grass-green; gearoþancol, ready-witted; healfcwic, half-dead; heteþancol, hostile; limhål, sound in limb; luftieme, loving, benevolent; módcearig, anxious; namcúþ, celebrated; rædsnotor, wise; seldcúþ, unfamiliar; sigorëadig, victorious; snáhwit, snow-white; þancsnotor, wise; wídcúþ, widely known. The present and past participles often form the second element of compounds, as eallwealdende, omnipotent; gléawhyg-gende, thoughtful; healfslæpende, half-asleep; lóehtherende, luminous; rihtwillende, well-meaning; sádeberende, seed-bearing; tèargéotende, tearful. Æfterborende, posthumous; aelfremede, foreign; ærboren, first-born; cyneborende, of royal birth; goldhrodende, adorned with gold; healfsoden, half-cooked; rihtgefremende, orthodox.

§ 641. In addition to the class of compound adjectives given above, the parent language had a class, the second element of which was originally a noun. Such compounds are generally called bahuvihi or possessive compounds, as Lat. longipes, having a long foot, long-footed; Gr. δυσμενής, having an evil mind, hostile; Goth. hráinjahaírts, having a pure heart, pure-hearted. In OE. the most common adjectives of this kind are those ending in -heort and -mód, as clænheort, pure in heart; gramheort, hostile-minded; mildheort, gentle; stearcheort, stout-hearted; wulfheort, savage; dréorigmód, sod; fæstmód, constant; glædmód, cheerful; grammód, fierce; ierremód, angry; langmód, patient; micelmód, magnanimous; strangmód, resolute; särigmód, sod; þancolmód, thoughtful; wråpmód, wrathful. Other examples are: brûnceg, brown-edged; gléawferhþ, prudent; gyldenfeax, golden-haired; stielecg, steel-edged; yfelspræce, evil-speaking.
§ 642. From a morphological point of view, all verbs may be divided into two great classes: simple and compound. Simple verbs are sub-divided into primary and denominative verbs. To the former sub-division belong the strong verbs and a certain number of weak verbs, and to the latter the denominative verbs. The simple primary verbs are here left out of further consideration, as their formation belongs to the wider field of comparative grammar. Compound verbs are of various kinds: (1) those formed from simple verbs by means of separable or inseparable particles, (2) those formed from nouns and adjectives with verbal prefixes or suffixes. Separable verbs call for no further comment, because they merely consist of the juxtaposition of two independent words.

§ 643. Simple verbs are formed direct from nouns and adjectives or from the corresponding strong verbs, as ærendian, to go on an errand; andswerian, to answer; andwyrdan, to answer; ārian, to honour; bāpian, to bathe; cwielman, to torture, kill; cyssan, to kiss; dēman, to judge; fēdan, to feed; flieman, to put to flight; geliefan, to believe; hiertan, to hearten, encourage; lāran, to teach; liehtan, to give light; mengan, to mix; nemnan, to name; reafian, to plunder; rīman, to make clear, enlarge; sālan, to bind; scendan, to put to shame; scrŷdan, to clothe; sipian, to travel; sorgian, to grieve; swætan, to sweat; tŷnan, to enclose.

brādan, to broaden; cēlan, to cool; cŷpan, to make known; faegnian, to rejoice; fullian, to fulfil; fyllan, to fill; hælan, to heal; hlŷdan, to make a noise; ieldan, to delay; læsian, to tell lies; māran, to proclaim; nearwian, to become narrow; openian, to open; scierpan, to sharpen.

ærnan, to cause to run; bærnan, to burn; bīegan, to bend; cwellan, to kill; drencan, to submerge; fiellan,
to fell; geswencan, to injure; gewieldan, to overpower; lædan, to lead; lecgan, to lay; nerian, to save; rærán, to raise; sægan, to lay low; sencan, to submerge; sengan, to singe; settan, to set; swebban, to lull to sleep.

§ 644. Compound verbs are formed from simple verbs, nouns, and adjectives, by means of various prefixes. See below.

Prefixes.

§ 645. From the list of prefixes given below are excluded such words as æt, ofer, þurh, under, wîp, wîpēr, and ymb(e), which were separable or inseparable according as they were stressed or unstressed.

§ 646. á- (OHG. ar-, ir-), the unstressed form of or- (§ 580), as aberan, to remove; abēodan, to announce; abīdan, to abide; abītan, to devour; ablīnnan, to cease; aceorfan, to cut off; ādōn, to send away; ādrīfan, to expel; āfaran, to depart; āgiefan, to repay; āhēawan, to hew off; ālētan, to relinquish; ārisan, to arise; ascūfan, to shove off; āstīgan, to climb.

acwellan, to destroy; adrencan, to submerge; afæstnian, to confirm; aflieman, to banish; afreďran, to console; ālēdan, to lead away; āliehtan, to illuminate; āliesan, to redeem; ālibban, to survive; ārāran, to rear, lift up.

§ 647. be- (OHG. bi-), the unstressed form of bi- (§ 570), as bebrećan, to break off; bebügan, to encompass; beclingan, to enclose; becumān, to become, happen; becwēpān, to bequeath; bedrīcan, to drink in, absorb; behealdān, to behold; behēawan, to cut off; belećgan, to surround; belimān, to happen; belūcān, to lock up; bemurnan, to bewail; benēotan, to deprive; besingan, to bewitch; be-slēan, to deprive of; beþringan, to surround; bewindan, to bind round.

bebycgan, to sell; bebyrgan, to bury; befaestan, to make fast; behēafdian, to behead; behelīan, to cover over;
belāwan, to betray; belendan, to deprive of land; be-swālan, to scorch; beþencan, to consider; bewēpan, to bewail.

§ 648. ed-, re-, again (§ 571), as edgieldan, to repay. edbyrdan, to regenerate; edhiertan, to encourage; edlācancan, to repeat; edlācanean, to repeat; edstapelican, to re-establish; edwierpan, to recover.

§ 649. for- (Goth. fāir-, late OHG. and MHG. ver-). The real unstressed form is fer-, corresponding to Goth. fāir- and German ver-, but already at an early period the originally stressed form for- came to be used in place of fer-. The old stressed form has been preserved in forwyrd, destruction, beside forweorþan, to perish. Examples are: forbēodan, to forbid; forbrecan, to destroy; forcweþan, to rebuke; forðon, to destroy; fordrīfan, to expel; forfaran, to perish; forfōn, to seize, take away; forgān, to forgo; forgiefan, to forgive; forgieldan, to repay; forlācancan, to lead astray; forlēosan, to lose; formeltan, to melt away; forniman, to take away; forrādcan, to plot against; forscrifan, to proscribe; forsēon, to despise; forswerian, to swear falsely; forweorþan, to perish.

forbryttan, to break in pieces; forcierran, to turn aside; forðalælan, to deal out; forðēman, to condemn; forealdian, to become old; forgieman, to neglect; forhabban, to restrain; forherigan, to ravage; forhogian, to despise; forlādcan, to mislead; forsendan, to banish; forwyrcan, to do wrong.

§ 650. ful[l]- (OHG. folle-), originally the adj. full, full, used adverbially, as fullberstan, to break completely; fullbrecan, to violate; fuldōn, to satisfy; fulgān, to accomplish; fullgrōwan, to grow to maturity; fullpungen, fully grown.

fulbētan, to make full amends; fullendian, to complete; fullfreman, to fulfil; fullfyllan, to fulfill; fullēstan, to give aid; fulltrūwian, to confide in.

§ 651. ge- (OHG. gi-, unstressed form of OHG. Goth. ga-), originally a prep. meaning together (§ 574), as gebelgan, to
provoke; gebōdan, to command; gebeorgan, to protect; geberan, to bring forth; gebindan, to bind; gecēosan, to choose; gefaran, to go; gefrignan, to learn by asking; gehātan, to promise; gelimpan, to happen; gerinnan, to congeal; gestīgan, to mount; gewinnan, to win.

ge-ærnan, to gain by running; ge-āgnian, to claim as one's own; ge-āscian, to learn by asking; gebēðan, to compel; gebēran, to behave; gebētan, to improve; ge-hefigian, to make heavy; gehycgan, to think; geliefan, to believe; gemētan, to discover; gerēcan, to obtain; gesecgan, to say, tell; ge-pēodan, to win.

§ 652. mis- (Goth. missa-, OHG. missa-, missi-, § 577), as misbēodan, to ill-treat; miscweipan, to speak incorrectly; misdōn, to transgress; misfaran, to go astray; misfōn, to make a mistake.

misfadian, to arrange wrongly; misfēran, to go astray; misgīeman, to neglect; misgrētan, to insult; mishēran, to disregard; mislēran, to advise wrongly; misrēcan, to revile; miswendan, to pervert.

§ 653. of-, the unstressed form of æf- (§ 566), as ofbēatan, to beat to death; ofgān, to exact; ofgiefan, to give up; ofmunan, to call to mind; ofsittan, to oppress; ofslingan, to stab to death; ofswingan, to scourge to death; oftēon, to withdraw; ofspringan, to press upon.

ofāscian, to find out by asking; ofclipian, to obtain by calling; ofearmian, to have pity on; offēran, to overtake; offiellan, to kill; ofsendan, to send for; ofsteppan, to trample upon; ofstician, to stab to death; ofwundrian, to be astonished.

§ 654. on- (OHG. int-), the unstressed form of and- (§ 569), as onbēodan, to bid; onberan, to carry off; onbindan, to unbind; oncnāwan, to perceive; onfealdan, to unfold; onfindan, to discover; ongietan, to perceive; onlūcan, to unlock; onsīgan, to sink; onspannan, to unfasten; onwindan, to unwind; onwrēon, to uncover;
onwrihan, to uncover. onsaelan, to untie; onscrYdan, to undress; ontyYnan, to unclose, open; onwendan, to change.

§ 655. oJ-, from, away (Goth. unpa- in unpaYliuhan, to escape), the unstressed form of üp-, preserved in üpgenge, departing; üpmæte, immense. Examples are: oJberan, to carry away; oJberstan, to escape; oJpwelJan, to die; oJflæon, to fleece away; oJglidan, to glide away; oJhebban, to exalt; oJpierman, to run away; oJpwierman, to deny on oath.

oJfæstan, to inflict upon; oJhydan, to hide from; oJlaedan, to lead away; oJstillan, to stop; oJwendan, to turn away.

§ 656. t0- (OHG. zar-, zir-, MHG. zer-). The real unstressed form is te-, ti-, corresponding to OHG. zar-, zir-, but already at an early period the originally stressed form t0- came to be used in place of te-. The old stressed form is preserved in OHG. zur- in compound nouns, Goth. tus-, asunder, apart, and Gr. ðvs-, hard, bad, ill, as in ðvsµaðiµ, hard to learn. Examples are: t0berstan, to burst asunder; t0blawan, to blow to pieces; t0brekan, to break to pieces; t0ceorfan, to cut in pieces; t0clæofan, to cleave asunder; t0feallan, to fall to pieces; t0floawan, to flow apart; t0lUCan, to pull asunder; t0niman, to separate; t0scufan, to push apart; t0sittan, to be separated; t0snijpan, to cut up; t0standan, to stand apart; t0weorpan, to scatter.

t0brÝsan, to crush in pieces; t0cnyssan, to shatter; t0dælan, to sunder; t0dræfan, to disperse; t0færjan, to separate; t0fiellan, to cause to fall asunder; t0haccian, to hack to pieces; t0rendan, to tear asunder; t0twæman, to divide.

Suffixes.

§ 657. -ettan (Goth. -atjan, OHG. -azzen, later -ezen), used in forming intensive verbs, as grimettan, to roar, rage; hlæapettan, to leap up; hoppettan, to leap, throb;
lēasettan, to feign, pretend; līcettan, to flatter; lyffettan, to flatter; sārettan, to lament; scofettan, to drive hither and thither; scrallettan, to sound loudly; sicettan, to sigh; spornettan, to kick; stammettan, to stammer; sworettan, to sigh, pant.

§ 658. -lācan, also used as an independent verb, lācan, to move quickly, spring, cp. § 608. Examples are: āefen-lācan, to become evening; dyrstlācan, to dare, presume; efenlācan, to imitate; gēanlācan, to unite, join; loflācan, to praise; nēalācan, to approach; rihtlācan, to put right; sumorlācan, to draw on towards summer; pristlācan, to embolden; winterlācan, to grow wintry.

§ 659. -(e)sian. From verbs like Goth. hatizōn, to hate, beside hatis, hatred; OE. eg(e)sian, OHG. egisōn, to terrify, beside Goth. agis, OHG. egiso, OE. egesa, fear, was extracted the ending Goth. OHG. -isōn, OE. -(e)sian, which then came to be used in forming verbs from nouns and adjectives which did not originally contain -is-, as bletsian older blētsian, to bless; blīpsian, blissian, to rejoice; clēnsian, to cleanse; gītsian, to covet; grimsian, to rage; hrēowslsian, to rue; iersian, to rage, be angry; mārsian, to celebrate; miltsian, to pity, have mercy on; ricsian, rīxian, to rute.
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