THE STUDENTS' SERIES OF HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMARS

EDITED BY JOSEPH WRIGHT
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

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.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

ELIZABETH M. WRIGHT.

Oxford.

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).

JOSEPH WRIGHT.
ELIZABETH M. WRIGHT

Oxford,
December, 1913.
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SELECT LIST OF BOOKS USED


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# ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>Dor.</td>
<td>Doric</td>
<td>MHG.</td>
<td>Middle High German</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr.</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>NE.</td>
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<td>Germ.</td>
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<td>Goth.</td>
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The asterisk * prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form, as OE. *dæg, day*, from Prim. Germanic *dagaz.*
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 ż 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. wōst, 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 ē 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. ē has regularly become ı (through the older stage ē) in the Modern dialects, as līs (OE. līys), lice; mīs (OE. mīys), mice; whereas had ē simply been unrounded to ı 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 þ (≡ 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.

ä 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.

æ 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; hālan, to heal; lādan, 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; þing, thing; niman, to take.

i had the same sound as the i in NHG. ihn, and nearly the same sound as the ee in NE. feed, as lif, life; min, my; tid, time; fif, five; sīpe, scythe.

o 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; öper, 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; þunor, 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; út, out; mūp, mouth; ús, us.
§ 5] Orthography and Pronunciation

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

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

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

ŷ had the same sound as the ü in NHG. grün, as brýd, bride; mŷs, mice; wŷscan, to wish; ŵp, 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. fæder, 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.

\[ea = ðe + ժ, \text{as eall, all; healdan, to hold; earm, arm; heard, hard; eahta, eight; weaxan, to grow; geat, gate.}\]

\[ēa = ðē + ժ, \text{as dēap, death; hēafod, head; hlēapan, to leap; slēan, to slay; gēar, year; scēap, sheep; nēah, near; strēa, straw.}\]

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

\[ēo = ðē + o, \text{as cēosan, to choose; dēop, deep; þēof, thief; sēon, to see; cnēo, knee.}\]

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

\[īe = i + e, \text{as hieran, to hear; geliefan, to believe; hiēhra, higher; cīesp, he chooses; līehtan, to give light; nīewe, new.}\]

\[io = i + ō, \text{as liornian, to learn; mioluc, miolc, milk; miox, manure.}\]
§ 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  
  ā, ē, ĕ, ī, ŏ, ŭ, ě, ų

Short diphthongs ea, eo, ie, io

Long  
  ēa, ēo, ie, io

Note.—æ was often written ae, and é 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 = bī, by; hig = hi, they; big-spell = bispell, parable. The ā in words like gōs, goose (§ 61) and mōna, moon (§ 121) must originally have been an open ō like the a in N.E. all, but it fell together with Germanic long close ō (§ 128) at an early period. æ and ē, always written oe in OE. manuscripts, only occur in the Anglian dialect; in WS. and Ken. they were unrounded to e and ē already in the oldest period of these dialects (§§ 107, 129). The diphthongs ea, ēa were sometimes written æo in the oldest records. ie and ē 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, þ (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; ūncian, 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 fæder, 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, he has; seofon, seven; wulfas, wolves; hraefn, 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; gist, 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 þiæg(e)an, to bend; fæger, fair; hyge, mind.

Note.—1. Some scholars assume that palatal cg and ng were pronounced dż and ndż where dż = 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; hús, house; hlūd, loud. Initial hw was pronounced ̃w like the wh in many Scotch dialects, as hwā,
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; tiohian, to think, consider; sulh, plough; feorh, life; dāh, 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; kyning, king; knēo, knee. See § 309.

1. In Northumbrian and the greater portion of the Mercian district, I was pronounced like the I 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 I 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; cēsan, to choose; nosu, nose; ösle, oussel.

ḍ. Initially, medially when doubled, and finally ḍ was a voiceless spirant like the th in NE. thin, as þencan, to think; þeof, thief; moþpe, moth; bæp, bath; müþ, mouth. Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the th in NE. then, as bapian, to bathe; brōþor, brother; eorþe, earth; fæþm, fathom.

Initial ḍ was written th until about 900 in imitation of Latin. Afterwards it was written ð, and ḍ (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 Ƿ borrowed from the runic alphabet. It had the same sound-value as the w in NE. wet, as wæter, water; sweltan, to die; wþanc, proud; swþol, soul.

x was pronounced like the x in NE. six, as rixian, to rule; siex, six; weaxan, to grow; æxian, to ask.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Inter-</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Glotal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explo- (Voiceless 本身) p, pp</td>
<td>t, tt</td>
<td>c, cc</td>
<td>c, cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sives (Voiced 本身) b, bb</td>
<td>d, dd</td>
<td>g, gg</td>
<td>g, cg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spi- (Voiceless 本身) f, ff</td>
<td>Ƿ, ṭp</td>
<td>s, ss</td>
<td>h, hh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rants (Voiced 本身) f</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></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>l, ll; r, rr</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 habban = hab-ban, to have; swimman = 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 p 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 second-
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 i, û, ō
(§ 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-δυ beside acc. πα-τέρ-α; πέτ-ομαί
beside ἐ-πτ-δυμν; Gothic gen. pl. aúhs-nē beside acc.
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-ēs in the nom. plural of ā-stems, as Skr. vṛkās, she-wolves, from an original form *wlqā + es, cp. Goth. gibōs, gifts; -ōs from -o-ēs in the nom. plural of o-stems, as Skr. vṛkās, Goth. wulfōs, from an original form *wlqo + es, wolves; -āi from -ā-ai in the dat. singular of ā-stems, as Gr. θεὰ 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. θεῖα 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. θεᾶς 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 βῶρ, Vedic gām (= metrically gaam), from *gōm, older *gōum, ox, cow; Gr. Ζῆν, Zeus, Vedic dyām (= metrically dyāam), 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
§ 15

akmū (= ḍ), stone, beside Gr. ἥγεμων, leader; Goth. tuggō (= ō), tongue, beside guma (= -ōn), man; Lithuanian motē (= ė), 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 mōan, 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. grêting, greeting; hælnes, salvation; hæriht, hairy; handlung, handling; mistig, misty. hlêapettan, to leap up; ierringa, angrily; leofosta, dearest. hêafodu, heads; lænere, 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: ongíetan, to understand; ándsaca, adversary: onsácan, to deny; bígang, practice: begángan, to practise; órpanc, device: ápéncan, to devise; úpgenge, fugitive: opgángan, to escape; wîpersaca, opponent: wîpsácan, 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 ácbéam, oak-tree; æftergield, additional payment; brýdguma, bridegroom; cornhûs,
grain; dēāpstede, death-place; fēowergield, fourfold payment; frēomāg, free kinsman; gēardagas, days of yore; godbearn, godchild; lārhūs, school. æfterboren, posthumous; æpelcund, of noble origin; ārfæst, virtuous; brynehāt, burning hot; gearowyrdig, eloquent; ēsengrāg, iron-grey; mōdwlanc, proud; wordsnotor, eloquent. Nouns like aliefednes, permission, onfāngennes, reception, ongītennes, understanding, ongīnn, beginning, &c., are no exception to the rule, because such nouns were formed direct from the corresponding verbs: pp. aliefed, onfāngen, ongītten, ongīn, inf. ongīnnan.

§ 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; beby-rignes, burying; bedelfing, digging round; begang beside bigeng, practice; behāt, promise; behēfe, suitable; belāf, remainder; belimp, occurrence; forbod, prohibition; for-gietol, forgetful; forhāefednes, temperance; forlor, for-lorennes, destruction; but fōrwyrd, 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; gebrōpor, brethren; gefeoht, fight; gefēra, companion; gesceaf, creation; gepeaht, counsel, thought; gewider, bad weather, storm; ge-æpele, congenial; gecoren, chosen; gecynde, innate, natural; gedēfe, befitting; gelic, alike; gemēne, 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 brýdgūma, bridegroom; fēowergīeld, fourfold payment; gēarowyrdig, 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 becūman, to become; behéaldan, to behold; and similarly gebāran, to behave; gehātan, to name; forbēodan, to forbid; forgiefan, to forgive; geondsēon, to survey; geonds pencan, to consider; opberstan, to break away; opfeallan, to fall off; tōberstan, to burst asunder; tōdālan, to divide. ðētīewan, to exhibit; ðētniman, to deprive; and similarly oferswīpan, to overcome; oferweorpan, to overthrow; underberan, to support; underniman, to comprehend; þurhpyrelan, to pierce through; þurhwunian, to abide continuously; wipfōn, to grasp at; wipmetan, to compare; ymbbindan, to bind round; ymbhweorfan, to revolve. Verbs like ðandswarian, to answer, ðandwyrdan, to answer, fúltumian, to support, ōrettan, to fight, are no exception to the rule, because such verbs were formed direct from the nouns: ðandswaru, ðandwyrd, fúltum, ōret. Examples of separable verbs are: ðēftersprecan, to claim; ðēfterfolgian, 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; ūprāran, to raise up; ūpiernan, to run up; incuman, to come in; midwunian, to live together; ongewanfealdan, to fold back; tōdōn, to put to; ūtdrifan, to drive out; ūflōwan, 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 éal(l)māst, almost; éalneg from ealne + weg, always; éalswā, quite so; but onwēg, away; tōgēdere, together; þærinne, 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>Short vowels</th>
<th>a, e, i, o, u, œ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>ā, ē, ĕ, ō, ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short diphthongs</td>
<td>ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short vocalic</td>
<td>l, m, n, r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—1. The short vowels i, u, œ, the long vowels ė, ū, 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.

œ, 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.

ī and ū were contractions of weak diphthongs which arose from the strong forms eia, āi, ēi, ōi; eua, āu, ēu, ōu through the loss of accent. The e in eia, eua had disappeared before the contraction took place. See § 9.

2. The long diphthongs āi, ēi, &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
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 1, m, n, r 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. ἀλς, Lat. gen. salis, Goth. O.Icel. OS. salt, OHG. salz, OE. sealt (§ 64), salt; Lat. aqua, Goth. alva, 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. ἐδώμαι, 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. i) remained, as Gr. Hom. ἰδμευ, Goth. witum, O.Icel. vitum, OS. witun, OHG. wiszum, OE. witon, we know, cp. Lat. vidēre, to see; Lat. piscis, Goth. fisks, O.Icel. fiskr, OS. fisk, OHG. OE. fisc, fish; Lat. vidua (adj. fem.), bereft of, deprived of, Goth. widuwo, OS. widowa, OHG. wituwa, OE. widewe, widow.

§ 20. o (Lat. o, Gr. o) became a in stem-syllables, as Lat. octō, Gr. οκτώ, 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. hwaz, OE. hwæt, what. See § 218, 1.

§ 21. u (Lat. u, Gr. u) remained, as Gr. κυνός (gen. sing.), Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, OS. OE. hund,
§ 22. ə 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. στάτος, Skr. sthitás, standing, Goth. staþs, O.Icel. staðr, OS. stad, OHG. stat, OE. stede, prim. Germanic *stāđiz, place.

§ 23. ἀ (Lat. ā, Gr. Doric ā, Attic, Ionic η) became ō, as Lat. māter, Gr. Dor. μάτηρ, O.Icel. móðer, OS. módar, OHG. muoter, OE. móðor, mother; Gr. Dor. φράτηρ, member of a clan, Lat. frāter, Goth. brōpar, O.Icel. brōðer, OS. brōðar, OHG. bruoder, OE. brōþor, brother; Lat. fāgus, beech, Gr. Dor. φαύς, a kind of oak, Goth. bōka, letter of the alphabet, O.Icel. OS. bōk, book, OE. bōc-trēow, beech-tree.

§ 24. ē (Lat. ē, Gr. η) remained, but it is generally written ā (≡ Goth. ē, O.Icel. OS. OHG. ā, OE. ā) in works on Germanic philology, as Lat. ēdimus, Goth. ētum, O.Icel. ētum, OS. ētun, OHG. āzum, OE. ēton, we ate; Lat. mēnsis, Gr. μῆνι, month, Goth. mēna, O.Icel. māne, OS. OHG. māno, OE. mōna (§ 121), moon; Goth. ga-dēþs, O.Icel. dāð, OS. dād, 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. i (Lat. i, Gr. ᾶ) remained, as Lat. su-īnus (adj.), belonging to a pig, Goth. swein, O.Icel. svín, OS. OHG. OE. swīn, swine, pig; Lat. sīmus, OS. sīn, OHG. sīm, OE. sī-en, we may be.
§ 26. ò (Lat. ò, Gr. ω) remained, as Gr. πλωτός, swimming, Goth. fōðus, O.Icel. fōð, OHG. fluot, OS. OE. fōd, 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. ü (Lat. ü, Gr. υ) remained, as Lat. mūs, Gr. μῦς, O.Icel. OHG. OE. ār, mouse; Lat. sus, Gr. ὕπνος, OHG. OE. su, sow, pig; Goth. fōls, O.Icel. O.HG. OE. fōl, foul, related to Lat. pūteō, I smell bad, Gr. πῦθω, I make to rot.

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

§ 29. ei (Lat. i (older ei), Gr. εἰ) became i, as Gr. στείχω, I go, Goth. steigan (ei = i), O.Icel. stīga, OS. OHG. OE. stīgan, to ascend; Gr. λειπω, I leave, Goth. leihan, OS. OHG. līhan, OE. ēleō from *līohan, older *līhan (§ 127), to lend; Lat. dicō, I say, tell, Gr. δείκνυμι, I show, Goth. ga-teihan, to tell, declare, OS. af-teihan, to deny, OHG. zīhan, OE. tēon, to accuse (§ 127).

§ 30. oi (O.Lat. oi (later ū), Gr. οἱ) became ai (cp. § 20), as Gr. αἴδε, Goth. wāit, O.Icel. veit, OS. wēt, OHG. weiz, OE. wēt, he knows; O.Lat. oinos, later ūnus, Goth. āins, O.Icel. einn, OS. ēn, OHG. ein, OE. ēn, one, cp. Gr. oinή, the one on dice; Gr. πε-ποιθε, he trusts, Goth. bāip, O.Icel. beiÞ, OS. bēd, OHG. beit, OE. bād, he waited for.

§ 31. au (Lat. au, Gr. αὐ, Goth. áu, O.Icel. au, OS. ō, OHG. ou (ō), OE. ēa) remained, as Lat. auris, Goth. áusō, OS. OHG. ōra, OE. ēare, ear; Lat. augeō, Gr. αὔγανω,
I increase, Goth. àukan, O.Icel. auka, OS. ókian, OHG. ouhhôn, OE. āacian, to add, increase.

§ 32. eu (O.Lat. ou (later ū), Gr. ἐυ, Goth. iu, O.Icel. jō (jū), OS. OHG. io, OE. ēo) remained, as Gr. γεῦω, I give a taste of; Goth. kiusan, O.Icel. kjosa, OS. OHG. kiosan, OE. cēosan, to test, choose; Gr. πεῦδομαι, I inquire, Goth. ana-biudan, to order, command, O.Icel. bjōča, OS. biodan, OHG. biotan, OE. bēodan, 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. οὖ) became au (cp. § 20), as prim. Indg. *roudhos, Goth. rāups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rōd, OHG. rōt, OE. rēad, red, cp. Lat. rūfus, red; prim. Indg. *bhe-bhoundhe, has waked, Goth. báuþ, O.Icel. bauð, OS. bōd, OHG. bōt, OE. bēad, has offered.

§ 34. m (Lat. em, Gr. α, ἀμ) became um, as Gr. ἀμο- (in ἀμβελέν, 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. α, ἀν) became un, as Lat. commentus (pp.), invented, devised, Gr. αὐτο-ματός, 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 *fαθρēω, I gaze at.

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

§ 37. l (Lat. ol, Gr. αλ, λα) became ul, lu, 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; ä and ö; 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:—

| Short vowels | a, e, i, u |
| Long | â, ē, ĩ, ō, ū |
| Diphthongs | ai, au, eu |

Note.—â was an open e-sound like OE. ā. 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 ē (§ 24) which appears as â 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 + ðx became āx, as Goth. OS. OHG. fāhan, O.Icel. fā, OE. fôn (§ 139), from *fanxanan, to catch, seize, cp. Lat. pangō, I fasten; Goth. þāhta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, OE. þōhte (inf. þencan), from older *fanxta, *fanxtō, I thought, cp. O.Lat. tongēō, 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-
§ 41. e became i under the following circumstances:—
1. Before a nasal + consonant, as Goth. OS. OE. bindan; O.Icel. binda, OHG. bintan, to bind, cp. Lat. of-sendimentum, chin-cloth, of-sendix, knot, band, Gr. πενθερός, father-in-law; Lat. ventus, Goth. winds, O.Icel. vindr, OHG. wint, OS. OE. wind, wind; Gr. τέντε, Goth. fimm, O.Icel. fim(m), OHG. fimf, 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 i became ī under the same conditions as those by which a became ā (§ 40), as Goth. þeihan, OS. thihan, OHG. dīhan, OE. þeón (§ 127), from *piŋxanan, older *peŋxanan, to thrive; and similarly OHG. sīhan, OE. sēon, to strain; OHG. fihala, OE. fēol, file; OHG. dihsala, OE. pixl (pixl), wagon-pole, shaft.

2. When followed by an i, ī, 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. mitti, OHG. mitti, OE. mid, Lat. medius, from an original form *medhjos, middle; OS. birid, OHG. birit, he bears, from an original form *bhéreti, through the intermediate stages *bêredi, *bêridi, *bīridi, beside inf. beran; O.Icel. sitja, OS. sittian, 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; feðer, feather: fīpere, wing; weder (OHG. wetar), weather: gewider (OHG. giwitiri), storm; heord (OHG. herta), herd: hierde
(OHG. hirti), shepherd; helpan, to help: hilpst, hilppe (OHG. hilfis, hilfit); beran, to bear: bir(e)st, bir(e)st (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, older 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. fæder, Gr. πατέρα, father; OE. hwæper, Gr. πότερος, which of two.

§ 42. i, followed originally by an ā, 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 *nizdos. 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, hver; 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 ā, 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. τυγάτηρ, daughter; O.Icel. ok, OHG. joh, OE. geoc (§ 110), Gr. γυγών, yoke; OHG. got, OS. OE. god, from an original form *ghutóm, god; OHG. OE. gold, gold, beside OHG. guldin, 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, wyrcan, 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 ē, 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 īo (īe 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, ē, ī, ō, ū
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:

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<th>P. Germ.</th>
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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 au (= short open o) before r, h, and hr, as baîran, OE. beran, to bear; saîvan, OHG. sehan, to see; baîrip, OHG. birît, he bears; saîrip, OHG. sihît, he sees; pp. baûrans, OE. boren, borne; daûhtar, OE. dohtor, daughter; waûrm, wûrm, serpent, worm; saûhts, 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 au.

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 ë in this book, as bëran, to bear.

3. Prim. Germanic ai became ë in OHG. before r, w, and old h, as ēr, before = Goth. ār, soon; ēht = Goth. ëihts, possession; gen. snëwes, Goth. nom. snëiws, snow.

4. Prim. Germanic au became o in OHG. before the con-sonants d, t, z, s, n, r, l, and old h, as tôd = Goth. dûpus, death; kôs = Goth. kâus, he chose; hôh = Goth. hauhs, 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.
1. **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 ï or j which originally stood in the following syllable. This process took place in prehistoric OE. and the ï 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; ã, ō, ū; ea, io; ēa and īo.

a(o) > e (but æ in the oldest period), as benc from *baŋkiz, bench; ende, Goth. andeis, end; lengra, OHG. lengiro, longer; lengþ(u) from *laŋgiþu, 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 æ), 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; þyncan, Goth. þugkjan, to seem (§ 112).

ā > æ, as dælan, Goth. dāiljan, to divide; ānig, any: ān, one; hælan, Goth. hāiljan, to heal; hæþ, Goth. hāþi, heath (§ 134); lēwan from *lāwjjan, Goth. lēwjjan, to betray (§ 120).
Umlaut

§ 47

{o} > {ö} (older {œ}), as {bèc} from *{bökiz}, books; {dèman}, Goth. {dömjan}, to judge; {fët}, OHG. {fuozzi}, feet; {sècan}, Goth. {sökjan}, to seek (§ 129). {wënan} from *{wönjan}, older *{wänjan}, Goth. {wënjan}, to hope; {cwën} from *{kwöni-}, older *{kwënz}, Goth. qëns, queen, wife (§ 122). {ëhtan} from *{öhtjan}, to persecute; {fëhþ}, he seizes, beside inf. fön (§ 118). {ëst} from *{östi-}, older *{anstiz}, faveur; tëþ, prim. Germanic *{tanþiz}, teeth (§ 62).

{u} > {ü}, as {mës} from *{müsiz}, mice; {brëcst} from *{brükis}, thou enjoyest, brëç from *{brükip}, he enjoys, beside inf. brùcan (§ 132). {cë} from *{kù-iz}, cows (§ 130). {cëþan} from *{kùþjan}, older *{kunþjan}, to make known; dûstig, dusty (§ 114).

{ea} > {ie} (later i, y), as {fiellan} from *{fealljan}, older *{falljan}, to fell; ieldra, Goth. alpiza, older (§ 65). ierfe, Goth. arbi, inheritance; iermþu, OHG. armida, poverty (§ 67). scieppan, Goth. skapjan, to create (§ 73). hliehhana, Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; wiesþ, OHG. wahsit, 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. wirsiro, worse (§ 99).

{ea} > {ie} (later ï, y), as {geliefan}, Goth. galáubjan, to believe; híehsta, Goth. háuhiesta, highest; híeran, Goth. háusjan, to hear (§ 130). císe, Lat. cæseus, cheese; niëhsta from *{nëahista}, nearest (§ 123). stiële, Germanic stem-form *{sta}çla-, steel (§ 71). wiëlisc, prim. Germanic *{walxi-}skaz, foreign (§ 64, Note 1).

{io} > {ie} (later i, y), as {ciesþ} from *{kiosip}, older *{kiusip}, he chooses; {tiehþ} from *{tiohip}, he draws; liëhtan, Goth. liùhtjan, to give light (§ 138). liëhtan from *{liohij}, older *{lixtjan}, to lighten, make easier; liëhþ from *{liohij}, OHG. lihit, he lends (§ 127). friënd, 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, ð, 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 ð, 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, fearaþ, they go, feata, of vats, beside faran, faraþ, 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, sinew = WS. sidu, sinu. Ken. siocol, sickle, stiogol, stile = WS. and Anglian sicol, stigol, see § 101. liofast, thou livest. nioma(n), to take, niomaþ, they take, wiotan, to know = WS. niman, nimaþ, witan. Ken. stiocian from *stiköjan, to prick = WS. and Anglian stician, see §§ 92–9, 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.
§ 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, ı) 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 (§ 88).

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

i > io (later eo), as liornian, leornian, from *lirnōjan, to learn; miiox, meox, from *mihest, manure (§ 98).

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

i > io (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. pensäre, to weigh, ponder, consider.
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§ 51. Before nasals, as guma, OHG. gomo, man; numen, OHG. ginoman, taken; hunig, OHG. honag, honey; ūnur, OHG. donar, thunder (§ 109).

Before nasals Germanic ā > ō (§ 121) through the intermediate stage ā, as mōna, Goth. mēna, moon; nōmon, Goth. nēmun, they took.

Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants f, ĕ, and s with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as fif, OHG. fimf, five; ōse, OHG. amsala, ousel (§ 283); cúp, Goth. kunps, known; gōs, OHG. gans, goose; ŏper, Goth. anpar, other (§ 286).

4. Influence of Initial Palatal Consonants.

§ 51. Between palatal c (§ 309), g (=Germanic g, § 313), g (=Germanic j, § 268), sc (§ 312), and the following palatal vowel, a glide was developed in prim. OE., which combined with the vowel to form a rising diphthong, and then at a later period the rising diphthong became a falling diphthong through the shifting of the stress from the second to the first element of the diphthong. The examples given below are chiefly WS.; for the corresponding forms in the other dialects, the student should consult the paragraphs within brackets.

āe > ea (older ēá), as ceaster, Lat. castra, city, fortress; ceaf, chaff; gæaf, Goth. gaf, he gave; sceaf, OHG. scæft, shaft; sceal, Goth. skæl, shall (§ 72).

e > ie (older ié), as cieres, Lat. acc. cerasum, cherry-tree; giefan, OHG. geban, to give; scieran, OHG. sceran, to shear (§ 91).

āe > ēå (older ēá), as cēace, prim. Germanic *käkōn, jaw; gēafon, Goth. gēbun, they gave; gēar, Goth. jēr, year; scēap, Goth. *skēp, sheep (§ 124).

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 ē) were often rounded to œ and ò after w in Nth., as cuœpa, WS. cweþan, to say (§ 80, Note 1); cuœlla, WS. cwellan, to kill; tuœlf, WS. twelf, twelve (§ 55, Note 1). huœr, where, wœron, were = WS. hwær, wærôn (§ 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 *blāwan, 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. wiōdu (§ 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 palatals 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.

\(\text{§ 54.}\) 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; ðæt, Goth. ðata, O.Icel. ðat, OS. that, OHG. daz, the; and similarly bæc, back; bæp, 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; pæp, 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; cwæp, 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; hwæper, whether; mægen (Goth. *magn), power; nægel, nægl (Goth. *nagls), nail; wæter, water; fæpm (Goth. *fæms), 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
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2. æ became æ 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. pæpe, beside pæpes, pæpe, due to the plural forms papas, papa, 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 færan, to go, travel; sacan, to quarrel; and similarly in the pp. faren; grafen, dug; hlæden, loaded, beside græfen, hlæden (cp. § 508). On the analogy of such past participles was formed slægen beside slægen, slain.

§ 55. æ became e by i-umlaut, as bedd, Goth. badi, OHG. betti, bed; bet(e)ra, Goth. bætiza, better; hebban, Goth. hæfjan, OS. heflian, to raise; here, Goth. harjis, OS. OHG. heri, army; lecgan, Goth. lagjan, OS. leggian, to lay; and similarly bere, barley; bet from *bætiz, better; cwællan (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 o after w, as cœlla, to kill; twœlf, 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; þæppan, 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; mæstan, to fatten; næglan, 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 baju, bathis; bladu, leaves; fatu, vats, beside singular bæp, blæd, fæt; OE. Goth. OS. OHG. faran, O.Icel. fara, to go, travel; nacod, Goth. naqaps, 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 *gadu-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; hrapor, more quickly; lagu, law; latost, latest, slowest; lapap, he invites; laþode, he invited; macap, he makes; macode, he made; magu, boy; nafula, nafela, navel; racu, narrative; sacan, to quarrel; sacu, strife; sadol, saddle; stapol,
pillar; sta[n]elian from *sta[n]ulōjan, 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 bājjan, to bathe; dagian, to dawn; gladian, to be glad; hatian, to hate; la[b]ian, 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; ūaccian, 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 ësce, ash, cinders; ëppel, apple; hnaëppian, to doze; laëppa, lappet, beside asce (axe), appla, apples, hnappian, lappa.

Note.—sca. was often written scea. with ε to denote the palatal pronunciation of the sc, as sceacan, to shake; sceadu, shadow; sceafan, to shave; scealu, scale (balance); sceamu (sceomu, § 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 ëces (æx) from *akysi, older *akusi-, axe; and similarly æp[le] from * ap[ali] (OS. adali), noble; æpeling from *ap[uling], nobleman; æt-, tō-gæedere from *ga[duri], together; fæsten (OS. fastunnia, fasting), fortress; gædeling (OS. gaduling), companion; hælep from *χalupi-, hero; hærfest from *χarubist, harvest; mæg[den] from *mæ[adin] (OHG. magatin), 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
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§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, noma, Goth. namō, 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; gandra, 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,
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OHG. enti, stem andja-, end; lengra, OS. lengira, OHG. lengiro, longer; sendan, Goth. sandjan, OS. sendian, to send; and similarly benc from *taŋkiz, bench; cemban, to comb; cempa, warrior; drencan, to give to drink; ened, duck; enge, narrow; englisc, English; fremman, to perform; henn, hen; lengþ, length; menn, men; mengan, to mix; mennisc, human; nemnan, to name; pening, penny; strenga, stronger; þencan, 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 uumlaut.

§ 61. Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants, f, þ, s, and the preceding a (o) became 5 through the intermediate stage of a long nasalized vowel (cp. § 40), as hős, Goth. OHG. hansa, band, escort, multitude; óper, Goth. anþar, second, other; sőfte, OHG. samfþo, gently, softly; and similarly gös, goose; ös, god; ösle (OHG. amsala), blackbird; smóþe, smoothly; sőþ, true; tóþ, tooth; þróstle, thrush, throstle; wós, moisture.

§ 62. 5 became Æ (older Æ) by i-umlaut, as Æst, Goth. ansts, stem-form anstþ, favour; nĕþan, Goth. ana-nanþjan, to venture on; tęp 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. l. Before l + consonant.

eall, Goth. alls, O. Icel. allr, OS. OHG. al, all; ceald, Goth. kals, 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; sealh, willow; sealt, salt; tealde, he told; wealdan, to wield; wealth, foreigner, Welshman; weall, wall; weallan, to boil. Forms like bealu, bale, evil; ieahi, fallow; sealu, dark, dusky, beside balu, falu, salu, have the ea from the inflected stem-form, as gen. bealwes, fealwes, sealwes (see § 265).

Note.—i. ea became ēa by loss of h (§ 329, 3) before a following vowel, as gen. singular sēales, wēales, nom. pl. sēalas, wēalas, beside nom. singular sealh, wealth. 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; fielp from *feallip, he falls; ieldra (Goth. ālpīza), 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; bearm, 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; gourcemian, to mark; hearg, heathen temple; hearm, harm; mearc, boundary; mearg, marrow; mearh, horse; pearroc, park; scearp, sharp; swearm, swarm; wearp, 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, mearwes, &c. (see § 265).

Note.—1. In Anglian ea became æ (later e) before r + guttural, as berg, erc, færh (ferh), mær (merc), &c.
2. a remained unbroken in late Latin loanwords, as carcern, prison; martyr, martyr.
3. ea became ëa by loss of h (§ 329, 3) before a following vowel, as gen. singular fëares, mëares, nom. pl. fëaras, mëaras, beside nom. singular fearh, mearh.
4. Forms like ërn (Goth. razn), house; pret. sing. ërn (Goth. rann), ran; barn (Goth. brann), burned; bærst (OHG. brast), burst; gërs (Goth. gras), grass; hërn, 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; ierming, 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. sahv, OS. OHG. sah, he saw; weaxan, Goth. wahsjan, O.Icel. vaxa, OS. OHG. wahsan, to grow; and similarly eax, axle-tree; eaxl, shoulder; feaht, he fought; feax, 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.—1. ea became æ in Anglian, as æhta, fæx, hlæhtor, sæh, wæx, &c.
2. It became e in late WS., as ehta, exl, sex, seh, sex, sleh, wexan.
§ 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 hlaehha(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; pwēan, 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, y) by i-umlaut, as stīele from *stēali (cp. § 329, 2), older *steahli, Germanic stem-form *staxlja-, steel.

§ 72. æ (older a) became ea (older eā) after initial palatal c, g, and sc, as ceaf, chaff; ceafor, cockchafer; ceaster (Lat. castra), city, fortress; forgeat (OS. forgat), 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
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(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; þawian, to thaw.

§ 75. a + u (which arose from wu or vocalized w (§ 265)) became ēa (cp. § 135), as clēa from *kla(w)u, 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; þrēa from *pra(w)u, threat.

§ 76. Prim. Germanic aww (= 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), eoe; eowde, flock, herd; eowestre (cp. Goth. awistr), sheepfold; meowle (Goth. mawilo), girl; strewedē beside strewede (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; heafu, war; steapul, pillar; steapul, foundation. fearan, to go, travel; fearap, 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.—I. 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. hnappian), to doze.

3. WS. ealu, and forms like eafura, 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. huas), who; swā (Goth. swa), so.

§ 80. Germanic e (= Goth. i, but á before r, h, and ū, O.Icel. OS. OHG. e) often remained in OE., as OE. OS. OHG. feld, field; feſer, 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, letter; helm, helmet; leſer, 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; cwejan, to say; etan, to eat; fretan, to devour; lesan, to collect; metan, to measure; sprecean, 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, wæl, wæg = WS. cweþan, wel, weg.

2. e became ē by loss of g (§ 321), as brēdan, to brandish; rén, rain; strēdan, to strewe; 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; rima, 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. i. 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 feolan from *feolhan (= 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.

eorpe, Goth. aírja, OS. erda, OHG. erda, earth; heorte, Goth. hairtō, OS. herta, OHG. herza, heart; weorpjan, Goth. wairjan, O.Icel. verđa, OS. werđan, OHG. werdan, to become; and similarly beorcan, to bark; beorg, hill; beorgan, to shelter; beorht, bright; ceorfjan, to cut, carve; ceorl, churl; deorc, dark; dweorg, dwarf; eorl, nobleman, earl; feorh, life; feorr, far; georn, eager; heord, herd, flock; heorp, hearth; steorfjan, to die; steorra, 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 éo by loss of h (§ 329, 3) before a following vowel, as gen. fēores, pweōres, beside nom. feorh, life; pweorph, 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. saíhs, OS. OHG. seh), 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, cuiht; 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 éo (io) by loss of intervocalic h (§ 329, 4), as sēon (sion) from *seohan, older *sehan = Goth. saíhn, OS. OHG. sehan, to see; swēor from *sweohur, older *swehur = OHG. swehur, father-in-law; and similarly gefēon, to rejoice; gefēo from *gefeohu, I rejoice; plēon, to risk; sēo from *seohu, I see; gen. singular féos, plēos, beside nom. feoh, cattle; pleoh, danger.

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

§ 89. Antevocalic ew became eow, as sing. gen. cneowes, treowes, þeowes, dat. cneowe, treowe, þeowe; þeowian (þiowian), to serve. Forms like nom. cnēow, trēow, þēow had the w from the inflected forms. And conversely forms like gen. cnēowes, trēowes, þēowes had éo from the uninflated 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. getrīowe, getrēowe (OHG. gitriuwi), prim. Germanic *-trewwjaz, cp. Goth. triggws, true, faithful; WS. getriewan, non-WS. getriowan, getrēowan, prim. Germanic *-trewwjan, to trust. And similarly West Germanic iwwj (§ 254) from prim. Germanic ewj, as WS. hīew, hīw, non-WS. hiow, hēow, prim. Germanic stem-form *xewja-, shape, colour; WS. nīewe, nīwe, non-WS. niowe, 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 speere, gen. spere, 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; sperecan, to speak = WS. and Anglian wegas, sprecan. Nth. bearæ, eata, tredæ = 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; wurhæ, to become; but worc, work; woruld, worold, world. Late Nth. sword, sword; worp, worth; worþa, to become; worold, world; wosa from older weosa = WS. wesan, to be.

§ 95. Final e was lengthened to ē in monosyllables, as hē, he; mē, me; sē (masc. nom. sing.), the; wē, we; þē, relative particle (§ 468).
§ 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; cribb, crib; cwide, saying; disc, dish; finger, finger; gefilde (sb.), plain; gift, price of wife; hider, hither; hild, battle, war; hind (sb.), hind; hlied, lid; hring, ring; licgan, to lie down; libban, to live; lifer, liver; lim, limb; list, cunning; midd, middle; nift, niece; nipher, downwards; pic, pitch; ribb, rib; scilling, shilling; scip, ship; sibb, relationship; sife, sieve; sige, victory; sittan, to sit; smiþ, 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, iteþ, 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 brîdel, bridle; frînan, to ask; liþ, he lies down; rinan, to rain; siþe, scythe; tile (Lat. tãgula), 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 ï by loss of nasal before a voiceless
spirant, as fif, Goth. OHG. fimf, five; fifel, sea-monster; gesip (OHG. gisindo), companion; hripher (OHG. rind), ox; lipe (OHG. lindi), gentle; sip (Goth. sinps), way; swip (Goth. swins), 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 *lirnōjan, to learn; miox, meox from *mihst, manure, cp. Goth. maīnstus, dunghill; tiohhian, teohhian from *tihhōjan, to arrange, think, consider.

The io became īo (ēo) by loss of intervocalic h (cp. § 329, 4), as twiogan, twēogan from *twiōhian, older *twixōjan, to doubt.

Note.—1. eo then became ie, later i, in WS. before h + consonant, 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 bīrnan, byrnan), iernan (later irnan, yrnan) for *biornan, *beornan, *iornan, *eornan, with ie from the third pers. singular biern(e)þ (=Goth. brinnip), iern(e)þ (=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 āfierran (OHG. arfirren), from *. firrjan, to remove; bierce, birch; fiehst (OHG. fihtis), thou fightest; fieht, he fights; gebierhtan, to make bright; gesiehþ, vision; giernan (OS. girnian), to desire; hierde (OHG. hirti), shepherd; ierr(e) (OS. OHG. irri), angry; rihtan, ryhtan
§§ 100–1] Short Vowels of Accented Syllables

(OS. rihtian), to set straight; siehst (OHG. sihis), thou seest; siehp (OHG. sihit), he sees; smierwan (OHG. smirwen), to anoint; wierresta, wiersta (OHG. wirsisto), worst; wiersa (OHG. wirsiro), worse; wierпе (OHG. wirdi), worthy.

Note.—1. 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 ĭ 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; wyrssian, to worsen; wyrпе, 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; nioıpor (WS. nıpor), lower; siodu (WS. sidu), custom; sionu (WS. sinu), sinew. Ken. siocol, sickle; stiogol, stile = WS. and Anglian sicol, stigol. Forms like liomu, nioıpor, which are occasionally found in WS. prose, are not pure WS.

Note.—1. 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 mile from miolc, older mioluc, milk.

§ 102. 2. o/a-umlaut.

hiora, heora, their, of them; liofast, thou best. 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. stiocian, 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 ïo (ëo), as bïo, bëo (OHG. bia, Germanic stem-form *bijōn-), bee; ðiofol, dëofol (Lat. diabolus), devil; fiond, fëond (Goth. fijands), enemy, fiend; frïo, frëo from *frija-, free; friond, frëond (Goth. frijônds), friend;
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hio, hēo from *hi + u, she; fem. nom. sing. sīo, séo from *si + u, the; nom. acc. neuter priō, prēo from *priju = Goth. prija, three.

§ 105. ĕo (ēo) became ē by i-umlaut, as plural fiend from *fijandiz, enemies; friend from *frijōndiz, 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 lv. 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; broþ, 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; morþ, morþor, murder; norþ, 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 ó by loss of consonant, as gen. hōles
beside nom. holh, hole; bröden beside brogden, brandished, woven.

§ 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; furþor, further; furþum, even; lufian, to love; lufu, love; murcnian, 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, scourf; 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. monasterium), minster, monastery; mynet (Lat. monēta), coin, money.

§ 110. o may have become the rising diphthong ió (eó)
§ 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; spunnnon, 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. þugkjan, OS. thunkian, to seem; and similarly blyscan, to blush; 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; fyrtcan, to fear; fyxen, vixen; gemynd, remembrance; gesynto, health; gyden (OHG. gutin), goddess; gylden (OHG. guldīn), golden; hrycg, back, ridge; hycgan (Goth. hugjan), to think; hyge, thought; hyldu, grace, favour; hyll, hill; hyngman, to hunger; hype, hip; hyrdel, hurdle; hyrnen, of horn; lyge, falsehood; mycel, much; mycg, midge; myrpran, to murder; nytt, use; scyl, guilt; scyldig, guilty; scyrtra, shorter; stycce, piece; synn, sin; trymman, to make strong; þynne, thin; þyrstan, to thirst; yfel, evil; ymb(e), about; yppan, to open; wyllen (OHG. wullin), woollen; wynn, joy; wyrkan, to work; wyrhta (OS. wurhtio), workman; wyrm from *wurmiz, snake, dragon, worm; wyrt, herb.

Also in early Latin loanwords, as cycene (late Lat. coquina, cucina), kitchen; cylen (Lat. culina), kiln; mylen (late Lat. molina), mill; pyle (Lat. acc. pulvinum), pillow; pytt (Lat. acc. puteum), pit.

Note.—1. y became e in Ken. in the ninth century, as besig, efel, gelden, senn = WS. bysig, busy, 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, hrīcg, hige, scildig, þincan, &c.

§ 113. u became ŭ by loss of n before s and þ, as cúp
§§ 114–17] Short Vowels of Accented Syllables

(Goth. kunþs), known, familiar; cūpe (Goth. kunþa), he could; düst (OHG. tunst, storm), dust; fūs (OHG. funs), ready, eager for; gūþ (OHG. gundia), war, battle; hūsl (Goth. hunsl), Eucharist; mūþ (Goth. munþs), mouth; ēs (Goth. OHG. uns), us; tūsc from *tunsk, tusk; sūþ (OHG. sund), south.

§ 114. ē became ĕ by i-umlaut, as cēpan (Goth. gaswi-kunþjan), to make known; dēystig (OHG. tunstig, stormy), dusty; fēsan from *funsjan, to send forth, hasten; wēyscan from *wunskjan, OHG. wunskan, to wish; yēst (OHG. unst), storm, tempest; ýþ (OHG. undea), prim. Germanic *unþjō, 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 (eō), after g = Germanic j (§ 268), and also occasionally after sc, as giung, giong, geong, older iung (gung) = Goth. juggs, OHG. jung, young; gioguþ, geoguþ, older iuguþ (guguþ), youth; inf. sceolan, shall; pl. indicative sceolon, beside sculan, sculon. 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 hōn, heel; ēn, to
hang; öht, persecution; tòh, tough; þô (Goth. þahô), clay; þôhte, I thought; wôh, crooked, wry.

§118. œ became ē (older ë) by i-umlaut, as ëhtan (OS. ähtian), to persecute; fëhp (OS. fahid), he seizes; hêla from older *hõhila, heel.


§ 119. Germanic ē (Goth. ē, OS. OHG. ā) generally remained in WS., but became ē in Anglian and Ken., as WS. dêd, non-WS. dêd, Goth. ga-ðêps, OS. dâd, OHG. tât, deed; WS. sêd, non-WS. sêd, OS. sâd, OHG. sât, seed; WS. râdan, non-WS. râdan, OS. râdan, OHG. râtan, to advise; and similarly bær, bier; blâdre, bladder; blâtan, to bleat; brær, briar; æfen, evening; æl, eel; Æs, carrion; æpm, breath; hær, hair; læce, physician; lætan, to leave; mæg, kinsman; mǣl, meal-time; Anglian mēce (OS. mâki), sword; mære, renowned; nǣd, needle; nãdre, snake; ræd, advice; swâes, pleasant; þær, there; wæg, wave; wæpen, weapon; in the pret. plural of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 503) and V (§ 505), as bærón, bore; cwâdon, said; æton, ate; stâlon, stole; sâton, sat.

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

2. It is difficult to account for the ã beside æ in a few words, such as læcnian, to cure; slâpan, to sleep; swâr, heavy; tâl, blame; wât, wet, beside læcnian, slâpan, swâr, tâl, wât. In forms like wâg beside wæg, wave, the ã is due to the stem-form of the plural, see § 120 (2).

3. The ë from older æ was often rounded to ø after w in Nth., as huêr, where; wæpen, weapon; wærón, they were = WS. hwâr, wæpen, wærón.

4. The ã in early Latin loanwords had the same development in OE. as Germanic ã, as nâp (Lat. nâpus), turnip; strâet (Lat. strâta), street.

§120. Germanic ã became æ in OE. (1) before w, as blâwan (OHG. blâen), to blow; cnâwan (OHG. knâen),
§§ 121–4] Long Vowels of Accented Syllables

§ 121. Before nasals Germanic æ became ō through the intermediate stage á, as móna, Goth. ména, OS. OHG. máno, moon; nómón, Goth. némun, OS. OHG. námun, they took; and similarly bróm, broom; c(w)ómón, they came; gedón, done; mónáþ, month; óm, rust; sóna, soon; spón, chip; wóma, tumult.

Note.—The ō may have become the rising diphthong eó after g = Germanic j (§ 268), as geómian (OS. OHG. jámair), sad; geómrian, to mourn. But see § 51, Note.

§ 122. ò became é (older œ) 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. æ was broken to ēa before h, as nēah, Goth. nēhu, OS. OHG. nāh, near; nēar from *nēahur, older *nāhur, nearer. By i-umlaut ēa became ie (later i, ñ), as niehsta from *nēahista, but Anglian nēsta from *néhista (OHG. nāhisto), nearest.

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

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

§ 125. Germanic e, which cannot be traced back phonologically to Indo-Germanic e (§ 38, Note), is of obscure origin. In Gothic the two sounds fell together in e, but in the other Germanic languages they were kept quite apart, thus Indg. ē = OE. æ (§ 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. sēta, silk; but ē remained in later loanwords, as bēte, Lat. bēta, beetroot; crēda, creed, Lat. crēdo, I believe.

§ 126. Germanic ĵ 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. svín, pig, swine; and similarly blipe, blithe; hwil, space of time; hwit, white; īdel, empty!
§ 127. † was broken to io before h and ht in WS. But already at an early period the io mostly became eo (Anglian ï), as betweōh, between, cp. Goth. tweihnái, two each; lëoht, Goth. leihis, OHG. lihti, adj. light; wēoh (Anglian wih), idol, Goth. weihis, OHG. wih, holy, OS. wih, temple; imperative singular lēoh (Anglian lih), Goth. leihu, OS. OHG. lih, lend thou; and similarly tēoh, accuse; þēoh, thrive; wrēoh, cover. With loss of medial h after breaking had taken place, as betwēonum, between; fēol (Anglian fil, OHG. fihala), file; infinitives lión, lēôn (Goth. leilvan, OS. OHG. lihan), to lend; and similarly sēon, ñion, ñeon, to strain; þion, þeon, to thrive; wrion, wrēon, to cover.

The i-umlaut of this io (eo) is ie, as liehtan from *liōhtjan, to lighten, make easier; Anglian gelihtan; liehst from *liōhīs (OHG. lihis), thou lendest; liehp from *liōhip (OHG. lihit), he lends.

§ 128. Germanic ō (Goth. O.Icel. OS. ō, OHG. uo) generally remained in OE., as brōpor, Goth. brōpar, O.Icel. brōðer, OS. brōðer, 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;
glowan, to glow; gōd, good; grōwan, to grow; hōc, hook; hōd, hood; höf, 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. för, OHG. fuor, he went, travelled; and similarly bōc, baked; höf, 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, shuck; sceōp, created, beside scōc, scōp; sceōn beside scōh, shoe.

§129. ō became ē (older ō, preserved in Nth.) by i-umlaut, as fēt, OS. fōti, OHG. fuozi, 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. βῶν) = 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 ĕ by i-umlaut, as cē from older *kū-i, prim. Germanic *kwō-iz, cows.

§131. Germanic ũ 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;
§§132-3] Diphthongs of Accented Syllables 65

pũhte, Goth. þūhta, OS. thūhta, OHG. dühta, it seemed, inf. OE. þyncan, to seem; and similarly brū, eyebrow; brūcan, to enjoy; brūn, brown; būan, to dwell; bügan, 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; scūr, shower; sūpan, to sup, drink; sūr, sour; tūn, enclosure; trūwian (pret. trūde), to trust; ūder, udder; ūhte, early dawn; ūt, out; pūma, thumb; pūsend, thousand.

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

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

Note.—ū became ē in Ken. in the ninth century, as Ken. hēf, mēs, ontkēnan = WS. hēf, mēs, ontkēnan. See § 3, Note.

C. The Diphthongs of Accented Syllables.

ai

§ 133. Germanic ai (= Goth. āi, O.Icel. ei, OS. ē, OHG. ei (ē)) became ā in OE., as ān, Goth. āins, O.Icel. ēinn, OS. ēn, OHG. ēn, one; hāl, Goth. háils, O.Icel. heill, OS. hēl, OHG. heil, whole, sound, hale; hātan, Goth. hāitan, 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; gāst, spirit; gāt, goat; grāpian, to grope; hād, rank, order; hām, home; hāt, hot; hlāf, loaf; hlāford, lord; hlāw, grave, mound; hrāw, corpse; lār, lore, learning; māp, treasure; rā (OHG. reho), 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; ūas, those; wā, woe; wāt, he knows; in the pret. singular of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 490), as bād, Goth. bāip, O.Icel. beid, OS. bād, OHG. beit, he awaited; and similarly bāt, bit; láp, went; drāf, drove; lāh, lent; rād, rode; stāg, ascended.

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 ĕ beside ā (Goth. āiw), ever; and similarly in the compounds ĕ-wiht, -wuht, anything; nō-wiht, -wuht beside ā-wiht, nā-wiht.

3. The combination scēa. 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 hāp, Goth. hāipi, heath; hālan, Goth. hāiljan, OS. hēlian, to heal; ā, āw from *āwi, prim. Germanic *aiwiz, divine law; and similarly āht, possession; ānig, any; ār, formerly, before; blācan, to bleach; brāadan, to broaden; clāne, clean; dāl, part, portion; dālan, to deal; drāfan,
Diphthongs of Accented Syllables

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. āu, O.Icel. au, OS. ò, OHG. ou (ò)) became ēa in OE., as dēap, Goth. dáupus, O.Icel. dauðe, OS. dōt, OHG. tōd, death; ēage, Goth. augō, O.Icel. auga, OS. òga, OHG. ouga, eye; ðēad, Goth. ráups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rōd, OHG. rōt, red; and similarly bēacen, beacon; bēag, ring, bracelet; bēan, bean; brēad, bread; cēap, cheap; cēapian, to buy; dēad, dead; dēaf, deaf; drēam, joy; ðac, also; ðadig (Goth. áudags), blessed; ðare, ear; ðast, east; flēa(h), fleca; gelēafa, belief; grēat, great; hēafod, head; hēah, high; hēap, troop; hlēapan, to leap; lēac, leek; lēaf, leaf; lēad, lead; lēan, reward; scēaf, sheaf; stēap, steep; strēam, stream; tēag, rope; in the pret. singular of strong verbs belonging to class II (§ 493), as cēas, Goth. kāus, O.Icel. kaus, OS. OHG. kōs, he chose, inf. OE. cēosan, to choose; and similarly bēad, offered; brēac, enjoyed; clēaf, cleft; frēas, froze; géat, poured out; lēag, lied; scēat, shot; tēah, drew.

Note.—i. ēa became ē in late WS. before c, g, h, and after c, g, sc, as bēcen, lēc, bēg, ēge, hēh, tēh; cēpian, cēs, gēt, scēf, scēt.

2. In Anglian it became æ (later ē) before c, g, h, as ēc, lāc, flāh, hāh, tāg, later ēc, lēc, flēh, hēh, tēg.

§ 136. ēa became ie (= non-WS. ē) by i-umlaut in the oldest period of WS. ie then became į, ĭ already in early WS., as gelīefan, early WS. gelīfan, gelīyfan, non-WS.
gelēfan, Goth. galāubjan, OS. gilōbian, to believe; hieran, early WS. hīran, hīryan, non-WS. hēran, Goth. hāusjan, OS. hōrian, to hear; nied, early WS. nīd, nūd, non-WS. nēd, Goth. nāups, prim. Germanic *naudiz, need; and similarly biecnan, to beckon; biegan (Goth. *biaugjan), to bend; ciepan, to buy; drieman, to rejoice; driepan, to let drop; iecan, to increase; iēpe, easy; gieman, to take notice of; hiehra, higher; hiehsta (Goth. häuhista), 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 io 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 io (also written īa), and thus fell together with io from Germanic iu (§ 138). Examples are: dēop, Goth. diups, O.Icel. djūpr, OS. diop, OHG. tiof, deep; WS. and Mercian lēof, liof, Nth. leaf, Ken. liof, Goth. liufs, O.Icel. ljūfr, OS. liof, OHG. liob, dear; WS. and Mercian dēor, dīor, Nth. dēar, Ken. dīor, deer; and similarly bēod, table; bēor, beer; flēos, fleece; lēoth, a light; sēoc, sick; stēor, rudder; pēod, nation, race; pēof, thief; pēoh, 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; sēopan, 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 stēopfaeder, stepfather.
§ 138. The normal development of Germanic iu, which arose from older eu when the next syllable contained an i, i, or j (§ 44), is io in OE. (=Goth. iu, O.Icel. jú (ÿ), OS. OHG. iu). In WS. io generally became ie (later i, ÿ) by i-umlaut. But when no umlaut took place, early WS. had io 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. kīys(s), OS. kiusid, OHG. kiusit, he chooses, tests, inf. OE. cēosan; tiehþ, Goth. tiuhþ, OS. tiuhid, OHG. ziuhit, he draws, leads, inf. OE. téon; liehtan, Goth. liuhtjan, OS. liuhtian, OHG. liuhten, to give light. diere beside děore, OS. diuri, OHG. tiuri, dear, beloved; dierling beside děorling, darling; geþedan beside geþiodan, geþedan, to join, associate; stīeran (O.Icel. stýra, OHG. stiuren) beside stěoran, to steer; þieþp, þiestre (OS. thiustri), beside þeþfp, theft; þiostre, þōostre, dark. geþiode, geþode, language; liode, lōode (OS. liudi, OHG. liuti), people; and a few other words.

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

Note.—In Anglian io became ï before c and h, as cīcen, older *kioken from *kiukín, chicken; līhta(n), típ from *tíhiþ = WS. liehtan, tiehþ.

§ 139. Vowel contraction took place in OE. 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 *sawis (§ 134) beside nom. sæ, sea; Anglian nēsta from *nēhista beside WS. niehsta, nearest (§ 123); Anglian tīp from *tīhīp, 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 *sēo(h)an older *seohan, to see; sēo from *sēo(h)u older *seohu, I see; gen. fēos from *fēo(h)es 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); nær from *nēa(h)ur, nearer (§ 123); lion, lēon from *lio(h)an, older *lihan, to lend; lēo from *lio(h)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, treō from *trewa-, tree (§ 88).

i or ij + guttural vowel became ĭo (ēo), as biō, bēo from *bijōn-, bee; fiond, féond, Goth. fjands, enemy; friond, freōnd, Goth. frijōnds, friend; nom. acc. neut. þrö, þrēo, from *þriju = Goth. þrija, three (§ 104).

§ 141. i + i became ĭ, 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. drŷs from *drŷes, beside nom. drŷ, 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, sæde, he said, beside older mægden, sægde (§ 54, Note 2); brēdan, to brandish, strēdan, to strew, beside older bregdan, stregdan (§ 80, Note 2); brīdel, 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; sófte, OHG. samfto, softly (§ 61); swīþ, Goth. swinþs, strong; fif, Goth. fimf, five (§ 97); cūþ, Goth. kunþs, known; ús, 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. mēares beside nom. mearh, horse (§ 66, Note 3); gen. ēoles beside nom. eolh, elk (§ 84, Note 1); gen. fēores beside nom. feorh, 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, hlammæsse, Lammas, wimman, woman, beside older bli pund, hlæmsæsse, 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. āinlibim, eleven; sippan, sippinan from sipþan, 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, œ, y |
| Long „ | ā, ā, é, i, ò, 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, ō, ū in the next syllable, as faran, to go; nacod, naked; pl. dagas, days, gen. daga, dat. dagum (§ 57); gen. clawe, of a claw; pawian from *pawōjan, to thaw (§ 74).
§ 154. **a (o) =** Germanic *a* before nasals, as **lang**, **long**; **lamb**, **lomb**, **lamb**; **mann**, **monn**, **man**; **nama**, **noma**, **name** ($§$ 59).

§ 155. **æ = (1)** Germanic *a* in closed syllables, as **daeg**, **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 ***aُjali**, noble; **æpeling** from ***ajul-ing**, nobleman; **gædeling** from ***gadul-ing**, 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).


§ 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. pensäre), 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. fugal), 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. ä = (1) Germanic ai, as än, one; bät, he bit; häl, whole; hätan, to call (§ 133).
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= (2) Germanic ā before w, as blāwan, to blow; cnāwan, to know; sāwon, they saw (§ 120).

= (3) Germanic ā in the combination ãeg followed by a guttural vowel, as pl. māgas, beside sing. māg, kinsman; pret. lāgon, they lay (§ 120).

= (4) lengthening of final a in monosyllables, as hwā, who?; swā, so (§ 79).

§ 162. ā = (1) Germanic ā (non-WS. ē), as bāron, they bore; cwædon, they said; dād, deed; rādan, to advise (§ 119).

= (2) i-umlaut of ā = Germanic ai, as dālan, to divide; hāelan, to heal; hāp, heath (§ 134).

= (3) i-umlaut of ā = Germanic ā before w, as cnāwþ, he knows; lāwan, to betray (§ 120).

= (4) OE. æg, as māden, maiden, sāde, he said, beside mægden, sægde (§ 54, Note 2).

= (5) Latin ā in early loanwords, as nāp (Lat. nāpus), turnīp; strāt (Lat. strāta), street (§ 119, Note 3).

§ 163. ē = (1) Germanic ē, as hēr, here; mēd, pay, reward (§ 125).

= (2) i-umlaut of Germanic ō, as bēc, books; fēt, feet; dēman, to judge; sécan, to seek (§ 129).

= (3) i-umlaut of ō = Germanic nasalized ā, as ēhtan, to persecute; fēhp, he seizes (§ 118).

= (4) i-umlaut of ō = Germanic ā before nasals, as cwēn, queen, wife; wēnan, to hope (§ 122).
= (5) i-umlaut of ō = Germanic am, an before f, ð, s, as séfte, soft; tēþ, teeth; gēs, geese (§ 62).

= (6) O.E. eg, as brēdan, to brandish, rēn, rain, beside bregdan, regn (§ 80, Note 2).

= (7) lengthening of final e in monosyllables, as hē, he; mē, me; þē, thee (§ 95).

= (8) early WS. ēa = Germanic au, before c, g, h and after c, g, sc, as bēcen, beacon; ēge, eye; hēh, high; cēpian, to buy; gēt, he poured out; scēf, he pushed (§ 135, Note 1).

§ 164. i = (1) Germanic ī, as bitan, to bite; is, ice; min, mine; ridan, to ride (§ 126).

= (2) Germanic im, in before f, ð, as fif (Goth. fimf), five; līpe, gentle; swīþ, strong (§ 97).

= (3) O.E. ig, as brīdel, bridle, sīpe, scythe, beside brīgdel, sigpe (§ 96, Note 1).

= (4) older ĕe, see § 174.

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

§ 165. ō = (1) Germanic ō, as bōc, book; brōbor, brother; grōwan, to grow; fōr, he went (§ 128).

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

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

= (4) Germanic am, an before f, ð, s, as sōfte, softly; gōs, goose; tōþ, tooth (§ 61).

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

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

  = (3) Germanic ūn before ū, s, as cūp, known; mūp, mouth; ūs, us (§ 113).

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

§ 167. ŷ = (1) i-umlaut of Germanic ū, as brŷd, bride; mŷs, mice; brŷch, he enjoys (§ 132).

  = (2) i-umlaut of ū = Germanic ūn before ū, s, as cŷpan, to make known; ŷst, 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; wearp, 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); eorpê, earth; heorte, heart (§ 85); cneoht, boy; feohtan, to fight (§ 86).

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

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

  = (4) Germanic e by u-umlaut, as eorfor, 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; sliehp, he slays (§ 69).

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

= (3) Germanic e after palatal c, g, sc, 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 clio-pung, 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 ēē after palatal c, g, sc, as cēace, jaw; gēafon, they gave; gēar, year; scēap, sheep (§ 124).

= (3) Germanic ēē 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 ante-vocalic h after l and r, as gen. sēales, wēales, beside nom. sealh, willow, wealh, foreign (§ 64, Note 1); gen. fēares, mēares, beside nom. fēarh, pig, mearh, horse (§ 66, Note 3).

= (8) OE. ea, by loss of intervocalic h, as ēa, river; slēan, to slay; ūēar, 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 ante-vocalic h after l and r, as fēolan, to hide; gen. cēoles, 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. īe (later ī, ūy) = (1) i-umlaut of ēa, Germanic au, as geliefan, to believe; hieran, to hear; hīehesta, highest (§ 136).

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

= (4) *i*-umlaut of io (ēo), 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 niewe, new (§90).

§175. io (ēo) = (1) Germanic iu, as geþiode, gepēode, language; liode, lēode, people; þiostre, þeostre, dark (§138).

= (2) Germanic i or ij + guttural vowel, as fiœnd, fœond, Goth. fijands, fiend, enemy; friœnd, frœond, Goth. frijōnds, friend; neut. pl. þrío, þrēo from *þrīju, Goth. þrija, three (§104).

= (3) Germanic i by breaking before h and ht, as þion, þeon, 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 81

\[ \text{§ 178. } \text{æ (later e)} \rightarrow (1) \text{ WS. ea before r+guttural, as berg, pig, erc, ark, færh, ferh, boar, pig, mærc, merc, boundary, WS. bearg, earc, fearh, mearc (§ 66, Note).} \]

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

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

\[ \text{§ 181. } \text{e (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. ie after palatal c, g, sc, as gefa(n), to give, gelda(n), to pay, sceld, shield, WS. giefan, gieldan, seiel (§ 91).} \]

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

\[ = (3) \text{ WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea, after palatal c, g, sc, as cele, cold, gest, guest, sceppan, to create, WS. ciele, giest, scieppan (§ 73, Note).} \]

\[ \text{§ 182. } \text{e (Anglian) = (1) WS. eo before lc, lh, as elh, elk, melca(n), to milk, WS. eolh, meolcan (§ 84).} \]

\[ = (2) \text{ WS. eo before h, hs, ht, as feh, cattle, sex, six, cneht, boy, early WS. feoh, seox, cneoht (§ 86, Note).} \]
§ 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 getihhia(n), WS. tiohhian, teohhian, to arrange, think, consider (§ 98, Note 2).

= (4) WS. u in the combination wu- before gutturals, as betwih, between, cwic(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. doehter, to a daughter, œle, oil, WS. dehter, ele (§ 107).
§ 187. ā (Anglian) later ē = WS. ēa, Germanic au, before c, g, h, as æc, also, hāh, high, tæg, rope, later ęc, hēh, tēg, WS. ęac, hēah, tēag (§ 135, Note 2).

§ 188. ē (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. ā, Germanic ā, as bēron, they bore, dēd, decd, sēton, they sat, slēpan, to sleep, WS. bāron, dād, sāton, slēpon (§ 119).

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

= (3) WS. ēie, i-umlaut of ēa, Germanic au, as gelēfan, to believe, hēran, to hear; nēd, need, WS. geliefan, hīeran, 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. ēie, i-umlaut of ēa from older ā by breaking, as nēsta from *nēhista, WS. niehsta, nearest, next (§ 123).

= (3) older āe, see § 187.

§ 190. ē (Ken.) = Anglian and WS. ū, 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. āe, 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
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and ht, as wiθ, idol, lih, lend thou, liht, adj. light, WS. wēoh, lēoh, lēoht (§ 127).

(2) WS. īe, i-umlaut of īo = Germanic īu, before c and ht, as cīcen, chicken, lihtan, to give light, WS. cīcen, lihtan (§ 138, Note).

(3) WS. īe, i-umlaut of īo, Germanic ī, before ht, as lihtan, to lighten, make easier (§ 127).

§ 193. ī (Nth.) = WS. ieh, as sis(t) from *sihīs, thou seest, sip from *sihīp, he sees, WS. siehst, siehp (§ 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); fēp, WS. fēhp, he seizing (§ 118).

(2) WS. Æ, Germanic ā, after w, as huær, where, wēeron, they were, WS. hwēr, wāron (§ 119, Note 2).

§ 195. ea (Anglian) beside æ, 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) WS. e, Mercian eo by o/a-umlaut, beara, 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, nioþor, lower, siodu, custom, sionu, sinew, WS. limu, nioþor, sidu, sinu (§ 101).

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

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

§ 205. io (Ken.) = WS. eo by breaking before r-consonant, as hiorte, heart, iorþe, earth, stiorra, star, WS. heorte, eorþe, steorra (§ 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 i).

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

§ 209. io (Ken.) beside ïa = (1) Mercian and WS. ēo, Germanic eu, as diop (diap), dior, liof = Mercian and WS. dēop, dēor, lēof (§ 137).
= (2) WS. ïe, i-umlaut of ïo, Germanic iu, as diore (diare), dear, lióhtan, to give light, WS. diere, liéhtan (§ 138).

§ 210. ïo (Mercian) beside ëo = WS. ïe, i-umlaut of ïo, as diore (dëore), lióhtan (lëohtan), WS. diere, liéhtan (§ 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. ἕγγος, Indg. *jugóm, yoke; acc. sing. OE. Goth. wulf, Lat. lupum, Gr. λύκος, Indg. *wlqom, wolf; giest, Goth. gast, from *gastin, guest, cp. Lat. turrim, tower; fôt, Goth. fótu, from *fótun, cp. Lat. pedem, Gr. πόδα (§ 34), foot; gen. pl. daga from *dagôn, older -ôm, of days, cp. Gr. θεῶς, of gods; fóta, of feet; and similarly in the gen. plural of the other vocalic and consonantal stems; pret. sing. nerede, Goth. nasida, prim. Germanic *nazidôn, older -ôm, I saved; nom. sing. of feminine and neuter n-stems, as tunge, tongue; eage, eye, original ending -ôn.

(2) The Indg. final explosives disappeared in prim. Germanic, except after a short accented vowel, as pres. subj. bere, Goth. bairái, Skr. bhárēt, from an original form
§ 212. *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. *tod; 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 ő-, 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. πατὴρ, father; mōdor, Lat. māter, Gr. Dor. ματὴρ, 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. οἶδα, I know; wāst, Goth. wāist, Gr. οἶσθα, 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. γύγος, Lat. jugum, yoke; gen. sing. dæges from *dagesa, older -ō, of a day; beran from *beranan = Indg. *bheronom, to bear; pp. boren from *burenaz, borne; pp. genered from *-nazidaz, saved; cyning from *kunịŋzaz, 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. wāt = Gr. ὥθε, he knows; pret. third pers. singular of strong verbs, as band, he bound; bær, he bore; sat, he sat, prim. Germanic *bände, *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, fét from *fötiz, older -ez, cp. Gr. πόδες, feet; guman from *gumaniz, cp. Gr. ποιμένες, shepherds; hnyte from *χνutiz, mts.

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

-ō (= Indg. ō and ā) became u, as beru from *berō = Lat. ferō, Gr. φέρω, I bear; nom. singular giefu from *gebō, Indg. *ghebha, 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. velīt; 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 ō and ī, 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, fēt (nom. fōt, foot) from *fōti, cp. Gr. ποῦτ; dat. plural of nouns, as dagum (nom. dæg, day) from *dagomiz; giefum (nom. giefu, gift) from *gebōmiz; hier = Goth. háusei, from *χαυζὶ, hear thou; sēc = Goth. sökei, 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; fæder from *faderun, father; guman from *gumanun, man; nom. lār 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. mari), from *mari, lake; nom. plural wine (OHG. wini), from *winiz, older -ij(i)z, -ejes, friends; imperative sete from *satī, 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. faihu, OHG. fihu, Lat. pecu, cattle; bindu, I bind, helpu, I help, cēsu, 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; ā, Goth. āiw, 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 -ō, 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 *lirnungu, learning; byden from *budinu, older budinō, 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, nietenu, 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 -ē, -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 -ē 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 -æ) after the loss of -z, but -a after the loss of -n. -ō with the acute accent became -e (older -æ) after the loss of -n. The -ē and -ō from older -ai and -au became -e (older -æ) and -a. All these shortenings took place in prehistoric Old English. Examples are:—gen. sing. and nom. plural gefe (Anglian) from *gebōz = Goth. gibōs, nom. sing. gifu (WS.), gifl; gen. plural daga from *dagōn, older -ōm, of days; fōta from *fōtōn, of feet, cp. Gr. θεῶν, of
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gods; and similarly in the gen. plural of other vocalic and consonantal stems; acc. singular giefe from *gebōn, older -ōm (Indg. -ām), gift, cp. Gr. χώπαρ; nom. singular of feminine and neuter n-stems (see below), as tungōn, tongue; ēage from *augōn, eye; pret. singular nerede from *nazidōn, older -ōm, I saved; fore, before = Gr. παπαί, near; dat. sing. dāge from *dāgai, older -ōi or -ōi, cp. Gr. locative οἰκοί, at home, dat. θεῖο (Indg. -ōi), to a god; dat. sing. giefe = Goth. gibāi, Indg. *ghebhāi, to a gift, cp. Gr. dat. θείο, to a goddess; fem. dat. sing. blindre from *blindizai, blind; masc. nom. plural blinde = Goth. blindái, blind; bere = Goth. bařrāi, Gr. φέρω, he may bear; eahta = Goth. ahtáu, from an original form *oktōu, eight; epēa = Goth. aippāu, or; gen. singular suna = 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. ἱγεμόν, leader; ποιμήν, shepherd; acc. ἱγεμόνα, ποιμένα, beside nom. Skr. rājā, king; Lat. sermo, discourse; homo, man; acc. rājānam, 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.
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§ 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 *da₃omiz, to days; acc. sing. brōþur (later -or, -ar), from *brōþorun, brother = Gr. φάτορα (§ 84), 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 hwæþer = Gr. πότερος, whether, which of two; gen. sing. dæges from *dagesa, older -o, of a day; pp. bunden from *bundenaz, Indg. *bhndhenos, bound; ōþer from *anþeraz, 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 u 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 bærun, -on, they bore; neredun, -on, they saved.

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

ā > e, as fæder, cp. Gr. πατήρ, father; neredes (older -dæs) from *nazidæs, cp. Goth. nasidēs, thou didst save.

i > i, later e, except before palatal consonants, as gylden (OHG. guldin) from *gulþiniz; mægden = OHG. magatín, maiden; subj. pret. plural bærin = Goth. bēreina, OHG. bārin, they might bear; but mihtig = Goth. mahtëigs, OHG. mahtig, 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 *χυντόπuz, hunting; heardost, hardest, lēofost, dearest, prim. Germanic superlative suffix -ōst-; sealfas(t) = Goth. salbōs, thou anointest; sealfap = Goth. salbōpheres, he anoints; pret. sing. sealfude, -ode, -ade = Goth. salbōda, I anointed; pp. ge- sealfud, -od, -ad = Goth. salbōpars; but always u in the dat. pl. giefum=Goth. gibōm, to gifts; tungum=Goth. tugōm, 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 bera$p = 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: fracu$p, -ōp, from *frakunþaz, wicked = Goth. frakunþes, despised; dugu$p from *dugunþ = OHG.
tugunt, valour, strength; geoguŋ from *jugunp- = 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. æcer from *akr, older *akraz, *akran, cp. Goth. akrs, akr, field; nom. acc. fugul, -ol, from *fugl, older *foglan, *foglaz, cp. Goth. fugls, fugl, bird, fowl; nom. acc. mæpum from *maipm, older *maipmaz, *maipman, cp. Goth. mæipms, mæipm, 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 i was common especially after dentals, and vocalic m and n generally occurred after a short syllable. The forms with vocalic i, 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; mæpum, gift; bæacen, sign, beacon; efen, even; æcer, field; ðunor, thunder; gen. segles, mæpmes, bæacnes, efnes, æcre, þunres. Then from the latter were formed new nominatives segl, mæpm, bæcn, efn; and from the former new genitives æceres, þunores. Examples are: æppel, æpl, apple; hūsul, hūsel, hūsl, Eucharist, cp. Goth. hunsl, sacrifice; nědl (Goth. nēpla), needle; nægl, nail; setl (Goth. sitls), seat; tempel, templ (Lat. templum), temple; tungul, -ol, -el, star. bōsm, bosom; botm, bottom; æpm, breath; þrom, smoke; wæstum, -em, wæstm, growth. hræfn, raven; regn (Goth. rign), rain; stefn, voice; tæcn, täcn (Goth. táiiks), token; þegen, þegn, retainer; wægn, wagon. ántr, átor,
8§ 220. In OE., especially in the later period, a svara-

bhakti 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; myrigp beside myrgp, mirth; styric beside styrc, calf, cp. modern northern dial. stærsk beside sták; worhte, 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 æpele, noble; gen. sing. heofones, metodes, nacodes, rodores, stapoles, wæteres, beside nom. heofon, heaven; metod, creator; nacod, naked;
Phonology

rodor, sky; stapol, pillar; wæter, water; gen. dat. sing. idese beside nom. ides, woman; pret. fremedest from *framidæs, thou didst perform; neredest from *nazidæs, thou didst save; pp. gen. sing. gefremedes, generedes, nom. pl. gefremede, generede: nom. sing. gefremed, genered from prim. Germanic *-framidæs, *-nazidæs (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, fætelses, hengestes, wēstennes, beside nom. cyning, kimg; fætels, tub; hengest, stallion; wēsten, desert; fāgettan, 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, dieglede, frēfrede, pp. gen. sing. gehyngredes, getimbredes, gediegledes, gefrēfredes, beside inf. hyngran, to hunger, timbran, to build, dieglan, to conceal, frēfran, 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, ōpres, beside nom. diegol, secret; engel, angel; hālig, holy; hēafod, head; ōper, other; hālgian, to make holy; strengju from *stranþilpō (OHG. strengida), strength; ἰeldra (Goth. alþiza), older; gen. dat. sing. frōfre, mönpe, sāwle, beside nom. frōfor, consolation; mōnap, month; sāwol, soul; dǣldest (Goth. dālidēs), thou didst divide; hīerdst (Goth. háusidēs), thou hearest; pp. gen. sing. gedāldes, gehierdes, nom. pl. gedālde,

§ 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. rodore, 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 *anþeranō(n), other; and similarly glædne, glad; gōdne, good; hāligne, holy; &c.; dat. fem. singular ōbre from *anþerizai; and similarly glædre, gōdre, hāligre; gen. plural ōberra, prim. Germanic *anþeraizō(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;
phonology

§ 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.

2. In late OE. syncope often took place after short stems, and sometimes in closed syllables, as betra, better; circe, church; fægnian, to rejoice, gædran, to gather, beside older betera, 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 mœne beside mœnap (Goth. mœnōps), mouth; but lōcodest from *lōkōdēs, thou didst look.
Ablaut (Vowel Gradation)

By arranging the vowels according to these four stems we arrive at the following system:

<table>
<thead>
<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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<tr>
<td>i, e</td>
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<td>u, o</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>æ (a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 the preterite 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. lēgī, vēxiː: pres. legō, I gather, vehō, I carry; OE. bǣr, 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. bǣr, 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. *pédm), foot.

5. On the a, ō in Series VI, see § 228. In many verbs belonging to this series the ō 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 ō 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 ō in the preterite, as in OE. scafan, to scrape: pret. scōf = Lat. scabō, I scrape: pf. scābi (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 ie 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, līpend, sailor: lād, way, course: lida, sailor; lār, learning: liornung (leornung), learning; sni̱jan, to cut: snāed 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; fleon, to flee: fleām, 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; weorðan from *werðan, to become: wyrd from *wurdi-, fate.
beran, to bear: bær, bier: ge-byrd from *gi-burdi-, birth, byre from *buri-, son; cwelan, 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; cwætan, to say: cwide, prim. Germanic *kwedi-, speech; spreçan, to speak: spræc, speech.
calan, to be cold: cöl, cool; faran, to go, travel, fierd from *fardi-, army: för, journey, gefera, prim. Germanic *-færjō, 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 bát biton biten
lípan, to go láþ lidon liden

Note.—Cp. the parallel Greek series πείθω: πέποιθα: επίθεν.
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 ἐλεύθερος (fut.) : ἐλευθεροῦ : ἡλιθοῦ.

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.


IV.

Prim. Germ.  e     a     āe     o
Gothic     i     a     ē     u
OE.  beran, to bear  bær  bāron  boren
stelan, to steal  stæl  stælôn  stolen

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


V.

Prim. Germ.  e     a     āe     e
Gothic     i     a     ē     i
OE.  metan, to measure  mæt  mæton  meten
cwépan, 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.


§ 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, laiōt, laiōtum, lētans; saian, to sow, sai-sō, sai-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. vowels 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 e (§ 22); and the ō in the preterite corresponds to Indg. ā (§ 23), and Indg. ò (§ 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:

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<tr>
<td>tenues</td>
<td>p</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>mediae</td>
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<tr>
<td>tenues aspiratae</td>
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<td>th</td>
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<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 | ŋ | ŋ |

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, gh, qh, and the latter q", q", qwh, q"wh 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, nk, ng; q, qg, &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. οἶdos, 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, ph 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, qzh 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. ph and dh only occurred after palatals and velars which were originally unaspirated, as kp, qp, gd, gd. ph and dh only occurred after palatals and velars which were originally aspirated, as kph, qph, gdh, qdh from older khp, qhp, qdh, qhd. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to determine how the four spirants ph 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 i.

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 ców, stáin the first element of the diphthong is a vowel, the second a consonant; but in words like French rvá (written roi), bjér (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 ái, áu, &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), ðt (= 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, q 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 χ, k in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with the χ, 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. q with labialization became v (but gu after n, and g when the labialized element had been lost, as gravis = Gr. βαρύς, 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 π, β before non-palatal vowels (except u) and before consonants (except Indg. j); τ, δ before palatal vowels; and κ, γ before and after u.

Indg. ph, bh became φ; th, dh became θ; and kh, gh became χ.

Indg. qh, gh with labialization became φ before non-palatal vowels (except u) and before consonants (except Indg. j); θ before palatal vowels; and χ 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. bândhanam, a binding, Goth. OE. bindan, OHG. bintan, to bind, root *bhendĥ; Skr. bódhati, he learns, is awake, Gr. περιθεται, he asks, inquires, Goth. anabôdan, OE. bêodan, to bid, OHG. bôtan, to offer, root *bheudĥ; Gr. κανθόλη, a swelling, OE. gund, OHG. gônt, matter, pus; Gr. θριξ, hair, gen. θριχός; 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 preceeded 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>
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<td>f</td>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>k, q</td>
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<td>κ</td>
<td>χ</td>
<td>h, χ</td>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>t</td>
<td>z, zz</td>
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<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>
§ 231. The Indg. tenues p, t, k, q became in prim. Germanic the voiceless spirants f, ū, χ (χw).

p > f. Lat. pēs, Gr. ποῦς, OE. OS. ēt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, foot; Lat. piscis, OE. fisc, Goth. fisk, O.Icel. fiskr, 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. faǐhu, O.Icel. fē, OS. fēhu, OHG. fihu, cattle; Lat. nepos, OE. nefa, O.Icel. nefe, OHG. nefo, nephew.

t > ū. Lat. tū, Gr. Doric τῦ, OE. O.Icel. OS. þū, Goth. þu, OHG. dū, thou; Lat. trēs, Gr. τρεῖς, OE. þrī, OS. thria, O.Icel. þrīr, OHG. drī, three; Lat. tenuis, OE. þynne, O.Icel. þunnr, OHG. dūnni, thin; O.Lat. tongēre, to know, OE. þencan, Goth. þagkjan, OS. þenkian, OHG. denchen, to think; Lat. frāter, OE. brōpor, Goth. brōþar, O.Icel. brōþer, OS. brōðar, OHG. bruoder,
Phonology

$k > \chi$. Lat. canis, Gr. κύων, OE. OS. hund, Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, hound, dog; Lat. cor (gen. cordis), Gr. καρδία, OE. heorte, Goth. haírto, O.Icel. hjarta, OS. herta, OHG. herza, heart; Lat. centum, Gr. ε-κατόν, OE. Goth. OS. hunt, hundred; Lat. pecu, OE. feoh, Goth. faihu, O.Icel. fē, OS. fehu, OHG. fihu, cattle; Lat. decem, Gr. δέκα, OE. tien from *teohuni-, older *teξuni- (cp. §§ 87, 447), Goth. taihun, OS. tehan, OHG. zehan, ten; Lat. dúcō, I lead, OE. tēon from *teōhan, older *teuxān (§ 137), Goth. tiuhan, OS. tiohan, OHG. ziohan, to draw, lead.

$q > \chi (\chi w)$. 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. wihan, to fight.

Lat. quis, Gr. τίς, OE. hwā, Goth. hras, OS. hwē, OHG. hwer, who?; Lat. linquō, Gr. λείπω, I leave, OE. lion, lēon from *liohan, 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. στείχω, I go, Lat. vestigium, footstep, OE. OS. OHG. stīgan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stiga, to ascend; Lat. hostis, stranger, enemy, OE. giest, Goth. gasts, O.Icel. gestr, OS. OHG. gast, guest.

sk. Gr. σκάδ, shadow, OE. OS. OHG. scīnan, 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. scēawian, 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. haft, one seized or taken, a captive.

   kt > xt. Lat. octō, Gr. ὀκτώ, OE. eahta, Goth. ahtau, OS. OHG. ahto, eight; Gr. ὀ-πεκτός, stretched out, Lat. rēctus, OE. riht, Goth. raihts, 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. thorp, OHG. dorf, village, Goth. þaúrp, field; O.Bulgarian slabū, slack, weak, OE. slāpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slāpan, OHG. slāfan, to sleep, originally, to be slack. b was a rare sound in the parent language.

   d > t. Lat. decem, Gr. δέκα, OE. tien, Goth. tāhin, O.Icel. tio, OS. tehan, OHG. zehan, 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. εἴδω, I eat, OE. OS. etan, Goth. itan, O.Icel. eta, OHG. egzzan, to eat; gen. Lat. pedis, Gr. ποδός, nom. OE. OS. fōt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, 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. cēosan, 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. εγώ, 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. õkian, OHG. ouhhōn,
to add, increase, OE. participial adj. ēacen, great; Lat. jugum, Gr. ἄγορα, OE. geoc, Goth. juk, OHG. joh, yoke.

Gr. Bōotian βαρά, OE. cwene, Goth. qinō, OS. quena, woman, wife; Gr. βίος from *ḡwos, life, Lat. vivos from *gwīwos, OE. cwicu, Goth. qius, O.Icel. kvikr, OS. quik, OHG. quec, quick, alive; Lat. venīō from *gwemjō, I come, Gr. βαίνω from *βαρίω, older *βαρύω = Indg. *gjmō, 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. ἀ-σκηθῆς, unhurt, OE. sceppan, Goth. skāpjan, OHG. skadōn, to injure; Gr. σχιζω, I split, OE. scādan, Goth. skáidan, OHG. sceidan, to divide, separate; Gr. φαλλη, OE. hwæl, O.Icel. hvalr, OHG. (h)wal, whale.

§ 234. The Indg. mediae aspiratae probably became first of all the voiced spirants b, d, g, ɣ(w). These sounds underwent the following changes during the prim. Germanic period:—b, d initially, and b, d, ɣ 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. bhārāmi, Gr. φερω, Lat. ferō, I bear; OE. OS. bitan, Goth. beitan, O.Icel. bita, OHG. bizzan, to bite, Skr. bhēdāmi, Lat. findō, I cleave; OE. brōpor, Goth.
§235 | The First Sound-shifting

broðar, O.Icel. bróðer, OS. bródar, OHG. bruoder, Skr. bhrátar-, Lat. frater, brother, Gr. φράτης, member of a clan.

OE. ymbe, OS. OHG. umbi, Gr. ἀμφί, around; OE. camb, comb, O.Icel. kambr, OHG. kamb, comb, Skr. jámbhas, tooth, Gr. γόμφος, bolt, nail, prim. form *gombhos.

d. OE. dæg, Goth. dags, O.Icel. dagr, OS. dag, OHG. tag, day, Skr. ni-dāghás, older *ni-dhāghás, hot season, summer, Indg. form *dhoqhos; OE. dād, OS. dād, OHG. tät, deed, related to Gr. θη-σω, I shall place, Skr. dháma, law, dwelling-place, root *dhē-, put, place; OE. dohtor, Goth. daúhtar, OS. dohter, OHG. tohter, Gr. θυγάτηρ, daughter; OE. duru, OS. duri, OHG. turi, Gr. θύρα, door.

OE. Goth. OS. bindan, O.Icel. binda, OHG. bintan, to bind, Skr. bándhanam, a binding, cp. πενθερός, father-in-law, Lat. of-fendimentum, chin-cloth, root *bhendh-.

g. OE. enge, Goth. aggwus, OS. OHG. engi, narrow, cp. Lat. angō, Gr. ἀγχω, I press tight, root *angh-; OE. lang, long, Goth. laggs, O.Icel. langr, OS. OHG. lang, Lat. longus, long.

§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 x (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. d (written ð) generally remained medially and finally. g remained medially after vowels and liquids, but became x and then disappeared finally. It became g initially. d became d in all the West Germanic languages and then d became t in OHG. In OS. b (written
b, b) generally remained between voiced sounds. It became f medially before l and n, and before voiceless consonants, and also finally. g (written g) remained initially and medially, but became χ finally, although it was generally written g. In OHG. b, g became b, g.

On the history of b, g in OE. see §§ 293-4, 313-24. Geminated bb, dd, gg, of whatever origin, became bb, dd, gg in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages. Examples are:—Goth. *nibls, OS. nebald, OHG. nebul, Lat. nebula, Gr. νεφέλη, mist, cloud, cp. Skr. nábhas, Gr. νέφος, cloud; OE. lēof, Goth. liufs, O.Icel. ljúfr, OS. liof, OHG. liob, dear; original form *leubhos, cp. Skr. लुभ्यायमि, I feel a strong desire, Lat. lubet (libet), it pleases; OE. OS. üder, OHG. üter, Skr. údhar, Gr. οὖθαρ, udder; OE. rēad, Goth. ráups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rōd, OHG. röt, prim. form *roudhos, cp. Skr. rudhirás, Gr. ῥουθρός, prim. form *rudhros, red; OE. Goth. guma, O.Icel. gume, OS. gumo, OHG. gomo, Lat. homō, prim. Germanic stem-form *guman-, -in, man; OS. gōs, O.Icel. gás, OHG. gans, Gr. χίνα, goose; OE. OS. OHG. wegan, Goth. geigungan, O.Icel. wega, 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. stiga, to ascend, Gr. στείχω, prim. form *steighō, I go, cp. Lat. vestīgium, footnote.

§ 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, ȝ which arose from Indg. k, g, gh. The most commonly accepted theory is that the Indg. labialized velars q, ɣ, gh regularly became ɣ, k, ȝ in prim. Germanic before Indg. û, ō, o (= Germanic a, § 20), and ɣw, kw, gw before Indg. ē, ī, ę, 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 *gemō, I come; Goth. ius, who?, Indg. *qos, for *has after the analogy of the gen. iuis = 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 *fλύκος, prim. form *wlqos, cp. Skr. vṛkṣa, wolf; OE. feower (but fyper-fête, four-footed), Goth. fidwōr, OS. OHG. fior, prim. form *qetwōres, cp. Lithuanian keturi, Lat. quattuor, Gr. τέσσαρες, Skr. catvāras, four; OE. OS. fīf, Goth. fimf, OHG. fimf, finf, prim. form *penqe, cp. Skr. pāṇca, Gr. πέντε, Lat. quīnque (for *pīnque), five; OE. weorpan, Goth. wairpan, O.Icel. verpa, OS. werpan, OHG. werfan, to throw, cp. O. Bulgarian vriga, 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, ḷ, χ, χw, s regularly became b, d, ʒ, ʒw, 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, ʒ, ʒw which thus arose from Indg. p, t, k, q underwent in the Germanic languages all further changes in common with the b, d, ʒ, ʒw 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 *wérþo > OE. weorþe, I become = Skr. vártā-mi, I turn; pret. indic. 3. sing. *wárþi > OE. wearþ, he became = Skr. va-vártā, has turned; pret. 1. pers. pl. *wurðumí > OE. *wurðum (wurdon is the 3. pers. pl. used for all persons) = Skr. va-vrtimá, we have turned; past participle *wurdaná- > OE. worden = Skr. va-vrtáná-; OS. birid, OHG. birit = Skr. bhárati, he bears; Goth. 2. sing. indic. passive baírza = 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 *fadér-, OE. fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðer, 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: $f - b$, $p - d$, $s - z$, $\chi - z$, $\chi w - gw$. They underwent various changes partly in prim. Germanic, partly in West Germanic, and partly in Old English. Already in prim. Germanic $gw$ became $g$ before $u$, but $w$ in other cases (§ 241); and $\eta g$ became $\eta g$. In West Germanic $d$ became $d$ (§ 253); $z$ became $r$ medially and was dropped finally (§ 252); $\chi w$ became $\chi$ (§ 246). In OE. the two sounds $f - b$ fell together in $b$ (written $f$) medially, and in $f$ finally, see §§ 293-4, 296; $\chi$ disappeared between vowels (§ 329, 4), when preserved it was written $h$; and $p$, $s$ became voiced between vowels, although the $p$, $s$ were

fater, father; Gr. $\pi \lambda \omega \tau o{s}$, floating, swimming, OE. OS. flōd, Goth. flōdus, O.Icel. flōd, OHG. flōt, flood, tide; Skr. $\dot{c}a\hat{t}\acute{a}$m, Gr. $\acute{e}$-κατόν, Lat. centum = prim. Germanic $*\chi$$\text{undôm}$, older $*\chi$$\text{umdôm}$, OE. Goth. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, hundred; Indg. $*\text{swékuros}$, Goth. swaîhra, OHG. swehur, OE. swēor (§ 329), father-in-law, beside Gr. $\acute{e}$κυρά, OE. sweger, OHG. swigar, mother-in-law; Gr. $\delta \acute{e}kα$, Goth. taîhun, OS. tehan, OHG. zehan, ten, beside Gr. $\delta \acute{e}kαs$, OE. OS. -tig, OHG. -zug, Goth. pl. tigjus, decade; Skr. saptā, Gr. $\acute{e}$ππα, OE. seofon, Goth. sibun, OS. sibun, OHG. sibun, seven; Gr. $\nu\nuos$ from $*\sigma\nu\nuos$, OE. snoru, OHG. snura, daughter-in-law; OHG. haso beside OE. hara, hare; Goth. $\acute{a}$usō beside OE. $\acute{e}$are, 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:—

\[\begin{align*}
\text{p} & \rightarrow \text{d} \\
\text{s} & \rightarrow \text{r} \\
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{g} (\text{prim. Germ. } \chi) \\
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{w} (\text{prim. Germ. } \chi \text{w}) \\
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{w} (\text{prim. Germ. } \eta \chi) \\
\text{p} & \rightarrow \text{d} \\
\text{s} & \rightarrow \text{r} \\
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{g}
\end{align*}\]

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

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

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{p} & \rightarrow \text{d} \quad \text{cwejan, to say, lijan, to go, snijan, to cut}; \text{ pret. sing. } \text{cwæp}, \text{ láp}, \text{ snæp}; \text{ pret. pl. } \text{cwædon}, \text{ lidon}, \text{ snidon}; \text{ pp. } \text{cweden}, \text{ liden}, \text{ sniden}; \text{ cwide, saying, proverb; snide, incision; dēap, death, beside dēad, dead.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{s} & \rightarrow \text{r} \quad \text{cēosan, to choose, drēosan, to fall, forlēosan, to lose}; \text{ pret. sing. } \text{cēas, drēas, forlēas}; \text{ pret. pl. } \text{curon}, \text{ druron, forluron}; \text{ pp. } \text{coren, droren, forloren}; \text{ cyre, choice; dryre, fall; lyre, loss.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{g} \quad \text{flēon (OHG. fliohan), to fleece, slēan (Goth. sla-han), to strike, slay, tēon (Goth. tiuhan), to draw, lead}; \text{ pret. sing. } \text{fiēah, slōh, tēah}; \text{ pret. pl. } \text{flugon, slōgon, tugon}; \text{ pp. } \text{flogen, slægen, togen}; \text{ slaga, homicide; slege, stroke, blow; here-toga, leader of an army, duke.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{g}, \text{ w} \quad \text{sēon (Goth. saihvan), to see}; \text{ pret. sing. seah}; \text{ pret. pl. WS. sāwon, Anglian sēgon}; \text{ pp. WS. sewen, Anglian segen}; \text{ sēon, sēon (Goth. *seihvan, OHG. sīhan), to strain}; \text{ pret. sing. sāh}; \text{ pp. siwen, sigen}; \text{ horh, dirt, gen. horwes. See Note 1 below.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{ng} \quad \text{fōn (Goth. fāhan, prim. Germ. *faŋχanana, § 245), to seize, hōn (Goth. háhan, prim. Germ. *χaŋχanana), to hang}; \text{ pret. pl. } \text{fēngon, hēngon}; \text{ pp. fangen, hangen}; \text{ feng, grasp, booty; hangian, to hang}; \text{ pion, pēon (Goth. ēihan, prim. Germ. } \text{pēŋχanana), to thrive}; \text{ pret. pl. } \text{þungon}; \text{ pp. þungen}; \text{ the usual pret. pl. } \text{þigon, pp. þigen, were new formations, see § 492.}
\end{align*}\]

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 ābrēōpan, to fail; mīpan, to avoid; wripan, to twist; ārisan, to arise; genesan, to recover; lesan, to collect; pret. pl. ābrupon, mīpon, wripon, ārison, genēson, læson; pp. ābropon, mīpen, wripen, ārisen, genesen, lesen. The g of the pret. plural was levelled out into the singular in flōg, he flayed; hlōg, 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. finpan, OS. fīpan), to find; pret. sing. *fōp (see § 61), pret. pl. fundon, pp. funden. The WS. pret. pl. sāwōn, 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: a-wierdan, to destroy, injure, cp. Skr. vārtāmi, I turn: vartāyāmi, I cause to turn; līpan, to go: lādan, to lead; ā-rīsan, to arise: rēran, 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. padi, on foot*; Lat. *rēxi, rectum, 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. yuktá-, Gr. ζευκτός, Lat. jūnectus, yoked, root *jeug-, cp. Skr. yugāṁ, Gr. ἱγγόν, 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.

*p, b (b)—f.* OE. scieppan, Goth. skapjan, to create, beside OE. ge-sceaf, OHG. gi-skaft, creature, Goth. ga-kafts, creation; Goth. giban, OHG. geban, to give, beside Goth. fra-gifts, a giving, espousal, OE. OHG. gift, gift; OHG. weban, to weave, beside English weft.

*k, g (g)—h.* OE. wyrcan, Goth. waúrkjan, OHG. wurken, to work, beside pret. and pp. OE. worhte, worht, Goth. waúrhta, waúrhts, OHG. worhta, giworht; OE. þyncan, Goth. þugkjan, OHG. dunkan, to seem, beside pret. and pp. OE. þuhte, þuht, Goth. þuhta, *þuhts, OHG. dühta, gidüht; 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.

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. slöht, thou didst strike, inf. slahan; OE. meaht, OHG. maht, thou canst, inf. magan; then after the analogy of such forms were made OE. wäst for *wäs, Goth. wäist for *wáis, OHG. weist for *weis, thou knowest; OE. möst for *mös, thou art allowed; regular forms were pret. sing. OE. worhte, Goth. waúrhta, OHG. worhta, beside inf. OE. wyrcan, Goth. waúrkjan, 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 ht; 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
sēgon from *sæg(w)un, they saw, beside pp. seven from
*se(g)wenōs; OE. sēn (sion, sēon, cp. § 138), Goth.
siuns, from *se(g)wnīs, a seeing, face; OE. snāw (with
-w from the oblique cases), Goth. snáiws, from *sna(g)waz,
prim. form *snōighos, snow; OE. OHG. snīwan for
*snīgan, formed from the third pers. sing. OE. sniwep,
OHG. snīwit, 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. γεῦν-, chin, check; Goth.
minniza, OS. minnira, OHG. minniro, from *minwizō,
less, cp. Lat. minūō, Gr. μινόω, 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 *kmtōm, hundred; OE. scamian, Goth. skaman,
OHG. scamēn, to be ashamed, beside OE. scand, Goth.
skanda, OHG. scanta, shame, disgrace.
·ln- > ·ll-, as OE. full, Goth. fulls, Lithuanian pilnas,
prim. form *plnōs, full; OE. wulle, Goth. wulla, OHG.
wolla, Lithuanian wilna, wool.

§ 243. Prim. Germanic bn, dn, gn = Indg. pn², tn², kn²,
qn² (by Verner’s law), and bhn², dhn², ghn², qhn²) became
bb, dd, gg before the principal accent, then later bb, dd, gg;
and in like manner Indg. bn², dn², gn², qn² became bb,
dd, gg. And these mediae were shifted to pp, tt, kk at
the same time as the original Indg. mediae became tenues
(§ 232). These geminated consonants were simplified to p, t, k after long syllables. Examples are: OE. hnaep, OHG. napf, from *χανβντ or *χανβντ, basin, bowl; OE. hoppien, O.Icel. hoppa, MHG. hopfen, from *χοβντ, to hop; OE. OS. topp, O.Icel. topr, from *τοβντ or *τοβντ, top, summit; OE. hēap, OS. hop, OHG. houf, from *χαυβντ; OE. cnotta, from *κνοβντ, beside OHG. chnodo, chnoto, knot; OE. OS. hwit, Goth. hveits, from *χωϊντ, white; OE. bucc, O.Icel. bokkr, OHG. boc (gen. bockes), prim. form *bhugnós, buck; and similarly OE. bucca, he-goat; OE. liccian, OS. leccōn, OHG. lecchōn, from *lēgnτ, to lick; OE. locc, O.Icel. lokkr, prim. form *lignonόs, lock; OE. smocc, O.Icel. smokkr, from *smoγντ, smoak; OE. lōcian, OS. ĵōkōn, from *lōgnτ or *lōgnτ, to look.

§ 244. Indg. z + media became s + tenuis, as Goth. asts, OHG. ast = Gr. ὄζος, 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 mezgû, I tie in knots.

Indg. z + media aspirata became z + voiced spirant, as OE. meord, Goth. mizdō, pay, reward, cp. O. Bulgarian mizda, Gr. μιζός, pay; OE. mearg, OHG. marg, O. Bulgarian mozgû, marrow, root *mezgθ̣; OE. hord, Goth. huzd, OHG. horτ, hoard, treasure, root *kuzdθ̣.

§ 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 *χαŋxanan, to hang; Goth. ċeihan, OS. thīhan, OHG. dihan, OE. ðōn, ðōn, from *þiŋxanan, to thrive; pret. OE. þōhte, Goth. þāhta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, from *þanχtoθ̣, 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 *kmtóm, hundred; OE. OS. hund,
Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, from *χundaz, 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. slēan, from *sleahan, older *slaxan-, Goth. slahan, to strike, slay; OE. swēor, from *sweohur, older *sweχur, 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 *sex(w)an-, beside Goth. saíluan, to see; OS. OHG. lihan, OE. lēon, lēon, O.Icel. ljá, from *liχ(w)an-, beside Goth. leiluann, to lend; OS. OHG. aha, OE. ēa from *eahu, beside Goth. alua, water, river; OE. seah, OS. OHG. sah, beside Goth. salv, 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. baírái, 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. kaúrus 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, swungen (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. sin- can, OS. OHG. sinkan, beside Goth. sigqan, to sink.

Cp. § 241.

§ 250. Initial and medial sr became str, as OE. stream, O.Icel. straumr, OS. OHG. ström, stream, cp. Skr. srávati, it flows; pl. OE. ēastron, OHG. ēstarūn, 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. svāsṛē.

§ 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explosives</th>
<th>Inter-</th>
<th>Palatal and</th>
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<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>dental</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Spirants</td>
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<td>Nasals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j (palatal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
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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 hīeran, to hear, lāran, to teach; leornian from *liznōjan-, to learn; nerian, to save; OE. bet(e)ra, OS. betera, OHG. bezziro, Goth. batiza, better; OE. OS. hord, OHG. hort, Goth. huzd, hoard, treasure; OE. dēor, 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. gebā = Goth. gibōs, from *gebōz, gifts; OE. guman = Goth. gumans, from *gomaniz, cp. Gr. ποιεῖς, 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. gi, Goth. jus, ye; hwā, OS. hwē, Goth. hva, who?; dat. mē, OS. mī, Goth. mis, me; dat. pē, OS. thi, Goth. þus, thee; wē, OS. wē, Goth. weis, we.

§ 253. Prim. Germanic d (§§ 235, 238) became d, which was shifted to t in OHG., as OE. bēodan, OS. biodan, OHG. biotan, beside O.Icel. bjōða, to offer; OE. fæder,
OS. fadar, OHG. fater, beside O.Icel. faðer, father; OE. mōdor, OS. mōdar, OHG. muoter, beside O.Icel. mōðer, mother; pp. OE. worden, OS. wordan, OHG. wartan, beside inf. OE. weorðan, to become; OE. OS. god, OHG. got, beside O.Icel. goð, God; OE. OS. word, OHG. wort, beside O.Icel. orð, word.

§ 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, gj became bb, dd, gg (generally written cg in OE.). Examples are: OE. hliehhan, 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; sceppan, to injure; sellan, to sell, give; sittan, to sit; swebban, to hilt to sleep; ūennan, to stretch; pridda (Goth. pridja), third; hell (Goth. halja), hell; sibb (Goth. siba), 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, legēp, OS. legis, legid, OHG. legis, legit = Goth. lagjis, lagjiþ, 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. kunji), 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 uninflected forms by levelling, as OE. bitter (biter), OS. OHG. bittar, cp. Goth. báitrs, bitter; OE. hlūttor (hlūtor), OS. hluttar, OHG. hlūttar, cp. Goth. hlūtrs, 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. luttil, 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 *taχur, tear, gen. *teahhres (Nth. tæhhores), nom. pl. *teahhras (Nth. tæhhras). From tæhhores, tæhhres, &c., was formed a new nom. sing. tēher 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 ēarwicga, 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. troffo, 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. buc-ca, 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; scieppan, 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. āsierde, cyste, fylde, ypte, beside inf. āsierran, to remove, cyssan, to kiss, fyllan, to fill, yppan, to reveal; third pers. sing. pres. indic. fielþ, gielþ, ongínþ, swimþ, 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 *gesynttu, older *gisundiju (§ 305), health; þearlic from þearl + 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, singalice, always, yfellic, 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. ðòpéra, other, snot(t)era, prudent, wise, beside ðòperra, snot(t)erra; fægera besides 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, gegaddrode, he gathered, næddre, adder, beside older ætgæd(e)re, blædre, ædre, gegad(e)-rode, nædre; comparative bettra, better, deoppra, deeper, gelicera, more like, hwittra, whiter, riccra, more powerful, yttra, outer, beside older bet(e)ra, dēopra, gelicra, hwitra, ricra, ytra. Gen. miccles beside older micles, nom.
Semivowels

The Germanic voiceless spirants ʃ, θ, s became the voiced spirants b, d, z medially between voiced sounds, although the ʃ, θ, s were retained in writing, as ceaf, jaw; ofen, oven; wulfas, wolves (§ 296); āpas, oaths; brōpor, brother; eorpe, earth (§ 302); bōsm, bosom; nosu, nose; ōsele, ousel (§ 307).

Note.—This voicing of ʃ, θ, s only took place in simple words, but not in compounds, such as āpwēan, to wash; gefeoht, battle; gesendan, to send; wynsum, pleasant.

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

The Semivowels.

w

§ 263. Germanic w = the w in NE. wet (written uu, u, Ϝ in OE. manuscripts) remained initially before vowels, and generally also initially before and after consonants, as wās, Goth. OS. OHG. was, was; OE. OS. Goth. witan, OHG. wizzan, to know; and similarly wadan, to go, wade; wascan, to wash; wāpen, weapon; wærón, were; wēter, water; wearm, warm; weder, weather; wefan, to weave; weorpān, to become; wid,
wide; wilde, wild; windan, to wind; winter, winter; wolcen, cloud; wundor, wonder; wyrcan, to work.

wlanc, proud; wlite, OS. wlit, form, beauty, Goth. wlits, face, countenance; wlitig, beautiful; wracu, Goth. wraka, revenge, persecution; wrâp, angry; writan, to write.
cwën, Goth. qëns, queen, wife; cweðan, Goth. qij^an, to say; hwä, Goth. ius, who?; hwâte, Goth. huâiteis, wheat; dwellan, OHG. twellen, to tarry; dweorg, OHG. twerg, dwarf; þwêan, Goth. þwan, to wash; þweorh, Goth. þwairhs, angry, perverse; sweltan, Goth. swîltan, to die; sweostor, Goth. swistar, sister; twâ, Goth. twâi, two; twelf, Goth. twalif, twelve.

§ 264. Medial w generally remained before vowels, as OE. OS. OHG. spiwan, Goth. speiwan, to vomit, spit; and similarly awel, awl; geswelen, seen; lâw, láwerce, lark; sâwol, Goth. sóiwala, soul; snîwan, to snow; þawan from *Þawôjan, to thaw. In verbs like blâwan, OHG. blæan beside bláian, to blow; blôwan, OHG. bluoan beside bluoian, bluowen, to bloom; sâwan, Goth. saian, OHG. sään beside sáian, sâwen, to sow; wâwan, Goth. waian, OHG. wâen beside wâian, 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 cnâwan, to know; crâwan, to crow; flâwan, to flow; grôwan, to grow; hlôwan, to low; mâwan, to mow; rówan, to row; þrâwan, to twist.
eowe, cwe; eowestre, Goth. awistr, sheepfold; hweowol, wheel; meowle, Goth. mawilô, maiden; streowede, Goth. strawida, I strewed; þeowian, to serve. See §§ 77, 89.

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

frætwan, 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.

brœowan, to brew, cp. O.Icel. pp. bruggenn, brewed; cêowan, OHG. kiwan, to chew; getriewe, true, faithful; getriewan, to trust; hêawan, Goth. *haggwan, to hew; niewe, niwe, new; sceawian, Goth. *skaggwôn, 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, searwes; masc. acc. sing. gearone from *gearwne, ready. Nom. cnêo, knee, strêa, straw, trêo, tree, þêo, servant, beside gen. cneowes, strêawes with -ëa- from the nominative, treowes, þeowes. gâd, Goth. gáidw, want, lack; â, ō, Goth. áiw, ever; hrâ, Goth. hráiw, corpse; hrêa, raw; snã, Goth. snáiws, 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. cnêo, snà, strêa, gen. cneowes, snáwes, *strawes, from the latter of which was formed a new nom. cnêow, snàw, strêaw; and similarly hrâw, corpse; hrêaw, raw; trêow, tree; þêow, servant; slâw, lazy; stôw, place; bêow, barley; dêaw, dew; glêaw, wise; hiëw, hiw, shape, colour; hnêaw, stingy; hrêow, repentance; trêow, 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; lās 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. lāeswe, 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)jū, older *hwō, how; neut. tū from *t(w)ū, older *twō, two. See § 130.

ē from *ā(w)i-, older *aiwi-. (Goth. āiws), law; hrē from *hrā(w)i-, older *hraiwi-, corpse; sā from *sā(w)i-, older *saiwi-. (Goth. sāiws), sea; giereþ, prim. Germanic *garwip, 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. clawu, prawu (beside the regular nom. clēa, þrēa), new formations from the gen. and dat. clawe, prawe; dat. pl. sāwum beside sām, with w from the gen. pl. sāwa, of seas; pret. pl. rēowun beside rēon, with w from rōwan, to row; and similarly grēowun, -on, they grew; sēowun, they sowed; &c. On forms like pret. pl. swulton, they died; swummon, they swam, see § 249. gierweþ, he prepares, pret. gierwede, beside the regular forms giereþ, gierede, with w from gierwan; cnēwp for *cnēþ from *cnā(w)iþ, 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; hlæford from hlæfweard, lord; hwilende from hwilwende, transitory; nauht beside older nā-wuht, naught. And in certain verbal forms with the negative prefix, as naes = ne wæs, was not; næron = ne wæron, 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. är, 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, gē, ye; gēo, gio, iū, formerly, of old; geogoʃ, giogoʃ, iugof, youth; geōmor, 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; frēo from *frija-, free; frēond, Goth. frijōnds, friend; nom. acc. neut. prīo, prēo, from *priju = Goth. prija, 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 cēgan from *kaujan, to call; frīgea older friegea = Goth. fráuja, lord, master; dat. hīege, Anglian hēge = Goth. hauja; iēge = Goth. *āujāi, beside nom. hīeg, hay, ieg, island; prēagean from *prauōjan, to threaten; and similarly fēog(e)an, to hate; frēog(e)an, to love. Cp. § 275.

Note.—Forms like nom. hīeg, Goth. hawi, hay; ieg, īg, Goth. *awi, gen. *āujōs, had the final g from the inflected forms, as gen. hīeges, dat. hīege, gen. and dat. iēge.

§ 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. dāljjan, to divide; dēman, Goth. dōmjan, to judge; fyllan, Goth. fulljan, to fill; gelīefan, Goth. galāubjan, 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. rīces 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. badjis, of a bed; cynnes, Goth. kunjis, of a race, generation;
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willa, Goth. wilja, will; henn from *hennju, older *χannjō = Goth. *hanja, hen; and similarly crycc, Goth. *krükja, 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. laggis, lagjip, beside inf. lecgan = Goth. lagjan, to lay. See § 254, Note.

§ 273. Germanic final -ōjan became -ian through the intermediate stages -ējan, -ejan, -iyan, -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 hīer, Goth. hāusei, from *χauzi, hear thou; sēc, 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. hirti, Goth. (acc.) haírdi, shepherd; and similarly ende, end; here, army; læce, physician; rīce, OS. rīki, OHG. rīhhi, Goth. reiki, kingdom; wīte, OS. wīti, 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. -ijj- became -i- through the intermediate stage -ij-; and -ajj- became -e- through the intermediate stages -aij-, -aj-. And then between the -i-, -e- and a following vowel a consonantal glide (written g) was developed (cp. § 270), which was often levelled out into the uninflected forms, as fringedæg, frigdæg, Friday, beside freo from *frío, older *fríjó, OS. fri, woman; ëode from *iode, older *ijò-dæ-, Goth. iddja, he went; gen. æges, cæge, wæge, beside nom. æg (O.Icel. egg, OS. OHG. ei), egg, cæg, key, wæg (Goth. waddjus, O.Icel. veggr), wall; clæg, Goth. (fem.) *kladdja, OS. klei, clay.

The Liquids.

1

§ 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; slæpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slāpan, OHG. słāfan, 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. fallian, to fall; sceal, Goth. O.Icel. os. OHG. skal, shall; and similarly lamb, lamb; land, land; lang, long; lādān, to lead; lēof, dear; leornian, to learn; lif, life; lufu, love; lýchel, little. ealu, ale; meolu, meal; mioluc, milk; talu, number, tale. blōd, blood; clǣne, clean; fēon, to flee; glǣd, 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, gall; weallan, to boil; wulle, wool. col, coal; cōl, cool; fūl, foul; fugol, fowl, bird; smǣl, slender; sadol, saddle; stǣl, he stole. hyll, hill, eall, all; full, full.

On vocalic 1 as in æpl, apple; nǣdl, needle; nægl, nail; segl, sail; settl, seat, see §219.

On the simplification of medial l to l, see §259.

§277. sl underwent metathesis in unstressed syllables, as byrgels, OS. burgisli, tomb; rædels, OS. rādislo, MHG. rätsel, riddle; and similarly bridels, bridle; fætels, tub, vessel; gyrdels older gyrdisl, girdle; riecels, incense. Metathesis of l rarely took place in stem-syllables, as Anglian bold, dwelling, seld, seat, spāld, saliva, beside WS. botl, settl, spātl.

r

§278. Germanic r generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as rēad, Goth. rāujps, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rōd, 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. fáirra, 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; eorpē, earth; feorh, life; heard, hard; scearp, sharp; spearwa, sparrow; steorfan, to die; þorn, thorn; þurh, through; weorc, work. āfierran (pret. āfiérde, see §259, 2), to remove; stæorra, 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, sprāc.
§ 279. West Germanic medial r from older z (§ 252) remained in OE., as betra, Goth. batiza, better; herian, Goth. hazjan, to praise; herd, Goth. huzd, treasure; and similarly coren, chosen; dēor (Goth. dius, gen. diuzis), deer, wild animal; ēare, ear; hieran, to hear; ieldra, elder; lāran, to teach; leornian, to learn; māra, larger; nerian, to save; wāron, they were. ierre, Goth. aīrzeis, OS. OHG. irri, angry; and similarly *durran, to dare; mierran, to hinder; mar; pyrre, 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 ērn, Goth. razn, O.Icel. rann, house; forsc, O.Icel. froskr, OHG. frosk, frog; forst, O.Icel. OS. OHG. frosk, frost; hors, O.Icel. OS. hross, OHG. ros (gen. rosses), horse; iernan, Goth. OS. OHG. rinnan, O.Icel. rinna, to run; and similarly bærnan (wv.), biernan (sv.), to burn; bær, perch (a fish); berstan, to burst; cærse, cress; fersc, fresh; fierst, space of time; gær, grass; hærn, wave; perscan, to thresh (corn); værna beside wraenna, wren.

§ 281. s or l + r became ss, ll by assimilation, as læssa from *læs(i)ra, smaller; fem. gen. dat. sing. þisse (OHG. desera, desero), from *þisre, of this; gen. pl. þissa (OHG. desero), from *þisra; gen. sing. üsses from *ūsres, of our; dat. üssum from *ūsrum. sēlla beside sēra, 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. rüm, 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 āmp, 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.

§ 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;
\( \text{þynn(e), thin. } \text{bân, bone; cwên, queen; heofon, heaven; mylen, mill; stân, stone. } \text{cinn, chin; henn, hen; mann, man; synn, sin.} \)

On vocalic \( n \) as in hræfn, raven; regn, rain; tæcn, token, see § 219.

On the simplification of medial \( nn \) to \( n \), see § 259.

§ 286. \( n \) disappeared in prehistoric OE. before \( ð \), s with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as cūþ, Goth. kunþs, OHG. kund, known; ëst, Goth. ansts, OHG. anst, stem-form ansti-, favour; ðöper, Goth. anþar, OHG. andar, other; ûs, Goth. OHG. uns, us; and similarly cýþan, to make known; dûst, dust; fús, ready; gesîþ, companion; gōs, goose; hōs (OHG. hansa), band, escort; mûþ, mouth; sîþ, journey; tôþ, tooth; wîþcan, to wish; ÿst, storm. The long vowel became shortened in unstressed syllables, as fracuþ, -oþ, Goth. frakunþs, despised; and similarly duguþ, strength, valour; geoguþ, youth; nimaþ from *nimôþ, older *nemonþ-, they take, see § 218. But \( n \) remained when it came to stand before \( s \) at a later period, as clænsian from *clænisian, older *klainisôjan, to cleanse; minsian from *minnisian, to diminish; winster older winester (OHG. winister), left, left hand; also in the Latin loanword pinsian (Lat. pensâre), 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 wē, wit; gē, git, as binde wē, let us bind; binde gē, bind ye!; bunde wē?, 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, lēra, to teach; senda, to send = WS. beran, gehīeran, lēran, sendan; gihēre, they may hear; sprece, they may speak = WS. gehieren, sprecen; bite, they might bite = WS. biten; gen. dat. acc. sing. folo, 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, lǣddun, they led.

§ 289. The Germanic guttural nasal η (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 ηχ 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. drīgkan, OS. drinkan, OHG. trīkan, 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; tungue, tongue; sincan, to sink; singan, to sing; swincan, to labour; tungol, star, constellation.

benc from *baŋkiz, 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; streng, prim. Germanic strength, strength; byncan, 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 päd (Goth. pädā), cloak; pening, O.Icel. penningr, OHG. pfenning, penny; open, O.Icel. oppenn, OS. opan, OHG. offan, open; slēpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slāpan, OHG. slāfan, to sleep; dēop, Goth. diups, O.Icel. djūpr, OS. diop, OHG. tiof, deep; and similarly pæp, path; pott, pot. plegan, to play; pliht, danger, plight; plög, plough; prūt, proud. spere, spear; sprecan, to speak. clyppan, to embrace; grāpian, to grope; stāppan, to step; süpan, to drink; swāpan, to sweep; wāpen, weapon; wēpan, to sweep. hearpe, harp; helpan, to help; weorpan, to throw, cast. hēap, troop, heap; rāp, rope; scēap, sheep; scearp, sharp; scip, ship; üp, 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; brecan, Goth. brikan, OHG. brehhan, to break; and similarly bæc, back; bæp, bath; bān, 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,
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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; hafāp, he has; heafoc, hawk; hēafod, head; hefig, heavy; heofon, heaven; hlāford, lord, master;
hræfn, raven; lāfan, 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; tæfi (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. wīmmen) 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 fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. fæðer, OS. fadar, OHG. fater, father; OE. OS. fif, Goth. OHG. fimf, five; OE. OS. fōt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, foot; gesceafot, 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
faæger, fair, beautiful; faet, firm; faest, vessel, vat; fea, few; feallan, to fall; feld, field; feohtan, to fight; fëower, four; feper, feather; findan, to find; flæsc, flesh; fleax, flax; fleogan, to fly; foda, food; folc, folk; folgian, to follow; fram, from; fréo, free; frëond, friend; frëosan, to freeze; fugol, bird; full, full; fyr, fire. æfter, after; craf, skill; gift, marriage gift; offrian, to offer; pyffan, to puff; ræfsan, refsan, to reprove; sceæft, shaft, pole. ceaf, chaff; hœf, he raised; hrœf, 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: ceæfl, OS. kæfl, cp. MHG. kivel, jaw; ofen, O.Icel. ofn, OHG. ofan, oven; ceafor, OHG. kefar, cockchafer; sceoefl, Goth. *skufla, cp. OHG. scûfla, 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; hrœf, roof.

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

The Dentals.

§ 298. Germanic t remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as tœþ, Goth. tunþus, OS. tand, OHG. zan(d), tooth; tunge, Goth. tuggō, O.Icel. OS. tunga, OHG. zunga, tongue; twä, Goth. twäi, 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; sellan, to tell, count; tid, 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;
hwēte, wheat; meltan, to melt; mētan, to find, meet; restan,
to rest; setl, seat; swēte, sweet; wāter, water. cnotta,
knot; hwettan, to whet, incite; mattoc, mattock; sittan,
to sit. fot, foot; gast, spirit; gylt, guilt; hwēt, what;
hāt, hot; hwit, 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 düsp, dust, fæsp, fast, giefesp, thou givest, wæstsp,
growth, wāsp, thou knowest, for düst, fæst, giefest, wæstsp,
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. latīnum), Latin (language); sīde (Lat. sēta), silk.

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

d

§ 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 dēg, Goth. dags, O. Icel.
dagr, OS. dag, OHG. tag, day; dohtor, Goth. dauhtar,
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,
to bind; biddan, Goth. bidjan, O.Icel. biðja, OS. biddian, OHG. bitten, to pray; OE. OS. blōd, Goth. blōp, O.Icel. blōð, OHG. bluoft, blood; ceald, Goth. kalds, O.Icel. kaldr, OS. kald, OHG. kalt, cold; and similarly dág, dough; dēad, dead; dēaf, deaf; dēap, death; déman, to judge; déofol, devil; dēop, deep; deorc, dark; dōn, to do; dragan, to drag; drīfan, to drive; drīcan, to drink; dūfan, to dive; dumb, dumb; duru, door; dwellan, to lead astray. bodig, body; cwādon, they said; fōdor, fodder, food; healdan, to hold; hierde, he heard; hider, hither; lādan, to lead; lǣde, he led; mōdor, mother; nādre, adder; sadol, saddle; sendan, to send; slīdan, to slide; prīdda, third; weder, weather; pp. worden, become; wudu, wood. brýd, bride; dāed, deed; frōond, friend; pp. gemacod, made; god, God; gōd, good; hand, hand; hēafod, head; heard, hard; hlūd, loud; midd, middle; nacod, naked; rēad, red; word, word.

On the simplification of medial dd to d, see § 259, 3.

Note.—d disappeared in the combination ldl, as sellic beside seldlic (OS. seldlīk, Goth. sildaleiks), strange, wonderful.

§ 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 *blōdisōjan, to bless; bitst beside bidest, thou prays; bint from *bindp, older bindeþ, he binds; bit, bitt from *bidþ, older bideþ, he prays (cp. § 305); cyste (see § 259, 2) from *cyssde, he kissed; gesynto from *gesundipu, health; grētte from *grētde (= Goth. *grōtida), he greeted; ìecte, Goth. *áukida, he increased; lātst beside lǣdest, thou leadest. bin(t)st, older bindest, thou bindest; and similarly fin(t)st, thou findest; giel(t)st, thou yieldest; sten(t)st, thou standest; mils, mercy, milsian, to pity, beside milts, milt-
sian. The d was often restored from forms where it was regular, as findst: findan; milds, mildsian: milde, merciful.

§ 301. Germanic p generally remained in OE. initially, medially when doubled, and finally, as pencan, Goth. pagkjan, OS. thenkian, OHG. denken, to think; püsend, Goth. püsundi, OHG. düsunt, thousand; seppjan, Goth. skapjan, to injure; oppæ, eppa, Goth. aippau, OS. eddo, oddo, OHG. eddo, or; āp, Goth. acc. äip, OS. ēd, OHG. eid, oath; pret. wearp, Goth. warp, OS. ward, OHG. ward, he became; and similarly pancian, to thank; peccan, to cover; péof, thief; ping, thing; þorn, thorn; þræd, thread; þringan, to press; þuma, thumb; þunor, thunder; þwang, thong; þyncan, to seem. moppe, moth; sippan, since, afterwards; snippe, smithy. bæp, bath; berap, they bear; birep, he bears; brop, broth; clap, cloth; cūp, known; cwæp, he said; dēap, death; hæleþ, hero, man; hæp, heath; mōnap, mouth; mūp, mouth; norp, north; tōp, tooth.

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

§ 302. Germanic medial p became d between voiced sounds in OE., although the p was retained in writing. In the oldest period of the language it was often written d. Examples are: babian, to bathe; brōpor, brother; byrþen, burden; eorpæ, earth; fæþm, embrace, fathom; feþer, feather; hæþen, heathen; morþor, murder; ŏper, other; weorþan, to become. Gen. æþes, bæþes, beside nom. āþ, oath, bæþ, bath; inf. cwþan, to say, beside pret. sing. cwþæþ.

§ 303. Germanic medial lp became ld in OE. The ld then became extended to the final position by levelling.
Examples are: fealdan, Goth. falþan, to fold; wilde, Goth. wilþes, wild; wuldor, Goth. wulþus, glory. Gen. goldes (= Goth. *gulþis), dat. golde (= Goth. gulþa), from which a new nom. gold for *golþ (= Goth. gulþ) was formed; and similarly beald, bold; eald, old; feld, field; hold, gracious; weald, forest. But the þp, which arose from vowel syncope, remained, as sæþp, OHG. sālida, happiness; fielþ from older *fielleþ, he falls.

§ 304. Germanic þl generally remained in Anglian, but became dl after long vowels in WS., as ādl (Anglian āþl, ādl, āld), disease; nādl (Anglian nēþl, Goth. nēþla), needle; wēdl (Anglian wēþl), poverty; wēdlþa, pauper; widlian, to defile.

§ 305. The combinations þt, þp became tt which was simplified to t finally and after consonants, as bit(t) from *bitþp, older biteþp, he bites; it(t) from *itþp, older iteþp, he eats; þætte from þæt þe, that which. bit(t) from *bidþp, older bideþp, he prays; bit(t) from *bidþp, older bideþp, he awaits; bint from *bindþp, older bindeþp, he binds; gesynto from *gesundiþu, health; lāttþow (also lādtþow, latþþow due to the influence of the uncompounded forms) from older lāþþow, leader; mittþ from mid þþ, when, while; ofer-mēttþo from *ofermōdiþu, pride. Cp. § 300.

The combinations s, ssþ became st, as ciest from ciesþp, older cieseþp, he chooses; and similarly forlþiest, he loses; wiext, it grows; hafastu = hafasþþu, hast thou. cyst (cp. § 259, 2) from older cyssþp, he kisses.

þþ became assimilated to ss, as bliss, bliss, blissian, to rejoice, liss, favour; beside blþþs, blþþsian, lisps. In late OE. þþd became assimilated to dd, as cþþde beside older cþþþde, he made known.

þþ disappeared before st, as cwist, older cwþþest, thou sayest; wierþ, older wierþþest, thou becomest, cp. § 476.

On forms like cwþþ, wierþ from cwþþþþ, he says, wierþþþ, he becomes, cp. § 259, 1.
The Sibilant s.

§ 306. Germanic s remained in OE. initially, medially in combination with voiceless consonants, and finally, as sā, Goth. sāiws, OS. OHG. sēo, 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; slidan, to slide; smāl, 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; hōrs, horse; īs, ice; mūs, mouse; wās, 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, boud, wrips, lisping, wæsp, wāsp, beside æsp, osp, wīesp, wæps (wāfs).

§ 307. Germanic s became z between voiced sounds in OE., but the s was retained in writing, as bósm, bosom; cēosan, to choose; grasian, to graze; hāsl, hazel shrub; lesan, to collect; nosu, nose; ōsle, ousel; wesole, wesle, weasel; wesan, to be, beside wās, 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 \( a, \ddot{a}, o, \ddot{o}, u, \ddot{u} \), and their umlauts \( \ddot{æ} (e), \ddot{æ}, e, \ddot{e} (\ddot{e}) \), \( y, \ddot{y} \), but became a palatal before the palatal vowels, \( \ddot{æ}, \ddot{æ} (\ddot{e}) = \text{Germanic } \ddot{a}, \text{ e } (= \text{Germanic e}) \); \( \ddot{e} (\ddot{e}) = \text{Germanic } \ddot{e}, \text{ e } (= \text{Germanic e}) \); \( ea, eo, io \) from Germanic \( a, e, i \) by breaking (§ 49), \( \ddot{e}a, \ddot{e}o, \ddot{io}, i, \ddot{i}, \text{ and their umlauts } e, ie (= i-umlaut of } ea, io) \), \( \ddot{ie} (= i-umlaut of } \ddot{ea}, \ddot{io}) \), see § 47.

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

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

Some scholars assume that palatal \( c \) and \( nc \) became \( tf (= ch \text{ in NE. chin), ntʃ in Mercian, WS. and Ken. in the earliest period of the language, but this is an assumption which cannot be proved. All that we know for certain is that OE. had a guttural and a palatal } k \), 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 \( \ddot{secean}, to seek; \ddot{pcecean}, to cover; \ddot{pencean}, to think, ep. } \ddot{§ 319}, \text{ Note.} \)
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 tf 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.

cêlan from *köljan, to cool; cemban from *kambjan, to comb; corn, Goth. kaúrn, corn; cûp, Goth. kunþs, known; cynn, Goth. kuni, race, generation; cnéo, Goth. kniu, kuce; and similarly camb, comb, comb; cêne, keen, bold; cennan, to give birth; cêpan, to keep; cól, cool; coss, kiss; cū, cow; cuman, to come; cyning, king; cyssan, to kiss; cŷpan, to make known. clæne, clean; climban, to climb; cnota, knot; cæft, skill; cwên, queen. Also in Lat. loanwords, as candel (Lat. candéla), candle; copor (Lat. cuprum), copper; cycene (late Lat. coquina, cucina), kitchen; and similarly camp, fight, battle; cempa, warrior; cōc, cook; cuppe, cup.

æcer, Goth. akrs, prim. Germanic *akraz, field; nacod, Goth. naqþþs, 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; ſancian, to thank.

bucc, O.Icel. bokkr, Indg. *bhugnós, buck; blæc, prim. Germanic *blakaz, black; geoc, Goth. juk, prim. Germanic *jukan, yoke; and similarly āc, oak; bæc, back; bōc, book; brocc, badger; flocc, flock; folc, folk; mioluc, milk; sēoc, sick; weorc, work; ſanc, 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; cealc, chalk;
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ceald, cold; cealf, calf; ceorfan, to carve, cut; ceorl, churl, man; cēowan, to chew; cīdan, to chide; cīese, cheese; cierran, to turn; cild, child; cirice, church.

bēc from *bōkiz, books; læce, Goth. lékeis, physician; smīec from *smaukiz, smoke; weccan, Goth. us-wakjan, to arouse; benc from *banjkiz, bench; ānc(e)an, Goth. āagkjan, to think; and similarly birce, birch; crycc, crutch; flicce, flitch; mēce, sword; mycel, great; sēc(e)an, to teach; strecc(e)an, to stretch; styccce, piece; tāc(e)an, to teach; wicce, witch; drecc(e)an, to submerge; āync(e)an, to seem; stenc, smell, odour.

Note.—1. cs was generally written x in OE., as æx beside older æces, axe; rixian beside rīcsian from *rīkisōn, to ride.

2. OE. final c became palatal when preceded by i or ā, as ic, I; hwelc from *hwa-līk, which; lic, body; pic, pitch; swelc from *swa-līk, such.

3. In Anglian final c became χ (written h) in unstressed words, as ah beside late WS. ac, but; īowih (īowih), you, ūsih, us, beside WS. ēowic, ēsic; ih, I, meh, me, þeh, thee, beside the stressed forms ic, mec, þec.

§ 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 f (= 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; sciepl, shield; scieppan, to create; scieran, to shear; scilling, shilling; scip, ship; scōl, shoe; scrūd, dress, garment; scudor, shoulder; scūr, shower; scyldig, guilty. blyscan, to blush; þerscan, to thresh; wascan, to wash;
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**wīscan**, 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.

**g**

§ 313. Germanic z became g after η during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234). gj (§ 254) and zn (§ 256) became gg in West Germanic. Germanic z remained a spirant in all other positions in the oldest period of OE. On the normal development of Germanic z in the other Germanic languages, see § 235.

Germanic initial and medial z 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 z remained in the oldest period of the language, but had become the voiced explosive g before the end of the OE. period. Initial palatal z (written g) 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 g in OE.

§ 315. 1. Guttural z.

gäst, OS. gēst, OHG. geist, spirit; OE. OS. gōd, Goth. gōps, O.Icel. gōdr, OHG. guot, good; OE. OS. OHG. gold, Goth. gulþ, 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,
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poured out; gúþ, war; gylden, golden. glæd, glad; glôf, glove; gnætt, gnat; grêne, green; grund, ground.

§ 316. 2. Palatal g.

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

Note.—The guttural and palatal g often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, as pl. gatu beside sing. geat; pret. pl. guton, pp. goten, beside inf. gêotan, pret. sing. gêa.

§ 317. The g in the combination ðg 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 ðg: OE. OS. OHG. bringan, Goth. briggan, to bring; cyning from *kuningaz, king; lang from *laŋgaz, long; tunge, Goth. tuggô, OS. tunga, OHG. zunga, longue; and similarly englisc, English; finger (Goth. figgers), finger; hring, ring; hungor, hunger; singan, to sing; springan, to leap; stingan, to sting; ping, thing.

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

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

§ 318. ðg became ðc before voiceless consonants, but the g was generally restored through association with forms where g was regular, as brincst, thou bringest, brincþ,
he brings, beside bringst, bring\(\rangle\), with \(g\) restored from the other forms of the verb; strenc\(\rangle\) from *strang\(\rangle\)u, beside stren\(\rangle\), strength, with \(g\) restored from strang, strong; and similarly ancsum, narrow, lencten, spring, sprinc\(\rangle\), he leaps, beside angsum, lengten, spring\(\rangle\).

§ 319. West Germanic gg from prim. Germanic \(gn\) (§ 256) remained guttural in OE. and was generally written gg, as dogga, dog; ēarwicga, 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; ēage, Goth. áugō, O.Icel. auga, OS. óga, OHG. ouga, eye; OE. OS. OHG. stīgan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stiga, to ascend; and similarly āgan, to possess; dagian from *daʒōjan, to dawn; duguj, strength, virtue; belgan,
to become angry; beorgan, to protect, shelter; boga, bow; bügan, to bow down; fleogan, to fly; fleoge, fly; folgian, to follow; fugol, bird, fowl; lagu, law; lēogan, to he; maga, stomach; slōgon, 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 *wægiz, 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, slain; tæg(e)l, tail; gen. sing. dæges, weges.

Note.—ʒ became h (= x) 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, stīgēþ; and similarly flīhst, 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, bridels, bridle, frīnan, to ask, lēde, he laid, mǣden, maiden, ongēan (ongēn), against, rīnan, to rain, sǣde, he said, strēdan, to strew, tīpian, to grant, þēnian, to serve, beside bregdan, brigdel, brigdels, frignan, legde, mægden, ongeagn, rīgnan, sægde, stregdan, tīgpian, þegnian. Gen. rēnes beside regnes, from which a new nom. rēn beside regn, rain, was formed; and similarly þēn, servant, wēn, wagon, beside þegn, wægn. See §§ 54, Note 1; 80, Note 2; 96, Note 1.

§ 322. Medial -igi-, -ige- were contracted to -i- as in MHG., as gelire beside geligere, fornication; il beside igil, hedgehog; sīpe from *sigiþe, scythe; tile beside tigele, tile; liþ (MHG. liht) beside ligeþ (MHG. liget), he lies; list beside ligest, thou liest.
§ 323. When Germanic g 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 g (= ȝ) was mostly restored again owing to the influence of the inflected forms. After liquids and guttural vowels the restoration of the g 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 -h rarely occurs after palatal vowels, as in sextih beside sextig, sixty; weh beside weg, weigh thou. The h (= χ) 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; flēah, he flew; genōh, enough; stih, path; troh beside trog, trough.

§ 324. Final g became palatal after palatal vowels, as dāeg, day; mæg, may; weg, way; ānig, any; bodig, body; dysig, foolish; ḡalig, holy; hefig, heavy; manig, many. Then at a later period (earliest in Ken.) g became i consonant which combined with a preceding æ, e to form a diphthong, as dæi (Ken. dei), mæi, wei, late WS. also dæig, mæig, weig. And -ig became -i through the intermediate stage -i, as āni, dysi, hefi, &c.

Note.—The above æi, ei from older æg, eg have fallen together in all the modern dialects just as in the standard language.

h

§ 325. Initial χ had become an aspirate before vowels already in prim. Germanic (§ 246). In OE. it also became an aspirate initially before consonants except in the combination χw. The spirant remained in the combination χw
§ 326. Gutturals and has been preserved in many Scottish dialects down to the present day. Examples are: OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. hūs, house; habban, Goth. haban, O.Icel. hafa, OHG. haben, to have; and similarly hamor, hammer; hand, hand; hālan, to heal; hēafod, head; heard, hard; heorte, heart; hieran, to hear; hold, gracious; hungor, hunger.

hlāf, Goth. hläfs, OHG. hleib, loaf, bread; OE. OS. OHG. hnigan, to bend down; OE. OS. OHG. hring, O.Icel. hringr, ring; and similarly hladan, to load; hlēapan, to leap; hlid, lid; hlot, lot; hnutu, nut; hræfn, raven; hrōd, reed; hrimig, rimy.

hwā, Goth. hwās, OS. hwē, OHG. hwer, who; hwil, Goth. hveila, O.Icel. hvil, OS. OHG. hwila, space of time; and similarly hwæl, whale; hwæte, wheat; hwæper, which of two; hwelp, whelp; hwit, while.

Note.—h often disappeared with ne and habban, as nabban, not to have; næbbe, I have not; næfde, I had not. It also disappeared in the second element of compounds which were no longer felt as such in OE., as bōt from *bi-hāt, boast; frēols from *frī-hals, freedom; eofot from *ef-hāt, debt; licuma beside older lic-hama, body; ōnettan from *on-hātjan, to hasten; ōret (OHG. urheiz) from *or-hāt, battle; wælhrēow beside older wæl-hrēow, fierce, cruel.

§ 326. Medial χ 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 brōhte, Goth. OS. OHG. brāhta, he brought; dohtor, Goth. daúhtar, OS. dohtar, OHG. tohter, daughter; eahta, Goth. ahtáu, OS. OHG. ahto, eight; and similarly bohte, he bought; cniheht, cniht, boy; feoh-tan, to fight; hleahtor, laughter; lēoht, a light; pret. meahte, he might; reoht, riheht, ryht, right; söhte, he sought; pōhte, he thought; ūhta, dawn. crohha, crouch, pot; geneahhe, sufficiently; pohha, pocket; tiohhian, to think, consider.
Dat. dehter from *dohtri, beside nom. dohtor, daughter; flyht from *fluxtiz, flight; hiehsta from *χαυχιστ-, highest; hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; liethan, Goth. liuhtjan, to give light; siehst, OHG. sihis, thou seest; siehp, OHG. sihit, he sees; and similarly fēhst, thou seizesst; fēhp, he seizes; niehsta, nearest; tyht, training, habit.

§ 327. χs became ks (written x) in OE., as oxa, Goth. aúhsa, OS. OHG. ohso, ox; siex, Goth. saíhs, OS. OHG. seis, 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. hōh, high; nēah, OS. OHG. nāh, near; seah, OS. OHG. sah, he saw; sealh, OHG. salaha, willow; þurh, Goth. þáírh, 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; wealth, foreigner. feorh, life; furh, furrow; mearth, horse.

Note.—Such forms as late WS. bēoh, colour, ēoh, yew, frēoh, free, beside blēo, ēo, frēo, owe their final h to the analogy of words like feoh, gen. feos.

§ 329. Medial χ disappeared:
1. Before s + consonant, as fýst from *fūΧstiz, fist; Nth. se(i)sta, sixth, beside WS. siexta, syxta which was a new formation from the cardinal; sester (Lat. sextārius), 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 *χαυχιστ-, highest.
2. Between a vowel and a following liquid or nasal, as betwēonan, betwēonum, between, cp. Goth. tweihnái, two each; ēorod from *eohrād, troop; fiol, fēol (OHG. fihala),
file; hēla from *hōhila, heel; lāne (OS. lēhni), transitory; lēoma, ray of light, cp. Goth. liuhaþ, light; stīele from *staxlja-, steel (§ 71); ðwēal (Goth. þwahli), washing, bath; masc. acc. sing. wōne beside nom. wōh, perverse, bad; ÿmest (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. éoles, fēares, fēores, hōles, mēares, sēoles, wēales, beside nom. eolh, elk, fearh, pig, feorh, life, holh, hole, mearh, horse, 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; ëam (OHG. ōheim), uncle; ēar (Nth. ēhher, OHG. ahir), car of corn; flēan from *fleahan, older *flahan, to flay; and similarly lēan, to blame; slēan (Goth. slahan), to slay; ðwēan (Goth. ðwahan), to wash; flēon (OHG. fliohan), to fleece; fōn (Goth. fāhan), to seize; hōn (Goth. hāhan), to hang; lion, lēon (OHG. līhan), to lend; nēar from *nēahur, near; sēon from *seohan, older *sehan (OHG. sehan), to see; sīon, sēon (OHG. sīhan), to strain; slā beside older slāhæ (OHG. slēha), sloe; swēor (OHG. swehur), father-in-law; tā beside older tāhæ (OHG. zēha), toc; tēar (Nth. tæher, OHG. zahar), tear; þion, þeon (Goth. þeihan), to thrive; sing. gen. fēos, płeos, 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 flīþ from *flihiþ, he flies, fōþ, he seizes, sis(t) from *sihis, thou seest, sīp from *sihiþ, he sees, hēsta from *hēhista, highest, nēsta from *nēhista, nearest, beside WS. flīþp, 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 daeg, day; word, word; dæl, part; hand, hand; lamb, lamb, correspond to prim. Germanic *dągaz, *daŋan, older -os, -om; *wurđan, 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-
guage except in the o- and the n-stems. And the original distinction between the nom. and acc. plural of masculine and feminine nouns had also disappeared, as nom. acc. dagas, days, ēste, favours, suna, sons, but Goth. nom. dagōs, ansteis, sunjus; acc. dagans, anstins, sununs; guman, men, prim. Germanic nom. *gumaniz, acc. *gumanunz; fēt, feet, prim. Germanic nom. *fōtiz, acc. Goth. fōtuns. In like manner the original case endings of the n-stems, with the exception of the nom. singular and the gen. and dat. plural, had also disappeared in the oldest English, so that the element which originally formed part of the stem came to be regarded as a case ending (§§ 211-15), cp. the similar process in the plural of the neuter -os-stems (§§ 419-20).

Before attempting the OE. declensions from a philological point of view, the student should master the chapter on the vowels of unaccented syllables, because it is impossible to restate in this chapter all the details dealt with there.

§ 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 -ās in the oldest period of the language, and in late OE. occasionally in -as, -ys. The oldest ending of the dat. sing. is -ā. 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-ēi, at home, not to oik-oi which would have become -e in OE. as in the dat. (§ 217). In late OE. the dat. pl. ended in -un, -on, -an (§ 284).

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. θερμός, 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 *kuzís (§ 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; āh, oath; bæst, bast; bār, boar; bāt, boat; bēag, ring, bracelet; bēam, tree; beard, beard; bearm, bosom; bēod, table; beorg, hill; beorn, warrior; bōg, bough; bolt, bolt; borg, pledge; bræp, 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; clāb, cloth; clūt, patch; cnihth, boy; cræft, skill,
strength; cwealm, death; dōm, doom; drēam, joy, revelry;
dweorg, dwarf; earm, arm; earn, eagle; eorl, nobleman;
fisc, fish; flēam, flight; forsca, frog; forst, frost; fox,
fox; gang, going; gāst, spirit; gēac, cuckoo; geard,
yard; gielp, boasting; hæft, 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; læst, footprint;
mæst, mast; mōr, moor; mūp, mouth; rāp, rope; rūm,
room; sceaf, shaft; sēam, seam; stōl, stool; storm,
storm; strēam, stream; torn, grief; þanc, thought; þēof,
thief; þorp, prop, farm, village; weg, way; wer, man;
wulf, wolf.

See § 259, on nouns whose stems ended in double con-
sonants: 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 Æ 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.), dirh, 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 dissyllabic 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 dissyllabic words, see § 221.

§ 339. Like cyning are declined æcer, field; cocer, quiver; hærfest, autumn; hengest, horse. brîdels, bridle; fætels, vessel, tub; for other examples of nouns ending in -els, see § 598. æpeling, prince; cnæpling, youth; gædeling, companion; lýtling, child; for other examples of nouns ending in -ling, see § 607.

§ 340. Like engel are declined æled, fire; angel, fish-hook; āpum, 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; færpm, embrace; fugol, bird, fowl; hæg(e), hagol, hail; ofen, oven; nāgl, 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 -op, -ap, 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; eofoþ, boar; hafoc, heafoc, hawk; hamor, hammer; heorot, stag, hart;
method, Creator; robor, sky; sadol, saddle; stapol, pillar; punor, thunder. On the variation of the vowel in the medial syllable, see § 222.

§ 342. Neuter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>hof, dwelling</th>
<th>fæt, vessel</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acc.</td>
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<td>word</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>hof, dwelling</td>
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<td>Gen.</td>
<td>wordes</td>
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<td>hofes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>worde</td>
<td></td>
<td>hofe</td>
<td>fæte</td>
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</table>

Plur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>hofu, -o</th>
<th>fatu, -o</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>word</td>
<td>hofu, -o</td>
<td>fatu, -o</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hofa</td>
<td>fata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hofum</td>
<td>fatum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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; bæl, funeral pile; băn, bone; bærn, child; bēor, beer; blōd, blood; bold, dwelling; bord, board; brēost, breast; corn, corn; dēor, wild animal; düst, 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; hrīs, twig; hūs, house; īs, ice; lām, clay; land, land; lēaf, leaf; lēan, reward; lēorp, song, poem; lic, body; lin, 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;
§§344–7] **Nouns**

weorc, work; weorp, worth, price; wif, woman. And similarly words with a prefix, as behát, 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; broþ, 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, gebeorc, barking. See §259, 1 on nouns whose stems ended in double consonants: fell, skin; full, cup; toll, tax, toll.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tungol</td>
<td>star</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>heafod, head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wæteres</td>
<td>tungles</td>
<td>wæter</td>
<td>heafode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>tangle</td>
<td>wætere</td>
<td>heafode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 345. Like fæt are declined bæc, back; bæþ, bath; blæc, ink; blæd, leaf; bræs, brass; cræt, cart; dæl, dale; fæc, period of time, space; fær, journey; fnæd, fnæs, fringe; geæs from older græs (§280), grass; glæs, glass; graef, grave, cave; hæf, sea; saep, sap; scræf, cave; swæþ, track; traef, tent; þæc, thatch, roof; wæd, water, sea; wæl, slaughter. See §§54, 57.

§ 346. flæh, fraud, gen. flæs, dat. flæ; þæoh, thigh, gen. þæos, dat. þeo, pl. þeo, gen. þeo, dat. þeom; pleoh, danger, gen. pleós, dat. pléo, pl. pléo; holh, hollow, hole, gen. hóles, dat. hóle, pl. holh, see §149. feoh, cattle, originally belonged to the u-declension (§399).
Plur.
Nom. Acc. tungol wæter hēafodu
Gen. tungla wæterā hēafdu
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(e)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 cliwenen, cliwen, ball of thread, clew; māden, mægden, maiden; nieten, animal.
b. ja-stems.

§ 351.  

Masculine.

Sing.
Nom. Acc.  secg, man  ende, end
Gen.  secges  endes
Dat.  secge  ende

Plur.
Nom. Acc.  secg(e)as  endas
Gen.  secg(e)a  enda
Dat.  secg(i)um  endum

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, hergas, herigæas; 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; lærce, physician; mêce, sword; and the nomina agentis, as bæcere, baker; biddere, petitioner; bōcere, scribe; sǣdere, sower; for further examples see § 602.

§ 355. Neuter.

Sing.

Nom. Acc. cyn(n), race wite, punishment wēsten, desert
Gen. cynnes wites wēstennes
Dat. cynne wite wēstenne

Plur.

Nom. Acc. cyn(n) witu wēstennu
Gen. cynna wīta wēstenna
Dat. cynnum wītum wēstennum

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, wēstennu 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).
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, 1. 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; rūne, 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, geþeode, language. flicce, prim. Germanic *flikkja-, flitch; stycce, prim. Germanic *stukkja-, piece. See § 270, Note, on nouns like hieg (Goth. hawi), hay, hiew, hiw (Goth. hiwi), shape, appearance, glig, glīw (Goth. *gliwi), gleæ, gen. hiegæs, hiewes (hiowes), gliges, glīves.

§ 358. Like wēsten are declined faesten(n), fortress, cp. § 600; bærnet(t), arson; nierwet(t), narrowness; sāwet(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. cofincæs; and similarly hæftincel, slave; hūsincel, little house; scipincel, little ship; sūlincel, small furrow; for further examples, see § 606. fijere, wing.
c. wa-stems.

§ 359.  

Masculine.

Sing.

Nom. Acc.  

bearu, -o, grove  

beo, servant

Gen.  

bearwes  

beowes

Dat.  

bearwe  

beowe

Plur.

Nom. Acc.  

bearwas  

beowas

Gen.  

bearwa  

beowa

Dat.  

bearwum  

beowum

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, *þewaz, -an regularly became bearu (later bearo), þeo. 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 þeow, snaw beside older þeo, snā. And then from þeow there was often formed a new gen. þeowes beside the regular form þeowes (§ 265). On forms like gen. bearuwes beside bearwes, see § 220.

§ 360. Like þeo, þeow are declined bēaw, gadfly; dēaw (also neut.), deow; lārþow from lār þþow, teacher; lattēow from lād þþow, leader; þþaw, custom; briw (Goth. *breiws), potillage, porridge; giw, gēow, griffin, vulture; iw, iow, ðow, yew; sliw (Goth. *sleiws), tench (a fish).
§ 361. **Neuter.**

**Sing.**

Nom. Acc. bealu, -o, *evil*  cnēo, *knee*
Gen. bealwes  cneowes
Dat. bealwe  cneowe

**Plur.**

Nom. Acc. bealu, -o  cnēo
Gen. bealwa  cneowa
Dat. bealwum  cneowum

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 neuters. It should be noted that the nom. acc. plural bealu, cnēo are from older *beal(w)u, *kne(w)u* (§ 266), whereas the nom. acc. sing. bealu, cnēo, 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. cnēo, there also occurs cnēow with *w* from the inflected forms; and also cnēowu 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 cnēo, cnēow are also declined anclēow (orig. masc.), ankle; bēow, barley; gehlōw, lowing, bellowing; gehrēow, lamentation; hlēo(w), protection, covering; sēaw (also masc.), *juice*; strēa(w), straw; trēo(w), tree.

2. **The *ō*-declension.**

§ 364. The *ō*-declension contains feminine nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek *ā*-declension, for which reason it is sometimes called the *ā*-declension. The *ō*-declension is divided into pure *ō*-stems, jō-stems, and wō-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. χώρα), 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 -ae in prehistoric OE. (§ 217). The -ae 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 -ung in these dialects. Seeing that the gen. sing. and nom. pl. originally had the same ending -ōz and that both cases ended in -ae in the oldest OE., the -a in the nom. pl. cannot be a regular development from
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 læpe, ræce, beside lape, race.

§ 366. Like giefu are declined caru, care; coju, disease; cwalu, violent death; daru, injury; denu, valley; faru, journey; hogu, solicitude; laji, invitation; luju (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; swaju, 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; bār, 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; scofi, 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.


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 strengþu, -o, strengþ are declined cŷþþu, cŷþþ (p), native country; fæþþ(u), feud; gesæþþ(u), prosperity;
§ 373. Like *leornung* are declined *äfnung*, *evening*; *äring*, *dawn*; *gepfung*, *consent*; *lēasung*, *falsehood*; *rihtung*, *direction*; *swinsung*, *melody*; *wēnung*, *hope, expectation*; for further examples, see § 615.

b. *jō*-stems.

§ 374. SING.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>hen(n), <em>hen</em></th>
<th>gierd, <em>rod</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>henne</td>
<td>gierde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>henne</td>
<td>gierde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>henne</td>
<td>gierde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>henna, -e</th>
<th>gierda, -e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>henna</td>
<td>gierda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hennum</td>
<td>gierdum</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* 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)na (§ 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*; *syl*, *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*; *līps*, *liss*, *favour*, *kindness*; *milts*, *mercy*, *kind-
ness; nift, niece; rest, rest; spræc, speech, language; wræc, vengeance; wylf, she-wolf; ðyp, wave. On the g in cæg, key; ðeg, island, see §§ 270, 272.

§ 377. Sing.
Nom. byrṳ(n), burden
Acc. byrṳenne
Gen. byr缗enne
Dat. byr缗enne

§ 378. Like byr蔺en(n) are declined candel (Lat. candela), candle; cnėoris(s), generation; haegtes(s), witch; biren, she-bear; fyxen, she-fox; gyden, goddess; ðyften, 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. rǣden(n), arrangement, rule; hūsrǣden(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 ð-o-stems, as hyrnetu beside hynnet, hornet; ielfetu, swan.

c. wō-stems.

§ 379. Sing.
Nom. beadu, -o, battle
Acc. Gen. Dat. beadwe

Plur.
Nom. Acc. beadwa, -e
Gen. beadwa
Dat. beadwum
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 *hra(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)na 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 frætwe, ornaments; geatwe, armaments, armour.

§ 381. Like mæd are declined blōð(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-ôn, 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. manageinô, 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. strenge, -u, -o „
Gen. „ strenga
Dat. „ strengum

§ 383. Like strengu are declined bieldu, boldness; bierhtu, brightness; engu, narrowness; fyllu, fullness; hælu, health; hætu, heat; hyldu, favour; ieldu, age; menigu, mengu, multitude; oferfierru, great distance; snytru, wisdom; þiestru, 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).
Nouns

§ 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) *gásti (cp. OHG. ensti) beside *gastëi (cp. Goth. anstái); Plur. nom. *gastiz older -ijiz = Indg. -ejes (Goth. gasteis), acc. *gastinz (Goth. gastins), gen. *gast(i)jôn, Indg. -jôm, -ijôm (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; Norþhymbre, Northumbrians; Seaxe (gen. Sexna), Saxons; ielde, men; ielfe, elves; liode, lēode, people. The ending -(i)jôn 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; scythe, shove; scyte, shooting; sele, hall; sice, sigh; slege, stroke, blow; slide, slip; slit; snide, incision; stæpe (see § 55), step; stede, place; stice, stitch; stige, ascent; stride, stride; swyle, swelling; yle, 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,
furze; glām, gleam; gylt, guilt; hlīep, leap; hlyst (also fem.), sense of hearing; hwyrf, turning, circuit; hyht, hope; lāst, track; lēc, sight, looking at; lieg, flame; list, skill, cunning; lyft (also fem.), air; māw, seagull; pliht, danger, peril; sāl (also fem.), time; scenc, cup, draught; sliht, slaughter; smīec, smoke; stenc, odour; steng, pole; stiell, leap; streng, string; swēg, sound, noise; swylt, death; tyht, training, instruction; ęyrs, giant; wāg, wave; wiell, spring; wielm, boiling; wrenc, trick, stratagem; wyrm, worm.

§ 388. sā, prim. Germanic *saiwiz, sea, gen. sās, dat. sā, pl. nom. acc. sās, gen. *sāwa, dat. sām beside sāwum (a new formation); also fem. gen. dat. sā beside sāwe; drŷ, magician, gen. drŷs, dat. drŷ, pl. nom. acc. drŷas, dat. drŷum. On the contracted forms, see §§ 139, 142.

b. Feminine.

§ 389. Sing. Plur.
Nom. Acc. cwēn, queen cwēne, -a
Gen. cwēne cwēna
Dat. cwēne 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; ansien, face; bēn, prayer; benc, bench; brŷd, bride; cŷf, tub;
cyst, choice; dæd, deed; dryht, troop; ēst (Goth. ansts), favour; fierd, army; ṭistik, fist; glēd, live coal; hæs, command; hýd, hide, skin; hýf, hive; hyrst, ornament; meaht, miht, might, power; niéd, need; scyld, guilt; spēd, success; sýl, pillar; tid, time; ūþyp, strength; wāed, garment; wēn, hope, expectation; wist, sustenance, food; wyrd, fate; wyrt, vegetable, herb; ýst, storm. duguþ, strength, geoguþ, youth, ides, woman, which originally belonged to this declension, went over into the ō-declension.

Note.—āe, prim. Germanic *aiwiz, divine law, generally remains uninflected in the sing. and in the nom. acc. plural, but beside the gen. dat. sing. āe there also exists āwe from which a new nom. āw 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; grín, 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; geþeahht, thought; geþyld, patience; gewyrht, merit, desert; pl. gedryhtu, 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; flīes, fleece; hæl, health; hilt (also masc.), hilt; lān, loan; sweng, blow. gefēg, joining, joint; gegrynd, plot of ground; gehield, watching, protection; gehlīyd, noise; gehnaest, -ast, collision; genyht, sufficiency; geresp, blame; gewēd, 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. -us, acc. -um, -uv; neut. nom. acc. -ū, -v).

a. Masculine.

§ 395. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sunu, -o, son</td>
<td>feld, field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>suna</td>
<td>felda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>suna</td>
<td>felda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Accidence

Plur.
Nom. Acc. suna felda
Gen. suna felda
Dat. sunum feldum

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; dēap (Goth. dāþus), death; feorh (also neut.), life; fōd, flood; grund, ground; lust, pleasure, desire; scield, shield; þorn, thorn; beofor, beaver; esol,
ass; hungor, hunger; fiscoj, fishing; huntopo, hunting; for further examples, see § 595.

§ 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. æpp(p)les, pl. æpp(p)la beside æpp(p)las, and neut. æpp(p)lu), apple; winter (pl. neut. wintru beside winter), winter.

b. Feminine.

§ 398. Sing.

Nom. Acc. duru, -o, door  hand, hand
Gen. dura  handa
Dat. dura  handa

Plur.

Nom. Acc. dura  handa
Gen. dura  handa
Dat. durum  handum

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
ó-declension), Goth. *qaírnus, hand-mill; flör (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 OE. feoh (Goth. faíhu), cattle, went over into the a-declension in prehistoric OE.

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(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, OE. 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 -ō from the genitive. In OE. the nom. and acc. sing. and the nom. pl. were regularly developed from the correspond-
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 *gumanôn 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 *gumô(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 dêma, judge, cŷta, kite, becca, pickaxe, brytta, distributor, prince, from prim. Germanic *dömjô, *kûtjô, *bakjô, *brutjô.

§ 401. Like guma are declined a large number of nouns, as acumba, oakum; āra, strigil; ārendra, messenger; āglâca, monster; anda, envy; andsaca, adversary;anga, goad; apa, ape; assa, ass; bana, slayer; bêna, suppliant; beorma, barm, yeast; bera, bear; bes(e)ma, besom; bita, bit, morsel; blanca, horse; blôstma, blossom; boda, messenger; boga, bow; bolla, bowl; brôga, terror; bucca, he-goat; bylda, builder; byrga, surety; cleofa, cliff, 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; fêpa, 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, councillor; 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. oexen, exen, beside oxan, §107), ox; plega, play; pohha, pouch, bag; prica, prick, point; rima, rim; ryŋha, mastiff; sāda, cord, snare; scanca, shank; scaʃa, 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; storra, star; swēora, neck; swica, deceiver; swima, giddiness; telga, branch; trega, grief, affliction; ōearfa, pauper; ōuma, thumb; welca, 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 flea, flea; gefa, foe; (ge)fēa, joy; lēo, lion; rā, roe; twēo, doubt; wēa, we; and the plural Swēon, Swedes. See §139.

§403. Sing.

Nom. tunge, tongue bēo, bee
Acc. tungan bēon
Gen. tungan bēon
Dat. tungan bēon

Plur.

Nom. Acc. tungan bēon
Gen. tungena bēona
Dat. tungum bēom
§ 404. Nouns

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 -ön in both genders, the West Germanic languages restricted -ō to the masculine and -ön 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 -ön (§ 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; ðepexe, lizard; bæcestre (also masc.), baker (for other examples containing the suffix -estre, see § 603); béce, beech-tree; belle, bell; berige, berry; bieme, trumpet; bice, bitch; binde, head-band; blædre, bladder; blæse, blaze, firebrand, torch; burne, stream, brook; byrne, corslet; canne, can, cup; cēace, cheek, jaw; ceeole, throat; circe, church; clugge, bell; crāwe, crow; cuppe, cup; cūslyppe, -sloppe, cowslip; cwene, woman; docce, dock (plant); dúce, duck; eorēpe, earth; faecele, torch; faþe, aunt; fiþele, fiddle; fleoge, fly; fliete, cream; folde, earth; hacele, cloak; hearpe, harp; heofone, heaven; heorte (orig. neut.), heart; hlæfdige, lady; hrūse, earth; loppe, flea; mæge, māge, kinswoman; meowle, maiden; miere, mare; mōdrige, maternal aunt; molde, earth; more, parsnip; mōppe, moth; nādre, snake;
§ 405. Like beo are declined cēo, jackdaw, chough; flā, arrow; sēo, pupil of the eye; slā, slāh, sloe; tā, toe; ḫō, clay. See § 139.

c. Neuter.

§ 406. Sing.   Plur.
Nom. Acc.  ēage, eye  ēagan
Gen.      ēagan       ēagena
Dat.      ēagan       ēagum

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 Indog. parent language. This was changed in prim. Germanic into -ōnō with -ō from the neuter a-stems. -ōnō regularly became -ōna in Goth., as áugō, eye, nom. acc. pl. áugōna. 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.

I. Monosyllabic Consonant Stems.

a. Masculine.

§ 408. Sing.   Plur.
Nom. Acc.  fōt, foot  fēt
Gen.      fōtes       fōta
Dat.      fēt         fōtum
The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *fōt for older *fōs(s) (Gr. Dor. πῶς) 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.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
<th>bōc, book</th>
<th>hnutu, nut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>bēc</td>
<td>bōce</td>
<td>hnuțe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>bēc</td>
<td></td>
<td>hnyte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *bōk (O.Icel. OS. bōk) which was a new formation for older *bōχs (§ 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. Germ. *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, ē, u, ū were regularly umlauted to ā, ē (Nth. ā), 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. cē, cēye, gen. cūa, cūna, cēna); 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); þrūh, trough (dat. pl. þrūm, § 329, 4); wūh, fringe.

§ 412. Like hnutu are declined hnutu, nīt; studu, stubu, 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. scrūdatum.

2. Stems in -þ.

§ 414. Of the nouns which originally belonged to this declension only four have been preserved: masc. hæleþ (OHG. helid), hæle, hero, man, mōnaþ (Goth. mēnōþs),
§ 415. To this class belong the nouns of relationship: 

fæder, father; brōpor, brother; mōdor, mother; dohtor, daughter; sweoster, sister; and the collective plurals, gebrōpor, gebrōpru, brethren; 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, φράτης, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>brōpor</th>
<th>mōdor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. fāder, -eres</td>
<td>brōpor</td>
<td>mōdor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. fāder</td>
<td>brēper</td>
<td>mēder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLUR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>brōpor, -pru</th>
<th>mōdor, -dru, -dra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. fāderas</td>
<td>brōpra</td>
<td>mōdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. fāderum</td>
<td>brōprum</td>
<td>mōdrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SING.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>dohtor</th>
<th>sweoostor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. dohtor</td>
<td>sweoostor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. dehter</td>
<td>sweoostor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLUR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>dohtor, -tru, -tra</th>
<th>sweoostor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. dohtra</td>
<td>sweostra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. dohtrum</td>
<td>sweostrum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the principal accent was shifted to the stem-syllable (see § 238) the prim. Germanic forms of fāder were: Sing. nom. *fādēr (Gr. πατήρ), acc. *fāderun (Gr. πατέρα), gen. *fadras (Gr. πατρός) beside *fadres (Lat. patris from older *patres), dat., properly loc., *fadri (Gr. πατρὶ); Plur. nom. *faderis (Gr. πατέρεσ), acc. *fadruns (cp. Goth. brōpruns), gen. *fadrōn (Gr. πατρῶν), 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. fæder is normally developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. On the gen. fæder from *fadraz, older *fadras, see § 219; fæderes was formed on analogy with the a-stems. The prim. Germanic pl. forms (except the acc.) regularly became *fæder, fædra, fædrum, 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. *fæder became fæd(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 fæder 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, *doxtri (older *duxtri) with o from the nom. acc. and gen., *swestri (older *swistri) with e from the nom. acc. and gen., regularly became brēper, méder, dehter, sweostor (cp. § 219). In late OE. the dat. méder, dehter were often used for the gen. and vice versa. The gen. sing. *brōpraz, mōdraz, *doxtraz, *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, *doxter, *swestor, 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. *swesores; the t was developed between the s and r in the gen. sing. and pl. *swestraz, *swestrōn, and then became generalized (§ 250).

gebrōpor and gesweostor were originally neuter collective nouns and were declined like wite (§ 355), whence the plural endings gebrōbru, 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  wigend, warrior
Gen. frēondes    wīgendes
Dat. friēnd, frēonde    wīgende

Plur.

Nom. Acc. friend, frēond, -as  wigend, ·e, ·as
Gen. frēonda             wigendra
Dat. frēondum           wīgendum

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, wīgendes, dat. frēonde, wīgende, nom. acc. pl. frēondas, wīendas were formed after the analogy of the masc. a-stems. The dat. friēnd with umlaut is from *frōndi older *frijōndi; and the nom. pl. friend is also from *frōndi 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 göddōnd (pl. ·dōnd, beside -dēnd), benefactor; and the collective plurals gefriēnd, enemies; gefriēnd, friends, which were originally neuter collective nouns and declined like wite (§ 355).

§ 418. Like wigend are declined āgend, owner; beswicend, deceive; ēhtend, persecutor; hālend, Saviour;
Nouns
helpend, helper; hettend, enemy; ner(i)gend, Saviour; sēmend, 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. γέως, race, gen. γέως older *γέως, 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. *lambezaz, *lambiziz, dat. *lambizi; Plur. nom. acc. *lambōzō (for Indg. -ōsō, cp. § 406), gen. *lambezōn, dat. *lambezumiz. 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. hete, 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, gāst, hlæw, hete, sige beside lamb, gāst, 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 *dōgr, *hālr beside *dōgi, *hāli, then later dōgor, hālor, older -ur (cp. § 219), beside dēg (Nth.), hēl. All the nouns which underwent these new formations passed into other declensions partly with change of gender also. Thus, gāst, gāst, 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 cealfe āges
Dat. lambe
celfe 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; spel'd, 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, Frōđa, 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 Wulfmār se
geonga, Wulfmær 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 ēper, 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 fēmne geong, the woman was young; þā menn sindon gōde, the men are good; þus wǣron þā latestan fyr-meste, 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 ealdā mann, this old man; on þissum andweardan dæge, on this present day; min lēofa sunu, my dear son; þurh þīne æþelan 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 andwairþja guþs, O.Icel. þau vōro rētiþt bāpe 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-, ø-declensions. The strong declension is divided into pure a-, ø-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-, ø-stems in the masc. and fem. nom. singular and the neut. nom. acc. singular.

a. Pure a-, ø-stems.

§ 424.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>glæd, glad</td>
<td>glæd</td>
<td>gladu, ·o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>glædne</td>
<td>glæd</td>
<td>glade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>glades</td>
<td>glades</td>
<td>glædre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>gladum</td>
<td>gladum</td>
<td>glædre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>glade</td>
<td>glade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

| Nom. Acc.  | glad e       | gladu, ·o | glada, ·e     |
| Gen.       | glædra       | glædra    | glædra        |
| Dat.       | gladum       | gladum    | gladum        |
## Sing.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blind, blind</td>
<td>blind</td>
<td>blindes</td>
<td>blindum</td>
<td>blinde</td>
<td></td>
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## Plur.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blinde</td>
<td>blindra</td>
<td>blindum</td>
<td>blindum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prim. Germanic forms of **blind** were:

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 *blindō*, the -ō 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. *blindærα, *blindera*, with æ, e
Adjectives

§ 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, bære; blæk, black; hräed, quick; hwæt, brisk, active; læt, slow; smæl, tender, small; sæd, satiated; wær, wary, cautious; dol, foolish; fram, active, bold; frec, bold; frum, original, first; gramm, angry, fierce; hol, hollow; hnut, 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; geong, young; georn, eager; gnēap, niggardly; gōd, good; græg, grey; great, large; hāl, whole, sound; hār, hoary; hās, hoarse; health, halt, lame; hēan, lowly, despised; hold, gracious; hrōr, active, brave; hwit, white; lang, long; læp, hateful; læas, 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; stēap, steep, lofty; stearc, stiff; stīp, stiff, rigid; strang, strong; swift, swift; swīp, strong; torht, bright; trāg, lazy, bad; þealr, severe; wāet, wet; wāc, weak; wealt, unsteady; wearm, warm; wīd, wide; wīs, wise; wīlanc,
proud; wōd, mad; wrēst, firm, strong; wrāp, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>MASC.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hēah, high</td>
<td>hēah</td>
<td>hēa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hēa(n)ne</td>
<td>hēah</td>
<td>hēa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hēas</td>
<td>hēas</td>
<td>hēa(r)re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hēa(u)m</td>
<td>hēa(u)m</td>
<td>hēa(r)re</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>hēa</td>
<td>hēa</td>
<td>hēa</td>
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Plur.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hēa</td>
<td>hēa</td>
<td>hēa</td>
<td>hēa(u)m</td>
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</table>

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; fāh, deceitful; hrēoh, rude, rough, wild; nēah, nigh, near; rūh, rough; sceōh, shy; tōh, tough; wōh, crooked, bad. sceōh, awry, squinting; þweorh, cross, perverse, dropped the h and lengthened the diphthong in the inflected forms, as gen. sceōles, þweores, dat. sceōlum, þweorum, cp. § 149.

§ 429.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>manig, many</td>
<td>manig</td>
<td>manig</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>manigne</td>
<td>manig</td>
<td>manige</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>maniges</td>
<td>maniges</td>
<td>manigre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>manigum</td>
<td>manigum</td>
<td>manigre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>manige</td>
<td>manige</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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<td>Dat.</td>
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<th>SING.</th>
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<td>Nom.</td>
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<td>Acc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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<td>Dat.</td>
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<td>Instr.</td>
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<th>PLUR.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
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<td>Gen.</td>
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<td>Dat.</td>
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</table>

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, hāliges, hālgu beside older yfeles, hālges, hāligu, 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 disyllabic 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, gluttonous; 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 hālig are declined the disyllabic adjectives with long stems, as acol, timid, frightened; æt(t)ren, poisonous (for examples of other adjectives ending in -en, see § 625); ägen, own; bēogol, agreeing; bit(t)er, bitter; bragden, deceitful; cristen, christian; dēagol, diegol (cp. § 639), secret; ēacen, great, increased; earfop, difficult; frettol, greedy; geōmor, sad; gylden, golden; hādor, bright; hāpen, heathen; hlüt(t)or, clear; idel, vain; lýtel, little; ōper (§ 223), second; snot(t)or, wise; stāgel, steep; blōdig, bleeding; cræftig, skilful; ēadig, rich, happy (for other examples, see § 630); cildisc, childish (for other examples, see § 632); past participles, as bunden, bound; holpen, helped, see § 442.
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.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>wilde, wild</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wildu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>wildne</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wilde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>wildes</td>
<td>wildes</td>
<td>wildre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>wildum</td>
<td>wildum</td>
<td>wildre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wilde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wildu, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>wildra</td>
<td>wildra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>wildum</td>
<td>wildum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *wilpjan, and the neut. nom. acc. sing. from *wilpjan (§ 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. þynne, thin, fācne, deceitful, ierne, angry, from *þynnne, *fācnne, *ierrne; fem. gen. dat. sing. gifre, greedy, ierre from
*gîfrre, *ierrre. When n, r came to stand between two consonants the first of which was not a nasal or liquid, they became vocalic and then developed an e before them, as masc. acc. sing. gîfrne from *gîfrne; fem. gen. dat. sing. fæcenre from *fæcnre. Nearly all the old long i- and u-stems went over into this declension in prehistoric OE.

§ 434. Like wilde are declined a large number of adjectives, as eîltâwe, entire; æpele, noble; andfenge, acceptable; andrysne, terrible; ánliepe, single; blîpe, joyful; brême, famous; brîce, useful; cêne, bold; clæne, clean; cîyme, comely, beautiful; cynde, natural; diere, dëore (cp. § 138), dear; dierne, hidden; drîge, dry; ëce, eternal; egle, troublesome; ëste, gracious; fæcne, deceitful; fæge, fated; fîowerfête, four-footed; fîlde, level (of land); fîde, in flood; forþgenge, effective; frîcne, dangerous, wicked; frem(e)de, foreign; frêo (§ 104), free; gecnâwe, conscious of; gecwîme, pleasant; gedêfe, becoming, fit; gefêre, accessible; gehende, handy; gemâne, common; genâme, acceptable; gesiene, visible; getenge, near to; getriewe, faithful; gîfrre, greedy; grêne, green; hlæne, lean; hnæsce, soft, tender; ierre, angry; iepe, easy; lâne, temporary; lætræde, deliberate; lipe, gentle; mâre, famous; manþwâre, humane; medeme, moderate; mîtê, tired; milde, mild; myrge, merry; niewe, niwe (§ 90), new; oferâte, glutinous; ofersráce, loquacious; ormaête, immeasurable; rîpe, fierce; rîce, powerful; rîpe, ripe; sâne, slow; sammâle, agreed; sciene, beautiful; sêfte, soft; slipe, cruel, savage; smêpe, smooth; smylte, mild, serene; stille, still; strenge, strong; swêtê, sweet; swîge, silent; sîyfre, pure; ðicce, thick; ðiestre, dark, gloomy; ðrîfingre, three fingers thick; ðriste, rash, daring; ðriwîntre, three years old; þynne, thin; þyrrre, withered; unhiere, horrible; ùþgenge, fugitive; wêtê, waste, barren; wierþe, worthy; wrâne, wanton. In like manner are declined the present
participles (§ 441). For examples of adjectives like æppel-bære, apple-bearing; coppede, topped, polled; hälwende, 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>
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<td>Instr.</td>
<td>gearwe</td>
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**Plur.**

<table>
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<th>gearwe</th>
<th>gearu, -o</th>
<th>gearwa, -e</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>gearora</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
<td>gearwum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, hasu, grey, tawny; mearu, tender; nearu, narrow; salu, salu, dusky, dark.

§ 437. The adjectives which had a long vowel or long diphthong in the stem reintroduced the w into the nomina-
tive from the inflected forms (§ 265) and then came to be declined like pure long a-, ð-stems (§ 424); such are: fēawe, 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. bleips), joyful; brýce (Goth. brûks), useful; clāne, clean; gecwēme, pleasant; gedēfe (Goth. gadōfs), becoming, fit gemāne (Goth. ga-mâins), common; gesiene (cp. Goth. anasiuns), visible; grēne, green; sciene, beautiful; swēte, 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, wlæc 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. hnas-qus), soft, tender; twelfwintre (Goth. twalibwintrus), twelve years old; þyrre (Goth. þaûrsus), dry, withered; glēaw (Goth. glaggwus), wise.
§ 440. The Weak Declension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</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>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>blindan</td>
<td>blindan</td>
<td>blindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>blindra, -ena</td>
<td>blindra, -ena</td>
<td>blindra, -ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>blindum</td>
<td>blindum</td>
<td>blindum</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 hålga, hålge, 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. φέρωντ-, 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 -íniz = Indg. -énis, hence forms like āgen beside āgen, own; cymen beside cumen, come; slagen beside slægen, slagen, slain; tygen from *tužiniz beside togen from *tuženaz, 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. ἡδίων from *σφαδίςων, gen. ἡδίονος, = Goth. sūtīza, gen. sūtīzins, OHG. suoziro, gen. suozīren, (-in), O.E.
swētra, swetter, 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. ēd (§ 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 -īza, -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>OE</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>OE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brād,</td>
<td>broad</td>
<td>brādra</td>
<td>beside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eald,</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>ieldra</td>
<td>(Goth. ēlja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feorr,</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>fierra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geong,</td>
<td>young</td>
<td>giengra</td>
<td>gingra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greāt,</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>griētra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēah,</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>hīehra</td>
<td>hīerra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang,</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>lengra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceort,</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>sciertra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strang,</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>strengra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples without umlaut in the comparative degree are: eadig, happy, earm, poor, fægen, glad, fæger, fair, gearu, -o, ready, glæd, glad, grimm, grim, hālig, holy, lēof, dear, nēah, near, comparative eadigra, 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. /Registeros = Goth. sūtists, OHG. suozisto, 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. ἕκτος, Lat. sextus, Goth. saíhsta, OHG. sehsto, OE. siexta, sixth. The Germanic suffix -öst- 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), fierrest(a), giengest(a), gingest(a), grietest(a), lengest(a), sciertest(a), strengest(a), but earmost(a), fægnost(a), gearwost(a), hāligost(a), lēofost(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>English</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>göd, good</td>
<td>bet(e)ra, bettra</td>
<td>bet(e)st, betsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lýtēl, little</td>
<td>læssa</td>
<td>læst(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micel, great</td>
<td>māra</td>
<td>māst(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfel, evil</td>
<td>wiersa</td>
<td>wierrest(a), wierst(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—1. On the tt in bettra (Goth. batiza), see § 260. bet(e)st = Goth. batists. sælla with assimilation of lr to ll (§ 281). læssa from *lēs(i)ra, prim. Germanic laisizō (§ 281); læst(a) from *lēsista-. māra (Goth. máiza); māst(a) (Goth. máists) with æ from analogy with læst(a), Anglian māst(a). wiersa (Goth. wáirsiza) from *wiers(i)ra; wierrest(a), wierst(a) from *wiersista-.

2. In a few words comparative and superlative adjectives were formed from adverbs: ār, before, āerra, former, earlier, ārest(a), first; fyrest(a) from *furista-, first, related to fore, before; furpra, higher, greater, related to forp, forth.

§ 446. In a number of words the comparative was formed from an adverb or preposition, with a superlative in -um-, -uma (prim. Germanic -umō), 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

æfter, after æfterra æftemest(a)
éast, eastwards ëasterra ëastemest(a)
fore, before
inne, within innerra innemest(a)
læt, late lætra lætemest(a)
midd, middle

niöpan, below niöerra ni(o)jemest(a)
norþ, northwards norþerra, nyrþra norþmest(a)
siþ, late siþra siþmest(a)
süþ, southwards süþerra, süþerra süþmest(a)

ufan, above ufera ufemest(a)
	yfera yt(e)mest(a)

üte, without ütera üt(e)mest(a)

west, westwards westerra westmest(a)

c. Numerals.

1. Cardinal and Ordinal.

§ 447.

än, one {forma, formest(a)

fyrmest(a), fyrest(a),

ærest(a)

twa, two öþer, æfterra

þrí, three þridda

féower, four féo(we)rja
siex, six, six
seofon, seven
eahta, eight
nigon, nine
tién, týn, tén, ten
en(d)le(o)fan, eleven
twelf, twelve
þrēotiene, thirteen
fēowertiene, fourteen
fītiene, fifteen
siex-, sixiene, sixteen
seofontiene, seventeen
eahtatiene, eighteen
nigontiene, nineteen
twēntig, twenty
þritig, thirty
fēowertig, forty
fīttig, fifty
siextig, sixty
hundseofontig, seventy
hundealhtatig, eighty
hundnigontig, ninety
hundtēontig
hund, hundred
hundendleofantig
hundendlufontig
hundtweltig, hundred
hund, hundred, 200
þrēo hund, hundred, 300
þusend, thousand

§ 447] Adjectives

fīf, five
fīfta
siex, six, six
siexta, sixta
seofon, seven
seofoþa
eahta, eight
eahtoþa
nigon, nine
nigoþa
tién, týn, tén, ten
ten
en(d)le(o)fan
en(d)le(o)fta
twelft
twelft
twēntigoþa
þrēotēoþa
fēowertēoþa
fīttēoþa
siex-, sixēoþa
seofontēoþa
eahtatēoþa
nigontēoþa
twēntigōþa
þritigōþa
fēowertigōþa
fīttigōþa
siextigōþa
hundseofontigōþa
hundeahtatigōþa
hundnigontigōþa
hundtēontigōþa
hund, hundred
hundendleofantigōþa
hundendlufontigōþa
hundtweltigōþa

seox, later siex, six, syx (§ 86). seofon, nigon, tién (later týn) had their final -n from the inflected forms, as *sebuni-, &c., or else they were formed, as in Goth. OS.
Accidence

and OHG., from the ordinals in prim. OE. before the n disappeared before þ (§ 286). nigon from older *nion (= Goth. OHG. niun); *nion became dissyllabic and then between the two vowels a consonantal glide was developed (cp. § 270). tien, later týn, tēn, probably from an older inflected form *tēoni-, cp. tēopa. endleofan (endlefan, enlefan) from older *ānlefan, *ainina + līban-, 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 vēnūlika, eleven, dvylīka, 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. leiwian, 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 *ānlih (cp. dat. ānlibim) for older *ānílih. 13 to 19 were formed by the simple ordinals plus the inflected form -tiene, later -týne, -tēne.

The decades 20 to 60 were formed in prim. Germanic from the units 2 to 6 and the abstract noun *tegund⁴ = Indg. *dekmt⁴, 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 *tegund⁴ is a derivative of prim. Germanic *tečun (= Indg. *dékm, Gr. δέκα, Lat. decem, Goth. tāiḥun, OE. tien) with change of χ to ʒ by Verner’s law (§ 238) and the loss of the final consonants (§ 211). The stem *tegů- regularly became -tig in OE. and OS., whence OE. twěntig from twēgen + tig, lit. two decades, pritig, &c. with the following noun in the gen. case; ān and twěntig, twenty-one, twā and twěntig, twenty-two, &c. Many attempts have been made to explain the decades 70 to 120, but no satisfactory explanation of their morpho-
Adjectives

logy has ever yet been given, see Osthoff-Brugmann's *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, vol. V, pp. 11-17, 138-44, and Brugmann's *Grundriss*, 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 uninflected 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 O.E. the two neuter nouns hund (= Gr. ἐκατόν, Lat. centum, Indg. *kmtóm), and hundred, -rep (= O.Icel. hundrap); the second element -red, -rep is related to Gothic rajo, 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 uninflected, 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). òper (Goth. anþar, cp. N.E. *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 d by Verner's law (§ 238)
in those ordinals which did not originally have the chief accent immediately before the ũ, 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, *těonda, but OE. generalized those ordinal forms which in prim. Germanic had the chief accent immediately before the ũ, whence the OE. new formations seofôpa, nigôpa, têôpa from older *sebunô, *nijunô, teχunô. In the decades the medial o may represent the older u in *tegu- (see above). In compound ordinals the cardinal units were generally used, as feower and fiftigoja, fifty-fourth, but sometimes the ordinal forms of the units were used with the cardinal decades in the dative, as feo(we)rJa eac fiftigum. hund, hundred, and þusend had no corresponding ordinals. All the ordinals, except öber, 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 ænne (shortened later to ænne, enne) from prim. Germanic *aininôn, beside the less common form ānne from *ainanôn. 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.

§ 449.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>twëgen</td>
<td>tū, twâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>twëg(e)a</td>
<td>twëg(e)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>twëgra</td>
<td>twëgra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>twäm, twâm</td>
<td>twäm, twâm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation of twëgen and of the genitive are difficult to explain. twëg(e)a cannot correspond to Goth.
twaddjē, prim. Germanic *twajjōn, which would have become *twāg(e) in O.E., cp. § 275. twām from prim. Germanic *twaimiz; twām was a new formation from twā. tü from prim. Germanic *twō (§ 130); twā corresponds to the Goth. masc. form twai.

§ 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 tü, often written in one word būtū, both.

§ 451.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>pri, prië</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></td>
<td>priōra</td>
<td>priōra</td>
<td>priōra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>prim</td>
<td>prim</td>
<td>prim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pri (Goth. preis) from prim. Germanic *prījiz; 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 *prījōn.

prim (Goth. prim) from *primiz; beside prim there also occurs prim (cp. § 145). Neut. priō (Goth. prija) from *priu older *prījō. Fem. priō from *priu older *prījō.

§ 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 hlāfum, 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. -falps, OHG. -falt, OE. -feald (§ 628),
as Ænfeald, *single, twie-, twifeald, twofold, prie-, prikeald, threefold, fæowerfeald, fourfold, &c., manigfeald, manifold, which were declined as ordinary adjectives. The first element of twifeald, prikeald was sometimes inflected, as dat. twæmfealdum, *primfealdum.

§ 454. Of the old adverbial multiplicatives only three occur: Æne (rare in gen. form Ænes), *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 Æne sipa or on Æne 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 sipē, òpre sipē, priddan sipē, fiftan sipē, &c.

§ 456. The distributive numerals were Æn-, Ænliepige, *one each; be twæm or twæm and twæm, be *prim or *prim and *prim, fæower and fœower, þusendum and þusendum, &c. A remnant of the old distributive numeral corresponding to Gothic tweihnaí, *two each, has been preserved in the compound preposition betwēonum, between.

§ 457. OE. also had numerals like NHG. andertalb, 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 òper healf hund daga, 150 days; þridda healf, two and a half, fœo(we)rþa 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, mě</td>
<td>uncit, unc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mǐn</td>
<td>uncer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mě</td>
<td>unc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 480. **Second Person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>ā, thou</th>
<th>git</th>
<th>gę</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>āec, āe</td>
<td>incit, inc</td>
<td>ēowic, ēow, īow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ān</td>
<td>incer</td>
<td>ēower, īower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>āe</td>
<td>inc</td>
<td>ēow, īow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 461. *Pronouns*

**Third Person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>Masc.</em></th>
<th><em>Neut.</em></th>
<th><em>Fem.</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td><em>hē, he</em></td>
<td>hit</td>
<td><em>hīo, hēo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td><em>hīne, hiene</em></td>
<td>hit</td>
<td><em>hīe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td><em>his</em></td>
<td><em>his</em></td>
<td><em>hiere, hire</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>him</em></td>
<td><em>him</em></td>
<td><em>hiere, hire</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plur. All Genders.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th><em>hiē, hī</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td><em>hīera, hīra, heora</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>him</em></td>
<td></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 uninflected forms of the corresponding possessive pronouns (§ 464). The *c* in the acc. forms *mec, pec, úsic, ēowic*, 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. *ic* is the old unaccented form, the accented form was preserved in O.Icel. *ek* (cp. Lat. *ego,*
Gr. ἐγώ). The e in me, þe may represent Indg. e, cp. Gr. ἐμέ (μέ), τέ, but it is far more likely that me, þe are old datives used for the accusative. þu (OHG. du) beside þū (OHG. ḏū), 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. ús = Goth. uns = Indg. ns with vocalic n) + the particle *ke = prim. Germanic *uŋki; inc (OS. ink, cp. Goth. igq-is), prim. Germanic *iŋq- which is of unknown origin.

we, prim. Germanic *wīs (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 *gū (= Goth. jūs, prim. Germanic *jūs beside *juz) with ě from wē. úsic from older *unsek (with e from mec); ús (Goth. OHG. uns, Indg. ns with vocalic n). ēowic from older *iuvwek (with e from þec); dat. ēow (OHG. iu, eu) from older *iuw, prim. Germanic *iwwiz; ēow, iow 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.
§ 463. The reflexive pronoun originally referred to the chief person of the sentence (generally the subject), irrespective 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. sīh) 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-

hē, prim. Germanic *χi is beside unaccented *χi[; *χi became *χi in prim. ÓE. and then later he from which a new accented hē was formed; hine (Goth. hina), prim. Germanic *χinōn, beside hiene with ie from hiere, hiera; his from *χisa; him from *χimi (orig. instrumental), hit (cp. Goth. hita, where the t = Lat. -d in id, that). hīo later hēo, formed from *hi + ŭ with ŭ from sīo, sēo (§ 465); hīe later hī, hŷ, from *hī + ŏn; gen. hire from *χizōz, dat. hire from *χizai; hiera had ie from the gen. plural; cp. the prim. Germanic endings of the fem. adjectives (§ 424); the acc. form was often used for the nom. and vice versa. hī later hŷ, from *χi, unaccented *χi, beside hīe with e from the adjectives (§ 424); hī was often written hig (see § 6, Note) in late OE. The masc. form was used for all genders, but sometimes the old fem. sing. hēo was used instead of it; hira from *χizōn, beside hiora, heora, hiera with o/a-umlaut (§ 102). him from *χimiz, beside late WS. heom with eo from the genitive. All the forms with i often had y in late WS.

2. Reflexive.
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. *mínaz, *þínaz, *sínaz; fem. nom. *mínō, *þínō, *sínō, 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. igkar), of you two; üser (Goth. unsar), our; óower, your, all of which were declined like hālig (§ 429). ûre, our, was declined like wilde (§ 433) except that the fem. nom. sing. was üre not *ũru. It is difficult to account for the form ûre. In the fem. gen. and dat. sing. and gen. pl. ūrrê, ūrra, 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, *sä = Gr. ὅ, ἦ, Goth. sa, só. All the other cases of the sing. and pl. were formed from the stems te, to-, toi-; tā-, tai-, as acc. sing. Gr. τόν, τήν, Lat. is-tum, is-tam, Goth. þan-a, þō; nom. pl. Gr. τοῖ, ταῖ, Lat. is-ti, is-tae, Goth. þai, þōs.
§ 465] Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sē, the, that</td>
<td>ṭæt</td>
<td>sīo, sēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>ḷone</td>
<td>ṭæt</td>
<td>ṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ṭæs</td>
<td>ṭæs</td>
<td>ṭāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>ṭæm, ṭām</td>
<td>ṭæm, ṭām</td>
<td>ṭāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṭū, ṭūn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. all genders.

Nom. Acc. ṭā
Gen. ṭāra, ṭāra
Dat. ṭām, ṭām

se was the unaccented form of prim. Germanic *sa (Goth. sa) to which a new accented form sē was made (§ 144); ḷone (Goth. ḷana) the unaccented form of prim. Germanic *ḥanōn, beside late OE. ḷāne, ḷane; ṭæs from prim. Germanic *ḥasa (§ 54), beside *ḥesa (Anglian ḷes, Goth. ḷis, OHG. des); ṭām from the prim. Germanic instrumental *ḥaimi, beside ṭām with ā from the plural ṭā, ṭāra, as in the dat. pl. ṭām. ṭæt (Goth. ḷata, Lat. is-tud, Indg. *tod); ṭū, ṭūn 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 ḷē, as ḷon mā, the more, ep. Gothic ni ḷē haldis, none the more; for ṭū, for ḷon, 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. ḷ, Goth. si, OHG. sī), she + the Germanic fem. ending -ō; *sīō regularly became sīo, sēo through the intermediate stage of sīu 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, he from the prim. Germanic unaccented forms *wiz, *χiz (§ 462); acc. þa (prim. Germanic *þon, Goth. þō, Gr. Dor. τάv, Indg. *tām) is from the unaccented form *þa from which a new accented form þa was formed; gen. þære from *þaizjōz (cp. Skr. táśyās, Indg. *tēsjās) with ai from the gen. plural; and similarly in the dat. þære from *þaizjai (cp. Skr. tāśyāi, Indg. *tēsjāi), beside þære from *þaizai. Pl. nom. masc. þā (= Goth. þái, Gr. τοι); the old nom. was also used for the nom. and acc. all genders; gen. þāra from prim. Germanic *þaizōn, Indg. *toisōm (cp. the Goth. gen. pl. of adjectives, as blindaizē, -ō), beside þāra with ā from þām; þām (Goth. þāim) 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. sē, 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 (§ 466). The old nom. forms were preserved in the oldest Norse inscriptions, as masc. sa-si, fem. su-si, neut. þat-si.
§ 467. Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>þēs</td>
<td>þis</td>
<td>þios, þēos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þisne</td>
<td>þis</td>
<td>þās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þis(s)es</td>
<td>þis(s)es</td>
<td>þisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þis(s)um</td>
<td>þis(s)um</td>
<td>þisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>þŷs, þis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. all genders.

Nom. Acc. þās
Gen. þissa
Dat. þis(s)um

þēs from older *þē-se (= OHG. de-se) was the unaccented form from which a new accented form þēs was made. þios from þius (preserved in the Anglian dialect), older *þiū + 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 þis-, the i of which later became y. ss was often simplified to s. In the dat. sing. and pl. Anglian has þios(s)um, þeos(s)um with u·umlaut (§ 101) beside þis(s)um. Fem. gen. and dat. sing. þisse from older *þisre, gen. pl. þissa from older *þisra (§ 281); in late OE. there also occur þissere, þissera with ·re, ·ra from the simple demonstrative, beside þisre, þisra with syncope of the medial vowel and simplification of the ss.

§ 467. ilca, 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 māþmas geaf, the lord who gave you the treasures; þonne tōdālāþ hī his feoh þæt tō lāfe bīp, then they divide his property which is left. ic hit ēom, þe wīp þē sprece, it is I who speak with thee; idesa scēnost þe on woruld cōme, the fairest one of ladies who came into the world; gē þe yfle synt, ye who are evil. sē þe brīḍ hæfþ, sē is brīydguma, he who hath the bride is the bridegroom; gehyre, sē þe ēaran hābbe, let him hear who hath ears; þæt þe ācenned is of flǣsc, þæt is flǣsc, that which is born of the flesh is flesh. wē þās word sprecaþ, þe wē in carcerne sittāþ, we who sit in prison speak these words; saga hwæt 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 fægrost 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. πό-τερος, which of two?, Goth. ēnas, OE. hwā, who?, from an original form *qos; Lat. quod, Goth. ēna, O.Icel. huat, 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. huleiks, OE. hwilc, what sort of?

The OE. 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>hwēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. hwone</td>
<td>hwēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. hwēs</td>
<td>hwēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. hwēm, hwām</td>
<td>hwēm, 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. hwēs from prim. Germanic *χwasa beside Goth. luis from *χwesa. hwēm from prim. Germanic *χwaimi (instrumental) beside hwēm, 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, to hwon, why?, and hū (§ 130), how?

§ 470. hwēper (Goth. huapar), which of two?, and hwelc, hwilc (Goth. huleiks), what sort of?, were declined according to the strong declension of adjectives.

7. Indefinite.

§ 471. OE. had the following indefinite pronouns:—ēghwā, each one, every one, from ā, ever+gi+hwa; and similarly ēghwēper, each of two, both; ēghwelc, ēghwilc, each one, every one. ālc, each, every; ānig, any, nānig, not any one, no one; āthwā, each; āhwā, any one; āhwēper, ōhwēper, āwēper, ōwēper, one of two, nāhwēper, nōhwēper, nāwēper, nōwēper, neither of two; ān, some
one, a certain one, in plur. each, every, all, nān, no one, nān pi ng, nothing; āwiht, ōwiht, āwuht, ōwuht, āht, ōht, anything; nāwiht, nōwiht, nāwuht, nōwuht, nāht, nōht, nothing; gehwā, each one, every one; gehwæþer, each of two, both; gehwilc, each, every one; hwelchzwugug, any, some, some one; hwæþzwugug, somewhat, something; lōc, lōca + pronoun hwā, hwæþer, as lōc hwæþer þæra gebrōþra, whichever of the two brothers, bide me lōce hwæþ þū wille, ask me for whatever thou wilt; man, one; nāt+ hwā, hwelc, some one I know not who, which; samhwilc, some; sum, some one; swā . . . swā, as swā hwā swā, whosoever, whoever, swā hwæþ swā, whatsoever, whatever, swā hwæþer swā, whichever of two, swā hwelc swā, *whichever; swelc, swilc, such; þyslic, þuslic, þylic, 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: *bhéro, *bher-e-si, *bher-e-ti, *bher-o-mes, (-mos), *bher-e-te, *bher-o-nti, but *gmō (with vocalic -m- throughout the present), *gm-e-si, *gm-e-ti, *gm-o-mes, (-mos), *gm-e-te, *gm-o-nti. Verbs of this class are generally called ō-verbs because the first person singular ends in -ō. The -ō in *bherō 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 -ō· + -a (the original ending of the perfect, as in Gr. oída, I know), but this would have become -ō not -ō (§ 9). The old distinction between the mi- and the ō-conjugation was fairly well preserved in Greek, as eimí, I am, ἔμι, I go, δίωμι, 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 haihald, 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 hatte (Goth. hátada), is or was called, pl. hátton. 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.

Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>bere</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>bir(e)st</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>bir(e)þ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>helpe</td>
<td>binde</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hilpst</td>
<td>bintst</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hilþp</td>
<td>bint</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>helpþ</td>
<td>bindþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R 2
Subjunctive.

Sing. bere helpe binde ride
Plur. beren helpen binden riden

Imperative.

Sing. 2. ber help bind rid
Plur. 2. beraḥ helpaḥ bindaḥ ridaḥ

Infinitive.
beran helpan bindan ridan

Participle.
berende helpende bindende ridende

Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. bær healp band rād
2. bære hulpe bunde ride
3. bær healp band rād
Plur. bāron hulpon bundon ridon

Subjunctive.

Sing. bāre hulpe bunde ride
Plur. bāren hulpen bunden riden

Participle.
boren holpen bunden riden

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. cēose weorpe fare bidde
2. ciest wierpst fær(e)st bitst
3. ciest wierpḥ fær(e)ḥ bit(t)
Plur. cēosāḥ weorpāḥ faraḥ biddaḥ
<table>
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<td><strong>Verbs</strong></td>
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<td>Subjunctive.</td>
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<td>Sing.</td>
<td>cēose</td>
<td>weorpe</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
<td>cēosen</td>
<td>weorpen</td>
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<td>Imperative.</td>
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<td>Sing. 2.</td>
<td>cēos</td>
<td>weorp</td>
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<td>Plur. 2.</td>
<td>cēosaþ</td>
<td>weorpaþ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infinitive.</td>
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<tr>
<td>cēosan</td>
<td>weorpan</td>
<td>faran</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participle.</td>
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<td>cēosende</td>
<td>weorpende</td>
<td>farende</td>
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<td>Preterite.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indicative.</td>
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<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>cēas</td>
<td>wearp</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>cure</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>cēas</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
<td>curon</td>
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<td>Subjunctive.</td>
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<td>Sing.</td>
<td>cure</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
<td>curen</td>
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<td>Participle.</td>
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<td>coren</td>
<td>worpen</td>
<td>faren</td>
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<td>Present.</td>
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<td>Indicative.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>fealle</td>
<td>tēo</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>fielst</td>
<td>tiehst</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>fielp</td>
<td>tiehp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>feallap</td>
<td>tēop</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subjunctive.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>fealle</td>
<td>tēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>feallen</td>
<td>tēon</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  tugon  slōge  fēnge
3. fēoll  tēah  slōh, slōg  fēng
Plur. fēollon  tugon  slōgon  fēngon

Subjunctive.

Sing. fēolle  tugon  slōge  fēnge
Plur. fēollon  tugon  slōgen  fēngen

Participle.

feall  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. *bhérō, 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. *bhéresi, *bhéndhesi, which would regularly have become *birir, *bindir, later *birer, *binder in OE. (§§ 218, 3, 252), but already in prehistoric OE. 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 OE. forms were biris, bindis which regularly became later bires, bindes. The ending -st arose partly from analogy with the preterite-present forms wäst, 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 OE., but already in prehistoric OE. the third pers. sing. like the second was remodelled on analogy with the first class of weak verbs. The oldest OE. forms were birip, bindip, later bir(e)þ, bint (§ 300). The -eþ became -es in late Nth.

In the second and third pers. sing. the -i- (-e-) was regularly syncopated after long stems, as hilpst, hilþ, ritst, rít(t), tiehst, tieþ, &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, bindeþ, 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, fielþ, spinst, spinþ, beside inf. feallon, spinnan.

d became t before -st, as bintst, bitst, ritst, wieltst beside wealdan, to wield. d and Þ 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; bindeþ, bid(e)þ, &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, -þ (§ 320, Note), as stiðst, stiðþ, inf. stígan, to ascend, fliehst, fliehþ, inf. fléogan, to fly, swilhst, swilhþ, inf. swelgan, to swallow, but the g was often restored from forms which regularly had g.

s, ss, st + -st, -þ became -st (§§ 259, 305), as ciest; cyst beside inf. wv. cyssan, to kiss, birst beside birstest, birsteþ (new formations); x (= hs) + -st, -þ became xt, as wiext beside inf. weaxan, to grow. In verbs of this type the second and third pers. singular regularly fell together.

Þ disappeared before -st (§ 305), as cwist, wierst, beside inf. cweþan, to say, weorþan, to become. Forms like cwþst, wierþst, snþst (inf. snþfan, to cut), were new formations after the analogy of the other forms of the present. þ + -þ became þ, as cwþ, 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
Verbs

become in OE. *berand, *bindand = Goth. baırand, 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 -ánþi in prim. Germanic. [\(\text{\text{-ánþi}}\) became -\(\text{\text{aþ}}\) in OE. through the intermediate stages -\(\text{\text{anþ}}, \text{\text{onþ}, \text{\text{-ôþ}}}\) (§ 218). -\(\text{\text{aþ}}\) 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 -\(\text{\text{zi}}, \text{\text{di}, \text{\text{-ndi}}}\) = Indg. -\(\text{\text{si}, \text{\text{-ti}, \text{\text{-nti}}}\), but the personal endings of the corresponding persons of the aorist presents (see § 472) and of the first class of weak verbs were -\(\text{\text{si}, \text{\text{-pi}, \text{\text{-nþi}}}\), 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 -\(\text{\text{t}}\) 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, baırain-a). Beside -\(\text{\text{en}}\) there also occurs in late WS. -\(\text{\text{an}}\), and also -\(\text{\text{un}, \text{\text{-on}}}\) taken over from the pret. pl. indicative. On the loss of final -\(\text{\text{n}}\) in Nth., see § 288. The final -\(\text{\text{n}}\) also disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second person came immediately after the verb, as bere wē, wit, gē, git. Then
bere we, &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. ἔβη, Indg. *bhére. On the -e in bide beside its absence in ber, bind, &c., see § 278. 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. ferent-, Gr. φέρωντ-, Indg. *bhéront- = OE. berend-e, Goth. bairand-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. frijöndi, 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. oīða, oīðtha, oīðe. The -a and -e regularly disappeared in prehistoric OE. (§§ 212-13), whence OE. first and third pers. singular bäer, band, &c. The ending of the second pers. singular would regularly have become •p (§ 233) in OE. OS. O.Icel. and Goth., except after prim. Germanic s, f, ḷ where it regularly became t (§ 231, Notes), as in Goth. last, thou didst gather, slōht, thou didst slay, pārft (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 bäron, bundon, &c.

§ 482. Pret. subjunctive: The original endings were: singular •jēm, •jēs, •jēt, plural •im-, •ite, •int, consisting of the optative element •jē• (•i•) 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 wē, wit, gē, git. Then later bære wē, &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 -éno-, -óno- 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 -óno-. Beside the suffix -éno-, -óno- 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)**:
beran, to bear; cwist, cwip: cwepan, 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 unumlauted. On the i-umlaut in verbs of class VI, as fær(e)st, fær(e)jp, 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)jp; fealst, fealjp, feallest, feallejp; weorpest, weorpejp, beside older hilpst, hilppj; fielst, fielpj; wierpst, wierjp.

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, healp, wearp, 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, hliehp; lig(e)st, lig(e)jp; 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 bære, hulpe, bunde, &c. The regular forms would have been ride, *cyre, and
Accidence

*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, ä in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and i in the preterite plural and past participle, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
<th>Modern</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bidan, to await</td>
<td>beidan</td>
<td>báð</td>
<td>bidon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goth.</td>
<td>báð</td>
<td>báð</td>
<td>báð</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
And similarly ætwitan, to blame, reproach; Æcwīnan, to dwindle away; behlīdan, to cover; belifan, to remain; bescitan, to befoul; besmitan, to pollute; bitan, to bite; blicoan, to shine; cinan, to crack; clīfian, to stick, adhere; cnidan, to beat; drīfian, to drive; dwinan, to dwindle; fītan, to strive, quarrel; gewitan, to depart; ginan, to yawn; glīdan, to glide; gnidan, to rub together; gripan, to seize; hnītan, to knock; hrīnan, to touch; hwīnan, to whizz; nipan, to grow dark; ridan, to ride; sīcan, to sigh; scīnan (§ 133, Note 2), to shine; scrifian, to prescribe; slīdan, to slide; slītan, to slit; snicran, to crawl; spirwan (§ 265), to spew, spit; strīcan, to stroke; strīdan, to stride; swīcan, to cease from; swīfan, to sweep; tōslīfan, to split; hwīnan, to grow soft; hwītan, to hew; wīcan, to yield, give way; wītan, to gaze; wridan, to grow, flourish; wrītan, to write. Stīgan, to ascend, pret. sing. stāg beside stāh (§ 323); and similarly hnīgan, to incline; mīgan, to make water; sīgan, to sink.

§ 491. snīpan, to cut

And similarly līpan, 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

tīon, tēon, from older *tīohan, *tīhan (§ 127); on the g in the pret. pl. and past participle, see § 239. In the pres. the ēo from older īo 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; pēon, to thrive; wrēon, to cover. Pēon from prim. Germanic *pīxanān (§ 41) originally belonged to class III; the regular principal parts in OE. would have been pēon, *pōh (§ 40), pungon, pungen,
all of which occur except *pōh. The regular past participles of lēon (Goth. leiðan) and sēon (prim. Germanic *siwan-) 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, ū in the pret. plural, and o in the past participle, thus:

*bēodan, to command*  bēad  budon  boden
Goth.  biudan  bāup  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; gēotan, 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; ṁotan, to howl. drēogān, 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 ṁ to all parts of the verb.

§ 495. tēon, to draw  tēah  tugon  togen

tēon (Goth. tiuhan) from *tēohan (§ 139); on the ē in the pret. plural and past participle, see § 239; and similarly flēon, to flee.
§ 496. Here belong also the aorist presents with weak grade vowel in all forms of the present (§ 472).

brūcan, to use  brēac  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 ácwincan, 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; þrindan, to throng, press; þrintan, 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. finþan) would have been fiþan (§ 97), fóþ (§ 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 lc (§ 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:

helpan, to help  healp  hulpon  holpen
Goth. hilpan  halp  hulpun  hulpans

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 lc, r or h + consonant have eo in the present (§§ 83–9), 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.

weorpan, to throw  wearp  wurpon  worpen
And similarly æseolcan, 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;
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sweorcán, to become dark. weorðan, to become, wearþ, wurdon, worðen (§ 239).

§ 501. fēolan 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, folgan; 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 þærsc þurscon þorscen
frignan, to ask frægn frugnon frugnen
murnan, to mourn mearn murnon
spurnan, to spur 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), bræd (§ 54, Note 2), brūdon, brōden (§ 106, 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), *freah, *frägon (§ 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 frünen 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 bær bæron boren
Goth. baíran bar bērun baúrans

And similarly cwelan, to die; helan, to conceal; stelan, to steal; teran, to tear; þweran, to stir. scieran (§ 91), to shear, scear (§ 72), scearon (§ 124), scoren.

§ 504.

cuman, to come c(w)ōm c(w)ōmon cumen (cymen)
niman, to take nōm nōmon numen

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)ōm 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, nämon; numen from older *nomen (§ 109).
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**Class V.**

§ 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*
  - *mæt*, *mæton*, *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; *wegian* (pret. pl. *wågon*, see § 120), to carry; *wrecan*, to avenge. *giefan* (§ 91), to give, *geaf* (§ 72), *gēafon* (§ 124), giefen; and similarly *fogietan*, 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. *ät*, OHG. *āz* (§ 119). *cweñan*, to say, *cweþ*, *cweðon*, *cwen*; *wesan*, to be, pret. pl. *wæron* (§ 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 *sēohan* (§ 87), to see, *seah* (§ 68), *sāw* beside *sāgon* (§ 241), *seven* (§ 241) beside *sawen* with a difficult to account for, and Anglian *gesegen* with g from the pret. plural; and similarly *gefeōn*, to rejoice, *gefeah*, pret. pl. *gefægon*; *pleon*, 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. *bep*), *bædon* (Goth. *bēdun*). *beden* (Goth. *bidans*). The pret.
pl. of licgan is lægon beside lægon (§ 120). picgan, to receive, is a weak verb in WS.; in poetry it has the strong forms ðæah (ðæh), ðægon, ðegen. 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.

faran, to go  fôr  fôron  færen, faren
Goth. faran  fôr  fôrun  farans
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; wascan, 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.

slēan, to strike  slôg, slôh slôgon slægen, slagen
slēan (Goth. slahan) from *sleahan (§ 70); slôg with g
from the plural, beside slōh (§ 323), slōgon (§ 239); beside slægen, slagen there also occurs slegen with i-umlaut (§ 442); and similarly flēan, to flay; lēan, to blame; įwēan, to wash.

§ 510. To this class also belong hebban (Goth. hafjan), to raise; hliefhan (Goth. hlahjan), to laugh; sceþjan (Goth. skaþjan), to injure, cp. § 528; 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hebban</th>
<th>höf</th>
<th>höfon</th>
<th>hæfen, hafen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hliefhan</td>
<td>hlōg, hlōh</td>
<td>hlōgon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceþjan</td>
<td>scōd</td>
<td>scōdon</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>scieppan</td>
<td>scōp</td>
<td>scōpon</td>
<td>sceapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stæppan</td>
<td>stōp</td>
<td>stōpon</td>
<td>stæpen, stapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swerian</td>
<td>swōr</td>
<td>swōron</td>
<td>sworen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 sceþjan would be scieþjan (§ 73); scōd with d from scōdon. On sceō- beside scō-, see § 128, Note. On sceapen, see § 57, Note. sworen 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. haþald, laþōt, faþlōk, haþhait, raþrōþ, laþaþk, 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, ondredan, rēdan, 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 (§ 183, 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.: rāddde, 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  féold  fealden
And similarly feallan, to fall; healdan, to hold; steáldan, to possess; wealcan, 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;
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măwan, to mow; săwan, to sow; swăpan, to sweep; prăwan, to turn, twist; wăwan, to blow.

§ 518. bēatan, to beat  bēot  bēaten
And similarly āhnēapan, to pluck off; hēawan, to hew; hlēapan, to leap.

§ 519. blōtan, to sacrifice  blōot  blōten
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. rēon beside rēowon, § 266), to row; spōwan, to succeed; wēpan (Goth. wōpjan), 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 -ojan (§ 273), pret. -ode (Goth. -ōda); -an (Goth. -an), pret. -de (Goth. -aida). 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. τι-θη-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-dēđum (we heard), -dēđuþ, -dēđun = 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 -dáis = Gr. ἰπ. Prim. Germanic -dön (dān), -dās, -dāḥ, pl. third pers. -dunḥ from Indg. *-dhnt with vocalic n, regularly became -de, -des(t), -de, -don older -dun 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 allgermanischen Sprachen in Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologic, 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 -idás, Indg. -itós, as genered, gefremed (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>nerie</td>
<td>fremme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. nerie</td>
<td>fremme</td>
<td>sette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. neres(t)</td>
<td>fremmes(t)</td>
<td>setst</td>
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<td>3. nerep</td>
<td>fremeþ</td>
<td>set(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>neriaþ</td>
<td>fremmaþ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>nerie</td>
<td>fremme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>nerenen</td>
<td>fremmen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sing. 2. nere
Plur. 2. neriąp

Infinitive.

nerian
fremman
settan

Participle.
nieriende
fremmende
settende

Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. nerede
2. neredes(t)
3. nerede
Plur. neredon

Subjunctive.

Sing.
Plur.

Participle.

genered
gefremed

geseted, geset(t)

§ 525. On forms like nergan, 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 Æswæbban, 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. þeah, þah), to receive; wecgan, to agitation; wænnen, to accustom; wrepþan, 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 seftan are conjugated Ætreddan, to search out; cnyttan, to bind, knit; hredden, to rescue, save; hwettan, 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. gefylded; (2) þ + d became dd in late WS., as cýþan, to make known, pret. cýþde, pp. gecýþed, later cýþde (§ 305), pp. gecýþ(d) with dd from the inflected forms; (3) -de became -te after voice-less consonants (§ 300), as cyssan, to kiss, pret. cyste, pp. gecyssed; grētan, to greet, pret. grētte, pp. gegrēt(ed); (4) the d in -de disappeared after consonant + d or t (§ 259, 3), as sendan, to send, pret. sende, pp. gesend(ed); fæstæn, 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 +1, n, r, as hyngran, to hunger, dieglan, to hide, pret. hyngrede, dieglede (§ 221); but in the combination short syllable +1, n, r they generally had -de in the oldest period of the language and then later -ede, as eglan, to trouble, pret. eglede 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 consonantual changes took place as in the preterite, as gen. sing. gefylides, gedrenctes, gesendes, gegrēttes, gefāstes, &c. beside nom. sing. gefylled, gedrenced, gesend(ed), gegrēt(ed), gefāst(ed). See § 442.

§ 529. The full conjugation of dēman (Goth. dōmjan), to judge, drencan (Goth. dragkjan), to submerge, hyngnan (Goth. huggrjan), to hunger, and gierwan from *gearwjan, to prepare, will serve as models for this class.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. dēme drence hyngre gierwe
   2. dēm(e)st drenc(e)st hyngrest gierest
   3. dēm(e)þ drenc(e)þ hyngreþ gierėþ
Plur. dēmaþ drencaþ hyngraþ gierwaþ

Subjunctive.

Sing. dēme drence hyngre gierwe
Plur. dēmen drencen hyngren gierwen

Imperative.

Sing. 2. dēm drenc hyngre giere
Plur. 2. dēmaþ drencaþ hyngraþ gierwaþ
### § 530

**Verbs**

**Infinitive.**

- dēman
- drenčan
- hyngran
- gierwan

**Participle.**

- dēmende
- drencende
- hyngrende
- gierwende

**Preterite.**

**Indicative.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. 1. dēmde</th>
<th>drencte</th>
<th>hyngrede</th>
<th>gierede</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. dēmdes(t)</td>
<td>drenctes(t)</td>
<td>hyngredes(t)</td>
<td>gieredes(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. dēmde</td>
<td>drencte</td>
<td>hyngrede</td>
<td>gierede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|          | Plur. dēmdon  | drencton | hyngredon | gieredon |

**Subjunctive.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. dēmde</th>
<th>drencte</th>
<th>hyngrede</th>
<th>gierede</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plur. dēmden</td>
<td>drencten</td>
<td>hyngreden</td>
<td>giereden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Participle.**

- gedēmed
- gedrenced
- gehyngred
- gegier(w)ed

§ 530. Like dēman are conjugated a large number of verbs, as āelan, to set on fire; aernan, to gallop, cause to run; āfliegan, to put to flight; āliefan, to allow; āwyrgan, to strangle, kill; bāedan, to compel; bāernan, to burn up, cause to burn; benāman, to deprive of; biegan, to bend; brāedan, to broaden; byrgan, to taste; byrgan, to bury; cēlan, to cool; cemban, to comb; cīegan (§ 270), to call; cwielman, to kill; dāelan, to share; dīedan, to kill; drāefan, to drive out; drēfan, to stir up; drūgan, to dry; ēaþmēdan, to humble; fēdan, to feed; fēgan, to join; fēran, to go, journey; flieman, to put to flight; fylgan, to follow; fysan, to hasten; gefrēdan, to feel, perceive; geliefan, to believe; geþiedan, to join together; gieman, to heed; giernan, to desire, yearn for; glengan, to adorn; hāelan, to heal; hāman, to marry; hienan, to humiliate, ill-use; hieran, to hear; hlydan, to make a noise; hringan, to ring, sound; hwierfan, to convert; hýdan, to hide; lēdan, to lead; lēfan, to leave; lānan, 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; scrydan, to clothe; sengan, to singe; sprengan, to burst; stieran, to steer; strienan, to acquire; swegan, to make a sound; tæsan, to pull, tear; tengan, to hasten; trenchan, to burst; tfælan, to blame; taesan, to pull, tear; täsan, to hasten; tynan, to enclose; wædan, to rage; wēnan, to expect; wiernan, to refuse; wrēgan, to accuse. The contracted verbs hēan (pret. hēade, pp. hēad), to heighten, raise; and similarly rūn, to roar; tūn, to teach; þeon, to perform, do; þyn (also in form þywan), to press. cŷpan (pret. cŷpde, later cydde), to make known; and similarly ahŷpan, to destroy, lay waste; cwípan, to lament; lēban, to hate, abuse; nēpan, to venture on; oferswípan, to overcome; sēpan, to testify; wrāban, to be angry, get angry. fyllan (pret. fylde), to fill; and similarly afieran, 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; awierdan, to destroy; hierdan, to harden; onbyrdan, to inspire, incite. føstan (pret. fæste), to make fast; and similarly acraeftan, to devise, plan; afyrhtan, to frighten; agyltan, to be guilty; awēstan, to lay waste; efstan, to hasten; ēhtan, 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; þyrstan, to thirst.

§ 531. Like drencan are conjugated ãcwencan, to quench; adwæscan, to quench; astiepan, to bereave; bætan, to bridle; beriepan, to despoil; bætan, to atone for, amend; cœpan, to keep; ciepan, 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; hytan, to mock; iecan (see § 534, Note 2), to increase; liexan, to shine; mætan, to meet; nætan, to afflict; oftyrfan, to stone; ofþryscan, to beat down; rætan, to cheer; scencan, to pour out; scierpan, to sharpen; screncan, to cause to tumble; sencan, to cause to sink; spætan, to spit; svætan, to sweat; swencan, to vex, afflict; tostencan, to scatter; yppan, to open, manifest; wætan, to wet; wierpan, to recover; wýscan, to wish.

§ 532. Like hyngrian are conjugated biécnan, to make a sign; dieglan, to conceal; forglendran, to devour; fréfran, 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; þryscan, to suffocate. The verbs of this type often went over into class II (cp. § 222).

§ 533. gierest, giereþ, gierede from older *gierwis, *gierwþ, *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 gier\( w wan \) are conjugated hier\( w wan \), to despise, ill-treat; nier\( w wan \), to constrain; sier\( w wan \), to contrive, plot; smier\( w wan \), to anoint, smear. læ\( w wan \) (pret. læ\( w wde \)), to betray; and similarly forslæ\( w wan \), to delay, be slow; getri\( w wan \), to trust; hlēo\( w wan \); hliew\( w an \), to shelter, warm; i\( w wan \), to show, disclose.

si\( w wan \), sē\( w wan \) (Goth. si\( ujan \), OHG. siuwen) from older *siu\( w jan \) (cp. §138), to sew, pret. siowede, seowede from older *ri\( w i\)de; from the pret. was formed a new inf. si(o)wian after the analogy of class II, with preterite siowode, seowode. spi\( w wan \), spē\( w oan \) from *spi\( w jan \) older *spi\( w wjan \) (§254), to spit, pret. spiowede, speowede from *spi\( w wide \), beside spio\( o de \), spē\( o de \), formed direct from the present; from the pret. spiowede was formed a new inf. spi(o)wian after the analogy of class II. stre\( w oan \) (Goth. *strau\( jan \), to strew, pret. streowede beside streowede (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. bug\( jan \), to buy, pret. bohte (Goth. ba\( uhta \), pp. geboht (Goth. bau̇hts); þencan (Goth. þag\( kjan \), to think, pret. þōhte (Goth. þāhta, §40), pp. geþōht (Goth. þāhts), whence the absence of i-ulaut 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 rācan, tācan, prim. Germanic *raikjan,
*taikjan, generally had pret. ræhte, tæhte with æ from the present, beside the regular forms ræhte, tæhte. The verbs with II 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
cweahste
gecweahste
dreccan, to afflict
dreahte
gedreahte
leccan, to moisten
leahte
geleahte
reccan, to narrate
reahte
gereahte
streccan, to stretch
streahste
gestreahste
peccan, to cover
peahste
gepeahste
weccan, to awake
weahste
geweahte
cwellan, to kill
cwealde
gcwealde
dwellan, to hinder
dwealde
gdwealde
sellan, to sell
sealde
geseadl
stellan, to place
stealde
gestealde
tellan, to count
tealde
getealde
ræcan, to reach
ræhte, ræhte
geræht
tæcan, to leach
tæhte, tæhte
getæht, getæht
sæcan, to seek
söhte
gesöht
bringan, to bring
bröhte
gebröht
þencan, to think
þöhte
geþöht
þynccan, to seem
þühte
geþüht
wyrcan, to work
worhte
geworht

Note.—1. The presents reccan for *rēcan (pret. rōhte), to care for, reck; and læccan for *lēcan (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
deceive, bepæhte, bepæht, beside older bepæcte, bepæct; and similarly gewæcan, to weaken; iecan, to increase; nēalæcan, to approach (for further examples of verbs with -læcan, see §658); ðeleccan, to flatter; sŷcan, to suckle; pryccan, to press, crush; wleccan, to warm.

Class II.

§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. -ā-mi, -ā-si, -ā-ti, Plur. -ā-mes, (-mos), -ā-te, -ā-nti; Sing. -ā-jó, -ā-jé-si, -ā-jé-ti, Plur. -ā-jó-mes, (-mos), -ā-jé-te, -ā-jó-nti. The denominative verbs were originally formed from nouns belonging to the ā-declension (cp. §§23, 364), as Lat. plantō, older *plantājō: planta, plant; Gr. τιμάω, older *τιμάζω, Indg. -ājó: 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. salbōnt, 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>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
<td>sealfiap</td>
<td>sealfien</td>
<td>sealfiap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 535] Verbs 277

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), *salbōdāes (Goth. salbōdēs), *salbōdā(þ) (Goth. salbōda), pl. *salbōdun(þ). 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 sealffian are conjugated a large number of verbs, as aæaldian, to become cold; arian, to honour; aścian, to ask; aswiftian, to eradicate; bedecian, to beg; behōfian, to have need of; bodian, to announce; cēapian, to buy; ceorian, to complain; costian, to try, prove; cunnian, to try, test; dysigian, to be foolish; dwolian, to err; eahtian, to esteem, consider; eardian, to dwell, inhabit; earnian, to earn; endian, to end; faeg(e)nian, to rejoice; faestnian, to fasten; fondian, to try, search out; folgian, to follow; fullian, to fulfil; fundian, to strive after; gearcian, to prepare; gearwian (§ 533), to prepare; gedafenan, to besiege; gemcidian, to bridle, restrain; gemnyndgian, to remember; geōmrian, to be sad, lament; geastrangian, to make strong; graēpian, to grope, feel; hafenan, to hold; hālgian, to hallow; hangian, to hang; hatian, to hate; hef(ig)gian, to make heavy; hergian (cp. § 525), to hurry; 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; lapian, to invite; lēanian, to reward; lēasian, to tell lies; lēian, to please; lōcian, to look; loftian, to praise; losian, to lose; luftian, 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; sārgian, to cause pain; sārian, to grieve, be sad; scamian, to be ashamed; scēawian, to look; scylldi(g)ian, to sin; sīpian, to travel; sorgian, to sorrow, grieve; sparian, to spare; syngian, to sin; tiohhian, teohhian, to think, consider; paccian, to stroke; ūcian, to thank; polian, to suffer; prōwian, 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; weorlian, to honour; weorgian, to grow weary; wilnian, to desire; wincian, to wink; wisian, to guide; witgian, to prophesy; witian, to punish, torment; wuldrian, to glorify; wundian, to wound; wundrian, to wonder; wunian, to dwell. bletsian, to bless; blipsian, blissian, to rejoice; clænsian, to cleanse; efesian, to shear; eg(e)sian, to frighten, terrify; gitsian, to covet; grimsian, 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; untrēowsian, to defraud, deceive, see § 659.

On the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic., imperative 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, stab; tilian, to strive after, labour, see §§ 101–2.

§ 537. tweogan, Anglian twiogan, from *twi̯xōjan (§§ 98, 139), to doubt; pres. indic. twēoge, twēost, twēopl; pres. part. twēonde (poetical) beside twēogende; pret. indic. twēode, Anglian twiode, from *twi̯xōdōn; pp. twēod. And similarly in WS. the following verbs which originally belonged to class III: féog(e)an, to hate; frēog(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 dissyllabic. The thematic type had the endings: Sing. ē-jō, ē-je-si, ē-je-ti, Plur. ē-jo-nes, (-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. ī-mi,
-īsī, -ī-tī, Plur. -ī-mes, (-mos), -ī-te, -ī-enti. 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. *χaβǎjō (Lat. habeo from *habējō), *χaβǎjizi (Goth. habāis), *χaβǎjidi (Goth. habāid), Plur. *χaβǎjomiz (cp. § 218, 1), *χaβǎjidi (Goth. habāid), *χaβǎjandi; beside Sing. *χaba (OE. hæbbe, OS. hebbiu), *χabizi, *χabidi, Plur. *χabimiz, *χabidi, *χabjandi (OE. habbaþ, OS. hebbiadj). In the infinitive the prim. Germanic -āj- 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. hazzen) from prim. Germanic *χatājanan, to hate. In OE. OS. and O.Icel. the preterite and past participle were formed from *χab- without a medial vowel, as OE. hæfde, gehæfd, OS. habda, gihabd, O.Icel. hafþa, hafþr, besides Goth. habáida, habáidþ, OHG. habēta, gihabēt. The chief verbs are: habban, *to have; libban, to live; secgan, to say; and hycgan, to think.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. hæbbe  libbe  secgže  hycge
    hafas(t)  liofas(t)  sagas(t)  hogas(t)
    hæfst
2. hafaþ  liofaþ  sagapo  hogapo
    hæfþ
3. habbaþ  libbaþ  secg(e)apo  hycg(e)apo

Plur.
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Subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>haebbe</th>
<th>libbe</th>
<th>secge</th>
<th>hycge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>haebben</td>
<td>libben</td>
<td>secgen</td>
<td>hycgen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 2.</th>
<th>hafa</th>
<th>liofa</th>
<th>saga, saege</th>
<th>hoga, hyge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 2.</td>
<td>habbaŋ</td>
<td>libbaŋ</td>
<td>secg(e)ap</td>
<td>hygc(e)ap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive.

habban  libban  secg(e)an  hygc(e)an

Participle.

haebbende  libbende  secgende  hygcende

Preterite.

Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 1.</th>
<th>hæfde</th>
<th>lifde</th>
<th>sægde</th>
<th>hogde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hæfdes(t)</td>
<td>lifdes(t)</td>
<td>sægdes(t)</td>
<td>hogdes(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hæfde</td>
<td>lifde</td>
<td>sægde</td>
<td>hogde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>hæfdon</td>
<td>lifdon</td>
<td>sægdon</td>
<td>hogdon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>hæfde</th>
<th>lifde</th>
<th>sægde</th>
<th>hogde</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>hæfden</td>
<td>lifden</td>
<td>sægden</td>
<td>hogden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle.

gehaefd  gelifd  gesægd  gehogod

The endings -as(t), -ap 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, -aįp, -ái would have become -es(t), -eįp, -e in OE. The regular form of haebbe would be *hebbe (OS. hebbiu) from West Germanic *χabbjō, 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),
hafa庄严 are rare in pure WS., the usual forms are ḫaefst, ḫaef庄严; and similarly with sægst, sæg庄严; hyg(e)st, hyg(e)庄严. habba庄严, habban (West Germanic ḫabbjan庄严, ḫabbjan庄严, OS. hebbiad, hebbian, § 254) had the a in the stem-syllable from hafas庄严(t), hafa庄严. 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庄严(t) and liof庄严, see § 102.

secge (OS. seggiu), secg(e)an (OS. seggian), from West Germanic *saggjō, *saggjan庄严. 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 hygc(e)an beside the o in hogde, see § 43. In the pret. this verb was also inflected like class II, hogde, &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 býa (Nth.), to dwell, fylg(e)an, to follow, onscyanian (Anglian), to shun, wæc-
cende, being awake, beside būan, folgian, onscyunian, 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 per-
fecfs, 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 *kūþaz, Indg. *gntós 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.
naþs); and similarly with the preterites bohte (Goth.
bauhta), þōhte (Goth. þähta), &c. and the past participles,
see § 534.

The following verbs, many of which are defective, belong
to this class:—

§ 540. I. Ablaut-Series.

wāt, I know, he knows, 2 sing. wāst (§ 240), pl. witon
beside wiotun, wietun (§ 101), wutan (§ 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 nāt beside nē wāt, see § 267.

§ 541. II. Ablaut-Series.

dēag (Anglian dēg) beside later dēah (§ 323), I avail, he
avails, 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. ūpe (§ 113); pp. geunnen.

can(n), con(n), I know, can, 2 sing. canst, const with -st from forms like dearst, pl. cunnon; subj. cunne; inf. cunnan; pret. cūpe (Goth. kunþa); pp. -cunnen; participial adj. cūþ (Goth. kunþs), known.

Note.—The preterite and past participle of these verbs presents difficulties in all the Germanic languages. The pp. OE. cūþ, OS. kūþ, O.Fris. kūð, O.Icel. kūþr (kunnr), OHG. kund, Goth. kunþs all go back to prim. Germanic *kūnþaz, Indg. *gntós with vocalic n. The regular prim. Germanic form would have been *kundos, 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 *kūnþ- + the endings -ōn, (-ān), -ēs, -ē, &c. (§ 520), whence OE. cūpe, O.Icel. kunna from older *kunþa, OHG. konda, Goth. kunþa; and similarly OE. ūpe, O.Icel. unna from older *unþa, OHG. onda, all from prim. Germanic *unþōn.

pearf, I need, 2. sing. pearft, pl. purfon; subj. pyrfe beside the more common form þurfe (§ 482); inf. þurfan; pres. part. þeyrfende, needy; pret. þorfte.

dear(r) (Goth. ga-dars), I dare, with rr from the plural, 2. sing. dearst, 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. sculon (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 dearst, pl. munon (see § 224, Note 4); subj.
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myne beside the more common form mune (§ 482); imperative -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. mõste (§ 240).

§ 546. The following verb probably belonged originally to the seventh class of strong verbs (§ 512): äg later ãh (§ 323), I have, 2. sing. ähst with -st from forms like dearst, pl. age; subj. äge; imperative äge; inf. ägan; pret. ähte; pp. ägen, ãgen (§ 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 -ō and -μι, like φέρω, I bear, τιθήμι, 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 preserved; 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
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.

Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WS.</th>
<th>Anglian.</th>
<th>WS.</th>
<th>Anglian.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>eom</td>
<td>eam, am</td>
<td>bío, bēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. eart</td>
<td>ear̄p, ar̄p</td>
<td>bist</td>
<td>bīp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>bīp</td>
<td>bīp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>sint</td>
<td>bíōp,</td>
<td>bīōp,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sindon, -un</td>
<td>bēōp</td>
<td>bīōp,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earon, aron, -un</td>
<td></td>
<td>bī(o)̄pon, -un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjunctive.

| Sing. | sie, si   | sie       | bío, bēo |
| Plur. | sien, sīn | sien      | bión, bēon |

Imperative.

Sing. bío, bēo
Plur. bíōp, bēōp

Infinitive.

bión, bēon

Participle.

bīōnde, bēonde

Preterite.

Indic. wæs, wāre, wæs, pl. wāron (§ 505)
Subj. wāre, pl. wāren

Pres. indicative: eom was the unaccented form of *ēom with ēo from bēo (cp. the opposite process in Anglian
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The regular form would have been *im = Goth. im; eart, earþ, arþ, 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 ·þ in earþ, arþ, 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. biom later bêo (cp. § 104), from *biju (cp. § 138), Indg. *bhwîjō, Lat. fiō; Anglian biom with m from eom; bist from older bis, Indg. *bhwîsî, Lat. fis; biþ from older *bîþi, Indg. *bhwîtî, Lat. fit; Anglian bioþon with u-umlaut (§ 101) was a new formation from biþ; bioþ from *bijanþi.

Pres. subjunctive: sie, sîen later sî (OS. OHG. sî), sin (OS. OHG. sin), beside sio, sêo with io, êo from biom, bêo.

§ 549. 2. The Verb dôn, to do.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>dô</td>
<td>dô</td>
<td>dô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>dêst</td>
<td></td>
<td>dô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dêþ</td>
<td></td>
<td>dô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>dôþ</td>
<td>dôn</td>
<td>dôþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive dôn

Participle dônđe

Preterite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>dyde</td>
<td>dyde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>dydes(t)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dyde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>dydon</td>
<td>dyden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle gedôn
Anglian has the older form dōm for the first pers. singular; dēst, Nth. dōes(t); dēþ, Nth. dēþ, dōes, from *dō-is, *dō-iþ (§47); dōþ from *dō-anþi; Anglian often has longer forms in the present, as imper. dōa, dōaþ, inf. dōa(n). The y from older u in the pret. indic. and subj. is of obscure origin; in poetry there occurs the real old pret. pl. indic. dǣdon, 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 *dūdī-, *dūdin (§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></th>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>gā</td>
<td>gā</td>
<td>gā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>gāest</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>gā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>gāþ</td>
<td>''</td>
<td>gāþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>gāþ</td>
<td>gān</td>
<td>gāþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive gān. Past participle gegān.

gāest, gāþ, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. wille</td>
<td>wille, wile</td>
<td>willan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wilt</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Participle willende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wile, wille</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. willaþ</td>
<td>willen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1. 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; sweetole, 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 blipe, joyful: blipe, joyfully; and similarly brême, famously, gloriously; clâne, fully, entirely; ðece, eternally; fæcne, deceitfully; frêcne, dangerously, fiercely; gedîfe, 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 craeftîce, skilfully; dolîce, foolishly; frêondîce, kindly; gelîce, as, similarly; lôfîce, gloriously; hetelîce, violently, which were regularly formed from adjectives ending in -îce (see § 634), the -îce came to be regarded as an adverbial ending, and was then used in forming adverbs from adjectives which did not end in -îce, as eornostîce, earnestly; holdîce, graciously; hwaetîce, quickly; lætîce, graciously; spêdîce, 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,

615), as dearunga, -inga, secretly; eallunga, -inga, entirely; and similarly ēawunga, openly, publicly; edniwunga, anew; færunga, quickly, suddenly; gegnunga, straight forwards; hōlunga, in vain, without cause; sim(b)lunga, always, continually; unwēnunga (Goth. unwēniggo), unexpectedly; wēnunga, perhaps, by chance. ierringa, angrily; neadinga, niedinga, by force, against one's will; orsceattinga, gratuitously; stierninga, sternly. grundlunga, -linga, to the ground, completely; and similarly midlunga, moderately; nēadlunga, by force, against one's will.

§ 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; holdîce, graciously, holdlicor, holdlicost; strange, violently, strangor, strangost; but seldom, seldom, 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 -ōst, in the superlative (cp. §§ 443–4), as ēape, easily, ēp 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; sîp from *sìpiz (Goth. þana-seíps, further, more), later. The following form their comparative and superlative from a different word than the positive:—lŷt, lŷtle, little, lăes from *laisiz, læst; micle, much, mā (Goth. máis, Anglian mā), māest; wel, well, comp. bet from *batiz, with loss of -e after the analogy of comparatives with long stems, beside sēl from *sōlis, superl. betst, sēlest; yf(e)le, badly, wretchedly, wlers, wyrs, from *wirsiz (Goth. waírs, OHG. wirs), wierrest, wyrrest, wyrst.
§ 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; āwiht, āwuht, at all, by any means; bæcling, back, behind. eal mæst, almost; eall tela, quite well; ēast norp, north-east; ēaþ, easily; fela, feola, very much; full, perfectly, very; fyrn, formerly; geador, together, jointly; gefyrm, once, long ago, formerly; genóg, enough, sufficiently; hēah, high; lýthwōn, little; mæst, mostly; samen, together; sip, late; sundor, asunder, apart; tela, teola, well, befittingly; ungefyrm, not long ago; untela, amiss; west, westward; west lang, extending westwards. Compounds of -weard, as forweard, continually, always; hindanweard, hindwards, at the end; norþweard, northward; süþweard, southward; üþweard, upwards; tōweard, towards, see § 637.

Gen. sing., as ānstreces, continuously; dæges, daily, by day; gewealdes, willingly, intentionally; hū gēares, at what time of year; hū gerādes, how; idæges, on the same day; innanbordes, at home; īsīpēs, at that time; orcēapes, without payment; orcances, heedlessly; samtingses, immediately, forthwith; selfwilès, voluntarily; sundorliepes, separately; sunganges, moving with the sun; þances, gladly, voluntarily; ungemetes, excessively, immeasurably; ungewealdes, involuntarily; unþances, unwillingly; wilès, willingly; the -es was sometimes extended to fem. nouns, as endebyrdes, in an orderly manner; niđes, of necessity, needs; nihtes (cp. NHG. nachts), at night, by night. āghwæs, altogether, in every way; dæglanges, during a day; elles, otherwise, else; ealles, entirely, wholly; endemes, equally, in like manner; gehwæþeres, on all sides; nealles, not at all, by no means; nihtlanges, all night long; simbles, ever, always; singales, always, ever; sōpēs, truly, verily; sumes, somewhat, to some extent; þæs, after; þweöres, athwart, transversely; ungewisses, unconsciously; hāmweardes, homewards; norþweardes, northwards; niper-
Adverbs

§ 557 Adverbs, downwards; to\-wards, towards. A preposition was sometimes prefixed to the genitive, as in-staepes, instantly, at once; to-efenes, till evening; to-emnes, along-side, beside; to-géanes, towards, against; to-eflites, in emulation; to-gifes, freely, gratis; to-middles, amidst, among.

Gen. pl., as Ænge þinga, anyhow, in any way; géara, of yore, formerly; hú meta, how, in what way; hú nyta, wherefore; nænge, næge þinga, not at all; ungéara, not long ago, recently.

Dat. and instrumental sing., as bearhtme, instantly; elne, strongly, vigorously; fácne, exceedingly; hluðswége, loudly; niede, of need, necessarily; néode, zealously, diligently; niwan 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; hwéne, somewhat. dæg-hwām, daily; furjum, even, indeed; gegnum, forwards, straight on; lēofwendum, ardently; wrāpum, 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; θrymmum, powerfully; ungemetum, excessively; unsnyttrum, foolishly; unsynnum, guiltlessly; unwearnum, irresistibly; unwillum, unwillingly; wundrum, wonderfully; wynnum, joyfully, pleasantly; compounds with -māllum, as byrþennmāllum, by loads; dālmāllum, piecemeal; dropmāllum, drop by drop; flitmāllum, contentiously; floccmāllum, in troops; fōtmāllum, step by step; hēapmāllum, in troops; hīdmāllum, by hides; limmāllum, limb by limb; nammāllum, name by name; snædmāllum, bit by bit; stundmāllum, gradually;
§ 558. 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>hwanan</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>niþpan, beneath</td>
<td>niper</td>
<td>niþan</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>ûte, ûtan, outside</td>
<td>ût</td>
<td>ûtan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sūþ, southwards, sūþan, from the south; and similarly eæst, eæstan; norþ, norþan; west, westan; æftan, from behind; ufan, from above; ûtanc, from without; widan,
§ 559. 2. Prepositions.

(i) With the accusative: geond, throughout, during; geondan, beyond; underneopian, underneath, below; wiþgeondan, beyond; ymb, around, about, at; ymbütan, around, about; of (more rarely dat.), to, up to, as far as, until; þurh (more rarely dat. or gen.), through, during.

(ii) With the genitive: andlang, andlanges, alongside.

(iii) With the dative: æfter, behind, after, along, during, through, according to, in consequence of; ær, before; ætforan, 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; ēac, in addition to, besides; fram (from), also with instr., from, by; gehende, near; mid, also with instr., together with, among; nēah (also comp. nēar, superl. niehst), near; of, from, away from, out of; ongeman, onmang, among; oninnan, in, within, into, among; onufan, upon; samod, together with, at (of time); til (NE. dial. tul), to; tō-emnes, alongside, on a level with; tōforan, before, in front of; tōmiddles, in the midst of; wiþæftan, behind; wiþforan, before; wiþütan, outside, without, except. The following also sometimes govern the acc.: æt, at, by, in, on, upon; beforan, before, in the presence of; bütan, outside, without, free from; fore, before, in the sight of; tō (also occasionally gen. and instr.), to, into, at, by; wiþinnan, within.

(iv) With the accusative and dative: ābütan, onbütan, around, about (of time); begeondan, beyond; behindan, behind; betwēonan, betwēonum; between, among; be-
tweox, betweoh, bet(w)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; ongēan, 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; wiʒ, against, towards, to, opposite, near.

§ 560. 3. Conjunctions.

(1) Co-ordinate: ac, but; and, and; ægþer . . . and, ægþer . . . ge, both . . . and; ðac, also; ðac swelc (swylc), swelc ðac, as also; for þām (þām), for þon, for þy, þonne, therefore; ge, and; ge . . . ge, both . . . and; hwæþ(e)re, ðeah, swa ðeah, swa ðeah hwæþ(e)re, however; ne . . . ne, ne . . . ne ðac, nāhwæþer ne . . . ne, neither . . . nor; opþe, or; opþe . . . opþe, 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; gelíc and, as if; gif, if, whether; hwæþer, whether; hwæþer þe . . . þe, whether . . . or; mid þy þe, mid þām þe, when, although; nemne, nefne, nymþe, 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, sipþan þe, after, since; þæt, þætte, that, in order that; þa, þa þe, when; þa hwīle þe, whilst, so long as; þeah,
although; þēah þe . . . swā þēah, 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; bān, bone; bōc, book; burg, city; cāg, key; cild, child; dæl, dale; dōr, deer; ende, end; feld, field; folc, folk; fōt, foot; gold, gold; hām, home; hand, hand; hūs, house; land, land; lim, limb; lic, body; lōf, praise; mann, man; molde, mould; mūs, mouse; nama, name; nett, net; oxa, ox; pytt, pit; rūm, room; sē, sea; scield, shield; spere, spear; tīma, time; treo, tree; þēof, thief; þing, thing; weg, way; wēn, hope; weorc, work; word, word; wyrm, worm; þy, 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, slip; 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; gīeld, payment; ryne, running, course; stenc, odour; steng, pole; wyrd, fate.
bær, bier; bryce, breaking; byre, son; cyma, guest; cyma, killing; cyme, advent; stalu, theft.

spræc, speech; wæg, wave.

faru, journey; för, journey; slege, blow.
gang, going; healh, protection; hlíep, 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; nædl, needle; nægl, nail; segl, sail; setl, seat; stapol, foundation; tungol, star. Æpm, breath; botm, bottom; mæpm, treasure; wæstm, growth. dryhten, lord; heofon, heaven; morgen, morning; þegen, thane; wæpen, weapon. brōpor, brother; fæder, father; funder, finger; funder, 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; gesceafte, creation; geþeahht, plan; gift, price of a wife; glēd, live coal; hæft, captivity; hyht, hope; last, track; meaht, power; mæp, mowing; sæd, seed; sleht, slaughter; spæd, success; weft, weft.

4. From verbs with inseparable particles, as bebd, command; beclýsing, cell; bedelfing, digging round; begang, practice; behát, 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; gefeohht, fight, battle. ofcyrf, cutting off; ofslegennes, destruction; ofsprâc, 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. á-, Goth. áiw, ever, as ábrêmende, ever celebrating; álibbende, everlasting; áwunigende, continual.

§ 565. â-, privative prefix denoting without, like the a in OHG. ámaht, without power, as ëfelle, without skin; ëgilde, without compensation; ëmen(ne), depopulated; ëmôd, out of heart, dismayed; ëwêne, hopeless.

§ 566. æf-, stressed form of of-, off, as æfest, envy; æfpanc(a), grudge; æfweard, absent.

§ 567. æfter-, after, as æftergenga, successor; æftergield, after-payment; æfterfolgere, follower; æfterweard, following; æfterlêan, 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; andwraþ, 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; bifyerce, neighbouring people; bigyrdel, girdle, purse; bileofa, sustenance; bispell, example; 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. idweite), 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 forebeacen, foretoken; foreduru, vestibule; foregisil, preliminary hostage; forespreca, advocate; forepānc, forethought. forehālig, very holy; foresmāre, illustrious.

§ 573. fram- (Goth. OHG. fram), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb fram, from, as framcyeme, progeny; framlād, retreat; framśip, departure. framweard, 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; gefyrlce, army; gēgaderung, gathering; gehāda, brother minister; gemæcc, mate; gemōt, meeting; gesceæt, creation; gesīp, comrade; gewider, bad weather. gebyrd, birth, descent; geweorc, work; gewita, witness; gewuna, custom. ge-æþele, 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; infœr, entrance; infaru,
invasion; inhere, home army; insegl, seal, signet. inpicce, very thick, coarse.

§ 576. mid- (Goth. mīp, 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 oferēt, gluttony; oferbrū, eyebrow; oferdrenc, drunkenness; oferhygd, pride; ofermægen, superior force; oferslop, surplus; oferspræc, loquacity; oferpēarf, extreme need; oferweorc, tomb. oferhlūd, 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; onstīgend, 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: ordāl, ordeal; orsorg, without anxiety; orpānc, skill, intelligence; orweorþ, ignominy. orcēas, free from complaint; orcnāwe, easily recognized; oreald, very old; orgiete, manifest; orgilde, unpaid for; orhleavehtre, blameless; ormēte, 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 samhiwan, 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. sāmi-, Lat. sēmi-, Gr. ἴπυρ, half, the unshortened form of which would have been sömi- (§ 121), as sambærned, half-burnt; samcucu, half-dead; samhāl, in bad health; samgrēne, half-green; samlæređ, half-taught; samsoden, half-cooked; samwīs, dull, foolish.

§ 583. sin-(Goth. OHG. sin-), ever, perpetual, as sindrēan, 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; töhlystend, listener; töhyht, hope; tō-īecnes, increase; tōnama, surname; tōspræc, conversation; tötyhting, instigation. tōcumende, foreign, strange; tōheald, inclined, leaning; tō-iernende, approaching; tō-ward, facing, approaching.

§ 585. twi-(OHG. zwi-, Lat. bi-, Gr. δυ- 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; twi-nihte, two days old; twirāde, irresolute; twispræce, double-tongued, false in speech; twiwintre, of two years.

§ 586. pri- (OHG. dri-, Lat. tri-, Gr. ὅριοι), three, as pridæglic, lasting three days; pridæled, tripartite; prifeald, threefold; prifēte, having three feet; priflēre, three-storied; prilēafe, trefoil; prinihte, three days old; prirēpre, having three banks of oars; priscīete, triangular.

§ 587. þurh-, the preposition þurh, through, as þurh-
beorht, very bright; þurhbitter, very bitter; þurhfēre, penetrable; þurhhālig, very holy; þurhscīnendlic, splendid; þurhscyldig, very guilty; þurhspēdīg, very wealthy; þurhwacol, sleepless.

§ 588. un- (Goth. OHG. un-, Lat. en-, Gr. ἀ-), a negative particle, un-, sometimes used intensively with the meaning bad, evil, &c., as unār, dishonour; unbealo, innocence; uncyst, vice; unfriþ, war; unhālo, sickness. uncraeft, evil practice; undāed, crime; ungeþanc, evil thought; ungield, excessive tax; unlagu, evil law, injustice; unlār, false doctrine; unsweft, bad dream; unwritere, careless scribe. unæpele, plebeian; unāgiefen, unpaid; unandgiet-full, unintelligent; unbeald, timid; unclāne, unclean; undēadlic, immortal; undēop, shallow; undierne, manifest; unfæger, ugly; ungeorne, reluctantly; unlēof, hated; unmāre, inglorious; unriht, wrong; unslāw, active; unsōþ, untrue; unswēte, sour; unsynning, innocent; ungewiss, uncertain.

§ 589. under-, same word as the preposition under, under, as underburg, suburb; undercyning, viceroy; underdiacon, sub-deacon; underling, underling.

§ 590. úp-, the preposition úp, up, as úpcyme, rising, origin; úpended, upper end; úpfēring, upper floor; úpgang, rising, sunrise; úpheofon, sky; úplyft, upper air; úpstige, ascent; úpstigend, rider; úpweg, way to heaven. úpcund, celestial; úpheah, uplifted; úplendisc, rural, rustic; úpriht, upright, erect.

§ 591. út-, the preposition út, out, as útcwealm, utter destruction; útdrāf, expulsion; útsær, exit; útgang, exit; útgefoht, foreign war; útgemāre, extreme boundary; úthere, foreign army; útlagu, outlaw. útlendisc, strange, foreign; útlīc, external, foreign.

§ 592. wan-, the same word as the adjective Goth. wans, OE. OHG. wan, wanting, lacking, deficient, as wanhēlp, weakness; wanhafa, poor person; wanhoga,
thoughtless person; wanhygd, carelessness; wanspēd, poverty. wansēelig, unhappy; wanscrydd, poorly clad; wanspēdig, poor.

§ 593. wiþer-, the preposition Goth. wiþra, OHG. widar, OE. wiþer, against, as wiþercwide, contradiction; wiþerlēan, requital; wiþersaca, adversary; wiþersæc, opposition; wiþertrod, retreat. wiþerrāde, adverse.

§ 594. ymb-, the preposition ymb (OHG. *umb, Gr. ἐμβ), around, and related to the adverb ymbe, OHG. umbi, both from an older umbþbi, literally around by. Examples are: ymbfaer, circuit; ymbgang, circumference; ymbhoga, consideration.

Suffixes.

§ 595. -aþ, -oþ (Goth. -ōpu-, OHG. -ōd, Lat. -ātu-, Gr. -ητύ-), 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; huntopoþ, hunting; langopoþ, 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 fiscnpoþ, fugelnoþ; sædnpoþ, 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; strælboræa, archer; wæpenbora, warrior; wōpbora, poet; wrōhtbora, accuser.

§ 597. -dom (OHG. -tuom), also used as an independent word, Goth. dōms, OE. dōm, judgment, OHG. tuom, state, condition, as abbuudōm, abbacy; campdōm, contest, war; cynedōm, kingdom; ealordōm, authority; frēodōm, freedom; hæftedōm, captivity; hlāforddōm, lordship; læcedōm, medicine; lārēowdōm, office of teacher; recenddōm, rule, governance; swīcdōm, deceit; þēowdōm, service.
§ 598. -els from older -isl by metathesis (§ 277), West Germanic -islja- = OHG. -isli, used in forming masculine nouns, as brādels, covering, carpet; brīdels, bridle; byrgels, tomb; cnyttels, sink; fætels, tub; gyrdsels, girdle; hýdels, hiding-place, cave; mærels, mooring-ropes; miercels, mark; rædels, riddle; rēcels, incense; smierels, ointment; sticels, goad; wrigels, covering.

§ 599. -en (OHG. -in, acc. -inna), prim. Germanic -ini, -in(jo- (West Germanic -innja-, § 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; þēowen(n), servant; þigen, þīnen, handmaid; wiergen(n), she-wolf. giemen(n), care, responsibility; hæften, custody; hengen, hanging; lygen, falsehood; scielden(n), protection; selen, sellen, gift; strēowen, 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 clīwen, clīwen, clew; cīcen, chicken; embren, bucket; fæsten, fortress; filmen, film; gāten, little goat, kid; mAegden, mAedn, maidcn; ticcen, kid; wēsten(n), desert.

§ 601. -end (-nd), originally the ending of the present participle of verbs (§ 441), used in forming nomina agentis, as fēond, enemy; frēond, friend; galend, enchanter; hælend, Saviour; hettend, enemy; hlystend, listener; læstend, doer; lipend, sailor, traveller; metend, measurer; recend, ruler; ridend, rider; scēotend, warrior; seccend, speaker; sellend, giver; tælend, reprover; wealdend, ruler; wigend, warrior; wrecend, avenger.

§ 602. -ere (Goth. -areis, OHG. -āri, Lat. -ārius), originally used to form nomina agentis from other nouns, and then later from verbs also, as bæcere, baker; costere, tempter; crēopere, cripple; drēamere, musician; drincere, drinker; etere, eater; folgere, follower; fugelere, follower;
gitsere, miser; godspellere, evangelist; hearpere, harper; hordere, steward, treasurer; hwistlere, piper; lānere, lender; lēasere, hypocrite; lēogere, liar; leornere, disciple, learner; mæpere, mower; mangere, merchant, trader; reafer, robber; recere, ruler; sæderere, sower; sangere, singer; sciper, sailor; sæamere, tailor; süteter, shoemaker; tollere, tax-gatherer; writere, writer.

§ 603. -estre from older -istræ, prim. Germanic -istrjon-, beside -astrjon-, used in forming fem. nomina agentis from verbs, also occasionally from nouns, as bæcestre, baker; cempestre, female novice; fylgestre, follower; hlēapestre, dancer; huntigestre, huntress; lārestre, teacher; loppestre, lobster; lufestre, lover; rādestre, reader; sanestre, songstress; sæamestre, 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 bænet, arson; bealcet(t), belching; emnet, plain; hiewet, cutting; nierwet(t), narrowness; rēwet, rowing; rículos, space, extent; sāwet, sowing; sweofot, sleep; čěwet, -ot, slavery; čecet(t), thicket.

§ 605. -hād (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: abbudhād, rank of an abbot; camphād, warfare; cilhdād, childhood; cnihthād, boyhood; fulwihtād, baptismal vow; geogu[hād, youth; hēalichād, loftiness; mægdenhād, maidenhood; mægphād, relationship; munuchād, monastic state; prēosthād, priesthood; pěowhād, service; werhād, manhood, male sex; wifhād, womanhood.

§ 606. -incel (cp. OHG. -inklin), a neuter diminutive suffix of uncertain origin, as cofincel, little chamber; hæftincel, slave; hūsincel, little house; lipincel, little joint;
rāpincel, cord, string; scipincel, little ship; stānincel, little stone; tūnincel, small estate; þéowincel, young slave; weargincel, butcher-bird.

§ 607. -ing (O.Icel. -ingr, OHG. -ing), used in forming masc. concrete nouns, especially patronymics, as æpelings, son of a noble, prince; cyning, king; Ealdulfing, Scēfin, Scylding. biesting, first milk of a cow after calving; cåsering, a coin; scilling, shilling; hæring, herring; hearing, hero, bold man; hemming, shoe of hide; ierming, poor wretch; silfring, silver coin; swertling, titlark. From nouns like æpelings 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 cnæplings, youth; dēorling, favourite, darling; fēorplings, fourth part, farthing; föstorling, foster-child; geongling, youth; gesibling, kinsman; hæftling, prisoner; hēafodings, equal, companion; hýrling, hireling; ierplings, ploughman; niedling, slave, bondman; ræpling, prisoner; þéowling, slave.

§ 608. -lāc, 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; rēaflac, robbery, booty; sælāc, gift or offering from the sea; scinlāc, 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; faestnes, firmness; gλēawnes, sagacity; grēnnes, greenness; hælnes, salvation; heardnes, hardness; ïdelnes, idleness; lufsumnes, amiability; mildheortnes, mercy;
oferetolnes, gluttony; slæcnes, slackness; strangnes, strength; wærnes, prudence; wætersēocnes, dropsy; wōdnes, madness.

§ 610. -rāden(n), used in forming fem. abstract nouns denoting a state or condition. Also used as an independent word, rāden(n), state, condition, related to the verb gerādan, to arrange, put in order. Examples are: gefērrāden, companionship; gepēodrāden, fellowship; hīwrāden, family, household; holdrāden, loyalty; hūsrāden, household; hyldrāden, fidelity; mādrāden, grass mown on a meadow; māgrāden, relationship; man(n)rāden, allegiance, homage; tēonrāden, injury; trēowrāden, fidelity; þingrāden, intercession; witerāden, punishment.

§ 611. -scipe (related to Goth. skapjan, OE. scieppan, to create), used in forming masc. abstract nouns, as bēorscipe, feast; burgscipe, township; cāfscipe, activity; dryhtscipe, sovereignty; fracodscipe, vileness; fēondscape, hostility; frēondscape, friendship; gēapscipe, deceit; gefērscipe, companionship; gemænscape, fellowship, communion; gōdscipe, goodness; hāponscape, paganism; hlāfordscipe, lordship; holdscipe, loyalty; hwæatscipe, bravery; manscipe, humanity; prūtscape, pride; sinscape, wedlock; tūnscape, inhabitants of a village; þeodscipe, nation; wārscape, prudence.

§ 612. -stafas, the plural of stæf, staff, stick, used to form masc. abstract nouns, as ārstafas, kindness; fācenstafas, treachery; hearmustafas, trouble, affliction; sorgstafas, sorrow, affliction; wrohtstafas, crime; wyrdstafas, destiny.

§ 613. -þo, -þ, older -þu (Goth. -þa, OHG. -ida, prim. Germanic -iþō), used in forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives (§ 371), as fylþ, filth; hieþ(o), height; hienþ(o), humiliation; hliewþ, covering, shelter; hriefþ(o), scurfiness; iermþ(o), poverty; ierþ(o), cowardice; læþþo, hatred; lengþ(o), length; māþþ(o), fame, glory; myr(i)þþ, mirth;
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sælp, happiness; slæwp, sloth; strengp(o), strength; træowp, træwp, fidelity; tryp, firmness; þiefp, theft; wræpp(o), wrath. On the t in words like gescentu, disgrace; gesyntu, health; ofermētu, pride, see § 305. In nouns formed from adjectives ending in -lēas, the -p became -t after the s (§ 305), as lārlēast, -liest, ignorance; līfēast, death; andgielēast, folly; slæplēast, sleeplessness; gīemeliest, carelessness, negligence; hlāflēast, 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 o-declension (§ 365), as menniscu, -o, humanity, human state; micelu, size; wæstmēru, fertility; wlcu, pride. For further examples, see § 563, r.

§ 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; blācung, pallor; brocung, affliction; céapung, trading; costung, temptation; deorcung, twilight; gemiltsung, pity; glōmung, gloaming; handlung, handling; härung, hoarness; hearpung, harping; langung, longing; lēasung, lying, leasing; murcnung, murmuring; niþerung, humiliation; scēawung, contemplation; scotung, shooting; strūdung, robbery; swīgung, silence; tācnung, signification; tēophung, tithing; þegnung, ministration; þingung, intercession; warnung, warning; wiccung, witchcraft; wunung, 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;
 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:

āclēaf, 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; gūpfana, banner; hāmstede, homestead; handgeweorc, handiwork; lārhūs, school; mōthūs, court-house; rimcraeft, arithmetic; sangbōc, hymn-book; sæcyning, sea-king; scōhnægl, shoe-nail; stæfcraeft, grammar; stānbrycg, stone-bridge; tungolcraeft, astronomy; væterādl, dropsy; weorcdæg, workday; wifman, woman; woruldcaru, worldly care.

ānhaga, recluse; beorhtrodor, heaven; blæcgimm, jet; brādbrim, ocean; cwicæht, live-stock; dimhūs, prison; ealdormann, magistrate; ealdsprēc, tradition; fæder(e)n-māeg, paternal kinsman; fēowergield, fourfold payment; frēobearn, freeborn child; hēahsynn, deadly sin; lēasgielp, vainglory; middelniht, midnight; nēahmāeg, near relation; rihthand, right hand; sorglufu, sad love; sōpword, true word; wansce aft, misfortune; widsæ, open sea; wōhgod, false god.

angbrēost, asthma; eftcyme, return; ellorsip, departure,
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death; geóscaeft, destiny; hidercyme, arrival; niḥergang, 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: berelāf, barley loaf; cwidegiedd, song; elebēam, olive-tree; merewīf, waterwitch; selegiest, hall-guest; winemǣg, 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.

endelāf, last remnant; hierdebōc, pastoral book; ierfweard, heir; witestōw, place of torment. cynerice, kingdom; herefolc, army.

bangār, deadly spear; gumcynn, mankind; frumbearn, firstborn child; nambōc, register; steorsceāwere, astronomer; swēorbān, neck bone. ciricbōc, church-book; heortcoþu, heart-disease; moldgrāf, grave; nunmynster, convent, nunnery; sunbēam, sunbeam. ēarwigga, 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; sunnandæg, 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; picce, 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; sammæle, agreed; unsynnig, innocent.

Suffixes.

§ 622. -bære (OHG. -bāri, Lat. -fer in lūcifer, light-bearing; originally a verbal adj. from beran, to bear), as æppelbære, apple-bearing; ātorbære, poisonous; cwealmbære, deadly; feþerbære, winged; fýrbære, fiery; grambære, passionate; hālþære, wholesome; hornbære, horned; lēohbære, bright, splendid; lustbære, desirable; mannþære, producing men; tungolbære, starry; væstmbære, fruitful; wīgbære, warlike.

§ 623. -cund (Goth. -kunds, OHG. -kunt, denoting kind, sort, origin; originally a participial adj., related to cennan, to bring forth, beget), as æþelcund, of noble origin; dēofolcund, diabolical; eorlcund, noble; eorþcund, earthly; feorrcund, foreign; gæstcund, spiritual; godcund, divine; heofoncund, heavenly; innancund, internal, inward; sæwolcund, spiritual; weoroldcund, worldly; yfelcund, evil.

§ 624. -ede (OHG. -ōti), denoting provided with, furnished with, used in forming adjectives from nouns, as coppede,
tapped, polled; hëalede, ruptured; höcède, shaped like a hook; hoferede, humpbacked; hringed(e), furnished with rings; micelhéafdede, big-headed; súrëagede, blear-eyed; þríhëafdede, three-headed.

625. -en (Goth. -ein, OHG. -in, 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; fýren, fiery; gæten, of goats; gielpen, boastful; gylden, golden; hæren, of hair; hwæten, wheaten; hwilen, transitory; hyrnen, made of horns; lèaden, leaden; picen, of pitch; rygen, of rye; seolfren, of silver; siden, silken; stænen, stony, of stone; sweflen, sulphurous; trœowen, wooden; tunglen, of the stars.

Note.—Forms like bræsen, fellen, lèaden, trœowen, for *bresen, *fillen, *lieden, *tríwen, are new formations made direct from the corresponding nouns without umlaut.

§ 626. -erne (prim. Germanic -rönja-), used in forming adjectives denoting direction, as éasterne, east, eastern; norþerne, northern; süperne, southern; westerne, western.

§ 627. -féast, same word as the adj. fæst, fast, fixed, firm, as ærendféast, bound on an errand; ärfæst, virtuous; bíd-féast, stationary; blædféast, glorious; eorþféast, fixed in the earth; giefféast, gifted; hogféast, prudent; hüsféast, having a home; hygeféast, wise; mægenféast, vigorous; sigféast, victorious; stedeféast, steadfast; tróowféast, faithful.

§ 628. -féald (Goth. -falþs, OHG. -falt, related to fealdan, to fold), used in forming adjectives from other adjectives, especially from numerals, as ánféald, single; felafeald, manifold; hundféald, hundredfold; manigféald, manifold; seofonféald, sevenfold; twéntigféald, twentyfold.

§ 629. -fúll, sometimes weakened to -fol, same word as the adj. full, full, used in forming adjectives, especially from abstract nouns, as andgietfúll, intelligent; bealoþfúll,
wicked; bismorful, disgraceful; forhtfull, timorous; gelēaffull, believing; geornfull, eager; hyhtfull, joyful; mōdfull, arrogant, proud; scyldfull, guilty; þancfull, thoughtful; 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; cræftig, strong; cystig, bountiful; dēawig, dewy; fyrstig, frosty; gesāelig, happy, prosperous; gehyldig, patient; grēdig, greedy; hungrig, hungry; mōdig, brave, bold; ōmig, rusty; scyldig, guilty; stānig beside stānig, stony; þornig, thorny; þurstig beside þyrstig, thirsty; wordig, wordy; ýstig, 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; hāpjihht, heathy; hrēodiht, reedy; iñiht, covered with ivy; sandiht, sandy; stāniht beside stānig, 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; beardless; careless; cwideleas, speechless; fæderleas, fatherless; giemelēas, heedless; hámlēas, homeless; hrōflēas, roofless; mægenlēas, powerless; saclēas, innocent; spræclēas, speechless; tōpľēas, toothless; weorplēas, worthless.

§ 634. -lic (Goth. -leik, OHG. -líh, -lich). Also preserved as an independent word in Goth. ga-leiks, OHG. gi-lích, OE. ge-lic, like; originally the same word as Goth. leik, OE. lic, body. Examples are: änlic, unique; änlic, solitary; cildic, infantine; cynelic, royal; dæglic, daily; děadlic, deadly; ealdlic, venerable; forhtlic, afraid; gēarlic, yearly; gesinsclic, conjugal; heofonlic, heavenly; hetelic, hostile; loffic, praiseworthy; mennisclic, human; mærllic, famous; nytlic, 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; ūncol, 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; änsum, whole; fripsum, pacific; fresum, beneficial; gelēafsum, credible, faithful; genyhtsum, abundant; gesibsum, peaceable, friendly; langssum, lasting, tedious; lufsum, amiable; wilsum, pleasant; wynsum, winsome.

§ 637. -weard (OHG. -wert, Goth. -wairps, originally a verbal adjective and related to weorþan, to become), used in forming adjectives denoting position or direction, as afterweard, following; andweard, present; forþweard, inclined
forward; heononweard, transitory, going hence; hideweard, hitherward; innanweard, inward, internal; niperweard, downward; norp(e)weard, northward; ongÉanweard, going towards; tōweard, toward, about to come.

§ 638. -wende, related to wendan, to turn, used in forming adjectives from nouns and other adjectives, as hálwende, healthful, wholesome; hātwende, hot, burning; hwilwende, 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. Æcol, timid; dēagol (prim. Germanic *daugalaz), ðēgol (prim. Germanic *daugilaz), secret; ðidel, vain; lýtel, little; sweotol, plain, evident; yfel, evil. Efēn, 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: Æhtspēdig, wealthy; ælfsciene, beautiful as a fairy; bæcslitol, slandering; beadocræftig, skilful in war; blōdrēad, blood-red; brimceald, sea-cold; brūnfāg, brown-coloured; brynehāt, burning hot; cynegōd, noble; dædcēne, bold in deeds; dēapfēge, fated to die; dēophancol, thoughtful; dōmgeorn, ambitious; druncengeorn, drunken; dūnlendisc, hilly; eallgōd, perfectly good; ecgheard, hard of edge; efeneald, contemporary; ellenrōf, brave; ellorfūs,
ready to depart; fæstræd, steadfast; felasynng, very guilty; feohstrang, opulent; folcmære, celebrated; friþgeorn, pacific; gaersgrène, grass-green; gearoþpancol, ready-witted; healfcwic, half-dead; hetepancol, hostile; limhål, sound in limb; luftieme, loving, benevolent; módcearig, anxious; namcúþ, celebrated; rædnotor, wise; seldcúþ, unfamiliar; sigoréadig, victorious; snåhwit, snow-white; þancsnor, wise; widcúþ, widely known. The present and past participles often form the second element of compounds, as ealwealdende, omnipotent; glæawhycgende, thoughtful; healfslæpende, half-asleep; lëohhtberende, luminous; rihtwillende, well-meaning; sædberende, seed-bearing; tēargēotende, tearful. Æfterboren, posthumous; aelfremede, foreign; ærboren, first-born; cyneboren, of royal birth; goldhroden, adorned with gold; healfsoden, half-cooked; rihtgefremed, 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 bahuvríhi or possessive compounds, as Lat. longipes, having a long foot, long-footed; Gr. ἔνομινής, having an evil mind, hostile; Goth. hrainjahaírts, 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; drēorigmód, sad; fæstmód, constant; glædmód, cheerful; grammód, fierce; ierremód, angry; langmód, patient; micelmód, magnanimous; strangmód, resolute; sārigmód, sad; þancolmód, thoughtful; wrāþmód, wrathful. Other examples are: brūnceg, brown-edged; glæawferhp, prudent; gyldenfeax, golden-haired; stīelecg, steel-edged; yfelspæce, evil-speaking.
Verbs.

§ 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 in-separable 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; arian, to honour; bæpian, 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; lærar, to teach; liehtan, to give light; mengan, to mix; nemnan, to name; rēafian, to plunder; rýman, to make clear, enlarge; sālan, to bind; scendan, to put to shame; scrydan, to clothe; sipian, to travel; sorgian, to grieve; swætan, to sweat; týnan, to enclose.

brædan, to broaden; cēlan, to cool; cŷpan, to make known; faegnian, to rejoice; fullian, to fulfil; fyllan, to fill; hælan, to heal; hiýdan, to make a noise; ieldan, to delay; lēasian, to tell lies; mærar, 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; lǣdan, to lead; lecgan, to lay; nerian, to save; rāran, to raise; sāgan, 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, wiþ, wiþer, and ymb(e), which were separable or inseparable according as they were stressed or unstressed.

§ 646. a- (OHG. ar-, ir-), the unstressed form of or- (§ 580), as aberan, to remove; abēodan, to announce; abīdan, to abide; abītan, to devour; ablinnan, to cease; aceorfan, to cut off; ādōn, to send away; ādrifan, to expel; āfaran, to depart; āgiefan, to repay; āhēawan, to hew off; ālētan, to relinquish; ārisan, to arise; āscūfan, to shove off; āstīgan, to climb.

ācwellan, to destroy; ādrencean, to submerge; āfæstnian, to confirm; ālieman, to banish; āfrēfran, to console; ālēdan, to lead away; āliehtan, to illuminate; āliesan, to redeem; ālibban, to survive; ārēran, to rear, lift up.

§ 647. be- (OHG. bi-), the unstressed form of bi- (§ 570), as bebreccan, to break off; bebūgan, to encompass; beclingan, to enclose; becumian, to become, happen; becwēpan, to bequeath; bedrincan, to drink in, absorb; behealdan, to behold; behēawian, to cut off; beicgan, to surround; belimpan, to happen; belūcan, to lock up; bemurnan, to bewail; benēotan, to deprive; besingan, to bewitch; beslēan, to deprive of; beþringan, to surround; bewindan, to bind round.

bebycgan, to sell; bebyrgan, to bury; befaestan, to make fast; behēafedian, to behead; behelian, 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; edlācan,
to repeat; edlāстан, to repeat; edstapelian, to re-establish;
edwierpan, to recover.

§ 649. for- (Goth. fáir-, late OHG. and MHG. ver-).
The real unstressed form is fer-, corresponding to Goth.
fáir- 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
fórwyrd, destruction, beside forwéorþan, to perish. Ex-
amples are: forbēodan, to forbid; forbrecan, to destroy;
forcweþan, to rebuke; fordōn, to destroy; fordrīfan, to
expel; forfaran, to perish; forfōn, to seize, take away;
forgān, to forgo; forgiefan, to forgive; forgieldan, to re-
pay; forlācan, to lead astray; forlēosan, to lose; formeltan,
to melt away; forniman, to take away; forrāðan, to plot
against; forscrifan, to proscribe; forsēon, to despise;
forwerian, to swear falsely; forweorþan, to perish.

forbryttan, to break in pieces; forcierran, to turn aside;
fordǣlan, to deal out; fordēman, to condemn; forealdian,
to become old; forgieman, to neglect; forhabban, to restrain;
forherigan, to ravage; forhogian, to despise; forlǣdan, to
mislead; forthendan, to banish; forwyrcan, to do wrong.

§ 650. ful(l)- (OHG. folle-), originally the adj. full, full,
used adverbially, as fullberstan, to break completely; full-
brecan, to violate; fuldōn, to satisfy; fulgān, to accomplish;
fullgrōwan, to grow to maturity; fullþungen, fully grown.

fulbētan, to make full amends; fullendian, to complete;
fullfremman, to fulfil; fullfyllan, to fulfil; fullāстан, to
give aid; fultrūwian, to confide in.

§ 651. ge- (OHG. gi-, unstressed form of OHG. Goth. ga-),
originally a prep. meaning together (§ 574), as gebelgan, to
provoke; gebéodan, 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; gestigan, 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; gebéodan, to compel; gebāran, to behave; gebētan, to improve; ge-hefigian, to make heavy; gehycgan, to think; geliefan, to believe; gemētan, to discover; geræcan, to obtain; gesecgan, to say, tell; gepēodan, to join together.

misfadian, to arrange wrongly; misfēran, to go astray; misgīeman, to neglect; misgrētan, to insult; mishieran, to disregard; mislēran, to advise wrongly; misrēcan, to revile; miswendan, to pervert.

misfadian, to find out by asking; ofclipian, to obtain by calling; offucian, 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.

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; onsælan, to untie; onscrydan, to undress; ontýnan, to unclose, open; onwendan, to change.

§ 655. op-, from, away (Goth. unþa- in unþaplúhan, to escape), the unstressed form of ûþ-, preserved in ûþgenge, departing; ûþmæte, immense. Examples are: opberan, to carry away; opberstan, to escape; opcwelan, to die; opfleón, to flee away; opglidan, to glide away; ophebban, to exalt; opiernan, to run away; opsvwerian, to deny on oath.

opfæstan, to inflict upon; opfýdan, to hide from; oplædan, to lead away; opstillan, to stop; opwendan, to turn away.

§ 656. tô- (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 tô- 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 ðvsµadvµs, hard to learn. Examples are: tôberstan, to burst asunder; tôbláwan, to blow to pieces; tôbrecan, to break to pieces; tôceorfan, to cut in pieces; tôcléofan, to cleave asunder; tôfeallan, to fall to pieces; tôflówan, to flow apart; tôlúcan, to pull asunder; tôniman, to separate; tôscúfan, to push apart; tôsittan, to be separated; tôsniþan, to cut up; tôstandan, to stand apart; tôweorpan, to scatter.

tôbrýsan, to crush in pieces; tôcnyssan, to shatter; tôdælan, to sunder; tôdræfan, to disperse; tôféran, to separate; tôfiellan, to cause to fall asunder; tôhaccian, to hack to pieces; tôrendan, to tear asunder; tôtwæman, to divide.

Suffixes.

§ 657. -ettan (Goth. -atjan, OHG. -azzen, later -ezen), used in forming intensive verbs, as grimettan, to roar, rage; hléapettan, to leap up; hoppettan, to leap, throb;
leasettan, to feign, pretend; licettan, to flatter; lyffettan, to flatter; särettan, 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. -læcan, also used as an independent verb, læcan, to move quickly, spring, cp. § 608. Examples are: æfen-læcan, to become evening; dyrstlæcan, to dare, presume; efnlæcan, to imitate; gēanlæcan, to unite, join; loflæcan, to praise; nēalæcan, to approach; rihtlæcan, to put right; sumorlæcan, to draw on towards summer; þristlæcan, to embolden; winterlæcan, to grow wintry.

§ 659. -(e)sian. From verbs like Goth. hatizon, 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. -ison, 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 bletsian, to bless; blıpsian, blissian, to rejoice; clænsian, to cleanse; gītsian, to covet; grimsian, to rage; hrēowsian, to rue; iersian, to rage, be angry; mærsian, to celebrate; miltsian, to pity, have mercy on; ricsian, rixian, to rute.
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