THE STUDENTS’ SERIES OF HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMARS

EDITED BY JOSEPH WRIGHT
OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, NEW YORK AND TORONTO
1908

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OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY
PREFACE

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
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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. xiii–xiv 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.
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SELECT LIST OF BOOKS USED


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


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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>OE.</td>
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<td>OS.</td>
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<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>Skr.</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
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<td>WS.</td>
<td>West Saxon</td>
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The asterisk * prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form, as OE. *daeg, 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 the language of the Vedas, classical Sanskrit, and the Prakrit 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 ogham inscriptions which probably date as far back as about 500 A.D.

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

VIII. Germanic, consisting of:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note.—A detailed comparison of late OE. phonology with that of the Modern dialects would doubtless show that the dialects of Sussex and East Anglia were closely related to the dialect of Kent in the OE. period. This is not the place for such a comparison, so one example must suffice here. The change of 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 i (through the older stage ē) in the Modern dialects, as līs (OE. līs), lice; mīs (OE. mīs), mice; whereas had ē simply been unrounded to i in the late OE. period of these dialects, the Modern forms would have been *lōis and *mois.
§ 4. OE. was written in the British modified form of the Latin alphabet with the addition of p and P (= 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 än, one; bän, bone; räp, rope; twä, two; cnäwan, to know; mäwan, to mow; sänw, to sow.

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

äë had the same sound as the ai in NE. air, and the è in French père, as dæd, deed; sæd, seed; wæpen, weapon; clæne, clean; hælan, to heal; lædan, to lead; sā, sea.

e had the same sound as the e in NE. west, end, as etan, to eat; fell, skin; helpa, 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; cwen, queen; fēdan, to feed; grēne, green; tēþ, teeth.

i had the same sound as the i in NE. sit, as fisc, fish; sittan, to sit; þing, thing; niban, 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; mîn, my; tid, time; fif, five; sîþe, 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 bröst, brother; grōwan, to grow; mōdor, mother; mōna, moon; sōna, soon; gōs, goose; òper, other; pōhte, he thought.

u had the same sound as the u in NE. put, as dūru, door; full, full; hungor, hunger; lufian, to love; guma, man; púnor, 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; ût, out; mūp, mouth; ûs, us.
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œ had the same sound as the ö in NHG. gätter, as dat. dœhter, to a daughter; œle, oil; œxen, oxen.
œ had the same sound as the ö 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; cnyng, 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; ſŷ, 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 å, Ñ, Ő. 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 = æ + ä, as eall, all; healdan, to hold; earm, arm; heard, hard; eahta, eight; weaxan, to grow; geat, gate.
ēa = Æ + a, as dēap, deaith; hēafod, head; hlēapan, to leap; slēan, to slay; gēar, year; scēap, sheep; nēah, near; strēa, straw.

eo = e + ŏ, as meolcan, to milk; heorte, heart; steorra, star; sweostor, sister; geolo, yellow.
ēo = Ó + o, as cēosan, to choose; dēop, deep; þēof, thief; sēon, to see; cnēo, knee.
ie = i + ē, as giest, guest; ieldra, older; ierfe, inheritance; hlīehhan, to laugh; gīefan, to give; hierde, shepherd; siehþ, he sees; cniēht, boy.
īe = i + e, as hīeran, to hear; gelīefan, to believe; hlīehra, higher; cīesp, he chooses; liēhtan, to give light; niēwe, new.
io = i + ŏ, as liornian, to learn; mioltuc, miolc, milk; miox, manure.
io = i + o, as liode, people; piostre, dark; sion, to strain; pion, to thrive.

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

| Short vowels | a, æ, e, i, o, u, œ, y |
| Long „ | ā, ě, ē, Ĩ, ŏ, ō, ĭ, ţ, ų |
| Short diphthongs | ea, eo, ie, io |
| Long „ | Ėa, Ėo, ŗe, ţo |

Note.—æ was often written ae, and ȩ 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 Ī was sometimes written ig finally and occasionally also medially, as big = bī, by; hig = hi, they; bigspell = bispell, parable. The ō in words like gōs, goose (§ 61) and mōna, moon (§ 121) must originally have been an open ō like the a in NE. all, but it fell together with Germanic long close ō (§ 128) at an early period. œ and ō, always written oe in OE. manuscripts, only occur in the Anglian dialect; in WS. and Ken. they were unrounded to ē already in the oldest period of these dialects (§ 129). The diphthongs ea, Ėa were sometimes written æo in the oldest records. ie and ţe 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, _tD, *w, x.
v (written u) and z (= ts) were very rarely used except occasionally in late loanwords. c, cc, nc, sc; g, ng; and h (except initially), hh were guttural or palatal according to the sound-law stated in § 309. On the vocalic liquids and nasals in OE. see § 219.

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

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

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, fæther; 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) like the v in NE. vine, five, as giefan, to give; hafap, he has; seofon, seven; wulfas, wolves; hræfn, raven; lifde, he lived.

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

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

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

Note.—1. Some scholars assume that palatal cg and ng were pronounced dz and ndz where dz = the j in NE. just.

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 (§ 222, 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; hūs, house; hlūd, loud. Initial hw was pronounced χw like the wh in many Scotch dialects, as hwā, who?; hwēte, wheat. In all other positions h, including hh, was a guttural or a palatal spirant, the former being like the ch in NHG. nacht, noch, as dohtor, daughter;
eahta, eight; tiohhian, to think, consider; sulh, plough; feorh, life; däh, 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 § 319.

1. In Northumbrian and the greater portion of the Mercian district, l was pronounced like the l in NHG. and in standard NE., but in West Saxon, Kentish, and parts of the southern portion of Mercia, it was a reverted sound formed by the under surface of the tip of the tongue being turned to the hard palate which imparted to the sound a kind of guttural quality. This explains why breaking (§§ 49, 63) took place in WS. and Ken. before l+consonant, but not in Anglian. The reverted l is still preserved in the dialects of the southern and south-western counties. Examples are: lādan, 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 rīdan, to ride; duru, door; word, word; fæder, father. In West Saxon, Kentish, and parts of the southern portion of Mercia, it was reverted like 1 (see above), which accounts for breaking taking place before r+consonant more regularly in WS. and Ken. than in Anglian, as earm, arm; heard, hard; eorpe, earth; liornian, to learn.

s. Initially, finally, medially before voiceless consonants, and when doubled, s was a voiceless spirant like the s in NE. sit, as sealt, salt; sunu, son; standan, to stand; sweostor, sister; hūs, house; is, ice; cyssan, to kiss. Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the s in NE. rise, as bōsm, bosom; cēosan, to choose; nosu, nose; ōsle, ousel.
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\( \text{p.} \) Initially, medially when doubled, and finally \( \text{p} \) was a voiceless spirant like the \( \text{th} \) in NE. \text{thin}, as \text{þeocan, to think; þeow, thief; moppæ, moth; bæþ, bath; mûþ, mouth.} \) Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the \( \text{th} \) in NE. \text{then}, as \text{þapian, to bathe; brôpor, brother; eorþe, earth; fæþm, fathom.} \)

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

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

\( \text{x} \) was pronounced like the \( \text{x} \) in NE. \text{six}, as \text{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>Explo-sives</th>
<th>Voiceless ( \text{p, pp} )</th>
<th>( \text{t, tt} )</th>
<th>( \text{c, cc} )</th>
<th>( \text{c, cc} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voice ( \text{þ} )</td>
<td>( \text{þ, þþ} )</td>
<td>( \text{s, ss} )</td>
<td>( \text{h, hh} )</td>
<td>( \text{h, hh} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals ( \text{m, mm} )</td>
<td>( \text{n, nn} )</td>
<td>( \text{n} )</td>
<td>( \text{n} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids ( \text{w} )</td>
<td>1, 11; r, rr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these must be added the aspirate \( \text{h} \), and \( \text{x} \). The double consonants were pronounced long as in Modern Italian and Swedish, thus \( \text{habban} = \text{hab-ban, to have; swimman} = \text{swim-man, to swim, see §§ 258–9.} \) From the above table it will be seen that the OE. alphabet was very defective, insomuch as each of the letters \( \text{c, f, g, h, n, s,} \) and \( \text{þ} \) was used to represent two or more sounds.
STRESS (ACENT).

§ 9. All the Indo-Germanic languages have partly pitch (musical) and partly stress accent, but one or other of the two systems of accentuation always predominates 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. 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 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 ï, ū, ø (§ 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-ός beside acc. πα-τρ-ό-α; πέτ-ομαι beside ἐ-πτ-όμην; Gothic gen. pl. aúhs-nē beside acc. *aúhsa-ns. It is now a generally accepted theory that at a later period of the parent language the system of accentuation became predominantly pitch, which was preserved in Sanskrit and Old Greek, but which must have become predominantly stress again in prim. Germanic some time prior to the operation of Verner’s law (§ 238).

The quality of the accent in the parent language was partly ‘broken’ (acute) and partly ‘slurred’ (circumflex). This distinction in the quality of the 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 ‘slurred’ accent (§ 217). In the parent language the chief accent of a word did
not always fall upon the same syllable of a word, but was
free or movable as in Sanskrit and Greek, cp. e. g. Gr. nom.
πατήρ, father, voc. πατέρ, acc. πατέρα; Skr. ēmi, 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 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 (§§ 212-7). 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 mōn, I shall have it in the morning; ast a dunt if id kud, I should
have done it if I had been able (West Yorks.).

§ 10. The rule for the accentuation of uncompounded
words is the same in Old English as in the oldest period of
the other Germanic languages, viz. the chief stress fell
upon the stem-syllable and always remained there even
when suffixes and inflexional endings followed it, as
beran, to bear; dagas, days. grēting, greeting; hālnes,
salvation; hāriht, hairy; handlung, handling; mistig,
misty. hlēapettan, to leap; ierringa, angrily; lēofosta,
dearest. hēafodu, heads; lēnere, lender; sealfian, to
anoint; wundrode, he wondered. berende, bearing;
cyningas, kings; grimettan, to rage. gædeling, com-
ppanion; heofonisc, heofonic, heavenly. æpele, noble;
hetele, hostile; macode, he made; nerede, he saved.
æpelingsas, 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: onsácán, to deny; bígang, practice: begángan, to practise; órjanc, device: ápéncan, to devise; úpgenge, fugitive: opgéngan, to escape; wípersaca, opponent: wípsácán, 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; bryédguma, bridegroom; cornhús, granary; děáspstede, death-place; féowergield, fourfold payment; fréomág, free kinsman; gēardagas, days of yore; godbearn, godchild; lārhús, school. æfterboren, posthumous; æpelcund, of noble origin; árfæst, virtuous; brynehát, burning hot; gearowyrdig, eloquent; ísengráeg, iron-grey; módwlanc, proud; wordsnotor, eloquent. Nouns like álfefednes, permission, onfångennes, reception, ongíetennes, understanding, ongínn, beginning, &c., are no exception to the rule, because such nouns were formed direct from the corresponding verbs: pp. álfefed, onfången, ongíeten, inf. ongínnan.
§ 12. Already in the oldest period of the language many nouns and adjectives were formed from verbs containing an inseparable particle, and accordingly had the chief stress on the second element, as *bebod*, *command*; *bebyrignes*, *burying*; *bedelfing*, *digging round*; *begang* beside *bígeng*, *practice*; *behát*, *promise*; *behēfe*, *suitable*; *belāf*, *remainder*; *belimp*, *occurrence*; *forbod*, *prohibition*; *forgtolt*, *forgetful*; *forhæfednes*, *temperance*; *forlor*, *forloreannes*, *destruction*; but *fórwyrd*, *ruin*. In like manner the prefix *ge-* was already unaccented in the oldest period of the language—probably partly also in prim. Germanic—and therefore words compounded with it had the chief stress on the second element, as *gebann*, *decree*; *gebed*, *prayer*; *gebrópor*, *brethren*; *gefekoht*, *fight*; *gefēra*, *companion*; *gesceaft*, *creation*; *gepeaht*, *counsel, thought*; *gewider*, *bad weather, storm*; *ge-æpele*, *congenial*; *gecoren*, *chosen*; *gecynde*, *innate, natural*; *gedēfe*, *befitting*; *gelīc*, *alike*; *gemǣne*, *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 *brýdguma*, *bridegroom*; *féowergfeld*, *fourfold payment*; *géarowýrdig*, *eloquent*. For further examples, see above. But compounds which were no longer felt as such did not have a strong secondary stress upon the second element, as *eorod* from *eoh + rād*, *troop of cavalry*; *hláfford* from *hláf + weard*, *lord*; *weorud*, *werod* from *wer + rād*, *multitude, army*.

§ 14. In the oldest period of the language, the compound verbs had the chief stress upon the second or first element according as the first element was inseparable or separable, as *becúman*, *to become*; *behéaldan*, *to behold*; and similarly *gebāran*, *to behave*; *gehātan*, *to name*; *forbēodan*, *to forbid*; *forgiefan*, *to forgive*; *geondsēon*, *to survey*; *geondpencan*, *to consider*; *ōpberstan*, *to break away*; *ōpfeallan,
§ 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)mæst, almost; éalneg from ealne + weg, always; éalswā, quite so; but onwęg, away; tögædere, 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, ə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>ā, ē, ĩ, 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, ə, the long vowels ī, ē, 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, ei, em, en, er, which was caused by the principal accent having been shifted to some other syllable in the word.

ə, 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 eīa, āi, ēi, ōi; eua, āu, ēu, ōu through the loss of accent. The e in eīa, 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.
§§ 17–21] Indo-Germanic Vowel-System

For their treatment in final syllables in Primitive Germanic, see § 217.

3. Upon theoretical grounds it is generally assumed that the parent language contained long vocalic \( \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}, \mathbf{r} \). 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. \( \mathbf{a} \) (Lat. \( \mathbf{a} \), Gr. \( \alpha \)) remained, as Lat. ager, Gr. \( \alpha \gamma \rho \sigma \), Goth. akrs, O.Icel. akr, OS. akkar, OHG. ackar, OE. æcer, field, acre; Gr. \( \alpha \lambda \), Lat. gen. salis, Goth. O.Icel. OS. salt, OHG. salz, OE. sealz (§ 64), salt; Lat. aqua, Goth. ahra, OS. OHG. aha, OE. ēa from *eahu, older *ahu (§ 70), water, river.

§ 18. \( \mathbf{e} \) (Lat. \( \mathbf{e} \), Gr. \( \epsilon \)) remained, as Lat. ferō, Gr. \( \phi \epsilon \rho \omega \), I bear, O.Icel. bera, OS. OHG. OE. beran, to bear; Lat. edō, Gr. \( \epsilon \delta \omicron \omega \alpha \), I eat, O.Icel. eta, OHG. egzan, OS. OE. etan, to eat; Lat. pellis, Gr. \( \tau \epsilon \alpha \lambda \alpha \), OS. OHG. fel, OE. fell, skin, hide.

§ 19. \( \mathbf{i} \) (Lat. \( \mathbf{i} \), Gr. \( \iota \)) remained, as Gr. Hom. \( \phi \lambda \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \), Goth. witum, O.Icel. vitum, OS. witun, OHG. wizgum, 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. widuwō, OS. widowa, OHG. wituwa, OE. widewe, widow.

§ 20. \( \mathbf{o} \) (Lat. \( \mathbf{o} \), Gr. \( \omicron \)) became a in stem-syllables, as Lat. octō, Gr. \( \delta \kappa \tau \omega \), Goth. ahtāu, 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. hvat, OHG. hwaz, OE. hwæt, what.

§ 21. \( \mathbf{u} \) (Lat. \( \mathbf{u} \), Gr. \( \upsilon \)) remained, as Gr. κυρός (gen. sing.), Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, OS. OE. hund, dog, hound; Gr. \( \theta \upsilon \rho \alpha \), OS. duri, OHG. turi, OE. duru, door; Skr. bu-budhimá, we watched, Gr. \( \tau \epsilon \nu \omicron \tau \omicron \alpha \), he has inquired, Goth. budum, O.Icel. budum, OS. budun, OHG. butum, OE. budon, we announced, offered.
Phonology

§ 22. \(\ddot{a}\) became \(\dddot{a}\) 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. faðir, OS. fader, OHG. fater, OE. fæder, father, Skr. pitār. (from *\(\ddot{p}\)tēr-), father; Lat. status, Gr. στάτος, Skr. sthitās, standing, Goth. stāps, O.Icel. staðr, OS. stād, OHG. stat, OE. stede, prim. Germanic *staðiz, place.

§ 23. \(\dddot{a}\) (Lat. \(\ddot{a}\), Gr. Doric \(\ddot{a}\), Attic, Ionic \(\eta\)) became \(\ddot{o}\), as Lat. māter, Gr. Dor. μάτη, O.Icel. möðir, OS. mōdar, OHG. muoter, OE. mōdor, mother; Gr. Dor. φάτηρ, member of a clan, Lat. frāter, Goth. brōpar, O.Icel. brōðir, OS. brōthar, OHG. bruoder, OE. brōbor, 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. \(\dddot{e}\) (Lat. \(\ddot{e}\), Gr. \(\eta\)) remained, but it is generally written æ (Goth. ē, O.Icel. OS. OHG. ē, OE. ē) in works on Germanic philology, as Lat. ēdimus, Goth. ētum, O.Icel. ētum, OS. ētun, OHG. ēzum, OE. ēton, we ate; Lat. mēnsis, Gr. μῆν, month, Goth. mēna, O.Icel. māne, OS. OHG. māno, OE. mōna (§ 121), moon; Goth. ga-dēps, O.Icel. dāð, OS. dād, OHG. tāt, OE. dād, deed, related to Gr. \(\theta\)ή-ο, I shall place.

§ 25. \(\ddot{i}\) (Lat. \(\ddot{i}\), Gr. \(\iota\)) remained, as Lat. suōnus (adj.), belonging to a pig, Goth. svein, O.Icel. svín, OS. OHG. OE. swīn, swine, pig; Lat. simus, OS. sīn, OHG. sīm, OE. sī-en, we may be.

§ 26. \(\ddot{o}\) (Lat. \(\ddot{o}\), Gr. \(\omicron\)) remained, as Gr. πλωτός, swimming, Goth. flōdus, O.Icel. flōð, OHG. fluot, OS. OE. flōd, flood, tide, cp. Lat. plōrāre, to weep aloud; Gr. Dor. πῶς, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuōz, OS. OE. fōt, foot; Goth. dōms, O.Icel. dōmr, OHG. tuom, OS. OE. dōm, judgment, sentence, related to Gr. θωμός, heap.

§ 27. \(\ddot{u}\) (Lat. \(\ddot{u}\), Gr. \(\upsilon\)) remained, as Lat. mūs, Gr. μῦς, O.Icel. OHG. OE. mūs, mouse; Lat. sūs, Gr. ὃς, OHG.
§§ 28–32] Indo-Germanic Vowel-System

OE. sü, sow, pig; Goth. füls, O.Icel. füll, OHG. OE. fül, foul, related to Lat. pūteō, I smell bad, Gr. πώθω, I make to rot.

§ 28. ai (Lat. ae (ē), Gr. αί, Goth. ái, O.Icel. ei, OS. ē, OHG. ei (ē), OE. ā) remained, as Lat. aedēs, sanctuary, originally fire-place, hearth, Gr. αίθω, 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. skáidan, OS. skēdan, skēdan, OHG. sceidān, OE. scādan, sceādan (§ 133, Note 2), to divide, sever.

§ 29. ei (Lat. ī (older ei), Gr. εί) became ī, as Gr. στείχω, I go, Goth. steigan (ei = ī), O.Icel. stīga, OS. OHG. OE. stīgan, to ascend; Gr. λειπω, I leave, Goth. leihvan, OS. OHG. lihan, OE. léon from *liohan, older *lihan (§ 127), to lend; Lat. dīcō, I say, tell, Gr. δείκνυμι, I show, Goth. ga-teihan, to tell, declare, OS. af-tihan, to deny, OHG. zihan, OE. tēon, to accuse (§ 127).

§ 30. oi (O.Lat. oī (later ū), Gr. οί) became ai (cp. § 20), as Gr. οίδε, Goth. wāit, O.Icel. veit, OS. wēt, OHG. weiz, OE. wāt, he knows; O.Lat. oinos, later ūnus, Goth. āins, O.Icel. ēinn, OS. ēn, OHG. ein, OE. ān, one, cp. Gr. oínth, the one on dice; Gr. πε-ποιθε, he trusts, Goth. bálp, O.Icel. beid, 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. αὔξαω, I increase, Goth. áukan, O.Icel. auka, OS. ōkian, OHG. ouhhōn, OE. ēacian, to add, increase.

§ 32. eu (Lat. ou (later ū), Gr. εὐ, Goth. iu, O.Icel. jō (jū), OS. OHG. io, OE. ēo) remained, as Gr. γεύω, I give a taste of, Goth. kiusan, O.Icel. kjōsa, OS. OHG. kiosan, OE. cēosan, to test, choose; Gr. πεύθομαι, I inquiere, Goth. ana-biudan, to order, command, O.Icel. bjōða, OS. biodan, OHG. biotan, OE. bēodan, to offer; Lat. doucō (dūcō),
I lead, Goth. tiuhan, OS. tiohan, OHG. ziohan, OE. tēon (§ 139), to lead, draw. See § 44.

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

§ 34. m (Lat. em, Gr. α, αυ) became um, as Gr. ἀμο- (in ἀμφεν, from some place or other), Goth. sums, O.Icel. sumr, OS. OHG. OE. sum, some one; Gr. έκατόν, Lat. centum (with n from m by assimilation, 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, αυ) became un, as Lat. commentus (pp.), invented, devised, Gr. αὐτό-ματος, 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. ἀθρέω from *faθρέω, I gaze at.

§ 36. r (Lat. or, Gr. αρ, ρα) became ur, ru, as OHG. gi-turrum, OE. durron, we dare, cp. Gr. θαρώς (θερώς), bold, θαρώω, I am of good courage; dat. pl. Gr. παράσι, 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 ə; original u and the u which arose from Indg. vocalic l, m, n, r; ĩ and ei; ā and ə; 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 ,,  æ, ē, ĕ, ō, ū
Diphthongs  ai, au, eu

Note.—æ was an open e-sound like OE. ē. 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 æ in prim. Germanic. See §§ 119, 125.

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

§ 40. a + ē became æ, as Goth. OS. OHG. fāhan, O.Icel. fā, OE. fōn (§ 139), from *faŋḫanān, to catch, seize, cp. Lat. pangō, I fasten; Goth. þāhta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, OE. þōhte (inf. þencan), from older *þanŋtə, *þanŋtō-, I thought, cp. O.Łat. 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 development to ō in OE. The ī (§ 41) and ū (§ 43) were also nasalized vowels in prim. Germanic.

§ 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-fendimentum, chin-cloth, of-fendix, knot, band, Gr. πενθερός, father-in-law; Lat. ventus, Goth. winds, O.Icel. vindr, OHG. wint, OS. OE. wind, wind; Gr. πέντε, Goth. fimf, 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 i under the same conditions as those by which a became a (§ 40), as Goth. þeihan, OS. thīhan, OHG. dihan, OE. þēon (§ 127), from *piŋxanan, older *þeŋxanan, to thrive; and similarly OHG. sīhan, OE. sēon, to strain; OHG. fīhala, OE. fēol, file; OHG. dihsala, OE. pīxI (pīsl), 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. ιδω, is; OHG. irdin, earthen, beside erda, earth; Goth. midjis, O.Icel. miðr, OS. middi, OHG. mitti, OE. midd, Lat. medius, from an original form *medhjos, middle; OS. bīrid, OHG. bīrit, he bears, from an original form *bhereti, through the intermediate stages *bēredi, *bēridī, *bīridī, beside inf. beran; O.Icel. sitja, OS. sittian, OHG. sīzzen, OE. sittan, from an original form *sedjonom, to sit; and similarly O.Icel. līggja, OS. līggian, 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; féper, feather: fipere, wing; weder (OHG. wetar), weather: gewider (OHG. giwitiri), storm; heord (OHG. herta), herd: hierde (OHG. hiri), shepherd; helpan, to help: hilpst, hilpþ (OHG. hilfis, hilfit); beran, to bear: bīr(e)st, bīr(e)þ (OHG. biris, bīrit), 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. fêt, older fœt, from *fœtiz, older *fōtes, feet, cp. Lat. pedes, Gr. πόδες. 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. πατέρος, 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. nîdus, from an original form *nîzdos. 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, liver; 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, or ē in the next syllable, became o when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening i or j, as OS. dohter, OHG. tohter, OE. dohtor, Gr. θυγάτηρ, daughter; O.Icel. ok, OHG. joh, OE. geoc (§ 110), Gr. ἤγος, yoke; OHG. got, OS. OE. god, from an original form *ghutōm, god; OHG. OE. gold, gold, beside OHG. guldīn, OE. gylden, golden; pp. OS. giholpan, OHG. giholfan, OE. geholpen, helped, beside pp. OS. gibundan, OHG. gibutan, 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
*knutjan, to tie; coss, a kiss: cyssan, to kiss; corn, corn: cyrmel, 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. úhtwō, 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 j, 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 ĩo, (iē 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. tīufi, OE. diepe, depth: OE. dēop, deep; OS. liudi, OHG. liuti, OE. līode, people; OS. kiusid, OHG. kiusit, O.Icel. kīs(s), OE. cīesþ, 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 | ä, æ, ē, ĭ, 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:—
\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{P. Germ.} & \text{Goth.} & \text{O.Icel.} & \text{OS.} & \text{OHG.} & \text{OE.} \\
\hline
a & a & a & a & a & \text{æ} \\
e & i & e & e & e & e \\
i & i & i & i & i & i \\
o & u & o & o & o & o \\
u & u & u & u & u & u \\
\hline
\text{ā} & \text{ā} & \text{ā} & \text{ā} & \text{ā} & \text{o} \\
\text{æ} & \text{ē} & \text{ā} & \text{ā} & \text{ā} & \text{æ} \\
\text{ē} & \text{ē} & \text{ē} & \text{ē} & \text{ia, (ie)} & \text{ē} \\
i & \text{ei} & \text{i} & \text{i} & \text{i} & \text{i} \\
o & \text{o} & \text{o} & \text{o} & \text{uo} & \text{o} \\
u & \text{ū} & \text{ū} & \text{ū} & \text{ū} & \text{ū} \\
\hline
\text{ai} & \text{ái} & \text{ei} & \text{ē} & \text{ei} & \text{ē} \\
\text{au} & \text{áu} & \text{au} & \text{o} & \text{ou} & \text{ēa} \\
\text{eu} & \text{iu} & \text{jō} & \text{eo, (io)} & \text{eo, (io)} & \text{ēo} \\
\text{iu} & \text{iu} & \text{jū} & \text{iu} & \text{iu} & \text{īo} \\
\end{array} \]

\textbf{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 \(a\) (\(=\) short open \(o\)) before \(r\), \(h\), and \(hr\), as \(bairan\), OE. \(beran\), to bear; \(sair\), OHG. \(sehan\), to see; \(ba\) \(rip\), OHG. \(birit\), \(he\) bears; \(sair\) \(rip\), OHG. \(sihit\), \(he\) sees; pp. \(ba\) \(uir\) \(ans\), OE. \(boren\), borne; \(da\) \(ht\) \(ar\), OE. \(doht\) \(or\), \(daughter\); wa\(tm\) \(s\), OHG. \(wurm\), serpent, worm; \(sa\) \(ht\) \(s\), 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 \(\dot{a}i\) and \(\dot{a}u\) 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 \(\ddot{e}\) in this book, as \(b\) \(eran\), to bear.

3. Prim. Germanic \(ai\) became \(\ddot{e}\) in OHG. before \(r\), \(w\), and old \(h\), as \(\ddot{e}r\), before = Goth. \(\dot{a}ir\), soon; \(\ddot{e}ht\) = Goth. \(\dot{a}hi\) \(ts\), \(possession\); gen. \(sn\ddot{e}wes\), Goth. nom. \(sn\ddot{ai}ws\), snow.

4. Prim. Germanic \(au\) became \(\ddot{o}\) in OHG. before the consonants \(d\), \(t\), \(z\), \(s\), \(n\), \(r\), \(l\), and old \(h\), as \(\ddot{t}od\) = Goth. \(\dot{a}\) \(up\) \(us\), death; \(\ddot{k}os\) = Goth. \(\dot{k}aus\), he chose; \(\ddot{h}\) \(\ddot{om}\) = Goth. \(h\) \(\ddot{au}\) \(hs\), 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.

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; ä, ö, ü; ea, io; ea and ïo.

- a(0) ñ e (but æ in the oldest period), as benc from *baŋkiz, bench; ende, Goth. andeis, end; lengra, OHG. lengiro, longer; lengp(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 òe), as dat. dehter from *ðohtri, 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. guldín, golden; þyncan, Goth. þugkjan, to seem (§ 112).

- ä > æ, as dælan, Goth. dáiljan, to divide; ãnig, any; hælan, Goth. háljan, to heal; hæþ, Goth. háþiþ, heath (§ 134); læwan, Goth. lêwjan, to betray (§ 120).

- o > è (older òe), as bëc from *bökiz, books; dëman, Goth. dömjan, to judge; fët, OHG. fuozzi, feet; sëcan, Goth. sökjan, to seek (§ 129). wënan, Goth. wënjan, to hope; cwën from *kwöni-, older *kwäniz, Goth. qëns, queen, wife (§ 122). ëhtan from *öhtjan, to persecute; fëhp, he seizes, beside inf. fôn (§ 118). ëst from *ôsti-, older
*anstiz, Goth. ansts, *favour; tēþ, prim. Germanic *tanþiz, teeth (§ 62).

\[\ddot{u} > \ddot{y},\] as mēþs from *mūsiz, mice; brēcst from *brūkis, thou enjoys, beside inf. brūcan (§ 132). cy from *kū-iz, cows (§ 130). cypan from *kūpjjan, older *kunþjan, to make known; dyöstig, dusty (§ 114).

ea > ie (later i, y), as fiellan from *fealljan, older *falljan, to fall; ielдра, Goth. alþiza, older (§ 65). ierfe, Goth. arbi, inheritance; iermþ(u), OHG. armida, poverty (§ 67). scieppan, Goth. skapjan, to create (§ 73). hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; wiëxþ, OHG. wahsit, it grows (§ 69).

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

ēa > ie (later i, y), as gelīefan, Goth. galāubjan, to believe; hīehsta, Goth. háuhista, highest; hīeran, Goth. hauþjan, to hear (§ 136). cīese, Lat. cāseus, cheese; niehsta from *nēahista, nearest (§ 123). stīele, Germanic stem-form stačlja- , steel (§ 71). wiēlisc, prim. Germanic waltis, foreign (§ 64, Note 1).

io > ie (later i, y), as cīesþ from *kiōsþ, older *kiusþ, he chooses; tiehp from *tiōhiþ, he draws; liehtan, Goth. liuhtjan, to give light (§ 138). liehtan from liōhtjan, older *lixtjan, to lighten, make easier; liehp from *liōhiþ, OHG. lihit, he lends (§ 127). friend, prim. Germanic *frijōndiz, friends (§ 104).

§ 48. Guttural umlaut is the modification of an accented vowel (a, e, i) through the influence of a primitive OE. guttural vowel (u, ō, a) in the next syllable, whereby a guttural glide was developed after the vowels a, e, i, which then combined with them to form the diphthongs ea, eo, io. As a rule umlaut only took place before a single consonant.
When the vowel which caused umlaut was u, it is called u-umlaut, and when ō, or a, it is called o/a-umlaut.

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

u-umlaut of e and i, and o/a-umlaut of i took place in Ken. before all single consonants, in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals (c, g), but in WS. only before labials and liquids, as eoFor (OHG. ebur), boar; heolostor from older helustr, hiding place; heorut, hart. meodu, mead (drink), eosol, donkey = WS. medu, esol. Ken. breogo, prunce = WS. and Anglian brego, see § 92. mioluæ, 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. niom(a)n, to take, niomap, they take, wiotan, to know = WS. niman, nimap, witan. Ken. stiocian from *stiköjan, to prick = WS. and Anglian stician, see §§ 92-3, 102.

o/a-umlaut of e did not take place in WS. In Ken. it took place before all single consonants and in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals, as beoran, to bear, eotan, to eat, feola, many = WS. beran, etan, fela. Ken. weogas, ways, spreocan. to speak = WS. and Anglian wegas, spreca(n), see § 98.

2.aking.

§ 49. Breaking is due to the influence of an l, r, or h + consonant, or single r in a preceding vowel (Germanic a, e, i; æ, i) whereby a guttural glide was developed between the vowel and the consonant, which then combined with the vowel to form a diphthong. For the reason why breaking took place before l and r + consonant more regu-
larly 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. ahtau, eight; weaxan, Goth. wahsjan, to grow; seah, OHG. sah, he saw (§ 68).

e > eo, as meolcan, OHG. melkan, to milk; sceolh, OHG. scelh, vry, 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 e), as liornian, leornian, from *lirnōjan, to learn; miox, meox, from *mihst, manure (§ 98).

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

i > īo (later e) 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.

o > u before nasals, as guma, OHG. gomo, man; numen, OHG. ginoman, taken; hunig, OHG. honag, honey; punor, OHG. donar, thunder (§ 109).

æ > ō before nasals (§ 121), as mōna, Goth. mēna, moon; nōmon, Goth. nēmun, they took.

Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants f, p, and s with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as fif,
§ 51. Influence of Initial Palatal Consonants

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.

æ > ea (older eë), as ceaster, Lat. castra, city, fortress; ceaf, chaff; geaf, Goth. gaf, lie gave; sceaf, OHG. scæft, shaft; sceal, Goth. skæl, shall (§ 72).

e > ie (older ië), as cieres, Lat. cerasum, cherry-tree; giefan, OHG. geban, to give; scieran, OHG. sceiran, to shear (§ 91). ciele from *keli, older *kaliz, cold; giest from *gest, older *gastiz, guest; scieppan from *skeppan, Goth. skapjan, to create (§ 73).

æ > ēa (older eæ), as cēace, prim. Germanic *kēkōn-, jaw; gēafon, Goth. gēbun, they gave; gēar, Goth. jēr, vēar; 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 (§ 122, 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), sceādan 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 ë (= Germanic ë) were often rounded to oe and ë after w in Nth., as cuœpa, WS. cwepan, to say (§ 80, Note 1); cuœlla, WS. cwellan, to kill; tuœl, WS. twelf, twelve (§ 55, Note 1). huœr, where, wœron, were = WS. hwær, wærón (§ 119, Note 2).

e became eo before w + a following vowel, as gen. cneowes, treowes, beside nom. cnëo, knœ, treo, tree (§ 89); eowestre (cp. Goth. awistr), sheepfold; meowle (Goth. mawilô), maiden (§ 77).

ë became a before w, as blæwan from *blæwan, to blow; cnäwan, to know; säwon, they saw (§ 120).

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

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

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

Note.—In the case of words where diphthongization by preceding 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.
§ 54. Apart from the influence of neighbouring sounds the normal development of Germanic a (= Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. a) is ə in OE.

Examples in closed syllables are: daeg, Goth. dags, O.Icel. dagr, OS. dag, OHG. tag, day; əæt, Goth. əata, O.Icel. əat, OS. that, OHG. daə, the; and similarly bæc, back; bæp, bath; blæc, black; bræs, brass; əæft, 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), bære; bræc, broke; cæwp, 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:

aæcer (Goth. akrs), field, acre; aæcærn, acorn; fæder, father; fæger (Goth. fagrs), fair, beautiful; hlaedel, ladle; hræfen, hraefn, raven; hwæþer, whether; mægen (Goth. *magn), power; nægel, nægl (Goth. *nagls), nail; wæter, water; fæþm (Goth. *fæþms), embrace, fathom; hægl, hail; snægl, snail; tægl, tail; wægn, wagon; sing. gen. dæges, fætes, dat. dæge, fæte, beside nom. dæg, day; fæt, vat.

Note.—1. æ became e in Ken. and partly also in Mercian, as deg, feder, fet, hæfde, set, wes, weter = WS. dæg, fæder, &c.
2. æ became æ by loss of g, as bræd, he brandished; mæden, maiden; sæde, he said; wæn, wagon, beside brægd, mægden (§ 58), sægde, wægn.
3. a often occurs where we should expect æ. In such cases the a is due to levelling and new formations, as sing. gen. pæpes,
dat. pāpe, beside pæpes, pæpe, due to the plural forms pāpas, papa, pāpum (§ 336); fem. gen. dat. acc. singular sāce, swāpe, beside sāce, swāpe, due to nom. singular sacu, strīfe, quarrel; swāpu, track; and plural saca, swāpā, &c. (§ 366); masc. gen. sing. glades, beside nom. glād, glad, due to forms like dat. sing. and plural gladum (§ 424); imperative of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 508), as far, sac, due to the influence of the infinitive faran, to go, travel; sacan, to quarrel; and similarly in the pp. faren;графен, dug; hladen, loaded, beside графен, hladen. On the analogy of such past participles was formed, slagen beside slægen, slain.

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

Note.—1. In Nth. e was often rounded to œ after w, as jcuella, to kill; tuelf, 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 for the absence of umlaut in læccan, to seize; pæppan, to traverse; sæcc, strīfe; wæcce, vigil; and for gemæcca, mate; hæcc, gate, hatch; mæcg, man, warrior; stæppan, to step; wraecca (OS. wrekkio), exile, beside the umlauted forms gemæcca, mecg, steppan, wrecca.
§ 56. Umlaut generally did not take place before Germanic consonant combinations, as *dwæscan, to extinguish; æsc from *askiz, ash-tree; æspe, aspen; fæstan, to fasten; hæftan, to hold captive; mæstæan, to fatten; næglæn, to nail; ræscæn, to coruscate. But umlaut occurs in eft, again; esne, servant; rest, rest; restæan, to rest; and in efnan, to perform; stæfnæn, to regulate, beside æfnæn, stæfnæn.

§ 57. Germanic a remained in open syllables when originally followed by a guttural vowel (ä, ò, ù) 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 baþu, baths; bladu, leaves; fatu, vats, beside singular bæþ, blæd, fæt; OE. Goth. OS. OHG. foran, O.Icel. fara, to go, travel; nacod, Goth. naqaps, OHG. nàckot, 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 *gađurôjan, to gather; galan, to sing; gnagan, to gnaw; grafan, to dig; hafoc, hawk; hafola, hafela, head; hagol, hail; hagu, enclosure; hara, hare; hiladan, to load; hræpor, more quickly; lagu, law; latost, latest, slowest; lapap, he invites; lapode, he invited; macap, he makes; macode, he made; magu, boy; nafula, nafela, navel; racu, narrative; sacan, to quarrel; sacu, strife; sadol, saddle; stapol, pillar; stæpelian from *stæþulôjan, to establish; talu, statement; wadan, to go, wade. macian from *makôjan, to make; and similarly in the inf. of other weak verbs belonging to class II (§ 535), as bapian, to bathe; dagian, to dawn; gladian, to be glad; hatian, to hate; lapian, to invite.

It also remained in closed syllables before double consonants (except hh), sc, and st, when the next syllable originally contained a guttural vowel, as abbod (Lat. acc.
abbatem, abbot; assa, donkey; catte (OHG. kazza), cat; cassuc, sedge; gaffetung, scoffing; habban (§ 538), to have; hassuc, coarse grass; maffa, caul; mattoc, matlock; sacc, sack; paccian, 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 æce, ash, cinders; æppel, apple; hnæppian, to doze; læppa, lappet, beside asce (axe), appla, appes, hnappian, lappa.

NOTE.—sca- was often written scea- with e to denote the palatal pronunciation of the sc, as sceacan, to shake; sceadu, shadow; sceafan, to shave; scealu, scale (balance); sceamu (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 æces (æx) from *akusi, older *akuși₃, axe; and similarly æpele from *apali (OS. adeliali), noble; æpeling from *ajeuling, nobleman; æt₃, tō-gædere from *-gaduri, together; fæsten (OS. fastunnia, fasting), fortress; gædeling (OS. gaduling), companion; hælep from *xalupi₃, hero; hærfest from *xarubist, harvest; mægden from *magadin (OHG. magatim), maiden. The æ in the above examples is a kind of umlaut.

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

§ 59. Germanic a was probably a mid-back-wide vowel like the a in German Mann. In OE. it became a low-back-wide vowel before nāsāls like the ā 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. lags, 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; ącnc, thought; ćwang, 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; ponne, then; masc. acc. singular hwone, whom; ponne, the.

§ 60. a (o) became e (but æ in the oldest period) by i-umlaut, as ende, Goth. andeis, O.Icel. ende, OS. endi, OHG. enti, stem andja-, end; lengra, OS. lengira, OHG. lengiro, longer; sendan, Goth. sandjan, OS. sendian, to send; and similarly benc from *baŋkiz, bench; cemban, to comb; cempa, warrior; drencan, to give to drink; ened, duck; enge, narrow;englisc, English; fremman, to perform; henn, hen; lengp, length; menn, men; mengan, to mix; mennisc, human; nemnan, to name; pening, penny; strengra, stronger; pencan, to think; wendan, to turn. bærnan (Goth. brannjan), to burn; ærnan (Goth. brannjan), to burn; ærnan
ranujan), to run, gallop, with metathesis of r and preservation of the older stage of umlaut.

§ 61. Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants, f, θ, s, and the preceding a (o) became o through the intermediate stage of a long nasalized vowel (cp. § 40), as hös, Goth. OHG. hänse, band, escort, multitude; öper, Goth. anpar, second, other; söfte, OHG. samfto, gently, softly; and similarly gös, goose; ös-, god; ösle (OHG. amsala), blackbird; smöpe, smoothly; sōp, true; tōp, tooth; pröstle, thrush, thristle; wōs, moisture.

§ 62. ð became e (older ē) by i-umlaut, as ēst, Goth. anstų, stem-form ansti-, favour; nēhan, Goth. ana-nā̄pjan, to venture on; tēp from *tanbīz, teeth; and similarly fēpe, walking, movement; gēs, geese; gesēpan, to testify, declare; sēfte, soft; smēpe, smoothly.

§ 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 1, r (§ 7).

§ 64. i. Before l + consonant.

eall, Goth. alls, O.Icel. allr, OS. OHG. al, all; ceald, Goth. kalds, O.Icel. kāldr, OS. kāld, OHG. kalt, cold; healday, Goth. OS. haldan, O.Icel. hállda, OHG. haltan, to hold; and similarly cealc, chalk; cealf, calf; dealf, he dug; eald, old; ealh, temple; fealdan, to fold; feallan, to fall; gealga, gal lows; healf, half; heall, hall; healp, he helped; heals, neck; meatl, malt; sealf, salve, ointment; sealfian, to anoint; sealh, willow; sealt, salt; teald, he told; wealdan, to wield; weall, foreigner, Welshman; weall, wall; weallan, to boil. Forms like bealu, bale, evil; fealu, fallow; salu, 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 before a following
vowel, as gen. singular sæales, wēales, nom. pl. sæalas, 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. altare), 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 *fealliþ, he falls; ieldra (Goth. alþiza), older; ieldesta, oldest; ieldu, old age; mieltan (wv.), to melt.

Note.—The corresponding vowel in Anglian is æ (also e), as ældra, eldra, ældu, fællan(f), fellan; 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; gemailcian, to mark; hearg, heathen temple; hearm, harm; mearc, boundary; measg, narrow; mearth, horse; pearroc, park; scearp, sharp; swearm, swarm; wearm, 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, faerh (ferh), mærc (merc), &c.

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

3. ea became ēa by loss of h before a following vowel, as gen. singular fēares, mēares, nom. pl. fēaras, mēaras, beside nom. singular fearh, mearth.
4. Forms like ærn (Goth. razn), house; pret. sing. arn (Goth. rann), ran; barn (Goth. brann), burned; bærst (OHG. brast), burst; gær (Goth. gras), grass; hærn, wave, are due to a late metathesis of the r.

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

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

§ 68. 3. Before h + consonant (also x = hs) and simple h, /eahta/, Goth. ahtau, OS. OHG. ahto, eight; seah, Goth. sahr, OS. OHG. sah, he saw; weaxan, Goth. wahsan, O.Icel. vaxa, OS. OHG. wahsan, to grow; and similarly eax, axle-tree; eaxl, shoulder; feaht, he fought; feax, hair; fleax, flex; 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, fax, hlæhtor, sæh, wæx, &c.

2. It became e in late WS., as ehta, exl, fex, 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; sliemst (Goth. slahis), thou slayest; sliemþ (Goth. slahit), he slays; sliemt, stem-form slahti-, slaughter; wiemþ (OHG. wahsfit), it grows.

Note.—The corresponding vowel in Anglian is æ, as hlæhha(n), mæht, mæhtig, &c.
§ 70. **ea** became ēa by loss of intervocalic h, as ēa, Goth. ahva, OS. OHG. aha, water; river; slēan from *sleahan, Goth. OS. OHG. slahan, to slay, strike; and similarly flēan, to flay; lēa from *leahu, I blame; lēan, to blame; slēa, I slay; slēap from *sleahap, they slay; þwēan, to wash; ēar (Nth. æhher) from *eahur, older *ahur, OHG. ahir, ear of corn; tēar (Nth. tæhher) from *teahur, older *tahur, OHG. zahar, tear.

§ 71. **ēa** became ēe (later ē, ū) by i-umlaut, as stīele from *stīehle, Germanic stem-form *stālja-, steel.

§ 72. **æ** (older a) became ea (older eæ) after initial palatal c, g, and sc, as ceaf, chaff; ceafor, cockchafer; ceaster (Lat. castra), city, fortress; forgeat (OS. forgat), he forgot; geaf (Goth. gaf), he gave; geat (O.Icel. OS. gat), gate, opening, hole; sceaff (OHG. sciaft), 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), sceæl (sceal) = Ken. cester, get, scel. e also occurs occasionally in Mercian.

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

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

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

§ 74. Germanic a generally remained before the w which was regularly preserved in OE., as gen. dat. singular clawe beside nom. clēa, claw; awul, awel, awl; 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 féa from *fa(w)u, few; dat. féam from *fa(w)um; hrēa from *hraw-, raw; strēa from *straw-, straw; prēa 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), dēw; glēaw (Goth. glaggwuba, 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. avis), ewe; eowde, flock, herd; eowestre (cp. Goth. awistr), sheepfold; meowle (Goth. mawilō), girl; streowede beside streowede (Goth. strawida), he strewed.

§ 78. In Mercian a became ea before single consonants by u- and o/a-umlaut, as ealu, ale; beadu, battle; eafora, son; featu, vats; heafuc, hawk; heafola, head; heaphu, 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.—1. The ea became æ before gutturals, as dægas (= WS. dagas), days; dræca, dragon; mægun, they can.

2. Umlaut rarely took place before double consonants, as eappultīn (WS. æppeltīn), orchard; hneappian (WS. hnappian), to dose.

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

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

§ 80. Germanic e (= Goth. i, but ai before r, h, and hv, O.Icel. OS. OHG. e) often remained in OE., as OE. OS.
**Short Vowels of Accented Syllables**

OGH. feld, field; feper, OS. fethara, OHG. fedara, feather; weg, Goth. wigs, O.Icel. vegr, OS. OHG. weg, way; and similarly bes(e)ma, besom; cwene (Goth. qinō, OHG. quena), woman; denu, valley; ef(e)n, even; fela, much; fell, skin; fetor, fetter; helm, helmet; leper, leather; nefa, nephew; nest, nest; reg(e)n, rain; segl, sail; seldan, seldom; senep, mustard; setl, seat; snegl, snail; snell, quick; þegn, thane; weder, weather; wel (adv.), well; wer, man; west, west; in the present of strong verbs belonging to classes III (§ 499), IV, and V, 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; sweltnan, to die; beran, to bear; brecan, to break; helan, to conceal; stelan, to steal; teran, to tear; cnedan, to knead; cweþan, to say; etan, to eat; fretan, to devour; lesan, to collect: metan, to measure; sprekan, to speak; tredan, to tread; wefan, to weave; wesan, to be.

**Note.**—1. In Nth. e was often rounded to o after w, as cuœpa, wœl, wœg = WS. cuweþan, wel, weg.

2. e became ê by loss of g, as breðan, to brandish; rēn, rain; strēdan, to strew; þēn, thane, beside bregdan, regn, strēgdan, þegn.

§ 81. e became i before Germanic m, as niman (OHG. neman), to take; rima, rim. 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, stfn.

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

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

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

Note.—1. eo became ēo by loss of h before a following vowel, as fēolan from *feolhan (= Goth. filhan, OHG. bi-felhan), 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. aīrpa, OS. erda, OHG. erda, earth; heorte, Goth. haīrtō, OS. herta, OHG. herza, heart; weorpan, Goth. waīrpan, O.Icel. verða, OS. werdan, OHG. werdan, to become; and similarly beorcan, to bark; beorg, hilt; beorgan, to shelter; beorht, bright; ceorfan, to cut, carve; ceorl, churl; deorc, dark; dweorg, dwarf; eorl, nobleman, earl; feorh, life; feorr, far; georn, eager; heord, herd, flock; heorp, hearth; steorfan, to die; steorra, star; sweord, sword; weorc, work; weorpan, to throw; weorp, worth.

Note.—1. Breaking is older than the metathesis of r in forms like berstan (OHG. brestan), to burst; fersc, fresh; þerscan, 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. § 187), as Nth. eorpe, hearte, stearra = Ken. iorpe, hiorte, stiorra = WS. and Mercian eorpe, heorte, stearra.

4. eo became ēo by loss of h before a following vowel, as gen. fēores, þwēores, beside nom. feorh, life; þweorh, perverse, across.

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

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

§ 87. eo became ēo (īo) by loss of intervocalic h, as sēon (sīon) from *seohan, older *sehan = Goth. saíhvan, 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 fēos, plēos, beside nom. feoh, cattle; pleoh, danger.

§ 88. Final ew became eu, and then eu became ēo at the same time as Germanic eu became ēo (see § 187), 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 ēo from the uninfllected forms.

§ 90. Prim. Germanic eww (= Goth. ĕggw) became euw in West Germanic, and then euw became ēow in OE., as trēow (OS. treuwa, OHG. triuwa), trust, faith, cp. Goth. triggwa, covenant.

Prim. Germanic ewwj became iowj through the intermediate stages iwwj, iuwj, and then iowj became iew(e) in WS. and iow(e), ēow(e) in non-WS., as WS. getriewe, non-WS. getriewe, getrēowe (OHG. gitriuwi), prim. Germanic *-trewwjaz, cp. Goth. triggws, true, faithful; WS.
Phonology

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getriewan, non-WS. getriówan, getrēowan, prim. Germanic *-trewwjan, to trust. And similarly West Germanic iwwj (§ 254) from prim. Germanic ewj, as WS. hīew, hīw, non-WS. hīow, hēow, prim. Germanic stem-form *xewja-, shape, colour; WS. niwe, niwe, 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. 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, whee; 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. speres, gen. pl. spera; and similarly for many other forms.

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

§ 94. The combination weo- which arose from breaking (§§ 84–8), or from u-, o/a-umlaut (§§ 92–3), became wu- (rarely wo-) in late WS., and wo- in late Nth., but remained in Mercian and Ken., as late WS. swurd (later swyrd), sword; swuster (later swyster), sister; swutol, plain, clear; wurpan beside worpan, to throw; wurp, worth, price; wurpan, to become; but worc, work; woruld, worold, world. Late Nth. sword; worp, worth; worpa, to become; worold, world; wosa from older weosa = WS. wesan, to be.

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

§ 96. Germanic i(= Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. i) generally remained in OE., as biddan, Goth. bidjan, O.Icel. bidja, 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. wizzan, 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; hlid, lid; hring, ring; licgan, to lie down; libban, to live; lifer, liver; lim, limb; list, cunning; midd, middle; nft, niece; niper, downwards; pic, pitch; ribb, rib; scilling, skillil~g; scip, ship; sibb, relationship; sife, sieve; sige, victory; sittan, to sit; smip, 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, IV, and V, as hilpest, hilpep, bistest, birep, itest, itep, beside inf. helpan, to help; beran, to bear; etan, to cat; in the pret. plural and pp. of strong verbs belonging to class I, as biton, biten, ridon, riden, stigon, stigen, beside inf. bitan, to bite; ridan, to ride; stigaæ, to ascend; in the inf. and present of strong verbs belonging to class III, as bindan, to bind; drincan, to drink; findan, to find; sincan, to sink; singan, to sing; spinnan, to spin; swimman, to swim.

Note.—i. i became ē by loss of g, as bridel, bridle; frinan, o ask; lip, he lies down; rīnan, to rain; sīpe, scythe; tile (Lat. tāgula), tile, beside brigdel, frignan, ligepe, sigpe, tigele.

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

§ 97. i became ē by loss of nasal before a voiceless spirant, as fif, Goth. OHG. fimf, five; fifel, sea-monster; gesip (OHG. gisindo), companion; hrīper (OHG. rind), ox; līpe (OHG. lindi), gentle; sīp (Goth. sinps), way; swīp (Goth. swinps), strong. But in remained when it came to stand before a voiceless spirant at a later period, as pinsian from Lat. pensāre, 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 (§§ 85–8), as liornian, leornian from *lirnōjan, to learn; miox, meox from
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*mihst, manure, cp. Goth. maǐhstus, dunghill; tiohhian, teohhian from *tihhhôjan, to arrange, think, consider; twīogan, twēogan from *twixôjan (§ 139), to doubt.

Note.—1. eo then became ie, later i, in WS. before h + consonant, as stihtan, to arrange, regulate; wrixml, wrixl, exchange.

2. In Anglian io became i before gutturals, as getiţhhiian, 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 biornan(n), beornan(n), iornan(n), eornan(n). In WS. we have biernan (later birnan, byrnan), iernan (later irnan, yrnan) for *biornan, *beornan, *iornan, *eornan, with ie from the third pers. singular biern(e)p (= Goth. brinnip), iern(e)p (= Goth. rinnip). The new formation in WS. was doubtless due to the fact that the two verbs were mostly used impersonally, cp. the similar new formations in NHG. ziem'nen, to beseem; and wiegen, to weigh.

§ 99. io became ie (later i, y) by i-umlaut in WS., as äfierran (OHG. arfîren), from *firrjan, to remove; bierc, birch; fiehst (OHG. fihtis), thou fightest; fieht, he fights; gebierhtan, to make bright; gesiehp, vision; giernan (OS. gîrnan), to desire; hierde (OHG. hirti), shepherd; ierre (OS. OHG. irri), angry; rihtan, ryhtan (OS. rihtian), to set straight; siehst (OHG. sihis), thou seest; siehp (OHG. sihit), he sees; smierwan (OHG. smirwen), to anoint; wierresta, wiersta (OHG. wirsto), worst; wiersa (OHG. wîrsiro), worse; wierpe (OHG. wîrdi), 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), gesiehp; mixen (mod. northern E 2
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.

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

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

§ 101. 1. u-umlaut.

Pret. cliopude, -ode, beside inf. clopian, to call; cliopung, calling; mioluc, miolc (later milc), milk; sioluc, silk; siolufr, siolfor, silver; pret. tiolude, -ode, beside inf. tilian, to aim at; tiolung, produce, labour. Anglian and Ken. liomu, leomu, limbs; niopor (WS. niþor), lower; siodu (WS. sidu), custom; sionu (WS. sinu), sinew. Ken. siocol, sickle; stigmoid, stile = WS. and Anglian sicol, stigol. Forms like liomu, niþor, 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, clífs; 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. iо became i in Anglian before 1+guttural, as milc from miolc, older mioluc, milk.

§ 102. 2. o/a-umlaut.

hiora, heora, their, of them; liofast, thou livest. Anglian and Ken. behionan, on this side of; glioda, kite, vulture;
daughter; folc, O.Icel. OS. OHG. folk, folk; hord, Goth. huzd, OS. hord, OHG. hort, treasure; oxa, Goth. aūhsa, 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. bōdenn, 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 ð by loss of consonant, as gen. hōles beside nom. holh, hole; brōden 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. § 48) 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.
§ 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; luþian, to
love; luþu, love; murcniþ, to murmure, grumble; murnan,
to mourn; spurþa beside spora, spur; spurnan beside
spornan, to kick; ufþan (OHG. obana, from above), above;
ufer(r)a, upper, higher; ufor, higher; wulf (OHG. wolf),
wolf; wulle (OHG. wolla), wool; cnucian beside cnocian,
to knock; scurf, scurf; turf, turf.

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

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

§ 110. o may have become the rising diphthong i6 (e6)
after g = Germanic j (§ 263), and also occasionally after sc,
as gioc (geoc), OHG. joh, yoke; geon, yon, that; sceofi,
shovel; sceolde, should; sceop, poet, singer; sceort, short;
sceoten (pp.), shot, beside scofl, scolde, scop, scort, scoten.
But see § 51, Note.

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

§ 111. Germanic u (§ 21) generally remained in OE. as
also in the other Germanic languages, as dũmb, 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, mut; 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. buðum, 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 druncon, drank; dugon, 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; orpang, skill; orwēne, 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; pyncan, Goth. pugkjan, OS. thunkian, to seem; and similarly blyscan, to blush; bryce, brittle; brycg, bridge; bycgan (Goth. bugjan), to buy; byrd, birth; cryppan, to embrace; cnyttan, to bind; crycc, crutch; cyme, advent; cyre, choice; cyrel, kernel; cyssan, to kiss; cyst, choice; drync, potion; dyppan, to dip; dysig, foolish; flyht, flight; fyllan, to fill; fyrhtan, to fear; fyxen, vixen; gemynd, remembrance; gesynto, health; gyden (OHG. gutin), goddess; gylden (OHG. guldin), golden; hrycg, back, ridge; hycgan (Goth. hug-
§§ 113–15] Short Vowels of Accented Syllables

jan), to think; hyge, thought; hyldo, grace, favour; hyll, hill; hyngran, to hunger; hype, hip; hyrdel, hurdle; hyrnen, of horn; lyge, falsehood; mycel, much; mycg, midge; myrpran, to murder; nytt, use; scylld, guilt; scylldig, guilty; scyrtra, shorter; stycc, piece; synn, sin; trymman, to make strong; þynne, thin; þyrsttan, to thirst; yfel, evil; ymb(e), about; yppan, to open; wyllen (OHG. wullin), woollen; ywnn, 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 (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.
2. y was often unrounded to i in late WS. and Anglian, especially before and after c, g, h, as cinn, cining, fliht, hricg, hige, scildig, pincan, &c.

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

§ 114. ū became ų by i-umlaut, as cỳpan (Goth. gaswikunþjan), to make known; dỳstig (OHG. tunstig, stormy), dusty; fỳsan from *funsjan, to send forth, hasten; wỳscan from *wunskjan, OHG. wunsken, to wish; ỳst (OHG. unst), storm, tempest; ỳp (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.

§ 116. u may have become the rising diphthong iú, later ió (eó), 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 hōh, heel; hōn, to hang; öht, persecution; tōh, tough; þō (Goth. þāhō), clay; þōhte, I thought; wōh, crooked, wry.

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

æ

§ 119. Germanic āē (Goth. ē, OS. OHG. a) generally remained in WS., but became ē in Anglian and Ken., as WS. dēd, non-WS. dēd, Goth. ga-dēps, OS. dād, OHG. tät, deed; WS. sēd, non-WS. sēd, OS. sād, OHG. sēt, seed; WS. rēdan, non-WS. rēdan, OS. rēdan, OHG. rētan, to advise; and similarly bār, bier; blædre, bladder; blætan, to bleat; brār, briar; ēfen, evening; ēl, cel; ēs,
§ 120] Long Vowels of Accented Syllables

carion; āpm, breath; hār, hair; lēce, physician; lētan, to leave; mēg, kinsman; māl, meal-time; Anglian mēce (OS. māki), sword; māre, renowned; nādl, needle; nādre, snake; rād, advice; swās, pleasant; pār, there; wāg, wave; wēpen, weapon; in the pret. plural of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 503) and V (§ 505), as bāron, bora; cwēdon, said; ëton, ate; stālon, stole; sāton, sat.

Note.—1. It is difficult to account for the ā beside ē in a few words, such as lācnian, to cure; slāpan, to sleep; swār, heavy; tāl, blame; wāt, wet, beside lācnian, slāpan, swār, tāl, wāt. In forms like wāg beside wēg, wave, the ā is due to the stem-form of the plural, see § 120 (2).

2. The ē from older ā was often rounded to ē after w in Nth., as huēr, where; wēpen, weapon; wēron, they were = WS. hwēr, wēpen, wēron.

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

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

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

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

Note.—Forms like māgas; wāgas, waves, were new formations from the singular mēg, wēg. And lāgon, pāgon, wāgon were due to the analogy of such preterites as bāron, stālon which regularly have ā.
§ 121. ë became ō before nasals, as mōna, Goth. mēna, OS. OHG. māno, moon; nōmon, Goth. nēmuı̈, OS. OHG. nāmun, they took; and similarly brōm, broom; c(w)ōmon, they came; gedōn, done; mōnap, month; ōm, rust; sōna, soon; spōn, chip; wōma, tumult.

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

§ 122. ō became ē (older ō) 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. ē was broken to ēa before h, as nēah, Goth. nēhu, OS. OHG. nāh, near; nēar from *nēahur, older *nēhur, nearer. By i-umlaut ēa became ie (later i, ū), as niehsta from *nēahista, but Anglian nēsta from *nēhistia (OHG. nāhisto), nearest.

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

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

§ 125. Germanic ē, which cannot be traced back phonologically to Indo-Germanic ē (§ 38, Note), is of obscure origin. In Gothic the two sounds fell together in ē, but in the other Germanic languages they were kept quite apart, thus Indg. ē = OE. ē (§ 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. sōth. O.Icel. OS. hēr, OHG. hiar, here; OE. mēd, OS. nēda, OHG. miata, pay, reward; in the preterite of the oldreduplicated verbs (§§ 512-14), as OE. OS. hēt, OHG. hāt, inf. OE. hātan, to call; and similarly preterite fēng, rēd, slēp, beside inf. fōn, to seize; rēdan, to advise; slēpan, to sleep.

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

§ 126. Germanic ĭ generally remained in OE., as also in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as OE. OS. OHG. sīn, Goth. seins, his; OE. OS. OHG. swīn, Goth. swein, O.Icel. svin, pig, swine; and similarly blipe, blithe; hwīl, space of time; hwīt, white; ĭdel, empty; ĭfig, ĭvy; ĭs, ice; ĭsen, ĭren, ĭron, iron; ĭlf, life; ĭm, mine; ĭrice, kingdom; ĭrīm, number; ĭside, side; ĭslīm, slim; ĭtime; ĭpīn, thine; ĭwid, wide; ĭwīf, wife; ĭwis, wise; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 490), as OE. OS. bītan, Goth. bētan, O.Icel. bīta, OHG. bīzan, to bite; and similarly bīdan, to remain; drīfan, to drive; glīdan, to glide; gripan, to seize; līpan, to go; rīdan, to ride; scīnan, to shine; slīdan, to slide; smītan, to smite; snīpan, to cut; stīgan, to ascend; strīdan, to stride; wītān, to write.

§ 127. ĭ was broken to ĭo before h and ht in WS. But already at an early period the ĭo mostly became ēo (= Anglian ĭ), as betwēoh, between, cp. Goth. tweihnái, two each; lēoh, Goth. leihts, OHG. lihtī, adj. light; wēoh (Anglian wīh), idol, Goth. weihs, OHG. wīh, holy, OS. wīh, temple; imperative singular lēoh (Anglian līh), Goth. līlu, OS. OHG. līh, lend thou; and similarly tēoh,
accuse; źēoh, thrive; wrēoh, cover. With loss of medial h after breaking had taken place, as btwēonun, between; fēol (Anglian fil, OHG. fīhala), file; infinitives lōn, lēon (Goth. leithvan, OS. OHG. lihan), to lend; and similarly sōn, sēon, to strain; źion, źēon, to thrive; wrion, wrēon, to cover.

The i-umlaut of this źō (ēo) is ie, as liehtan from *liōht-, juan, to lighten, make easier, Anglian gelihtan; liehst from *liōhis (OHG. lihis), thou lendest; liehp from *liohīp (OHG. lihit), he lends.

ō

§ 128. Germanic źō (= Goth. O.Icel. OS. źō, OHG. uo) generally remained in OE., as brōbor, Goth. brōbar, O.Icel. brōðer, OS. brōder, OHG. bruoder, brother; OE. OS. fōt, Goth. fōtus, O.Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuoz, foot; and similarly blōd, blood; blōwan, to bloom; bōc, book; bōsm, bosom; brōc, brook; brōd, brood; cōl, cool; dōm, judgment, doom; dōn, to do; flōd, flood; flōwan, to flow; fōda, food; genōg, enough; glōf, glove; glōm, gloom; glōwan, to glow; gōd, good; grōwan, to grow; hōc, hook; hōd, hood; hōf, hoof; hrōc, rook; hrōf, roof; hrōpan, to shout; mōd, mood, mind; mōdor, mother; rōwan, to row; sōhte, 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; hōf, raised; slōg, struck, slew; swōr, swore.

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

§ 129. źō became ē (older źē, preserved in Nth.) by i-umlaut, as fēt, OS. fōti, OHG. fuodzi, from *fōtiz, older *fōtez, feet; sēcan, Goth. sōkjan, OS. sōkian, to seek; and similarly bēc, books; bētan, to improve; blēdan, to
2. The *cc, er, dat. sing. of brōpor, brother; cēlan, to cool; denote the judge; drēfan, to make turbid; fēdan, to feed; pret. sing. eel; glēd, live coal; grēne, green; grētan, to greet; Note. to heed; mēder, dat. sing. of mōdor, mother; mētan, § 18; el; spēd, success; swēte, sweet; wēpan, to weep.

§ 180. Final wō became ĕ in monosyllables, as cū, OS. kō, OHG. kuo, cow, from an original acc. form *gōm (cp. Gr. Dor. ßav) = 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.

ū

§ 181. Germanic ū generally remained in OE., as also in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. hūs, house, cp. Goth. gud-hūs, temple; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. rūm, Goth. rūms, room; ūhte, Goth. ūhta, OS. thūhta, OHG. dūhta, it seemed, inf. OE. pyncan, to seem; and similarly brū, eyebrow; brūcan, to enjoy; brūn, brown; būan, to dwell; būgan, to bow down; clūd, rock; clūt, clout; fūl, foul; hlūd, loud; hlūtor, clear, pure; lūcan, to close; lūs, louse; mūs, mouse; nū, now; prūt, proud; rūst, rust; scrūd, garment; scūfan, to push; slūpan, to glide; sūcan, to such; 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.

§ 182. ū became ĭ by i-umlaut, as brūd, from prim. Germanic *brūdiz, bride; mūs, from prim. Germanic *mūsiz, mice; rīman, Goth. *rūmjan, OS. rūmian, to make room; and similarly fyr, fire; fyst, fist; hlīdan, to make a sound; hīd, hide; hīdan, to hide, conceal; hīf, hive; līs, lice; lītel, little; ontīnan, to open; scrīdan
to dress; pýmel, thumbstall; in the second and of medial sing. pres. indicative of strong verbs which have *brükþ, inf. brücan, to enjoy.

Note.—y became e in Ken. in the ninth century, as K. hēf, mēs, ontēnan = WS. hŷf, mŷs, ontŷnan.

C. The Diphthongs of Accented Syllables.

ai

§ 133. Germanic ai (= Goth. ái, O.Icel. ei, OS. ē, OHG. ei (ē)) became ā in OE., as ān, Goth. áins, O.Icel. einn, OS. ēn, OHG. ein, one; hāl, Goth. hāils, O.Icel. heill, OS. hēl, OHG. heil, whole, sound, hale; hātan, Goth. háitan, O.Icel. heita, OS. hētan, OHG. hēzan, to name, call; and similarly ac, 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; māþm, treasure; rā (OHG. rēho), roe; rād, raid; ráp, rope; sāl, rope; sār, sore; sāwol, soul; sā (OHG. slēha), sloe; snāw, snow; stān, stone; swāpan, to sweep; tā (OHG. zēha), toe; tācen, token; twā, two; þās, those; wā, woe; wāt, he knows; in the pret. singular of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 490), as bād, Goth. bāþ, O.Icel. bēð, OS. bād, OHG. bēt, he awaited; and similarly bāt, bit; lāþ, went; drāf, drove; lāh, lent; rād, rode; stāg, ascended.

Note.—It is difficult to account for ā beside ā (Goth. ái, e-ver; and similarly in the compounds ā-wiht, -wuht, any-thing; nō-wiht, -wuht beside ā-wiht, nā-wiht.
2. The combination scä· was often written sceä· with e to
denote the palatal pronunciation of sc-, as sceädan, to divide;
pret. singular sceän, shone, beside scädan, scän. See § 51,
Note.

§ 184. ä became ä (late Ken. ē) by i-umlaut, as ĥäþ,
Goth. háþi, heath; hælan, Goth. háiljan, OS. hélian, to
heal; æ, ēw from *āwi-, prim. Germanic *aiwiz, diiuine
law; and similarly āht, possession; ānig, any; ār,
formerly, before; blæcan, to bleach; brædan, to broaden;
clæne, clean; dæl, part, portion; dælan, to deal; dræfan,
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.

au

§ 185. Germanic au (= Goth. áu, O.Icel. au, OS. ō,
OHG. ou (ō)) became ēa in OE., as dēap, Goth. dáþus,
O.Icel. dauðe, OS. dō, OHG. tōd, death; ēage, Goth. j
áþgō, O.Icel. auga, OS. ōga, OHG. ouga, eye; rēad,
Goth. rāþus, 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; drēám, joy; ēac, also; ēadig (Goth. āudags),
blessed; ēare, ear; ēast, east; fiēa(h), fle(a); 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 (§ 498), as cēas, Goth. kās, O.Icel. kaus,
OS. OHG. kōs, he chose, inf. OE. cēosan, to choose; and
similarly bēad, offered; brēac, enjoyed; clēaf, cleft; frēas,
frose; gēat, poued out; lēag, lied; scēat, shot; tēah, drew.

Note.—1. ēa became ē in late WS. before c, g, h, and after
c, g, sc, as bêcen, lêc, bêg, êge, hêh, têh; cêpian, cês, gêt, scêf, scêt.

a. In Anglian it became ë (later ê) before c, g, h, as ëc, lêc, flêh, hêh, têg, later êc, lêc, flêh, hêh, têg.

§ 136. ëa became ëe (= non-WS. ĕ) by i-umlaut in the oldest period of WS. ëe then became î, ÿ already in early WS., as gelîefan, early WS. gelîfan, gelîfan, non-WS. gelîfan, Goth. galâubjan, OS. gîlôbian, to believe; hîeran, early WS. hîran, hîyan, non-WS. hîeran, Goth. hâusjan, OS. hôrian, to hear; nïed, early WS. nïd, nïd, non-WS. nïd, Goth. náuþs, prim. Germanic *naudiz, need; and similarly biecñan, to beckon; biegan (Goth. *báugjan), to bend; ciepan, to buy; drieman, to rejoice; driepan, to let drop; ëecan, to increase; ëeþe, easy; gîeman, to take notice of; hîehra, higher; hîehsta (Goth. hâuhista), highest; hîenan, to humiliâte; nïdan, to compel; scîete, sheet; slîefe, sleeve; stiepel, steeple.

§ 137. Germanic eu (= Goth. iu, O.Icel. jô (jû), OS. OHG. eo (Io)) became ëo in OE. The ëo remained in WS. and Mercian, but was often written iö in early WS. and Mercian. In Nth. it mostly became ëa which fell together with the ëa from Germanic au (§ 185). In Ken. it became iö (also written iâ), and thus fell together with iö from Germanic iu (§ 188). Examples are: deöp, Goth. diups, O.Icel. djüpr, OS. diop, OHG. tiof, tief; WS. and Mercian lêof, lîof, Nth. leaf, Ken. liof, Goth. liufs, O.Icel. ljüfr, OS. liôf, OHG. liob, dear; WS. and Mercian dêor, dîor, Nth. dêar, Ken. dîor, deer; and similarly bêod, table; bêor, beer; fêos, fleece; leôht, a light; sêoc, sick; stêor, rudder; pêod, nation, race; pêof, thief; pêoh, thigh; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class II (§ 493), as bêodan, Goth. biudan, O.Icel. bjôða, OS. biodan,
Diphthongs of Accented Syllables

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; scēotan, 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 stEopfader, step father.

2. ēo (ēa) became ē in Anglian before c, g, h, as rēca(n), sēc, flēga(n!), IEg(a(n), IEht = WS. rEocan, sEoc, &c.

§ 138. The normal development of Germanic iu, which arose from older eu when the next syllable contained an i, i, or j (§ 44), is io in OE. (= Goth. iu, O.Icel. jū (ŷ), OS. OHG. iu). In WS. io generally became ëe (later i, ŭ) 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. kūs(s), OS. kiusid, OHG. kiusit, he chooses, tests, inf. OE. cēosan; tīehp, Goth. tiuhip, OS. tiuhid, OHG. ziuhit, he draws, leads, inf. OE. tēon; liehtan, Goth, liuhtjan, OHG. liuhten, to give light. diere beside dēore, OS. diuri, OHG. tiuri, dear, beloved; dīerling beside dēorling, darling; gepīedan beside gepīodan, gepīodan, to join, associate; stīeran (O.Icel. stýra, OHG. stiuren) beside stēoran, to steer; ëiefp, ëiestre (OS. thiustri), beside ëeofp, theft; ëiostre, ëiostre, dark. gepīode, gepīode, 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 īa in the latter dialect), and in Mercian io beside ēo (later
mostly ëo), as Nth. Ken. diore, liode, þiostre, stiora(n), but in Mercian ìo beside ëo.

Note.—In Anglian ìo became i before c and h, as cícen, older *kioken from *kiukin, chicken; lihta(n), típ from *tíhip = WS. liehtan, tíehp.

Vowel Contraction.

§ 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 (§ 133); gen. sās from *sæes older *sāwis (§ 134) beside nom. sē, sea; Anglian nēsta from *nēhista beside WS. nīehsta, nearest (§ 123); Anglian típ from *tíhip, older *tiuxip, he draws (§ 138, Note); fōn from *fōhan, to seize, fó from *fōhu, I seize (§ 117); pl. scōs from *scōhas, beside sing. scōh, shoe (§ 128, Note); sēon from *sēo(h)an, to see; sēo from *sēo(h)u, I see; gen. fēos from *fēo(h)es, beside nom. feoh, cattle (§ 87); slēan from *slēa(h)an, to slay, slēa from *slēa(h)u, I slay; ēar from *ēa(h)ur, ear of corn (§ 70); nēar from *nēa(h)ur, nearer (§ 123); līon, lēon from *līo(h)an, older *lihan, to lend, lēo from *līo(h)u, I lend (§ 127); tēon from *tēo(h)an, to draw, lead; dat. pl. þrūm from *þru(h)um beside nom. sing. þruh, 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 ëo, as cnēo from *cnewa-, knee, trēo from *trewa-, tree (§ 88).

i or ij + guttural vowel became ìo (ëo), as bīo, bēo from *bijōn-, bee; fiōnd, fēond, Goth. fjönds, enemy; friōnd, frēond, Goth. frijōnds, friend; nom. acc. neut. þrio, þrēo, from *þrīj(u) = Goth. þrīja, three (§ 104).

§ 141. i + i became i, as Nth. sīs(t) from *sihis, thou seest; sīp from *sihiþ, he sees (§ 329, 4).
§ 142. Long palatal vowels absorbed a following short palatal vowel, as gæst from *gæis older *gais, thou goest; gæp from *gæip, he goes; dæst 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 M.E. phonology it is clear that short vowels must have been lengthened some time during the O.E. period before certain consonant combinations, especially before a liquid or nasal+another voiced consonant. But it is impossible to ascertain the date at which these lengthenings took place, and whether they took place in all the dialects at the same time.

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

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

§ 146. Short vowels were lengthened through the loss of g before a following consonant, as māden, maiden, sāde, he said, beside older mægden, sægde (§ 54, Note 2); brēdan, to brandish, strēdan, to strew, beside older bregdan, stregdan (§ 80, Note 2); brīdel, bridle, tile, tile, beside older brigdel, tigele (§ 98, Note 1).

§ 147. By the loss of a nasal before a following voiceless spirant, as ōper, Goth. anþar, other, gōs, OHG. gans, goose, sōfte, OHG. samfto, softly (§ 61); swīþ, Goth. swīþs, strong, fif, Goth. fīmf, fīve (§ 97); cūþ, Goth. kunþs, known, ūþ, Goth. uns, us (§ 113).
§ 148. Short diphthongs were lengthened by the loss of tervocalic h, as slēan from *sleahan, Goth. slahan, strike, slay (§ 70); sēon from *seohan, OHG. sehan, see (§ 87).

§ 149. By the loss of antevocalic h after l and r, as gen. sāles beside nom. sealh, seal (§ 64, Note 1); gen. mēares beside nom. meārh, horse (§ 66, Note 3); gen. ēoles beside nom. eolh, elk (§ 84, Note 1); gen. fēores beside nom. forh, 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, lammasesse, Lammas, wimman, woman, beside older līps, hlāfmæsse, wifman; blændre, bladder, deoppra, zeeper, 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 *ainlibōn*, cp. Goth. dat. āinlibim, eleven; sippan, ioppan from sip + pan, since. ēorod from eoh + rād, troop of cavalry; werod from wer + rād, multitude, army. 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, oe, y |
| Long         | ā, ē, ě, ī, ō, ū, ē, ū |
| Short diphthongs | ea, eo, ie, io |
| Long         | ēa, ēo, ēe, io |
CHAPTER V

THE PRIM. GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS OF THE OE. VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

A. THE SHORT VOWELS.

§ 153. \( a = (1) \) Germanic \( a \) in open syllables when originally followed by an \( ã, ō, ū \) in the next syllable, as faran, to go; nacod, naked; pl. dagas, days, gen. daga, dat. dagum (§ 57); gen. clawe, of a claw; þawian from *þawōjan, to thaw (§ 74).

\( = (2) \) Germanic \( a \) in closed syllables before double consonants (except \( hh \), sc, and st, when the next syllable originally contained a guttural vowel, as abbod, abbot; catte, cat; sacc, sack; wascan, to wash; brastlian, to crackle (§ 57).

§ 154. \( a (o) = \) Germanic \( a \) before nasals, as lang, long, long; lamb, lomb, lamb; mann, monn, man; nama, noma, name (§ 59).

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

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

\( = (3) \) Germanic \( a \) by semi-umlaut, as æpele from *apali, noble; æpeling from *apuling, nobleman; gædeling from *gadul-ing, 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 (§ 80).
   = (4) i-umlaut of o, as dat. dehter, beside nom. dohtor, daughter; ele, oil; exen, oxen (§ 107).

§ 157. i = (1) Germanic i, as biddan, to pray; birep, he bears; bindan, to bind; ridon, we rode; riden, ridden (§ 96).
   = (2) Germanic e before m, as niman (OHG. neman), to take (§ 81).
   = (3) Latin e before nasal + consonant in early loanwords, as gimm (Lat. gemma, gem; pinsian (Lat. pensare), to weigh, ponder (§ 82).
   = (4) older eo (ie) before hs and ht, as cniht, boy; six, six (§ 88).
   = (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; flıht, 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. fologal), bird; wulf (OHG. wolf), wolf (§ 108).
§§ 160–2] Prim. G. Equivalents of OE. Vowels

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

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

= (5) older io in the combination wiö-, 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. ă = (1) Germanic ai, as än, one; bät, he bit; häl, whole; hātan, to call (§ 133).

= (2) Germanic ā before w, as blāwan, to blow; cnāwan, to know; sāwon, they saw (§ 120).

= (3) Germanic ā in the combination āg 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?; svā, so (§ 79).

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

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

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

= (4) OE. æg, as māden, maiden, sāde, he said, beside mægden, sægede (§ 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 ŏ, as bēc, books; fēt, feet; dēman, to judge; sēcan, to seek (§ 129).

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

= (4) i-umlaut of ŏ = Germanic ā before nasals, as cwēn, queen, wife; wēnan, to hope (§ 122).

= (5) i-umlaut of ŏ = Germanic am, an before f, ŵ, s, as sēfte, soft; tēp, teeth; gēs, geese (§ 62).

= (6) OE. 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. ī = (1) Germanic ī, as bītan, to bite; īs, ice; mīn, mine; rīdan, to ride (§ 126).

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

= (3) OE. ĕg, as brīdel, bridle, sīpe, scythe, beside brigdel, sighe (§ 96, Note 1).

= (4) older ĕe, see § 174.
Latin ē (œ) 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; brōpor, brother; grōwan, to grow; fōr, he went (§ 128).

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

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

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

(5) from Germanic o by loss of h, as gen. hōles beside nom. holh, hole (§ 106, Note).

§ 166. 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 un before ḷ, s, as cūp, known; mūp, mouth; ūs, us (§ 113).

(4) Germanic u 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; brŷcp, he enjoys (§ 132).

(2) i-umlaut of ū = Germanic un before p, s, as cŷpan, to make known; ţst, storm (§ 114).

(3) older ņe, 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).
Phonology

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

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

= (3) Germanic antevocalic ew, as gen. cneowes, treowes, beside nom. cnēo, knee, trēo, tree (§ 89).

= (4) Germanic e by u-umlaut, as eofor, boar; meolu, meal, flour; seofon, seven (§ 92).

§ 170. ie (later i, y) = (1) i-umlaut of ea = Germanic a by breaking, as fiellan, to fell; ieldra, elder, older (§ 65); ierfe, inheritance; dierne, secret (§ 67); hliehhan, to laugh; sliehp, he slays (§ 69).

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

= (3) Germanic e after palatal c, g, 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 cliopung, calling; mioluc, milk (§ 101); liofast, thou livest (§ 102).
§§ 172–3] Prim. G. Equivalents of OE. Vowels 77

D. The Long Diphthongs.

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

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

= (3) Germanic ā 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 antepenultimate h after l and r, as gen. sēales, wēales, beside nom. sealh, willow, wealth, foreign (§ 64, Note 1); gen. fēares, mēares, beside nom. fearh, pig, mearh, horse (§ 68, Note 3).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

= (2) i-umlaut of io, Germanic iu, as cīesp, he chooses; dīerling, darling; liehtan, to give light; tīeht, he draws, leads (§ 138).

= (3) i-umlaut of io, Germanic ī 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; friēnd from *frijōndiz, friends (§ 105).

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

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

§ 175. ēo (ēo) = (1) Germanic iu, as gépīode, gépēode, language; liode, lēode, people; piostre, pēostre, dark (§ 138).

= (2) Germanic i or ij + guttural vowel, as fiōnd, fēōnd, Goth. fijands, fiend, enemy; frīōnd, frēōnd, Goth. frijōnds,
$§$ 170-80] Prim. G. Equivalents of OE. Vowels 79

\[ \text{friend}; \text{neut. pl. } \text{þrīo, þrēo from } ^{*}\text{priju, Goth. } \text{þrija, three (§ 104).} \]

\[ = (3) \text{Germanic i by breaking before h and ht, as } \text{þiôn, þēon, OHG. } \text{dihan, to thrive; } \text{līoh, lēoh, OHG. } \text{līh, lend thou; } \text{betwēoh, between; } \text{lēoht, OHG. } \text{līhti, adj. light (§ 127).} \]

The Chief Deviations of the Other Dialects from West Saxon.

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

\[ § 177. \text{æ (Anglian) } = (1) \text{WS. ea before h and h+consonant, as sēah, he saw, fǣx, hair, æhta, eight, WS. seah, feax, eahta (§ 68, Note 1).} \]

\[ = (2) \text{WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea before h+consonant, as hlǣhha(n), to laugh, mǣhtig, mighty, WS. hliehhan, miehtig (§ 69, Note).} \]

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

\[ = (2) \text{WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea before 1+consonant, as ældrā, eldra, older, fǣlla(n), fella(n), to fell, WS. ieldra, fiellan (§ 65, Note).} \]

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

\[ § 180. \text{æ (Mercian for older ea by o/a-umlaut) } = \text{WS. a before gutturals, as dræca, dragon, dægas, davs, WS. draca, dagas (§ 78, Note 1).} \]
§ 181. e (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. ie after palatal c, g,  
sc, as gefa(n), to give, gelda(n), to pay, sceld, 
shield, WS. giefan, gieldan, scield (§ 91).  
= (2) WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea before r + consonant, as derne, secret, erfe, inheritance, 
WS. dierne, ierfe (§ 67, Note).  
= (3) WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea, after palatal  
c, g, sc, as cele, cold, gest, guest, sceppan, 
to create, WS. ciele, giest, sclieppan  
(§ 73, Note).  
§ 182. e (Anglian) = (1) WS. eo before lc, lh, as elh, elk,  
melca(n), to milk, WS. eolh, meolcan  
(§ 84).  
= (2) WS. eo before h, hs, ht, as feh, cattle, 
sex, six, cneht, boy, early WS. feoh, seox, 
cneocht (§ 86, Note).  
= (3) WS. eo before r + guttural, as derc, dark,  
werc, work, dwerg, dwarf, ferh, life, WS. 
deorc, weorc, dweorg, feorh (§ 85, Note 2).  
§ 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, gesiehp, vision, WS. bierce, 
gebierhtitan, gesiehp (§ 99, Note 2).
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= (2) WS. io (u-umlaut) before 1+guttural, as milc, milk, WS. mioluc, miolc (§ 101, Note 2).

= (3) WS. io (eo) before gutturals, as getihnia(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, worpha, *to become*, late WS. swurd, wurphan (§ 94).

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

= (2) WS. e after w, as cuœpha, *to say*, wœg, way, WS. cwepan, weg (§ 80, Note 1); cuœlla, *to kill*, WS. cwellan (§ 55, Note 1).

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

§ 188. ē (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. ēa, Germanic ē, as bēron, they bore, dēd, deed, sēton, they sat, slēpan, *to sleep*, WS. bēron, dēd, sēton, slēpon (§ 119).

= (2) WS. ēa after palatal c, g, ëc, as cēce, jaw, gēr, year, gēfon, they gave, scēp, sheep, WS. cēace, gēar, gēafon, scēap (§ 124, Note 1).

= (3) WS. īe, i-umlaut of īa, as gelēfan, *to believe*, hēran, *to hear*, nēd, need, WS. gelēfan, hīeran, nied (§ 124).

§ 189. ē (Anglian) = (1) WS. ēo, Germanic eu, before
c, g, h, as reca(n), to smoke, sec, sick, flega(n), to fly, leht, light, WS. reocan, seoc, fleogan, leoht (§ 137, Note 2).

= (2) WS. ie, i-umlaut of ea from older a by breaking, as *nêsta from nêhista, WS. niehsta, nearest, next (§ 123).

= (3) older æ, 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. ã, i-umlaut of a, as clēne, clean, hēlan, to heal, hētan, to heat, Anglian and WS. clēne, hēlan, hētan (§ 134).

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

= (2) WS. ie, i-umlaut of io = Germanic iu, before c and ht, as cicen, chicken, lihtan, to give light, WS. ciecen, liehtan (§ 138, Note).

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

§ 193. i (Nth.) = WS. ieh, as sis(t) from *sihis, thou seest, sip from *sihyp, he secs, WS. siehst, siehp (§ 99, Note 2).

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

= (2) WS. ã, Germanic ã, after w, as huêr, where, wêron, they were, WS. hwêr, wêron (§ 119, Note 2).


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

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

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

§ 197. ea (Mercian) by u-, o/a-umlaut = WS. æ, 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. sword, swuster (§ 94).

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

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

§ 204. io (Nth. and Ken.) = WS. ie, i-umlaut of io, Germanic i, as hiorde, shepherd, iorre, angry, WS. hierde, ierre (§ 99, Note 1).
§ 205. io (Ken.) = WS. eo by breaking before r + consonant, as hiorte, heart, iorpe, earth, stiorra, star, WS. heorte, eorpe, 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 1).

§ 208. ëa (Nth.) = Mercian and WS. ëo, Germanic eu, as dëap, deep, dëar, dear, leaf, dear, Mercian and WS. dëop, dëor, lëof (§ 137).

§ 209. io (Ken.) beside ìa = (1) Mercian and WS. ëo, Germanic eu, as dìop (dìap), dìor, lìof = Mercian and WS. dëop, dëor, lëof (§ 137).

(2) WS. ie, i-umlaut of io, Germanic iu, as diore (dìare), dear, liohtan, to give light, WS. diere, lìehtan (§ 138).

§ 210. io (Mercian) beside ëo = WS. ie, i-umlaut of io, as diore (dëore), lìohtan (lëohtan), WS. diere, lìehtan (§ 138).

CHAPTER VI

THE OLD ENGLISH DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWELS OF UNACCENTED 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 O.E.:—

(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. ἱψόν, Indg. *jugóṃ,
yoke; acc. sing. OE. Goth. wulf, Lat. lupum, Gr. λύκον,
Indg. *wlpom, wolf; giest, Goth. gast, from *gastim,
guest, cp. Lat. turrim, tower; fót, Goth. fótum, from *fótun,
cp. Lat. pedem, Gr. πόδα (§ 34), foot; gen. pl. daga from
*dagóṃ, older *om, of days, cp. Gr. θεόν, 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 *nazidóṃ, older *om, I saved; nom. sing.
of feminine and neuter n-stems, as tunge, Goth. tuggó,
tongue; ēage, Goth. áugō, eye, original ending -ōn.
(2) The Indg. final explosives disappeared in prim. Ger-
manic, except after a short accented vowel, as pres. subj.
beré, Goth. baírái, from an original form *bheróiṭ, he may
bear; bærun, Goth. bērun, they bore, original ending -nt
with vocalic n (§ 5); mōna, Goth. mēna, from an original
form *mēnōt, moon; but pæt, 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 *dagaz,
day; and similarly in the nom. sing. of masc. and feminine
i- and u-stems; in the gen. singular of ō-, and consonantal
stems; in the nom. and acc. plural of masc. and feminine
nouns; in the dat. plural of all nouns, adjectives, and
pronouns; &c.

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

(4) Indg. final -r remained, as fæder, Goth. fadar, Lat.
pater, Gr. πατήρ, father; mōdor, Lat. māter, Gr. Dor.
μάτηρ, mother.
§ 212. (1) a (=Indg. a and o), which was originally final or became final in prim. Germanic through the loss of a following consonant, disappeared in dissyllabic and polysyllabic forms already in primitive OE., as wāt, Goth. wāit, Gr. ὁδή, I know; wāst, Goth. wāist, Gr. ὁθή, thou knowest; pret. first pers. singular of strong verbs, as band, I bound; bær, I bore, sæt, I sat, prim. Germanic *banđa, *bara, *sata, from older *bhondhā, *bhora, *soda; nom. sing. wulf from *wulfaz = Gr. λύκος, wolf; acc. wulf from *wulfan = Gr. λύκον; nom. acc. neut. geoc from *jukan = Gr. ἓγον, Lat. jugum, yoke; gen. sing. dæges from *dagesa, older -o, of a day; beran from *beranan = Indg. *bheronom, to bear; pp. boren from *burenaz, borne; pp. genered from *-nazīdaz, saved; cyning from *kunīgas, king.

§ 213. (2) Original final e disappeared in primitive OE. without leaving any trace, but when the e was originally followed by a consonant it became i in prim. Germanic, and then underwent the same further development in OE. as original i (see below), as wāt, Goth. wāit = Gr. ὁθή, he knows; pret. third pers. singular of strong verbs, as band, he bound; bær, he bore; sæt, he sat, prim. Germanic *banđe, *bare, *sate, from older *bhondhē, *bhore, *sode; imperative ber from *bere = Gr. φέρε, bear thou; nim from *neme, take thou = Gr. νέμε, distribute thou; voc. singular wulf from *wulfē = Gr. λύκη, Lat. lupe, wolf; fif, Goth. fimf = Gr. πέρε, Indg. *peṇqe, five; mec, Goth. mik, cp. Gr. ἕμεγε, me. But pl. nom. fēt, fēt from *fōtiz older -ez, cp. Gr. πόσες, Lat. pedes, feet; guman from *gumaniz, cp. Lat. homines, men; hnyte from *xnutiz, nuts.

§ 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 *bērō = Gr. φέρω, I bear; nom. singular giefu from *gebō, Indg. *ghebhā, gift, cp. Gr. χώρα, land; nom. acc. neut. plural
geocu from *jukō, older *jukā = O.Lat. jugā, Indg. *jugā, yokes.

*i became -i, later -e, as pres. subj. third pers. singular wrile, he will = O.Lat. velit; imper. second pers. singular nere, Goth. nasei, OHG. neri, from *nazi, older *nazi(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 ĕ, 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. giest = Goth. gasts, from *gastiz, guest = Lat. hostis, stranger, enemy; acc. giest = Goth. gast, from *gastin = Lat. *hostim; dat. sing. of consonantal stems, as fōt, fēt (nom. fōt, foot) from *fōti, cp. Gr. ἄνεμος; dat. plural of nouns, as dagum (nom. dēg, day) from *dagomiz; giefum (nom. giefu, gift) from *gebōmiz; hier = Goth. hāusei, from *χαυζή, hear thou; sēc = Goth. sōkei, seek thou; bend = Goth. bandi, from *bandī, band; in the second and third pers. singular and third pers. plural of the pres. indicative, as prim. Germanic *nimiz, thou takest; *nimid, he takes; *nemanď, 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 *wurđō, words; nom. acc. pl. neuter yfel from *ubilu, older *ubilō, evil; nom. acc. singular wini, wine (OHG. wini), from *winiz, *winin, friend; mere (OHG. meri), from *mari, lake; nom. plural wine
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(OhG. *wini), from *wenīz, older *wi(ji)z, -ejes, friends; imperative se from *satī, Indg. *sodeje, set thou; pres. subj. scyle from older *skulī, shall; sing. nom. sunu = Goth. sunus, son; acc. sunu = Goth. sunu; feola (fela) = Goth. filu, much; neut. pl. fatu, from *fatō, vats; beru (beoru) from *berō, I bear. Then after the analogy of these and similar forms were made feoh for *feohu, money = Goth. faīhu, OhG. fihu, Lat. pecu, cattle; bindu, I bind, helpu, I help, cēōēu, I choose, for *bind, *help, *cēōs. The final -u from older -w (§ 265) also disappeared after long stem-syllables, as ġād, Goth. ġāidw, want, lack; ā, Goth. ālw, 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 Oē. 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 budīnō, tub; pl. reced from *rakidu, older *rakidō, halls, palaces; neut. pl. yfel from *ubilu, older *ubilō, evil; but fem. nom. sing. hāligu, holy, heafodu, heads, nītenu, animals.

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

Later than the shortening mentioned in § 214 occurred the shortening which was undergone in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words by the long vowel, after which an
-n or -z had disappeared, and by the -æ and -ō from older -ai and -au, which were either already final in prim. Germanic, or had become so after the loss of -z. In this case a distinction must be made according as the long vowel originally had the 'slurred' (circumflex) or 'broken' (acute) accent (§ 9). -ō with the circumflex accent became -e (older 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 -æ 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. giefu (WS.), gift; gen. plural daga from *dagōn, older -ōm, of days; fōta from *fōtōn, of feet, cp. Gr. thēov, of gods; and similarly in the gen. plural of other vocalic and consonantal stems; nom. singular of masculine n-stems, as guma from *gumō(n), man; acc. singular gife from *gebōn, older -ōm, gift, cp. Gr. χώρα, land; nom. singular of feminine and neuter n-stems, as tunge from *tungōn = Goth. tuggō, tongue; ēage from *augōn = Goth. āugō, eye; nerede from *nazidōn, older -ōm, I saved; fore, before = Gr. παραί, near; dat. sing. dæge from *dagai, older -ōi, to a day, cp. Gr. locative οἶκοι, at home, dat. λόκω, to a wolf; dat. sing. gifie = Goth. gibái, Indg. *ghebhāi, to a gift, cp. Gr. dat. χώρα for *χώρα, to land; fem. dat. sing. blindre from *blindizai, blind; masc. nom. plural blinde = Goth. blindái, blind; bere = Goth. baírai, Gr. φέρω, he may bear; eahta = Goth. ahtáu, from an original form *oktōu, eight; eppa = Goth. aīppáu, or; gen. singular suña = Goth. sunáus, of a son.

§ 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 *dagomiz, to days; acc. sing. brōpur (later -or, -ar), from *brōporun, brother = Gr. φράταρα (§ 34), member of a clan; acc. pl. brōpur from *brōporunz. 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 hwæber = Gr. πότερος, whether, which of two; gen. sing. dæges from *dægesa, older -o, of a day; pp. bunden from *bundœnæz, Indg. *bhndhenos, bound; ðeper from *anperæz, 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; ûsic, 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 *.naziðaz, saved; nimes(t), OHG. nimis, thou takes, 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
Vowels of Unaccented Syllables

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-umiz; pret. pl. indicative bærun, -on, they bore; neredun, -on, they saved.

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

æ > e, as sæder, cp. Gr. πατίριον, father; neredes (older -dæs) from *nazidæs, cp. Goth. nasidæs, thou didst save.

i > ı, later e, except before palatal consonants, as gylden (OHG. guldîn) from *gulþīnāz; mægden = OHG. magatīn, maiden; subj. pret. plural bære = Goth. bēreina, OHG. bärin, they might bear; but mihtig = Goth. mahtīg, mighty; gōdic, goodly, beside the stressed form gelic, like.

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

ū > ū (later o, a). In this case the ū arose in prim. OE. from the loss of n before a voiceless spirant (§ 286). Examples are: fracup, -ap, from *frakunpaz, wicked = Goth. frakunþps, despised; dugup from *dugunp- = OHG. tugunt, valour, strength; geogu 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 *ebanana, cp. Goth. ibna, even; nom. acc. æcer from *akra, older *akraz, *akran, cp. Goth. akra, ak, field; nom. acc. fugul, -ol, from *fugl, older *foglaz, *foglan, cp. Goth. fugla, fugl, bird, fowl; nom. acc. mæpum from *maiπm, older *maiπmaz, *maiπman, cp. Goth. maiμms, maiπm, gift. In the oldest period of the language forms with and without the new vowel often existed side by side. The new vowel occurred most frequently before r. Vocalic l was common especially after dentals, and vocalic m and n generally occurred after a short syllable. The forms with vocalic l, m, n, r in the nom. acc. singular were due to levelling out the stem-form of the inflected cases. Thus regular forms were: nom. segel, sail; mæpum, gift; bēacen, sign, beacon; efen, even; æcer, field; þunor, thunder; gen. segles, mæpmes, bēacnes, efnes, æcles, þunres. Then from the latter were formed new nominatives segl, mæm, bēacn, efn; and from the former new genitives æcleres, þunores. Examples are: æppel, æpl, apple; hüsul, hüsul, hüsul, Eucharist, cp. Goth. hunsi, sacrifice; nædl (Goth. nēpla), needle; nægl, nail; setl (Goth. sitls), seat; tempel, templ (Lat. templum), temple; tungul, -ol, -el, star. bōsm, bosom; botm, bottom; æpm, breath; þrosm, smoke; væstum, -em, væstm, growth. hræfn, raven; regn (Goth. rign), rain; stefn, voice; tæcn, tæcn (Goth. tāikns), token; þegen, þegn, retainer; vægn, wagon. âtr, âtor, poison; fæger (Goth. fagrs), fair, beautiful; finger (Goth. figgrs), finger; hlútor (Goth. hlūtrs), pure, clear; snotor, wise; winter (Goth. wintrus), winter; wundor, wonder.
§ 220. In OE., especially in the later period, a svara-bhakti vowel was often developed between r or 1 + 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 (0) 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. stærk beside stēk; woruhte, worohte (OHG. worhta) beside worhte (OHG. worhta), he worked. beadu, -o, battle, gen. dat. beaduwe, -owe beside beadwe; bealu, evil, gen. bealuwes, -owes beside bealwes; bearu, grove, bearuwen, -owes beside bearwes; frætuwe, -ewe beside frætwe, trappings; gearu, ready, gen. gearuwes (OHG. garawes), -owes, -ewes beside gearwes; gearuwe (OHG. garawa), -ewes beside gearwe (OHG. garwa), yarrow; geolu, yellow, gen. geoluwes, -owes beside geolwes; melu, meolu, meal, flour, gen. meluwes (OHG. melawes), -owes, -ewes beside melwes (OHG. melwes); nearu, narrow, gen. nearuwes, -owes, -ewes beside nearwes; and similarly with several other words.

§ 221. Original short medial vowels in open syllables regularly remained in trisyllabic forms when the stem-syllable was short, as æple, noble; gen. sing. heofones, metodes, nacodes, rodores, stapoles, væteres, beside nom. heofon, heaven; metod, creator; nacod, naked; rodor, sky; stapol, pillar; væter, water; gen. dat. sing. idese beside nom. ides, woman; pret. fremedest from *framidēs, thou didst perform; neredest from *nazidēs, thou didst save. 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, king; 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 hīehsta, highest; and nīehsta, 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, diegledæ, frēfrede, 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. diegæs, engles, hālges, hēafdes, ēopres, beside nom. diegol, secret; engel, angæl; hālig, høly; hēafod, head; ēoper, other; hālgian, to make høly; strengpū from *straugipō (OHG. strengida), strength; ieldra (Goth. alþira), older; gen. dat. sing. frōfre, mōnþe, sawle, beside nom. frōfor, consolation; mōnæp, month; sawol, soul; dældest (Goth. dálilðēs), thou didst divide; hierdest (Goth. hásidēs), thou heardest.

§ 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 *gādurōjan, to gather; pl. nom. heofenas, gen. heofena, dat. heofenum, beside sing. gen. heofones, dat. heofone, nom. heofen, heaven; pl. nom. roderas, gen. rodera, dat. roderum, beside sing. gen. rodores, dat. rodor, nom. rodor, firmament; pl. nom. stapelas, gen. stapela, dat. stapelum, beside sing. gen. stapoles, dat. stapole, nom. stapol, pillar. The inter-
change 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.

§ 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 acc. sing. masc. ōperne from *anþeranō(n), other; and similarly glædne, glad; gōdne, good; hāligne, holy; &c.; dat. fem. singular ōperre from *anþerizai; and similarly glædre, gōdre, hāligre; gen. plural ōperra, 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, innmost.

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

2. In late OE. syncope often took place after short stems, and sometimes in closed syllables, as betra, better; circe, church; fægnian, to rejoice, gadrian, to gather, beside older 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 mōnpe beside mōnap (Goth. mēnōps), month; but lōcodest from *lōkōdāes, thou didst look.
CHAPTER VII

ABLAUT (VOWEL GRADATION)

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

The vowels vary within certain series of related vowels, called ablaut-series. In O.E., 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 O.E. 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ii.</th>
<th>iii.</th>
<th>iv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>ēo</td>
<td>ēa</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>i, e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u, o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<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 umlaut 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, § 48.
3. Strong verbs belonging to Series II have ē from older īu (§ 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:

liōpan, to go, liōpend, sailor: lād, way, course: līda, sailor;
lar, learning: līornung (leornung), learning; snīpan, to cut: snād from *snādi-, morsel, slice: snide, incision;
wītega, prophet: wāt, he knows: witan, to know, wīta,
wise man, gewit, intelligence.

bēodan, to command, order: gebod, command, precept,
bydel from *budil, messenger; fēon, to flee: fēsam, 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;
swełtan, to die: swylt from *swulti-, death; weorþan
from *werþan, to become: wyrd from *wurdi-, fate.

beran, to bear: bār, 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; cweþan, to say: cwide, prim.
Germanic *kwēdi-, speech; sprecan, to speak: sprēc, speech.

calan, to be cold: cōl, cool; faran, to go, travel, fierd
from *fard-, army; *för-, journey, gefēr, prim. Germanic *-förjō, companion; stede from *stadi, place; stōd, herd of horses. See § 562.

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

Goth. nom. pl. anstei-s, favours: gen. sing. anstái-s: acc. pl. ansti-ns; Goth. nom. pl. sunju-s from an original form *suneu-es, sons: gen. sing. sunáu-s: acc. pl. sunu-ns; Gr. φέρο-μεν, we bear: φέρε-τε, ye bear = Goth. baíra-m, baíri-p.

§ 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. | biatan, to bite | bát | biton | biten
lijan, to go | láp | lidon | liden

Note.—Cp. the parallel Greek series πείθω: πέποιθα: ἐπιθον.

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 ἐλεύ(θ)σομαι (fut.): εἰληφλουθα: ἤλυθον.

III.

Prim. Germ. | e, i | a | u | u, o
---|---|---|---|---
Gothic | i | a | u | u
OE. | helpan, to help | healp | hulpon | holpen
wearpan, to wearp | wurdon | worden
become | bindan, to bind | band | bundon | bunden
Note.—I. 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, wearp see § 66, and on weorpan see § 85.


IV.

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

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


V.

Prim. Germ.  e  a  ā  e
Gothic  i  a  ē  i
OE.  metan, to measure  mæt  mæton  meten
       cweþan, to say  cwæþ  cwædon  cweden

Note.—I. To this class belong all strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or a nasal.


VI.

Prim. Germ.  a  ō  ō  a
Gothic  a  ō  ō  a
OE.  faran, to go  för  föron  fären, faren

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

§ 228. The ablaut-series as given in § 226 have for practical reasons been limited to the phases of ablaut as they appear in the various classes of strong verbs. From an Indo-Germanic point of view, the series I–V belong to one and the same series, generally called the e-series, which underwent in primitive Germanic various modifications upon clearly defined lines. What is called the sixth ablaut-series in the Germanic languages is really a mixture of several original series, owing to several Indg. vowel-sounds having fallen together in prim. Germanic; thus the a, which occurs in the present and past participle, corresponds to three Indg. vowels, viz. a (§ 17), o (§ 20), and e (§ 22); and the o in the preterite corresponds to Indg. ā (§ 23), and Indg. ō (§ 26). 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 lan-
guages:—Gothic, O. Norse, O. English, O. Frisian, O. Saxon (= O. Low German), O. Low Franconian (O. Dutch), and O. High German.

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

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

Spirants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasals

| m         | n      | ñ        | ñ |

Liquids

l, r

Semi-vowels

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. 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, ņk, ņg; ņq, ņg, &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. *nīzdos = Lat. nīdus, English nest; *ozdos = Gr. ὁξ, Germ. ast, bough.

j was like the widely spread North German pronunciation of j in ja, not exactly like the y in English yes, which is generally pronounced without distinct friction. j occurred very rarely in the prim. Indo-Germanic language. In the Germanic, as in most other Indo-Germanic languages, the frictional element in this sound became reduced, which caused it to pass into the so-called semivowel.

3. The nasals and liquids had the functions both of vowels and consonants (§ 18).

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 rwá (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, au, &c., but when the second element has the stress, the first element is written j, w, thus já, wá, &c.

5. In the writing down of prim. Germanic forms the signs p (= th in Engl. thin), ċ (= 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, g. Table II contains the Indg. mediae aspiratae and the velars q, g with labialization. The equivalents in the Germanic languages do not contain the changes caused by Verner's Law, &c. The East Franconian dialect is taken as the normal for OHG.

The following points should be noticed:—

(1) The Indg. tenues p, t, k and the mediae b, d, g generally remained unchanged in Latin and Greek.

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

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

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

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

(6) In Latin Indg. q with labialization became qu, rarely c. g with labialization became v (but gu after n, and g when the labialized element had been lost, as 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 it 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. bándhanam, a binding, Goth. OE. bindan, OHG. bintan, to bind; Skr. bódhati, he learns, is awake, Gr. πεθεταω, he asks, inquires, Goth. ana-biudan, OE. bēodan, to bid, OHG. biotan, to offer, root bheudh.; Gr. κανθάμη, a swelling, OE. gund, OHG. gunt, matter, pus; Gr. θριξ, hair, gen. τριχος; ἔχω, I have, fut. ἔχω.

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

**TABLE I.**

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

**TABLE II.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indg.</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>P. Germanic</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
<th>OE.</th>
<th>OHG.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qu, c</td>
<td>π, τ, χ</td>
<td>χw, χ</td>
<td>hw, h</td>
<td>hw, h</td>
<td>(h)w, h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>v, gu, g</td>
<td>β, δ, υ</td>
<td>kw, k</td>
<td>q, k</td>
<td>cw, c</td>
<td>qu; k, hh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bh</td>
<td>f, b</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>b, b</td>
<td>b, b</td>
<td>b, b</td>
<td>(f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>f, b, d</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>d, d</td>
<td>d, d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>h, g, f</td>
<td>χ</td>
<td>g, ʁ</td>
<td>g, ʁ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʁh</td>
<td>f, v, gu</td>
<td>φ, θ, χ</td>
<td>gw, ʁw</td>
<td>g, w</td>
<td>g, w</td>
<td>g, w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 231. The Indg. tenues p, t, k, q became in prim. Germanic the voiceless spirants f, p, χ, χ (χw).

p > f. Lat. pēs, Gr. πούς, OE. OS. fōt, 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. fluet, fluet, flote; Lat. pecu, OE. feoh, Goth. faīhu, O.Icel. fē, OS. fehū, OHG. fihu, cattle; Lat. nepos, OE. nefa, O.Icel. nēfe, OHG. nēfo, nephew.

t > p. Lat. tu, Gr. Doric τού, OE. O.Icel. OS. þū, Goth. þu, OHG. dü, thou; Lat. trēs, Gr. τρεῖς, OE. OS. þrī, O.Icel. þrīr, OHG. dīri, three; Lat. tenuis, OE. þynne, O.Icel. þunnr, OHG. dunni, thin; O.Lat. tongēre, to know, OE. þencan, Goth. þagkjan, OS. þenkian, OHG. denechen, to think; Lat. frater, OE. brōp, Goth. brōpar, O.Icel. brōðer, OS. brōðar, OHG. bruoder, brother; Lat. vertō, I turn, OE. weorpan, Goth. waīrpan, O.Icel. verða, OS. werðan, OHG. werdan, to become.

k > χ. Lat. canis, Gr. κῶς, OE. OS. hund, Goth. hunds, O.Icel. hundr, OHG. hunt, hound, dog; Lat. cor (gen. cordis), Gr. καρδία, OE. heorte, Goth. hāirtō, O.Icel. hjarta, OS. herta, OHG. herza, heart; Lat. centum, Gr. ἑκατόν, OE. Goth. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, hundred; Lat. pecu, OE. feoh, Goth. faīhu, O.Icel. fē, OS. fehū, OHG. fihu, cattle; Lat. decem, Gr. δέκα, OE. tien from *teohuni-, older *teξuni- (cp. §§ 87, 447), Goth. tāfhun, OS. tehun, OHG. zehan, ten; Lat. dūcō, I lead, OE. tēon from *tēohan, older *teuχan (§ 137), Goth. tiuhan, OS. tiohan, OHG. ziohan, to draw, lead.

q > χ (χw). Lat. capiō, I take, seize, OE. hēbban, 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. ρίς, OE. hwā, Goth. hwās, OS. hwē, OHG.
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hwur, who?; Lat. linquō, Gr. λείπω, I leave, OE. līon, lēon from *liōhan, older *liwman (see §§ 127, 246), OS. OHG. līhan, to lend.

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

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

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

sk. Gr. σκία, 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-σκός, 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. ὑπεκτός, stretched out, Lat. rēctus, OE. riht, Goth. rafts, OS. OHG. reht, right, straight.

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

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

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

d > t. Lat. decem, Gr. δέκα, OE. tīen, Goth. tāhun, O.Icel. tīo, OS. tehān, OHG. zehan, ten; Lat. dens (gen. dentis), OE. tōp, Goth. tunbus, OS. tand, OHG. zand, tooth;
§ 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. ἄ-σκηθής, unhurt, OE. sceppan, Goth. skáppjan, OHG. skadōn, to injure; Gr. σχίζω, I split, OE. scādan, Goth. skáidan, OHG. sceidan, to divide, separate; Gr. φάλλη, 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(w). These sounds underwent the following changes during the prim. Germanic period: —b, d initially, and b, d, g medially after their corresponding nasals, became the voiced explosives b, d, g, as

b. OE. OS. OHG. beran, Goth. baíran, O.Icel. bera, to bear, Skr. bhárāmi, Gr. φέρω, Lat. ferō, I bear; OE. OS. bitan, Goth. beitan, O.Icel. bīta, OHG. bīgzan, to bite, Skr. bhēdāmi, Lat. findō, I cleave; OE. brōþor, Goth. brōþar, O.Icel. brōðer, OS. brōdar, OHG. bruoder, Skr. bhrātār-, Lat. frāter, brother, Gr. φράτηρ, member of a clan.

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

d. OE. dæg, Goth. dags, O.Icel. dagr, OS. dag, OHG. tag, day, Skr. ni-dāghās, older *ni-dhāghās, hot season, summer, Indg. form *dhoghos; OE. dād, OS. dād, OHG. tät, deed, related to Gr. θῆ-σω, I shall place, Skr. dhāma, 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. bītan, 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, þ** finally after vowels and before final -s. **g** remained medially between vowels, and medially after vowels before voiced consonants, but became **χ** (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. **ð** (written **ð**) generally remained medially and finally. **g** remained medially after vowels and liquids, but became **χ** and then disappeared finally. It became **g** initially. **ð** 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. ***nibs, OS. nebá, OHG. nebálu, Lat. nebula, Gr. νεφέλη, mist, cloud; cp. Skr. nábhas, Gr. νεφός, cloud; OE. lēof, Goth. liufs, O.Icel. liúfr, OS. liob, OHG. liob, dear, original form *leubhos, cp. Skr. lúbhyámi, I feel a strong desire, Lat. lubet (libet), it pleases; OE. OS. úder, OHG. üter, Skr. údhar, Gr. ὀδηρός, udder; OE. rēad, Goth rāups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. röð, OHG. röt, prim. form *rūdhos, cp. Skr. rudhiráás, Gr. ῥῦθρός, prim. form *rudhos, red; OE. Goth. guma, O.Icel. gume, OS. OHG. gumo, Lat. homō, prim. stem-form *ghomón, man; OE. gös, O.Icel. gás, OHG. gans, Gr. χύν, goose; OE. OS. OHG. wegan, Goth. ga-wigan, O.Icel. vega, to move, carry, Lat. vehō, prim. form *weghō, I carry; OE.
giest, Goth. gasts, O.Icel. gestr, OS. OHG. gast, guest, Lat. hostis, stranger, enemy, prim. form *ghostis; OE. OS. OHG. stigan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stiga, to ascend, Gr. στῆσαι, prim. form *steighō, I go, cp. Lat. vestigium, footprint.

§ 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 x, k, ʒ which arose from Indg. k, g, gh. The most commonly accepted theory is that the Indg. labialized velars q, 本身的, gh regularly became x, k, ʒ in prim. Germanic before Indg. ū, ō, o (= Germanic a, § 20), and χw, kw, ɣw before Indg. ē, ĩ, ə, a, ā (= Germanic ō, § 28); 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. iwas, who?, Indg. *qos for *has after the analogy of the gen. iwis = 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 *λύκος, prim. form *wlqos, cp. Skr. vṛkṣa, wolf; OE. feower (but fyper-fête, four-footed), Goth. fidwör, OS. OHG. fior, prim. form *qetwōres, cp. Lithuanian keturi, Lat. quattuor, Gr. τέσσαρες, Skr. catvāras, four; OE. OS. fif, Goth. fimf, OHG. fīmf, fimf, prim. form *penqe, cp. Skr. pānce, Gr. πέντε, Lat. quīnque (for *pīnque), five; OE. weorpan, Goth. waírpan, O.Icel. verpa, OS. werpan, OHG. werfan, to throw, cp. O. Bulgarian vriqa, I throw; OE. swāpan, OHG. sweifan, to swing, cp. Lithuanian swaistikū, I become dizzy.


c

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, a uniform interchange took place between the voiceless and voiced spirants, which may be thus stated:—

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

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

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 *wērḇō > OE. weorpe, I become = Skr. vārtā-mi, I turn; pret. indic. 3. sing. *wārḇi > OE. wearp, he became = Skr. va-vārtā, has turned; pret. 1. pers. pl. *wurḏumī > OE. *wurdum (wurdon is the 3. pers. pl. used for all persons) = Skr. va-vṛtimā, we have
turned; past participle *wurđaná.- > OE. worden = Skr. va-vrtānā.; OS. birid, OHG. birit = Skr. bhārati, he bears; Goth. 2. sing. indic. passive baɪraza = Skr. bhārasē; Goth. baɪrand, OHG. berant = Skr. bhāranti, they bear; present participle OE. berende, Goth. baɪrands, O.Icel. berande, OS. berandi, OHG. beranti, Gr. gen. φέροντος. Or to take examples from noun-forms, &c., we have e.g. Skr. pīta-, Gr. πατέρ- = prim. Germanic *faɪtr-, OE. fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðer, OS. fader, OHG. fater, father; Gr. πλωτός, floating, swimming, OE. OS. flōd, Goth. flōdus, O.Icel. flōð, OHG. fluot, flood, tide; Skr. ḍatām, Gr. ἑκατόν, Lat. centum = prim. Germanic *xunđóm, older *xumđóm, OE. Goth. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, hundred; Indg. *swēkuros, Goth. swafhra, OHG. swehur, OE. sweor (§ 329), father-in-law, beside Gr. ἑκα, OE. sweger, OHG. swigar, mother-in-law; Gr. δέκα, Goth. taɪhun, OS. tehan, OHG. zehan, ten, beside Gr. δέκας, OE. OS. -tig, OHG. -zug, Goth. pl. tigjus, decade; Skr. saptā, Gr. ἕπτα, OE. seofon, Goth. sibun, OS. sibun, OHG. sibun, seven; Gr. ννός from *ννοσός, OE. snoru, OHG. snura, daughter-in-law; OHG. haso beside OE. hara, hare; Goth. áusō beside OE. ēare, ear.

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.

§ 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, ḃ—d, s—z, ɣ—g, ɣw—gw. They underwent various changes partly in prim. Germanic, partly in West Germanic, and partly in Old English. Already in prim. Germanic gw became ɣ before u, but
w in other cases (§ 241); and ηg became ηg. In West Germanic ɗ became d (§ 253); z became r medially and was dropped finally (§ 252); χw became χ (§ 246). In OE. the two sounds f—b fell together in b (written f) medially, and in f finally, see §§ 293–4, 296; χ disappeared between vowels (§ 329), when preserved it was written h; and p, s became voiced between vowels, although the p, s were preserved in writing. So that for OE. we have the following interchanging pairs of consonants:—

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

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

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

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

\[ p \rightarrow d \]

cwepan, to say, liplan, to go, snīplan, to cut; pret. sing. cwēp, lāp, snāp; pret. pl. cwēdon, lidon, snidon; pp. cweden, liden, sniden; cwide, saying, proverb; snide, incision; dēap, death, beside dēad, dead.

\[ s \rightarrow r \]

cēosan, to choose, drēosan, to fall, forlēosan, to lose; pret. sing. cēas, drēas, forlēas; pret. pl. curon, druron, forluron; pp. coren, droren, forloren; cyre, choice; dryre, fall; lyre, loss.

\[ h \rightarrow g \]

fēon (OHG. fiohan), to flee, slēan (Goth. sla-han), to strike, slay, tēon (Goth. tiuhan), to draw, lead; pret. sing. fēah, tēah; pret. pl. flugon, slōgon, tugon; pp. flogen, slægen, togen; slaga, homicide; slege, stroke, blow; here-toga, leader of an army, duke.

\[ h \rightarrow g, w \]

sēon (Goth. saihwan), to see; pret. sing. seah; pret. pl. WS. sāwōn, Anglian sēgon; pp. WS. sewen, Anglian segen; sōn, sēon (Goth. *seihwan, OHG. sīhan), to strain; pret. sing. sāh; pp. siwen, sigen; horh, dirt, gen. horwes. See Note r below.

\[ h \rightarrow ng \]

fōn (Goth. fāhan, prim. Germ. *faŋxanan, § 245), to seize, hōn (Goth. hāhan, prim. Germ. *χaŋxanan),
Other Consonant Changes

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to hang; pret. pl. fēŋgon, hēŋgon; pp fangen, hangen; feng, grasp, booty; hangian, to hang; ūion, ūeon (Goth. ūeihan, prim. Germ. ūiŋxanjan), to thrive; pret. pl. ūungon; pp. ūungen; the usual pret. pl. ūigon, pp. ūigen, were new formations, see § 492.

Note.—1. The results of the operation of Verner's law were often disturbed in OE. through the influence of analogy and levelling, e.g. the ū, s of the present and pret. singular were extended to the pret. plural and pp. in ābrēōpan, to fail; mīpān, to avoid; wrīpān, to twist; ārisan, to arise; genesan, to recover; lesan, to collect; pret. pl. ābrūpōn, mīpon, wrīpōn, ārison, genēson, lēson; pp. ābropeng, mīpeng, wrīpen, 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; ēwōg, he washed, see § 509. 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. finpān, OS. fēpān), to find; pret. sing. *fōp (see § 61), pret. pl. fundon, pp. funden. The WS. pret. pl. sēwon, 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 had originally suffix accentuation, and therefore also exhibit the change of consonants given above, as weorþan, to become: ā-wierdan, to destroy, injure, cp. Skr. vārtāmi, I turn: vartāyāmi, I cause to turn; līpān, to go: lāðan, 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&bt \{ pt \\
&bht \{ pt \\
&dt \{ tt \\
&dht \{ tt \\
&gt \{ kt \\
&ght \{ gt \\
&ght \{ gt \\

&bs \{ ps \\
&bhs \{ ps \\
&ds \{ ts \\
&dhs \{ ts \\
&gs \{ ks \\
&ghs \{ qs \\
&ghs \{ qs
\end{align*}
\]


Then pt, kt, qt; ps, ks, qs were shifted to ft, χt; fs, χs at the same time as the original Indg. tenues became voiceless spirants (§ 231). And tt, ts became ss through the intermediate stage of pt, ps respectively. 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, ṭ, d (d), and ss, s in forms which are etymologically related.


k, g (g)—h. OE. wyrkan, Goth. waúrkjan, OHG. wurken, *to work*, beside pret. and pp. OE. worhte, worht,
§ 240 Other Consonant Changes

Goth. waúrhta, waúrhts, OHG. worhta, giworht; OE. þyncan, Goth. þugkjan, OHG. dunken, beside pret. and pp. OE. þühte, þüht, Goth. þühta, *þühts, OHG. dünhta, gidüht; OE. magon, Goth. *magun, OHG. magun, lhy may, can, beside pret. OE. meahta, Goth. OHG. mahta, pp. Goth. mahts, cp. also OE. meaht, Goth. mahts, OHG. maht, might, power; OE. bycgan, Goth. bugjan, to buy, beside pret. and pp. OE. bohte, boht, Goth. baúhta, baúhts; OE. OHG. bringan, Goth. briggan, to bring, pret. and pp. OE. bröhte, bröht, OHG. brähta, gibräht, Goth. brähta, *brähts.

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

ss became s after long syllables and before r: OE. hâtan, Goth. hâitan, to call, beside OE. hæs from *haissi-, command; OE. Goth. OS. witan, to know, beside OE. OS. OHG. wís, wise, Goth. unwweis, unknowing; OE. etan, Goth. itan, to eat, beside OE. ās, OHG. ās, carrion. OE. fóstor, food, sustenance, cp. OE. fédan, Goth. föðjan, to feed; Goth. gúþ-biöstreis, worshipper of God, OHG. blüst-ster, sacrifice, cp. Goth. blötan, to worship.

Instead of ss (s) we often meet with st. In such cases the st is due to the analogy of forms where t was quite regular, e.g. regular forms were Goth. last, thou didst gather, inf. lisan; Goth. 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 *wās, Goth. wáist for *wāis, OHG. wêist for *wêls, thou knowest; OE. mōst for *mōs, 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. möste for *möse (= 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 (§ 287) and from Indg. q (§ 288) 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 *sēg(w)un, they saw, beside pp. sewen from *se(g)wenós; OE. sīen (sīon, sēon, cp. § 138), Goth. siuns, from *se(g)wnís, a seeing, face; OE. snāw (with -w from the oblique cases), Goth. snáiws, from *snai(g)waz, prim. form *snóighos, snow; OE. OHG. snīwan for *snīgan, formed from the third pers. sing. OE. snīwep, OHG. snīwit, it snows. See § 289, 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. γένος, chin, cheek; Goth. minniza, OS. minnira, OHG. minniro, from *minwizō, less, cp. Lat. minuō, Gr. μινδω, I lessen; OE. þynne, O.Icel. þunnr, OHG. dunni, thin, cp. Skr. fem. tanvi, thin.

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

-li. > -ll-, as OE. full, Goth. fulls, Lithuanian pilnas, prim. form *plnōs, full; OE. wulle, Goth. wulla, OHG. wolla, Lithuanian wilna, wool.

§ 248. Prim. Germanic bn, dn, gn = Indg. pn², tn², kn², gn² (by Verner’s law), and bhn², dhn², ghn², ghn², became
**Other Consonant Changes**

§ 244–5. 

Before the principal accent, then later bb, dd, gg; and in like manner Indg. bn, dn, gn, gn 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 *χnabn* or *χnabn*, basin, bowl; OE. hoppian, O.Icel. hoppa, MHG. hopfen, from *χobn*, to hop; OE. OS. topp, O.Icel. toppr, from *tobn* or tobn*, top, summit; OE. hēap, OS. hōp, OHG. houf, from *χauba*; OE. cnotta, from *knoda*, beside OHG. chnodo, chnuto, knot; OE. OS. hwit, Goth. hveits, from *χwiđn*, white; OE. bucc, O.Icel. bokkr, OHG. boc (gen. bokes), prim. form *bhrefós*, buck; OE. liccian, OS. leccōn, OHG. leccōn, from *legn*, to lick; OE. locc, O.Icel. lokkr, prim. form *lunghós*, look; OE. smocc, O.Icel. smokkr, from smogn* or smogn*, smock; OE. lōcian, OS. lōkōn, from lōgn or lōgn*, to look.

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

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

§ 245. Guttural n (ŋ) disappeared before χ, as Goth. OS. OHG. fāhan, OE. fōn, from *faχnan, to seize; Goth. OS. OHG. hāhan, OE. hōn, from *χaχnan, to hang; Goth. peihan, OS. thīhan, OHG. dihān, OE. ūon, ūon, from *piχnan, to thrive; pret. OE. ūohte, Goth. ūahta, OS. thāhta, OHG. dāhta, from *piχtō, I thought, beside inf. OE. pencan. See §§ 40–1.
of forms which regularly had w, e.g. pret. pl. 
swummon, swungon, swollen, 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. 
sican, OS. OHG. sinkan, beside Goth. sigqan, to sink. 
Cp. § 241.

§ 250. Initial and medial sr became str, as OE. strēam, 
OIcel. straumr, OS. OHG. ström, stream, cp. Skr. 
srávati, it flows; pl. OE. ēastron, OHG. östarūn, 
Easter, cp. Skr. usrā, dawn; OE. sweostor, Goth. 
swester, sister, with t from the weak stem-form, as in the 
locative singular Goth. swistr = prim. Germanic *swesri 
= 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:—

| Explosives | voiceless | p | t | k |
| Spirants | voiceless | f | s | x |
| Nasals | m | n | η |
| Liquids | l, r | j (palatal) |
| Semivowels | w | |

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. havjan, to praise; and similarly hirian, to hear, læran, to teach; leornian from *liznōjan-, to learn; nerian, to save; OE. bet(e)ra, OS. betera, OHG. bezgro, 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. geba = Goth. gibōs, from *gebōz, gifts; OE. guman = Goth. gumanz, from *gomaniz, cp. Lat. homines, men; 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, whereas in OHG. the -z became -r in these words: gē, OS. gī, Goth. jus, ye; hwā, OS. hwē, OHG. hwer, Goth. huas, who?; dat. mē, OS. mī, OHG. mir, Goth. mis, me; dat. þē, OS. thī, OHG. dir, Goth. þus, thee; wē, OS. wī, OHG. wir, Goth. weis, we. It is difficult to account for the loss of
the final consonant in the OE. adv. mā, Goth. mais, from *maisiz, more.

§ 253. Prim. Germanic ð (§§ 234, 238) became d, which was shifted to t in OHG., as OE. bēodan, OS. biodan, OHG. biotan, to offer; OE. fæder, OS. fadar, OHG. fater, father; OE. mōdor, OS. mōdar, OHG. muoter, mother; OE. healdan, OS. haldan, OHG. haltan, to hold; pp. OE. worden, OS. wordan, OHG. wortan, beside inf. OE. weorðan, to become; OE. OS. god, OHG. got, God; OE. OS. word, OHG. wort, 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 lull to sleep; pennan, to stretch; pridda (Goth. pridja), third; hell (Goth. halja), hell; sibb (Goth. sibja), relationship; gen. cynnes (Goth. kunjis), of a race, generation; and similarly brycg, bridge; cribb, crib, stall; crycc, crutch; henn, hen. But OE. OS. nerian, OHG. nerien = Goth. nasjan, to save; OE. herian = Goth. hazjan, to praise. For examples of West Germanic ww from wj, see § 90.

Note.—r. The j in the combination ji had disappeared before the West Germanic doubling of consonants took place, e.g. in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. of the pres. indicative, as OE. legest, legep, OS. legis, legid, OHG. legis, legit = Goth. lagjis, lagjip, beside inf. OE. lecgan, OS. leggian, OHG. leggen, Goth. lagjan, to lay.
2. The sing. nom. and acc. of neuter nouns like bedd (Goth. nom. badi, gen. badjis), bed, cynn (Goth. kuni), race, generation; nett (Goth. nati), net, had their double consonants from the inflected forms, see § 274.

§ 255. p, t, k, and h (= χ) were also doubled in West Germanic before a following r or l. The doubling regularly took place in the inflected forms (as gen. OE. OS. OHG. bittres, OE. æpples, OS. apples, OHG. aphles), and was then generally transferred to the uninflected forms by levelling, as OE. bitter (biter), OS. OHG. bittar, cp. Goth. baítris, bitter; OE. hlüttor (hlütor), OS. hluttar, OHG. hlüttar, cp. Goth. hlütris, 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 *taxur, tear, gen. *teahhres (Nth. tæhhres), nom. pl. *teahhras (Nth. tæhhras). From tæhhres, tæhhras, &c., was formed a new nom. sing. tæhher 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 also regularly took place before a following n in the weak declension of nouns, as sing. nom. *knotō, knot, acc. *knotan(un), beside pl. gen. *knotnō(n) > *kottō(n), dat. *knotnum > *kottum-. 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 transferred to all cases; thus in OE.
Semivowels

adder, beside older ætgæd(e)re, blædre, ædre, gegad(e)-rode, nædre; comparative bettra, better, deoppra, deeper, geliccra, more like, hwittra, whiter, riccra, more powerful, yttra, outer, beside older bet(e)ra, dēopra, gelicra, hwitra, ricra, ýtra. Gen. miccles beside older micles, nom. micel, great. In words like attor, poison, foddor, food, moddor, mother, tuddor, progeny, beside older ãtor, fõdor, mödor, tûdor, the doubling of the consonant went out from the inflected forms, as gen. âtres, nom. pl. mödru, which regularly became attres, moddru and from which a new nom. attor, moddor was formed. On a similar doubling of consonants in West Germanic, see § 255.

§ 261. The Germanic voiceless spirants, f, ð, s became the voiced spirants b, ð, z medially between voiced sounds, although the f, ð, s were retained in writing, as cēaf, jaw; ofen, oven; wulfas, wolves, § 296; āpas, oaths; brōpor, brother; eorpe, earth, § 302; bōsm, bosom; nosu, nose; ösle, ousel, § 307.

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

§ 262. The Germanic voiced spirants b, ð became the voiceless spirants f (§ 294), ð(§§ 320, Note, 323) before voiceless sounds and finally, as geaf, OHG. gab, he gave; healf, OHG. halb, half; wif, OHG. wīb, woman, wife; burh, city, sorn, 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 (generally written uu, u, ð in OE. manuscripts) remained initially before vowels, and generally also initially before and after


§ 265 Semivowels

Goth. strawida, I strewed; þeowian, to serve. See §§ 77, 89.

Gen. sing. bearwes, bealwes, cneowes, gearwes, snāwes, strawes, treowes, þeowes, beside nom. bearu, grove, bealu, evil, calamity, cnēo, knee, gearu, ready, snā, snow, strēa, straw, trēo, tree, þēo, servant; gen. dat. sing. læswe, mādwe, sceadwe, beside nom. læs, pasture, mād, meadow, sceadu, shade, shadow. See §§ 215, 266.

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

brēowan, to brew, cp. O.Icel. pp. bruggenn, brewed; cēowan, OHG. kiuwan, to chew; getriewe, true, faithful; getriewan, to trust; hēawan, Goth. *haggwan, to hew; niewe, niwe, new; scēawian, Goth. *skaggwōn, to examine, view. See §§ 76, 90, 135.

§ 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. cnēo, knee, strēa, straw, trēo, tree, þēo, servant, beside gen. cneowes, streawes, treowes, þeowes. gād, Goth. gāidw, want, lack, a, ō, Goth. āiw, ever; hrā, Goth. hráiw, corpse; hrēa, raw; snā, Goth. snáiwās, snow.

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

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

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

āe from *ā(w)i-, older *aiwi- (Goth. āiws), law; hrā from *hrā(w)i-, older *hraiwi-, corpse; sāe from *sā(w)i-, older *saiwi- (Goth. sāiws), sea; gierep, 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, prēa), new formations from the gen. and dat. clawe, prawe; dat. pl. sǣwum beside sām, with w from the gen. pl. sǣwa, 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 swan, see § 249. gierwe%p, he prepares, pret. gierwede, beside the regular forms gieręp, gierede, with w from gierwan; cnāwp for *cnā%p from *cnā(w)ı%p, he knows, with w from the inf. cnāwan.

§ 267. w often disappeared in the second element of compounds ealneg, -ig, for ealne wec, always; fulluht from *full wuht, baptism; hlāford from *hlāf weard, lord; hwilende from *hwīl wende, transitory; nāuht beside older nā-wuht, naught. And in certain verbal forms with the negative prefix, as naes = ne wæs, was not; nāeron = 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 knew 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. jär, 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, gie, ye; gēo, gío, iū, formerly, of old; geogo%p, giogo%p, iugo%p, 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; feond, Goth. fijands, enemy; frēo from *frijas-, free; frēond, enemy.
Goth. frijōnds, friend; nom. acc. neut. þrīo, þrēo, from *þrīju = Goth. þrija, three, see § 104.

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

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

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

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

§ 275. Germanic ĵj became ddj in Goth. and gg(j) in O.Icel. In OE. ĵjj- became ĵ through the intermediate stage -ij-; and ājj- became ā through the intermediate stages -aïj-, -āj-. And then between the ĵ-, ā- and a following vowel a consonantal glide (written g) was developed (cp. § 270), which was often levelled out into the uninflected forms, as frīgedæg, frīdæg, Friday, beside frēo from *frīo, older *frījō, OS. frī, woman; ēode from *iode, older *ījō-dā-, Goth. ïddja, he went; gen. āges, cāge, wāge, beside nom. āg (O.Icel. egg, OS. OHG. ei), ēgg, cāg, key, wāg (Goth. waddjus, O.Icel. veggr), wall; clāg, Goth. (fem.) *kladdja, OS. klei, clay.

The Liquids.

1

§ 276. Germanic ĵ generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as lecgan, Goth. lagjan, O.Icel. leggja, OS. leggian, OHG. leggen, to lay; slēpan, Goth. slēpan, OS. slāpan, OHG. slāfan, to sleep; OE. OS. OHG. stelan, Goth. stilan, O.Icel. stela, to steal; OE. OS. helpan, Goth. hǐpan, O.Icel. hjalpa, OHG. helfan, to help; sellan, Goth. saljan, O.Icel. selja, OS. sellian, OHG. sellen, to give, sell; feallan, O.Icel. falla, OS. OHG. fallan, to fall; sceal, Goth. O.Icel. OS.
OHG. skal, shall; and similarly lamb, lamb; land, land; lang, long; lēadan, to lead; lēof, dear; leornian, to learn; lif, life; lufu, love; lŷtel, little. ealu, ale; meolu, meal; mioluc, milk; talu, number, tale. blōd, blood; clâne, clean; flēcn, to flee; glæd, glad; hlæford, 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; smāl, slender; sadol, saddle; stæl, he stolec. hyll, hill. eall, all; full, full.

On vocalic l as in æpl, apple; nædl, needle; nægl, nail; segl, sail; setl, seat, see § 219.

§ 277. sl underwent metathesis in unstressed syllables, as byrgels, OS. burgisli, tomb; rædels, OS. rādislo, MHG. rätsel, riddle; and similarly brīdels, 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, setl, spātl.

r

§ 278. Germanic r generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as rēad, Goth. ráups, O.Icel. rauðr, OS. rōd, OHG. rōt, 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. faírра, far off; fæder, Goth. OS. fadar, O.Icel. faðir, OHG. fater, father; and similarly rēadan, 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; eorle, earth; feorh, life; heard, hard; scearp, sharp; spearwa, sparrow; steorfan, to die; þorn, thorn; þurh, through; weorc, work. āfierran, to remove; steorra, star. fýr, fire; hamor, hammer; mōdor, mother; tēar, tear; wer, man.

Note.—r disappeared in late OE. in specan, to speak, spēc, speech, beside older sprecan, spēc.

§ 279. West Germanic medial r from older z (§ 252) remained in OE., as betra, Goth. batiza, better; herian, Goth. hazjan, to praise; hord, Goth. huzd, treasure; and similarly coren, chosen; dēor (Goth. dius, gen. diuzis), deer, wild animal; ēare, ear; hiæran, to hear; ieldra, elder; læran, to teach; leornian, to learn; māra, larger; nerian, to save; wæron, they were. ierre, Goth. aîtrezis, OS. OHG. irri, angry; and similarly *durran, to dare; mierran, to hinder, mar; þyrre, dry, withered.

§ 280. Antevocalic r often became postvocalic by metathesis when a short vowel was followed by n, nn, s, or s + consonant, as ærn, Goth. razn, O.Icel. rann, house; forsc, O.Icel. froskr, OHG. frosk, frog; forst, O.Icel. OS. OHG. frost, 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; bærs, perch (a fish); berstan, to burst; cærse, cress; fersc, fresh; fierst, space of time; gær, grass; hærn, wave; þerscan, to thresh (corn); wærna beside wraenna, wren.

§ 281. s or 1+r became ss, ll by assimilation, as læssa from *læs(l)ra, smaller; fem. gen. dat. sing. þisse (OHG. desera, desero), from *pisre, of this; gen. pl. þissa (OHG. desero), from *pisra; gen. sing. üsses from *ūsres, of our; dat. üssum from *ūsrum. sēlla beside sēlra, 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. dumb, Goth. dumbs, O.Icel. dumbr, OHG. tumb, dumb; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. rūm, room; and similarly macian, to make; mann, man; māwan, to mow; meltan, to melt; mīn, my; mōdor, mother; mūp, mouth. cuman, to come; nama, name; niman, to take; tīma, time; ūma, thumb. besma, besom; climban, to climb; gelimpan, to happen; lamb, lamb. fremman from *framjan, to perform; swimman, to swim. bēam, tree; brōm, broom; hām, home; helm, helmet; wyrm, snake. swamm, he swam.

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

§ 283. m disappeared in prehistoric OE. before f, s with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as fif, Goth. OHG. fimf, five; ösle, 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 *grmisian = OHG. grimmisōn, to rage; þrims beside older trimes, trymesse (OHG. drimissa), a coin.

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

n

§ 285. Germanic n generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as nama, Goth. namō, OS. OHG. namo, name; OE. OS. OHG. sunu, Goth. sunus, O.Icel. sunr, son; OE. Goth. OHG. spinnan, O.Icel. spinna, to spin; þennan, OS. thennian, OHG. dennen,
Phonology

Goth. ūpanjan, O.Icel. ūpenja, to stretch; and similarly nacod, naked; nǣdl, 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; ūynn(e), thin. bān, bone; cwēn, queen; heofon, heaven; mylen, mill; stān, stone. cinn, chin; henn, hen; mann, man; synn, sin.

On vocalic n as in hræfn, raven; regn, rain; tācn, token, see § 219.

§ 286. n disappeared in prehistoric OE. before ā, ā with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as cūp, Goth. kunps, OHG. kund, known; ēst, Goth. ansts, OHG. anst, stem-form ansti-, favour; ōper, Goth. anþar, OHG. andar, other; ēs, Goth. OHG. uns, us; and similarly cūpan, to make known; dūst, dust; fūs, ready; gesīp, companion; gōs, goose; hōs (OHG. hansa), band, escort; mūp, mouth; sīp, journey; tōp, tooth; wīyscan, to wish; ūst, storm. The long vowel became shortened in unstressed syllables, as fracūp, -ōp, Goth. frakunps, despised; and similarly dugūp, strength, valour; geogūp, youth; nīmūp from *nimūp, older *nemūp, they take, see § 218. But n remained when it stood before s at a later period, as clānsian from *clānisian, older *klainisōjan, to cleanse; minsian from *minnisian, to diminish; winster older winester (OHG. winister), left, left hand; also in the Latin loanword pinsian (Lat. pensāre), to consider.

§ 287. n sometimes disappeared between consonants, as elboga beside elnboga, elbow; pret. nemde from *nemnde, he named; saeterdæg 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 hear; gehēra, to hear; læra, to teach; senda, to send = WS. beran, gehēran, læran, sendan; gihēre, they may hear; sprece, they may speak = WS. gehēren, spreccen; bite, they might bite = WS. biten; gen. dat. acc. sing. fola, 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, genuemen, taken, with -n from the inflected forms; bērun, they bore; cwōmun, they came; læddun, 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. drigkan, OS. drinkan, OHG. trinkan, to drink; geong, Goth. juggs, O.Icel. ungr, OS. OHG. jung, young; and similarly finger, finger; gangan, to go; hangian, to hang; hungor,
hunger; lang, long; tunge, tongue; sincan, to sink; singan, to sing; swincan, to labour; tungol, star, constellation.

benc from *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; strengþ, prim. Germanic strængþo, strength; þyncan, to seem.

§ 290. The guttural š 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 pæd (Goth. pæda), cloak; pening, O.Icel. penningr, OHG. pfenning, penny; open, O.Icel. openn, OS. open, OHG. offan, open; slæpan, Goth. slæpan, OS. slæpan, OHG. slæfan, to sleep; deop, Goth. diups, O.Icel. djúpr, OS. diop, OHG. tiof, deep; and similarly pæþ, path; pott, pot; plegan, to play; pliht, danger, plight; plōg, plough; průt, proud; spere, spear; sprecan, to speak. clyppan, to embrace; græpian, to grope; stæppan, to step; súpan, to drink; swæpan, to sweep; wēpen, weapon; wēpan, to weep. hearpe, harp; helpan, to help; weorpan, to throw, cast. hēap, troop, heap; rāp, rope; scēap, sheep; scearp, sharp; scip, shiþ; úp, up.

Examples of Lat. loanwords are: cuppe (late Lat. cuppa),
§ 292. We have already seen that prim. Germanic **b** from **bh** became **b** initially, and also medially after **m** during the prim. Germanic period (§ 284); 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 (§ 285). Germanic **b**, and West Germanic **bb** from **bj** (§ 254) and **n** in the weak declension of nouns (§ 256), remained in OE., as OE. OS. OHG. **beran**, Goth. bafran, O.Icel. *béra*, 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; **bæn**, bone; **bæm**, tree; **bëodan**, to command; bindan, to bind; **bitan**, to bite; **blæc**, black; **blæwan**, to blow; **blöd**, blood; **bōc**, book; bodig, body; bråd, broad; bringan, to bring; **brycg**, bridge.

**dumb**, Goth. **dumbs**, O.Icel. **dumbr**, OHG. **tumb**, tomb; and similarly **camb**, comb; **climban**, to climb; **amb**, **lamb**, ymb(e), about, around; **wamb**, stomach.

**bedd** (Goth. gen. **badjis**), **bed**; **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 giaban, to give; 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 § 230. Examples are: giefan, Goth. giban, O.Icel. gefa, OS. geban, OHG. geban, to give; hæfde, Goth. habáida, OS. habda, habda, OHG. habēta, he had; sealfian, Goth. OHG. salbōn, OS. salbon, to anoint; seofon, Goth. OHG. sibun, OS. sibun, seven; and similarly ūfen, evening; beofor, beaver; cnafa, boy; delfan, to dig; drīfan, 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. wīf, OHG. wīb, woman. Also in Lat. loanwords with b = late Lat. v, as deōfol (Lat. diabolus), devil; fēfor (Lat. fēbris), fever; tæfl (Lat. tabula), chess-board, die; trifot (Lat. tributum), tribute.

Note.—fn, fmn became mn, mm in late OE., as emn (Goth. ibns), even; stemn (Goth. stibna), voice, beside older ef(e)n, ste(f)e)n; wīmman (pl. wīmmen) beside older wīfman, 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. hlāf, OHG. hleib, loaf, bread; and similarly cealf, calf; dēaf, deaf; dealf, he dug; lēaf, leaf; lēof, dear; lif, life; lōf, praise; scēaf, he pushed; wīf, wife, woman.

f

§ 295. Germanic f remained initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally, as fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðer, OS. fadar, OHG. fater, father; OE. OS. fīf, Goth. OHG. fīmf, five; OE. OS. fōt, Goth. fōtus,
Dentals

§§ 296–8  

O. Icel. fōtr, OHG. fuz, foot; gesceafort, 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 fæger, fair, beautiful; fæst, firm; fæt, vessel, vat; fæa, few; feallan, to fall; feld, field; feohtan, to fight; feower, four; feþer, feather; findan, to find; fleæsc, flesh; fleax, flax; fleogan, to fly; fōda, food; folc, folk; folgian, to follow; fram, from; frēo, free; frēond, friend; frēosan, to freeze; fugol, bird; full, full; fyr, fire. æfter, after; cræft, skill; gift, marriage gift; offrian, to offer; pyffan, to puff; ræfsan, refsan, to reprove; sceaf, shaft, pole. ceaf, chaff; hōf, he raised; hrōf, roof.

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

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

The Dentals.

t

§ 298. Germanic t remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as tōp, Goth. tunþus, OS. tand, OHG. zan(d), tooth; tunge, Goth. tuggō, O. Icel. OS. tunga, OHG. zunga, tongue; twā, Goth. twái, two; OE. OS. etan, Goth. itan, O. Icel. eta, OHG. egzan, to eat;
OE. Goth. OS. witan, O.Icel. vita, OHG. wizzan, to know; settan, Goth. satjan, O.Icel. setja, OS. settian, OHG. setzen, to set; snottor, Goth. snutrs, O.Icel. snotr, OS. OHG. snottar, wise; sceatt, Goth. skatts, O.Icel. skattr, money, tribute; neaht, Goth. nahts, OS. OHG. naht, night; and similarly tācn, token; tam, tame; tēar, tear; tellan, to tell, count; tīd, tīma, time; timber, tīmer; tōl, tool; tredan, to tread; tūro, 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. fōt, foot; gāst, spirit; gylt, guilt; hwēt, what; hāt, hot; hwit, white; pytt, pit; strēt, street.

Note.—1. Medial and final st was sometimes written sp in early WS., as dūsp, dust, fæsp, fast, giefesp, thou givest, wæspm, growth, wāsp, thou knowest, for dūst, fast, giefest, wāst, 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. abbatem), abbot; læden (Lat. acc. latĭnum), Latin (language); sīde (Lat. sēta), silk.

3. t often disappeared between consonants, as fæsniæ, to fasten, rhīlīce, justly, prīsnes, boldness, beside fæstnian, rhīltīce, prīstnes.

§ 299. Germanic ē became d initially, and also medially after n during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234). And ē in other positions became d in West Germanic (§ 253). On the normal development of Germanic ē in Goth. and O.Icel., see § 230. d generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as dæg, Goth. dags, O.Icel. dagr, OS. dag, OHG. tag, day; dohtor, Goth. daúhtar, O.Icel. dótter, OS. dohtar, OHG. tohter, daughter;
fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðir, OS. fadar, OHG. fater, father; O.E. Goth. OS. bindan, O.Icel. binda, OHG. bintan, to bind; biddan, Goth. bidjan, O.Icel. biðja, OS. biddian, OHG. bitten, to pray; O.E. OS. blōd, Goth. blōp, O.Icel. blōð, OHG. bluot, blood; ceald, Goth. kals, O.Icel. kaldr, OS. kald, OHG. kalt, cold; and similarly dāg, dough; dēad, dead; dēaf, deaf; dēap, death; dēman, to judge; dēofol, devil; dēop, deep; deorc, dark; dōn, to do; dragan, to drag; drifan, to drive; drincan, to drink; dūfan, to dive; dumb, dumb; duru, door; dwellan, to lead astray. bodig, body; cwædon, they said; fōdor, fodder, food; healdan, to hold; hierde, he heard; hider, hither; lēdan, to lead; lǣde, he led; mōdor, mother; nædre, adder; sadol, saddle; sendan, to send; slidan, to slide; pridda, third; weder, weather; pp. worden, become; wudu, wood. brŷd, bride; dād, deed; frēond, friend; pp. gemacod, made; god, God; gōd, good; hand, hand; hēafod, head; heard, hard; hlūd, loud; midd, middle; nacod, naked; rēad, red; word, word.

Note.—d disappeared between consonants, as pret. gyrde from *gyrde beside inf. gyrdan, to gird; sende from *sendde (= Goth. sanda), beside inf. sendan, to send; sellic beside seldlic, 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 blōdsian from *blōdisōjan, to bless; bitst beside bidest, thou prayest; bint from *bindp, older bindep, he binds; bit, bitt from *bīdp, older bidep, he prays; cyste from *cyssde, he kissed; gesynto from *gesundipu, health; grētte from *grētde (= Goth. *grōtida), he greeted; iecte, Goth. *āukida, he increased; lātst beside lædest, 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, miltsian. The d was often restored from forms where it was regular, as findst: findan; milds, miltsian: milde, merciful.

§ 301. Germanic ð generally remained in OE. initially, medially when doubled, and finally, as þencan, Goth. þagkjan, OS. thenkian, OHG. denken, to think; þüsend, Goth. þüsundi, OHG. düsunt, thousand; sceþpan, Goth. skaþjan, to injure; opþe, eþpa, Goth. aþþau, OS. eddo, odþo, OHG. eddo, or; æþ, Goth. acc. áþ, OS. æþ, OHG. eid, oath; pret. wearp, Goth. warþ, OS. ward, OHG. ward, he became; and similarly þancian, to thank; þecan, to cover; þeþof, thief; þing, thing; þorn, thorn; þræd, thread; þringan, to press; þuþma, thumb; þunor, thunder; þwþang, thong; þyncan, to seem. moffe, moth; siþkan, since, afterwards; smippe, smithy. bæþ, bath; beraþ, they bear; bireþ, he bears; broþ, broth; clþp, cloth; cþp, known; cwþp, he said; deþp, death; hæþep, hero, man; hæþ, heath; mþnapþ, month; mþp, mouth; norþ, north; tþp, tooth.

Note.—In late Nth. final ð appears as -s in the personal endings of verbs, as bindes, he binds, bindas, they bind, beside binþep, bindþap.

§ 302. Germanic medial ð became ð between voiced sounds in OE., although the þ was retained in writing. In the oldest period of the language it was often written d. Examples are: bæþian, to bathe; brþþor, brother; byþþen, burden; eorþe, earth; fæþm, embrace, fathom; feþer, feather; hæþen, heathen; morþor, murder; ðþer, other; weorþþan, to become. Gen. æþes, bæþes, beside nom. æþ, oath, bæþ, bath; inf. cweþpan, to say, beside pret. sing. cwþp.
§ 303. Germanic medial ßp became ßd in OE. The ßd then became extended to the final position by levelling. Examples are: fealdan, Goth. falþan, to fold; wilde, Goth. wilþeis, wild; wudor, Goth. wulþus, glory. Gen. goldes (= Goth. *gulþis), dat. golde (= Goth. gulþa), from which a new nom. gold for *goþ (= Goth. gulþ) was formed; and similarly beald, bold; eald, old; feld, field; hold, gracious; weald, forest. But the ßp, which arose from vowel syncope, remained, as sælp, OHG. sãlida, happiness; fielp from older *fielleþ, he falls.

§ 304. Germanic ßl generally remained in Anglian, but became dl after long vowels in WS., as ßdl (Anglian ßpl, ßdl, ßld), disease; nãdl (Anglian nãpl, Goth. nãþla), needle; wãdl (Anglian wãpl), poverty; wãðla, pauper; ßðlian, to defile.

§ 305. ß underwent assimilation with another dental or s, and then tt was simplified to t finally and after consonants, as bit(t) from *bidþ, and bitþ, older bideþ, he awaits, bîteþ, he bites; bit(t) from bideþ, he prays; it(t) from iteþ, he eats; gesynto from *gesundîþu, health; lâttèow from *lãd þèow, leader; mitty from mid þy, when, while; ofermèto from *ofermôdìþu, pride; þæte from þæt þe, that which; cýdde beside cýpde, he made known; but cwip beside cwîþþ, he says. ciest from cîesþ, older cîseþ, he chooses; cwist, older cwîþþ, thou sayest; forliest, older forliesþ, he loses; wiext, older wîþþþ, it grows; hafastu = hafas þþ, hast thou. bliss, bliss, blîssian, to rejoice, lîss, favour, beside blîþs, blîþsian, lîþs.

The Sibilant s.

§ 306. Germanic s remained in OE. initially, medially in combination with voiceless consonants, and finally, as sã, Goth. sãiws, OS. OHG. são, sca; slãpan, Goth. slëpan, OS. slãpan, OHG. slãfan, to sleep; OE. OS.
Phonology

OHG. sunu, Goth. sunus, O.Icel. sunr, son; gäst, OS. gēst, OHG. geist, spirit; OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. hūs, house; and similarly sadol, saddle; sāed, seed; sealt, salt; sēcan, to seek; sēon, to see; sittan, to sit; slidan, to slide; smæl, small, slender; snaca, snake; sōna, soon; sōt, soot; spearwa, sparrow; sprecan, to speak; standan, to stand; strēam, stream; sūp, south; sweostor, sister. assa, ass, donkey; cyssan, to kiss; restan, to rest; pyrstan, to thirst; cēas, he chose; gærs, grass; gōs, goose; heals, neck; hors, horse; īs, ice; mūs, mouse; wæs, was.

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

Note.—s sometimes underwent metathesis with p, especially in late OE.; as æps, aspen, cops, fetter, bond, wrips, lispings, wæsp, wasp, beside æsp, cosp, wrip, wæps (waeps).

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

§ 308. We have already seen that prim. Germanic z from Indg. s became r medially and was dropped finally in West Germanic (§ 252). Examples of medial r have been given in § 279; and of the loss of final -z in § 252.

The Gutturals.

k

§ 309. Germanic k, generally written c in OE., remained a guttural initially before consonants and before the guttural vowels a, ā, o, ō, u, ū, and their umlauts æ (e), āe, e, ē (ĕ), y, ū; but became a palatal before the palatal vowels, æ,
\( \ae (\ddot{\epsilon}) = \text{Germanic } \ddot{\epsilon}, \ e (\dot{\epsilon}) = \text{Germanic } \ddot{\epsilon}; \ ea, eo, io \text{ from Germanic } a, e, i \text{ by breaking (§ 49), } \ddot{\epsilon}a, \ddot{\epsilon}o, \ddot{i}o, i, \ddot{i}, \text{ and their umlauts } e, \ddot{i}e = (\dot{i} \text{-umlaut of } ea, io), \ddot{ie} = (\dot{i} \text{-umlaut of } \ddot{ea}, \ddot{io}), \text{ see § 47.} \)

Germanic medial \( k \) and \( kk \) remained guttural when originally followed by a guttural vowel, as \( \text{bucca, he-goat; macian from } \ast \text{makōjan, to make; sacu, strife; geoc, prim.} \)

Germanic \( \ast \text{jukan, yoke;} \) but became palatal when originally followed by an \( i \) or \( j \), as \( \text{bryce from } \ast \text{brukiz, breach;} \ sēcan = \text{Goth. sōkjan, to seek;} \ \check{\text{peccan from }} \ast \text{pakjan, to cover.} \)

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

Some scholars assume that palatal \( c \) and \( nc \) became \( \text{tʃ} (\dot{\text{ch}} \text{ in NE. chin), ntʃ in Mercian, WS. and Ken. in the earliest period of the language, but this is an assumption which cannot be proved.} \)

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 \( \text{sēcean, to seek;} \ \check{\text{pececean, to cover;} \ } \check{\text{pencean, to think,}} \text{ cp. § 319, Note.} \)

§ 310. 1. Guttural \( c \).

\( \text{cēlan from } \ast \text{kōljan, to cool;} \ \check{\text{cemtan from } \ast \text{kambjan, to comb;} \ \text{corn, Goth. kaúrn, corn;} \ \ddot{c}úp, \text{ Goth. kūnþs, known; cynn, Goth. kuni, race, generation;} \ \ddot{c}nēo, \text{ Goth. kniu, knee;} \text{ and similarly camb, comb, comb;} \ \ddot{c}ēne, \text{ keen, bold;} \text{ cennan, to give birth;} \ \ddot{c}ēpan, \text{ to keep;} \ \ddot{c}öl, \text{ cool;} \ \ddot{c}oes, \text{ kiss;} \ \ddot{c}ū, \text{ cow;} \ \text{cuman, to come;} \ \ddot{c}yning, \text{ king;} \ \ddot{c}yssan, \text{ to kiss;} \ \ddot{c}yþan, \text{ to make known.} \ \text{clāne, clean;} \ \text{ciemtan, to} \)
climb; cnotta, knot; cræft, skill; cwēn, queen. Also in Lat. loanwords, as candel (Lat. candēla), candle; copor (Lat. cuprum), copper; cycene (late Lat. coquīna, cucīna), kitchen; and similarly camp, fight, battle; cempa, warrior; cōc, cook; cuppe, cup.

æcer, Goth. akrs, prim. Germanic *akraz, field; nacod, Goth. nakaþs, 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; pāncian, to thank.

bucc, O.Icel. bokkr, Indg. *bhugnós, buck; blæc, prim. Germanic *blakaz, black; gec, Goth. juk, prim. Germanic *jukan, yoke; and similarly ac, oak; bēc, back; bōc, book; brocc, badger; flocc, flock; folc, folk; mioluc, milk; sēoc, sick; weorc, work; pānc, 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; 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; lǣce, Goth. lēkeis, physician; smīec from *smaukiz, smoke; wēccan, Goth. us-wakjan, to arouse; benc from *baŋkiz, bench; þenc(e)an, Goth. þagkjan, to think; and similarly birce, birch; crycc, crutch; fliicce, flitch; mēce, sword; mycel, great; sēc(e)an, to seek; strecc(e)an, to stretch; ðtycc, piece; ðēc(e)an, to teach; wicce, witch; drenc(e)an, to submerge; þync(e)an, to seem; stenc, smell, odour.

Note.—1. cēs was generally written x in OE., as æx beside older æces, axe; rīxian beside rīcsian from *rīkisōn, to rule.

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

3. In Anglian final c became x (written h) in unstressed words, as ah beside late WS. ac, but; iowih (íwih), you, úsíh, us, beside WS. ēcwic, eíc; 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, scri before a following guttural vowel with e, i to indicate the palatal nature of the sc. There is no definite proof that sc became j (= 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; scæaft, shaft; scéal, shall; scēap, sheep; scærp, sharp; sc(e)ort, short; scēotan, to shoot; scield, shield; scieppan, to create; scieran, to shear; scilling, shilling; scep, ship; scōh, shoe; scrūd, dress, garment; sculdor, shoulder; scūr, shower; scylidig, guilty. blysca; to blush; þerscan, to thresh; wascan, to wash; wŷscan, to wish. englisç, English; fisc, fish; flāsc, 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, ðxian, to ask, fixas, fışhes, waxan, to wash, beside asce, áscian (OHG. eiskōn), fiscas, wascan.

§ 313. Germanic g became g after h during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234). gj (§ 254) and gn (§ 250) became gg in West Germanic. Germanic g remained a spirant in all other positions in the oldest period of OE. On the normal development of Germanic g in the other Germanic languages, see § 230.

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

gäst, OS. gēst, OHG. geist, spirit; OE. OS. gōd, Goth. gōps, O.Icel. gōr, OHG. guot, good; OE. OS. OHG. gold, Goth. gulp, gold; OE. Goth. guma, O.Icel. gume, OS. gumo, OHG. gomo, man; græs, Goth. OS. OHG. gras, grass; and similarly gād, goad; gaderian, to gather; galan, to sing; gamen, game, amusement; gār, spear, javelin; gāt, goat; pl. gatu, gates; gēs, geese; god, God; gōs, goose; pret. pl. guton, they poured out; pp. goten, poured out; gūp, war; gylden, golden. glæd, glad; glōf, glove; gnætt, gnat; grēne, 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; gēotan, Goth. giutan, OS. giotan, OHG. giozan, to pour out; giefan, Goth. giban, O.Icel. gefa, OS. geban, OHG. geban, to give; and similarly gēafon, they gave; geard, courtyard; gearn, yarn; geat (NE. dial. yet), gate; geolu, yellow; gewiss, certain; giefu, gift; gieldan, to repay, yield; giellan, to yell; gielpan, to boast; gīeman, to take notice of; gierman, 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. gēotan, pret. sing. gēat.
§ 317. The g in the combination ng 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 ng: OE. OS. OHG. bringan, Goth. briggan, to bring; cyning from *kuningaz, king; lang from *langaz, long; tunge, Goth. tuggō, OS. tunga, OHG. zunga, tongue; and similarly engiisc, English; finger (Goth. figgrs), finger; hring, ring; hungor, hunger; singan, to sing; springan, to leap; stingan, to sting; þing, thing.

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

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

§ 318. ng became ñc 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, bringþ, with g restored from the other forms of the verb; strengþ from *strangþu, beside strengþ, strength, with g restored from strang, strong; and similarly ancsun, narrow, lencten, spring, sprincþ, he leaps, beside angsun, lengten, springþ.

§ 319. West Germanic gg from prim. Germanic gn (§ 256) remained guttural in OE. and was generally written gg, as dogga, dog; āearwicga, 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. *brugja, bridge; bycg(e)an, Goth. bugjan, to buy; secg, Goth. *sagjis, man; 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.

§ 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. ōga, OHG. ouga, eye; OE. OS. OHG. stigan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stīga, to ascend; and similarly āgan, to possess; dagian from *dagōjan, to dawn; duguþ, strength, virtue; belgan, to become angry; beorgan, to protect, shelter; boga, bow; būgan, to bow down; flēogan, to fly; flēoge, fly; folgian, to follow; fugol, bird, fowl; lagu, law; lēogān, to lie; maga, stomach; slōgon, they slew; sugu, sow; swelgan, to swallow; pl. dagas, days; weges, ways.

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

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

Note.—g became h (= x) before voiceless consonants, but the g was often restored from forms where g was regular, as stīhst, thou ascendest, stīhp, he ascends, beside older stīgest, stigēp; and similarly flēhst, flēhp, beside inf. flēogan, to fly.

§ 321. g often disappeared after palatal vowels before a following dental or consonantal n with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as brēdan, to brandish, brīdels, bridle, frīnan, to ask, lēde, he laid, mæden, maiden, ongēan
§§ 322–4. 

Gutturals

(ongēn), against, rīnan, to rain, sāde, he said, strēdan, to strew, tīpijan, to grant, pēnian, to serve, beside bregdan, brigdels, frignan, legde, mægden, ongeagn, rignan, sægde, stregdan, tīpijan, pēgnian. Gen. rēnes beside regnes, from which a new nom. rēn beside regn, rain, was formed; and similarly pēn, servant, wān, wagon, beside pēgn, wægn.

§ 322. Medial -igi-, -ige- were contracted to -i- as in MHG., as gelīre beside geligere, fornication; ḳil beside igil, hedgehog; sīpe from *sīgīpē, scythe; tile beside tigele, tile; ĭp (MHG. ĭt) beside līgep (MHG. liget), he lies; -li beside ligest, thou liest.

§ 323. When Germanic ģ 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 ģ (= g) was mostly restored again owing to the influence of the inflected forms. After liquids and guttural vowels the restoration of the ģ 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 sextīh beside sextīg, 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; féah, he flew; genōh, enough; stīh, path; troh beside trog, trough.

§ 324. Final ģ became palatal after palatal vowels, as dēg, day; mēg, may; weg, way; ānig, any; bodig, body; dysig, foolish; hālig, holy; hefig, heavy; manig, many. Then at a later period (earliest in Ken.) ģ 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 ðæi, dysi, hefi, &c.

§ 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 and has been preserved in many Scotch dialects down to the present day. Examples are: OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. hús, house; habban, Goth. haban, O.Icel. hafa, OHG. habén, to have; and similarly hamor, hammer; hand, hand; hælan, to heal; hæafod, head; heard, hard; heoitæ, heart; hieran, to hear; holde, gracious; hungor, hunger.

hlæf, Goth. hláifs, OHG. heib, loaf, bread; OE. OS. OHG. hnigan, to bend down; OE. OS. OHG. hring, O.Icel. hríngr, ring; and similarly hladan, to load; hléapan, to leap; hlíd, lid; hlót, lot; hnutu, nut; hræfn, raven; hréod, reed; hrímig, rimy.

hwá, Goth. vías, OS. hwē, OHG. hwer, who; hwíl, Goth. hvíla, O.Icel. hvíl, OS. OHG. hwíla, space of time; and similarly hwæl, whale; hwǽte, wheat; hwæper, which of two; hwelp, whelp; hwít, white.

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 þeot from *bi-hát, boast; fréols from *frí-hals, freedom; eofot from *ef-hát, debt; licuma beside older lic-hama, body; ðénettan from *on-hátjan, to hasten; ðreot (OHG. urheiz) from *or-hát, 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; cnieht, cniht, boy; feoh-tan, to fight; hleahtor, laughter; léoht, a light; pret. meahte, he might; reoht, rieht, ryht, right; sôhte, he sought; pöhte, he thought; úhta, dawn. crohha, crock, pot; geneahhe, sufficiently; pohha, pocket; tiohhian, to think, consider.

Dat. dehter from *dohtri, beside nom. dohtor, daughter; flyht from *fuxtiz, flight; hiehsta from *xauxist-, highest; hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, to laugh; liehtan, Goth. liuhtjan, to give light; siehst, OHG. sihis, thou seest; siehp, OHG. sihit, he sees; and similarly fëhst, thou seizest; fëhp, he seizes; niebsta, nearest; tyht, training, habit.

§ 327. xs became ks (written x) in OE., as oxa, Goth. aûhsa, OS. OHG. ohso, ox; siex, Goth. saihs, OS. OHG. sehs, six; weaxan, OS. OHG. wahsan, to grow; and similarly feax, hair; fleax, flax; fox, fox; fyxen, vixen; miox, dung; wrixlan, to exchange.

§ 328. Final χ remained, as hēah, OS. OHG. hōh, high; nēah, OS. OHG. nāh, near; seah, OS. OHG. sah, he saw; sealh, OHG. salaha, willow; purh, Goth. pai̇r̆h, OS. thurh, OHG. duruh, durh, through; and similarly feoh, cattle, property; rūh, rough; scōh, shoe; tōh, tough; wōh, perverse, bad; seoh, see thou; sleah, slay thou; tēoh, pull thou. eolh, elk; holh, hollow; seolh, seal; sulh, plough; wealh, foreigner. feorh, life; furh, furrow; mearh, horse.

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

§ 329. Medial χ disappeared:
1. Before s + consonant, as fyst from *fuxstiz, fist ; Nth. se(l)sta, sixth, beside WS. siexta, syxta which was a new
formation from the cardinal; sester (Lat. sextarius), vessel, pitcher, jar; písl beside older píxl (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 *χauxist-, highest.

2. Between a vowel and a following liquid or nasal, as betwēoman, betwēonum, between, cp. Goth. tweihnáí, two each; ëorod from *eohrád, troop; fíol, féol (OHG. fíhala), file; hēla from *hōhila, heel; lēne (OS. lēhni), transitory; lēoma, rāy of light, cp. Goth. liuhaþ, light; stiele from *staxlja-, steel; þwēal (Goth. þwahil), washing, bath; masc. acc. sing. wōne beside nom. wōh, perverse, bad; ūmest (Goth. ūuhmists), 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 *þurčil, opening, aperture; sing. gen. ēoles, feares, fēores, hōles, mēares, sēoles, wēales, beside nom. eolh, elk, fearh, pig, feorn, life, holh, hole, meard, horse, seolh, seal, wealth, foreigner.

4. Between vowels, as ēa (OHG. aha), water, river; ēam (OHG. ōheim), uncle; ëar (Nth. æhher, OHG. ahir), ear of corn; fīan from *fleahan, older *flahan, to flay; and similarly lēan, to blame; slēan (Goth. slahan), to slay; þwēan (Goth. þwan), to wash; flēon (OHG. fiohan), to flee; fôn (Goth. fāhan), to seize; hōn (Goth. hāhan), to hang; lion, lēon (OHG. lihan), to lend; nēar from *nēahur, near; sēon from *seohan, older *sehan (OHG. sehan), to see; sion, sēon (OHG. sīhan), to strain; slā beside older slāhē (OHG. slēha), sloe; swēor (OHG. swehur), father-in-law; tā beside older tāhē (OHG. zēha), toe; tēar (Nth. tæhher, OHG. zahar), tear; þion, þeon
(Goth. peihan), to thrive; sing. gen. fēos, plēos, beside nom. feoh, cattle, property, pleoh, danger; pl. nom. hēa from *hēahe, beside sing. hēah, high. In Anglian loss of h and contraction took place earlier than the syncope of i(e), as fiēp from *fiēhip, he flees, fēp, he seizes, sis(t) from *sihis, thou seest, sīp from *sihip, he sees, hēsta from *hēhista, highest, nēsta from *nēhista, nearest, beside WS. fiēhp, fēhp, siehst, siehp, hīehsta, nīehsta.
ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER XI

Nouns

§ 330. In OE. as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, nouns are divided into two great classes, according as the stem originally ended in a vowel or a consonant, cp. the similar division of nouns in Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. Nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel belong to the vocalic or so-called strong declension. Those whose stems originally ended in -n belong to the weak declension. All other consonantal stems will be put together under the general heading, 'Minor Declensions.'

§ 331. Owing to the loss of final short vowels, and consonants, in prehistoric OE. (§§ 211-16), several different kinds of stems regularly fell together in the nom. and acc. singular, so that, from the point of view of OE., the nom. and acc. singular end in consonants, and we are only able to classify such stems either by starting out from prim. Germanic, or from the plural, or from a comparison with the other old Germanic languages; thus the OE. nom. and acc. singular of dæg, day; word, word; dæl, part; hand, hand; lamb, lamb, correspond to prim. Germanic *dągaz, *dągan, older -os, -om; *wurdan, older -om; *dailiz, *dailin, older -is, -im; *xanduz (Goth. handus), *xandun (Goth. handu), older -us, -um; *lambaz, older -os (cp. Lat. genus, gen. generis). The original distinction between the nom. and acc. singular of masculine and feminine nouns had disappeared in the oldest period of the English lan-
guage except in the ō- 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. fotuns. 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.

i. 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.**

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

§ 335. **Nouns**

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. -āns. 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.
price; cēol, ship; ceorl, churl; clām (NE. dial. cloam),
mud; clāþ, cloth; clūt, patch; cniht, boy; cræft, skill,
strength; cwealm, death; dōm, doom; drēam, joy, revelry;
dweorg, dwarf; earm, arm; earn, eagle; eorl, nobleman;
fisc, fish; fleam, flight; forsc, frog; forst, frost; fox,
gang, going; gæst, captive; hām, home; healm,
haelm; heals, neck; helm, helmet; hlæst, burden; hlaf,
loaf; höf, hoof; hrēam, cry, shout, uproar; hrīm, rime;
hring; ring; hund, dog; hwelp, whelp; læst, footprint;
mæst, mast; mōr, moor; mūþ, mouth; rāþ, rope; rūm,
room; scealt, shaft; sēam, seam; stōl, stool; storm,
storm; strēam, stream; torn, grief; þanc, thought; þeoh,
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 pæþ, path; stæþ, staff;
hweel, whale, see §§ 54, 57. māþ, kinsman, pl. māgas
§ 120) beside māgas with ā from the singular.

§ 337. Like meæh are declined eaþ, temple; eolh, elk;
fearh, pig, boar; healh, corner; sealh, willow; seolh, seal
(animal); wealh, 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. Æo. horh (also neut.), dirt, 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
### Nouns

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 i, 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*. *bridels*, *bridle*; *fætels*, *vessel*, *tub*; for other examples of nouns ending in -els, see § 598. *æbeling*, *prince*; *cnæpling*, *youth*; *gædeling*, *companion*; *lytling*, *child*; for other examples of nouns ending in -ling, see § 607.

§ 340. Like *engel* are declined *æled*, *fire*; *angel*, *fish-hook*; *æpum*, *son-in-law*; *bealdor*, *prince*; *bietel*, *mallet*; *blöstm*, *blossom*; *bolster* (also neut.), *bolster*; *bös, bösom*; *brêmel*, *bramble*; *dœofol*, *dœvil*; *dryhten*, *lord*; *ealdor*, *prince*; *finger*, *finger*; *hleahotor*, *laughter*; *mâpum*, *treasure*; *morgen*, *morning*; *öfer*, *shore*; *þymel*, *thimble*, *thumbstall*; *wæstm*, *growth*.

*botm*, *bottom*; *ellen* (also neut.), *zeal*, *courage*, *strength*; *fæpm*, *embrace*; *fugol*, *bird*, *fowl*; *hæg(e)l*, *hagol*, *hail*; *ofen*, *oven*; *nægl*, *nail*; *reg(e)l*, *rain*; *þeg(e)l*, *thane*.

But nouns like *bulluc*, *bullock*; *cassuc*, *sedge*; *langop*, *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*; *darop*, *dart*, *spear*; *eodor*, *enclosure*; *eofor*, *boar*; *hafoc*, *haefoc*, *hawk*; *hamor*, *hammer*; *heorot*, *stag*, *hart*;
metod, Creator; rodor, sky; sadol, saddle; stapol, pullar; punor, thunder. On the variation of the vowel in the medial syllable, see § 222.

§ 342. Neuter.

Sing.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>word, word</td>
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<td>hof, dwelling</td>
<td>fæt, vessel</td>
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Plur.

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<td>Dat.</td>
<td>wordum</td>
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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 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 är, brass; bæl, funeral pile; bæn, bone; bean, child; bæor, beer; blöd, blood; bold, dwelling; bord, board; brœost, breast; corn, corn; dœor, wild animal; dœst, dust; fæm, foam; fearn, fern; feax, hair; fleax, flax; folc, folk; gœar, year; gearn, yarn; gield, payment; gold, gold; hord (also masc.), treasure, hoard; horn, horn; hors, horse; hrœod, reed; hrœis, twig; hœs, house; is, ice; lœam, clay; land, land; lœaf, leaf; lœan, reward; lœop, song, poem; lœc, body; lœn, flax, linen; mœn, crime; mœd, mind, courage; morp, murder; nœat, ox; nest, nest; nœp, enmity; sœr, pain; scœap, sheep; seax, knife; sweord, sword; tœl, tool; þing, thing;
weorc, work; weorp, worth, price; wīf, woman. And similarly words with a prefix, as behāt, promise; gebeorc, barking. See § 259 on nouns whose stems ended in double consonants: fell, skin; full, cup; toll, tax, toll.

§ 344. Like hof are declined broc, affliction; broh, 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 gebod, command. geat (§ 72), gate, pl. gatu beside geatu with ea from the singular.

Nouns which have e, i in the stem originally had u-, o/a-umlaut in the plural, as gebeodu, prayers, gen. gebeoda, dat. gebeodum; and similarly geset, seat, dwelling; gesprec, speaking; see § 48. cliofu, cliffs, gen. cliofa, dat. cliofum; and similarly brim, sea; hlid, lid; lim, limb; scip, ship; twig, twig; geflit, strife; gewrit, writing, letter. friþ (OHG. fridu), peace, and lip (Goth. lipus), limb, were originally masc. u-stems. See §§ 101-2.

§ 345. Like fæt are declined bæc, back; bæp, bath; blæc, ink; blæd, leaf; bræs, brass; cræt, cart; dæl, dale; fæc, period of time, space; fær, journey; fnæd, fnæs, fringe; gærs from older *græs, grass; glæs, glass; græf, grave, cave; hæf, sea; sæp, sap; scræf, cave; swæp, track; træf, tent; bæc, thatch, roof; wæd, water, sea; wæl, slaughter. See §§ 54, 57.

§ 346. fīah, fraud, gen. fīas, dat. fī; þēoh, thigh, gen. þēos, dat. þēo, pl. þēo, gen. þēom; pleoh, danger, gen. þēos, dat. þēo, pl. þēo; holh, hollow, hole, gen. holh, dat. hōle, pl. holh, see § 149. feoh, cattle, originally belonged to the u-declension (§ 399).

§ 347. Sing.

Nom. Acc. tungol, star wæter, water hēafod, head
Gen. tangles wæteres hēafdes
Dat. tungle wætere hēafde
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 braegen, 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 clīwen, clīwen, ball of thread, clew; māden, mægden, maiden; nīten, animal.
b. ja-stems.

Masculine.

§ 351.

Sing.

Nom.  Acc.
secg, man
ende, cud

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, cud, 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.

§ 353. The j (written i, g, ig; also ige before a guttural vowel, § 268) remained medially after r preceded by a short vowel, as nom. acc. here, army; gen. heries, herges, heriges; dat. herie, herge, herige; pl. nom. acc. herias, hergas, herigas, herigeas; gen. heria, heriga, herigea; dat. herium, herigum. Forms without j also occur occasionally, as gen. heres, dat. here, pl. heras.
§ 354. Like ende are declined esne, servant; hierde, shepherd; hwæte, wheat; læce, physician; mæce, sword; and the nomina agentis, as bæcere, baker; bidere, petitioner; böcere, scribe; sädere, 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) wītu 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 wītu, 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. 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 ārende, errand; fēpe, walking; power of motion; ierfe, inheritance; ierre, anger; rīce, kingdom; rỳne, mystery; stiele, steel; wāge, cup; nouns with the prefix ge-, as gefilde, plain; gefylce, troop; getieme, yoke (of oxen), team; getimbre, building; gemicerce, boundary; gewāde, dress, clothing; gēpiode, gēpēode, language. flicce, prim. Germanic *flikkja-, flitch; styccce, prim. Germanic *stukkja-, piece. See § 270, Note, on nouns like hiēg (Goth. hawi), hay, hiēw, hīw (Goth. hiwl), shape, appearance, glīg, glīw (Goth. *gliwi), glee, gen. hiēges, hiewes (hiowes), glīges, glīwes.

§ 358. Like wēsten are declined fæsten(n), fortress, cp. § 600; bærnet(t), arson; nierwet(t), narrowness; sāwet(t), sowing; þēowet(t), slavery; for further examples, see § 604. To this class probably also belong the diminutives in -incel, which generally syncopate the e in the inflected forms, as cofincel, little chamber, gen. cofincles; and similarly haeftincel, slave; hūsincel, little house; scipincel, little ship; sülincel, small furrow; for further examples, see § 606. fipere, wing.
c. wa-stems.

§ 359. Masculine.

Sing.
Nom. Acc.  bearu, -o, grove  þēo, servant
Gen.      bearwes          þeowes
Dat.      bearwe           þeowe

Plur.
Nom. Acc.  bearwas          þeowas
Gen.      bearwa            þeowa
Dat.      bearwum           þeowum

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), þēo. 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 þēow, snāw beside older þēo, snā. And then from þēow there was often formed a new gen. þeowes beside the regular form þeowes (§ 265). On forms like gen. bearu wes beside bearwes, see § 220.

§ 380. Like þēo, þēow are declined bēaw, gadfly; dēaw (also neut.), dew; lārēow from lād + þēow, teacher; lāttēow from lād + þēow, leader; þēaw, custom; brīw (Goth. *breiws), pottage, porridge; giw, gēow, griffin, vulture; īw, īow, ēow, yew; sliw (Goth. *sleiws), tench (a fish).
§ 361. Neuter.

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bealu, -o, evil</td>
<td>cnēo, knee</td>
<td>cneowes</td>
<td>cneowe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bealwes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bealwe</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bealu, -o</td>
<td>cnēo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bealwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bealwum</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The neuter ََ-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.

§ 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 ő-declension.

§ 364. The ő-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 ő-declension is divided into pure ő-stems, jō-stems, and wō-stems.
**Accidence**

a. Pure o-stems.

§ 365. **Sing.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>giefu, -o, gift</td>
<td>ār, honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>giefe</td>
<td>āre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>giefe</td>
<td>āre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>giefe</td>
<td>āre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plur.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>giefe, -a</td>
<td>āre, -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>giefa, (-ena)</td>
<td>āra, (-na, -ena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>giefum</td>
<td>ārum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *gebō, acc. *gebōn (cp. Gr. χάροι), gen. *gebōz (Goth. gibōs), dat. *gebai; 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 -o 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. 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; copu, disease; cwalu, violent death; daru, injury; denu, valley; faru, journey; hogu, solicitude; laçu, invitation; lufu (also weak), love; nafu, nave (of wheel); notu, use; racu, account, narrative; rudi, 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 är are declined a large number of nouns, as æsp, aspen-tree; bád, pledge; bær, bier; beorc, birch-tree; bót, advantage; bröd, brood; eax, axis; eaxl, shoulder; fœl, file; gâd, goad; glöf, glove; heall, hall; heord, herd, flock; hwil, space of time; lâd, way, journey; lâf, remnant; lær, learning; lêod, nation; lind, linden, shield; mearc, boundary; mêd, meord, reward; mund, hand; râd, ride, riding; reord, voice, language; röd, cross; rûn, secret; scand, disgrace; scofl, shovel; sealf, ointment; sorg, sorrow; stund, period of time, hour; tang, tongs; þearf, need; þêod, nation; þrâg, time, period; wamb, stomach; weard, protection; wund, wound; &c. brû, eyebrow, has nom. acc. pl. brûa beside brûwa, gen. brûna, dat. brûum beside brûwum.

§ 368. Sing.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>firen, crime</td>
<td>sāwol, soul</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>firene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>firene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>firene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
<td>firene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ädl, disease; ceaster, citv, fortress; frōfor (also masc.), consolation; nēdl, needle; wōcor, increase, usuray.

§ 371. Nom. strengpu, -o, strength learnung, learning
Acc. Gen. Dat. strengpe learnunge, -a

The fem. abstract nouns ending in prim. Germanic -ipō 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 är (§ 367). At a still later period the nom. with and without the final -o came to be used for all cases. The abstract nouns in -ung regularly syncopated the final -u in the nom. (§ 216).

§ 372. Like strengpu, -o, strengp are declined cypi, cypi(p), native country; fēhp(u), feud; gesālp(u), prosperity;
Nouns

hlîewp(u), shelter; mægð(u), family, kindred; þieft(u), theft; wræþp(u), anger, wrath; for further examples, see § 613.

§ 373. Like leornung are declined Æfnung, evening; Æring, dawn; gehafung, consent; leasung, falsehood; rihtung, direction; swinsung, melody; wēnung, hope, expectation; for further examples, see § 615.

b. jō-stems.

§ 374. Sing.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hen(n)</td>
<td>henne</td>
<td>henne</td>
<td>henne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gierd, rod</td>
<td>gierde</td>
<td>gierde</td>
<td>gierde</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>henne</td>
<td>henna</td>
<td>hennum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gierde, -a</td>
<td>gierda</td>
<td>gierdum</td>
<td></td>
<td></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 ó-stems except that the gen. pl. never has the ending -(e)na (§ 365). On the final double consonants in the nom. singular, see § 259.

§ 375. Like hen(n) are declined benn, wound; brycg, bridge; bytt, flagon; cribb, crib; crycc, crutch; ecg, edge; hell, hell; nytt, use, profit; sciell, shell; secg, sword; sibb, relationship; slecg, sledge-hammer; synn, sin; syll, sill, threshold; wynn, joy. On hæcc, gate, hatch; sæcc, strife, see § 55, Note 3.

§ 376. Like gierd are declined æx, axe; bend (also masc. and neut.), band; blīps, bliss, bliss; hild, war, battle; hind, doe; līps, liss, favour, kindness; milts, mercy, kind-
In originally trisyllabic words the final -u in the nom. singular also regularly disappeared after the medial syllable which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§§ 216, 254). The nouns ending in -en(n) sometimes took -u again in the nom. sing. after the analogy of the short ō-stems. In late OE. the double consonants were often simplified in the inflected forms.

§ 378. Like byrpen(n) are declined candel (Lat. candēla), candle; cnēoris(s), generation; hægtes(s), witch; biren, she-bear; fyxen, she-fox; gyden, goddess; ṣyften, female servant; wiergen, she-wolf; byrgen, tomb; for further examples, see § 599. cōnes(s), coolness; swiftnes(s), swiftness; prīnes(s), trinity; for further examples, see § 609. rāden(n), arrangement, rule; hūsrāden(n), household; for further examples, see § 610.

Note.—A few words simplified the double consonants at an early period and then added -u in the nom. singular after the analogy of the short ō-stems, as hyrnetu beside hyrnet, hornet; ielfetu, swan.

c. wō-stems.

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

Plur.
Nom. Acc. beadwe, -a mādwe, -a
Gen. beadwa mādwā
Dat. beadwum mādwum
In the nom. singular the prim. Germanic ending -wō regularly became -wu (§ 214), then the w disappeared before the -u (§ 266). The -u remained after consonants preceded by an original short vowel, but disappeared after consonants preceded by a long vowel (§ 215). When the -u was preceded by a it combined with it to form a diphthong, as clēa from *cla(w)u, claw, prēa from *pra(w)u, threat (§ 75), pl. nom. acc. clēa, dat. clēam from *cla(w)um; beside the regular nom. sing. forms clēa, prēa new nominatives clawu, prawu were made from the stem-form of the oblique cases. The final -u also regularly disappeared after long vowels and diphthongs (§ 215), but 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 māed are declined blōd(es)lēs, blood-letting, bleeding; lēs, pasture.

§ 3. Feminine Abstract Nouns in -ī.

§ 382. This declension comprises the fem. abstract nouns formed from adjectives. The stem originally ended in -in, and the nom. in -ī, cp. Goth. mikilei, greatness, diupei, depth, formed from mikils, great, diups, deep, gen. mikileins, diupeins (weak declension). The -in, -ī were shortened to -in, -i in prehistoric OE. (§§ 211, 214), and then the i caused umlaut of the stem-vowel. But already in the oldest period of the language 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 | strenge, -a; -u, -o
Acc. strenge, -u, -o | 
Gen. " | strenga
Dat. " | strengum

§ 383. Like strengu are declined bieldu, boldness; bierhtu, brightness; engu, narrowness; fyllu, fullness; hēlu, health; hētu, heat; hyldu, favour; ieldu, age; menigu, mengu, multitude; oferfierru, great distance; snytru, wisdom; ðiestru, 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. mase. and fem. Lat. -is, Gr. -ις, acc. -im, -ιτ; neut. nom. acc. -e, -i).

a. Masculine.

§ 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

Goth. anstái), loc. *gastī from Indg. *ghostēi; Plur. nom. *gastiz older -ijiz (Goth. gasteis), acc. *gastinz (Goth. gastins), gen. *gasti(j)ōn, 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 locative ending -i (§ 334, Note). 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; Norphemre, Northumbrians; Seaxe (gen. Seaxna), Saxons; ielde, men; ielfe, elves; lode, lose, people. The ending -i(j)ōn regularly became -i(j)a 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; bye, son; ciele, cold; cyme, advent; cyre, choice; cwide, saying, speech; dene, valley; drepe, stroke, blow; dryre, fall; dyne, din; flyge, flight; gripe, grasp; gryre, terror; gyte, pouring forth; hæle (orig. a cons. stem, see § 414), man, hero; hefe, weight; hege, hedge;
hrine, touch; hryre, fall; hyge, mind; hype, hip; hyse (pl. hys(s)as), youth, son; ile (pl. il(l)as), sole of the foot; lyge, falsehood; lyre, loss; mere (orig. neut.), lake, pool; mete (pl. mettas), food; myne, memory; ryge, rye; ryne, course; scyfe, shoe; scyte, shooting; sele, hall; sice, sigh; slege, stroke, blow; slide, slip; slite, slit; snide, incision; stæpe, step; stede, place; stice, stitch; stige, ascent; stride, stride; swyle, swelling; pyle, orator; wlite, brightness, beauty. beorscipe, 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 ārist (also fem.), resurrection; æsc, 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; glæm, gleam; gylt, guilt; hliep, leap; hlyst (also fem.), sense of hearing; hwyrfte, turning, circuit; hyht, hope; læst, track; léc, sight, looking at; lieg, flame; list, skill, cunning; lyft (also fem.), air; mæw, seagull; pliht, danger, peril; sæl (also fem.), time; scenc, cup, draught; slieht, slaughter; smiec, smoke; stenc, odour; steng, pole; stiell, leap; streng, string; swēg, sound, noise; swynt, death; tyht, training, instruction; pyrs, giant; wæg, wave; wiell, spring; wielm, boiling; wrenc, trick, stratagem; wyrm, worm.

§ 388. sæ, prim. Germanic *saiwiz, sea, gen. sæs, dat. sæ, pl. nom. acc. sæs, gen. *sæwa, dat. sæm beside sæwum (a new formation); also fem. gen. dat. sæ beside sæwe; drý, magician, gen. drýs, dat. drý, pl. nom. acc. drýas, dat. drýum. On the contracted forms, see §§ 139, 142.
b. Feminine.

§ 389. Sing. Plur.
Nom. Acc. cwēn, queen cwēne
Gen. cwēne cwēna
Dat. cwēne cwēnum

The masc. and fem. i-stems were originally declined alike in the sing. and plural. The nom. pl. and the whole of the sing. are regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms, as sing. *kwāniz, *kwānin, *kwānaiz, *kwānai, nom. pl. *kwāniz. 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; ansēn, face; bēn, prayer; benc, bench; brŷd, bride; cŷf, tub; cyst, choice; dǣd, deed; dryht, troop; ēst, favour; fierd, army; fŷst, fist; glēd, live coal; hās, command; hŷd, hide, skin; hyf, hive; hyrst, ornament; meaht, miht, might, power; nied, need; scyld, guilt; spēd, success; sŷl, pillar; tŷd, time; prŷp, strength; wǣd, garment; wēn, hope, expectation; wist, sustenance, food; wyrd, fate; wyrt, vegetable, herb; ūst, storm. duguþ, strength, geoguþ, youth, ides, woman, which originally belonged to this declension, went over into the ō-declension.

Note.—ā, prim. Germanic *aiwiz, divine law, generally remains uninflected in the sing. and in the nom. acc. plural, but beside the gen. dat. sing. ā there also exists 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; grīn, snare, noose;
Oferhygd, pride; wiht, wuht, thing, creature; nouns with the prefix ge-, as gebyrd, birth; gecynd, nature, kind; gehygd, mind; gemynd, memory; gesceaft, creation; gebeaht, thought; gebyld, 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
Dat.   speres

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: fæsc, flesh; fīes, fleece; hæl, health; hilt (also masc.), hilt; lān, loan; sweng, blow.
gefēg, joining, joint; gegrynd, plot of ground; gehield, watching, protection; gehlýd, noise; gehnäst, -āst, 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, -ū).

a. Masculine.

§ 395. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>Sunu, -o, son</th>
<th>Feld, field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>Suna</td>
<td>Felda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>Suna</td>
<td>Felda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom. Acc.</th>
<th>Suna</th>
<th>Felda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>Suna</td>
<td>Felda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>Sunum</td>
<td>Feldum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *sunuz (Goth. sunus), acc. *sunun (Goth. sunu), gen. *sunauz (Goth. sunáus), dat. *suniwai (*sunwai), loc. *sunau (Goth. sunáu); Plur. nom. *suniwiz (Goth. sunjus), acc. *sununz (Goth. sununs), gen. *suniwōn (*sunwōn), dat. *sunumiz. The endings -uz, -un regularly became -u in prehistoric OE., and then disappeared after long stems (§§ 211, 215), but remained after short stems and later became -o. -auz regularly became -a (§ 217). The OE. dat. sing. is originally the locative. 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; dēað (Goth. dāupa), death; feorn (also neut.), life; flōd, flood; grund, ground; lust, pleasure, desire; scield, shield; þorn, thorn; beofor, beaver; esol, ass; hungor, hunger; fiscop, fishing; huntoþ, hunting; for further examples, see § 595.

§ 396. Like sunu are declined bregu, prince, ruler; heoru, sword; lagu, sea, flood; magu, son, man; među, međa (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; sæað, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duru, -o, door</td>
<td>duru</td>
<td>dura</td>
<td>dura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand, hand</td>
<td>handa</td>
<td>handa</td>
<td>handum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The masculine and feminine u-stems were originally declined alike. In the short stems the nom. acc. sing. was also sometimes used for the dat. sing. and nom. acc. plural; and the gen. and dat. sing. often had -e after the analogy of the short ō-stems. Beside the regular gen. and dat sing. dura, there also occurs dyre, dyru with i-umlaut after the analogy of the i-declension. In the long stems the nom. acc. sing. was sometimes used for the gen. and dative. To the short stems also belongs nosu, nose; and to the long stems: cweorn (also ō-declension), Goth. -qairnus, hand-mill; flōr (also masc.), floor; and originally also cin(n) (Goth. kinnus, Gr. γέρως), 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. faihu), 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(un)
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. aūhs-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 corresponding prim. Germanic forms. The regular form of the gen. and dat. sing. would be *gumen, *gymen, but OE. had levelled out the -an of the acc. sing. before the period of i-umlaut. The gen. pl. can be either from *gumanōn with a from the sing. and the nom. plural, or from West Germanic *gumōnōn (§§ 217, 222). The dat. pl. was formed direct from gum-+um, the ending of the a-stems and the other consonantal stems, or else it is from West Germanic *gumō(n)miz. Beside the regular gen. pl. ending -ena, the forms -ana, -ona sometimes occur. The e in -ena was generally syncopated after long stems in poetry and in the names of peoples. 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 dēma, judge, cīta, kite, becca, pickaxe, brytta, distributor; prince, from prim. Germanic *dömjō, kūtjō, *bakjō, *brutjō.

§ 401. Like guma are declined a large number of nouns, as ācumba, oakum; āra, strigil; ārendra, messenger; āglæca, monster; anda, envy; andsaca, adversary;anga, goad; apa, ape; assa, ass; bana, slayer; bēna, suppliant;
§ 402. Like frēa are declined flēa, flea; gefā, foe; (ge)fēa, joy; lēo, lion; rā, roe; twēo, doubt; wēa, woe; and the plural Swēon, Swedes. See § 139.
§ 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

The feminine n-stems were originally declined like the masculine, as in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, but already in the prehistoric period of the Germanic languages, they became differentiated in some of the cases by partly generalizing one or other of the forms, thus the nom. sing. originally ended in -ō or -ōn in both genders, the West Germanic languages restricted -ō to the masculine and -ōn to the feminine, but in Gothic the reverse took place. In the fem. Goth. O.Icel. OS. and OHG. levelled out the long vowel of the nom. into the oblique cases, whereas OE. had the same forms as the masculine except in the nom. sing. e from prim. Germanic -ōn (§ 217). The general remarks made in § 400 concerning the masculine n-stems also apply to the feminine.

The fem. nouns with short stems began to form their nom. sing. after the analogy of the short ē-stems (§ 365) already in early OE., as cinu, chink, spadu, spade, beside cine, spade.

§ 404. Like tunge are declined ādre, artery, vein; sêmesse, alms; sēsc, inquiry; ampere, sorrel; ar(e)we, arrow; asse, she-ass; asce, ash, cinders; āpexe, lizard; bœcestre (also masc.), baker (for other examples containing the suffix -estre, see § 609); bêce, beech-tree; belle,
§§ 405-6] Nouns

bell; berige, berry; bieme, trumpet; bicce, bitch; binde, head-band; blædre, bladder; blæse, blase, firebrand, torch; burne, stream, brook; byrne, corslet; canne, can, cup; céace, cheek, jaw; ceole, throat; cirice, church; clugge, bell; cræwe, crow; cuppe, cup; cuslyppe, -sloppe, cowslip; cwene, woman; docce, dock (plant); dûce, duck; eorpe, earth; fæcelc, torch; fałe, aunt; fîele, fiddle; fĩoge, fly; fîete, cream; folde, earth; hacele, cloak; hearpe, harp; heofone, heaven; heorte (orig. neut.), heart; hlæfdige, lady; hrûse, earth; loppe, flea; mæge, mæge, kinswoman; meowle, maiden; miere, mare; mōdrige, maternal aunt; molde, earth; more, parsnip; moþhe, moth; nædre, snake; ösle, ousel; panne, pan; pere, pear; pîpe, pîpe; pirige, pear-tree; pise, pea; racente, chain; seohhe, sieve; side, side; slyppe, paste; smîppe, smirky; sunne, sun; swealwe, swallow; swipe, scourge; þrote, throat; þyrne, thornbush; üle, owl; wæcce (§ 55, Note 3), vigil; wāse, mud; wicce, witch; wise, way, manner; wice, wuce, week; wulle, wool; wuduwe, widow; ýce, toad, frog.

§ 405. Like bēo are declined cēo, jackdaw, chough; flā, arrow; sēo, pupil of the eye; slā, slāh, sloe; tā, toe; þō, clay. See § 139.

c. Neuter.

§ 406. Sing. 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 -ōn in the Indg. parent language. This was changed in prim. Germanic into -ōnō with ō from the neuter a-stems. -ōnō regularly became -ōna in Goth., as 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.

1. Monosyllabic Consonant Stems.

a. Masculine.

§ 408. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fōt, foot</td>
<td>*fōtun</td>
<td>fēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fōtes</td>
<td>*fōtaz, dat., properly loc.</td>
<td>fōta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fēt</td>
<td>*fōtī</td>
<td>fōtum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. fōt for older *fōs(s) (Gr. Dor. πός) with t from the inflected forms (§ 240), and similarly tōp for older *tōs(s), acc. *fōtun (Goth. fōtu), gen. *fōtaz, dat., properly loc., *fōtī; 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.

§ 409. Like fōt are declined tōp, tooth; man(n) (beside manna, acc. mannan, n-declension), man; and wīfman, wimman, woman.

b. Feminine.

§ 410. Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bōc, book</td>
<td>hnutu, nut</td>
<td>hnuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēc; bōce</td>
<td>hnte</td>
<td>hnyte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēc</td>
<td>hnyte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōca</td>
<td>hnuter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōcum</td>
<td></td>
<td>hnutum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The OE. forms of bōc are regularly developed from prim. Germanic: Sing. nom. *bōks, acc. *bōkun, gen. *bōkaz, dat. *bōki; Plur. nom. *bōkiz, acc. *bōkunz, gen. *bōkōn, dat. *bōkumiz. The gen. sing. bōce was a new formation after the analogy of the ō-stems, and bēc is the dat. used for the gen. The regular nom. sing. of hnutu would be *hnuss (§ 240), hnutu (prim. Germ. *xnutun) 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 *xnuti, *xnutiz, the final -i (later -e) being retained after a short stem (§ 215).

In nouns belonging to this class the stem-vowels ā, ō, u, ū were regularly umlauted to ã, ē (Nth. ē), y, ĭ in the dat. sing. and nom. acc. plural. In nearly all the nouns belonging to this class, beside the gen. sing. with umlaut there exists a form ending in -e without umlaut which was made after the analogy of the ō-stems. In late OE. the dat. sing. was often like the nominative.

§ 411. Like bōc are declined āc, oak; brōc, trousers; burg, city (gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. byrig beside byrg, § 220); also declined like cwēn (§ 389), but without i-umlaut); cū, cow (also gen. sing. cūe, cūs; nom. acc. pl. cŷ, cŷe, gen. cūa, cūna, cŷna); dung, prison; gāt, goat; gōs, goose; grūt, coarse meal, groats; lūs, louse; meol(u)j, milk; mūs, mouse; neah, 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); wliōh, fringe.

§ 412. Like hnutu are declined hnutu, niht; studu, stūlu, pillar.
c. Neuter.

§ 413. The only remnant of this class is scrūd, garment, dat. scrūyd; gen. scrūdes and late OE. dat. scrūde were formed after the analogy of the neuter a-stems, and also the nom. acc. pl. scrūd; gen. pl. scrūda, dat. scrūdum.


§ 414. Of the nouns which originally belonged to this declension only four have been preserved: masc. hælep (OHG. helid), hæle, hero, man, mōnap (Goth. mēnöps), month; fem. mæg(e)p (Goth. magæps), maiden; neut. ealu, ale. hælep, hæle, mōnap, and mæg(e)p originally had the same endings as the prim. Germanic forms of fōt (§ 408) and bōc (§ 410). The p was reintroduced into the nom. sing. from the inflected forms. The old nom. acc. sing. has been preserved in ealu. The gen. and dat. sing. of hælep and mōnap were formed on analogy with the a-declension; and beside the nom. acc. pl. hælep, mōnap, there also exist hælepas, mōn(e)pas. Those forms which did not originally have umlaut were generalized in OE. They are declined as follows:—

Sing.

Nom. Acc. hæle(hælep)(mōnap) mæg(e)p ealu
Gen. (hælepes) (mōn(e)pes) mæg(e)p ealop
Dat. (hælep) (mōn(e)pe) mæg(e)p ealop

Plur.

Nom. Acc. hælep mōnap mæg(e)p
Gen. hælepa mōn(e)pa mæg(e)pa ealepa
Dat. hælepum mōn(e)pum mæg(e)hum

3. Stems in -r.

§ 415. To this class belong the nouns of relationship: fæder, father; brōpor, brother; mōdor, mother; dohtor, daughter; sweostor, sister; and the collective plurals,
§ 415] Nouns 195

gébrō̂pör, gébrō̂pru, bréthren; gesweöstor, -trú, -tra, sisters.

Sing.
Nom. Acc. fæder brō̂pör mó̄dor
    Gen. fæder, -ères brō̂pör mó̄dor
    Dat. fæder brē̂per mó̄der

Plur.
Nom. Acc. fæderas brō̂pör, -prü mó̄dor, -dru, -dra
    Gen. fædera brō̂pra mó̄dra
    Dat. fæderum brō̂prum mó̄drum

Sing.
Nom. Acc. dohtor swestor
    Gen. dohtor swestor
    Dat. dehter swestor

Plur.
Nom. Acc. dohtor, -trú, -tra swestor
    Gen. dohtra sweostra
    Dat. dohtrum sweostrum

The prim. Germanic forms of fæder were: Sing. nom. *fǣðer (Gr. πατήρ), acc. *fǣðerun (Gr. πατέρα), gen. *fǣðras (Gr. πατρός, Lat. patris), dat. *fǣðri (Gr. πατρί); Plur. nom. *fǣðeriz (Gr. πατέρες), acc. *fǣðrunz (cp. Goth. brō̂pruns), gen. *fǣðrōn (Gr. πατρῶν), dat. *fǣðrumiz (cp. Goth. brō̂prum). The OE. nom. acc. and gen. sing. fæder is normally developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. On the gen. fæder from *fǣðras, see § 219; fǣderes was formed on analogy with the a-stems. The prim. Germanic pl. forms (except the acc.) regularly became *fǣder, fǣdra, fǣdrum, 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. *fǣder became fǣð(e)ras on analogy with the a-stems.

The prim. Germanic case endings of brō̂por, mó̄dor, dohtor, and swestor were the same as those of fæder.
except that brōpor and sweostor having originally the chief accent on the stem had -raz in the gen. singular. The dat. forms *brōpri, *mōdri, *doxtri (older *duxtri) with o from the nom. acc. and gen., *sвестri (older *swistri) with e from the nom. acc. and gen., regularly became brēper, mēder, dehter, sweostor (cp. § 219). In late OE. the dat. mēder, dehter were often used for the gen. and vice versa. The gen. sing. *brōpraz, *mōdras, *doxtras, *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. § 222), 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, pl. *swesoriz, Indg. *swesores; the t was developed between the s and r in the gen. sing. *swestraz, pl. *swestrōn, and then became generalized (§ 240).

gebrōpor and gesweostor were originally neuter collective nouns and were declined like wīte (§ 355), whence the plural endings gebrōpru, gesweostru, -tra, which were afterwards extended to the plural of mōdor and dohtor.

4. The Masculine Stems in -nd.

§ 416. Sing.

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<td>frēond, friend</td>
<td>wigend, warrior</td>
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<td>wigend, -e, -as</td>
<td>frēonda</td>
<td>wigendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frēondum</td>
<td>wigendum</td>
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</table>
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 *friōndi older *frijōndi; and the nom. pl. friēnd is also from *friōndi older *frijōndiz (Goth. frijōnds). The nom. and gen. pl. endings -e, -ra are adjectival (§ 424).

§ 417. Like frēond are declined fēond, enemy; tēond, accuser; the compound noun gōddōnd (pl. -dōnd, beside -dēnd), benefactor; and the collective plurals gefiēnd, enemies; gefriēnd, friends, which were originally neuter collective nouns and declined like wite (§ 355).

§ 418. Like wīgend are declined āgend, owner; be-swicend, deceiver; ēhtend, persecutor; hālend, Saviour; 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. Ger-
manic forms of a word like lamb were: Sing. nom. acc. *lambaz, gen. *lambetzaz, *lambiziz, dat. *lambizi; Plur. nom. acc. *lambōzō, gen. *lambetzōn, dat. *lambetzumiz. 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, hlāw, hete, sige beside lamb, gāst, hlāw. 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, beside dōg (Nth.), hāl. All the nouns which underwent these new formations passed into other declensions partly with change of gender also. Thus, gāst, gāst, spirit, breath, sigor, victory, went into the masc. a-declension; hlāw, hlāw, mound, hill, hrā(w), hrā(w), also neut., corpse, carrion, into the masc. wa-declension; dōg (Nth.), day, ge- ban(n), summons, gefōg, joining, joint, geheald, keeping, custody, gehnāst, conflict, strife, gewealc, rolling, sæl, hall, dōgor, day, ēagor, flood, tide, ēar, ear of corn, hālor, salvation, health, hrīper, hrīper, ox, salor, hall, stulor, theft, pl. hæteru, clothes, into the neut. a-declension; bere, barley, ege, fear, hete, hate, mene, necklace, sige, victory into the masc. i-declension; oferslege, lintel, orlege, fate, sife, sieve, spere, spear, flæsc, flesh, flies, fleece, hāl, health, salvation, hilt, hilt, læn, loan, sweng, blow, into the neuter i-declension. 

§ 420. The few remaining nouns formed their gen. and
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. blāc, black, frōd, wise, old, hālig, holy, beside the proper names Blaca, Frōda, Hālga. In like manner Goth. blīnds, OE. blīnd, blind, beside Goth. OE. blīnda, which originally meant, the blind man; Goth. ahma sa weitha, 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, Wulfmār the Young, OHG. Ludowig ther snello, Ludwig the Brave, cp. NHG. Karl der Grosse. At a later period, but still in prim. Germanic, the two kinds of adjectives—strong and weak—became differentiated in use. When the one and when the other form was used in OE. is a question of syntax. There were adjectival n-stems in the parent Indg. language, but they did not have vocalic stems beside them as is the case in the Germanic languages. eall, all, genōg, enough, manig, many, and ōper, second, were always declined according to the strong declension. Nearly all other adjectives can be declined according to either declension.

The strong form is used predicatively in the positive and superlative degrees; and when the adjective is used attributively without any other defining word, as wæs sēo fēmne geong, the woman was young; þā menn sindon
Adjectives

§§ 422–3]  

gode, the men are good; þus wæron þæ latestan fyr-

meste, thus were the last, first. In the vocative the weak

form exists beside the strong, as þu læofa dryhten, thou
dear Lord; þu riht cyning, thou just king.

The weak form is used after the definite article, and

after demonstrative and possessive pronouns, as se ofer-
mőda cyning, the proud king; þæs ēadigan weres, of the
blessed man; þæs ealda mann, this old man; on þissum
andwearde dæge, on this present day; mīn læofa sunu,
my dear son; þurh þīne æpelan hand, through thy noble
hand. In poetry the weak form often occurs where in
prose the strong form would be used.

Note.—When the same adjective refers both to masc. and

fem. beings, it is put in the neut. plural, as Wit þus baru ne-
magon būtū ætsonme wesan, We (Adam and Eve) may not

both together be thus here naked; cp. Goth. wēsun garafhta ba in

andwaipja gups, O.Icel. þau vūro rētōt bēpe fyr gupe, 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.

1. 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-, o-declensions. The strong
declension is divided into pure a-, o-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-, o-stems in the masc. and fem. nom. singular and the
neut. nom. acc. singular.
§ 424.

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. *blindæra, *blindera, with æ, e from the masc. and neut. gen. singular. This form then came to be used for the feminine also. The remaining forms require no comment, as they are regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms.

§ 425. On the interchange between æ and a in the declension of glæd, see § 54, Note 3. Like glæd are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with short stems, as bær, bare; blæc, black; hræd, quick; hwæt, brisk, active; læt, slow; smæl, tender, small; sæd, satiated; vær, wary, cautious; dol, foolish; fram, active, bold; frec, bold; frum, original, first; gram, angry, fierce; hol, hollow; hnot, bald; til, good, useful; trum, firm, strong; wan, wanting, deficient; ânic, solitary (for other examples, see § 684); angsum, troublesome (for other examples, see § 686).

§ 426. Like blind are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with long stems, as beald, bold; beorht, bright; blâc, pale; brûn, brown; brâd, broad; ceald, cold; cûp, known, familiar; dêad, dead; dêaf, deaf; dêop, deep; deorc, dark; dumb, dumb; eald, old; earc, cowardly; earm, poor; forhþ, fearful, timid; frôd, wise, old; fûl, foul; fûs, ready; gefôg (gefôh), joint; genôg (genôh), enough; geong, young; georn, cager; gnêaþ, niggardly; gôd, good; græg,
grey; great, large; hāl, whole, sound; hār, hoary; hās, hoarse; healt, halt, lame; hēan, lowly, despised; hold, gracious; hrōr, active, brave; hwit, white; lang, long; lāp, hateful; lēas, free from, faithless; lēof, dear; ranc, proud; rēad, red; rīht, right, straight; rōf, brave, strong; rōt, glad, cheerful; rūm, roomy; sār, sore; scarp, 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; pearl, severe; wēt, wet; wāc, weak; wealt, unsteady; wearm, warm; wīd, wide; wīs, wise; wλanc, proud; wōd, mad; wrāst, 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; ōnfeald, single; ārfæst, virtuous; ārlēas, impious, see Adjectival Suffixes, §§ 623, 633.

§ 427.

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<tr>
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<td>hēah, high</td>
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<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hēa(n)ne</td>
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hēanne, hēarra, hēarre were due to the assimilation of hn and hr; and hēane, hēara, hēare arose from the regu-
lar loss of h before n, r (§ 329, 2). In hēaum the u was restored after the analogy of forms like gladum, blindum. The instr., masc. and fem. nom. pl., and fem. acc. singular hēa was from older *hēahe; and the neut. nom. acc. pl. and fem. nom. singular from older *hēahu; masc. and neut. gen. sing. from *hēahes. See § 139. Late OE. forms like gen. hēages, dat. hēage, nom. pl. hēage beside older hēas, hēa(u)m, hēa were formed after the analogy of such words as gen. gefōges, genōges beside nom. gefōh, genōh (§ 323).

§ 428. Like hēah are declined fāh, hostile; flāh, deceitful; hrēoh, rude, rough, wild; nēah, nigh, near; rūh, rough; scēoh, shy; tōh, tough; wōh, crooked, bad. sceolh, awry, squinting; þweorh, cross, perverse, dropped the h and lengthened the diphthong in the inflected forms, as gen. scēoles, þwēores, dat. scēolum, þwēorum, cp. § 149.

§ 429.

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>hālig, holy</td>
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<td>hālig</td>
<td>hālige</td>
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<td>hālges</td>
<td>hāligrē</td>
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<td>hālgum</td>
<td>hālgum</td>
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</table>
PLUR.
Nom. Acc. hālge hālgu, -o hālge, -a
Gen. hāligra hāligra hāligra
Dat. hālgum hālgum hālgum

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 § 228, Note 1. In adjectives ending in -en, -er, the combinations -enne (masc. acc. sing.), -erra (gen. pl.), and -erre (fem. gen. dat. sing.) were often simplified to -ene, -era, -ere especially in late OE. (§ 259, 4).

§ 430. Like manig are declined the dissyllabic adjectives with short stems, as atol, terrible, dire; bedol, suppliant; bræsen, of brass (for examples of other adjectives ending in -en, see § 625); efen, even; etol, gluttonous; fægen, glad; fæger, fair; flacor, flickering; flugol, fleet, swift; forod, decayed; fracop, 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 dissyllabic adjectives with long stems, as äcol, timid, frightened; æt(t)ren, poisonous (for examples of other adjectives ending in -en, see § 625); ægen, own; bēogol, agreeing; bit(t)er, bitter;
Adjectives

brægden, deceitful; crîsten, christian; dêagol, diegol, secret; ēacen, great, increased; earfoþ, difficult; frettol, greedy; geōmor, sad; gylden, golden; hādor, bright; hāpen, heathen; hlūt(t)or, clear; īdel, vain; lŷtel, little; òber (§ 228), second; snot(t)or, wise; stāgel, sleep; blōdig, bleeding; crāftig, 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 as: 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>wilde, wild</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wilde</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>wilde</td>
<td>wildu, -o</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>wildne</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wilde</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>wildes</td>
<td>wildes</td>
<td>wildre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>wildum</td>
<td>wildum</td>
<td>wildre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>wilde</td>
<td>wildu, -o</td>
<td>wilde, -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>wildra</td>
<td>wildra</td>
<td>wildra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>wildra</td>
<td>wildra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>wildum</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; 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. pynne, thin, fæcne, deceitful, ierne, angry, from *pynne, *fæcne, *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. gîferne from *gîfrne; fem. gen. dat. sing. fæcnre from *fâcnre. 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 æltâwe, entire; æbele, noble; andfenge, acceptable; andrysne, terrible; ānliepe, single; blîpe, joyful; brême, famous; brîce, useful; cêne, bold; clâne, clean; cûme, comely, beautiful; cynde, natural; dîere, dêore, dear; dierne, hidden; drîge, dry; ēce, eternal; egle, troublesome; êste, gracious; fæcne, deceitful; fæge, fated; fêowerfête, four-footed; filde, level (of land); fêde, in flood; forþgenge, effective; frêcne, dangerous, wicked; frem(e)de, foreign; frêo (§ 104), free; gecnâwe, conscious of; gecwême, pleasant; gedêfe, becoming, fit; gefêre, accessible; gehende, handy; gemâne, common; genâme, acceptable; gesiene, visible; getenge, near to; getriewe, faithful; gifre, greedy; grêne, green; hlâne, lean; hnæsce, soft, tender; ierre, angry; iêpe, easy; lâne, temporary; lætræde, deliberate; lîpe, gentle; mære, famous; manþwære, humane; medeme, moderate; mêpe, tired; milde, mild; myrge, merry; niewe, niwe (§ 90), new; oferâte, glutinous; ofersprêce, loquacious; ormâte, immeasurable; rêpe, fierce; rîce, powerful; rîpe, ripe; sâne, slow;
Adjectives

sammäle, agreed; sciëne, beautiful; sëfte, soft; slipe, cruel, savage; smēpe, smooth; smylte, mild, serene; stille, still; strenge, strong; swēte, sweet; swīge, silent; syfre, pure; þicce, thick; þiestre, dark, gloomy; þrīfingre, three fingers thick; þriste, rash, daring; þriwintre, three years old; þynne, thin; þyrre, withered; unhiere, horrible; üpgenge, fugitive; wēste, waste, barren; wierþe, worthy; wrâne, wanton. In like manner are declined the present participles (§ 441). For examples of adjectives like ðæppelbäre, apple-bearing; coppede, topped, polled; hâlwende, healthful, see Adjectival Suffixes, §§ 624, 638.

c. wa-, wō-STEMS.

§ 435.

Nom. gearu, -o, ready gearu, -o gearu, -o
Acc. gearone gearu, -o gearwe
Gen. gearwes gearwes gearwe
Dat. gearwum gearwum gearwe
Instr. gearwe gearwe

Plur.
Nom. Acc. gearwe gearu, -o gearwe, -a
Gen. gearora gearora gearora
Dat. gearwum gearwum gearwum

w became vocalized to u (later o) when final and before consonants in prehistoric O.E. (§ 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.

OE.GR.
§ 436. Like gearu are declined basu, beasu, purple; calu, bald; cylu, spotted; fealu, fallow; geolu, yellow; hasu, heasu, grey, tawny; mearu, tender; nearu, narrow; salu, sealu, dusky, dark.

§ 437. The adjectives which had a long vowel or long diphthong in the stem reintroduced the w into the nominative from the inflected forms (§ 285) and then came to be declined like pure long a-, ō-stems (§ 424), such are: fēawe, few; gedēaw, dewy; gehlēow, sheltered; gesēaw, succulent; glēaw, wise; hnēaw, stingy; hrēaw, raw; rōw, quiet, calm; slāw, slow; þēow, 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. bleipis), joyful; brīce (Goth. brūks), useful; clǣne, clean; gecwēme, pleasant; gedēfe (Goth. gadōfs), becoming, fit; gemēne (Goth. gamáins), common; gesēne (cp. Goth. anasiuns), visible; grēne, green; sciēne, beautiful; swēte, sweet; &c.

c. 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, cuwc, alive, masc. acc. sing. cucon, and nom. wlacu, warm, tepid. And even these two adjectives generally have nom. cwic, wlačc 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
Adjectives

(Goth. aglus), troublesome; hnesce, hnasce (Goth. hnasqus), soft, tender; twelfwintre (Goth. twalibwintrus), twelve years old; þyrre (Goth. þaúrsus), dry, withered; glēaw (Goth. glaggwus), wise.

2. The Weak Declension.

§ 440.

---|---|---|---
Nom. blinda, blind | blinde | blinde
Acc. blindan | blinde | blindan
Gen. blindan | blindan | blindan
Dat. blindan | blindan | blindan

Plur.

Nom. Acc. blindan | blindan | blindan | blindan
Gen. blindra, -ena | blindra, -ena | blindra, -ena
Dat. blindum | blindum | blindum

The weak declension of adjectives has the same endings as the weak declension of nouns, except that the adjectives generally have the strong ending -ra (§ 424) instead of -(e)na in the gen. plural. Beside the regular dat. pl. ending -um there also occurs at an early period -an which was taken over from the nom. acc. plural. In trisyllabic adjectives the medial vowel remained after short stems, but disappeared after long stems, as wacora, wacore, vigilant, beside hālga, hālge, holy (§ 221). On adjectives like hēa, high, gen. hēan, see § 427. In like manner are declined the ja- and wa-stems, as wilda, wilde, wild; gearwa, gearwe, ready.

3. The Declension of Participles.

§ 441. In the parent language the stem of the present participle ended in -nt, as in Lat. ferent-, Gr. φέρων-, 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.
fríjónði, 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 (§ 488). In O.E. the pres. participle was declined strong or weak like an ordinary adjective. When used predicatively it often had the uninflected 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 hálig (§ 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 -ënaz = Indg. -ënos, there also existed -ëiniz = Indg. -ënis, hence forms like ägen beside ägen, own; cymen beside cumen, come; slægen beside slægen, slagen, slain; tygen from *tuginiz beside togen from *tugenaz, drawn.

B. The Comparison of Adjectives.

I. 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-, OE. -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. Ἰδὶων from *στάδιον, gen. Ἰδίωνος, = Goth. sutiza, gen. sutizins, OHG. suoziro, gen. suoziren, (-in), OE. swētra, sweeter, gen. swētran. 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. -ōr) which did not exist in Indo-Germanic. This suffix is a special Germanic new formation, and arose from the comparative of adverbs whose positive originally ended in -ō, Indg. -ōd (§ 554). And then at a later period it became extended to adjectives.

In OE. polysyllabic adjectives formed with derivative suffixes and compound adjectives had the Germanic suffix -ōz; ja-stems the suffix -iz; and uncompounded pure a-stems mostly had -ōz. Prim. Germanic -izō (= Goth. -iza, OHG. -iro) and -ōzō (= Goth. -ōza, 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. Only a small number of adjectives have umlaut in OE., of which the most common are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Umlauted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brād, broad</td>
<td>brādra beside brādra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eald, old</td>
<td>ieldra (Goth. alþiza)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feorr, far</td>
<td>fierra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geong, young</td>
<td>giengra, gingra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grēat, great</td>
<td>grietra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēah, high</td>
<td>hiehra, hierra beside hēahra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lang, long</td>
<td>lengra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceort, short</td>
<td>sciertra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strang, strong</td>
<td>strengra</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Examples without umlaut in the comparative degree are: ēadig, happy, earm, poor, fægen, glad, fæger, fair, gēaru, -o, ready, glæd, glad, grimm, grim, hālig, holy, lēof, dear, nēah, near, comparative ēadigra, earmra, fægenra,
fægerra, gearora, glædra, grimra, hāligra, lēofra, nēahra (nēarra).

2. The Superlative Degree.

§ 444. The superlative, like the comparative degree, was formed in the Indg. parent language by means of several suffixes. But in the individual branches of the parent language, one of the suffixes generally became more productive than the rest, and in the course of time came to be the principal one from which the superlative degree was formed, the other suffixes only being preserved in isolated forms. The only superlative suffix which remained productive in the Germanic languages is -to- in the combination -isto-, formed by adding the original superlative suffix -to- to the comparative suffix -is-, as in Sanskrit and Greek, as Gr. ἅδωτος = Goth. sutists, 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. saihsta, 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 hīehst(a), highest, and niēhst(a), nearest (see § 221). In late OE. the medial vowel was often syncopated, as lengsta, strengsta (§ 228, 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), griëtest(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:

- gōd, good  
  - bet(e)ra, bettra  
  - sēlla
- lētel, little  
  - lāssa  
  - lāst(a)
- micel, great  
  - māra  
  - māst(a)
- yfel, evil  
  - wiersa  
  - wierrest(a), wierst(a)

Note.—I. On the tt in bettra (Goth. batiza), see § 260. bet(e)st = Goth. batists. sēlla with assimilation of lr to ll (§ 281). lāssa from *lās(i)ra, prim. Germanic laēszô (§ 281); lāst(a) rom *lāsist-. māra = Goth. máiza; māst(a) (Goth. máists) with ā from analogy with lāst(a), Anglian māst(a). wiersa (Goth. waērsiza) from *wiers(i)ra; wierrest(a), wierst(a) from *wiersist-.

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

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

æfter, after æfterra æfteremest(a) æfter(a)
æast, eastwards æasterra æastmest(a) æast(a)
fore, before
inne, within innerra innemest(a) inn(a)
laet, late lætra lætemest(a) læ(a)
midd, middle

niopian, below niþerra ni(o)þemest(a) ni(o)þ(a)
norp, northwards norþerra, nyrþra norþemest(a) norþ(a)
siþ, late sþra sþemest(a) sþ(a)
süþ, southwards süþerra, sýþerra süþemest(a) süþ(a)
ufan, above \{ uferra \{ ufemest(a) \{ uf(a)
\{ yferra \{ yfemest(a) \{ yf(a)
\{ üterra \{ ü(t)emest(a) \{ ü(t)(a)
\{ ýterra \{ ý(t)emest(a) \{ ý(t)(a)
ute, without west, westwards westerra westemest(a) west(a)

C. Numerals.

1. Cardinal and Ordinal.

§ 447.

än, one \{ forma, formest(a) \{ fyrmest(a), fyrest(a), ærest(a) Ærest(a)

twà, two öþer, æfterra
þri, three þridda
feower, four feo(we)rþa
fif, five fiftra
siex, six, six siexta, sixta
seofon, seven seofoþa
eahta, eight eahtoþa
nigon, nine nigoþa
tien, ten
ten
ten
en(d)le(o)fan, eleven
twelf, twelve
prüotiene, thirteen
fëowertiene, fourteen
fiftiene, fifteen
siex-, siextiene, sixteen
seofontiene, seventeen
eahtatìene, eighteen
nigontìene, nineteen
twëntig, twenty
prüitig, thirty
fëowertig, forty
fiftig, fifty
siextig, sixty
hundseofontig, seventy
hundealtafig, eighty
hundnigontig, ninety
hundtëontig, hundred
hundendleofantig, iio
hundtwelfig, i20
tū hund, hundred, 200
prüo hund, hundred, 300
þëusend, thousand
tëoфа
en(d)le(o)fta
twelfta
prüotëoфа
fëowertëoфа
fiftëoфа
siex-, sixtëoфа
seofontëoфа
eahtatëoфа
nigontëoфа
twëntigофа
prüitigофа
fëowertigофа
fiftigофа
siextigофа
hundseofontigофа
hundealtafigофа
hundnigontigофа
hundtëontigофа
hundendleofantigофа
hundtwelfigофа

seox, later siex, six, syx (§ 86). seofon, nigon, tien (later týn) had their final -n from the inflected forms, as *sebuni-, &c., or else they were formed, as in Goth. OS. and OHG., from the ordinals in prim. OE. before the n disappeared before p (§ 286). nigon from older *nion (= Goth. OHG. niun); *nion became dissyllabic and then between the two vowels a consonantal glide was developed (cp. § 270). tüen, later týn, probably from an older inflected form *tēoni-, cp. tēoфа. endleofan (endlefan, enlefan)
from older *ānlefan, *ainina + lihan, with excrescent 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 vēnūika, eleven, dvylīka, twelve, &c., where Goth. -if and Lith. -ika are from *liq-, the weak form of the Indg. root leiq-, to leave, and are ultimately related to OE. leon (lēon), Goth. leifan, to lend, Gr. λείπω, Lat. linquō, I leave. The assimilation of *-lih to -if first took place in twalif because of the preceding labial (§ 237, Note), and then, at a later period, the -if was extended to *ānilif (cp. dat. ānilibim) for older *ānilih. 13 to 19 were formed by the simple ordinals plus the inflected form -tiene, later -týne.

The decades 20 to 60 were formed in prim. Germanic from the units 2 to 6 and the abstract noun *tēgunā = Indg. *dekmtā, decade, whence the Goth. stem-form tigu- which went over into the u-declension with a plural tigjus, as nom. twá tíjús, twenty, dat. twáim tíjum. Prim. Germanic *tēgunā is a derivative of prim. Germanic *tēxun- (= Indg. *dékm, Gr. δέκα, Lat. decem, Goth. taíhun, OE. tien) with change of χ to g by Verner's law (§ 238) and the loss of the final consonants (§ 211). The stem *tēgu- regularly became -tig in OE. and OS., whence OE. twēntig from twēgen+tig, lit. two decades, āntig, &c. with the following noun in the gen. case; ān and twēntig, twenty-one, twā and twēntig, twenty-two, &c. Many attempts have been made to explain the decades 70 to 120, but no satisfactory explanation of their morphology has ever yet been given. 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, hundeāhtatig, &c., the shorter forms seofontig, eahtatig, were used when
immediately preceded by hund = 100, as hund and seofontig = 170, but hund and seofon and hundseofontig = 177. At a later period the shorter forms became generally used in all positions. Besides the form hundtēontig, there were in OE. the two neuter nouns hund (= Gr. ἑκατόν, Lat. centum, Indg. kmtóm), and hundred, -repid (= O.Icel. hundraud); the second element -red, -repid is related to Gothic rāpjō, 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). ðper (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 -tō- (§ 444), the t of which regularly remained unshifted in fifta, siexta, endleofta, twelfta (§ 231, Notes). In other positions the t became ŭ by the first sound-shifting (§ 231), then ŭ became û by Verner’s law (§ 288) in those ordinals which did not originally have the chief accent immediately before the ŭ, and later nd became nd (§ 258), as Goth. *sibunda, niunda, taíhunda, from Indg. *septmtós, *neuntós, *dekmmtós. The regular forms of these would have been in OE. *seofonda, *nigonda, *tēonda, but OE. generalized those ordinal forms which in prim. Germanic had the chief accent immediately before the ŭ, whence the OE. new formations seofopa, nigopa,
tēopa from older *señunpō, *nijunpō, texunpō. 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 fēower and fīftigopa, fifty-fourth, but sometimes the ordinal forms of the units were used with the cardinal decades in the dative, as fēo(we)rpa eac fīftigum. hund, hundred, and þūsend had no corresponding ordinals. All the ordinals, except ðiper, 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. ðan was declined according to the strong (§ 424) or weak declension (§ 440) of adjectives. The strong masc. acc. sing. is generally ðenne (shortened later to ðenne, ðenne) from prim. Germanic *aianinōn, beside the less common form ðanne from *aiananōn. Strong pl. forms are rare, but they occur occasionally, meaning each, all, every one, ðanra gehwilc, each one. When declined weak it means alone, solus.

§ 449.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>twēgen</td>
<td>tū, twā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>twēg(e)a</td>
<td>twēg(e)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>twēm, twām</td>
<td>twēm, twām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation of twēgen and of the genitive are difficult to explain. twēg(e)a cannot correspond to Goth. twaddje, prim. Germanic *twajjōn, which would have become *twēg(e)a in OE., cp. § 275. twēm from prim. Germanic *twaimiz; twēm was a new formation from twā. tū from prim. Germanic *twō (§ 130); twā corresponds to the Goth. masc. form twái.

§ 450. Like twēgen is also declined bēgen (shortened later to beggen), bū (§ 130), bā (Goth. masc. bái), both,
Also in the combination masc. and fem. bā twā, neut. bū tū, often written in one word būtū, both.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. Acc.</td>
<td>prim, priē</td>
<td>priō, prēō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>primora</td>
<td>priōra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prēora</td>
<td>prēora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>prim</td>
<td>prim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pri (Goth. priēs) from prim. Germanic *prijiz; priē had its e from the adjectives (§ 424). priōra was formed from priō with the ending of the strong adjectives; the regular form would have been *prīa from prim. Germanic *prijōn. prim (Goth. prim) from *primiz; beside prim there also occurs prim (cp. § 145). Neut. prīo (Goth. prija) from *prīu older *prījō. Fem. priō from *prīu 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 bōrprum, pæt is, seofonum oppe eahtum, with seven or eight brothers; fifa sum, one of five.

2. Other Numerals.

§ 453. In OE. the multiplicative numeral adjectives were formed from the cardinals and the Germanic suffix for -fold, Goth. -falps, OHG. -falt, OE. -feald (§ 628), as ānfeald, single, twie-, twifeald, twofold, pri-e-, prifeald, threfold, fēowerfeald, fourfold, &c., manigfeald, manifold, which were declined as ordinary adjectives. The first element of twifeald, prifeald was sometimes inflected, as dat. twāmfealdum, primfealdum.

§ 454. Of the old adverbial multiplicatives only three occur: āne (rare in gen. form ānes), once; tuwa, twiwa,
twywa, *twice*; priwa, *thrice*. The remaining multiplicatives, and often also *once, twice, thrice*, were expressed by *sip, going, way*, and the cardinals, as āne sipa or on ānne sip, twām sipum (Goth. twáim sinpam), fif sipum (Goth. fimf sinpam), &c.

§ 455. *For the first, second, third, &c. time*, were expressed by sip and the ordinals, as forman siphe, įpre siphe, priddan siphe, fiftan siphe, &c.

§ 456. The distributive numerals were ān-, ānlīepige, *one each*; be twām or twām and twām, be įprim or įprim and įprim, fēower and fēower, įpůsendum and įpůsendum, &c. A remnant of the old distributive numeral corresponding to Gothic tweihnái, *two each*, has been preserved in the compound preposition betwēonum, *between*.

§ 457. OE. also had numerals like NHG. anderthalb, dritt(e)halb, lit. (one and) *the second half, (two and) the third half*. This method of expressing numbers goes back to the prim. Germanic period, and was originally common in all the Germanic languages. Originally both elements of the compound were inflected, but at a later period the compound, when used before nouns, became uninflected like other cardinal numerals, as įper healf hund daga, 150 days; pridda healf, *two and a half*, feō(we)gpa healf, *three and a half*; cp. Gr. τρίτον ἥμισιν, *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 M.E. ich accented form beside i unaccented form, ich then disappeared in standard M.E. (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 M.E. 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></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ic, I</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>wē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>mec, mě</td>
<td>uncit, unc</td>
<td>ūsic, ūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mín</td>
<td>uncer</td>
<td>ūser, ūre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mě</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>ūs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### § 460. Second Person.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>þū, thou</td>
<td>þic, þē</td>
<td>þin</td>
<td>þē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>git</td>
<td>incit, inc</td>
<td>incer</td>
<td>inc</td>
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#### § 461. Third Person.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hě, he</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hīo, hēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hine, hiene</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>hīe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hiere, hire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>hiere, hire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plur. All Genders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hīe, hī</td>
<td>hīe, hīe, hēra</td>
<td>hiera, hīra, heora</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 462. In the parent language the nom. was rarely used except to express emphasis (cp. Skr., Lat., and Gr., because it was sufficiently indicated by the personal endings of the verb. Beside the accented form of each case of the personal pronouns, there also existed one or more unaccented forms just as in many modern dialects, where we often find three or even four forms for the nom. case of each pronoun. Most of the OE. forms of the personal pronouns represent prim. Germanic unaccented forms. In forms marked with both long and short vowels, as in mē, pe, 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 sing. and pl. were formed from the stem-forms of the possessive pronouns. The c in the acc. forms mec, pec, ēsic, ēowic, goes back to a prim. Germanic emphatic particle, *ke = Indg. *ge, which is found in Gr. pronominal forms like ēμέγε. The acc. forms with c only occur in the oldest records and in poetry. It is the old unaccented form, the accented form was preserved in O.Icel. ek (cp. Lat. ego, Gr. ἐγώ). The e in me, pe may represent Indg. e, cp. Gr. ἐμέ (μέ), τέ, but it is far more likely that me, pe are old datives used for the accusative. ἔπ (OHG. du) beside ἔπ (OHG. dú), NE. has preserved the old accented, and NHG. the old unaccented form. Dat. me (Goth. mis, OHG. mir), pe (OHG. dir), prim. Germanic *mes, *pes beside unaccented *miz, *piz, with -s, -z from the dat. plural; OE. me, pe 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 (Goth. ugk, OS. unc) from un (which occurs in the acc. pl. ūs = Goth. uns = Indg. ns with vocalic n) + the particle *ke = prim. Germanic *uŋki; inc (OS. ink, cp. Goth. igq-is), prim. Germanic *iŋ- 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 *gŭ (= Goth. jus, prim. Germanic *jūs beside *juz) with ē from wē. ūsic from older *unsek (with e from mec); ūs (Goth. OHG. uns, Indg. ns with vocalic n). ēowic from older *iuwēk (with e from pec); 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. hi-ce (later hīc), this, ci-s, ci-ter, on this side. It has been preserved in Goth. in only a few isolated phrases, as und hīna dag, to this day; himma daga, on this day, to-day; und hīta nu, till now.

hē, prim. Germanic *xis beside unaccented *xīz; *xiz became *xī in prim. OE. and then later he from which a new accented hē was formed; hine (Goth. hina), prim. Germanic *xīnōn, beside hiene with ie from hiere, hiera; his from *xīsa; him from *xīmi (orig. instrumental), hit (cp. Goth.hīta, where the t = Lat. -d in id, that). hīo later hēo, formed from *hī + ū with ū from sīo, sēo (§ 465); hīe later hī, hē, from *hī + ōn; gen. hire from *xīzōz, dat. hire from *xīzai; hīere 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 hō, from *xī, unaccented *xī, 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 *xizōn, beside hiora, heora, hiera with o a-um-laut (§ 102). him from *ximiz, beside late WS. heom with eo from the genitive. All the forms with i often had y in late WS.

2. _Reflexive._

§ 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 *sīk (Goth. sīk, OHG. sīh) disappeared in OE., and the old genitive (Goth. sēina, OHG. sīn) only remained as a possessive pronoun. So that the personal pronouns of the third person also came to be used reflexively 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 _mīn, my, ēīn, thy, sīn_ (mostly used in poetry), _his, her, its_, are originally old locatives, Indg. _*mei, *tei, *sei_ with the addition of the nominal suffix _-no-, whence prim. Germanic masc. nom. _*mīnaz, *ēīnaz, *sīnaz;_ fem. nom. _*mīnō, *ēīnō, *sīnō_, which were declined in the sing. and plural, all genders, like _blind_ (§ 424); but instead of _sīn_, 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. _ō₂_
comparative suffix *-ero-, prim. Germanic *-era-, as uncer, incer, üser, ëower, all of which were declined like hálig (§ 429). üre was declined like wilde (§ 438) except that the fem. nom. sing. was üre not *ūru. It is difficult to account for the form üre. In the fem. gen. and dat. sing. and gen. pl. ürre, ürra, the rr was often simplified to r. In those cases which had syncope of the medial vowel, the sr became ss (§ 281) in the declension of üser, and then the ss was sometimes extended by analogy to the other cases, as nom. sing. üßer, masc. acc. sing. üßerne beside the regular forms üser, üserne.

4. Demonstrative.

§ 465. In the parent Indg. language the nom. sing. masc. and fem. of the simple demonstrative was *so, *sā = Gr. ὅ, ἥ, Goth. sa, sō. All the other cases of the sing. and pl. were formed from the stems te-, to-, toi-; tā-, tai-, as acc. sing. Gr. τῶν, τῆν, Lat. is-tum, is-tam, Goth. þan-a, þō; nom. pl. Gr. τοῖ, ταῖ, Lat. is-tī, is-tae, Goth. þái, þōs.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sē, the, that</td>
<td>þēt</td>
<td>sio, seo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þone</td>
<td>þēt</td>
<td>þā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þās</td>
<td>þās</td>
<td>þāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þām, þām</td>
<td>þām, þām</td>
<td>þāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>þē, þon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Plur. all genders.

| Nom. Acc. | þā |
| Gen.      | þara, þāra |
| Dat.      | þām, þām |

se was the unaccented form of prim. Germanic *sa (Goth. sa) to which a new accented form sē was made (§ 144); þone (Goth. þana) the unaccented form of prim. Germanic *þanōn, beside late OE. þane, þane; þās from prim. Germanic *þasa (§ 54), beside *þesa (Anglian þes, Goth.
§ 466. The compound demonstrative pronoun *pēs, pis, pios (pēos), 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, þiōs (þēos) were new formations made from the oblique stem-form with þ (§ 463). The old nom. forms were preserved in the oldest Norse inscriptions, as masc. sa-si, fem. su-si, neut. þat-si.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>þēs</td>
<td>þis</td>
<td>þiōs, þēos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þiēsne</td>
<td>þis</td>
<td>þēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þiōs(s)es</td>
<td>þiōs(s)es</td>
<td>þiōsse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þiōs(s)um</td>
<td>þiōs(s)um</td>
<td>þiōsse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>þiēs, þiōs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur. All Genders.

| Nom. Acc. | þēs |
| Gen.      | þiōssa |
| Dat.      | þiōs(s)um |

þēs from older *þē-se (= OHG. de-se) was the unaccented form from which a new accented form þēs was made. þiōs from þiōs (preserved in the Anglian dialect), older *þiū + se (cp. sīo, § 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 þiós(s)um, þeós(s)um with
u-umlaut (§ 101) beside þís(s)um. Fem. gen. and dat. sing.
þísse from older *þísre, gen. pl. þissu from older *þísra
(§ 281); in late OE. there also occur þissere, þissera with-
-re, -ra from the simple demonstrative, beside þísre, þísra
with syncope of the medial vowel and simplification of the ss.

§ 467. ilca, same, which only occurs in combination
with the def. art., as sě 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 sě 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 com-
bination with the personal or the simple demonstrative
pronoun, as se mon-dryhten, sē ēow þa māþmas geaf,
the lord who gave you the treasures; þonne tōdālaþ hi his
feoh þæt tō læfe bīþ, then they divide his property which is
left. ic hit ēom, þe wip þe 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 bryð hælf, sē is brýdguma, he who hath the
bride is the bridegroom; gehýre, sē þe ēaran hæbbe, let
him hear who hath ears; þæt þe ācenned is of flæscce,
þæt is flæsc, that which is born of the flesh is flesh. wē þæs
word sprecaþ, þe wē in carcerne sittap, we who sit in prison speak these words; saga hwæt ic hātte, þe ic lond reafige, say what I am called, I who lay waste the land; þæt se mon ne wāt, þe him on foldan fægrost limpeþ, 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. hwas, OE. hwā, who ?, from an original form *qos; Lat. quod, Goth. hva, 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></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hwā</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hwone</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hwæs</td>
<td>hwæs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hwām, hwām</td>
<td>hwām, hwām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>hwī, hwī</td>
<td>hwī, hwī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the long vowel in hwā, see § 79. hwone (Goth. hvana) from prim. Germanic *xwanōn, is the old unaccented form, beside this there rarely occurs the accented form hwane, later hwæne. hwæs from prim. Germanic *xwasa beside Goth. huis from *xwesa. hwām from prim. Germanic *xwaimi (instrumental) beside hwām, a new formation from hwǣ. Beside the instr. hwī, hwī which are difficult to explain, there also occur hwon, in such adverbial phrases as for hwon, tō hwon, why ?, and hū (§ 180), how ?
§ 470. hwæper (Goth. hwæpar), which of two?, and hwelc, hwilc (Goth. hwileiks), what sort of?, were declined according to the strong declension of adjectives.

7. Indefinite.

§ 471. O.E. had the following indefinite pronouns:—
æghwā, each one, every one, from ā, ever + gi + hwa; and similarly æghwæper, each of two, both; æghwelc, æghwilc, each one, every one. āl, cach, every; ānig, any, nānig, not any one, no one; æthwā, each; āhwā, any one; āhwæper, ēhwæper, āwper, ēwper, one of two, nāhwæper, nōhwæper, nāwper, nōwper, neither of two; ān, some one, a certain one, in plur. each, every, all, nān, no one, nān⁴ing, nothing; āwiht, ēwiht, āwuht, ēwuht, āht, ēht, anything; nāwiht, nōwiht, nāwuht, nōwuht, nāht, nōht, nothing; gehwā, each one, every one; gehwæper, each of two, both; gehwilc, each, every one; hwelchwugu, any, some, some one; hwæthwugu, somewhat, something; lōc, lōca + pronoun hwā, hwæper, as lōc hwæper þæra gebröpra, whichever of the two brothers, bide me lōce hwæs 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 hwæt swā, whatsoever, whatever, swā hwæper swā, whichever of two, swā hwelc swā, whichever; swelc, wilc, such; þyslic, þuslic, þyllic, þullic, such.

CHAPTER XIV

VERBS

§ 472. In the parent Indg. language the verbs were divided into two great classes: athematic and thematic. In the athematic verbs the personal endings were added to the bare root which had the strong grade form of
ablaut in the singular, but the weak grade in the dual and plural. Thus for example the singular and plural of the verbs for 'to be', and 'to go' were: *és-mi, *és-si, *és-ti, *s-més or *s-mós, *s-té, *s-énti; *éi-mi, *éi-si, *éi-ti, *i-més or *i-mós, *i-té, *j-énti. Verbs of this class are often called mi-verbs because the first person singular ends in -mi. The Germanic languages have only preserved a few traces of the mi-conjugation (§ 547). Nearly all the verbal forms, which originally belonged to this class, passed over into the o-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, thus the present singular and plural of the verb for 'to bear' was *bhérō (from *bhér-o-a), *bhér-e-si, *bhér-e-ti, *bhér-o-mes, (-mos), *bhér-e-te, *bhér-o-nti. Verbs of this class are generally called o-verbs because the first person singular ends in -ō. The old distinction between the mi- and the o-conjugation was fairly well preserved in Greek, as eἰμί, I am, εἰμι, I go, δίδωμι, 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.
§ 474. Verbs

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 haifald, laifo; 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; two verbal nouns (present infinitive and present participle), 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 *hätte* (Goth. *haitada*), *is* or *was called*, pl. *hätton*. Otherwise the passive was expressed by the forms of *bēon, wesan, to be*, occasionally also *weorpan, to become*, and the past participle.

A. STRONG VERBS.

§ 475. We are able to conjugate a strong verb in OE. when we know the four stems, as seen (1) in the infinitive or first pers. sing. pres. indicative, (2) first pers. sing. pret. indicative, (3) first pers. pl. pret. indicative, (4) the past participle. The pret. subjunctive and the second pers. pret. indicative have the same stem-vowel as the pret. pl. indicative. The conjugation of *beran, to bear, helpan, to help, bindan, to bind, ridan, to ride, cēosan, to choose, weorpan, to throw, faran, to go, biddan, to pray, feallan, to fall, tēon, to draw, slēan, to slay, fōn, to seize*, will serve as models for all strong verbs, because in addition to verbal endings, one or other of them illustrates such phenomena as umlaut, the interchange between *i* and *e* in the pres. indic. of verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V, breaking, vowel contraction, vowel syncope, the simplification of double consonants, Verner’s law, and the consonant changes in the second and third pers. sing. of the pres. indicative.

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative.</th>
<th>Sing. 1. bere</th>
<th>helpe</th>
<th>binde</th>
<th>ride</th>
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<td>hilp粲</td>
<td>bint</td>
<td>rīt(t)</td>
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<td>helpaṇ</td>
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§ 475]  

### Verbs

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### Preterite.

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<td>bunde</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
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<td><strong>Participle.</strong></td>
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### Accidence

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#### Preterite.

#### Indicative.

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### § 476

#### Verbs

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#### 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 *bire (older *biri), *bind in OE. (§§ 211, 215), 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 (§ 239, Note 2). The oldest OE. forms were biris, bindis which regularly became later bires, bindes (§ 215, Note). The ending -st arose partly from analogy with the preterite-present forms wäst, pearft, scealt, &c. and partly from a false etymological division of the pronoun from the verb to which it was often attached enclitically, thus birispu 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 *biridī (= OS. birid, OHG. birit), *bindidī = 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)p, bint (§ 300). The -eip became -es in late Nth.

In the second and third pers. sing. the -i- (-e-) was regularly syncopated after long stems, as hilpst, hilpēp, ritst, rit(t), tiehst, tiehp, &c., and remained after short stems, as birest, birep, færest, færep, &c. (§ 221), but there are many exceptions to this rule, especially in WS. and Ken., owing to new formations in both directions, as bindest, bindep, hilpest, hilpep, &c., and on the other hand birst, birp, færst, færp, &c. In Anglian the forms without syncope were almost entirely generalized, but in
WS. and Ken. syncope was almost quite general, especially after voiceless consonants and after d, f (= b), and g, but as a rule not after a single liquid or a nasal.

The loss of -e- in the second and third pers. sing. gave rise to various consonantal changes: Double consonants were simplified before the personal endings (§ 259), as fielst, fielp, spinst, spinp, beside inf. feallan, spinnan.

d became t before -st, as bintst, bitst, ristst, wiestst beside wealdan, to wield. d and t + -p became tt (common in the older period), later t, as bint, bit(t), rist(t); birst, it(t), beside inf. berstan, to burst, etan, to eat, see § 300. Forms like bindest, bidst, wieldst; bindep, bid(e)p, &c. were new formations after the analogy of forms which regularly had d.

After a long vowel, diphthong, or liquid, g became h before -st, -p (§ 320, Note), as stihst, stihp, inf. stigan, to ascend, fiiehst, fiiehp, inf. fiéogan, to fly, swilhst, swilhp, inf. swelgan, to swallow, but the g was often restored from forms which regularly had g.

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

p disappeared before -st (§ 305), as cwist, wierst, beside inf. cwpéan, to say, weorpan, to become. Forms like cwipst, wierpst, snipst (inf. snipan, to cut), were new formations after the analogy of the other forms of the present. p + -p became p, as cwip, wierp.

The forms of the first and second pers. plural had disappeared already in the oldest period of the language, their place having been taken by the form of the third person. The prim. Germanic forms of the third pers. pl. of beran, bindan were *berandi, *bindandi = Indg. *bhéronti, *bhéndhonti, which would regularly have
become in OE. *berand, *bindand = Goth. baírand, 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. -ánþi became -ap in OE. through the intermediate stages -anþ, -onþ, -ōþ (§ 218). -ap 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.

§ 477. Pres. subjunctive: This tense is properly an old optative. The original forms of the singular and plural of beran were *bhéroí-, *bhérois, *bhéroit, *bhéroim-, *bhéroite, *bhéroint. The final -t was regularly dropped in prim. Germanic (§ 211) and the oi became ai during the same period (§ 30). Then ai became æ which was shortened to æ (§ 217). The æ was preserved in the oldest period of the language and afterwards became e. In OE. the original forms of the singular regularly fell together in bere. The old forms of the first and second pers. plural disappeared and their place was taken by the third pers. beren. Beside -en there also occurs in late WS. -an, and also -un, -on taken over from the pret. pl. indicative. On the loss of final -n in Nth., see § 288. The final -n also disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second person came immediately after the verb, as bere wě, wit, gě, git. Then bere wě, &c., came to be used also for the indicative and imperative.

§ 478. Imperative: The original ending of the second pers. sing. was -e which regularly disappeared without leaving any trace of its former existence (§ 213), whence OE. ber = Gr. ἔρε, Indg. *bhére. On the -e in bide beside its absence in ber, bind, &c., see § 273. In OE. the third pers. plural of the pres. indicative was used for the second pers. plural. A form in -an, as beran, bindan, was occasionally used in the oldest period of the language for
the first pers. plural. This form was originally identical with the first pers. pl. pres. indic. which disappeared in OE. The first pers. pl. is generally expressed by the pres. subjunctive, as beren, binden, &c.

§ 479. Pres. participle: In the parent language the stem of the pres. participle ended in -nt, as in Lat. ferent-, Gr. φεροντ-, Indg. *bheront- = OE. berend-e, Goth. baírand-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. frijôndi, 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 *bheronom, 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. tô 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. οίδα, οίδεα, οίδεν. The -a and -e regularly disappeared in pre-
historic OE. (§§ 212–13), whence OE. first and third pers. singular bær, band, &c. The ending of the second pers. singular would regularly have become -p (§ 238) in OE. OS. O.Icel. and Goth., except after prim. Germanic s, f, h where it regularly became t (§ 231, Notes), as in Goth. last, thou didst gather, slōht, thou didst slay, þærft (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 § 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 bærón, bundon, &c.

§ 482. Pret. subjunctive: The original endings were: singular -jēm, -jēs, -jēt, plural -im, -īte, -īnt, 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, -īs, -īt 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, *fër, &c., but *cyre, *tyge, &c. The pl. ending -īnt 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, þyrfe. 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.

§ 488. Past participle: The past participle was formed in various ways in the parent language. In prim. Germanic the suffix -ēno-, -ōno- became restricted to strong verbs, and the suffix -tē- to weak verbs. In the strong verbs OE. and O.Icel. generalized the form -ēno-, and Goth. OS. and OHG. the form -ōno-. Beside the suffix -ēno-, -ōno- there also existed in prim. Germanic -ini- = Indg. -ēni- which was preserved in a few OE. past participles with umlaut in the stem-syllable, see § 442. Prim. Germanic -ēnaz, -iniz = Indg. -ēnos, -ēnis regularly fell together in -en in OE., but they were still kept apart in the oldest period of the language, the former being -aen (-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, hilpþ: helpan, to help; bir(e)st, bir(e)þ: beran, to bear; cwist, cwipþ: cweþpan, to say, see § 41. i-umlaut took place in the second and third pers. sing. of all verbs containing a vowel or diphthong capable of being umlauted. On the i-umlaut in verbs of class VI, as fær(e)st, fær(e)þ, 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)p; fealst, fealp, feallest, feallep; weorpest, weorpep, beside older hilpst, hilpp; fielst, fielp; wierpst, wierp.

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)p; 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 *bär, *hylp, *bynd.

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

bidan, to await  bād  bidon  biden
Goth. beidan  bāiþ  bidun  bidans
And similarly ætwitan, to blame, reproach; ācwînan, to dwindle away; behlîdan, to cover; belîfan, to remain; bescîtan, to befoul; besmîtan, to pollute; bîtan, to bite; bîcan, to shine; cînan, to crack; clîfan, to stick, adhere; cnîdan, to beat; drîfan, to drive; dwînan, to dwindle; flîtan, to strive, quarrel; gewîtan, to depart; gînan, to yawn; glîdan, to glide; gnîdan, to rub together; gîpîan, to seize; hnîtan, to knock; hrînan, to touch; hwînan, to whizz; nîpan, to grow dark; ridan, to ride; sîcan, to sigh; scînan (§ 138, Note 2), to shine; scrîfan, to prescribe; slîdan, to slide; slîtan, to slit; snîcan, to crawl; spîwan (§ 265), to spew, spit; strîcan, to stroke; strîdan, to stride; swîcan,
to cease from; swifan, to sweep; tōslifan, to split; hwīnan, to grow soft; jwitan, to hew; wīcan, to yield, give way; wītan, to gaze; wrīdan, 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 snāp snidon sniden
And similarly līpan, to go; scripan, to go, proceed. See § 239. In ārisan, to arise; gerīsan, to befit; mīpan, to avoid; wrīpan, to twist, the s, ṣ of the present was extended to all forms of the verb.

§ 492. tion, tēon, to accuse tāh tigon tigen
tion, tēon, from older *tiohan, *tihan (§ 127); on the g in the pret. pl. and past participle, see § 239. In the pres. the êo from older io 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 *pīxhanan (§ 41) originally belonged to class III; the regular principal parts in OE. would have been pēon, *pōh (§ 40), pungon, āngen, all of which occur except *pōh. The regular past participles of lēon (Goth. leihvan) and sēon (prim. Germanic *sīxvan-) were *liwen, siwen with w from prim. Germanic ġw (§ 241); ligen, sigen were formed on analogy with the other verbs of this type.

Class II.

§ 493. The verbs of this class belong to the second ablaut-series (§ 226) and therefore have ēo in the present, ēa in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, u in the pret. plural, and o in the past participle, thus:

bēodan, to command bēad budon boden
Goth. biudan bāuþ budun budans
§ 494. cēosan, to choose  cēas curon coren
And similarly drēosan, to fall; forlēosan, to lose; frēosan, to freeze; hrēosan, to fall; sēōjan (sudon, soden), to boil. See § 239. ābrēōjan, to perish, ruin, extended the p to all parts of the verb.

§ 495. tēon, to draw  tēah tugon togen
tēon (Goth. tiuhan) from *tēohan (§ 139); on the g in the pret. plural and past participle, see § 239; and similarly 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 dúfan, 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; þūtan, to howl. būgan, to bend, pret. sing. bēag beside bēah (§ 323); and similarly smūgan, to creep; sūgan, to suck.

Class III.

§ 497. The verbs of this class belong to the third ablaut-series (§ 226), and include the strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the
vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or liquid + consonant.

§ 498. Verbs with nasal + consonant had i in all forms of the present, a, o (§ 59) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and u in the preterite pl. and past participle, thus:

bindan, to bind  band (bond)  bundon  bunden
Goth. bindan  band  bundun  bundans
And similarly acwincan, to vanish; climban, to climb; clingan, to shrink; crimman, to insert; crincan, cringan, to fall, succumb; drincan, to drink; gelimpan, to happen; grimman, to rage; grindan, to grind; hlimman, to resound; hrindan, to push; linnan, to cease; onginnan, to begin; rinnan, to run, flow; scrincan, scringan, to shrink; sinnan, to meditate; slincan, to sink, creep; spinnan, to spin; springan, to leap; stincan, to stink; stingan, to sting; jindan, to swell; pringan, to throng, press; printan, to swell; windan, to wind; winnan, to toil, fight; wringan, to wring. On sincan (Goth. sigqan), to sink; singan (Goth. siggwan), to sing; swincan, to toil; swindan, to disappear; swingan, to swing; swimman, to swim, see § 249. The regular principal parts of findan (Goth. finjan) would have been fipan (§ 97), fōp (§ 64), 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 bearrn), burnon, burnen; and iernan (Goth. rinnan, see above), to run, arn (Goth. rann), orn (later earn), urnon, urnal, see § 98, Note 3.

§ 499. Verbs with 1+ cons. except 1c (§ 84) have e in the present, ea (§ 64) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, u in the pret. plural, and o in the past participle (§ 43), thus:
Verbs

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 (§§ 88–6), ea in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, u in the preterite plural, and o in the past participle. On the verbs with the combination weo in the present, see § 94.

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; melcan, late WS. also melcan, to milk; sceorfan, to gnaw; sceorpan, to scrape; steorfan, to die; sweorfan, to rub; sweorcan, to become dark. weorpán, to become, wearp, wurdon, worden (§ 239).

§ 501. følan from *feolhan (§ 84, Note 1), to enter, penetrate, fealh (§ 64), fulgon (§ 239) beside the more common form følon made after the analogy of verbs of class IV, folgen; pret. pl. and pp. also fülón from *fulhon, følen 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
perscan, to thresh  pærsc  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 brēadan (§ 80, Note 2), bræd (§ 54, Note 2), brūdon, brōden (§ 106, Note). berstan (OHG. brestan) and perscan (OHG. dreskan) have metathesis of r (§ 280), hence the absence of breaking in the present and pret. singular. The i in frīnan is due to the influence of the gn; beside frīnan 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. fraíhnan, frah, frēhun for *frēgun, fraíhans for *frigans; the Goth. shows that the O.E. verb originally belonged to class V and that the principal parts would regularly have been *freohnan (*frēonan, § 329, 2), *freah, *frāgon (§ 120), *fregen; beside the pret. pl. frugnon there also occur frungon with metathesis of gn, and frūnon with loss of g; and beside the pp. frugnen there also occur frūnen with loss of g, and frognen. murnan and spurnan (also spornan) are properly aorist presents (§ 472).

Class IV.

§ 503. The verbs of this class belong to the fourth ablaut-series (§ 226), which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal. They have e in the present, æ in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, Æ in the pret. plural, and o in the past participle, thus:

beran, to bear  bær  bēron  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), scēaron (§ 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)p, 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 *kwomand with regular loss of w before u (§§ 109, 268), 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, nāmon; numen from older *nomen (§ 109).

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, and e in the past participle, thus:

metan, to measure  mæt  mæton  meten
Goth. mitan  mat  mētun  mitans

And similarly brecan (pp. brocen after the analogy of class IV), to break; cnedan, to knead; drepan (pp. also dropen after the analogy of class IV); screpan, to scrape; sprecan, late OE. specan, to speak; swefan, to sleep; tredan, to tread; wefan, to weave; wegan (pret. pl. wēgon beside wēgon, see § 120), to carry; wrecan, to average. giefan (§ 91), to give, geaf (§ 72), gēafon (§ 124), giefen; and similarly forgietan, to forget. etan, to eat, and fretan (Goth. fra-itan, pret. sing. frēt), to devour, had Æ in the
cweðan, to say, cweþ, cweðon, cweden;
wasan, to be, pret. pl. wårón (§ 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. saithvan) from *seohan (§ 87), to see,
seah (§ 68), sāwon beside sāgon (§ 241), sewen (§ 241)
beside sawen with a difficult to account for, and Anglian
gesegen with g from the pret. plural; and similarly gefēon,
to rejoice, gefeah, pret. pl. gefēgon; 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. baþ),
bædon (Goth. bēdun), beden (Goth. bidans). The pret.
pl. of licgan is lāgon beside lāgon (§ 120). Picgan, to
receive, is a weak verb in WS.; in poetry it has the strong
forms þeah (þāh), þægon, þegen. 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, ɔ 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 Ger-
manic 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.

    faran, to go     für     förón     færen, faren
Goth. faran     for     förun     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. gnōg beside gnōh, § 323), to gnaw; and similarly dragan, to draw. scacan, sceacan (§ 57, Note), to shake, scōc, sceōc (§ 128, Note), scacen, sceacen; and similarly scafan, sceafan, to shave, scrape. standan (Goth. standan), to stand, stōd, stōdon, standen, with n from the present. spanan, to allure, pret. spōn beside spēon which was formed after the analogy of verbs of class VII.

§ 509.

slēan, to strike slōg, slōh slōgon slægen, slagen

slēan (Goth. slahan) from *sleahan (§ 70); slōg 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; hwēan, to wash.

§ 510. To this class also belong hebban (Goth. hafjan), to raise; hliehhan (Goth. hlahjan), to laugh; sceþam (Goth. skæþam), to injure, cp. § 526; scieþam (Goth. ga-skapjan), to create; stæþam beside steþam (§ 55, Note 3), to step, go; swerian, to swear, which originally had j in the present (§ 271).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hebban</th>
<th>hōf</th>
<th>hōfon</th>
<th>hæfen, hafen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hliehhan</td>
<td>hlōg, hlōh</td>
<td>hlōgon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceþam</td>
<td>scōd</td>
<td>scōdon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scieþam</td>
<td>scōp</td>
<td>scōpon</td>
<td>sceapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stæþam</td>
<td>stōp</td>
<td>stōpon</td>
<td>stæpen, stapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swerian</td>
<td>swōr</td>
<td>swōron</td>
<td>sworn</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 sceþam would be scieþam (§ 51). On sceō- beside scō-, see § 128, Note. On sceapen, see
§ 57. Note. sworn with o from analogy of verbs of class IV as in OHG. gisworan.

**Class VII.**

§ 511. To this class belong those verbs which originally had reduplicated preterites like Goth. haíhald, laílőt, faílők, haíháit, raíróp, laíláik, inf. haldan, to hold, létan, to let, fíókan, to complain, háitán, to call, rédan, 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. hāitán, lācan, lāetan, ondrāedan, rāedan, 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.

**Sub-division I.**

§ 512. hāitán, to call  hēt  hāiten
And similarly lācan, to play; scādan, sceādan (§ 133, Note 2), to separate, pret. scēd beside scēad.

§ 513. lāetan, to let, allow  lēt  lāeten
And similarly ondrāedan (WS. also weak pret. ondrāedd), to dread, fear; rāedan (pret. and pp. mostly weak in WS.: rāedd, gerādd), to advise; slāpan (WS. also weak pret. slāpte). blandan, to mix, pret. blend, 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 gieng, to go; spannan, to join, clasp.

§ 516. fealdan (§ 64), to fold fōold fealden
And similarly feallan, to fall; healdan, to hold; steadan, 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; māwan, to mow; sāwan, to sow; swāpan, to sweep; prāwan, to turn, twist; wāwan, to blow.

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

§ 519. blōtan, to sacrifice blōt 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, § 226), 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. -ôn) from older -ōjan (§ 273), pret. -ode (Goth. -ōda); -an (Goth. -an),
pret. -de (Goth. -áida). The weak preterite is a special Germanic formation, and many points connected with its origin are still uncertain. Some scholars are inclined to regard it as a periphrastic formation which was originally confined to denominative verbs, and then at a later period became extended to primary verbs as well. The OE. endings -de, -des(t), -de, pl. -don (older -dun), would thus represent an old aorist formed from the root dhē-, put, place (Gr. τι-θη-μ), which stands in ablaut relation to OE. dōn, to do. The old preterite (perfect) of this verb has been preserved in the preterite plural of Gothic weak verbs, as háusi-dēdum (we heard), dēdup, dēdun. But it is also probable that the dental in the OE. preterite stands in close relationship to the dental in the past participle, where the -d = prim. Germanic -dás = Gr. τó-s. Prim. Germanic dōn, dās, dā(p), pl. third pers. dūn(p) 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’s Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen; Streitberg’s Urgermanische Grammatik; and Kluge’s Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte in Paul’s Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, vol. I.

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 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 -idás, as genered, gefremed. 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, gesetere; gehredd beside Anglian gehreded, rescued. See § 300.

§ 524. The full conjugation of *nerian (Goth. *nasjan), to save; *fremman (Goth. *framjan), to perform; *settan (Goth. *satjan), to set, will serve as models for this class.
### Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. nerie</td>
<td>neriað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. neres(t)</td>
<td>nereð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nereð</td>
<td>nereð</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. fremme</td>
<td>fremmað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fremes(t)</td>
<td>fremmað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fremþ</td>
<td>fremþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Settė.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. sette</td>
<td>settað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. setst</td>
<td>settað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. set(t)</td>
<td>settað</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerie</td>
<td>neriþ</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fremme</td>
<td>fremmen</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nere</td>
<td>neriþ</td>
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#### Setten.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nere</td>
<td>neriþ</td>
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### Imperative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nere</td>
<td>neriþ</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>freme</td>
<td>fremmað</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerian</td>
<td>neriþ</td>
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#### Settað.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fremman</td>
<td>fremmende</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>nereden</td>
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### Infinitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>nereden</td>
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#### Fremmende.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>nereden</td>
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### Participle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerie</td>
<td>neriþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fremme</td>
<td>fremmað</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>nereden</td>
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</table>

### Preterite.

#### Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>neredon</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>freme</td>
<td>fremmað</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>neredon</td>
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</table>

#### Settet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>nereden</td>
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</table>

### Participle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>genered</td>
<td>gefremmed</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerede</td>
<td>nereden</td>
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</table>

#### Geseted, geset(t).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>genered</td>
<td>gefremmed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 525. On forms like nergan, nerigan, nerigejan, see § 271. Like nerian are conjugated åmerian, 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 Æswebban, to kill; clynnan, to sound; cnyssan, to knock; dynnan, to make a noise; gremmn, to anger, provoke; hlynan, to roar; hrissan, to shake; sceppan (also sv. § 510), to injure; sweppan, to swathe; temman, to tame; trymman, to strengthen; þennan, to stretch; þicgan (in poetry also strong pret. þeah, þañ), to receive; wecgan, to agitate; wennan, to accustom; wæppan, 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 clynian, fremian, helian, to conceal, sylían, to sully, sweþian, and then later often went over into class II. On the pret. and past participle of verbs ending in þ, see § 305.

§ 527. Like settan are conjugated Ætreddan, to search out; cnyttan, to bind, knit; hreddan, 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 dđ in late WS., as cłypan, to make known, pret. cłyþde, pp. gecýþed, later cýdde (§ 305), pp. gecydd(d) with dđ from the inflected forms; (3) -de became -te after voiceless 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 (§ 229, Note), as sendan, to send, pret. sende, pp. gesend(ed); fǣstan, to make fast, pret. fǣste, pp. gefǣst(ed). Verbs which would regularly have vocalic l, n, r in the pret. generally have -ede, especially in the combination long syllable + l, n, r, as hyngran, to hunger, dīeglan, to hide, pret. hyngrede, dīeglede (§ 221); but in the combination short syllable + l, n, r they generally had -de in the oldest period of the language and then later -ede, as eglan, to trouble, pret. eglide beside later eglede; the verbs of this type often went over into class II (cp. § 222).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present.</th>
<th>Indicative.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. dēme</td>
<td>drence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dēm(e)st</td>
<td>drenc(e)st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dēm(e)p</td>
<td>drenc(e)p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. dēmap</td>
<td>drencaþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjunctive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 2. dēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 2. dēmap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 530]  

**Verbs**  

Infinitive.  

dēman drencean hyngran gierwan  

Participle.  

dēmende drencende hyngrende gierwende  

Preterit.  

Indicative.  

Sing. 1. dēmde drencte hyngrede gierede  
2. dēmdes(t) drenctes(t) hyngredes(t) gieredes(t)  
3. dēmde drencte hyngrede gierede  
Plur. dēmdon drencton hyngredon gieredon  

Subjunctive.  

Sing. dēmde drencte hyngrede gierede  
Plur. dēmden drencten hyngreden giereden  

Participle.  

gedēmed gedrenced gehyngred gegier(w)ed  

§ 580. Like dēman are conjugated a large number of verbs, as ālan, to set on fire; ārnan, to gallop, cause to run; āflīegan, to put to flight; ālīefan, to allow; āwyrgan, to strangle, kill; bādan, to compel; bārnan, to burn up, cause to burn; bēnāeman, to deprive of; bīegan, to bend; brēdan, to broaden; byrgan, to taste; byrgan, to bury; cēian, to cool; cemban, to comb; cīegan (§ 270), to call; cwielman, to kill; dālan, to share; dīedan, to kill; drēfan, to drive out; drēfan, to stir up; drīgan, to dry; ēaṗmēdan, to humble; fēdan, to feed; fēgan, to join; fēran, to go, journey; fīeaman, to put to flight; fylgan, to follow; fīsan, to hasten; gefrēdan, to feel, perceive; gelīefan, to believe; geptēdan, to join together; giem, to heed; gieman, to desire, yearn for; glēngan, to adorn; hēlan, to heal; hēman, to marry; hīenan, to humiliate, ill-use; hīeran, to hear; hlīdan, to make a noise; hringan, to ring, sound; hīdan, to hide; lēdan, to load; lēfan, to leave; lēnan, 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; rýman, to make room; sægan, to lay low; sælan, to bind with a rope; scrðdan, to clothe; sengan, to singe; sprædan, to spread; sprengan, to burst; stieran, to steer; strienan, to acquire; swēgan, to make a sound; tælan, to blame; tengan, to hasten; týnan, to enclose; wēdan, to rage; wēnan, to expect; wiernan, to refuse; wrēgan, to accuse. The contracted verbs hēan (pret. hēade, pp. hēad), to heighten, raise; and similarly rýn, to roar; tŷn, to teach; þéon, to perform, do; þŷn (also in form þywan), to press. cŷpan (pret. cŷpde, later cŷdde), to make known; and similarly āhŷpan, to destroy, lay waste; cwīpan, to lament; lēpan, to hate, abuse; nēpan, to venture on; oferswīpan, to overcome; sēpan, to testify; wrēpan, to be angry, get angry. fyllan (pret. fylde), to fill; and similarly ãfierran, 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 lend, arrive; ontendan, to kindle; pyndan, to shut up, confine; scendan, to put to shame; wendan, to turn; andwyrdan, to answer; áwierdan, to destroy; hierdan, to harden; onbyrdan, to inspire, incite. fæstan (pret. fæste), to make fast; and similarly ácraeftan, to devise, plan; áfyrhtan, to frighten; ágyltan, to be guilty; áwǣstan, 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; pyrstan, to thirst.

§ 531. Like drencan are conjugated acwencan, to quench; adwæscan, to quench; astiepan, to bereave; bætan, to bridle; beriepan, to despoil; bêtan, to atone for, amend; cēpan, to keep; ciepan, to buy; cyspan, to bind, fetter; driępan, to let drop, moisten; gewlencan, to make proud; geswencan, to injure; grētan, to greet; hētan, to heat; hwierfan, to convert; hwītan, to whiten; hyspan, to mock; iecan (see § 534, Note 2), to increase; lięxan, to shine; mētan, to meet; nētan, to afflict; ofyrfan, to stone; of pryscan, to beat down; rēsan, to rush; rētan, to cheer; scencan, to pour out; scierpan, to sharpen; sceńcan, to cause to tumble; sencan, to cause to sink; spētan, to spit; swātan, to sweat; swencan, to vex, afflict; tēsan, to pull, tear; töstencan, to scatter; yppan, to open, manifest; wētan, to wet; wierpan, to recover; wýchsan, to wish.

§ 532. Like hyngran are conjugated bīecnan, to make a sign; dieglan, to conceal; forglendran, to devour; frē-fran, to comfort; symblan, to feast; timbran, to build; wrixlan, to change, exchange. efna (pret. efnde, later efnede, § 528), to level, perform; and similarly bytlan, to build; eglan, to trouble, afflict; rēfnan, to perform; seglan, to sail; prysman, to suffocate.

§ 533. gierest, gieręp, gierede from older *gierwis, *gierwiþ, *gierwide with regular loss of w (§ 266). At a later period the verbs of this type mostly generalized the forms with or without w, and often went over into class II
The verbs with a long diphthong or vowel in the stem generally had w in all forms of the verb. Like gierwan are conjugated hierwan, to despise, ill-treat; nierwan, to constrain; sierwan, to contrive, plot; smierwan, to anoint, smear. læwan (pret. læwde), to betray; and similarly forslæwan, to delay, be slow; getriewan, to trust; hlēowan, hlīowan, to shelter, warm; īewan, to show, disclose.

sīowan, sēowan (Goth. siujan, OHG. siuwen) from older *siuwjan (cp. § 138), to sew, pret. siowede, seowede from older *siwide; from the pret. was formed a new inf. si(o)wian after the analogy of class II, with preterite siowode, seowode. spīowan, spēswan from *spiuwjan older *spiwwjan (§ 254), to spit, pret. spiowede, squewede from *spiwide, beside spioode, spēode, formed direct from the present; from the pret. spiowede was formed a new inf. spi(o)wian after the analogy of class II. streowan (Goth. straujan), to strew, pret. streowede beside strewede (Goth. strawida), § 77, from which a new inf. streowian, strewian was formed after the analogy of class II, pret. streowode.

§ 534. A certain number of verbs belonging to class I formed their preterite and past participle already in prim. Germanic without the medial vowel -i-, as bycgan (Goth. bugjan), to buy, pret. bohte (Goth. baūhta), pp. geboht (Goth. baúhts); pencan (Goth. þagkjan), to think, pret. þōhte (Goth. þāhta, § 40), pp. gepōht (Goth. þāhts), whence the absence of i-umlaut in the pret. and past participle of verbs of this type. 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 rēcan, tēcan, prim. Germanic *raikjan, *taikjan, gener-
ally had pret. *rāhte, tähte with æ from the present, beside the regular forms rāhte, tähte. The verbs with 11 in the present often formed the pret. and pp. on analogy with the verbs of sub-division (a) especially in late O.E., as dwelede, -ode, beside older dwealde. Beside sellan there also occurs siellan (later syllan) from *sealljan with ea borrowed from the pret. and pp. in prehistoric O.E. bringan, to bring, is the strong form (cp. § 498), the regular weak form brengan is rare in O.E.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>Prepp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bycgan, to buy</td>
<td>bohte</td>
<td>geboht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cweccan, to shake</td>
<td>cweahte</td>
<td>gecweaht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dreccan, to afflict</td>
<td>dreahte</td>
<td>gedreaht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leccan, to moisten</td>
<td>leahte</td>
<td>geleaht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reccan, to narrate</td>
<td>reahte</td>
<td>gereaht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>streccan, to stretch</td>
<td>streahte</td>
<td>gestreaht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þeccan, to cover</td>
<td>þeahte</td>
<td>geþeaht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weccan, to awake</td>
<td>weahte</td>
<td>geþeweal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cwellan, to kill</td>
<td>cwealde</td>
<td>gecweal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwellan, to hinder</td>
<td>dwealde</td>
<td>gedweal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sellan, to sell</td>
<td>sealde</td>
<td>geserald</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tellan, to place</td>
<td>stealde</td>
<td>gesteal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teccan, to teach</td>
<td>tealde</td>
<td>geteal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ræcan, to reach</td>
<td>rāhte, rāhte</td>
<td>gerāht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tæcan, to teach</td>
<td>tähte, tähte</td>
<td>getäht, getäht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēcan, to seek</td>
<td>sōhte</td>
<td>gesōht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bringan, to bring</td>
<td>brōhte</td>
<td>gebrōht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þencan, to think</td>
<td>þōhte</td>
<td>gepōht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þyncan, to seem</td>
<td>þühte</td>
<td>gepüht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyrcan, to work</td>
<td>worhte</td>
<td>geworht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.**—1. The presents reccan for *rēcan (pret. rōhte), to care for, reck; and læccan for *lācan (pret. læhte, pp. gelǣht). to seize, are difficult to account for.

2. Especially in late O.E. 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 bæpæcan, tc
deceive, bepæhte, bepæht, beside older bepæcte, bepæct; and similarly gewæcan, to weaken; īecan, to increase; nǣalæcan, to approach (for further examples of verbs with ēlæcan, see § 658); āleccan, to flatter; sīcan, to suckle; pryccan, to press, crush; wleccan, to warm.

**Class II.**

§ 535. This class of verbs is denominative and originally belonged partly to the athematic and partly to the thematic conjugation (§ 472). The first pers. singular of the former ended in āmi and of the latter in -ājō. The ā became ō in the prim. Germanic period (§ 23). 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 sealfían, to anoint, will serve as a model for the verbs of this class.

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. I.</td>
<td>sealfie</td>
<td>sealfie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sealfas(t)</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>sealfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sealfap</td>
<td>„</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>sealfiap</td>
<td>sealfien</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive.  
sealfian

Participle.  
sealfiende

**Preterite.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. I.</th>
<th>sealfode</th>
<th>sealfode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. sealfodes(t)</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>„</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sealfode</td>
<td>„</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>sealfodon</td>
<td>sealfoden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle.  
gesealfod
The corresponding prim. Germanic forms of the pres. indicative were: *salbōjō, *salbōsi (Goth. salbōs), *salbōpi (Goth. salbōp), pl. *salbōjanpi. In OE. -ōj- regularly became -i- (§ 278) 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 § 278. 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 *salbōđōn (Goth. salbōda), *salbōđāes (Goth. salbōdēs), *salbōđāą(p) (Goth. salbōda), pl. *salbōđun(p). The medial -ō- was regularly shortened to -u- in prehistoric OE. (§ 218) and then later became -o-, -a-, the former of which is usual in WS. and the latter in Anglian and Ken. On -e- beside -o-, -a-, see § 222. And similarly in the past participle WS. -od, Anglian and Ken. -ad, prim. Germanic -ōdaz.

§ 536. Like sealfian are conjugated a large number of verbs, as ācealdian, to become cold; ārian, to honour; āscian, to ask; āswefecian, 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; fæg(e)nian, to rejoice; fæstnian, to fasten; fandian, to try, search out; folgian, to follow; fullian, to fulfil; fundian, to strive after; gearcian, to prepare; gearwian (§ 533), to prepare; gedafenian, to beseem; gemidlian, to bridle, restrain; gemyndgian, to remem-ber; geōmrian, to be sad, lament; gestrangian, to
Accidence

make strong; grāpian, to grope, feel; hafenian, to hold; hālgian, to hallow; hangian, to hang; hatian, to hate; hef(ig)ian, to make heavy; hergian (cp. § 525), to harry; hīgian, to hasten; hnappian, to dose; hopian, to hope; hwearfian, to wander; ieldcian, to delay; lācnian, to heal; langian, to long for; laþian, to invite; lēanian, to reward; lēasian, to tell lies; lician, to please; lōcian, to look; lōfian, to praise; losian, to lose; lufian, to love; macian, to make; manian, to exhort; meldian, to announce; met(e)gian, to measure; offrian, to offer; op(e)nian, to open; rēaftian, to plunder; samnian, to collect, gather; sārgian, to cause pain; sārian, to grieve, be sad; scamian, to be ashamed; scēawian, to look; scyld(ig)ian, to sin; sīpian, to travel; sorgian, to sorrow, grieve; sparian, to spare; syngian, to sin; tioh-hian, teohhian, to think, consider; þaccian, to stroke; þancian, to thank; þolian, to suffer; þrōwian, to suffer; wacian, to be awake; wandrian, to wander; war(e)nian, to beware, take heed; warian, to beware; wealwian, to roll, wallow; welegian, to enrich; weorpian, to honour; wērgian, to grow weary; wilnian, to desire; wincian, to wink; wisian, to guide; witgian, to prophesy; witnian, to punish, torment; wuldrian, to glorify; wundian, to wound; wundrian, to wonder; wunian, to dwell. bletsian, to bless; bliþsian, blissian, to rejoice; clānsian, to cleanse; efesian, to shear; eg(e)sian, to frighten, terrify; gitsian, to covet; grimian, to rage; hrēowsian, to repent of, rue; iersian, to be angry; mārsian, to make famous; miltsian, to have mercy; ricsian, rīxian, 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. twēogan, Anglian twiogan, from "twixōjan
§ 98, 139, to doubt; pres. indic. twēoge, twēost, twēop; pres. part. twēonde (poetical) beside twēogende; pret. indic. twēode, Anglian twiode, from *tiwīōdōn; pp. twēod. And similarly in WS. the following verbs which originally belonged to class III: fēog(e)an, to hate; frēog(e)an, to love, make free; smēag(e)an, to ponder, consider; prēag(e)an, to reprove, rebuke.

Class III.

§ 538. Most of the verbs belonging to this class were originally primary verbs like Lat. habē-re, OHG. habē-n, to have, and probably embraced two types of verbs: (1) those which had -ēj-, and (2) those which simply had ēj- in the present. In OE. as in the other Germanic languages the two types became mixed, which gave rise to many new formations. The -ēj- like -ēj- (§ 273) in class II regularly became -i- in OE., which is the reason why nearly all the verbs of class III went over into class II in the prehistoric period of the language, cp. hatian, Goth. hatan, OHG. hazzēn, prim. Germanic *xatējanan, to hate. The preterite and past participle were formed without a medial vowel. The chief verbs are: habban, to have; libban, to live; secgan, to say; and hycgan, to think.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. hæbbe  libbe  secge  hycge
     2. {hafas(t)  liofas(t)  {sagas(t)  {hogas(t)
          hæfst         {sægst         {hyg(e)st
     3. {hafap   liofap       {sagap   {hogaŋ
          hæfp
Plur.  habbap  libbap       secg(e)ap  hycg(e)ap

Subjunctive.

Sing.  hæbbe  libbe  secge  hycge
Plur.  hæbben  libben  secgen  hycgen
Imperative.

Sing. 2. hafa          liofa   saga, sæge   hoga, hyge
Plur. 2. habbaþ        libbaþ   secg(e)þ   hycg(e)þ

Infinitive.

habban        libban   secg(e)an   hycg(e)an

Participle.

hæbbende    libbende secgende    hycgende

Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. hæfde     lifde   sægde   hogde
  2. hæfdes(t)   lifdes(t)   sægdes(t)   hogdes(t)
  3. hæfde   lifde   sægde   hogde
Plur. hæfdon     lifdon   sægdon   hogdon

Subjunctive.

Sing. 1. hæfe     lifde   sægde   hogde
Plur. hæfden     lifden   sægden   hogden

Participle.

gehæfd        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. -äis, -äp, -åi would have become -es(t), -ep, -e in OE. The regular form of hæbbe would be *hebbe (OS. hebbiu) from West Germanic *χábbjó, 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), hafap are rare in pure WS., the usual forms are hæfst, hæfp; and similarly with sægst, sægp; hyg(e)st, hyg(e)p. habbaþ, habban (West Germanic *χábbjanþi, *χábbja-
nan, OS. hebbiad, hebbian) had the a in the stem-syllable from hafas(t), hafap. On forms like näbbe 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 sealflan (§ 535) in the present. On the t in liofas(t) and liofap, see § 102.

secge (OS. seggiu), secg(e)an (OS. seggian), from West Germanic *saggjō, *saggjanan. In the present the e as in secge, secg(e)an was often extended to forms which regularly had æ, and vice versa. In late WS. the e was extended to all forms of the present. On forms like pret. sæde beside sægde, see § 54, Note 2.

On the y in hycg(e)an beside the o in hogde, see § 43. In the pret. this verb was also inflected like class II, hogode, &c.; cp. also the past participle gehogod for *gehogd.

Note.—Traces of the old inflexion of verbs which originally belonged to class III are seen in such forms as býa (Nth.), to dwell, fylg(e)an, to follow, onscynian (Anglian), to shun, wæccende, being awake, beside bűan, folgian, onscunian, waciende, hettend, enemy, beside hatian, to hate; pret. plægde, trúde, beside plagode, he played, trúwian, to trust.

C. Minor Groups.

A. Preterite-Presents.

§ 539. These verbs were originally unreduplicated perfects, which acquired a present meaning like Gr. οἴδα, Latin nōvī, 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). The following verbs, many of which are defective, belong to this class:—

§ 540. I. Ablaut-Series.

wät, I know, he knows, 2. sing. wäst (§ 240), pl. witon beside wiotun, wietun (§ 101), wuton (§ 103); subj. wite; imperative sing. wite, pl. witaþ with -aþ from the pres. indic. 3. pers. pl. of other verbs (§ 476); inf. witan beside wiotan, wietan (§ 102); pres. part. witenede; pret. wisse, wiste (§ 240); pp. gewiten; participial adj. gewiss, certain. On forms like nät beside ne wät, 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. üpe (§ 113); pp. geunnen.

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

pearf, I need, 2. sing. pearft, pl. purfon; subj. pyrfe beside the more common form purfe (§ 482); inf. purfan; pres. part. pearfende, needy; pret. porfte.

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).
IV. Ablaut-Series.

sceal, *I shall, owe, 2. sing. scealt, pl. sculon 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; subj. myne beside the more common form mune* (§ 482); imperative -mun beside -myne, -mune; inf. munan; pres. part. munende; pret. munde (Goth. munda); pp. gemunen.

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, mehtte* (§ 68, Note 2), later mihte.

be-neah (Goth. bi-nah), ge-neah (Goth. ga-nah), *it suffices, pl. -nugon; subj. -nuge; pret. nohte.*

VI. Ablaut-Series.

mōt, *I, he may, 2. sing. mōst* (§ 240), pl. mōton; subj. mōte; pret. mōste (§ 240).

§ 546. The following verb probably belonged originally to the seventh class of strong verbs (§ 512): æg later ah (§ 328), *I have, 2. sing. āhst with -st from forms like dearst, pl. āgon; subj. āge; imperative āge; inf. āgan; pret. āhte; pp. āgen, āgen* (§ 442), *own.*

B. Verbs in -mi.

§ 547. The first pers. sing. pres. indicative of the Indo-Germanic verb ended either in -ō or -mi (cp. Greek verbs in -ω and -μ, like φέω, *I bear, τιθέμενο, 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
§ 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.

WS.  Anglian.  WS.  Anglian.
Sing. 1.  eom  eam, am  bīo, bēo  bīom
      2.  eart  earp, arp  bist  bi(t)
      3.  is  is  bi(p)  bi(p)
Plur.  sint, sind  bīop, bēop  bīop  bi(o)bon, -un
       sindon, -un  bēon, bēon  -un

Subjunctive.

Sing.  sīe, sī  sīe  bīo, bēo
Plur.  sīen, sīn  sīen  bīon, bēon

Imperative.

Sing.  bīo, bēo
Plur.  bīop, bēop  wes  wesap
       bīon, bēon
       bīonde, bēonde

Infinitive.

wesan

Participle.

wesende
§ 549] 2. The Verb dōn, to do.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. dō</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td>dō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dēst</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dēp</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.  dōp</td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td>dōp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive dōn

Participle dōnde
Preterite.

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

Participle gedōn

Anglian has the older form dōm for the first pers. singular; dēst, Nth. dōes(t); dēp, Nth. dōp, dōes, from *dō-is, *dō-ip (§ 47); dōp from *dō-anpi; Anglian often has longer forms in the present, as imper. dōa, dōap, inf. dōan. 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. dādon, corresponding to OS. dādun, OHG. tātun, Goth. -dēdun which has only been preserved in the pret. of weak verbs (§ 520). Pret. subj. dyde, dyden from *dūi-, *dūin (§ 482); beside dyde there also occurs in poetry dāde, corresponding to OS. dādi, OHG. tāti, and Goth. -dēdi. Beside the pp. -dōn there also occurs in poetry -dēn, Nth. -dēn (§ 442).

§ 550. 3. The Verb gān, to go.

Present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indic.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>gā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>gāst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>gāp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>gāp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitive gān. Past participle gegān.

gāst, gāp, from older *gā-is, *gā-ip (§ 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 O.E. a new infinitive, present participle, and weak preterite.

**Present.**

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


In adverbs like craeftīce, *skilfully*; dollīce, *foolishly*; frēondlīce, *kindly*; gelīce, as, *similarly*; loffīce, *gloriously*; hetelīce, *violently*, which were regularly formed from adjectives ending in -lic (see § 634), the -īce came to be regarded as an adverbial ending, and was then used in forming adverbs from adjectives which did not end in -lic, as eornostīce, *earnestly*; holdīce, *graciously*; hwætīce, *quickly*; lætīce, *slowly*; spēdlīce, *prosperously*; stearclīce, *vigorously*, &c.
§ 554. The adverbial ending in the other Germanic languages, as Goth. -ō, OS. OHG. -o, goes back to the Indg. ablative ending -ōd which regularly became -a in OE. This -a was preserved in a few adverbs ending in -inga (= Goth. -iggo), -unga (= OS. ungo), -linga, -lunga (cp. §§ 607, 615), as dearnunga, -inga, secretly; eallunga, -inga, entirely; and similarly ēawunga, openly, publicly; edniwunga, anew; fērunga, quickly, suddenly; gegnunga, straight forwards; hōlunga, in vain, without cause; sim(b)lunga, always, continually; unwēnunga (Goth. unwēniggō), unexpectedly; wēnunga, perhaps, by chance; ierringa, angrily; nēadinga, 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; holdīce, graciously, holdīcor, holdīcost; strange, violently, strangor, strangost; but seldom, sel(ō)d, sel(n)or, sel(d)ost.

§ 556. A certain number of adverbs had originally -iz (Goth. -is, -s) in the comparative and -ist (Goth. -ist, -st), rarely -ōst, in the superlative (cp. §§ 443-4), as ēabe, easily, ēp from *aupi, ēapost; feorr, far, fierr from *ferriz, fierrest; lange, long, leng from *langiz, lengest; söfte, softly, sēft from *samftiz; tulge, strongly, firmly, tylg from *tulgiz, tyłgest; ār from *airiz (Goth. āiris), earlier, formerly; sīp from *sipiz (Goth. pana-seip, further, more), later. The following form their comparative and superlative from a different word than the positive:— līt, lītle, little, lēs from *laisiz, lēst; micle, much, mā (Goth. máis, Anglian mā), māst; wel, well, comp. bet
from *batiz, with loss of -e after the analogy of comparatives with long stems, beside sēl from *sōliz, superl. betst, sēlest; yf(e)le, badly, wretchedly, wiers, wyrs, from *wirsiz (Goth. wāirs, 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 norþ, north-east; ēaþ, easily; fela, feola, very much; full, perfectly, very; fyrm, formerly; geador, together, jointly; gefyrn, once, long ago, formerly; genōg, enough, sufficiently; hēah, high; lýthwōn, little; mæst, mostly; samen, together; sīþ, late; sundor, asunder, apart; tela, teola, well, befittingly; ungefyrn, not long ago; untela, amiss; west, westward; west lang, extending westwards. Compounds of -weard, as forweard, continually, always; hindanweard, hindwards, at the end; norþweard, northward; sūþweard, southward; úþweard, 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; ïdæges, on the same day; innanbordes, at home; īsīþes, at that time; orcēapes, without payment; orþanes, heedlessly; samtinges, immediately, forthwith; selfwilles, voluntarily; sundorliepes, separately; sunganges, moving with the sun; þanes, gladly, voluntarily; ungemetes, excessively, immeasurably; ungewealdes, involuntarily; unþanes, unwillingly; willes, willingly; the -es was sometimes extended to fem. nouns, as endebyrdes, in an orderly manner; nīedes, of necessity, needs; nihtes, at night, by night. āghwæs, altogether, in every way; dæglanges, during a day; elles, otherwise, else; ealles, entirely, wholly; endemes, equally, in like manner; gehwæperes, on all sides; nealles, not at
§ 557] Adverbs

all, by no means; nihltanges, all night long; simbles, ever, always; singales, always, ever; ső̂pes, truly, verily; sumes, somewhat, to some extent; þæs, after; þwěōres, athwart, transversely; ungewisses, unconsciously; hāmweardes, homewards; norþweardes, northwards; nipereardes, downwards; tōweardes, towards. A preposition was sometimes prefixed to the genitive, as in-stæpes, instantly, at once; tō-āfenes, till evening; tō-ēmnes, along-side, beside; tō-gēanes, towards, against; tō-geflites, in emulation; tō-gifes, freely, gratis; tō-middles, amidst, among.

Gen. pl.; as Ænge þinga, anyhow, in any way; gēara, of yore, formerly; hū meta, how, in what way; hū nyta, wherefore; nänge, nänge þinga, not at all; ungēara, not long ago, recently.

Dat. and instrumental sing., as bearhtme, instantly; elne, strongly, vigorously; facne, exceedingly; hlūdswēge, loudly; niēde, of need, necessarily; nēode, zealously, diligently; niwan stefne, anew, again; recene, instantly, at once; torne, grievously; wihte, at all. ealle, entirely; hēo-dæg, to-day; hwēne, somewhat. dæg-hwām, daily; furþum, even, indeed; gegnum, forwards, straight on; lēofwendum, ardently; wrāþum, fiercely.

Dat. pl., as dæg-tidum, by day; fir(e)num, excessively, very; gēardagum, formerly, in days of old; gěyldum, 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; þrümnum, powerfully; ungemetum, excessively; unsnyttrum, foolishly; unsnymnum, guiltlessly; unwearnum, irresistibly; unwillum, unwillingly; wundrum, wonderfully; wynnum, joyfully, pleasantly; compounds with -mǣlum, as byrþenmǣlum, by loads; dælmǣlum, piecemeal; dropmǣlum, drop by
§ 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>hēr, here</td>
<td>hider</td>
<td>hionan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hindan, behind</td>
<td>hinder</td>
<td>hindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwēr, where</td>
<td>hwider</td>
<td>hwanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inne, innan, within</td>
<td>in(n)</td>
<td>innan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēah, near</td>
<td>nēar</td>
<td>nēan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niopan, beneath</td>
<td>niþer</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>
Prepositions

§ 559. 2. Prepositions.

(1) With the accusative: geond, throughout, during; geondan, beyond; underneopan, underneath, below; wiþ-geondan, beyond; ymb, around, about, at: ymbútan, around, about; op (more rarely dat.), to, up to, as far as, until; þurh (more rarely dat. or gen.), through, during.

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

(3) With the dative: æfter, behind, after, along, during, throughout, according to, in consequence of; ær, before; æþforan, before, in the presence of; bī (be), also with instr., by, along in; bæftan, behind; beheonan, on this side of; beneopan, beneath, below; binnan, within, in, into; eac, in addition to, besides; fram (from), also with instr., from, by; gehende, near; mid, also with instr., together with, among; nēah (also comp. nēar, superl. nīehst), near; of, from, away from, out of; ongemang, onmang, among; oninnan, in, within, into, among; onufan, upon; samod, together with, at (of time); til, to; tô-emnes, alongside, on a level with; tôforan, before, in front of; tômiddes, in the midst of; wiþæftan, behind; wifþforan, before; wiþútan, outside, without, except. The following also sometimes govern the acc.: æt, at, by, in, on, upon; beforan, before, in the presence of; bútan, outside, without, free from; fore, before, in the sight of; tô (also occasionally gen. and instr.), to, into, at, by; wiþinnan, within.
(4) With the accusative and dative: ābūtan, onbūtan, around, about (of time); begeondan, beyond; behindan, behind; betwēonan, betwēonum, between, among; betweox, 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, tōgegenes, 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; wip, against, towards, to, opposite, near.

§ 560. 3. Conjunctions.

(1) Co-ordinate: ac, but; and, and; āgþer . . . and, āgþer . . . ge, both . . . and; ēac, also; ēac swelc (swylc), swelc ēac, as also; for þaēm (þaēm), for þon, for þy, þonne, therefore; ge, and; ge . . . ge, both . . . and; hwæþ(e)re, þeah, swa þeah, swā þeah hwæþ(e)re, however; ne . . . ne, ne . . . ne ēac, nāhwæþer ne . . . ne, neither . . . nor; opþe, or; opþe . . . opþe, either . . . or; samod . . . and, both . . . and.

(2) Subordinate: æfter þaēm (þaēm) þe, after; ār þaēm þe, before; būtan, unless, unless that; for þaēm (þaēm) þe, for þon þe, for þy þe, because; gelic and, as if; gif, if, whether; hwæþer, whether; hwæþer þe . . . þe, whether . . . or; mid þy þe, mid þaēm 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,
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: āc, oak; bān, bone; bōc, book; burg, city; cāg, key; cild, child; dæl, dale; dēor, deer; ende, end; feld, field; folc, foik; fot, foot; gold, gold; hām, home; hand, hand; hūs, house; land, land; lim, limb; lic, body; lof, præse; mann, man; molde, mould; mūs, mouse; nāma, name; nett, net; oxa, ox; pytt, pit; rūm, room; sēa, sea; sciæld, shield; spere, spear; tima, time; trēo, tree; pēof, thief; þing, thing; weg, way; wēn, hope; weorc, work; word, word; wyrm, worm; ðēp, 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; snēad, morsel, slice; snide, incision; wita, wise man.

boga, bow; bryce, use; cyre, choice; fīēoge, fly; flota, sailor; loc, lock; lyre, loss; notu, use; scēat, region.
bend, band; bryne, burning; drenc, drink; feoht, battle; fight; gield, payment; ryne, running, course; stenc, odour; steng, pole; wyrd, fate.

bær, bier; bryce, breaking; byre, son; cuma, guest; cwalu, killing; cyme, advent; stalu, theft.

spræc, speech; wæg, wave.

faru, journey; fór, journey; slege, blow.

gang, going; heald, protection; hlíep, jump; ræd, counsel. See § 225.

§ 563. Derivative nouns are formed in a great variety of ways:—

1. From adjectives, as bieldo, boldness; brádo, breadth; cielo, cold; fyllo, fullness; hælo, health; hæto, heat; hyldo, favour, grace; ieldu, -o, old age; lengo, length; menigo, crowd; snytru, wisdom; strengo, 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; staþol, foundation; tungol, star. āþm, breath; botm, bottom; mæþm, treasure; wæstm, growth. dryhten, lord; heofon, heaven; morgen, morning; þegen, thane; wæpen, weapon. brópor, brother; fæder, father; finger, finger; födor, food; hamor, hammer; sweostor, sister; þunor, thunder; winter, winter.

3. From verbs by means of a dental suffix, as blæd, blowing; cyst, virtue, excellence; dæd, deed; fierd, army; flyt, flight; gebyrd, birth; genyht, sufficiency; gesceaf, creation; geþealþ, plan; gift, price of a wife; glæd, live coal; hæft, captivity; hyht, hope; læst, track; meaht, power; mæp, mowing; sæd, seed; sleht, slaughter; spæd, success; weft, weft.

4. From verbs with inseparable particles, as bebod, command; beclyþing, cell; bedelfing, digging round; begang, practice; behát, promise; belæf, remainder; belimp, occur-
rence; begiemen, care, attention. forbod, prohibition; forhæfednes, temperance; forlor, destruction; forwyrd, fate, destruction. gebann, decrec, proclamation; gebed, prayer; geblöt, sacrifice; gebrec, clamour, noise; gefeoht, fight, battle. ofcyrf, cutting off; ofslegennes, destruction; ofspræc, utterance.

5. By means of various prefixes. Some of the forms given as prefixes below are in reality independent words forming the first elements of compounds. They have been included among the real prefixes for purely practical purposes. It should be noted that the examples given below include both nouns and adjectives:—

Prefixes.

§ 564. Æ-, Goth. áiw, ever, as ábrēmende, ever celebrating; álibbende, everlasting; áwunigende, continual.

§ 565. Â-, privative prefix denoting without, like the ā in OHG. ámaht, without power, as âfelle, without skin; âgilde, without compensation; âmen(ne), depopulated; âmōd, out of heart, dismayed; âwēne, hopeless.

§ 566. Âf-, stressed form of of-, off, as âfesf, envy; âfpanc(a), grudge; âfweard, absent.

§ 567. After-, after, as âftergenga, successor; âftergield, after-payment; âfterfolgere, follower; âfterweard, following; âfterlēan, recompense; âfterieldo, old age; âfterlic, 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. âvti, 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; andwyrd, 

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answer. andfenge, acceptable; andgietol, intelligent; and-lang, continuous; andweard, present; andwræþ, hostile.

§ 570. bī· (OHG. bīi), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb bī, by, of which the unstressed form is be- (§ 647), as bīcwide, proverb; bīfylice, neighbouring people; bīgeng, practice; bīgyrdel, girdle, purse; bīleofa, sustenance; bī-spell, example; bīwist, sustenance; bīword, proverb.

§ 571. ed· (Goth. id-, OHG. ita-, it-), back, again, re-, as edcierr, return; edgield, repayment; edgift, restitution; edgrōwung, regrowing; edlēan, reward; edroc, rumination; edwît (Goth. idweit), reproach. edgeong, growing young again; ednîwe, renewed.

§ 572. fore· (Goth. faúra, OHG. fora), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb fore, before, fore-, as forebēacen, foretoken; foreduru, vestibule; foregīsl, preliminary hostage; forespreca, advocate; foreþanc, forethought. forehālīg, very holy; foremāre, illustrious.

§ 573. fram· (Goth. OHG. fram), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb fram, from, as framcyme, progeny; framlād, retreat; framsīþ, 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; gebrōþor, brethren; gefēra, companion; gefylice, army; gegaderung, gathering; gehāda, brother minister; gemæcca, mate; gemōt, meeting; gescæft, creation; gesīþ, comrade; gewider, bad weather. gebyrd, birth, descent; geweorc, work; gewita, witness; gewuna, custom. ge-æpele, congenial; gecynde, innate, natural; gedēfe, befitting; gelīc, similar; gemyndig, mindful; gemēne, common; gesund, healthy, sound.
§ 575. in-, the stressed form of the preposition in, *in*, as *inādl*, *internal disease*; *inbūend*, *inhabitant*; *incniht*, *houseservant*; *incofa*, *inner chamber*; *infær*, *entrance*; *infarū*, *invasion*; *inhere*, *home army*; *insegīl*, *seal, signet*. *inpicce*, *very thick, coarse*.

§ 576. mid- (Goth. *miþ*, 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*; *mislār*, *bad teaching*; *misrād*, *misguidance*. *misboren, mis-shapen at birth*; *mishworfen, perverted*.

§ 578. ofer- (Goth. *ufar*, OHG. *ubar*, Gr. *ὑπὲρ*, Skr. *upāri*), the stressed form of the preposition *ofer*, *over*, as *oferāt*, *gluttony*; *oferbrū*, *eyebrow*; *oferdrenc*, *drunkenness*; *oferhygd*, *pride*; *ofermægen*, *superior force*; *oferslop*, *surplice*; *ofersprāc*, *loquacity*; *oferpēarf*, *extreme need*; *oferweorc*, *tomb*. *ofерhlūd*, *overloud*; *ofermēte*, *excessive*; *ofermicel*, *over-much*; *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*; *onflāesncnes*, *incarnation*; *onstīgend*, *rider*; *onsting*, *authority*. *on-æpelē, 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*; *orþanc*, *skill, intelligence*; *orweorþ*, *ignominy*. *orcēas*, *free from complaint*; *orcāwe*, *easily recognised*; *oreald*, *very old*; *orgiete*, *manifest*; *orgilde*, *unpaid for*; *orhlēahtrē*, *blameless*; *ormēte*, *excessive*; *ormōd*, *despairing*; *orsāwle*, *lifeless*; *ortydre*, *barren*; *orwēne*, *despairing*. 

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§ 581. sam-, related to the adverb Goth. samana, OHG. saman, OE. samen, together, Gr. preposition ἀμα, 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. ἡμ-, half, the unshortened form of which would have been sōmi- (§ 121), as sambærned, half-burnt; samcucu, half-dead; samhāl, in bad health; samgrēne, half-green; samlēred, half-taught; samsoden, half-cooked; samwis, dull, foolish.

§ 583. sin-(Goth. OHG. sin-), ever, perpetual, as sindrēam, everlasting joy; sinhere, immense army; sinhiwan, married couple; sinniht, eternal night; sinscipe, marriage, wedlock; sinsorg, continual sorrow. sinceald, ever cold; sinfulle, singrēne, houseleek; singrim, ever fierce.

§ 584. tō-, the preposition tō, to, as tōcyme, approach, arrival; tōhlystend, listener; tōhyht, hope; tō-icenes, increase; tōnama, surname; tōspræc, conversation; tōtyhting, instigation. tōcumende, foreign, strange; tōheald, inclined, leaning; tō-ierende, approaching; tōweard, facing, approaching.

§ 585. twi- (OHG. zwi-, Lat. bi-, Gr. δι- from *δει-,) two, as twibill, two-edged axe; twigilde, double payment; twiweg, place where two roads meet; twibēte, needing double compensation; twifeald, twofold; twifere, accessible by two ways; twifēte, two-footed; twifingre, two fingers thick; twihēafode, two-headed; twi-hwēole, two-wheeled; twinihte, two days old; twirāede, irresolute; twispræce, double-tongued, false in speech; twiwintre, of two years.

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

§ 587. purh-, the preposition purh, through, as purh-bearht, very bright; purhbitter, very bitter; purhferē, penetrable; purhhālig, very holy; purhschinendlic, splendid; purhscyldig, very guilty; purhspeādig, very wealthy; purhwacol, sleepless.

§ 588. un- (Goth. OHG. un-, Lat. en-, Gr. ὀν), a negative particle, un-, sometimes used intensively with the meaning bad, evil, &c., as unār, dishonour; unbealo, innocence; uncyst, vice; unfriþ, war; unhǣlo, sickness. uncræft, evil practice; undēād, crime; ungepēnc, evil thought; ungield, excessive tax; unlagu, evil law, injustice; unlār, false doctrine; unswefn, bad dream; unwritere, careless scribe. unæþele, plebeian; unāgiefen, unpaid; unandgīf-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; unsynnig, innocent; ungewiss, uncertain.

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

§ 590. up-, the preposition ūp, up, as ūpcyme, rising, origin; ūpende, upper end; ūpfleōring, upper floor; ūpgang, rising, sunrise; ūpheofon, sky; ūplyft, upper air; ūpștige, ascent; ūpștīgend, rider; ūpweg, way to heaven. ūpcund, celestial; ūphēah, uplifted; ūplendisc, rural, rustic; ūpriht, upright, erect.

§ 591. ut-, the preposition ūt, out, as ūtcwealm, utter destruction; ūtdræf, expulsion; ūtfēar, exit; ūtgang, exit; ūtgefeohht, foreign war; ūtgēmāre, extreme boundary; ūthere, foreign army; ūtlagu, outlaw. ūtlendisc, strange, foreign; ūtlic, external, foreign.
§ 592. wan-, the same word as the adjective Goth. wans, OE. OHG. wan, wanting, lacking, deficient, as wanhālp, weakness; wanhafa, poor person; wanhoga, thoughtless person; wanhgyd, carelessness; wanspēd, poverty. wansēlig, unhappy; wanscrŷdd, 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. ὄμβ), around, and related to the adverb ymbe, OHG. umbi; both from an older umb + bī, literally around by. Examples are ymbfær, circuit; ymbgang, circumference; ymbhoga, consideration.

Suffixes.

§ 595. -ap, -op (Goth. -ōpu-, OHG. -ōd, Lat. -ātu-, Gr. -πο!), used in forming masc. abstract nouns from the second class of weak verbs, as drohtāp, way of life; drūgoð, dryness, drought; fiscope, fishing; fugeloð, fowling; huntop, hunting; langop, longing, desire; sweolop, swolepo, heat, burning. Often extended to -nop with n from the verbal forms, as drohtnian, to pass life; hæftnian, to take captive; whence fiscope, fugelop, sāednōp, 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, spearc-bearer; cāgbora, key-bearer; mundbora, protector; rādbora, counsellor; rōdbora, cross-bearer; strālhora, archer; wæpenbora, warrior; wōpbora, poet; wrōhtbora, accuser.

§ 597. -dōm (OHG. -tuom), also used as an independent word, Goth. dōms, OE. dōm, judgment, OHG. tuom, state, condition, as abbuddōm, abbacy; campdōm, contest,
war; cynedūm, kingdom; ealdordūm, authority; frēodūm, freedom; hæftedūm, captivity; hlāfordūm, lordship; lācedūm, medicine; lārēowdūm, office of teacher; recenddūm, rule, governance; swicdūm, deceit; þēowdūm, 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, sinew; fætels, tub; gyrdels, girdle; hŷdels, hiding-place, cave; mārels, mooring-ropes; miercels, mark; rādels, riddle; rēcels, incense; smierels, ointment; sticels, goad; wrigels, covering.

§ 599. -en (OHG. -in, acc. -onna), prim. Germanic -inj-, -injō- (West Germanic -innjō-, § 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; þīnen, þīn, handmaid; wīergen(n), she-wolf. giemen(n), care, responsibility; hæftan, custody; hengen, hanging; lygen, falsehood; scīelden(n), protection; selen, sellen, gift; strēowen, bed; tyhten(n), incitement; wǣcen, vigil, watching.

§ 600. -en (Goth. -ein, OHG. -in), West Germanic -in- beside -innja-, used in forming neuter nouns often with diminutive meaning, as clīwen, clīwen, clew; cŷcen, chicken; embren, bucket; fæstien, fortress; filmen, film; gāten, little goat, kid; mægden, māden, maiden; ticcen, kid, westen(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; hālend, Saviour; hettend, enemy; hlystend, listener; lāstend, doer; līpend, sailor, traveller; metend, measurer; recend, ruler; ridend, rider; scēotend, warrior; sec- gend, speaker; sellend, giver; tālend, reprover; wealdend, ruler; wīgend, 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; crēopere, cripple; costere, tempter; drēamere, musician; drincere, drinker; etere, eater; fugelere, fowler; folgere, follower; gītsere, miser; godspellere, evangelist; hearpere, harper; hordere, steward, treasurer; hwistlere, piper; lānere, lender; lēasere, hypocrite; lēogere, liar; leornere, disciple, learner; mābere, mower; mangere, merchant, trader; rēafere, robber; recceere, ruler; sādere, sower; sangere, singer; scipere, sailor; sēamere, tailor; sūtere, shoemaker; tollere, tax-gatherer; writere, writer.

§ 603. -estre from older -istræ, prim. Germanic -istrjōn- beside -astrjōn-, 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; lopppestre, lobster; lufestre, lover; rādestre, reader; sangestre, songstress; sēamestre, sempstress; tæppestre, tavern-keeper; webbestre, weaver; wītegestre, prophetess.

§ 604. -et(t) (Goth. -iti, OHG. -izzi), prim. Germanic -ītja- beside -atja-, used in forming neut. verbal and denominative abstract nouns, as bærnret, arson; bealcet(t), belchng; emnet, plain; hīewet, cutting; nierwet(t), narrowness; rēwet, rowing; rīmret, space, extent; sāwet, sowing; sweofot, sleep; ċēowet, -ot, slavery; biccet(t), thicket.

§ 605. -hād (OHG. -heit), used to form masc. abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives, also used as an independent word, Goth. hāidus, way, manner, OE. hād, OHG. heit, grade, rank. Examples are: abbudhād, rank of an abbot; camphād, warfare; cildhād, childhood; cnihthād, boyhood; fulwihthād, baptismal vow; geogup-hād, youth; hēalichād, loftiness; mægdenhād, maiden-
hood; mægphād, relationship; munuchād, monastic state; 
prēosthād, priesthood; þēowhād, service; werhād, man-
hood, male sex; wīfhād, womanhood.

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

§ 607. -ing (O.Icel. -ingr, O.HG. -ing), used in forming 
masc. concrete nouns, especially patronymics, as æpeling, 
son of a noble, prince; cyning, king; Ealdulfing, Scēfing; 
Scylding, biesting, first milk of a cow after calving; 
cāsering, a coin; scilling, shilling; hāring, herring; 
hearding, hero, bold man; hemming, shoe of hide; ierming, 
poor wretch; silfring, silver coin; swertling, titlark. From 
nouns like æpeling beside the adj. æpele, noble; and 
lýtling, child, beside lýtel, little, was extracted the suffix 
-ling which became common especially in forming nouns 
denoting persons, as cnæpling, youth; dēorling, favourite, 
darling; feorþing, fourth part, farthing; föstorling, foster-
child; geongling, youth; gesibling, kinsman; hæftling, 
prisoner; hēafodling, equal, companion; hýrling, hireling; 
iérþing, ploughman; nīedling, slave, bondman; rǣpling, 
prisoner; þēowling, slave.

§ 608. -lāc, used in forming neuter nouns. Also used 
as an independent word, Goth. láiks, dance, O.Icel. leikr, 
play, O.HG. 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: 
ǣfenlāc, evening sacrifice; brēowlāc, brewing; brýdlāc, 
marriage gift; feohtlāc, fighting; rēaflāc, robbery, booty; 
sēlāc, gift or offering from the sea; scīnlāc, magic; wed-
lāc, wedlock; wītelāc, punishment; wrōhtlāc, accusation.

§ 609. -nes(s), -nis(s) (O.HG. -nessi, -nissi), used in
forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives, as æþelnes, nobility; biternes, bitterness; blindnes, blindness; cēlnes, coolness; clænnes, purity; drēorignes, sadness; ēadignes, prosperity; fæstnes, firmness; glēawnes, sagacity; grēnnes, greenness; hālnes, salvation; heardnes, hardness; idelnes, idleness; lufsumnes, amiability; mildheortnes, mercy; oferetolnes, gluttony; slæcnnes, slackness; strangnes, strength; wætersēocnes, dropsy; værnnes, prudence; 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 geraēdan, to arrange, put in order. Examples are: gefērrāden, companionship; geþēodrāden, fellowship; hīwraēden, family, household; holdrāden, loyalty; hūsrāden, household; hyldrāden, fidelity; mædērāden, grass mown on a meadow; māgrāden, relationship; man(n)rāden, allegiance, homage; tēonrāden, injury; trēowrāden, fidelity; pingrāden, intercession; wīterāden, punishment.

§ 611. -scipe (related to Goth. skapjan, OE. scieppan, to create), used in forming masc. abstract nouns, as bēorcscipe, feast; burgscipe, township; cāfscipe, activity; dryhtscipe, sovereignty; fracidscipe, vulenesse; fēondscape, hostility; frēondscape, friendship; gēapscape, deceit; gefērscape, companionship; gemānscape, fellowship, communion; gōdscipe, goodness; hāþenscape, paganism; hlāfordscipe, lordship; holdscipe, loyalty; hwætscipe, bravery; manscape, humanity; prūtscape, pride; sinscape, wedlock; tūnscape, inhabitants of a village; þēodscipe, nation; wārscape, prudence.

§ 612. -stafas, the plural of stæf, staff, stick, used to form masc. abstract nouns, as ārstafas, kindness; fācensstafas, treachery; hearmsstafas, trouble, affliction; sorgstafas, sorrow, affliction; wrōhtstafas, crime; wyrdstafas, destiny.
§ 613. -po, -p, older -pu (Goth. -ipa, OHG. -ida, prim. Germanic -ipo), used in forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives, as fylp, filth; hielp(o), height; hienp(o), humiliation; hliefwp, covering, shelter; hriefp(o), scurfiness; iermp(o), poverty; iergp(o), cowardice; læppo, hatred; lengp(o), length; mærp(o), fame, glory; myr(i)gp, mirth; sælp, happiness; slæwp, sloth; strengp(o), strength; triewp, triewp, fidelity; tryp, firmness; þiefp, theft; wræpp(o), wrath. On the t in words like gescentu, disgrace; gesyntu, health; ofermēttu, pride, see § 305. In nouns formed from adjectives ending in -ēas, the -p became -t after the s (§ 305), as lārlēast, -liest, ignorance; liflēast, death; andgietlēast, folly; slæplēast, sleeplessness; giemelēast, 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. The OE. nouns have -u, -o from the ō-declension (§ 365), as menniscu, -o, humanity, human state; micelu, size; wæstmbæro, fertility; wlenco, pride. For further examples, see § 563, 1.

§ 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 ābudung, waiting; āscung, interrogation; biegung, curvature; blācung, pallor; brocung, affliction; cēapung, trading; costung, temptation; deorcung, twilight; gemiltsung, pity; glōmung, gloaming; handlung, handling; hārung, hoariness; hearpung, harping; langung, longing; lēasung, lying, leasing; murcnung, murmuring; niþerung, humiliation; scēawung, contemplation; scotung, shooting; strūdung, robbery; swigung, silence; täcung, signification; tōpung, tithing; þegnung, ministration; þingung, intercession; warnung, warning; wiccung, witchcraft; wun-
ung, dwelling. ærning, riding, racing; grēting, greeting; yielding, delay; ræding, reading; wending, turning.

§ 616. -wist, used in forming fem. abstract nouns. Also used as an independent word. Goth. wists, OHG. OE. wist, being, existence, substance, the verbal abstract noun of OE. wesan, to be. Examples are: hūswist, household; loswist, perdition, loss; midwist, presence; nēawist, neighbourhood; onwist, dwelling in a place; samwist, living together; stedewist, steadiness, constancy.

Compound Nouns.

§ 617. In compound nouns formed by composition, the second element is always a noun, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, or a particle. The declension and gender of compound nouns are determined by the final element. Examples are:

āclēaf, oak-leaf; ēfenmete, supper; æppelwīn, cider; bālfyr, funeral fire; bāncofa, body; bóccræft, literature; borggielda, debtor; brōporsunu, nephew; brýdguma, bridegroom; campstede, battle-field; cornhūs, granary; cūhierde, cow-herd; dōmdæg, doomsday; earmbēag, bracelet; fædersлага, parricide; feldhūs, tent; fierdlēop, war-song; folctoga, general; flæschama, body; gārbēam, spear-shaft; godspell, gospel; gūpbana, banner; hāmstede, homestead; handgeweorc, handiwork; lārhūs, school; mōthūs, court-house; rimcræft, arithmetic; sangbōc, hymn-book; sæcyning, sea-king; scōhnægl, shoe-nail; stæfcræft, grammar; stānbyrcg, stone-bridge; tungolcræft, astronomy; wæterādī, dropsy; weorcđæg, workday; wifman, woman; woruldcaru, worldly care.

ānhaga, recluse; beorhtrodor, heaven; blæcgimm, jet; brādbrim, ocean; cwcāht, live-stock; dimhūs, prison; ealdormann, magistrate; ealdsprǣc, tradition; fæder(e)n-mæg, paternal kinsman; fēowergield, fourfold payment; frēobearn, freeborn child; hēahsynn, deadly sin; lēas-
gielp, vainglory; middelniht, midnight; nēahmāeg, near relation; riðhand, right hand; sorglufu, sad love; söþ-word, true word; wīdsǣ, open sea; wōhgod, false god; wansceaf, misfortune.

angbrēost, asthma; eftcyme, return; ellorsīp, departure, death; gēosceaf, destiny; hidercyme, arrival; niþergang, descent; samodsprǣc, 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 ǣ-stems. Examples are: berelāf, barley loaf; cwidegiedd, song; elebēam, olive-tree; merewīf, water-witch; selegiester, hall-guest; winemǣg, kinsman. duruweard, door-keeper; felavyrdnes, 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; ierfeweard, 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; heortcōpu, heart-disease; moldgræf, grave; nunmynster, convent, nunnery; sunbēam, sunbeam. ēarwicga, earwig. cargāst, sad spirit; giefstōl, throne; luftācen, love token.

§ 619. Sometimes the first element of compounds appears in its inflected form, as dægesēage, daisy; gēacessūre, woodsorrel; hādesmann, member of a particular order; stēoresmann beside stēormann, steersman; Tiwesdæg, Tuesday. hellebryne, hell-fire; hellewite, hell-torment; hildestrengo, warlike strength; rōdehengen(n), crucifixion. mōnanāfen, Sunday evening; mōnandæg beside mōndæg,
Monday; nunnamynster beside nunmynster, nunnery; sunnandæg, Sunday; sunnanniht, Saturday evening. Ægerfelma, film of an egg; Ægergeolu, yolk of egg, beside Ægsciell, egg-shell. Englaland, England; witenagemot, 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; mære, famous; niewe, new; reād, red; scearp, sharp; smæl, small; strang, strong; trum, firm; þicce, thick; wāc, weak; wis, wise.

§ 621. Derivative adjectives often have the same inseparable prefixes as nouns (§§ 504-94), as andfenge, acceptable; ansund, entire, sound; edgeong, growing young; gecynde, innate, natural; sammæle, agreed; unsynnig, innocent.

Suffixes.

§ 622. -bēre (OHG. -bāri, Lat. -fer in lūcifer, light-bearing; originally a verbal adj. from beran, to bear), as æppelbāre, apple-bearing; ātorbāre, poisonous; cwealm-bāre, deadly; fēperbāre, winged; fyrbāre, fiery; gram-bāre, passionate; hālbāre, wholesome; hornbāre, horned; lēohtbāre, bright, splendid; lustbāre, desirable; mann-bāre, producing men; tungolbāre, starry; væstmbāre, fruitful; wīgbāre, warlike.

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

§ 624. -ede (OHG. -ōtī), denoting provided with, furnished with, used in forming adjectives from nouns, as coppede, topped, polled; hēalede, ruptured; hōcede, shaped like a hook; hoferede, humpbacked; ringed(e), furnished with rings; micelhēafdede, big-headed; sūrēagede, clear-eyed; ērihēafdede, three-headed.

§ 625. -en (Goth. -ein, OHG. -īn, prim. Germanic -īnāz = Lat. -īnus), used in forming adjectives denoting the material of which a thing is made, as āscen, made of ash-wood; bræsen, of brass; fellen, of skins; flāscen, of flesh; fyren, fiery; gāten, of goats; gielpen, boastful; gylde, golden; hāren, of hair; hwēten, wheaten; hwilen, transitory; hyrnen, made of horns; lēaden, leaden; picen, of pitch; rygen, of rye; seołfren, of silver; sīden, silken; stānen, stony, of stone; sweflen, sulphurous; trēowen, wooden; tunglen, of the stars.

Note.—Forms like bræsen, fellen, lēaden, trēowen, for *bresen, *f llen, *lieden, *trīwen, are new formations made direct from the corresponding nouns, without umlaut.

§ 626. -erne (prim. Germanic -rōnja-), used in forming adjectives denoting direction, as ēasterne, east, eastern; norperne, northern; süperne, southern; weserne, western.

§ 627. -fæst, same word as the adj. fæst, fast, fixed, firm, as ārendfæst, bound on an errand; ārfaest, virtuous; bid-fæst, stationary; blædfæst, glorious; eorpfæst, fixed in the earth; gieffæst, gifted; hogfæst, prudent; hūsfæst, having a home; hygefæst, wise; mægenfæst, vigorous; sigefæst, victorious; stedefæst, steadfast; trēowo fæst, faithful.

§ 628. -feald (Goth. -falps, OHG. -falt, related to fealdan, to fold), used in forming adjectives from other adjectives,
especially from numerals, as ānfeald, single; felafeald, manifold; hundfeald, hundredfold; manigfeald, manifold; seofonfeald, sevenfold; twēntigfeald, twentyfold.

§ 629. -full, sometimes weakened to -fol, same word as the adj. full, full, used in forming adjectives, especially from abstract nouns, as andgietfull, intelligent; bealofull, wicked; bismerfull, disgraceful; forhtfull, timorous; gelēaffull, believing; geornfull, eager; hyhtfull, joyful; mōdfull, arrogant, proud; scyldfull, guilty; þancfull, thoughtful; wordfull, wordy; wundorfull, wonderful.

§ 630. -ig (Goth. -ag, -eig, OHG. -ag, -ǐg). 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; fyristig, frosty; gesāēig, happy, prosperous; gepyldig, patient; grēdig, greedy; hungrig, hungry; mōdig, brave, bold; ōmig, rusty; scyldig, guilty; stāenig beside stānig, stony; þornig, thorny; þurstig beside þyrstig, thirsty; wordig, wordy; ÿstig, stormy.

§ 631. -iht (OHG. -aht(i), -oht(i), NHG. -icht) has much the same meaning or force as -ig, as cambiht, crested; croppiht, bunchy; finiht, finny; hāriht, hairy; hāþiht, heathy; hrēodiht, reedy; iyiht, 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; wielisc, foreign, Welsh.

Note. I. 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 ēledisc, ēroperty, hīwisc, family, household; mennisc, mankind, people.

§ 633. -lēas (Goth. -lāus, OHG. -lōs). Also used as an independent word Goth. lāus, empty; OE. lēas, OHG. lōs, devoid of. Examples are: ārlēas, impious, cruel; bānlēas, boneless; beardlēas, beardless; carlēas, careless; cwide-
lēas, speechless; fæderlēas, fatherless; giemelēas, head-
less; hāmlēas, homeless; hrōflēas, roofless; mægenlēas, powerless; saclēas, innocent; spræclēas, speechless; tōþ-
lēas, toothless; weorplēas, worthless.

§ 634. -lic (Goth. -leik, OHG. -līh, -līch). Also preserved as an independent word in Goth. ga-leiks, OHG. gi-lič, OE. ge-líc, like; originally the same word as Goth. leik, OE. lic, body. Examples are: ānlic, unique; ānlic, solitary; cildlic, infantine; cynelic, royal; dæglíc, daily; dædlíc, deadly; ealdlic, venerable; forhtlic, afraid; gēarlic, yearly; gesinsciplic, conjugal; heofonlic, heavenly; hetelic, hostile; lófic, praiseworthy; mennisclic, human; mærlic, famous; nytlíc, 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; réafol, rapacious; slāpol, somnolent, sleepy; sprecol, talkative; páncol, 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; ōnsum, whole; fripsum, pacific; fremsum, beneficidal; gelēafsum, credible, faithful; genyhtsum, abundant;
gesibbsum, peaceable, friendly; langsum, lasting, tedious; lufsum, amiable; wilsum, pleasant; wynsum, winsome.

§ 637. -weard (OHG. -wert, Goth. -wairþs, originally a verbal adjective and related to weorþan, to become), used in forming adjectives denoting position or direction, as æfterweard, following; andweard, present; forþweard, inclined forward; heononweard, transitory, going hence; hiderweard, hitherward; innanweard, inward, internal; norþ(e)weard, northward; niþerweard, downward; onganweard, going towards; tóweard, toward, about to come.

§ 638. -wende, related to wendar, to turn, used in forming adjectives from nouns and other adjectives, as hálwende, healthful, wholesome; hätwende, hot, burning; hwilwende, transitory, temporary; læpweard, hateful, hostile; lēofwende, loving, friendly; lufwende, amiable.

§ 639. Suffixes, which were no longer felt as such in OE., are omitted, e. g. the -od, -ol (-el), -en, -er (-or) in adjectives like forod, broken, decayed; nacod, naked. ācol, timid; dēagol, diegol, secret; īdel, vain; lýtel, little; sweotol, plain, evident; yfel, evil. efen, even; fægen, glad; open, open. bitter, bitter; fæger, fair; sicor, sure; snottor, wise; wacor, vigilant, watchful. On the suffixes in the present and past participles, see §§ 520, 601.

Compound Adjectives.

§ 640. In compound adjectives formed by composition, the second element is always an adjective or used as an adjective, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, verb, or particle. On the loss or retention of the final vowel in the first element of compounds see § 618. Examples are: æhtspēdig, wealthy; ælfsciene, beautiful as a fairy; bæcslitol, slandering; beadocræftig, skilful in war; blōdrēad, blood-red; brimceald, sea-cold; brūmfāg, brown-coloured; brynehāt, burning hot; cynegōd, noble; dād-
cēne, bold in deeds; déapfæge, fated to die; déoppancol, thoughtful; dömgeorn, ambitious; druncengeorn, drunken; dünlendisc, hilly; eallgód, perfectly good; ecgheard, hard of edge; efeneald, contemporary; ellenrōf, brave; ellorfūs, ready to depart; fæstrād, steadfast; felasynnig, very guilty; feohstrang, opulent; folcmāre, celebrated; friþgeorn, pacific; gærsgrēne, grass-green; gearopancol, ready-witted; healfcwic, half dead; heteþpancol, hostile; limhāl, sound in limb; luftieme, loving, benevolent; mödcēarig, anxious; namcūþ, celebrated; rēdsnorer, wise; selecūþ, unfamiliar; sigorēadig, victorious; snāhwit, snow-white; þansnotor, wise; wīdcūþ, widely known. The present and past participles often form the second element of compounds, as eallwealdende, omnipotent; glēawhycgende, thoughtful; healflēapende, half-asleep; lēohtberende, luminous; rihtwillende, well-meaning; sædberende, seed-bearing; tēargēotende, tearful. āfterboren, posthumous; ðelfremede, foreign; ārboren, 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 bahuvrihi or possessive compounds, as Lat. longipēs, having a long foot, long-footed; Gr. δουμενής, having an evil mind, hostile; Goth. hrāinjahairts, having a pure heart, pure-hearted. In OE. the most common adjectives of this kind are those ending in -heort and -mōd, as clēnheort, pure in heart; gramheort, hostile-minded; mildheort, gentle; stearcheort, stout-hearted; wulfheort, savage; drōrigmōd, sad; fæstmōd, constant; glædmōd, cheerful; grammōd, fierce; ierremōd, angry; langmōd, patient; micelmōd, magnanimous; strangmōd, resolute; sārīgἐod, sad; þancolmōd, thoughtful; wrāpmōd, wrathful. Other examples are: brūnecg, brown-edged; glēaw-
ferhp, prudent; gyldenfeax, golden-haired; stielecg, steel-edged; yfelspraec, 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 inseparable particles, (2) those formed from nouns and adjectives with verbal prefixes or suffixes. Separable verbs call for no further comment, because they merely consist of the juxtaposition of two independent words.

§ 643. Simple verbs are formed direct from nouns and adjectives or from the corresponding strong verbs, as Ærendian, to go on an errand; andswerian, to answer; andwyrdan, to answer; Ærian, to honour; baþian, to bathe; cwielman, to torture, kill; cyssan, to kiss; dëman, to judge; fëdan, to feed; flieman, to put to flight; geliefan, to believe; hiertan, to hearten, encourage; læran, to teach; liehtan, to give light; mengan, to mix; nemnan, to name; rœafian, to plunder; rýman, to make clear, enlarge; sælan, to bind; scendan, to put to shame; scryðdan, to clothe; sïpian, to travel; sorgian, to grieve; swætan, to sweat; týnan, to enclose.

brædan, to broaden; cœlan, to cool; cypán, to make known; faegnian, to rejoice; fullian, to fulfil; fyllan, to fill; hœlan, to heal; hlýdan, to make a noise; ieldan, to delay; læsian, to tell lies; mœran, to proclaim; nearwian, to become narrow; openian, to open; scierpan, to sharpen.
ærnan, to cause to run; bærnan, to burn; biegan, to bend; cwellan, to kill; drencan, to submerge; fiellan, to fell; geswencan, to injure; gewieldan, to overpower; lædan, to lead; lecgan, to lay; nerian, to save; rærان, to raise; sægan, to lay low; sencan, to submerge; sengan, to singe; settan, to set; swæbban, 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 æт, ofer, þurh, under, wiþ, wipere, 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; abêodan, to announce; abidan, to abide; abitan, to devour; ablîman, to cease; aecorfan, to cut off; adôn, to send away; âdrîfan, to expel; afaran, to depart; âgiefan, to repay; âhëawan, to how off; âlætan, to relinquish; arîsan, to arise; âscûfan, to shove off; âstîgan, to climb.

âcwellan, to destroy; âdrencan, to submerge; âfæstnian, to confirm; âflieman, to banish; âfrîfan, to console; alædan, to lead away; aliehtan, to illuminate; âîesan, to redeem; alibban, to survive; âræran, to rear, lift up.

§ 647. be- (OHG. bi-), the unstressed form of bi- (§ 570), as bebrecan, to break off; bebûgan, to encompass; beclîgan, to enclose; becumân, to become, happen; becweþan, to bequeath; bedrîncan, to drink in, absorb; behealdan, to behold; behëawan, to cut off; beligcan, to surround; belimpan, to happen; belûcan, to lock up; bemurnan, to bewail; benêotan, to deprive; besingan, to bewitch; beslêan, to deprive of; beþringan, to surround; bewindan, to bind round.
§ 648. ed., re-, again (§ 571), as edgieldan, to repay. edbyrdan, to regenerate; edhiertan, to encourage; edlǣcan, to repeat; edlǣstan, to repeat; edstaþelian, to re-establish; edwierpan, to recover.

§ 649. for- (Goth. faír-, late OHG. and MHG. ver.-). The real unstressed form is fer-, corresponding to Goth. faír- 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 fôrwýrd, destruction, beside forwéorþan, to perish. Examples are: forbêodan, to forbid; forbreccan, to destroy; forcweþan, to rebuke; fordôn, to destroy; fordrifan, to expel; forfaran, to perish; forfôn, to seize, take away; forgân, to forgo; forgiefan, to forgive; forgieldan, to repay; forlæcan, to lead astray; forlēosan, to lose; formeltan, to melt away; forniman, to take away; forrǣdan, to plot against; forscrifan, to proscribe; forþéon, to despise; forsowerian, to swear falsely; forweorþan, to perish.

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

§ 660. full(l)- (OHG. folle-), originally the adj. full, full, used adverbially, as fullberstan, to break completely; fullbreccan, to violate; fuldôn, to satisfy; fulgân, to accomplish; fullgrōwan, to grow to maturity; fullþungen, fully grown.

fulbētan, to make full amends; fullendian, to complete; fullfremman, to fulfil; fullfyllan, to fulfil; fulllǣstan, 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; gebōadan, 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; gebēadan, to compel; gebēran, to behave; gebētan, to improve; ge-hefician, to make heavy; gehycgan, to think; gelēfian, to believe; gemētan, to discover; gerācan, to obtain; gesēc-gan, to say, tell; geōbōdan, to join together.

§ 652. mis- (Goth. missa-, OHG. missa-, missi-, § 577), as misbōdan, to ill-treat; miscwejian, to speak incorrectly; misfōn, to make a mistake; misfaran, to go astray; misdōn, to transgress.

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

§ 653. of-, the unstressed form of æf- (§ 566), as ofbēatan, to beat to death; ofgān, to exact; ofgiefan, to give up; ofmunan, to call to mind; ofsittan, to oppress; ofslingan, to stab to death; ofswingan, to scourge to death; oftēon, to withdraw; ofspringan, to press upon.

ofascian, to find out by asking; ofclipian, to obtain by calling; of earmian, to have pity on; offeran, to overtake; offiellan, to kill; ofsendan, to send for; ofsteppan, to trample upon; ofstician, to stab to death; ofwundriam, to be astonished.

§ 654. on- (OHG. int-), the unstressed form of and- (§ 569), as onbindan, to unbind; onbōadan, to bid; onberan, to carry off; oncnāwan, to perceive; onfealdan, to unfold; onfindan, to discover; ongietan, to perceive;
onlūcan, to unlock; onsiγan, to sink; onspannan, to unfasten; onwindan, to unwind; onwrēon, to uncover; onwripan, to uncover. onsēlan, to untie; onscrydan, to undress; ontynan, to unclose, open; onwendan, to change.

§ 655. op-, from, away (Goth. unēp- in unēpliūhan, to escape), the unstressed form of ūp-, preserved in ūpgenge, departing; ūpmēte, immense. Examples are: opcwelan, to die; opberan, to carry away; opberstan, to escape; opflēon, to flee away; opglīdan, to glide away; ophebban, to exalt; opiernan, to run away; opswerian, to deny on oath.

opfæstan, to inflict upon; opfēdan, to hide from; op-lēdan, to lead away; opstillan, to stop; opwendan, to turn away.

§ 656. tō- (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 tō- 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. δυσ-, hard, bad, ill, as in δυσμαθής, hard to learn. Examples are: tōberstan, to burst asunder; tōblawan, to blow to pieces; tōbrekan, to break to pieces; tōceorfan, to cut in pieces; tōclēofan, to cleave asunder; tōfeallan, to fall to pieces; tōflōwan, to flow apart; tōlūcan, to pull asunder; tōniman, to separate; tōscūfan, to push apart; tōsittan, to be separated; tō-snīpān, to cut up; tōstandan, to stand apart; tōweorpan, to scatter.

tōbrīsan, to crush in pieces; tōcnyssan, to shatter; tōdēlan, to sunder; tōdrēfan, to disperse; tōfēran, to separate; tōfiellan, to cause to fall asunder; tōhaccian, to hack to pieces; tōrendan, to tear asunder; tōtwēman, to divide.
SUFFIXES.

§ 657. *ettan (Goth. *atjan, OHG. *azzen, later *ezen), used in forming intensive verbs, as grimettan, to roar; rage; hlēapettan, to leap up; hoppettan, to leap, throb; lēasettan, to feign, pretend; lyffettan, to flatter; ficettan, to flatter; sārettan, to lament; scofettan, to drive hither and thither; scrallettan, to sound loudly; sicettan, to sigh; spornettan, to kick; stammettan, to stammer; sworettan, to sigh, pant.

§ 658. *lēcan, also used as an independent verb, lēcan, to move quickly, spring, cp. § 608. Examples are: ēfenlēcan, to become evening; dyrstlēcan, to dare, presume; efenlēcan, to imitate; gēanlēcan, to unite, join; loflēcan, to praise; nēalēcan, to approach; rihtlēcan, to put right; sumorlēcan, to draw on towards summer; þrístlēcan, to embolden; winterlēcan, to grow wintry.

§ 659. *(e)sian. From verbs like Goth. hatizōn, to hate, beside hatis, hatred; OE. eg(e)sian, OHG. egisōn, to terrify, beside Goth. agis, OHG. egiso, OE. egesa, fear, was extracted the ending Goth. OHG. -isōn, OE. *(e)sian, which then came to be used in forming verbs from nouns and adjectives which did not originally contain -is-, as bletsian older blētsian, to bless; blīpsian, blissian, to rejoice; clānsian, to cleanse; gītsian, to covet; grimsian, to rage; hrēowsian, to rue; iersian, to rage, be angry; mārsian, to celebrate; miltsian, to pity, have mercy on; rīcsian, rīxian, to rule.
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