

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NORTHUMBRIAN GLOSS TO THE GOSPEL OF ST. MARK.

In compiling this little book on the language of the Lindisfarne St. Mark (Skeat's Edition 1871), I have taken for my model the well-known Grammar of Dr. Uno Lindelöf "Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham, 1890".

My sole endeavour has been to arrange in a recognised order the material before me. I have not attempted to advance new theories, still less to demolish old ones, the chief features of the Northumbrian dialect of this period being already so exhaustively discussed by Dr. Lindelöf.

I am anxious to tender my thanks for help to Dr. Murray, Professor Sievers, and Professor Skeat; and it is with much pleasure that I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere gratitude to Professor Wright not only for suggesting the work, but also for so constantly assisting me throughout its progress; and to Professor Napier to whom I am indebted for almost all the explanations here proffered of the difficult and obscure words in the text. Indeed but for their sympathy and encouragement the work could never have been accomplished.

Contents.

Part I. Phonology.

A. The Vowels of the Stem Syllables.

Chapt. I. Short Vowels. (§§ 1—37.)

Chapt. II. Long Vowels. (§§ 38—55.)

Chapt. III. Diphthongs. (§§ 56—64).

B. The Vowels of Medial and Final Syllables.

Chapt. IV. Suffixes, Prefixes, & Compound Words. (§§ 65—75).

Chapt. V. Syncope of Middle Vowels. (§§ 76—79).

C. The Consonants.

Chapt. VI. Semi-vowels. (§§ 80—83.)

Chapt. VII. Liquids and Nasals (§§ 84—90).

Chapt. VIII. Non-Sonorous Consonants.

I. Labials (§§ 91—93).

II. Dentals (§§ 94—98).

III. Gutturals and Palatals (§§ 99—102).

Gemination of Consonants. (§§ 103—104).

Part II. Inflection.

- Chapt. IX. Personal Endings of Verbs. (§§ 105—123).
 Chapt. X. Tense-Formation of Strong Verbs. (§§ 124—130).
 Chapt. XI. Tense-Formation of Weak Verbs. (§§ 131—136).
 Chapt. XII. Minor Groups (§§ 137—141).
 Chapt. XIII. Declension of Nouns.
 A. Vocalic or Strong Declension (§§ 142—155).
 Chapt. XIV. B. Weak Declension (§§ 156—162).
 C. Minor Declensions (§§ 163—166).
 Inflection of Proper Names (§§ 167).
 Chapt. XV. Adjectives (§§ 168—175).
 Adverbs (§§ 176—177).
 Chapt. XVI. Numerals (§§ 178—180).
 Chapt. XVII. Pronouns. (§§ 181—186.)

Abbreviations.

- Bout.** = Die vier evangelien in alt-nordhumbrischer sprache von Karl Wilhelm Bouterwek.
Brown = Die sprache der Rushworth glossen zum evangelium Matthäus und der mercische dialekt von Edward Miles Brown.
B-T. = Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
C. = Altwestsächsische Grammatik von P. J. Cosijn.
C. N. = Critical Notes to the text of St. Mark, referred to by page.
H. = Zur altnordhumbrischen laut- und flexionslehre von Dr. H. Hilmer.
Kluge Nom. Stamm. = Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen dialecte.
L = Die sprache des rituals von Durham, ein beitrage zur altenglischen grammatik von Uno Lindelöf.
P. B. B. = Beiträge zur geschichte der deutschen sprache und literatur, herausgegeben von H. Paul und W. Braune.
P. G. = Grundriss der germanischen philologie, herausgegeben von H. Paul, band I.
Pog. = Zur lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen lehnworte im Altenglischen, von Alois Pogatscher.
S. = Angelsächsische grammatik von E. Sievers, zweite auflage. 1886.
Sw. O. E. T. = The Oldest English Texts edited with Introductions and a Glossary by Henry Sweet.
Sw. II. E. S. = A History of English Sounds from the earliest Period. by Henry Sweet.
Z. = Die sprache des kentischen psalters (Vespasian A. I), ein beitrage zur angelsächsische grammatik von Rudolph Zeuner.
Prof. refers to the "Argumentum" and "Capitula Lectionum" contained on pp. 1—5 of the text.
 A figure in brackets after a word means the number of times the word occurs, including any references preceding — thus: *long* VII. 6, IX. 21 etc. (9), means that nine forms of *long* occur.

Part I. Phonology.

A. The Vowels of the Stem Syllables.

Chapter I. Short Vowels.

a.

§ 1. *a* = WGmc. *a* occurs in St. Mark in the following cases.

1) In originally open syllables where the following syllable contains a guttural vowel (S. § 50. 1. and anm.): *aron* IV. 15, 31 etc. (5), *aro gie* IV. 40, V. 39, VII. 18, IX. 41 (v. Kluge P. G. § 36. 6, p. 373); *daga* I. 13, *dagas* II. 20 etc. (4), *-dagum* I. 9 etc. (11), (v. § 143. III), *-ðagana* XVI. 2 (ð for *d* v. § 96); *fadores* VIII. 38, XI. 10, XIV. 62 margin (*fædores* Pref. 3. X.), (*ðone fader* V. 40 beside the regular form *fæder* v. § 3. 1); *ofer-fara* X. 25; *fato* III. 27; *haga* XII. 1; *magon* II. 19 etc. (7), *mago ge* X. 38 (v. § 137. 7); *nacod* XIV. 51, 52, *ge-nacedon* II. 4; *hraccentegum* (catenis) V. 3, 4, *hracengo* V. 4 (v. § 68. 4); *on-sacca* (inf.) Pref. 1. 15, (*onsæcco ic negabo* XIV. 31); *morðor-slago* VII. 21; *onsuarade* III. 33, *-onsuarede* XIV. 61, XV. 5, 9 (*onsuorade* XIII. 2, S. § 51, and *onsuærede* XIV. 48, *geonsuærde* XII. 34, *onsuærega* XIV. 40); *getaled* (reputatus) XV. 28 (for *getalod*, v. S. § 416. anm. 6); *nacan* (uigiliam) VI. 48, Pref. 3. XIX, *gewaccas* (uigilate) XIII. 35 (beside *wæccas* v. § 23. 4). The vowel of *græsum* IV. 32, is due to levelling out from the forms where *æ* is regular. For the converse of this levelling v. *tales* Pref. 1. 12.

2) Before *l* + cons.: *aldor* I. 44 etc.; *halfe* I. 45; *gehalp* V. 26; *gesalde* VI. 7 etc.; and before *r* + cons.: *arg* VIII. 38; *gedarste* XII. 34; *awarð* XV. 33. For further examples and for the occurrence of breaking to *ea* v. § 12.

Lengthening of *a* before the consonant group *ld* is marked by an accent in *sâld* VIII. 12, *sâlde* XIII. 34 (v. § 38. 4).

3) Before nasals: with the exception of the form *stando* (mora) VI. 35, *a* remains unchanged to *o* only in the case of the 1st and 3rd pers. sg. Pret. Indic. of the strong verbs of ablaut III. cl. I. (S. § 386. anm. 3): *geband* VI. 17; *blann* IV. 39, VI. 51; *cann* XIV. 68 (*conn* XIV. 71; etc. (34), v. § 126. II).

4) In close syllables not included under 2) and 3): *ah* (sed) I. 45 etc. (42), *ahne* II. 19, IV. 21, VI. 3, XI. 17; *asca* VI. 11; *habba*, *habbas* VI. 18, VIII. 16 etc. (24), (v. § 136. 1); *tal*

(expositionem) Pref. 1. 12 (L. § 1. 4, p. 2). In *fasne* (fimbriam) VI. 56, the close syllable is perhaps due to metathesis. v. B-T. *fnæs*. Rushw. has *fæse*. For *gelahte* VIII. 32 etc. v. § 18.

5) In the following loan-words: *cuic almus* (uictima) IX. 49, *calic* IX. 41, X. 38, 39 etc. (5), *calica* VII. 4, 8; *camel* X. 25, *camelles* I. 6; *latin* V. 41; *sacerd* XIV. 53, 60, 61, 63 etc. (23), (v. §§ 142. II, 143. I, II), beside these forms with *a*, occurs the form *sæcerd-hâd* Pref. 1. 16 where the vowel has been influenced by the following palatal *c*; *trahtade* IV. 34, *getrahtad* V. 41 etc. (6), (v. §§ 134. 135); *asales* IX. 42, *asalde* Pref. 4. XXXV (v. § 96); *carre* (petra) XV. 46; *maccalic* (oportunus) = O. N. *maktigr* VI. 21.

Note. The *a* in *camel*, *sacerd*, originally short in Latin, is given as long in OE in Pog. § 27, p. 31: "In gelehrten entlehnungen gelten die haupttonigen silben als lang." For *câmel* v. § 189, p. 117: *sâcerd* § 27, p. 31, § 196, p. 117; *câlic*, *calic* v. §§ 44, 216 etc.; WS *ælmesse*, *ðelmesse* v. § 237, p. 140, the above form *almus* is abnormal.

a before Nasals.

§ 2. WGmc. *a* before Nasals appears regularly as *o* in all other instances beyond those mentioned in § 1. 3). The examples are:

1) Before simple *m*: *from* I. 5, 9, 26 etc.; *lichoma* VI. 29 etc. (13), (v. § 156); *noma* III. 16 etc. (13); *somnung* I. 21, 23 etc. (13) (v. §§ 146, 147), *gesomniað* XIII. 27 etc. (5), (v. §§ 134. 1; 135. 1). For *embeht-mon* IX. 35 etc. (8), (v. § 18), v. S. § 93, Nachtr.

2) Before *m* + cons.: *huommes* XII. 10; *ombor* XIV. 13, *ombora* VII. 8; *womb* VII. 19.

3) Before simple dental *n*: *hona* XIV. 30, 68, 72, *honcroed* XIII. 35; *huon* II. 16, XIV. 4, XV. 34 etc. (8), (v. § 185); *eghuona* I. 45, *huona* VIII. 4, XII. 37; *huone* XI. 25; *monig*, *monig-fuld* I. 34, IV. 33, V. 9, X. 46, etc. (29), (with *i*-umlaut *menig* etc. (22), v. § 23. 2); *on-*, as prefix, *onsione* I. 2, XII. 14, XIV. 65, *onweald* XIII. 34; *on* (Prep.) I. 4, 6 etc. (v. S. § 51); *ðon*: *æfter-*, *for-*, *of-* I. 15, 16, 22 etc. (134), (v. § 182), *ðon* (quam) IX. 43, 47, XIV. 30, Pref. 1. 11, *ðone* (Dem. Pron.) always with *o* I. 2, 19 etc. (45), *ðone* (quem) IX. 36, X. 38, 39 etc. (9), (beside *ðene* XI. 2), *ðone* (illum, eum) VIII. 22, XIV. 25, 44 (beside *ðene* V. 15, 24 etc. (15), v. § 182, S. § 65, ann. 2); *ðona* I. 19, VI. 1, 10 etc.

4) Before *n* + cons.: *conn* XIV 68 (§ 1. 2); *hond* I 31, 41, etc. (29), (v. § 154); *huonne* VIII. 19 (*huoenne* (6) v. § 32. 2); *lond* V. 1, 10, 14 etc. (15), (v. §§ 144, 145); *mondo* (sportas, cophinos) VIII. 8, 19; *monn*, *aldor-* I. 23, III. 1, 27 etc. (67), (v. § 166. 1); *ondo* (tremor) XVI. 8; *ondget* XII. 33, *ondsworade* XIII. 2 etc. (v. § 74. VIII); *stonde* III. 24, 25 etc. (14), (v. § 129. I); *ðonne* I. 14, 32 etc. Loan-words: *heafud-pennes* XV. 22; *plontað* Pref. 2. 5.

The conjunction WS. *and* is expressed regularly by the sign 7, with one exception viz. *end* (atque) Pref. 1. 9. cf. John XXI. 19 *and*.

5) Before a guttural nasal: *ahongene* XVI. 6; *long* VII. 6, IX. 21 etc. (9); *strongre* I. 7, III. 27; *ðoncungo* VIII. 6, XIV. 23; *ðuongas* I. 7, VI. 9; *wlonca* X. 25, XII. 41, *wlonga* Pref. 4 XXXII (v. § 99. 2).

Loan-word: *song* (stratum) XIV. 15 (v. H. p. 5. cf. § 144 I. Note).

6) Lengthening of *o* (= WGmc. *a*) before the consonant groups *nd*, *ng* is marked by an accent in the following instances: *hōnd* XI. 31, XIV. 41; *lōnd* I. 5, 28, 38, VI. 55; *lōnga* V. 10, *lōngiga* (taedere) XIV. 33. Lengthening before simple *n*: *ōn* Pref. 3. X. (Sw. H. E. S. §§ 384, 394. cf. § 38. 4).

æ.

§ 3. *æ* from older *a* appears in conformity to the rules given in S. § 49. This *æ* is occasionally written *æe*, and *e* (cf. *æe* for *æ* § 42).

1) *æ* before a simple consonant, or where the consonant has only been doubled by the scribe, occurs in the following forms of the 1st and 3rd Pers. sg. of the Pret. Indic. of the strong verbs of classes IV. and V. (v. §§ 127. II, 128. II): *bæd*, *bædd* I. 35, 40, X. 17 etc. (8); *forbræc* V. 4, VI. 41, VIII. 19; *cuæð* II. 27, IV. 35, V. 19, IX. 24 etc. (9), (beside *cueð* (19), v. (3) below, and *cuoed* (144) v. § 33); *agæf* XII. 1, XV. 37 (beside *-geaf* XV. 15, *-geæf* X. 4, v. § 29); *ongæt*, *-gætt* II. 8, XV. 45, Pref. 4. XXVII (beside *ongeat* V. 30); *gesæt*, *-sætt* XI. 2, 7 etc. (9); *spræc*, *spræcc* II. 2, IV. 33, 34, VIII. 32, XIV. 31; *wæs* I. 4, 7 etc. (153), *næs* II. 27 (*was* XVI. 2). In certain Pres. forms of the verb *fara*: *færende* I. 16, 35 (16), *færes* XVI. 7, *fære wæ* IV. 35; in the Pret. Pres. verb *mæg* III. 23, 25, 26 etc (18),

(v. § 137. 7); in the Past Part. Ab. VI *of-slægen* IX. 21, and in the Pres. forms *onsæcco ic* (negabo) XIV. 31, *onsæcce* (denegēt) VIII. 34 (v. Brown § 2b.).

The forms with *ae* are: *faerende* X. 17; *ongaet* VIII. 17; *laeg* II. 4; *maeg* II. 7, *maege* XIV. 2; *-saet* IX. 35, X. 46.

The remaining examples other than strong verbs are: *æt*, *æd-* I. 16, VI. 55, XV. 41, XVI. 14 etc. (26), (v. § 95); *æðelu* XVI. 1 (S. § 50. 2), *æðil-wald* Pref. 1 heading; *bæcc* VIII. 33, *bæcg* XIII. 16; *bærlice* XIV. 2, *bærsynnigum* II. 16 etc. (3), (v. § 27. 1); *-dæg* II. 27, VI. 21, XI. 12, XIV. 30 etc. (17), (v. § 142 *doeg*, *doege* v. §§ 50. 1, 165); *fæder* VII. 10, IX. 21 etc. (6), (v. § 163, *fader* V. 40, v. § 1. 3); *fæt* IV. 21, XIV. 3 etc. (5); *gæt* I. 33; *glædd-môd* X. 49, *glædnise* IV. 16; *hæfeð*, *hæfes* II. 10, III. 30, IV. 25 etc. (14), (v. § 136. 1. cf. Brown § 2a); *hræðe* IV. 5, 17 (beside *hraðe* I. 28, v. S. § 315, anm. 2); *huæs* XII. 16, 23, XV. 24; *huæt*, *huædt* II. 7, 8, 24, X. 36, 38 etc. (54), (v. §§ 95, 185); *lætmost*, *hlæt-* IX. 35, X. 31, XII. 6, 22 etc. (6), (v. §§ 101. 1, 175. II, 177. S. § 40, anm. 2); *plægede* VI. 22 (cf. S. § 416, anm. 6); *onsæc*, *onsæcc* (adj.) XIV. 30, 72; *onsuærede*, *-suærde* XII. 34, XIV. 48 (beside *onsuarade* v. § 1. 3); *ðæccilla* (lucerna) IV. 21 (cf. L. § 3. 2); *ðæs* I. 7, III. 24 etc.; *ðæt* (Pron.) IV. 4, 30 etc. (18), expressed by the abbreviation þ (109), as a Conj. always written þ (38), (cf. *ðætte*, *þte* below); *wærlice* XIV. 44.

Loan-words: *plæcum* (plateis) VI. 56; and possibly *ðæccilla* (v. above), if it is a byform of *fæcele*.

The forms with *ae* are: *aedeawde* XVI. 9; *daeg* IV. 27, IX. 31 etc. (6); *faeder* I. 20, IX. 24 etc. (8); *faet* XI. 16; *haefes* VII. 16.

2) Before consonant groups: *æfter-* I. 7, II. 1, IV. 17 etc., (*after* Pref. 1. 15); *dærsto* VIII. 15 (2), XIV. 12, Pref. 3. XXIV (v. § 156. III.); *fæsta* (ieiunare) II. 19, 20, VIII. 3 etc. (5); *fæst*, *soð-fæst*, *fæstnung* XV. 44, II. 17, V. 5, XII. 14, 32, Pref. 2, 5, *fæstern* IX. 29, Pref. 1. 12, 5. 16; *gefægn* VIII. 23, 27, IX. 21, *gefægnodon* IV. 10, XIV. 61, XV. 2 (beside *gefægn* v. (3) below, and *gefæign* v. § 63. 2); *ongægn* XII. 41, *togægnas* IV. 35, V. 2 (beside *-geaegn* v. § 28); *hæbbe* IX. 43, 45, 47 etc. (13), *hæfde* I. 22, II. 25 etc. (24), (v. § 136. 1); *hræglo* XIV. 63, XV. 17, 38; *mægden* V. 41, 42 etc. (6), (beside *mæden* (4) § 43. 3); *mægne* IX. 1, XIII. 25, 26; *mæsten* (aes) VI. 8, XII. 41 (v. § 68. 2); *sægde* IV. 34 etc. (20), (v. § 136. 2), *sægðnisum* XII. 33; *scæftes*

X. 6 (beside *scaefte*, *scaeftes* v. § 29. 3, cf. L. §§ 3. 2, 13, 2a); *ðætte* II. 10, in all other instances expressed by the abbreviation *þte* I. 37, 45 etc. (Conj. 148 Pron. (quod) 18. v. § 97); *wæstm* IV. 7, 8, 19, 20 etc. (8); *wætre* I. 8, 10 etc. (5), (v. § 78. II). For the form *gesætte* Pref. 3. XI without *i*-umlaut (beside *sette* § 23. 1) v. S. § 401. 2.

The forms with *ae* are: *aefter* XV. 20, Pref. 1. 1, *aefterra* XII. 31; *gefraegn* XV. 4, 44; *haefd* Pref. 1. 16, *haefde* XIV. 3, *ongægn* XV. 39; *maegden* VII. 30; *maegne* XII. 30; *saegdon* XIV. 4, *asaegd* Pref. 5. XLIV.

Note. *gefærpegedon* (reuerbuntur) XII. 6. Rushw. *gefærpegadun* is an obscure word. B - T. gives only one other reference for its occurrence. Mt. Kemble Lind. XII. 10 *gefærpegdon* (accusarent).

3) *e* for *æ* occurs in the following instances *cueð* II. 17, 24 etc. (19), (v. § 107); *gefregn* V. 9, *gefregndon* I. 27, *ic fregna* XI. 29, *fregnende* Pref. 5. XL, 4. XXXVII, *gefregna* Pref. 2. 4 (v. § 134. 3, beside *-fraign* v. § 63. 2); *gers* IV. 28, VI. 39 (*græs-um* IV. 32. v. § 1. 4, and § 85. 3); *hueðer* III. 2, IV. 21, V. 40, XIV. 19 (beside *huoedher* v. § 33. 1); *seternes dæg* Pref. 5. 16 (v. S. § 50, anm. 2); *ðene* VIII. 23 etc. (v. § 2. 3. S. § 65. 2).

The *e* in *feder* (patri) VII. 10, 11, 12 is apparently due to *i*-umlaut (v. L. § 3. 2. p. 5).

Beside the North. Subj. form *wælle* XIV. 12, 36 etc. (12) for WS. *wille* (cf. L. § 3. 2, anm. p. 5), occurs a form *welle* IV. 30, V. 36, X. 11 (v. § 139).

e.

§ 4. Lindelöf's observations on the occurrence of *e* (= Gmc. *e*) in the Durham Ritual are equally true if applied to its occurrence in St. Mark. It occurs frequently unchanged, as in WS. It also occurs where in WS. it would have become *ie* through the influence of a preceding palatal. On the other hand its occurrence is limited to a greater extent than in WS. by the action of the *u*- and *o*-umlaut, and by the influence of a preceding *n*.

1) Examples of *e* in various forms of strong verbs of Classes III, IV, V are: *ber* II. 9, *beres* XIV. 13 (for the absence of *i*-uml. in the 2nd and 3rd Pers. sg. Pres. Indic. v. S. § 371 anm.), *berendum* XIII. 17; *ic cueðo* II. 11, III. 28, *cueðendo* III. 11 etc. (3), *acueðen* Pref. 1. 15 (v. § 128. I—IV); *-delfad* IV. 19

(*d* written for *ð*); *ettes* II. 16, XI. 14, *þte he æt t ett* II. 16, *ett* is apparently the contracted form of *etedð* (v. § 107), (*attæs* XIV. 18), *ettanne* VI. 37 (beside *eata* v. § 16. 2 b), other Pres. forms (4), (v. 128. I); *ic forgefo* XV. 9, other Pres. forms (4), *-gefen* II. 9 etc. (4); *geldas* XII. 17 (*gyld* (sb.) Pref. 4. XXXVIII. v. § 30); *forgetne* VIII. 14, X. 21; *help* IX. 22, 24; *gelegen* I. 30; *sett* (sb.) I. 32. *onsetnum* VI. 5, VIII. 23; *spreca*, *sprecca* I. 34, IX. 39, XII. 1 etc. and other Pres. forms (18), (v. § 128. I, beside *spræccend* (2) v. § 5); *forstele* X. 19; *-gesuella* XIV. 31, XV. 37, 39 (v. § 126. I); *wes* (2nd sg. Imp.) IV. 39 (beside *wæs* (2) v. § 5). For the forms with *u*-, *o*-uml. *beara*, *cweoða* etc. v. § 16. 2, and with the influence of preceding *v*. *cwoeða* v. § 32.

2) In words other than strong verbs: *gebedd* (orationis) XI. 17, XII. 40; *efne* II. 2, III. 20 etc.; *fellera* I. 6; *feltum* VII. 19 (v. S. § 231. 3); *gef* (Conj.) XII. 19 (beside *gif* III. 1 etc. (37) cf. Brown § 16 a. p. 32); *forgefnisse* I. 4, II. 10, III. 29, Pref. 4. XXXI etc. (6); *onðget* XII. 33; *derne legero* VII. 21, VIII. 38, X. 11, *mec*, *meh* I. 7, 17, 40 etc. (38), (v. § 181. I); *recone*, *hrec-one* I. 29, V. 2, 29 etc. (11), (v. § 101); *sedlo* Pref. 4. XXXIII, *setta* XII. 39 (beside *seatlas* v. § 16. 1); *bismeragað* X. 34, XV. 20, 31 (beside *smiriane* § 14. 2), *bismerlice* VII. 9; *bispell* IV. 10, 13, 30, 34 etc. (13), (v. § 145. I), *godspelles* I. 1, 14, 15 etc. (9); *stefu* I. 3, 11, 20, V. 7 etc. (13), (v. § 146. I, III, IV); *telgo* IV. 32, XI. 8, XIII. 28; *tintergo* (gehennem) IX. 43, 45, 47; *ðec*, *ðeh* I. 11, IX. 43 etc. (17), (v. § 181. II); *ðegnas* II. 18, 23 Pref. 4. XXXV etc. (54), (v. § 143. I, II, III beside *ðagnum* v. § 5); *ðes* (hic) II. 7, IV. 41 etc. (6), (v. § 183); *wege* I. 2 (beside *woeg* v. § 32. 1, *wæg* v. § 5); *wel* III. 4, VII. 6 etc. (6), (beside *woel* v. § 32. 1); *wer* VI. 20, X. 2, 12.

Loan-words: *tempel* XI. 15, 16, XIII. 1 etc. (14), (v. § 144. I, II, III); *senepis* Pref. 3, XII (*sinapis* IV. 31), cf. Brown § 22, p. 39: "in *senepes* ist das *e* (= Rom. *e*) 'dunkel' (Pog. § 120)".

The *e* of the old reduplicating-syllable appears in *heht* I. 44, VI. 27 etc. (10), (v. § 130. II).

Note. The word *felle* in *mid felle reude hrægle*, *ðæs fellereades* (purpura) XV. 17, 20 is obscure. Cf. Lind. Luke XVI. 19, Lind. and Rushw. John XIX. 2.

§ 5. In a few cases Gmc. *e* occurs as *æ*: *gehæla* (latere) VII. 24; *plægcs* (sb.) Pref. 3. XVII; *spræccend* IV. 34, VIII. 32 (beside *spreccend* (9)); *ðægnum* XIV. 32 (beside *ðegnum* etc. (54));

ðærscende V. 5 (v. S. § 79, anm. 2, *geðæarsca* v. § 13. 2); *wæg* Pref. 4. XXIX (beside *wege* v. § 4. 2, *woeg* (16) v. § 32. 1); *wælig* X. 25 (*wæligo* XII. 41, v. § 16); *wæs* (esto) V. 34, X. 49 (beside *wes* IV. 39); *wuræcce* (torqueas) V. 7. For *wæro*, *wærana* v. § 36.

i.

§ 6. *i* = Gmc. *i* from *e* + Nasal + Cons.: (v. S. § 54) occurs regularly:

1) Before *m* + Cons.: *gelimpa* X. 32; *timber* XIII. 1 etc. (6), (v. § 76. II).

2) Before *n* + Cons.: In Pres. forms of strong verbs of Ab. III. Cl. I. (v. § 126. I): *gebinda* V. 3, XI. 2 etc. (5); *blinn* VII. 27; *drinca* X. 38, XV. 23 etc. (9); *onfindes* XI. 2; *onginnað* XIII. 4 etc. (5); *scrinceð* IX. 18; *gesinga* XIV. 72; *suingeð* X. 34; *ðringende* V. 31. In the substantive verb: *sindon* V. 9, XIV. 36, *sint* IX. 1, 3 etc. (23), (v. § 138. v. Kluge, P. G. § 36. 6, p. 372), In other words: *blind* VIII. 17, 23, X. 49 etc. (7), (v. §§ 169, 173. III), *fore-geblind* VI. 52; *drinca* (sb.) IX. 42, XV. 36; *fingeras* VII. 33; *gesuinged* XIII. 9; *intinges* XV. 26; *tintergo* IX. 43, 45, 47 (cf. Brown, § 26 a, p. 43); *ðing* II. 21, V. 26, VII. 4 etc. (7); *geðringdon* V. 24; *wind* IV. 37, 39, 41 etc. (8); *winstra* X. 40 (*wynstra* v. § 27. 3); *wintrum* V. 25, 42, XIII. 18 (v. § 153. II).

3) *i* = WGmc. *e* before Nasals (v. S. § 69) in: *nim* II. 9, 11, *nimmeð* II. 21 (beside *nioma* v. § 17).

4) Lengthening of *i* before *nd* is marked by an accent in *wudu bînde* I. 6, *blind* X. 46.

§ 7. *i* = Gmc. *i* from *e* before an original *i* or *j* occurs in the following instances:

1) In the Pres. forms of the strong verbs WS. *bidan*, *licgan*, *sittan* (v. § 128. I): *bidda* V. 17, 18, VI. 46 etc. (16); *licgende* II. 4, V. 40 etc. (6); *sitta* X. 40, XII. 39 etc. (13).

2) Other words: *Billfrið* Pref. 1. heading; *fore-cuido* Pref. 1. heading, 2. 7; *gristbitted* IX. 18; *micel* XIV. 15, XVI. 4 etc. (25), (v. § 78. I. Brown § 41. p. 55 gives this word under *i*-uml. of *u*, "nach Kluge, Engl. Stud. XIII. 508"); *middum* VI. 47, IX. 36, XIII. 35, *middan-* VIII. 36, XIV. 9, XVI. 15. the form *medo* (medios) VII. 31 is apparently a scribal error, due to confusion with the Latin. Rushw. has *middum*; *milsande* I. 41, V. 19, VI. 34, VIII. 2, X. 47, 48 (v. § 96. 4); *mitta* (modio) IV. 21, Pref. 3. XII, *gemitte* VII. 30, XI. 13, XIV. 37, 40; *scillingum* XIV. 5;

sibb V. 34, IX. 50; *sihðo* IX. 9; *wiht* VI. 49; *wilde* I. 13, Pref. 1. 12; *willo* (sb.) III. 35, Pref. 3. X; *willo* (vb.) I. 41, VI. 25 etc. (8), (v. § 139). For the 'pl. Pres. form WS. *willað* occurs *wallað* X. 35, XV. 9 etc. (7), v. S. § 428).

The *i* in *cild* IX. 21, X. 13, Pref. 4. XXXI is of uncertain origin (cf. Brown § 27 b). The origin of the suffix in *earliprica* (auriculas) VII. 33, *earetipprica* XIV. 47 is also uncertain (v. Kluge, Nom. Stamm. III. § 68 b).

§ 8. *i* = original Idg. *i* appears

1) in Pret. forms of st. vbs. Cl. I. (v. § 124. III, IV) *fordrife*, *-drifen* V. 10, 13, 40 etc. (8); *ge-grippen* I. 31; *gehrinon* VI. 56 etc. (3); *arisen* XIV. 28, XVI. 2 etc. (4), *arisse* (resurrexisse) XVI. 14 may be Pret. Subj., or possibly Pres. Subj. with doubling of the following consonant to mark a long vowel (v. § 38. 3, Sw. H. E. S. § 391); *-stigon* III. 22, IV. 7, X. 32 etc. (5); *awritten* I. 2, VII. 6 etc. (9); and in the Pret. Pres. verb *wita* IV. 11, V. 33, 43 etc. (14), (v. § 137, beside *gewuta* v. § 37).

2) The remaining examples are: *bifgedon*¹ XIV. 5; *cuic* IX. 49, XII. 33; *fordrifnise* Pref. 2. VII; *fiscas* VI. 38, 41, 43 etc. (7), *fisceras* I. 16, 17, Pref. 2. III; *Bilfrið*, *Eadfrið* Pref. 1. heading; *hider* XI. 3; *him* I. 5, 10, 13 etc., *hine* I. 12, 20, 26 etc., *hir* V. 33, 34 etc., *his* I. 3. 6 etc., *hit* IX. 10 (v. § 181. III. *his* III. 21 v. § 38. 4); *hlingendum* VI. 22, XVI. 14, II. 15 (*gelionede* v. § 17. 1); *hwider* VI. 10, 56, XIV. 12, 14; *lifgiende* Pref. 1. heading etc. (4), (v. § 136); *nigoða* Pref. 5. XL; *niðria* IV. 1, 37, 38, IX. 12, XIV. 64, XVI. 16, Pref. 3. XX, 4. XXXII; *ripes* (sb.) IV. 29 (*rīp* v. Sievers P. B. B. X. 506); *risnelic* IX. 11 (v. § 89); *scip* I. 19, 20 etc. (19), (v. § 103); *smið* VI. 3, Pref. 3. XV; *from-slittnise* XIII. 14, *-slittnessa* II. 21 (B-T. gives "slittness (slit-?)"); *spittes* X. 34, XIV. 65; *esuicnis* VII. 21; *ðider* VI. 33; *twiggo* IV. 32, XIII. 18; *witnise* X. 19, XIV. 63; *wið* III. 6, VI. 10 etc.; *wiðer-* III. 23, 26, VI. 48, VIII. 33, XIII. 22; *megwiltlice* Pref. 4. XXX; *writ* (sb.) XII. 10, 24, XIV. 49, XV. 28.

Loan-words: *biscobas* XV. 11, Pref. 2. 2; *disc* VI. 25, 27, VII. 4 etc. (6); *discipul* Pref. 1. 2; *titul* XV. 26.

¹ v. Skeat's Preface. p. XXVIII. "For an example of error, observe the word *bifgedon* (they trembled) as a translation of *fremebant* in XIV. 5; the worthy glossator was clearly thinking of *tremebant*".

o.

§ 9. *o* (= WGmc. *o*) remains unaltered in the following words:

1) In the Past Part. of strong verbs of Classes II, III, IV: *boden* XIII. 10, XIV. 9; *geboren* II. 3, XIV. 21, XV. 43; *gebrocen* XIV. 3 (v. C.N. 144 "*gebrecen* alt. to *gebrocen*"); *gecorenum* XIII. 20, 22, 27; *agotten* II. 22, XIV. 24; *tostrodden* III. 25, XIII. 2, XIV. 27; *aworden* I. 9, IV. 22, 35 etc. (23); *tomorpen*, *for-* III. 26, IX. 38, XIII. 2 (v. § 126. IV). The *o* in the adjectivally used Pres. Part. *ðorfendum* X. 21, XII. 42, XIV. 5, 7, is apparently from the Pret. *ðorfte* (cf. § 12. 4).

2) In other words: *bod* XII. 28, 29, 30, 31 etc. (15), (v. § 145. I, II), *boderes* Pref. 3. XVI; *bodiga*, *bodade* I. 45, III. 14, etc. (18), (v. § 134), *forebodung* Pref. 5. XLVI; *bolståre* IV. 38; *cofa* XI. 17 (not *côfa* v. Sievers, P. B. B. X. p. 497); *gecoreniso* Pref. 2. 1; *corn* IV. 31. Pref. 3. XII; *costung* IV. 17, XIII. 19, 24, XIV. 38, *costendo* VIII. 11, IX. 49, X. 2, XII. 15; *dochter* V. 23, 34 etc. (10), (v. § 163. 4); *dor* XI. 4, XII. 41, XIII. 34; *duolas* XII. 24, 27 (v. C. § 42, p. 69); *fola* XI. 2, 4, 5, 7; *folc* VI. 45, 53 etc.; the vowel in *fore-*, *for-*, *befora*, *forma*, *onfora* is seldom written out in the Ms. (v. Skeat's Pref. p. XXVIII), *forðor* V. 35, VI. 51 etc., and *forðmest* X, 31 etc. are always contracted; *forhto* *t frohto* (adj.) IV. 40, *forhtade*, *froht-* V. 33, XIV. 33, XVI. 6, Pref. 2. IV (v. § 85); *god*, *godspell* I. 14, 15, II. 7, 12, Pref. 1. 1, 7, 10 etc. (v. § 103); *un-hogo* VII. 18; *gehornadon* (affecerunt) XII. 4; *gehorogæ* XIV. 65; *lopestro* I. 6; *losige* I. 24, III. 4, 6, VIII. 3 etc. (11) (v. § 135 etc. *lôsad* Pref. 2. 1, v. § 38. 5), *losuist* VIII. 36, XIV. 4 (*lôsuisst* IV. 19); *hlott* (sortem) XV. 24; *morgen* XV. 1, XVI. 9; *morðor-* VII. 21, XV. 7; *ofer* III. 5, 8, 25 etc.; *oft* III. 10, V. 4, VI. 56, VII. 3; *ge-opnadon* II. 4; *posa* (peram) VI. 8; *smolt* VI. 47, (*smyltnis* v. § 27. 1); *snotorlice* XII. 34; *geðolade* V. 26, VIII. 31, IX. 12 (2), 19, XIII. 13, XIV. 34; *ðorn* IV. 7 (2), 18, 28; *wolcen* IX. 7 (2), XIII. 26, XIV. 62; *word* I. 45, II. 2, X, 24 etc. (31), (*woerdum* XV. 3 is a scribal error, perhaps due to the fact that the group *oe* is common after *w*); *worhte* VI. 21, X. 6, XI. 17, XIV. 58 (2), XV. 1, 7; *worn* V. 11. 13.

WS. *wolde*, *woldon* appears as *walde*, *waldon* III. 13, VI. 19 etc. (11), (v. § 139).

Loan-words: *apostolas* VI. 30; *ole* VI. 13 (with *i*-uml. *oele-beama* v. § 26); *portas* VI. 6; *torr* XII. 1 (*o* from Lat. *u* v. Pog. §§ 152, 156, 159); *stolum* (*stolis*) XII. 38, XVI. 5 (*stôle*. Pog. §§ 147, 150); *holdum* (*tribunis*) VI. 21 (v. Kluge, P. G. p. 786, and Bout. p. 349). Corresponding to WS. *cuppe* appears the form *copp* IX. 41, XV. 36.

3) Lengthening of *o* before the consonant group *rd* is marked by an accent in *wôrd* XIV. 13 (Sw. H. E. S. § 395). The accents in *lôsad* Pref. 2. 1, *lôswist* IV. 19 are apparently mere errors (v. § 38. 5).

Note. For *o* in *ebolsas* II. 7, III. 28, 29, XV. 29 (2), *ebolsungas* III. 28, VII. 22, XIV. 64, Pref. 3. X, v. S. § 43, *anm.* 4. L. § 7, *anm.*; *o* for *u* in the sb. and adj. inflectional ending *-um* occurs in *wiugom* VI. 15, *ilcom* VII. 36, XIV. 69; *swiðrom* XIV. 62, in the case of the last two words the final *m* is not written out in the MS.

u.

§ 10. *u* = WGmc. *u*, and *u* from WGmc. *o* before nasals (v. S. § 29), or in certain cases where preceded or followed by a labial (v. Sw. H. E. S. § 423) occurs regularly as in WS. (For *wu* from *wio* v. § 37.)

1) In the Pret. plur. of st. vbs. of Cl. II, and in the Pret. plur., and Past Part. of st. vbs. of Cl. III (v. §§ 125. III, 126. III): *forbudun* IX. 38; *gebugun* XI. 8; *bulgon* XIV. 4; *gebundon* XV. 1, *gebunden* V. 4, VII. 35, IX. 42, XI. 24, XV. 6, 7; *gecure* (Subj. sg.) XIII. 20; *-dulfon* IV. 7; *gedruncon* XIV. 23; *-fundon* I. 37, XI. 4, XIV. 55, (Subj. sg.) Pref. 1. 9; *flugon* V. 14, XIV. 50, XVI. 8; *-frugun* VII. 5, 17, IX. 10, 11, 14, 28, 33 etc. (13); *ongunnon* II. 23, V. 17, VI. 55, XIV. 19, XV. 18 etc. (8); *hluton* III. 11; *ðurscon* XII. 3, 5; *ge warnun* VI. 33, 55, IX. 15 (v. (3) below); *-wurdon* VI. 56, Pref. 1. 16; *gewurpon* XII. 8, 41, XIV. 46, (Subj. sg.) VII. 26. In the Pres. forms of the Pret. Pres. verb WS. *cunnan*: *-cunna* IV. 13 etc. (5), (v. § 137. 2). The weak grade vowel of Cl. III. appears in the present stem forms of the st. vb. WS. *spurnan*: *ondspurnas* IX. 42, 43 etc. (6), (v. § 126. I). For *genumen* II. 20, IV. 25, XVI. 19. v. S. § 70. For *cumað* III. 19, VIII. 31, X. 14, XV. 21 (beside *cymað* etc. § 27) v. L. p. 89, *anm.*

2) Other words: *burg-* I. 33, II. 1, *burig* XI. 2, *burug* I. 21, X. 46; *culfre* I. 10, XI. 15; *-cund* Pref. 1. 1, 6, 2. 3; *cunning* Pref. 1. 2, 5. XLII; *acunnad* I. 13 etc. (4), (v. §§ 115. 3, 134, 2); *cursendo* XV. 17; *dumb* VII. 32, 37, IX. 17, 25, Pref. 3. XXII, IV. 39 (v. § 92); *duru* I. 33, II. 2, XIII. 29, XV. 46, XVI. 3; *fugas* IV. 32; *full* IV. 28, VI. 43 etc. (5), *fuluht* I. 4, VI. 14, VII. 8, X. 38, 39 etc. (14), *gefulwas* I. 8, VII. 4 etc. (11), (v. §§ 134. 1, 135); *fruma* X. 6, XIII. 8, 19 (*frûma* I. 1, Pref. 1. 4, 7, 8, v. § 38. 5); *-guma* II. 19 (2), 20; *hundradum* VI. 21 margin, 37, 40, X. 30, XIV. 5 (v. § 178); *hundum* (canibus) VII. 27; *hungro* XIII. 8; *hunig* I. 6; *lufu* Pref. 1. 15, 16, *lufade* X. 21, XII. 30, 31, 33 (2); *lust-* IV. 19, VI. 20, XII. 37, *lustum* IV. 28, VII. 12 (v. § 72); *scua* IV. 32; *sum* IV. 4, 5, 7, VII. 1, 2 etc. (16), (v. §§ 103, 186); *sumer* XIII. 28; *suu* I. 1, 11, II. 10 etc. (49), (v. § 153); *sundrig* VI. 31, 32, VII. 33, XIV. 66 (beside *syndrige* v. § 27); *-sunigo* II. 15 (beside *synnig* v. § 27); *sunna-* I. 32, IV. 6 etc. (10), (v. § 158. I); *gedungennise* Pref. 2. 6; *ðunres* III. 17; *ðus* X. 43 etc. (11); *trumlice* Pref. 5. XLVI, *wyrtruma* IV. 6, 27, XI. 20 (beside *wyrtryma* v. § 27); *tunga* VII. 33, 35; *-ufu* IV. 38, VIII. 6, XV. 38, XVI. 5, Pref. 3. XIX (v. S. § 55); *under* II. 26, IV. 21 etc.; *upp-* IV. 5, 6, 7, VIII. 24 (shortened from an older form *ûp*, with doubling of the *p* on analogy of *uppan*, v. Sw. H. E. S. § 399); *wuldre* VIII. 38, X. 37, XIII. 26; *wunigende* I. 10, IV. 32, VI. 10, *gewuna* (adj.) X. 1, XV. 6; *gewundadon* XII. 4; *wundrum* VII. 8, XII. 11, Pref. 5. XLV (v. § 145. III), *wuudrande* I. 27, VI. 2, X. 26 etc. (15), (v. §§ 115. 3, 134).

Loan-words: *muntum* XIII. 14 (v. S. § 70); *tunucum* VI. 9; *luh* (fretum) V. 1, 21, VI. 45, VIII. 13 (v. B-T. Welsh *llwch*).

3) Lengthening of *u* before consonant groups is marked by doubling of the vowel in *fuulwihta* VII. 4; *suandorlice* XIII. 3; also in *ðerhwurnon* (percurrentes) VI. 55, *ge-* VI. 33, IX. 15, the sign *w* being an error caused by the fact that the scribe was accustomed to write either *w* or *u* indifferently in the case of the semi-vowel (v. § 80). Lengthening of *u* in the prefix *un-* is denoted in *ûnclæne* I. 33, *ûn-eaðalice* Pref. 4. XXXII (v. Sw. H. E. S. § 385).

Note. For WS. *ðurh* occurs always *ðerh* II. 23, XIV. 21, 58 etc. (v. S. § 56, anm. 1; L. § 11. III. p. 19).

The form *numenne* (uulsione) Pref. 2. VIII is not clear. Possibly it is for *nimenne* from a Nom. **nimen*, a verbal abstract in *-en* from the st.

vb. *niman*. The word in the corresponding passage Luke Pref. V. XIX is *nimung*. A still more difficult word is *unful* (insulsum) IX. 50. Bouterwek's explanation (Introd. p. CIII) is untenable, being based on an erroneous reading "*gifunful*", whereas *gif* is really a separate word, simply the conjunction *gif*, part of the gloss to the preceding *quodsi*. Can *unful* be miswritten for *unsall*? In the MS. the *f* only differs from *s* by an additional cross stroke, and *a* may be written with an open top, and so resemble *u*. Further, a final consonant is sometimes dropped cf. *tuof* for *tuofel* Pref. 2. X, *dum* for *dumb* IV. 39, *senden* for *sendend* Pref. 5 XLI etc. (v. § 96).

The Breakings.

§ 11. *a* before *r* + Cons. remains unbroken in a few instances, but in the majority of cases it is broken to *ea* as in WS. The precise numbers are as follows:

1) *a* remains unbroken in: *arg* VIII. 38; *gedarste* XII. 34; *ned-ðarf* II. 17, XI. 3; *-ward* I. 32, VI. 2, XIV. 17, XV. 33 (*ge-ward* II. 23); *-warp* XII. 41, XIV. 52, XVI. 9 (*-woearp* X. 50, with influence of *w*). Loan-words: *carcern* VI. 17, 27; *carre* XV. 46.

The form *geonduarde* XII. 28, XV. 12 (beside *onduearde* 31) is probably due to the influence of *w* (v. L. § 9. I b), or to want of stress (cf. S. § 43. 2).

Breaking does not occur before *r* + Cons. resulting from metathesis (v. S. § 79, anm. 2): *arn* V. 2, 6, X. 17, XV. 36, Pref. 4. XXVIII; *gers* IV. 28, VI. 39 (with *e* for *æ* v. § 3. 3). In *dom-êrn* XV. 16, *e* is weakened from *æ* (v. S. § 43. 3), the accent denoting later lengthening before *rn* (cf. Sw. H. E. S. § 395 *berêrn*).

2) *a* before *r* + Cons. is broken to *ea* in: *-cearf* VI. 16, 27, IX. 43, 45, XIV. 47; *earðes* XIII. 27; *earnade* Pref. 2. 1; *-geard* XII. 1, 2, 8, 9, XIV. 35; *gearuu* XIV. 38, *-gearuas* I. 2, 3 etc. (16), (v. §§ 134, 135); *heardnisse* X. 5; *heurm* XV. 32; *-weard* VII. 23, XII. 7, Pref. 1. heading, 4, 5. XL (*innueard* VII. 21. v. C. N. 143. "*innueard* alt. to *innueard*"), *to-* X. 30, 32, *ufa-* XV. 38, *wiðer-* I. 13, III. 23, 26 (v. C. N. 142 "*wiðerworde* alt. to *wiðerwearde*"); *ondueardas* XI. 29, 30 etc. (31), (v. § 134. 4). beside *-uæarde* VI. 37, *-warde* XII. 28, XV. 12); *-warp* X. 50 (*-woearp* X. 50); *-wearð* II. 23 (beside *-warp* 3 *-ward* 2. v. § 11. 1 above).

3) *o* for *ea* in the unstressed second member of compounds, and preceded by a labial (v. S. §§ 43. 2, 51) occurs in: *dor-uorde* XIII. 34; *nioðuord* XV. 38 (beside *inn-*, *to-*, *ufa-weard* 5), *wiðer-word* III. 23, IV. 15, VI. 48, VIII. 33 (beside *-wearda* 3). The vowel is still further weakened in: *hlaferd* XII. 9, XIII. 35, *hlaferd* II. 28 (v. § 75).

4) *æ* for *ea* occurs in: *erfewærd* XII. 7 (beside *erfe-weard-nise* XII. 7); *to-wærdnum* Pref. 5. XLII (beside *-weard* 2).

ðærfe XII. 43 (= *ðærfend* beside *ðorfend* (4), v. § 9. 1) has apparently the *a*-ablaut, possibly influenced by the Pres. sg. *ic ðearf*, or by the sb. WS. *ðearfa* (cf. S. § 422. 6).

wærmd XIV. 54, *wærmigende* XIV. 67 cf. I. § 3. anm. p. 5. "Einigmal erscheint *æ* in wörtern, wo man *ea* (oder *a*) erwarten sollte" (cf. *færme*, *ðærscende* § 13).

Setting aside the instances quoted under 3) and 4), *a* occurs unbroken only in sixteen instances; of those, three are loan-words, and ten are cases where the vowel is preceded by *w*. Breaking to *ea* occurs in seventy-eight instances and may therefore be regarded as the rule.

§ 12. In the case of *a* before *l* + Cons., St. Mark corresponds precisely to the Dur. Rit. (v. L. § 9. I. 2). The only word in which breaking occurs is *sealla* (v. S. § 158. 2). Lindelöf suggests that the *ea* may be due to *o*-umlaut and not breaking.

1) *a* remains unbroken in: *alde* II. 21. (2), 22, Pref. 2. VII, *aldor-* I. 44, II. 26 etc. (16), (*ældra* (sb.) v. § 24); *Aldred* Pref. 1. heading; *all* I. 5, 22, 33, IX. 35, XII. 22, XIV. 48 etc.; *ballice* XV. 43 (= *baldlice* S. § 198. 3); *-cuatmmiss* XV. 7; *dalf* XII. 1; *-fald* X. 46 (2), XII. 44, Pref. 2. IX, *-fallice* Pref. 4. XXXII (= *faldlice* S. § 198. 3); *-fallende* XIII. 25 (v. C.N. 143 "feollende alt. to *fallende*"), *falletande* V. 5 (v. § 104. 2); *haldanne* III. 21 etc. (15), (v. § 130. I.); *halfe* I. 45, VI. 23; *gehalp* V. 26; *halt* IX. 45; *salde* III. 15, 19 etc. (37), (*sealde* XIV. 22), *saldend* XIV. 44 (v. §§ 115. 2, 132. III, 133. III); *salt* IX. 50 (3); *Æðil-wald* Pref. 1. heading.

Loan-words: *salmes* Pref. 5. XL. In *asalde* Pref. 4. XXXV. the *d* is inorganic (v. § 96).

Lengthening of *a* before the group *ld* is marked by an accent in: *sâld* VIII. 12, *sâlde* XIII. 34.

2) *a* is broken to *ea* in: *sealla* V. 43, XIV. 5, 11, 55 etc. (7), *seallane* XII. 14 (*sellanne* X. 40, v. § 23. 1), *-seallas* XIII. 9, (*sellad* XIII. 22, XV. 23), *sealde* XIV. 22.

§ 13. *e* before *r* + Cons. appears as *eo* and *ea*, and very rarely as *a* and *æ*. (For the interchange of *eo* and *ea* in North. v. S. § 150. 3).

1) *e* is broken to *eo* in: *ceort* XII. 25, margin (2), *eorð*-II. 3, 9 etc. (25), (v. § 158, beside *earðu* v. (2) below); *heorta* VII. 21, XII. 30, 33 (beside *hearto* 8); *leornade* II. 25, XII. 10, 26, XIII. 28; *steorras* XIII. 25.

The old reduplicated Pret. *leort* = WS. *lêt* (v. S. § 394) appears regularly: *-leort* I. 20, 31 etc. (21), (v. § 130. II).

2) *e* is broken to *ea* in: *brearde* (summum) XIII. 27 (cf. S. § 79, anm. 2); *earðu* IV. 31, VI. 53 (beside *eorðo* 25); *fearre* V. 6 etc. (9), (v. § 176. 6); *hearto* II. 8 etc. (8), (beside *heorta* (3) v. §§ 158, 159); *meard* IX. 41, Pref. 2. 5, 3. XVII; *-ðearscu* XIV. 65, XV. 15 (*ðærscende* V. 5).

The old reduplicated Pret. of the st. vb. WS. (*on*)-*drêdan* occurs without exception as *ondreard* V. 33, VI. 20 etc. (11), (v. § 130. II; S. § 394).

3) *a* for WS. *eo* occurs in *farma* (cenam) VI. 21, XII. 39 due perhaps to the labial influence of *f* on *ea* for WS. *eo* (cf. *waras* = WS. *veras* v. § 36, and *fattro* beside *feotrum* v. § 16).

For the North. form *arð* I. 11, 24 etc. (8), (v. § 138) beside WS. *earl* v. Sw. H. E. S. § 442.

æ occurs in *færme* Pref. 5. XLIV; *ðærscende* V. 5 (beside *-dearsca* 2).

Note. The word *fertino* (portenta) XIII. 22 is not clear. Rushw. has *fortina*. In Mt. XXIV. 24 the Lind. glosses *prodigia* by *forelaceno*. Perhaps *fertino* is a corruption of this very word. The initial letter in the MS. may possibly be intended for a *p* and not *f*. The loop is brought further down than in the *f* thus *p* and not, as usual, *þ*, but the horizontal stroke is more prolonged than it generally is in *p* (*þ*).

Another obscure word is *celnertmonnum* I. 20 (Luke XV. 19, John X. 12, 13 Lind. and Rushw.). For Mr. Bradley's suggestion that it may be derived from "a late Latin *col(l)imbustus*, a possible variant of *colli-bustus*" v. The Academy, Oct. 31. 1891, p. 385.

§ 14. WGmc. *i* (from Gmc. *e*) before *r* + Cons. (v. S. §§ 79. 2, 100) appears as *io* and *i*.

1) *io* occurs in: *giornede* I. 40, IV. 19, X. 46; *hiorde* VI. 34, XIV. 27; *-iornende* IV. 5, V. 25, IX. 25, XIV. 13, Pref. 3. XIV; *riordung* (refectio) XIV. 14, *geriordade*¹ Pref. 4. XXVIII (v. L. § 9, II. anm. p. 13).

2) *i* occurs in: *afirde* I. 34, V. 17; *first* VI. 31, IX. 21; *smiredon*, *smirinis* VI. 13, XVI. 3, 4, 5, 8, XVI. 1, Pref. 5. XLIV (cf. L. § 9, anm. p. 14), (beside *bismerigende* v. § 4. 2). Sievers, § 100 a, regards this *i* as a later development of *ie*, the *i*-umlaut of *eo*. Sweet, H. E. S. § 469, gives "Gmc. *i* in *afirran*".

y occurs in the *ja*-stem Adj. *yrrestum* Pref. 4. XXXVII.

§ 15. The only example of breaking of *e* to *eo* before *l* + Cons. is: *seolfa* III. 25 etc. (11), (v. § 186, S. § 81. *sulfne* III. 26).

(For the Palatal-umlaut of *a* and *e* before *h* + Cons. and *r* + Pal. v. §§ 19, 21).

u- and *o-(a-)*umlaut.

§ 16. The *u-* and *o-(a-)*uml. of *e* appears as *eo*, *ea*; of *i* as *io*; *a* is not affected (v. S. § 160, the form *geafel* XII. 14 = WS. *gafol*, is probably not an exception to this rule, but an example of the influence of a preceding palatal v. § 29). As a rule this umlaut penetrates only through a single consonant (S. § 103) the only exception is *behianda* V. 27, VIII. 33 (v. S. § 160).

1) *u-*, *o-*uml. caused by an original *u*, *o* of a derivative suffix:

e occurs as *eo* in: *feolo* VI. 34, VIII. 5 etc. (6), (v. § 155. S. § 106, anm. 2); *feotrum* V. 4 (*fattro* V. 4, v. *farma* § 13. 3); *heofon*, *heofne* VI. 41, XIII. 25 etc. (19), (v. § 78. IV); *heono* (ecce) VI. 3 etc. (11), *heonu* I. 2 etc. (4), (*heno* VIII. 2); *seofa* (septum) VIII. 8, 20 etc. (11), (v. § 178).

ea (v. Sw. H. E. S. § 435) in: *seattas* XI. 15, *-um* XII 39 (*setla* (2) v. § 4).

In *wealigo* XII. 41 the vowel has perhaps been taken over from the sb. v. *weala* VI. 19 (v. Paul, P. B. B. VI. p. 234. Zeuner considers it to be umlaut caused by the suffix orig. *-og*, *-ag*, v. §§ 23. II. 1 and anm., 8. II. 1).

¹ *geriordade* glosses Latin *pauescens*. Was the glossator thinking of *uescens*? Cf. *exsiliens* X. 50 treated as if *siliens*, v. § 136. 6. Note.

Umlaut does not occur in *efolsong* VII. 22 etc. (v. § 9, note), and it is regularly (v. S. § 105) wanting before a palatal consonant, as in *recone* etc. (v. § 20).

2) caused by an inflectional *-u, -o (-a)*:

e occurs as *eo* in: *cweoða* Pref. 1. 11 (*cwoeða* v. § 32); *geofa* Pref. 5. XLI (*geafa* VII. 11. (2)).

ea occurs a) in the following sbs.: *gebeadum* IX. 29; *geafa* VII. 11 (2); *neala* IV. 19 (*walana* v. § 36). b) in the following vbs.: *beara* VI. 55, *eata* VII. 2, VIII. 1 etc. (6), *eatas* VII. 5. 28 (v. § 128. I beside *ettanne* VI. 37); *-freattas* XII. 40; *-geafa* II. 7, XI. 26, XV. 6, *-geafas* XI. 25, XIV. 12; *begeatta* XIV. 5; *seofade* VIII. 12, *seofende* X. 22 (*ēo* v. P. B. B. X. p. 507, not *ēo* as given in B-T.); *getearende* IX. 26 (v. S. § 370).¹

§ 17. The *u, o(-a)*-umlaut of *i* is *io*. It occurs 1) in wk. vbs. Cl. II: *cliopia* X. 47, *cliopade* IX. 26 etc. (8), (v. § 134), *gecliopad* VIII. 34, *cliopende* V. 5 etc. (8), (v. § 103); *gehionade* XIV. 3, *gelionede* II. 15 (beside *linigiendo* etc. (3)); *lifgiende* etc. always with *i*, v. § 8. 2).

2) In Pres. forms of the st. vb. *nioma* II. 2, III. 27 etc. (5), *-niomað* (3rd sg.) IV. 15, *niomas* (plur.) XVI. 18, *-niomme* (Subj. sg.) XIII. 15 (v. § 127); and in the Pret. pl. *geftlton* IX. 34.

3) Other words: *hiora* I. 5, 23 etc.; *liomana* Pref. 4. XXX; *nioðuord* XV. 38.

Palatal umlaut.

§ 18. *ea* before *h, ht, x (= hs)*, (v. S. § 82) is palatalised by the influence of the following *h* to *æ* (v. S. § 162, L. § 11, Sw. H. E. S. § 438).

1) *ea* > *æ* before a final *h* in: *gesæh* IX, 14, 15 etc. (20), *-sæh* V. 38, VI. 34 (*æ* for *æ* v. § 3).

2) *ea* before *ht* generally appears as *æ*, but occasionally as *e* and *a*.

a) in the Pret. of the Irreg. wk. vbs. (v. § 132, III. S. § 407): *awæhton* IV. 38 etc. (3); beside *unðehton* II. 4 (v. S. § 162, ann. 2), (cf. *embeht-* below); and *geluhte* VII. 33 etc. (5).

b) other words: *mæht* (sb.) VI. 5, 7 etc. (20), *mæghte* IX. 1, *mæhto* (adj.) X. 27; *mæhte* (vb.) V. 3, 4 etc. (20), *mæhton* III.

¹ For a further investigation of this subject v. Lindelöf "Ueber die Verbreitung des sogenannten *u- (o-)umlauts* in der starken Verbalflexion des Altenglischen". Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen. Vol. LXXXIX. pp. 129 ff.

6, VII. 24, XIV. 11 (v. § 137. 7); *mæhtig* IX. 29 etc. (5); *næht* IV. 27 etc. (8) (v. § 166. II); *ðæhtung* III. 6, XV. 1, Pref. 2. IX; beside *e* in: *embeht-monn* IX. 35, X. 43, XIV. 65 (*embiht-* XIV. 54), *ge-embehta* (vb.) X. 45 etc. (4), (v. § 134).

3) *ea* > *æ* before *x* (= *hs*) in: *wæxes* I. 6 etc. (6), (v. 129. I).

§ 19. *eo* before *h*, *ht*, *x* (= *hs*), (v. S. § 83) is palatalised to *e*, and in a few instances to *æ*, *i*.

1) *eo* > *e* before final *h* in: *feh* XIV. 11; beside *æ* in: *gesæh* (uide) XV. 4, and *i* in: *gesih* I. 44, XIII. 1, 2.

2) *eo* > *e* before *ht* in: *breht* Pref. 3. XI, 5. XLII, *behrto* Pref. 2. V (v. § 85. 2); *gefehto* XIII. 7; *leht-* IV. 21 (2), Pref. 3. XII, *lecht* XIII. 24; *rehta*, *reht-* I. 3, II. 22, VII. 21 etc. (9); beside *æ* in: *cnæhta* VII. 28, IX. 24, 36, 37.

3) *eo* > *e* before *x* (= *hs*) in: *sex*, *-tig* IV. 8, 20, IX. 2.

4) The *i*-umlaut of this *e* is *i*. The only examples are: *lixendo* IX. 3, *inlihteð* Pref. 4. XXXIV.

§ 20. *eo* before *c* and *g* (caused by *u*-, *o*-umlaut) does not occur (v. S. § 164. 2, Sw. H. E. S. § 440, cf. L. § 11. II). *e* occurs regularly in: *spreca* I. 34 etc.; *recone* I. 29 etc.; *erenwreca* Pref. 2. V etc. (v. § 4).

io appears as *i* (v. S. § 164. 3) in: *cuic-lacum* XII. 33 (v. § 37. 2).

§ 21. *ea* > *e* before *re*, *rg* (v. S. § 162. 2). The examples are: *berga* (porcorum) V. 11, 12, 13, 16; *-merca* XII. 16, XV. 26, XVI. 17, Pref. 1. heading, 14, 5. XXXVIII. *a* remained unbroken to *ea* in *carcern* VI. 17, 27 (v. § 11. 1, S. § 79, anm. 3).

§ 22. *eo* > *e* before *rc* (no example of *eo* before *rg* occurs) in: *mercæs* V. 14, Pref. 1. 10, 14 (beside *wærcco* XIII. 8; and *woerc* v. § 35).

The *i*-umlaut of this *e* is *i*: *gebirgeð* IX. 1, *gebirigdon* Pref. 4. XXVII. (For *wyrca* v. § 27).

i-umlaut.

§ 23. The *i*-umlaut of *a* before Nasals, and before other consonants (exclusive of *l* + cons. and *r* + cons. v. §§ 24, 25) is as a rule *e*. Before *st* and *cc*, *g*, *cg* it is generally *æ* (v. S. § 89, anm. 1). The examples are:

1) before consonants other than Nasals: *bed* IV. 21, VII. 30, XIV. 15; *betra* IX. 32, 43; *eft* III. 39, IV. 24, V. 21 etc.,

eftersona II. 1, VIII. 1, 13, 25 etc.; *eher* (spica) IV. 28, Pref. 2. VIII (v. S. § 289); *ellðiodade* XIII. 34; *esne* X. 44, XII. 2, XIV. 47, 51, XVI. 5; *feder* (dat. sg.) VII. 10, 11, 12; *-feredon* I. 32, II. 3, XI. 16, XIV. 36; *hefig* X. 23, XIV. 6, 40; *here* IV. 36, V. 9, X. 46, XII. 41; *hered* Pref. 2. IV; *legdon* XI. 8; *metto* VI. 36, VII. 19; *nesc* XIII. 28 (v. § 101. 2); *hnetta*, *netto* I. 16, 18, 19 (v. § 101. 1); *ondetende* I. 5, VIII. 38 (2), Pref. 2. IV, 4. XXVI (v. S. § 403, anm. 2, L. § 12. Ia.) For *falletande* V. 5, v. § 104. 2; *scedðað* XVI. 18; *sellanne*, *sellas* X. 40, XIII. 22 etc. (25), (v. § 131, beside *sealla* etc. (9), v. § 12), *selenisse* VII. 3, 5, 9, Pref. 5. XLV; *-settanne*, *-settað* etc. XV. 36, XVI. 18 etc. (36), (v. § 132. II, beside *gesætte* Pref. 3. XI, without umlaut v. S. § 401. 2), *setnesse* VII. 3, 5, 8, 13, Pref. 1. 14; *teherum* (lacrimis) IX. 24 (cf. L. § 24. 1); *tellanne* Pref. 1. 15; *unduegenum* VII. 2, Pref. 3. XX (v. S. § 392. 2); *twelfo* III. 14, IV. 10 (*tuelf* v. § 32. 2, 3). Scand. loan-word: *geeggedon* XV. 11.

Beside *e* occurs *æ* in the compound words: *huelc* VIII. 4, IX. 34 etc. (15), *huælc* I. 27, IV. 24 etc. (11), (beside *huoelc* (6) v. § 32); and *swelc* X. 15, *suelce* IX. 26 etc. (8), *swælce* I. 22, XIII. 19 (beside *suwelce* (2) v. § 32, v. S. § 342).

2) before Nasals: *bendum* V. 2, VII. 35; *brengeude* II. 3, 4 etc. (6), *gebrenguise* XII. 44; *cempo* XV. 16; *cennise* VI. 21, Pref. 1. 11, 3. XVII, *acenda* (nata) XIII. 28; *-drencdo* V. 13; *ende* III. 26, XII. 6, XIII. 7, 13, Pref. 1. 9, *-endade* X. 11, XIII. 4 (2), Pref. 1. 14; *lond-bigençgum* (agricolis) XII. 1 (Hilmer v. p. 47 considers this word a form of *lond-byend* v. Rushw. John XV. 1, but in B-T. it is rightly given under *land-begenga*, cf. OHG. *lant-pikengeo*); *gefremðia* (anathematizare) XIV. 71 (v. § 97. 3); *glencas* XIII. 2; *leng* IX. 8 etc. (6), (v. §§ 175. I, 177); *menig* IV. 5 etc. (22), (beside *monig* (29) v. § 2. 3), *menigo* (sb.) II. 4, III. 8 etc. (6), (v. § 160); *menn* I. 25 etc. (22), (v. § 166. I); *nemned* VII. 26, XII. 41, Pref. 2. I; *penningum* VI. 37, XII. 15, 42; *rendon* XI. 8, XIV. 63, *to-reded* (scissum) XV. 38 (miswritten for *-rended*? v. § 90. 3); *senda* VII. 27, XI. 23 etc. (40), (v. §§ 132. II, 133. II. etc.); *stences* XIV. 3; *stengum* XIV. 43, 48 (v. § 100. 5); *strengo* XII. 33; *temised* (propositionis) II. 26; *temma* V. 4; *ædene* III. 5 (2); *ðencendo* II. 6, VIII: 18, XIII. 11.

Loan-words: *engel* I. 2, 13 etc. (9), (v. § 76. I). *oe* occurs in: *fof-scoemel* XII. 36 (v. § 26, cf. Pog. § 261).

Lengthening of this *e* before *nd* is marked by an accent in *efnesênde* X. 11.

3) Before *st* occurs *æ* in: *gefæste* XII. 1; *ræst-* II. 15, 27, 28, III. 4, IV. 39, XIV. 41, XVI. 14, beside *e* in: *rest-* II. 27, VI. 26, 31.

4) Before *cc*, *g*, *cg* occurs *æ* in: *æcced-* XV. 23, 36; *læccanne* XIV. 48; *ic sægo*, *sæcgende* V. 41, Pref. 1. 6 etc. (12), (v. § 136. 2); *wæcca*, *wæccas* (uigilare) XIII. 37, XIV. 33, 34, 37, 38 (v. S. § 416, anm. 6; beside *gewaccas* XIII. 35, v. § 1. 1); *eft-awæcce* (resuscitet) XII. 19, Pref. 3. XIV (2); *gewæge* (mensura) IV. 25.

Note. WS. *ê* from compensation lengthening of *e* after loss of *g* appears as *i* (= *î*) in *gehrino* (aedificationes) XIII. 2 (v. B-T. *ge-rên*, C. § 13).

§ 24. The *i*-umlaut of *a* before *l* + Cons. is *æ* (= *ê* v. S. § 159. 2).

The examples are: *ældesto* XI. 27, XIV. 53, *ældra* VII. 3, 5, Pref. 3. XX, (*aldrum* XIII. 12, v. § 175. I), *ældo* II. 16, VIII. 31, XIV. 43, XV. 1; *gefaello* (ruituras) Pref. 5. XLII; *ge-wældes* (dominantur) X. 42, (*onweæld* XIII. 34 v. S. § 267, Nachtr., cf. L. § 9 I. 2 b. *eae* = *æ* (*ae*), "*geheæld* (custodiam) ist wohl = *gehæld*"); *tonwælte* (aduoluit) XV. 46, XVI. 3, 4.

§ 25. The *i*-umlaut of *a* before *r* + Cons. is *e* (= *ê* v. S. § 159. 1, cf. L. § 12. Iβ).

The examples are: *-bernde* IV. 6; *gecerde* V. 30, VIII. 33 etc. (10), (v. §§ 132. II, 133. II, beside *æ* in: *cærrende* XV. 29, *gecærred* Pref. 1. 2); *derne* VII. 21, VIII. 38, X. 11, 19; *erfe* XII. 7 (2); *gegerelo* II. 21, V. 28, XI. 7, *gegerelad* I. 6, V. 15 (v. § 82. II); *gerd* VI. 8, XV. 19; *gehwerfed* IV. 12 (*huoerf* VIII. 37 v. § 32); *merrunga* (seductiones) Pref. 5. XLII.

§ 26. The *i*-umlaut of *o* is *oe*, *e*. (For the rarity of its occurrence v. S. § 93 and anm.) The examples are: *dochter* (dat. sg.) Pref. 3. XVII; *on merne* (mane) XV. 1 (cf. *mergen* S. § 93).

Loan-word: *oele-* XI. 1, XIII. 3, XIV. 26 (beside *ole* VI. 13, v. § 9. 3). *oe* = *i*-umlaut of *a* before Nasals in *fof-scoemel* XII. 36 (v. § 23. 2).

§ 27. The *i*-umlaut of *u* is *y*. In a few instances *i* for *y* occurs (cf. *y* for *i* v. (2) below), and very rarely *y* is written *ui* (v. S. § 6, anm. 1).

1) The examples of *y* are: *bycges* VI. 46, 37, X. 21, XI. 15 (3); *byrgen* XVI. 5, 8 etc. (11), (v. § 146); *byreð* IV. 38; *byrig* V. 20 etc. (4), (v. § 166. II); *byrðen* IX. 42; *bytto* II. 22 (4), Pref. 2. VII; *-crypel* II. 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, Pref. 2. VI; *to-cyme* (adventus) Pref. 5. XLIII; *gecynd* Pref. 2. 4; *cynn* IX. 29, XIII. 8 etc. (9); *cynig* VI. 14, 25 etc. (9), *cyning* VI. 26, XIII. 9 (2); *ymb-cyrf* Pref. 4. XXX; *cyssende* XIV. 44, 45 (v. § 103); *cyrtilum* VI. 9; *adrysned* (extinguitur) IX. 46 etc. (6), (v. § 78. IV); *dyntum* XIV. 65; *fylga* VIII. 34, X. 21 etc. (30), (v. §§ 132. II, 133. II etc.); *fyll-nise* II. 21, Pref. 1. 9, 14, *gefylle* (Inf.) VIII. 4 etc. (11), (v. §§ 132. II, 133. II); *fyrhto* IV. 41, IX. 6, XVI. 8, *gefyrhtad* IX. 6; *gyrd-ils* I. 6, VI. 8, *ymbgyrded* XIV. 51; *blodes gytt* Pref. 3. XIV; *oferhygd* VII. 22; *hyngerde* II. 25, XI. 12 (v. § 100. 5); *-myndig* XI. 21, XIV. 72, *gemynd* XIV. 9, *gemyne ðu* Pref. 1, heading; *myntro* (nummularium) XI. 15; *nymðe* II. 7, 26, III. 27, Pref. 3. XV; *scylt* III. 29. (2), XIV. 64; *ge-scyrte* XIII. 20. (2), (v. § 95); *smyltnis* IV. 35, 39, Pref. 3. XIII; *snytru* VI. 2; *ge-ondspyrned* VI. 3 etc. (4), (beside *-spurnad* IV. 17, v. 126. 1); *stycas* XII. 42; *styres* (vb.) V. 35, 39, VI. 50, IX. 20, XIII. 25, *styrenise* XIV. 2; *symbol* (cenam) VI. 21, XV. 6; *sindrigon* IV. 10, 34, Pref. 2. 2, 3. XI (beside *sundrig* etc. (4), v. § 10. 2, *suindrige* (3) v. (4) below); *synged* X. 12, *synna*, *synn-* I. 4, 5, II. 15 etc. (14), (v. §§ 103, 147. I); *synnig* III. 29 etc. (4), (beside *sunigo* II. 15); *ðyncge* XIV. 64; *dyrnenne* XV. 17; *dyril* X. 25 (v. S. § 218); *trymnises* Pref. 2. 5, V, IX, *trymende* XVI. 20, *-trymigo* VI. 5, 13, 56, XIV. 38, XVI. 18, *wyrtryma* IV. 17 (beside *trumlice* etc. (4) v. § 10. 2); *wyrce* (Inf.) III. 4 etc. (11), (v. § 113. 2 etc.); *wyrihte* (faber) VI. 3 (v. § 76. II, *wrihtes* Pref. 3. XV); *wyrm* IX. 44, 46, 48; *-wyrp-nise* III. 15; *wyrtum* IV. 32, XVI. 1; *yfel* VI. 49 etc. (11), (v. § 78. 1); *ymb* I. 6, III. 8 etc.

For the origin of *y* in WS. *dyde* and in North. *styd* beside WS. *stede* (v. S. § 263 and anm. 5) v. Sievers, P. B. B. XVI. pp. 235, 236. The examples are: *dyde* VIII. 6 etc. (19), and with the vowel of the singular taken over to the plural: *dydon* VI. 30 etc. (4), (two instances of the older plural are: *dedon* III. 6, VI. 12, v. § 140, cf. S. § 429); *styd* I. 35, VI. 32 etc. (4).

For *y* in the Pres. forms of the st. vb. WS. *cuman*, cf. L. § 49, p. 89, v. S. § 390, anm. 2. The examples are: *cym*, *cym-ende* V. 23, IX. 1 etc. (30), (beside *cummende* etc. (5), v. § 127).

Note. The word *wyrðes* (rigat) Pref. 2. 5 is obscure.

2) *i* for *y* occurs in: *drihten* V. 19, XI. 3 etc. (22), (v. § 76 III), *drihtes* Pref. 1. 6; *scile* (subj.) IX. 12, XIV. 31, 62 (v. Paul P. B. B. VI, p. 43); *wrihtes* Pref. 3. XV (*wyrihte* v. (1) above).

e for *y* occurs in *ende brednise* (ordinem) Pref. 1. 4 (v. S. § 180, cf. Z. § 30 and anm.).

3) *y* for *i* occurs in: *espryngc* V. 29 (v. C. § 34. 2); *styldon* (stupebant) I. 22, V. 42, VI. 51, X. 24, XVI. 5; *symle* V. 4, 5 etc. (6), (v. § 92); *wynnennde* VI. 48; *wynstra* X. 37, XV. 27 (*winstra* X. 40).

Note. *fihles* (panni) Pref. 2. VII is possibly a metathesised form (v. § 87) from a Lat. base *plec-*, with *y* for *i* in *flyhtes* II. 22?

4) *ui* (*iu*) for *y* occurs in: *suindrige* IX. 2 (*swyndria* XIV. 19), *siundrio* Pref. 1. 13 (beside *syndrige* (4) v. (1) above, cf. *druige* XI. 20, v. § 55).

Influence of Preceding Palatals.

§ 28. Initially the semivowel *j* is always represented by *g*, except in proper names (v. § 83). For its influence on a following *a*, *o* v. S. § 74, cf. L. § 13. 1.

The only example which occurs is: *bigienda* X. 1, (with *i*-umlaut).

Examples of original *ju* (v. S. § 74) are: *gie* (Pron.) II. 8 etc. (96), *ge* I. 17 etc. (6), *gê* X. 36 etc. (3), *geê* XIV. 64 (v. § 181. II.), (on the vowel cf. Brugmann. P. G. II. p. 810); *gee* (iam) VIII. 2 etc. (7), *giee* XV. 44; *gigoðe* X. 20; *ging* XIV. 51, XVI. 5.

In place of *ie* (S. § 74, anm. 1) in WS. *giæt*, *giæna* occur *e* and *eo*: *get* VIII. 17, 21 etc. (7), *gêt* IV. 40; and *geone* V. 35, VIII. 17, 21, XIV. 43, 63.

§ 29. In the majority of cases *a* (*æ*) preceded by *g*, *c*, *sc* is changed to *ea* (v. S. § 74. 1), but several forms occur with unchanged *æ*, side by side with the *ea* forms of the same word. *ea* is sometimes written *eæ*, and *eae* (cf. L. § 13. 2a). The examples are:

1) *ea* from *æ* preceded by *g*; *geafel* XII. 14 (v. § 16); *ætgeadre* II. 15, VI. 22, XIV. 31, XV. 41, *gegeadrad* X. 9; *forgeaf* XV. 15; *ongeat* V. 30.

The forms with *eæ*, *eae* are: *-geæf* X. 4; *ongeaegn* XI. 2, XIII. 3, XIV. 13, XVI. 17.

2) *ea* from *æ* preceded by *c*: *ceastra* I. 45 etc. (10); (v. § 146).

3) *ea* from *æ* preceded by *sc*: *sceacas* VI. 11, *sceacerum* XV. 7; *sceaftē* XVI. 15; *sceal* X. 17, XIII. 7; *scealt* X. 21; *morsceaðe* XV. 11, 15, 27.

With *eæ*: *sceæftes* XIII. 19 (cf. *eæ* for *æ* = *ê* *i*-uml. of *â* from *ai* in *toscænde* V. 4 v. § 42. 1).

4) *æ* remains unchanged (v. § 3) in: *agæf* XII. 1, XV. 37 (beside *-geaf* 2); *ongægn* XII. 41 etc. (4), (beside *-geægn* 4); *gæt* (sb.) I. 33; *-gæt* (vb.) XV. 45 etc. (4), (beside *-geat* 1); *sceaftes* X. 6 (beside *sceaftē* 1, *sceæftes* 1).

Thus the numbers are: *ea* 26; *eæ*, *eae* 6; *æ*, *ae* 12.

5) The only example with *i*-uml. is: *ðeodscip* Pref. 2. 3 (v. S. § 98, anm.).

§ 30. 1) WS. *ê* North. *ê* (v. § 44) remains unchanged in: *on-geton* VI. 33 etc. (4). It appears as *î* in: *scîp* (oues) VI. 34, XIV. 27, with an accent over the vowel in both instances to distinguish the word from *scîp* (nauis).

2) *e* appears as *y* in: *gyld* (sb.) Pref. 4. XXXVIII (v. S. § 75. 3); otherwise it remains unchanged: *geldas* XII. 17; *ic for-gefo* XV. 9 etc. (v. § 4).

§ 31. Other vowels remain unchanged after *g*, and *c* as in WS. (v. S. § 76. 1), except *o* (= *a* before Nasals) in WS. *gongan*, North. *geonga*. *â*, *o*, *ô* are changed to *êa*, *eo* (*ea*), *êo* after *sc* (v. S. § 76. 2, L. § 13. 3). The examples are:

1) *êa* in: *to-sceadade* IV. 34, X. 9, Pref. 2. 3, 5. XLII.

2) *eo* in: *-sceomfulnise* VII. 21, Pref. 5. XXXVIII; *sceortum* Pref. 1. 13, 5. XLVI; *ea* in: *scealde* X. 32, XIV. 40.

Note. *sceofmum* (contumeliis) XII. 4 is apparently miswritten for *sceomum* cf. Rushw. *scomum*, and Luke XI. 45 where *contumiliam* is glossed by *sceoma*.

3) *êo* in: *gesceop* XIII. 19. *ô* remains unchanged in *gescoed* (calciatos) VI. 9 (= *gescô-ed* v. § 135. 2).

4) *eo* in the Pres. forms of the vb. *geonga* occurs 35 times (v. § 130. 1.), in *geongas* (sb.) I. 3, V. 13 etc. (6).

Note. The word *geandē* in *from geandē l sunduria* (deorsum) XIV. 66 is obscure. The gloss *sunduria* shows that the glossator has muddled *seorsum* and *deorsum*; cf. *seorsum* = *sundrig* VI. 31, *seorsum* = *sundur* VI. 32. Can *from geandē* = *from gânde* (= going away from, going apart) with *ea* for *â* or *aa*? (v. § 38.2). For instances of *ð* for *d*, v. § 96.

Influence of Preceding *v*.

§ 32. *e* (= Gmc. *e*, and umlauts-*e*) immediately preceded by *v* is, as a rule, changed to *oe*, and occasionally to *oæ* (cf.

æ beside *ea* § 29) and *o* (v. § 35), but *e* remains unchanged in several instances.

1) *oe* (Gmc. *e*) occurs in: *cuoēða*, *gecuoeden* II. 9, V. 36 etc. (87), *coeðe* (with loss of *n*) I. 44, II. 9, X. 19 (v. § 128. I, IV); *huoelc huoego* VIII. 23, XIII. 15 (v. S. § 344); *woeg* VI. 8, VIII. 3 etc. (16); *gewoegen* (pp.) IV. 24. (2); *woel* VII. 9, XII. 28, XIV. 7. The forms with *œ* are: *cuoæðas* XII. 18, XIV. 69, XVI. 17; with *o*: *cuoðas* X. 18, *cuoðende* V. 35, XII. 18, XIV. 60; *huodhuoge* XV. 24 (cf. § 35).

2) *oe* (umlauts-*e*) occurs in: *acuoellað* X. 34, XI. 18, XIII. 12; *huoelc* VIII. 29, 37 etc. (6), (v. § 23. 1); *huoelpes* (catelli) VII. 28 (Sweet, O. E. T. Gloss. p. 542, classes this word under umlauts-*e*. Kluge, Germ. Dict. gives it as Gmc. *e*); *huoenne* (quando) VIII. 20 etc. (6), (v. P. B. B. VI. p. 32); *huoerf* VIII. 37; *suoelce* VIII. 24, 28 (v. § 23. 1); *geswoenced* I. 34 (2); *gesuoeria* XIV. 71 (v. S. § 392. 4); in *að geswoerenum* (iúsiurandum) VI. 26, WS. -*sworen*, -*swaren* the vowel has apparently been taken over from the Inf. (but v. § 71. 1); *tuelf* VI. 43 etc. (15), (v. § 178); *awoendat* Pref. 1. 11.

3) *e* (= Gmc. *e*) remains unchanged in: *ic cueðo*, *acueðen* (ð for *d*) II. 11, Pref. 1. 15 etc. (6), (with *oe* (90), *œ* (3), *o* (4), *cueoða* Pref. 1. 11 with *u*-, *o*-umlaut v. § 16. 2); *wege* I. 2 (with *oe* (16)); *wel* III. 4 etc. (6), (with *oe* (3)).

e (= umlauts-*e*) remains in: *huelc* VIII. 4 etc. (15), (beside *huælc* (11), with *oe* (6)); *suelc* X. 15 etc. (8), (beside *suælc* (2), with *oe* (2)); *twelfo* III. 14, IV. 10 (with *oe* (15)).

§ 88. *æ* (= Gmc. *a*, v. § 3) immediately preceded by *n* generally remains unchanged. It only occurs as *oe* in the 1st and 3rd pers. sg. of the Pret. Indic. of the st. vb. WS. *cweðan*, and in the Conj. WS. *hwæðer* (v. S. § 156).

1) The examples of *oe* are: *cuoēð* VI. 18 etc. (141), (v. §§ 107, 128. II), *coeð* (with loss of *n*) XII. 26, 35, XIV. 22 (*cuoēað* VII. 6); *huoēðer* VIII. 23, X. 43, XIII. 11, XIV. 29, XV. 44.

o occurs in the compound word *huodhuoge* (quid) XV. 24 (v. S. § 344).

2) Examples of unchanged *æ* in these words are: *cuæð* II. 27 etc. (9), (beside *cueð* (19) v. § 3. 3, with *oe* (144)).

e for *æ* occurs in *hueðer* III. 2 etc. (4), (v. § 3. 3, with *oe* (5)).

§ 34. *ê, æ* (= Gmc. *â* v. § 44) immediately preceded by *w* is changed to *ôe*, but not regularly; instances of unchanged *ê, æ* are numerous.

1) *ôe* occurs in: Pret. forms of *cuoeða* (41), (v. § 128. III); *woede* V. 27 etc. (7), (v. §§ 144. I, 145. I), *gewoede* VI. 56, XV. 20 (with *i*-umlaut v. § 45, beside *gewedo* V. 30); *woepen* X. 6; *woere*, *woeron* V. 14 etc. (26), (v. § 138. 3. *woeron* IV. 10 is apparently a scribal error for *woeron*; *ymb-woeson* Pref. 1. heading, *woeson* for *woeron*? v. § 86); and in the following words where *ôe* = *ê* of various origins: *swoer* (*socru*) Pref. 2. V (v. § 46. 2); *tuoige* VI. 31 etc. (8), (beside *tuoige* VI. 7 etc. (3), v. § 178); *woe* (*nos*) X. 33 etc. (v. § 181. I, S. § 156).

2) *ê, æ* occurs unchanged in: Pret. forms of *cuoeða* (7), (v. § 128. III; with *oe* (41); *were*, *weron* IX. 10 etc. (56), beside *wære* (4) v. §§ 44. 3, 138. 3, with *oe* (26).

swer I. 30 (*swoer* Pref. 2. V); *tuege* Pref. 5. XLI etc. (3), (v. § 46. 3, with *oe*, *o* (11); *we* I. 38 etc. (about 32, with *oe* (5), v. § 46. 5).

For *huer*, *huær*, *swæ*, *swa* v. § 44. 2, 3.

§ 35. The group *neo* (from Gmc. *ne*) due to breaking, appears generally as *no*; the group *neo* due to *u*-, *o*-umlaut, appears as *no* less regularly (v. examples § 32. 1). The examples are:

1) Breaking: *suordum* XIV. 43, 47, 48; *worpend* I. 39 etc. (4), (v. § 126. I); *worð* (atrium) XIV. 66 etc. (4); *worðedun* II. 12, V. 6, VII. 6, 7, 10, XV. 19, *worðnis* etc. VI. 4 (2), X. 19, Pref. 3. XV; *geworðe* (*fiant*) XIII. 30, XIV. 2.

oe occurs in: *woerces* XIII. 34 etc. (5), (beside *werc*, *wærcco* (4) v. § 22); and in *coern* IX. 42 (with loss of *w*, v. S. § 172, *aum.*).

2) *u*-, *o*-umlaut: *woruldes* IV. 19, Pref. 4. XXXII, *world* X. 30; *wosa* IX. 35 etc. (9), (v. § 138. 3, S. § 156. 2), and the derivative formed from this Inf.: *forwost* VI. 21, and margin, Pref. 4. XXIX. For *cuoðas*, *-huoge* beside the commoner forms with *oe* v. § 32. 1.

swoester (always with *oe*) III. 35, *swoestro* VI. 3, X. 29, 30.

§ 36. The group *nea* (= *neo* from Gmc. *ne*) due to *u*-, *o*-umlaut, appears as *na* and *wæ* (v. S. § 156. 3) in: *walana* IV. 19 (beside *weala* IV. 19, *wealigo* XII. 41, v. § 16. 1); *waras* I. 5, 33, *wæro* VI. 44, Pref. 3. XVIII, *wæranu* VI. 44.

§ 37. The group *wio* (from Gmc. *wi*) due to breaking or *u*-*o*-umlaut, appears as *wu* (v. S. §§ 71, 156. 4) in most of the forms and derivatives of the Pref. Pres. verb WS. *witan*, otherwise as a rule *wi* remains. The *i*-umlaut of this *wio* is *wy*.

1) *wu* occurs in: *wudu* I. 6; *wutta* (scire) VII. 24 etc. (13), (v. § 137. 1); *wuðwuta* (scriba) XII. 32 etc. (19), *wuða* (with loss of *w*) I. 22, II. 16 (v. §§ 38. 2, 75, 157); *wutedlice* IV. 11, 15 etc. (20), *wutum* I. 38, XII. 7, XIV. 42.

2) *wi* remains in: *cuic* IX. 49, XII. 33; *suuippum* (fiagellis) XV. 15, *geswipernise* XII. 15 (v. L. § 14. 4. anm., C.N. 143 "geswipernise alt. to —"); *bituih* II. 8 etc. (11), (*bitwien* IV. 41, *bituen* VIII. 16, v. § 180, S. §§ 71, 329); *widua* XII. 40, 42, 43, Pref. 5. XLI; *wiht* VI. 49; *fuluiht* I. 4 etc. (10), (v. § 150), *fullwihtere* VI. 14; *wita* (Subj. pl.) IV. 11.

3) *wy* (due to *i*-umlaut) occurs in: *wyrðe* I. 7, X. 14, XIV. 3, 4; *wyrse* V. 26.

Chapter II. Long Vowels.

§ 38. As a rule long vowels are not marked, but the number of instances where length is denoted either by an accent (ˆ, rarely ˘ and ˘) or by doubling of the vowel is by no means small. Some words occur more frequently with an accent than without, e. g. *ric* 16, beside *ric* 6; *tīd* 17, beside *tīd* 5; or with doubling of the vowel, *huu* 20, beside *hu* 2; and *gaa*, *slaa* always with *aa*. In a few instances lengthening of a short vowel before consonant groups is denoted by an accent. Misplaced accents are rare.

1) Accented vowels: *êc* VIII. 28; *ân* X. 21, XII. 6, XIV. 47, *âne* Pref. 1. 16; *ârlice* XI. 20; *bât* I. 26; *bêr* (grauatum) II. 4, 11, 12; *blôd* XIV. 24; *bôc* X. 4, Pref. 1; *gebrêc* I. 6, II. 26 (v. § 61); *brûca* III. 20, *brûcende* I. 6; *dêd* Pref. 2. V; *dôm* XII. 40; *drâf* XI. 15; *forðrâf* Pref. 2. IV, 3. XIII; *êc* I. 38, II. 13, IV. 5, 41; *êce* III. 29, X. 17, 30; *êmodað* IV. 41; *anêge* IX. 47; *fôt* IX. 45; *gâst* I. 12, *gâstas* V. 13; *gê* (Pron.) X. 36, XI. 24, XII. 24; *gênde* I. 34; *gêt* IV. 40; *gôd* X. 51; *cildhâd* IX. 21, *sæcerd-hâd* Pref. 1. 16; *hâl* I. 31, V. 23; *hâtas* I. 27; *gehêned* IX. 12; *hêra* (minister) X. 43; *gehêred* II. 1, *ge-hêrdo* Pref. 2. IX; *hlâf* (uxorem) VI. 17; *hrînande* I. 41; *hûs* V. 3, Pref. I. 8; *huêr* XV. 47, *sua-huêr* IX. 18; *lâr* I. 27, IV. 2, VI. 2, XI. 18,

Pref. 1. 5, 3. XV, XXIV; *alêfed* II. 4, III. 7; *licðrower* I. 40, *geîc* IV. 16, XII. 22, XIV. 31, *geîc-leta* IV. 30, *geîcad* Pref. 4. XXXIII, *ungeîcum* Pref. 5. XLII; *lif* X. 30; *mîn* I. 11, V. 23, IX. 17; *glædd-môd* X. 49; *môr* VI. 46, *môre* XI. 23; *nû* XV. 32; *ôr* (initium) XIII. 8; *arâs* I. 35, II. 12, IV. 17, VI. 14, XVI. 6, *aris* II. 9, III. 3, V. 41, *arisa* III. 26; *rêdes* (vb.) Pref. 1. 7, *rêdes* (sb.) Pref. 1. 5; *ric* I. 15, III. 24 (2), IV. 26, IX. 47, X. 14, 15, 23, 24, 25, XI. 10, XII. 34, XIII. 8 (2), Pref. 4. XXVII, XXXII; *unrôtsade* III. 5; *sê* I. 16, IV. 1, 41; *scîp* (oues) VI. 34, *scîpo* XIV. 27; *scôe* I. 7; *sêd* IV. 27, XII. 21; *sîdo* I. 6; *toslât* XIV. 63; *onsôc* XIV. 68, 70, Pref. 3. X, *onsôce* Pref. 1. 15; *sôec* II. 14, *sôecenda* Pref. 4. XXXI; *sôna* I. 42; *sônum* Pref. 1. 9; *sprêc* VI. 2, XII. 38, Pref. 5. XL; *strêt* IV. 4; *téam* XII. 22; *tîd* I. 15, II. 19, IV. 29, VI. 35, XI. 11, 13, XII. 2, XIII. 11, 32, 33, 35, XIV. 35, 41, XV. 25, 33, 34, *tide* X. 30; *ðrêat* III. 32, VI. 34, *ðrêad* III. 7; *tô* II. 13; *ûsig* I. 24; *ût* I. 34, *ût-gaas* VII. 19, *ûta* III. 31; *ic nât* XIV. 71; *wôedo* X. 50; *woênlic* XIV. 59; *anrât* Pref. 1. 3; *ÿð* IV. 37; and with a difference in the form of the accent, *éton* VIII. 8, 9; *hér* VIII. 4; *ðrim* VI. 21, margin; *aldordôm* X. 42; *ðæs leuū* (leuiticae) Pref. 1. 4.

2) Doubled vowels: *feerlice* XIII. 36, *feer-suigo* V. 42; *gaa* (Imp.) I. 44, II. 9, V. 8, 19, 34, VII. 29, VIII. 26, X. 52; *gaas* VI. 10, 11, XVI. 15, *gaad* VI. 38, XI. 2, XIV. 13, *gegaas* VIII. 26, *ingaa* (Inf.) IX. 43, *ingaas* VII. 18, *ingaað* III. 27, VII. 19, X. 15, *inn-gaas* VII. 15, X. 23, *ût-gaas* VII. 19, *utgaað* VII. 20; *gaast* I. 8, 10, V. 8, VII. 25, IX. 17, 20, 25, XII. 36, XIV. 38, Pref. 2. IV, 3. X, *gaas* XIII. 11 (with loss of *t* v. § 95), *gaastas* V. 12, *gaaste* IX. 25; *gee* (iam) VIII. 2, XI. 11, XII. 34, XIII. 22, XIV. 41, XV. 42, XVI. 2, *giee* (iam) XV. 44; *hee* X. 6, *hiuu* X. 6; *huu* II. 26, III. 6, 23, IV. 13, 26, V. 19, 20, VIII. 5, 19 (2), 20, 21, IX. 12, 21, XI. 18, XII. 26, 35, 41, XIV. 1, 11; *huulig* (quales) XIII. 1; *laar* XII. 38; *beleede* XIV. 10; *maara* X. 43; *maast* IX. 34, *maaste* V. 42; *neesta* XII. 31, *neesto* XII. 33; *ic see* XIV. 19, *hia see* XIII. 30; *we gese* (uideamus) XV. 32, *ic gesii* X. 51, XII. 15, *ðu gesiis* XII. 14, *ðu gesiust* V. 31; *geslaa* XIV. 65, *ofslaa* VI. 19, VIII. 31, XIV. 1; *ðriim* VIII. 31, XIV. 5, *tree* XII. 26; *tuu* XV. 38; *wusig* XI. 9 (v, §§ 10. 3, 80), *uudwuta* (scriba) XII. 32, *uuduuto* IX. 11, 14, XI. 27, *uuduutum* VIII. 31, XII. 28, *wuduuto* III. 22, XII. 35, XIV. 53, X. 33, XIV. 43, XV. 1, 31, *wuduuto* II. 16 (v. §§ 37. 1, 54. 1).

3) These two indications of length are combined in: *gāa* (Imp.) I. 25, II. 11; *geē* (Pron.) XIV. 64; *nēesto* I. 38; *sēe* (sg.) XIV. 44, *sēe* (pl.) XIV. 29.

For *bīdtende* (discerpens) I. 26; *un-rōdt* (tristis) XIV. 34; *arisse* XVI. 14, v. Sw. H. E. S. § 391 (v. § 95).

4) Lengthening of short vowels before a single consonant (Sw. H. E. S. § 384) and before consonant groups is marked a) by an accent in: *nudu bīnde* I. 6; *blīnd* X. 46; *dom-ēr̄n* XV. 16 (cf. H. E. S. § 395); *hīs* III. 21; *hōnd* IX. 31, XIV. 41; *lōnd* I. 5, 28, 38, VI. 55; *lōnga* V. 10, *lōngiga* XIV. 33; *sāld* VIII. 12, *sāldē* XIII. 34; *efnesēnde* X. 11; *ōn* Pref. 3. X; *ūnclæne* I. 23, *ūn-eađalice* Pref. 4. XXXII; *nōrd* XIV. 39. b) by doubling of the vowel in: *fuulwihta* VII. 4; *suundorlice* XIII. 4; *đerh wurnon* (percurrentes) VI. 55 (v. § 10. 3), *geurnon* IX. 15, *efne-ge-uurnon* VI. 33.

5) The irregular accents are: *bīst* XIV. 30 (v. § 138, cf. Brown § 27 e. "Westgerm. kurzes *i* aus germ. *i* erscheint in *bīð* (72 mal), *bīþ* (28 mal), einmal *bīþ*"; v. Kluge, P. G. § 36. 6. p. 372 "germ. *biju bīz bīð* (= Lat. *fio* altir. *btu*) = ae. *béo bīs bīð* mit teilweiser vokalkürzung der Enklitika"); *bolstāre* IV. 38; *frūma* I. 1, *frūma* Pref. 1. 4, 7, 8; *gehrīnon* Pref. 2. IX; *lōsad* Pref. 2. 1, *lōsnist* IV. 19; *nedrō* XVI. 18, where the accent was evidently intended to be written over the *e*; *rīpes tīd* (messis) IV. 29 (*rīp* v. Sievers, P. B. B. X. p. 506).

ā.

§ 39. *ā* (= Gmc. *ai*, v. S. § 62) occurs regularly in:

1) the 1st and 3rd pers. sg. Pret. Indic. of st. vbs. of Cl. I. (v. § 124. II); in the Pret. Pres. vb. WS. *wāt* (v. § 137. 1); and in the Redup. vb. WS. *hātan* (v. § 130. I, III): *bāt* I. 26; *draf* I. 15 etc. (7), accented (3), (v. § 38); *-gegrap* VII. 33; *gehran* I. 41 etc. (6); *aras* II. 14 etc. (11), accented (5); *geras* IX. 11; *gesnāð* XIV. 47; *toslat* V. 4, accented XIV. 63; *-stag* I. 10 etc. (9); *awrat* X. 5, XII. 19, accented Pref. 1. 3; *nat* I. 24 etc. (4), *nāt* XIV. 71; *gehaten* XI. 6, Pref. 1. 15, *hātas* I. 27.

2) other words: *an* II. 7, IV. 8, 20, VI. 8, 15 etc. (36), accented (4), (v. §§ 178, 180); *arlice* (mane) XVI. 2, 9, Pref. 5. 16, accented XI. 20; *ar-* X. 19; *geascade* VIII. 5, XIII. 3, XIV. 60, XV. 1; *að* VI. 26; *aðlo* III. 10 etc. (4), (v. § 97. 2); *clāðas* XIV. 63, *gecladed* V. 15; *dalum* (partes) VI. 40, VIII. 10; *facen* X. 19,

XIV. 1; *fagungum* Pref. 5. XLII; *frasia* IX. 16; *gast* I. 23, 26 etc. (11), accented (2), with *aa* (14); *-hād* IX. 21, Pref. 1. 16; *hal* III. 4, V. 15 etc. (16), accented (2), (v. § 169 etc.); *halig-* I. 8, III. 29 etc. (13), (v. §§ 76. VI, 169. II etc.); *ic halsigo* V. 7; *hlaƿ* III. 20, VI. 8 etc. (about 23), (v. § 143. I), *hlaƿurd* II. 28, XII. 9, XIII. 35; *la* X. 24, 47 etc. (8); *-lacum* XII. 33; *hlaƿ* (reliqua) IV. 19 etc. (6), accented VI. 17 (v. § 101. 1); *lar* I. 22, VII. 7, accented (7), with *aa* XII. 38, *larua* (rabbi) IX. 5 etc. (22), (v. § 75); *lað* XIII. 13; *gemana* XII. 25 margin; *mara* II. 21 etc. (10), with *aa* X. 43, *maaste* V. 42, IX. 34; *ge-rahte* I. 41 (v. S. § 407. 3); *sauel* VIII. 37 etc. (11), (v. § 72); *snaua* IX. 3; *stan* XII. 10, XIII. 2, XIV. 3, XV. 46 etc.; *tacon* XV. 26 etc. (5), (v. § 71. 2); *tahte* XII. 38 (v. C. § 86, p. 101); *ða* I. 5, 19, II. 26, etc., *ðam* (dat. pl.) I. 20 (in all other instances *ðæm* v. § 182), *ðara* II. 5 etc. (12), (beside *ðæra* (6) v. § 182), *ðas* X. 42, XII. 40 etc.; *wag-* XV. 38; *wanung* (tumultum) V. 38.

Loan-word: *caseri* XII. 14, 17 (*caeseres* XII. 16, 17, v. Pog. § 199).

§ 40. *â* (= Gmc. *ê* before *w*) occurs regularly in:

oncnawa Pref. 2. 5 etc. (10), (v. § 130. I, III. *on-cneames* VII. 18); *sauas* IV. 18 etc. (14), (v. § 130). Cosijn (§ 58. 2) gives as an example of this *â* "cavelas (corbes)", the forms of which word in St. Mark are: *ceaulas* VI. 43, *ceulas* VIII. 8 (v. C. N. 143. "ceualas alt. to —"), *ceolas* VIII. 20.

The *â* in WS. *gân* is of uncertain origin (v. S. § 57, anm. 1, C. § 58). The vowel is here always written *aa* (v. § 38. 2): *-gaa* IX. 43 etc. (24) with *âa* (2), (v. § 141).

§ 41. *â* is due to:

1) lengthening of final *a* in monosyllables (v. S. § 121) in: *hua* II. 7, IV. 23, 41 etc. (*suaha* XI. 23, *sua huæ* X. 44, v. §§ 185, 186); *sua* XII. 33, XIV. 21 etc. (44), (beside *suæ* (23), *se* (3) v. § 44. 3); *ða* (adv.) II. 20, 25, IV. 6 etc., *ða* (Pron. acc. f. sg.) I. 21, 45, II. 19 etc.

2) contraction (WGmc. *a + o* v. S. § 166) in: *gestlaa* XIV. 65 etc. (4), (beside *-slaeð* (Plur.) IX. 31 *ic ðershtæ* XIV. 27 etc. v. § 129, S. § 374, anm. 1).

Note. *a* in *a half* (demedium) VI. 23 is obscure. Rushw. has *all*.

ê.

§ 42. The *i*-umlaut of *â* (from Gmc. *ai*) is as a rule *ê*. For the few instances of *ê* v. § 46. *ê* is sometimes written *ae*, as in the case of the short vowel (v. § 3).

1) Examples of *ê* are: *æ-laruas* VIII. 15 etc. (3), *æs* Pref. 2. 3 etc. (3), (vgl. § 151. III); *næfra* II. 12, XIV. 29; *æghuelc* XIV. 49 (beside *eg-* (6)); *ænig*, *nænig* IV. 22, V. 3, 4, 43 etc. (v. §§ 76. VI, 186); *æniht* V. 26 etc. (5), (v. § 186, S. § 348, Nachtr. § 100); *ær* XI. 4, XIV. 30 etc. (12), (v. §§ 175. I, 177), *on æring* I. 35, XIII. 35; *brædon* (strauerunt) XI. 8, IX. 7; *unclæne* III. 30 etc. (11), (v. § 169 etc.), *clænsunge* I. 44, *clænsas* VII. 19 etc. (5); *dælde*¹ VI. 41 etc. (7), (v. §§ 132. II, 133. II); *fæmeð* IX. 18, 20; *hælde* Pref. 3. XIV etc. (10), (v. § 132. II etc.), *hælend* (sb.) I. 17 etc. (v. § 164), *hælo* (sb.) Pref. 4. XXVIII; *hæðen* VII. 26, X. 33, 42, XIII. 10; *huæm* IV. 30, Pref. 1. 8, 5. 16; *hwæte* IV. 28; *lædde* VI. 17 etc. (17), (v. § 132. II etc.); *-gelæfed* VIII. 8, XII. 19, 22; *læra* IV. 1, II. 13 etc. (20), (v. §§ 113. 2, 115. 2 etc.); *læs* IV. 12, 31, IX. 42, Pref. 5. XLIV (*teasse* XV. 40, with *ea* miswritten for *æ* (*æ*) cf. L. § 10, anm., cf. *teastlicor* § 45); *mænsuniað* XII. 25 (2), *gemænelicum* VII. 2; *mæniende* V. 38, VIII. 12; *gemæro* VI. 36 etc. (6), (v. § 145. I, III); *-ræs* IV. 37, V. 13 (v. Z. § 14. 2, but C. § 57. gives *onræs* under Gmc. *ê*); *sæ* I. 16 etc. (14), accented (3), (v. § 148); *stæne* XIV. 3, Pref. 5. XLIV, *stænero* (petrosa) IV. 5, 16 (v. § 86); *ðæm* I. 9 etc. (*ðam* I. 20), *ðæra* (gen. pl.) VIII. 15 etc. (6), (*ðara* (12) v. § 39. 2), *ðære* (f. sg.) VII. 25 etc. (v. § 182); *tuæm* V. 13 etc. (5), (v. § 178); *nræððo* III. 5, 21, *nuræðia* X. 41.

æe for *æ* occurs in *toscewende* V. 4 (v. § 29. 3).

2) The forms with *ae* are: *æ-laruas* VIII. 11, X. 2; *æhto* X. 22; *æenig* IX. 30; *aer* XIV. 72; *unreht-haemedo* VII. 21; *haedno* Pref. 4. XXXIII; *hælo* Pref. 3. XVI; *laeddon* VII. 32, X. 11, Pref. 4. XXVII; *lærde* X. 1; *maenendum* XVI. 10; *raesdon* III. 10; *sae* IV. 39, VI. 49, VII. 31, XI. 23.

§ 43. 1) *ê* = *i*-umlaut of *â* (v. § 40 WS. *gân*) in: *gæ* I. 38 etc. (3), with *ae* (5), (v. § 141, cf. L. § 16. 2, Z. § 14. 1).

¹ The glosses *to-dæla* (discumbere) VIII. 6, and *to-dældon* (discuburunt) VI. 40 must be due to some misreading of the Latin. cf. *gesniða* (accumbere) VI. 39 (v. § 51. 1, Note).

2) \hat{e} = $\acute{e}a$ influenced by a following palatal consonant in: *æc* XV. 14, 21 etc. (17), accented VIII. 28 (beside *ec* (13), v. § 61); *ðæh* XI. 26 etc. etc. v. § 61.

3) \hat{e} is the result of contraction in: *ic ðerhslæ* XIV. 27 etc. (v. § 129); *tuaes* (haesitauerit) XI. 23 (v. S. § 414, anm. 4); and of compensation lengthening of α after loss of g in: *mæden* V. 39, 40, with *ae* V. 40, Pref. 3. XIV (beside *mægden* (7) v. § 3. 2).

4) \hat{e} is of Scand. origin in: *ðrærl* X. 44, XIII. 34, XIV. 47, with *ae* XII. 4 (v. L. § 16, anm.).

5) \hat{e} for WS. \hat{a} (= Gmc. *ai*) occurs without any apparent reason in: *næ* (uae) XIII. 17, XIV. 21, XV. 29 unless it can be due to scribal confusion with the Latin vowel, as in: *medo* (medios) VII. 31 (v. § 7. 2); *diabiles* (diaboli) Pref. 1. 12 (v. § 64 3). But v. Kluge P. G. I. p. 787 "**nei* geschrieben *wæe* Durh.-B. an. *vei*".

6) For \hat{e} (= Gmc. \hat{e}) beside the more frequent \acute{e} v. § 44. 3.

\acute{e} .

§ 44. Gmc. \hat{e} , which in WS. remains unchanged, is as a rule represented by \acute{e} , but \hat{e} occurs in a few instances (v. Sw. H. E. S. §§ 448, 449, cf. L. § 17). This \hat{e} occurs:

1) in the 2nd pers. sg. and the plur. Pret. Indic., and in the whole Pret. Subj. of st. vbs. of Cl. IV, V (v. §§ 127. III, 128. III): *bedon* VI. 56 etc. (5); *brecon* (manducauerunt) VI. 44 (from *brecan* in the sense of 'to break bread'? Or from *brûcan* with the strong grade vowel carried over to the plural v. *gebrêc* manducavit II. 26 § 61? v. B-T. *gebrûcan*, *gebrêcon* (manducauerunt) Lind. Ju. VI. 58, XVIII. 28); *cuedon* I. 30 etc. (7), (beside *cuoede* (41) v. § 34); *dedon* III. 6, VI. 12 (beside *dydon* (4) v. § 141); *eton* IV. 4 etc. (6), accented (2); *fretton* (comederunt) IV. 4 (v. § 103); *on-geton* VI. 33, 38, 54; *gesegon* II. 12 etc. (22); *setton* (sedebant) III. 34; *tredon* (sternebant) XI. 8 (Rushw. has *stredun* from *stregdan* v. B-T.); *-tredon* III. 9; *were* I. 45 etc. (57), (beside *wære* (4) v. below; *woere* (26) v. §§ 34, 138); and in Pres. forms and Past Parts. of reduplicating verbs (v. § 130. I, III): *ondrede* V. 36, VI. 50, XIII. 7; *leta* I. 34 etc. (28); *redes* XIII. 14, *rêdes* Pref. 1. 7; *stepað* XIV. 41 etc. (10).

2) Other words: *bere* (grauatum) II. 9, VI. 55, accented II. 4, 11, 12; *efern* I. 32 etc. (8), (v. § 86): *erenwreca* Pref. 2. V

(but v. S. Nachtr. § 100 "*êrende* aus **âryndi*" with *i*-umlaut of the first syllable); *erest* (resurrectionem) XII. 18 etc. (6) (v. § 148); *espryngc* (fons) V. 29 (v. C. § 57); *esuicnis* VII. 21; *etes* (sb.) VI. 31 (cf. C. § 22 *i*-stems "*oferêt o-st.*"); *feer-* V. 42, XIII. 36; *herum* I. 6; *huer* XIV. 9, accented IX. 18, XV. 47; *forletnisse* Pref. 3. XX; *behleing* (proditione) Pref. 5. XLIV (= *belewing* with loss of *w*, and introduction of inorganic *h*? v. §§ 82. I, 101 a); *megnîllice* Pref. 4. XXX; *nedles* X. 25; *nedró* XVI. 18 (v. § 38. 5); *reda* (lectionum) Pref. 2, 7, *rêdes* Pref. 1. 5; *setnerum* XV. 7, *setnong* XV. 7, *gesetnade* VI. 19; *sprecum* XVI. 17, accented (3); *strêt* IV. 4; *ðer* II. 4, 6, IV. 5, 15 etc.

oe is written for *e* in *honcroed* XIII. 35.

3) *ê* remains in: *æt* II. 16; *wæron* V. 13, VI. 54, XV. 42, XVI. 11 (beside *weron* (57) etc. v. (1) above); *eghuær* XVI. 20 (beside *huer* (3)); *suæ* I. 2, 22 etc. (23), (beside *swa* (44) v. § 41. 1). The form *se* in *ðah se*, *ðæh se* (quodsi) VI. 23, IX. 50, XI. 26 is probably a weakened form of *swa*. *ðeah swa* = *swa* *ðeah*.

Note. For *hæt* (imperat) Pref. 3. XXV. v. § 107.

§ 45. The *i*-umlaut of Gmc. *ê* (§ 44) is also represented by *ê*.

The examples are: *dêd* Pref. 2. 5; *lece* II. 17, V. 26, *lecnade* I. 34 (v. C. § 63), (*leicnung* Pref. 2. VI, v. § 63. 1); *beleede* (proderet) XIV. 10 (v. S. § 174. 3 and anm. 3); *woegena geletum* (binio) XI. 4; *megða* VIII. 10; *mersiga* I. 45, III. 12, *mersung* I. 28, XIII. 7; *merðu* I. 28; *sed* XII. 19 etc. (4), accented (2), *sedere* IV. 3, 26; *telað* (accusant) Pref. 3. XX etc. (9), (v. §§ 132. II, 133. II etc.), *telnisse* IV. 19 (v. C. § 63); *gewedo* V. 30 (beside *gewoede* (2) v. § 34. 1).

oe occurs in *soel* (bene) XVI. 18 (v. C. § 65).

ea occurs in *teaslicor* (oportune) XIV. 11 (cf. *leasse* § 42. 1); and *æ* in *auæled* (uexatus) V. 18 (cf. Brown, § 43 c, v. C.N. 142 "*auæled* alt. from *auelled*").

§ 46. 1) *ê* = Goth. *ê* OHG. *ea*, *ia* (v. Z. § 15. 2, "Ein *ê*, dessen ursprung noch dunkel ist") in: *her* VI. 3 etc. (5), *hér* VIII. 4 (*hir* XVI. 6).

2) *ê* is the result of contraction in: *teno* X. 41 (v. S. § 113); *gesee* (uideamus) XV. 32 (cf. L. § 17. 3); *swer* (socrus) I. 30 (*swoer* Pref. 2. V); and in the reduplicated Pret. forms (v. § 130):

-feng VII. 34 etc. (11), *onfence*, *onfenge* VI. 41, XVI. 19 (cf. L. § 50, anm. "wahrscheinlich formen eines adj."); *hengon* XV. 20, 24, 25, 27.

3) For the *ê* in: *êce* (aeterni) III. 29, X. 17, 30, *ecnisse* III. 29, XL 14 (*æce* IX. 45) v. C. § 12, L. § 17. 4.

For *ê* in *tuege* (duo) Pref. 5. XLI etc. (3), (v. § 178), v. Kluge, P. G. § 602, p. 403, cf. Brown § 50 (beside *twoege*, v. § 34. 2).

4) *ê* = *i*-umlaut of *â* (from Gmc. *ai*) in: *eghwelc*, *eghwær* etc. IX. 15, XVI. 20 etc. (7), (*æghuelc* XIV. 49. v. C. § 88); *geneo-lecde* I. 15 etc. (11), (v. 132. III).

For *enne* (unum) IV. 8, VIII. 28, XII. 6, XV. 6 with a short vowel v. S. § 324. 1.

5) *ê* is due to lengthening of final *e* in monosyllables (v. S. § 121) in: *he* I. 8, II. 12 etc., *hee* X. 6, *me* II. 14 etc., *ne* I. 22, 34, II. 19 etc., *se* I. 17, 25 etc. (*sæ* X. 24), *ðe* (tibi) I. 24 etc. *ðe* (Dem.) I. 12, III. 7 etc. (*ðæ* XIV. 60), *we* II. 12 etc. (*wæ* IV. 35, *woe* IX. 28 etc. (5), (v. §§ 181, 182).

6) For *ê* in *gê*, *gêt* v. § 28. For *ê* = *i*-umlaut of *êa* and *êo* before palatals v. § 61.

ô.

§ 47. *ô* (= Gmc. *ô*) occurs regularly in:

1) the Pret. Indic. and Subj. of st. vbs. Cl. VI. (v. § 129. II, III): *-hlogan* V. 40; *ahof* I. 31, IX. 27; *slog* XIV. 74 etc. (9); *on-soc* Pref. 3. XXIV, accented (4); *stod* X. 49, XIV. 70, XV. 39; *swor* VI. 23; *geðtogon* VII. 3; *gewoxe* XII. 44.

2) Other words: *boc* XII. 26, XVI. end, accented (2); *blodes* V. 25 etc. (4), accented XIV. 12; *broðer* I. 16 etc. (21), (v. § 163); *doa* X. 17 etc. (25), (v. §§ 50. 1, 140); *dogor* VIII. 2, XIV. 1, 58; *-dom* VII. 22 etc. (3), accented X. 42, XII. 40; *fota* XII. 36 etc. (5), accented IX. 45 (v. § 166. I); *god* IV. 20, IX. 42, 43, 47 etc. accented X. 51; *behoftic* XI. 3; *hrof* XIII. 15, 27; *locade* VI. 41 etc. (6), (v. § 134. 1); *-môd* X. 49, *eðmodigað* I. 27, IV. 41; *moder* III. 31 etc. (15), (v. § 163); *mor* III. 13, V. 11, IX. 2, 9 etc., accented VI. 46, XI. 23; *ôr* (initium) XIII. 8; *rode* XV. 30, 32; *unrotsia* XIV. 19 etc. (5), accented (2), (v. § 95); *rowincg* VI. 48; *gescoed* VI. 9 (v. § 135. 2, Note); *sohte* XIV. 11 etc. (9), (v. §§ 132. III, 133. III); *-stow* VII. 4 etc. (7), (v. § 146 etc.); *ðrouenda* V. 26 etc. (3), *ðrowungo* V. 26 etc. (4), (v. § 82. I. 3), *licðrower* I. 40,

Prof. 2. VI; *to* I. 5, IV. 38, VII. 1 etc., accented II. 13; *wodnes doȝe* Prof. 5. 16; *wopendum* XVI. 10 (beside *woepa* etc. v. § 50 1); *wroht* (sb.) XIII. 14.

Loan-words: *non* XV. 33 (v. Pog. §§ 175, 176). The *ô* in *sônum* Prof. 1. 9 is lengthened from *o* (v. Pog. § 150), cf. *stol* § 9. 2.

§ 48. *ô* (= Gmc. *ê* before Nasals v. S. § 68) occurs regularly in: *cuom*, *cuomon* I. 38, II. 2 etc. (82), (v. § 127); *huon* I. 19, VI. 5. 31 etc. (6); *mona* XIII. 24; *-nom*, *nomon* V. 40, VIII. 2 etc. (14), (v. § 127); *sona* I. 10, 12, 30, 43 etc., *sôna* I. 42.

§ 49. 1) *ô* is the result of lengthening of *o* after the loss of a nasal:

a) before the voiceless spirants *f*, *ð*, and *s* (v. S. § 186. 1) in: *oðer* II. 21, IV. 4, 8, VI. 15, XII. 4 etc. (v. § 76. II); *soð*¹ (at) III. 4, VI. 49, VII. 6 etc.; *soða*, *soðða* (deinde) IV. 17, 28, Prof. 1. 15, 2. 4; *soðest* V. 33, *soð-* VI. 35, VIII. 2, 9, 12, XII. 14 etc.; *toðum* IX. 18.

The vowel is short owing to want of accent in: *oðð* XIV. 25, 34, Prof. 4. XXVII, *oððe* XI. 30, XII. 14, *oððæt* IX. 1 etc. (5), (v. § 104, cf. S. § 186, anm. 3).

b) before *h* (v. S. § 67) in: *brohte* X. 14 etc. (14), (v. §§ 132, III, 133. III); *gefoanne*, *-foas* etc. XIV. 22, 48 etc. (16), (v. § 130, v. S. § 374, anm. "*fœð* (*fæð*?)"). For *-foeð* sg. v. § 50. 3); *ahoa* XV. 20 etc. (4), (v. § 130); *ðohtes* (sb.) V. 15, XII. 30, *ðohton* (vb.) II. 8, VIII. 16, 18; *wohfullum* XV. 28.

2) *ô* corresponds to Gmc. *ai* (v. C. § 87, cf. Brown § 57) in: *no* XI. 14, XII. 14, *oht*, *noht* XV. 24 etc. (6), (v. § 186).

For *ô* in *hônd*, *lônd* etc. v. § 38 (4).

Note. *ô* stands for *êo* in *rode* (calamo) XV. 36 = *hreode*, cf. *hreade* (harundine) XV. 19, v. H. Note 44, p. 29. For the loss of initial *h* v. § 101. 2.

§ 50. The *i*-umlaut of *ô* (§§ 47, 48, 49. 1) is *oe* (v. Sw. H. E. S. § 488, 489). Only two instances of *ê* occur. In a few cases *oe* occurs where the corresponding word in WS. has no umlaut, the umlauted vowel having been here carried over from forms where it is regular. The examples are:

1) *oe* *i*-umlaut of *ô* = Gmc. *ô* in: *gebloedsade* VI. 41 etc. (7), (v. § 134 etc.); *boecere* (scribæ) Prof. 5. XL (cf. *bôecere* (sg.) Jn. XIX. 37 margin. WS. *bôcere*); *eft-boete* (restitutio) Prof. 2. VIII (with the vowel carried over from the verb. WS. *bôt* (sb.),

¹ In the gloss *cuoed him 7 soð* (ait) XI. 31 *soð* is perhaps due to the scribe's confusion of the Latin words *ait* and *at*. Being uncertain which he had before him he gave the translation of both, cf. § 104. 2, Note.

bêtan (vb.), *eft-boeteng* Pref. 2. VIII, *geboetad* III. 5, IX. 12; *broëdre* (dat. sg.) XII. 19; *doe* (subj.), *does* etc. XI. 28, 29 etc. (v. § 140, S. § 429, anm. 2 „Bei den nichtwests. formen mit *oe* ist es zweifelhaft, ob dieselben mit *ôe* oder *ê* anzusetzen sind, da die hss. nicht unterscheiden“); *doeg* X. 34 etc. (10), (v. § 165); *gedroefde* IX. 20; *foedende* V. 11, 14, VII. 27, XIII. 17; *gefoelde* V. 29; *foet* (acc. pl.) IX. 45; *foeðemenn* VI. 33; *foerende*, *foerde* I. 5, Pref. 3. XIV etc. (45), (v. § 132. II); *groene* VI. 39; *groeteng* (salutationum) Pref. 5. XL, *groeton* IX. 15, XII. 38, XV. 18; *eorð hroernis* XIII. 8; *moeder* (dat. sg.) VI. 24, VII. 11, 12; *gemoetat* IV. 19, XIV. 16, *gemoetingum* XIII. 9; *oefeste* (festinatione) VI. 25 (generally in WS. *ôfost*, *ôfest*, *ôfst* (sb.), *êfstan* (vb.)); *oedel* VI. 1, 4, Pref. 3. XV; *-geroefum* XIII. 9, XV. 4, 5 (but v. C. § 16); *scôe* (calciamentorum) I. 7 (v. S. § 242, anm. 2 North. gen. pl. *scâe*); *gesoeca* VIII. 11 etc. (12), accented (2), (v. §§ 111. 2, 113. 2 etc.); *unspoed* XII. 44; *woepende* V. 38 (beside *wopendum* XVI. 10), *woepa* XIV. 72 (v. C.N. 144 “*weopa* alt. to --”); *woestern* I. 3, 4, 12, 13, VIII. 4, *woestig* VI. 31 etc. (4).

ê only occurs in: *gebledsade* X. 16 (beside *bloedsade* (7)); *ne reces ðu* (pertinet) IV. 38.

2) *oe* *i*-umlaut of *ô* = Gmc. *ê* before Nasals in: *mara woen* (alio quin) II. 22, *un-woen* VI. 14, *woenes* (vb.) IV. 41, VI. 49, *woeno* (sb.) XIII. 7, *woen-* XI. 13, XIV. 2, 56, accented XIV. 59.

3) *oe* *i*-umlaut of *ô* from *on*, older *an* in: *onfoeð* VI. 11 etc. (v. §§ 49 a, 130, cf. *doeð* (1) above); *gehoen* XV. 15, 32, XVI. 6; *oehtendum* X. 30, *oehtrise* IV. 17, Pref. 4. XXXII.

Note. *i* appears in *æfist* (inuidiam) XV. 10, v. S. § 43 „aus **æf-êst*“, and Nachtr. „**of-unstü*“.

î.

§ 51. *î* (= Gmc. *î*) occurs regularly in:

1) Pres. forms of st. vbs. Cl. I. (v. § 124): *bidus* XV. 36 etc. (3); *gebites* IX. 18 (2), *bidtende* I. 26 (v. § 38. 3); *-drifa* III. 23 etc. (4); *gegripes* IX. 18; *hrina* III. 10, V. 28, accented I. 41 (*gehrinde* VIII. 22, *-hrindon* III. 10, weak Pret. forms, cf. Matt. XIV. 36); *-rises* (debet) XIII. 10, 14; *aris* II. 11 etc. (14), accented (4), (*eft arisa*, *-e* (resurrexerit) IX. 9, 10 v. § 124. 1); *scinendo* IX. 3; *slitas* VII. 13 etc. (5). *gesniða*¹ (accumbere) VI. 39;

¹ B-T. quotes this as a separate verb from *gesniðan* = to cut, but it seems more probable that it is simply one of the cases where the scribe has misread the Latin (v. Bout. p. ciii), cf. § 42, Note. *discumbere* glossed by *to-dwla*.

stigende IV. 8 etc. (8), (*astigedon* VI. 32 v. § 90. 3); *gesuicanne* XIII. 22 etc. (3); *wriga* (uelare) XIV. 65 (v. S. § 383 and ann. 2).

2) other words: *fic-* XI. 13 etc. (6); *gitsungas* VI. 28; *huit* V. 3 etc. (9); *huit* IX. 3 etc. (5); *idilnisse* VII. 7, XII. 3; *-isern* IV. 21, 29; *lichoma* V. 29 etc. (14), (v. § 156), *licðrower* Pref. 2. VI, *lic-* I. 40; *licade* I. 11 etc. (3), accented Pref. 4. XXXIII; *gelic* XII. 21 etc. (9), accented (5); *lif* IX. 43, 45 etc. (5); accented X. 30; *liñ* XV. 46 (2); *min* I. 2, III. 33, 35 etc. (v. § 181), accented (3); *ric* IV. 30 etc. (6), accented (16); *rip-isern* IV. 29; *scinisse* XIII. 24; *sido* I. 6; *stiga* (semitas) I. 3; *astignise* Pref. 5. XLVI; *swigdon* I. 22 etc. (10), (v. § 136. 6, S. § 416, ann. 8. "Anglisch *snwigian* (*swigian?*)"), *feer-suigo* V. 42; *tid* VI. 35 etc. (5), accented (17); *ðin* I. 2, 44, VII. 29 etc. (v. § 181); *ðrim* VI. 21 margin, *ðriim* VIII. 31 etc. (3), (v. S. § 324, ann. 2), *ðrinise* Pref. 2. II, *ðrittig* IV. 8, 20 (v. S. § 230, ann.); *nif* V. 25, 33, VII. 25, 26 etc.; *win* II. 22 etc. (10); *wislice* XII. 34, *unwisdom* VII. 22; *unreht-uisum* XV. 28; *witge* (sb.) VI. 4 etc. (8), (v. §§ 156, 157), *gewitgade* VII. 6, XIV. 65; *wiðlað* VII. 23 etc. (6), (v. § 97. 2).

Loan-word: *crist* VIII. 29 etc. (10), (v. § 167).

Note. The vowel of the following verb is given as *ÿ* in Bosworth-Toller, but Professor Sievers regards it as *i*, v. his explanation below. The forms which occur are: *giuað* (petitis) XI. 24, *ða giuendo* (postulata) Pref. 4. XXXVI, *giuvende* Pref. 4. XXXIII, *ic giuge wælle* VI. 24, *giuig* (Imp.) VI. 22, *giude* Pref. 4. XXXIV, *giuede* XV. 43, *gegiuas* VI. 23, *gewigeð* X. 38, *gegiuodon* XV. 6.

„gîvian does not seem to have any exact parallel in the other Germanic languages. But the almost constant spelling with a simple *i* before the *w* (there are only a few isolated *io*'s) seems to show that the *i* was long. The preterite *giuude* points to the *ai*-class, so that we probably shall have to start from a stem *gîwai*, possibly *gîwôja*, if the inflection after the *ai*-class should be secondary.

This *gî-wai*, or *gî-wô-ja* I am inclined to take for a derivation from the root *gî*, which in a reduplicated form appears in Goth. *gei-gan*, pret. *gei-gai-da* (cf. the parallels of *rei-ra-n*, *rei-rai-da*, also Germ. *bî-bên*, OE. *bîþian* along with *bîþên*, *bîþian* from orig. *bhî-bhai*, also OHG. *zillarôn* from *ti-trô*; also cp. Goth. derivation *-geigô* in *faihugeigô* and *reirô*, which show that there was no feeling left for the reduplicated character of such formations as *geigan*, *reiran*).

It is difficult to make out the exact relation between *geigan* and OE. *gîvian*. They do not seem to be absolutely identical. There is no direct way of connecting the OE. *w* with the Goth. *g*, for the analogy of the later WS. *sunian* for *swigian* does not hold good, as this transition of *g* into *w* is distinctly later and Southern. So perhaps it would be

better to assume a *wo*-derivation: *gî-wo*- against *gei-gai*. If we furthermore assume that the root *gei* in *gei-gai*, *gî-wo* 'desire' is ultimately the same as the root *ghei* in Lat. *hi-are* etc. (the change of meaning could I suppose be explained: 'to snap at, to open one's mouth for' would I suppose be the turning point), we could find a parallel to the *gî-wo*-formation in OHG. *gîwên*, *giên* 'to gape'.

§ 52. 1) *î* is the result of lengthening of *i* after the loss of a nasal before a voiceless spirant (v. S. § 186. 1) in: *fif* VI. 38 etc. (7), (v. § 178); *siðo* X. 30, XIV. 41, Pref. 4. XXXII; *stið-nise* XVI. 14; *suiðe* I. 35, III. 12 etc. (23), (v. § 177), *swiðra* (sb.) X. 40 etc. (8), (v. § 175. I).

Loan-word: *pislico* (ingrauati) XIV. 40 (v. Pog. § 131).

2) *î* is the result of contraction (v. § 64) in: *frige doeg* Pref. 5. 17, *gefrigade* (complexans) X. 16, *friende* IX. 36 (v. S. § 416, ann. 5); *ic gesii* X. 51 etc. (4), (v. § 128); *swira* V. 1, IX. 42; *getuiga* (haesitauerit) XI. 23 (v. S. § 414, ann. 4).

3) *î* is due to lengthening of final *i* in monosyllables in: *bi* X. 11, XII. 35; *bismerlice* VII. 9, X. 34, XV. 20, 31; *bispell* IV. 10 etc. (13), v. *bi*-Prefix § 74. II).

4) For *î* in *nîve* etc. v. § 62. For *î* in *blind* v. § 38. 4.

Note. *hi* X. 38 is a scribal error for *hu* v. C.N. 143. For *î* in *gehrino* XIII. 2, v. § 23, Note.

û.

§ 53. *û* (= Gmc. *û*) occurs in:

1) Pres. forms of certain st. vbs. belonging to Cl. II (v. § 125. I, S. § 385): *brucanne* VI. 37 etc. (3), accented (2); *-hltutende* I. 7 (with inorganic *h* v. § 101. 1); *gesupedon* Pref. 4. XXVII (= *gesupende*? v. § 90. 3).

2) other words: *buendo* XII. 7 etc. (4), (v. § 130); *gedrugade* IV. 6, V. 29, XI. 21 (*drygas* VI. 11, v. § 55. 1); *adume* II. 4, XIII. 3, 15, XV. 30, 32; *hus* II. 1, 4 etc. (28), accented (2); *runlice* Pref. 5. XLIV; *ðusend* Pref. 3. XVIII etc. (8), (v. § 178); *feltum* VII. 19 (v. S. § 231. 3); *ut-*, *uta*, *buta* I. 45, XI. 15 etc. (28), (v. § 176. 6, accented (3)).

§ 54. 1) *û* is the result of lengthening of *u* after the loss of a nasal before a voiceless spirant (v. S. § 186. 1) in: *cuðon* IX. 32, *uncuð* III. 10; *muðum* VII. 6; *uhte* XIII. 35 (v. S. § 186, ann. 4); *us*, *usic* etc. I. 24, V. 12 etc. (v. § 181), accented I. 24, *vusig* XI. 9 (v. § 80); *uð-uto* VII. 5 etc. (7), *uud-* (6), *wu* (8) (v. §§ 38. 2, 80).

2) *û* is due to lengthening of final *u* in monosyllables (v. S. § 121) in: *nu* V. 36, X. 30, XIII. 19, accented XV. 32; *ðu* I. 11, 24, 40, 44 etc.

3) For *û* in: *hu* VI. 38, XV. 4, *huu* II. 26 etc. (20), *hulic* V. 16, *hulco* XIII. 1 (v. S. § 342) *huldig* XIII. 1; *tuu* (duo) XV. 38, v. S. § 172, anm.

For *û* in: *ûn-*, *suundorlice* etc. v. § 38. 4.

§ 55. The *i*-umlaut of *û* (v. §§ 53, 54. 1) is, as a rule, *ÿ*. This *ÿ* is in one instance written *ui*, and *î* for *ÿ* occurs in the word *bissen*. The examples are:

1) *i*-umlaut of *û* = Gmc. *û*: *by* (domicilium) V. 3, *bya* (vb.) IV. 32, VI. 35 (beside *buend* v. §§ 53. 2, 130); *drygi* (adj.) III. 1, 3, Pref. 2. VIII, *drygas* (vb.) VI. 11 (beside *-drugade* (3), v. § 53. 2); *fystum* XIV. 65 (2); *gehydæ* XIV. 65; *untynndo* I. 10, VII. 35, VIII. 34. The vowel is long (v. Sievers P. B. B. X. p. 504) in: *lytel* I. 19 etc. (8), (v. §§ 76. I, 79).

ui occurs in: *druige* (aridam) XI. 20 (cf. *ui* for *ÿ* § 27. 4).

2) *i*-umlaut of *û* from *un*: *-cyðed* Pref. 1. 16, 5. XL, *cyðnise* XIII. 9 etc. (12), *cyððo* VI. 4; *ÿð* IV. 37; *yrte* (procella) IV. 37 (v. C.N. 142 "probably for *yste*").

3) *î* for *ÿ* occurs in: *bissen*, *bisene* VII. 17 etc. (4), (v. §§ 151, 152), *gebiš* (imitandos) Pref. 4. XXXIII (v. C. § 51).

4) For *ÿ* in: *fyr* IX. 22 etc. (9), v. C. § 107.

Chapter III. Diphthongs.

êa.

§ 56. *êa* (= Gmc. *au* and WGmc. *au* before a following *v*, in Goth. *agw* v. S. § 63) occurs regularly, with the exception of a very few cases where *êo* is written for *êa* (cf. the interchange of *eo* and *ea* §§ 13, 16. For *êa* before a palatal consonant v. § 61). *êa* occurs in:

1) the 1st and 3rd pers. sg. of the Pret. Indic. of st. vbs. Cl. II. (v. § 125. II): *bead* Pref. 4. XVIII etc. (14), (*forbeades* prohiberi Pref. 4. XXX?); *geceas* XIII. 20; *-leat* II. 12, V. 22; and the Redup. Past Part. *geheuven* XV. 46 (v. C. § 92). For *speaft* (expuens) VIII. 23, *speafton* XV. 19, v. S. § 384, anm. 5.

In *aguett* (effudit) XIV. 3 *ae* is apparently an error for *ea*. (Perhaps due to confusion with *ongæt*, *-gaet* § 3. 1²).

2) other words: *-beam* XI. 13, 20 etc. (9), (v. § 143 II. etc.): *ceapas* VI. 36, *ceapemen* XI. 15; *dead* V. 35, 39 etc. (15), *deað*

IX. 1 etc. (8), (v. § § 153. II); *deaf* VII. 32, IX. 25, Pref. 3. XXII; *Eadfrīð* Pref. 1, heading; *earo* IV. 9 etc. (7), (v. § 162); *eastro* XIV. 1 etc. (5), (v. § 161); *caða* XI. 13 etc. (6); *æd-eauad* IV. 22 etc. (15), (v. §§ 132. II, 133. II etc.), *eauung* IV. 22 etc. (3), *-eawnise* Pref. 3. XI (v. § 80. I, *ewunga* I. 45, *æwades* III. 12, v. § 62); *heafod* XV. 19 etc. (10), (v. § 66); *leafo* (folia) XI. 13; *geleafa* IV. 40 etc. (8), (v. § 156), *-geleafull* IX. 19 etc. (7); *leas* X. 19 etc. (5); *felle reade* XV. 17, 20 (v. § 4 Note); *reafað* III. 27, XV. 20 (v. § 101. 1); *sceaude* X. 27 etc. (6), (v. §§ 111. 3, 134. 1, 3, *-scende* v. § 62), *sceamung* XII. 40; *screadunga* VI. 43 etc. (5); *seað* XII. 1; *smeadon* II. 8 etc. (5), (v. § 136. 4), *smeaungas* VII. 21 (v. S. § 119); *stream* I. 5; *team* XII. 21, accented XII. 22; *ðeah* III. 26 (*ðah*, *dæh* v. 61. 1); *ðreat* IV. 1 etc. (17), accented (3), (v. § 95); *gēðreað* Pref. 5. XLVI etc. (4), (v. § 136. 4); *gēðreadtaige* VIII. 32, Pref. 2. VIII, 3. XX, 4. XXVI.

3) *êo* for *êa* occurs in: *deofu* VII. 37 (beside *deaf* (3)); *eastro* XIV. 12, Pref. 5. 18 (beside *eastro* (5)); *gleoulice* VIII. 25, *gleownise* III. 5; *heofud* VI. 25 (beside *heafud* (10)); *gereofa ge* III. 27 (= *gereofage* (Inf.) beside *reafað* (2)).

§ 57. The *i*-umlaut of *êa* is *ê* (v. S. § 159. 3). For *ei* before palatal consonants, v. § 63. 1.

The examples of *ê* are; *begeð* X. 17, *-beging* I. 40; *ceping* Pref. 2. VII; *degle* IV. 22 (2), IX. 28; *gededeð* (moriatur) VII. 10; *geeced* (adicietur) IV. 24; *an-êge* (adj.) IX. 47; *eðelico* X. 27, XII. 40 (beside *-eaðalice* Pref. 4. XXXII), *eðmodigað* I. 27, *êd-* IV. 21; *gegemde* III. 2 etc. (5), accented I. 34, *gemnissis* III. 15; *henðu* XII. 44, *gehened* XVI. 16 etc. (4), accented IX. 12; *hêra* (minister) X. 43, *heranne* IV. 9 etc. (51), accented (2), (v. § 132. II etc.), *hersumiað* IV. 41, Pref. 4. XXXIII, *hernise*¹ IV. 11, 23, Pref. 1. 13; *hremas* V. 39; *lefde* (sinebat) I. 34 etc. (9), accented (2), (v. § 133, II etc.); *gelef* (crede) V. 36 etc. (20); *lesinc* (redemptionem) X. 45, *lesnise* X. 45, *alesde* Pref. 1. 14; *ned* II. 25, *geneddon* XV. 21.

êo.

§ 58. *êo* (= Gmc. *eu*, and WGmc. *eu* before a following *n*, in Goth. *iggw*, v. S. § 64) occurs as *êo* and *io*. The occurrence of *êa* for *êo* is commoner than that of *êo* for *êa* (v. § 56. 3, cf. L. § 22. II, anm. For *êo* before a palatal consonant v.

¹ In IV. 11 *hernise* is the gloss to *misterium*, which latter word the scribe has apparently mistaken for *ministerium*, v. Pref. 1. 13.

§ 61. 2, and for the influence of a following *v* v. § 62). The examples are:

1) *êo*: a) in the Pres. forms of st. vbs. Cl. II: *-beodend* Pref. 4. XXXI; WS. *lêoran* is conjugated as a wk. vb. (v. S. § 384, anm. 3): *bi-leore* (transfer) XIV. 36, *-leorade* XIV. 35.

b) other words: *beom* V. 28 etc. (5), (v. § 138); *deoplice* Pref. 5. XLIV; *cneoreso* VIII. 12, 38, XIII. 30, *cneoureso* VIII. 12 (*cnenreso* IX. 19, v. § 62); *deorum* I. 13, Pref. 1. 12; *feower* VIII. 9 etc. (9), (v. § 82. 5); *hreowigas* I. 15, *hreownisses* I. 4; *leafuste* IX. 7, XII. 6; *geleornise* XIV. 28, XVI. 7; *reof* (leprosus) Pref. 2. VI; *ðeod-* VIII. 12, Pref. 2. 3.

2) *io* occurs in: *gelioreð* XIII. 30 etc. (5), (v. §§ 101. 1, 125. I); *biom* V. 28 (beside *beom* (5); *diornyrðes* XIV. 3; *ionh* III. 28 etc. (4), (v. § 181. II, *iuh* § 62); *riofol* (lepra) I. 42, (beside *reof* (1); *onsione* I. 2, XII. 14, XIV. 65; *stiorde* VIII. 30, 33 etc. (7); *strionendra* Pref. 3. XX; *gestriona* (lucretur) VIII. 36, *gestrion* (sb.) X. 21, 23, 24; *ellðiodade* XIII. 34 (beside *ðeod* (2); *ðiofunta* VII. 22, *forðiofe* (fureris) X. 19; *ðiostrig* VIII. 17, *ðiostro* XV. 33, *ge-ðiostrod* XIII. 24 (*-geðistrat* VI. 52 v. § 60); *ðionum* XIV. 66 (*ðiwa* v. § 62).

3) *êa* for *êo* occurs in: *-beada* IX. 39 etc. (4), (beside *-beodend* (1) v. § 125. I); *bead* (mensa) VII. 28, XI. 15; *gebear* (conuiuio) Pref. 2. VII; *dear* (sb.) X. 25 margin (beside *deor* (2); *fearða* VI. 48 (beside *feorða* etc. (9); *hreade* (harundine) XV. 19 (*rode calamo* XV. 36, v. § 49, Note), *hreafes* XIV. 3 (beside *reof* (1), *riofol* (1); *hreannisse* VI. 12 (beside *hreow-* (2); *leaf* I. 11, IX. 7, X. 24 (beside *leaf-* (2); *ðea* (seruus) Pref. 5. XLIII (beside *ðionum* (1); *ðeafana* XI. 17, XIV. 48 (beside *ðiof* (2).

4) For *a* in: *am* VI. 50 etc. (5), v. Sw. H. E. S. § 442.

§ 59. *êo* (= WS. *êo*) in the Pret. forms *êode*, *êodon*, and *êo* in certain reduplicated Prets. (v. S. § 396) frequently interchange with *êa*.

1) *êo* occurs in: *eode*, *eodon* II. 26, III. 6 etc. (46) (v. § 141); and in: *oncneow* II. 8; *feoll* IV. 4 etc. (8), (v. § 130. II).

2) *êa* occurs in: *eade*, *eadon* VI. 35, 37 etc. (10); and in: *oncneann* VI. 38, 52; *gefeall* V. 33; *gefealde* IX. 20 (= *gefeald* v. § 130. II); *-heald* V. 41 etc. (15), (*behæald* XII. 41); *gesean* IV. 4.

§ 60. The *i*-umlaut of *êo* only occurs in: *gesene* X. 42, XIV. 64, XVI. 11; and possibly in *fore-geðistrat* (obcecatum) VI. 52 (beside *-ðiostrad* XIII. 24), unless *i* is here only a scribal error for *io*.

For *strionendra*, *onsione* etc. without *i*-umlaut v. § 58.

Palatal umlaut.

§ 61. *êa* and *êo* before *c*, *g*, *h* are changed to *é* (v. S. § 163). Before *c* and *h*, *ê* occurs beside *é*. The examples are:

1) *é* from *êa*: a) before *c*: *becon* VIII. 11, 12 etc. (8), (v. § 71. 2); *gebrêc* I. 6, II. 26 (v. S. § 385. 2); *ec* VII. 18 etc. (9), accented (4). (beside *æc* (17), accented VIII. 28 v. § 43. 2). *êa* has undergone *i*-umlaut in *geeced* (adicietur) IV. 24.

b) before *g*: *beg* XV. 17; *ego* VII. 22 etc. (8), (v. § 162). *êa* has undergone *i*-umlaut in *an-êge* IX. 47.

c) before *h*: *heh* XIV. 36 etc. (20), (v. § 102. 5); *neh* X. 46, XIII. 28, 29, XIV. 42.

êa has undergone *i*-umlaut in: *hera* X. 43 (v. S. § 166. 5), *nesta* VI. 36, XVI. 14, *neesta* XII. 31, 33, *nêesto* I. 38.

ê occurs in: *fore-flæh* (profugit) XIV. 52; *hæh* XIV. 60 (beside *heh* (20)); *ataeh* (educens) XIV. 47; *ðæh* IX. 42 etc. (4), *ðæh* VIII. 36 etc. (3), beside *ðeah* III. 26, *ðah* VI. 23, IX. 50).

2) *é* from *êo* only in: *flęendo* IV. 4; *legerum* (hypocritis) VII. 6.

Influence of a following *v*.

§ 62. The groups *ïow*, *êow* (from Gmc. *euv*, and from Gmc. *iv*, *ew*) as a rule appear as *iv*, and *ew* (v. S. § 156. 5), but *ïow*, *êow* occurs in several instances (cf. L. §§ 22, IV. 28).

The examples are: *iuih*, *iuh*, *iuer* I. 17, II. 16, VI. 11 etc. (about (72) v. § 181), (beside *ïowh* (4)); *gebleuu* (expuens) VII. 33; *oncnewa* (Pret. Subj.) Pref. 2, 3, 4; *feuer* VIII. 20 (beside *feower* (4) and with loss of *v*, *feor* etc. (5) v. § 58. 1).

êow remains in: *hreonmisses* I. 4, 15, VI. 12.

From original *iv*, *ew* (v. S. § 73, and for absence of *i*-umlaut v. L. § 28) are: *oferhiued* IX. 2, *-hiwade* Pref. 4. XXVII; *niua* I. 27 etc. (8), *-niwad* VIII. 25, *nivunga* XIV. 40; *siuieð* II. 21; *ðiva* XIV. 69 (beside *ðionum* XIV. 66, and *ðea* Pref. 5. XLIII. For *laruw* = **lar-ðeow* v. § 75); *cnewa* XV. 19 etc. (3),

cneureso IX. 19 (beside *cneoureso* VIII. 12, and *cneoreso* (3), v. § 58. 1); *treuo* VIII. 24 etc. (3), (*tree* XII. 26, v. § 82. 6).

ew for *êow* occurs in: *emunga* I. 45 (beside *ear-* (19), *æwades* III. 12, v. § 56. 2. For *êowan* beside *êawan* v. Paul, P. B. B. VI, p. 97).

ew for *êaw* occurs in: *-sceuade* VIII. 24, *sceware* VI. 27 (beside *sceaw-* (7) cf. Z. § 19. 1).

ew for *êw* (v. C. § 58. 2) in: *cewlas* (sportas) VIII. 8 (beside *ceaulas* VI. 43, *ceolas* VIII. 20, v. § 40).

ei and *ai*.

§ 63. The special North. diphthongs *ei* and *ai* (v. S. § 155. 3, and L. § 23) occur in the following instances:

1) *ei* in: the verb *ceiga* X. 49 etc. (26), (v. § 132. II etc.), *ceigeng* Pref. 2. III; *fiſteig-* Pref. 5. 16 (beside *fiſtigum* VI. 40, *feortig* etc. v. § 178); *heista* V. 7; *leicnung* Pref. 2. VI (beside *lece* etc. v. § 45); *seista* XV. 33 (*nesta* always with *ê* v. § 61. 1).

2) *ai* only in: *gefraign* VIII. 5 etc. (3), (beside *gefraegn* (5), *gefregn* (1) v. § 3), and in the wk. vb. *gefraigne* (Inf.) XII. 34 etc. (4), *fraignung* (sb.) Pref. 4. XXXVII (beside *gefraegndon* etc. (3), *gefregndon* etc. (5), v. §§ 3. 2, 3, 134. 4, v. Kluge P. G. p. 786 "fregna, fregnde an. fregna, fregnde").

Contraction.

§ 64. 1) WGmc. *a + o, u* (v. S. §§ 111, 166. 1) is represented by *â* in: *-slaa* VI. 19 etc. (4), (v. § 129); *êa* occurs in: *smeadon* II. 8 etc., and *ðread* Pref. 4. XXXIII etc. (v. § 56. 2, Paul, P. B. B. VI, p. 93).

Contraction has not taken place in *eher* (spica) IV. 28; *teherum* (lacrimis) IX. 24.

2) WGmc. *e + o, u* (v. S. § 166. 2) generally appears as *êa*: *gefea* (gratia) Pref. 3. XVI, *gefeando* XIV. 11; *ſleað* (pl.) XIII. 14; *sea*, *geseas* X. 51, XIII. 26 etc. (23), (beside *ic geseom* VIII. 24, *gesee* (Subj. pl.) XV. 32, v. § 128); *hunteantig* X. 30 etc. (3), (v. § 178).

e + e is *ê* in *teno* X. 41 (v. S. § 113).

3) WGmc. *i + o, u* (v. S. § 114. 1. 2) appears as *î, eo, ea, io, ia, iu*. (For examples of *î* v. § 52. 2.)

The examples are: *heo, hea, hia* and rarely *hie, hi* (pl. and f. sg.), *hiu* (f. sg.); *ðio, ðiu* etc. v. Pronouns §§ 181, 182, 183);

fiondas XII. 36; *friað* Pref. 3, XXI, 4. XXVIII; *ðreo* XIV. 58, *ðrea* IX. 5, *ðrio* VIII. 2, *ðria* (ter) XIV. 30, 72.

i + a appears as *io* in the loan-word: *dioblas* I. 34, 39, IX. 38, Pref. 3. XXI, 4. XXVIII, *diowbla* I. 32, *diowl* III. 23 etc. (16), (v. § 93). *ia* in *diables* (diaboli) Pref. 1. 12 may be *ia* for *io*, or possibly it has been confused with the Latin below (cf. *medo* (medios) VII. 31).

i + e appears as *ie* and *e* (*ee*) in: *sie* (Subj. sg.) I. 17 etc. (24), *se* X. 43 etc. (5), *sêe* (1), *see* (1), *sie* (pl.) IV. 38 etc. (6), *se* (2), *sêe* (1), *see* (1), (v. § 138. 1, *sie* (esse) XII. 18 etc. (3), cf. S. § 427, ann. 2).

4) WGmc. *i + a* appears as *î* (v. S. § 166. 4) in *wriga* XIV. 65 (v. S. § 383, ann. 2). For *tuaes t getuiga* (haesitanerit) XI. 23, v. S. § 414, ann. 4.

5) For WS. *êa* before *h* in *hêah*, *nêah* v. § 61, *heh*, *neh* etc. *êa* occurs in: *heanise* IV. 5, XI. 10, XIII. 27; *neawung* XIII. 28 (v. § 82. II, Note); *êo* in: *geneoteces* X. 7 etc. (11), (v. § 46. 4, Paul, P. B. B. VI, p. 91).

6) Corresponding to WS. *siehist*, *hiehsta*, *niehsta* with preservation of *h* occur: *gesiist*, *-siis* V. 31, XII. 14; *heista* V. 7; *nesta* VI. 36 etc. (v. § 61. 1).

B. The Vowels of Medial and Final Syllables.

Chapter IV. Suffixes, Prefixes, and Compound Words.

For the origin of the variation or gradation of suffix vowels, of which the examples in St. Mark are given below, v. S. §§ 127 ff., Z. §§ 23 ff., and L. Chapt. IV. § 25.

The examples of weakening and of syncope of medial vowels in the Preterites of weak verbs will be given in Part II; as also the variations in the inflectional syllables of nouns etc.

§ 65. Traces of original ablaut in the neut. suffix *-os*, *-es*.

The only examples are: *dogor* VIII. 2, XIV. 58, *dogrum* XIV. 1, beside *doeg* (die) Pref. 5. 17 etc. (10), (v. S. §§ 228, ann. 1, 289, and ann. 2); *in eher* (in spica) IV. 28 (v. S. § 289).

§ 66. *-ud*, *-ed*. The examples are:

heafud VI. 24 etc. (9), *heafod* XV. 19 (*heafda* XV. 29); *uutedlice* VII. 28, *uutet-* VII. 6, otherwise only the root syllable

uut- is written out, and the rest denoted by a sign in the MS. *e* also occurs in the loan-word *æcced* XV. 23, 36.

-oð in: *gigoðe* X. 20.

§ 67. Abstracts in *-nis*, *-nes*.

The common form is *-nis* 95, beside *-nes* only 8. The examples of *-nes* are:

cyðnese Pref. 4. XXXI (beside *-nise*, 11); *gelicnes* XII. 16, *onlicnese* Pref. 5. XXXVIII (beside *gelicnise* XVI. 12); *setnesa* VII. 13, *setnessa* I. 14, *setnesse* VII. 3 (*gesetnisse* VII. 5); *toslitnessa* II. 21 (beside *-slittnise* XIII. 14); *gewitnesa* XIV. 63 (beside *witnise* X. 19).

(For *-nis*, *-nise* beside *-niss*, *-nisse* v. § 103.)

§ 68. Substantives in *-ung*, *-ing*.

The commonest form is *-ung* 57 (sbs.), and without exception in adverbs 7; *-ing* 9; and the further variations *-ong* 3, *-eng* 3. Final *g* is sometimes written *c* and *cg* (v. § 100.5). Examples of 1) *-ung* are: *somnung* I. 27 etc. (v. §§ 146, 147). The adverbs are: *in eawung* (palam) IV. 22, *eamunge* VI. 14 etc. (3); *niwunga* XIV. 40; *woenunga* XI. 13, XIV. 2 (v. § 176. 4).

2) *-ing*: *æring* I. 35, XIII. 35; *-beging* I. 40; *ceping* (com-; paratione) Pref. 2. VII; *mið-gearwing* († *foregearung*) Pref. 5. XLIV *utiorninsc* (proflu[u]io) V. 25 (*-insc* = *inc* v. § 100. 5); *lesinc* X. 45; *behleing* (proditione) Pref. 5. XLIV (= WS. *belêwing* v. § 82. I (2)); *ge-moetingum* XIII. 9; *rowincg* VI. 48.

Corresponding to WS. *mæstling*, *mæsting* (aes) occurs the form: *mæstlen* VI. 8, *mæstlenn* XII. 41.

3) *-ong*: *efolsong* VII. 22, Pref. 3. X (beside *-ung* III. 28, XIV. 64); *setnong* XV. 7.

3) *-eng*: *eft-boeteng* Pref. 2. VIII; *ceigeng* Pref. 2. III; *groet-eng* Pref. 5. XL.

Note. *hracengo* (catenas) V. 4 is apparently an error for **hracentego*, cf. *hracentegum* (catenis) preceding. Rushw. has *racontege*.

§ 69. *-und*, *-end*. The only examples are: *ðusend*, *-o* V. 10, VI. 44 etc. (8), (v. § 178); and with loss of *d*, *erenwreca* Pref. 2. V.

The suffix *-unt* occurs in: *ðiofunt* VII. 22 (v. Paul, P. B. B. VI. p. 237).

§ 70. For the occurrence of non-umlauted forms of the adj. *monig* beside that of the umlauted form *menig* from orig. *-ag*, *-ig*, v. § 2. 3, *monig* (29), beside *menig* (22), (cf. L. § 25. 3).

Beside *synnig* III. 29 etc. (4), occurs *-sunigo* II. 15.

§ 71. 1) Pret. Parts. in *-on*, *-en*.

The traces of orig.: *-en* are: *ge-doen* VI. 2; *gehoen* XV. 15, 32, XVI. 6; *unðuegenum* VII. 2, Pref. 3. XX.

In *geswoerenum* VI. 26, the vowel may perhaps have been taken over from the Inf.; v. § 32. 2.

2) *-on*. Variation of the vowel (whether original or developed from a syllable-forming *n*) before a single final *n* occurs in: *becon* VIII. 11, 12, XIII. 4, XIV. 44, Pref. 3. XXIV, beside *beceno* XIII. 22, *becenum* XVI. 20; *tacon* XV. 26, Pref. 3. XXIV, *taco* XIV. 44, beside *taceno* XIII. 8, *tacenum* XVI. 20.

o beside *a* occurs in *seofona* XII. 22, 23, *seofana* VIII. 20, the *n* is lost in *seofa* VIII. 5, 6, 20, XII. 20, *seofa* VIII. 8 etc. (4).

o in *heofon* XIII. 31, otherwise only syncopated forms occur; and always in *recone* V. 2 etc. (8), *reconlice* VI. 25 etc. (3). *i* occurs in *latin* V. 41.

In other cases only *en*: *facen* X. 19; *morgen* XV. 1, XVI. 9 (*on merne* XV. 1); *wolcen* IX. 7; etc. etc.

3) Variation before *m*. Only *u* occurs in the obscure form *lustum* (ultro) IV. 28, *lustume* VII. 12 (v. L. § 25. 7); *wæstm* IV. 7, 8 etc. (6), always without the vowel.

§ 72. Variation before *l*: 1) *a*, *o*, *u* in: *apostas* VI. 30; *asales* IX. 42 (*asalde* Pref. 4. XXXV, v. § 96); *discipul* Pref. 1. 2; *riofol* (lepra) I. 42; *titul* XV. 26.

For *saul* VIII. 35 (2), *saules* VIII. 36 v. S. § 6, *anm.* 1. "*sa(w)ul*".

2) *e* in: *æðela* XVI. 1 (v. Paul, P. B. B. VI, p. 245); *camel* X. 25, *camelles* I. 6; *engel* I. 2, Pref. 2. I (otherwise always syncopated); *geafel* XII. 14; *gegerelad* V. 15, *gegerelo* II. 21, V. 28, XI. 7; *idelne* XII. 3 (*iditnesse* VII. 7); *lytel* I. 19, *lyttel* X. 15, *lyttetra* VIII. 7, *lytelo* V. 3 (otherwise syncopated); *micel* XIV. 15, XVI. 4, *miceles* IX. 21, *micelo* IV. 41 etc. (3), *michel* IV. 5, *michelo* IV. 37, 39 (*michil* V. 11 otherwise syncopated); *oëðel* VI. 1, 4, Pref. 3. XV; *sauel* VIII. 37, X. 45, XII. 30, XIV. 34, Pref. 4. XXVII, *sawele* III. 4, XII. 33; *gesaweled* Pref. 1. 7 (*saul*, *saules* above); *fot-scoemel* XII. 36 (v. § 23. 2); *symbol* (cenam) VI. 21, XV. 6; *yfel* VI. 49, VII. 22, *yfelo* VII. 23. (For the syncopated forms of these words v. § 76 etc.)

3) *i* in: *Æðil-wald* Pref. 1 (beside *æðela* above); *idilnisse* VII. 7; *ðæccilla* IV. 21 (v. S. § 129, *anm.*); *ðyryl* X. 25.

§ 73. Variation before *r* (of original or secondary vowel, cf. § 71. 2): 1) *a, o, u* in: *aldor* I. 44 etc., *aldordōm* X. 42, *aldor-monnes* V. 38 etc.; *bolstāre* IV. 38 (wrongly accented v. § 38. 5); *morðor-slago* VII. 21, XV. 7; *ombor* XIV. 13, *ombora* VII. 8 (v. Pog. § 275); *snotorlice* XII. 34; *sundur̄* (seorsum) VI. 32, *sundurlice* VII. 33, *suundorlice* XIII. 3, *suundurua* XIV. 66; *uundorlic* XII. 11.

(For the names of relationship in *-r* v. Declensions § 163).

2) *e* in: *æfterra* IV. 19, XII. 21; *efter* II. 13 etc.; *fingeras* VII. 33; *hider* XI. 3; *hueðer* III. 2 etc.; *hwider* VI. 10 etc.; *hyngerde* II. 25, *gewyncerde* XI. 12 (error for *gehyncerde*); *iuer* II. 16 etc., *iuera* VII. 13, *iueria* XI. 25, *iueres* X. 5, *iuro* XI. 26; *ofer* VI. 45 etc.; *oðer* II. 21 etc., *oðerne* XII. 4 etc., *oðero* VI. 15 etc.; *sumer* XIII. 28; *timber* XIII. 1; *under* XII. 40 etc.; *user* IX. 22 etc. etc. (For *caseri* XII. 14 etc. v. Masc. sbs. in *-ere* § 77. II).

Prefixes.

§ 73. I. *gi-*, *ge-*. The regular form is *ge-*. The only instance of *gi-* is *gisæh* XII. 34; *gie-* in IV. 13 is apparently a scribal error due to confusion with the Pron. *gie-*, the gloss is: *gie ge-cunnas † gie-cunna gie magon* (cognoscetis).

go- occurs in: *gofærde* VIII. 27, where it is probably merely a scribal error.

The *e* is syncopated in: *gleafo* (fidem) XI. 22 (beside *geleafo* 3); *se groefa* (pilatus) XV. 5 (beside *geroefa* 2).

II. *bi-*, *be-*. The lengthened form *bî* occurs in the Prep. *bi* X. 11, XII. 35; *bismeragað* XV. 20 etc. (4), *bispell* IV. 10 etc. (13), (v. § 52. 3).

Exclusive of these instances, *bi-* occurs 22 times, *be-* 44.

bi- with verbs of motion is separated by a hyphen, and retains the sense of the preposition as a gloss to the Latin *præter-*, *trans-*. Only in the case of *bi-hianda*, and *bituih* do both forms of the prefix occur in the same word.

The examples are 1) *bi-*: *bi-cerre* (Inf.) VI. 48; *bi-eodon* IX. 30; *bi-færnde* XV. 21, 29; *bi-geongende* XV. 21; *lond-bigencgum* XII. 1; *bigienda* X. 1; *bi-hianda* V. 27 (beside *behanda* VIII. 33); *bi-leorade* XIV. 35, 36; *bituih* XVI. 3 etc. (12) (beside *betuih* XII. 7).

2) *be* in: *bebead* III. 12 etc. (12); *bebod* VII. 9 etc. (3); *bycendo* XI. 15 etc. (3); *becymeð* XI. 24, XIV. 31; *begeatta* XIV. 5; *beheald* XII. 41 etc. (11); *beleede* (proderet) XIV. 10; *beward* XV. 46; *befora* XIV. 28 etc. (8); *behianda* VIII. 33 (beside *bihianda* above); *betuih* XII. 7 (beside *bituih* 12, above).

The vowel is regularly lost in the contracted form *buta* V. 37 etc. (19).

III. *fore-* and *for-* are as a rule not interchanged. They are very rarely written out as in: *forewoearp* X. 50, *for-letas* X. 11; the *-or* being generally denoted by a sign in the MS. (cf. L. § 26. I. p. 50).

Examples of *fore-* beside *for-* without any difference in meaning are: *f-e-beadend* (prohibens) Pref. 4. XXXII, beside *f-beodend* (prohibens) Pref. 4. XXXI etc.; *f-styldton* (obstupurunt) V. 42, XVI. 5, beside *f-styldton* (obstupescabant) X. 24.

IV. *æf-*, *of-*. *æf-* only occurs in *æfist* (inuidiam) XV. 10 (v. S. § 43, anm. 4), otherwise always *of-* (cf. L. § 26. 1).

V. *æt-*, *ot*. The common form is *æt* (*æd- aed*), *ot* does not occur.

For *æt-* beside *æd-* v. § 95.

VI. Beside the usual form *eft-* occurs once *efet-*: *efet-awaelted* (renolutum) XVI. 4.

VII. *ê* (= WS. *ê*) occurs in: *erest* (sb.) XII. 18 etc. (6); *esprynge* V. 29; *escuicnis* VII. 21 (v. § 44. 2).

VIII. *ond-*, *on-*, *un-* (v. Paul, P. B. B., Vol. VI, pp. 199, 200).

Examples are: 1) *ond-*: *ondget* (sb.) XII. 33; *ondspurnað* IX. 45 etc., *geondspurnað* IV. 17 etc.; *onduearde* X. 3 etc., *ge-onduearde* XII. 17 etc.; *ondsworade* XIII. 2, *geondsuarede* XV. 5 etc. (3), (v. *on-*).

2) *on-*: *ondreard* V. 33 etc. (v. Paul, p. 199); *onfoe* X. 17 etc., *on-feng* VII. 34 etc.; *ongæt* VIII. 17 etc., *on-geton* VI. 33 etc.; *on-sacca* (Inf.) Pref. 1. 15 etc.

The only word in which *ond-* and *on-* interchange is *on-swærega* XIV. 40, *onsuarade* III. 33, XIV. 40, 48, *ge-onsuarede* XIV. 61, beside *ond-* (3), (v. 1) above). For *ôn* (Prep.) Pref. 3. X, v. § 38. 4.

Beside *on dune* XIII. 3, occurs *adune* II. 4 etc. (4).

3) *un-* in: *un-binde* XI. 4 etc.; *undoa* I. 7; *untyn* VII. 34 etc. (3); *unðehton* II. 4 (v. Paul, p. 200) etc.

IX. For *ðerh* v. § 10. 4.

X. For *in-* beside *inn-* v. § 103.

Second Members of Compounds.

§ 75. For the modifications and changes of root vowels in unstressed or slightly stressed syllables v. S. § 53, and anm. Examples in St. Mark are: *ea* — *a geonduarde* XII. 28, XV. 12 (v. § 11. 1).

ea — *o doruorde* XIII. 34; *nioðuord* XV. 38 (beside *inn-*, *to-*, *ufa-weard* (5); *wiðer-word* III. 23, VI. 48, *wiðerworda* IV. 15, VIII. 33 (beside *-wearda* 3) v. § 11. 3 (cf. S. § 43, anm. 3).

æ — *e dom-êrn* XV. 16 (v. § 38. 4).

Further changes have taken place in: *hlaferd* XII. 9, XIII. 35, *hlaferd* II. 28 (for **hlâf-weard*); *ebolsas* II. 7 etc. (8), *efolsong* VII. 22 v. § 9. 5 (from **ef-hâlsian* v. S. § 43, anm. 4); orig. *î* has disappeared in the common words: *ilca* I. 31 etc. (30), (v. § 186); *huelc* VIII. 4 etc., *huælc* VI. 2 etc., *swelc* X. 15, *swælce* IX. 26 etc., v. § 23. 1; *hulco* XIII. 1 (beside *hulic* V. 16, *huulig* XIII. 1); for *ðullucum* IV. 33, *ðullico* VI. 2, v. S. § 349; *woruldes* IV. 19, Pref. 4. XXXII, *world* X. 30 (v. § 35. 2); *æfist* (inuidiam) XV. 10 (from *æf-êst*); *larua* (rabbi) IX. 5, 38 etc. (5), *laruua* IX. 17, *laruu* II. 16 etc. (11), *ae-laruuas* X. 2, *ælaruas* VIII. 15 etc. (4), (v. § 142. I etc.) (from **lâr-ðêow*); for *oht* XV. 24, *noht* VII. 15 etc. (5), *æniht* XIV. 60 etc. (5), v. S. § 348. 1, 2; for *uðuta* I. 22, II. 16 (from **ûð-witan*), beside *uudwuta* XII. 32 etc. (19), v. § 37. 1.

But in the majority of compound words the second member remains unaffected by its position, e. g.: *lichoma* XIV. 38 etc. (14), *losiust* VIII. 36 etc. (3); *fuluiht* 1. 4 etc. (9), *fulmwiht* Pref. 4. XXXVII, *fullwihtere* VI. 14, VIII. 28, and VI. 24, 25 (v. § 142. II. (2)).

Chapter V. Syncope of Middle Vowels.

For the rules concerning the treatment of middle vowels (original, and developed before syllabic *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*) v. S. §§ 143, and ff.

§ 76. Single Middle Vowels. "Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopated after a long radical syllable". S. § 144 a.

"After a long radical syllable an auxiliary vowel (v. § 138) is lost when a termination is added", v. § 148.

The examples in St. Mark are:

I. Before *l*: *adle* V. 29, 34, *aðlo* III. 10, *adlum* I. 34; *cyrtlum* VI. 9; *degle* IV. 22, *deglice* IX. 28, *gedegled* IV. 22; *dioblas* I. 34, *dioble* Pref. 3. XXI, 4. XXVIII, *diobles* I. 39, Pref. 1. 12, *dioblum* IX. 38, *dionbla* I. 32, *dionla* III. 15 etc. (10), v. § 64. 3 (without the addition of a termination, *dionl* III. 23 etc. (6)); *engla* Pref. 1. 13, *englas* XII. 25 etc. (4), *engles* Pref. 1. 5, *englum* VIII. 38 (uninflected *engel* I. 2, Pref. 2. I, v. § 72. 1); *lylla* Pref. 5. XLI, *lytle* XIV. 70, *lytlo* X. 14, *lytlum* Pref. 1. 13 (uninflected *lytel* I. 19, *lyttel* X. 15).

nedles X. 25; *saules* VIII. 36 (uninflected *saul* VIII. 35 (2) v. § 72. 1, S. § 6, anm. 1); *temple* XIII. 1, 3 etc. (6), *temples* XV. 38, Pref. 5. XLII (uninflected, *tempel* XI. 15, 16 etc. (6)).

Exceptions are: *savele* (acc. and dat. sg.) III. 4, XII. 33, *gesaweled* (animatum) Pref. 1. 7; *lytelo* V. 3 (beside *lytlo* X. 14) v. S. § 396, anm. 2.

II. Before *r* (for relationship nouns v. Declensions § 163): *næfra* II. 12, XIV. 29; *ceastra* I. 45, VIII. 27, *ceastre* XI. 19 etc., *ceastrum* VI. 33, 56; *culfras* XI. 15, *culfre* I. 10; *dogrum* XIV. 1 (uninflected, *dogor* VIII. 2, XIV. 58); *eastres* Pref. 5. XLIV, *eastro* XIV. 1 etc., *eostro* XIV. 12; *februm* I. 31; *feowrum* II. 3 (uninflected, *feower* VIII. 9 etc.); *hungro* XIII. 8; *iurum* VI. 11, *hiurum* II. 8 (uninflected, *iuer* II. 16 etc.); *oðrum* X. 12 etc. (4) (uninflected *oðer* II. 21 etc.); *snytru* VI. 2 (*snotorlice* XII. 34): *sundrig* VI. 31, *syndrige* IV. 34, *syndrigo* Pref. 2. 2, *syndrigo* IV. 10, *suindrige* IX. 2, *siundrio* Pref. 1. 13, *smyndria* XIV. 19; *getimbradon* XII. 10, *getimbras* XV. 29, *ic getimbro* XIV. 58, *getimbro* (sb.) Pref. 5. XLII (uninflected, *timber* XIII. 1); *ðiostrig* VIII. 17, *ðiostro* XV. 33, *ge-ðiostro* XIII. 24, *fore-geðistrat* VI. 52; *usra* IX. 22 (uninflected, *user* IX. 22 etc.); *wintra* V. 42, *wintro* XIII. 18, *wintrum* V. 25; *wuldre* VIII. 38 etc.; *wundra* Pref. 5. XLV, *wundrum* VII. 8, *gewundrade* XV. 44; *winstra* X. 40, *wynstra* X. 37, *wynstrum* XV. 27.

Comparative forms: *aldrum* (parentes) XIII. 12, *ældra* VII. 5 etc.; *lengra* XII. 40; *strongre* I. 7; *swiðra* (sb.) X. 40, *suiðre* X. 37, *swiðrum* XVI. 5 etc. (*suiðor* (adv.) VII. 36 etc.); etc. etc.

-*r* inflections of Adjs.: *allra* IX. 35 etc.; *un-clænra* VI. 7 etc., *synnfullra* XIV. 41; etc. etc.

Exceptions are: *feowero* Pref. 1 (beside *feowrum*), *fingeras* VII. 33; *hyngerde* II. 25, *gewyncerde* (esuriit) XI. 12 (beside *hungro*, v. S. § 405. 5); *ombora* VII. 8 (uninflected, *ombor* XIV. 13); *sunduria* XIV. 66 (uninflected, *sundur* VI. 32, unless the line over the *r* indicates some termination; beside *syndrig* etc. 7); *getimberde* XII. 1 (beside *getimbradon* etc. 4, v. S. § 405. 5); *cæfterra* IV. 19, XII. 21.

For *iuera* VII. 13, *ierra* XI. 25, *iures* X. 5, *iuro* XI. 26; and *oðero* IV. 18, 19, 36 etc. v. S. § 144 b.

A svarabhakti vowel has been developed between *r* and *h* in *wyrihte* VI. 3 (*wrihtes* Pref. 3. XV), but v. C. N. 142 "wrihte with *y* above between the *w* and the *r*" which would point to the *i* having been written as the root vowel.

III. Before *m*: the only examples are *wæstmiað* IV. 20, 28 (uninflected, *wæstm* IV. 7 etc. (6); and *utmestum* V. 23.

Before *n*: a) inflected Past Parts. in *-en*: *gehatne* (acc. sg. m.) Pref. 1. 15; *forletnum* I. 18; *unforletne* XII. 20; *awordne* IX. 3, XV. 33.

Exceptions are: *gebundenum* XV. 6; *forletenes* Pref. 1. 12.

b) other words: *becnum* Pref. 5. XLVI (uninflected, *becon* 5); *drihtne* XVI. 20 etc. (7), *drihtnes* I. 3 etc. (5) (uninflected, *drihten* 9, *drihtenlica*); *facne* XIV. 1 (uninflected, *facen* X. 19); *haedno* Pref. 4. XXXIII, *hædnum* XIII. 10 etc. (3), (uninflected, *hæden* VII. 26); *lecnade* I. 34, *leicnung* Pref. 2. VI; *mægdne* V. 41 etc. (3), *mædne* V. 40 (uninflected, *mægden* V. 41 etc. (4), *maeden* Pref. 3. XIV etc. (3); *merne* XV. 1 (beside *morgen* XV. 1 etc.); *wodnes doege* Pref. 5. 16; *wolcne* IX. 7, *wolcnum* XIII. 26, XIV. 62 (uninflected, *wolcen* IX. 7), (*woepen* X. 6, only the uninflected form).

Exceptions are: *beceno* XIII. 22, *becenum* XVI. 20, (beside *becnum*); *bisene* Pref. 4. XXXIII, *biseno* IV. 34, VII. 13 (uninflected, *bissen* VII. 17); *taceno* XIII. 8, *tacenum* XVI. 20 (uninflected, *tacon* XV. 26, Pref. 3. XXIV, *taco* XIV. 24).

IV. 1) Before *d* and *ð*: *heafda* XV. 29 (uninflected, *heafod* 1, *heafud* 9); fem. sbs. in *-ð(u)* (= **iþa*) *cyððo* VI. 4; *hendu* XII. 44; *megða* VIII. 10; *merðu* I. 28.

An exception is: *unreht-haemedo* VII. 21. (For the Pret. endings of weak verbs v. § 132. II.)

2) Before *g*: *genitga* (prophetisa) XIV. 65.

V. Before *s*: *gebloedsad* XI. 9, 10 etc. (v. § 50. 1); *clænsanne* Pref. 1. 15, *geclænsiga* I. 40, 41 etc. (v. § 42. 1); *ic halsigo* V. 7; *mersiga* I. 45 etc. (v. § 45); *milsa* X. 48, *milsa* X. 47 etc. (v. § 7. 2); *unrotsia* XIV. 19 etc. (v. § 47. 2).

Note. *u*, where WS. has *e*, before *s* occurs in *cuic almus* (uictima) IX. 49 (v. § 1. 5) v. Sw. H. E. S. p. 284: „*almus* (North.) from OJ *olmusa**.

VI. Before *g*: *witge* VI. 4, Pref. 3. XV, *witgo* I. 2, VI. 15, XI. 32, XIII. 22, *witgom* VI. 15, *witgum* VIII. 28, *gewitga* (prophetisa) XIV. 65. Adjs. only: *halgum* VIII. 38; *nængum* Pref. 3. XXV, otherwise without syncopation.

Non-syncopated are: *ænige* VI. 5, *ænigum* XVI. 8 etc. (4), *nænigum* I. 44, VIII. 26 (beside *nængum* Pref. 3. XXV); *haligum* XIV. 2; *mæhtiga* IX. 23; *bærsynnigum* II. 16 (*bærsunigo* II. 15); *un-trymigo* VI. 5, 13, 56, *untrymigum* XVI. 18; *woestigum* I. 35, 45. (For *syndrige* v. III.)

§ 77. Vowels long by position are not syncopated, v. S. § 145.

Examples are:

I. Subs. in *-en*, *-enne*: *byrgenne* VI. 29, XVI. 2, *byrgennes* XV. 46, XVI. 3, *byrgennum* V. 2, 3, 5.

II. Subs. in *-ere* (*-are*): *boecere* Pref. 5. XL; *casere* XII. 17, *caseri* XII. 14, *caeseres* XII. 17, Pref. 5. XXXVIII; *fiscera* Pref. 2, III, *fisceras* I. 16, 17; *legerum* (hypocritis) VII. 6; *godspellere* Pref. 1. 1; *sceware* VI. 27; *sedere* IV. 3, 26; *setnerum* XV. 7 *fullwihtere* VI. 14, VIII. 28.

e is syncopated in *mynetro* XI. 15 (v. § 78. V).

III. Superlative forms: *ældesto* XI. 27; *læsestum* IX. 42; *leofuste* IX. 7; *yrrestum* Pref. 4. XXXVII.

e remains in the subs. *oefeste* (festinatione) VI. 25.

Syncopated are: *heista* V. 7; *nesta* VI. 36 etc., *neesto* XII. 33 etc. (v. S. § 145).

IV. Present Participles: *oehtendum* X. 30; *scinendo* IX. 3; *wundrande* I. 27; etc. etc.

§ 78. After a short radical syllable the middle vowel remains, and an auxiliary vowel occurs more frequently (v. S. §§ 144 a, 148, P. B. B. V, pp. 75 ff.). Exceptions are the inflected forms of *micel* and *yfel* (v. S. § 144 c).

The examples here show even more irregularity than in the case of the long radical syllables.

I. Before *l*: *æðela* XVI. 1; *asales* IX. 42, (*asalde* Pref. 4. XXXV. v. § 96); *camelles* I. 6 (uninflected *camel* X. 25); *gegerelad* I. 6, V. 15, *gegerelo* II. 21 etc. (3); *miceles* IX. 21, *micelo* IV. 41 etc. (3), *micelo* IV. 37, 39; *ðæccilla* IV. 21; *yfelo* VII. 23.

Exceptions are: *eorðcryple* II. 9, Pref. 2. VI, *eorð-crypple* II. 5, 10 (uninflected *eorðcrypel* II. 3, *eorðcryppel* II. 4); *micla* XV. 37 etc. (5), *micle* I. 26, XV. 34, *miclo* V. 7 etc. (7), *miclum* XV. 4 (beside *miceles* etc. above; uninflected *micel* XIV. 15, XVI. 4, *micel* IV. 5, *micil* V. 11); *yfle* I. 32 etc. (7), *yfles* XV. 14 (beside *yfelo* above; uninflected *yfel* VI. 49, VII. 22).

No auxiliary vowel occurs in: *fuglas* IV. 32; *hrægle* XV. 17, *hræglo* XIV. 63 (uninflected, *-hrægl* XV. 38); *setla* XII. 39, *sedlo* Pref. 4. XXXIII, *seatlás* XI. 15, *sealum* XII. 39; *symle* XIV. 7 etc. (4).

II. Before *r*: *ehera* Pref. 2. VIII; *teherum* IX. 24; but the vowel is syncopated in: *feotrum* V. 4; *fattro* V. 4 (v. § 13. 3); *ægeadre* VI. 22 etc. (4), *gegeadrad* X. 9; *niðrað* Pref. 3. XX, *niðria* IV. 1, 37, 38, *niðriendo* Pref. 4. XXXII, *geniðrad* IX. 12, XVI. 16, *geniðradon* XIV. 64; *betra* IX. 42, 43; *ðisra* XII. 31 (S. § 338, anm. 2).

An auxiliary vowel appears only in: *derne legero* VI. 21; otherwise: *hueðre* V. 40, *huoðre* X. 43 etc. (3) (beside *hueðer* III. 2 etc. (3), *huoðer* VIII. 23, XV. 44, v. Z. § 25. B. b, P. B. B. V, p. 76); *ðunres* III. 17; *wætre* I. 8, 10, *wætres* IX. 41, XIV. 13, *wætro* IX. 22.

III. Before *m*: the only example is: *lætmet* XVI. 14 etc. always with syncope of the middle vowel.

IV. Before *n*: *gecoreno* XIII. 22, 27, *gecorenum* XIII. 20; *fordrifenum* V. 40, *todrifeno* XIV. 27; *geswoerenum* VI. 26; *un-ðuegenum* VII. 2 (*un-ðuegnum* Pref. 3. XX); *recone* V. 2 etc.

The vowel is syncopated in: *cwoedne* (m. acc. sg.) XIV. 58, *cwoednum* XIV. 26, *gecwoedna* Pref. 2. 3; *forgetne* VIII. 14 (v. C. N. 143 "forgetone alt. to forgetne"); *on-setnum* VI. 5, VIII. 23; *un-ðuegnum* Pref. 3. XX; *heofnas* I. 10, *heofne* VI. 41 etc., (6), *heofnes* XIV. 62 etc. (4), *heofnum* VII. 34 etc. (7) (uninflected *heofon* XIII. 31); *ge-opnadon* II. 4.

No auxiliary vowel occurs in: *efne* II. 2, III. 20 etc., *efnum* Pref. 1. 9; *gedrysned* (extinguitur) IX. 44, 46, *adrysnede* Pref. 3. XIII, *adrysnendlic* IX. 45 (v. § 90. 3); *esne* X. 44 etc. (5); *gefraigne* (Inf.) XII. 34, *gefraignas* IX. 16, *gefraignade* XV. 2 etc.

etc. (*gefrægn* IX. 21 etc.); *togægnas* IV. 35, V. 2, XVI. 17 (*on-gægn* XII. 41 etc.) v. Z. § 25. B. d; *mægna* XIII. 25, *mægne* IX. 1, XII. 30, XIII. 26, v. Z. § 25 B. d; *nemned* VII. 26, XII. 41, Pref. 2. I; *somnung* I. 21 etc., *gesomnad* I. 33, IV. 1 etc. etc.; *stefne* I. 20, V. 7 etc., *stefnes* Pref. 1. 9, (uninflected *stefn* I. 3 etc. (4); *ðegnas* II. 18, 23 etc., *ðegne* Pref. 4. XXXV, *ðegnna* Pref. 5. XLVI, *ðegnum* II. 15 etc.

V. 1) Before *ð*: *gigoðe* X. 20; *nigoða* Pref. 5. XL.

The vowel is syncopated in: *gefremðiga* XIV. 71; *sihðo* IX. 9 (v. P. B. B. V, p. 78).

2) Before *t*: *myntro* XI. 15 (v. P. B. B. V, p. 78).

3) Before *d*: *genacedon* II. 4. For the Pret. forms of wk. verbs v. § 132. II etc.

VI. 1) Before *g*: *hefigo* (adj.) XIV. 6. 40; *monige* IX. 26, *monigo* I. 34 etc., *monigum* V. 26 etc., *menigo* (sb.) II. 4 etc.; *wealigo* XII. 41.

2) Before *c*: *tunucum* VI. 9.

§ 79. Two Middle Vowels.

The second of two middle vowels is always syncopated (v. S. § 14).

The regular examples are: *lyttelra* VIII. 7; *bær-synnigra* Pref. 2. VII; *ænigne* V. 37; *haligne* III, 29; *ahongene* (acc. sg. m.) XVI. 6; *idelne* XII. 3; *oðerne* XV. 27 etc.; *ðyrnenne* XV. 17.

Both middle vowels are syncopated in: *cwoedne* (acc. sg. m.) XIV. 58, *gehatne* Pref. 1. 15; *stæenne* XIV. 3 may possibly belong here, but v. § 90. 3.

C. The Consonants.

Chapter VI. Semi-vowels.

w.

§ 80. The semi-vowel *w* is most frequently written *w*, but the sign *u* is very common, and instances occur of *wu*, *wu* = *w*. In Mk. I. occur 82 *w*, beside 32 *u*.

1) The examples of *wu* = *w* are: *wuræðia* X. 41; *wuræcce* V. 7; *ge-wuritto* XII. 24; *wuorð* (atrium) XV. 16; *wuosa* X. 26; *fulwuiht* Pref. 4. XXXVII; *widwuana* XII. 40; *gefulwuad* VII. 4, X. 38, 39, *in-gefulwuade* X. 38.

2) *wu* = *w*: *gegiuodon* XV. 6 (v. § 136. 7); *gesuuinged* XIII. 9; *suuippum* (flagellio) XV. 15; *ae-laruuas* X. 2, *laruua* IX. 17.

8*

w = *w* in *giuwende* Pref. 4. XXXIII (v. § 51. 2, Note).

v = *w* does not occur. The sign *v* is only once written and there for the vowel *u*, *marcvs* Pref. 1.

According to Bouterwek (p. CXXXV) an inorganic *w* before an initial *u* appears in: *ðerh wurnon* (percurrentes) VI. 55, *geurnon* IX. 15, *efne-ge-uurnon* VI. 33; *wusig* XI. 9; *wuð-wuto* III. 22 etc. (8), (beside *wuð-* (6), *wð* VII. 5 etc. (7)). Probably however this *wu* is only a way of writing the vowel *wu* = *û* v. §§ 10. 3, 38. 2, cf. *w* = *ÿ* in *swyndria* XIV. 19 = *suindria* (v. § 27. 4).

Initial *w*.

§ 81. Initial *w* occurs: 1) before all vowels (for its influence on a following vowel, v. §§ 32—37). Examples are: *wacan* VI. 48; *wer* VI. 20; *wind* IV. 41; *worð* XIV. 68; *gewuna* XV. 6; *wôedo* X. 50; *win* II. 22; *wodnes doege* Pref. 5. 16 etc. etc.

w is lost: a) in certain verbal contractions with the particle *ne* (v. S. § 172, anm.) e. g.: *nalde* I. 34, *nælle* XIII. 11; *næs* II. 27, *nere* II. 26 etc. The negative forms of *wuta* (scire) are: *nât* XIV. 71; *neutu woe* XI. 33, *nuutogie* XIII. 35; beside *ne uutogie* X. 38, XII. 24, *ne wuto gie* XIII. 33.

b) in the following compound words: *hlafurd* II. 28 etc.; *œniht* XIV. 60 etc. (3); *oht* XV. 24; *noht* VII. 15 etc. (5), (v. S. § 348. 1. 2); *uðuta* I. 22, II. 16 (beside *-wuto* VII. 5 etc. (19), v. § 75).

2) *w* is preserved in the combinations *wl* and *wr*: *megwitlice* Pref. 4. XXX; *wlonco* XII. 41; *wroht* XIII. 14; *writto* XIV. 49 etc. etc.

3) *w* occurs as the second element in the consonant combinations *cw*, *dw*, *hw*, *ðw*, *tw*, *sw*. Examples are: *cuic* IX. 49, XII. 33; *gecuellas* XIII. 12 etc.; *duolas* XII. 24, 27; *hwæte* IV. 28; *huitum* Pref. 5. 17 etc.; *un-ðuegnum* Pref. 3. XX; *ðuongas* I. 7 etc.; *tuoelfo* VIII. 19 etc.; *tuaes* (haesitauerit) XI. 23; *betuih* XII. 7 etc.; *gesuoencde* I. 34; *suiga* I. 25; *suord* XIV. 47 etc. etc.

w is lost in: *coeða* X. 19, *coeðanne* II. 9, *coeðe* I. 44, *coed* (ait) XIV. 22, *coeð* XII. 26, 35; *coern* (mola) IX. 42; *hu* XV. 4 etc., *hulic* V. 16, *hulco* XIII. 1, *huulig* XIII. 1 (= *hûlig*); *tuu* XV. 38 (v. S. § 172, anm.).

Note. *suaha* XI. 23 is a scribal error for *sua hua* IX. 42 etc. (v. § 186).

Medial and Final *w*.§ 82. I. *w* after Vowels.

The examples are:

1) after *â*: *savel* Pref. 4. XXVII etc. (3), *sauel* (2), *saweled* III. 4, XII. 33, *ge-saweled* Pref. 1. 7, (*saul* VIII. 35 (2), *saules* VIII. 36, v. § 72, S. § 174. 3); *snaua* (nix) IX. 3 (v. S. § 250. 1); *-cnawanne* Pref. 1. 13, *-cnauanne* Pref. 1. 8 etc. (v. § 40); *sauað* IV. 16, 18 etc. (v. § 40), cf. L. § 28. 2 a.

2) after *ê* (= Gmc. *ê*) *w* is lost in: *beleede* (proderet) XIV. 10 (v. S. § 174. 3), and *behleing* (proditione) Pref. 5. XIV (with inorganic *h* v. § 101. 1).

3) after *ô*: *stowe* XV. 22, *stouo* I. 35, *stonm* I. 45, *-stow* VII. 4 (v. § 47. 2); *ðrowende* Pref. 4. XXVI, XXVII, *ðrouenda* V. 26, *ðrowungo* V. 26, Pref. 5. XLV (beside *ðroung* Pref. 5. 17, *ðrounc* VIII. 34), *-ðrower* I. 40, Pref. 2. VI; *rowincg* VI. 48.

4) after *êa*: *æd-eaw* I. 44 etc. (v. § 56. 2), *eawung* IV. 22 *eawunge* VI. 14 (beside *eawunga* VIII. 32. For *ewunga* I. 45 v. § 62); *sceawung* XII. 40, *-sceawade* V. 32, *-sceawde* III. 5 etc. (v. § 56. 2), (for *sceware*, *-sceuade* v. § 62); *gleoulice* VIII. 25, (*êo* for *êa* v. § 56. 3), *-gleownise* III. 5; *geheawen* (Past Part.) XV. 46. (For *ceaulas* v. § 40.)

5) after *io*, *êo* (v. § 62): *feower* VIII. 9 etc. (4), (*feuer* VIII. 20, and with loss of *w*: *feor* Pref. 3. XXIII, *feortig* I. 13, *feoertig* I. 13, *feorða* VI. 48, Pref. 3. XIX, *feorðung* XII. 42); *oncneow* II. 8, *oncneann*, *oncneaun* VI. 38, 52; *geseaw* IV. 4 (*êa* for *êo* v. § 59. 2); *hreonwigas* I. 15, *hreonmisses* I. 4, VI. 12; *tonh* III. 28 etc. (4), *iuh* VI. 11 etc. (v. § 62).

Beside *dioblas* I. 34 etc. (6), (v. § 64. 3), occur forms with *w*: *dionl*, *dionla* II. 22, 23 etc. (16), *dionbla* I. 32 (v. § 93).

For *êw* = *êow* in: *gebleuu* VII. 33; *oncnewa* Pref. 2. 4, v. § 62.

6) Examples of the development of original *ew*, *iw* (v. § 62) are: *cnewa* XV. 19, *cneuo* X. 17, *cnew-beging* I. 40 (v. S. § 174. 1).

The forms corresponding to WS. *cnêoris* (v. S. § 258, anm. 4) are: *cneoreso* VIII. 12 etc. (3), *cnewreso* IX. 19, *cneoureso* VIII. 12.

From the stem *trewo-* are: *treuo* VIII. 24, *trewum* XI. 8, XIV. 43, *ðæm tree* XII. 26 (v. S. § 250. 2).

From the stem *ðewo-* are: *ðio ðiwa* (ancilla) XIV. 69, *ðiowum* XIV. 66 (*ðea* Pref. 5. XLIII, v. § 58. 3).

For *larua* IX. 5, 38 etc. from **lār-ðēow* v. § 75.

Original *iw*: *oferhiued* IX. 2, *oferhiwade* (pp.) Pref. 4. XXVII; *nīua* I. 27, *nīwe* II. 21, 22 etc. (3), *nīwes* II. 21, XIV. 24, *nīuum* XVI. 17, *nīwum* II. 22, *nīwunga* XIV. 40, *eft-nīuad* VIII. 25; *siuieð* II. 21 (v. § 62).

For *giuað* (petitis) XI. 24 etc. v. 51. 2, note.

II. After Consonants: *fulwade* I. 8, *gefulwad* I. 5, 9 etc. (11), (v. § 10. 2); *gearwas* I. 3, XIV. 15, *foregearuas* I. 2, *gegearuad* VI. 9 etc. (14), (v. § 11. 2), *mið-gearwing t fore-gearuung* Pref. 5. XLIV; *widwa* Pref. 5. XL, *widua* XII. 42, 43, *widwuana* XII. 40.

w is lost in: *gegerelo* II. 21 etc. (3), *gegerelad* I. 6, V. 15; *smirinis* Pref. 5. XLIV etc., *smiriane* XIV. 8, *smiredon* VI. 13 (v. § 14. 2, L. § 28 b).

Note. The *w* in *neawung* (proximo) XIII. 28 is abnormal. B-T. gives no other instance of the occurrence of this form, *nēah-wist* being the common word used to signify 'nearness, neighbourhood'. Possibly *neawung* is derived from an original **nehwján* with the accent on the final syllable, so that, in accordance with Sievers' law respecting the Gmc. consonant group *ɣw*, the *ɣ* was lost, and the *w* remained.

gearuu XIV. 38 appears to stand for *gearuw* with the *w* of the oblique cases affixed to the vocalised *w* of the nominative (v. S. § 300, anm.).

WS. *lārēow* (v. § 75) is written *laruu* V. 25 etc. (11), *larua* IX. 5 etc. (5), *laruua* IX. 17, pl. *ælaruas* IX. 11 etc. (3), and *ælaruwas* X. 2, where *uu* = *w* (v. § 80. 2, cf. S. § 250, anm. 3).

j.

§ 83. I. Initial *j* (v. S. § 175, Sw. H. E. S. §§ 541—543. L. § 13. 1) is expressed by *i* only in the proper names *iacobes* XV. 40; *iordane* X. 1, *Iordanenes* I. 5; *Iarus* V. 22; *iosep* XV. 45; *iudas* XIV. 43; *iudea* XV. 26 etc., otherwise it is denoted by *g*.

Examples are: *gie* (Pron.) II. 8 etc.; *gif* (si) III. 1 etc.; *ging* XIV. 51, XVI. 5 etc. (v. § 28).

II. Medial *j* (v. S. § 176) between vowels is preserved in the verb *ceiga* X. 49 etc. (v. § 63. 1); and in *gefrigade* X. 16, beside *friað* Pref. 3. XXI, *friende* IX. 36, *gefriað* Pref. 4. XXVIII

(= *gefriad* Past Part. v. § 136. 4). It does not appear in any of the forms of *smea*, *smeas* VIII. 17, *smeað* II. 8 etc. (v. § 136. 4).

After a short vowel + *r* (v. S. § 176) *j* is represented by *i* in: *gesuoeria* XIV. 71, and by *g*, *ig* in: *gebirgeð* (gustabunt) IX. 1, *gebirydon* Pref. 4. XXVII.

For the *i* or *ig* of the weak verbs of Class II: *unrotsia* XIV. 19; *wunia* IV. 32, *losiga* III. 4, *bodiga* III. 14; etc. v. S. § 175, anm.

III. Final *j* occurs only in *oferferig* (transfer) XIV. 36, an irregular Imp. form. But probably the *-ig* is simply due to confusion with the 2nd sg. Imp. of weak verbs of Class II. in *-ig* (v. § 111. 3, cf. S. § 414, anm. 2).

Chapter VII. Liquids and Nasals.

r.

§ 84. *r* occurs very frequently in all positions. Examples are: *rip-isern* IV. 29; *mor* IX. 9; *duru* II. 2; *brydguma* II. 19; *hrof* XIII. 27; *strongre* I. 7; *ðrittig* IV. 20; *screadunga* VI. 43; *eardes* XIII. 27; *eorðo* XIII. 31; *woerces* XIII. 34; *hearto* II. 8; *byrgenne* XVI. 2; *ned-ðarf* II. 17; etc.

Geminated: *fearre* V. 6; *steorras* XIII. 25; etc. and in the loan-words *carre* (petra) XV. 46; *torr* (turrem) XII. 1.

§ 85. Examples of metathesis of *r*:

1) where *r* originally preceded a vowel followed by *nn*, or *s*-combinations (v. S. § 179) are: *arn* V. 2 etc. (5); *forbernde* IV. 6; *dærsto* VIII. 15 etc. (4); *first* (spatium) VI. 31; *iornende* IX. 25, *blod-iorne* Pref. 3. XIV, *-iornað* XIV. 13, *-iornende* IV. 5, *utiorninsc* V. 25; *geðearsca* XIV. 65 etc. (5).

2) where *r* originally followed the vowel, the converse of the above metathesis. This occurs before *ht* and is more especially characteristic of the North. dialect. The examples are: *breht* Pref. 3. XI, 5. XLII (*behrto* uaria Pref. 2. V); *frohto* IV. 40, *frohtende* Pref. 2. IV, *gefrohtiga* XVI. 6 (beside *forhtiga* XIV. 33, *forhtade* V. 33 (v. C.N. 142 "altered from *frohtade*"), *fyrhto* IV. 41 etc. (3), *gefyrhtad* IX. 6, in IV. 40 the two forms occur actually side by side *frohto t forhto* (timidi); *wrihte* Pref. 3. XV (beside *wyrihte* VI. 3 v. § 76. II, and *worhte* (vb.) X. 6 etc. (7)).

3) Other cases of metathesis which do not directly come under 1) are: *dom-êrn* XV. 16; *forma* (primo) XIV. 12, XVI. 9;

gers IV. 28, VI. 39 (beside *græsum* IV. 32); *tintergo* IX. 47 etc. (3); *ðirda* IX. 31 etc. (5).

§ 86. Examples of *r* corresponding to Gmc. *z* are: *gecoreno* XIII. 22 etc. (3), *gecure* XIII. 20, due to the working of Verner's Law; *earo* IV. 9 etc. (7); *hered* Pref. 2. IV; etc. Examples of original *rz* are: *merrunga* (seductiones) Pref. 5. XLII; *yrr-estum* Pref. 4. XXXVII; of original *zd*: *mearde* (mercedem) IX. 41.

For *r* in *efern* (uespere) I. 32, IV. 35, *efrn* VI. 47 etc. (6); *fæstern* V. 16 etc. (4); *woestern* I. 12 etc. (5), v. L. § 56. II, p. 105, H. § 3, p. 39.

In *stænes* (petrosa) IV. 5 final *s* is written for *r*. cf. Rushw. *stæner* IV. 5, 16, Lind. *stænero* IV. 16, and *stæner* (petrosa) Lind. Mt. V. 5, 28.

Possibly *s* is written for *r* in *ymb-woeson* Pref. 1. heading, *woeson* for *-woeron*? (Pret. pl.): *ðas feowero mið gode ymb-woeson ðas bôc* = 'were occupied with, busied themselves with this book'? *ymb ân ðing wesan* = to be occupied with a thing.

For the loss of *r* in *ende brednise* (ordinem) Pref. 1. 4, beside WS. *anbryrdnis* v. S. § 180, Z. § 30 and anm. p. 76.

l.

§ 87. *l* in all positions is of very common occurrence. Examples are: *leaf* I. 11; *woel* XII. 28; *weala* IV. 19; *scyld* III. 29; *salt* IX. 50; *wilnig* VI. 22; *bolstære* IV. 38; *folc* IX. 15; *blind* X. 46; *geflugon* V. 14; *glædnise* IV. 16; etc. Geminated: *gefaello* (ruituras) Pref. 5. XLII; *godspell* III. 14 etc.; *willo* XIV. 36; etc. For *ll* beside *l* in *selleð* XIII. 12 etc., *seleð* XIV. 18 etc., v. § 103.

ll in *ðullucum* IV. 33; *ðullico* VI. 2 is the result of assimilation (v. S. § 349).

For the occurrence of breaking before *l* + cons. v. §§ 12, 15, the only words in which it is found being *sealla*, and *seolfa*.

The only example of the metathesis of *l* in the suffix *-ils* is *gyrdils* I. 6, VI. 8.

fihles (panni) Pref. 2. VII (cf. Mt. IX. 16) is possibly a metathesised form of *flyhtes* (panni) II. 22 (v. § 27. 3, Note).

huecl (quem) Pref. 4. XXVI is an error for *huelc* (v. CN. 141).

In *dicendum* (discumbentibus) XIV. 18, *ð* is a scribal error for *l*.

m.

§ 88. The labial nasal *m* occurs in various positions: *mondo* (cophinos) VIII. 19; *unwisdom* VII. 22; *noma* IX. 39; *her-sumiað* IV. 41; *smolt* VI. 47; *dumb* IX. 17; *somnung* VI. 2; *tempel* XI. 16; etc.

Geminated: *huommes* XII. 10; *temma* V. 4.

Examples of the loss of *m* before the surd spirants *f*, *þ*, *s* only: *fif* VI. 41 etc., *fiftigum* VI. 40 etc.

Final *m* is omitted in the MS. in *dagu* VIII. 31 (= *dagum*).

Final *m* in *wutum* I. 38, XII. 7, beside *wutun* XIV. 42 is an instance of the preservation of the original ending of the 1st pers. plur. of verbs, cf. Goth. *nimam*.

Final *n* is written for *m* in *ðegnun* IX. 18; *ðæn eorð-cryple* (dat. sg.) Pref. 2. VI.

n.

§ 89. Examples of dental *n* are: *noma* IX. 38; *huon* XIV. 35; *sona* I. 10; *snytru* VI. 2; *londe* VIII. 23; etc. Geminated: *menn* XIV. 21, *monnes* IX. 12; *sunna* IV. 6; *synna* II. 7 etc.

Guttural *n*: *stences* XIV. 3; *ðing* VIII. 33; *ðoncungo* VIII. 6; *ðuongum* VI. 9; *tunga* VII. 33; etc.

n has undergone metathesis in: *fasne* (fimbriam) VI. 56 (v. § 1. 4); *risnetic* IX. 11 (v. H. p. 38).

§ 90. 1) Examples of the loss of *n* before spirants are: *-brohton* XII. 16 etc.; *uhte* XIII. 35; *pislico* XIV. 40 (v. § 52. 1); *user* IX. 22 etc.; *stiðnise* XVI. 14; *suiðe* IV. 33 etc.; *gigoðe* X. 20 (v. L. § 33); *toðum* IX. 18; *uncuð* III. 10, IX. 32; *gð* IV. 37; etc.

2) Loss of final inflectional *n*, a characteristic feature of the North. dialect, is carried out with great regularity in:

a) Weak Nouns: *haga* (acc. sg.) XII. 1; *heorta* (dat. sg.) VII. 21; *tunga* (dat. sg.) VII. 33; etc. (v. §§ 156—162). The only exceptions are: *vacan* VI. 48, Pref. 3. XIX, which may perhaps be considered as one, rather than two, as the word seems to have been copied into the Preface from the text (v. § 158. II).

b) Weak Adjs.: *ðæs alde* Pref. 2. VII; *ðæs éce* III. 29 etc. (v. §§ 173, 174).

c) Adverbs: *hwona* VI. 2; *ðona* VI. 1; etc. (v. § 176. 6, S. § 321 ann. 1). The only instance of the preservation of the final *n* is in the compound *utan ymb* III. 34, VI. 6 (beside *uta*, *ute*, *buta* etc.).

d) Verbs, Inf.: *forbeada* IX. 39; *gehera* IV. 33; etc. (v. § 113). Pret. Subj. Plur.: *gecuomo* XVI. 1; *gesetta* VI. 41; *were* III. 14; etc. (v. § 121, beside Subj. forms in *-on?*).

foerdo (exeuntes) XVI. 8, and *ge-hêrdo* (deseruientes) Pref. 2. IX would appear to be isolated instances of the loss of final *n* in the Pret. Indic. Plur. (but v. S. § 364, ann. 4 "Apokope des auslautenden *-n* findet im north. nicht statt").

Final *n* is lost in: *seofa* (septem) VIII. 8 etc. (4), *seofa* (4) (beside *seofana*, *seofona* (3) v. § 178); *taco* (signum) XIV. 44, (beside *tacon* XV. 26, Pref. 3. XXIV).

3) Loss of *n* is due to scribal errors in: *to-reded* (scissum) XV. 38, Rushw. *to-rended*; *una-drysendlic* IX. 43 for *un-adrysendlic* IX. 45 (v. § 27. 1); *ondspyrendra* (scandalizantium) Pref. 4. XXX for *ondspyrnendra*, cf. *ge-ondspyrned* VI. 3 etc. (v. § 27. 1); *astigedon* (ascendentes) VI. 32 for *astigendon?* Rushw. *astægdun* wk. Pret. form (v. § 126); *gesupedon* Pref. 4. XXVII, the full gloss is *hia þ gebirigdon † gesupedon weron* (gustatueros). A very common way of translating the Latin future participle is by the present participle (cf. *passuri weron ðrowende* two lines further down). May it not be assumed that what the glossator intended to write was *gebirigdon* (Pret. Indic.) † *gesupēde* (= *gesupende*) *weron?* The *-on* of the preceding *gebirigdon* might easily cause a scribe to repeat the ending *-on* and put it in the place of *-e*. Moreover the fact that he uses *weron* immediately afterwards, proves that he intended to write a participle, not a preterite Indicative.

The form *stæne* XIV. 3, in the phrase *stæne fæt*, might be written for *stæne(n)*, with the common doubling of the consonant (cf. § 103), or it might be the masc. instead of the neut. acc. form; *of stæne fæt* is the form of the same phrase in Pref. 5. XLIV.

Beside the common forms *drihten* (dominus), *drihtnes*, which are of frequent occurrence, occurs one example of the form without *n* *drihtes* (domini) Pref. 1. 6.

r is written for *n* in *feller* (pellicia) I. 6, Rushw. *fellenne*, cf. Mt. III. 4 *gyrdils fillenu* (sonam pelliciam), Rushw. *fellen*.

Without any apparent reason an *n* has been introduced in *to-neardnum* Pref. 5. XLII.

Chapter VIII. Non-Sonorous Consonants.

I. Labials.

p.

§ 91. 1) Initial *p* occurs in: *plæges* Pref. 3. XVII, *plægede* VI. 22; and in the following loan-words: *petro* XVI. 7 etc.; *penninges* XII. 42, *penningum* VI. 37; *portas* VI. 6; *posa* † *poha* (peram) VI. 8; *plæges* Pref. 3. XVII; *plontað* Pref. 2. 5. It has disappeared in *salmes* Pref. 5. XL.

2) Medial and final *p* occurs frequently. Examples are: *scîpo* (oues) XIV. 27; *geswipernise* XII. 15; *cempo* XV. 16; *hwoelpes* VII. 28; *geopnadon* II. 4; *godspell* I. 14; *scip* I. 19; *to-gegrap* VII. 33. Loan-words: *apostolas* VI. 30; *discipul* Pref. 1. 2; *sinapis* IV. 31, *senepis* Pref. 3. XII.

Geminated: *upp-eode* IV. 6; *upplocade* VIII. 24 etc. (v. § 10. 2, Sw. H. E. S. § 399).

gefræppegedon (reuerbuntur) XII. 6, cf. Mt. XII. 10 is not clear.

No examples of the change of *pn* to *mn* occur.

b is written for *p* in *biscob* Pref. 2. 2; *biscobas* XV. 11 (v. C.N. 144 "*biscopas* alt. to *biscobas*"). *p* corresponds to Latin *ph* in *iosep* XV. 45, beside *iosephes* VI. 3.

b.

§ 92. The sonant labial stop *b* occurs:

1) initially: *gebinda* V. 3; *bebod* VII. 9; *blind* VIII. 17; *brydguma* II. 20; etc.

2) in the combination *mb*: *dumbo* VII. 37 etc.; *ombor* XIV. 13 etc.; *womb* VII. 19; *ymb* IX. 14; etc.

3) geminated: *sibb* V. 34, IX. 50; *habba* X. 21, *habbað* II. 17 etc. (simplified in *habas* (habete) IX. 50). No forms of WS. *libban* occur with *bb*, v. *hliþendra* XII. 27 etc. (§ 136. 3, v. S. § 416, anm. 2).

Inorganic *b* inserted between *m* and *r* occurs regularly in: *timber* XIII. 1, *-timbradon* XII. 10 etc.; between *m* and *l* in: *symble* (semper) IX. 22, XIV. 17, but *symle* V. 4, 5, XIV. 7, XV. 8.

Final *b* in the prefix *ymb-* as a rule remains: *ymb-sceawde* III. 5; *ymbstondendum* XIV. 47; *ymb- beara* VI. 55; etc., but *ym-* occurs in: *ymsceawde* XI. 11; *ymstondendum* XV. 35; *ymbunden* IX. 42.

Final *b* is omitted in the MS. in: *dum* IV. 39, beside *dumb* VII. 32, IX. 17.

f.

§ 93. The occurrence of the letter *f* as the sign both of the voiceless and of the voiced labio-dental spirant gives little occasion for remark.

Examples of voiceless *f* are: *fola* XI. 2; *-frugnon* X. 10; *fiſ* VI. 38; *oft* III. 10; etc. Voiced *f*: *on life* VIII. 35; *gelifde* XVI. 11; *hlafum* VIII. 4; etc.

No examples of the change of *fn* to *mn* (v. S. § 193. 2) occur: v. *efne* II. 2 etc.; *stefn* I. 3 etc.

b where WS. commonly has *f* appears in: *februm* I. 31, Pref. 2. V, *febrende* I. 30 (v. S. § 192, anm. 2, Bout. p. CXLII), in no instance with *f*; *dioblas* I. 34 etc. (6), (v. C. § 130), beside *dionl* III. 23 etc. (16), *dionbla* I. 32; *ebolsas* II. 7 etc. (8), beside *efolsong* VII. 22 (v. S. § 43, anm. 4).

f is replaced by *ð* in: *ðæccilla* (lucerna) IV. 21 (v. § 3. 1, Bout. p. CL).

Final *f* is omitted in the MS. in *tuœl* Pref. 2. X.

II. Dentals.

t.

§ 94. The dental tenuis *t* occurs frequently, simple, geminated, and in the combinations *st*, *ht*, *ft* etc.

Examples are: *telgo* IV. 32; *twæm* V. 13; *eteð* XI. 14; *ût* I. 34; *styd* I. 35; *gaast* XIV. 38; *ðæhtung* III. 6; *æfter* I. 7; *sæftes* X. 6. Geminated: *bytto* (utres) II. 22; *mitta* (modio) IV. 21; *sittende* Pref. 4. XXXV. Simple *t* appears in *snotorlice* XII. 34.

§ 95. WS. *tl* in *sell* (v. S. § 196. 2) appears as *tl* in: *setla* XII. 39; *seatlas* XI. 15; *seathum* XII. 39, and once as *dl*: *sedlo* Pref. 4. XXXIII.

The variation between final *t* and *d* 1) in the prefix *æt* (cf. L. § 37) is as follows: *æt-eaude* XVI. 14, beside *æd-eauad* IV.

22 etc. (14); *ætgeadre* II. 15, beside *ædgeadre* VI. 22 etc. (3); preposition, *æt* I. 16 etc. (6), beside *æd* VI. 55. — 2) in the Pron. *huæt* XIII. 11 etc. (29), beside *huæd* XV. 14 etc. (14); *huodhuoge* XV. 24; with *dt*, *huætd* XIII. 11 etc. (11), cf. *gesædt* (*sedit*) XVI. 19. — 3) in the sb. *ðreat* (*turbam*) V. 31 (16), beside *ðreæd* III. 7, V. 21 (v. C.N. 143 “*ðreade* alt. to *ðreate*”). — 4) in the Num. *sextig* IV. 20, beside *sexdig* IV. 8.

Beside the regular form *unrôtsade* (*contristatus*) III. 5, *-rotsige* VI. 26, *-rotsia* XIV. 19, occur the following forms where *ts* is replaced by *ds*: *un-rodsade* VI. 26, *un-rodsad* VI. 50, *ge-unrodsad* X. 22.

Possibly the *ds* is due to the analogy of *bloedsade* XIV. 22 etc. (7), where *ds* occurs regularly, in no instance changed to *ts*?

For *dt* instead of *t* in *un-rôdt* XIV. 34, and *bîdtende* (*discerpens*) I. 26, v. Sw. H. E. S. § 391 (v. § 38. 3).

This *dt* occurs further after a long vowel in *geðreadtaige* (*increpare*) VIII. 32, but after short vowels in *ge-scyrdte* (*breuiauuit*) beside *ge-scyrte* XIII. 20; and in *gesædt* XVI. 19, which examples should perhaps rather be compared to *huætd* above.

th is written for *t* in: *se scariothisca* (*seariot*) XIV. 43.

ðo III. 23 is apparently miswritten for *to*.

Final *t* is omitted in the MS. in *gaas* (*spiritus*) XIII. 11.

d.

§ 96. The dental media *d* occurs frequently in all positions. Examples are: *dead* IV. 38; *duru* I. 33; *bod* XII. 28; *wudu* I. 6; *drihten* XII. 37; *duolages* XII. 27; *hond* VIII. 23; *word* VII. 13; etc. Geminated: *biddend* XIV. 35, *gebidda* Pref. 5. XLIII.

1) *ð* is written for *d* in a number of instances: *ðærstes* Pref. 3. XXIV, beside *dærsto* VIII. 15 etc. (3); *ðerne-leger* VIII. 38, beside *derne* VII. 21 etc. (3); *sunneðagana* XVI. 2; *milsanðe* VI. 34; *seðum* IV. 31, beside *sed* IV. 27 etc. (5); *acueðen bið* Pref. 1. 15, *gecwoeðen wæs* XV. 7, beside *gecwoeden* V. 36 etc.; *cwoeðon* (*dicunt*) XI. 33, (in this case the mistake may be due to the scribe's confusion between the English verb *onduewardon* immediately preceding, in the preterite tense, and the Latin *dicunt* below in the present); *sie gecostað* IX. 49; *gefriað bið* Pref. 4. XXVIII; *inlihteð wæs* Pref. 4. XXXIV; *geðread bið*

(arguitur) Pref. 5. XLVI, beside *sie geðread* Pref. 4. XXVI; and frequently in proper names: *bethsaiða* VIII. 22; *dauð* XII. 37 etc. (4); *heroðes* III. 6; *heroðis* VIII. 15; *iudæs* XIV. 10, *iudæs* Pref. 5. XLIV; *magðalenesca* XV. 47, XVI. 9; *zebedies* I. 19 etc. (3).

2) The North. form *hundrað* IV. 8 (v. S. § 327) occurs in three instances, beside *hundradum* VI. 21, margin.

3) *ldl* appears as *ll* (v. S. § 197. 3) in: *bal-lice* XV. 43; and *monigfallice* Pref. 4. XXXII.

4) *ds* remains in: *gebloedsad* XI. 9 etc. (7), (v. S. § 198. 4); beside *ts* in: *gitsungas* VII. 22; *miltsa* (miserere) X. 48, and *ls* in *milsa* X. 47 etc. (5).

For WS. *læden* occurs *latin* V. 41.

Beside *styldon* (stupebant) I. 22, occur the forms *styllon* VI. 51, *fore-styllon* XVI. 5, *gestylte* IX. 15 (v. C.N. 143 "*gestylde* alt. to *gestylte*"), *forstyldton* V. 42, X. 24.

t for *d* occurs in: *ondetenta* VIII. 38; *bið gesettet* IV. 21, beside *gesetted* IV. 21; *bið gemoetat* IV. 19; *fore-geðistrat* VI. 52; *awoendat were* Pref. 1. 11; *uutellice* VII. 6, beside *uuted* IV. 11 etc. (19).

Final *d* has disappeared in *hælen* IX. 5; *senden* (mittentem) Pref. 5. XLI; *ðærfen* (pauper) XII. 43. Rushw. *ðorfende*, cf. verse 42, *ðorfend* (pauper); in the compound word *erenwreca* Pref. 2. 1; and in *gefregna* (inquisita) Pref. 2. 4 = **gefregnad?* (v. § 134. 4). *to-sceade* (disputans) Pref. 5. XLII seems to stand for *to-sceade[nde]*.

For the prefix *on-* beside *ond-* v. § 74. VIII.

A parasitic *d* after *l* appears in *asalde* (asinæ) Pref. 4. XXXV, beside *asales* IX. 42.

ð.

§ 97. As in the Durham Ritual (v. L. § 39), so here, the interdental spirant is, as a rule, denoted by ð.

Exceptions are: the abbreviations *þ* = *ðæt* I. 45 etc. (v. § 3. 1, 2) and *þte* = *ðætte* I. 27 etc. (v. Introd. p. XXVIII); *þ* in *þæt* XIV. 3; *þone* IX. 25; and *th* in the following names: *bethania* XI. 11, 12, XIV. 3; *bethsaiða* VIII. 22; *nazareth* I. 9.

Examples of ð in all positions are numerous: *ðegnas* II. 23; *ðu* I. 11; *ðreat* II. 13; *seað* XII. 1; *claðas* XIV. 63; *eorðo*

IX. 3. Geminated: *cyððo* VI. 4; *sceððað* XVI. 18; *oðð* XIV. 25, *oððe* XI. 30.

1) *d* is occasionally written for *ð*: *gecladed* (nestitum) V. 15; *coed* (ait) XIV. 22; *under-delfad* IV. 19; *hæfed* (habet) IV. 25; *sleped* (dormit) V. 39, (v. S. § 357); *brodro* III. 33; *édmodað* IV. 41; *fordon* (enim) VII. 3; *haedno* Pref. 4. XXXIII, *hædnum* X. 33, 42, XIII. 10; *sodlice* XV. 44; *da* X. 32.

2) Original *þl* after a long vowel which in WS. became *dl* (v. S. § 201. 3), remains in *aðlo* III. 10; and *wiðlað* VII. 23; beside *adle* V. 29, 34, I. 34; *gewiðlige* VII. 15 etc. (5); *nedles* X. 25.

3) *ð* seems to correspond to WS. *d* (cf. S. § 201, ann. 1 North. *fremðe* WS. *fremde*) in *gefremðiga* (anathematizare) XIV. 71, the only example of the word given in B-T., and there unexplained. Rushw. has *fremðiga*. Does *ge-fremðiga* = WS. *fremdian*, intended for a literal translation of *anathematizare*?

Final *ð* is omitted in the MS. in *cue[ð]* III. 3, v. C.N. 142.

s.

§ 98. Simple *s*, and *s* combined with another consonant occur frequently, and call for no special remarks: *sunu* II. 10; *aris* II. 11; *casere* XII. 17; *losiga* III. 4; *scyld* III. 29; *smyltnis* IV. 35; *snytru* VI. 2; *spréc* VI. 2; *stonde* III. 24; *sux* I. 2; *gâstas* V. 13; etc. Geminated: *cyssende* XIV. 45; and v. § 103.

sc occurs without metathesis: *asca* VI. 11; *fiscum* VI. 43; *geascade* VIII. 5, *geuscadon* XIII. 3. (For *x* = *hs* v. § 102. 4).

tz where the Latin has *s* occurs in the place name *genatzear̄* (gennesareth) VI. 53.

r is written for *s* in *yrte* (procella) IV. 37, "probably for *yste*" v. C.N. 142.

ic is a scribal error for *is* in: *ic* (est) XIV. 23. For *unful* = *unsalt*? v. § 10. 3. Note.

III. Gutturals and Palatals.

c.

§ 99. The guttural and palatal tenuis *c* occurs frequently in various positions: *calic* IX. 41; *corn* IV. 31; *ceorl* XII. 25 margin; *éc* I. 38; *ric* XIII. 8; *reconlice* I. 31; *sceacerum* XV. 7; *clænsunge* I. 44; *cnæhtes* IX. 24; *fisces* VI. 41; *wœerc* XIV. 6; etc. Geminated: *æcced-win* XV. 23; *genæcce* XIV. 37 etc.

1) North. *h* for final *c* in unstressed syllables (v. Sw. H. E. S. § 540) occurs in: *ah* (sed) I. 44 etc. (46); *meh* I. 40 etc. (5), (beside *mec* 32); *ðeh* IX. 43 etc. (3), (beside *ðec* 14); *iwih* I. 8 etc., *iuh* VI. 11 etc., without exception; *usih* Pref. 1. 13, (beside *usic* 5).

2) *g* for *c* occurs in: *ûsig* I. 24, *nusig* XI. 9 (beside *usih* 1, *usic* 5); *huulig* XIII. 1 (beside *hulic* V. 16); *arlig* (mane) Pref. 5. 16 (beside *arlice* XVI. 2 etc.); *nlonga* (diuitum) Pref. 4. XXXII, (beside *nlonca* X. 25, XII. 41); and *gc* in: *on bæcg* (retro) XIII. 16 (*on bæcc* VIII. 33); *gebrægc* (fregit) VI. 41 (v. § 103); *huæd iuh ðincge* (uidetur) XIV. 64.

3) *ch* for *c* (v. S. § 210. 3. 4) occurs in: *mech* VIII. 34; *michil* V. 11, *michelo* IV. 37, 39; *carchern* VI. 17 (beside *carcern* VI. 17).

Initially in: *channanesca* (cananaeum) III. 18.

g.

§ 100. Examples of *g* in all positions are numerous: *god* IV 20; *daeg* IX. 31, *dagum* IX. 2; *ðiostrig* VIII. 17; *wæligo* XII. 41; *arg* VIII. 38; *oferhygd* VII. 22; *tostrogden* XIII. 2; *ongæaegn* XI. 2; *ðegnas* VI. 1; etc. (For *mægden*, *mæden* etc. v. below.)

Geminated *g* is written *cg*, *cc* (*c*), and *gc*. a) *cg* in: *bycges* VI. 36, *bycge* VI. 37, *bycgende* XI. 15, *bebycgendra* XI. 15; *licgende* II. 4, *licgendum* XIV. 18; *sæcgende* Pref. 1. 6.

b) *cc* (*c*) in: *bebycendo* XI. 15; *liccende* VII. 30, *licende* V. 40, Pref. 5. XLI, þ *ðu ne dernelice* (adulteris) X. 19.

c) *gc* in: *asægcas* XIV. 12, *fore-sægcane* XIII. 10.

gg appears in *twigge* XIII. 28, *twiggo* IV. 32, and in the Scand. loan-word *ge-eggedon* XV. 11.

1) Final *g* remains unchanged to *h* (v. S. § 214. 1) in: *beg* XV. 17; *oferstag* V. 21; *burg* II. 1; etc.

2) Medial *g* is lost in: *mæden* V. 39 etc. (4), (beside *mægden* V. 41 etc. 7); *gehrino* (aedificationes) XIII. 2 (v. § 23. 4, Note. B-T. *gerên*); *on merne* (mane) XV. 1 (v. S. § 214, ann. 10).

3) Medial *g* appears as *hg* in *mæhge* VII. 15 (beside *mæge* IX. 39 etc.).

4) The ending *-ig* is shortened to *i* (v. S. § 214. 5) in: *smyndria* (singillatim) XIV. 19, *siundrio* Pref. 1. 13, *sunduria* XIV. 66 (beside *siundrige* IX. 2 etc. (4)).

5) *g* in the combination *ng* appears as *c*, *cg*, *gc* in the following words:

a) *c* in: *onfence* VI. 41 (beside *onfenge* XVI. 19); *glencas* XIII. 2; *genyncerde* (esuriit) XI. 12 (with *w* miswritten for *h*; beside *hyngerde* II. 25); *stencum* (lignis) XIV. 43, (beside *stengum* XIV. 48); *ofer-mercunc* Pref. 4. XXXIII; *lesinc* (redemptionem) X. 45; *ðrounc* (cruce) VIII. 34 (v. §§ 68, 82. I. 3).

b) *cg* in: *brencgas* IX. 19; *lond-bigencgum* XII. 1; *rowincg* VI. 48.

c) *gc* in: *lengc* V. 35; *espryncg* V. 29. *sc* in *utiorninsc* (proflu[u]io) V. 25 is perhaps written for *gc*.

h.

§ 101. For the sound-value of initial *h* in North. cf. L. § 44. As in the Durham Ritual, so here, an *h* is often written before *l*, *n*, and *r*, and occasionally before vowels, where it is not historically correct; and on the other hand historical *h* is sometimes dropped before *l*, *n*, *r*.

1) The examples of inorganic *h* are: a) before *l*: *hlâf* (uxorem) VI. 17, 18, XII. 19 (2), *hlaƿ* (reliqua) IV. 19, VI. 43 (beside *lafe* uxore Pref. 5. XXXIX); *hlætmet* XII. 6 etc. (5), (beside *lætmet* XVI. 14); *behleing* (proditione) Pref. 5. XLIV (= WS. *belêwing* v. § 44. 2); *ungehleaffullnisse* Pref. 5. XXXIX (beside *geleafful-* (6), *geleafō* etc. (8)); *hleat* V. 22 (beside *-leat* II. 12), *hluton* III. 11, *-hlutende* I. 7; *hliſge* V. 23, *hliƿendra* XII. 27 (beside *liſgiende* Pref. 1. heading, *gelifde* XVI. 11); *gehliored* XIII. 31 etc. (3), (beside *geliored* XIII. 30 etc. (3) v. § 125. I).

b) before *n*: *hnetta* (retia) I. 16 (beside *nettum* I. 18, 19).

c) before *r*: *hræs* (impetu) V. 13 (beside *-ræs* IV. 37, *raesdon* III. 10); *hræste* (cessauit) IV. 39, *hræst-* III. 4 (beside *ræstas* XIV. 41 etc. (5), *ræst-* II. 27 etc. (3)); *gehreafadon* XV. 20 (beside *reafad* III. 27 etc. (3)); *hrecone* V. 29 etc. (4), (beside *recone* I. 29 etc. (7)); *gehriuo* (aedificationes) XIII. 2 (Rushw. *gerino* v. § 23, Note); in *rode* (cruce) XV. 30 an initial *h* was written and afterwards struck out, v. C. N. 144 "*hrode* alt. to *rode*".

d) before vowels only in: *geharn* (currens) XV. 36 (beside *-arn* X. 17 etc. (4)); *hiurum* (uestris) II. 8 (beside *iurum* VI. 11).

2) *h* has been dropped in the following instances a) before *l*: *lafo* (panes) VIII. 5 (beside *hlafo* VI. 37, 38 [etc., v.

§ 143. I. c. masc. plurals in *-o*; but can the frequent occurrence of *-o* in this word be due to confusion with *lâf*, pl. *lâfo*, the *h*-sound being so weak that hardly any difference was felt between the two words?); *linigiendo* II. 15, *gelionede* II. 15 (beside *hlingendum* VI. 22, *hlinigendum* XVI. 14, *gehlionade* XIV. 3). b) before *n*: *nesc* XIII. 28. c) before *r*: *reof* (leprosus) Pref. 2. VI, *riofol* I. 42 (beside *hreafes* (leprosi) XIV. 3); *rode* (calamo) XV. 36 (beside *hreade* XV. 19, v. § 49, Note).

Before vowels *h* is lost only in the common contractions: *nabbas* VIII. 17, *næfde* IV. 5 etc.

3) In all other examples initial *h* is found regularly: *hlaſ* (panem) VI. 8 etc.; *in-hlogan* V. 40; *gehran* VII. 33; *hrof* XIII. 15; *hwæt* I. 24; *halig* I. 8; *hit* IX. 10; etc.

w is a scribal error for *h* in *gemyncerde* (esuriit) XI. 12 (v. § 100. 5 a).

Medial and Final *h*.

§ 102. 1) Medial *h* and *hw* before vowels are regularly lost (v. S. § 218): *gefoanne* XIV. 48; *geseanne* V. 14 etc.

2) Geminated *h* does not occur, simple *h* is found in: *eher* IV. 28, *ehera* Pref. 2. VIII; *teherum* IX. 24; *poha* VI. 8 (v. S. § 220 and anm. 1).

3) *h* in the combination *ht* occurs as a rule unchanged: *cnæht* IX. 36 etc.; *gefehto* XIII. 7; *næht* XIV. 30 etc. Exceptions are: *docter* (filiam) Pref. 3. XXI; *techt* (splendorem) XIII. 24; *mæghte* (uirtute) IX. 1.

4) *hs* appears regularly as *x* (v. S. § 221. 2) in: *lixendo* IX. 3; *sex* IX. 2, *sextig* IV. 20, *sexdig* IV. 8; *wæxende* IV. 8; etc. But the *h* is lost in *wæstm* IV. 7 etc., and in the North. form *seista* XV. 33 (v. S. § 221. 2).

5) *h* is lost (v. S. § 222 and anm.) in: *heista* V. 7; *nesta* XVI. 14 etc.; *heum* XIII. 27 (*hehum* XIV. 43), *hera* X. 43, *heanisse* IV. 5, *heanissum* XI. 10, *heannise* XIII. 27 (S. § 222, anm. 2); *geneolecde* I. 31 etc.; *neanung* XIII. 28 (v. § 82. II); *bitwien* IV. 41, *bituen* VIII. 16 (v. S. § 329); and in the 2nd & 3rd pers. sg. Pres. Indic. of contract verbs: *onfoas* X. 15, *onfoeð* VI. 11 etc.; *ðu gesiis* XII. 14, *ðu gesiist* V. 31 (cf. L. § 44. 2).

h is preserved in *sihðo* IX. 9.

6) Final *h* and *h* = *hw* is regularly preserved (v. S. § 223): *feh* XIV. 11; *neh* X. 46; *wohfullum* XV. 28; *ataeh* (educens) XIV.

47; *fore-flæh* (profugit) XIV. 52; *gesæh* VIII. 33 etc., *gesih* (uide) I. 44 etc.

No example occurs of final *h* written *gh*.

Gemination of Consonants.

§ 103. Great irregularity prevails with regard to the occurrence of geminated consonants (cf. L. § 45). In some cases where consonants should be written geminated they are written simple, and much more frequently vice versâ (v. S. § 230, anm.), this variation occurring often in the same word. In such forms as *awritten*, *gegripen*, *-slitnise* the inorganic gemination of the consonant may be meant for a sign that the preceding vowel was short, but on the other hand such forms as *brucca*, *sleppende*, *slitted* show that the scribe was following no consistent method for the indication of vowel-length.

Examples are:

I. Consonants in WS. geminated, in St. Mark written simple:

1) After short vowels: *b*, *bb*: *habas* (Imp. pl.) IX. 50, (beside *habbað* etc. (v. § 136. 1)); *d*, *dd*: *ðirda* IX. 31, beside *ðirdda* X. 34 etc. (4); *l*, *ll*: *seleð* XIV. 18 etc. (5), beside *selleð* XIII. 12 etc. (2), *geselenne* Pref. 4. XXXVIII, beside *sellanne* X. 40; *n*, *nn*: *losane* (Inf.) I. 24 etc. (6), beside *-anne* (35), (v. § 114); *monum* XI. 18, 30, beside *monnum* X. 27 etc. (5), *-a* (7), *-o* (10), *-es* (16), (for *monn* v. § 104); *sunigo* II. 15, beside *synnig* III. 2 etc. (4); *meto* VII. 19, beside *metto* (cibos) VI. 36 (v. S. § 263, anm. 3, 5); *-seton*¹ (wk. vb.) VI. 56, VIII. 6, XV. 19, beside *-setton* VI. 29 etc. (5).

2) After long vowels: *d*, *dd*: *lædon* VI. 29 etc., beside *læddon* XI. 7 etc. (v. § 132. II); *heanise* IV. 5 etc. (2), beside *heannise* XIII. 27 (v. S. § 222, anm. 1, 2); *wrædo* III. 21, beside *wræððo* III. 5.

II. Consonants which are simple in WS., in St. Mark geminated:

1) After short vowels: *cc*, *c*: *-bræcc* VIII. 6, 19, *bræcg* VI. 41, beside *-bræc* V. 4 etc. (2); *on bæcc* (retro) VIII. 33, *bæcg* XIII. 16; *maccalic* VI. 21 (v. § 1. 5); *onsacca* Pref. 1. 15, VIII. 34, XIV. 31; *onsæcc* (adj.) XIV. 30, beside *onsæc* XIV. 72;

¹ Rushw. has: *settun* VI. 56, *to-gesetun* VIII. 6, *settun* XV. 19.

sprecca XII. 1 etc. (7), beside *spreca* I. 34 etc. (14), (v. § 128. I), *spræcc* IV. 34, VIII. 32, beside *spræc* II. 2 etc. (3); *ðæccilla* IV. 21; *wuræcce* (torqueas) V. 7; *dd, d: gebedd* (orationis) XI. 17, *gebeddes* XII. 40; *bædd* (rogabat) X. 17 etc. (3), beside *bæd* I. 40 etc. (5); *goddes* (dei) IX. 1 etc. (3), beside *godes* I. 1 etc. (29); *glædd-môd* X. 49, beside *glædnise* IV. 16; *hwidder* XIV. 12 etc. (2), beside *hwider* VI. 10 etc. (2); *gg, g: twigge* XIII. 28 etc. (3); *ll, l: alne* VIII. 36 etc. (2), *allra* XII. 33 etc. (7), beside *utra* XII. 22 etc. (7), (but v. S. § 231. 2, v. *all* below § 104); *camelles* I. 6, beside *camel* X. 25; *willt* VI. 22, beside *will* I. 4, X. 51; *willnias* XIV. 63 etc. (3), beside *witnig* VI. 22, 25; *mm, m: cummende* XV. 21, beside *cumað* III. 19 etc. (4); *cymmende* XIII. 26 etc. (3), beside *cymende* II. 13 etc. (4); *gecymmes* (3rd sg.) XIII. 36, beside *cymes* I. 7 etc. (10); *niommanne* III. 27 etc. (2), beside *nioma* II. 2 etc. (3); *nimmeð* (3rd sg.) II. 21, beside *niomað* IV. 15; *geniomme* (subj. sg.) XIII. 15; *summ* XIV. 47, 57, beside *sum* IX. 38 etc. (8); *summe* VIII. 3, XIV. 65, beside *sume* VII. 1 etc. (10); *nn, n: Pres. Parts. wynnende* VI. 48; *cysseende* XIV. 44, beside *cyssende* XIV. 45 etc.; *inn-eode* VI. 25 etc. (16), beside *in-eode* VI. 22 etc. (31); *mæstenn* XII. 41, beside *mæstlen* VI. 8 (WS. *mæstling* v. § 68. 2); *hreconne* VIII. 10, beside *recone* I. 29 etc. (7); *ðegnna* Pref. 5. XLVI, beside *ðegne* Pref. 4. XXXV etc.; *pp, p: clioppadon* VI. 49, beside *cliopia* X. 47 etc. (9); *clioppende* V. 7 etc. (6), beside *cliopende* I. 3, V. 5; *-crypple* II. 5 etc. (3), beside *-cryple* II. 9 etc. (3); *earelipprica* XIV. 47, beside *earliprico* VII. 33 (v. § 7. 2); *gegrippen* I. 31; *scipp* IV. 1, 37, 38, Pref. 2. IX, beside *scip* V. 2 etc. (15); *rr, r: forrma* XVI. 9, beside *forma* XIV. 12; *(iuerra* (acc. pl.) XI. 25, beside *iuro* XI. 26); *ss, s: Abstracts in -niss, monncualmniss* XV. 7, beside *-nis* (5); *-nissa, -e, -um* (26), beside *-nise* etc. (63); *-nesse* etc. (3), beside *-nes, -nese* (5); *ecnisse* III. 29, beside *ecnise* XI. 14, *cyðnisse* XIV. 55, beside *-cyðnise* XIV. 56 (v. § 67); *ðassum* XIV. 60, *ðissum* XI. 23, beside *ðisum* VIII. 12 etc. (5), (v. S. § 338); *wossanne* (esse) IX. 5, beside *wosa* IX. 35 etc. (8); *tt, t: eatta, ettanne* VI. 37 etc. (12), beside *eata, eteð* VII. 2 etc. (5), (v. § 128. I); *fætt* IV. 21, beside *fæt* IV. 21 etc. (4); *fattro* V. 4 (v. § 13. 3), beside *feotrum* V. 4 (cf. S. § 228); *-freattas* XII. 40; *begeatta* XIV. 2; *ongætt* II. 8, beside *-gæt* Pref. 4. XXVII etc. (4), (v. § 128. II); *agotten* II. 22; *hlott* (sortem) XV. 24; *gesætt* XIII. 3 etc. (6), *-sædt* XVI. 19, beside *-sæt* XI. 2 etc. (4); *sett* (sb.)

I. 32; *slitnise* XIII. 14, beside *-slitnessa* II. 21 (v. § 8. 2); *nutta* (scire) VII. 24, Pref. 1. 7, beside *genuta* IX. 30 etc. (14), (v. § 137. 1); *awritten* I. 2 etc. (9); *writto* (sb.) XIV. 49, *ge-wuritto* XII. 24, beside *writ* XII. 10, *gewrit* XV. 28.

2) After long vowels: *cc, c*: *brucca* (Inf. and Subj. sg.) XIV. 12, 14, beside *brûca* III. 20 etc. (3); *pp, p*: *sleppende* XIV. 37, beside *slepende* IV. 38 etc. (4); *ss, s*: *bissen* VII. 17, beside *biseno* IV. 34 etc. (3); *arisse* XVI. 14 (v. § 38. 3); *gristbitteð* IX. 18; *etton* VII. 3, 4, beside *eton* VIII. 1 etc. (6); *fretton* IV. 4; *agaett* (effudit) XIV. 3 (v. § 56. 1); *lyttetra* VIII. 7, X. 15, beside *lytel* I. 19 etc. (6); *setton* (sedebant) III. 34; *-slittes, -ð* XV. 29, II. 22, beside *-slites* IX. 18 etc. (3); *ðrittig* IV. 8, 20 (but v. S. § 230, anm.).

§ 104. 1) Historical gemination at the end of a word is as a rule not simplified, as it generally is in WS. (v. S. § 231. 1).

Examples are: *blunn* IV. 34, VI. 51, *blinn* VII. 27; *cann* XIV. 68, 71; *ongann* VIII. 25 etc. (22); *wann* Pref. 1. 10; *bedd* (lectum) VII. 30, XIV. 15, beside *bed* IV. 21; *cynn* IX. 29 etc. (6); *ellðiodade* XIII. 34; *gytt* (sb.) Pref. 3. XIV (cf. S. § 263, anm. 3); *sibb* V. 34, IX. 50; *synnfullo* II. 15 etc. (3), beside *syn-* II. 16, 17; *all* I. 5 etc., *allswæ* XIV. 48, *allne* VIII. 36, XVI. 15 (*allra* v. § 103. II); *fearr* XII. 1 etc. (4); *fullwihtere* VI. 14, beside *fulwihtere* VIII. 28, *fulwih* I. 4 etc. (10); *-geleaffull* IX. 19, *geleaffullnise* Pref. 4. XXVIII etc. (3), *fylnise* Pref. 1. 14 etc. (2), beside *-geleaffulnise* XVI. 14 etc. (3), *-scomfulnise* VII. 21, *fylnise* Pref. 1. 9; *monn* I. 22 etc. (23), *menn* I. 25 etc. (21), beside *mon* XII. 34 etc. (4), *men* VII. 36; *bispell* IV. 10 etc. (5), *godspell* I. 14 etc. (8). Final *ll* is simplified in the Scand. loanword *ðræl* X. 44 etc. (3), beside *ðrællum* XIII. 34 (v. Kluge, P. G. I, p. 786).

2) Simplification appears irregularly in certain unstressed syllables (v. S. § 231. 4), and compound words.

The examples are:

a) unstressed syllables: of *tt* in: *ondeteð* VIII. 38 etc. (5) (*falletande* V. 5, v. Note); *ll* in: *deglice* IX. 28; *nn* in: *ahongene* (acc. sg. m.) XVI. 6; and with syncope of the middle vowel *cuoedne* XIV. 58, *gehatne* Pref. 1. 15; *nn* remains in: *byrgeune* VI. 29 etc. (7), *bebyrgennise* XIV. 8; *gedungennise* Pref. 2. 6, beside *gecoreniso* Pref. 2. 1; *ðyrnenne* XV. 17; *rr* remains in: *æft-erra* IV. 19 etc. (3).

Note. *falletande* in the gloss *falletande i ðærscende* (*concidens*) V. 5 is apparently a derivative in *-ettan* from *fallan*. The *concidens* of the text is *concidens* = 'cutting, beating' etc., and in the sense of 'beating' it is correctly glossed by *ðærscende*. But apart from the context *concidens* might be *concidens* = 'falling down', and it was probably this word which the glossator had in his mind when he wrote *falletande*. He knew that a form *concidens* could have two different meanings and he wrote both down, cf. § 49. 1, Note. The simple *d* in *medo* (*medios*) VII. 31, *Rushw. middum* is probably due to confusion with the Latin word, as is the vowel *e* for *i* (v. § 7. 2).

b) compound words (v. S. § 231. 3): *wildeora* Pref. 1. 12, beside *wilde deorum* I. 13; *feltun* VII. 19; *hunteantig* X. 30 etc. (2), beside *hund-teantig-*, Pref. 4. XXXII; *wyrtruma* IV. 6 etc. (3); *oððæt* XIII. 30 etc. (4), beside *oðð ðæt* VI. 10; *soða* (*deinde*) IV. 17, beside *soðða* IV. 28 etc. (3); *ðæsæs* (*maris*) V. 1 = *ðæs sæs*.
