

PHONOLOGY

INDO-EUROPEAN, GERMANIC, WEST-GERMANIC, AND OLD ENGLISH SOUNDS

Prefatory Note. A brief survey of IE and Gmc sounds is prefixed to the more extensive treatment of WGmc and OE sounds, in order that serious students may more easily familiarize themselves with the phonological processes that preceded Prim OE. Undergraduate classes in OE may omit or merely read the earlier parts of the Phonology.

Abbreviations. The following terms frequently used in the Reference Grammar are referred to by means of the abbreviations in the accompanying parentheses:

1. Indo-European (IE), the hypothetically reconstructed parent language of Germanic, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, etc.
2. Primitive Germanic (Prim Gmc), the hypothetically reconstructed parent language of the Germanic languages in its earliest period.
3. Germanic (Gmc), the same as the latter, at a period just before the separation of Gothic, Norse, and West Germanic.
4. West Germanic (WGmc), the hypothetically reconstructed parent language of Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Dutch, Old Frisian, and Old English.
5. Primitive Old English (Prim OE), the hypothetically reconstructed English language before, roughly, the year 500 A.D.
6. Prehistoric Old English (Prehist OE), the hypothetically reconstructed Old English language from about 500 to about 700, the latter being the date of the earliest MSS of OE.

Other abbreviations are:

Sansk, Sanskrit	OS, Old Saxon
Lat, Latin	OFris, Old Frisian
Gr, Greek	OE, Old English
Goth, Gothic	Mid E, Middle English
NGmc, North Germanic	Mod E, Modern English
ON, Old Norse	WS, West Saxon
OHG, Old High German	EWS, Early West Saxon
Mod HG, Modern High German	LWS, Late West Saxon

INDO-EUROPEAN VOWELS, DIPHTHONGS, AND CONSONANTS IN GERMANIC

201. Indo-European Vowels and Diphthongs.

Indo-European had the following vowels and diphthongs:

Short Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u, ə*.¹

Long Vowels *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū*.

Diphthongs: *ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou*.

Long Diphthong: *ēi*.²

202. IE Short Vowels in Prim Gmc.

(IE) (Prim Gmc)

1. *a* remained *a* : Lat *ager*, Goth *akrs*, OE *æcer*, *field*.
2. *e* “ *e* : Lat *fero*, OS, OHG, OE *beran*, *bear*.
3. *i* “ *i* : Lat *piscis*, Goth *fisks*, OE *fisc*, *fish*.
4. *o* became *a* : Lat *octo*, Goth *ahtau*, OS, OHG *ahto*, *eight*.
5. *u* remained *u* : Gr *thúra*, OS *duri*, OE *duru*, *door*
6. *ə* became *a* : IE **pətēr*, Goth *fadar*, OS *fader*, OE *fæder*, *father*.

¹ A sound like *a* in *Cuba*. This sound is called “schwa.”

² There were other long diphthongs in IE, but this is the only one of importance in Gmc.

203. IE Long Vowels in Prim Gmc.

(IE) (Prim Gmc)

1. *ā* became *ō* : Lat *māter*, OS *mōdar*, OE *mōdor*, *mother*.
2. *ē* “ *æ* : Lat *ēdi*, Goth *fr-ēt*, ON *āt*, OS *āt*, OHG *āz*, *he ate*.³
3. *ī* remained *ī* : Lat *su-inus* (adj.), *belonging to a pig*; Goth *sweins*⁴; OS, OHG, OE *swin*, *swine*, *pig*.
4. *ō* remained *ō* : Gr (Doric), *pós*, Goth *fōtu*, OE *fōt*, *fook*.
5. *ū* “ *ū* : Lat *sūs*; OHG, OE *sū*, *sow*, *pig*.

204. IE Diphthongs in Prim Gmc.

(IE) (Prim Gmc)

1. *ai* remained *ai* : Lat *aes*, Goth *áiz*, *brass*.
2. *ei* became *i* : Gr *stéichō*, *I go*; Goth *steigan*, OS, OHG, OE *stigan*, *go*.
3. *oi* became *ai*, thus falling together with original *ai*; Gr *oide*; Goth *wáit*, *knows*.
4. *au* remained *au* : Lat *auris*, Goth *ausō*, *ear*.
5. *eu* “ *eu* : Gr *géuō*, *I give a taste of*; Goth *kiusan*,⁵ *choose*.
6. *ou* became *au*, thus falling together with original *au*: IE **róudhos*; Goth *rauþs*, *red*.
7. *ēi* “ *ē*⁶ : IE **kéita*, OS, OE *hēt*, *I commanded*.

IE CONSONANTS IN Gmc

205. Grimm's Law.

IE *p, t, k; bh, dh, gh; b, d, g* changed to certain corresponding Gmc consonants.

³ Gmc *æ*, a long low front vowel, became *ē* in Goth, but became *ā* in NGmc and WGmc.

⁴ In Goth *ei* spells *i*.

⁵ Gmc *eu* became Goth *iū*.

⁶ Gmc *ē* (IE *ēi*) is distinguished in NGmc and WGmc from Gmc *ā* (IE *ē*), but in Goth both *ē* and *ā* are spelled alike (*ē*).

1. **p** became **f**: Lat *piscis*, OE *fisc*, *fish*; Lat *pecus*, OE *feoh*, *cattle*, *money*.
2. **t** became **þ**⁷: Lat *tū*, OE *þū*, *thou*; Lat *trēs*, OE *þrēo*, *three*.
3. **k** became **h**⁸: Lat *cor* (Gen. *cordis*), OE *heorte*, *heart*; Lat *centum*, OE *hund*, *hundred*.
4. **bh** became **b**⁹: Sansk *nábhas*, Gr *nephélē*, *cloud*, OE *nifol*, *dark*.
5. **dh** became **ð**¹⁰ (>OE **d**): Sansk *rudhirás*, Goth *raudai* (Dat. Sing.), ON *rauðr*, OE *rēad*, *red*.
6. **gh** became **g**¹¹: IE **ghóstis*, Lat *hostis*, Goth *gasts*, OE *ġiest*, *stranger*, *guest*.
7. **b** became **p**: Lithuanian *dubùs*, OE *dēop*, *deep*; Old Bulgarian *slabu*, *slack*, OE *slāpan*, *sleep*.
8. **d** became **t**: Lat *decem*, OE *tien*, *ten*.
9. **g** became **k**: Lat *genu*, OE *cnēo*, *knee*; Lat *ager*, OE *æcer*, *field*.

206. The Law Operated in Three Stages:

1. IE voiceless stops (**p**, **t**, **k**) became the corresponding voiceless spirants (**f**, **þ**, **h**).

⁷ **þ** is used here (as generally in works on phonetics) to signify the voiceless spirant, as in ModE *thin*.

⁸ Originally in Gmc this was a voiceless spirant, sounded like ModHG **ch**, as in *ich*, *Nacht*.

⁹ A bilabial voiced spirant somewhat like ModE **v**, which, however, is a labio-dental voiced spirant. (In Goth pronounced **h**, but spelled **b**.)

¹⁰ A linguo-dental voiced spirant like ModE **th** in *then*. (In Goth pronounced **ð**, but spelled **d**.)

¹¹ A voiced spirant like **g** in North ModHG *sagen*, *say*. (In Goth pronounced **g**, but spelled **g**.)

2. IE voiced stops (**b**, **d**, **g**) became the corresponding voiceless stops (**p**, **t**, **k**).

3. IE voiced aspirated stops (**bh**, **dh**, **gh**)¹² became the corresponding voiced spirants (**þ**, **ð**, **g**).

Grimm's Law, as originally stated, included the further change of the Gmc consonants into the Old High German consonants. As now understood, this OHG consonant shift was an independent phenomenon.

Not included in Grimm's Law are a number of late developments of Gmc consonants in the separate Gmc languages.

207. Verner's Law.

One group of apparent exceptions to Grimm's Law deserves special treatment. IE **p**, **t**, **k**, **s**, in the middle and at the end of words did not always develop into what we should expect, namely Prim Gmc **f**, **þ**, **h**, **s**. Instead, we find Prim Gmc **b**, **ð**, **g**, **z**, which developed into OE voiced **f** (i.e., **v**), **d**, **g**,¹³ **r**. The theory which accounts for these apparent irregularities is known as Verner's Law. The irregularities themselves are due to peculiarities of the IE and Prim Gmc accent.

208. Accent in Indo-European and in Germanic.

The Gmc accent was a fixed accent: that is, no matter what the inflectional form of the word, the primary accent was on the root syllable throughout. In IE, on the contrary, some words had had the accent on the root syllable (Gr *lógos*, *word*), some on the suffix or termination (Gr *hodós*, *road*), and some had a variable accent, i.e., in some inflected forms it was on the root syllable, in some it was on the suffix or termination (Gr Nom. Sing. *núx*, *night*, Gen. Sing. *nuktós*). This "shifting" or "variable" accent was a characteristic also of the most primitive Gmc until a period subsequent to the change of

¹² That is, voiced stops followed by **h**.

¹³ OE back or velar **g** was identical in pronunciation with Gmc **g**.

IE **p, t, k**, to **f, þ, h**. In later Gmc, however, the accent shifted to the root syllable, where it remained in OE.

209. (a) Prim Gmc initial **f, þ, h, s** remained **f, þ, h, s**.

(b) Prim Gmc **f, þ, h, s** immediately preceded by the accent remained **f, þ, h, s**.

Thus in Prim Gmc ***fiska-**, ***þinna-**, ***hórna-**, ***sat**, and in ***hléfō**, ***wérþō**, ***féhu**, ***wás**, **f, þ, h, s** remained unchanged.

210. (c) Everywhere else, however, **f** became **þ**; **þ** became **ð**; **h** became **ǵ**; **s** became **z**; (OE **f, d, g, r**). Thus, in the 3d plural preterit indicative of strong verbs:

(Prim Gmc)	(Later Prim Gmc)	(Gmc)	(OE)
*wurþún >	*wurðún >	*wúrðun	wurdon
*fluhún >	*fluǵún >	*flúǵun	flugon
*wæsún >	*wæzún >	*wæzūn	wæron

PRIM GMC VOWEL CHANGES

211. Prim Gmc **e** became Gmc **i** under the following circumstances:

1. **e**+nasal+consonant became **i**: Lat **ventus**, Goth **winds**, OS, OE **wind**, *wind*.

2. **e** followed by **i, i, or j** in the next syllable, became **i**: Lat **medius**, Goth **midjis**, ON **miðr**, OS **middi**, OE **midd**, *middle*.

212. Prim Gmc **i** followed by **a, ō, or ē** in the next syllable, became Gmc **e**:

Lat **vir** (IE ***wíros**), Goth **waír**,¹⁴ OS, OHG, OE **wer**,¹⁵ *man*.

213. Prim Gmc **u** became Gmc **o** when followed by **a, æ, e, ē** or **ō** in the next syllable, unless prevented by an intervening nasal

¹⁴ Goth **ai** spells **e**. In Goth every **e** became **i** except when followed by **r, h**, or **hw**.

¹⁵ The Prim Gmc form ***wiraz** became ***weraz**, from which came **wer**.

combination, or by an intervening **i, i, or j**. Prim Gmc ***gulðan** became OS, OHG, OE **gold**, *gold* (cf. OE **gylden**, *golden*, < Prim Gmc ***gulðinaz**); Prim Gmc ***hulpanaz** became OS **holpan**, OHG **holfan**, OE **holpen**, past participle of **helpan**, *help*.

But Prim Gmc ***bundanaz** became OE **bunden**, *bound*, and Prim Gmc ***fulljanan** became Gmc ***fulljan**, which became OE **fyllan**, *fill*.

214. Prim Gmc **eu** followed in the next syllable by **a, ē, or ō** became **eo**:¹⁶ OHG **deota**, *folk*; **beotan**, *command*; OS **theoda**, *thioda*; **beodan**, *biodan*.

Prim Gmc **eu** followed in the next syllable by **i, i, j, or u**, became **iu**:¹⁶ OHG **diutisk**, *national*; **biutu**, 1 sg. pres., *biutis*, 2 sg. pres. *command*; OS **biudu**, *biudis*, *command*.

215. Prim Gmc Vowel+Nasal+h.

In a prehistoric period of Gmc, but after those changes had occurred which characterize Gmc, a nasal preceded by a vowel and followed by **h** disappeared, nasalizing and lengthening the preceding vowel.

Prim Gmc ***fanhanan** became Goth **fāhan**, (OE **fōn**), *seize*.

Prim Gmc ***þanhtæ** became Goth **þāhta**, (OE **þōhte**), *thought*.

Prim Gmc ***þenhanan** became Goth **þeihan**, OS **thihan**, (OE **þēon**), *thrive*.

Prim Gmc ***þunhtæ** became Goth **þūhta**, (OE **þūhte**), *seemed*.

¹⁶ As seen in the illustrations, the two sounds are represented as follows in the various Gmc languages:

Gmc eo	Gmc iu
Goth iu	Goth iu
OHG eo	OHG iu
OS eo, io	OS iu
OE ēo (īo)	OE īo (ēo) when followed by -u
	OE ie when followed by i, i, or j

216. Prim Gmc **b**, **þ**, **z**.

1. Prim Gmc **b**, initial or preceded by **m**, became **b**: Goth *bairan*, OHG, OS, OE *beran*, *bear*; Goth, OHG, OS, OE *lamb*, *lamb*.

2. Prim Gmc **þ**, initial or preceded by **n**, became **d**: Goth *dauhtar*, OE *dohtor*, *daughter*.

3. Prim Gmc **z**, preceded by **ŋ**, became the stop **g**: Goth, OE *singan*, *sing*.

GERMANIC VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN
WEST GERMANIC

217. Gmc had the following vowels and diphthongs:

Short vowels: **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**.

Long vowels: **ā**, **ē**,¹⁷ **æ**,¹⁸ **ī**, **ō**, **ū**.

Diphthongs: **ai**, **au**, **eo**, **iu**.

218. Gmc Vowels in WGmc.

Short **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u** remained unchanged in WGmc. Of the long vowels, **ā**, **ē**, **ī**, **ō**, **ū** remained unchanged in WGmc.

Gmc **æ** became WGmc **ā**: Goth *fr-ēt*, OS *āt*, OHG *āz*, (OE *æt*), *ate*.

219. Gmc Diphthongs in WGmc.

All Gmc diphthongs, **ai**, **au**, **eo**, **iu** remained unchanged in WGmc, though later they went thru various changes in the separate WGmc languages.

220. Gmc Consonants in WGmc.

The Gmc consonants remained unchanged in WGmc, except that Gmc **z** became WGmc **r**: Gmc **wæzun*, OS, OHG *wārun*, OE *wæron*, *were*; and Gmc **þ** became WGmc **d**: Goth *fadar*, OS *fadar*, OE *fæder*.

¹⁷ **ē** from IE **ēi**. See 204, 7.

¹⁸ **æ** from IE **ē**. See 203, 2.

221. WGmc Gemination before **j**.

In the WGmc period any single consonant (except **r**) preceded by a short vowel was geminated by a following **j**.

(Gmc)	(WGmc)	(Prehist OE)	(OE)
*satjan>	*sattjan>	*sættjan>	*settian> settan ¹⁹
*lagjan>	*laggjan>	*læggjan>	*leggian> lecgan
*habjan ²⁰ >	*habbjjan>	*hæbbjan>	*hebbian> hebban
*hazjan>	*harjan>	*hærjan>	herian ²¹

WGMC SOUNDS

222. WGmc had the following vowels and diphthongs:

Short vowels: **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**.

Long vowels: **ā**, **ē**, **ī**, **ō**, **ū**.

Diphthongs: **ai**, **au**, **eo**, **iu**.

223. WGmc had the following consonants:

j, **w**, semi-vowels

f, **þ**, **h**, **s**, voiceless spirants

r, **l**, liquids

b, **d**, **g**, voiced stops

m, **n**, **ŋ**,²² nasals

þ, **z**, voiced spirants

p, **t**, **k**, voiceless stops

WGMC VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN OE

224. WGmc **a**.

WGmc **a** became OE **æ**²³ when followed by **h**; in most closed syllables; in open syllables unless followed by **a**, **u**, or **ō**; it did

¹⁹ Cf. Goth *satjan*, OS *settian*, OHG *sezzan*.

²⁰ In **habjan*, the **b** was a voiced bilabial spirant, somewhat like ModE **v** (which, however, is a labio-dental). The result of geminating this bilabial voiced spirant was **-bb-**, as in *hebban*.

²¹ **-i-** of *herian* represents the sound **j**, i.e., ModE consonantal **y**.

²² **ŋ** represents the **ng** in *sing*.

²³ See however note 25, page 39. In the Southwest Mercian and the Kentish dialects this **æ** later developed into **e**: *deg*, *hefde*. A similar change occurred in OFris: *dei*, *heved*.

not change when followed by a nasal, or by **w**.²⁴ *dæg*, *day*; *hæfde*, *had*; *æcer*, *field*; *slēan* (<*slēahan<*slēahan<*slahan).

225. WGmc **a**+Nasal.

WGmc **a** followed by a nasal did not become *æ*, but either remained **a** or was changed to **o**.²⁵ In the earliest OE MSS this sound is always spelled **a**; in EWS MSS (850-900) **o** is decidedly more frequent than **a**; in the LWS MSS **a** is practically universal: *mann*, *monn*, *man*; *cann*, *conn*, *can*.

226. WGmc **e**+**m**.

WGmc **e** followed by **m** became OE **i**:²⁶ OHG *neman*, OE *nīman*, *take*.

227. WGmc **o**.

WGmc **o** in some words appears as OE **u**,²⁷ especially between a labial consonant and **l**: *full*, *full*; *wulle*, *wool*; *wulf*, *wolf*; *fugol*, *bird*.

For the most part, however, WGmc **o** appears as OE **o**: *folgian*, *follow*; *bolt*, *bolt*; *folc*, *folk*.

228. WGmc **o**+Nasal.

WGmc **o** followed by a nasal became OE **u**:²⁸ OHG *donar*, OE *punor*, *thunder*; OHG *honag*, OE *huniġ*, *honey*.

²⁴ WGmc **a** remained **a** in *dagas*, *dagum*; *sadol*, *saddle*; *hand*, *hand*; *awel*, *awl*. Sometimes WGmc **a** plus double consonant plus **a**, **o**, **u** remained **a**: *lappa*, *skirt*; *mattuc*, *mattock*.

²⁵ This change occurred also in OFris: *mon*.

²⁶ This change occurred also in OS: *nīman*. In OFris it did not occur.

²⁷ This change occurred also in OFris and OS: OFris, OS *full*, *full*.

²⁸ This change occurred also in OFris and OS: OHG *coman*, OFris *kuma*, OS *kuman*, OE *cuman*, *come*.

229. WGmc **ā**.

WGmc **ā** became OE *æ*, but remained **ā** when followed by one of the consonants **w**, **p**, **g**, or **k** and a back vowel:²⁹ OS *lātan*, OHG *lāzzan*, OE *lātan*, *permit*.

230. WGmc **ā**+Nasal.

WGmc **ā** followed by a nasal became OE **ō**:³⁰ OHG *mānod*, OE *mōnaþ*, *month*; OHG *nāmun*, OE *nōmon*, *they took*; OHG *quāmun*, OE *cōmon*, *they came*.

Gmc **ā**, as in Goth *þāhta* (<Gmc *þanhtā), OS *thāhta*, OHG *dāhte*, *he thought* (cf. 215), appears as OE **ō**: *þōhte*. In such words WGmc **ā** retained a nasal quality long enough in the OE period to become OE **ō**, and not *æ*.

231. WGmc Short Vowel+Nasal+Voiceless Spirant.

Prim Gmc short vowel+nasal+**h** had become Gmc long vowel+**h**. (See 215.)

WGmc short vowel+nasal+**s**, **f**, or **þ** became OE long vowel+**s**, **f**, or **þ**.³¹ Goth *uns*, OE *ūs*, *us*; Goth *fimf*, OE *fif*, *five*; Goth *munþs*, OE *mūþ*, *mouth*.

WGmc **a**+nasal+**s**, **f**, or **þ** became OE **ō**+**s**, **f**, or **þ**: OHG *gans*, OE *gōs*, *goose*; OHG *samfto*, OE *sōfte*, *softly*; Goth *anþar*, OE *ōþer*, *other*. In such words Prehist OE **ā** retained a nasal quality long enough in the OE period to become **ō**, and not *æ*. (Cf. 230.)

232. WGmc **ai**.

WGmc **ai** became OE **ā**: Goth *stáins*, OHG *stein*, OE *stān*, *stone*. WGmc **ai** must have become OE **ā** after WGmc **ā**

²⁹ WGmc **ā** remained **ā** in *sāwon*, *they saw*; *slāpan*, (mostly *slāpan* by analogy with *lātan*, *slāpest*, etc.), *sleep*; *māgas*, *kinsmen*; *hrāca*, *spittle*. For OE *þōhte* from WGmc *þāhtā (<Gmc *þanhtā), see 230.

³⁰ This change occurs also in OFris: *nōmen*, *they took*.

³¹ This change occurs also in OFris and to a great extent in OS: Goth *anþar*, OFris, OS, OE *ōþer*, *other*.

became OE *ǣ*; otherwise the two sounds in OE would have fallen together into *ǣ*.

233. WGmc *au*.

WGmc *au* became OE *ēa*: Goth *hlaupan*, OHG *hlouffan*, OE *hlēapan*, *run*.

234. WGmc *eo*, *iu*.

WGmc *eo* (see 214, 219) became OE *ēo*: OS *liof*, OE *lēof*, *dear*; OHG *deota*, OE *þēod*, *people*.

WGmc *iu* became OE *īo*:³² OS *liudi*, OE *liode*, *people*.

In EWS, *ēo* and *īo* are frequently confused in the MSS, *īo* being spelled *eo*, and, less frequently, *ēo* being spelled *io*. In LWS MSS, *eo* is practically universal for both sounds.

WGMC CONSONANTS IN OE

235. WGmc *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ* (liquids and nasals); *p*, *t*, *k* (voiceless stops); *b*, *d* (voiced stops); *ɣ* (voiced spirant), remained unchanged in Prim OE; *β* (voiced spirant, see note 9 above) became voiced *f*, that is, ModE *v*.

236. WGmc *n* or *m*, when preceded by a vowel and followed by *f*, *þ*, or *s*, disappeared in OFris, OE, and partly in OS; the vowel preceding *f*, *s*, or *þ* was lengthened. Cf. 231.

237. Final OE *þ* became voiceless *f*; *wif*, *woman*; final *ɣ* was frequently unvoiced, becoming *h*: *stāh*, *went* (cf. *stīgan*, *stigon*).

238. WGmc *j*.

Initial *j*- remained unchanged, but was spelled *g*, *ge*, *gi*, or *i*: OHG *jār*, OE *ġear*, *year*; OS, OHG *jung*, OE *ġeong*, *ġiong*, *iung*, *young*.

³² When *iu* was followed in the next syllable by *i*, *ī*, or *j*, it was unlauteo to *īe* in EWS: Prehist OE **biudiþ* became OE *biett*, *he commands*.

Medial *-j-* remained between vowels, but was spelled *g*, *ge*: *ċieġan*, *ċieġean*, *call*.

Medial *-j-* remained after a short syllable ending in *-r*, but was spelled, *i*, *g*, *ig*, *ge*, or *ige*: *herian*, *herġan*, *heriġan*, *herġean*, *heriġean*, *praise*.

Medial *-j-* after a long syllable ending in a consonant became *i*, and was lost before the year 700: OS *settian*, OE *settan*, *set*.

Final *-j* remained after long vowels or diphthongs, but was spelled *g*: *hieġ*, *hedge*.

239. WGmc *w*.

Initial and medial *w-*, *-w-* remained: *wēnan*, *expect*; *blōwan*, *bloom*; *beadwe*, *of a battle*.

Final *-w* after a vowel coalesced into a diphthong: WGmc **trew* > OE *trēo*, *tree*.

SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS

240. (a) Final double consonants were very frequently written single: *mann*, *man*, *man*; *feorr*, *feor*, *far*.

(b) Medially, a double consonant adjacent to another consonant was simplified: Prehist OE **wendide* > **wendde* > *wende*, *turned*; **fullide* > **fyllde* > *fylde*, *filled*.

PREHISTORIC OE CHANGES

241. A number of important sound changes, both vowel and consonant, occurred within the OE period, but earlier than the date of our oldest documents.

242. OE palatalization of *ɣ* (*g*), *k*, *gg*, *kk*.

Initial *ɣ* (*g*) and *k* (*c*) were palatalized (or fronted) in Prehistoric OE by a following palatal vowel or diphthong. The palatalization was caused by:

i, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, *æ*,³³ or *ǣ*.

īo, *ēo*, *ēa*.

³³ The short vowels *i*, *e*, and *æ* at a later period "broke" to *io*, *eo*, and *ea*, if followed by certain consonants. Cf. 248.

Palatalized **ȝ** (**ǵ**) fell together in sound with **j**- (in **ǵear** from WGmc ***jār**).

Palatalized **k** (**ċ**) remained a front stop consonant in some dialects, but in WS underwent the further change to **č** (Mod E **ch** in *church*).

Illustrations:

ǵiellan, **ǵeaf**, **ǵēafon**, **ǵeorn**, **ǵeard**, **ǵēotan**.
čiriče, **činn**, **čīdan**, **čeaster**, **čeorl**, **čiest**, **čēosan**.

243. Prehist OE **ȝ**, **ǵǵ**, **k**, **kk**, **ŋk**, and **ŋǵ** were palatalized in WS by a following **i**, **i**, or **j**:

ȝ became **ǵ**: WGmc ***burgi** (Dat. Sing.) became OE **byrǵ** (often spelled **byriǵ**) *city*; WGmc ***bauȝjan** became OE **bīeǵan**, *bend*.

k became **ċ** (ModE **ch**): WGmc ***bisōkjan** became OE **besēcan**, *beseech*; WGmc ***bōci** (Dat. Sing.) became OE **bēc**, *book*.

kk became **čč** (ModE **ch**): WGmc ***wikkjōn** became OE **wičče**, *witch*.

ȝȝ became **cǵ** (ModE **dǵ** as in *bridge*): WGmc ***hruȝȝjaz** became OE **hrycǵ**, *ridge*.

ŋk became **nč** (ModE **nch**): WGmc ***bankjō** became OE **benč**, *bench*.

ŋǵ became **nǵ** (ModE **nge** as in *singe*): WGmc ***sangjan** became OE **senǵan**, *singe*.

244. Prehist OE final **k** (**c**) was palatalized by a preceding **i** or **i**: **ič**, **I**; **dič**, *ditch*.

245. Prehist OE **ȝ** (**ǵ**) at the end of a word or syllable was palatalized by a preceding **æ**, **ǣ**, **e**, **ē**, **i**, or **i**: **dǣǵ**, *day*, **weǵ**, *way*, **stiǵ** (Imper. Sing.), *go*; **hāliǵ**, *holy*.

246. Prehist OE **ȝ** (**ǵ**) was palatalized between palatal vowels: **dǣǵes**; **weǵes**.

247. WGmc **sk**.

WGmc **sk** was spelled **sc** in OE, but in WS developed into the sound of ModE **sh** as in *shoe*; OE **scōh**, *shoe*; **scīnan**, *shine*; **scunian**, *shun*; **scrūd**, *garment*.

In both EWS and LWS the palatal character of this sound was frequently indicated in the spelling by the insertion of an **e** when the following vowel was velar: **sceolon**, *shall*; **sceōp**, *created*; **sceama**, *shame*; **fisceas**, *fish*. It is possible, however, that this **e** represents an intermediate vowel or glide that developed between the palatal **sc** and the back vowel that followed.

248. Breaking.

OE **æ**, **e**, **i** (front vowels) developed into diphthongs, or "broke," in a prehistoric period when followed by **l**+consonant, **r**+consonant, or **h**. (See Chapter IX.)

The diphthongs at first consisted of **æ**, **e**, or **i**+the glide sound **u**: **æu**, **eu**, **iu**.

Later **æu** became **ea**, **eu** became **eo**,³⁴ **iu** became **io**.³⁴

These diphthongs were short, and are to be distinguished from the OE long diphthongs **ēa**, **ēo**, **io** that developed from the WGmc diphthongs **au**, **eo**, **iu**.

e, **i** broke before **l**+consonant only when the combination was **lh**; **e** also broke between **s** and **lc** or **lf**, e.g., **āseolcan**, *become sluggish*; **seolf**, *self*.

æ broke before **l**+consonant only in Kent and eastern Wessex. In those dialects in which breaking did not occur

³⁴ Both **eo** and **io** occur in the earliest OE MSS; in later OE, **io** became **eo**.

the *æ* became *a* before *l*+consonant. Both *ea* and *a* occur in EWS: *feallan*, *fallan*, *fall*. LWS has only *ea*.

Illustrations:

1. *æ* became *ea*: **fællan* > *feallan*, *fall*; **ærm* > *earm*, *arm*; **fæht* > *feaht*, *fought*; **slæhan* > **sleahan* > *slēan*, *strike*.
2. *e* became *eo*: **selh* > *seolh*, *seal*; **werþ* > *weorþ*, *worth*; **fehtan* > *feohtan*, *fight*; **feh* > *feoh*, *cattle*; **fehes* (Gen. Sing.) > **feohes* > *fēos*.
3. *i* became *io*: **wirþip*³⁵ (3d Sing. Pres.) > **wiorþip* > **wierþip* > *wierþ*, *becomes*; **sihip* > **siohip* > *siehþ*, *sees*.

249. The OE long front vowels *ā*, *ī* were broken to *ēa*, *io* (*ēo*), before *h*:

1. *ā* became *ēa*: **nāh* > *nēah*, *near*.
2. *ī* became *io*, *ēo*: **liht* > *lioht*, *lēoht*, *light* (adj.); **betwih* > *betwēoh*, *between*; **tīhan* > **tiohan* > *tion*, *tēon*, *blame*.

250. Diphthongization by Initial Palatals.

The initial palatals *ġ*, *ċ*, *sc* (see 242) caused a following *e* to diphthongize to *ie*, *æ* to *ea*, *ā* to *ēa*. (See Chapter X.)

Illustrations:

1. *e* became *ie* (LWS *i* or *y*): **ġefan* > *ġiefan*, *give*; **sceran* > *scieran*, *shear*.
2. *æ* became *ea*: **ġæf* > *ġeaf*, *gave*; **ċæster* > *ċeaster*, *city*; **scæl* > *sceal*, *shall*.
3. *ā* became *ēa*: **ġāfon* > *ġēafon*, *gave*; **ġār* > *ġēar*, *year*; **ċāce* > *ċēace*, *cheek*; **scāron* > *scēaron*, *sheared*.

251. i-, ī-, j-Umlaut.

Every vowel and diphthong in Prehist OE (except *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, and *ī*) was raised or fronted if an *i*, *ī*, or *j* occurred in the follow-

**i* of **wirþip* came from *e* (Prim Gmc **werþip*); the change of Prim Gmc *e* to *i* was Gmc; see 211, 2; *io* became *ie* as the result of OE umlaut; see 251.

ing syllable. This change is commonly called "i-umlaut," sometimes "mutation." It was caused by the raising and fronting influence of the high front sound *i*, *ī*, or *j*; that is, a low or a back vowel was approximated to the position of a following high front *i*, *ī*, or *j*.

Illustrations:

æ became *e*: **sættjan* > *settan*, *set*; **ægi* > *ege*, *fear*.

æ+cons. group usually remained *æ*: **fæstjan* > *fæstan*, *make fast*.

a became *e*: **manni* > **mænni* > *menn*, *men*; **sandjan* > *sendan*, *send*.

ā became *ē*: **hāli* > *hāel*, *health*; **hāljan* > *hāelan*, *heal*.

o became *ē*:³⁶ **dohtri* > **dæhtri* > *dehter* (Dat. Sing.), *daughter*.

ō became *ē*:³⁶ **dōmjan* > *dēman* > *dēman*, *judge*.

u became *y*:³⁷ **fulljan* > *fyllan*, *fill*.

ū became *ȳ*:³⁷ **tūnjan* > *tȳnan*, *enclose*.

io became *ie* (LWS *i* or *y*):³⁸ **wiorþip* > *wierþip*, *throws*.

īo became *ie* (LWS *ī* or *ȳ*):³⁹ **ġeþiodjan* > *ġeþiedan*, *unite*.

ea became *ie*: **fealliþ* > *fielþ*, *falls*.

ēa became *ie*: **hēarjan* > *hieran*, *hear*.

³⁶ The back rounded vowels *o*, *ō* were fronted to *æ*, *ē* (like ModHG *ö*, *ö*) as shown by the spelling *æ* in the earliest documents, as well as in the later documents of some dialects. By 900 the sounds had been completely unrounded in WS to *e*, *ē*.

³⁷ The back rounded vowels *u*, *ū* were fronted and became lip-rounded palatal vowels *y*, *ȳ* (like ModHG *ü*, *ü*). In some dialects *y*, *ȳ* were unrounded in the OE period to *i*, *ī*. In some Southern and Western dialects *y*, *ȳ* remained rounded even in the MidE period.

³⁸ In the non-WS dialects, and even to some extent in WS, *io* followed by *r*+consonant was not umlauted by a following *i*, *ī*, or *j*: Angl., Kent., EWS. *iorre*, *angry*; *hiorde*, *shepherd*; beside usual WS *ierre*, *hierde*.

³⁹ In the non-WS dialects, and even to some extent in WS, *īo* was not umlauted by a following *i*, *ī*, or *j*: *stioran*, *steer*; *liode*, *people* (*ī*-stem).

252. **u-, o-, a-Umlaut.**

About 700 **æ**, **e**, and **i** in an open syllable were, under some circumstances (and in some districts), diphthongized to **ea**, **eo**, and **io** by **u**, **o**, or **a** in the following syllable.⁴⁰

This umlaut is similar to Breaking, in that the same vowels were affected, they developed into the same diphthongs, and the influence causing the development of the "glide" was a following back sound—in this case a vowel.

u-, o-, a-Umlaut is only partly present in pure WS. The umlaut of **æ** appears only in Mercian and in Kentish (except in WS *ealu*).

The influence of the **u**, **o**, or **a** operated freely thru an intervening liquid or labial (**l**, **r**, **f**, **p**); was somewhat restricted by an intervening dental (**t**, **d**, **þ**, **s**) or nasal; and was much restricted by an intervening velar (**c**, **g**). The umlaut was usually prevented by an intervening double consonant or by two consonants: *swimman*, *swim*; *drincan*, *drink*.

WS illustrations:

1. **æ** became **ea** **ælu* > *ealu*, *ale*.⁴¹
2. **e** became **eo** (**io**): **herot* > *heorot*, *hart*; **hefon* > *heofon*, *heaven*.
3. **i** became **io** (**eo**): **silufr* > *siolfor*, *silver*; **sifun* > *siofun*, *seven*.

⁴⁰ Inasmuch as the vowel **æ** does not occur in an open syllable in WS when the vowel of the following syllable is **u**, **o**, or **a**, this umlaut could not take place in the WS dialect. At the time when the **u-, o-, a-umlaut** was operating, however, the Mercian dialect (and probably the Kentish dialect) had **æ** before back as well as front vowels; we therefore have Mercian *heafoc*, *featu*, etc., as compared with WS *hafoc*, *fatu*, etc. In *ealo*, the single WS example of this umlaut of **æ**, the vowel **æ** was probably introduced into the nominative form *alo* from the dative singular **æleþe*, in which **æ** was phonetically regular.

⁴¹ See preceding note.

UNACCENTED VOWELS

253. A peculiarity of the Gmc languages, already noted in the discussion of Verner's Law (see 208), is the fixed accent on the radical syllable. This accent being a strong stress accent, its presence on one syllable of a word resulted in the loss of accent on adjacent and near-by syllables of the word, altho often a secondary accent was retained, especially in the second element of compound words, such as *bordweall*, *wis-fæst*. In general, however, the lack of accent on suffixes and inflectional endings resulted, in Gmc and in OE, in the weakening or disappearance of vowels, and even of final consonants in unaccented syllables.

254. The history of IE and Gmc consonants and vowels in medial and final unaccented syllables is too lengthy and complicated for profitable discussion in an elementary book about OE. Two unaccented vowels, however, in the final position are of sufficient importance to compel attention. They are **-ī**, and **-ō**.

255. Gmc final **-ī** preserved its original sound in OE long enough to umlaut a preceding vowel. About 700 it disappeared if preceded by a long syllable; if preceded by a short syllable, it became **-e**: thus in the **i**-stem nouns: **gasti* > **gæsti* > **geasti* > **giesti* > *giest*; **wini* > *wine*.

256. WGmc final **-ō** became OE **-u**, thus falling together with original final **-u**, which occurs in the **u**-stems. About 700, final **-u** disappeared after a long radical syllable, but remained after a short radical syllable: WGmc **gefō* > OE *giefu*; WGmc **lairō* > Prehist OE **lāru* > OE *lār*; WGmc **feldu* > OE *feld*; WGmc **handu* > OE *hand*; *sunu*, *duru*, with short radical syllables, retain original **-u**.

257. When followed by a consonant in a final syllable, WGmc unaccented *-ō-* often became *a:* Second weak verbs, 2d and 3d Sing. Pres. Indic., *bodast*, *bodaþ* < Prehist OE **bodōs(t)* **bodōþ*.

SYNCOPATION

258. Syncopation, which consists in the loss of a vowel between two consonants, occurred frequently in the case of the short vowels *e*, *i*, and *o*, after the period of umlaut, but before 700. Syncopation affected sometimes the vowel of the second syllable of a dissyllabic word or form, and sometimes the vowel of the medial syllable of a trisyllabic word or form.

259. Syncopation in Dissyllabic Forms.

The dissyllabic forms in which the vowel of the second syllable is syncopated are:

(1) The 2d and 3d Sing. Pres. Indic. of all strong verbs and of many first weak verbs: *helpan*, *hilpst*, *hilþ*; *cuman*, *cymst*, *cymþ*; *dēman*, *dēmst*, *dēmþ*; *lecgan*, *lēgst*, *lēgþ*.

(2) The Past Part. of first weak verbs which had a radical syllable ending in *d* or *t*: *hreddan*, *hredd*; *settan*, *sett*; *lādan*, *lādd*.

260. Syncopation in Trisyllabic Forms.

Syncopation of the vowel of the second (medial) syllable occurred in an open syllable when the radical syllable was long.

(1) Some inflectional forms of nouns and adjectives, such as: *engles*, *engle*, *englas*; beside Nom. Sing. *engel*, *angel*; *hēafdes*, *hēafde*, beside *hēafod*, *head*; *hālges*, *hālgum*, *hālgan* beside *hālīg*, *holy*; *ōþres*, *ōþre*, beside *ōþer*, *other*.

(2) In the Pret. of first weak verbs which had an originally long radical syllable, or a radical syllable ending in *d* or *t*: *dēmdē*, *dēmdest*, *dēmdon*, *iudged*; *hredde*; *sette*.

(3) In inflected forms of the Past Part. of first weak verbs with a long radical syllable, if the inflectional ending began with a vowel: Nom. Acc. Plu. *hīerde*, *heard*, beside Acc. Sing. Masc. *hīeredne*; *fylde*, beside *fylledne*, *filled*; *dēmde*, beside *dēmedne*, *judged*.

(4) In some originally trisyllabic nouns, such as Prehist OE **strangiþō*, OE *strengþu*, *strength*.

(5) In the comparative degree of adjectives: **brādīra*, *brādra*, *broader*.

CONSONANT CHANGES

261. *f*, *þ*, *s*, in OE.

Initial and final Prim OE *f*, *þ*, and *s* remained voiceless in OE: *fif*, *five*; *þorn*, *thorn*; *wearþ*, *became*; *sendan*, *send*; *wæs*, *was*.

Medial *f* and *s* next to voiceless consonants remained voiceless: *hæft*, *captive*; *fæst*, *firm*.

Medial *f*, *þ*, and *s* between voiced sounds became voiced spirants, *v*, *ð*, and *z*, about 700: *wulfas*, *wolves*; *sēoþan*, *boil*; *nosu*, *nose*.

262. WGmc *h* in OE.

WGmc initial *h* was a simple breath, as in ModE *horn*. WGmc medial or final *h* was a voiceless spirant like ModHG *ch* in *macht*, *makes*, *ich*, *I*.

Initial *h* in OE remained a simple breath, as in ModE: *horn*, *horn*.

Medial *-h-* remained a voiceless spirant before a voiceless consonant: *sōhte*, *he sought*.

Final *-h* remained a spirant: *ġeþāh*, *he prospered*.

hs became *ks* (*x*): *weahsan*, *weaxan*, *grow*.

263. Loss of Intervocalic *h*.

1. Intervocalic *h* disappeared about 700. The accented vowel or diphthong which originally preceded *h* absorbed the vowel which followed.

ā+vowel became *ā*: **tāhe* became *tā*, *toe*.

ō+vowel became *ō*: **fōhan* became *fōn*, *seize*; **fōhe* became *fō*, *I seize* (subjunc.).

ēa+vowel became *ēa*: **hēahes* became *hēas*, *high* (Gen. Sing.).

ēo+vowel became *ēo*: **flēohan* became *flēon*, *flee*.

io+vowel became *io*: **tiohan* became *tion* (*tēon*), *blame*.

A short diphthong was lengthened by the absorption of a following vowel:

ea+vowel became *ēa*: **sleahan* became *slēan*, *strike*.

eo+vowel became *ēo*: **feohe*s became *fēos*, *property* (Gen. Sing.).

io+vowel became *io*: **twioha* became *twio* (*twēo*), *doubt*.

ie+vowel became *ie*: **iehe* became *ie*, *river* (Dat. Sing.).

Apparent exceptions to this change are 2d sing. pres. *fēhst*, *siehst* (<**fōhis*, **siohis*); 3d sing. *fēhþ*, *siehþ* (<**fōhiþ*, **siohiþ*). The preservation of the originally intervocalic *h* is due here to the syncopation of the following vowel *i*, which took place before the disappearance of intervocalic *h*.

2. *h* between a liquid and a vowel also disappeared about 700. A short preceding diphthong is usually lengthened:

ea became *ēa*: **mearhes* became *mēares*, *of a horse*; **Wealhas* became *Wēalas*, *foreigners*.

eo became *ēo*: **feorhes* became *fēores*, *of a life*; **seolhes* became *sēoles*, *of a seal*.

LATE CHANGES IN VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

264. During the historic period of OE a number of changes took place in vowels and diphthongs.

265. In EWS, *ie* or *īe*, no matter of what origin, and without regard to the adjacent sounds, frequently became *i* or *ī*, beside which appears also *ie* or *īe*. EWS *ġiefan*, *ġifan*, *give*; *nicht*, *niht*, *night*; *scieppend*, *scippend*, *creator*; *hierde*, *hirde*, *shepherd*; *wielm*, *wilm*, *welling*; *hieran*, *hiran*, *hear*; *ġieman*, *ġiman*, *care for*; *fiend*, *find*, *foes*; *þrie*, *þri*, *three*. After *w*, however, *ie* frequently appears in EWS as *y*; e.g., *wierðe*, *wyrðe*; *wierpþ*, *wyrpþ*.

In LWS, *ie* or *īe* usually appears as *y* or *ȳ*, but sometimes, especially when followed by *c*, *ġ*, *h*, or *s*, as *i* or *ī*.

LWS *ġyfan*, *wylm*, *hȳran*, *ġȳman*, *fȳnd*, *þrȳ*.

LWS *hlihhan*, *laugh*; *niht*, *night*; *liġ*, *flame*; *frȳst*, *freezes*, (EWS *hliehhan*, *nicht*, *lieġ*, *frīest*).

266. *y* or *ȳ* which came from *u* or *ū* by *i*-umlaut became LWS *i* or *ī* thru the influence of a following palatal; *hiġe*, *mind*; *bicgan*, *buy*; *þinċan*, *seem*; *brīcþ*⁴² (*brūcan*), *enjoys*, (EWS *hyġe*, *bycgan*, *þynċan*, *brȳcþ*).

267. *io* and *eo*, the diphthongs resulting from Breaking, became, as early as 900, *ie*, *i*, or *y* before *hs* and *ht*; Gmc **sehs*, EWS *seox* > WS *siex*, *six*, *six*; Gmc **reht*, Prehist OE **reoht* > WS *riht*, *ryht*, *right*; Gmc **cneht*, Prehist OE **cneoht* > WS *cnieht*, *cniht*, *boy*.

In LWS the diphthong *eo* usually became *u* when it was preceded by *w* and followed by *r* plus a consonant: EWS *weorðan*, LWS *wurðan*, *become*; EWS *sweord*, LWS *swurd*, *sword*.

⁴² In *brīcþ* (EWS *brȳcþ*) the *c* was palatalised, that is fronted, in Prehist OE, but probably did not undergo the further change to *ċ*. The change to *ċ* was hindered by the *þ* which followed the *c* after syncopation had taken place. See 242.

268. *ea*, the diphthong resulting from Breaking, often became EWS *e* before *h*: *meahte*, *mehte*, *might*; *eahta*, *chta*, *eight*; *feaht*, *feht*, *fought*; *seah*, *seh*, *saw*.

269. *ea*, of whatever origin, sometimes became EWS *e* when preceded by *ċ*, *ġ*, or *sc*: *ċeaster*, *ċester*, *city*; *forġeaf*, *forġef*, *forgave*; *sceal*, *scel*, *shall*.

270. *ēa* sometimes became EWS *ē* when preceded by *ċ*, *ġ*, or *sc*: *ġēar*, *ġēr*, *year*; *onġēan*, *onġēn*, *against*; *ċēas*, *ċēs*, *chose*; *scēaþ*, *scēþ*, *sheath*.

271. *ēa* often became LWS *ē* when followed by *hþ*, *hs*, or *hg*: **ēagþýrel*, *ēhþýrel*, *window*; *hēahsta*, *hēhsta*, *highest*; *nēahġebūr*, *nēhġebūr*, *neighbor*.

272. *ēa* often became LWS *ē* when followed by *h*, *g*, *c*: *tēah*, *tēh*, *drew*; *þēah*, *þēh*, *though*; *hēah*, *hēh*, *high*; *nēah*, *nēh*, *near*; *ēage*, *ēġe*, *eye*; *ēac*, *ēc*, *also*.

273. LWS *gd*, *gn*.

In LWS, *g* between a short vowel and a voiced dental was frequently lost; the preceding vowel was lengthened: *frīġnan* became *frīnan*, *ask*; *brēġdan* became *brēdan*, *move*.

MORPHOLOGY

DECLENSIONS

301. The Old English declensions were historically the same as those of Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Gothic, Old Norse, Old Saxon, and Old High German.

302. The Gmc noun in a prehistoric period was inflected by adding to a **stem** various **endings** which indicated case and number.

A **stem** seems originally to have consisted of an element called a "base" or "root," to which usually was added a suffix consisting of a vowel (IE *e*, *o*, *ā*, *i*, *u*), or of a consonant (*r*), or of a vowel plus a consonant (*ġn*, *ōn*, *es*, *os*, *et*, *ot*, etc.); some words in the IE languages had stems consisting of a base ending in a consonant to which the case endings were attached without an intervening suffix.

The classification of nouns in school grammars of Latin does not conform to the scientific classification. The Lat "first" declension consists of IE *ā*-stems; the "second" declension of IE *o*-stems; the "third" of consonant-stems and *i*-stems; the "fourth" of *u*-stems.

303. The vowel stems can be clearly distinguished in Gothic, where, in the Acc. Plu., the case ending **-ns** (or **-s**) is added to the stem. It must be remembered that IE *o* became Gmc *a*, and IE *ā* became Gmc *ō*.

1. IE *o*, Gmc *a*-decl. Goth Acc. Plu. *daga-ns*, *days*.
2. IE *ā*, Gmc *ō*-decl. Goth Acc. Plu. *gibō-s*, *gifts*.
3. IE and Gmc *i*-decl. Goth Acc. Plu. *gasti-ns*, *guests*.
4. IE and Gmc *u*-decl. Goth Acc. Plu. *sunu-ns*, *sons*.

CASE ENDINGS

304. IE had eight cases: Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, Ablative, Instrumental, Locative. These cases were distinguished by case endings which were added to the stem. The IE case endings were so affected, however, by Gmc and OE sound changes that in OE the fact that the noun originally consisted of base, suffix, and case ending is usually much obscured. In some forms, e.g., OE Nom. Sing. *dæg* (<Gmc *dagaz) both the vowel suffix, indicating the kind of stem, and the case ending have been completely lost.

Furthermore, in OE (as in most other IE languages) cases have "fallen together," that is, by phonetic change two or more cases which were originally distinct have become identical, or one case ending has been abandoned for another. Thus, of the eight IE cases, OE has only four surviving in the noun, and five in the adjective and pronoun: Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Instrumental.

305. **Vowel Stems.** Four kinds of Gmc vowel stems are to be distinguished: *a*-stems (masc. and neut.), *ō*-stems (fem.), *i*-stems (all genders), *u*-stems (all genders).

In OE nearly all the nouns originally belonging to the *i*-stems and *u*-stems have "gone over" to the *a*-stems or the *ō*-stems; that is to say, the masculine and neuter *i*-stems and *u*-stems exhibit the same inflectional endings as the *a*-stems, the feminines the same endings as the *ō*-stems.

306. **Consonant Stems.** Several types of consonant stems existed in OE. The original consonant stems are of two types:

1. Those consisting of a radical syllable+suffix ending in a consonant, to which were added the primitive case endings.

The consonant stems of this first class had suffixes ending in *-n* (*huntan-*), *-z* (*lambaz-*), *-r* (*faðr-*), *-þ* (*mōnaþ-*).

2. Those consisting of a radical syllable ending in a consonant, to which were added the primitive case endings.

The consonant stems of this second class end in any consonant (*mann*, *fōt*, *bōc*).

3. In addition to these, certain derivative consonant stems existed in OE which were originally present active participles which became nouns of the agent, as *fēond*, *hater*, *enemy*. The stem of these nouns ends in *-nd*.

Nouns

MASCULINE AND NEUTER *a*-DECLENSION

307. The *a*-declension¹ consists of masculines and neuters. It includes *a*-stems, *ja*-stems, and *wa*-stems.

MASCULINE *a*-STEMS

Monosyllables: *stān*, *stone*; *dæg*, *day*; *mearh*, *horse*; *eoh*, *horse*.

Singular				
N. A.	<i>stān</i>	<i>dæg</i>	<i>mearh</i>	<i>eoh</i>
G.	<i>stānes</i>	<i>dægēs</i>	<i>mēares</i>	<i>ēos</i>
D. I.	<i>stāne</i>	<i>dæge</i>	<i>mēare</i>	<i>ēo</i>
Plural				
N. A.	<i>stānas</i>	<i>dagas</i>	<i>mēaras</i>	
G.	<i>stāna</i>	<i>daga</i>	<i>mēara</i>	
D. I.	<i>stānum</i>	<i>dagum</i>	<i>mēarum</i>	

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of *stān* was **stainaz*.

For the change from *a* to *æ* in the Sing. of *dæg*, see 224. For the disappearance of *h* in the oblique cases of *mearh*, *eoh*, see 263.

¹ The Gmc *a*-declension corresponds to the Lat and Gr "second" declension (Lat *servus*, *servos*; Gr *logos*); it is sometimes called the "o-declension," according to the IE terminology.

308. Dissyllables: *cyning*, *king*; *engel*, *angel*; *heofon*, *heaven*; *fugol*, *bird*.

Singular				
N. A.	<i>cyning</i>	<i>engel</i>	<i>heofon</i>	<i>fugol</i>
G.	<i>cyninges</i>	<i>engles</i>	<i>heofones</i>	<i>fugles</i>
D. I.	<i>cyninge</i>	<i>engle</i>	<i>heofone</i>	<i>fugle</i>
Plural				
N. A.	<i>cyningas</i>	<i>englas</i>	<i>heofenas</i>	<i>fuglas</i>
G.	<i>cyninga</i>	<i>engla</i>	<i>heofena</i>	<i>fugla</i>
D. I.	<i>cyningum</i>	<i>englum</i>	<i>heofenum</i>	<i>fuglum</i>

If the first syllable is long and if the second syllable is short, as in *engel*, as a general rule the vowel which appears in the second syllable of the Nom. Sing. does not appear in the inflected forms. If both syllables are short, the vowel which appears in the second syllable of the Nom. Sing. sometimes appears and sometime does not appear in the inflected forms.

NEUTER a-STEMS

309. Monosyllables: *lim*, *limb*; *fæt*, *vessel*; *bān*, *bone*; *word*, *word*; *feoh*, *property*.

Singular					
N. A.	<i>lim</i>	<i>fæt</i>	<i>bān</i>	<i>word</i>	<i>feoh</i>
G.	<i>limes</i>	<i>fætes</i>	<i>bānes</i>	<i>wordes</i>	<i>fēos</i>
D. I.	<i>lime</i>	<i>fæte</i>	<i>bāne</i>	<i>worde</i>	<i>fēo</i>
Plural					
N. A.	<i>limu</i>	<i>fatu</i>	<i>bān</i>	<i>word</i>	
G.	<i>lima</i>	<i>fata</i>	<i>bāna</i>	<i>worda</i>	
D. I.	<i>limum</i>	<i>fatum</i>	<i>bānum</i>	<i>wordum</i>	

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of *lim* was **limam*.

In monosyllables the ending *-u* of the Nom.-Acc. Plu. disappeared after a long syllable (see 256). For *fēos*, *fēo*, see 263.

310. Dissyllables: *tungol*, *star*; *wæter*, *water*; *tācen*, *sign*; *hēafod*, *head*.

Singular				
N. A.	<i>tungol</i>	<i>wæter</i>	<i>tācen</i>	<i>hēafod</i>
G.	<i>tungles</i>	<i>wæteres</i>	<i>tācnes</i>	<i>hēafdes</i>
D. I.	<i>tungle</i>	<i>wætere</i>	<i>tācne</i>	<i>hēafde</i>
Plural				
N. A.	<i>tungol (-glu)</i>	<i>wæter(-u)</i>	<i>tācen(-u)</i>	<i>hēaf(o)du</i>
G.	<i>tungla</i>	<i>wætera</i>	<i>tācna</i>	<i>hēafda</i>
D. I.	<i>tunglum</i>	<i>wæterum</i>	<i>tācnum</i>	<i>hēafdum</i>

If the first syllable is long, and the second short, as in *tungol*, the vowel which appears in the second syllable of the Nom. Sing. generally does not appear in the inflected forms.

MASCULINE AND NEUTER ja-STEMS

311. Masculines: *secg*, *man*; *here*, *army*; *ende*, *end*.

Singular			
N. A.	<i>secg</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>ende</i>
G.	<i>secges</i>	<i>her(i)ġes</i>	<i>endes</i>
D. I.	<i>secge</i>	<i>her(i)ġe</i>	<i>ende</i>
Plural			
N. A.	<i>secg(e)as</i>	<i>her(i)ġas</i>	<i>endas</i>
G.	<i>secg(e)a</i>	<i>her(i)ġa</i>	<i>enda</i>
D. I.	<i>secg(e)um</i>	<i>her(i)ġum</i>	<i>endum</i>

312. Neuters: *cynn*, *kin*; *rīce*, *kingdom*; *wēsten*, *waste*.

Singular			
N. A.	<i>cyn(n)</i>	<i>rīce</i>	<i>wēsten</i>
G.	<i>cynnes</i>	<i>rīces</i>	<i>wēstennes</i>
D. I.	<i>cynne</i>	<i>rīce</i>	<i>wēstenne</i>
Plural			
N. A.	<i>cyn(n)</i>	<i>rīcu</i>	<i>wēstennu</i>
G.	<i>cynna</i>	<i>rīca</i>	<i>wēstenna</i>
D. I.	<i>cynnum</i>	<i>rīcum</i>	<i>wēstennum</i>

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of **secg** and **cynn** were ***saȝjaz** and ***kunjam**.

The **j** umlauted the vowel of the preceding syllable, and geminated the final consonant (except **r**) if the vowel of the preceding syllable was short (see 251, 238, 221). The **j** disappeared except after **r**, as in **herȝes** (see 238).

In the Nom. Sing., **secg** and **cynn**, which exhibit no ending, had originally short radical syllables; while **ende** and **riċe**, which exhibit the ending **-e**, had originally long radical syllables.

In the Nom.-Acc. Neut. Plu., **cynn**, with no ending, had an originally short radical syllable; while **riċu**, with **-u**, had an originally long radical syllable.

wa-STEMS

313. Masculines: **bearu**, *grove*; **þēow**, *servant*.

Singular		
N. A.	bearu, -o	þēo(w)
G.	bearwes	þēowes
D. I.	bearwe	þēowe
Plural		
N. A.	bearwas	þēowas
G.	bearwa	þēowa
D. I.	bearwum	þēowum

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of **bearu** and **þēow** were ***barwaz** and ***þewaz**. When the ending **-az** was lost, **-w** became vocalized to **-u**, often written **-o**. The **-u** remained after a short syllable as in **bearu**. When the radical syllable ended in a short vowel, the **-u** combined with the vowel to form a diphthong. Thus Prim OE ***þew** > ***þeu** > **þēo**. The **-w** of **þēow** is by analogy with the oblique cases. In the oblique cases the original **e** of **þēow** became **eo** thru the influence of the **w** that followed; this **eo**, which was originally short, was fre-

quently lengthened to **ēo** thru the influence of the nominative form **þēo(w)**.

314. Neuters: **bealu**, *evil*; **cnēo**, *knee*.

Singular		
N. A.	bealu, -o	cnēo(w)
G.	bealwes	cnēowes
D. I.	bealwe	cnēowe
Plural		
N. A.	bealu, -o	cnēo(w), -wu
G.	bealwa	cnēowa
D. I.	bealwum	cnēowum

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of **bealu** was ***balwam**.

FEMININE ō-DECLENSION

315. The **ō**-declension² consists of feminine nouns only. It includes **ō**-stems, **jō**-stems, and **wō**-stems.

FEMININE ō-STEMS

ġiefu, *gift*; lār, *wisdom*.

Singular			Plural	
N.	ġiefu	lār	ġiefa, -e	lāra, -e
G.	ġiefe	lāre	ġiefa, -ena	lāra, -na, -ena
D. I.	ġiefe	lāre	ġiefum	lārum
A.	ġiefe	lāre	ġiefa, -e	lāra, -e

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of **ġiefu** was ***ġebō**.

The Nom. Sing. ending **-u** was retained after a short syllable, but was lost after a long syllable (see 256).

The ending **-ena, -na** of the Gen. Plu., which occurs in some words of this class beside the regular Gen. Plu. ending **-a**, is

² The Gmc **ō**-declension corresponds to the Lat and Gr "first" declension (Lat *mēnsā*-); it is sometimes called the "ā-declension," according to the IE terminology.

after the analogy of the *n*-stems. It occurs chiefly in words with short stems.

316. Dissyllables: *firen*, *crime*; *sāwol*, *soul*.

Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>firen</i> <i>sāwol</i>	N. A.	<i>firena</i> , -e <i>sāwla</i> , -e
G.	<i>firene</i> <i>sāwle</i>		<i>firena</i> <i>sāwla</i>
D. I.	<i>firene</i> <i>sāwle</i>		<i>firenum</i> <i>sāwlum</i>
A.	<i>firene</i> <i>sāwle</i>		

In the Nom. Sing. no endings occur.

If the radical syllable is long, as in *sāwol*, the vowel of the second syllable of the Nom. Sing. generally does not appear in the inflected forms.

FEMININE *jō*-STEMS

317. Monosyllables: *synn*, *sin*; *ġierd*, *rod*.

Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>syn(n)</i> <i>ġierd</i>	N. A.	<i>synna</i> , -e <i>ġierda</i> , -e
G.	<i>synne</i> <i>ġierde</i>	G.	<i>synna</i> <i>ġierda</i>
D. I.	<i>synne</i> <i>ġierde</i>	D. I.	<i>synnum</i> <i>ġierdum</i>
A.	<i>synne</i> <i>ġierde</i>		

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of *synn* was **sunjō*. The *j* umlauted the radical vowel, and geminated the final consonant of a short radical syllable (see 251, 221). In Prehist OE **synnu* the Nom. Sing. ending -*u* was then lost after the long syllable, as also in **ġierdu*, originally long (see 256).

318. Polysyllables: *byrþen*, *burden*.

Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>byrþen</i>		<i>byrþenna</i> , -e
G.	<i>byrþenne</i>		<i>byrþenna</i>
D. I.	<i>byrþenne</i>		<i>byrþennum</i>
A.	<i>byrþenne</i>		<i>byrþenna</i> , -e

The *j* geminated the preceding consonant (see 221).

FEMININE *wō*-STEMS

319. *beadu*, *battle*; *mǣd*, *meadow*; *clēa*, *claw*.

Singular			
N.	<i>beadu</i>	<i>mǣd</i>	<i>clēa(w)</i>
G.	<i>beadwe</i>	<i>mǣdwe</i>	<i>clawe</i>
D. I.	<i>beadwe</i>	<i>mǣdwe</i>	<i>clawe</i>
A.	<i>beadwe</i>	<i>mǣdwe</i>	<i>clawe</i>
Plural			
N. A.	<i>beadwa</i> , -e	<i>mǣdwa</i> , -e	<i>clēa</i>
G.	<i>beadwa</i>	<i>mǣdwa</i>	<i>clawa</i>
D. I.	<i>beadwum</i>	<i>mǣdwum</i>	<i>clēam</i>

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of *beadu* was **baðwō*. In the Nom. Sing. *-*wō* became -*wu*, and *w* disappeared, because followed by the rounded vowel -*u*.

Nom. Sing. -*u* was lost after a long syllable, as in *mǣd* (see 256).

In the Nom. Sing. *clēa(w)*, **clawu* > **clau* > *clēa* (see 233). The (w) is by analogy from the oblique cases.

OTHER FEMININE NOUNS

320. Old English had also three groups of feminine nouns, of different history from the *ō*-stems, but usually showing in OE the same endings as the regular *ō*-stems. These nouns may, therefore, be considered here.

FEMININE STEMS IN -*ipō*

321. Prim Gmc formed from adjectives a number of abstract nouns in -*ipō*, e.g., **stranzipō*, OE *strengþu*, -o, *strength*.

Singular		Plural	
N.	<i>strengþu</i> , -o, <i>strengþ</i>		<i>strengþa</i> , -e, -u, -o
G.	<i>strengþe</i> , -u, -o		<i>strengþa</i>
D. I.	<i>strengþe</i> , -u, -o		<i>strengþum</i>
A.	<i>strengþe</i> , -u, -o		<i>strengþa</i> , -e, -u, -o

In Prehist OE the radical vowel was unlauted and the medial vowel syncopated (see 251; 260, 4). In the Nom. Sing., the **-u** sometimes appears, sometimes not. The **-u** of the Nom. Sing. was often levelled into the oblique cases.

FEMININE STEMS IN **-īn**

322. Prim Gmc also formed abstract nouns from adjectives by means of the suffix **-īn**. Cf. Goth **bráidei**, Gen. Sing. **bráideins**; ModHG **Breite**, *breadth*. In Prehist OE the **-ī** of the stem was shortened to **-i**; **i** unlauted the radical vowel.

But very early the nouns with this stem were remodelled after the analogy of the **ō**-stems, the suffix **-īn** giving way to Nom. Sing. **-u**, **-o**, G.D.A. **-e**. Later the **-u**, **-o** of the Nom. was levelled into the other cases of the Sing.

brædu, *breadth*

Singular		Plural	
N.	brædu , -o	N. A.	bræda , -e ; -u , -o
G. D. I. A.	bræde , -u , -o	G.	bræda
		D. I.	brædum

FEMININE STEMS IN **-ing-ō**, **-ung-ō**

323. Prim Gmc formed abstract nouns in **-ingō**, **-ungō**, **-angō**, chiefly from second weak verbs. In OE the ending **-ung** has been generalized, so that **-ing** is of comparatively infrequent occurrence; **-ang** occurs rarely, if ever, in OE.

leornung, *learning*

Singular		Plural	
N.	leornung	N.	leornunga , -e
G.	leornunga , -e	G.	leornunga
D. I.	leornunga , -e	D. I.	leornungum
A.	leornunga , -e	A.	leornunga , -e

i-STEMS

324. The **i**-declension includes masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. In OE the great majority of original **i**-stems appear with the endings of **a**- or **ō**-stems throughout.

Masculines: wine, friend; ġiest, stranger, guest.

	Singular		Plural	
N. A.	wine	ġiest	wine , -as	ġiestas
G.	wines	ġiestes	wina	ġiesta
D. I.	wine	ġieste	winum	ġiestum

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of **wine** and **ġiest** were ***winiz** and ***ġastiz**. The **-i** of the stem unlauted the radical vowel (***ġastiz** > ***ġæsti** > ***ġeasti** > **ġiest**). Final **-i** was lost after a long radical syllable, but remained after a short radical syllable (see 255).

The endings **-es** of the Gen. Sing., **-as** of the Nom.-Acc. Plu., **-a** of the Gen. Plu., and **-um** of the Dat. Plu. are analogical endings from the masculine **a**-stems.

A few plurals, especially the names of tribes of peoples, retain the old ending **-e** of the Nom.-Acc. Plu: **Dene**, *Danes*; **Engle**, *(the) English*; **Mierce**, *the Mercians*; **Northymbre**, *the Northumbrians*; **Seaxe**, *the Saxons*. So also **ielde**, *men*; **wine**, *friends*; **ielfe**, *elves*; and **liode**, *lōde*, *peoples*.

A few words like **Dene** and **wine** sometimes retain the old Gen. Plu. **Deniġea** and **winiġea**.

325. **Long-Stemmed Feminines: cwēn**, *queen*.

	Singular	Plural
N.	cwēn	cwēne
G.	cwēne	cwēna
D. I.	cwēne	cwēnum
A.	cwēn , (-e)	cwēne

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of **cwēn** was ***kwāniz**.

The Acc. Sing. with no ending is a distinguishing mark of these nouns; the Acc. Sing. of Fem. *ō*-stems ends in *-e*.

The short feminine *i*-stems went over to the *ō*-stems in Prehist OE, so that only the umlaut of the radical vowel discloses their original declension.

326. **Neuters: spere, spear.**

	Singular	Plural
N. A.	spere	speru, -o
G.	speres	spera
D. I.	spere	sperum

The Gen. Sing. and all the cases of the plural are analogical formations after the neuter *a*-stems.

327. **Long-Stemmed Neuters: flāsc, flesh.**

	Singular	Plural
N. A.	flāsc	flāsc
G.	flāsces	flāscas
D. I.	flāsce	flāscum

Like *flāsc* are declined a few long-stemmed neuters. Since the radical syllable is long, no endings occur in the Nom.-Acc. Sing. and Plu.

u-STEMS

328. This declension includes masculines, feminines, and neuters. The great majority of these nouns appear, however, with the endings of the *a*- or *ō*-stems.

Masculines: sunu, son; feld, field.

	Singular	Plural
N. A.	sunu, -o, -a	feld
G.	suna	felda, feldes
D. I.	suna	felda, -e
		sunum
		feldum

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of *sunu* was **sunuz*. Only a small number of short-stemmed masculine *u*-stems are found in OE. Only *sunu* and *wudu* are fully declined.

In long stems, like *feld*, the *-u* of the Nom.-Acc. Sing. has disappeared.

329. **Feminines:** Only a few feminine *u*-stems remain in literary OE: *duru, door; hand (hond), hand; flōr, floor; cweorn, mill.*

	Singular	Plural
N. A.	duru	cweorn
G.	dura	cweorna
D. I.	dura, -u	cweorna
		durum
		cweornum

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of *duru* was **duruz*. The long stems have lost the *-u* in the Nom.-Acc. Sing. (see 256).

330. **Neuters:** The neuter *u*-stems have all but disappeared in literary OE. The only trace is WS *fela, feola, much*, indeclinable.

CONSONANT STEMS

ORIGINAL CONSONANT STEMS

n-STEMS

331. The *n*-stems correspond to Latin nouns like *homo, hominis; nomen, nominis*. The *n*, which in OE looks like a case ending, belonged originally to the suffix which was added to the base of the word to form the stem (see 302, 306). The relation between the *n* and the case ending, however, is still apparent in the OE Gen. Plu.

Masculines: hunta, hunter; frēa, lord.

	Singular	Plural
N.	hunta	frēa
G.	huntan	frēan
D. I.	huntan	frēan
A.	huntan	frēan
		huntan
		frēan

332. **Feminines: tunge, tongue.**

	Singular	Plural
N.	tunge	tungan
G.	tungan	tungena
D. I.	tungan	tungum
A.	tungan	tungan

333. **Neuters:** Only two words in OE are invariably declined according to this declension: *ēage*, *eye*; *ēare*, *ear*; *wange*, *cheek*, is sometimes inflected as a neuter *n*-stem.

	Singular	Plural
N. A.	ēage	ēagan
G.	ēagan	ēagena
D. I.	ēagan	ēagum

NEUTER *iz-*, *az*-STEMS

334. The neuter *iz-*, *az*-stems³ correspond to the Latin neuters like *genus*, *generis*.

lamb (lomb), lamb.

	Singular	Plural
N. A.	lamb	lambru
G.	lambes	lambra
D. I.	lambe	lambrum

Like *lamb (lomb)* are declined *ċealf*, *calf*; *æġ*, *egg*; and occasionally *ċild*, *child*.

In OE these words show the characteristic *-r-* (< Gmc *-z-*) only in the plural. The other nouns which originally belonged here have the endings of other declensions.

For an account of the "*es*, *os*-declension," see Wright, *Old English Grammar*, §419.

³The OE grammars usually call these "*es*-, *os*-stems," using the IE terminology.

r-STEMS

335. To this declension belong nouns of relationship in *-r*: *fæder*, *father*; *brōþor*, *brother*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *dohtor*, *daughter*; *sweostor*, *sister*, and the collective plurals *ġebrōþor*, *-ru*, *brethren*; *ġesweostor*, *-ru*, *sisters*.

	Singular	Plural
N.	fæder brōþor	fæderas brōþor, brōþru
G.	fæder, -eres brōþor	fædera brōþra
D.	fæder brēþer	fæderum brōþrum
A.	fæder brōþor	fæderas brōþor, -ru

dohtor has Dat. Sing. *dehter*, Nom. Acc. Plu. *dehter*; *mōdor* has Dat. Sing. *mēder*, Nom. Acc. Plu. *mōdor*, *-dru*, *-dra*.

The umlaut in the Dat. Sing. and Nom. Plu. is due to the Prim Gmc endings *-i* and *-iz*; the forms were Dat. Sing. **dohtri*; Nom. Plu. **dohtriz*.

The umlauted radical vowel often appears in the Gen. Sing. of fems.: *mēder*, *dehter*.

STEMS IN *-þ*

336. In OE only four nouns belonging to this declension are found:

Masculines, *hæle*, *hæleþ*, *man*; *mōnaþ*, *month*; feminine *mæġeþ*, *maiden*; neuter, *ealu*, *ale*.

	Singular	
N. A.	hæle, hæleþ	mōnaþ mæġ(e)þ ealu
G.	hæleþes	mōnaþes mæġ(e)þ ealoþ
D. I.	hæleþe	mōnaþe mæġ(e)þ ealoþ
	Plural	
N. A.	hæleþ	mōnaþ mæġ(e)þ
G.	hæleþa	mōn(e)þa mæġ(e)þa ealeþa
D. I.	hæleþum	mōn(e)þum mæġ(e)þum

The **-þ** is not phonetically regular in the Nom. Sing., but was levelled from the cases where it was regular. The old Nom. Sing. is preserved in **hæle** and **ealu**. The Gen. Sing. ending **-es** of **hæleþes** and **mōnaþes** is from the **a**-stems. These two words also have Nom. Plu. in **-as**, **hæleþas** and **mōneþas**.

ROOT CONSONANT STEMS

337. In this class the primitive case endings were attached directly to the final consonant of the root or base. The class includes masculines, feminines, and one neuter. Examples are: masculines, **mann**, *man*; **fōt**, *foot*; feminines, **bōc**, *book*; **burg**, *city*.

Singular				
N. A.	mann	fōt	bōc	burg
G.	mannes	fōtes	bōce, bēc	byriġ
D. I.	menn	fēt	bēc	byrġ, byriġ
Plural				
N. A.	menn	fēt	bēc	byrġ, byriġ
G.	manna	fōta	bōca	burga
D. I.	mannum	fōtum	bōcum	burgum

Other nouns belonging to this declension are **tōþ**, *tooth*; Nom. Plu. **tēþ**, masc.; and **gōs**, *goose*, Nom. Plu. **gēs**, fem.

In Prim Gmc the Dat. Sing. ended in **-i** (***fōti**), the Nom. Plu. in **-iz**. The **-i** and **-iz** were lost after umlauting the radical vowel (see 255). The umlauted forms of the Gen. Sing. in feminines are historically datives; those of the Acc. Plu. in masculines and feminines are analogical after the Nom. Plu.

338. **Neuter**: The only neuter of this class is the word **scrūd**, *garment*.

	Singular	Plural
N. A.	scrūd	scrūd
G.	scrūdes	scrūda
D. I.	scrȳd	scrūdum

The only trace of the original inflection in this word is the Dat.-Inst. Sing. **scrȳd**. Otherwise it is declined like a neuter **a**-stem.

DERIVATIVE CONSONANT STEMS

nd-STEMS

339. The **-nd** declension consists of original present participles used as nouns: **frēond**, *friend*; **hettend**, *enemy*.

Singular			
N. A.	frēond	N. A.	hettend
G.	frēondes	G.	hettendes
D. I.	friend, frēonde	D. I.	hettende
Plural			
N. A.	friend, frēond, frēondas		hettend, hettende, hettendas
G.	frēonda		hettendra
D. I.	frēondum		hettendum

Prim Gmc Dat. Sing. ***frijondi** > Prehist OE ***friondi** > **friend**.

Prim Gmc Nom. Plu. ***frijondiz** > Prehist OE ***friondi** > **friend**.

The ending **-e** of the Nom. Plu. **hettende** is from the adjective (pronominal) declension, as is also the ending **-ra** of the Gen. Plu. **hettendra**.

Pronouns

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

340. First Person.

Singular	Dual	Plural
N. iċ	wit	wē
G. mīn	uncer	ūser, ūre
D. mē	unc	ūs
A. mec, mē	uncit, unc	ūsic, ūs

341. Second Person.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
N.	þū	ġit	ġē
G.	þīn	incer	ēower, iower
D.	þē	inc	ēow, iow
A.	þec, þē	incit, inc	ēowīc, ēow, iow

342. Third Person.

	Singular		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.	hē	hēo, hīe	hit
G.	his	hiere, hire, hyre	his
D.	him	hiere, hire, hyre	him
A.	hine	hīe, hī, hȳ	hit

Plural—All Genders

N.	hīe, hī, hȳ; hēo, hīo
G.	hīera, hīra, hyra; heora, hiora
D.	him; heom
A.	hīe, hī, hȳ; hēo, hīo

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

343. Old English did not have an independent reflexive pronoun. The corresponding forms of the personal pronouns were used for the reflexive pronoun.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

344. Possessive pronouns are declined as strong adjectives. They are: *mīn, mine; þīn, thine; sīn, his, her, etc.; uncer, of us two; incer, of you two; ūre, ūser, our; ēower, iower, your.* In addition, the genitives of the third personal pronoun are used to indicate possession.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

345. The Demonstrative *sē, sēo (sīo), þæt, that.*

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.	sē	sēo, sīo	þæt
G.	þæs	þære	þæs
D.	þæm, þām	þære	þæm, þām
A.	þone, þæne, þane	þā	þæt
I.	þȳ, þon, þē		þȳ, þon, þē

346. The Demonstrative *þēs, þeos (þios), þis, this.*

	Singular		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.	þēs	þeos, þios	þis
G.	þis(s)es	þisse, þis(se)re	þis(s)es
D.	þis(s)um	þisse, þis(se)re	þis(s)um
A.	þisne	þās	þis
I.	þȳs	þisse, þis(se)re	þȳs

Plural

All Genders

N.	þās
G.	þissa, þeossa, þissera
D.	þis(s)um, þys(s)um, þeos(s)um
A.	þās

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

347. No relative pronoun existed in IE or Gmc. The relative clause construction was a late independent development in the separate languages.

I. In OE the word *þe* was used as a relative pronoun. It is found

(a) by itself, e.g., *sē stān þe, the stone that (the builders rejected);*

(b) in combination with the various forms of *sē, sēo, þæt*, e.g., *Augustinum þone þe hi ġecoren hæfdon, Augustine, whom they had chosen*;

(c) occasionally in combination with a form of the personal pronoun, e.g., *Fæder ūre, þū þe eart on heofenum, Our Father, who art in heaven*.

II. The demonstrative *sē, sēo, þæt* may be used as a relative pronoun, e.g., *þā fēng Nero tō riçe, sē forlēt Britena, then came Nero to the throne, who lost Britain*.

III. *swylc, such*, is sometimes used as a relative pronoun, e.g., *hē sēce swylcne hlāford, swylcne hē wile, let him seek such a lord as he may choose*.

IV. *swā, so, as*, is sometimes used as a relative, e.g., *swylcra yrmþa, swā þū unc ær scrife, of such miseries as thou before assigned to us*.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

348. The simple interrogative pronoun has two genders, there being no independent form for the feminine. It is declined only in the singular.

	Masculine	Neuter
N.	<i>hwā</i>	<i>hwæt</i>
G.	<i>hwæs</i>	<i>hwæs</i>
D.	<i>hwæm, hwām</i>	<i>hwæm, hwām</i>
A.	<i>hwone, hwane, hwæne</i>	<i>hwæt</i>
I.	<i>hwī, hwȳ, hwon</i>	<i>hwī, hwȳ, hwon</i>

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

349. OE has a variety of words used as indefinite pronouns. Interrogative pronouns are often used as indefinite pronouns: *hwā* (*who?*), *someone, anyone*; *hwæt* (*what?*), *something, anything*; *hwelc, hwilc* (*which?*), *someone*; *hwæþer* (*who of two?*).

someone. These pronouns are given a more general meaning by being used with *swā . . . swā*, e.g., *swā hwā swā, whoever*.

350. Other indefinite pronouns are made from *hwā, hwæt, hwelc, hwæþer* by composition:

(1) With the indeclinable *hwugu, hugu*: *hwæt(h)wugu, something, hwelc(h)wugu, anyone*.

(2) With the prefix *ġe-*: *ġehwā, everyone, ġehwelc, everyone, ġehwæþer, each of two*.

(3) With the prefix *ā-*: *āhwā, anyone, āhwæt, anything, āhwæþer, āwþer, āuþer, āþer, ōwþer, either, each*.

(4) With the prefix *nā < ne + ā-* (negative): *nāhwæþer, neither*.

(5) With the prefix *æġ < ā + *ġi-*: *æġhwā, any one; æġhwæt, anything; æġhwæþer, any one*.

(6) With *ā-, ō-,* or *nā-, nō + wiht*: *āwiht, æuht, auht, āht, anything, ōwiht, ōwuht, ōht, anything, nāwiht, nōwiht, nāht, nōht, nothing*.

(7) With the verb *nāt* ("I know not") prefixed to *hwā, hwelc*: *nāthwā, nāthwelc, anyone whatever* (literally, *I know not who, which*).

(8) Indefinite pronouns are made also from numerals: *nān* (*< ne + ān*), *no one*; *ōþer, another, other*. These, together with the indefinite *swelc, swilc, such a one*; *sum, some one*, are declined like strong adjectives.

(9) The substantive *man(n)*, *one, they, people, men*, is also used as an indefinite pronoun.

Adjectives

351. For an explanation of the use of the strong and the weak adjective declensions, see Chapter VII, 77.

STRONG DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

a-, ō-STEMS

352. Short-stemmed adjective: *sum, some*.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.	sum	sumu	sum
G.	sumes	sumre	sumes
D.	sumum	sumre	sumum
A.	sumne	sume	sum
I.	sume	sumre	sume
Plural			
N. A.	sume	suma, -e	sumu, -e
G.	sumra	sumra	sumra
D. I.	sumum	sumum	sumum

353. Long-stemmed adjective: *gōd, good*.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.	gōd	gōd	gōd
G.	gōdes	gōdre	gōdes
D.	gōdum	gōdre	gōdum
A.	gōdne	gōde	gōd
I.	gōde	gōdre	gōde
Plural			
N. A.	gōde	gōda, gōde	gōd, gōde
G.	gōdra	gōdra	gōdra
D. I.	gōdum	gōdum	gōdum

The ending *-e* of the Nom.-Acc. Plu. Neut. is after the analogy of the masculines and feminines.

The Nom. Sing. Fem. and the Nom.-Acc. Plu. Neut. of *gōd* lost the final *-u* because of the long radical syllable.

Forms like *hwate*, Nom. Plu. of *hwæt*, have *a* (instead of *æ*) by analogy with such plural forms as *hwatu*, *hwata*, *hwatum*.

354. Adjectives in *-h*: *hēah, high*.

Because of the disappearance of intervocalic *h* in OE, many forms of *hēah* show contraction (see 263). Such are Nom. Sing. Fem. *hēa* (<**hēahu*); Gen. Sing. Masc. and Neut. *hēas*; Dat. Sing. Masc. and Neut. *hēa(u)m*; Nom.-Acc. Plu. *hēa*. Forms like Gen.-Dat. Sing. Fem. *hēa(r)re*, Gen. Plu. *hēa(r)ra*, Acc. Sing. Masc. *hēa(n)ne*, frequently have *-rr-*, *-nn-*, by assimilation of *-hr-*, *-hn-*.

355. Polysyllabic Adjectives.

Polysyllabic adjectives are to be divided into two classes: (1) those with short radical syllables, like *maniġ, many, open, open, coren, chosen*; (2) those with long radical syllables, like *hāliġ, holy, lýtēl, little, holpen, helped*.

(1) Those with short radical syllables retain the vowel of the second syllable throughout. The endings of the strong declension are the same as those of *long* monosyllabic adjectives like *gōd, good*.

(2) Those with long radical syllables when declined strong usually do not retain the vowel of the second syllable if the endings begin with a vowel. Thus the strong Masc. Sing. of *hāliġ* is declined Nom. *hāliġ*, Gen. *hālġes*, Dat. *hālġum*, Acc. *hālġne*, Inst. *hālġe*. When declined weak, the vowel of the second syllable rarely appears. Thus the weak Masc. Sing. is declined, Nom. *hālga*, Gen. Dat. Acc. Inst. *hālġan* (see 258, 260). The endings of the strong declension are the same as those of short monosyllabic adjectives like *sum, some*.

Analogy: Forms like *hālġes, hālġum, hālġe, hālġan*, are due to the analogy of forms like *hāliġ, hālġne*, which kept the vowel of the second syllable.

ja-, jō-STEMS

356. In adjectives with stems originally ending in *-ja, -jō*, the *-j-* umlauted the radical vowel. When the radical syllable

was originally short, as in *midd*, *middle*, *nytt*, *useful*, the final consonant had already been geminated in WGmc. Adjectives with originally short stems are declined like the *a*-, *ō*-stem adjectives, e.g., *gōd*; adjectives with originally long radical syllables are declined like *grēne*, *green*.

357. *grēne*, *green*.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.	<i>grēne</i>	<i>grēnu</i> , -o	<i>grēne</i>
G.	<i>grēnes</i>	<i>grēnre</i>	<i>grēnes</i>
D.	<i>grēnum</i>	<i>grēnre</i>	<i>grēnum</i>
A.	<i>grēnne</i>	<i>grēne</i>	<i>grēne</i>
I.	<i>grēne</i>	<i>grēnre</i>	<i>grēne</i>
Plural			
N. A.	<i>grēne</i>	<i>grēna</i> , -e	<i>grēnu</i>
G.	<i>grēnra</i>	<i>grēnra</i>	<i>grēnra</i>
D. I.	<i>grēnum</i>	<i>grēnum</i>	<i>grēnum</i>

358. *wa*-, *wō*-stems: *ġearu*, *ready*.

Singular			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.	<i>ġearu</i> , -o	<i>ġearu</i> , -o	<i>ġearu</i> , -o
G.	<i>ġearwes</i>	<i>ġearore</i>	<i>ġearwes</i>
D.	<i>ġearwum</i>	<i>ġearore</i>	<i>ġearwum</i>
A.	<i>ġearone</i>	<i>ġearwe</i>	<i>ġearu</i> , -o
I.	<i>ġearwe</i>	<i>ġearore</i>	<i>ġearwe</i>
Plural			
N. A.	<i>ġearwe</i>	<i>ġearwa</i> , -e	<i>ġearu</i> , -o
G.	<i>ġearora</i>	<i>ġearora</i>	<i>ġearora</i>
D. I.	<i>ġearwum</i>	<i>ġearwum</i>	<i>ġearwum</i>

359. The *i*-stem adjectives, which were few in number, in OE take the same endings as the *ja*-, *jo*-stem adjectives like

grēne. Thus are declined *bryċe*, *brittle*; *ġemyne*, *mindful*; *swiċe*, *deceitful*; *bliþe*, *joyful*; *clāne*, *clean*; *swēte*, *sweet*, etc.

u-STEMS

360. Only slight traces of *u*-stem adjectives are found in OE. *cwīc*, *alive*, and *wlæc*, *tepid*, occasionally have the Nom. Sing. Masc. *cwucu*, *wlacu*; and *cwīc* sometimes has the Acc. Sing. Masc. *cucune*. As a rule, however, these adjectives are declined throughout like *a*-, *ō*-stems.

DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES

361. **Present Participle.**

The present participle may be declined strong or weak. When declined strong, it is declined like a long-stemmed *ja*-, *jō*-stem.

When used predicatively, the present participle is usually uninflected; thus, *ġiefende* is used as masculine, feminine, or neuter, singular or plural.

362. **Past Participle.**

The past participle is declined strong or weak in accordance with the same rules and with the same endings as an ordinary adjective.

WEAK DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

363. *gōda*, *good*.

Singular			Plural
Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	All Genders
N. <i>gōda</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>	N.A. <i>gōdan</i>
G.D.I. <i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	G. <i>gōdena</i> , <i>gōdra</i>
A. <i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōde</i>	D.I. <i>gōdum</i>

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

364. The suffix which forms the comparative degree of the adjective appears in OE as **-ra**. Prim Gmc used two suffixes, **-iz-** and **-ōz-**, to which were added the case endings of the weak adjective. In WGmc, **-iza** became **-ira**, and **-ōza** became **-ora**; in Prehist OE **-i-** of **-ira** umlauted the vowel of the radical syllable. Most adjectives in Gmc and Prehist OE ended in **-ōza** (**-ora**), but after the period of umlaut had passed, **-ra** (<*-ira<*-iza) completely supplanted **-ora**. This is the reason for the prevailing lack of umlaut in OE adjectives on the one hand, and the regular ending **-ra** on the other.

earm, *poor*—**earmra**;

lēof, *dear*—**lēofra**;

glæd, *glad*—**glædra**;

ġearu, *ready*—**ġearora** (**-o-** < vocalized **-w-**);

nēah, *near*—**nēahra**, **nēarra** (**-rr-** from assimilation of **-hr-**).

365. Only a few adjectives in OE have umlaut of the radical syllable.

brād, *broad*—**brædra**, beside **brādra**; **eald**, *old*—**ieldra**;
feorr, *far*—**fierra**; **ġeong**, *young*—**ġingra**; **grēat**, *great*—**grīetra**;
hēah, *high*—**hiehra**, **hierra**, beside **hēahra**; **lang**, *long*—**lengra**;
sceort, *short*—**scyrtra**.

The comparative forms in OE were declined weak.

THE SUPERLATIVE

366. The two suffixes which formed the superlative degree of the adjective appear in OE as **-est** and **-ost**. In Prim Gmc these suffixes were **-ist** and **-ōst**. The ending **-ost** is the most frequent in literary OE. The adjectives which had the Prim Gmc ending **-ist** were comparatively few in number; they show umlaut of the radical vowel.

Examples:

(a) Superlative in **-ost(a)**; **earmost(a)**, **lēofost(a)**, **glæ-dost(a)**.

(b) Superlative in **-est(a)**; **ieldest(a)**, **fierrest(a)**, **ġingest(a)**. The superlative forms in OE were frequently declined weak.

IRREGULAR COMPARISON

367. In the case of some adjectives, the comparative and superlative are formed from a different root from that of the positive.

gōd, *good*—**bet(e)ra**, **bettra**—**bet(e)st(a)**; **sēlra**, **sēlla**.

lýtēl, *little*—**lāssa**—**lāest(a)**.

miçel, *great*—**māra**—**māest(a)**.

yfel, *evil*—**wiersa**—**wierrest(a)**, **wierst(a)**.

368. In a few cases comparative and superlative adjectives were formed on the basis of prepositions and adverbs. In such cases the positive degree does not exist as an adjective.

(**feorr**), *far*—**fierra**—**fierrest(a)**;

(**nēah**), *near*—**nēar(r)a**—**niehst(a)**;

(**āer**), *earlier*—**āerresta**;

(**fore**), *before*—**furþra**—**fyrest(a)**, *the first*.

369. **forma**, *first* (cf. **fore**, *before*); **hindema**, *hindmost* (cf. **hindan**, *behind*); **meduma**, *average* (cf. **midd**, *middle of*), and other similar words, were originally superlatives formed with the suffix **-umo**. Many of these words have acquired thru analogy the ending **-est**, so that the superlative ending appears to be **-mest**. The comparative, when it occurs, usually ends in **-erra**.

Most of the adjectives in this group are like those of the preceding group in that they are formed on the basis of prepositions and adverbs, and that no positive degree exists.

(æfter), <i>after</i>	æfterra	æftemest(a)
(ēast), <i>eastward</i>	ēasterra	ēastmest(a)
(fore), <i>before</i>		forma , fyrresta
(hindan), <i>behind</i>		hindema

(inne), <i>within</i>	innerra	innemest(a)
(læt), <i>late</i>	lætra	lætemesta
(midd), <i>middle</i>		meduma, medema, mid- mesta
(nioþan), <i>below</i>	niþerra	ni(o)þemest(a)
(norþ), <i>northwards</i>	norþerra, nyrþra	norþmesta
(siþ), <i>late</i>	siþra	siþmesta
(sūþ), <i>southwards</i>	sūþerra, sýþerra	sūþmest(a)
(ufan), <i>above</i>	uferra, yferra	ufemest(a), yfemest(a)
(ūte), <i>without</i>	ūterra, ȳterra	ūt(e)mest(a), ȳt(e)- mest(a)
(west), <i>westward</i>	westerra	westmesta

NUMERALS

370. The cardinal and ordinal numbers in OE are as follows:

Cardinals	Ordinals
1. <i>ān</i>	forma, formesta, fyrrest, fyrst, ærest
2. <i>twēġen, tū, twā</i>	ōþer, æfterra
3. <i>þrie, þrio, þrēo</i>	þrida
4. <i>fiower, fēower</i>	fēowerþa, fēorþa
5. <i>fif</i>	fifta
6. <i>siex, six</i>	siexta
7. <i>siofon, seofon</i>	seoforþa, seofeþa
8. <i>eahta</i>	eahtoþa, -eþa, -eoþa
9. <i>nigon</i>	nigorþa, -eþa, -eoþa
10. <i>tien, tȳn</i>	tēorþa
11. <i>endlefan, -leofan, -lufan</i>	endlefta, ellefta
12. <i>twelf</i>	twelfta
13. <i>þrēotiene, -tēne, -tȳne</i>	þrēotēorþa
14. <i>fēowertiene</i>	fēowertēorþa
15. <i>fiftiene</i>	fiftēorþa

16. <i>siextiene</i>	siextēorþa
17. <i>seofontiene</i>	seofontēorþa
18. <i>eahtatiene</i>	eahtatēorþa
19. <i>nigontiene</i>	nigontēorþa
20. <i>twēntiġ</i>	twēntigorþa, -tiġþa, -tiga
21. <i>ān ond twēntiġ</i>	ān ond twēntigorþa
30. <i>þritiġ</i>	þritigorþa
40. <i>fēowertiġ</i>	fēowertigorþa
50. <i>fiftiġ</i>	fiftigorþa
60. <i>siextiġ</i>	siextigorþa
70. <i>(hund)seofontiġ</i>	(hund)seofontigorþa
80. <i>(hund)eahtatiġ</i>	(hund)eahtigorþa
90. <i>(hund)nigontiġ</i>	(hund)nigontigorþa
100. <i>hundtēontiġ, hund, hundred</i>	hundtēontigorþa
110. <i>hundendlefantīġ, hundælleftiġ</i>	hundendleftigorþa
120. <i>hundtwelftiġ</i>	hundtwelftigorþa
200. <i>twā (tū) hund</i>	
1000. <i>þūsend</i>	

DECLENSION OF NUMERALS

371. *ān, one*, which is sometimes a numeral and sometimes an adjective, is declined with the endings of the strong declension of the adjective; the Acc. Sing. Masc., however, occurs in two forms, *ānne*, and *ænne* (<*ānina), the latter occurring more frequently. The Masc.-Neut. Inst. Sing. is *æne* or *āne*. Plural forms are used in the sense of *only*, and in the phrase *ānra ġehwylc, each one*. *āna*, declined weak, means *alone*.

372. *twēġen, two*, is declined as follows:

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.A. <i>twēġen</i>		twā	tū, twā
G. <i>twēġa, twēġra</i>		twēġa, twēġra	twēġa, twēġra

D.I. *twām, twām* *twām, twām* *twām, twām*

Like *twēgen* is declined *bēgen*, *both*; Fem. *bā*, Neut. *bū*, G. *bēgra*, D. *bām, bām*.

The forms of the N.-A. are used almost interchangeably in all genders. Thus *twā* is feminine, but is sometimes used as a neuter, sometimes also as a masculine. With two nouns of different gender, the neuter form is usually employed.

373. *þrie*, *three*, is declined as follows:

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
N.A.	<i>þrie, þri</i>	<i>þreo</i>	<i>þreo</i>
G.	<i>þreora</i>	<i>þreora</i>	<i>þreora</i>
D.I.	<i>þrim</i>	<i>þrim</i>	<i>þrim</i>

The other cardinal numbers are generally not inflected. They are chiefly used either as indeclinable adjectives or as nouns governing the genitive; for example, *on fif dagum*, *in five days*; *þritig daga*, *thirty days*.

374. The ordinals, except *oþer*, are declined like weak adjectives. *oþer* is declined as a strong adjective.

Adverbs

375. Most adverbs in OE are formed from adjectives, or are case forms of adjectives or nouns used adverbially.

1. Adverbs are regularly formed from adjectives by the ending *-e*: *heard*, *hard*—*hearde*, *boldly*. If the adjective ends in *-e*, the adverb is identical with the adjective; *bliþe*, *joyful*—*bliþe*, *joyfully*.

2. Many adjectives were formed from nouns by the addition of the suffix *-lic*. Thus the noun *frēond*, *friend*, was the basis of the adjective *frēond-lic*, *friendly*. From such adjectives

were formed adverbs by the addition of the regular adverbial ending *-e*; thus *frēond-lic-e*, *in a friendly manner*. The whole ending *-lic-e* then came to be felt to be an adverbial ending, and was freely attached to adjectives also; thus, *eornost*, *earnest*, was made into an adverb *eornostlice*.

3. Adverbs are formed from adjectives and other words by means of the suffixes *-unga*, *-inga*;—*eallunga*, *entirely*, from *eall*, *all*; *hōlinga*, *slandersly*, from *hōlian*, *to slander*.

4. The case forms of adjectives and nouns are frequently used adverbially.

a. Acc. Sing.:

eall, *altogether, completely*; *lýt*, *lýt*, *little*; *ġenōg*, *enough*; *fyrn*, *ġefyrn*, *formerly*; *full*, *fully*; *ealneġ*, *always* (<**ealne weġ*); and compounds of *-weard*, originally an adjective: *ūpweard*, *upward*; *norþ(e)weard*, *northward*; and *niþerweard*, *downward*.

b. Gen. Sing.:

dæġes, *daily, by day*; *orþances*, *heedlessly*; *selfwilles*, *voluntarily*. This *-es* then came to be felt to be an adverbial ending, and was added to feminines, as in *nīedes*, *needs, of necessity*; *nihtes*, *nightly, by night*. The Gen. Sing. used adverbially was also combined with prepositions as in *tō-æfenes*, *till evening*; *tō-ġifes*, *freely, gratis*; *tō-middes*, *amidst, among*.

c. Gen. Plu.: *ġēara*, *of yore*.

d. Dat.-Inst. Sing.:

fācne, *very*; *sāre*, *sorely*; *dæġ-hwām*, *daily*; *micle*, *much*.

e. Dat.-Inst. Plu., especially in forms with *-mælum*: *ġēardagum*, *in days of yore, formerly*; *hwil-tidum*, *at times*; *þrymmum*, *powerfully*; *drop-mælum*, *drop by drop*; *stund-mælum*, *now and then*; *styċce-mælum*, *here and there, piece-meal*; *miclum*, *very*; *lýtum*, *little*.

376. The chief adverbs of place are the following:

Rest	Motion towards	Motion from
feorr(an), <i>far</i>	feorr	feorran
foran, <i>before</i>	fore	foran
hēr, <i>here</i>	hider	heonan
hindan, <i>behind</i>	hinder	hindan
hwær, <i>where</i>	hwider	hwanon
inne, innan, <i>within</i>	in(n)	innan
nēah, <i>near</i>	nēar	nēan
nioþan, <i>beneath</i>	niþer	nioþan
þær, <i>there</i>	þider	þanan, þonan
uppe, up, <i>above</i>	up(p)	uppan
ūte, ūtan, <i>outside</i>	ūt	ūtan

377. The suffix *-an* was added to other adverbs to signify motion from: *sūþ*, *southwards*, *sūþan*, *from the south*; *ēastan*, *norþan*, *westan*, are thus formed.

COMPARISON OF ADVERBS

378. The comparative of adverbs ends in *-or*; *swiþe*, *exceedingly*, *swiþor*; *ġeorne*, *eagerly*, *ġeornor*.

The superlative ends in *-ost*, e.g., *swiþost*, *ġeornost*.

A few OE adverbs show traces of the comparative in *-iz*. These are monosyllables and can be recognized as comparatives only by the umlaut. Examples are: *leng*, *longer*; *sēft*, *softer*; *bet* (<*batiz), *better*. These adverbs form the superlative in *-(e)st*: *lengest*, *betst*. *ǣr* (<*airiz), *earlier*, *ǣrest*, *earliest*, though it has no positive, belongs to this group.

Verbs

379. OE, like the other Gmc languages, has two kinds of verbs, strong and weak.

The strong verbs form the preterit tense and the past participle by means of a change of the radical vowel (ablaut), e.g., Pres. Inf. *findan*, Pret. Sing. *fand*, Pret. Plu. *funden*, Past Participle, *funden*.

The weak verbs form their preterit by means of a suffix containing *d* or *t*.

The intensive and perfective prefix *ġe-* sometimes seems to be used as a past participial prefix. But *ġe-* is prefixed to so many verbs in the present and preterit, and is so frequently lacking in the past participle, that it cannot be regarded as a fixed past participial prefix.

380. The OE verb has (in addition to the infinitive and participles) three moods, the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. It has two tenses, the present and the preterit (or past), and each tense has two numbers, singular and plural.

381. To some extent new perfect compound tenses appear in OE; they are formed by a combination of the past participle of intransitive verbs with *wesan*, of transitive verbs with *habban*:

Ðū mē forlæred hæfst, *Thou hast seduced me*.

Norþhymbre ond Eastengle hæfdon Ælfrēde cyninge āþas ġeseald, *The Northumbrians and East-Angles had given oaths to King Alfred*.

Ðā wæs forð cumen ġēoc æfter gyrne, *Then was come forth comfort after grief*.

382. The OE verb has no special form for the passive voice. For this voice are used compound forms made by combining the past participle with *bēon*, *wesan*, or *weorþan*.

Bēon ðā oferhýdegan ealle ġescende, *May the proud be confounded*.

þæs ġēares wærun ofslægene nigon eorlas, *That year were slain nine earls*.

þæs ġēares wurdon nigon folcġefeht ġefohten, *That year nine battles were fought.*

383. The principal parts of a strong verb are the Infinitive, the Preterit Indicative 1 Singular, the Preterit Indicative Plural, and the Past Participle.

The principal parts of a weak verb are the Infinitive, the Preterit Indicative 1 Singular and the Past Participle.

STRONG VERBS

384. In OE, as in the other Gmc languages, there are seven classes of strong verbs (frequently called "ablaut series"), each of the first six classes being marked by a distinctive series of vowel changes.

CLASS I

385. The OE ablaut of Class I was: **i; ā; i; i**. The Prim Gmc ablaut was: **i; ai; i; i**. Representative verbs are:

bīdan , <i>await</i>	bād	bidon	biden
bītan , <i>bite</i>	bāt	biton	biten
drīfan , <i>drive</i>	drāf	drifon	drifen
ġewitan , <i>go</i>	ġewāt	ġewiton	ġewiten
rīdan , <i>ride</i>	rād	ridon	riden
rīsan , <i>rise</i>	rās	rison	risen ⁴
stīgan , <i>go</i>	stāh	stigon	stigen
scīnan , <i>shine</i>	scān	scinon	scinen

386. Verbs showing grammatical change (see 208-210):

snīðan , <i>cut</i>	snāð ,	snidon ,	sniden .
liðan , <i>go</i>	lāð ,	lidon ,	liden .
scriðan , <i>go</i>	scrāð ,	scridon ,	scriden .

⁴ **risan** lacks grammatical change in the Pret. Plu. and Past Part. The **s** has been levelled from the first two forms into the last two.

387. Contract Verbs:

tēon (<*tihan), <i>censure</i>	tāh ,	tigon ,	tiġen ⁵ .
þēon (<*þihan), <i>thrive</i>	þāh ,	þigon ,	þiġen ⁵ .
wrēon (<*wrihan), <i>cover</i>	wrāh ,	wrigon ,	wriġen ⁵ .

CLASS II

388. The OE ablaut of Class II was: **ēo (ū); ēa; u; o**. The Prim Gmc ablaut was: **eu (ū); au; u; u**. Representative verbs are:

bēodan , <i>command</i>	bēad	budon	boden
ċēowan , <i>chew</i>	ċēaw	cuwon	cowen
crēopan , <i>creep</i>	crēap	crupon	cropen
drēogan , <i>endure</i>	drēag	drugon	drogen
ġēotan , <i>pour</i>	ġēat	guton	goten
scēotan , <i>shoot</i>	scēat	scuton	scoten

389. Verbs with **ū** in the present:⁶

brūcan , <i>enjoy</i>	brēac	brucon	brocen
būgan , <i>bow</i>	bēag	bugon	bogen
lūcan , <i>lock</i>	lēac	lucon	locen
lūtan , <i>bow</i>	lēat	luton	loten
scūfan , <i>shove</i>	scēaf	scufon	scofen

390. Verbs with Grammatical Change:

ċēosan , <i>choose</i>	ċēas	curon	coren
frēosan , <i>freeze</i>	frēas	fruron	froren
sēoðan , <i>boil</i>	sēað	sudon	soden
drēosan , <i>fall</i>	drēas	druron	droren
lēosan , <i>lose</i>	lēas	luron	loren

⁵ These verbs also form their principal parts according to Class II: **tēon**, **tēah**, **tugon**, **togen**; **þēon**, **þēah**, **þugon**, **þogen**; **wrēon**, **wrēah**, **wrugon**, **wrogen**, **þēon** also has some parts formed according to Class III: Pret. Plur. **þungen**. Past Part. **þungen**; see note 93, Chapter XXIV.

⁶ Verbs with **ū** belong to a class called "aorist presents."

391. Contract Verbs:

tēon (<*tēohan), <i>draw</i>	tēah	tugon	togen
flēon (<*flēohan), <i>flee</i>	flēah	flugon	flogen

CLASS III

392. The Prim Gmc ablaut of Class III was: **e; a; u; u**. Strong verbs of Class III have a radical syllable ending in two consonants, of which the first is nearly always a nasal (**m, n**) or a liquid (**l, r**); they fall into four sub-classes:

393. (1) Verbs with radical syllable ending in nasal plus consonant:

bindan, <i>bind</i>	band (bond)	bundon	binden
drincan, <i>drink</i>	dranc (dronc)	druncon	druncen
ġelimpan, <i>happen</i>	ġelamp (ġelomp)	ġelumpon	ġelumpen
irnan, <i>run</i>	arn (orn)	urnon	urnen ⁷
onġinnan, <i>begin</i>	onġann (onġonn)	onġunnon	onġunnen
singan, <i>sing</i>	sang (song)	sungon	sungen
swimman, <i>swim</i>	swamm (swomm)	swummon	swummen
winnan, <i>strive</i>	wann (wonn)	wunnon	wunnen

394. (2) Verbs with radical syllable ending in **l** plus consonant:

delfan, <i>dig</i>	dealf	dulfon	dolfen
ġieldan, <i>yield</i>	ġeald	ġuldun	ġolden
ġiellan, <i>yell</i>	ġeall	ġullon	ġollen

⁷ In Gmc this verb was *rinnan, *rann, *runnun, *runnanaz. In Prehist OE occurred metathesis (transposition) of the **r**, resulting in OE *irnan*, *arn*, *urnon*, *urnen*.

ġielpan, <i>boast</i>	ġealp	gulpon	golpen
helpan, <i>help</i>	healp	hulpon	holpen
meltan, <i>melt</i>	mealt	multon	molten
melcan, <i>milk</i>	mealc	mulcon	molcen
swelgan, <i>swell</i>	swealg	swulgon	swolgen

395. Contract Verb:

fēolan (<*felhan), <i>fealh</i> <i>pierce</i>	fulgon	fōlen ⁹ (fālon ⁸)
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396. (3) Verbs with radical syllable ending in **r** or **h** plus consonant:

ċeorfan, <i>carve</i>	ċearf	curfon	corfen
feohtan, <i>fight</i>	feaht	fuhton	fohten
hweorfan, <i>turn</i>	hwearf	hwurfon	hworfen
weorpan, <i>cast</i>	wearp	wurpon	worpen

397. With Grammatical Change:

weorðan, <i>become</i>	wearð	wurdon	worden
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398. (4) Other Verbs:

bregðan, <i>move</i> <i>swiftly</i>	bræġð	brugdon	brogden
berstan, ¹⁰ <i>burst</i>	bærst ¹⁰	burston	borsten
frīġnan, <i>inquire</i> , <i>ascertain</i>	fræġn	frugnon	frugnen

⁸ Pret. Plu. *fālon* is due to analogy with fourth ablaut series forms like *stālon*.

⁹ Past Part. *fōlen*, instead of **folgen*, is due to an early levelling of **h** from Pres. and Pret. Sing.; **folhen* then became *fōlen*.

¹⁰ In Gmc this verb was **brestan*, **brast*, **brustun*, **brustanaz*; **brast* became OE *bræst*; after the period of Breaking, occurred metathesis of **r**, resulting in OE *berstan*, *bærst*, etc.

murnan , ¹¹ <i>mourn</i>	mearn	murnon	
spurnan , ¹¹	spearn	spurnon	spornen
<i>tread down</i>			

CLASS IV

399. The Prim Gmc ablaut of Class IV was: **e; a; æ; e.**

Strong verbs of Class IV have stems ending in a single consonant, nearly always a liquid (**l, r**) or a nasal.

Representative verbs are:

beran , <i>bear</i>	bær	bæron	boren
scieran , <i>shear</i>	scear	scēaron	scoren
stelan , <i>steal</i>	stæl	stælon	stolen

400. One verb originally belonged to Class V:

brecan , <i>break</i>	bræc	bræcon	brocen
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401. Two verbs had a radical syllable ending in a nasal:

niman , ¹² <i>seize, take</i>	nam	nōmon	numen
	(nōm)	(nāmon)	
cuman , ¹³ <i>come</i>	cōm	cōmen	cumen
	(cwōm)	(cwōmon)	(cymen)

¹¹ **murnan** and **spurnan** are "aorist present" verbs.

¹² The **i** of **niman** is due to the OE change of WGmc **e** to **i** if followed by **m** (see 226). The **ō** of **nōmon** is due to the development of WGmc **ā** to **ō** if followed by a nasal (see 230); **nōm** has **ō** by analogy with **nōmon**. The WGmc Past Part. ***nomanz** became OE **numen** (see 228).

¹³ **cuman** appeared in Gmc as ***cweman** and as ***cwuman**, the latter form being an "aorist present." In WGmc **w** disappeared if preceded by a consonant and followed by **u** or **o**. Gmc ***cwuman** therefore became OE **cuman**. Pret. Plu. **cōmon** (<***cwōmon**) has **ō** from WGmc **ā** (see 230). **cōm** has **ō** by analogy with **cōmon**. The Past Part. **cumen** was from WGmc ***komanz** (see 228). The Past Part. **cymen** developed from a form ***cuminz** (an alternative Gmc and WGmc Past Part. ending ***-inz** existed beside ***-anz**).

CLASS V

402. The Prim Gmc ablaut of Class V was: **e; a; æ; e.** It should be observed that this is the same as that of Class IV except in the past participle.

Strong verbs of Class V have stems ending in a single consonant which is neither a liquid nor a nasal. Representative verbs are:

metan , <i>measure</i>	mæt	mæton	meten
ġiefan , <i>give</i>	ġeaf	ġēafon	ġiefen
ġietan , <i>get</i>	ġeat	ġēaton	ġieten
specan , <i>speak</i>	spæc	spæcon	specen
sprecan , <i>speak</i>	spræc	spræcon	sprecen
swefan , <i>sleep</i>	swæf	swæfon	swefen
tredan , <i>tread</i>	træd	trædon	treden
wegan , <i>carry</i>	wæg	wægon	wegen

403. Two verbs with irregular Pret. Sing.:

etan , <i>eat</i>	æt	æton	eten
fretan , <i>devour</i>	fræt	fræton	freten

404. With grammatical change:

cweþan , <i>say</i>	cwæþ	cwædon	cweden
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405. Contract verbs:

ġefēon (< *ġefe- han), <i>rejoice</i>	ġefeah	ġefægon	ġefægen (adj.)
plēon (< *plehan), <i>adventure</i>	pleah		
sēon ¹⁴ (< *sehan), <i>see seah</i>		sāwon (sægon)	sewen (segen)

¹⁴ This verb comes from Gmc ***sehwan**, ***sahw**, ***sægwun**, ***seġwanaz**. In WGmc ***sægwun**, sometimes **g**, sometimes **w** disappeared, giving OFris **sēgin**; OS **sāwun**; OE **sægon** and **sāwon**. Similarly the WGmc Past Part. ***seġwanz** gave OE **segen** and **sewen**.

406. *j*-presents (see Chapter XIX):

<i>biddan, ask</i>	<i>bæd</i>	<i>bædon</i>	<i>beden</i>
<i>licgan, lie</i>	<i>læġ</i>	<i>lægon</i>	<i>leġen</i>
<i>sittan, sit</i>	<i>sæt</i>	<i>sæton</i>	<i>seten</i>

CLASS VI

407. The Prim Gmc ablaut of Class VI was: *a*; *ō*; *ō*; *a*.

Representative verbs are:

<i>dragan, draw</i>	<i>drōg</i>	<i>drōgon</i>	<i>dragen</i>
<i>faran, go</i>	<i>fōr</i>	<i>fōron</i>	<i>faren (færen)</i>
<i>hladan, lade</i>	<i>hlōd</i>	<i>hlōdon</i>	<i>hladen</i>
<i>scacan, shake</i>	<i>scōc</i>	<i>scōcon</i>	<i>scacen</i>
<i>scafan, shave</i>	<i>scōf</i>	<i>scōfon</i>	<i>scafen</i>
<i>spanan, seduce</i>	<i>spōn</i>	<i>spōnon</i>	<i>spanen</i>
<i>(spannan)</i>	<i>(spēon)¹⁵</i>	<i>(spēonon)</i>	<i>(spannen)</i>
<i>standan,¹⁶ stand</i>	<i>stōd</i>	<i>stōdon</i>	<i>standen</i>
<i>wascan, wash</i>	<i>wōsc</i>	<i>wōscon</i>	<i>wascen</i>
<i>weaxan, grow</i>	<i>wōx</i>	<i>wōxon</i>	<i>weaxen</i>
	<i>(wēox)¹⁵</i>	<i>(wēoxon)</i>	

408. Contract Verbs:

<i>slēan (<*slahan),</i> <i>strike</i>	<i>slōh</i> <i>(slōg)</i>	<i>slōgon</i>	<i>slagen (slæ-</i> <i>ġen, sleġen)¹⁷</i>
<i>lēan (<*lahan),</i> <i>blame</i>	<i>lōh</i> <i>(lōg)</i>	<i>lōgon</i>	<i>lagen (læġen,</i> <i>leġen)¹⁷</i>
<i>flēan (<*flahan),</i> <i>flay</i>	<i>flōh</i> <i>(flōg)</i>	<i>flōgon</i>	<i>flagen</i>

¹⁵ *weaxan* and *spannan* form preterits *wēox*, *spēon* by analogy with verbs of Class VII.¹⁶ *standan* has a "nasal infix" in the Pres. and Past Part.¹⁷ *sleġen*, *leġen*, *scepen*, are due to Prehist OE forms like **slaġinz*, etc. Cf. note 13, *cymen* (p. 174).409. *j*-presents:

<i>hebban, heave</i>	<i>hōf</i>	<i>hōfon</i>	<i>hafen (hæfen)</i>
<i>steppan, step</i>	<i>stōp</i>	<i>stōpon</i>	<i>stapen</i>
<i>swerian, swear</i>	<i>swōr</i>	<i>swōron</i>	<i>swaren</i> <i>(sworen)¹⁸</i>
<i>scieppan, create</i>	<i>scōp</i>	<i>scōpon</i>	<i>scapen</i> <i>(scepen)¹⁷</i>
<i>hliehhan, laugh</i>	<i>hlōh</i>	<i>hlōgon</i>	
<i>sceþþan, injure</i>	<i>scōd¹⁹</i>	<i>scōdon</i>	

CLASS VII

410. Verbs of the seventh class have been called "reduplicating" because in Gothic their preterits were formed by prefixing to the preterit stem a syllable consisting of the initial consonant plus *e* (in Goth spelled *ai*): Goth *slēpan*—*saíslēp*, *sleep*—*slept*; *lētan*—*laílot*, *permit*—*permitted*. In all other Gmc languages, however, this reduplicating preterit has almost completely disappeared, leaving only a few traces: e.g., in OE, chiefly in poetry, occur occasionally:

heht, Pret. Sing. of *hātan*, beside usual *hēt*.*reord*, Pret. Sing. of *rādan*, beside usual *rædde*, *rēd*.*leolc*, Pret. Sing. of *lācan*, beside usual *lēc*.*leort*, Pret. Sing. of *lātan*, beside usual *lēt*.*dreord*, Pret. Sing. of *drādan* beside usual *drædde*, *drēd*.

In OE, as in the Old Norse, Old Saxon, and Old High German, the usual preterit of these so-called "reduplicating" verbs is an ablaut tense form.

411. Reduplication was an important method of tense formation in the older Indo-European languages. In Greek and Sanskrit the perfect was almost always a reduplicating

¹⁸ *sworen* is due to analogy with *boren*, etc.¹⁹ *scōd* has -*d* by analogy with Pret. Plu. *scōdon*.

tense. In Latin many verbs retain reduplication in their perfect. Thus Latin *dare*, *canere*, and *cadere* have as their perfects *dedi*, *cecini*, and *cecidī*. In Greek, Sanskrit, and prehistoric Latin, however, there was another very important past tense called the aorist, which did not have reduplication and which seems to have been one of the possible ancestors of the OE ablauting preterit. In the case of these so-called reduplicating verbs, the Germanic languages seem originally to have had two preterit tenses, one based on the non-reduplicating aorist, the other on the reduplicating perfect. In Gothic the reduplicating perfect completely supplanted the aorist. In the West and North Germanic languages the non-reduplicating aorist almost completely supplanted the reduplicating perfect. This explanation avoids the utterly impossible theory that OE *cnēow*, *knew*, (for example) developed from such a form as **cné-cnāw* by the loss of medial *-cn-* and the consequent contraction of the vowels.

412. The infinitive and present of verbs of Class VII have as their stem vowel *ā*, *a* (o) followed by a nasal, *ea*, *ēa*, *æ*, *ō*, *ē*, and the preterit has either *ē* or *ēo*. The verbs are divided into two sub-classes on the basis of the preterit vowel.

413. (1) Verbs with *ē* in preterit. Representative verbs are:

<i>hātan</i> , <i>call</i>	<i>hēt</i>	<i>hēton</i>	<i>hāten</i>
<i>blandan</i> , <i>blend</i>	<i>blēnd</i>	<i>blēndon</i>	<i>blanden</i>
<i>drædan</i> , <i>dread</i>	<i>drēd</i> (<i>drædde</i> ²⁰)	<i>drēdon</i> (<i>dræddon</i>)	<i>dræden</i>
<i>lætan</i> , <i>permit</i>	<i>lēt</i>	<i>lēton</i>	<i>lāten</i>
<i>rædan</i> , <i>advise</i>	<i>rēd</i> (<i>rædde</i> ²⁰)	<i>rēdon</i> (<i>ræddon</i>)	<i>rāden</i>
<i>slæpan</i> , <i>sleep</i>	<i>slēp</i> ²¹	<i>slēpon</i>	<i>slāpen</i>

²⁰ *rædan* and *drædan* usually have weak preterits.

²¹ *slæpan* occasionally has a weak preterit, *slæpte*.

414. Contract Verbs:

<i>fōn</i> (< Prim Gmc <i>*fanhanan</i>), <i>seize</i>	<i>fēng</i>	<i>fēngon</i>	<i>fangen</i>
<i>hōn</i> (< Prim Gmc <i>*hanhanan</i>), <i>hang</i>	<i>hēng</i>	<i>hēngon</i>	<i>hangen</i>

415. (2) Verbs with *ēo* in preterit. Representative verbs are:

<i>bēatan</i> , <i>beat</i>	<i>bēot</i>	<i>bēoton</i>	<i>bēaten</i>
<i>hēawan</i> , <i>hew</i>	<i>hēow</i>	<i>hēowon</i>	<i>hēawen</i>
<i>hlēapan</i> , <i>run</i>	<i>hlēop</i>	<i>hlēopon</i>	<i>hlēapen</i>
<i>blāwan</i> , <i>blow</i>	<i>blēow</i>	<i>blēowon</i>	<i>blāwen</i>
<i>cnāwan</i> , <i>know</i>	<i>cnēow</i>	<i>cnēowon</i>	<i>cnāwen</i>
<i>sāwan</i> , <i>sow</i>	<i>sēow</i>	<i>sēowon</i>	<i>sāwen</i>
<i>gangan</i> , <i>go</i>	<i>gēong</i>	<i>gēongon</i>	<i>gāgen</i>
<i>fealdan</i> , <i>fold</i>	<i>fēold</i>	<i>fēoldon</i>	<i>fealden</i>
<i>feallan</i> , <i>fall</i>	<i>fēoll</i>	<i>fēollon</i>	<i>feallen</i>
<i>healdan</i> , <i>hold</i>	<i>hēold</i>	<i>hēoldon</i>	<i>healden</i>
<i>wealdan</i> , <i>rule</i>	<i>wēold</i>	<i>wēoldon</i>	<i>wealden</i>
<i>blōwan</i> , <i>bloom</i>	<i>blēow</i>	<i>blēowon</i>	<i>blōwen</i>
<i>flōwan</i> , <i>flow</i>	<i>flēow</i>	<i>flēowon</i>	<i>flōwen</i>
<i>grōwan</i> , <i>grow</i>	<i>grēow</i>	<i>grēowon</i>	<i>grōwen</i>

416. j-presents:

<i>wēpan</i> (< <i>*wōpjan</i>), <i>weep</i>	<i>wēop</i>	<i>wēopon</i>	<i>wōpen</i>
<i>hwēsan</i> (< <i>*hwōs-</i> <i>jan</i>), <i>heeze</i>	<i>hwēos</i>	<i>hwēoson</i>	<i>hwōsen</i>

STRONG VERBS—PARADIGMS

417. The full conjugation of the strong verbs, exemplified by *bidan*, *await*, *bēodan*, *command*, and *beran*, *bear*, is as follows:

INDICATIVE

Present

Sing. 1	bīde	bēode	bere
2	bīst, bīdest	bīetst, bēodeſt	bīrst, berest
3	bīt(t), bīdeþ	bīet(t), bēodeþ	bīrþ, bereþ
Plu. 1, 2, 3	bīdaþ	bēodaþ	beraþ
Preterit			
Sing. 1	bād	bēad	bær
2	bīde	bude	bære
3	bād	bēad	bær
Plu. 1, 2, 3	bīdon	budon	bæron

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present

Sing. 1, 2, 3	bīde	bēode	bere
Plu. 1, 2, 3	bīden	bēoden	beren

Preterit

Sing. 1, 2, 3	bīde	bude	bære
Plu. 1, 2, 3	bīden	buden	bæren

IMPERATIVE

Present

Sing. 2	bīd	bēod	ber
Plu. 1	bīdan	bēodan	beran
2	bīdaþ	bēodaþ	beraþ
Infinitive	bīdan	bēodan	beran
Gerund	tō bīdenne, -anne	tō bēodenne, -anne	tō berenne, -anne
Pres. Part.	bīdende	bēodende	berende
Past Part.	bīden	boden	boren

PERSONAL ENDINGS OF STRONG (AND OF FIRST WEAK) VERBS

Present Indicative

418. 1st Sing. was Gmc **-ō**. This became OE **-u**, which often appears in the earliest MSS. After 800 the usual ending is **-e**, probably from the Subjunc. 1st Sing.

2d Sing. was Gmc **-is**. The **-i-** produced umlaut of the radical vowel, after which the vowel of the ending weakened, and the ending became **-es**. The **-t** of **-es-t** came from the frequent juncture with the postpositive subject **-þū**, giving ***-esþū > *-estū > -est**.

In strong verbs (and long-stemmed first weak verbs) the **-e-** is usually syncopated in EWS, giving the ending **-st** (see 259. 1).

3d Sing. was Gmc **-iþ**. After producing umlaut the ending became **-eþ**. In strong verbs (and long-stemmed first weak verbs) the **-e-** is usually syncopated in EWS, giving **-þ** (see 259. 1).

The Plu. ending was originally the Gmc 3d Plu. **-anþ**, which became OE **-aþ**. This ending was extended by analogy to the 1st and 2nd Plu.

Plu. Indic. forms such as **bīde**, **bēode**, **bere**, etc., occur when the subject is the 1st or 2d personal pronoun **wē**, **gē**, **wit**, **gīt**, if the pronoun follows the verb: **bīde wē**, **bēode gē**.

Present Subjunctive

In the Sing. the Prim Gmc endings all became OE **-e**. In the Plu., the regularly developed ending of the 3d person, **-en**, was extended to the 1st and 2d persons.

Preterit Indicative

The 1st and 3d Sing. IE endings were lost in Prim Gmc. The 2d Sing. forms **bīde**, **bude**, **bære**, etc., may be from the Subjunc.

Gmc 3d Plu. **-un** became OE **-on**. As in the Pres. Indic., the ending of the 3d person was extended by analogy to the 1st and 2d persons plural.

Forms like Pres. Plu. Indic. **bīde wē**, etc., occur in the Pret. also, but rarely: **bide wē**, **bude wē**, **bære wē**.

Imperative

The 1st Plu. **-an** is of obscure origin. The form is used as a hortative. It is usually supplanted by the Subjunc. **-en**.

Gerund

The Gerund was originally the Dat. of the Infin., Gmc ***-anjai**, which became OE **-enne**. The ending **-anne** has **-a-** by analogy with the Infin. **-an**.

CONJUGATION OF CONTRACT VERBS

419. The contract verbs, exemplified by **tēon**, *draw*, **sēon** *see*, **slēan**, *strike*, and **fōn**, *seize*, are conjugated in the Pres. Indic., Subjunc., and Imper. as follows:

INDICATIVE

Pres. Sing. 1	tēo	sēo	slēa	fō
2	tīehst	siehst	sliehst	fēhst
3	tīehþ	siehþ	sliehþ	fēhþ
Plu. 1, 2, 3	tēoþ	sēoþ	slēaþ	fōþ

SUBJUNCTIVE

Pres. Sing. 1, 2, 3	tēo	sēo	slēa	fō
Plu. 1, 2, 3	tēon	sēon	slēan	fōn

IMPERATIVE

Pres. Sing. 2	tēoh	seoh	sleah	fōh
Plu. 1	tēon	sēon	slēan	fōn
2	tēoþ	sēoþ	slēaþ	fōþ
Infinitive	tēon	sēon	slēan	fōn
Gerund	tō tēonne	tō sēonne	tō slēanne	tō fōnne

For explanations of these forms, see Chapter XXIV.

420. The forms of the Pres. Indic. 2d and 3d Sing. of other contract verbs are as follows:

Class I: **þēon**: **þiehst**, **þiehþ**; **wrēon**: **wriehst**, **wriehþ**.

Class II: **flēon**: **fliehst**, **fliehþ**.

Class III: **fēolan**: **fielhst**, **fielhþ**.

Class V: **fēon**: **fiehst**, **fiehþ**.

Class VI: **þwēan**: **þwiehst**, **þwiehþ**.

Class VII: **hōn**: **hēhst**, **hēhþ**.

SYNCOPATION AND ASSIMILATION IN STRONG VERBS

421. In the 2d and 3d Sing. Pres. Indic. of strong verbs the vowel of the endings **-est**, **-eþ**, is often syncopated, and a final **d**, **t**, **þ**, or **g** of the radical syllable is assimilated, the resulting combination often being further simplified. Before syncopation took place, umlaut of the radical vowel, whenever it was capable of umlaut, had already occurred. But as the result of analogy, syncopated forms without umlaut and unsyncopated forms, both with and without umlaut, were developed. In WS the syncopated forms with umlaut are the prevailing ones.

Verb	2d Sing.	3d Sing.
bidan (I) <i>await</i>	bīst , bīdest	bīt(t) , bīdeþ
stīgan (I) <i>go</i>	stīhst , stīgest	stīhþ , stīgeþ
bēodan (II) <i>command</i>	bīetst , bēodest	bīet(t) , bēodeþ
ċēosan (II) <i>choose</i>	ċiest , ċēosest	ċiet , ċēoseþ

bindan (III) <i>bind</i>	bintst, bindest	bint, bindeþ
helpan (III) <i>help</i>	hilpst, helpest	hilpþ, helpeþ
weorþan (III) <i>become</i>	wierst, weorþest	wierþ, weorþeþ
weorpan (III) <i>cast</i>	wierpst, weorpest	wierpþ, weorpeþ
beran (IV) <i>bear</i>	birst, berest	birþ, bereþ
cuman (IV) <i>come</i>	cymst, cumeþ	cymþ, cumeþ
etan (V) <i>eat</i>	itst, etest	it(t), eteþ
cweþan (V) <i>say</i>	cwist, cweþest	cwiþ, cweþeþ
biddan (V) <i>ask</i>	bitst, bidest	bit(t), bideþ
faran (VI) <i>go</i>	færst, færest	færþ, færeþ
standan (VI) <i>stand</i>	stentst, standest	stent, standeþ
hātan (VII) <i>command</i>	hætst, hātest	hæt(t), hāteþ
healdan (VII) <i>hold</i>	hieltst, healdest	hielt, healdeþ
feallan (VII) <i>fall</i>	fielst, feallest	fielþ, fealleþ
tēon (I) <i>blame</i>	tiehst	tiehþ
tēon (II) <i>draw</i>	tiehst	tiehþ
sēon (V) <i>see</i>	siehst	siehþ
slēan (VI) <i>strike</i>	sliehst	sliehþ
fōn (VII) <i>seize</i>	fēhst	fēhþ

422. In the syncopated forms:

1. A double consonant at the end of the radical syllable is simplified: *feallan*, *fielst*, *fielþ*.

2. *d* before *st* becomes *t*: *bīdan*, *bītst*.

3. *d* before *þ* becomes *t*, *þ* becomes *t*, and *tt* is simplified: *bīdan*, *bīt*.

4. *t* before *þ* assimilates *þ* to *t*, and *tt* is simplified: *etan*, *it*.

5. *g* before *st* or *þ* becomes *h*: *stīgan*, *stihst*, *stihþ*.

6. *þ* before *st* usually disappears, but may become *t*, or may be restored: *cweþan*, *cwist*; *snīþan*, *snītst*, *snīþst*.

7. *þ* before *þ* is simplified: *cweþan*, *cwiþ*.

8. *s* before *st* is simplified: *ċēosan*, *ċiest* (2d).

9. *s* before *þ* gives *st*: *ċēosan*, *ċiest* (3d).

WEAK VERBS

423. Three classes of weak verbs are to be distinguished in OE.

1. Weak verbs of the first class had a prehistoric suffix containing *-j-* or *-i-*. Cf. Chapter XVIII.

2. Weak verbs of the second class had a prehistoric suffix containing *-ōj-* or *-ō-*.

3. Weak verbs of the third class had a prehistoric suffix containing *-ai-*.

FIRST WEAK VERBS

424. Typical first weak verbs are conjugated as follows: *fremman*, *make*; *dēman*, *judge*; *nerian*, *save*.

INDICATIVE

		Present	
Sing. 1	fremme	dēme	nerie
2	fremest	dēmst, dēmest	nerest
3	fremeþ	dēmþ, dēmeþ	nereþ
Plu. 1, 2, 3	fremmaþ	dēmaþ	neriaþ
		Preterit	
Sing. 1, 3	fremede	dēmde	nerede
2	fremedest	dēmdest	neredest
Plu. 1, 2, 3	fremedon	dēmdon	neredon

SUBJUNCTIVE

		Present	
Sing.	fremme	dēme	nerie
Plu.	fremmen	dēmen	nerien
		Preterit	
Sing.	fremede	dēmde	nerede
Plu.	fremeden	dēmden	nereden

IMPERATIVE

	Present		
Sing. 2	freme	dēm	nere
Plu. 1	fremman	dēman	nerian
2	fremmaþ	dēmaþ	neriaþ
Infin.	fremman	dēman	nerian
Gerund	tō fremmenne, -anne	tō dēmenne, -anne	tō nerienne, -anne
Pres. Part.	fremmende	dēmende	neriende
Past Part.	fremed	dēmed	nered

425. First weak verbs had in Prim Gmc a prehistoric suffix which occurred sometimes in the form *j*, sometimes in the form *i*. In the Gmc forms from which the OE forms were derived *j* occurred in the Pres. Indic. 1st Sing., the Pres. Indic. Plu., the Pres. Subjunc. Sing. and Plu., the Imper. Plu., the Infin., Ger., and Pres. Part.; *i* occurred in the Pres. Indic. 2d and 3d Sing., the Pret. Indic. and Subjunc., the Imper. Sing., and the Past Part. Both *j* and *i* umlauted the vowel of the radical syllable. Wherever *j* occurred the final consonant (except *r*) of an originally short radical syllable was geminated. *i*, however, tho causing umlaut, did not cause gemination. For a detailed presentation, see Chapters XVII, XVIII.

426. A distinction is to be made between verbs with an originally short radical syllable like **fremman**, **nerian** (< Gmc **fram-jan*, **naz-jan*), and those with an originally long radical syllable, like **dēman** (< Gmc **dōm-jan*).

1. Verbs with originally short stems form their preterit indicative first person singular by means of the ending **-ede**, and their past participle by means of the ending **-ed**. The principal parts of representative verbs are as follows:

fremman , <i>make</i>	fremede	fremed
nerian , <i>save</i>	nerede	nered

2. Verbs with originally long stems form the preterit indicative first person singular by means of the ending **-de** or **-te**; that is, the middle vowel **-e-** is syncopated. When the stem of the verb ends in a voiced consonant, the ending is **-de**; but when the stem ends in a voiceless consonant, the ending is **-te**. They form the past participle by means of the ending **-ed**. Representative verbs are:

dēman , <i>judge</i>	dēmdē	dēmed
cemban , <i>comb</i>	cembde	cembed
ærnan , <i>gallop</i>	ærnde	ærned
cēpan , <i>keep</i>	cēpte	cēped
scierpan , <i>sharpen</i>	scierpte	scierped
ādwāscan , <i>quench</i>	ādwāscete	ādwāsced
fyllan , <i>fill</i>	fylde	fyllēd

Verbs whose stems end in **d** or **t** always syncopate the middle vowel of the preterit ending, no matter whether the stem was originally long or originally short, so that the ending becomes **-de** or **-te**. The vowel of the ending of the past participle may also be syncopated, so that it becomes **-dd** or **-tt** instead of **-ed**. Representative verbs are:

hreddan , <i>save</i>	hredde	hreded , hred(d)
settan , <i>set</i>	sette	seted , set(t)
lādan , <i>lead</i>	lādde	lāded , lād(d)
mētan , <i>meet</i>	mētte	mēted , mēt(t)

Verbs whose stems end in **d** or **t** preceded by another consonant have only a single **d** or **t** in the preterit and in the syncopated form of the past participle. Examples are:

wendan , <i>turn</i>	wende	wended , wend
fæstan , <i>make fast</i>	fæste	fæsted , fæst

427. The preterits and past participles of verbs of several types require special attention. The principal parts are:

nemnan , <i>name</i>	nemde	nemned , nemd
hyngnan , <i>hunger</i>	hyngrede	hyngred
biecnan , <i>make a sign</i>	biecnede	biecned
dieġlan , <i>conceal</i>	dieġlede	dieġled
ġierwan , <i>prepare</i>	ġierede	ġier(w)ed
lecgan , <i>lay</i>	leġde	leġd

nemde, **nemd** show syncopation after the long radical syllable **nemn-**; **n** disappeared between **m** and **d** thru "phonetic economy."

hyngrede, **hyngred** (and **biecnede**, **dieġlede**, etc.) retain the middle vowel because the long radical syllable plus **r**, **n**, or **l** phonetically required a vowel between **r**, **n**, or **l** and **d**.

ġierede, **ġiered**, show the regular disappearance of **w** before **e** (<**iw** was sometimes restored by analogy with the forms where it was retained.

leġde, **leġd**, though the radical syllable is short, show syncopation.

SYNCOPATION AND ASSIMILATION IN FIRST WEAK VERBS

428. Syncopation, and the frequent assimilation and simplification of resultant consonant combinations, occurred under certain circumstances in the 2d and 3d Sing. Pres. Indic., and in the Pret. and Past Part. of many first weak verbs.

429. I. In the 2d and 3d Sing. Pres. Indic., syncopation occurred in EWS in verbs with originally long radical syllables, providing the consonant combination which would result was capable of being pronounced. Thus **dēmst**, **dēmþ**, **cēpst**, **cēpþ**, **mētst**. After syncopation, the final consonant of the radical syllable was often assimilated to that of the ending, or the consonant of the ending to that of the radical syllable. (See 418, 422, 259, 260.)

1. A double consonant at the end of the radical syllable is simplified: **fyllan**, **fylst**, **fylþ**.

2. **d** before **st** becomes **t**: **lādan**, **lātst** (2d).

3. **d** before **þ** gives **tt**, and **tt** is simplified: **lādan**, **lāt** (3d).

4. **þ** after **t** is assimilated to **t**, and **tt** is simplified: **mētan**, **mēt** (3d).

5. **s**(**s**) before **st** is simplified: **cyssan**, **cyst** (2d).

6. **s** before **þ** gives **st**: **cyssan**, **cyst** (3d).

7. **st** before **st** gives **st**: **fæstan**, **fæst** (2d).

But in all verbs with long radical syllables we find frequently the endings **-est**, **-eþ**, levelled by analogy from verbs with originally short radical syllables.

Verbs like **hyngnan**, *hunger*, **timbran**, *build*, **efnan**, *level*, **seġlan**, *sail*, which have a radical syllable ending in a voiced consonant plus a liquid or nasal, do not exhibit syncopation.

430. II. In the preterit, syncopation of the vowel **-e** (<**idēman**, **dēnde**, **cemban**, **cembde**, **lādan**, **lādde**.

Syncopation occurs even in verbs with originally short radical syllables if the radical syllable ends in **d** or **t**: **hreddan**, **hredde**; **settan**, **sette**.

If the radical syllable ended in two consonants, the latter of which was **d** or **t**, the resulting combination was simplified: **wendan**, **wende**; **fæstan**, **fæste**.

431. III. In the past participle, syncopation, assimilation, and simplification occurred if the radical syllable ended in **d** or **t**: **hreddan**, **hred**; **settan**, **set**; **lādan**, **lād**; **mētan**, **mēt**; **wendan**, **wend**; **fæstan**, **fæst**; also in **nemnan**, **nemd**. Unsyncopated forms with **-ed**, however, occur rather frequently in the past participle of these verbs.

FIRST WEAK VERBS "WITHOUT MIDDLE VOWEL"

432. Certain weak verbs of Class I exhibit no umlaut in the preterit and past participle. In Prim Gmc these verbs

had **-j-** or **-i-** in the present, but had no **-i-** in the Pret. and Past Part. See 146.

Representative verbs are:

tellan, <i>count</i>	tealde	teald
sellan, <i>give</i>	sealde	seald
cwellan, <i>kill</i>	cwealde	cweald
stellan, <i>place</i>	stealde	steald
bycgan, <i>buy</i>	bohte	boht
cweccan, <i>shake</i>	cweahte, cwehte	cweaht, cweht
reccan, <i>narrate</i>	reahte	reaht, reht
streccan, <i>stretch</i>	streahte, strehte	streaht, streht
ræcan, <i>reach</i>	rāhte, ræhte	rāht, ræht
tæcan, <i>teach</i>	tāhte, tæhte	tāht, tæht
sēcān, <i>seek</i>	sōhte	sōht
wyrčan, <i>work</i>	worhte	worht
þenčan, <i>think</i>	þōhte	þōht
þyncan, <i>seem</i>	þūhte	þūht
bringan, <i>bring</i>	brōhte	brōht

433. Conjugation of *tellan, count, sēcān, seek, bycgan, buy, þenčan, think*, in present indicative:

Sing. 1	telle	sce	bycge	þenče
2	telest	sēcst, sēcest	bygest	þencst, þencest
3	teleþ	sēcþ, sēceþ	bygeþ	þencþ, þenceþ
Plu. 1, 2, 3	tellaþ	sēcāþ	bycgāþ	þenčāþ

SECOND WEAK VERBS

434. Second weak verbs in Gmc had a stem ending in **-ō-**, as appears from Goth *salbōn*, OHG *salbōn*, *anoint*. In OFris, OS, and OE, however, the ending **-jan** (**-jō**, **-janþ**, etc.) is added to the stem **salbō-*, giving Prehist OE **salbōjan*; this, by umlaut of the **ō**, became **sealfējan* > **sealfejan* > **sealfjan* > *sealfian*.

435. The conjugation of *bodian, proclaim*, together with the Prehist OE forms, follows:

INDICATIVE

	Prehist OE	OE
Present		
Sing. 1	*bodōju	bodie
2	*bodōs	bodas(t)
3	*bodōþ	bodaþ
Plu. 1, 2, 3	*bodōjanþ	bodiaþ
Preterit		
Sing. 1	*bodōde	bodode
2	*bodōdes	bododest
3	*bodōde	bodode
Plu. 1, 2, 3	*bodōdun	bododon, bodedon ²²

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present		
Sing. 1, 2, 3	*bodōje	bodie
Plu. 1, 2, 3	*bodōjen	bodien
Preterit		
Sing. 1, 2, 3	*bodōde	bodode
Plu. 1, 2, 3	*bodōden	bododen

IMPERATIVE

Sing. 2	*bodō	boda
Plu. 1	*bodōjan	bodian
2	*bodōjanþ	bodiaþ
Infin.	*bodōjan	bodian
Gerund	tō *bodōjannje	tō bodienne
Pres. Part.	*bodōjandi	bodiende
Past Part.	*bodōd	bodod

²² The middle vowel **-o-** often became **e** when the vowel of the next syllable was **a**, **o**, or **u**; it remained **o**, however, when the vowel of the next syllable was **e**. This explains the variation that we find between *bodode* and *bodedon*, and between *heofones*, Gen. Sing., and *heofenas*, Nom. Plur.

THIRD WEAK VERBS

436. Third weak verbs in Gmc had a stem ending in *-ai-*, as appears in Goth 2d and 3d Sing. Pres. Indic. *habais; habaiþ*, *have*; Pret. *habaida*, *had*; OHG *habēn* (<*habain). In OFris, OS, and OE the verbs originally belonging to the third class have been so widely and thoroughly influenced by analogy with the first and second classes that practically no traces of the Gmc conjugation remain.

(1) Some verbs, like *fæstan*, *make firm*, (cf. OHG *fastēn*), have completely "gone over" to the first weak verbs.

(2) Some verbs, like *tilian*, *strive* (cf. OHG *zīlēn*), have completely "gone over" to the second weak verbs.

(3) Some verbs, like *fylġean*, *folġian*, *follow*, exhibit, in one set of forms, umlaut and the endings of the first weak verbs, as in *fylġean*, and, in another complete set of forms, no umlaut and the endings of the second weak verbs, as in *folġian*.

(4) A few verbs, *habban*, *have*; *libban*, *live*; *secgan*, *say*; *hycgan*, *think*; and contract verbs like *þrēagan*, *rebuke*; *frēogan*, *free*, are usually so conjugated in WS as to deserve to be regarded as still a separate conjugation.

437. The principal parts of *þrēagan*, *rebuke*, and *frēogan*, *free*, are:

<i>þrēagan</i>	<i>þrēade</i>	<i>þrēad</i>
<i>frēogan</i>	<i>frēode</i>	<i>frēod</i>

The present indicative forms are: *þrēage*, *þrēast*, *þrēaþ*, Plu. *þrēagaþ*; *frēoge*, *frēost*, *frēoþ*, Plu. *frēogaþ*.

438. Conjugation of *habban*, *have*, *libban*, *live*, *secgan*, *say*:

INDICATIVE

Present

Sing. 1	<i>hæbbe</i>	<i>libbe, lifġe</i>	<i>secge</i>
2	<i>hæfst, hafast</i>	<i>lifast</i>	<i>sæġst, sagast</i>
3	<i>hæfþ, hafap</i>	<i>lifap</i>	<i>sæġþ, sagaþ</i>
Plu. 1, 2, 3	<i>habbaþ, hæbbaþ</i>	<i>libbaþ, lifġaþ</i>	<i>secgaþ</i>

Preterit

Sing. 1, 3	<i>hæfde</i>	<i>lifde</i>	<i>sæġde</i>
2	<i>hæfdest</i>	<i>lifdest</i>	<i>sæġdest</i>
Plu. 1, 2, 3	<i>hæfdon</i>	<i>lifdon</i>	<i>sæġdon</i>

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present

Sing.	<i>hæbbe</i>	<i>libbe, lifġe</i>	<i>secge</i>
Plu.	<i>hæbben</i>	<i>libben, lifġen</i>	<i>secgen</i>

Preterit

Sing.	<i>hæfde</i>	<i>lifde</i>	<i>sæġde</i>
Plu.	<i>hæfden</i>	<i>lifden</i>	<i>sæġden</i>

IMPERATIVE

Present

Sing. 2	<i>hafa</i>	<i>lifa</i>	<i>saga, sæġe</i>
Plu. 2	<i>habbaþ</i>	<i>libbaþ, lifġaþ</i>	<i>secgaþ</i>

INFINITIVE

<i>habban</i>	<i>libban, lifġan</i>	<i>secgan</i>
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PRESENT PARTICIPLE

<i>hæbbende</i>	<i>libbende, lifġende</i>	<i>secgende</i>
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PAST PARTICIPLE

<i>hæfd</i>	<i>lifd</i>	<i>sæġd</i>
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Forms with gemination (*hæbbe*, *libbe*, *secge*, etc.) show that they derive from Gmc *-j-* forms, *habjai, *libjai, *sajjai.

Forms with **-a-** in the ending (**hafab**, **hafa**, etc.) show that they derive from prehistoric **-ō-** forms.

Forms like **hæfde**, **hæfd**, etc., are like such first weak forms as **tealde**, **teald**, which lack a middle vowel in the preterit and past participle.

PRETERITIVE-PRESENT VERBS

439. The Preteritive-Present Verbs were originally strong verbs. The original strong preterits, however, have the meaning of the present tense in OE and other Gmc languages, while a new weak preterit has been formed to signify past time. For details see 175-177.

440. Since these verbs not only originally belonged to various classes of strong verbs, but still show the class to which they belong, they may be grouped as follows:

Original Series	Verb	Pres. 3 Sing. (Old Str. Pret.)	Pres. Plu. (Old Str. Pret.)	Pret. 3 Sing. (New Weak Pret.)
I.	āgan , <i>possess</i>	āh	āgon	āhte
I.	witan , <i>know</i>	wāt	witon	wisse , wiste
II.	dugan , <i>avail</i>	dēag	dugon	dohte
III.	unnan , <i>grant</i>	ann , onn	unnon	ūþe
III.	cunnan , <i>know, be able</i>	cann , conn	cunnon	cūþe
III.	þurfan , <i>need</i>	þearf	þurfon	þorfte
III.	durran , <i>dare</i>	dearr	durron	dorste
IV.	sculan , <i>be obliged</i>	sceal	sculon	sceolde
IV.	munan , <i>remember</i>	man , mon	munon	munde
V.	magan , <i>be able</i>	mæg	magon	meahte , mihte
V.	(ġe)nugan , <i>suffice</i>	neah	nugon	nohte
VI.	mōtan , <i>be permitted</i>	mōt	mōton	mōste

441. Conjugation of **witan**, **cunnan**, **sculan**, **magan**:

INDICATIVE

Present

Sing. 1	wāt	cann , conn	sceal	mæg
2	wāst	canst , const	scealt	meaht
3	wāt	cann , conn	sceal	mæg
Plu.	witon	cunnon	sculon	magan

Preterit

Sing. 1	wisse , wiste	cūþe	sceolde	meahte , mihte
2		cūþest	sceoldest	meahtest , mihtest
3	wisse , wiste	cūþe	sceolde	meahte , mihte
Plu.	wisson , wiston	cūþon	sceoldon	meahton , mihton

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present

Sing.	wite	cunne	scyle , scule	mæge , muge
Plu.	witen	cunnen	scylen , sculen	mægen , mugen

Preterit

Sing.	wisse , wiste	cūþe	sceolde	meahte , mihte
Plu.	wissen , wisten	cūþen	sceolden	meahthen , mihten

IMPERATIVE

Sing.	wite			
Plu.	witaþ			
Infin.	witan	cunnan	sculan	maġan
Gerund	tō witenne,	tō cunnenne,		
	-anne	-anne		
Pres. Part.	witende			
Past Part.	witen	cunnen, cūþ		

ANOMALOUS VERBS

442. The four "anomalous" verbs are thus termed because no one of them can be classified with any of the other groups of verbs. They are *bēon* (*wesan*), *be*; *dōn*, *do*; *gān*, *go*; *willan*, *will*.

bēon, *is*, *wesan*

443. *bēon*, *is*, *wesan*, were originally three independent verbs, with the IE roots **bheu*, **es/os*, **wes/wos*, various forms of which became joined in Gmc to make a complete "composite" conjugation.

INDICATIVE

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>eom</i> ; <i>bēo</i>	1, 2, 3 <i>sindon</i> , <i>sind</i> , <i>sint</i> ; <i>bēoþ</i> ; <i>wesaþ</i>
2	<i>eart</i> ; <i>bist</i>	
3	<i>is</i> ; <i>biþ</i>	
		Preterit
1	<i>wæs</i>	1, 2, 3 <i>wæron</i>
2	<i>wære</i>	
3	<i>wæs</i>	

SUBJUNCTIVE

	Present	
1, 2, 3	<i>sīe</i> ; <i>bēo</i>	<i>sīen</i> ; <i>bēon</i>
	Preterit	
1, 2, 3	<i>wære</i>	<i>wæren</i>

IMPERATIVE

2	<i>bēo</i> ; <i>wes</i>	<i>bēoþ</i> ; <i>wesaþ</i>
Infin.	<i>bēon</i> , <i>wesan</i>	Pres. Part. <i>bēonde</i> , <i>wesende</i>
Gerund	<i>tō bēonne</i>	

eom, *eart*, *is*, belong to the IE base **es/os*, which appears in Lat forms such as *es-se*, *es*, *est*.

s-ind(on), etc., belong to the IE base **es/os*, which appears in Lat forms such as *s-unt*.

bēo, etc., belong to the IE base **bheu*, which appears in Lat forms such as *fui*.

In the present indicative, *eom*, *eart*, *is*, *sindon* are used to signify *present* time. *bēo* *bist*, *biþ*, *bēoþ* are used often to signify *future* time

dōn

444. *dōn*, *do*:

INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	
Pres.	Pret.	Pres.	Pret.
Sing. 1 dō	dyde, dāde	1, 2, 3 dō	dyde
2 dēst	dydest		
3 dēþ	dyde, dāde		
Plu. dōþ	dydon, dādon	1, 2, 3 dōn	dyden

IMPERATIVE

Sing. 2	dō	Plu. 2	dōþ
Infin.	dōn	Pres. Part.	dōnde
Gerund	tō dōnne	Past Part.	dōn

gān445. **gān**, *go*.

INDICATIVE

SUBJUNCTIVE

	Pres.	Pret.		Pres.	Pret.
Sing. 1	gā	ēode	1, 2, 3	gā	ēode
2	gæst	ēodeſt			
3	gæþ	ēode			
Plu.	gāþ	ēodon		gān	ēoden

IMPERATIVE

Sing. 2	gā	Plu. 2	gāþ
Infin.	gān		
Gerund	tō gānne	Past Part.	gān

willan446. **willan**, *wish, will*.

INDICATIVE

SUBJUNCTIVE

	Pres.	Pret.		Pres.	Pret.
Sing. 1	wille	wolde	1, 2, 3	wille	wolde
2	wilt	woldeſt			
3	wile, wille	wolde			
Plu.	willað	woldon		willen	wolden
Infin.	willan		Pres. Part.	willende	
Gerund	tō willenne, -anne				