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, ø, å
- Long Vowels: ä, é, ê, ë, ü
- Diphthongs: ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou
- Long Diphthong: öi

202. IE Short Vowels in Prim Gmc.

(IE)  (Prim Gmc)
1. a remained  a : Lat ager, Goth ākris, OE æcer, field.
2. e “  e : Lat fero, OS, OHG, OE beran, bear.
3. i “  i : Lat piscis, Goth fiscks, OE fisc, fish.
4. o became  a : Lat octo, Goth ahtau, OS, OHG ahto, eight.
5. u remained  u : Gr thura, OS duri, OE duru, door
6. a became  a : IE *pater, Goth fadar, OS fader, OE fader, 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. å became  õ : Lat mäter, OS mödar, OE mödr, mother.
2. ê “  ê : Lat ēdi, Goth fr-ēt, ON ēt, OS ēt, OHG ēz, he ate.
3. i remained  i : Lat su-inus (adj.), belonging to a pig; Goth sweins; OS, OHG, OE swin, swine, pig.
4. ø remained  õ : Gr (Doric), pös, Goth fōtu, OE fōt, foot
5. ü “  ü : Lat sūs: OHG, OE sū, sou, pig

204. IE Diphthongs in Prim Gmc.

(IE)  (Prim Gmc)
1. ai remained  ai : Lat aes, Goth ājas, brass.
2. ei became  i : Gr stēichō, I go; Goth steigan, OS, OHG, OE stīgan, go.
3. oi became  ai, thus falling together with original ai; Gr oide; Goth wāit, knows.
4. au remained  au : Lat auris, Goth ausō, ear.
5. eu “  eu : Gr géuō, I give a taste of; Goth kiusan, choose.
6. ou became  au, thus falling together with original au: IE *róudhōs; Goth raubs, red.
7. či “  čē : IE *kēta, OS, OE hēt, I commanded.

205. Grimm’s Law.

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

1 Gmc å, a long low front vowel, became e in Goth, but became i in NGmc and WGmc.
2 In Gotth ei spells i.
3 Gmc eu became Goth ia.
4 Gmc e (IE ē) is distinguished in NGmc and WGmc from Gmc ø (IE ê), but in Gotth both e and ø are spelled alike (ē).
1. p became f: Lat piscis, OE fisc, fish; Lat peca, OE fæh, cattle, money.
2. t became þ: Lat tū, OE þū, thou; Lat tres, OE þrēo, three.
3. k became h: Lat cor (Gen. cordis), OE heorte, heart; Lat centum, OE hund, hundred.
4. bh became b: Sansk nábhás, Gr nephélē, cloud, OE nīfoll, dark.
5. dh became ð (> OE d): Sansk rudhiras, Goth raudai (Dat. Sing.), ON rauðr, OE rēad, red.
6. gh became ġ: IE *ghóstis, Lat hostis, Goth ġasts, OE ġieyst, stranger, guest.
7. b became p: Lithuanian dubūs, OE dēop, deep; Old Bulgarian slabu, slask, OE slēpan, sleep.
8. d became t: Lat decem, OE tīcen, 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, ð, h).

2. IE voiced stops (b, d, g) became the corresponding voiceless stops (p, t, k).
3. IE voiced aspirated stops (bh, dh, gh) became the corresponding voiced spirants (b, 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, ð, h, s. Instead, we find Prim Gmc b, ð, g, z, which developed into OE voiced f (i.e., v), d, g, 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

10 That is, voiced stops followed by h.
11 OE back or velar g was identical in pronunciation with Gmc ġ.
IE p, t, k, to f, ŋ, h. In later Gmc, however, the accent shifted to the root syllable, where it remained in OE.

209. (a) Prim Gmc initial f, ŋ, h, s remained f, ŋ, h, s.
(b) Prim Gmc f, š, h, s immediately preceded by the accent remained f, ŋ, h, s.

Thus in Prim Gmc *līska-, *hīnna-, *hōrna-, *sāt, and in
*hlēfō, *wērō, *īchū, *wās, f, ŋ, h, s remained unchanged.

210. (c) Everywhere else, however, f became b; ŋ became ŏ;
h became z; s became ʒ; (OE f, d, g, r). Thus, in the 3d plural
preterit indicative of strong verbs:

(Prim Gmc) (Later Prim Gmc) (Gmc) (OE)
*wurūn> *wurūn wuron
*fluhūn> *flužūn flugon
*wažūn> *wažūn wēron

PRIM GMC VOWEL CHANGES

211. Prim Gmc e became Gmc i under the following cir-
cumstances:

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, ŏ, or ĕ in the next syllable,
became Gmc e:
Lat vir (IE *wīros), Goth wair, OS, OHG, OE wer, man.

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

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

But Prim Gmc *bundān became OE borden, bound, and
Prim Gmc *fulljan became Gmc *fulljan, which became OE
fyllan, fill.

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

Prim Gmc eu followed in the next syllable by i, i, j, or u,
became iu: 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 *fanahan became Goth fāhan, (OE fōn), seize.
Prim Gmc *fanhōtē became Goth fōhta, (OE fōhte), thought.
Prim Gmc *fenhanan became Goth fēhan, OS thihan (OE thōn),

OE fuhtē became Goth fūhta, (OE fūhte), seemed.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gmc eo</th>
<th>Gmc eu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goth iu</td>
<td>Goth iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OHG eo</td>
<td>OHG iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS eo, i</td>
<td>OS iu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE ū (iō)</td>
<td>OE ū (iō) when followed by -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE iu when followed by i, i, or j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
216. Prim Gmc ƀ, ǭ, ǭ.
   1. Prim Gmc ƀ, initial or preceded by ũ, became ƀ: Goth bairan, OHG, OS, OE beran, bear; Goth, OHG, OS, OE lamb, lam.  
   2. Prim Gmc ǭ, initial or preceded by ū, became d: Goth dauhtar, OE dohtor, daughter.  
   3. Prim Gmc ǭ, preceded by ū, became the stop ɣ: 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 ō, 18 ĩ, ū.
   Diphthongs: ai, au, eo, iu.

218. Gmc Vowels in W Gmc.
   Short a, e, i, o, u remained unchanged in W Gmc. Of the long vowels, ā, ē, i, ō, ū remained unchanged in W Gmc.  
   Gmc ā became W Gmc ā: Goth frčt, OS āt, OHG āz, (OE āt), ate.

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

220. Gmc Consonants in W Gmc.
   The Gmc consonants remained unchanged in W Gmc, except that Gmc z became W Gmc r: Gmc *warfun, OS, OHG wärn, OE waron, were; and Gmc ǭ became W Gmc d: Goth fadar, OS fadar, OE fader.

West Germanic Sounds

221. W Gmc Gemination before j.
   In the W Gmc period any single consonant (except r) preceded by a short vowel was geminated by a following j.
   (Gmc)         (W Gmc)  (Prehist OE)  (OE)  
   *satjan  >  *sattjan  >  *sättjan  >  *settian  >  settian 19  
   *lægjan  >  *laggjan  >  *leggjan  >  *leggian  >  leegian  
   *hæbjan  >  *habbjan  >  *hæbbjan  >  *hebbian  >  hebbian 20  
   *harjan  >  *harjan  >  *hærian  >  herian 21

W Gmc Sounds

222. W Gmc had the following vowels and diphthongs:
   Short vowels: a, e, i, o, u.
   Long vowels: ā, ē, i, ō, ū.
   Diphthongs: ai, au, eo, iu.

223. W Gmc had the following consonants:
   j, w, semi-vowels  f, þ, h, s, voiceless spirants  
   r, l, liquids  b, d, g, voiced stops  
   m, n, û, 22 nasals  b, z, voiceless spirants  
   p, t, k, voiceless stops

W Gmc Vowels and Diphthongs in OE

224. W Gmc a.
   W Gmc a became OE æ 23 when followed by h; in most closed syllables; in open syllables unless followed by a, u, or ē; it did

17 From IE ē. See 204, 7.
18 From IE ē. See 203, 2.
19 Cf. Goth satjan, OS settian, OHG sezan.
20 In *habjan, the h 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 hebbian.
21 æ-of herian represents the sound j, i.e., ModE consonantal y.
22 y 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. helde. A similar change occurred in OFris: dei, heved.
not change when followed by a nasal, or by w. 

dēg, day; 

hēlde, bad; æcer, field; sleán (<*sleahan <*slehan <*slehan).

225. WGMc a + Nasal.

WGMc a followed by a nasal did not become æ, but either remained a or was changed to o. 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: OHG neman, OE niman, take.

227. WGMc o.

WGMc o in some words appears as OE u, 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: OHG donar, OE junar, thunder; OHG honag, OE hunig, honey.

229. WGMc ä.

WGMc ä became OE ã, but remained ã when followed by one of the consonants w, p, g, or k and a back vowel: OS lātan, OHG lāzzan, OE lātan, permit.

230. WGMc ä + Nasal.

WGMc ä followed by a nasal became OE õ; OHG mānod, OE móðh, mouth; OHG nämun, OE nōmon, they took; OHG quīnum, OE cómon, they came.

Gmc ã, as in Goth þāhta (<Gmc *þanhtã), OS thāhta, OHG dēhte, he thought (cf. 215), appears as OE õ: þōhte. In such words WGMc ã retained a nasal quality long enough in the OE period to become OE õ, and not ã.

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: n. 

WGMc a + nasal + s, f, or þ became OE õ + s, f, or þ: OHG gans, OE gōs, goose; OHG samfto, OE sōfte, soft; Goth anþar, OE öþer, other. In such words Prehist OE ã retained a nasal quality long enough in the OE period to become õ, and not ã. (Cf. 230.)

232. WGMc ai.

WGMc ai became OE ã: Goth stáins, OHG stein, OE stān, stone. WGMc ai must have become OE ã after WGMc á.

WGMc ã in sáwon, they saw; slāpan, (mostly slāpan by analogy with lētan, slēpest, etc.), sleep; māgen, kinsmen; hrāca, spittle. For OE þōhte from WGMc *þāhta (<Gmc *þanhtã), see 230.

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

This change occurs also in OFris and to a great extent in OS: Goth anþar, OFris, OS, OE öþer, other.
became OE æ; otherwise the two sounds in OE would have fallen together into Æ.

233. WGmc au.
WGmc au became OE ēa: Goth hlauan, OHG hloufían, OE hléapan, thin.

234. WGmc eo, iu.
WGmc eo (see 214, 219) became OE ēo: OS liof, OE lēof, dear; OHG deota, OE bēod, people.
WGmc iu became OE ēo: OS liudi, OE liode, people.
In EWS, ēo and iu are frequently confused in the MSS, ēo 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, ñ (liquids and nasals); p, t, k (voiceless stops); b, d (voiced stops); g (voiced spirant), remained unchanged in Prim OE; h (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, h, or s, disappeared in OFris, OE, and partly in OS; the vowel preceding f, h, or s was lengthened. Cf. 231.

237. Final OE h became voiceless f; wif, woman; final g was frequently unvoiced, becoming h: stāh, weni (cf. stīgan, stīgon).

238. WGmc j.
Initial j- remained unchanged, but was spelled g, ge, gi, or i: OHG jār, OE ĝēar, year; OS, OHG jung, OE ĝeong, ĝiōng, iung, young.

2 When iu was followed in the next syllable by i, I, or j, it was unlauted to ē in EWS: Prehist OE *biudīh became OE biett, he commands.

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Medial -j- remained between vowels, but was spelled g, ge: čiegan, čiegean, call.
Medial -j- remained after a short syllable ending in -r, but was spelled i, g, ĝ, ge, or iġ: herian, hergan, heriğan, herğan, heriğan, 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: hieğ, 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; feor, feor, far.
(b) Medially, a double consonant adjacent to another consonant was simplified: Prehist OE *wende > *wendde > wende, turned; *fullide > *fylde > fyld, 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 ĝ (g), k, gg, kk.
Initial ĝ (g) and k (c) were palatalized (or fronted) in Prehistoric OE by a following palatal vowel or diphthong. The palatalization was caused by:

i, i, e, ē, æ, ǣ or ē.
iu, ū, ēo, ēa.

The short vowels i, e, and æ at a later period “broke” to io, eo, and ea, if followed by certain consonants. Cf. 248.
243. Prehist OE ŋ, ǭ, ã, õ, ñ, and ūg were palatalized in WS by a following i, i, or j:

ź became ġ: WGmc ėburzi (Dat. Sing.) became OE byrģ (often spelled byrģ) city; WGmc ėbauzjan became OE bieģan, bend.

k became ĕ (ModE ch): WGmc ėbisokjan became OE besčean, beséech; WGmc ėbóci (Dat. Sing.) became OE běč, book.

kk became ěč (ModE ch): WGmc ėwikjkōn became OE wiëčee, witch.

zz became cģ (ModE dg as in bridge); WGmc ėhruzzjaz became OE hrycg, ridge.

ŋk became ně (ModE neh): WGmc ėbankjō became OE benč, bench.

ug became nģ (ModE nge as in sīnge): WGmc ėsangjan became OE sęngan, sīnge.

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

245. Prehist OE ŋ (g) at the end of a word or syllable was palatalized by a preceding æ, ā, e, ē, i, or i: dæģ, day, weģ, way, stīģ (Imper. Sing.), go; hāliģ, hōly.

246. Prehist OE ŋ (g) was palatalized between palatal vowels: dæģes; weģes.

247. WGmc sk.

WGmc sk was spelled šc in OE, but in WS developed into the sound of ModE sh as in shoe; OE scōh, shoe; sciman, shine; scunan, 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; sceāma, 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.


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: au, eu, iu.

Later æu became ea, eu became eo,41 iu became io.42

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 le or If, e.g., āseolcēan, become sluggish; seolf, self.

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

41 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 æ occur in EWS: feallan, fallan, fall. LWS has only ea.

Illustrations:
1. æ became ea: *faellan>feallan, fall; *ærm>arm, arm;
   *faht>faht, fought; *slaehan>*slaehan>sléan, strike.
2. e became eo: *seih>seolah, seal; *werp>weorh, worth;
   *fehtan>feohtan, fight; *feh>feoh, cattle; *fehes (Gen. Sing.)
   >feoheos>fēohos.
3. i became io: *wirhijh (3d Sing. Pres.)>wiorhijh>
   *wierhijh>wierh, becomes; *sihih>*siohlh>siehlh, sees.

249. The OE long front vowels æ, i were broken to ëa, io (ëo), before h:
1. æ became ëa: *nēh>nēah, near.
2. i became io, ëo: *liht>liht, lēoh, light (adj.); *betwh>betwēoh, between; *tihan>*tiohan>tion, tōn, blame.

250. Diphthongization by Initial Palatals.
The initial palatals ġ, ĕ, æ (see 242) caused a following e
to diphthongize to ie, æ to ea, ĕ to ëa. (See Chapter X.)

Illustrations:
1. e became ie (LWS i or y): *ğefan>*gefah, give; *sceran>
   scieran, she. 
2. æ became ea: *ğæf>ğafe, gave; *ćæster>ćester, city;
   *scal>scal, shall.
3. ĕ became ëa: *ğæfn>ğafon, gave; *ğær>ğear, year;
   *ćĕce>ć-cheek; *scĕron>scĕaron, sheared.

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

* i of *wirhijh came from e (Prim Gmc *wirhijh); the change of Prim Gmc e to i was Gmc; see 211. 2; io became ie as the result of OE umlaut; see 251.
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.⁴⁸

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, ŋ, 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.⁴⁹
2. e became eo (io): *heoret > heorot, hart; *hefon > heofon, heaven.
3. i became io (io): *siful > sifol, silver; *siful > siofun, seven.

⁴⁸ 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 heofon, featu, etc., as compared with WS hafoc, fatu, etc. In ealu, the single WS example of this umlaut of æ, the vowel æ was probably introduced into the nominative form ale from the dative singular *æleæ, in which æ was phonetically regular.

⁴⁹ See preceding note.

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**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, wißfæst. 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 -i, and -o.

255. Gmc final -i 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 > *gæsti > *gisët, *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 geifu; WGmc *fæðrō > Prehist OE *færō > OE lår; 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, bodab < Prehist OE *bodōs(t) *bodōb.

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 unlaut, but before 700. Syncopation affected sometimes the vowel of the second syllable of a disyllabic word or form, and sometimes the vowel of the medial syllable of a trisyllabic word or form.

259. Syncopation in Disyllabic Forms.

The disyllabic 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, hilpb; cuman, cymst, cymb; deman, demst, demb; lecan, legst, legb.

2. The Past Part. of first weak verbs which had a radical ending in d or t: breddan, bredd; 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; hēaldes, hēalde, beside hēafod, head; hālges, hālgum, hālgan beside hālīg, holt; òpares, òpre, beside òper, 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: dēmde, dēmdest, dēndon; judged; bredde; sette.

261. f, þ, s, in OE.

Initial and final Prim OE f, þ, and s remained voiceless in OE: fif, fisæ; born, thorn; wearn, became; sendan, send; was, was.

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

Medial f, þ, and s between voiced sounds became voiced spirants, v, ð, and z, about 700: wulfas, wolves; sēoplan, 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 ModHGlch in macht, makes, ich, l.

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

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

Final -h remained a spirant: géþh, he prospered.

hs became ks (x): weahsan, weaxan, grow.
265. In EWS, ie or ië, no matter of what origin, and without regard to the adjacent sounds, frequently became i or i, beside which appears also io or ië. EWS géfan, gífan, gíte; nicht, niht, night; sciëppend, sciëppend, creator; hierde, hirde, shepherd; wëlwm, wëlwm, wëllen; hieran, hiran, hear; giéman, giéman, care for; fiënd, find, foes; brie, bri, three. After w, however, ie frequently appears in EWS as y: e.g., wierë, wyrö; wierp, wyrip.

In LWS, ie or ië usually appears as y or ë, but sometimes, especially when followed by c, g, h, or s, as i or i.

LWS ȝyfan, wylm, ȝyr, ȝyman, ȝynd, ȝry.

LWS hliĥhan, laug; niht, night; läg, läme; ȝryst, ȝreeses, (EWS hlëchhan, niht, lieg, friest).

266. y or ë which came from u or ū by i-umlaut became LWS i or i thru the influence of a following palatal; hiȝe, mind; biċgan, bus; pičan, seem; brie̩(r) (brëcan), enjoys, (EWS hyȝe, bycgan, þyn̩c, brëčp).

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

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

*a In brëč (EWS brëç) the e was palatalised, that is fronted, in Prehist OE, but probably did not undergo the further change to ê. The change to ê was hindered by the ū which followed the e after syncopation had taken place. See 242.
268. ea, the diphthong resulting from Breaking, often became EWS e before h: meahte, mehte, might; eahita, ehta, eight; feahht, feht, fought; seah, seh, saw.

269. ea, of whatever origin, sometimes became EWS e when preceded by ē, ĕ, or sc: ċeaster, ċester, city; forgēaf, forgēaf, forgave; scēal, scēl, shall.

270. ēa sometimes became EWS ē when preceded by ē, ĕ, or sc: ēar, ēr, year; ongēan, ongēn, against; ēnas, ēnas, chose; scēah, scēh, sheath.

271. ēa often became LWS ē when followed by h, hs, or hg: *ēagērel, ēhērel, window; hēahsta, hēhsta, highest; nēahgēbūr, nēhgbūr, neighbor.

272. ēa often became LWS ē when followed by h, ĕ, c: tēah, tēh, drew; hēah, hēh, though; hēah, hēh, high; nēah, nēh, near; ēage, ēge, eye; ēnce, ēc, also.

273. LWS gd, gn.
In LWS, ĕ between a short vowel and a voiced dental was frequently lost; the preceding vowel was lengthened: frīgan became frīnan, ask; bregdān became brēdan, more.

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, ē, u), or of a consonant (r), or of a vowel plus a consonant (ēn, ōn, es, os, ēt, 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 Latin “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 ą, and IE ā became Gmc ā.

1. IE o, Gmc ą-decl. Goth Acc. Plu. dagā-nos, days.
2. IE ā, Gmc ā-decl. Goth Acc. Plu. gībō-s, gifts.
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, fôt, bóc).

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 féond, 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: stân, stone; dæg, day; meârh, horse; eoh, horse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vowel Stem</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>stân</td>
<td>dæg</td>
<td>meârh</td>
<td>eoh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>stânes</td>
<td>dæges</td>
<td>mēares</td>
<td>ēos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>stâne</td>
<td>dæge</td>
<td>mēare</td>
<td>ūo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of stân 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 meârh, eoh, see 263.

1 The Gmc a-declension corresponds to the Lat and Gr "second" declension (Lat servus, servants; 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. cyning engel heofon fugol
G. cyninges engles heofones fugles
D. I. cyninge engle heofone fugle

Plural

N. A. cyningas englas heofenas fuglas
G. cyninga engla heofena fugla
D. I. cyningum englum heofenum fugulum

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; bân, bone; word, words; feoh, property.

Singular

N. A. lim fæt bân word feoh
G. limes fætes bânes wordes fëos
D. I. lime fæte bâne worde fëo

Plural

N. A. limu fatu bân word
G. lima fata bâna worda
D. I. limum fatum bânum wordum

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 fëos, fëo, see 263.

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

Singular

N. A. tungol wæter tâcen hēafod
G. tungles wæteres tânes hēafdes
D. I. tungle wætere tâce hēafde

Plural

N. A. tungol (-glu) wæter(-u) tâcen(-u) hēaf(o)du
G. tungla wæterar tâna hēafda
D. I. tunglum wæterum tânum hēafdu

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. secg here ende
G. secges her(i)ges endes
D. I. secge her(i)ge ende

Plural

N. A. secg(e)as her(i)gas endas
G. secg(e)a her(i)ga enda
D. I. secg(e)um her(i)gum endum

312. Neuters: cynn, kin; rîce, kingdom; wêsten, waste.

Singular

N. A. cyn(n) rîce wêsten
G. cynnes rîces wêstennes
D. I. cynne rîce wêstenne

Plural

N. A. cyn(n) rîcu wêstenu
G. cynna rîca wêstenna
D. I. cynnum rîcum wêstennum
In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of secg and cynn were *sagjavaz and *kunjam.

The jumlauted 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 herges (see 238).

In the Nom. Sing., secg and cynn, which exhibit no ending, had originally short radical syllables; while ende and riče, 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 riču, 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. bearwes þēowes
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 *þeow > *þeow > 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 frequently lengthened to eo thru the influence of the nominative form þēo(w).


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 *bhalwam.

Feminine ð-Declension

315. The ð-declension² consists of feminine nouns only. It includes ð-stems, jð-stems, and wð-stems.

Feminine ð-Stems

ȝie fu, gift; lær, wisdom.

Singular

N. ȝie fu lær ȝiefa, -e lāra, -e
G. ȝiefe lāre ȝiefa, -ena lāra, -na, -ena
D. I. ȝiefe lāre ȝiefu m lārum
A. ȝiefe lāre ȝiefa, -e lāra, -e

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of ȝie fu was *ȝebō.

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

- The Gmc ð-declension corresponds to the Lat and Gr “first” declension (Lat mēnsā-); it is sometimes called the “ð-declension,” according to the IE terminology.
after the analogy of the n-stems. It occurs chiefly in words with short stems.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. firena</td>
<td>sāwol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. A. firen</td>
<td>-e sāwla, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. firene</td>
<td>sāwle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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; ĝierd, rod.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. syn(n)</td>
<td>ĝierd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. A. synna</td>
<td>-e ĝierda, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. synne</td>
<td>ĝierde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. synne</td>
<td>ĝierde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. synne</td>
<td>ĝierde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of synn was *sunjō. The jumlauted 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 *ĝierdu, originally long (see 256).

**318. Polysyllables:** byrjen, burden.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. byrjen</td>
<td>byrjenne, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. byrjenne</td>
<td>byrjenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. byrjenne</td>
<td>byrjennum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. byrjenne</td>
<td>byrjenne, -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The j geminated the preceding consonant (see 221).

**DECLENSION—NOUNS**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. beadu</td>
<td>mād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. beadwe</td>
<td>mādwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. beadwe</td>
<td>mādwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. beadwe</td>
<td>mādwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. beadwa</td>
<td>-e mādwa, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. beadwa</td>
<td>mādwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. beadwum</td>
<td>mādum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of beadu was *baďwō. 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 mād (see 256).

In the Nom. Sing. clēa(w), *clau > *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 -iðō**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. strengþu</td>
<td>strengþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. strengþe</td>
<td>-u, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. strengþe</td>
<td>-u, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. strengþe</td>
<td>-u, -o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 -in**

322. Prim Gmc also formed abstract nouns from adjectives by means of the suffix -in. Cf. Goth bráidei, Gen. Sing. bráideins; ModHG Breite, breadth. In Prehist OE the -i 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 -o-stems, the suffix -in 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. brádu, -o</td>
<td>N.A. bráda, -e; -u, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. bráde, -u, -o</td>
<td>G. bráda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. brádum</td>
<td>D. I. brádum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Feminine Stems in -ing-o, -ung-o**

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. leornung</td>
<td>N. leornunga, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. leornunga, -e</td>
<td>G. leornunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. leornunga, -e</td>
<td>D. I. leornungeum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. leornunga, -e</td>
<td>A. leornunga, -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DECLENSION—NOUNS**

**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 o-stems throughout.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A. wine</td>
<td>ġiestas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. wines</td>
<td>ġiestes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. wine</td>
<td>ġiste winum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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


A few plurals, especially the names of tribes of peoples, retain the old ending -e of the Nom.-Acc. Plu: Dene, Dones; Engle, (the) English; Mierce, the Mercians; Northymbre, the Northumbrians; Seaxe, the Saxons. So also iclde, men; wine, friends; icfe, icves; and liode, leode, peoples.

A few words like Dene and wine sometimes retain the old Gen. Plu. Denigēa and winigea.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. cwēn</td>
<td>cwēne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. cwēne</td>
<td>cwēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. cwēn</td>
<td>cwēnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. cwēn, (-e)</td>
<td>cwēne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of cwēn was *kwēniz.
The Acc. Sing. with no ending is a distinguishing mark of these nouns; the Acc. Sing. of Fem. ő-stems ends in -e.
The short feminine i-stems went over to the ő-stems in Prehistoric OE, so that only the umlaut of the radical vowel discloses their original declension.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. sper</td>
<td>speru, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. speres</td>
<td>spera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. sper</td>
<td>sperum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

327. Long-Stemmed Neuters: flæsc, flesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. flæsc</td>
<td>flæsc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. flæscs</td>
<td>flæsca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. flæsc</td>
<td>flæscum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like flæsc 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 ő-stems.

Masculines: sunu, son; feld, feld.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. sunu, -o, -a feld</td>
<td>suna, felda, -as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. suna</td>
<td>felda, feldes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. suna</td>
<td>felda, -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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; flor, floor; cweorn, mill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. dura</td>
<td>cweorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. dura</td>
<td>dura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. dura, -u</td>
<td>cweorna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Prim Gmc the Nom. Sing. of dura 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. hunta</td>
<td>frēa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. huntan</td>
<td>frēan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I. huntan</td>
<td>frēan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. huntan</td>
<td>frēan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
332. Feminines: tunge, tongue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>tunge</td>
<td>tungan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>tungena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>tungum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>tungan</td>
<td>tungan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>ēage</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
<td>ēagena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>ēagan</td>
<td>ēagum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neuter iz-, az-Stems

334. The neuter iz-, az-stems\(^1\) correspond to the Latin neuters like genus, generis.

**lamb** (lomb), lamb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>lamb</td>
<td>lambru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>lambs</td>
<td>lambra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>lambe</td>
<td>lambrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like lamb (lomb) are declined ēalf, calf; ēg, egg; and occasionally ēild, 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.

\(^1\) The OE grammars usually call these “es-, os-stems,” using the IE terminology.

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DECLENSION—NOUNS

r-Stems

335. To this declension belong nouns of relationship in -r: fæder, father; brōbor, brother; mōdor, mother; dohtor, daughter; swæostor, sister, and the collective plurals gebrōbor, -ru, brethren; geswæostor, -ru, sisters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>fæder</td>
<td>fæderas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>fæder, -eres</td>
<td>fædera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>fæder</td>
<td>fæderum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>fæder</td>
<td>fæderas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 -b

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

Masculines, hæle, hæleþ, man; mōnah, month; feminine mægþ, maiden; neuter, ealu, ale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>hæle, hæleþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hæleþes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>hæleþe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>mōnah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>mōnahes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>mōn(e)þa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The -b 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 mōnæþes is from the a-stems. These two words also have Nom. Plu. in -as, hæleþas and mōnæþas.

**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; fēt, foot; feminines, bōc, book; burg, city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>G.</th>
<th>D. I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>mann</td>
<td>fōt</td>
<td>menn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fōc</td>
<td>bēc</td>
<td>bōc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>burg</td>
<td>bēyc</td>
<td>bōrc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>menn</td>
<td>fēt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bēc</td>
<td>bērc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (*lōti), the Nom. Plu. in -iz. The -i and -iz were lost after umlauting the radical vowel (see 258). 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 scrūð, garment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>G.</th>
<th>D. I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>scrūð</td>
<td>scrūðes</td>
<td>scrūð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>scrūð</td>
<td>scrūða</td>
<td>scrūðum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Declension—Pronouns**

The only trace of the original inflection in this word is the Dat.-Inst. Sing. scrūð. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>N. A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>frēond</td>
<td>hettend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>frēondes</td>
<td>hettendes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I.</td>
<td>friend, frēonde</td>
<td>D. I.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>N. A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>friend, frēond, frēondas</td>
<td>hettend, hettende, hettendas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>frēondum</td>
<td>hettendum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>iċ</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>wē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>uncer</td>
<td>ûser, üre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>üs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>mec, mē</td>
<td>uncit, unc</td>
<td>üsic, üs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Reference Grammar

341. **Second Person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>ḫū</td>
<td>ġīt</td>
<td>ġē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ḫīn</td>
<td>incēr</td>
<td>ēōwer, ēowr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ḫē</td>
<td>inc</td>
<td>ēow, ēow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>ḫēc, ḫē</td>
<td>incit, inc</td>
<td>ēōwic, ēow, ēow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

342. **Third Person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>ḫē</td>
<td>hēo, hiē</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hīere, hīre, hīre</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>hīere, hīre, hīre</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>hīne</td>
<td>hīe, hi, hīy</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural—All Genders**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>hīe, hi, hīy; hēo, hīo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hiera, hīra, hīra; heora, hīora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>him; heom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>hīe, hi, hīy; hēo, hīo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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: min, mine; īn, thine; sin, his, her, etc.; incēr, of us two; incēr, of you two; ūrc, ūser, our; ēōwer, lower, your. In addition, the genitives of the third personal pronoun are used to indicate possession.

### Declension—Pronouns

345. **The Demonstrative sē, sēo (sio), heť, that.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>sē</td>
<td>sēo, sīo</td>
<td>heť</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ḫās</td>
<td>īřēre</td>
<td>īřēs</td>
<td>āřā, āřā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>īm, īm</td>
<td>īřēre</td>
<td>īm, īm</td>
<td>īm, īm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>bōne, bēne, bāne</td>
<td>īa</td>
<td>heť</td>
<td>īa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>bīy, bōn, bē</td>
<td>īy, bōn, bē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

346. **The Demonstrative īēs, īēos (bīos), īis, this.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>īēs</td>
<td>īēos, īēos</td>
<td>īis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>īs(s)es</td>
<td>īresse, īs(se)re</td>
<td>īs(s)es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>īs(s)um</td>
<td>īresse, īs(se)re</td>
<td>īs(s)um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>īsne</td>
<td>īs</td>
<td>īis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>īyīs</td>
<td>īresse, īs(se)re</td>
<td>īyīs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 he was used as a relative pronoun. It is found

(a) by itself, e.g., sē stān īe, the stone that (the builders rejected);
(b) in combination with the various forms of sē, sēo, þæt, e.g., Augustinum þone þe hi ßecoren hæfordon, Augustine, whom they had chosen;
(c) occasionally in combination with a form of the personal pronoun, e.g., Fæder Ûre, þu þe ear on heofonum, 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 rīcē, sē forlǣt Briten, then came Nero to the throne, who lost Britain.

III. swylcē, such, is sometimes used as a relative pronoun, e.g., hē sēcē swyłncē hlǣford, swyłncē 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 þu unc Ær scrif, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. hwā</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. hwæs</td>
<td>hwæs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. hwæm, hwām</td>
<td>hwæm, hwām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hwone, hwane, hwæne</td>
<td>hwæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. hwī, hwī, hwon</td>
<td>hwī, hwī, hwon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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; hwæper (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, hwæper by composition:

(1) With the indeclinable hwugu, hugu: hwæt(h)wugu, something, hwelc(h)wugu, anyone.
(2) With the prefix ġe-:

ategoriæ, everyone, gehwelc, everyone, gehwæper, each of two.

(3) With the prefix ā-:

āhwā, anyone, āhwæt, anything, āhwæper, āwæt, āþæt, āþ, āþer, āþer.

(4) With the prefix nā < ne+ā- (negative):

nāhwæper, neither.

(5) With the prefix āg<ā*gi-:

āghwā, any one; āghweæt, anything; āghweæper, any one.

(6) With ā-, ō-, or nā-, nō+wiht:

āwiht, āuht, āuht, āht, anything.

ōwiht, ōuht, ōht, anything.

nāwiht, nōwiht, nāht, nūht, nothing.

(7) With the verb nāt (“I know not”) prefixed to hwā, hwelc: nāhwā, nāhwelc, 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.
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 manīg, many, open, open, coren, chosen; (2) those with long radical syllables, like hālig, holy, lītel, 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 hālig is declined Nom. hālig, Gen. hālges, Dat. hālugum, Acc. hālige, Inst. hālge. When declined weak, the vowel of the second syllable rarely appears. Thus the weak Masc. Sing. is declined, Nom. hālga, Gen. Dat. Acc. Inst. hālgan (see 258, 260). The endings of the strong declension are the same as those of short monosyllabic adjectives like sum, some.

Analogy: Forms like hālges, hālugum, hālige, hālgan, are due to the analogy of forms like hālig, hālige, which kept the vowel of the second syllable.

jā-, jō-Stems

356. In adjectives with stems originally ending in -jā, -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 WGe. Adjectives with originally short stems are declined like the a-, ō-stem adjectives, e.g., god; adjectives with originally long radical syllables are declined like grēne, green.

357. grēne, green.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. grēne</td>
<td>grēnu, -o</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. grēnes</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēnes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. grēnum</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. grēnee</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. grēné</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A. grēne</td>
<td>grēna, -e</td>
<td>grēnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. grēnra</td>
<td>grēnra</td>
<td>grēnra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.I. grēnum</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

358. wa-, wō-stems: ġearu, ready.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. ġearu, -o</td>
<td>ġearu, -o</td>
<td>ġearu, -o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. ġearwes</td>
<td>ġearore</td>
<td>ġearwes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. ġearwum</td>
<td>ġearore</td>
<td>ġearwum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ġearone</td>
<td>ġearwe</td>
<td>ġearu, -o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. ġearwe</td>
<td>ġearore</td>
<td>ġearwe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A. ġearwe</td>
<td>ġearwa, -e</td>
<td>ġearu, -o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. ġearora</td>
<td>ġearora</td>
<td>ġearora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.I. ġearwum</td>
<td>ġearwum</td>
<td>ġearwum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bryēe, brittle; ġemyne, mindful; swiēe, deceitful; bliēe, joyful; clēene, clean; swēete, sweet, etc.

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

361. Present Participle.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>All Genders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. gōda</td>
<td>gōde</td>
<td>gōde</td>
<td>N.A. gōdan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.D.I. gōdan</td>
<td>gōdan</td>
<td>gōdan</td>
<td>G. gōdena, gōdra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. gōdan</td>
<td>gōdan</td>
<td>gōde</td>
<td>D.I. gōdum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 -óż-, to which were added the case endings of the weak adjective. In WGmc, -iza became -ira, and -óża became -ora; in Prehist OE -i- of -ira umlauted the vowel of the radical syllable. Most adjectives in Gmc and Prehist OE ended in -óża (-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;
léof, dear—léofra;
glæd, glad—glædra;
þearu, ready—þearora (-*o>*vocalized -*w*);
néah, near—néahra, níarr (-*rr* from assimilation of -*hr*).

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

brád, bred—brădra, beside brădra; eald, old—ieldra;
-feorh, far—fierra; géong, young—gingra; gréat, great—grietra;
hteah, high—hiehra, hierra, beside hēahra; lang, long—lengra;
seorht, 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 -öst. 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), léofost(a), glædoest(a).

(b) Superlative in -est(a); ieldest(a), fierest(a), gíngest(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.
lýtel, little—lēssa—lēst(a).
mieæl, great—mīra—mēst(a).
yfel, evil—wiersa—wihurst(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—fihest(a);
(néah), near—nēar(ri)nichst(a);
(ér), earliær—ærresta;
(ore), before—furbra—fyrrest(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.

(añer), after añeterra añetestreñest(a)
(éast), eastward éasterra éastestreñest(a)
(ore), before forma, fyrmesta
(hindan), behind hindema
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>English Transcription</th>
<th>OE Form</th>
<th>OE Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ān</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>innemest(a)</td>
<td>innemesta, meduma, medema, midmesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tweeñen, tū, twañ</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>ni(o)jemest(a)</td>
<td>ni(o)jemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. þrie, þrio, þrēo</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>ujemest(a)</td>
<td>ujemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. fiower, féower</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>üjemest(a)</td>
<td>üjemest(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. fiif</td>
<td>Five</td>
<td>westmesta</td>
<td>westmesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. siex, six</td>
<td>Six</td>
<td>forma</td>
<td>forma, formesta, fyrmest, fyrst, ærest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. siōfon, seofon</td>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>ëber, æterra</td>
<td>ëber, æterra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. eahta</td>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>bredda</td>
<td>bredda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. nigon</td>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>feowerþa, feorþa</td>
<td>feowerþa, feorþa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tien, tŷn</td>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>siexta</td>
<td>siexta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. endlefan, -leofan, -lufan</td>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. twelf</td>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. þrēotiene, -tēne, -tŷne</td>
<td>Thirteen</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. feowertiene</td>
<td>Fourteen</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. fiftiene</td>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
<td>scofoþa, scofoþa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Declension of Numerals**

- **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 ānne (<*ānina*), the latter occurring more frequently. The Masc.-Neut. Inst. Sing. is āne or ānne. Plural forms are used in the sense of only, and in the phrase ānne āehwyel, each one. ānne, declined weak, means alone.

- **tweñen, two**, is declined as follows:
  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N.A.</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>tweñen</td>
<td>twañ</td>
<td>tū, twañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>tweñra</td>
<td>twegra</td>
<td>twegra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>tweñga, twegra</td>
<td>tweñga, twegra</td>
<td>tweñga, twegra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D.I. twēm, twēm  twēm, twēm  twēm, twēm
Like twēgan is declined bēgan, both; Fem. bā, Neut. bū, G. bēgra, D. bēm, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A. þrie, þri</td>
<td>þrēo</td>
<td>þrēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. þrēora</td>
<td>þrēora</td>
<td>þrēora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.I. þrim</td>
<td>þrim</td>
<td>þrim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 fīf dagum, in five days; þritēg daga, thirty days.

374. The ordinals, except ðer, are declined like weak adjectives. ðer 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; blīpe, joyful—blīpe, 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 frēondlic, friendly. From such adjectives were formed adverbs by the addition of the regular adverbial ending -e; thus frēondlic-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, coriest, earnest, was made into an adverb coriestlic.

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

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

a. Acc. Sing.:
eall, altogether, completely; lītel, līt, little; ġennōg, enough; fyrm, ġefyrn, formerly; full, fully; ealne, always (<ealne weg); and compounds of -weard, originally an adjective: ūpweard, ūpward; norhp(e)weard, northward; and nīperweard, downward.

b. Gen. Sing.:
daegs, daily, by day; orhanes, heedlessly; selfwīles, voluntarily. This -es then came to be felt to be an adverbial ending, and was added to feminines, as in nīdes, needs, of necessity; nihtes, nightly, by night. The Gen. Sing. used adverbially was also combined with prepositions as in tō-ēfenes, till evening; tō-ġifes, freely, gratis; tō-middles, amidst, among.


d. Dat.-Inst. Sing.:
fācne, very; sāre, sorely; daeg-hwām, daily; mīcle, much.

e. Dat.-Inst. Plu., especially in forms with -mēlum:
ģeardagum, in days of yore, formerly; hwil-tidum, at times; hrýmmum, powerfully; drop-mēlum, drop by drop; stund-mēlum, now and then; styčē-mēlum, here and there, piece-meal; midum, very: līdum, little.
376. The chief adverbs of place are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rest</th>
<th>Motion towards</th>
<th>Motion from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feorran</td>
<td>feorr</td>
<td>feorr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foran, before</td>
<td>fore</td>
<td>foran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hér, here</td>
<td>hider</td>
<td>heoran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hindan, behind</td>
<td>hinder</td>
<td>hindan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwær, where</td>
<td>hwider</td>
<td>hwanan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inne, innan, within</td>
<td>in(n)</td>
<td>innan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēah, near</td>
<td>nēar</td>
<td>nēan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niōban, beneath</td>
<td>niōber</td>
<td>niōban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þār, there</td>
<td>þider</td>
<td>þinan, þōban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uppe, up, above</td>
<td>up(p)</td>
<td>uppan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūte, ūtan, outside</td>
<td>ūt</td>
<td>ūtan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Comparison of Adverbs

378. The comparative of adverbs ends in -or; swīþe, exceedingly, swīþor; ġeorne, eagerly, ġeornor.

The superlative ends in -ost, e.g., swīþost, 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; sōft, softer; bet (<*batiz), better. These adverbs form the superlative in -(e)st: lengest, bestst. ār (<*airiz), earlier, ārest, 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. fundon, 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:

Dū mē forlǣred hæfst, Thou hast seduced me.

Northymbre ond Eastunge hældon Ælfrēde cyninge ġēsæld, The Northumbrians and East-Angles had given oaths to King Alfred.

Dū 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 weorðan.

Bēon ūa oferhyðegan calle ġescende, May the proud be confounded.

Īhæs ġēares wērun ofslægene nigon eorlas, That year were slain nine earls.
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

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**

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

- **bidan, await**
  - bād
  - bidon
  - biden
- **bitan, bite**
  - bāt
  - biton
  - biten
- **drīfan, drive**
  - drāf
  - drifon
  - drīfen
- **gewitan, go**
  - gewāt
  - gewiton
  - gewiten
- **ridan, ride**
  - rād
  - ridon
  - riden
- **risan, rise**
  - rās
  - rison
  - risen
- **stīgan, go**
  - stāh
  - stigon
  - stīgen
- **scīnan, shine**
  - scān
  - sciron
  - scinen

**Verbs showing grammatical change** (see 208–210):

- **snīgan, cut**
  - snān
  - snidon
  - sniden.
- **liðan, go**
  - lān
  - lidon
  - liden.
- **scrīgan, go**
  - scrān
  - scridon
  - scriden.

---

1. *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.

---

### Conjugation—Strong Verbs

- **tēon (<*tihan), censure**
  - tān
  - tigon
  - tigen

- **bēon (<*bihan), thrive**
  - bān
  - bigon
  - bigen

- **wrēon (<*wrihan), cover**
  - wraith
  - wrigon
  - wrogen

**Class II**

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, command**
  - bēad
  - budon
  - boden
- **cēowan, chew**
  - cēaw
  - cuwon
  - cowen
- **crēopan, creep**
  - crēap
  - crupon
  - cropon
- **drēogan, endure**
  - drēag
  - drugon
  - drogen
- **géotan, pour**
  - géat
  - guton
  - goten
- **scēotan, shoot**
  - scēat
  - scuton
  - scoten

### Verbs with ū in the present:

- **brūcan, enjoy**
  - brēac
  - brucon
  - brocen
- **būgan, bow**
  - bēag
  - bugon
  - bogen
- **lūcan, lock**
  - lēac
  - lucon
  - locen
- **lūtan, bow**
  - lēat
  - luton
  - loten
- **scūlan, show**
  - scēaf
  - scufon
  - scofen

### Verbs with Grammatical Change:

- **cēōsān, choose**
  - cēas
  - curon
  - coren
- **frēōsān, freeze**
  - frēas
  - fruron
  - froren
- **scēōsān, boil**
  - sēað
  - sudon
  - soden
- **drēōsān, fall**
  - drēas
  - druron
  - droren
- **lēōsān, lose**
  - lēas
  - luron
  - loren

---

1. These verbs also form their principal parts according to Class II: tēon, tīah, tugon, tōgen; bēon, bēah, bugon, bōgen; wrēon, wrah, wrigon, wrogen. *bēon* also has some parts formed according to Class III: Pret. Plur. būgen. Past Part. būgen; see note 95, Chapter XXIV.

1. Verbs with ū belong to a class called "aorist presents."
391. **Contract Verbs:**

| tēon (<*tēohan), draw  | tēah       | tugon     | togen |
| flēon (<*flēohan), flee| 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, bind | band (bond) | bundon | bunden |
| drincan, drink | dranc (drone) | druncon | druncon |
| ġelipan, happen | ġelamp | ġelumpon | ġelumpen |
| īrnan, run | ārn (orn) | ūrnon | ūrnen1 |
| onginnan, begin | ongann | ongunnon | ongunnen |
| singan, sing | sang (song) | sungon | sungen |
| swimman, swim | swamm | swummon | swommen |
| winnan, strive | wann (wonn) | wunnon | wunnen |

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

| delfan, dig | deall | dulfon | dolfen |
| gieldan, yield | ġeald | guldon | golden |
| ġiellan, yell | ġeall | gullon | gollen |

---

1 In Gmc this verb was *rinnan, *rano, *runnon, *runnas. In Prehistoric OE occurred metathesis (transposition) of the r, resulting in OE īrnan, ārn, ūrnon, ūrnen.

1 Pret. Plu. fēlon is due to analogy with fourth ablaut series forms like stēlon.

1 Past Part. fēlon, instead of *folgen, is due to an early levelling of h from Pres. and Pret. Sing.; *folben then became fēlen.

10 In Gmc this verb was *brestan, *brazt, *brustun, *brustanas; *brazt became OE bræzt; after the period of Breaking, occurred metathesis of t, resulting in OE berstan, bræzt, etc.
**REFERENCE GRAMMAR**

murnan, mower
spurnan, spear

399. The Prim Gmc ablaut of Class IV was: e; a; æ; u. 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, bear  bær  bærón  boren
sciæran, shear  scear  sceæron  scoren
stelan, steal  stæl  stælon  stolen

400. One verb originally belonged to Class V:

brecean, break  braec  braecen  brocen

401. Two verbs had a radical syllable ending in a nasal:

nimnan, seize, take  nam  nœmmon  numen
(nōm)  (nœmmon)

cumnan, come  cúm  cúmen  cumen
(cwōm)  (cwœmmon) (cwœmen)

The i of nimnan is due to the OE change of W Gmc e to i if followed by m (see 226). The ð of nœmmon is due to the development of W Gmc ð to ð if followed by a nasal (see 230); nómon has ð by analogy with nœmon. The W Gmc Past Part. *nœmmanz became OE numen (see 228).

The ð of cumnan as *cwœman and as cumman, the latter form being an “aorist present.” In W Gmc w disappeared if preceded by a consonant and followed by ð or ð. Gmc *cwœman therefore became OE cuman. Pret. Plu. cúmen (<*cwœman) has ð from W Gmc ð (see 220); ð has ð by analogy with cúmon. The Past Part. cumen was from W Gmc *kumana (see 228). The Past Part. cumen developed from a form *cummins (an alternative Gmc and W Gmc Past Part. ending *-ins existed beside *-ans).

**CONJUGATION—STRONG VERBS**

**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, measure  mæt  mæton  meten
giefan, give  geaf  geafon  giæfan
giefan, get  geat  geatæn  giæten
sperecan, speak  spæc  spæcon  speccen
sperecan, speak  spræc  spræcon  sprecen
swæfan, sleep  swæf  swæfon  swæfen
trædan, tread  træd  trædon  træden
wegan, carry  wæg  wægon  wægen

403. Two verbs with irregular Pret. Sing.:

etan, eat  æt  æton  eten
fretan, devour  fræt  fræton  freten

404. With grammatical change:

cwæfan, say  cwæb  cwædon  cwæden

405. Contract verbs:

gieðan (<*giefe–)  giæfan  giægon  giægæn (adj.)
pleðan (<*plehan), plea

sæðan (<*sehan), see

sægon  sægon  sægon

(sægon)  (segon)

406. j-presents (see Chapter XIX):

biddan, ask  bæd  bæðon  beden
liegan, lie   læg  lægon  legen
sittan, sit    sæt  sæton  seten

Class VI

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

Representative verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dragan, draw</td>
<td>drög</td>
<td>drögon</td>
<td>dragen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faran, go</td>
<td>för</td>
<td>feron (faren)</td>
<td>faren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hladan, lade</td>
<td>hloid</td>
<td>hloidon</td>
<td>hladden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scacan, shake</td>
<td>scöc</td>
<td>scöcon</td>
<td>scacen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scafan, shave</td>
<td>scöf</td>
<td>scöfon</td>
<td>sachen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spanan, seduce</td>
<td>spön</td>
<td>spönon</td>
<td>sponen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(spannan)</td>
<td>(spöön)</td>
<td>(spönon)</td>
<td>(spannen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standan, stand</td>
<td>stöd</td>
<td>stödon</td>
<td>standen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wascan, wash</td>
<td>wösc</td>
<td>wöson</td>
<td>wason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weaxon, grow</td>
<td>wöx</td>
<td>wöxon</td>
<td>weaxon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

408. Contract Verbs:

sléan (<*slahan), strike | slöh | slögon | slag (slæghen, sleghen) |
leán (<*lahan), blame | lóh | lógon | lagen (lagen, legen) |
fléan (<*flahan), fly | flöh | flögon | flagen |

15 weaxon and spannan form preterits wöox, spöon by analogy with verbs of Class VII.
16 standan has a “nasal infix” in the Pres. and Past Part.
17 sleghen, legen, scepen, are due to Prehist OE forms like *slagins, etc. Cf. note 13, eymen (p. 174).

409. j-presents:

hebban, heave  höf  höfon  hafon (hafen)
stepan, step  stöp  stöpon  stapen
swerian, swear  swör  swöron  swaren (sworen)18
schieppan, create  scöp  scöpon  scapen (scapep)17
bliehnan, laugh  blöh  blögon
sceþban, injure  scöd19  scödon

Class VII

410. Verbs of the seventh class have been called “re-duplicating” 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 a): Goth slépan—sailslep, sleep—slept; létan—lalöt, 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 hätan, beside usual hét.
record, Pret. Sing. of rådan, beside usual rådde, råd.
leole, Pret. Sing. of låcan, beside usual léc.
leort, Pret. Sing. of létan, beside usual lét.
dræord, Pret. Sing. of drådan, beside usual drådde, dråd.
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
tense. In Latin many verbs retain reduplication in their perfect. Thus Latin dare, canere, and cadere have as their perfects dedi, cecini, and cecidi. 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 *cnē-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, ē, ē, and the preterit has either ē or eo. 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:

| hātan, call | hēt | hēton | hāten |
| blandan, blend | blēnd | blēndon | blanden |
| drēdan, dread | drēd | drēdon | drēden |
| (drēdde29) | (drēeddon) |
| lētan, permit | lēt | lēton | lāten |
| rēdan, advise | rēd | rēdon | rāden |
| (rēdde29) | (rēddon) |
| slēpan, sleep | slēp21 | slēpon | slēpen |

29 rēdan and drēdan usually have weak preterits.
21 slēpan occasionally has a weak preterit, slēpte.
### Reference Grammar

#### Indicative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td><strong>bide</strong></td>
<td>bêode</td>
<td>bere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><strong>bitst, bidest</strong></td>
<td>bietst, bêodest</td>
<td>birst, berest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>bit(t), bideþ</strong></td>
<td>biet(t), bêodeþ</td>
<td>birþ, bereþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td><strong>bidaþ</strong></td>
<td>bêodaþ</td>
<td>beraþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td><strong>bâd</strong></td>
<td>bêad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><strong>bide</strong></td>
<td>bude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>bâd</strong></td>
<td>bêad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td><strong>bidon</strong></td>
<td>budon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Subjunctive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Preterit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td><strong>bide</strong></td>
<td>bêode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td><strong>biden</strong></td>
<td>bêoden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 2</td>
<td><strong>bid</strong></td>
<td>bêod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1</td>
<td><strong>bidan</strong></td>
<td>bêodan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><strong>bidaþ</strong></td>
<td>bêodaþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td><strong>bidan</strong></td>
<td>bêodan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>tô bidenne, -anne</td>
<td>tô bêodenne, -anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.</td>
<td><strong>bidende</strong></td>
<td>bêodende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Part.</td>
<td><strong>biden</strong></td>
<td>boden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Personal Endings of Strong (and of First Weak) Verbs

**Present Indicative**

418. 1st Sing. was Gmc -ô. 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 -þu, giving *-esþu>*-*estu>*-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 -þ. After producing umlaut the ending became -ê. 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 -anþ. This ending was extended by analogy to the 1st and 2nd Plu.

Plu. Indic. forms such as **bide, bêode, bere, etc.**, occur when the subject is the 1st or 2d personal pronoun wê, gê, wit, gít, if the pronoun follows the verb: **bide wê, bêode gê**.

**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 **bide, bude, bêere, 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. bide wē, etc., occur in the Pret. also, but rarely: bide wē, bude wē, bēre wē.

**Imperative**

The 1st Plu. -an is of obscure origin. The form is used as a hortative. It is usually supplanted by the Subjunct. -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 téon, drowe, séon see, slēan, strike, and fōn, seize, are conjugated in the Pres. Indic., Subjunct., and Imper. as follows:

**INDICATIVE**

| Pres. Sing. 1 | téo | séo | slēa | fō |
| Pres. Sing. 2 | tiehst | sicht | sliehst | fehst |
| Pres. Sing. 3 | tiehþ | sichtþ | sliehþ | fehþ |
| Plu. 1, 2, 3 | òeþ | sëþ | slëaþ | fōþ |

**SUBJUNCTIVE**

| Pres. Sing. 1, 2, 3 | téo | séo | slēa | fō |
| Plu. 1, 2, 3 | téon | sëon | slëan | fōn |

**Conjugation—Strong Verbs**

**Imperative**

| Pres. Sing. 2 | téoh | seoh | sleah | fōh |
| Plu. 1 | téon | sëon | slëan | fōn |
| 2 | téþ | seþ | slëþ | fōþ |

**Infinitive**

| téon | sëon | slëan | fōn |

**Gerund**

tō téonne 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: þéon: þiehst, þiehþ; wréon: wriehst, wriehþ.
Class II: fléon: fliehst, fliehþ.
Class III: fëolan: fíelhst, fíelhþ.
Class V: féon: fíehst, fíehþ.
Class VI: þwëan: þwiehst, þwiehþ.
Class VII: hōn: hëhst, hëhþ.

**Syncopation and Assimilation in Strong Verbs**

421. In the 2d and 3d Sing. Pres. Indic. of strong verbs the vowel of the endings -est, -éþ, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>2d Sing.</th>
<th>3d Sing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bidan (I) await</td>
<td>bitst, bitdest</td>
<td>bit(t), bitdeþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stīgan (I) go</td>
<td>stihst, stīgest</td>
<td>stihþ, stīgeþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēðan (II) command</td>
<td>bietst, bēdest</td>
<td>bit(t), bēdeþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cēosan (II) choose</td>
<td>cīest, cēosest</td>
<td>cīest, cēoseþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONJUGATION—WEAK VERBS

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 -ój- or -ó-.
3. Weak verbs of the third class had a prehistoric suffix containing -at-. 

First Weak Verbs

424. Typical first weak verbs are conjugated as follows:

fremman, make; dēman, judge; nerian, save.

INDICATIVE

Sing. 1 fremme dēme nerie
2 fremest dēmst, dēmest nerest
3 fremē dēmē, dēmeī nereī
Plu. 1, 2, 3 fremmaþ dēmaþ neriaþ

Preterit

Sing. 1, 3 fremedē dēmde nerede
2 fremedest dēmdest neredest
Plu. 1, 2, 3 fremedon dēmonon neredon

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present

Sing. fremme dēme nerie
Plu. fremmen dēmen nerien

Preterit

Sing. fremedē dēmde nerede
Plu. fremeden dēmden nereden
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:

- dēm, judge → dēnde → dēmed
- cēban, comb → cēbde → cēbed
- ærnan, gallop → ærne → ærne 
- cēpan, keep → cēpte → cēped
- scierpan, sharpen → scierpte → scierped
- Ædwæscean, quench → Ædwæscte → Ædwæsc 
- fyllan, fill → fylde → fyled

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:

- hrædan, save → hrædde → hræded, hræd(d)
- settan, set → sette → seted, set(t)
- lædan, lead → lædde → læded, læ(d)
- mētan, meet → 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:

- wædan, turn → wende → wended, wend
- fæstan, make fast → fæste → fæst(d), fæst
REFERENCE GRAMMAR

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

nemnan, name
hyngran, hunger
biecman, make a sign
dieglan, conceal
gierwan, prepare
lecgan, lay

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

hyngrede, hyngred (and biecnde, dieglede, 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.

gierede, giered, show the regular disappearance of w before e (<i); w was sometimes restored by analogy with the forms where it was retained.

leggde, legd, 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 démst, dém, čepst, čepb, měst. 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: ľyllan, ľyst, ľylp.

CONJUGATION—WEAK VERBS

2. d before st becomes t: lědan, lětst (2d).
3. d before b gives tt, and tt is simplified: lědan, lět (3d).
4. b after t is assimilated to t, and tt is simplified: mětan, mět (3d).
5. s(s) before st is simplified: cyssan, cys (2d).
6. s before b gives st: cyssan, cyss (3d).
7. st before st gives st: faštan, faš (2d).

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

Verbs like hyngran, hunger, timbran, build, fman, leel, seglan, 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- (<i) of the ending occurs in most verbs with originally long radical syllables: démman, démde, cemban, cemde, lědan, lědđe.

Syncopation occurs even in verbs with originally short radical syllables if the radical syllable ends in d or t: hrešdan, 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; faštan, fašte.

431. III. In the past participle, syncopation, assimilation, and simplification occurred if the radical syllable ended in d or t: hrešdan, hred; settan, set; lědan, lěd; mětan, mět; wendan, wende; faštan, faš; also in nemnan, nemd. Unsynchronized 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, count* teald
- *sellan, give* sealde
- *cwellan, kill* cweald
- *stellan, place* sealde
- *byçgan, buy* bohte
- *cweççan, shake* cwealde
- *recçan, narrate* reahte
- *streççan, stretch* strealde, streche
- *räçan, reach* rähte, rähte
- *tëçan, teach* tähte, tähte
- *sëçan, seek* söhte
- *wyrçan, work* worhte
- *bençan, think* böhte
- *þynçan, seem* bühte
- *brængan, bring* bröhte

433. Conjugation of *tellan, count, sëçan, seek, byçgan, buy, bençan, think*, in present indicative:

Sing. 1  *telle* sëe
2  *telest* sëcst, sëcst
3  *telep* sëçp, sëçp, sëçp, sëçp, sëçp, sëçp
Plu. 1, 2, 3  *tellaþ* sëçaþ

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 (-jœ, -janb, etc.) is added to the stem *salbō-, giving Prehist OE *salbōjan; this, by umlaut of the ō, became *seallējan>*seallējan>*seallēyan>seallían.

INDICATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prehist OE</th>
<th>OE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td>*bodōja</td>
<td>bodie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*bodōs</td>
<td>bodas(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*bodōþ</td>
<td>bodap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td>*bodōjanþ</td>
<td>boidap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preterit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Preterit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td>*bodōde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*bodōdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*bodōde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td>*bodōdun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SUBJUNCTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Preterit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td>*bodōje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td>*bodōjen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMPERATIVE

Sing. 2 | *bodō | boda |
Plu. 1 | *bodōjan | bodian |
| 2 | *bodōjanþ | bodiap |
Infin. | *bodōjan | bodian |
Gerund | tô *bodōjanne | tô bodienne |
Pres. Part. | *bodōjandi | bodiende |
Past Part. | *bodōd | bodod |

The middle vowel -ō- 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 bododen, and between heofones, Gen. Sing., and heofenes, 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; habaih, have; Pret. habaita, had; OHG haben (<*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 fasten), have completely “gone over” to the first weak verbs.
(2) Some verbs, like tilian, strive (cf. OHG zilen), have completely “gone over” to the second weak verbs.
(3) Some verbs, like fylgean, folgian, follow, exhibit, in one set of forms, umlaut and the endings of the first weak verbs, as in fylgean, and, in another complete set of forms, no umlaut and the endings of the second weak verbs, as in folgian.
(4) A few verbs, habban, have; libban, live; secgan, say; hygean, think; and contract verbs like hréagan, rebuke; freogan, free, are usually so conjugated in WS as to deserve to be regarded as still a separate conjugation.

437. The principal parts of hréagan, rebuke, and freogan, free, are:

\[ \begin{align*}
hréagan & \quad hréade & \quad hréad \\
fréogan & \quad fréode & \quad fréod \\
\end{align*} \]

The present indicative forms are: hréage, hréast, hréah, Plu. hréagab; fréoge, fréost, fréoh, Plu. fréogab.

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

**INDICATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td>habbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hæfstan, hæfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hæbh, hæbh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td>hæbbab, hæbbab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preterit</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>hæbbe</td>
<td>habban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hæfdest</td>
<td>libben</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td>hæfdon</td>
<td>lifde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>servge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Participle</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hæbbende</td>
<td>lifd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms with gemination (hæbbe, libbe, sege, etc.) show that they derive from Gmc -j- forms, *habjai, *libjai, *seajai.
Forms with -a- in the ending (hafa), hafa, etc.) show that they derive from prehistoric -a- forms.

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

**Preterite-Present Verbs**

439. The Preterite-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Series</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pres. 3 Sing. (Old Str)</th>
<th>Pres. Plu. (Old Str)</th>
<th>Pret. 3 Sing. (New Weak Pret.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>āgan, possess</td>
<td>āh</td>
<td>āgon</td>
<td>āhte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>witan, know</td>
<td>wāt</td>
<td>witon</td>
<td>wisse, wiste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>dagān, await</td>
<td>dēg</td>
<td>dugon</td>
<td>dohte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>unnan, grant</td>
<td>ann, onn</td>
<td>unnon</td>
<td>ūbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>cunnan, know, be able</td>
<td>cunn, conn</td>
<td>cunnon</td>
<td>ūbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>hrufan, need</td>
<td>þearf</td>
<td>þurfon</td>
<td>þorfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>durran, dare</td>
<td>dēarr</td>
<td>durron</td>
<td>dorste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>sculan, be obliged</td>
<td>scal</td>
<td>sculon</td>
<td>scoolda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>munan, remember</td>
<td>man, mon</td>
<td>munon</td>
<td>munde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>magan, be able</td>
<td>mæg</td>
<td>magon</td>
<td>meahte, mihte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>(ḡe)nugan, suffice</td>
<td>neah</td>
<td>nuguon</td>
<td>nohte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>mōtan, be permitted</td>
<td>mōt</td>
<td>mōton</td>
<td>mōste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indicative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. 1</th>
<th>wāt</th>
<th>kann, conn</th>
<th>sceal</th>
<th>mæg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plu.</td>
<td>witon</td>
<td>cunnan</td>
<td>sculon</td>
<td>magan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preterit**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing. 1</th>
<th>wisse, wiste</th>
<th>cūhe</th>
<th>sceolda</th>
<th>meahte, mihte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plu.</td>
<td>wisson, wiston</td>
<td>cūbon</td>
<td>sceoldon</td>
<td>meahto, mihton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subjunctive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>wite</th>
<th>cunne</th>
<th>sceal, mæge, muge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plu.</td>
<td>witen</td>
<td>cunnen</td>
<td>scyle, mægmen, mugen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>wisse, wiste</th>
<th>cūhe</th>
<th>sceolda</th>
<th>meahte, mihte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plu.</td>
<td>wissen, wisten</td>
<td>cūhen</td>
<td>sceolden</td>
<td>meahten, mihten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IMPERATIVE

Sing. wite
Plu. witaþ
Infin. witan cunnan sculan magan
Gerund tō witenne, tō cunnenne,
-annė -annė
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 eom; bēo 1, 2, 3 sindon, sind, sint;
bēoþ; wesaþ
2 eart; bist
3 is; bīþ
Preterit
1 wāes 1, 2, 3 wārōn
2 wāre
3 wāes

SUBJUNCTIVE

1, 2, 3 sīe; bēo
Preterit sēn; bēon

1, 2, 3 wāre

IMPETIVE

2 bēo; wesaþ
Infin. bēon, wesan Pres. Part. bēonde, wesende
Gerund tō bēonne
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, bīþ, bēoþ are used often to signify future time

444. dōn, do:

INDICATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 2</th>
<th>dō</th>
<th>Plu. 2</th>
<th>dōb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>dôn</td>
<td>Pres. Part.</td>
<td>dōnde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>tô dônne</td>
<td>Past Part.</td>
<td>dôn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### gân

**INDICATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td>gā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 gāest</td>
<td>ēode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 gāb</td>
<td>ēode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. gāb</td>
<td>ēodon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUBJUNCTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3 gā</td>
<td>ēode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gān</td>
<td>ēoden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. 2</th>
<th>gā</th>
<th>Plu. 2</th>
<th>gāb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>gân</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>tô gânne</td>
<td>Past Part.</td>
<td>gân</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### willan

**INDICATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td>wille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wîlt</td>
<td>woldest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 wîle, wille</td>
<td>wolde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu. willaþ</td>
<td>woldon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUBJUNCTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Pret.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3 wille</td>
<td>wolde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>willen</td>
<td>wolden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Part.</td>
<td>willende</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REFERENCE GRAMMAR**

**445. gân, go.**

**446. willan, wish, will.**