A HANDBOOK OF
OLD ENGLISH
BY
FERNAND MOSSÉ

Translated by

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PREFACE

Just as the preceding works in the same series, this *Handbook* is intended for the students in our Faculty of Letters. I first thought of putting both Old English and Middle English in a single volume, as Mr. Alfred Jolivet and I have done for Old High German and Middle High German.[1] But that manner of presentation, which offered more advantages than incoveniences for German, was renounced for English, and that for two reasons. First, the size of the volume. English literature from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries is far too rich to make extracts for a single volume, even if. reduced to the essential. The second reason, which is the more important of the two, concerns the very nature of the language. Middle English is far too evolved when compared with Old English. True, some fundamental traits persist throughout the development of the English language, and this cannot

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1 JOLIVET, Alfred et Fernand MOSSÉ : *Manuel de l'allemand du moyen âge des origines au XIVe siècle: grammaire,, textes, glossaire.* (Bibliothèque de Philologie Germanique, I) Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée. Paris (Aubier), 1947. lre éd. 1942.

be overly emphasized. But the differences are also big between these two stages. For the explanation of the sounds, morphology and syntax as well as for the treatment of the glossary, it was better to separate the English of *Beowulf*, Alfred and Ælfric from the English of Layamon, Langland and Chaucer. I can only promise that the *Handbook of Middle English*[2] will not require too long a wait.

I made efforts to make this *Handbook* a complete book, capable of serving the beginner and also satisfying a little more advanced students. Hence the diversity of texts which begin with the easiest in the normalized spelling, and end with more ambitious literary texts. They are all accompanied by notes which, I believe, will help to solve the main difficulties of interpretation. These notes owe a great deal to all the earlier commentators.

The choice of texts in this volume presents no originality; aside from a few points, an agreement has long been established on the most characteristic passages of the literature before the Norman Conquest, and there is hardly any material for innovation. Except for the first two, I presented the texts in the chronological order, prose in one part and poetry in the other. But since chronology is far from being the order of difficulty, I indicated an order of graded reading on page 192 [in the French text].

2   MOSSÉ, Fernand: *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge des origines au XIVe siècle, II : Moyen-anglais.* (Bibliothèque de Philologie Germanique, XII) 2 tomes. Paris (Aubier), 1949. 3e édition revue et mise à jour. 1959.
*English translation: *A Handbook of Middle English.* Translated by James Albert Walker. Baltimore (The Johns Hopkins Press), 1952. Fifth Printing, Corrected and Augmented. 1968.
*German translation: *Handbuch des Mittelenglischen.* Übersetzt von Herbert Pilch und Ursula Siewert. München (Max Niemeyer), 1969.

The grammatical comments which accompany these texts are made strictly on the basis of this anthology. For the sounds and morphology, I made comparisons with the other Germanic dialects or with an earlier stage only to the extent indispensable for the clarification of the facts.

The sound system was reduced to the minimum. On the contrary, I have sought to throw some light on the value of the Old English spellings that are a little tangled; I was not afraid of giving more precision on this point than similar works generally offer, without ignoring the danger of the entire attempt of reconstructing the pronunciation of an ancient language. In order to facilitate this phonetic interpretation, I utilized the diacritical signs, after the example of Henry Sweet (followed by several of his successors). I hope that the young reader will not be discouraged by the somewhat forbidding aspect of these texts full of dotted letters. If he follows the instructions given (on page 12 [in the French text]), he will soon understand them clearly. After he studies one page of text methodically, he will no longer be interrupted by much of a problem, and the sounds of Old English will seem to him to be much less distant — all proportions preserved — from Modern English than they appear to be at first sight.

Morphology is the only part where this book goes a little beyond the frame of Germanic, simply because without doing so, it is impossible to understand the forms that are already well-worn and whose inflectional endings are reduced to simplicity.

Just as much as the other parts, syntax is based on the texts. That is, it does not claim at all to be complete. It is only to help the reader to understand these texts.

Finally, for the convenience of those who will read the texts in verse,

there are two appendices on the language and style, and on the metrics of poetry.

As to the glossary, I made it as complete as possible, without hesitating to multiply cross references, especially when the forms or the spellings are unusual. In order to make this *Handbook* truly self-sufficient, the words in this glossary would have to be accompanied by their etymology. For lack of space, I had to contend myself with referring to the form of the word as it is found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (or, if it is not available, the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*) which all the students have at their disposition in the university libraries. They must be encouraged to consult frequently this treasure of the English language, *i. e.*, the *OED*. Considerable details will be found there which we cannot give in this volume. The student who is surprised at the reference to Modern English *hoarse* under OE *hās*, for instance, will discover an extremely interesting explanation if he opens the *OED* ; it is good to tell him where he could find the explanation.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>
<p style="text-align:center">*   *</p>

I hope that this *Handbook* will be able to give a little more attractiveness to the certificate of philology for our *Licence ès lettres* degree. There is too often a tendency to regard this certificate as a formidable and unpleasant task. And the student, seduced by the charm, the beauty and the marvellous variety of Modern English literature, into which he has (sometimes erroneously) the impression of entering at the same level, is seen to step back a little in front of the effort demanded of him by the learning of the ancient language. He is wrong,

however, to be thus discouraged. If he has a taste for poetry and literature, he will find in *Beowulf* the tone worthy of Homer, in *Genesis* the Miltonian resoundings, in the *Battle of Maldon* a little of the breath of our *Chanson de Roland*, in Ælfric the sweetness of the *Légende Dorée*, and Alfred will seem to him to be like another hero of Carlyle's. But if the student is a future teacher, and if his goal is, as probable, the teaching of English, he will be able to acquire in this study, which is not at all austere but simply serious, besides the notions indispensable to the entire solid knowledge of the English language, a little more taste for grammar; it cannot be repeated too many times that grammar will be the principal part of his activity as a teacher. And it must be the principal part, if the students at the end of the secondary-school studies are expected to truly know English and to be able to read and speak it freely.

It is hoped therefore that this *Handbook* as it is published will interest our students; it is intended for them. We wish that it will contribute to the development and the revival of English studies in France.

Mr. Lucien Tesnière has kindly done the proof-reading of the book, and has provided me with useful corrections; I express my sincere thanks to him.

November 25, 1944   FERNAND MOSSÉ

     Paris

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

I. — GRAMMAR

A, acc	accusative
adj(s)	adjective(s)
adv(s)	adverb(s), adverbial(s)
athem	athematic
Brit.	Briton
σ^1, σ^2, σ^3, σ^4, σ^5	see §§ 61-65
Celt.	Celtic
cp.	compare
com	common
CGmc	Common Germanic
comp	comparative
conj	conjunction
D, dat	dative
dem	demonstrative
E	English
F, fem	feminine
Fi, F$\bar{o}$, Fn, etc.	Feminine stem in -i, -$\bar{o}$, -n, etc.
Fr	French
G, gen	genitive
Gmc	Germanic
Goth	Gothic
Gr	Greek
I, instr	instrumental
IE	Indo-European

imper	imperative
impers	impersonal
ind	indicative
indef	indefinite
interj	interjection
interr	interrogative
Kent	Kentish
Lat	Latin
lit.	literally
M, masc	masculine
M*a*, M*i*, etc.	masculine stem in −*a*, −*i*, etc,
ME	Middle English
med.	mediaeval
MHG	Middle High German
ModE	Modern English
ModG	Modern German
MS(S).	manuscript(s)
N, nom	nominative
N*a*, N*n*, etc.	neuter stem in −*a*, −*n*, etc.
Nord.	Nordic
Nt, neut	neuter
num	numeral
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
opt	optative

OSax	Old Saxon
OSl	Old Slavic
part	participle
pers	person, personal
pers n	personal name
perf pres	perfect–present
pl	plural
pn(s)	place name(s)
poss	possessive
pp	past participle
pres	present
pron	pronoun
pret, prt	preterit
refl	reflexive
sg	singular
Skr	Sanskrit
str	strong
str vb(s)	strong verb(s)
sb	substantive
sup, superl	superlative
v, vb(s)	verb(s)
WGmc	West Germanic
wk	weak
wk vb(s)	weak verb(s)

wk vb Ia, Ib, Ic: See § 122, Remark II.

W	Welsh

*   placed before a word indicates a word or stem reconstructed by comparison; placed after a word, it indicates a non-attested form or case.

\>   appears later as, presumably "evolves into" or "becomes".

\<   appears earlier as, presumably "develops from".

§(§) = paragraph(s)

\+   followed by, added to

þ   as in *thin*, also thus in texts except when intervocalic, then 〔ð〕

ð̄   as in *that*, except in texts where it interchanges with þ

ō̄   bilabial voiced spirant, as *u* in South German *Qual*

ǥ   velar voiced spirant, as *g* in North German *Wagen*

x   velar voiceless spirant as in German *ach*

ċ   voiceless affricate as in English *church*

sċ   voiceless 'hushing' sound as in English *shop*

ċġ   voiced affricate as in English *judge*

ġ   as in English *yes, young*

ŋ   velar nasal as in English *song*

h   voiceless *w* as in Northern English *what*

ę   open *e* (in opposition to the following)

ẹ   closed *e*

ǫ   open *o*

å   open *o* before a nasal (see § 11, Remark II)

ọ   closed *o*

ə, ᵒ reduced vowel approximately with the value of the second vowel of English *better*

—   placed after a part of a word indicates that the word is

not cited in its complete form (*dag-*); placed in front, it indicates that an element of the word has been separated (*-as*).

The phonetic representation of the pronunciation of a word or a sign is always in the roman type and placed between brackets. [   ].

⏜ placed over a letter indicates a long vowel: *ā, ō, ū*.

⏝ breve placed over a letter indicates a short vowel: *ĕ, ĭ, ȳ̆*.

° placed under a voiced liquid or a nasal indicates that it has the value of a vowel: *ḷ, ṛ, ṃ, ṇ* (cf. final *l* as in *people*).

⏞ tilde placed over a letter, usually vowels, indicates nasal quality: *ã, õ, ũ*.

II. — TEXTS

The Old English selections are referred to in two ways:

1. When the whole selection is in question, XVI; or, when a complete part of a selection is referred to, XVI 2 (part 2 of Text no. XVI).

2. When a single line is in question, 10/280 (line 280 of the selection no. X), or $16_2/21$ (line 21 of section 2 of Text no. XVI).

III. — WORKS AND PERIODICALS

See the Bibliography.

ADVICE TO THE BEGINNERS ON THE USE
OF THIS BOOK

To begin with

I. Read §§ 10 to 14 on the pronunciation (at first, disregard the remarks).

II. Learn gradually the declensions of *stān* (§ 45), *dæl*, *word* (§ 46), *ġiefu* (§ 51), *mȧnn* (§ 61); articles (§ 72), personal pronouns (§§ 69-70) and interrogative pronouns (§ 76); strong adjective (*gōd*, § 82) and weak adjective (*gōda*, § 88); conjugation of *niman*, *dēman* and *be*-verbs which are found (as the preceding declensions) on the 'Table of Principal Paradigms' at the end of this volume. This table can be kept open on one side while reading the first texts. Learn also the paradigms of the classes of strong verbs, also found in this table. Study the palatal inflection at the end (§§ 24-25).

III. At the same time, read the first normalized texts quoted from the Gospels, with the aid of the paragraphs on pronunciation, the notes and the glossary.

Once several lines are understood, it will be good to read and reread them aloud, pronouncing the sounds and putting accents on them. The best thing is to learn by heart some of the lines of these first texts. Fifty well-understood and truly familiarized lines will bring a much faster subsequent progress and more confidence in reading the other texts, of which the order of difficulty is indicated on page 192 [in the French text].

VI. Then the grammar is to be read through once, and studied little by little afterwards.

Before using the glossary

Do not forget to read carefully the explanations at the beginning of the glossary.

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* A superscript asterisk indicates information supplied by the translator.

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II.   GRAMMAR

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(grammar of Sievers, modified and brought up to date; excellent
instrument for study).

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(clear and practical).

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III. SYNTAX

There is no big comprehensive volume on the syntax of Old English. The book by R. Huchon, *Histoire de la langue anglaise*, Vol. 1, pp. 193–270 is the only one that gives a general idea. Most of the grammars are limited to phonology and morphology. Aside from numerous works on detail (which are found in the bibliographies, especially in the bibliography of Kennedy), the only important work is:

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IX. COLLECTIONS OF TEXTS

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*ADDENDA

III. SYNTAX

VISSER, Frederikus Theodorus. *An Historical Syntax of the English
    Language.* 3 vols. Leiden (E. J. Brill), 1963–1969. Part One:
    Syntactical Units with One Verb; Part Two: Syntactical Units
    with One Verb (continued); Part Three. First Half: Syntactical
    Units with Two Verbs.

INTRODUCTION

Old English

§ 1. It is convenient to divide the development of the English language into three main periods:

the period of Old English, from 450 to 1150;

the period of Middle English, from 1150 to 1500;

and the period of Modern English, since 1500.

Of course these divisions are simply practical points of reference, for there is no gap in the evolution of a language. In fact there are hardly any documents written before the eighth century in England, and Old English is a language written in Great Britain between 700 and 1150.

During these four centuries and a half, this language never ceased to evolve. There can be seen four subdivisions:

the first period: Old English before Alfred (*early Old English*);

the second period: the language of Alfred;

the third period: the language of Ælfric and Wulfstan;

the fourth period: the transition from Old to Middle English (*transitional Old English*).

REMARK I. The term 'Anglo-Saxon' instead of 'Old English' was once used. The expression, first employed by the scholar Camden at the end of the sixteenth century, is now largely abandoned. The term has the shortcoming of masking the continuity of the language. Besides, the writers before the Norman

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N. B. — A glossary of the linguistic terms used in this book is at the end of the section of grammar (pp. 187 ff. [in the French text]).
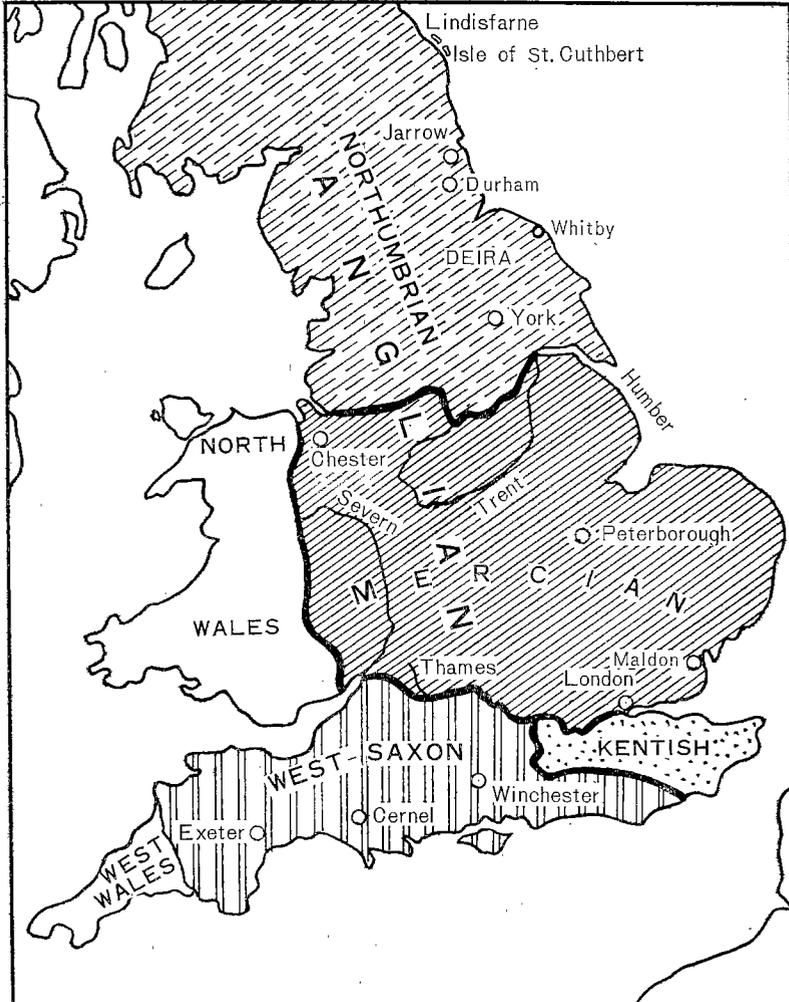
Fig. 1. — Old English Dialects

Conquest always referred to their language as *englisć*.

REMARK II. The fixation of the end of the Old English period at 1150 is conventional. In reality, the language continued to be used even after this date (cf. R.W. Chambers, *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, Oxford, 1932). On the other hand, there is certain evidence which permits us to believe that after 1050 the spoken language was already quite different from the written language.

The Dialects

§ 2. English is not a native language of Great Britain. It was introduced by the conquerors who took hold of the island in the fifth century and established themselves there by pushing back or by destroying the Celts who lived there. These conquerors belonged to the Germanic tribes who came from the coasts of Northern Germany and Denmark. It is generally agreed that they were Saxons, Angles and Jutes; but probably Frisians should also be added to this list.

The dialects of these tribes, very similar to each other and nevertheless appreciably different, continued to coexist after the colonization of Great Britain. Later, they gave birth to three dialects of very different literary importance:

Kentish, the language of the Jutes, spoken in the southeast of the island in the region of Kent;

West Saxon, spoken in the southwest in the kingdom of Wessex; and *Anglian*, spoken in the north of the Thames and divided into *Mercian* spoken in the central area, and *Northumbrian* spoken in the north of the Humber (Cf. Figure 1, page 18 [in the French text]).

It can be seen that these dialects largely correspond to the territorial and political divisions. It is in Northumbrian that some of the earliest documents were written. There is a good reason to believe that a

large part of the poems which have survived until today were written in the seventh century in Anglian; but we have these works only in the version transcribed later in West Saxon. It was in this last dialect that the literary prose of Alfred, Ælfric and Wulfstan was composed. Of Kentish there is little that survived; besides, there never was much literary creation in this dialect. Thus, it is West Saxon which gives us the most abundant, often most attractive, texts.

Following the custom, the grammatical outline to follow is based upon West Saxon, the language of Alfred. But, as the political center moved from Winchester to London, it is Mercian which became the basis of the common language after the Norman Conquest and thus the origin of Modern English. The language of Alfred and Ælfric is not exactly, if very similar to, the ancester of the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare. This is an important point to keep in mind in the study of Old English.

Place of Old English

§ 3. In its origin and its grammatical structure, Old English constitutes a twig of the West Germanic branch of the Germanic languages. Besides English, *Westic* or West Germanic comprises Frisian, Old Saxon, Franconian and High German.

It is with Frisian first of all, later with Old Saxon, that Old English is most closely related, while a profound change in the articulation of the consonants (called the second consonantal mutation), which affected High German and a large part of Franconian, distinguishes Old English from these other dialects. Compare:

OE			OHG	
	open	'to open'		*offan*
	tīen	'ten'		*zehan*
	bōc	'book'		*buoh*
	sibb	'descendant'		*sippa*
	dæġ	'day'		*tac*
	đūsend	'thousand'		*đūsent*

Aside from West Germanic, Germanic has two other branches: *Ostic* or East Germanic, of which Gothic (the language of the Bible by Wulfila of the fourth century) is the only representative attested by the traced texts and also the earliest, and *Nordic* or North Germanic which includes the Scandinavian languages (Icelandie, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish).

The earliest form of North Germanic is the language of the first runic inscriptions, some of which date from the beginning of our era. The period of literary brilliance of Old Norse (Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian) is between 1150 and 1350.

§ 4. All these languages are the diverse forms of a common language which was spoken, in the course of historical evolution and of geographical division, until about the beginning of the Christian era in the Scandinavian Peninsula, Denmark and the Plain of North-

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                        COMMON GERMANIC
                              |
        Westic              Nordic                Ostic
          |                   |                     |
          |          Icelandic Norwegian Danish Swedish    Gothic
          |
   Old English          Old Low Franconian   Old Saxon   Old High German
          |                     |                 |             |
 Middle English  Old Frisian   Middle Low     Middle Low    Middle High
                               Franconian       German        German
          |          |             |               |             |
      Modern      Modern      Flemish   Dutch   Plattdeutsch   Modern
      English     Frisian                                      German
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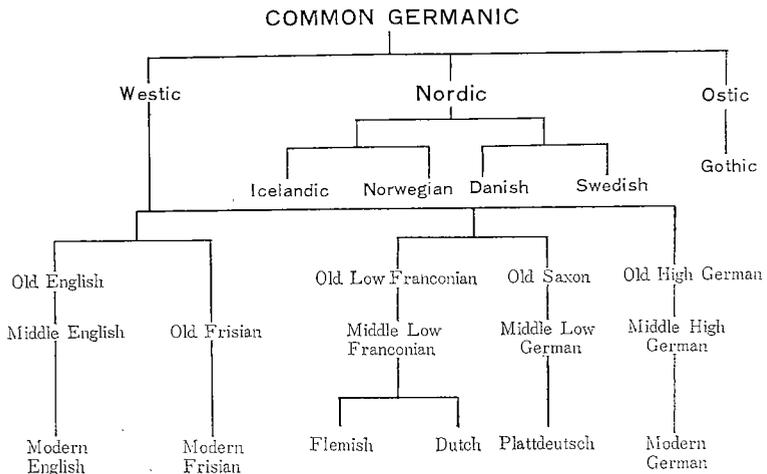
ern Germany, and which is called *Common Germanic*.

There exists no written document of this language which occupies the same position to the Germanic languages as Vulgar Latin does to the Romance languages.[1]

§ 5.   Germanic in its turn is merely one of the groups in a large language family called the family of *Indo-European languages* which includes besides Germanic: Hittite (spoken in Asia Minor in the second millenium before Christ, a twig which separated very early but whose structure remains Indo-European), Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit, Prakrits and modern languages of India), Iranian (Old Persian, Avestan, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Persian and other modern dialects), Tocharian, a dead language whose texts were discovered in Chinese Turkestan, Armenian, Hellenic (dialects of ancient and modern Greek), Modern Albanian, Italic (Umbrian, Oscan, Latin and the modern Romance languages), Celtic (Gaelic of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man, Briton of Wales, Cornwall and Brittany), Baltic (Old Prussian, Lithuanian, Lettish), Slavic (South Slavic: Old Slavic, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian and Bulgarian; East Slavic: Great Russian, Little Russian or Ukrainian, White Russian; West Slavic: Polish, Czech and Slovakian).

The grammatical comparison elaborated in the nineteenth century established that all these languages derive from one common language whose written texts do not exist and which is called *Indo-European* (IE in abbreviated form).

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1   Consult Antoine Meillet, *Caractères généraux des langues germaniques*, 4th ed., Paris (Librairie Hachette), 1930 and Torsten E. Karsten, *Les Anciens Germains*, translated by Fernand Mossé, Paris (Payot), 1931.

REMARK. An asterisk (*) is placed before the reconstructed form of Indo-European or Common Germanic in order to distinguish a reconstructed form from a historical, attested form.

§ 6. All the Germanic languages, including English, have a certain number of characteristic traits in common which distinguish them from the other Indo-European languages. These are:

1. a stress accent which strikes the first syllable or the radical of the word;

2. the first consonantal mutation;

3. the treating of the end of the word;

4. the existence of two flexions for the adjective;

5. the use of a suffix with a dental consonant (ModE -*ed*) in the pretetit of the weak verb;

6. a certain amount of vocabulary in common which is not seen elsewhere.

GRAMMAR

PART ONE

THE SOUNDS

CHAPTER ONE

ALPHABET, PRONUNCIATION, ACCENTUATION

A. HANDWRITING

The Runic Alphabet

§ 7. The Germanic tribes who invaded Great Britain in the fifth century possessed no cursive writing; as the other Germanic peoples of the prehistoric period, they employed an epigraphic writing or the runic alphabet for inscriptions on wood, stone or metal, which were of pagan and magic character at least in their origin.

After the conversion, the runic writing was still employed in Great Britain until the ninth century for writing Christian texts (cf. Text XXIII, 1 and Fig. 5, p. 430 [in the French text]).

The runic alphabet, introduced at the beginning of the conquest, was the alphabet of twenty-four letters which were common among all the Germanic languages. But little by little, after the changes of the vowels and consonants, this alphabet became ill-suited to transcribe the new sounds of Old English; between the fifth and the ninth centuries, it changed and enriched itself until at last it counted thirty-three letters.

The Latin Handwriting

§ 8.   The runic alphabet was not suited for cursive writing.   Just as for all the other Germanic populations, it was Christianity that brought the Latin writing to the Angles.

The first mission sent to Kent by St. Gregory in 597 A. D. brought a number of volumes written in Roman uncial; perhaps the Angles imitated it, but no trace of it survives.   In 634 when Oswald, who had been brought up in an Irish milieu in the monastery of Iona, took the throne of Northumbria, he brought some Irish monks with him.   One of them, Aidan (cf. Texts X 5), founded the abbey of Lindisfarne which became a very big center of culture and whose influence reached as far as Wessex.   It was at Lindisfarne that the English handwriting was born.

The Irish were not under the Roman influence. Since the beginning of the seventh century, thy had taken an angular cursive writing from the Roman half–uncial, and it was no longer written with a reed but with a duck feather.   This writing, called the insular and characterized by long strokes, gradually spread over the entire England.

It is from the Irish half–uncial that the Angles borrow certain abbreviations or Tironian letters: *1* for *and* or *ánd* 'and' (cf. Texts XXIV 2 and XXV 1), and *꒒* for *uel* and *oððe* are the only ones that survive.   The Irish also teach the Angles the usage of the *apex*, a kind of acute accent employed to emphasize certain words, particularly short little words. For a long time this apex was thought to be a mark of the length of vowels, and the editors of the nineteenth century used it as such for long vowels in general.

It was therefore the Irish who taught the Angles of the seventh

century to write the Latin alphabet, first to copy the Latin texts and subsequently to transcribe their vernacular.

The Spelling

§ 9.   But the Latin alphabet, in its turn, was rather poorly suited to represent the sounds of a Germanic language.   Therefore the task had to proceed by approximation, and the same letter (such as *c, g, h*) had to be used to transcribe different sounds; the digraphs or groups of two letters had to be used for recording one simple sound (*ae, æ,* also written *e; eo, æ*); some of the letters had to be modified (such as the barred *d* or *ð*); this insufficient alphabet also had to be supplemented with runic signs (such as *ƿ* and *þ*); and finally, certain sounds or certain varieties of sounds even had to remain without being transcribed.

Despite these modifications, the spelling of Old English is far from being phonetic.   The value of the letters is sometimes not well known to us.   It is often through comparison with the other varieties of the West Germanic dialects or with Middle English or even with Modern English that the precise phonetic value might be revealed.

On the other hand, the idea of a norm of orthography, a notion which has long been profoundly anchored in the modern and literate people, did not exist.   Fluctuation and uncertainty were such that not only the spelling varied from one manuscript to another, but from a line to another in the same manuscript under the pen of the same scribe.

The examples abound; a few would suffice here.   In the same charter (Text XXV 1) the name of the female donor is written *Lufa, Luba* and *Lubo.* In the *Winchester Chronicle* (Text III) are found *wunode* (*l.* 4) and *wunade*

(*l.* 5), *wǣrun* (*l.* 13) and *wǣran* (*l.* 22), *cyning* (*l.* 161) and *kyning* (*l.* 13) alongside *cyng* (*l.* 157) and *cinges* (*l.* 203), *siō fierd* (*l.* 148) and *sēō fird* (*l.* 225), *þȳ ilcan ġēāre* (*l.* 287) and *þȳ ylcan ġēre* (*l.* 249). In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Text VIII) there are *nōht* (*l.* 32) and *nāht* (*l.* 34), *heht* (*l.* 57) and *hēt* (*l.* 58), etc.

What contributes even more to multiply these differences of spelling is often the fact that a scribe copied a manuscript written in a dialect other than his own.

A person who begins to study Old English runs the risk of being misguided by the diversity of these spellings. For the beginner, we have normalized the first two texts and removed all the variants of the same word in the glossary. What is difficult in Old English is not so much the phonetics but the spelling and, to some extent, the pronunciation.

B. PRONUNCIATION

§ 10. The student must first of all learn to pronounce well, that is, to give the letters their phonetic value: trying to pronounce an ancient language means to understand the phonetics well, not only in itself but in relation to what precedes and what follows. One may be quite surprised to realize that, in certain respects, the spelling has undergone much more change than pronunciation: OE *dæġ, reġn, leġer* are more similar in pronunciation to *day, rain, lair,* than one may be led to believe from the orthographic difference; OE *mioluc* is similar to the pronunciation still heard in the modern *milk* as pronounced by milkboys.

Vowels

§ 11. The vowels as such have no ambiguity: their value is founded upon the learned pronunciation of Latin as practised in the Anglo-Irish monasteries of the seventh century. All (but *ă*) can represent short or long sounds. In this book the length is marked by a macron (⁻).

vowels	value		examples
i	ModE *pit*		*sċip, ċild, bringan*
ī	ModG *wie*		*mīn, līf, drīfan*
e	Fr *été*		*wer, helm, brecan*
ē	ModG *See*		*hēr, gēs, mētan*
æ	ModE *hat*		*dæġ hwæt, sæt*
ǣ	the same vowel, but long		*flǣsċ, dǣl, tǣċan*
a	ModG *Mann*		*dagas, lagu, faran*
ā	ModE *father*		*ān, bān hātan*
o	Fr *homme*		*dohtor, open, word*
ō	ModG *Sohn*		*brōðor, fōt, mōdor*
a, ǫ	ModE *hot*		*mǫn, hǫnd, nǫma*
u	ModE *put*		*sunu, guma, cuman*
ū	ModG *gut*		*hūs, tūn, ðūhte*
y	Fr *reçu*		*cyning, gylden, wynn*
ȳ	ModG *grün*		*lȳtel, fȳr, brȳd*

REMARK I. In origin *e* which is derived from the *i*- or *j*-mutation of *a* (see §§ 24-25) is open (as in ModE *set*), as in *menn, sellan, settan*.

REMARK II. The sound *ǫ*, which appears only before a nasal consonant, has no special notation in the alphabet; it is written *o* or *a*: *man, mon, hand, hond*. In the oldest texts, we regularly find *a*; but since the middle of the seventh century, *o* appears in the spelling. It becomes the rule in Anglian. In the ninth century, in West-Saxon and Kentish, *o* is more frequent than *a*. In the tenth century it is again *a* which overtakes *o*: Ælfric and the Evangelists in West-Saxon only have *a*.

In the glossary and the normalized texts we transcribe this sound by *ǫ*. In the other texts we respect the manuscript, but we write *ǫ* for this *o* to distinguish it from the middle and closed *o*.

REMARK III. *y* is employed quite early in West-Saxon to transcribe *i* (and the earlier *ie* is reduced to *i*). As in Alfred's *Orosius* (Texts V) the MS. C

has *myċel l.* 39, *þyder l.* 86, *hys l.* 57, *swyðe l.* 45, and *swȳna l.* 52 for *miċel, ðider, his, swiþe,* and *swina,* and *syxa l.* 43, *hȳ l.* 49, *tȳn l.* 58, *sȳ l.* 60, *dȳre l.* 49 for *siexa, hīe, tīen, sīe* and *dīere,* respectively. Here, just as in Modern English in the final position (*pretty*), *y* is only a spelling variant of *i* which must be clearly distinguished from the sound [y]. But there is no doubt that before the end of the Old English period the sound [y] was delabialized into [i] in the East.

Digraphs

§ 12. Here the situation is a little more complicated because Old English employs the groups *ea, eo, ie* for transcribing sometimes simple vowels and other times the diphthongs. To distinguish them, this book uses the digraphs *ea, eo, ie* for simple vowels while the diphthongs are written *ēā, ēō, īē*.

<div align="center">

ea

</div>

After *ċ, ġ, sċ* the digraph *ea* represents: (1) the sound [æ] in an accented syllable: *ċealf, ġeaf, sċeal*; (2) the sound [a] in an unaccented syllable: *tǣċean, fylġean, seċġean* (these are also written *tǣċan, fylġan, seċġan*).

Before *l* or *r* + consonant or before *h, ea* transcribes equally the sound [æ]: *earm, eall, eahta.*

<div align="center">

ie

</div>

After *ċ, ġ, sċ* the digraph *ie* transcribes the sound [e]: *ċierran, ġiefan, sċield.*

Before *l* or *r* + consonant and before *h,* this digraph represents the sound [i]: *hierde.*

<div align="center">

eo

</div>

Before *l* or *r* + consonant and before *h,* the digraph *eo* transcribes the sound [e]: *eorðe, seolh, feoh.*

In other words, the diacritic signs on the first vocalic element after a palatal consonant and the second before a velar consonant are intended to indicate the palatal, velar or rounded pronunciation of the consonant.

It should not be forgotten that it was the Irish who taught the Angles to put the sounds of their language into writing. In Irish, also, diacritic vowels are used to indicate the articulation of the neighboring consonants.

These elements could also have the value of a furtive and instable vowel of transition (called a 'glide') in which the same pronunciation is not maintained. In any event, when the vowel is long, this 'glide' could acquire a greater importance and under the conditions analogous to those just enumerated, $\bar{e}\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}\bar{o}$, and $\bar{\imath}\bar{e}$ become diphthongs similar to those we are now turning to discuss.

Diphthongs

$\overline{ea}$

§ 13. $\bar{e}\bar{a}$ is the Old English form corresponding to the diphthong *au* of West Germanic; it represents the sound [æa] or [æə]: *dēāð*, *hēāp*, *strēām*; there is the same diphthong in *ġēār*, *sċēāp*, *ċēās*, *nēāh*, *hēāwan*, *slēān*, *mēāres*.

The following is the explanation of this unfamiliar letter. The diphthong *au* of West Germanic is modified very slowly in Old English. In the most ancient state known to us, it is written *aeo*, then *aea* and also, with the ligature, *æa*. This notation is close to the phonetic reality: the first element *æ* is quite palatalized and is followed by *a* (which was later reduced to *ə*). But to avoid the trigram *aea* or *æa*, the first is simply omitted, hence *ea*.

$\overline{\imath e}$

$\bar{\imath}\bar{e}$ is the *i*- or *j*-mutation of *ea* (§ 24). This diphthong is composed of *i* followed by *e*: *hīēran*, *ġelīēfan*, *nīēd*, *īēðe*. It was reduced early to *ī*: *hīran*, *ġelīfan*, also written *ȳ*: *hȳran*, etc.

$\overline{eo}$

$\overline{eo}$ (with its earlier forms $\overline{ia}$ and $\overline{io}$) is made of e followed by o: $l\overline{eo}f$, $tr\overline{eo}$, $s\overline{eo}n$.

REMARK I. The diphthongs of Old English are all what we call diph-thongs of increasing aperture, that is, the second element is more open than the first. Such diphthongs are very instable. They can easily pass from a descending accent ea (which was normally the case) to a rising accent ea or even to an unsettled accent. It is a fact that these diphthongs did not survive in Old English and were all simplified in the following period.

REMARK II. Many grammarians write $\overline{e}a$ $\overline{e}o$, $\overline{i}e$ following the traditional but ambiguous notation; it is ambiguous because they make the reader suppose that the first element is long. We prefer to write $\overline{ea}$, $\overline{eo}$, $\overline{ie}$, not only to distinguish these diphthongs well from the digraphs, but specially to indicate that it is both elements put together that is long.

Consonants

§ 14. The consonants p, t, b, d, m, n, w have the same pronunciation as in Modern English.

c

c is pronounced [k] as in ModE *can, call*; thus *corn, cræft, cnapa, nacod, drincan, swicol, weorc, bōc*. The letter k is merely a variant of c, in particular before y: *kyning, kynn* instead of *cyning, cynn*.

ċ

c is pronounced first as palatal [k'], then [č] as in ModE *church*; thus *ċild, ċīese, ċiriċe, styċċe, drenċ, ðenċ(e)an*.

sċ

$sċ$ is pronounced first as palatal [sk], then [š] as in ModE *ship*; thus *sċip, sċōh, sċeal, sċēotan, wysċan, bisċ(e)op, fisċ*.

f

f is pronounced [f] except between two voiced elements where its value becomes [v]. Therefore, *folc, flōwan, frēo, sċeaft, Offa*, and *wulf* are pronounced with [f], but *hafast, ġiefan*, and *wulfes*, with [v].

g

g has two pronunciations:

1. [g] of German of the North, *Wagen*, later [g] as in ModE *good*; thus *gōd, guma, gylden, glǣm, grund, gnornian, finger, frogga*;

2. between two vowels and at the end of a word after a liquid or a back vowel, as [g] of German of the North; thus *lagu, stīgan, burg, earg*.

ġ

ġ is pronounced:

1. as [j] of ModE *you*; thus *ġē, ġiefan, sæġde, friġnan, hyge, dæġ, weġ, hāliġ, ġeong, ġeōmor, herġan*;

2. as palatalized [g'], and later as [dž] of ModE *judge* and *singe* in the combination *-nġ-*; thus *senġ(e)an, lenġra, ġinġra. ċġ* represents the same sound but clustered, [g'g'] and later [ddž]: thus *eċġ, bryċġ, seċġan, liċġan*.

h

h corresponds to two sounds:

1. [h] of ModE *house* before a vowel: *hūs, hånd, habban* and before *l, r, n*: *hlāf, hring, hnīgan*;

2. in an entirely different position, it is pronounced as [x] in ModG *ach*; thus *hwā, dohtor, brōhte, cniht, seah, ðurh*.

l

l no doubt has two different articulations as in Modern English:

1. as in ModE *long* in a word-initial position: *lánd, láf, leorning, slēan* and after *i*: *willa, ċild*;

2. velar *l* (as in ModE *all*) after *ea, eo, io, ǣ, ō, u*: *eall, eald, seolh, seolfor, hǣlend, wulf.*

Besides, *l* is syllabic (as in ModE *people*) in *æpl* and *seġl.*

m, n

Similarly *m* and *n* are syllabic in *bōsm, maðm, wæstm, hræfn, reġn, tācn* (also written *māðum, tācen*, etc.).

As in Modern English, *n* represents the guttural nasal [ŋ] before *c* and *g*; thus *drincan, bringan.*

r

r has a pronunciation which is poorly known to us. There are all reasons, however, to suppose that there are two varieties of *r* as in the case of *l*:

1. before a vowel, a rolled *r* as in Italian or perhaps already a spirant *r* as in ModE *red*;

2. before a consonant and in the final position, a retroflex *r* as in certain dialects of Modern English and in a large area of the United States. This explains the interversion (cf. § 35. 2) and the 'fracture' (cf. § 22).

s

s is a voiceless sibilant (as in ModE *sea*): *sǣ, slǣpan, cyssan, hūs,* except between two voiced elements in which case it becomes a voiced [z]: *ċēōsan, rīsan, hūses, bōsm.*

þ, ð

þ and *ð* are interchangeably used to transcribe the voiceless inter-dental spirant [þ] as in ModE *thin* and the voiced [ð] as in ModE

then. It can be said that both are voiceless except between two voiced elements: *cweðan, weorðan, māðm.*

To transcribe the interdental spirant the digraph *th* is employed in the earlier texts; then toward the end of the seventh century, *ð* appears; only another century later *þ* appears and spreads rather slowly. In the ninth century *ð* and *þ* are employed simultaneously.

In the first two parts of the grammar, the glossary and the normalized texts, we employ *ð* and not *þ* (except when it concerns the phonetic values). In the rest of this book and in the quotations we respect the spellings of the manucripts.

W

The letter, borrowed from the runic alphabet [ᚹ] and transcribed by *w* in the modern editions, has the same sound as in Modern English, but in Old English *w* is never silent; it must therefore be pronounced in such words as *wlǎnc, wringan, writan.*

To transcribe the sound *w*, the earliest texts use *u* and *uu* (cf. for instance 23₂/3). In the tenth century *cuōm* (3/45) and *sāule* (13/70) are still seen for *cwōm* and *sāwle* respectively.

X

The letter *x* sometimes transcribes [ks], thus *rīxian* (as well as *rīcsian*), *āxian* (or *āscian*), other times [xs] as in *siex.*

Finally, the consonant clusters or reduplicated consonants must be pronounced as long consonants: *sittan, habban, reċċan, leċġan, willa,* etc. The opposition of a long versus short consonant has in fact a functional value in Old English and this opposition suffices to distinguish two words; the following fragment of *Bēowulf* (15/2713) is testimony to this: *swelan and swellan* 'to burn and swell'.

C. ACCENTUATION

§ 15. As all the Germanic languages and Modern English, Old English has a stress accent which falls on the radical syllable of the simple word. It is called the accent of primary intensity: *fǽder, héofenum, sǽdere, ópenodon.* This radical syllable stands out with a great deal of force and the end of the word tends to be more weakly articulated.

The effects of this type of accentuation are profoundly felt in the course of evolution of the Germanic languages and particularly in that of English. Except in the radical syllable, the vowels change little by little; they become vague, and at the end of a word they are rapidly weakened, which results in the disappearance of inflexion. Old English is in this respect placed in an intermediate stage: the inflexion is still rather rich, and the post-radical vowels are rather well differentiated. It constitutes therefore a good point of comparison.

Besides this principal accent, the long words, the compounds, and the heavy post-radical syllables carry an accent of secondary intensity (transcribed by the two signs [´] and [`]): *cýning, míddan-geàrd, léorning-cnìhtas.*

§ 16. The rule of the primary accent suffers only from the following exceptions:

1. The prefix or preverb *ġe-* is never stressed: *ġehálgod, ġeléafa, ġedǽghwamliċ.*

2. In the nominal compounds, the prefixes *be-* and *for-* are unstressed: *bebód, forbód, betwéox.* On the contrary, *bī-* (of which *be-* is a weakened form) carries an accent: *bígàng, bíleofa.*

3. In the verbal compounds, the preverb is normally unstressed

(*becúman, forġiéfan, oncnáwan, árísan*). However, the preverbs which preserve the full adverbial meaning carry an accent: *æfter* 'after', *fore* 'before,' *in* 'in', *ūt* 'out'. Thus *æfter-fylġan* 'to pursue', *fore-gàngan* 'to precede', *in-ġangan* 'to enter', *ūt-feohtan* 'to go out (for fighting)', etc.

Similarly in the syntactic group of an adverb-verb construction, it is the adverb that is stressed: I 1/11 *hīe ne mihton hine ínn bringan* 'they could not let him enter'.

4. The verbs derived from compound nouns keep the accent on the first syllable just as the noun: *ándswarian* 'answer' as well as *ándswaru* 'an answer'.

5. In the compound prepositions and adverbs, it is the most important meaning-element that carries the accent: *éalneġ, tō-gǽdere, on-wéġ, ðǽr-ínne.*

For the beginner, the first pieces (*i. e.*, the Gospels) are marked with accents: the accented syllable, when it is not the first syllable of the word, is preceded by a raised point, *ġe·hālgod, tōbe·cum.*

CHAPTER TWO

THE VOWELS

§ 17. According to the reconstruction, Common West Germanic, the ancestor of the West Germanic languages (§ 3), has the following vocalic system:

$$i \quad e \quad a \quad o \quad u$$
$$\bar{\imath} \quad \bar{e} \quad \bar{a} \quad \bar{o} \quad \bar{u}$$
$$iu \quad eu \quad ai \quad au$$

Starting with this state of the language, we will examine the principal changes which took place between this state and that of Old English.

Closure of Vowels

§ 18. 1. The principle which dominates this evolution is the closure of the vowels and diphthongs. As far as the vowels are concerned, this tendency is not yet appreciative enough to be rendered in the spelling of Old English, except for *a* and *ā* which become *æ* and *ǣ* respectively, and *ō* in final position which becomes *ū*. For the other vowels, it is only for Middle English that this tendency might be postulated.

2. The result is that there is no change in the vowels *i*, *e*, *o*, *u*, short or long, although, in general, WGmc *a*, *ā* > OE *æ*, *ǣ* (in West Saxon; *e*, *ē* in other dialects): OSax *dag*, OE *dæġ* 'day'; OSax *bar*, OE *bær* 'he carried'; similarly OE *fæder* 'father', *hræfn* 'raven', *fæġer* 'fair'.

OSax *dād*, OE *dǣd* 'deed'; OSax *sād*, OE *sǣd* 'seed'; similarly, OE *ǣfen* 'evening', *mǣġ* 'parent', *slǣp* 'sleep', *mǣre* 'famous', *wǣpen*

'weapon'.

REMARK. OE $\bar{æ}$ derived from the West Germanic $\bar{a}$ is called $æ_1$ in order to be distinguished from $æ$ (called $æ_2$) which comes from the i- or j-mutation of the West Germanic ai (cf. § 20. 1 and § 25).

3. This evolution is interrupted in the following two cases:

a) In an open syllable when the following syllable contains (or once contained) one of the back vowels a, o, u : OE *faran* 'to go', *dagas* 'days', *macode* 'he did', *magu* 'son', *baðu* (plural of *bæð* 'bath'); *slāpan* 'to sleep', *māgas* (plural of *mǣġ* 'kinsman, cousin').

REMARK I. The back vowels sometimes disappear in Old English. This is the case with the infinitive of the second class of the weak verbs: OE *macian* < *makōian* 'to make', similarly *hatian* 'to hate', *laðian* 'to invite', etc.

REMARK II. $\bar{a}$, even followed by a back vowel, becomes $\bar{æ}$ when the back vowel is preceded by a dental consonant t, d; therefore *lǣtan* 'to let', *rǣdan* 'to read', *cwǣdon* 'they said', *sǣton* 'they sat'.

b) Before w not followed by i : *ġesawen* 'seen', *sāwon* 'they saw'.

REMARK III. By analogy, $\bar{æ}$ is often re-established to replace $\bar{a}$ so that the forms *slǣpan* 'to sleep', *strǣlas* 'arrows', *bǣron* 'they carried', etc., are frequently encountered.

4. Final $\bar{\rho}$- becomes -$\bar{u}$: OSax *kō*, OE *cū* 'cow', and similarly *bū* 'both', *tū* < *twō* 'two', *hū* < *hwō* 'how'.

Quantitative Changes

§ 19. 1. In the final position of the monosyllabic words, the short vowels are lengthened: *ðū* 'you', *hē* 'he', *ġē* 'you', *hwā* 'who', *swā* 'so as', *tō* 'to'.

2. The long vowels are shortened before a cluster of three consonants: *godspell* < *gōd· spell* 'good news, gospel' and before the geminated

consonants: *siððan* < *siððæm* 'and then', *næddre* 'adder' instead of *nǣdre*.

3. Before the end of the Old English period, the short vowels become long before the consonant groups *mb, nd, ld, rd*: instead of *lămb* 'lamb', *fĭndan* 'to find', *čĭld* 'child', *wŏrd* 'word', there are *lāmb, fīndan, čīld, wōrd* except when a third consonant follows immediately, hence the plurals *lămbru, čĭldru,* also except for the small unstressed grammatical words such as *ănd, ŭnder, wŏlde* 'would'.

Diphthongs

§ 20. Unlike the simple vowels, the diphthongs inherited from West Germanic are rather profoundly modified in Old English:

1. WGmc *ai* > OE *ā*: OHG *ein*, OE *ān* 'one'; OHG *heil*, OE *hāl* 'whole'; OHG *heiʒan*, OE *hātan* 'to command'.

2. WGmc *eu* > OE *ēo*: OE *dēop* 'deep', *dēor* 'deer', *lēof* 'dear', *bēodan* 'to bid', *čēosan* 'to choose'.   In West Saxon, this diphthong is first written *īo*.

3. WGmc *iu* > OE *īo*, later *ēo*: OSax *liudi*, OE *lēode* 'people'; OSax *thiustri*, OE *ðīostre, ðēostre* 'darkness'.

The form **iu* in West Germanic takes **eu* before *i, j* of the following syllable. It is therefore a beginning of inflexion.   This tendency does not cease at the stage of *ēo* in West Saxon.   In the third period *ēo* becomes *īe* and is later simplified into *ī*, often written *ȳ*.
The other dialects stay at the stage of *īo* (Northumbrian and Kentish) or *ēo* (Mercian).

4. WGmc *au* > OE *ēa*: OE *dēað* 'death' (cf. ON *dauðr*), OE *rēad* 'red' (cf. ON *rauðr*), OE *ēage* 'eye' (OHG *ouga*).

REMARK. In Anglian, the diphthongs are simplified before *e, g* and *h*:

$\bar{e}\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}\bar{o}$ $>$ $\bar{e}$, $\bar{\imath}\bar{o}$ $>$ $\bar{\imath}$. Therefore $\bar{e}c$, $\bar{e}ge$, $h\bar{e}h$, $s\bar{e}c$, $fl\bar{e}gan$, $l\bar{e}ht$ in contrast to
West Saxon $\bar{e}\bar{a}c$ 'also', $\bar{e}\bar{a}ge$ 'eye,' $h\bar{e}\bar{a}h$ 'high,' $s\bar{e}\bar{o}c$ 'sick,' $fl\bar{e}\bar{o}gan$ 'to fly,' $l\bar{e}\bar{o}ht$
'light,' etc.

Influence of the Nasals

§ 21.   In West Germanic, the vowel is more or less nasalized
before a nasal consonant, particularly when the nasal is followed by a
voiceless spirant. These nasalized vowels $\check{a}$, $\bar{o}$, $\check{u}$, $\check{\imath}$, a^n do not survive
in any dialect and disappear in diverse fashion. The denasalization
which takes place in Old English is not accompanied by a change of
vocalic sounds except for $\bar{a}$ which becomes $\bar{\varrho}$, later $\bar{\varrho}$, and a^n which
becomes $\check{a}$ (written a or o, cf. § 11, Remark II).

Several cases must be distinguished:

1.   The group of sounds in Common Germanic

short oral vowel $+$ η $+$ x $+$ occlusive

(x is a voiceless velar spirant) gives in West Germanic:

nasal (long) vowel $+$ x $+$ occlusive

which becomes in Old English:

long oral vowel $+$ x $+$ occlusive.

Thus CGmc $*$-anx- $>$ $*\bar{a}\eta x$- $>$ WGmc -$\bar{a}x$- $>$ OE -$\bar{o}h$-. Out of
WGmc $*\not{p}ankjan$ 'to think' there is the preterit $*\not{p}\bar{a}xta$, OE $\eth\bar{o}hte$; out
of WGmc $*bra\eta gjan$ 'to bring' (OE $bren\dot{g}an$) there is the preterit
$*br\bar{a}xta$, OE $br\bar{o}hte$; WGmc $*\bar{a}xta$ gives OE $\bar{o}ht$ 'persecution'.

For the vowels i and u, there is no sound-change, but the
disappearance of the nasal is accompanied by a compensatory leng-
thening of the vowel. Thus for WGmc $*\not{p}unkjan$ 'to appear' (OE
$\eth yn\dot{c}an$) there is the preterit OE $\eth\bar{u}hte$; for CGmc $*\not{p}\bar{\imath}xsil\bar{o}$, OE $\eth\bar{\imath}sl$
'shaft'. This phenomenon is common to all the Germanic languages.

Those to be studied here are the result only in English and Frisian.

2. Before the spirants *s*, *f*, and *þ*, the group

> short oral vowel + nasal + spirant (for example, *-ans-*)

becomes

> nasal vowel + nasal + spirant (*-ans-*)

and later,

> nasal vowel (long) + spirant (*-ās-*)

which becomes in Old English

> long oral vowel + spirant (*-ōs-*).

Here again there is no sound-change except for *ã* which gives *ō*: there are Old English *gōs* 'goose' alongside OHG *gans* and OE *gånot* 'gannet' and *gån(d)ra* 'gander'; similarly OE *ōs* 'idol' (Goth *ans*), OE *ōðer* 'other' (OHG *andar*), OE *tōð* 'tooth' (OHG *zand*), OE *sōfte* 'softly' (OHG *samfto*).

The same remark as before may be made for the other nasal vowels *ĩ* > OE *ī*, *ũ* > OE *ū*: OE *fīf* 'five' (OHG *fimf*), OE *ūs* 'us' (OHG *uns*), OE *mūð* 'mouth' (Goth *munþs*).

3. The West Germanic group

> *ã* + nasal + vowel

becomes

> *ã* + nasal + vowel

which in turn becomes

> *ō* + nasal + vowel

in Old English.

There are therefore OE *mōna* 'moon' (OHG *māno*), OE *nōmon* 'they took' (OHG *nāmun*), OE *c(w)ōmon* 'they came' (OHG *quāmun*).

4. In all positions, WGmc *a* before a nasal becomes OE *ȧ*

(transcribed *ă* or *o*. cf. § 11, Remark II): OE *măn* 'man', *hånd* 'hand', *nåma* 'name'.

REMARK I. This sound-change must have been made easy by a slight nasalization of the vowel in Anglo-Frisian.

REMARK II. In a slightly stressed position, *Q* is narrowed into *Q*, hence the forms OE *on* 'in', *hwone* A M Sg of *hwā* 'whom', *ðonne* 'then', etc.

Finally, the following change takes place only in Old English.

5. Before a nasal consonant, *o* becomes *u*: Lat *montem* > OE *munt* 'mountain', Lat *Bonōnia* > OE *Bunne* 'Boulogne', Lat *monachus* > OE *munuc* 'monk', OE *ġenumen* 'taken' (OHG *ginoman*), OE *cuman* 'to come' (OHG *coman*), OE *ðunor* 'thunder' (OHG *donar*).

Before *m*, *e* becomes *i*: OE *niman* 'to take' (OHG *neman*), Lat *gemma* > OF *ġimm* 'gem'.

Influence of Velar Consonants: the 'Fracture'

§ 22. After a palatal vowel (*æ*, *e*, *i*), the velar articulation (cf. § 14) of *l* or *r* followed by a consonant and also the velar articulation of the voiceless spirant [x] (written *h*) create a furtive vowel or 'glide' which is transcribed *a* after *æ* (hence *ea*), and *o* after *e* and *i*.

When the palatal vowel is short, the 'glide' is not very consistent and it can be considered as a kind of diacritic sign representing the velar articulation of the following consonant *l* or *r*. On the contrary, when the vowel is long, the 'glide' develops and its union with the preceding vowel results in a diphthong, again instable, of the type *ēā*, *ēō*, *īō* (later *īē*).

REMARK I. This phenomenon is not unlike what happens in Modern English before the velars *r* and *l*, for instance:

fairy: *fęri > fęǝri*
nearer: *nīrɛr > nīerǝ*
milk: *milk   >   miǝlk*

REMARK II. This does not occur when the articulation of *r* and *l* in Old English is palatal, that is, when they are followed by *j* (*l + i > ll*): *nerian* 'to save', *tellan* 'to tell', *sellan* 'to give', etc. If it does not take place in *helm* 'helmet', *helpan* 'to help', and *sweltan* 'to die', it is with no doubt for a similar reason.

REMARK III. Since J. Grimm, the grammarians have given this phenomenon the name 'fracture'.

Three cases must be distinguished:

a) before *r* + consonant. — Only the short vowels are affected; there are therefore -*ear*-, -*eor*- and -*ior*-. This last becomes -*eor*- in Mercian; in late West Saxon, -*eor*- followed by *i* or *j* after a consonant becomes -*ier*- and later -*ir*-, -*yr*-: OE *earm* 'poor' (OSax *arm*), OE *wearð* 'it became' (OSax *warð*), OE *steorra* 'star' (OSax *sterro*), OE *eorðe* 'earth' (OSax *ertha*), OE *hierde* 'shepherd', Mercian *heorde*, Northumbrian *hiorde* (OSax *hirdi*), OE *ierre* 'angry', Mercian *eorre*, Northumbrian *iorre* (OSax *irri*).

REMARK IV. *ea* is rare in the suffixes -*ward*, -*hard* and in the borrowed words: *arċe-bisċop* (*ærċe*-) 'archbishop', *carcern* 'prison'.

REMARK V. If the second consonant becomes silent, a compensatory lengthening occurs to the vocalic element and it results in a diphthong: out of *feorh* 'life' and *mearh* 'horse', there are genitives *fēores* and *mēares* because of the disappearance of *h*.

REMARK VI. In West Saxon, this phenomenon does not take place when '*r* + consonant' is the result of the inversion (§ 35. 2) of '*r* + vowel': *berstan* 'to burst', *gærs* 'grass', *first* 'space of time' alongside **brestan*, *græs*, *frist* (but in Anglian we have *fierst*).

b) before *l* + consonant. — The phenomenon has a very limited

influence. It affects *-æl-* which becomes *-eal-*: OE *feallan* 'to fall' (OSax *fallan*), OE *eald* 'old' (OSax *ald*), OE *healf* 'half' (OSax *half*), and *-el-* which becomes *-eol-* only in West Saxon in the groups *-eolh-* (thus *seolh* 'seal') and *-eolc-* (*meolc* 'milk'), elsewhere in the group *-eolf-* (Mercian *seolf* 'self').

c) before *x* (*h*). — The vowels *æ* and *e*, both short and long, are influenced; there are therefore *-eah-*, *-eoh-*, *-ēah-*, *-ēoh-*. OE *eahta* 'eight' (OSax *ahto*), OE *meaht* 'might' (OSax *maht*); OE *feohtan* 'to fight' (OHG *fehtan*), OE *reoht* 'right' (OSax *reht*); OE *nēah* 'near' (OSax *nāh*); OE *lēoht* 'light', *betwēoh* 'between' and, with the disappearance of intervocalic *h* (§ 35.3), *lēon* 'to lend', *tēon* 'to pull', *flēon* 'to flee', *wrēon* 'to cover'.

REMARK VII. Since about 850 A.D., before *ht*, *hs* (written also *x*), *eo* and *io* > *ie*, and in the tenth century *ie* > *i, y*: *cneoht* 'boy' > *cnieht* > *cniht*, *lēoht* 'light' > *līeht* > *līht, seox* 'six' > *siex* > *six, syx*. This change is interrupted or delayed when the following syllable contains a back vowel: *feohtan* 'to fight' does not change and, while *Peohte* 'Picts' becomes *Piehte* in singular and later *Pihte*, the plural remains to be *Peohtas*.

REMARK VIII. In late West Saxon and in Kentish *ēa* > *ē* before *c, g, h*: *hēah* 'high' > *hēh, ðeah* 'though' > *ðēh, nēah* 'near' > *nēh, ēage* 'eye' > *ēge*, later *ēge, nēahsta* 'the nearest' > *nēhsta, nēxta*.

REMARK IX. In Anglian the 'glide' is generally not transcribed, because the velar articulation of the consonant is less pronounced, or because the traditional spellings are different: *fallan, ald, half, æhta, mæht, fehtan*, etc.

Influence of Palatal Consonants

§ 23. The palatal articulation of an initial consonant *ċ, sċ* and *ġ* followed by *e* or *æ*, long or short, creates a 'glide' which is transcribed *e* before *æ* (hence *ea, ēa*), and *i* before *e* (hence *ie, īe*)

respectively.

REMARK I. The notation of the 'glide' is less frequent after *sċ* than after *ċ* or *ġ*: common spellings are *sċamian* 'to be ashamed', and *sċacan* 'to shake'.

REMARK II. Naturally before *i* there is no 'glide': *ġift* 'gift', *sċīr* 'bright', *ċiriċe* 'church', *ċild* 'child'.

REMARK III. In the words of the type *ġiong*, *ġeong* 'young', *ġeogoð* 'youth', *ġeoc* 'yoke', *ġeōmor* 'regrettable', etc., the spellings *ġe-* and *ġi-* are the notation of nothing but the sound [j]: cf. OSax *jung, juguð, juc, jāmar*. Similarly after *sċ*, the spellings *sċeort, bisċeop, sċeōh,* and *sċeōp* are merely the spelling variants, more or less frequent, of *sċort* 'short', *bisċop* 'bishop', *sċōh* 'shoe', and *sċōp* 'he created', respectively. The pronunciation remains identical.

REMARK IV. These phenomena appear almost exclusively in West Saxon.

Thus there are:

æ > *ea*: *ġeaf* 'he gave', *ġealla* 'gall', *ġearu* 'ready', *ġeat* 'gate', *ċeald* 'cold', *ċealf* 'calf', *ċeaster* 'castle', *sċeadu* 'shadow', *sċeaft* 'shaft', *sċealc* 'soldier', *sċeal* 'I must'.

e > *ie*: *ġiedd* 'song', *ġiefan* 'to give', *ġieldan* 'to pay', *ġielpan* 'to boast', *ġiernan* 'to desire', *ġiestra-dæġ* 'yesterday', *sċield* 'shield', *sċieran* 'to cleave'.

ǣ > *ēa*: *ġēa* 'yes', *ġēāc* 'cuckoo', *ġēar* 'year', *ġēāfon* 'they gave', *sċeap* 'sheep'. In late West Saxon, these spellings are simplified and written *e, ē* instead of *ea, ēā*: *ġēr* 'year', *sċēp* 'sheep'.

ē > *īe*: *ġīet(a)* 'yet', *ġīen* 'from now on'.

REMARK V. The influence of the velars is earlier than that of the palatals. Therefore in such a word as *ċeorl* 'man', *eo* transcribes first the velar articulation of *r*; only after that *c* is palatalized.

REMARK VI. On the contrary, in such words as *ġēāð* 'foolishness' (ON *gauð*), *ċēāp* 'cattle' (< Lat *caupō*), *ġīeman* 'to take notice of' (Goth *gaumjan*),

$\bar{e}\bar{a}$ and $\bar{\imath}\bar{e}$ transcribe an ancient diphthong or its inflection. Here we have a reverse process: velar *g* and *c* placed before a palatal vowel are palatalized. But the result of the two processes is identical: in *ġēáfon* 'they gave' and *ġēáð* 'foolishness' the group *ġēá-* has the same phonetic value.

Palatal Inflexion

§ 24. By inflexion (or metaphony) we designate the change of vowel in an initial syllable under the influence of *i* or *j* of the following syllable. By anticipation, a more closed vowel (or semi–vowel) diminishes the opening of another, less closed vowel. Take for example the group of **manni*. At the moment of the articulation of *a*, the organs are already moving into the position of *i*; they anticipate, and the consequence is an intermediate articulation between *a* and *i* which is *e*, hence **menni* is produced.

The inflexion plays an important role in Germanic. Appearing already in Common Germanic, the inflexion is extended to West Germanic and North Germanic. In Old English it affects all the vowels susceptible to its influence.

REMARK I. It is from Common Germanic that dates the *i*- and *j*-mutations of *e* which results in *i*. For example in Old English we have **ites(t)* 'you eat' (< **etis*), **eteð* 'he eats' (< **etiþ*) for the infinitive *etan* and similarly *hilpst* 'you help', *hilpð* 'he helps' for the infinitive *helpan*, and *rīnan* 'to rain' (< *riġnan* (cf. § 35. 4) < **regnjan*) alongside *reġn* 'rain'. But these are much earlier phenomena than those we are now to study.

REMARK II. These phenomena, though relatively recent, are completed before the end of the seventh century. In Old English of the historical era, the one we know, the inflectional elements *i* and *j* either completely disappear or are reduced to the vowel *e*. The real facts are therefore not evident. To clarify this, we must resort to comparison either with the related words or with the state of language such as Gothic, of which an earlier stage than that of the inflexion is known to us.

§ 25. Under the influence of *i* or *j* of the following syllable:

æ > *e*: *settan* 'to place' (< *sættjan*, Goth *satijan*), *here* 'army' (< *hæri*, OHG *heri*), *sleġen* 'struck' (< *slæġin*).

a > *æ*, later *e*: *læden* 'Latin' (< *latinum*), *mæġester* 'master' (< *magister*), *menn* 'men' (< *manniz*), plural of *mȧnn*, *ænde*, later *ende* 'end' (Goth *andeis*).

ā > *ǣ*: *hǣlan* 'to heal' (< *hāljan*, cf. *hāl* 'healthy'), *lǣran* 'to teach' (cf. *lār* 'teaching'), *gǣst* 'you go' (out of *gān* 'to go'). (This *ǣ* is called *ǣ₂* in order to be distinguished from *æ₁* with which § 18. 2, Remark is concerned.)

o > *œ*, later *e*: *efstan* 'to hurry' (cf. *ofost* 'haste'), *dehter* 'daughter' (D Sg of *dohtor*).

ō > *ǣ*, later *ē*: *dēman* 'to judge' (Goth *dōmjan*, cf. OE *dōm* 'judgment'), *fēt* 'feet' (plural of *fōt*).

u > *y*: *byċġan* 'to buy' (Goth *bugjan*), *byriġ* (D Sg of *burg* 'borough'), *mynster* 'monastery' (< *munister* < Lat *monisterium*).

ū > *ȳ*: *cȳðan* 'to proclaim' (< *kūþjan*, cf. *cūð* 'known'), *bȳne* 'cultivated' (< *būni*, cf. *būan* 'to cultivate'), *brȳċð* 'he uses' (3 Sg of *brūcan*).

ea > *ie*, later *i*, *y*: *iermðu* 'misery' (cf. *earm* 'poor'), *ieldra* 'older' (comparative of *eald* 'old'), *ġiest* 'stranger' (< *ġeasti*- < *gæsti*-), *sċieppan* 'to create' (Goth *skapjan*).

ēa > *īe*, later *i*, *ȳ*: *hīehra* 'higher' (comparative of *hēah*), *ġelīefan* 'to believe' (cf. *ġelēafa* 'faith'), *hīeran* 'to hear' (Goth *hausjan*).

ie (*eo*) > *ie*, later *i*, *y*: *āfierran* 'to take away' (cf. *feorr* 'far'), *wierpð* 'he throws' (3 Sg of *weorpan*).

īo (*ēo*) > *īe*: *ċīesð* 'he chooses' (3 Sg of *ċēosan*), *līehtan* 'to light'

(cf. *lēōht* 'light'), *dīere* 'dear' (< **dīori*, cf. OSax *diuri*).

REMARK I. The second class weak verbs of the type *lōcian* 'to look', *macien* 'to make', *weorðian* 'to honour', etc. seem to be exceptions. In reality, the prehistorical forms are **lōkōjan*, **mākōjan*, and **werþōjan*. *j*, not being in the second but in the third syllable, could not cause inflexion.

REMARK II. We can see the importance and the extent of *i*- and *j*-mutations if we recall the role played by the numerous morphemes which contain one of these sounds. Substantives: stems in *-ja-* (§§ 47, 48), in *-jō-* (§ 52), in *-i-* (§§ 54-56), in *-in-* (§ 59) and dative of certain consonantal stems (§ 61). Adjectives: stems in *-ja-/-jō-* (§§ 84, 85) and comparative (§ 89). Verbs: the second and the third persons singular present of strong verbs of the first- and the third-class. Derivatives in *-iġ* (§ 143. 8), *-(l)ing* (§ 137. 1), *-in* (§§ 140. 2, 141 and 143. 3) and *-ð* (< **-iþō-* § 140. 1). Thus the student would do well to familiarize himself first with the mechanism of this inflexion.

Influence of *u*

§ 26. A 'glide' of the vowel *o* penetrates between *e* or *i* and certain consonants immediately followed by *u*, and the articulation of these consonants is modified by *u*. In West Saxon, the consonants thus affected are the liquids *l* and *r* and the labials *þ* and *f*. This type of 'glide', which does not truly affect the vowel in its development, marks the velar or labial articulation of the consonant; thus there are *eo* and *io* which are most often identified as *eo* in the texts.

i > *io*: *mioluc* 'milk' (< **miluk*), *siolfor, seolfor* 'silver' (< **silufr*), *seofon* 'seven' (< **siþun*).

e > *eo*: *heofon* 'heaven' (< **hebun*), *heorot* 'stag' (< **herut*) and similarly *heoru* 'sword', *ġeofon* 'ocean'.

REMARK. This could have quite an extensive influence because *u* is seen in the substantive and adjective stems in *-u-*, *-wa-* and *-wo-*, in the dative in *-um*, in the preterit of the second-class of weak verbs in *-ode* < *-ude*,

and in a good number of suffixes of derivation. The influence is, however, rather limited in reality, at least in West Saxon where it only influences a small number of consonants. On the other hand, analogy erases the influence in many cases. Thus under the influence of the singular *clif* (*clifes, clife*) 'cliff', the plural *cliofu, cliofa* and *cliofum* become *clifu, clifa* and *clifum*.

Influence of *w*

§ 27. 1. *w-* placed before *eo* or *io* tends to reinforce the 'glide' and *w-* is finally attached to the original vocalic element, so that *weo* and *wio* become *wo* and *wu* in late West Saxon. Thus *weorold* 'world' > *worold, woruld, sweotol* 'clear' > *swutol, cwiocu* 'alive' > *cwucu*, then *cucu, betweoh* 'between' > *betwuh, sweostor* 'sister' > *swuster, sweord* 'sword' > *swurd, weorðan* 'to become' > *wurðan*.

2. Preceded by *w*, *i* is labialized into *y*:

a) in the contracted negative forms: *nylle* 'I do not want' < *ne wille, nyton* 'they do not know' < *ne witon*.

b) later the phenomenon tends to be generalized: *hwilċ* 'which' > *hwylc, willan* 'to want' > *wyllan, swilċ* 'such' > *swylc, swīðe* 'strongly, very' > *swȳðe* (but cf. § 11, Remark III).

Appearance of New Diphthongs

§ 28. In late West Saxon, *-awu-* becomes *-au-* thus giving birth to a new diphthong: *sāwul* 'soul' > *sāul, saul, (n)āwuht* 'nothing' > *(n)auht*.

The analogical maintenance of *-w* at the end of a syllable or of a word creates other diphthongs, thus *snāw* 'snow', *stow* 'position', etc.

By complete vocalization of *ġ, æġ* becomes *ei* in late West Saxon and in Kentish; there are *dei* 'day'(*dæġ*), *wei* 'way' (*weġ*), and *hēi* 'hay' (*hēġ, hīeġ*). This tendency has long been developing.

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*   *

§ 29. The vocalic system of Old English in the ninth century is therefore as follows:

i	$ę$	$æ$	a	$å$	$ǫ$	u	y
i	$\bar{ę}$	$\bar{æ}$	$\bar{a}$		$\bar{ǫ}$	$\bar{u}$	$\bar{y}$
		$\bar{eo}$		$\bar{ea}$	$\bar{ie}$	$\bar{io}$	

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSONANTS

§ 30. The consonantal system of West Germanic is as follows:

voiceless occlusives	p	t	k
voiced occlusives	b	d	g
voiceless spirants	f	p s	$x(h)$
voiced spirants	ꝺ		ꝼ
liquids		l	r
nasals	m	n	η
semi-vowels	w	j	

Except for ꝺ, ꝼ, η, all these consonants can either be short or long (reduplicated or geminated); this is a trait common to all the dialects of West Germanic; in consequence, it also appears in Old English. This is called 'consonantal gemination', a lengthening of the consonant before j; h is a variant of the voiceless spirant x which occurs before an initial vowel; η is a velar nasal occuring before g and k.

From West Germanic to Old English, the consonants p, t, b, d, m, n, x, l, r, w, and h remain practically unchanged and do not require comments here.

There are two tendencies in the consonant change to which Old English is submitted:

a) The palatalization of the velar consonants k and g. These two sounds are divided into two types, one of which remains velar (c, g), while the other ($\dot{c}$, $\dot{g}$) is gradually palatalized and becomes affricates $t\check{s}$, $d\check{z}$ and j at the end of the Old English period; besides,

the group *sk* becomes *š*.

b) Disappearance of the voiced spirants *ƀ* and *ǥ* (*ƀ* > *v*, *ǥ* > *g*) and the appearance of the new spirants *v*, *ð*, *z* by the sonorisation of older voiceless sounds when placed between voiced elements.

Gemination

§ 31. We have just seen that most of the consonants proper can be geminated. This lengthening can have two origins. It may be of an expressive nature, as in the diminutive of proper nouns called 'hypocoristics' such as *Offa* and *Abbo*, or in the names of familiar animals, *frogga* 'frog', *dogga* 'dog', and *bucca* 'he-goat'. But most often, gemination is a condition of phonetic change to which we are now to turn.

After a short vowel, all the simple consonants except *r* is lengthened when they are placed before *j*. In Old Saxon, this still appears, while in Old English it no longer appears. Besides, in these two dialects, *j* inflects the radical vowel every time it is possible. Here are the three stages of Germanic:

Gothic	Old Saxon	Old English	
saljan	*selljan*	*sellan*	'to give'
skapjan	*skeppjan*	*scieppan*	'to create'
rakjan	*rekkjan*	*reccan*	'to stretch'
satjan	*settjan*	*settan*	'to place'
lagjan	*leggjan*	*lecgan*	'to deposit'

But *r* has no gemination so that *j* is maintained under the form *i* or *e* : OE *nerian* 'to save', *werian* 'to defend', *here* 'army' (Goth *harjis*).

An analogous gemination takes place for the consonants *p*, *t*, *c*, *h*,

when they are placed before *r* or a syllabic *l*, but the gemination has neither the same characteristic regularity, and there are forms in which the consonant remains simple (*r* and syllabic *l* often become *or*, *er*, *el* in Old English): *bittor* 'bitter' (alongside *bitor*), *snottor* 'clever' (alongside *snotor*), *æpple* 'apple' (alongside *apuldor* 'apple-tree'). Cf. *bettra* 'better' (alongside *bet(e)ra*), and, out of *micel* 'great', the genitive singular *miccles* (alongside *micles*).

In West Saxon of the second period, this gemination takes place after a long vowel, specially for *d* and *t*, but with a compensatory shortening of the vowel. We thus find *næddre* (and *nǣdre*) 'adder', *attor* (and *atōr*) 'poison', *foddor* (and *fōdor*) 'food', and *littel* (and *lȳtel*) 'little'.

Finally in West Saxon of the third period, this gemination appears within flexion. We have *goddre* alongside *gōdre* G D Sg F of *gōd* 'good', *widdre* alongside *wīdre*, besides *wīd* 'wide', and *riccra*, comparative of *rīce* 'powerful'.

Simplification of the Geminated Consonants

§ 32.   The simplification takes place in the following cases:

1.   Generally at the end of a word: there are *eal* 'all', *mǎn* 'man', *sib* 'kinsman', *sċeat* 'treasure', and *feor* 'far' alongside the inflected forms *ealles*, *mǎnnes*, *sibbe*, *sċeattes* and *feorran*.   But the geminated sound is often reintroduced by analogy, thus the forms *eall*, *mǎnn*, *sibb*, *sċeatt* and *feorr*.

2.   Often at the end of an internal syllable, in contact with another consonant: *ealre*, and *ealne* out of *eall-*, *cyste* 'he embraced' out of *cyssan*, *fylde* 'he filled' out of *fyllan*, *sende* 'he sent' (instead of **sendde*) out of *sendan*, *wēste* 'he devastated' (instead of **westte*) out of *wēstan*.

Here again the spellings fluctuate: both *eallre* and *eallne* are seen.

3. In the compound words after a consonant: *wyrt-ruma* 'root' alongside *wurt-truma*.

4. In Old English of the fourth period, after an atonic syllable: *atelić* 'terrible' alongside *atollić*, and *singalić* 'continuous' alongside *singallić*.

In the inflected forms, gemination is common for *-nn-*, *-ll-*, *-rr-* and *-tt-*: out of *wēsten* 'desert' there are *wēstennes* and *wēstenes* in the genitive; similarly *gyldenne* and *gyldene* 'golden' in the accusative, *ōðera* alongside *ōðerra* 'other'.

Treatment of the Velar Consonants: Palatalization

§ 33. The palatalization of the velar consonants *k* and *g* is the most remarkable trait of the consonant system of Old English. Since the preliterate epoch, before the *i*-mutation enters in action, these consonants begin to take a palatal articulation before the front vowels *e* and *i*, and before *j*.

Unfortunately the Latin alphabet employed by the Angles hardly permits the distinction of the two series of consonants, the palatal and the velar. They therefore resort to the diacritic letters: before a back vowel they write *ce, ci, ge, gi, sce, sci* to transcribe the palatal pronunciation of the consonant, but without regularity. The runic alphabet alone creates various signs to separate the two series (see Fig. 5), though late (toward the eighth century, the cross of Ruthwell (Text XXIII 1 B) and the cross of Bewcastle). In this book, every time it is necessary, the palatals are distinguished from the velars by an elevated dot: *ċ, sċ, ġ*.

1. *k* (written *c*) and *g* remain velar occlusives (as in Fr *gant, camp*):

a) in initial position before another consonant (liquid, nasal and

w): *clæne* 'clean', *cræft* 'craft', *cnapa* 'child', *cweðan* 'to say', *glæm* 'gleam', *grund* 'bottom', *gnornian* 'to grieve';

b) before the back vowels *a, å, o, u: corn* 'grain', *cōmon* 'they came', *cåmp* 'battle', *cuman* 'to come', *cūð* 'known', *gād* 'goad', *gång* 'journey', *gold* 'gold', *guma* 'man';

c) before the secondary palatal vowels *æ, e* and *y*, namely, those which result from the *i-* and *j*-mutations of older *a, å, o, u: cempa* 'warrior', *cēne* 'bold' (< **kōnia*), *cyning* 'king', *cyssan* 'to embrace', *ætgǣdere* 'together', *gǣlsa* 'wantonness', *gylden* 'golden', *gēs* 'geese';

d) in medial and final positions after a consonant or a back vowel and in expressive gemination: *nacod* 'nacked', *bacan* 'to bake', *drincan* 'to drink', *finger* 'finger', *frogga* 'frog', *beorgan* 'to guard', *belgan* 'to be angry'; *weorc* 'work', *ðånc* 'thank', *bōc* 'book', *būc* 'belly', *lång* 'long'.

2. *k* and *g* are palatalized:

a) in initial position before the earlier palatal vowels *i* and *e*. Under these circumstances, *k* becomes *k′*, later *č* (transcribed *ċ*); *g* becomes *j* (but always written *g*, transcribed *ġ*), *ċēāp* 'cattle', *ċēōsan* 'to choose', *ċīēpan* 'to buy', *ċīēst* 'he chose', *ċīēse* 'cheese', *ċild* 'child', *ċiriċe* 'church', *ġē* 'you', *on-ġinnan* 'to begin', *ġiefan* 'to give', *ġeard* 'court', *ġeolu* 'yellow', *ġieldan* 'to yield';

b) in medial position, before an earlier *i* or *j* (which becomes *e* or disappears) and between a palatal vowel and a consonant, *k* becomes *k′*, later *č* and *g* becomes *g′*, later *j*: *tǣc(e)an* 'to teach', *sēċ(e)an* 'to search for' (Goth *sōkjan*), *rīċe* 'kingdom', *mēċe* 'blade', *bēc* 'books' (< **bōkiz*), *streċċ(e)an* 'to spread', *ðenċ(e)an* 'to think' (Goth *pankjan*), *ðynċ(e)an* 'to seem' (Goth *punkjan*), *drenċ* 'drink'

(< *draŋkiz); sægde 'he said', nægl, nægel 'nail', reġn 'rain', fæger
'fair', friġnan 'to ask', hyġe 'thought'. Similarly -gg- becomes -g'g'-,
later -ddž- (transcribed -ċġ-): seċġan 'to say', bryċġ 'bridge' (OSax
bruggia); -ng- becomes -ng'-, later -ndž- (transcribed -nġ-): senġan
'to burn, to singe' (< *saŋgjan), lenġra 'longer' (< *laŋgira), ġinġra
'younger';

c) in final position after a palatal vowel, g becomes j (transcribed
ġ), gg becomes ddž (transcribed ċġ) and, only after i, k becomes
k', later č: dæġ 'day', weġ 'way', hāliġ 'holy', eċġ 'edge', seċġ 'warrior',
iċ 'I', līc 'body', hwiliċ 'which' (< *hwalīk).

3. In all positions the group sk is palatalized into sk' and sj, to
result finally in the sibilant š (often written sċe, sċi before a back
vowel): sċeað 'sheath', sċēōtan 'to shoot', sċinan 'to shine', sċip 'ship',
sċeal 'I must', sċield 'shield', sċōh 'shoe', sċūr 'shower', wȳsċan 'to
wish', bisċ(e)op 'bishop', englisċ 'English', flæsċ 'flesh' and fisċ 'fish'.

Sonorization of the Voiceless Spirants

§ 34. Placed between two voiced elements, the simple voiceless
spirants f, s, and þ of West Germanic are voiced in Old English as
v, z, and ð respectively but the spelling does not transcribe this:
wulfes 'wolf' (Gen), ċēōsan 'to choose', bōsm 'bosom', nosu 'nose', māðm
'treasure'.

Other Consonant Changes

§ 35. 1. Assimilation. — The consonants put in direct contact
with each other by the loss of an intervening vowel or in the compound
words (a spirant plus an occlusive, a spirant plus s, an occlusive plus
another occlusive) are assimilated and simplified:

a) d + þ and t + þ > tt (t after a consonant): this is frequent

in 3 Sg present of the strong verb: *rīdeþ > rīdþ > rītt 'he rides';
similarly *findeþ > fint 'he finds', *bīteþ > bītt 'he bites', *siteþ >
sitt 'he sits', *iteþ > it(t) 'he eats'; similarly þæt ðe > ðætte 'that';

b) s + þ > st: in 3 Sg present of the strong verb, there are
*cīeseþ > cīest 'he chooses', and similarly *wiexeþ > wiext 'he believes'
(x here represents hs);

c) þ + d > dd: out of cȳðan 'to proclaim', the preterit cȳðde
becomes cȳdde;

d) d + s > ts: there are bintst 'you bind' (alongside bindest), and
milts 'compassion' out of mild 'merciful';

e) þ + s > ss: there is bliss 'merriment' alongside bliðs, out of
bliðe 'joyous';

f) voiceless [consonant] + d > voiceless [consonant] + t: in the
preterit of the first class weak verbs with a long radical, -de
becomes -te after a voiceless consonant: cēpte out of cēpan 'to keep',
grētte out of grētan 'to greet', rǣste out of rǣsan 'to hasten', wȳscte
(later wiste) out of wȳscan 'to wish'; the same is true of the plural
of the past participle: ġe-cyste, Sg ġe-cyssed 'embraced', ġe-cēpte, Sg
ġe-cēped 'kept', ġe-grētte, Sg ġe-grēted 'greeted'.

2. Interversion. — a) An interversion takes place fairly often in
'r + short vowel' resulting in a 'short vowel + r'. But it has no
consistency: there exist both ræn and ærn 'dwelling', and græs and
gærs 'grass'. This is doubtless because of the retroflex articulation
of r which in fact is almost a vowel (cf. in American English in the
pronunciation of such a word as pretty, it is sometimes difficult to say
whether r follows or precedes the vowel, or whether it has melted
with r).

b) There are some other interversions: *id* > **dl* > *tl*, for instance, *bold* and *botl* 'house'; *sk* > *ks* (written *x*), for instance, *āscian* and *āxian* 'to ask', *fiscas* and *fixas* 'fish'.

3. Disappearance of intervocalic -*h*-. — *h* between two vowels or between a liquid and a vowel disappears toward the end of the seventh century:

a) In the first of the two cases (*i. e.* an intervocalic *h*), the vocalic elements thus placed in contact are contracted with a compensatory lengthening. For instance, out of *feoh* 'cattle' there is originally a genitive **feohes* which becomes **feoes*, later *fēos*; similarly there is *slēā* 'I strike' < **sleahu*, *sēon* 'to see' < **seohan*, *fōn* 'to seize' < **fōhan*, *scōs* < **scōhas*, plural of *scōh* 'shoe'.

b) In the second of the two cases, there is simply a lengthening of the vocalic element: for instance, *mēāres* < **mearhes*, genitive of *hearh* 'horse', *wēāles*, genitive of *wealh* 'foreigner', *fēolan* 'to attain' < **feolhan*.

4. Disappearance of -*ġ*-. — In West Saxon between one of the short palatal vowels *æ*, *e* or *i* and *d*, *þ* or *n*, -*ġ*- sometimes disappears with compensatory lengthening of the vowel: *sæġde* > *sæde* 'he says', *mæġden* > *mæden* 'maiden', *breġdan* > *brēdan* 'to brandish', *riġnan* > *rīnan* 'to rain', *friġnan* > *frīnan* 'to ask'.

5. Contraction after *ne*. — Before a vowel, initial *w* or *h* of a verb disappears after the negation *ne* by the contraction of the entire phrase. Earlier in this book (§ 27. 2) the forms such as *nyllan* 'do not want', *nyste* 'he did not know' are seen. There are still *nabban* < *ne habban* 'do not have' and similarly *næbbe* 'I do not have', *næfde* 'I did not have', *næs* < *ne wæs* 'I was not', *nolde* < *ne wolde* 'I did

not want', *nāt* < *ne wāt* 'I do not know'.

6. Disappearance of *-n*. — Final *-n* generally disappears in the verbal forms of optative present plural before the pronouns *wē*, *wit*, *ğē*, *ğit*: *binde wē* 'let us fasten', *binde ğē* 'fasten' (instead of *binden wē*, *binden ğē*).

REMARK. By analogy with the optative, there are also the same forms in indicative *binde ğē* and *binde wē* instead of **bindað wē* and **bindaᵭ ğē*, respectively.

7. Vocalization of *-w* and *-j*. — In an absolutely final position, *-w* and *-j* are vocalized respectively into *-u* and *-i* (later *-o*, and *-e*) which then disappear when preceded by a long syllable. There are therefore *beadu* 'combat' and *nearu* 'narrow' alongside the genitives *beadwe* and *nearwes*, *snā* 'snow' alongside *snāwes*. But by analogy we find the forms *snāw*, *cnēo* 'knee' (*cneowes*) and *strēa* 'straw' (*streawes*). Finally there is *here* 'army' (OSax *heri*, Goth *harjis*).

<p style="text-align:center">✳</p>
<p style="text-align:center">✳   ✳</p>

§ 36. The consonant system of Old English is therefore established as follows (in phonetic value; where the spelling differs from the phonetic value, the latter is put in parentheses):

voiceless occlusives	*p*	*t*		*k*(c)
voiced occlusives	*b*	*d*		*g*
voiceless spirants	*ʃ*	*þ*(þ, ð) *s*	*š*(sċ) *č*(ċ)	*x*(h)
voiced spirants	*v*(f)	*ð̄*(þ, ð) *z*(s)	*dž*(ġ, ċg)	*ǥ*(g)
liquids		*l*		*r*
nasals	*m*	*n*		*ŋ*(ng)
semi-vowels	*w*	*j*(ġ, ġe, ġi)		
aspiration				*h*