A HANDBOOK OF OLD ENGLISH
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(Continued)

PART TWO THE FORMS

CHAPTER FOUR
GENERAL

Structure of the Word

§ 37.   1.   In the entire Indo-European language family, a single word may be decomposed into three elements, always placed in the same order: the root, the suffix(es) and the inflectional ending. The root indicates the general meaning of the word; the suffixes render its value more precise; the inflectional ending marks the role of the word in the sentence. Take the Old English word *gumena*. There are the root **gum-* (cf. Lat *hum-us* 'earth') which expresses the original idea 'earth, earthly', the suffix **-en-*, a suffix with a nasal which serves to form the substantive, and the inflectional ending **-a* which marks the genitive plural: *gum-en-a* therefore means 'men' (cf. Lat *hom-in-um*).

2.   The union of a root and a suffix constitutes what is called in grammar a stem which is said to be primary (of which Old English **gum-en-* is a case). If the root with no suffix functions by itself as a stem, then we say that it is a root-stem or a stem with a zero suffix. Such is the case when in the root **fōt-* 'foot' the inflectional endings **-es* or **-a* are directly added (*fōt-es* G Sg, *fōt-a* G Pl). If

one or several suffixes are added to the primary stem to enlarge and specialize its meaning, then there is a secondary stem. Take the Old English word *nåma* 'name' (Lat *nōmen*); the stem **nam-an-* is recognized. From this primary nominal stem, with the help of the suffix **-ja*, a secondary stem **nam-n-ja-* may be obtained. This is a verbal stem, for the suffix **-ja-* serves to make verbs out of nouns. With the inflectional ending **-n* of the infinitive, there will be the complete word **nam-n-ja-n*, OE *nemnan* 'to name, to give a name'.

3. In fact, the union of a stem and an inflectional ending creates an inflected word. The elements which constitute it do not exist in an isolated state; these are the abstractions whose forms are the result of analysis and comparison. Only the inflected word has a real existence. Nowhere is found a suffix **-ja-*, an isolated inflectional ending **-a* or **-n* or **-en*. What is found are the form *nåma* which serves as the subject and which is called the nominative singular, another form *nåmum* which serves as a complement of attribution and which is called the dative plural, and a third form *nemnað* which serves as a verb in the present indicative of the plural, and so on.

In a language as much evolved as Old English (not to speak of Modern English which lost nearly all of its flexion) the phonetic accidents and progressive erosion no longer permit the structure of the word to appear clearly. But to understand the declension of the nouns, the conjugation of the verbs and the formation of the words, it is necessary to reconstruct the structure, and that is the task of historical morphology.

The stem permits us to recognize the nature of the word, noun

or verb, and the type to which it belongs. It is thus possible to establish a clear and careful classification of the formation of the words (cf. Chap. XII and XIII).

The inflectional ending permits us to specify the case if it is a noun, and the person if it is a verb, and the number. To study the flexion therefore means to study the result of the union of the stem and the inflectional ending in each type of the word.

The Stems

§ 38. From a historical point of view, two types of stems are distinguishable: the thematic stem and the athematic stem.

1. What is called the thematic stem is the (nominal or verbal) stem ending with the vowel *e in Indo-European, CGmc *i (alternating with *o, CGmc *a) and for this reason these vowels are called the thematic vowels. In this kind of stem the vowel which precedes the inflectional ending (or pre-inflectional vowel) is therefore varied. For example, the masculine substantive of this type has in Sg N *-o-s, G *-e-so, A Pl *-o-ns (OE N dæġ, G dæġ-e-s, A Pl dag-a-s). In Germanic, the nominal stems in -a, the strong verbs as well as the weak verbs, first class, are the thematic stems.

2. What is called the athematic stem is that which terminated originally either with a long vowel ($\bar{a}, \bar{e}, \bar{o}$) or with a voiced sound (i, u, n, r, etc.), which never changes in the process of flexion. Thus in Germanic, the nouns of all the other declensions and the weak verbs, the second class and the third class, have athematic stems. To take an example, while the strong verb beran 'to carry' is bir-e-s (t) < IE *bher-e-si in the present indicative 2nd Sg, and ber-a-ð < IE

bher-o-nti in the 3rd Pl (therefore with the thematic vowel *i/a* phonetically representing IE *e/o*), in Gothic, for the entire present indicative of the weak verb second class *salbōn* 'to perfume', we have: *salbō, salbō-s, salbō-þ, salbō-m, salbō-þ, salbō-nd* (with *ō* in each case).

3. In practice, within one and the same flexion, there is often a mixture of thematic and athematic forms. Thus in Old English, for the second and the third classes of weak verbs in the present indicative, only the second and the third persons singular go back to the athematic forms; the others maintain thematic forms just as the first class verbs do (cf. §§ 110 and 111).

Originally, for the first person singular in the present indicative, there exists a remarkable opposition between thematic stems ending with OE *-e* (< IE *-ō*) and athematic stems ending with OE *-m* (< IE *-mi*, hence the name 'verbs in *-mi*' was given to this type). In Old High German there are still the forms *salbō-m* 'I anoint' (weak verb 2nd class), *habē-m* 'I have' (weak verb 3rd class). In Old English, except for the verb 'to be' which has the forms *eom, beom,* and for an archaic form *dōm* 'I do', which is also found in Anglian, all the remains of this distinction are lost.

Old English is already too evolved to show the morphological structure of the word without bringing in the notions of comparative grammar which has no place in this book; but it is useful to retain the historical classification of nominal and verbal stems.

REMARK. The length of the radical syllable plays an important role in Germanic morphology and particularly in Old English.

The syllable is short if its vowel is short and not followed by more than one consonant : *dæġ, sċip, feoh, frem-* are short syllables.

The syllable which contains either a long vowel or a short vowel followed by more than one consonant is long: *stān*, *strēām*, *dēm-*, *hīēr-*, *word-*, *end-* are long syllables.

This notion comes into the declension of substantives and adjectives, in the formation of the imperative and in that of the preterit of weak verbs of the first class: the inflectional ending or the pre-inflectional vowel falls after a long radical syllable.

Thus in NA Nt Pl there is *dalu* 'valley' but *word* 'words' (§ 46), *gladu* 'glad' but *gōd* 'good' (§§ 81 and 82), in the imperative *freme* 'accomplish' but *dēm* 'judge' (§ 115), in the preterit *fremede* but *dēmde* (§ 122).

OTHER GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORD

I. Consonantal Gradations

§ 39.   Besides the three elements, root, suffix, and inflectional ending, which have just been discussed, Indo-European has two grammatical characteristics: the place of accent and vocalic gradations.

The place of accent is free; it is varied according to the words and the grammatical forms, and constitutes a means of characterizing them.   Thus Greek distinguishes τόμος 'the cut' from τομός 'cutting' (just as Modern English distinguishes still now *récord* 'recording' from *recórd* 'to record' by means of stress).   The same occurs within the flexion: Sanskrit, ancient Greek and Russian commonly use the place of accent morphologically. Thus Sanskrit uses the opposition in the active perfect, between the third person Sg *va-várt-a* 'he turned' (with the accent on the root) and the first person Pl *va-vr̥t-má* 'we turned' (with the accent on the inflectional ending).

Germanic, having lost the mobile accent of Indo-European and having replaced it with a fixed stress on the initial syllable of the

word (§ 15), completely lost this resource.

However, there persist in the verbs some traces which have been brought to the light by the Danish linguist Karl Verner. The series of voiceless occlusives of Indo-European p, t, k, k^w gives Germanic the beginning of voiceless spirants f, p, x, x^w; but placed between two voiced elements one of which is the vowel of the first syllable of the word, these spirants become voiced $ƀ$, $ð$, $ǥ$, g^w, except when the accent is on the first syllable, which prevents their sonorization. Under the same conditions, s becomes z (later r).

This explains, for example, that although there is in Latin the same consonant t in *pater* 'father' and *frāter* 'brother', in Old English d is found in *fæder*, but $ð$ in *brōðor*; this is because the accent was originally on the first syllable in the noun 'brother' (cf. Gr φρáτηρ) and on the second in the noun 'father' (cf. Gr πατήρ).

Hence there are consonantal gradations between f and $ƀ$, p and $ð$, x and g, x^w and $ǥ^w$, s and $z(r)$. But in West Germanic and consequently in Old English, the phonetic evolution modifies these oppositions which survive only under the forms:

$$p \quad \text{and} \quad d$$
$$s \quad \text{and} \quad r$$
$$(h) \quad \text{and} \quad g \text{ (or } w, ng).$$

As seen above, h may in certain cases disappear in intervocalic positions, cf. § 35. 3. This explains why there may be:

dēāð 'death' alongside *dēad* 'dead (adjective)'

cweðan 'to say' and *cwide* 'speech'

rīsan 'to rise' and *rǣran* 'to raise';

but it is specially in the strong verbs that these gradations have left

appreciable traces, for example:

lāð 'he went'	*lidon* 'they went'
flēah 'he flew'	*flugon* 'they flew'
seah 'he saw'	*sāwon* 'they saw'
fōn (< **fōhan*) 'to take'	*fēngon* 'they took'
for-lēosan 'to lose'	*for-loren* 'lost'
wæs 'he was'	*wǣron* 'they were'
wearð 'he became'	*wurdon* 'they became'.

II. Vocalic Gradations

§ 40. In Indo-European, all the morphological elements, root, suffix and (as an accessory) inflectional ending, have in them a fundamental vowel which, according to the type of formation of the word and the forms of flexion, can appear under one of the following forms:

$$e \quad o \quad \text{zero (or } *^o)$$

(called respectively: normal degree, inflected degree, zero degree).

In a subsidiary manner, they can also appear under one of these forms:

$$\bar{e} \quad o \quad \vartheta$$

(the first two are called lengthened degrees, and the last one, reduced degree).

The above gradations are said to be qualitative gradations. When *ĕ* alternates with *ē*, or *ŏ* with *ō*, these are quantitative gradations.

In Germanic the vocalic gradations (also called 'apophony') clearly remain only in the radical syllable, and only the verbs utilize them in a systematic manner. However, the phonetic change gives these gradations an aspect entirely different from that of Indo-European.

Some examples will better illustrate the effect of these gradations and their metamorphoses in Germanic. Take the Indo-European root

*bhᵉ/₀r- expressing the idea 'to carry'. In Germanic, where this root is clearly recorded, we have in Old English the following forms of various degrees of the root:

normal degree   *bher-: bere 'I carry'

inflected degree   *bhor-: bær 'I carried', bearn 'child'

zero degree   *bhr̥-: byrðen 'burden', ġe-byrd 'birth'

                       *bh̥r-: ġe-boren 'carried, born'

lengthened degree   *bhēr-: bæron 'they carried', bær 'bier'.

The root *sᵉ/₀m- 'one, same' supplies us with:

normal degree   *sem-: simble 'always'

inflected degree   *som-: same 'same'

zero degree   *s°m-: sum 'a certain'.

§ 41. It is rare that all of the variety of degrees of the vocalic element of a root are represented at once in the same language (in the above example we purposely considered only Old English); but there is a domain in which all the Germanic languages utilize these gradations regularly, and that is in the verb. It is seen that these different forms of the verb 'to carry' are characterized by the gradations: *bere* 'I carry', *bær* 'I carried', *bæron* 'they carried', *ġe-boren* 'carried'. This is not an exception, for all of the strong verbs are founded upon this rule. Depending upon the gradations of the different degrees, either employed independently or forming originally a diphthong with a voiced sound, several classes of strong verbs may be established. However, in reality these classes (at least the first five classes) are based on the gradations of a single vowel (cf. § 96).

Another regular use of gradations appears in the formation of causative or factitive verbs (1st class weak verbs with the suffix *-ja-*,

cf. § 146. 1):

weorðan	'to become'	*ā-wierdan*	'to destroy'
liðan	'to go'	*lǣdan*	'to conduct, to take'
rīsan	'to rise'	*rǣran*	'to raise'.

With its words and its forms stemming from Indo-European, Germanic inherits the vocalic gradations, but it ceases early to use them as a living process of enriching the vocabulary and of marking the morphological oppositions. Even where, as in strong verbs, Germanic best preserves these gradations, nevertheless there are only some forms which still survive.

For the detail of the rules of gradations in the strong verbs, see below §§ 99 ff.

SECTION ONE

THE NOUN

§ 42. The noun group is comprised of the substantives, the adjectives, the pronouns and the numerals. In Old English, as in the rest of Germanic, the flexion of adjectives presents a mixture of forms borrowed from substantives and demonstrative pronouns; the flexion of numerals presents the forms borrowed from substantives and adjectives.

Except for personal pronouns of the first and second persons, the nominal flexion distinguishes three genders, masculine, neuter, and feminine (the masculine and the neuter differ only in the nominative and the accusative) and two numbers, singular and plural. A third number, the dual, subsists only in the personal pronoun of the first and second persons.

The cases are five in number: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and instrumental (this is disappearing).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SUBSTANTIVE

§ 43. In Old English two types of declensions can be distingui-
shed according to the endings of the stems:

1. Stems ending with the vowel -*a*, -*ō*, -*i*, or -*u*, called vocalic
stems (strong declension). This kind of stem appears very clearly in
Gothic in D Pl, for example: *daga-m, gibō-m, gasti-m, sunu-m.* In the
stems in -*a*- and -*ō*-, the stems in -*ja*-, -*jō*- and -*wa*-, -*wō*- must equally
be distinguished : in Gothic D Pl *harja-m, sunjō-m, kniwa-m, triggwō-m.*

2. Stems ending with a consonant called consonantal stems. This
declension includes specially the stems ending with the nasal -*n* (weak
declesion); masculine and neuter stems in -*an*-/-*in*- (G Sg *guman*, G
Pl *gumena*) and feminine stems in -*on*- (G Pl *sunnena*) ; and -*in*-.
There are varieties in -*jan*- and -*jōn*-. Besides the stems with a nasal,
there remain only the stems in -*r*- (*brōðor*), -*nd*- (*frēond*) and -*az*-
(*čild*, Pl *čildru*). A few existing stems with zero suffix called root-
stems can also be attached to this group (§ 37. 2): G Sg *fōt-es, mànn-es,*
mōnð-es.

A. VOCALIC STEMS

1. Stems in -*a*-

§ 44. These stems furnish masculine and neuter substantives.
They correspond to the IE stems in -*o*- (represented by the second

Latin declension *dominu-s, uerbu-m*).

The neuter differs from the masculine only in the nominative and accusative plural.

There are three varieties which can be distinguished:

a) Stems in *-a-*: masculine *dæġ* 'day' (< CGmc **daga-z*), neuter *word* 'word' (< CGmc **worda*);

b) Stems in *-ja-*: masculine *ende* 'end' (< CGmc **andja-z*), neuter *cynn* 'kind' (< CGmc **kunja*);

c) Stems in *-wa-*: masculine *þēo(w)* 'domestic servant' (< CGmc **þewa-z*), neuter *trēo(w)* 'tree' (< CGmc **trewa*).

a) Stems in *-a-* proper

§ 45. 1. This type of vocalic stem includes only words ending with a consonant. It is comprised of almost all the monosyllabic masculine substantives, most of the neuter substantives, and a large number of polysyllabic substantives.

Masculine Substantives

Paradigms: *stān* 'stone', *dæġ* 'day', *mearh* 'horse' and *fugol* 'fowl'.

Sg	NA	stān	dæġ	mearh	fugol
	G	stānes	dæġes	meāres	fugles
	D	stāne	dæge	meāre	fugle
Pl	NA	stānas	dagas	meāras	fuglas
	G	stāna	daga	meāra	fugla
	D	stānum	dagum	meārum	fuglum

2. A very large number of masculine substantives are declined like *stān*:

α) Monosyllabic stems: *ār* 'messenger', *āþ* 'oath', *bār* 'bear', *ċeorl*

'peasant', *cniht* 'youth', *dēāð* 'death', *drēām* 'joy', *earm* 'arm', *fisċ* 'fish', *gāst* 'spirit', *god* 'god', *hām* 'village', *helm* 'helmet', *hlāf* 'bread', *hund* 'dog', *mūð* 'mouth', *rinc* 'warrior', *sàng* 'song', *sċealc* 'soldier', *sīð* 'journey', *storm* 'tempest', *strēām* 'stream', *tūn* 'enclosure', *ðànc* 'thanks', *ðeof* 'thief', *ðurst* 'thirst', *weġ* 'way', *wer* 'man', *wind* 'wind', *wulf* 'wolf'.

β) Some substantives beginning with the prefix *ġe-*: *ġe-càmp* 'battle', *ġe-sīð* 'travel companion', *ġe-ðōht* 'thought', *ġe-weald* 'power'.

γ) Polysyllables such as *æcer* 'field', *bydel* 'herald', *bisċ(e)op* 'bishop', *hærfest* 'autumn', *hafoc* 'hawk', *henġest* 'horse', *heofon* 'heaven', *heorot* 'hart', *hlāford* 'lord', *metod* 'creator', *munuc* 'monk', *sumore* 'summer'.

REMARK I. In the flexion, the vowel *o* of the second syllable often becomes *e*: *heofon, heofenas; sumor, sumeres.*

δ) The nouns formed with the suffixes *-að*, *-oð* (§ 138. 2), *-dōm* (§ 138. 2), *-els* (§ 137. 3), *-hād* (§ 138. 3), *-(l)ing* (§ 137. 1).

3. The substantives that are declined like *dæġ* (cf. § 18. 3a) are: *ælf* 'elf', *æsċ* 'ash-tree', *hwæl* 'walrus', *mæġ* 'parent', *pæð* 'path', *stæf* 'letter'.

4. The substantives that are declined like *mearh*: *seolh* 'seal', *wealh* 'foreigner'; *eoh* 'war-horse', G Sg *ēos*; *sċoh* 'shoe', Sg G *sċōs*, D *sċō*, Pl NA *sċōs*, G *sċōna*, D *sċō(u)m* (cf. § 22, Remark V).

5. A certain number (but not all) of dissyllabic stems taking the following forms are declined like *fugol*:

-el, -ol: *brēmel* 'bramble', *ċeosel* 'gravel', *cyrtel* 'tunic', *dēōfol* 'devil', *grindel* 'bar', *hagol* 'hail', *regol* 'rule', *sagol* 'stick', *ðistel* 'thistle';

-er, -or: *culter* 'coulter', *ealdor* 'chief', *finger* 'finger', *frōfor* 'consolation', *hungor* 'hunger', *leahtor* 'vice', *maġister* 'chief', *nicor* 'monster',

ōfer 'river-bank', *weðer* 'ram'.

-*en*, -*um*: *dryhten* 'lord', *māðum* 'treasure', *morgen* 'morning', *ðēōden* 'king'.

REMARK II. Many words in -*en*, -*em*, -*um* and -*el* are generally written without the vowel, and in such cases are declined like *stān*: *bearhtm* 'flash', *bōsm* 'bosom', *botm* 'bottom', *fæðm* 'embrace', *hræfn* 'raven', *nægl* 'nail', *stefn* 'trunk', *ðeġn* 'retainer', *wæstm* 'fruit'.

Neuter Substantives

§ 46. 1. Paradigms: *sċip* 'ship', *dæl* 'valley', *word* 'word', *wundor* 'wonder' and *hēāfod* 'head'.

Sg	NA	sċip	dæl	word	wundor	hēāfod
	G	sċipes	dæles	wordes	wundres	hēāfdes
	D	sċipe	dæles	wordes	wundre	hēāfde
Pl	NA	sċipu	dalu	worde	wundor	hēāfodu
	G	sċipa	dala	worda	wundra	hēāfda
	D	sċipum	dalum	wordum	wundrum	hēāfdum

2. The neuter monysyllabic stems consisting of a short syllable (whether preceded or not by an unaccented prefix such as *ġe-* and *be-*) are declined like *sċip*: *bod* 'order', *bred* 'tablet', *brim* 'sea', *broð* 'broth', *dor* 'door', *flot* 'sea', *ġe-bed* 'prayer', *ġe-met* 'measure', *ġe-riht* 'order', *ġe-sprec* 'conversation', *ġe-writ* 'writing', *hof* 'court', *lim, lið* 'limb', *set* 'camp', *spor* 'trace', etc.

REMARK I. The above substantives whose radical vowels are *e* or *i* originally contain *eo* or *io* respectively in the plural (cf. § 26, Remark), thus *ġe-beodu*, *sċiopu*. This distinction has been lost by analogy.

3. The substantives that are declined like *dæl* are: *bæc* 'back', *bæð* 'bath', *fæc* 'space of time', *fær* 'way', *fæt* 'vessel', *ġe-bræc* 'tumult',

gærs 'grass' (< græs, cf. § 35. 2), sæl 'room', stæð 'river-bank', swæð 'trace', ðæc 'roof', wæd 'wave', etc.

4. The substantives that are declined like *word* are:

α) A very large number of monosyllabic stems consisting of a long syllable (§ 38, Remark): bān 'bone', bearn 'child', blōd 'blood', bold, būr 'dwelling-place', corn 'grain', dēor 'wild beast', folc 'people', ġēar 'year', ġe-feoht 'battle', ġe-mōt 'assembly', ġe-weorc 'labour', gōd 'property', gold 'gold', hord 'treasure', hors 'horse', hūs 'house', līf 'life', mōd 'spirit', nēat 'cattle', nest 'nest', sweord 'sword', swīn 'pig', tōl 'tool', ðing 'thing', wīf 'woman', wīn 'wine', wurm 'serpent'.

β) A certain number of dissyllabic stems: bodiġ 'body', cweartern 'prison', eafoð 'power', gafol 'tax', gamen 'sport', huniġ 'honey', leġer 'couch', mæġen 'force', reced 'hall', wæter 'water', weder 'weather', werod 'multitude'.

REMARK II. In the oblique case, feoh 'cattle', feorh 'life' and ðēoh 'thigh' lose their h as mearh does (§ 35. 3) with a compensatory lengthening for the first two of these:

Sg NA	feoh	G feōs	D feō	Pl NA feō	G feō(ra)	D feōm
	feorh	feōres	feōre	feorh	feōra	feōrum

5. Most of the dissyllabic stems in -ol, -or, -er and -en are declined like *wundor*: ātor 'poison', bēacen 'signal', cumbol 'banner', ealdor 'life', ellen 'courage', fōdor 'food', heolstor 'refuge', hlēoðor 'noise', hreðer 'heart', hūsel 'eucharist', mynster 'monastery', seolfor 'silver', tācen 'sign', wæpen 'weapon', wolcen 'cloud', wuldor 'glory'.

REMARK III. In NA Pl, setl 'seat', wildor 'wild beast' and yfel 'evil' become setlu, wildru and yflu, respectively. Others fluctuate: there is wæpnu alongside wæpen.

6. The substatives that are declined like *hēafod* are: *mægden* 'maiden', *nīeten* 'cattle', *tūdor* 'posterity', *ðūsent* 'thousand'.

REMARK IV. These distinctions do not exist from the beginning of the third period so that there are the plural forms *hēafdu, wundru* and *wæt(e)ru.*

b) Stems in *-ja-*

§ 47. 1. In all the cases where it is possible, the substantives of this group are comprised of:

a) Inflexion of the radical vowel;

b) Gemination of the consonant following the radical vowel (except for *r*), which is accompanied by the disappearance of *-j-* in the originally short stems (**saǥja-z* > *secǥ*).

Masculine Substantives

Paradigms: *secǥ* 'warrior', *ende* 'end' and *here* 'army'.

Sg	NA	secǥ	ende	here
	G	secǥes	endes	heries, her(i)ǥes
	D	secǥe	ende	herie, her(i)ǥe
Pl	NA	secǥ(e)as	endes	herias, her(i)ǥas
	G	secǥ(e)a	enda	heria, her(i)ǥa
	D	secǥ(i)um	endum	herium, her(i)ǥum

2. The stems that are declined like *secǥ* are: *bridd* 'chicken', *bryn(n)* 'sea, wave', *hlem(m)* 'noise', *mæcǥ* 'young man'.

3. Those that are declined like *ende* are: *hierde* 'herdsman', *hwǣte* 'wheat', *mǣce* 'sword', *swice* 'deception', and all the derivatives in *-ere* like *bæcere* 'baker', *bōcere* 'scribe', *sǣdere* 'sower' (cf. § 136. 2).

Neuter Substantives

§ 48. 1. Paradigms: *bed(d)* 'bed', *rīċe* 'kingdom' and *fæsten* 'retrenchment':

Sg	NA	bed(d)	rīċe	fæsten
	G	beddes	rīċes	fæstennes
	D	bedde	rīċe	fæstenne
Pl	NA	bed(d)	rīċu	fæstennu
	G	bedda	rīċa	fæstenna
	D	beddum	rīċum	fæstennum

2. The substantives that are declined like *bed (d)* are: *cyn(n)* 'race', *den(n)* 'den', *fen(n)* 'fen', *flet(t)* 'ground', *ġied(d)* 'song', *neb(b)* 'beak', *net(t)* 'net', *web(b)* 'web', *wed(d)* 'pledge', *wiċġ* 'horse', *wit(t)* 'sense'.

3. The substantives that are declined like *rīċe* are: *ærende* 'message', *bryċe* 'profit', *earfoðe* 'hardship', *ġe-cynd* 'origin', *ġe-sċȳ* 'pair of shoes', *ġe-ðēōde* 'tribe', *ge-wǣde* 'clothes', *ġielde* 'payment', *hīeġ* 'hay', *ierfe* 'heritage', *ierre* 'anger', *styċċe* 'piece', *wēōfod* 'alter', and all the derivatives in *-rīċe* (§ 142. 1).

4. The derivatives in *-en* (§ 141) and *-et* (§ 142. 2) are declined like *fæsten*.

c) **Stems in** *–wa–*

§ 49. 1. Paradigms: masculine substantives *bearu* 'grove' and *ðēō(w)* 'servant': neuter substantives *bealu* 'harm' and *cnēō(w)* 'knee'.

Sg	NA	bearu	ðēō(w)	bealu	cnēō(w)
	G	bearwes	ðeowes	bealwes	cneowes
	D	bearwe	ðeowe	bealwe	cneowe
Pl	NA	bearwas	ðeowas	bealu	cnēō
	G	bearwa	ðeowa	bealwa	cneowa
	D	bearwum	ðeowum	bealwum	cneowum

2.   The word *bearu* is the only one of its kind.

3.   The substantives that are declined like *ðēō(w)* are: *hlēo* 'protector', *lārēōw* 'teacher', *snā(w)* 'snow', *ðēā(w)* 'conduct'.

4.   The word *searu* 'skill' is declined like *bealu*.

5.   The substantives that are declined like *cnēō(w)* are: *hrǣ(w)* 'corpse' and *trēō(w)* 'tree'.

REMARK I. There are also inflected forms of the type *bearuwes*, *bealuwes*, etc. with a parasitic vowel.

REMARK II. By analogy with NA *ðēō(w)* and *cnēō(w)*, there are also inflected forms of the type *ðēōwes*, *cnēōwes* with a real diphthong.

2.   Stems in -ō-

§ 50. These stems are all feminine substantives and correspond to the Indo-European stems in -a- (IE *ā* > CGmc *ō*) of the same type as the first Latin declension (*rosa*). They include three varieties:

a)   Stems in -ō- proper: *ġiefe* 'gift' < CGmc *geƀo-*, *lār* 'science'.

b)   Stems in -jo-: *syn(n)* 'sin' < CGmc *sunjō-*; cf. in Latin the type *audacia* 'audacity'.

c)   Stems in -wō-: *sċeadu* 'shade' < CGmc *skadwō-*.

a)   Stems in -ō- proper

§ 51. 1. Paradigms: *ġiefu* 'gift', *lār* 'science', *ċeaster* 'castle' and *huntun* 'hunt'.

Sg					
Sg	N	ġiefu	lār	ċeaster	huntung
	A	ġiefe	lāre	ċeastre	huntunga, -e
	G	ġiefe	lāre	ċeastre	huntunga, -e
	D	ġiefe	lāre	ċeastre	huntunga- -e
Pl	NA	ġiefa, -e	lāra, -e	ċeastra, -e	huntunga, -e
	G	ġiefa, -ena	lāra, -ena	ċeastra	huntunga
	D	ġiefum	lārum	ċeastrum	huntungum

2. A good number of feminine substantives with a short radical, ending with *-u* are declined like *ġiefe*: *æðelu* 'nobility', *àndswaru* 'answer', *caru* 'care', *lagu* 'law', *lufu* 'love', *racu* 'narrative', *spadu* 'spade', *ðracu* 'storm', *waru* 'merchandise'.

3. The substantives that are declined like *lār* are:

α) A great number of feminine long monosyllabic nouns (§ 38, Remark) ending with a consonant: *ār* 'oar', *bōt* 'remedy', *dūn* 'mountain', *flōd* 'wave', *frēod* 'peace', *frīġe* (Pl) 'love', *ġūð* 'combat', *heord* 'herd', *hwīl* 'while', *lind* 'lime-tree', *mēd* 'reward', *ōht* 'persecution', *ræst* 'rest', *rōd* 'cross', *rūn* 'mystery', *sċēāð* 'sheath', *sorg* 'sorrow', *strǣt* 'street', *ðēod* 'people', *wàmb* 'belly', *wull* 'wool', *wund* 'wound'.

β) Some dissyllabic nouns: *firen* 'crime', *brytsen* 'fragment', *fetor* 'fetter'.

4. The feminine substantives, abstract nouns derived from adjectives with the suffix *-ipo-* (cf. § 140.1), in which *i* becomes silent after having produced the inflection (*murg-ipo* > *myrg-iðo* > OE *myrhð* 'joy'), end sometimes with *-ðu* (and then are declined like *ġiefu*) and other times with *-ð* (and are declined like *lār*).

Examples: *ċȳðð(u)* 'family', *fæhð(u)* 'revenge', *mǣrð(u)* 'glory'.

5. The substantives that are declined like *ċeaster* are: *sāwol* 'soul', *nǣd(e)l* 'needle', *frōfor* 'consolation'.

6. All of the numerous derived feminine nouns ending with the suffix *-ung*, or *-ing* (cf. § 140.3) are declined like *huntung*: *lēasung* 'lie', *rǣding* 'reading', *ðegnung* 'service', etc.

7. *ēā* 'river' (< *ēāhu*) is invariable in all the cases except in D Pl *ēā(u) m.* However, there are many irregular forms such as G Sg *ēās*, *ē*, D Sg *ēǣ*.

b) Stems in *–jo–*

§ 52.   1.   Paradigms: *syn(n)* 'sin' and *byrġen* 'grave':

Sg	N	syn(n)	byrġen
	AGD	synne	byrġenne
Pl	NA	synna, -e	byrġenna, -e
	G	synna	byrġenna
	D	synnum	byrġennum

2.   The substantives that are declined like *syn(n)* are:

α) The originally short stems characterized by reduplication of the final consonant (often simplified in N Sg): *ben(n)* 'wound', *brycġ* 'bridge', *crib(b)* 'crib', *ecġ* 'edge', *hel(l)* 'hell', *nyt(t)* 'utility', *sæc(c)* 'quarrel', *sib(b)* 'peace', *sleċġ* 'hammer', *syl(l)* 'beam'.

β) The originally long stems (§ 38, Remark) that are distinguished from the above by the lack of gemination: *bend* 'bond', *bliðs, bliss* 'joy', *hild* 'war', *mil* 'mile', *milts* 'compassion', *ȳð* 'wave', *īg, īeg* 'island'.

3.   The substantives that are declined like *byrgen* are: the feminine derivatives ending with *-en(n)* (§ 140. 2) such as *rǣden* 'condition', the derivatives ending with *-rǣden* (§ 140. 6), and the numerous derivatives ending with *-nes(s)* (§ 140. 4) of the type *gōdnes(s)* 'goodness', *heardnes(s)* 'hardness', etc.

REMARK I. In the third period of Old English, N Sg of these last examples appear with *-nesse, -nisse, -nysse.*

REMARK II. Except for the nouns in *-nes(s)*, all the feminine substantives of the type *-jō* have an inflectional radical vowel.

c) Stems in *–wō–*

§ 53.   1.   Paradigms: *sċeadu* 'darkness', *stōw* 'place', *lǣs* 'pasture' and *ðrēā* 'torment'.

Sg	N	sċeadu	stōw	lǣs	ðrēā, ðrawu
	D	sċeadwe	stōwe	lǣswe	ðrawe
Pl	NA	sċeadwa, -e	stōwa, -e	lǣswa, -e	ðrawa, -e, ðrēā
	G	sċeadwa	stōwa	lǣswa	ðrawa, ðrēā
	D	sċeadwum	stōwum	lǣswum	ðrawum, ðrēām

2. The substantives that are declined like *sċeadu* are: *beadu* 'battle', *frǣtwe* (Pl) 'joyous', *ġeatwe* (Pl) 'ornaments', *seonu* 'sinew'.

REMARK. Inflected forms are written with a parasitic vowel: *sċeaduwe*, etc. alongside *sċeadwe*, etc.

3. Another substantive, *trēōw* 'agreement', is declined like *stōw*.

4. The substantives *tǣs* and *ðrēā* are isolated.

3. Stems in –*i*–

§ 54. These stems include three substantives in Old English. They correspond to the Indo-European type represented by the third inflection of Latin, *hostis* 'enemy', *turris* 'tower', and *mare* 'sea'.

Masculine and Neuter Substantives

§ 55. 1. Paradigms: masculine *stede* 'place' ($<$ *staði-z*) and *ġiest* 'stranger' ($<$ *gasti-z*); neuter *spere* 'spear', and *flǣsċ* 'flesh' ($<$ *flaiski*).

Sg	NA	stede	ġiest	spere	flǣsċ
	G	stedes	ġiestes	speres	flǣsċes
	D	stede	ġieste	spere	flǣsċe
Pl	NA	stede, -as	ġiestas	sparu	flǣsċ
	G	steda	ġiesta	spera	flǣsċa
	D	stedum	ġiestum	sperum	flǣsċum

2. The substantives that are declined like *stede* are:

α) A great number of masculine substantives ending with -e whose radical vowel is inflected, such as *bere* 'barley', *bryċe* 'breaking', *byre* 'opportunity', *cyme* 'arrival', *ėge* 'fear', *gripe* 'grasp', *hete* 'jealousy', *hyge* 'thought', *ielde* (Pl) 'men', *mere* 'sea', *myne* 'memory', *sele* 'hall', *-ware* (Pl) 'inhabitants', *wine* 'friend'.

β) A certain number of nouns designating peoples: *Engle* 'Angle, Englishman', *Dene* 'Dane', *Dere* 'man of Deira', *Mierċe* (G Pl *Mierċna*) 'Mercian', *Norðhymbre* 'Northumbrian', *Seaxe* (G Pl *Seaxna*) 'Saxon'. The NA Pl always ends with -e.

3. A large number of masculine substantives with a long radical (§ 38, Remark) are declined like *ġiest*. They no longer differ from the declension of the type with -a of *stān* (§ 45); but they all have an inflected radical vowel: *belġ* 'pair of bellows', *bend* 'bond, chain' (equally Fjō), *ċierre* 'turn', *fiell* 'destruction', *flyht* 'flight', *gylt* 'crime', *lēod* 'man', *lieġ* 'flame', *wyrm* 'snake', *wǣġ* 'wave'.

REMARK I.   *sǣ* 'sea' is declined :

Sg NA *sǣ*	G *sǣs*	D *sǣ*
Pl NA *sǣs*	G *sǣwa*	D *sǣm, sǣwum*

REMARK II.   *hyse* 'youth' and *mete* 'flood' make plurals *hyssas* and *mettas* with a geminated sound (hence a new singular *mett*).

4. The substantive *spere* is about the only example of its type.

5. The substantives that are declined like *flǣsċ* are: *flīes* 'fur', *hǣl* 'omen', *lǣn* 'loan', *ġe-swinċ* 'punishment'.

REMARK III.   A certain number of compound nouns with the prefix *ġe-*, which were feminine substantives originally and which have become neuter substantives, fluctuate between the declension of *spere* and that of *flǣsċ*. Thus *ġe-hyġd*, *ġe-mynd* 'spirit', *ġe-ðeaht* 'advice', *ġe-wyrht* 'work' have NA Pl of the type *ġe-hyġd* or *ġe-hyġdu*.

Feminine Substantives

§ 56. 1. Almost all the nouns of this category have a long stem. They no longer differ from the -ō- stems of the type *lār* (§ 51), except for the radical vowel which is always inflected.

Paradigm: *dǣd* 'action' (< *dedi*).

Sg	NA	dǣd	Pl	NA	dǣde, -a
	G	dǣde		G	dǣda
	D	dǣde		D	dǣdum

2. A large number of feminine substantives are declined as above: *ǣht* 'ownership', *bēn* 'prayer', *ēst* 'favour', *fierd* 'army', *hǣs* 'command', *mǣð* 'measure', *miht* 'might', *mynd* 'memory', *nīed* 'necessity', *spēd* 'riches', *tīd* 'time', *ðrȳð* 'force', *wēn* 'hope', *wyrd* 'destiny'.

REMARK. *ǣ(w)* 'law, marriage' is declined :

Sg	N	ǣ, ǣw	Pl	NA	ǣ
	AG	ǣ		G	ǣa, ǣwa
	D	ǣ, ǣwe		D	ǣum, ǣwun

With the meaning of 'marriage' the N Sg form is generally *ǣw*, and with the meaning of 'law', *ǣ*.

4. Stems in -u-

§ 57. 1. These stems were of three kinds originally (and this is still the case in Gothic). They correspond to the Indo-European type represented by the fourth declension of Latin, *frūctus* 'fruit', *cornu* 'horn' and *tribus* 'tribe'.

In Old English, these stems in -u- are becoming extinct. The -u- form no longer exists for the neuter substantives (*fela* 'much' is a genitive-dative neuter which has become an adverb and consequently is no longer declined), and a large number of masculine and feminine

substantives become stems in *-a-* and *-ō-* when they do not fluctuate between one of these types and the *-u-* type.

Notice that (just as in the corresponding Latin type during the Republican epoch) masculine and feminine substantives have the same inflectional endings.

Paradigms: *sunu* 'son' and *weald* 'forest'.

Sg	NA	sunu	weald
	G	suna	wealda
	D	suna	wealda
Pl	NA	suna	wealda
	G	suna	wealda
	D	sunum	wealdum

2. Declined like *sunu* are:

α) The masculine substantives *heoru* 'sword', *heaðu* 'war', *magu* 'son', *medu* 'mead', *sidu* 'manner', *wudu* 'wood'.

β) The feminine substantives *duru* 'door' and *nosu* 'nose'.

3. Declined like *weald* are:

α) The masculine substantives *eard* 'native country', *feld* 'field', *ford* 'ford', *hād* 'rank' (and the derived forms with *-hād*, cf. § 138. 3), *sumor* 'summer' (Pl *sumera*), *winter* 'winter' (Pl *winter* and *wintru*). There is also the same flexion for these masculine as that for *stān* (§ 45).

β) The feminine substantives *flōr* 'floor' and *hånd* 'hand'.

B.   CONSONANTAL STEMS

1.   Stems in *–an–* (Weak declension)

§ 58. 1. This is by far the most important declension of the consonantal stems. It corresponds to the Indo-European type represent-

ed by the third declension in Latin *homō, homin-is* 'man', *nūmen, nūmin-is* 'divinity'. It accounts for a very large number of masculine and feminine sudstantives; in the neuter there are only two substantives.

Paradigms: masculine, *guma* 'man', neuter *ēāre* 'ear', feminine, *sunne* 'sun'.

		Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Sg	N	guma	ēāre	sunne
	A	guman	ēāre	sunnan
	GD	guman	ēāran	sunnan
Pl	NA	guman	ēāran	sunnan
	G	gumena	ēārena	sunnera
	D	gumum	ēārum	sunnum

2. All of the masculine substantives which end with *-a* are declined like *guma*. For example, *boga* 'bow', *cnapa* 'child', *fara* 'traveller', *ġe-lēāfa* 'faith', *hǎma* 'garment', *hunta* 'hunter', *māga* 'son' *nǎma*, 'name', *steorra* 'star', *wiella* 'fountain', *wyrhta* 'worker', etc., as well as nouns designating peoples : *Frisa* 'Frisian', *Franca* 'Frank'.

REMARK I. In G Pl *frēā* 'master' becomes *frēāna*. Similarly *ġe-fā* 'enemy', *ġe-fēā* 'joy', *lēō* 'lion', *rā* 'roebuck', *tꝩēō* 'doubt', *ꝩēā* 'misfortune' and the nouns designating people *Sꝩēōn* (Pl) 'Swedish'; *oxa* 'ox' becomes *oxna* in G Pl and *oxum, oxnum* in D Pl.

3. The word *ēāge* 'eye' is declined like *ēāre*.

4. All of the feminine substantives which end with *-e* are declined like *sunne*. For example, *ǣdre* 'vein', *ċiriċe* 'church', *cwene* 'domestic servant', *eorðe* 'earth', *heorte* 'heart', *nǣdre* 'snake', *sierce* 'shirt, tunic', *smiððe* 'forge', *tunge* 'tongue', *widewe* 'widow', *wise* 'way', as well as the

derivatives ending with -estre (§ 139), such as *miltestre* 'courtesan'.

REMARK II. *bēō* 'bee' becomes *bēōn, bēōna, bēōm*.

2. Stems in -*īn*-

§ 59. These stems include the abstract feminine substantives derived from adjectives. By probable analogy with the abstract nouns in -**ipo*- (cf. § 51.4 and § 140.1), they take in Old English, a flexion which no longer has any consonantal type similar to the stems in -*ō*-. Consequently, they are classified here only because of the type of formation.

Paradigm: *strenġu* 'strength'.

Sg	N	strenġu, strenġo	Pl	NA	strenġe, -a, -u, -o
	A	strenġe, -u, -o		G	strenġa
	GD	strenġe, -u, -o		D	strenġum

2. The feminine substantives listed under § 140.5 are declined in this fashion. Since these are abstract words, the plural is rare.

REMARK. Despite the flexion taken in Old English, the suffix -*īn*- reveals its early presence in the inflection of the radical vowel and the palatalization of the consonant: *strenġu* out of *strāng* 'strong', *hǣtu* 'heat' out of *hāt* 'hot'.

3. Other Consonantal Stems

§ 60. Most of the following stems are those which survive in Old English in only a few specimens.

Analogy has so profoundly confused these flexions that it is impossible to classify these with more common types.

1) Early root-stems

§ 61. 1. Paradigms: masculine *fōt* 'foot' and *măn(n)* 'man', and

feminine *bōc* 'book'.

Sg	NA	fōt	mǎn(n)	bōc
	G	fōtes	mǎnnes	bēċ
	D	fēt	menn	bēċ
Pl	NA	fēt	menn	bēċ
	G	fōta	mǎnna	bōca
	D	fōtum	mǎnnum	bōcum

2. The word *tōð* 'tooth' is declined like *fōt*; the compound *wíf-mǎn* (*n*), like *mǎn(n)*. Alongside *mǎn(n)*, there is *mǎnna*, a stem in -*an*- which is declined like *guma*.

3. The words *burg* 'town' (Sg GD, Pl NA *byriġ, byrġ*), *gōs* 'goose', *cū* 'cow' (Pl *cȳ*), *mūs* 'mouse' and *sulh* 'plough' (*sylh*) are declined like *bōc*.

Originally *niht* 'night' was declined:

Sg	NA	neaht	Pl	NA	niht
	G	neahte		G	nihta
	D	neahte		D	nihtum

But using the model of the plural, the singular was modified into *niht*, GD *nihte* which is a common flexion.

4. In the neuter substantives there remains only one trace, the word *scrūd* 'garment', which is *scrȳd* in D Sg, but the word is generally declined like *word* (§ 46).

2) Stems in −ð−

§ 62. These stems are represented only by four substantives: in the masculine *hæle(ð)* 'man' and *mōnað* 'month', in the neuter *ealu* 'beer', and in the feminine *mæġ(e)ð* 'maiden'; their flexions are as follows:

Sg	NA	hæle(ð)	mōnað	ealu	mæġ(e)ð
	G	hæleðes	mōn(e)ðes	ealoð	mæġ(e)ð
	D	hæleðes	mōn(e)ðe	ealoð	mæġ(e)ð
Pl	NA	hæleð	mōnað	—	mæġ(e)ð
	G	hæleða	mōn(e)ða	ealeða	mæġ(e)ða
	D	hæleðum	mōn(e)ðum	—	mæġ(e)ðum

3) Stems in –r– (nouns of kinship)

§ 63.   To this early type belong *fæder* 'father' and *brōðor* 'brother' for the masculine, and *mōdor* 'mother', *dohtor* 'daughter' and *sweostor* 'sister' for the feminine.   These words are declined as follows:

Sg	NA	fæder	brōðor	mōdor	dohtor	sweostor
	G	fæder(es)	brōðor	mōdor	dohtor	sweostor
	D	fæder	brēðer	mēder	dehter	sweostor
Pl	NA	fæderas	brōðor	mōdor	dohtor	sweostor
	G	fædera	brōðra	mōdra	dohtra	sweostor
	D	fæderi	brōðrum	mōdrum	dohtrum	sweostrum

REMARK.   There are also the forms of NA Pl *brōðru, mōðru* (and *mōdra*) and *dohtru* (and *dohtra*).

4) Stems in –nd–

§ 64.   1.   This is the flexion of the present participle used substantively (true participles are inflected like adjectives).   They include only masculine stems.

Paradigms: *frēōnd* 'friend' and *wiġend* 'warrior'.

Sg	NA	frēōnd	wiġend
	G	frēōndes	wiġendes
	D	friēnd	wiġendes

Pl	NA	frīend	wīġend, -e, -as
	G	frēōnda	wīġendra
	D	frēōndum	wīġendum

2. The word *fēōnd* 'enemy' is declined like *frēōnd*. There are also D Sg *frēōnde*, NA Pl *frēōnd*, *frēōndas*.

3. A considerable number of substantives derived from verbs are declined like *wīġend*. See § 136. 1.

5) **Stems in** *-as-/-iz-*

§ 65. 1. These stems include neuter substantives. They correspond to the Indo-European type represented by the third declension of Latin *genus, generis* 'species'. In Old English only several traces remain.

Paradigm: *ċild* 'child'.

Sg	NA	ċild	Pl	NA	ċildru
	G	ċildes		G	ċildra
	D	ċilde		D	ċildrum

2. The substantives declined alike are: *ǣġ* 'egg', *ċealf* 'calf', *lâmb* 'lamb', *wildor* 'wild beast, wild fowl'.

The words *dōgor* 'twenty-four hours' time', and *eagor* 'sea', which belong to this type, become neuter stems in *-a-*.

Flexion of Proper Nouns

§ 66. The native proper nouns are inflected like the other substantives: *Cȳne-wulf* like *wulf*, *Ōht-here* like *here*, *Cēōla* like *guma*, etc.

Foreign proper nouns fit more or less well into the same types: *Crīst* gives G *Crīstes*, D *Crīste*. Others sometimes preserve the Latin flexion.

*

*   *

§ 67. Despite the diversity of the substantive stems surviving in Old English, the inflectional endings have already taken a very uniform characteristic as seen in the table below. Besides, it is made clear in the outline above that the type of flexion of the masculine and neuter stems in -a- and the feminine substantives in -o- have exerted a considerable analogical influence upon the less widely represented flexional types.

		Strong Declensions (vocalic and consonantal)			Stems in -u-	Weak Declensions		
		M	N	F	MF	M	N	F
Sg	N	-(e)	-(e)	-(u)	-(u)	-a	-e	-e
	A	-(e)	-(e)	-(e)	-u	-an	-e	-an
	G	-es	-es	-e	-a	-an	-e	-an
	D	-(e)	-e	-(e)	-a	-an	-an	-an
Pl	NA	-as, -e	-(u)	-a	-a		-an	
	G	-a	-a	-(en)a	-a		-ena	
	D	-um	-um	-um	-um		-um	

CHAPTER SIX

THE PRONOUN

General

§ 68.   The pronouns preserve a richer flexion than the substantives. Aside from the four cases, namely, the nominative, the accusative, the genitive and the dative, certain pronouns, such as the demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns possess a fifth case, *i.e.*, the instrumental in the masculine and neuter singular. In addition to the singular and plural, personal pronouns of the first and second persons possess the dual forms. For the third person, there are at least in the singular the forms for three genders which Old English share with the other West Germanic and North Germanic dialects.   On the other hand, Old English still has no relative pronouns; to express this notion, it resorts to a variety of syntactic procedures (see § 181) and it loses all the reflexive pronouns. Finally, the interrogative pronouns have only two genders, the common gender (masculine and feminine) and the neuter.

REMARK.   The pronouns are small grammatical words whose accentuation is widely varied according to the context and the position.   Thus the vowels transcribed as long might often be shortened.

A.   PERSONAL PRONOUNS

1.   Personal Pronouns with Undifferentiated Gender

§ 69.   **First Person**

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

Second Person

	Singular	Dual	Plural
N	ðū	ġit	ġē
A	ðē, ðec	inc, incit	ēōw, ēōwić
G	ðīn	incer	ēōwer
D	ðē	inc	ēōw

REMARK. In the accusative, the early forms *mec, ðec, ūsić* and *ēōwić* are most often replaced by the forms of the dative *mē, ðe, ūs* and *ēōw*.

2. Pronouns of the Third Person

§ 70.

	Singular M	Singular Nt	Singular F	Plural M Nt F
N	hē	hit	hēō, hīō	hīē, hī
A	hine, hiene	hit	hīē	hīē, hī
G	his	his	hire, hiere	hiera, heora, hira
D	him	him	hire, hiere	him

REMARK. In the third period of Old English, these forms are often written with *y* instead of *i: hyne, hys, hym, hyt* and *hȳ*. NA Pl *hēō* is a Mercian or later form.

3. Possessive

§ 71. For the first two persons, the possessives, whose declension follows that of strong adjectives, are derived from the genitives of

personal pronouns. For example, for the first person singular:

	Singular				Plural		
	M	Nt	F		M	Nt	F
N	mīn	mīn	mīn		mīne	mīn	mīna, -e
A	mīnne	mīn	mīne		mīne	mīn	mīna, -e
G	mīnes	mīnes	mīnre		mīnra	mīnra	mīnra
D	mīnum	mīnum	mīnre		mīnum	mīnum	mīnum
I	mīne	mīne	—		—	—	—

REMARK. For the first person plural, there is also the form *ūs(s)er*.

For the third person, the forms are:

a) *sīn*, derived from an early reflexive which is lost in Old English; *sīn* (which is declined like *mīn*) is used almost only in poetry with no distinction of gender or number; it generally refers to the subject;

b) especially the genitive of personal pronouns: *his, hire, hiera*.

B. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

1. The demonstrative-article *sē*

§ 72. The pronoun *sē, ðæt, sēo* 'this, that' often takes the value of a definite article in Old English (cf. § 166). Its flexion in West Saxon is as follows:

	Singular				Plural		
	M	Nt	F		M	Nt	F
N	sē	ðæt	sēo, sīo		ðā		
A	ðone	ðæt	ðā		ðā		
G	ðæs	ðæs	ðære		ðāra, ðæra		
D	ðæm, ðām	ðæm, ðām	ðære		ðæm, ðām		
I	ðȳ, ðon	ðȳ, ðon	—		—		

2. The demonstrative ðēs 'this'

§ 73.

	Singular			Plural
	M	Nt	F	M Nt F
N	ðes	ðis	ðēōs, ðīōs	ðās
A	ðisne	ðis	ðās	ðās
G	ðisses	ðisses	ðisse	ðissa
D	ðissum	ðissum	ðisse	ðissum
I	ðȳs, ðīs	ðȳs, ðīs	—	—

REMARK. Starting with the third period, *y* is often used instead of *i*: *ðysne*, *ðisses* and *ðyssum*.

Moreover, *-ss-* is often simplified so that there are both *ðises* and *ðisum*.

3. Other Demonstratives

§ 74. There are *ilca* 'same' which follows the weak flexion of adjectives and *self* 'self' which follows the strong flexion.

C. RELATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 75. In Common Germanic there is no relative pronoun; each language creates its own Old English employs either the invariable particle *ðe* by itself or followed by a personal pronoun, or it employs the demonstrative-article *sē*, or a combination of the two, *sē ðe*. See below § 181.

D.   INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 76. 1. The pronoun *hwā* 'who' has the following declension:

	Masculine-Feminine	Neuter
N	hwā	hwæt
A	hwone, hwæne	hwæt
G	hwæs	hwæs
D	hwǣm, hwām	hwǣm, hwām
I	—	hwȳ, hwī

REMARK. There are two other forms of the instrumental:

a) *hwōn* employed only in *for hwōn, tō hwōn* 'why?';

b) *hu* 'how?'.

2.   The pronouns *hwæðer* 'which of the two?' and *hwelċ, hwiliċ* 'which?' (to which the answer is *swelċ, swilċ* 'such') follow the strong declension of adjectives.

E. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

§ 77. 1. The interrogative pronouns may be employed as indefinite pronouns: *hwā, hwilċ, hwæðer* 'whosoever', *hwæt* 'whatever' as well as the compounds with *swā . . . swā*: *swā-hwā-swā, swā-hwilċ-swā, swā-hwæt-swā.*

2. Other than *sum*, there are *ān* 'a certain, one', *nān* 'no one', *ōðer* 'other, the other', *ælċ* 'each, each one', *swilċ* 'such' and *mān(n)* 'one'.

3. Finally, there are a considerable number of compounds with the preceding forms: *ġe-hwā, ġe-hwilċ* 'each', *ġe-hwæðer* 'each of the two', *ǣġ-hwā, ǣġ-hwilċ* 'each, every', *ǣġ-hwæðer, ǣġðer* 'one or the other, one and the other', *ā-hwæðer, āðer* 'whoever, whatever', *ǣniġ* 'any', *nǣniġ* 'no one', *wiht, ā-wiht, ā-wuht, āht* 'anything, whatever', *nā-wiht, nāht, nōht* 'nothing', *hwæt-hwugu* 'something', *ðyslīċ, ðyllīċ* 'such'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ADJECTIVE

§ 78. As we have seen, one of the early traits of Germanic is that all the adjectives normally have a double flexion, the vocalic (or strong) flexion and the consonantal (or weak) flexion. On the use of these two flexions of Old English, see §§ 160 and 161.

A. VOCALIC OR STRONG FLEXION

§ 79. This is the early flexion of adjectives inherited from Indo-European. It is called the vocalic flexion because it follows the declension pattern of the vocalic stems of substantives. In Latin, for example, *bonus* is declined like *dominus*, *bonum* like *templum*, and *bona* like *rosa*. The same holds true of a Germanic language such as Old English; but a large number of forms borrowed from the declension of demonstratives (§ 72) are found in the flexion of the adjective.

In the vocalic flexion of adjectives, we must distinguish:

a) the stems in -*a*-/-*ō*- (with their varieties, as in the substantive in -*ja*-/-*jō*- and -*wa*-/-*wō*-);

b) the traces of the stems in -*i*- and -*u*-.

1. Stems in −*a*−/−*ō*−

§ 80. Several cases must be distinguished: the short monosyllabic adjectives (*glæd* 'joyous'), the long monosyllabic adjectives (*gōd* 'good', *hēah* 'high') and the long polysyllabic adjectives (*hālig* 'holy').

a) Short monosyllabic adjectives

§ 81. 1. Paradigm: *glæd* 'joyous'.

		M	Nt	F
Sg	N	glæd	glæd	gladu
	A	**glædne**	glæd	glade
	G	glades	glades	**glædrᴈ**
	D	**gladum**	**gladum**	**glædrᴈ**
	I	glade	glade	—
Pl	NA	**glade**	gladu	glada, glade
	G	**glædra**	**glædra**	**glædra**
	D	gladum	gladum	gladum

REMARK. In this declension, the pronominal flexion as of *gras* is borrowed.

2. Declension on the model of *glæd*:

α) The short monosyllabic adjectives, which are, incidentally, not numerous: *dol* 'silly', *fràm* 'swift', *gràm* 'hostile', *hræd* 'quick', *sæd* 'satiated', *sum* 'some', *smæl* 'small', *tàm* 'tame', *til* 'good' and *trum* 'vigorous'.

REMARK. On the gradation between *æ* and *a* in *glæd*, *hræd*, *sæd*, *smæl*, see § 18. 3a.

β) The derived adjectives with the suffix *-lič*, such as *čild-lič* 'childish', *heofon-lič* 'heavenly', *middan-ġeard-lič* earthly', etc. (cf. § 143. 11), and with the suffix *-sum*, such as *hīer-sum* 'obedient', *làng-sum* 'prolonged', *wyn-sum* 'pleasant' (cf. § 143. 13).

b) Long monosyllabic adjectives

§ 82. 1. Paradigms: *gōd* 'good' and *hēàh* 'high'.

		M	Nt	F	M	Nt	F
Sg	N	gōd	gōd	gōd	hēah	hēah	hēa
	A	gōdne	gōd	gōde	hēan(n)e	hēah	hēa
	G	gōdes	gōdes	gōdre	hēas	hēas	hēar(r)e
	D	gōdum	gōdum	gōdre	hēā(u)m	hēā(u)m	hēār(r)e
	I	gōde	gōde	—	hēā	hēā	—
Pl	NA	gōde	gōd	gōda -e,	hēā	hēā	hēā
	G	gōdra	gōdra	gōdra	hēār(r)a	hēār(r)a	hēār(r)a
	D	gōdum	gōdum	gōdum	hēā(u)m	hēā(u)m	hēā(u)m

2. Declension on the model of *gōd*:

α) A large number of long, monosyllabic adjectives such as *brād* 'broad', *ċeald* 'cold', *eal(l)* 'all', *ful(l)* 'full', *frōd* 'wise', *ġeong* 'young', *lang* 'long', *wlanc* 'stately'.

β) The derived adjectives with the suffix *-cund*: *god-cund* 'sacred', *woruld-cund* 'secular' (cf. § 143.2); with *-ful(l)*: *ferht-ful* 'timorous', *weorð-ful* 'majestic' (cf. § 143.7); with *-lēas*: *grund-lēas* 'bottomless', *hlāford-lēas* 'without a lord', (cf. § 143.10) and with *-fæst* (cf. § 143.5), *-feald* (cf. § 143.6) and *-weard* (cf. § 143.14).

REMARK. It is seen that the vocalic flexion of *gōd* differs from that of *glæd* only in NF Sg and in NA Nt Pl which have no inflectional endings (compare the neuter substantive *word* with *sċip* (§ 46), and the feminine *lār* with *ġiefu*.

3. All the long monosyllabic adjectives ending with *-h* are declined like *hēah*: *fāh* 'hostile', *hrēoh* 'wild', *nēah* 'near', *wōh* 'twisted'.

c) Dissyllabic adjectives

§ 83. Two cases must be distinguished:

α) The adjectives whose radical syllable is short are generally declined like *gōd*, thus *atol* 'terrible', *fracoð* 'miserable', *maniġ* 'many', *nacod*

'naked', *open* 'open', *sweotol* 'clear'. Some, however, are declined like *hālig̊* (see below): these are *fræġer* 'beautiful', *miċel* 'great' and *yfel* 'bad'.

β) The adjectives whose initial syllable is long are generally declined like *hālig̊* 'holy'.

		M	Nt	F
Sg	N	hālig̊	hālig̊	hāligu
	A	hālg̊ine	hālig̊	hālg̊e
	G	hālg̊es	hālg̊es	hālig̊re
	D	hālgum	hālgum	hālig̊re
	I	hālg̊e	hālg̊e	—
Pl	NA	hālg̊e	hāligu	hālga, hālg̊e
	G	hālig̊ra	hālig̊ra	hālig̊ra
	D	hālgum	hālgum	hālgum

Thus, *ǣttren* 'poisoned', *āgen* 'personal', *bitter* 'bitter', *cristen* 'Christian', *ēacen* 'increased', *ēadig̊* 'wealthy', *ġeōmor* 'sad', *gylden* 'golden', *hǣðen* 'heathen', *īdel* 'vain', *hlūt(t)or* 'clear', *lȳtel* 'little', *ōðer* 'second', *snottor* 'clever'.

2. Stems in *-ja-/-jō-*

§ 84. A distinction must be made between the originally short and the originally long stems (§ 38, Remark).

a) Originally short stems

1. Paradigm: *nyt(t)* 'useful'.

		M	Nt	F
Sg	N	nyt(t)	nyt(t)	nyt(t)
	A	nytne	nyt(t)	nytte
	G	nyttes	nyttes	nytre

	D	nyttum	nyttum	nytre
	I	nytte	nytte	—
Pl	NA	nytte	nyt(t)	nytta, nytte
	G	nytra	nyt(ra)	nytra,
	D	nyttum	nyttum	nyttum

REMARK. This is the same flexion as that of *gōd*. The geminated sound is simplified in the final position and before a consonant (cf. § 32).

2. The declension of *mid(d)* 'middle' and *ġe-sib(b)* 'related' is the same.

b) Originally long stems

§ 85. 1. Paradigm: *wēste* 'deserted'.

		M	Nt	F
Sg	N	wēste	wēste	wēstu
	A	wēstne	wēste	wēste
	G	wēstes	wēstes	wēstre
	D	wēstum	wēstum	wēstre
	I	wēste	wēste	—
Pl	NA	wēste	wēstu	wēsta, wēste
	G	wēstra	wēstra	wēstra
	D	wēstum	wēstum	wēstum

REMARK. This flexion does not differ from that of *glæd* except in the nominative masculine, and neuter, and the accusative neuter of the singular, which always end with *-e*.

2. A large number of adjectives are declined likewise, adjectives such as *æðele* 'noble', *cēne* 'bold', *dēōre* 'dear', *milde* 'mild', *nīwe* 'new', *rīċe* 'powerful', *sċīēne* 'beautiful', *wierðe* 'worthy', and also *frēō* 'free'.

3. **Stems in** $-wa-/-w\bar{o}-$

§ 86. 1. Paradigm: *ġearu* 'ready'.

		M	Nt	F
Sg	N	ġearu, -o	ġearu, -o	ġearu, -o
	A	ġearone	ġearu, -o	ġearwe
	G	ġearwes	ġearwes	ġearore
	D	ġearwum	ġearwum	ġearore
	I	ġearwe	ġearwe	—
Pl	NA	ġearwe	ġearu, -o	ġearwa, -o
	G	ġearora	ġearora	ġearora
	D	ġearwum	ġearwum	ġearwum

REMARK I. The adjectives with long stems of this type, such as *glēaw* 'sagacious' and *hrēaw* 'crude' have the same flexion as *ġōd*.

REMARK II. The word *fēawe* 'few', which is employed only with plurals, often becomes *fēā* (after the neuter) in poetry, and *fēām* (alongside *fēawum*) in the dative plural.

2. The adjectives *fealu* 'fallow', *nearu* 'narrow', and *ġeolu* 'yellow' are declined in the same way.

4. **Other Stems**

§ 87. 1. Stems in *-i-*. — They follow the same flexion as *wēste*: *bliðe* 'joyous', *brȳce* 'useful', *clǣne* 'clean', *ġe-dēfe* 'proper' *ġe-mǣne* 'common', *ġe-sīene* 'visible', *grēne* 'green', *swēte* 'sweet'.

2. Stems in *-u-*. — Old English merely has traces of this formation, thus *cwicu* or *cucu* 'living', which serves as the nominative of the three genders both in the singular and the plural and as the accusative of the feminine singular and neuter plural. The other forms are borrowed from the feminine *cwuc*, *cwic* which follow the flexion of the stems in *-a-/-ō-*.

B. CONSONANTAL OR WEAK FLEXION

§ 88. This flexion is exactly like that of the weak substantives in -*an*- (§ 58) which is extended to all of the adjectives. The only difference is in the genitive plural where the strong inflectional ending -*ra* dominates the weak -*ena*.

Paradigm: *gōda* 'good'.

		M	Nt	F
Sg	N	gōda	gōde	gōde
	A	gōdan	gōde	gōdan
	G	gōdan	gōdan	gōdan
	D	gōdan	gōdan	gōdan
Pl	NA	gōdan	gōdan	gōdan
	G	gōdra, gōdena	gōdra, gōdena	gōdrra, gōdena
	D	gōdum	gōdum	gōdum

REMARK. The adjectives of the *hēāh* type (§ 82) become *hēā* in the weak form.

C. DEGREES OF COMPARISON

§ 89. In Old English there are three types of comparatives and superlatives.

1. The adjectives formed by adding to the radical the suffixes *-iran*- for the comparative and *-ista*- for the superlative. The suffixes take the forms -*ra*- and -*est*- in Old English, and the radical vowel is not inflected.

Thus there are:

brād 'broad'	*brǣdra*	*brǣdest*
eald 'old'	*ieldra* 'older'	*ieldest*
ēāðe 'easy'	*īeðra*	*īeðest*
feorr 'far'	*fierra*	*fierrest*

ġeong 'young'	*ġi(e)nġrra* 'younger'	*ġi(e)nġest*
grēāt 'great'	*grīētra*	*grīētest*
hēāh 'high'	*hīēhra, hīērra*	*hīēhst*
lång 'long'	*lenġrra*	*lenġest*
nēāh 'near'	[*nēārra*]	*nīēhst*
strång 'strong'	*strenġrra*	*strenġest.*

This is the earliest procedure; as is seen, it survives in very common adjectives. However, this procedure is replaced early by the following.

2. The adjectives formed by adding to the radical the suffixes **-ōran-, *-ōsta-*, OE *-ra-, -ost-*. This type of formation, which is not accompanied by the inflection of the radical vowel, extends to the majority of adjectives. For example:

ċeald 'cold'	*ċealdra*	*ċealdost*
ġearu 'ready'	*ġearora*	*ġearwost*
glæd 'joyous'	*glædra*	*gladost*
rīċe 'powerful'	*rīċra*	*rīċost*
swīð 'strong'	*swīðra*	*swīðost.*

3. A small number of adjectives, in their comparative degree, resort to the forms called suppletives, that is, forms taken from the root other than the positive. These are:

gōd 'good'	{ *bet(e)ra* { *sēlra, sēlla*	{ *bet(e)st* { *sēlest, sēlost*
lȳtel 'little'	*læssa*	*læst*
miċel 'great'	*māra*	*mæst*
yfel 'bad'	*wiersa*	*wier(re)st.*

There are also forms with no positives which correspond to a pre-

position or an adverb, for example:

ǣr 'formerly'   *ǣrra* 'earlier'   *ǣrest* 'first'
fore 'before'   *fyrra* 'first (of the two)'   *fyr(e)st* 'first of all'
forð 'forwards'   *furðra* 'further'   —

Other superlatives are also taken from adverbs by adding an early suffix, IE *-mo-* (cf. Lat *pri-mu-s* 'first', *opti-mu-s* 'better'), to which the suffix *-est-* is further added, thus *fyrmest* 'first'. It thus constitutes a new suffix of the superlative *-mest-* which is employed, for example, in, *norðmest* 'northernmost'.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE NUMERAL

A. CARDINAL NUMBERS

§ 90. Here are the forms:

1 *ān*	9 *nigon*	40 *fēōwertiġ*
2 *twēġen*	10 *tīen, tȳn*	50 *fīftiġ*
3 *ðrīē*	11 *endlefan*	60 *siextiġ*
4 *fēōwer*	12 *twelf*	70 *hundseofontiġ*
5 *fīf*	13 *ðrēōtīene, -tȳne, -tēne*	80 *hundeahtatiġ*
6 *si(e)x*	20 *twēntiġ*	100 *hundtēōntiġ, hund, hundred*
7 *seofon*	21 *ān ānd twēntiġ*	120 *hundtwelftiġ*
8 *eahta*	30 *ðrītiġ*	1000 *ðūsend.*

Flexion

§ 91. 1. The word *ān* 'one' follows the strong flexion of *gōd* (§ 82), but the accusative masculine singular is *ænne* (later *ānne*).

The plural forms also exist meaning 'unique' and appear in the phrase *ānra ġehwiċ* 'each one'.

With its weak flexion, *āna* has the meaning of 'alone'.

2. The word *twēġen* 'two' is declined as follows:

	M	Nt	F
NA	twēġen	tū, twā	twā
G	twēġ(e)a, twēġra	twēġ(e)a, twēġra	twēġ(e)a, twēġra
D	twǣm, twā m	twǣm, twā m	twǣm, twā m

The word *bēġen* 'both of the two' has the same declension. There are also the forms *bā twā* MF, *bū tū* Nt with the same meaning.

3. The word *ðrīe* 'three' is declined as follows:

	M	Nt and F
NA	ðrīe, ðrī, ðrȳ	ðrēō, ðrīō
G	ðrēōra, ðrīōra	ðrēōra, ðrīōra
D	ðrim, ðrīm	ðrim, ðrīm.

4. The numbers from 4 to 19, when employed alone, follow the flexion of the stems in -*i*- (§§ 54 and ff.).

The tens with -*tiġ* from 20 to 120 are often not declined, but there are also inflected forms:

	M	Nt	F
G	-tiġes	-tiga	-tiġra
D	-tigum	-tigum	-tigum.

5. The word *hund* 'hundred' is generally not declined; *hundred* employed alone sometimes has the plural *hundredu*.

The word *ðūsend* is a neuter substantive in -*a*-.

B. ORDINAL NUMBERS

§ 92. Here are the principal forms:

1st	*forma, fyrmesta fyrsta, ǣresta*	8th	*eahtoða*
2nd	*ōðer*	9th	*nigoða*
3rd	*ðridda*	10th	*tēoða*
4th	*fēowerða, fēorða*	11th	*endlefta*
5th	*fifta*	12th	*twelfta*
6th	*si(e)xta*	13th	*ðrēotēoða*
7th	*seofoða*	20th	*twēntigoða*, etc.
		21st	*ān and twēntigoða.*

The word *ōðer* follows the strong flexion (§ 83. β), and all the others, the weak flexion.