

AN INTRODUCTORY GRAMMAR OF  
OLD ENGLISH



MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE  
TEXTS AND STUDIES

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# An Introductory Grammar of Old English

with an Anthology of Readings

*by*

R. D. Fulk

ARIZONA CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL

 ACMRS

AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES

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## PREFACE

This book was initially drafted in 1998. The grammar has been employed and refined in the many intervening years in the almost yearly classes in elementary Old English that I have been fortunate to offer. My greatest burdern of debt is to the many students, mostly graduates, though also some undergraduates, who have studied it intensively and offered keen insights into how it might be improved. I am particularly grateful to Colin Grant, who compiled an enormous amount of material to be added to the Glossary.

Users of the book will doubtless recognize its heavy reliance upon the example of its forebears in the history of Old English pedagogy. I was myself taught elementary Old English from Marckwardt and Rosier's *Old English Language and Literature*, which plainly owes a heavy debt to Moore, Knott, and Hulbert's *Elements of Old English*, and from Bright's *Old English Grammar and Reader*, as revised by Cassidy and Ringler, a book which in its earlier editions must in turn have inspired much in Moore and Knott's book. The structure of this book, offering elements of grammar distributed among measured chapters capped by graduated readings, a structure particularly suited to use by graduate and advanced undergraduate students, is common to all of these books, and its disappearance from the considerable array of Old English grammars currently available is the chief rationale for contributing yet another work to that pile.

The book was accepted for publication some ten years ago, but other obligations prevented its completion, since the labor demanded by the need to compile an anthology of texts to accompany the grammar and glossarize it was considerable. I wish to express my warmest gratitude to Robert E. Bjork, not only for supporting this project from the start, but for prodding me in gentle and kindly fashion after many years of neglect to fulfill the obligation incurred. Thanks are also due to the anonymous referees for the press, who suggested the most beneficial changes, and specifically to Donka Minkova, who after many years (correctly) thought the assessment so remote in time that she might safely admit to having been one of those referees, and who thereupon offered further needed encouragement about completing the project. My thanks also go to Roy Rukkila and Todd Halvorsen at ACMRS for their patience and their kind assistance with the production of this volume.

R.D.F.  
Bloomington, Indiana  
December, 2013

## PREFACE (2020)

In the autumn term of 2018 I came out of retirement to teach Old English. In the course of the semester my students noticed a number of typographical errors in this book, in addition to those I noticed, myself. A further error was reported by Mr. Axel Batalha. Thanks are due to them for the corrections made to this reprint of the book. Thanks are also owing to Mr. Corvin Russell for bringing it to my attention that the book had gone out of print, and to Roy Rukkila at ACMRS for releasing the copyright and advising about Open Access.

R.D.F.  
Bloomington, Indiana  
June, 2020

## ABBREVIATIONS

a. <i>or</i> acc.	accusative	IE	Indo-European
act.	active	imp.	imperative
adj.	adjective	impers.	impersonal
adv.	adverb	ind.	indicative
anom.	anomalous (verb)	indecl.	indeclinable
c.	consonant-stem	indef.	indefinite
compar.	comparative	inf.	infinitive
conj.	conjunction	infl.	inflected
consue.	consuetudinal	instr.	instrumental
d. <i>or</i> dat.	dative	interj.	interjection
decl.	declined	interr.	interrogative
EWS	Early West Saxon	intrans.	intransitive
f. <i>or</i> fem.	feminine	ja.	<i>ja</i> -stem
Fr.	French	Kent.	Kentish
fut.	future	Lat.	Latin
g. <i>or</i> gen.	genitive	LWS	Late West Saxon
Germ.	German	m. <i>or</i> masc.	masculine
Gk.	Greek	ME	Middle English
Gmc.	Germanic	Merc.	Mercian
Go.	Gothic	MnE	Modern English
i.	<i>i</i> -stem	MnIcel.	Modern Icelandic

## ABBREVIATIONS

mod.	modern	pret.	preterite
n. <i>or</i> neut.	neuter	PrOE	Prehistoric Old English
n. <i>or</i> nom.	nominative	pron.	pronoun, pronominal
Northumbr.	Northumbrian	ref.	reference
num.	numeral	reflex.	reflexive
NWGmc.	Northwest Germanic	rel.	relative
OE	Old English	s. <i>or</i> sg.	singular
OFris.	Old Frisian	sj.	subjunctive
OHG	Old High German	Skt.	Sanskrit
OIcel.	Old Icelandic	s.o.	someone
orig.	originally	sthg.	something
OS	Old Saxon	superl.	superlative
part.	participle	trans.	transitive
pass.	passive	u.	<i>u</i> -stem
pers.	person	uninfl.	uninflected
PGmc.	Proto-Germanic	usu.	usually
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	w.	with
p. <i>or</i> pl.	plural	W	West
pp.	past or passive participle	wk.	weak
prep.	preposition	WGmc.	West Germanic
pres.	present	WS	West Saxon

Illustrative quotations are cited using the abbreviated text titles employed by the *Dictionary of Old English*. For a list, see Cameron, Amos & Healey 2007.

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# I. GRAMMAR



## INTRODUCTION

1. **Old English** (abbr. OE) is the name given to the language spoken by the Germanic inhabitants of Britain from their arrival in the fifth century to a period not long after the Norman victory at Hastings in 1066, by which time the language had changed sufficiently to merit a separate name, **Middle English** (abbr. ME). The term **Anglo-Saxon** that was formerly applied to the Old English language is now applied instead to the culture and to speakers of the language. At the time they invaded Britain, the Anglo-Saxons had a runic alphabet that was not suitable for the recording of texts of any length, and so there was no substantial writing in English before the arrival of Roman missionaries at the end of the sixth century. They brought with them knowledge of books, a knowledge that remained nearly the exclusive province of ecclesiastics for most of the Old English period. Because most writing in the earliest period was in Latin, few literate productions in the Old English language survive from this portion of the period. Early texts, such as the laws of King Æthelberht of Kent (d. 617), are preserved only in much later copies, and there are fewer than ten surviving manuscripts containing substantial material in Old English from before the tenth century. The contents of the surviving manuscripts are quite varied, given the uniformly ecclesiastical settings in which they were compiled and the uses to which they were put. They include translations of Scripture, homilies, the works of the Church fathers, hagiographies, rules for monks and canons, penitentials, liturgical texts, medical and medicinal texts, scientific texts, chronicles, puzzles and superstitions, letters, glosses/glossaries, charters, and about 30,000 lines of verse on various topics. Though the body of work is considerable, with precious few exceptions, Old English prose texts are wholly or substantially translations from Latin, so that the study of Old English prose syntax is hampered by the rarity of texts certifiably free of the influence of Latin syntax.

2. In the early period, England was not a single nation but a collection of kingdoms further subdivided into ethnic areas. For linguistic purposes it is useful to speak of four kingdoms, **Wessex** and **Kent** in the South, **Mercia** in the Midlands, and in the North, **Northumbria**, literally the area north of the Humber, including the Scottish Lowlands. In the seventh century, Northumbria dominated among the kingdoms under a succession of powerful and fractious kings; in the eighth, Mercia came to the fore under the long reign of **Offa** (reigned 757–96), who brought the Southern kingdoms under Mercian control. In the early ninth century, Wessex regained its autonomy under the leadership of **Ecgbert** (reigned 802–39); but the decisive event in the shift of power to the South was the arrival of the Vikings at the end of the eighth century. At first they came as bands of marauders, but eventually they formed vast armies bent on conquest and settlement. They overran Northumbria and Mercia and nearly conquered

Wessex, but they were eventually forced to agree to a treaty with Ecgbert's grandson **Alfred the Great** (reigned 871–899) that confined them to Northumbria and the **Danelaw**, roughly the eastern half of the Midlands.

3. More or less by default, then, the rest of England became united under a single king, and Alfred's successors could claim the title *rex Anglorum* 'king of the English'. They extended his military victories, gaining control of all the former English kingdoms, and for roughly three quarters of a century the English enjoyed relative security. The Vikings had destroyed the monasteries in the North and East, but during this period of comparative stability, monastic life was revitalized under the **Benedictine Reform**. This movement was instigated primarily by **Dunstan**, archbishop of Canterbury (959–988), **Æthelwold**, bishop of Winchester (963–984), and **Oswald**, bishop of Worcester (959–992), on the model of reforms taking place at Cluny, Fleury, and other monastic houses on the Continent. One result was a renaissance of manuscript production that is responsible for the vast majority of what is preserved in Old English, since all but a small number of Old English manuscripts date to the late tenth and eleventh centuries. Hard times returned, however, with the renewal of Viking attacks in the reign of Æthelred "the Unready" (a popular misconception of OE *unræd(d)* 'ill-advised'), with the result that England was ultimately assimilated into a Danish empire ruled by **Cnut** (or Canute, Old Norse *Knútr*), who occupied the English throne 1016–1035. The return of the nation to English control under **Edward the Confessor** (reigned 1042–1066) was short-lived, for after his death the rulers of Norway and Normandy invaded, and the success of the latter brought to an end both the Viking and the Anglo-Saxon periods.

4. Alfred took an interest in literacy extraordinary for a monarch of his time, and in accordance with his wishes, a variety of Latin texts were translated into English, some by Alfred himself. Thus, we are fortunate to have a substantial body of texts in the language of the Alfredian period. Beginning with Alfred's reign, the influence of Wessex on the rest of England was naturally great both politically and culturally, and by the later period the **West Saxon** dialect was the national literate standard, written (though not spoken) in all parts of the island under English control. The Old English records are thus generally preserved in West Saxon, and by comparison there are scant remains of **Kentish** and of the **Anglian** dialects (a term that encompasses **Northumbrian** and **Mercian**). West Saxon hegemony gives rise to the peculiarity that Old English as we generally know it—that is, in its West Saxon form—is not the direct ancestor of modern standard varieties of English, which instead derive primarily from the English of London, a dialect more closely allied to Mercian. Thus, for example, MnE *cold* descends not from WS *ceald* but from Midland *cald*. Dialects other than West Saxon are examined in Appendix B.

5. Two varieties of West Saxon must be distinguished: **Early West Saxon** (EWS) is the dialect of the Alfredian period (the late ninth and early tenth

centuries), and it is replaced by **Late West Saxon** (LWS, attested from the middle of the tenth century on) as the result of a program of linguistic standardization at the time of the Benedictine Reform. The relationship between the two dialects is not simply chronological: due to Mercian control of the South in the eighth century, Early West Saxon shows several characteristic Mercian orthographic features that probably do not reflect actual West Saxon speech, and these naturally disappear with the Reform. But the later dialect seems also to have been based on a different regional or social variety of West Saxon, since the treatment of front vowels and diphthongs in the two dialects presupposes different paths of development (see Campbell 1977: §301, Hogg 1992: §§163–75; hence the capitalization of “Early”). Spellings in the Glossary and in the early readings in this book are normalized to Early West Saxon standards, but spelling variants and Late West Saxon forms are explained in a series of chapters and gradually introduced into the readings. The spelling in the texts of the anthology that follows the grammar is not normalized at all.

6. Old English is a **Germanic** language, most closely related to **Old Frisian** (OFris.), a language attested starting only in the late thirteenth century. Frisian today is confined to small areas of the Netherlands and northwestern Germany, but the Frisians dominated the North Sea coast in the Anglo-Saxon period. At a slight further remove are **Old Saxon** (OSax., attested from the ninth century, usually considered to be an **Ingvaemonic** or **North Sea Germanic** language, though that term is occasionally reserved for English and Frisian) and **Old Low Franconian**, reflected today in dialects of **Low German** and **Dutch**, respectively. Those with a knowledge of Old English can read these languages with relative ease, though there are significant differences in vocabulary. **Old High German** (OHG, from about 750) is distinguished from these other languages by, among other features, the **High German Consonant Shift**, which is responsible for a variety of regular phonological differences between German and English, such as the correspondence of *z* to *t* in *Zapf*, *Zeitungen*, *Zunge* = *tap*, *tidings*, *tongue*. These languages are referred to collectively as the **West Germanic** languages, distinguished from the more distantly related **North Germanic**, that is, the Germanic Scandinavian languages—for the medieval period most extensively recorded in **Old Icelandic** (OIcel.) manuscripts, starting about 1200—and the even further removed **East Germanic**, represented almost exclusively by **Gothic**, the language of the Visigoths. Gothic is particularly important for the comparative study of the Germanic languages, since it was recorded as early as the fourth century in a form more conservative than that of the other early Germanic languages. The Germanic languages represent one branch of a much larger family of **Indo-European** languages spoken since prehistoric times from the Indian subcontinent and western China to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Nearly all the native languages of present-day Europe are Indo-European (Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, Saami, and Basque are the chief exceptions), as

are many of the languages of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq.

7. Some familiarity with the prehistory of Old English, especially its phonology, facilitates considerably an understanding of the structure of the language. Without an understanding, for example, of front mutation (§69) and back mutation (§113), it may be difficult to recognize verb forms and variant spellings of all parts of speech. The Germanic languages are said to be derived from a common protolanguage, called (**Proto-)**Germanic (abbr. [P]Gmc.), which can be reconstructed from a comparison of all the Germanic languages and an understanding of the linguistic changes that separate it in time from its descendants. Reconstructed forms are marked with an asterisk (\*) to indicate that they are hypothetical. Thus, for example, OE *hliehhan* ‘laugh’, OFris. *hlakkia*, OSax. *hlahhian*, OHG *hlahhan*, OIcel. *hlæja*, and Gothic *hlahjan* are thought to be derived from PGmc. *\*hlahjan* (that is, *hliehhan* is the **reflex** of *\*hlahjan*, which in turn is the **etymon** of *hliehhan*) by a series of regular sound changes that applied with a high degree of regularity in every word they were capable of affecting. Similarly, OE *stān* ‘stone’, OFris. and OSax. *stēn*, OHG *stein*, OIcel. *steinn*, and Gothic *stains* should all be derived from PGmc. *\*stainaz*. Several protolanguages are also reconstructed for the intermediate stages between Proto-Germanic and Old English, the most important of which for the study of Old English is **West Germanic** (abbr. WGmc.), the ancestor of all Germanic languages but Gothic and the Germanic languages of Scandinavia. The family tree at the end of this chapter represents one common scholarly conception of the relations of the Germanic languages to one another. This diagram is certainly too schematic, in part because it does not take into account the way that change sometimes traverses language boundaries, affecting more than one language at once; but as an approximation of the truth it remains a useful way to conceptualize the prehistory of English.

8. The Indo-European languages are similarly to be derived from a hypothetical **Proto-Indo-European** (abbr. PIE), a language or group of languages spoken more than five thousand years ago, probably on the steppe north of the Black and Caspian Seas. It has traditionally been reconstructed with particular reliance on the evidence of Sanskrit, for the conservatism of its consonant system, and of Greek and Latin for their vocalism. The Germanic languages are distinguished from the other Indo-European languages by a variety of linguistic changes, the most familiar of which is named **Grimm’s law** after its discoverer Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), perhaps more familiar as the well-known collector, with his brother Wilhelm, of fairy tales. As Grimm noticed, the consonant system of the Germanic languages has undergone a massive shift, so that, for example, where other languages have *p*, Germanic languages have *f* (to Eng. *father* cf. Lat. *pater*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Skt. *pitár-*), and where others have *d*, Germanic has *t*

(to Eng. *two* cf. Lat. *duo*, Gk. *δύο*, Skt. *dváu*). Grimm's law is explained in greater detail in Appendix A.

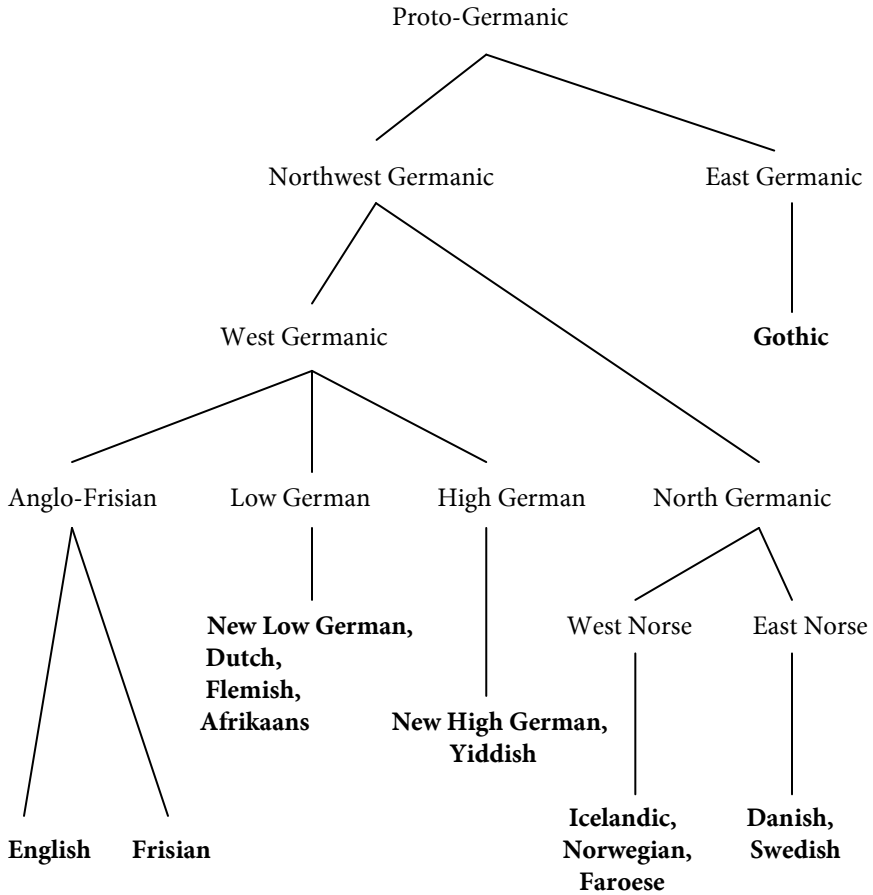


Figure. One version of a genealogical model (*Stammbaum*) of the relations of the Germanic languages (except for Gothic, all end points [**bolded**] are living languages).

## CHAPTER I

### PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

#### A. Phonological Terms and Symbols

9. Because the spelling systems of languages are often arbitrary, linguists have adopted a standard set of symbols called the **International Phonetic Alphabet** (or **IPA**) to represent the sounds encountered in the world's languages. Symbols relevant to the study of Old English (conventionally enclosed in square brackets to indicate that they have phonetic reference), with approximate equivalents, are the following:

Consonants:

[p] as in *span*

[f] as in *fan*

[θ] as in *think*

[t] as in *store*

[s] as in *dose*

[ʃ] as in *shoe*

[tʃ] as in *choke*

[k] as in *score*

[x] as in Scots *loch* or Germ. *Nacht*

[h] as in *hot*

[b] as in *ban*

[m] as in *might*

[v] as in *van*

[ð] as in *that*

[d] as in *door*

[n] as in *night*

[z] as in *rose*

[l] as in *late*

[dʒ] as in *joke*

[r] as in *run*

[j] as in *yolk*

[g] as in *gore*

[ɣ] is the voiced equivalent of [x]

[ŋ] as in *ring*

[w] as in *wet*

Vowels:

[i] as in *beet*

[ɪ] as in *bit*

[e] as in *bait*

[ɛ] as in *bet*

[æ] as in *bat*

[y] as in Fr. *tube*

[ʏ] as in Germ. *Glück*

[ø] as in Fr. *neveu*

[œ] as in Fr. *seul*

[ə] as in *about*

[u] as in *boot*

[ʊ] as in *foot*

[o] as in *boat*

[ɔ] as in *bought*

[ɑ] as in *father*

A symbol resembling a colon (: ) indicates length, and it may be used with both vowels and consonants. In Modern English, the articulation of [k] varies: it is nearer the front of the mouth in *keep* and nearer the back in *cool*. The same may be said of [g, l] and of German [x]; and doubtless the same was true of OE [ȝ] and [ŋ]. Such variations will not be marked here, though they are assumed. When sounds vary this way, they are said to be **phonemes**, and the different articulations of a phoneme are referred to as **allophones**. Phonemes are by convention enclosed in virgules, e.g. /k/, and allophones in square brackets.

**10.** Consonants can be classified conveniently according to their place and manner of articulation. In the list above, the consonants pronounced nearest the front of the mouth come first, and those farthest back in the mouth come last. In describing the **places of articulation** of these consonants we may say that [p, b, m] are all **labial** consonants, being pronounced with both lips; [f, v] are **labiodental**, since they are formed with both the lips and the teeth; [θ, ð] are **dental**, formed with the tip of the tongue against the teeth; [t, d, n, s, z, l] are **alveolar**, formed with the tip or blade of the tongue against or in proximity to the alveolus (or “alveolar ridge,” the bony structure immediately behind the upper teeth); [ʃ, ʒ, ʤ] are **alveopalatal**, formed with the tongue in proximity to the alveolus and the hard palate (the roof of the mouth immediately behind the alveolus); English [r] and [j] are **palatal** (the former is formed with the tip of the tongue pointing up toward the hard palate, or even farther back); [k, g, x, ɣ, ŋ] are **velar**, formed with the back of the tongue against or in proximity to the velum (or “soft palate,” the roof of the mouth farther back); [w] is **labiovelar**, formed with both the lips and the velum; and [h] is **glottal**, formed in the larynx, where the Adam’s apple is located.

**11.** Consonants are also distinguished by their **manner of articulation**. They may be divided into **voiceless** and **voiced** varieties. To understand the difference, place your hand on your Adam’s apple: you will feel your vocal cords vibrate when you pronounce [v], which is voiced, but not [f], which is voiceless. In the list above, all the consonants in the left-hand column are voiceless, those on the right voiced. A distinction is also to be drawn among **stops**, **fricatives**, and **affricates**: in the articulation of the fricatives [f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, x, ɣ, h] air is only partly obstructed in its flow through the mouth, whereas in the articulation of the stops [p, b, m, t, d, n, k, g, ŋ] one completely obstructs the flow of air in the mouth before releasing it. (Note that the **nasal consonants** [m, n, ŋ] are classified as stops because the mouth is fully obstructed, even though air escapes through the nose; the non-nasal stops are **oral stops**.) Affricates are consonants that begin as stops but end as fricatives: thus, [tʃ] is essentially a combination of [t] and [ʃ], and [dʒ] is a combination of [d] and the voiced equivalent of [ʃ] (the sound in *measure*, IPA [ʒ]). The **liquids** [l, r] are more resonant than other consonants, being capable of forming syllables; and the **glides** [j, w] are the most vowel-like of consonants, differing very little from the vowels [i, u], respectively.

**12.** Vowels are distinguished on several bases. If you pronounce [i] immediately followed by [u] you will notice that your tongue moves back some. Accordingly, all the vowels in the left-hand column above are classified as **front vowels** and those in the right-hand column as **back vowels**. Vowels are also distinguished by height: if you pronounce [i, e, æ] in sequence you will find that your jaw drops as you do so. Thus, [i, y, u, ɪ, ʊ, ʏ] are called **high vowels**, [e, ø, o, ε, œ, ɔ] are called **mid vowels**, and [æ, ɑ] are **low vowels**. The vowels in the list are arranged vertically from high to low. So also you will notice that you round your lips to pronounce [u] and [o]. The **rounded vowels** are thus [y, u, ʏ, ʊ, ø, o, œ, ɔ], and the rest are **unrounded**. If you have had no experience with French or German, you may not know how to pronounce the **front round vowels** [y, ʏ, ø, œ]. For each one, form your mouth as if you were going to pronounce the vowel in the right-hand column, but instead pronounce that in the left-hand one; the result is the vowel in the central column. Thus, [y] is formed by shaping one's mouth to pronounce [u] and saying [i] instead. Since, for example, [i] and [ɪ] are both high front unrounded vowels, to differentiate this and other pairs a further distinction is required between **tense** and **lax vowels**: [i, y, u, e, ø, o] are tense and the remainder are lax. The vowel [ɔ] is different from the rest, as it is the only one that occurs only in fully unstressed syllables. It may be described simply as a lax central vowel.

**13. Exercise.** Transcribe the following sentences into normal English spelling: (a) [ði æŋɡlə səksən pɪriəd læstəd mɔr ðən fɔr sɛntʃəriz]. (b) [inɔrməs tʃɛndʒəz tʊk plɛs dʊrɪŋ ðæt taɪm].

**14. Exercise.** Transcribe the following sentences using the IPA symbols given above: (a) English spelling is anything but purely phonetic. (b) Unquestionably, though, reading IPA transcriptions requires practice.

## B. Old English Characters and Sounds

**15.** The Old English alphabet is similar to the Modern English one, though it lacks *j* and *v*, for which *g* (or *i*) and *f* (or, rarely, *u*), respectively, are used; *k* is occasionally used for normal *c*; and *q* and *z* are found almost exclusively in Latin borrowings, the latter with the value [ts], as in German. In the manuscripts there is no *w* per se, but there is a symbol *ƿ* called *wynn* that is transliterated as *w*. The Old English alphabet contains three other letters not found in the modern alphabet: *Æ*, *æ*, called *æsc* 'ash'; *þ*, *þ*, called *þorn* 'thorn'; and *Ð*, *ð* called 'edh' or 'eth' (an Icelandic word, not recorded in Old English).

**16.** The values of Old English characters are not always the same as in Modern English, as the following table of symbols and sounds illustrates. If an Old English letter is not listed, it may be assumed to have roughly the same value as in Modern English. Especially for the vowels, the following are merely **recommended pronunciations** that do not aim at detailed accuracy (see §19 below):

## CONSONANTS

Graph	OE Example and Gloss	IPA	Conditions on Variables
<i>c</i>	<i>ċyricē</i> ‘church’	[tʃ]	before/after <i>i</i> , often <i>æ</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>y</i>
	<i>cuman</i> ‘come’	[k]	elsewhere
<i>cg</i>	<i>ecġ</i> ‘edge’	[dʒ]	
<i>f</i>	<i>ǣfre</i> ‘ever’	[v]	between voiced sounds
	<i>fif</i> ‘five’	[f]	elsewhere
<i>g</i>	<i>gān</i> ‘walk’	[g]	word-initially and after <i>n</i>
	<i>ġīet</i> ‘yet’	[j]	before/after <i>i</i> , usu. also <i>æ</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>y</i>
	<i>senġan</i> ‘singe’	[dʒ]	often after <i>in</i> , <i>en</i>
	<i>fugol</i> ‘bird’	[ɣ]	elsewhere
<i>h</i>	<i>heofon</i> ‘sky’	[h]	syllable-initially
	<i>brōhte</i> ‘brought’	[x]	elsewhere
<i>s</i>	<i>rīsan</i> ‘rise’	[z]	between voiced sounds
	<i>hūs</i> ‘house’	[s]	elsewhere
<i>sc</i>	<i>sċip</i> ‘ship’	[ʃ]	
	<i>frosc</i> ‘frog’	[sk]	see §135
<i>þ, ð</i>	<i>ōþer, ððer</i> ‘other’	[ð]	between voiced sounds
	<i>þā, ðā</i> ‘then’	[θ]	elsewhere
<i>x</i>	<i>weax</i> ‘wax’	[xs]	later [ks]

## STRESSED VOWELS

<i>æ</i>	<i>sæt</i> ‘sat’	[æ]	
<i>ǣ</i>	<i>dǣd</i> ‘deed’	[æ:]	
<i>a</i>	<i>dagas</i> ‘days’	[a]	except before nasal consonants
	<i>land, lond</i> ‘land’	[ɔ]	before nasal consonants
<i>ā</i>	<i>hāt</i> ‘hot’	[a:]	
<i>e</i>	<i>settan</i> ‘set’	[e]	
<i>ē</i>	<i>hē</i> ‘he’	[e:]	
<i>i</i>	<i>sittan</i> ‘sit’	[i]	
<i>ī</i>	<i>wīd</i> ‘wide’	[i:]	
<i>o</i>	<i>God</i> ‘God’	[o]	
<i>ō</i>	<i>gōd</i> ‘good’	[o:]	
<i>u</i>	<i>ful(l)</i> ‘full’	[u]	
<i>ū</i>	<i>fūl</i> ‘ugly, vile’	[u:]	
<i>y</i>	<i>hyge</i> ‘thought’	[y]	
<i>ȳ</i>	<i>fȳr</i> ‘fire’	[y:]	

## DIPHTHONGS

<i>ea</i>	<i>earm</i> ‘arm’	[æu]
<i>ēa</i>	<i>ēare</i> ‘ear’	[æ:u]
<i>eo</i>	<i>eorl</i> ‘man’	[eu]
<i>ēo</i>	<i>fēoll</i> ‘fell’	[e:u]
<i>ie</i>	<i>hliehhan</i> ‘laugh’	[iu]
<i>īe</i>	<i>hīeran</i> ‘hear’	[i:u]

17. Note that **geminated** (i.e. doubled) consonants are different from non-geminates: for example, *nn* is like the long *n* in the middle of MnE *pen-knife*. The characters *þ* and *ð* are entirely interchangeable. The value of the fricatives *þ/ð, f, and s* is determined by environment: between voiced sounds they are voiced [ð, v, z]; everywhere else (at the beginning or end of a word, or next to another voiceless consonant) they are voiceless [θ, f, s]. This explains alternations like MnE *knife* : *knives*, which derive from OE sg. *cnif* [kni:f] and pl. *cnīfas* [kni:vas]. The voicing of fricatives took place only after vowels that received some degree of stress. This is why there is no voicing in, for example, *hǣlþu* ‘health’: this derives from *\*hālīþō*, with unstressed *i* before *þ*. Neither is there voicing of *þ* in words like *forþām* ‘therefore’ and *beþencan* ‘consider’, since these have stress on the second syllable. At the beginning of the second element of a compound, too, a fricative usually remains unvoiced either by analogy or because it followed an unstressed vowel at the time that voicing took place, as in *hīersum* ‘compliant’ (PGmc. *\*hauzi-sum-*) and *mānful* ‘sinful’ (PGmc. *\*maina-ful-*). Modern English pronunciation is not always a good indicator of Old English conditions in regard to the voicing of fricatives: for example, the fricatives were certainly voiced in the names *Ælfrēd*, *Lēofric*, and *Æðelrēd*.

18. The different varieties of *c* and *g* are not distinguished in Old English manuscripts or in most editions of Old English texts, though for the learner’s benefit a system of overpointing is used in this book. The symbol *ċ* is used to represent a variety of *c* that had become more or less identical with [tʃ] by the end of the Old English period; plain *c* represents [k], which may have front and back varieties, as noted above. Defining the environments in which *c* and *ċ* are found is a complicated process (see §135b); suffice it to say here that *ċ* is often found in proximity to front vowels, and Modern English equivalents are usually the best guide to determining Old English pronunciation. The system of sounds represented by *g* is more complex. The sound that this represents was originally [ɣ], which is the sound still found in most environments, as in *āgan* [a:ɣan]. ([ɣ], written *ȝ* in reconstructions, is pronounced at the same place as [g], but it is a fricative rather than a stop. It is the voiced equivalent of [x].) This sound changed to [g] after [ŋ], as in *lang* ‘long’ [lɔŋg] (note that OE *ng* always represents *ng* as in *finger*, not as in *ring*); when geminated, as in *frogga* ‘frog’ [froɡa:];

and, by the late Old English period, at the beginning of a word, as in *gān* [ga:n]. Both varieties could be palatalized in proximity to front vowels. Thus, [ɣ] was palatalized in *sægde* ‘said’ [sæjde], but also *ġieman* ‘mind’ [ji:uman], since palatalization preceded the change of [ɣ] to [g] at the beginning of a word. So also [g] was palatalized and subsequently affricated in proximity to some front vowels after [n], as in *sengan* [sendʒan], and in gemination, as in *eċġ* [eɖʒ] < \**aggja-*. In sum, then, *g* represents [ɣ] except at the beginning of a word or in gemination or after *n*, where it stands for [g]; and *ġ* represents [j] everywhere except after *n*, where it represents [ɖʒ]. As for *ċġ*, it almost always represents [ɖʒ]; exceptions are noted below (§135c). Similarly, *sc* stands for [ʃ] (transcribed *sc̄* in this book), and only exceptionally does it stand for [sk] (transcribed *sc*): see §135d for details.

**19.** Every Old English vowel has both a short and a long variety, and the length difference is **phonemic**—that is, short and long vowels are as different as any two consonants, distinguishing, for example, the meaning of *ful* ‘full’ and *fūl* ‘vile’. The accents found in manuscripts are not a reliable indication of vowel length, though they are often suggestive; vowel length in this book is marked on the basis of what can be learned from poetic meter and from the subsequent history of the language. It is widely assumed that the only difference between long and short vowels in Old English was their length (see, e.g., Campbell 1977: §31 n. 2, but cf. Hogg 1992: §2.8), and that assumption is almost certainly correct. Yet generations of handbooks have recommended that the short vowels [e, i, o, u, ʏ] be pronounced lax, as in Modern English—that is, as [ɛ, ɪ, ɔ, ʊ, ʏ], respectively. Thus, for example, for *settan* ‘set’ the pronunciation [set:an], rather than [set:an], has long been recommended, and for *riden* ‘ridden’, [riðen] rather than [riðen]. Given the difficulties that English speakers have producing tense vowels in such words, the lax ones are an acceptable substitute. It should be recognized, though, that lax vowels did occur in Old English: *a* and *e* had lax varieties before nasal consonants, as in *man(n)* [mɔn] (also spelt *mon(n)* in Early West Saxon, the dialect employed as the standard in this grammar) and *men(n)* [mɛn] (also sometimes spelt *mæn(n)*; see §§29, 111(c)). The spelling variation indicates that short vowels were normally tense when they did not stand before nasal consonants. (There is also some reason to believe that Old English vowels in general were lax before nasal consonants and otherwise tense: that is, it is probably also true that *i, y, u* represent [ɪ, ʏ, ʊ] before nasal consonants but otherwise [i, y, u]; and it may even be true that long vowels were lax before nasal consonants, although this has not been proved.) These probabilities obviously demand a complication of the vowel system, and along with the uncertainties involved, they provide sufficient reason for the handbooks to recommend pronunciations of the short vowels that more closely resemble Modern English vowels. The values of unstressed vowels are more difficult to specify. By the end of the Old English period all fully unstressed vowels were more or less interchangeable. For the

West Saxon dialect of the late ninth century (the standard used in this book) it is probably safest to assume that unstressed vowels were still distinct from one another. It may be that already by this time *e* represents [ə], and all other vowels have more or less their stressed values, but lax rather than tense. But if this is so, this [ə] was quite likely a true mid vowel, like German /ə/, as opposed to the noticeably lower English /ə/, and in that event English speakers can best approximate it by pronouncing it as unstressed [ɛ]. Thus, the unstressed vowels of Alfredian Old English are more distinct than those of Modern English, and English speakers must make an effort not to reduce them all to [ə]. Only in the spelling combinations *el*, *er*, *en* and *ul*, *ur* (or *ol*, *or*), *un*, *um*, when these derive from syllabic resonants, is the vowel to be regarded as relatively indistinct, since such spellings probably do not represent vowel-plus-resonant combinations but syllabic consonants.

20. There is considerable scholarly disagreement about the value of Old English diphthongs. Some grammars prescribe [æə, eə, iə] for *ea*, *eo*, *ie*, respectively. At least for the latter two diphthongs this is not plausible, since Middle English evidence demonstrates that in the South and West they retained some degree of rounding. Moreover, since [ə] is not a glide in Modern English, these values give the unfortunate impression that these digraphs represent sequences of two vowels rather than diphthongs. (The difference is like that between pronouncing MnE *eye* normally, as one syllable, and pronouncing it as two, *ah-ee*.) In this grammar the values [æu, eu, iu] will be assumed for the short diphthongs and [æ:u, e:u, i:u] for the long—the latter of which series, if not their actual values in late Old English, are values they actually had at one stage in their development. Diphthongs, it should be noted, are usually found only in syllables bearing some degree of stress.

21. Sometimes the digraphs *ea* and *eo* do not actually represent diphthongs. For example, the words *sċeamian* ‘shame’ *ġeong* ‘young’, and *senġean* ‘sing’ represent [ʃɔmian], [jɔŋg], and [sɛndʒan]: here the silent letter *e* does not represent an actual sound but merely indicates that the preceding consonant is palatal. Such silent vowels will be underpointed in this book, as in *sċeamian*, *ġeong*, and *senġean*.

22. Most words are accented on the first syllable. There are two exceptions: (1) the prefix *ġe-* is never stressed, and the prefixes *be-* and *for-* almost never; (2) prefixes of verbs are unstressed, so that the primary stress falls on the root syllable, as in *āpénċan* ‘invent’, *underwrédian* ‘support’, and *ætspórnan* ‘stumble’ (cf. *áetspornung* ‘stumbling block’). When a verb is stressed on the prefix (and this is rare), as in *ándswarian* ‘reply’, it is because the verb is derived from a noun (cf. *ándswaru* ‘response’). Even names taken from Latin sources are almost always stressed on the first syllable: thus, although the second syllable is stressed in the Modern English equivalents of the name *Arcestratēs* (Lat. *Archistrates*) and *Samaritanisċ* ‘Samaritan’, and the third in *Apollonius*, in Old English they all

bear initial stress. Note that the prefix *ġe-* often has no discernible meaning, and so for the purpose of alphabetization in the Glossary it is ignored. The uses of *ġe-* are examined in §94. It should be noted that in addition to the stress borne by every word (**lexical stress**) there is **clausal stress**, which, just as in Modern English, is heaviest on words that convey the most meaning (nouns, adjectives, infinitives, participles, polysyllabic adverbs) and lightest on those that serve chiefly grammatical functions (prepositions, conjunctions, pronominal forms modifying nouns). Between the two categories lies a class of words that may or may not receive clausal stress, including pronouns, most short adverbs, and finite verbs (those that are inflected for person, number, etc., i.e. verb forms other than infinitives and participles).

**23.** Unstressed vowels are generally shortened. A half-stress falls on some middle and final syllables, for example the last in *unġeliefedliċ* ‘incredible’, which is stressed because it follows an unstressed syllable—hence the long vowel here, though the adjective suffix is short when, as usual, it is unstressed, as in *bōcliċ* ‘scholarly’. So also words that have stressed and unstressed forms, especially pronouns and prepositions, may have long or short vowels, depending on context. In accordance with convention, in this book the vowels in nearly all such words are marked long, though it should be assumed that in many instances the vowels are actually short: for example, in *sē mann* ‘that person’ the demonstrative *sē* bears a macron, though the vowel actually was almost certainly short under most circumstances. The preposition *bī* ‘about’ is an exception, since it is often spelt differently, as *be*, when it is unstressed. The practice of marking these unstressed vowels long avoids the confusion that can result from marking them alternately long and short; and in any case it is difficult to determine with assurance in all contexts whether words like these were or were not stressed. By convention also, the prefixes *ā-* and *tō-* are marked as containing long vowels, though they should actually have contained short vowels in verbs, where they are unstressed.

**24. Exercise.** Transcribe the following Old English words using IPA symbols. You may find it useful to look at the phonetic transcription at the end of Chapter II first. Words: *stānas*, *bryċġ*, *sang*, *ġiefan*, *ċēosað*, *mengan*, *ġeogud*, *ȳða*.

## CHAPTER II

### GRAMMATICAL GENDER • CASE FUNCTIONS

#### MASCULINE *a*-STEMS

#### ANGLO-FRISIAN BRIGHTENING AND RESTORATION OF *a*

25. Old English nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are **declined**; that is, they have grammatical endings, or **inflections**, that vary in order to indicate different grammatical relations. Most of this variation has been lost in Modern English, but the modern language uses the plural inflection *-(e)s* and the possessive inflections *-s* and *-s'* for nouns, and the pronouns also vary to indicate grammatical relations, taking the forms *I, me, my, mine*, and so forth.

26. The declension of nouns varies by **gender**, and as in many of the Indo-European languages there are three genders in Old English, **masculine**, **feminine**, and **neuter** (the last term meaning 'neither' in Latin). Old English is unlike Modern English in regard to gender: Modern English nouns have **natural gender**, meaning that their gender is congruent with the sex of their referents, so that, with few exceptions, persons (and sometimes animals) take the pronoun *he* or *she*, whereas inanimate objects take *it*. Old English nouns, on the other hand, have **grammatical gender**, meaning that the gender of a noun cannot be predicted from the sex of its referent: OE *wer* 'man' is masculine and *riče* 'kingdom' is neuter, but *wif* 'woman' and *mægden* 'girl' are both neuter, *wifmann* 'female' is masculine, *wæpnedcynn* 'the male sex' is neuter, and *dugup* 'warriors' and *fierd* 'army, home defense' are feminine. As regards gender, the rules of **agreement**, like most Old English syntactic rules, tolerate many exceptions. The gender of a pronoun very often agrees with that of its antecedent, but very often, too, natural gender will prevail, so that, for example, a pronoun referring back to *cild* 'child' (neut.) might be neuter, but it might also be masculine or feminine, depending on the sex of the child. In regard to gender, Old English was clearly a language in transition, already in the process of discarding the ancient system of grammatical gender, which still characterizes most present-day Indo-European languages, in favor of the Modern English system of natural gender.

27. Old English has five declensional cases:

The **nominative** is the case of the subject of the sentence. It is used additionally for a subjective complement (or "predicate nominative"), as in *Þæt wæs gōd cyning!* 'That was **a good king!**' (Beo 11). As Old English has no separate vocative case, the nominative is also used in direct address, as in *Hwæt sægst þū, ierpling?* 'What do you say, **farmer?**' (ÆColl 22).

The **accusative** is the usual case of the direct object of the verb, as in *Sē cyning ġeaf þone eorldōm Tostige Godwines sunu eorles* 'The king gave **the earldom** to Tostig, son of Earl Godwine' (ChronE 1055). It is also used adverbially to express duration or extent, as in *Lā, hū ic lufode æ þine. Eallne dæg*

*smēaung mīn* is ‘Oh, how I have loved your law! It is my preoccupation **all day**’ (PsGII [Lindelöf] 118.97). Another example is *Nelle ic beorges weard oferflēon fōtes trem* ‘I shall not flee from the barrow’s inhabitant a foot’s **pace**’ (Beo 2524). The accusative case is usual or common after many prepositions, including *geond* ‘throughout’, *onforan* ‘in front of’, *þurh* ‘through’, and *wīper* ‘against’.

The **genitive** expresses possession, as in the sentence *Bæt wæs innweorud Earmannricēs* ‘That was **Eormannric’s** court’ (Wid 111). In Modern English we can say either “Eormannric’s court” or “the court of Eormannric,” but Old English has no construction comparable to the latter: in a phrase such as *sum wer of Scotta þēode* ‘a certain man of the nation of the Irish’ (Bede 4, 25.350.5), the literal meaning of *of* is ‘from’. Thus, the expression *ān heora* means ‘one of them’ and is an example of a **partitive genitive**. There is also an **objective genitive**, as in *metodes ege* ‘fear of the Lord’ (because the Lord is the object of one’s fear), as opposed to the possessive, **subjective genitive** (e.g., Earmannric possesses his court). As in Modern English, possessives are sometimes used in an adjectival or adverbial function, as in *Sum wæs æhtwelig æpeles cynnes rīce gērēfa* ‘There was a certain wealthy, powerful senator **of noble family**’ (Jul 18) and *wīges heard* ‘firm **in battle**’ (And 839). The genitive is also used adverbially in constructions like *nihtes* ‘by night’, *unwilles* ‘unwillingly’, and *his wegēs* ‘on his way’, and in such very common expressions as *ealles* ‘completely’, *nealles* ‘not at all’, *elles* ‘else’, and *þæs* ‘after that, to such an extent’. The genitive case is used with a small number of prepositions, including *utan* ‘outside of’ and *wið* ‘toward’.

The **dative** is the case of the indirect object, the receiver of the direct object, as in *ond sende him micla giefra* ‘and sent **him** great gifts’ (ChronA 885). The dative may also express possession, most commonly with parts of the body or attributes, as in *swylce mē wære sē hrycg forbrocen* ‘as if **my** back were broken’ (Ps 31.4) and *Hyge wæs him hinfūs* ‘**His** thoughts were on getting away’ (Beo 755). It is sometimes used in comparisons, as in *mærra eallum gescēaftum* ‘more glorious than all creation’ (CP 41.301.12). The dative is frequently used adverbially, as in *þrim dagum* ‘for three days’, *niede* ‘by necessity’, and *lýtle* ‘somewhat’. Very many prepositions take the dative case, including *æt* ‘at’, *of* ‘from’, and *tō* ‘for, to’.

The **instrumental** case is moribund in Old English, most of the case forms being indistinguishable from dative ones. After the earliest texts, discrete instrumental inflections survive only in the masculine and neuter singular of some pronouns and adjectives, and thus, in most declensional categories it is convenient to treat the dative and instrumental as one case. The instrumental expresses means, as in *Scealt nū dædum rōf, wēling ānhȳdiġ, ealle mægene feorh ealgian* ‘Determined prince, renowned for your deeds, you must now protect your life **with all your strength**’ (Beo 2666), or accompaniment, as in *getrume micla* ‘with a large entourage’ (Beo 922). But it is most commonly encountered in the demonstrative *þȳ* or *þon*, used in comparatives, as in *Cyning wæs þȳ bliðra* ‘The king was the happier’ (Ele 96), in set expressions like *þȳ læs* ‘lest’, and as a conjunction, as in *þȳ hē wiste gearwe* ‘because he knew very well’ (GenA 2626).

28. The following are paradigms of strong masculine nouns of the commonest class, called **a-stems** because in Proto-Germanic the stem ended in a characteristic *-a-* before the inflection was added: for example, nom. sg. *stān* ‘stone’ derives from PGmc. *\*staina-z*. This is the commonest class of noun in Old English. The examples are *sē stān*, *sē dæg* ‘the day’, and *sē engel* ‘the angel’.

## Singular

Nom.	<b>sē stān</b>	<b>dæg</b>	<b>engel</b>
Acc.	<b>þone stān</b>	<b>dæg</b>	<b>engel</b>
Gen.	<b>þæs stānes</b>	<b>dægēs</b>	<b>engles</b>
Dat.	<b>þām (þām) stāne</b>	<b>dæge</b>	<b>engle</b>
Instr.	<b>þȳ (þon, þē) stāne</b>	<b>dæge</b>	<b>engle</b>

## Plural

Nom., Acc.	<b>þā stānas</b>	<b>dagas</b>	<b>englas</b>
Gen.	<b>þāra stāna</b>	<b>daga</b>	<b>engla</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>þām (þām) stānum</b>	<b>dagum</b>	<b>englum</b>

Note once again that the dative and instrumental of nouns are indistinguishable, and in demonstratives they are differentiated only in the singular. Note, too, that in the paradigm of *engel* the vowel of the second syllable is lost when a third syllable is added. The cause of this is **syncope**, as explained below in §33.

29. At some point in the prehistory of Old English, short *a* became nasalized before a nasal consonant (*m*, *n*), and the resulting sound in stressed syllables is spelt either *a* or *o* in Early West Saxon, as in *mann* beside *monn* ‘person’. (In the Glossary, the spelling with *a* is used in all such words; in the readings in the first few chapters of this book, both spellings will be found.) In unstressed syllables there is no alternation: the spelling *a* is used. In all other environments (that is, wherever it had not become nasalized *ā*), *a* was fronted to *æ*, a process sometimes referred to as **Anglo-Frisian brightening** because its results are found in both English and Frisian, the language most closely related to English. Hence OE *dæg*, *fæst* ‘firm’ = OHG *tag*, *fast-*, OIcel. *dagr*, *fastr*. The change of *a* to *æ* was later reversed, however (though still in prehistoric times), in a process referred to as **restoration of *a***, under two conditions:

(a) when *w* followed immediately, as in *gesawen* ‘seen’ and *awel* ‘hook’. This change took place because *w* is a back consonant, and the transition between front *æ* and back *w* is more difficult to articulate than that between *a* and *w*;

(b) when a back vowel (*a*, *o*, *u*) followed in the next syllable. This explains the alternation between *a* and *æ* in the paradigm of *dæg*. Restoration of *a* did not take place, however, in **closed syllables** (i.e. when the vowel was followed by two or more consonants), hence dat. pl. *cræftum* ‘skills’ beside *dagum*. Note that a

similar, though considerably less regular, alternation affects the West Saxon vowel *æ*: compare nom. sg. *mæg* 'kinsman' to nom. pl. *māgas*, etc.

**30. Exercise.** Apply the just-described rules governing the development of *a* to the following Prehistoric Old English (PrOE) forms and show how they would be written in Early West Saxon: \**water*, \**sang*, \**paþ*, \**faran*, \**aftan*, \**sadol*, \**wamm*, \**lat*, \**baþ*, \**baþu*, \**fastum*, \**campian*, \**fader*.

**31. Exercise.** For each of the following masculine *a*-stem nouns, give the case-form requested, including the demonstrative: *sē weall* 'the wall' (gen. sg.), *sē scield* 'the shield' (dat. sg.), *sē corn* 'the grain' (acc. sg.), *sē camp* 'the battle' (acc. pl.), *sē ford* 'the ford' (dat. pl.), *sē gnæt* 'the gnat' (gen. pl.), *sē hwæl* 'the whale' (nom. pl.), *sē hæft* 'the captive' (dat. pl.).

### READING

This account of Æthelwold's reforms (on which see §3 above) is based on the entry for the year 963 in the Peterborough Chronicle. The vocabulary may be located in the Glossary at the end of the book. Following the reading is a list of forms that you have not yet learned to analyze, in the order in which they appear in the reading selection. On the normalization of the spelling of this and subsequent readings to Early West Saxon standards, see §5.

On Eadgāres dagum, Engla cyninges, wearð Æðelwold tō þām bīscophāde ġecoren on Wintan ċeastre, and hine ġehālgode Dunstān sē ærċebīscop on Cantwara byrg on þone sunnandæg sē wæs þæs hālgan Andrēas mæsseæfenn. Sōna ongonn sē bīscop Æpelwold þā clericas fram þām bīscoprīce ūt ādrīfan, forþām þe hie noldon nānne regol healdan, ond hē sette munucas þær on heora stede. Siððan cōm hē tō þām cyninge ond bād hine þæt hē sċolde him ġiefan ealle þā mynsteru þe ær tōbrocene wæron fram þām hāðenum. Ond sē cyning liefde þām bīscope þæt, ond sōna ongonn hē þāra munuca ġetimbru ġeedstaðol-ian ond Godes hūs mid mādum ġefyllan.

**wearð**, *became, was*, 3 sg. pret. of

**weorðan**

**ġecoren**, *chosen*, pass. part. of

**ċēosan**

**hine**, acc. sg. of **hē**

**ġehālgode**, 3 sg. pret. of **hālgian**

**sē**, here a relative pronoun *which*

**hālgan**, gen. sg. of **hāлга**

**Andrēas**, gen. sg.

**ongonn**, 3 sg. pret. of **onġinnan**

**hie**, nom. pl. of **hē**

**noldon** = **ne woldon**, 3 pl. pret.

of **ne willan**, *not wish, refuse*

**nānne**, acc. sg. masc. of **nān**

**sette**, 3 sg. pret. of **settan**

**heora**, gen. pl. of **hē**

**cōm**, 3 sg. pret. of **cuman**

**bād**, 3 sg. pret. of **biddan**

**sċolde**, 3 sg. pret. sj. of **sċulan**

**him**, dat. sg. of **hē**

**ealle**, acc. pl. neut. of **eall**

**mynsteru**, acc. pl. of **mynster**

**tōbrocene**, pass. part. of  
**tōbreca**n, nom. pl. neut.  
**wæron**, 3. pl. pret. of **bēon**

**liefde**, 3 sg. pret. of **liefan**  
**ġetimbru**, acc. pl. of **+timbre**

Here is a broad phonetic transcription of the passage. Lexical stress should be assumed to fall on the first syllable of words of more than one syllable unless it is otherwise marked here by the symbol ' indicating stress on the immediately following syllable. Vowels are assumed to be lax in syllables of lesser lexical or clausal stress, and before nasal consonants. This transcription is a conjecture; vowel qualities and quantities in particular are much disputed.

[ɔn æ:udga:res daɣum ɛŋgla kʏnɪŋes wæurθ æðəlwɔld to: θæ:m bɪʃpha:də  
je'korən ɔn wɪntantʃæustre ɔnd hɪnɛ je'ha:lyɔdɛ dʊnstɑn sɛ ærʃɛbɪʃp ɔn kɔntwɑrɑ  
byrj ɔn θɔnɛ sʊn:andæj sɛ wæs θæs ha:lyɑn ɔndre:ɑs mæs:ɛæ:vən so:nɑ ɔn'gɔn sɛ  
bɪʃp æðəlwɔld θɑ: klerɪkɑs frɔm θæ:m bɪʃpɪ:ʃfɛ u:t ɑ'dri:vɑn fɔr'θɑ:m θɛ hɪɛ  
nɔldɔn nɑ:nɛ reɣl hæuldan ɔnd he: set:ɛ mʊnʊkɑs θæ:r ɔn heura stede sɪθ:ɑn  
ko:m he: to: θæ:m kʏnɪŋɛ ɔnd bæ:d hɪnɛ θæt he: ʃɔldɛ hɪm ʃiuvɑn æul:ɛ θɑ:  
mɪnstəʊ θɛ æ:r tɔ'brɔkənɛ wæ:rɔn frɔm θɑ:m hæ:ðənuɔm ɔnd sɛ kʏnɪŋ læ:vde  
θæ:m bɪʃpɛ θæt ɔnd so:nɑ ɔn'gɔn he: θɑ:rɑ mʊnʊkɑ je'tɪmbɹʊ je'edstɑðɔljɑn ɔnd  
godes hu:s mɪd mɑ:ðmʊm je'fɪl:ɑn]

## CHAPTER III

### NEUTER *a*-STEMS • USES OF DEMONSTRATIVES DUAL-CASE PREPOSITIONS • STRONG AND WEAK VERBS FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

32. Neuter *a*-stems bear a resemblance to their masculine counterparts in declension. Examples are *þæt scīp* ‘the ship’, *þæt fæt* ‘the vessel’, *þæt wif* ‘the woman’, and *þæt hēafod* ‘the head’:

Singular				
Nom., Acc.	<b>þæt scīp</b>	<b>fæt</b>	<b>wif</b>	<b>hēafod</b>
Gen.	<b>þæs scīpes</b>	<b>fætes</b>	<b>wifes</b>	<b>hēafdes</b>
Dat.	<b>þæm (þām) scīpe</b>	<b>fæte</b>	<b>wife</b>	<b>hēafde</b>
Instr.	<b>þȳ (þon, þē) scīpe</b>	<b>fæte</b>	<b>wife</b>	<b>hēafde</b>
Plural				
Nom., Acc.	<b>þā scīpu</b>	<b>fatu</b>	<b>wif</b>	<b>hēafdu, hēafod</b>
Gen.	<b>þāra scīpa</b>	<b>fata</b>	<b>wifa</b>	<b>hēafda</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>þæm (þām) scīpum</b>	<b>fatum</b>	<b>wifum</b>	<b>hēafdum</b>

As with all neuters, there is no inflectional difference between the nominative and the accusative. In the nom.-acc. plural, the ending is *-u* (often *-a* in LWS) after light syllables, but this *-u* is lost after heavy ones. (A **light syllable** contains a short vowel or short diphthong followed by one consonant, as in *scīpum*; a **heavy syllable** contains a long vowel or long diphthong or is closed by two or more consonants, as in *wifum*, *hēafod*, and *wordum* ‘words’.) Hence there is *-u* in the plural of neuters like *hof* ‘dwelling’ and *gēoc* ‘yoke’, but not those like *gēar* ‘year’, *sweord* ‘sword’, and *bearn* ‘child’. The type *hēafdu*, *hēafod* in the plural is much disrupted by analogy, but where *-u* is preserved it may be attributed to the fact that the prehistoric form was *\*hēafudu*, and thus it ended in a light syllable followed by a light syllable. Final *-u*, when it is not lost, sometimes appears as *-o*.

33. The process by which vowels like this *-u* were lost after heavy syllables is referred to as **apocope**. Similarly, in prehistoric Old English, some vowels were lost not just at the ends of words but also in middle syllables after heavy syllables, and this explains why a vowel appears in nom. *enġel* and *hēafod* that disappears in gen. *enġles* and *hēafdes*. This process was referred to above (§28) as **syncope**. Occasionally there are to be found forms like gen. *hēafodes* rather than usual *hēafdes*, but these are due to an analogical process: the stem-form *hēafod* found in the nominative was extended analogically, replacing the stem-form *hēafd-* in the inflected cases—the same way, for example, many Americans pronounce

*bottling* as three syllables, though the *OED* prescribes two: those who use three have analogically substituted the pronunciation of the uninflected stem *bottle*. Syncope in Old English does not normally take place after a light syllable; hence, masc. *eofor* ‘boar’ and *werod* ‘troop’ take the forms *eofores* and *werodes* in the genitive. However, alternations like those caused by syncope are to be found even in some disyllabic stems with light syllables, as with *fugol* ‘bird’, gen. *fugles*. The explanation is that the nominative form in Proto-Germanic was *\*fuglaz*, and when the ending *\*-az* was lost, the word was reduced to one syllable—the way it is still pronounced in some Scandinavian languages (cf. MnIcel. *fugl*). In West Germanic, though, the final *-l* came to be **syllabic**—that is, it was pronounced as a separate syllable, like *-le* in MnE *bottle*, spelt *-ol* or *-el* in Old English. Hence we find a disyllabic stem only in the cases in which *-l* came to be final by the loss of endings. Naturally, only stems that end in consonants capable of becoming syllabic (*l*, *r*, *n*, rarely *m*) will show this alternation. In short, stems like *engel* and *hēafod* with heavy initial syllables will show stem alternations in the paradigm, due to syncope; alternations in similar stems with light initial syllables are harder to predict. Apocope and syncope are explained in greater detail in §137.

**34. Exercise.** For each of the following neuter *a*-stem nouns, give the case-form requested, including the demonstrative: *þæt sweord* ‘the sword’ (nom. pl.), *þæt god* ‘the god’ (acc. pl.), *þæt wif* ‘the woman’ (instr. sg.), *þæt bæþ* ‘the bath’ (acc. pl.), *þæt nieten* ‘the beast’ (gen. pl.); *þæt bēacen* ‘the sign’ (gen. sg.).

**35.** Note that the demonstrative pronoun *þæt* is usually best translated “the” rather than “that”; and yet “that” is sometimes more appropriate, as the word is a demonstrative pronoun, not identical to the Modern English definite article. (Neither is there an indefinite article. When *ān* and *sum* resemble articles, they are usually best rendered ‘a certain’.) Just like the Modern English demonstratives *this* and *that*, these Old English demonstratives may serve as determiners, modifying nouns as in the paradigm above, or they may stand on their own as pronouns, for example in *Sē wæs betere þonne ic!* ‘He was better than I!’ (Beo 469). These demonstratives may also be used as relative pronouns, as in *his āncenneda sunu*, *þurh þone hē ġesċeöp ealle ġesċeafta* ‘his only-begotten son, through **whom** he created all creatures’ (ÆHom 1.73) and *ūre unclānan ġepōhtas and weorc*, *ðā wē sċeolon simle ācwellan* ‘our unclean thoughts and deeds, **which** we should always suppress’ (ÆCHom 1, 138.28). More commonly, however, either a demonstrative is used in conjunction with the indeclinable relative particle *þe*, or *þe* is used alone. Examples are, respectively, *þurh þone ðe syndon ealle þing ġesċeapene* ‘through **whom** all things are created’ (ÆHom 1.170) and *from his āgnum brēþer Alexandre*, *þe Læcedēmonia riċe þā hæfde* ‘by his own brother Alexander, **who** then held the kingdom of Sparta’ (Or 3.7 [Bately] 61.13). Instead of the demonstrative, a personal pronoun may be used, as in *Ēadig byð sē wer*, *þe his tōhopa byð tō swylcum drihtne* ‘Blessed is the man **whose** hope is in such a lord’ (PPs 39.4), though this type is rare. Either the relative

pronoun may agree with its antecedent in case or it may assume the case of its function within the relative clause. Thus, in *healsbēaga mǣst þāra þe ic on foldan gefrægen hæbbe* ‘the greatest of neck-ornaments that I have heard of on earth’ (Beo 1195), *þāra* (gen. pl.) agrees with its antecedent *healsbēaga* in regard to case, even though its referent is the direct object in the relative clause, whereas in *riče randwiga, þone þe hē on ræste ābrēat* ‘a powerful shield-warrior whom she destroyed in his sleep’ (Beo 1298), the antecedent *randwiga* is nominative, but *þone* is accusative, serving as the direct object in the relative clause. Note that a demonstrative may even stand for both a relative pronoun and its pronominal antecedent, as in *Nis nāht þæt hū sægst* ‘It is not at all **that which** you say’ (ApT 6.27). Inclusion of the antecedent is especially frequent with pronouns and adverbs beginning in *hw-*, e.g. *hwonne hē mōste þēr bēon* ‘**for the time that** he was permitted to be there’ (cf. HomU 37 [Nap 46] 33).

36. As in many Indo-European languages, several prepositions may take more than one case in objects they govern, and for the most part the case is determined on a principled basis, according to whether the object is in motion (in which event the accusative is used) or at rest (in which event the dative): compare *ðonne hie hweorfað in þā hālgan burg* ‘when they come **into that holy city** [acc.]’ (GuthA 812) and *þēr wit wilna ā in ðære beorhtan byrg brūcan mōton* ‘where we may forever enjoy our hearts’ desires **in that bright city** [dat.]’ (GuthB 1190). The relevant prepositions are *beforan* ‘before’, *behindan* ‘behind’, *binnan* ‘within’, *bufan* ‘above’, *gemang* ‘among’, *in* ‘in, into’, *innan* ‘in, within’, *ofer* ‘over, across’, *on* ‘in, on, into’, *under* ‘under’, *uppan* ‘upon, on’, and *wipūtan* ‘outside’. They are obelized in the Glossary. It should also be noted that Old English prepositions may follow their objects (and are thus called **postpositive**), as in expressions like *him tō* ‘to him’ and *goldburgum in* ‘in golden towns’; and especially in verse, postpositive prepositions may be separated from their objects, as in *swā ic þē wēne tō* ‘as I expect of you’ (Beo 1396). Prepositions may also lack an overt object, for which one must be supplied in translation, as with *þēah ðe hē tō genēadod wære* ‘though she was compelled to [it]’ (ApT 3.19).

37. In Modern English, grammarians distinguish between **regular and irregular verbs**, the former forming the past tense and the passive participle by the addition of *-ed*, the latter by any other means. A similar but not identical distinction obtains in Old English between **weak and strong verbs**. Strong verbs add no suffix for tense (only person and number), but alternations in their root vowels (as with OE *singan*, *sang*, *sungen* = MnE *sing*, *sang*, *sung*) are used to distinguish the tenses and the passive participle. Such vowel alternations are known as **ablaut**. Weak verbs, on the other hand, take a suffix in the preterite and passive participle containing a dental consonant *d* or *t*, which may or may not be accompanied by certain changes to the stem. In the preterite, this suffix takes one of several forms, *-d-*, *-ed-*, *-t-*, or *-od-*, and to these are added endings indicating person and number. Thus, the preterite plural of *hieran* ‘hear’ is

*hīerdon*, in which *-d-* is the sign of the preterite and *-on* indicates that the verb agrees with a plural subject. Passive participles receive the same dental suffixes, and to these may be added some of the same endings found on adjectives. These different types of verbs will be studied in detail in the following chapters, but in the meantime it may be useful to list the preterite endings of weak verbs, added after the dental suffix to indicate person and number:

Sing.	1. <b>-e</b>	Pl.	1. <b>-on</b>
	2. <b>-est</b>		2. <b>-on</b>
	3. <b>-e</b>		3. <b>-on</b>

Note that in all verb classes and in each tense, Old English has one inflection for all forms of the plural. The difference between the second person singular and plural is one of actual number; the use of the plural for formal address, as in most European languages (cf. French *tu, vous*, German *du, Sie*, Spanish *tú, usted*) and in some later stages of English, is unknown in Old English.

**38.** The first and second person pronouns (*iċ* and *þū*, respectively) are declined in three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. These are the only words in Old English in which the ancient Indo-European category of dual number is preserved. In the accusative, the second, alternative form is found only in poetry and in some Anglian texts:

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Nom.	<b>iċ</b>	<b>wit</b>	<b>wē</b>	<b>þū</b>	<b>ġit</b>	<b>ġē</b>
Acc.	<b>mē, meċ</b>	<b>unc, unعت</b>	<b>ūs, ūsiċ</b>	<b>þē, þec</b>	<b>inċ, incit</b>	<b>ēow, ēowic</b>
Gen.	<b>mīn</b>	<b>uncer</b>	<b>ūre, ūser</b>	<b>þīn</b>	<b>inċer</b>	<b>ēower</b>
Dat.	<b>mē</b>	<b>unc</b>	<b>ūs</b>	<b>þē</b>	<b>inċ</b>	<b>ēow</b>

#### READING

Luke 18:10–14

Twēgen menn fērdon tō sumum temple þæt hie hie ġebæden, ān sundorhālga and oðer mǎnfull. Ðā stōd sē Farisēus and hine þus ġebæd: “God, þē iċ þoncas dō, forþām þe iċ neom swylċe oðre menn: rēaferas, unrihtwīse, unrihtthāmeras, oððe ēac swylċe þēs mǎnfulla. Iċ fæste tuwa on wucan; iċ selle tēopunga ealles þæs þe iċ hæbbe.” Ðā stōd sē mǎnfulla feorran ond nolde furðum his ēagan āhebban upp tō þām heofone, ac hē bēot his brēost and cwæp, “God, bēo þū milde mē synfullum.” Sōðlice iċ ēow secge þæt þēs fērde ġerihhtwīsoð tō his hūse, forþām þe ælc þe hine upp āhefð bið ġeniðerod, ond sē þe hine niðerað bið upp āhafen.

**menn**, nom. pl. of **mann**  
**fērdon**, pret. pl. of **fēran**  
**gebāden**, *might pray*, pret. pl. sj.  
     of **biddan**  
**stōd**, 3 sg. pret. of **standan**  
**gebæd**, 3 sg. pret. of **biddan**  
**þoncas** = **þancas**  
**dō**, 1 sg. pres. of **dōn**  
**neom** = **ne** + **eom**, 1 sg. pres. of  
     **bēon**  
**ōðre**, nom. pl. of **ōðer**  
**unrihtwīse**, nom. pl. of  
     **unrihtwīs**  
**fæste**, 1 sg. pres. of **fæstan**  
**wucan**, dat. sg. of **wicu**, **wucu**  
**selle**, 1 sg. pres. of **sellan**  
**tēoþunga**, acc. sg. of **tēoþung**

**hæbbe**, 1 sg. pres. of **habban**  
**ēagan**, acc. pl. of **ēage**  
**bēot**, 3 sg. pret. of **bēatan**  
**cwæþ**, 3 sg. pret. of **cweðan**  
**bēo**, imp. of **bēon**  
**secġe**, 1 sg. pres. of **secġan**  
**fērde**, 3 sg. pret. of **fēran**  
**ġerihtwīsod**, pass. part. of  
     **rihtwīsian**, nom. sg.  
**āhefð**, 3 sg. pres. of **āhebban**  
**bið**, 3 sg. fut. of **bēon**  
**ġeniðerod**, pass. part. of  
     **niðerian**, nom. sg.  
**niðerað**, 3 sg. pres. of **niðerian**  
**āhafen**, pass. part. of **āhebban**,  
     nom. sg.

## CHAPTER IV

### ō-STEMS • THIRD PERSON AND REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS VERBAL RECTION • SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

39. The *ō*-stems are all feminine, and this is the commonest class of feminine nouns. Examples are *sēo ġiefu* ‘the gift’, *sēo ofer-mēttu* ‘pride’, *sēo lār* ‘learning’, and *sēo frōfor* ‘solace’:

	Singular			
Nom.	<b>sēo ġiefu</b>	<b>ofermēttu</b>	<b>lār</b>	<b>frōfor</b>
Acc.	<b>þā ġiefe</b>	<b>ofermētte</b>	<b>lāre</b>	<b>frōfre</b>
Gen.	<b>þære ġiefe</b>	<b>ofermētte</b>	<b>lāre</b>	<b>frōfre</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>þære ġiefe</b>	<b>ofermētte</b>	<b>lāre</b>	<b>frōfre</b>
	Plural			
Nom., Acc.	<b>þā ġiefa, -e</b>	<b>ofermētta, -e</b>	<b>lāra, -e</b>	<b>frōfra, -e</b>
Gen.	<b>þāra ġiefa, -ena</b>	<b>ofermētta</b>	<b>lāra</b>	<b>frōfra</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>þæm (þām) ġiefum</b>	<b>ofermēttum</b>	<b>lārum</b>	<b>frōfrum</b>

Again, *-u* (rarely *-o*) is preserved after a light stem in nom. *ġiefu* but lost after a heavy one in *lār*. This *-u* is preserved in *ofermēttu* because this derives from *\*ōbar-mōd-iþu*, in which *-u* follows a light syllable; *frōfor*, on the other hand, is like *fugol* (§33): *-or* derives from an originally nonsyllabic consonant, and the reconstructed form nom. *\*frōbru* shows that *-u* never followed a light syllable. (The sound represented by *þ* is a voiced bilabial fricative [β], similar to [v] but formed only with the lips, without the aid of the teeth.) Thus, *-u* was lost, and *-r* became syllabic. The only other peculiarity of these paradigms is that the genitive plural ending may be either *-a* or *-ena*, though the latter is rare after heavy stems.

40. **Exercise.** For each of the following *ō*-stem nouns, give the case-form requested, including the demonstrative: *sēo sōlu* ‘the troop’ (dat. sg.); *sēo sorg* ‘the sorrow’ (dat. pl.); *sēo lāf* ‘the remainder’ (gen. sg.); *sēo ċeaster* ‘the town’ (acc. pl.); *sēo lufu* ‘the love’ (gen. pl.).

41. The demonstrative pronoun *sē* may often be translated ‘the’, but it is not exactly equivalent to a definite article. Often it is best rendered ‘this’ or ‘that’, and occasionally it is not to be translated at all, as with *sēo lār* ‘learning’ and *þone ġefēan* ‘joy’. Now that we have seen all its forms, it may be useful to summarize the declension of the demonstrative pronoun *sē*:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Pl.
Nom.	sē	sēo	þæt	þā
Acc.	þone	þā	þæt	þā
Gen.	þæs	þære	þæs	þāra, þæra
Dat.	þæm, þām	þære	þæm, þām	þæm, þām
Instr.	þon, þȳ, þē	þære	þon, þȳ, þē	þæm, þām

The forms of the third person pronoun ‘he, she, it’ are quite similar to these, showing mostly the same endings:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Pl.
Nom.	hē	hēo	hit	hie, hī, hēo
Acc.	hine, hiene	hie, hī	hit	hie, hī, hēo
Gen.	his	hire, hierie	his	hira, heora
Dat.	him	hire, hierie	him	him, heom

(The forms separated by commas represent alternate spellings only, not different genders.) These pronouns may also be used in a reflexive sense, since many verbs permit or demand a reflexive object that may or may not require translation. Examples are *Þā bewende Nērō hine tō Paulum* ‘Then Nero turned (himself) to Paul’ (ÆCHomI 26, 378.8) and *þā under þæm þā bestæl hē hine on niht on weġ* ‘Then in the meantime he stole away by night’ (ChronA 901.12). Other personal pronouns of course may also be used reflexively: examples are *On þisne hēahengēl wē sculon ġelyfan and biddan ūs on fultum* ‘In this archangel we ought to believe and pray for help (for ourselves)’ (LS 24 [MichaelTristr] 21) and *List þū and rest þē?* ‘Are you lying down and resting (yourself)?’ (ÆLS[Martin]1151).

**42. Exercise.** Substitute the correct form of the Old English third person pronoun for each boldface noun phrase, using natural gender: 1. **The abbeſs** gave **the prieſt** a beſſing. 2. **King Burgred** offered **the queen’s** ſervant **golden rings**. 3. **The Vikings** ſeized the land **of the Engliſh**.

**43.** Although the accusative is the uſual caſe for the direct object, ſome verbs take the dative or genitive in what might be perceived as normally an accuſative function. Examples are *unēaðe mehte ær æniġ þæm Gallium oðflēon* ‘only with difficulty had any been able to flee the Gauls (dat.)’ (Or 2.8 [Bately] 52.34), *Brūc þiſſes bēages* ‘Enjoy this neck-ring (gen.)’ (Beo 1216), and *Donne hȳ him . . . tō ēow ārna bædun* ‘Whenever they requested of you (tō + dat.) compaſſion (gen.) for themſelves (dat.)’ (ChrC 1351). The ſelection of caſes that a verb governs is called **verbal rection**; verbs that take objects in caſes other than the accuſative are marked in the Gloſſary.

**44.** In Modern Engliſh, the **ſubjunctive mood** is in the proceſs of diſappearing from the language. It ſurvives in juſt two typeſ of conſtructions, contrary-to-fact conditions (as in *I’d be careful if I were you*, with ſj. *were* rather than

indicative *was*) and *that*-clauses after certain volitional verbs (as in *They asked that she help*, with *sj. help* rather than *ind. helps*). Both types of clauses express nonfactual information, and this is the pattern as well in Old English, where the subjunctive is found in a much wider variety of clauses. It is capable of appearing in almost any sort of clause that does not state a fact or pose a question. An example is the following, in which the verb in the subjunctive is in boldface: *Ic wāt þæt gē wēnað þæt gē nān ġecundlic gōd nē ġesælpā oninnan ēow selfum næbben* ‘I know that you think that you have no natural good or happiness within yourselves’ (Bo 14.31.24.). Here the clause governed by *wāt* ‘know’, which expresses a fact, contains a verb in the indicative mood (*wēnað* ‘think’), whereas the clause governed by *wēnað*, which expresses an opinion, contains a verb in the subjunctive (*næbben* ‘do not have’). Note that the preterite subjunctive is timeless when it expresses unreal or unfulfilled conditions, with the result that the preterite is often used where we might expect a present, or even a future, as with *wāren* ‘be, remain’ in the following example: *Forðy ic wolde ðætte hie ealneġ æt ðære stōwe wāren* ‘Therefore I would prefer that they always remain at that place’ (CP 8.4).

45. Here are some of the constructions in which the subjunctive is normally used. As with most Old English syntactic regularities, you will encounter many exceptions to these patterns.

(a) The subjunctive is used in clauses headed by *þæt* when they are not statements of fact but commands, requests, suggestions, possibilities, examples of indirect speech (including indirect questions), and such. Examples, respectively: *And hēo hine þā monade and lārde þæt hē woruldhād **ānforlēte** and munuchād **onfēnge*** ‘And she then advised him and instructed that he give up his secular state and assume monastic orders’ (Bede 4, 25.344.30). *Ðā sōhte hē mē and bād mē þæt ic him **wære** forespreca* ‘Then he came to me and asked me that I be his advocate’ (Ch 1445 [HarmD 18] 5). *Forðy mē ðyncð betre, ġif ēow swā ðyncð, þæt wē ēac suma bēc . . . on þæt ġeþēode **wenden** þe wē ealle ġecnāwan **mægen*** ‘Therefore it seems better to me, if it seems so to you, that we also translate some books into that language that we can all understand’ (CP 1.6.6). *Forþon, men, ūs is swiþe miçel nīedðearf, þæt wē glēawlice **onġieten** þās scortnesse þisse worulde* ‘Therefore, people, we have great need that we clearly perceive the transitoriness of this world’ (HomM 14.2 [Healey] 128). *Þā sæġde hē him þæt þær fela þāra manna **wære*** ‘Then he told him that there were many of those people there’ (Or 2.3 [Bately] 41.7). *Þā ġefræġn hē hine and āscode, hwet him **wære** and forhwon hē swā **ġebærde*** ‘Then he questioned him and asked what was the matter with him and why he behaved so’ (Bede 4 26.352.23). But compare *And ic seġge ēow forþy þæt Godes riçe **bið** ēow ætbrogden* ‘And therefore I say to you that God’s kingdom will be withheld from you’ (ÆHom 2.35), where the *þæt*-clause is presented not as an opinion but as a fact, and so the verb *bið* is indicative.

(b) Clauses headed by *þæt* also take the subjunctive when *þæt* expresses purpose ('in order that'): cf. *tō þon þæt hie ēow on fultume bēon mōten* 'in order that they might be of help to you' (Or 1.10 [Bately] 31.8) and *Pūnice ġesetton eft þone ealdan Hannibalan þæt hē mid sċipum wīþ Rōmāne wunne* 'The Carthaginians recalled the elder Hannibal so that he might oppose the Romans with a fleet' (OrHead 6.4.9). The indicative, on the other hand, is normal in clauses of result ('with the result that'), as in *Wurdon swā mycele wæterflōd . . . þæt fornēah all þæt folc forwearð* 'So great a deluge arose that nearly the entire nation perished' (Or 1.6.24.32).

(c) The subjunctive expresses wishes and, less commonly, commands. *Gode ælmihtigum sie þonc þætte wē nū æniġne onstal habbað lārēowa* 'Thanks be to almighty God that we now have any supply of instructors' (CP 1.4.1). *Ne ġēēadmēde þū þē tō heora unrihtum godum* 'Do not humble yourself before their false gods' (Exod 34.14).

(d) In temporal clauses expressing hypothetical events, the subjunctive is normal. *Þā hāliġe martyraes swā mycel forsæġen þis andwearde lif, þæt heom lēofere wæs tō sweltanne for þæs hælendes namen ær þām þe hēo hine wiðsōcen* 'The holy martyrs so greatly despised this present life that it was preferable to them to die for the savior's name before they would remounce him' (ÆLS [Vincent] 1.3.35). *Oswold þā ārærde āne rōde sōna Gode tō weorðmynte ær þon þe hē tō þām ġewinne cōme* 'Oswald then immediately raised a cross to the glory of God before he went to battle' (ÆLS [Oswald] 17). Here the event has actually taken place in the past, but from the point of view of Oswald, going to battle is an event in the hypothetical future.

(e) Other sorts of hypothetical or impossible conditions also generally take the subjunctive, though clauses headed by *ġif* 'if' do not generally contain subjunctive verbs unless the condition is particularly abstract. Examples: *ġif ic ænegum þæġne þēodenmādmās ġeāra forgēafe . . . þonne hē mē nā on lēofran tid lēanum ne meahte mīne ġife ġyldan* 'If I gave any thegn lordly treasures in the past, then he could not repay me my gift with gifts in return at a better time [than now]' (GenB 409). *Him þæt tō longsumre wrace cōme, þær hie ðē raðor ġesēmed ne wurden* 'That would have amounted to long-lasting trouble for them if they had not soon been reconciled' (Or 2.4 [Bately] 41.17). *Swerian ne sċeal mon, þy læs mon forswerie* 'Oaths should not be sworn, lest they be broken' (BenR 4.17). Without the subjunctive: *wē sċeoldon ðeaðe sweltan ġif wē his onbyrigdon* 'we should die if we tasted it' (ÆCHom I, 1 183.132).

(f) The subjunctive is also normal in clauses of concession headed by *þeah* 'though' and in subordinate clauses dependent on primary clauses in the subjunctive. Examples, respectively: *Hē lāfde swā þeah ænne tō life, þeah þe hē ābite his ġebrōðra on ær* 'He (Saturn) nonetheless let one [of his sons] live, though he had eaten his brothers' (ÆHom 22.108); *Ġecnāwe sē þe cunne* 'Let him understand who can' (WHom 5.27).

The subjunctive endings are simple, and they are the same for present and preterite: the endings are simply *-e* in the singular and *-en* in the plural.

## READING

In this and the next few chapters, the readings will be from Gen. 18–19 in Ælfric's translation, beginning with Gen. 18:1–5. The text is based on the edition of Crawford (1922).

God þā ætiewde eft Ábrahame on þām dene Mambre, þær þær hē sæt on his ġeteldes ingonge on þære hætan þæs dæges. Ond Ábraham beseah upp and ġeseah þær ðrie weras stondende him ġehende. Mid þām ðe hē hie ġeseah, þā efste hē of þām ġetelde him tōġēanes and āstreahte hine tō eorþan, and cwæð, “Mīn Dryhten, ġif ðū mē æniges þinges tiðian wille, ne far þū fram ðīnum þēowan ær þon ðe ic fecce wæter and ēowre fēt āðwēa; and ġerestað ēow under ðissum trēowe, oð ðæt ic lecġe ēow hlāf ætforan, þæt ġē ēow ġereordien; and ġē farað siððan, forþy ġē ġecierdon tō ēowrum ðēowan.” Hie cwædon, “Dō swā þū spræce.”

**ætiewde**, 3 sg. pret. of **ætiewan**  
**sæt**, 3 sg. pret. of **sittan**  
**ingonge**, **ond** = **ingange**, and  
**hætan**, dat. sg. of **hæte**  
**beseah**, 3 sg. pret. of **besēon**  
**ġeseah**, 3 sg. pret. of **sēon**  
**ðrie**, acc. masc. of **þrie**  
**stondende**, act. part. of **standan**,  
 acc. pl.  
**mid þām ðe**, see **mid**  
**efste**, 3 sg. pret. of **efestan**  
**āstreahte**, 3 sg. pret. of **āstreccan**  
**eorþan**, dat. sg. of **eorþe**  
**wille**, sg. pres. sj. of **willan**  
**far**, imp. sg. of **faran**  
**þinum**, masc. dat. sg. of **þīn**

**þēowan**, dat. sg. of **þēowa**  
**fecce**, sg. pres. sj. of **fetian**  
**ēowre**, acc. pl. of **ēower**  
**fēt**, acc. pl. of **fōt**  
**āðwēa**, sg. pres. sj. of **āðwēan**  
**ġerestað**, imp. pl. of **restan**  
**þissum**, dat. sg. neut. of **þēs**  
**ēow**, acc. and dat. of **ġē**  
**lecġe**, sg. pres. sj. of **lecġan**  
**ġereordien**, pl. pres. sj. of  
**reordian**  
**farað**, pres. pl. of **faran**  
**ġecierdon**, pret. pl. of **cierran**  
**cwædon**, pret. pl. of **cweðan**  
**dō**, imp. sg. of **dōn**  
**spræce**, 2 sg. pret. of **sprecan**

## CHAPTER V

### WEAK NOUNS • TENSE AND ASPECT FORMS OF *bēon*

**46. Weak nouns** are also sometimes called ***n*-stems**, since the stem of the noun originally included a suffix containing *-n-* that, with the loss of Proto-Germanic inflections, came eventually to be the ending itself. For instance, nom. pl. *guman* ‘men’ reflects PGmc. *\*zum-an-ez*, from which the original nom. pl. inflection *\*-ez* has been lost. Typical of the class are masc. *sē guma*, fem. *sēo eorðe* ‘the ground’, and neut. *þæt ēage* ‘the eye’:

Singular			
Nom.	<b>guma</b>	<b>eorðe</b>	<b>ēage</b>
Acc.	<b>guman</b>	<b>eorðan</b>	<b>ēage</b>
Gen.	<b>guman</b>	<b>eorðan</b>	<b>ēagan</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>guman</b>	<b>eorðan</b>	<b>ēagan</b>
Plural			
Nom., Acc.	<b>guman</b>	<b>eorðan</b>	<b>ēagan</b>
Gen.	<b>gumena</b>	<b>eorðena</b>	<b>ēagena</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>gumum</b>	<b>eorðum</b>	<b>ēagum</b>

In the nominative singular, all masculine nouns that end in *-a* and all feminines that end in *-e* are weak. Masculine and feminine weak nouns are very frequent, but the only neuters in addition to *ēage* are *ēare* ‘ear’ and *wange* ‘cheek’, the latter of which may also be declined strong.

**47. Exercise.** Supply the correct case form of the demonstrative and the noun in parentheses: 1. Clouds obscured the sun (*sēo sunne*) and the moon (*sē mōna*) from the counsellors’ (*sē rædbora*) view. 2. The demons (*sē scucca*) were cast out by the prophet (*sē witega*, dat.). 3. The ladies (*sēo hlāfdige*) found the troublemaker (*sē āglāca*) in the church (*sēo cīrice*). 4. The sailors (*sē flota*) gave the fugitives (*sē flīema*) the cloaks (*sēo hacele*).

**48.** Old English verbs are conjugated in just two tenses, present and preterite. For all but one verb (see below) there is no future category. Occasionally you may see the verb *willan* used to form periphrastic constructions resembling the Modern English future formed with *will*; but the fundamental meaning of *willan* is ‘wish, intend’. The more usual meaning of *ic wille faran* is thus not ‘I will go’ but ‘I want to go’ or ‘I intend to go’. Usually there is no distinction between the present and the future: for example, pres. *ic rīde* can mean either ‘I ride’ or ‘I will ride’.

49. So also the aspectual categories of Old English are not the same as those of Modern English. There is a construction with *habban* ‘have’ plus past or passive participle that resembles the Modern English perfect and is usually best translated as such: thus, *iċ hæbbe ġehīered* means ‘I have heard’. (Note that in such constructions, intransitive verbs—that is, verbs that do not take a direct object—more commonly use *bēon* or *weorðan* than *habban*, as in *hē is ġerisen* ‘he has risen’.) However, just as frequently Old English uses the simple preterite where in Modern English we would use the present perfect, as in *þonne mōte wē þæt tō Gode earnian bet þonne wē ær þisum dydon* ‘then we could earn it from God better than we have done before this’ (WHom 20.2.13), where *dydon* ‘have done’ is a simple preterite. Moreover, the simple preterite may sometimes be translated not just as a present perfect but as a past perfect, as in *Hit ġelamp þā sōna swā hie ofslægene wēron, þæt micel liġet cōm ofer þām mǣnfullan hǣðenan* ‘It happened then, as soon as they had been killed, that a great flash of lightning fell on the wicked heathen’ (ÆLS [Julian & Basilissa] 422). Even the future perfect may offer the most precise translation for a present-tense construction or a future form of *bēon*, as in *þonne æfter þām þe þā mǣnfullan bēoð ġesċeƿene wēpende on that ȝe fȳr* ‘then after the wicked will have been shoved weeping into the eternal fire . . .’ (HomU 3 [Belf 12] 53). Where sequence of tenses is involved, the adverb *ær* ‘before’ is very often used in what in Modern English would be perfective constructions, and in such instances it is usually best to leave the adverb untranslated and to render the verb as a perfect (either present or past), as in *oft ær wæs manigfeald ȝhtness, nǣfre þēah þām ġeliċ þe æfter þisum ġiet bið* ‘often there has been abundant persecution, though never like that which will be after this’ (WHom 5.55) and *sē wæs þām biſcōpe cūð, forþon hē oft ær for hine cwōm ond his ǣlmessan fēng* ‘he was known to the bishop, because he had often come before him and received his alms’ (Bede 5, 2.388.15).

50. There is no precise equivalent to Modern English progressive constructions like *I am reading*, but many simple forms are best translated this way, as in *Ðeos worold is on ofste, and hit nēalācð þām ende* ‘This world is in haste, and it is approaching the end’ (WHom 20.1 2) and *þis cōm þā tō ēaran þām ǣdelborenan cnihte þe āwōgode Lūcīan* ‘This came to the ears of the well-born young man who was wooing Lucy’ (ÆLS [Lucy] 57). It is not unusual to find a form of *bēon* plus active participle in a construction that can be translated as a progressive, or which translates a form of Latin *esse* ‘be’ plus active participle, as with *Ðær wēron sume of ðām bōcerum sittende* ‘Some of the scribes were sitting there’ (Mk [WSCp] 2.6). Very often, though, the sense of such a construction is durative rather than progressive, as in *Ac hie simle feohtende wēron oþ hie ealle lāgon* ‘But they continued to fight until they all lay dead’ (ChronA 755). Note that the active participle is formed by removing *-an* from the infinitive (dictionary form) and replacing it with *-ende*; on the declension of such participles, see below, §55.

51. In sum, then, a simple present tense like *iċ rīde* may be translated a variety of ways, depending on context: it may be ‘I ride’ or ‘I will ride’ or ‘I am riding’ or ‘I will be riding’ or even ‘I will have ridden’. Similarly, a simple preterite like *iċ rād* may mean ‘I rode’ or ‘I was riding’ or ‘I have ridden’ or ‘I had ridden’ or ‘I have been riding’, ‘I would ride’, and so forth.

52. The verb **bēon** ‘be’ is the only one in Old English that has a formal future tense (**bēo**, **bist**, etc.). These forms may serve to indicate either futurity or consuetude (i.e. habituality), as in *Winter byð ċealdost* ‘winter is coldest’ (MaxII 5); this latter usage is said to be **gnomic**. The paradigm of the verb is formed from three different stems:

INDICATIVE			
	Present	Future	Preterite
Sg. 1.	<b>eom</b> , <i>am</i>	<b>bēo</b> , <i>will be</i>	<b>wæs</b> , <i>was</i>
2.	<b>eart</b>	<b>bist</b> , <i>byst</i>	<b>wære</b>
3.	<b>is</b>	<b>bið</b> , <i>byð</i>	<b>wæs</b>
Pl.	<b>sindon</b> , <i>sint</i>	<b>bēoð</b>	<b>wæron</b>
SUBJUNCTIVE			
Sg.	<b>sie</b>	<b>bēo</b>	<b>wære</b>
Pl.	<b>sien</b>	<b>bēon</b>	<b>wæren</b>

Imperative: **bēo** or **wes** (sg.); **bēoð** or **wesað** (pl.)

Infinitive: **bēon**, **wesan**

Participles: **wesende** or **bēonde** (pres.); **gebēon** (pass., rare)

53. **Exercise.** Supply the Old English equivalent of the italicized verb: 1. We *are* pleased at the number who *will be* present. 2. *Being* a child, you *were* unaware of the need *to be* cautious. 3. *Be* as quiet as if you *were* all mice.

#### READING

Gen. 18:6–16

Ābraham þā efste intō þām ġetelde tō Sarran, and cwæð hire tō, “Ġecned nū hrædlice þrie sestras smedman and wyrċ focan.” And hē arn him self tō his hrīpra falde and ġenam ān fætt ċealf and betæhte his cnapan, and sē cnapa hit mid ofste ofslōh and ġearcode. Ābraham ðā nam buteran and meolc and þæt flæsc mid heorðbacenum hlāfum and leġde him ætforan, and stōd him under þām trēowe wið hie. Mid þām ðe hie æton, þā cwædon hie him tō: “Hwær is þīn wīf Sarra?” Hē ondwyrd, “On þām ġetelde hēo is.” Hē cwæð him tō: “Ic cume

eft tō ðē on þisne tīman and ðīn wīf Sarra sceał habban sunu.” Sarra þā ġehierde ðās word binnan ðām ġetelde and hlōh diegollīce, ðus cweðende: “Siððan ic ealdode and mīn hlāford ġerīpod is, sceał ic nū ænīges lustes ġīeman?” Þā cwæð God tō Ābrahame: “Hwȳ hlōh Sarra ðīn wīf and cwæð, ‘Sceał ic nū, eald wīf, cennan?’ Cwest ðū, lā, is ænīġ þīng Gode earfoðe? Be þām ġecwedenan āndagan ic cume tō ðē, and Sarra hæfð sunu.” Ðā ætsōc Sarra: “Ne hlōh ic nā, ac ic wæs āfyrht.” God cwæð þā, “Nis hit nā swā, ac þū hlōge.” Ðā ārison þā ðrie was, and ðā þanon ēodon, swylce hie woldon tō ðære byrg Sodomā, and Ābraham ēode forð mid and lādde hie.

**efste**, 3. sg. pret. of **efestan**

**ġecned**, imp. sg. of **cnedan**

**wyrċ**, imp. sg. of **wyrċan**

**arn**, 3 sg. pret. of **irnan**

**ġenam**, 3 sg. pret. of **niman**

**betæhte**, 3 sg. pret. of **betæċan**

**ofslōh**, 3 sg. pret. of **ofslēan**

**ġearcode**, 3 sg. pret. of **ġearcian**

**lēġde**, 3 sg. pret. of **lēġgan**

**ætton**, pret. pl. of **etan**

**ondwyrde**, 3 sg. pret. of

**andwyrðan**

**He cwæð him tō**: The shift from plural to singular is found also in the Vulgate.

**cume**, 1 sg. pres. of **cuman**

**ðē**, dat. sg. of **þū**

**þisne**, acc. sg. masc. of **þēs**. The sense of the Vulgate, though difficult, is probably ‘a year from now’ (*tempore isto*, *vita comite* ‘at this time, with life a companion’; the corresponding Hebrew

means ‘according to the time of life’).

**sceał**, 3 sg. pres. of **sċulan**

**ġehierde**, 3 sg. pret. of **hieran**

**hlōh**, 3 sg. pret. of **hliehhan**

**cweðende**, act. part. of **cweðan**,  
nom. sg.

**ealdode**, 1 sg. pret. of **ealdian**

**ġerīpod**, pass. part. of **rīpian**,  
nom. sg. masc.

**cwest**, 2 sg. pres. of **cweðan**

**ġecwedenan**, pass. part. of  
**cweðan**, dat. sg.

**ætsōc**, 3 sg. pret. of **ætsacan**

**āfyrht**, pass. part. of **āfyrhtan**,  
nom. sg. fem.

**nis** = **ne is**

**hlōge**, 2 sg. pret. of **hliehhan**

**ārison**, pret. pl. of **ārisan**

**ēodon**, **ēode**, pret. pl., sg. of **gān**

**woldon**, pret. pl. of **willan**

**byrg**, dat. sg. of **burg**

**lādde**, 3 sg. pret. of **lāðan**

## CHAPTER VI

### STRONG AND WEAK ADJECTIVES • INFINITIVES

54. In the **strong declension of adjectives** there are slight differences between the endings of light- and heavy-stemmed forms, and so a paradigm will be given for each type. The examples are *blæc* ‘black’ and *hwīt* ‘white’:

#### LIGHT-STEMMED

Singular	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Endings		
Nom.	<b>blæc</b>	<b>blacu</b>	<b>blæc</b>	—	<b>-u</b>	—
Acc.	<b>blæcne</b>	<b>blace</b>	<b>blæc</b>	<b>-ne</b>	<b>-e</b>	—
Gen.	<b>blaces</b>	<b>blæcre</b>	<b>blaces</b>	<b>-es</b>	<b>-re</b>	<b>-es</b>
Dat.	<b>blacum</b>	<b>blæcre</b>	<b>blacum</b>	<b>-um</b>	<b>-re</b>	<b>-um</b>
Instr.	<b>blace</b>	<b>blæcre</b>	<b>blace</b>	<b>-e</b>	<b>-re</b>	<b>-e</b>

#### Plural

Nom., Acc.	<b>blace</b>	<b>blace, -a</b>	<b>blacu, -e</b>	<b>-e</b>	<b>-e, -a</b>	<b>-u, -e</b>
Gen.	<b>blæcra</b>	<b>blæcra</b>	<b>blæcra</b>	<b>-ra</b>	<b>-ra</b>	<b>-ra</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>blacum</b>	<b>blacum</b>	<b>blacum</b>	<b>-um</b>	<b>-um</b>	<b>-um</b>

Note that, as with pronouns, the masculine and neuter dative and instrumental singular have different endings, though in nouns the endings are always the same. The alternation between *æ* and *a* in the root syllable of this word is governed by the condition whether or not the root syllable is closed. (A closed syllable is one in which the vowel is followed by two consonants or by a word-final consonant: §29b.)

#### HEAVY-STEMMED

Singular	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Endings		
Nom.	<b>hwīt</b>	<b>hwīt</b>	<b>hwīt</b>	—	—	—
Acc.	<b>hwītne</b>	<b>hwīte</b>	<b>hwīt</b>	<b>-ne</b>	<b>-e</b>	—
Gen.	<b>hwītes</b>	<b>hwītre</b>	<b>hwītes</b>	<b>-es</b>	<b>-re</b>	<b>-es</b>
Dat.	<b>hwītum</b>	<b>hwītre</b>	<b>hwītum</b>	<b>-um</b>	<b>-re</b>	<b>-um</b>
Instr.	<b>hwīte</b>	<b>hwītre</b>	<b>hwīte</b>	<b>-e</b>	<b>-re</b>	<b>-e</b>

#### Plural

Nom., Acc.	<b>hwīte</b>	<b>hwīte, -a</b>	<b>hwīt, hwīte</b>	<b>-e</b>	<b>-e, -a</b>	<b>—, -e</b>
Gen.	<b>hwītra</b>	<b>hwītra</b>	<b>hwītra</b>	<b>-ra</b>	<b>-ra</b>	<b>-ra</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>hwītum</b>	<b>hwītum</b>	<b>hwītum</b>	<b>-um</b>	<b>-um</b>	<b>-um</b>

The only inflections that differ between the light and heavy stems are nom. sg. fem. *-u/—* and nom.-acc. pl. neut. *-u/—, -e*. Note that the strong endings of adjectives resemble an amalgam of *a-* and *ō-*stem noun endings with the endings found on pronouns. In the lists of endings given above, the pronominal endings are italicized; the rest are the same ones found on the strong nouns studied so far. (Over time, *-e* supplants all other endings in the nom.-acc. plural.) Disyllabic adjectives like *micel* 'large', *hālig* 'holy', and *āgen* 'own', and passive participles like *bunden* 'bound' and *dēmed* 'judged', etymologically should have syncope before most endings:

DISYLLABIC			
Singular	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	<b>hālig</b>	<b>hāligu</b>	<b>hālig</b>
Acc.	<b>hāligne</b>	<b>hālge</b>	<b>hālig</b>
Gen.	<b>hālges</b>	<b>hāligre</b>	<b>hālges</b>
Dat.	<b>hālgum</b>	<b>hāligre</b>	<b>hālgum</b>
Instr.	<b>hālge</b>	<b>hāligre</b>	<b>hālge</b>
Plural			
Nom., Acc.	<b>hālge</b>	<b>hālge, -a</b>	<b>hāligu</b>
Gen.	<b>hāligra</b>	<b>hāligra</b>	<b>hāligra</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>hālgum</b>	<b>hālgum</b>	<b>hālgum</b>

In West Saxon, the syncopated vowel is very often restored by analogy, giving, for example, masc. gen. sg. *hāliges*, nom. pl. *hālige*, and so forth; but in nearly all poetry, no matter how the word is written, the scansion demands the etymologically correct syncopated form. The endings given above are those generally found in Early West Saxon. In the later dialect, *-u* is dropped from the nominative singular of feminine adjectives. It is likewise eliminated in the nominative and accusative plural of neuter adjectives, since the nominative and accusative plural of all genders is in *-e*.

55. Some heavy-stemmed adjectives are declined like *blæc* but have the ending *-e* in all the case forms in which *blæc* has no ending. An example is *grēne* 'green':

Singular	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	<b>grēne</b>	<b>grēnu</b>	<b>grēne</b>
Acc.	<b>grēnne</b>	<b>grēne</b>	<b>grēne</b>
Gen.	<b>grēnes</b>	<b>grēnre</b>	<b>grēnes</b>
Dat.	<b>grēnum</b>	<b>grēnre</b>	<b>grēnum</b>
Instr.	<b>grēne</b>	<b>grēnre</b>	<b>grēne</b>

Plural	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom., Acc.	<b>grêne</b>	<b>grêne, -a</b>	<b>grênu</b>
Gen.	<b>grênra</b>	<b>grênra</b>	<b>grênra</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>grênum</b>	<b>grênum</b>	<b>grênum</b>

These are referred to as **ja- and jō-stems**, and their derivation is explained below (§70). An important group of words belonging to this category is the active (i.e., present) participles in *-ende*.

**56.** All of the adjective endings given so far are **strong inflections**. However, nearly all adjectives also take **weak inflections**, which are the same regardless of whether the stem is heavy or light:

## WEAK INFLECTIONS

Singular	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	<b>blaca</b>	<b>blace</b>	<b>blace</b>
Acc.	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blace</b>
Gen.	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>
Dat.	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>
Instr.	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>
Plural			
Nom., Acc.	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>	<b>blacan</b>
Gen.	<b>blæcra, blacena</b>	<b>blæcra, blacena</b>	<b>blæcra, blacena</b>
Dat., Instr.	<b>blacum</b>	<b>blacum</b>	<b>blacum</b>

These endings are nearly identical to the endings of weak nouns, the only difference being that the inflection in the genitive plural may be *-ra* instead of *-ena*. Weak inflections are used with adjectives that modify **definite nouns**. A noun is definite if it is modified by a determiner—that is, by a demonstrative (*sē* or *þēs*), a possessive pronoun (e.g. *mīn* ‘my’), or a noun in the genitive case (e.g. *Cūðrēdes* ‘Cuthred’s’); numerals do not indicate definiteness. Weak endings are also used with adjectives in the comparative degree (e.g. *ieldra* ‘older’) and with adjectives modifying nouns in direct address (e.g. *lēofa dryhten* ‘dear lord’). In addition, weak adjectives are frequently used in verse where strong ones would be used in prose. Strong endings are almost always used when none of these conditions is met. Nearly all adjectives have both strong and weak forms, though most pronominal adjectives, such as *mīn* ‘my’, *eall* ‘all’ and *ōþer* ‘other’, are always declined strong. Some in fact rarely or never modify definite nouns, such as *ænig* ‘any’ and *moniġ* ‘many’.

**57. Exercise.** Provide the correct endings for the adjectives in the following (may be null): 1. *gōd*\_\_ *reorde* (acc. sg.); 2. *ān gōd*\_\_ *wicu* (nom. sg.); 3. *þone*

*gōd*\_\_ *dæg*; 4. *þæt gōd*\_\_ *bearn*; 5. *sum*\_\_ *ġeteld* (acc. pl.); 6. *sum*\_\_ *reorde* (dat. sg.); 7. *þū lēof*\_\_ *cýning*; 8. *ieldr*\_\_ *dōmas* (comparative); 9. *þære eald*\_\_ *stræte*; 10. *ānre eald*\_\_ *stræte*.

58. Old English has two types of infinitives, the **uninflected** (the familiar dictionary form of the verb) and the **inflected**, the latter formed by placing *tō* before the dictionary form and replacing *-an* with *-enne* or *-anne* (depending chiefly on dialect; WS has usually *-anne*), for example giving *tō rīdenne* ‘to ride’. The uninflected infinitive is normal with modal auxiliaries like *mæg* ‘can’ and *sceal* ‘shall’, and it is particularly frequent in accusative-plus-infinitive constructions like *Hwæt cweþe wit þis bēon?* ‘What shall we say this is?’ (lit. ‘What say we this to be?’), GDPref and 3[C] 14.203.25) and *ond ġeseah hie ðār sittan* ‘and saw her sitting there’ (ApT 2.21). It is also used with verbs of motion that then assume the function of quasi-auxiliaries, as in *Ġewāt him on naca drēfan dēop wæter* ‘The ship went stirring up the deep water’ (Beo 1903). The functions of the inflected infinitive partly overlap those of the uninflected, though the type is peculiar to some constructions, being used particularly to express purpose, as in *Ġsāac þā bær wudu tō forbærnenne ðā offrunge* ‘Isaac then carried wood to burn the offering’ (ÆCHomII 4, 34.138), where the uninflected infinitive *forbærnan* would be abnormal. The inflected type may also serve the same function as a noun phrase, serving for example as subject in the clause *Ūs ġedafenað tō dōnne duguðe on sibbe* ‘To do good in peace is proper for us’ (ÆCHomII 21, 182.77). Often it is best to translate an infinitive in the passive voice, as in *hwæþer hit tō ġelyfenne sý* ‘whether it is to be believed’ (GD[C] 146.2).

#### READING

##### Gen. 19:1–13

Cōmon ðā on æfnunge twēgen englas fram Gode āsende tō þære byrg Sodomā, and Loð, Ābrahames brōðor sunu, sæt on þære stræte and ġeseah hie. Hē ārās þā sōna and ēode him tōġēanes, and āstreahte hine ætforan þām englum, and cwæð, “Ic bidde ēow, lēof, þæt ġē cierren tō mīnum hūse, and þær wunien nihtlanges, and þwēað ēowre fēt, þæt ġē mæġen faran tōmerġen on ēowerne weg.” Hie cwædon, “Nelle wē nāteshwōn, ac wē willað wunian ūt on ðære stræte.” Loð þā hie laðode ġeornlice, oð ðæt hie ġecierdon tō his hūse. Hē ðā ġearcode him ġereorde, and hie æton. Sē lēodscīpe wæs swā bismeful, þæt hie woldon füllīce onġean ġecynd heora ġālnesses ġefyllan, nā mid wimmannum, ac swā füllīce þæt ūs sċeamað hit openlice tō secġenne, and þæt wæs heora hrēam, þæt hie openlice heora fýlðe ġefremedon. Þā cwædon þā englas tō Loðe, sē ðe rihtlice leofode, “Hæfst ðū sunu oððe dohra on ðisse byrg, oððe āpum oððe ænīġne sibling? Ġif ðū hæbbe, læd hie ealle of þisse byrg. Wē sculon sōðlice

ādilegian ealle þās stōwe, forðon þe heora hrēam wēox tō swīðe ætforan Gode,  
and God ūs sende, þæt wē hie fordōn.”

**cōmon**, pret. pl. of **cuman**  
**āsende**, pass. part. of **āsendan**,  
 nom. pl.  
**brōðor**, gen. sg. of **brōðor**  
**sæt**, 3 sg. pret. of **sittan**  
**ārās**, 3 sg. pret. of **ārīsan**  
**bidde**, 1 sg. pres. of **biddan**  
**cierren**, pres. sj. pl. of **cierran**  
**wunien**, pres. sj. pl. of **wunian**  
**þwēað**, imp. pl. of **þwēan**  
**mægen** pres. sj. pl. of **magan**  
**nelle** = **ne wille**, pres. pl. of **willan**  
**laðode**, 3 sg. pret. of **laðian**  
**wimmannum** = **wīfmannum**  
**sčęamað**, 3 sg. pres. of **sčamian**

**tō sečgenne**, infl. inf. of **sečgan**  
**ġefremedon** pret. pl. of **fremman**  
**leofode**, 3 sg. pret. of **libban**  
**hæfst**, 2 sg. pres. of **habban**  
**sunu**, acc. pl.  
**ðisse**, dat. sg. fem. of **þēs**  
**hæbbe**, pres. sg. sj. of **habban**  
**læd**, imp. sg. of **lædan**  
**sčulon**, pres. pl. of **sčulan**  
**þās**, acc. sg. fem. of **þēs**  
**wēox** 3 sg. pret. of **weaxan**  
**sende**, 3 sg. pret. of **sendan**  
**fordōn**, pres. sj. pl. of **fordōn**

## CHAPTER VII

NUMERALS • DEMONSTRATIVE *þēs* • BREAKING  
FINAL FRICATIVES • DEGEMINATION • IMPERSONAL VERBS

**59.** The **cardinal numbers** 1–3 are fully declined. Of these, *ān* ‘one’ is the most regular, being inflected like any strong adjective, except that acc. sg. masc. *ænne* (or shortened *enne*) may appear beside regularized *ānne*, and weak *āna* (uninflected) means ‘only, alone’. ‘Two’ takes the following forms:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom., Acc.	<b>twēgen</b>	<b>twā</b>	<b>twā, tū</b>
Gen. (all genders)	<b>twēg(ę)a, twēg(e)ra</b>		
Dat. (all genders)	<b>twāem, twām</b>		

*Bēgen* ‘both’ is declined the same way. For ‘three’ the paradigm is the following:

	<b>þrie</b>	<b>þrēo</b>	<b>þrēo</b>
Nom., Acc.			
Gen. (all genders)		<b>þrēora</b>	
Dat. (all genders)		<b>þrim</b>	

The other chief cardinal numbers are as follows:

4. <b>fēower</b>	12. <b>twelf</b>	20. <b>twēntiġ</b>	100. <b>hundertēontiġ</b>
5. <b>fif</b>	13. <b>þrēotiene</b>	30. <b>þritiġ</b>	110. <b>hundendleftiġ</b>
6. <b>siex</b>	14. <b>fēowertiene</b>	40. <b>fēowertiġ</b>	120. <b>hundertwelftiġ</b> or <b>hundertwēntiġ</b>
7. <b>seofon</b>	15. <b>fiftiene</b>	50. <b>fiftiġ</b>	
8. <b>eahta</b>	16. <b>siextiene</b>	60. <b>siextiġ</b>	1000. <b>þūsend</b>
9. <b>nigon</b>	17. <b>seofontiene</b>	70. <b>hundseofontiġ</b>	
10. <b>tien</b>	18. <b>eahtatiene</b>	80. <b>hundeahtatiġ</b>	
11. <b>en(d)le(o)fan</b>	19. <b>nigontiene</b>	90. <b>hundnigontiġ</b>	

The numerals 4–120 may or may not take normal strong adjective inflections, almost never weak ones. When used as nouns or when they do not appear immediately before the noun they modify, 4–19 are usually inflected, otherwise commonly uninflected: compare *nigon mīla brād* ‘nine miles wide’ (Or 2.4 [Bately] 43.12) and *Hwær synt þā nigone* ‘Where are those nine?’ (Lk[WSCp] 17.17). The decades 20–120 may take strong inflections before nouns. The numerals **hund** and **hundred**, both ‘hundred’, are neuter nouns that may be indeclinable, and **þūsend** may be used as one, as well. Hundreds generally come first in the expression of compound numerals, but units precede tens, as in *fēower hunde wintra and siex and twēntigum* ‘four hundred twenty-six years’ (Or

3.8 [Bately] 66.10). The reason for the prefix *hund-* on the decades 70–120 is disputed: see the references in Hogg & Fulk 2011: §4.89 n. 2.

**60.** The declension of the demonstrative *þēs*, *þēos*, *þis* ‘this’ is as follows:

Singular	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	<b>þēs</b>	<b>þēos</b>	<b>þis</b>
Acc.	<b>þisne</b>	<b>þās</b>	<b>þis</b>
Gen.	<b>þis(s)es</b>	<b>þisse, þis(se)re</b>	<b>þis(s)es</b>
Dat.	<b>þis(s)um</b>	<b>þisse, þis(se)re</b>	<b>þis(s)um</b>
Instr.	<b>þȳs</b>	<b>þisse, þis(se)re</b>	<b>þȳs</b>
Plural (all genders)			
Nom., Acc.	<b>þās</b>		
Gen.	<b>þissa, þis(se)ra</b>		
Dat., Instr.	<b>þis(s)um</b>		

**61. Exercise.** Give the correct Old English form of the italicized word(s): 1. *ān* ġiefe (dat.); 2. *ān* cyning (acc.); 3. *twēgen* cnapena; 4. *bēgen* dagum; 5. *þrie* word; 6. *fif* hālgan (acc.); 7. *þēs* hrīðer (acc. sg.); 8. *þēs* munta; 9. *þēs* ġereorde (dat.); 10. *þās* *fif* stōwa (acc.)

**62.** In prehistoric times, after the fronting of Gmc. *a* to *æ*, in certain environments the short front vowels underwent a process of diphthongization called **breaking**. The changes are these:

**æ > ea      e > eo      i > io**

Breaking takes place in three environments:

- 1) before *h* (= [x] at the time of breaking, so also before *x* = [xs])
- 2) before *r* plus any consonant other than *j* (but always before geminate *r*)
- 3) before *l* plus consonant

The third environment, however, is limited: although the change affected *æ* before *l* plus any consonant, *e* was affected before *l* with any regularity only when the consonant following *l* was *h*, as in *eolh* ‘elk’. (There is no good evidence for *i* before *lh*, and therefore *i* is not known to break before *l*.) Thus, we find breaking in pret. *healp* ‘helped’ < \**hælp*, but not in inf. *helpan* or in *wilde* ‘wild’. Long front vowels, of which only *ǣ* and *ī* occurred in the prehistoric variety of English that developed into West Saxon, were broken before /x/, as in *nēah* ‘near’ and *līoht* > *lēoht* ‘light’ For details about the breaking of both short and long vowels, Appendix A and Campbell 1977: §§139–56 or Hogg 1992: §§5.16–34 may be consulted. Examples:

Affecting <i>æ</i> :	Affecting <i>e</i> :	Affecting <i>i</i> :
* <i>sæh</i> > <i>seah</i>	* <i>seh</i> > <i>seoh</i>	* <i>sihiþ</i> > * <i>siohiþ</i>
* <i>wæxan</i> > <i>weaxan</i> (x=hs)	* <i>fehtan</i> > <i>feohtan</i>	* <i>cnihtas</i> > * <i>cniohtas</i>
* <i>þærf</i> > <i>þearf</i>	* <i>werpan</i> > <i>weorpan</i>	* <i>wirpiþ</i> > * <i>wiorpiþ</i>
* <i>mælt</i> > <i>mealt</i>	* <i>skelh</i> > <i>sceolh</i>	* <i>āfirrjan</i> > * <i>āfiorrjan</i>

The forms in the last column are asterisked because they underwent further developments. In West Saxon, *io* became *eo*, so \**cnihtas* becomes *cneohtas* 'boys' (later *cniht*-; see Appendix A, no. 33, p. 112); the further changes affecting the others are explained below (§74). What the three environments for the change have in common is that in each instance a front vowel precedes a back consonant: OE *r* presumably had much the same retroflex articulation as modern American *r* after vowels, *l* (in some environments) had the velar articulation of MnE *l* in *fool* (rather than the more fronted *l* in *leaf*), and at least in prehistoric times *h* was consistently velar, as in German *Nacht*. Breaking then amounts to the formation of a glide in order to facilitate the transition from the front vowel to the back consonant. Knowledge of breaking is particularly helpful in understanding the classification of strong verbs (Chaps. XI–XIV).

**63. Exercise.** Apply Anglo-Frisian brightening (§29) and breaking, in that order, to as many of the following prehistoric forms as one or the other (or both) applies to. (Example: \**maht* > \**mæht* > *meaht*.) \**warþ*, \**all*, \**rerð*, \**mix*, \**selh*, \**meltan*, \**sax*, \**barn*, \**gefehan*, \**ald*, \**milts*, \**bergan*.

**64.** A fricative consonant (*f*, *þ/ð*, *s*, *g/h*) is voiceless at the end of a word in Old English. This makes no difference in spelling for *f*, *þ/ð*, and *s*, but it means that *g* becomes *h*. Thus, *burg* is often spelt *burh* (even in compounds like *burhware* 'city dwellers', by analogy to the simplex); but the word may also appear as *burg*, spelt with *g* by analogy to the inflected cases. Some of the commonest words affected by this change are *bēah* 'ring', *fāh* 'stained, decorated', *ġenōh* 'enough', *ġeslōh* 'struck', *sorh* 'sorrow', *stāh* 'ascended', and *wāh* 'wall'.

**65.** Also at word-end, or before any consonant, geminate consonants are reduced phonologically to nongeminates. Thus *man*, *gālnes*, and *ealre* are normal; but once again, spelling may be influenced by other forms in the paradigm (*mannum*, etc.), giving *mann*, *gālness*, and *eallre*. A geminate is also reduced immediately after another consonant, but in such cases analogical restoration almost never occurs: thus *send-de* > *sende* 'sent'.

**66.** Certain verbs are said to be **impersonal** in the sense that they have only *hit* or nothing overt as grammatical subject, and the object may often be translated as the subject. An example is the verb *þyncan* 'seem': the construction *mē þyncð* (Early Modern *methinks*) is literally 'to me [it] seems', virtually 'I think'. Verbs of this sort are numerous; a few of the commonest are *dafenian* 'befit', *lician* 'please', *limpan* 'happen', *scāmian* 'shame', and *spōwan* 'profit'.

## READING

Gen. 19:14–22

Loð þā ēode tō his twām āðumum, þe woldon wīfian on his twām dohtrum, and cwæð him tō, “Ārisað and farað of þissere stōwe, forþon ðe God wile ādilegian þās burg.” Þā wæs him ġeðūht swylce hē gamenigende spræce. Þā englas ðā on ærnemergen cwædon tō Loðe, “Āris and nim ðin wif and þīne dohtra and far ðē heonon, ðy læs þe ðū losige samod mid þissere forscyldigan burhware.” Hē wandode þā ġiet, ac hie ġelæhton his hond, and his wifes hond and his dohtra and ġelæddon hie út of þære byrg, forþon ðe God heom ārode. Þā englas cwædon him tō, “Beorh þinum fēore: ne beseoh ðū underbæc; nē þū ne ætstond nāhwær on ðissum earde, ac ġebeorh ðē on þām munte, þæt ðū samod ne losige.” Ðā cwæð Loð, “Ic bidde þē, mīn Drihten, nū þū ðīne mildheortnesse mē cýðdest, forðon ðe ic ne mæg on þām munte mē ġebeorgan, þy læs ðe mē ðær ġefō sum færlīc yfel. Nū is hēr ġehende ān ġehwæde burh tō þære ic mæg flēon and mīnum fēore ġebeorgan.” Him wæs ðā ġeondswarod þus: “Ic underfēng ðīne bēne, ðæt ic þā burh ne tōwende, nū ðū wilt ðider būgan. Efst ardlīce ðider, forþon ðe ic nān ðing ne dō, ær þon ðe þū ðider cume.” And sēo burh wæs ġehāten forðy, Segor.

ārisað, imp. pl. of **ārisan**  
 farað, imp. pl. of **faran**  
 burg, acc. sg. of **burg**  
 ġeðūht, pass. part. of **þynčan**  
 gamenigende, act. part. of  
     **gamenian**  
 spræce, pret. sg. sj. of **sprecan**  
 āris, imp. sg. of **ārisan**  
 nim, imp. sg. of **niman**  
 far, imp. sg. of **faran**  
 losige, pres. sg. sj. of **losian**  
 wandode, 3 sg. pret. of **wandian**  
 ġelæhton, pret. pl. of **læccan**  
 hond, acc. sg. of **hand**  
 ġelæddon, pret. pl. of **lædan**  
 ārode, 3 sg. pret. of **ārian**  
 beorh, imp. sg. of **beorgan**  
 fēore, dat. sg. of **feorh**

beseoh, imp. sg. of **besēon**  
 ætstond, imp. sg. of **ætstandan**  
 cýðdest, 2 sg. pret. of **cýðan**  
 mæg 1 and 3 sg. pres. of **magan**  
 ġefō, pres. sg. sj. of **fōn**  
 ġeondswarod, pass. part. of **and-**  
     **swarian**  
 underfēng, 3 sg. pret. of  
     **underfōn**  
 tōwende, sg. sj. of **tōwenden**  
 wilt, 2 sg. pres. of **willan**  
 efst, imp. sg. of **efestan**  
 cume pres. sg. sj. of **cuman**  
 ġehāten, pass. part. of **hātan**  
 Segor is associated with a  
     Hebrew root meaning ‘to  
     make small’ (cf. *ġehwæde*  
     *burh*)

## CHAPTER VIII

### WEST GERMANIC CONSONANT GEMINATION AND LOSS OF *j* *wa-*, *wō-*, *ja-*, AND *jō-*STEM NOUNS DIPHTHONGIZATION BY INITIAL PALATAL CONSONANTS

67. A feature that distinguishes West Germanic from East and (for the most part) North Germanic is **consonant gemination**. This is a sound change that took place at an early date, since it affects all the West Germanic languages. In West Germanic there are frequently double consonants where the other languages have nongeminates: for example, to Gothic *bidjan* ‘ask’ and OIcel. *biðja*, compare OE *biddan*, OFris. *bidda*, OSax. *biddian*, OHG *bitten*. The chief cause of gemination is a following *j*: in a form like PGmc. *\*libjan* ‘live’, if the syllable boundary is fixed between *b̃* and *j*, the result is almost inevitably gemination of *b̃*, since *\*lib.jan* and *\*lib.b̃jan* (where the point marks the syllable boundary) are more or less indistinguishable acoustically. (Note that voiced fricatives become stops in gemination: hence, *\*libb̃jan* becomes OE *libban*.) Gemination is also caused in a few instances by *l* and *r* (as in OE *æppel* ‘apple’ and *wæccer* ‘awake’, from *\*apla-* and *\*wakra-*, respectively), but not nearly as frequently. Gemination is caused by *j* only when it follows a light syllable, and gemination does not affect *r*: compare, without gemination, OE *sēcan* ‘seek’ < *\*sōkjan*, *sendan* ‘send’ < *\*sandjan*, and *herian* ‘praise’ < *\*hazjan*. After causing gemination, at a much later date *j* was lost after heavy syllables: thus, it is lost in *biddan* and *sēcan*, but it is preserved (and spelt *i*) after the light syllable in *herian*.

68. **Exercise.** Show the effects, if any, of West Germanic gemination (but not loss of *j*) on these Proto-Germanic forms. Put a mark by any form that would not subsequently lose *j*: *\*framjan*, *\*burjan*, *\*hauzjan*, *\*hanjō*, *\*azjō*, *\*darjan*, *\*fulljan*, *\*skapjan*, *\*baldjan*, *\*skapjan*, *\*dōmjan*, *miðjaz*, *\*fōrjan*, *\*rakjan*, *\*tūnjan*, *\*harjaz*.

69. In a small number of nouns there is an element *-w-* that appears before the inflectional ending, as with dat. sg. masc. *bearwe* ‘grove’, neut. *searwe* ‘device’, fem. *sčēadwe* ‘shade’. These are declined the same way as the *a*-stems and *ō*-stems, except that in the cases in which the *a*- and *ō*-stems have no inflection, the final *-w* is vocalized to *-u*, as with nom. *bearu*, neut. nom.-acc. sg.-pl. *searu*, and fem. nom. sg. *sčēadu*. When the root syllable is heavy, this word-final *-u* is lost just the way final *-u* is lost in the nominative singular of *ō*-stems and the nom.-acc. plural of neuter *a*-stems. An example is *sēo mæd* ‘the meadow’, dat. *mædwē*. These nouns are called ***wa-* and *wō-*stems** (masc./neut. and fem., respectively).

70. Similarly, there were stems ending in *-ja-* in Proto-Germanic. The Old English reflexes may be illustrated by the examples *sē hierde* ‘the shepherd’ and *þæt rīce* ‘the kingdom’:

## Singular

Nom.	<b>sē hierde</b>	<b>þæt riče</b>
Acc.	<b>þone hierde</b>	<b>þæt riče</b>
Gen.	<b>þæs hierdes</b>	<b>þæs ričes</b>
Dat.	<b>þæm (þām) hierde</b>	<b>þæm (þām) riče</b>
Instr.	<b>þȳ (þon, þē) hierde</b>	<b>þȳ (þon, þē) riče</b>

## Plural

Nom./Acc.	<b>þā hierdas</b>	<b>þā riču</b>
Gen.	<b>þāra hierda</b>	<b>þāra riča</b>
Dat./Instr.	<b>þæm (þām) hierdum</b>	<b>þæm (þām) ričum</b>

These **ja-stem nouns** resemble *a*-stems, but they had an added *-j-* element before the stem-sign *-a-*, and this *j* was vocalized between a heavy syllable and *-a-*, giving *-ij-*: hence, *hierde* and *riče* (with *-e < -i*) derive from *\*hardijaz* and *\*rikiġan*, whereas *a*-stems *stān* and *scġip* derive from *\*stainaz* and *\*skipan*. Final *-e* on *ja-* and *jō-*stem adjectives (§55) has a similar origin. The paradigm resembles that of light-stemmed *a*-stems. Because of West Germanic gemination, there are no light-stemmed *ja*-stems except those with a stem ending in *r*, and the only important one of these is *sē here* ‘the army’. In the paradigm of *here*, consonantal *j* (usually written *g* or *i*) is preserved after the light syllable everywhere except in the nominative and accusative singular: hence gen. *herġes*, dat. *herġe*, etc. In the nominative and accusative singular, *j* was vocalized to *i* (later becoming *e*), just the way *w* was vocalized to *u* in the *wa*-stems (later occasionally becoming *o*, and often *-a* in LWS). Parallel to the masculine and neuter *ja*-stems there are also feminine **jō-stems**, e.g. *synn* ‘sin, error’ and *spræc* ‘speech’. But these are inflected the same way as the *ō*-stems, so that the only sign of their original class affiliation is gemination and/or front mutation (§74) in the root.

71. After the early change of Gmc. *a* to *æ*, the velar sounds [k, ȝ, sk] were palatalized in proximity to front vowels: first they moved closer to the front of the mouth, and then [k] could be affricated to [tʃ], and [ȝ] and [sk] eventually developed to [j] and [ʃ], respectively. In West Saxon, at the beginning of a word these palatal sounds could exert a diphthongizing effect on some of the vowels that palatalized them in the first place, as the following examples demonstrate:

<b>*kastrō</b> > <b>*cæstru</b> > <b>ċeaster</b> town	<b>*kæcōn</b> > <b>*cæcō</b> > <b>ċeace</b> cheek
<b>*zata-</b> > <b>*ġæt</b> > <b>ġeat</b> gate	<b>*zæfun</b> > <b>*ġæfun</b> > <b>ġeafon</b> gave
<b>*skafta-</b> > <b>*scæft</b> > <b>sċeaft</b> shaft	<b>*skæpa-</b> > <b>*scæp</b> > <b>sċeap</b> sheep
<b>*kellōn</b> > <b>*cellō</b> > <b>ċielle</b> lamp	( <b>*kē-</b> not attested)
<b>*zefan</b> > <b>*ġefa</b> > <b>ġiefan</b> give	<b>*zēt</b> > <b>*ġēt</b> > <b>ġiet</b> still
<b>*skeran</b> > <b>*sċeran</b> > <b>sċieran</b> cut	<b>*skētōn</b> > <b>*scētō</b> > <b>sċiete</b> cloth

The rule thus is that after the palatal sounds [ʃ, ʝ, ʝ] there is diphthongization of *ǣ* and *ĕ* to *ĕa* and *ĭe*, respectively. Note that the vowel *ī* is unaffected by the change. This change is referred to as **diphthongization by initial palatal consonants**, and it must have occurred after breaking, since breaking prevents it in *\*ċerl* > *ċeorl* ‘freeman’ and similar words.

**72. Exercise.** Show the effects of the fronting of Gmc. *a*, palatalization, breaking, and diphthongization by initial palatals (in that order) on the following prehistoric forms: *\*skal*, *\*ʒelpa*n, *\*ʒǣr*, *\*kaʃ*, *\*skeld-*, *\*ʒeldan*, *\*ʒald*, *\*skǣron*, *\*ʒaʃ*.

## READING

Gen. 19:23–38

Loð cōm þā tō Segor þā ðā sunne upp ēode, and God sende tō þām burgum ealbirnendne reġnscūr mid swefle ġemenged, and ðā sċeamlēasan fordyde. God tōwearp ðā swā mid graman ðā burga, and ealne ðone eard endemes tōwende, and ealle þā burhwara forbærnde ætgædere, and eall ðæt grōwende wæs, wearð ādilegod. Þā beseah Loðes wif unwislice underbæc, and wearð sōna āwend tō ānum sealtstāne, nā for wiglunge, ac for ġewisre ġetācnuḡe. Þā behēold Ābraham on ærnemergen ðiderweard, and ġeseah hū þā ysla upp flugon mid þām smīeċe. And God þā āliesde Loð for Ābrahame.

Loð ðā ne dorste lenġ wunian on Segor, ac fērde mid his twām dohtrum āfyrht tō þām munte, and ðær on ānum sċræfe ealle ðrēo wunodon. Ðā cwæð sēo ieldre dohtor tō hire ġingran sweostor, “Ūre fæder is eald man, and nān oðer wer ne belāf on ealre eorþan, ðe unc mæġe habban. Uton fordrenċean ūrne fæder færlīce mid wīne, and uton licġan mid him, þæt sum lāf bēo his cynnes.” Hie dydon ðā swā, and fordrencton heora fæder, and ēode sēo ieldre sweostor ærest tō his bedde, and sē fæder nyste hū hē befēḡ on hie for ðære druncennesse, nē hū hēo dearnunga ārās. Eft hie fordrencton ðone unwaran Loð, and sēo ġingre dohtor ēode tō his bedde, and sē fæder nyste hū hē befēḡ on hie, nē hwonne hēo ārās, for his druncennesse.

Hie wæron ðā ēacniġende, and sēo ieldre ācende sunu, þone hēo hēt Moab; sē is Moabitisċra fæder oð ðisne andweardan dæg. And sēo oðer ācende sunu, ðone hēo hēt Amon, ðæt is “Mīnes folces sunu”; hē is þāra Amonitisċra fæder oð ðisne ondweardan dæg.

sende, 3 sg. pret. of **sendan**  
ġemenged, pass. part. of  
**mengān**  
fordyde, 3 sg. pret. of **fordōn**  
tōwearp, 3 sg. pret. of **tō-**  
**weorpan**

burga, acc. pl. of **burg**  
tōwende, 3 sg. pret. of **tōwendan**  
forbærnde, 3 sg. pret. of **for-**  
**bærnan**  
grōwende, act. part. of **grōwan**  
wearð, 3 sg. pret. of **weorðan**

**ādilegod**, pass. part. of **ādilegian**

**āwend**, pass. part. of **āwendan**

**behēold**, 3 sg. pret. of **behealdan**

**flugon**, pret. pl. of **flēogan**

**dorste**, 3 sg. pret. of **durran**

**leng**, comp. of **lange**

**prēo**: note that adjectives and pronouns referring to groups of mixed gender are generally neuter

**wunodon**, pret. pl. of **wunian**

**belāf**, 3 sg. pret. of **belifan**

**mæge**, pret. sg. sj. of **magan**

**fordrencton** pret. pl. of **fordrenčan**

**nyste** = **ne** + **wiste**, 3 sg. pret. of **witan**

**befēng**, 3 sg. pret. of **befōn**

**ārās**, 3 sg. pret. of **ārīsan**

**ēacniġende**, act. part. of **ēacnian**

**hēt**, 3 sg. pret. of **hātan**

## CHAPTER IX

### PROTO-GERMANIC *e* BEFORE *i* AND *j* FRONT MUTATION • *hwā* • VERB-SECOND SYNTAX

73. In late Proto-Germanic there was no distinction between long and short diphthongs. The short diphthongs in Old English all arose from short vowels through later developments like breaking, and the long ones generally reflect actual Proto-Germanic diphthongs. In Proto-Germanic times the vowel *e*, either by itself or as the first element of a back diphthong (i.e. in *eu*) was raised to *i* when *i* or *j* followed in the next syllable. The resulting diphthong *iu* subsequently became *io* in prehistoric Old English. Thus, what had earlier been *\*beðjan-* and *\*peuþjan-* became already in Proto-Germanic times *\*biðjan-* and *\*piuþjan-*: cf. Gothic *bidjan* and *piuþjan*. This development is important to an understanding of front mutation, treated in the next paragraph.

74. A set of sound changes similar to the one described in the preceding paragraph, but arising much later and with much wider application, affected all the Germanic languages except Gothic, though at different stages in their histories. The term for this development is **front mutation** or *i/j*-umlaut. The unifying feature of this set of changes is that a vowel is fronted and/or raised when *i* or *j* originally appeared in the next syllable, or in some cases even when it appeared in the second syllable following. For example, *ū* is fronted to *ȳ* in Gmc. *\*tūnjan* > *tȳnan* ‘enclose’ (with loss of *j* as explained in §67), and Gmc. *a*, after being fronted to *æ* by Anglo-Frisian brightening, is raised to *e* in *\*hæri* > *here* ‘army’. This set of changes may be summarized as follows:

- ū > ȳ, as in *\*huʒiz* > *hyge*, and *\*fūriz* > *fȳr*
- ō > ȝ, as in *\*dohtri* > *dehter*, and *\*sōkjan* > *sēcan*
- ā > æ̃ (with ā from Gmc. *ai*), as in *\*sakjō* > *sæc̃c̃*, and *\*dāljan* > *dælan*
- ā > ē before nasal consonants (i.e. [ɔ(:)] > [ɛ(:)]; this ā from Gmc. *æ̃*), as in *\*manniz* > *menn*, and *\*kwāniz* > *cwēn*
- æ > e, as in *\*lazjan* > *\*læggjan* > *leġgan*
- ēa > ġe, as in *\*ealdizan-* > *ieldran*, and *\*nēahistan-* > *nġehstan*
- io > ġe, as in *\*biorhtipō* > *bierhtu*, and *\*ġetriowijaz* > *ġetriewe*

We might have expected *\*sakjō* to have developed to *\*\*seċc̃*, just as *\*lagjan* became *leġgan*, due to the application of Anglo-Frisian brightening before front mutation; but before front mutation could apply, *æ* in *\*sækjō* was replaced by *a*, due to the analogical influence of a related word with the same meaning, reflected as *sacu* ‘strife’. All instances of *æ* as the front mutation of *a* are due to analogical processes like this one; Gmc. *a* otherwise gives OE *e* by front mutation of *æ*. The change of *ō* to *ē* was through the stage *æ̃*. The rounding of this front

round vowel was lost early in West Saxon, though it is preserved in some other dialects (see Appendix B). Both *i* and *j* cause these changes because they are nearly identical sounds, the former being the vocalic equivalent of the latter. They are both high front sounds, and so it is not surprising that the effect they have is to move vowels forward and higher: such processes are **assimilatory** in the sense that the mutated vowels are assimilating the frontness and the height of the following *i* or *j*. These changes are anticipatory: presumably speakers of Prehistoric Old English began to pronounce *u*, for example, as *y* because they were already positioning their tongue and lips to pronounce the sound in the next syllable, in much the way that many speakers of Modern English will in rapid speech pronounce the *n* in *seven baskets* as an *m* in anticipation of the following labial consonant.

**75. Exercise.** Show the effects of West Germanic gemination, Anglo-Frisian brightening, breaking, front mutation, and loss of *j*, in that order, on the following prehistoric verb forms: \*lādjan (from Gmc. \*laidjan), \*trumjan, \*lēafjan, \*framjan, \*dōmjan, \*burjan, \*baldjan, \*hirtjan, \*wānjan (from Gmc. \*wānjan), \*rastjan.

**76.** In the list above of sounds affected by front mutation, there is no *e* or *ěo* because, as explained in §73, these sounds did not exist before *i* or *j* in prehistoric Old English, having undergone raising in this environment already in Proto-Germanic. Thus, for example, before the onset of front mutation, in prehistoric Old English we should expect to find inf. *ċēosan* beside 3 sg. \**ċiosip* (not \*\**ċēosip*), the latter then undergoing front mutation and syncope to give OE *ċīest*. To simplify an understanding of front mutation, the developments *e* > *i* and *ěo* > *īe* might be added to the list of changes in §74, though historically this would be inaccurate.

**77.** The declension of the interrogative pronoun *hwā* ‘who’, which occurs only in the singular, resembles that of other pronouns, and it may be summarized thus:

	Masc., Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	<b>hwā</b>	<b>hwæt</b>
Acc.	<b>hwone</b>	<b>hwæt</b>
Gen.	<b>hwæs</b>	
Dat.	<b>hwām, hwām</b>	
Instr.	<b>hwȳ</b>	

Instr. *hwȳ*, with or without *for* in front of it, may be used to mean ‘why’; *hū* ‘how’ also originally belonged to this paradigm. In Late West Saxon, the form *hwære* was created for feminine referents in the genitive, dative, and instrumental cases by analogy to other pronouns; but in poetry it often spoils the meter, showing that late scribes have substituted *hwære* for the older forms above.

**78.** An archaic feature of the Germanic languages is **verb-second (or V2) syntax**, whereby finite verbs (i.e. verb forms other than infinitives and participles) generally occupy the position of second element in independent clauses. This does not mean that the verb is the second word but that it is the second component of the clause, coming, for example, after the subject (which may be a phrase), an adverb, a prepositional phrase, etc. In the reading in the last chapter, each of the first two sentences begins with the subject followed by a finite verb, *cōm* and *tōwearp*. The next two sentences begin with *þā*, which serves as the first element, and since the main verb ought to come second, the subject (*Loðes wīf* and *Ābraham*, respectively) is delayed until after the verb. Modern English is not as strictly a V2 language as Old English, though it preserves some of the flavor of Old English syntax in expressions like *There came a time . . .* and *Up jumped a rabbit*. Note that the V2 rule is very frequently violated—it is perhaps better characterized as a tendency than a rule—as it is in the reading from the last chapter (again) in the clause *and ealne ðone eard endemes tōwende* and in the last sentence of the first paragraph, *And God þā āliesde Loð for Ābrahame*. But there are also principled exceptions:

(a) Just as in Modern English, yes-no questions begin with a finite verb, as in *Sceal ic nū, eald wīf, cennan?* The same is true of commands, as in *Ārīs and nim ðīn wīf*.

(b) In dependent clauses, the verb is delayed till after the second position, and often it comes at the end of its clause. Examples: *and gēlæddon hie ūt of þære byrg, for þon ðe God heom ārode* and *Nū is hēr gēhende ān gēhwæde burh tō þære ic mæg flēon*.

(c) Unlike adverbs and subordinating conjunctions, the coordinating conjunctions *and/ond*, *ac*, and *oððe* have no effect on word order: consider the two clauses beginning with *and* in the sentence *Loð cōm þā tō Segor þā ðā sunne upp ēode, and God sende tō þām burgum ealbirnendne regnscūr mid swefle gemengead, and ðā sceaamlēasan fordyde*.

#### READING

The remaining readings will be from the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*, which is translated from a Latin rendering of a third-century Greek romance. The story was popular throughout the Middle Ages, and yet because it is typical of Hellenic romances, with plot elements both grotesque and fanciful, it is unlike any other text found in Old English. The story seems to have appealed to Archbishop Wulfstan II of York and Worcester, the great homilist and advisor to King Cnut, since the unique copy is found in a manuscript that apparently was prepared for his use. The text is based on the edition of Peter Goolden (1958), with some minor changes and with normalization of the spelling to Early West Saxon standards, though the amount of normalization decreases gradually as Late West Saxon spelling habits are explained from chapter to chapter.

On Antiochīa þære ceastre wæs sum cyning Antiochus gehāten; æfter þæs cyn-  
inges naman wæs sēo ceaster Antiochīa geċieged. Þisses cyniges cwēn wearð of  
life gewiten, be ðære hē hæfde āne swiðe wlitige dohtor ungeliefedlicre fæger-  
nesse. Mid þy þe hēo becōm tō giftlicre ieldu, þā giernde hire manig mære man  
micle mærdā bēodende. Ðā gelamp hit sārlicum gelimpe: þā ðā sē fæder þōhte  
hwām hē hie mihte hēalīcost forġiefan, þā gefēol his āgen mōd on hire lufe mid  
unrihtre gewilnunge, tō ðām swiðe þæt hē forġeat þā fæderlican ārfæstnesse and  
gewilnode his āgenre dohtor him tō gemæccan; and þā gewilnunge nāht lange ne  
ielde, ac sume dæge on ærnemergen þā hē of slæpe āwōc, hē ābræc intō ðām  
būre þær hēo inne læg and hēt his hīredmen ealle him āweg gān, swylce hē wið  
his dohtor sume diegle spræce sprecan wolde. Hwæt, hē ðā on ðære mǎnfullan  
sċylde ābisgode and þā onġēanwinnendan fāmnan mid micelre strengðe earfoð-  
lice ofercōm, and þæt gefremede mǎn gewilnode tō bedieġlianne.

Ðā gewearð hit þæt þæs mægdenes fōstormōdor intō ðām būre ēode ond  
geseah hie ðær sittan on micelre gedrēfednesse and hire cwæð tō: “Hwȳ eart þū,  
hlǣfdige, swā gedrēfedes mōdes?” Þæt mægden hire andswarode, “Lēofe fōstor-  
mōdor, nū tōdæg forwurdon twēgen æðele naman on þissum būre.” Sēo fōstor-  
mōdor cwæð, “Hlǣfdige, bē hwām cwist þū þæt?” Hēo hire andwyrde and cwæð,  
“Ær ðām dæge mīnra brȳdgifta ic eom mid mǎnfulre sċylde besmiten.”

gehāten, pass. part. of hātan  
(ge)wearð, 3 sg. pret. of weorðan  
gewiten, pass. part. of wītan  
hæfde, 3 sg. pret. of habban  
giernde, 3 sg. pret. of ġiernan  
bēodende, act. part. of bēodan  
gelamp, 3 sg. pret. of limpan; see  
§66 on impersonal verbs  
þōhte, 3 sg. pret. of þencan  
mihte, 3 sg. pret. sj. of magan  
hēalīcost, superl. of hēalīce  
gefēol, 3 sg. pret. of feallan  
forġeat, 3 sg. pret. of forġietan  
gewilnode, 3 sg. pret. of wilnian  
dohtor, gen. sg. of dohtor  
ielde, 3 sg. pret. of ieldan  
āwōc, 3 sg. pret. of āwacan  
ābræc, 3 sg. pret. of ābreccan

læg, 3 sg. pret. of licġan  
hēt, 3 sg. pret. of hātan  
ābisgode, 3 sg. pret. of ābisgian  
onġēanwinnendan, act. part. of  
onġēanwinnan  
ofercōm, 3 sg. pret. of ofer-  
cuman  
gefremede, pass. part. of frem-  
man, wk. acc. sg. neut.  
mǎn, acc. sg., object of be-  
dieġlianne, which is an inf.  
andswarode, 3 sg. pret. of and-  
swarian  
forwurdon, pret. pl. of for-  
weorðan  
cwist, 2 sg. pres. of cweðan  
besmiten, pass. part. of be-  
smītan

## CHAPTER X

### PRESENT INFLECTIONS OF STRONG VERBS CONSONANT-STEM NOUNS • CONJUNCTIVE ADVERBS

79. The present indicative inflections of strong verbs may be exemplified by forms of *brūcan* ‘use, enjoy’:

Singular	Plural
1. <b>iċ brūce</b> ‘I use’	<b>wē brūcaþ</b> ‘we use’
2. <b>þū brȳcst</b> ‘you (sg.) use’	<b>ġē brūcaþ</b> ‘you (pl.) use’
3. <b>hē, hēo, hit brȳcþ</b> ‘he, she, it uses’	<b>hie brūcaþ</b> ‘they use’

Front mutation is always to be expected only in the 2 and 3 singular, which bore the endings *\*-is* and *\*-iþ* in Proto-Germanic, whereas no other present endings contained *i* or *j*. When the verb is followed by a plural pronoun of the first or second person, the ending may be reduced to *-e*, as in *brūce wē*, *brūce ġē*. This reduction of the ending to *-e* is also found in the preterite and in the subjunctive.

80. The irregularity in the paradigm above is that in West Saxon and Kentish (though not in Anglian or in most poetry) in the second and third persons singular, front mutation applies to the root vowel and the consonantal ending is attached directly to the stem. The resulting consonant clusters may undergo phonological simplification. First, the voiceless consonants of the endings *-st* and *-þ* usually cause the devoicing of any preceding oral stops and fricatives. (Compare, for example, the way [z] is frequently devoiced to [s] in MnE *has to* and *used to*.) Second, clusters of consonants with the same place or manner of articulation may offer some phonological difficulties, and so they may be reduced or modified, just as Americans tend to pronounce *rests* as [res:] and *fifth* as [fɪθ]. The commonest changes of this sort affecting the second person are these:

- dst** > **-tst**, or later **-st**: *rīstst* (inf. *rīdan*), *bīetst* (*bēodan*), *fīnst* (*findan*), *hāest* (*hātan*)  
**-þst** > **-st** or **-tst**: *cwīst* (*cweðan*), *wīerst* (*weorðan*), *snītst* (*snīðan*)

The commonest changes of this sort affecting the third person are these:

- tþ** > **-t(t)**: *bīet(t)* (*bēatan*), *ætwt̃t(t)* (*ætwt̃an*), *fīet* (*feohtan*)  
**-dþ** > **-t(t)**: *bīet(t)* (*bēodan*), *rīt(t)* (*rīdan*), *bīnt* (*bindan*)  
**-sþ** > **-st**: *rīst* (*rīsan*), *ċīest* (*ċēosan*)

Occasionally, examples of devoicing of *g* before *-st* or *-þ* are encountered, for example *sprīncst* (*springan*), *stīhst* (*stīgan*), and *bīerhþ* (*beorgan*). Since geminate

consonants are reduced before and after other consonants (on which see §65), a form such as *\*rīs-st* (*rīsan*) will appear only as *rīst* and *\*wierþ-þ* (*weorðan*) only as *wierþ*.

**81. Exercise.** Determine the correct forms of the second and third persons singular of the following strong verbs: *drīfan*, *glīdan*, *frēosan*, *sēoðan*, *helpan*, *grindan*, *beran*, *metan*, *sċeādan*, *blōtan*.

**82.** Some nouns in Proto-Indo-European had stems ending in a consonant rather than a vowel. These are of various types, but they may conveniently be referred to in a group as **consonant-stem nouns**. In Old English, the survivals of this class are few but important, including some very common words. The chief variety may be represented by *sē fōt* ‘the foot’, *sē mann* ‘the person’, *sēo burg* ‘the town’, and *sēo bōc* ‘the book’:

Singular				
Nom., Acc.	<b>fōt</b>	<b>mann</b>	<b>burh</b>	<b>bōc</b>
Gen.	<b>fōtes</b>	<b>mannes</b>	<b>byrg</b>	<b>bēc</b>
Dat.	<b>fēt</b>	<b>menn</b>	<b>byrg</b>	<b>bēc</b>
Plural				
Nom., Acc.	<b>fēt</b>	<b>menn</b>	<b>byrg</b>	<b>bēc</b>
Gen.	<b>fōta</b>	<b>manna</b>	<b>burga</b>	<b>bōca</b>
Dat.	<b>fōtum</b>	<b>mannum</b>	<b>burgum</b>	<b>bōcum</b>

Note especially the front mutation in the dative singular, and particularly the form *menn* (beside *men*, §65), which learners of the language often confuse with the plural. The only difference between the masculine and feminine paradigms, then, is in the genitive singular; but all these nouns, especially the feminine ones, are much prone to analogical influence, and forms without front mutation and/or with *ō*-stem endings are not unusual. The nouns *frēond* ‘friend’ and *fēond* ‘enemy’, formed with the agentive suffix *-end* ‘-er’ from the verbs *frēoġan* ‘love’ and *fēoġan* ‘hate’, are declined like *fōt*, but most other nouns with this suffix (e.g. *āgend* ‘owner’, *hǣlend* ‘savior’, *wealdend* ‘ruler’, and *wīgend* ‘warrior’) are declined like neuter heavy-stemmed adjectives, except that the nom.-acc. plural may end in *-as*, *-e*, or nothing. **Nouns of relationship** resemble *fōt* in the singular, but they have various endings in the plural. The chief examples are *sē fæder* ‘the father’, *sē brōþor* ‘the brother’, *sēo mōdor* ‘the mother’, and *sēo dohtor* ‘the daughter’:

Singular				
Nom., Acc., Gen.	<b>fæder</b>	<b>brōþor</b>	<b>mōdor</b>	<b>dohtor</b>
Dat.	<b>fæder</b>	<b>brēþer</b>	<b>mēder</b>	<b>dehter</b>

		Plural			
Nom., Acc.	<b>fæd(e)ras</b>	<b>brōþor</b>	<b>mōdra, -u</b>	<b>dohtor</b>	
Gen.	<b>fæd(e)ra</b>	<b>brōþra</b>	<b>mōdra</b>	<b>dohtra</b>	
Dat.	<b>fæderum</b>	<b>brōþrum</b>	<b>mōdrum</b>	<b>dohtrum</b>	

Note especially the lack of inflection in the genitive singular. LWS has nom. and acc. pl. (*ġe*)*brōðru*, *-ra* and (*ġe*)*dohtru*, *-ra*. The final variety of consonant stem is the **s-stems**, which bore the suffix *\*-es-* alternating with *\*-os-* in Proto-Indo-European. In most of these nouns, no trace of this suffix is found in the singular in Old English, but in the plural the *\*s* was voiced to *\*z* in Proto-Germanic, and PGmc. *\*z* yields OE *r* (a development sometimes called **rhotacism** or rhotacization: for more on this, see §87 below). The examples are all neuter, the commonest being *ċealf* ‘calf’, *lamb* ‘lamb’, *æġ* ‘egg’, and *ċild* ‘child’:

	Singular			
Nom., Acc.	<b>ċealf</b>	<b>lamb</b>	<b>æġ</b>	<b>ċild</b>
Gen.	<b>ċealfes</b>	<b>lambes</b>	<b>æġes</b>	<b>ċildes</b>
Dat.	<b>ċealfe</b>	<b>lambe</b>	<b>æġe</b>	<b>ċilde</b>
	Plural			
Nom., Acc.	<b>ċealfru</b>	<b>lambru</b>	<b>æġru</b>	<b>ċildru</b>
Gen.	<b>ċealfra</b>	<b>lambra</b>	<b>æġra</b>	<b>ċildra</b>
Dat.	<b>ċealfrum</b>	<b>lambrum</b>	<b>æġrum</b>	<b>ċildrum</b>

Analogical *a*-stem endings are also found in the plural, especially of *ċild*. Weak nouns are also consonant-stems (*n*-stems). On feminine nouns in *-u* or *-o* that are indeclinable except in the genitive and dative plural (original *in*-stems), see the note on *hælo* 1.22 (p. 224).

**83.** Certain words may be conjunctions or adverbs, depending on whether they appear in dependent or independent clauses: these include *pā* ‘when, then’ (used with the past tense), *þonne* ‘when, then’ (in future, consuetudinal, and conditional constructions), *pær* ‘where, there’, *pēah* ‘although, yet’, *forþām* ‘because, therefore’, and *siððan* ‘after, afterward’. For some of these the ambiguity may be removed by doubling the word, in which case it is plainly a conjunction, as in *Hē . . . forðfērde ðā ðā hē wæs .lxxvii. wintra* ‘He died when he was seventy-seven years old’ (ChronE 565), and *pæt hie mehten faran unbefohtene pær pær hie wolden* ‘so that they could travel unopposed where they liked’ (ChronA 911). Or the ambiguity may be dispelled by the addition of a different word, as with *pēah þe* ‘although’, *swā pēah* ‘nonetheless’, and *forþām þe* ‘because’. Often, though, the difference is determinable only on the basis of syntax, since adverbs appear at the start of independent clauses (which typically have V2 order) and conjunctions appear in dependent ones (which typically do

counts as a sentence element unto itself, and so in independent clauses, when it begins the clause, the verb usually comes immediately after it, whereas in dependent clauses the conjunction is typically separated from the verb. Examples:

(a) *Ðā hī þyderweard wæron, þā cōm him swilc wind onġēan . . .* ‘When they were on their way there, (then) there arose such a wind against them . . .’ (ChronE 1009).

(b) *Þonne hit dagian wolde, þonne tōglād hit* ‘When day would begin to break, (then) it would vanish’ (ChronC 979).

(c) *Sōðlice, ðær ðær þīn goldhord is, þær bið þīn heorte* ‘Truly, where your gold hoard is, there will your heart be’ (ÆCHomII 7, 63.106).

## READING

Ðā cwæð sēo fōstormōdor, “Hwā wæs æfre swā dyrstiges mōdes þæt dorste cyninges dohtor gewemman ær ðām dæge hire brȳdgifta and him ne ondrēde þæs cyninges ierre?” Ðæt mægden cwæð, “Ārlēasnes þā scȳlde on mē ġefremede.” Sēo fōstormōdor cwæð, “Hwȳ ne sægst þū hit þīnum fæder?” Ðæt mægden cwæð, “Hwær is sē fæder? Sōðlice on mē earmre is mines fæder nama hrēowlice forworden and mē nū forðām dēað pearle ġelicað.” Sēo fōstormōdor sōðlice þā ðā hēo ġehierde þæt þæt mægden hire dēaðes ġiernde, ðā cliopode hēo hie hire tō mid liðre spræce and bæd þæt hēo fram þære ġewilnunge hire mōd gewende and tō hire fæder willan ġebūge, þeah ðe hēo tō ġenēadod wære.

On þissum þingum sōðlice þurhwunode sē ārlēasosta cyning Antiochus and mid ġehiwodan mōde hine selfne ætiewde his ceasterġewarum swylce hē ārfæst fæder wære his dohtor. And betwux his hiwcūðum mannum hē blissode on ðām þæt hē his āgenre dohtor wer wæs. And tō ðām þæt hē þȳ leng brūcan meahte his dohtor ārlēasan brȳdbeddes and him fram ādrifan þā ðe hire ġierndon tō rihtum ġesinscīpum, hē āsette ðā rādels, þus cweðende: “Swā hwilc man swā mīnne rādels rihte āræde, onfō sē mīnre dohtor tō wīfe, and sē ðe hine misræde, sie hē behēafod.” Hwæt is nū māre ymbe þæt tō sprecenne būtan þæt cyningas æġhwanan cōmon and ealdormen for ðām unġeliefedlican wlite þæs mægðnes, and þone dēað hie oferhogodon and þone rādels understōdon tō ārædenne. Ac ġif heora hwilc þonne þurh āsmēaġunge bōclicre snotornesse þone rādels āriht rādde, þonne wearð sē tō behēafdunge ġelæd swā some swā sē ðe hine āriht ne rādde. And þā hēafdu ealle wurdon ġesette on ufewardan þām ġeate.

**ondrēde**, 3 sg. pret. sj. of **on-**  
**drædan**

**sægst**, 2 sg. pres. of **secġan**  
**forworden**, pass. part. of **for-**  
**weorðan**

**ġelicað**, 3 sg. pres. of **lician**  
**cliopode**, 3 sg. pret. of **clīpan**  
**bæd**, 3 sg. pret. of **biddan**  
**ġewende** 3 sg. pres. sj. of  
**wendan**

**ġebūge**, 3 sg. pres. sj. of **būgan**  
**ġenēadod**, pass. part. of **nēadian**  
**þurhwunode**, 3 sg. pret. of **þurh-**  
**wunian**  
**ārlēasosta**, superl. of **ārlēas**  
**ġehīwodan**, pass. part. of **hīwian**  
**blissode**, 3 sg. pret. of **blissian**  
**tō ðām þæt** *for the purpose that*  
**meahte**, 3 sg. pret. of **magan**  
**ġierndon**, pret. pl. of **ġiernan**  
**āsette**, 3 sg. pret. of **āsettan**  
**ārāde, misrāde**, sg. pres. sj. of  
**ārādan, misrādan**

**onfō**, sg. pres. sj. of **onfōn**  
**behēafdod**, pass. part. of **be-**  
**hēafdian**  
**cōmon**, pret. pl. of **cuman**  
**oferhogodon**, pret. pl. of **ofer-**  
**hogian**  
**understōdon**, pret. pl. of **under-**  
**standan**  
**ġelæd**, pass. part. of **lædan**  
**wurdon**, pret. pl. of **weorðan**  
**ġesette**, pass. part. of **settan**

## CHAPTER XI

### STRONG VERBS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CLASSES CONJUGATION OF STRONG VERBS • ABSOLUTE CONSTRUCTIONS

84. With this chapter there begins a survey of the **seven classes of strong verbs**, which are distinguished by their different vowel alternations, or ablaut series (§37). The ablaut alternations are illustrated by the verbs' **principal parts**. Modern English verbs have three principal parts, the present, past, and passive participle (e.g. *sing, sang, sung*); Old English strong verbs, on the other hand, have four principal parts, since the preterite first and third persons singular often do not have the same ablaut vowel as the other preterite forms. Accordingly, the principal parts of an Old English strong verb are (1) the uninflected infinitive, (2) the third person preterite singular, (3) the preterite plural, and (4) the passive participle.

85. In the first class of strong verbs, the ablaut alternation is (1) *i*, (2) *ā*, (3) *i*, (4) *i*. The principal parts of some verbs representative of this class are the following:

<b>æt<span>wī</span>tan</b> <i>reproach</i>	<b>æt<span>wā</span>t</b>	<b>æt<span>wi</span>ton</b>	<b>æt<span>wi</span>ten</b>
<b>bī</b> dan <i>wait</i>	<b>bād</b>	<b>bi</b> don	<b>bi</b> den
<b>bī</b> tan <i>bite</i>	<b>bāt</b>	<b>bi</b> ton	<b>bi</b> ten
<b>drī</b> fan <i>drive</i>	<b>drāf</b>	<b>drif</b> on	<b>drif</b> en
<b>glī</b> dan <i>glide</i>	<b>glād</b>	<b>glid</b> on	<b>glid</b> en
<b>hrī</b> nan <i>touch</i>	<b>hrān</b>	<b>hrin</b> on	<b>hrin</b> en
<b>snī</b> ðan <i>cut</i>	<b>snāð</b>	<b>snid</b> on	<b>snid</b> en
<b>stī</b> gan <i>ascend</i>	<b>stāh</b>	<b>stig</b> on	<b>stig</b> en
<b>wrī</b> tan <i>write</i>	<b>wrāt</b>	<b>writ</b> on	<b>writ</b> en

The consonant alternation in *stīgan* (pret. *stāh*) is due to the devoicing of final fricatives (§64); similarly, in *drīfan* the *f* is voiced, whereas in *drāf* it is voiceless. The consonant alternation in *snīðan* is explained below. In Modern English, the verbs of this class that have retained their ablaut alternations mostly have their past tense based on the Old English preterite singular (e.g. *drove, rode, wrote*, with *o* from OE *ā*, on which development see Appendix A), but a few have it based on the Old English preterite plural (e.g. *bit, slid*). In the glossary, the stem class of a strong verb is indicated by an arabic numeral after the headword. Thus, for example, “**ā-rīsan 1**” in the glossary indicates that this is a strong verb of the first class; hence, its principal parts are **ārīsan, ārās, ārison, ārisen**.

86. In the second class of strong verbs, the ablaut alternation is (1a) *ēo* or (1b) *ū*, (2) *ēa*, (3) *u*, (4) *o*. The difference between types (a) and (b) is that (a) has

*ēo* in the infinitive, whereas (b) has *ū*. The principal parts of some verbs representative of this class are the following:

(a)	<b>bēodan</b> <i>offer</i>	<b>bēad</b>	<b>budon</b>	<b>boden</b>
	<b>ċēosan</b> <i>choose</i>	<b>ċēas</b>	<b>curon</b>	<b>coren</b>
	<b>drēogan</b> <i>endure</i>	<b>drēah</b>	<b>drugon</b>	<b>drogen</b>
	<b>flēogan</b> <i>fly</i>	<b>flēah</b>	<b>flugon</b>	<b>flogen</b>
	<b>frēosan</b> <i>freeze</i>	<b>frēas</b>	<b>fruron</b>	<b>froren</b>
	<b>ġēotan</b> <i>pour</i>	<b>ġēat</b>	<b>guton</b>	<b>goten</b>
	<b>sēoþan</b> <i>boil</i>	<b>sēaþ</b>	<b>sudon</b>	<b>soden</b>
(b)	<b>brūcan</b> <i>use</i>	<b>brēac</b>	<b>brucon</b>	<b>brocen</b>
	<b>būgan</b> <i>bend</i>	<b>bēah</b>	<b>bugon</b>	<b>bogen</b>
	<b>lūcan</b> <i>lock</i>	<b>lēac</b>	<b>lucon</b>	<b>locen</b>
	<b>sūcan</b> <i>suck</i>	<b>sēac</b>	<b>sucon</b>	<b>socen</b>

The consonant alternation in *drēogan*, *flēogan*, and *būgan* is again due to the devoicing of final fricatives, and the alternations in *ċēosan*, *frēosan*, and *sēoþan* are explained in the next paragraph.

87. Under certain conditions the voiceless fricatives [f, s, θ, x] were voiced to [β, z, ð, ɣ] in Proto-Germanic. The change is governed by **Verner's law**, the details of which are explained in Appendix A. One of the environments in which this change took place is the preterite plural and passive participle of many strong verbs. This explains the alternations seen above in verbs like *ċēosan* and *snīðan*, which have *r* and *d*, respectively, for *s* and *ð* in those principal parts. After Gmc. [s] became [z] it underwent rhotacism (§82) in West and North Germanic, giving *r*; [ð] from [θ] became a stop [d] in West Germanic. Since [f] and [β]/[v] are spelt the same way in Old English, the effects of Verner's law in regard to these sounds are usually not discernible. Note that although *ð* may be either a voiced or a voiceless sound in Old English, it always derives from a voiceless sound in Germanic, since Gmc. [ð] becomes [d] in Old English.

88. In the following paradigms, the verbs *stīgan*, *bēodan*, and *brūcan* are conjugated in full:

#### INDICATIVE

Pres. Sg. 1.	<b>stīge</b>	<b>bēode</b>	<b>brūce</b>
2.	<b>stīhst</b>	<b>bīe(t)st</b>	<b>brȳcst</b>
3.	<b>stīhþ</b>	<b>bīet(t)</b>	<b>brȳcþ</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>stīgað</b>	<b>bēodað</b>	<b>brūcað</b>
Pret. Sg. 1.	<b>stāh</b>	<b>bēad</b>	<b>brēac</b>
2.	<b>stīge</b>	<b>bude</b>	<b>bruce</b>
3.	<b>stāh</b>	<b>bēad</b>	<b>brēac</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>stigon</b>	<b>budon</b>	<b>brucon</b>

## SUBJUNCTIVE

Pres. Sg. 1–3.	<b>stiġe</b>	<b>bēode</b>	<b>brūce</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>stiġen</b>	<b>bēoden</b>	<b>brūcen</b>
Pret. Sg. 1–3.	<b>stiġe</b>	<b>bude</b>	<b>bruce</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>stiġen</b>	<b>buden</b>	<b>brucen</b>

## IMPERATIVE

Sg. 2.	<b>stih</b>	<b>bēod</b>	<b>brūc</b>
Pl. 2.	<b>stiġað</b>	<b>bēodað</b>	<b>brūcað</b>

## NON-FINITE FORMS

Uninfl. inf.	<b>stiġan</b>	<b>bēodan</b>	<b>brūcan</b>
Infl. inf.	<b>tō stiġenne</b>	<b>tō bēodenne</b>	<b>tō brūcenne</b>
Active Part.	<b>stiġende</b>	<b>bēodende</b>	<b>brūcende</b>
Pass. Part.	<b>stiġen</b>	<b>boden</b>	<b>brocen</b>

Note that the 2 sg. preterite always has the same vocalism as the plural rather than that of the 1 and 3 singular. In these and all strong classes, in the preterite subjunctive both the singular and the plural are formed with the vowel of the preterite indicative plural.

**89. Exercise.** Generate the form requested for each of the following verbs: *grīpan* (pres. pl. ind.); *strūdan* (pret. sj. pl.); *rēocan* (3 sg. pres. ind.); *glīdan* (2 sg. pres. ind.); *drēogan* (pass. part.); *scrīfan* (pl. pret. ind.); *hrēosan* (3 sg. pret. ind.); *scūfan* (2 sg. pres. ind.); *belīfan* (1 sg. pret. ind.).

**90.** In Modern English, an **absolute construction** is a type of reduced clause that contains an active or a passive participle but no finite verb: examples are the boldface phrases in *Retreat being out of the question*, *the Vikings fought on* and *The troops turned back*, *their supplies exhausted*. This was not a native syntactic construction in Old English, but it came to be used, especially in translations, in imitation of similar Latin constructions. In Latin such absolute phrases are put into the ablative case, and in Old English they are usually put into the dative. Examples are *Sē hælend cwæð tō his fæder*, *upāhafenum ēagum tō heofenum . . .* ‘The Savior said to his Father, *his eyes raised up to the heavens . . .*’ (ÆCHomII 22, 206.5) and *Sōðlice, ġewordenum flōde*, *hit flēow intō þām hūse* ‘Truly, *when a flood occurred*, it flowed into the house’ (Lk[WSCp] 6.48).

## READING

Mid þȳ sōðlice Antiochus sē wælreowa cyning on þisse wælreownesse þurh-wunode, ða wæs Apollōnius ġehāten sum ġeong man sē wæs swiðe welig and

snotor and wæs ealdorman on Tīrō þære mægðe, sē getruwode on his snotor-  
 nesse and on ðā bōclīcan lāre and āgan rōwan oð þæt hē becōm tō Antiochian.  
 Eode þā in tō ðām cyninge and cwæð, “Wes gesund, cyning. Hwæt, ic becōm nū  
 tō ðē swā swā tō gōdum fæder and ārfæstum. Ic eom sōðlice of cynelicum cynne  
 cumen and ic bidde þīnre dohtor mē tō gemæccan.” Ðā ðā sē cyning þæt ge-  
 hīerde þæt hē his willes gehīeran nolde, hē swiðe ierlicum ondwilitan beseah tō  
 ðām geongan ealdormen and cwæð, “Pū geonga mann, canst ðū þone dōm  
 mīnre dohtor gīfta?” Apollōnīus cwæð, “Ic can þone dōm and ic hine æt þām  
 geate geseah.” Ðā cwæð sē cyning mid æbylgnesse, “Gehīer nū þone rædels,  
*Scelere vereor, materna carne vescor.*” (Þæt is on Engliśc, ‘Sýlde ic þolige, mōd-  
 renum flæscē ic brūce’.) Eft he cwæð, “*Quaero patrem meum, meae matris*  
*virum, uxoris meae filiam nec invenio.*” (Þæt is on Engliśc, ‘Ic sēce mīnne fæder,  
 mīnre mōdor wer, mīnes wīfes dohtor, and ic ne finde’.) Apollōnīus þā sōðlice,  
 onfangenum rædelse, hine bewende hwōn fram ðām cyninge, and mid þý þe hē  
 smēade ymbe þæt ingehygd, hē hit gewan mid wīsdōme, and mid Godes fultume  
 hē þæt sōð ārædde. Bewende hine þā tō ðām cyninge and cwæð, “Pū gōda  
 cyning, þū āsettest rædels; gehīer ðū þā onfundennesse. Ymbe þæt þū cwæde  
 þæt þū sýlde þolodest, ne eart ðū lēogende on ðām: beseoh tō ðē selfum; and  
 þæt þū cwæde mōdrenum flæscē ic brūce, ne eart ðū on ðām lēogende: beseoh tō  
 þīnre dohtor.”

**mid þý, while**

**Tīrō**, dat. sg. of **Tīrus** (Lat.  
 dative-ablative ending)

**āgan**, 3 sg. pret. of **āginnan**

**wes**, see §52

**gehīeran** in the sense ‘obey, con-  
 form to’ here unusually  
 takes a gen. object

**canst, can**, 2 and 1 sg. pres. of  
**cunnan**

**gehīer**, imp. sg. of **hīeran**

**þolige**, 1 sg. pres. of **þolian**. Lat.  
*scelere vereor* ‘I fear from  
 sin’, which is not translated  
 literally in the Old English,  
 is a corruption of *scelere*  
*vehor* ‘I ride on sin’.

**flæscē**, dat. (rather than gen.

with **brūce**) due to the  
 influence of ablative *carne* in  
 the Latin source

**onfangenum**, pass. part. of  
**onfōn**

**bewende**, 3 sg. pret. of

**bewendan**

**smēade**, 3 sg. pret. of **smēagan**

**gewan**, 3 sg. pret. of **winnan**

**āsettest**, 2 sg. pret. of **āsettan**

**cwæde**, 2 sg. pret. ind. or sj. of  
**cweðan**

**þolodest**, 2 sg. pret. of **þolian**

**beseoh**, imp. sg. of **besēon**

## CHAPTER XII

### STRONG VERBS OF THE THIRD CLASS VERB PREFIXES

**91.** In the third class of strong verbs, the stem ends in two consonants. Since neighboring consonants may cause a variety of vowel changes, the original, unified ablaut alternations have been partly obscured, but they derive from a single original pattern. One subtype in class three has *h* or *r* after the root vowel:

(a)	<b>beorgan</b> <i>protect</i>	<b>bearh</b>	<b>burgon</b>	<b>borgen</b>
	<b>feohtan</b> <i>fight</i>	<b>feaht</b>	<b>fuhton</b>	<b>fohten</b>
	<b>weorpan</b> <i>throw</i>	<b>wearp</b>	<b>wurpon</b>	<b>worpen</b>
	<b>weorðan</b> <i>become</i>	<b>wearð</b>	<b>wurdon</b>	<b>worden</b>

In these verbs, breaking has affected the present system and the preterite singular. For the third of the four verbs, then, these forms should be derived from \**werpan* and \**wærp* < \**warp*. The alternation between ð and *d* in *weorðan* is due to Verner's law, as explained in §87. Breaking has also affected the type with *l* after the root vowel:

(b)	<b>delfan</b> <i>dig</i>	<b>dealf</b>	<b>dulfon</b>	<b>dolfen</b>
	<b>helpan</b> <i>help</i>	<b>healp</b>	<b>hulpon</b>	<b>holpen</b>
	<b>swellan</b> <i>swell</i>	<b>sweal(l)</b>	<b>swullon</b>	<b>swollen</b>

The difference is that there is no breaking in the present, since *e* is not regularly broken before *l* plus any consonant other than *h* (§62). On the co-occurrence of forms like *sweal* and *sweall*, see §65. Another subtype is similar but has diphthongization by initial palatal consonants in the present:

(c)	<b>ġieldan</b> <i>pay</i>	<b>ġeald</b>	<b>ġuldon</b>	<b>golden</b>
	<b>ġiellan</b> <i>yell</i>	<b>ġeal(l)</b>	<b>ġullon</b>	<b>gollen</b>
	<b>ġielpan</b> <i>boast</i>	<b>ġealp</b>	<b>ġulpon</b>	<b>golpen</b>

These three are nearly the only verbs of this type. The diphthongization in the preterite singular of this type is assumed to be due to breaking rather than diphthongization by initial palatal consonants, since breaking has chronological priority (§71). A different type of vowel change is found in the subtype with a nasal consonant after the root vowel:

(d)	<b>bindan</b> <i>bind</i>	<b>band</b>	<b>bundon</b>	<b>bunden</b>
	<b>climban</b> <i>climb</i>	<b>clamb</b>	<b>clumbon</b>	<b>clumben</b>
	<b>drincan</b> <i>drink</i>	<b>dranc</b>	<b>druncon</b>	<b>druncen</b>
	<b>swimman</b> <i>swim</i>	<b>swam(m)</b>	<b>swummon</b>	<b>swummen</b>

The preterite singular naturally may have *o* rather than *a* (*bond*, *clomb*, etc.) in Early West Saxon. The distinguishing feature of this subtype is that it has *i* in the present and *u* in the passive participle, and this is due to some very early sound changes. In Proto-Germanic, *e* became *i* before a nasal consonant followed by another consonant; hence PGmc. *\*bendan* > *bindan*, *\*klemban* > *climban*, etc. The *u* in the passive participle is explained below. Another subgroup comprising just two verbs has the same ablaut alternations even though the root vowel does not appear immediately before a nasal consonant:

(e)	<b>birnan</b> <i>burn</i>	<b>barn</b>	<b>burnon</b>	<b>burnen</b>
	<b>irnan</b> <i>run</i>	<b>arn</b>	<b>urnon</b>	<b>urnen</b>

The explanation is that these verbs have undergone **metathesis**: that is, the original infinitives were *\*brinnan* and *\*rinnan*, and in each, *r* and *i* were transposed in prehistoric Old English. This is comparable to the way that *ask*, for instance, in some dialects of English may be pronounced [æks] (cf. OE *ācsian*), or the way that Latin *periculum* ‘danger’ shows metathesis of *r* and *l* in Spanish *peligro*, and Latin *titulus* ‘tittle’ of *t* (>*d*) and *l* in Spanish *tilde*. Accordingly, the preterite singular of these verbs may be *born*, *orn*, as well. Finally, one subtype comprising four verbs has none of these vowel changes:

(f)	<b>brēġdan</b> <i>brandish</i>	<b>bræġd</b>	<b>brugdon</b>	<b>brogden</b>
	<b>streġdan</b> <i>strew</i>	<b>stræġd</b>	<b>strugdon</b>	<b>strogden</b>
	<b>berstan</b> <i>burst</i>	<b>bærst</b>	<b>burston</b>	<b>borsten</b>
	<b>þerscan</b> <i>thresh</i>	<b>þærsc</b>	<b>þurscon</b>	<b>þorscēn</b>

It may seem surprising that there is no breaking in forms of *berstan* and *þerscan*; the explanation is that these verbs have also undergone metathesis.

92. In sum, once these various sound changes are taken into account, it should be plain that the underlying ablaut pattern in the third class of strong verbs is like that seen in the last group, with *e* in the present, *æ* in the preterite singular, *u* in the preterite plural, and *o* in the passive participle. A knowledge of the workings of breaking and other sound changes obviously makes the third class of strong verbs seem more unified and readily comprehensible than it at first appears. This ablaut pattern can be traced back a bit further: *æ*, it will be remembered, is due to Anglo-Frisian brightening of Gmc. *a*; and *o* in the passive participle is due to the lowering of *u* under the influence of what was originally a low vowel in the following syllable in an assimilatory process comparable to front mutation: *worden*, for example, is to be derived from *\*wurðanaz*, whereas the preterite plural retains its *u* because there was no low vowel in the next syllable: *wurdon* comes from *\*wurðun*. A nasal consonant before another consonant, however, prevented this lowering of *u* to *o*, and this explains the passive

participles in subgroup (d), *bunden*, *clumben*, etc. The early Germanic ablaut series for this class, then, was *e : a : u : u*, and this is what we should expect, given the ablaut patterns found in other Indo-European languages. For details, see Appendix A, pp. 113–15.

**93. Exercise.** Supply the principal parts for each of the following strong verbs of the third class. Be sure to take into account the effects of breaking, diphthongization by initial palatal consonants, and the influence of nasal consonants: *stincan*, *hweorfan*, *hlimman*, *swelgan*, *sweorcan*, *sciellan*, *ċeorfan*, *spinnan*.

**94.** Prefixes modify the meaning of verbs in often subtle ways. Here is a list of some common prefixes:

- ā-** often denotes perfect aspect, indicating that the action of the verb has been completed, as with *ābītan* ‘devour’, *ādrincan* ‘be drowned’, *āhēawan* ‘cut off’, *ārēdan* ‘interpret’, *āsendan* ‘send away’, and *āstandan* ‘stand up’. At other times it merely intensifies the action of the verb, as with *āmāeran* ‘extol’ and *āmeldian* ‘betray’.
- be-**, like *ā-*, may intensify or perfect the verb, as with *begān* ‘traverse, overrun’ and *beċeorfan* ‘cut off’; or it may turn an intransitive verb into a transitive one, as with *behycġan* ‘consider’ and *berinnan* ‘run upon’; or it may have the meaning ‘around, over’, as with *befōn* ‘surround’ and *beġēotan* ‘pour over’.
- ed-** is comparable to MnE *re-*, as with *ednīwian* ‘renew’ and *edstaðolian* ‘reestablish’.
- for-** in adjectives and adverbs has an intensifying function (cf. *formaniġ* ‘very many’, and *forswīðe* ‘very much’); in verbs this intensification usually has a negative or a destructive quality to it, as with *fordēman* ‘condemn’, *fordōn* ‘destroy’, *forsprecan* ‘say amiss’, *forswerian* ‘perjure oneself’, and *forweorðan* ‘perish’.
- fore-**, just as in Modern English, indicates precedence, as with *forecȳðan* ‘prophesy’ and *forepenċan* ‘premeditate’.
- ġe-** often has perfective meaning, which is why it is very common with pass. participles, as in German. But it may also perfect the meaning in present active forms, as with *ġefaran* ‘die’, *ġegān* ‘overrun’, and *ġeridan* ‘ride over, seize, occupy’. Very often, though, it does not seem to add any discernible meaning to verbs.
- on-** has two discrete meanings when used with verbs: it may be inceptive, marking the beginning of an action, as with *oncnāwan* ‘recognize’, *on-ælan* ‘kindle’, and *onlihtan* ‘illuminate’; or it may reverse the action of the verb, as with *onlūcan* ‘unlock’, *ongyrdan* ‘unbuckle’, and *ontȳnan* ‘open’.
- of-** may serve to perfect the action of the verb, as with *ofriðan* ‘overtake by riding’, and *ofslēan* ‘strike off or down, kill’

- oð-** may mean ‘away’, as with *oðferian* ‘take away’ and *oðrōwan* ‘escape by rowing’.
- tō-** may have the sense ‘apart’, as with *tōbrecean* ‘break up’, *tōfēran* ‘go in different directions’, and *tōtēon* ‘pull apart’.
- wip-** generally implies some sort of opposition, as with *wipcēosan* ‘reject’ and *wipgān* ‘oppose’.

## READING

Mid þȳ þe sē cyning ġehierde þæt Apollōnīus þone rædels swā rihte ārædde, þā ondrēd hē þæt hit tō wīdcūð wære. Beseah ðā mid ierlicum andwlitan tō him and cwæð, “Ðū ġeonga man, þū eart feor fram rihte; þū dwelast and nis nāht þæt þū sægst; ac þū hæfst behēafdunge ġeearnod. Nū lāte ic ðē tō þrittiġra daga fæc þæt þū beþence ðone rædels āriht, and ðū siððan onfōh mīnre dohtor tō wīfe, and ġif ðū þæt ne dēst, þū sceaht oncnāwan þone ġesettan dōm.” Ðā wearð Apollōnīus swīðe ġedrēfed and mid his ġefērum on sċip āstāh and rēow oð þæt hē becōm tō Tirum.

Sōðlice, æfter þām þe Apollōnīus āfaren wæs, Antiochus sē cyning him tō ġeċieġde his dihtnere sē wæs Thaliarcus ġehāten: “Thaliarce, ealra mīnra dīegolnessa mīn sē ġetriewesta þegn, wite þū þæt Apollōnīus āriht ārædde mīnne rædels. Āstih nū hrædlīce on sċip and far æfter him, and þonne þū him tō becume, þonne ācwel ðū hine mid īsene oððe mid āttre, þæt þū mæġe frēodōm onfōn þonne þū onġēan cymst.” Thaliarcus sōna swā hē þæt ġehierde, hē ġenam mid him ġe feoh ġe āttor and on sċip āstāh and fōr æfter þām unsceaððīġan Apollōnie oð ðæt hē tō his ēðle becōm. Ac Apollōnīus þeahhwæðre ār becōm tō his āġenan and intō his hūse ēode and his bōcciste ontȳnde and āsmēade þone rædels æfter ealra ūðwitena and Chaldēa wīsdōme. Mid þȳ þe hē nāht elles ne onfunde būton þæt hē ār ġepōhte, hē cwæð þā tō him selfum, “Hwæt dēst þū nū, Apollōnī? Ðæs cynīnges rædels þū āsmēadest and þū his dohtor ne onfēnge; forðām þū eart nū fordēmed þæt þū ācweald weorðe.” And hē þā ūt ēode and hēt his sċip mid hwæte ġehlæstan and mid mīclum ġewihte goldes ond seolfres and mid manīġfealdum and ġenyhtsumum rēafum, and swā mid fēawum þām ġetriewestum mannum on sċip āstāh on ðære þriddan tīde þære nihte and slōh ūt on ðā sǣ.

**ondrēd**, 3 sg. pret. of **ondrædan**  
**dwelast**, 2. sg. pres. of **dwelian**  
**nis = ne is**  
**hæfst**, 2 sg. pres. of **habban**  
**ġeearnod**, pass. part. of **earnian**  
**beþence**, pres. sg. of **beþencan**

**onfōh**, imp. sg. of **onfōn**  
**dēst**, 2 sg. pres. of **dōn**  
**sceaht**, 2 sg. pres. of **sċulan**  
**ġesettan**, pass. part. of **settan**, acc.  
 sg. masc. wk.  
**rēow**, 3 sg. pret. of **rōwan**

**āfaren**, pass. part. of **āfaran**

**ġeċieġde**, 3 sg. pret. of **ċieġan**

**Thaliarce**, vocative sg. (Latin ending)

**wite**, pres. sg. sj. of **witan** used in imperative sense

**far**, imp. sg. of **faran**

**ācwel**, imp. sg. of **ācwellan**

**ġenam**, 3 sg. pret. of **niman**

**fōr**, 3 sg. pret. of **faran**

**āsmēade**, 3 sg. pret. of **āsmēagan**

**onfunde**, 3 sg. pret. of **onfindan**

**ġepōhte**, 3 sg. pret. of **þencan**

**fordēmed**, pass. part. of **fordēman**

**ācweald**, pass. part. of **ācwellan**

**hēt**, 3 sg. pret. of **hātan**

**slōh**, 3 sg. pret. of **slēan**

## CHAPTER XIII

### STRONG VERBS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CLASSES i- AND u-STEM NOUNS • VARIANT SPELLINGS WITH *g*

95. Verbs of the fourth strong class show nearly the same ablaut pattern as underlies the third class:

(a)	<b>beran</b> <i>bear</i>	<b>bær</b>	<b>bæron</b>	<b>boren</b>
	<b>brecan</b> <i>break</i>	<b>bræc</b>	<b>bræcon</b>	<b>brocen</b>
	<b>helan</b> <i>conceal</i>	<b>hæl</b>	<b>hælon</b>	<b>holen</b>
	<b>stelan</b> <i>steal</i>	<b>stæl</b>	<b>stælon</b>	<b>stolen</b>
	<b>teran</b> <i>tear</i>	<b>tær</b>	<b>tæron</b>	<b>toren</b>

The difference is that in this class the vowel of the preterite plural is not *u* but *æ*. Just as in the third class, diphthongization by an initial palatal consonant obscures the underlying pattern in one verb:

(b)	<b>sćieran</b> <i>cut</i>	<b>sćear</b>	<b>sćēaron</b>	<b>sćoren</b>
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Also as in the third class, a following nasal consonant provokes changes in the root vowel in two important verbs:

(c)	<b>niman</b> <i>take</i>	<b>nam, nōm</b>	<b>nōmon, nāmon</b>	<b>numen</b>
	<b>cuman</b> <i>come</i>	<b>c(w)ōm</b>	<b>c(w)ōmon</b>	<b>cumen</b>

These derive from *\*neman* and *\*kw<sub>ε</sub>man* (where *ε* represents a vowel reduced and lost very early, with subsequent vocalization of *w* to *u*). In *niman*, *m* has the same effect as a consonant cluster beginning with a nasal consonant in the third class, and this explains the high vowels in the infinitive and the pass. participle. The forms *nōmon* and *c(w)ōmon* are the expected reflexes of Gmc. *\*nāmun* and *\*kwāmun*; the other preterite forms are the result of analogical processes (see Brunner 1965: §390 Anm. 3).

96. The fifth class has nearly the same ablaut pattern as the fourth:

(a)	<b>cweðan</b> <i>say</i>	<b>cwæð</b>	<b>cwædon</b>	<b>cweden</b>
	<b>metan</b> <i>measure</i>	<b>mæt</b>	<b>mæton</b>	<b>meten</b>
	<b>sprecan</b> <i>speak</i>	<b>spræc</b>	<b>spræcon</b>	<b>sprecen</b>
	<b>tredan</b> <i>tread</i>	<b>træd</b>	<b>trædon</b>	<b>treden</b>
	<b>wesan</b> <i>be</i>	<b>wæs</b>	<b>wæron</b>	

The difference is that while verbs of the fourth class have *o* in the passive participle, verbs of the fifth have *e*. Note that *cweðan* and *wesan* show the effects of

Verner's law (§87), and no passive participle is attested for the latter. Two verbs of this class show diphthongization by initial palatal consonants:

(b)	<b>ġiefan</b> <i>give</i>	<b>ġeaf</b>	<b>ġeafon</b>	<b>ġiefen</b>
	<b>beġietan</b> <i>acquire</i>	<b>beġeat</b>	<b>beġeaton</b>	<b>beġieten</b>

The stem *-ġietan* is not found unprefixated; it also appears in *onġietan* 'perceive'. The fundamental difference between classes four and five (and the cause of the ablaut difference in the pass. participle) is that verbs of class four have roots ending in **sonorant consonants** (liquids and nasals), whereas those of class five have stems ending in non-sonorants (oral stops and fricatives). The verb *brecan* (also *hlecan* 'unite'), a seeming exception, is explained in Appendix A, p. 115.

**97. Exercise.** Provide the forms of the 2 sg. pres. indicative, the 3 sg. pret. indicative, the pret. pl. subjunctive, and the pass. participle for the following verbs of the fourth and fifth classes: *cwelan*, *swefan*, *cuman*, *ścieran*, *drepan*, *onġietan*.

**98.** An important group of nouns had stems ending in *-i-* in Proto-Germanic, and so they are called ***i*-stems**. At the end of a word, *-i* behaved just as the other short high vowel, *-u*, did: it was apocopated (§33) after a heavy syllable but not after a light one; and when it was not lost it was lowered, becoming *-e*, just as *-u* may appear as *-o* (§32). The endings of the **light *i*-stems** (e.g. masc. *wine* 'friend', neut. *spere* 'spear'; no feminine light *i*-stems survive intact) are nearly identical to those given for the *ja*-stems in §70, the only difference being that in the masc. nom.-acc. plural the ending may be either *-e* (the older, much rarer one) or *-as* (the newer one, borrowed from the *a*-stems):

	Singular	Plural
Nom., Acc.	<b>wine</b>	<b>wine, winas</b>
Gen.	<b>wines</b>	<b>wina</b>
Dat.	<b>wine</b>	<b>winum</b>

Neut. *spere* has the same endings as masc. *wine*, except that the nom.-acc. plural is *speru*. Because of the loss of *-i* after heavy syllables, the declension of **heavy *i*-stems** came to resemble that of *a*- and *ō*-stems, and analogical changes obviated the few remaining differences, so that the heavy *i*-stems differ from the *a*- and *ō*-stems only in that their roots show front mutation. There are two exceptions to this rule:

(a) Feminine *i*-stems are sometimes endingless in the accusative singular, giving for example *dēd* 'deed' beside *dēde*.

(b) Some names of nations and a very small number of other nouns retain the older *i*-stem ending *-e* in the nom.-acc. plural, for example nom.-acc. *Engle*

'Englishmen', *Dene* 'Danes', and fem. *lēode* 'people'. The genitive plural is usually -*a*, but -(*e*)*na* also occurs.

99. Like the *i*-stems, the ***u*-stems**, which are few in number, suffer apocope and then are likely to be reformed by analogy to *a*- and *ō*-stems. Thus, any *u*-stem (and especially the heavy stems) may bear *a*- or *ō*-stem endings, but the more conservative paradigms are like those of *sē sunu* 'the son', *sē winter* 'the winter', *sēo duru* 'the door', and *sēo hand* 'the hand':

		Singular			
Nom., Acc.	<b>sunu</b>	<b>winter</b>	<b>duru</b>	<b>hand</b>	
Gen., Dat.	<b>sunā</b>	<b>wintra</b>	<b>dura</b>	<b>handa</b>	
		Plural			
Nom., Acc.	<b>sunā, -u</b>	<b>wintra</b>	<b>dura, -u</b>	<b>handā</b>	
Gen.	<b>sunā</b>	<b>wintra</b>	<b>dura</b>	<b>handā</b>	
Dat.	<b>sunum</b>	<b>wintrum</b>	<b>durum</b>	<b>handum</b>	

Note that the inflections are nearly the same for heavy and light stems (the only differences are the presence or absence of *-u* in the nom.-acc. singular and the use of the alternative inflection *-u* in the nom.-acc. plural of light stems), and that they are identical for masculine and feminine. No neuter but *medu* 'mead' survives, and it is more commonly masculine. The other commonest masculine nouns that may bear *u*-stem endings are *sidu* 'custom', *wudu* 'wood', *eard* 'country', *flōd* 'flood', *ford* 'ford', and *sumor* 'summer'; the only other feminines are *nosu* 'nose', *cweorn* 'hand-mill', and *flōr* 'floor'.

100. The spelling of Old English is remarkably uniform for a medieval language, and yet inevitably there is much more orthographic variation than is found in standard Modern English. Over the course of the remaining chapters, some spelling inconsistencies will be examined, and the spelling of the reading selections, which has to this point been partly normalized, will gradually take on the character of actual scribal practices. Three spelling variations may be noted here:

(a) The endings *-ian*, *-ie*, *-ien*, *-iende*, etc., found on certain verbs (those of the second weak class, treated below, §120) may be spelt with *ġ* after the *i*, giving *-iġan*, *-iġe*, etc.

(b) It was explained above (§18) that the letter *g* usually represents a fricative sound [ɣ], though in three environments it developed to a stop [g]: after *n* (as in *singan* 'sing'), in gemination (as in *frogga* 'frog'), and, at a later date, at the beginning of a word (as in *ġān*). Although the stop value of this sound is usually represented by simple *g*, except at the beginning of a word it may be represented also by *cg* or *gc*, or even simply *c*. Thus, *cyning* may be written *cynincg* or *cyningc*, or even *cyninc*, and *frogga* may be written *frocga*. The *c* is

added to *g* essentially as a diacritic to show that *g* represents a stop rather than a fricative. This may be confusing, since it has already been said that *cg* represents an affricate sound [dʒ]; to distinguish the two, in this book the affricate is written *ċġ* (or *ġċ*) and the geminate stop sometimes *cg* (or *gc*). It should be plain that for the Anglo-Saxons the important distinction was not between palatal and velar varieties, or even between stops and affricates, but between fricatives and stops (the latter of which might develop into affricates).

(c) The sound [j] is usually spelt with *ġ*, but *i* may also be used. Hence *herġes* = *heries* (or, more commonly, *heriġes*) ‘of an army’ and *ġeong* = *iung* ‘young’.

### READING

Omitted is a passage describing how Antiochus put a price on Apollonius’s head, and how Apollonius saved the city of Tarsus from starvation before he set off again on his wanderings to escape Antiochus’s malice.

Mid þý þe hie ongunnon þā rōwan and hie forðweard wæron on heora weġ, þā wearð ðære sære smyltnesse āwend færinga betwux twām tidum and wearð miċel hrēownes āweht, swā þæt sēo sære cnyste þā heofonlican tungla and þæt ġewealc þāra ýða hwoðerode mid windum. Pærtōēacan cōmon ēastnorðerne windas, and sē anġlislica sūðwesterna wind him onġēan stōð, and þæt scīp eal tōbærst.

On ðissere eġeslican hrēownesse Apollōnīus ġefēran ealle forwurdon tō dēaðe, and Apollōnīus āna becōm mid sunde tō Pentapolim þām Ċirīniscan londe and þær up ēode on ðām stronde. Þā stōð hē nacod on þām strande and behēold þā sære and cwæð, “Ēalā þū sære Neptūne, manna berēafġend and unsceaððġra beswicend, þū eart wælhrēowra þonne Antiochus sē cyningc. For minum þingum þū ġehēolde þās wælhrēownesse þæt ic þurh ðe ġewurde wædla and þearfa, and þæt sē wælhrēowesta cyningc mē þý ēað fordōn mihte. Hwider mæg ic nū faran? Hwæs mæg ic biddan oððe hwā ġiefð þām uncūðan lifes fultum?” Mid þý þe hē þās þingc wæs sprecende tō him selfum, þā færinga ġeseah hē sumne fiscere ġān. Tō þām hē beseah and þus sārlice cwæð: “ġemiltsa mē, þū ealda man, sie þæt þū sie; ġemiltsa mē nacodum, forlidenum, næs nā of earmlicum byrdum ġeborennum. And ðæs ðe ðū ġearo forwite hwām ðū ġemiltsiġe, ic eom Apollōnīus sē Tirisca ealdorman.” Ðā sōna swā sē fiscere ġeseah þæt sē iunga man æt his fōtum læġ, hē mid mildheortnesse hine up āhōf and lædde hine mid him tō his hūse and ðā ēstas him beforan lēġde þe hē him tō bēodenne hæfde. Þā ġiet hē wolde be his mihte mārān ārfæstnesse him ġecýðan; tōslāt þā his wæfels on twā and sealde Apollōniġe þone healfan dæl, þus cweðende: “Nim þæt ic þe tō sellenne hæbbe and ġā intō ðære cēastre. Wēn is þæt þū ġemēte sumne þe þe ġemiltsiġe. ġif ðū ne finde nænne þe þe ġemiltsian wille, wend þonne hider onġēan and ġenyhtsumiġe unc bām mīne lýtlan æhta, and far ðe on fiscnoð mid mē. Þeahhwæðre ic mynegie þe, ġif ðū, fultumiendum

Gode, becymst tō ðinum ærran weorðmynte, þæt þū ne forgiete mīnne þearf-endlican ġeġierlan.” Ðā cwæð Apollōnīus, “Ġif ic þē ne ġeþence þonne mē bet bið, ic wýsce þæt ic eft forlidennesses ġefare and þinne ġelīcan eft ne ġemēte.”

**smyltnesse** is a late nom. sg.  
**āwend**, pass. part. of **āwenden**  
**āweht**, pass. part. of **āweccan**  
**cnyste**, 3 sg. pret. of **cnyssan**  
**hwoðerode**, 3 sg. pret. of  
**hwoðerian**  
**behēold**, 3 sg. pret. of **behealdan**  
**ġehēolde**, 2 sg. pret. of **healdan**  
**ēað**, compar. of **ēaþe**  
**ġemiltsa**, imp. sg. of **miltsian**  
**næs nā**, *not at all*  
**læg**, 3 sg. pret. of **licġan**

**āhōf**, 3 sg. pret. of **āhebban**  
**lædde**, 3 sg. pret. of **lædan**  
**lēġde**, 3 sg. pret. of **lēġan**  
**sealde**, 3 sg. pret. of **sellan**  
**ġā**, imp. sg. of **ġān**  
**ġemēte**, sg. pres. sj. of **mētan**  
**wend**, imp. sg. of **wendan**  
**ġenyhtsumīġe**, sg. pres. sj. of  
**nyhtsumian** (sg. verb with  
plural subject)  
**bām**, see §59

## CHAPTER XIV

### STRONG VERBS OF THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CLASSES VARIANT SPELLINGS WITH *hr*- CONTRACTIONS WITH *ne* • NEGATIVE CONCORD

**101.** The ablaut series of the sixth class of strong verbs differs fundamentally from that of the others studied, since the preterite singular and plural have the same vocalism, as do the present system and the pass. participle:

(a)	<b>dragan</b> <i>draw</i>	<b>drōh</b>	<b>drōgon</b>	<b>dragen, draegen</b>
	<b>faran</b> <i>go</i>	<b>fōr</b>	<b>fōron</b>	<b>faren, færen</b>
	<b>sċeacan</b> <i>shake</i>	<b>sċeōc</b>	<b>sċeōcon</b>	<b>sċeacen, sċeacen</b>
	<b>wadan</b> <i>advance</i>	<b>wōd</b>	<b>wōdon</b>	<b>waden, wæden</b>

The vowel *a* in the infinitive is restored from *æ* before the back vowel (§29). Though we might expect *e*, the front mutation of *æ*, in the second and third person singular of the present system, in fact the vowel is usually *æ* (e.g. in *færst*, *færd* to *faran*). This is because *a* was early extended by analogy from the infinitive and present plural to the rest of the present system, and *æ* in the second and third persons singular thus represents the front mutation of *a* (see §74). Two verbs of this class have present systems with a nasal infix or suffix that disappears in the preterite, an ancient feature of the Indo-European languages:

(b)	<b>standan</b> <i>stand</i>	<b>stōd</b>	<b>stōdon</b>	<b>standen</b>
	<b>wæcnan</b> <i>awake</i>	<b>wōc</b>	<b>wōcon</b>	

Restoration of *a* is prevented in *wæcnan* by the closed syllable. No strong pass. participle is attested to this verb.

**102.** The seventh class comprises several seemingly diverse types. It has in common with the sixth class that the vocalism of the preterite is the same in the singular and plural, and the vocalism of the present system is the same as that of the passive participle:

(a)	<b>hātan</b> <i>promise</i>	<b>hēt</b>	<b>hēton</b>	<b>hāten</b>
	<b>sċeādan</b> <i>divide</i>	<b>sċēd</b>	<b>sċēdon</b>	<b>sċeāden</b>
(b)	<b>lāetan</b> <i>let</i>	<b>lēt</b>	<b>lēton</b>	<b>lāeten</b>
	<b>rādan</b> <i>advise</i>	<b>rēd</b>	<b>rēdon</b>	<b>rāden</b>
	<b>slāpan</b> <i>sleep</i>	<b>slēp</b>	<b>slēpon</b>	<b>slāpen</b>
(c)	<b>blāwan</b> <i>blow</i>	<b>blē(o)w</b>	<b>blē(o)won</b>	<b>blāwen</b>
	<b>cnāwan</b> <i>know</i>	<b>cnē(o)w</b>	<b>cnē(o)won</b>	<b>cnāwen</b>
	<b>sāwan</b> <i>sow</i>	<b>sē(o)w</b>	<b>sē(o)won</b>	<b>sāwen</b>

(d)	<b>bannan</b> <i>summon</i>	<b>bēon(n)</b>	<b>bēonnon</b>	<b>bannen</b>
	<b>gangan</b> <i>walk</i>	<b>ġēong</b>	<b>ġēongon</b>	<b>gangen</b>
	<b>spannan</b> <i>span</i>	<b>spēon(n)</b>	<b>spēonnon</b>	<b>spannen</b>
(e)	<b>feallan</b> <i>fall</i>	<b>fēol(l)</b>	<b>fēollon</b>	<b>feallen</b>
	<b>healdan</b> <i>hold</i>	<b>hēold</b>	<b>hēoldon</b>	<b>healden</b>
	<b>wealdan</b> <i>rule</i>	<b>wēold</b>	<b>wēoldon</b>	<b>wealden</b>
(f)	<b>bēatan</b> <i>beat</i>	<b>bēot</b>	<b>bēoton</b>	<b>bēaten</b>
	<b>hēawan</b> <i>hew</i>	<b>hēow</b>	<b>hēowon</b>	<b>hēawan</b>
(g)	<b>blōtan</b> <i>sacrifice</i>	<b>blēot</b>	<b>blēoton</b>	<b>blōten</b>
	<b>flōwan</b> <i>flow</i>	<b>flēow</b>	<b>flēowon</b>	<b>flōwen</b>
	<b>grōwan</b> <i>grow</i>	<b>grēow</b>	<b>grēowon</b>	<b>grōwen</b>

The verb *rædan* more usually has a weak pret. in WS, *rædde*. Despite their divergent present vocalism, these verbs are classified as a single group because their cognates in Gothic all show **reduplication** in the preterite, and they are the only verbs to do so. Reduplication is the addition of an extra syllable to the beginning of the word, a syllable comprising a copy of the initial consonant or consonant cluster of the root plus the vowel *e* (represented by *ai* in Gothic). Examples are Gothic *haldan* (OE *healdan*), pret. *haihald*; *skaidan* (OE *sceaðan*), pret. *skaiskaiþ*; and *lētan* (OE *lātan*), pret. *lailōt*. Reduplication was a feature of formation of the perfect category in Proto-Indo-European, and so it is found in several cognate languages: compare, for example, Lat. *pango* ‘fasten’, perf. *pepigi*; Gk. *λύω* ‘unbind’, perf. *λέλυκα*; and Skt. root *budh* ‘know’, perf. *bubódha*. The method of forming the preterite is plainly different in Old English, as well as in the other Germanic languages besides Gothic, and yet a few verbs of this class preserve, beside the regular ones listed above, archaic forms that must be derived from reduplicated preterites:

<b>bēatan</b> <i>beat</i>	<b>beoftun</b> (pl.)
<b>hātan</b> <i>promise</i>	<b>hēht</b>
<b>lācan</b> <i>play</i>	<b>leolc</b>
<b>lātan</b> <i>let</i>	<b>leort</b>
<b>ondrædan</b> <i>dread</i>	<b>ondreord</b>
<b>rædan</b> <i>advise</i>	<b>reord</b>
<b>spātan</b> <i>spit</i>	<b>speoft</b>

These relic reduplicated forms are found almost exclusively in the archaic language of poetry and in the Anglian dialects, which are in many respects more conservative than West Saxon. Another archaism is *hätte* ‘was called’ (Gothic *haitada*), to *hātan*, as the only passive form in Old English, preserving an ancient Germanic category.

**103.** Despite the variety of vowels encountered in the infinitive, verbs of the seventh class may be divided into two types, those with *ē* in the preterite (a–c)

and those with *ēo* (d–f). Numerous theories have been devised attempting to explain the origin of these vowel alternations; just one of them will be mentioned here as a possibility, since regardless of whether or not it is correct, it is useful because it furnishes a relatively straightforward way to predict whether the preterite will contain *ē* or *ēo*. The existence of reduplicated relics like *leolc* suggests that at a fairly early date a new method was devised for generating preterite forms in this class, leaving the older reduplicated forms to die out gradually. This new method was to insert the vowel *e* into the present stem in front of the root vowel—a method inspired by verbs without an initial consonant, like Gothic *aukan*, pret. *ai auk*; thus, the new preterites to Gmc. *\*lāetan* and *\*blōtan* were *\*l-e-āet-* and *\*bl-e-ōt-*. The result in Old English is that wherever this inserted *e* combines with a back vowel or a diphthong ending in a back glide, the result is *ēo*; when it combines with a front vowel or a diphthong ending in a front glide, the result is *ē*. The results for the six subtypes of verbs listed above are perfectly regular once it is understood that in subtype (a), the vowel *ā* of the root derives from Gmc. *ai* (see Appendix A), and so it counts as a front diphthong. The preterite of *cnāwan* and the like has *ēo* because of the influence of the following *w*: *cnēow* derives from *cnēw*, a spelling that is also encountered.

**104. Exercise.** Predict whether the following verbs of the sixth and seventh classes will have *ō*, *ē*, or *ēo* in the preterite: *hlēapan*, *galan*, *fealdan*, *ondrēdan*, *grafan*, *crāwan*, *weaxan*, *hrōpan*, *hladan*, *māwan*, *spōwan*, *weallan*, *lācan*.

**105.** Two variant spelling patterns may be added to those mentioned in the preceding chapter:

(a) The letter groups *hr*, *hl*, and *hn* are sometimes written without *h*, even in fairly early texts. These groups appear only at the beginning of a word or of an element of a compound: examples are (*h*)*rædlice* ‘quickly’ and *wæl(h)rēow* ‘cruel’. It is disputed whether *h* in such groups represents an actual consonant (as it must have at least in the earlier part of the Old English period) or whether it is merely a diacritic indicating that the following consonant is voiceless (see Hogg 1992: §2.72, but cf. Pope 1967–68: 129)—just as, for example, many speakers of English still pronounce *hw-* as a voiceless *w* in words like *while* and *which*. If *h* was simply a diacritic, its omission from spellings need not be assumed to indicate an actual sound change. Alliterative patterns in verse suggest that *h-* in such clusters was a consonant.

(b) When the negative particle *ne* appears before a word of high frequency that begins with a vowel and appears under low stress, it is frequently written contracted with that word. This practice also applies to some words beginning with *w* or *h*. The most important words of this type are *nāh* (*āgan* ‘own’, pret. *nāhte*), *nāwiht* (*āwiht* ‘anything’, also *nāht*), *nān* (*ān* ‘one’), *nāenig* (*āenig* ‘any’), *nabban* (*habban* ‘have’, pret. *næfde*), *neom*, *neart*, *nis* (*eom*, *eart*, *is* ‘am, are, is’), *næs* (*wæs*, pl. *næron*), *nyllan* (*willan* ‘wish’, pret. *noelde*), and *nytan* (*witan* ‘know’, pres. *nāt*, *nyton*, pret. *nyste*). This process is called **negative contraction**.

**106.** Negative concord, or multiple negation, is not required in Old English, but it is the norm. The negative particle *ne* is placed directly before the verb, and any indefinite elements in the clause may be negativized in agreement with the negated verb. An example is *Nū bidde ic þē . . . þæt þū nānne brýdguman nāfre mē ne namige, nē of mīnum lichaman deaðlicne wæstm ne sēce*, lit. 'Now I ask you . . . that you never not appoint me no bridegroom, nor not expect mortal fruit from my body' (ÆLS [Lucy] 36). The stigmatization of negative concord begins in the Early Modern English period.

#### READING

Æfter þisum wordum hē ēode on ðone weg þe him getæht wæs, oð ðæt hē becōm tō þære ceastre geate and ðærin ēode. Mid þy þe hē þōhte hwone hē biddan mihte lifes fultum, þā geseah hē ænne nacodne cnapan gēond þā stræte irnan, sē wæs mid ele gesmierwod and mid scýtan begyrd and bær iungra manna plegan on handa tō ðām bæðstede belimpende, and cliopode micelre stefne and cwæð, "Gehiere gē ceasterwaran, gehiere gē elðeodige, frīge and þēowe, æðele and unæðele, sē bæðstede is open." Ðā ðā Apollōnīus þæt gehierde, hē hine unschrýdde þām healfan sciccelse ðe hē on hæfde and ēode intō ðām þwēale, and mid þy þe hē behēold heora ānra gehwīlcne on heora weorce, hē sōhte his gēlican, ac hē ne mihte hine þær findan on ðām floccce. Ðā færinga cōm Arcestratēs, ealre þære þeode cyningc, mid micelre menio his manna and in ēode on þæt bæð. Ðā āgan sē cyningc plegan wið his gefēran mid þōðere, and Apollōnīus hine gemægnde, swā swā God wolde, on ðæs cyninges plegan and irnende þone ðoðor gēlæhte, and mid swiftre rædnesse geslegenne, ongēan gesende tō ðām plegendan cyninge. Eft hē āgēan āsende; hē rædlīce slōh swā hē hine nāfre feallan ne lēt. Sē cyningc ðā oncnēow þæs iungan snelnesse, þæt hē wiste þæt hē næfde his gēlican on þām plegan. Þā cwæð hē tō his gefēran, "Gāð ēow heonon. Þēs cniht, þæs þe mē þyncð, is mīn gēlica." Ðā ðā Apollōnīus gehierde þæt sē cyning hine herede, hē arn rædlīce and genēalæhte tō ðām cyninge and mid gēlæredre handa hē swang þone top mid swā micelre swiftnesse þæt þām cyninge wæs gēpuht swylce hē of ielde tō iuguðe gewend wære, and æfter þām on his cynesetle hē him gecwēmlice ðegnōde. And þā ðā hē ūt ēode of ðām bæðe, hē hine lædde be þære handa and him þā siððan þanon gewende þæs wegēs þe hē ær cōm.

**getæht**, pass. part. of **tæcan**

**þōhte**, 3 sg. pret. of **þencan**

**gesmierwod**, pass. part. of  
**smierwian**

**begyrd**, pass. part. of **begyrdan**

**cliopode**, 3 sg. pret. of **clipian**

**gehiere**: on the inflection, see §79

**frīge**, nom. pl. of **frēo**

**sōhte**, 3 sg. pret. of **sēcan**

**gemægnde**, 3 sg. pret. of  
**menġan**

**gēlæhte**, 3 sg. pret. of **læccan**

**rædnesse, rædlice = hrædnesse,**

**hrædlice**

**gesleġenne**, pass. part. of **slēan**

**Eft hē . . . hē**: as it frequently does

in Old English, pronoun

reference here changes

abruptly: the first **hē** refers to

Arcestrates, the second to

Apollonius; similarly below

**ġe-**, **āsende**, 3 sg. pret. of

(ā)**sendan**

**āġēan = onġēan**

**slōh**, 3 sg. pret. of **slēan**

**wiste**, 3 sg. pret. of **witan**

**ġāð**, imp. pl. of **ġān**

**herede**, 3 sg. pret. of **herian**

**ġenēalāhte**, 3 sg. pret. of **nēa-**

**lācan**

**hē swang þone top** misconstrues

the Latin, in which Apollo-

nus instead massages the

king

**ġepūht**, pass. part. of **þynċan**

**ġewend**, pass. part. of **wendan**

**lādde**, 3 sg. pret. of **lādan**

**ġewende**, 3 sg. pret. of **wendan**

**þæs weġes**, adverbial genitive

(§27)

## CHAPTER XV

### WEAK VERBS OF THE FIRST CLASS WEST SAXON SPELLINGS • æ BEFORE NASAL CONSONANTS

**107.** The conjugation of the **first class of weak verbs** may be represented by the paradigms of *fremman* ‘do’, *herian* ‘praise’ (both light-stemmed), and *dēman* ‘judge’ (heavy-stemmed):

#### INDICATIVE

Pres. Sg.	1.	<b>fremme</b>	<b>herie</b>	<b>dēme</b>
	2.	<b>fremst, fremest</b>	<b>herest</b>	<b>dēmst</b>
	3.	<b>fremþ, fremep</b>	<b>hereþ</b>	<b>dēmþ</b>
Pl.	1–3.	<b>fremmað</b>	<b>heriað</b>	<b>dēmað</b>
Pret. Sg.	1.	<b>fremede</b>	<b>herede</b>	<b>dēmde</b>
	2.	<b>fremedest</b>	<b>heredest</b>	<b>dēmdest</b>
	3.	<b>fremede</b>	<b>herede</b>	<b>dēmde</b>
Pl.	1–3.	<b>fremedon</b>	<b>heredon</b>	<b>dēmdon</b>

#### SUBJUNCTIVE

Pres. Sg.	<b>fremme</b>	<b>herie</b>	<b>dēme</b>
Pl.	<b>fremmen</b>	<b>herien</b>	<b>dēmen</b>
Pret. Sg.	<b>fremede</b>	<b>herede</b>	<b>dēmde</b>
Pl.	<b>fremeden</b>	<b>hereden</b>	<b>dēmden</b>

#### IMPERATIVE

Sg. 2.	<b>freme</b>	<b>here</b>	<b>dēm</b>
Pl. 2.	<b>fremmað</b>	<b>heriað</b>	<b>dēmað</b>

#### NON-FINITE FORMS

Uninfl. inf.	<b>fremman</b>	<b>herian</b>	<b>dēman</b>
Infl. inf.	<b>tō fremmenne</b>	<b>tō herienne</b>	<b>tō dēmenne</b>
Active Part.	<b>fremmende</b>	<b>heriende</b>	<b>dēmende</b>
Pass. Part.	<b>fremed</b>	<b>hered</b>	<b>dēmed</b>

In the *fremman* type there is no gemination of *m* in the 2–3 sg. pres. indicative forms, in the preterite, or in the passive participle; otherwise there is gemination throughout. The *herian* type is similar to the *fremman*, but wherever *fremman* has gemination, *herian* has *-ri-*; everywhere else it has simply *-r-*. The only other difference is that while *fremman* may or may not have syncope in the 2–3 sg. pres. indicative, *herian* never has it. As for the *dēman* type, it is like *fremman* except that it never has gemination, and wherever it can have syncope, it does:

thus, the connecting vowel is lost in the 2–3 sg. pres. indicative and throughout the preterite. It is also lost in the inflected forms of the pass. part. of *dēman*, but not of *fremman* or *herian*, e.g. dat. pl. *dēmdum* but *fremedum*, *heredum*. Since the preterite singular and plural stems are the same, it should be apparent that weak verbs require just three principal parts, the infinitive, preterite singular, and passive participle.

**108.** With a knowledge of the etymological background of these verbs it is easier to understand and remember their irregularities. The primary sign of this verb class in Proto-Gmc. was a *\*-j-* appended to the stem before the inflections were added. The present indicative system of the three verbs above may be reconstructed as follows:

Sg. 1.	<i>*framjō</i>	<i>*hazjō</i>	<i>*dōm(i)jō</i>
2.	<i>*framjis</i>	<i>*hazjis</i>	<i>*dōm(i)jis</i>
3.	<i>*framjiþ</i>	<i>*hazjiþ</i>	<i>*dōm(i)jiþ</i>
Pl. 3.	<i>*framjanþ</i>	<i>*hazjanþ</i>	<i>*dōm(i)janþ</i>

On *-ij-* for *-j-* in *\*dōm(i)jō*, see §70. Before the onset of West Germanic consonant gemination, *-ji-* in the 2–3 singular changed to either *-ī-* or *-i-*, and *z* in *\*hazj-* underwent rhotacism (§82). Thus, when consonant gemination set in, the 2–3 singular forms were not affected, nor was *\*harj-* or *\*dōmj-*, since there is no gemination of *r* or of consonants at the end of heavy syllables (§67). As for the preterite forms, the sound *ð* was added to *j* before the inflectional ending was added, and when *j* thus came to appear between two consonants it was naturally vocalized to *i*, as this paradigm of the preterite indicative in Proto-Germanic shows:

Sg. 1.	<i>*framiðō</i>	<i>*haziðō</i>	<i>*dōmiðō</i>
2.	<i>*framiðæs</i>	<i>*haziðæs</i>	<i>*dōmiðæs</i>
3.	<i>*framiðæ</i>	<i>*haziðæ</i>	<i>*dōmiðæ</i>
Pl. 3.	<i>*framiðun</i>	<i>*haziðun</i>	<i>*dōmiðun</i>

After front mutation, *i* was syncopated after heavy syllables but not after light ones, as explained in §137b; hence, there is no connecting vowel in OE pret. *dēmdē*, whereas the vowel remains (but is lowered to *e*) in *fremede* and *herede*. The pass. participle is not subject to syncope in its uninflected form because *i* was in the final syllable rather than a medial one at the time syncope applied, as with OE *dēmed* < *\*dōmid*; when the participle is inflected, however, just like other adjectives it may be subject to syncope, as with dat. sg. *dēmdum* < *\*dōmidum*; but compare *fremedum* < *\*framidum*, where syncope does not affect *i* after a light syllable. The imperative singular ending in Germanic was *\*-i*, which was apocopated after heavy syllables but not light ones (§§98, 137a).

**109.** Weak verbs of this class are generally derived from other parts of speech (nouns, adjectives, strong verbs, and even adverbs) by adding *-j-*, though if the root vowel is a front vowel, a variant with a back vowel is usually employed before front mutation applies (i.e., it assumes the PIE *o*-grade: see Appendix A, pp. 113–15). Examples are the following:

From nouns:	<b>cemban</b> <i>comb</i>	< * <b>kamb(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>camb</b> <i>comb</i> )
	<b>dēman</b> <i>judge</i>	< * <b>dōm(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>dōm</b> <i>judgment</i> )
	<b>tȳnan</b> <i>enclose</i>	< * <b>tūn(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>tūn</b> <i>enclosure</i> )
	<b>werian</b> <i>protect</i>	< * <b>warjan</b> (cf. <b>waru</b> <i>protection</i> )
From adjectives:	<b>blāċan</b> <i>bleach</i>	< * <b>blaik(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>blāc</b> <i>pale</i> )
	<b>cȳðan</b> <i>make known</i>	< * <b>kūþ(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>cūð</b> <i>known</i> )
	<b>fremman</b> <i>perform</i>	< * <b>framjan</b> (cf. <b>fram</b> <i>active</i> )
	<b>hāelan</b> <i>heal</i>	< * <b>hail(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>hāl</b> <i>sound</i> )
From verbs:	<b>ferian</b> <i>convey</i>	< * <b>farjan</b> (cf. <b>faran</b> <i>go</i> )
	<b>cwellan</b> <i>kill</i>	< * <b>kwaljan</b> (cf. <b>cwelan</b> <i>die</i> )
	<b>leċġan</b> <i>lay</i>	< * <b>lagjan</b> (cf. <b>liċġan</b> <i>lie</i> )
	<b>settān</b> <i>set</i>	< * <b>satjan</b> (cf. <b>sittan</b> <i>sit</i> )
From adverbs:	<b>āfierran</b> <i>drive away</i>	< * <b>ab-fiorr(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>feorr</b> <i>afar</i> )
	<b>īeċan</b> <i>increase</i>	< * <b>auk(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>ēac</b> <i>too</i> )
	<b>yppan</b> <i>reveal</i>	< * <b>upjan</b> (cf. <b>up</b> <i>up</i> )
	<b>ȳtan</b> <i>drive out</i>	< * <b>ūt(i)jan</b> (cf. <b>ūt</b> <i>out</i> )

From these examples it should be plain that the suffix *-j-* adds causative meaning: *blāċan* is ‘cause to be pale’, *cwellan* is ‘cause to die’, etc.

**110. Exercise.** Give the 3 sg. pres. indicative, the 3 sg. pret. indicative, and the pass. participle of the following weak verbs: *hieran*, *þennan*, *onhyrian*, *wreþþan*, *sengan*, *drēfan*, *besċierian*, *lāeran*.

**111.** Four more orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned. Three are sound changes restricted to the West Saxon dialect, and one is a mismatch of sounds and symbols. They all affect the spelling in manuscripts already from Alfredian times, though the changes are better attested in the later language:

(a) In West Saxon, between a front vowel and one of the voiced dental or alveolar consonants *þ/ð*, *d*, and *n*, the sound represented by *ġ* was lost, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Examples are *brēdan* ‘brandish’, *frīnan* ‘ask’, *māden* ‘maiden’, *rēn* ‘rain’, and *þēnung* ‘service’ beside *breġdan*, *friġnan*, *mægden*, *reġn*, and *þeġnung*. Within paradigms the change could be extended analogically to the position after a back vowel, e.g. *frūnon* ‘asked’, for *frugnon*, by analogy to *frīnan*.

(b) Also in Late West Saxon, almost any short vowel between *w* and *r* is usually spelt *u*. Thus, spellings like *dēorwurþe* ‘precious’, *swurd* ‘sword’, *wurpan*

‘throw’, *wurþmynd* ‘dignity’, and *wurþ* ‘becomes’ appear for earlier *dēorwierþe*, *sweord*, *weorpan*, *weorþmynd*, and *wierþ*.

(c) In addition, in all dialects there is variation in the spelling of the front mutation of *a* before a nasal consonant: usually it is spelt *e*, but *æ* is also common. Examples of this are *cæmpa* ‘champion’, *fræmeþ* ‘does’, *mænn* ‘people’, and *sændan* ‘send’ beside more usual *cempa*, *fremeþ*, *menn*, and *sendan*. It used to be believed that this was a dialect feature, but it is now apparent that it is not restricted to any definable area of England, though it is rare in late Northumbrian. This indeterminacy is entirely parallel to the fluctuation of the spelling of the equivalent back vowel seen in *mann/monn*, which, after all, is the same vowel in unmutated form. Largely for this reason it is assumed that these two sounds, front and back, are [ɛ] and [ɔ], and since we do not see similar confusion in the spelling before non-nasal consonants, there the graphs *e* and *o* must represent the sounds [e] and [o] (§19).

(d) In a process commonly called Late West Saxon smoothing, *ĕa* > *ē* before *c*, *g*, *h*, *x* and after *ċ*, *sc*, and *ġ*. This change is reflected only intermittently in the orthography. Examples are *sleh* ‘struck’, *hēh* ‘high’, *sex* ‘knife’, *ēge* ‘eye’, *bēcon* ‘sign’, *ċēp* ‘bargain’, *scēft* ‘shaft’, *ġef* ‘gave’, and *ġēr* ‘year’. Words like *scēamu* ‘shame’ and *ġeāra* ‘formerly’ are unaffected, since *ġ* here is merely orthographic.

## READING

Ðā cwæð sē cyningc tō his mannum siððan Apollōnīus āgān wæs, “Ic swerige þurh ðā ġemāenan hælo þæt ic mē næfre bet ne baðode þonne ic dyde tōdæg, nāt ic þurh hwilces iunges mannes þēnungē.” Ðā beseah hē hine tō ānum his manna and cwæð, “Gā and ġewite hwæt sē iunga man sie þe mē tōdæg swā wel ġehīersumode.” Sē man ðā ēode æfter Apollōnīo. Mid þȳ þe hē ġeseah þæt hē wæs mid horgum sciċcelse bewæfed, þā wænde he onġēan tō ðām cyninge and cwæð, “Sē iunga man þe þū æfter āxsodest is forliden man.” Ðā cwæð sē cyning, “Þurh hwæt wāst ðū þæt?” Sē man him andswarode and cwæð, “Pēah hē hit self forswīge, his ġegierla hine ġeswutelað.” Ðā cwæð se cyningc, “Gā rædlīce and seġe him þæt sē cyningc bit ðē þæt ðū cume tō his ġereorde.” Ðā Apollōnīus þæt ġehierde, hē þām ġehīersumode and ēode forð mid þām men oð þæt hē becōm tō ðæs cyninges healle. Ðā ēode sē man in beforan tō ðām cyninge and cwæð, “Sē forlidenā man is cumen þe ðū æfter sændest, ac hē ne mæg for sċame in gān būton scrūde.” Ðā hēt sē cyningc hine sōna ġescrȳdan mid wurðfullan scrūde and hēt hine in gān tō ðām ġereorde. Ðā ēode Apollōnīus in and ġesæt þær him ġetæht wæs onġēan ðone cyningc. Ðær wearð ðā sēo þēnung in ġeboren, and æfter þām, cynelic ġebēorscipe, and Apollōnīus nān ðingc ne æt, ðēah ðe ealle oðre men æton and blīðe wæron, ac hē behēold þæt gold and þæt seolfor and ðā dēorwurðan rēaf and þā bēodas and þā cynelican þēnunga. Ðā ðā hē þis eal mid

sārnesse behēold, ðā sæt sum eald and sum æfestig ealdorman be þām cyninge. Mid þy þe hē geseah þæt Apollōnīus swā sārlice sæt and ealle þingc behēold and nān ðingc ne æt, ðā cwæð hē tō ðām cyninge, “Ðū gōða cyningc, efne þēs man þe þū swā wel wið gedēst: hē is swiðe æfestful for ðinum gōde.” Ðā cwæð sē cyningc, “Þē misþyncð. Sōðlice þēs iunga man ne æfestigað on nānum ðingum ðe hē hēr gesiehð, ac hē cȳð þæt hē hæfð fela forloren.” Ðā beseah Arcestratēs sē cyningc bliðum andwritan tō Apollōnīo and cwæð, “Þū iunga man, bēo bliðe mid ūs and gehyht on God þæt þū mōte self tō ðām sēlran becuman.”

**āgān**, pass. part. of **āgān**

**Ic swerige þurh ðā gemānan**

**hælo** translates *Iuro vobis per communem salutem* ‘I swear to you by our communal salvation’, a Christian oath.

**baðode**, 3 sg. pret. of **baðian**

**dyde**, 3 sg. pret. of **dōn**

**nāt** = **ne** + **wāt**, 1 sg. pres. of **witan**

**þēnunge** = **þegnunge**

**gā**, imp. sg. of **gān**

**gewite**, sj. sg. of **witan** used as imp.

**gehiersumode**, 3 sg. pret. of **hiersumian**

**wānde**, 3 sg. pret. of **wendan**

**āxsode**, 2 sg. pret. of **ācsian**

**wāst**, 2 sg. pres. of **witan**

**andswarode**, 3 sg. pret. of **andswarian**

**forswiġe**, pres. sg. sj. of **for-swīgan**

**ġeswutelað**, 3 sg. pres. of **sweotolian**

**seġe**, imp. sg. of **seġgan**

**sændest**, 2 sg. pret. of **sendan**

**būton scrūde** construes Lat. *abiecto habitu* as ‘his garment having been cast aside’, but it is more properly ‘with a wretched garment’

**wurðfullan** = **weorðfullan**

**ġesæt**, 3 sg. pret. of **sittan**

**æt**, 3 sg. pret. of **etan**

**æfestigað**, 3 sg. pres. of **æfestigian**

**ġesiehð**, 3 sg. pres. of **sēon**

**hæfð**, 3 sg. pres. of **habban**

**mōte**, pres. sg. sj. of **mōtan**

## CHAPTER XVI

### CONJUGATIONAL IRREGULARITIES IN WEAK VERBS OF THE FIRST CLASS CONFUSION OF HIGH FRONT VOWELS

112. When *d* in the preterite and pass. participle of weak verbs of the first class comes into contact with a voiceless consonant, it is devoiced. Examples:

<b>sćierpan</b> <i>sharpen</i>	<b>sćierpte</b>	<b>sćierped</b>
<b>cēpan</b> <i>keep</i>	<b>cēpte</b>	<b>cēped</b>
<b>wȳscan</b> <i>wish</i>	<b>wȳscte</b>	<b>wȳsced</b>
<b>liexan</b> <i>illuminate</i>	<b>liexte</b>	<b>liexed</b>
<b>drenčan</b> <i>drown</i>	<b>drenctē</b>	<b>drenčed</b>
<b>īecan</b> <i>increase</i>	<b>īecte</b>	<b>īečed</b>

113. Inflected forms of *sćierped*, *cēped*, etc., are *sćierpte*, *cēptan*, and so forth. Light-stemmed verbs like *hreddan* ‘save’ and *settan* ‘set’ ought to have 3 sg. pret. \**hredede*, \**setede* (like *fremede* to *fremman*) and pass. part. \**hreded*, \**seted* (like *fremed*), etc. But all those, like *hreddan* and *settan*, that end in a dental stop (*d* or *t*) in fact have syncope in the preterite and in the pass. participle; hence, normal West Saxon forms are pret. *hredde*, *sette* (with devoicing of *d* after *t*) and pass. part. *hred(d)*, *set(t)*. In heavy-stemmed verbs ending in *d* or *t*, naturally there is syncope in the preterite, with reduction of geminates, so that, for example, *sendan* ‘send’ and *hentan* ‘seize’ have the preterites *sende* and *hente*. But these heavy-stemmed verbs, like the light-stemmed ones, also have syncope in the pass. participle, at least in the West Saxon dialect. Thus, although participles like *sended* and *hented* (like *dēmed*) might be expected, and do occur in Anglian, the WS forms that actually appear are *send* and *hent*. Some other examples:

<b>treddan</b> <i>investigate</i>	<b>tredde</b>	<b>tred(d)</b>
<b>lettan</b> <i>hinder</i>	<b>lette</b>	<b>let(t)</b>
<b>lædan</b> <i>lead</i>	<b>lædde</b>	<b>læd(d)</b>
<b>mētan</b> <i>meet</i>	<b>mētte</b>	<b>mēt(t)</b>

The verb *lečgan* ‘lay’ is anomalous, since it is conjugated like *hreddan*, even though its stem does not end in a dental consonant: compare pret. *leğde*, pass. part. *leğd*. On the change of verbs like *fremman* ‘do’ and *wreððan* ‘sustain’ to *fremian*, *wreðian* in West Saxon, see the note on *þenian* 15.52 (p. 248).

114. A small number of weak verbs of the first class had geminates in the root already in Proto-Germanic, long before the application of West Germanic consonant gemination, and as a consequence, although their infinitives suggest they ought to be conjugated like *fremman*, in fact they are conjugated like *dēman*

(§107). For example, *fyllan* ‘fill’, from PGmc. *\*fulljan* (causative based on adj. *full*), has 2 sg. pres. *fylst* (< *fyllst*), 3 sg. *fylþ*, 1 sg. pret. *fylde*, pass part. *fylled*, and so forth, rather than *\*\*fylest*, etc. Besides *fyllan*, the commonest verbs of this sort are *āfierran* ‘drive away’, *cennan* ‘beget’, *cierran* ‘turn’, *clyppan* ‘embrace’, *cyssan* ‘kiss’, *fiellan* ‘fell’, *mierran* ‘obstruct’, *spillan* ‘destroy’, and *wemman* ‘defile’.

**115. Exercise.** Give the principal parts of the following verbs. Verbs with geminates in the infinitive are light-stemmed unless otherwise specified: *wendan*, *bētan*, *wȳscan*, *hwettan*, *rempān*, *senċan*, *swāetan*, *ādweāscan*, *pyffan* (heavy-stemmed), *yppan* (heavy-stemmed), *cyssan* (heavy-stemmed), *cnyssan*.

**116.** Several subtypes of the first weak class show no front mutation in the preterite, and this may be accompanied by certain consonant alternations:

(a)	<b>cwellan</b> <i>kill</i>	<b>cwealde</b>	<b>cweald</b>
	<b>sellan</b> <i>give</i>	<b>sealde</b>	<b>seald</b>
	<b>tellan</b> <i>tell</i>	<b>tealde</b>	<b>teald</b>
(b)	<b>læċċan</b> <i>seize</i>	<b>lāhte, lǣhte</b>	<b>lāht, lǣht</b>
	<b>reċċan</b> <i>narrate</i>	<b>reahte, rehte</b>	<b>reahrt, reht</b>
	<b>reċċan</b> <i>care for</i>	<b>rōhte</b>	<b>rōht</b>
	<b>tǣċan</b> <i>teach</i>	<b>tāhte, tǣhte</b>	<b>tāht, tǣht</b>
	<b>sēċan</b> <i>seek</i>	<b>sōhte</b>	<b>sōht</b>
	<b>wyrċan</b> <i>work</i>	<b>worhte</b>	<b>worht</b>
	<b>byċġan</b> <i>buy</i>	<b>bohte</b>	<b>boht</b>
(c)	<b>brengan</b> <i>bring</i>	<b>brōhte</b>	<b>brōht</b>
	<b>þenċan</b> <i>think</i>	<b>þōhte</b>	<b>þōht</b>
	<b>þynċan</b> <i>seem</i>	<b>þūhte</b>	<b>þūht</b>

Similar are (a) *dwellan* ‘mislead’, *stellan* ‘position’, and (b) *cweċċan* ‘vibrate’, *dreċċan* ‘afflict’, *leċċan* ‘moisten’, *rǣċan* ‘reach’, *streċċan* ‘stretch’, *þeċċan* ‘cover’, *w(r)ēċċan* ‘cover’. The strong stem *bring-* is commoner in the present than the weak *breng-*. All of these verbs have roots ending in Gmc. *l*, *k*, or *g*, and the connecting *-i-* was lost in the preterite in Proto-Germanic. Thus, *tellan*, *tealde* may be derived from *\*taljan*, *\*talðǣ* (rather than the expected *\*taliðǣ*). The loss of *-i-* is apparently connected to the nature of the preceding consonant: *l*, *k*, and *g* are all velar consonants (assuming *l* was articulated like MnE *l* in *cool* in this environment), and presumably the difficulty of the transition from the back consonant to the front vowel resulted in the loss of the latter. (Note inf. *tellan* might have been expected to undergo Anglo-Frisian brightening followed by breaking, resulting after front mutation in *\*tiellan*; but apparently the following *j* palatalized the preceding *ll*, impeding its ability to produce breaking, since it was no longer a velar sound.) In verbs with roots ending in Gmc. *k* (like *reċċan* and *þenċan*), this sound prevented voicing of the following sound in the preterite; and in clusters of two voiceless stops in Proto-Germanic, the first changed to a

fricative. Hence, beside inf. *\*sōkjan* > *sēcan* occurs pret. *\*sōktā* > *sōhte*. The details are tied up with Grimm's and Verner's laws (Appendix A), but root-final *g* in the verbs *byċgan* and *brenġan* was devoiced in the preterite and produced the same results as *k*; hence, beside *g* in *\*bugjan* > *byċgan* there is *k* in *\*buktā* > *\*buxtā* > *bohte* (with lowering of *u* to *o* before the following low vowel on the same principle as in the past participle of strong verbs of the second class, §92). In subtype (c) the effects of one other Proto-Germanic sound change are evident: before *x* (OE *h*) a vowel plus *n* changed to a long nasalized vowel, and the reflex of long nasalized *a* is OE *ō*. Hence, the inf. *þenċan* may be derived from *\*þankjan* and pret. *þōhte* from *\*þanxtā* < *\*þanktā*.

**117.** Perhaps the most important of the spelling alternations to be considered is the considerable confusion of *ī*, *ȳ*, and *īe*. There is some interchange among these graphemes already in Early West Saxon, though it is not as extensive, or even of the same nature, as in the later dialect. Any of these three might in fact appear for any other in Late West Saxon, though the following substitutions are particularly frequent:

(a) After the Early West Saxon period, the diphthong *īe* generally is no longer written thus. It is monophthongized to *ī* before palatal consonants, as with *īcan* 'increase', *ċiġan* 'call', and *sihð* 'sees' for *īecan*, *ċieġan*, and *siehð*; otherwise it is represented by *ȳ*, as with *ylċra* 'older', *hȳran* 'hear', and *frȳnd* 'friends' for *ieldra*, *hieran*, and *frīend*.

(b) Original *ȳ* also tends to be unrounded to *ī* before palatal consonants, as with *drihten* 'lord', *biċgan* 'buy', and *wīscan* 'wish' for *dryhten*, *byċgan*, and *wȳscan*.

(c) Confusion of *ī* and *ȳ* is broad in Late West Saxon, though in some manuscripts more than others. Particularly often *ȳ* appears for *ī* next to labial consonants or before *r*, as with *myċel* 'large', *swȳþe* 'very', and *ċyriċe* 'church' for *miċel*, *swīþe*, and *ċiriċe*.

**118.** *Apollonius of Tyre* is preserved only in Late West Saxon form, but the spelling of *ī*, *ȳ*, and *īe* to this point has been normalized to an Early West Saxon standard. In the reading in this chapter, and in subsequent ones, the manuscript spellings are retained, and so the following spelling variants will occur:

- (a) *ī* appears for *ȳ* in *þī*, *þinċe*, and *ġesingodeſt*;
- (b) *ȳ* appears for *ī* in *hyre*, *ðyſum*, and *ġelymp*;
- (c) *ȳ* appears for *īe* in *sȳ* and *ālȳfed*; and
- (d) *ī* appears for *īe* in *ġife* and *ġehīrde*.

#### READING

Mid þī ðe sē cyning þās word ġecwæð, ðā fāringa þær ēode in ðæs cyninges iunge dohtor and cyste hyre fæder and ðā ymbsittendan. Þā hēo becōm tō

Apollōnīo, þā gewāende hēo onġēan tō hire fæder and cwæð, “Dū gōða cynīngc and mīn sē lēofesta fæder, hwæt is þēs iunga man þe onġēan ðē on swā wurðlicum setle sit mid sārlicum andwlitan? Nāt ic hwæt hē besorgað.” Ðā cwæð sē cynīngc, “Lēofe dohtor, þēs iunga man is forliden, and hē ġecwēmde mē manna betst on ðām plegan. Forðām ic hine ġelaðode tō ðysum ūrum ġebēorscipe. Nāt ic hwæt hē is nē hwanon hē is, ac ġif ðū wille witan hwæt hē sý, āxsā hine, forðām þē ġedafenað þæt þū wite.” Ðā ēode þæt mæden tō Apollōnīo and mid forwandīgendre spræce cwæð, “Dēah ðū stille sie and unrōt, þeah ic þīne æðelborenesse on ðē ġesēo. Nū þonne ġif ðē tō hefig ne þīnce, seġe mē þīnne naman and þīn ġelymp āreče mē.” Ðā cwæð Apollōnīus, “Ġif ðū for nēode āxsast æfter mīnum naman, ic secġe þē, ic hine forlēas on sē. Ġif ðū wilt mīne æðelborenesse witan, wite ðū þæt ic hie forlēt on Tharsum.” Ðæt mæden cwæð, “Seġe mē ġewislicor þæt ic hit mæġe understandan.” Apollōnīus þā sōðlice hyre ārehte ealle his ġelymp and æt þære spræcan ende him fēollon tēaras of ðām ēagum. Mid þý þe sē cynīngc þæt ġeseah, hē bewāende hine ðā tō ðære dohtor and cwæð, “Lēofe dohtor, þū ġesingodest, mid þý þe þū woldest witan his naman and his ġelimþ; þū hafast nū ġeednīwod his ealde sār. Ac ic bidde þē þæt þū ġife him swā hwæt swā ðū wille.” Ðā ðā þæt mæden ġehīrde þæt hire wæs ālyfed fram hire fæder þæt hēo ār hire self ġedōn wolde, ðā cwæð hēo tō Apollōnīo, “Apollōnī, sōðlice þū eart ūre. Forlæt þīne murcninge, and nū ic mīnes fæder lēafe hæbbe, ic ġedō ðē welīgne.”

**lēofesta**, superl. of **lēof**  
**besorgað**, 3 sg. pres. of **besorgian**  
**betst**, superl. of **wēl**  
**āxsā**, imp. sg. of **ācsian**  
**ġedafenað**, 3 sg. pres. of **dafenian**  
**ġelaðode**, 1 sg. pret. of **laðian**  
**wite**, pres. sg. sj. of **witan**  
**ġesēo**, 1 sg. pres. of **sēon**  
**seġe**, imp. sg. of **secġan**  
**āxsast**, 2 sg. pres. of **ācsian**  
**wilt**, 2 sg. pres. of **willan**

**wite**, pres. sg. sj. of **witan** used as imperative  
**Tharsum**, Lat. acc. sg. of **Tharsus**  
**mæġe**, pres. sg. sj. of **magan**  
**ġewislicor**, compar. of **wislice**  
**ġesingodest**, 2 sg. pret. of **syngian**  
**woldest**, 2 sg. pret. of **willan**  
**hafast**, 2 sg. pres. of **habban**  
**ġeednīwod**, pass. part. of **ednīwian**  
**hæbbe**, 1 sg. pres. of **habban**  
**ġedō**, 1 sg. pres. of **dōn**

## CHAPTER XVII

### BACK MUTATION • WEAK VERBS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CLASSES CHANGE OF *sel-* TO *syl-/sil-*

**119.** Unlike the long diphthongs, nearly all of which derive from diphthongs in Germanic, the short ones are all due to diphthongization processes affecting Germanic short vowels. Two of the three major sources of short diphthongs have already been examined: breaking (§62) and diphthongization by initial palatal consonants (§71). The other source is a phonological change known as **back mutation** or *u/a-umlaut*. In general, at about the time of the earliest records in Old English, when a front vowel was followed in the next syllable by a back vowel it was diphthongized. Since *æ* was restored much earlier to *a* before back vowels (§29), in most dialects only *i* and *e* are affected by this change, becoming *io* and *eo*; but in West Saxon *īo* changed early to *ēo*, so the result of back mutation in this dialect is most commonly *eo*. The vowels causing the change are *u*, *o*, and *a*, but *o* in unstressed syllables always derives from earlier *u*; hence the name *u/a-umlaut*. Unlike in the other dialects, in West Saxon the change is fairly circumscribed: it takes place only when the intervening consonant is a labial or a liquid (*p, f, m, w, l, r*); and *a* has no effect on a preceding *e*, though it does affect *i*. Examples of the change in West Saxon are *heofon* ‘sky’, *Eoforwiċ* ‘York’, *meoloc* ‘milk’ and *seofon* ‘seven’. But the monophthong is very often restored by analogy to unmutated forms (hence *hefon* beside *hefen*, etc.), so that at least for the West-Saxon dialect this hardly seems like a regular sound change. Yet an awareness of back mutation is helpful, especially in the identification of weak verbs of the second class (see below). In West Saxon the change does not normally occur when more than one consonant intervenes between the two vowels: hence, *siondon* is found in other dialects, corresponding to WS *sindon*.

**120.** The conjugation of the **second class of weak verbs** may be represented by the paradigm of *lufian* ‘love’:

		Ind.	Subj.	Imp.
Pres. Sg.	1.	<b>lufi(ġ)e</b>	<b>lufi(ġ)e</b>	
	2.	<b>lufast</b>	<b>lufi(ġ)e</b>	<b>lufa</b>
	3.	<b>lufað</b>	<b>lufi(ġ)e</b>	
Pl.	1–3.	<b>lufi(ġ)að</b>	<b>lufi(ġ)en</b>	<b>lufi(ġ)að</b>
Pret. Sg.	1.	<b>lufode</b>	<b>lufode</b>	
	2.	<b>lufodeſt</b>	<b>lufode</b>	
	3.	<b>lufode</b>	<b>lufode</b>	
Pl.	1–3.	<b>lufodon</b>	<b>lufoden</b>	
Inf.		<b>lufian, tō lufienne</b>		
Parts.		<b>lufiende, lufod</b>		

The 3 sg. pres. inflection *-að* is not to be confused with the pres. plural inflection of other verb classes, with which it is identical. Note also that nearly all verbs in *-rian* belong to the first weak class: see §107. In prehistory the stems of verbs of the second class were formed with *\*-ō-* after the root, followed by *\*-j-* (in the present) or *\*-ð-* (in the preterite), plus the usual verb inflections. Yet there was no *\*-j-* in the 2–3 pres. singular, where the endings *-st* and *-þ* were added directly to the stem ending in *\*-ō-*. Thus, there may be reconstructed inf. *\*luþōjan*, 2 sg. pres. *\*luþōs*, 3 sg. pres. *\*luþōþ*, 3 sg. pret. *\*luþōðæ*, etc. The formative *-i-* in some case-forms reflects *\*ē*, the front mutation of *\*ō* produced by the following *\*-j-*. In a verb like *clīpian* ‘call’, the back vowel in the forms without *\*-j-* may produce back mutation of the vowel in the root, giving, for example, 3 sg. pres. *clīopað* and 3 sg. pret. *clīopode*, which further develop to *cleopað* and *cleopode* (as explained above, §119); and *io* and *eo* may then be extended analogically to other conjugational forms, giving inf. *clīopian*, *cleopian*, etc. Preterite *-ad-* for *-od-* is common, especially in poetry and Anglian-influenced texts

**121.** The **third class of weak verbs** was a moribund category in Old English. Although traces of original inflection according to this class are discoverable in a number of verbs, the only verbs regularly conjugated this way amount to just four, though they are of high frequency: below are the paradigms of *habban* ‘have’, *libban* ‘live’, *secgan* ‘say’, and *hycgan* ‘think’:

## INDICATIVE

Pres. Sg.	1.	<b>hæbbe</b>	<b>libbe</b>	<b>secge</b>	<b>hycge</b>
	2.	<b>hæfst</b>	<b>leofast</b>	<b>sægst</b>	<b>hygst</b>
	3.	<b>hæfþ</b>	<b>leofað</b>	<b>sægþ</b>	<b>hygþ</b>
Pl.	1–3.	<b>habbað</b>	<b>libbað</b>	<b>secgað</b>	<b>hycgað</b>
Pret. Sg.	1.	<b>hæfde</b>	<b>lifde</b>	<b>sægde</b>	<b>hogde</b>
	2.	<b>hæfdest</b>	<b>lifdest</b>	<b>sægdest</b>	<b>hogdest</b>
	3.	<b>hæfde</b>	<b>lifde</b>	<b>sægde</b>	<b>hogde</b>
Pl.	1–3.	<b>hæfdon</b>	<b>lifdon</b>	<b>sægdon</b>	<b>hogdon</b>

## SUBJUNCTIVE

Pres. Sg.	<b>hæbbe</b>	<b>libbe</b>	<b>secge</b>	<b>hycge</b>
Pl.	<b>hæbben</b>	<b>libben</b>	<b>secgen</b>	<b>hycgen</b>
Pret. Sg.	<b>hæfde</b>	<b>lifde</b>	<b>sægde</b>	<b>hogde</b>
Pl.	<b>hæfdon</b>	<b>lifden</b>	<b>sægden</b>	<b>hogden</b>

## IMPERATIVE

Sg. 2.	<b>hafa</b>	<b>leofa</b>	<b>sæge, saga</b>	<b>hyge</b>
Pl. 2.	<b>habbað</b>	<b>libbað</b>	<b>secgað</b>	<b>hycgað</b>

## NON-FINITE FORMS

Uninfl. inf.	<b>habban</b>	<b>libban</b>	<b>seċġan</b>	<b>hyċġan</b>
Infl. inf.	<b>tō hæbbenne</b>	<b>tō libbenne</b>	<b>tō seċġenne</b>	<b>tō hyċġenne</b>
	or	or	or	or
	<b>tō habbanne</b>	<b>tō libbanne</b>	<b>tō seċġanne</b>	<b>tō hyċġanne</b>
Active Part.	<b>hæbbende</b>	<b>libbende</b>	<b>seċġende</b>	<b>hyċġende</b>
Pass. Part.	<b>hæfd</b>	<b>lifd</b>	<b>sæġd</b>	<b>hogod</b>

Though the origins of this class are disputed, initially its sign was either Gmc. *\*-æ-* or *\*-a-* at the end of the stem, with the same suffixes added to that as in the second class; but analogy has obscured much of the original regularity of the class. (For discussion and references, see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §6.124.) The influence of following back vowels is evident in the alternation between *æ* and *a* in the paradigm of *habban*, and of *i* and *eo* in that of *libban*. This latter verb has an alternative stem form, inf. *lifi(ġ)an* or *lifġan* replacing *libban* in poetry and in the Anglian dialects. The verb *hyċġan* is marginal, since in Late West Saxon it is often conjugated in accordance with the second weak class (3 sg. pres. *hogað*, pret. *hogode*, etc.). The class is plainly quite irregular. Of the verbs mentioned above that have relic forms indicating that they originally belonged to this class, most have gone over to the second weak class.

**122.** Another peculiarity of Late West Saxon that produces spelling variants is the development of the sequence *sel-* to *syl-* (or *sil-*, since they are largely equivalent spellings in the later dialect, as explained in §117). The most important words affected by the change are *self* ‘self’, *sellan* ‘give’, *selra* ‘better’, and *sellīc* ‘wonderful’.

## READING

Apollōnīus hire þæs þancode, and sē cyningc blissode on his dohtor wel-willendnesse and hyre tō cwæð: “Lēofe dohtor, hāt feccan þine hearpan and ġecġig ðē tō þine frýnd and āfeorsa fram þām iungan his sārnesse.” Ðā ēode hēo ūt and hēt feccan hire hearpan, and sōna swā hēo hearpian ongan, hēo mid winsumum sange ġemæġnde þære hearpan swēġ. Ðā ongunnon ealle þā men hī herian on hyre swēġcræft, and Apollōnīus āna swigode. Ðā cwæð sē cyningc, “Apollōnī, nū ðū dēst yfele, forðām þe ealle men heriað mine dohtor on hyre swēġcræfte, and þū āna hī swīgiende tælst.” Apollōnīus cwæð, “Eālā ðū gōda cyningc, ġif ðū mē ġelifst, ic seċġe þæt ic onġite þæt sōðlice þīn dohtor ġefēol on swēġcræft, ac hēo næfð hine nā wel ġeornod. Ac hāt mē nū sillan þā hearpan; þonne wāst þū þæt þū nū ġit nāst.” Arcestratēs sē cyning cwæð, “Apollōnī, ic oncnāwe sōðlice þæt þū eart on eallum þīngum wel ġelæred.” Ðā hēt sē cyning sillan Apollōnīge þā hearpan. Apollōnīus þā ūt ēode and hine scrīdde and sette

ænne cynehelm uppon his hēafod and nam þā hearpan on his hand and in ēode and swā stōd, þæt sē cyningc and ealle þā ymsittendan wēndon þæt hē nære Apollōnīus, ac þæt hē wære Apollines ðāra hǣðenra god. Ðā wearð stilnes and swīge geworden innan ðære healle. And Apollōnīus his hearpenægl ġenam and hē þā hearpestrengas mid cræfte āstirian ongan and þære hearpan swēg mid winsumum sange ġemægnde. And sē cyningc silf and ealle þe þær andwearde wæron miçelre stefne cliopodon and hine heredon. Æfter þisum forlēt Apollōnīus þā hearpan and plegode and fela fægerra þinga þær forðtēah, þe þām folce unġecnāwen wæs and unġewuneliç, and heom eallum þearle līcode ælc þāra þinga ðe hē forðtēah.

**āfeorsa**, see **āfiersian**

**ġemægnde**, 3 sg. pret. of

**mengan**

**dēst**, 2 sg. pres. of **dōn**

**ġefēol**: the awkwardness of this expression is due to the Latin, *in artem musicam incidit, sed non didicit* 'fell into musical study but did not learn it' (with word play on *incidit* and *didicit*), where *incidit* can have the

meaning 'took up at random'.

**wāst**, **nāst**, 2 sg. pres. of **witan** and **ne witan**, respectively

**fela fægerra þinga**: the Latin here refers to comic and tragic pantomime, a reference which would presumably have been incomprehensible to an Anglo-Saxon audience.

**forðtēah**, 3 sg. pret. of **forðtēon**

## CHAPTER XVIII

### PRETERITE-PRESENT VERBS

#### PREHISTORIC ANGLO-FRISIAN LOSS OF NASALS BEFORE FRICATIVES

#### CONFUSION OF *iġ* AND *ī* • CONVERGENCE OF UNSTRESSED VOWELS

**123.** A small number of verbs, most of them very common, form their present system as if they were strong preterites, whereas their preterites are weak. Hence they are called **preterite-present verbs**. For example, the verb *witan* 'know' has a present system rather like the preterite of a strong verb of the first class (3 sg. *wāt*, pl. *witon*) and a preterite system like that of a weak verb (3 sg. *wiste*). There are just twelve of these verbs, but some of them are among the commonest verbs in the language, several of them preserved in the modern language as modal auxiliaries (the asterisked infinitives are not actually attested): *witan* 'know', *āgan* 'possess', *\*dugan* 'avail', *\*be-*, *\*ġe-nugan* 'suffice', *cunnan* 'know, be able', *unnan* 'grant', *þurfan* 'need', *\*durran* 'dare', *\*sċulan* 'shall', *ġemunan* 'remember' (also *onmunan* 'esteem'), *\*mōtan* 'may, be allowed, must', and *\*magan* 'be able'. The paradigms are as follows:

Pres. Ind. Sg.	1.	<b>wāt</b>	<b>āh</b>	<b>dēah</b>	
	2.	<b>wāst</b>	<b>āhst</b>		
	3.	<b>wāt</b>	<b>āh</b>	<b>dēah</b>	<b>-nēah</b>
Pl.	1–3.	<b>witon</b>	<b>āgon</b>	<b>dugon</b>	<b>-nugon</b>
Pret. Ind. Sg.	3.	<b>wiste,</b> <b>wisse</b>	<b>āhte</b>	<b>dohte</b>	<b>-nohte</b>
Pres. Sj. Sg.	3.	<b>wite</b>	<b>āge</b>	<b>dyġe,</b> <b>duge</b>	<b>-nuge</b>
Inf.		<b>witan</b>	<b>āgan</b>	<b>[dugan]</b>	<b>[-nugan]</b>
Pass. Part.		<b>witen</b>	<b>āgen</b>		

Pres. Ind. Sg.	1.	<b>cann</b>	<b>ann</b>	<b>þearf</b>	<b>dearr</b>
	2.	<b>canst</b>		<b>þearft</b>	<b>dearst</b>
	3.	<b>cann</b>	<b>ann</b>	<b>þearf</b>	<b>dearr</b>
Pl.	1–3.	<b>cunnon</b>	<b>unnon</b>	<b>þurfon</b>	<b>durron</b>
Pret. Ind. Sg.	3.	<b>cūðe</b>	<b>ūðe</b>	<b>þorfte</b>	<b>dorste</b>
Pres. Sj. Sg.	3.	<b>cunne</b>	<b>unne</b>	<b>þyrfe,</b> <b>þurfe</b>	<b>dyrre,</b> <b>durre</b>
Inf.		<b>cunnan</b>	<b>unnan</b>	<b>þurfan</b>	<b>[durran]</b>
Pass. Part.		<b>cunnen</b>	<b>unnen</b>		

Pres. Ind. Sg.	1.	sceal	ġeman	mōt	mæg
	2.	scealt	-manst	mōst	meaht, miht
	3.	sceal	-man	mōt	mæg
Pl.	1–3.	sċulon,	-munon	mōton	magon,
		sċeolon			
Pret. Ind. Sg.	3.	sċeolde	-munde	mōste	meahte, mihte
Pres. Sj. Sg.	3.	sċyle,	-myne,	mōte	mæge
		sċule	-mune		
Inf.		[sċulan]	-munan	[mōtan]	[magan]
Pass. Part.			-munen		

These verbs have no formal imperative, for which the subjunctive is substituted. Note that several of these verbs may or may not have front mutation in the present subjunctive. (The same is true of the verb *cuman*, which may have sg. pres. sj. *cyme* or *cume*.) Forms like *ann* and *cann* may of course also be spelt with *o* in Early West Saxon, and *āh* and *deah* may be spelt *āg* and *deag*. The preterite *wisse* is the result of an archaic sound change whereby PIE *\*-tt-* (here comprising the *t* of the stem plus the *t/p* of the preterite marker) developed to *-ss-*; the by-form *wiste* then was created analogically by the later readdition of the preterite ending. The preterites *ūðe* and *cūðe* result from a sound change not yet studied: just as in Proto-Germanic a nasal consonant was lost before [x], with nasalization and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (as with *brōhte* < *\*branxtæ*, §116), similarly but much later, in Anglo-Frisian the same development occurred before all voiceless fricatives. This is why there is a nasal consonant in German *ander*, *fünf*, *Gans*, *wünschen*, and *Zahn* but not in the Old English cognates *ōðer* ‘other’, *fif* ‘five’, *gōs* ‘goose’, *wýsċan* ‘wish’, and *tōþ* ‘tooth’. For this reason, when the preterite marker *\*-þ-* was added to the stems *\*un(n)-* and *\*kun(n)-*, the results were *ūþ-* and *cūþ-*.

**124. Exercise.** Using the Glossary, identify the Old English words that result from the following West Germanic forms (and remember that long nasalized *a* becomes *ō* in Old English): *\*sanft-* (cf. German *sanft* ‘gentle’), *\*fimful-* (cf. Old Icelandic *fimbul-* ‘great’), *\*sanþ-* (cf. Danish *sand* ‘true’), *\*hrinþar-* (cf. Germ. *Rind* ‘ox, cow’), *\*linþ-* (cf. Germ. *gelind* ‘soft’), *\*swinþ-* (cf. Gothic *swinþs* ‘strong’), *\*gunþ-* (cf. OIcel. *gunnr*, *gúðr* ‘war’), *\*munþ-* (cf. Germ. *Mund* ‘mouth’), *\*sunþ-* (cf. OIcel. *sunnr*, *suðr* ‘south’).

**125.** The explanation for the structure of this class of verbs reaches far back into Proto-Indo-European. OE *wāt* is precisely cognate with Greek *οἶδα* and Sanskrit *véda*, also meaning ‘know’, and these derive from PIE *\*woida*, an unreduplicated perfect to the root *\*wid-* (as in Latin *video* ‘I see’). Thus, the meaning ‘I know’ derives from perfect ‘I have seen’, and this is how verbs of preterite form came to be used in present function, and new preterites had to be

created for them. The relationship between preterite-present verbs and strong verbs can most readily be seen when they are arranged according to the class of strong verb to which each would have belonged had it developed normally:

- 1 **witan**
- 2 **dugan, ġenugan**
- 3 **cunnan, unnan, þurfan, durran**
- 4 **sćulan, ġemunan**
- 5 **magan**
- 6 **mōtan**
- 7 **āgan**

The verb *āgan* is usually classified as aligned with verbs of the first class; for reasons to classify it with the seventh class, see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §6.140. As should be apparent, in the present tense these verbs may use the singular or plural vocalism of the preterites of strong verbs, or both.

**126.** Two further orthographic peculiarities of Late West Saxon may be mentioned here:

(a) The sequence *iġ* changed to *ī* quite early, so that in some of the earliest texts, for example, *brigdels* ‘bridle’ is already written without *ġ*. By hypercorrection, then, *iġ* might be written for any instance of *ī*; hence, in the reading below is to be found *hiġ* for *hī* (=EWS *hie*, §117)

(b) After the Alfredian period, much confusion of unstressed vowels set in, and it intensified gradually over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The infinitive ending *-an* and sj. pl. *-en*, for instance, might be thoroughly confused (there is an example in the reading below), and the preterite ending *-ode* of the second weak class might be *-ede* (though pl. *-edon* is commoner, where the motive for the change is dissimilation of the vowels in *-odon*). Similarly, gen. sg. masc. *-es* might be *-as* or *-æs*, and dat. pl. *-um* might be *-an*. These developments mark the beginning of the widespread reduction of inflectional endings that characterizes the Middle English period.

#### READING

Sōðlice mid þȳ þe þæs cyninges dohtor ġeseah þæt Apollōnīus on eallum ġōdum cræftum swā wel wæs ġetogen, þā ġefēol hyre mōd on his lufe. Ðā æfter þæs bēorscīpes ġeendunge, cwæð þæt mæden tō ðām cyninge, “Lēofa fæder, þū lȳfdest mē lȳtle ær þæt ic mōste ġifan Apollōnīo swā hwæt swā ic wolde of þīnum goldhorde.” Arcestratēs sē cyning cwæð tō hyre, “Ġif him swā hwæt swā ðū wille.” Hēo ðā swīðe bliðe üt ēode and cwæð, “Lārēow Apollōnī, ic ġife þē be mīnes fæder lēafe twā hund punda goldes and fēower hund punda ġewihtē

seolfres and þone mæstan dæl dēorwurðan rēafes and twēntig ðēowa manna.” And hēo þā þus cwæð tō ðām þēowum mannum: “Berað þās þingc mid ēow þe ic behēt Apollōnīo mīnum lārēowe and lēcgað innon būre beforan mīnum frēondum.” Þis wearð þā þus gedōn æfter þære cwēne hāse, and ealle þā men hire gife heredon ðe hig gesāwon. Ðā sōðlice geendode sē gebēorscipe, and þā men ealle ārison and grēttan þone cyningc and ðā cwēne and bādon hig gesunde bēon and hām gewændon. Ēac swilce Apollōnīus cwæð, “Ðū gōda cyningc and earmra gemiltsigend, and þū cwēn, lāre lufigend, bēon gē gesunde.” Hē beseah ēac tō ðām þēowum mannum þe þæt mæden him forgifen hæfde and heom cwæð tō: “Nimað þās þing mid ēow þe mē sēo cwēn forgeaf and gān wē sēcan ūre giesthūs þæt wē magon ūs gerestan.” Ðā ādrēd þæt mæden þæt hēo nāfre eft Apollōnīum ne gesāwe swā raðe swā hēo wolde, and ēode þā tō hire fæder and cwæð, “Ðū gōda cyningc, licað ðē wel þæt Apollōnīus, þe þurh ūs tōdæg gegōdod is, þus heonon fare, and cuman yfele men and berēafian hine?” Sē cyningc cwæð, “Wel þū cwæde. Hāt him findan hwær hē hine mæge wurðlicost gerestan.” Ðā dide þæt mæden swā hyre beboden wæs, and Apollōnīus onfēng þære wununge ðe hym getæht wæs and ðær in ēode Gode þancigende ðe him ne forwyrnde cynelices wurðscipes and frōfres.

**getogen**, pass. part. of **tēon**  
**gedōn**, pass. part. of **dōn**  
**gesāwon**, pret. pl. of **sēon**  
**bādon**, pret. pl. of **biddan**  
**gemiltsigend, lufigend**: note  
 that the pres. part. suffix  
 -end- is also used to form  
 agentive nouns: *pitier, lover*  
**bēon, gān** pres. pl. sj. used hor-  
 tatively

**magon**, pres. pl. of **magan** (the  
 sj. would be more natural)  
**gesāwe**, 3 sg. pret. sj. of **sēon**  
**cuman, berēafian** = **cumen**,  
**berēafien**  
**mæge**, pres. sg. sj. of **magan**  
**wurðlicost**, superl. of adv.  
**weorðlice**  
**onfēng**, 3 sg. pret. of **onfōn**

## CHAPTER XIX

### STRONG VERBS WITH WEAK PRESENTS COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

127. The present stems of verbs were formed in Proto-Indo-European by a variety of strategies: *\*-n-* might be infixed (as with *standan*, §101, or Lat. *pangō*, 'I fasten', redup. perf. *pepigi*), or there might be reduplication (as with *bifian* 'tremble', from PGmc. *\*bi-bō-j-an-*, like Gk. *δίδωμι* 'I give'), or a suffix such as *\*-sk-* might be added (as with *wýsċan* 'wish', from PGmc. *\*wun-sk-jan-*, like Lat. *discō* 'I learn' from *\*dik-sk-ō*). One method was to add *\*-j-*, and as a consequence there are several strong verbs in Old English that resemble weak verbs of the first class in the present system, though they do not have causative meaning and the root vowel was not always a back vowel before mutation. For example, the verb *sittan* 'sit' derives from *\*set-j-an-*, and thus it belongs to the fifth class of strong verbs, having *\*e* in the infinitive stem and a single stop consonant following it (once *\*-j-* and its mutative effects are factored out). The present paradigm, along with the affected non-finite forms, are as follows. Note that there is no gemination in the 2 and 3 sg. pres. indicative and in the imp. singular: as with weak verbs of the first class, these forms had *\*-i-* rather than *\*-j-*.

	Ind.	Subj.	Imp.
Pres. Sg. 1.	<b>sitte</b>	<b>sitte</b>	
2.	<b>sitst</b>	<b>sitte</b>	<b>site</b>
3.	<b>sit(t)</b>	<b>sitte</b>	
Pres. Pl. 1–3.	<b>sittap</b>	<b>sitten</b>	<b>sittap</b>
Infinitives	<b>sittan, tō sittenne</b>		
Act. Part.	<b>sittende</b>		

Outside the present system and the three non-finite forms given above, though, this verb is in every way like others of the fifth class, with pret. sg. *sæt*, pl. *sæton*, and pass. part. *seten*. These are the principal parts of the chief surviving verbs of this type, arranged according to class:

Class 3	<b>frignan</b> <i>ask</i>	<b>frægn</b>	<b>frugnon</b>	<b>frugnen</b>
Class 5	<b>biddan</b> <i>request</i>	<b>bæd</b>	<b>bædon</b>	<b>beden</b>
	<b>fricgan</b> <i>ask</i>			<b>gefrægen</b>
	<b>licgan</b> <i>lie</i>	<b>læg</b>	<b>lægon</b>	<b>legen</b>
	<b>sittan</b> <i>sit</i>	<b>sæt</b>	<b>sæton</b>	<b>seten</b>
	<b>picgan</b> <i>partake</i>	<b>peah, pāh</b>	<b>pægon</b>	<b>pegen</b>

Class 6	<b>hebban</b> <i>raise</i>	<b>hōf</b>	<b>hōfon</b>	<b>hafen</b>
	<b>hliehhan</b> <i>laugh</i>	<b>hlōh</b>	<b>hlōgon</b>	
	<b>sceþpan</b> <i>injure</i>	<b>scōd</b>	<b>scōdon</b>	<b>sceaðen</b>
	<b>sctieppan</b> <i>create</i>	<b>scōp</b>	<b>scōpon</b>	<b>scāpen</b>
	<b>steppan</b> <i>step</i>	<b>stōp</b>	<b>stōpon</b>	
	<b>swerian</b> <i>swear</i>	<b>swōr</b>	<b>swōron</b>	<b>sworen</b>
Class 7	<b>wēpan</b> <i>weep</i>	<b>wēop</b>	<b>wēopon</b>	<b>wōpen</b>

The verb *hebban* is to be derived from *\*habjan*: voiced fricatives when geminated become stops in the branch of Germanic from which Old English is derived (§67), and this is why [ɣ] also when geminated gives [g:], later palatalized, in *lečgan* < *\*lazjan*. The verbs *hliehhan* and *sctieþpan* show the effects of Verner's law (see Appendix A). The latter shows the effects of the law also in the preterite singular, but not in pass. part. *sceaðen*, and this is unexpected, though there are reasons to believe that this is the etymologically correct distribution of variants under the law (see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §§6.65–6); moreover, the infinitive oddly lacks diphthongization by initial palatal consonant. The former shows the devoicing of final [ɣ] in *hlōh*, and the infinitive reflects the development *\*hlahjan* > *\*hlahhjan* (gemination) > *\*hlæhhjan* (brightening) > *\*hleahhjan* (breaking) > *hliehhan* (mutation and loss of *j*). Pass. part. *frugnen* is analogical for earlier *frognen*, which is found in the Northumbrian dialect; and *sworen* analogically replaces *swaren* (attested rarely). The verb *ličgan* has 2, 3 sg. pres. *līst*, *līþ* beside expected *līgst*, *līgþ*, since *iġ* became *ī* quite early, as remarked above (§126a).

**128.** The **comparison of adjectives** is for the most part quite regular: the ending *-ra*, taking weak inflections only, forms the comparative degree of most adjectives, and *-ost* (also spelt *-est*, especially before a back vowel in the next syllable, due to dissimilation of the two vowels), with strong or weak inflections, forms the superlative, as the following examples show:

<b>hwīt</b> <i>white</i>	<b>hwitra</b>	<b>hwītost</b>
<b>blæc</b> <i>black</i>	<b>blæcra</b>	<b>blacost</b>
<b>grēne</b> <i>green</i>	<b>grēnra</b>	<b>grēnost</b>
<b>frēcne</b> <i>terrible</i>	<b>frēcenra</b>	<b>frēcnost</b>
<b>ġearu</b> <i>ready</i>	<b>ġearora</b>	<b>ġearwost</b>

Voiceless stops are sometimes geminated before the comparative ending *-ra*, with vowel shortening; hence such forms as *hwittra* 'whiter', *deopptra* 'deeper', *swettra* 'sweeter', etc. The adjective *ġearu* is a *wa*-stem (masc. gen. sg. *ġearwes*, etc.); the *-w-* is vocalized word-finally in *ġearu/-o* and between consonants (with lowering to *o*) in gen. pl. *ġearora*. Similarly, *-n-* in the stem *frēc-* is vocalized to *-en-* between consonants in *frēcenra*. The Proto-Germanic suffixes were *\*-ōz-* (compar.) and *\*-ōst-* (superl.), but several adjectives reflect the alternate suffixes

\*-iz- and \*-ist-, which cause mutation. The commonest adjectives of this sort are these:

<b>eald</b> <i>old</i>	<b>ieldra</b>	<b>ieldest</b>
<b>feorr</b> <i>far</i>	<b>firra</b>	
<b>fore</b> <i>in front</i>		<b>fyr(e)st</b>
<b>ġeong</b> <i>young</i>	<b>ġingra</b>	<b>ġingest</b>
<b>lang</b> <i>long</i>	<b>lengra</b>	<b>lengest</b>
<b>nēah</b> <i>near</i>	<b>nēarra</b>	<b>nīehst</b>
<b>sċeort</b> <i>short</i>	<b>sċyrtra</b>	<b>sċyrtest</b>
<b>hēah</b> <i>high</i>	<b>hier(r)a</b>	<b>hīehst</b>

Analogical forms of these are frequent, for example *ġeongra*, *hēahra*, etc. Syncope exceeds its usual limits in *hīehst* and in a few superlative adverbs (below). Just as in Modern English, a few adjectives have **suppletive comparison**, basing their comparative and superlative forms on a different stem:

<b>gōd</b> <i>good</i>	<b>betera, bet(t)ra</b>	<b>bet(e)st, best</b>
	<b>sēlra, sella</b>	<b>sēlest</b>
<b>yfel</b> <i>bad</i>	<b>wiersa</b>	<b>wierrest, wierst</b>
<b>miċel</b> <i>large</i>	<b>māra</b>	<b>māest</b>
<b>lytel</b> <i>small</i>	<b>lāessa</b>	<b>lāest</b>

Adjectives derived from adverbs of time and place may take different suffixes:

<b>inne</b> <i>inside</i>	<b>innerra</b>	<b>innemest</b>
<b>ufan</b> <i>from above</i>	<b>uferra, yferra</b>	<b>ufemest, yfemest</b>
<b>neoþan</b> <i>from below</i>	<b>niðerra</b>	<b>niðemest</b>
<b>fore</b> <i>in front</i>		<b>forma, fyrmest</b>
<b>æfter</b> <i>after</i>	<b>æfterra</b>	<b>æftemest</b>
<b>norþ</b> <i>northward</i>	<b>norðerra</b>	<b>norþmest</b>

Similar are *ūte* ‘outside’, *forþ* ‘forth’, *sīþ* ‘later’ (also superl. *sīðast*), *sūþ* ‘southward’, *ēast* ‘eastward’, and *west* ‘westward’.

**129.** The **comparison of adverbs** is similar. Those that end in *-e* generally drop this and add *-or* (compar.) and *-ost* (superl.). The vowel of the suffix *-līċe* is shortened in comparison if the preceding syllable is stressed:

<b>ġeorne</b> <i>gladly</i>	<b>ġeornor</b>	<b>ġeornost</b>
<b>frēondlīċe</b> <i>amiably</i>	<b>frēondlicor</b>	<b>frēondlicost</b>

A few adverbs have front mutation in comparison. The important ones are these:

<b>ēaþ(e)</b> <i>easily</i>	<b>īeþ, ēaþ</b>	<b>ēaþost</b>
<b>feorr</b> <i>far</i>	<b>fierr</b>	<b>firrest</b>
<b>lange</b> <i>long</i>	<b>leng</b>	<b>lengest</b>
<b>nēah</b> <i>near</i>	<b>nēar, nīer</b>	<b>nīehst</b>
<b>sōfte</b> <i>softly</i>	<b>sēft</b>	<b>sōftost</b>

And the suppletive adjectives listed above have similar adverbial forms:

<b>wēl</b> <i>well</i>	<b>bet, sēl</b>	<b>bet(e)st, best, sēlest</b>
<b>yfle</b> <i>badly</i>	<b>wiers</b>	<b>wierrest, wierst</b>
<b>micle</b> <i>much</i>	<b>mā</b>	<b>māest</b>
<b>lýtle, lýt</b> ( <i>a</i> ) <i>little</i>	<b>læs</b>	<b>læst, læsest</b>

**130. Exercise.** Supply the Old English equivalent of the word in parentheses, properly inflected for case and number: (larger) *stānas*; *þā* (smallest) *bearn*; *þæt* (youngest) *cild*; *þām* (more dishonorable: adj. *ārlēas*) *menn*; *sēo cwēn wæs* (busiest: adj. *bisiġ*); *þā cyningas wæron* (more powerful: adj. *riče*); *þām* (farthest inside) *munucum*; *hēo wolde* (longer) *singan*; *hie ridon* (farthest).

#### READING

Ac þæt mæden hæfde unstillen niht, mid þære lufe onæled þāra worda and sanga þe hēo ġehýrde æt Apollōnīge, and nā leng hēo ne ġebād ðonne hit dæg wæs, ac ēode sōna swā hit lēoht wæs and ġesæt beforan hire fæder bedde. Ðā cwæð sē cyningc, “Lēofe dohtor, for hwī eart ðū þus ærwacol?” Ðæt mæden cwæð, “Mē āwehton þā ġecneordnessa þe ic ġirstandæg ġehýrde. Nū bidde ic ðē forðām þæt þū befæste mē ūrum cuman Apollōnīge tō lāre.” Ðā wearð sē cyningc þearle ġeblissod and hēt fecčan Apollōnīum and him tō cwæð: “Mīn dohtor ġirnd þæt hēo mōte leornian æt ðē ðā ġesæligan lāre ðe þū canst. And ġif ðū wilt þisum þingum ġehýrsum bēon, ic swerige ðe þurh mīnes ričes mægna þæt swā hwæt swā ðū on sē forlure, ic ðē þæt on lande ġestaðelige.” Ðā ðā Apollōnīus þæt ġehýrde, hē onfēngc þām mædenne tō lāre and hire tæhte swā wel swā hē silf ġeleornode.

Hyt ġelamp ðā æfter þisum binnon fēawum tīdum þæt Arcestratēs sē cyningc hēold Apollōnīus hand on handa and ēodon swā ūt on ðære ceastre stræte. Þā æt nýhstan cōmon ðær gān onġēan hý þrý ġelārede was and æpelborene, þā lange ār ġirndon þæs cyninges dohtor. Hi ðā ealle þrý tōgædere ānre stefne ġrēton þone cyningc. Ðā smercode sē cyning and heom tō beseah and þus cwæð: “Hwæt is þæt þæt ġē mē ānre stefne ġrēton?” Ðā andswerode heora ān and cwæð, “Wē bædon ġefirn þýnre dohtor and þū ūs oftrædlice mid elcunge ġeswæncest. Forðām wē cōmon hider tōdæg þus tōgædere. Wē syndon þýne

ceasterġewaran of æðelum ġebyrdum ġeborene. Nū bidde wē þē þæt þū ġecēose þē ænne of ūs þrym hwilcne þū wille þē tō āðume habban.” Ðā cwæð sē cyningc, “Næbbe ġē nā ġōdne tīman āredodne. Mīn dohtor is nū swīðe bisȳ ymbe hyre leornunga, ac þē lās þe ic ēow ā leng slæce, āwritāð ēowre naman on ġewrite and hire morgengife; þonne āsænde ic þā ġewrita mīnre dohtor þæt hēo sylf ġecēose hwilcne ēowerne hēo wille.” Ðā didon ðā cnihtas swā and sē cyningc nam ðā ġewrita and ġeinseġlode hī mid his ringe and sealde Apollōnīo þus cweðende: “Nim nū, lārēow Apollōnī, swā hit þē ne mislīcyġe, and bryng þīnum lārincġ-mædene.

**ġirstandæg** = **ġiestrandæg**  
**ġestaðeliġe** is apparently for  
**ġeedstaðolie** (Lat. *restituam*)  
**onfēngc**, 3 sg. pret. of **onfōn**  
**mædenne** = **mæġdene**  
**smercode** = **smearcod**

**bidde**: on the inflection, see §79  
**slæce**, perhaps for **slacie**  
**ġewrita** = **ġewritu** (see §32)  
**didon**, pret. pl. of **dōn**  
**ringe** = **hringe**

## CHAPTER XX

### LOSS OF MEDIAL *h* CONTRACTED VERBS, NOUNS, AND ADJECTIVES

**131.** Late in the prehistoric period, medially after a stressed vowel, *h* (from Gmc. *x*) was lost between voiced sounds. When a consonant preceded *h*, there was compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus, there occurs masc. *mearh* ‘horse’ beside gen. *mēares* < \**mearhes* and masc. *Wealh* ‘Briton’ beside pl. *Wēalas* (sometimes restored to *meares* and *Wealas*, with the short diphthong by analogy to forms in the paradigm in which *h* was retained). This development causes some irregularities in the paradigm of one strong verb of the third class, *fēolan* ‘press on’ < \**feolhan*, pret. sg. *fealh*, pl. *fulgon*, pass. part. *fōlen* < \**folhen*.

**132.** Far more significant, though, are the effects of the loss of *h* upon verbs, nouns, and adjectives when the sound was lost between vowels, as with gen. *fēos* < \**feohes* (nom. *feoh* ‘capital’), and with *sēon* ‘see’ < \**seohan*. When it was thus lost, the result was **vowel contraction**, by which the second of the two vowels was lost and the first, whether vowel or diphthong, was lengthened if it was not already long (other examples below). These changes affect only the present tense of strong **contracted verbs**, along with related non-finite forms. Partial paradigms will illustrate the effects on *lēon* ‘grant’ (class 1), *flēon* ‘flee’ (Class 2), *sēon* ‘see’ (class 5), *slēan* ‘strike’ (class 6), and *fōn* ‘take’ (class 7):

#### INDICATIVE

Pres. Sg. 1.	<b>lēo</b>	<b>flēo</b>	<b>sēo</b>	<b>slēa</b>	<b>fō</b>
2.	<b>liehst</b>	<b>fliehst</b>	<b>siehst</b>	<b>sliehst</b>	<b>fēhst</b>
3.	<b>liehþ</b>	<b>fliehþ</b>	<b>siehþ</b>	<b>sliehþ</b>	<b>fēhþ</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>lēoþ</b>	<b>flēoþ</b>	<b>sēoþ</b>	<b>slēaþ</b>	<b>fōþ</b>

#### SUBJUNCTIVE

Pres. Sg. 1–3.	<b>lēo</b>	<b>flēo</b>	<b>sēo</b>	<b>slēa</b>	<b>fō</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>lēon</b>	<b>flēon</b>	<b>sēon</b>	<b>slēan</b>	<b>fōn</b>

#### IMPERATIVE

Pres. Sg.	<b>lēoh</b>	<b>flēoh</b>	<b>seoh</b>	<b>sleah</b>	<b>fōh</b>
Pl.	<b>lēoþ</b>	<b>flēoþ</b>	<b>sēoþ</b>	<b>slēaþ</b>	<b>fōþ</b>

#### NON-FINITE FORMS

Inf.	<b>lēon</b>	<b>flēon</b>	<b>sēon</b>	<b>slēan</b>	<b>fōn</b>
Infl. Inf.	<b>tō lēonne</b>	<b>tō flēonne</b>	<b>tō sēonne</b>	<b>tō slēanne</b>	<b>tō fōnne</b>
Act. Part.	<b>lēonde</b>	<b>flēonde</b>	<b>sēonde</b>	<b>slēande</b>	<b>fōnde</b>

For the present indicative, the forms above may be derived from the following early Germanic forms after loss of *h* (< *x*), vowel contraction, and some earlier sound changes are taken into account:

Pres. Sg. 1.	* <b>lixō</b>	* <b>flēoxō</b>	* <b>sexō</b>	* <b>slaxō</b>	* <b>fanxō</b>
2.	* <b>lixis</b>	* <b>flīoxis</b>	* <b>sixis</b>	* <b>slaxis</b>	* <b>fanxis</b>
3.	* <b>lixip</b>	* <b>flīoxip</b>	* <b>sixip</b>	* <b>slaxip</b>	* <b>fanxip</b>
Pl. 3.	* <b>lixap</b>	* <b>flēoxap</b>	* <b>sexap</b>	* <b>slaxap</b>	* <b>fanxap</b>

All the reconstructed forms of *lēon*, *sēon*, and *slēan* are subject to breaking; it was mentioned above that some long vowels do undergo breaking (§62), as happens in *lēon*; and *slēan* meets the conditions of the change after Anglo-Frisian brightening causes the fronting of \*-a-, for example in \**slaxō* > \**slæxō* > \**sleahō* > *slēa*. In \**fanxō*, -an- changes to long nasalized -a- before the voiceless fricative, and develops as usual in Old English to -ō-, as with *brōhte* (§116). In the preterite of *fōn*, [x] was voiced already to [ɣ] in Proto-Germanic under Verner's law (Appendix A); hence, -n- is not lost in pret. sg. *fēng*, pl. *fēngon*, pass. part. *fangen*. The commonest strong verbs of this type, arranged by class, are the following:

Class 1	<b>lēon</b> <i>grant</i>	<b>lāh</b>	<b>ligon</b>	<b>līgen</b>
	<b>pēon</b> <i>thrive</i>	<b>pāh</b>	<b>pigon</b>	<b>pīgen</b>
	<b>wrēon</b> <i>cover</i>	<b>wrāh</b>	<b>wrigon</b>	<b>wriġen</b>
Class 2	<b>flēon</b> <i>flee</i>	<b>flēah</b>	<b>flugon</b>	<b>flogen</b>
	<b>tēon</b> <i>draw</i>	<b>tēah</b>	<b>tugon</b>	<b>togen</b>
Class 3	<b>fēolan</b> <i>press on</i>	<b>fealh</b>	<b>fulgon</b>	<b>fōlen</b>
Class 5	<b>sēon</b> <i>see</i>	<b>seah</b>	<b>sāwon</b>	<b>sewen</b>
	<b>ġefēon</b> <i>rejoice</i>	<b>-feah</b>	<b>-fāgon</b>	
Class 6	<b>flēan</b> <i>flay</i>	<b>flōh</b>	<b>flōgon</b>	<b>flagen, flæġen</b>
	<b>lēan</b> <i>blame</i>	<b>lōh</b>	<b>lōgon</b>	<b>lagen, læġen</b>
	<b>slēan</b> <i>strike</i>	<b>slōh</b>	<b>slōgon</b>	<b>slagen, slæġen</b>
	<b>þwēan</b> <i>wash</i>	<b>þwōh</b>	<b>þwōgon</b>	<b>þwagen, þwæġen</b>
Class 7	<b>fōn</b> <i>take</i>	<b>fēng</b>	<b>fēngon</b>	<b>fangen</b>
	<b>hōn</b> <i>hang</i>	<b>hēng</b>	<b>hēngon</b>	<b>hangen</b>

Verner's law voices *h* to *g* in the last two principal parts (but not in *fōlen*); and in the sixth and seventh classes, where Verner's law normally also affects the preterite singular, *h* is found (beside *g*) because of devoicing of final fricatives (as usual, §64), except in *fēng* and *hēng* (where *g* = [g], not [ɣ]). The verb \**sēon* derives from \**sehwan* (cognate with Lat. *sequor* 'I follow'), and the medial cluster is simplified: in the first two principal parts, the *w* was lost (before *h* was lost), whereas in the last two the *h* was lost and the *w* preserved. The verb *wrēon* may also be conjugated as if to class 2, and *tēon* as if to class 1.

**133.** Just a few weak verbs show significant irregularities because of the loss of *h*, all of them belonging to the second class: the principal parts *smēagan* ‘consider’, *smēade*, *smēad* derive from *\*smēahōjan*, *\*smēahōdǣ*, *\*smēahōd*; similarly conjugated is *prēan* ‘afflict’; and the principal parts *twēogan* ‘doubt’, *twēode*, *twēod* derive from *\*twiohōjan*, *\*twiohōdǣ*, *\*twiohōd*. Similarly conjugated are *\*tēogan* ‘arrange’ and *frēogan* ‘set free; love’, though the latter shows contraction without ever having contained *h*. As for nouns made irregular by the loss of intervocalic *h*, the important ones are masc. *scōh* ‘shoe’, *lēah* ‘open country, meadow’, *eo*h ‘horse’ and neut. *feoh* ‘capital’ and *þēoh* ‘thigh’ (though not all the following forms are actually attested):

Sg. Nom., Acc.	<b>scōh</b>	<b>lēah</b>	<b>eo</b> h	<b>feoh</b>	<b>þēoh</b>
Gen.	<b>scōs</b>	<b>lēas</b>	<b>ēos</b>	<b>fēos</b>	<b>þēos</b>
Dat.	<b>scō</b>	<b>lēa</b>	<b>ēo</b>	<b>fēo</b>	<b>þēo</b>
Pl. Nom., Acc.	<b>scōs</b>	<b>lēas</b>	<b>ēos</b>	<b>fēo</b>	<b>þēoh</b>
Gen.	<b>scōna</b>	<b>lēana</b>	<b>ēona</b>	<b>fēona</b>	<b>þēona</b>
Dat.	<b>scōm</b>	<b>lēam</b>	<b>ēom</b>	<b>fēom</b>	<b>þēom</b>

As usual, *-u* was retained in the nom.-acc. pl. of *feoh*, hence *fēo* < *\*feohu*; but *-u* was lost after the heavy syllable in the corresponding forms of *þēoh*, hence nom.-acc. pl. *þēoh*. Analogically decontracted forms like dat. pl. *scōum* are also encountered. As for adjectives of this sort, the most important ones are *hēah* ‘high’, *fāh* ‘hostile’, *hrēoh* ‘rough’, and *wōh* ‘crooked’. The contracted weak form *hēan* < *\*hēahan*, which is rather common, should not be confused with the adjective *hēan* ‘humble’; and *fāh* ‘hostile’ differs from *fāh* ‘decorated, stained’ in that the latter has *h* only as the devoicing of *g*, which appears in the inflected cases.

#### READING

Ðā nam Apollōnīus þā gewrita and ēode tō ðære cynelican healle. Mid þām þe þæt mǣden geseah Apollōnīum, þā cwæð hēo, “Lārēow, hwī gæst ðū āna?” Apollōnīus cwæð, “Hlǣfdige, næs gīt yfel wīf, nim ðās gewrita ðe þīn fæder þē sǣnde and rǣd.” Ðæt mǣden nam and rǣdde þāra prēora cnihta naman, ac hēo ne funde nā þone naman þæron þe hēo wolde. Ðā hēo þā gewrita oferrǣd hæfde, ðā beseah hēo tō Apollōnīo and cwæð, “Lārēow, ne ofþingð hit ðē gif ic þus wer gēcēose?” Apollōnīus cwæð, “Nā, ac ic blissige swiðor ðæt þū miht ðurh ðā lāre, þe þū æt mē underfēnge, þē silf on gewrite gēcȳðan hwilcne heora þū wille. Mīn willa is þæt þū ðē wer gēcēose þær ðū silf wille.” Þæt mǣden cwæð, “Ealā lārēow, gif ðū mē lufodest, þū hit besorgodest.” Æfter þisum wordum hēo mid mōdes ānrǣdnesse āwrāt oðer gewrit and þæt geinseglode and sealde Apollōnīo. Apollōnīus hit þā üt bær on ðā stræte and sealde þām cyninge. Ðæt gewrit wæs

þus gewriten: “Þū gōða cyningc and mīn sē lēofesta fæder, nū þīn mildheortnesse mē lēafe sealde þæt ic silf mōste cēosan hwilcne wer ic wolde, ic secge ðē tō sōðan, þone forlidenan man ic wille. And gif ðū wundrige þæt swā scāmfast fæmne swā unforwandigendlice ðās word āwrāt, þonne wite þū þæt ic hæbbe þurh weax āboden, ðe nāne scāme ne can, þæt ic silf ðē for scāme secgan ne mihte.” Ðā ðā sē cyningc hæfde þæt gewrit oferræd, þā niste hē hwilcne forlidenen hēo nemde. Beseah ðā tō ðām þrim cnihtum and cwæð, “Hwīlc ēower is forliden?” Ðā cwæð heora ān sē hātte Ardalūs, “Ic eom forliden.” Sē oðer him andwirde and cwæð, “Swīga ðū; ādl þē fornime þæt ðū ne bēo hāl nē gesund! Mid mē þū bōccraeft leornodest and ðū næfre būton þære cēastre geate fram mē ne cōme. Hwær gefōre ðū forlidenesse?” Mid ði þe sē cyningc ne mihte findan hwīlc heora forliden wære, hē beseah tō Apollōnīo and cwæð, “Nim ðū, Apollōnī, þis gewrit and ræd hit. Eaðe mæg gewurðan þæt þū wite þæt ic nāt, ðū ðe þær andweard wære.”

**ġewrita**, a late spelling of **ġewritu**  
(see §32)

**gæst**, 2 sg. pres. of **gān**

**næs ġīt yfel wīf** correctly translates Lat. *nondum mulier mala* ‘(you who are) not yet a bad woman’, but the Latin is corrupt. The princess has expressed unease about his entering her chamber alone, and his original response was probably that even though she is not yet a woman, she has taken things amiss, i.e. is excessively

modest (*es nondum mulier et male habes*, as one manuscript has it).

**ofþingð** = **ofþyncð**

**underfēnge**, 2 sg. pret. of  
**underfōn**

**mildheortnesse** = **mildheortnes**

**þurh weax**: in the classical and early medieval worlds, elementary students wrote their exercises on wax tablets for easy correction and erasure

**nemde** = **nemnde**

## CHAPTER XXI

### ANOMALOUS VERBS RULES FOR PALATALIZATION AND AFFRICATION RULES FOR APOCOPE AND SYNCOPE

134. In addition to *bēon*, three verbs of frequent occurrence are somewhat irregular and do not belong to any of the classes already described. They are *dōn* ‘put, cause, do’, *gān* ‘walk, go’, and *willan* ‘wish’:

#### INDICATIVE

Pres. Sg. 1.	<b>dō</b>	<b>gā</b>	<b>wille</b>
2.	<b>dēst</b>	<b>gæst</b>	<b>wilt</b>
3.	<b>dēþ</b>	<b>gæþ</b>	<b>wile</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>dōþ</b>	<b>gāþ</b>	<b>willap</b>
Pret. Sg. 1.	<b>dyde</b>	<b>ēode</b>	<b>wolde</b>
2.	<b>dydest</b>	<b>ēodest</b>	<b>woldest</b>
3.	<b>dyde</b>	<b>ēode</b>	<b>wolde</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>dydon</b>	<b>ēodon</b>	<b>woldon</b>

#### SUBJUNCTIVE

Pres. Sg. 1–3.	<b>dō</b>	<b>gā</b>	<b>wille</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>dōn</b>	<b>gān</b>	<b>willen</b>
Pret. Sg. 1–3.	<b>dyde</b>	<b>ēode</b>	<b>wolde</b>
Pl. 1–3.	<b>dyden</b>	<b>ēoden</b>	<b>wolden</b>

#### IMPERATIVE

Pres. Sg.	<b>dō</b>	<b>gā</b>
Pl.	<b>dōþ</b>	<b>gāþ</b>

#### NON-FINITE FORMS

Inf.	<b>dōn</b>	<b>gān</b>	<b>willan</b>
Infl. Inf.	<b>tō dōnne</b>	<b>tō gānne</b>	
Act. Part.	<b>dōnde</b>	<b>gānde</b>	<b>willende</b>
Pass. Part.	<b>dōn</b>	<b>gān</b>	

*Dōn* and *gān* are **verba pura**—verbs with no consonant at the end of the stem, so that the inflections are added directly to the root vowel. The present indicative paradigm of *willan* is optative in origin (since ‘would like’ is politer than ‘wants’, and hence the optative displaced the original indicative); but analogy to other

classes has obscured the original pattern. All three of these are strong verbs in origin, though they have acquired weak preterites.

135. Throughout this book, *ġ* has been overpointed to indicate the palatal variety, and *č* and *ĝ* have similarly been overpointed to indicate affricates. It may be useful to give a fuller account of the environments in which **palatalization and affrication** occurred. The conditions are not universally agreed upon; however, the following account, which is based on that of Campbell (1977: §§426–42; cf. Hogg 1992: §§7.15–43), cannot be very far from correct.

(a) [ɣ] was palatalized to [j] in initial position immediately before any front vowel or any front diphthong. Hence, there is palatalization in *ġeaf* ‘gave’ (from \**ġæf*, with diphthongization by initial palatal), *ġiefan* ‘give’ (from \**ġefan*), and *ġinnan* ‘begin’, but not in *gold* ‘gold’ or *glæd* ‘glad’; neither is there palatalization in *gæstan* ‘frighten’, since this derives from \**zāstjan*, and so *z* was not followed by a front vowel at the time of palatalization. In medial and final positions, *z* was palatalized after any front vowel, as long as it was not immediately followed by a back vowel. There is palatalization, then, in *fæġer* ‘beautiful’ and *reġn* ‘rain’, but not in *pleġode*. Medially, palatalization also is found after any vowel that has undergone front mutation (as with *hyġe* ‘thought’, from \**huziz*); this means that at least originally *ĩ* or *j* followed, and hence *z* at the time of palatalization did not immediately precede a back vowel, as with *bieġan* ‘bend’, from \**biozjan*.

(b) In initial position, [k] was affricated to [tʃ] in all the same places where palatalization of [ɣ] occurred—that is, before any front vowel, as with *čealf* ‘calf’, *čielle* ‘lamp’ (from \**kellōn*), and *čiest* ‘chooses’ (from \**kiosip*); but not in *cēlan* ‘cool’ (from \**kōljan*). Medially and finally, however, *c* was affricated only after *ĩ* or before *ĩ* or *j*: examples are *dīč* ‘ditch, dike’, *fīnč* ‘finch’, and *benč* ‘bench’ (from \**bankiz*). Affrication did not occur, however, if a back vowel immediately followed the consonant, so that some inflected forms of the above examples have stops rather than affricates, as with nom. pl. *dīcas* and dat. pl. *fīncum*; but compare dat. pl. *benčum*, from \**bankjum*. Moreover, affrication was reversed when *č* later came to stand before a consonant: hence, beside nom. sg. masc. *mičel* ‘large’ occurs gen. *micles*. This explains why, for example, there is a stop rather than an affricate in MnE *seek*: the stop arose in 2 and 3 sg. pres. *sēcst*, *sēčp* (cf. *beseech* < *be-sēcān*). Likewise, *č* must have been deaffricated before certain declensional endings, as in asm. *rične* ‘mighty’ and gp. *ēcra* ‘eternal’, but again analogy may restore *č*, as in *riičnæ* on the Ruthwell Cross (see p. 124).

(c) Affrication applies only to stop consonants; hence, although *c* may be affricated initially, medially, and finally, *g* may be affricated only when geminated or after *n*, since originally these are the only two places where [g] could appear (§18). (Remember that [g] arose in word-initial position too late to undergo affrication.) Geminate *gg* almost always arose by the influence of following *j*, and so it is almost always affricated and written *čġ* or *ġġ*; as noted in §18, there are just a few exceptions in which *gg* has another source, as with *frogga*, *frocga*

'frog' and *docga* 'dog'. In just a few instances does *ċg* represent not [ɕʒ] but [tʃ], due to the juncture of morphemes, as in *wīċġerēfa* 'bailiff', *sinċġeofa* 'treasure-giver'. As for *g* after *n*, this is affricated, like *c*, only after *i* or a vowel that has undergone front mutation, as with nom.-acc. sg. *þing* 'thing' and *mengan* 'mingle' (from *\*mangjan*); but affrication after *-in-* is prevented by a following back vowel: cf. *singan*. Presumably affrication also failed in nom.-acc. pl. *þing* < *\*þingu*, but it may have been restored by analogy, though this cannot be known for certain. In addition, affrication is undone by syncope when *g* comes to stand before a consonant (cf. *mengð* 'mingles'). Affrication of *g* must also have occurred after unstressed vowels, as in *æþeling*; but it is not so marked in this book, the assumption being that the stop consonant was restored analogically.

(d) [sk] was affected in many more environments than [ʃ] and [k]. In effect, by the time of Alfred it was palatalized everywhere except internally before and finally after back vowels (but not their front mutations). Thus, in late Old English there should be expected [ʃ] in *æsc* 'ash', *Engliſc* 'English', and gen. *froſc̅es* 'frog' (gen.), but [sk] in *æscas*, *Engliſcan*, and *froſc*.

**136. Exercise.** Determine which of the following words should show palatalization or affrication and which should not: *dæg*, *dagas*, *bodig*, *bēc* (<*\*bōkiz*), *ecg* (<*\*azjō*), *springan*, *rinc*, *rincas* (<*\*rinkas*), *feng* (<*\*fangiz*), *fengum* (<*\*fangjum*), *fēng*, *gylde*n (<*\*zuldīnaz*), *giel*dan (<*\*zeldan*), *ſcip*, *ſcūfan*, *tusc*, *tusces*, *Deniſc*, *Deniſcum*.

**137.** It may be useful to summarize briefly in one place the most general principles of apocope and syncope, some of which have already been presented in §§27, 32, and 98–9. For details, see Campbell (1977: §§341–54) or Hogg (1992: §§6.13–25):

(a) Under the rules of apocope, final *-i* is lost after heavy syllables (e.g. *\*stanki* > *stenc* 'odor'). It is not apocopated, however, after light syllables, and then it is lowered to *-e* (e.g. *\*hari* > *here* 'army'). The other short high vowel is treated the same way: *-u* is lost after heavy syllables (e.g. *\*lāru* > *lār*) but spared from apocope after light ones, either remaining as such or (much less commonly when in final position) being lowered to *-o* (e.g. *ġiefu*, *ġifo* 'gift').

(b) Under the rules of syncope, which apply to unaccented middle syllables, *i* and *u* are lost after heavy syllables (or after a light syllable plus another syllable) when they themselves appear in light syllables but not heavy ones; and when they are preserved they usually develop to *e* and *o*. Thus, they are spared syncope after a light syllable in dat. pl. *\*rakidum* > *recedum* 'halls' and *\*werudum* > *weorodum* 'troops'; they are also spared after a heavy syllable in dat. pl. *Frenciſcum* 'Frankish, French' and *leornungum* 'studies', where they appear in a heavy syllable, themselves; but when they appear in a light syllable after a heavy one they are lost, as in *\*angilum* > *englum* and *\*haubudum* > *hēafdum* 'heads'.

(c) Medial *a* is lost under the same conditions as *i* and *u* (e.g. in *hālġian* 'consecrate', from Gmc. *\*hailaġōjan*), but it is also regularly lost after light

syllables, as in nom. pl. masc. *monġe* ‘many’, from Gmc. *\*manazai*. With *i* and *u/o*, by comparison, syncope after light syllables is only sporadic and relatively late, as for example in *eġsa* ‘fear’, *eġstan* ‘hasten’, and *betsta* ‘best’ beside *eġesa*, *efestan*, and *betesta* < *\*aġisō*, *\*oġostjan*, *batistō*.

**138.** Using the Glossary and taking into account the effects of rhotacism, Anglo-Frisian brightening, breaking, front mutation, syncope, and apocope, in that order, locate the Old English reflexes of the following prehistoric forms: *\*ōþarum* (dat. pl.), *\*uþilanōn* (acc. sg. masc.: *-ōn* > OE *-e*); *\*aldizō* (nom. sg. masc. wk.: *-ō* > OE *-a*); *\*blōdisōjan* (inf.: *-ōjan* > OE *-ian*); *\*wirristaz* (nom. sg. masc.; *-az* is simply lost); *\*daridā* (3 sg. pret.: *-ā* > OE *-e*); *\*hardidā*; *\*hardustu* (nom. sg. fem.); *\*mati*; *\*wurmi*.

### READING

Ðā nam Apollōnīus þæt ġewrit and rædde, and sōna swā hē onġeat þæt hē ġelufod wæs fram ðām mædene, his andwlita eal ārēodode. Ðā sē cyningc þæt ġeseah, þā nam hē Apollōnīes hand and hine hwōn fram þām cnihtum ġewænde and cwæð, “Wāst þū þone forlidenan man?” Apollōnīus cwæð, “Ðū gōða cyning, ġif þīn willa bið, ic hine wāt.” Ðā ġeseah sē cyningc þæt Apollōnīus mid rosan rude wæs eal oferbræded. Þā onġeat hē þone cwyde and þus cwæð tō him: “Blissa, blissa, Apollōnī, forðām þe mīn dohtor ġewilnað þæs ðe mīn willa is. Ne mæg sōðlice on þillicon þingon nān þinc ġewurðan būton Godes willan.” Arcestratēs beseah tō ðām þrym cnihtum and cwæð, “Sōð is þæt ic ēow ār sæde, þæt ġē ne cōmon on ġedafenlicre tide mýnre dohtor tō biddanne, ac þonne hēo mæg hī fram hyre lāre ġeāmtīġan, þonne sænde ic ēow word.” Ðā ġewændon hie hām mid þissere andsware. And Arcestratēs sē cyningc hēold forðon Apollōnīus hand and hine lædde hām mid him, nā swilce hē cuma wære, ac swilce hē his āðum wære. Ðā æt nýxstan forlēt sē cyning Apollōnīus hand and ēode āna intō ðām būre þær his dohtor inne wæs and þus cwæð: “Lēofe dohtor, hwone hafast þū ðē ġecoren tō ġemæccan?” Ðæt mæden þā fēol tō hyre fæder fōtum and cwæð, “Ðū ārfæsta fæder, ġehýr þīnre dohtor willan. Ic lufīġe þone forlidenan man ðe wæs þurh unġelymp beswicen, ac þī lās þe þē twēonīġe þære spræce, Apollōnīum ic wille, mīnne lārēow, and ġif þū mē him ne silst, þū forlætst ðīne dohtor.” Sē cyning ðā sōðlice ne mihte āræfnian his dohtor tēaras, ac ārærde hī up and hire tō cwæð: “Lēofe dohtor, ne ondræt þū ðē ānīġes þīnges. Þū hafast ġecoren þone wer þe mē wel līcað.” Ēode ðā út and beseah tō Apollōnīo and cwæð, “Lārēow Apollōnī, ic smēade mīnre dohtor mōdes willan. Ðā ārehte hēo mē mid wōpe betweox oðre spræce þās þīngc þus cweðende: ‘Þū ġeswōre Apollōnīo, ġif hē wolde ġehīrsumian mīnum willan on lāre, þæt þū woldest him ġeinnian swā hwæt swā sēo sē him ætbræd. Nū forðām þe hē ġehýrsum wæs þīnre hāse and mīnum willan, ic fōr æfter him.”

**oferbræded = oferbræd(d)**  
**þyllicon þingon = þyllicum**  
**þingum**

**þinc = þing**  
**ondræt = ondræd**

The story breaks off at this point, where at least one gathering is missing from the manuscript, and with it more than half the story. In the Latin, Apollonius and Arcestrate (the princess, named after her father) are married. When they learn that Antiochus has died and that Apollonius is now king of Tyre, they board ship for Antioch, but during a storm Arcestrate appears to die in childbirth. She is placed in a chest and committed to the waves, but when it is washed up at Ephesus she is found to be alive, and she decides to become a votary in the temple of Diana. Meanwhile, Apollonius heads for Tarsus, and there he hands over his infant daughter, named Thasia, to a nurse and her husband, Dionysias and Stranguillo. He then retires, grieving, to Egypt. After several years, nettled because her own daughter Philothemia cannot match Thasia's beauty, Dionysias commands her steward Theophilus to kill Thasia and cast her corpse into the sea. But when Theophilus delays, allowing her to pray on the beach before dying, pirates arrive in time to carry her off. Theophilus returns home, claiming that the princess is dead, and the pirates sell Thasia to a brothel in Mitylene; but she narrates her woes to her clients, thus preserving her virginity. Apollonius arrives unexpectedly in Tarsus, where he learns that his daughter has died, and he then goes to Mitylene, where he remains alone aboard ship and grieves. Thasia is sent to charm him out of his grief, and when she narrates her sorry past, her father recognizes her. After much rejoicing, Thasia is married to the ruler of Mitylene and the brothel keeper is burnt alive. In a dream, an angel advises Apollonius to visit the temple of Diana at Ephesus. Here the Old English version resumes with the brief remainder of the tale. In Ephesus, Apollonius and Arcestrate are joyously reunited, and the entire family returns to Antioch, and from there to Tarsus, where the citizens, enraged by the tale, stone to death the faithless Dionysias and Stranguillo. Theophilus the steward would have met the same fate, but Thasia, grateful that he allowed her to pray on the beach, intercedes for him; she also adds the faithless couple's daughter Philothemia to her retinue. Apollonius and Arcestrate visit her father in Pentapolis, and when he dies, ancient and happy, he leaves his kingdom to the royal couple. While in Pentapolis, Apollonius rewards with gold the fisherman who clothed him, and he makes him a retainer. Apollonius is said to have lived with Arcestrate seventy-seven years and to have written two books about his adventures.

## APPENDIX A

### SOUND CHANGES IN THE HISTORY AND PREHISTORY OF ENGLISH

#### I. Grimm's Law

According to the commonest reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European, the language had the following set of oral stop consonants:

	labial	dental	palatal	velar	labiovelar
voiceless	p	t	ċ	k	k <sup>w</sup>
voiced	b	d	ĝ	g	g <sup>w</sup>
voiced aspirated	bh	dh	ĝh	gh	gh <sup>w</sup>

In the branch of Indo-European comprising the so-called *satem* languages (named after the Avestan word for 'hundred'), the velar consonants fell together with their labiovelar counterparts, so that there remained only a contrast between the palatal and the velar series. The *satem* branch includes the families of Indo-Iranian, Baltic, and Slavic languages, as well as the Albanian and Armenian languages. In the other IE branch of so-called *centum* languages (named after the Latin word for 'hundred'), it was the palatal and velar consonants that fell together, so that there remained only a contrast between the velar and labiovelar series. The *centum* branch includes the Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, and Germanic families, as well as the Hittite, Tocharian, and Venetic languages.

The Germanic group is set off from all the others by the application of Grimm's law (§8), under which the system of oral stop consonants underwent a massive shift. The voiceless consonants /p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>/ (since /ċ/ and /k/, again, had fallen together) became the equivalent fricatives, i.e. /f, θ, x, x<sup>w</sup>/. (The change does not affect certain stops in consonant clusters: e.g., /t/ does not become /θ/ in OE *standan* or *hæft* 'prisoner': cf. Lat. *stāre*, *captus*.) The voiced series /b, d, g, g<sup>w</sup>/ was devoiced, giving Gmc. /p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>/. The voiced aspirated series in turn yielded the Gmc. voiced fricatives /β, ð, ɣ, ɣ<sup>w</sup>/, but after nasal consonants these developed to the stops /b, d, g, g<sup>w</sup>/, and they are also stops word-initially, except for PIE /gh<sup>w</sup>/, which gives initial Gmc. /w/. (Note also that Gmc. /ð/ develops further to /d/ in OE and all the other WGmc. languages: see below.) Some words illustrating the effects of the law are these:

- p*: OE *fisc*, cf. Lat. *piscis*; OE *feoh*, cf. Lat. *pecu* 'livestock, money'  
*t*: OE *þrēo*, cf. Lat. *trēs*; OE *þū*, cf. Lat. *tū*  
*k*: OE *hund*, cf. Lat. *centum*; OE *heorte*, cf. Gk. *καρδία*, Lat. (acc.) *cordem*  
*k<sup>w</sup>*: OE *hwæt*, cf. Lat. *quod*; OE *hwoðerian* 'foam', cf. Skt. *kváthati* 'boils'  
*b*: OE *hænep* 'hemp', cf. Lat. *cannabis*; OE *þorp* 'village', cf. Lat. *turba* 'crowd'

- d*: OE *twā*, cf. Lat. *duo*; OE *tien*, cf. Lat. *decem*.  
*g*: OE *cnēo* 'knee', cf. Lat. *genu*; OE *ēacian* 'increase', cf. Lat. *augeō*  
*g<sup>w</sup>*: OE *cwene*, cf. Gk. *γυνή* 'woman'; OE *cwicu* 'alive', cf. Lat. *vīvus*  
*bh*: OE *nifol* 'darkness', cf. Gk. *νεφέλη* 'cloud'; OE *beran*, cf. Lat. *fero*, Gk. *φέρω*  
*dh*: OE *rēad*, cf. Skt. *rudh-irāḥ* 'red'; OE *midd*, OIcel. *miðr*, cf. Lat. *medium*  
*gh*: OE *dragan*, cf. Lat. *trahō*; OE *ġiest*, cf. Lat. *hostis* 'enemy'  
*gh<sup>w</sup>*: OE *singan*, Gothic *siggwan*, cf. Prākṛit *saṃghai* 'say'; OE *wearm*, cf. Skt. *gharmāḥ*, Gk. *θερμός*, Lat. *formus* < \**gh<sup>w</sup>ormos/gh<sup>w</sup>ermos*.

## II. Verner's Law

The Germanic series of fricative consonants produces a number of exceptions to Grimm's law. These are most obvious in strong verbs, which show alternations like OE *weorðan* : *worden* and *flēah* : *flogen* (to *flēon* 'flee'). Similar, but unaffected by Grimm's law, is the medial consonant in *frēosan* : *froren*. /r/ in *froren* derives from /z/ by rhotacism (§82), and as noted above, Gmc. /ð/ gives WGmc. /d/. Thus, in these verbs we may reconstruct an original voicing alternation, with voiceless fricatives /s, θ, x/ in the present and in the preterite singular, and voiced /z, ð, ɣ/ in the preterite plural and the passive participle. The process by which the voiceless fricatives were voiced in Proto-Germanic is governed by Verner's law, named for the Danish linguist Karl Verner (1846–1896). There was also at first a similar alternation affecting /f/, but the original distinction has been obliterated by the voicing of /f/ between voiced sounds and the devoicing of /v/ word-finally. There is, in addition, no spelling distinction between /f/ and /v/ for most of the OE period; but in some early texts, the voiced equivalent of /f/ under Verner's law (probably at first a bilabial fricative /β/ rather than labio-dental /v/) is spelt *b*, as in *libr* 'liver' and *ġibaen* 'given'.

In Proto-Indo-European, the main accent in a word (commonly described as a pitch accent rather than a stress accent, but see Szemerényi 1996: §5.2) might fall on any syllable, but in Proto-Germanic the accent became one of stress, and it was shifted to the initial syllable of the word. (Prefixes on verbs were presumably separate words at this point in time, and this explains why Germanic stress on verbs does not fall on prefixes.) In 1877, Verner pointed out that these alternations between voiced and voiceless fricatives correlate to alternations in the place of the PIE accent. Thus, for example, just as we find voiceless fricatives in the present and in the preterite singular of strong verbs, the accent falls on the root syllable in the present and in the reduplicated perfect singular in the commonest class of verbs in Sanskrit (cf. *bódh-ati* '(he) understands', perf. 3 sg. *bu-bódh-a*). By contrast, when voiced fricatives appear in the Germanic preterite plural and passive participle, the accent falls on the suffix in the corresponding Sanskrit forms (cf. perf. 1 pl. *bu-bhud-imá*, past pass. part. *buddháh*). The change involved in Verner's law must therefore have occurred before the Germanic accent shift (but after the application of Grimm's law), and it affected

fricatives that followed unaccented vowels. Example: (in the older notation) PIE *\*pətér* (cf. Gk. *πατήρ*) > PGmc. *\*faθér* (by Grimm's law) > *\*faðér* (Verner's law) > *\*fáðēr* (PGmc. accent shift) > WGmc. *\*fáder* (WGmc. *ð* > *d*) > OE *fæder* (Anglo-Frisian brightening).

### III. Chief Developments of the Germanic Consonants into Old English

1. PGmc. *ð* > WGmc. *d*. Examples: OE *riðan*, *gōð*, *fæder* (cf. OIcel. *riða*, *góðr*, *faðir*).

2. Rhotacism. PGmc. *z* (by Verner's law) > WGmc. *r*. Examples: OE *swiðra*, *herian*, *hord* (cf. Go. *swinþōza*, *hazjan*, *huzd*). The same development occurred in North Germanic at a later date.

3. PGmc. *lþ* > WGmc. *ld*. Examples: OE *bieldo* 'boldness', *gold*, *wilde* (cf. Go. *balþei*, *gulþ*, *wilþeis*).

4. In West Germanic, *w* is lost before *u*, and both *w* and *j* are lost before *i*. Examples: OE acc. *frēan* 'lord' < PGmc. *\*frawun-*; OE *strēd* 'strewn' < *\*strawid-*. For this reason there is no gemination in 3 sg. *fremeð* < *\*framlþ* < PGmc. *framjilþ(i)* (§108).

5. WGmc. gemination. After a short vowel, any consonant other than *r* (< *r*, *z*) is doubled before *j*. Gemination also occurs occasionally before *r*, *l*. See §67.

6. PGmc. *j* is lost in all the WGmc. languages, except Old Saxon, after heavy syllables, including those made heavy by gemination. Examples: OE *lāran*, *sellan*, dat. pl. *beddum* (cf. OS *lêrian*, *sellian*, *beddium*).

7. WGmc. syllabification of resonants. The loss of unstressed vowels created syllable structures in which *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* eventually became syllabic. The syllabic resonants are usually spelt *ul*, *ur*, *un*, *um* (later *ol*, *or*, *on*, but *um*) after what were (originally) back vowels, otherwise *el*, *er*, *em*, *en*. Examples: OE *fugol*, *wuldor*, *māððum*, *tācen* (cf. Go. *fugls*, *wulþrs*, *maipms*, *taikns*). (The resonants remain nonsyllabic in North and East Germanic, though some handbooks refer to the Gothic sounds as syllabic, despite the spelling, and to the WGmc. process not as syllabification but the insertion of epenthetic vowels next to already-syllabic resonants. OE poetic meter indicates otherwise.)

8. WGmc. fricative lenition. Between voiced sounds, the fricatives *f*, *þ*, *s* became voiced. This change accounts for alternations like MnE *thief* ~ *thieves* and *house* (noun) ~ *house* (verb), from OE *þeof* ~ *þēofas* and *hūs* ~ *hūsian*. The fricative *x* was also affected, as it was weakened in articulation (to [h]) and subsequently lost—earlier in OE than in other WGmc. languages, with vowel contraction or compensatory lengthening as a result (§§131–32). The extent of these changes in Upper German dialects is unknown.

9. Anglo-Frisian palatalization and affrication of *g*, *c*, *sc*. See §135.

10. OE consonant gemination is caused by *r*, rarely *l*, usually after long vowels. Examples: *āttor* 'poison', *nāddre* 'snake', *lýttele*, *miccle* (cf. OIcel. *eitr*, *naðra*, *lítill*, *mikill*).

11. WS *ġ* is lost before some dental consonants, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. See §111(a).

#### IV. Chief Developments of the Stressed Vowels

##### A. Proto-Indo-European Vowels in Germanic

12. PIE *o* > Gmc. *a*, and similarly PIE *oi*, *ou* > Gmc. *ai*, *au*. Examples: OIcel. *garðr* (cf. Lat. *hortus* 'garden'); Gothic *ahtau* (cf. Lat. *octō* 'eight'); Go. *wait* (cf. Gk. [f]oĩδᾱ; OIcel. *rauðr* 'red' (cf. Lat. *rūfus* < PIE \**roudhos*).

13. PIE *ə* > Gmc. *a*. Examples: OIcel. *faðir* 'father' (cf. Lat. *pater*, Skt. *pitár* < PIE \**pətér*); OHG *stat* 'place' (cf. Lat. *status*).

14. PIE *ā* > Gmc. *ō*. Examples: OE *mōdor* (cf. Lat. *māter*); OE *stōd* (cf. Lat. *stāre* 'stand').

15. PIE *ei* > Gmc. *ī*. Examples: OE *stīgan* (cf. Gk. *στείχω* 'I go'); OE *bīdan* (cf. Gk. *πειθω* 'I persuade').

16. PIE *l̥*, *r̥*, *ŋ̥*, *m̥* > PGmc. *ul*, *ur*, *un*, *um*. Examples: OE *full* (cf. Lithuanian *pilnas*, Skt. -*pr̥na-*); OS *gi-burd*, OE *ġebyrd* (cf. Skt. *br̥tiḥ*); OE *clumbon* 'climbed' < \**ġlmbh-*; OHG *gi-munt*, OE *mynd* 'memory' (cf. Lat. *mens*, Skt. *mátīḥ*).

17. For Germanic there is also reconstructed a vowel *ē₂* from various sources. It is found in OE *hēr* (cf. Go. *hēr*); it seems to derive as well from *iz*: to Go. *mizdō* 'reward', cf. OE *mēd* (beside *meord*); and it is found in loanwords, e.g. Go. *mēs* < Vulgar Lat. *mēsa* < Lat. *mensa*.

##### B. Development of the Germanic Vowels into Prehistoric Old English

18. PGmc. *e* > *i* when *i* or *j* follows in the next syllable. Examples: OE *spricþ* < \**sprikiþ* (inf. OE *sprecan*); OE *midd* (cf. Lat. *medium*). This change also applies to the diphthong *eu*. Example: OS *biudis* 'you offer'.

19. PGmc. *e* > *i* before nasal consonants in closed syllables. Examples: OE *wind* (cf. Lat. *ventus*); OE *ġelimp* (cf. Skt. *lambate* 'depends').

20. PGmc. *aŋx*, *iŋx*, *uŋx* > *ǣx*, *īx*, *ūx*. The first of these develops to *ōx* in Anglo-Frisian, giving *ōh* in Old English. Examples: OE *brōhte* (cf. wk. inf. *breŋan*); OS *thihan*, OE *þēon* (cf. OE pass. part. *ġepungen*); OE *pōhte* (cf. inf. *þeŋan*).

21. PGmc. *u* > NWGmc. *o* unless followed in the next syllable by *i*, *j*, or *u*, though not before a nasal consonant in a closed syllable. Examples: OE *boden* 'having offered' (cf. Go. -*budans*); OE *þolian* (cf. Go. *þulan*). Cf. OE *sunu*, *wunden*, etc.

22. PGmc. *ē* > NWGmc. *ǣ*. Examples: OE *dǣd* (cf. Go. *gadēps*, OIcel. *dǫð*); OE *sǣd* 'seed' (cf. Go. *manna-sēps* 'humankind', OIcel. *sǫð* 'seed').

23. PGmc. final vowels are lengthened in NWGmc. when stressed. This is why words like OE *mē*, *þū*, *sē*, *hē*, *nū* and *tō* are marked with macrons; in

actuality, such words retained short vowels when they did not receive clausal stress. Macrons are thus not supplied for words that were not stressed, such as rel. particle *þe* and prep. *be* (stressed form: *bī*).

24. PGmc. *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened and nasalized in Ingvaemonic before *mf*, *ns*, *nh*, with loss of the nasal consonant. *ā* remains in Old Saxon, but it develops to *ō* in Anglo-Frisian. Examples: OE *fīf* (cf. OHG *fimf*); OE *swīð* (cf. Go. *swinþs*); OE *mūþ* (cf. NHG *Mund*). The change also occurs in unstressed syllables, as in OE *berað*, *ġeogup* < \**beranþi*, \**juzunþ-*.

25. WGmc. *æ* (from PGmc. *ē*: see 22 above) > Anglo-Frisian *ō* before nasal consonants. Examples: OE *mōna* (cf. OIcel. *máni*); OE *sōna* (cf. OS *sāno*).

26. a) PGmc. *a* > *ā* before nasal consonants in Anglo-Frisian (see §29). This appears as *a* or *o* in EWS, as in *land*, *lond* and *wamb*, *womb* (cf. Go. *land*, *wamba*). The change also occurs in unstressed syllables when *n* belongs to the same syllable, as in OE *settan*, acc. sg. *naman*.

b) Otherwise, PGmc. *a* > *æ* in Anglo-Frisian (see §29), as in OE *hæfde*, *æsc* (cf. OIcel. *hafði*, *askr*). The change also occurs in unstressed syllables, as in OE *stānes*, *þēoden* < \**stānæs*, \**þēodæn-* < \**stainas*, \**þiuðanaz*.

c) But *a* is restored in an open syllable when a back vowel follows (§29), as in OE *faran*, *dagas*.

d) The change *a* > *æ* also applies to the diphthong *au* in PrOE, and the result is *ēa*, as in *dēaþ*, *ēage* (cf. OIcel. *dauðr*, *auga*).

27. PGmc. *ai* > OE *ā*. Examples: OE *wā*, dat. *bām* (cf. Go. *wai*, *baim*).

### C. Development of the Prehistoric Old English Vowels in West Saxon

28. Breaking (see §62). The front vowels *æ*, *e*, *i* are diphthongized to *ea*, *eo*, *io* before the back consonant *h*, and also before *r*, *l* when these are followed by a consonant (though *e* does not break before *l* unless this is followed by *h*). Examples: OE *weaxan*, *bearn*, *healf*, *feohtan*, *weorpan*, *eolh* (cf. OHG *wahsan*, *barn*, *halb*, *fehtan*, *werfan*, MHG *elch*). Breaking is also said to occur before *w*, but it is debatable whether the known instances, at least of short vowels, should be ascribed to breaking or back mutation (see 31 below). There is also breaking of WS *ā* in *nēah* (cf. OS *nāh*), and of PGmc. *ī* in *fēol* 'file' (cf. OHG *fihala*), *lēoht* 'light (in weight)' (cf. OHG *lihti*), etc., and cf. *cnēow* 'knew' beside *cnēw*, etc.

29. Diphthongization by initial palatal consonants (see §71). In West Saxon, the front vowels *ǣ*, *ĕ* are diphthongized after initial *ġ*, *ċ*, *sc*. Examples: OE *ġeaf*, *scēal*, *ċeariġ*, *ġēar*, *scēap*, *ġiefan*, *ċiefes* 'concubine', *scieran* (cf. OHG *gab*, *scal*, *karg*, *jār*, *scāf*, *geban*, *kebisa*, *sceran*).

30. Front mutation (*i*-/*j*-umlaut). Vowels other than *i* (and *e*, since it no longer existed in this environment: see 18 above) are fronted and/or raised when *i* or *j* follows in the next syllable. For details and examples, see §74. The change also occurs in unstressed syllables, as in OE *helpende*, *æðele*, *lufian* < \**helpandja-*, \**aþaljaz*, \**luþējan* < \**luþōjan*.

31. Back mutation. Front vowels (*i*, *e*, and, in West Mercian, *æ*) in open syllables are diphthongized when a back vowel follows in the next syllable. In West Saxon, the change occurs generally before liquid and labial consonants. It is more widespread in the other dialects (see Appendix B, nos. 3, 17).

32. PrOE *īu*, *ēu* > *īo*, *ēo*, and subsequently in West Saxon and Mercian, *īo* > *ēo*. Examples: WS *hleonian* 'lean', *hēo* (cf. Northumbr. *hlioniġa*, *hīo*).

33. Palatal umlaut. PrOE *eo*, *io* (by breaking) > LWS *i* before final *-ht*, *-hs*, *-hþ*, and perhaps also when these were followed by *-e*. Examples: LWS *riht*, *six*, *sihþ* 'sight' (cf. OS *reht*, *sehs*, OHG *siht*). The change has already applied, in part, in EWS. It also applies in the Anglian dialects to *e* (the Anglian smoothing of *eo*: see Appendix B, no. 12) in this environment.

34. a) EWS *īe* > LWS *ī* before palatal consonants (*č*, *ġ*, *h*), otherwise *ȳ*. For examples, see §117(a).

b) Similarly, EWS *ȳ* tends to develop to LWS *ī* before palatal consonants. It is often retained next to labial consonants or before *r*; otherwise, *ȳ* and *ī* are more or less interchangeable in LWS. For examples, see §117(b–c).

35. LWS smoothing. EWS *ēa* > *ē* before *c*, *g*, *h* or after *č*, *ġ*, *sc*. Examples: LWS *ehhta*, *bēcon*, *ēge*, *hēh*, *čerf*, *ġef*, *ġēr* (cf. EWS *eahta*, *bēacn*, etc.). This change is far from regular, or at least it is irregularly indicated in LWS spelling.

36. In LWS, short vowels between *w* and *r* are often written *u*. Examples: LWS *wurðan*, *swurd* (cf. EWS *weorðan*, *sweord*). See §111(b).

37. EWS *sel-* > LWS *syl-*, *sil-*. Examples: LWS *syllan*, *sylf* (cf. EWS *sellan*, *self*). See §122.

## V. Chief Developments of the Unstressed Vowels

38. An exception to the rule that PIE *o* gives Gmc. *a* is that in unaccented medial syllables before *m*, or before *u* in the following syllable, it is reflected in NWGmc. as *u*. Examples: PIE dat. pl. *\*-omis* > OE *-um*; OE acc. sg. *brōðor* < *\*brōþuru*. Under the same conditions, PIE *ā* gives *ū*. Examples: OE dat. pl. *beorhtostum* < *\*berhtūstumiz*, as if from PIE *\*bherġ-t-āst-omis* (cf. OE variant *-ast* from cases without PGmc. *u* in the next syllable; a similar alternation accounts for the coöccurrence of *-ode* and *-ade* in the pret. of weak verbs of the second class).

39. In PGmc., *a*, *e* are lost when final. Examples: Go. *wait*, OE *wāt* (cf. Gk. *οἶδα*, *οἶδε*); Go. imper. *bair*, OE *ber* (cf. Gk. *φῑρε*).

40. Internal PGmc. *e* > *i* except before *r*. Examples: OE *tēþ* < *\*tōþiz* < *\*tanþiz* (cf. Gk. *ὀδόντες*); cf. OE *hwæþer* = Gk. *πότερος* < PIE *k<sup>w</sup>óteros*.

41. In PGmc., *i* (whether from PIE *i* or *e*) is lost when two or more syllables precede. Examples: OE gen. sg. *naman* < *\*namaniz* (cf. Lat. gen. *nominis*); OE *weorðað* (cf. Skt. *vartanti*)

42. In PGmc., *a* is lost in all final unaccented syllables. Examples: OIcel. *garðr*, OE *ġeard* < *\*garðaz* (cf. Gk. *χόρτος*); OE *bearu* < PGmc. *\*baruz* < *\*barwaz*.

43. In Northwest Germanic, long vowels (except those with circumflex accent) are shortened in unstressed final syllables. The result: PGmc.  $\bar{i}$  >  $i$ , giving OE  $e$  when not subsequently lost; PGmc.  $\bar{e}$  > NWGmc.  $\bar{æ}$  >  $æ$  > OE  $e$ ; PGmc.  $\bar{o}$  > NWGmc.  $u$  > OE  $u$  or  $o$ . Exception: PGmc.  $\bar{o}$  before a nasal consonant gives NWGmc.  $\tilde{a}$  >  $\bar{æ}$  (with loss of the nasal consonant) > OE  $e$ . Examples: OE 3 sg. *wile* < \**wilī(p)*; OE *herede* < \**hazidē*; OE *giefu* < \**gebō*; OE *giefe* < \**gebōm*. (The circumflexed vowels retain their length later than the uncircumflexed, and  $\bar{o}$  gives OE  $a$ , as in OE *stānas* < \**stainōs*. On the nature of circumflexion, see Fulk 1992: §170 n. 2.)

44. PGmc. *ai*, *au* > NWGmc.  $\bar{æ}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  > OE  $e$ ,  $a$  in unstressed final (and probably medial) syllables. Examples: OE *sorge*, *eahta*, *lifēn* ‘sustenance’ (cf. Go. *saurgai*, *ahtau*, *libains* < \**libainiz*).

45. Although there is no breaking in unstressed syllables, Anglo-Frisian  $æ$  is retracted to  $a$  in breaking environments, often developing to  $o$ . Examples: OE *hlāford*, *weorold* < \**hlaiþ-ward-*, \**wer-ald-*.

46. Apocope and syncope. See §137.

47. All remaining unstressed long vowels were shortened in ProOE, after which unstressed low vowels were raised, and high vowels were generally lowered:  $æ$ ,  $i$  >  $e$ , and  $u$  is sometimes written  $o$ . New long vowels and diphthongs continually arose in unstressed syllables, however, as compounds were lexicalized and the vowels of their second constituents lost stress. Thus, for example, *earfoþ* ‘difficulty’ derives from \**arbaiþ-*, with *ai* having lost stress too late to develop to  $\bar{æ}$  (no. 44 above) and instead turning to  $\bar{a}$  (no. 27 above). But there was much variation, so that we find, e.g., *fulluht* ‘baptism’, *fultum* ‘assistance’, *āwer* ‘anywhere’ beside *fulwiht*, *fultēam*, *āhwær*. For details, see Campbell 1977: §§355–59, 368–93.

## VI. The Proto-Indo-European Origins of Old English Ablaut

The most fundamental ablaut alternation in Proto-Indo-European was among  $e$ ,  $o$ , and  $\emptyset$  (null). The alternation between full grade ( $e$ ,  $o$ ) and zero grade ( $\emptyset$ ) originated very early when unstressed vowels were deleted, before the PIE accent developed from a stress accent to a pitch accent. The effects of this vowel loss can be observed particularly plainly when the accent shifts within a paradigm, e.g. in Gk. acc. sg. *πατέρα* < \**pátēr̥m* ~ gen. *πατρός* < \**pátros̥*. The alternation between  $e$ -grade and  $o$ -grade seems to have been conditioned originally by the place of the pitch accent: consider the opposition between Gk. *φέρω* ‘I bear’ and *φορέω* ‘I bear (constantly)’ from the same root. Very often, vowel loss caused resonant consonants to become syllabic, producing so-called reduced grade. This is observable, again, in *πατέρα* < \**pátēr̥m*, where the accusative ending *-m* is made syllabic after a consonant, though after a vowel it remains nonsyllabic, as in Gk. acc. *λόγον* ‘word’ < \**lógom*. The consonants thus syllabified include not just the resonants  $l$ ,  $r$ ,  $m$ ,  $n$ , but also the glides  $y$  and  $w$ , which regularly give their vocalic

equivalents *i* and *u*. (PIE *i*, *u* are not in fact vowel phonemes in the standard reconstruction of early PIE but allophones of *y*, *w*.)

Although ablaut is found in all parts of speech, its workings are plainest in verbs, because of the accent shifts observable in their paradigms. As pointed out in §92, the underlying regularity of the ablaut patterns of OE strong verbs has been obscured by a number of regular sound changes. Taking into account these subsequent changes, the PIE pattern *e* : *o* :  $\emptyset$  can be discerned in most of the ablaut patterns of OE strong verbs, with *e* in the present, *o* in the preterite singular, and  $\emptyset$  in the preterite plural and the past/passive participle. The corresponding ablaut grades are represented in Greek (with the verb root in boldface) by the 1 sg. present or future, the 1 sg. reduplicated perfect, and the 1 sg. second aorist:

Germanic class 1, type PIE *ei* : *oi* : *i*

Example: Gk. pres. **λείπ**-ω 'I leave' : perfect λέ-**λοιπ**-α : aorist ἔ-**λιπ**-ον.

Cf. PIE *\*bheidh-* : *\*bhoidh-* : *\*bhidh-* > OE *bīdan* : *bād* : *bidon*, *biden*

Here the root vowel of the OE present tense shows the development of PIE *ei* to PGmc. *ī* (rule 15 above), and the preterite singular shows the development PGmc. *ai* > OE *ā* (27 above).

Germanic class 2, type PIE *eu* : *ou* : *u*

Example: Homeric Gk. fut. ἐ-**λεύ**-σ-ομαι 'I come, go' : perf. εἰ-**λή**-**λου**-θ-α : aor. ἤ-**λυ**-θ-ον

Cf. PIE *\*bheudh-* : *\*bhoudh-* : *\*budh-* > OE *bēodan* : *bēad* : *budon*, *boden*

Here the root vowel of the OE present tense shows the development PGmc. *eu* > OE *ēo* (32 above), the preterite singular shows the development PGmc. *au* > OE *ēa* (26(d) above), and the pass. part. shows the lowering of *u* before an original low vowel (*boden* < *\*buđanaz*, 21 above).

Germanic class 3, type PIE *\*eR* : *\*oR* : *\*R* (where *R* = a resonant consonant, *l*, *r*, *m*, or *n*)

Example: Gk. pres. **δέρκ**-ομαι 'I see' : perf. δέ-**δορκ**-α : aor. ἔ-**δρακ**-ον

PIE *\*bhendh-* : *\*bhondh-* : *\*bhŋdh-* > OE *bindan* : *band* : *bundon*, *bunden*

Here the root vowel of the OE present tense shows the development of PIE *e* to PGmc. *i* before a nasal consonant in a closed syllable (19 above), the preterite singular shows the development of PGmc. *a* before nasal consonant to Anglo-Frisian *ā*, spelt *a* or *o* in EWS (26(a) above), and the preterite plural and the pass. participle show the change of PIE *ŋ* to Gmc. *un* (16 above).

The fourth class of strong verbs (e.g. *beran*, *bær*, *bēron*, *boren*) and the fifth (e.g. *wefan*, *wæf*, *wāfon*, *wefen*) mostly conform to the same pattern, with *e* in

the present and  $\text{æ}$  (< PGmc.  $a$  < PIE  $o$ ) in the preterite singular. The vowel  $\text{æ}$  of the past plural has not been adequately explained; for references, see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §6.34. In the past/passive participle, the fourth class shows a reflex of the reduced grade, PIE  $\text{R} >$  Gmc.  $uR$ , with subsequent lowering of  $u$  before  $a$  in the next syllable (e.g. *boren* < *\*buranaz*, cf. Go. *baurans*), due to rule 21 above. The fifth class also originally had the reduced grade, but since there was no resonant at the end of the root to become syllabic, the reduced grade was restored to full grade. The verb *brecan* belongs to the fourth class rather than the fifth, even though the root does not end in a resonant, because the pass. part. *brocen* shows a reflex of PIE  $\text{r}$ , realized in Proto-Germanic as  $ru$  rather than  $ur$ . Similarly, fifth-class *drepan* has for its pass. participle *drepen* beside the older *dropen*, indicating a fourth-class origin.

The sixth class obviously follows quite a different ablaut pattern that is not precisely paralleled in verbs in non-Germanic languages. In the present,  $a$  originates in part with PIE  $\text{ə}$  (rule 13 above), which is not actually a vowel but another syllabic consonant, called a “laryngeal consonant” (though it may not have been laryngeal at all) that may also be represented by  $\text{H}$ . The PIE full grade was  $eH$ , and before a consonant the  $H$  would be lost, with compensatory lengthening of the vowel, e.g.  $eH > \bar{e}$ . There were, it is assumed, three laryngeal consonants, producing, in such instances, IE  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ , and  $\bar{a}$ . The last of these is the full-grade form found in the preterite of verbs of the sixth strong class, IE  $\bar{a}$ , giving Germanic  $\bar{o}$  (rule 14 above). The other two long vowels, IE  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$ , are reflected in alternations in some verbs of the seventh, reduplicating class in Gothic, though as pointed out in §§102–3, in the other Germanic languages the seventh class has been thoroughly changed by analogical processes. On laryngeal consonants, see Lindeman 1987.

## VII. Sound Changes in the Language after the Old English Period

The history of the language from the Norman Conquest to the present is naturally too complex to treat in any detail in the present context, but it may be useful to list here a few of the more significant phonological changes, since a knowledge of these very often allows students to recognize the modern reflexes of Old English words. Perhaps the most useful of these changes to know about is the Great Vowel Shift (no. 56 below), which marks the end of the Middle English period.

48. OE vowels were lengthened before certain voiced, homorganic consonant clusters (i.e. clusters of consonants with more or less the same place of articulation), most commonly *ld*, *rd*, *mb*, and *nd*. This change actually took place in the course of the OE period, but it is not conventionally marked in edited texts of Old English. Examples: MnE *wild*, *beard*, *climb*, *found* < OE *wilde*, *beard*, *climban*, *funden*. The change is prevented when another consonant follows; hence, it applies to OE sg. *cild* but not pl. *cildru*.

49. Already before the end of the OE period, long vowels were shortened in most closed syllables, or when two or more syllables followed. Examples: OE *fiftīg, sōfte, mētte, hālīgdæg, stīrāpas, sūðerne* > MnE *fifty, soft, met, holiday, stirrups, southern*.

50. The OE diphthongs are monophthongized in early ME. OE *ēa, ea, ēo, eo* eventually fall together with, respectively, the reflexes of OE *ǣ, æ, ē, e/a*. Examples: OE *ēare, hearm, dēop*, (Merc.) *seolf, heorte* > MnE *ear, harm, deep, self, heart*.

51. In early ME, OE *ā > ȃ* (= lax /ɔ:/). Examples: OE *stān, wā* > ME *stoon, wo* > MnE *stone, woe*.

52. In early ME, non-high vowels are lengthened in open syllables. Lengthened *a/æ, e, o* are lax vowels, /æ:, ε:, ɔ:/, of which /ε:/ is identical to the reflex of OE *ǣ* (both the front mutation of *ā* and the WS reflex of PGmc. *ē*), and /ɔ:/ is identical to the reflex of OE *ā* (no. 51 above). Examples: OE *faran, mete, bodian* > ME *faren, mete, boden* > MnE *fare, meat, bode*.

53. OE *g* when it represents /ɣ/ generally becomes ME *w*. Examples: OE *folgian, sorge, dragan, plōgas* > MnE *follow, sorrow, draw, plows*.

54. Beginning in late OE and throughout the ME period, unstressed syllables are weakened and often lost. Unstressed vowels of all kinds coalesce in /ə/. The result is that most inflectional endings are reduced to *-e* or are lost. For example, of the endings in the paradigm of OE *stān*, only those ending in *s* survive into Modern English. The loss of inflections has wide-ranging syntactic consequences, including increased use of prepositions to indicate grammatical relationships, rigidification of word order (subject more regularly precedes object), and the loss of grammatical gender.

55. In late ME, fricatives were voiced in many unstressed syllables. This is the cause of the voicing in MnE *the, this, that, then, there, their, thus, is, was, of*, possessive and plural *-s*, 3 sg. verb endings *-s, -th*, etc.

56. The Great Vowel Shift. Starting about 1400, the long vowels systematically changed their values. The high vowels /i:, u:/ diphthongized, perhaps at first to /ɔi, əu/, and the mid tense vowels /e:, o:/ became high /i:, u:/. It was not until after Shakespeare's day that /ɔi, əu/ developed to /ai, au/ in most dialects, as in OE *drīfan, mūs* > MnE *drive, mouse*; /ɔ:/ became tense /o:/, as in OE *sār, fola* > MnE *sore, foal*; the reflex of ME /ε:/ finally coalesced with the reflex of /e:/ in /i:/, as in OE *clēne, wefan* MnE *clean, weave*; and ME /æ:/, the lengthening of OE *a/æ* in open syllables, developed to /e:/, as in OE *hatian, nacod, hæsel* > MnE *hate, naked, hazel*. Labial consonants sometimes stayed the effect of the Great Vowel Shift on /u:/, as in OE *rūm, scūfan* > MnE *room, shove*.

57. In early Modern English, /x/ was lost after /i/, with compensatory lengthening. The resulting long vowel develops as if it had undergone the Great Vowel Shift. (Almost certainly /x/ was lost in some parts of England, e.g. East Anglia, while the Shift was in process.) Examples: OE *riht, cniht* > MnE *right, knight*.

58. Before the post-Shakespearean change of /ɛ:/ to /i:/, it could be shortened before /t, d, θ/, as in OE *swāetan*, *dēad*, *dēaþ* > MnE *sweat*, *dead*, *death*.

59. /u:/ from ME /o:/ could be shortened to /ʊ/ before /t, d, k/, as in OE *fōt*, *gōd*, *lōcian* > MnE *foot*, *good*, *look*.

60. Early MnE /ʊ/ developed to /ʌ/ in most environments, though /ʊ/ tends to be preserved after labial consonants. Examples: OE *lust*, *tusc*, *blōd* > MnE *lust*, *tusk*, *blood*, but OE *full*, *wulf*, *bōc* > MnE *full*, *wulf*, *book*.

APPENDIX B  
OLD ENGLISH DIALECTS, WITH DIALECT TEXTS

**I. General**

The dialects of Old English fall into two groups, the **Anglian** and the **Southern**, with the Thames west of London as the geographical dividing line. But even this line is too definite, and instead of categorizing the dialects geographically, for most purposes it is preferable to conceive of them as varieties of Old English defined by particular groups of texts that share dialect features. The chief recorded Anglian dialects are **Northumbrian** and **Mercian**, the former represented primarily by some short poems—versions of *Cædmon's Hymn*, *The Leiden Riddle*, *Bede's Death Song* (all edited by Smith 1978), and the inscriptions on the Franks (Auzon) Casket and the Ruthwell Cross—and especially by the late tenth-century interlinear glosses on the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Durham Ritual, and portions of the Rushworth Gospels (all but Matthew; Mark 1:1–2:15; John 18:1–3). “Mercian” refers in the main to West Mercian, as represented primarily in the ninth-century interlinear gloss on the Vespasian Psalter, but it also encompasses, along with some briefer texts, the portions of the gloss on the Rushworth Gospels that are not Northumbrian, in a dialect that has not been definitely localized, though opinion now favors an origin in the environs of Lichfield. Other presumably Anglian dialects, such as those of Lindsey (roughly Lincolnshire), East Mercia, and East Anglia, are attested poorly or not at all. The Southern group comprises Kentish (from which the dialect of Surrey is hardly distinct) and West Saxon; the dialects of Sussex, Middlesex, and Essex are preserved fragmentarily. Since the features of West Saxon, Early and Late, are presented in the grammar, the primary focus of this appendix is on the remaining dialects.

1. The chief feature that distinguishes West Saxon from the other dialects is that it reflects PGmc. *ē* as *æ*, whereas the others reflect it as *ē*. Examples: WS *sæd* ‘seed’, *rædan*, *bæron* = nWS *sēd*, *rēdan*, *bēron*

2. The other dialects have no diphthong *īe*. Rather, *ēa* is mutated to *ě*, and *īo* mostly remains unchanged, though in Anglian it is often *ī* or *ēo* (9 below; 32 in Appendix A). Examples: WS *cierran*, *hliehhan*, *biecnan*, *ierre*, *liehtan*, cf. nWS *čerran*, *hlehhan*, *bēcnan*, *iorre* or *eorre*, *lihtan*. Non-WS *ie* in *hie*, *sie*, *þrie*, *onsien* is not a diphthong but a sequence of two uncontracted vowels.

3. Whereas back mutation (§119) in WS is virtually restricted to apply across liquid (*l*, *r*) and labial (*f*, *p*, *w*, *m*) consonants, in Anglian it may apply across all consonants except velars; and in Kentish (and occasionally in Mercian) even that restriction does not apply. Examples of non-West Saxon back mutation are *riodon*, *weoras*, Kentish *weogas*, *forespreoca* ‘advocate’ (cf. WS *ridon*, *weras*, *wegas*, *forespreca*). Outside of WS, the change also applies in a few closed syllables, as in Kentish *seoððan*, *seondan* (cf. WS *siððan*, *sindon*).

4. Whereas  $\text{ǣ}$  is unrounded early in WS,  $\text{æ}$  maintains its rounding in the Anglian dialects, and it is common also in early Kentish, usually spelt  $\text{ōe}$ . Short  $\text{æ}$  is unrounded in all dialects, though examples of the rounded vowel are found in Anglian. Examples:  $\text{ōepel}$ ,  $\text{wōesten}$ , dat. sg.  $\text{doehter}$  (cf. WS  $\text{ēpel}$ ,  $\text{wēsten}$ ,  $\text{dehter}$ ).

5. WS diphthongization by initial palatal consonants is paralleled only partly in Northumbrian; it is lacking in the other dialects, though a glide vowel (usually  $\text{e}$ ) is often written there between a palatal consonant and a back vowel (as in Merc.  $\text{ġeond-}$ ,  $\text{ġeāmrung}$ ). Examples: Merc.  $\text{ġelpan}$ ,  $\text{ġēta}$ ,  $\text{sċæft}$ ,  $\text{ċæster}$  (cf. WS  $\text{gielpa}$ ,  $\text{ġieta}$ ,  $\text{sċæft}$ ,  $\text{ċæster}$ ; as regards Merc.  $\text{ġēr}$ , as opposed to WS  $\text{ġēar}$  <  $\text{*ġæ̃r}$ , see no. 1 above).

6. As a preterite suffix in the second class of weak verbs,  $\text{-ad-}$  (as opposed to  $\text{-od-}$ ,  $\text{-ud-}$ ) is rare in WS except in verbs with a back vowel in the root syllable, but common in the other dialects, as in  $\text{cliopade}$ ,  $\text{ġenīwad}$ .

## II. Specifically Kentish Characteristics

7. Like EWS, early Kentish has sometimes  $\text{o}$  for PGmc.  $\text{a}$  before nasal consonants, as in  $\text{lond}$ ,  $\text{ġesomnuncgæ}$ .

8. By the ninth century, there is a tendency to raise the first element of the diphthong  $\text{ēo}$ , as evidenced by spellings like  $\text{hiore}$  (=  $\text{heora}$ ),  $\text{ċiorl}$ ,  $\text{hīo}$ ,  $\text{bīor}$ . In ninth-century charters there is also a tendency to unround the second element to  $\text{a}$ : cf.  $\text{wiaralde}$ ,  $\text{hiabenlice}$ ,  $\text{bebīade}$  (cf. WS  $\text{weorolde}$ ,  $\text{heofonlice}$ ,  $\text{bebēode}$ ).

9. By the tenth century,  $\text{ǣ}$  and  $\text{ȳ}$  have regularly become  $\text{ē}$ . Examples:  $\text{feġeran}$ ,  $\text{meġene}$ ,  $\text{gēð}$ ,  $\text{ārēr}$  'raise',  $\text{onherie}$  'emulate',  $\text{ferht}$  'fear',  $\text{ontēnð}$ ,  $\text{fēren-}$  'fiery' (cf. WS  $\text{fægerran}$ ,  $\text{mæġene}$ ,  $\text{gēð}$ ,  $\text{ārær}$ ,  $\text{onhyrie}$ ,  $\text{fyrht}$ ,  $\text{ontȳnð}$ ,  $\text{fȳren-}$ ). (The  $\text{ā}$  which becomes  $\text{ē}$  is the front mutation of  $\text{ā}$ , not a reflex of PGmc.  $\text{ē}$ : see no. 1 above.)

## III. General Anglian Features

10. Before  $\text{l}$  plus consonant,  $\text{æ}$  is retracted to  $\text{a}$  rather than broken to  $\text{ea}$ . Examples:  $\text{cald}$ ,  $\text{all}$ ,  $\text{half}$ ,  $\text{haldan}$  (cf. WS  $\text{ċeald}$ ,  $\text{eall}$ ,  $\text{healf}$ ,  $\text{healdan}$ ). The front mutation of this sound is  $\text{æ}$ , as in  $\text{ældra}$  'older',  $\text{bældan}$  'embolden' (cf. EWS  $\text{iældra}$ ,  $\text{biældan}$ ).

11. Breaking (of  $\text{i}$ ) fails before  $\text{r}$  plus any consonant other than  $\text{r}$  < PGmc.  $\text{z}$  when  $\text{i}$  or  $\text{j}$  originally stood in the next syllable, as in  $\text{smirwan}$  'smear',  $\text{āfirran}$  'remove' (cf. EWS  $\text{smierwan}$ ,  $\text{āfierran}$ ).

12. Anglian smoothing. The diphthongs  $\text{ēa}$ ,  $\text{ēo}$ ,  $\text{iō}$  became the monophthongs  $\text{ǣ}$ ,  $\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{i}$  either immediately before  $\text{c}$ ,  $\text{g}$ ,  $\text{h}$  or when  $\text{r}$  or  $\text{l}$  intervened. Shortly thereafter, the  $\text{ǣ}$  produced by smoothing developed to  $\text{ē}$ , and  $\text{æ}$  before  $\text{r}$ ,  $\text{l}$  became  $\text{e}$ . Examples:  $\text{sæh}$ ,  $\text{ferh}$  'pig',  $\text{hēh}$ ,  $\text{elh}$  'elk',  $\text{sēc}$  'sick',  $\text{milc}$  'milk',  $\text{liht}$  (cf. WS  $\text{seah}$ ,  $\text{fearh}$ ,  $\text{hēah}$ ,  $\text{eolh}$ ,  $\text{sēoc}$ ,  $\text{meolc}$ ,  $\text{lēoht}$ ).

13. Under low stress, final  $\text{k} > \text{h}$ . In Mercian, only  $\text{ah}$  'but' is affected, whereas in Northumbrian are found also  $\text{ih}$ ,  $\text{meh}$ ,  $\text{ūsih}$ , etc.

14. A number of morphological, syntactic, and lexical features distinguish the Anglian from the Southern dialects. Some of the more noticeable ones are these:

a) "Sievers' Syncope." There is no syncope in the singular of heavy-stemmed weak verbs of the first class or of strong verbs, nor is there any in heavy-stemmed passive participles of the first class of weak verbs with stems ending in *d* or *t*. Since umlaut is also for the most part missing in the present tense of strong verbs without syncope, the Anglian strong verb forms seem to be due (in part) to analogical restoration. Examples: *lādest*, *helpeð*, *sended* (cf. WS *lætst*, *hilpð*, *send*). But syncope affects passive participles when an inflection beginning with a vowel is added: compare Anglian nom. pl. *sende* < \**send-ed-e* to masc. acc. sg. *sendedne*. Syncope is also missing in present-tense forms of *habban*.

b) The 1 sg. pres. ind. ending of most verbs is *-o* or *-u*, though not infrequently *-e*, as in WS. Examples: *hafo*, *ondrēdu*, *gēlōciu*. The verb *bēon*, however, has an archaic 1 sg. pres. *bēom* or *bīom*.

c) In the paradigm of *bēon*, beside *sind*, *sint*, and *sindon* there is a form *aron* (*arun*, *earun*).

d) In the second class of weak verbs with heavy or disyllabic stems, the stem vowel *i* is usually missing in the present participle and the inflected infinitive. Examples: *sorgende*, *tō swīgenne* (cf. WS *sorgiende*, *tō swīgienne*).

e) Where Southern texts have the stem *libb-* in the paradigm of *libban*, Anglian ones have *lifi(ġ)-* or *lifġ-*.

f) The preterite stem of *cuman* is normally *cwōm-* rather than *cōm-*.

g) The preterite plural of *sēon* is *sēgon* rather than *sāwon*, and the passive participle *geseġen* rather than *gesewen*.

h) The preterite plural indicative of *dōn* is *dēdun* rather than *dydon*.

i) The verb *findan* has the 1 and 3 sg. pret. *fand*, *fond*, corresponding to WS *funde*; it may be, however, that the latter is also a Mercian form.

j) The Anglian form of WS *īewan* 'show' is *ēawan*.

k) The verb prefix *in-* in an inceptive function corresponding to Southern *on-* is chiefly an Anglian feature, as in *indrenċan* 'saturate', *ināelan* 'kindle' (cf. WS *ondrenċan*, *onāelan*).

l) Anglian *seolf*, with breaking, corresponds to WS *self*.

m) *Fore* is used in Anglian texts for the unstressed preposition *for*.

n) The preposition *mid* is often used with the accusative case, though in the South it takes only the dative or instrumental.

o) *Sē* 'sea' is almost always masculine, though in WS it is usually feminine.

p) Personal pronouns of the first and second persons have accusative forms that are distinct from the dative ones: to *meċ*, *peċ*, *inċit*, *uncit*, *ūsiċ*, *ēowiċ*, cf. Southern *mē*, *pē*, *inċ*, *unc*, *ūs*, *ēow*.

q) The Anglian dialects are much more conservative than the Southern in regard to the analogical restoration of syncopated vowels (§54). Examples: Merc. *monge*, *gēhaldne*, *wetres* (cf. WS *manige*, *gehealdene*, *wæteres*).

r) Many items of vocabulary are to be regarded as primarily Anglian. Examples are *ġēn(a)* ‘still, yet’, *nymbe* ‘unless, except’, unstressed preposition *in*, *sceþþan* ‘injure’, *oferhyġd* ‘arrogance’, *wærc* ‘pain’, *snyttru* ‘wisdom’, and *lēoran* ‘die’. For further examples, see Jordan 1906 and Wensch 1979.

#### IV. Specifically Mercian Characteristics

15. Mercian has regularly *o* for PGmc. *a* before nasal consonants. In Early West Saxon and Kentish, *o* and *a* are both used in this position. Note that in unstressed words this change is normal in all dialects, as in *þone*, *þonne*, *mon* ‘one’, etc., though these words probably have /o/ rather than /ɔ/.

16. Second fronting. In West Mercian (more specifically in the area of Hereford or southern Shropshire, the presumed provenance of the Vespasian Psalter), *æ* is raised to *e*, and *a* is fronted to *æ*, except before *l* or (often) under weak stress. Examples: *dæg*, *feder*, *dægas*, *wæcian* (cf. WS *dæg*, *fæder*, *dagas*, *wacian*), but *galan*, *haldan*; also *þæt*, *wæs*, etc., beside *þet*, *wes*, etc., unstressed and stressed alternatives, respectively.

17. Second fronting put the vowel *æ* in front of a back vowel in the next syllable, though *æ* had earlier been restored to *a* in this position (§29). The result is *ea*, the back mutation of *æ*, which does not occur in other dialects. Examples: *þeafian*, *heafuces*, *featum* (cf. WS *þafian*, *hafoces*, *fatum*).

18. By the tenth century, *īo* has developed to *ēo*. See 32 in Appendix A.

19. Although in the language of the Vespasian Psalter gloss Sievers’ syncope (14(a) above) does not normally apply, and front mutation is leveled out, the mutated vowel *ī* is retained, and the verb *cweðan* shows syncope. Examples: *ites*, *bireð*, *ætfileð*, *swilteð*, *cwið* (cf. inf. *etan*, *beran*, *ætfealan*, *sweltan*, *cweðan*).

20. Specifically Mercian items of vocabulary include *nemne/nefne* ‘unless, except’, and probably *īren* ‘iron’ (cf. WS *īsern*, *īsen*).

#### V. Specifically Northumbrian Characteristics

21. There is often retraction of *æ* to *a* instead of breaking before *r*, especially in proximity to a labial consonant. Examples: *warþ*, *þarf*, *arm* (cf. WS *wearð*, *þearf*, *earm*).

22. Whereas Mercian and Kentish show few or no signs of diphthongization by initial palatal consonants (5 above), the change does affect *æ* in Northumbrian. Examples: *sceal*, *ceaster*, *ġeaf*.

23. There is rarely the change of *īo* to *ēo* found in other dialects. Examples: *hiora*, *sciōlun* (with back mutation of *i*), *hīo* (cf. WS *heora*, *sceolon*, *hēo*).

24. a) In the Northumbrian portion of the gloss on the Rushworth Gospels (“Southern Northumbrian”), the second element of the diphthongs represented as *ēa* in other dialects instead remained rounded, and *ēa* is usually represented by *ēo*. Examples: *eorm*, *ēostan* (cf. WS. *earm*, *ēastan*).

b) In the glosses on the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Ritual ("Northern Northumbrian"), conversely, the second element of the diphthong *ēo* is unrounded, and *ēo* is generally written *ēa*. Examples: *hearta*, *bēada* (cf. WS *heorte*, *bēodan*).

25. The ending *-an* (infinitives, *n*-stems) generally lacks final *-n*. Examples: *cuma*, *cuoeða*, *nioma*; *noma*, *ēgo*, *witgo* (cf. WS *cuman*, *cweðan*, *niman*; *naman*, *ēagan*, *witegan*).

26. The nom.-acc. plural of *fēond*, *frēond* is *fēondas*, *frēondas*; cf. EWS *fiend*, *friend*.

27. Corresponding to the possessive adjective *ūre* in other dialects is Northumbrian *ūser*.

## VI. The Poetic Dialect

Nearly all the 30,000 or so surviving lines of verse are preserved in a dialect with mainly LWS features, but with an admixture of other dialect forms, chiefly Anglian. This common poetic dialect is comparable in this respect to the dialect of Homeric verse, which is similarly unlocalized, and it is therefore commonly referred to as the poetic *κοινή* 'common (dialect)'. Most OE poems are assumed, on linguistic grounds, to have been composed originally in Anglian dialects and subsequently "saxonized" in the course of manuscript transmission; but even poems known to have been composed in the South such as the *Meters of Boethius* (see the examples in reading selection 10 in the Anthology) show many of the features of the *κοινή*. However, it is, in the main, Anglian phonological/orthographic features such as those listed above that may be found in Southern compositions, rarely Anglian morphological, syntactic, and lexical ones (no. 14 above). Some of the Anglian features of the texts in the Anthology are pointed out in the notes on 1.6, 1.75, 2.1, 7.91, 9.77, 12.77, 14.8.9, 14.21.2, 14.33.5, 14.35.5, 14.50.5, 15.30, 15.31, 15.79, 16.5, and 16.113.

## VII. Samples of Texts in Non-Saxon Dialects

### A. *Cædmon's Hymn*.

Northumbrian. From the Moore Bede (Cambridge Univ. Libr. MS. Kk. 5. 16 (8th century). Compare the West Saxon version on p. 142.

	Nu scylun hergan	hefaenricaes uard,
	metudæs maecti	end his modgidanc,
	uerc uuldurfadur,	sue he uundra gihuaes,
	eci dryctin,	or astelidæ.
5	He aerist scop	aelda barnum
	heben til hrofe,	haleg scepnen;

tha middungeard      moncynnæs uard,  
 eci dryctin,      æfter tiadæ  
 firum foldu,      frea allmectig.

*B. The Leiden Riddle.*

Northumbrian. Leiden, Univ. Libr. MS. Voss Q. 106 (9th century, but copied from an exemplar of probably the eighth century by a Continental scribe). On the text, see Parkes 1972. Compare the West Saxon version, Riddle 35, on p. 210. The final two lines, which are different in the version in the Exeter Book, mean, perhaps, 'I do not fear the terrors of the threat of the flight of an arrow, even if . . . eagerly from quivers'. On *ob* 14, see the note on *agof* 14.23.1 (p. 243).

Mec se ueta uong,      uundrum freorig,  
 ob his innaðæ      aerest cend[æ].  
 [Ni] uat ic mec biuorthæ      uullan fliusum,  
 herum ðerh hehcraeft,      hygiðonc[u]m [min].  
 Uundnae me ni biað ueflæ,      ni ic uarp hafæ,      5  
 ni ðerih ðrea[t]un giðræ[c]      ðret me hlimmith,  
 ne me hrutendo      hrisil scelfath,  
 ni mec ouana      aam sceal cnyssa.  
 Uyrmas mec ni auefun      uyrdi craeftum,  
 ða ði goelu godueb      geatum fraetuath.      10  
 Uil mec huchtrae suae ðeh      uidæ ofaer eorðu  
 hatan mith hēliðum      hyhtlic giuæ[de];  
 ni anoegun ic me aerigfaerae      egsan brogum,  
 ðeh ði n[. . .]      niudlicae ob cocrum.

*C. Bede's Death Song.*

Northumbrian. St. Gall, MS. 254 (9th century, copied from an exemplar of the eighth century). The poem is an acknowledgement by the greatest scholar of his day of the insignificance of profound intellect in the face of eternity.

Fore them neidfaerae      naenig uuiurthit  
 thoncsnotturra      than him tharf sie  
 to ymbhycggannae      aer his hiniongae  
 huaet his gastae      godaes aeththa yflaes  
 aefter deothdaege      doemid uueorthae.      5

'In the face of the unavoidable peril (i.e., death), none will be wiser than if it behooves him to consider, before his departure, what after his day of death will be adjudged of good and bad for his soul.'

## D. The Inscription on the Ruthwell Cross

The dialect is Northumbrian and is of the eighth or ninth century. On the cross, see p. 214. The runes have been transliterated here as roman characters. Note the distinction among the characters ⟨g, ǵ, ȝ⟩, corresponding to /j, g, x/, respectively, and between ⟨k, c⟩, corresponding to /k, tʃ/; the notation ⟨ĕā⟩ indicates that the two characters correspond to one rune. Compare lines 39–49 and 56–64 of *Dream of the Rood*.

[+ond]geredæ hinæ god almeȝttig.

þa he walde on galgu gistica [m]odig f[ore allæ] men

[b]ug[a] . . .

[ahof] ic riicnæ kyniŋc hēafunæs hlafard hælde ic ni dorstæ

5 [b]ismærædu unket men ba ætgad[ræ]

ic [wæs m]iþ blodæ bistemi[d] bi[got] . . .

[+]krist wæs on rodi

hweþræ þer fusæ fēarran kwomu

æþpilæ til anum ic þæt al bi[hēald]

10 s[a]r[æ] ic w[æ]s mi[b] sorgum gidrœ[fi]d h[n]ag [ic] . . .

[m]iþ strelum giwundad

alegdun hiæ hinæ limwœrignæ

gistoddu[n] him [æt his] li[c]æs [hēa]f[du]m [bih]ĕa[l]du[n h]i[æ] þe[r] . . .

## E. A Selection of Glosses from the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels

The Lindisfarne Gospels (L: London, British Library, Cotton MS. Nero D. iv) contain a continuous interlinear Northumbrian gloss of the second half of the tenth century; the Rushworth Gospels (R: Oxford, Bodleian Libr., MS. Auct. D. ii. 19) contain a continuous interlinear gloss from about the same time, in Mercian in this part of the gloss. The glossators frequently supply more than one OE equivalent to a Latin word, separated by the sign ⟨†⟩, for Latin *vel* 'or'. The word order of L closely follows that of the Latin. These selections gloss Matt. 6:1–13.

6:1 *Attendite ne iustitiam uestram faciatis coram hominibus ut uideamini ab eis alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud patrem uestrum qui in caelis est.*

L.: behaldas þæt soðfæstnise iuerre gie doas before monnum þæt gie se geseno from him eaðe mæg mearde nabbas ge mið fader iurre seðe in heafnas is.

R: behaldeþ þæt ge eowre soþfestnisse ne doan fore monnum þæt ge sie gesean from heom from him elles † elcur ge ne habbaþ lean † mearde mid eower fæder þæne þe in heofunum is.

6:2 *cum ergo facies elemosyna noli tuba canere ante te sicut hypocritae faciunt in synagogis et in uicis ut honorificentur ab hominibus amen dico uobis receperunt mercedem suam*

L: miððy ðonne ðu doas ælmesse nelle ðu bema 1 stocc singa before ðec suæ legeras gewyrças in somnungum ond in londum 1 in gemærum þæt hia se g[ew]earð-ad from monnum soðlice 1 soð is ic cueðo iuh to hie gefengon mearde hiora.

R: forþon þonne þu wirce ælmesse ne blau þu beman for þe swa liceteras doan in heora somnungum ond in tunum þæt hie sie weorþade from monnum soþ ic sæcge eow hie onfengum heora lean.

6:3 *te autem faciente elemosyna nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua*

L: ðu 1 ðeh uutedlice wyrccende ða ællmissa nyta winstra ðin huæt wyrças 1 doas suiðra ðin.

R: ðe þonne wircendum ælmesse nyte se winstrae hond þin hwat þin sio swiþre doa.

6:4 *ut sit elemosyna tua in abscondito et pater tuus qui uidet in abscondito reddet tibi*

L: þæt sie ællmessa ðin in degelnisse ond fade[r] ðin seðe gesið in degelnisse forgeldeð ðe.

R: þæt þin ælmes sie in degulnisse ond þin fæder se þe gesið in degulnisse geldeþ ðe.

6:5 *et cum oratis non eritis sicut hypocritae qui amant in synagogis et in angulis platearum stantes orare ut uideantur ab hominibus amen dico uobis receperunt mercedem suam*

L: ond miððy gie gebiddas ne wosas ge suæ legeras ða ðe lufas in somnungum ond huommum ðara plæcena 1 worðum stondes 1 stondende gebiddas 1 to gebiddanne þæt hia gesene sie from monnum soðlic ic cueð iuih to onfengon mearde heara.

R: ond þonne ge bidde eow ne beoþ ge swa liceteras þa þe lufigaþ stalle 1 stonde in gesomnungum ond in hwommum worþana stondende him gebidde þæt hie sie gesaenē from monnum soþ ic sæcge eow hie onfengun heora lean.

6:6 *tu autem cum orabis intra in cubiculum tuum et clauso ostio tuo ora patrem tuum in abscondito et pater tuus qui uidet in abscondito reddet tibi*

L: ðu uutedlice miððy gie gebiddes 1 ingeong 1 inga in cotte ðinum ond gesparrado dure ðin g[e]bidd fæder ðinne in degolnis ond fader ðin seðe gesið 1 locas in degelnisse forgeldes ðe.

R: ðu þonne þonne þu gebidde ga in þine cofan ond betun þine dure bidde þin fæder ond þin fæder seþe gesihð in degulnisse geldeþ ðe.

6:7 *orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici faciunt putant enim qui in multiloquio suo exaudiantur*

L: hea gebiddes uutetlice ꝛ ðonne gie gebiddas nallas ge feolo ꝛ monigfald gespreca suæ esuico doas hia woenas forðon ða ðe in monigfald sprec his biðon gehered.

R: ond þonne gebiddendae ne scule ge feola spreocan swa hæðene doan forþon þe hiae woenap þæt him sie in heora feolasprece gehered.

6:8 *nolite ergo assimilari eis scit enim pater uester quibus opus sit uobis antequam petatis eum*

L: nallas ge ðonne wosa gelic him wat forðon fader iurre of ðæm ðearf sie ꝛ is iuh aer ðon gie bidde hine.

R: ne scule forþon gelice beon him forþon þe eower fæder hwæs eow ðærf sie ær þon ge hine biddan.

6:9 *sic ergo uos orabitis Pater noster qui es in caelis sanctificetur nomen tuum*

L: suæ ðonne iuih gie bidde fader urer [*sic, for user*] ðu arð ꝛ ðu bist in heofnum ꝛ in heofnas sie gehalgad noma ðin.

R: þus ge þonne eow gebiddað fæder ure þu þe in heofunum earð beo gehalgad þin noma.

6:10 *adueniat regnum tuum fiat uoluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra*

L: tocymeð ric ðin sie willo ðin suæ is in heofne ond in eorðo.

R: cume to þin rice weorþe þin willa swa swa on heofune swilce on eorþe.

6:11 *panem nostrum supersubstantiale da nobis hodie*

L: hlaf userne ofer wistlic sel us todæg.

R: hlaf userne ꝛ ure dæghwæmlicu ꝛ instondenlice sel us to dæge.

6:12 *et demitte nobis debita nostra sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*

L: ond forgef us scylda usra suæ uoe forgefon scyldgum usum.

R: ond forlet us ure scylde swa swa we ec forleten þæm þe scyldigat wið us.

6:13 *et ne inducas nos in temptationem sed libera nos a malo*

L: ond ne inlæd usih in costunge ah gefrig usich from yfle.

R: ond ne gelaet us gelaede in constungae ah gelese us of yfle.

## F. A Selection from the Gloss on the Vespasian Psalter

Mercian. London, British Library, Cotton MS. Vespasian A. i (gloss added ca. 850). This selection glosses Psalms 22–23 in the Septuagint numeration (in which Psalms 9 and 10 of the Hebrew Bible are regarded as one, among other differences).

22:1 *Dominus regit me et nihil mihi deerit in loco pascuae ibi me conlocauit.*

Dryhten receð me ond nowiht me wonu bið in stowe leswe ðer mec gsteaðelade

22:2 *Super aquam refectionis educauit me, animam meam conuertit.*

Ofer weter gereodnisse aledde mec sawle mine gecerde

22.3 *Deduxit me super semitam iustitiae propter nomen suum.*

Gelaedde me ofer stige rehtwisnisse fore noman his

22.4 *Nam etsi ambulem in medio umbrae mortis non timebo mala quoniam tu mecum, es.*

Weotudlice ond ðæh ðe ic gonge in midle scuan deaðes ne ondredu ic yfel for ðon ðu mid me erð

22.5 *Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt.*

Gerd ðin ond cryc ðin hie me froefrende werun

22.6 *Parasti in conspectu meo mensam aduersus eos qui tribulant me.*

Ðu gearwades in gesihðe minre biod wið him ða swencað mec

22.7 *Inpinguasti in oleo caput meum, et poculum tuum inebrians quam praeclarum est.*

Ðu faettades in ele heafud min ond drync ðinne indrencende swide freaberht is

22.8 *Et misericordia tua subsequitur me omnibus diebus uitae meae.*

ond milheortniss ðin efterfylgeð mec allum degum lifes mines

22.9 *Vt inhabitem in domo domini, in longitudinem dierum.*

Ðæt ic ineardie in huse dryhten in lengu deȝa

23.1 *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius, orbis terrarum et uniuersi qui habitant in ea.*

Dryhten is earðe ond fylnis his ymbhwyrft eorðena ond alle ða eardiað in hire

23.2 *Ipse super maria fundauit eam, et super flumina praeparauit illam.*

He ofer sæs gesteaðelade hie ond ofer flodas gearwað ða

23.3 *Quis ascendit in montem domini aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius.*

Hwelc astigeð in munt dryhten oððe hwelc stondeð in stowe ðere halgan his

23.4 *Innocens manibus et mundo corde, qui non accipit in uano animam suam, nec iurauit in dolo proximo suo.*

Unsceððende on hondum ond clænre heortan se ne onfeng in idelnisse sawle his ne he swor in facne ðæm nestan his

23.5 *Hic accipiet benedictionem a domino, et misericordiam a deo salutari suo.*

Ðes onfoeð bledsunge from dryhten ond mildheortnisse from gode ðæm halwendan his

23.6 *Haec est generatio quaerentium dominum requirentium faciem dei iacob. diapsalma.*

Dis is cneoris soecendra dryhten socendra onsiene godes iacobes

23.7 *Tollite portas principes uestras, et eleuamini portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae.*

Onhebbað geatu aldres eowres ond bioð upahefene geatu ecelice ond ingaeð cyning wuldres

23.8 *Quis est iste rex gloriae, dns fortis et potens, dns potens in proelio.*

Hwelc is ðes cyning wuldres dryhten strong ond maehtig dryhten maehtig in gefehte

23.9 *Tollite portas principes uestras, et eleuamini portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae.*

Onhebbað geatu aldermen eowres ond bioð upahefene geatu ecelice ond ingaeð cyning wuldres

23.10 *Quis est iste rex gloriae, dominus uirtutum, ipse est rex gloriae.*

Hwet is ðes cyning wuldres dryhten magna he is cyning wuldres

G. *The Lorica Prayer*

Mercian. Cambridge Univ. Libr. MS. Ll. 1 10 (9th century). The start of the prayer is wanting, and some characters in line 2 below are illegible.

[ond] ðe georne gebide gece ond miltse fore alra his haligra gewyrhtum ond  
 geearningum ond boenum . . . ða ðe *domino deo* gelicedon from fruman  
 middangeardes, ðonne gehereð he ðec ðorh hiora ðingunge. Do ðonne  
 fiordan siðe ðin hleor ðriga to iordan fore alle godes cirican ond sing ðas fers:  
*Domini est salus saluum fac populum tuum domine praetende misericordiam* 5  
*tuam.* Sing ðonne *Pater noster.* Gebide ðonne fore alle geleaffullę menn *in*  
*mundo.* Donne bistu ðone deg daelniomende ðorh dryhtnes gefe alra ðeara  
 goda ðe ænig monn for his noman gedoeð. ond ðec alle soðfestę foreðingiað  
*in caelo et in terra. Amen.*

‘and pray earnestly for aid and mercy for the works and merits and prayers of  
 all his saints . . . which pleased *the lord God* from the origin of the world, then  
 he will hear you through their intercession. Then for the fourth time put your  
 cheek three times to the ground before all God’s church and sing these verses:  
*Well-being is of the Lord; make your people well, Lord; extend your mercy.* Then  
 sing *Our Father.* Pray then for all believers *in the world.* Then that day you will  
 be a partaker by the Lord’s grace in all those good things that anyone does in his  
 name, and all the faithful will intercede for you *in heaven and on earth. Amen.*’

## H. The Codex Aureus Inscription

Dialect of Kent or Surrey. Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket, Codex Aureus (in-  
 scription added mid-ninth century).

+ *In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi* Ic Aelfred aldormon ond Wer-  
 burg min gefera begetan ðas bec æt haeðnum herge mid uncre clæne feo,  
 ðæt ðonne wæs mid clæne golde. Ond ðæt wit deodan for Godes lufan  
 ond for uncre saule ðearfe, ond for ðon ðe wit noldan ðæt ðas halgan beoc  
 lencg in ðære haeðenese wunaden, ond nu willað heo gesellan inn to 5  
 Cristes cirican Gode to lofe ond to wuldre ond to weorðunga, ond his  
 ðrowunga to ðoncunga, ond ðæm godcundan geferscipe to brucenne ðe in  
 Cristes cirican dæghwæmlice Godes lof rærað, to ðæm gerade ðæt heo  
 mon arede eghwelce monaðe for Aelfred ond for Werburge ond for Alh-  
 ðryðe, heora saulum to ecum lecedome, ða hwile ðe God gesegen haebbe 10  
 ðæt fulwiht æt ðeosse stowe beon mote. Ec swelce ic Aelfred *dux* ond  
 Werburg biddað ond halsiað on Godes almaehtiges noman ond on allra  
 his haligra ðæt nænig mon seo to ðon gedyrstig ðætte ðas halgan beoc  
 aselle oððe aðeode from Cristes cirican ða hwile ðe fulwiht [s]t[on]da[n  
 mote].

‘+ *In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ* I, Alfrēd, earl [of Surrey], and my wife Wērburg obtained these books (i.e. gospels) from a heathen army with our clean money, which, that is to say, was with clean gold. And we did that for the love of God and for our souls’ need, and because we did not wish that these sacred books remain any longer in heathendom, and now wish to give them in to Christ Church to the praise and glory and honor of God, and in thanksgiving for his passion, and for the divine community to use, which in Christ Church daily lifts up the praise of God, with the stipulation that they be read every month for Alfrēd and for Wērburg and for Ealhðrýð their daughter, for the eternal healing of their souls, for as long as God has seen that baptism is allowed to be at this place. Likewise I, *Earl Alfrēd*, and Werburg request and entreat in the name of God almighty and of all his saints that no one be so brash as to give away or alienate these sacred books from Christ Church as long as baptism is allowed to stand.’

### I. The Will of Lufu

Kentish. London, British Libr., Cotton MS. Augustus ii. 92 (mid-9th century). In the final line, *Uene* is for *Bene*, the usual close of a will.

- + Ic Lufa mid Godes gefe *ancilla Dei* wes soecende and smeagende ymb mine saulðearfe mid Ceolnoðes ærcebiscopes geðeahte and ðara hiona et Cristes cirican. Willa ic gesellan of ðem ærfe ðe me God forgef and mine friond to gefulmedan elce gere .lx. ambra maltes and .cl. hlafa, .l. hwite-
- 5 hlafa, .cxx. elmeshlafes, an hriðer, an suin, .iiii. weðras, .ii. wēge spices and ceses, ðem higum to Cristes cirican for mine saule and minra frionda and mega ðe me to gode gefulmedan and ðet sie simle to *adsumsio Sanctæ Marie* ymb .xii. monað. End sue eihwelc mon swe ðis lond hebbe minra ærbenumena ðis agefe and mittan fulne huniges, .x. goes, .xx. henfuglas.
- 10 + Ic Ceolnoð mid Godes gefe ercebiscop mid Cristes rodetacne ðis festnie and write. + Beagmund preost geðafie and mid write. + Beornfrið preost geðafie and mid write. + Wealhhere preost. + Osmund preost. + Deimund preost. + Æðelwald diacon. + Werbald diacon. + Sifreð diacon. + Swiðberht diacon. + Beornheah diacon. + Æðelmund diacon. + Wighelm
- 15 diacon. + Lubo. +
- + Ic Luba eaðmod Godes ðiwen ðas forecwedenan god and ðas elmessan gesette and gefestnie ob minem erfelande et Mundlingham ðem hiium to Cristes cirican. and ic bidde, and an Godes libgendes naman bebiade ðæm men ðe ðis land and ðis erbe hebbe et Mundlingham, ðet he ðas god forð
- 20 leste oð wiaralde ende. Se man se ðis healdan wille and lestan ðet ic beboden hebbe an ðisem gewrite, se him seald and gehealden sia hiabenlice bledsung. Se his ferwerne oððe hit agele, se him seald and gehealden helle wite, bute he to fulre bote gecerran wille Gode and mannun.

*Uene ualete.*

‘+ I, Lufu, by God’s grace *a handmaiden of God* have been searching and contemplating my soul’s requirements with the counsel of Archbishop Cēolnōð and of the community at Christ Church. I wish to donate, from the inheritance that God granted me and with which my friends have supported me, each year 60 measures of malt and 150 breadloaves, 50 of white bread, 120 of alms-bread, one head of cattle, one pig, 4 sheep, 2 weights of lard and cheese, to the community at Christ Church for the sake of my soul and [the souls] of my friends and relations who helped me to [my] property, and let it always be at the feast of the Assumption of St. Mary (i.e., August 15) every 12 months. And let whichever one of my inheritors who has this land give this (i.e., the preceding listed items), and with it a measureful of honey, 10 geese, [and] 20 hens. (‘Whichever one of my inheritors’ is the meaning of the original reading, but *sue hwelc* ‘whichever’ has been altered to *sue eihwelc*, apparently with the intended meaning ‘every’.)

‘+ I, Cēolnōð, by the grace of God archbishop, confirm and write with the sign of Christ’s cross (i.e. write a cross next to my name, as a form of signature). + [I,] the priest Bēagmund, approve and write with it (i.e. the cross). + [I,] the priest Beornfrið, approve and write with it. + Wealhhere, priest. + Ōsmund, priest. + Dægmond, priest. + Æðelweald, deacon. + Wærbeald, deacon. + Sigeferhð, deacon. + Swiðbeorht, deacon. + Beornhēah, deacon. + Æðelmund, deacon. + Wighelm, deacon + Lufu. +

‘+ I, Lufu, God’s humble servant, establish and confirm these aforesaid bequests from my inherited estate at Mongeham to the community of Christ Church, and I pray and in God’s name instruct the person who holds this estate and this inheritance at Mongeham that he maintain these bequests to the world’s end. The person who is willing to maintain and fulfill what I have declared in this writ, may heaven’s blessing be conferred upon and retained by him. Whoever withholds or obstructs it, may the torment of hell be conferred upon and retained by him, unless he will consent to full compensation to God and men.

*‘Live well.’*

## APPENDIX C

### OLD ENGLISH POETIC DICTION AND POETIC FORM

#### I. Poetic Diction

The feature that chiefly distinguishes verse and prose is the specialized vocabulary of poetry. A great many words appear exclusively, or almost so, in verse. Most of these are major class words, such as nouns (e.g. *þengel* ‘ruler’ and *holm* ‘sea’), adjectives (e.g. *fæge* ‘doomed’ and *frōd* ‘wise’) and verbs (e.g. *maþelian* ‘speak’ and *gedrēosan* ‘fall’), but even function words may have a poetic flavor, such as the conjunction *þenden* ‘as long as’, which is rare in prose, and *nefne* ‘unless’, which, outside of poetry, occurs only in Mercian. No doubt such words were originally common fare in everyday speech but eventually lost currency, being preserved in the more conservative language of verse because they lent an air of antiquity to the language of a medium steeped in formal tradition. For diction that is chiefly or wholly poetic, or has a different meaning in poetry, a mark ° is placed before the headword in the Glossary.

One aim of the poets was thus to maximize the store of poetic diction in their compositions, and the poetic device known as *variation* contributed to this aim. Variation is a type of apposition whereby an individual word such as a noun, adjective, adverb, or verb, is apposed to another, or a phrase apposed to a phrase, or a clause to a clause. The principle may be illustrated by a passage from *Beowulf* describing King Hrōðgār’s distress at the depredations of Grendel (129b–34a):

Māre þeoden,  
 æþeling ærgōd,      unbliðe sæt,  
 þolode ðrȳðswȳð,      þegnſorge drēah,  
 syððan hie þæs lāðan      lāst scēawedon,  
 werġan gāstes;      wæs þæt ġewin tō strang,  
 lāð ond longsum.

‘The illustrious lord, the dynast good from old times, sat unhappy, the very mighty one suffered, endured sorrow for a follower, after they beheld the track of the despised one, the accursed soul; that oppression was too strong, detestable and long-lasting.’

Here the phrase *Māre þeoden* (the latter a poetic word) is varied by the phrase *æþeling ærgōd* (the latter a poetic word), and again by the adjective *ðrȳðswȳð* (poetic) used substantively. The phrase *unbliðe sæt* is varied by the verb *þolode*, and further by the phrase *þegnſorge drēah* (the former poetic). The phrase *þæs lāðan* is varied by *werġan gāstes* (the former chiefly poetic); and the adjective

*strang* is varied by the adjective phrase *lāð ond longsum*. As the example illustrates, the apposed elements need not be entirely synonymous but may amount to an elaborated description. There is in fact in the better compositions a pattern of incremental elaboration, each apposed element adding greater specificity, more narrowly to define the point. An example of this is a description in *Beowulf* (910–13) of the Danes' defeated expectation of a certain king that he *gēþēon sčolde* 'should prosper', varied by *fæderæþelum onfōn* 'assume his father's rank', further varied by *folc gēhealdan* 'take charge of the people', in which the variation builds to the point of most concern to the Danes: the man's ability to rule them. The word *folc* in the last phrase is then varied by *hord ond hlēoburh* 'wealth and sheltering stronghold', varied by *hæleþa riče* 'realm of heroes', varied by *ēþel Sčyldinga* 'homeland of the Scyldings', in a series similarly designed to focus with increasing specificity on the Danes themselves. The object of variation is not exclusively to increase the store of poetic diction in a passage, or even to create rhetorical effects like this one, since variation also assists in satisfying the formal alliterative requirements of the verse (as described below). For example, in the passage quoted above, *æþeling ærgōd* is not essential information, since it is a variant, but it establishes the vocalic alliteration required by the off-verse *unbliðe sæt*, which is essential information; and *wergan gāstes* functions similarly.

Another way to increase the density of poetic diction in verse is to create new poetic terms, and this is done by compounding. All the Germanic languages use compounding in everyday discourse, though some (like German) are more amenable to nonce formations than others (like English). Old English prose is full of compounds, which, though usually written as two words by scribes, are distinguished from non-compounds in that they have an uninflected initial constituent, as with *sorg-lēas* beside non-compound *sorga lēas* 'free of care', though with the passage of time some phrases with inflected initial components may have come to be regarded as compounds, e.g. *sunnan-dæg* 'Sunday'. Poets freely created new compounds continually, chiefly of nouns or adjectives or both. Usually the second constituent is the head of the compound, as with *hrīm-čeald* 'frost-cold' and *dōm-gēorn* 'eager for fame', which are both adjectives rather than nouns, but especially in *Beowulf* the head may be the first element, as with *eardlufu* 'dear home' (not \*'love of home') and *wæter-egesa* 'terrible water' (not \*'water-terror'). Since poetic compounds are nonce formations, they may have different meanings in different contexts: for example, *wæl-fȳr* 'slaughter-fire' in *Beowulf* refers alternately to the fire of a funeral pyre ('fire consuming the slain') and fire spewed by the dragon ('slaying-fire'), and in *Beowulf* the word *æsc-holt* perhaps means 'forest of ash', in reference to a stack of spears, whereas in *The Battle of Maldon* it means 'ash wood', in reference to one spear. Compounds frequently have a metaphorical quality to them. When neither element refers literally to the referent, as with *hron-rād* 'whale-road' for 'sea' and *feorh-hūs* 'soul house' for 'body', the construction is called a *kenning* (an Icelandic word). Kennings need not be compounds, however; examples of uncompounded kennings are *wapema gebind* 'confinement of waves'

and *ganotes bæð* 'gannet's bath', both kennings for 'sea'. The meaning of kennings can appear strained at times, as with *gold-hord* 'gold-hoard' in reference to Christ in *Christ II* and *fēond-ræſ* 'hostile onslaught' in reference to Eve's approach to the fateful tree in *Genesis A*.

A pervasive aesthetic of Old English verse is a certain habitual contrastive bent. Opposites are juxtaposed without comment, often to ironic purpose. The contrast may be local, confined to a few words, as when the narrator of *Dream of the Rood* says, *Sylliċ wæs sē sigebēam, ond iċ synnum fāh* 'Rare was the victory-tree, and I stained with sins', and the wanderer in the poem of that name offers a series of contrasts between the cares that presently concern him and the pleasures which he knew in the past (lines 32–6). But contrast also operates in larger rhetorical structures; the wanderer, for example, takes as his theme the contrast between his harsh experience of this life and the joys of heaven to come, and *Vainglory* is structured on the contrast between *Godes āgen bearn* 'God's own child' and *fēondes bearn* 'child of the fiend'. Contrast undergirds a particular rhetorical device comparing a negative proposition to a positive one, framed by *ne . . . ac* 'not . . . but', as when the *ānhaga* of Riddle 5 says he expects no solace, but swords will strike him (4–9), and he has no delays with physicians, but his wounds will ever increase (10–14). When the positive element of the comparison is omitted, the result is a variety of *litotes* or understatement that is sometimes grimly comic, as when it is said in *Beowulf* that death is not easy to flee (1002–3), that Beowulf had no need to be ashamed of a splendid sword given him (1025–6), and Unferth had not behaved honorably to his kin in battle (587–9; he in fact killed them or caused their deaths). But not all *litotes* takes this form; in *Dream of the Rood*, for instance, it is said that the dead Christ was 'limb-weary' (63) and rested 'with small company' (69, i.e. alone).

Because of the habit of variation, poetic sentences can be long and syntactically complex, and it can be ambiguous how they are structured, as with *The Wanderer* 45–57. Consequently, short sentences can be arresting, and so they are often used in the second half of the line to mark the end of a passage, as a form of aural punctuation. Examples are *Wæs ġehwæðeres waa* (10.101), marking the end of a passage about the humiliation of the Romans by the Goths; the cross in *Dream of the Rood* puts an end to his account of the crucifixion with the remark, *Crist wæs on rōde* 'Christ was on the cross'; and the narrator of *The Wanderer* closes his introduction of the exile's hardships with the verse *Wyrd bið ful ārēd* 'Fate is fully fixed'.

## II. Poetic Form

A line of poetry comprises two verses, the on-verse and the off-verse, linked by alliteration of consonants in the most heavily stressed elements in the line. A consonant alliterates only with an identical consonant, except that *c* alliterates also with *ċ*, and *g* with *ġ*. The initial digraphs *sp*, *st*, and *sc* alliterate only with an

identical digraph. Any vowel alliterates with any other vowel, and it is probably true in Old English, as it is in Old Icelandic, that it was considered more elegant if the alliterating vowels are not identical. There may be either one or two alliterating syllables in the on-verse, never more than one in the off-verse, and that in the off-verse must be the first stressed syllable in the verse. In the on-verse, if there are two stressed syllables and just one of them alliterates, it must not be a syllable bearing weaker stress than the other. For example, in an on-verse like *cwōm þā tō flōde* ‘came then to the water’ the alliteration must not fall on *cwōm*, since it is a finite verb and therefore bears less stress than the noun *flōde*, just as ‘came’ may bear less stress than ‘water’ in the translation of the verse.

Both stress and syllable weight play a role in the meter. A verse comprises four metrical positions. A fully stressed position, called a *lift* and represented as  $\text{—}$ , is usually filled by a heavy syllable, though a light syllable plus another may serve as a lift, and the two syllables are then said to be *resolved* ( $\text{↗}$ ). An unstressed position, called a *drop*, may be filled by one or more unstressed syllables, each represented as  $\times$ . The number of syllables that may fill a drop is limited to one at the end of a verse. A *half-lift* ( $\text{⏏}$  or  $\text{↗}$ ) is filled by a syllable of intermediate stress, which may be either a fully stressed syllable that immediately follows another fully stressed syllable and is therefore subordinated to it, as in a compound like *hāt-heort* ‘hot-tempered’, or a middle syllable following a stressed one, as in *hlāfordes* ‘lord’s’. When the four positions in a verse are filled this way there are five possible stress patterns (where  $|$  marks the division of the verse into two feet), as illustrated by verses from *The Wanderer*:

A:  $\text{—}\times|\text{—}\times$ . Examples: *longe sçeolde* (3b), *metudes miltse* (2a,  $\text{↗}\times|\text{—}\times$ ), *āre ġebīdeð* (1b,  $\text{—}\times\times|\text{—}\times$ )

B:  $\times\text{—}|\times\text{—}$ . Examples: *hū sliþen bið* (30a), *Nis nū cwicra nān* (9b,  $\times\times\text{—}|\times\text{—}$ ), *ofer waþema ġebind* (24b,  $\times\times\text{↗}|\times\times\text{—}$ )

C:  $\times\text{—}|\text{—}\times$ . Examples: *Forðon dōmġeorne* (17a,  $\times\times\text{—}|\text{—}\times$ ), *ġeond lagulāde* (3a,  $\times\text{↗}|\text{—}\times$ )

D:  $\text{—}|\text{—}\text{↗}\times$ . Example: *wadan wræclāstas* (5a,  $\text{↗}|\text{—}\text{↗}\times$ )

E:  $\text{—}\text{↗}\times|\text{—}$ . Examples: *hrīmcealde sē* (4b), *winemāga hryre* (7b,  $\text{↗}\text{↗}\times|\text{—}$ )

Some variants of these five types should be noted. An extrametrical unstressed syllable, rarely two, may begin a verse of type A or D, as with *swā guman ġefrunġon* (666b, type A:  $\times|\text{↗}\times|\text{—}\times$ ; this and all subsequent examples are from *Beowulf*) and *onband beadurūne* (501a, type D:  $\times|\text{—}|\text{↗}\text{↗}\times$ ). A verse of this type is said to bear *anacrusis*.

A lift or half-lift that immediately follows another may be a light syllable. This can occur only in types C, D, and E, as with *tō hām faran* (124b, type C:  $\times\text{—}|\text{↗}\times$ ), *oflēt lifdagas* (1622a, type D, with anacrusis:  $\times|\text{—}|\text{—}\text{↗}\times$ ), and *bēag-hroden cwēn* (623b, type E:  $\text{—}\text{↗}\times|\text{—}$ ).

In type A, a half-lift may be substituted for either or both of the drops, as with *scūrheard scepðan* (1033a,  $\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \times$ ), *hēah ond hornġēap* (82a,  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \text{—}$ ), and *brēosthord blōdrēow* (1719a,  $\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—}$ ). Also in type A, there may be just one lift, as with *þæt sē mēra* (2587a,  $\times \times \text{—} \times$ ) and *syðþan hē hine tō gūðe* (1472a,  $\times \times \times \times \times \text{—} \times$ ). Such verses are said to be *light*. The minimal number of syllables in such a verse is four, and it normally occurs only at the start of a clause.

In type D, the final two positions may be reversed, as with *eall ēðelwyn* (2885a,  $\text{—} | \text{—} \times \text{—}$ ). Likewise in type D, an extra unstressed syllable, rarely two, may follow the first lift, as with *secġað sæliðend* (411a,  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \text{—} \times$ ) and *frēcne fengelād* (1359a,  $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times \text{—}$ ). Such verses are said to be *expanded*.

In addition to normal verses of the kind discussed up to this point, some verses appear in an elaborated meter of six rather than four positions. Such verses are called *hypermetric*. The final five lines of *The Wanderer*, for example are hypermetric.

Old English poetic meter can be a complex topic. For a more detailed introduction, see Terasawa 2011 or Bliss 1967 or Pope 2001: 129–58.

## II. ANTHOLOGY



## 1. TWO SELECTIONS FROM THE OLD ENGLISH BEDE

Relatively little would be known about the Anglo-Saxons before the age of Alfred were it not for the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People' of the Venerable Bede (ca. 673–735), which extends from Julius Caesar's day to the year 731, when the *Historia* was completed. It is plain from Bede's method of compilation that his purpose was to provide a history of the spread of the faith in the North to complement accounts of the spread of Christianity in the South, fitting events in Britain into the story of its spread in the Mediterranean world, demonstrating Britain's place in Christendom to an international audience.

The Old English translation is ascribed to King Alfred by Ælfric, William of Malmesbury, and an anonymous Latin couplet in one manuscript of the work. His authorship is unlikely, however, not least because the Anglian linguistic features point to a Mercian translator. The work dates to the age of Alfred, nonetheless, and possibly it was commissioned by him as part of his program of translation (described in reading selection 2 below). The translation is an abridgment, omitting most of the documents Bede incorporated into his history, as well as much material pertinent to Celtic Christianity and the papacy, only occasionally adding details, as with the reference to writing from dictation in the story of Cædmon (below). Aside from the omissions, the translation is rather literal, tending to retain the Latin syntax of the original. Notes on the text begin on p. 223.

### A. THE ARRIVAL OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN

Þā ġesomnedon hī ġemōt ond þeahtedon ond ræddon, hwæt him tō dōnne wære, hwær him wære fultum tō sēcanne tō ġeearnienne ond tō wið-scūfanne swā rēðre hergunge ond swā ġelōmlicre þāra norðþēoda. Ond þā þæt ġelīcode him eallum mid heora cyninge, Wyrðgeorn wæs hāten, þæt hī Seaxna þēode ofer þām sælicum dælum him on fultum ġecýġdon ond ġelaðedon. Þæt cūð is þæt þæt mid drihtnes mihte ġestihtad wæs, þæt yfell wræc cōme ofer ðā wiþcorenan, swā on þām ende þāra wīsenas sweotolīce ætýwed is. 5

Ðā wæs ymb fēower hund wintra ond nigon ond fēowertiġ fram ūres drihtnes menniscnysse, þæt Martiānus cāsere rīce onfēng ond .vii. ġear 10 hæfde. Sē wæs syxta ēac fēowertigum fram Āġustō þām cāsere. Ðā Angelþēod ond Seaxna wæs ġelaðod fram þām foresprecenan cyninge, ond on Breotone cōm on þrim myclum scýpum; ond on ēastdæle þyses ēalondes eardungstōwe onfēng þurh ðæs ylcan cyninges bebod þe hī hider ġelaðode, þæt hī scēoldan for heora ēðle compian ond feohtan. Ond hī sōna comp- 15 edon wið heora ġewinnan, þe hī oft ær norðan onhergedon; ond Seaxan þā sige ġeslōgan.

þā sendan hī hām ærenddracan ond hēton secgan þysse landes  
 wæstmbærnysse, ond Brytta yrþo. Ond hī þā sōna hider sendon mārān  
 20 scīphere strengran wighena; ond wæs unoferswiðendlic weorud, þā hī  
 tōgædere ġeþēodde wæron. Ond him Bryttas sealdan ond ġēafan eardung-  
 stōwe betwīh him þæt hī for sibbe ond hælo heora ēðles campodon ond  
 wunnon wið heora fēondum, ond hī him andlyfne ond āre forġēafen for  
 heora ġewinne.

25 Cōmon hī of þrim folcum ðām strangestan Germānie, þæt of Seaxum  
 ond of Angle ond of Ġēatum. Of Ġēata fruman syndon Cantware, ond Wiht-  
 sātan; þæt is sēo ðēod þe Wiht þæt ēalond oneardað. Of Seaxum, þæt is of  
 ðām lande þe mon hāteð Ealdseaxan, cōman Ēastseaxan ond Sūðseaxan ond  
 30 Westseaxan. And of Engle cōman Ēastengle ond Middelengle ond Myrce  
 ond eall Norðhembra cynn; is þæt land ðe *Angulus* is nemned, betwīh  
 Ġēatum ond Seaxum; is sād of þære tīde þe hī ðanon ġewiton oð tōdæge,  
 þæt hit wēste wunige.

Wæron ðā ærest heora lāttēowas ond heretogan twēgen ġebrōðra Hen-  
 ġest ond Horsa. Hī wæron Wihtġylses suna, þæs fæder wæs Witta hāten,  
 35 þæs fæder wæs Wihta hāten ond þæs Wihta fæder wæs Wōden nemned, of  
 ðæs strynde moniġra mægðā cyningcynn fruman lādde. Ne wæs ðā ylding  
 tō þon þæt hī hēapmælum cōman mārān weorod of þām ðēodum þe wē ær  
 ġemynegodon. Ond þæt folc, ðe hider cōm, ongan weaxan ond myclian tō  
 þan swiðe, þæt hī wæron on myclum eġe þām sylfan landbigenġan ðe hī ær  
 40 hider laðedon ond cýġdon.

Æfter þissum hī þā ġeweredon tō sumre tīde wið Pehtum, þā hī ær þurh  
 ġefeoht feor ādrifan. Ond þā wæron Seaxan sēcende intingan ond tōwyrd  
 heora ġedāles wið Bryttas. Cýðdon him openlice ond sædon, nemne hī him  
 mārān andlyfne sealdon, þæt hī woldan him sylfe niman ond herġian, þær  
 45 hī hit findan mihton, ond sōna ðā bēotunge dædum ġefyldon: bærndon ond  
 hergedon ond slōgan fram ēastsæ oð westsæ; ond him nænig wiðstōd. Ne  
 wæs unġelīc wræcc þām ðe iū Chaldēas bærndon Hierusalēme weallas ond  
 ðā cynelican ġetimbro mid fyre fornāman for ðæs Godes folces synnum.

Swā þonne hēr fram þære ārlēasan ðēode, hwæðere rihte Godes dōme,  
 50 nēh cēastra ġehwylce ond land forhereġode wæron. Hrran ond fēollan  
 cynelico ġetimbro somod ond ānlipie; ond ġehwær sācerdas ond māsse-  
 prēostas betwīh wībedum wæron slægene ond cwyldme; bīscopas mid  
 folcum būton æniġre āre scēawunge ætgædere mid iserne ond liġe for-  
 numene wæron. Ond ne wæs æniġ sē ðe bebyrīġnysse sealde þām ðe swā  
 55 hrēowlice ācwealde wæron. Ond moniġe ðære earman lāfe on wēstenum  
 fangene wæron ond hēapmælum sticode. Sume for hungre heora fēondum  
 on hand ēodon ond ēcne þēowdōm ġehēton, wið þon þe him mon andlifne

forġefe: sume ofer sǣ sārigende ġewiton: sume forhtiende in ēðle ġebidon,  
ond þearfende lif in wuda ond in wēstenum ond in hēan cleofum sorgiende  
mōde symle dydon.

60

Onð þā æfter þon þe sē here wæs hām hweorfende ond hēo hæfdon ūt  
āmārede þā biġengan þisses ēalondes, ðā ongunnon hēo stiċcemælum mōd  
ond mæġen monian, ond forð ēodon of þām dēaglum stōwum, þe hēo ær  
in behyðde wæron, ond ealra ānmōdre ġeþafunge heofonrīces fultomes him  
wæron biddende, þæt hēo oð forwyrd æghwær fordilgode ne wæron.

65

Wæs in ðā tīd heora heretoga ond lāttēow Ambrōsius, hāten oðre nom-  
an Aureliānus, wæs gōd mon ond ġemetfæst, Rōmānisċes cynnes mon. In  
þisses monnes tīd mōd ond mæġen Brettas onfēngon: ond hē hēo tō  
ġefeohte forð ġecēġde ond him siġe ġeheht: ond hēo ēac on þām ġefeohte  
þurh Godes fultom siġe onfēngon. Onð þā of þære tīde hwilum Brettas,  
hwilum eft Seaxan siġe ġeslōgon, oð þæt ġēr ymbsetes þære Beadonescan  
dūne, þā hēo miċel wæl on Ongolcynne ġeslōgon, ymb fēower ond fēowertig  
wintra Ongolcynnes cymes in Breotone.

70

## B. THE STORY OF CÆDMON

In ðeosse abbudissan mynstre wæs sum brōðor syndriglīċe mid godcundre  
ġife ġemāred ond ġeweorðad, forþon hē ġewunade ġerisenlīċe lēoð wyrċan,  
þā ðe tō æfestnisse ond tō ārfæstnisse belumpen, swā ðætte, swā hwæt swā  
hē of godcundum stafum þurh bōceras ġeleornode, þæt hē æfter med-  
miclum fæce in sċopġereorde mid þā mæstan swētnisse ond inbryrdnisse  
ġeglængde ond in Engliċġereorde wel ġeworht forþbrōhte. Onð for his  
lēoþsongum moniġra monna mōd oft tō worulde forhogdnisse ond tō  
ġeþēodnisse þæs heofonlican lifes onbærnde wæron. Onð ēac swelċe mon-  
iġe oðre æfter him in Ongelþēode ongunnon æfeste lēoð wyrċan, ac nænig  
hwæðre him þæt ġelīċe dōn meahte, forþon hē nales from monnum nē þurh  
mon ġelāred wæs, þæt hē þone lēoðcræft leornade, ac hē wæs godcundlīċe  
ġefultumed ond þurh Godes ġife þone songcræft onfēng. Onð hē forðon  
næfre nōht lēasunge, nē idles lēoþes wyrċan meahte, ac efne þā ān þā ðe tō  
æfestnesse belumpon, ond his þā æfestan tungan ġedeofanade singan.

75

80

85

Wæs hē, sē mon, in weoruldhāde ġeseted oð þā tīde þe hē wæs ġelyfdre  
ylde, ond næfre nænig lēoð ġeleornade. Onð hē forþon oft in ġebēorsċipe,  
þonne þær wæs blisse intinga ġedēmed, þæt hēo ealle sċalde þurh ende-  
byrdnesse be hearpan singan, þonne hē ġeseah þā hearpan him nēalēcan,  
þonne ārās hē for sċome from þām symble ond hām ēode tō his hūse.

90

95      Þā hē þæt þā sumre tīde dyde, þæt hē forlēt þæt hūs þæs gebēorscipes,  
 on dū wæs gongende tō nēata scīpene, þāra heord him wæs þære neahte  
 onslēpte, þā stōd him sum mon æt þurh swefn ond hine hālette ond grētte  
 ond hine be his noman nemnde: “Cedmon, sing mē hwæthwugu.” Þā  
 ondswarede hē ond cwæð: “Ne con ic nōht singan; ond ic forþon of  
 100      þeossam gebēorscipe ūt ēode, ond hider gewāt, forþon ic nāht singan ne  
 cūðe.” Eft hē cwæð, sē ðe wið hine sprecende wæs: “Hwæðre þū mē āht  
 singan.” Þā cwæð hē: “Hwæt sceał ic singan?” Cwæð hē: “Sing mē frum-  
 sceaft.” Þā hē ðā þās andsware onfēng, þā ongon hē sōna singan in here-  
 nesse Godes scýppendes þā fers ond þā word þe hē næfre gehýrde, þære  
 endebyrdnesse þis is:

105              Nū sculon herigean      heofonríces weard,  
                  meotodes meahte      ond his mōdġeþanc,  
                  weorc wuldorfæder,      swā hē wundra ġehwæs,  
                  ēce drihten,      ōr onstealde.  
                  Hē ærest scēop      eorðan bearnum  
 110              heofon tō hrōfe,      hālig scýppend;  
                  þā middangeard      monncynnes weard,  
                  ēce drihten,      æfter tēode  
                  firum foldan,      frēa ælmihtig.

115      Þā ārās hē from þām slæpe, ond eal þā þe hē slæpende song, fæste in  
 ġemynde hæfde; ond þām wordum sōna moniġ word in þæt ilce ġemet  
 Gode wyrðes songes tō ġeþeodde.

Þā cōm hē on morgenne tō þām tūngerēfan, þe his ealdormon wæs;  
 sæġde him hwylce ġife hē onfēng; ond hē hine sōna tō þære abbudissan  
 ġelædde ond hire þā cýðde ond sæġde. Þā heht hēo ġesomnian ealle þā  
 120      ġelāredestan men ond þā leorneras, ond him ondweardum hēt secġan þæt  
 swefn, ond þæt lēoð singan, þæt ealra heora dōme ġecoren wære, hwæt  
 oððe hwonon þæt cumen wære. Þā wæs him eallum ġeseġen, swā swā hit  
 wæs, þæt him wære from drihtne sylfum heofonlic ġifu forġifen.

125      Þā rehton hēo him ond sæġdon sum hālig spell ond godcundre lāre  
 word; bebudon him þā, ġif hē meahte, þæt hē in swinsunge lēopsonges þæt  
 ġehwyrfde. Þā hē ðā hæfde þā wisan onfongne, þā ēode hē hām tō his hūse,  
 ond cwōm eft on morgenne, ond þý betstan lēoðe ġeglenġed him āsong  
 ond āġeaf þæt him beboden wæs. ðā ongan sēo abbudisse clyppan ond  
 lufiġean þā Godes ġife in þām men; ond hēo hine þā monade ond lārde

þæt hē woruldhād ānforlēte ond munuchād onfēnge; ond hē þæt wel 130  
 þafode. Ond hēo hine in þæt mynster onfēng mid his gōdum, ond hine  
 ġeþēodde tō ġesomnunge þāra Godes þēowa, ond heht hine lēran þæt  
 ġetæl þæs hālgan stāres ond spellas. Ond hē eal þā hē in ġehȳrnesse  
 ġeleornian meahte mid hine ġemyndgade, ond swā swā clāne nēten  
 eodorcende in þæt swēteste lēoð ġehwerfde. Ond his song ond his lēoð 135  
 wāron swā wynsumu tō ġehȳranne, þætte seolfan þā his lārēowas æt his  
 mūðe wreoton ond leornodon.

Song hē ærest be middangeardes ġesceape ond bī fruman moncynnes  
 ond eal þæt stær *Genesis*, þæt is sēo æreste Moyses booc; ond eft bī ūtgonge  
 Israhēla folces of Ægypta londe ond bī ingonge þæs ġehātlandes; ond bī 140  
 oðrum monegum spellum þæs hālgan ġewrites canōnes bōca; ond bī  
 Crīstes menniscnesse; ond bī his prōwunge; ond bī his upāstīġnesse in  
 heofonas; ond bī þæs hālgan gāstes cyme, ond þāra apostola lāre; ond eft bī  
 þām dæġe þæs tōweardan dōmes, ond bī fyrhtu þæs tintreglican wiites,  
 ond bī swētnesse þæs heofonlecan rīces, hē moniġ lēoð ġeworhte. Ond 145  
 swelce ēac oðer moniġ be þām godcundan fremsumnessum ond dōmum  
 hē ġeworhte.

In eallum þām hē ġeornlice ġēmde, þæt hē men ātuge from synna  
 lufan ond mādæda, ond tō lufan ond tō ġeornfulnessse āwehte gōdra dæda,  
 forþon hē wæs, sē mon, swīpe æfest ond regollecum þēodscīpum ēaðmōd- 150  
 lice underþēoded. Ond wið þām, þā ðe in oðre wisan dōn woldon, hē wæs  
 mid welme micelre ellenwōdnisse onbærned.

Ond hē forðon fæġre ænde his lif betȳnde ond ġeendade. Forþon, þā  
 ðære tide nēalæcte his ġewitenesse ond forðfōre, þā wæs hē fēowertȳnum  
 dagum ær, þæt hē wæs liċhomlicre untrymnesse þrycċed ond hefgad, 155  
 hwæðre tō þon ġemetlice, þæt hē ealle þā tid meahte ġe sprecaġe gongan.  
 Wæs þær in nēaweste untrumra monna hūs, in þām heora þēaw wæs, þæt  
 hēo þā untrumran, ond þā ðe æt forðfōre wāron, inlædon sċeoldon ond  
 him þær ætsomne þēġnian. Þā bæd hē his þēġn on æfenne þære neahte, þe  
 hē of worulde gongende wæs, þæt hē in þām hūse him stōwe ġeġearwode, 160  
 þæt hē ġerestan meahte. Þā wundrode sē þēġn, for hwon hē ðæs bæde,  
 forþon him þūhte þæt his forðfōr swā nēah ne wære; dyde hwæðre swā swā  
 hē cwæð ond bibēad.

Ond mid þȳ hē ðā þær on reste ēode, ond hē ġefēonde mōde sumu  
 þing mid him sprecende ætgædere ond glēowiende wæs, þe þær ær inne 165  
 wāron, þā wæs ofer midde neaht þæt hē fræġn, hwæðer hēo æniġ hūs inne  
 hæfdon. Þā ondswardon hēo ond cwædon: “Hwylc pearf is ðe hūsles? Nē  
 þinre forþfōre swā nēah is, nū þū þus rōtlice ond þus glædlice tō ūs  
 sprecende eart.” Cwæð hē eft: “Berað mē hūs tō.”

- 170        þā hē hit þā on honda hæfde, þā frægn hē hwæper hēo ealle smolt mōd  
 ond būton eallum incan bliðe tō him hæfdon. Þā ondswaredon h̄ ealle  
 ond cwædon, þæt hēo nænigne incan tō him wiston, ac hēo ealle him swiðe  
 bliðemōde wæron; ond hēo wrixendlīce hine bædon, þæt hē him eallum  
 bliðe wære. Þā ondswarade hē ond cwæð: “Mīne brōðor mīne þā lēofan, ic  
 175 eom swiðe bliðemōd tō ēow ond tō eallum Godes monnum,” ond swā wæs  
 hine ġetrymmende mid þ̄ heofonlecan weġneste, ond him ōðres lifes in-  
 gong ġēġearwode. Þā ġýt hē frægn, hū nēah þære tīde wære, þætte þā  
 brōðor ārisan scolden ond Godes lof ræran ond heora ūhtsong singan. Þā  
 ondswaredon hēo: “Nis hit feor tō þon.” Cwæð hē: “Teala. Wuton wē wel  
 180 þære tīde bīdan,” ond þā him ġebæd ond hine ġeseġnode mid Crīstes rōde  
 tātne, ond his hēafod onhylde tō þām bolstre, ond medmicel fæc onslēpte;  
 ond swā mid stilnesse his lif ġeendade.

- Ond swā wæs ġeworden, þætte swā swā hlūttre mōde ond bilwitre ond  
 smyltre wilsumnesse drihtne þēode, þæt hē ēac swylce swā smylte dēaðe  
 185 middanġeard wæs forlætende, ond tō his ġesihðe becwōm. Ond sēo tunge,  
 þe swā moniġ hālwende word in þæs sc̄yppendes lof ġesette, hē ðā swelce  
 ēac þā ȳtmæstan word in his herenisse, hine seolfne seġniende ond his ġāst  
 in his honda bebēodende, betȳnde.

## 2. KING ALFRED'S PREFACE TO THE PASTORAL CARE

Pope Gregory the Great's *Cura* (or *Regula*) *pastoralis* 'Pastoral Care (or Rule)' was composed about 590 as a guide for bishops in their duties. It is a natural choice of text to translate, not only because of the great reverence in which Gregory was held for having sent the Augustinian mission to convert the English, but because part of Alfred's aim in promoting the education of his subjects by means of translations was to refill the ranks of churchmen depleted by the calamities of his day. A handbook of ministry would obviously be of immense usefulness in connection with that aim. The translation is not slavish, generally simplifying the grammar of the original, but in the remarkable prefatory letter, in which the prose is not based on a Latin original, the syntax can be quite complex. Notes on the text begin on p. 226.

### DĒOS BŌC SĊEAL TŌ WIOGORA ĊEASTRE

Ælfrēd kyning hāteð grētan Wærferð biſcēp his wordum luflīce ond frēond-  
lice; ond ðe cȳðan hāte ðæt mē cōm swiðe oft on gemynd, hwelce wiotan iū  
wæron g̃jond Angelcynn, ægðer ge godcundra hāda ge woruldcundra; ond  
hū gesælīglica tīda ðā wæron g̃jond Angelcynn; ond hū ðā kyningas ðe ðone 5  
onwald hæfdon ðæs folces on ðām dagum Gode ond his ærendwrecum hȳr-  
sumedon; ond hie ægðer ge hiora sibbe ge hiora siodo ge hiora onweald  
innanbordes wel gehioldon, ond ēac ūt hiora ēðel gerȳmdon; ond hū him ðā  
spēow ægðer ge mid wīge ge mid wīsdōme; ond ēac ðā godcundan hādas, hū  
giorne hie wæron ægðer ge ymb lāre ge ymb liornunga, ge ymb ealle ðā 10  
ðīowotdōmas ðe hie Gode dōn scoldon; ond hū man ūtanbordes wīsdom  
ond lāre hieder on lond sōhte, ond hū wē hie nū sçeoldon ūte begietan gīf  
wē hie habban sçeoldon. Swæ clāne hīo wæs oðfeallenu on Angelcynne ðæt  
swiðe fēawa wæron behionan Humbre ðe hiora ðēninga cūðen under-  
stondan on Engliſc, oððe furðum ān ærendgewrit of Lædene on Engliſc 15  
āreccean; ond ic wēne ðætte nōht monige begiōndan Humbre nāren. Swæ  
fēawa hiora wæron ðæt ic furðum ānne ānlēpne ne mæg geðencēan be  
sūðan Temese ðā ðā ic ærest tō rīce fēng. Gode ælmihtegum sie ðonc ðætte  
wē nū ænīgne onstal habbað lārēowa.

Onð forðon ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðū dō swæ ic geliefe ðæt ðū wille, ðæt ðū 20  
ðe ðissa worulðīnga tō ðām geæmetige swæ ðū oftost mæge, ðæt ðū ðone  
wīsdom ðe ðe God sealde ðær ðær ðū hiene befæstan mæge, georne befæste.  
Geðenc hwelc wītu ūs ðā becōmon for ðisse worulde, ðā ðā wē hit nō-  
hwæðer nē selfe ne lufodon nē ēac oðrum monnum ne lēfdon: ðone naman  
ānne wē hæfdon ðæt wē cristne wæren, ond swiðe fēawe ðā ðēawas. 25

Ðā ic ðā ðis eall gēkunde, ðā gēkunde ic ēac hū ic geseah, ær ðām ðe  
 hit eall forhergod wære ond forbærned, hū ðā cīricēan gīond eall Angelcynn  
 stōdon mādma ond bōca gefylda, ond ēac micel meniġeo Godes ðīowa, ond  
 ðā swiðe lýtle fīorme ðāra bōca wiston, for ðām ðe hie hiora nānwuht on-  
 30 gīotan ne meahton, ond þæt wæs for ðām ðe hie næron on hiora āgen  
 gēðīode āwritene, swelce hie cwæden: “Ūre ieldran, ðā ðe ðās stōwa ær  
 hīoldon, hie lufodon wīsdom, ond ðurh ðone hie begēaton welan ond ūs  
 lāfdon. Hēr mon mæg gīet gēsion hiora swæð, ac wē him ne cunnon æfter-  
 spyriġean, ond forðām wē habbað nū æġðer forlāten ġe ðone welan ġe  
 35 ðone wīsdom, forðām ðe wē noldon tō ðām spore mid ūre mōde onlūtan.”

Ðā ic ðā ðis eall gēkunde, ðā wundrade ic swiðe swiðe ðāra gōdena  
 wiotona ðe ġiū wæron gīond Angelcynn, ond ðā bēc eallæ be fullan ġe-  
 liornod hæfdon, ðæt hie hiora ðā nænne dæl noldon on hiora āgen gēðīode  
 wendan. Ac ic ðā sōna eft mē selfum andwyrde ond cwæð: “Hie ne wēndon  
 40 ðætte æfre menn scēolden swā recclēase weorðan ond sīo lār swā oðfeallan.  
 For ðære wilnunga hie hit forlēton, ond woldon ðæt hēr ðy māra wīsdom on  
 londe wære ðy wē mā gēðeoda cūðon.”

Ðā gēkunde ic hū sīo æ wæs ærest on Ebrēiscgēðīode funden, ond eft,  
 ðā hie Crēacas ġeliornodon, ðā wendon hie hie on hiora āgen gēðīode ealle,  
 45 ond ēac ealle oðre bēc; ond eft Lādenware swā same, siððan hie hie ġeliorn-  
 odon, hie hie wendon ealla ðurh wīse wealhstōdas on hiora āgen gēðīode.  
 Ond ēac ealla oðræ cristnæ ðīoda sumne dæl hiora on hiora āgen gēðīode  
 wendon.

Forðy mē ðyncð betre, ġif iow swā ðyncð, ðæt wē ēac sumæ bēc, ðā ðe  
 50 nīedbedearfosta sien eallum monnum tō wiotonne, ðæt wē ðā on ðæt ġe-  
 ðīode wenden ðe wē ealle ġecnāwan mæġen, ond ġedōn, swā wē swiðe ēaðe  
 magon mid Godes fultume ġif wē ðā stilnesse habbað, ðæt eall sīo ġioguð ðe  
 nū is on Angelcynne frīora monna, ðāra ðe ðā spēda hæbben ðæt hie ðām  
 befēolan mæġen, sien tō liornunga oðfæste, ðā hwile ðe hie tō nānre oðerre  
 55 note ne mæġen, oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen Engliśc ġewrit ārædan; lære  
 mon siððan furður on Lādenġeðīode ðā ðe mon furðor lēran wille ond tō  
 hīeran hāde dōn wille.

Ðā ic ðā gēkunde hū sīo lār Lādenġeðīodes ær ðissum āfeallen wæs  
 gīond Angelcynn, ond ðeah moniġe cūðon Engliśc ġewrit ārædan, ðā ongan  
 60 ic onġemang oðrum mislicum ond maniġfealdum bisgum ðisses kynerīces  
 ðā bōc wendan on Engliśc ðe is ġenemned on Lāden *Pastoralis*, ond on  
 Engliśc “Hierdebōc,” hwilum word be worde, hwilum andġit of andġiete,  
 swā swā ic hie ġeliornode æt Pleġmunde mīnum ærcēbiscepe ond æt  
 Assere mīnum biscepe ond æt Grīmbolde mīnum mæsseprīoste ond æt  
 65 Iōhanne mīnum mæsseprēoste. Siððan ic hie ðā ġeliornod hæfde, swā swā

iċ hie forstōd, ond swæ iċ hie andġitfullicost āreċċean meahte, iċ hie on  
 Engliſc āwende, ond tō ælcum biſceþſtōle on mīnum rīce wille āne on-  
 sendan; ond on ælcra bið ān æstel, sē bið on fīftegum mancessan. Ond iċ  
 bebīode on Godes naman ðæt nān mon ðone æstel from ðære bēc ne dō, nē  
 ðā bōc from ðām mynstre—uncūð hū longe ðær swæ ġelærede biſceþas 70  
 sien, swæ swæ nū Gode ðonc ġewelhwær siendon. Forðy iċ wolde ðætte hie  
 ealneġ æt ðære stōwe wæren, būton sē biſceþ hie mid him habban wille,  
 oððe hīo hwær tō læne sie, oððe hwā oðre bī wīte.

### 3. SELECTIONS FROM THE PARKER CHRONICLE FOR 892–900

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a set of annals in five main versions that diverge substantially only after the year 892, pointing to that as the year of its original dissemination. The oldest surviving manuscript is called the Parker Chronicle, since it was owned by Matthew Parker (1504–75), Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury. After a genealogy of Alfred, the portion of the Parker Chronicle in English begins with Julius Caesar's visit to Britain and ends with the year 1070. The annals before the middle of the ninth century are almost all brief, but after Alfred's accession to the throne in 871 the account of his wars with the invading Danes grows quite detailed. The annals below recount the final years of his reign. Notes on the text begin on p. 227.

892. Hēr on þysum gēare fōr sē micla here þe wē ġefyrn ymbe spræcon eft of þæm ēastrīce westweard tō Bunnan ond þær wurdon ġescipode swā þæt hie āsettan him on ānne sīþ ofer mid horsum mid ealle ond þā cōmon up on Limene mūþan mid þridde healf hund scīpa. Sē mūþa is on eastewardre  
5 Cent æt þæs miclan wuda ēastende þe wē Andred hātað. Sē wudu is eastlang ond westlang hundtwelftīges mīla lang oþþe lengra ond þritīges mīla brād; sēo ēa þe wē ær ymbe spræcon lið ut of þæm wealda. On þā ēa hī tugon up hiora scīpu oþ þone weald .iiii. mīla fram þæm mūþan utewardum ond þær ābræcon ān ġeweorc inne on þæm fenne; sæton fēawa cīrlisce men on  
10 ond wæs sāmworht. Þā sōna æfter þæm cōm Hæstēn mid .lxxx. scīpa up on Temese mūðan ond worhte him ġeweorc æt Middeltūne ond sē oþer here æt Apuldre.

893. On þys gēare, þæt wæs ymb twelf mōnað þæs þe hie on þæm ēastrīce ġeweorc ġeworht hæfdon, Norþhymbre ond Eastengle hæfdon Ælfrēde  
15 cyninge āþas ġeseald ond Eastengle foreġisla .vi., ond þēh, ofer þā trēowa, swā oft swā þā oþre herġas mid ealle herīge ut fōron, þonne fōron hie, oþþe mid oþþe on heora healf. Ond þā ġegaderade Ælfrēd cyning his fierd ond fōr þæt hē ġewīcode betwuh þæm twām herġum þær þær hē niehst rymet hæfde for wudufæstenne ond for wæterfæstenne, swā þæt hē mehte æġ-  
20 þerne ġeræcan ġif hie ænīgne feld sēcan wolden. Þā fōron hie sīþþan æfter þæm wealda hlōpum ond flocrādum bī swā hwaþerre efes swā hit þonne fierdlēas wæs, ond hī mon ēac mid oþrum floccum sōhte mæstra daga ælce, oþþe on niht, ġe of þære fierde ġe ēac of þæm burgum; hæfde sē cyning his fierd on tū tōnumen, swā þæt hie wæron simle healf æt hām,  
25 healf ute, būtan þæm monnum þe þā burga healdan scolden. Ne cōm sē here oftor eall ute of þæm setum þonne tuwwa: oþre sīþe þā hie ārest tō londe cōmon, ær sio fierd ġesamnod wære, oþre sīþe þā hie of þæm setum faran woldon.

Þā hie ġefēngon micle herehȳð ond þā woldon ferian norþweardes ofer  
 Temese in on Ēastseaxe onġēan þā ścipu, þā forrād sio fierd hie foran ond 30  
 him wið ġefeht æt Fearnhamme ond þone here ġefliemde ond þā herehȳþa  
 āhreðdon, ond hie flugon ofer Temese būton ælcum forða, þā up be Colne  
 on ānne iġgað. Þā besæt sio fierd hie þærūtan þā hwile þe hie þær lengest  
 mete hæfdon. Ac hie hæfdon þā heora stemn ġesetenne ond hiora mete  
 ġenotudne, ond wæs sē cyng þā þiderweardes on fære mid þære ścīre þe mid 35  
 him fierdedon. Þā hē þā wæs þiderweardes, ond sio ōperu fierd wæs hām-  
 weardes, ond ðā Deniscan sæton þær behindan, forþæm hiora cyning wæs  
 ġewundod on þæm ġefeohte þæt hī hine ne mehton ferian, þā ġegaderedon  
 þā þe in Norþhymbrum būġeað ond on Ēastenglum sum hund ścipa ond  
 fōron sūð ymbūtan, ond sum fēowertig ścipa norþ ymbūtan ond ymbsæton 40  
 ān ġeweorc on Defnasċīre be þære Norþsæ, ond þā þe sūð ymbūtan fōron  
 ymbsæton Exanċester.

Þā sē cyng þæt hīerde, þā wende hē hine west wið Exanċeastres mid  
 ealre þære fierde, būton swiþe ġewaldenum dæle ēastewardes þæs folces. Þā 45  
 fōron forð oþ þe hie cōmon tō Lundenbyrg, ond þā mid þæm burgwarum  
 ond þæm fultume þe him westan cōm, fōron ēast tō Bēamflēote; wæs  
 Hæsten þā þær cumen mid his herġe þe ær æt Middeltūne sæt, ond ēac sē  
 micla here wæs þā þærtō cumen þe ær on Limene mūþan sæt æt Apuldre;  
 hæfde Hæstēn ær ġeworht þæt ġeweorc æt Bēamflēote ond wæs þā ūt āfaren 50  
 on herġaþ, ond wæs sē micla here æt hām. Þā fōron hie tō ond ġefliemdun  
 þone here ond þæt ġeweorc ābræcon ond ġenāmon eal þæt þær binnan  
 wæs, ġe on fēo, ġe on wīfum, ġe ēac on bearnum, ond brōhton eall intō  
 Lundenbyrig, ond þā ścipu eall oðþe tōbræcon oþþe forbærndon oþþe tō  
 Lundenbyrig brōhton oþþe tō Hrōfes ēastre; ond Hæstēnes wīf ond his  
 suna twēgen mon brōhte tō þæm cyninge, ond hē hī him eft āġēaf, forþæm 55  
 þe hiora wæs ōper his godsunu, ōper Æðerēdes ealdormonnes; hæfdon hī  
 hiora onfangen ær Hæstēn tō Bēamflēote cōme, ond hē him hæfde ġeseald  
 ġīslas ond āðas, ond sē cyng him ēac wel feoh sealde, ond ēac swā þā hē  
 þone cniht āġef ond þæt wīf. Ac sōna swā hie tō Bēamflēote cōmon, ond þæt  
 ġeweorc ġeworht wæs, swā herġode hē on his rīce, þone ilcan ende þe 60  
 Æþerēd his cumpæder healdan sċeolde, ond eft ōpre sīþe hē wæs on herġað  
 ġelend on þæt ilce rīce, þā þā mon his ġeweorc ābræc.

Þā sē cyning hine þā west wende mid þære fierde wið Exanċestres, swā  
 ic ær sæde, ond sē here þā burg beseten hæfde, þā hē þærtō ġefaren wæs, þā  
 ēodon hie tō hiora ścipum. Þā hē þā wið þone here þær wæst ābisgod wæs, 65  
 ond þā herġas wæron þā ġegaderode bēgen tō Sċeōbyrig on Ēastseaxum ond  
 þær ġeweorc worhtun, fōron bēgen ætgædere up be Temese, ond him cōm  
 micel ēaca tō, æġþer ġe of Ēastenglum ġe of Norþhymbrum. Fōron þā up be

Temese oþ þæt hie gedydon æt Sæferne, þā up be Sæferne. Þā ġegaderode  
 70 Æþerēd ealdormon ond Æþelm ealdorman ond Æþelnōþ ealdorman ond  
 þā cinges þeġnas þe þā æt hām æt þām ġeweorcum wæron, of ælcra byrig  
 be ēastan Pedredan, ġe be westan Sealwuda ġe be ēastan, ġe ēac be norþan  
 Temese ond be westan Sæfern, ġe ēac sum dæl þæs Norðwēalcynnes. Þā hie  
 þā ealle ġegaderode wæron, þā offōron hie þone here hindan æt Butting-  
 75 tūne on Sæferne staþe ond hine þærūtan besæton on ælce healfe on ānum  
 fæstenne. Þā hie ðā fela wucena sæton on twā healfe þære ē, ond sē cyng  
 wæs west on Defnum wiþ þone scīphere, þā wæron hie mid metelieste  
 ġewæġde ond hæfdon micelne dæl þāra horsa freten, ond þā oþre wæron  
 hungre ācwole. Þā ēodon hie ūt tō ðām monnum þe on ēasthealfe þære ē  
 80 wīcodon ond him wiþ ġefuhton, ond þā cristnan hæfdon siġe; ond þær  
 wearð Ordhēh cyninges þeġn ofslāġen ond ēac moniġe oþre cyninges  
 þeġnas ofslāġen, ond þāra Deniscra þær wearð swīðe micel ġeslēġen, ond  
 sē dæl þe þær āweġ cōm wurdon on flēame ġenerede.

Þā hie on Ēastseaxe cōmon tō hiora ġeweorce ond tō hiora scīpum, þā  
 85 ġegaderade sīo lāf eft of Ēastenglum ond of Norðhymbrum micelne here  
 onforan winter ond befæston hira wīf ond hira scīpu ond hira feoh on  
 Ēastenglum ond fōron ānstrecas dāġes ond nihtes þæt hie gedydon on  
 ānre wēstre ēastre on Wīrhēalum sēo is Lēġa ēaster ġehāten. Þā ne mehte  
 sēo fird hie nā hindan offaran, ār hie wæron inne on þām ġeweorce;  
 90 besæton þeah þæt ġeweorc ūtan sume twēġen dāġas ond ġenāmon cēapes  
 eall þæt þær būton wæs ond þā men ofslōgon þe hie foran forrīdan mehton  
 būtan ġeweorce ond þæt corn eall forbærndon ond mid hira horsum  
 fretton on ælcra efenēhðe. Ond þæt wæs ymb twelf mōnað þæs þe hie ār  
 hider ofer sē cōmon.

894. Ond þā sōna æfter þām on ðys ġēre fōr sē here of Wīrhēale in on  
 Norðwēalas, forþām hie ðær sittan ne mehton; þæt wæs forðy þe hie  
 wæron benumene æġðer ġe þæs cēapes ġe þæs cornes ðe hie ġehergod  
 hæfdon. Þā hie ðā eft ūt of Norðwēalum wendon mid þære herehýðe þe hie  
 ðær ġenumen hæfdon, þā fōron hie ofer Norðhymbra lond ond Ēastengla,  
 100 swā swā sēo fird hie ġerācan ne mehte, oþ þæt hie cōmon on Ēastseaxna  
 lond ēasteward on ān īġland þæt is ūte on þære sē, þæt is Meresiġ hāten.  
 Ond þā sē here eft hāmward wende þe Exančeaster beseten hæfde, þā  
 hergodon hie up on Sūðseaxum nēah Cisseceastre, ond þā burgware hie  
 ġefliemdon ond hira moniġ hund ofslōgon ond hira scīpu sumu ġenāmon.

105 Ðā þy ylcan ġēre onforan winter þā Deniscan þe on Meresiġe sæton  
 tugon hira scīpu up on Temese ond þā up on Lýġan. Þæt wæs ymb twā ġēr  
 þæs þe hie hider ofer sē cōmon.

895. On þý ylcan gēre worhte sē foresprecena here geweorc be Lȳgan .xx. mīla bufan Lundenbyrig. Þā þæs on sumera fōron mīcel dæl þāra burgwara ond ēac swā ōþres folces þæt hie gedydon æt þāra Deniscana 110  
 geweorce ond þær wurdon gefliemde, ond sume fēower cyninges þēgnas ofslāgene. Þā þæs on hærfæste þā wīcode sē cyng on nēaweste þære byrig, þā hwile þe hie hira corn gerypon, þæt þā Deniscan him ne mehton þæs rīpes forwiernan. Þā sume dæge rād sē cyng up bī þære ēa ond gehāwade 115  
 hwær mon mehte þā ēa forwyrčan, þæt hie ne mehton þā scīpu ūt brengan; ond hie ðā swā dydon: worhton ðā tū geweorc on twā healfe þære ēas. Þā hie ðā þæt geweorc furpum ongunnen hæfdon ond þærtō gewīcod hæfdon, þā onget sē here þæt hie ne mehton þā scīpu ut brengan. Þā forlēton hie hie ond ēodon ofer land þæt hie gedydon æt Cwātbyrcge be Sæfern ond þær gewerc worhton. Þā rād sēo fird west æfter þām herige, ond þā men of 120  
 Lundenbyrig gefetedon þā scīpu ond þā ealle þe hie ālēdan ne mehton tōbræcon, ond þā þe þær stælwyrðe wæron binnan Lundenbyrig gebrōht-on; ond þā Deniscan hæfdon hira wīf befæst innan Ēastengle, ær hie ūt of þām geweorce fōron. Þā sæton hie þone winter æt Cwātbyrcge. Þæt wæs ymb þreo gēr þæs þe hie on Limene mūðan cōmon hider ofer sē. 125

896. Ðā þæs on sumera on ðysum gēre tōfōr sē here, sum on Ēastengle, sum on Norðhymbre, ond þā þe feohlēase wæron him þær scīpu begēton ond sūð ofer sē fōron tō Sigene. Næfde sē here, Godes þonces, Angelcyn ealles forswiðe gebrocod, ac hie wæron micle swīþor gebrocede 130  
 on þām þrim gēarum mid cēapes cwilde ond monna, ealles swīpost mid þām þæt manige þāra sēlestena cynges þēna þe þær on londe wæron forðfērdon on þām þrim gēarum. Þāra wæs sum Swiðulf bīscop on Hrōfes ceastre ond Ćeolmund ealdormon on Cent ond Beorhtulf ealdormon on Ēastseaxum ond Wulfrēd ealdormon on Hāmtūnscīre ond Ealhheard bīscop æt Dorceceastre ond Ēadulf cynges þēgn on Sūðseaxum ond Beornulf 135  
 wīcgerēfa on Winteceastre ond Ecgulf cynges horsþēgn ond manige ēac him, þēh ic ðā gedūngnestan nemde.

Þý ilcan gēare drehton þā hergas on Ēastenglum ond on Norðhymb-  
 rum Westseaxna lond swiðe be þām sūðstæðe mid stælhergum, ealra swīpust mid ðām æscum þe hie fela gēara ær timbredon. Þā hēt Ælfrēd 140  
 cyng timbran langscīpu ongēn ðā æscas. Þā wæron fulnēah tū swā lange swā þā ōðru. Sume hæfdon .lx. āra, sume mā. Þā wæron ægðer ge swiftran ge unwealtran ge ēac hīeran þonne þā ōðru; næron nāwðer nē on Frēsisc gescæpene nē on Denisc, būte swā him selfum ðūhte þæt hie nytwyrðoste bēon meahten. 145

Pā æt sumum cīrre þæs ilcan gēares cōmon þær sex scīpu tō Wiht ond  
 þær micel yfel gedydon, ægðer ge on Defenum ge welhwær be ðæm sǣ-  
 riman. Pā hēt sē cyng faran mid nigonum tō þāra nīwena scīpa, ond  
 forfōron him þone mūðan foran on ūtermere. Pā fōron hie mid þrim  
 150 scīpum ūt ongēn hie, ond þrēo stōdon æt ufewardum þām mūðan on  
 drȳgum; wæron þā men uppe on londe of āgāne. Pā gefēngon hie þāra  
 þrēora scīpa tū æt ðæm mūðan ūtewardum ond þā men ofslōgon, ond  
 þæt ān oðwand; on þām wæron ēac þā men ofslāgene būton fīfum, þā  
 cōmon forðȳ onweg ðe ðāra oþerra scīpu āsæton. Pā wurdon ēac swīðe  
 155 unēðelīce āseten: þrēo āsæton on ðā healfe þæs deopes ðe ðā Deniscan  
 scīpu āseten wæron, ond þā oðru eall on oþre healfe, þæt hira ne mehte  
 nān tō oðrum. Ac ðā þæt wæter wæs āhebbad fela furlanga from þām  
 scīpum, þā ēodon ðā Deniscan from þām þrim scīpum tō þām oðrum  
 þrim þe on hira healfe beebbad wæron ond hie þā þær gefuhton. Þær  
 wearð ofslāgen Lucumon cynges gērēfa ond Wulfheard Friesa ond Æbbe  
 160 Friesa ond Æðelhere Friesa ond Æðelferð cynges genēat, ond ealra monna  
 Frēsiscra ond Englisca .lxii. ond þāra Deniscena .cxx. Pā cōm þām Den-  
 iscum scīpum þēh ær flōd tō, ær þā cristnan mehten hira ūt āscūfan, ond  
 hie forðȳ ūt oðrēowon. Pā wæron hie tō þām gesārgode þæt hie ne  
 mehton Sūðseaxna lond ūtan berōwan, ac hira þær tū sǣ on lond wearp,  
 165 ond þā men mon lǣdde tō Wintecēastre tō þām cynge; ond hē hie ðær  
 āhōn hēt, ond þā men cōmon on Ēastengle þe on þām ānum scīpe wæron  
 swīðe forwundode. Þȳ ilcan sumera forwearð nō lās þonne .xx. scīpa mid  
 monnum mid ealle be þām sūðriman.

Þȳ ilcan gēre forðfērde Wulfrīc cynges horsðegn, sē wæs ēac wealh-  
 170 gērēfa.

897. Hēr on þysum gēre gefōr Æðelm Wiltūnsclīre ealdormon nigon  
 nihtum ær middum sumere, ond hēr forðfērde Hēahstān, sē wæs on Lun-  
 denne bīscop.

900. Hēr gefōr Ælfrēd Apulfing, syx nihtum ær ealra hāligra mæssan,  
 175 sē wæs cyning ofer eall Ongelcyn būtan ðæm dǣle þe under Dena onwalde  
 wæs, ond hē hēold þæt rīce oþrum healfum lās þe .xxx. wintra; ond þā  
 fēng Ēadeward his sunu tō rīce.

#### 4. ÆLFRIC ON THE THREE ESTATES

The writings of Ælfric furnish linguistic and stylistic standards for the Late West Saxon (LWS) period. Ælfric was educated at the Old Minster, Winchester, when it was under the direction of bishop Æthelwold, who, along with Dunstan and Oswald, is credited with orchestrating the great tenth-century renaissance of learning, manuscript production, and monastic life in England known as the Benedictine Reform (see §3). After his ordination Ælfric was sent in 987 to a new monastery at Cernel (now Cerne Abbas) in Dorset. There he composed his *Lives of Saints*, mostly in alliterative prose, no later than 998 as a parallel to his earlier two series of *Catholic Homilies*, written sometime after 989. But unlike those homilies, the *Lives* were intended not for liturgical use but for reading in a secular household. Most of his large *oeuvre* dates to this period at Cernel, though he continued to revise his homilies throughout his life. He was made abbot of Eynsham, near Oxford, in 1005. The date of his death is unknown.

At the close of an account of the martial deeds of Judas Maccabeus, Ælfric appends the following excursus on the tripartite structure of society, a trope that figured more prominently in the literature of the feudal age, but which has been traced to Proto-Indo-European religious ideology (Dumézil 1958). The purpose of this brief disquisition is to affirm ecclesiastics' right of exclusion from military service, due to the importance of their prayers to the fate of the nation. The digression seems inspired by the immediately preceding account of how, through prayer, the priests of Jerusalem prevented Heliodorus from sacking the temple (II Macc. 3:1-40), though this episode itself seems attached to the end of the wars of Judas Maccabeus merely to introduce the matter of the three estates. Ælfric certainly intended Judas and the saints whose lives he recounts to be understood as models for Christian conduct in the face of the troubles England suffered in his day: earlier in the same text, for instance, in the course of a discussion of the four types of warfare (a trope drawn from Isidore's *Etymologiae*) he identifies resistance to the invading Norsemen as an example of the same sort of just warfare that Judas pursued.

The story of Apollonius briefly told here is related in chapter 7 of Rufinus's *Historia monachorum* (Migne 1844-1905: 21, col. 1905). This passage is written in Ælfric's characteristic alliterative prose, which differs from verse in following less strict rules of alliteration (verbs, for example, may alliterate in preference to nouns) and in lacking any strict meter, with each line normally comprising a complete clause. Notes on the text begin on p. 229.

Is swā ðeah tō witenne þæt on þysre worulde  
synd þrēo endebyrdnyse on ānnysse ġesette,  
þæt synd *laboratores, oratores, bellatores*.  
*Laboratores* synd þā þe ūrne biġleafan beswincað,  
*oratores* synd þā ðe ūs tō Gode ġeðingiað,  
*bellatores* synd þā ðe ūre burga healdiað,  
and ūrne eard beweriað wið onwinnendne here.  
Nū swincð sē yrðlincg embe ūrne biġleofan,  
and sē woruldcempa sceałl winnan wið ūre fýnd,

- 10 and sē Godes þēowa sceaƿ symle for ūs ġebiddan,  
and feohtan ġāstlicē, wið þā unġesewenlican fýnd.  
Is nū forþý mære þāera muneca ġewinn  
wið þā unġesewenlican dēofla þe syrwiað embe ūs,  
þonne sý þāera woruldmanna þe winnað wiþ ðā flæsclican,
- 15 and wið þā ġesewenlican ġesewenlicē feohtað.  
Nū ne sceaolon þā woruldcempan tō þām woruldlicum ġefeohte  
þā Godes þēowan nēadian fram þām ġāstlican ġewinne,  
forðan þe him fremað swiðor þæt þā unġesewenlican fýnd  
bēon oferswýðde þonne ðā ġesewenlican;
- 20 and hit bið swýðe deriġendlic þæt hī Drihtnes þēowdōm forlætan,  
and tō woruldġewinne būgan, þe him nāht tō ne ġebyriað.  
Iuliānus, sē wiðersaca and sē wæłhrēowa cāsere,  
wolde nēadian prēostas tō woruldlicum ġecampe,  
and ēac þā hālgan munecas, and hēt hī on cwearterne ġebringan.
- 25 þā wearð Appollōnius sē Ēġiptisca abbod  
on þām cwearterne belocen, mid his ġelēaffullum ġebroðrum,  
ac Godes enġel him cōm tō tō þām cwearterne nihtes  
mid heofonlicum lēohte, and unlæc þæt cweartern.  
Ēac sē hundredes ealdor þe hī þāerinne belēac
- 30 cōm on ærnemergen mid mycclum þrymme,  
and sæde þæt his hūs fēolle færlīce mid eorðstyrunge,  
swā þæt his lēofestan menn þær lāgon ofhrorene,  
and hē bæd þā hālgan þā þæt hī þanon fērdon.  
And hī ðā mid lofsangum siþedon eft tō þām wēstene.
- 35 Godes þēowas sceaolon unsceaððiġnysse healdan,  
swā swā Crīst āstealde þurh hine sylfne þā býsne,  
þā þā hē hēt Petrum behýdan his swurd,  
and ġehælde þurh his mihte þæs mannes ēare  
þe Petrus of āslōh, and ġeswutelode his ġōdnysse.
- 40 Nū sē munuc þe bihð tō Benedictes regole,  
and forlæt ealle woruldðingc, hwī wile hē eft ġe cyrran  
tō woruldlicum wæpnum, and āwurpan his ġewinn  
wið þā unġesewenlican fýnd his sčyppende tō tēonan?  
Sē Godes þēowa ne mæg mid woruldmannum feohtan,
- 45 ġif hē on þām ġāstlican ġefeohte forðgang habban sceaƿ.  
Næs nān hāliġ Godes þēowa æfter þæs hælendes þrōwunga,  
þe æfre on ġefeohte his handa wolde āfýlan,  
ac hī forbæron ēhtnysse ārlēasra cwellera,  
and heora lif sealdon mid unsceaþþiġnysse

for Godes ġelēafan, and hī mid Gode nū lybbað,  
forðan þe hī furþon noldon ænne fugel ācwellan.

## 5. THE VISION OF LEOFRIC

Leofric figures prominently in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the years before the Norman Conquest, since he held the powerful position of *eorl* (the late Old English term for *ealdorman*) of Mercia. First an adviser to King Cnut and then to Edward the Confessor (the king mentioned in the following passage), he seems to have been regarded by his contemporaries as a man of character, but the rivalry of his family with that of the king's other chief thegn, Godwine (earl of Wessex and father of Harold II, the last Anglo-Saxon king), may have been chiefly responsible for English disunity in the face of the Norman invasion in 1066. Leofric died before the Conquest, however, in 1057, and, as told here, was buried at Coventry, an abbey he had himself founded. Better known now than Leofric is his wife, Lady Godiva (*Godgyfu*).

These wonders experienced by Leofric are recorded in additions made perhaps as late as the year 1100 in an originally blank space left at the end of a Latin life of St. Kenelm in a Worcester manuscript. Though Worcester was in Mercian territory, this selection illustrates that West Saxon had become the literary standard for the entire country, and it was written everywhere in England in the eleventh century. Among this text's typical features, some of them late, are the use of *-an*, *-on* for earlier *-um* and the spellings *þænne*, *þæne*, and *mæniġ*-, originally unstressed forms of *þonne*, *þone*, and *maniġ*-.

- Hēr ġesutelað ðā ġesihðe ðe Lēofric eorl ġesæh. Him þuhte tō sōðan on healf-slāpendon lichaman, nā eallīngas swylce on swefne, ac ġýt ġewisslicor, þæt hē sçeolde nēde ofer āne swiðe smale briċge, and sēo wæs swiþe lang, and þær arn swiðe feorr beneoðan eġeslic wæter, swylce hit ēa wære. Ðā þā hē mid þām
- 5 ġedraeht wæs, þā cwæð him stefn tō: “Ne forhta þū. Eaðe þū þā briċge ofer-fērest.” Mid þām þā wearð hē sōna ofere, nyste hē hū. Ðā þā hē ofere wæs, þā cōm him lātēow onġēan and hyne lædde tō anum swyðe wlitigan felde and swyþe fæġeran, mid swētan stenċe āfyllled. Þā ġeseah hē swyþe mycele weorud swylce on gangdagan, and þā wæron ealle mid snāwhwītum rēafe ġescrýdde,
- 10 and þæt on þā wisan þe sē diacon bið þonne hē godspell rēt. And wæs ān þæra on middan standende on mæsseprēostes rēafe, swyþe hēah and swyðe mycel ofer eal þæt oþer folc. Ðā cwæð sē lātēow, “Wāst þū hwæt þis sēo?” “Nese,” cwæð hē. “Hit is Sanctus Paulus, hæfeð nū ġemæssod, and blētsað nū þis folc.” Ðā lædde hē hine furðor þæt hī cōman þær þær sæton six ārwurðlice menn,
- 15 swiðe wurðlice ġefrætewod. Ðā cwæð heora ān, “Hwæt sēoll þæs fūla mann on ūre færræddene?” Þā andswarode him oþer and cwæð, “Hē mōt bēon mid ūs. Hē is nīwan ġefullod þurh dædbōte, and hē cymð tō ūs on þære þriddan ġebyrtide.”

- Ðā wæs ēac his ġewuna þæt hē wolde swyþe lýtēl drincan, þeah hē mid
- 20 ġebēorum bliðe wære; and þænne hē wiste þæt menn fæste slāpen, hē wolde

on dihlum stōwum hine ġeorne ġebiddan. Ðā wæs hē æt Crīstes cýrican mid  
 þām cyninge; þā spræc hē on æfen wið þone cýrcward and hine ġeorne bæd  
 þæt hē hine inn lēte þænne hē þā dura cnylde; ac hē þæt forġymde for his  
 druncennysse. Ðā þā hē tō þære dura cōm and þær langsumlice swyðe cnucede  
 and ġeorne cunnode, hwæðer hē hī on æniġe wisan undōn mihte, ne mihte nā. 25  
 Ðā hē þæne cýrcward ġehýrde ofer eall hrūtan, þā ne wænde hē him nānes  
 incymes, ac fēng þā on his ġebedo, swā his ġewuna wæs, for þær wæs ān  
 forehūs æt þære cýrcan duru. Ðā on þām ġebede wearð sēo duru fāringca  
 ġeopenad, and hē þā sōna in ēode, and hine tō his drihtene ġebæd upāhafenum  
 earmum. Ðā warð his lēohtbora āfyrht swyðe, and ġefeall him in ānan hēale 30  
 and, mid þære forhtnæsse þæt hine oferēode, slæp. Ðā ġeseah hē full ġewisslice  
 þæt hē stōd on middan þære flōre āpenedum earmum mid mæsserēafe  
 ġescrýdd, and hæfde grēne mæssehacelan on him beorhte scīnende, and hē  
 þæs swyðe wundrode.

Eft hit ġetimode æt ōðrum sæle þæt hē wæs mid þām kynge æt þære ylcan 35  
 stōwe. Ðā dyde hē swā his ġewuna wæs, ēode tō cýrcan mid his prēm  
 cnapan, þā þā ōðre men slēpon; and hē hine þā ġebæd, ealswā his ġewuna wæs.  
 Þæt wæs swā nēh Sancte Dunstānes byrgennæ swā hē nēst mihte. Ðā wurdon  
 þā twēgen cnapan sōna on slæpe, and sē þridda wacode swiðor for eġe þonne  
 for his ġebedum. Ðā ġehýrde hē fāringa swyðe unġerýdelic ġelýd þām ġelicost, 40  
 þæs þe hē ærost wēnde, swylce þæra muneca setl fārlice feollon ealle tōgedere,  
 and wæs æfre swā lengre swā hluddre and menigfealdre and unġeryddre. Ðā  
 æfter langum fyrste ġeswāc þæt ġehlýd. Þær wæs innan þære cýrcan byrnende  
 blācern. Þā scēan þær fāringa lēoht inn æt þām ēastende, swylce niwe mōna  
 arise, swā þæt hit lihte under þære rōde swyðran earmæ, þe stōd ofer þæt 45  
 wēofed. Þā wæs hit swā leng swā lēohtre. Swā lange hit lēohtode, þæt þæs  
 blācernes lēoht næs nān þing ġesýne, and þæt swā þæt hit lihte ġeond ealle þā  
 wiðgyllan cýrcan. Swā lange hit wæs þā on ðām, þæt hē hit ne dorste nā lengc  
 behaldan, and hit āsānode þā on þā ylcan wýsan þe hit ær wæxende wæs, swā  
 ðæt hē ġeseh eft þæt blācernlēoht, and þæt ōðer ġeswāc. And sē ofdrædda 50  
 cnapa þæt eal mid him ġeseah and hýrde, swylce hit tō ġewitnæssæ wære; and  
 þā ōðre slēpon and þæs nān þing nyston.

Nēh þon ylcan sæle sē cing leg æt Sandwīc mid scīpum. Ðā wæs his ġe-  
 wuna þæt hē wolde ælce dæġe habban twā mæssan, būtan hit mā wære, and  
 ealle his tīda tōgædere, ær hē út ēode. Þā ēode hē ymbe sume nēode, þā 55  
 mæssede man þām cynge æt Sancte Clementes cýrcan. Ðā cwæð hē tō his  
 ġefēran þæt hit betere wære þæt hiġ þā mæssan hæfdon. And hē þā inn ēode,  
 and him man sōna hrýmde; and hē þā sōna ēode binnan þone wēohstal on  
 norðhealfe, and sē cyng stōd on sūðhealfe. Ðā wæs þær ān prilig wāhræġl and  
 swyðe picce ġewefen þæt hangode bæftan þām wēofode. And stōd þær ān 60

- medmycel rōd on ðære eorðan on ðām norðeāsthyrnan; and wæs swā mycel  
 þæs trēowes ġesýne swā wolde bēon gōd hande brād beneoþan þām wāhrifte;  
 and sē oðer dæl wæs betwyx þām wāhrifte and þām wāhe. And sē prēost mæss-  
 ode be cruce. Ðā ġeseah hē ofer þā rōde āne hand swylce hēo blētsode; þā  
 65 wēnde hē ærost þæt sum man hine blētsode, forþām sēo cýrce wæs eall folces  
 āfyllled; þā næs þæt nā swā. Ðā behēold hē hit þā ġýt ġeornor, þā ġeseah hē ealle  
 þā rōde swā swutole, swylce þær nān þing beforan nære, and wæs sēo blētsi-  
 ende hand styriende and wendende upward. Þā forhtode hē and twēonode him  
 hweðer hit swā wære, swā him þūhte. Ðā mid þæs mōdes twēonunge þā  
 70 ætēowde hēo him swā swutole swā hē his āgene ġesēon mihte; and wæron  
 fægere fingras smale and lang, and þæra næġla tōscēad and sē grēata līra  
 beneoðan þām þūman eall wæs ġesýne and fram þām littlan fingre tōweard  
 þæs earmes, and sumne dæl of þære slýfe. Ðā ne dorste hē hit nā leng be-  
 healdan, ac hēng þæt hēafod ādūn, and hit þā ġeswac þæra blētsunga. Þæt wæs  
 75 nēh þām þe þæt godspel wæs ġerædd.

Fēowertýne nihton ær his forðsiðe hē foresæde þone dæg þe hē scēolde  
 cuman tō Cofan trēo tō his langan hāme, þær hē on restet; and hit æode  
 eallswā hē sæde. *Requiescat in pace.*

## 6. ÆLFRIC'S PASSION OF SAINT AGATHA

On Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, see the headnote to reading selection 4. His life of Saint Agatha is a rather close translation of a Latin text that must have been nearly identical to the anonymous Latin *Acta S. Agathae* published in the Bollandist *Acta sanctorum* for February 5 (Bolland 1863–9: 4.621–24). The story resembles that of other virgin martyrs who, for refusing to wed pagans, are subjected to tortures from which they are protected or healed by divine intervention. Though Ss. Agnes, Cecilia, and Juliana eventually succumb to the sword (since they cannot withstand the means used to execute the virginal St. Paul), this is not the case with St. Agatha. This is one of several virgins' *passiones* that collectively suggest Ælfric's audience included nuns at a time when nuns were in real danger of martyrdom or enslavement at the hands of pagan Norsemen.

Agathēs wæs ġecġged sum ġesæliġ mæden  
on ðære scýre Siciliā, snotor and ġelyfed,  
on ðām tīman þe Quintiānus, sē cwealmbære ġhtere,  
þære scýre ġewēold wælhreowlice under þām cāsere.  
Sē wæs grædiġ ġitsere, and his ġalnysse underþeod, 5  
deofles þeowetlincġ, and drihten onscunode.  
Þa cōm him tō ēaran be Agathēs drohtnunge  
and smēade hū hē mihte þæt mæden him beġitan.  
Hēt hī þa ġefecġan, and betæhte hī ānum fūlum wīfe,  
Afrodosīa ġecġged, scēandlic on þēawum, 10  
sēo hæfde nigon dohtra, nāhtlice and fracode,  
þæt heo ġeond þrittig nihte hire þēawas leornode,  
and hire mōd āwende þurh þære myltestrena forspennincġæ.  
Hwæt, ðā Affrodosīa, sē fracedosta wimman,  
mid hire nigon dohtrum ġedrehte Agathēn, 15  
hwilon ōleġende, hwilon eġsigende;  
wēnde þæt heo mihte hire mōd āwenden.  
Þa cwæð Agathēs tō þām yfelan tēame,  
“Ēower word syndon winde ġeliġe,  
ac hī ne magon āfyllan mīn fæstræde ġeþanc, þe is ġegrundstapelod.” 20  
Ðis heo cwæð mid wōpe, and ġewilnode tō ðrōwigenne  
for Crīstes naman þa cwealmbæran wīta,  
swā swā sē þurstiga on ðære sunnan hætan  
ġewilnað wylsprincġes oððe wæteres cēlincġe.  
Þa ġeseah Affrodosīa þæt heo þære fēmnan mōd 25  
ġebīġan ne mihte mid hyre bismorfullum tihtincġum,  
and fērde tō Quintiāne and cwæð him þus tō:

- “Stānas magon hnexian, and þæt starce isen  
 on lēades ġelīcnysse, ær ðan þe sē ġelēafa mæġe  
 30 of Agathēs brēoste bēon æfre ādwæscēd.  
 Ic and mīne dohtra dægēs and nihtes  
 nāht elles ne drugon būton hī æfre tihton  
 tō þīnre ġeþafunga, þēah ðe ūs hwōnlice spēowe.  
 Ic hire bēad ġymmas and ġyrlan of golde,  
 35 and ōðre mārða and mære ġebytlu,  
 hāmas and hȳred, and hēo þæt eall forseah  
 on meoxes ġelīcnysse þe lið under fōtum.”  
 Þā yrsode Quintiānus and hēt hī ardlīce feccan,  
 befrān hī ðā æt fruman be hyre ġebyrdum.  
 40 Agathēs þā cwæð, “Ic eom æðelborenre mægðe,  
 swā swā eall mīn mægð mē is tō witan.”  
 Ðā cwæð sē dēma, “Hwī dēst þū ðē sylfe  
 ðurh wāce þēawas swilce þū wynl sȳ?”  
 Agathēs andwyrde, “Ic eom Godes þīnen,  
 45 and mycel æðelborennys bið, þæt man bēo Crīstes ðēow.”  
 Quintiānus cwæð tō þām Crīstes mædene,  
 “Hwæt, lā, næbbe wē nāne æþelborennysse  
 forðan þe wē forsēoð þīnes Crīstes ðēowdōm?”  
 Agathēs andwyrde þām ārlēasan and cwæð,  
 50 “Eower æðelborennys becymð tō swā bysmorfullum hæftnēde  
 þæt ġē bēoð þēowan synne and stānum.”  
 Quintiānus cwæð, “Þā cwealmbæran wīta  
 magon ēaðelīce ġewrecan swā hwæt swā ðū mid wēdendum mūðe tælst.  
 Seġe swā þēah, ær ðū becume tō þām foresædum wītum,  
 55 hwī ðū ūre goda biggenċġas forsēo.”  
 Agathēs andwyrde þām ārlēasan ðus:  
 “Ne cwæð þū nā ‘goda’ ac ‘gramlicra dēofla,’  
 þēara anlīcnysse ġē āwendað on āre and on stānum,  
 and ealle ðā græftas ofergylðað mid cræfte.”  
 60 Quintiānus þā cwæð þæt hēo ġecure ōðer ðæra,  
 swā hēo mid fordēmdum dyslīce forfērde,  
 swā hēo þām godum ġeoffrode, swā swā æðelboren and wīs.  
 Agathēs him andwyrde ānrædlice and cwæð,  
 “Bēo þīn wīf swylc swā Uenus þīn fūle gyden wæs,  
 65 and bēo ðū swylc swā Iouis þīn sċeandlica god wæs,  
 þæt ġit magon bēon ġetealde ēac betwux þām godum.”  
 Þā hēt Quintiānus hī mid handum slēan

gelōme on þæt hlēor, þæt heo hlȳdan ne sċeolde.

Ðā cwæð Agathēs eft ðā ylcan word.

Quintianus cwæð, “Þū cȳst þæt ðū ġecure 70

þā tintregu tō ðrōwīġenne, nū þū mīnne tēonan ġeedlēcst.”

Þæt mæden him andwyrde, “Micclum ic wundrie þē,  
snoterne mannan tō swā micclum dysīġe ġebīġedne,  
þæt ðū swylce for godas hæfst þe ðē sċeamað tō ġeeuenlæcenne.

Ġif hī sōða godas synd, ġōdes ic þē ġewīscē; 75

ġif þū hī onscunast, wit cweðaþ þonne ān.

Hāt hī swā yfele and swā unclāene

þæt ġif ðū hwylcne wyriġe, þæt ðū ġewīscē him þæs,

þæt his lif bēo ġelīc þinum lāðum godum.”

Quintianus hire cwæð tō, “Hwī clypast ðū swā fela īdeles? 80

Ġeooffra ðām godum, þæt ic ðē gramlice ne fordō.”

Ðā andwyrde Agathēs unforht þām dēman,

“Ġif ðū mid wilddēorum mē nū bētan wylt,

hī bēoð sōna handtame, þurh þæs hælendes naman.

Ġif þū mē fyr ġearcost, mē cymð færlīce of heofonum 85

hālwendlic dēaw, þurh drihtnes ænglas.

Ġif ðū mē swingla behætst, ic hæbbe þone hālgan ġāst

þurh ðone ic forsēo ealle þīne swingla.”

Þā cwehte sē dēma his dēoflice hēafod,

and hēt hī ġebringan on ānum blindum cwearterne, 90

and hēt þæt hēo sċeolde hī sylfe beþencan,

hū hēo mihte ætwindan þām wæhlrēowum tintregum.

Ðā cwæð Agathēs, “Þū, earmīngc, beðenc þē

hū ðū mæġe ætwindan ðām ēcūm wītum.”

Ēode þā bliðelīce tō ðām blindum cwearterne, 95

swylce hēo wære ġelaðod tō lustfullum bēorscype,

and betæhte hire ġewin þām welwyllendan drihtne.

Hwæt, ðā on mergen sē mǣnfulla dēma

hēt Agathēn ġeldan tō his lāðan andwerdnysse,

and befrān hwæt hēo smēade bē hyre ġesundfulnysse. 100

Agathēs him cwæð tō, “Crīst mē is for hæle.”

Sē dēma āxode, “Hū lange wylt ðū, unġesælige,

ātēon þās ȳdelnysse mid Crīstes andetnysse?

Wiðsac ðīnne Crīst, and clypa tō þām godum,

þē lās ðe þū ðīn lif forlæte on iugoðe.” 105

Agathēs andwyrde ānfealdlice and cwæð,

“Wiðsac ðū þīne godas, þe synd stānene and trēowene,

- and ġebide þē tō þīnum sċyppende, þe sōðlice ā leofað;  
 ġif ðū hine forsiht, þū sċealt on ěcum wītum ðrōwian.”
- 110 Þā wearð sē ārlēasa ġehāthyr̥t, and hēt hī on henċgene āstreċċan,  
 and ðrāwan swā swā wiððan wæhrēowlice, and cwæð,  
 “Forlæt þīne ānwyl̥nysse, þæt ðīnum life bēo ġeborgen.”  
 Agathēs andwyrde on ðære henċgene þus:  
 “Swā ic lustfullige on þisum lādum wītum
- 115 swā swā sē ðe ġesihð þone þe hē ġewilnode  
 oððe sē þe fint fela goldhordas.  
 Ne mæg mīn sāwl bēon ġebrōht mid blysse tō heofonum  
 būtan mīn lichama bēo on þīnum bendum ġenyrwod,  
 and fram ðīnum cwellerum on þīnum copsum āgrāpod.”
- 120 Þā ġebealh hine sē wæhrēowa and hēt hī ġewriðan on ðām brēoste  
 mid þære henċgene and hēt siððan of āceorfan.  
 Agathēs him cwæð tō, “Ēalā, ðū ārlēasosta,  
 ne sċeamode þē tō ceorfanne þæt þæt ðū sylf suce?  
 Ac ic habbe mīne brēost on mīnre sāwle ansunde,
- 125 mid þām ðe ic mīn andġit eallunga āfēde.”  
 Quintiānus ðā hēt hī tō cwearterne ġeldan,  
 and hēt hire oftēon āetes and wāetes,  
 and cwæð þæt nān lāċe hī lācnian ne mōste.  
 Efne ðā on middre nihte cōm sum hārwenċge mann
- 130 intō þām cwearterne, and his cnapa him ætforan,  
 hæfde leohtfæt on handa, wolde þā hālgan ġelācnian.  
 Sēo ēadige Agathēs cwæð tō ðām lāċe,  
 “Ne ġymde ic nānes lāċecræftas nāfre on mīnum life.  
 Ic hæbbe mīnne hælend þe ġehæld mid his worde.
- 135 Hē mæg, ġif hē wyle, mihtelice mē ġehælan.”  
 Þā cwæð sē hārwenċga, “Hē mē sende tō ðē.  
 Ic eom his apostol, and ðū efne nū  
 bist hāl on his naman.” And hē sōna fērde.  
 Þā cnēowode Agathēs and ðancode Crīste
- 140 þæt hē hī ġemunde and his mæran apostol  
 tō hire āsende mid swylcum frōfre.  
 Æfter ðām ġebede beseah tō hyre brēoste,  
 and wæs þæt corfene brēost þurh Crīst ġeedstaðelod,  
 and ealle hire wunda wurdon ġehælede.
- 145 Þær sċēan ðā mycel leoht on þām sweartum cwearterne,  
 swā þæt ðā weardas flugon mid fyrhte fornumene.  
 Þā tihton þā hæftlingas þæt hālige mæden

þæt hēo āwæg ēode, and ðā wīta forfluge.

Þā cwæð Agathēs, þæt æðele mæden,

“Nelle ic āmyrran mīnne kynehelm,

nē ðā weardas geswenčan, ac ic þurhwuniġe hēr.”

150

Þā on ðām fiftan dæġe hēt sē dēma hī ġefecčan,

and cwæð þæt hēo sčēolde þām godum ġeoƿfrian,

oððe mid teartum wītum ġetintregod bēon.

Þā cwæð Agathēs, “Þū earma andġitlēasa,

155

hwā wyle clypian tō stāne, and nā tō þām sōðan Gode

ðe mē fram eallum þām wītum þe ðū wælhreowlice

on mīnum lice ġefæstnodest for his naman ġehælde,

and mīn brēost ġeedstaðelode, þe ðū, ārlēasa, forcurfe?”

Þā befrān sē hæðengylda, hwā hī ġehælde.

160

Agathēs cwæð, “Crist Godes sunu.”

Quintiānus cwæð tō ðām clānum mædene,

“Ġit þū namast Crist?” Hēo cwæð him tō andsware,

“Crist ic andette mid welerum and æfre mid heortan

tō him clypige.” Ðā cwæð sē deofles þēn,

165

“Nū ic sčeal ġesēon ġif Crist ðē ġehæld.” Hēt ðā streowian ġeond þā flōr

fela byrnenda glēda and tōbrýsede tigelan,

and hī swā nacode hēt wylian on þām fýre.

Þā wearð mycel eorðstyrung on ðære ylcan stōwe,

and fēol sē stānene wāh uppan þæs stuntan rædboran,

170

þæt hē æll tōcwýsde and sum oþer cniht samod—

swýðe rihtlice swā, forðan þe hī rædboran wæran

þæs ārlēasan dēman tō his yfelum dædum.

Ēac swylce sēo burh eall byuiġende stōd

for ðære eorðstyrunge, and arn sēo burhwaru

175

endemes tō þām ārlēasan, āxiende mid ġehlýde

hwī hē þæt Godes mæden swā gramlice tintregode.

Þā flēah Quintiānus, āfyrht for ðām ġehlýde,

and ēac sēo eorðstyrung hine ġeēġsode þearle;

hēt swā þēah hī ġebringan binnan ðām cwearterne.

180

Hwæt, ðā Agathēs inwerdlice clypode

mid āstrehtum handum tō þām hælende þus:

“Ēalā ðū mīn drihten, þe mē tō menn ġesčēope,

and æfre fram cýldhāde mē ġesčýldest oð þis,

þū þe woruldlice lufe āwendest fram mē,

185

þū ðe dydest þæt ic ofercōm þæs cwelleres tintregu,

sčearp isen and fýr and þā slitendan clawa,

- þū ðe mē on þām wītum gēþyld forġēafe,  
 ðē ic bidde, drihten, þæt ðū mīnne gāst nū  
 190 tō þē ġenime, forðan þe nū is tīma  
 þæt ic þās woruld forlæte, and tō þīnre liðan miltheortnysse  
 becuman mōte, mīn lēofa drihten.”
- Æfter þysum ġebede binnan þām cwearterne  
 hēo āġeaf hire gāst, and tō Gode siððode.
- 195 Þā cōm sēo burhwaru, and bebyrigde hire lič  
 mid mycelre ārwurðnysse on eallnīwere þrȳh.  
 Þær cōm ðā Godes enċġel gangende swā swā mann,  
 þām fylġdan æt fōtum fela wlitige cnapan,  
 and sette enne marmstān æt þæs mædenes hēafde  
 200 binnan þære þrȳh, þysum wordum āwritene:  
*Mentem sanctam spontaneam, honorem deo, et patrie liberationem.*  
 Þæt is on Engliśc, “Hālig mōd, sylfwille wurðmynt þām welwyllendan  
 Gode, and eardes ālȳsednys.”
- Þā āwende sē enċġel āweġ mid þām cnapum,  
 and nes sē mann on þære scīre þe hī ġesāwe ær þan.
- 205 Hwæt, ðā Quintiānus, Crīstes wiðerwinna,  
 fērde on scīpe ofer Semithetum  
 embe Agathēn æhta, and ēac wolde ġehæftan  
 ealle hire mægðe, ac hē ne mōste for Crīste.  
 Hine ġelæhte ān hors, þā ðā hē læg on ðām scīpe,  
 210 hetelīce mid tōðum and hefde him upp.  
 Þā spearn oðer hors tō, and āsprencde hine ofer bord,  
 and næs his fūle lič āfundan æfre siððan.  
 Þā ne dorste nān man dreccan hire mægðe,  
 ac ārwurðodon hī ealle, ġeeġsode þurh God.
- 215 On þære ylcan scīre Sicilian landes  
 is ān byrnende munt, þone menn hātað Æthna,  
 onæled mid *sulphore*, þæt is “swæfel” on Engliśc.  
 Sē munt byrnð æfre, swā swā mā oþre dōð.  
 Þā ġetīmode hit ymbe twelf monað  
 220 æfter Agathēs þrōwunge, and Æthna up āblēow  
 swȳðe eġeslice ontendnysse, and arn be þām munte  
 on flōdes ġelīcnysse, and formulton þā stānas,  
 and sēo eorðe forbarn, oð þæt hit tō þære byrig becōm.  
 Þā urnon þā hæðenan tō þære hālgan byrgene  
 225 and āhōfen þone oferbrædels of þære hālgan byrgene  
 tōġēanes þām fȳre, þe hī āfærde forðearle.

Þā wearð þæt fȳr ġestilled, and ætstōd sōna  
for Agathēn ġeearnungum, þære æðelan fēmnan.  
Six dagas hit barn, and ætstōd on þām dæge  
þe sēo ēadiġe Agathēs tō ðām ēce lifē ġewāt,  
þæt swā wurde ġeswutelod þæt sēo cēaster wearð āhred  
fram þæs fȳres frēcednysse þurh Agathēn foreþingunge,  
þām hælende tō lofe, þe his hālgan swā wurðað.  
Þæs him sȳ ā wuldor on ēcere worulde.  
*Amen.*

230

## 7. THREE SELECTIONS FROM THE OLD ENGLISH OROSIUS

Paulus Orosius, a student of Augustine of Hippo, probably completed his *Historiae adversos paganos* 'History Countering the Pagans' about 416. The purpose of the work, intended to complement Augustine's *De civitate dei*, was to compare pagan times with Christian and to refute the claim that Rome's decadence and conquest by the Goths were due to the Romans' conversion to Christianity. Much of the work is therefore devoted to recounting great calamities that anteceded the conversion, though Orosius's most polemical remarks on this score are generally omitted from the Old English translation. The Old English version is attributed by William of Malmesbury to King Alfred, but linguistic considerations in particular show this to be unlikely, since the vocabulary differs in marked ways from that of other works attributed to Alfred.

The work begins with a description of the known world, but the translator retains little of Orosius's account, instead providing information about ninth-century Europe. The account of northern Europe is an addition, the most striking portion of which tells of the voyages of the Norwegian Ohthere (ON *Óttarr*) over the North Cape and of one Wulfstan in the Baltic. Wulfstan was perhaps from the area of Hedeby, near modern Schleswig, in the Danish-German border area, though it is possible that he was an Englishman, since Continental equivalents of his name are scarce. A linguistic peculiarity of Wulfstan's account is that it contains a number of 3 sg. pres. verbs without syncope, among other Anglian features otherwise rare in this text. The Tollemache (or Lauderdale) manuscript (T in the textual notes) is the best witness to the Old English work, but it lacks most of the present selection due to a missing gathering. The defect is supplied from the Cotton manuscript (C).

### A. THE VOYAGES OF OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN

- Ohthere sǣde his hlāforde, Ælfrēde cyninge, þæt hē ealra Norðmonna norþ-  
mest būde. Hē cwæð þæt hē būde on þǣm lande norþweardum wiþ þā  
Westsǣ. Hē sǣde þēah þæt þæt land sie swīþe lang norþ þonan, ac hit is eal  
wēste, būton on fēawum stōwum styccemælum wiciað Finnas, on huntode  
5 on wintra and on sumera on fīscāpe be þære sǣ. Hē sǣde þæt hē æt sumum  
cirre wolde fandian hū longe þæt land norþryhte lǣge, oþþe hwæðer ænig  
mon be norðan þām wēstenne būde. Þā fōr hē norþryhte be þām lande; lēt  
him ealne weg þæt wēste land on ðæt stēorbord and þā wīdsǣ on ðæt  
bæcbord þrie dagas. Þā wæs hē swā feor norþ swā þā hwælhuntan firrest  
10 farap. Þā fōr hē þā gīet norþryhte swā feor swā hē meahte on þām oþrum  
prim dagum gesiġlan. Þā bēag þæt land þær ēastryhte, oþþe sēo sǣ in on ðæt  
lond, hē nysse hwæðer, būton hē wisse ðæt hē ðær bād westan windes and  
hwōn norþan and siġlde ðā ēast be lande swā swā hē meahte on fēower  
dagum gesiġlan. Þā sçeolde hē ðær bīdan ryhtnorþan windes, forðæm þæt

land bēag þær sūþryhte, oþþe sēo sē in on ðæt land, hē nysse hwæþer. Þā 15  
 siglde hē þonan sūðryhte be lande swā swā hē mehte on fif dagum gesiglan.  
 Ðā læg þær ān miçel ēa up in on þæt land. Þā cirdon hie up in on ðā ēa,  
 forþæm hie ne dorston forþ bi þære ēa siglan for unfriþe, forþæm ðæt land  
 wæs eall gebūn on oþre healfe þære ēas. Ne mētte hē ær nān gebūn land  
 siþþan hē from his āgnum hām fōr, ac him wæs ealne weg wēste land on þæt 20  
 stēorbord, būtan fiscerum and fugelerum and huntum, and þæt wæron eall  
 Finnas, and him wæs ā widsæ on ðæt bæcbord.

Þā Beormas hæfdon swiþe wel gebūd hira land, ac hie ne dorston þær-  
 on cuman. Ac þāra Terfinna land wæs eal wēste, būton ðær huntan ge-  
 wicodon, oþþe fisceras, oþþe fugeleras. Fela spella him sædon þā Beormas 25  
 ægþer ge of hiera āgnum lande ge of þæm landum þe ymb hie ūtan wæron,  
 ac hē nyste hwæt þæs sōþes wæs, forþæm hē hit self ne geseah. Þā Finnas,  
 him þuhte, and þā Beormas spræcon nēah ān gēþeode. Swiþost hē fōr ðider,  
 tōēacan þæs landes scēawunge, for þæm horshwælum, forðæm hie habbað  
 swiþe æpele bān on hiora tōpum—þā tēð hie brōhton sume þæm cyninge— 30  
 and hiora hȳd bið swiðe gōð tō scīprāpum. Sē hwæl bið micle læssa þonne  
 oðre hwalas: ne bið hē lengra ðonne syfan elna lang. Ac on his āgnum lande  
 is sē betsta hwælhuntað: þā bēoð eahta and fēowertiges elna lange, and þā  
 mæstan fiftiges elna lange. Þāra hē sæde þæt hē syxa sum ofslōge syxtig on  
 twām dagum. Hē wæs swȳðe spēdig man on þæm æhtum þe heora spēda on 35  
 bēoð, þæt is on wiltrum. Hē hæfde þā gȳt, ðā hē þone cyningc sōhte, tamra  
 dēora unbebohtra syx hund. Þā dēor hī hātað hrānas; þāra wæron syx stæl-  
 hrānas, ðā bēoð swȳðe dȳre mid Finnum, forðæm hȳ fōð þā wildan hrānas  
 mid.

Hē wæs mid þæm fyrstum mannum on þæm lande; næfde hē þeah mā 40  
 ðonne twēntig hryðera and twēntig scēapa and twēntig swȳna, and þæt lȳtle  
 þæt hē erede hē erede mid horsan. Ac hyra ār is mæst on þæm gafole þe ðā  
 Finnas him gylðað. Þæt gafol bið on dēora fellum and on fugela feðerum  
 and hwales bāne and on þæm scīprāpum þe bēoð of hwæles hȳde geworht  
 and of sēoles. Æghwilc gylt be hys gebyrdum. Sē byrdesta sceaall gylðan fif- 45  
 tȳne mearðes fell and fif hrānes and ān beran fel and tȳn ambra feðra and  
 berenne kyrtel oððe yterenne and twēgen scīprāpas; ægþer sȳ syxtig elna  
 lang; oþer sȳ of hwæles hȳde geworht, oþer of sēoles.

Hē sæde ðæt Norðmanna land wære swȳþe lang and swȳðe smæl. Eal 50  
 þæt his man aþer oððe ettan oððe erian mæg, þæt lið wið ðā sē; and þæt is  
 þeah on sumum stōwum swȳðe clūdig, and licgað wilde mōras wið ēastan  
 and wið uppon, emnlange þæm bȳnum lande. On þæm mōrum eardiað  
 Finnas. And þæt bȳne land is ēasteward brādost and symle swā norðor swā  
 smælre. Eāstewerd hit mæg bion syxtig mīla brād oþþe hwēne brādre; and

55 middeweard þrītig oððe brādre; and norðeweard, hē cwæð, þær hit smalost  
wære, þæt hit mihte bēon þrēora mila brād tō þām mōre, and sē mōr  
syðþan, on sumum stōwum swā brād swā man mæg on twām wucum  
oferfēran, and on sumum stōwum swā brād swā man mæg on syx dagum  
oferfēran. Ðonne is tōemnes þām lande sūðeweardum, on oðre healfe þæs  
60 mōres, Swēoland, oþ þæt land norðeweard; and tōemnes þām lande norðe-  
wardum Cwēna land. Þā Cwēnas hergiað hwīlum on ðā Norðmen ofer  
ðone mōr, hwīlum þā Norðmen on hȳ. And þær sint swīðe micle meras  
fersce ġeond þā mōras, and berað þā Cwēnas hyra scȳpu ofer land on ðā  
meras and þanon hergiað on ðā Norðmen; hȳ habbað swȳðe lȳtle scȳpa and  
65 swȳðe lēohte.

Ohthere sæde þæt sīo scīr hātte Hālgoland þe hē on būde. Hē cwæð þæt  
nān man ne būde be norðan him. Þonne is ān port on sūðeweardum þām  
lande, þone man hæt Scīringes heal. Þyder hē cwæð þæt man ne mihte  
ġeseġlian on ānum mōnðe, ġyf man on niht wīcode, and ælce dæge hæfde  
70 ambyrne wind; and ealle ðā hwīle hē sceał seġlian be lande. And on þæt  
stēorbord him bið ærest Īra land, and þonne ðā ġland þe synd betux Īra  
lande and þissum lande. Þonne is þis land oð hē cymð tō Scīrincges hēale,  
and ealne weġ on þæt bæcbord Norðweġ. Wið sūðan þone Scīringes heal  
fylð swȳðe mycel sē up in on ðæt lond, sēo is brādre þonne ænig man ofer  
75 sēon mæġe, and is Gotland on oðre healfe onġēan and siððan Sillende. Sēo  
sē lið mæniġ hund mila up in on þæt land.

And of Scīringes hēale hē cwæð þæt hē seġlode on fif dagan tō þām  
porte þe mon hæt æt Hæþum; sē stent betuh Winedum, and Seaxum, and  
Angle, and hȳrð in on Dene. Ðā hē þiderweard seġlode fram Scīringes hēale,  
80 þā wæs him on þæt bæcbord Dena mearc, and on þæt stēorbord wīdsæ þrȳ  
dagas; and þā, twēġen dagas ær hē tō Hæþum cōme, him wæs on þæt  
stēorbord Gotland, and Sillende, and ġlanda fela. On þām landum eardod-  
on Engle, ær hī hider on land cōman. And hym wæs ðā twēġen dagas on  
ðæt bæcbord þā ġland þe in Denemearce hȳrað.

85 Wulfstān sæde þæt hē ġefōre of Hæðum, þæt hē wære on Trūsō on  
syfan dagum and nihtum, þæt þæt scīp wæs ealne weġ yrnende under seġle.  
Weonodland him wæs on stēorbord, and on bæcbord him wæs Langa land,  
and Læland, and Falster, and Scōneg; and þās land eall hȳrað tō Dene-  
mearcan. And þonne Burgenda land wæs ūs on bæcbord, and þā habbað  
90 him sylf cyning. Þonne æfter Burgenda lande wæron ūs þās land, þā synd  
hātene ærest Blēcinga ēġ, and Mēore, and Ēowland, and Gotland on  
bæcbord; and þās land hȳrað tō Swēon. And Weonodland wæs ūs ealne weġ  
on stēorbord oð Wisle mūðan. Sēo Wisle is swȳðe mycel ēa, and hīo tōlið  
Witland and Weonodland; and þæt Witland belimpeð tō Estum; and sēo

Wisle lið út of Weonodlande, and lið in Estmere; and sē Estmere is hūru 95  
fiftēne mīla brād. Þonne cymeð Ilfing ēastan in Estmere of ðæm mere ðe  
Trūsō standeð in staðe, and cumað út samod in Estmere Ilfing ēastan of  
Estlande and Wisle sūðan of Winodlande, and þonne benimð Wisle Ilfing  
hire naman, and liǵeð of þæm mere west and norð on sǣ; forðy hit man  
hæt Wisle mūða. 100

Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel, and þær bið swyðe maniġ burh, and on  
ælcere byriġ bið cynincg. And þær bið swyðe mycel huniġ and fiscað; and sē  
cyninc and þā ricostan men drincað mýran meolc, and þā unspēdigan and  
þā þēowan drincað medo. Þær bið swyðe mycel ġewinn betwēonan him.  
And ne bið ðær nēniġ ealo ġebrowen mid Estum, ac þær bið medo ġenōh. 105

And þær is mid Estum ðēaw, þonne þær bið man dēad, þæt hē lið inne  
unforbærned mid his māgum and frēondum mōnað, ġe hwilum twēgen;  
and þā kyningas, and þā oðre hēahðungene men, swā micle lencġ swā hī  
māran spēða habbað, hwilum healf ġēar þæt hī bēoð unforbærned, and  
licġað bufan eorðan on hyra hūsum. And ealle þā hwile þe þæt lic bið inne, 110  
þær sceał bēon ġedrync and plega, oð ðone dæg þe hī hine forbærnað.  
Þonne þy ylcan dæg þe hī hine tō þæm āde beran wyllað, þonne tōdælað hī  
his feoh, þæt þær tō lāfe bið æfter þæm ġedryncē and þæm plegan, on fif  
oððe syx, hwylum on mā, swā swā þæs fēos andefn bið. Ālcġað hit ðonne  
forhwæga on ānre mīle þone mæstan dæl fram þæm tūne, þonne oðerne, 115  
ðonne þæne þridan, oþ þe hyt eall ālēd bið on þære ānre mīle; and sceał  
bēon sē læsta dæl nýhst þæm tūne ðe sē dēada man on lið. Ðonne sceałon  
bēon ġesamnode ealle ðā menn ðe swyftoste hors habbað on þæm lande,  
forhwæga on fif mīlum oððe on syx mīlum fram þæm fēo. Þonne ærnað hý  
ealle tōweard þæm fēo; ðonne cymeð sē man sē þæt swiftoste hors hafað tō 120  
þæm ærestan dæle and tō þæm mæstan, and swā ælc æfter oðrum, oþ hit  
bið eall ġenumen; and sē nimð þone læstan dæl sē nýhst þæm tūne þæt feoh  
ġeærneð. And þonne rīdeð ælc hys wegēs mid ðan fēo, and hyt mōtan  
habban eall; and forðy þær bēoð þā swiftan hors unġefōge dýre. And þonne  
hys ġestrēon bēoð þus eall āspended, þonne byrð man hine út, and for- 125  
bærneð mid his wæpnum and hræġle. And swiðost ealle hys spēða hý for-  
spendað mid þan langan leġere þæs dēadan mannes inne, and þæs þe hý be  
þæm wegum ālcġað, þe ðā fremdan tō ærnað and nimað. And þæt is mid  
Estum þēaw þæt þær sceał ælcēs ġeðēodes man bēon forbærned; and ġyf  
þār man ān bān findeð unforbærned, hī hit sceałan miclum ġebētan. And 130  
þær is mid Estum ān mæġð, þæt hī magon cýle ġewyrćan; and þy þær licġað  
þā dēadan men swā lange and ne fūliað, þæt hý wyrcað þone cýle hine on.  
And þeah man āsette twēgen fætels full ealað oððe wæteres, hý ġeðoð þæt  
oþer bið oferfrozen, sam hit sý sumor sam winter.

## B. THE AMAZONS

- 135 Ær þæm þe Rōmeburg ġetimbred wære .iiii. hunde wintrum and hund-  
eahtatigum, Uesoges, Ēgypta cyning, wæs winnende of sūðdæle Asiam, oð  
him sē mæsta dæl wearð underþieded, and hē Uesoges, Ēgypta cyning, wæs  
siþþan mid firde farende on Scīþþie on ðā norðdælas, and his ærendracan  
beforan āsende tō þære ðēode, and him untwēogendlice secġan hēt þæt hie  
140 oðer sċeolden, oþþe ðæt lond æt him ālēsan, oþþe hē hie wolde mid ġe-  
feohte fordōn and forheriġan. Hie him þā ġescēadwislice ondwyrdon, and  
cwædon þæt hit ġemālic wære and unryhtlic þæt swā oferwlenċed cyning  
sċeolde winnan on swā earm folc swā hie wæron. Hēton him þēh þæt  
ondwyrd secġan, þæt him lēofre wære wið hiene tō feohtanne þonne gafol  
145 tō ġieldanne. Hie þæt ġelæstan swā, and sōna þone cyning ġefliemdun mid  
his folce, and him æfterfolgiende wæron, and ealle Ægypte āwēstan būton  
þæm fenlondum ānum. And þā hie hāmweard wendon be westan þære iē  
Eufrātē, ealle Asīam hie ġenieddon þæt hie him gafol guldon, and þær  
wæron fiftēne ġear þæt lond heriġende and wēstende, oð heora wif him  
150 sendon ærendracan æfter, and him sædon þæt hie oðer dyden, oþþe hām  
cōmen oððe hie him woldon oðerra weras cēosan. Hī þā þæt lond forlēton,  
and him hāmweard fērdon.

- On þære ilcan tide wurdon twēgen æþelingas āfliemde of Scīþþian,  
Plenius and Scolopetius wæron hātene, and ġefōran þæt lond, and ġebūdon  
155 betuh Capadotīam and Pontum nēah þære læssan Asīan, and þær winn-  
ende wæron, oð hie him þær eard ġenāmon. And hie ðær æfter hrædlice  
tide from þæm londlēodum þurh seara ofslægene wurdon. Þā wurdon  
hiora wif swā sārige on hiora mōde, and swā swiðlice ġedrefed, æġþær ġe  
þāra æþelinga wif ġe þāra oþerra monna þe mid him ofslægene wæron,  
160 þætte hie wæpna nāman, tō þon ðæt hie heora weras wrecan þōhton. And  
hī þā hrædlice æfter þæm ofslōgan ealle þā wæpnedmen þe him on nēaw-  
este wæron. Forþon hie dydon swā, þe hie woldon þætte þā oþere wif  
wæren emsārige him, þæt hie siþþan on him fultum hæfdon, ðæt hie mā  
mehten heora weras wrecan. Hī þā, þā wif, ealle tōġædere ġecirdon, and on  
165 ðæt folc winnende wæron, and þā wæpnedmen slēande, oð hie þæs londes  
hæfdon miċel on hiora onwalde.

- Þā under þæm ġewinne hie ġenāmon friþ wið þā wæpnedmen. Siþþan  
wæs hiera þēaw þæt hie ælce ġēare ymbe twelf mōnað tōsomne fērdon, and  
þær þonne bearna strīendon. Eft þonne þā wif heora bearn cendon, þonne  
170 fēddon hie þā mædenċild, and slōgon þā hysecild. And þæm mædenċildum  
hie fortendun þæt swiðre brēost foran þæt hit weaxan ne sċeolde, þæt hie  
hæfdon þy strengran sċyte. Forþon hī mon hæt on Crēcisc *Amazanas*, þæt  
is on Engliśc “Fortende.”

Heora twā wæron heora cwēna, Marsepīa and Lampida wæron hātene. Hie heora here on tū tōdældon, oþer æt hām bēon heora lond tō heald- 175  
anne, oðer ūt faran tō winnanne. Hie siþþan gēēodon Eurōpe and Asīam þone mæstan dæl, and ġetimbredon Effesum þā burg, and moneġe oðere on ðære læssan Asīam: and siþþan hiera heres þone mæstan dæl hām sendon mid hiora herehȳpe, and þone oþerne dæl þær lēton þæt lond tō healdonne. Þær wearð Marsepīa sīo cwēn ofslagen, and miçel þæs heres þe 180  
mid hiere beaftan wæs. Ðær wearð hire dohtor cwēn Sinōpē. Sēo ilce cwēn Sinōpē tōēacan hiere hwætscipe and hiere moniġfealdum duguþum hiere lif ġeendade on mægðhāde.

On þæm dagum wæs swā miçel eġe from ðæm wīfmonnum, þætte Eurōpe nē Asīam nē ealle þā nēahþēoda ne mehton āþencēan nē ācræftan 185  
hū hī him wiðstondan mehten, ær þon hie ġecuron Ercol þone ent þæt hē hie sçeolde mid eallum Crēca cræftum beswīcan. And þeah ne dorste hē ġenēðan þæt hē hie mid firde ġefōre, ær hē ongan mid Crēca scīpun þe mon *dulmunus* hætt, þe mon sæġð þæt on ān scīp mæġe ān þūsend manna; and þā nihtes on unġearwe hī on bestæl, and hie swīpe forslōg and fordyde; 190  
and hwæðere ne mehte hie þæs londes benāeman. On ðæm dagum þær wæron twā cwenā; þæt wæron ġesweostor, Anthiopa and Ōrīthīa; and þær wearð Ōrīthīa ġefangen. Æfter hiere fēng tō ðæm rīce Pentesilīa, sīo on þæm Trōiāniscan ġefeohte swīpe mære ġewearð.

Hit is sçondliç, cwæð Orosius, ymb swelc tō sprecanne, hwelc hit þā 195  
wæs, þā swā earme wīf and swā elðeodġe hæfdon ġegān þone cræftġestan dæl and þā hwatestan men ealles þises middangeardes, þæt wæs Asīam and Eurōpe, þā hie fornēah mid ealle āwēston, and ealda cēastra and ealde byrig tōwearpon. And æfter ðæm hie dydon æġþer ġe cyninga rīcu settan ġe nīwu cēastra timbredon, and ealle þā worold on hiora āġen ġewill onwend- 200  
ende wæron folnēah .c. wintra. And swā ġemune men wæron ælcēs broces þætte hie hit folnēah tō nānum fācne nē tō nānum lāðe næfdon þætte þā earman wīfmen hie swā tintredon.

And nū, þā ðā Gotan cōman of þæm hwatestan monnum Germānīa, þe æġðer ġe Pirrus sē rēða Crēca cyning, ġe Alexander, ġe Iulīus sē cræftġega 205  
cāsere, hie alle from him ondrēdon þæt hī hie mid ġefeohte sōhte. Hū unġemetlice ġe Rōmware bemurcniað and besprecað þæt ēow nū wrys sie on þiosan cristendōme þonne þæm þeodum þā wære, forþon þā Gotan ēow hwōn oferhergedon, and iowre burg ābræcon, and iower fēawe of- slōgon; and for hiora cræftum and for hiora hwætscipe iowra selfra an- 210  
waldes ēoweres unþonces habban mehton, þe nū lustlice sibbsumes friðes and sumne dæl landes æt ēow biddende sindon, tō þon þæt hie ēow on fultume bēon mōten, and hit ær þiosan ġenōġ æmettig læg and ġenōġ

- wēste, and gē his nāne note ne hæfdon. Hū blindlice monege þeoda sprecað  
 215 ymb þone cristendōm, þæt hit nū wyrse sie þonne hit ær wære, þæt hie  
 nellað gēpencean oþþe ne cunnon, hwær hit gewurde ær þæm cristendōme,  
 þæt ænegu þeod oþre hiere willum friþes bæde, būton hiere þearf wære,  
 oþþe hwær ænegu þeod æt oþerre mehte frið begietan, oððe mid golde,  
 oððe mid seolfre, oþþe mid ænige fēo, būton hē him underþiedd wære. Ac  
 220 siþþan Crīst geboren wæs, þe ealles middangeardes is sibb and frið, nales  
 þæt ān þæt men hie mehten āliesan mid fēo of þeowdōme, ac ēac þeoda  
 him betwēonum būton þeowdōme gesibbsume wæron. Hū wēne gē hwelce  
 sibbe þā weras hæfden ær þæm cristendōme, þonne heora wif swā monig-  
 feald yfel dōnde wæron on þiosan middangearde?

## C. PYRRHUS'S WARS WITH ROME

- 225 Æfter þæm þe Rōmeburg getimbred wæs fēower hunde wintrum and  
 fēower and siextegum, þætte Tarentīne þæt folc plegedon binnan Tarentan  
 heora byrg et heora þēatra þe þærbinnan geworht wæs. Þā gesāwon hie  
 Rōmāne scīpa on ðæm sē irnan. Þā hrædlice cōmon Tarentīne tō heora  
 āgnum scīpum, and þā oþre hindan offōran, and hie ealle him tō gewildum  
 230 gedydan būton .v. And þā þe þær gefongne wæron hie tāwedan mid þære  
 mæstan unieðnesse: sume ofslōgon, sume ofswungon, sume him wið fēo  
 gesealdon. Ðā Rōmāne þæt gēacsedan, þā sendon hie ærendracan tō him,  
 and bædon þæt him man gebētte þæt him ðær tō ābylgðe gedōn wæs. Ðā  
 tāwedan hie eft þā ærendracan mid þæm mæstan bismere, swā hie þā oþre  
 235 ær dydon, and hie siþþan hām forlēton.

- Æfter þæm fōran Rōmāne on Tarentīne. And swā clæne hie nāmon  
 heora fultum mid him, þætte heora *prōlētārii* ne mōston him beæftan bēon,  
 þæt wæron þā þe hie gesett hæfdon þæt scēoldon be heora wifum bearna  
 strīenan, þonne hie on gēwin fōron, and cwædon þæt him wislecre þūhte  
 240 þæt hie ðā ne forluren þe þær üt fōre, hæfde bearn sē þe mehte. Hie þā  
 Rōmāne cōmon on Tarentīne, and þær eall āwēston þæt hie mēttan, and  
 monega byrg ābræcon.

- Þā sendon Tarentīne ægŵern æfter fultume, þær hie him æniges  
 wēndon. And Pirrus, Ēpīra cyning, him cōm tō mid þæm mæstan fultume,  
 245 ægþer gē an gangehere, gē on rædehere, gē an scīphere. Hē wæs on ðæm  
 dagum gēmærsad ofer ealle oþere cyningas, ægþer gē mid his miclan ful-  
 tume, gē mid his rædþeahunge, gē mid his wīgcræfte. Forþon fylste Pirrus  
 Tarentīnum, forþon þe Tarente sēo burg wæs getimbred of Lacedēmoni-  
 um, þe his rīce þā wæs. And hē hæfde Thesalium him tō fultume and  
 250 Mæcedoniē. And hē hæfde .xx. elpenda tō þæm gefeohte mid him, þe

Rōmāne ær nāne ne gesāwon: hē wæs sē forma mon þe hie ærest on  
 Ītalium brōhte. Hē wæs ēac on þām dagum glēawast tō wīge and tō ge-  
 winne, būton þām ānum, þe hiene his godas and his dēofolġeld beswicon  
 þe hē begongende wæs. Þā hē hie āscade, his godas, hwæþer heora sçeolde  
 on oþrum siġe habban, þe hē on Rōmānum, þe Rōmāne on him, þā ond- 255  
 wyrdon hie him twēoliçe and cwædon: “Þū hæfst oþþe næfst.”

Þæt forme ġefeoht þæt hē wið Rōmānum hæfde, hit wæs in Com-  
 pānia, nēah þære iē þe mon Lisum hætt. Þā æfter þām þe þær on æġþere  
 healfe miçel wæl ġeslagen wæs, þā hēt Pirrus dōn þā elpendas on þæt 260  
 ġefeoht. Siþþan Rōmāne þæt ġesāwan, þæt him mon swelcne wrenc tō  
 dyde swelcne hie ær ne ġesāwon nē secġan ne hīrdon, þā flugon hie ealle  
 būton ānum men, sē wæs Minūtius hāten. Hē ġenēdde under ænne elpent  
 þæt hē hiene on þone nafelan ofstang. Þā, siþþan hē irre wæs and ġewund-  
 od, hē ofslōg miçel þæs folces, þæt æġþer ġe þā forwurdon þe him onufan 265  
 wæron, ġe ēac þā oþre elpendas sticade and gremede, þæt þā ēac mæst ealle  
 forwurdon þe þær onufan wæron. And þēh þe Rōmāne ġefliemed wæren,  
 hie wæron þēh ġebielde mid þām þæt hie wiston hū hie tō ðām elpendon  
 sçeoldon. On ðām ġefeohte wæs Rōmāna .iiii. .x. .m. ofslagen fēþena and  
 eahtatiġ and .viii. hund ġefangen, and þāra ġehorsedra wæron ofslagen .iii.  
 hund and ān .m., and þær wæron seofon hund ġūðfonena ġenumen. Hit 270  
 næs nā ġesæd hwæt Pirruses folces ġefeallen wære, forþon hit næs þēaw on  
 þām tidum þæt mon æniġ wæl on þā healfe rīnde þe þon wieldre wæs,  
 būton þær þy læs ofslagen wære, swā mid Alexandre wæs on ðām forman  
 ġefeohte þe hē wið Dārius feaht: þær næs his folces nā mā ofslagen þonne  
 nigon. Ac Pirrus ġebicnede eft hū him sē siġe ġelicade þe hē ofer Rōmāne 275  
 hæfde, þā hē cwæð æt his godes dure, and hit swā on āwrāt: “Þonc hafa þū,  
 Iofes, þæt ic þā mōste oferwinnan þe ær wæron unoferwunnen, and ic ēac  
 from him oferwunnen eam.” Þā āscedan hiene his þeġnas hwȳ hē swā hēan-  
 liçe word be him selfum ġecwæde, þæt hē oferwunnen wære. Þā ondwyrd  
 hē him and cwæð: “Ġif ic eft ġefare swelcne siġe æt Rōmānum, þonne mæg 280  
 ic siþþan būton ælcon þeġne Crēca lond sēcan.” Þæt wearð ēac Rōmānum  
 an yfelum tātne oþiewed ær þām ġefeohte, þā hie on firde wæron, þæt þæs  
 folces sçeolde miçel hryre bēon, þā þunor ofslōg .xxiiii. heora fōðrera, and  
 þā oþre ġebrocade āweg cōman.

Æfter þām ġefuhton Pirrus and Rōmāne in Ābūlia þære þēode. Þær 285  
 wearð Pirrus wund on oþran earme, and Rōmāne hæfdon siġe. And hæfd-  
 on ġeleornad mā cræfta hū hie þā elpendas beswican mehton, mid þām  
 þæt hie nāmon trēowu and slōgon on oþerne ende moniġe sçearpe isene  
 næglas, and hie mid flexe bewundon, and onbærndon hit, and beþyddan  
 hit þonne on þone elpend hindan, þæt hie þonne fōran wēdende æġþer ġe 290

for þæs flexes bryne ge for þāra nægla sticunge, þæt æt ælcon þā forwurdon  
 ærest þe him onufan wæron, and siþþan þæt oþer folc wæron swā swiðe  
 slēande swā hī him scildan sçeoldon. On þæm gefeohte wæs Rōmāna eahta  
 þūsend ofslagen, and enlefan gūðfona genumen, and Pirruses heres wæs  
 295 .xx. .m. ofslagen, and his gūðfona genumen. Þær wearð Pirruse cūð þæt  
 Agathoclēs, Sirāccūsa cyning þāra burglēoda, wæs gefaren on Sicilia þæm  
 londe. Þā fōr hē þider and þæt rīce tō him genēdde.

Sōna swā þæt gewinn mid Rōmānum geendad wæs, swā wæs þær sēo  
 monigfealdeste wōl, mid moncwealme, ge ēac þætte nānuht berendes, nē  
 300 wīf nē niēten, ne mehton nānuht libbendes geberan, þæt hie þā æt nihstan  
 wæron ortriewe hwæper him ænig monēaca cuman sçeolde. Þā wende  
 Pirrus from Siciliūm eft tō Rōmānum, and him angēan cōm Curīus sē  
*consul*, and hiora þæt þridde gefeoht wæs on Lūcānīam, on Arosīnis þære  
 dūne, þēh þe Rōmāne sume hwile hæfdon swiþor flēam gebōht þonne ge-  
 305 feoht, ær þan hie gesāwon þæt mon þā elpendas on þæt gefeoht dyde. Ac  
 siþþan hī þā gesāwan, hie hie gegremedan, þæt hie þā wæron swiþe slēande  
 þe hie fylstan sçeoldon; and Pirruses here wearð forþæm swiþost on flēame.  
 On ðæm gefeohte Pirrus hæfde eahtatig .m. fēþena, and .v. .m. gehorsedra.  
 And þær wæs .xxxvi. .m. ofslagen, and .iiii. hund gefangen. Æfter þæm  
 310 Pirrus fōr of Ītaliūm ymb fif gēar þæs þe hē ær þæron cōm. And raþe þæs  
 þe hē hām cōm, hē wolde ābreccan Argus þā burg, and þær wearð mid āne  
 stāne ofworpen.

Æfter þæm þe Tarentīne geācsedan þæt Pirrus dēad wæs, þā sendon  
 hie on Affrice tō Cartāginenses æfter fultume, and eft wið Rōmānum  
 315 wunnon; and raðe þæs þe hie tōgædere cōman, Rōmāne hæfdon sigē. Þær  
 anfundan Cartāginenses þæt hie mon oferswiþan mehte, þēh hie nān folc  
 ær mid gefeohte oferwinnan ne mehte. Gēmong þæm þe Pirrus wið Rō-  
 māne winnende wæs, hī hæfdon eahta legian. Þā hæfdon hie þā eahteðan  
 Rēgiense tō fultume gesette. Þā ne getruwade sē eahteþa dæl þāra legian  
 320 þæt Rōmāne Pirruse wiðstondan mehte; angunna þā hergēan and hīenan  
 þā þe hie friþian sçeoldon. Þā Rōmāne þæt geācsedan, þā sendon hie þider  
 Genūtiūs heora *consul* mid fultume, tō þon þæt hē an him gewrāce þæt hie  
 þā slōgon and hiendon þe ealle Rōmāne friþian woldon. And hē þā swā  
 gedýde: sume hē ofslōg, sume geband and hām sende, and þær wæron  
 325 siþþan wītnade, and siþþan þā hēafda mid cēorfæxsum of ācorfena.

## 8. SERMO LUPI AD ANGLOS

Wulfstan, the second archbishop of York of that name, was an advisor to two kings, Æthelred II (d. 1016) and Cnut (d. 1035). Unlike the homilist Ælfric, with whom he corresponded, he was very much a public figure, compiling much of the legislation in Latin and Old English that survives from the early eleventh century. He was also a homilist, and the homily for which he is best known is this “Sermon of *Lupus* (i.e., Wolf) to the English,” placing responsibility for the misery of the English under the renewed Viking attacks of the age on the shoulders of the English themselves, due to their own lawlessness. Although Wulfstan did not compose alliterative prose like Ælfric’s, his homiletic style is distinctive for its oratorical qualities, characterized by anaphora, parallelism, intensifiers, and binomials that sometimes rhyme or alliterate, like *stalu and cwalu*, *strič and steorfa*.

*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fuit anno millesimo .xiii. ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi*

Lēofan men, ġecnāwað þæt sōð is: ðeos worold is on ofste, and hit nēalæcð þām ende, and þȳ hit is on worolde aa swā leng swā wyrse; and swā hit scea  
nȳde for folces synnan ær Antecristes tōcyme yfelian swȳþe, and hūru, hit 5  
wyrð þænne eġeslic and grimlic wīde on worolde. Understandað ēac ġeorne  
þæt dēofol þās þeode nū fela ġēara dwelode tō swȳþe, and þæt lȳtle ġe-  
trēowpa wēran mid mannum, þēah hȳ wel spæcan, and unrihta tō fela  
ricsode on lande. And næs ā fela manna þe smēade ymbe þā bōte swā  
ġeorne swā man sčolde, ac dæġhwāmlīce man ihte yfel æfter oðrum and 10  
unriht rārde and unlaga maneġe ealles tō wīde ġynd ealle þās þeode. And  
wē ēac forþām habbað fela byrsta and bysmara ġebiden, and ġif wē æniġe  
bōte ġebidan sčylan, þonne mōte wē þæs tō Gode ernian bet þonne wē ær  
þysan dydan. Forþām mid miclan earnungan wē ġeearnedan þā ymða þe ūs  
onsittað, and mid swȳþe micelan earnungan wē þā bōte mōtan æt Gode 15  
ġeræcan ġif hit scea heonanforð ġōdiende weorðan. Lā, hwæt, wē witan ful  
ġeorne þæt tō miclan bryce scea micel bōt nȳde, and tō miclan bryne wæter  
unlȳtel, ġif man þæt fyr scea tō āhte ācwenčan. And micel is nȳðpearf  
manna ġehwilcum þæt hē Godes lage ġȳme heonanforð ġeorne and Godes  
ġerihta mid rihte ġelæste. On hāpenum þeodum ne dear man forhealdan 20  
lȳtel nē micel þæs þe ġelagod is tō ġedwolgoda weorðunge, and wē forheald-  
að æġhwær Godes ġerihta ealles tō ġelōme. And ne dear man ġewanian on  
hāpenum þeodum inne nē ūte æniġ þāra þinga þe ġedwolgodan brōht bið  
and tō lācum betæht bið, and wē habbað Godes hūs inne and ūte clāne berȳp-  
te. And Godes þeowas syndan mæpe and munde ġewelhwær bedælde; and 25

gedwolgota þēnan ne dear man misbēodan on ænige wisan mid hæþenum  
lēodum, swā swā man Godes þēowum nū dēð tō wīde þær cristene scōldan  
Godes lage healdan and Godes þēowas griðian.

- Ac sōð is þæt ic secge, þearf is þære bōte, forþām Godes ġerihta waned-  
30 an tō lange innan þysse þēode on æghwylcan ænde, and folclaga wyrse-  
ealles tō swýþe, and hālignessa syndan tō griðlēase wīde, and Godes hūs  
syndan tō clāne berýpte ealdra ġerihta and innan bestrýpte ælcra ġerisena,  
and wydewan syndan fornýdde on unriht tō ceorle, and tō mænege for-  
yrmde and ġehýnede swýþe, and earme men syndan sære beswicene and  
35 hrēowlice besyrwde and út of þysan earde wīde ġesealde, swýþe unfor-  
worhte, fremdum tō ġewealde, and cradolcild ġeþēowede þurh wælhrēowe  
unlaga for lýtelre þýfpe wīde ġynd þās þēode, and frēoriht fornumene and  
þræliht ġenyrwde and ælmæsriht ġewanode, and, hrædest is tō cweþenne,  
Godes laga lāðe and lāra forsawene. And þæs wē habbað ealle þurh Godes  
40 yrrē bysmor ġelōme, ġecnāwe sē ðe cunne; and sē byrst wyrð ġemāne, þēh  
man swā ne wēne, eallre þysse þēode, būtan God beorge.

- Forþām hit is on ūs eallum swutol and ġesēne þæt wē ær þysan oftor  
brācan þonne wē bēttan, and þý is þysse þēode fela onsæge. Ne dohte hit nū  
lange inne nē ūte, ac wæs here and hunger, bryne and blōdgyte, on ġewel-  
45 hwylcan ende oft and ġelōme. And ūs stalu and cwalu, strīc and steorfa,  
orfcwealm and uncoþu, hōl and hete and rýpera rēaflac derede swýþe þearle;  
and ūs unġylda swýþe ġedrehtan, and ūs unwedera foroft wēoldan un-  
wæstma. Forþām on þysan earde wæs, swā hit þincan mæg, nū fela ġēara  
unrihta fela and tealte ġetrýwða æghwær mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft  
50 ġesib ġesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwílum bearn his  
āgenum fæder, nē brōþor oþrum; nē ūre æniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē  
scolde, nē ġehādode regollice, nē lāwede lahlice, ac worhtan lust ūs tō lage  
ealles tō ġelōme, and nāþor ne hēoldan nē lāre nē lage Godes nē manna swā  
swā wē scōldan. Nē æniġ wið oþerne ġetrýwlice þōhte swā rihte swā hē  
55 scolde, ac mæst ælc swicode and oþrum derede wordes and dæde, and hūru  
unrihtlice mæst ælc oþerne æftan hēaweþ sčeandlican onsčytan, dō māre ġif  
hē mæge. Forþām hēr syn on lande unġetrýwþa micle for Gode and for  
worolde, and ēac hēr syn on earde on mistlice wisan hlāfordswican manege.  
And ealra mæst hlāfordswice sē bið on worolde þæt man his hlāfordes sāule  
60 beswice; and ful miçel hlāfordswice ēac bið on worolde þæt man his hlāford  
of life forræde oððon of lande lifiendne drife; and æġþer is ġeworden on  
þysan earde. Eadweard man forrædde and syððan ācwealde and æfter þām  
forbærnde. And godsibbas and godbearn tō fela man forspilde wīde ġynd  
þās þēode. And ealles tō manege hālige stōwa wīde forwurdan þurh þæt þe  
65 man sume men ær þām ġelōgode swā man nā ne scolde, ġif man on Godes

griðe mæþe witan wolde; and cristenes folces tō fela man ġesealde ūt of þysan earde nū ealle hwile. And eal þæt is Gode lāð, ġelýfe sē þe wille. And scāndlic is tō specenne þæt ġeworden is tō wīde and eġeslic is tō witanne þæt oft dōð tō maneġe þe drēogað þā yrmþe, þæt scēotað tōġædere and āne cwenan ġemānum cēape biċgað ġemāne, and wið þā āne fýlþe ādrēogað, 70  
 ān after ānum and ælc æfter ōðrum, hundum ġeliccast þe for fýlþe ne sćrifað, and syððan wið weorðe syllað of lande fēondum tō ġewealde Godes ġesceafte and his āġenne cēap þe hē dēore ġebohte. Ēac wē witan ġeorne hwær sēo yrmð ġewearð þæt fæder ġesealde bearn wið weorþe and bearn his mōdor, and brōþor sealde ōþerne fremdum tō ġewealde; and eal þæt 75  
 syndan micle and eġeslice dæda, understande sē þe wille. And ġīt hit is māre and ēac mænigfealdre þæt dereð þysse þēode. Mænige synd forsworene and swýþe forlogene, and wed synd tōbrocene oft and ġelōme, and þæt is ġesýne on þysse þēode þæt ūs Godes yrre hetelice onsit, ġecnāwe sē þe cunne. 80

And, lā, hū mæg māre scāmu þurh Godes yrre mannum ġelimpan þonne ūs dēð ġelōme for āġenum ġewyrhtum? Dēh þræla hwylc hlāforde æthlēape and of cristendōme tō wīcinge weorþe, and hit æfter þām eft ġeweorþe þæt wæpŋgewrixl weorðe ġemāne þeġene and þræle, ġif þræl þæne þeġen fullice āfýlle, liċġe æġylde ealre his mægðe. And ġif sē þeġen 85  
 þæne þræl þe hē ær āhte fullice āfýlle, ġylde þeġenġylde. Ful earhlice laga and scāndlice nýdġyld þurh Godes yrre ūs syn ġemāne, understande sē þe cunne, and fela unġelimpa ġelimpð þysse þēode oft and ġelōme. Ne dohte hit nū lange inne nē ūte, ac wæs here and hete on ġewelhwilcan ende oft and ġelōme, and Engle nū lange eal sigelēase and tō swýþe ġeyrgde þurh 90  
 Godes yrre, and flotmen swā strange þurh Godes þafunge þæt oft on ġefeohte ān fēseð týne and hwilum lās, hwilum mā, eal for ūrum synnum. And oft týne oððe twelfe, ælc æfter ōþrum, scēndað tō bysmore þæs þeġenes cwenan and hwilum his dohtor oððe nýdmāgan þær hē on lōcað þe lēt hine sylfne rancne and rīcne and ġenōh ġōdne ær þæt ġewurde. And oft 95  
 þræl þæne þeġen þe ær wæs his hlāford cnyt swýþe fæste and wyrçð him tō þræle þurh Godes yrre. Wālā þære yrmðe and wālā þære woroldscāme þe nū habbað Engle eal þurh Godes yrre. Oft twēġen sāmæn oððe þrý hwilum drifað þā drāfe cristenra manna fram sē tō sē ūt þurh þās þēode ġeweledede tōġædere, ūs eallum tō woroldscāme, ġif wē on eornost ænige cūþon āriht 100  
 understandan. Ac ealne þæne bysmor þe wē oft þoliað wē ġyldað mid weorðscipe þām þe ūs scēndað. Wē him ġyldað singāllice, and hý ūs hýnað dæghwāmlice. Hý herġiað and hý bærnað, rýpaþ and rēafiað and tō scipe lādað; and, lā, hwæt is æniġ ōðer on eallum þām ġelimpum būtan Godes yrre ofer þās þēode, swutol and ġesāne? 105

Nis ēac nān wundor þēah ūs mislimpe, forþām wē witan ful ġeorne  
 þæt nū fela ġēara mænn nā ne rōhtan foroft hwæt hȳ worhtan wordes oððe  
 dæde, ac wearð þēs þēodscipe, swā hit þincan mæg, swȳþe forsyngod þurh  
 mæniġfealde synna and þurh fela misdæda: þurh morðdæda and þurh  
 110 mândæda, þurh ġitsunga and þurh ġifernessa, þurh stala and þurh strūd-  
 unga, þurh mannsylena and þurh hæþene unsida, þurh swicdōmas and  
 þurh searacræftas, þurh lahbryčas and þurh æswicas, þurh mæġræsas and  
 þurh manslyhtas, þurh hādbryčas and þurh æwbryčas, þurh sibleġeru and  
 þurh mistlice forliġru. And ēac syndan wīde, swā wē ær cwædan, þurh  
 115 āðbričas and þurh wedbryčas and þurh mistlice lēasunga forloren and  
 forlogen mā þonne sōlde, and frēolsbričas and fæstenbryčas wīde ġe-  
 worhte oft and ġelōme. And ēac hēr syn on earde apostatan ābroþene and  
 cȳrichatan hetole and lēodhatan grimme ealles tō maneġe, and oferhogan  
 wīde godcundra rihtlaga and cristenra þēawa, and hocorwyrde dysige æġ-  
 120 hwær on þēode oftoft on þā þing þe Godes bodan bēodaþ and swȳpost on  
 þā þing þe æfre tō Godes lage ġebyriað mid rihte. And þȳ is nū ġeworden  
 wīde and side tō ful yfelan ġewunan, þæt menn swȳþor scāmað nū for ġōd-  
 dædan þonne for misdædan, forþām tō oft man mid hocere ġōddæda  
 hyrweð and godfyrhte lehtreð ealles tō swȳþe, and swȳpost man tæleð and  
 125 mid olle ġegrēteð ealles tō ġelōme þā þe riht lufiað and Godes eġe habbað  
 be ænigum dæle. And þurh þæt þe man swā dēð þæt man eal hyrweð þæt  
 man sōlde hereġian and tō forð lāðet þæt man sōlde lufian, þurh þæt  
 man ġebringēð ealles tō maneġe on yfelan ġeþance and on undæde, swā  
 þæt hȳ ne scāmað nā þēh hȳ syngian swȳðe and wið God sylfne forwyrćan  
 130 hȳ mid ealle, ac for idelan onsćytan hȳ scāmað þæt hȳ bētan heora mis-  
 dæda, swā swā bēc tæćan, ġelice þām dwæsan þe for heora prȳtan lēwe  
 nellað beorgan ær hȳ nā ne magan, þēh hȳ eal willan.

Hēr syndan þurh synlēawa, swā hit þincan mæg, sære ġelēwede tō  
 maneġe on earde. Hēr syndan mannsłagan and mæġslagan and mæsser-  
 135 banan and mynsterhatan; and hēr syndan mānsworan and morþorwyrhtan;  
 and hēr syndan myltestran and bearnmyrðran and fūle forlēgene hōringas  
 maneġe; and hēr syndan wiććan and wælcyrian. And hēr syndan rȳperas  
 and rēaferas and woroldstrūderas and, hrædest is tō cweþenne, māna and  
 misdæda unġerim ealra. And þæs ūs ne scāmað nā, ac þæs ūs scāmað  
 140 swȳþe þæt wē bōte āġinnan swā swā bēc tæćan, and þæt is ġesȳne on þysse  
 earman forsyngodon þēode. Ēalā, mićel magan maneġe ġȳt hērtōēacan ēaþe  
 beþencan þæs þe ān man ne mehte on hrædinge āsmēagan, hū earmlice hit  
 ġefaren is nū ealle hwile wīde ġynd þās þēode. And smēaġe hūru ġeorne  
 ġehwā hine sylfne and þæs nā ne latige ealles tō lange. Ac, lā, on Godes

naman utan dōn swā ūs nēod is, beorgan ūs sylfum swā wē ġeornost magan 145  
þē lās wē ætgædere ealle forweorðan.

Ān þēodwita wæs on Brytta tīdum, Gildas hātte. Sē āwrāt be heora  
misdædum hū hȳ mid heora synnum swā oferlice swȳþe God ġeġræmedan  
þæt hē lēt æt nȳhstan Engla here heora eard ġewinnan and Brytta duġeþe  
fordōn mid ealle. And þæt wæs ġeworden þæs þe hē sæde, þurh rīcra rēaf- 150  
lāc and þurh ġitsunge wōhġestrēona, ðurh lēode unlaga and þurh wōhdōm-  
as, ðurh bīscopa āsolcennesse and þurh lȳðre yrhðe Godes bydela þe sōþes  
ġeswugedan ealles tō ġelōme and clumedan mid čeaflum þær hȳ scoldan  
clypian. Þurh fūlne ēac folces gælsan and þurh oferfylla and mænigfealde  
synna heora eard hȳ forworhtan and selfe hȳ forwurdan. Ac utan dōn swā 155  
ūs þearf is, warnian ūs be swilcan; and sōþ is þæt ic seċġe, wȳrsan dæda wē  
witan mid Englum þonne wē mid Bryttan āhwār ġehȳrdan. And þȳ ūs is  
þearf micel þæt wē ūs beþencan and wið God sylfne þingian ġeorne. And  
wutan dōn swā ūs þearf is, ġebūgan tō rihte and be suman dæle unriht  
forlætān and bētan swȳþe ġeorne þæt wē ær bræcan. And utan God lufian 160  
and Godes lagum fylġean, and ġelæstan swȳþe ġeorne þæt þæt wē behētan  
þā wē fulluht underfēngan, oððon þā þe æt fulluhte ūre forespecan wæran.  
And utan word and weorc rihtlice fadian and ūre inġeþanc clænsian ġeorne  
and āð and wed wærlice healdan and sume ġetrȳwða habban ūs betwēonan  
būtan uncraeftan. And utan ġelōme understandan þone miclan dōm þe wē 165  
ealle tō sculon, and beorgan ūs ġeorne wið þone weallendan bryne helle  
wītes, and ġeearnian ūs þā mærdā and þā myrhða þe God hæfð ġeġearwod  
þām þe his willan on worolde ġewȳrcað. God ūre helpe. *Amen.*

## 9. WULFSTAN, *DE FALSIS DIES*

Wulfstan's *De falsis dies* (as the unique manuscript has it, for *deis* or *diis*) 'On False Gods' is a severe abridgment of a massive sermon by Ælfric (ed. Pope 1967–8: 2.667–724), a learned work that draws on a variety of Latin sources to identify heathen gods in the Bible and in antiquity. The portion that Wulfstan reworked (lines 72–161) is the same portion that has most interested modern readers, concerning Roman and Scandinavian gods. Both Ælfric and Wulfstan must have known the English equivalents, but they used the Scandinavian form of the names for the Old Norse gods. Although Wulfstan adds some material, he frequently quotes Ælfric verbatim, so that in places the reader may recognize Ælfric's alliterative style underlying Wulfstan's prose.

Ēalā, ġefyrn is þæt ðurh dēofol fela þinga misfōr, and þæt mancynn tō swyðe  
Gode mishyrde, and þæt hæðenscype ealles tō wide swyðe ġederede and ġýt  
dereð wide. Ne rāde wē þeah āhwār on bōcum þæt man ārærde æniġ hæð-  
engyld āhwār on worulde on eallum þām fyrste þe wæs ār Nōes flōde. Ac  
5 syððan þæt ġewearð þæt Nembroð and ðā entas worhton þone wundorlican  
stýpel æfter Nōes flōde, and him ðā swā fela ġereorda ġelamp, þæs þe bēc  
seċġað, swā ðæra wyrhtena wæs. Þā syððan tōfērdon hý wide landes, and  
mancyn þā sōna swyðe wēox. And ðā æt nýhstan wurdon hī bepæhte þurh  
ðone ealdan dēofol þe Ādam iū ār beswāc, swā þæt hī worhton wōlice and  
10 ġedwollīce him hæþene godas, and ðone sōðan God and heora āgenne  
scýppend forsāwon, þe hý tō mannum ġescōp and ġeworhte.

Hī nāmon ēac him ðā þæt tō wīsdōme þurh dēofles lāre þæt hý  
wurðedon him for godas þā sunnan and ðone mōnan for heora sċinendan  
beorhtnesse and him lāc þā æt nýhstan þurh dēofles lāre offrodon and  
15 forlēton heora drihten þe hý ġescōp and ġeworhte. Sume men ēac sēðan be  
ðām sċinendum steorrum þæt hī godas wæron, and āgunnan hý weorðian  
ġeorne, and sume hý ġelýfdon ēac on fýr for his fārlicum bryne, sume ēac  
on wæter, and sume hý ġelýfdon on ðā eorðan forðan þe heo ealle þing  
fēdeð. Ac hý mihton ġeorne tōcnāwan, ġif hī cūðon þæt ġescēað, þæt sē is  
20 sōð God þe ealle þās ðing ġescōp ūs mannum tō brīce and tō note for his  
miclan ġōdnesse þe hē mancynne ġeūðe. Ðās ġescēafta ēac ealle dōð swā swā  
him ġedihte heora āgen scýppend and ne magon nān þing dōn būtan ūres  
drihtnes þafunge, forðām þe nān oðer scýppend nis būton sē āna sōða God  
þe wē on ġelýfað, and wē hine ænne ofer ealle oðre þing lufiað and wurðiaþ  
25 mid ġewissum ġelēafan, cweþende mid mūðe and mid mōdes incunnesse  
þæt sē ān is sōð God þe ealle ðing ġescōp and ġeworhte.

Gýt ðā hæþenan noldon bēon gehealdene on swā fēawum godum swā  
 hȳ ær hæfdan, ac fēngon tō wurðienne æt nȳhstan mistlice entas and strece  
 woruldmen þe mihtiġe wurdan on woruldafelum and eġesfulle wæran þā  
 hwȳle þe hȳ leofedon, and heora āgenum lustum fulliċe fullēodan. Ān man 30  
 wæs on ġeārdagum eardiende on þām iġlande þe Crēta hātte sē wæs  
 Sātūrnus ġehāten, and sē wæs swā wæhlrēow þæt hē fordyde his āgene  
 bearn, ealle būtan ānum, and unfæderlice macode heora lif tō lyre sōna on  
 ġeogoðe. Hē læfde swā þeah unēaðe ænne tō life, þeah ðe hē fordyde þā  
 brōðra elles; and sē wæs Iouis ġehāten, and sē wearð hetol fēond. Hē 35  
 āflȳmde his āgene fæder eft of ðām ylcan foresædan iġlande þe Crēta hātte  
 and wolde hine forfaran ġeorne ġif hē mihte. And sē Iouis wearð swā swȳðe  
 ġāl þæt hē on his āgenre swyster ġewifode, sēo wæs ġenamod Iūnō, and hēo  
 wearð swȳðe hēaliċ gyden æfter hāðenscype ġeteald. Heora twā dohtra  
 wæron Minerua and Uenus. Þās mǣnfullan men þe wē ymbe specað wæron 40  
 ġetealde for ðā mærostan godas þā on ðām dagum, and þā hāðenan wurð-  
 odon hȳ swȳðe þurh dēofles lāre. Ac sē sunu wæs swā þeah swȳðor on  
 hāðenscype ġewurðod þonne sē fæder wære, and hē is ġeteald ēac ār-  
 wurðost ealra þæra goda þe þā hāðenan on ðām dagum for godas hæfdon  
 on heora ġedwylde. And hē hātte Þōr oðrum naman betwux sumum 45  
 þeodum; ðone Denisca lēoda lufiað swȳðost and on heora ġedwylde  
 weorðiaþ ġeornost. His sunu hātte Mars, sē macode æfre ġewinn and  
 wrōhte, and saca and wraca hē styrede ġelōme. Ðysne yrmīng æfter his  
 forðsiðe wurðodon þā hāðenan ēac for hēaliċne god, and swā oft swā hȳ  
 fyrdedon oððe tō ġefeohte woldon, þonne offrodon hȳ heora lāc on ær tō 50  
 weorðunge þissum ġedwolgode, and hȳ ġelȳfdon þæt hē miclum mihte  
 heom fultumian on ġefeohte forðan þe hē ġefeoht and ġewinn lufude on  
 life. Sum man ēac wæs ġehāten Mercurius on life, sē wæs swȳðe fācenfull  
 and ðeah full snotorwyrde, swicol on dædum and on lēasbregdum. Ðone 55  
 macedon þā hāðenan be heora ġetæle ēac heom tō mæran gode, and æt  
 wega ġelætum him lāc offrodon oft and ġelōme þurh dēofles lāre, and tō  
 hēagum beorgum him brōhton oft mistlice loflāc. Ðēs ġedwolgod wæs  
 ārwurðe ēac betwux eallum hāðenum on þām dagum, and hē is Oðon  
 ġehāten oðrum naman on Denisce wisan. Nū secġað sume þā Denisce men  
 on heora ġedwylde þæt sē Iouis wære, þe hȳ Þōr hātað, Mercuries sunu, þe 60  
 hī Oðon namiað, ac hī nabbað nā riht, forðan þe wē rædað on bōcum, ġe  
 on hæþenum ġe on cristenum, þæt sē hetula Iouis tō sōðan is Sātūrnus  
 sunu. And sum wif hātte Uenus, sēo wæs Ioues dohtor, and sēo wæs swā  
 fūl and swā fracod on ġalnysse þæt hyre āgen brōðor wið hȳ ġehāmde, þæs  
 þe man sæde, þurh dēofles lāre, and ðā yfelan wurðiað þā hāðenan ēac for 65  
 hēaliċe fæmnan.

Manege ēac oðre hæþene godas wæron mistlice fundene and ēac swylce  
 hæþene gydena on swyðlicum wyrðmente geond middaneard mancynne tō  
 forwyrde, ac þās synd þā fyrmestan ðēh þurh hæðenscipe getealde, þeah ðe  
 70 hȳ fūlice leofodon on worulde. And sē syrwienda dēofol þe ā swicað embe  
 mancyn gebrōhte þā hæðenan men on þām hēalicon gedwylde þæt hī swā  
 fūle him tō godum gecuran þe heora fūlan lust heom tō lage sylfum gesettan  
 and on unclænnesse heora lif eal lyfedan þā hwile ðe hī wæran. Ac sē bið  
 gesælig þe eal swylc oferhogað and ðone sōðan Godd lufað and weorðað þe  
 75 ealle þing gescōp and geworhte. Ān is ælmihtig God on þrym hādum, þæt is  
 fæder and suna and hālig gāst. Ealle þā ðrȳ naman befēhð ān godcund miht  
 and is ān ēce God, waldend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta. Him symle sȳ lof  
 and weorðmynt in ealra worulda woruld ā būtan ende. *Amen.*

## 10. BOETHIUS AND THEODORIC

Boethius (ca. 480–524 or 525) served as the chief civil officer under the rule of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric the Great, one of the earliest Germanic kings of Italy. Implicated in a plot against Theodoric of which he maintained his innocence, he was arrested and imprisoned. While awaiting execution he composed *De consolazione philosophiae*, in which he converses with a personified Lady Philosophy, who persuades him of the vanity of worldly things and by exercising his reason lifts him from his misery over his reversal of fortune. In both of the manuscripts of the Old English translation of the *Consolatio* that survived to modern times it is indicated that King Alfred himself rendered the work into prose, and he subsequently re-worked some of the prose into verses corresponding to poetic passages in the Latin. Because just one of the two manuscripts contains the poetic passages, the other being entirely in prose, it can be seen that the poetry is generally a minimal recasting of the prose and as a result is rather unpoetic. The first metrum, however, stands out for its heroic diction, as an imaginative rendering of a prose passage that is itself an addition to the work, explaining the historical circumstances of its composition. The second metrum, which corresponds to the opening passage of the Latin work, is less independent of the Old English prose, though the prose itself is rather a free rendering of the Latin. The poetic manuscript was severely damaged in the fire in the Cottonian library in 1731; fortunately, a transcript (J in the textual notes) made by Franciscus Junius (1591–1677) of the verse portions survives. For the purpose of comparison, the first three prose passages and the corresponding metra are presented below.

### Prosa I

On ðære tīde ðe Gotan of Sciððiu mægðe wið Rōmāna rīce ġewin up ā-  
hōfon, and mid heora cyningum, Rædgota and Eallerīca wæron hātne,  
Rōmāne burig ābræcon, and eall Ītalīa rīce þæt is betwux þam muntum and  
Sicilīa þām ēalonde in anwald ġerehton, and þā æfter þām foresprecenan  
cyningum þēodriċ fēng tō þām ilcan rīce. Sē ðēodriċ wæs Amulinga; hē  
wæs cristen, þeah hē on þām arriāniscan ġedwolan þurhwunode. Hē ġehēt  
Rōmānum his frēondsċipe, swā þæt hī mōstan heora ealdrihta wyrðe bēon.  
Ac hē þā ġehāt swiðe yfele ġelæste, and swiðe wrāðe ġeendode mid maneg-  
um māne. Þæt wæs tōēacan oðrum unarīmedum yflum þæt hē Iōhannes  
þone pāpan hēt ofslēan. 5 10

Þā wæs sum *consul*, þæt wē heretoha hātað, Bōetius wæs ġehāten; sē  
wæs in bōccræftum and on woruldþēawum sē rihtwīsesta. Sē þā onġeat þā  
manigfealdan yfel þe sē cyning ðēodriċ wið þām cristenandōme and wið  
þām Rōmāniscum witum dyde. Hē þā ġemunde þāra ēðnessa and þāra eald-  
rihta þe hī under þām cāserum hæfdon heora ealdhlāfordum. Þā ongan hē  
smēagan and leornigan on him selfum hū hē þæt rīce þām unrihtwīsan 15

cyninge āferran mihte, and on ryhtgelēaffulra and on rihtwīsa anwealde ge-bringan. Sende þā digellīce ærendgewritu tō þām kāsere tō Constentino-polim, þær is Crēca hēahburg and heora cynestōl, forþām sē kāsere wæs  
 20 heora ealdhlāfordcynnes; bædon hine þæt hē him tō heora cristendōme and tō heora ealdrihtum gefultumede. Þā þæt onġeat sē wælhreowa cyning Dēodrič, þā hēt hē hine gebringan on carcerne and þærinne belūcan. Þā hit ðā gelomp þæt sē ārwyrdā on swā micelre nearanesse becōm, þā wæs hē swā micle swīðor on his mōde gedrēfed swā his mōd ær swīðor tō þām woruld-  
 25 sǣlpum ġewunod wæs, and hē þā nānre frōfre beinnan þām carcerne ne ġemunde, ac hē ġefēoll niwol ofdūne on þā flōr, and hine āstrehte swīðe unrōt, and ormōd hine selfne ongan wēpan and þus singend cwæð:

## Prosa II

Ðā lioð þe ic wrecca ġeō lustbærlice song ic sčeal nū hēofiende singan, and mid swīþe unġerādum wordum ġesettan, þeah ic ġeō hwīlum ġecōplīce  
 30 funde; ac ic nū wēpende and ġisciende ofġerādra worda misfō. Mē āblendan þās unġetrēowan woruldsǣlþa, and mē þā forlētan swā blindne on þis dimme hol and mē þā berēafodon ælcere lustbærnesse, þā ðā ic him æfre betst truwoðe; þā wendon hī mē heora bæc tō, and mē mid ealle from ġe-witan. Tō hwon sčeoldan, lā, mīne friend seġgan þæt ic ġesǣlig mon wære?  
 35 Hū mæg sē bēon ġesǣlig, sē þe on þām ġesǣlpum þurhwunian ne mōt?

## Prosa III

Þā ic þā þis lēoð, cwæð Bōetius, ġeōmriende āsungen hæfde, þā cōm þær gān in tō mē heofencund Wīsdōm, and þæt mīn murnende mōd mid his wordum ġegrētte, and þus cwæð: “Hū ne eart ðū sē mon þe on mīnre scōle wære āfēd and ġelæreð? Ac hwonon wurde þū mid þisum woruldsorgum  
 40 þus swīðe ġeswenced? Būton ic wāt þæt þū hæfst þāra wǣpna tō hraðe forġiten þe ic þē ær sealde.” Ðā clipode sē Wīsdōm and cwæð: “Ġewītaþ nū āwirġede woruldsorga of mīnes þeġenes mōde, forþām ġē sind þā mǣstan sčeapān. Lǣtaþ hine eft hweorfan tō mīnum lārum.” Ðā ēode sē Wīsdōm nēar, cwæð Bōetius, mīnum hrēowsiendum ġeþōhte, and hit swā niowul þā  
 45 hwæthwega up ārærde; ādrīġde þā mīnes mōdes ēagan, and hit frān bliþum wordum hwæðer hit oncnēowe his fōstermōdor. Mid þām þe ðā þæt Mōd wið his bewende, þā ġecnēow hit swīðe sweotele his āgne mōdor; þæt wæs sē Wīsdōm ðe hit lange ær tȳde and lārde. Ac hit onġeat his lāre swīðe tō-torennē and swīðe tōbrocennē mid dysīgra hondum, and hine þā frān hū þæt  
 50 ġewurde. Ðā andwyrde sē Wisdom him and sǣde þæt his ġingran hæfdon hine swā tōtorennē, þær þær hī teohhodon þæt hī hine eallne habban

sceoldon. Ac hī ġegaderiað monifeald dysig on ðære fortruwunga and on þām gilpe, būtan heora hwelc eft tō hyre bōte ġecirre.

Ðā ongan sē Wīsdōm hrēowsian for þæs Mōdes tȳdernesne, and ongan þā ġiddian and þus cwæð: “Ēalā, on hū grundlēasum sēaðe þæt mōd drigð, 55  
þonne hit bestyrmað þisse worulde unġeþwærnessa, ġif hit þonne forġet his āhgen lēoht, þæt is ēce ġefēa, and ðringð on þā fremdan þistro, þæt sind woruldsorga, swā swā ðis Mōd nū dēð. Nū hit nāuht elles nāt būtan gnornunga.”

Þā sē Wīsdōm þā and sēo Ġesceādwiśnes þis lēoð āsungen hāfdon, þā 60  
ongan hē eft spreca and cwæð tō þām Mōde: “Ic ġesēo þæt þē is nū frōfres māre þearf þonne unrōtnesse. Forþan ġif þū þē ofsceāmian wilt þīnes ġedwolan, þonne onġinne ic þē sōna beran and bringe mid mē tō heofonum.”  
Þā andsworode him þæt unrōte Mōd and cwæð: “Hwæt, lā, hwæt, sint þis nū þā ġōd and þā edlēan þe þū ealne weg ġehēte þām monnum þe þē 65  
hēorsumian woldan? Is þis nū sē cwide þe þū mē ġeð sēdest þæt sē wīsa Platō cwæde, þæt was þæt nān anweald nāre riht būtan rihtum þēawum? Ġesihst þū nū þæt þā rihtwisan sint lāðe and forþrycte, forþām hī þīnum willan woldan fulgān, and þā unryhtwisan seondan up āhafene þurh heora wondæda and þurh heora selflice? Þæt hī ðȳ eð mæġen heora unriht ġewill 70  
forðbringan, hī sind mid ġifum and mid ġestreōnum ġefyrðrode. Forþām ic nū wille ġeornlice tō Gode cleopian.”

### Metrum I

Hit wæs ġeāra iū	ðætte Gotan ēastan	
of Ściððīa	sceldas læddon,	
þreāte ġeþrungon	þeodlond monig,	75
setton sūðweardes	siġeþeoda twā;	
Gotena riće	ġēarmælum wēox.	
Hæfdan him ġecynde	cýningas twēgen,	
Rædgod and Aleric;	riće ġeþungon.	
Þā wæs ofer Muntġiop	moniġ ātyhted	80
Gota ġylpes full,	ġūðe ġelysted,	
folcġewinnes.	Fana hwearfode	
scīr on sceaftē.	Scēotend þōhton	
Ītalia	ealle ġegongan,	
lindwīgende.	Hī ġelæstan swuā	85
efne from Muntġiop	oð þone mæran wearoð	
þær Sicilia	sæstreāmum in,	
ēġlond micel,	eðel mærsað.	

- Ðā wæs Rōmāna      rīce ġewunnen,  
 90    ābrocen burga cyst;      beadurincum wæs  
      Rōm ġerȳmed.      Rædgot and Aleriċ  
      fōron on ðæt fæsten;      flēah cāsere  
      mid þām æbelingum      ūt on Grēcas.  
      Ne meahte þā sēo wēalāf      wīge forstandan  
 95    Gotan mid gūðe;      ġiōmonna ġestrion  
      sealdon unwillum      ēþelweardas,  
      hālige āðas.      Wæs ġehwæðeres waa.  
      þēah wæs magorinca      mōd mid Grēcum,  
      ġif hi lēodfruman      lāstan dorsten.  
 100    Stōd þrāge on ðām.      Þēod wæs ġewunnen  
      wintra mænigo,      oð þæt wyrd ġescrāf  
      þæt þe Ðēodriċe      þeġnas and eorlas  
      hēran sċeoldan.      Wæs sē heretēma  
      Crīste ġecnōden;      cyning selfa onfēng  
 105    fulluhtþēawum.      Fæġnodon ealle  
      Rōmwara bearn      and him recene tō  
      friðes wilnedon.      Hē him fæste ġehēt  
      þæt hȳ ealdrihta      ælċes mōsten  
      wyrðe ġewuniġen      on þære welegan byriġ,  
 110    ðenden God wuolde      þæt hē Gotena ġeweald  
      āgan mōste.      Hē þæt eall ālēag.  
      Wæs þām æbelinge      Arriānes  
      ġedwola lēofre      þonne drihtnes æ.  
      Hēt Iōhannes,      ġōdne pāpan,  
 115    hēafde behēawon;      næs ðæt hærliċ dæd.  
      Ēac þām wæs unrīm      oðres mānes  
      þæt sē Gota fremede      ġōdra ġehwilcum.  
      Ðā wæs rīcra sum      on Rōmebyriġ  
      āhefen heretoga,      hlāforde lēof,  
 120    þenden cynestōle      Crēacas wioldon.  
      Þæt wæs rihtwīs rinċ;      næs mid Rōmwarum  
      sinċgeofa sella      siððan longe.  
      Hē wæs for weorulde wīs,      weorðmynða ġeorn,  
      beorn bōca glēaw;      Bōitius  
 125    sē hæle hātte      sē þone hlisan ġeþāh.  
      Wæs him on ġemynde      mæla ġehwilċe  
      yfel and edwit      þæt him elðeodġe  
      kyningas cȳðdon.      Wæs on Grēcas hold,

gemunde þāra āra      and ealdrihta  
 þe his eldran mid him      āhton longe,      130  
 lufan and lissa.      Angan þā listum ymbe  
 ðençean þearflīce,      hū hē ðider meahte  
 Crēcas onçerran,      þæt sē cāsere eft  
 anwald ofer hī      āgan mōste.  
 Sende ærendgewrit      ealdhlāfordum      135  
 dēgelīce,      and hī for drihtne bæd,  
 ealdum trēowum,      ðæt hī æft tō him  
 cōmen on þā ceastre,      lēte Grēca witan  
 rædan Rōmwarum,      rihtes wyrðe  
 lēte þone lēodscīpe.      Ðā þā lāre ongeat      140  
 Ðēodriç Amuling,      and þone þegn oferfēng,  
 heht fæstlice      folcgesīðas  
 healdon þone hererinç.      Wæs him hrēoh sefa,  
 ege from ðām eorle.      Hē hine inne heht  
 on carcernes      clūster belūcan.      145  
 Þā wæs mōdsefa      miclum gedrēfed  
 Bōetīus.      Brēac longe ær  
 wlençea under wolcnum;      hē þȳ wyr̥s meahte  
 þolian þā þrāge,      þā hīo swā þearl becōm.  
 Wæs þā ormōd eorl,      āre ne wēnde,      150  
 nē on þām fæstene      frōfre gemunde,  
 ac hē neowol āstreah̥t      niðer ofdūne  
 fēol on þā flōre,      fela worda spræc,  
 forþōht ðearle;      ne wēnde þonan æfre  
 cuman of ðæm clammum.      Cleopode tō drihtne      155  
 gēomran stemne,      gyddode þus:

## Metrum II

Hwæt, ic liōða fela      lustlice gēō  
 sanc on sælum;      nū sceḁl siofi̥gende,  
 wōpe gewæ̥ged,      wrecc̥ça gi̥ōmor,  
 singan sār̥cwidas.      Mē þīos siç̥cetung hafað      160  
 āgæled, ðēs geocsa,      þæt ic þā ged̥ ne mæg  
 gefē̥gean swā fæg̥re,      þēah ic fela gi̥ō þā  
 sette sō̥dcwida,      þonne ic on sælum wæs.  
 Oft ic nū mis̥cȳrre      cū̥ðe spræ̥ce,  
 and þēah uncū̥ðre      ær hwīlum fond.      165

- Mē þās woruldsælða      welhwæs blindne  
 on ðis dimme hol      dysīne forlæddon,  
 and mē þā berȳpton      rādes and frōfre  
 for heora untrēowum,      þe ic him æfre betst  
 170 truwian sçolde.      Hi mē tō wendon  
 heora bacu bitere,      and heora blisse from.  
 Forhwām wolde gē,      weoruldfrynd mīne,  
 secgan oððe singan      þæt ic gesællīc mon  
 wære on weorulde?      Ne synt þā word sōð,  
 175 nū þā gesælða ne magon      simle gewuniġan.

## Metrum III

- Æalā, on hū grimmum      and hū grundlēasum  
 sēaðe swinced      þæt sweorcende mōd,  
 þonne hit þā strongan      stormas bēatað  
 weoruldbisgunga,      þonne hit winnende  
 180 his āgen lēoht      ānforlæteð,  
 and mid uuā forġit      þone ēcan ġefēan,  
 ðringð on þā ðīostro      ðisse worulde,  
 sorgum ġeswenced.      Swā is þissum nū  
 mōde ġelumpen,      nū hit māre ne wāt  
 185 for gōde Godes      būton gnornunge  
 fremdre worulde.      Him is frōfre ðearf.

## 11. CONSTANTINE GOES TO BATTLE, FROM CYNEWULF'S *ELENE*

Four poems in Old English contain concluding passages in which runes spell out the name Cynewulf (also spelt Cynwulf) and assert his authorship. The longest of these is *Elene* in the Vercelli Book, rendered from some recension of the Latin *acta* of Cyriac, the fourth-century bishop of Jerusalem. It is a version of the Invention of the Cross legend, in which the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, travels to Jerusalem and recovers the cross on which Christ died. The translation corresponds fairly closely to some surviving Latin versions, but the opening passage (1–147), recounting Constantine's vision of the cross and his subsequent battle with an invading host camped on the Danube, dilates considerably the spare narrative of the first chapter of the Latin, making use of a far greater variety of heroic diction than Cynewulf otherwise employs. The remainder of the present selection hews more closely to the source.

Pā wæs āgangen	gēara hwyrftum	
tū hund ond þrēo	gēteled rīmes,	
swylce .xxx. ēac,	þinggemearces,	
wintra for worulde,	þæs þe wealdend God	
ācenned wearð,	cýninga wuldor,	5
in middangeard	þurh mennisc hēo,	
sōðfæstra lēoht.	Þā wæs syxte gēar	
Constantīnes	cāserdōmes,	
þæt hē Rōmwara	in rīce wearð	
āhæfen, hildfruma,	tō heretēman.	10
Wæs sē lindhwata	lēodgeborga	
eorlum ārfæst.	Æðelinges wēox	
rīce under roderum.	Hē wæs rihtcýning,	
gūðweard gumena.	Hine God trymede	
mæ̃rðum ond mihtum,	þæt hē manegum wearð	15
gēond middangeard	mannum tō hrōðer,	
werþēodum tō wræce,	syððan wæpen āhōf	
wið hetendum.	Him wæs hild boden,	
wīges wōma.	Werod samnodan	
Hūna lēode	ond Hrēðgotan,	20
fōron fyrðhwate	Franca ond Hūgas.	
Wæron hwate wasas,		
gearwe tō gūðe.	Gāras lixtan,	
wriðene wælhlenčan.	Wordum ond bordum	
hōfon herecombol.	Þā wæron hearingas	25

- sweotole gesamnod      ond eal sib geador.  
 Fōr folca ġedryht.      Fyrdlēoð āgōl  
 wulf on wealde,      wælrūne ne mād.  
 Ūrigfeðera      earn sang āhōf,  
 30 lādum on lāste.      Lungre scynde  
 ofer burg enta      beaduþrēata mæst,  
 herġum tō hilde,      swylce Hūna cyning  
 ymbsittendra      āwer meahte  
 ābannan tō beadwe      burgwīgendra.  
 35 Fōr fyrda mæst.      Fēðan trymedon  
 ēoredcestum,      þæt on ælfylce  
 deareðlācende      on Danubie,  
 stærcedfyrhðe,      stæðe wicedon  
 ymb þæs wæteres wylm;      werodes breahtme  
 40 woldon Rōmwara      rīce ġeþringan,  
 herġum āhyðan.      Þær wearð Hūna cyme  
 cūð cēasterwarum.      Þā sē cāsere heht  
 onġēan gramum      ġūðġelēcān  
 under earhfære      ofstum myclum  
 45 bannan tō beadwe,      beran ūt þræce  
 rincas under roderum.      Wæron Rōmware,  
 seġgas siġerōfe,      sōna ġeġearwod  
 wæpnum tō wīgġe,      þeah hie werod lāsse  
 hæfdon tō hilde      þonne Hūna cining;  
 50 ridon ymb rōfne,      þonne rand dynede,  
 campwudu clynede;      cyning þrēate fōr,  
 herġe tō hilde.      Hrefen uppe ġōl,  
 wan ond wælfel.      Werod wæs on tyhte.  
 Hlēopon hornboran,      hrēopan friccān,  
 55 mearh moldan træd.      Mæġen samnode,  
 cāfe tō cēase.      Cyning wæs āfyrhted,  
 eġsan ġeāclad,      siððan elpēodige,  
 Hūna ond Hrēða      here scēawede,  
 ðæt hē on Rōmwara      rīces ende  
 60 ymb þæs wæteres stæð      werod samnode,  
 mæġen unrīme.      Mōdsorge wæg  
 Rōmwara cyning,      rīces ne wēnde  
 for werodlēste;      hæfde wigena tō lýt,  
 eaxlġestealna      wið ofer mæġene,  
 65 hrōra tō hilde.      Here wicode,

eorlas ymb æðeling,      ēgstrēame nēah  
 on nēaweste      nihtlangne fyrst,  
 þæs þe hie fēonda gefær      fyrrest gēsægon.  
     Þā wearð on slæpe      sylfum ætýwed  
 þām cāsere,      þær hē on corðre swæf,      70  
 siġerōfum ġeseġen      swefnes wōma.  
 Þūhte him wlitescýne      on weres hāde  
 hwīt ond hīwbeorht      hæleða nāthwylc  
 ġeýwed ānlicra      þonne hē ær oððe sīð  
 ġesēġe under sweġle.      Hē of slæpe onbræġd,      75  
 eofurcumble beþeaht.      Him sē ār hraðe,  
 wlitig wuldres boda,      wið þingode  
 ond be naman nemde—      nihthelm tōġlād:  
     “Constantinus,      heht þē cyning engla,  
 wyrda wealdend,      wære bēodan,      80  
 duguða dryhten.      Ne ondræd þū ðē,  
 ðeah þe elpēodige      eġesan hwōpan,  
 heardre hilde.      Þū tō heofenum beseoh  
 on wuldres weard,      þær ðū wraðe findest,  
 sigores tācen.”      Hē wæs sōna ġearu      85  
 þurh þæs hālgan hæs,      hreðerlocan onspēon,  
 up lōcade,      swā him sē ār ābēad,  
 fæle friðowebba.      Ġeseah hē frætsum beorht  
 wlitī wuldres trēo      ofer wolcna hrōf,  
 golde ġeglenġed—      ġimmas lixtan;      90  
 wæs sē blāca bēam      bōcstafum āwriten,  
 beorhte ond lēohte:      “Mid þys bēacne ðū  
 on þām frēcnan fære      fēond oferswīðesð,  
 ġeletest lāð werod.”      Þā þæt lēoht ġewāt,  
 up sīðode,      ond sē ār somed,      95  
 on clænra ġemang.      Cyning wæs þy bliðra  
 ond þē sorglēasra,      secġa aldor,  
 on fyrhðsefan,      þurh þā fæġeran ġesyhð.

.ii.

Heht þā onlice      æðelinga hlēo,  
 beorna bēagġifa,      swā hē þæt bēacen ġeseah,      100  
 heria hildfruma,      þæt him on heofonum ær  
 ġeiewed wearð,      ofstum myclum,

- Constantinus, Crīstes rōde,  
 tīrēadiġ cyning, tācen ġewyrċan.  
 105 Heht þā on ūhtan mid ærdæġe  
 wīgend wreccan, ond wæpenþræce  
 hebban heorucumbul, ond þæt hāligē trēo  
 him beforan ferian on fēonda ġemang,  
 beran bēacen Godes. Bȳman sungon  
 110 hlūde for herġum. Hrefn weorces ġefeah,  
 ūrīġfeðra earn sīð behēold,  
 wæłhrēowra wīġ. Wulf sang āhōf,  
 holtes ġehlēða. Hildeġesa stōd.  
 Þær wæs borda ġebrec ond beorna ġeþrec,  
 115 heard handġeswing ond herġa grīġ,  
 syððan hēo earhfære ærest mētton.  
 On þæt fæġe folc flāna scūras,  
 ġāras ofer ġeolorand on gramra ġemang,  
 hetend heorugrimme, hildenædran,  
 120 þurh fingra ġeweald forð onsendan.  
 Stōpon stiðhidige, stundum wræcon,  
 bræcon bordhreðan, bil in dufan,  
 þrungon þræchearde. Þā wæs þūf hafēn,  
 seġn for swēotum, sigelēoð galēn.  
 125 Gylden grīma, ġāras lixtan  
 on herefelda. Hæðene grungon,  
 fēollon friðelēase. Flugon instæpes  
 Hūna lēode, swā þæt hāligē trēo  
 āræran heht Rōmwara cyning,  
 130 heaðofremmende. Wurdon hearingas  
 wīde tōwrecene. Sume wīġ fornam.  
 Sume unsōfte aldor ġeneratedon  
 on þām heresiðe. Sume healfcvice  
 flugon on fæsten ond feore burgon  
 135 æfter stānclifum, stede weardedon  
 ymb Danubīe. Sume drenč fornam  
 on lagostrēame lifes æt ende.  
 Ðā wæs mōdiġra mæġen on luste,  
 ehton elþēoda oð þæt æfen forð  
 140 fram dæġes orde. Daroðæsc flugon,  
 hildenædran. Hēap wæs ġescyrded,  
 lāðra lindwered. Lȳthwōn becwōm

Hūna herġes      hām eft þanon.  
 Þā wæs ġesýne      þæt siġe forġeaf  
 Constantīnō      cyning ælmihtig      145  
 æt þām dægweorce,      dōmweorðunga,  
 rīce under roderum,      þurh his rōde trēo.  
     Ġewāt þā heriġa helm      hām eft þanon,  
 hūðe hrēmig      —hild wæs ġesceāden—  
 wiġġe ġeweorðod.      Cōm þā wigena hlēo      150  
 þeġna þrēate      þrýðbold secan,  
 beadurōf cyning      burga nēosan.  
 Heht þā wigena weard      þā wīsestan  
 snūde tō sionode,      þā þe snyttro cræft  
 þurh fyrnġewrito      ġefriġen hæfdon,      155  
 hēoldon hiġeþancum      hāleða rādas.  
 Ðā þæs fricġġan ongan      folces aldor,  
 siġerōf cyning,      ofer sid weorod,  
 wære þær æniġ      yldra oððe ġingra  
 þe him tō sōðe      secġġan meahte,      160  
 galdrum cýðan,      hwæt sē god wære,  
 boldes brytta,      “þe þis his bēacen wæs  
 þe mē swā lēoht oðýwde      ond mīne lēode ġenerede  
 tācna torhtost,      ond mē tīr forġeaf,  
 wīġspēd wið wrāðum,      þurh þæt wlitige trēo.”      165  
 Hīo him ondsware      æniġe ne meahton  
 āġifan tōġēnes,      nē ful ġeare cūðon  
 sweotole ġeseceġġan      be þām siġebēacne.  
     Þā þā wīsestan      wordum cwædon  
 for þām heremāġene      þæt hit heofoncyniges      170  
 tācen wære,      ond þæs twēo nære.  
 Þā þæt ġefrugnon      þā þurh fulwihte  
 lārde wæron,      him wæs lēoht sefa,  
 ferhð ġefēonde,      þēah hira fēa wæron,  
 ðæt hie for þām cāsere      cýðan mōston      175  
 godspelles ġife,      hū sē gāsta helm,  
 in þrýnesse      þrymme ġeweorðad,  
 ācenned wearð,      cyninga wuldor,  
 ond hū on galgan wearð      Godes āgen bearn  
 āhangen for herġum      heardum wītum;      180  
 ālýsde lēoda bearn      of locan dēofla,  
 ġeōmre gāstas,      ond him ġife sealde

- þurh þā ilcan ġesceaft    þe him ġeȳwed wearð  
sylfum on ġesyhðe,    sigores tācen,  
185 wið þēoda þræce;    ond hū ðȳ þridan dæġe  
of byrġenne    beorna wuldor  
of dēaðe ārās,    dryhten ealra  
hæleða cynnes,    ond tō heofonum āstāh.  
      Ðus glēawlice    ġāstġerȳnum  
190 sægdon siġerōfum,    swā fram Siluestre  
lærde wæron.    Æt þām sē lēodfruma  
fulwihte onfēng    ond þæt forð ġehēold  
on his dagana tīd,    dryhtne tō willan.

## 12. VAINGLORY

The source of the poem *Vainglory* in the Exeter Book is either the initial chapter of the so-called enlarged *Regula canonicorum* 'Rule for Canons' of Chrodegang of Metz (d. 766), of which an Old English translation is to be found in a Cambridge manuscript, or (as argued by Trahern 1975) the source used by Chrodegang, a Latin sermon for monks by Caesarius of Arles (d. 542). At the start of the *Regula* is quoted Luke 18:14 about how the one who exalts himself will be humbled, and the one who abases himself will be raised up (corresponding to ll. 52–6 of the poem). Chrodegang then calls the proud man the devil's child and the humble man God's own son, a contrast which the poet takes as his controlling theme. The poem is remarkable for how it transforms this unpromising sententious material into a composition in high heroic style, with boasting of wine-emboldened warriors, all couched in frequently exotic diction.

Hwæt, mē frōd wita	on fyrndagum	
sægde, snottor ār,	sundorwundra fela.	
Wordhord onwrēah	wītgan lārum	
beorn bōca glēaw,	bodan ārcwide,	
þæt ic sōðlice	sipþan meahte	5
onġitan bi þām ġealdre	Godes āgen bearn,	
wilġest on wīcum,	ond þone wācran swā some,	
sćyldum besćyredne,	on ġesćēad witan.	
Þæt mæg āġhwylc mon	ēaþe ġeþenčan,	
sē þe hine ne lāteð	on þās lānan tid	10
āmyrran his ġemyndum	mōdes gāelsan	
ond on his dāġrīme	druncen tō rīce,	
þonne moniġe bēoð	mæþelhēġendra,	
wlonce wīġsmiþas	wīnburgum in,	
sittap æt symble,	sōðġied wrecað,	15
wordum wrixlað,	witan fundiaþ	
hwylc æscstede	inne in ræcede	
mid werum wuniġe,	þonne wīn hweteð	
beornes brēostsefan.	Breahtem stīġeð,	
čirm on corþre,	cwide scralletap	20
missenlice.	Swā bēoþ mōdsefan	
dālum ġedæled,	sindon dryhtguman	
unġelīce.	Sum on oferhyġdo	
þrymme þrīngeð;	þrinteð him in innan	
unġemedemad mōd;	sindan tō moniġe þæt.	25
Bið þæt æfþonca	eal ġefylled	

- fēondes fliġepilum,      fācensearwum;  
 breodað hē ond bælceð,      bōð his sylfes  
 swīþor micle      þonne sē sella mon,  
 30 þenceð þæt his wīse      welhwām þinçe  
 eal unforcūþ.      Biþ þæs oþer swiçe,  
 þonne hē þæs fācnes      fintan scēawað.  
 Wrenceþ hē ond blenceþ,      worn ġeþenceþ  
 hinderhōca,      hyġegār lēteð,  
 35 scūrum scēoteþ.      Hē þā scylde ne wāt  
 fāhþe ġefremede,      fēoþ his betran,  
 eorl fore æfstum,      læteð inwitflān  
 breacan þone burgweal,      þe him bebēad meotud  
 þæt hē þæt wīgsteal      werġan sçealde,  
 40 siteþ symbolwlonc,      searwum læteð,  
 wīne ġewæġed,      word ūt faran,  
 þræfte þringan,      þrymme ġebyrmed,  
 æfæstum onæled,      oferhyġða ful,  
 niþum, nearowrencum.      Nū þū cunnan meaht,  
 45 ġif þū þyslicne      þegn ġemittest  
 wunian in wicum,      wite þe be þissum  
 fēawum forðspellum      þæt þæt biþ fēondes bearn  
 flæsce bifongen,      hafað fræte lif,  
 grundfūsne ġæst      Gode orfeormne,  
 50 wuldorcynige.      Þæt sē wītga song,  
 ġearowyrðig guma,      ond þæt ġyd āwræc:  
 “Sē þe hine sylfne      in þā sliþnan tīd  
 þurh oferhyġða      up āhlæneð,  
 āhefeð hēahmōdne,      sē sçeal hēan wesan  
 55 æfter nēosiþum,      niþer ġebīġed,  
 wunian wītum fæst,      wýrmum beþrunġen.”  
 Þæt wæs ġeāra iū      in Godes rīce  
 þætte mid englum      oferhyġd āstāġ,  
 wīdmære ġewin.      Wrōht āhōfan,  
 60 heardne heresiþ,      heofon wīdledan,  
 forsāwan hyra sellan,      þā hī tō swiçe þōhton  
 ond þrymcýning      þēodenstōles  
 rīcne berýfan,      swā hit ryht ne wæs,  
 ond þonne ġesettan      on hyra sylfra dōm  
 65 wuldres wynlond.      Þæt him wīġe forstōd  
 fæder frumsceafta;      wearð him sēo feohte tō grim.

Donne bið þām ǫþrum      ungelīce  
 sē þe hēr on eorþan      ēaðmōd leofað,  
 ond wiþ ġesibbra ġehwone      simle healdeð  
 frēode on folce      ond his fēond lufað,      70  
 þēah þe hē him ābylgnesse      oft ġefremede  
 willum in þisse worulde.      Sē mōt wuldres drēam  
 in hāligra hyht      heonan āstīgan  
 on engla eard.      Ne biþ þām ǫþrum swā,  
 sē þe on ofermēdum      eargum dædum      75  
 leofaþ in leahtrum;      ne bēoð þā lēan ġelīc  
 mid wuldorcýning.      Wite þē be þissum,  
 ġif þū ēaðmōdne      eorl ġemēte,  
 þegn on þēode,      þām bið simle  
 gæst ġegæderad,      Godes āgen bearn,      80  
 wilsum in worlde,      ġif mē sē wītega ne lēag.  
 Forþon wē sčulon ā hycġende      hælo rædes  
 ġemunan in mōde      mæla ġehwylcum  
 þone sēlestan      sigora waldend.  
*Amen.*

### 13. SOUL AND BODY II

A recurrent motif in medieval literature is of the condemned soul returning to berate its mouldering corpse. It occurs in homilies in both the Vercelli and Blickling collections and in some Latin sermons going back to early times (see Calder & Allen 1976: 40–50), as well as in later medieval literature. It was deemed weighty enough to merit versification in the form of the present poem, found in the Exeter Book. Another copy, *Soul and Body I*, diverging in many details from this one and appending the fragmentary, grateful address of a saved soul to its body, appears in the Vercelli Book.

- Hūru, ðæs behōfaþ      hæleþa æghwylc  
 þæt hē his sāwle sīð      sylfa bewitiġe,  
 hū þæt bið dēoplic      þonne sē dēað cymeð,  
 āsundrað þā sibbe,      þā þe ær somud wæron,  
 5    lič ond sāwle.      Long bið siþþan  
 þæt sē gæst nimeð      æt Gode sylfum  
 swā wite swā wuldor,      swā him in worulde ær  
 efne þæt eorðfæt      ær ġeworhte.  
 Sceał sē gæst cuman      ġehþum hrēmiġ,  
 10    symle ymb seofonniht      sāwle findan  
 þone lichoman      þe hēo ær longe wæg,  
 þrēo hund wintra,  
 būtan ær wyrce      ēce dryhten,  
 ælmihtig God,      ende worlde.  
 15      Cleopað þonne swā cearful      caldan reorde,  
 spriceð grimlice      gæst tō þām dūste:  
 “Hwæt druge þū, drēorga?      Tō hwon dreahtest þū mē?  
 Eorþan fylnes      eal forweornast,  
 lāmes ġelīcnes.      Lýt þū ġepōhtes  
 20    tō won þīnre sāwle sīð      siþþan wurde,  
 siþþan hēo of lichoman      lāded wære.  
 Hwæt, wite þū mē, werga.      Hwæt, þū hūru wyrma ġifl  
 lýt ġepōhtes,      hū þis is long hider,  
 ond þē þurh enġel      ufan of roderum  
 25    sāwle onsende      þurh his sylfes hond  
 meotud ælmihtig,      of his mæġenþrymme,  
 ond þē þā ġebohte      blōde þý hālgan,  
 ond þū mē þý heardan      hungre ġebunde  
 ond ġehæftnadest      helle wītum.

Eardode ic þe in innan.      Nō ic þe of meahte,      30  
 flæsce bifongen,      ond mē firenlustas  
 þīne gēþrungon,      þæt mē þūhte ful oft  
 þæt wære þritig      þūsend wintra  
 tō þīnum dēaðdæge.      Hwæt, ic uncres gēdāles bād  
 earfoðlice.      Nis nū sē ende tō gōd.      35  
     Wære þū þe wiste wlonc      ond wīnes sæd,  
 þrymful þunedest,      ond ic ofþyrsted wæs  
 Godes lichoman,      gæstes drinces.  
 Þær þū þonne hogode      hēr on life,  
 þenden ic þe in worulde      wunian sēcōlde,      40  
 þæt þū wære þurh flāsc      ond þurh firenlustas  
 stronge gēstýred      ond gēstapelad þurh meç,  
 ond ic wæs gæst on þe      from Gode sendeð,  
 næfre þū mē swā heardra      helle wīta  
 nēð gearwode      þurh þīnra nēoda lust.      45  
 Sceaht þū nū hwæpre mīnra gēscenta      scome þrōwian  
 on þām miclan dæge,      þonne monna cynn  
 sē āncenda      ealle gēgædrað.  
     Ne eart þū nū þon lēofre      nāngum lifgendra,  
 menn tō gēmaeccan,      nē medder nē fæder,      50  
 nē nāngum gēsibbra,      þonne sē swearta hrefn,  
 siþþan ic āna of þe      ūt siþade  
 þurh þæs sylfes hond      þe ic ær onsended wæs.  
 Ne magon þe nū heonan ādōn      hyrste þā rēadan,  
 nē gold nē sylfor      nē þīnra gōda nān,      55  
 ac hēr sculon ābīdan      bān birēafod,  
 besliten seonwum,      ond þe þīn sāwl sceaht  
 mīnum unwillan      oft gēsēcan,  
 wemman mid wordum,      swā þū worhtest tō mē.  
 Eart þū dumb ond dēaf,      ne sindan þīne drēamas wiht.      60  
 Sceaht ic þe nihtes seþēah      nýde gēsēcan,  
 synnum gēsārgad,      ond eft sōna from ðe  
 hweorfan on honcrēd,      þonne hālege menn  
 Gode lifgendum      lofsong dōð,  
 sēcan þā hāmas      þe þū mē ær scrife,      65  
 ond þā ārlēasan      eardungstōwe,  
 ond þe sculon moldwyrmas      monige cēowan,  
 seonowum beslitan      swearte wihte,  
 gīfre ond grædgē.      Ne sindon þīne gēahpe wiht,

- 70 þā þū hēr on moldan monnum ēawdest.  
 Forþon þē wære selle swīpe micle  
 þonne þē wæran ealle eorþan spēde,  
 būtan þū hȳ gedælde dryhtne sylfum,  
 þær þū wurde æt frumsceaftē fugel oþþe fisc on sǣ,
- 75 oððe eorþan nēat ætes tiolode,  
 feldgongende feoh būtan snyttro,  
 ġe on wēstenne wildra dēora  
 þæt grimme, þær swā God wolde,  
 ġe þeah þū wære wrymcynna þæt wyrreste,
- 80 þonne þū æfre on moldan mon ġewurde,  
 oþþe æfre fulwihte onfōn sçeolde,  
 þonne þū for unc bū ondwyrdan sçealt  
 on þām miclan dæġe, þonne eallum monnum bēoð  
 wunde onwrigene, þā þe in worulde ær
- 85 firenfulle menn fyrr ġeworhton.  
 Ðonne wile dryhten sylf dæda ġehȳran  
 æt ealra monna ġehwām mūpes reorde,  
 wunde, wiþerlēan. Ac hwæt wilt þū þær  
 on dōmdæġe dryhtne seçġan?
- 90 Þonne ne bið nænig tō þæs lýtē lið on lime ġeweaxen,  
 þæt þū ne sçyle for æġhwylc ānra onsundran  
 ryht āġieldan, ðonne rēpe bið  
 dryhten æt dōme. Ac hwæt dō wit unc,  
 þonne hē unc hafað ġeedbyrded oþre siþe?
- 95 Sçulon wit þonne ætsomne siþþan brūcan  
 swylcra yrmþa swā þū unc ær sçrife.”  
 Firenaþ þus þæt flæsçord, sçeal þonne fēran on weġ,  
 sēcan helle grund, nales heofondrēamas,  
 dædum ġedrēfed. Ligeð dūst þær hit wæs,
- 100 ne mæg him ondsware ānige seçġan,  
 nē þær eðringe ænġe ġehātan  
 ġæste ġeōmrum, ġeoce oþþe frōfre.  
 Biþ þæt hēafod tōhliden, honda tōleoþode,  
 ġeaflas tōġinene, ġōman tōslitene,
- 105 seonwe bēoð āsogene, swēora bicowen;  
 rib rēafiað rēpe wyrmas,  
 drincað hlōpum hrā, heolfres þurstġe.  
 Bið sēo tunge tōtogen on tȳn healfe  
 hungrum tō hrōpor. Forþon hēo ne mæg horsclīce

wordum wrixlan      wið þone werġan gæst.      110  
 Ġifer hātte sē wyrm,      þām þā ġeaflas bēoð  
 nǣdle sċearpran.      Sē ġenēþeð tō  
 ærest ealra      on þām eorðscræfe;  
 hē þā tungan tōtȳhð      ond þā tōþas þurhsmȳhð,  
 ond þā ēagan þurhiteð      ufon on þæt hēafod      115  
 ond tō ætwelan      oþrum ġerȳmeð,  
 wȳrmum tō wiste,      þonne biþ þæt werġe  
 liċ ācōlad      þæt hē longe ær  
 werede mid wædum.      Bið þonne wȳrmes ġiefl,  
 æt on eorþan.      Þæt mæg æġhwylcum      120  
 men tō ġemyndum      mōdsnotterra.

#### 14. A SELECTION OF RIDDLES FROM THE EXETER BOOK

Latin *aenigmata* were a standard part of the monastic curriculum, in part as a way to teach Latin metrics. Aldhelm (639–709) composed a hundred in imitation of the Latin *aenigmata* of Symphosius, and several Englishmen followed suit. Although most of these Anglo-Latin compositions are of a devout nature, some are of a sort to entertain students, being devoted to ordinary objects and fantastic creatures. Nearly all the vernacular riddles, which are anonymous, are contained in the Exeter Book. They are plainly inspired by Latin models, and two (35 and 40) are in fact translations of Aldhelm's riddles. But the riddles in Old English have a character all their own, most with no known Latin parallels, and occasionally suggesting a ribald solution as a way to distract the solver from the actual one. No solutions are provided in the manuscript, though in some cases a rune suggesting the first letter of the solution is to be found adjacent to a riddle. As a consequence, the correct solution in many instances must remain in doubt. For each riddle below, the most probable solution is indicated in the notes. The riddle numbers are those assigned by Krapp & Dobbie 1931–53.

##### 5.

- |    |                        |                   |
|----|------------------------|-------------------|
|    | Ic eom ānhaga          | īserne wund,      |
|    | bille ġebennad,        | beadoweorca sæd,  |
|    | eċġum wēriġ.           | Oft ic wīġ sēo,   |
|    | frēcne feohtan.        | Frōfre ne wēne,   |
| 5  | þæt mē ġēoc cyme       | ġūðġewinnes,      |
|    | ær ic mid ældum        | eal forwurðe,     |
|    | ac meċ hnossiað        | homera lāfe,      |
|    | heardeċġ, heorosċearp, | hondweorc smiþa,  |
|    | bītað in burgum;       | ic ābīdan sċeal   |
| 10 | lāpra ġemōtes.         | Næfre læċecynn    |
|    | on folcstede           | findan meahte,    |
|    | þāra þe mid wyrtum     | wunde ġehælde,    |
|    | ac mē eċġa dolġ        | ēacen weorðað     |
|    | þurh dēaðsleġe         | dagum ond nihtum. |

##### 6.

- |   |                    |                      |
|---|--------------------|----------------------|
|   | Meċ ġesette sōð    | sigora waldend       |
|   | Crīst tō compe.    | Oft ic cwice bærne,  |
|   | unrīmu cyn         | eorþan ġetengē,      |
|   | næte mid niþe,     | swā ic him nō hrīne, |
| 5 | þonne meċ mīn frēa | feohtan hāteþ.       |

Hwīlum ic monigra      mōd ārēte,  
 hwīlum ic frēfre      þā ic ær winne on  
 feorran swīpe;      hi þæs felað þēah,  
 swylce þæs oþres,      þonne ic eft hyra  
 ofer dēop gedrēag      drohtað bēte.      10

## 7.

Hrægl mīn swīgað      þonne ic hrūsan trede,  
 oþpe þā wīc būge,      oþpe wado drēfe.  
 Hwīlum meç ahebbað      ofer hælepa byht  
 hyrste mīne,      ond þeos hēa lyft,  
 ond meç þonne wīde      wolcna strengū      5  
 ofer folc byrēð.      Frætwe mīne  
 swōgað hlūde      ond swinsiað,  
 torhte singað,      þonne ic ġetenġe ne bēom  
 flōde ond foldan,      fērende gæst.

## 8.

İc þurh mūþ sprece      mongum reordum,  
 wrençum singe,      wrīxle ġeneahhe  
 hēafodwōpe,      hlūde çirme,  
 healde mīne wīsan,      hlēoþre ne mīpe,  
 eald æfensçop,      eorlum bringe      5  
 blisse in burgum,      þonne ic būgendre  
 stefne styrme;      stille on wīcum  
 sittað swīgende.      Saga hwæt ic hātte,  
 þe swā scīreniġe      scēawendwīsan  
 hlūde onhyrġe,      hælepum bodiġe      10  
 wilcumenā fela      wōpe mīnre.

## 9.

Meç on þissum dagum      dēadne ofġēafun  
 fæder ond mōdor;      ne wæs mē feorh þā ġen,  
 ealdor in innan.      Þā meç ān ongon,  
 welhold mēġe,      wēdum þeçčan,  
 hēold ond freoþode,      hlēosçeorpe wrāh      5  
 swē ārlice      swā hire āgen bearn,  
 oþ þæt ic under scēate,      swā mīn ġesçeapu wæron,

- ungesibbum wearð      ēacen gæste.  
 Meç sēo friþe mæg      fēdde siþþan,  
 10 oþ þæt ic āwēox,      widdor meahte  
 siþas āsettan.      Hēo hæfde swæsra þy læs  
 suna ond dohtra,      þy hēo swā dyde.

10.

- Neb wæs mīn on nearwe,      ond ic neoþan wætre,  
 flōde underflōwen,      firgenstrēamum  
 swiþe besuncen,      ond on sunde āwōx  
 ufan yþum þeaht,      ānum getenġe  
 5 liþendum wuda      liçe mīne.  
 Hæfde feorh cwico      þā ic of fæðmum cwōm  
 brimes ond bēames      on blacum hrægġe;  
 sume wæron hwīte      hyrste mīne,  
 þā meç lifġende      lyft upp āhōf,  
 10 wind of wæġe,      siþþan wīde bæR  
 ofer seolhbapo.      Saga hwæt ic hātte.

12.

- Fōtum ic fēre,      foldan slite,  
 grēne wongas,      þenden ic gæst bere.  
 ġif mē feorh losað,      fæste binde  
 swearte Wēalas,      hwilum sellan men.  
 5 Hwīlum ic dēorum      drincan selle  
 beorne of bōsme,      hwilum meç brýd triedeð  
 felawlonc fōtum,      hwilum feorran brōht  
 wonfeax Wāle      weġeð ond þýð,  
 dol druncmennen      deorcum nihtum,  
 10 wæteð in wætre,      wyrmeð hwilum  
 fægġe tō fyre;      mē on fæðme sticap  
 hyġegālan hond,      hwyrfeð geneahhe,  
 swīfeð mē ġeond sweartne.      Saga hwæt ic hātte,  
 þe ic lifġende      lond rēafīġe,  
 15 ond æfter dēape      dryhtum þeowīġe.

13.

Iç seah turf tredan,      .x. wæron ealra,  
 .vi. ġebrōþor      ond hyra sweostor mid;

hæfdon feorg cwico.      Fell hongedon  
 sweotol ond gesȳne      on seles wæge  
 ānra ġehwylces.      Ne wæs hyra ængum þȳ wyr,      5  
 nē sīde þȳ sārra,      þēah hȳ swā sċeoldon  
 rēafe birofene,      rodra weardes  
 meahtum āweahte,      mūþum slītan  
 haswe blēde.      Hrægl bið ġeniwad  
 þām þe ær forðcymene      frætwe lēton      10  
 liċgan on lāste,      ġewitan lond tredan.

## 14.

Ic wæs wāpenwiga.      Nū meċ wlonc þeċeð  
 ġeong hagatealdmon      golde ond sylfore,  
 wōum wīrbogum.      Hwīlum weras cyssað,  
 hwīlum ic tō hilde      hlēopre bonne  
 wilġehlēpan,      hwīlum wyċġ byreþ      5  
 meċ ofer mearce,      hwīlum merehengest  
 fereð ofer flōdas      frætwum beorhtne,  
 hwīlum mægða sum      mīnne ġefylleð  
 bōsm bēaghroden.      Hwīlum ic on bordum sċeal,  
 heard, hēafodlēas,      behlyþed liċgan,      10  
 hwīlum hongīge      hyrstum frætwed,  
 wlitīġ on wāge,      þær weras drincað,  
 frēoliċ fyrdscēorp.      Hwīlum folcwigan  
 on wiċge wegað,      þonne ic winde sċeal  
 sinċfāġ swelgan      of sumes bōsme;      15  
 hwīlum ic ġereordum      rincas laðīge  
 wlonce tō wīne;      hwīlum wrāþum sċeal  
 stefne mīnre      forstolen hreddan,  
 flȳman fēondsċeapan.      Friġe hwæt ic hātte.

## 16.

Oft ic sċeal wīþ wæge winnan      ond wīþ winde feohtan,  
 somod wið þām sæċce fremman,      þonne ic sēcan ġewīte  
 eorþan ȳpum þeaht;      mē biþ sē ēpel fremde.  
 Ic bēom strong þæs ġewinnes      ġif ic stille weorþe;  
     ġif mē þæs tōsæleð,      hī bēoð swīþran þonne ic,      5  
 ond meċ slitende      sōna flȳmað,  
 willað oþferġan      þæt ic friþian sċeal.

- Ic him þæt forstonde      gif mīn steort þolað  
 ond meç stiþne wiþ      stānas mōton  
 10 fæste gehabban.      Frīge hwæt ic hātte.

## 21.

- Neb is mīn niþerweard;      nēol ic fēre  
 ond be grunde græfe,      gēonge swā mē wisað  
 hār holtes fēond,      ond hlāford mīn  
 wōh færeð,      weard æt steorte,  
 5 wrigaþ on wonge,      wegeð meç ond þýð,  
 sāweþ on swæð mīn.      Ic snyþige forð,  
 brungen of bearwe,      bunden cræfte,  
 wegen on wægne,      hæbbe wundra fela;  
 mē biþ gongendre      grēne on healfe  
 10 ond mīn swæð sweotol      sweart on ðpre.  
 Mē þurh hrycg wrecen      hongað under  
 ān orþoncpil,      ðper on hēafde,  
 fæst ond forðweard.      Fealleþ on sīdan  
 þæt ic tōþum tere,      gif mē teala þēnaþ  
 15 hindeweardre,      þæt biþ hlāford mīn.

## 23.

- Agof is mīn noma      eft onhwyrfed;  
 ic eom wrætlic wiht      on gēwin sceaþen.  
 Þonne ic onbūge,      ond mē on bōsme fareð  
 ætren onga,      ic bēom eall gēaro  
 5 þæt ic mē þæt feorhbealo      feor āswāpe.  
 Siþþan mē sē waldend,      sē mē þæt wīte gescōp,  
 leoþo forlæteð,      ic bēo lengre þonne ær,  
 oþ þæt ic spæte,      spilde geblonden,  
 ealfelo āttor      þæt ic æror gēap.  
 10 Ne tōgongeð þæs      gumena hwylcum,  
 ænigum eaþe      þæt ic þær ymb sprīce,  
 gif hine hrīneð      þæt mē of hrife flēogeð,  
 þæt þone māndrinc      mægne geçēapaþ,  
 fullwer fæste      fēore sīne.  
 15 Nelle ic unbunden      ænigum hýran  
 nympe searosæled.      Saga hwæt ic hātte.

## 24.

Ic eom wunderlicu wiht,      wræsne mīne stefne,  
 hwīlum beorce swā hund,      hwīlum blāte swā gāt,  
 hwīlum grāde swā gōs,      hwīlum ġielle swā hafoc,  
 hwīlum ic onhyrge      þone haswan earn,  
 ġūðfugles hlēoþor,      hwīlum ġlīdan reorde      5  
 mūþe ġemāene,      hwīlum mǣwes song,  
 þær ic glado sitte.      · X · mec nemnað,  
 swylce · f · ond · R ·      ƿ · fullestæð,  
 · N · ond · l ·.      Nū ic hāten eom  
 swā þā siex stafas      sweotule bēcnaþ.      10

## 25.

Ic eom wunderlicu wiht,      wīfum on hyhte,  
 nēahbūendum nyt;      nǣngum scepþe  
 bursittendra,      nymþe bonan ānum.  
 Stapol mīn is stēaphēah;      stonde ic on bedde,  
 neoþan rūh nāthwær.      Nēþeð hwīlum      5  
 ful cyrtenu      ceorles dohtor,  
 mōdwlanc mēowle,      þæt hēo on mec ġrīpeð,  
 rāseð mec on rēodne,      rēafað mīn hēafod,  
 fēgeð mec on fæsten.      Fēleþ sōna  
 mīnes ġemōtes,      sēo þe mec nearwað,      10  
 wīf wundenlocc.      Wæt bið þæt ēage.

## 26.

Mec fēonda sum      fēore besnyþede,  
 woruldstrenga binom,      wætte siþþan,  
 dýfde on wætre,      dyde eft þonan,  
 sette on sunnan,      þær ic swīþe belēas  
 hērum þām þe ic hæfde.      Heard mec siþþan      5  
 snāð seaxses ecġ,      sindrum begrunden;  
 fingras fēoldan,      ond mec fugles wyn  
 ġeondstrēd dropum,      spyrede ġeneahhe,  
 ofer brūnne brerd      bēamtelge swealg,  
 strēames dæle,      stōp eft on mec,      10  
 siþþade sweartlāst.      Mec siþþan wrāh  
 hæleð hlēobordum,      hýde beþenede,

- gierede meċ mid golde;      forþon mē gliwedon  
 wrætlīc weorc smīþa,      wīre bifongen.
- 15 Nū þā ġerēno      ond sē rēada telġ  
 ond þā wuldorġesteald      wīde mære  
 dryhtfolca helm,      nales dol wīte.  
 Ġif mīn bearn wera      brūcan willað,  
 hī bēoð þy ġesundran      ond þy sigefæstran,
- 20 heortum þy hwætran      ond þy hyġebliþran,  
 ferþe þy frōdran,      habbaþ frēonda þy mā,  
 swæsra ond ġesibbra,      sōþra ond ġōdra,  
 tilra ond ġetrēowra,      þā hyra tȳr ond ēad  
 ēstum ȳċað      ond hȳ ārstafum,
- 25 lissum bileġgað      ond hī lufan fæþmum  
 fæste clyppað.      Frige hwæt ic hātte,  
 niþpum tō nytte.      Nama mīn is mære,  
 hæleþum ġifre      ond hālig sylf.

27.

- Ic eom weorð werum,      wīde funden,  
 brungen of bearwum      ond of beorghleoþum,  
 of denum ond of dūnum.      Dæġes meċ wægun  
 feþre on lifte,      feredon mid liste
- 5 under hrōfes hlēo.      Hæleð meċ siþþan  
 baþedan in bydene.      Nū ic eom bindere  
 ond swingere,      sōna weorpe  
 esne tō eorþan,      hwīlum ealdne ċeorl.  
 Sōna þæt onfindeð,      sē þe meċ fēhð onġēan,
- 10 ond wið mæġenþisan      mīnre ġenæsteð,  
 þæt hē hryġe sċeal      hrūsan sēċan,  
 ġif hē unrædes      ær ne ġeswīceð,  
 strenġo bistolen,      strong on spræċe,  
 mæġene binumen;      nāh his mōdes ġeweald,
- 15 fōta nē folma.      Frige hwæt ic hātte,  
 ðe on eorþan swā      esnas binde,  
 dole æfter dyntum      be dæġes lēohte.

29.

Ic wiht ġeseah      wundorlice  
 hornum bitwēonum      hūpe lædan,

lyftfæt lēohtlic, listum gēgierwed,  
 hūpe tō þām hāme of þām heresīpe;  
 walde hyre on þære byrig būr ātimbran, 5  
 searwum āsettan, gif hit swā meahte.  
 Ðā cwōm wundorlicu wiht ofer wealles hrōf,  
 sēo is eallum cūð eorðbūendum,  
 āhredde þā þā hūpe ond tō hām bedrāf  
 wreccan ofer willan, gēwāt hyre west þonan 10  
 fāhþum fēran, forð ōnette.  
 Dūst stonc tō heofonum, dēaw fēol on eorþan,  
 niht forð gēwāt. Nāniġ siþþan  
 wera gēwiste þære wihte sið.

## 31.

Is þēs middangeard missenlicum  
 wīsum ġewliteġad, wrættum ġefrætwað.  
 Ic seah sellic þing singan on ræcedē;  
 wiht wæs nower werum on ġemonge  
 sio hæfde wæstum wundorlicran. 5  
 Nīperweard wæs neb hyre,  
 fēt ond folme fugele ġelice;  
 nō hwæpre flēogan mæg nē fela gongan,  
 hwæpre fēpegēorn fremman onġinneð,  
 ġecoren cræftum, cýrreð ġeneahhe 10  
 oft ond ġelōme eorlum on ġemonge,  
 siteð æt symble, sæles bideþ,  
 hwonne ærest hēo cræft hyre cýþan mōte  
 werum on wonge. Nē hēo þær wiht þiġeð  
 þæs þe him æt blisse beornas habbað. 15  
 Dēor dōmes ġeorn, hīo dumb wunað;  
 hwæpre hyre is on fōte fæġer hlēoþor,  
 wynlicu wōðġiefu. Wrætlic mē þinceð  
 hū sēo wiht mæġe wordum lācan  
 þurh fōt neoþan, frætweð hyrstum. 20  
 Hafað hyre on halse, þonne hīo hord warað,  
 baru, bēagum deall, brōþor sīne,  
 mæg mid mæġne. Miçel is tō hyçġenne  
 wīsum wōðboran, hwæt sio wiht sie.

33.

- Wiht cwōm æfter wēge      wrætlicu līpan,  
 cȳmlic from cēole      cleopode tō londe,  
 hlinsade hlūde;      hleahtor wæs gryrelic,  
 eġesful on earde,      ecġe wæron sċearpe.  
 5    Wæs hīo hetegrim      hilde tō sǣwe,  
      biter beadoweorca;      bordweallas grōf,  
      heardhīpende,      heterūne onbond,  
      sǣġde searocræftig      ymb hyre sylfre ġesċeaft:  
      “Is mīn mōdor      mǣġða cynnes  
 10    þæs dēorestan,      þæt is dohtor mīn,  
      ēacen up loden,      swā þæt is ældum cūþ,  
      fīrum on folce,      þæt sēo on foldan sċeal  
      on ealra londa ġehwām      lissum stondan.”

34.

- Ic wiht ġeseah      in wera burgum,  
 sēo þæt feoh fēdeð.      Hafað fela tōþa;  
 nebb biþ hyre æt nytte,      niþerweard gongeð,  
 hīpeð holdlice      ond tō hām tȳhð,  
 5    wǣpeð ġeond weallas,      wyrte sēceð;  
      aa hēo þā findeð,      þā þe fæst ne biþ;  
      lāteð hīo þā wlitigan,      wirtum fæste,  
      stille stondan      on staþolwonge,  
      beorhte blican,      blōwan ond grōwan.

35.

- Meċ sē wǣta wong,      wundrum frēorig,  
 of his innape      ærist cende.  
 Ne wāt ic meċ beworhtne      wulle flȳsum,  
 hǣrum þurh hēahcræft,      hyġeponcum mīn.  
 5    Wundene mē ne bēoð wefle,      nē ic wearp hafu,  
      nē þurh þrēata ġeþræcu      þræd mē ne hlimmeð,  
      nē æt mē hrūtende      hrīsil sċrīpeð,  
      nē meċ ōhwonan      sċeal ām cnyssan.  
      Wyrmas meċ ne āwǣfan      wyrda cræftum,  
 10    þā þe ġeolo godwebb      ġeatwum frætwað.  
      Wile meċ mon hwæpre seþēah      wīde ofer eorþan

36.

38.

42.

Ic seah wyhte      wrætlīce twā  
undearnunga      ūte plegan  
hæmedlāces;      hwitloc anfēng,  
wlanc under wædum,      gif þæs weorces spēow,  
fæmne fyllo.      Ic on flette mæg      5  
þurh rūnstafas      rincum secgān,  
þām þe bēc witan,      bēga ætsomne  
naman þāra wihta.      Þær sceał Nýd wesān

- twēga ȝper      ond sē torhta Æsc  
 10    ān an līnan,      Ācas twēgen,  
      Hægēlas swā some.      Hwylc þæs hordgates  
      cægan cræfte      þā clamme onlēac,  
      þe þā rædellan      wið rȳnemenn  
      hygefæste hēold,      heortan bewrigene  
 15    orþoncbendum?      Nū is undyrne  
      werum æt wīne      hū þā wihte mid ūs,  
      hēanmōde twā,      hātne sindon.

44.

- Wrætlic hongað      bī weres þeo,  
      frēan under scēate.      Foran is þȳrel.  
      Bið stiþ ond heard,      stede hafað gōdne;  
      þonne sē esne      his āgen hrægl  
 5    ofer cnēo hefeð,      wile þæt cūpe hol  
      mid his hangellan      hēafde grētan  
      þæt hē efenlang ær      oft gefylde.

45.

- Ic on winkle gefrægn      weaxan nāthwæt,  
      þindan ond þunian,      þečene hebban;  
      on þæt bānlēase      brȳd grāpode,  
      hygewlonc hondum,      hrægle þeahte  
 5    þrindende þing      þeodnes dohtor.

46.

- Wær sæt æt wīne      mid his wīfum twām  
      ond his twēgen suno      ond his twā dohtor,  
      swāse gesweostor,      ond hyra suno twēgen,  
      frēolico frumbearn;      fæder wæs þærinne  
 5    þāra æpelinga      æghwæðres mid,  
      ēam ond nefa.      Ealra wæron fife  
      eorla ond idesa      insittendra.

47.

- Moððe word fræt.      Mē þæt þuhte  
      wrætlicu wyrd,      þā ic þæt wundor gefrægn,

þæt sē wyrm forswealg      wera ġied sumes,  
 þēof in þýstro,      þrymfæstne cwide  
 ond þæs strangan staþol.      Stælgíest ne wæs      5  
 wihte þý glēawra      þē hē þam wordum swealg.

50.

Wiga is on eorþan      wundrum ācenned  
 dryhtum tō nytte,      of dumbum twām  
 torht ātyhted,      þone on tēon wígeð  
 fēond his fēonde.      Forstrangne oft      5  
 wíf hine wrīð;      hē him wel hēreð,  
 þēowaþ him ġeþwære,      ġif him þegniað  
 mægeð ond mæcġas      mid ġemete ryhte,  
 fēdað hine fæġre;      hē him fremum stēpeð  
 life on lissum.      Lēanað grimme  
 þe hine wloncne      weorþan læteð.      10

51.

Ic seah wrætlice      wuhte fēower  
 samed sīþian;      swearte wāran lāstas,  
 swaþu swīþe blacu.      Swift wæs on fōre,  
 fuglum framra;      flēag on lyfte,  
 dēaf under ýþe.      Drēag unstillle      5  
 winnende wiga      sē him wægas tæcneþ  
 ofer fæted gold      fēower eallum.

## 15. DREAM OF THE ROOD

This poem is highly original in a variety of ways. It is the earliest European vernacular dream vision, a genre that was not widely popular until the fourteenth century, although several dream visions are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon period, notably that of Leofric (reading selection 6), along with several Latin ones, including those in Bede. The poem also shares with the later Middle Ages a particular veneration for the mother of Christ (see lines 92–4) that is not prominent in the Anglo-Saxon period. Its form is striking, as well, with passages alternately in normal and hypermetric verse measures. Its depiction of Christ as stripping himself and ascending the cross of his own will is only the most obvious of the ways he is turned into a figure consonant with the heroes of native legend, with the cross as his retainer. The depiction of the cross as alternately bejeweled and suffused with blood (lines 14–23) reinforces the theme of how the cross represents both an instrument of torture and the means of salvation. Ornate precious crosses are known from this period, most notably those devised as reliquaries, and especially to house fragments of Christ's cross, such as the Brussels Cross.

Possibly the latter half of the poem (lines 78–156), which contains just one hypermetric line, was appended sometime after the poem's original composition, but if that is so, it is remarkable how the addition lends the poem a familiar form, one that may be compared to that of *The Wanderer* (reading selection 16): a narrator sets the scene and introduces a speaker who recounts a tale of harsh personal experience, from which he derives wisdom presented in sententious form to prove the value of enduring hardship. The narrator returns with his own moralizing maxims and closes the poem with an eschatological passage looking toward heaven and the afterlife.

A version of certain passages in the poem (lines 39–49, 56–64) is inscribed in runes on a monumental cross preserved at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, southwestern Scotland. The inscription, of the eighth or ninth century, is fragmentary and partly obliterated, due to mishandling of the cross during the Puritan era, but it is plain that it is excerpted from a longer composition such as this. A transliteration of the inscription is given in Appendix B on page 124.

- |    |                           |                                  |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
|    | Hwæt, ic swefna cyst      | seġgan wylle,                    |
|    | hwæt mē ġemætte           | tō midre nihte,                  |
|    | syðþan reordberend        | reste wunedon.                   |
|    | Þūhte mē þæt ic ġesāwe    | syllicre trēow                   |
| 5  | on lyft lēodan,           | lēohte bewunden,                 |
|    | bēama beorhtost.          | Eall þæt bēacen wæs              |
|    | begoten mid golde.        | Ġimmas stōdon                    |
|    | fæġere æt foldan scēatum; | swylce þær fife wæron            |
|    | uppe on þām eaxlġespanne  | — behēoldon þær engeldryhte—     |
| 10 | fæġere þurh forðġesceaft. | Ne wæs ðær hūru fracodes ġealga, |
|    | ac hine þær behēoldon     | hāliġe ġāstas,                   |

men ofer moldan,      ond eall þeos mære gesceaft.  
 Syllic wæs sē sigebēam,      ond ic synnum fāh,  
 forwunded mid wommum.      Ġesēah ic wuldres trēow,  
 wædum ġeweorðode,      wynnum sċinan, 15  
 ġeġyred mid golde;      ġimmas hæfdon  
 bewriġen weorðlice      wealdendes trēow.  
 Hwæðre ic þurh þæt gold      onġytan meahte  
 earmra ærġewin,      þæt hit ærest ongan  
 swætan on þā swiðran healfe.      Eall ic wæs mid sorgum ġedrēfed; 20  
 forht ic wæs for þære fæggran ġesyhðe.      Ġeseah ic þæt fūse beācen  
 wendan wædum ond blēom;      hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestēmed,  
 beswyled mid swātes gange,      hwilum mid since ġeġyrwed.  
 Hwæðre ic þær licġende      lange hwile  
 behēold hrēowċeariġ      hælendes trēow, 25  
 oð ðæt ic ġehȳrde      þæt hit hlēoðrode.  
 Ongan þā word sprecan      wudu sēlesta:  
 “Þæt wæs ġeāra iū—      ic þæt ġȳta ġeman—  
 þæt ic wæs āhēawen      holtes on ende,  
 āstyred of stefne mīnum.      Ġenāman mē ðær strange fēondas, 30  
 ġeworhton him þær tō wāfersȳne,      hēton mē heora wergas hebban.  
 Bæron mē ðær beornas on eaxlum,      oð ðæt hie mē on beorg āsetton,  
 ġefæstnodon mē þær fēondas ġenōge.      Ġeseah ic þā frēan mancynnes  
 efstan elne mycle,      þæt hē mē wolde on ġestigan.  
 Þær ic þā ne dorste      ofer dryhtnes word 35  
 būgan oððe berstan,      þā ic bifian ġeseah  
 eorðan sċēatas.      Ealle ic mihte  
 fēondas ġefyllan,      hwæðre ic fæste stōd.  
 Onġyrede hine þā ġeong hældeð,      þæt wæs God ælmihtig,  
 strang ond stiðmōd.      Ġestāh hē on ġealgan hēanne, 40  
 mōdiġ on manigra ġesyhðe,      þā hē wolde mancyn lȳsan.  
 Bifode ic þā mē sē beorn ymbclypte.      Ne dorste ic hwæðre būgan tō eorðan,  
 feallan tō foldan sċēatum,      ac ic sċeolde fæste standan.  
 Rōd wæs ic āræred.      Āhōf ic ricne cyning,  
 heofona hlāford;      hylðan mē ne dorste. 45  
 Þurhdrifan hī mē mid deorcan næġlum.      On mē syndon þā dolg ġesiene,  
 opene inwidhlemmas.      Ne dorste ic hira ænigum sċeððan.  
 Bysmeredon hie unc bütū ætgædere.      Eall ic wæs mid blōde bestēmed,  
 begoten of þæs guman sīdan,      siððan hē hæfde his ġāst onsended.  
 Feala ic on þām beorge      gebiden hæbbe 50  
 wrāðra wyrda.      Ġeseah ic weruda God

- þearle þenian.      Þýstro hæfdon  
 bewriġen mid wolcnum      wealdendes hræw,  
 scīrne scīman,      scēadu forð ēode,  
 55      wann under wolcnum.      Wēop eal ġesceaft,  
     cwiðdon cyninges fyll.      Crīst wæs on rōde.  
     “Hwæðere þær fūse      feorran cwōman  
     tō þām æðelinge.      Ic þæt eall behēold.  
 Sāre ic wæs mid sorgum ġedrēfed,      hnāġ ic hwæðre þām seġgum tō handa,  
 60      ēaðmōd elne mycle.      Ġenāmon hie þær ælmihtigne God,  
     āhōfon hine of ðām hefian wīte.      Forlēton mē þā hilderincas  
     standan stēame bedrifenne;      eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.  
     Ālēdon hie ðær limwērigne,      ġestōdon him æt his līces hēafdum;  
     behēoldon hie ðær heofenes dryhten,      ond hē hine ðær hwile reste,  
 65      mēðe æfter ðām miclan ġewinne.      Ongunnon him þa moldern wyrċan  
     beornas on banan ġesyhðe;      curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan stāne,  
     ġesetton hie ðæron sigora wealdend.      Ongunnon him þa sorhlēoð galan,  
     earme on þā æfentīde,      þā hie woldon eft sīðian,  
     mēðe fram þām mæran þēodne.      Reste hē ðær mæte weorode.  
 70      Hwæðere wē ðær grēotende      ġōde hwile  
     stōdon on staðole;      stefn up ġewāt  
     hilderinca.      Hræw cōlode,  
     fæġer feorgbold.      þā ūs man fyllan ongan  
     ealle tō eorðan.      þæt wæs eġeslic wyrð.  
 75      Bedealf ūs man on dēopan sēaþe.      Hwæðre mē þær dryhtnes þeġnas,  
     frēondas ġefrūnon      \*   \*   \*   \*   \*  
     onġyredon mē      golde ond seolfre.  
     “Nū ðū miht ġehýran,      hæleð mīn sē lēofa,  
     þæt ic bealuwa weorc      ġebiden hæbbe,  
 80      sārra sorga.      Is nū sæl cumen  
     þæt mē weorðiað      wīde ond sīde  
     menn ofer moldan,      ond eall þēos mære ġesceaft,  
     ġebiddaþ him tō þyssum bēacne.      On mē bearn Godes  
     þrōwode hwile.      Forþan ic þrymfæst nū  
 85      hlifġe under heofenum,      ond ic hælān mæg  
     æġhwylcne ānra,      þāra þe him bið eġesa tō mē.  
     Iū ic wæs ġeworden      wīta heardost,  
     lēodum lāðost,      ær þan ic him lifes weg  
     rihtne ġerýmde,      reordberendum.  
 90      Hwæt, mē þā ġeweorðode      wuldres ealdor  
     ofer holtwudu,      heofonrīces weard,

swylce swā hē his mōdor ēac,      Mārian sylfe,  
 ælmihtig God      for ealle menn  
 ġeweorðode      ofer eall wīfa cynn.  
 “Nū ic þe hāte,      hæleð mīn sē lēofa,      95  
 þæt ðū þās ġesyhðe      secġe mannum,  
 onwrēoh wordum      þæt hit is wuldres bēam,  
 sē ðe ælmihtig God      on þrōwode  
 for mancynnes      manegum synnum  
 ond Ādomes      ealdġewyrhtum.      100  
 Dēað hē þær byrigde,      hwæðere eft dryhten ārās  
 mid his miclan mihte      mannum tō helpe.  
 Hē ðā on heofenas āstāg.      Hider eft fundap  
 on þysne middanġeard      mancynn sēcan  
 on dōmdæġe      dryhten sylfa,      105  
 ælmihtig God,      ond his englas mid,  
 þæt hē þonne wile dēman,      sē āh dōmes ġeweald,  
 ānra ġehwylcum      swā hē him ærur hēr  
 on þyssum lānum      life ġeearnap.  
 Ne mæg þær ænig      unforht wesan      110  
 for þām worde      þe sē wealdend cwyð.  
 Frīneð hē for þære mænige      hwær sē man sie,  
 sē ðe for dryhtnes naman      dēaðes wolde  
 biteres onbyrgan,      swā hē ær on ðām bēame dyde.  
 Ac hie þonne forhtiað,      ond fēa þencap      115  
 hwæt hie tō Crīste      cweðan onġinnen.  
 Ne þearf ðær þonne ænig      anforht wesan  
 þe him ær in brēostum bereð      bēacna sēlest,  
 ac ðurh ðā rōde scea      rīce ġesēcan  
 of eorðweġe      æġhwylc sāwl,      120  
 sēo þe mid wealdende      wunian þenceð.”  
 Ġebæd ic mē þā tō þan bēame      bliðe mōde,  
 elne mycle,      þær ic āna wæs  
 mæte werede.      Wæs mōdsefa  
 āfȳsed on forðweġe,      feala ealra ġebād      125  
 langunghwīla.      Is mē nū lifes hyht  
 þæt ic þone siġebēam      sēcan mōte  
 āna oftor      þonne ealle men,  
 well weorþian.      Mē is willa tō ðām  
 mycel on mōde,      ond mīn mundbyrd is      130  
 ġeriht tō þære rōde.      Nāh ic ricra feala

- frēonda on foldan,      ac hie forð heonon  
 gewiton of worulde drēamum,      sōhton him wuldres cyning,  
 lifiaþ nū on heofenum      mid hēahfædere,  
 135    wuniaþ on wuldre,      ond ic wēne mē  
       daga ġehwylce      hwænne mē dryhtnes rōd,  
       þe ic hēr on eorðan      ær scēawode,  
       on þysson lænan      līfe ġefetiġe  
       ond mē þonne ġebringe      þær is blis mycel,  
 140    drēam on heofonum,      þær is dryhtnes folc  
       ġeseted tō symle,      þær is singāl blis,  
       ond mē þonne āsette      þær ic sybþan mōt  
       wunian on wuldre,      well mid þām hālgum  
       drēames brūcan.      Sī mē dryhten frēond,  
 145    sē ðe hēr on eorþan      ær þrōwode  
       on þām ġealgrēowe      for guman synnum.  
       Hē ūs onlȳsde      ond ūs lif forgeaf,  
       heofonlicne hām.      Hiht wæs ġenīwad  
       mid blēdum ond mid blisse      þām þe þær bryne þolodan.  
 150    Sē sunu wæs sigorfæst      on þām siðfate,  
       mihtig ond spēdig,      þā hē mid maniġeo cōm,  
       ġāsta weorode,      on Godes rīce,  
       anwealda ælmihtig,      englum tō blisse  
       ond eallum ðām hālgum      þām þe on heofonum ær  
 155    wunedon on wuldre,      þā heora wealdend cwōm,  
       ælmihtig God,      þær his ēðel wæs.

## 16. THE WANDERER

*The Wanderer*, in the Exeter Book, is perhaps the most iconic of a class of lyrics and poetic passages in Old English often referred to as “elegies.” Its tale of inner turmoil and outer desolation appeals to modern sensibilities like nothing else in Old English except perhaps *The Seafarer*, also in the Exeter Book, a poem with a similar theme but a more explicitly pious intent. Certain difficulties of interpretation are glossed over by the application of modern punctuation: the obscure lines 51–7, for example, might be punctuated a number of different ways, and since the beginnings and ends of quoted speeches are sometimes difficult to pinpoint, no quotation marks have been supplied in the present edition. Notes on the text begin on p. 249.

Oft him ānhaga	āre ġebīdeð,	
metudes miltse,	þēah þe hē mōdċeariġ	
ġeond lagulāde	longe sċeolde	
hrēran mid hondum	hrīmċealde sǣ,	
wadan wræclāstas.	Wyrð bið ful ārēð.	5
Swā cwæð eardstapa,	earfeþa ġemyndiġ,	
wrāþra wælsleahta,	winemæga hryre:	
Oft ic sċeolde āna	ūhtna ġehwylċe	
mīne ċeare cwīþan.	Nis nū cwicra nān	
þe ic him mōdsefan	mīnne durre	10
sweotule āseċġan.	Ic tō sōþe wāt	
þæt biþ in eorle	indryhten þēaw,	
þæt hē his ferðlocan	fæste binde,	
healde his hordcofan,	hyċġe swā hē wille.	
Ne mæg wēriġ mōd	wyrde wiðstondan,	15
nē sē hrēo hyġe	helpe ġefremman.	
Forðon dōmġeorne	drēorigne oft	
in hyra brēostcofan	bindað fæste,	
swā ic mōdsefan	mīnne sċeolde,	
oft earmċeariġ,	ēðle biðæled,	20
frēomægum feor	feterum sǣlan,	
sipþan ġeāra iū	goldwine mīnne	
hrūsan heolstre biwrāh,	ond ic hēan þonan	
wōð winterċeariġ	ofer waþema ġebind,	
sōhte seledrēorig	sinċes bryttan,	25
hwær ic feor oþþe nēah	fīndan meahte	
þone þe in meoduhealle	mīne wisse,	

- oþþe meç frēondlēasne      frēfran wolde,  
 wēman mid wynnum.      Wāt sē þe cunnað  
 30 hū slīpen bið      sorg tō gefēran  
 þām þe him lýt hafað      lēofra geholena.  
 Warað hine wræclāst,      nales wunden gold,  
 ferðloca frēorig,      nalæs foldan blæd.  
 Ġemon hē seleseġgas      ond sinçþeġe,  
 35 hū hine on ġeoguðe      his goldwine  
 wenede tō wiste.      Wyn eal ġedrēas.  
     Forþon wāt sē þe sčeal      his winedryhtnes  
     lēofes lārcwidum      longe forþolian,  
     ðonne sorg ond slæp      somod ætgædre  
 40 earmne ānhogan      oft ġebindað.  
     Þinceð him on mōde      þæt hē his mondryhten  
     clyppe ond cysse,      ond on cnēo leçġe  
     honda ond hēafod,      swā hē hwīlum ær  
     in ġeārdagum      ġiefstōlas brēc.  
 45 Ðonne onwæcneð eft      winelēas guma,  
     ġesihð him biforan      fealwe wēgas,  
     baþian brimfugas,      brædan feþra,  
     hrēosan hrim ond snāw,      hagle ġemenged.  
     Þonne bēoð þy hefigran      heortan benne,  
 50 sære æfter swæsne.      Sorg bið ġeniwad.  
     Þonne māga ġemynd      mōd ġeondhweorfeð—  
     grēteð ġliwstafum,      ġeorne ġeondsčēawað—  
     seġga ġeseldan      swimmað oft on weġ,  
     flēotendra ferð.      Nō þær fela bringeð  
 55 cūðra cwideġiedda      —cearo bið ġeniwad—  
     þām þe sendan sčeal      swīþe ġeneahhe  
     ofer waþema ġebind      wērigne sefan.  
     Forþon ic ġeþencan ne mæg      ġeond þas woruld  
     for hwan mōdsefa      mīn ne ġesweorce,  
 60 þonne ic eorla lif      eal ġeondþence,  
     hū hī færlīce      flet ofġeafon,  
     mōdġe maguþeġnas.      Swā þes middangearð  
     ealra dōgra ġehwām      drēoseð ond fealleþ;  
     forþon ne mæg weorþan wīs wer      ær hē āġe wintra dæl  
 65 in woruldrīce.      Wita sčeal ġeþyldig,  
     nē sčeal nō tō hātheort      nē tō hrædwyrde,  
     nē tō wāc wīga      nē tō wanhȳdig,

nē tō forht nē tō fægen,      nē tō feohgīfre  
 nē næfre gielpes tō georn,      ær hē geare cunne.  
 Beorn sċeal gebīdan,      þonne hē bēot spriceð,  
 oþ þæt collenferð      cunne gearwe  
 hwider hreþra gehygd      hweorfan wille.

70

Onġietan sċeal glēaw hæle      hū gæstlic bið,  
 þonne ealre þisse worulde wela      wēste stondeð,  
 swā nū missenlice      ġeond þisne middangeard  
 winde biwāune      weallas stonðap,  
 hrīme bihrorene,      hryðge þā ederas.  
 Weorniað þā wīnsalo,      waldend licgað  
 drēame bidrorene,      duguþ eal ġecrong,  
 wlonc bī wealle.      Sume wīg fornorn,  
 ferede in forðweġe:      sumne fugel oþbær  
 ofer hēanne holm,      sumne sē hāra wulf  
 dēaðe ġedælde,      sumne drēorighlēor  
 in eorðscræfe      eorl ġehyðde.

75

Yþde swā þisne eardġeard      ælda sċyppend  
 oþ þæt burgwara      breahmta lēase  
 eald enta ġeweorc      idlu stōdon.  
 Sē þonne þisne wealsteal      wise ġeþōhte  
 ond þis deorce lif      dēope ġeondþenčeð,  
 frōd in ferðe,      feor oft ġemon  
 wælsleahta worn,      ond þās word ācwið:

80

85

90

Hwær cwōm mearg? Hwær cwōm mago?      Hwær cwōm māþpumġyfa?  
 Hwær cwōm symbla ġesetu?      Hwær sindon seledrēamas?

Ēalā beorht bune!      Ēalā byrnwiga!  
 Ēalā þēodnes þrym!      Hū sēo þræg ġewāt,  
 ġenāp under nihthelm,      swā hēo nō wære!  
 Stondeð nū on lāste      lēofre duguþe  
 weal wundrum hēah,      wyrmlicum fāh.  
 Eorlas fornōman      asca þrȳþe,  
 wæpen wælgīfru,      wyrd sēo mære,  
 ond þās stānhleoþu      stormas cnyssað,  
 hrīð hrēosende      hrūsan bindeð,  
 wintres wōma,      þonne won cymeð,  
 nīpeð nihtscūa,      norþan onsendeð  
 hrēo hæġlfare      hāleþum on andan.

95

100

105

Eall is earfoðlic      eorþan rīce,  
 onwendeð wyrda ġesċeaft      weoruld under heofonum.

- Hēr bið feoh læne,      hēr bið frēond læne,  
 hēr bið mon læne,      hēr bið mæg læne;  
 110      eal þis eorþan ġesteal      īdel weorþeð.  
     Swā cwæð snottor on mōde,      ġesæt him sundor æt rūne.  
 Til biþ sē þe his trēowe ġehealdeþ;      ne sceał nǣfre his torn tō rycene  
 beorn of his brēostum ācýþan,      nemþe hē ær þā bōte cunne,  
 eorl mid elne ġefremman.      Wel bið þām þe him āre sēceð,  
 115      frōfre tō fæder on heofonum,      þær ūs eal sēo fæstnung stondeð.

## NOTES ON THE TEXTS

### 1. TWO SELECTIONS FROM THE OLD ENGLISH BEDE

The text of selection A is based on Cambridge Univ. Library, MS. Kk. 3. 18 (Ca), with variants from Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 41 (C), up to *sticode* 57; thereafter begins the text of the superior manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 10 (T), on which the remainder is based, as well as selection B.

4 hī] hi C, he Ca 15 þæt] so C, ond þæt Ca 22 hī] hi C, he Ca 34] suna, þæs fæder wæs Witta hāten] so C, suna Ca 50 forheregeode wæron] so C, wæs forhergiende Ca hruran ond] so C, hrusan a Ca 51 sācerdas ond] so C, sacerdas Ca 90 sčalde] sealde T, sceoldan Ca 116 Gode wyrðes] so Ca, godes wordes T 162 ne wære] so Ca, wære T 181 onhyld] so Ca, ohhyld T

### A. THE ARRIVAL OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN

1. The selection begins after the Britons, for their sins against God, have been attacked by Picts from the north.

**5–6. ġecŷġdon ond ġelaðedon.** Here and at some other places in this text, the *-on* ending on verbs must stand for *-en*, showing early coalescence of the indicative and subjunctive endings (§126). Similarly, *-an* may appear for *-on*, as in ll. 15, 17, 21, etc.

**6. ġestihtad** shows the typical Anglian use of *-ad-* where West Saxon has *-od-* in verbs of the second weak class. The passage contains a number of Anglianisms, some of them specifically Mercian. They include verb forms without West Saxon syncope (e.g. **hāteð** for WS *hāt(t)* 28), **nēh** 50 (with Anglian smoothing of the diphthong *ēa*), **wibedum** 52 (= WS *wēofodum*), **forġēfe** 58 (with Anglian *ē* for WS *ēa*), **dēaglum** 63 (= EWS *dīeglum*), **ġecēġde** 69 (with *ē* for EWS *īe*), **ġeheht** 69 (= WS *ġehēt*), **ġēr** 71 (= WS *ġēar*), **Beadonescan** 71 (with *ea* for WS *a*), and Anglian vocabulary like **nemne** 43 (Mercian) and **nāeniġ** 46.

**7. sweotoliċe** shows simplification of *-ll-* after an unstressed vowel.

**12. Seaxna** depends upon an understood *þēod* (abstracted from *Angelþēod*), and the singular verb shows that with a compound subject, the verb often agrees with just one of the compounded elements.

**15, 16. hī** (the subject of *compedon*) = the Saxons; **hī** (the object of *onhergedon*) = the Britons.

**21. sealdan ond ġēafan.** It is characteristic of OE translations from Latin that they will provide two translations of a single word, perhaps because many translations must have relied on interlinear glosses, in which alternative translations are often provided, as in the glosses in Appendix B, pp. 124–6.

**22. hǣlo.** A not inconsiderable number of feminine nouns ending in *-u* or *-o* and with front mutation of the root vowel are indeclinable in all cases except the genitive and dative plural. These originally had stems ending in *\*-in-*, but analogical processes set in at an early date. Nouns of this type include *bieldu* 'boldness', *brǣdu* 'breadth', *bysgu* 'trouble', *enġu* 'strait', *fyllu* 'fullness', *hǣlu* 'health', *hǣtu* 'heat', *hyldu* 'homage', *ieldu* 'age', *lengu* 'length', *menigū* 'multitude', *ofermēdu* 'pride', *snyttu* 'wisdom', *strenġu* 'strength', *þiestru* 'darkness', *wæstmbæru* 'fertility', *wlenču* 'grandeur', and *wyrþu* 'honor'.

**25. Germānīe** is Latin gen.sg., showing typical medieval *-e* for classical *-ae*.

**26. Ġēatum.** Bede's Latin calls them *Iutae* 'Jutes' (originally from Jutland, in what is now Denmark); the translator (or a scribe) has taken the English equivalent of *Iutae* to be the name of Beowulf's people, who lived in what is now south-central Sweden. The etymologically proper form would be *Ġotum*. Compare the use of *Gotland* 7.75 in reference to Jutland.

**28. mon** is an indefinite pronoun equivalent to French *on*, German *man* 'one', used to form impersonal constructions. Clauses containing it are usually best translated in the passive voice, as here: 'which is called Saxony'. Similarly in 57: 'in exchange for their being given sustenance'.

**28. Ealdseaxan** is an ethnic name rather than a geographical one, but the two types of terminology are interchangeable in Old English. Cf. the mixture of the two types in **of Seaxum ond of Angle and of Ġēatum** above (25–6); cf. also **Ābūlia þære þēode** 7.285.

**29.** The **Middelengle** occupied a large part of the central Midlands, between East Anglia and the home of the **Myrċe** 'Mercians' (literally 'Border-people'), who occupied the West Midlands. **Angulus** is Angeln, in Schleswig-Holstein.

**35. Wihta** is indeclinable. The god **Wōden** also appears in most of the Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies.

**39. wæron on myclum eġe** 'were a great terror' (*essent terrori*).

**41. ġeweredon . . . wið** misconstrues *inito* . . . *foedere cum* 'entered into a compact with'.

**47. þām ðe** 'that in which' or 'that when'.

**48. cynelico ġetimbro somod ond ānlipie** = *aedifica puplica simul et privata*.

**71. þære Beadonescan dūne** renders Bede's *Badonici montis* 'of Mount Badon', an unidentified place.

## B. THE STORY OF CÆDMON

**75.** The abbess alluded to here is Hild (614–79), the founding abbess of the monastery at Whitby (OE *Strðoneshealh*, founded about 650). A niece of Edwin, king of Northumbria, she was baptized in 627 by the missionary Paulinus when the king was converted to Christianity. As with the preceding selection, the passage contains numerous Anglianisms, including **ðeosse** 74 (WS *þisse*), **inbryrd-** 78 (WS *onbryrd-*), uncontracted **ġeseted** 88 (WS *ġeset(t)*), **nēalēcan** 91

(WS *nēalācan*), **gongende** 94 (WS *gānde*), **neahte** 94 (WS *nihte*), **geseġen** 122 (WS *ġesewen*), **ānforlēte** 130 (WS *ānforlēte*), **ġehwerfde** 135 (EWS *ġehwierfde*), **seolf-** 136, 187 (EWS *self-*), **wreoton** 137 (WS *writon*), **ġēmde** 148 (EWS *ġiēmdē*), and **Teala** 179 (WS *tela*).

**80. ġeglængde** shows the frequent spelling <æ> for <e> before a nasal consonant. See §111(c).

**82. ġeþēodnisse** here must mean ‘longing’. The translator seems to have taken *appetitus* in the more literal sense of the past participle of *appetere* ‘approach’ (hence, *appetitus* = ‘nearness’).

**87. efne þā ān þā ðe** ‘just those things alone which’ (*ea tantummodo quae*).

**88. his þā æfēstan tungan:** the use of the demonstrative with a possessive pronoun is primarily an Anglian trait; there is another example in 137. The character *ȝ* (‘*e* caudata’) is equivalent to *æ*.

**89. ġelyfdre** ‘infirm’, though the Latin says only that he was advanced in age.

**91. sċalde** (a Mercianism) = *scolden*. See the note on **mære** 14.26.16.

**95–6. him . . . beboden** ‘entrusted to his care’.

**97. him . . . æt** ‘by him’ (postposed preposition).

**98. Cedmon** is a Celtic name, derived from British \**Catumanos*. Therefore, presumably, the initial consonant was not affricated, though admittedly, the name has been anglicized sufficiently that *a* has changed to *o* before *n*.

**101–2. þū mē āht singan** = *mihi cantare habes*. Thus, *āht* must be an older form of *āht* (to *āgan*). Alternatively, *meaht* could be read for *mē āht*, but this would leave Latin *mihi* untranslated.

**103–4. þære endebyrdnesse** (gen. sg.) is not strictly grammatical and is altered in some manuscripts of the work. The clause renders *quorum iste est sensus* ‘of which (words) this is the sense’.

**105–13.** In manuscripts of the Latin text, the OE poem is added only in the margin or at the end of the work, with a prose summary in Latin at this place. The OE translator substitutes the OE poem for that summary. Omission of the pronoun *wē* with **sċulon** 106 (Lat. *debemus* ‘we ought’) is apparently an archaism.

**120. him ondweardan** means ‘in their presence’, though the construction is more literally absolute, ‘(with) them (being) present’ (§90).

**121. þæt ealra heora dōme ġecoren wære** ‘so that it might be determined by the judgment of all of them’.

**122. geseġen** is an Anglian past/passive participle of *sēon*; cf. WS *ġesewen*.

**126. onfongne.** Note that the past participle agrees in number with *wisan*; except in relatively early texts such as this one, the past participle, if predicative, most commonly is uninflected. **cwōm** is an Anglian preterite of *cuman*.

**131. mid his ġōdum** translates *cum omnibus suis*, which Bede instead intended to mean ‘with all her people’.

**132. *læran***, like many OE infinitives, must be understood to have passive import.

**134. *mid hine gemyndgade*** = *rememorando secum* ‘memorizing it’, an excessively literal translation. Use of the accusative after *mid* is an Anglianism. ***clæne nēten***: a clean (i.e. consumable) beast under Mosaic law chews the cud and has split hooves (see Lev. 11 and Deut. 14).

**137. *wreoton*** (Anglian) = WS *writon* (pret. pl. of *writan*); the ending *-u* on *wynsmumu* (line 54) is also an Anglianism, or an early feature. Bede says nothing about writing down the poems.

**141. *canōnes bōca*** ‘of canonical books’.

**145. *heofonlecan***. The form *-lecan* (for *-lican*, with *e* due to depalatalization of *c* by the following back vowel; similarly in ***regollecum*** 151) is found only in relatively early texts.

**154-5. *ðære tīde nēalæcte*** ‘it came near the time’; *tīde* is dative. There are similar constructions in 167-8 and 177. In regard to ***þā wæs hē fēowertȳnum dagum ær***, in Modern English it would be said that *it* was fourteen days before.

**160. *gongende wæs*** = *erat exiturus* ‘was about to depart’.

**166. *neah*** for *ni(e)ht* is due to early substitution of *ō-* for *i-*stem endings.

**184. *þēode*** ‘he had served’ (inf. *þēowan*), with dative object.

**186. *hē*** is for expected *hēo*, in reference to *sēo tunge*. In actuality, the translator has taken *illaque lingua* for a nominative rather than an ablative; hence, *sēo tunga* should be *mid þære tungan*.

## 2. KING ALFRED’S PREFACE TO THE PASTORAL CARE

The manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 20.

**1-3.** As the letter explains, a copy of the book is to be sent to each bishop in Alfred’s realm. The present copy is addressed to Wærferth, bishop of Worcester. As was standard in Anglo-Saxon letters, the letter begins formally in the third person, but it soon changes to first person. (Third person address in addition probably indicates dictation to a scribe.) The form ***hāteð*** is also formal, being Anglian (cf. WS *hāt*); subsequently, verbs are syncopated (as with ***ðyncð*** in line 43). The form ***wiotan*** (like ***siodo*** 7) shows Anglian back mutation. It should be noted that this word, like many others in the selection (including ***giond*** 3), contains *io* (elsewhere both long and short), whereas WS usually has *eo* instead. Note also EWS ***hwelce*** 2, usually later *hwylce*.

**6. on ðām dagum** is added in a later hand that N.R. Ker has identified as probably that of the homilist Wulfstan.

**11-12.** In the golden age of Anglo-Saxon Christendom (late seventh century to early ninth), England and Ireland had been the most important centers of learning in northern Europe. The eighth century in particular had been the period of the ascendancy of Northumbria for its great scholars, most notably Bede

and Alcuin. The form **hieder** 12 shows the occasional confusion of *i* and *ie* in EWS; similarly **hiene** 22, **siendon** 71.

**21. tō ðāem . . . ðæt** ‘to this end, that’ (or possibly ‘to such an extent that’); **swā . . . oftost** ‘as often as’.

**22–3. ðær ðær** ‘wherever’; **hwelc witu** refers to the depredations of Vikings, perceived as divine retribution for English sins: cf. reading selection 8.

**28. miçel meniġeo** is nominative for expected genitive (parallel to *māðma ond bōca*).

**41. For ðære wilnunga** ‘Intentionally’.

**42. mā** is normally an adverb, but it may be used as in indeclinable pronoun, as here: ‘the more wisdom . . . the more (of) languages’.

**58. hīeran** is comparative of *hēah*. The allusion is to preparing students for the priesthood.

**64–6.** Plegmund was a Mercian, Asser a Welshman; Grimbold came from St. Bertin at Saint-Omer (near Calais), and John was a continental Saxon.

**67. swā . . . andġitfullicost** ‘as sensibly as’.

**68.** An **æstel** (probably from late Lat. *hastella*, diminutive of *hasta* ‘spear’) was likely used to point to words on the page during reading. It may also have been used as a bookmark, though other interpretations have been offered: see the *DOE*. It is possible that the handle of one of Alfred’s *æstellas* is an artifact of gold, enamel, and quartz that is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, called the Alfred Jewel (illustrated on the cover of this book) because an inscription on it reads *AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN* ‘Alfred had me made.’

**69. on fīfteġum mancessan** ‘worth fifty mancuses’.

**70.** The sense ‘it being’ may be assumed before **uncūð**.

**74. oðre bī write** ‘write another by means of it’, i.e. copy it.

### 3. SELECTIONS FROM THE PARKER CHRONICLE FOR 892–900

The manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 173 (A), with variants from London, British Library, Cotton MS. Tiberius B. i (C) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Misc. 636 (E).

4 þridde healf hund] so E, ccl hund A    5 miclan] miclam A, mycclan E, ilcan C  
22 hī] him A, hi C    59 Bēam-] bleam A, beam C    60 ġeworht] ge ge worc<sup>t</sup> A,  
ġeworht C    108 Ond] On A, Ond C    136 wīġerēfa] so C, wicġefera A

**1. sē micla here.** A large force of Vikings had invaded in 879 but did not remain, crossing the Channel and harrying among the Franks before being defeated in 891. It returned to England the following year.

**2.** The **ēastrīce** is East Francia, the eastern Frankish kingdom.

**3. āsettan him . . . ofer**, i.e. crossed the English Channel.

4. **Limene.** The Lympe ([lɪm]), west of Folkestone in Kent, was a larger and more important waterway in Anglo-Saxon times than at the present day. **þridde healf hund** = 250.

5. **Andred** is the Weald, which extended from Kent into Hampshire. It is named after the Roman fort Anderidos (Pevensey) and shows the usual effect of initial placement of the accent in Old English.

7. **tugon up hiora sċipu** ‘rowed their ships up’.

8. **fram þām mūþan ūtewardum**, i.e. from the entrance of the estuary.

10. **Hæstēn** (ON *Hásteinn*) was a Viking leader with the forces in Francia from 866.

13–14. **on þām ēastrīce ġeweorc ġeworht hæfdon.** The reference is to a fort at Leuven (in modern Belgium) occupied by the Danes between their defeat and their departure for England.

15. **foreġisla** are presumably hostages taken while the terms of the treaty were still under negotiation.

17. **on heora healfe.** It is uncertain whether *heora* refers to the armies of the invading Danes or to the Northumbrians and East Angles (i.e. the Scandinavians already settled in those areas).

18–19. **þær þær hē niehst rȳmet hæfde for wudufæstenne ond for wæter-fæstenne.** The sense is probably that Alfred camped where he could easily reach the Danish fort in the woods (Appledore) and the one on the Thames (Milton Regis), which were some forty km. apart. **æġþerne** refers to either army, since it agrees with *here* instead of *fæstenn*.

20. **feld sēcān** refers to the Vikings’ exposing themselves to pitched battle in the open, something they tended to avoid.

21. **efes.** An inflectionless construction like this, which is common with words related to place (cf. **hām** 24), is usually called an “‘endless locative,” patterned after actual locatives (a PIE case) from which the inflection was lost in prehistoric times.

29. The second **þā** is the object of **ferian**.

33. **āne iġgað.** According to Alfred’s descendant Æthelweard (d. ca. 998), whose *Chronicon* is a Latin translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with additions, the island was Thorney in Buckinghamshire, about ten km. northeast of Windsor.

34. **hæfdon . . . stemn gesetenne** ‘had completed their tour of duty’.

44. **ġewaldenum** ‘manageable’, i.e. not of much account.

51. **his cumpæder** in the present context means ‘his son’s godfather’.

61. **Sealwudu** ‘Selwood’ was a forest in Somerset.

78. **freten.** The verb *fretan* is usually reserved to mean ‘eat’ (it is a derivative of *etan*) with subjects other than humans.

106. **tugon:** see the note on l. 7.

116. **þære ēas:** note the instance of the masc. inflection on the fem. noun, a rare occurrence early in the period.

**128. Godes þonces** is adverbial: ‘God be thanked’.

**143–4. on Frēsisc . . . on Denisc** ‘on the Frisian (Danish) model’.

**148. faran mid nigonum tō þāra nīwena scipa:** *tō* is an adverb ‘to that place’; *scipa* depends upon *nigonum*.

**150. æt ufewardum þæm mūðan** ‘above the estuary’, i.e. where the estuary becomes a river.

**152. æt ðæm mūðan ūtewardum:** see the note on l. 8.

**154. forðy . . . ðe** ‘because’; **ðāra oþerra** refers to the English, as does **þā** at the start of the next sentence.

**174. Apulfing** ‘son of Æþelwulf’; **ealra hāligra mæssan** ‘Allhallows’, i.e. the feast of all saints (Nov. 1).

#### 4. ÆLFRIC ON THE THREE ESTATES

The manuscript is London, British Library, Cotton MS. Julius E. vii (J), with variants from Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. MS 198 (C).

15 ġesewenlice feohtað] *so C*, feohtað *J*    25 ġeiptisca] *so C*, egyptisc *J*

**22.** Julian the Apostate, nephew of Constantine I, reigned as emperor 361–363 CE and attempted to restore paganism as the official religion of the empire. He was not a systematic persecutor of Christians.

**43. his scýppende tō tēonan** ‘as an insult to his creator’.

#### 5. THE VISION OF LEOFRIC

The unique manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 367.

23–4 his druncennysse] *is drucennysse*    26 cýrcward] *cýrward*    28 þām] *þa*  
33 mæsserēafe] *mæsse*    38 wurdon] *wurðen*    39 swiðor] *þæt swiðor*    41 þæs þe  
hē ærost wēnde] *þe he ærost*    50 ðæt] *ð*    58 þone] *þonne*    70 agene] *agenne*  
76 þone] *þonne*

**15. Hwæt sceoll þæs fūla mann** ‘Why is this unclean person’.

**18.** The first **ġebyr(d)tīd** is delivery from the womb and the second baptism. At the time of all three births one’s soul is as immaculate as a newborn’s.

**21. Crīstes cýričan** is Christ Church (Cathedral), Canterbury.

**26. ofer eall** ‘in spite of everything’, i.e. despite the noise made by Leofric.

**22. on æfen** is an endlingless locative: see the note on **efes** 3.21.

**42. swā lengre swā hlūddre** ‘the louder the longer (it continued)’. To **lengre** compare *leng* in the same construction four sentences below. Wulfstan’s expression *hit is on worolde aa swā leng swā wyrse* in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (reading selection 8 below, line 4) shows that the comparative after the first *swā* might be an adverb even if that after the second was an adjective.

**51. swylce hit tō ġewitnessæ wære** ‘as if it were in witness (of it)’, i.e. as if the boy had been caused to stay awake to lend credence to Leofric’s account.

57. **hē þā inn ēode** refers to Leofric.

62. **gōd hande brād**, i.e. of a good hand's breadth, literally 'good by a hand broad'.

71. An inflection on **lang** was apparently thought unnecessary after **smale**.

#### 6. ÆLFRIC'S PASSION OF SAINT AGATHA

The unique manuscript is London, British Library, Cotton MS. Julius E. vii.

45 **bēo**] **be** 75 **godas**] **godes** 150 **mīnne**] **mine** 184 **oð**] **of**

12. **hēo** refers to Agatha.

14. Unlike Gk. *Ἀφροδῖσια*, the accent in the Old English name falls, unusually enough, on the second syllable, as revealed by the alliteration in lines 14 and 25.

19. **Ēower** is genitive of *ġē*; similarly **ūre** 55, to *wē*.

42–3. Cf. the Bollandist text: *Cur moribus te servilem personam ostendis?* 'Why to you present yourself by your manners in the character of a servant?'

57. **cwæð** is for *cweð*.

64. Note that **Uenus** alliterates on [f], and it was probably pronounced with initial [f], since, etymologically, Old English had no sound [v] at the beginning of a word (though initial [f] became [v] in some southwestern dialects, thus accounting for MnE *vat* and *vixen*, OE *fæt* and *fyxe*, fem. of *fox*). In any case, [f] and [v] were allophones in Old English, and so they did not contrast.

74. **ġeeuenlācenne** is a Latinate spelling for *ġeefenlācenne*, like **byuigende** 174.

75–6. Cf. the *Acta*: *Si enim veri dii sunt, bonum tibi optavi* 'If they are true gods, then I've only wished you good'. **wit cweðað þonne ān** renders *mecum sentis* 'you feel the way I do'.

77–9. Cf. the *Acta*: *Dic ergo eos tam pessimos esse, tamque sordidissimos, vt qui maledicere voluerit aliquem, talem illum optet esse, qualis fuit execrabilis vita eorum* 'Therefore, call them so wicked and filthy that whoever wishes to curse someone may wish him to be just as their execrable life was'.

101. **Crīst mē is for hāle**. Cf. the *Acta*: *Salus mea Christus est* 'Christ is my well-being'.

112. The object **life** remains in the dative case when *beorgan* is passivized.

137. The Greek versions identify this **apostol** as St. Peter.

172. In the *Acta* the two **rædboran** are named Silvanus and Falconius, and the latter is described only as Silvanus's friend. **þæs stuntan** 170 refers to Quintianus.

200. Though **āwritene** modifies *marmstān*, emendation to *āwritenne* is unnecessary, as participles in phrases very often do not agree with the nouns they modify, especially late in the period: see Mitchell 1985: §42(2).

201. **spontaneam** is the reading of some manuscripts of the *Acta*, but the better ones have *spontaneum*, modifying *honorem*. Ælfric's translation, too, makes better sense this way.

**202. eardes ālȳsednyss** ‘deliverance to her native country’, i.e. heaven.

**203.** In the *Acta* this **enċgel**, who to this point has been called only a *juvenis* ‘youth’, is said never to have been seen before *or after* this incident, and this is why the Catanians decide he must have been an angel.

**234.** A formula: *cui est honor et gloria et potestas in saecula saeculorum*.

#### 7. THREE SELECTIONS FROM THE OLD ENGLISH OROSIUS

The manuscript is London, British Library, MS. Additional 47967 (T), known as the Tollemache Orosius, with variants from London, British Library, Cotton MS. Tiberius B. i (C). The latter serves as the sole witness to the text from *bið* 31 to *winter* 134, due to the loss of a gathering from T.

3 þæt þæt] *so C*, þæt *T* 29 hors-] *so C*, horsc *T* 68 þone] þonne *C* 75 siððan] siðða *C* 98 Estlande] eastlande *C* 101 Estland] eastland *C* 112 þe hi] *hi C* 120 swiftoste] swifte *C* 131 Estum] eastum *C* 140 oðer] oðer *C*, *erased in T* 172 *Amazanas*] *so C*, amazanas *T* 206 gefeohte sōhte] *so C*, gefeohten *T* 207 bemurcniad] bemurciað *C* wyrs sie] *so C*, wursie *T* 212 landes æt] *so C*, æt *T* 227 þēatra] þeatra *C*, þreata *T* 230 būton] buton *C*, buto *T* 250 Mæcedonie] mæcedonie *C*, mæcedemonie *T* 253 hiene] hie *T*, hine *C* 254 begongende] *so C*, begonde *T* his godas] *so C*, his *T* 255 þā] þa *C*, and þa *T* 272 þon] þonne *TC* 293 swā swiðe slēande] swa swiðe sleande *C*, sleande *T* 296 þāra] þa *T*, þæra *C* 299 berendes] *so C*, beren *T*

#### A. THE VOYAGES OF OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN

**17.** There is no consensus about which river is meant by **ān miċel ēa**; the likeliest candidate is probably the Varzuga, which empties into the White Sea on the southern shore of the Kola Peninsula.

**19. ēas.** See the note on 3.116.

**23.** There is no general agreement about the identification of the Biarmians, but they must have been inhabitants of the Kola Peninsula north of the White Sea, part of Murmansk Oblast in what is now the extreme northwest of Russia.

**26. ymb hie ūtan** ‘around them’; cf. *ymbūtan* in the Glossary.

**27. hwæt þæs sōþes wæs**, lit. ‘what was of the truth’.

**34. hē . . . syxa sum** ‘he (as) one of six’, i.e. with five companions.

**53–4. swā norðor swā smælre** ‘the farther north the narrower’.

**70–1. on þæt stēorbord him bið ærest Īra land.** No entirely satisfactory explanation has been devised to account for why Ireland should be the first land to loom on the starboard on a voyage from Norway to Denmark. It has been suggested that **Īra land** refers to what is now Scotland, given the Irish presence there in this period (cf. the frequent references to Ireland as *Scōtta land* in Alfredian literature), but such a usage is unparalleled, and it raises difficulties in regard to explaining the islands that are subsequently said to lie between **Īra land** and

England. Whatever the meaning of the reference to Ireland may be, Öhthere seems to be thinking in terms of large distances across the North Sea when he says that Ireland and England are on the starboard on a southward voyage from Hålogaland before arrival off **Scīringes heal** in Norway.

**75–6. Sillende** apparently refers not to Zealand but to an area north of the Eider in Schleswig-Holstein. The great sea referred to here is the Baltic.

**78. æt Hæþum.** Hedeby, on the Baltic in the south of the Jutland Peninsula, flourished as a Danish trading center from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. The preposition **æt** is occasionally used with place names in Old English for an expected nominative or accusative, the way various prepositions are used with place-names in Old Norse to indicate which preposition is conventionally employed with this place-name.

**85. Trūsō** is generally thought to be Družno, a lake south of Elbląg (Elbing) in what is now Poland.

**89. þā** refers to **Burgenda** ‘the Burgundians’, i.e. residents of Bornholm. Note the shift to first-person narrative beginning with **ūs**.

**91. ēg** is an Anglian spelling, as are **fiftēne** 96 and **hafað** 120. Also Anglian is vocabulary like **in** for *on* in 96, 97, **þēowan** for **þēowas** 104, **nāniġ** 105, possibly **fætels** for **fætelsas** 133; and the unsyncope verbs in 94, 96, 99, etc.

**131. þæt** ‘such that’.

**133. fætels** is normally masc., but since both it and **full** are uninflected here, in this instance they would appear to be neuter. On the other hand, **twēgen** is a masc. form, though possibly an Anglian neuter. But if **fætels** is neuter, **twēgen** may be an expansion of *.ii.* in the exemplar, put into masculine form by the scribe because the noun is normally masculine.

## B. THE AMAZONS

This and the following selection from the Old English Orosius are typical of the translator’s method: they are both relatively faithful to the Latin, though in both instances some final, moralizing material about the folly of attributing Rome’s ills to Christian belief has been left untranslated.

**136–7.** The Latin says instead that Vesozes attempted to subdue regions widely separated. On **sceolden** 140 see the note on **mæge** 189.

**158. on hiora mōde.** When an attribute is said to be had by two or more persons, the attribute is usually in the singular.

**163. on him fultum hæfden** ‘would have support from them’. The preterite subjunctive is timeless when it expresses unreal or unfulfilled conditions (§44) and thus may indicate a condition that lies in the future from the point of time of narration.

**189. mæge.** Auxiliaries are frequently used without a main verb, the sense of which must be supplied. Here the sense “be contained” may be assumed.

**192. þæt wæron.** As in some other Germanic languages, the verb commonly agrees in number with the subject complement (or “predicate nominative”) rather than the dummy subject.

**202. hie hit folnēah tō nānum fācne nē tō nānum lāðe næfdon** ‘they almost considered it no evil and no injury’. The Latin says rather that the troubles of the times were not due to people’s foibles, in keeping with Orosius’s theme of showing that Christianity was not to blame for Romans’ troubles.

**206.** On subjunctive plural **sōhte** see the note on **mære** 14.26.16.

**210–11.** ‘and on account of their strength and on account of their valor they could have control of you yourselves against your will’ (**habban** w. gen. object).

**219.** The masc. pronoun **hē** is peculiar (the antecedent, **þēod**, is fem.) but not uncharacteristic.

**222–3. Hū wēne gē hwelce sibbe þā weras hæfdon** ‘What kind of peace do you suppose those men had?’.

#### C. PYRRHUS’S WARS WITH ROME

**231–2. sume him wið fēo gesealdon** ‘some ransomed themselves in exchange for money’. This is a misconstrual of the Latin, which says that they were sold into slavery.

**238. þæt wæron.** See the note on 192 above.

**240. þæt hie ðā ne forluren þe þær út fōre, hæfde bearn sē þe mehte** ‘that they not lose those who went out there (on campaign), regardless of having children (literally “he who could might have children”)’. That is, circumstances were dire enough that ensuring victory was the first concern. The change of number between **ðā** and **fōre** is due to **þe**, treated as grammatically singular.

**261. nē seġgan ne hīrdon** ‘nor had heard say of’.

**268. sċeoldon.** See the note on **mæge** 189. **.iiii. .x. .m.** ‘fourteen thousand’.

**296. wæs ġefaren** ‘had died’.

**318. hī** refers to the Romans.

#### 8. SERMO LUPI AD ANGLOS

The manuscript is London, British Library, Cotton MS. Nero A. i (I), containing corrections in a hand that is probably Wulfstan’s, with variants from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 113 (E).

8 spæcan] spæcan E, swæcan I 19 manna] so E, mana I 47 ūs] us E, omitted I  
 49 ġetrywða] getrywða E, getryða I 51 ne fadode] nefadode E, fadode I  
 67 wille] After this word I adds Eac we witan georne hwær seo yrmð gewearð.  
 later marked for deletion (cf. lines 73–4) 79 ġecnāwe] gecnawe E, gecnewe I  
 82 hwylc] hwylc E, wylc I 100 worold-] woruld E, wolod I 114 þurh  
 (second)] so E, þur I 120 oftost on] so E, oftost I 124 -fyrhte] fyrhte E, fyhte I

130 heora misdæda] heora misdæda *E*, heo *I*, *w.* re misdæda *added in margin*  
 150 fordōn] fordon *E*, fordom *I* 165 miclan] *so E*, miclam *I*

**1–2.** ‘The sermon of Wolf to the English when the Danes persecuted them most, which was in the year 1014 from the incarnation of our lord Jesus Christ.’ Although the manuscripts disagree about the date, 1014 seems likeliest, in part because that is when the country was in the greatest turmoil. King Æthelred II was expelled in favor of the Dane Swein Forkbeard and departed for Normandy after Christmas in 1013; the new year (1014) was reckoned to begin Dec. 25.

**4.** *swā leng swā wyrse* ‘the worse the longer (it goes on)’. Cf. the note on 5.42.

**7.** *dēofol*. Wulfstan often uses this word without the demonstrative.

**17.** On *sceal* without a main verb, see the note on *mæge* 7.189.

**19–20.** *Godes ġerihta* include the payment of tithes and Peter’s pence.

**24.** *inne and ūte*. Wulfstan is thinking not only of the spoliation of churches (to pay Danegeld: see the note on 47) but of the alienation of church properties such as farmland. Some churches were also sacked by rapacious nobles.

**34–5.** The selling of persons abroad was of particular concern because the purpose was often to provide human victims for heathen sacrifice.

**40.** *ġecnāwe sē ðe cunne* is literally ‘let him perceive who knows how’, i.e. whoever can understand.

**47.** *unġylða*. One reason for King Æthelred’s unpopularity was his policy of buying off the Danish invaders, necessitating enormous taxes (Danegeld).

**56–7.** *dō māre ġif hē mæge* is literally ‘let him do more if he can’, i.e. without restraint or compunction.

**62.** *Ēadweard* is King Edward II, known as the Martyr, son of King Edgar. He reigned briefly from 975 and was murdered under obscure circumstances in 978 or 979. Cremation of the dead violated Church practice.

**66.** *mæpe witan* ‘show respect’.

**70–1.** *ġemæne* modifies *cwenan*. *ġeliccast* is analogical to compar. *ġeliccra*.

**75–6.** On the construction with plural verb *syndan* and singular subject *þæt*, see the note on 7.192.

**85.** *liġe æġylde ealre his mæġðe* ‘he would lie (sj.) without payment of compensation to all his family’.

**86.** *þeġenġylde*. The ending, unusual for the acc., is most likely due to borrowing of the word, a *hapax legomenon* in OE; cf. ON *þegnġildi*. Wulfstan’s writings contain many words apparently borrowed from Norse—unsurprisingly, given the Scandinavian presence in York. This explains, for instance, *fēseð* (92) for expected *fýsed* or *fýst*; cf. ON *feysa*.

**96–7.** *wyrċð him tō þræle* ‘makes (him) his slave’; *him* is dat. of possession.

**115–16.** *forloren and forlogen*. See the note on *onfongen* 1.126.

**120.** *on þā þing* ‘in regard to those things’.

**121.** *is nū ġeworden wīde and sīde tō ful yfelan ġewunan* ‘it has now come far and wide to a very bad practice’, i.e., a very bad practice has arisen.

**147. Gildas**, a sixth-century British cleric. In his *De excidio Britanniae* ‘On the Overthrow of Britain’ he documents the post-Roman period in Britain and, like Wulfstan in this sermon, rails against his countrymen’s sins.

**153. clumedan** is usually rendered ‘mumbled’, but cf. ME *clum* ‘silence’.

**166. sculon.** See the note on *mæge* 7.189.

#### 9. WULFSTAN, *DE FALSIS DIES*

The unique manuscript is E, as in selection 8.

13 godas] godes    28 fēngon] fenge    49 god] gód

**32. macode heora lif tō lyre sōna on ġeġogoðe** ‘brought their lives to a close prematurely in youth’.

**39. æfter hǣðenscype ġeteald** ‘accounted in paganism’, i.e. in the opinion of pagans.

**55–7.** Mercury (Odin as identified by the *interpretatio Romana*) was worshipped at crossroads because one of his offices was patron of travelers. It is Odin (OE *Wōden*) rather than Mercury whose worship was associated with hills. The Romans identified Jove with Thor (OE *Þunor* ‘Thunder’) rather than Odin because Thor was originally the chief god and, like Jupiter, the god of thunder.

**72. heom tō lage sylfum** ‘as a law for themselves’.

**77. waldend.** This Anglian (hence elevated) spelling is especially common in verse, but it is not foreign to prose in solemn contexts.

**78. in ealra worulda woruld ā būtan ende.** See the note on 6.234.

#### 10. BOETHIUS AND THEODORIC

The unique manuscript for the prose is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 180 (2079). The manuscript for the verse is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 12 (J), the unique transcript of now-destroyed portions of London, British Library, Cotton MS. Otho A. vi.

23 ārwyrðā] arwyrðā wæs    61 þām] þan    81 Gotena] Gotene J    88 ealle] ealla J    114 Gotena] Godena J    149 carcernes] carcerne J

**1–5.** This first sentence lacks a principal clause. Radagaisus (d. 406) was a Gothic king who invaded Italy in 405 with the intent of obliterating the city of Rome. Alaric (370–410), king of the Visigoths, on his third attempt succeeded in entering and sacking Rome in 410.

**5.** Theodoric (stressed illogically on the first *o*, as if from Greek *θεός* ‘God’; also spelt *Theoderic*) was king of the Ostrogoths 471–526 and ruler of Italy 493–526. It was his aim to restore the glory of Rome, and his reign provided much-needed stability in Italy. He grew increasingly suspicious over the course of his reign, however, and a number of prominent Romans suffered as a result.

6. The Ostrogoths were followers of the teachings of the early fourth-century Egyptian Arius, who preached the subordination of Christ to God the Father, in opposition to their coequality in traditional Trinitarian belief.

9–10. John I was pope 523–526. He died in prison, having incurred the suspicion of Theodoric that he was conspiring with the Eastern emperor. He was not beheaded, as claimed in line 119.

15–20. There is no evidence that Boethius actually conspired in the way described here.

29. **ġecōpliċe** ‘fitting (words)’. Alternatively, the word could be an adverb.

32–3. **þā ðā iċ him æfre betst truode** ‘those in which I always had most trust’: **him** in a sense lends dat. case to **þā ðā** (see §35). On sg. **bæc** see 7.158 note.

37. On **cōm** as auxiliary, see §58. **Wisdōm**, characterized as masculine (but cf. **hyre** 153), corresponds to *Philosophia* in the Latin, though as yet unnamed there. In regard to **þæt mīn murnende mōd**, see the note on 1.88. The construction here demonstrates another aspect of Mercian influence on EWS. The verb *murnan* (similarly *spurnan*), though of the third class, has *u* in the present because it is a so-called aorist present, a type of strong verb with a weak ablaut grade in the present. This anomaly also (ultimately) explains the appearance of *ū* rather than *ēo* in the present of some verbs of the second class (§86), as well as some other irregularities in strong verbs: see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §6.36.

38. **hū** may be equivalent to Lat. *nonne*, introducing a direct question, and is thus not to be translated.

46. **þæt Mōd** corresponds to Boethius himself in the translator’s rather loose treatment. The OE work is less a translation than an adaptation.

51–2. **þær þær hī teohhodon þæt hī hine eallne habban sċeoldon** ‘wherever they had determined that they should have all of him’.

60. **sē Wisdōm** and **sēo Ġescċādwiſnes** correspond to one person, *Philosophia*, in the Latin.

64. On the construction with plural verb **sint** and singular subject **þis**, see the note on 7.192.

66. **þæt** agrees with **þis**, both neuter.

76. **siġeþēoda twā** refers to Visigoths and Ostrogoths, whose homelands on the Pontic littoral were divided by the Dniester.

80. **Muntġiop** may be an error (for *-ġiow*), since *p* and *p* (*wynn*) are similarly confused elsewhere: see, e.g., the textual variants on 8.8.

85. **Hī ġelæstan swuā** ‘They did just that’.

87. **sæstrēamum in**. The postposition of normally prepositive prepositions is a characteristic of poetic style.

97. **Wæs ġehwæðeres waa** ‘There was misery on both accounts’, i.e. over ceding their wealth and pledging fealty.

100. **Stōd þraġe on ðām** ‘(Things) stood for a while in that (condition)’.

113. **lēofre**. Although a subject complement (predicate nominative) usually agrees with the subject in case, number, and gender, exceptions like this do occur.

117. **gōdra ġehwilcum** ‘against all good (practices)’.

131–2. **listum ymbe ðenċean þearfliċe, hū** ‘cunningly to think with care about how’.

144. **eġe from ðām eorle**. That is, Theodoric was afraid of Boethius.

165. **uncūðre ær hwilum fond** ‘at times formerly (I) arranged unfamiliar (discourse: dsf.)’.

169–70. The antecedent of **þe** is **heora**; **him** goes with **þe**, making it dative, the object of **truwian**: ‘which I was always best accustomed to trusting in’.

# 11. CONSTANTINE GOES TO BATTLE, FROM CYNEWULF’S *ELENE*

The unique manuscript is Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare cxvii, known as the Vercelli Book.

11 lindhwata lēodġeborga] leod hwata lind ge borga    12 Æðelinges] æðelnges  
14 -weard] wearð    21 Hūgas] hunas    26 eal sib] eal    49 þonne] þone  
58 scēawede] sceawedon    68 hie] he    90 ġeglenġed] gelenged    119 heoru-]  
heora    124 swēorum] sweotolū    126 here-] hera    151 -bold sēcan] bord  
stenan    184 tācen] tacne

2–3. The Latin says rather that it was in the two hundred thirty-third year after the *passion* of Christ, but even that is incorrect, as Constantine reigned 306–37.

16. **hrōðer** is an *s*-stem noun with an etymologically correct endless dative.

20. **Hūna**. The Latin mentions no specific peoples, and Huns are an impossibility, as they did not arrive in Europe until ca. 370.

21–2. **Hūgas** is more plausible than *Hūnas* (as in the manuscript) both because the Huns have just been mentioned in the preceding line and because *Hūgas* is elsewhere used in conjunction with references to the Franks, of whom they seem to have comprised a subgroup, if the name is not simply an epithet for Franks in general. Line 22 is defective, and it is more likely a scribal insertion than a result of some omission (of a verse), since it is metrically uncharacteristic of Cynewulf, with the light initial syllable of **weras** abnormally following the resolved pair of syllables in **hwate** 22, the repetition of which from 21 is clumsy.

24–5. **Wordum ond bordum hōfon herecombol** ‘With speeches and shields they raised the war-banner’.

27–30. The collocation of certain animals in anticipation of receiving their fill of the coming slaughter recurs frequently enough in poetry to merit a term, the “beasts of battle topos.” See also 52–3 and 110–13. **Ūriġfedōra** is inflected weak either because adjectives may be so inflected in verse even in indefinite constructions or because it is substantivized, as an appositive to **earn**.

31. **burg enta** ‘fastness of giants’ (i.e. mountains?) is written as one word in the manuscript. It may be corrupt, but none of the proposed emendations is persuasive.

32. **herġum** ‘in battalions’. **swylċe**, on which **ymsittendra** depends, is in apposition to **beaduþrēata mǣst** unless **scynde** is transitive, in which event it is its object. The Huns did drive other ethnic groups into the Roman Empire, but they also formed alliances with Rome’s enemies.

45. **beran ūt** ‘to be brought out’ (?): see §58 on passive rendering of infinitives.

50. **rōfne** refers to Constantine.

56. **cāfe**, though in apposition to **mǣgen**, disagrees with it in number; likewise **elþeodige** and **here** 57–8, where the implied subject is Constantine.

62. **riċes ne wēnde**, i.e., he did not expect victory.

71. **siġerōfum ġeseġen** is parallel to **sylfum ætŷwed þām cāsere**, though in regard to **siġerōfum**, referring to Constantine, the dative expresses agency.

84. **hreðerlocan onspēon**. Although in another of Cynewulf’s poems (*Juliana* 79) he uses a phrase similar to this one to mean (probably) ‘spoke’, here it seems to mean that Constantine opened his heart to the approaching revelation. Possibly, however, the phrase is a parenthesis meaning ‘he (the angel) had spoken’.

88. **friðowebba** is in other contexts used only in reference to a bride given with the aim of securing peace between peoples.

99. The poem is divided into fifteen fitts, though no number is inserted before the first.

114–15. Cynewulf occasionally employs rhyme without abandoning the alliterative scheme.

118. **ġeolorand**. The shield is more likely yellow because it is made of lindenwood than because it is decorated with gold.

125. **grīma**. For an example of a masked helmet, see Fig. 5 in Fulk, Bjork, & Niles 2009. The Sutton Hoo helmet is also masked.

145. **Constantinō** bears a Latin dative ending.

162. **boldes brytta** shows the poetic tradition in an evolving state. The original meaning of **brytta** is ‘breaker’ or ‘divider’, hence ‘dispenser’, the sense in which the *Beowulf* poet uses the word, as in *sinċes brytta* ‘dispenser of treasure’ in *The Wanderer* (16.25), always in reference to a lord, whereas for Cynewulf the word has simply become synonymous with ‘lord’.

190. Silvester I, who was pope 314–35, oversaw Constantine’s conversion. **þām** 191 refers to him.

193. **dryhtne tō willan** ‘as the lord wished’.

## 12. VAINGLORY

The unique manuscript is Exeter, Dean and Chapter MS. 3501, known as the Exeter Book.

3 onwrēah]	onwearh	8 witan]	witon	10 hine ne]	hine	12 druncen]	
drucen	13 -hēgendra]	hergendra	24 þringeð]	þringe	36 fēoð]	feoh	
60 -ledan]	lædan	70 feond]	freond				

8. *scyldum bescyredne* ‘cut off by his offenses’; *on ġesceād witan* ‘distinguish’ or ‘differentiate’.

11. This appears to be the only instance of *āmyrran* with a dative object.

12. *druncen tō riçe* (parallel to *gælsan* as object of *læteð*) ‘excessive drinking’.

16–18. *witan fundiaþ hwylc æscstede inne in ræcede mid werum wuniġe*. The sense of this appears to be that they wish to determine which of them (*hwylc*) will be left occupying the metaphorical field of battle (*æscstede*, where *æsc* = ‘spear’) when they have finished exchanging words. Possibly *fundiaþ* is an error for *fandiaþ* ‘attempt’, as the combination of *witan* and *fundiaþ* is unusual.

35–6. *Hē þā scylde ne wāt fæhþe ġefremede* ‘He does not recognize the offense(s) caused by feuding’.

64. *on hyra sylfra dōm* ‘at their own discretion’. Cf. ON *sjálfðæmi* ‘self-judgment’, an arrangement whereby the offended party in a lawsuit is authorized to set the penalty.

72–3. Although *āstigan* is normally intransitive, here it appears to take *drēam* as its direct object.

77. *mid wuldorcýning*. Use of the accusative with *mid* is an Anglian dialect feature.

79–81. *þām bið simle gæst ġegæderad, Godes āgen bearn, wilsum in worlde* ‘a devoted spirit is always associated with him in the world: God’s own child’.

82. *hælo rædes* ‘of the benefit of salvation’.

### 13. SOUL AND BODY II

The manuscript is Exeter, Cathedral 3501, known as the Exeter Book.

17 *druge þū*] *druguþu*    30 *Eardode ic*] *ic*    42 *stronge*] *strong*    45 *nēd*] *ne*    101 *ēðringe*] *edringe*    103 *tōleoþode*] *tohleoþode*    115–16] *These lines transposed, 116 before 115*    116 *ēagan*] *eaxan*

7–8. *swā him in worulde ær efne þæt eorðfæt ær ġeworhte* ‘in proportion as that very body had earlier gained for itself in the world’.

10. *sawle* is probably genitive, dependent on *gæst*.

12. A verse is missing here also from the version in the Vercelli Book.

20. *tō won þinre sawle sið siþþan wurde* ‘what the fate of your soul would later amount to’.

50. *menn tō ġemæccan* ‘as a spouse to a person’.

56. *bān birēafod* ‘(your) stripped bones’ is the subject of *sculon*.

59. *swā þū worhtest tō mē* ‘as you have deserved from me’.

65. The faulty alliteration can be explained if *ær* is an error for *hēr*, i.e. on earth. Infinitives in scansion are occasionally treated like finite verbs.

73. *būtan þū hȳ ġedælde dryhtne sylfum*. Giving valuables to the Church is a virtue frequently mentioned in OE pious poems.

74. **æt̃es tiolode** ‘provided with fodder’. **tiolode** is weak because **nēat** is definite, being modified by **eorþan**.

82. **bū** is neuter because the body (neut., like *līc* and *hrā*; see **lēofre** 49) and soul (fem., like *sāwl*) are different genders (see p. 47).

88. **wunde, wiþerlēan** are perhaps best construed as objects of **ġehýran**, parallel to **dāda**. ‘Requital’ is not, strictly speaking, something God ought to ‘hear’, but the logic of OE verse is not infrequently associative rather than consistent, especially when, as here, the rhetorical effect is telling.

90. **nāniġ tō þæs lýtel lið** ‘no member so small’.

93. **hwæt dō wit unc** ‘what will we do for ourselves’.

109. On dat. sg. **hrōþor**, see the note on **hrōðer** 11.16.

112. **nādle**. ‘Than’ in comparisons may be expressed by the dative case.

115–16. The reversal of these two lines follows the Vercelli version.

120. **Þæt mæg æghwylcum men tō ġemyndum mōdsnotterra** ‘It can be a reminder to every one of the wise’.

#### 14. A SELECTION OF RIDDLES FROM THE EXETER BOOK

5.5 mē] mec    5.6 forwurðe] for wurde    5.8 hond-] ȝ    5.10 lād̃ra] laðran  
 6.10 bēte] betan    8.8 sittað swigende] siteð nigende    8.9 þe] þa  
 9.1 ofġēafun] ofgeafum    9.3 meç ān] mec    9.4 þeçcan] weccan    9.6 swē  
 ārlīce] snearlīce    10.7 hrægle] hrægl    12.6 beorne] beorn    14.9 on  
 bordum] bordum    14.14 on wiçge] wicge    14.17 wrāþum] wrāþþum  
 16.2 sæcce fremman] sæcce    21.7 bearwe] bearwe    23.3 on] of    23.9 æror]  
 ær    24.7 ·X·] ·x·    25.4 stapol] staþol    25.10 sēo] se    26.6 ecġ] ecge  
 26.8 ġeondstrēd] ġeond sped    26.12 hýde] hyþe    26.27 niþþum] niþum  
 27.2 beorg-] burg    27.7 weorpe] weorpere    27.8 esne] efne    29.2 hornum  
 bitwēonum] horna abitwēonū    29.4 hāme] ham    29.5 ātimbran] atimbram  
 29.9 bedrāf] bedræf    29.11 ōnette] o netteð    31.4 nōwer] on  
 31.6 -weard] wearð    31.13 ærest] ær    31.15 habbað] habbad    31.22 baru]  
 bær    31.24 sīo wiht] wiht    33.3 hleahtor] leahtor    33.5 sāwe] sæne  
 33.7 onbond] bond    33.9 mægð̃a] mæg da    33.11 loden] liden    35.8 ām]  
 amas    35.14 ġewæde] ge wædu    38.2 -myrþe] myrwe    39.4 mārān]  
 maram    39.10 folme] folm    39.11 ēagena] eage ne    42.4 spēow] speop  
 42.11 þæs] wæs    44.7 efenlang] efe lang    45.1 weaxan] weax    46.3 hyra]  
 hyre    50.4 for-] fer    51.4 flēag on] fleotgan

5. The solution is agreed to be “shield.”

5.7. **homera lāfe** ‘what is left by hammers’ after forging, i.e. swords.

5.8. **heoroscearp** is likely an error for *heorosceorp* ‘battle equipment’.

6. The solution is agreed to be “sun.”

6.10. **ofer dēop ġedrēag** is mysterious, perhaps ‘after profound disruption’.

7. The solution is agreed to be “swan.”

8. The speaker is agreed to be a songbird, most likely a nightingale.

**8.9. *sittað swigende*** has as its subject an assumed “they,” in reference to **eorlum** 5. The manuscript reading *nigende* is metrically admissible if to *hnigian* ‘bow’, since *nigende* for metrically disruptive *nigiende* is an Anglian form, but for the sake of grammar and sense in this context the verb would demand a modifier such as *mid hēafdum* or *tō me*.

**8.11.** Nightingales are ‘welcome guests’ inasmuch as they produce elaborate songs for a few weeks after their arrival in northern Europe in the spring.

**9.** The solution is agreed to be “cuckoo.” The bird lays an egg in the nest of a different species, which hatches and feeds the chick, only to have its own young pushed out of the nest by the growing cuckoo.

**9.7–8. *oþ þæt ic under scēate, swā mīn ġesceapu wæron, unġesibbum wearð ēacen ġæste*** ‘until, under a covering unrelated (to me), such was my fortune, I was endowed with a spirit’.

**10.** The solution is agreed to be “barnacle goose,” a bird believed to originate as a barnacle rather than an egg.

**10.4–5. *ānum ġetenġe liþendum wuda liċe mīne*** is an absolute construction (§90), with *ānum* modifying *wuda*, and with *liċe* in the instrumental case.

**12.** The solution is agreed to be “ox.”

**12.3–4.** The ox’s hide would be fashioned into fetters for binding captives. Britons, frequently enslaved in the early period, are **swearte** because they do not have Saxons’ light-colored hair. **dēorum** modifies **beorne**. These and the following lines allude to a horn made into a drinking vessel and a woman’s leather shoes.

**12.8. *þȳð*** derives from *\*þūhiþ*, the metrical value of which is retained here.

**12.9. *druncmenn*** is usually interpreted to mean ‘drunken maidservant’, but this is rather questionable, and not simply because tolerating household slaves’ drunkenness is hard to credit. Although *druncen-* is not infrequent as the first constituent of a compound, **drunc-** never appears elsewhere, and so its correct meaning cannot be determined with certainty; it may in fact be a variant of (or an error for) *drync*.

**12.12. *hyġegālan***. On the use of the weak adjective, see the note on **Ūrig-feðera** 11.29.

**12.13. *swifeð mē ġeond sweartne*** ‘the hand moves all over me, (who am) dark’. Due to limited attestation, it is impossible to know whether OE *swīfan* ever had the meaning ‘copulate’ that its Middle English reflex did; the *double entendre* would be characteristic of the riddles, but even without that possibility, the passage is obviously meant to be sexually suggestive. The action described is of the maidservant washing the drinking horn. Both **mē** and **ġeond** are unstressed, as is not infrequent with a preposition governing a pronominal object.

**12.14. *þe ic*** ‘I who’

**13.** The best solution proposed is “ten chickens.”

**13.1–2.** The reference may be to *tēn ciccenu* ‘ten chickens’, a Northumbrian spelling with six consonants (brothers) and four vowels (sisters).

**13.3 feorg.** On the singular **feorg** with multiple possession, see the note on 7.158. The **Fell** are apparently the inner membranes still clinging to the shells ('halls') of the eggs from which the chicks have hatched.

**13.5–6. Ne wæs hyra ængum þȳ wyr, nē sīde þȳ sārra** is grammatically difficult and is usually emended, though unconvincingly. It may be best to retain the manuscript reading and assume the meaning 'It was no worse for any of them (i.e., none of them was any the worse for having lost their **fell**), nor (was any) amply (i.e. considerably) the more harmed'.

**13.11.** On the auxiliary function of pret. **ġewitan** here, see §58. Similarly in 14.16.2.

**14.** The solution is agreed to be "horn."

**14.1.** The horn was a **wāpenwiga** in the sense that while attached to the animal it was a weapon, though not literally a 'weaponed warrior'. But some OE compounds are head-initial, such as *eardlufu* 'dear home' and *glēdeġesa* 'dreadful flame' in *Beowulf*, and so the meaning may be 'fighting weapon' or, if not head-initial, 'warrior in the form of a weapon'.

**14.10. hēafodlēas.** European drinking horns of the Middle Ages not infrequently had caps or lids on them, but 'headless' may also describe a horn never fitted with such a cover. The meaning of **behlyþed** can only be conjectured, but the root vowel, if long, as usually assumed, would spoil the meter. One possibility, then, is that it means 'laid on my side' (cf. *hlið* 'slope, hillside').

**16.** The solution is agreed to be "anchor."

**16.2. fremman.** Though this word is not in the manuscript, both sense and meter (the first four lines of the riddle being hypermetric) demand the addition of a verb. On the use of **ġewite** as an auxiliary, see §58.

**16.4. Ic bēom strong þæs ġewinnes** 'I have the upper hand in that contest'.

**16.9–10. ond meċ stīþne wiþ stānas mōton fæste ġehabban** 'and if stones can hold firm against me (who am) firm'.

**21.** The solution is agreed to be "plow."

**21.2. ġeonge** for WS *gange* is an Anglian form, with transference of initial *ġ-* from the pret. *ġēong* to the present.

**21.3.** The **hār holtes fēond** is the ox.

**21.7.** The plow is **brungen of bearwe** inasmuch as the frame is of wood.

**21.8. weġen on wæġne** appears to indicate that the plow is the wheeled type.

**21.9. mē biþ gongendre grēne on healfe** 'it is green on one side of me as I go'. The speaker is feminine (cf. **gongendre**, likewise **hindeweardre** 15) either because the word for 'plow' in OE (which is unrecorded) was feminine or (more likely) because the speaker is assumed to be a *wiht* (fem.).

**21.11. Mē þurh hryċġ wrecen** 'Driven through my back'

**21.12.** One **orþoncpīl** is the colter, the other the plowshare.

**23.** The solution is agreed to be "bow."

**23.1. Agof** is a scribe's attempt to modernize the spelling of *agob*, which he did not recognize to be *boga* 'bow' backwards. Examples of the spelling *b* for the

Gmc. voiced labial fricative do not occur in final position after the middle of the eighth century. The sound was later spelt *f*.

23.6. It is a **wīte** to the bow to have such a deadly thing near it.

23.8. **oþ þæt** here is best rendered 'once' or 'after'.

23.10. **tōgongeð** appears here to be used impersonally, with genitive of thing parted from and dative of person: 'each and any of men does not easily part from that which I speak of there'. That is, once struck by an arrow, no one recovers easily from its effect.

23.14. **fullwer** 'full wergild', the monetary equivalent of a person's life, according to social rank, to be paid in compensation; i.e., he 'strictly pays full compensation with his life', with **fullwer** parallel to **māndrinč** as a second object of **gečēapap**. But the construction is clumsy, demanding two different meanings for the verb, and *wer* is not otherwise used in verse with the meaning 'wergild'. The passage may be corrupt, but none of the emendations proposed is compelling.

24. The solution is agreed to be "magpie" or "jay" (the precise meaning of OE *higore* being difficult to ascertain).

24.6. **mūþe gemæne** 'by a mouth held in common', that is to say, with the same sound.

24.7–9. The runes, in order of presentation, are *gyfu*, *æsc*, *rād*, *ōs*, *hægl*, and *īs*. They may be arranged in three groups to spell out *g*, *æro* and *hi*, which may be transposed to *higoræ*, meaning 'female magpie' or 'female jay'. The ending *-æ* is feminine (like **glado** 24.7), an early spelling corresponding to later *-e* on feminine weak nouns. Both magpies and jays are mimics, and they appear to be confused in the OE records.

25. The solution is agreed to be "onion," with a sexual *double entendre*.

25.3. **nymþe bonan ānum** 'except my destroyer alone'.

26. The speaker is agreed to be a book, apparently a bible.

26.2–5. To make parchment, hides were washed in water and then soaked for several days in water mixed with lime to loosen the hair.

26.7. **fugles wyn** is the quill.

26.8. **geondstrēd**. The emendation, one of several possibilities, is necessary because **geond** takes an accusative object, which cannot be **meč**, as then **geond** would have to receive stress.

26.9. The **brerd** is the brim of the inkhorn. **bēamtelge**. Ink was made from oak galls, deformities on oaks caused by gall wasps.

26.12. **hýde beþenede** 'covered me with hide'. Book covers were wooden boards with hide stretched over them. Precious ornamentation was added to books of especial importance, usually ones which would be seen on the altar.

26.13. **gierede** shows loss of *w* before *i* in WGmc. \**zarwid-*, with analogical extension of the root diphthong in OE from forms that retained *w*. **gliwedon**. The emendation to *glisedon* 'glittered' that has sometimes been advocated makes the sense clearer, since *gliwian* is not otherwise attested in the sense 'adorn'. But *glisedon* would disrupt the meter.

**26.16. wuldorǵesteald** ‘glorious habitations’ refers to the precious binding in which the manuscript resides. **mære** is a plural subjunctive. Such subjunctive forms without final *-n* are to be found in early texts, though they are far commoner in the preterite: see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §6.24.

**26.17. nales dol wīte** ‘let no fool find fault’.

**27.** The solution is agreed to be “mead.” In the first part of the poem, the speaker is in the form of pollen brought to the hive to make honey, the key ingredient of mead.

**29.** The solution is usually thought to be “moon and sun,” less often “bird and wind.”

**29.2. hūðe.** This ‘plunder’ is usually believed to be the dimly illuminated surface between the horns of the crescent moon lit by earthlight (sunlight reflected off the earth). But this is rather abstract, and there is no known tradition about earthlight in medieval England, whereas there is a traditional folktale, recorded several centuries later in Middle English, of the Man in the Moon as bearing a burden of thorns (i.e. plant stems, parts of hedges) on his fork (i.e. between the points of the crescent moon), in some versions of which he has stolen the thorns. See Menner 1949. Thorns might be used to construct a primitive **būr** 5 (but ‘nest’ if the solution is “bird and wind”), whereas other kinds of ‘plunder’ seem less appropriate. The fem. **hyre** 5 need not rule out the supposition that the riddle alludes to something similar, since its antecedent is the fem. **wiht** 1; cf. the use of **hīo** 14.38.6 in reference to a beast already identified as male.

**29.6. ġif hit swā meahste** ‘if it could (be) so’.

**29.7. wealles hrōf** ‘wall’s roof’. The context suggests the meaning ‘horizon’, but the kenning is better understandable if it means ‘sky’. In poetry, *weall* sometimes refers metaphorically to the ocean shore; it might similarly here denote the edge of land, i.e. the horizon.

**29.11. fæhþum** probably ‘harboring hostility’, i.e. contemplating revenge.

**29.12. Dūst** perhaps here refers metaphorically to vapor, i.e. fog.

**31.** The solution is thought by most to be “bagpipe.”

**31.4–5. wiht wæs nower werum on ġemonge sio hæfde wæstum wundorlicran** ‘there was no creature anywhere in the company of men that had a more amazing form’. The emendation of manuscript *on* to *nower* is based on the assumption that *-wer* was omitted because it was immediately followed by another *wer* (and thus subject to deletion either by haplography or by the mistaken perception that it was an error due to dittography), and the letters of the remaining *no* were later transposed.

**31.6.** The line is corrupt, containing too few syllables to form two verses, but the meaning is plain.

**31.17. fæġer.** As shown by the poetic meter, this word occasionally has a long vowel in verse, a non-WS regionalism.

**31.19. wordum lācan** is metaphorically ‘play notes’.

31.21–3. The **hord** is the supply of air in the inflated bag. The **wiht** herself appears to be the chanter (pipe with stops) plus the bag, her ‘brothers’ the drones. **mæg** refers to the **wiht**.

33. The solution is agreed to be “iceberg,” or possibly “river ice.”

33.2. **from cēole** is literally ‘from a ship’, possibly with ‘ship’ as a metaphor for any floating object.

33.5. **hilde tō sǣwe** ‘in regard to battle at sea’. The manuscript reading *hilde tō sǣne* ‘too slack in battle’ makes for strained sense in context and has often been emended. **sǣwe** is a specifically Anglian and poetic (and therefore perhaps unfamiliar, to a WS scribe) dative of *sǣ*, and the similarity of *n* and *p* (*wynn*) may have led to the posited change.

33.6. The **bordweallas** appear to be the sides of a ship, or perhaps lines of shields hung on them.

33.7. **heterūne**. OE *rūn* never means ‘rune’, though it is often interpreted that way. The proper meaning is ‘secret’, and in poetic compounds it appears to mean ‘hidden intent’ (as here, and at *Beowulf* 501: *onband beadurūne* ‘revealed a combative intent’), or ‘forewarning’ (i.e., ‘hidden knowledge’; cf. **wælrūne** 11.28).

33.9–11. **Is mīn mōdor mægðā cynnes þæs dēorestan, þæt is dohtor mīn, ēacen up loden** ‘My mother is of the noblest race of women, that is my daughter, grown up pregnant’. Water is both the mother and the daughter of ice, always prepared to give birth to ice.

34. The solution is agreed to be “rake.”

35. The solution is agreed to be “coat of mail.” It is a translation of Aldhelm’s Riddle 33, “Lorica.” A Northumbrian version of the translation, *The Leiden Riddle*, composed probably in the eighth century, is preserved elsewhere. (The text of it is given on p. 123.) The present riddle seems to have been copied from an archaic exemplar, given the retention of the unstressed high vowels (rather than lowering to *e*) in **ǣrist** 2, **hrīsil** 7.

35.4. **hygeþoncum mīn** depends upon **wāt**: ‘in my thoughts’ (more literally ‘thoughts of me’).

35.5. **mē** ‘for me’. **hafu** is an Anglian form for WS *hæbbe*.

35.6. **nē þurh þrēata gēþræcu þræð mē ne hlimmeð** ‘nor through the force of throngs does thread resound in me’. This renders Aldhelm’s *nec garrula fila resultant* ‘nor do threads vibrate with vocal sound’. The allusion is to the vibration of taut threads on the loom as the shuttle moves through them.

35.8. The reed or sley is used to beat up the weft, making a more compact fabric.

35.9. **wyrda cræftum**, corresponding to nothing in Aldhelm’s poem, is a mere cheville if it is not a learned allusion to the *Parcae* ‘Fates’ of Roman mythology, who spin and cut the thread of life. But **wyrda** is probably unoriginal, corresponding to gen. sg. *wyrdi* in *The Leiden Riddle*, and *wyrd* is not often personified this way.

36. There is no consensual solution. Most recent editors accept “ship,” but with little agreement about how to make all the enumerated organs and appendages add up. The four feet under the belly (3) are oars, and the eight on its back (4–6) are those of a man, a woman, and a horse. The two wings (7) are sails, and the dog and bird (11) are carved figureheads. This solution does not account for the six heads (8). That there is a ship involved would be more plausible if **wēge** 1 could be read as *wēge* ‘wave’, but the meter forbids this. **flōdwegas** 9 would seem to confirm it, but it has been proposed to emend this to *foldwegas* ‘ways across the land’. Quite possibly lines 9–14 are intended to be a separate riddle.

36.4–6. **ehtuwe** is a Northumbrian form, equivalent to *eahta*, which would spoil the meter. It is plain that lines 4 and 6 belong together as a single line, into which a scribe has inserted line 5, which is a cryptogram, undoubtedly originally a marginal notation explaining the eight feet. It consists of three English words and their Latin equivalents, in the latter of which each vowel has been replaced by the letter that follows it in the alphabet, hence *b, f, k, p, x* for *a, e, i, o, u*, a common monastic cipher. The encrypted words have been somewhat garbled: the first *p* in *hpmp*, for instance, has been mistaken for *p* (= *w*) and the second omitted. The line must have been meant to stand for *monn homo wiif mulier hors equus*.

36.14. **hū þære wihte wīse gonge**, literally ‘how the manner of that creature may turn out’, i.e. what its nature turns out to be.

38. The solution is agreed to be “bull calf.” The riddle bears certain similarities to *aenigmata* by Aldhelm and Eusebius with the same solution.

38.2. **ġeoguðmyrþe** is a kenning for ‘milk’.

38.2. The **ferðfriþende** (an Anglian form for *-friþende*: see no. 14d in Appendix B, p. 120) is the mother cow; the **wellan** are her teats.

38.4. **on ġesceap** ‘to (his) delight’ (?). **þēotan** refers to the sound of suckling.

38.7. **ġif hē tōbirsteð, bindeð cwice** ‘if he goes to pieces, he will bind the living’, i.e. his leather will be used to bind captives. Lines 6–7 are a fairly close translation of the conclusion of Eusebius’s poem. The final three lines of the OE riddle seem like an addition, not least because four of the six verses are metrically irregular, though the riddles as a rule scan well.

42. The solution is agreed to be “cock and hen.”

42.5 **on flette** ‘in the hall’. A *flett* is one side of the floor in a hall. The poet presents himself as a *scōp* performing in the hall, despite the acknowledgement in line 7 of the scholarly character of interpreting runes.

42.8–11. In runes, the solution is spelt with two instances of *nȳd* (*n*), one of *æsc* (*æ*), two of *āc* (*a*), and two of *hæġl* (*h*). The characters can be rearranged to spell *hana* ‘cock’ and *hæn* ‘hen’. **twēga oþer** ‘one of two’.

42.14. **heortan**, parallel to **rædellan** as object of **hēold**, refers to the riddle’s secret, i.e. its solution.

44. The solution is agreed to be “key,” with a ribald *double entendre*.

45. The solution is agreed to be “dough,” with a ribald *double entendre*.

45.2. **þecene** refers to a cloth placed over the rising dough.

46. The solution is agreed to be “Lot and his family.” The solution hangs on the story of Lot’s incest with his daughters, as related in the reading selection in Chap. VIII above.

46.6. **ēam ond nefa** refers to Lot’s two (grand)sons in relation to each other.

47. The solution is agreed to be “bookworm.” There is a rather different *aenigma* with the same solution by Symphosius, the earliest composer of Latin riddles.

47.5. **stapol** refers to the parchment. Indeed, in manuscript studies “support” is the term for the material on which a text is inscribed.

50. The solution is agreed to be “fire.”

50.2. The ‘two dumb things’ are the flint and steel used to generate the spark.

50.5. **wrið** is for Anglian *wriðeð*, which would mend the defective meter. It could also be a contracted form of *wreōn* ‘cover’ standing metrically for an uncontracted one, an archaism common in early poetry, though that would make for less transparent sense. **him** refers to neuter **wif**.

50.8–9. **hē him fremum stēpeð life on lissum** ‘it supports them with benefits in improvement to their lives’.

51. This one is for you to figure out.

#### 15. DREAM OF THE ROOD

The unique manuscript is Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare cxvii, known as the Vercelli Book.

2 hwæt] hæt    5 lēodan] lādan    9 eaxl-] eaxle    dryhte] dryht nes ealle  
15 ġeweorðod] geweor ðode    17 bewrigen] be wrigene    wealdendes] wealdes  
20 sorgum] surgum    47 ænigum] nænigum    59 mid sorgum] mid  
70 grēotende] reotende    71 stefn] syððan    77 onġyredon] gyredon  
79 bealuwa] bealuwara    91 holt-] holm    117 anforht] unforht    142 mē] he

4. **sylicre** ‘exceedingly rare’, probably used in imitation of similar comparative constructions in Latin.

8. The five gems correspond to Christ’s five wounds (hands, feet, and side). Since the gems symbolize blood, it is natural that they should also lie on the ground at the foot of the cross.

16. On the loss of *w* in **ġegyred**, see the note on **ġierede** 14.26.13; likewise for **Onġyrede** 39, **onġyredon** 77; *w* is restored analogically in **ġeġyrwed** 23.

19. **earmra ærgewin** ‘ancient effort of wretches’, i.e. either the doings of Christ’s tormentors or the suffering of Christ and his disciples.

20. **swāetan** literally means ‘sweat’, but because blood is conventionally referred to in verse by the kenning **hildeswāt** ‘battle-sweat’, the verb here takes on the meaning ‘bleed’; similarly **swātes** ‘of sweat (i.e. blood)’ 23. **on þā swiðran healfe**. Post-biblical tradition had it that it was on the right side that the centurion’s lance pierced Christ (John 19:34).

22. **blēom**. Uncontracted *blēoum* would improve the meter.

30. **fēondas** (for LWS *fýnd*) is an Anglianism.

31. **him** ‘for themselves’. **wergas** shows Anglian smoothing (WS *weargas*): see no. 12 in Appendix B.

34. Placed after its object **mē**, the preposition **on** receives stress, as shown by the alliteration.

36–7. The earth trembled at the crucifixion (Matthew 27:51).

40. **hēanne** for EWS *hēane* shows analogical restoration of *-h-* followed by assimilation of *-hn-* to *-nn-*.

47. **inwidhlemmas**. The usual compounded form is *inwit-* ‘evil’; **inwid-** is due to the influence of *inwidda* ‘adversary’.

48. **būtū** is neuter, since Christ and the cross are different genders (*rōd* fem.): see p. 47.

52. **þenian**. The original form is *þennan*, but in WS, light-stemmed verbs of the first weak class with a stem ending in a sonorant or a fricative were commonly re-formed after the pattern of the second class or of first-class verbs like *nerian*. Such verbs include *āscillan* ‘divide’, *behellan* ‘conceal’, *beððan* ‘warm’, *cnyssan* ‘knock’, *fremman* ‘do’, *gremman* ‘provoke’, *hrissan* ‘shake’, *lemman* ‘lame’, *syllan* ‘give’, *temman* ‘tame’, *trymman* ‘fortify’, and *wennan* ‘accustom’.

62. **strælum** is used as a metaphor for ‘nails’.

63. **hēafdum** is a locative dative singular, used only with *æt*. See Hogg & Fulk 2011: §2.17 n. 4.

69. **mæte weorode** ‘with small company’, i.e., by litotes, ‘alone’.

71–2. On sg. **stefn** with pl. **hilderinca**, see the note on **on hiora mōde** 7.158.

73. **fāġer**. On the long vowel, see the note on 14.31.17.

75–6. The poet seems poised to tell of the Invention of the Cross by the empress Helena (see the headnote to reading selection 11) when there occurs a lacuna, though there is no gap in the manuscript. When the tale resumes in line 77 there is an allusion to Helena’s adornment of the cross.

79. **weorc**, on which both **bealuwa** and **sārra sorga** depend, is likely a scribal substitution for Anglian *wærc* ‘pain’, not an uncommon occurrence in poetic manuscripts.

101–6. These verses derive from the Nicene Creed: *Et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in cælum, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos* ‘And on the third day he arose again from the dead, according to Scripture, and ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of the Father. And he will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead’.

111. **for þām worde**. The verse may be corrupt, since light verses (see Appendix C) normally occur only at the start of a clause. **cwyð** is syncopated, just as it is in Mercian, where other verbs are not generally syncopated. **ġerihrt** 131 (*ġerihrted* would be the Mercian form) is the only other relevant syncopated verb in the poem.

130. **mundbyrd** is here used in the sense ‘hope of protection’.

146. **guman** is only dubitably used in the sense ‘of humankind’ in OE. It may be an error for *gumena*, or a compound *gumsynnum* ‘men’s sins’ may have been intended.

148–57. These lines allude to the Harrowing of Hell, a post-biblical tradition according to which Christ, in the three days between his death and resurrection, in conquering majesty entered hell and took the souls of the righteous with him to heaven. The identity of **eallum ðām hālgum þām þe on heofonum ær wunedon on wuldre** is uncertain, since no human souls but those of the good thief, Enoch, and Elijah are supposed to have entered heaven before the Harrowing.

#### 16. *THE WANDERER*

The unique manuscript is Exeter, Cathedral 3501, known as the Exeter Book.

14 healde] healdne    22 mīnne] mine    24 waþema] waþena    28 -lēasne] lease  
59 -sefa] sefan    64 weorþan] wearþan    74 ealre] ealle    78 weorniað] weoriað  
*with e erased*    102 hrūsan] hruse

5. **ārēd** = Anglian *āræded*, the form required by the meter. On *e caudata*, see the note on **æfeſtan** 1.88.

14. **hordcofan** is used as a metaphor for ‘thoughts’.

17. **drēoriġne**, which appears not to modify anything, is best understood as anticipating **mōdsefan** 19.

24. **waþema ġebind** is a kenning for ‘sea’.

26. **hwær**. OE indefinites in *hw-* may contain their antecedents, hence ‘a place where’.

27. **mīne wisse** ‘might know of mine’, i.e. know of my people. Several emendations have been proposed.

29. **wēman** here appears to have the unusual meaning ‘please’. It has sometimes been emended.

51–7. Since the scene portrayed in these lines is of immense interest, it is disappointing that they are so hard to interpret. There is any number of ways they might be punctuated, but the punctuation applied here reflects the following interpretation: ‘As often as (*Donne . . . oft*) the memory of kin pervades his mind—he greets them gladly, eagerly gazes at them—the companions of men swim away, the spirits of floating ones. They never bring many familiar accents—care is renewed—to one who is accustomed to sending his weary spirit very often over the confinement of waves (i.e. the sea).’ The companions of men appear to be remembered kin, their images perhaps superimposed on the sea birds the speaker has been watching. On sg. **ferð** with pl. **flēotendra**, see the note on **on hiora mōde** 7.158.

65. **sceal**. On the use of the auxiliary without a main verb, see the note on **mæge** 7.189.

**69–72.** Here the poet alludes to the practice of heroes to pronounce a vow to undertake an accomplishment, as a way to instill self-resolve, since shame will result if the vow goes unfulfilled. The wanderer warns against over-hasty vows.

**77. bihrorene** is pp. of **behrēosan**, which usually means ‘fall’, though once the past participle means ‘deprived (of)’, implying transitive usage. The usual interpretation is that **hrīme bihrorene** here means ‘covered with frost’. But since one function of *be-* is to transitivize verbs (as with the semantically parallel **bidrorene** 79), possibly the phrase means ‘toppled by frost’; **weal wundrum hēah** 98 need not have the same referent.

**80–4.** On the beasts of battle topos, see the note on 11.27–30. **dēaðe gedælde** ‘handed over to death’.

**86. burgwara breahmta lēase** ‘emptied of the clamor of inhabitants’.

**88. Sē** here probably means ‘he who’.

**91. ācwið.** See the note on *cwyð* 15.111.

**92. Hwær cwōm** ‘where is?’ or ‘what has become of?’.

**98. wyrmlīcum fāh** probably denotes a Roman frieze or decorative design.

**111. Swā cwæð snottor on mōde**, not ‘Thus spoke the one wise in mind’ but ‘Thus in his heart spoke the wise one’, i.e. to himself, as prescribed in lines 11–21; **sundor æt rūne** ‘apart in secret’, i.e. in solitude.

**113. nempe** is an Anglian word; *nemne*, on the other hand, is specifically Mercian.

## GLOSSARY

Abbreviations are listed on pp. ix–x. For the purpose of alphabetization, the prefix *ge-*, when word-initial, is disregarded in all parts of speech. Words that may or may not appear with this prefix are marked  $\pm$ ; those that always, or nearly always, take the prefix are marked  $+$ . Words alternately spelt with *a* or *o* before a nasal consonant in Early West Saxon are spelt with *a* in the first headword. Since *ae* and *æ* are interchangeable in some texts, *æ* is alphabetized after *ad*, but *p/ð* follows *t*.

Strong verbs are assigned an arabic numeral (1, 2, etc.) indicating verb class (as explained in Chaps. XI–XIV), and weak verbs are assigned a roman numeral (I, II, III: see Chaps. XV–XVII). For strong verbs of class 7, the preterite vocalism is given in parentheses. For irregular verbs, the principal parts are given in parentheses before the class indicator, or reference is offered to the section in the Grammar where the conjugation is provided. Unstressed prefixes are separated from the stem by a hyphen. The numbers after a cited form indicate where the form appears in the Anthology: for example, “**bēom** 13.7.8” refers to reading selection 13 (The Exeter Riddles), Riddle 7, line 8. Such cited forms are usually supplied only when they stray in some way from the expected; relatively few forms that are perfectly regular are cited this way.

Nouns and adjectives should be assumed to be *a-* or *ō-*stems unless otherwise marked. The one exception is the *n-*stems: in the nominative singular, all masculine nouns ending in *-a* are weak and all feminines in *-e*. Adjectives ending in *-e* are *ja-*stems. Abbreviations like *m.* and *ja.* are run together: thus, for example, *mmi.* means “masculine or neuter *i*-stem.” In an expression like *nsn.*, the case comes first and the gender last; hence, the meaning is “nominative singular neuter.”

Prepositions marked with an obelus (†) generally take the accusative with objects in motion and the dative with those at rest (see §36). Words that are chiefly or exclusively poetic (instances in Anglian and Anglian-derived texts excluded), or have a different meaning in poetry, are marked ° before the headword.

**ā** adv. *ever, always, eternally*; **aa** 8.4,  
14.34.6

**ā-bannan** (ēo) 7 *summon*

**abbod** m. *abbot*

**abbudisse** f. *abbess*

**ā-bēodan** 2 *declare, announce; invite, instruct, command*

**ā-bīdan** 1 (w. gen.) *await, experience, survive*

**ā-bisgian** II *make busy, occupy*

**ā-blāwan** (ē, ēo) 7 *blow, throw*

**ā-blendan** I *blind*; pret. pl. **āblendan**  
10.30

**ā-brecan** 4 *break, break into, storm, capture, destroy*

**ā-brēoðan** 2 *fall away*

**ābylg-** = **æbylg-**

**ac** conj. *but*

**āc** m. (orig. fc.) *oak; the rune ƿ*

**ā-cennan** I *deliver (a child), bear, give birth to*

**ā-ċeorfan** 3 *carve, cut (off)*; pp. npn.

**ācorfene** 7.325

°+**āclod** adj. (pp.) *frightened, cowed*;

**ġeāclad** 11.57

**ā-cōlian** II *grow cool*; pp. **ācōlad** 13.118

**ā-cræftan** I *contrive*

**ācsian** = **āscian**

**ā-cwelan** 4 *die off*

**ā-cwellan**, pret. **ācwealde** I *kill* (§116);  
pp. **ācwealde** 1.55

**ā-cwenċan** I *extinguish*

**ā-cweðan** 5 *utter, speak*; pres. 3 sg.  
**ācwið** 16.91

**ā-cȳðan** I *reveal*

**ād** m. *pyre*

**ā-dilegian** II *destroy, devastate, wipe out*

**ād** fn. *disease, infirmity*

**ā-dōn** anom. (§134) *take away*

**ā-drædan** (ē) 7 *fear, dread, have fear*

**ā-drēogan** 2 *engage in, commit*

**ā-drifan** 1 *drive (away)*; pret. pl.  
**ādrifan** 1.42

**ā-dryġan** I *dry, wipe dry*; pret. 3 sg.  
**ādrigde** 10.45

**ā-dūn** adv. *down*

**ā-dwæscan** I *extinguish, obliterate*

**æ, æw** fi. *law, Scripture*

**æalā** = **ēalā**

**ā-ebbian** II *ebb*; pp. **āhebbad** 3.157

**æbylgnes(s)** fjō. *anger, offense*

**æbylgð** f. *outrage, injury*

**æfæst, æfest** adj. *pious, devout*

**æfæstnes(s), æfest-** fjō. *piety, religion*

**æfen(n)** mnja. *evening, eve*; ds. **æfen**  
5.22

**°æfenscōp** m. *'evening-poet', twilight-singer*

**æfentīd** fi. *eventide, evening*

**æfest** mf. *envy, spite*; dp. **æfstum**  
12.37, **æfæstum** 12.43

**æfestful(l)** adj. *full of envy*

**æfestig** adj. *envious*

**æfnung** f. *evening*

**æfre** adv. *ever, continuously, always*

**æft** = **eft**

**æftan** adv. *from behind, in the back*

**æfter** prep. w. dat., adv. *after, along, among, through, behind, in pursuit of, in accordance with, about; afterward*

**æfter-folgian** II *pursue*

**æfter-spyrian** I *follow the track of* [cf. **spor**]

**æfpanca, -þonca** m. *spite, disdain, envy, malice*

**æghwær** adv. *everywhere, anywhere*;

**āhwār** 8.157, 9.3, 4, **āwer** 11.33

**æghwæðer, ægðer** conj., adj., pron. *either, both, one; æghwæðer (ge) . . . ge both . . . and; ægþær 7.158*

**æghwanan** adv. *from everywhere*

**æghwīlc, æghwylc** pron. *each*; dsm.  
**æghwylcan** 8.30

**ægielde, ægyld** adj. *uncompensated, without payment of wergild*

**ægðer** = **æghwæðer**

**ægwern** adv. *everywhere*

**æht** fi. (usu. pl.) *possession*

**ælc** adj., pron. *each, any, a single, every(one)*; dsm. **ælccon** 7.281, 291, dsf. **ælcere** 7.102

**æld-** = **ield-**

**°ælfylce, el-** nja. *foreign nation*

**æll** = **eall**

**ælmesriht** n. *right (of the poor) to alms, charitable obligation*; **ælmæs-** 8.38

**æلميhtiġ** adj. *almighty, omnipotent*; dsm. **æلميhtegum** 2.18

**±æm(e)tian** II (often reflex.) *release oneself, be at leisure; empty*

**æmettiġ** adj. *empty, vacant*

**ænde, ængl-** = **ende, engl-**

**æniġ** adj., pron. *any*; nsf. **ænegu** 7.217, 218

**æne**, **æode** see **ān**, **āgān**

**ær** adv., conj., prep. w. dat. *before*,  
*earlier*, *ago*; superl. **ærest**, **ærost**  
*first*; **ær þon (ðe)** conj. *before*; **on ær**  
 adv. *beforehand*

**ærcebiſcōp**, **-biſcēp** m. *archbishop*

**°ærwide** mi. *old saying*

**°ærdæg** m. *predawn*

**ærendgewrit** n. *letter, communication*,  
*written message*

**ærendraca** m. *messenger*; ap. **ærend-**  
**dracan** 1.18, dp. **ærendwrecum** 2.6

**ærest**, **ærost** adj., adv. *first*; **ærist**  
 14.35.2

**°ærgewin(n)** n. *former struggle, strife*  
*of old*

**ærnan** I *cause to run, ride, gallop*; (+)  
*reach by riding*; pres. 3 sg. **gærneð**  
 7.123

**ærnemergen(n)** m. *dawn, daybreak*

**æror** compar. adv. *earlier, before*;  
**ærrur** 15.108

**ærra** compar. adj. *former, earlier*

**ærwacol** adj. *early risen*

**æsc** m. *ash tree, spear (made of ash*  
*wood)*; the rune ƿ; gp. **asca** 16.99

**æsc** m. *warship* [ON *askr*]

**°æscstede** mi. *'ash-place', battlefield*  
 (?)

**æstel(I)** m. *pointer, bookmark*

**æswiċ** m. *deceit*

**æt** prep. † *at; from; toward, to*; **et** 7.227

**æt** m. *food, sustenance, fodder*

**æt-breġðan** 3 *carry off, snatch away*,  
*deprive of*

**æt-ēowan** = **æt-iewan**

**æt-foran** prep. w. dat. *before, in front of*

**æt-gædere** adv. *together*

**æt-hlēapan (ēo)** 7 *escape, run away*  
*(from, w. dat.)*

**æt-iewan**, **-ȳwan**, **-ēowan** I (orig. III)  
*show, represent; appear*

**ætren** adj. *venomous, deadly*

**æt-sacan** 6 *deny*

**æt-samne**, **-somne** adv. *together, in*  
*company, as a group*

**æt-standan** 6 *stay, remain, stop, halt*,  
*stand still*

**°ætweła** m. *abundance of food, feast*

**æt-windan** 3 *escape, avoid*

**æt-ȳwan** = **æt-iewan**

**æðelboren** adj. *of noble birth, aristo-*  
*cratic*

**æðelborenes(s)** fġō. *nobility (of birth*  
*or nature)*

**æðele** adj. *noble, aristocratic, excellent*,  
*splendid*

**æþeling** m. *man of royal blood, prince*,  
*chief, nobleman*

**æwbryċe** mi. *adultery*

**ā-færan** I *frighten*

**ā-faran** 6 *leave, go away*

**ā-feallan (ēo)** 7 *decline*

**ā-fēðan** I *feed, nourish*

**ā-fiellan**, **ā-fyllan** I *fell, cut down*,  
*break down, kill*

**ā-fierran** I *rid (of, w. dat.)*; inf. **āferran**  
 10.17

**ā-fiersian** II *remove, dispel*

**ā-findan** 3 *find, discover*; pp. nsn.

**āfundan** 6.212

**ā-flieman**, **ā-flȳman** I *put to flight*,  
*drive out, expel*

**ā-fȳlan** I *defile, dirty*

**ā-fyllan** I *fill*

**āfyllan** see also **āfiellan**

**ā-fyrhtan** I *frighten*; pp. **āfyrhted**  
 11.56, **āfyrht** 5.30, 6.178

**ā-fȳsan** I *whet, impel, drive, urge*

**ā-gælan** I *hinder*

°**ā-galan** 6 *recite, intone, sing*

**āgan**, pret. **āhte** pret.-pres. *own, ought, must*; pres. 1 sg. **āh** 15.107, **nāh** (= **ne āh**) 15.131, 2 sg. **āht** 1.100, 3 sg. **nāh** 14.27.14; sj. pres. sg. **āge** 16.64

**ā-gān** anom. (§134) *go (away); turn out, happen*; pret. 3 sg. **āēode** 5.77; pp. np. **āgāne** 3.151

°**ā-gangan**, pret. **āgēong** 7 *go (away), pass*

**āgen** adj. *own*; **āhgen** 10.57

**ā-giefan** 5 *give, deliver, give in return, restore*; inf. **āgīfan** 11.167; pret. 3 sg. **āgef** 3.59

**ā-gieldan** 3 *pay, repay, render*

**ā-ginnan** 3 *begin*; pret. pl. **āgunnan** 9.16; sj. pres. pl. **āginnan** 8.140

**agof** m. *wob*

**ā-grāpian** II *grasp tightly*

**ā-hēawan** (ēo) 7 *cut down*

**āhebbad** see **ā-ebbian**

**ā-hebban** 6 *lift, exalt*; pret. 3 sg. **āhōf** 11.17, 29, 112, etc., pl. **āhōfen** 6.225, **āhōfon** 10.2, 15.61, **āhōfan** 12.59; pp. ns. **āhefen** 10.119, **āhæfen** 11.10, np. **āhafene** 10.69

**āhgen** = **āgen**

**ā-hlēnan** I *cause to lean, turn, raise*

**ā-hōn**, pret. **āhēng** 7 (§132) *hang*; pp. **āhangen** 11.180

**ā-hreddan** I *rescue, recover*

**āht** = **āwiht**; see also **āgan**

**āhwæder**, **āþer** adv., conj. *either*; **āþer** (oððe) . . . oððe *either . . . or*

**āhwār** = **æghwār**

**āhwonan**, **ōhwonan** adv. *from anywhere*

°**ā-hyðan** I *plunder*

**ā-lædan** I *lead away*

**aldor** = **ealdor**

**ā-lecgan** I *lay out*; pret. pl. **ālēdon** 15.63; pp. **ālēd** 7.116

**ā-lēogan** 2 *be false to, leave unfulfilled*

**ā-liefan** I *permit*

**ā-liesan**, **-lȳsan** I *redeem, release; cede, give up*; inf. **ālēsan** 7.140

**ā-liesednes(s)**, **ālȳsednys(s)** fjō. *redemption, deliverance*

**all(-)** = **eall(-)**

**ām** m. *reed or slay of a loom*

**ā-mārian** II *drive out, exterminate*

**amber** m. *measure*; gp. **ambra** 7.46

**ambyr** adj. *favorable*

**ā-mierran**, **ā-myrran** I (w. dat.) *mar, spoil*

**an** = **on**

**ān** adj., num. *one, a certain, (a)lone*; asm. **ǣnne**, **enne**, **ǣnne**; asn. **ān** *one and the same thing* 6.76; **būton þām ānum**, **þe** *except for this only, that* 7.253; dsm. **ānan** (= **ānum**) 5.30

**āna** adj., adv. (indecl.) *alone, only*

**āncenda** m. *only-begotten (one, in ref. to Christ)*

**and**, **ond** conj. *and*

**anda** m. *enmity, spite*

**āndaga** m. *appointed day*

**andefn** f. *quantity, amount*

**andetnys(s)** fjō. *confession; praise, thanksgiving*

±**andettan** I *confess, acknowledge, praise*

**andġiet** n. *sense, meaning, understanding*; as. **andġit** 2.62, 6.125

**andġietful(l)** adj. *sensible, intelligent*; adv. superl. **andġitfullicost** 2.66

**andġietlēas** adj. *senseless*; nsm.wk.

**andġitlēasa** 6.155

**andlyfen, andlifen** *f. sustenance, wages*

**±andswarian, ±ond-** *II answer, reply;*  
pret. 3 sg. **ondswarede** 1.98, **ondswarade** 1.174, **andsworode** 10.64,  
pl. **ondswaredon** 1.179

**andswaru, ond-** *f. reply, answer*

**±andweard, ±ond-** *adj. present*

**andweardnys(s)** *fjō. presence*

**andwlita** *m. face*

**±andwyrðan, ±ond-** *I answer, reply, respond*

**andwyrde** *nja. reply*

**ānfealdlice** *adv. simply*

**anfēng, anfindan = onfēng, onfindan**

**anforht** *adj. very frightened*

**ānforlætan (e)** 7 *abandon; pres. 3 sg.*

**ānforlæteð** 10.180; *sj. 3 pres. sg. ānforlēte* 1.130

**anga, onga** *m. goad, sting*

**angan** *see also onġinnan*

**anġēan = onġēan**

**angrīslīc** *adj. grisly, terrible*

**°ānhaga** *m. recluse, solitary, loner; as.*

**ānhogan** 16.40

**ānlic** *adj. unique, beautiful*

**anlicnys(s)** *fjō. likeness, image*

**ānliepiġ, ānlēp** *adj. private, individual, single*

**ānmōd** *adj. unanimous, universal*

**ānnys(s)** *fjō. unity*

**ānrædlice** *adv. resolutely*

**ānrædne(s)** *f. resolve, determination, unanimity*

**ānstreces** *adv. continually*

**ansund** *adj. whole, healthy, unscathed*

**anw(e)ald(-) = onweald(-)**

**ānwilnes(s)** *fjō. obstinacy; as. ānwyl-nysse* 6.112

**apostata** *m. apostate*

**apostol** *m. apostle, disciple*

**ār** *f. favor, honor, property, prosperity, mercy*

**ār** *f. oar*

**°ār** *m. messenger, herald*

**ār** *n. ore, brass, copper*

**ā-ræðan (ē)** 7 or **I** (pret. **-rædde**)  
*interpret, guess, read, fix, determine;*  
pp. **ārēð** 16.5

**ā-ræfnian** *II endure*

**ā-ræran** *I rear, raise, lift up; perform*

**ardlice, arodlice** *adv. quickly, at once, promptly*

**ā-reccan**, pret. **-re(a)hte** **I** (§116) *nar-rate, tell, interpret, translate*

**ā-redian** *II make ready, devise, arrange*

**ā-rēodian** *II redden, blush*

**ā-rētan** *I cheer, gladden*

**ārfæst** *adj. honor-bound, honorable, virtuous*

**ārfæstnes(s)** *fjō. virtue, honor, kindness*

**±ārian** *II be merciful to, show favor to*

**ā-riht** *adv. correctly*

**ā-rīsan** **I** *arise*

**ārlēas** *adj. dishonorable, wicked, merciless, unforgiving*

**ārlēasnes(s)** *fjō. wickedness, cruelty, dishonor*

**ārlice** *adv. becomingly, kindly*

**arn** *see irnan*

**arriānisc** *adj. Arian*

**°ārstæf** *m. kindness, benefit*

**ārweorð, ārwurð** *adj. venerable, revered; nsm. ārwurðe* 9.58, *wk. ārwyrða* 10.23

**ārweorðian, ārwurðian** *II revere, show honor to*

**ārweorðlic, ārwurðlic** *adj. honorable, venerable, worthy of reverence*

**ārweorðnes(s), ārwurðnys(s)** f. *honor, reverence*

**ā-sānian** II *flag, dim*

**asca = æsca**

**āscian, ācsian, āxian** II *ask; (+) discover, learn of; pret. 3 sg. āscade*  
7.254, pl. **ġeācsedan** 7.232, 313, 321

**ā-scūfan** 2 *shove off, launch, float*

**ā-secġan** III (§121) *tell, explain, describe*

**ā-sendan** I *send (away), send out*

**ā-settan** I *set, pose, direct, erect; pret. pl. āsettan* 3.3

**ā-singan** 3 *sing through; pret. 3 sg. āsong* 1.127

**ā-sittan** 5 *run aground*

**ā-slēan** 6 *strike; pret. 3 sg. āslōh* 4.39

**ā-smēaġan, pret. āsmēade** II *study, ponder*

**ā-smēaġung** f. *contemplation, study, scrutiny*

**āsogen** see **āsūgan**

**ā-solcennes(s)** f. *sloth, laziness*

**ā-spendan** I *exhaust, use up, spend*

**ā-sprengan** I *cause to spring, fling; pret. 3 sg. āsprencde* 6.211

**ā-stellan, pret. -stealde** I (§116) *ordain, establish*

**ā-stieran, ā-stȳran** I *guide, direct*

**ā-stiġan** 1 *climb, ascend; pret. 3 sg. āstāh* 11.188, **āstāġ** 12.58, 15.103

**ā-streccan, pret. ā-stre(a)hte** I (§116) *stretch out, prostrate*

**ā-styrian** I *stir up, rouse, pluck*

**ā-sūgan** 2 *suck out, consume*

**ā-sundrian** II *part, put asunder*

**ā-swāpan (ēo)** 7 *sweep away*

**ā-tēon** 2 (§132) *lead away, entice; protract; sj. pret. 3 sg. ātuge* 1.148

**ā-timbran** I *build, construct*

**ātor, āttor** n. *poison, venom*

**ā-tyhtan** I *entice, allure; pp. ātyhted* 10.80

**āþ** m. *oath*

**āðbryce** m. *breach of oath, perjury; ap. -bričas* 8.115

**ā-þenčan** I *devise*

**ā-þennan** I *stretch out*

**āþer = āhwæðer**

**āþum** m. *(prospective) son-in-law*

**ā-þwēan** 6 *wash (off)*

**ā-wacan** 6 *awake, arise*

**ā-weaxan (ō, ēo)** 6, 7 *grow up, mature, ripen*

**ā-weccan, pret. āwe(a)hte** I (§116) *waken, rouse, raise up, incite, bring to life*

**ā-wefan** 5 *weave; pret. pl. āwæfan* 14.35.9

**ā-weġ** adv. *away; āwæġ* 6.148

**ā-wendan** I *change, turn, render; turn aside, avert*

**ā-weorpan, -wurpan** 3 *cast aside, throw down*

**āwer = æġhwær**

**ā-wēstan** I *lay waste, ravage; pret. pl. āwēstan* 7.146, **-on** 7.198

**ā-wierġan** I *(ac)curse; pp. nsf. āwirġede* 10.42

**āwiht, āht** ni. *aught, anything; tō āhte at all*

**°ā-wrecan** 5 *utter, recite*

**ā-writan** 1 *write (down, out, upon)*

**āwurpan, āxian = āweorpan, āscian**

**bæc** n. *back; ap. bacu* 10.171

**bæcbord** n. *larboard, port side*

**bæd** see **biddan**

**bæftan** prep. w. dat. *after, behind* [**bæftan**]

**°bælcan** I *shout, boast* (?)

**bær** adj. *bare, unadorned*; nsf. **baru**

14.31.22

**±bærnan** I *burn* (trans.)

**bætan** I *bait, hunt, worry*

**bæð** n. *bath*

**bæðstede** mi. (*Roman-style*) *bath, bathing place*

**bān** n. *bone, ivory*

**bana, bona** m. *killer, destroyer*

**bānlēas** adj. *boneless*

**±bannan** (ēo) 7 *summon*

**barn, baru** see **birnan, bær**

**baþian** II *bathe*; pret. pl. **baþedan**  
14.27.6

**be, bī** prep. w. dat. *about, concerning; by, beside, near; in accordance with, from, on the basis of; along*

**bēacn, bēacen** n. *sign, token*

**Beadonisc** adj. *pertaining to Mt. Badon*

**°beadoweorc** n. *martial deed, military accomplishment*

**°beadu** fwō. *battle, fight*

**°beadurinc** m. *'battle-man', fighter*

**°beadurōf** adj. *'battle-vigorous', valiant*

**°beaduprēat** m. *'battle-throng', army*

**be-æftan** adv., prep. w. dat. (*left*) *behind, remaining*

**°bēag** m. *ring, band, bracelet, collar, ornament*

**bēag** see also **būgan**

**°bēaggifa** m. *'ring-giver', lord*

**°bēaghroden** adj. (pp.) *'ring-adorned', wearing jewelry*

**°bealu** nwa. *evil, malice, hardship*; gp. **bealuwa** 15.79

**bēam** m. *tree* (often in ref. to Christ's cross), *wood*

**°bēamtielg** mi. *'tree-dye', ink*; ds. **-telg**  
14.26.9

**bearh** see **beorgan**

**bearn** n. *child, descendant*

**bearnmyrðra** m. or **bearnmyrðre** f. *child-killer, infanticide*; np. **bearnmyrðran** 8.136

**bearu** mwa. *grove, wood*

**±bēatan** (ēo) 7 *beat*

**be-bēodan** 2 *command, commend* (w. acc., dat.); 1 sg. pres. **bebīode** 2.20, 69; pret. 3 sg. **bibēad** 1.163

**be-biddan** 5 *ask, request*

**be-bod** n. *command, directive*

**be-byrgan** I *bury, inter*; pret. 3 sg. **be-byrigde** 6.195

**be-byrignys(s)** fjō. *burial*

**bēc** see **bōc**

**°be-čēowan** 2 *chew away, gnaw to pieces*; pp. **bicowen** 13.105

**bēc-** see **biēc-**

**be-cuman**, pret. **be-c(w)ōm** 4 *arrive (at), come (to), meet with, go; befall, amount (to)*

**±bed** n. *prayer*; ap. **gebedo** 5.27

**be-dælan, bi-** II *deprive, separate*

**bed(d)** nja. *bed, plot*

**be-delfan** 3 *bury*

**be-diēglian** II *conceal*

**°be-drēosan** 2 *bereave, deprive* (of, w. dat.); pp. np. **bidrorene** 16.79

**be-drīfan** 1 *drive, beat upon; drench* (?)

**be-ebbian** II *strand*; pp. **-ebbade** 3.158

**be-fæstan** I *secure, attach, entrust, commit, apply*

**be-fēolan** 3 (§132) *apply, devote, dedicate*

**be-fōn** 7 *seize on; encompass, comprehend, contain*; **befōn on** *have to do*

- with; pp. **bifongen** 12.48, 13.31, 14.26.14
- be-foran, bi-foran** adv. and prep.† *before, in front (of), ahead*
- be-frīnan** 1 *question, interrogate, ask*
- be-gangan, -gongan**, pret. **be-ġeong** 7 *engage in, practice*
- bēgen, bā, bū** adj., pron. (§59) *both*; g. **bēga** 14.42.7
- be-ġeondan** prep. w. dat. *beyond, on the other side of*; **beġiondan** 2.16
- be-ġeotan** 2 *cover, suffuse, drench*; pp. **begoten** 15.7, 49
- be-ġietan** 5 *obtain, acquire*; inf. **be-ġitan** 6.8, pret. pl. **beġeton** 3.128
- be-grindan** 3 (w. dat.) *grind away*
- be-gyrdan** 1 *gird*
- be-hātan** (ē) 7 *promise, threaten*
- be-hēafdian** II *behead*
- be-hēafdung** f. *decapitation*
- be-healdan** (ēo) 7 *see, observe, look at, examine*; inf. **behalndan** 5.49
- be-hēawan** (ēo) 7 *deprive (s.o., acc.) of (sthg., dat.), cut off*; inf. **behēawon** 10.115
- be-heonan, be-hionan** prep. w. dat. *on this side of*
- be-hindan** adv. *behind*
- °**be-hlyped** adj. (pp.) *robbed, stripped* (?); *laid on its side* (?)
- be-hōfian** II *have need (of, w. gen.)*
- be-hrēosan** 2 *cover* (?); *topple* (?); pp. **np. bihrorene** 16.77
- be-hydan** I *conceal, sheathe*
- be-innan, binnan** adv., prep. w. dat. *within, inside*
- be-lečgan, bi-** I *cover, envelop*
- be-lēosan** 2 (w. dat.) *lose, shed*
- ±**belgan** 3 (reflex.) *swell with anger, become enraged*
- be-lifan** 1 *remain, be left over*
- be-limpan** 3 *belong, be appropriate*; pres. 3 sg. **belimpeð** 7. 94; pret. pl. **belumpen** 1.76
- be-lūcan** 2 *enclose, lock up*
- be-murcnian** II *complain, lament*
- bēn** fi. *prayer, request*
- be-nāman** I *deprive (of, w. gen.)*
- bend** mja. *bond, chain, fetter*
- be-neoðan** adv., prep. w. dat. *beneath, below*
- be-niman** 4 *deprive (of, w. acc. or gen.)*; pret. 3 sg. **binom** 14.26.2; pp. **binumen** 14.27.14
- °**ben(n)** fjō. *wound*
- °±**bennian** II *wound*; pp. **ġebennad** 14.5.2
- bēod** m. *table, bowl, dish*
- ±**bēodan** 2 *offer; command, enjoin, urge*
- bēon, wæs, wæron** anom. (§52) *be, exist*; inf. **bīon** 7.54, pres. 1 sg. **eom** 1.175, 6.40, 44, etc., **eam** 7.278, 2 sg. **eart** 1.169, 10.38, 13.49, pl. **synd** 4.2, 3, 4, etc., **syn** 8.57, 58, 87, etc., **sint** 7.62, 10.64, 68, **synt** 10.174, **syndon** 1.26, 6.19, 15.46, **siendon** 2.71, **syndan** 8.25, 31, 32, etc., **seondan** 10.69, **sindan** 12.25, 13.60; pret. 3 sg. **nes** 6.204, **næs** 4.46, 6.212, 7.271, etc., pl. **wæran** 6.172, 8.8, 162, etc., **næron** 2.30, 3.143; fut. and consue. 1 & 3 sg. **bēo** 6.45, 64, 65, etc. (also 1 sg. **bēom** 14.7.8, 14.16.4, 14.23.4, etc.); sj. pres. sg. **sie** 2.18, 73, 14.31.24, etc., **sȳ** 4.14, 6.43, 234, etc., **sēo** 5.12, **sī** 15.144, pl. **sien** 2.50, 54, 71, etc., fut. and consue. sg. **bēo** 6.45, 79, 112, pl. **bēon** 4.19, pret. sg. **nære** 5.67, 10.67, 11.171, pl.

- wāron** 1.65, **wāran** 13.72, **nāren** 2.16  
**+bēor** m. *guest, drinking-companion*  
**beorcan** 3 *bark*  
**beorg** m. *hill, mound, mountain*  
**±beorgan** 3 (w. dat.) *save, protect*  
*(against, w. acc.), provide protection;*  
*seek a cure for*  
**°beorghliþ** n. *mountain slope*; dp.  
**-hleopum** 14.27.2  
**beorht** adj. *bright*; adv. **beorhte**  
**beorhtnes(s)** fjō. *brightness, brilliance*  
**beorn** m. (orig. mu.) *man*  
**±bēorscipe** mi. *banquet, feast*; ds.  
**-sčype** 6.96  
**bēot** n. *vow, boast*  
**bēotung** f. *threat*  
**be-pācan**, pret. **be-pāhte** I (§116)  
*deceive, seduce*  
**bera** m. *bear*  
**±beran** 4 *bear, carry*; pres. 3 sg. **byrð**  
 7.125, **byreð** 14.7.6, 14.14.5; act.  
 part. gsn. **berendes** *pregnant* 7.299  
**be-rēafian**, **bi-** II *rob, deprive, strip*  
**be-rēafiend** mc. *robber, depriver,*  
*plunderer*  
**beren(n)** adj. *made of bearskin*  
**be-rēofan** 2 *deprive, rob* (of, w. dat.);  
 pp. np. **birofene** 14.13.7  
**°be-riefan**, **-rīfan** I *deprive, dispossess*  
*(of, w. gen.)*  
**be-rōwan** (ēo) 7 *row past*  
**±berstan** 3 *burst, break; escape*  
**be-rīpan** I *despoil* (of), *strip, deprive,*  
*rob*  
**be-sčierian** I *deprive, cut off*; pp. asm.  
**besčyredne** 12.8  
**be-sēon** 5 (§132) *look*  
**be-sierwan**, **-syrwan** I *ensnare, de-*  
*fraud*  
**be-sincan** 3 (trans.) *sink, submerge*  
**be-sittan** 5 *surround, besiege*  
**°be-slītan** 1 *slit, tear, separate* (from,  
 w. dat.)  
**be-smītan** 1 *defile, soil, dishonor*  
**°be-snyþþan** I *rob, deprive* (of, w. dat.)  
**be-sorgian** II *regret, rue, have sorrow*  
*over*  
**be-sprecan** 5 *talk about* (it)  
**be-stelan**, **bi-** 4 *move stealthily, steal*  
*(upon); deprive*  
**°be-stieman** I *suffuse, bespatter*; pp.  
**bestēmed** 15.22, 48  
**be-strīpan** I *strip, plunder*; pp. apn.  
**bestrypte** 8.32  
**be-styrman** I *agitate, wrack with*  
*storms*  
**be-swīcan** 1 *betray, deceive, overcome*  
*by stratagem*  
**be-swīcend** mc. *deceiver*  
**be-swincan** 3 *produce by labor*  
**°be-swillan**, **-swyllan** I *wash, drench*  
**besyrw-** see **besierwan**  
**bet** adv. (compar. of **wel**) *better;*  
*superl. betst*  
**be-tācan**, pret. **betāhte**, **betāhte** I  
 (§116) *entrust, hand over* (to), *ap-*  
*point, reserve*  
**±bētan** I *atone* (for), *compensate* (for),  
*make amends* (for), *improve*; sj.  
 pres. pl. **bētan** 8.130  
**bet(e)ra** adj. (compar. of **gōd**) *better*  
**betst**, **best** adj. *superl. best*  
**be-twēonan**, **be-twēonum**, **bi-** prep.  
 w. dat. *between, among*  
**be-twīh**, **be-twīh**, **be-t(w)uh** prep. w.  
 dat. *between, among*  
**be-twux**, **be-tweox**, **be-twux** prep. w.  
 dat., acc. *between, among, within*  
**be-týnan** I *close*

**be-þeċċan**, pret. **beþeahte** I (§116)  
*cover, wrap*

**be-þenċan** I (often reflex.) *consider, reflect (on), call to mind, think (of, often w. gen.)*

**°be-þennan** I *stretch upon or over, cover*

**°be-þrīngan** 3 *beset, oppress*

**be-þyddan** I *thrust*; pret. pl. **beþyddan** 7.289

**be-wāfan** I *wrap, clothe*

**°be-wāwan** (ēo) 7 *blow against, beat*;  
 np. **biwāune** 16.76

**be-wendan** I (often reflex.) *turn (around)*

**be-werian** I *defend, protect*

**be-windan** 3 *wrap*

**be-witiġan** II *observe, attend to*

**be-wrēon** I (§132) *conceal, cover*; pret. 1 sg. **bewrāh** 16.23; pp. **bewriġen** 15.53, asf. **bewriġene** 14.42.14

**be-wyrċan**, pret. **beworhte** I (§116)  
*work, construct, make*

**bī** adv. *by it, from it, on the basis of it*

**bi-, bī, biċġ-, bīcn-** = **be-, be, byċġ-, bīecn-**

**±bīdan** 1 *wait, remain*; (w. gen., acc.; may be reflex.) *await, experience, endure, live through*

**±biddan** 5 (often reflex.) *pray, ask, bid, command, instruct* (w. gen. of thing asked for; w. **æt** of or from)

**±bīecnan, ±bīcnan**, I *indicate, reveal, signify*; pres. pl. **bēcnaþ** 14.24.10

**±bieġan, ±biġan** I *cause to bend, compel to submit, abase; commit (oneself)*

**°±biēldan** I *embolden, encourage, hearten*

**bieme, bīme** f. *trumpet*

**±bierian, ±byrian** I *taste*; pret. 3 sg. **byriġde** 15.101

**°+bierman, +byrman** I *ferment, leaven, swell up*

**bifian** II *tremble, shake, quake*; act. part. **byuiġende** 6.174

**biġan** see **biēgan, būgan**

**biġeng(ē)a** m. *inhabitant, cultivator, worshiper*; ap. **biġgencġas** 6.55

**biĥð** see **biēgan, būgan**

**bīleofa** m. *sustenance, support*; as.

**biġleafan** 4.4, **biġleofan** 4.8

**bil(e)wit** adj. *innocent, honest*

**°bil(l)** n. *sword, blade*

**+bind** n. *fastening, band, confinement*

**±bindan** 3 *bind, put in fetters*

**bindere** mja. *binder, one who fetters*

**binnan** = **be-innan**

**birnan** 3 (intrans.) *burn*

**bisċ(ē)op, bisċep** m. *bishop*

**bisċ(ē)ophād** m. *episcopate, office of bishop*

**bisċ(ē)opriċe** n. *bishopric, episcopal diocese*

**bisċ(e)opstōl, bisċepstōl** m. *cathedral, episcopal see, bishopric*

**bisġu, bysġu** f. *occupation, business*

**bisiġ, bysiġ** adj. *busy, occupied*

**bismerian** I, III *insult, mock, revile*

**bismor, bismer, bysmor** n. *disgrace; tō bysmore disgracefully*; gp. **bysmara** 8.12

**bismorful(l), bismer-, bysmor-** adj. *disgraceful, shameful*

**±bītan** 1 *bite, pierce*

**bit(t)er** adj. *bitter, cutting, cruel*; adv. **bitere**

**bitw- = betw-**

**blāc** adj. *bright, brilliant*

**blācern** n. *lamp, light*

**blācernlēoht** n. *lamplight*  
**blæc** adj. *black*; npn. **blacu** 14.51.3,  
 dp. **blacum** 14.10.7  
 °**blæd** m. *vital spirit, joy, glory*; gp.  
**blēdum** 15.149  
**blāetan** I *bleat*  
 ±**blandan** (ēo) 7 *blend, mix*; pp. **ġe-**  
**blonden** 14.23.8  
 °**blēd** fi. *shoot, leaf, foliage*  
**blēd** see also **blæd**  
 °**blenċan** I *deceive, cheat*  
**blēo** nja. *color, appearance, form*; dp.  
**blēom** 15.22  
 ±**blētsian** II *consecrate, bless, make a*  
*sign of blessing*  
 °**blīcan** I *gleam*  
**blind** adj. *blind (to, w. gen.), dark*  
**blindliċe** adv. *blindly, ignorantly*  
**blis(s)** fjō. *merriment, merrymaking,*  
*enjoyment, happiness*; ds. **blysse**  
 6.117  
 ±**blissian** II *exult, rejoice*  
 ±**bliðe** adj. *cheerful, in good spirits,*  
*well-disposed*; adv. **bliðe, bliðeliċe**  
 °**bliðemōd** adj. *contented*  
**blōd** n. *blood*  
**blōdgyte** mi. *bloodshed*  
**blond-** = **bland-**  
 ±**blōwan** (ēo) 7 *blossom, flourish*  
**bōc**, pl. **bēc** fc. *book*; ns. **booc** 1.139  
**bōcċiest** f. *book chest*  
**bōccræft** m. *study of books, learning,*  
*scholarship*  
**bōcere** mja. *scholar*  
**bōcliċ** adj. *scholarly, pertaining to*  
*books*  
**bōcstæf** m. *alphabetic character, letter*  
**boda** m. *messenger, announcer*  
**boden** see **bēodan**  
**bodi(ġ)an** II *announce, proclaim*

**boga** m. *bow*  
**bōġan** II *boast (of, w. gen.)*; pres. 3 sg.  
**bōð** 12.28  
**bold** n. *hall*  
**bolster** m. *cushion, bolster*  
**bona, bonne** = **bana, banne**  
**bord** n. *board, plank; side of a ship;*  
*shield; table*  
 °**bordhreða** m. *phalanx, shield-wall,*  
*protective formation*  
 °**bordweal(l)** m. *wooden wall*  
**borgen** see **beorgan**  
**bōsm** m. *bosom, interior*  
**bōt** f. *remedy, amends, atonement*  
**bōð** see **bōġan**  
**brād** adj. *broad, wide*; compar. nsn.  
 wk. **brædre** 7.54, **brādre** 7.55  
 +**bræc** n. *crash*; **ġebrec** 11.114  
 ±**brædan** I *spread*  
**brēac** see **brūcan**  
**breah(t)e(m)** m. *cry, clamor*  
 +**brec** = +**bræc**  
 ±**brecan** 4 *break, transgress (against)*;  
 pres. 3 sg. **briceð** 14.38.6; pret. pl.  
**bræcan** 8.43, 160, **bræcon** 11.122  
 °**breodian** II *cry out (?)*  
**brēost** n. (usu. pl.) *breast*  
 °**brēostcofa** m. *recesses of the breast*  
 °**brēostsefa** m. *spirit, mind, tempera-*  
*ment*  
 ±**brēowan** 2 *brew*  
**brerd** m. *brim*  
**brice, briceð, briċġ** see **bryċe, brecan,**  
**bryċġ**  
 °**brim** n. *ocean*  
 °**brimfugol** m. *sea bird*  
 ±**bringan, ±brenġan**, pret. ±**brōhte** 3,  
 I (§116) *bring*; pres. 3 sg. **ġebringēð**  
 8.128; pp. **brungen** 14.21.7, 14.27.2  
 ±**broc** n. *affliction, adversity*

±**brocian** II *crush, injure*; pp. np. **ge-brocede** 3.129

**brōðor** mc. (pl. ±; §82) *brother*; np. **gebrōðra** 1.33, **brōðor** 1.174, 178, **gebrōþor** 14.13.2, ap. **brōðra** 9.35, **brōþor** 14.31.22

±**brūcan** 2 (w. gen.) *use, enjoy, possess, experience*

**brūn** adj. *brown, bright*

**bryce** mi. *breach, fracture, infringement, offense*

**bryce** ni. *use, enjoyment*; ds. **brīce** 9.20

**brycg** fjō. *bridge*; as. **brīcge** 5.3, 5

°**brȳd** fi. *bride, wife, woman*

°**brȳdbed(d)** nja. *nuptial bed*

**brȳdgīfta** fp. *betrothal, espousal*

**bryne** mi. *burning, flame, conflagration*

°**brytta** m. *dispenser, lord*

**bū** see **bēgen**

**būan** 7, III (?; wk. pret. **būde**) *reside, live, settle, inhabit*; pres. 1. sg. **būge** 14.7.2, pl. **būgeað** 3.39; pp. **gebūn** 7.19, **gebūd** 7.23, asn.wk. **bȳne** 7.53, dp. **bȳnum** 7.52

**bufan** prep. w. dat. or acc. *above, upstream from* [**be-ufan**]

±**būgan** 2 *bow, turn, submit; modulate* 3 sg. **biħð** 4.40; act. part. dsf. **būgendre** 14.8.6

**būge** see **būan**

**būg-** see **būan**

°**bune** f. *cup, beaker*

**būr** n. *chamber, room*

**burg, burh** fc. *fortification, town*; gs., ds., ap. **byr(i)g**; as. **burg** 7.209, **burg** 10.3, ap. **burga** 3.25, 4.6

**burglēod** mi. *townsman, citizen*

**burgon** see **beorgan**

°**burgsittend** mc. *city-dweller*

**burgwaru, burh-** f. *resident or populace of a town*

**burgweal(l)** m. *fortification*

°**burgwīgend** mc. *'fortress-fighter', soldier*

**būtan, būton** adv., prep. w. dat. *outside, beyond; but, except for, without* [**be-ūtan**]

**būtan, būton** conj. *unless, except; but*

**būte** conj. *but, rather* [**be-ūte**]

**butere** f. *butter*

**būtū** pron. n. dual *both*

±**bycġan**, pret. **bohte** I (§116) *buy, purchase, redeem*

**bydel** m. *beadle, preacher*

**byden** f. *vat, tub*

°**byht** fi. (?) *settlement, habitation*

**bȳme** = **bieme**

**bȳn-** see **būan**

±**byrd** ni. (often pl.) *birth, lineage, social rank, class*

**byrde** adj. *well-born, noble*

+**byr(d)tīd** fi. *time of birth*

**byreð** see **beran, byrian**

**byrgen(n)** fjō. (orig. fi.) *sepulcher*; ds. **byrgennæ** 5.38, **byrgene** 6.224, 225

±**byrian** I (w. dat.) *befit, belong*

**byrig-** see also **bierian**

+**byrman** see +**bierman**

**byrnan, be(o)rnan** 3 *burn* (intrans.)

°**byrnwiga** m. *fighter in mail, armed warrior*

**byrst** mi. *loss, calamity*

**byrtīd** = **byrdtīd**

**byrð** see **beran, byrian**

**bȳsn, bȳsen** f. *example*

**bysmor-** = **bismor-**

+**bytlū** np. *complex of buildings, fine estate*

**byuiġ-** = **bifi-**

**cæge** *f. key*

**cāf** *adj. strenuous, bold*

**cald** = **ceald**

**±camp** *m. combat, battle*

**±campian, compian** *II do battle, fight;*  
*pret. pl. compedon* 1.15

**°campwudu** *mu. 'battle-wood', shield*

**canōn** *m. canon, rule*

**carcern** *n. prison*

**caru, cearu, cearo** *f. care, trouble, sorrow;*  
*as. ceare* 16.9

**cāserdōm** *m. reign as emperor, imperialism, empery*

**cāsere, kāsere** *mja. emperor, Caesar*

**ceaflas** *mp. jaws*

**ceald** *adj. cold;* *dsf.wk. caldan* 13.15

**cealf** *nc. (§82) calf*

**čēap** *m. cattle; purchase, bargain; gē-*  
*mānum čēape as a joint purchase*  
8.70

**±čēapian** *II buy, purchase, pay for*  
*(with, w. dat. or instr.)*

**čeare, cearo** *see caru*

**čearful(l)** *adj. full of care*

**čēas** *f. strife, contention*

**čeaster** *f. town, city*

**čeaster(ge)waru** *f. resident of a town,*  
*citizen*

**čēgan** = **čīegan**

**čēling** *f. ability to cool, coolness; as.*  
*cēlincge* 6.24

**±cennan** *I (§114) conceive, give birth*  
*(to); pret. pl. cendon* 7.169

**°čēol** *m. ship*

**čeorfæx** *f. axe; dp. -æxsum* 7.325

**±čeorfan** 3 *carve, cut*

**čeorl** *m. peasant; man, husband*

**±čēosan** 2 *(w. acc. or gen.) choose;*  
*pret. pl. gēcuran* 9.72; *sj. pret. sg.*  
*gecure* 6.60, *pp. nsn. gēcoren* 1.121

**±čēowan** 2 *chew*

**±čīegan** *I call, summon; pret. pl. sj.*  
*(ge)čygdon* 1.5, 40, *pp. gēcīged* 6.1,  
10

**čiele, čyle** *mi. cold, chill, coolness, frost*  
**čierlisč, čirlisč, čeorlisč** *adj. common,*  
*low-born*

**čierm, čirm** *mi. cry, shouting, outcry*

**čierri** *mi. turn, occasion; ds. čirre*  
3.146, 7.6

**±čierrian, čyrran** *I turn, turn aside;*  
*pret. pl. tōgædere gēcirdon banded*  
*together* 7.164

**čīg-** *see čīeg-*

**čild** *ns. child*

**čildhād** *m. childhood; čyld-* 6.184

**čir-** *see also čier-*

**čiriče, čyrče** *f. church; as. čyrčan* 5.48,  
*gs. 5.28, ds. čyrčan* 5.36, 43

**čirichata, čyrič-** *m. persecutor of the*  
*Church*

**čiričweard** *m. church-warden, sexton;*  
*as. čyrcward* 5.22, 26

**Čirinisč** *adj. Cyrenaican, pertaining to*  
*Cyrene*

**čirm** = **čierm**

**čirre** *see čierri*

**clāne** *adj. clean, pure; adv. clāne*  
*fully, completely*

**±clānsian** *II cleanse, purify*

**°clam(m)** *m. bond, fetter, fastening*

**clawu** *fwō. claw, instrument of torture*

**cleof-, cleop-** = **clif-, clip-**

**cleric** *m. clergyman (secular, as op-*  
*posed to a monk)*

**clif** *n. cliff, rock; dp. cleofum* 1.59 *(see*  
*§119)*

**clipian, clypian, cleopian** *II cry out,*  
*call, summon, utter*

**clūdiġ** *adj. stony*

**clumian** II *keep the mouth shut*; pret.

pl. **clumedan** 8.153

**clūster** n. *confinement*

°**clynnan** I *resound, ring*

**clypian** = **clipian**

±**clyppan** I *embrace, welcome*

**cnapa, cnafa** m. *child, boy, servant*;

dp. **cnapan** 5.37

±**cnāwan** (ē, ēo) 7 *know, understand, recognize*

±**cnedan** 5 *knead*

±**cneordnes(s)** fġō. *accomplishment*

**cnēo(w)** nwa. *knee*; as. **cnēo** 16.42

±**cnēowian** II *kneel*

**cnih̄t** m. *boy, young man*

±**cnōdan** (ēo) 7 *dedicate, commit*

±**cnucian** II *knock*; pret. 3 sg. **cnucede** 5.24

±**cnyllan** I *strike, knock*

±**cnyssan** I *strike, dash against, press, beat*

±**cnyttan** I *bind*

**cōlian** II *grow cold*

°**collenferh̄ð** adj. *stout-hearted*

**comp(-), con(st)** see **camp(-), cunnan**

+**cōplīc** adj. *fitting*

**cops, cosp** m. *fetter, bond*

**coren, corfen** see **čēosan, čeorfan**

**corn** n. *grain, crops*

°**corđor** f. *troop, multitude, retinue, company*

**cradolcild** nc. ‘*cradle-child*’, *infant, young child*

**cræft** m. *skill, art, artifice, strength, might*

**cræftīg** adj. *mighty, powerful*; nsm.wk. **cræftega** 7.205

**Crēcisc̄** n. *the Greek language*

°**crinḡ, grinḡ** m. (?) *fall, slaughter*

°±**cringan, ±gringan** 3 *succumb*

**cristen** adj. *Christian*; npf. **cristnæ**

2.47

**cristendōm** m. *Christianity, Christendom*; **cristenan-** 10.13

**crūc** m. *cross*

**cuma** m. *stranger, guest*

**cuman** (c(w)ōm, c(w)ōmon, **cumen**)

4 *come*; pres. 3 sg. **cymeð** 7.96, 120;

pret. pl. **cōman** 1.29, 37, 5.14, etc.,

**cwōman** 15.57; sj. pres. sg. **cyme** 14.5.5

**cumpæder** m. ‘*co-father*’, i.e. *a man whose relationship to a man or woman is that one of them sponsored the other’s child at baptism*

±**cunnan**, pret. **cūðe** pret.-pres. *know, know how, be acquainted with, recognize* (§123); pres. 1s. **con** 1.98, 2 sg. **const** 14.36.12

±**cunnian** II *investigate, try, test*

**cure, curon** see **čēosan**

**curfon** see **čeorfan**

**cūð** adj. *known, plain, familiar*

**cūð-** see also **cunnan**

**cwalu** f. *murder*

**cwealmbære** adj. *murderous, deadly, bloodthirsty*

**cweartern** n. *prison*

±**cwečcan**, pret. **cwe(a)hte** I (§116) *shake*

**cwellere** mja. *killer*

±**cwēman** I (w. dat.) *please*

±**cwēmlice** adv. *graciously, amiably*

**cwēn** fi. *queen, princess, woman*

**cwene** f. *woman*

**cweðan** 5 *say, state*; pres. 3 sg. **cwyð** 15.111; pret. pl. **cwæðan** 8.114; imp. sg. **cwæð** 6.57

**cwicu, cwico** adj. (*u-stem*) *living, alive*; gp. **cwicra** 16.9

**cwide** mi. *saying, statement, speech, remark, observation*, np. **cwide** 12.20

°**cwidegied(d)** nja. *saying, utterance, remark*

**cwield, cwild** mi. *pestilence, disease*

**cwielman, cwylman** I *afflict, destroy, kill*

°**cwiðan** I *bewail, lament*

**cwyð** see **cweðan**

**čyġ-, čyld(-), čyle** = **čieġ-, čild(-), čiele**

**cyme** mi. *arrival, appearance, presence*

**cȳmliċ** adj. ‘*comely*’, *lovely, splendid*

±**cynd** ni. *nature, birth*; ds. **ġecynde** *by birth, by right*

**cynehelm** m. *crown, garland*; as. **kyne-helm** 6.150

**cyneliċ** adj. *royal*

**cyneriċe, kyneriċe** nja. *kingdom, realm*

**cynesetl** n. *throne*

°**cynestōl** m. *royal seat, throne*

**cyning, kyning, cyng, cing, kyng** m. *king*; ns. **cynincg** 7.102, **cining** 11.49, as. **cyningc** 7.36

**cyningcyn(n)** nja. *royal line, dynasty*

**cyn(n)** nja. *kind, family, kin, sex, race, people*

**čyr(i)č-, čyrran** = **čiriċ-, čierran**

**cyrtel, kyrtel** m. *man’s tunic, coat*

**cyrten** adj. *attractive*

±**cyssan** I *kiss*

°**cyst** fi. *paragon, the choicest (example), the best*

**cȳst** see **cȳðan**

±**čȳðan** I *show, reveal, make known, relate*; 2 sg. **cȳst** 6.70

**dæd** fi. *deed, action*

**dædbōt** f. *penance, penitence*

**dæg**, pl. **dagas** m. *day*; gs. **dægēs** *by day*; gp. **dagana** 11.193, dp. **dagan** 7.77, as adv. **dagum** *by day* 14.5.14

**dæghwāmliċe** adv. *daily, every day*

°**dægrīm** n. *count of days, lifetime*

°**dægweorc** n. *day’s work*

**dæl** mi. *portion, share, part, region, extent*; **be ænigum dæle** *to any extent*

±**dælan** I *divide, distribute, pay out; be at odds*

±**dafenian** II (impers. w. dat.) *befit*; pret. 3 sg. **ġedeofanade** 1.87

+**dafenliċ** adj. *suitable, appropriate*

±**dāl** n. *division, difference, separation, quarreling*

°**daroðæsċ** n. *spear with shaft of ash*

°**daroðlācend, deareð-** mc. ‘*spear-tosser*’, *soldier*

**dēad** adj. *dead*

**dēaf** adj. *deaf*

**dēaf** see also **dūfan**

**dēagol** = **diegol**

**deal(l)** adj. *proud*

**dear** see **durran**

**deareð-** = **daroð-**

**dearnunga** adv. *secretly, stealthily*

**dēað** m. *death*

°**dēaðdæg** m. *final day*

°**dēaðsleġe** mi. *mortal blow*

**dēaw** mwa. *dew*

**dēġel-** = **diegol-**

**dēma** m. *judge*

±**dēman** I *judge, consider*

**dene** mi. *valley*

**Deniċ** adj. *Danish*; gp. **Deniscena** 3.161

**deofan-** see **dafenian**

**dēofolliċ** adj. *diabolical, fiendish*; asn.

**dēofliċ** 6.89

**dēofol** m., n. *devil, demon, fiend*; apn.

**dēofla** 4.13

**dēofolgiēld** n. *heathen worship*; -**gēld** 7.253

**dēop** n. *channel, deep part of the estuary*

**dēope** adv. *profoundly*

**dēoplic** adj. *profound*

**dēor** adj. *bold*

**dēor** n. *animal, beast, creature*

**dēor-** see also **dīere**

**deorc** adj. *dark*; dp. **deorcan** 15.46

**dēorwierðe** adj. *precious, costly*

**derian** I *damage, injure, cause damage (to)*

**derigēndlic** adj. *injurious, harmful*

**diacon** m. *deacon, minister*

°+**dieġan**, +**dȳġan** I *survive*

**diegol**, **dēagol** adj. *secret, hidden, private*; dp. **dihlum** 5.21

±**diegollice** adv. *secretly*; **diġellice** 10.18, **dēġelice** 10.136

**diegolnes(s)** fġō. *secret*

**dīere**, **dēore** adj. *dear, prized, valuable, excellent*; adv. **dēore**

**dihlum** see **diegol**

±**dihtan** I *appoint, direct, dictate*

**dihtnere** mja. *steward*

°**dim(m)** adj. *dim, dark*

°**dōgor** mc. *day*

**dohte** see **dugan**

**dohtor** fc. (pl. ±; §82) *daughter*; np.

**dohtra** 9.39, **dohtor** 14.46.2

**dol** adj. *foolish, silly*; as sb. *fool*

**dolg** n. *wound*

**dōm** m. *judgment, decree, penalty, renown, glory*

**dōmdæg** m. *Judgment Day*

°**dōmġeorn** adj. *eager for praise*

°**dōmweorðung** f. *glory, renown*

±**dōn** anom. (§134) *place, put, position, take; make, cause; do, act, present; lead (a life)*; **wiþ dōn** *treat*; pres. pl. **dō** 13.93 (§79); pret. pl. (ġe)**dydan** 7.230, 8.15; pret. pl. **ġedydon** *arrived* 3.69, 87, 110, etc.

**dorst-**, **dræht** see **durran**, **dreccan**

**drāf** f. *drove, band*

°+**drēag** n. *host, tumult*

**drēam** m. *gladness, delight*

±**dreccan**, pret. **dre(a)hte** I (§116) *afflict, oppress*; pret. pl. **ġedrehtan** 8.47, pp. **ġedræht** 5.5

±**drēfan** II *disturb, trouble, distress*

±**drēfednes(s)** fġō. *distress, emotional turmoil*

**drenč** mi. *drowning*

°±**drēogan** 2 *perform, do, be engaged in, persist; endure, suffer*; pres. 3 sg. **drīġð** 10.55

**drēoriġ** adj. *bloody, cruel, dreary*

°**drēoriġhlēor** adj. *'sorrowful-cheeked', sad-faced*

°±**drēosan** 2 *perish, fail, decline*

±**drifan** 1 *drive*

**drīġð** see **drēogan**

**drihten**, **drinč** = **dryhten**, **drync**

**drinca** m. *drink*

**drincan** 3 *drink*

°**drohtað** m. *conduct, way of living, condition*

**drohtnung** f. *way of life, conduct, reputation*

**dropa** m. *drop*

**drug-** see **drēogan**

**druncen** n. *consumption of drink, drinking*

**druncennes(s)** fġō. *drunkenness*

°**druncmenn(n)** fġō. *'drink-maidservant', slave assigned to*

- duties associated with the dispensing of drink, dishwasher (?)*
- dryġe** adj. *dry*; on **dryġum** on dry land 3.150
- °±dryht** fi. *host, troop, multitude*
- dryhten, drihten** m. *lord* (often in ref. to God); gs. **drihtnes** 1.6, 10; ds. **drihtene** 5.29
- °dryhtfolc** m. *multitude, host*
- °dryhtguma** m. *member of a lord's company, retainer, follower, man*
- ±drync, ±drinc** mi. *drink, drinking*
- ±dūfan** 2 *dive, plunge*; pret. pl. **dufan** 11.122
- dugan**, pret. **dohte** pret.-pres. (§123) *avail, be of use, thrive, be well*
- dugub** f. *excellent quality, nobility, virtue, strength, power, host*; as. **dugeþe** 8.149
- dumb** adj. *dumb, without speech*
- dūn** f. *mountain, hill*
- durran**, pret. **dorste** pret.-pres. (§123) *dare, venture*
- duru** fu. *door*; ds. **duru** 5.28, **dure** 7.276
- dūst** n. *powder, dust*
- dwæs** adj. *stupid, ignorant*; dp. as sb. **dwæsan** 8.131
- ±dwelian** II *go astray, be in error; lead astray, delude*
- ±dwi(e)ld, ±dwyld** nja. *folly, delusion, error*
- ±dwola** m. *heresy, error, folly*
- +dwolgod** m. *false god, idol*; dp. **dwolgodan** 8.23
- ±dwołlice** adv. *ignorantly, foolishly*
- dwyld = dwield**
- dyd-** see **dōn**
- ±dýfan** I *immerse, plunge*
- dýġan** see **dieġan**
- °dynian** I, II *resound*; pret. 3 sg. **dynede** 11.50
- dynt** mi. *blow*
- dýr- = dier-**
- ±dyrstiġ** adj. *bold, presumptuous*
- dysiġ** adj. *foolish*; as sb. *fool*; asm. **dysine** 10.167
- dysiġ** n. *foolishness, error*
- dyslice** adv. *foolishly*
- ēa** fc. *river*; as. **ēa** 7.17, gs. **ē** 3.76, 79, **ēas** 3.116, 7.19, ds. **ēæ** 3.114, **ēa** 7.18, **ie** 7.147, 258
- ēac** adv. *also, in addition, too*
- ēac** prep. w. dat. *in addition to*
- ēaca** m. *addition, reinforcement, increase*
- ēacen** adj. (pp.) *increased, enlarged, endowed, mighty, pregnant*
- ±ēacnian** II *increase, be enlarged; be pregnant, bear a child*
- °ēad** n. *prosperity, good fortune, well-being, contentment*
- ēadiġ** adj. *blessed, saintly*
- ēage** n.wk. *eye*
- eahta** num. *eight*; **ehtuwe** 14.36.4
- eahtatiġ** num. *eighty*
- eahtoða, eahteða** num. *eighth*
- ēalā** interj. *alas, oh*; **æala** 10.176
- ēaland, ieġland** n. *island*; ns. **ēġlond** 10. 88, as. **iġland** 3.101, gs. **ēalondes** 1.13, ds. **iġlande** 9.31, 36, **ēalonde** 10.4, np. **iġland** 7.71, 84, gp. **iġlanda** 7.82
- ēalað** see **ealu**
- eald** adj. *old, ancient*; comp. **ieldra**
- °ealdġewyrht** fi. *deed of old*
- ealdhlāford** m. *hereditary lord, dynast*
- ealdhlāfordcyn(n)** nja. *hereditary dynasty*

±ealdian II *grow old*

(e)aldor m. *leader, commander*

°(e)aldor n. *life*

ealdorman(n) mc. *earl, chief officer of a shire, prince, ruler, superior*

ealdriht n. *right of old, ancestral right*

°ealfelo adj. (*u*-stem?) *very harmful, dire, deadly*

eal(l) adj., pron. *all*; ealles *entirely, completely, all, fully*; mid ealle *altogether, completely, in all*; gp. as adv. ealra *in all, all told* 14.13.1, 14.46.6; asm. ealne 7.8, 20, asf. ealle 10.84, npm. alle 7.206, apf. eallæ 2.37, gp. ealra 7.1, 13.87

eal(l) adv. *all, entirely*; æll 6.171

eal(l)birnende adj. *all-consuming*

eallinga, eallunga adv. *completely, exclusively*

eallniewe adj. *entirely new*; dsf. eall-nīwere 6.196

eal(l)swā adv., conj. *just as*

ealneġ adv. *always* [ealne weġ]

ealu, ealo nc. *ale*; gs. ealað 7.133

ēam m. *maternal uncle*

eard m(u). (*native*) *country, region, land*

°eardġeard m. *enclosed plot of ground, settlement, region*

±eardian II *reside, make one's home*

°eardstapa m. *wanderer*

eardungstōw f. *settlement, dwelling place, residence*

ēare n.wk. *ear*

earfoðe adj. *hard, difficult*

earfoþe nja. *hardship, trouble*; gp. earfeþa 16.6

earfoðlic adj. *difficult, full of hardship*; adv. -lice *with difficulty, impatiently*

earg adj. *unmanly, cowardly*

°earhfaru f. *flight of arrows*

earhlic adj. *cowardly, timid, shameful*

earm adj. *poor, wretched, miserable*

earm m. *arm*; ds. earmæ 5.45

°earmċeariġ adj. *miserably sad, sorely distressed*

earming m. *wretch*; -ingc 6.93

earmlic adj. *low, pitiable, wretched*; adv. -lice

earn m. *eagle*

±earnian II (w. gen.) *earn, merit*; inf. ernian 8.13; pret. pl. ġeearnedan 8.14

±earning f. *merit, accomplishment*; dp. earnungan 8.14, 15

eart see bēon

ēast adv. *eastward, to the east*

ēastan adv. *from the east*; be ēastan *to the east of* (w. dat.); wið ēastan *to the east*

ēastdæl m. *eastern region, the East*

ēastende mja. *east end*

ēasteward adj. *eastern*

ēasteward(es) adv. *eastward, in the east*

ēasthealf f. *east side*

ēastlang adj. *extending to the east*

ēastnorðerne adj. (*coming from the*) *northeast*

°ēastrēam, ēġ- m. *river current, streaming river*

ēastriċe nja. *eastern kingdom*

ēastrihte adv. *to the east, in an easterly direction*; -ryhte 7.11

ēastsæ mfi. *east sea*

ēaþe, ēaðelice adv. *easily, readily*; compar. ēð

ēaðmōð adj. *humble*; adv. -lice

ēaw- see īew-

eaxl f. *shoulder*

°**eaxlġespan(n)** n. 'shoulder-yoke', i.e. either cross-beam or intersection (i.e., cross)

°**eaxlġestealla** m. 'shoulder-companion', comrade

**Ebrēisċġeðēode** nja. the Hebrew language

**ēce** adj. eternal, everlasting; ds. **ēcere** 6.234

**ecġ** fjō. edge, blade, weapon

+**edbyrdan** I regenerate, revivify, bring back to life

**eder, eodor** m. enclosure, settlement, residence

**edlēan** n. reward, recompense

±**edlācan**, I renew, repeat; pres. 2 sg. **ġeedlēcst** 6.71

±**edniwian** II renew

±**edstaðolian** II reestablish, restore; pret. 3 sg. **ġeedstaðelode** 6.159, pp. **ġeedstaðelod** 6.143

**edwīt** n. disgrace, abuse

**efenċhð** f. direction (?)

±**efenlācan** I emulate, imitate, compare oneself to; **ġeeuen-** 6.74

**efenlang** adj. of the same length

**efes** f. side, edge

±**efestan, efstan** I hurry, hasten

**efne** adv. even, just, precisely

**efne** interj. truly, indeed, behold

**efstan** I hasten, hurry [cf. **ofost**]

**eft** adv. again, in turn, back, in reverse; afterward; **æft** 10.137

**eġe** ni. awe, fear, terror

°**eġ(e)sa** m. fear, terror, awe, reverence

**eġ(e)si(ġ)an** II threaten, terrify

**eġesful(l)** adj. awe-inspiring, intimidating

**eġesliċ** adj. terrible, dire, frightful

**Ēġiptisċ** adj. Egyptian

**ēġlond, ēġstrēam** = ēaland, ēastrēam

**ēhtan** I pursue, harass

**ēhtere** mja. persecutor

**ēhtnys(s)** fjō. persecution

**ehtuwe** = eahta

**elcung** f. delay

**eldra** = ieldra

**ele** mni. oil

°**ellen** n. valor, determination; is. **elne** 15.34, 60, 16.114

**ellenwōdnis(s)** fjō. fury, indignation

**elles** adv., pron. (indecl.) otherwise, else, besides; anything else

**eln** f. forearm, ell (about two feet)

**elpend** m. elephant; as. **elpent** 7.262, dp. **elpendon** 7.267

**elþēod** f. foreign nation

**elþēodiġ** adj. foreign, alien, exiled

**emb(e)** = ymb(e)

**emnlange, efn-** prep. w. dat. alongside

**em(n)sāriġ, efn-** adj. as pained, as sorrowful (as, w. dat.)

**ende, ænde** mja. end, part, edge, border

**endebyrdnes(s)** fjō. order, sequence, succession, estate

**endemes** adv. likewise, at the same time

±**endian** II end, finish, come to an end, bring to an end; pret. 3 sg. **ġeendade** 1.153, 182, 7.183; pp. **ġeendad** 7.298

±**endung** f. end, ending

**eñġel** m. angel; **eñġel** 6.197, 203, ap. **ænglas** 6.86

°**eñġeldryht** fi. host of angels

**Englisċ** adj. English

**Englisċ** n. the English language

**Englisċġereord** n. the English language

**enlefan, endlefan** num. eleven

**enne** see **ān**

**ent** *mi. giant*

**ēode, ēodon** see **gān**

**eodorcian** *II ruminant, chew the cud;*  
act. part. nsn. **eodorcende** 1.135

**°eofurcumbol** *n. boar-banner, ensign*

**eom** see **bēon**

**°eoredciest** *f. mounted company,*  
*cavalry; dp. -cestum* 11.36

**°eorl** *m. nobleman, earl, officer; (in*  
*poetry) man, warrior*

**eornost** *f. earnest*

**°eorðbüend** *mc. earthling, human*

**eorþe** *f. ground, soil*

**°eorðfæt** *n. earthly vessel, body*

**eorðscræf** *n. cavern, sepulcher*

**eorðstyrung** *f. earthquake*

**°eorðweġ** *m. earthly way*

**ēow** see **ġē**

**ēower** *adj., pron. your, yours (pl.); as.*  
**īowre** 7.209, *gs. ēoweres* 7.211, *gp.*

**īowra** 7.210

**erian** *I till, plough*

**ernian = earnian**

**esne** *mja. laborer, workman*

**ēst** *mfi. delicacy, favor, grace, bounty*

**et = æt**

**±etan** (*pret. æt*) 5 *eat*

**ettan** *I graze, use as pasture*

**ēð** see **ēaþe**

**°ēðel** *m. (native) country, territory,*  
*(dry) land*

**°ēþelweard** *m. custodian of the*  
*country, leader*

**ēðnes(s)** *fjō. ease, comfort*

**ēðring** *f. amelioration [cf. ēaþe]*

**fāc(e)n** *n. crime, treachery, evil*

**fāc(e)nful(l)** *adj. deceitful, crafty,*  
*treacherous*

**°fāc(e)nsearu** *nwa. treacherous device,*  
*malicious wiles*

**±fadian** *II arrange, conduct*

**fāc** *n. while, interval, period of time*

**fāder** *mc. (§82) father*

**fāderliċ** *adj. paternal, fatherly*

**°fāġe** *adj. doomed*

**°fāġen** *adj. glad, cheerful*

**fāġer** *adj. beautiful, fine, pleasing,*  
*elegant, admirable; nsn. fāġer*  
14.31.17, 15.73; *adv. fāġ(e)re*

**fāġernes(s)** *fjō. beauty*

**±fāġnian** *II rejoice*

**°fāhð(o)** *f. feud, enmity, vendetta*

**°fāle** *adj. true, good*

**fāemne** *f. virgin, unmarried woman;*  
*gs. fāemnan* 6.25, 228

**±fær** *n. movement, expedition, pas-*  
*sage, journey*

**fære** see also **faru**

**færeld** *n. track, course*

**færeð** see **faran**

**fāringa** *adv. suddenly; fāringa* 5.28

**fārliċ** *adj. sudden, unexpected, quick,*  
*rapid; adv. -liċe*

**fārrādenne** see **fārrāden(n)**

**fāest** *adj. fixed, secure, bound, made*  
*fast*

**±fāestan** *I fast*

**fāeste** *adv. firmly, fixedly, fast, securely,*  
*strictly, speedily*

**fāsten(n)** *nja. fortress, stronghold, for-*  
*tified place, enclosed place, refuge;*  
*ds. fāstene* 10.151

**fāstenbryċe** *mi. nonobservance or*  
*breaking of fasts*

**±fāestnian** *II affix, apply, inflict*

**fāestnung** *f. stability*

**fāestræd** *adj. determined, firmly fixed,*  
*resolute*

**°fæted** adj. (pp.) *flattened, made into plate or foil*

**fætels** n. *vessel*

**fæt(t)** adj. *fat, fatted*

**fæðm** m. *protection, embrace, bosom, lap; interior*

**°fāg, fāh** adj. *stained, painted, decorated, laden*

**fald, falod** m. *cattle-pen, fold*

**fana** m. *banner, pennon*

**±fandian** II *try, attempt, test, find out*

**fang-** see **fōn**

**faran** 6 (often reflex., may be trans., as at 14.36.9) *go, travel; faran on attack*; pres. 3 sg. **færeð** 14.21.4, **færeð** 14.23.3; pret. pl. **fōran** 7.236, 290

**+faran** 6 *experience, suffer; turn out; die; attack, invade*; pret. pl. **ġefōran** 7.154

**faru**, acc. **fære** f. *way, journey, motion, passage*

**fēa** adj., pron. (nom. pl. **fēawa, fēawe**) (*a*) *few*; np. **fēa** 11.174, 15.115

**+fēa** m.wk. *joy, happiness*

**+feah** see **+fēon**

**feala = fela**

**±fealdan (ēo)** 7 *fold*; pret. pl. **fēoldan** 14.26.7

**feall** see **fēolan**

**±feallan (ēo)** 7 *fall, fail, penetrate*; pres. 3 sg. **fylð** 7.74; pret. 3 sg. **fēol** 6.170, 10.153, 14.29.12, pl. **fēollan** 1.50

**°fealu** adj. (*wa*-stem) *fallow* (i.e. *desolate*); apm. **fealwe** 16.46

**feccan** see **fetian**

**±fēdan** I *feed, nourish*; pres. 3 sg. **fēdeð** 9.19

**±fēg(ę)an** I *compose, fix, confine, wedge*

**fela** pron. (indecl., w. gen.), adj. (indecl.) *many, much; feala* 15.50, 125, 131

**±fēlan** I (w. gen.) *feel, perceive*

**°felawlanc** adj. *very stately*

**feld** mu. *field, open country, battle-field*; ds. **felde** 5.7

**feldgange** adj. *roaming the fields*

**fel(l)** n. *fell, skin, hide, pelt*

**fēmn-** see **fēmn-**

**fenland, -lond** n. *fenland, marsh*

**fen(n)** nja. *fen, marsh*

**±fēogan** II *hate*; pres. 3 sg. **fēoþ** 12.36

**feoh**, ds. **fēo** n. (§133) *ox, cow, beast; property, money, capital, thing of value*

**°feohġifre** adj. *greedy for wealth, avaricious, acquisitive*

**feohlēas** adj. *without property*

**±feoht** n. *fighting, warfare, battle*

**±feohtan** 3 *fight*

**feohte** f. = **feoht**

**±fēolan** 3 (§131; reflex. w. dat.) *betake (oneself), remove*; pret. 3 sg. **ġefeall** 5.30

**+fēon** 5 (§132) *rejoice (in, w. gen.), be glad*; pret. 3 sg. **ġefeah** 11.110; act. part. **ġefēonde** 1.164, 11.174

**fēond** mc. *enemy, adversary, fiend, devil*; np. **fȳnd** 4.18, **fēondas** 15.30, 33, ap. **fȳnd** 4.9, 11, 43, etc., **fēondas** 15.38

**°fēondsċeaða** m. *enemy marauder*

**°feorh** mn. *life, soul* (§131); as. **feorg** 14.13.3, ds. **fēore** 11.134, 14.23.14, 14.26.1

**°feorhbealo** nwa. *'life-harm', noxious thing*

**°feorhbold, feorg-** n. *'soul-hall', body*  
**feorm** f. *profit, benefit*

**feor(r)** adj., adv. *far* (from, w. dat.);

*from far back*; superl. **fi(e)rrest**

**feorran** adv. *at a distance, afar, from afar*

**fēos, fēoþ** see **feoh, fēoġan**

**fēower** num. *four*

**fēowertig** num. *forty*

**fēowertiene, -týne** num. *fourteen*

+**fēra** m. *companion, comrade, associate*

**fēran** I (may be reflex.) *go, depart, come, move, journey*; sj. pret. pl.

**fērdon** 4.33

°**ferhð** mn. *life, spirit, mind*; ns. **ferð**

16.54; ds. **ferþe** 14.26.21, 16.90

°**ferhðfriþiende** adj. (act. part.) *life-preserving*; as sb. ns. **ferðfriþende** 14.38.3

°**ferhðloca** m. *'spirit-enclosure', breast, thoughts, feelings*; **ferð-** 16.13, 33

°**ferhðsefa** m. *spirit, mind*; **fyrhð-** 11.98

±**ferian** I *convey, bring, transport, move*; pres. 3 sg. **fered** 14.14.7

±**fērrāden(n)** fjō. *company, fellowship*; ds. -**rādene** 5.16

**fers** n. *verse*

**fersc** adj. *freshwater*

**ferþ(-)** = **ferhþ(-)**

**fēs-** = **fýs-**

**feter** f. *fetter, shackle, restraint*

±**feti(ġ)an, fečcan** (pret. **fetode, fette**) I, II, III *fetch, bring*; pret. pl. **ġe-fetedon** 3.121

**fēpa** m. *foot soldier, infantryman*

°**fēpeġeorn** adj. *anxious to go*

**feðer** f. *feather, wing*; np. **feþre**

14.27.4, ap. **feþra** 16.47, gp. **feðra**

7.46, dp. **feðerum** 7.43

**fiell, fyll** mi. *fall*

±**fiellan, fyllan** I *fell, take down*

**fierd, fird** fi. *defensive force, home defense, levy, conscripted force; campaign*

°**fierdhwæt** adj. *keen to campaign*; np. **fyrðhwate** 11.21

±**fierdian** II *campaign*; pret. pl. **fyrðedon** 9.50

**fierdlēas** adj. *without a defensive force, undefended*

°**fierdlēoð** n. *battle-song*

°**fierdsceorp, fyrð-** n. *'campaign-equipment', war gear*

**fierrest** see **feor(r)**

**fif** num. *five*

°**fiſel** n. *giant*

**fifta** num. *fifth*

**fiftiene, -týne** num. *fifteen*; -**tēne** 7.149

**fiftig** num. *fifty*

±**findan** (also wk. pret. **funde**) 3 *find, recover, devise, arrange*; pres. 2 sg.

**findest** 11.84, 3 sg. **fint** 6.116,

**findeð** 7.130; pret. 1 sg. **fond** 10.165

**finger** m. *finger*

°**finta** m. *tail; consequence, result*

**fiorm** = **feorm**

°**firas** mp. *humans, souls* [cf. **feorh**]

**fird(-)** = **fierd(-)**

**firenful(l)** adj. *sinful, wicked*

±**firenian** II *revile*

**firenlust** m. *sinful desire*

°**firġenstrēam** m. *mountainous stream, ocean current*

**firrest** see **feorr**

**first, fyrst** m. (period of) *time, interval*

**fiſc** m. *fish*

**fiſcere** mja. *fisherman*

**fiſc(n)oð** m. *fishing*; ds. **fiſcape** 7.5

**fiþere** nja. *wing*; ap. **fiþru** 14.36.7

**flæsċ** ni. *meat, flesh*

**°flæsċhord** n. *'flesh-treasure', soul*

**flæsċliċ** adj. *fleshly, corporeal*

**flān** m. *arrow*

**flēag, flēah** see **flēogan** and **flēon**

**flēam** m. *flight, retreat*

**flēogan** 2 *fly*

**±flēon** 2 (§132) *flee, escape, fly*

**flēotan** 2 *float, drift*

**flet(t)** nja. *floor (of a hall)*

**flex** n. *flax*

**±flieman, ±flȳman** I *put to flight*

**flies, flȳs** ni. *fleece*

**fligepil = flyġepil**

**floc(c)** m. *company, group*

**flocrād** f. *mounted company*

**flōd** m(u). *flood, rising tide, water*

**°flōdweg** m. *way across the flood, course at sea*

**flōr** f(u). *floor*; as. **flōr** 6.166, **flōre** 10.153, gs. **flōre** 5.32

**°flotman(n)** mc. *sailor, pirate*

**flugon, flȳman, flȳsum** see **flēon, flieman, flies**

**°flyġepil, flige-** m. *'flying spike', missile, arrow, javelin*

**foca** m. *cake (baked on the hearth)*

**fōdrere** mja. *foraging animal*

**folc** n. *people, nation, troop, congregation*

**°folcġesið** m. *officer*

**°folcġewin(n)** n. *combat*

**folclagu** f. *public law*

**°folcstede** m. *battlefield*

**°folcwiga** m. *fighter, soldier*

**°folde** f. *earth, ground, the world*

**°folm** f. *palm, hand*

**fol-nēah = ful-nēah**

**±fōn**, pret. **fēng** 7 (§132) *seize, grasp, take, catch, capture, reach; begin;*

**fōn on** *begin; fōn onġēan* *struggle against; fōn tō riċe* *come to power, ascend to the throne*; pres. pl. **fōð** 7.38; pp. np. **fanggene** 1.56, **ġefongne** 7.230

**for** prep. w. dat., acc. *for, on account of, in respect to; before, in front of*; as conj. (= **forþām þe**) *for, because* 5.27

**fōr** f. *passage, course, journey*

**foran** adv., prep. w. dat. *before, in front*

**for-bærnan** I (trans.) *burn up, consume by fire, cremate*

**for-beran** 4 *bear, endure*

**for-birnan** 3 (intrans.) *burn up, be consumed by fire*

**for-ċeorfan** 3 *cut off*; pret. 2 sg. **forfurfe** 6.159

**ford** mu. *ford, shallow river crossing*

**for-dēman** I *sentence, doom, condemn*

**for-dilgian** II *destroy, rub out*

**for-dōn** anom. (§134) *undo, ruin, destroy*

**for-drenċan** I *intoxicate*

**foreġisl** m. *preliminary hostage*

**forehūs** n. *porch, vestibule*

**fore-sæġd, -sæd** adj. *aforesaid*

**fore-seċġan** III *foretell, predict*; pret. 3 sg. **-sæde** 5.76; pp. dp. **-sædum** 6.54

**forespeca** m. *advocate, sponsor*

**fore-spreċen** adj. (pp.) *aforesaid*; dp. **forespreċenan** 10.4

**foreþingung** f. *intercession*

**for-faran** 6 *blockade; ruin, do away with*

**for-fēran** I *perish*

**for-flēon** 2 (§132) *flee from, evade*

**for-ġiefan** 5 *give, bestow, grant, pay, give in marriage*; pret. pl. **forġēafen**

- 1.23; sj. pret. 3 sg. **forġefe** 1.58; pp. nsf. **forġifen** 1.123
- for-ġieman**, -**ġyman** I *neglect*
- for-ġietan** 5 (w. acc., gen.) *forget*; pres. 3 sg. **forġet** 10.56, **forġit** 10.181; pp. **forġiten** 10.40
- for-healdan** (ēo) 7 *withhold*
- for-heriġan**, -**hereġan**, -**herġian** I, II *plunder entirely, lay waste, ravage*; pp. np. **forhereġode** 1.50
- for-hogdnis(s)** fjō. *contempt*
- forht** adj. *frightened, fearful*
- forhtian** II *fear, be in terror*
- forhtnæs(s)** fjō. *fright, fear*
- forhwæga**, -**hwega** adv. *somewhere, approximately*
- for-hwām** conj. *why*
- for-ierman**, -**yrman** I *impoverish*
- for-lædan** I *mislead, lead astray*
- for-lætān** (ē) 7 *abandon, leave behind, release, let go, permit, allow; lose, neglect*; pres. 3 sg. **forlæt** 4.41; pret. pl. **forlētān** 10.31
- for-lēogan** 2 *lie, commit perjury, perjure (oneself)*
- for-lēosan** 2 *lose*; sj. pret. pl. **forluren** 7.240; pp. **forloren** 8.115
- for-liċġan** 5 (§127) *commit fornication or adultery*; pp. np. **forleġene** *adulterous* 8.136
- for-lidenes(s)** fjō. *shipwreck*
- forliġer** n. *fornication*
- for-liðan** (-lāð, -**lidon**, -**liden**) 1 *suffer shipwreck*
- forma** num. *first*
- for-meltan** 3 (intrans.) *melt away*
- for-nēah** adv. *almost, nearly*
- for-niedan**, -**nȳdan** I *force, compel*
- for-niman** 4 *carry off, waste, consume, overpower, seize, destroy, abrogate*; pret. 3 sg. **fornom** 16.80, pl. **for-nāman** 1.48, **fornōman** 16.99
- for-oft** adv. *very often*
- for-rædan** (ē) 7 or I (pret. **rædde**) *betray; of life forræde kill by treachery* 8.61
- for-ridan** 1 *intercept by riding*
- forscȳldiġ** adj. *wicked*
- for-sēon** 5 *spurn, scorn, reject*; pres. 2 sg. **forsihst** 6.109; pret. pl. **forsāwan** 12.61; sj. pres. sg. **forsēo** 6.55; pp. npf. **forsawene** (or w. ā?) 8.39
- for-spendan** I *exhaust, use up, spend*
- forspenning** f. *incitement, seduction*; as. **forspennincgæ** 6.13
- for-spillan** I *destroy, kill*
- for-standan**, -**standan** pret. -**stōd** 6 *understand; withstand, prevent*
- for-stelan** 4 *steal, capture*; pp. asn. **forstolen** *something captured* 14.14.18
- forstrang** adj. *exceedingly strong*
- for-swelġan** 3 *swallow, gobble down*
- for-swerian** 6 (§127) *forswear, swear falsely*
- for-swigan** I *conceal by silence*
- forswiðe** adv. *utterly, very much*
- for-syngian** II *ruin by sin, corrupt*; pp. dsf. wk. **forsyngodon** 8.141
- for-tendan** I *sear, burn away*; pret. pl. **fortendun** 7.171
- fortruwung** f. *presumption*
- forð** adv. *forth*; **tō forð** *too much*
- for-þām** (þe), **for-ðæm** (þe), **for-þon** (þe), **for-þan** (þe), **for-þȳ** (þe) conj., adv. *because; therefore*
- forþ-bringan**, pret. -**brohte** I (§116) *produce, effect*
- forð-cuman** 4 *come forth, emerge*; pp. np. **forðcymene** 14.13.10

**forðearle** adv. *exceedingly*  
**for-þencan**, pret. **-þöhte** I *despair*  
**forð-fēran** I *depart, pass away*  
**forðfōr** f. *going forth, death*  
**forðgang** m. *progress, success*  
**°forðgesceaft** f. *preordained condition, eternal decree*  
**forþöht** see **forþencan**  
**for-þolian** II (w. dat.) *lack, do without*  
**for-þryccan** I *oppress*; pp. nfm. **for-þrycte** 10.68  
**forðsið** m. *departure, decease*  
**°forðspel(l)** n. *account, description*  
**forð-tēon** (-tēah, -tugon, -togen) 2 *bring forth, produce*  
**forðweard** adj. *advanced, progressing, pointed forward*  
**°forðweg** m. *way forth, the hereafter*  
**forþȳ = forþām**  
**for-wandian** II *hesitate*  
**for-weornian** II *dry up, wither, decay*  
**for-weorðan** 3 *perish*; pret. pl. **for-wurdan** 8.64, 155; sj. pres. sg. **for-wurðe** 14.5.6, pl. **forweorðan** 8.146  
**for-wiernan** I (w. gen. of thing and dat. of pers.) *deny, withhold from, prevent*  
**for-witan**, **fore-** pret.-pres. (§123) *know beforehand*  
**for-wundian** II *wound grievously*; pp. **forwunded** 15.14  
**forwurð-** = **forweorð-**  
**for-wyrčan** I *obstruct; commit wrong, sin; ruin, spoil, condemn*; pret. pl. **forworhtan** 8.155; sj. pres. pl. **for-wyrčan** 8.129  
**forwyrð** fi. *annihilation, ruin*  
**for-yrman = for-ierman**  
**fōstormōdor** fc. *foster mother*; **fōster-** 10.46

**fōt** mc. *foot* (§82); ap. **fēt** 14.36.3  
**fracod, fraced** adj. *vile*; as sb. *villain, criminal*  
**fræt** see **fretan**  
**°fræte** adj. *obstinate, wilful*  
**±fræt(e)w(i)an** I, II *adorn, apparel*; pres. pl. **frætwað** 14.35.10; pp. **frætwed** 14.14.11, 14.31.20, **ge-frætwad** 14.31.2  
**°frætwa** fp. *trappings, ornaments, adornments*  
**°fram** adj. *vigorous, active*  
**fram, from** prep. w. dat. *by, from, after, since, of, on account of*  
**°frēa**, gen. **frēan** m.wk. *lord*  
**frēcednys(s)** f. *danger*  
**°frēcne** adj. *dangerous, perilous*  
**±frēfran** I *console, cheer, comfort*  
**fremde** adj. *foreign, alien, strange, unrelated*; as sb. *foreigner, stranger*; ds. **fremdan** 8.50, np. **ðā fremdan** *those strangers* 7.128  
**±fremman, ±fremian** I, II *advance, support* (w. dat.); *act, perform, do, cause, perpetrate*  
**fremsumnes(s)** f. *benefit, kindness*  
**fremu** f. *advantage, gain, benefit*  
**frēo** adj. *free*; gp. **frīora** 2.53  
**frēod** f. *peace, friendship, good will*  
**frēodōm** m. *freedom*  
**°frēolič** adj. *stately, noble*  
**frēolsbryce** mi. *nonobservance of church festivals*; ap. **-bričas** 8.116  
**°frēomæg** mf. *noble kins(wo)man*; dp. **-mægum** 16.21  
**frēond** mc. *friend*; np. **friend** 10.34  
**frēondlēas** adj. *friendless*  
**frēondlice** adv. *kindly, with good will*  
**frēondscipe** mi. *friendship, good will*  
**°frēorig** adj. *frosty, cold*

**frēoriht** n. *rights of freemen*

**freoþ-** = **friþ-**

**Frēsisc** adj. *Frisian*

**±fretan** (pret. **fræ̃t**) 5 *devour* [**fra-etan**]

**frettan** I *consume, devour*

**fric̃ca** m. *herald, crier*

**±fric̃gan** 5 (§127) *ask (about, w. gen.); learn, figure out; inf. fric̃g̃gan*  
11.157; imp. 2 sg. **frige** 14.14.19,  
14.16.10, 14.27.15, etc.; pp. **gefriġen**  
11.155

**frīend** see **frēond**

**±frignan** 3 (§§111, 127) *ask, inquire; learn (of), hear of; pret. pl. gefrūnon*  
15.76

**±frīnan** 1 *ask, inquire*

**frīo** = **frēo**

**friþ** m. *peace, truce; friþ niman* *make peace*

**°friþ** adj. *stately, beautiful*

**friðelēas** adj. *offering no peace, savage*

**±friþian, freoþian** II *protect, defend*

**°friðowebba** m. *‘peace-weaver’, peace-maker*

**°frōd** adj. *wise, old*

**frōfor** fm̃n. *solace, aid, comfort*

**from** = **fram**

**fruma** m. *origin, beginning*

**°frumbearn** n. *first-born*

**frumsceaft** m. *origin, genesis, creation, beginning*

**fug(e)lere** mja. *fowler, bird-catcher*

**fugol, fugel** m. *bird; fugul* 14.36.9

**fūl** adj. *foul, ugly, unclean, corrupt, impure, vile; as sb. apm. fūle* *foul sorts* 9.72

**fūlian** II *decay, rot, decompose*

**ful(l)** adj. *full; adv. ful(l)* *full, quite, very*

**fulla** m. *fulness, completion; be fullan* *completely, in full*

**fullāstan** II *help, lend support; pres. 3 sg. fullestēð* 14.24.8

**ful(l)-gān**, pret. **full-ēode** *anom.*  
(§134) *accomplish, fulfill, satisfy;*  
pret. pl. **-ēodan** 9.30

**±fullian** II *baptize, perfect*

**fulliċe** adv. *fully*

**fūlliċe** adv. *foully, basely; fūliċe* 9.70

**fulluht, fulwiht** mf̃ni. *baptism*

**fulluhtþēaw** m. *rite of baptism*

**fullwer** m. *full wergild* (see the comment on 14.23.14)

**ful-nēah, fol-nēah** adv. *very nearly*

**fultum, fultom** m. *aid, help, support, reinforcements*

**±fultumian** II *aid, help; sj. pret. 3 sg. ġefultumede* 10.21; pp. nsm. **ġefultumed** 1.85

**fūlness, fulwiht** = **fȳlness, fulluht**

**funde** see **findan**

**fundian** II *set out, wish for, strive after*

**furlang** n. *furlong, length of a furrow*

**furðum** adv. *even, so much as, just; furþon* 4.51

**furður, furðor** adv. *compar. farther, further*

**°fūs** adj. *ready, willing, undaunted*

**±fylġ(ę)an** I (w. dat. or acc.) *follow; pret. pl. fylġdan* 6.198

**fyll** see also **fiell**

**±fyllan** I *fill, fulfill, satisfy; pp. npf. ġefyldæ* 2.28

**fyllo** f. (indecl.) *fulfillment, satiety, impregnation*

**fȳlnes(s), fūl-** fjo. *foulness, filth*

**±fylstan** II *support, aid*

**fylð** see **feallan**

**fȳlp** f. *filth*

**fȳnd** see **fēond**

**fȳr** n. *fire*

**fȳrd-** = **fierd-**

**fȳrhtu** f. (indecl. or *ō*-stem) *fright, terror*

**fȳrhð-** = **ferhð-**

**fȳrmest** adj. (superl. of **forma**) *foremost, most prominent*; adv. *first*

**±fȳrn** adv. *formerly, earlier, long ago*

**°fȳrndagas** mp. *days past, times of old*

**°fȳrngewrit** n. *ancient record*; ap. **-ġewrito** 11.155

**fȳrst** adj., num. *first, foremost, principal*

**fȳrst** see also **first**

**±fȳrðrian** II *promote, benefit, further*

**°±fȳsan** I (or **±fȳsian** II) *drive away, put to flight*; pres. 3 sg. **fēseð** 8.92

**±ġaderian, ±ġæd(e)rian** II *gather, call up; unite, associate*; pret. 3 sg. **ġe-gaderade** 3.17

**ġælsa** m. *wantonness, depravity*; as. **ġælsan** 12.11

**ġæst** see **ġäst**

**ġæstlic** adj. *ghostly, spectral*

**ġafol** n. *tribute, debt, (what is) due*

**ġāl** adj. *perverse*

**°±ġalan** 6 *sing, cry*

**ġaldor, ġalga** = **ġealdor, ġealga**

**ġālnes(s), -nys(s)** fȳ. *perversity, wantonness, lust*

**ġamenian** II *joke, make sport*

**±ġān**, pret. **ēode** anom. (§134) *walk, go, proceed* (often reflexive); (+) *overrun, conquer*

**gang** m. *course, flow*

**°±ġangan, ±ġongan (ēo)** 7 *go, walk; turn out*; (+) *overrun, conquer*; pres. 1 sg. **ġęonge** 14.21.2

**gangdæg** m. *Rogation day (on which processions are held)*; dp. **gang-dagan** 5.9

**gangehere** mja. *foot soldiers, infantry*

**°ġār** m. *spear*

**ġäst, ġæst** m. (orig. *s*-stem) *spirit, soul, ghost, being, individual, creature*

**°ġästġerȳne** nja. *spiritual mystery*

**ġästlic** adj. *spiritual*; adv. **-liċe**

**ġāt** fc. *goat*

**ġe** conj. *and*; **ġe . . . ġe** both . . . *and or whether . . . or*

**ġē, ēow, ēower** pron. pl. (§38) *you*; gen. **īower** 7.209, dat. **īow** 2.49

**ġeador** adv. *together*

**°ġeaflas** mp. *jaws*

**ġēaf-** see **ġiefan**

**ġeahþ-** = **ġehð-**

**ġealdor, ġaldor** n. *song, incantation, occult art*

**°ġealga, ġalga** m. *gallows(-tree), hanging tree*

**ġealġtrēo(w)** nwa. *gallows-tree*

**ġēap** see **ġēopan**

**ġēar** n. *year*; as. **ġēr** 1.71, ds. **ġēre** 3.126, 171, is. 3.95, 105, 108, etc., ap. **ġēr** 3.106, 125

**ġēāra** adv. *of yore, formerly, once*;

**ġēāra iū** *in former times, long ago*

**±ġearcian** II *prepare, dress*

**°ġēardagas** mp. *days of yore, old times*

**ġeare, ġearwe** adv. *readily, for sure*

**ġēarmælum** adv. *year by year*

**ġearo, ġearu** adj. (*wa*-stem) *ready, prepared*; np. **ġearwe** 11.23

**ġearo** also = **ġeare**

**°ġearowyrđiġ** adj. *eloquent*

**ġearwe** see **ġeare, ġearo**

**±ġearwian** II *prepare, cause*

**ġeat** n. *gate*

**ġeatwe** fwō. pl. *arms, trappings, ornaments*

**ġed** = **ġiedd**

**°ġehpu** f. *care, anxiety*; np. **ġeahpe** 13.69

**ġeld-**, **ġēman** = **ġield-**, **ġieman**

**ġēō**, **iū**, **ġiū** adv. *once, formerly, long ago*

**°ġēoc** f. *help, support*

**ġeocsa** m. *sob*

**ġeocsian** II *sob*; act. part. **ġisciende** 10.30

**ġeogoð**, **iuguþ**, **ġioguð** f. *youth, young person(s)*; ds. **iugoðe** 6.105, **ġeogoðe** 16.35

**°ġeoguðmyrþ** f. *joy of youth*

**ġeolo** adj. *yellow*

**°ġeolorand** m. *yellow shield* (i.e. the color of linden wood)

**°ġēōmor** adj. *despondent, grief-stricken*; **ġiōmor** 10.159

**ġēōmrian** II *lament*

**ġeond** prep. w. acc. *throughout, through, in the course of*; **ġiond** 2.4, 5, 27, etc., **ġynd** 8.11, 37, 63, etc.

**°ġeond-hweorfan** 3 *pass through, rove through*

**ġeond-scēawian** II *survey, gaze at*

**ġeond-streġdan** 3 *bestrew, besprinkle*; pret. 3 sg. **ġeondstrēd** 14.26.8

**°ġeond-þenčan** I *consider thoroughly, contemplate*

**ġeong** adj. *young*; compar. np. as sb. **ġingran** *pupils* 10.50

**ġeong-**, **ġeong** see also **gangan**

**°ġēopan** 2 *take in, ingest*

**ġeorn** adj. *scrupulous, assiduous, conscientious, fond, desirous*

**ġeorne**, **ġiorne** adv. *assiduously, conscientiously, intently, closely,*

*gladly, eagerly, for certain*; compar. **ġeornor**; superl. **swā ġeornost** *as assiduously as*

**ġeornfulnes(s)** fjō. *diligence, eagerness*

**ġeornlice** adv. *earnestly, diligently*

**ġēr** = **ġēar**

**ġied(d)**, **ġyd(d)** nja. *song, tale, account, speech*; ap. **ġed** 10.161

**±ġieddian**, **ġyddian** II *recite, sing*

**ġiefan** 5 *give*; pret. pl. **ġēafan** 1.21

**°ġi(e)fl** n. *food, morsel*

**°ġiefstōl** m. *'gift-seat', throne (from which gifts are dispensed); ceremony of gift-giving*

**ġiefu**, **ġifu**, **ġyfu** f. *gift, grace*

**±ġieldan**, **±ġyldan** 3 *deliver, pay, repay*; inf. **ġeldan** 6.99, **ġyldan** 7.45, pres. 3 sg. **ġylt** 7.45, pl. **ġylđað** 7.43; pret. pl. **guldōn** 7.148; sj. pres. sg. **ġylde** 8.86

**ġiellan** 3 *yell, scream*

**ġielp**, **ġylp**, **ġilp** m. *pride, arrogance; vow*

**ġieman**, **ġyman** I (w. gen.) *observe, take care, heed, have regard for, take notice of, have to do with*; pret. 3 sg. **ġēmde** 1.149

**±ġier(e)la**, **ġyrla** m. *garment*

**±ġiernan** (w. gen.) I *desire, yearn (for), court*

**±ġierwan**, **±ġyrwan** I *prepare, furnish, decorate, provide*; pret. 3 sg. **ġierede** 14.26.13; pp. **ġeġyr(w)ed** 15.16, 23

**ġiesthūs** n. *lodging for guests*

**ġiestrandæg** adv. *yesterday*

**ġiet**, **ġýt**, **ġýta** adv. *still, yet, further*; **þā ġiet yet**; **ġīt** 6.163, 8.76

**ġiddian** = **ġieddian**

**ġif**, **ġyf** conj. *if*

**ġife** = **ġiefe**

°**ġifer** m. *glutton*

**ġifernes(s)** fġō. *greed, covetousness*

**ġifl** = **ġiefl**

°**ġifre** adj. *useful*

°**ġifre** adj. *ravenous, gluttonous*

**ġift** nf. *gift*; pl. *nuptials, marriage*

**ġiftliċ** adj. *nuptial, marriageable*

**ġifu(m)** = **ġiefu(m)**

**ġilp-** = **ġiełp-**

**ġim(m), ġym(m)** mja. *gem, jewel, precious stone*

**ġingra** adj. (compar. of **ġeong**) *younger*; gp. **ġingra** 11.159; np. as sb.

**ġingran** *pupils* 10.50

**ġioguð** = **ġeogoð**

°**ġiōman(n), -mon(n)** mc. *person of old, forebear, ancestor*

**ġiōmor, ġiōnd, ġiōrn-, ġiscian** =

**ġeōmor, ġeōnd, ġeōrn-, ġeocsian**

**ġisl** m. *hostage*

**ġit** pron. dual (§38) *you (two)*

**ġit** = **ġiet**

**ġitsere** mja. *miser*

**ġitsung** f. *avarice*

**glæd** adj. *cheerful, pleasant*; nsf. **glado** 14.24.7

**glædliċe** adv. *happily*

**glēaw** adj. *bright, clever, wise, learned, clear-sighted, brilliant*; adv. **-liċe**

**glēd** fi. *glowing coal*

±**glengan** I *adorn, compose*; pret. 3 sg. **ġeglængde** 1.79

±**glēowian, gliwian** II *be sociable, enjoy oneself; adorn*; pret. pl. **gliwedon** 14.26.13

**glida** m. *kite, vulture*

°**gliwstafas** mp. *signs of joy*

**gnorning** f. *sorrow, discontent*

**god, God** m., n. *god, God*; as. **Godd** 9.74

**gōd** adj. *good*; compar. **bet(e)ra**, superl. **bet(e)st, betost**

**gōd** n. *goods, property, wealth; good (thing), goodness, well-being*

**godbearn** n. *godchild*

**godcund** adj. *divine*; adv. **-liċe**

**gōddæd** fi. *good deed, beneficent work*; dp. **-dædan** 8.122

**godfyrht** adj. *godfearing*

±**gōdian** II *endow, provide with goods; improve*

**gōdnys(s)** fġō. *goodness, beneficence*

**godsib(b)** mja. *sponsor, godparent*

**godspel(l)** n. *gospel* [**gōd-spell**]

**godsunu** mu. *godson*

**godweb(b)** nja. *fine cloth*

**gōl** see **galan**

**gold** n. *gold*

**goldhord** n. *treasury, gold-hoard*

°**goldwine** mi. *'gold-friend', patron, lord*

**gōma** m. *inside of mouth*

**gongan** = **gangan**

**gōs** fc. *goose*

**grædan** I *cry out, honk*

**grædiġ** adj. *greedy, rapacious, insatiable, desirous* (of, w. gen.)

**græft** m. *graven image, sculpture*

**grafan** 6 *dig, delve, carve*; pres. 1 sg.

**græfe** 14.21.2

°**gram** adj. *fierce, hostile*

**grama** m. *anger, rage*

**gramliċ** adj. *wrathful, fierce*; adv. **-liċe**

±**grāpian** II *lay hold*

**grēat** adj. *great, thick*

±**gremman** I *provoke, enrage*; pret. pl. **ġegremedan** 7.306, **ġegræmedan** 8.148

**grēne** adj. *green*

°**grēotan** 2 *cry, lament*

±**grētan** *greet, address, meet, approach, attack*

°**grīma** *m. mask, (masked) helmet*

**grimliċ** *adj. terrible, severe; adv. -liċe*

**grim(m)** *adj. grim, cruel, fierce; adv.*

**grimme**

**gring(-)** = **cring(-)**

±**grīpan** *1 grip, grasp, lay hold (of, on w. acc.)*

**grið** *n. sanctuary*

±**griðian** *II protect*

**griðlēas** *adj. unprotected, vulnerable*

**grōf** *see grafan*

±**grōwan** (ēo) *7 grow*

**grund** *m. ground, bottom, abyss, pit*

°**grundfūs** *adj. hellbound*

**grundlēas** *adj. bottomless*

±**grundstapelian** *II establish firmly*

**grungon** *see cringan*

°**gryreliċ** *adj. terrible, gruesome*

°**guma** *m. man*

°**gūp** *f. war*

°**gūðfana, -fona** *m. gonfanon, war-banner, ensign, standard*

°**gūðfugol** *m. war-bird*

°**gūðgelæca** *m. warrior; ap. -læcan 11.43*

°**gūðgewin(n)** *n. 'war-struggle', battle*

°**gūðweard** *m. protector in warfare, military bulwark*

**gyden(n)** *fjō. goddess; np. gydena 9.68*

**gydd-, gyf, gyld-** = **giedd-, ġif, ġield-gylden** *adj. golden*

**ġylt, ġym-, ġylp-** = **ġielt, ġiem-, ġielp-**

**ġym(m), ġynd, ġyrla** = **gim(m),**

**ġeond, ġierela**

**ġyrwan, ġýt(a)** = **ġierwan, ġiet(a)**

**habban** *III have, esteem, consider*

(§121; w. acc. or gen.); 1 sg. **habbe**

6.124, **hafu** 14.35.5, 3 sg. **hæfeð**

5.13, **hafað** 7.120, 10.161, 12.48,

etc., pl. **næbbe** 6.47 (§79), **nabbað**

9.61; pret. 3 sg. **næfde** 3.128, 7.40,

pl. **hæfdan** 9.28, 10.78, **næfdon**

7.202; imp. sg. **hafa** 7.276

**hād** *m(u). degree, order, rank, condition, person*

**hādbryċe** *mi. injury to one in holy orders*

±**hādian** *II consecrate, ordain; pp. np.*

as sb. **ġehādode** *ecclesiastics 8.52*

±**hæftan** *I detain, arrest, imprison*

**hæftling** *m. captive, prisoner*

**hæftniēd** *fi. captivity, bondage; ds.*

**-nēde** 6.50

±**hæftnian** *II imprison, take captive;*

pret. 2 sg. **ġehæftnadest** 13.29

**hæg(e)l, hægol** *m. hail; the rune N*

°**hæġlfaru** *f. shower of hail, hailstorm*

±**hælan** *I heal, redeem; pp. np. ġe-*

**hælede** 6.144

°**hæle, hæleð** *mc. hero, soldier, man;*

np. **hæleð** 14.27.5, gp. **hæleða** 11.73,

156, dp. **hælepum** 14.35.12, 16.105

**hælend** *mc. 'healer', savior, redeemer (in ref. to Christ)*

**hælo, hælu** *f. (usu. indecl. in sg.)*

*health, safety, prosperity, well-being, salvation; ds. hæle 6.101*

±**hæman** *I have sexual intercourse,*

*couple, cohabit [cf. hām]*

**hæmedlāc** *n. love play, sexual intercourse*

**hær** *n. hair; dp. hērum 14.26.5*

**hærfest** *m. autumn as. -fæst 3.112*

**hærliċ** = **herliċ**

**hæs** *fi. bidding, command, behest*

**hæt** *see hātan*

**hæte** *f. heat*

**hæþen** adj. *heathen, pagan*

**hæðena** m. *heathen, pagan; Viking*

**hæðengiield**, -**gyld** ni. *heathen worship, pagan sacrifice*

**hæðengiielda**, -**gylda** m. *worshiper of heathen gods, pagan*

**hæðenscipe**, -**scype** mi. *paganism, idolatry, heathen belief*

**hafoc** m. *hawk*

**hagl** = **hægl**-

**hagostealdman(n)**, -**mon(n)** mc. *bachelor, young man*

**hāl** adj. *well, healthy, hale, whole, healed, sound*

**±hālettan** I *greet, address, say "wes hāl" to*

**hālga** m., **hālge** f. *saint*

**±hālgian** II *consecrate, anoint*

**hālīg** adj. *holy, sacred, saintly*; np. **hālege** 13.63

**hālīgnes(s)** fjō. *sanctuary*

**hals** = **heals**

**hālwend**, **hālwendliċ** adj. *healing, salutary, wholesome*

**hām** m. *home, residence, precinct*; dat. sg. **hām** beside **hāme** (see the comment on 3.21); as adv. **hām** *home(ward)*, orig. a locative form

**hamor**, **homer** m. *hammer*

**hāmweard(es)** adv. *homeward (bound)*

**hancrēd**, **hon-** mi. *cock-crow*

**hand**, **hond** fu. *hand*; ds. **hande** 5.62

**°handgeswīng** n. *dexterity, swordplay, delivery of blows*

**handtam** adj. *tame, submissive to handling*

**handweorc**, **hond-** n. *handiwork, manufacture, hand-made product*

**hangel** f. *hanging thing, dangler*

**±hangian**, **±hongī(ġ)an** II *hang, be suspended*; pret. pl. **hongedon** 14.13.3

**hār** adj. *hoary, grey, old*

**hārwenge** adj. *hoary, aged*

**°hasu** adj. (*wa-stem*) *dusky, grey, ashen*; asm. **haswan** 14.24.4, apf. **haswe** 14.13.9

**±hāt** n. *promise, vow*

**±hātan** (**ē**) 7 *command, direct; promise, vow; call, be called, name*; pass. **hātte** *is/was called* (§102); 3 sg. pres.

**hāteð** 2.1, 14.6.5, **hæt** 7.68, 100; pret. 3 sg. (**ġe**)**heht** 1.69, 119, 132, etc., pl. **ġehētan** 8.161

**±hātheort**, **±hāthyr**t adj. *hot-hearted, rash, angry*

**+hātland** n. *promised land*

**±hāwian** II *observe, reconnoiter*

**hē**, **hēo**, **hit** pron. *he, she, it* (§41); nsf.

**hīo** 2.13, 73, 7.93, etc., nsn. **hyt** 7.116, asm. **hiene** 2.22, 7.144, 253, etc., **hyne** 5.7, asf. **hī** 5.25, 6.9, 32, etc., asn. **hyt** 7.123, gsm. **hys** 7.123, 125, 126, etc., gsf. **hyre** 6.26, 39, 142, etc., **hiere** 7.182, 217, dsm. **hym** 7.83, dsf. **hiere** 7.181, 193, 217, etc., np. **hēo** 1.61, 62, 63, etc., **hī** 1.15, 25, 34, etc., **hīg** 5.57, **hȳ** 1.171, 7.64, 119, etc., **hīo** 11.166, ap. **hēo** 1.68, **hī** 1.14, 16, 4.24, etc., **hȳ** 7.62, 13.73, 8.129, etc., gp. **hiora** 2.7, 8, 17, etc., **hiera** 7.26, 168, 178, etc., **hyra** 7.110, 12.61, 64, etc., dp. **heom** 9.52, 55, 72

**hēafod** n. *head*; ds. **hēafde** 6.199,

14.44.6, **hēafdum** 15.63 (see note),

np. **hēafda** 7.325, ap. **hēafdu** 14.36.8

**hēafodlēas** adj. *headless, lacking a cover*

**°heāfodwōþ** f. *'head-sound', voice*

**hēah** adj. (§133) *high, tall, steep, deep;*

nsf.wk. **hēa** 14.7.4; asm. **hēanne**

15.40, 16.82, dp. **hēan** 1.59, **hēagum**

9.57, compar. dsm. **hieran** 2.57, np.

3.143

**hēahburg** fc. *capital*

**°hēahcræft** m. *intricate skill*

**hēahfæder** mc. *father on high*

**°hēahmōd** adj. *haughty*

**hēahðungen** adj. (pp.) *of high rank, eminent*

**±healdan** (ēo) 7 *hold, keep, persist in, maintain, arrange, guard, confine; observe; inf. healdon* 10.143; pres. 3 sg. **healdeð** 12.69; pret. pl. (ġe)hīoldon 2.8, 32, **hēoldan** 8.53; infl. inf. **tō healdonne** 7.179

**healf** adj. *half*

**healf** f. *half, side, part, direction, sake; on heora healf* *on their own behalf* 3.17; **mē on healf** *on one side of me* 14.21.9; **ōþrum healfum** *one and a half* 3.176

**healfcwic(u)** adj. (orig. *u*-stem) *barely living, half dead*

**healfslāpende** adj. (act. part.) *half-awake, drowsy; dsm. -slāpendon* 5.2

**healh**, ds. **hēale** m. (§131) *corner, nook*

**hēaliċ, hēah-** adj. *exalted, profound; nsf. hēaliċ* 9.39 (see §54), dsn. **hēalicon** 9.71

**hēaliċe, hēah-** adv. *loftily, to high rank*

**heal(l)** f. *hall, palace*

**heals** m. *neck; ds. halse* 14.31.21

**hēan** adj. *lowly, abject*

**hēan** see also **hēah**

**hēanliċ** adj. *low, shameful, ignominious*

**hēanmōd** adj. *humble*

**hēanne** see **hēah**

**hēap** m. *host, company*

**hēapmælum** adv. *in droves, en masse*

**heard** adj. *hard*

**°heardeċġ** adj. *hard of edge, keen-bladed*

**°heardhȳðende** adj. (act. part.) *'hard-plundering', aggressive*

**°hearding** m. *bold man, hero*

**hearpe** f. *lyre*

**hearpenæġl** m. *plectrum*

**hearpestreng** m. *lyre-string*

**hearpian** II *harp, play the lyre*

**°headōfremmend** mc. *warmaker, fighter*

**±hēawan** (ēo) 7 *hack, strike, stab*

**±hebban** 6 (§127; also weak pret.

**hefde** in LWS) *raise, lift up; pres. 3*

sg. **hefeð** 14.44.5; pret. sg. **hefde**

6.210, pl. **hōfon** 11.25

**±hefgian** II *encumber, weigh down*

**hefiġ** adj. *heavy, burdensome, oppressive; dsn.wk. hefian* 15.61

**heht** see **hātan**

**hel(l)** f. *hell*

**helm** m. *protection, helmet*

**help** f. *help, assistance*

**±helpan** 3 (w. gen.) *help*

**+hende** adj., adv. *near, nearby*

**hēng** see **hōn**

**hengēn** f. *rack, instrument of torture; ds. hencġene* 6.110, 113, 121

**hēo** see **hē, hīw**

**hēofian** II *lament*

**heofon, heofen** m. (often pl.) *sky, heaven*

**heofoncund** adj. *heavenly, celestial;*

**heofen-** 10.37

**°heofoncynning** m. *king of heaven*

**°heofondrēam** m. *joy of heaven*

**heofonliċ** adj. *heavenly*; gsn. wk.

**heofonlecan** 1.145, isn. 1.176

**heofonriċe** n. *the heavenly kingdom*

**°heolfor** n. *gore, blood*

**heolstor** m. *concealment, darkness*

**heonan** adv. *hence, from here*

**heonanforð** adv. *hereafter*

**heord** f. *care, custody, management*

**°heorosċearp** adj. ‘sword-sharp’, *very keen*

**hēorsum-** = **hīersum-**

**heorte** f. *heart*

**heorðbacen** adj. *baked on the hearth*

**°heorucumbul** n. ‘sword-pennon’, *battle standard*

**°heorugrim(m)** adj. ‘sword-grim’, *fierce*

**hēr** adv. *here*

**hēran, hēr-** = **hīeran, hār-**

**here**, np. **herġas** mja. (*predatory*) *army, host, multitude; war, devastation*; **mid ealle heriġe** *in full force* 3.16; gs. **heres** 7.178, 180, 294, etc., gp. **heria** 11.101, **herġa** 11.115, **heriġa** 11.148

**°herecumbl, -combol** n. *standard, military banner*

**°herefeld** mu. *field of battle*

**herehȳð** fi. *plunder, loot*

**°heremæġen** n. *military force, multitude*

**herenes(s)** fjō. *praise*

**°hererinc** m. ‘army-man’, *soldier, man*

**°heresið** m. *campaign, expedition, military exploit*

**°heretēma** m. *plunderer, general, ruler*

**heretoga** m. *commander, military leader; official*; **heretoha** 10.11

**hergaþ** m. *raid, looting expedition*

**±hergian, herġ(ē)an** I, II *plunder, ravage, harry*; pret. pl. **hergedon** 1.46

**hergung** f. *invasion, plunder*

**herian, heriġean** I *praise, commend*; inf. **hereġian** 8.127

**her(i)ġ-** see also **here**

**herliċ** adj. *noble*; nsf. **hærliċ** 10.115

**hērtōēacan** adv. *in addition to this*

**hērum** = **hārum**

**hete** m. *hostility*

**°hetegrim** adj. *fierce, cruel*

**heteliċe** adv. *violently*

**hetend, hettend** mc. *enemy*; np.

**hetend** 11.119

**°heterūn** f. *hidden hostility, hostile intent*

**hetol** adj. *fierce, violent, implacable*; nsm.wk. **hetula** 9.62

**hī** see **hē**

**hider** adv. *to here, hither*; **hieder** 2.12

**±hieldan, ±hyldan** I (trans.) *lean, incline, bend down*

**±hīenan, ±hȳnan** I *afflict, oppress, abase, humiliate*

**hīer-** see also **hēah**

**±hīeran, ±hȳran** I *hear, listen to* (w. acc.); *obey, comply with* (w. dat); **hīeran in (on)** *belong to, be subject to* (w. acc. or dat., likewise **hīeran tō** w. dat.); inf. **hēran** 10.103, pres. 3 sg. **hēreð** 14.50.5; pret. pl. **hīrdon** 7.261, **ġehȳrdan** 8.157

**±hierdan** I *harden*

**hierdebōc** fc. *pastoral book*

**±hīernes(s), ±hȳr-** fjō. *obedience*

**±hīersum, ±hȳr-** adj. *compliant, obedient*

**±hīersumian, ±hȳr-** II *obey, serve, comply, conform*; inf. **hēorsumian** 10.66; pret. pl. **hȳrsumedon** 2.6

±**hierwan**, ±**hyrwan** I *abuse, deride*;

pres. 3 sg. **hyrweð** 8.124, 126

**hige(-)**, **hiht** = **hyge(-)**, **hyht**

**hild** f. *war, battle*

°**hildeġesa** m. *terror of warfare*

°**hildenædre** f. ‘*war-adder*’, *missile, arrow, javelin*

°**hilderinċ** m. *fighter, soldier*

°**hildfruma** m. *leader in battle, commander, leader*

**hindan** adv. *from behind*

°**hinderhōc** m. ‘*hook in the back*’, *treachery*

**hindeward** adj. *wrong end forward, from behind*

**hiold-** = **hēold-**

**hired**, **hȳred** m. *household, retinue*

**hiredman(n)** mc. *household servant, member of a retinue*

**hiþ-** = **hȳð-**

**hiw** nja. *appearance, form*; as. **hēo** 11.6

°**hiwbeorht** adj. *radiant of hue*

**hiwcūð** adj. *domestic, household*

±**hiwian** II *feign, pretend*

**hlæfdige** f. *lady, mistress (over servants)*

+**hlæstan** I *lade, load with cargo*

**hlāf** m. *bread, loaf*

**hlāford** m. *lord; husband*

**hlāfordswica** m. *traitor*

**hlāfordswice** mi. *treachery, treason*

**hleahor** m. *laughter*

**hlēapan (ēo)** 7 *leap, run, race*

**hlēo** nwa. *refuge, protection*

°**hlēobord** n. *protective board*

**hlēor** n. *cheek*

°**hlēosceorp** n. *protective clothing*

**hlēoþor** n. *noise, sound*

**hlēoðrian** II *sound, make a noise, speak*

°+**hlēða** m. *companion, denizen*

**hliehhan** 6 (§127) *laugh*

**hlifi(ġ)an** II *tower*

°**hlimman** I *resound*; pres. 3 sg. **hlimmeð** 14.35.6

**hlin-** = **hlyn-**

**hlisa** m. *fame, glory*

**hlōþ** f. *troop, band, crowd*

**hlūd** adj. *loud*; compar. nsn. **hluddre** 5.42; adv. **hlūde**

**hlūt(t)or** adj. *pure, clear, bright*

±(h)**lȳd** ni. *noise, disturbance*

±**hlȳdan** I *make noise, yammer*

°**hlynsian** II *resound*; pret. sg. **hlinsade** 14.33.3

°+(h)**næstan** I *contend*; pres. 3 sg. **næsteð** 14.27.10

±**hnescian**, ±**hnexian** II *grow soft, become pliable, relent*

**hnigan** I *bend down, bow*

°**hnossian** II *strike*

**hocor**, **hocer** n. *derision*

**hocorwyrde** adj. *derisive*

**hōf-**, **hogod-** see **hebban**, **hȳġan**

**hol** n. *hole, den*

**hōl** n. *malice (?)*, *envy (?)*

+**hola** m. *confidant, friend*

**hold** adj. *loyal, faithful (on to, w. acc.)*; adv. **-liċe**

°**holm** m. *wave*

**holt** n. *forest*

°**holtwudu** mu. *trees of the forest*

**homera** = **hamora**

±**hōn**, pret. **hēng** 7 *hang* (trans.)

**honcrēd**, **hond**, **hong-** = **hancrēd**, **hand**, **hang-**

**hord** n. *hoard, treasure*

°**hordcofa** m. ‘*treasure-chest*’

°**hordġeat** m. *door to a treasury*; gs. **-gates** 14.42.11

**horiġ** adj. *foul, filthy*

**hōring** m. *fornicator*

**horn** m. *horn*

**hornbora** m. *horn-bearer, trumpeter*

**hors** n. *horse*; dp. **horsan** 7.42

**horsclīce** adv. *readily*

**horshwæl** m. *walrus*; dp. **-hwælum** 7.29

**±horsod**, **±horsed** adj. (pp.) *mounted*

**horspeġn** m. *marshal*

**hrā**, **hrāw**, **hræ(w)** nwa. (orig. s-stem) *corpse, carcass*

**(h)ræd** adj. *brief, rapid, concise*

**(h)ræding** f. *haste*; **on hrædinge** *quickly, readily*

**(h)rædliċ** adj. *quick, brief*; adv. **-liċe**

**(h)rædnes(s)** fġō. *quickness*

**°hrædwyrde** adj. *quick to speak, rash of tongue*

**hræġl** n. *apparel, garb, covering*

**hræw** = **hrā**

**hrān** m. *reindeer*

**(h)raðe**, **hræðe**, **hreðe** adv. *quickly, soon, at once, precipitously*

**hrēam** m. *outcry, noise, infamy, offense*

**hreddan** I *rescue, recover*

**href(e)n** m. (or mi?) *raven*

**hrēmiġ** adj. *crying out (about, w. dat.), boasting, exulting (in)* [cf. **hrēam**]

**hrēoh** adj. (§133) *angry, tempestuous*; nsm.wk. **hrēo** 16.16, asf. 16.105

**hrēop-** see **hrōpan**

**±hrēosan** 2 *fall, crumble*; pret. pl. **hruran** 1.50

**°hrēowċearig** adj. *in rueful mood, regretful*

**(h)rēowliċe** adv. *grievously, cruelly*

**(h)rēownes(s)**, **hrēohness** fġō. *rough weather, storm*

**±hrēowsian** II *grieve, be sad*

**±hrēran** I *move, agitate*

**°hreþer** m. *breast, heart*

**°hreðerloca** m. *breast, heart*

**±hrieman**, **±hrȳman** I *cry out (to, w. dat.), shout*

**±hrif** n. *belly, womb*

**hrīm** m. *rime, frost*

**°hrīmċeald** adj. *frost-cold*

**±hrinan** 1 (w. dat. or acc.) *touch*

**(h)ring** m. *ring*

**hrisel** f. (?) *shuttle*; ns. **hrisil**

**°hriþ** f. *snowstorm*

**hrīðer** n. (orig. s-stem) *head of cattle, bull, cow*; gp. **hrȳðera** 7.41

**°hrīðiġ** adj. *snow-covered* (?), *storm-beaten* (?)

**hrōf** m. *roof, ceiling*

**hrōpan** (ēo) 7 *shout, cry out*; pret. pl. **hrēopan** 11.54

**hrōr** adj. *able-bodied*

**°hrōðor** mc. *solace, comfort, benefit*; ds. **hrōðer** 11.16, **hrōþor** 13.109

**hruran** see **hrēosan**

**°hrūse** f. *earth, ground*

**hrūtan** 2 *snore, make a noise, whir*

**hryċġ** mja. *back*

**hrȳman** = **hrieman**

**hryre** mi. *fall, destruction*

**hrȳðer-** **hrȳðge** = **hrīðer-**, **hrīðge**

**hū** adv. *how*

**hund** m. *dog*

**hund** num. (neut.) *hundred*; dp. **hunde** 7.135, 225

**hundeatatiġ** num. *eighty*

**hundred** num. (neut.) *hundred*; *century (of Roman soldiers)*; **hundredes ealdor** *centurion* 4.29

**hundtwelftiġ** num. *one hundred twenty*

**hungor, hunger** m. *hunger*

**huniġ** n. *honey*

**hunta** m. *hunter, huntsman*

**huntoð** m. *hunting*

**hūru** adv. *about, approximately;*  
*surely, certainly, truly*

**hūs** n. *building, house*

**hūsl** n. *Eucharist*

**hūð** f. *plunder*

**hwā, hwæt** pron. (§77) *who, what;*  
*someone, each one; tō hwon* (also  
**for hwon, for hwan**) *why; swā*

**hwæt swā** *whatever; is. won* 13.20

**+hwā, +hwæt** pron. *each, every*

**±hwæde** adj. *young, small, scant*

**hwæl** m. *whale; gs. hwales* 7.44,

**hwæles** 7.44, np. **hwalas** 7.32

**hwælhunta** m. *whaler*

**hwælhuntað** m. *whaling*

**hwænne = hwonne**

**hwær** adv., pron. *where, somewhere, a*  
*place where*

**+hwær** adv. *everywhere*

**hwæt** adj. *keen, vigorous, valiant;*

npm. **hwate** 11.22, superl. apm.wk.

**hwatestan** 7.197, dp. 7.204

**hwæt** interj. *well, why, now*

**hwæt** pron., n. of **hwā**, q.v.

**hwæte** mja. *wheat*

**hwæthwugu, -hwega** pron., adv.  
*something, a little, somewhat*

**hwætscipe** mi. *vigor, boldness, bravery*

**hwæðer** conj. *whether; hweðer* 5.69

**hwæðer** pron. *which (of two); swā*

**hwæðer swā** *whichever; dsf.*

**hwæpperre** 3.21

**+hwæðer** pron. *both (of two)*

**hwæð(e)re** adv., conj. *however,*  
*nevertheless, though*

**hwal-** see **hwæl**

**hwanon, hwonon** adv. *from where,*  
*whence, on what account*

**hwat-, hwaþ-** see **hwæþ-, hwæt** adj.

**hwearfian** II *wave, stream*

**hwelc = hwilc, ġehwilc**

**hwēne** adv. *somewhat, a little*

**hweorfan** 3 *turn*

**hwerf-, hwī = hwierf-, hwȳ**

**±hwettan** I *hwet, incite*

**hweðer, hwī = hwæðer, hwȳ**

**hwider** interr. adv. *where to, whither*

**±hwierfan, hwyrfan** I (trans.) *turn,*  
*convert; pret. 3 sg. ġehwerfde* 1.135

**hwil** f. *while, period of time; as. hwile*  
*for a time; þā hwile þe for the while*  
*that; see also hwilum*

**hwilc, hwylc, hwelc** adj., pron. *which,*  
*what, how, a certain; some one; swā*  
**hwilc swā** *whichever*

**+hwilc, +hwylc** indef. pron. and adj.  
*each, every, all; hwelc* 10.53

**hwilum** adv. *sometimes, at times;*

**hwilon** 6.16, **hwȳlum** 7.114

**hwit** adj. *white*

**°hwitloc(c)** adj. *fair-haired*

**hwōn** adv. *somewhat, a little, hardly at*  
*all*

**hwon(e)** see **hwā**

**hwōnlice** adv. *little*

**hwonne, hwænne** adv., pron. *when,*  
*the time when*

**hwonon = hwanon**

**hwōpan (ēo)** 7 *threaten; sj. pres. pl.*  
**hwōpan** 11.82

**hwoðerian** II *roar (?)*

**hwȳ, hwī** adv. *why*

**hwylc, hwȳl- = hwilc, hwil-**

**hwyrf-** see also **hwierf-**

**±hwyrft** mi. *circuit, course, passage;*  
**ġēara hwyrftum** *in course of years*

±**hyċġan**, pret. **hogode** III (§121; w. gen.) *meditate, think (of), consider, remember*

**hȳd** fi. *hide, pelt*

±**hȳdan** I *hide, put away*

+**hyġd** fni. *thought, intention*

°**hyġe, hiġe** mi. *thought*

°**hyġeblīpe** adj. *happy, contented*

°**hyġefæste** adv. *resolutely*

°**hyġegāl** adj. *wanton, lascivious*

°**hyġegār** m. ‘mind-spear’, *psychic assault*

°**hyġeþanc, hiġe-** m. *thought*; dp. **hyġeþoncum** 14.35.4

°**hyġewlanc, -wlonc** adj. *proud, dignified*

**hyht, hiht** mi. *exultation, desire, hope*; on **hyhte** *hoped-for, desirable*

±**hyhtan** I *hope*

**hyhtliċ** adj. *desirable*

**hyldan, hȳn-** = **hieldan, hīen-**

**hȳr-** = **hier-, hir-**

°**hyrst** fi. *trapping, ornament, treasure, armor*

**hyrw-** = **hierw-**

**hysecild** nc. (§82) *boy, male child*

**hȳðan** I *plunder, ravage*; pres. 3 sg.

**hīpeð** 14.34.4

**iċ, mē, meċ, mīn** pron. (§38) *I, me, of me*

**idel** adj. *vain, foolish, frivolous, idle, empty*; dp. **idelan** 8.130

**idelnes(s)** fjō. *foolishness, nonsense*; as. **ȳdelnysse** 6.103

°**ides(s)** fjō. *lady, woman*

**īe** see **ēa**

±**īeċan, ±ȳċan** I *increase, augment*; pret. 3 sg. **īhte** 8.10

±**ieldan** I *delay, put off*

**ielde** mi. pl. *ancestors, humans*; gp. **ælda** 16.85, dp. **ældum** 14.5.6, 14.33.11

**ielding, ylding** f. *delay*

**ieldra** compar. of **eald** (§128)

**ieldra, yldra** m. *elder, forebear, ancestor*; np. **eldran** 10.130, gp. **yldra** 11.159

**ieldu, yldo** f. (usu. indecl.) *age, old age*

±**ierġan, ±yrġan** I *cow, dishearten*

**ierġþo, yrġþo, yrhðo** f. *cowardice*

**ierliċ** adj. *angry*

**ierming, yrmīng** m. *person of no account, wretch*

**iermð, yrmð** f. *misery, wretchedness, crime*

**ierre, yrre, irre** adj. *angry, enraged*

**ierre, yrre, irre nja.** *anger*

±**iersian, ±yrsian** II *be angry, rage*

**ierðling, yrðling** m. *farmer*

±**īeðan, ±ȳðan** I *devastate, lay waste*

±**īewan, ±ȳwan, ±ēawan** I *show, reveal, display*

**iġġað** m. *ait, eyot, river islet*

**iġland** = **ēaland**

**īhte** see **īeċan**

**ilca, ylca** adj. *same, very*

**in** adv., prep.† *in, into, on, onto*

**inbryrdnis(s)** fjō. *inspiration, ardor*

**inca** m. *scruple, doubt, grievance*

**incundnes(s)** fjō. *inward conviction, sincerity*; ds. **incunnesse** 9.25

**incyme** mi. *entry, admission*

**indryhten** adj. *noble, excellent*

**ingang, ingong** m. *entrance, entry*

**inġehyġd** n. *meaning, sense*

**inġeþanc** m. *mind, conscience*

**in-lædan** I *admit, conduct, lead in*; inf.

**inlædon** 1.158

**inn** adv. *in, inside*

**innan** adv., prep.† *within, inside*; **him**  
**in innan** *within him* 12.24 (sim.  
 13.30, 14.9.2–3)

**innanbordes** adv. *at home*

**inne** adv. *inside, within, in the house,*  
*indoors*

+**innian** II *restore*

**innop** mf. *inside, interior, womb*; ds.  
**innape** 14.35.2

+**in-seġlian** II *seal*

**insittende** adj. *sitting within*

**instæpes** adv. *directly*

**intinga** m. *reason, cause*

**intō** prep. w. dat. *into*

**inwe(a)rdlice** adv. *inwardly, privately,*  
*silently*

°**inwitflān** m. *treacherous shaft*

°**inwidhlem(m)** mja. *malicious injury*

**īow(-)** see **ġē**, **ēower**

+**irnan**, +**iernan**, +**yrnan** 3 *run, go*;  
 pret. 3 sg. **arn** 5.3

**irre** = **ierre**

**isen** adj. *iron, made of iron*

**isen**, n. *iron*; **isern** 14.1.53

**iū** = **ġeō**

**lā** interj. ‘lo’, *indeed, truly*

**lāc** n. *sacrifice, offering*

**lācan (ēo)** 7 *play (music, w. dat.)*

+**lācnian** II *heal, treat, tend to*

+**læcċan**, **læhte**, **læht** I *take, seize,*  
*grasp, catch*

**læce** mja. *physician*

**læcecræft** m. ‘*leechcraft*’, *medicine*; gs.  
**læcecræftas** 6.133

°**læcecyn(n)** nja. *profession of healers*

+**lædan** I *lead, bring, derive*; pp. **læded**  
 13.21

**Læden** n. *Latin*

**Lædengeðeode** nja. *the Latin language*

+**læfan** I *permit, grant, leave, bequeath*  
**læhte** see **læcċan**

**læn** n. *loan*; **tō læne** *on loan*

**læne** adj. *lent, temporary, transitory*

+**læran** I *teach, instruct*

+**læred** adj. (pp.) *skilled, learned*

**læringmægden** n. *female student*

**læs** adv. (compar. of **lȳtle**) *less, fewer*;  
**þȳ/þē læs (þe)** *lest*; **læs þe** *fewer*  
*than* 3.176, **þȳ læs** *the fewer* 7.273,  
 14.9.11

**læssa** adj. (compar. of **lȳtel**) *smaller*

**læsta** adj. (superl. of **lȳtel**) *smallest*

+**læstan** I *perform, carry out, keep*  
*one’s word about, maintain*; *serve,*  
*follow*; pret. pl. **ġelæstan** 7.145,  
 10.85

+**lætan (ē)** 7 *allow, let, leave, let loose*;  
*consider, regard*; pres. 3 sg. **læteð**  
 12.10, 37, 40, etc., **læteð** 12.34; pret.  
 3 sg. **læt** 8.94; sj. sg. **læte** 5.23

+**læte** nja. *crossing, junction*

**læw** f. *injury*; ap. **læwe** 8.131

**læwede** adj. *lay, secular*; as sb. *lay-*  
*person*

+**læwian** II *injure*; pp. **ġelæwede** 8.133

**lāf** f. *remnant, remainder, legacy*

+**lagian** II *ordain*

°**lagostrēam** m. *watery current*

°**lagulād** f. *waterway, sea route*

**lagbryce**, **lahbryce** mi. *breach of law*

**laglice**, **lahlice** adv. *lawfully*

**lām** n. *loam, soil, clay, earth*

**land**, **lond** n. *land, country*; adv.  
**landes** *in the world*

**landbīgeng(ē)a** m. *native, country-*  
*man*; dp. -**gengan** 1.39

**landlēode**, **lond-** fi.pl. *native people*

**lang**, **long** adj. *long, lasting, eternal*;  
 compar. **lengra**; npm. **lang** 5.71

**lange, longe** adv. *long, for a long time*;  
 compar. **leng**, superl. **lengest**;  
 compar. **lengċ** 5.48

**langscīp** n. *longship*

**langsumlice** adv. *at length, for a long time*

**°langunghwil** f. *period of longing*

**lār** f. *'lore', learning, instruction, teaching; story, news*

**°lārcwide** mī. *instructive talk, counsel, advice*

**lārēow** m. *teacher, master* [**lār-pēow**]

**lāst** m. *track, trail*; prep. **on lāste** (w. dat.) *behind, following*

**±latian** II (w. gen.) *delay, be slow about*

**lāt(t)ēow** m. *leader, guide* [**lād-pēow**]

**lāð** adj. *hated, despised, detestable, inimical*; gp. as sb. **lāðra** *of enemies* 14.5.10

**lāð** n. *harm, injury*

**lāðettan** I *loathe*

**±laði(ġ)an** II *invite, urge*; pret. pl. sj. (**ġe**)**laðedon** 1.5, 40

**lēad** n. *lead, soft metal*

**±lēaf** f. *permission, leave*

**±lēafa** m. *belief, faith*

**±lēafful(l)** adj. *believing, of the faith, devout, orthodox*

**leahtor** m. *vice, sin*

**±leahrtian** II *revile, reprove*; pres. 3 sg. **lehtreð** 8.124

**lēan** n. *repayment, reward*

**±lēanian** II *reward, repay*

**lēas** adj. *lacking, wanting, without*

**lēasbreġd** m. *deceit, trickery*

**lēasung** f. *deceit, fraudulence*

**±leċġan** I *lay, place, put down*

**lēf-, leġ = līef-, læġ**

**leġer** n. *lying, keeping unburied*

**legie** f. *legion*; gp. (or gs.?) **legian** 7.319

**leht- = leaht-**

**±lendan** I *land, go*

**leng, lengest** see **lange**

**°lēodan** 2 *grow, spring up*

**lēod** fi. (usu. pl.) *people, nation*; gs. **lēode** 8.151; np. **lēoda** 9.46

**°lēodfruma** m. *leader*

**°lēodġeborga** m. *protector of the people, national hero*

**lēodhata** m. *tyrant, despot*

**lēodscīpe** mī. *nation, people, citizenry*

**leof-** see **libban**

**lēof** adj. *beloved, dear, valued*; (when used alone in addressing a man) *sir, sire*; compar. **lēofra** *preferable*

**±lēogan** 2 *lie, deceive, mislead, be in error*

**lēoht** adj. *light, radiant, bright, easy*; adv. **lēohte**

**lēoht** n. *light, daylight*

**lēohtbora** m. *light-bearer*

**lēohtfæt** n. *lamp, lantern, torch*

**lēohtian** II *shine, be bright*

**lēohtlic** adj. *bright, radiant*

**leom-** see **lim**

**leornere** mja. *student*

**±leorni(ġ)an** II *learn, study*; pret. 3 sg. (**ġe**)**leornade** 1.84, 89, pret. pl. **ġe-liornodon** 2.44, 45, pp. **ġeleornad** 7.287

**leornung, liornung** f. *learning, study*

**lēoð** n. *song, poem*; ap. **lioð** 10.28

**lēoðcræft** m. *poetic skill*

**leoþo = liþu**

**°lēoþsang, -song** m. *song, poem*

**lēt- = læt-**

**±lettan** I *hinder, impede*; pres. 2 sg. **ġeletest** 11.94

**lēw- = lēw-**

**libban, lybban** (Anglian **lifian, lifġan**)

III (§121) *live*; pres. 3 sg. **leofað**  
6.108 12.68, 76, pl. **lifiaþ** 15.134;  
pret. pl. **leofedon** 9.30, **leofodon**  
9.70, **lyfedan** 9.73; act. part. nsm.  
**lifġende** *living, (while) alive*  
14.12.14, asm. **lifiendne** 8.61, asf.  
**lifġende** 14.10.9, dsm. **lifġendum**  
13.64, gp. (as sb.) **lifġendra** 13.49

**liċ** n. *body, corpse*

+**liċ** adj. (w. dat. complement) *like*;  
superl. **ġelicost** 5.40, **ġeliccast** 8.71

+**lica** m. *equal, match*

+**lice** adv. *in like fashion*

+**liċġan** 5 (§127) *lie, remain, harbor*;  
*flow*; **liċġan ūt** *issue*; **liċġan in** *flow*  
*into*; 3 sg. **lið** 3.7, 6.37, 7.50, etc.,  
**liġeð** 7.99, 13.99; pret. 3 sg. **leġ** 5.53,  
pl. **lāgon** 4.32

**liċhama, -homa** m. *body, person,*  
*corpse*

**liċhamliċ, -homliċ** adj. *bodily, physical*

+**lician** (impers. w. dat.) II *please*; pret.  
3 sg. **ġelicade** 7.275

+**licnys(s), -nes(s)** fjō. *likeness, simi-*  
*larity, image*

+**liefan** I *allow*; pret. pl. **lēfdon**

+**liefan, ±lȳfan** I *believe, trust*

+**liefed, ±lȳfed** adj. *believing, of the*  
*faith*

**lieġ, liġ, lȳġ** mī. *fire, flame*

+**liesan, ±lȳsan** I *deliver, redeem*

**lif** n. *life*; **tō life** *alive*

**lifi-, lifġ-** = **libb-**

**lifte** = **lyfte**

**lihtan** I *light up, illuminate, throw*  
*light*

**lim** n. *limb*; ap. **leomu** 1.95

+**limp** n. *occurrence, misfortune*

+**limpan** 3 *happen (to, w. dat), occur,*  
*befall*; pret. 3 sg. **ġelomp** 10.23

+**limpliċ** adj. *suitable, fitting*

+**limwērig** adj. *weary of limb, spent*

+**lindhwæt** adj. *'linden-keen', shield-*  
*brave, bold in battle*

+**lindweorod** n. *shield-troop*; -**wered**  
11.142

+**lindwiġend** mc. *'linden-warmaker',*  
*fighter with a shield*

**line** f. *series, row*

**liorn-, lioð = leorn-, lēoð**

**lira** m. *muscle, fleshy part*

**liss** fjō. *grace, kindness, favor, allevia-*  
*tion, improvement*; dp. as adv.

**lissum** *graciously*

**list** m. *art, cleverness, cunning*; dp.

**listum** *cunningly* 10.131, 14.29.3

**littl-** see **lȳtel**

**lið** n. *limb, member, joint*; ap. **leoþo**  
14.23.7

**lið** see **liċġan**

+**liþan** I *travel, sail, float*

**liþe** adj. *gentle, mild, calm*

**lixan** I *gleam*; pret. pl. **lixtan** 11.23, 90,  
125

**loca** m. *stronghold*

+**lōcian** II *look*; pret. 3 sg. **lōcade** 11.87

**loden** see **lēodan**

**lof** n. *praise, honor*

**loflāc** n. *worshipful offering*

**lofsang, -song** m. *song of praise,*  
*hymn, psalm*

+**lōgian** II *lodge, place*

+**lōme** adv. *often, repeatedly*

+**lōmliċ** adj. *frequent, continual*

**lond(-), long(-) = land(-), lang(-)**

**losian** II *perish, be lost*

**lufe, lufan** see **lufu**

±**lufian** II *love, care for, cherish, delight in*; pret. 3 sg. **lufude** 9.52

**lufiend** mc. *lover*

**luflice** adv. *amiably, kindly*

**lufu** or **lufe** f. *love, amity, favor*

**lungre** adv. *soon, quickly*

**lust** m. *desire, appetite, pleasure, lust*;

on **luste** *pleased, exultant*

**lustbærlice** adv. *pleasantly*

**lustbærnes(s)** fjō. *enjoyment, happiness, pleasure*

**lustful(I)** adj. *pleasurable, delightful*

±**lustfulli(ġ)an** II *delight, take pleasure, rejoice*

**lustlice** adv. *willingly, gladly*

**lybban** = **libban**

+**lȳd** see **hlȳd**

**lȳf-** see also **lief-**

+**lȳfed** adj. *weak, feeble, sickly*

**lyfedan** see **libban**

**lyft** fi. *air, atmosphere*; ds. **lifte** 14.27.4

°**lyftfæt** n. *airborne vessel*

**lyre** mi. *loss, destruction*

**lȳsan** = **liesan**

±**lystan** I *please, give pleasure to, make desirous of*; pp. **ġelysted** *desirous of* 10.81

**lȳt** adj. and sb. (indecl.) *little, few*

**lȳtel**, **lȳttel** adj., pron. *little, slight*; adv.

**lȳtle**; dsm.wk. **littlan** 5.72

**lȳthwōn** adv. and sb. (indecl.) *very little, precious few*

**lȳðre** adj. *wicked, corrupt, base*

**mā** adv. *more* (compar. of **micle**; on use as a sb., see the note to 2.42); **pē**

**mā pē** *any more than* 8.50

**macian** II *make, cause, arrange*; pret. pl. **macedon** 9.55

+**mæcċa** m. *spouse, mate*

°**mæcġ** mja. *man*

**mæden** = **mæġden**

**mæġ** f. *kinswoman, wife, woman*

**mæġ**, pl. **māgas** m. *relative, family member, kinsman*; ds. **mēġe** 14.9.4

**mæġden**, **mæden** n. *girl, maiden, virgin, unmarried woman*

**mæġdenċild**, **mæden-** nc. (§82) *girl, female child*

**mæġen** n. *power, strength, force, host*; mid **mæġne** *forcefully*

°**mæġenþrym(m)** mja. *glorious host*

°**mæġenþyse**, -**þise** f. *force of strength*

**mæġ(e)ð** fc. *girl, young woman*; np.

**mæġeð** 14.50.7

**mæġgræs** m. *assault on kin*

**mæġslaga** m. *kin-killer*

**mæġþ** f. *family, kin group, nation, line*; as. **mēġðe** 6.213

**mæġðhād** m. *virginity, chastity*

**mæl** n. *time, occasion*

**mæn-** see also **men-**

±**mæne** adj. *common* (to, w.dat.), *in common, communal, public, general, between, shared* (by, w. dat)

**mæniġ(-)** = **maniġ(-)**, **meniġ-**

±**mæran** I *honor, glorify*; sj. pres. pl. **mære** 14.26.16

**mære** adj. *distinguished, excellent, famous, glorious*

±**mærsian** II *celebrate, exalt; mark out, bound*; pp. **ġemærsad** 7.246

**mærd(u)** f. *distinction, glory, honor*

**mæsse** f. *mass, liturgy of the Eucharist, religious feast*

**mæsseæfen(n)** mnja. *eve of a festival*

**mæssehacele** f. *mass-vestment, cope, chasuble*

**mæsseprēost** m. *clergyman*; ds. -**prioste** 2.64

**mæsserbana** m. *priest-killer*  
**mæsserēaf** n. *mass-vestments*  
**±mæssian** II *celebrate mass*  
**mæst** adj. (superl. of **mičel**) *most, largest, greatest*  
**mæst** adv. (superl. of **micle**) *most, almost, nearly*  
**±māetan** I (impers. w. dat. of pers.) *dream*  
**māte** adj. *small, limited*  
**māþ** f. *reverence, respect*  
**°māþelhēgend** mc. *deliberator, councillor, disputant*  
**māw** m. *mew, seagull*  
**māg-** see **mæg**  
**magan**, pret. **meahte**, **mihte** pret.-pres. (§123) *be able, can*; pres. pl. **magan** 8.132, 141, 145; pret. 3 sg. **mehte** 3.19, 88, 100, etc., pl. **mehton** 3.38, 91, 96, etc.; sj. pret. pl. **mehten** 7.164, 186, 221, etc.  
**°magorinc** m. *young man*  
**magu**, **mago** mu. *son, young man*  
**°maguþegn** m. *young thegn*  
**+mählič** adj. *shameless*; nsn. **gemālič** 7.142  
**man**, **mon** pron. *one, they* (see note to 1.28)  
**+man** see **munan**  
**mān** n. *crime, sin*  
**mancus(s)** m. *mancus, a gold coin worth thirty silver pence, one eighth of a pound*; dp. **mancessan** 2.68  
**mancwealm**, **mon-** m. *mortality, human deaths*  
**mancyn(n)** = **manncyn(n)**  
**māndæd** f. *wicked deed, sin*  
**°māndrynč**, **-drinc** mi. *evil drink*  
**°mandryhten**, **mon-** m. *lord*  
**manēaca**, **mon-** m. *increase, offspring*

**mānful(l)** adj. *wicked, sinful, vicious*  
**+mang**, **+mong** n. *congregation, company, throng*  
**+mang**, **+mong** prep. w. dat. *among*; conj. **gemong þām þe** *while* 7.317  
**manian**, **monian** II *admonish, exhort, advise; recover*  
**maniġ**, **moniġ**, **mæniġ** adj. *many (a)*; np. **moneġe** 7.214, **maneġe** 8.58, 64, 69, etc., ap. **moneġe** 7.177, **monega** 7.242, **maneġe** 8.11, 128, **mæneġe** 8.33, dp. **monegum** 1.141, **manegum** 11.15  
**maniġeo** = **meniġu**  
**maniġfeald**, **moniġ-**, **mæniġ-** adj. *varied, various, numerous, manifold*; npn. **moniġfeald** 10.52, compar. nsn. **meniġfealdre** 5.42  
**man(n)**, **mon(n)** mc. *person, man, woman*; as. **mannan** 6.73, ds. **menn** 6.183, 13.50, np. **menn** 2.40, 4.32, 5.14, etc., **mænn** 8.107  
**man(n)cynn**, **mon(n)-** nja. *human-kind*  
**mannslaga** m. *manslayer, homicide*  
**mannsylen** f. *selling of persons (into slavery)*  
**manslyht** mi. *manslaughter*  
**mānswora** m. *perjurer*  
**māra** adj. *more, larger, greater* (compar. of **mičel**)  
**marmstān** m. *marble slab*  
**°maþelian** II *make a speech, speak*; pret. 3 sg. **maþelade** 14.38.5  
**māðum**, **māððum** m. *treasure, ornament*  
**°māþþumġiefa**, **-ġyfa** m. *giver of treasure, lord*  
**meaht-** = **miht-**  
**mearc** f. *boundary, region*

°**mearh** m. (§131) *horse, steed*; **mearg** 16.92

**mearð** m. *marten*

**meċ** see **iċ**

**medder** see **mōdor**

**medmiċel**, **-myċel** adj. *moderate, of middling size, small, brief*

**medu**, **medo** mu. *mead*

°**medu**heal(l), **meodu-** m. *mead-hall*

**mēge**, **mēgðe** = **mæg**, **mægðe**

**meht-** = **miht-** (to **magan**)

±**mengan** I *mix, combine, mingle, join*

**meniġ(-)** see also **maniġ(-)**

**meniġu**, **menio**, **meniġeo** f. (usu.

indecl. in sg.) *company, group,*

*multitude, a number*; as. **mæniġo**

10.101, **mæniġe** 15.112, ds. **maniġeo** 15.151

**mennisċnys(s)** fġō. *incarnation*

**meodu-** = **medu-**

**meolc** f. *milk*

°**meotod**, **me(o)tud** m. *dispenser, provisioner, ruler* (usu. in ref. to God)

°**mēowle** f. *maiden, virgin, woman*

**meox** n. *filth, dirt, dung*

**mere** mi. *lake, sea*

°**merhengest** m. ‘*sea-steed*’, *ship*

**merġen** = **morgen**

+**met** n. *measure, meter, moderation*

±**mētan** I *find, meet, encounter*; pres. 2 sg. **ġemittest** 12.45

**mete** mi. *food, provisions*

**meteliest** f. *famine, starvation*

+**metfæst** adj. *moderate, modest, discreet*

+**metliċe** adv. *moderately, mildly*

**metud-** = **meotod-**

°**mēðe** adj. *weary, spent*

**miċel**, **myċel** adj. *large, great, much*;

dsm. **micclum** 6.73, **myclum** 1.39,

**mycclum** 4.30, **miclan** 8.17, isn.

**mycle** 15.60, ap. **myċele** 5.8, dp.

**myclum** 1.13, **miclan** 8.14, **miċelan** 8.15, as adv. **mic(c)lum** *greatly* 6.72, 7.130

**miċel**, **myċel** pron. *much, a great deal, many*

**micle**, **mycle** adv. *much*

±**miclian** II *increase, grow large*

**mid** adv. *too, in addition*; *with him, with it, with them*

**mid** prep. w. dat. or instr. *with, by means of, among, by*; **mid þām (þe)** or **mid þȳ (þe)** *when, as soon as, while, after*

**mid(d)** adj. *mid, in the middle of*

**middangeard** m. *earth, the world*; as. **middaneard** 9.68

**midde** f. *middle*; **on middan** *in the middle*

**middeweard** adv. *in the middle*

**mīere**, **mȳre** f. *mare*

**miht**, **meaht** fi. *ability, power, might*; **be his mihte** *to the best of his ability*

**miht-** see also **magan**

**mihteliċe** adv. *mightily, powerfully*

**mihtiġ** adj. *mighty, powerful*

**mīl** f. *mile*

**milde** adj. *merciful, kind*

**mildheortnes(s)** fġō. *mercy, kindness*

**milts** fġō. *mercy*

±**miltsian**, **mildsian** (w. dat.) II *pity, show mercy to*

**miltsiend** mc. *pitier*

**mīn** adj., pron. *my, mine*

**mis-bēodan** 2 *mistreat, ill-use*

**mis-ċierran**, **-ċȳrran** I *pervert, addle, misapply*

**misdæd** fi. *misdeed*; dp. **-dædan** 8.123

**mis-faran** 6 *go astray, go ill*

**mis-fōn** 7 (w. gen.) *fail of, be at a loss for*

**mis-hīeran, -hīran** I *disregard, disobey*

**misliċ, mistliċ** adj. *various, manifold*;  
adv. **-liċe**

**mis-lician** II (w. dat.) *displease*

**mis-limpan** 3 (impers. w. dat.) *go wrong; suffer setbacks*

**mis-rædan** (ē) 7 or I (pret. **-rædde**)  
*misinterpret*

**missenliċ** adj. *various*; **-liċe** adv. *variously, on all sides*

**mistliċ** = **misliċ**

**mis-þynċan** I (impers. w. dat.) *be mistaken*

**mittest** see **mētan**

**mīðan** I *conceal*

**mōd** n. *feelings, heart, mind, spirit(s), will, wilfulness, fellow-feeling*

°**mōðċeariġ** adj. *full of care, sad, dejected*

**mōðġeþanc** m. *thought, plan*

**mōdiġ** adj. *courageous*

**mōdor** fc. (§82) *mother*; ds. **medder**  
13.50

**mōdren** adj. *maternal, pertaining to a mother, motherly*

°**mōdsefa** m. *mind, heart, temperament*

°**mōdsnottor** adj. *wise of mind*

°**mōdsorg** f. *sorrow, anxiety*

°**mōdwlanc, -wlanc** adj. *proud, dismissive*

°**moldærn, moldern** n. *'earth-hall', sepulcher*

**molde** f. *dust, soil, earth*

**moldwyrn** mi. *earthworm*

**mon(-)** = **man(-)**; see also **munan**

**mōna** m. *moon*

**mōnaþ** mc. *month*; ds. **mōnðe** 7.69,  
nap. **mōnað** 3.13, 93, 7.107, etc.

**+mong** = **+mang**

**mōr** m. *moor, heath, bog, wasteland*

**morgen(n), mergen(n)** m.(ja.?)  
*morning, morrow*; ds. **morgenne**  
1.118, 128

**morgengiġefu** f. *bride-price, gift made to a bride the morning after the wedding*

**morðdæd** fi. *act of murder*

**morþorwyrhta** m. *murderer, homicide*

±**mōt** n. *council, assembly, meeting, encounter, union*

**mōtan**, pret. **mōste** pret.-pres. (§123)  
*must, might, be allowed*; pres. pl.  
**mōtan** 7.123, 8.14, **mōte** 8.13; pret.  
pl. **mōstan** 10.7

**mōððe** f. *moth*

**+mun** adj. (w. gen.) *mindful (of), accustomed (to)*

**+munan**, pret. **+munde** pret.-pres.  
(§123; w. acc., gen.) *recall, consider, be aware of*; pres. 3 sg. **ġemon** 16.34,  
90

**mund** f. *protection, security*

**mundbyrd** fi. *protection*

**munt** m. *mountain*

**munuc** m. *monk*; ap. **munecas** 4.24,  
gp. **muneca** 4.12, 5.41

**munuchād** m. *monastic orders, the monastic life*

**murcnung** f. *grief*

**murnan**, pret. **mearn** 3 *mourn*

**mūþ** m. *mouth*

**mūþa** m. *mouth (of a river), estuary*

**myċel-, mycl-** = **miċel-, micl-**

**myltestre** f. *harlot, prostitute*

±**mynd** fi. *memory, recollection, thought, reminder*

±**myndig** adj. *mindful*

±**myn(e)gian**, ±**myndgian** II *remind, recall, mention*; pret. 3 sg. **ġemyndgade** 1.134

**mynster** n. *monastery, nunnery; minster, cathedral*

**mynsterhata** m. *persecutor of monasteries*

**mýre** = **míere**

**myrhð** f. *happiness, pleasure, joy*

**nā**, **nō** adv. *not at all, by no means*

**nabbað** = **ne habbað**

**nacod** adj. *naked*

**næbbe** = **ne hæbbe**

**nædl** f. *needle*

**næf-** = **ne hæf-** (to **habban**)

**næfre** adv. *never*

**nægl** m. *nail*

°**næniġ** adj., pron. *no, none, not any, no one*

**næenne** see **nān**

**nære(n)**, **næron** = **ne wære(n)**, **ne wæron**

**næs** adv. *not*; **næs nā** *by no means*

**næs**, **næst-** = **ne wæs**, **hnæst-**

±**nætan** I *annoy, afflict, oppress*

**nafela** m. *navel*

**nāh** see **āgan**

**nāht**, **nōht** adv. *not at all, by no means*

**nāht**, **nāuht**, **nōht** n. *nothing*

**nāhtlic** adj. *of nought, worthless*

**nāhwær** adv. *nowhere, not at all*;  
**nōwer** 14.31.4

**nales** adv. *by no means, not at all*;

**nales þæt ān þæt** *it is not only the case that* 7.220

**nama**, **noma** m. *name*

**nāman** see **nīman**

±**namian** II *name, invoke*

**nān** adj., pron. (decl. like **ān**) *not any, no, none*

**nānwiht**, **-(w)uht** n. *nothing*; **nānuht berendes** *nothing pregnant* 7.299

**nāp** see **nīpan**

**nāt** = **ne wāt** (to **witan**)

**nāteshwōn** adv. *not at all, by no means*

°**nāthwær** adv. *'I-know-not-where', here and there*

°**nāthwæt** pron. *'I-know-not-what', something*

°**nāthwylc** adj., pron. *'I-know-not-which', some one, a certain one*

**nāþor**, **nāuht** (**nāwiht**) = **nāwðer**, **nāht**

**nāwðer**, **nāþor** conj. *neither*; **nāwðer** (. . .) **nē** . . . **nē** conj. *neither . . . nor*

**ne** particle *not*

**nē** conj. *nor*

±**nēadian** II *compel, force*

**nēah** adj. *near*; superl. **nīehst**, **nīhst** (**nēst** 5.38); **nēh** 5.75; **æt nīhstan** see **nīehst**

**nēah** adv. *near, nearly*; compar. **nēar**;  
**nēh** 1.50, 5.38, 53

**nēahbüend** mc. *neighbor*

+**neahhe** adv. *abundantly, often*

**neaht** = **niht**

**nēahþeod** f. *neighboring nation*

±**nēalācan**, pret. **nēalācte**, **nēalāhte** I *approach*; inf. **nēalēcan** 1.91

**nēar** see **nēah**

**nearones(s)** fjō. *strait, distress, confinement*; **neara-** 10.23

°**nearowrenç** mi. *petty wile*

**nearu** fwō. *confinement*

±**nearwian** II *confine*

**nēat** n. *neat, ox, cow, animal, beast*

+**nēat** m. *follower, attendant lower than the rank of thegn*

**nēawest** f., *neighborhood, vicinity, proximity*  
**neb(b)** nja. *bill, beak, nose, face*  
**nēd(-)** = **nēð-**, **nied(-)**  
**nefa** m. *nephew*  
**nēh, nell-** = **nēah, ne will-**  
**±nemnan** I *name, invoke*; pret. 1 sg. **nemde** 3.137, 3 sg. 11.78  
**nemne, nefne** conj. *unless*  
**±nemnian** II = **±nemnan**  
**nempe** = **nympe**  
**nēod** f. *desire, earnestness, delight, pleasantry; necessity, business* (by confusion w. **nied**)  
**nēol** = **niwol**  
**±nēosan** I (w. gen.) *visit*  
<sup>o</sup>**nēosiþ** m. ‘*corpse-journey*’, *death*  
**neoþan** adv., prep. w. dat. *below, underneath*  
**neowol** = **niwol**  
**±nerian** I *save, preserve, redeem*  
**nes** = **ne wæs**  
**nese** interj. *no*  
**nēst** see **nēah**  
**nēten** = **nieten**  
**±nēðan** I *venture, risk*; pres. 3 sg. **nēþeð** 14.25.5; pret. 3 sg. **ġenēdde** 7.262  
**nied, nȳd** f. *necessity, need, hardship; the rune* †; as. **nēd** 13.45, ds. **nēde** by *necessity, under compulsion* 5.3, **nȳde** 8.5, 17, 13.61  
**±niedan** I *compel, force (to submit)*  
**niedbepearf** adj. *necessary*  
**niedġield, nȳdġyld** n. *forced payment*  
**niedmāge** f. *near kinswoman*  
**niedþearf, nȳd-** f. *need, necessity*  
**nīehst, nȳhst, nīhst** adj. (superl. of **nēah**) *nearest, next, last; æt nīehstan at length, at last, next*

**±nierw(i)an, ±nyrw(i)an** I, II *restrict, confine, constrain*  
**nīeten** n. *beast, cow, ox*; **nēten** 1.135  
**nīewe** adj. *new*; nsm. **nīwe** 5.44, apf. **nīwu** 7.200, gp. **nīwena** 3.148; dp. as adv. **nīwan** *newly, recently* 5.17  
**±nīewian, ±nīwian** II *renew, regenerate*; pp. **ġenīwad** 14.13.9, 15.148, 16.55, etc.  
**nigon** num. *nine*  
**nīhst-** = **nīehst-**  
**niht, neaht** fc. *night*; gs. **nīhtes** by *night*; ap. **nīhte** 6.12, dp. **nīhton** 5.76, **nīhtum** by *night* 14.5.14  
<sup>o</sup>**nīhthelm** m. *cover of night*  
**nīhtlang** adj. ‘*night-long*’, *the length of a night*; **nīhtlanges** adv. *for the entire night*  
<sup>o</sup>**nīhtscua** m. *shadow of night*  
**nillan** = **ne willan**  
**±niman** 4 *take*; pret. pl. (ġe)**nāman** 7.160, 15.30, **ġenāmon** 3.51, 90, 104, etc.  
**niowul** = **niwol**  
<sup>o</sup>**±nīpan** 1 *grow dark, vanish*  
**nis** = **ne is**  
**nīþ** m. *malice, attack, oppression, affliction*  
**nīðer** adv. *down, low*  
**±nīðerian** II *humble, make low, abase, humiliate*  
**nīþerweard** adj. *pointed downward*  
<sup>o</sup>**nīþ(b)as** mpja. *humans*  
**nīw-** = **nīew-**  
**niwol, niowul, neowol** adv. *headlong, prone, prostrate*; **nēol** 14.21.1  
**nō** = **nā**  
**+nōg, +nōh** adj., adv. *enough, abundant, aplenty, rather*  
**nōht** = **nāht**

**nōhwæðer** (nē) conj. *neither (nor)*  
**nold-**, **noma** = **ne wold-**, **nama**  
**norþ** adv. *north, northward, to the north, in the north*  
**norðan** adv. *from the north*; prep. w. dat. **be norþan** *to the north of*  
**norðdæl** m. *northern region*  
**norðeathyrne** f. *northeast corner*  
**norðeward** adv. *in the north*  
**norðhealf** f. *north side*  
**norþmest** adv. *farthest north*  
**norþrihte** adv. *to the north, in a northerly direction*; **-ryhte** 7.6, 10  
**norðþeod** f. *northern people*  
**norþ(e)ward** adj. *in the north*  
**norðwardes** adv. *northward, to the north*  
**±notian** II *use (up)*; pp. asm. **ge-notudne** 3.35  
**notu** f. *use, employment*  
**nower** = **nāhwær**  
**nū** adv., conj. *now; now that*  
**nȳd(-)** = **nīed(-)**  
**nȳhst(-)** see **nēah** and **nīehst**  
**±nyhtsum** adj. *abundant*  
**+nyhtsumian** II *suffice*  
**°nymþe**, **nemþe** conj., prep. (w. dat.) *unless; except for*  
**±nȳrw-** = **±nīerw-**  
**nysse**, **nyste** = **ne wisse**, **ne wiste** (to **witan**)  
**nyt(t)** adj. *useful*  
**nyt(t)** fċ. *use, advantage*  
**nytwerþe**, **-wyrðe** adj. *useful*  
  
**of** prep. w. dat. *from, out of, by*  
**of** adv. *from it, off (of it)*  
**of-dræd(d)** adj. (pp.) *frightened*  
**of-dūne** adv. *down*  
**ofer** prep.† *over, despite, against, after*

**ofer-brædan** I *overspread, suffuse*  
**oferbrædels** m. *cover*  
**ofer-cuman** 4 *overpower, overcome, master*  
**ofere** adv. *over, across, on the other side*  
**ofer-fēran** I *pass over, traverse, cross*  
**oferfiel(l)**, **-fyl(l)** f. *gluttony*  
**ofer-fōn**, pret. **-fēng** 7 *arrest*  
**ofer-froren** adj. (pp.) *frozen over*  
**ofer-gān** anom. (§134) *come over, possess*  
**ofer-gyldan** I *gild, cover in gold plate or foil*  
**ofer-hergian** II *overrun, ravage*; pret. pl. **oferhergedon** 7.209  
**oferhoga** m. *despiser*  
**ofer-hogian** II *scorn*  
**°oferhygd** fī. (also **-hygdo** f., indecl.) *pride, arrogance*  
**oferlice** adv. *excessively*  
**°ofermægen** n. *superior force*  
**ofermēde** nja. *pride, arrogance*  
**ofer-rædan** (ē) 7 and I *read over*  
**ofer-swīðan**, **-swȳðan** I *overpower, defeat*; pres. 2 sg. **-swīðesð** 11.93  
**ofer-winnan** 3 *conquer, defeat*  
**ofer-wlenčan** I *excessively enrich*  
**of-faran** 6 *overtake, intercept*; pret. pl. **offōron** 3.74, **offōran** 7.229  
**±offrian** II *offer, make sacrifices, pray (to)*  
**ofgerād** adj. *simple, straightforward*  
**of-giefan** 5 *give up, abandon*; pret. pl. **ofgēafun** 14.9.1  
**of-hrēosan** 2 *overwhelm, overthrow*; pp. npm. **ofhrorene** 4.32  
**ofost**, **ofst** f. *haste, speed*  
**of-scēamian** II *put to shame (for, w. gen.)*

**of-slēan** 6 *kill, slaughter*; pret. pl. **of-slōgan** 7.161

**ofst-** see also **ofost-**

**of-stingan** 3 *stab, pierce*

**of-swingan** 3 *scourge (to death)*

**oft** adv. *often*; compar. **oftor**

**of-tēon** 2 (§132; w. dat. of pers. and gen. of thing) *deprive*

**oft-rædlice** adv. *frequently, continually*

**of-þyncan** I *seem amiss, displease*

**of-þyrsted** adj. (pp.) *parched, made thirsty (for, w. gen.)*

**of-weorpan** 3 *stone (to death), kill with a stone*

**ōhwonan** = **āhwonan**

**ōlēccan** I *soothe, flatter*

**ol(l)** n. *contempt, scorn*

**on** prep.† *on, in, into, among, during*; an 7.245, 322, 14.42.10

**on-ælan** I *kindle, inflame*

**on-bænnan** I *inflame, set ablaze*

**on-bierian, on-byr(i)gan** I (w. gen.) *taste*

**on-bindan** 3 *release, reveal*; pret. 3 sg. **onbond** 14.33.7

**on-breġdan** 3 *start up*

**on-būgan** 2 *bend*

**on-ċierran**, I *turn, influence, convince*; inf. **onċerran** 10.133

**on-cnāwan (ēo)** 7 *know, acknowledge, recognize*

**ond(-)** see **and(-)**

**on-drædan (ē)** 7 and I (w. acc. or gen., often w. reflex. dat.) *fear, dread*

**on-eardian** II *inhabit*

**ōnettān** I *rush, hasten, hurry*

**on-findan** 3 (occasional wk. pret. **onfunde**) *discover, learn*; pret. pl. **anfundan** 7.316

**on-fōn**, pret. **onfēng** 7 (usu. w. dat. obj.) *receive, take (up), accept*; (w. gen.) *stand sponsor for at baptism*; pret. 3 sg. **anfēng** 14.42.3; pp. asm. **onfongne** 1.126

**on-foran** prep. w. acc. *before*

**on-fundennes(s)** fġō. *explanation, solution*

**onga** = **anga**

**on-gēan** adv., prep.† *back, again; against, toward, up to, opposite, in opposition to*; **onġēn** 3.141, 150, **angēan** 7.302

**onġēan-winnan** 3 *resist, struggle against*

**onġe-mang** prep. w. dat. *among, amidst*

**on-ġierwan, -ġyrwan** I *disrobe, strip*; pret. 3 sg. **onġyrede** 15.39

**on-ġietan, on-ġytan** 5 *perceive, notice, learn (of), understand, grasp*; inf. **onġiotan** 2.30, **onġitan** 12.6; pret. 3 sg. **onġet** 3.118

**on-ġinnan** 3 *begin*; pret. 3 sg. **ongon** 1.102, 14.9.3, pl. **angunnan** 7.320

**on-herġian** II *attack, raid*; pret. pl. **onhergedon** 1.16

**on-hieldan, -hyldan** I *incline, bow*

**on-hwierfan, -hwyrfan** I *turn*

**on-hyrian** I *emulate, imitate*; pres. 1 sg. **onhyrġe** 14.8.10, 14.24.4

**onlice** adv. *similarly*

**on-liesan, -lȳsan** I *liberate, redeem*

**on-lūcan** 2 *unlock, open*

**on-lūtan** 2 *bend down, bow, incline oneself*

**onsæġe** adj. *assailing, oppressive (to, w. dat.)*

**on-sċunian** II *avoid, despise*

**onsċyte** mi. *assault, attack*; dp. **on-sċytan** 8.56, 130

**on-sendan** I *send, give up*; pret. pl. **on-sendan** 11.120; pp. **onsended** 13.53, 15.49  
**on-sittan** 5 (§127) *oppress*  
**on-slæpan** (ē) 7 and I *fall asleep, sleep*; pret. 3 sg. **onslēpte** 1.96, 181  
**on-spannan** (ēo) 7 *unfasten, open, disclose*  
**onstal** m. *supply, provision*  
**on-stellan**, pret. **onstealde** I (§116) *establish*  
**on-sundran** adv. *separately, individually*  
**ontendnys(s)** fjō. *burning, fiery matter*  
**on-tȳnan** I *open*  
**on-ufan** adv., prep. w. dat. *above, on top (of)*  
**on-wæcnan** 6 *awake*  
**onw(e)ald, anw(e)ald** m. *authority, control, power*  
**onwealda, an-** m. *ruler*  
**on-weġ** adv. *away*  
**on-wendan** I *change, turn, upend, overthrow*  
**on-winnan** 3 *attack, invade*  
**on-wrēon** 1, 2 (§132) *uncover, reveal*; imp. 2 sg. **onwrēoh** 15.97; pp. ap. **onwrigene** 13.84  
**open** adj. *open*  
**±openian** II *open*; pp. **geopenad** 5.29  
**openlice** adv. *openly, in plain fashion*  
**°ōr** n. *origin, beginning*  
**ord** m. *point, tip, start*  
**orfcwealm** m. *murRAIN*  
**°orfeorme** adj. *devoid (of, w. dat.)*  
**ormōd** adj. *hopeless, in despair*  
**ortriewe** adj. *without hope, in despair*  
**°orpancbend** fjō. *ingenious bond, cunning band*  
**°orpancpil** m. *ingenious pointed object*

**oð** prep. w. acc. *until, up to*  
**oð, oð ðæt, oþ þe** conj. *until*  
**oþ-beran** 4 *bear off, carry away*  
**ōðer** adj., num., pron. *second, other, one (of two or more); another; one of two things; ōðer . . . ōðer the one . . . the other*; dsm. **ōþran** 7.286, npf. **ōðræ** 2.47  
**oð-fæstan** I *commit, entrust*  
**oð-feallan** (ēo) 7 *decline, decay*  
**oð-ferian** I *bear off, carry away*; inf. **oðfergan** 14.16.7  
**oð-iewan, -ȳwan** I *show, reveal, indicate*  
**oð-rōwan** (ēo) 7 *row off, escape by rowing*  
**oððe, oððon** conj. *or; oððe . . . oððe either . . . or*  
**oð-windan** 3 *escape*  
  
**pāpa** m. *pope*  
**plega** m. *sport; sporting gear*  
**plegan** 5 *play (at, w. gen.), amuse oneself, exercise, engage in a sport; perform*  
**±plegian** II = **plegan**  
**port** m. *port, town*  
**prēost** m. *priest*  
**prȳte** f. *pride*  
**pund** n. *pound* [Lat. *pondo*]  
  
**+ræcan**, pret. **+rāhte, +ræhte** I (§116) *reach, attain, obtain, overtake*  
**°ræced, reced** n. *hall*  
**ræd** m. *advice, plan, way forth, sense, reason, wisdom, benefit*  
**rædan** (ē) 7 or I (pret. **rædde**; w. dat.) *advise, make plans, guide, read, interpret*; pres. 3 sg. **rēt** 5.10, pl. **ræde** 9.3 (§79)

**ræðbora** m. *adviser, counsellor*  
**ræðehere** mja. *mounted soldiers, cavalry*  
**rædelle** f. *riddle*  
**rædels** m. *riddle*  
**ræðþeauptung** f. *counsel, advice, planning*  
**±ræran** I *raise*  
**ræsan** I *attack, mount an assault (upon, on)*  
**ranc** adj. *proud, brave*  
**°rand** m. (*boss or rim of*) *shield*  
**ræðe = hraðe**  
**ræad** adj. *red*; asm. **rēodne** 14.25.8  
**ræaf** n. *garment, vestment, goods, plunder*  
**ræafere** m. *robber, plunderer*  
**±ræafi(ǵ)an** II *seize, plunder, ravage, tear up*  
**ræaflāc** n. *robbery, rapine, rapacity*  
**±reccan**, pret. **re(a)hte** I (§116) *relate, recount, narrate*; (+) *wield, control*  
**±reccan**, pret. **rōhte** I (§116) *heed, care about*; pret. pl. **rōhtan** 8.107  
**recc(e)lēas** adj. *heedless, careless*  
**recene** adv. *quickly, precipitously*;  
**rycene** 16.112  
**+rēfa** m. *steward, reeve*  
**reǵnscūr** m. *shower*  
**regol** m. (*monastic*) *rule*  
**regollić** adj. *canonical, regular, under monastic rule*; dp. **regollecum** 1.150  
**regollice** adv. *according to rule, canonically*  
**reht-** see **reccan**  
**+rēne** nja. *ornament*  
**rēod-** = **ræad-**  
**±reord** f. *food, sustenance; meal, feast*  
**°±reord** f. *language, tongue, speech, voice*

**°reordberend** mc. *‘speech-bearer’, human*; np. **-berend** 15.3  
**°±reordian** II *speak; refresh, entertain, feast*  
**±rest** fjō. *rest, resting place, bed, couch*  
**±restan** I *rest (often reflex.)*; 3 sg. **restet** 5.77  
**rēt** see **rædan**  
**rēðe** adj. *fierce, violent, cruel, harsh*  
**rib(b)** nja. *rib*  
**rīce** adj. *powerful, strong, overpowering*; as sb. *patrician*; asm. **rīcne** 15.44  
**rīce** nja. *kingdom, realm, empire, reign, power*  
**rīcsian, rīxian** II *rule, prevail*  
**±ridan** I *ride*; pres. 3 sg. **rīdeð** 7.123  
**riht, ryht** adj. *right, proper, correct, just*; adv. **rihte, rihtlice**  
**±riht, ±ryht** n. *what is right, truth, justice, privilege, legal right, (what is) due*; **mid rihte** *properly*  
**±rihtan** I *direct*; pp. **ǵeriht** 15.131  
**°rihtcýning** m. *just or rightful ruler*  
**rihtǵelēaful(l), ryht-** adj. *orthodox, Catholic*  
**rihtlagu** f. *just law*  
**rihtnorþan, ryht-** adv. *from due north*  
**rihtwīs** adj. *righteous*; sb. **þā rihtwīsan** *the righteous* 10.68  
**±rihtwīsan** II *justify, make righteous*  
**rīm** n. *number*  
**±rīman** I *count, enumerate*  
**°rīnć** m. *hero, warrior, man*  
**±rīp** n. *harvest*  
**±rīpan** I *reap*; pret. pl. **ǵerypon** 3.113  
**rīpian** II *ripen, mature*  
**+risen** n. *dignity, honor*  
**+risenlić** adj. *fitting, becoming, suitable*

**rōd** f. *rood*(tree), cross, crucifix

**rodor** m. *sky, heaven*; gp. **rodra**

14.13.7, dp. **roderum** 11.13, 13.24

**°rōf** adj. *vigorous, valiant*

**rōht-** see **reċċan**

**Rōmānisċ** adj. *Roman*

**rōse** f. *rose*

**rōtlice** adv. *cheerfully*

**±rōwan** (ēo) 7 go by water, row

**rudu** f. *red color, ruddy complexion*

**rūh** adj. *coarse, shaggy*

**rūn** f. *secret, private counsel*; **æt rūne**  
*in private* 16.111

**rūnstæf** m. *runic character*

**rycene, ryht(-) = recene, riht(-)**

**±rȳman** I *enlarge, extend, open up,*  
*make room*

**rȳmet** n. *room, space, access, benefit*

**rȳneman(n)** mc. *one skilled in mysteries,*  
*mystery-solver*

**±rȳpan** I *spoil, plunder, rob*

**rȳpere** mja. *robber, plunderer*

**rypon** see **ripan**

**sācerd** m. *priest*

**sacu** f. *conflict*

**sæ** mfi. (often indecl. except dp.

**sæ[wu]m** and masc. gs. **sæs**) *sea*; ds.

**sæwe** 14.33.5

**°sæc(ċ)** fjō. *strife, struggle*

**sæd** adj. *full (of, w. gen.), sated*

**sæd-** see **seċgan**

**sægon** see **sēon**

**sæl** mfi. *time, occasion; contentment,*  
*happiness*

**sælan** I *tie, bind, restrain, confine*

**sælic** adj. *of the sea, maritime*

**±sælig** adj. *happy, blessed, fortunate,*  
*excellent*

**±sæliglic** adj. *fortunate, blessed, happy*

**±sællic = ±sæliglic**

**±sælþa** fp. *blessings*

**sæman(n)** mc. *seafarer*; np. **sæmæn**  
8.98

**+sæne = +siene**

**særima** m. *coast, seashore*

**°sæstrēam** m. *ocean current, sea lane*

**saga** see **seċgan**

**sam** conj. *whether, or*; **sam . . . sam**  
*whether . . . or*

**sama, soma** adj. *same*; **swæ** *same in*  
*like manner, similarly, swā* *some*  
*swā in the same manner as*

**±samnian, ±somnia** II *assemble,*  
*gather* (trans. or intrans.); pret. pl.  
**somnedon** 1.1, **samnodan** 11.19

**±samnung, ±somnia** f. *assembly,*  
*community*

**samod, somed, somud. samed** adv.  
*together, simultaneously, too*; **samod**  
**ætġæd(e)re** *together, in unison*  
**sāmworht** adj. (pp.) *half built, un-*  
*finished*

**sang, song** m. *song, singing*

**sangcræft, song-** m. *ability to compose*  
*songs*

**sār** adj. *sore, painful, wounded,*  
*harmed, grievous, sad*

**sār** n. *wound, pain, suffering, sorrow*

**°sārcwide** mī. *lament, tale of woe*

**sāre** adv. *sorely, grievously*

**±sārgian** II *wound*; pp. **ġesārgad** 13.62

**sāriġ** adj. *pained, sorry, sorrowful*

**sāri(ġ)an** II *lament, sorrow, suffer*

**sārlic** adj. *sad, painful, tragic, lament-*  
*able*; adv. **sārlice**

**sārnes(s)** fjō. *sadness, sorrow, dejection*

**±sāwan** (ēo) 7 sow; pres. 3 sg. **sāweð**  
14.21.6

**sāw(o)l** f. *soul*; as. **sāule** 8.59, **sāwle**

13.5; gs. (?) **sāwle** 13.10

**sċæpen** see **sċieppan**

**sċamfæst** adj. *modest*

**sċamian**, **sċeamian** II (impers. w. dat. or acc. of pers. and gen. of thing) *shame, embarrass, make ashamed (of)*

**sċamlēas** adj. *shameless, wicked*

**sċamu**, **sċ(ę)omu** f. *shame, modesty*

+**sċēād** n. *distinction, discernment*

+**sċēādan** (ē) 7 *discern, distinguish, decide, settle*

**sċ(ę)adu** fwō. *shadow*

+**sċēādwislice** adv. *plainly, discerningly, intelligently*

+**sċēadwisnes(s)** fjō. *discernment*

**sċeaft** m. *shaft, staff*

+**sċeaft** fi. *creation, creature, object, origin; workings, operation*

**sċ(ę)andlic**, **sċond-** adj. *disgraceful, shameful*; dp. **-lican** 8.56

**sċēap** n. *sheep*

°+**sċēap** n. *creation, fortune, fate*

**sċeapen** see **sċieppan**

**sċearp** adj. *sharp, keen*

**sċēat** m. *sheet, covering, garment*; (in pl.) *surface*

**sċēaþa** m. *criminal, vandal, marauder*

**sċēawendwise** f. *performer's song*

+**sċēawian** II *see, behold, observe*; pret. 3 sg. **sċēawede** 11.58

**sċēawung** f. *display, appearance, showing, examination, exploring*

**sċeld-** = **sċield-**

**sċendan** I *insult, disgrace, bring shame upon*

+**sċento** f. (usu. pl.) *confusion, ignominy*

**sċēōp(-)** see **sċieppan**

+**sċēotan** 2 *shoot, dispense*; **sċēotan tōgædere** *club together, pool one's money*

**sċēotend** mc. 'shooter', *archer, bowman*

+**sċēþþan** 6 *injure, harm*

**sċiċċels** m. *cloak*

**sċield**, **sċyld** m. *shield*; ap. **sċeldas** 10.74

+**sċieldan**, +**sċyldan**, +**sċildan** I *shield, protect*

+**sċieppan**, +**sċyppan** 6 (§127) *create, give form to*; pret. 2 sg. **ġesċēōpe** 6.183, 3 sg. **sċēōp** 1.109; pp. nsm. **sċeapen** 14.23.2, npm. **ġesċæpene** 3.144

**sċiete**, **sċýte** f. *linen cloth*

**sċīma** m. *brightness, effulgence*

**sċīnan** 1 *shine, gleam*; pret. 3 sg. **sċēān** 5.44, 6.145

**sċīp** n. *ship*; ap. **sċypu** 7.63, **sċypa** 7.64, **sċīpa** 7.228, dp. **sċypum** 1.13, **sċīpun** 7.188

**sċīpen** f. *stall, cattle-shed*

**sċīphere** mja. *fleet; naval fighters, marines*

+**sċīpian** II *provide with ships*

**sċīprāp** m. *ship's rope, cable, line*

**sċīr** adj. *bright, resplendent*; adv. **sċīre**

**sċīr**, **sċýr** f. *shire, county, district*

**sċīreniġe** f. *actress, female jester*

**sċōl** f. *school*

**sċom-**, **sċond-** = **sċam-**, **sċ(ę)and-**

**sċōp** see **sċieppan**

**sċōpġereord** n. *poetic language*

+**sċræf** n. *cavern, cave*

°**sċrallettan** I *clamor, ring out*; pres. pl. **sċralletaþ** 12.20

+**sċrīfan** 1 *care about, feel regret over; prescribe, ordain, bring to pass*

**sćrīðan** I *go, move, glide*

**sćrūd** n. *clothing, garment*

**±sćrȳdan** I *clothe*

**sćulan** pret.-pres. (§123) *be obliged or accustomed, ought, shall*; pres. 3 sg.

**sćeall** 4.45, 7.45, 116, etc., **sćeoll**

5.15, pl. **sćeolon** 4.16, 35, 7.117, etc.,

**sćeolan** 7.130; pret. sg. **sćeolde** 5.3,

6.68, 91, etc., pl. **sć(ę)oldan** 1.15, 8.54, 153, etc.; sj. pres. sg. **sćyle** 13.91,

pl. **sćylan** 8.13, pret. sg. **sćealde**

12.39, pl. **sćalde** 1.90, **sćoldan** 8.27

**sćūr** m. *shower, downpour, rain*

**±sćyld** mfi. *offense, crime, sin, guilt*

**±sćyldan** = **±sćiieldan**

**±sćyndan** I *drive, impel; rush, race*

**sćyppend** m. *creator*

**sćypu**, **sćȳr** = **sćipu**, **sćīr**

**±sćȳrdan** I *injure, destroy*

**sćyte** mi. *shot, shooting (with bow)*

**sćȳte** = **sćīete**

**sē**, **sēo**, **þæt** demonstr. (adj., pron.),

rel. pron. (§41) *the, this, that, who, which, that which*; **þæs (þe)** as; **tō**

**þām**, **tō þon** *to it, to such an extent*;

**tō þon ðæt** *for the purpose that, because*; nsf. **sīo** 2.40, 43, 52, etc., asm.

**þæne** 5.26, 7.116, 8.85, etc., dsf.

**ðæra** 6.2, ism. **þē** 11.97, isn. **þan**

1.39, 7.123, 127, etc., **þē** 8.50, 11.97, etc., gp. **þæra** 4.12, 14, 5.10, etc.

**seald(e)**, **sealdon** see **sellan**

**sealtstān** m. *stone made of salt, pillar of salt*

**searocræft** m. *fraud, trickery*; **seara-** 8.112

**°searocræftig** adj. *fraudulent, treacherous*

**°searosæled** adj. (pp.) *cleverly bound, ingeniously strung*

**searopanc**, **-þonc** m. *cunning thought, clever idea*

**searu** nwa. *artifice, trickery*; as. **seara** 7.157, dp. (as adv.) **searwum** *craftily, deviously* 12.40

**searwian**, **syrwian** II *plot, lay traps, be deceitful*

**sēað** m. *hole, pit*

**seax** n. *knife, short sword*; gs. **seaxes** 14.26.6

**±sēcān**, pret. **sōhte** I (§116; may be reflex.) *search (for), seek, approach, attack*; sj. pret. pl. **sōhte** 7.206

**°sečġ** mja. *man*

**±sečġan** III *say, speak, tell* (§121); inf.

**sečġan** 10.34, (**ġe**)**sečġgan** 11.160,

168; pret. 1 sg. **sāde** 3.64, 2 sg. **sādest**

10.66, 3 sg. **sāde** 4.31, 5.78, 7.1, etc., pl. **sādon** 1.43, 7.25, 150, etc.;

sj. pres. sg. (as imp.) **seġe** 6.54; imp. sg. **saga** 14.8.8, 14.10.11, 14.12.13,

etc.; pp. (**ġe**)**sād** 1.31, 7.271

**°sefa** m. *heart, mind, temper, spirit*

**sēġe**, **seġen** see **sēon**

**seġl** m. *sail*

**±seġlian** II *sail*

**seġn** m. *banner, ensign*

**±seġnian** II (usu. reflex.) *cross, make the sign of the cross*

**sēl** adj. (compar. **sēlra**, **sella**) *good, fitting, prosperous*; superl. asn. **sēlest** 15.118, gp. **sēlestena** 3.131

**°+selda** m. *companion, fellow retainer*

**seldlič**, **sellič**, **syllič** adj. *rare, strange*

**°sele** mi. (orig. s-stem) *hall, house*

**°seledrēam** m. *delight of the hall, conviviality*

**°seledrēoriġ** adj. *dejected for want of a hall, homesick*

**°selesečġ** mja. *'hall-man', comrade*

**self, sylf** pron. (non-reflex.) *self, own, very*; often w. dat. pron., e.g. **him**

**self** *himself*; asm. **seolfne** 1.187,

np.wk. **seolfan** 1.136

**selflice** nja. *vanity, egotism*

**selfwille, sylf-** adj. *spontaneous, voluntary*

**sella** adj. (compar. of **gōd**) *better*

**±sellan, ±syllan**, pret. **sealde** I (§116) *give, sell*; pret. pl. **sealdan** 1.21; sj.

pret. pl. **sealdon** 1.44

**sellic = seldlic**

**±sendan** I *send*; pret. pl. **sendan** 1.18; pp. **sended** 13.43

**+sēne = +sīene**

**sēo** see **bēon, sē, sēon**

**seofon** num. *seven*; **syfan** 7.32, 86

**seofonniht** fc. *sennight, week*

**seolf-** see also **self**

**seolfor, sylfor** n. *silver*

**seolh**, gen. **sēoles** m. (§131) *seal*; gs. **sīoles** 7.48

**°seolhbæp** n. *'seal-bath', sea, ocean*

**±sēon** 5 see (§132); inf. **gesīon** 2.33, pres. 1 sg. **sēo** 14.5.3, 2 sg. **gesihst** 10.68, 3 sg. **gesihð** 6.115, 16.46; pret. 3 sg. **gesæh** 5.1, **geseah** 5.8, 51, 6.25, etc., **geseh** 5.50, pl. **gesāwan** 7.260, 306, **gesægon** 11.68; sj. pret. sg. **gesēge** 11.75, **gesāwe** 15.4; pp. ns. **gesēgen** 1.122, 11.71

**seond-** see **bēon**

**seonw** fwō. *sinew*; dp. **seon(o)wum** 13.57, 68

**sester** m. *measure equal to about a pint* [Lat. *sextarius*]

**±set** n. *seat, encampment*

**setl** n. *seat, bench, throne*

**±settan** I *set, establish, appoint, compose, deliver, put, dispose of; settle,*

*seat; set out; conclude*; pret. pl. **gesettan** 9.72; pp. nsm. **geseted** 1.88, 15.141

**se-þeah** adv. (= **swā þeah**) *nonetheless*

**+sewenlic** adj. *visible*; adv. **-lice** *visibly*

**sex = siex**

**+sib(b)** adj. *related*; as sb. *kinsman, kinswoman*; ds. **gesibban** 8.50

**sib(b)** fjō. *peace, tranquillity; kindred*

**±sib(b)sum** adj. *peaceable*

**sibleger** n. *incest*

**±sibling** m. *relative, kins(wo)man*

**siċcetung** f. *sighing*

**sīd** adj. *wide, extensive, massive, ample*; adv. **sīde** *widely, far and wide, amply*

**±side** f. *side*; **on sīdan** *aside*

**sidu, sīodo** mu. *custom, practice, good conduct, morality*

**±si(e)hð** see **sēon, +siht**

**sie(n)** see **bēon**

**+siene, +sīne** adj. *visible, evident, plain*; nsn. **gesēne** 8.42, **gesāne** 8.105

**siex, syx, six** num. *six*; **sex** 3.146

**siexta, syxta** num. *sixth*

**siextig, syxtig** num. *sixty*; dp. **siextegum** 7.226

**sige** mi. (orig. *s*-stem) *victory*; **sige slēan** *claim victory, triumph*

**°sigebēacn** n. *triumphant sign*

**°sigebēam** m. *tree of triumph*

**sigefæst** adj. *triumphant*

**sigelēas** adj. *without victory, defeated*

**°sigelēoð** n. *victory cry*

**°sigerōf** adj. *victorious, triumphant*

**°sigeþeod** f. *triumphant nation*

**±siglan** I *sail*

**sigor** m. (orig. *s*-stem) *victory, triumph*

**sigorfæst** adj. *triumphant*  
**+sihst, +sihð, +syhð** see also **sēon**  
**+siht, +sihð, +syhð** f. *sight, view, presence, vision*  
**simle, symle** adv. *continually, always, forever*  
**sīn** adj., reflex. pron. *one's own*  
**°sinč** n. *treasure, precious thing*  
**°sinčfāg, -fāh** adj. *decorated with treasure, bejeweled*  
**°sinčgiefā** m. *'treasure-giver', lord, ruler; nsm. -geofa* 10.122  
**°sinčþegu** f. *receipt of valuables, treasure-giving; as. -þege* 16.34  
**sinder** n. *cinder, impurity*  
**singāl** adj. *ever-living, perpetual*  
**singāllice** adv. *incessantly, time and again*  
**singan** 3 *sing*; pret. 3 sg. **song** 1.114, 10.28, 12.50, **sanc** 10.158  
**±sinscipe** m. *marriage*  
**sint** see **bēon**  
**siodo = sidu**  
**siofigan, seofian** II *sigh*  
**sīol-, sion** see **seolh, sēon**  
**si(o)noð** f. *synod, council, assembly*  
**±sittan** 5 (may be reflex.) *sit, remain, lodge*  
**sið** adv. *later, after(ward)*  
**sīþ** m. *journey, wandering, undertaking, exploit, doings, experience, fate; time, occasion*  
**siðfæt** m. *expedition, undertaking; ds. -fate* 15.150  
**sīþian** II *go, depart, pass, travel, wander; pret. 1 sg. sīþade* 13.52, 14.26.11  
**siððan, syððan** conj., adv. *after, since, when, now that; afterward, then*  
**six = siex**

**slacian** II *delay, put off*  
**slāp** m. *sleep*  
**±slāpan (ē)** 7 *sleep*; pret. 3 sg. **slāp** 5.31, pl. **slāpen** 5.20, **slēpon** 5.37, 52  
**±slēan**, pret. **slōh**, pp. **slagen, slægen** 6 (§132) *strike, kill, inflict; drive; pret. pl. (ge)slōgan* 1.17, 46, pp. **gesleġen** 3.82  
**sliefe, slýfe** f. *sleeve*  
**±slitan** 1 *cut, tear up, lacerate*  
**slīþen** adj. *cruel, hard*  
**smæl** adj. *narrow, slender; superl. smalost; asf. smale* 5.3  
**±smēagan**, pret. **smēade** II (§133) *consider, contemplate, scrutinize, think (about); sj. (imp.) sg. smēage* 8.143  
**smearcian** II *smile*  
**smedma** m. *fine flour*  
**smiċ** m. *smoke*  
**±smierwian** II *anoint, salve, smear*  
**smiþ** m. *smith, craftsman*  
**smolt** adj. *mild, tranquil*  
**smylte** adj. *mild, peaceful, calm*  
**smyltnes(s)** fjō. *tranquillity, mildness*  
**snā(w)** mwa. *snow*  
**snāwhwīt** adj. *snow white*  
**snelnes(s)** fjō. *agility*  
**±snīðan** 1 *cut*  
**snot(t)or** adj. *clever, wise; asm. snot-erne* 6.73  
**snot(t)ornes(s)** fjō. *wisdom, acumen, cleverness*  
**snot(t)orwyrde** adj. *clever of speech, plausible*  
**snūde** adv. *quickly, at once*  
**snyttro** f. (indecl. in sg.) *wisdom, intelligence*  
**°snyðian** II *sniff, snuffle, go with one's nose to the ground (like a dog)*

**sōfte** adj. *soft, mild, gentle*

**som-** = **sam-**

**sōna** adv. *immediately, at once, prematurely*; **sōna swā** *as soon as*

**song(-)** see **sang(-)**, **singan**

**sorg** f. *sorrow, care, trouble*

**sorgian** II *sorrow, lament*

**sorglēas** adj. *free of care, cheerful*

°**sorglēoð**, **sorh-** n. *sorrowful song, elegy, dirge*

**sōþ** adj. *true*

**sōþ** n. *truth*; **tō sōðan** *for certain*

**sōðcwide** mi. *true tale, accurate explanation*

**sōðe** n.wk. *truth, fact*

**sōðfæst** adj. *true, just, righteous*

°**sōðgied(d)** nja. *true report*

**sōðlice** adv. *truly, in truth*

**spæcan** see **sprecan**

**spætan** I *spit, spew*

**spearn** see **spurnan**

**spēd** fi. *success, prosperity, wealth, means, wherewithal*

**spēdig** adj. *wealthy, successful*

**spel(l)** n. *narrative, history, story*

**spēow** see **spōwan**

**spild** m(i?). *annihilation, ruin*

**spor** n. *spoor, trace, track*

±**spōwan** (ēo) 7 *profit, avail, help*;  
hence in impers. constructions  
*succeed, thrive* (at, w. gen.)

**spræc** fjō. *talk, speech, discourse*

±**sprecan** 5 *speak*; pres. 1 sg. **sprīce**  
14.23.11, 3 sg. **sprīceð** 13.16, 16.70,  
pl. **specað** 9.40; sj. pret. pl. **spæcan**  
8.8; infl. inf. **tō specenne** 8.68

±**spurnan** 3 *kick* (see note to 10.37)

±**spyrian** I *make tracks on* [cf. **spor**]

**stæf** m. *letter, character, writing*; np.  
**stafas** *characters, letters, literature*

°**stælgīest** mi. *surreptitious visitor*

**stælhære** mja. *troop moving covertly*

**stælhērān** m. *'stealth-reindeer', decoy*

**stælwierþ**, -**wyrð** adj. *serviceable*

**stænen** adj. *made of stone*

**stær** n. *history, narrative*

°**stærcedferhð** adj. *stout of heart, determined*; np. -**fyrhðe** 11.38

**stæþ** n. *shore, riverbank*; ds. **staþe**  
3.75, 7.97, **stæðe** 11.38

**staf-**, **stāh** see **stæf**, **stigan**

**stalu** f. *theft*

**stān** m. *stone*

**stānclif** n. *cliff, peak, stony waste*

±**standan**, ±**stondan**, pret. **stōd** 6  
(often reflex.) *stand, arise*; pres. 3 sg.  
**stent** 7.78

°**stānhliþ** n. *rocky slope, stony declivity*; ap. -**hleoþu** 16.101

**stapol** m. *trunk, pillar, post, stalk*

**starce** see **stearc**

**staðe** see **stæþ**

**stapol** m. *base, foundation, support, ground*

±**staðolian** II *establish, found, confirm, keep stable*; pp. **gestapelad** 13.42

°**stapolwang**, -**wong** m. *fixed place*

±**steal(l)** mn. *position, state, condition*

**stēam** m. *vapor, moisture*

°**stēaphēah** adj. *lofty, projecting, erect*

**stearc** adj. *strong, firm, inflexible*;  
nsn.wk. **starce** 6.28

**stede** mi. *place, position, firmness*

**stefn**, **stemn** f. *voice, cry*

**stefn**, **stemn** mi. *stem, root; term of military service*

**stenc** mi. *odor*

**stēorbord** n. *starboard*

**steorfa** m. *pestilence*

**steorra** m. *star*

**steort** m. *tail*

±**stēpan** I (w. dat.) *help, support*

±**steppan**, ±**stæppan** 6 (§127) *step, go*;

pret. pl. **stōpon** 11.121

**stiċce-** = **styċce-**

**stician** II *stab, thrust*

**sticung** f. *pricking, goading*

±**stieran**, ±**stȳran** I *direct, govern*

±**stigan** I *climb, mount*; pres. 3 sg.

**stiġeð** 12.19; pret. 3 sg. **ġestāh** 15.40

±**stiltian** II *arrange, ordain*; pp. **ġe-stihtad** 1.6

±**stillan** I *quiet, appease, restrain*

**stille** adj. *quiet, undisturbed, unmoving*

**stilnes(s)** fġō. *quiet, stillness, tranquillity, peace*

**stincan** 3 *reek; climb, rise*; pret. 3 sg.

**stonc** 14.29.12

**striþ** adj. *firm, rigid*

°**stiðhyġdiġ**, -**hȳdiġ** adj. *firm-minded, resolute*; npm. -**hidige** 11.121

°**stiðmōd** adj. *firm-minded, resolute*

**stond-**, **stōp-** see **stand-**, **steppan**

**storm** m. *storm*

**stōw** f. *place, site*

**stræc** adj. *vehement, violent*; apm.

**strece** 9.28

**stræġ** mf. *arrow*

**stræt** f. *street*

**strand** n. *strand, shore*

**strang**, **strong** adj. *strong*; compar.

**strengra**

**strange**, **stronge** adv. *strongly*

**strēam** m. *stream, flood, current*

**strece** see **stræc**

**strengð(u)** f. *strength, violence*

**strengu**, -**o** f. (indecl. in sg.) *strength*

±**strēon** n. *property, thing of value, valuable, wealth*; **ġestrión** 10.95

±**stre(o)wian** II *strew, scatter*

**striċ** (or **striċ** ?) n. (?) *plague* (?), *sedition* (?)

±**striēnan** I (w. gen.) *beget*

**striēnd**, **strȳnd** fġō. *stock, line of descent*

**striōn**, **strong** = **strēon**, **strang**

**strūdung** f. *spoliation, robbery*

**stund** f. *moment, hour*; adv. **stundum** *from time to time, at times*

**stunt** adj. *dull, stupid, foolish*

**styċcemælum**, **stiċce-** adv. *gradually, bit by bit, piecemeal, here and there*

**stȳpel** m. *tower*

**stȳran** = **stieran**

±**styrian** I *stir, move, foment, excite*

**styrman** I *rage, cry out*

**sūcan** 2 *suck*

**sum** adj., pron. *a certain (one), some, one*; dsm. **suman** 8.159, apm. **sume** 16.80, apf. **sumæ** 2.49

**sumor**, **sumer** mu. *summer*; ds. **sumere** 3.172

**sund** n. *swimming*

+**sund** adj. *uninjured, healthy, sound*

+**sundfulnys(s)** fġō. *health, security*

**sundor** adv. *apart*

**sundorhālga** m. *Pharisee*

°**sundorwundor** n. *special marvel*

**sunnandæg** m. *Sunday*

**sunne** f. *sun*

**sunu**, **suno** mu. *son*; ns. **sunā** 9.76, np.

**suno** 14.46.2, 14.46.3

**sutol-**, **sutel-** = **sweetol-**

**sūþ** adj., adv. *south, southern; to the south, southward*

**sūðan** adv. *from the south*; prep. w.

acc. **be sūðan** *to the south of*; **wið**

**sūðan** *to the south of*

**sūðdæl** m. *southern portion*

**sūðeward** adj. *in the south*; **on sūðe-weardum** *in the southern part of*  
7.67

**sūðhealf** f. *south side*

**sūprihte** adv. *due south*; **-ryhte** 7.15,  
16

**sūðrima** m. *south coast*

**sūðstæð** n. *south coast*

**sūðweardes** adv. *southward*

**sūðwesterne** adj. *(from the) southwest*

**swā, swæ, swē** adv., conj. *as, just as, so, thus, such as, in proportion as; if, as if; as soon as; swā swā just as, just how; swā . . . swā as . . . as, also either . . . or; swā hwæt swā whatever; swā same in like manner, similarly; swā . . . þæt(te) so (w. adj.) . . . that; swuā* 10.85

**swæfel** = **swefel**

**±swæs** adj. *own, intimate, dear*; npf.  
**swāse** *dear* 14.46.3

**°±swætān** I *sweat, bleed*

**swæð** n. *footprint, track, vestige, wake*;  
np. **swaþu** 14.51.3

**°swāt** m. *sweat, blood*

**sweart** adj. *dark, swarthy, black*

**°sweartlāst** m. *dark track*

**swefan** 5 *sleep*

**swefel** m. *sulfur*

**swefn** n. *dream, vision*

**swēg** m. *sound, tune, music*

**swēgcræft** m. *musicianship, musical accomplishment*

**°sweġl** n. *heaven*

**swelč(-)** = **swylč(-)**

**±swelgan** 3 (w. acc., dat.) *swallow*

**±swenčan** I *trouble, afflict, torment*

**swēora** m. *neck*

**±sweorcan** 3 *darken*

**sweord, swurd** n. *sword*

**sweostor, swyster** fc. (pl. ±) *sister*; npf.  
(ġe)**sweostor** 7.192, 14.13.2, 14.46.3

**°swēot** n. *troop*

**sweetol, swutol** adj. *plain, clear*; adv.

**swutole** 5.67, 70, **sweotele** 10.47,

**sweotole** 11.168, **sweotule** 14.24.10

**±sweotolian, ±s(w)utolian** II *reveal, explain, make clear*

**sweetollice** adv. *plainly, clearly*

**±swerian, swōr, swōron, sworn** 6  
(§127) *swear*

**swēte** adj. *sweet, pure*; dsm. **swētan** 5.8

**swētnis(s)** f. *sweetness*

**±swīcan** I *grow weaker, diminish; desist, cease from (w. gen.)*

**swicdōm** m. *betrayal, fraud*

**swiçe** m. *fraud, offense, treachery, treason*

**swician** II *be treacherous, deceive, cheat, lay plots*

**swicol** adj. *guileful, false*

**swīfan** I *revolve, sweep*

**swift, swyft** adj. *swift, quick*

**swiftnes(s)** f. *swiftness*

**swīge** f. *silence, hush*

**±swīgian, ±swugian** II *keep silence, be silent (about, w. gen.); pret. pl. ġe-swugedan* 8.153; act. part. **swīgende** 14.8.8

**swilč** = **swylč**

**±swimman** 3 *swim, float*

**swīn** n. *pig, hog*; gp. **swýna** 7.41

**swincan** 3 *labor, toil*

**swingan** 3 *strike, whip, scourge*

**swingel(l)** f. *whip, scourge*; ap. **swingla** 6.87, 88

**swingere** mja. *striker, scourger*

**swinsian** II *make music, sound melodiously*

**swinsung** f. *sound, melody*

**swīþ**, **swȳð** adj. *strong, powerful*; adv.  
**swiðlice**

**swiðe**, **swȳðe** adv. *much, very, greatly*;  
compar. **swiðor**, superl. **swiþost**,  
**-ust**; **tō þām swiðe** *to such an ex-*  
*tent*; **swiðost** *mostly, usually, chiefly*  
7.28, 126, 307

**swiðliċ**, **swȳðliċ** adj. *intense, excessive*  
**swiðra**, **swȳðra** adj. (compar. of **swiþ**)  
*right, right-hand*

**swōgan** (ēo) 7 *make a sound, rustle*

**swug-** see **swġian**

**swurd**, **swutol-**, **swyft-** = **sweord**,  
**sweotol-**, **swift-**

**swylċ**, **swelċ**, **swilċ** adj., pron. *as, like*,  
*such (a)*; dp. **swilcan** 8.156

**swylċe**, **swelċe** adv., conj. *(just) as, in*  
*like manner, likewise, resembling; as*  
*if*; **swylċe swā** *just as (if)*

**swȳn-**, **swȳð(-)**, **swyster**, **syfan** =  
**swīn-**, **swið(-)**, **sweostor**, **seofon**

**syhð**, **sylf(-)**, **sylfor**, **syll-**, **sylliċ** = **siht**,  
**self(-)**, **seolfor**, **sell-**, **seldliċ**

**symbol** n. *feast*; ds. **symle** 15.141

\***symbolwlanċ**, **-wlonc** adj. *'feast-*  
*proud', elated with feasting*

**symle** see **simle**, **symbol**

**syn**, **synd(-)** see **bēon**

**syndriglice** adv. *specially*

+**sȳne** = +**sīene**

±**syngian** II *sin, transgress, err*; sj. pres.  
pl. **syngian** 8.129

**synlēaw** f. *injury caused by sin*

**syn(n)** f. *sin, offense, transgression*;  
dp. **synnan** 8.5, **synnum** 1.48, 8.92,  
148, etc.

**synnful(l)** adj. *sinful, corrupt*

**syrw-** = **searw-**

**syðþan**, **syx**, **syxta**, **syxtig** = **siððan**,  
**siex**, **siexta**, **siextig**

±**tācn**, **tācen** n. *sign, symbol*

±**tācning** f. *sign, proof*

±**tāċan**, pret. **tāhte** I (§116) *show*,  
*instruct, teach*; sj. pres. pl. **tāċan**  
8.131, 140

**tācnan** I *designate, mark out*

+**tæl** n. *series, course; estimation*,  
*opinion*

±**tælan** I *blame, censure, reproach*,  
*insult, taunt, say with impudence*

**tam** adj. *tame*

±**tāwian** II *harass, insult, mistreat*;  
pret. pl. **tāwedan** 7.230

**teala** = **tela**

**teald(-)** see **tellan**

**tealt** adj. *unstable, precarious*

**tēam** m. *family, company*

**tēar** m. *drop, tear*

**teart** adj. *sharp, severe, bitter*

**tela**, **teala** adv., interj. *well, good* [cf.  
**til**]

±**teld** n. *tent*

**telg** = **tielg**

±**tellan**, pret. **tealde** I (§116) *tell, ac-*  
*count, consider; count, number*; pp.  
**ġeteled** 11.2

**tempel** n. *temple*

+**tenge** adj. *near to, resting on*

±**teohhian** II *determine, intend, pro-*  
*pose, judge*

±**tēon**, **tēah**, **tugon**, **togen** 2 (§132)  
*pull, draw; educate*; pres. 3 sg. **tȳhð**  
14.34.4

±**tēon**, ±**tēoġan** II (§133) *arrange*;  
pret. 3 sg. **tēode** 1.112

**tēon** n. *injury, harm*

**tēona** m. *injury, reproach, insult, en-*  
*mity*

**tēoþung** f. *tithe, tenth part*

±**teran** 4 *tear, rend*

**tiedernes(s), tȳder-** *fjō. frailty*

**tīd** *fi. time, hour, (rites of the) canonical hour*

**tielġ** *mi. dye; ns. telġ* 14.26.15

**tien, tȳn** *num. ten; acc. tȳne* 8.92, 93

**tigele** *f. earthen vessel, pot*

**tihtan** *I urge, encourage*

**tihting, tyhtung** *f. allurement, instigation; dp. tihtincgum* 6.26

**tīl** *adj. good, virtuous*

**±tilian, ±tiolian** *II provide (with, w. gen.)*

**tīma** *m. time, time of life*

**+timbre** *nja. building, edifice; np. ġetimbrow* 1.51, ap. 1.48

**±timbr(i)an** *I, II build, construct, found*

**+tīmian** *II happen, come to pass*

**tintreġ** *n. torment, torture*

**±tintr(eg)ian** *II torment, torture; pret. pl. tintredon* 7.203

**tintreġliċ** *adj. full of torment*

**tiol-** *see til-*

**°tīr** *m. glory; tȳr* 14.26.23

**°tīrēadig** *adj. 'glory-blessed', honored*

**tīðian** *II (w. gen.) bestow, grant*

**tō** *adv. too, excessively; to that, in addition; to that place, forth*

**tō** *prep. w. dat., instr. for, to, as, at; tō ðām, tō þon to such an extent, sufficiently; tō þon þæt for the purpose (or reason) that*

**tō-berstan** *3 break into pieces, go to pieces; pres. 3 sg. tōbirsteð* 14.38.7

**tō-brecan** *4 shatter, ruin, break (up, apart)*

**tō-brȳsian** *II shatter, crush, fragment; pp. apf. -brȳsede* 6.167

**tō-cnāwan** (*ē, ēo*) *7 recognize, acknowledge*

**tō-cwȳsan** *I be crushed*

**tōcyme** *m. arrival*

**tō-dæg** *adv., n. today*

**tō-dælan** *I divide, apportion*

**tō-ēacan** *prep. w. dat. in addition to*

**tō-emnes** *prep. w. dat. alongside*

**tō-faran** *6 part ways, split up*

**tō-fēran** *I part ways, separate*

**tō-gæd(e)re** *adv. together; tōgedere* 5.41

**tō-gangan, -gongan** *7 part with (see comment on 14.23.10)*

**tō-ġēanes** *prep. w. dat. against, in opposition to; toward, to meet, to; him . . . tōġēnes to him* 11.167

**tō-ġīnan** *1 gape, yawn*

**tō-glīdan** *1 slip away, vanish*

**tō-hlīdan** *1 split, burst*

**tō-leoþian** *II disjoint, dismember [cf. lið]*

**tō-liċġan** *5 (§127) divide, separate; pres. 3 sg. tōlið* 7.93

**tō-merġen** *adv. tomorrow*

**tō-niman** *4 divide*

**top** *m. spinning top*

**torht** *adj. bright, beautiful, splendid; adv. torhte*

**torn** *n. passion, anger*

**tō-sælan** *I (impers. w. dat. of pers. and gen. of thing) happen amiss (to s.o.) in respect (of sthg.), be unsuccessful, fail*

**tō-samne, tō-somne** *adv. together*

**tōsċeād** *n. distinction, difference, differentiation*

**tō-slītan** *1 tear, cut apart*

**tō-tēon** *2 (§132) pull apart, draw asunder; pres. 3 sg. tōtȳhð* 13.114; pp. tōtogen 13.108

**tō-teran** *4 tear up, lacerate, shred*

**tōþ** mc. *tooth, tusk*; ap. **tēð** 7.30, **tōþas** 13.114

**tōweard** adj. *impending, future, to come*

**tō-weard** prep. w. gen. *toward*

**tō-wendan** I *destroy, subvert*

**tō-weorpan** 3 *cast down, break apart, destroy*; pret. pl. **tōwearpon** 7.199

**tō-wrecan** 5 *drive apart, scatter, dis-sipate*

**tōwyrð** fi. *opportunity, occasion*

**±tredan** 5 *tread, trample*; pres. 3 sg. **triedeð** 14.12.6

**trēo(w)** nwa. *tree, beam*; ap. **trēowu** 7.288

**trēow** fwō. *faith, pledge, compact, loyalty, allegiance*

**trēowen** adj. *made of wood*

**±triewe**, **±trēowe** adj. *true, faithful, trustworthy*; adv. **±trȳwlice** *faithfully, confidently*

**+triēwþ**, **+trȳwð**, **+trēowð** f. *truth, fidelity, honest dealing*

**Troīānisc** adj. *Trojan*

**±truwian** II (w. acc., dat.) *trust*; pret. 3 sg. **getruwade** 7.319

**±trymman** I *fortify, prepare; lend support (to, w. dat.)*

**tug-**, **tog-** see **tēon**

**tūn** m. *settlement, enclosed place, manor, village*

**tunge** f. *tongue*

**tūngerēfa** m. *reeve, bailiff, steward*

**tungol** nm. *star, planet, constellation*

**turf** fc. *turf, soil*

**tuw(w)a** adv. *twice*

**twēgen**, **twā**, **tū** num. *two* (§59); **tū** twice 3.142

**twelf** num. *twelve*; acc. **twelfe** 8.92, 93

**twēntig** num. *twenty*

**twēo** m.wk. *doubt*

**twēolice** adv. *ambiguously, equivocally*

**±twēonian** II (impers. w. dat. subj. and gen. object) *doubt, be in doubt about*

**twēonung** f. *doubt, uncertainty*

**tȳdernes(s)** = **tiedernes(s)**

**tyht** mi. *progress, motion*

**tȳhð** see also **tēon**

**±tȳn** I *instruct, teach*

**tȳne**, **tȳr** = **tīene**, **tīr**

**þā** adv., conj. (§83; used in pret. clauses; cf. **þonne**) *then; when*

**þāne**, **þānne** = **þone**, **þonne**

**þær** adv. *there; where*; **þār** 7.130

**þær** conj. *if* 7.273, 13.39, 74, 78

**þær-binnan** adv. *therein, in it* [**be-innan**]

**þær-in(ne)** adv. *therein, in it*

**þær-on** adv. *thereon, therein, in(to) it, on(to) it*

**þær-tō** adv. *thereto, to that place; for that purpose*

**þærtō-ēacan** adv. *in addition to that*

**þær-ūtan** adv. *from outside of it, on the outside*

**þæs** adv. (to **sē**) *for that, therefore, afterward*

**þæs (þe)** conj. (to **sē**) *so that; as; after*

**þæt** conj. *that, so that, in order that*

**þætte** conj. *that* [**þæt-ðe**]

**±þafian** II *accept, consent to*

**±þafung** f. *consent, agreement, acceptance*; ds. **-unga** 6.33

**+þāh** see **+þicġan**

**±þanc**, **±þonc** m. *thought, intent, purpose; thanks*

**±þancian**, **±þoncian** II (w. gen. of thing and dat. of pers.) *thank*

**þanon, þonan** adv. *thence, from there*

**þār = þær**

**þe** conj. *whether, either, or; þe . . . þe*  
*whether . . . or*

**þe** rel. pron. (indecl.) *who, whom,*  
*which, that; (s)he who, that which*

**þē** see **sē, þū, þȳ**

**þēah, þēah þe** adv., conj. *(al)though;*  
*yet, nevertheless, however; swā þēah*  
*yet, nonetheless; þēh* 3.15, 137, 162,  
etc.

**þēah-hwæð(e)re** adv. *nevertheless, all*  
*the same*

**þeaht(-)** see also **þeċċan**

**±þeahtian** II *deliberate, consider; pret.*  
pl. **þeahtedon** 1.1

**þearf** f. *need, necessity*

**þearfa** m. *beggar, pauper*

**þearfende** adj. (act. part.) *needy,*  
*miserable, in poverty*

**þearfendlic** adj. *poor, miserable*

**þearfliċe** adv. *with care, carefully*

**þearl** adj. *harsh, severe*

**þearle** adv. *exceedingly, very much,*  
*severely, grievously*

**þeatrum** n. *theater; ds. þēatra* 7.227

**þēaw** mwa. *practice, usage, custom,*  
*behavior*

**±þeċċan**, pret. **þe(a)hte** I (§116) *cover*

**þeċen** f. *thatch, roof, covering*

**þeġengield, -ġyld** n. *the wergild (com-*  
*pensation) for a noble*

**þeġn, þēn, þeġen** m. *thegn (i.e. min-*  
*ister of the king), lord, official, atten-*  
*dant, follower, retainer, minister,*  
*noble; dp. þēnan* 8.26

**±þeġnian, ±þēnian** II (w. dat.) *serve,*  
*wait upon, tend, care for*

**þeġnung, þēning** f. *service, ministry*

**þēh, þēn(-) = þēah, þeġn(-)**

**±þenċan**, pret. **þōhte** I (§116) *think*  
*(of, up), consider, devise; intend; inf.*

**ġeþenċean** 7.216, pres. 3 sg.

**(ġe)þenċeð** 12.30, 33; pret. 2 sg.

**ġeþōhtes** 13.19, 23

**þenden** conj. *while, as long as*

**±þennan, ±þenian** I, II *extend, stretch*  
*out*

**þēod** f. *people, nation*

**±þēodan** I *join, unite*

**þēode** see also **þēowian**

**+þēode** nja. *language, tongue; nation*

**þēoden** m. *lord*

**°þēodenstōl** m. *lordly seat, throne*

**þēodland, -lond** n. *nation*

**+þēodnis(s)** fġō. *association, propin-*  
*quity*

**þēodscipe** mi. *community*

**þēodwita** m. *learned person, sage,*  
*historian*

**þēof** m. *thief*

**þēoh, ds. þēo** n. (§133) *thigh*

**þēostro = þiēstru**

**þēotan** 2 *make a sound, murmur*

**þēow** adj. *servile, not free*

**þēow** m. *servant, slave*

**þēowa** m. *servant*

**þēowdōm** m. *slavery, servitude, service*

**þēowetling** m. *slave, servant; -lincg* 6.6

**±þēowi(ġ)an** II *serve (w. dat.); press*  
*into servitude, enslave; pret. 3 sg.*

**þēode** 1.184; pp. npn. **ġeþēowede**  
8.36

**þēowotdōm, þiowot-** m. *service, duty*

**þēs, þēos, þis** pron. (§60) *this, this*  
*one; nsm. þæs* 5.15, nsf. **þios** 10.160,

asm. **ðysne** 9.48, 15.104, asf. **þysse**

8.77, gsf. **ðeosse** 1.74, gsn. **þyses**

1.13, **þysse** 1.18, **þises** 7.197, dsm.

**þeossum** 1.99, **þiosan** 7.208, 224,

- þysan** 8.35, 48, 62, etc., dsf. **þysre** 4.1, **þysse** 8.30, 41, 43, etc., dsn.  
**þysum** 3.1, 171, 6.193, **þiosan** 7.213, **þysan** 8.14, 42, **þyssum** 15.83, 109, **þyssan** 15.138, dp. **þisum** 6.114, **þysum** 6.200  
**þicce** adv. *densely*  
**±þicgan**, pret. +**þāh** 5 (§127; w. gen.) *receive, partake of, accept*  
**þider** adv. *to there, thither*  
**þiderweard(es)** adv. *in that direction, thither, in transit to that place*  
**þiefþ**, **þýfþ** f. *theft*  
**þiestru**, **þýstro** f. (indecl. in sg.) *darkness; as. þistro* 10.57, **þēostro** 10.76, **ðiostro** 10.182, ds. **þýstro** 14.47.4  
**þigeð** see **þicgan**  
**þīn** adj., pron. *your, yours* (sg.)  
**þincan** = **þyncan**  
**þindan** 3 *swell*  
**þinen** f. *serving woman, maidservant, handmaid*  
**þing**, pl. **þing** n. *thing, sake, reason, circumstance; adv. nān þing not at all* 5.47  
**+þingan** 3 *thrive, prosper*  
**°þinggemearc** n. *period of time*  
**±þingian** II *intercede (for), pray, petition, speak*  
**þiod-**, **þī(o)stro**, **þiow(-)** = **þēod-**, **þiestru**, **þēow(-)**  
**±þōht** m. *thought, mind*  
**þōht-** see also **þencan**  
**±þolian** II *suffer, endure, last, hold out, sustain, be guilty; pret. pl. þolodan* 15.149  
**þonan**, **þonc** = **þanon**, **þanc**  
**þonne**, **þænne** adv., conj. (§83; used in fut. and consue. clauses; cf. **þā**) *then, when*  
**þonne** conj. *since; than*  
**þōðor**, **þōðer** m. *ball*  
**°þracu** f. *violence, attack*  
**±þrac** n. *throng, violence; ns. gēþrec* 11.114, ap. **gēþracu** 14.35.6  
**°þræheard** adj. *hardened by combat*  
**þræd** mu. *thread*  
**°þræft** n. *contentiousness*  
**þræl** m. *thrall, slave*  
**þrælrīht** n. *rights of thralls*  
**°þrāg** f. *(period of) time, while*  
**±þrāwan** (ē, ēo) 7 *twist, rack*  
**þrēat** m. *press, crowd, throng, host; violence, oppression, force*  
**þrec** see **þrac**  
**þrida** num. adj. *third; þridde healf two and a half*  
**þrie**, **þrēo** num. (§59) *three; nom. masc. þrȳ* 8.98, 9.76, acc. masc. **þrȳ** 7.80, gen. **þrēora** 7.56, dat. **þrēom** 5.36, **þrym** 9.75  
**þriliġ** adj. *woven with three threads*  
**±þringan** 3 *throng, press forward (into), attack*  
**°þrintan** 3 *swell; act. part. þrindende* 14.45.5  
**þritiġ**, **þrittiġ** num. *thirty*  
**±þrōwi(ġ)an** II *suffer, undergo*  
**þrōwung** f. *suffering, passion*  
**þrūh** fc. *tomb; ds. þrȳh* 6.196, 200  
**þrȳ** = **þrie**  
**þrycċan** I *afflict, assail*  
**þrym** see also **þrie**  
**°þrymcyniŋ** m. *king of glory*  
**°þrymfæst** adj. *mighty, glorious*  
**°þrymful(l)** adj. *full of majesty*  
**þrym(m)** mja. *force, troop; glory, majesty, self-regard*  
**þrȳnes(s)** fġō. *trinity*  
**°þrȳþ** fī. (usu. pl.) *power, force*

**°prȳðbold** n. *mighty hall*

**þū, þē, þeć, þin** pron. sg. (§38) *you, thou*

**þūf** m. *banner, standard*

**þūht-** see **þynćan**

**þūma** m. *thumb*

**+þungen** adj. (pp. to **+þingan**) *distinguished, prominent*

**þungon** see **þingan**

**þunian** II *stand out, be prominent; roar, thunder*; pret. 2 sg. **þunedest** 13.37

**þunor** m. *thunder, thunder-clap*

**þurh** prep. w. acc. *through*

**þurh-drifan** 1 *pierce*; pret. pl. **-drifan** 15.46

**þurh-etan** 5 *eat through*; pres. 3 sg. **þurhiteð** 13.115

**þurh-smūgan** 2 *pierce, bore through*

**þurh-wunian** II *persist, remain*

**þurstig** adj. *thirsty* (for, w. gen.)

**þus** adv. *thus*

**þusend** num. *thousand*

**+þwære** adj. *obedient*

**þwēal** n. *bath*

**þwēan**, pret. **þwōh** 6 (§132) *wash*

**þȳ, þē** adv., conj. (instr. sg. neut. of **sē**) *for that reason, because, for it (that)*

**þyder, þȳfþ = þider, þiefþ**

**þȳgan** I *urge, press*; pres. 3 sg. **þȳð** 14.12.8, 14.21.5

**+þyld** fi. *patience, endurance*

**±þyldig** adj. *patient*

**þyllić, þyslić** pron. *such (a)*

**±þynćan**, pret. **þūhte** I (impers. w. dat.; §§66, 116) *seem*; inf. **þinćan** 8.48, 108, 133, etc., pres. 3 sg.

**þinćeð** 14.31.18, 16.41; sj. pres. sg.

**þinće** 12.30

**þȳrel** adj. *pierced, with a hole in it*

**þyslić, þȳstro = þyllić, þiestru**

**ufan, ufon** adv. *above, up; from above*

**ufeweard** adj. *upper, top*; prep. w. dat.

**æt ufeweardum** *at the upper end of*

**on ufeweardan** *on top of*

**ūhte** f. *early hours, period before dawn*

**ūhtsang, -song** m. *matins, nocturns*

**unæðele** adj. *common*

**unārimed** adj. (pp.) *innumerable*

**unbeboht** adj. (pp.) *unsold*

**un-bindan** 3 *unbind, unstring*

**unc** see **wit**

**uncer** adj. dual *our (two)*; gn. **uncres** 13.34

**unclæne** adj. *unclean, sordid*

**unclænnes(s)** fjō. *impurity*

**uncopu** f. *disease*

**uncraeft** m. *deceitful practice*; dp.

**uncraeftan** 8.165

**uncūð** adj. *strange, unfamiliar, unknown*

**undæd** fi. *misdeed*

**undearnunga** adv. *without concealment, for all to see*

**under** prep.† *under, in the course of*  
**under-bæc** adv. *backward, back, behind*

**under-flōwan (ēo)** 7 ‘under-flow’, *pass beneath*

**under-fōn** 7 *accept, receive, undergo*; pret. pl. **-fengan** 8.162

**under-standan**, pret. **-stōd** 6 *understand; undertake*

**under-þiedan, -þēodan** I *subject, cause to conform, make subject, subjugate*

**undierne, undyrne** adj. *unconcealed, exposed*

**un-dōn** anom. (§134) *undo, open up*

**unēaðe** adv. *not easily, with difficulty, reluctantly*

**unēðeliče** adv. *awkwardly, badly*  
**unfæderlič** adj. *unlike a father*; adv. **-liče**  
**unforbærned** adj. *uncremated, not reduced to ash*  
**unforcūð** adj. *not despicable, admirable*  
**unforht** adj. *unafraid, fearless*  
**unfor-wandiendliče** adv. *unhesitatingly, forthrightly*  
**unfor-worht** adj. (pp.) *guiltless, innocent*  
**unfriþ** m. *enmity, threat of attack*  
**unġearu** adj. *unprepared*; **on un-ġearwe** *unawares*  
**unġe-cnāwen** adj. (pp.) *unfamiliar*  
**unġefōge** adv. *uncommonly, immoderately*  
**unġelič** adj. *unlike, dissimilar, at odds*; adv. **-liče**  
**unġe-liefedlič** adj. *incredible*  
**unġelimp** n. *misfortune, mishap*  
**unġe-medemad** adj. (pp.) *immoderate, measureless*  
**unġemetlice** adv. *beyond measure, excessively*  
**unġerād** adj. *rude, clumsy, discordant*  
**unġerīm** = **unrīm**  
**unġerȳde, unġerȳdelič** adj. *uneasy, rough, violent*; compar. nsn. **unġe-ryddre** 5.42  
**unġesælig** adj. *unfortunate*  
**unġesewenlič** adj. *invisible*  
**unġesibbe** adj. *unrelated*  
**unġetrēow** adj. *faithless, treacherous*  
**unġetrȳwþ** f. *disloyalty, treachery*  
**unġeþwærnes(s)** fjo. *disturbance*  
**unġewunelič** adj. *unusual, strange*  
**unġielde, unġylde** nja. *excessive tax*; np. **unġylda** 8.47

**unīðnes(s)** fjō. *severity, harshness*  
**unlagu** f. *crime, violation of law, abuse of law, injustice*  
**un-lūcan** 2 *unlock*; pret. 3 sg. **unlæc** 4.28  
**unlȳtel** adj. *aplenty*  
**±unnan**, pret. **±ūðe** pret.pres. (§123) *grant, allow, bestow*  
**unofer-swīðendlič** adj. *unconquerable, unopposable*  
**unofer-wunnen** adj. (pp.) *undefeated*  
**unræd** m. *folly*  
**unriht** adj. *wrong, wicked, perverse*  
**unriht** n. *injustice, vice*; **on unriht** *unjustly*  
**unrihtthæmere** m. *fornicator, adulterer*  
**unrihtlič** adj. *unjust*; nsn. **unryhtlič** 7.142  
**unrihtlice** adv. *wrongly*  
**unrihtwis** adj. *unjust, unrighteous*; as sb. np. **þā unryhtwisan** *the unrighteous* 10.69  
**unrīm, unġerīm** n. *a countless number, multitude, profusion*  
**unrīme** adj. *numberless, countless, innumerable*  
**unrōt** adj. *dejected, sad, distraught*  
**unrōtnes(s)** fjō. *dejection, disquiet*  
**unryht**- see **unriht**-  
**unsælig** adj. *unfortunate*  
**unscæþþignys(s)** fjō. *innocence, purity*  
**unscēaððig** adj. *harmless, innocent*  
**un-scrȳdan** I *strip, disrobe, divest*  
**unsidu** mu. *bad practice, vice*  
**unsōfte** adv. *with difficulty, arduously, scarcely*  
**unspēdig** adj. *poor*  
**unstille** adj. *unquiet, restless*; adv. **-e**

**untrēow** f. *infidelity, faithlessness*

**untrum** adj. *infirm, sickly*

**untrymnes(s)** fjō. *infirmity*

**untwēoġendlice** adv. *unequivocally, without a doubt*

**unþanc, unþonc** m. *displeasure; ēow-eres unþonces against your will*  
7.211

**unwær** adj. *unaware, heedless; m.wk. unwara*

**unwæstm** m. *crop failure, spoilt harvest*

**unwealt** adj. *steady, stable*

**unweder** n. *storm, adverse season; np. unwedera* 8.47

**unwillā** m. *disinclination; mīnum*

**unwillan** *against my will* 13.58

**unwillum** adv. *involuntarily*

**unwislice** adv. *foolishly, unwisely*

**upā-hebban** 6 (§127) *raise, elevate, lift up*

**upāstignes(s)** fjō. *ascension*

**up(p)** adv. *up*

**uppan** adv., prep. † or w. gen. *upon; wið uppon above*

**uppe** adv. *up, above*

**upward, -ward** adv. *upward*

**ūre** adj., pron. *our(s); see also wē*

**°ūrigfeðer** adj. *dewy-feathered*

**urnon** see **irnan**

**ūt** adv. *out, away*

**utan = wuton**

**ūtan** adv. *from outside, on the outside*

**ūtanbordes** adv. *from abroad*

**ūte** adv. *abroad, out, outdoors*

**ūtermere** m. *outer sea, open sea*

**ūteward** adj. *exterior, outer*

**ūtgang, -gong** m. *departure, exit, exodus*

**uton = wuton**

**ūðe** see **unnan**

**ūðwita** m. *sage, scholar*

**uuā = wā**

**wā** m. *woe; ds. uuā* 10.181

**wāc** adj. *weak, timid, pliable, irresolute*

**wacian** II *stay awake, keep watch*

**±wadan** 6 *move, travel, traverse*

**°wæd**, pl. **wado** n. *water, sea*

**wæd** fi. *garment, covering; dp. wēdum*  
14.9.4, **wædum** 15.15

**+wæde** nja. *garment*

**wædla** m. *pauper, poor person*

**wæfels** mn. *garment, cloak*

**wæfersien** fi. *spectacle; ds. wæfersýne*  
15.31

**wæg** see **wegan**

**wæg** m(i). *wave ds. wēge* 14.33.1, ap.  
**wegas** 16.46

**wæg-** see also **wāg**

**±wæġan** I *afflict, trouble, oppress*

**wægas = wegās**

**wæġn** m. *carriage, wain, wagon, wheeled vehicle*

**wæl** n. *slaughter, casualties; wæl slēan*  
*wreak carnage*

**wælcyrīe** f. *valkyrie, sorceress*

**°wælfel** adj. *greedy for carrion*

**°wælgīfre** adj. *greedy for slaughter, bloodthirsty*

**°wæhlence** f. *coat of mail*

**wæhlrēow** adj. *cruel, bloodthirsty; adv. -lice* *mercilessly*

**wæhlrēownes(s)** fjō. *cruelty, blood-thirstiness*

**°wælrūn** f. *'slaughter-secret', premonition of bloodshed*

**°wælsleht** nm. *deadly combat*

**wæn- = wēn-**

**wæp(e)n** n. *weapon; ap. wæpna* 7.160

°wāpenþracu f. *storm of weapons, battle*

°wāpenwiga m. 'weapon-warrior', *fighting weapon*

wāpnedcyn(n) nja. *the male sex*

wāpnedman(n) mc. *male*

wāpngewrixl n. *hostile encounter, exchange of blows*

wær = wer

wær f. *covenant, protection*

wærlice adv. *carefully, vigilantly*

wæst = west

wæstm m. *growth, stature, form; as. wæstum 14.31.5*

wæstmbærns(s) fjō. *fruitfulness*

wæt adj. *wet, moist*

wæt n. *liquid, drink*

wæta m. *liquid, moisture*

±wætan I *moisten, make wet*

wæter n. *water*

wæterfæsten(n) nja. *fortification near water or water providing natural fortification*

wæþan I *wander, hunt*

wæx- = weax-

wāg m. *wall; ds. wāhe 5.63, wāge 14.13.4, wāge 14.14.12*

wāhrægl n. *tapestry, curtain [wāghrægl]*

wāhrift n. *tapestry, curtain*

wālā interj. *alas (for, w. dat.)*

wald- see weald(-), willan

wamb, womb f. *belly, stomach*

wam(m), wom(m) m. *blemish, iniquity*

wandæd, won- fi. *misdeed*

wandian II *hesitate*

°wanfeax, won- adj. *dark-haired*

°wang, wong m. *field, plain, place, earth, world*

°wanhygdig, wonhȳdig adj. *heedless, reckless, imprudent*

±wanian II *diminish, take away, expropriate, alienate; dwindle; pret. pl. wanedan 8.29*

wan(n), won(n) adj. *dark, dusky*

±warian II *guard, protect, occupy*

warnian = wearnian

ward see weorðan

wāst, wāt see witan

°waþum m. *wave; gp. waþema 16.24, 57*

wē, ūs, ūre, ūser pron. pl. (§38) *we, us, of us*

wēalāf f. *sad remainder, miserable remnant, wretched refuse, survivors*

+wealc n. *tossing, rolling*

weald mu. *forest; ds. wealde 11.28*

+weald n. *power, possession, control; tō ġewealde into the power of (w. dat.)*

±wealdan (ēo) 7 (w. gen., dat.) *control, rule; produce; pret. pl. wēoldan 8.47, wīoldon 10.120*

w(e)aldend mc. *wielder, controller, user; ruler, king (usu. in ref. to God); np. waldend 16.78*

wealhġerēfa m. *commander on the Welsh marches*

wealhstōd m. *translator, interpreter*

weal(l) m. *wall*

±weallan (ēo) 7 *surge, seethe*

°weal(l)steal(l) m. 'wall-stead', *foundation*

weard m. *guard, guardian, protector, custodian, guide*

weardian II *guard, occupy, inhabit; pret. pl. weardedon 11.135*

wearg, wearh m. *criminal, outlaw; ap. wergas 15.31*

±**wearnian** II *take warning; guard against*; inf. **warnian** 8.156  
**wearoð, waroð** m. *shore*  
**wearp** m. *warp, vertical threads on a loom*  
**weax** n. *wax*  
±**weaxan** (ō, ēo) 6, 7 *grow, mature, increase, multiply*; act. part. **wæxende** 5.49  
±**wēdan** I *rave, rage, talk or act wildly*  
**wedbryce** m. *breach of pledge*  
**wed(d)** nja. *pledge*  
**wēdum = wādum**  
±**wefan** 5 *weave*  
**wefl** f. *weft, woof, horizontal threads on a loom*  
**weg** m. *way, path, road*; adv. **ealne weg** *the entire way, all along* 7.73, 86, 92, etc.; adv. **hys weges** *his own way* 7.123; adv. **on weg** *away*; ap. **wægas** 14.51.6  
**wēg-** see **wāg-**  
±**wegan** 5 *carry, bring, move, sustain; feel*; pres. 3 sg. **wegeð** 14.12.8, 14.21.5, **wigeð** 14.50.3; pret. pl. **wāgun** 14.27.3  
**wegnest** n. *sustenance for a journey, viaticum*  
**wēl** adv. *well*; **well** 15.129, 143  
**wela** m. *wealth, riches*  
**weled-** see **wylian**  
**weler** m. *lip*  
°**welhold** adj. *very faithful (to, w. dat.)*  
**welhwā, welhwæt** pron. *everyone, everything*  
±**welhwær** adv. *everywhere*  
±**welhwilc, -hwylc** adj., pron. *each, any, every*; dsm. **gewelhwylcan** 8.44, 89  
**weliġ** adj. *prosperous, wealthy*; dsf.wk. **welegan** 10.109

**well, well-, welm = wēl, wiell-, wielm**  
**welwillend** adj. *benevolent*  
**welwillendnes(s)** fġō. *benevolence*  
±**wēman** I *persuade, entice*  
±**wemman**, pret. **wemde** I (§114) *defile, revile* [cf. **wamm**]  
**wēn** fi. *hope, expectation, belief*  
±**wēnan** I (w. gen. or acc.) *expect, suppose, imagine*; pres. pl. **wēne** 7.222 (§79), pret. 3 sg. **wāende** 5.26  
±**wendan** I (often reflex.) *turn, change, translate; exchange (w. dat.)*  
±**wennan** I *accustom*  
**wēofod, wēofed** n. *altar*; dp. **wibedum** 1.52  
**wēohsteal(l), -stal(l)** m. *place of the altar, sanctuary*  
**wēold(-)** see **wealdan**  
±**weorc** n. *labor, exercise, work*; (+) *fortification*; **ġewerc** 3.120  
±**weornian** II *wither, fade*  
**we(o)rod, we(o)rud** n. *host, troop*; is. **werede** 15.124  
°**weorodliet, werodlġst** fi. *lack of troops*  
**weorold, weoruld, woruld, worold** f. *world*  
**weoroldafel** n. *worldly power*  
**weoroldbisung** f. *worldly preoccupation, mundane trouble*  
**weoroldcempa** m. *secular fighter, soldier*  
**weoroldcund** adj. *secular*  
**weoroldfrġond** mc. *earthly friend*; np. **-frġnd** 10.172  
**weoroldġewin(n)** n. *worldly struggle*  
**weoroldhād** m(u). *secular condition*  
**weoroldliċ** adj. *worldly, temporal*  
**weoroldman(n)** mc. *person of the world, mortal*

**weoroldriče** *nja.* kingdom of earth  
**weoroldsælpa** *fp.* worldly blessings  
**weoroldsčamu** *f.* public disgrace  
**weoroldsorg** *f.* earthly care  
**weoroldstrengu** *f.* (usu. indecl. in sg.)  
*physical strength*  
**weoroldstrudere** *mja.* pillager, reaver  
**weoroldþeaw** *mwa.* worldly affair  
**weoroldþing**, *pl.* -þing *n.* worldly concern, mundane matter; *ap.* **woruld-ðingc** 4.41  
**±weorpan** 3 *cast, throw*  
**weorð, wierð(e), wyrð(e)** *adj.* worthy, capable, valuable; invested (with), in possession (of, *w.* gen.)  
**weorð** *n.* price  
**weorðan** 3 *become, be, occur, arise;*  
*pres.* 3 sg. **wyrð** 8.6, 40; *pret.* 3 sg. **warð** 5.30, *pl.* **wurðan** 9.29  
**weorðful(l)** *adj.* worthy, estimable  
**±weorðian** *II distinguish, honor, worship;* *pret.* *pl.* **wurðedon** 9.13, **wurðodon** 9.41, 49; *pp.* **gewurðod** 9.43, **geweorðad** 1.75, 11.177  
**weorðlic, wurðlic** *adj.* dignified, honorable, splendid; *adv.* -lice  
**weorðmynd, wurðmynt** *mn.* dignity, (place of) honor, glory; *ds.* **wyrð-mente** 9.68, *gp.* **weorðmynða** 10.123  
**weorðscipe** *mi.* dignity, honor  
**weorðung** *f.* worship  
**weorud, weoruld(-) = weorod, weorold(-)**  
**±wēpan (ēo)** 7 (§127) *weep (for), bewail*  
**wer** *m.* man, adult male; husband; *ns.* **wær** 14.46.1  
**wergas = weargas**  
**werge** *adj.* accursed, damned

**±werian** *I defend, protect, ward off;*  
*inf.* **werġan** 12.39  
**wērig** *adj.* weary, exhausted (by, *w.* dat.)  
**werod(-), werold(-) = weorod(-), weorold(-)**  
**°werþeod** *f.* nation  
**wesan** *see* **bēon**  
**west** *adv.* westward, to the west, in the west; **wæst** 3.65  
**westan** *adv.* from the west; **be westan** to the west of (*w.* dat.)  
**wēste** *adj.* waste, deserted, ruined  
**wēsten(n)** *nja.* wasteland, wilderness, desert; *ds.* **wēstene** 4.34, *dp.* **wēstenum** 1.55, 59  
**westlang** *adj.* extending to the west  
**westsæ** *mfi.* west sea  
**westweard** *adv.* westward  
**wibed = wēofod**  
**wīc** *n.* inhabited place, lodging, house  
**wīcca** *m.* wizard or **wīcče** *f.* witch; *np.* **wīccan** 8.137  
**°wīcġ** *nja.* horse, steed; **wyġġ** 14.14.5  
**wīcġerēfa** *m.* bailiff or reeve of a wīc or vill  
**±wīcian** *II encamp, bivouac, lodge (on, w.* dat.); disembark  
**wīcing** *m.* Viking, pirate  
**wicu, wucu** *f.* (wk.) week  
**wīdcūð** *adj.* widely known  
**wīde** *adv.* widely, far and wide; *comp.* **widdor** 14.9.10  
**wīdġiel(l), wīdġyl(l)** *adj.* broad, extensive  
**±wīdlian** *II defile, profane;* *pret.* *pl.* **wīdledan** 12.60  
**wīdmære** *adj.* widely renowned, known far and wide  
**wīdsæ** *mfi.* open sea

**widwe** f. *widow*; np. **wydewan** 8.33  
**±wielde**, **±wilde** adj. *powerful, victorious*  
**+wielde**, **+wilde** nja. *power, control*;  
**him tō gewildum** *under their control* 7.229  
**wielen**, **wyln** f. *female slave*  
**wielle** f. *well, fountain, spring*; ap.  
**wellan** 14.38.3  
**wiel(l)spring**, **wyl-** m. *spring, water source*; gs. **wylsprincēges** 6.24  
**wielm**, **wylm** m. *surge, fervor, ardor, current*; ds. **welme** 1.152  
**wiergan**, **wyrġan** I *curse, condemn*; sj.  
sg. **wyrġe** 6.78  
**wierrest**, **wyrrest** adj. *worst* (superl. of **yfel**)  
**wiers**, **wyrs** adv. (compar. of **yfele**)  
*worse*  
**wiersa**, **wyrsa** adj. (compar. of **yfel**)  
*worse*  
**wiersian**, **wyrsian** II *grow worse, deteriorate*; pret. pl. **wyrsedan** 8.30  
**wīf** n. *woman, wife*  
**wīfian** II *take a wife, marry, form a union* (with, **ōn** w. acc. or dat.)  
**wīfman(n)**, **-mon(n)** mc. *woman, female*  
**wīg** n. *battle, warfare*; ds. **wigġe** 11.48, 150, dp. **wīga** 16.67  
**wiga** m. *fighter*; gp. **wighena** 1.20, **wigena** 11.150, 153  
**wīgcræft** m. *strength in war, military prowess*  
<sup>o</sup>**wigēnd** mc. *fighter, soldier*; ap.  
**wigēnd** 11.106  
**wigēð** see **wegan**  
**wiglung** f. *sorcery, witchcraft*  
<sup>o</sup>**wigsmiþ** m. *war-maker*  
<sup>o</sup>**wigspēd** fi. *military success*

**wīgsteal(l)** n. *rampart, battlement*  
**wiht**, **wyht**, **wuht** fni. *aught, anything* (of account); creature, being; ds. as adv. **wihte** *at all*  
**±wihte** nja. *weight, measure*  
**wilcuma** m. *welcome guest*  
**wild-** see also **wield-**  
**wilddēor** n. (orig. **wildor** nc.) *wild beast*; dp. **wildrum** 7.36  
**wilde** adj. *wild*  
<sup>o</sup>**wilġehlēpa** m. *intimate companion, comrade*  
<sup>o</sup>**wilġ(i)est** mi. *welcome guest*  
**±will** n. *will, wish, desire*; **his willes** *by his preference, of his own accord*  
**willa** m. *will, purpose, desire*; **willum** *intentionally*; **hiere willum** *of their own accord, voluntarily* 7.217; **ofer willan** *against one's will, involuntarily* 14.29.10  
**willan**, **wyllan** anom. *wish, be willing, will* (§134); pres. 1 sg. **nelle** 6.150, **wylle** 15.1, 2 sg. **wylt** 6.83, 102, 3 sg. **wyle** 6.135, 156, **wile** 14.35.11, pl. **wyllað** 7.112, **nellað** 7.216; pret. 3 sg. **wuolde** 10.110, **walde** 14.29.5, pl. **woldan** 1.44, 10.66, 69; sj. pres. pl. **willan** 8.132, pret. pl. **wolde** 10.172 (§79)  
**±wilnian** (w. gen.) II *long for, desire, sue for*; pret. pl. **wilnedon** 10.107  
**±wilnung** f. *desire*  
**wilsum** adj. *desirable, devoted*  
**wilsumnes(s)** fjō. *willingness, devotion*  
**wimman(n)** mc. *female, woman* [= **wifmann**]  
**wīn** n. *wine*  
<sup>o</sup>**wīnburg** fc. *'wine-fortress', warriors' hall*  
**wincel** m. *corner*; ds. **wincle** 14.45.1

**wind** m. *wind, air*

±**windan** 3 *wind, plait, twist, craft*

°**winedryhten** m. *lord and friend, patron*

**winelēas** adj. *friendless*

°**winemæg** m. *dear relation; gp. -mæga* 16.7

±**win(n)** n. *labor, strife, conflict*

±**winna** m. *enemy, adversary*

±**winnan** 3 *labor, win, gain, overcome, obtain, fight, struggle (on against)*

°**winsæl** n. *wine-hall; np. -salo* 16.78

**winter** m(u). *winter, year*

°**winterceariġ** adj. *frosty of mood, with darkened spirits*

**wiold-**, **wiot-** = **wēold-**, **wit-**

**wīr** m. *wire, metal ornament*

°**wīrboga** m. *ring of wire*

**wīs** adj. *wise, intelligent, reasonable; adv. wīse*

**wīsc-** = **wýsc-**

**wīsdōm** m. *wisdom, learning*

**wīse**, **wýse** f. *business, affair, matter, manner, fashion, way, wise, means*

**wīsfæst** adj. *sagacious, learned*

±**wīsian** II *direct, guide*

**wīslīc** adj. *prudent; compar. nsn. wīs-lecre* 7.239

+**wis(s)** adj. *sure, certain, trustworthy, unshakeable*

±**wis(s)lice** adv. *certainly, truly, plainly, clearly; compar. -licor*

**wist** fi. *food, plenty, feast(ing)*

**wist-** see also **witan**

**wit**, **unc**, **uncer** pron. dual (§38) *we (two)*

**wita** m. *sage, wise individual, advisor, councillor, elder, senator, patrician; witness; np. wiotan* 2.2, gp. **wiotona** 2.37

±**witan**, pret. ±**wisse**, ±**wiste** pret.-

pres. (§123; may be reflex.) *know,*

*understand; learn; bear witness;*

pres. 3 sg. **nāt** 10.58, pl. **witan** 8.16,

73, 106, etc.; pret. 3 sg. **nysse** 7.12,

15, **nyste** 5.6, 7.27, pl. **nyston** 5.52;

sj. pres. sg. (as imp.) **wite** 12.46, 77;

infl. inf. **tō wiotonne** 2.50

±**wītan** 1 *reproach, blame*

+**wītan** 1 (often w. reflex. dat.) *go, depart; pret. pl. ġewitan* 10.34, 14.13.11

**wīte** nja. *punishment, tribulation, torture, torment; gs. wīites* 1.144, np. **wīta** 6.52, ap. **wīta** 6.22, 148

**wīt(e)ga** m. *sage, prophet*

+**witennes(s)** fjō. *departure; gs. ġe-witennesse* 1.154

±**witnes(s)** fjō. *witness; ds. ġewitnesse* 5.51

±**wītnian** II *punish, torture; pp. np. wītnade* 7.325

**wið** prep. w. acc., gen., dat. *opposite, opposing, against, toward, beside, near, in exchange for*

**wið-ċēosan** 2 *reject, cast out; pp. ap. wīþcorenan* 1.7

**wīþerlēan** n. *repayment, reward, requital*

**wīðersaca** m. *renouncer, betrayer, apostate*

**wīðerwinna** m. *adversary, enemy*

**wið-sacan** 6 *renounce, deny*

**wið-sċufan** 2 *repel, ward off*

**wið-standan**, **-stondan** 6 (w. dat.) *oppose, withstand*

**wiððe** f. *withy, rope, band*

**wlanc**, **wlonc** adj. *stately, proud*

**wlencu** f. (usu. indecl. in sg.) *glory, pomp, splendor*

**wlite** *mi.* *beauty*

**±wlitegian** *II beautify, make lovely; pp.*

**ġewlitegad** 14.31.2

**°wlitesċiene, -sċýne** *adj. beautiful*

**wlitiġ** *adj. lovely, attractive, radiant, beautiful; asn. wlitī* 11.89

**wlonc = wlanc**

**wōh** *adj. (§133) bent (over), twisted, wrought; dp. wōum* 14.14.3

**wōhdōm** *m. unjust sentence*

**wōhġestrēon** *n. ill-gotten gains*

**wō(h)liċe** *adv. perversely*

**wōl** *f. plague*

**wolcn** *n. cloud, sky, heaven*

**wōma** *m. tumult, alarm; revelation*

**womb-, womm- = wamb-, wamm-,**

**won, won-, wong-** *see hwā, wan-, wang-*

**wōp** *m. weeping*

**word** *n. word, speech, statement; wordes and dāde by word and by deed*

**worden** *see weorðan*

**°wordhord** *n. 'word-hoard', store of words*

**worht(-)** *see wyrċan*

**worn** *m. multitude, myriad, plethora*

**worold(-), woruld(-) = weorold(-)**

**°wōp** *f. sound, voice*

**°wōðbora** *m. 'voice-bearer', singer, speaker*

**°wōðġiefu** *f. talented voice*

**wracu** *f. revenge, retribution; ds. wræce* 11.17

**wræc** *n. misery, persecution, exile; ns. wræcc* 1.47

**°wræclāst** *m. track of exile*

**°wræsnan** *I alter, change, modulate*

**wrætliċ** *adj. curious, wondrous; adv. -liċe*

**wræt(t)** *f. ornament*

**wrāh** *see wrēon*

**wrāð** *adj. furious, hostile, cruel; dp. as sb. wrāpum by enemies* 14.14.17

**wrāðe** *adv. cruelly, harshly*

**°wraðu** *f. help, support; as. wraðe* 11.84

**±wrecan** *5 avenge, take vengeance for; punish; press forward, advance, drive; utter, deliver*

**wreċċa, wræċċa** *m. outcast, wretch*

**wreċċan, pret. wre(a)hte** *I (§116) rouse, waken*

**wrenċ** *mi. wile, stratagem, trick; vocal modulation*

**wrenċan** *I spin plots, lay stratagems*

**±wrēon** *I (§132) cover, clothe; pret. 3 sg. wrāh* 14.9.5, 14.26.11

**wrigian** *II go, turn, press forward*

**±writ** *n. document, letter, message, Scripture, writing*

**±writan** *1 carve, write; pret. pl. wreot-on* 1.137

**±wriðan** *1 twist, bind, check; weave*

**wrixendliċe** *adv. in turn*

**±wrixlan** *I (w. dat.) exchange, vary; wordum wrixlan converse*

**wrōht** *f. strife, contention*

**wuc- = wic-**

**wudu** *mu. forest, wood, timber, piece of wood*

**wudufæsten(n)** *nja. fortification in the woods or woods providing natural fortification*

**wuht(-) = wiht(-)**

**wuldor** *n. glory*

**°wuldorcýning** *m. king of glory*

**°wuldorfæder** *mc. glorious father*

**°wuldorgesteald** *np. glorious residences*

**wulf** m. *wolf*

**wull** f. *wool*

+**wuna** m. *custom, habit*

**wund** adj. *wounded, injured*

**wund** f. *wound, injury, offense*

**wundene** see **windan**

°**wundenloc(c)** adj. *with braided locks*

±**wundian** II *wound, injure*

**wundor** n. *wonder, miracle, marvel;*

dp. as adv. **wundrum** *amazingly*

**wundorlīc** adj. *amazing*

±**wundrian** II *feel surprise, be amazed*

(at, w. gen., dat., acc.); 1 sg. pret.

**wundrade** 2.36

±**wuni(ġ)an** II  *dwell, inhabit, occupy, be accustomed, remain, endure; inf.*

**ġewunīgen** 10.109; pret. 3 sg. **ġe-**

**wunade** 1.75, pl. **wunedon** 15.3, 155

**wunung** f. *lodging*

**wurdon** see **weorðan**

**wurð(-)** = **weorð(-)**

**wuton, uton** pl. sj. or imp. of **wītan**

*go, used to mean let's; utan* 8.145,

155, 160, etc., **wutan** 8.159

**wyċġ, wyd-, wyht** = **wiċġ, wid-, wiht**

**wylian** II *roll, join, huddle; pp. ap. ġe-*

**welede** 8.99

**wyl(l)-** see also **wil(l)-**

**wylm, wyn, wylspring** = **wielm,**

**wielen, wiel(l)spring**

**wylt** see **willan**

°**wynland, -lond** n. *delightful country*

**wynlīc** adj. *delightful, pleasant*

**wyn(n)** fġō. *delight; dp. as adv.*

**wynnum** *delightfully* 15.15

**wynsum** adj. *pleasant, delightful*

±**wyrċan**, pret. ±**worhte** I (§116)

*make, construct, build, form,*

*compose, create, perform; pret. pl.*

**worhtun** 3.67, **worhtan** 8.52, 107

**wyrd** fi. *event, course of events, fate, happening*

**wyr(i)ġan** = **wierġan**

+**wyrht** ni. *work, deed, desert, transgression*

**wyrhta** m. *worker, builder, wright, creator*

**wyrm** mi. *vermin, serpent, reptile, insect, worm*

±**wyrman** I *warm, make warm*

**wyrmcynn** nja. *species of vermin (reptiles, insects, rodents)*

°**wyrmlica** m. *likeness of a serpent*

**wyrrest, wyrs(-), wyrst** = **wierrest,**

**wiers(-), wierrest**

**wyrt** fi. *herb, plant, green; root*

**wyrð(-)** = **weorð(-), wierð(-)** (the latter may be to **weorðan**)

**wŷs-** see also **wīš-**

±**wŷscan, ±wīscan** I (w. dat. of pers. and gen. of thing) *wish*

**ŷċ-** = **īċ-**

**ŷdel(-)** = **īdel(-)**

**yfel** adj. *bad, wicked, evil; superl.*

**wierrest, wyrst; adv. yfele; nsn. yfell**

1.6, dsm. **yfelan** 8.122, 128; as sb.

asf.wk. **yfelan** *miscreant, evil female* 9.65

**yfel** n. *evil, wickedness, misery*

±**yfelian** II *worsen*

**ylca** = **ilca**

**yld-** see also **ield-**

**ymb-clyppan** I (§114) *embrace; pret. 3 sg. ymbclypte* 15.42

**ymb(e), emb(e)** prep. w. acc., dat.

*about, by, around, concerning, at, after*

**ymb-hweorfan** 3 *turn; pres. 2 sg.*

**-hweorfest** 10.74

**ymbset** n. *siege*

**ymb-sittan** 5 *besiege, surround*

**ymsittend** adj. *neighboring, adjacent;*  
as sb. *neighbor, company*

**ymb-ūtan** adv. *around*

**yrġ-, yrh-** = **ierġ-**

**yrn-, yrn-, yrr-** = **ierm-, irn-, ierr-**

**yrsian, yrðling** = **iersian, ierðling**

**ysl** fjō. *spark, ember*

**ȳt(e)mest, ȳtmæst** adj superl. *ulti-*  
*mate, final*

**yteren(n)** adj. *made of otter skin*

**ȳð** fjō. *wave*

**ȳðan, ȳw-** = **ieðan, iew-**

## NAMES OF PERSONS, PEOPLES, AND PLACES

Most native Old English personal names found in the Anthology are omitted here.

- Ābraham** m. *Abraham*
- Ābūlia** *Apulia* 7.285
- Ādom** *Adam* 15.100
- Ēgyptas = Ēgyptas**
- Æþelwold** m. *Æthelwold*, bishop of Winchester, held office 963–84
- Affrice** *Africa* 7.314
- Affrodosia** *Aphrodosia* 6.10, 14, 25
- Agathēs** *Agatha* 6.1, 7, 15, 18, 30, 40, 44, 49, 56, 63, 69, 82, 93, etc.
- Agathoclēs** 7.296
- Āgustus** *Augustus* 1.11
- Alerīc, Eallerīca** *Alaric* 10.2, 79, 91
- Alexander** *Alexander the Great* 7.205
- Abrōsius Aureliānus** 1.66
- Amon** m. *Ammon*, (grand)son of Lot
- Amonitisca** m. *Ammonite*
- Amuling** *Amaling*, member of the Gothic royal dynasty 10.5, 141
- Andrēas** *Andrew*
- Andred** *the Weald* 3.5
- Angel** *Angeln*, the peninsula in present-day Germany between Flensburg and the Schlei from which the Angles migrated to Britain 1.26, 29; 7.79
- Angelcyn(n)** *the English race* 1.72; 2.4, 5, 13, 37, 59; 3.129, 175
- Angelþeod** *Angles* 1.11, 83
- Antecrist** *Antichrist* 8.5
- Anthiopa** *Antiope* 7.192
- Antiochia** f.wk. *Antioch*, capital of Hellenistic Syria
- Antiochus** m. *Antiochus I*, king of the Seleucid empire 280–ca. 261 BCE
- Apollines** m. *Apollo*, Greek god of music
- Apolloniū** m. *Apollonius*, prince of Tyre; acc. -iūm, gen. -iūs, -ies, dat. -io, -ī(ġ)e, vocative -ī (partly Latin endings)
- Apuldor** *Appledore, Kent* 3.12, 48
- Argus** *Argos*, on the Peloponnese 7.311
- Arosīnis** *Arusinus* (unidentified) 7.303
- Arriān** *Arius* 10.112
- Asiam** (indecl.) *Asia* 7.136, 148, 176, 185, 197; sēo lāsse **Asiam** *Asia Minor* 7.155, 178
- Bēamflēot** *Benfleet, Essex* 3.46, 49, 57, 59
- Benedict** *Benedict of Nursia* 4.40
- Beormas** *Biarmians* (ON *Bjarmar*) 7.23, 25, 28
- Blēcinga ēġ** *Blekinge län*, in Sweden 7.91
- Bōetius** *Boethius* 10.11, 36, 44, 124, 147
- Breoton** *Britain* 1.13
- Brytt, Brett** *Briton* 1.19, 21, 43, 68; 8.147, 149, 157
- Bunne** *Boulogne* 3.2
- Burgenda land** ‘land of the Burgundians’, *Bornholm*, in present-day Denmark 7.89, 90
- Buttingtūn** *Buttington*, near Welshpool, on the Severn 3.74
- Cantwara burg** f. *Canterbury*
- Cantware** *people of Kent* 1.26

- Capadotia** *Cappadocia* 7.155
- Cartāginenses** *Carthaginians* 7.314, 316
- Cent** *Kent* 3.5, 133
- Chaldēas** *Chaldeans, astrologers* 1.47
- Ċisseċeaster** *Chichester, Sussex* 3.103
- Cofan trēo** *Coventry* 5.77
- Colne** *the River Colne, Herts* 3.30
- Compānīa** *Campania* 7.257
- Constantīnus** *Constantine* 11.8, 79, 103, 145
- Constentīnopolis** *Constantinople* 10.18
- Crē(a)cas, Grē(a)cas** *Greeks, Greece, Byzantines* 2.44; 7.187, 178, 205, 281; 10.19, 93, 98, 120, 128, 133, 138
- Crēta** *Crete* 9.31, 36
- Crist** *Christ* 5.21; 6.22, 45, 46, 48, 101, 103, 104, 139, 143, 161, 163, 164, 166, 205, 208; 7.220; 8.2; 10.104; 11.103; 14.6.2; 15.56, 116
- Curius** 7.302
- Cwātbryċġ** *Bridgnorth, Shropshire* 3.119, 124
- Cwēnas** *Saami people (once commonly called Lapps)* 7.61, 63
- Danubia** *the River Danube* 11.37, 136
- Def(e)ne** *(people of) Devon* 3.77, 147
- Defnasċir** *Devonshire* 3.41
- Dena mearc, Denemearc(a)** *Denmark* 7.80, 84, 88
- Dene** *Dane* 3.175; 7.79
- Dorċeċeaster** *Dorchester* 3.135
- Dunstān** *m. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, held office 961–88*
- Ēadgār** *m. Edgar, king of England, reigned 959–75*
- Eallerīca = Alerīc**
- Ealdseaxan** *Continental Saxons, Saxony* 1.28
- Ēastengle** *East Anglians* 1.29; 3.39, 68, 85, 87, 99, 123, 127, 138, 166
- Ēastseaxan, -seaxe** *East Saxons, people of Essex* 1.28; 3.30, 66, 84, 100, 134
- Effesus** *Ephesus* 7.177
- Ēgypte** *Egyptians, Egypt* 1.141; 7.136
- Engel = Angel**
- Engle** *Angles; the English* 7.83; 8.90, 98, 149, 157
- Ēowland** *Öland, in Sweden* 7.91
- Ēpire** *Epireans, residents of Epirus* 7.244
- Ercol** *Hercules* 7.186
- Este** *Ests, a people of the eastern Baltic* 7.94, 105, 129, 131
- Estland** *land of the Ests, at the mouth of the Vistula* 7.98, 101
- Estmere** *the Vistula Lagoon (Polish Zalew Wiślany, Germ. Frisches Haff, Lithuanian Aistmarės)* 7.95, 96, 97
- Ēthna** *Mt. Aetna* 6.216, 220
- Eufrātē** *Euphrates* 7.148
- Eurōpe** 7.176, 185, 198
- Exanċeaster** *Exeter* 3.42, 43, 63, 102
- Falster** *Falster, in Denmark* 7.88
- Farisēus** *m. Pharisee*
- Fearnham(m)** *Farnham, Surrey* 3.31
- Finnas** *Saami people (once commonly called Lapps)* 7.22, 27, 38, 43, 53
- Francan** *Franks* 11.21
- Friesa** *Frisian* 3.159, 160
- Ġēatas** *Goths of south-central Sweden (or Jutes)* 1.26, 31
- Genūtius** 7.322
- Germānīa** *Germanic peoples on the Continent* 1.25, 7.204
- Gildas** 8.147
- Gota** *Goth* 7.204, 208; 10.1, 73, 77, 81, 95, 110, 117
- Gotland** *Jutland, in Denmark* 7.75, 82

**Gotland** *Gotland*, in Sweden 7.91

**Grē(a)cas = Crēacas**

**Hæþum** dat. *Hedeby* 7.78, 81, 85

**Hālgoland** *Hålogaland*, in Norway 7.66

**Hāmtūnsċir** *Hampshire* 3.134

**Hierusalēm** *Jerusalem* 1.47

**Hrēðas = Hrēðgotan**

**Hrēðgotan** ‘*Glory-Goths*’, *Ostrogoths* 11.20

**Hrōfes ċeaster** *Rochester*, in Kent 3.54, 132

**Hūgas** *Hugas* (*a name applied to the Franks*) 11.21

**Humbre** *the River Humber* 2.14, 16

**Hūnas** *Huns* 11.20, 32, 41, 49, 58, 128, 143

**Ilfing** *the River Elbing* (*Elbląg*) 7.96, 97, 98

**Iofes, Iouis** *Jove, Jupiter* 6.65; 7.277; 9.35, 37, 60, 62, 63

**Iōhannes** *John* 10.9, 114

**Īra land** *Ireland* 7.71

**Israhēl** *Israelite* 1.141

**Ītalia** *Italy* 7.252, 310; 10.3, 84

**Iūlius** *Julius Caesar* 7.205

**Iūnō** *Juno* 9.38

**Læcedēmonīe** *Laconians, Lacedaemonians, Spartans* 7.248

**Lædenware** mp. *Romans, speakers of Latin* 2.45

**Læland** *Lolland*, in Denmark 7.88

**Lampida** 7.174

**Langa land** *Langeland*, in Denmark 7.87

**Lēga ċeaster** *Chester* 3.88

**Limene** *the River Lympne*, in Kent 3.4, 48, 125

**Lisum** *the River Liris* 7.258

**Loð** m. *Lot*, nephew of Abraham

**Lūcānīa** *Lucania* (region south of Apulia) 7.303

**Lunden(n)** *London* 3.172

**Lundenburg** *London* 3.45, 53, 54, 109, 121, 122

**Lýge** *the River Lea* 3.106, 108

**Mæcedonīe** *Macedonians* 7.250

**Mambre** indecl. *Mamre*, an Amorite, confederate of Abraham

**Māria** *Mary*, mother of Christ 15.92

**Mars** 9.47

**Marsepīa** *Marpesia* 7.174, 180

**Martiānus** 1.10

**Mēore** *Möre*, on Kalmar sund in Sweden 7.91

**Mercurius** *Mercury* 9.53, 60

**Meresīg** *Mersea Island, Essex* 3.101, 105

**Middelengle** *Middle Angles, inhabitants of the central Midlands* 1.29

**Middeltūn** *Milton Regis, Kent* 3.11, 47

**Minerua** *Minerva* 9.40

**Minūtius** 7.262

**Mōab** m. *Moab*, (grand)son of Lot (lit. ‘from my father’)

**Mōabitisca** m. *Moabite*

**Moyses** *Moses* 1.140

**Muntgīop** *the Alps* 10.80, 90 [*mons Iovis*]

**Myrċe** *Mercians, West Midlanders* 1.29

**Nembroð** *Nimrod* 9.5

**Nōe** *Noah* 9.4, 5

**Norðhymbre, -hembre** *Northumbrians*, Germanic people north of the Humber 1.30; 3.14, 39, 68, 85, 99, 127, 138

**Norðman(n)** *Norwegian* 7.1, 61, 62, 64

**Norþsæ** *Bristol Channel* 3.41

- Norðwēalcyn(n)**, **Norðwēalas** *the Welsh, Wales* (vs. **Westwēalas** *the Cornish*) 3.73, 96, 98
- Norðweg** *Norway* 7.73
- Ongol-** = **Angel-**
- Ōrithia** *Orithyia* 7.192, 193
- Orosius** 7.195
- Ōðon** *Odin* (ON *Óðinn*) 9.58, 61
- Pedrede** *the River Parret*, in Dorset and Somerset 3.72
- Pehtas** *Picts* 1.41
- Pentapolis** f. *Pentapolis*, district of Cyrenaica (mod. Libya)
- Pentesilia** *Penthesilea* 7.193
- Petrus** *Peter* 4.37, 39
- Pirrus** *Pyrrhus* 7.205, 244, 259, 271, 275, 285, 286, 294, 295, 302, 307, 308, 310, 313, 317, 320
- Platō** 10.67
- Plenius** 7.154
- Pontus**, on the south shore of the Black Sea 7.155
- Quintiānus** 6.3, 27, 38, 46, 52, 60, etc.
- Rædgota**, **-god** *Radagaisus* 10.2, 79, 91
- Rēgiense** *Reginenses*, *people of Rhegium* 7.319
- Rōm** *Rome* 10.91
- Rōmāne** *Romans* 7.228, 232, 236, 251, 255, 257, 260, 266, 268, 276, 281, 282, 285, 286, 293, 298, 302, 314, 315, 318, 320, 321, 323; 10.1, 3, 7, 89
- Rōmeburg** *Rome* 7.135, 225; 10.118
- Rōmware** *Romans* 7.207; 10.106, 121, 139; 11.9, 40, 46, 59, 62, 129
- Sæfern** *the River Severn* 3.69, 73, 75, 119
- Sandwiċ** *Sandwich* 5.53
- Sarra** f.wk. *Sarah*, wife of Abraham
- Sātūrnus** *Saturn* 9.32, 62
- Sċeōburh** *Shoebury, Essex* 3.66
- Sċīringes heal(l)** or **healh** *ON Skiringssalr*, possibly *Kaupang* in *Vestfold*, *Norway* 7.68, 72, 73, 77, 79
- Sċiþpie** *Scythia* 7.138, 153; 10.1, 74
- Scolopetius** 7.154
- Scōneġ** *Skåne*, the southernmost part of present-day *Sweden* 7.88
- Sealwudu** *Selwood* 3.77
- Seaxan** *Saxons* 1.5, 12, 16, 25, 27, 31, 42; 7.78
- Segor** indecl. *Zoar*, city located near *Sodom*
- Semithetum** *the River Symaethum*, in *Catania* 6.206
- Sicilia** *Sicily* 6.2; 7.296, 302; 10.4, 87
- Siġen** *the River Seine* 3.128
- Sillende** see note on 7.75; 7.82
- Siluester** *Silvester* 11.190
- Sinōpē** 7.181, 182
- Sirāccūse** *Syracusans* 7.296
- Sodoma** m. *Sodom*
- Sūðseaxan** *South Saxons*, *people of Sussex* 1.28; 3.103, 135, 164
- Swēoland** *Sweden* 7.60
- Swēon** *Swedes* 7.92
- Tarente** *Tarentum* 7.226, 248
- Tarentīne** *the Tarentini*, *citizens of Tarentum* 7.226, 228, 236, 241, 243, 248, 313
- Temese** *the River Thames* 2.18; 3.11, 30, 32, 67, 69, 73, 106
- Terfinnas** *Ter of Russia*, *Saami of the Tersky Coast on the Kola Peninsula* 7.24
- Tharsus** m. *Tarsus*, city in *Asia Minor*
- Thesalium** *Thessaly* 7.249
- Tirus** m. *Tyre*, capital of *Phoenicia*
- Trūsō** *Družno* (?), in present-day *Poland* 7.85, 97

**Þeodriċ** *Theodoric* 10.5, 13, 22, 102,  
141

**Þōr** *Thor* (ON *Þórr*) 9.45, 60

**Uenus** *Venus* 6.64; 9.40, 63

**Uesoges** *Vesozes (Sesosis)* 7.136, 137

**Wealh**, pl. **Wēalas**, also f. **Wāle**  
*Briton, Celt* (also *foreigner, slave*)  
14.12.4, 8

**Weonoðland, Weonod-, Winod-**  
*land of the Wends* 7.87, 92, 94, 95,  
98

**Westsæ** *North Sea* 7.3

**Westseaxan** *West Saxons, people of*  
*Wessex* 1.29; 3.139

**Wiht** *the Isle of Wight* 1.27; 3.146

**Wihtsætān** *inhabitants of the Isle of*  
*Wight* 1.26

**Wiltūnscīr** *Wiltshire* 3.171

**Winede** *Wends* 7.78

**Wintan ċeaster, Winteċeaster** f.  
*Winchester, royal seat of Wessex*  
3.136, 165

**Wiogora ċeaster** *Worcester* 2.1

**Wirhealh** *Wirral, Cheshire* 3.88, 95

**Wisle** f. *the River Vistula*, in present-  
day Poland 7.93, 95, 98, 100

**Witland** ‘*Witland*’, a province east of  
*Pomerania* 7.94

**Wyr̥tgeorn** *Vortigern*, a British king  
1.4

## GRAMMATICAL INDEX

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<https://fulk.pages.iu.edu>