AN INTRODUCTORY GRAMMAR OF OLD ENGLISH
An Introductory Grammar of Old English

with an Anthology of Readings

by

R. D. Fulk
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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 burden 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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>a. or acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
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<td>act.</td>
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<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
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<td>anom.</td>
<td>anomalous (verb)</td>
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<td>consonant-stem</td>
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<td>decl.</td>
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<td>EWS</td>
<td>Early West Saxon</td>
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<td>f. or fem.</td>
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<td>French</td>
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<td>intransitive</td>
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<td>ja.</td>
<td>ja-stem</td>
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<td>Kent.</td>
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<td>Lat.</td>
<td>Latin</td>
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<td>LWS</td>
<td>Late West Saxon</td>
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<td>m. or masc.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<td>ME</td>
<td>Middle English</td>
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<td>Merc.</td>
<td>Mercian</td>
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<td>MnE</td>
<td>Modern English</td>
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<td>MnIcel.</td>
<td>Modern Icelandic</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS

mod. modern pret. preterite
n. or neut. neuter PrOE Prehistoric Old English
n. or nom. nominative pron. pronoun, pronominal
Northumbr. Northumbrian ref. reference
num. numeral reflex. reflexive
NWGmc. Northwest Germanic rel. relative
OE Old English s. or sg. singular
OFRis. Old Frisian sj. subjunctive
OHG Old High German Skt. Sanskrit
Olcel. Old Icelandic s.o. someone
orig. originally sthg. something
OS Old Saxon superl. superlative
part. participle trans. transitive
pass. passive u. u-stem
pers. person uninfl. uninflected
PGmc. Proto-Germanic usu. usually
PIE Proto-Indo-European w. with
p. or 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.
Works Cited


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 Ecgrberht (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 Ecgberht’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 reflowering 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 misconstruction of OE *unnrēd*('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 *ċeald* 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 Ingvaenic 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 (Olcel.) 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 hlahkan, Olcel. hlea, 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, Olcel. 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. pitar-), 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*  
- [ʧ] as in *choke*  
- [k] as in *score*  
- [x] as in Scots *loch* or Germ. *Nacht*  
- [h] as in *hot*

**Vowels:**

- [i] as in *beet*  
- [r] as in *bit*  
- [e] as in *bait*  
- [ɛ] as in *bet*  
- [æ] as in *bat*

- [y] as in Fr. *tube*  
- [v] as in Germ. *Glück*  
- [ø] as in Fr. *neveu*  
- [œ] as in Fr. *seul*  
- [a] as in *about*

- [u] as in *boot*  
- [u] as in Fr. *tube*  
- [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 [ɣ] 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, θ, dʒ] 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, [ʧ] is essentially a combination of [t] and [ʃ], and [ʤ] 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, i, u, y] are called **high vowels**, [e, ø, o, e, œ, ɔ] are called **mid vowels**, and [æ, a] 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, y, u, o, 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, 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 [ə] 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 æŋglo sæks ən pɪriəd læst əd mɔr ðən fɔr səŋthariz]. (b) [ɪŋɔrməs ʃendʒɔz tok plɪs dəriŋ ðæt tɑm].

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 p called **wynn** that is transliterated as w. The Old English alphabet contains three other letters not found in the modern alphabet: Æ, æ, called **asc ‘ash’**; Þ, þ, called **þorn ‘thorn’**; and D, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graph</th>
<th>OE Example and Gloss</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Conditions on Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ċyriče ‘church’</td>
<td>[ʧ]</td>
<td>before/after i, often æ, e, y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cuman ‘come’</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cg</td>
<td>eċġ‘edge’</td>
<td>[ʤ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>āfre ‘ever’</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>between voiced sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fīf‘five’</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gān ‘walk’</td>
<td>[ɡ]</td>
<td>word-initially and after n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ġiet ‘yet’</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>before/after i, usu. also æ, e, y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>senġan ‘singe’</td>
<td>[ʤ]</td>
<td>often after in, en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fugol ‘bird’</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>heofon ‘sky’</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>syllable-initially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brōhte ‘brought’</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>risan ‘rise’</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>between voiced sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hūs ‘house’</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc</td>
<td>sċip ‘ship’</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>frosc ‘frog’</td>
<td>[sk]</td>
<td>see §135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þ, ð</td>
<td>ķer, ðer ‘other’</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
<td>between voiced sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>þā, ðā ‘then’</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>weax ‘wax’</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>later [ks]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Stressed Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graph</th>
<th>OE Example and Gloss</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Conditions on Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>set ‘sat’</td>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āe</td>
<td>daēd ‘deed’</td>
<td>[æː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>dagas ‘days’</td>
<td>[ɑ]</td>
<td>except before nasal consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>land, lond ‘land’</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>before nasal consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>hāt ‘hot’</td>
<td>[ɑː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>settan ‘set’</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>hē ‘he’</td>
<td>[ɛː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>sittan ‘sit’</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī</td>
<td>wid ‘wide’</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>God ‘God’</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō</td>
<td>gōd ‘good’</td>
<td>[oː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>full(l) ‘full’</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ful ‘ugly, vile’</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>hyge ‘thought’</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŷ</td>
<td>fyr ‘fire’</td>
<td>[yː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *p* and *ð* are entirely interchangeable. The value of the fricatives *θ*, *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. *cnīf* [*kniːf*] and pl. *cnīfas* [*kniːvɑs*]. 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, *hēlfu* ‘health’: this derives from *hāliþō*, with unstressed *i* before *þ*. Neither is there voicing of *þ* in words like *forþām* ‘therefore’ and *beþenċan* ‘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 *hiersum* ‘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*, *Lēofrīċ*, 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 [*ʧ*] 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* [*ɑːɣɑn*]. ([*ɣ*], written *ʒ* 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 [*n*], 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’ [*frogːɑː*];
and, by the late Old English period, at the beginning of a word, as in gān [gɑ:n]. Both varieties could be palatalized in proximity to front vowels. Thus, [ɣ] was palatalized in sægede ‘said’ [sejde], but also gieman ‘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 senγan [senʤan], and in gemination, as in eċγ [eʤ] < *aggia-. In sum, then, γ represents [ɣ] except at the beginning of a word or in gemination or after n, where it stands for [g]; and ʝ represents [j] everywhere except after n, where it represents [ʤ]. As for ĉγ, it almost always represents [ʤ]; exceptions are noted below (§135c). Similarly, sc stands for [ʃ] (transcribed sċ 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, y] 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%ɑn], rather than [set%ɑn], has long been recommended, and for riden ‘ridden’, [rɪd%ɛn] rather than [rid%ɛn]. 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 maen(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 [i, ɣ, 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 [æːu, eːu, iːu] 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 sceamian ‘shame’, geong ‘young’, and sengean ‘sing’ represent [sɛˈmɛn], [jɛŋɡ], and [sɛŋˈɛn]: 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 underlined in this book, as in sceamian, geong, and sengean.

22. Most words are accented on the first syllable. There are two exceptions: (1) the prefix ge- 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 āpēncan ‘invent’, underwrēðian ‘support’, and etspōrnan ‘stumble’ (cf. ātspōrnung ‘stumbling block’). When a verb is stressed on the prefix (and this is rare), as in āndswarian ‘reply’, it is because the verb is derived from a noun (cf. āndswaru ‘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 unġeliefedlič ‘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 bōclič ‘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 bi ‘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, bryēġ, sang, ġiefan, ċēosað, menģan, ġeoguđ, ūđa.
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 is congruent with the sex of its 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 rīċe ‘kingdom’ is neuter, but wif ‘woman’ and maġden ‘girl’ are both neuter, wifmann ‘female’ is masculine, wæpnedcynn ‘the male sex’ is neuter, and dugulp ‘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 cīld ‘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 Beat was 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 Hwet segst þū, ierþling? ‘What do you say, farmer?’ (ÆColl 22).

The accusative is the usual case of the direct object of the verb, as in Sē cyning ðælfe þone eorldōm Tostig Geowines 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 ðē þine. Eallne ðæg
smēaug mın is ‘Oh, how I have loved your law! It is my preoccupation all day’ (PsGlI [Lindelöf] 118.97). Another example is Nelle ic beorges weard oferfléon fôtes 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 ġeond ‘throughout’, onforan ‘in front of’, þurh ‘through’, and wiper ‘against’.

The genitive expresses possession, as in the sentence þæt wæs ġinnwerud Æormanrīcès ‘That was Eormanric’s court’ (Wid 111). In Modern English we can say either “Eormanric’s court” or “the court of Eormanric,” but Old English has no construction comparable to the latter: in a phrase such as sum were of Scotta þêode ‘a certain man of the nation of the Irish’ (Bede 4, 25.350.5), the literal meaning of of is ‘from’. Thus, the expression an heora means ‘one of them’ and is an example of a partitive genitive. There is also an objective genitive, as in metodes eġe ‘fear of the Lord’ (because the Lord is the object of one’s fear), as opposed to the possessive, subjective genitive (e.g., Earmanric possesses his court). As in Modern English, possessives are sometimes used in an adjectival or adverbial function, as in Sum wæs ġæþæles cynnes ġerēfa ‘There was a certain wealthy, powerful senator of noble family’ (Jul 18) and Hyġe wæs him hinfūs ‘His thoughts were on getting away’ (Beo 755). The genitive is also used adverbially in constructions like nihtes ‘by night’, unwilles ‘unwillingly’, and his weges ‘on his way’, and in such very common expressions as ealles ‘completely’, nealles ‘not at all’, elles ‘else’, and þes ‘after that, to such an extent’. The genitive case is used with a small number of prepositions, including útan ‘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 ġiefa ‘and sent him great gifts’ (ChronA 885). The dative may also express possession, most commonly with parts of the body or attributes, as in swylc mē wære sē hryc gefrocré ‘as if my back were broken’ (Ps 31.4) and Hýgæ wæs him hinfūs ‘His thoughts were on getting away’ (Beo 755). It is sometimes used in comparisons, as in mærra eallum ñesceafum ‘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 lylte ‘somewhat’. Very many prepositions take the dative case, including æt ‘at’, of ‘from’, and tô ‘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 Sēcalt nū dædum rōf, ædeling ãnhýðig, ealle magene feorh ealgian ‘Determined prince, renowned for your deeds, you must now protect your life with all your strength’ (Beo 2666), or accompaniment, as in gētrume micle ‘with a large entourage’ (Beo 922). But it is most commonly encountered in the demonstrative þy or þon, used in comparatives, as in Cyning wæs þy blībora ‘The king was the happier’ (Ele 96), in set expressions like þy lēs ‘lest’, and as a conjunction, as in þy 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 dæġ 'the day', and sē engel 'the angel'.

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sē stān</td>
<td>dæġ</td>
<td>engel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þone stān</td>
<td>dæġ</td>
<td>engel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þæs stānes</td>
<td>dæġes</td>
<td>engles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þâm (þām) stāne</td>
<td>dæège</td>
<td>engle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>þŷ (þon, þē) stāne</td>
<td>dæge</td>
<td>engle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>þā stānas</td>
<td>dagas</td>
<td>englas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þāra stāna</td>
<td>daga</td>
<td>engla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat., Instr.</td>
<td>þēm (þām) stānum</td>
<td>dagum</td>
<td>englum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ã), *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 dæġ, faést ‘firm’ = OHG tag, faest-, 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 dæġ. 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. craeftum ‘skills’ beside dagum. Note that a
similar, though considerably less regular, alternation affects the West Saxon vowel eː: compare nom. sg. mǣg ‘kinsman’ to nom. pl. māgas, etc.


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 sċield ‘the shield’ (dat. sg.), sē corn ‘the grain’ (acc. sg.), sē camp ‘the battle’ (acc. pl.), sē ford ‘the ford’ (dat. pl.), sē gnaet ‘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 Ēadgāres dagum, Engla cyninges, wearð Æðelwold tō þæm biscophāde ge-coren on Wintan ēastrē, and hine ġehālgodē Dunstān sē ærēıcēbçop on Cantwara byrg on þone sundandæg sē wæs þaes hālgan Andrēas mæsséēfenn. Sōna ongonn sē bīscop Æþelwold þā clericas fram þæm bīscoprīce ūt ādrifān, forþām þe hie noldon nānne regol ēaladan, ond hē sette munucas þār on heora stede. Siððan cōm hē tō þæm cyninge ond bæd hine þæt hē scolde him īeþan ealle þa mynsteru þe ār tōbocene wēron fram þām hēǣnum. Ond sē cyning liefe þæm bīscopc þæt, ond sōna ongonn hē þāra munuca ētimbru ēedstaðol-ian ond Godes hūs mid mādmum ēfyllan.

weard, became, was, 3 sg. pret. of
weordan
ġecoren, chosen, pass. part. of
čēosan
hine, acc. sg. of hē
ġehālgode, 3 sg. pret. of hālgian
sē, here a relative pronoun which
hālgan, gen. sg. of hālga
Andrēas, gen. sg.
ongonn, 3 sg. pret. of onginnan
hie, nom. pl. of hē

donald = 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
bæd, 3 sg. pret. of biddan
scolde, 3 sg. pret. sj. of sculan
him, dat. sg. of hē
ealle, acc. pl. neut. of eall
mynsteru, acc. pl. of mynster
tōbrocene, pass. part. of tōbreccan, nom. pl. neut. wēron, 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 æudgaːres dæum enɡla kyninges wæurθ æðówld toː ðæːm biʃɔphaːde jeˈkɔrɔn ɔn wintanʧeʌstre ɔnd hine jeˈhɑːlydə dunstan sɛ æŋfbiʃɔp ɔn kɔntwarə byrjɔn ðon sunːandæj sɛ wæs ðæs hæliːn ɔndreːas mæsɛː̃nɔn sɔːnɔ ðonˈɡɔn sɛ biʃɔ æðówld ðaː klærɪkɔs frɔm ðæːm biʃɔpriʃː oːt aˈdrɪvæn ɔfˈðæːm ðe hɪn ɔldɔn nɑːnɛ reɡɔl hæuldæn ɔnd hɛː sɛtː ɔmʊnukɔs ðæːr ɔn hɛura stedi ʃiːtːan kɔːm hɛː toː ðæːm kyninge ɔnd bæːd hine ðæet hɛː jɔldə him jiuvæn æuːlː ðaː mɪnstæɾu ðe æːr tɔˈbrokænɛ wæːɾn frɔm ðæːm hæːðɔnɔm ɔnd sɛ kyning lɛːvde ðæːm biʃɔp ðæet ɔnd sɔːnɔ ðonˈɡɔn hɛː ðaːːra ɔmʊnukɔ ˈjeˈtɪmbru jeˈɛdstaðɔliːŋ ɔnd godes hùːs 📖 mɪd mærðɔm jeˈfʏltːan]
32. Neuter *a*-stems bear a resemblance to their masculine counterparts in declension. Examples are þæt sċip ‘the ship’, þæt fæt ‘the vessel’, þæt wīf ‘the woman’, and þæt hēafod ‘the head’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>þæt sċip</td>
<td>þa sċipu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þæs sċipes</td>
<td>þara sċipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þām (þām) sċipe</td>
<td>þām (þām) sċipum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>þŷ (þon, þē) sċipe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fæt</td>
<td>fatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wīf</td>
<td>wīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hēafod</td>
<td>hēafdu, hēafod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fætes</td>
<td>fata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wīfes</td>
<td>wīfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hēafdes</td>
<td>hēafda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fæte</td>
<td>fatum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>wifum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hēafde</td>
<td>hēafdum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 sċipum; a **heavy syllable** contains a long vowel or long diphthong or is closed by two or more consonants, as in wīfum, hēafod, and wordum ‘words’.) Hence there is -u in the plural of neuters like hōf ‘dwelling’ and ġēoc ‘yoke’, but not those like ġēar ‘year’, sweord ‘sword’, and bēarn ‘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. engles 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 wīf* ‘the woman’ (instr. sg.), *þæt bæþ* ‘the bath’ (acc. pl.), *þæt nīeten* ‘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 weas betere þonne īc! ’He was better than I!’* (Beo 469). These demonstratives may also be used as relative pronouns, as in *his āncenneda sunu, purh þone hē gescēop ealle gescēafta* ‘his only-begotten son, through whom he created all creatures’ (ÆHom 1.73) and *üre unclēanan ěpōht-as and weorc, dā wē sceolon 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, *purh þone ōe syndon ealle þing gescēapene* ‘through whom all things are created’ (ÆHom 1.170) and *from his āgnum brēper Alexandre, þe Lacedēmonī rīc ā 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 *Ēadiġ 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 ġefræġen ġæbbe ‘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 rīce randwiga, þone þe hēo on raestate ąbrēat ‘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 þū sæġst ‘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 þ®r 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 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 a in dāere 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’, ġemang ‘among’, in ‘in, into’, innan ‘in, within’, ofer ‘over, across’, on ‘in, on, into’, under ‘under’, uppan ‘upon, on’, and wīþūtan ‘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 dē hēo tō ġeneadod wēre ‘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 hīeran ‘hear’ is
hierdon, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>1. -e</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>1. -on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-est</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>iċ</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>þū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>mē,</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>þū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mīn</td>
<td>uncer</td>
<td>þū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>unc</td>
<td>þū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

READING

Luke 18:10–14

menn, nom. pl. of mann
fērdon, pret. pl. of fēran
ġebæden, might pray, pret. pl. sj. of biddan
stōd, 3 sg. pret. of standan
ġebæd, 3 sg. pret. of biddan
þoncas = þancas
do, 1 sg. pres. of dōn
neom = ne + eom, 1 sg. pres. of bōn
ōøre, nom. pl. of ōder
unrihtwise, nom. pl. of unrihtwīs
fæste, 1 sg. pres. of fæstan
wucan, dat. sg. of wicu, wucu
selle, 1 sg. pres. of sellan
téoþunga, acc. sg. of téoþung
hæbbe, 1 sg. pres. of habban
eagan, acc. pl. of ēage
bēot, 3 sg. pret. of bēatan
cwæþ, 3 sg. pret. of cweðan
bēo, imp. of bōn
seçe, 1 sg. pres. of sēçan
fērde, 3 sg. pret. of fēran
ġerihtwisod, pass. part. of rihtwisian, nom. sg.
āhefō, 3 sg. pres. of āhebban
biō, 3 sg. fut. of bōn
ġeniðerod, pass. part. of niderian, nom. sg.
niðerað, 3 sg. pres. of niðerian
āhafen, pass. part. of āhebban, nom. sg.
39. The ō-stems are all feminine, and this is the commonest class of feminine nouns. Examples are sēo ġiefu ‘the gift’, sēo ofermēttu ‘pride’, sēo lār ‘learning’, and sēo frōfor ‘solace’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sēo ġiefu</td>
<td>ofermēttu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þā ġiefe</td>
<td>ofermētte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þāre ġiefe</td>
<td>ofermētte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat., Instr.</td>
<td>þāre ġiefe</td>
<td>ofermētte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lāre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ipu, 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 ō 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 scolu ‘the troop’ (dat. sg.); sēo sorg ‘the sorrow’ (dat. pl.); sēo lāf ‘the remainder’ (gen. sg.); sēo čeaster ‘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 pong ġeſeans ‘joy’. Now that we have seen all its forms, it may be useful to summarize the declension of the demonstrative pronoun sē:
CHAPTER IV

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hē</td>
<td>hēo</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hine, hiene</td>
<td>hie, hī</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hire, hiere</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>hire, hiere</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 þēm 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 hēahenġel wē sculon ġelȳfan 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 blessing. 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 *unēađe mehte ār āniġ þēm Gallium oðfleôn* ‘only with difficulty had any been able to flee the Gauls (dat.)’ (Or 2.8 [Bately] 52.34), *Brūc þisses bèages* ‘Enjoy this neck-ring (gen.)’ (Beo 1216), and *Donne hŷ him . . . tô ēow ārna bōđan* ‘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 ġē wēnað þæt ġē nān ġecundliċ ġod nē ġesælþa oninnan ġow 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: Forðȳ iċ wolde ðætte hie ealneg æt ðāre 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 ġō nohine þā monade and lērde þæt hē wuruldhād ánforlēte 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). Dā sōhte hē mē and beed mē þæt ic him wīre forespreca ‘Then he came to me and asked me that I be his advocate’ (Ch 1445 [HarmD 18] 5). Forðȳ mē dyncō betre, gī ġow swā dyncō, þæt wē ēac suma bēc . . . on þæt ġēþēode wenden þe wē calle ģecnāwan maġen ‘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 swīfe micēl niedēarf, þæt wē gleawliċ ongioten þās scortnesse þisse wurulde ‘Therefore, people, we have great need that we clearly perceive the transitoriness of this world’ (HomM 14.2 [Healey] 128). Þā sægde hē him þæt þēr fela þāra manna wīre ‘Then he told him that there were many of those people there’ (Or 2.3 [Bately] 41.7). Þā ġefraġn hē hine and āscode, hwæt him wīre and forhwon hē swā ġēþērde ‘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 seīge ġow forþy þæt Godes riċe biōd ġow æþrōgden ‘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 biōd is indicative.
(b) Clauses headed by *þæt* also take the subjunctive when *þæt* expresses purpose (‘in order that’): cf. *þæt* *þæt* *hie ēow on fultume bēon *mōten* ‘in order that they might be of help to you’ (Or 1.10 [Bately] 31.8) and *Pānicē gesetton eft *pfone ealdan Hannibal* *þæt* *hē mid scīpum wīp *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 myčele wæter flōd . . . *þæt for- nēah 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 älmihtigum sie *pfone *þætte wē nū ëneigne onstal habbad lārēowa* ‘Thanks be to almighty God that we now have any supply of instructors’ (CP 1.4.1). *Ne geēadmēde *þu *þe 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. *Pā hāliġe martyræs swā myċel foresēgen þis andwearde lif, *þæt* *heom lēofere was to sweetanmæne for þæs hēlendes namen eīr *þām* *þe hē hine widsōcen* ‘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 remoune him’ (ÆLS [Vincent] 1.3.35). *Oswold *þā ærdēde æne rōde sōna *Gode tō weordmynte eīr *þon þe hē *þām *gewinne 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* *iċ āne ignum þægne þōdenmādmos geāra *forġēafe . . . *þonne *hē *nā on lēofran tīd lēanum ne mahte mine *ġif* *gyldan* ‘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 gesēmed 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 lēs mon *forswerie* ‘Oaths should not be sworn, lest they be broken’ (BenR 4.17). Without the subjunctive: *wē sċeoldon dēaðe sweltan *ġif* *wē his onbyrīġdon* ‘we should die if we tasted it’ (ÆCHom I, 1 183.132).

(f) The subjunctive is also normal in clauses of concession headed by *þēah* ‘though’ and in subordinate clauses dependent on primary clauses in the subjunctive. Examples, respectively: *Hē læðfe swā *þēah ēmne tō līfe, *þēah *þe hē *ābite *his *ģebraðra *on *ār* ‘He (Saturn) nonetheless let one [of his sons] live, though he had eaten his brothers’ (ÆHom 22.108); *Ġecnāwe ñe *þe cunne* ‘Let him understand who can’ (WHom 5.27).

The subjunctive endings are simple, and they are the same for present and pret-erite: the endings are simply *-e* in the singular and *-en* in the plural.
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 ætīewde eft Ībrahame on þām dene Mambre, þær þār hē sæt on his ġeteldes ingonge on þāreme hētān þāes dæges. Ond Ībrahame besah upp and ġesah þær ðrie weras stondende him gehende. Mid þām ðe hē hie ġesah, þā efste hē of þām ġetelde him tōģēanes and āstreæhte hine tō eorþan, and cwæð, “Mīn Dryhten, gif ūm ēnīgges þinges tiōdian wille, ne far ūm fram ūnum ġeowan ār ūon de iċ fecçe wæter and ġowre fēt ādōwēa; and ġerestað ēow under ūssum trēowe, oð ūt iċ leċge ēow hlāf ātforan, ūt ēow ēow ġereordien; and ġē farað siōdan, forþy ġē ġecierdon tō ġowrum ġeowan.” Hie cwæðon, “Dō swā ū sprǣce.”

- ætīewde, 3 sg. pret. of ætīewan
- sæt, 3 sg. pret. of sittan
- ingonge, ond = ingange, and
- hētān, dat. sg. of hēte
- besah, 3 sg. pret. of besōn
- ġesah, 3 sg. pret. of sōn
- ðrie, acc. masc. of ārie
- stondende, act. part. of standan, acc. pl.
- mid þām ðe, see mid
- efste, 3 sg. pret. of efestan
- āstreæhte, 3 sg. pret. of āstreċčan
- eorþan, dat. sg. of eorpe
- willē, sg. pres. sj. of willan
- far, imp. sg. of faran
- ūnum, masc. dat. sg. of ēn
- ūseowan, dat. sg. of ūseow
- fecče, sg. pres. sj. of fetian
- āowre, acc. pl. of ēower
- fēt, acc. pl. of fōt
- ādōwēa, sg. pres. sj. of ādōwēan
- ġerestað, ṭıp. pl. of restan
- ūssum, dat. sg. neut. of ūs
- ēow, acc. and dat. of ġē
- leċge, sg. pres. sj. of leċgan
- ġereordien, pl. pres. sj. of āreordian
- farað, pres. pl. of faran
- ġecierdon, pret. pl. of ġieran
- cwæðon, pret. pl. of cwēdan
- dō, imp. sg. of dōn
- sprǣce, 2 sg. pret. of sprekan
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. *ʒum-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. *pæt ēage* 'the eye':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Single Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>guma eorðe ēage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>guman eorðan ēage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>guman eorðan ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat., Instr.</td>
<td>guman eorðan ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>guman eorðan ēagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>gumena eorðena ēagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat., Instr.</td>
<td>gumum eorðum ēagum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 rǣdbora*) view. 2. The demons (*sē scucca*) were cast out by the prophet (*sē wītega*, dat.). 3. The ladies (*sēo hlǣfdige*) found the troublemaker (*sē āglēca*) in the church (*sēo ċirīce*). 4. The sailors (*sē flota*) gave the fugitives (*sē fliema*) 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 *iċ 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. *iċ ride* 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 gehīered 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 weordan 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 ponne mōte wē ȝæt tô Gode earnian bet ponne wē ær þissum 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 past but as a past perfect, as in Hit ġelamp þā sōna swā hie ofslægene wērōn, ȝæt micel líget cōm ofer þām mānfūllan hēðenan ‘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 ponne æfter þām þe þā mānfūllan bēod ġescēofene wēpende on that ēce fyr ‘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 maniġfeald ēhtness, niêre þeah þām ġelíc þe æfter þissum giet biō ‘often there has been abundant persecution, though never like that which will be after this’ (WHom 5.55) and sē wæs þām biscope cū, forþon hē oft ær for hine cwōm ond his ælmenstan 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 Dēos worōld is on ofste, and hit nēalēcō þām ende ‘This world is in haste, and it is approaching the end’ (WHom 20.1 2) and Þis cōm þā tō ēaran þām æḏelborenan cnihhte þe āwōgodē Lūcian ‘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 Dēr wērōn sume of þām bōcerum sītende ‘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 sīme feohōntē wērōn op hie calle lēgon ‘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 ride* 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td><em>com, am</em></td>
<td><em>bēo, will be</em></td>
<td><em>wæs, was</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>eart</em></td>
<td><em>bist, byst</em></td>
<td><em>wære</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>is</em></td>
<td><em>bið, byð</em></td>
<td><em>wæs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td><em>sindon, sint</em></td>
<td><em>bēoð</em></td>
<td><em>wēron</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUBJUNCTIVE**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td><em>sie</em></td>
<td><em>bēo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td><em>sien</em></td>
<td><em>bēon</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Infinitive: *bēon, wesan*

Participles: *wesende* or *bēonde* (pres.); *ģebōn* (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

Ābrahām þā eftse intō þām ċetelde tō Sarran, and cwǣð hire tō, “Ĝecned nū hrædliċe þrie sestras smedman and wyrċ focan.” And hē arn him self tō his hrīþra falde and genam ān fætt čealf and betēhte his cnapan, and sē cnapa hit mid ofste ofslōh and ġearcode. Ābrahām Ḟā nam buteran and meolc and þæt flǣsc mid heordbacenum hlāfum and lægde him ætforan, and stōd him under þām trēowe wið hie. Mid þām ē hie āeton, þā cwǣdon hie him tō: “Hwǣr is þīn wif Sarra?” Hē ondwyrde, “On þām ċetelde hēo is.” Hē cwǣð him tō: “Iċ cume

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

**ȝecned**, imp. sg. of cnedan

**wyrċ**, imp. sg. of wyrċan

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

**ȝenam**, 3 sg. pret. of niman

**betǣhte**, 3 sg. pret. of betǣcan

**ofslōb**, 3 sg. pret. of ofslēan

**ȝearcode**, 3 sg. pret. of ȝearcian

**leģde**, 3 sg. pret. of leċgan

**ǣton**, pret. pl. of etan

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

_He cweð 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’).

**scean**, 3 sg. pres. of sculan

**ȝehierde**, 3 sg. pret. of hieran

**hlōh**, 3 sg. pret. of hliehhan

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

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

**ȝeripod**, pass. part. of ripian, nom. sg. masc.

**cwest**, 2 sg. pres. of cweðan

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

**ãetsōc**, 3 sg. pret. of ãetsacan

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

**nis = ne is**

**hlôge**, 2 sg. pret. of hliehhan

**ǣrisôn**, pret. pl. of ārisan

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

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

**byrgh**, dat. sg. of burg

**lædde**, 3 sg. pret. of lædan
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 *hwít* ‘white’:

### LIGHT-STEMMED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
<th>Endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæc</em></td>
<td><em>blacu</em></td>
<td><em>blæc</em></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæcnes</em></td>
<td><em>blæce</em></td>
<td><em>blæc</em></td>
<td>-e, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæces</em></td>
<td><em>blæcre</em></td>
<td><em>blæces</em></td>
<td>-es, -re, -es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dat.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæcum</em></td>
<td><em>blæcre</em></td>
<td><em>blæcum</em></td>
<td>-um, -re, -um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instr.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæce</em></td>
<td><em>blæcre</em></td>
<td><em>blæce</em></td>
<td>-e, -re, -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
<th>Endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom., Acc.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæce</em></td>
<td><em>blæce, -a</em></td>
<td><em>blæcu, -e</em></td>
<td>-e, -e, -a, -u, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæcra</em></td>
<td><em>blæcra</em></td>
<td><em>blæcra</em></td>
<td>-ra, -ra, -ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dat., Instr.</strong></td>
<td><em>blæcum</em></td>
<td><em>blæcum</em></td>
<td><em>blæcum</em></td>
<td>-um, -um, -um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
<th>Endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwít</em></td>
<td><em>hwít</em></td>
<td><em>hwít</em></td>
<td>—, —, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwítne</em></td>
<td><em>hwíte</em></td>
<td><em>hwít</em></td>
<td>-ne, -e, —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwítes</em></td>
<td><em>hwítre</em></td>
<td><em>hwítes</em></td>
<td>-es, -re, -es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dat.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwítum</em></td>
<td><em>hwítre</em></td>
<td><em>hwítum</em></td>
<td>-um, -re, -um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instr.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwíte</em></td>
<td><em>hwítre</em></td>
<td><em>hwíte</em></td>
<td>-e, -re, -e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
<th>Endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom., Acc.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwíte</em></td>
<td><em>hwíte, -a</em></td>
<td><em>hwít, hwíte</em></td>
<td>-e, -e, -a, —, -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwítra</em></td>
<td><em>hwítra</em></td>
<td><em>hwítra</em></td>
<td>-ra, -ra, -ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dat., Instr.</strong></td>
<td><em>hwítum</em></td>
<td><em>hwítum</em></td>
<td><em>hwítum</em></td>
<td>-um, -um, -um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 mīcel 'large', hālig 'holy', and āgen 'own', and passive participles like bunden 'bound' and dēmed 'judged', etymologically should have syncope before most endings:

**DISYLLABIC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hālig</td>
<td>hāligu</td>
<td>hālig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hāligne</td>
<td>hālge</td>
<td>hālig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hālges</td>
<td>hāligre</td>
<td>hālges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hālgum</td>
<td>hāligre</td>
<td>hālgum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>hālge</td>
<td>hāligre</td>
<td>hālge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>hālge</td>
<td>hālge, -a</td>
<td>hāligu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hāligra</td>
<td>hāligra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat., Instr.</td>
<td>hālgum</td>
<td>hālgum</td>
<td>hālgum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In West Saxon, the syncopated vowel is very often restored by analogy, giving, for example, masc. gen. sg. hālges, nom. pl. hālge, 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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēnu</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>grēnne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>grēnes</td>
<td>grēnre</td>
<td>grēnes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td>grēnre</td>
<td>grēnum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td>grēnre</td>
<td>grēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nom., Acc. grēne grēne, -a grēnu
Gen. grēnra grēnra grēnra
Dat., Instr. grēnum grēnum grēnum

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WEAK INFLECTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat., Instr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ēsē), a possessive pronoun (e.g. min ‘my’), or a noun in the genitive case (e.g. Cūdrēdes ‘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 min ‘my’, eall ‘all’ and ēper ‘other’, are always declined strong. Some in fact rarely or never modify definite nouns, such as āniġ ‘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. pone
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* *ridenne* ‘to ride’. The uninflected infinitive is normal with modal auxiliaries like *mæg* ‘can’ and *scéal* ‘shall’, and it is particularly frequent in accusative-plus-infinitive constructions like *Hwæt cweþe wit þis bē on?* ‘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 *Īsāā c þā bær wudu tō forbærnenne ðār 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 *Us 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 gelŷfenne sŷ* ‘whether it is to be believed’ (GD[C] 146.2).

**Reading**

Gen. 19:1–13

Cōmon ðā on ēfnunge twēgen englas fram Gode āsende tō þære byrġ Sodoma, and Loḏ, Ābrahames brōðor sunu, sæt on þære strēte and ġeseah hie. Hē āras þā sōna and ēode him tōgēanes, and āstreahte hine āetforan þām englam, and cwæð, “Ic bidde ēow, lēof, þæt ġē cierren tō mínun hūse, and þær wunien nihtlanges, and þweāð ēowre fēt, þæt ġē mǣgen faran tōmer ġēne, and þær wunien nihtlanges, and þād hūse, and þæt hie ġecierdon tō his hūse. Hē ðā ġærcode him ġereorde, and hie āeton. Sē lēodsċipe wās swā bismeフル, þæt hie woldon fūlliće ongēan ġecynd heora gālnesse ġefyllan, nā mid wimmannum, ac swā fūlliće þæt ðū scēamað hit openlīce tō seċgenne, and þæt wās heora hrēam, þæt hie openlīce heora fylīc ġefremedon. ðā cwǣdon þā englas tō Loḏe, sē ðē rihtlīcē leofode, “Hæfst ðū sunu oððē dohtra on þisse byrģ, oððē āþum oððē ænigne sibling? Gif ðū hæbbe, læd hie ealle of þisse byrģ. Wē sculon sōółiće
 CHAPTER VI 39

adilegian ealle þæs stówe, forðon þe heora hréam wéox tô swiðe ætforan Gode, and God ðæs sende, þæt wé hie fordón.”

cómôn, pret. pl. of cuman
ásende, pass. part. of ásendan,
nom. pl.
bróðor, gen. sg. of bróðor
sæt, 3 sg. pret. of sittan
áras, 3 sg. pret. of árísan
bidde, 1 sg. pres. of biddan
ćierran, pres. sj. pl. of cierran
wunien, pres. sj. pl. of wunian
þwēað, imp. pl. of þwēan
mægün pres. sj. pl. of magan
nelle = ne wille, pres. pl. of willan
laðode, 3 sg. pret. of laðian
wimmannum = wifmannum
scēamað, 3 sg. pres. of scamian
tô seçganne, infl. inf. of secgan
gefremedon pret. pl. of fremman
leofode, 3 sg. pret. of libban
hæfstan, 2 sg. pres. of habban
sunu, acc. pl.
ðisse, dat. sg. fem. of þês
hæbbe, pres. sg. sj. of habban
læð, imp. sg. of lædan
sculon, pres. pl. of sculan
þás, acc. sg. fem. of þês
wéox 3 sg. pret. of weaxan
sende, 3 sg. pret. of sendan
fordón, pres. sj. pl. of fordón
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. ānne (or shortened enne) may appear beside regularized ānne, and weak āna (uninflected) means ‘only, alone’. ‘Two’ takes the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. (all genders)</td>
<td>twēġ(x)a, twēġ(e)ra</td>
<td>twā, tū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. (all genders)</td>
<td>twām, twām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. (all genders)</td>
<td>þrie</td>
<td>þrēo</td>
<td>þrēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. (all genders)</td>
<td>þrim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other chief cardinal numbers are as follows:

4. fēower 12. twelf 20. twēntiġ 100. hundtēontiġ
5. fif 13. þrēotīene 30. þrītiġ 110. hundendleftiġ
6. siex 14. fēowertiene 40. fēowertiġ 120. hundtwelftiği or
7. seofon 15. fiftiene 50. fīftiġ 1000. þūsend
8. eahta 16. siextiene 60. siextiġ
9. nigon 17. seofontīene 70. hundseofontiġ
10. tīen 18. eahtatiene 80. hundeahtatiği
11. en(d)le(o)fan 19. nigontiene 90. hundnigontiği

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 *Hwēr synt þā nīgone* ‘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 twēntium* ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td><em>þēs</em></td>
<td><em>þēos</em></td>
<td><em>þis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td><em>þísne</em></td>
<td><em>þás</em></td>
<td><em>þis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td><em>þís(s)es</em></td>
<td><em>þísse, þís(se)re</em></td>
<td><em>þís(s)es</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>þís(s)um</em></td>
<td><em>þísse, þís(se)re</em></td>
<td><em>þís(s)um</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td><em>þŷs</em></td>
<td><em>þísse, þís(se)re</em></td>
<td><em>þŷs</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural (all genders)

| Nom., Acc. | *þás* |
| Gen.       | *þissa, þís(se)ra* |
| Dat., Instr. | *þís(s)um* |


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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{æ} & \rightarrow \text{ea} \\
\text{e} & \rightarrow \text{eo} \\
\text{i} & \rightarrow \text{iō}
\end{align*}
\]

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 *æ* and *i* 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 æ:  Affecting e:  Affecting i:

\*seah > seah  \*seh > seoh  \*sihþ > \*siohiþ
\*wæxan > weaxan (x=hs)  \*fehtan > feohtan  \*cnihtas > \*cniohtas
\*þærf > þearf  \*werpan > weorpan  \*wirþþ > \*wiþorþþ
\*mælt > mealt  \*skelh > sčeolh  \*āfiþjan > \*āfiþorþjan

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, \*rerd, \*mix, \*selh, \*meltan, \*sax, \*barn, \*gefæhan, \*ald, \*milts, \*bergan.

**64.** A fricative consonant (\( f, \tilde{\theta}/\theta, s, g/h \)) is voiceless at the end of a word in Old English. This makes no difference in spelling for \( f, \tilde{\theta}/\theta, \) 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 þyn ċan ‘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 ‘bfit’, līcian ‘please’, limpan ‘happen’, sċamian ‘shame’, and spōwan ‘profit’.


Loð þa ēode tō his twām ādumum, þe woldon wifian on his twām dohtrum, and cwǣð him tō, “Ārisād and farād of þissere stōwe, forþon de God wile ādilegan þās burg.” Þā wæs him ēðūht swylce hē gameniġende sprēce. Þā englas dā on āernemerēn cwǣdon tō Loðe, “Āris and nim ðin wif and þine dohtra and far dē heonon, ðy læs þē ðū losige samod mid þissere forscyldigan burhware.” Hē wandleode þā ēget, ac hie ēlæhton his hond, and his wifes hond and his dohtra and ēlæddon hie ut of þære byｒ, forþon þe God heom ārode. Þā englas cwǣdon him tō, “Beorh þinum fēore: ne beseoh þū underbæc; nē þū ne ætstond nāhwār on ðissum earde, ac ēgeborh dē on þām munte, ðæt dū samod ne losige.” Dā cwǣð Loð, “Īc bidde þē, mīn Drihten, nū þū ðīne mildheortnesse mē cyddest, forðon dē iċ ne mæḡ on þām munte mē ēgeorgan, þy læs dē mē ðær ēgefō sum fǣrlīc yfel. Nū is hēr gehende ān ēghwēde burh tō þære iċ mæḡ flēon and mínun fēore ēgeorgan.” Him wæs dā ēgeondswarod þus: “Īc underfēng ðīne bēne, dæt iċ þa burh ne tōwende, nū þū wilt ðīder buḡan. Efst ardīlice ðīder, forþon dē iċ nān ðīng ne dō, ār þon de þū ðīder cume.” And sēo burh wæs ēghāten forðy, Segor.

ārīsað, imp. pl. of ārīsan
farað, imp. pl. of faran
burg, acc. sg. of burg
ģēūht, pass. part. of ĺynċan
gameniġende, act. part. of gamenian
sprêce, pret. sg. sj. of sprecan
āris, imp. sg. of ārīsan
nim, imp. sg. of niman
far, imp. sg. of faran
losige, pres. sg. sj. of losian
wandode, 3 sg. pret. of wandian
gelæhton, pret. pl. of læċcan
hond, acc. sg. of hand
gelæddon, pret. pl. of lǣdan
ārode, 3 sg. pret. of ārian
beorph, imp. sg. of beorgan
fēore, dat. sg. of feorh

beseoh, imp. sg. of besōn
ætstond, imp. sg. of ætstandan
cyddest, 2 sg. pret. of cyðan
mǣḡ 1 and 3 sg. pres. of magan
ģefō, pres. sg. sj. of fōn
ģeondswarod, pass. part. of and-swarian
underfēng, 3 sg. pret. of underfōn
tōwende, sg. sj. of tōwendan
wilt, 2 sg. pres. of willan
efst, imp. sg. of efestan
cume pres. sg. sj. of cuman
ģēhāten, pass. part. of ēhātan
Segor is associated with a Hebrew root meaning ‘to make small’ (cf. ēghwēde 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. bidja, compare OE biddan, OFris. bidda, OSax. biddian, OHG bitten. The chief cause of gemination is a following j: in a form like PGmc. *liƀjan ‘live’, if the syllable boundary is fixed between ƀ and j, the result is almost inevitably gemination of ƀ, since *liƀ.ƀjan and *liƀ.ƀjan (where the point marks the syllable boundary) are more or less indistinguishable acoustically. (Note that voiced fricatives become stops in gemination: hence, *liƀƀjan 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 sēċan ‘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:


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. sečadwe ‘shade’. These are declined the same way as the a-stems and ơ-stems, except that in the cases in which the a- and ơ-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. sečadu. When the root syllable is heavy, this word-final -u is lost just the way final -u is lost in the nominative singular of ơ-stems and the nom.-acc. plural of neuter a-stems. An example is sē o međ ‘the meadow’, dat. mēdwe. 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 rīċe ‘the kingdom’.
Singular

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sē hierde</td>
<td>þone hierde</td>
<td>þæs hierdes</td>
<td>þæm (þám) hierde</td>
<td>þý (þon, þé) hierde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom./Acc.</th>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>Dat./Instr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>þā hierdas</td>
<td>þāra hierda</td>
<td>þēm (þām) hierdum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *rīce* (with -*e < -i* derive from *hardijaz* and *rikijan*, whereas *a*-stems *stān* and *sċip* 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 *sprēċ* *'speech'*. But these are reflected 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, ɣ, 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 *[ʧ]*, and [ɣ] 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:

* *kastrō > *caestr - > čeaster town*
* *żata- > *żeť - > ęęt gate*
* *skasta- > *ścaęt - > śceat shaft*
* *kellōn > *ċellō - > ċielle lamp*
* *żefan > *gefę - > ęęfąn give*
* *skeran > *ścérān - > śćierān cut*

* *kākōn > *čækō - > čace cheek*
* *żęfän > *ępęfęn - > ęęfęson gave*
* *skępa- > *śčęp > śchéap sheep*

* *kē- not attested*
* *żęt > *ęęt - > ěęt still*
* *skętōn > *śčętō - > śćiète cloth*
The rule thus is that after the palatal sounds [ʧ, j, ʃ] there is diphthongization of ɐ and e to ɐa and ɐe, respectively. Note that the vowel ɐ 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 *čerl > ɐeerl ‘freeman’ and similar words.


READING

Gen. 19:23–38

Loð cöm þā tō Segor þā dā sunne upp ēode, and God sende tō þām burgum ealbirmendne regnsčur mid swefle ɐgemenged, and dā sceamleasan fordyde. God tōwearp dā swā mid graman dā burga, and ealne ðone eard endemes tōwende, and ealle þā burhwarra forbærnde ætgædere, and eall ðæt grōwende wæs, weard ľadilegod. Þā beseah Loðes wif unwíslice underbæc, and weard sōna ñwend tō ðnum sealstāne, nā for wiglunge, ac for gewisre getācnunge. Þā behēold Ābraham on ārnemergen ðiderweard, and ġesēh hū þā ysla upp flugon mid þām smieče. And God þā ālīesde Loð for Ābrahame.

Loð dā ne dorste leng wunian on Segor, ac fērde mid his twām dohtrum áfyrht tō þām munte, and ðār on ðnum scraef ealle ðrēo wunodon. Dā cwaed seo ieldre dohtor tō hire ġingræn sweostor, “Ure fæder is eald man, and nān ðōder we orgel on ealre eorþon, ðe unc mēge habban. Uton fordrenčean ðurne fæder færlice mid wine, and uton līcgn mid him, þæt sum láf hēo his cynnes.” Hie dydon dā swā, and fordrencton heora fæder, and ēode seo ieldre sweostor ærest tō his bedde, and seo fæder nyste hū hē befēng on hie for ðīere druncenesse, nē hū hēo dearnunga ārās. Eft hie fordrencton ðone unwaran Loð, and seo ġingre dohtor ēode tō his bedde, and seo fæder nyste hū hē befēng on hie, nē hwonne hēo ārās, for his druncennesse.

Hie wēron dā ēacniṅende, and seo ieldre ācende sunu, ðone hēo hēt Moab; sē is Moabitiscrā fæder oð ðīne andweardan dēg. And seo ðōder ācende sunu, ðone hēo hēt Amon, ðæt is “Mīnes folces sunu”; hē is þāra Amonitisćrā fæder oð ðīne ondweardan dēg.

| sende, 3 sg. pret. of sendan | burga, acc. pl. of burg |
| gé_gemenged, pass. part. of menган | tōwende, 3 sg. pret. of tō_wendan |
| fordan, forðærnde, 3 sg. pret. of for-bærnan | grōwende, act. part. of grōwan |
| tōwearp, 3 sg. pret. of tō-wearpan | weard, 3 sg. pret. of weordan |
ādilegod, pass. part. of ādílegian
āwend, pass. part. of āwendan
behēold, 3 sg. pret. of behealdan
flugon, pret. pl. of flēogan
dorste, 3 sg. pret. of durran
lenģ, comp. of lange
brēo: 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
māège, pret. sg. sj. of magan
fordreνcton pret. pl. of fordreνcan
nyste = ne + wiste, 3 sg. pret. of witan
befēŋ, 3 sg. pret. of befōn
ārās, 3 sg. pret. of ārisan
ēacniġende, act. part. of ēacnian
hēt, 3 sg. pret. of hātan
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 *þeupiljan- became already in Proto-Germanic times *biðjan- and *þiuþjan-. 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, ü is fronted to ų 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 *hraer > here ‘army’. This set of changes may be summarized as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ũ} & > \text{ŷ}, \text{as in } *\text{hu}ʒiz > \text{hy}če, \text{and } *\text{furiz} > \text{fyr} \\
\text{ő} & > \text{реш}, \text{as in } *\text{dohtri} > \text{dehter}, \text{and } *\text{sōkjan} > \text{sēčan} \\
\text{ā} & > \text{ǣ} (\text{with } \text{ā} \text{from Gmc. } \text{ai}), \text{as in } *\text{saŋkjo} > \text{sæčč}, \text{and } *\text{dāljan} > \text{daľan} \\
\text{ā} & > \text{ē} \text{before nasal consonants (i.e. } [\varepsilon(%)] > [ɛ(%)]; \text{this } \text{ā} \text{from Gmc. } \text{ā}), \text{as in } *\text{manniz} > \text{menn}, \text{and } *\text{kwāniz} > \text{cwēn} \\
\text{æ} & > \text{e}, \text{as in } *\text{laŋjan} > *\text{læggjan} > \text{lečgan} \\
\text{ēa} & > \text{ie}, \text{as in } *\text{elidjan-} > \text{ieldran}, \text{and } *\text{nēahistan-} > \text{nīehstan} \\
\text{īo} & > \text{īe}, \text{as in } *\text{biorhtipō} > \text{bierhtu}, \text{and } *\text{ʒetriowijaz} > \text{getriewe}
\end{align*}
\]

We might have expected *saŋkjo to have developed to **sečč, just as *laŋjan became lečgan, due to the application of Anglo-Frisian brightening before front mutation; but before front mutation could apply, æ in *saŋkjo 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 ō. 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.


**76.** In the list above of sounds affected by front mutation, there is no $e$ or $ē$ 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. čēosan beside 3 sg. *čīosiþ* (not *čīosiþ*), the latter then undergoing front mutation and syncope to give OE čiēst. To simplify an understanding of front mutation, the developments $e > i$ and $ē > ī$ 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:

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>hwā</td>
<td>hwēt</td>
<td>hwēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>hwone</td>
<td>hwēt</td>
<td>hwēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>hwēs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>hwēm, hwām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>hwŷ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instr. *hwŷ*, 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 *hwēre* 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 *hwēre* 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 (Lōdes 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 áliesde 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 Āris and nim dīn 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 ġelēddon hie út of þære byr̅g, for þon de God heom ārode and Nū is hēr gehende ān gehwæde burh tō þære iċ maeg 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 Lōd cōm þā tō Segor þā dā sunne upp ēode, and God sende tō þām burgum ealbirndende reğnsćūr mid swefle ğemenģ- ed, and dā sceamlēasan 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 Antiochī  

CHAPTER IX

ēinges naman wæs s

nesse. Mid þ

íl

micle m®rða b

hwunrihtre ğ

b

ielde, ac sume dæ

līċ

Ðhl®fdi ğ

mōm "¶r ð

cylde ābisgode and þā

ewilnode his ē

eseah hie ð®r sittan on mi

ūf

fe

re þ®r h

ā

dor, n
dor cwæð, "Hl®fdi ğ

ābræc āwō

ielde
dohtor ğ

mihte h

for ğ

ē

ielde besmiten.

þæt mæ

ġīc
tan sprecan wolde. Hwæt, h

ā

for

ē

ellæ

ā

forwurdon tw

nra br

īeġ ğ

e on ð®re m

ōm t

ġē
tan ğ

ā

fæderlican ľræstnesse and ģew

wnode his āgenre dohtor him tō ģemæċcān; and þā ģew

wilnunge nāht lange ne ielde, ac sume dæge on āernemerġen þā ğe of slæpe āvōc, hē ģbræc intō dām būre þēr hēo inne læg and hēt his hiredmen ealle him āweg gān, swylcē hē wið his dohtor sume diegle spræcē sprecan wold. Hwaet, hē dā on dāere mānfūllan scylde ābisgode and þā ongēanwinnendan fēmnan mīd mīcelre strengðe earfoð-

liċ ofercōm, and þæt ģefremede mān ģew

wilnode tō bedieglianne.

Dā gewearō hīt þæt þæs mægdenes föstormōdor intō dām būre ōde ond ģeseah hie dār sittan mīd mīcelre ġedrēfednesse and hire cwǣd tō, "Hwē eart þū, hlǣfdīge, swā ġedrēfedes mōdes?" þæt mægden hire andswarode, "Lēof föstormōdor, nū tōdæġ forwurdon twēgen ædele naman on þissum būre." Sēo föstormōdor cwǣd, "Hlǣfdīge, bē hwām cwist þū þæt?" Hēo hire andwyrdre and cwǣd, "Ār dām dāge mīnra brýdgiṭa ić eom mīd mānfūlre scylde besmiten.”

gehāten, pass. part. of hātan
(ge)wearð, 3 sg. pret. of weordan
ģewiten, pass. part. of witan
hæfde, 3 sg. pret. of habban
ģiernde, 3 sg. pret. of ģiernan
bēodende, act. part. of bēodan
ģelamp, 3 sg. pret. of limpan; see §66 on impersonal verbs
þōhte, 3 sg. pret. of penċan
mīhte, 3 sg. pret. sj. of magan
hēalīcōst, superl. of hēaliċē
ģefēol, 3 sg. pret. of feallan
forġeal, 3 sg. pret. of forģietan
ģewīlnode, 3 sg. pret. of ģewīlnian
dohtor, gen. sg. of dohtor
ielde, 3 sg. pret. of ieldan
āvōc, 3 sg. pret. of ģawacan
ābræc, 3 sg. pret. of ģabbrēcan
læg, 3 sg. pret. of liċgan
hēt, 3 sg. pret. of hātan
ābisgode, 3 sg. pret. of ģabisgian
ongēanwinnendan, act. part. of ongēanwinnan
ofercōm, 3 sg. pret. of ofercum
ģefremedē, pass. part. of frerm-
man, wk. acc. sg. neut.
mān, acc. sg., object of be-
dieglianne, which is an inf.
andswarode, 3 sg. pret. of and-
swarian
forwurdon, pret. pl. of for-
weordan
cwist, 2 sg. pres. of cwēdān
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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. iċ brūce ‘I use’</td>
<td>wē brūcāp ‘we use’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ḫu brūcst ‘you (sg.) use’</td>
<td>ġē brūcāp ‘you (pl.) use’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. hē, hēo, hit brūcph ‘he, she, it uses’</td>
<td>hie brūcāp ‘they use’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Front mutation is always to be expected only in the 2 and 3 singular, which bore the endings *-is and *-iph 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 consonantal clusters may undergo phonological simplification. First, the voiceless consonants of the endings -st and -p 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 [rɛs] and fifth as [fɪθ]. The commonest changes of this sort affecting the second person are these:

-dst > -tst, or later -st: ritst (inf. ridan), bietst (bēodan), finst (findan), hāst (hātan)
-ḥst > -st or -tst: cwist (cweðan), wierst (weorðan), snītst (snīðan)

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

-tb > -t(t): biet(t) (bēatan), aētwit(t) (aētwītan), fieht (feohtan)
-dp > -t(t): biet(t) (bēodan), rit(t) (ridan), bīnt (bindan)
-sp > -st: rīst (rīsan), ċīest (ċēosan)

Occasionally, examples of devoicing of g before -st or -p are encountered, for example sprincst (springan), stīhst (stīgan), and bierhþ (beorgan). Since geminate
consonants are reduced before and after other consonants (on which see §65), a form such as *ris-st (risan) will appear only as rist and *wierp-þ (weordan) only as wierp.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single Stem</th>
<th>Dual Stem</th>
<th>Plural Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>föt, fōt</td>
<td>mann, mannes</td>
<td>bōc, böca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>fōtes, mannes</td>
<td>byrģ, byrģ</td>
<td>bēc, bēc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>fēt, menn</td>
<td>byrģ, byrģ</td>
<td>bēc, bēc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single Stem</th>
<th>Dual Stem</th>
<th>Plural Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>fēt, föta</td>
<td>menn, manna</td>
<td>byrģ, bōca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>fōtum, mannum</td>
<td>burga, burgum</td>
<td>bōcum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>fāder, fēder</td>
<td>brōbor, brēber</td>
<td>mōdor, mēder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dohtor, dehter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 fréond ‘friend’ and féond ‘enemy’, formed with the agentive suffix -end ‘-er’ from the verbs frēōgan ‘love’ and féoġan ‘hate’, are declined like fōt, but most other nouns with this suffix (e.g. āgend ‘owner’, hēlend ‘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 fāder ‘the father’, sē brōbor ‘the brother’, sēo mōdor ‘the mother’, and sēo dohtor ‘the daughter’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single Stem</th>
<th>Dual Stem</th>
<th>Plural Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc., Gen.</td>
<td>fāder, fōder</td>
<td>brōbor, brēber</td>
<td>mōdor, mēder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>fāder, fēder</td>
<td>brēber, mēder</td>
<td>dehter, dohter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fæd(e)ras</td>
<td>brōðor</td>
<td>mōdra, -u</td>
<td>dohtor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fæd(e)ra</td>
<td>brōbra</td>
<td>mōdra</td>
<td>dohra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fæderum</td>
<td>brōbrum</td>
<td>mōdrum</td>
<td>dohtrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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- alternation 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’, āġ ‘egg’, and ċild ‘child’:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ċealf</td>
<td>lamb</td>
<td>āġ</td>
<td>ċild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ċealfes</td>
<td>lambes</td>
<td>āġes</td>
<td>ċildes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ċealfe</td>
<td>lambe</td>
<td>āġe</td>
<td>ċilde</td>
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</tbody>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ċealfru</td>
<td>lambru</td>
<td>āġru</td>
<td>ċildru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ċealfra</td>
<td>lambra</td>
<td>āġra</td>
<td>ċildra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ċealfrum</td>
<td>lambrum</td>
<td>āġrum</td>
<td>ċildrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hāelo 1.22 (p. 224).

83. Certain words may be conjunctions or adverbs, depending on whether they appear in dependent or independent clauses: these include þā ‘when, then’ (used with the past tense), þonne ‘when, then’ (in future, consuetudinal, and conditional constructions), þēr ‘where, there’, þēah ‘although, yet’, forþām ‘because, therefore’, and siddan ‘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 dā dā hē wæs .lxxvii. wintra ‘He died when he was seventy-seven years old’ (ChronE 565), and þæt hie mehten faran unbefohtene þēr þēr 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 þēah þe ‘although’, swā þēah ‘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) þā hi þyderweard wāeron, þā cōm him swilc wind ongēan . . . ‘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) Sōðlīcē, ðēr ðēr ðīn goldhord is, þēr bið þīn heorte ‘Truly, where your gold hoard is, there will your heart be’ (ÆCHomII 7, 63.106).

**READING**


On þissum þīngum sōðlīcē þūrhwunode sē ārlēasosta cyning Antiochus and mid ġēhwodon mōde hine selfne ætliwde his ċeasterġewarum swylcē hē ārfæst fǣder wāre his dohtor. And betwux his hīwcūðum mannum hē blissode on dām þæt hē his āγenre dohtor wer wæs. And tō dām þæt hē þy lēŋ brūcan meahte his dohtor ārlēasan brydbeddes and him fram ādrifan þā dē hīr ġierndon tō rihtum ġēsinscīpum, hē āsette dā rǣdels, þūs ġewendē: “Swā hwillic man swā minne rǣdels rihte ārēde, onfō sē minre dohtor tō wīf, and sē dē hīne misrēde, sie hē behēáfod.” Hwēt is nū māre ymbe þæt tō sprecenone bútan þæt cyningas āeȝhwanan cōmon and ealdormen for dām ungelīfelecdeon wīte þæs mēgdnes, and þōn dēad hie oferhogodon and þōne rǣdels understōdon tō ārēndenne. Ac giȝ hēora hwillic þūn þūr hāmēaugunge bōclīcre snotornesse þōne rǣdels āriht rǣdde, þōne weārō sē tō behēáfodunge ġēlād swā some swā sē dē hīne āriht ne rǣdde. And þā ġēafdu ealle wurdon ġesette on ufewordan þām ġeate.

| ondrēde, 3 sg. pret. sj. of on- |
| drēdan |
| sægst, 2 sg. pres. of secgan |
| forworden, pass. part. of for- |
| weordan |
| ġelicað, 3 sg. pres. of lician |
| cliopode, 3 sg. pret. of clipian |
| bēd, 3 sg. pret. of biddan |
| ġewende 3 sg. pres. sj. of wenden |
ğebūge, 3 sg. pres. sj. of būgan
ğenēadod, pass. part. of nēadian
þurhwunode, 3 sg. pret. of þurh- 
wunian
ārlēasosta, superl. of ārlēas
ğehīwodan, pass. part. of hīwan
blissode, 3 sg. pret. of blissian
 tô ďám ]**for the purpose that**
meahte, 3 sg. pret. of magan
ģierndon, pret. pl. of ġiernan
āsette, 3 sg. pret. of āsettan
āræde, misræde, sg. pres. sj. of 
ārædan, misrædan

onfō, sg. pres. sj. of onfōn
behēafdod, pass. part. of be-
heāfdian
cōmon, pret. pl. of cuman
ofehogodon, pret. pl. of ofer-
hogian
understōdon, pret. pl. of under-
standan
ğelēd, pass. part. of lēdan
wurdon, pret. pl. of weorðan
ğesette, pass. part. of settan
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 uninfl ected 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ætwitan reproach</th>
<th>Ætwāt</th>
<th>Ætwiton</th>
<th>Ætwiten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bidan wait</td>
<td>Bād</td>
<td>Bidon</td>
<td>Biden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitan bite</td>
<td>Bāt</td>
<td>Biton</td>
<td>Biten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drīfan drive</td>
<td>Drāf</td>
<td>Drīfon</td>
<td>Drīfen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glīdan glide</td>
<td>Glād</td>
<td>Glidon</td>
<td>Gliden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hrīnan touch</td>
<td>Hrān</td>
<td>Hrīnon</td>
<td>Hrīnen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snīdan cut</td>
<td>Snād</td>
<td>Snidon</td>
<td>Sniden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stīgan ascend</td>
<td>Stāh</td>
<td>Stīgon</td>
<td>Stīgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writan write</td>
<td>Wrāt</td>
<td>Writon</td>
<td>Writen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonant alternation in *stīgan* (pret. *stāh*) is due to the devoicing of fi nal fricatives (§64); similarly, in *drīfan* the f is voiced, whereas in *drīf* it is voiceless. The consonant alternation in *snīdan* 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-ristan I” in the glossary indicates that this is a strong verb of the first class; hence, its principal parts are āristan, 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) bēodan offer ēad budon boden
cēosan choose ēas curon coren
drēogan endure drēah drugon drogen
flēogan fly flēah flugon flogen
frēosan freeze frēas fruron froren
ġēotan pour ēat guton goten
sēōzan boil sēāb sudon soden
(b) brūcan use brēac brucon brocen
būgan bend bēah bugon bogen
lūcan lock lēac lucon locen
sūcan suck sēac sucon socen

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

87. Under certain conditions the voiceless fricatives [f, s, θ, x] were voiced to [β, z, δ, ρ] 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 cēosan and snīðan, which have r and d, respectively, for s and δ in those principal parts. After Gmc. [s] became [z] it underwent rhotacism (§82) in West and North Germanic, giving r; [δ] 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 δ may be either a voiced or a voiceless sound in Old English, it always derives from a voiceless sound in Germanic, since Gmc. [θ] becomes [d] in Old English.

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

INDICATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pres. Sg. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>Pl. 1–3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stīge</td>
<td>bēode</td>
<td>brūce</td>
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</tr>
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<td>stīhs(t)</td>
<td>bie(t)st</td>
<td>brýcst</td>
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<td></td>
<td>stīhp</td>
<td>biet(t)</td>
<td>brýcp</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stīgað</td>
<td>bēodað</td>
<td>brūcað</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pret. Sg. 1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
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<th>Pl. 1–3.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stāh</td>
<td>bēad</td>
<td>brēac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stīge</td>
<td>bude</td>
<td>bruce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stāh</td>
<td>bēad</td>
<td>brēac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stīgon</td>
<td>budon</td>
<td>brucon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER XI

SUBJUNCTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Sg. 1–3.</td>
<td>stīġe</td>
<td>bēode</td>
<td>brūce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3.</td>
<td>stīġen</td>
<td>bēoden</td>
<td>brūcen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. Sg. 1–3.</td>
<td>stīġe</td>
<td>bude</td>
<td>bruce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3.</td>
<td>stīġen</td>
<td>buden</td>
<td>brucen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 2.</td>
<td>stīh</td>
<td>bēod</td>
<td>brūc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 2.</td>
<td>stīgað</td>
<td>bēodað</td>
<td>brūcað</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NON-FINITE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uninfl. inf.</td>
<td>stīgan</td>
<td>bēodan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infl. inf.</td>
<td>tō stīgenne</td>
<td>tō bēodenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Part.</td>
<td>stīgende</td>
<td>bēodende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass. Part.</td>
<td>stīgen</td>
<td>boden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: gripan (pres. pl. ind.); strūdan (pret. sj. pl.); rēocan (3 sg. pres. ind.); glidan (2 sg. pres. ind.); drēogan (pass. part.); ścīfan (pl. pret. ind.); hrēosan (3 sg. pret. ind.); ścūfan (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 cweð tō his fæder, upāhafenēm ēagum tō hēofenum . . . ‘The Savior said to his Father, his eyes raised up to the heavens . . .’ (ÆCHomII 22, 206.5) and Sōdlīcē, ġewordenūm flōde, hit flōw intō þām hūse ‘Truly, when a flood occurred, it flowed into the house’ (Lk[WSCp] 6.48).

READING

Mid þy sōdliċē Antiochus sē wælreōwa cyning on þisse wælreōwnesse þurh-wunode, dā wæs Apollōnius gehāten sum ġeong man sē wæs swīðe wēlīg and
snotor and wæs ealdorman on Tīrō þære mægðe, sē getruwode on his snotornesse and on ðā bōclican lære and āgan rōwan oð þæt hē becōm tō Antiochian.


mid þū, while
Tīrō, dat. sg. of Tīrus (Lat. dative-ablative ending)
āgan, 3 sg. pret. of āğinand
wes, see §52
gehieran in the sense ‘obey, conform to’ here unusually takes a gen. object
canst, can, 2 and 1 sg. pres. of cunningan
gehier, imp. sg. of hieran
þoliģe, 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’.

flāese, dat. (rather than gen. with brūceb) 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 smēaġan
Þōwan, 3 sg. pret. of winnan
āsettest, 2 sg. pret. of āsettan
cwǣde, 2 sg. pret. ind. or sj. of cweðan
þolōdest, 2 sg. pret. of þolian
beseoh, imp. sg. of besēon
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) \textit{beorgan} protect \quad \textit{bearth} \quad \textit{burgon} \quad \textit{borgen} \\
\textit{feohtan} fight \quad \textit{feahht} \quad \textit{fuhton} \quad \textit{fohten} \\
\textit{weorpan} throw \quad \textit{warp} \quad \textit{wurpon} \quad \textit{worpen} \\
\textit{weordan} become \quad \textit{wearð} \quad \textit{wurdon} \quad \textit{worden}

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 *\textit{werpan} and *\textit{werp} < *\textit{warp}. The alternation between \( ð \) and \( d \) in \textit{weorðan} is due to Verner’s law, as explained in §87. Breaking has also affected the type with \( l \) after the root vowel:

(b) \textit{delfan} dig \quad \textit{dealf} \quad \textit{dulfon} \quad \textit{dolfen} \\
\textit{helpan} help \quad \textit{healp} \quad \textit{hulpon} \quad \textit{holpen} \\
\textit{swellan} swell \quad \textit{sweal(l)} \quad \textit{swullon} \quad \textit{swollen}

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 \textit{sweal} and \textit{sweall}, see §65. Another subtype is similar but has diphthongization by initial palatal consonants in the present:

(c) \textit{igrations} pay \quad \textit{geld} \quad \textit{guldon} \quad \textit{golden} \\
\textit{giellan} yell \quad \textit{geal(l)} \quad \textit{gullon} \quad \textit{gollen} \\
\textit{gielpan} boast \quad \textit{gealp} \quad \textit{gulpon} \quad \textit{golpen}

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) \textit{bindan} bind \quad \textit{band} \quad \textit{bundon} \quad \textit{bunden} \\
\textit{climban} climb \quad \textit{clamb} \quad \textit{clumbon} \quad \textit{clumen} \\
\textit{drincan} drink \quad \textit{dranc} \quad \textit{druncon} \quad \textit{druncen} \\
\textit{swimman} swim \quad \textit{swam(m)} \quad \textit{swummon} \quad \textit{swummen}
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, *kleban > 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) birnan burn  
    irnan run  
    barn burnon burnen  
    arn urnon urnen

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) bređdan brandish  
    stređdan strew  
    berstan burst  
    þerscan thresh  
    brægð brugdon brogden  
    strægð strugdon strogden  
    bàrst burston borsten  
    þærsþ ðorsþ þorsþen

It may seem surprising that there is no breaking in forms of *berstan* and *perscan*; 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, clumber*, 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, sweorcan, sćiellan, ćeorfan, 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’, *ādrinčan* ‘be drowned’, *āhēawan* ‘cut off’, *ārēdan* ‘interpret’, *āsendan* ‘send away’, and *āstådan* ‘stand up’. At other times it merely intensifies the action of the verb, as with *āmédan* ‘extol’ and *āmeldian* ‘betray’.

- *be-* , like *ā-* , may intensify or perfect the verb, as with *begān* ‘traverse, overrun’ and *bećeorfan* ‘cut off’; or it may turn an intransitive verb into a transitive one, as with *behycgan* ‘consider’ and *berinnan* ‘run upon’; or it may have the meaning ‘around, over’, as with *befōn* ‘surround’ and *begeōtan* ‘pour over’.

- *ed-* is comparable to MnE *re-* , as with *edniwian* ‘renew’ and *edstådlorian* ‘reestablish’.

- *for-* in adjectives and adverbs has an intensifying function (cf. *formaniţ* ‘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 *forweorđan* ‘perish’.

- *fore-* , just as in Modern English, indicates precedence, as with *forecŷdan* ‘prophesy’ and *forepencan* ‘premeditate’.

- *ģe-* 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 *ģefaran* ‘die’, *ģegăn* ‘overrun’, and *ģeridan* ‘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’, *onēlan* ‘kindle’, and *onlihtan* ‘illuminate’; or it may reverse the action of the verb, as with *onlūcan* ‘unlock’, *ongyrdan* ‘unbuckle’, and *ontŷnan* ‘open’.

- *of-* may serve to perfect the action of the verb, as with *ofridan* ‘overtake by riding’, and *ofslēan* ‘strike off or down, kill’.
oð- may mean 'away', as with oðferian 'take away' and oðröwan 'escape by rowing'.
tō- may have the sense 'apart', as with tōbrecan 'break up', tōfēran 'go in different directions', and tōtēon 'pull apart'.
wiþ- generally implies some sort of opposition, as with wiþcēosan 'reject' and wiþgān 'oppose'.

**READING**

Mid þy þe sê cyning gehierde þæt Apollōnius þone rǣdels swā rihte ārǣdde, þā ondrēd hē þæt hit to wicdūd wēre. Beseah dā mid ierlicm andwlan to him and swǣð, “Dū geonga man, þū eart feor fram rihte; þū dwelast and nis nāht þæt þū sægst; ac þū hæfst behēafundeg ġeearnod. Nū lāte ic dē tō prittīgā daga fec þæt þū bēpenċe dōne rǣdels āriht, and dū siðdan onfōh minre dohtor tō wife, and ġif dū þæt ne dēst, þū scēalt oncnāwan þone ġesettan dōm.” Dā weard Apollōnius swīode ġedrēfed and mid his ġefērum on scīp āstāh and rēow oð þæt hē becōm tō Tirum.

Sōlliċe, æfter þām þe Apollōnius āfaren wēs, Antiochos sē cyning him tō ġeċiegde his dihtnere sē wēs Thaliarcus gehāten: “Thaliarc, ealra minra diegolnessa min sē getriewesta þegn, wite þū þæt Apollōnius āriht ārǣdde minne rǣdels. Astīh nū hrǣdliċe on scīp and frā æfter him, and þonne þū him tō becum, þonne ācwel dū hine mid isene oðde mid ātte, þæt þū mæge frēodām onfōn þonne þū ongēan cymst.” Thaliarcus sōna swā hē þæt gehierde, hè ġēnam mid him ġe feoh ġe āttor and on scīp āstāh and för æfter þām unsċeaðōgan Apollōnīe oð ðæt hē tō his ēdle becōm. Ac Apollōnīus þēahhwǣdre ār becōm tō his āgenan and intō his ĥūse ġode and his bócciaste onţynde and āsmēade þone rǣdels æfter ealra ūwītēna and Chaldēa wisdōme. Mid þy þe hē nāht elles ne onfunde būton þæt hē ār ġeþōhte, hē swǣð þā tō him sēlfum, “Hwæt dēst þū nū, Apollōni? Dēs cyninges rǣdels þū āsmēadest and þū his dohtor ne onfēnge; forðām þū eart nū fordēmed þæt þū ācweldad weorðe.” And hē þā ūt ġode and hēt his scīp mid hwǣte ġehlāsten and mid miclum gewihte goldes ond seolfres and mid maniġfealdum and genyhtsumum rēafum, and swā mid fēawum þām ġetriewestum mannum on scīp āstāh on ðēere þriddan tide þære nihte and slōh ūt on dā sēe.

| ondrēd, 3 sg. pret. of ondrēdan | onfōh, imp. sg. of onfōn |
| dwelast, 2. sg. pres. of dwelian | dēst, 2 sg. pres. of dōn |
| nis = ne is | sċealt, 2 sg. pres. of sċulan |
| hæfst, 2 sg. pres. of habban | ġesetтан, pass. part. of settan, acc. |
| ġeearnod, pass. part. of earnian | sg. masc. wk. |
| bēpenċe, pres. sg. sj. of bēpenċan | rēow, 3 sg. pret. of rōwan |
āfaren, pass. part. of āfaran
ģeċiegdē, 3 sg. pret. of ċeġan
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
ģenam, 3 sg. pret. of niman
fōr, 3 sg. pret. of faran
āsmēade, 3 sg. pret. of āsmēgan
onfunde, 3 sg. pret. of onfindan
ģepōhte, 3 sg. pret. of ābenčan
fordēmed, pass. part. of for-dēman
ācweald, pass. part. of ācwellan
hēt, 3 sg. pret. of ħātan
slōh, 3 sg. pret. of slēan
95. Verbs of the fourth strong class show nearly the same ablaut pattern as underlies the third class:

\(\text{(a)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Preterite-Plural</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beran</td>
<td>bær</td>
<td>bær</td>
<td>bærón</td>
<td>boren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brecan</td>
<td>bræc</td>
<td>bræc</td>
<td>bræcon</td>
<td>brocon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helan</td>
<td>hæl</td>
<td>hæl</td>
<td>hælon</td>
<td>holen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stelan</td>
<td>stæl</td>
<td>stæl</td>
<td>stælon</td>
<td>stolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teran</td>
<td>tær</td>
<td>tær</td>
<td>tærón</td>
<td>toren</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(\text{(b)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Preterite-Plural</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sċieran</td>
<td>sċear</td>
<td>sċear</td>
<td>sċēaron</td>
<td>sċore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also as in the third class, a following nasal consonant provokes changes in the root vowel in two important verbs:

\(\text{(c)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Preterite-Plural</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niman</td>
<td>nam, nōm</td>
<td>nōmon, nāmon</td>
<td>nūmon</td>
<td>numen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuman</td>
<td>c(w)ōm</td>
<td>c(w)ōmon</td>
<td>c(w)ōmon</td>
<td>cumen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These derive from \(nēman\) and \(kwēman\) (where \(\_\_\) 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. \(nēmun\) and \(kwēmun\); 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:

\(\text{(a)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Preterite-Plural</th>
<th>Past Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cweðan</td>
<td>cwæð</td>
<td>cwæð</td>
<td>cwædon</td>
<td>cweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metan</td>
<td>mæt</td>
<td>mæt</td>
<td>mæton</td>
<td>meten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprekan</td>
<td>spæc</td>
<td>spæc</td>
<td>spæcon</td>
<td>sprecen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tredan</td>
<td>træd</td>
<td>træd</td>
<td>trædon</td>
<td>treden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wesan</td>
<td>wæs</td>
<td>wæs</td>
<td>wæron</td>
<td>wæron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
CHAPTER XIII

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{b) } & \text{ġiefan} & \text{give} & \text{ġeaf} & \text{ġēfon} & \text{ġifen} \\
& \text{beġietan} & \text{acquire} & \text{beğeat} & \text{beğēaton} & \text{beğiiten}
\end{array}
\]

The stem -ġietan is not found unprefixed; 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, scieran, 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):

\[
\begin{array}{lcc}
\text{Singular} & \text{Plural} \\
\text{Nom., Acc.} & \text{wine} & \text{wine, winas} \\
\text{Gen.} & \text{wines} & \text{wina} \\
\text{Dat.} & \text{wine} & \text{winum}
\end{array}
\]

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 dāēd ‘deed’ beside dāede.

(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.

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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Nom., Acc.</th>
<th>sunu</th>
<th>winter</th>
<th>duru</th>
<th>hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen., Dat.</td>
<td>suna</td>
<td>wintra</td>
<td>dura</td>
<td>handa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Nom., Acc.</th>
<th>suna, -u</th>
<th>wintra</th>
<th>dura, -u</th>
<th>handa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>suna</td>
<td>wintra</td>
<td>dura</td>
<td>handa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>sunum</td>
<td>wintrum</td>
<td>durum</td>
<td>handum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’.

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 ġ 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 gān). 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 cyninge, or even cyninc, and frogga may be written frogga. 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 čg (or ǧc) 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 g, but i may also be used. Hence herges = heries (or, more commonly, heriğes) ‘of an army’ and ğeong = 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 ongannon þa rówan and hie forðweard wæron on heora weğ, þa wearð dære sæ Smylnnesse ñwend færinga betwux twâm tidum and wearð micel hréownes æweht, swá þæt sëo sæ cynste þa heofonlican tungla and þæt gewealc þara yða hwoðerode mid windum. Pærtœæcan cônmon ëastnorðerne windas, and sæ angrislica swðwesterna wind him ongðan stód, and þæt scip eal töbærst.

On ðissere eðelscian hréownesse Apollónius ȝeféræn ealle forwurdon tó dëæde, and Apollôniüs ãna becóm mid sünde tó Pentapolim þãm Þîriniscan londe and þær up ëode on ðâm stronde. Þa stód hê nacod on þâm strayde and beþeolþ þã sæ and cwaðæ, “Éalā þû së Neptûne, manna berëafígend and unsceadūgra beswicend, þû eart wælhréowra þonne Antiochus së cyningc. For minum þingum þû gehêolde þas wælhréowsnesse þæt ic þurh ðe ñgewurde wæðla and þearfa, and þæt sê wælhréowesta cyningc më þy ëad fordôn mihte. Hwider mæg ic nû faran? Hwæs mæg ic biddan oðde hwå gieð þãm uncûdan lífes fultum?” Mid þy þe hê þas þîngc wæs sprecende tò hîm selfum, þà færinga ȝeseah hê sumne fisçere gân. Tó þãm hê besæah and þus sárliçc cwaðæ: “Gemîltsa më, þû eald man, sìe þæt þù sìe; gemîldsa më nacodem, forlidenum, nàs nà of earmlicum byrdum ȝeborennum. And ðæs ðe ðû ȝearo forwite hwåm ðû gemîltsícge, ic eom Apollônius së Tiðiska ealdorman.” Ðà sóna swå së fisçere ȝeseah þæt sê iunga man æt his fòtum lêg, hê mid mildheortnesse hine up ãhôf and lîadde hine mid him tò his ëuse and ðà ëstas him beforan legde þê hê him tò bëodene hæfde. Ðà gïet hê wolde be his mihte màran ëarfèstnesse him ãcýðan; tòslät þa his wèðels on twâ and sæleðe Apollónige þone healfan dæl, þû cweðende: “Nim þæt ic þê tò sellenne hæbbe and gâ intô dære ëaste. Wên is þæt þû gemête sumne þê þê gemîltsicare. Îf ðû ne finde nêenne þê þê gemîltsian wille, wend þonne hider ongêan and gemîhtsümige unc bâm mine lýtlan ëhta, and far dê on fisçnoð mid më. Þëahhwæðre ic mynegie þê, îf ðû, fultumiendum
Gode, becymst tō dīnum ãrran weorðmynte, þæt þú ne forgiete minne þearf-endlican þegierlan.” Ðā cwæð Apollōnǐus, “Çif ic þē ne þeþence þonne mē bet bið, ic wŷscœ þæt ic eft forlidenennesse þefare and þinne þelican eft ne þemēte.”

smyltnesse is a late nom. sg.
āwend, pass. part. of āwendan
āweht, pass. part. of āweċcan
cnyste, 3 sg. pret. of cnyssan
hwoðerode, 3 sg. pret. of hwoðerian
behēold, 3 sg. pret. of behealdan
gehēolde, 2 sg. pret. of healdan
ēað, compar. of ēaþe
ģemiltsa, imp. sg. of miltsian
næs nā, not at all
læg, 3 sg. pret. of liċgan

āhōf, 3 sg. pret. of āhebban
lādde, 3 sg. pret. of lādan
leḡde, 3 sg. pret. of leċgan
sealde, 3 sg. pret. of sellan
gā, imp. sg. of gān
ģemēte, sg. pres. sj. of mētan
wend, imp. sg. of wendan
ǵenyhtsumiţe, 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) dragan draw drōh drōgon dragen, drægen
faran go för förön faren, færen
scēcan shake scēoc scēocon sceacen, sceacen
wadan advance wōd wōdon waden, wæden

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, færð 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 in prefix or suffix that disappears in the preterite, an ancient feature of the Indo-European languages:

(b) standan stand stōd stōdon standen
wæcnan awake wōc wōcon

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) hātan promise hēt hēton hāten
scēadan divide scēd scēdon scēåden
(b) lētan let lēt lēton lēten
rādan advise rēd rēdon rāden
slēpan sleep slēp slēpon slēpen
(c) blāwan blow blē(o)w blē(o)won blāwen
cnāwan know cnē(o)w cnē(o)won cnāwen
sāwan sow sē(o)w sē(o)won sāwen
The verb *rēdan* more usually has a weak pret. in WS, *rēdde*. 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 *sċẹādan*), pret. *skaiskaiþ*; and *lētan* (OE *lētan*), 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:

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

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 *hātte* ‘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. aiauk; thus, the new preterites to Gmc. *lētan and *blōtan were *l-e-āt- 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)redlīċ ‘quickly’ and wæl(h)rôew ‘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’), nāniğ (ēniğ ‘any’), nabban (habban ‘have’, pret. nefde), neom, neart, nis (eom, eart, is ‘am, are, is’), naes (wæs, pl. nāeron), nyllan (willan ‘wish’, pret. nolde), 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 næfre mē ne namīge, nē of mīnum lichaman dēadlicne wæstm ne sēcē, līt.* ‘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 ġetāht wæs, oð ðæt hē becōm tō þære čestre ġeate and dārīn ēode. Mid þŷ þe hē þōhte hwone hē biddan mihte līfes fultum, þā ġesæh hē ēennē nacodne ncanap ġeond þā strēete īrn, sē wæs mid ele ġesmierwod and mid scỹtan begyrd and bēr iungra manna plegan on handa tō dām bæōstedē belimpende, and cliopode mičelre stefne and cwæð, “Ģehiere ġe čeasterwaran, ġehiere ġe ēlōėodige, frīġe and þēowe, æēle and unæĊele, sē bæōstedē is open.”* Ðā ðā Apollónius þæt ġehierđe, hē hine unsčrydde þām healfan sćiċċesle ȏ se hē on hæfde and ēode intō dām þwēale, and mid þŷ þe hē behōeld heora ānra ġehwilcne on heora weorcē, hē sóhte his ġelīcan, ac hē ne mihte hine þær findan on ðām flocce. Ðā fāringa cōm Arcestra-tēs, ealre þære þēode cyningc, mid mičelre menio his manna and in ēode on þæt bæð. Ðā āgan sē cyningc plegan wiō hīs ġefēran mid þōdere, and Apollónius hīne ġemǣgnede, swā swā God wolde, on ðæs cyninges plegan and irnende þone ðōðor ġelāhtē, and mid swīftre rǣdnesse ġeslēġenne, ongēan ġesende tō dām plegendan cyninge. Eft hē āġēan āsēnde; hē rǣdliċe slōh swā hē hine nēfere feallan ne lēt. Sē cyningc ðā oncnēow ðæs iungan snelnesse, þæt hē wiste þæt hē nāfde hīs ġelīcan on þām plegan. Ðā cwæð hē tō hīs ġefēran, “Gāō ēow heonon. þēs cnīht, þæs þe mē þyncō, is mīn ġelīca.” Ðā ðā Apollónius ġehierđe þæt sē cyning hine herede, hē arn rǣdliċe and ġeṇǣlǣhte tō dām cyninge and mid ġelērēdre handa hē swang þone top mid swī ġiċelre swīftnesse þæt þām cyninge wæs ġēpūht swylĉe hē of ielde tō iuguō ġewend ēwere, and aefter þām on hīs cynesel tē hē ġecwēmlīċe ġēgnode. And þā ðā hē ūt ēode of dām bæðe, hē hine lǣdde be þære handa and hīm þā sidōn þanon ġewende þæs wēges þe hē ār cōm.

rædnesse, rædliċe = hrædnesse, hrædliċe
ģesleġenne, 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 gāō, imp. pl. of gān herede, 3 sg. pret. of herian ġenēalāċhte, 3 sg. pret. of nēa-lēċan hē swang āone top misconstrues the Latin, in which Apollonius instead massages the king ġeþūht, pass. part. of þynċan ġewend, pass. part. of wēdan lædde, 3 sg. pret. of lædan ġewende, 3 sg. pret. of wēdan þæs weġes, adverbial genitive (§27)
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**

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

**SUBJUNCTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pres. Sg.</th>
<th>fremme</th>
<th>herie</th>
<th>dēme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>fremmen</td>
<td>herien</td>
<td>dēmen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. Sg.</td>
<td>fremede</td>
<td>herede</td>
<td>dēmde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>fremeden</td>
<td>hereden</td>
<td>dēmden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IMPERATIVE**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. 2.</th>
<th>frem</th>
<th>here</th>
<th>dēm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 2.</td>
<td>fremmað</td>
<td>heriað</td>
<td>dēmað</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NON-FINITE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uninfl. inf.</th>
<th>fremman</th>
<th>herian</th>
<th>dēman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infl. inf.</td>
<td>tö fremmenne</td>
<td>tö herienne</td>
<td>tö dēmenne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Part.</td>
<td>fremmende</td>
<td>heriende</td>
<td>dēmende</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass. Part.</td>
<td>frem</td>
<td>hered</td>
<td>dēmed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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

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 -i- 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. 1.</th>
<th>Sg. 2.</th>
<th>Sg. 3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*framiðō</td>
<td>*haziðō</td>
<td>*dōmiðō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*framiðēs</td>
<td>*haziðēs</td>
<td>*dōmiðēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*framiðē</td>
<td>*haziðē</td>
<td>*dōmiðē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 3.</td>
<td>*framiðun</td>
<td>*haziðun</td>
<td>*dōmiðun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. dēmde, whereas the vowel remains (but is lowered to e) in fremede and herede. The pass. participle is not subject to syncope in its uninfluted form because i was in the final syllable rather than a medial one at the time syncope applied, as with OE dēmed < *dōmið; when the participle is inflected, however, just like other adjectives it may be subject to syncope, as with dat. sg. dēmdum < *dōmid-um; 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:  
- cemban *comb < *kamb(i)jan (cf. camb comb)  
- dēman *judge < *dōm(i)jan (cf. dōm judgment)  
- tūnan *enclose < *tūn(i)jan (cf. tūn enclosure)  
- werian *protect < *warjan (cf. waru protection)

From adjectives:  
- blēcan *bleach < *blaik(i)jan (cf. blāc pale)  
- cūðan *make known < *kūþ(i)jan (cf. cuð known)  
- fremman *perform < *framjan (cf. fram active)  
- hēlan *heal < *hail(i)jan (cf. hāl sound)

From verbs:  
- ferian *convey < *farjan (cf. faran go)  
- cwellan *kill < *kwaljan (cf. cwelan die)  
- leċgan *lay < *lagjan (cf. liċgan lie)  
- settan *set < *satjan (cf. sittan sit)

From adverbs:  
- āfierran *drive away < *ab-forr(i)jan (cf. feorr afar)  
- iecan *increase < *auk(i)jan (cf. ēac too)  
- yppan *reveal < *upjan (cf. up up)  
- ĕtan *drive out < *ūt(i)jan (cf. ūt out)

From these examples it should be plain that the suffix -j- adds causative meaning: blēcan 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, ðennan, onhyrian, wreþþan, senġan, drēfan, besċierian, lēran.

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’, mēden ‘maiden’, rēn ‘rain’, and þēnung ‘service’ beside bregdan, frīgnan, megden, regn, and þēgnung. 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’, wurp̣an
‘throw’, wurp mynd ‘dignity’, and wurp ‘becomes’ appear for earlier déorwierpe, swoerd, weorpan, weorþmynd, and wierp.

(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’, fremælp ‘does’, meæm ‘people’, and sendan ‘send’ beside more usual cæmpa, fremælp, 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 cæmpa ‘sign’, ‘shame’ and ġẹāra ‘year’. Words like scéamum ‘shame’ and ġeāra ‘formerly’ are unaffected, since e here is merely orthographic.

(d) In a process commonly called Late West Saxon smoothing, ŋa > ǣ before c, g, h, x and after c, s, c, and ġ. This change is reflected only intermittently in the orthography. Examples are sleh ‘struck’, hēh ‘high’, sēx ‘knife’, ege ‘eye’, bēcon ‘sign’, cēp ‘bargain’, scēft ‘shaft’, ġef ‘gave’, and ġér ‘year’. Words like scéamum ‘shame’ and ġeāra ‘formerly’ are unaffected, since e here is merely orthographic.

CHAPTER XV 79

READING

Dā cwæð sē cyningc tō his mannnum siððan Apollońius āgān wās, “Ic swérige þurh dā gemēnān ġelī þæt ic mē næfre bet ne baðode þonne ic dyde tôðæg, nāt ic þurh hwilcēs iunge mannes þēnunum.” Dā besah hē hine tō ānum his manna and cwæð, “Gā and gewite hwæt sē iunga man sie þe mē tôðæg swā wēl þēreðusome.” Sē se man dā ēode æfter Apollońio. Mid þy þe hē gesah þæt hē wās mid horgum sciċċesle bewēfed, þā wænde he ongēan tō dām cyninge and cwæð, “Sē iunga man þe þā æfter āxsode st is forlīden man.” Dā cwæð sē cyning, “Þurh hwæt wāst dū þæt?” Sē man him andswarode and cwæð, “Þēah hē hit self forswiġe, his þēgierlā hine ġeswutelā.” Dā cwæð se cyningc, “Gā rædlīcē and sæge him þæt sē cyningc bit dē þæt dú cume tō his ġerēorde.” Dā Apollońius þæt ġehierde, hē þām ġehjoursomede and ēode forð mid þām men oð þæt hē becōm tō ðēes cyninges healle. Dā ēode sē man in beforan tō dām cyninge and cwæð, “Sē forlīdena man is cumen þe þū æfter sændest, ac hē ne mæg for scēme in gān būton sċrūde.” Dā hēt sē cyningc hine sōna ġescrīdan mid wrūdfullan sċrūde and hēt hine in gān tō dām ġerēorde. Dā ēode Apollońius in and ġesæt þær him ġetēht wēs ongēan ðone cyningc. Ðēr weord dā sēo þēnun in ġeboren, and æfter þām, cynelic ġebeorscipe, and Apollońius nān ðingc ne ðet, dēah ðe ealle ðōre men ðetōn and blīde wēron, ac hē behēold þæt gold and þæt sælfor and dā déorwūðan rēaf and þā bēodas and þā cynelecan þēnunga. Dā dā hē þis eal mid
sārnesse behêold, ða sæt sum eald and sum æfestîg ealdorman be þām cyninge. Mid þý þe hê ðeseah þæt Apollônius swâ sârliçc sæt and ealle þingc behêold and nān ðingc ne ðet, ða cwæð hê tô dām cyninge, “Dû gôda cyninge, efnæ þës man þe þû swâ wel wið gedêst: hê is swîde æfestful for ðînum göde.” ða cwæð sê cyningc, “þê misþyncð. Sôðliçc þës iunga man ne æfestigað on nånum ðingum ðe hê hêr ðêsiehð, ac hê cyð þêt hê hêfð fela forloren.” ða ðeseah Arcestratês sê cyningc blîðum andwîitan tô Apollônio and cwæð, “þû iunga man, bêo bliðe mid ûs and gehyht on God þêt þû môte self tô dâm sêlran becuman.”

agān, pass. part. of agān
lē swerīγe þurh dā ġemēγan
hāelo 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 = þeġnunge
gā, imp. sg. of gān
ģewite, sj. sg. of witan used as imp.
ģehiersumode, 3 sg. pret. of hiersumian
wānde, 3 sg. pret. of wendan
āxسودest, 2 sg. pret. of ăcsian
wāst, 2 sg. pres. of witan
andswarode, 3 sg. pret. of andswarian
forswiγe, pres. sg. sj. of forswigan
ģeswutelað, 3 sg. pres. of sweotolian
seège, imp. sg. of secğan
sændest, 2 sg. pret. of sendan
bûton sêrūde construes Lat. abiecto habitu as ‘his garment having been cast aside’, but it is more properly ‘with a wretched garment’
wurōfullan = weorōfullan
ģesæt, 3 sg. pret. of sittan
ăt, 3 sg. pret. of etan
æfestigað, 3 sg. pres. of æfestigian
ģesiehð, 3 sg. pres. of sēon
haefð, 3 sg. pres. of habban
môte, pres. sg. sj. of mōtan
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:

```
sćierpan sharpen  sćierrte  sćierrped
  cēpan keep       cēpte       cēped
  wēysćan wish     wēysćte    wēysćed
  liexan illuminate liexte    liexed
  drenēcan drown   drenēcte  drenēcd
  iećan increase   iecte     ieced
```

113. Inflected forms of *sćierrped, cēped*, etc., are *sćierrpte, 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. *hreded, seted* (like *fremed*). 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:

```
treddan investigate  tredde  tred(d)
  lettan hinder       lette    let(t)
  lēdan lead          lēdde    lēd(d)
  mētan meet          mētte    mēt(t)
```

The verb *lećgan* ‘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 *wreðān* ‘sustain’ to *fremian, wreðian* in West Saxon, see the note on *penian* 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*.

115. Exercise. Give the principal parts of the following verbs. Verbs with geminates in the infinitive are light-stemmed unless otherwise specified: *wendan*, *bētan*, *wīscan*, *hwettan*, *rempan*, *senċan*, *swētan*, *ādwēscan*, *pyffan* (heavy-stemmed), *yppan* (heavy-stemmed), *cyssan* (heavy-stemmed), *cyssan*.

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) *cwellan* kill    *cwealde*    *cweald*
    *sellan* give    *sealde*    *seald*
    *tellan* tell    *tealde*    *teald*

(b) *laċčan* seize    *lähte*, *lēhte*    *läht*, *lēht*
    *reċčan* narrate    *reahte*, *rehte*    *reah*, *reht*
    *tēčan* teach    *tähte*, *tēhte*    *täht*, *tēht*
    *sēčan* seek    *sōhte*    *sōht*
    *wyrčan* work    *worhte*    *worht*
    *byčgan* buy    *bohte*    *boht*

(c) *brenɡan* bring    *bröhte*    *bröht*
    *þenčan* think    *þōhte*    *þōht*
    *þynčan* seem    *þūhte*    *þūht*

Similar are (a) *dwellan* ‘mislead’, *stellan* ‘position’, and (b) *cweččan* ‘vibrate’, *dreččan* ‘afflict’, *leččan* ‘moisten’, *reččan* ‘reach’, *streččan* ‘stretch’, *þecčan* ‘cover’, *w(r)ecčan* ‘cover’. The strong stem *bring-* is commoner in the present than the weak *brenɡ-*. 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*, *talðē* (rather than the expected *taliðē*). 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 *rećčan* and *þenčan*), 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. *sōktē > 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 *buktē > *buxtē > 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 ā. Hence, the inf. þenċan may be derived from *þankjan and pret. þōhte from *þanxtæ < *þanktē.

117. Perhaps the most important of the spelling alternations to be considered is the considerable confusion of ĩ, ĭ, and ĕ. 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 ĕe generally is no longer written thus. It is monophthongized to ĭ before palatal consonants, as with ican ‘increase’, ċigan ‘call’, and sihō ‘sees’ for iēcan, cieģan, and siēhō; otherwise it is represented by ĭ, as with yldra ‘older’, hŷran ‘hear’, and frŷnd ‘friends’ for ielīdra, hieran, and friend.

(b) Original ĭ also tends to be unrounded to ĭ before palatal consonants, as with drihten ‘lord’, bieģan ‘buy’, and wīsčan ‘wish’ for driehten, byęgān, and wŷscan.

(c) Confusion of ĭ and ĭ is broad in Late West Saxon, though in some manuscripts more than others. Particularly often ĭ appears for ĭ next to labial consonants or before r, as with myċel ‘large’, swŷpe ‘very’, and ĉyrīče ‘church’ for mīcēl, ĉwīpe, and ĉirīče.

118. Apollonius of Tyre is preserved only in Late West Saxon form, but the spelling of ĭ, ĭ, and ĕ 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) ĭ appears for ĭ in pī, pīnce, and ĝesingodest;

(b) ĭ appears for ĭ in hyre, dy sum, and ĝelymp;

(c) ĭ appears for ĭe in sŷ and ĝelysted; and

(d) ĭ appears for ĭe in ţe and ĝehīrde.

READING

Mid þī de sē cyning þás word ġecwæð, dā færinga þær ēode in þæs cyninges iunge dohtor and cyste hyre fæder and dā ymsittendan. Ðā hēo becōm tō

lēofesta, superl. of lēof
besorgað, 3 sg. pres. of besorgan
betst, superl. of wēl
ñaxa, imp. sg. of ácsian
ģeďafenað, 3 sg. pres. of dafenan
ģelaðode, 1 sg. pret. of laďian
wite, pres. sg. sj. of witan
ģēseō, 1 sg. pres. of sēon
sege, imp. sg. of seċgan
ñaxast, 2 sg. pres. of ácsian
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
ţįịwicor, compar. of ţįịlice
ţįmśingdest, 2 sg. pret. of ţįmgian
ṽwoldest, 2 sg. pret. of willan
haflast, 2 sg. pres. of habban
ţįednīwod, pass. part. of ţįndīwian
hæbbe, 1 sg. pres. of habban
ţįgdō, 1 sg. pres. of dōn
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 ïo changed early to ëo, 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 heafon ‘sky’, Eoforwic ‘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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ind.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Sg.</td>
<td>lufi(ḡ)e</td>
<td>lufi(ḡ)e</td>
<td>lufa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>lufast</td>
<td>lufi(ḡ)e</td>
<td>lufa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>lufað</td>
<td>lufi(ḡ)e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3.</td>
<td>lufi(ḡ)að</td>
<td>lufi(ḡ)en</td>
<td>lufi(ḡ)að</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. Sg.</td>
<td>lufode</td>
<td>lufode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>lufodest</td>
<td>lufode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>lufode</td>
<td>lufode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3.</td>
<td>lufodon</td>
<td>lufoden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>lufian, tō lufiene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parts.</td>
<td>lufiende, lufod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *-ð- 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 -p were added directly to the stem ending in *-ð-. Thus, there may be reconstructed inf. *lubðjan, 2 sg. pres. *lubðs, 3 sg. pres. *lubðp, 3 sg. pret. *lubððð, etc. The formative -i- in some case-forms reflects *ê, the front mutation of *ð produced by the following *-j-. In a verb like clipian ‘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. cliopað and 3 sg. pret. cliopode, which further develop to cleopað and cleopode (as explained above, §119); and ios and eio may then be extended analogically to other conjugational forms, giving inf. cliopian, 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 hyeczan ‘think’:

### INDICATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres. Sg.</th>
<th>hæbbe</th>
<th>libbe</th>
<th>seçge</th>
<th>hyçge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hæfst</td>
<td>leofast</td>
<td>sægst</td>
<td>hygst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hæfþ</td>
<td>leofða</td>
<td>sægþ</td>
<td>hygþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3</td>
<td>habbað</td>
<td>libbað</td>
<td>sægðað</td>
<td>hyçgað</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. Sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>hæfðe</td>
<td>lifðe</td>
<td>sægðe</td>
<td>hogde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>hæfðest</td>
<td>lifðest</td>
<td>sægðest</td>
<td>hogdest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>hæfðe</td>
<td>lifðe</td>
<td>sægðe</td>
<td>hogde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3</td>
<td>hæfðon</td>
<td>lifðon</td>
<td>sægðon</td>
<td>hogdon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SUBJUNCTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres. Sg.</th>
<th>hæbbe</th>
<th>libbe</th>
<th>seçge</th>
<th>hyçge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>hæbben</td>
<td>libben</td>
<td>seçgen</td>
<td>hyçgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. Sg.</td>
<td>hæfðe</td>
<td>lifðe</td>
<td>sægðe</td>
<td>hogde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>hæfðen</td>
<td>lifðen</td>
<td>sægðen</td>
<td>hogden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 2.</th>
<th>hafa</th>
<th>leofa</th>
<th>sæge, saga</th>
<th>hyge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 2.</td>
<td>habbað</td>
<td>libbað</td>
<td>sægðað</td>
<td>hyçgað</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### NON-FINITE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>habban</th>
<th>libban</th>
<th>seċgan</th>
<th>hyċgan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uninfl. inf.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infl. inf.</td>
<td>tô hæbben</td>
<td>tô libben</td>
<td>tô seċgenne</td>
<td>tô hyċgenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tô habbanne</td>
<td>tô libbanne</td>
<td>tô seċganne</td>
<td>tô hyċganne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Part.</td>
<td>hæbbende</td>
<td>libbende</td>
<td>seċgend</td>
<td>hyċgend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass. Part.</td>
<td>hæfd</td>
<td>lifd</td>
<td>sægd</td>
<td>hogod</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the origins of this class are disputed, initially its sign was either Gmc. *-ē- 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. lif(g)an or lifgan replacing libban in poetry and in the Anglian dialects. The verb hyċgan 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 selliċ ‘wonderful’.

### READING

æinne cynehelm uppon his hēafod and nam þa hearpan on his hand and in êode and swā stōd, þæt sē cyningc and ealle þa ymbsittendan wêndon þæt hē nære Apollōniius, ac þæt hē wære Apollines dāra hǣdenra god. Ðā wearð stilnes and swíge geworden innan ðāere healle. And Apollōniius his hearpenægl ġenam and hē þa hearpestrenþas mid cræfte ãstirian ongan and þære hearpan swēg mid winsumum sange ġemǣgnde. And sē cyningc silf and ealle þe þær andwearde wēron miċelre stefne clipodon and hine heredon. Æfter þisum forlēt Apollōnius þa hearpan and plegode and fela fægerra þinga þær forôtēah, þe þām folce unȝecnāwen wæs and unȝewuneliċ, and heom eallum þearle līcode ælċ þāra þinga ðe hē forôtēah.

āfeorsa, see āfiersian

ģemǣgnde, 3 sg. pret. of menḡan

dēst, 2 sg. pres. of dōn

ģefel: 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.

forôtēah, 3 sg. pret. of forôtēon
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. āt, 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-, *ģe-nugan ‘suffice’, cunnan ‘know, be able’, unnan ‘grant’, þurfan ‘need’, *durran ‘dare’, *sculan ‘shall’, ġemunan ‘remember’ (also onmunan ‘esteem’), *mótan ‘may, be allowed, must’, and *magan ‘be able’. The paradigms are as follows:

| Pres. Ind. Sg. | 1. wāt | āh | dēah |
| 2. wāst | āst |
| 3. wāt | ā | dēah | -nēah |
| Pl. 1–3. witon | āgon | dugon | -nugon |
| Pret. Ind. Sg. | 3. wiste, wisse | āhte | dohte | nohte |
| Pres. Sj. Sg. | 3. wite | āge | dyģe, duge |
| Inf. | witan | āgan | [dugan] [-nugan] |
| Pass. Part. | witen | āgen |

| Pres. Ind. Sg. | 1. can | ann | þearf | dearr |
| 2. canst | þearft | dearrst |
| 3. can | ann | þearf | dearr |
| Pl. 1–3. cunnon | unnnon | þurfon | durron |
| Pret. Ind. Sg. | 3. čūde | ũde | þorfte | dorste |
| Pres. Sj. Sg. | 3. cunne | unne | þyrfe, dyrre, þurfe | durre |
| Inf. | cunnan | unnan | þurfan | [durran] |
| Pass. Part. | cunnen | unnen |
Pres. Ind. Sg. 1. sčeal  ġeman  mōt  mǣg
2. sčealt  -manst  mōst  meaht, miht
3. sčeal  -man  mōt  mǣg
Pl. 1–3. sčulon,  -munon  mōton  magon,  mægon
Pret. Ind. Sg. 3. sčeolde  -munde  mōste  meahte,  mihte
Pres. Sj. Sg. 3. sčyle,  -myne,  mōte  mǣge
Inf.  sčule  -mune  [sčulan]  -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 wisære 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 wiṣte then was created analogically by the later readdition of the preterite ending. The preterites ūde and ciūde 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 ōdeer ‘other’, fīf ‘five’, gōs ‘goose’, wŷscan ‘wish’, and tōp ‘tooth’. For this reason, when the preterite marker *-p- was added to the stems *un(n)- and *kun(n)-, the results were ūp- and ciūp-.


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 oĭda and Sanskrit vēdā, also meaning ‘know’, and these derive from PIE *woida, an un-reduplicated 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 scūlan, 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 āġ changed to ē quite early, so that in some of the earliest texts, for example, brigdels ‘bridle’ is already written without ġ. By hypercorrection, then, āġ might be written for any instance of ē; hence, in the reading below is to be found hiġ for hi (=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

seolfres and þone mæstan dæl dæorwurðan réafes and twentīg dæowa manna.”
And hēo þa þus cwæð to dām þéowum mannum: “Berað þas þingc mid eow þe iċ behēt Apollōnio minum lárēowe and leċgað innon büre beforen minum fréondum.” Þis wearð þa þus gedón æfter þære cwēne hēse, and ealle þa men hire þife heredon de hīg þësāwón. Dā sōdliche ðe ðende sē ðeðoršcipe, and þa men ealle áriso and ðrōtton þone cyningc and dā cwēne and bædon hīg þësunde bēōn and hām gewændon. Éac swilcē Apollōnius cwæð, “Þū gōda cyningc and earmra þemiltsigend, and þū cwēn, lāre luþigend, bēōn þē gesunde.”
Hē beseah eac to dām þéowum mannum þe þæt mǣðen him forgifen hæfde and heom cwæð to: “Nimað þas þing mid eow þe mē sēo cwēn forþeaf and gān wē sēcān úre giēsthūs þæt wē magon ðē gerestan.” Dā ādrēd þæt mǣðen þæt hēo næfre eft Apollōniwm ne þēsāwē swā rāðe swā hēo wolde, and ðōde þa tō hire fāder and cwæð, “Þū gōda cyningc, licað dē wel þæt Apollōnius, þē ðurh ðūs tōdāg þegōdod is, þūs heonon fare, and cuman yfele men and berēafian hine?”

ḡetogen, pass. part. of tēon
ḡedōn, pass. part. of dōn
ḡesāwōn, pret. pl. of sēon
bǣdon, pret. pl. of biddan
ḡemiltsigend, luþigend: 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)
ḡesāwe, 3 sg. pret. sj. of sēon
cuman, berēafian = cumen, berēafian
mæge, pres. sg. sj. of magan
wurōlicost, superl. of adv. weorōlice
onfēng, 3 sg. pret. of onfōn
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 wýscan ‘wish’, from PGmc. *wun-sk-jan-, like Lat. discō ‘I learn’ from *dik-sk-ð). 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-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ind.</th>
<th>Subj.</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Sg. 1</td>
<td>sitte</td>
<td>sitte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. sitst</td>
<td>sitte</td>
<td>site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. sit(t)</td>
<td>sitte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Pl. 1–3.</td>
<td>sittanþ</td>
<td>sitten</td>
<td>sittanþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitives

sittan, tō sittenne

Act. Part.

sittende

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. sāton, and pass. part. seten. These are the principal parts of the chief surviving verbs of this type, arranged according to class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>friñgan ask</th>
<th>frægn</th>
<th>frugnon</th>
<th>frugnen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>biddan request</td>
<td>bæd</td>
<td>bædon</td>
<td>beden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friçgan ask</td>
<td>læg</td>
<td>lægon</td>
<td>lægen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liçgan lie</td>
<td>sæt</td>
<td>sēton</td>
<td>seten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sitan sit</td>
<td>þeah, þäh</td>
<td>þægon</td>
<td>þægen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>þicgan partake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The verb *hebban* is to be derived from *haƀjan*: 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 *leċġan < *laʒjan*. The verbs *hliehhan* and *sċieþþan* 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. *sċeaðen*, 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 de-voicing of final [ɣ] in *hlōh*, and the infinitive reflects the development *hlahjan > *hlahhjan* (gemination) > *hleahhjan* (brightening) > *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 *liċġ an* has 2, 3 sg. pres. *liģst*, *liģ̣þ*, beside expected *liģst*, *liģ̣þ*, since *i̞g* became ĭ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>hebban raise</th>
<th>hōf</th>
<th>hōfon</th>
<th>hafen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hliehhan laugh</td>
<td>hlōh</td>
<td>hlōgon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sċeþþan injure</td>
<td>scōd</td>
<td>scōdon</td>
<td>scēaðen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sċieþþan create</td>
<td>scōp</td>
<td>scōpon</td>
<td>scapen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steppan step</td>
<td>stōp</td>
<td>stōpon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swerian swear</td>
<td>swōr</td>
<td>swōron</td>
<td>sworn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7</td>
<td>wēpan weep</td>
<td>wēop</td>
<td>wēopon</td>
<td>wōpen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voiceless stops are sometimes geminated before the comparative ending -ra, with vowel shortening; hence such forms as *hwittra* ‘whiter’, *deoppra* ‘deeper’, *swettra* ‘sweeter’, etc. The adjective *ģearu* is a wa-stem (masc. gen. sg. *ģearwes*, etc.); the -w- is vocalized word-finally in *ģearu/-o* and between consonants (with lowering to o) in gen. pl. *ģearora*. Similarly, -n- in the stem *frēcn*- is vocalized to -en- between consonants in *frēcnra*. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old</th>
<th>Ieldra</th>
<th>Ieldest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>Firra</td>
<td>Fyr(e)st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In front</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Gingra</td>
<td>Gingest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Lengra</td>
<td>Lengest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>Nēarra</td>
<td>Nīehst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Scyrtra</td>
<td>Scyrtest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Hier(ra)</td>
<td>Hielst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analogical forms of these are frequent, for example ġeōngra, hēahra, etc. Syncope exceeds its usual limits in hielst 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gōd good</th>
<th>Betera, Bet(ra)</th>
<th>Bet(e)st, Best</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Wiersa</td>
<td>Wierrest, Wierst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Māra</td>
<td>Māest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Lāssa</td>
<td>Lāest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inne inside</th>
<th>Innerra</th>
<th>Innemest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ufan from above</td>
<td>Uferra, Yferra</td>
<td>Ufemest, Yfemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neōpam from below</td>
<td>Nīðerra</td>
<td>Nīðemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore in front</td>
<td>Æfterra</td>
<td>Æftemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æfter after</td>
<td>Norderra</td>
<td>Nordemest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norþ northward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -liče is shortened in comparison if the preceding syllable is stressed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ġeorne gladly</th>
<th>Ġeornor</th>
<th>Ġeornost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frēondliče amiably</td>
<td>Frēondlicor</td>
<td>Frēondlicost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few adverbs have front mutation in comparison. The important ones are these:
And the suppletive adjectives listed above have similar adverbial forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēap(e)</td>
<td>ēap, ēap</td>
<td>easily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feorr</td>
<td>fierr</td>
<td>far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lange</td>
<td>leng</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēah</td>
<td>nēar, nier</td>
<td>near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sófte</td>
<td>sēft</td>
<td>softly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēl</td>
<td>bet, sēl</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yfle</td>
<td>wiers</td>
<td>badly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micle</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lýtle</td>
<td>lēs</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130. Exercise. Supply the Old English equivalent of the word in parentheses, properly inflected for case and number: (larger) stānas; āh (smallest) bearn; āhet (youngest) cild; āhem (more dishonorable: adj. ārēas) menn; sēo cwēn wēs (busiest: adj. bīsig); āh cyningas wērōn (more powerful: adj. rīcē); āhām (farthest inside) munucum; hēo wolde (longer) singan; hie ridon (farthest).

**Reading**


ceasterȝewaran of æðelum ȝebyrdum ȝeborene. Nū bidde wē þē þæt þū ȝeȝeȝeose þē ænne of ūs þrym hwilcne þū wille þē tō ãdume habban.” Ðā cwæð sē cyninge, “Næbbe þē nā gōdne timan ãredodne. Mīn dohtor is nū swiðe bisÿ ymbe hyre leornunga, ac þē læs þe iċ ȝow a læng slæce, ȝwītād ȝowre naman on ȝewrite and hire morgenȝifge; þonne ësende iċ þā ȝewrita mīnre dohtor þæt hēo sylf ȝeȝeȝeose hwilcne ëowerne hēo wille.” Ðā didon ðā cnihtas swā and sē cyninge nam ðā ȝewrita and ȝeinseȝlode hī mid his rīŋge and sealde Apollōnī þus cweðende: “Nim nū, lârëow Apollōnī, swā hit þē ne mislīcyȝe, and bryṅg þīnum lârincgmǣdene.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gīrstandǣg} &= \text{giestrandaēg} \\
\text{ġestaðeʎe} &= \text{giestandeȝ} \\
\text{ġeedstaðölīe} &= \text{giestændölīe} \quad \text{(Lat. restituam)} \\
\text{onfēngc}, \ 3 \ \text{sg. pret. of onfōn} \\
\text{mǣdennē} &= \text{maȝdene} \\
\text{smercode} &= \text{smearcode}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bidde: on the inflection, see $\S$79} \\
\text{slæce, perhaps for slacie} \\
\text{ȝewrīta = ġewritu (see $\S$32)} \\
\text{didon, pret. pl. of dōn} \\
\text{rīŋe = hrīŋe}
\end{align*}
\]
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. fölen < *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 < *fēohes (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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Sg. 1.</td>
<td>lēo</td>
<td>flēo</td>
<td>sēo</td>
<td>slēa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>liehst</td>
<td>fliehst</td>
<td>siehst</td>
<td>sliehst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>liehþ</td>
<td>fliehþ</td>
<td>siehþ</td>
<td>sliehþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3.</td>
<td>lēþ</td>
<td>flēþ</td>
<td>sēþ</td>
<td>slēþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Sg. 1–3.</td>
<td>lēo</td>
<td>flēo</td>
<td>sēo</td>
<td>slēa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1–3.</td>
<td>lēon</td>
<td>flēon</td>
<td>sēon</td>
<td>slēan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Sg.</td>
<td>lēoh</td>
<td>flēoh</td>
<td>seoh</td>
<td>sleah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>lēþ</td>
<td>flēþ</td>
<td>sēþ</td>
<td>slēþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-finite forms</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>lēon</td>
<td>flēon</td>
<td>sēon</td>
<td>slēan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infl. Inf.</td>
<td>tô lēonne</td>
<td>tô flēonne</td>
<td>tô sēonne</td>
<td>tô slēanne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act. Part.</td>
<td>lēonde</td>
<td>flēonde</td>
<td>sēonde</td>
<td>slēande</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres. Sg.</th>
<th>Pl. 3.</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*līxō</td>
<td>*līxaþ</td>
<td>*līxō</td>
<td>*līxis</td>
<td>*līxish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*flēoxō</td>
<td>*flēoxaþ</td>
<td>*flēoxō</td>
<td>*flīxis</td>
<td>*flīxish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sexō</td>
<td>*sexaþ</td>
<td>*sexō</td>
<td>*sixis</td>
<td>*sixish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*slaxō</td>
<td>*slaxaþ</td>
<td>*slaxō</td>
<td>*slaxish</td>
<td>*slaxiþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fanxō</td>
<td>*fanxaþ</td>
<td>*fanxō</td>
<td>*fanxis</td>
<td>*fanxiþ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the reconstructed forms of *lēon, *sēon, and *slēan are subject to breaking: it was mentioned above that some long vowels do undergo breaking \((\S 62)\), 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 > slea. In *fanxō, *-an- changes to long nasalized \(-a-\) before the voiceless fricative, and develops as usual in Old English to -ō-, as with brōhte \((\S 116)\). In the preterite of fōn, \([x]\) was voiced already to \([\gamma]\) in Proto-Germanic under Verner’s law \((\text{Appendix A})\); hence, -\(n\) is not lost in pret. sg. fēng, pl. fēgon, pass. part. fangen.

The commonest strong verbs of this type, arranged by class, are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>*lēon grant</th>
<th>*lāh</th>
<th>*ligon</th>
<th>*liügen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*bēon  thrive</td>
<td>*bāh</td>
<td>*bīgon</td>
<td>*bīgen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wrēon cover</td>
<td>*wrāh</td>
<td>*wrigon</td>
<td>*wriügen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>*flēon flee</td>
<td>*flēah</td>
<td>*flugon</td>
<td>*flogen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tēon draw</td>
<td>*tēah</td>
<td>*tugon</td>
<td>*togen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>*fēolan press on</td>
<td>*fealh</td>
<td>*fulgon</td>
<td>*fōlen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>*sēon see</td>
<td>*seah</td>
<td>*sāwon</td>
<td>*sewen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gefēon rejoice</td>
<td>-feah</td>
<td>-fēgon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6</td>
<td>*flēan flay</td>
<td>*flōh</td>
<td>*flōgon</td>
<td>*flagen, *flägen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lēan blame</td>
<td>*lōh</td>
<td>*lōgon</td>
<td>*lagen, *lægen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*slēan strike</td>
<td>*slōh</td>
<td>*slōgon</td>
<td>*slagen, *slægen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*þwēan wash</td>
<td>*þwōh</td>
<td>*þwōgon</td>
<td>*þwagen, *þwægen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7</td>
<td>*fōn take</td>
<td>*fēng</td>
<td>*fēgon</td>
<td>*fangen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hōn hang</td>
<td>*hēng</td>
<td>*hēgon</td>
<td>*hangen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verner’s law voices \(h\) to \(g\) in the last two principal parts \((\text{but not in fōlen})\); and in the sixth and seventh classes, where Verner’s law normally also affects the preterite singular, \(h\) is found \((\text{beside } g)\) because of devoicing of final fricatives \(\text{(as usual, } \S 64)\), except in fēng and hēng \((\text{where } g = [g], \text{not } [\gamma])\). The verb *sēon derives from *sehwan \((\text{cognate with Lat. sequor ‘I follow’})\), and the medial cluster is simplified: in the first two principal parts, the \(w\) was lost \((\text{before } h \text{ was lost})\), 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*, *smēahōdē*, *smēahōd*; similarly conjugated is *brēan* ‘afflict’; and the principal parts *twēogan* ‘doubt’, *twēode*, *twēod* derive from *twiohōjan*, *twiohōdē*, *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’, *eoh* ‘horse’ and neut. *feoh* ‘capital’ and *þēoh* ‘thigh’ (though not all the following forms are actually attested):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Nom., Acc.</th>
<th>scōh</th>
<th>lēah</th>
<th>eoh</th>
<th>feoh</th>
<th>þēoh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>scōs</td>
<td>léas</td>
<td>éos</td>
<td>féos</td>
<td>þēos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>scō</td>
<td>lēa</td>
<td>ēo</td>
<td>féo</td>
<td>þēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>scōs</td>
<td>léas</td>
<td>éos</td>
<td>fēo</td>
<td>þēoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>scōna</td>
<td>léana</td>
<td>ēona</td>
<td>fēona</td>
<td>þéona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>scōm</td>
<td>lēam</td>
<td>ēom</td>
<td>fēom</td>
<td>þéom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As usual, *-u* was retained in the nom.-acc. pl. of *feoh*, hence *féo* < *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 masc. *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**

Thus gewritten: “Þu góda cyningc and min sê leófesta fæder, nú þin Mildheortnesse mè læfe sealde þæt ic silf môste čeōsan hwilcne wèr ic wolde, ic sæге dè tò sōðan, þone forlidenan man ic wille. And gīf þu wundrige þæt swā scâmfæst færne svā unforwandigendlícæ dās word āwrât, þonne wite þu þæt ic hæbbe þurh weax āboden, dē nâne scâme ne can, þæt ic silf dè for scâme secgan ne mihte.” Dā dā sē cyningc hæfde þæt gewrit oferråd, þā niste hē hwilcne forlidene hēo nemde. Beseah dā tò dām þrim cnihtum and cwǣð, “Hwilc êower is forliden?” Dā cwǣð heora ān sê hâtte Ardalîus, “Ic eom forliden.” Sē oðer him andwirde and cwǣð, “Swîga ðū; adl þē fornime þæt ðū ne bēo hāl nē ēsund! Mid mē þū böcræft leornodes and ðū næfre būton þēre ēcætre āgat fram mē ne cōme. Hwār gefōre ðū forlidenesse?” Mid þē sē cyningc ne mihte findan hwilc heora forliden wēre, hē beseah tō Apollōniō and cwǣð, “Nim ðū, Apollōnī, þīs gewrit and râd hit. Ëaðe mǣg gewurðan þæt þū wite þæt ic nāt, ðū dē þær andweard wēre.”

gewrita, a late spelling of gewritu  
(see §32)  
gæst, 2 sg. pres. of gān  
næs ġit 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  
underfēng, 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 = nemnде
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>dōgāwille</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>dēstgēstwilt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dēþgēþwile</td>
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<th>Pret. Sg. 1–3.</th>
<th>Pl. 1–3.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>dydegēde wolde</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>dydestēdest woldest</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>dydegēde wolde</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>dydonēodon woldon</td>
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**SUBJUNCTIVE**

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>dydenēoden wolden</td>
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**IMPERATIVE**

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<tr>
<td>1–3.</td>
<td>dōgā</td>
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<td>1–3.</td>
<td>dōþgāþ</td>
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**NON-FINITE FORMS**

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td>gān</td>
<td>tô dōnne</td>
<td>dōnde</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gān</td>
<td>tô gānne</td>
<td>gānde</td>
<td>gān</td>
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</table>

*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, ĺ has been overpointed to indicate the palatal variety, and č and ġ 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 ġerstan ‘frighten’, since this derives from *ʒæstjan, and so ʒ was not followed by a front vowel at the time of palatalization. In medial and final positions, ʒ 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 plegode. Medially, palatalization also is found after any vowel that has undergone front mutation (as with hyģe ‘thought’, from *huʒiz); this means that at least originally ĩ or j followed, and hence ʒ at the time of palatalization did not immediately precede a back vowel, as with bięgan ‘bend’, from *biozjan.

(b) In initial position, [k] was affricated to [ʧ] in all the same places where palatalization of [ɣ] occurred — that is, before any front vowel, as with ċælf ‘calf’, čielle ‘lamp’ (from *kellōn), and čiœst ‘chooses’ (from *kiosîb); but not in cēlan ‘cool’ (from *kōljan). Medially and finally, however, ć was affricated only after ĭ or before ĭ or j: examples are dić ‘ditch, dike’, finć ‘finch’, and benć ‘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. fincum; but compare dat. pl. benćum, from *bankjum. Moreover, affrication was reversed when ċ later came to stand before a consonant: hence, beside nom. sg. masc. miċel ‘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, sēcþ (cf. beseech < be-sēčan). Likewise, ċ must have been deaffricated before certain declensional endings, as in asm. rīcne ‘mighty’ and gp. ēcra ‘eternal’, but again analogy may restore ć, as in ricne on the Ruthwell Cross (see p. 124).

(c) Affrication applies only to stop consonants; hence, although ć 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 ċg or ġg; as noted in §18, there are just a few exceptions in which gg has another source, as with frogga, frogca
‘frog’ and *docga ‘dog’. In just a few instances does ġ̄ represent not [dʒ] but [tʃ], due to the juncture of morphemes, as in wīćgerēfa ‘bailiff’, sinċgeoľa ‘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 men ġgan ‘min- gle’ (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. mengō ‘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 æsċ ‘ash’, Englisc ‘English’, and gen. frosċes ‘frog’ (gen.), but [sk] in æscas, Engliscan, and frosć.

136. Exercise. Determine which of the following words should show palatalization or affrication and which should not: dæg, dagas, bodig, bēć (<*bōkiz), ecg (<*aʒjō), springan, rinc, rincas (<*rīŋkas), fēŋ (<*fajginς), fēŋg, gylden (<*ʒuldīnaz), gieldan (<*ʒeldan), scop, 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 > stenċ ‘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. giefu, gifo ‘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 > rēcedum ‘halls’ and *werudum > weor- odum ‘troops’; they are also spared after a heavy syllable in dat. pl. Frenċiscum ‘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 *hauðudum > hēafdum ‘heads’.

(c) Medial a is lost under the same conditions as i and u (e.g. in hālgiān ‘consecrate’, from Gmc. *hailazōjan), but it is also regularly lost after light
syllables, as in nom. pl. masc. *mönja '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 egsa ‘fear’, efstan ‘hasten’, and bete ‘best’ beside egsa, efstan, and betesta < *azisō, *obstjan, 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: *ðharum (dat. pl.), *ubilanōn (acc. sg. masc.: -ōn > OE -e); *aldizō (nom. sg. masc. wk.: -ō > OE -a); *blōdisōjan (inf.: -ōjan > OE -i(an)); *wirristaz (nom. sg. masc.; -*az is simply lost); *daridē (3 sg. pret.: -ē > OE -e); *hardidē; *hardustu (nom. sg. fem.); *mati; *wurmi.

READING

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 re-united, 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:

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<tr>
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<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labiovelar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced aspirated</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>gh w</td>
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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, kʷ/ (since /k/ and /kʷ/, again, had fallen together) became the equivalent fricatives, i.e. /f, θ, x, xʷ/. (The change does not affect certain stops in consonant clusters: e.g., /t/ does not become /θ/ in OE *standan* or *haeft* ‘prisoner’: cf. Lat. *stāre, captus.*) The voiced series /b, d, g, gʷ/ was devoiced, giving Gmc. /p, t, k, kʷ/. The voiced aspirated series in turn yielded the Gmc. voiced fricatives /β, ð, ɣ, ɣʷ/, but after nasal consonants these developed to the stops /b, d, g, gʷ/, and they are also stops word-initially, except for PIE /ghʷ/, 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*

g: OE cnēo ‘knee’, cf. Lat. genu; OE āćian ‘increase’, cf. Lat. augeō


gh: OE dragan, cf. Lat. trahō; OE giest, cf. Lat. hostis ‘enemy’


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 : flēgen (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 labiodental /v/) is spelt b, as in libr ‘liver’ and gibaen ‘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. bōdh-ati ‘(he) understands’, perf. 3 sg. bu-bōdh-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-bhūd-imā, past pass. part. buddhāh).

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 *'potér (cf. Gk. πατήρ) > PGmc. *'faðér (by Grimm’s law) > *'faðēr (Verner’s law) > *fáðēr (PGmc. accent shift) > WGmc. *fáder (WGmc. δ > d) > OE fæder (Anglo-Frisian brightening).

III. Chief Developments of the Germanic Consonants into Old English


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


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 < *framiþ < PGmc. framjðð(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 lēran, sellan, dat. pl. beddum (cf. OS lērian, 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, māðum, tācen (cf. Go. frogls, wulþrs, mailþms, tākns). (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 þēof ~ 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.

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. ἔκαιδα; OIcel. rauðr ‘red’ (cf. Lat. rūfus < PIE *roudhos).

13. PIE ə > Gmc. a. Examples: OIcel. faðir ‘father’ (cf. Lat. pater, Skt. pitár- < PIE *pətər); OHG stat ‘place’ (cf. Lat. status).

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


16. PIE ē2 from various sources. It is found in OE ĕr (cf. Go. ĕr); 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 < *sprīkip (inf. OE sprekan); OE midd (cf. Lat. medium). This change also applies to the diphthong eu. Example: OS gi-burd, OE ġebyrd (cf. Skt. bṛtih); OE clumbon ‘climbed’ < *gʰlmbh-; OHG gi-munt, OE mynd ‘memory’ (cf. Lat. mens, Skt. máti½).

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

20. PGmc. ānx, inx, unx > āx, īx, ūx. The first of these develops to ãx in Anglo-Frisian, giving ãh in Old English. Examples: OE brōhte (cf. wk. inf. brenɡan); OS thihan, OE þéon (cf. OE pass. part. geþungen); OE þōhte (cf. inf. þençan).

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. ē. Examples: OE dēd (cf. Go. gadēps, OIcel. dāð); OE sēd 'seed' (cf. Go. manna-sēps ‘humankind’, OIcel. sāð ‘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
APPENDIX A: SOUND CHANGES

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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: bi).

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

25. WGmc. ĕ (from PGmc. ĕ: see 22 above) > Anglo-Frisian ō before nasal consonants. Examples: OE môna (cf. OIcel. máni); OE sóna (cf. OS sâno).

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 stânes, þöoden < *stânes, *þöoden- < *staines, *þiudanaz.

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 ea, as in dēaþ, eage (cf. OIcel. dauðr, auga).


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. i in fēol ‘file’ (cf. OHG fihala), lēoht ‘light (in weight)’ (cf. OHG lihti), etc., and of cnēow ‘knew’ beside cnēw, etc.

29. Diphthongization by initial palatal consonants (see §71). In West Saxon, the front vowels æ, ĕ, ī are diphthongized after initial ğ, ě, sc. Examples: OE ĝeaf, scéal, ēariģ, ĝer, scēap, ďfgan, ďifes ‘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, ædele, lufian < *helpandja-, *aþaljaz, *lubējan < *lubōjan.
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).


33. Palatal umlaut. PrOE eo, io (by breaking) > LWS i before final -ht, -hs, -hp, 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 ĕe > LWS ĕ before palatal consonants (ċ, ġ, h), otherwise ţ. For examples, see §117(a).

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

35. LWS smoothing. EWS ţa > ţ before c, g, h or after ê, ģ, sč. Examples: LWS ehta, bècon, êhe, hēh, ĉerf, ģef, ţer (cf. EWS eahta, bēcan, 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 ũ. 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 < *brōðura. Under the same conditions, PIE ā gives ū. Examples: OE dat. pl. beorhtostum < *berhtūstumiz, as if from PIE *bherg-t-āst-omis (cf. OE variant -ast from cases without PGmc. u in the next syllable; a similar alternation accounts for the co-occurrence 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. olōa, olōe); Go. imper. bair, OE ber (cf. Gk. φέρε).

40. Internal PGmc. e > i except before r. Examples: OE tôp < *tōpiz < *tanpiz (cf. Gk. ὁδὸντες); cf. OE hwæfer = Gk. πότερος < PIE kʷóteros.

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 weordāp (cf. Skt. vártanti)

42. In PGmc., a is lost in all final unaccented syllables. Examples: Olcel. 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. $i > i$, giving OE $e$ when not subsequently lost; PGmc. $ê > NWGmc. \dot{a} > a > OE e$; PGmc. $o > NWGmc. ū > OE u$ or $o$. Exception: PGmc. $o$ before a nasal consonant gives NWGmc. $Ľ > \dot{a}$ (with loss of the nasal consonant) $> OE ë$. Examples: OE 3 sg. wile $< *wili(p)$; OE herede $< *hažidē$; OE giefu $< *gebō$; OE giefe $< *gebōm$. (The circumflexed vowels retain their length later than the uncircumflexed, and $ō$ gives OE $a$, as in OE stānas $< *stainōs$. On the nature of circumflexion, see Fulk 1992: §170 n. 2.)

44. PGmc. $ai$, $au > NWGmc. \dot{e}$, $ō > OE e$, $a$ in unstressed final (and probably medial) syllables. Examples: OE sorge, eahta, lifen ‘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 $< *hlaib-ward-, *wer-ald-$. 

46. Apocope and syncope. See §137.

47. All remaining unstressed long vowels were shortened in PrOE, after which unstressed low vowels were raised, and high vowels were generally lowered: $ä$, $i > e$, 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 $*arbaip-$, with $ai$ having lost stress too late to develop to $ä$ (no. 44 above) and instead turning to $ä$ (no. 27 above). But there was much variation, so that we find, e.g., fulluht ‘baptism’, fultum ‘assistance’, āwer ‘anywhere’ beside fulwiht, fultēam, āhwēr. 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 $Ø$ (null). The alternation between full grade ($e$, $o$) and zero grade ($Ø$) 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 $< *pətér»$ ~ gen. πατρός $< *pətrόs$. 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 $< *pətér»,$ where the accusative ending $-m$ is made syllabic after a consonant, though after a vowel it remains nonsyllabic, as in Gk. acc. λόγον ‘word’ $< *lοgόm$. 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, 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 : Ø can be discerned in most of the ablaut patterns of OE strong verbs, with e in the present, o in the preterite singular, and Ø 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 ἑ-λιπ-ο.  
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

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 āa (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 : * ¿ (where R = a resonant consonant, l, r, m, or n)

Example: Gk. pres. δέρκ-ομαι ‘I see’: perf. δέ-δορκ-α : aor. ἤ-δρακ-ο.  
PIE *bhendh- : *bhondh- : *bhındh- > 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 ¿ to Gmc. un (16 above).

The fourth class of strong verbs (e.g. beran, bær, bêron, boren) and the fifth (e.g. wefan, wæf, wêfon, wefen) mostly conform to the same pattern, with e in
the present and æ (< PGmc. a < PIE o) in the preterite singular. The vowel 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 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.
bröcen shows a reflex of PIE r, realized in Proto-Germanic as ru rather than ur.
Similarly, fifth-class drepan has for its pass. participle drepn 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 ø (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 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 > ē. There were, it is assumed, three laryngeal
consonants, producing, in such instances, IE ē, ō, and ā. The last of these is the
full-grade form found in the preterite of verbs of the sixth strong class, IE ā,
giving Germanic ō (rule 14 above). The other two long vowels, IE ē and ō, 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 natur-
ally 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 conson-
ant 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, beord,
climban, funden. The change is prevented when another consonant follows;
hence, it applies to OE sg. ċild but not pl. ċildru.
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 *fiftiġ, sōfte, mētte, hālīgdag, stīrāpas, sūderne > 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 ā, ā, ē, e/a. Examples: OE ēare, hearm, dēop, (Merc.) seolf, heorte > MnE ear, harm, deep, self, heart.

51. In early ME, OE ā > ā (= lax /ɔː/). 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, /æː, eː, oː/, of which /eː/ is identical to the reflex of OE ā (both the front mutation of ā and the WS reflex of PGmc. ē), and /ɔː/ 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 /g/ 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/.

55. In late ME, fricatives were voiced in many unstressed syllables. This is the cause of the voiced 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 /iː, uː/ diphthongized, perhaps at first to /iː, uː/, and the mid tense vowels /eː, oː/ became high /iː, uː/. It was not until after Shakespeare’s day that /iː, uː/ developed to /ai, au/ in most dialects, as in OE drīfan, mūs > MnE drive, mouse; /ɔː/ became tense /oː/, as in OE sār, fola > MnE sore, foal; the reflex of ME /eː/ finally coalesced with the reflex of /eː/ in /iː/, as in OE clēne, wefan MnE clean, weave; and ME /æː/, the lengthening of OE a/æ in open syllables, developed to /eː/, as in OE hatian, nacod, hasel > MnE hate, naked, hazel. Labial consonants sometimes stayed the effect of the Great Vowel Shift on /uː/, as in OE rūm, scūfan > MnE room, shove.

57. In early Modern English, /x/ was lost after /iː/, 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 /ɛː/ to /iː/, it could be shortened before /t, d, θ/, as in OE swêtan, dêad, dêap > MnE sweat, dead, death.

59. /uː/ from ME /oː/ could be shortened to /u/ before /t, d, k/, as in OE fôt, gôd, lôcian > MnE foot, good, look.

60. Early MnE /u/ developed to /ʌ/ in most environments, though /u/ tends to be preserved after labial consonants. Examples: OE lust, tusc, blôd > MnE lust, tusk, blood, but OE full, wulf, bôc > MnE full, wulf, book.
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 ǣ, whereas the others reflect it as ē. Examples: WS sēd ‘seed’, rēdan, bēron = nWS sēd, rēdan, bēron

2. The other dialects have no diphthong ĕe. Rather, ēa is mutated to ē, and ēo mostly remains unchanged, though in Anglian it is often ē or ō (9 below; 32 in Appendix A). Examples: WS ċierran, hliehhan, biecnan, ierre, lihtan, cf. nWS ċerran, hlehhan, bēcnan, iorre or orre, lihtan. Non-WS ie in hie, sie, prie, 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 seōdān, seōndan (cf. WS siōdān, sindon).
4. Whereas ā e is unrounded early in WS, ē maintains its rounding in the Anglian dialects, and it is common also in early Kentish, usually spelt ōe. Short aē is unrounded in all dialects, though examples of the rounded vowel are found in Anglian. Examples: ōepel, wōesten, dat. sg. doehter (cf. WS ēpel, wēsten, 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 e) is often written there between a palatal consonant and a back vowel (as in Merc. ȝeond-, ȝāmrung). Examples: Merc. ġelpan, ġeta, scāeft, ēaster (cf. WS ġielpan, ġieta, scēaf, scēaster; as regards Merc. ĝer, as opposed to WS āe < *ḡer, see no. 1 above)

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

II. Specifically Kentish Characteristics

7. Like EWS, early Kentish has sometimes o for PGmc. a before nasal consonants, as in lond, gesommuncæ.

8. By the ninth century, there is a tendency to raise the first element of the diphthong ēo, as evidenced by spellings like hiore (= heora), ciolr, hīo, bīor. In ninth-century charters there is also a tendency to unround the second element to a: cf. wiaralde, hiabenliċe, bebäde (cf. WS weorolde, heofonliċe, bebēode).

9. By the tenth century, ā and ū have regularly become ū. Examples: fēgæræn, mǣgæn, gǣð, ārēr ‘raise’, onherie ‘emulate’, ferht ‘fear’, onṭēnd, ēfērē- ‘fiery’ (cf. WS fǣgæræn, mǣgæn, gǣð, ārēr, onhyrie, fyṛht, ontŷnd, fīrēn-. (The āē which becomes ē is the front mutation of ā, not a reflex of PGmc. ē: see no. 1 above.)

III. General Anglian Features

10. Before l plus consonant, aē is retracted to a rather than broken to ea. Examples: cald, all, half, haldan (cf. WS ācald, eall, healf, healdan). The front mutation of this sound is aē, as in ældra ‘older’, bældan ‘embolden’ (cf. EWS ieldrâ, bieldan).

11. Breaking (of i) fails before r plus any consonant other than r < PGmc. z when i or j originally stood in the next syllable, as in smīrwan ‘smear’, āfirran ‘remove’ (cf. EWS smierwan, āfierran).

12. Anglian smoothing. The diphthongs ēa, ēo, ēo became the monophthongs ē, ē, ī either immediately before c, g, h or when r or l intervened. Shortly thereafter, the aē produced by smoothing developed to ē, and aē before r, l became e. Examples: seah, ferh ‘pig’, hēh, ǣh ‘elk’, sēc ‘sick’, milc ‘milk’, liht (cf. WS seah, fearh, hēah, eolh, sēoc, meolc, lēoht).

13. Under low stress, final k > h. In Mercian, only ah ‘but’ is affected, whereas in Northumbrian are found also ih, meh, ūsīh, 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: *lēdest*, *helpeð*, *sended* (cf. WS *lētst*, *hilpō*, *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*, *gelōciu*. The verb *bēon*, however, has an archaic 1 sg. pres. *bēom* or *biom*.

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 swigenne* (cf. WS *sorgiende*, *tō swigienne*).

e) Where Southern texts have the stem *libbi* in the paradigm of *libban*, Anglian ones have *liฟi* or *liģ*.

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 *gesēgon* 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 *iēwan* ‘show’ is *ēawan*.

k) The verb prefix *in-* in an inceptive function corresponding to Southern *on-* is chiefly an Anglian feature, as in *indrenčan* ‘saturate’, *inēlan* ‘kindle’ (cf. WS *ondrenčan*, *onēlan*).

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 *meč*, *peč*, *incit*, *uncit*, *ūsić*, *ēović*, cf. Southern *mē*, *peć*, *inc*, *unc*, *us*, *ēow*.

q) The Anglian dialects are much more conservative than the Southern in regard to the analogical restoration of syncopated vowels (§54). Examples: Merc. *monē*, *ģealdne*, *wetres* (cf. WS *maniģe*, *ģealdene*, *wetres*).

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 //.

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: deg, feder, dagas, wæcian (cf. WS deg, 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, i{o has developed to ëo. 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 ï is retained, and the verb cweðan shows syncope. Examples: ites, bireð, ætfeld, swilteð, cwõd (cf. inf. etan, beran, ætfelan, sweltan, cweðan).

20. Specifically Mercian items of vocabulary include nemne/nefne ‘unless, except’, and probably íren ‘iron’ (cf. WS isern, isen).

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: warh, parf, 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: sēcal, čeaster, geaf.

23. There is rarely the change of ïo to ëo found in other dialects. Examples: hiora, sċiolun (with back mutation of i), hīo (cf. WS heora, sċeolon, 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 ëo. 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 ëo is unrounded, and ëo is generally written ëa. Examples: hearta, bëada (cf. WS heorte, bëoden).

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

26. The nom.-acc. plural of fëond, frëond is fëondas, frëondas; cf. EWS fiend, friend.

27. Corresponding to the possessive adjective ùre in other dialects is Northumbrian ùser.

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. Caedmon’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,
metudaes maecti end his modgidanc,
uerc uuldurfadur, sue he uundra gihuaes,
eci dryctin, or astelidæ.

5 He aerist scop aelda barnum
heben til hrofe, haleg scepen;
thamiddungeardmoncyynnæsuard,
ecridrycin,æftertiadæ
firumfoldu,freaallmectig.

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,
obhis innaðae aerest cend[æ].
[Ni] uaat ic mec biuorthæ uullan fliusum,
herum ðerh hehraeft, hygïðonc[u]m [min].
Uundnae me ni biað ueflæ, ni ic uarp hafæ, 5
ni ðerh ðre[a][t]un giðræ[ c] ðret me hlimmith,
ne me hrutendo hrisil scelfath,
ni mec ouana aam sceal cnysa.
Uyrmas mec ni auefun uyrdi craeftum,
ða ði goelu godueb geatum fraetuath. 10
Uil mec huchtrae suae ðeh uidæ ofær eorðu
hatan mith heðliðum hythlic giuæ[de];
ni anoegun ic me aerigfaææegsan 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 neidfaææ naenig uuiurthit
thoncsnotturra than him tharf sie
to ymbhycggannæ aer his hiniongæ
huæt his gastæ godæs aeththa yflæs
æfter deothdaæge doemid uueorthæ. 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, G, ȝ), corresponding to /j, g, x/, respectively, and between (k, c), corresponding to /k,ʧ/; the notation 〈ẽa〉 indicates that the two characters correspond to one rune. Compare lines 39–49 and 56–64 of Dream of the Rood.

\[+ond\]gerēdæ hīnae ɡod ɑlmēttig.
\[b\]a ɡe waldē on galgu gɪstɪcæ  [m]oɡ f(ore allæ) men
\[b\]ug[a] . . .

\[ahof\] ic riicnæ kyniŋc ̧heafunæs hlæfarð  hælða ic ni dorstæ

\[b\]ismaerædu űnket men  ba ætgæd[rae]

\[+\]Krist wæs on rodi
hweþræ  þær fusu  feærran kwomu
æþþilæ æt æþþiæ  ic ðæt al bi[healdi]


\[m]\iþ strēlum giwundad
alegdun hīæ hīnae  limwœrignæ

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 〈|l〉, 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 uestræm faciatis coram hominibus ut uideamini ab eis aliōquìn mercedem non habebitis apud patrem uestrœm qui in caelis est.

L.: behaldas þæt sōðfaestnise 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 sōðfaestnisne ne doan fore monnum þæt ge se gesænan from heom from him elles l elcur ge ne habbaþ lean l mearde mid eower fæder þæne þe in heofunum is.
6:2 cum ergo facies elemosyna noli tuba canere ante te sicut hipocritae faciunt in
synagogis et in uicis ut honorificentur ab hominibus amen dico uobis receperunt
mercedem suam

L: miððy ðonne ðu doas ælmessa nelle ðu bema l stocc singa before ðec suæ leg-
eras gewyrcas in somnungum ond in londum l in gemærum þæt hia se g[ew]earð-
ad from monnum soðlice l soð is ic cueðo iuh to hie gefengon mearde hiora.
R: forþon þonne þu wirce ælmissne ne blau þu beman for þe swa liceteras doan in
heora somnungum ond in tunum þæt hie se weorðade from monnum soþ ic
sæge eow hie onfengum heora lean.

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

L: ðu l ðeh uutedlice wyrcende ða æellmissa nyta winstra ðin huæt wyrcas l doas
suiðra ðin.
R: ðe þonne wircendum ælmesse nyte se winstræ 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 ðæter ðin suæ gesiið in degelnisse
forgelded 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 plaecena l worder ðondes ð to gebiddanne þæt hia gesene sie from monnum soðlice ic cueð iuh to onfengon
mearde heara.
R: ond þonne ge bidde eow ne beoþ ge swa liceteras þa þe lufigaþ stalle ð to 
stonde in gesomnungum ond in huommum worþana stondende him gebidde þæt hie
sie gesenen from monnum soþ ic sæge 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 ð ingeong ð inga in cotte ðinum ond
gesparrado dure ðin g[eb]idd fæder ðinne in degolnis ond fader ðin seðe gesið ð
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 sæþe gesið 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 ĭ Ŀonne gie gebiddas nallas ge feolo ĭ monigfald gespreca suæ esuico doas hia woenas forðon ĭ ľe in monigfald sprec his biðon gehered.

*R:* ond þonne gebiddendae ne scule ge feola spreocan swa hæđene doan forðon þe hiae woenaþ þæt him sie in heora feolaspresce gehered.

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

*L:* nallas ge Ŀonne wosa gelic him wat forðon fader iurre of ðæm ðearf sie ĭ is iuh aer ĭon gie bidde hine.

*R:* ne scule forðon gelice beon him forðon þe eower fæder hwæs eow ðearf sie ær þon ge hine biddan.

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

*L:* suæ Ŀonne iuih gie bidde fader urer [sic, for user] ðu arð ĭ ðu bist in heofnum ĭ 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 ĭ ure dæghwaemlicu ĭ 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 scylcgum usum.

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

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

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

*R:* ond ne gelaet us gelaed 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 conlocavit.*
Dryhten receð me ond nowiht me wonu bið in stowe leswe ðer mec gesteadelade

22:2 *Super aquam refectionis educauit me, animam meam convertit.*
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 necum, 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 adversus 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 heaufud min ond drync ðinne indrencende swide freaberht is

22.8 *Et misericordia tua subsequitur me omnibus diebus utae meae.*
ond milheortniss ðin efterfyldgeð mec allum degum lifes mines

22.9 *Vt inhabitem in domo domini, in longitudinem dierum.*
Ðæt ic ineardie in huse dryhten in lengu dega
23.1 *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius, orbis terrarum et uniuersi qui habitant in ea.*
Dryhten is earðe ond fylnis his ymbhwyrft eordena ond alle ða eardiað in hire

23.2 *Ipse super maria fundauit eam, et super flumina praeparauit illam.*
He ofer sēas gesteædelade 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.*
Unscæðdende 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 mildheornnisse from gode ðæm halwendan his

23.6 *Haec est generatio quaerentium dominum requirentium faciem dei iacob. diapsalma.*
Ðis 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 mahtig dryhten mahtig in gefehte

23.9 *Tollite portas principes uestras, et eleuamini portae æternales, 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 megna 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 side ðin hleo ðriga to iordan fore alle godes circan ond sing ðas fers:


‘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


+ In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi Ic Aelfred aldormon ond Werburg min gefera begetan ðas bec æt haeðnum herge mid uncre claene feo, ðæt ðonne wæs mid claene golde. Ond ðæt wit deodan for Godes lufan ond for uncre saule ðearfe, ond for ðon ðe wit noldan ðæt ðæs halgan beoc lençg in ðære haæðenesse wunaden, ond nu willað heo gesellan inn to Cristes circan Gode to lofe ond to wuldre ond to woerdunga, ond his ðrowunga to ðoncunga, ond ðæm godcundan geferscipe to brucenne ðe in Cristes circan daeghæwæmile Godes lof rærad, to ðæm gerade ðæt heo mon arede eghwelce monadæ for Aelfred ond for Werburge ond for Alhsryðe, heora saulum to ecum lecedome, ða hwile ðe God gesegen haebbe ðæt fulwiht æt ðæsæ stowe beon mote. Ec swelce ic Aelfred dux ond Werburg biddað ond halsiað on Godes almaehtiges noman ond on alra his haligra ðæt nænig mon seo to ðon gedyrstig ðette ðæs halgan beoc aselle ðæðe ðæode from Cristes circan ða hwile ðe fulwiht [s]t[ø]nda[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 Ealhðrȳð 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

In the final line, Uene is for Bene, the usual close of a will.

+ Ic Lufa mid Godes gefe ancilla Dei wes soecende and smeagenide ymb mine saultherfe mid Ceolnoðes ærcebiscopes geðehte and dara hiona et Cristes cirican. Willa ic gesellan of ðem ærfe ðe me God forgef and mine friond to gefultemedan ęlce gere .lx. ambra maltes and .cl. hlafa, .l. hwite-hlafa, .cxx. elmeshlafes, an hriðer, an suin, .iii. weðras, .ii. węge spices and ceses, ðem higum to Cristes circcan for mine saule and minra frionda and mega ðe me to gode gefultemedan and ðęt 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.


+ Ic Luba eaðmod Godes ðiwen ðas forecwedenan god and ðas elmessen 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 ford leste ð희 wiariale 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 ððe hit agele, se him seald and gehealden helle wite, bute he to fulre bote gecerran wille Gode and mannum.

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 Ċēolnōð 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, Ċēolnōð, 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 Beornfrīð, approve and write with it. + Wealhhere, priest. + Ósmund, priest. + Dægmund, priest. + Æðelweal, deacon. + Wērbeald, deacon. + Sigeferhō, deacon. + Swīðbeorht, deacon. + Beornhēah, deacon. + Æðelmund, deacon. + Wiðhelm, 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.’
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. þenġel ‘ruler’ and holm ‘sea’), adjectives (e.g. fēġe ‘doomed’ and frōd ‘wise’) and verbs (e.g. maþelian ‘speak’ and ġedrēosan ‘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 þēoden,
aēpeling ārgōð,        unblīde sæt,
þolode ðrōðswyð,        þēġnsorge drēah,
syððan hie þæs lāðan    lást 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 þēoden (the latter a poetic word) is varied by the phrase aēpeling ārgōð (the latter a poetic word), and again by the adjective ðrōðswyð (poetic) used substantively. The phrase unblīde sæt is varied by the verb þolode, and further by the phrase þēġnsorge 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 ġępēonne scolde ‘should prosper’, varied by fæderæþelum onfôn ‘assume his father’s rank’, further varied by folc ġehealdan ‘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 hæleþæl onfōn ‘realm of heroes’, varied by ġępē Scyldinga ‘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 rōd is not essential information, since it is a variant, but it establishes the vocalic alliteration required by the off-verse unblīðe sæt, which is essential information; and werġan 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-dǣg ‘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 hrīmċēald ‘frost-cold’ and dōm-ġeorn ‘eager for fame’, which are both adjectives rather than nouns, but especially in Beowulf the head may be the first element, as with eardulfu ‘dear home’ (not ‘love of home’) and waþer-eġesa ‘terrible water’ (not ‘water-terror’). Since poetic compounds are nonce formations, they may have different meanings in different contexts: for example, wēl-fyr ‘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 aesc-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 ġebind ‘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 feönd-rës ‘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 sīgēbēam, 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 feöndes 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 delaings 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 gehwæðeres 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 ţ, and g with ġ. The initial digraphs sp, st, and sč 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 \( \U \), 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 (\( \Uu \)). An unstressed position, called a drop, may be filled by one or more unstressed syllables, each represented as \( \x \). The number of syllables that may fill a drop is limited to one at the end of a verse. A half-lift (\( \xn \) or \( \xu \)) 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: \( \xn|\xn \). Examples: longe sċeolde (3b), metudes miltse (2a, \( \xux|\xn \)), āre ġebideð (1b, \( \xn\x|\xn \))

B: \( \xn|\x\x \). Examples: hūslīþen bið (30a), Nis nū cwicra nān (9b, \( \x\x|\xn \), \( \x\x \)), ofer waðema ġebind (24b, \( \xux\xu|\x\x \))

C: \( \xn|\x\x \). Examples: Forðon dōm ġeorne (17a, \( \x\x|\x\x \)), ġeond lagulāde (3a, \( \xux|\x\x \))

D: \( \xn|\x\x \). Example: wadan wraeclāstas (5a, \( \xu|\x\x \))

E: \( \x\x|\x \). Examples: hrimcēalde sē (4b), winemēga hryre (7b, \( \xu|\x\x \))

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 ġefrungon (666b, type A: \( \x\x|\x\x\x \); this and all subsequent examples are from *Beowulf*) and onband beadurūne (501a, type D: \( \x|\x\x \)). 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: \( \x\x|\x\x \), oflēt līfðagas (1622a, type D, with anacrusis: \( \x|\x\x\x \)), and bēag-hroden cwēn (623b, type E: \( \x\x\x\x \)).
In type A, a half-lift may be substituted for either or both of the drops, as with scūrheard scēpðan (1033a, \(\ddash-\ddash-\ddash-\times\)), hēah ond horngēap (82a, \(\ddash-\times\ddash\ddash\ddash\)), and brōosthord blōdrēow (1719a, \(\ddash-\ddash\ddash\ddash\ddash\)). Also in type A, there may be just one lift, as with þæt sē môra (2587a, \(\times\times\times\times\times\ddash\times\)) and syðþan hē hine tō gūðe (1472a, \(\times\times\times\times\times\ddash\ddash\)). 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 ēdelwyn (2885a, \(\ddash\times\times\ddash\ddash\ddash\)). Likewise in type D, an extra unstressed syllable, rarely two, may follow the first lift, as with seċgað saelīdend (411a, \(\ddash\ddash\ddash\times\times\)) and frēcne fenġelād (1359a, \(\ddash\times\ddash\times\ddash\ddash\ddash\ddash\ddash\ddash\times\)). 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
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 latinate syntax of the original. Notes on the text begin on p. 223.

### A. THE ARRIVAL OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN

Þā gesomnedo hī ġemōt ond ɬeahōd ond rāddon, hwæt him tō dōnne wēre, hwær him wēre fultum tō sēċanne tō ġewarniennne ond tō wiō-ścūfanne swā rēdre hergunge ond swā ġelōmlīcre þāra norðþēoda. Ond þā þæt ġelicode him eallum mid heora cyninge, Wyrtġeorn wæs ġahten, þæt hī Seaxna þēode ofer þām sālicum dēlum him on fultum ġeċyġdon ond ġe-laðedon. Þæt cúd is þæt þæt mid drihtnes mihte ġestihtad wæs, þæt yfell wræc cōme ofer ðā wiþcōrene, swā on þām ende þæra wisena sweotolīċe ætȳewed is.

Dā wæs ymþ fêower hund wintra ond nigon ond fêowertīg fram ūres drihtnes mennisċnysse, þæt Martiānus cāsere rīċe onfēng ond .vii. ġēar hæfde. Sē wæs syxta ēac fêowertīgum fram Ğustō þām cāsere. Dā Angel-þēod ond Seaxna wæs ġelaðod fram þām foresprecen cyninge, ond on Brequene cōm on þrim myclum scypum; ond on ēastdāle þysses ēalondes ēardungstōwe onfēng þurh ðæs ylcan cyninges beob þe hī hider ġelaðode, þæt hi scēoldan for heora ēōle compian ond feohtan. Ond hi sōna comp-edon wiō heora ġewinnan, þe hī oft ār norðan onhergedon; ond Seaxan þa sige ġeslōgan.
Þā sendan hī hám ërenddracan ond hēton seçgan þysses landes westmбаrynysse, ond Brytta yrţiþbo. Ond hī þa sōna hider sendon māran sciphere strengan wighena; ond wæs unoferswiðendliċ weorud, þa hī tōgædere ðeþeðde wērōn. Ond him Bryttas sealdan ond ðeafan eardungs-stōwe betwih him þæt hī for sibbe ond hēlo heora eōles campodon ond wunnon wiþ heora feōndum, ond hī him andlyfne ond ære forgēafen for heora gewinne.

Cōmon hī of þrim folcum ðām strangestan Germānīe, þæt of Seaxum ond of Angle ond of Ğēatum. Of Ğēta fruman syndon Cantware, ond Wiht-sætan; þæt ðæt is sēo ðēod þe Wiht þæt ēalond oneardað. Of Seaxum, þæt ðæt is of ðām lande þe mon hāteð Ealdseaxan, cōman Ėastseaxan ond Sūðseaxan ond Westseaxan. And of Angle cōman Ėastangle ond Middelangle ond Myrce ond eall Norōhembra cynn; is þæt land ðe Angulus is nemned, betwīh Ğēatum ond Seaxum; is sǣd of þære tide þe hī ðanon gewiton oð tōdæge, þæt hī of þre nume wunige.

Wērōn ðā ërest heora lāttēowas ond heretogan twēgen ðeþeðde Hen-ġest ond Horsa. Hi wērōn Wihtgylses suna, þæs fæder wæs Witta hāten, þæs fæder wæs Wihta hāten ond þæs Wihta fæder wæs Wōden nemned, of ðæs strỳnde monīgra māgða cyningcynn fruman lǣdde. Ne wæs ðā ylding tō þon þæt hī ēamalēlum cōman māran weorod of þam dēodum þe wē ær ēamynegodon. Ond þæt folc, de hider cōm, ongan weaxan ond myclian tō þan swīðe, þæt hī wērōn on myclum eūge þam sylfan landbīgenge þe hī ær hider laðedan ond cỳgdon.

Æfter þissum hī þa geweredon tō sumre tide wið Pehtum, þa hī ær þurh gefeoht foer ædrīfan. Ond þa wērōn Seaxan sēcendel intingan ond tōwyrde heora gedāles wið Bryttas. Cỳðdon him openlice ond sǣdon, nemne hī him māran andlyfne sealdon, þæt hī woldan him sylfe niman ond hergian, þær hī hit findan mihton, ond sōna þa bēotunge dēdum gefyldon: bærndon ond hergedon ond sōgaman frām ēastsǣ oð westsǣ; ond hī nēning wiðtōd. Ne wæs ungeliċ wræcc þam þe ða Chaldēas bærndon Hierusalēme weallas ond ða cynelican getimbro mid fyrre fornāman for ðæas Godes folces synnum.

Swā þonne hēr fram þære ærlēasan ðēode, hwædere rihte Godes dōme, nēþ ēastra gehwylc ond land forheregæode wērōn. Hrūran ond fōllan cynelicano getimbro somod ond ðēowdōm; ond gehwær sācerdas ond mæse-prōstas betwih wēron slægene ond cwylmde; bīscopas mid folcum būtun ēnigre ære scēawunge ætgædere mid iserne ond ðiġe forn-numene wērōn. Ond ne wæs ēnig sē þe bebyrignysse sealde þam þe swā hrēowlīc æcwealde wērōn. Ond monīɡe ðaerre earman lāfe on wēstennum fanggene wēron ond hēampālum sticode. Sume for hungre heora feōndum on hand ðodon ond ðecne þëowdōm gehēton, wið þon þe him mon andlīfne
forgēfe: sume ofer sæ särīgende gewiton: sume forhtiende in eōle ġebidon, ond ðearfende lif in wuda ond in wēstenum ond in ēan cleofum sorgiende mōde symle dydon.

OND þa æfter þon þe sē here wæs hām hweorfende ond hēo hæfdon út āmārede þa bigēŋan þisses ēalondes, dā ongūnon hēo stīčcēmālēum mōd ond mægen monian, ond forð ēodon of þæm dēaglum stōwum, þe hēo ēr in behyðde wēron, ond ealra ānmōdre ġeþafunge heofonriċes fultomes him wēron biddende, þæt hēo oð forwyrd ēghwār fordlgodne ne wēron.

Wæs in ðā tid heora heretoga ond lāttēow Ambrōsius, hāten ōðre nom-an Aureliānus, wæs göd mon ond ġemetfēst, Rōmāniċes cynnes mon. In þisses monnes tid mōd ond mægen Brettas onfēgon: ond hē hēo tō geøeohhte forð geċēgde ond him sīge geheht: ond hēo ēac on þām geøeohhte þurh Godes fultum sīge onfēgon. Ónd þa of þære tide hwilum Brettas, hwilum eft Seaxan sīge ġeslōgon, oð þæt ēr ymbsetes þære Beadonescan dūne, þa hēo micēl wæl on Ongolcynne ġeslōgon, ymb fēower ond fēowertīg wintra Ongolcynnes cymes in Breetone.

B. THE STORY OF CAEDMON

In ðeosse abbudissan mynstre wæs sum brōðor syndrīḡlice mid godcundre ġife gemēred ond ġeweorðad, forþon hē ġewunade ġerisenliċe lēōd wyrčan, þa ðe tō āfēstnisse ond tō ārēfēstnisse belumpen, swā ðætte, swā hwæt swā hē of godcundum stafum þurh bōceras ġeþeonode, þæt hē æfter med-miculum fēce in scōpģereorde mid þa mēstan swētnisse ond inbryrdnisse ġeglangde ond in Engliċegereode wel geworht forþbrōhte. Ónd for his lēōþsongum moniġra monna mōd oft tō worulde forhōgdnisse ond tō ġeþēodnisse þæs heofonliċan lifes onbærnde wēron. Ónd ēac swelcē mon-īġe ōðre æfter him in Ongelþēode ongūnon āfêste lēōd wyrčan, ac nānīġ hwǣdre him þæt ġelīċe dōn meahte, forþon hē nales from monnum nē þurh mon ġelǣred wæs, þæt hē þone lēōdcraeft ġeleornade, ac hē wæs godcundlīċe ġefultumed ond þurh Godes ġife þone songcraeft onfēng. Ónd hē forðon nāfēre nōht ġeþēon ġeleornade, nē idles lēoþes wyrčan meahte, ac efnē þa ða ðe tō āfēstnesse belumpon, ond his þa āfēstan tungan ġedeofanade singan.

Wæs hē, sē mon, in weoruldhāde ġeseted oð þa tide þe hē wæs ġelīfrend yldre, ond nāfēre nānīġ lēōd ġeleornade. Ond hē forþon oft in ġeþōrorscip, þonne þær wæs blisse intinga ġedēmed, þæt hēo ealle scālde þurh ende-byrdnesse be hearpan singan, þonne hē ġeseah þa hearpan him nēalēċan, þonne ārās hē for scōme from þæm symble ond hām ēode tō his hūse.
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Þā hē þæt þā sumre tīde dyde, þæt hē forlēt þæt hūs þæs ġebēorsċipes, ond út wæs gongende tō nēata scīpene, þāra heord him wæs þāre neahte beboden, þā hē dā þær in ġelimplīcē tīde his leomu on reste ġesette ond ons læpte, þā stōd him sum mon æt þūr hwefn ond hine hālette ond ġrētte ond hine be his noman nemnde: “Cedmon, sing mē hwæthwugu.” Þā ondswarede hē ond cwǣð: “Ne con ic nōht singan; ond ic forþon of þeossum ġebēorsċipe ūt ēode, ond hider gewāt, forþon ic nāht singan ne cúde.” Eft hē cwǣð, sē ðē wið hine sprecende wæs: “Hwædre þū mē āht singan.” Þā cwǣð hē: “Hwæt sceal ic singan?” Cwǣð hē: “Sing mē frum-sċeaft.” Þā hē dā þās andsware onfēng, þā ongon hē sōna singan in here-nesse Godes scẏppendes þā fers ond þā word þe hē næfre gehyrde, þāre endebyrdnses þis is:

105 Nū sculon herīgan heofonrīces weard, meotodes meahte ond his mōdgēpang, weorc wuldorfeor, swā hē wundra ġehwæs, ēcē drihten, òr onstealde. Hē ērest scēop eordan bearnum

110 heofon tō hröfe, hālīg scẏppend; þā middanġeard monncynnes weard, ēcē drihten, òfter tēode firum foldan, frēa ælmihtiġ.

Þā ārās hē from þæm slēpe, ond eal þā þe he slēpende song, fæste in ġemynde hæfde; ond þæm wordum sōna monīg word in þæt ilce ġemet Gode wyrðes songes tō ġeþeodde.

Þā cōm hē on morgenne tō þæm tūngerēfan, þe his ealdormon wæs; sægde him hwylcē ġife hē onfēng; ond hē hine sōna tō þāre abbudissan ġelǣdē ond hire þā cūdē ond sægde. Þā heht hēo ġesomnian ealle þā ġelǣredestan men ond þā leorneras, ond hīm ondweardum hēt scēgan þæt swefn, ond þæt lēoð singan, þe tāle heora dōme ġecoren wrēre, hwæt oððe hwonon þæt cumen wrēre. Þā wæs him eallum ġeseġen, swā swā hit wæs, þæt him wrēre from drihtne sylfum heofonliċ ġifu forgifen.

Þā rehton hēo him ond sægdon sum hālīg spell ond gōcdunre lære word; bebudon him þā, gif hē meahte, þæt hē in swinsunge lēофsonges þæt ġehwyrfde. Þā hē dā hæfde þā wisan onfōngne, þe ġode hē hám tō his ġūse, ond cwōm eft on morgenne, ond þy betstan lēoðe ġeglēgde him āsong ond āġeaf þæt him beboden wæs. Ðā ongan sēo abbudisse cyppan ond luftēgan þā Godes ġife in þæm men; ond hēo hine þā monade ond lǣrde
þæt hē wuruldhād ãnforlēte ond munuchād onfēnge; ond hē þæt wel þafode. Ond hēo hine in þæt mynster onfēng mid his gōdum, ond hine gepēodde tō gesomnnunge þāra Godes þēowa, ond heht hine lētran þæt ġetel þæs hālgan stāres ond spelles. Ond hē eal þa hē in gehyrnesse ġeleornian meahte mid hine ġemyngdage, ond swā swā clāne nēten eodorcende in þæt swēteste lēod ñehwerfde. Ond his song ond his lēoð wēron swā wynsumu tō gehyranne, þætte seolfan þa his lārēowas æt his mūde wreoton ond leornodon.

Song hē ñerest be middanġeardes ġesċeape ond bī fruman moncynnes ond eal þæt stār Danish, þæt is seo ñereste Moyses booc; ond eft bī ūtginge Israhēla folces of Aegypta londe ond bī ingonge þæs gehātlandes; ond bī oðrum monegum spellum þæs hālgan ġewrites canōnes bōca; ond bī Cristes menniscnesse; ond bī his þröwunge; ond bī his upāstignesse in hefonas; ond bī þæs hālgan gāstes cyme, ond þāra apostola lāre; ond eft bī þæm dæge þæs tōwardan dōmes, ond bī fyrhtu þæs tīntreglican wītes, ond bī swētnesse þæs heofonlecan rīċes, hē moniġ ñehwerht. Ond swelċe ëac òder moniġ be þæm godcundan fresummnessum ond dōmum hē ñehwerht.

In eallum þæm hē ñeornliċe ñefolk, þæt hē men ñatuge from synna lufan ond māndǣda, ond tō lufan ond tō ñeornfulnesse ñehte godra dāda, forþon hē wæs, sē mon, swīþe fēowertēne onbærned.

Ond hē forðon faeġre ænde his lif betynde ond ñeandade. Forþon, þa ñære tīde néalǣcte his ġewitenesse ond forðfōre, þa wæs hē fōwertynum dagum ār, þæt hē wæs līchomlicre untrynnnesse þryċced ond hefgad, hwædre tō þæs ġemēlīcē, þæt hē ealle þa tīd meahte þg sprecan þe gongan. Wæs þær in nēaweste untrumra monna hūs, in þæm heora þēaw wæs, þæt hēo þā untrumran, ond þā ðe æt forðfōre wēron, inlǣdon scēoldon ond him þær ætsomne þeġnian. Þā bæd hē his þeġn on æfenne þære neahte, þe hē oþ worulde gongende wæs, þæt hē in þæm hūse him stōwe þeggearwode, þæt hē ñerestan meahte. Pā wundrode sē þeġn, for hwn hē ðæs bæde, forþon him þūhte þæt hēs forðfōr swā nēah ne wēre; dyde hwædre swā swā hē cwæð ond bicēad.

Ond mid þy hē ðā þær on reste ëode, ond hē ñegœonde móde sumu þing mid him sprecende ætgædere ond glēowiende wæs, þe þær ær inne wēron, þa wæs ofer midde neaht þæt hē frægn, hwædre hēo ñeniġ hūsl inne hæfdon. Pā ondswarodon hēo ond cwæðon: “Hwylc þearf is ðē hūslēs? Nē þinre forðfōre swā nēah is, nū þu þus rōtlīcē ond þus glædlīcē tō ñus sprecende eart.” Cwæð hē eft: “Berað mē hūsl tō.”
Þā hē hit þā on honda hæfde, þā frægn hē hwæþer hēo ealle smolt mōd ond büton eallum incan bliðe tō him hæfdon. Þā ondswaredon hē ealle ond cwædon, þæt hēo nægni себе incan tō him wiston, ac hēo ealle him swiðe bliðemōde wēron; ond hēo wrixendliċe hine bædon, þæt hē him eallum bliðe wære. Þā ondswarade hē ond cwæð: “Mine brōðor mine þā lēofan, iċ eom swiðe bliðemōd tō ēow ond tō eallum Godes monnum,” ond swā wæs hine getrymmende mid þē heofonlecan weȝnesta, ond him òðres lifes in-gong ġeġearwode. Þā ġyēt hē frægn, hū néah þære tide wære, þætte þā brōðor ārisan scolden ond Godes lof rēran ond heora ūhtsong singan. Þā ondswaredon hēo: “Nis hit feor tō þon.” Cwæð hē: “Teala. Wuton wē wel þære tide bidan,” ond þā him ġebæd ond hine ġeseġnode mid Cristes rōde tācne, ond his ġeafod onhylde tō þām bolstre, ond medmiċel fæc onslēpte; ond swā mid stilnesse his lif ġeendumede. Ond swā wæs ġeworden, þæt swā swā hlūttre mōde ond bilwitre ond smyltre wilsunnesse drihtne þēode, þæt hē ēac swylcē swā smylte déaðe middangēard wæs forlētenende, ond tō his ġesihōe becwōm. Ond sēo tunge, þē swā moniġ hālwende word in þæs scyppendes lof ġesette, hē ðā swelcē ēac þā ātmæstan word in his herenisse, hine seolfne segniende ond his gāst in his honda bebēodende, betēnyde.
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.

Deōs Bōc Sċeal Tō Wiogora Ėaste

Ælfrēd kyning hāteð grētan Wāérferð bisċep his wordum luflīcē ond frēond-
liċe; ond dē cyðan hāte dæt mē cōm swīdē oft on ōjemyd, hwelce wiotan ū
wārōn ġjōnd Angelcynn, ēgðēr ġe godcundra hāda ġe wurlucundra; ond hū ġu
gēsēliglica tīda dā wārōn ġjōnd Angelcynn; ond hū dā kyningas dē ðōne
onwald hæfdon ðæs folces on dām dagum Gođe ond ās ērendwrecum hȳr-
sumedon; ond hie ēgðēr ġe hiora sibbe ġe hiora siodo ġe hiora onweald
innanbordes wel ġehīoldon, ond ēac ūt hiora ēdēl ġerymdon; ond hū him dā
spēow ēgðēr ġe mid wīġe ġe mid wīsdōme; ond ēac ġe godcundan hādas, hū
ġīorne hie wārōn ēgðēr ġe ymb lārē ġe ymb liornuna, ġe ymb ealle dā
Ďiowotdōmas dē ġe Gođe dōn scōłdon; ond hū ġu man ūtanbordes wisdom
ond lārē hiedor on lond sōhte, ond hū ġe hie nū scēoldon ūte bēgĭtan gīf
wē hie habban scēoldon. Swē clēne hīo wās oďfeallenu on Angelcynne dāet
swīdē fēawa wārōn behīonan Humbre dē hiora ğēninga cūōn underst-
donan on Englisċ, oďde furȳum ān ērendgewrit of Lǣdene on Englisċ
āreċċean; ond īc wēne dātte nōtí ge[n]e[b] Ostān Hümbrē nārēn. Swē
fēawa hiora wārōn dāet iċ furȳum ānne ānlēpne ne mēg ġeďenčēan be
sūdān Temese dā dā iċ ērest tō rīcē fēng. Gođe āelmihtegum sī dōn
dātte wē nū ēnignē onstal habbað lārēowa.

Ond forōn īc dē bebiōde dāet dū dō swē īc ġelīfe dāet dū wille, ġāt dū
dē ĭssā wurluddīnga tō dēm ġeďemētīge swē dū oftost mēge, ġāt dū ġōne
wisdom dē dē Gođ sealde dār ġe ġe dū hiene befaētan mēge, ġeorn befaēste.
Geďenč hwelc ġwitu ūs dā becōmen for ĭssē worulde, dā dā ġe wē hō-
hwādēr nē selfe ne lufodon nē ēac ġōdm monnum ne lēfdon: ġōne naman
ānne wē hæfdon dāet wē cristne wēren, ond swīdē fēawe dā dēawas.
Da ic da dis eall gemunde, da gemunde ic eac hū ic geseg, aer ēam de hit eall forhergod wære ond forbærned, hū da ciricegan giond eall Angelcynn stödon mādma ond bōca gefylde, ond eac miel menigeo Godes diowa, ond da sviðe lýtle fiorne ðāra bōca wiston, for ðāem de hie hiora nänwuht on-giotan ne meahton, ond þæt wære for ðāem de hie næron on hiora āgen gēðiode áwritene, swelce hie cwæðen: “Ùre ieldran, da de ðās stōwa ær hiolden, hie lufodon wisdom, ond ðūrh ðone hie begeatone welan ond ðūs læfden. Hēr mon mæg ðiet ðesion hiora swæð, ac wē him ne cunnon æfter-spyriğean, ond forðæm wē habbað nū æðger forlèten ðe ðone welan ðe ðone wisdom, forðæm de wē noldon þo ðāem spore mid ûre mōde onlūtana.”

Da ic da dis eall gemunde, da wundrada ic sviðe sviðe ðāra gōdena wiotona ðe gjū wæron giond Angelcynn, ond ðā bēc eallæ be fullan gēliornod hæfðon, ðæt hie hiora da nærne dæl noldon on hiora āgen gēðiode wenden. Ac ic da sōna eft mē selfum andwyrde ond cwæð: “Hie ne wēndon ðætte ðfre menn sċeiolden swrre rècčlēase weorðan ond sīo lār swæ oðfeallan.

For ðēre wilnunga hie hit forlēton, ond woldon ðæt hēr ðy màra wisdom on londe wære ðy wē mà géðođa cudūn.”

Da gemunde ic hū sīo ðæt wæs ærest on Ebrēisċgēðiode funden, ond eft, da hie Crēacas gēliornodon, da wenden hie on hiora āgen gēðiode ealle, ond eac ealle ðōre bēc; ond eft Lǣdenware swǣ same, inðan hie hie gēliornodon, hie hie wenden eallæ ðūrh wise wealhstōdas on hiora āgen gēðiode. Ond eac ealla ðōræ cristnæ ðīoda sumne dæl hiora on hiora āgen gēðiode wenden.

Forðȳ mē ðyncð betre, gif lōw swǣ ðyncð, ðæt wē eac sumæ bēc, da de niedbēearfosta sien eallum monnum tō wiotonne, ðæt wē da on ðæt gēðiode wenden ðe wē ealle gecnāwan mægen, ond gedōn, swǣ wē swiðe ðāde magon mid Godes fultume gif wē da sītinesse habbað, ðæt eall siō giogūð de nū is on Angelcynne frīora monna, ðāra de da spēda hæbben ðæt hie ðēm befēolan mægen, sien tō liornungu oðfæste, ðæt hwile hie hie tō nānre ðērre note ne mægen, ðō done first ðe hie wel cumen Englisċ gewrit ārēdan; lēre mon inðan furfur on Lǣdenġeðiode ða da mon furðor lēran wille ond tō hieran hāde dön wille.

Da ic da gemunde hū sīo lār Lǣdenġeðiodes ðēr ðissum ðfeallen wæs giond Angelcynn, ond ðēah monige cūðon Englisċ gewrit ārēdan, da ongan ic ongémang ðōrum mislicum ond manigfealdum būsrm ðīsses kynerićes ða bōc wenden on Englisċ ðe is ġenemned on Lǣden Pastoralis, ond on Englisċ “Hierdebōc,” hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgiete, swǣ swǣ ic hie gēliornode æt Plegmunde minum ærcebiscēpe ond æt Assere minum bescēpe ond æt Grīmbolde minum mæseprioste ond æt Iōhanne minum mæseprioste. Ðōðan ic hie ða gēliornod hæfde, swǣ swǣ
2. THE PASTORAL CARE

iç hie forstōd, ond swǣ iç hie andġitfullicost āreċcean meahte, iç hie on Englisċ āwende, ond tō āelcum bisċepstōle on mínun rīce wille āne onsendan; ond on āelcre bið ān æstel, sē bið on fiftegum mancessan. Ond iç bebióde on Godes naman ðæt nān mon ðone æstel from ōðre bēc ne dō, nē ē Andreas from dām mynstre—uncūð hū longe ōðr swǣ ġelārede biscepas 70 sien, swǣ swǣ nū Gode ðonc ġewelhwār siendon. Förðỹ iç wolde ðætte hie ealneġ æt ōðre stōwe wēren, būton sē biscep hie mid him habban wille, oððe hīo hwār tō læne sie, oððe hwā oðre bī wīte.
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 ġēare for sé micla here þe wē ðefyrn ymbe spræcon eft of þēm ēastrícē westweard tō Bunnan ond þær wurdon ġesċipode swā þæt hie āsettan him on ānne sīp ofer mid horsum mid ealle ond þā cōmon up on Limene mūþan mid þridde healft hund scīpa. Sē mūþa is on ēasteweardre

Cent æt þæs miclan wuda ēastende þe wē Andred hātað. Sē wudu is ēastlang ond westlang hundwelfiges mila lang oþþe lengra ond þritiges mila brāð; sēo ēa þe wē ðer ymbe spræcon lið ūt of þēm wealda. On þā ēa hī tugon up hiora scīpu oþ þone weald .iii. mila fram þēm mūþan ġeweorhtum ond þær ābrēcon ān ġeweorc inne on þēm fenne; sētōn þēawa cirlisce men on ond wæs sāmworht. Þā sōna æfter þēm cōm Hæstēn mid .lxxx. scīpa up on Temese mùðan ond worhte him ġeweorc æt Middeltūne ond sē ðeper here æt Apuldre.

893. On þēs ġēare, þæt wæs ymb twelf mōnað þæs þe hie on þēm ēastrícē ġeweorc ġeweort hæfdon, Norþhymbre ond Ēastengle hæfdon Æl ffrēde cyninge ðæs ġesæld ond Æastengle ħæfðon Ælffrēde cyninge ðæs ġesæld ond Æastengle forægisla .vi., ond þēh, ofer þā trēowa, swā oft swā þā ðopre ðerhigas mid ealle ðerhige ūt fōrōn, þonné fōrōn hie, oþþe mid oþþe on heora healfe. Ond þā ġegaderade Ælfred cyning his fierd ond for þæt hē ġewīcode betwuh þēm twām hergum þær þær hē nīehst rýmet hæfde for wuduþæstennæ ond for wæterfæstenne, swā þæt hē mehte æg-þerne ġerēcan gif hie ænigne feld sēcan wolden. Þā fōrōn hie sīþþan æfter þēm wælda hlōþum ond flocrådum bi swā hwaþerre efes swā hit þonné fierdlēas wæs, ond hī mon ëac mid ðoprūm floccum söhte mæstra daga ðēlce, oþþe on niht, ðē of þāre fierdē ðe ëac of þēm burgum; hæfde sē cyning his fierd ond tō tōnumen, swā þæt hie wēron simle healfe æt hām, healfe ūte, būtan þēm monnum þe þa burga healdan scōlden. Ne cōm sē here oftor eall ūte of þēm setum þonné tuwwa: ðopre ðēþ þa hie ðerest tō londe cōmon, ær sīo fierd gesamnod wēre, ðopre ðēþ þa hie of þēm setum faran wolden.
Þā hie gefêngon micle herehȳð ond þā woldon ferian norþweardeð ofer Temese in on Ēastseaxe ongêan þā scîpu, þā forráð sio fierd hie foran ond him wið gefeath æt Fearnhamme ond þone here gefliemde ond þā herehȳþa ahreddon, ond hie flugon ofer Temese bûtón ælcum forda, þā up be Colne on ânne ìggâð. Þā besæt sio fierd hie þërûtan þā hwile þe hie þær lægest mete hæfdon. Ac hie hæfdon þā heora stemn ðesetenne ond hiora mete ðenotudne, ond ðæs sé cyng þā þiderweardes on fære mid þære scire þe mid him fierdedon. Þā hē þā wæs þiderweardes, ond sio ðeperu fierd wæs hámweardeð, ond ðā Deniscan sæton þær behindan, forþæm hiora cyning wæs ðæm gefeohte þæt hī hine ne mehton ferian, þā ðegaderedon þā þe in Norþhyðbrum búgeâð ond on ðæstenglum sum hund scîpa ond föron sūð ymbûtan, ond sum féowertiġ scîpa norþ ymbûtan on ymbsêton án geweorc on ðefnasciðe be þære Norþsæ, ond þā þe sūð ymbûtan föron ymbsêton Exâncester.

Þā sē cyng þæt hierde, þā wende hē hine west wið Exânceâstres mid ealre þære fierde, bûtón swïpe gewaldenum dæle ðæsteweardes þæs folces. Þā föron forð oþ þe hie cōmon tō Lundenbyrģ, ond þā mid þæm burgwarum ond þæm fultume þe him westan cōm, föron éast tō Bǣmflêote; wæs Hâstên þā þær cumen mid his hærge þe ær æt Middeltûne sæt, ond ðæc sē micla here wæs þā þærto cumen þe ær on Limene mûpan sæt æt Apuldre; hæfde Hâstên ær geworht þæt geweorc æt Bǣmflêote ond wæs þā ùt âfaren on hergâp, ond ðæs sē micla here æt hâm. Þā föron hie tō ond gefliemdon þone here ond þæt geweorc âbræc ond ðæt þær binnan wæs, ðe on fêo, ðe on wifum, ðe ðæc on bearnum, ond brôhton eall intö Lundenbyrģ, ond þā scîpu eall oþþe tôbræc onþe forberndon oþþe tō Lundenbyrģ brôhton oþþe tō Hrōfes êaste; ond Hâstênes wîf ond his suna tweâgen mon brôhte tō þæm cyninge, ond hē hi him eft ðæfæf, forþæm þe hiora wæs ðeper his godsunu, ðeper Æðerêdes ealdormonnes; hæfdon hi hiora onfangen ær Hâstên tō Bǣmflêote cōme, ond hē him hæfde ðeselde ðíslas ond ðâdas, ond ðæs sē cyng þæc wel ðeoh sealde, ond ðæc swâ þā hē þone cnith ðægef ond þæt wif. Ac sôna swâ hie tō Bǣmflêote cōmon, ond þæt geweorc geworht wæs, swâ hergode hē on his rîcê, þone ilcan ende þe Æþerêd hīs cumpæder healdan scêold, ond eft ðeper sîpê hē wæs on hergâd ðelend on þæt ilce rîcê, þâ þa mon his geweorc âbræc.

Þā sē cyning hīe þā west wende mid þære fierde wið Exâncestres, swâ iċ ær sêde, ond sē hīe þa burg beseten hæfde, þa hē þærto ðefaren wæs, þa ðœodon hie tō hiora scîpum. Þā hē þā wið þone here þær wæst ñisigod wæs, ond þā hergâs wærôn þa ðegaderode bêgen tō Scêøbyrģ on ðæstseaxum ond þær geweorc worhtun, föron bêgen ætgædere up be Temese, ond hīs cōm micel ñaca tō, æðper ðe of ðæstenglum ðe of Norþhyðbrum. Fōron þā up be
Temese oþ þæt hie ġedydon æt Sæferne, þa up be Sæferne. Þa ġegaderode Æþerēd ealdorman ond Æþelm ealdorman ond Æþelnōþ ealdorman ond þa cinges þegnas þe þa æt hám æt þæm geweorcum wæron, of ælcre byriþ be ēastan Pedredan, ge be westan Śealwuda ge be ēastan, ge ëac be norþan Temese ond be westan Sæfern, ge ëac sum dæl þæs Norðwēalcynnes. Þa hie þa ealle ġegaderode wæron, þa offōron hie þone here hindan æt Buttingtūne on Sæferne staþe ond hine þærūtan besēton on ælce healfe on ānum fæstenne. Þa hie dā fela wucena sæton on twā healfe þære ë, ond sē cyng wæs west on Defnum wip þone scîphere, þa wæron hie mid metelieste gewēgde ond hæfdon miċelne dæl þara horsa freten, ond þa ūstre wæron hungre ācwolen. Þa ēodon hie út tō ëæm monnum þe on ëasthealfe þære ë wicodon on him wip þefuhton, ond þa cristnan hæfdon siġe; ond þær wearð Ordhēh cyninges þegn ofslægen ond ëac moniġe ëstre cyninges þegnas ofslægen, ond þara Deniscra þær wearð swiðe miċel gesleġen, ond sē dæl þe þær ëweg cōm wurdon on flēame generede.

Þa hie on Ëastseaxe cōmon tō hiora geweorce ond tō hiora scîpum, þa ġegaderade sīo láf eft of Ëastenglum ond of Norðhymbrum miċelne here onforan winter ond befæston hira wif ond hira scîpu ond hira feoh on Ëastenglum ond fōron ënstreces daeges ond nihtes þæt hie ġedydon on ënre wêstre ëaste on Wirhēalum sēo is Lēga ëaste ġehāten. Þa ne mehte sēo fird hie nā hindan offaran, ër hie wæron inne on þæm geweorce; besēton þeah þæt geweorc ëtan sume twēgen dagas ond ënåmon ëcēapes eall þæt ëær būton wæs ond þa men ofslōgon þe hie foran forrīdan mehton būtan geweorc ond þæt corn eall forbærndon ond mid hira horsum fretton on ælcre efenēhðe. Ond þæt wæs ymb twelf mōnað þæs þe hie ër hider ofer sē cōmon.

894. Ond þa sōna æfter þæm on ðēs ñēre for sē here of Wirhēale in on Norðwēalas, forþæm hie ðēr sittan ne mehton; þæt wæs forðy þe hie wæron bēnumene ægðer ge þæs ëcēapes ge þæs cornes ë hie ëgergod hæfdon. Þa hie dā eft út of Norðwēalum wendon mid þære herehýðe þe hie ðēr ëgenmen hæfdon, þa fōron hie ofer Norðhymbra lond ond Ëastengla, swā swā sēo fird hie gerǣcan ne mehte, oþ þæt hie cómon on Ëastseaxna lond ëaste ond on ënre sēa, þæt is Meresīġ hāten. Ond þa sē here eft hāmweard wende þe Ëxanċeaster beseten hæfde, þa hergodon hie up on Stōsæxum nēah Čisseċeaster, ond þa burgware hie ëgefliemdon ond hira moniġ hund ofslōgon ond hira scîpu sumu ënåmon.

Đa þþ ylcan ñēre onforan winter þæ Deniscra þe on Meresīġe sæton tugon hira scîpu up on Temese ond þa up on Lȳgān. Þæt wæs ymb twā ër þæs þe hie hider ofer sē cōmon.
895. On þy ylcan gēre worhte sē foresprecena here ġeweorc be Līgan .xx. mila bufan Lundenbyrīg. Þā þaes on sumera fōron micel dēl þāra burgwara ond ēac swā āpres folces þæt hie ġedydon æt þāra Deniscana ġeweorce ond þær wurdon ġefliemde, ond sume fēower cyninges þegnas ofslaegene. Þā þaes on hærfaeste þa wicode sē cyng on néaweste þære byríg, þā hwīle þe hie hira corn ġerypon, þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þaes rites forwiernan. Þa sume dēge rād sē cyng up bi þære ēæ ond ġehāwade hwær mon mehte þā ēa forwyrçan, þæt hie ne mehton þa scīpu út brenaġan; ond hie dā swā dydon: worhton dā tū ġeweorc on tā(hw)alpe þære ēas. Þā hie dā þæt ġeweorc furþum ongunnen hæfdon ond þārtō ġewīcod hæfdon, þā onġet sē here þæt hie ne mehton þa scīpu út brenaġan. Þa forlēton hie hie ond ēodon ofer land þæt hie ġedydon æt Ĉwātbryčge be Sæfern ond þær ġewerc worhton. Þā rād sēo fird west æfter þæm herige, ond þa men of Lundenbyríg ġefetedon þa scīpu ond þa ealle þe hie álēdan ne mehton tōbrēcon, ond þa þēr stālwyrde wēron innan Lundenbyríg ġebroht- on; ond þa Deniscan hæfdon hira wīf befaest innan Ėastengle, ēr hie ūt of þæm ġeweorc fōron. Þā sētōn hie þone winter æt Ĉwātbryčge. Þæt wæs ymb þrēo gēr þaes þe hie on Limene mūdan cómon hider ofer sǣ.

896. Ða þaes on sumera on ōysum ţēre toffor sē here, sum on Ėast- engle, sum on Norðhymbre, ond þa þe feohlēase wēron him þær scīpu beġeton ond sūð ofer sǣ fōron tō Sīgēne. Næfde sē here, Godes þonces, Angelcyn ealles forswiðe ġebrocod, ac hie wēron micle swīþor ġebrocede on þæm þrim ţēarum mid čēapes cwilde ond monna, ealles swīþost mid þæm þæt maniġe þāra sēlestena cynges þēna þe þær on londe wēron forð- fērdon on þæm þrim ţēarum. Þāra wæs sum Swīðulf bīscop on Hröfes ēcastre ond Ĉēolmund ealdormon on Cent ond Beorhtulf ealdormon on Ėastseaxum on Wulffrēd ealdormon on Hāmtūnsċīre ond Æadulf wīċgerēf on Wintēcastre ond Ėcȳulf cynges horsþēgn ond maniġe ãc him, þēh ic dā ġeðungnestan nemde.

Þy ilcan gēare drehton þa herġas on Ėastenglum ond on Norðhymb- rum Westseaxna lond swīde be þæm sūðstǣde mid stælherġum, ealra swīþast mid ðæm æscum þe hie fela ţēara ēr timbredon. Þā hēt Ælfīrēd cyng timbran langscīpu ongēn ða æscas. Þā wēron fulnēah tū swā lānge swā þā oðru. Sume hæfdon .lx. ēra, sume mā. Þa wēron ægōer ge swiftran ġe unwealtran ġe ãc hieran þonne þā oðru; nāeron nāwðer nē on Frēsisċ ġescæpene nē on Denisc, būte swā him selfum ţūhte þæt hie nytwyrðoste bēon meahten.
Þā æt sumum cirre ðæs ilcan ġeares cōmon þær sex scipu tō Wiht ond þær micēl yfel ġedydon, ægðer ġe on Defenum ġe welhwaer be ðæm sæ-riman. Þā hēt sē cyng faran mid nigonum tō þāra niwena scipa, ond forfōron him þone mūdan foran on útermere. Þā foran hie mid þrim scipum út ongēn hie, ond þrēo stōdon æt ufeweardum þæm mūdan on drīgum; wæron þā men uppe on londe of āgāne. Þā gefēngon hie þāra þrēora scipa tū æt ðēm mūdan úteweardum ond þā man ofslōgon, ond þæt ān ðōwand; on þēm wæron ēac þa men ofslægene būton fifum, þa cōmon forðī onwege ðe ðāra ōþerra scipu ñsētun. Þā wurdon ēac swīðe unēdelīce ðēssetu: þrēo ñsētun on ðā healfe þæs deōpes ðe ðā Deniscan scipu ñsētun wæron, ond þā ðōru eall on ðōre healfe, þæt hira ne mehte nān tō ðōrum. Ac ðā þæt wæter ðæs āhebbad fēla furlanga from þēm scipum, þā ġodon ðā Deniscan from þēm þrim scipum tō þēm ðōrum þrim þæt on hira healfe beebbade wæron ond hie þa þēr gefuhton. Þær wearð ofslægen Lucumon cynges ġerēfa ond Wulfheard Frīesa ond Æbbe Frīesa ond Ædēlhere Frīesa ond Ædelferð cynges ġenēat, ond ealra monna Frēsisċra ond Englisisċra .lxii. ond þāra Deniscena .cxx. Þā cōm þēm Den-iscum scipum þē ùr flōd tō, ēr ða cristnan mehten hira ùt āscūfan, ond hie forðī ùt oðrēowon. Þā wæron hie tō þēm gesārgode þæt hie ne mehton Sūðseaxna lond ùtan berōwan, ac hira þēr tū sē on lond wearp, ond þā men mon lǣdde tō Winteċeaste tō þēm cyngne; ond hē hie ðēr ahōn hēt, ond þa men cōmon on Êastengle þe on þēm ānum scipe wæron swīðe forwunode. Þy ilcan sumera forwearð nō lēs þonne .xx. scipa mid monnum mid ealle be þēm sūðriman.

Þy ilcan ġeðe forðōferde Wulfriċ cynges horsēgn, sē wæs ēac wealh-ġerēfa.

897. Hēr on þysum ġeðe gefōr Ædēlm Wiltūnsċire ealdormon nigon nihtum ær middum sumere, ond hēr forðōferde Hēahstān, sē wæs on Lundenne bǐscōp.

900. Hēr gefōr Ælfrēd Aþulunging, syx nihtum ær ealra hàlīgra mæssan, sē wæs cyning ofer eall Ongelcyn būtan ðēm dāle þe under Dena onwalde wæs, ond hē hēold þæt rīce ðōrum healfum lēs þe .xx. wintra; ond þā %fēg Eadweard 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 ðēah tō witenne þæt on þysre worulde
synd þreo endebyrdnyssse on ānnysse ġesette,
þæt synd laboratores, oratores, bellatores.
Lavoratores synd þā þe ūrne bigleafan beswincað,
oratores synd þā þe ðūs tō Gode ġedīngiað,
bellatores synd þā þe ūre burga healdāð,
and ūrne eard beweriað wið onwinnendne here.
Nū swincð sē yrōlincg embe ūrne bigleofan,
and sē woruldcempa sċeall winnan wið ūre fynd,
and sē Godes þēowa sċeall symle for ūs ġebiddan, and feohtan gāstlīcē, wiō þā unġeswenlican fỳnd. Is nū forþy màre þǣra muneca ġewinn wiō þā unġeswenlican deofla þē syrwiað embe ūs, þonne sỳ þǣra woruldmanna þe winnað wiþ ðā flāeslican, and wiþ þā þeswenlicen þēowas feohtad.

Nū ne sċeolon þā woruldcempan tō þām woruldlicum ġefohoðe þā Godes þēowan nēadian fram þām gāstlican ġewinne, forðan þe him fremað swīðor þæt þā unġesewenlican fỳnd bēon oferswyðde þonne þā þeswenlican; and hit bið swȳðe deriġendlīc þæt hī Drihtnes þēowdōm forlētan, and tō woruldġewinne búgan, þe him nāht tō ne ġebyriað. Iuliānus, sē wiōersaca and sē wælhrēowa cāserē, wolde nēadian prēostas tō woruldlicum ġecampe, and ēac þā hālgan munecas, and hēt hī on cwearterne ġebringan. Þā wearð Appollōnīus sē Ëgiptisca abbod on þām cwearterne belocen, mīd his ġelēaffullum ġebrōdrum, ac Godes engel him cōm tō tō þām cwearterne nihtes mīd heofonlicum lēohte, and unlēc þæt cweartern. Êac sē hundredes ealdor þe hī þærinne belēac cōm on ārnemerġen mīd mycclum þrymme, and sǣde þæt his hūs fēolle fārlicē mīd eorðstyrune, swā þæt his lēofestan mēn þēr lāgon ofhorene, and hē bæd þā hālgan þæt hī þan fērdon. And hī þā mīd lofsangum sīþedon eft tō þām wēstene. Godes þēowas sċeolon unsċædōġignysse healdan, swā swā Crist āstealde þūrh hine sylfne þā bŷne, þa þā hē hēt Petrum behȳdan his swurd, and gehǣlde þūrh his mihte þēs mannes ēare þe Petrus of āslōh, and ġeswutelode his gōdnyssse.

Nū sē munuc þe bihō tō Benedictes regole, and forlēt ealle worulddōingc, hwī wile hē eft ġecyrran tō woruldlicum wēþnum, and āwurpan his ġewinn wiō þā unġeswenlican fỳnd his scyppende tō tēonan? Sē Godes þēowa ne męp mīd woruldmannum feohtan, gif hē on þām gāstlican ġefohoþe forðgang habban sċeall. Nās nān hālīg Godes þēowa āefer þēs hālendes þröwungā, þe āefer on ġefohoþe his handa wolde āfȳlan, ac hī forbārōn ēhtnyssē ārlēasra cwellera, and heora līf sealdon mīd unsċæþþignysse
for Godes gelæfan, and hi mid Gode nú lybbad,
forðan þe hi furþon noldon ãenne fugel ãcwellan.
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 (Godġyfu).

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 þæne, þene, and mæniġ-, originally unstressed forms of þonne, þone, and maniġ-.
on dīhlum stōwum hine ġeorne ġebiddan. Dā wæs hē æt Cristes cyriċan mid þām cyninge; þā spræc hē on æfen wið þone cyrcward and hine ġeorne baed þæt hē hine inn lēte þænne hē þā dura cnyld; ac hē þæt forgýmde for his druncennyse. Dā þā hē to þære dura cōm and þær langsumlice swȳðe crucede and ġeorne cunnode, hwæðer hē hī on ænige wisan undōn mihte, ne mihte nā. Dā hē þene cyrcward gehyrde ofer eall hrūtan, þā ne wǣnde hē him nānes incymes, ac fēng þā on his þegedo, swā his ġewuna wæs, for þær wæs án forehūs æt þære cyrcan duru. Dā on þam gebede wearð séo duru fērīngca ġeopenad, and hē þā sōna in ēode, and hine tō his drihtene þeged upāhafenum earmum. Dā warð his léohtbora āfyrt swȳðe, and ġefall him in ānan hēale and, mid þære forhtnæs æt hine oferēode, slēp. Dā ġeseah hē full ġewisslice þæt hē stōd on middan þære flōre āþenedum earmum mid mæsserēafe ġescrȳdd, and hǣfe grēne mæssemel on him beorhte scīnende, and hē þæs swȳðe wundrode.

Eft hit ġetīmode æt òðrum sǣle þæt hē wæs mid þām kynge æt þære ylcan stōwe. Dā dyde hē swā his ġewuna wæs, ēode tō cyrcēan mid his þrēom cnapan, þā þæt ġeorne men slēpon; and hē hine þā ñegæð, ealswā his ġewuna wæs. Þæt wæs swā nēh Sancte Dunstānes byrġennæ swā hē nēst mihte. Dā wurdon þā twēgen cnapan sōna on slēpe, and sē þrɪdda wacode swīðor for eġe þonne for his gebedum. Dā gehyrde hē fērīnga swȳðe unġerȳdelīċ ġelȳd þām ġelīcost, þæs þæt hē ārost wēnde, swylc þæra muneca setl þröllīċe fēollon ealle tō gedere, and wæs ðe swā lengre swā hluddre and meniġfealdre and unġeryddre. Dā æfter langum fyrste ġeswāc þæt ġelȳd. Þr wæs innan þrēre ġewuna wæs, ēode tō þæt þrēo mel. Þæs þæt hit lihte under þære rōde swȳðan earmæ, þe stōd ofer þæt wēofed. Þā wæs hit swā lēoht wēofed. Swā lange hit lēohtode, þæt þæs blācernes lēoht næs nān þing gesỳne, and þæt swā þæt hit lihte ðeond ealle þæt widgyllan cyrcan. Swā lange hit wæs þå on ðām, þæt hē hit ne dorste nā længc behaldan, and hit āsanode þā on þā ylcan wþsæ þē hē ær wæxedæ wæs, swā ðæt hē ġeseah eft þæt blācernlēoht, and þæt ðēr ġeswāc. And sē ofdrǣdæ cnapa þæt eal mid him ġeseah and hýrde, swylc hit tō þegnessæ wēre; and þæt ðēr slēpon and þæs nān þing nyston.

Nēh þon ylcan sǣle sē cing leg æt Sandwīċ mid scīpum. Dā wæs his ġewuna þæt hē wolde ælce dæge habban twā mæssan, būtan hit mā wēre, and ealle his tida tōgedere, ær hē ùt ēode. Þā ēode hē ymbe sume nēode, þa mæssede man þām cyngæ æt Sancte Clementes cyrcēan. Dā cwað hē tō his ġefēran þæt hit betere wǣre þæt hīg þā mæssan hǣfond. And hē þā inn ēode, and him man sōna hrȳmde; and hē þɑ sōna ēode binnan þone wōhstal on norōhealfe, and sē cyng stōd on sūðhealfe. Dā wæs þær án þrilig wǣhrēg and swȳðe þicce ġewefen þæt hangode bæftan þām wēofode. And stōd þær án
medmyċel rōd on ðäre eorðan on ðām norðēasthyrnan; and wæs swā myċel ðæs trēowes ġesȳne swā wolde bèon gōd hande brād beneoþan þām wāhrifte; and sē ðōðer dēl wæs betwyx þām wāhrifte and þām wāhe. And sē prēost mæss-ode be crūce. Ðā ġeseah hē ofer þā rōde ðāne hand swylcē hèo blētsode; þā wēnde hē ærost þæt sum man hine blētsode, forþām sēo cyrċe wæs eall folces ȳfelde; þā næs ðæt nā swā. Ðā behēold hē hit þā ġyt ġeornor, þā ġeseah hē ealle þā rōde swā swutole, swylcē þār nān þing beforan nære, and wæs sēo blētsi-ende hand styriende and wendende upward. Ðā forhtode hē and twēonode him hweðer hit swā wēre, swā him þūhte. Ðā mid ðæs mōdes twēonunge þā ætēowde hēo him swā swutole swā hē his ġagene ġesȳne mihte; and wāeron fægere fingras smale and lang, and þāra næгла tōscēād and sē ġreata lira beneoðan þām þūman eall wæs ġesȳne and fram þām littlan fingre tōweard þæs earmes, and sumne dēl of þāre slȳfe. Ðā ne dorste hē hit nā læg be- healdan, ac hēng þæt hēafod ādūn, and hit þā ġeswāc þāra blētsunga. Þæt wæs nēh þām þæt godspel wæs ġerāedd.

Fēowertȳne nihton ær his forðsīde hē foresāede þone daŋ þē hē scēolde cuman tō Cofan trēo tō his languan hāme, þār hē on restet; and hit ðēode eallswā hē sæde. Requiescat in pace.
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.

6. ÆLFRIC’S PASSION OF SAINT AGATHA

Agathēs wæs ġeċīġed sum ġesēlīg mǣden
on ðīræ scýre Sicilia, snotor and ġelīfed,
on ōðm timan þe Quintiānus, sē cwealmbēre ēhtere,
þāre scýre gewēold wælhrēowlicē under þām cāsere.
Sē wæs grǣdıġ ġītsere, and his gālnysse underþēod,
dēofles þēowetlincg, and drīhten onscunode.
Þā cóm him tō ēaran be Agathēs drohtnunge
and smēade hū hē mihte þæt mǣden him bègītan.
Hēt hī þā ġefeċċan, and bètǣhte hī ānum fūlum wife,
Afrodosīa ġeċīġed, scēandlic on þēawum,
scō hǣfe nigon dohra, nāhtliċe and fracode,
þæt hēo ġeȝond þrītig nihte hire þēawas leornode,
and hire mōd ãwendé þurh þēawum myltestrena forsppennincgæ.
Hwaet, ðā Affrodosīa, sē fracedosta wimman,
mīd hire nigon dohtrum ġedrehte Agathēn,
hwilon ðēlecendē, hwilon ēḡsīgendē;
wīnde þæt hēo mihte hire mōd ãwendan.
Þā cwǣd Agathēs tō þām yfelan tēame,
“Ēower word syndon winde ġelīcē,
ac hī ne magon āfyllan mín fǣstrǣde ġeþanc, þe is ġegrundstāþelod.”
Dis hēo cwǣd mid wōpe, and ġewlnode tō ðrōwīgenne
for Crīstes naman þā cwealmbēran wīta,
swā swā sē þurstiga on ðīre sunnan hētān
ċewwilnād wyłsgrünċes oððē waerēs cēlincgē.
Þā ġeseah Affrodosīa þæt hēo þære fēmnan mōd
ġebīgān ne mihte mid hyre bismorfullum tihtinctgum,
and fērde tō Quintiāne and cwǣd him þ(us tō:
“Stānas magon hnexian, and þæt starce īsen
on lēades ġelīcnysse, ær ēan þe sé ġelēafa mæge
of Agathēs brēoste bēon æfre ädwēscēd.
Iċ and mine dohtra dægēs and nihtes
nāht elles ne drugun būton hi æfre tihton
tō þinre ġeþafunga, þēah ðe ūs hwōnliċe spēowe.
Iċ hire bēad gymmas and ġyrlan of golde,
and ōðre mārōa and mēre ġebyttlu,
hāmas and hŷred, and hēo þæt eal forseað
on meoxes ġelīcnysse þe ġið under fōtum.”
Þā yrsode Quintiānus and hēt hi ardliċe feċċan,
befrān hi ða æt fruman be hyre ġeþyrnym.

Agathēs þā cваēð, “Iċ eom æделborenre mǣɡðe,
swā swā eall mǐn mǣɡð mě is tō witan.”
Þā cwaēd sē déma, “Hwi dest þū dē sylfe
ðūr wāce þēawas swilce þū wyln sỹ?”
Agathēs andwyrde, “Iċ eom Godes þiñen,
and mycēl ædelborennys bið, þæt man báo Cristes ðéow.”
Quintiānus cwaēd tō þām Cristes maðene,
“Hwæt, lá, nēbbē wē nāne æpelborennysse
forðan þe wē foresēoð þiñes Cristes ðéowdōm?”
Agathēs andwyrde þēah, “Iċ eom Godes þiñen,
and mycēl æpelborennys bið, þæt man báo Cristes ðéow.”
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and mycēl æpelborennys bið, þæt man báo Cristes ðéow.”
Quintiānus cwaēd tō þām Cristes maðene,
“Hwæt, lá, nēbbē wē nāne æpelborennysse
forðan þe wē foresēoð þiñes Cristes ðéowdōm?”
Agathēs andwyrde þēah, “Iċ eom Godes þiñen,
and mycēl æpelborennys bið, þæt man báo Cristes ðéow.”

gelôme on þæt hlēor, þæt heo hlýdan ne scéolde.
Dā cwæð Agathēs eft dā ylcan word.
Quintiānus cwæð, “Þū cŷst þæt dū ġecure
þō tintregu tō drōwiġenne, nū þū minne tēonan ġeedlēcst.”
þæt mǣden him andwyrde, “Micclum ic wundrie þē,
snoterne mannan tō swā micclum dysiġe ġebiġedne,
þæt dū swylcē for godas hæfst þe ðē scēamað tō ġeeuenlǣcenne.
Gīf hī sōda godas synd, gōdes ic þē ġewīscē;
ġif þū hī onsćunast, wit cwē appré þonne án.
Hāt hī swā yfele and swā unclēne
þæt gīf dū hwylcne wyriģe, þæt dū ġewīscē him þās,
þæt hī lif bēo ġeliċ þinum lāðum godum.”
Quintiānus hire cwæð tō, “Hwī clypast dū swā fela ñedeles?
Geoffra dām godum, þæt ic ðē gramlicē ne fordō.”
Dā andwyrde Agathēs unforht þám dēman,
“Gīf dū mid wilddēorum mē nū bētan wylt,
hī bēoð sōna handtame, þurh þās hāľendes naman.
Gīf þū mē fyr ġearcost, mē cymþ fǣllicē of heofonum
hālwendlīc dēaw, þurh drihtnes ænglas.
Gīf dū mē swingla behāêtst, ic hæbbe þone hālgan gāst
þurh ðone ic forsēo ealle þīne swingla.”
þā cwēhte sē dēma his deolficē hēafod,
and hēt hī ġebringan on ānum blindum cwearterne,
and hēt þæt hēo scéolde hī sylfe beþenčan,
hū hēo mihte ætwīndan þām wælhrēowum tīntregum.
Dā cwæð Agathēs, “Þū, earmingc, beðenċ þē
hū dū mæġe ætwīndan þām ðīs ġecum witum.”
Ēode þā blīdeliċe tō dām blindum cwearterne,
wylcē hēo wærē ġelaðd tō lustfullum béorscypē,
and betēhte hire ġewin þām welwyllendan drihtne.
Hwēt, dā on merġen sē mānfulla dēma
hēt Agathēn ġeldan tō his lāðan andwerdnysse,
and bēfrān hwēt hēo smēade bē hyre ġesundfulnysse.
Agathēs him cwæð tō, “Crist mē is for hǣle.”
Sē dēma āxode, “Hū lange wylt dū, unġesēliģe,
ātēon þās ġeldynysse mid Cristes andetnysse?
Wiōsac ðinne Crist, and clypa tō þām godum,
þĕ læs ðe þū ġin lif forlǣte on iugode.”
Agathēs andwyrde ānfealdlicē and cwæð,
“Wiōsac dū þīne godas, þē synd stēnenene and trēowene,
and ñebe ðe tò þïnum scìppende, þe söölliç ðë leofað;
ðìf ðù hìne fòrsìhst, þù scèalt on ëcùm wìtum ðrówìan.”

110 Þà weardò sè ârléasa ñéháthyròt, and hêt hì on hënçgëne ñàstrecçàn,
and ðråwan swà swà wìðdàn wælhrëowlìçë, and ñwàð,
“Forlòt þìne àñwylneþse, þæt ðïnum lìfe bêo ñëbhorgën.”
Agathës ândwyrde on ðàðë hënçgëne þùs:
“Swà ìc lustfülleð on þïsum làðùm wìtum
swà swà sè ðë ñësihò þòne þì hë ñgwìlnòde
òðò ñe þì fìnt fël ñaoldhòrdàs.
Ne mëåg mìn sàwl bëon gëbròht ñìd ñlyssé tò heofonum
bûtàn mìn lìcìama bêo on þïnum bëndum ñenyyrwòd;
and fràm ðïnum ñcwëlerum on þïnum ñcopsum àgrâpod.”

115 Þà ñebealh hìne sè wælhrëowa and hêt hì ñgewìðàn on ðàm bëròste
mid þâre hënçgëne and hêt sìðdàn of ñåcèorfan.
Agathës him ñwàð tò, “Èalà, ðù ârléasòsta,
ne scèamòde þè tò ñèòfìrnàn þæt ðæt ðù sylf suçë?
Àc ìc hëbbe mìnì bëróst on mìnre sàwle anìsùnde,
mid þàm ðè ìc mìn andùit eallungiù ñëféde.”
Qùñtiàñùs ðà hêt hì tò cweârtërìne ñëldàn,
and hêt hìre oftèòn ëtèes and wètës,
and ñwàð þæt nànn lëcìe hì làcìnni nè mòste.
Èfne ðà on middùre nihte còm sum hàrwençègë mìnn
120 ñòt ðàm cweârtërìne, and hìs ñnapà him ñètfòran,
hëfìè lëòhtfàèt on ñándà, wòldè þà hàlgàn ñèlàcìnni.
Sèò èàdìgé Agathës ñwàð tò ðàm lëcìe,
“Ne jììmdè ìc nàñès lëcìècàëftas nèfòre on mìnùm lìfe.
Ìc hëbbe mìnnì hëìlènd þè gëhëlò mìd hìs wòrđìe.”
125 Hë mëåg, ìgì hì wèyle, mìñtàììçì mè gëhëlàn.”
Þà ñwàð sè hàrwençègà, “Hè mëì sëndè tò ðë.
Ìc Èòòì hìs àpqòstòl, and ðù Èfne nù
bìst ñàììì hìs nàmnàì.” Ànd hë sònà fèrèdè.
Þà cñèòwòdè Agathës èd ðàncòdë Crìste
130 ðòt hè hì ñëmùndè èd hìs më̀ràn àpqòstòl
tò hìrè ñèìììè mid swìlcìùm fròfòre.
ÀÈftèr ðàm ñèòbèèìè bëseèììè tò ëyrè bëròste,
and wàsè ðòt còrfìènì bëròst ðùrh Crïst ñëdstaðèòdëd,
èd ñàlleh hìrë wùndùn wùrdùn ñëhëìlèìè.
135 Ðàr sèçàìì ðà mìçèl lëòhtììì tò ðòììì sìwärtììì cweârtërìne,
swà ðòt ðà wèrðàìììì fëgòìììmììì mid fùìììòììì fornùììììììì.
Þà tìttòn ðà hëììlììììììì ðòt hàìïìììììì më̀èdën
Þæt hēo āwæġ ēode, and ðā wīta forfluge.
þā cwæð Agathēs, þæt ædele mæden,
“Nelle iċ āmyrran mīnne kynehelm,
nē ðā weardas ñeswenčan, ac iċ þurhwuniȝe hēr.”
Þā on ðām fīftan dæȝe hēt sē dēma hī ñeffeççan,
and cwæð þæt hēo ñceolde þām godum ñeoffrian,
oððe mid teartum wītum ñetinþregod bēon.
Þā cwæð Agathēs, “Þū earma andgitlēasa,
hwā wyle clypian tō stāne, and nā tō þām sōðan Gode
de mē fram eallum þām wītum þe ðū wælhr̄owliçe
on mínun liçe ñefæstnodest for his naman ñehēlde,
and mīn þreost ñeedstaðelode, þe ðū, ñarlēasa, forcurfe?”
Þā befrān sē hǣðengyllda, hwā hī ñehēlde.
Agathēs cwæð, “Crist Godes sunu.”
Quintiānus cwæð tō ðām clēnum māedene,
“Cīt þū namast Crist?” Hēo cwæð him tō andsware,
“Crist iċ andette mid welerum and ëfre mid heortan
tō him clypiȝe.” Þā cwæð sē dēofles þēn,
“Nū iċ sǣal ñesēn ñif Crist dē ñehēlō.” Hēt ðā streowian ñeond þā flōr
fela byrnenda ñēl̄a and tōbrȳsede tigelan,
and hī swā nacode hēt wylian on þām fîyre.
Þā wearð mycel eorðstyrung on ðāre ìcic stōwe,
and fēol sē stānene wāh uppan þāes stūtan rǣdboran,
þæt hē æell tōcwïsde and sum ðōpær cniht samod—
swỳde rihtliçe swā, forðan þe hī rǣdboran wēran
þāes ñarlēasan dēman tō his ñfelum dēdum.
Ėac swylcē sēo burh eall byuiģende stōd
for ðāre eorðstyrunge, and arn sēo burhwaru
endemes tō þām ñarlēasan, āxiende mid ñehlīde
hwī hē þæt Godes māedn swā gramlīce tintregode.
Þā fľēah Quintiānus, ñafyrht for ðām ñehlīde,
and ēac sēo eorðstyrung hine ñeegisode pearle;
ḥēt swā þēah hī ñebringan binnan ðām cwēarterne.
Hwæt, ðā Agathēs inwerdlīce clypode
mid ñestrehtum handum tō þām hālende þūs:
“Ēalā ðū mīn dřihent, þe mē tō menn ñesč̄eope,
and ëfre fram ñyldhāde mē ñesčyldest oð þis,
þū þe woruldlīce lufe ñwëndest fram mē,
þū ðe dydest þæt iċ ofercōm þāes cwelleres tintregu,
scēarp ñisen and fīr and þā slītendan clawa,
Þū ðe mē on þām wītum ġeþyld forģēafe,  
dē iċ bidde, drihten, þæt dū minne gāst nū  
190 tō þē ġenime, forðan þe nū is tīma  
þæt iċ þās woruld forlāete, and tō þinre līðan miltheortynsse  
becuman mōte, mīn lēofa drihten.”  
  Azēfter þysum ġebede binnan þām cwearterne  
hēo āġeaf hire gāst, and tō Gode siðode.  
195 þå côm seo burhwaru, and bebyrīgde hire līc  
mid mycelre ārwurōnyssse on eallnīwere þrīh.  
þēr côm dā Godes enċġel gangende swā swā mann,  
þām fylīgdaet fōtum fela wīlitige cnapan,  
and sette enne marstmān aet þæs mædenes hēafde  
200 binnan þāre þrīh, þysum wordum āwritene:  
Mentem sanctam spontaneam, honorem deo, et patrie liberationem.  
þæt is on Engliċ, “Hāliġ mōd, sylfwille wurðmynt þām welwyllendan  
Gode, and eardes ālŷednyss.”  
  Þā āwendē sē enċġel āweg mid þām cnapum,  
and nē sē mann on þāre scīre þe hi āgesē ār þan.  
205 Hwæt, ðā Quintiānus, Crīstes wiðerwinna,  
fērde on scīpe ofer Semithetum  
embe Agathēn āhta, and ēac wōlde γehæftan  
ealle hire māġde, ac hē ne mōste for Crīste.  
Hine ġelāhte ān hors, þā dā hē læg on ðām scīpe,  
210 hetelicē mid tōdum and hefte him upp.  
Þā spearn oðer hors tō, and āsprencde hine ofer bord,  
and nēs his fūle līc āfundan āfēre sīdōan.  
Þā ne dorste nān man dreċcān hire mēgōe,  
ac ārwurōdon hī ealle, γeeγsode þurh God.  
215 On þāre ylcan scīre Siciliān landes  
is ān byrnende munt, þone menn hātað Ēthna,  
onǣled mid sulphore, þæt is “swǣfel” on Engliċ.  
Sē munt byrnō āfēre, swā swā mā öþre dōð.  
Þā ġetīmode hit ymbe twelf monað  
220 æafter Agathēs þrōwunge, and Ēthna up āblēow  
swỳде egēlicēsc ontendnysse, and arn be þām munte  
on flōdes gelicynsse, and formulon þa stānas,  
and sēo eorðe forbarn, oð þæt hit tō þāre byriġ becōm.  
Þā urnon þā hāēdenan tō þāre hālgan byrgyze  
225 and āhōfen þone oferbrāedels of þāre hālgan byرغene  
tōģēanes þām fyrē, þe hi āfērde forðearle.
þā wearð þæt fyr ġestilled, and ætstōd sōna
for Agathēn ġeearnungum, þære æðelan fēmnan.
Six dagas hit barn, and ætstōd on þām dæge
þe sēo ēadiȝe Agathēs tō dām ēce lif ġewāt,
þæt swā wurde ġeswutelod þæt sēo ċeaster wearð āhred
fram þæs fyres frēċednyssē þurh Agathēn foreþingunge,
þām hēlende tō lofe, þe his hālgan swā wurðāþ.
Þæs him sẏ ā wuldor on ēcere worulde.
Amen.
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 antecedent 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

Óhthere sæde his hlāforde, Ælfrēde cyninge, þæt hē ealra Norðmonna norþ-mest būde. Hē cwæð þæt hē būde on þēm lande norþweardum wiþ þā Westsā. Hē sæde þæa þæt þæt land sie swīþe lang norþ þonan, ac hit is eal wēste, būton on feawum stōwum styċċemālum wīciað Finnas, on huntoðe on wintra and on sumera on fisċape be þære sæ. Hē sæde þæt hē æt sumum cirre wolde fandian hū longe þæt land norþryhte læge, ofpe hwæder āenīg mon be norðan þēm wēstenne būde. Pā for hē norþryhte be þēm lande; lēt him ealne weg þæt wēste land on ðæt stēorbord and þā widsē on ðæt bæcbord þrie dagas. Pā wæs hē swā feor norþ swā þa.hwælhwæcan firest faraþ. Pā for hē þa.þæt norþryhte swā feor swā hē meahte on þēm ðīrum þrim dagum ġesiþlan. Pā bēag þæt land þær ēastryhte, ofpe sōo sæ on ðæt lond, hē nyssæ hwæder, būton hē wisse ðæt hē ðær bād westan windes and hwōn norþan and siglde ðā ēast be lande swā swā hē meahte on ðæt fēower dagum ġesiþlan. Pā scēolde hē ðær bidan ryhtnorþan windes, forðēm þæt
land bēag þær süþryhte, oþþe sēo sæ in on þæt land, hē nysse hwæþer. Þā siglde hē þonan süþryhte be lande swā swā hē mehte on fīf dagum gesiglan. Ðā læg þær án miċel ëa up in on þæt land. Þā cirdon hie up in on ðā ëa, forþæm hie ne dorston forþ bi þære ëa siglan for unfriþe, forþæm þæt land wæs eall gebūn on ðpré healfe þære ëas. Ne mètte hē ær nán gebūn land sīþan hē from hēs ägnum hām fōr, ac hēm wæs ealne wēg wēste land on þæt stéorbord, būtan fisċerum and fugelerum and huntum, and þæt wērōn eall Finnas, and hēm wæs á widsē on þæt bæcbord.

Þā Beormas hæfdon swīþe wel gebūd hira land, ac hie ne dorston þær-
on cuman. Ac ðāra Terfinna land wæs eal wēste, būton ðær hūtan ge-
wicodon, oþþe fisċeras, oþþe fugeleras. Fela spella hīm sædon þā Beormas ægþer ge of hiera ägnum lande ge of þæm landum þe ymb hie útan wāron, ac hē nyste hwæt þæs sōþes wæs, forþæm hē hit self ne geséah. Þā Finnas, hīm þūhte, and þā Beormas spræcon næah an ðepēode. Swīþost hē fōr ðēder, tōēaacan þæs landes scēawunge, for þæm horshwǣlum, forþæm hie habbað swīþe æþele bān on hīora tōþum—þā tēð hie brōhton sūm þæm cyninge—

and hīora hýd bið swīþe gōd tō scirprāpum. Sē hwǣl bið míc lēssa þone
ōðre hwælos; ne bið hē lengra ðonne syftan elna lang. Ac on hēs ägnum lande
is sē betsta hwǣlhtunāð; þā bēoð eahta and fēowertiġes elna lange, and þā mēstān fīttīges elna lange. Þāra hē sāðe þæt hē syxa sum ofslōge syxtiġ on
twām dagum. Hē wæs swīþe spēdiġ man on þæm āhtum þe heora spēda on
bēoð, þæt is on wīrdrum. Hē hæfde þā ëyt, þā hē þone cyningc sōhte, tamra
dēora unbebohtra syx hund. Ðā dēora hī hātað hrānas; þāra wērōn syx stæl-
hrānas, þā bēoð swīþe dȳre mīd Finnum, forþæm hē fōð þā wīldan hrānas
mid.

Hē wæs mīd þæm fyrstum mannum on þæm lande; nēfde hē þēah mā
donne twēntīg hryðera and twēntīg scēapa and twēntīg swīþa, and þæt līyte
þæt hē erede hē erede mid hōrsan. Ac hyrā ār is mēst on þæm gasole þē þæ
Finnas hīm gyldað. Óþear falof bið on dēora fellum and on fugela fēderum
and hwæles bāne and on þæm scirprāpum þe bēoð of hwæles hýde geworht
and of sēoles. Ægwīlcy gyldt be hys gēbyrdum. Sē byrdesta sceall gyldan fīf-
tīne mearðes fell and fīf hrānes and án beran fel and tīn ambra fēðra and
berenne kyrte oþþe yterenne and twēġen scirprāpas; ægþer sī syxtiģ elna
lang; sīr sī of hwæles hýde geworht, sīr of sēoles.

Hē sāðe þæt Nordmanna land wēre swīþe lang and swīþe smēl. Eal
þæt his man âþer oððe ettan oððe erian mēg, þæt līd wīð ðā sǣ; and þæt is
þēah on sumum stōwum swīþe clūdiģ, and liċgað wīde mōras wīð ēastan
and wīð uppon, emnlange þæm bīnum lande. On þæm mōrum eardīað
Finnas. And þæt bīne land is ēastewead brādost and symle swā norðor swā
smēlre. Ēastewerd hit mēg bīon syxtiģ mila brād oþþe hwēne brādred; and
middewead þrītiġ oððe brādre; and norðeweard, hē cwæð, þær hit smalost wēre, þæt hit mihte bēon þrēora míla brād tō þæm mōre, and sē mōr syðpan, on sumum stōwum swā brād swā man mēg on twām wucum oferfēran, and on sumum stōwum swā brād swā man mēg on syx dagum oferfēran. Ðonne is tōemnes þæm lande sūdeweardum, on òððe healfe þæs mōres, Swēoland, òp þæt land norðeweard; and tōemnes þæm lande norðeweardum Cwēna land. Þā Cwēnas herg i a ð h w ī l u m o n ð ā N o r ðm e n o f e r ðone mōr, hwīlum þā Norðmen on hȳ. And þær sint swīðe micle meras fersce ģeond þā mōras, and berað þā Cwēnas hyra scyppu ofer land on þā meras and þanon hergiað on þā Norðmen; hȳ habbað swȳðe lýtle scyppa and swȳðe lēohte.

Ōthhere sāde þæt sío scīr hātte Hālgoland þe hē on būde. Hē cwæð þæt nān man ne būde be norðan him. Ðonne is án port on sūdeweardum þæm lande, þone man hātt Ściringes heal. Ìyder hē cwæð þæt man ne mihte ġesēglian on ánnum mōnde, ġyf man on niht wicode, and ělce dæge hæfde ambyrne wind; and ealle dā hwile hē scéal scēglan be lande. And on þæt stēorbord him bið ērest Íra land, and þonne dā īgland þe synd betux Íra lande and þissum lande. Þonne is þis land oð hē cymð tō Śicringes hēale, and ealne wēg on þæt bæcobord Norōweg. Wið sūðan þone Śicringes heal fyld swȳðe myceland sē up in on dāt lond, sēo is brādre þonne āenig man ofer sēon mæге, and is Gotland on òððe healfe onġēan and sīððan Sillende. Sēo sē lið meniŋ hund míla up in on þæt land.

And of Śicringes hēale hē cwæð þæt hē scēgifle on fīf dagan tō þæm porte þe mon hāt æt Hālpum; sē stent betux Winedum, and Sexum, and Angle, and hýrð in on Dene. Dā hē piderweard scēglode frēm Śicringes hēale, þā wæs him on þæt bæcobord Dena mearc, and on þæt stēorbord widsē þrȳ dagas; and þā, twēgen dagas ār hē tō Hālpum cōme, him wæs on þæt stēorbord Gotland, and Sillende, and ïġlanda fela. On þæm landum eardod-on Engle, ār hi hider on land cōman. And hym wæs dā twēgen dagas on ðæt bæcebord þā ïġland þe in Denemearce hýrað.

Wulfstān sāde þæt hē gefōre of Hēðum, þæt hē wēren on Trūsō on syfan dagum and nihtum, þæt þæt scīp wæs ealne wēg yrnende under scēge. Weonoðland him wæs on stēorbord, and on bæcebord him wæs Langa land, and Lēland, and Falster, and Scōneġ; and þās land eall hýrað tō Denemearcan. And þonne Burgenda land wæs ùs on bæcebord, and þā habbað him sylf cyning. Þonne æfter Burgenda lande wērôn ùs þās land, þā synd hātene ērest Blēcinga ēg, and Mēore, and Ówoland, and Gotland on bæcebord; and þās land hýrað tō Swayne. And Weonodland wæs ùs ealne wēg on stēorbord òð Wisle mūñana. Sēo Wisle is swȳðe myceland āa, and hiþ tōluð Witland and Weonodland; and þæt Witland belimpeð tō Estum; and sēo
7. THE OLD ENGLISH OROSIUS

Wīsle līð út of Weonodlande, and līð in Estmere; and sē Estmere is hūru fīftēne mila brād. Ṭonne cymeð Ilīng ēastan in Estmere of ēm mere ñe Trūsō standeð in staðe, and cumað út samod in Estmere Ilīng ēastan of Estlande and Wīsle süðan of Winodlande, and ṭonne benimð Wīsle Ilīng hire naman, and liðð of ḫēm mere west and norð on sē; forðŷ hit man hāt Wīsle mūða.

Þæt Estland is swŷðe mycél, and þār bīð swŷðe maniģ burh, and on ēlcerē byriģ bīð cynincg. And þār bīð swŷðe mycél huniģ and ﬁsċāð; and sē cyning and þā ríciostan men drīncad myrān meolc, and þā unspēdigan and þā þéowau drīncad medo. Þār bīð swŷðe mycél gewīnn bêtweonan him. And ne bīð ðār nǣniģ ealo ḣebrown mid Estum, ac þār bīð medo ġenōh.

And þār is mid Estum ðēaw, ṭonne þār bīð man dēad, þāt ĥē līð inne unforbærned mid his màgum and fréondum mōnað, ḣe hwïlum twēġen; and þā kyningas, and þā oðre heahðungene men, swā micle lenċġ swā ĥi màran spēda habbað, hwïlum healp ﹸgēar þāt ĥi bēoð unforbærned, and liċgāð bufan eorðan on hyra hūsum. And ealle þa hwïle þe þāt liċ bīð inne, þār sċeal bēon þēon ðēaw and plega, oð ðone daġ þe ĥi ĥine forbærnað. Ṭonne þy ylcan daġ þe ĥi ĥine tō þām āde beran wyllað, þonne tôdælað ĥi ĥis ﹸfeoh, þāt þār tō láfe bīd æfter þām gedryncē and þām plegan, on ﬁf oðde syx, hwïlum on mā, swā swā þās ﹸfeos anďeﬁn bīd. Ælēcgāð hit ðonne forhwæga on ānre mile þone mēstan dāl fram þām tūne, þonne ġöderne, ȳðonne þene þriddan, oþ þe ĥyt eall bīð on þāre ānre mile; and sċeall bēon sē læsta dāl nŷhst þām tūne ñe sē dēada man on līð. ðonne sċeolōn bēon ĥåsammode ealle ña menn ñe swyftoste hors habbað on þām lande, forhwæga on ﬁf milum oðde on syx milum fram þām ﹸfeo. ðonne ānnað hȳ ealle tōward þām ﹸfeo; ðonne cymeð sē man sē þāt swyftoste hors hafað tō þām ārestan dāle and tō þām mēstan, and swā ġelc æfter óďrum, oþ hit bīd eall ġenumen; and sē nimð þone læstan dāl sē nŷhst þām tūne þāt ﹸfeoh ġærnen. And þonne rīdeð ġelc ĥys weģes mid ðan ﹸfeo, and ĥyt mōtan habban eall; and forðŷ þār bēoð þā swīftan hors ungēförge ðyre. And þonne hys ġestrēon bēoð þus ġaspended, þonne byrð man ĥine út, and forbhærneð mid his wæpnum and hrægle. And swīdōst ealle ĥys spēda hȳ for-sendād mid þan langan legēre þæs ġeadan mannes inne, and þæs þe hȳ þe þām weģum ālecgāð, þe ña þremdan tō ārnað and nimað. And þāt is mid Estum þēaw þet þār sċeal ġelces ĺeðēodes man bēon forbærned; and ġyf þār man án bān findeð unforbærned, hī hit sċeolan miclum ġebētan. And þāt is mid Estum án mægō, þet hī magon cyle ġewyrcean; and þy þār liċgāð þā ġeadan men swā länge and ne fūliað, þet hȳ wyrċað þone cyle hine on. And þēah man āsette twēġen fǣtels full ealað oðde wæteres, hȳ ġedōð þet ōfer bīð oferfroen, sām hit sŷ sumor sām winter.
135 Ær þæm þe Römeburg getimbred wære .iii. hunde wintrum and hund-eahtatigum, Uesoges, Ægypta cyning, wæs winnende of sūðdæle Asiam, oð him sê mæsta dæl wearð underþieded, and hê Uesoges, Ægypta cyning, wæs siþfan mid firde farende on Scìþpie on ða norðdælas, and his ãerendracan beforan æşende tó þære ðëode, and him untwēogendliċe seçgan hêt þæt hie òðer sceolden, oþfe ðæt lond æt him ælēsan, oþfe hie hie wolde mid ġe-feohte forðôn and forheriġan. Hie him þá ĺesċèådвислиċe ondwyrdon, and cwëdon þæt hit ġemāliċ wëre and unryhtliċ þæt swà oferwlenċed cyning sceolde winnan on swá earm folc swá hie wærôn. Hëton him þëh þæt ondwyrde seçgan, þæt him lēofre wære wið hiene tó feohtanne þonne gafoil tó ġieldanne. Hie þæt ġelæstå swá, and sôna þone cyning ğefliemdon mid his folce, and him æfterfolgiende wærôn, and ealle Ægypte ãwëstan bûtôn þæm fënłondum ânum. And þà hie hàmweard wendon be westan þære ie Eufrätë, ealle Asiam hie ģenieddon þæt hie him gafol guldon, and þær wæron fìftēne ğear þæt lond heriġende and wëstende, oð heora wif him sendon ãerendracan æfter, and him sædon þæt hie òðer dyden, oþfe hâm cōmen oðde hie him woldon òðerra wera ċéosan. Hì þà þæt lond forléton, and him hàmweard fërdon.

On þære ilcan tide wurdon twēġen æþelingas âflīemde of Scìþpián, Plenīus and Scolopetius wërôn ãhtâne, and ġefōran þæt lond, and ġebûdon betuh Capadotiam and Pontum nēah þære lássan Asìan, and þær winnende wæron, oð hie him þær eard ġenâmon. And hie ðêer æfter hrædlïċe tide from þæm londlëodum þurh seara ofslæġene wurdon. Þà wurdon hiora wif swá sâriġe on hiora møde, and swá swïðliċe ġedrëfed, ãēgpær ŧe þâra æþelinga wif ŧe þâra òþerra monna þe mid him ofslæġene wæron, þætte hie wëpna nāman, tó ðon ðæt hie heora weras wrecan þōhton. And hì þà hrædlïċe æfter þære ofslōgan ealle þe him on nēaweste wæron. Forþon hie dydon swá, þe hie woldon þætte þæt òþere wif wæren ëmsâriġe him, þæt hie siþfan on him fulturn hæfđen, ðæt hie mā mehten heora weras wrecan. Hì þà, þā wif, ealle tôgædëre ġecïrdon, and on ðæt folc winnende wëron, and þà wëpnedmen slëande, oð hie þæs londes hæfđon miċel on hiora onwalde.

Þà under þæm ġewinne hie ġenâmon frïb wið þa wëpnedmen. Siþfan wæs hiera þêaw þæt hie âëlč ãëare ymbe twelf mónað òtosomne fërdon, and þær þonne bëarna striendon. Eft þonne þà wif heora bëarn cendon, þonne fëddon hì þà mædencïld, and slōgon þa hysecïld. And þæm mædencïldum hie fortendun þæt swïðre brëost foran þæt hit wëxan ne sceolde, þæt hie hæfđen þŷ strengran ñyte. Forþon hì mon hët on Crëcisč Amazanas, þæt is on Englisċ “Fortende.”

On þæm dagum ðæs swā mičel eʒe from ðæm wiʃmonnum, þætte Europē nē Asiam nē ealle þa nǣhþëoda ne mehton ðænþecan nē ãcraeftan hū hī him wiðþondan mehten, ðær þón hie ġecuron Ercol þone ent þæt hē hie scleolde mid eallum Crēca cfæRFtum beswicâc. And þēah ne dorste hē ðēnedan þæt hē hie mid firde ñefōrê, ðēr hē ongan mid Crēca scipun þe mon dulmnus hētt, þe mon sægð þæt on ān scip mæge ãn ðūsent manna; and þa nihtes on unþearwe hī on bestâl, and hie ñïlwîþe forðlōg and fordyde; and hweðere ne mehte hie þæs londes benâman. On ðæm dagum þær wâron twā cwena; þæt wâron ñesweostor, Anthiopa and Ōrīthīa; and þær wearð Ōrīthīa ñefangen. Æfter hīer hie ñeŋ tō ðæm rîcę Pentesilâia, sîo on þæm Trōiânsican ñefœohte ñïlwîþe mûre ñeðwârd.

Hit is scondliċ, cwaedo Orosiūs, ymb swelc tō sprecanne, hwelc hit þā wæs, þa swâ earne wiʃ and swâ ñ-chiefge hæfðon ðegān þone cfæRTgestan dāl and þa hwatestan men ealles ðîses middangeardes, þæt wæs Asiam and Europē, þa hie fornēah mid ealle ñwēstôn, and ealda ñeæstra and ealde byrð tōwearpon. And æfter ðæm hie dydon æ̃g̃þer ge ñeçyninga rîcù settan ge niwu ñeæstra timbredon, and ealle þâ worold on hīra âgen gewill onwend-ende wâron fônēah c. wintra. And swâ ñegumne men wâron ælces broces þætte hie hit fônēah tō nānum fânce nē tō nānum láðe nǣfðon þætte þa earman wiʃmen hie swâ tintredon.

And nū, þa ðâ Gotan cōman of þæm hwatestan monnum Germâni, þe æ̃g̃þer ge Pirrus sē rēda Crēca cyning, ge Alexander, ge Iùlius sē cfæRTega cāsere, hie alle from him ondrēodon þæt hī hie mid ñefœohte sohte. Hū unŋëmetliċe ge Rōmware bemurcniad and besprecâd þæt ðōw nū wyrs sie on þiosan cristendōme þonne þæm ñeodum þâ wēre, forþōn þâ Gotan ðōw hwōn oferhergedon, and ñowre burg âbrēcon, and ñowre fěawe of- slōgon; and for hīra cfæRTum and for hīra hwâtsćipe ñowra selfra an- waldes ñoweres unþonces habban mehton, þe nū lustliċe sibsumes friðes and sumne dāl landes æt ðōw biddende sindon, tō þōn þæt hie ðōw on fultume bēon mōten, and hit ër þiosan gnēog ñemttiċ læg and gnēog
wëste, and ðè hís nàne note ne hæfdon. Hú blindliçce mônège þêoda spreað
ymb bone cristendóm, þæt hit nû wyrse sie þonne hit ár wære, þæt hie
nellað ðéþençéan oþþe ne cunnon, hwær hit gewurde ár þæm cristendôme,
þæt ânegu þéod òþre hiere willum friþes både, búton hiere þearf wære,
oþþe hwær ânegu þéod æt ðéþerre mehte frìð beþietan, oððe mid golde,
oððe mid seolfref, oþþe mid âñige fëo, búton hé him underþiædd wære. Ac
síþþan Crīst ðèborn wæs, þæt hie màhten ðìf ðæt hie ðæm cristendôme, þonne heora wif swá monig-
feald yfel dônne wær ðone þþosan middenþeardes?

C. PYRRHUS’S WARS WITH ROME

Æfter þæm þe Rōmeburg þëtimbred wæs fëower hunde wintrum and
fëower and siëstegum, þætte Tarentīne þæt folc þelgeðon binnan Tarentan
heora byrġ et heora þætra þæt þærbinnan geworht wæs. ðæ gesáwon hie
Rōmâne scîpa on dæm sè irnan. ðà hœrdliçce cêmone Tarentine to heora
ägnun scîpum, and þà òþre hindan ofþoran, and he ealle hie to ðëwildum
gedydan búton .v. And þà þæ þër ðêfongne wærón hie ðàwedan mid þære
mæstân unieðnesse: sume ofþlógon, sume ofþwògôn, sume him wîð fëo
þësealdon. ðà Rōmâne þæt ðéåcsedan, þà sendon hie ðërendracan to hîm,
and ðàðon þæt hie man ðëbêtte þæt hie ðær to ðëbylgð ðëdôn wæs. ðà
ðàwedan hie ðët þæ ðërendracan mid þþæm mæstân bísmer, swá hie þà òþre
ár dydon, and hie sîþþan hîm forlêton.

Æfter þæm fôran Rōmâne on Tarentine. And swá clæne hie nàmon
heora fulltume mid hîm, þætte heora prôléþæri ne móston him þæftan bôon,
þæt wàrón þà þæ hie ðësët hæfdon þæt scëoldon be heora wifsum bearnā
strīenan, þonné hie on ðëwin fôron, and cwöðon þæt hie wîlcere þûhte
þæt hie ðà ne forlûren þè þær út ðôre, hæfde bëarn sè þæ mehte. Hie þà
Rōmâne cômone Tarentine, and þær eall ðåwëston þæt hie mëtton, and
monega byrã ábrêcon.

Þà sendon Tarentine ðëgwern af fulltume, þær hie him âñiþes
wëndon. And Pirrus, Ëþira cyning, hím cóm to mid þæm mæstân fulltume,
âegþer ge an gângehere, ge on rëdehere, ge an scîphe. Þè wës on dæm
dagum ðëmærsad ofer ealle òþere cyningas, âegþer ge mid his miçlan ful-
tume, ge mid his rëdþæhtunge, ge mid his wëgcrêfe. Forþon fylste Pirrus
Tarentinum, forþon þe Tarente seó burg wës þëtimbred of Læcedémoni-
um, þe his rîcê þà wës. And hë hæfde Thèsalium hìm to fulltume and
Mæcedonie. And hë hæfde .xx. elpenda to þæm ðëfëohte mid hìm, þe
Römāne ēr nāne ne ġesāwon: hē wæs sē forma mon þe hie ërest on Itālium brōhte. Hē wæs ëac on þæm dagum glēawast tō wīge and tō ge-
winne, būton þæm ānum, þe hie ne his godas and his ðoefolgeld beswicon þe hē begongende wæs. Pā hē hie ñascade, his godas, hweþper heora sècelde on ðoprüm sïg habban, þe hē on Rōmānum, þe Römāne on him, þā on-
wyrde hie him twēolicē and cwǣodon: “Þū hæfst oþþe næfst.”

Þæt forme ġefeoht þæt hē hie ði Rōmānum hæfde, hit wæs in Com-
pānia, nēah þære ie þe mon Lisum hētt. Pā æfter þæm þe þær on ðēgbere
healfē micel wēl ġeslagen wæs, þā hē Pīrurus dōn þā elpendas on þæt
ġefeoht. Sīþþan Römāne þæt ġesāwan, þæt him mon swelcne wrenċ tō
dye swelcne hie ër ne ġesāwon nē seçgan ne hirdon, þā þlugon hie ealle
būton ānum men, sē wæs Minútiūs hāten. Hē ġenēdde under ënne elpent
þæt hē hie on þone nafelan ofstang. Þā, sīþþan hē irre wæs and gewund-
od, hē ofslōg micel þæs folces, þæt ðēgbere ġe þā forwurdon þe him onufan
wāron, ģe ëac þā ðþre elpendas sticade and gremede, þæt þā ðac mæst ealle
forwurdon þe þēr onufan wāron. And þēh þe Römāne ġefliemed wāren,
hie wāron þēh ġebielde mid þæm þæt hē wiston hū hie tō ðæm elpendon
sècoldon. On ðæm ġefeohte wæs Rōmāna .iii. .x. .m. ofslagen fēþena and
eahtatig and .viii. hund ġefangen, and þā ġehorsedra wāron ofslagen .iii.
hund and an .m., and þēr wāron seofon hund guðfonena ġenumen. Hit
næs nā ġesæd hwæt Pīrurus folces ġealennē waere, þфорþon hit næs þēaw on
þæm tidum þæt mon ënig wēl on þā ġealfe rīmde þe þon wijdre wæs,
būton þēr þy lās ofslagen ware, swā mid Alexandre wæs on ðæm forman
ġefeohte þe hē hie Dārius feah: þēr nās his folces nā mā ofslagen þonne
nigon. Ac Pīrurus ġebīcnede eft hū him sē sïge ġelicade þe hē ofer Rōmāne
hæfde, þā hē cwaéd æt his godes dure, and hit swā on ðwrāt: “Þónoc hafa þu,
Iofes, þæt ðc þā móste oferwinnan þe ær wāron unofwerwunnen, and ðic ðac
from him oferwunnen eam.” Þā āscaden hie ne his þægnas hwȳ hē hie ën-
lianēcē word be him selfum ġecwǣde, þæt hē oferwunnen waere. Þā ondwyrdre
hē him and cwaēd: “硽if ðic æft ġefare swelcne sïge æt Rōmānum, þonne ðæg
ic sīþþan būton ælcon þægne Crēca lond sēcān.” Þæt wearð ñac Rōmānum
an yfelum tācne ofþewēd ær þæm ġefeohte, þā hie on firde wāron, þæt þæs
folces sècolde micel hryre bēon, þā þunor ofslōg .xxiii. heora fōðrera, and
þā ðþre ġebrocade ãweg cōman.

Æfter þæm ġefuhton Pīrurus and Rōmāne in Ābūlia þäre þēode. Ôr
wearð Pīrurus wund on ðoprān earme, and Rōmāne hæfdon siģe. And hæfd-
on ġeleornad mā crafte hū hie þa elpendas beswicē mehton, mid þæm
þæt hie nāmon trēowu and slōgon on ðopherne ende monīge sècarpe isene
næglas, and hie mid flēxe ġealwond, and onbærndon hit, and ðeþyddan
hit þonne on þone elpend hindan, þæt hie þonne fōran wëdende ðēgbere ġe
for þæs flexes bryne ġe for þāra nægla sticunge, þæt æt ælcon þā forwurdon ærest þe him oufan wāron, and sīþan þæt ófer folc wāron swā swīðe slēande swā hī him scildan scēoldon. On þæm ġefeohte wæs Rōmāna eahta þūsend ofslagen, and enlefan ġūôfona ġenumen, and Pirruses heres wæs x.x. m. ofslagen, and his gūôfona ġenumen. Þær wearð Pirruse cúð þæt Agathoclēs, Sirācūsa cyning þāra burgléoda, wæs ġefaren on Sicilia þæm londe. Þā for hē þider and þæt rīcē tō him ġeniedde.

Sōna swā þæt ġewinn mid Rōmānum ġeendad wæs, swā wæs þær sēo moniġfealdeste wōl, mid moncwealme, ġe ēac þætte nānuht berendes, nē wif nē niiten, ne mehton nānuht libbendes ġeberan, þæt hie þā æt nīhstan wāron ortrīewe hwæþer him āenīg monēaca cuman scēolde. Þā wende Pirrus from Sicilīum eft tō Rōmānum, and him angēean cóm Curtius sē consul, and hīora þæt þridde ġefeoht wæs on Lūcānīam, on Arosinis þære dūne, þēh þe hīe Rōmāne sume hwīle hæfdon swīþor fliam ġefōht þonne ġefeoht, ãr þan hie ġesāwon þæt mon þā elpendas on þæt ġefeoht dyde. Ac sīþan hī þā ġesāwan, hie hie ġegremedan, þæt hie þā wāron swīþe slēande þe hie fylstan scēoldon; and Pirruses here wearð forþæm swīþe ġefangel on ġeþōht. On þæm ġefeohte Pirrus hæfde eahtatiġ .m. fēþena, and .v. .m. gehorsedra. And þær wæs .xxxvi. m. ofslagen, and .iiii. hund ġefangen. Æfter þæm Pirrus for of Italīumymb ãf ãr þæs þe hē ār þārón cóm. And raþe þæs þe hē hām cóm, hē wolde ābrecan Argus þa burg, and þær wearð mid āne stāne ofworpen.

Æfter þæm þe Tarentine ġeācsedan þæt Pirrus dēad wæs, þā sendon hie on Affrice tō Cartāginenses æfter fulsume, and ãf wīð Rōmānum wunnon; and raðe þæs þe hie tōgēedere cóman, Rōmāne hæfdon sīge. Þār anfundan Cartāginenses þæt hie mon oferswiþan mehte, þēh hie nān folc ær mid ġefeohte oferwinnan ne mehte. Gemong þæm þe Pirrus wið Rōmāne winnende wæs, hī hæfdon eahta legian. þā hæfdon hie þa eahtedan Rēgiense tō fulsume ġesette. þā ne ġehorsedwǣdum þēa ġahtēa dāl þāra legian þæt Rōmāne Pirruse wiðstondan mehte; angunnan þa ġerǣan and hianen þā þe hie friþian scēoldon. þā Rōmāne þæt ġeācsedan, þā sendon hie þider Genūtius heora consul mid fulsume, tō þon þæt hē an him ġewrǣce þæt hie þa slōgon and hiendon þe ealle Rōmāne friþian woldon. And hē þā swā ġedyde: sume hē ofslōg, sume ġeband and hām sende, and þær wāron sīþan witnade, and sīþan þa ġhēafda mid ěorfæxsom of ācorfena.
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*, *strīċ* and *steorfa*.

*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fuit anno millesimo .xiii. ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Cristi*

Lēofan men, ġecnāwað þæt sōð is: ðēos worold is on ofste, and hit nēalāċō þām ende, and þy hit is on worolde aa swā leng swā wyrse; and swā hit scēal nýde for folces synnan ār Antecrīstes tōcyme yfelian swȳþe, and hūru, hit wyrð þænne egesliċ and grimliċ wide on worolde. Understandað ëac ġeorne þæt dēofol þās ðēode nū fela ġēara dwelode tō swȳþe, and þæt lýtłe ġe-trēōwþa wāran mid mannum, þēah hȳ wel spēcan, and unrihta tō fela ricsode on lande. And nēs ā fela manna þæt smeāde ymbe þā bōte swā ðeorne swā man scölde, ac dæḡhwāmliċe man ihte yfel æfter ōðrum and unriht rȳrde and unlagā maneḡe ealles tō wīde ġynd ealle þās þēode. And wē ëac forþām habbað fela byrsta and bysmara ġebiden, and ġif wē ëniḡe bōte ġebiðan scyλan, þonne mōte wē þēas tō Gode ernian bet þonne wē ëer þysan dydan. Forþām mid miċlan earnungan wē ġearnedan þā yrmða þe ús onsittað, and mid swīþe miċelan earnungan wē þā bōte mōtan æt Gode ġerǣċan ġif hit scēal heonanforð gōdiende weorðan. Lā, hwæt, wē witan ful ġeorne þæt tō miċlan brycē scēal miċel bōt nȳde, and tō miċlan bryne wæter unlytēl, ġif man þæt fȳr scēal tō āhte acwencan. And miċel is nŷdpieczeń manna ġehwilcum þæt hē Godes läge ġŷme heonanforð ġeorne and Godes ġerihta mid rihte ġelāste. On hæþenum þēodum ne dear man forhealdan lŷtēl nē miċel þēas þe ġelagod is tō ġedwolgodā weorðunge, and wē forheald-að āḡhwēr Godes ġerihta ealles tō ġelōme. And ne dear man ġewanian on hæþenum þēodum inne nē ūte æniḡ þēra þinga þe ġedwolgodan brōht bið and tō lācum betēhte bið, and wē habbað Godes hūs inne and ūte clāene berýpte. And Godes þéowas syndan mǣpe and munde ġewelhwēr bedēlde; and
gedwolgodan þēnan ne dear man misbēodan on āniġe wīsan mid hēþenum lēodum, swā swā man Godes þèowum nū dēd tō wide þær cristene scōldan Godes lage healdan and Godes þèowas gūriðan.

Ac sōð is þæt ic seċge, þearf is þære bōte, forþām Godes ġerihtwa wanedan tō lange innan þysse þēode on āēghwylcan ænde, and folclaga wyrsecdan ealles tō swyþe, and hāliġessa syndan tō grīōlǣse wide, and Godes hūs syndan tō clēne berýpte ealdra ġerihta and innan bestrýpte āelca ġerisena, and wydewan syndan fornŷdde on unriht tō ðeorle, and tō mænega foryrme and gehŷned swyþe, and earme men syndan sāre beswicene and hrēowlice besyrvde and uth of þysan earde wide gēsaele, swyþe unforworthte, fremdum tō ġewałead, and cradolcild ġeþēowede þurh wælhrēowe unлага for lŷtelre þŷфе wide gynd þås þēode, and frēorihft fornumene and þrælihti ġenyrwde and ālœmęsriht ġewanode, and, hrædest is tō cweþpenne, Godes laga lāde and lāra forsawene. And þæs wē habbað ealle þurh Godes yrre bysmor gelōmē, ġecnāwe sē ðe cunne; and sē byrst wyrð ġemne, þēh man swā ne wēne, eallre þysse þēode, butan God beorge.

Forþām hit is on ūs eallum swutot and ġesēne þæt wē ær þysan oftor brēcan þonne wē bēttan, and þŷ is þysse þēode fela onsæge. Ne dohte hit nū lange inne nē ūte, ac wēs here and hunger, bryne and blōdgyte, on ġewelhwylcan ende oft and gelōme. And ūs stalu and cwalu, striċ and stœrfa, orfcwælm and uncoþu, hōl and het and rþypa reafȳc derede swyþe þearle; and ūs ungýlda swyþe gedrehtan, and ūs unwendara foroft wǣoldan unwæstma. Forþām on þysan earde wēs, swā hit ūnican mǣg, nū fela ðēara unrihta fela and tealte ñetȳwða ñēhwaer mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē lāre and tealte ñetrȳwða łūrcról mid mannum. Ne bearh nū foroft ñesib ñesibban þē mā þe fremdan, nē fæder his bearne, nē hwilum bearh his āgenum fæder, nē brōþor ōþrum; nē ūre āniġ his lif ne fadode swā swā hē scölde, nē gehādode regollīċe, nē ländom swā man nāne scölde, gif man on Godes
griðe mæþe witan wolde; and christenes folces tō fela man ȝesalde út of þysan earde nū ealle hwīle. And eal þæt is Gode láð, ġelyfe sē þe wille. And scandliċ is tō specenne þæt geworden is tō wíde and ǣgesliċ is tō witanne þæt oft dōþ to maneġe þe ðrēogað þa ȝrmþe, þæt scēotað tōgædere and ane cwenan ȝemænum ċēape biċgað ȝemæne, and wið þa ða ȝñe fylþe ǣdrēogað, ān after ānum and ælc æfter oðrum, hundum ğeliccast þe for fylþe ne scrīfað, and syððan wið weorðe syllæð of lande fōndum tō gewealde Godes ȝesceafte and his ȝegenne ċēap þe hē ðeōre gebohte. Eāc wē witan ȝeorne hwær sēo ȝrmð ġewareð þæt fæder ȝesalde bearn wið weorþe and bearn his móðor, and brōþor sealde Ȝperne fremdum tō gewealde; and eal þæt synd micle and ǣgesliċe d. And eal þæt is ȝesȳne on þyss e þēode þæt ús Godes yrre helelīc onsit, ȝecnāwe sē þe cunne. And, lā, hū mæg māre scamu þurch Godes yrre mannun ȝelimpan þonne ús dēð ȝelôme for ȝegenum gewyrhtum? Dēh þræla hwylc hlāforde æþlhēape and of cristendome tō wīcinge weorþe, and hit æfter ðām eft ġeweorþe þæt wæpńgewrīxl weorðe ȝemæne þegenne and þræle, gif þræl þæne þegen fullice āfylle, liċe ġegylde ealre his mægðe. And gif sē þegen þæne þræl þe hē ær āhte fullice āfylle, gylde þegenγylde. Ful earhliċe laga and scandliċe nȳdγylδ þurh Godes yrre tō wīċinge weorþe, and hit æfter þām eft ȝeweorþe þæt wδnγewrīxl weorðe ȝegenne and þræl, ðif þræl þæne þegen þurh Godes yrre, and flotmen swā strange þurh Godes yrre ús syn ȝemæne, understande sē þe cunne, and fela unγelimpþæt ȝyse þeōde oft and ȝelôme. Ne dohte hit nū lange inne nē ûte, ac wæs here and hete on ġewelhwilcan ende oft and ȝelôme, and Engle nū lange eal ȝigelême and tō swyþe ȝeyrγde þurh Godes yrre, and òften tȳne oft tȳne oððe twelfe, ælc æfter oþrum, scendað tō bysmore þæs þegen- es cwenan and hwilum his dohtor oððe ȝnymδgan þêr hē on lōcað þe lât hine sylfnæ rancne and rícne and ȝenōh gödne ær þæt ȝewurde. And oft þræl þæne þegen þe ær was his hlāford cnyt swyþε fæste and wyrðc him tō þræle þurh Godes yrre. Wálā þære ȝrmðe and wálā þære woroldsçame þe nū habbað Engle eal þurh Godes yrre. Oft twēγen sæmæn oððe ðry hwilum drīfað þa drāfe cristenra manna fram sē tō sē út þurh þæs þeōde ȝeweled ġevaðere, ûs eallum tō woroldsçame, ðif wē on eornost ǣniðe cūþon āriht understandan. Ac ealne þæne bysmor þe wē oft þoliað wē ȝylδað mid weordσcīp þám þe ús scendað. Wē him ȝylδað singāllice, and hŷ ús ëñaw̃ dæγhwāmlīcε. Hŷ hergiδ and hŷ bærnað, rŷpf̃ and rǣfiað and tō scipe láδað; and, lā, hwet is ǣnið oðer on eallum þám ȝelimpum būtan Godes yrre ofer þās þeōde, swutol and ȝesāne?
Nis ¨eac n¨an wundor þeah ¨us mislimpe, forþam w¨e witan ful georne þæt n˚ u fela ¨geara m˚enn n˚a ne r¨ohtan foroft hw˚et h˚y worhtan wordes o¨d¨e d˚ede, ac wear¨o þes þeodscipe, sw˚a hit þin¢an m˚a¨g, sw˚yfe forsyngod þurh m˚anigfealde synna and þurh fela misd˚eda: þurh mor˚d˚eda and þurh m˚and˚eda, þurh g¨itsunga and þurh g¨ifernessa, þurh stala and þurh str¨ud-unga, þurh mansynlena and þurh h˚e¨epene unsida, þurh swicd˚omas and þurh searacr˚efts, þurh lahbr˚y¨cas and þurh ¨eswicas, þurh m˚e¨gr¨esas and þurh manslyhtas, þurh h˚adb˚ry¨cas and þurh ¨e¨wb˚ry¨cas, þurh sibleg˚eru and þurh mistlic¨e forli¨gru. And ¨eac syndan wide, sw˚a w˚e ¨er cw¨edan, þurh a¨dr¨ic¨as and þurh wedb˚ry¨cas and þurh mistlic¨e l˚asunga forloren and forlogen m˚a þonne s¢olde, and fr¨e¨olsb¨ric¨as and f˚a¨stenb˚ry¨cas wide ge-worhte oft and gel¨ome. And ¨eac h˚er syn on earde apostatan ¨abro¨ene and ¨ycychatan hetole and l˚edhatan grimme ealles t˚o mane¨ge, and oferhogan wide godcundra rihtlaga and cristena þaw˚a, and hocorwyrde dys¨ige æ¨eg-hw˚ar on þ˚eode ofstost on þ˚a ping þe Godes bodan b˚o¨oda¨p and sw¨ypost on þ˚a ping þe æ¨f¨re t˚o Godes l˚age ¨e¨byria¨d mid rihte. And þ¨y is n˚ u geworden wide and side t˚o ful yfelan gewunan, þ˚et menn sw˚y¨por scama¨d n˚u for g˚od-d˚eda¨an þonne for misd˚eda¨an, forþam t˚o oft man mid hocere go¨dda¨da¨ hy˚we¨d and godfyrh˚ete lehtreo¨alles t˚o sw˚yfe, and sw¨ypost man t˚a¨ele¨d and mid olle ¨egger¨ete¨d ealles t˚o gel¨ome þ˚a þe riht lufia¨d and Godes e¨ge habba¨d be æ¨nigu¨m d˚ede. And þurh þ˚et þe man sw˚a d˚e¨o þ˚et man eal hy˚we¨d þ˚et man s¢olde here¨gian and t˚o for¨d l˚ad¨et þ˚et man s¢olde l˚ufian, þurh þ˚et man gebr¨inge¨o ealles t˚o mane¨ge on yfelan ¨e¨p¨ance and on und˚aeda¨, sw˚a þ˚et h˚y ne scama¨d n˚a þe¨h h˚y syngian sw˚y¨de and wi¨d God sylfn¨e forwyrc˚an h˚y mid ealle, ac for idelan onscyutan h˚y scama¨d þ˚et h˚y b˚etan heora mis-d˚eda¨, sw˚a sw˚a b˚e¨c t¨e¨c¨an, ¨el¨ice þ˚am dw˚a¨esan þe for heora pry¨tan l˚ewe nell˚a¨ beorgan ¨e¨r h˚y n˚a ne m˚agan, þe¨h h˚y eal willan.

H˚er syndan þurh synl˚e¨awa, sw˚a hit þin¢an m˚a¨g, s˚a¨re gel¨elwede t˚o mane¨ge on earde. H˚er syndan mannslagan and m˚e¨gslagan and ma¨esser-banan and mynsterh˚atan; and h˚er syndan m˚answoran and m˝or¨orwyrt˚an; and h˚er syndan myltestran and barnmyr˚oran and f˚ule forlegene h˚oringas mane¨ge; and h˚er syndan wi¨c¨can and w˚elcyrian. And h˚er syndan r¨yperas and re¨aferas and woroldstr˚eradas and, h˚a¨dest is t˚o cwe¨p¨enne, m˚ana and misd˚eda¨ un¨gerim ealra. And þ˚es ¨us ne scama¨d n˚a, ac þ˚es ¨us scama¨d sw˚yfe þ˚et w˚e b˚ote a¨g¨innan sw˚a sw˚a b˚e¨c t¨e¨c¨an, and þ˚et is ¨e¨syne on þ˚yse earman forsyngodon þe¨ode. ¨Eal˚a, mi¨cel m˚agan mane¨ge gy¨t h˚e¨rt¨e¨ecan ¨a¨fe be¨p¨en¢an þ˚es þe ¨a¨n man ne mehte on h˚r˚edinge a¨sm˚a¨gan, h˚u earmli¨ce hit ¨efaren is n˚u ealle hw˚le wide gynd þ˚as þe¨ode. And sm˚a¨ge h˚uru ge¨orne ge¨hw˚a¨ hine sylfn¨e and þ˚es n˚a ne lat¨ige ealles t˚o l˚ange. Ac, l˚a¨, on Godes
named utan dōn swā ús nēod is, beorgan ús sylfum swā wē ġeornost magan þē læs wē ætædere ealle forweordan.

Ān þēodwita wæs on Brytta tíдум, Gildas hātte. Sē āwrāt be heora misdādum hū hý mid heora synnum swā oferlīcē swīpe God ġegraemadan þæt hē lēt æt nēhstan Engla here heora eard ġewinnan and Brytta dugeþe fordōn mid ealle. And þæt wæs geworden þæs þe hē sæde, þurh ricra reaf-lāc and þurh ġitsunge wōhgestrêona, ðurh lēode unлага and þurh wōhdōm-as, ðurh bискopa āsolcennesse and þurh lȳdre yrhē Godes bydela þe sōþes ġeswugedan ealles tō ġelōme and clumedan mid ġeaflum þær hē scoldan clypian. Þurh fūlne ēac folces gǣlsan and þurh oferfylla and mǣnigfealde synna heora eard hý forworhtan and selfe hý forwurdan. Ac utan dōn swā ús þearf is, warnian ús be swilcan; and sōþ is þæt ðic seçge, wyran dāda wē witan mid Englum þonne wē mid Bryttan āhwār ġeþyrdan. And þū ús is þearf mīcel þæt wē ús beþenċan and wið God sylfne þingian georne. And wutan dōn swā ús þearf is, ðegūgan tō rihte and be suman dēle unriht forlētan and bētan swīpe georne þæt wē wē brēcian. And utan God lufian and Godes lagum fylgean, and ġelaestan swīpe ġeorne þæt þæt wē behētan þā wē fulluht underfēngan, oððon þa þe æt fulluhte ðrę forespecan wēran. And utan word and weorc rihtliċe fadian and ðrę ingeþanc clēnsian georne and ðō and wed wǣrliċe healdan and sume ġetrȳwða habban ús bewēonan būtan uncraeftan. And utan ġelōme understandan þone miclan dōm þe wē ealle tō sclolon, and beorgan ús ġeorne wið þone weallendan bryne helle wites, and ġeearnian ús þā mǣrdā and þā myrĥða þe God hæfð ġegeawod þām þe his willan on worolde ġewyrċað. God ðrę helpe. Amen.
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.

Éalā, gefyrn is þæt ðūrþ déofol fela þinga misfór, and þæt mançynn tô swýþe Gode mishýrde, and þæt hæðenscyrpe ealles tô widþ swyþe ýgederede and ýgt dereð widþ. Ne ræde wē þeah ahwær on bócum þæt man árarþe æeníh hæð- engyld ahwór on worulþ þám fyrgste þe wæs ær Nōes flóde. Ac syþðan þæt ðgewearð þæt Nembroð and ða entas worhton þone wundorlican stýelp æfter Nōes flóde, and him ða swá fela ðereorma ðelamp, þeas þe þec seçgæð, swá ðæra wurhtena wæs. Þa syþðan tófiþþon hy widþ landes, and mançyn þa sóna swyþe wëox. And ða æt nŷhstan wurdon hi bépæhte þurh ðone ealdæn déofol þe Ædam iú ær besvæc, swá þæt hi worhton wóлице and ȝedwollice him hæþene godas, and ðone sóðan God and heora ægenne scýppend forþáwone, þe hy tô mannum ȝesçåp and ȝegworhte.

Hí námon éac him ða þøt tô wisdôme þurh déofles lâre þæt hy wurðedon him for godas þa sunnan and ðone mõnan for heora scínendan beorhtnesse and him lâc þa æt nŷhstan þurh déofles lâre ofþroðon and forlêton heora drihten þe hy ȝesçåp and ȝegworhte. Sume men éac sëadan be ðám scínendum steorrum þæt hi godas wærôn, and ãgunnan hy weorðian ȝeorne, and sume hy ðelyfðon éac on fyr for his færlicum bryne, sune éac on wæter, and sume hy ðelyfðon on ða eorðan forðan þe hëo ealle þing féðeð. Ac hí mihton ȝeorne tôcnâwan, ðif hi ãðun þæt ðescéad, þæt së is sóð God þe ealle þás ðインg ȝesçåp ús mannum tô brîce and tô note for his miclan gôdnesse þe hë mançynne ȝeûde. Ðås ðescéafata éac ealle döð swá swá him ðegihte heora ægen scýppend and ne magon nán þing dón bútan úres drihtnes þafunge, forðám þe nán ðêðer scýppend nis búton së ðana sóða God þe wë on ðelyfðoð, and wë hine ënne ofer ealle ñóðre þing luftað and wûðiaþ mid ðewissum ðelæfan, cweþende mid mûðe and mid módes incunnesse þæt së ðin is sóð God þe ealle ðing ȝesçåp and ȝegworhte.
9. DE FALSIS DIES

Gyt ða hæðenan noldon ðeowum godum swæ hý ær heafdan, ac féngon tó wurðienne æt nýðstan mistlíċe entas and strece woruldmen þe mihtige wurdan on wuruldfelum and egesfulle wéran þa hwýle þe hý leofedon, and heora ágenum lustum fúllíc fulléodon. Æn man wæs on ðéardagum eardiende on þám ðælande þe Créta hátte sè wæs Sáturneas gehán, and sè wæs swæ wælhréow þæt hý fordyde his ágene bearn, ealle bútan ánnum, and unfæderlíċe macode heora lif tó lyre sóna on geogoðe. Hé læfte swá þéah unéáþ ænne tó life, þéah ðe hý fordyde þá bröðra elles; and sè wæs Louis geháten, and sè weard hotel féond. Hý aflýnde his ágene fæder eft of ðám ylcan foresðadan ðælande þe Créta hátte and wolde hine forfaran þéorge gif hý mihte. And sè Louis weard swá swýðe gäl þæt hý on his ágennre swyter gewiðode, sëo wæs ðenamod ðûnô, and hëo weard swýðe hælic gyden æfter hæðenscype geweald. Heora twá dohtra wëron Minerua and Uenus. Ës mänfullan men þe wët ðëm specad wëron geweald for ðá mærostan godas þá on ðám dagum, and þá hæðenan wurð-odon hý swýðe þurh déofles lære. Ac sè sunu wæs swá þéah swýðoð on hæðenscype gewurðod þonne sè fæder wære, and hý is geweald ëac árwurðod eala þæra goda þæt þá hæðenan on ðám dagum for godas heafdon on heora gedwyld. And hý hâtte þöðrum naman betwux sumum þëodum; ðone Denisca lëoda luftað swýðost and on heora gedwyld weordiaþ geornost. His sunu hâtte Mars, së macode æfre gewinn and wróhte, and saca and wraca hë styred géome. Dysne yrming æfter his forðside wurðodon þá hæðenan ëac for hæalicne god, and swá oft swá hý fyrdedon ódde tó geweohete woldon, þonne offrodon hý heora lác on ær tó weorduname þissum gedwolgone, and hý gélyfdon þæt hý miclum mihte heom fútumian on geweohete forðan þe hý geweohet and gewinn lufoðe on life. Sum man ëac wæs geháten Mercuríus on life, së wæs swýðe facenfull and ðéah full snotorwyrd, swicol on dãdum and on lëasbreðdum. Æn macedon þá hæðenan be heora getælæ ëac heom tó mærán gode, and æt wega gelétum him lác offrodon oft and gelôme þurh déofles lære, and tó héagum beorgum him brôhton oft mistlíċe loflác. Æs gedwolgod wæs árwurðe ëac betwux eallum hæðenum on þám dagum, and hê is ððon geháten óðrum naman on Denisce wìsan. Ës seçgað sume þa Denisce men on heora gedwyld þæt sè Louis wære, þe hý þöð hâtað, Mercuríes sunu, þe hí ððon namiað, ac hí nábbad nà riht, forðan þæt wët ðëdóa on bócum, ñe on hæðenum ñe on cristeno, þæt sè hetula Louis tó sóðan is Sáturnes sunu. And sum wiþ hâtte Uenus, sëo wæs Ioues dohtor, and sëo wæs swá ful and swá fracod on gälnyssé þæt hyre ægen bröðor wið hý gehêmde, þæs þe man sæde, þurh déofles lære, and ðå yfelan wurðiað þá hæðenan ëac for hæaliċe fëmnan.
Maneȝe ëac òðre hæþene godas ðæron mistliþe fundene and ëac swylþe
hæþene gydena on swýðlicum wyrðmente ðeþond middaneard mancynne tò
forwyrde, ac þæs synd þæ fyrmestan ðéh þurh hæðenscipe ðetéalde, þéah þe
hý fúliþe leofodon on worulde. And së syrwiena ðéofol þe ã swicað embe
mancyn ðeþrøhte þæ hæðenæn men on þám hæalicon ðewylde þæt hí swå
fúle him tò godum ðecuræ þe heora fúlan lust heom tò lage sylfum ðesettæn
and on unclænnesse heora lîf eal lyfædan þæ hýle þæ hí wæran. Ac së bíd
ðesælig þe eal swylþ oferhogað and ðone sôðan Godd lufðað and weorðað þe
ealle þing ðescåp and ðeworhtæ. Æn is ælmihtig God on þrym hâðum, þæt is
fæder and suna and hæliþ gæst. Ealle þæ ðry naman befèhð Æn godcund miht
and is Æn êce God, waldænd and wyrhta ealra ðescæfæta. Him symle sô lôf
and weorðmynt in ealra worulda woruld å bútæn enae. Amen.
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 consolatione 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 tide ðe Gotan of Sciddiu mægðe wið Rōmāna riċe ġewin up ā-hōfon, and mid heora cyningum, Rǣgdota and Eallerīċa wāron hātne, Rōmāne būriġ ābreqēcon, and eall Ītalīa riċe þæt is betwux þam mun tum and Sicīlīa þam ēalonde in anwald ġerēhton, and þa æfter þam foresprecenan cyningum Þēodrīċ fēng tō þam ilcan riċe. Sē Þēodrīċ wæs Amulinga; he wæs cristen, þeah hē on þam arriāniscan ġedwolan þurhwunode. Hē ġehēt Rōmānum his frēondsċipe, swā þæt hī mōstan heora ealdrihta wyrđe bēon. Ac hē þa ġehāt swīðe yfele ġelǣste, and swīðe wrāðe ġeendode mid manegum māne. Þæt wæs tōēacan ōdrum unarimedum ylūm þæt hē Iōhannes þone pāpan hēt ofslēan.

Þā wæs sum *consul*, þæt wē hereto haṭað, Bōetius wæs ġehāten; sē wæs in bōccræftum and on woruldþēawum sē rihtwisesta. Sē þa onġeat þa maniġfealdan yfel þe sē cyning Ðēodrīċ wið þam cristenandōme and wið þam Rōmāniscum witum dyde. Hē þa ġemunde þāra ēðnessa and þāra ealdrihta þe hī under þam cāserum hæfdon heora ealdhālfordum. Þa ongan hē smeāgan and leornīgan on him selfum hū hē þæt riċe þam unrīhtwisan
cyninge āferran mihte, and on ryhtgelēaufflra and on rihtwisra anwealde gebringan. Sende þa diġellīċe ērendgewritu tō þām kāsere tō Constantino-polim, þær is Crēca hēahburg and heora cynestōl, forþām sē kāsere wæs heora ealdhāfordcynnes; bēdon hine þæt hē him tō heora cristendōme and tō heora ealdrihtum ġefultumede. Þa þæt onġeat sē waelhrēowa cyning Ðēodrīċ, þa hèt hē hine gebringan on carcerne and þērinne belūcan. Þa hit dā ġelomp þæt sē ārwyrda on swā miċelre nearanesse becōm, þa wæs hē swā micle wiðor on his mōde gedrēfed swā his mōd ār wiðor tō þām worulds-sælþum ġewunod wæs, and hē ðā nānre frōfre beinnan þām carcerne ne ġemunde, ac hē ġefēoll niwol ofdüne on þa flōr, and hine āstrehte wiðe unrōt, and ormōd hine selfne ongan wēpan and þus singend cwǣð:

Prosa II

Dā liōð þe ic wrecča ġeo lustbārlīċe song ic sċeal nū hēofiende singan, and mid swīþe unġerādum wordum ġesettan, þeah ic ġeo hwilum ġecōplice funde; ac ic nū wēpende and ġisciende ofġerādra worda misfō. Mē āblendan þās ungreōowan woruldsēlþa, and mē þa forlētan swā blindne on þis dimme hol and mē þa berēafodon ālēkre lustbārnesse, þa dā ic hīm āfēre betst truwoede; þā wendon hī mē heora bāec tō, and mē mid ealle from ġewan. Tō hwon scēoldan, lā, mine friend seġgan þæt ic ġesliġ mon wēre?

Prosa III

þā þæt þa þi lēoð, cwǣð Bōetius, ġeomriende āsungen hēfde, þa cōm þær gān in tō mē heofencund Wisdōm, and þæt mīn murnende mōd mid his wordum ġegrētte, and þus cwǣð: “Hū ne eart ðū sē mon þe on mīnre scōle wēre afēd and gēlāred? Ac hwonon wurde þū mid þissum woruldsorgum þus swīþe ġeswenced? Būton ic wāt þæt þū hæfṣt þāra wēpna tō hrađe forgīten þe ic þe ār sealde.” Dā clipede sē Wisdōm and cwǣð: “Ċewitaþ nū ġwirġede woruldsorga of mines þegenes mōde, forþām ġē sind þa māsītan sċeāpan. Lētaþ hine eft hweorfan tō mīnum lārum.” Dā ēode sē Wisdōm nēar, cwǣð Bōetius, mīnum hrēowsiendum ġeþōhte, and hit swā niowul þā hwæthwega up ārērde; ādriġde þa tō mines mōdes ēagan, and hit frān blīþum wordum hwædēr hit oncnēowe his fōstermōdor. Mid þām þe dā þæt Mōd wið his bewende, þa ġecnēow hit swīže sweotele his āgne mōdor; þæt wēs sē Wisdōm ðe hit lānce ār tīde and lērde. Ac hit onġeat his lære swīže tō-torenne and swīže tōbocene mid dysīgra hondum, and hine þa frān hū þæt ġewurde. Dā andwyrde sē Wisdom him and sēde þæt his ġingran hēfden hine swā tō-torenne, þær þær hi teohhodon þæt hi hine eallne habban
sceoldon. Ac hī ġegaderiað monifeald dysîg on ðāère fortruwunga and on þám ġilpe, bûtan heora hwelc eft tō hyre bōte ġeċirre.

Þā ongan sē Wisdōm hrēowsian for þæs Mōdes tŷdernesse, and ongan þā ġiddian and þus cwæð: “Èlā, on hū grundléasum sæda þæt mōd drīgð, þonne hit bestyrmað þisse worulde unġelpwärrnessa, gif hit þonne forget his āhgen lēoht, þæt is éce ġefēa, and ðringð on þā fremdan þistro, þæt sind woruldsorga, swā swā ðis Mōd nū dēð. Nū hit nāuht elles nāt bûtan gnorn-
unγa.”

Þā sē Wisdōm þā and sóo Ġesċėđwisnes þis lēoð ñusungən hæfdon, þā 60 ongan hē eft sprecan and cwæð tō þām Mōde: “Iċ ġesēo þæt þē is nū frōsres māre peard þonne unrōtnesse. Forþan gif þū þē ofsċeamian wīlt þines ġedwolan, þonne onginne iċ þē sōna beran and bringe mid mē tō heofonom.”

Þā andsworode him þæt unrōte Mōd and cwæð: “Hwæt, lā, hwæt, sint þis nū þā göd and þā edlēan þe þū ealne weg ġehete þām monnum þe þē 65 ġeōrsumian woldan? Is þis nū sē cwide þe þū mē ġēo sædest þæt sē wisa Platō cwēde, þæt was þæt nān anweald nāre riht bûtan rihtum þēawum? Ġesihst þū nū þæt þē rihtwisæn sint lāðe and forþrycte, forþām hi þinum willan woldan fulgān, and þā unryhtwisæn seondon up āhafene þurh heora wondēda and þurh heora selflīcē? þæt hi ðy ēd megen heora unriht ġewill 70 forðbringan, hī sind mid ġifum and mid ġestrēonum ġefyrðrode. Forþām iċ nū wille ġornlīcē tō Gode cleopian.”

Metrum I

Hit wæs ãeāra iū  ðætte Gotan ġeàtan
of Sćǐdǐa  sceldas lēddon,
þrēate ġeþrungon þeōdlond moniŋ, 75
setton süwheardest siŋepēoda twā;
Gotena rīcē ġeārmǣlum wēox.
Hæfdan him ġecynde cyningas twēgen,
Rǣdgod and Alerić; rīcē ġeþungon.
Þā wæs ofer Muntgioph moniŋ ātyhted 80
Gota ġylpes full, gūðe ġelysted,
folcġewinnes. Fana hwearfode
sćir on sěcafte. Śćeotend þōhton
Italia ealle ġegongan,
lindwīγende. Hī ġelǣstan swuā 85
efne from Muntgioph oð þone mēran wearoð
þēr Sicilīa sǣstrēamum in,
ĕglond mičel, ĕdēl mıësaḏ.
Đā wæs Rōmāna riče gewunnen,
ābrocen burga cyst; beadurincum wæs
Rōm ĝerȳmed. Rōdgot and Alerīc
fōron on ðæt fæsten; fléah cāsere
mid þâm æþelingum út on Grēcas.
Ne meahte þa sēo wēalāf wiège forstandan
Gotan mid güðe; giōmonna gestrīon
sealdon unwillum eþelweardas,
hālige ãðas. Wæs gehwæðeres waa.
Þēah wæs magorinca mōd mid Grēcum,
þif hi lēodfruman læstan dorsten.
Stōd þrāge on ðām. Þēod wæs gewunnen
wintra mænǐgo, oð þæt wyrd gescraːf
þæt þe Ðēodrīċe þegnas and eorlas
hēran sceoldtan. Wæs sē heretēma
Criste geecnōden; cyning selfa onfēng
fulluhtpēawum. Fǣgnodon ealle
Rōmwarā bearn and him recene tō
frīdes wilnedon. Hē him fæste gehēt
þæt hȳ ealdrihta ðēces mōsten
wyrdē gewuniġen on þære welegen byríג,
ðenden God wuolde þæt hē Gotena ġeweald
āgan mōste. Hē þæt eall alēag.
Wæs þæm æþelinge Arriānes
ġedwola lēofre þonne drihtnes aː.
Hēt lōhannes, gōdne pāpan,
heāfe beheāwen; næs ðæt hærliċ dāed.
Ēac þām wæs unrīm oðres mānes
þæt sē Gota fremede gōdra gehwilcum.
Đā wæs ricra sum on Rōmebyriģ
āhefen heretoga, hlāforde lēof,
Þenden cynestōle Crēacas wioldon.
þæt wæs rihtwis rinċ; næs mid Rōmwarum
sinċgeosa sella siðdan longe.
Hē wæs for weorulde wis, weordmynda ġeorn,
beorn bōca glēaw; Boitius
sē hæle hātte sē þone hlisan gehāh.
Wæs him on ġemynde māla gehwilčē
yfel and edwit þæt him ēlēoðē
tyningas cyðdon. Wæs on Grēacas hold,
And ealdrihta

Crēcas onċerran,  þæt sē cāsere eft
anwald ofer hī  āgan môste.

Sende ērendgewrit  ealdhlāfordum 135
dēgelīcē, and hī for drihtne bæd,
ealdum trēowum,  ðæt hī æft tō hīm
cōmen on  þā čeastre,  lēte Grēca witan
rādan Rōmwarum,  rihtes wyrðe
lēte  þone leōdsċipe.  Ðā  þā lāre onġeat

Ðéodrīċ Amuling,  and  þone  þegn oferfēng,
heht faeﬆliċē  folcġesīdas
healdon  þone hererinċ.  Wæs hīm hrēoh sefa,
eġe from  dām eorle.  Hē hine inne heht
on carcernes  clūster belūcan.

Þā wæs mōdsefa  miclum  ḡedrēfed
Bōetiūs.  Brēac longe ār
wlenċẹa under wolcnum;  hē  þŷ wyrs meahte
þolian  þā  þrāge,  þā hīo swā þpearl becōm.
Wæs  þā  ormōd eorl,  āre ne wēnde,
nē on  þām  faeﬆene  frōfre ġemunde,
ac hē neowol āstreaht  niðer ofdūne
fēol on  þā  flōre,  fela worda spræc,
forþōht  þearle;  ne wēnde  þonan  ñe âfre
cuman of  ðām  clammum.  Cleopode tō  drihtne
155
giatan stemne,  ḡyddode þus:

Metrum II

Hwæt,  iċ lioða fela  lustliċē ḡeō
sanc on  sālum;  nū  sēal  siōfiġende,
wōpe  gewǣged,  wrecĉēa  giōmor,
singan  sārcwidas.  Mē  þios  siccetung hafað
160
āgǣled,  dēs  ġeocs,  þæt  iċ  þā  ged  ne  maēg
ḡeḡǣgān  swā  fǣgre,  þēah  iċ  fela  ḡiō  þa
sette  sōdcwida,  þonne  iċ  on  sālum wæs.
Oft  iċ  nū  mǐscyrre  cūde  sprǣcé,
and  þēah  uncūdre  ñer  hwilum  fond.
Mē þās woruldsǣlōa welhwæs blindne
on ðis dimme hol dysine forlǣddon,
and mē þā berýpton rēdes and frōfre
for heora untrēowum, þe ić him æfre betst

170 truwian scēolde. Hī mē tō wendon
heora bacu bitere, and heora blisse from.
Forhwām wolde ġē, weoruldfrȳnd mīne,
scēgan oððe singan þæt ić ġes ellido mon
wære on weorulde? Ne synt þā word sōð,

175 nū þā gesǣlōa ne magon simle ġewunigan.

Metrum III

Æalā, on hū grimmum and hū grundlēasum
sēaðe swinċeð þæt sweorcende mōd,
þonne hit þā strongan stormas bēatað
weoruldbisgunga, þonne hit winnende

180 his āgen lēoht ānforlǣted, and mīd uuā forġit þone ēcan ġefēan,
þringḏ on þā diostro disse worulde,
sorgum ġeswenċed. Swā is þissum nū
mōde ġelumpen, nū hit māre ne wāt

185 for göde Godes būton gnornunge
fremdre worulde. Him is frōfre ðearf.
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.

Þā wæs āgangen  ġēara hwyrftum
tū hund ond þrēo  ġeteled rīmes,
swylcē .xxx. ēac,  þinggemearces,
wintra for worulde,  þæs þe wealdend God
ācenned wearð,  cyninga wuldor,
in middanġeard  þurh menniċ hēo,
sōðfæstra lēoht.  Þā wæs syxte ġēar
Constantines  cāserdōmes,
þæt hē Rōmwarā  in rīce wearð
āhæfen, hildfruma,  tō heretēman.

Wæs sē lindhwata  lēodġeborga
eorlum ārfæst.  Æðelinges wēox
rīce under roderum.  Hē wæs rihtcyning,
gūðweard gumena.  Hine God trymede
mārðum ond mihtum,  þæt hē manegum wearð
ģeond middanġeard  mannum tō hrōðer,
werþodum tō wræce,  syððan wæpen āhōf
wīð hetendum.  Him wæs hild boden,
wiġes wōma.  Werod samnodan
Hūna lēode  ond Hrēðgotan,
fōron fyrdhwate  Francan ond Hūgas.
Wāeron hwate weras,
ģearwe tō gūðe.  Gāras līxtan,
wrīdene wæhlhencan.  Wordum ond bordum
hōfon herecombol.  Þā wāeron heardingas
sweotole gesamnod ond eal sib geador.
För folca gedryht. Fyrdléoð agol
wulf on wealde, wælrune ne mād.
Úrigfeðera earn sang ahōf,

lāðum on läste. Lungrē sceynde
of er burg enta beaduþrēata màst,
hergum tō hilde, swylē Hūna cyning
ymsbittendra āwer meahte
ābannan tō beadwe burgwīgendra.

Fōr ēfta māst. Fēðan trymedon
ēoredcēstum, þæt on ælfylē
dearēōlēcende on Danubic,
stærcedfyrhōe, stæde wicēdon
ymb ãs wāteres wylm; werodes brēhte

woldon Rōmwarā riče ġeþringan,
hergum āhŷdān. Pēr wearō Hūna cyme
cūð čeasterwarum. Pā sē cásere heht
ongēan gramum guðgelēcān
under earhfarē ofstum myclum

bannan tō beadwe, beran út þrape
rylicas under roderum. Wāeron Rōmwarē,
secgas sigerōfe, sōna ġegearwod
wēpnum tō wiȝge, þēah hie werod lāsse
hæfdon tō hilde þonne Hūna cining;

ridon ymb rōfne, þonne rand dynede,
campwudu clynede; cyning þrēate fōr,
herge tō hilde. Hrefen uppe gōl,
wan ond wæfel. Werod wēs on tyhte.
Hlēopon hornboran, hrēopan friċċan,
mearh moldan trēd. Mægen samnode,
cāfe tō čēase. Cyning wēs āfyrhted,
egsān ġeācled, siǒdān elþēodiġē,
Hūna ond Hrēða here scēawede,
ðæt hē on Rōmwarā ričes ende

ymb ãs wāteres stǣd werod samnode,
mægen unreme. Mōdsorge wēg
Rōmwarā cyning, ričes ne wēnde
for werodlēste; hæfde wigena tō lỹt,
eaxlgestealna wiō ofermægene,
hrōra tō hilde. Here wicēde,
11. CONSTANTINE GOES TO BATTLE 191
eorlas ymb æþeling, ðegstrēame nēah
on nēaweost nihtlangne fyrst,
þæs þe hie þeondæ ðesfær fȳrmest ðesægon.

Þā wearð on slēpe sylfum æþýwed
þām cāsere, þær hē on corðre swæf,
siðerōfum ðesẹgen swefnes wōma.
Þūhte him wîtescýne on wēres hāde
hwit ond hiwbeorht hæleða nāþwylc
ðeþýwed ðnlicra þonne hē ōðdē sīd
ðesēge under swēgle. Hē of slēpe onbrægd,
eofurcumbe þēpeaht. Him sē ār hraðe,
wîtig wuldres boda, wīð þingode
ond be naman nemde— nihthelm tōglād:

“Constantinus, heht þē cyning engla,
wyrdā wealdend, wēre bēodon,
duguða dryhten. Ne ondrād þū ðē,
ðēah þe elþēodiþegæasan hwōpan,
heardrē hilde. Þū tō heofenum beseoh
on wuldres weard, þær ðū wraðe findest,
sigores tācen.” Hē wæs sóna þēaru
þurh þēs hālgan hās, hreðerlocan onspēon,
up lōcade, swā him sē ār ābēad,
fǣle friðowebba. Þesēh hē frǣtwum beorht
wîti wuldres trēo ofer wolcna hrōf,
golde ðeglēnged— gimmas lixtan;
wēs sē blāca bēam bōcstafum āwritten,
beorhte ond lēohte: “Mid þēs bēacne ðū
on þām frȳcnan fære fœond oferswīdesd,
ģeletest lāð werod.” Đa þēt lēoht ġewāt,
up siðode, ond sē ār somed,
on clēnra þēmang. Cyning wēs þē bliðra
ond þē slōrglēasra, seċga aldur,
on fyrhōsēfan, þurh þē fǣgeran ġesyrhā.

Heht þā onlīcæ æþelinga hēo,
beorna bēaggifra, swā hē þēt bēacen þesēah,
heria hildfruma, þēt him on heofonum ār
ġeiewed weard, ofstum myclum,
Constantīnus, Crīstes rōde, tirēadīg cyning, tācen ġewyrċan.


Hūna herges hām eft þanon.
Þā wæs gesýne þæt sige forðæf
Constantīnō cyning ælmihtiğ 145
æt þám daðweorc, dómweordunga,
riçe under roderum, þurh his rōde trēo.
  Gewāt þā heriga helm hām eft þanon,
hūðe hrēmiğer hild wæs gesčēaden—
wigge geweorðod. Cóm þā wigena hlēo 150
þēġna þrēate þryðbold sēcan,
beadurôf cyning burga néosan.
Heht þā wigena weard þā wisestan
snūde tō sionoðe, þa þe snyttro cræft
þurh fyrggewrīto gefrīgen hæfdon,
 hôoldon hīġbancum hāleða rēdas.
Dā þæs friċġgan ongan folces aldor,
sīgerôf cyning, ofer sid weorod,
wāre þær ãeníğer yldra oððe ġingra
þe him tō sôde seċġgan meahte,
galdrum cyðan, hwæt sē god wāre,
boldes brytta, “þe þis his bēacen wæs
þe mē swā lēoht oðȳwde ond mine lēode ġenerede
tācna torhtost, ond mē tīr forðæf,
wīġspēd wiō wraŌum, þurh þæt wlitige trēo.”
Hīo him ondswēre ãeníger ne meahton
ãgifan tōgēnes, nē ful ġearel cuðon
sweotole gesċēġgan be þām sīgebēacne.
  þā þā wisestan wordum cwǣdon
for þām heremæġene þæt hit heofoncyninges
tācna wāre, ond þæs tweō nēre.
þā þæt gefrugnon þa þurh fulwihte
lārde wāro, him wās lēoht sefa,
ferhō gefēonde, þēah hira fea wāro,
ðæt hie for þām cāsero cyðan mōston
godspelles ġife, hū sē gāsta helm,
in þrīnesse þrīmme ġeelorðad,
ācenned wearð, cyninga wuldor,
ond hū on galgan wearð Godes āgen bearn
āhangen for herġum heardum wītum;
ālīsde lēoda bearn of locan déofla,
ġeōmre gāstas, ond him ġise sealde
þurh þā ilcan ġesceaft þe him ġeȳwed wearð sylfum on ġesyhðe, sigores tācen,
185 wið þēoda þræce; ond hū ðŷ þrimm ðобыти dæге of byrġenne beorna wuldor
of dēaðe ārās, dryhten ealra hæleða cynnes, ond tō heofonum ñståh.
ðus glēawlīcē gāstġerȳnum
190 sægdon sigerōfum, swā fram Siluestre lærde wāron. Ǽt þām sē lǣodfruma
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 canoniconorum* ‘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, mè frōd wita on fyrdagum
sægde, snottor ār, sundorwundra fela.
Wordhord onwrēah witgan lārum
beorn bóca glēaw, bodan āercwide,
Þæt ic sóðliċe siþpan meahte
ognītan bi þám ēaldre Godes āgen bearn,
wilgest on wīcum, ond þone wācran swā some,
scylldum bescyredne, on gescēād witan.
Þæt mæg æghwylc mon ēape ēgenčan,
se þe hine ne láteð on þás lānan tid
āmyrran his ēgmundum mōdes gēlsan
ond on his dægrīme druncen tō rīcē,
þonne monīġe bēð mæpelhēgendra,
wlonce wiġsmiġas wiṅburgum in,
sittāp æt symble, sóðgied wreað,
wordum wrixlað, witan fundiþ
hwylc æscstede inne in ræcēde
mid werum wuniġe, þonne wīn hweteð
beornes brēostsefan. Breahtem stīģeð,
ĉirm on corþre, cwide scralletaþ
missenliċe. Swā bēop mōdsefan
dālum gedēled, sindon dryhtguman
ungēlīċe. Sum on oferhygüdo
þrymme þrīġeð; þrinteð him in innan
ungemēdemad mōd; sindan tō monīġe þæt.
Bið þæt æfþonca eal ġefylicd
fēondes flīġepīlum, fācensearwum;
bredoā hē ond bælced, bōd hīs sylfes
swīþor micle þonne sē sella mon,
30 þencēd þæt his wise welhwām þincē
eal unforcūþ. Bīþ þāes ōþer swiċe,
þonne hē þāes fācnes fīntan scēawað.
Wrenċeþ hē ond blenċeþ, worn geþencēþ
hinderhōca, hyġegār lēteð,
35 scūrum scēoteþ. Hē þā scylde ne wāt
fāhēþe gefremede, fēoþ hīs betran,
eorl fore æfóstum, læteð inwitflān
brecaþ pone burgweal, þe him bebēad meotud
þæt hē þæt wiḡsteal werḡan scēalde,
40 sitēþ symbelwlonc, sēarwum læteđ,
wīne ġewægd, word út faran,
þraeft þringan, þyrmme gebyrmed,
æfæustum onǣled, oferhyģda ful,
nīþum, nearowrencum. Nū þū cunnan meaht,
45 ġif þū þyslicne þēgn ġemittest
wunian in wicum, wite þē be þīssum
fēawum fōrdspellum þæt þæt bip fēondes bēarn
flēsċe bifongan, hafað fræte lif,
grundfūsne gēst Gode orfeormne,
50 wuldorcyninge. þæt sē witga song,
ġearowyrdić guma, ond þæt ġyd āwræc:
“Sē þe hine sylfne in þā sliƿnan tīd
þurh oferhyģda up āhlēneð,
āhefeð hēahmōde, sē sceal hēan wesan
55 æfter nēosiþum, nīþer ġebiģed,
wunian wītum fǣst, wyrmum beþrungen.”
þæt wæs ġēāra ĳu in Godes riċe
þætte mid englum oferhyģd āståg,
widmǣre ġewin. Wrōht āhōfan,
60 heardne heresīþ, heofon widledan,
forsāvan hyra sellan, þā hi tō swiċe þōhton
ond þyrmcyning þēodenstōlēs
ricne berȳfan, swā hit ryht ne wæs,
ond þonne ġesettan on hyra sylfra dōm
65 wuldres wynlond. þæt him wiġe forstōd
fǣder frumsċeafta; wearð him sēo feohte tō grim.
Donne bið þām óþrum ungelicē
sē þe hēr on eorþan ēaðmōd leofað,
ond wiþ ñesibbra ðehwone simle healdeð
frēode on folce ond his fēond lufað,
þēah þe hē him ābylgnesæ oft ðefremede
willum in þisse worulde. Sē môn wuldres drēam
in hāliġra hyht heonan āstigan
on engla eard. Ne biþ þām óþrum swā,
sē þe on ofermēdum eargum dēdum
leofaþ in leahrum; ne bēoð þā lēan ġelic
mid wulordcyning. Wite þe be þissum,
þif þē ēaðmōdne eorl ġemēte,
þēgn on þēode, þām bið simle
gæst ðegæderad, Godes āgen born,
wilsum in worlde, ãif mē sē wītega ne lēag.
Forþon wē scluon a hyċġende hēlo râdes
ġemunan in môde mēla ðehwyłcum
þone sēleston sigora waldend.
Amen.
A recurrent motif in medieval literature is of the condemned soul returning to berate its moldering 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 sið sylfa bewîtige,
hū þæt bið dēoplič þonne sē dēad cymeð,
āsundrað þā sibbe, þa þe ār somud wāron,
5 lic ond sāwle. Long bið sīþhann
þæt sē gāst nimeð æt Gode sylfum
swā wite swā wuldor, swā him in worulde ār
efne þæt eorðfæt ār ġeworhte.
Sċeal sē gāst cuman ġelhþum hrēmiġ,
symele seofonníht sāwle findan
þone līchoman þe hēo ār longe wæg,
þrēo hund wintra,
būtan ār wyrce ēce dryhten,
aelmihtīg God, ende worlde.
10 Cleopað þonne swā ċearful caldan reorde,
spriceð grimliċe gāst tō þām ġüst:"Hwæt druge þū, drēorga?
Tō hwon dreahtest þū mē?
Eorþan fȳlnes eal forweornast,
lāmes ġelicnes. Lýt þū ġępōhtes
20 tō won þinre sāwle sið sīþhann wurde,
sīþhann hēo of līchoman lāeded wēre.
Hwæt, wite þū mē, werga. Hwæt, þū hūru wyrma ġifl
lýt ġępōhtes, hū þís is long hider,
ond þe þū hēr ġępē ġępōhtes
25 sāwle onsende þurh his sylfes hond
moetud āelmihtīg, of his mægenþrymme,
ond þe þū ġebohte blōde þy hālgan,
ond þū mē þyheardan hungre ġebunde
ond ġehæftnadest helle wītum.
13. SOUL AND BODY II


Wǣre þū þē wiste wlonc ond wīnes sæd, þrymful þunedest, ond iċ ofþyrsted wæs Godes līchoman, gēstes drinces. Þær þū þōne hogode hēr on life, þenden iċ þē in worulde wunian scēolde, þæt þū wēre þurh flæsc ond þurh firenlustas stronge ġestȳred ond ġestaþelad þurh mec, ond iċ wēs gēst on þē from Gode sended, nēfre þū mē swā heardra helle wīta nēd gearwode þurh þēnra néoda lust. Sċealt þū nū hwæþre mīnra ġesċenta scome þrōwian on þām miclan dæg, þōne monna cynn sē āncenda ealle ġegædrað. Ne eart þū nū þon lēofre nængum lifġendra, menn tō ġemæçcan, nē medder nē fæder, 50 nē nængum ġesibbra, þōne sē swearta hrefn, sīþpan iċ āna of þē út sīpade þurh þēs sylfes hond þē iċ ër onsended wæs. Ne magon þē nū heonan adōn ërste þā réadan, nē gold nē sylfor nē þīnra gōda nān, 55 ac hēr sculon abidan bān birēaftod, besliten seonwum, ond þē þēn sāwl sċeal minum unwillan oft ġesēċan, wemman mid wordum, swā þū worhtest tō mē. Eart þū dumb ond déaf, ne sindan þīne drēamas wiht. 60 Sᶜéal iċ þē nihtes seþēah nȳde ġesēċan, synnum ġesārgad, ond eft sōna from þē hweorfan on honcrēd, þōne hāleþe menn Gode lifġendum lofsong dōð, sēcān þā hāmas þe þū mē ër scrife, 65 ond þā árlēasan eardungstōwe, ond þē sculon moldwyrmas moniže čēowan, seonowum beslitan swearte wihte, ǧifre ond grāëdʒe. Ne sindon þīne ġeahþe wiht,
þā þū hēr on moldan monnum ēawdest.
Forþon þē wēre selle swīþe micle
þonne þē wāran ealle eorþan spēde,
būtan þū hȳ ġedælde dryhnte sylfum,
þær þū wurde æt frumsceafte fugel òþpe fisç on sæ,
oððe eorþan nēat ðetes tiolode,
feldgongende feoh būtan snyttro,
ḡe en wēstenne wildra déora
þæt grimmeste, þær swā God wolde,
ḡe þeah þū wære wyrmcynna þæt wyrreste,
þonne þū æfre on moldan mon gewurde,
øþpe æfre fulwihte onfôn sċeolde,
þonne þū for unc bū ondwyrdan sċealt
on þām miclan dæge, þonne eallum monnum bēoð wunde onwriġene, þā þe in worulde ār
firenfulle menn fyrn geworhton.
Donne wile dryhten sylf dāda gehŷran aet ealra monna gehwām mūpes reorde,
wunde, wiþperlēan. Ac hwæt wilt þū þær on dōmdæge dryhtne secgan?
Þonne ne biō nāeniċ tō þæs lŷtel liō on lime gewexen,
thæt þū ne scyle for aēghwylc ānra onsunðran ryht āḡieldan, þonne rēþe biō dryhten æt dóme. Ac hwæt dō wit unc,
þonne hē unc hafað ġeedbyrded ōþre sīþe?
Sċulon wit þonne ætsomne sipþan brucan swylcras yrmþa swā þū unc ār scrife.”
    Firenap þus þæt flāeschord, sċeal þonne fēran on weg,
sēcān helle grund, nales heofondrēamas,
dādum ġedrēfed. Liġeō dūst þær hit wæs,
ne mǣg him ondsware āniċ secgan,
nē þær ēōringe ðenge gehātan
gäste géomrum, ġeoco øþpe frōfre.
Bīþ þæt hēafod tōhliden, honda tôleōpode,
ĝeaslas tōginene, göman tōslitene,
seonwe bēoð āsogene, swēora bicowen;
rib rēafiað rēþe wyrmas,
andræd hlōþum hrā, heolfres þurstĒ. 
Bīþ sēo tunge tōtogen on tŷn healfe
hungrum tō hrōpor. Forþon hēo ne mǣg horsclicē
wordum wrixlan wið þone wergan gæst. 110
Gifer hætte sē wyrm, þâm þa ġeaflas béod nǣdle scéarpan. Sē ġenēþeð tō ãrest ealra on þâm eorðscáefe;
hē þa tungan tōtŷhō ond þa tōþas þurhsmŷhō, ond þa ġeagan þurhiteð ufôn on þæt héafod 115
ond tō ætwelan òþrum ġerȳmeð, wyrmum tō wiste, þonne bǐþ þæt werge liċ acólad þæt hē longe ār werede mid wǣðum. Bið þonne wyrmes ġiefl, ãt on eorþan. Þæt mæg ãeghwylcum 120
men tō ġemyndum módsnotterra.
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.

Iċ eom ānhaga, īserne wund, 
bille ġebennad, beadoweorca sæd, 
eċġum wēriģ. Oft iċ wīg sēo, 
frēcne feohtan. Frōfre ne wēne, 

5 ṭæt mé ĝeoc cyme, guðgewinnes, 
ær iċ mid ældum eal forwurđe, 
ac meċ hnossiað homera läfe, 
heardeċģ, heorosċearp, hondweorc smiþa, 
bitað in burgum; iċ ābidan ścéal, 

10 lābra ġemōtes. Nāfre lǣcēcynn 
on folcstede findan meahte, 
þāra þe mid wyrtum wunde ġehēlde, 
ac mé eċga dolg ěacen weordāđ 
þurh dēaðsleģe dagum ond nihtum.

6.

Meċ ġesette sōð sigora waldend 
Crist tō compe. Oft iċ cwice bærne, 
unrimu cyn eorþan ġetenġe, 
ñaete mid nīpe, swā iċ him nō hrine, 

5 þonne meċ min frēa feohtan hāteþ.
14. A SELECTION OF RIDDLES

10.
Hwīlum iċ moniġra mòd ārēte,  
hwīlum iċ frēfre þa iċ ār winne on  
feorrān swīþe; hi þæs fēlað þēah,  
swylcē þæs òhores, þonne iċ eft hyra  
ofeðer dēop ĝedrēag drohtað bēte.  10

7.
Hrægł mīn swīgað þonne iċ hrūsan trede,  
ôþhe þa wâc büge, ôþhe wado drēfe.  
Hwīlum meċ āhebbað ofer hæleþa byht  
hyrste mine, ond þēos hēa lyft,  
ond meċ þonne wide wolcna strenģu  
ofeðer folc byreð. Frætwe mine  
swōgað hlūde ond swimsiað,  
torhte singað, þonne iċ ġetenže ne bēom  
flōde ond foldan, fērende ġæst.

8.
Iċ þurh múþ sprece mongum reordum,  
wrenċum singe, wrixle ĝeneahhe  
hēafodwōpe, hlūde ċirme,  
healde mine wisan, hlēopre ne miþe,  
eald āfensċeop, eorlum bringe  
blisse in burgum, þonne iċ būgendre  
stefne styrme; stille on wicum  
sittað swigende. Saga hwæt iċ hâtte,  
þe swâ scirenēge scēawendwisan  
hlūde onhyrže, hæleþum bodiže  
wilcumena fela wōpe minre.  10

9.
Meċ on þissum dagum dēadne ofgēaðun  
fēder ond mōdor; ne wæs mē feorh þa ġēn,  
ealdor in innan. þa meċ ān ongon,  
weħold méže, wēdum þeċċan,  
hēold ond freoðode, hlēosċeorpe wrāh  
swē ārlīċe swā hire āgen bearn,  
op þæt iċ under scēate, swā mīn ġesceapu wāron,
ungesibbum wearð ēacen gēste.
Meċ sēo frīþe mǣg fēdde sīþpan,
op ṭæt iċ āwēox, widdor meahṭe
sīþas āsettan. Hēo hæfde swēsra ṭy lās
suna ond dothra, ṭy hēo swā dyde.

10.

Neb wæs mīn on nearwe, ond iċ neoþan wætre,
flōde underflōwen, firġenstrēamum
swīþe besuncen, ond on sundo āwōx
ufan ȳþum ȝeaht, ānum ġetenège
liþendum wuda liće mine.
Hēfde feorh cwico ṭa iċ of fǣðmum cwōm
brimes ond bēames on blacum hrǣgle;
sume wæron hwīte hyrste mine,
ṭa meċ lifgenden lyft upp āhōf,
wind of wǣge, sīþpan wīde bær
ofer seolhbaþo. Saga hwæt iċ hātte.

12.

Fōtum iċ fēre, foldan slite,
grēne wongas, ṭenden iċ gēst bere.
Gīf mē feorh losað, fǣste binde
swearte Wēalas, hwilum sellan men.
Hwīlum iċ dēorum drincan selle
beorne of bōsme, hwilum meċ brýd triedeð
felawlonc fōtum, hwilum feorran brōht
wonfeax Wāle weģeð ond ṭyō,
dol druncmennen deorcum nihtum,
wāteð in wætre, wyrmeð hwilum
fēgre tō ſyre; mē on fǣðme sticaþ
hyģegālan hond, hwyrfeð ġeneahhe,
swīfeð mē ġeond sweartne. Saga hwæt iċ hātte,
ṭe iċ lifgende lond rēaſige,
ond æfter dēaþe dryhtum þeowige.

13.

Iċ seah turf tredan, .x. wēron ealra,
.vi. ġebrōþor ond hyra sweostor mid;
14. A SELECTION OF RIDDLES

14. A SELECTION OF RIDDLES


15. Hrægl bið ġenīwad þām þe ær forðcymene frætwi lēton liċgan on lāste, ġewitan lond tredan.

16. Oft iċ sċeal wiþ wāge winnan ond wiþ winde feohtan, somod wið þām sæcče fremman, þonne iċ sēcān gewīte eorþan ðiþum þeah; mē biþ sē ēþel fremde.

Iċ bēom strong þēs gewinnes ġif iċ stille weorþe; ġif mē þēs tōsēleð, hi bēoð swiþran þonne iċ, ond meċ slitende sōna flōmað, willað opfergan þæt iċ friþian sċeal.
Ic him þæt forstonde ġif mīn steort þolað
ond meċ stīþne wiþ stānas mōton
fæste gehabban. Friге hwæt iċ hātte.

21.

Neb is mīn niþerweard; nēol iċ fēre
ond be grunde græfe, ġeonge swā mē wīsað
hār holtes fēond, ond hlāford mīn
wōh færeð, weard æt steorte,
wrigaþ on wonge, wegehæ hē mec ond þyð,
sāweþ on swæð min. Ic snyþiþe forð,
brungen of bearwe, bunden cræfte,
wegen on wægne, hæbbe wundra fela;
mē biþ gongendre grēne on healfe
ond mīn swæð sweotol sweart on ōþre.
Mē þurh hryċg wrecen hongaþ under
ān orþoncpīl, ōþer on hēafde,
fæst ond forðweard. Fealleþ on sidan
þæt iċ tōþum tere, ġif mē teala þēnaþ
hindeweadre, þæt bīþ hlāford min.

23.

Agof is mīn noma eft onhwyrfed;
ic eom wrætlíc wiht on ġewin sċeapen.
Þonne iċ onbūge, ond mē on bōsme fareð
ātren onga, iċ bēom eall ġearo
þæt iċ mē þæt feorhbealo feor āswāpe.
Sīþan mē sē waldend, sē mē þæt wite ġescōp,
leōbo forlǣteð, iċ bēo lengre þonne ār,
ob þæt ic spēte, spilde ġeblonden,
ealfelo âttor þæt ic āror ġēap.
Ne tōgongeð þæs gumena hwylcum,
āenigum ēaþe þæt iċ þær ymb spriþe,
ġif hine hrīneð þæt mē of hrife fledoð,
 þæt þone māndrinc mǣgne ġeċēapāþ,
fullwer fæste fēore sine.
Nelle iċ unbunden āenigum hȳran
nympe searosǣled. Saga hwæt iċ hātte.
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24.
Iċ eom wunderlicu wiht,  wræsne mine stefne, hwilum beorce swā hund, hwilum blæte swā gát, hwilum græde swā gős, hwilum gielle swā hafoc, hwilum ic onhyrge þone haswan earn, guðfugles hlēoðor, hwilum glidan reorde 5 mūphe ĝemæne, hwilum mæwes song, þær ic glado sitte. · ṝ · meĉ nemnað, swylce · þ · ond · ᵄ · ŕ · fullesteð, · ᵢ · ond · ·. Nū ic hāten eom swā þā siex stafas sweotule bècnæp. 10

25.
Iċ eom wunderlicu wiht, wīfum on hyhte, nēahbūendum nyt; nængum scēpþe burgsittendra, nymþe bonan ānum. Stapol mīn is stēaphēah; stonde ic on bedde, neōþan rūh nāthwēr. Nēþeð hwilum 5 ful cyrtenu ĉeorles dohtor, mōdwlonc mēowle, þæt hēo on meć gripeð, rēseð meč on réodne, rēafað mīn hēafod, fēgeð meč on fæsten. Fēleþ sōna mīnes ġemôtēs, sēo þe meĉ nearwað, 10 wīf wundenlocç. Wāet bið þæt ēage.

26.
Meċ fēonda sum feøre besnyþede, woruldstrenga binom, wǣtte siþþan, dyfde on wætre, dyde eft þonan, sette on sunnan, þær ic swīþe belēas hērum þām þe ic hæfde. Heard meċ siþþan 5 snāð seaxeses eċg, sindrum begrunden; fingras feoldan, ond meċ fugles wyn ȝeondstrēd dropum, spyrede ĝeneahhe, ofer brūnne brerd bēamtelȝe swealg, strēames dǣle, stōp eft on meċ, 10 siþade sweartlāst. Meċ siþþan wrāh hāeleð hlēobordum, hŷde beþenede,
gierede meč mid golde; forþon mē gliwedon wretlic weorc smiþa, wire bifongen.

15 Nū þā ɡerēno ond sē rēada telg ond þā wuldergesteald wide mēre dryhtfolca helm, nales dol wite. Gif mīn bearn wera brūcan willað, hỳ bēoð þỳ ɡesundran ond þỳ ɡiɡeфаstran, 

20 heortum þỳ hwætran ond þỳ hyɡeблиприan, ferþe þỳ frōdran, habbaþ frēonta þỳ mā, swēsra ond ɡesibbra, sōpra ond ɡōdra, tilra ond ɡetrēowra, þā hyra týr ond ēad ēstum ýcað ond hỳ ārstafum, 

25 lissum bileċgað ond hī lufan fæ럼um feste clyppað. Friге hwæt iċ hātte, nǐþumbù tō nytte. Nama mīn is māre, hæleþum ɡifre ond hāliɡ sylf.

27. 

Iċ eom weorð werum, wide funden, brungen of bearwum ond of beorghleоþum, of denum ond of dúnum. Dæges meč wāgun feþre on lifte, feredon mid liste 

5 under hrōfes hlēo. Hæleð meč sıþban baþedan in bydene. Nū iċ eom bindere ond swingere, sōna weorpe esne tō eorþan, hwīlum ealdne ċeorl. Sōna þæt onfindeð, sē þe meč fēhð onɡēan, 

10 ond wið mæɡenþīsan minre ɡenäesteð, þæt hē hrycge sceal hrūsan sécan, ɡif hē unrādes ār ne ɡeswiceð, strenɡo bistolen, strong on sprēce, mægene binumen; nāh his môdes geweald, 

15 fōta nē folma. Friге hwæt iċ hātte, ðe on eorþan swā esnas binde, dole æfter dyntum be dæges lēohте. 

29. 

Iċ wiht ɡesiah wundorliċe hornum bitwēonum hūpe lādan,
lyftfæt lēohtlíc, listum ġegierwed, 
hüþe tō þām hāme of þām heresiþe; 
walde hyre on þāre byrig būr ātimbran, 
searwum āsettan, ġif hit swā meahte, 
5

Đā cwōm wundorlicu wiht ofer wealles hrōf, 
sėo is eallum cúð eorðbūendum, 
āhredde þā þā hüþe ond tō hām bedrāf 
wreččan ofer willan, ġewāt hyre west þonan 
fēhþum fēran, forð ōnette. 
10

Dūst stonc tō heofonum, dēaw fēol on eorþan, 
niht forð ġewāt. Nāniğ siþðan 
werā ġewiste þære wihte sið.

31.

Is þēs middanġeard missenlicum 
wisum ġewlitegad, wrāttum ġefrætwad. 
Iċ seah selliċ þing singan on ræcede; 
wiht wæs nōwer werum on ġemonge 
siō hæfde wæstum wundorlicran. 
5

Niþerweard wæs neb hyre, 
fēt ond folme fugele ġelīçe; 
nō hwæþre flēogan mæg nē fela gongan, 
hwæþre fēþegēorn fremman onginnēð, 
ģecoren craithum, ċyrrede ġeneahhe 
10 
oft ond ġelôme eorlum on ġemonge, 
siteð æt symble, sæles bidep, 
hwonne ġeōrest ġeo ġraeft hyre cyþan móte 
werum on wonge. Nē hēo þær wiht þigung 
þæs þe him æt blisse beornas habbað. 
15

Dēor dōmes ġeorn, hīo dumb wunað; 
hwæþre hyre is on fōte fēğer hlēofor, 
wynlicu wōðgiefu. Wrēttliċ mē þinċeð 
hū sēo wiht mæġ ġeōrm lácan 
þurh fōt neōþan, frætwed hyrstum. 
20

Hafād hyre on halse, þonne hīo hord warað, 
baru, bēagum deall, brōþor sine, 
mæġ mid mæġne. Miċel is tō ġycgenne 
wisum wōðboran, hwæt siō wihte sie.
33.

Wiht cwóm æfter wēge wrætlicu liþan, cýmlic from céole cleopode tó londe, hlinside hlúde; hleahtor wæs gryrelíc, egesful on earde, écge wèron scéarpe.

5 Wæs hío hetegrim hilde tó sēwe, biter beadoweorca; bordweallas grōf, heardhipende, heterúne onbond, sægdæ searcraeftiġ ymb hyre sylfre gesceaf: “Is mín móder mægða cynnes

10 þæs dōrestan, þæt is dohtor mín, ēacen up loden, swā þæt is ældum cūþ, firum on folce, þæt séo on foldan sceal on ealra londa gehwām lissum stondan.”

34.

Iċ wiht ġeseah in wera burgum, sēo þæt feoh fēdeð. Hafað fela tōpha; nebb bíþ hyre æt nytte, niþerweard gongeð, hīþeð holdliče ond tō hām tŷhð, wēþeð ñe ãarde islendas, wyrte sēcð; aa hēo þā findeð, þā þe fæst ne bíþ; lēteð hīo þā wlitigan, wyrtement fæste, stille stondan on stapolwonge, beorhte blīcan, blōwan ond grōwan.

35.

Meċ sē wäta wong, wundrum frēoriġ, of his innaþe ærist cende. Ne wāt iċ meċ beworhtne wulle flýsum, hārum þurh hēahcraeft, hygeþoncum mín.

5 Wundene mē ne beóð wefel, nē iċ wearp hafu, nē þurh þrēata ãeþracu þræd mē ne hlimmeð, nē æt mē hrūtende hrisil sčiþeð, nē meċ ðohowan sceal ãm cnyssan. Wyrmas meċ ne ñwēfan wyrdra craeftum, þā þe ãeolo godwebb ãeatwum frætwāð.

Wile meċ mon hwæþre seþeah wide ofer eorþan
14. A SELECTION OF RIDDLES

hātan for hæleþum  hyhtlic gewêde.
Saga sóðcwidum,  searoþoncum gléaw,
wordum wisfæst,  hwæt þis gewêde sŷ.

36.
Iċ wiht ġeseah  on wege fēran,
sēo wæs wrætliċe  wundrum ġegierwed.
Hæfde fēower  fēt under wombe
ond ehtuwe
monn · h · w · M · wiif · m · x · l · kf wf · hors · qxcs  5
ufon on hryc̱ge;
hæfde tū fîbru  ond twelf ēagan
ond siex ḥēfdu. Saga hwæt hio wäre.
Für flōdwegas;  ne wæs þæt nā fugul āna,
ac þār wæs æghwylcēs  ānra ñelicnes 10
horses ond monnes,  hundes ond fûgles,
ond ēac wīfes wîte.  Þū wâst, ǧif þū const,
tō ǧeseçγanne  þæt wē sōð witan,
hū þære wihte  wise gonge.

38.
Iċ þā wiht ǧeseah  wæpnedcynnes,
ǧęoguðmyrþe grǣdiġ;  him on gafol forlēt
ferōfriþende  fēower wellan
scīre scēotan,  on ġescēap þēotan.
Mon mapelade,  sē þe mē ǧesæγde:  5
“Sēo wiht, ǧif hio ġedýγeð,  dūnā briĉeð;
ǧif hē tōbirsteð,  binede cwîce.”

42.
Iċ seah wyhte  wrætliċe twā
undearnunga  ùte plegan
hæmedlāces;  hwitloc anfēng,
włanc under wǣdum,  ǧif þåes weorces spēow,
fēmne fyllo. Iċ on flette mæğ  5
þurh rûnstaﬁs  rincum ċęγan,
þâm þe bèc witan,  bèga ætsomne
naman þåra wihta.  Þær ċéal Nȳd wesan
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twēġa òber     ond së torhta Æsċ
án an līnan,    Ācas twēġen,
Hæġelas swā some.   Hwylc ðæs hordgates
cæġan cræfte    þæs clamme onlēac,
þe þæ rēdellan     wið rŷnemenn
hygefæste hèold,   heortan bewriġene
orþoncbendum?     Nû is undyrne
werum ët wine      hū þà wihte mid ús,
hēanmöde twā,     hātne sindon.

44.

Wrëtliċ hongað    bi weres þëo,
frēan under sčæate. Foran is Ŵyrel.
Bið stìp ond heard, stede hafað gödne;
þonne së esne     his ågen hraegl
ofec cnēo hefeð,  wile þæt cûpe hol
mid his hangellan  hēafde grētan
þæt hē efenlang ër   oft gefyld.

45.

Iċ on wincle ġefræġn    weaxan nāthwæt,
þìndan ond þûnian,   þècēne hebban;
on þæt bānlēase    brŷd grāpode,
hygewlönç hondum,  hraegl þeahte
þrindende þìŋg     þèodnes dohtor.

46.

Wær sæt ët wine    mid his wifum twām
ond his twēġen suno  ond his twā dohtor,
swāse gesweostor,   ond hyra suno twēġen,
frōlico frumbearn;  fæder wæs þærinne
þāra æpelinga     æghwæðres mid,
êam ond nefæ.      Ealra wûron fîfe
eorla ond idesa    insittendra.

47.

Moððe word frât. Më þæt þûhte
wrëtligu wyrd,     þā iċ þæt wundor ġefrægn,
þæt sē wyrm forswælg wera ðied sumes,
þeof in þŷstro, þrymfæstne cwide
ond þæs strangan staþol. Stælgiest ne ðæs
wihte þŷ glestona þê he þam wordum swealg.

50.

Wiga is on eorðan wundrum âcenned
dryhtum tô nytte, of dumrum twâm
torht âtyhted, þone on tôm wiȝeð
fêond his fêonde. Forstrangne oft
wiȝ hine wrið; he him wel hêreð,
þêowaþ him ȝeþowe, ȝif him þêgnið
mæȝeð ond mæcȝas mid ȝemete ryhte,
fêdað hine fêgre; he him fremum stêpeð
life on lissum. Léanað grimme
þe hine wloncne weorþan lêteð.

51.

Iċ seah wrêtlîcë wuhte fêower
samed sîpian; swearte wærân lâstas,
swâþu swîþe blacu. Swift wæs on fôre,
fuglum framra; flêag on lyfte,
dêaf under Ŷþe. Drêag unstille
winnende wiga sê him wêgas têcneþ
ofer fêted gold fêower eallum.
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 Ælfric (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.

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Hwæt, iċ swefna cyst  seċgan wylle,
hwæt mē ġemætte  tô midre nihte,
syððan reordberend  reste wunedon.
þūhte mē þæt iċ ġesā

5 on lyft lēodan,  lēohte bewunden,
bēama beorhtost.  Eall þæt bēacen wæs
begoten mid golde.  Ġimmas stōdon
fægere æt foldan scēatum;  swylcē þær fife wēron
uppe on þām eaxlgespanne — behēoldon þær engeldryhte—
10 fægere þurh forðgescaft.  Ne wæs dōr hūru fracodes ġealga,
ac hine þær behēoldon  hālige gāstas,
DREAM OF THE ROOD

15. DREAM OF THE ROOD

... men ofer moldan, ond eall þeōs mēre þesceafte.

þearle þenian.  Þỹstro hæfdon
bewriģen mid wolcnum wealdendes hrǣw,
sċirne sciman, sċėadu forð ēode,
55 wann under wolcnum. Wȳop eal gesceaf,
cwīðdon cyninges fyll. Crist wæs on rōde.
“Hwǣdere þær fūse feorran cwōman
tõ þām ædelinge. Êc þæt eall behēold.
Sāre ic wæs mid sorgum gedrēfed, h=u nag ic hwǣre þām seċgium tō handa,
60 ēaðmōd elne mycle. Genāmon hie þær ælmihtiġne God,
āhōfon hine of dām hefian wite. Forlēton mē þa hilderincas
standan stēame bedrifenne; eall ic wæs mid strǣlum forwundod.
Ālēdon hie ðār limwērigne, gestōdon him æt his līces hēafdom;
behēoldon hie ðār heofenes dryhten, ond hē hine ðār hwīle rest,
65 mēde æfter ðām miclan gewinne. Ongunnon him þā moldern wyrċan
beornas on banan ēgesyhōe; curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan stāne,
ġesetton hie ðæron sigora wealdend. Ongunnon him þā sorhlēoð galan,
earne on þā æfentide, þā hie woldon eft sīðian,
mēde fram þām mæran þēodne. Reste hē ðār mēte weorode.
70 Hwǣedere wē ðār grēotende ġōde hwīle
stōdon on staðole; stēn up ġewā
hilderinc. Hrǣw cōlode,
fēger feorgebold. Þā ùs man fyllan ongan
ealle tō eorðan. Êc wæs ėgesliċ wyrd.
75 Bedealf ùs man on dēopan sēaþe. Hwǣdere mē þær dryhtnes þęgnas,
frēondas ġefrūnon ongỳredon mē
golde ond seolfre.
“Nū ðū miht ġehȳran, hæleð mīn sē lēofa,
þæt ic bealuwa weorc ġebiden hæbbe,
sāra sorga. Is nū sæl cumen
70 mē þær ðerðiað wide ond side
menn ofer moldan, ond eall þeos māre gesceaf,
ġebiddaþ him tō þyssum bēacne. On mē bearn Godes
þrōwode hwīle. Forþan ic þrymfæst nū
80 hlifige under heofenum, ond ic hǣlan mēg
ǣghwylcne ānra, þāra þe him bið ėgesa tō mē.
Iū ic wāes ġeworden wīta heardost,
leōdum lāðost, ër þan ic him līfes weg
rihtne ġerȳmde, reordberendum.
85 Hwæt, mē þa ġeweorðode wuldres ealdor
ofe holtwudu, ēofonröces weard,
swylcē swā hē his módot ēac, Mārian sylfe, ælmihtīg God for eall menn gewœordōde ofer eall wīfē cyinn.

“Nū ic þē hāte, hæleō min sē lēofa, 95 þæt dū þås gesŷhōde sečge mannum, onwreōh wordum þæt hit is wuldres bēam, sē ðē ælmihtīg God on þrówode for mancynnnes manegum synnum ond Ādomes ealdġewyrhtum. 100 Dēað hē þār byriðgē, hwǣdere eft dryhten ārās mid his mičlan mihte mannum tō helpe. Hē ðā on heofenas āstāg. Hider eft fundāp on þysne middanġeard mancynn sécan on dōmdægē dryhten sylfa, ælmihtīg God, ond his englas mid, þæt hē þonne wile déman, sē āh dōmēs geweald, ānra gehwylcum swā hē him ãėrur hēr on þyssum lēnum līfe ģeearnāp. Ne mæg þār ānīg unforht wesan for þām worde þe sé wealdend cwyd. Frīneō hē for þāre mænīgē hwār sé man sie, sē ðē for dryhtnes naman dēaðes wolde bīteres onbyriōgan, swā hē ār on dām bēame dyde. Ac hie þonne forhtiaō, ond féa þencāp hwēt hie tō Criste cweðan onginnēn. Ne þearf ðār þonne ānīg anforht wesan þe him ār in brēostum bereō bëacna sēlest, ac ðūrh ðā rōde sēcáel rīcē gesēcān of eordweġē āēghwylc sāwil, sēo þe mid wealdende wunian þencēō.”

Gēbād ic mē þā tō þan bēame blide móde, elne mycle, þār ic āna wæs méte weređe. Wāes mōdsea 125 āfŷsed on forðweġē, feala ealra ġēbād langunhwīla. Is mē nū līfēs hŷht þæt ic þone sīgebēam sēcān móte āna oftōr þonne ealle men, well weorþian. Mē is willa tō dām myċel on móde, ond mīn mundbyrd is ġeriht tō þārē rōde. Nāh ic rīcra feala
frëonda on foldan, ac hie forð heonon
gewiton of worulde drēamum, söhton him wuldres cyning,
lifæp nū on heofenum mid hēahfædere,
135 wuniaþ on wuldre, ond ić wēne mē
daga gehwylce hwænne mē dryhtnes rōd,
þe ić hēr on eorðan ār scēawode,
on þysson lēnan life gefetiġe
ond mē þonne gebringē þær is blis myċel,
140 drēam on heofonum, þær is dryhtnes folc
geseted tō symle, þær is singāl blis,
on mē þonne äsette þær ić syþþan mōt
wunian on wuldre, well mid þām hālgum
drēames brūcan. Si mē dryhten frēond,
145 sē _VC_ hēr on eorþan ār þrōwode
on þām þealgrēowe for gumān synnum.
Hē ûs onlŷse ond ûs lif forġeaf,
heofonlicne hām. Hiht wæs ġenīwad
mid blēdum ond mid blisse þām þe þær bryne þolodan.
150 Sē sunu wæs sigorfæst on þām siðfate,
mihtiġ ond spēdiġ, þa hē mid maniġeo cōm,
gāsta weorode, on Godes rīc,
anwealda ælmihtiġ, englum tō blisse
ond eallum ðām hālgum þām þe on heofonum ār
155 wunedon on wuldre, þa heora wealdend cwōm,
ælmihtiġ God, þær his ēdēl wæs.
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.
oppo meçon frëondlëasne frëfran wolde, wëman mid wynnum. Wät së þe cunnað
30 hù sliþen bið sorg tò ðefëran þäm þe him lyît hafað lëófra geholena. Warað hine wræclást, nales wunden gold, feróloca frëorìg, nalæs foldan blåëd. Þemon hë selesaiçgas ond sinçbege,
35 hù hine on ðeoguðe his goldwine wenede tò wiste. Wyn eal ðedrëas.

Forþon wät së þe sëcal his winedryhtnes lëofes lærçwidum longe forþolan, ðonne sorg ond slëp somod ætægedre
40 earmne ánëhogan oft ðebíndað. Þincëð him on mòde þæt hë his mondryhten clype ond cyse, ond on cnëo leçge honda ond hëafod, swà hë hwilum ër in ðeardagum ðiefstòlas brêac.

ònne onwëcneð eft winelëas guma, ðesihð him bìforan fealwe wëgas, bëpian brimfuglas, brëdan feþra, hrëosan hrim ond snëw, hagle ðemenëgëd. ðonne bëoð þy hefiðra heorton benne,
50 sàre æfter swësne. Sorg bið ðenivad. ðonne mëga ðemynd mòd ðeondhweorfeð— grëteð gliwstafum, ðeorne ðeondsçëawað— seçga ðeseldan swimmað oft on weg, ðëotendra ferð. Nô þær fela bringëð
55 ðùdra cwidegieddæ — cearo bið ðenivad— þäm þe sendan sëcal swëpe ðeneahhe ofer wàpema ñebind wërígne sefan.

Forþon ic ðeponcæn ne màëg ðeond þas woruld for hwan mòdsefa min ne ðesweorce,
60 ðonne ic eorla lìf eal ðeondsçënce, hù hì fërlìce flet ofgëafon, mòðge maguþëgnas. Swà ðës middanðearð ealra dògra ðehwâm drëoseð ond fealleð; forþon ne màëg weorþan wis wer ær hë ñëwwintra dæl
65 in woruldrìce. Wita sëcal ðëþylëgïg, nè sëcal nò tò hâtheort nè tò ðrëdwyrd, nè tò wàc wìga nè tò wanhëgïg,
nē tō forht nē tō fægen, nē tō feohgīfre
nē næfre gīelpes tō ġeorn, ār hé ġeorn ġeorn
cinne. 70
Beorn scéal ġebidan, þonne hé bèot spriċeð,
oþ þæt collenferð conne gearwe
hwider hreþra ġehyġd hweorfan wille.
   Ongjetan scéal ġlēaw hæle hū ġæstliċ bið, 75
þonne hē boð spriċeð, þonne ealre þisse worulde wela
wēste stondeð, swā nū misseinlice ġeond þisne middanġead
winde biwāune weallas stondaþ, hrīme bihrorene, hrīðge þa ederas.
Weorniað þa wīnsalo, waldend liċgað 80
drēame bidrorene, dugulp eal ġegrong, wlonc bi wealle.
 Sume wiċ forgorn, ferede in forðweège: sumne fугel ıpбаer
ofer hēanne holm, sumne sē hāra wulf
dēađe gedǣlde, sumne drōriģhelǣr
in eordācrǣfe eorl ġehȳdde.
Ýpde swā þisne eardġead ǣlda scẏppend 85
oþ þæt burgwara breahhtma lēase
eald ena ġeweorc idlu stōdon.
Sē þonne þisne wealsteal wise ġeþōhte
ond þis deorce lif dēope ġeondþencēd,
frōd in ferðe, feor oft ġemon
wēslǣhta worn, ond þās word ācwīð:
   Hwær cwōm mearg? Hwær cwōm mago? Hwær cwōm māþþumġyfa? 90
Hwær cwōm symbla ġesetū? Hwær sindon seledrēamas?
Ēalā beorht bune! Ėalā byrnwiga!
Ēalā þēodnes þrym! Hū sēo þrāg ġewāt, 95
ġenāp under nihthelm, swā hēo nō wēre!
Stondeð nū on læste lēofre duguþe
weal wundrum hēah, wyrmlīcum fāh.
Eorlas fornōman asca þrȳpe, wēpen wælgīfru, wyrd sēo mēre, 100
ond þās stānkleþu stormas cnyssaþ,
hrið hrēosende hrūsan bindeð, wintres wōma, þonne won cymeð,
nipeð nihtscu, norþan onsendeð hrēo hægłfare hæleþum on andan.
Ēall is earfoōlıċ eorþan rīce, onwendeð wyrda ġeþcéaf 105
weoruld under heofonum.
Hēr bið feoh læne, hēr bið frēond læne,
hēr bið mon læne, hēr bið māg læne;

eal þis eorþan ġesteal ðidel weorþeð.

Swā cwæð snottor on môde,  ġesæt him sundor æt rūne.
Til biþ sē þe his trēowe ġehealdeþ;  ne sceled næfre his torn tō rycene
beorn of his brēostum acyþan,  nemþe hē ær þā bōte cunne,
eorl mid elne ġefremman.  Wel bið þâm þe him āre sēceð,
frōfre tō fæder on heofonum,  þær ûs 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.

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. ġeċȳġdon ond ġelađedon. 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), neh 50 (with Anglian smoothing of the diphthong ēa), wibedum 52 (= WS wēofodum), forgēfe 58 (with Anglian ē for WS ēa), deaglum 63 (= EWS dieglum), ġeċēgdë 69 (with ē for EWS ēi), gehēht 69 (= WS gehēt), gēr 71 (= WS gēar), Beadonescan 71 (with ea for WS a), and Anglian vocabulary like nemne 43 (Mercian) and nāniŋ 46.

7. sweotoliče shows simplification of -ll- after an unstressed vowel.

12. Seaxna depends upon an understood þeod (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. hi (the subject of compedon) = the Saxons; hi (the object of onher-ġedon) = the Britons.

21. sealdan ond ġeafan. 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. hælo. 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', brœdu 'breadth', bysgu 'trouble', engu 'strait', fyllu 'fullness', hælu 'health', hætu 'heat', hyldu 'homage', ieldu 'age', lengu 'length', menigu 'multitude', offermêdu 'pride', snyttru 'wisdom', strengu 'strength, þiestru 'darkness', wæstmberu 'fertility', wlençu 'grandeur', and wyrþu 'honor'.

25. Germânie is Latin gen.sg., showing typical medieval -e for classical -ae.

26. Ğēatum. 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 Ēotum. 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 Ğēatum above (25–6); cf. also Ābūlia þâre þêode 7.285.

29. The Middelengle occupied a large part of the central Midlands, between East Anglia and the home of the Myrce ‘Mercians’ (literally ‘Border-people’), who occupied the West Midlands. Angulus is Angeln, in Schleswig-Holstein.

35. Wihta is indeclinable. The god Wôden also appears in most of the Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies.

39. wæron on myclum ege ‘were a great terror’ (essent terrori).

44. geweredon . . . wið misconstrues inito . . . foedere cum ‘entered into a compact with’.

47. þâm ðe ‘that in which’ or ‘that when’.

48. cynelico getimbro somod ond ânilpie = aedifica puplica simul et privata.

71. þâre Beadonescan dûne 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 Strēoneshealh, 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 ǵeseted 88 (WS ǵeset(t)), nēalēcan 91
NOTES ON THE TEXTS 225

(WS nēalēcan), gongende 94 (WS gānde), neahte 94 (WS nihte), ġesēġen 122 (WS ġesewen), ānforlēte 130 (WS ānforlēte), ġehwerfde 135 (EWS ġehwierfde), seolf- 136, 187 (EWS self-), wreton 137 (WS writon), ġēmdė 148 (EWS ġiemde), and Teala 179 (WS tela).

80. ġeglængde shows the frequent spelling <æ> for <e> before a nasal con-
sonant. See §111(c).

82. ġeþēđ̥̄nisse here must mean ‘longing’. The translator seems to have
taken appetitum in the more literal sense of the past participle of appetere ‘ap-
proach’ (hence, appetitum = ‘nearness’).

87. efne þā ān þā dē ‘just those things alone which’ (ea tantummodo quae).

88. his þā āfêstān tungan: the use of the demonstrative with a possessive
pronoun is primarily an Anglian trait; there is another example in 137. The char-
acter ġ(‘e caudata’) is equivalent to æ.

89. ġelŷfdre ‘infirm’, though the Latin says only that he was advanced in
age.

91. scālde (a Mercianism) = scolden. See the note on māre 14.26.16.

95–6. him . . . bebdon ‘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 a
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 âht (to âgan). Alternatively, meaht could be read for mē āht, but this
would leave Latin mihi untranslated.

103–4. þāre endebyrndesse (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 sculon 106 (Lat. debemus ‘we ought’) is apparently an archa-
ism.

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 wēre ‘so that it might be determined
by the judgment of all of them’.

122. ġesēġen 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 uninflacted. cwōm is an Anglian prereterite of cuman.

131. mid his gōdum translates cum omnibus suis, which Bede instead in-
tended to mean ‘with all her people’.
132. læran, like many OE infinitives, must be understood to have passive import.

134. mid hine ġemyndgade = rememorando secum ‘memorizing it’, an excessively literal translation. Use of the accusative after mid is an Anglianism. clēne 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 wrītan); 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 bóca ‘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. ðōere tide nēalēcte ‘it came near the time’; tide is dative. There are similar constructions in 167–8 and 177. In regard to þā wæs hē feowertýnum dagum ār, in Modern English it would be said that it was fourteen days before.

160. gongende wæs = erat exiturus ‘was about to depart’.

166. neaht for ni(e)ht is due to early substitution of ō- for i-stem endings.

184. þéode ‘he had served’ (inf. þéowan), 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 þēre 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 ǧiond 3), contains io (elsewhere both long and short), whereas WS usually has eo instead. Note also EWS hwelče 2, usually later hwylče.

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
NOTES ON THE TEXTS

and Alcuin. The form hieder 12 shows the occasional confusion of i and ie in EWS; similarly hiene 22, siendōn 71.

21. tō dēm . . . dēt ‘to this end, that’ (or possibly ‘to such an extent that’); swē . . . oftost ‘as often as’.

22–3. dēr dēr ‘wherever’; hwelc witu refers to the depredations of Vikings, perceived as divine retribution for English sins: cf. reading selection 8.

28. miel menigeo is nominative for expected genitive (parallel to mādma ond bōca).

41. For dēre wilnunga ‘Intentionally’.

42. mā is normally an adverb, but it may be used as in indelible pronoun, as here: ‘the more wisdom . . . the more (of) languages’.

58. hieran 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. swē . . . andgiulfullicost ‘as sensibly as’.

68. An æstel (probably from late Lat. hastella, diminutive of haste ‘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 Ashmole Museum, Oxford, called the Alfred Jewel (illustrated on the cover of this book) because an inscription on it reads AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWRCS ‘Alfred had me made.’

69. on fiftegum mancessan ‘worth fifty mancuses’.

70. The sense ‘it being’ may be assumed before uncūð.

74. ōdre bi 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).


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 ēastrīče is East Francia, the eastern Frankish kingdom.

3. āsettan him . . . ofer, i.e. crossed the English Channel.
4. **Limene.** The Lympne ([lɪm]), west of Folkestone in Kent, was a larger and more important waterway in Anglo-Saxon times than at the present day. *pridda 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 scipu* ‘rowed their ships up’.

8. *fran þæm múpan úteweardum*, i.e. from the entrance of the estuary.

10. **Hæstén** (ON *Hásteinn*) was a Viking leader with the forces in Francia from 866.


15. *foregīsla* 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 nielst rýmet hǣfe for wudufræstenn ond for wæterfræstenn*. 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. *ægberne* refers to either army, since it agrees with *here* instead of *fæstenn*.

20. *feld sēcan* 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 “endingless locative,” patterned after actual locatives (a PIE case) from which the inflection was lost inprehistoric times.

29. The second *þā* is the object of *ferian*.

33. *ānne iɡgað*. 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. *gewaldenum* ‘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. *fretan*. 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. *þær eās*: 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 Frésisc . . . on Denisc** ‘on the Frisian (Danish) model’.

148. **faran mid nigonum tō þāra niwenæ scipa**; tō is an adverb ‘to that place’; scipa depends upon nigonum.

150. **æt ufwærendum þām mūdan** ‘above the estuary’, i.e. where the estuary becomes a river.

152. **æt ðām mūdan ðæteawerdum**; see the note on l. 8.

154. **forð . . . ðe** ‘because’; ðāra ðe refers to the English, as does ðā at the start of the next sentence.

174. **Aþulfiung’** son of **Æþelwulf’; ealra hālígra 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).


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 scyppende tō tēonan** ‘as an insult to his creator’.

5. **THE VISION OF LEOFRIC**

The unique manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 367.


15. **Hwaet scēoll þēs fūla mann** ‘Why is this unclean person’.

18. The first **gebyr(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. **Cristes cyriçan** is Christ Church (Cathedral), Canterbury.

26. **ofer eall** ‘in spite of everything’, i.e. despite the noise made by Leofric.

22. **on æfèn** 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. **sylcic hit tō ġewitnesse wēre** ‘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.
58. gōd hande brād, i.e. of a good hand’s breadth, literally ‘good by a hand broad’.
59. 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. Αφροδάσια, 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. Ėower is genitive of ē; 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. cweð 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. ġeeuenlēċenne is a Latinate spelling for ġeefenlēċenne, like byuiġende 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 cweðan 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. Crist mē is for hēle. 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 rēdboran are named Silvanus and Falconius, and the latter is described only as Silvanus’s friend. þæs stuntan 170 refers to Quintianus.
200. Though ā writene modifies marmstān, emendation to ā writene 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 ālŷsednyss* ‘deliverance to her native country’, i.e. heaven.

203. In the *Acta* this *encêgel*, 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.


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.


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.


27. *hwæt þæs sōthes 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 stéorbord him bið ærest Íra 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 *Íra land* refers to what is now Scotland, given the Irish presence there in this period (cf. the frequent references to Ireland as *Scotta 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 *Íra land* and
England. Whatever the meaning of the reference to Ireland may be, Óthhere 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 Sciringes 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 ús.

91. ēɡ is an Anglian spelling, as are fifténe 96 and hafað 120. Also Anglian is vocabulary like in for on in 96, 97, þeowan for þeowas 104, nāeníġ 105, possibly fāetels for fāetelsas 133; and the unsyncopated verbs in 94, 96, 99, etc.

131. þēt ‘such that’.

133. fāetels 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 fāetels 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 seçolden 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 wēron. 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 lāde 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 māre 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 ē hwelcē sibbe þā weras hæfden ‘What kind of peace do you suppose those men had?’

C. Pyrrhus’s Wars with Rome

231–2. sume him wið fēo ēgesaldon ‘some ransomed themselves in exchange for money’. This is a misconstrual of the Latin, which says that they were sold into slavery.

238. þæt wēron. 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 secgān ne hirdon ‘nor had heard say of’.

268. sceoldon. See the note on mæge 189. .i.ii. .x. .m. ‘fourteen thousand’.

296. wæs ēfearen ‘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 spēcan] specan E, swēcan I
19 manna] so E, mana I
47 ús] us E, omitted I
49 ētrywða] getrywða E, getryða I
51 nefadode] 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 ēgcnewe [gecnewe] E, gecnawe 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 fordon] [fordon E, fordom I 165 miclan] so E, miclæm 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 lenġ swā wyrse ‘the worse the longer (it goes on)’. Cf. the note on 5.42.

7. deofol. Wulfstan often uses this word without the demonstrative.

17. On sċeal without a main verb, see the note on mæge 7.189.

19–20. Godes gerihta include the payment of tithes and Peter’s pence.

24. inne and ûte. 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. ġecnâwe sê de cunne is literally ‘let him perceive who knows how’, i.e. whoever can understand.

47. unģylda. One reason for King Æthelred’s unpopularity was his policy of buying off the Danish invaders, necessitating enormous taxes (Danegeld).

56–7. dō māre ꞌif hē mæge is literally ‘let him do more if he can’, i.e. without restraint or compunction.

62. Ėadweard 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. māpe witan ‘show respect’.

70–1. ġemāne modifies cwenan. ġeliccast is analogical to compar. ġelicca. 75–6. On the construction with plural verb syndan and singular subject þæt, see the note on 7.192.

85. liċġe ægilde ealre his mægœ ‘he would lie (sj.) without payment of compensation to all his family’.

86. þegngenylde. The ending, unusual for the acc., is most likely due to borrowing of the word, a hapax legomenon in OE; cf. ON þegngildi. Wulfstan’s writings contain many words apparently borrowed from Norse—unsurprisingly, given the Scandinavian presence in York. This explains, for instance, fēsecō (92) for expected fīsedō or fīst; cf. ON feysa.

96–7. wyrcō him tō þrǣle ‘makes (him) his slave’; him is dat. of possession.

115–16. forloren and forlogen. See the note on onfongne 1.126.

120. on þâ þing ‘in regard to those things’.

121. is nú geworden wide and side tō ful yfelan gewunan ‘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. **śc̥ulon.** See the note on *mæge* 7.189.

9. **Wulfstan, De falsis dies**

The unique manuscript is E, as in selection 8.


32. **macode heora lif tō lyre sōna on ġęgođe** ‘brought their lives to a close prematurely in youth’.

39. **aftær hǣdencype 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.

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. ţecôplinge ‘fitting (words)’. Alternatively, the word could be an adverb.

32–3. þa ðā iċ him æfre betst truwode ‘those in which I always had most trust’. him in a sense lends dat. case to þa 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 mǐn murnende mòd, 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 ū 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 hi teohhodon þæt hi hine eallne habban scéoldon ‘whatever they had determined that they should have all of him’.

60. sę Wisdōm and sęo Ġesċeādwindenes correspond to one person, Philosophia, in the Latin.

64. On the construction with plural verb sint and singular subject þís, see the note on 7.192.

66. þæt agrees with þís, both neuter.

76. sģeʒeðoda twā refers to Visigoths and Ostrogoths, whose homelands on the Pontic littoral were divided by the Dniester.

80. Muntǰop may be an error (for -ǰiow), since p and p (wynn) are similarly confused elsewhere: see, e.g., the textual variants on 8.8.

85. Hi ġeḷāstān swuā ‘They did just that’.

87. sǣstrēamum in. The postposition of normally prepositive prepositions is a characteristic of poetic style.

97. Wæs ġehwaðeres waa ‘There was misery on both accounts’, i.e. over ceding their wealth and pleading fealty.

100. Stōd þrajg on ðām ‘(Things) stood for a while in that (condition)’.

113. leōfre. Although a subject complement (predicate nominative) usually agrees with the subject in case, number, and gender, exceptions like this do occur.
117. gōdra gehwilcum ‘against all good (practices)’.
131–2. listum ymbe ðenċeän þearflícæ, hū ‘cunningly to think with care about how’.
144. eġe from dām eorle. That is, Theodoric was afraid of Boethius.
165. uncūōre ār 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| weardō 21 Hūgas| hunas 26 eal sib| eal 49 þonne| þone 58 scēawede| sceawedon 68 hie| he 90 ġeglenged| gelenged 119 heoru-| heora 124 sweorum| 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 endingless 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 wēras 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. Üriġfedera 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’. swylē, on which ymsittendra depends, is in apposition to beadũpréata møst 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 út ‘to be brought out’ (?): see §58 on passive rendering of infinitives.

50. rōfne refers to Constantine.

56. cāfe, though in apposition to møgen, disagrees with it in number; likewise elpēodiģe and here 57–8, where the implied subject is Constantine.

62. rīces ne wēnde, i.e., he did not expect victory.

71. sigerōfum gesēgen is parallel to sylfum ætṿywed ðām cāsere, though in regard to sigerōfum, 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. friðowebbā 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 bryttā shows the poetic tradition in an evolving state. The original meaning of bryttā is ‘breaker’ or ‘divider’, hence ‘dispenser’, the sense in which the Beowulf poet uses the word, as in sincēs bryttā ‘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. ðām 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.
8. scylldum besçyredne ‘cut off by his offese’s'; on ġescēad witan ‘distinguish’ or ‘differentiate’.

11. This appears to be the only instance of ānmyrran with a dative object.

12. druncen tō riče (parallel to gēlsan as object of lāteð) ‘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 fāhpe ġefremede ‘He does not recognize the offense(s) caused by feuding’.

64. on hyra sylfra dōm ‘at their own discretion’. Cf. ON sjálfdœmi ‘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 wuldorcyning. Use of the accusative with mid is an Anglian dialect feature.

79–81. þām bið simle gēst ġegæderad, Godes āgen bearn, wilsum in worlde ‘a devoted spirit is always associated with him in the world: God’s own child’.

82. hāelo rādes ‘of the benefit of salvation’.

13. SOUL AND BODY II

The manuscript is Exeter, Cathedral 3501, known as the Exeter Book.

7–8. swā him in worulde ār efne þæt eorōfæt ār ġeworhte ‘in proportion as that very body had earlier gained for itself in the world’.

10. sawle is probably genitive, dependent on gēst.

12. A verse is missing here also from the version in the Vercelli Book.

20. tō won þinre sāwle sīdō siphan 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 ār is an error for hēr, i.e. on earth. Infinitives in scansion are occasionally treated like finite verbs.

73. būtan þū hūy ġedælde dryhtne sylfum. Giving valuables to the Church is a virtue frequently mentioned in OE pious poems.
74. *ëtes tiolode* ‘provided with fodder’. *tiolode* is weak because *néat* is
definite, being modified by *eorþan*.

82. *bū* is neuter because the body (neut., like *lic* and *hr̂a*; see *léofre* 49) and
soul (fem., like *sāwl*) are different genders (see p. 47).

88. *wunde, wiperlēan* are perhaps best construed as objects of *ģehȳran*,
parallel to *dāeda*. ‘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. *nēni ġtō þæs lītel līð* ‘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. *nēdle*. ‘Than’ in comparisons may be expressed by the dative case.

115–16. The reversal of these two lines follows the Vercelli version.

120. *Pæt maeg ġęghȳrcum 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 lāðra] laðran
6.10 bēt] betan 8.8 sittā swīgend] sīted nigende 8.9 þe] þa
ārliċe] snearlice 10.7 hrāg] hrāgl 12.6 beorn] beorn 14.9 on
16.2 sæcce freman] sæcce 21.7 bearwe] bearwe 23.3 on] of 23.9 ār]
ār 24.7 · X · · x · 25.4 stapol] stapol 25.10 sēo] se 26.6 ec] ecge
27.2 beorg-] burg 27.7 weorpe] weorpere 27.8 esne] efne 29.2 hornum
bitwēonum] horna abitweonū 29.4 hāme] ham 29.5 ātimbran] atimbram
29.9 bedrāf] bedraf 29.11 ōnette] o netteð 31.4 nōwer] on
baer 31.24 sio wiht] wiht 33.3 hleahort] leahort 33.5 sāwe] sāne
33.7 onbond] bond 33.9 mēgda] mēg da 33.11 loden] liden 35.8 ām]
amas 35.14 gewēde] ge wædu 38.2 -myrðe] myrwe 39.4 māran]
maram 39.10 fōlme] fōlm 39.11 āgena] eage ne 42.4 spēow] speow
42.11 þæs] wæs 44.7 efe lang] efe lang 45.1 weaxan] weax 46.3 hyre]
hyre 50.4 for-] fer 51.4 flēag on] fleotgan

5. The solution is agreed to be “shield.”

5.7. *homera láfe* ‘what is left by hammers’ after forging, i.e. swords.

5.8. *heorosċearp* is likely an error for *heorosċorp* ‘battle equipment’.

6. The solution is agreed to be “sun.”

6.10. *offer dēop ġędrēag* 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 swīgende 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 nigende is an Anglian form, but for the sake of grammar and sense in this context the verb would demand a modifier such as mid hēafdom 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 iċ under sċēate, swā min ġesċeapu wǣron, unġesibbum wearĊ ēacen ġeste ‘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 ġetēnē līpendum wuda liċe mine 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. þyðo derives from *þūhiþ, the metrical value of which is retained here.

12.9. druncmennen 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) drynċ.

12.12. hyġegālan. On the use of the weak adjective, see the note on Úrig-feðera 11.29.

12.13. swīfed mē ġeond sweartne ‘the hand moves all over me, (who am) dark’. Due to limited attestation, it is impossible to know whether OE swifan 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 iċ ‘I who’

13. The best solution proposed is “ten chickens.”

13.1–2. The reference may be to tēn ċīċenu ‘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 ðëngum þý wyrs, nð side þý sàrra* 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. gewitan** here, see §58. Similarly in 14.16.2.

14. The solution is agreed to be “horn.”

14.1. The horn was a **wæpenwiga** 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 **eardluflu** ‘dear home’ and **glëdegesa** ‘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. **hêafodlêas.** 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 **gewite** as an auxiliary, see §58.

16.4. *Ic bêom strong þæs gewinnes* ‘I have the upper hand in that contest’.

16.9–10. *ond mec stîpne wiþ stânas móton fæste gehabban* ‘and if stones can hold firm against me (who am) firm’.

21. The solution is agreed to be “plow.”

21.2. **ðëngge** for WS **gange** is an Anglian form, with transferrence of initial **g**- from the pret. **gêong** to the present.

21.3. The **hár holtes fêond** is the ox.

21.7. The plow is **brungen of bearwe** inasmuch as the frame is of wood.

21.8. **wêgen on wêgne** appears to indicate that the plow is the wheeled type.

21.9. **mê bîp gongendre grêne 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. **Mê þurh hryçê wrecen** ‘Driven through my back’

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 *wite* to the bow to have such a deadly thing near it.

23.8. *op þæt* here is best rendered ‘once’ or ‘after’.

23.10. *töngöð* 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 *mândrinċ* as a second object of *ġeċēapap*. 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 ġemēne* ‘by a mouth held in common’, that is to say, with the same sound.

24.7–9. The runes, in order of presentation, are *ġyfu, æsc, rād, ōs, hægl*, and *īs*. They may be arranged in three groups to spell out *ġ, æro* and *hi*, which may be transposed to *higore*, 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.

24.7. *nymþe bonan ānum* ‘except my destroyer alone’.

25. The speaker is agreed to be a book, apparently a bible.

25.2–5. 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. *ġeondstrēd*. The emendation, one of several possibilities, is necessary because *ġeond* takes an accusative object, which cannot be *meċ*, as then *ġeond* would have to receive stress.

26.9. The *brerd* is the brim of the inkhorn. *bēantelge*. 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. *ġierede* shows loss of *w* before *i* in WGmc. *ʒarwid-* , with analogical extension of the root diphthong in OE from forms that retained *w*. *glivedon*. 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. wuldorġestëald ‘glorious habitations’ refers to the precious binding in which the manuscript resides. mãre 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 wëte ‘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. huðe. 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 hío 14.38.6 in reference to a beast already identified as male.

29.6. ġif hit swā meahte ‘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. fēhþpum 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 nōwer werum on āmonge sīo hæfde wæstum wundor-līcран ‘there was no creature anywhere in the company of men that had a more amazing form’. The emendation of manuscript on to nōwer 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. fēger. 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 cæole** is literally ‘from a ship’, possibly with ‘ship’ as a metaphor for any floating object.

33.5. **hilde tō sēwe** ‘in regard to battle at sea’. The manuscript reading **hilde tō sēne** ‘too slack in battle’ makes for strained sense in context and has often been emended. **sēwe** is a specifically Anglian and poetic (and therefore perhaps unfamiliar, to a WS scribe) dative of **sē**, and the similarity of **n** and **ƿ** (**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 mægða cynes þæs dēoræstan, þæt is dohtor mīn, ōacen 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 **ārist** 2, **hrisil** 7.

35.4. **hygéboncum 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 þrēða geþrēcu þrēd mē ne hlīmmed ‘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. **wyrdā crafte,** 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 **wyrd** 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 wečē 1 could be read as wečē ‘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 wise 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 -friþiende: see no. 14d in Appendix B, p. 120) is the mother cow; the wellan are her teats.

38.4. on gescéap ‘to (his) delight’ (?). þéotan refers to the sound of suckling.

38.7. ġif hē toþirsteð, 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 scop 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 nūd (n), one of asc (a), two of ac (a), and two of hagl (h). The characters can be rearranged to spell hana ‘cock’ and hæn ‘hen’. twēga ōþer ‘one of two’.

42.14. heortan, parallel to rǣdellan as object of hǣold, 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.
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45.2. þe ċene 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 wrēon ‘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 stēpeō 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 ċ hæt 5 lēodon ċ lēadan 9 eaxl- ċ eaxle dryhte ċ dryht nes ealle
15 ġeweorðod ċ geweor ċ ðode 17 bewriġen ċ be wrigene wealdendes ċ wealdes
20 sorgum ċ surgum 47 ānimug ċ nænimug 59 mid sorgum ċ mid
70 grēotende ċ reotende 71 stefn ċ syððan 77 ongyredon ċ gyredon
79 bealuwa ċ bealuwara 91 holt- ċ holm 117 anforht ċ unforht 142 mê ċ he

4. syllicre ‘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 ġegyrred, see the note on ġierede 14.26.13; likewise for Ongyrede 39, ongyredon 77; w is restored analogically in ġegyrwed 23.

19. earmra ārgehwin ‘ancient effort of wretches’, i.e. either the doings of Christ’s tormentors or the suffering of Christ and his disciples.

20. swētan 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. **bléom.** Uncontracted *bléoum* would improve the meter.

30. **féondas** (for LWS *fynd*) is an Anglianism.

31. **him** ‘for themselves’. **wergas** shows Anglian smoothing (WS *weargas*): see no. 12 in Appendix B.

34. Placed after its object **mê**, the preposition **on** receives stress, as shown by the alliteration.

36–7. The earth trembled at the crucifixion (Matthew 27:51).

40. **héanne** for EWS *héane* 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. **bûtû** is neuter, since Christ and the cross are different genders (*rôd 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’, *beddân* ‘warm’, *cnyssan* ‘knock’, *fremman* ‘do’, *gremman* ‘provoke’, *hrissan* ‘shake’, *lemman* ‘lame’, *syllan* ‘give’, *temman* ‘tame’, *trymman* ‘fortify’, and *wennan* ‘accustom’.

62. **strêlum** is used as a metaphor for ‘nails’.

63. **hêafdum** is a locatival dative singular, used only with **æt**. See Hogg & Fulk 2011: §2.17 n. 4.

69. **mâete weorode** ‘with small company’, i.e., by litotes, ‘alone’.

71–2. On sg. *stefn* with pl. **hilderinca**, see the note on **on hiora môde** 7.158.

73. **fiêger.** 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 **sârra sorga** depend, is likely a scribal substitution for Anglian *waerc* ‘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 cælu m, 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 þám worde.** The verse may be corrupt, since light verses (see Appendix C) normally occur only at the start of a clause. **cwîð** is syncopated, just as it is in Mercian, where other verbs are not generally syncopated. **geriht** 131 (**gerihted** 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 dām hālgum þam þe on heofonum ēr wunedon on wuldr* 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.

5. *ārēd* = Anglian *ārēded*, the form required by the meter. On *e caudata*, see the note on *āfēstan* 1.88.

14. **hordcofan** is used as a metaphor for ‘thoughts’.

17. **drēorigne**, which appears not to modify anything, is best understood as anticipating *mōdsefan* 19.

24. **waþema ñegbind** is a kenning for ‘sea’.

26. **hwær**. OE indefinites in *hw-* may contain their antecedents, hence ‘a place where’.

27. **mine 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. *ferō* 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 gedǣlde* ‘handed over to death’.

86. *burgwarā breahtrma lēase* ‘emptied of the clamor of inhabitants’.

88. *Sē* here probably means ‘he who’.

91. *ācwiū*. See the note on *cwyū* 15.111.

92. *Hwēr cwōm* ‘where is?’ or ‘what has become of?’.

98. *wyrmlicum fāh* probably denotes a Roman frieze or decorative design.

111. *Swā cwǣd snottr 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 at rūne* ‘apart in secret’, i.e. in solitude.

113. *nemþe* 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 ñe-, when word-initial, is disregarded in all parts of speech. Words that may or may not appear with this prefix are marked ±; 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 þ/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 ð-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, mni. 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 (ëo) 7 summon
abbod m. abbot
abbudisse f. abbess
ā-bēodan 2 declare, announce; invite, instruct, command
ā-bidan 1 (w. gen.) await, experience, survive
ā-bīgian II make busy, occupy
ā-blāwan (ë, ēo) 7 blow, throw
ā-blēndan 1 blind; pret. pl. āblēndan 10.30
ā-brecan 4 break, break into, storm, capture, destroy
ā-brēoðan 2 fall away
ābylg- = ābylg-
ac conj. but
āc m. (orig. fc.) oak; the rune ℥
ā-cennan 1 deliver (a child), bear, give birth to
ā-ċeorfan 3 carve, cut (off); pp. npn.
ācorfene 7.325
ā+cōlad adj. (pp.) frightened, cowed;
ġeāclad 11.57
ā-cōlān II grow cool; pp. ācōlād 13.118
ā-craeftan I contrive
ācsian = āscian
ā-cwelān 4 die off
ā-cwelān, pret. ācwealde I kill ($116); pp. ācwealde 1.55
ā-cwenċan I reveal
ā-cwenċan
ā-cwelan 5 utter, speak; pres. 3 sg. ācwīð 16.91
ā-cyðan I reveal
ā-cyðan
ā-dīliegan II destroy, devastate, wipe out
ādl fn. disease, infirmity
ā-dōn anom. (§134) take away
ā-drāedan (ē) 7 fear, dread, have fear
ā-drēogan 2 engage in, commit
ā-drīfan 1 drive (away); pret. pl. ādrīfan 1.42
ā-drīγan I dry, wipe dry; pret. 3 sg. ādrīγde 10.45
ā-dūn adv. down
ā-dwæscan I extinguish, obliterate
ā, āw fl. law, Scripture
āalā = ēalā
ā-ebbian II ebb; pp. āhebbad 3.157
ābylγnes(s) fjō. anger, offense
ābylγō f. outrage, injury
āfæst, āfest adj. pious, devout
āfæstnes(s), āfest- fjō. piety, religion
āfen(n) mnja. evening, eve; ds. āfen 5.22
āfen(s)cop m. ‘evening-poet’, twilight-singer
āfestid fl. eventide, evening
āfest mf. envy, spite; dp. āfestum 12.37, āfestum 12.43
āfestful(l) adj. full of envy
āfestig adj. envious
āfnung f. evening
āfre 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]
æfbanca, -bonca m. spite, disdain, envy, malice
ægħwār adv. everywhere, anywhere; āhwart 8.157, 9.3, 4, āwer 11.33
ægħwāders, āgħder conj., adj., pron. either, both, one; āgħwaðer (geh) . . . geh both . . . and; āgħber 7.158
ægħwanan adv. from everywhere
ægħwilc, āgħwylc pron. each; dsm. āgħwylcan 8.30
āgīelde, āgylde adj. uncompensated, without payment of wergild
āgðer = āgħwaðer
āgħwern adv. everywhere
āhft fi. (usu. pl.) possession
āłącz adj., pron. each, any, a single, every(one); dsm. ālcon 7.281, 291, dsf. ālczere 7.102
æld- = ield-
āelfylcē, el- nja. foreign nation
æll = eall
ælmesriht n. right (of the poor) to alms, charitable obligation; ālmes- 8.38
ālmihtig adj. almighty, omnipotent; dsm. ālmihtegum 2.18
±ām(e)tiyan II (often reflex.) release oneself, be at leisure; empty
āmēttagi adj. empty, vacant
ānend, ānɛnl- = ende, engl-
ānig adj., pron. any; nsf. ānēgu 7.217, 218
ænne, æode see ān, āgān
ær adv., conj., prep. w. dat. before,
earlier, ago; superl. ærest, ærost
first; ærpon (ðe) conj. before; on ær
adv. beforehand
ærcbishop, -biscop 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. geärneð
7.123
ærnemerġen(n) m. dawn, daybreak
æror compar. adv. earlier, before;
ærur 15.108
ærra compar. adj. former, earlier
ærwacol adj. early risen
æsc m. ash tree, spear (made of ash
wood); the rune ᚪ; gp. asca 16.99
æsc m. warship [ON askr]
*æscstede mi. ‘ash-place’, battlefield
(?)
æstel(l) m. pointer, bookmark
æswiċ m. deceit
æt prep.† at; from; toward, to; et 7.227
æt m. food, sustenance, fodder
æt-bregdan 3 carry off, snatch away,
deprive of
æt-éowan = æt-íewan
æt-foran prep. w. dat. before, in front of
æt-gæedere adv. together
æt-hléapan (éo) 7 escape, run away
(from, w. dat.)
æt-íewan, -ýwan, -éowan 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
*ætwela m. abundance of food, feast
æt-windan 3 escape, avoid
æt-ŷwan = æt-íewan
æðelboren adj. of noble birth, aristocra-
tic
æðelborenes(s) fjö. nobility (of birth
or nature)
æðele adj. noble, aristocratic, excellent,
splendid
æpelinge m. man of royal blood, prince,
chief, nobleman
æwbryče mi. adultery
á-fēran I frighten
á-faran 6 leave, go away
á-feallan (ēo) 7 decline
á-fēdan I feed, nourish
á-fyllan 1 fell, cut down,
break down, kill
á-fīrran 1 rid (of, w. dat.); inf. āfīrran
10.17
á-fiersian II remove, dispel
á-findan 3 find, discover; pp. nsn.
āfundan 6.212
á-flīeman, á-flīman 1 put to flight,
drive out, expel
á-fylan 1 defile, dirty
á-fyllan 1 fill
āfyllan see also āfiellan
á-fyrhtan I frighten; pp. āfyrhted
11.56, āfyrht 5.30, 6.178
ā-fýsan 1 whet, impel, drive, urge
ā-gēlan 1 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. npm. āgāne 3.151
ā-gangan, pret. āġēong 7 go (away), pass
āgen adj. own; āhgen 10.57
ā-giefan 5 give, deliver, give in return, restore; inf. āgifan 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. āġinnan 8.140
 āgof m. wob
ā-grāpian II grasp tightly
ā-hēawan (ēo) 7 cut down
āhebbad see ā-ebbian
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
āhwæðer, āþer adv., conj. either; āþer (oððe) . . . oððe either . . . or
āhwâr = ēghwâr
āhwonan, ōhwonan adv. from anywhere
ā-hyðan 1 plunder
ā-lēdan 1 lead away

aldor = ealdor
ā-leċgan 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, -lîsan I redeem, release; cede, give up; inf. ālēsan 7.140
ā-liesednes(s), ālîsednys(s) fjó. re-demption, deliverance

all(-) = eall(-)
ām m. reed or sly of a loom
ā-mærian 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. ānne, enne, ānne; asn. ān one and the same thing 6.76; būton pēm ānum, pē except for this only, that 7.253; dsm. ānan (= ānum) 5.30
āana 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) fjó. 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. andġietlēasa 6.155
andlyfen, andlifen f. sustenance, wages
±andswarian, ±ond- I answer, reply; pret. 3 sg. ondswared 1.98, ondsward 1.174, andsworode 10.64, pl. ondswaredon 1.179
andswaru, ond- f. reply, answer ±andweard, ±ond- adj. present
andweardnys(s) f.ö. presence andwlita m. face ±andwyrdan, ±ond- I answer, reply; respond
andwyrd 1.179
andfealdlīċe adv. imply anfēng, anfindan = onfēng, onfindan anforht adj. very frightened ānforlēteð 10.180; sj. 3 pres. sg. ānforlit 1.130
anga, onga m. goad, sting angan see also onginnan
angēan = ongēan angrislīc adj. grisly, terrible ānhaga m. reclus, solitary, loner; as. ānhogan 16.40
ānliċ adj. unique, beautiful anlicnys(s) f.ö. likeness, image ānlēp adv. private, individual, single
ānmōd adj. unanimous, universal ānnys(s) f.ö. unity ānliċe adv. becomingly, kindly
ānhaga m. recluse, solitary, loner; as. ānhogan 16.40 ānhag 1.179
āndfæst adj. honor-bound, honorable, virtuous ānforht adj. very frightened ānforlēteð 10.180; sj. 3 pres. sg. ānforlēte 1.130 ānstreces adv. continually ansund adj. whole, healthy, unscathed anw(e)ald(-) = onweald(-) ānwilnes(s) f.ö. obstinacy; as. ānwyl-
ysse 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-rēdan (e) 7 or i (pret. -rēdd)- interpret, guess, read, fix, determine; pp. ārēd 16.5 ā-rēfniān I endure ā-rēran I rear, raise, lift up; perform arlīc, arolīc adv. quickly, at once, promptly ā-recčan, pret. -re(a)hte I (§116) narrate, tell, interpret, translate ā-redian II make ready, devise, arrange ā-rēodian II reden, blush ā-rētan I cheer, gladden ārēst adj. honor-bound, honorable, virtuous ārēstnes(s) f.ö. virtue, honor, kindness ārēstnes(s) f.ö. virtue, honor, kindness ±ārian I be merciful to, show favor to ā-riht adv. correctly ā-riht I arise ārlēas adj. dishonorable, wicked, merciless, unforgiving ārlēasnes(s) f.ö. wickedness, cruelty, dishonor ārlīc adv. becomingly, kindly ārlīc adv. becomingly, kindly ānliċe adv. becomingly, kindly ārweorð, ārwurð adj. venerable, revered; nsm. ārwurðe 9.58, wk. ārwurða 10.23 ārweorðian, ārwurðian II revere, show honor to ārweorðlič, ārwurðlič adj. honorable, venerable, worthy of reverence ārweorðlič, ārwurðlič adj. honorable, venerable, worthy of reverence
ārweorðnes(s), ārwurðnys(s) fjō.
   honor, reverence
ā-sānian II flag, dim
asca = æsca
āscian, ācsian, āxian II ask; (+) discover, learn of; pret. 3 sg. āscade
   7.254, pl. ēgæcsedan 7.232, 313, 321
ā-scūfan 2 shove off, launch, float
ā-secēgan 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) fjō. sloth, laziness
ā-spendan I exhaust, use up, spend
ā-sprencde 6.211
ā-sprengan I cause to spring, fling; pret. 3 sg. āsprengde
ā-stellan, pret. āstealde I (§116) ordain, establish
ā-stieran, ā-styrān I guide, direct
ā-stigan I climb, ascend; pret. 3 sg. āstāh 11.188, āstāg 12.58, 15.103
ā-strecčan, 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
āp m. oath
āōbryce mi. breach of oath, perjury;
ap. -bricas 8.115
ā-þenčan I devise
ā-þennan I stretch out
āþer = āhwæðer
āþum m. (prospective) son-in-law
ā-bwean 6 wash (off)
ā-wacan 6 awake, arise
ā-weaxan (ō, ēo) 6, 7 grow up, mature, ripen
ā-weččan, 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; āwēg 6.148
ā-wendan I change, turn, render, turn aside, avert
ā-weorpan, āwurpan 3 cast aside,
   throw down
āwer = ēghwær
ā-wēstan 1 lay waste, ravage; pret. pl. āwēstan 7.146, -on 7.198
ā-wiergān I (ac)urse; pp. nsf. āwirg-ede 10.42
āwiht, āht ni. aught, anything; tō āhte
   at all
° ā-wrecan 5 utter, recite
ā-writan I 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 [be-
   æftan]
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  
Beadonisċ adj. pertaining to Mt. Badon  
°beadoweorc n. martial deed, military accomplishment  
°beadu fwō. battle, fight  
°beadurinċ m. ‘battle-man’, fighter  
°beadurōf adj. ‘battle-vigorous’, valiant  
°beaduþrēat m. ‘battle-throng’, army  
be-æftan adv., prep. w. dat. (left) behind, remaining  
°bēag m. ring, band, bracelet, collar, ornament  
bēag see also bügan  
°bēagġifa 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  
°bēamtielģ mi. ‘tree-dye’, ink; ds. -telģ 14.26.9  
bearh see beorgan  
bearn n. child, descendant  
bearnmyrōra m. or bearnmyrōre f. child-killer, infanticide; np. bear

mymyrdan 8.136  
bearu mwa. grove, wood  
±bēatan (ēo) 7 beat  
be-béōdan 2 command, commend (w. acc., dat.); 1 sg. pres. bebiode 2.20, 69; pret. 3 sg. bībēad 1.163  
be-biddan 5 ask, request  
be-bod n. command, directive  
be-byrgān I bury, inter; pret. 3 sg. be-byriġde 6.195  
be-byriġnys(s) fjō. burial  
bēc see bōc  
°be-čēowan 2 chew away, gnaw to pieces; pp. biccowen 13.105  
bēcn- see biec

n. prayer; ap. ġebedo 5.27  
be-đēlan, bi- II deprive, separate  
bed(d) nja. bed, plot  
be-delfan 3 bury  
be-dīeġlian 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-fēolān 3 (§132) apply, devote, dedicate  
be-fōn 7 seize on; encompass, comprehend, contain; befōn on have to do
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

be-ġeondan prep. w. dat.
beyond, on
the other side of;
beġịondan 2.16

be-ġēotan 2 cover, suffuse, drench;
pp. begoten 15.7, 49

be-ġietan 5 obtain, acquire;
inf. be-ġitan 6.8, pret. pl. beġēton 3.128

be- grindan (w. dat.) grind away
be-γyrdan 1 gird

be- hātan (ē) 7 promise, threaten
be-hēafdian II behead

be- hētad (ēo) 7 see, observe, look at,
examine; inf. behaldan 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- hlyþed adj. (pp.) robbed, stripped
(?) laid on its side (?)

be-hōfi an II have need (of, w. gen.)

be-hrēosan 2 cover (?); topple (?);
pp. np. bihrorene 16.77

be-hȳdan 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

be-lifan 1 remain, be left over

be-limp an 3 belong, be appropriate;
pres. 3 sg. belimpeð 7.94; pret. pl. belumping 1.76

be-lūcan 2 enclose, lock up

be-murcnian II complain, lament

bēn fi. prayer, request

be-naēman 1 deprive (of, w. gen.)

bend mja. bond, chain, fetter

be-neođan 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

be-n(n) fjō. wound

±bennian II wound; pp. ġebennad 14.5.2

bēod m. table, bowl, dish

±bēodan 2 offer; command, enjoin, urge

bēon, wæs, wēron anom. (§52) be,
exist; inf. bion 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;
pres. 3 sg. nes 6.204, naes 4.46, 6.212, 7.271, etc., pl. wēran 6.172, 8.8, 162, etc., naeran 2.30, 3.143; fut.
and consue. 1 & 3 sg. be 6.45, 64, 65, etc. (also 1 sg. beōm 14.7.8,
14.16.4, 14.23.4, etc.); sj. pres. sg. sie 2.18, 73, 14.31.24, etc., sý 4.14, 6.43, 234, etc., sēo 5.12, sī 15.144, pl. sien 2.50, 54, 71, etc., fut. and consue. sg. beō 6.45, 79, 112, pl. bēon 4.19,
pres. sg. nāre 5.67, 10.67, 11.171, pl.
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wæron 1.65, wæran 13.72, nære 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
°beorghlīþ n. mountain slope; dp.
-heofum 14.27.2
beorht adj. bright; adv. beorhte
beorhtnes(s) fjo. brightness, brilliance
beorn m. (orig. mu.) man
±bēorsċipe mi. banquet, feast; ds.
-scype 6.96
bēot n. vow, boast
bēotung f. threat
be-pæcān, pret. be-pæhte 1 (§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. berendas pregnant 7.299
be-rēafian, bi- II rob, deprive, strip
be-reafiend mc. robber, depriver, plunderer
beren(n) adj. made of bearskin
be-reōfān 2 deprive, rob (of, w. dat.);
pp. np. birofene 14.13.7
°be-rīfān, -rīfān 1 deprive, dispossess (of, w. gen.)
be-rōwan (čo) 7 row past
±berstan 3 burst, break; escape
be-rīpan 1 despoil (of), strip, deprive, rob
be-scierian 1 deprive, cut off; pp. asm. bescyredne 12.8
be-sēon 5 (§132) look
be-sierwan, -syrwan 1 ensnare, de-fraud
be-sincan 3 (trans.) sink, submerge
be-sittan 5 surround, besiege
°be-slītan 1 slit, tear, separate (from, w. dat.)
be-sītan 5 defile, soil, dishonor
°be-snyþpan 1 rob, deprive (of, w. dat.)
be-sorgian II regret, rue, have sorrow over
be-spēcan 5 talk about (it)
be-stelān, bi- 4 move stealthily, steal (upon); deprive
°be-stīemān 1 suffuse, bespatter; pp. bestēmed 15.22, 48
be-stripan 1 strip, plunder; pp. apn. bestrýpte 8.32
be-styrman 1 agitate, wrack with storms
be-swīcan 1 betray, deceive, overcome by stratagem
be-swicān 3 produce by labor
°be-swillān, -swyllān 1 wash, drench
besyrw- see besierwan
bet adv. (compar. of wel) better; superl. betst
be-tēcān, pret. betēhte, betāhte 1 ($116) entrust, hand over (to), ap-point, reserve
±bētan 1 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-twēōnān, be-twēōnum, bi- prep. w. dat. between, among
be-twih, be-twŷh, be-t(ω)uh prep. w. dat. between, among
be-twux, be-tweox, be-twyx prep. w. dat., acc. between, among, within
be-tŷnan 1 close
be-þeċcan, pret. beþehte 1 (§116) cover, wrap
be-þenċan 1 (often reflex.) consider, reflect (on), call to mind, think (of; often w. gen.)
*be-þennan 1 stretch upon or over, cover
*be-þringan 3 beset, oppress
be-þyddan 1 thrust; pret. pl. beþyddan 7.289
be-wæfan 1 wrap, clothe
*be-wāwan (ēo) 7 blow against, beat; np. biwāune 16.76
be-wendan 1 (often reflex.) turn (around)
be-werian 1 defend, protect
be-windan 3 wrap
be-witiġan II observe, attend to
be-wrēon 1 (§132) conceal, cover; pret. 1 sg. bewrāh 16.23; pp. bewriġen 15.53, asf. bewriġene 14.42.14
be-wyrčan, pret. beworhte 1 (§116) work, construct, make
bi adv. by it, from it, on the basis of it
bi-, bǐ, bǐcģ-, bǐcn- = be-, be, bycģ-, bǐecn-
±bidan 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)
±bicnan, ±bicnan, 1 indicate, reveal, signify; pres. pl. bečnap 14.24.10
±bieġan, ±bǐgan 1 cause to bend, compel to submit, abase; commit (oneself)
*±bieldan 1 embolden, encourage, hearten
bieme, bǐyme f. trumpet
±bierian, ±byrian 1 taste; pret. 3 sg. byriģde 15.101
°+bierman, +byrman 1 ferment, leaven, swell up
bifian 1 tremble, shake, quake; act. part. byuĩgende 6.174
bǐgan see bieģan, bǔgan
bigęṅ(e)ja m. inhabitant, cultivator, worshiper; ap. bigęṅčgaš 6.55
bihō see bieģan, bǔgan
bileofa m. sustenance, support; as. bigleafan 4.4, bigleofan 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 (trans.) burn
bisc(e)op, biscēp m. bishop
bisc(e)ophād m. episcopate, office of bishop
bisc(e)oprīče n. bishopric, episcopal diocese
bisc(e)opstōl, biscēpstōl m. cathedra, episcopal see, bishopric
bismor, bismer, bysmor n. disgrace; tō bysmore disgracefully; gp. bysmara 8.12
bismorf(u)l, bismer-, bysmor- adj. disgraceful, shameful
±bitan 1 bite, pierce
bit(t)er adj. bitter, cutting, cruel; adv. bitere
bitw- = betw-
blāc adj. bright, brilliant
blācern n. lamp, light
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blācernliōht n. lamplight
blæc adj. black; npp. blacum 14.51.3, dp. blacum 14.10.7
"blēd m. vital spirit, joy, glory; gp. blēdum 15.149
blētan 1 beat
±blædan (ēo) 7 blend, mix; pp. ġe-blonden 14.23.8
"blēd n. shoot, leaf, foliage
blēd see also blæd
"blæcan 1 deceive, cheat
blēo nja. color, appearance, form; dp. blēom 15.22
±blētsian II consecrate, bless, make a sign of blessing
"blēcan 1 gleam
blind adj. blind (to, w. gen.), dark
blindliēce adv. blindly, ignorantly
blis fjo. merriment, merrymaking, enjoyment, happiness; ds. blysse 6.117
±blēssian II exult, rejoice
±blīde adj. cheerful, in good spirits, well-disposed; adv. blīde, blīdelīce
"blōsemōd adj. contented
blōd n. blood
blōdgyte mi. bloodshed
blond- = bland-
±blōwan (ēo) 7 blossom, flourish
bōc, pl. bēc fc. book; ns. booc 1.139
bōccest f. book chest
bōccraft m. study of books, learning, scholarship
bōcere mja. scholar
bōclic 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
bōgan 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
"bordhreōa 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 bōgan
brād adj. broad, wide; compar. nsn. wk. brādre 7.54, brādre 7.55
+bræc n. crash; ġebrec 11.114
±brādan I spread
brēac see brūcan
breah(e)m m. cry, clamor
+brec = +bræc
±brecan 4 break, transgress (against); pres. 3 sg. brīcēd 14.38.6; pret. pl. brēcan 8.43, 160, brēcan 11.122
"breodian II cry out (?)
brēost n. (usu. pl.) breast
"brēostcofa m. recesses of the breast
"brēostsefa m. spirit, mind, temperament
±brēowan 2 brew
brerd m. brim
brīcē, brīcēd, brīcġ see bryčē, brecan, bryčġ
"brim n. ocean
"brimfugol m. sea bird
±brīgan, ±brenġan, pret. ±brōhte 3, 1 (§116) bring; pres. 3 sg. ġebringeōd 8.128; pp. brungen 14.21.7, 14.27.2
±broc n. affliction, adversity
±brūcan 2 (w. gen.) use, enjoy, possess, experience
brūn adj. brown, bright
bryċe mi. breach, fracture, infringe -ment, offense
bryċe ni. use, enjoyment; ds. briċe 9.20
bryċe ni. (orig. fi.) breach, fracture, infringe -ment, offense
bryċe ni. use, enjoyment; ds. briċe 9.20
bryċe ni. (orig. fi.) breach, fracture, infringe -ment, offense
brycēni. (often pl.) birth, lineage, social rank, class
byrdtīd fi. time of birth
byrst mi. loss, calamity
byrīg- see also bierian
+byrman see +bierman
byrnan, be(o)rnan 3 burn (intrans.)
*býrnwiga m. fighter in mail, armed warrior
byrīst mi. loss, calamity
byrdtīd = byrðtīd
byrð see beran, byrian
býsn, býsen f. example
bysmor- = bismor-
+bytlu np. complex of buildings, fine estate
byuiġ- = bifi-
cæge f. key
caf adj. strenuous, bold
cald = céald
±camp m. combat, battle
±campian, compian ii do battle, fight;
pret. pl. compedon 1.15
°campwudu mu. ‘battle-wood’, shield
canon m. canon, rule
carcern n. prison
caru, cearu, cearo f. care, trouble, sorrow;
as. cæare 16.9
cāserdōm m. reign as emperor, imperium, empyry
cāsere, kāsere mja. emperor, Caesar
ceaf adj. strenuous, bold
±cald = cæald
°caldan 13.15
calw m. cattle; purchase, bargain; ġe-
mænum čæape as a joint purchase
8.70
±céapan ii buy, purchase, pay for
(with, w. dat. or instr.)
čearu, cearo see caru
čearful(l) adj. full of care
čēas f. strife, contention
čēaster f. town, city
čēaster(ġe)waru f. resident of a town, citizen
čēgan = čiegan
čēling f. ability to cool, coolness; as. cēlinge 6.24
±cennan i ($114) conceive, give birth
(to); pret. pl. cendon 7.169
°čēol m. ship
čēorfan f. axe; dp. -æxsum 7.325
±čeorfan 3 carve, cut
čēorl m. peasant; man, husband
±čeōsan 2 (w. acc. or gen.) choose;
pret. pl. ġecuran 9.72; sj. pret. sg. ġecure 6.60, pp. nsn. ġecoren 1.121
±čeōwan 2 chew
±čiegan i call, summon; pret. pl. sj.
(że)čygdon 1.5, 40, pp. ľečyged 6.1, 10
čiele, čyle mi. cold, chill, coolness, frost
čierlisč, čirlišč, čorlisč adj. common, low-born
čierm, čirm mi. cry, shouting, outcry
čierre mi. turn, occasion; ds. čirre
3.146, 7.6
±čierran, čyrran i turn, turn aside;
pret. pl. tōgædere ġečirdon banded
together 7.164
čīg- see čieγ-
čild ns. child
čildhād m. childhood; čyld- 6.184
čir- see also čier-
čiricé, čyrče f. church; as. čyrčan 5.48,
gs. 5.28, ds. čyrčan 5.36, 43
čirichata, čyrič- m. persecutor of the Church
čiricweard m. church-warden, sexton;
as. čyrčward 5.22, 26
Čirinisc adj. Cyrenaican, pertaining to Cyrene
čirm = čierm
čirre see ċierr
clēne adj. clean, pure; adv. clēne
fully, completely
±clēnsian ii cleanse, purify
°clam(m) m. bond, fetter, fastening
clawu fwō. claw, instrument of torture
cleof-, cleop- = clif-, clip-
cleric m. clergyman (secular, as opposed to a monk)
clif n. cliff, rock; dp. cleofum 1.59 (see §119)
clipian, clypian, cleopian ii cry out,
call, summon, utter
clūdīg adj. stony
clumian II keep the mouth shut; pret. pl. clumedan 8.153
clüler n. confinement
°clynnan I resound, ring
cylian = clipian
±clyppan I embrace, welcome
cnáwan (ē, ēo) 7 know, understand, recognize
±cnēo(w) nwa. knee; as. cnēo 16.42
±cnéo(w) II kneel
cneordnes(s) f. accomplishment
±cnεiğ adj. mighty, powerful; nsm.wk. craftega 7.205
Cřečisć n. the Greek language
°cring, gring m. (?) fall, slaughter
°±cringan, ±gringan 3 succumb

christen adj. Christian; npf. cristnæ 2.47
christendóm m. Christianity, Christendom; cristenan- 10.13
crűc m. cross
cuma m. stranger, guest
cuman (c(w)ōm, c(w)ōmon, cumen) 4 come; 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. cūde 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 čeōsan
curfon see čeorfan
cwealmb®re adj. murderous, deadly, bloodthirsty
cwēn fi. queen, princess, woman
cwene f. woman
cweðan 5 say, state; pres. 3 sg. cwþō
15.111; pret. pl. cwēdan 8.114; imp. sg. cwæð 6.57
cwíc, cwico adj. (u-stem) living, alive; gp. cwicra 16.9
cwide mi. saying, statement, speech, remark, observation, np. cwide
12.20
*cwideġied(d) nja. saying, utterance, remark
cweld, cwild mi. pestilence, disease
cwielman, cwylman 1 afflict, destroy, kill
*cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
cwið, cwild, cwielman, cwylman mi. pestilence, disease
cwiðan I bewail, lament
cwið, cwielman I afflict, destroy, kill
cwīða = cwiðan
12.20
°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
cwið, cwielman, cwylman mi. pestilence, disease
cwiðan I bewail, lament
cwīða = cwiðan
12.20
°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
cwīða = cwiðan
12.20
°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
cwīða = cwiðan
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°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
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°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
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°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
cwīða = cwiðan
12.20
°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament
cwīða = cwiðan
12.20
°cwiðan 1 bewail, lament

dæɡ, pl. dagas m. day; gs. dæɡes by day; gp. dagana 11.193, dp. dagan 7.77, as adv. dagum by day 14.5.14
daģhwâmlîc adv. daily, every day
°dæɡrim n. count of days, lifetime
°dæɡweorc n. day’s work
dǣl mi. portion, share, part, region, extent; be ðenigum dǣle to any extent
±dǣlan 1 divide, distribute, pay out; be at odds
±dæfaniâ n (impers. w. dat.) befit; pret. 3 sg. ġedeofanade 1.87
+dæfanič adj. suitable, appropriate
±dâl n. division, difference, separation, quarreling
°daroðæsč n. spear with shaft of ash
°daroðlācend, deareð-mc. ‘spear-tosser’, soldier
dǣad adj. dead
dǣaf adj. deaf
dǣaf see also dūfan
dēagol = diegol
deal(l) adj. proud
dear see durran
dæreð- = daroð-
dearnunga adv. secretly, stealthily
dēað m. death
°dēaðdæɡ m. final day
°dēaðsleɡe mi. mortal blow
dēaw mwa. dew
dēgel- = diegol-
dēma m. judge
±dēman 1 judge, consider
dene mi. valley
Denišč adj. Danish; gp. Deniscena 3.161
deofan- see dafanič
dēofolič adj. diabolical, fiendish; asn. dēoflič 6.89
dēofol m., n. devil, demon, fiend; apn. dēofla 4.13
dēofolġield n. heathen worship; -ġeld 7.253
dēop n. channel, deep part of the estuary
dēope adv. profoundly
dēopic adj. profound
dēor adj. bold
dēor n. animal, beast, creature
dēorc adj. dark; dp. deorcan 15.46
dēorwierðe adj. precious, costly
derian I damage, injure, cause damage (to)
deriġendlīč adj. injurious, harmful
dihtan see diegol
dihtnere mja. steward
*dīm(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
dōmdæɡ m. Judgment Day
*dōmgeorn adj. eager for praise
*dōmwærðung f. glory, renown
±dōn anom. (§134) place, put, position, take; make, cause; do, act, present; lead (a life); wīþ dōn treat; pres. pl. dō 13.93 ($79); pret. pl. (ġ)e)dydan 7.230, 8.15; pret. pl. ġedydon arrived 3.69, 87, 110, etc.
dorst-, draht see durran, drečcan
drāf f. drove, band
°+drēag n. host, tumult
drēam m. gladness, delight
±drečcan, pret. dre(a)hte I ($116) afflict, oppress; pret. pl. ġedrehtan 8.47, pp. ġedræht 5.5
±drēfan I disturb, trouble, distress
±drēfednes(s) fjō. distress, emotional turmoil
drenc mi. drowning
°±drēogan 2 perform, do, be engaged in, persist; endure, suffer; pres. 3 sg. driðo 10.55
drēoriġ adj. bloody, cruel, dreary
°drēoriģhlēor adj. ‘sorrowful-cheeked’, sad-faced
°±drēosan 2 perish, fail, decline
±drīfan I drive
drīgō see drēogan
drīhten, drinc = 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) fjō. drunkenness
°druncmennen(n) fjō. ‘drink-maid servant’, slave assigned to
duties associated with the dispensing of drink, dishwasher ()
dryge adj. dry; on drygum 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, ±drink mi. drink, drinking
±dufan 2 dive, plunge; pret. pl. dufan 11.122
dugan, pret. dohte pret.-pres. (§123) avail, be of use, thrive, be well
dugup f. excellent quality, nobility, virtue, strength, power, host; as dugebe 8.149
dumb adj. dumb, without speech
dün f. mountain, hill
durran, pret. dorste pret.-pres. (§123) dare, venture
duru fu. door; ds. duru 5.28, dure 7.276
düst n. powder, dust
dwæs adj. stupid, ignorant; dp. as sb. dwæsan 8.131
±dwhelian II go astray, be in error; lead astray, delude
±dwi(e)ld, ±dwylld nja. folly, delusion, error
±dwola m. heresy, error, folly
+dwolgod m. false god, idol; dp. dwolgoden 8.23
±dwolliče adv. ignorantly, foolishly
dwylld = dwield
dyd- see dön
±dyfan I immerse, plunge
dygan see diegan
°dynian I, II resound; pret. 3 sg. dynede 11.50
dynt mi. blow
dyr- = dier-
±dyrstič adj. bold, presumptuous
dysiģ adj. foolish; as sb. fool; asm. dysine 10.167
dysiģ n. foolishness, error
dysiče adv. foolishly
èa fc. river; as. èa 7.17, gs. è 3.76, 79, èas 3.116, 7.19, ds. èæ 3.114, èa 7.18, ie 7.147, 258
eac adv. also, in addition, too
eac prep. w. dat. in addition to
eaca m. addition, reinforcement, increase
eacen adj. (pp.) increased, enlarged, endowed, mighty, pregnant
±èacniàn II increase, be enlarged; be pregnant, bear a child
°eàd n. prosperity, good fortune, well-being, contentment
eadiģ adj. blessed, saintly
eage n.wk. eye
ealta num. eight; ehtuwe 14.36.4
ehatatig num. eighty
eahoða, eahteða num. eighth
èalā interj. alas, oh; èala 10.176
ealand, ięgląnd n. island; ns. ęglonì 10. 88, as. įglanì 3.101, gs. ėlonìes 1.13, ds. ėglanìe 9.31, 36, ėlonìe 10.4, np. ėglanì 7.71, 84, gp. ėglanìda 7.82
ealað see ealu
eald adj. old, ancient; comp. ieldra
°ealdgewrht fi. deed of old
ealdhāford m. hereditary lord, dynast
ealdhāfordcyn(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) birnende adj. all-consuming
eallinga, eallunga adv. completely, exclusively
eallnīewe adj. entirely new; dsf. eall-niwere 6.196
eal(l)swayne adv., conj. just as
ealnum, ealo nc. ale; gs. ealað 7.133
éam m. maternal uncle
erd m(u). (native) country, region, land
*éardgeard m. enclosed plot of ground, settlement, region
*éardstapa m. wanderer
erdungstow f. settlement, dwelling place, residence
éare n.wk. ear
earfoðe adj. hard, difficult
earfoþe nja. hardship, trouble; gp. earfeþa 16.6
earfoðlīc adj. difficult, full of hardship; adv. -liće with difficulty, impatiently
erg adj. unmanly, cowardly
*earhfaru f. flight of arrows
earhlič adj. cowardly, timid, shameful
erm adj. poor, wretched, miserable
erm m. arm; ds. earmaē 5.45
*earmčeariğ adj. miserably sad, sorely distressed
erming m. wretch; -ingc 6.93
ermlič adj. low, pitiable, wretched; adv. -liće
erm m. eagle
*éarnian II (w. gen.) earn, merit; inf. ernian 8.13; pret. pl. ėgearning 8.14
*éarnung f. merit, accomplishment; dp. earnungan 8.14, 15
erat see bèon
cast adv. eastward, to the east
castan adv. from the east; be ēastan to the east of (w. dat.); wið ēastan to the east
castdæl m. eastern region, the East
castende mja. east end
casteweard adj. eastern
casteweard(es) adv. eastward, in the east
casthealf f. east side
castlang adj. extending to the east
castnorðerne adj. (coming from the) northeast
castrēam, ēg- m. river current, streaming river
castrīče nja. eastern kingdom
castrīhte adv. to the east, in an easterly direction; -ryhte 7.11
castsæ mfi. east sea
cæpe, caðeliče adv. easily, readily; compar. čð
cæðmōd adj. humble; adv. -liće
caw- see iew-
caxl f. shoulder
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°easlēspan(n) n. ‘shoulder-yoke’, i.e. either cross-beam or intersection (i.e., cross)
°eašlēstealla m. ‘shoulder-companion’, comrade
Ebrēisġēođode nja. the Hebrew language
ēce adj. eternal, everlasting; ds. ēcere 6.234
ēcg fjō. edge, blade, weapon
+edbyrdan I regenerate, revivify, bring back to life
eder, edor m. enclosure, settlement, residence
edlēan n. reward, recompense
+edlēcan, I renew, repeat; pres. 2 sg. ġeedlēcst 6.71
+ednīvian II renew
±edsta ödian II reestablish, restore;
pret. 3 sg. ġeedsta ödodelode 6.159, pp. ġeedsta ödodelod 6.143
edwīt n. disgrace, abuse
efenēhð f. direction (?)
±efenlēcan 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
ēge ni. awe, fear, terror
°eg(e)sa m. fear, terror, awe, reverence
eg(e)siga(g)an II threaten, terrify
eğesful(l) adj. awe-inspiring, intimidating
egeslič adj. terrible, dire, frightful
ēgiptisč adj. Egyptian
ēglond, ēgstrēam = ēland, ēastrēam
ēhtan I pursue, harass
ēhtere mja. persecutor
ēhtnys(s) fjō. persecutor
ēhtuwe = eahta
elcung f. delay
eldrā = ieldra
ele mni. oil
°ellen n. valor, determination; is. elne 15.34, 60, 16.114
ellenwōðnis(s) fjō. fury, indignation
elles adv., pron. (indecl.) otherwise, else, besides; anything else
efn f. forearm, ell (about two feet)
elpēnd m. elephant; as. elpent 7.262,
dp. elpendon 7.267
elpēd f. foreign nation
elpēdiğ adj. foreign, alien, exiled
emb(e) = ymb(e)
emnlange, efn- prep. w. dat. alongside
em(n)sāriğ, 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
ēngel m. angel; enčgel 6.197, 203, ap. ānglas 6.86
°ençeldryht fl. host of angels
Englisč adj. English
Englisč n. the English language
Englisčgereord n. the English language
enlefan, endlefan num. eleven
enne see ān
ent mi. giant
ēode, ēodon see ēan
eodorcian II ruminate, chew the cud;
act. part. nsn. eodorcende 1.135
*eofurcumbol n. boar-banner, ensign
eom see bēon
*eoredcīest f. mounted company,
cavalry; dp. -cestum 11.36
*eorl m. nobleman, earl, officer; (in
poetry) man, warrior
eornost f. earnest
*eorōbūend mc. earthling, human
corpe f. ground, soil
*eorōfæt n. earthly vessel, body
corōscraf n. cavern, sepulcher
corōstyrung f. earthquake
*eorōweg m. earthly way
cōw see ĝē
cōwer adj., pron. your, yours (pl.); as.
iōwre 7.209, gs. ēoweres 7.211, gp.
iowra 7.210
erian 1 till, plough
ernian = earnian
esne mja. laborer, workman
est mfi. delicacy, favor, grace, bounty
et = aē
±etan (pret. āt) 5 eat
ettan 1 graze, use as pasture
cō see ēāpe
*cōdel m. (native) country, territory,
(dry) land
*cēpelweard m. custodian of the
country, leader
cōnes(s) fjo. ease, comfort
cōring f. amelioration [cf. ēāpe]

fāc(e)n n. crime, treachery, evil
fāc(e)nful(l) adj. deceitful, crafty,
treacherous

fāc(e)nsearū nwa. treacherous device,
malicious wiles
+fadian II arrange, conduct
fāc n. while, interval, period of time
fāder mc. ($82) father
fāderliċ adj. paternal, fatherly
*fēge adj. doomed
fēgen adj. glad, cheerful
fēger adj. beautiful, fine, pleasing,
elegant, admirable; nsn. fēger
14.31.17, 15.73; adv. fēg(e)re
fēgernes(s) fjō. beauty
+fēgnian II rejoice
*fēhō(o) f. feud, enmity, vendetta
*fāele adj. true, good
fēmne f. virgin, unmarried woman;
gs. fēmnan 6.25, 228
+fēr n. movement, expedition, pas-
sage, journey
fēre see also fāru
fāreld n. track, course
fāreď see faran
fēringa adv. suddenly; fēringa 5.28
fērliċ adj. sudden, unexpected, quick,
rapid; adv. -līċe
fērrēdenne see fērrēden(n)
fāst adj. fixed, secure, bound, made
fast
+fēstān 1 fast
fāste 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
+fēstnian II affix, apply, inflict
fāstnung f. stability
fāstrēď adj. determined, firmly fixed,
resolute
fæted adj. (pp.) flattened, made into plate or foil
fætel n. vessel
fætt(t) adj. fat, fattened
fæðm m. protection, embrace, bosom, lap; interior
fæg, fæh adj. stained, painted, decorated, laden
fæðm n. vessel
fæt(t) adj. fat, fattened
fæld, falod m. cattle- pen, fold
fana m. banner, pennon
fandian II try, attempt, test, find out
fang see fōn
faru, acc. fære f. way, journey, motion, passage
féa adj., pron. (nom. pl. féaw, féawe) (a) few; np. féa 11.174, 15.115
+fėa m.wk. joy, happiness
+fēah see +fēon
feala = fela
+fealdan (ēo) 7 fold; pret. pl. féoldan 14.26.7
feall see féolan
+feallan (ēo) 7 fall, fail, penetrate; pres. 3 sg. fylō 7.74; pret. 3 sg. féol 6.170, 10.153, 14.29.12, pl. féollan 1.50
+fealu adj. (wa-stem) fallow (i.e. desolate); apm. fealwe 16.46
feccan see fetian
+fédan 1 feed, nourish; pres. 3 sg. fédeð 9.19
+feč(e)an 1 compose, fix, confine, wedge
fela pron. (indecl., w. gen.), adj. (indecl.) many, much; feala 15.50, 125, 131
+fēlan 1 (w. gen.) feel, perceive
+fēlawlanc adj. very stately
feld mu. field, open country, battle-field; ds. felde 5.7
feldgængende 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. feōp 12.36
fēoh, ds. fēo n. (§133) ox, cow, beast; property, money, capital, thing of value
+fēohgīfre adj. greedy for wealth, avaricious, acquisitive
fēohlēas adj. without property
+fēohht n. fighting, warfare, battle
+fēohtan 3 fight
feohte f. = feohht
+fēolan 3 (§131; reflex. w. dat.) betake (oneself), remove; pret. 3 sg. gefeall 5.30
+fēon 5 (§132) rejoice (in, w. gen.), be glad; pret. 3 sg. gefeah 11.110; act. part. gefēonde 1.164, 11.174
fēond mc. enemy, adversary, fiend, devil; np. fynd 4.18, féondas 15.30, 33, ap. fynd 4.9, 11, 43, etc., féondas 15.38
+fēondsceāda m. enemy marauder
+fōrbehalo nwa. 'life-harm’, noxious thing
+fōrholc, fōr- n. 'soul-hall’, body
fēorm f. profit, benefit
feor(r) adj., adv. far (from, w. dat.);
    from far back; superl. fi(e)r
feorran adv. at a distance, afar, from far
féos, féoþ see feoh, féogan
féower num. four
féowertiğ num. forty
féowertiene, -týne num. fourteen
+fêra m. companion, comrade, associate
féran I (may be reflex.) go, depart,
    come, move, journey; sj. pret. pl.
férdon 4.33
*ferhð mn. life, spirit, mind; ns. ferð
    16.54; ds. ferþe 14.26.21, 16.90
*ferhðôfriþiende adj. (act. part.) life-preserving; as sb. ns. ferðôfriþende
    14.38.3
*ferhðôloca m. ‘spirit-enclosure’, breast, thoughts, feelings; ferð- 16.13, 33
*ferhðôsefa m. spirit, mind; fyrhð- 11.98
±ferrâðed(n) fjô. company, fellowship; ds. -râðedene 5.16
fers n. verse
fersc adj. freshwater
ferp(-) = ferhp(-)
fês- = féys-
feter f. fetter, shackle, restraint
±feti(g)an, fečcan (pret. fetode, fette)
    I, II, III fetch, bring; pret. pl. ġe-
fetedon 3.121
féþa m. foot soldier, infantryman
*féþeþegeorn adj. anxious to go
féðer f. feather, wing; np. féðre
    14.27.4, ap. féþra 16.47, gp. féðra
    7.46, dp. féðrum 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.
fyrdhwate 11.21
±fierdian II campaign; pret. pl. fyrd-
edon 9.50
fierdlēas adj. without a defensive force, undefended
*fierdlēoð n. battle-song
*fierdsceorp, fyrð- n. ‘campaign-equipment’, war gear
fierrest see feor(r)
fiþ num. five
*fiþel n. giant
fiþta num. fifth
fiþtiene, -týne num. fifteenth, -tene
    7.149
fiþtig num. fifty
±findan (also wk. pret. funde) 3 find,
    recover, devise, arrange; pres. 2 sg.
    findeð 11.84, 3 sg. fiþte 6.116,
    findeð 7.130; pret. 1 sg. fond 10.165
finger m. finger
*fiþta m. tail; consequence, result
fiorm = feorm
*firas mp. humans, souls [cf. feorh]
fird(-) = fird(-)
firenful(l) adj. sinful, wicked
±firenian II revile
firenlust m. sinful desire
*firþenstrêam m. mountainous
    stream, ocean current
fierrest see feor
first, fyrst m. (period of) time, interval
fisċ m. fish
fisċere mja. fisherman
fisċ(n)oð m. fishing; ds. fisċape 7.5
fiþere nja. wing; ap. fiþbru 14.36.7
flæsc ni. meat, flesh
flæschord n. ‘flesh-treasure’, soul
flæsclíč adj. fleshly, corporeal
flán m. arrow
fléag, fléah see fléogan and fléon
fléam m. flight, retreat
fléogan 2 fly
±fléon 2 (§132) flee, escape, fly
fléotan 2 float, drift
flet(t) nja. floor (of a hall)
flex n. flax
±flīeman, ±flȳman I put to flight
flies, flys ni. fleece
flīepil = flyģepīl
floc(c) m. company, group
florcād f. mounted company
flōd m(u). flood, rising tide, water
°flīes, flȳs ni. flee
fliġepīl = flyģepīl
flotman(n) mc. sailor, pirate
°flīes, flȳs ni. flee
flōfīlam = flymīlam
flōdweģ m. way across the flood, course at sea
flor f(u). floor; as. flōr 6.166, flōre
10.153, gs. flōre 5.32
°flōdis, flȳdis ni. fleece
flōfīepil = flyģepīl
flōfīeman, flīes see flēon, flīeman, flies
°flyģepīl, flyģe- m. ‘flying spike’, missile, arrow, javelin
foca m. cake (baked on the hearth)
fōdrere mja. foraging animal
folc n. people, nation, troop, congregation
°folcgesiđ m. officer
°folcgewin(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;
fon on begin; fōn ongēan struggle against; fōn to rīce come to power, ascend to the throne; pres. pl. fōð
7.38; pp. np. fanggane 1.56, ġefongne 7.230
for prep. w. dat., acc. for, on account of, in respect to; before, in front of; as conj. (= forþam þe) for, because
5.27
før 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-þingung 1 to intoxicate
foregīsl m. preliminary hostage
forehūs n. porch, vestibule
fore-þingung f. intercession
for-þingung f. intercession
for-beran 4 bear, endure
for-birnan 3 (intrans.) burn up, be consumed by fire
for-don anom. (§134) undo, ruin, destroy
for-drenčan I to intoxicate
foregīsl m. preliminary hostage
forehūs n. porch, vestibule
fore-sægd, -sæd adj. aforesaid
fore-seċgan III foretell, predict; pret. 3 sg. -sæde 5.76; pp. dp. -sædm 6.54
forespeca m. advocate, sponsor
fore-sprecen adj. (pp.) aforesaid; dp. foresprecenan 10.4
foreþingung f. intercession
for-faran 6 blockade; ruin, do away with
for-fēran 1 perish
for-fléon 2 (§132) flee from, evade
for-ġifan 5 give, bestow, grant, pay, give in marriage; pret. pl. forġēafen
1.23; sj. pret. 3 sg. forđēfe 1.58; pp. nsf. forgifen 1.123

for-ġieman, -ġyman 1 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, -hergian I, II plunder entirely, lay waste, ravage; pp. np. forhereġẹode 1.50

for-hogdnis(s) fjō. contemp
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-lādan I mislead, lead astray

for-lætman (ē) 7 abandon, leave behind, release, let go, permit, allow; lose, neglect; pres. 3 sg. forlæt 4.41; pret. pl. forlētan 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-liċgan 5 (§127) commit fornication or adultery; pp. np. forleġene adulterous 8.136

for-lidennes(s) fjō. shipwreck
forlīger n. fornication

for-līðan (-lāð, -lidon, -liden) 1 suffer shipwreck
forma num. first
for-meltan 3 (intrans.) melt away
for-néah adv. almost, nearly

for-niedan, -nýdan 1 force, compel
for-niman 4 carry off, waste, consume, overpower, seize, destroy, abrogate;

prett. 3 sg. fornom 16.80, pl. fornāman 1.48, fornōman 16.99

for-oft adv. very often
for-rādan (ē) 7 or I (pret. rādde) betray; of life forrāde kill by treachery 8.61

for-rīdan 1 intercept by riding
forscyldīg adj. wicked

for-sēon 5 spurn, scorn, reject; pres. 2 sg. forśihst 6.109; pret. pl. forsāwan 12.61; sj. pres. sg. forsēo 6.55; pp. npf. forsawene (or w. ā?) 8.39

for-spendan 1 exhaust, use up, spend
forspenning f. incitement, seduction; as. forspennincgæ 6.13

for-spillan 1 destroy, kill

for-standan, -stondan pret. -stōd 6 understand; withstand, prevent

for-stelan 4 steal, capture; pp. asn.
forstolen something captured 14.14.18

forstrang adj. exceedingly strong

for-swelgan 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. forsyangodon 8.141

for-tendan 1 sear, burn away; pret. pl.
fortendun 7.171

fortruwung f. presumption
forð adv. forth; tō forð too much

for-þām (þe), for-ðām (þe), for-þon (þe), for-þan (þe), for-þþ (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-þenċan, pret. -ðōhte I despair
forð-fēran I depart, pass away
forðfōr f. going forth, death
forðgang m. progress, success
*forðgesċeaft f. preordained condition, eternal decree
forþōht see forþenċan
for-þolian II (w. dat.) lack, do without
forþryċċan I oppress; pp. npm. forþrycte 10.68
forþȳ = forþām
for-þwandian II hesitate
for-þeornian II dry up, wither, decay
for-þeowrdan 3 perish; pret. pl. forwurðan 8.64, 155; sj. pres. sg. forwurđe 14.5.6, pl. forþeowrdan 8.146
for-þeorman 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 gievously; pp. forwunded 15.14
forwurð- = forwearð-
for-wyrčan I obstruct; commit wrong, sin; ruin, spoil, condemn; pret. pl. forworhtan 8.155; sj. pres. pl. for-wyrčan 8.129
forwyrd fi. annihilation, ruin
for-yrman = for-ierman
fōt mc. foot (§82); ap. fēt 14.36.3
fracod, fraced adj. vile; as sb. villain, criminal
frēt see fretan
*fēte adj. obstinate, wilful
±frēt(e)w(i)an I, II adorn, apparel; pres. pl. frētwāð 14.35.10; pp. frētwed 14.14.11, 14.31.20, ō- frētwad 14.31.2
*frētwa fp. trappings, ornaments, adornments
*fram adj. vigorous, active
fram, from prep. w. dat. by, from, after, since, of, on account of
*fēa, gen. frēan m.wk. lord
frēċednys(s) fjō. danger
*frēcne adj. dangerous, perilous
±frēr(e)an I console, cheer, comfort
fremde adj. foreign, alien, strange, un-related; 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) fjō. benefit, kindness
fremu f. advantage, gain, benefit
frēō adj. free; gp. frīora 2.53
frēod f. peace, friendship, good will
frēodōm m. freedom
*frēoliċ adj. stately, noble
frēolsbryče mi. nonobservance of church festivals; ap. -mēgas 8.116
*frēomēg mf. noble kins(wo)man; dp. -mēgum 16.21
frēond mc. friend; np. friend 10.34
frēondlēas adj. friendless
frēondlīċe adv. kindly, with good will
frēondsċipe mi. friendship, good will
*frēorīg adj. frosty, cold
frēoriht n. rights of freemen
freop- = friþ-
Frēsisċ adj. Frisian
±fretan (pret. frēt) 5 devour [frēt-
etan]
frettan I consume, devour
frīo = frēo friþ
Frēsisċ adj. Frisian
±fretan (pret. frēt) 5 devour [frēt-
etan]
frettan I consume, devour
friċċa m. herald, crier
±friċġan 5 (§127) ask (about, w. gen.);
learn, figure out; inf. friċġan
11.157; imp. 2 sg. friġe 14.14.19,
14.16.10, 14.27.15, etc.; pp. gefriġen
11.155
friend see frēond
±frīgian 3 (§§111, 127) ask, inquire;
learn (of), hear of; pret. pl. gefrūn
15.76
±frīnan 1 ask, inquire
frīo = frēo friþ
frīo m. peace, truce; friþ niman make
peace
*friþ adj. stately, beautiful
frīdelēas adj. offering no peace, savage
±frīpian, freoþian II protect, defend
°frīowebba m. ‘peace-.weaver’, peace-
maker
°frōd adj. wise, old
frōfor fmn. solace, aid, comfort
from = fram
fruma m. origin, beginning
°frumbearn n. first-born
frumsčaft m. origin, genesis, creation, begin-
ing
fug(e)lere mj. fowler, bird-catcher
fugol, fugel m. bird; fugul 14.36.9
fül adj. foul, ugly, unclean, corrupt,
impure, vile; as sb. apm. füle foul
sorts 9.72
fülian II decay, rot, decompose
ful(l) adj. full; adv. ful(l) full, quite, very
füllan II decay, rot, decompose
füllan m. fulness, completion; be fullan
completely, in full
füllæstan II help, lend support; pres. 3
sg. fullestæð 14.24.8
füll(g)-gān, pret. full-éode anom.
($§134) accomplish, fulfill, satisfy;
pret. pl. -ēoden 9.30
±füllian II baptize, perfect
füllicē adv. fully
füllicē adv. fouly, basely; fūličē 9.70
füluht, fulwiht fn. baptism
füluhtþēaw m. rite of baptism
fullwer m. full wergild (see the com-
ment 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.
gefultumede 10.21; pp. nsm. gef-
fultumed 1.85
fülness, fulwiht = fúlness, fuulht
fundie 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
±fyliγ(ẹ)an I (w. dat. or acc.) follow;
pret. pl. fylilγdan 6.198
füll see also fiell
±füllan I fill, fulfill, satisfy; pp. npf.
gefyldæ 2.28
fyłlo f. (indecl.) fulfillment, satiety,
impregnation
fýlnes(s), fūl- fio. foulness, filth
±fylstan II support, aid
fyłδ see feallan
fyłþ f. filth
fýnd see fêond
fýr n. fire
fyrd- = fierd-
fyruh f. (indecl. or ō-stem) fright, terror
fyrhō- = ferhō-
fyrmest adj. (superl. of forma) foremost, most prominent; adv. first
±fyrn adv. formerly, earlier, long ago
∞fyrnḡewrit n. ancient record; ap. -ḡewrito 11.155
fyrst adj., num. first, foremost, principal
fyrst see also first
±fyrdrían II promote, benefit, further
∞fÝsian I (or ±fÝsian II) drive away, put to flight; pres. 3 sg. fēseð 8.92
±gaderian, ±gãd(e)rian II gather, call up; unite, associate; pret. 3 sg. ġe-gaderade 3.17
gãlsa m. wantonness, depravity; as. gãlsan 12.11
gãst, gãst m. (orig. s-stem) spirit, soul, ghost, being, individual, creature
∞gãstġerȳne nja. spiritual mystery
gãstlič adj. spiritual; adv. -liče
gãt f. goat
gle conj. and; ġe . . . ġe both . . . and or whether . . . or
ġê, ėow, ėower pron. pl. (§38) you; gen. ėower 7.209, dat. ėow 2.49
ġeador adv. together
∞ġeaflas m. jaws
ġeaf- see ġiefan
ġeahb- = ġehō-
ġealdor, galdor n. song, incanation, occult art
∞ġealga, galga m. gallows(-tree), hanging tree
ġealgtrēo(w) nwa. gallows-tree
ġéap see ġeopan
ġear n. year; as. ġer 1.71, ds. ġere
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
∞ġearðegas mp. days of yore, old times
gear, ġearwe adv. readily, for sure
ġeωarðemluva adj. year by year
ġearo, ġearu adj. (wa-stem) ready, prepared; np. ġearwe 11.23
ġearo also = ġeare
∞ġearowydīg adj. eloquent
ğıarwe see ġeare, ġearto
±ģearwian II prepare, cause
ġeat n. gate
géatwe fwód. pl. arms, trappings, ornaments

géd = ġiedd

*gehþu f. care, anxiety; np. gehþe

13.69

ġeld-, ġeman = ġield-, ġīeman

geó, iú, ġū adv. once, formerly, long ago

*geoc f. help, support
gocsan II sob; act. part. gisciende

10.30

geogoð, ġiuguð, ġǐoguð f. youth, young person(s); ds. iugoðe

16.35

*geoguðmyrþ f. joy of youth
gelo adj. yellow

*geolorand m. yellow shield (i.e. the color of linden wood)

*geómor adj. despondent, grief-stricken; gliōmor 10.159

geomrian II lament
géond prep. w. acc. throughout, through, in the course of; ġiond 2.4, 5, 27, etc., ġynd 8.11, 37, 63, etc.

*geónd-hweorfan 3 pass through, rove through

*geónd-sćēawian II survey, gaze at

*geónd-stregdan 3 bestrew, besprinkle; pret. 3 sg. geondstred 14.26.8

*geónd-penčan 1 consider thoroughly, contemplate

geong adj. young; compar. np. as sb.

gingran pupils 10.50

geong-, geong see also gangan

*geópan 2 take in, ingest

georn adj. scrupulous, assiduous, conscientious, fond, desireous

georne, giorne adv. assiduously, conscientiously, intently, closely,
gladly, eagerly, for certain; compar.

géornor; superl. swā géornost as assiduously as

géornfulnes(s) fjo. diligence, eagerness
géornliče adv. earnestly, diligently
gér = ġeär

gied(d), ġyd(d) nja. song, tale, account, speech; ap. ġed 10.161

±gieddian, ġyddian II recite, sing

giefan 5 give; pret. pl. géafan 1.21

*gi(e)fl n. food, morsel
giefstöl m. 'gift-seat', throne (from which gifts are dispensed); ceremony of gift-giving

giefu, ġifu, ġyfu f. gift, grace

±géldan, ±gyldan 3 deliver, pay, repay; inf. géldan 6.99, gyldan 7.45, pres. 3 sg. gylt 7.45, pl. gyldað 7.43; pret. pl. guldon 7.148; sj. pres. sg. gylde 8.86

giellan 3 yell, scream
gielp, ġylp, ġilp m. pride, arrogance; vow

gieman, ġýman I (w. gen.) observe, take care, heed, have regard for, take notice of, have to do with; pret. 3 sg. gêmde 1.149

±gier(e)la, ġyrla m. garment

±giernan (w. gen.) 1 desire, yearn (for), court

±gierwan, ±gyrwan 1 prepare, furnish, decorate, provide; pret. 3 sg. gierede 14.26.13; pp. ġegyr(w)ed 15.16, 23

giesthús n. lodging for guests
giestrandaeg adv. yesterday

giet, ġyt, ġyta adv. still, yet, further; þā ġiet yet; ġit 6.163, 8.76

giddian = ġieddian

gif, ġyf conj. if

gife = ġiefe
greet, address, meet, approach, attack
m. mask, (masked) helmet
terrible, severe; adv. -lič
adj. grim, cruel, fierce; adv. grimme
grip, grasp, lay hold (of, on w. acc.)
adj. grim(m) grim, cruel, fierce; adv. grimme
grip(-) = cring(-)
grip, grasp, lay hold (of, on w. acc.)
m. sanctuary

m. mask, (masked) helmet
adj. terrible, severe; adv. -lič
m. ground, bottom, abyss, pit
adj. bottombound
adj. unprotected, vulnerable
an. protect
n. sanctuary

7 grow

m. ground, bottom, abyss, pit
adj. hellbound
adj. bottomless

adj. establish firmly

see cringan
terrible, gruesome
m. man
f. war
m. goddess; np. 9.68
- = giedd-, gif, gield-
adj. golden
- = gielt, giem-, gielp-
(adj. gim(m),) gynd, gyrla = gim(m),
geond, gierela
gyrwan, gyt(a) = gierwan, giēt(a)

have, esteem, consider
§121; w. acc. or gen.); 1 sg. habbe

hafu 14.35.5, 3 sg. hæfeð 5.13, hafað 7.120, 10.161, 12.48, etc., pl. næbbe 6.47 (§79), nabbad 9.61; pret. 3 sg. næfde 3.128, 7.40, pl. hæfdan 9.28, 10.78, næfdon 7.202; imp. sg. hafa 7.276
m(u). degree, order, rank, condition, person
mi. injury to one in holy orders
consecrate, ordain; pp. np. as sb. ġehådode ecclesiastics 8.52
detain, arrest, imprison
captive, prisoner
fi. captivity, bondage; ds.
- 6.50
imprison, take captive;
prett. 2 sg. ġehæftnadest 13.29
m. hail; the rune
shower of hail, hailstorm
heal, redeem; pp. np. ġehælede 6.144
mc. hero, soldier, man;
np. hælode 14.27.5, gp. hæleða 11.73, 156, dp. hælepum 14.35.12, 16.105
mc. ‘healer’, savior, redeemer (in ref. to Christ)
health, safety, prosperity, well-being, salvation; ds. hæle 6.101
have sexual intercourse, couple, cohabit [cf. hām]
love play, sexual intercourse
n. hair; dp. hērum 14.26.5
m. autumn as. -fæst 3.112
= herlič
f. bidding, command, behest
see hātan
f. heat
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Note</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hæðen</td>
<td>adj. heathen, pagan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hæðena</td>
<td>m. heathen, pagan; Viking</td>
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<tr>
<td>hæðengield, -gyld</td>
<td>ni. heathen worship, pagan sacrifice</td>
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<tr>
<td>hæðengielda, -gylda</td>
<td>m. worshiper of heathen gods, pagan</td>
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<tr>
<td>hædenscipe, -scype</td>
<td>mi. paganism, idolatry, heathen belief</td>
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<tr>
<td>hafoc</td>
<td>m. hawk</td>
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<tr>
<td>hagl</td>
<td>= hægl-</td>
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<tr>
<td>hagostealdman(n), -mon(n)</td>
<td>mc. bachelor, young man</td>
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<tr>
<td>hāl</td>
<td>adj. well, healthy, hale, whole, healed, sound</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hālettan</td>
<td>I greet, address, say “wes hāl” to</td>
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<tr>
<td>hālga</td>
<td>m., hālɡe f. saint</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hālgian</td>
<td>II consecrate, anoint</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hālīɡ</td>
<td>adj. holy, sacred, saintly; np. hāleɡe</td>
<td>13.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>hālīgré(s)</td>
<td>fjō. sanctuary</td>
<td></td>
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<td>hals</td>
<td>= heals</td>
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<tr>
<td>hālwend, hālwendlīc</td>
<td>adj. healing, salutary, wholesome</td>
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<tr>
<td>hām</td>
<td>m. home, residence, precinct; dat. sg. hām beside hāme (see the comment on 3.21); as adv. hām home(ward), orig. a locative form</td>
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<tr>
<td>hamor</td>
<td>homer m. hammer</td>
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<td>hāmweard(es)</td>
<td>adv. homeward (bound)</td>
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<tr>
<td>hancrēd, hon-</td>
<td>mi. cock-crow</td>
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<tr>
<td>hand, hond</td>
<td>fu. hand; ds. hande 5.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>±handgeswing</td>
<td>n. dexterity, swordplay, delivery of blows</td>
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<tr>
<td>handtam</td>
<td>adj. tame, submissive to handling</td>
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<tr>
<td>handweorc, hond-</td>
<td>n. handiwork, manufacture, hand-made product</td>
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<tr>
<td>hangelle</td>
<td>f. hanging thing, dangler</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hangian, ±hongi(g)an</td>
<td>II hang, be suspended; pret. pl. hongedon</td>
<td>14.13.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>hār</td>
<td>adj. hoary, grey, old</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hārwenge</td>
<td>adj. hoary, aged</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hasu</td>
<td>adj. (wa-stem) dusky, grey, ashen; asm. haswan 14.24.4, apf.</td>
<td>haswe 14.13.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hāt</td>
<td>n. promise, vow</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hātan (ē)</td>
<td>7 command, direct; promise, vow; call, be called, name; pass. hātte is/was called ($I02); 3 sg. pres. hāteð 2.1, 14.6.5, hāêt 7.68, 100; pret. 3 sg. (ge)heht 1.69, 119, 132, etc., pl. ġehētan 8.161</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hātheort, ±hāthyrt</td>
<td>adj. hot-hearted, rash, angry</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hātland</td>
<td>n. promised land</td>
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<tr>
<td>±hāwian</td>
<td>II observe, reconnoiter</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hē, hēo, hit</td>
<td>pron. he, she, it ($41); nsf. hio 2.13, 73, 7.93, etc., nsn. hyt 7.116, asm. hiene 2.22, 7.144, 253, etc., hyne 5.7, asf. hi 5.25, 6.9, 32, etc., asm. 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., hi 1.15, 25, 34, etc., hiğ 5.57, hȳ 1.171, 7.64, 119, etc., hīo 11.166, ap. hēo 1.68, hi 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</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēafod</td>
<td>n. head; ds. hēafde 6.199, 14.44.6, hēafdum 15.63 (see note), np. hēafda 7.325, ap. hēafdu 14.36.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēafodlēas</td>
<td>adj. headless, lacking a cover</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hēafodwōþ 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. hīeran 2.57, np.
3.143

hēahburg fc. capital

hēahcraft m. intricate skill

hēahfæder mc. father on high

hēahmōd adj. haughty

hēahmōd m. capital

hēahmōd m. intricate skill

hēahfæder m. father on high

hēahmōd adj. haughty

healdan (ēo) 7 hold, keep, persist in, maintain, arrange, guard, confine; observe; inf. healdon 10.143; pres. 3 sg. healdēð 12.69; pret. pl. (ģe)hīoldon 2.8, 32, hēoldan 8.53; infl. inf. tō healdonne 7.179

heal(l) f. hall, palace

healf f. half, side, part, direction, sake;
on heora healfē on their own behalf
3.17; mē on healfē 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

healfslēpende adj. (act. part.) half-
awake, drowsy; dsm. -slēpendon 5.2

healh, ds. hēale m. (§131) corner, nook

hēaliċ, hēah- adj. exalted, profound;
nsf. hēaliċ 9.39 (see §54), dsm. hēa-
licon 9.71

hēaliče, 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

hēanmōd adj. humble

hēanne see hēah

hēap m. host, company

hēapmǣlum adv. in droves, en masse

heard adj. hard

heardg adj. hard of edge, keen-
bladed

heardhōðende adj. (act. part.) ‘hard-
plundering’, aggressive

hearding m. bold man, hero

hearpe f. lyre

hearpenaġl m. plectrum

hearpessrēng m. lyre-string

hearpian II harp, play the lyre

headōfremmend m. warmaker, fighter

hēawan (ēo) 7 hack, strike, stab

hebban 6 (§127; also weak pret.
hefde in LWS) raise, lift up; pres. 3 sg. hefde 14.44.5; pret. sg. hefde 6.210, pl. hōfon 11.25

hefgian II encumber, weigh down

hefiġ adj. heavy, burdensome, oppressive; dsm.wk. hefian 15.61

heht see hātan

hel(l) fō. hell

helm m. protection, helmet

help f. help, assistance

hefpan 3 (w. gen.) help

+hende adj., adv. near, nearby

hēng see hōn

henġen fō. rack, instrument of tor-
ture; ds. henċġene 6.110, 113, 121

henŋen fō. rack, instrument of tor-
ture; ds. hencŋene 6.110, 113, 121

hēo see hē, hiw

hēofan II lament

hefon, heofen m. (often pl.) sky, heaven

heofoncund adj. heavenly, celestial;
heofen- 10.37

heofoncyning m. king of heaven
heofondrēam m. joy of heaven
heofonlicē adj. heavenly; gsn. wk.
heofonlecan 1.145, isrn. 1.176
heofonrīcē 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
heorsum = 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, hȳr-
here, np. hergas 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, herga 11.115,
herīga 11.148
herecumbl, -combol n. standard, military banner
herefeld mu. field of battle
herehȳð fi. plunder, loot
heremæġen n. military force, multitude
herenes(s) fjo. praise
hererinċē m. ’army-man’, soldier, man
heresīð m. campaign, expedition, military exploit
heretēma m. plunderer, general, ruler
heretoga m. commander, military leader; official; heretoha 10.11
hergab m. raid, looting expedition
heurgian, herg(ē)an I, II plunder, ravage, harry; pret. pl. hergedon 1.46
hergung f. invasion, plunder
herian, heriġean I praise, commend;
inf. herēğian 8.127
her(i)g- see also here
herliċ adj. noble; nsf. hærlič 10.115
hērtōēacan adv. in addition to this
hērum = hārum
hete m. hostility
hetegrim adj. fierce, cruel
heteličē 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
hīeldan, hylldan I (trans.) lean, incline, bend down
hīenan, hȳnan I afflict, oppress,
abase, humiliate
hier- see also hēah
hīeran, hȳran I hear, listen to (w. acc.);
obey, comply with (w. dat);
hieran in (on) belong to, be subject to (w. acc. or dat., likewise hieran tō w. dat.);
inf. hēran 10.103, pres. 3 sg. hēreò 14.50.5; pret. pl. hirdon 7.261, gehȳrđan 8.157
hīerdan I harden
hierdebōc fc. pastoral book
hīernes(s), hȳr- fjo. obedience
hīersum, hȳr- adj. compliant, obedient
hīersumian, hȳr- II obey, serve, comply, conform;
inf. hōrsumian 10.66; pret. pl. hȳrsumedon 2.6
±hierwan, ±hyrwan I abuse, deride; pres. 3 sg. hyrweð 8.124, 126
hiğe(-), hiht = hyğe(-), hyht
hild fjo. war, battle
*hildeğesa m. terror of warfare
*hildenādre f. ‘war-adder’, missile, arrow, javelin
*hilderinč m. fighter, soldier
*hildfruma m. leader in battle, commander, leader
hindan adv. from behind
*hindhóc m. ‘hook in the back’, treachery
hindeweard adj. wrong end forward, from behind
hīold = hēold-
hired, hyred m. household, retinue
hiredman(n) mc. household servant, member of a retinue
hīþ = hȳð-
hīw nja. appearance, form; as. hēo 11.6
*hīwbeorht adj. radiant of hue
hīwcuð adj. domestic, household
±hīwian II feign, pretend
hlēfdiğe f. lady, mistress (over servants)
+hlaestan I lade, load with cargo
hlāf m. bread, loaf
hlāford m. lord; husband
hlāfordswica m. traitor
hlāfordswiče mi. treachery, treason
hleahtor m. laughter
hlēapan (ēo) 7 leap, run, race
hlēo nja. refuge, protection
*hlerbord n. protective board
hlēor n. cheek
*həoscorp n. protective clothing
hlēopor n. noise, sound
hlēðisian II sound, make a noise, speak
°hālēða m. companion, denizen
hliehan 6 (§127) laugh
hlifi(g)an II tower
*hlimman I resound; pres. 3 sg. hlim-með 14.35.6
hlin- = hlyn-
hlisa m. fame, glory
hlōp f. troop, band, crowd
hlūd adj. loud; compar. nsn. hluddre
°hlūde 5.42; adv. hlūde
hlūt(t)or adj. pure, clear, bright
±(h)lyð ni. noise, disturbance
±hlūdan I make noise, yammer
*hlynsian II resound; pret. sg. hlinsade
°+(h)næstan I contend; pres. 3 sg. næsteð 14.27.10
±hnescian, ±hneian II grow soft, become pliable, relent
hnigan I bend down, bow
*hνossian II strike
hocor, hocer n. derision
hocorwyrdē adj. derisive
hōf-, hogod- see hebban, hyčgan
hol n. hole, den
hōl n. malice (?), envy (?)
+hola m. confidant, friend
hold adj. loyal, faithful (on to, w. acc.); adv. -liče
°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’
°hordgéat m. door to a treasury; gs. -gates 14.42.11
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horiġ adj. foul, filthy
höring m. fornicator
horn m. horn
hornbora m. horn-bearer, trumpeter
hors n. horse; dp. horsan 7.42
horsčlīce adv. readily
horswæl m. walrus; dp. -hwælum 7.29
±horsod, ±horsed adj. (pp.) mounted
horspegn m. marshal
hrā, hrāw, hr®(w) nwa. (orig. s-stem) corpse, carcass
(h)raud adj. brief, rapid, concise
(h)rađing f. haste; on hrađinge quickly, readily
(h)rađlič adj. quick, brief; adv. -līče
(h)rađn(s) f. quickness
$hrađwyrd$ adj. quick to speak, rash of tongue
hraēgl n. apparel, garb, covering
hraēw = hrā
hrān m. reindeer
(h)rađe, hrāđe, hređe adv. quickly, soon, at once, precipitously
hrēam m. outcry, noise, infamy, offense
hrēdan I rescue, recover
href(e)n m. (or mi?) raven
hrēmiġ adj. crying out (about, w. dat.), boasting, exulting (in) [cf. hrēam]
hrēoh adj. ($\S$133) angry, tempestuous; nsm.wk. hrēo 16.16, asf. 16.105
hrēop- see hrōpan
±hrēosan 2 fall, crumble; pret. pl. hruran 1.50
$hreowcēarig$ adj. in rueful mood, regretful
(h)rēowlīče adv. grievously, cruelly
(h)rēown(s), hrēohness f. rough weather, storm
±hrēowsian II grieve, be sad
±hrēran I move, agitate
$hreper$ m. breast, heart
$hreḍerloca$ m. breast, heart
±hrieman, ±hrŷman 1 cry out (to, w. dat.), shout
±hrif n. belly, womb
hrim m. rime, frost
$hrimčeald$ adj. frost-cold
±hrīnan 1 (w. dat. or acc.) touch
(h)ring m. ring
hrisel f. (?) shuttle; ns. hrisil
$hriņ$ f. snowstorm
hriðer n. (orig. s-stem) head of cattle, bull, cow; gp. hryďera 7.41
$hriōg$ adj. snow-covered (?), storm-beaten (?)
hrōf m. roof, ceiling
hrōpan (ēo) 7 shout, cry out; pret. pl. hrēopan 11.54
hrōr adj. able-bodied
$hroōdor$ mc. solace, comfort, benefit; ds. hrōder 11.16, hrōpor 13.109
hruran see hrōsan
$hruśe$ f. earth, ground
hrūtan 2 snore, make a noise, whir
hryčģ mja. back
hryre mi. fall, destruction
hryďer- hryōge = hriðer-, hriđe
hū adv. how
hund m. dog
hund num. (neut.) hundred; dp. hunde 7.135, 225
hundeahtatiģ num. eighty
hundred num. (neut.) hundred; century (of Roman soldiers); hundreds
ealdor centurion 4.29
hundtwelftiģ num. one hundred twenty
hunor, hunger m. hunger
hunið n. honey
hunta m. hunter, huntsman
huntoð m. hunting
hūru adv. about, approximately; surely, certainly, truly
hūs n. building, house
hūslið n. Eucharist
hūð f. plunder
hwā, hwæt pron. (§77) who, what; someone, each one; why; whatever; is. won 13.20
±hwæde adj. young, small, scant
hwæl m. whale; hwæles 7.44, np. hwales 7.32
hwælhunta m. whaler
hwælhuntað m. whaling
hwænne = hwonne
hwæl adv. pron. where, somewhere, a place where
+hwær adv. everywhere
hwæt adj. keen, vigorous, valiant;

hwætestan 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
hwætsčipe mi. vigor, boldness, bravery
hwæðer conj. whether; hwæder 5.69
hwæðer pron. which (of two); swā hwæðer swā whichever; dsf.

hwæþerre 3.21
+hwæðer pron. both (of two)
hwæð(e)re adv., conj. however, neverthel[37]ess, though
hwæl- see hwæl

hwanon, hwonon adv. from where, whence, on what account
hwat-, hwap- see hwæþ-, hwæt adj.
hwearfan II wave, stream
hwelc = hwilc, ġehwilc
hwēne adv. somewhat, a little
hwearfan 3 turn
hwerf-, hwī = hwierf-, hwī
±hwettan 1 hwet, incite
hwēder, hwī = hwæder, hwī
hwider interr. adv. where to, whither
±hwierfan, hwyrfan 1 (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;

hwilone 6.16, hwylum 7.114
hwīt adj. white

*hwīloc(c) adj. fair-haired
hwōn adv. somewhat, a little, hardly at all
hwon(e) see hwā
hwōnliče adv. little
hwōnne, hwānne adv., pron. when, the time when
hwonon = hwanon
hwōpan (ēo) 7 threaten; sj. pres. pl.
hwōpan 11.82
hwōderian II roar (?)
hwī, hwī adv. why
hwylc, hwyl- = hwilc, hwil-
hwyrf- see also hwierf-
±hwyrft mi. circuit, course, passage;

ġēara hwyrftum in course of years
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+hyęčgan, pret. hogode III ($121; w. gen.) meditate, think (of), consider, remember

hỳd fl. hide, pelt

±hyỳdan I hide, put away

+hygd fni. thought, intention

°hygé, hiğe mi. thought

°hygéblīþe adj. happy, contented

°hygéfæste adv. resolutely

°hygégał adj. wanton, lascivious

°hygégar m. ‘mind-spear’, psychic assault

°hygépantc, hiğe- m. thought; dp. hygéponcum 14.35.4

°hygéwlanç, -wlonc adj. proud, dignified

hyht, hiht mi. exultation, desire, hope; on hyhte hoped-for, desirable

±hyhtan I hope

hyhtlič adj. desirable

hyldan, hỳn- = hieldan, hien-

hỳr- = hier-, hir-

°hyrst fl. trapping, ornament, treasure, armor

hyrw- = hierw-

hyseçild nc. (§82) boy, male child

hỳdan I plunder, ravage; pres. 3 sg. hìpeð 14.34.4

iċ, më, meč, mìn pron. (§38) I, me, of me

ídel adj. vain, foolish, frivolous, idle, empty; dp. ídelan 8.130

ídelnes(s) fjo. foolishness, nonsense; as. ýdelynysse 6.103

ºides(s) fjo. lady, woman

ie see ēa

±iēčan, ±yćan I increase, augment; pret. 3 sg. ihté 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. yldræ 11.159

ieldu, yldo f. (usu. indecl.) age, old age

±ierġan, ±yrġan I cow, dishearten

ierġbo, yrġbo, yrhdо f. cowardice

ierlič adj. angry

ierming, yrming m. person of no account, wretch

iermō, yrmdō f. misery, wretchedness, crime

ierre, yrre, ire adj. angry, enraged

ierre, yrre, irre nja. anger

±iersian, ±yrsian II be angry, rage

ierlōling, yrōling m. farmer

±ieðan, ±ydān I devastate, lay waste

+iēwan, ±ýwan, ±ēwan I show, reveal, display

iğgað m. ait, eyot, river islet

iġland = ēaland

ihté see iéčan

ilca, ylca adj. same, very

in adv., prep.† in, into, on, onto

inbryrdnis(s) fjo. inspiration, ardor

inca m. scruple, doubt, grievance

incundnes(s) fjo. inward conviction, sincerity; ds. incunnesse 9.25

incyme mi. entry, admission

indryhten adj. noble, excellent

ingang, ingong m. entrance, entry

ingehygd n. meaning, sense

ingępantc m. mind, conscience

in-lēdan I admit, conduct, lead in; inf. inlǣdon 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
inneþ mf. inside, interior, womb; ds. innaþe 14.35.2
±in-segilian II seal
insittende adj. sitting within
intæpes adv. directly
intinga m. reason, cause
inté 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
īsen adj. iron, made of iron
īsen, n. iron; īsern 14.1.53
īu = ġō
lā interj. ‘lo’, indeed, truly
lāc n. sacrifice, offering
lācan (ēo) 7 play (music, w. dat.)
±lācnian II heal, treat, tend to
±lēc-cān, lēhta, lēht 1 take, seize, grasp, catch
lēcē mja. physician
lēcēcraft m. ‘leechcraft’, medicine; gs. lēcēcraftas 6.133
°lēc-cyn(n) nja. profession of healers
±lēdan 1 lead, bring, derive; pp. lēded 13.21
Lāden n. Latin
Lādengeðēode nja. the Latin language ±lēfan 1 permit, grant, leave, bequeath
lēhte see lēc-cān
lēn n. loan; tō lēne on loan
lēne adj. lent, temporary, transitory
+lēran 1 teach, instruct
+lēred adj. (pp.) skilled, learned
lāringmaþgden n. female student
lēs adv. (compar. of lītle) less, fewer;
þē/lēs (be) lest; lēs be fewer than 3.176, þē lēs the fewer 7.273, 14.9.11
lāessa adj. (compar. of lītel) smaller
lāsta adj. (superl. of lītel) smallest
+lēstan 1 perform, carry out, keep one’s word about, maintain; serve, follow; pret. pl. ġelēstan 7.145, 10.85
+lētān (ē) 7 allow, let, leave, let loose; consider, regard; pres. 3 sg. lētēo 12.10, 37, 40, etc., lētēo 12.34; pret. 3 sg. lēt 8.94; sj. sg. lēte 5.23
+lēte nja. crossing, junction
lēw f. injury; ap. lēwe 8.131
lēwede adj. lay, secular; as sb. lay-person
±lēwian II injure; pp. ġelēwede 8.133
lāf f. remnant, remainder, legacy
±lagian II ordain
°lagostrēam m. watery current
°lagulād f. waterway, sea route
lagbryče, lahbryče mi. breach of law
lagliče, lahlīče adv. lawfully
lām n. loam, soil, clay, earth
land, lond n. land, country; adv. landes in the world
landbigenģ(e)a m. native, country-man; dp. -genģan 1.39
landlēode, lond- f. pl. native people
lang, long adj. long, lasting, eternal; compar. lengra; npm. lang 5.71
lange, longe adv. long, for a long time; compar. lenģ, superl. lenģest;
compar. lenģē 5.48
langsčip n. longship
langsumliče adv. at length, for a long time
*langunghwil f. period of longing
lār f. 'lore', learning, instruction, teaching; story, news
*lārcwide mi. instructive talk, counsel, advice
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-þēow]
lāð adj. hated, despised, detestable, inimical; gp. as sb. lāðra of enemies 14.5.10
lāð n. harm, injury
lāðettan I loathe
±lēaf f. permission, leave
±lēafa m. belief, faith
±lēafful(l) adj. believing, of the faith, devout, orthodox
leahtrian II shining, bright, easy; adv. lēohte
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
lēohtlič adj. bright, radiant
leom- see lim
learner mja. student
±lēorni(g)an II learn, study; pret. 3 sg. (g)elearnaden 1.84, 89, pret. pl. g(e)learnodon 2.44, 45, pp. g(e)leornad 7.287
lēornung, līornung f. learning, study
lēoð n. song, poem; ap. liōð 10.28
lēoðcræft m. poetic skill
leopo = liþu
*lēopsang, -song m. song, poem
lēt- = lēt-
±lettan I hinder, impede; pres. 2 sg. g(e)letest 11.94
lēw- = lēw-
liðban, lydban (Anglian lifian, lifgan)  
III (§121) live; pres. 3 sg. leoða
6.108 12.68, 76, pl. lifþ 15.134;  
pret. pl. leofedon 9.30, leofodon  
9.70, lyfedan 9.73; act. part. nsm.  
liðgende living, (while) alive  
liðgende 14.10.9, dsm. liðgendum  
13.64, gp. (as sb.) liðgendra 13.49  
lið n. body, corpse  
+lið adj. (w. dat. complement) like;  
+liða m. equal, match  
+liðe adv. in like fashion  
±liðgan 5 ($127) lie, remain, harbor;  
flow; liðgan út issue; liðgan in flow  
into; 3 sg. ðō 3.7, 6.37, 7.50, etc.,  
liððō 7.99, 13.99; pret. 3 sg. leg 5.53,  
pl. lágōn 4.32  
liðhama, -homa m. body, person,  
corpse  
liðhamliç, -homliç adj. bodily, physical  
±liðian (impers. w. dat.) II please; pret.  
3 sg. gelícade 7.275  
±liðnys(s), -nes(s) fjō. likeness, similarity, image  
±liðfan 1 allow; pret. pl. leðdon  
±liðfan, ±lýfan 1 believe, trust  
+liðfed, +lýfed adj. believing, of the faith  
lieð, lið, līð mi. fire, flame  
±liθan, ±lýsan 1 deliver, redeem  
lif n. life; to life alive  
lif-, lifg- = libb-  
lifte = lyfte  
liðtan 1 light up, illuminate, throw light  
lim n. limb; ap. leomu 1.95  
+līmp n. occurrence, misfortune  
±limpan 3 happen (to, w. dat), occur,  
befall; pret. 3 sg. gelomp 10.23  
+limliç 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  
*lindwēgend mc. 'linden-war maker',  
fighter with a shield  
line f. series, row  
liorn-, liōð = leorn-, lēoð  
līra m. muscle, fleshy part  
liss fjō. grace, kindness, favor, alleviation, improvement; dp. as adv.  
lissum graciously  
list m. art, cleverness, cunning; dp.  
listum cunningly 10.131, 14.29.3  
littl- see lýtel  
lǐð n. limb, member, joint; ap. leópo  
14.23.7  
lǐð see liðgan  
±līpān 1 travel, sail, float  
līpe adj. gentle, mild, calm  
līxan I gleam; pret. pl. lixtan 11.23, 90, 125  
loca m. stronghold  
±lōcian II look; pret. 3 sg. lōcade 11.87  
lōden see lēodan  
lōf n. praise, honor  
lōlāc n. worshipful offering  
lōfsang, -song m. song of praise,  
hymn, psalm  
±lōgian II lodge, place  
+lōme adv. often, repeatedly  
+lōmlīç adj. frequent, continual  
lond(-), long(-) = land(-), lang(-)  
lōsjan II perish, be lost  
lufe, lufan see lufu
±lu f. love, care for, cherish, delight
in; pret. 3 sg. lu fude 9.52
lu end mc. lover
lu adv. amiable, kindly
lu or luf f. love, amity, favor
lung adv. soon, quickly
lust m. desire, appetite, pleasure, lust;
on lust pleased, exultant
lusbërli adv. pleasantly
lusbërnes(s) f. enjoyment, happiness, pleasure
lustful(l) adj. pleasurable, delightful
lustfulli(ġ)an II delight, take pleasure, rejoice
lustli adv. willingly, gladly
lybban = libban
+lyd see hlyd
lýf- see also lief-
+lyfed adj. weak, feeble, sickly
lyfedan see libban
lyft fi. air, atmosphere; ds. lifte 14.27.4
°lyftfæt n. airborne vessel
lyre mi. loss, destruction
lysan = liesan
±lystan 1 please, give pleasure to, make desirous of; pp. ġelysted desirous of 10.81
lýt adj. and sb. (indecl.) little, few
lýtel, lýttel adj., pron. little, slight; adv. lýtle; dsm.wk. littal 5.72
lýthwón adv. and sb. (indecl.) very little, precious few
lýþre adj. wicked, corrupt, base
má adv. more (compar. of micle; on use as a sb., see the note to 2.42); þe má þe any more than 8.50
macian II make, cause, arrange; pret. pl. macedon 9.55
+mæcča m. spouse, mate
°mæg mja. man
mæden = mægden
mæg f. kinswoman, wife, woman
mæg, pl. mágas m. relative, family member, kinsman; ds. mège 14.9.4
mægden, mæden n. girl, maiden, virgin, unmarried woman
mægdenchild, mæden- nc. (§82) girl, female child
mæg n. power, strength, force, host; mid mægne forcefully
°mægenþrym(m) mja. glorious host
°mægenþyse, -þise f. force of strength
mæg(e)þ fc. girl, young woman; np. mægeð 14.50.7
mægrás m. assault on kin
mægslaga m. kin-killer
mæþ f. family, kin group, nation, line; as. mègeð 6.213
mægþ m. line
mægðhād m. virginity, chastity
mæniġ(-) = maniġ(-), meniġ-
±mæne adj. common (to, w.dat.), in common, communal, public, general, between, shared (by, w. dat)
meniġ(-) = maniġ(-)
mæne 1 honor, glorify; sj. pres. pl. mære 14.26.16
mære adj. distinguished, excellent, famous, glorious
±mærsian II celebrate, exalt; mark out, bound; pp. ġermærned 7.246
mærð(u) f. distinction, glory, honor
mæse f. mass, liturgy of the Eucharist, religious feast
mæseþæften(n) mja. eve of a festival
mæseþæлект f. mass-vestment, cope, chasuble
mæseþæle m. clergyman; ds. -þæle 2.64
mæsserbana m. priest-killer
mæsserēaf n. mass-vestments
±mæssian II celebrate mass
mæst adj. (superl. of miċel) most, largest, greatest
mæst adv. (superl of micle) most, almost, nearly
±mætan I (impers. w. dat. of pers.) dream
mæte adj. small, limited
mæp fi. reverence, respect
*mæpelhegend mc. deliberator, coun-
cillor, disputant
mæw m. mew, seagull
mâg- 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. mehten 3.38, 91, 96, etc.; sj. pret. pl. mehten 7.164, 186, 221, etc.
°magorinċ m. young man
magu, mago mu. son, young man
°maguþeġn m. young thegn
+mâhlič adj. shameless; nsn. ġemâlič 7.142
man, mon pron. one, they (see note to 1.28)
+man see munan
mân 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) = mann cyn(n)
mândēd fi. wicked deed, sin
°mândrynċ, -drinč mi. evil drink
°mandryhten, mon- m. lord
manēaca, mon- m. increase, offspring
mânful(l) adj. wicked, sinful, vicious
+mang, +mong n. congregation, company, throng
+mang, +mong prep. w. dat. among; conj. gemong þem þe while 7.317
manian, monian II admonish, exhort, advise; recover
manīg, monīg, mæniġ adj. many (a);
np. moneġe 7.214, maneġe 8.58, 64, 69, etc., ap. moneģe 7.177, monega 7.242, maneģe 8.11, 128, mæneģe 8.33, dp. monegum 1.141, maneg-
um 11.15
manigeo = meniġu
manīgfeald, moniġ-, mæniģ- adj.
varied, various, numerous, manifold;
npn. moniģfeald 10.52, compar. nsn.
moniģfealdre 5.42
mon(n), mon(n) mc. person, man,
woman; as. mann an 6.73, ds. menn
6.183, 13.50, np. menn 2.40, 4.32,
5.14, etc., mænn 8.107
mon(n)cynn, mon(n)- nja. human-
kind
mannslaga m. manslayer, homicide
mannsylfen f. selling of persons (into
slavery)
manslyht mi. manslaughter
mânwora m. perjurer
màra adj. more, larger, greater
(compar. of mićel)
marmstān m. marble slab
°mæpelian II make a speech, speak;
pret. 3 sg. mæpelade 14.38.5
mâðum, mâðūm m. treasure, orna-
ment
°mâþþumġiefa, -ġyfa m. giver of trea-
sure, lord
meaht- = miht-
mearc f. boundary, region
mearh m. (§131) horse, steed; mearg
16.92
mearò m. marten
meč see ič
medder see mòdor
medmičel, -myčel adj. moderate, of midding size, small, brief
medu, medo mu. medder see mōdor
medmičel, -myčel adj. moderate, of midding size, small, brief
medu, medo mu. mead
meg, meğd = mæg, mægðe
meht = miht-(to magan)
±megan I mix, combine, mingle, join
meniġ(-) see also maniġ(-)
meniģu, menio, meniġe f. (usu. indecl. in sg.) company, group, multitude, a number; as. mæniġo 10.101, mæniġe 15.112, ds. maniģe 15.151
mennisčnys(s) f jō. incarnation
meodu- = medu-
meolc f. milk
°meotod, me(o)tud m. dispenser, provisioner, ruler (usu. in ref. to God)
°mëowlf. maiden, virgin, woman
mëox n. filth, dirt, dung
mere mi. lake, sea
*merehenġest m. 'sea-steed', ship
mërge = morgæn
+met n. measure, meter, moderation
±mëtan I find, meet, encounter; pres. 2 sg. gemitttest 12.45
mete mi. food, provisions
metelīest f. famine, starvation
+metfæst adj. moderate, modest, discreet
+metliče adv. moderately, mildly
metud- = meotod-
°mëðe adj. weary, spent
mičel, myčel adj. large, great, much;
dsm. micclum 6.73, myclum 1.39,
myclum 4.30, miclan 8.17, isn.
ycle 15.60, ap. myçle 5.8, dp.
myclum 1.13, miclan 8.14, mičelan 8.15, as adv. mic(c)lum greatly 6.72, 7.130
mičel, myčel 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 þy (þe) when, as soon as, while, after
mid(d) adj. mid, in the middle of
middanġeard m. earth, the world; as. middaneard 9.68
midde f. middle; on middan in the middle
mieder, myre f. mare
miht, meaht fi. ability, power, might; be his mihte to the best of his ability
miht- see also magan
mihteliče adv. mightily, powerfully
mihtiğ adj. mighty, powerful
mīl f. mile
milde adj. merciful, kind
milts f jō. mercy
±miltsian, mildsian (w. dat.) II pity, show mercy to
miltsiend mc. pitier
mīn adj., pron. my, mine
mis-bëodan 2 mistreat, ill-use
mis-cierran, -çyrran I pervert, addle, misapply
mis-dåd f. misdeed; dp. -dådan 8.123
mis-faran 6 go astray, go ill
mis-fōn 7 (w. gen.) fail of, be at a loss for
mis-hieran, -hýran 1 disregard, disobey
mislič, mistlič adj. various, manifold; adv. -liče
mis-lician 1 (w. dat.) displease
mis-limpan 3 (impers. w. dat.) go wrong; suffer setbacks
mis-rēdan (ē) 7 or I (pret. -rēdde) misinterpret
missenlīċ adj. various; adv. -līče
mislič = mislič
mis-līci an II (w. dat.) displease
mis-līmpan 3 (impers. w. dat.) go wrong; suffer setbacks
mis-līće
mis-līci an II (w. dat.) displease
mis-līmpan 3 (impers. w. dat.) go wrong; suffer setbacks
mis-līće
mittest see mētan
mōna m. moon
mōnaþ mc. month; ds. mōnē 7.69, nap. mōnāo 3.13, 93, 7.107, etc.
+mong = +mang
mōr m. moor, heath, bog, wasteland
morgen(n), merген(n) m.(ja.?) morning, morrow; ds. morgenne
morgenģiefu f. bride-price, gift made to a bride the morning after the wedding
morōdēd fi. act of murder
morrworwyhta 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
mođē 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
murnung f. grief
murnan, pret. mearn 3 mourn
mūp m. mouth
mūja m. mouth (of a river), estuary
myčel-, myclic = micel-, micl-
myltestre f. harlot, prostitute
+mynd fi. memory, recollection, thought, reminder
±myndiġ adj. mindful
±myn(e)gian, ±myndgian II remind, recall, mention; pret. 3 sg. ġemynd-gade 1.134
mynst er n. monastery, nunner; min-ster, cathedral
mynsterhata m. persecutor of mona-steries
myre = miere
myrhð f. happiness, pleasure, joy
nā, nō adv. not at all, by no means
nabbað = ne habbað
nacod adj. naked
næbbe = ne hæbbe
nædli f. needle
næf- = ne hæf- (to habban)
næfre adv. never
nægli m. nail
° namig adj., pron. no, none, not any,
no one
nænne see nān
nære(n), næron = ne wāre(n), ne
wēron
næs adv. not; næs nā by no means
næs, nēst- = ne wæs, hnāst-
±nēt an I annoy, afflict, oppress
nafela m. navel
nāh see āgan
nāht, nōht adv. not at all, by no means
nāht, nāuht, nōht n. nothing
nāhtlič adj. of nought, worthless
nāhwār 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 niman
±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 nipan
nät = ne wāt (to witan)
nāteshwōn adv. not at all, by no means
°nāthwār adv. 'I-know-not-where',
here and there
°nāthwaet pron. 'I-know-not-what',
something
°nāthwylč adj., pron. 'I-know-not-
which', some one, a certain one
nāðor, nāuht (nāwiht) = nāwðer,
nāht
nāwðer, nāðor conj. neither; nāwðer
( . . ) nē . . nēe conj. neither . . nor
ne particle not
nē conj. nor
±nēadian II compel, force
nēah adj. near; superl. nēhst, nŷhst
(nēst 5.38); nēh 5.75; æt nŷhstan
see nīehst
nēah adv. near, nearly; compar. nēar;
nēh 1.50, 5.38, 53
nēahbūend mc. neighbor
+nēahhe adv. abundantly, often
nēaht = niht
nēahpeod f. neighboring nation
°nēalēčan, pret. nēalēcte, nēalēhte I
approach; inf. nēalēčan 1.91
nēar see nēah
nearones(s) fjō. strait, distress, con-
finement; nēara- 10.23
°nearowrenc 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
±nemnan II = ±nemnian
nemþe = nymþe
nēod f. desire, earnestness, delight, pleasantry; necessity, business (by confusion w. nied)
nēol = niwol
±nēosan I (w. gen.) visit
*nēosip m. ‘corpse-journey’, death
neōpan adv., prep. w. dat. below, underneath
neowol = niwol
±nerian I save, preserve, redeem
es = ne wæs
nese interj. no
nēst see nēah
nēten = nīeten
±nēðan I venture, risk; pres. 3 sg. ġenēdde 7.262
nied, nŷd f. necessity, need, hardship; the rune †; as. nēd 13.45, ds. nēde by necessity, under compulsion 5.3,
nŷde 8.5, 17, 13.61
±niedman I compel, force (to submit)
niedbepearf adj. necessary
niedgield, nŷdgylld n. forced payment
niedmāge f. near kinswoman
niedpearf, nŷd- f. need, necessity
nīehst, nŷhst, nīhist adj. (superl. of nēah) nearest, next, last; at nīeh-
stan at length, at last, next
±nierw(i)an, ±nyrw(i)an I, II restrict, confine, constrain
nīten n. beast, cow, ox; nēten 1.135
niewe adj. new; nsm. niwe 5.44, apf. niwu 7.200, gp. niwena 3.148, dp. as adv. niwan newly, recently 5.17
±nīewian, ±niwian II renew, regenerate; pp. ġenīwad 14.13.9, 15.148, 16.55, etc.
nigon num. nine
nīhist- = nīehst-
nīht, neaht fc. night; gs. nihtes by night; ap. nihte 6.12, dp. nihton 5.76, nihtum by night 14.5.14
*nīhthelm m. cover of night
nīhtlang adj. ‘night-long’, the length of a night; nīhtlanges adv. for the entire night
*nīhtsčua m. shadow of night
nīllan = ne willan
±nīman 4 take; pret. pl. (ġe)nāman 7.160, 15.30, ġenāmon 3.51, 90, 104, etc.
nīowul = niwol
°±nīpan I grow dark, vanish
nis = ne is
nīp m. malice, attack, oppression, affliction
nīðer adv. down, low
±nīðerian II humble, make low, abase, humiliates
nīberweard adj. pointed downward
*nīp(p)as mpja. humans
nīw- = nīew-
nīwol, nīowul, 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
norðeasthyrne f. northeast corner
norðeoweard adv. in the north
norðealf f. north side
norðmest adv. farthest north
norðhealf f. north side
norðhælf f. north side
norðrihte adv. to the north, in a northerly direction; -ryhte 7.6, 10
norðþēod f. northern people
norðweardes adv. northward, to the north
norðweard adj. in the north
norðweardes adv. northward, to the north
notian II use (up); pp. asm. ġe-
notudne 3.35
notu f. use, employment
nōwer = nāhwær
nū adv., conj. now; now that
nīd(-) = nied(-)
nīhst(-) see nēah and niehst
±nyhtsum adj. abundant
+nyhtsumian II suffice
*nympe, nempe conj., prep. (w. dat.) unless; except for
±nyrw- = ±nierw-
nysse, nyste = ne wisse, ne wiste (to witan)
nyt(t) adj. useful
nyt(t) fō. use, advantage
nytwierþe, -wyrþe adj. useful
of prep. w. dat. from, out of, by
of adv. from it, off (of it)
of-drāed(d) adj. (pp.) frightened
of-dûne adv. down
ofere prep.† over, despite, against, after
ofer-brāedan 1 overspread, suffuse
oferbrāedels m. cover
ofer-cuman 4 overpower, overcome, master
ofere adv. over, across, on the other side
ofer-fēran 1 pass over, traverse, cross
oferfiel(l), -fyl(l) f. gluttony
ofer-fōn, pret. -fēng 7 arrest
ofer-frøn adj. (pp.) frozen over
ofer-gān anom. ($134) come over, possess
ofer-gyldan 1 gild, cover in gold plate or foil
ofer-hergian II overrun, ravage; pret. pl. oferhergedon 7.209
oferhoga m. despiser
ofer-hogian II scorn
ºoferhygd fí. (also -hygd f., indecl.) pride, arrogance
oferlīçe adv. excessively
ºofermægen n. superior force
ofermēde nja. pride, arrogance
ofer-rædan (e) 7 and 1 read over
ofer-swīdan, -swīðan 1 overpower, defeat; pres. 2 sg. -swīðesð 11.93
ofer-winan 3 conquer, defeat
ofer-wlenčan 1 excessively enrich
of-faran 6 overtake, intercept; pret. pl. offōron 3.74, offōran 7.229
±offrían 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)
of adv. often; compar. oftør
of-tēon 2 ($132; w. dat. of pers. and gen. of thing) deprive
oft-rædliċe adv. frequently, continually
of-þynčan 1 seem amiss, displease
of-þyrsted adj. (pp.) parched, made thirsty (for, w. gen.)
of-þýswpan 3 stone (to death), kill with a stone
ōhwonan = ãhwonan
ōlečan 1 soothe, flatter
ol(l) n. contempest, scorn
on prep.† on, in, into, among, during; an 7.245, 322, 14.42.10
on-ælan 1 kindle, inflame
on-bærman 1 inflame, set ablaze
on-bierian, on-byr(i)gān 1 (w. gen.) taste
on-bindan 3 release, reveal; pret. 3 sg. onbond 14.33.7
on-bregðan 3 start up
on-būgan 2 bend
on-cíerran, 1 turn, influence, convince; inf. oncíerran 10.133
on-cnâwan (éo) 7 know, acknowledge, recognize
ond(-) see and(-)
on-drædan (é) 7 and 1 (w. acc. or gen., often w. reflex. dat.) fear, dread
on-eardian II attack, raid; pret. pl. onhergedon 1.16
on-hieldan, -hyldan 1 incline, bow
on-hwierfan, -hwyrfan 1 turn
on-hyrian 1 emulate, imitate; pres. 1 sg. onhyrge 14.8.10, 14.24.4
onlīċe adv. similarly
on-līesan, -līyan 1 liberate, redeem
on-lūcan 2 unlock, open
on-lūtan 2 bend down, bow, incline oneself
onsēɡe adj. assailing, oppressive (to, w. dat.)
on-scunian II avoid, despise
onsclyte mi. assault, attack; dp. on-scýtan 8.56, 130
on-sendan 1 send, give up; pret. pl. onsendan 11.120; pp. onsended 13.53, 15.49
on-sittan 5 (§127) oppress
on-slæpan (é) 7 and 1 fall asleep, sleep; pret. 3 sg. onsílæpte 1.96, 181
on-spannan (éo) 7 unfasten, open, disclose
onstal m. supply, provision
on-stellan, pret. onstealede 1 (§116) establish
on-sundran adv. separately, individually
Ontendnys(s) fjó. burning, fiery matter
on-týnan 1 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-wég adv. away
on-wéndan 1 change, turn, upend, overthrow
on-winnan 3 attack, invade
on-wrēon 1, 2 (§132) uncover, reveal; imp. 2 sg. onwérēoh 15.97; pp. ap.
onwrigene 13.84
open adj. open
±openian II open; pp. géopenad 5.29
openliçe adv. openly, in plain fashion
°ór n. origin, beginning
ord m. point, tip, start
orfcwealm m. murr ain
°orfeorme adj. devoid (of, w. dat.)
ormød adj. hopeless, in despair
ortriewe adj. without hope, in despair
°orpāncbend fjó. ingenious bond, cunning band
°orpāncpil m. ingenious pointed object
{òd prep. w. acc. until, up to
{oòd, oòd ðæt, òd ðæt conj. until
óþ-beran 4 bear off, carry away
òder adj., num., pron. second, other, one (of two or more); another; one of
òder . . . òder the one . . . the other; dsm. òðran 7.286, npf.
òðræ 2.47
òð-fæstan 1 commit, entrust
òð-feallan (éo) 7 decline, decay
òð-ferian 1 bear off, carry away; inf. òðfergán 14.16.7
òð-íewan, -ýwan 1 show, reveal, indicate
òð-rōwan (éo) 7 row off, escape by rowing
òðde, òðdon conj. or; òðde . . . òðde either . . . or
òð-wi ndan 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
préost m. priest
prýte f. pride
pund n. pound [Lat. pondo]

+rócan, pret. +róhte, +róhte I (§116) reach, attain, obtain, overtake
°ræced, recéd n. hall
rèd m. advice, plan, way forth, sense, reason, wisdom, benefit
rèdan (é) 7 or 1 (pret. rèdde; w. dat.) advise, make plans, guide, read, interpret; pres. 3 sg. ròt 5.10, pl. rède
9.3 (§79)
rædbora m. adviser, counsellor
rædehere mja. mounted soldiers, cavalry
rædelle f. riddle
rædels m. riddle
rædpeahtung f. counsel, advice, planning
+ræran I raise
ræsan I attack, mount an assault (upon, on)
ranc adj. proud, brave
°rænd m. (boss or rim of) shield
raðe adj. fierce, violent, cruel, harsh
raðe nja. ornamental
raðe ang. rēad adj. red; asm. rēodne 14.25.8
raðe n. garment, vestment, goods, plunder
raðere m. robber, plunderer
+rēafi(ġ)an II seize, plunder, ravage, tear up
raðflac 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
regnsčur m. shower
regol m. (monastic) rule
regollicē adj. canonical, regular, under monastic rule; dp. regollecum 1.150
regollicē adv. according to rule, canonically
reht- see reccan
+rēne nja. ornament
rēod- = rēad-
+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 rēdan
rēde adj. fierce, violent, cruel, harsh
rib(b) nja. rib
rīče adj. powerful, strong, overpowering; as sb. patrician; asm. rīcne 15.44
rīče nja. kingdom, realm, empire, reign, power
ricsian, rīxian II rule, prevail
+rīdan I ride; pres. 3 sg. rideō 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. ġeriht 15.131
°rihtcyning m. just or rightful ruler
rihtgelēafful(l), ryht- adj. orthodox, Catholic
rihtlagu f. just law
rihtnorþan, ryht- adv. from due north
rihtwis adj. righteous; sb. þā rihtwisan the righteous 10.68
+rihtwisian II justify, make righteous
rim n. number
+rīman I count, enumerate
°rinč m. hero, warrior, man
+rīp n. harvest
+ripan I reap; pret. pl. ġerypon 3.113
ripiant II ripen, mature
+risen n. dignity, honor
+risenlicē adj. fitting, becoming, suitable
rōd f. rood(tree), cross, crucifix
rōderum 1.13, 13.24
rōf adj. vigorous, valiant
rōht see reċċan
rōliče adv. cheerfully
rōlan (ēo) 7 go by water, row
rōmu f. red color, ruddy complexion
rūh adj. coarse, shaggy
rūn f. secret, private counsel; æt rūne in private
rūnstæf m. runic character
rycene, ryht(-) = recene, riht(-)
±rūwan (ēo) 7 go by water
rūwel f. room, space, access, benefit
rūneman(n) mc. one skilled in mysteries, mystery-solver
rūnow 1 enlarge, extend, open up, make room
rūyme n. room, space, access, benefit
sācmorht adj. (pp.) half built, unfinished
sārtic adj. of the sea, maritime
±sārtići adj. happy, blessed, fortunate, excellent
±sārtićiš adj. fortunate, blessed, happy
sācerd m. priest
sacu f. conflict
sāf mfi. (often indecl. except dp. sā[wu]m and masc. gs. sās) sea; ds. sāwe 14.33.5
sāf(c) fō. strife, struggle
sād adj. full (of, w. gen.), sated
sād- see sećgan
sāgon see sēon
sāl mfi. time, occasion; contentment, happiness
sālan 1 tie, bind, restrain, confine
sālīch adj. of the sea, maritime
±sālīc i adj. happy, blessed, fortunate, excellent
±sālīc iš adj. fortunate, blessed, happy
±sālīc iši = ±sālīc iši
±sālpā fp. blessings
sāman(n) mc. seafarer; np. sāmæn 8.98
sāne = +sīne
sārima m. coast, seashore
sāstrēam m. ocean current, sea lane
saga see seċgan
sam conj. whether, or; sam . . . sam whether . . . or
sama, soma adj. same; swā same in like manner, similarly, swā some swā in the same manner as
±samnian, ±somnian II assemble, gather (trans. or intrans.); pret. pl. somnedon 1.1, samnodan 11.19
±samning, ±somnung f. assembly, community
samod, somed, somud. samed adv. together, simultaneously, too; samod ætgæd(e)re together, in unison
sāmworht adj. (pp.) half built, unfinished
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
sāre adv. sorely, grievously
±sārgian II wound; pp. ġesārgad 13.62
sārīg adj. pained, sorry, sorrowful
sāri(ġ)an II lament, sorrow, suffer
sārlīc adj. sad, painful, tragic, lamentable; adv. sārlīč
sārne(s) fō. sadness, sorrow, dejection
±sāwan (ēo) 7 sow; pres. 3 sg. sāwe 14.21.6
sāw(o)l f. soul; as. sāule 8.59, sāwle
13.5; gs. (?) sāwle 13.10
sċæpen see sčieppan
sčamfest adj. modest
sčamian, sčéamian II (impers. w. dat.
or acc. of pers. and gen. of thing)
shame, embarrass, make ashamed
(of)
sčamlēas adj. shameless, wicked
sčamu, sč(ẹ)omu f. shame, modesty
+sčěad n. distinction, discernment
+sčěādan (ē) 7 discern, distinguish,
decide, settle
sč(ẹ)adu fwō. shadow
+sčěadwīsliče adv. plainly, discerning-
ly, intelligently
+sčěadwīsn(s) fō. discernment
sčěat m. shaft, staff
+sčěat n. creation, creature, object,
origin; workings, operation
sč(ẹ)andlič, sč(ẹ)ond- adj. disgraceful,
shameful; dp. -lican 8.56
sčěap n. sheep
°+sčěap n. creation, fortune, fate
sčēapen see sčieppan
sčearp adj. sharp, keen
sčēat m. sheet, covering, garment; (in
pl.) surface
sčěaḥa m. criminal, vandal, marauder
sčēawendwīse f. performer’s song
+sčěawian II see, behold, observe; pret.
3 sg. sčěawedē 11.58
sčēawung f. display, appearance,
showing, examination, exploring
sčeld- = sčIELD-
sčendan 1 insult, disgrace, bring shame
upon
+sčento f. (usu. pl.) confusion, igno-
miny
sčēop(-) see sčieppan
+sčěotan 2 shoot, dispense; sčēotan
tōgædere club together, pool one’s
money
sčēotend mc. ‘shooter’, archer, bow-
man
+sčěpan 6 injure, harm
sčićčels m. cloak
sčield, sčyld m. shield; ap. sčeldas
10.74
+sčieldan, ±sčyldan, ±sčildan 1 shield,
protect
+sčieppan, ±sčyppan 6 (§127) create,
give form to; pret. 2 sg. ġescēope
sčeapen 14.23.2, npm. ġesčæpene
3.144
sčiete, sčyte f. linen cloth
sčima m. brightness, effulgence
sčiinān 1 shine, gleam; pret. 3 sg. sčēan
5.44, 6.145
sčip n. ship; ap. sčypu 7.63, sčypa
7.64, sčipa 7.228, dp. sčypum 1.13,
sčipun 7.188
sčipen f. stall, cattle-shed
sčiphere mja. fleet; naval fighters,
marines
+sčipian II provide with ships
sčiprap m. ship’s rope, cable, line
sčir adj. bright, resplendent; adv. sčire
sčir, sčyr f. shire, county, district
sčirenibe f. actress, female jester
sčöl f. school
sčom-, sčond- = sčam-, sč(ẹ)and-
sčǝp see sčieppan
sčopǝreord n. poetic language
+sčrǝf n. cavern, cave
°sčrallettan 1 clamor, ring out; pres. pl.
sčralletaþ 12.20
+sčrifan 1 care about, feel regret over;
prescribe, ordain, bring to pass
sčrīdan 1 go, move, glide
sčrud n. clothing, garment
±sčrydan 1 clothe
sčulan pret.-pres. (§123) be obliged or accustomed, ought, shall; pres. 3 sg. sčeall 4.45, 7.45, 116, etc., sčeoll 5.15, pl. sčeolon 4.16, 35, 7.117, etc., sčeolan 7.130; pret. sg. sčeolde 5.3, 6.68, 91, etc., pl. sčylan 8.13, pret. sg. sčelde 12.39, pl. sčalde 1.90, sčoldan 8.27
sčūr m. shower, downpour, rain
±sčyld m. offense, crime, sin, guilt
±sčyldan = ±sčieldan
±sčyndan I drive, impel; rush, race
sčypend m. creator
sčypu, sčyr = sčipu, sčīr
±sčydan I injure, destroy
sčyte mi. shot, shooting (with bow)
šyte = šiете
šē, šėo, šae demonstr. (adj., pron.), rel. pron. (§41) the, this, that, who, which, that which; šaes (be) as; to päm, to űon to it, to such an extent; to űon ŵae for the purpose that, because; nsf. šio 2.40, 43, 52, etc., asm. šæne 5.26, 7.116, 8.85, etc., dsf. ðære 6.2, ism. þæ 11.97, isn. þan 1.39, 7.123, 127, etc., þæ 8.50, 11.97, etc., gp. þæra 4.12, 14, 5.10, etc.
seald(e), sealdon see sellan
sealstān m. stone made of salt, pillar of salt
searocraft m. fraud, trickery; searan-8.112
*searocraeftiḡ adj. fraudulent, treacherous
*searosæled adj. (pp.) cleverly bound, ingeniously strung
searoþanc, -þonc m. cunning thought, clever idea
searu nwa. artifice, trickery; as. seara 7.157, dp. (as adv.) searwum craftily, deviously 12.40
searwian, syrwian I plot, lay traps, be deceitful
sēa m. hole, pit
seax n. knife, short sword; gs. seaxses 14.26.6
±sēcan, pret. söhte I (§116; may be reflex.) search (for), seek, approach, attack; sj. pret. pl. söhte 7.206
*Lẹs m. man
±seğan III say, speak, tell (§121); inf. seggan 10.34, (ģe)seğgan 11.160, 168; pret. 1 sg. sæde 3.64, 2 sg. sædest 10.66, 3 sg. sæde 4.31, 5.78, 7.1, etc., pl. sædon 1.43, 7.25, 150, etc.; sj. pres. sg. (as imp.) segé 6.54; imp. sg. saga 14.8.8, 14.10.11, 14.12.13, etc.; pp. (ģe)ség 1.31, 7.271
*Lẹf m. heart, mind, temper, spirit
sēge, sęen see sęon
segl m. sail
±seglian II sail
segn m. banner, ensign
±segnian II (usu. reflex.) cross, make the sign of the cross
sēl adj. (compar. sēla, sella) good, fitting, prosperous; superl. asn. sēlest 15.118, gp. sēlestena 3.131
*+selda m. companion, fellow retainer
seldlič, sellič, sylčič adj. rare, strange
*sẹł mi. (orig. s-stem) hall, house
*saledrēam m. delight of the hall, conviviality
*saledrōriği adj. dejected for want of a hall, homesick
*selsecg 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 selfliče nja. vanity, egotism selfwille, sylf- adj. spontaneous, voluntary sella adj. (compar. of gōd) better ±sellan, ±yllan, pret. sealde I (§116) give, sell; pret. pl. sealdan 1.21; sj. pret. pl. sealdon 1.44 sellič = seldlič ±sendan I send; pret. pl. sendan 1.18; pp. sended 13.43 +sēne = +siene sēó see bēon, sē, sēon seofon num. seven; syfan 7.32, 86 seofonnīht fc. sennight, week seolf- see also self seolfor, sylfor n. silver seolh, gen. sēoles m. (§131) seal; gs. sīoles 7.48 °seolhbaþ n. ‘seal-bath’, sea, ocean ±sēon 5 see (§132); inf. Ġesión 2.33, pres. 1 sg. sēo 14.5.3, 2 sg. Ġesihst 10.68, 3 sg. Ġesihō 6.115, 16.46; pret. 3 sg. Ġesah 5.1, Ġesah 5.8, 51, 6.25, etc., Ġesah 5.50, pl. Ġesāvan 7.260, 306, Ġesāgon 11.68; sj. pret. sg. Ġesēge 11.75, Ġesēwe 15.4; pp. ns. Ġesēgen 1.122, 11.71 seond- see bēon seonu fwō. sinew; dp. seon(o)wum 13.57, 68 sester m. measure equal to about a pint [Lat. sextarius] ±set n. seat, encampment settl n. seat, bench, throne ±settan I set, establish, appoint, compose, deliver, put, dispose of; settle, seat; set out; conclude; pret. pl. Ġesettan 9.72; pp. nsm. Ġeseted 1.88, 15.141 se-þeah adv. (= swā þeah) nonetheless +sewenlič adj. visible; adv. -liče visibly sex = siex +sib(b) adj. related; as sb. kinsman, kinswoman; ds. Ġesibban 8.50 sib(b) fjo. peace, tranquillity; kindred ±sib(b)sum adj. peaceable siblegèr n. incest ±sibling m. relative, kins(wo)man siċcetung f. sighing sid adj. wide, extensive, massive, ample; adv. side widely, far and wide, amply ±side f. side; on sidan aside sidu, siido mu. custom, practice, good conduct, morality ±si(e)hð see sēon, +siht sie(n) see bēon +siene, +sŷne adj. visible, evident, plain; nsn. Ġesēne 8.42, Ġesāne 8.105 siex, syx, six num. six; sex 3.146 siexta, syxta num. sixth siextīg, syxtīg num. sixty; dp. siextegum 7.226 sīge mi. (orig. s-stem) victory; sīge slēan claim victory, triumph °sīgebēacn n. triumphant sign °sīgebēam m. tree of triumph sīgefæst adj. triumphant sīgelēas adj. without victory, defeated °sīgelēōd n. victory cry °sīgerōf adj. victorious, triumphant °sīgebēod f. triumphant nation ±sīglan I sail sīgor m. (orig. s-stem) victory, triumph
Glossary

sigorfæst adj. triumphant
+sihst, +sihð, +syhð see also sēon
+siht, +sihð, +syhð f. sight, view, presence, vision
simle, symle adv. continually, always, forever
sin adj., reflex. pron. one’s own
*:sinċ n. treasure, precious thing
*:sinċfāg, -fāh adj. decorated with treasure, bejeweled
*:sinċgief, m. ‘treasure-giver’, lord, ruler; nsm. -ġeofa 10.122
*:sinċpegu f. receipt of valuables, treasure-giving; as. -ġepe 16.34
sinder n. cinder, impurity
singāl adj. ever-living, perpetual
singāllīcē adv. incessantly, time and again
singan 3 sing; pret. 3 sg. song 1.114, 10.28, 12.50, sanc 10.158
±sinsċipe mi. marriage
sint see bēon
siodo = sidu
siofgan, seofian II sigh
siol-, sion see seolh, sēon
si(o)noð f. synod, council, assembly
±sittan 5 (may be reflex.) sit, remain, lodge
siō adv. later, after(ward)
siþ m. journey, wandering, undertaking, exploit, doings, experience, fate; time, occasion
siōfæt m. expedition, undertaking; ds. -fate 15.150
siþian II go, depart, pass, travel, wander; pret. 1 sg. sīþade 13.52, 14.26.11
siðan, syðdan conj., adv. after, since, when, now that; afterward, then
six = siex
slacian II delay, put off
slēp m. sleep
±slēpan (é) 7 sleep; pret. 3 sg. slēp 5.31, pl. slēpen 5.20, slēpon 5.37, 52
±slēan, pret. slōh, pp. slagen, slægen 6 (§132) strike, kill, inflict; drive; pret. pl. (ģe)slōgan 1.17, 46, pp. ġesleγen 3.82
sliefe, slýfe f. sleeve
±slitan 1 cut, tear up, lacerate
sliþan 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
smič m. smoke
±smierwian II anoint, salve, smear
smîp m. smith, craftsman
smolt adj. mild, tranquil
smylte adj. mild, peaceful, calm
smylnes(s) f. tranquillity, mildness
snā(w) mwa. snow
snāwhwīt adj. snow white
snelnes(s) f. agility, mildness
±sniðan 1 cut
snot(t)or adj. clever, wise; asm. snot-erne 6.73
snot(t)ornes(s) f. wisdom, acumen, cleverness
snot(t)orwyrd 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
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
°sōðġied(d) nja. true report
sōðlīċe adv. truly, in truth
sp®can see sprekan
sp®tan I spit, spew
spearn see spurnan
spēd fi. success, prosperity, wealth, means, wherewithal
spēdīg adj. wealthy, successful
spel(l) n. narrative, history, story
spēow see spōwan
spild m(i?) annihilation, ruin
spor n. spor, trace, track
±spōwan (ēo) 7 profit, avail, help;
 hence in impers. constructions succeed, thrive (at, w. gen.)
spreč fjo. talk, speech, discourse
±sprecan 5 speak; pres. 1 sg. sprice
14.23.11, 3 sg. spričeð 13.16, 16.70, pl. specað 9.40; sj. pret. pl. spēcan
8.8; infl. inf. tō specenne 8.68
±spurnan 3 kick (see note to 10.37)
±spryrian I make tracks on [cf. spor]
staf m. letter, character, writing; np. stafas characters, letters, literature
°stælgiest mi. surreptitious visitor
stælhere mja. troop moving covertly
stælhrān m. ‘stealth-reindeer’, decoy
stælwierp, -wyro adj. serviceable
stænen adj. made of stone
stær n. history, narrative
°stærcedferhō adj. stout of heart, determined; np. -fyrhōe 11.38
stæp n. shore, riverbank; ds. stape
3.75, 7.97, stæde 11.38
staf-, stāh see stæf, stīgan
stalu f. theft
stān m. stone
stāncīf n. cliff, peak, stony waste
±standan, ±stondan, pret. stōd 6
(often reflex.) stand, arise; pres. 3 sg. stent 7.78
°stānlīp n. rocky slope, stony declivity; ap. -hleopu 16.101
stapol m. trunk, pillar, post, stalk
starce see stearc
staðe see stæp
staðol m. base, foundation, support, ground
±staðolian II establish, found, confirm, keep stable; pp. ġestaðelad 13.42
°staþolwang, -wong m. fixed place
±stæl(l) mn. position, state, condition
stēam m. vapor, moisture
°stēaphēah adj. lofty, projecting, erect
stearc adj. strong, firm, inflexible;
 nsn.wk. starce 6.28
sted mi. place, position, firmness
stefn, stemn f. voice, cry
stefn, stemn mi. stem, root; term of military service
stenč mi. odor
stēorbord n. starboard
steorra m. pestilence
steorra m. star
steort m. tail
±stēpan 1 (w. dat.) help, support
±steppan, ±stæppan 6 (§127) step, go;
pret. pl. stōpon 11.121
stiċċe- = styċċe-
stician II stab, thrust
sticung f. pricking, goading
±stīeran, ±stȳran I direct, govern
±stīgan 1 climb, mount;
pres. 3 sg. stīġeð 12.19;
pret. 3 sg. ġestāh 15.40
±stihtian II arrange, ordain;
pp. ġe-
stihtad 1.6
±stillan I quiet, appease, restrain
stille adj. quiet, undisturbed, unmoving
stilnes(s) f. quiet, stillness, tranquility, peace
stican 3 reek; climb, rise;
pret. 3 sg. stonc 14.29.12
stiþ adj. firm, rigid
°stīðhyġdiġ, -hȳdiģ adj. firm-minded, resolute;
npm. -hīdiģe 11.121
°stīðmōd adj. firm-minded, resolute
stond- see stand-, steppan
storm m. storm
stōw f. place, site
stræc adj. vehement, violent;
apm. strece 9.28
stræl mf. arrow
strēt f. street
strand n. strand, shore
strang, strong adj. strong; compar.
strengra
strange, stronge adv. strongly
stræam m. stream, flood, current
strece see stræc
strengð(u) f. strength, violence
strengugu, -o f. (indecl. in sg.) strength
±strēon n. property, thing of value,
valuable, wealth; ġestrion 10.95
±stre(o)wian II strew, scatter
strič (or strič ?) n. (?) plague (?), sedition (?)
±striean I (w. gen.) beget
strīend, strỳnd f. stock, line of descent
strion, strong = strēon, strang
strūdung f. spoliation, robbery
stund f. moment, hour; adv. stundum from time to time, at times
stunt adj. dull, stupid, foolish
stycčemālum, stiċċe- adv. gradually,
bit by bit, piecemeal, here and there
stỳpel m. tower
stỳran = 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
+sundfulnym(s) f. health, security
sundor adv. apart
sundorhālga m. Pharisee
°sundorwundor n. special marvel
sunnandæġ m. Sunday
sunne f. sun
sunu, suno mu. son; ns. suna 9.76, np.
suno 14.46.2, 14.46.3
sutol-, sutel- = sweotol-
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
sūðdēl m. southern portion
sūðeweard adj. in the south; on sūðeweardum in the southern part of
7.67
sūðhealf f. south side
sūþrihte adv. due south; -ryhte 7.15, 16
sūðripa m. south coast
sūðwestēd n. south coast
sūðweardes adv. southward
sūðweardes adj. (from the) southwest
swā, swē, 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
±swās adj. own, intimate, dear; npf. swése dear 14.46.3
°swät m. sweat, blood
swæart adj. dark, swarthy, black
°sweartlāst m. dark track
swefan 5 sleep
swefel m. sulfur
swefn n. dream, vision
swēg mi. sound, tune, music
swēgcraeft m. musicianship, musical accomplishment
°swēgl n. heaven
swelc(-) = swylc(-)
±swelgan 3 (w. acc., dat.) swallow
±swencān ā trouble, afflict, torment
swēora m. neck
±sweord 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
sweotol, swutol adj. plain, clear; adv. swutole 5.67, 70, sweotele 10.47, sweotele 11.168, sweutele 14.24.10
±sweotolian, ±s(w)utolian II reveal, explain, make clear
sweotollicē adv. plainly, clearly
±swerian, swōr, swōron, sworn 6 ($127) swear
swēte adj. sweet, pure; dsm. swētan 5.8
swētnis(s) f.ō. sweetness
±swicēn 1 grow weaker, diminish; desist, cease from (w. gen.)
swicdōm m. betrayal, fraud
swiċe mi. fraud, offense, treachery, treason
swician II be treacherous, deceive, cheat, lay plots
swicol adj. guičeful, false
swifan 1 revolve, sweep
swift, swyft adj. swift, quick
swiftnes(s) fō. swiftness
swiģe f. silence, hush
±swigian, ±swugian II keep silence, be silent (about, w. gen.); pret. pl. ġe-swugedan 8.153; act. part. swigende 14.8.8
swilc = swylc
±swimman 3 swim, float
swīn n. pig, hog; gp. swīna 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, swŷð adj. strong, powerful; adv. swīþličē
swīðe, swýðe adv. much, very, greatly; compar. swīðor, superl. swīþost,
-ust; tō þām swīðe to such an extent; swīðost mostly, usually, chiefly
7.28, 126, 307
swīlič, swŷðlič adj. intense, excessive
swīðra, swýðra adj. (compar. of swīþ) right, right-hand
swōgan (ēo) 7 make a sound, rustle
swug- see sw¤gian
swurd, swutol-, swyft- = sweord, sweotol-, swift-
swylċ, swelċ, swilċ adj., pron. as, like, such (a); dp. swilcan 8.156
swylče, swelče adv., conj. (just) as, in like manner, likewise, resembling; as if; swylče swā just as (if)
swŷn-, swŷð(-), swyster, syfan = swīn-, swīð(-), sweostor, seofon
syhō, sylf(-), sylfor, syll-, sylič = siht, self(-), seolfor, sell-, seldlič
symbol n. feast; ds. symle 15.141
*symbelwlanč, -wlonč adj. 'feast-proud'; elated with feasting
symle see simle, symbol
syn, synd(-) see bēon
syndriģličē adv. specially
+sŷne = +siene
±syngian II sin, transgress, err; sj. pres. pl. syngian 8.129
synlēaw f. injury caused by sin
syn(n) fjō. sin, offense, transgression; dp. synnan 8.5, synnum 1.48, 8.92,
148, etc.
synnful(l) adj. sinful, corrupt
syrw- = searw-
syðån, syx, syxta, syxtiģ = siðån, siex, sixta, siextiģ
±tācn, tācen n. sign, symbol
±tācnung f. sign, proof
±tēčan, pret. tēhte I (£116) show, instruct, teach; sj. pres. pl. tēčan
8.131, 140
tēcnan I designate, mark out +tæl n. series, course; estimation, opinion
±tēlan 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
tēart adj. sharp, severe, bitter
tela, teala adv., interj. well, good [cf. til]
±teld n. tent
telģ = tielģ
±tellan, pret. tealde I (£116) tell, ac count, consider; count, number; pp. ġeteled 11.2
tempel n. temple
+tēon, tēah, tugon, togen II (§133) arrange;
pret. 3 sg. tēode 1.112
tēon n. injury, harm
tēona m. injury, reproach, insult, enmity
tēopung f. tithe, tenth part
±teran 4 tear, rend
tiedernes(s), týder- frjö. frailty
tid f. time, hour, (rites of the) canonical hour
tielg mi. dê; ns. telg 14.26.15
tien, týn num. ten; acc. týne 8.92, 93
tigele f. earthen vessel, pot
tihtan 1 urge, encourage
tihting, tyhtung f. allurement, instigation; dp. tihtincgum 6.26
til adj. good, virtuous
±tilian, ±tiolian II provide (w. gen.)
tima m. time, time of life
+timbre nja. building, edifice; np. ĝetimbro 1.51, ap. 1.48
±timbr(i)an I, II build, construct, found
+timian II happen, come to pass
tintreġ n. torment, torture
±tintr(eg)ian II torment, torture; pret. pl. tintredon 7.203
tintreġlič adj. full of torment
tiol- see til-
*tir m. glory; týr 14.26.23
*tiréadig adj. 'glory-blessed', honored
tiðian II (w. gen.) bestow, grant
tó adv. too, excessively; to that, in addition; to that place, forth
tó prep. w. dat., instr. for, to, as, at; tó dám, tó þon to such an extent, sufficiently; tó þon þæt for the purpose (or reason) that
tó-berstan 3 break into pieces, go to pieces; pres. 3 sg. tóbirsteð 14.38.7
tó-brećan 4 shatter, ruin, break (up, apart)
tó-brýsian II shatter, crush, fragment; pp. apf. -brýsede 6.167
tó-cnáwan (ē, ēo) 7 recognize, acknowledge
tó-cwýsan 1 be crushed
tócyne m. arrival
tó-dæg adv., n. today
tó-dælan 1 divide, apportion
tó-écan prep. w. dat. in addition to
tó-ëmnes prep. w. dat. alongside
tó-faran 6 part ways, split up
tó-féran 1 part ways, separate
tó-ged(e)re adv. together; tógedere 5.41
tó-gangan, -gongan 7 part with (see comment on 14.23.10)
tó-ğéanes prep. w. dat. against, in opposition to; toward, to meet, to;
him . . . tóğënes to him 11.167
tó-ğínan 1 gape, yawn
tó-glidan 1 slip away, vanish
tó-hlídan 1 split, burst
tó-leóþian II disjoint, dismember [cf. lió]
tó-ličgan 5 (§127) divide, separate; pres. 3 sg. tòlíð 7.93
tó-merğen adv. tomorrow
tó-niman 4 divide
top m. spinning top
torht adj. bright, beautiful, splendid; adv. torh

torn n. passion, anger
tó-sælan I (impers. w. dat. of pers. and gen. of thing) happen amiss (to s.o.) in respect (of sth.), be unsuccessful, fail
tó-samne, tó-somne adv. together
tósceád n. distinction, difference, differentiation
tó-slítan 1 tear, cut apart
tó-téon 2 (§132) pull apart, draw asunder; pres. 3 sg. tòtyhð 13.114; pp. tótogen 13.108
tó-teran 4 tear up, lacerate, shred
GLOSSARY

 tôþ mc. tooth, tusk; ap. tôð 7.30, tôpas 13.114

towośćr adj. impending, future, to come
tō-wand prep. w. gen. toward
tō-wardan 1 destroy, subvert
tō-wearpan 3 cast down, break apart, destroy; pret. pl. tōwearpon 7.199
tō-wrecan 5 drive apart, scatter, dissipate
tōwyrd fi. opportunity, occasion

 tô- tredan 5 tread, trample; pres. 3 sg. triedeð 14.12.6
tréow(m) f. tree, beam; ap. treowu 7.288
tréow fwm. faith, pledge, compact, loyalty, allegiance
tréowen adj. made of wood

±trew, ±tréowe adj. true, faithful, trustworthy; adv. ±træwliče faithfully, confidently
+træwþ, +træwð, +tréowð f. truth, fidelity, honest dealing

Tróíanisċ adj. Trojan

±træwian II (w. acc., dat.) trust; pret. 3 sg. getruwade 7.319
±træwmman 1 fortify, prepare; lend support (to, w. dat.)

tug-, tog- see tēon

tūn m. settlement, enclosed place, manor, village
tunge f. tongue

tūngérēfa 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
twéntiċ num. twenty

twēo m.wk. doubt
tweoliče adv. ambiguously, equivocally
±twēonian II (impers. w. dat. subj. and gen. object) doubt, be in doubt about
twēonung f. doubt, uncertainty
tydernes(s) = tiedernes(s)
tyht mi. progress, motion
tyhō see also tēon
±tyn 1 instruct, teach
tyne, týr = tiene, tīr

þa adv., conj. ($83; used in pret. clauses; cf. þonne) then; when
þæne, þænne = þone, þonne
þær adv. there; where; þær 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-écan adv. in addition to that
þær-útan 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
±þah see +þiċġan
±þanc, ±þoncé m. thought, intent, purpose; thanks
±þancian, ±þoncéan II (w. gen. of thing and dat. of pers.) thank
þanon, þonan adv. thence, from there
þar = 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
þēah-hwæð(e)re adv. nevertheless, all
the same
þeah(-) see also þeccan
þēaht(-) see also þecčan
þēahtian II deliberate, consider; pret.
pl. þēahtedon 1.1
þearf f. need, necessity
þearfa m. beggar, pauper
þearfende adj. (act. part.) needy,
miserable, in poverty
þearfendlic adj. poor, miserable
þearfiicc adv. with care, carefully
þearle adv. exceedingly, very much,
severely, grievously
þēatrum n. theater; ds. þēatra 7.227
þēaw mwa. practice, usage, custom,
behavior
þēccan, pret. þēhite I (§116) cover
þēcen f. thatch, roof, covering
þēngegield, -gyld n. the wergild (comp-
ensation) for a noble
þēgn, þēn, þēgen m. thegn (i.e. min-
ister of the king), lord, official, atten-
dant, follower, retainer, minister,
noble; dp. þēnan 8.26
þēgnian, þēnian II (w. dat.) serve,
wait upon, tend, care for
þēgnung, þēning f. service, ministry
þēh, þēn(-) = þēah, þēgn(-)
þēh, þēn, þēn = þēah, þēgn
þēode see also þēowian
þēohen n. language, tongue; nation
þēoden m. lord
þēodenstōl m. lordly seat, throne
þēodland, -lond n. nation
þēodnis(s) fjō. association, propin-
quity
þēodsċipe mi. community
þōedwita m. learned person, sage,
historian
þōef m. thief
þōoh, ds. þēo n. (§133) thigh
þōostro = þiestrū
þōotan 2 make a sound, murmur
þōow adj. servile, not free
þōow m. servant, slave
þōowa m. servant
þōowdōm m. slavery, servitude, service
þōowteling m. slave, servant; -lincg 6.6
þōowi(g)an II serve (w. dat.); press
into servitude, enslave; pret. 3 sg.
þōode 1.184; pp. nnp. þēōowede
8.36
þōowotdōm, þōowot- m. service, duty
þēs, þēos, þis pron. (§60) this, this
one; nsm. þēs 5.15, nsf. þios 10.160,
asym. þysne 9.48, 15.104, asfl. þysse
8.77, gsf. þōos 1.74, gsn. þysses
1.13, þysses 1.18, þis 7.197, dsm.
þīossum 1.99, þīosan 7.208, 224,
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þysan 8.35, 48, 62, etc., dsf. ðysre 4.1, ðysse 8.30, 41, 43, etc., dsn.
þicce adv. densely
±þicgan, pret. þah 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, þȳfþ f. theft
þīestru, þēostro f. (indecl. in sg.) darkness; as. þistro 10.57, þēostro 10.76, ðīostro 10.182, ds. þyßtro 14.47.4
þigð see þígðan
þin adj., pron. your, yours (sg.)
þinðan = þyncan
þinġ, 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-, þi(o)stro, þiow(-) = þēod-, þiestru, þeow(-)
±þōht m. thought, mind
þōht- see also þenčan
±þōliyan II suffer, endure, last, hold out, sustain, be guilty; pret. pl. þolodan 15.149
þonan, þonc = þanon, þanc
þonne conj. since; than
þōðor, þōðer m. ball
þracu f. violence, attack
±þraec n. throng, violence; ns. þēprec 11.114, ap. þēprecu 14.35.6
þraechard adj. hardened by combat
þrēd mu. thread
þrēft n. contentiousness
þrēl m. thrall, slave
þrēliht n. rights of thralls
þrāg f. (period of) time, while
±þrawan (ē, ēo) 7 twist, rack
þrēat m. press, crowd, throng, host; violence, oppression, force
þrec see þrēc
þridda num. adj. third; þridde healf two and a half
þrie, þrēo num. (§59) three; nom. masc. þrȳ 8.98, 9.76, acc. masc. þry 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
þrītiġ, þrittīġ num. thirty
±þrōwi(ġ)an II suffer, undergo
þrōwung f. suffering, passion
þrūh fc. tomb; ds. þrȳh 6.196, 200
þrȳ = þrie
þryċċan I afflict, assail
þrym see also þrēc
þrymcyning m. king of glory
þrymfæst adj. mighty, glorious
þrymful(l) adj. full of majesty
þrym(m) mja. force, troop; glory, majesty, self-regard
þrynes(s) fjō. trinity
þrīþ fi. (usu. pl.) power, force
prýðbold n. mighty hall
þū, þē, þeċ, þīn pron. sg. (§38) you, thou
þūf m. banner, standard
þūht- see þynčan
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-drìfan 1 pierce; pret. pl. -drìfan 15.46
þurh-etan 5 eat through; pres. 3 sg. þurhiteð 13.115
þurh-smùgan 2 pierce, bore through
þurh-wunian II persist, remain
þurstiġ adj. thirsty (for, w. gen.)
þus adv. thus
þusend num. thousand
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
þygan I urge, press; pres. 3 sg. þyð 14.12.8, 14.21.5
þyld fi. patience, endurance
þyldiġ adj. patient
þylliċ, þysliċ pron. such (a)
þynčan, pret. þūhte I (impers. w. dat.; §§66, 116) seem; inf. þincan 8.48, 108, 133, etc., pres. 3 sg. þincēð 14.31.18, 16.41; sj. pres. sg. þincē 12.30
þyrel adj. pierced, with a hole in it
þysliċ, þýstro = þylliċ, 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
úhte f. early hours, period before dawn
úhtsang, -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. uncreś 13.34
unclēne adj. unclean, sordid
unclēnnes(s) fiō. impurity
uncoþu f. disease
uncraeft m. deceitful practice; dp. uncraeftan 8.165
uncūð adj. strange, unfamiliar, unknown
undād fi. misdeed
undearnunga adv. without concealment, for all to see
under prep.† under, in the course of
under-bac adv. backward, back, behind
under-flōwan (ēo) 7 ‘under-flow’, pass beneath
under-fōn 7 accept, receive, undergo; pret. pl. -fēngan 8.162
under-standan, pret. -stōd 6 understand; undertake
under-þéadan, -þéodan I subject, cause to conform, make subject, subjugate
undierne, undyrne adj. unconcealed, exposed
un-dōn anom. (§134) undo, open up
unēāðe adv. not easily, with difficulty, reluctantly
unēðelīċe adv. awkwardly, badly
unfæderliċ adj. unlike a father; adv. -lič
unforbærned adj. uncremated, not reduced to ash
unforcūð adj. not despicable, admirable
unforht adj. unafraid, fearless
unforwandliċe adv. unhesitatingly, forthrightly
unforwandiendlīċe adv. unhesitatingly, forthrightly
unforworht adj. (pp.) guiltless, innocent
unfriþ m. enmity, threat of attack
unġearu adj. unprepared; on unġearwe unawa
unġelīċ adj. unlike, dissimilar, at odds; adv. -lič
unġelimp n. misfortune, mishap
unġefōge adv. uncommonly, immoderately
unġelīċ adj. unlike, dissimilar, at odds; adv. -lič
unģe-liefedliċ adj. incredible
unġe-cnāwen adj. (pp.) unfamiliar
unġefōge adv. uncommonly, immoderately
unģemetiļiċe adv. beyond measure, excessively
unģerād adj. rude, clumsy, discordant
unģerīm = unrīm
unģerȳde, unģerȳdelīċ adj. uneasy, rough, violent; compar. nsn. unģerȳdde 5.42
unģesəļiģ adj. unfortunate
unģesewniliċ adj. invisible
unģesibbe adj. unrelated
unģetrēow adj. faithless, treacherous
unģetrywþ f. disloyalty, treachery
unģepwārnes(s) f. disturbance
unģewunelič adj. unusual, strange
unġielde, unġylde nja. excessive tax; np. unģyllda 8.47
unièmeðnes(s) fjo. severity, harshness
unlagu f. crime, violation of law, abuse of law, injustice
un-lūcan 2 unlock; pret. 3 sg. unlēc 4.28
unlītel adj. aplenty
±unnan, pret. ±ūde pret.pres. ($123) grant, allow, bestow
unofer-swiōndliċ adj. unconquerable, unopposable
unofer-wunnen adj. (pp.) undefeated
unrād m. folly
unriht adj. wrong, wicked, perverse
unriht n. injustice, vice; on unriht unjustly
unrihthāemere m. fornicator, adulterer
unrihtliċ adj. unjust; nsn. unryhtliċ 7.142
unrihtliče adv. wrongly
unrihtwis adj. unjust, unrighteous; as sb. np. þā unryhtwisān the unrighteous 10.69
unrim, unğerim n. a countless number, multitude, profusion
unrime adj. numberless, countless, innumerable
unrọt adj. dejected, sad, distraught
unrōtnes(s) f. dejection, disquiet
unryht- see unriht-
unsālīģ adj. unfortunate
unsċæþþiġnys(s) fō. innocence, purity
unsċeaððiġ adj. harmless, innocent
un-scrȳdan 1 strip, disrobe, divest
unsidu mu. bad practice, vice
unsōfte adv. with difficulty, arduously, scarcely
unspēdiģ adj. poor
unstille adj. unquiet, restless; adv. -e
untrēow f. infidelity, faithlessness
untrum adj. infirm, sickly
untrymnes(s) fō. infirmity
untwēoġendlīċe adv. unequívocally, without a doubt
unþanc, unþonc m. displeasure; ēow-eres unþonces against your will
unwær adj. unaware, heedless; m.wk. unwar
unwæstm m. crop failure, spoilt harvest
unwealt adj. steady, stable
unwælcyrie f. valkyrie, sorceress
ūtadv. out, away
utan = wutan
ūtan adv. from outside, on the outside
ūtanbordes adv. from abroad
ūte adv. abroad, out, outdoors
ūtermere mi. outer sea, open sea
ūteweard 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
wædum fi. garment, covering; dp. wædum 14.9.4, wædum 15.15
+wæde nja. garment
wædla m. pauper, poor person
wæfels mn. garment, cloak
wæfersien fi. spectacle; ds. wæfersyne 15.31
wæg see wegan
wæg m(i). wave ds. wēge 14.33.1, ap. wēgas 16.46
wæg- see also wāg
±wēgan I afflict, trouble, oppress
wægas = wēgas
wægn m. carriage, wain, wagon, wheeled vehicle
wæl n. slaughter, casualties; wæl slēan wreak carnage
wælcyrie f. valkyrie, sorceress
°wælfel adj. greedy for carrion
°wælgifre adj. greedy for slaughter, bloodthirsty
°wælhlencē f. coat of mail
wælhrēow adj. cruel, bloodthirsty; adv. -liċe mercilessly
wælhrēowes(s) fō. cruelty, blood-thirstiness
°wælrūn f. ‘slaughter-secret’, premonition of bloodshed
°wælsleaht nm. deadly combat
wēn- = wēn-
wēp(e)n n. weapon; ap. wēpna 7.160
°wæpenbracu f. storm of weapons, battle
°wæpenwiga m. ‘weapon-warrior’, fighting weapon
wæpnecyn(n) nja. the male sex
wæpnedman(n) mc. male
wæpnæwrixl n. hostile encounter, exchange of blows
wær = wer
wær f. covenant, protection
wærliċe adv. carefully, vigilantly
west = west
wæstm m. growth, stature, form; as. wæstum 14.31.5
wæstmbærnys(s) fjo. fruitfulness
wæt adj. wet, moist
wæta m. liquid, moisture
+wætan I moisten, make wet
wæter n. water
wæterfæsten(n) nja. fortification near water or water providing natural fortification
wæpan I wander, hunt
wæx- = weax-
wæg m. wall; ds. wæhe 5.63, wæге 14.13.4, wæге 14.14.12
wæhrægl n. tapestry, curtain [wæg-hraegl]
wæhrift n. tapestry, curtain
wælā interj. alas (for, w. dat.)
wæld- 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
°wanhyḑği, wonhyḑği adj. heedless, reckless, imprudent
+wærian II diminish, take away, expropriate, alienate; dwindle; pret. pl. wanedan 8.29
wan(n), won(n) adj. dark, dusky
+wærian II guard, protect, occupy
warnian = wearnian
wæð see weordan
wæst, wåt see witan
°waþum m. wave; gp. waþema 16.24, 57
wè, ús, ùre, úser pron. pl. (§38) we, us, of us
wælalæ 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 gewealde into the power of (w. dat.)
+wæaldan (ēo) 7 (w. gen., dat.) control, rule; produce; pret. pl. wëoldan 8.47, wioldon 10.120
w(e)aldan (ēo) 7 (w. gen., dat.) control, rule; produce; pret. pl. wēoldan 8.47, wëoldon 10.120
w(e)aldan (ēo) 7 (w. gen., dat.) control, rule; produce; pret. pl. wēoldan 8.47, wëoldon 10.120
w(e)aldend mc. wielder, controller, user; ruler, king (usu. in ref. to God); np. waldend 16.78
wealhgerēfa m. commander on the Welsh marches
wealhstōd m. translator, interpreter
weald (l) m. wall
+wæellan (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, wearth m. criminal, outlaw; ap. wergas 15.31
±wearian 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

wed(d) n. pledge

wedum = wēdum ±wefan 5 weave

wefl f. weft, woof, horizontal threads on a loom

weġ m. way, path, road; adv. ealne
weģ the entire way, all along 7.73, 86, 92, etc.; adv. hys weģes his own way 7.123; adv. on weģ away; ap. wægas 14.51.6
weģ- see wēg-

±wegan 5 carry, bring, move, sustain; feel; pres. 3 sg. weģð 14.12.8, 14.21.5, wiģð 14.50.3; pret. pl. wēgun 14.27.3

weġnest 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, -hwilc adj., pron. each, any, every; dsm. ġwelhwylcan 8.44, 89
welīg adj. prosperous, wealthy; dsf.wk. welegan 10.109

well, well-, welm = wēl, well-, wielm welwillend adj. benevolent
welwillendnes(s) fjr. benevolence

±wēman I persuade, entice

±wemman, pret. wemde I (§114) de-file, 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. wēnde 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

±weordliest, werodlést fi. lack of troops

weorold, weoruld, woruld, worold f. world

weoroldafel n. worldly power

weoroldbising f. worldly preoccupation, mundane trouble

weoroldcempa m. secular fighter, soldier

weoroldcund adj. secular

weoroldfrēond mc. earthly friend; np. -frýnd 10.172

weoroldgéwin(n) n. worldly struggle

weoroldhád m(u). secular condition

weoroldlič adj. worldly, temporal

weoroldman(n) mc. person of the world, mortal
weoroldrǐce nja. kingdom of earth
weoroldsālþa fp. worldly blessings
weoroldsčamu f. public disgrace
weoroldsorg f. earthly care
weoroldstrenģu f. (usu. indecl. in sg.) physical strength
weoroldstrūdere mja. pillager, reaver
weoroldþēaw mwa. worldly affair
weoroldþing, -þing pl. -þing n. worldly concern, mundane matter; ap. worulđingc 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. wurđan 9.29
weorðful(l) adj. worthy, estimable
±weorðian II distinguish, honor, worship; pret. pl. wurđodon 9.13, wurđodon 9.41, 49; pp. ġewurđod 9.43, ġeweorðad 1.75, 11.177
weorðlič, wurðlič adj. dignified, honorable, splendid; adv. -lič
weorðmynd, wurðmynt mn. dignity, (place of) honor, glory; ds. wyrðmente 9.68, gp. weorðmynda 10.123
weorðścipe mi. dignity, honor
weorðung f. worship
weorud, weoruld(-) = weorod, weorold(-)
±wēpan (ōo) 7 (§127) weep (for), bewail
wer m. man, adult male; husband; ns. wær 14.46.1
wergas = weargas
wërge adj. accursed, damned
±werian I defend, protect, ward off; inf. werġan 12.39
wērig adj. weary, exhausted (by, w. dat.)
werod(-), weorold(-) = weorod(-), weorold(-)
°werþēod f. nation
wesan see bēon
west adv. westward, to the west, in the west; west 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
westsē mi. west sea
westweard adv. westward
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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
wienen, wynn f. female slave
wielle f. well, fountain, spring; ap. wellan 14.38.3
wielen, wyln m. spring, water source; gs. wylspringes 6.24
wielm, wylm mi. surge, fervor, ardor, current; ds. welme 1.152
wierga, wyrγan i curse, condemn; sj. sg. wyrige 6.78
wierrest, wyrrest adj. worst (superl. of yfel)
wiere, wyrs adv. (compar. of yfele) worse
wiere, wyrsa adj. (compar. of yfel) worse
wierian, wyrγan II grow worse, deteriorate; pret. pl. wyrsedan 8.30
wif n. woman, wife
wifian II take a wife, marry, form a union (with, on w. acc. or dat.)
wifman(n), -mon(n) mc. woman, female
wig n. battle, warfare; ds. wigge 11.48, 150, dp. wiga 16.67
wiga m. fighter; gp. wighena 1.20, wigena 11.150, 153
wigcraft m. strength in war, military prowess
wigend mc. fighter, soldier; ap. wigend 11.106
wigę see wegan
wiglung f. sorcery, witchcraft
wigsmiþ m. war-maker
wigspéd fi. military success
wigsteal(l) n. rampart, battlement
wiht, wyht, wuht fni. aught, anything (of account); creature, being; ds. as adv. wihte at all
±wihne nja. weight, measure
wilcuta m. welcome guest
wild- see also wield-
wilddeor n. (orig. wildor nc.) wild beast; dp. wildrum 7.36
wilde adj. wild
wilγelēþa m. intimate companion, comrade
wilγ(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; offer willan against one’s will, voluntarily 14.29.10
willan, wyllan anom. wish, be willing, will ($134); pres. 1 sg. nelle 6.150, wyle 15.1, 2 sg. wylt 6.83, 102, 3 sg. wyle 6.135, 156, wile 14.35.11, pl. wylad 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
wilsumness fjō. willingness, devotion
wimman(n) mc. female, woman
[= wifmann]
win n. wine
‘winburg fc. ‘wine-fortress’, warriors’ hall
wincel m. corner; ds. wincle 14.45.1
wind m. wind, air
\(\pm\)windan 3 wind, plait, twist, craft
\(\circ\)winedryhten m. lord and friend, patron
winelēas adj. friendless
\(\circ\)winemāg m. dear relation; gp. -meága 16.7
\(\pm\)win(n) n. labor, strife, conflict
\(\pm\)winna m. enemy, adversary
\(\pm\)winnan 3 labor, gain, overcome, obtain, fight, struggle (on against)
\(\circ\)winelēas adj. friendless
\(\circ\)winemāg m. dear relation; gp. -meága 16.7
\(\pm\)winnan 3 labor, gain, overcome, obtain, fight, struggle (on against)
\(\circ\)wīnsæl n. wine-hall; np. -sæl
\(\pm\)winter m(u). winter, year
\(\circ\)winterċeariġ adj. frosty of mood, with darkened spirits
\(\circ\)wīold, wiot - = wēold, wit -
\(\circ\)wīr m. wire, metal ornament
\(\circ\)wīrboga m. ring of wire
\(\circ\)wīs adj. wise, intelligent, reasonable; adv. wise
\(\circ\)wīsċ - = wysċ -
\(\circ\)wīsdōm m. wisdom, learning
\(\circ\)wise, wīse f. business, affair, matter, manner, fashion, way, wise, means
\(\circ\)wisfaest adj. sagacious, learned
\(\pm\)wisian II direct, guide
\(\circ\)wīslīc adj. prudent; compar. nsn. -licre 7.239
\(\pm\)wis(s) adj. sure, certain, trustworthy, unshakeable
\(\pm\)wis(s)licē adv. certainly, truly, plainly, clearly; compar. -licor
\(\circ\)wist fi. food, plenty, feast(ing)
\(\circ\)wist- see also witan
\(\circ\)wit, unc, uncer pron. dual (§38) we (two)
\(\circ\)wītan, pret. ±wisse, ±wiste pret.-pres. (§123; may be reflex.) know, understand; learn; bear witness; pres. 3 sg. nāt 10.58, pl. wītan 8.16, 73, 106, etc.; pret. 3 sg. nyste 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
\(\pm\)wītan 1 reproach, blame
\(\pm\)wit(e)ga m. sage, prophet
\(\pm\)witennes(s) fjo. departure; gs. ġe-witenesse 1.154
\(\pm\)witnes(s) fjo. witness; ds. ġewitnesse 5.51
\(\pm\)witnian II punish, torture; pp. np. witnade 7.325
\(\circ\)wīd prep. w. acc., gen., dat. opposite, opposing, against, toward, beside, near, in exchange for
\(\circ\)wīd-čēosan 2 reject, cast out; pp. ap. wīdcorenan 1.7
\(\circ\)wīperlēan n. repayment, reward, re-quital
\(\circ\)wiđersaca m. renouncer, betrayer, apostate
\(\circ\)wiđerwinna m. adversary, enemy
\(\circ\)wiđ-sacan 6 renounce, deny
\(\circ\)wiđ-sčūfan 2 repel, ward off
\(\circ\)wiđ-standan, -stondan 6 (w. dat.) oppose, withstand
\(\circ\)wiđđe f. withy, rope, band
\(\circ\)wlanc, wlonc adj. stately, proud
\(\circ\)wlenču f. (usu. indecl. in sg.) glory, pomp, splendor
INTRODUCTORY GRAMMAR

w-lite mi. beauty
\[±\text{wlitegian} \parallel \text{beautify, make lovely}; \text{pp. } \text{gewlitegad} 14.31.2\]
\[\w-lite\text{-gian} \parallel \text{adj. beautiful}\]

w-litečene, -sčyne adj. beautiful

wlitiği adj. lovely, attractive, radiant, beautiful; asn. wliti 11.89

wlonec = wlanc

wōh adj. (§133) bent (over), twisted, wrought; dp. wōum 14.14.3

wōhdōm m. unjust sentence

wōhgestrēon n. ill-gotten gains

wō(h)liče adv. perversely

wōl f. plague

wolcn n. cloud, sky, heaven

wōma m. tumult, alarm; revelation

wom-, womm- = wamb-, wamm-, won, won-, wong- see hwā, wan-

wōp m. weeping

word n. word, speech, statement;
\[\text{wordes and dāde } \text{by word and by deed}\]

worden see weordan

\[\w\text{-ord} \text{hord n. ‘word-hoard’, store of words}\]

worht(-) see wyrčan

worn m. multitude, myriad, plethora

worold(-), woruld(-) = weorold(-)

\[\w\text{-op} \text{f. sound, voice}\]

\[\w\text{-ōdōbora m. ‘voice-bearer’, singer, speaker}\]

\[\w\text{-ōdōgiefu} \text{f. talented voice}\]

wrαcu f. revenge, retribution; ds. wræce 11.17

wræc n. misery, persecution, exile; ns. wræcc 1.47

\[\w\text{-reclāst m. track of exile}\]

\[\w\text{-resnan} \text{i alter, change, modulate}\]

wrǣtliče adj. curious, wondrous; adv. -liče

wrēt(t) f. ornament

wrāh see wrēon

wrāði adj. furious, hostile, cruel; dp. as sb. wrāpum by enemies 14.14.17

wrāđe adv. cruelly, harshly

\[\w\text{-rōdu f. help, support; as. wrađe } \text{11.84}\]

\[±\text{wrecan} \text{5 avenge, take vengeance for; punish; press forward, advance, drive; utter, deliver}\]

wrecča, wračča m. outcast, wretch

wrecčan, pret. wra(ah)te 1 (§116) rouse, waken

wrenč mi. wile, stratagem, trick; vocal modulation

wrecčan 1 spin plots, lay stratagems

\[±\text{wroen} \text{1 (§132) cover, clothe; pret. 3 sg. wrāh 14.9.5, 14.26.11}\]

wrigian 11 go, turn, press forward

\[±\text{writ} \text{n. document, letter, message, Scripture, writing}\]

\[±\text{writan} \text{1 carve, write; pret. pl. wr loos-}\]

\[\text{1.137}\]

\[±\text{wričan} \text{1 twist, bind, check; weave}\]

wrixendliče adv. in turn

\[±\text{wrixlan} \text{1 (w. dat.) exchange, vary; wordum wrixlan converse}\]

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

\[\w\text{-dorcyning m. king of glory}\]

\[\w\text{-dorfæder mc. glorious father}\]

\[\w\text{-dorgesteald np. glorious residences}\]
**GLOSSARY**

**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

wundorlċ adj. amazing

&wundrian II feel surprise, be amazed

&wundianoc II feel surprise, be amazed

&wundianan II dwell, inhabit, occupy,

be accustomed, remain, endure; inf.

ğewunigen 10.109; pret. 3 sg. ġe-

wunade 1.75, pl. wunedon 15.3, 155

wuning f. lodging

wurdon see weorðan

wurð(--) = weorð(--) (the

latter may be to weorðan)

wunung f. lodging

wyrd fi. event, course of events, fate,

happening

wyrgan = wiergan

+wyrht ni. work, deed, desert, trans-
gression

wyrrha 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

wyrest, wyrst(-), wyrst = wierrest,

wiers(-), wierrest

wyrt fi. herb, plant, green; root

wyrð(-) = weorð(-), wierð(-) (the

latter may be to weorðan)

wys- see also wis-

&wyscan, ±wiscan I (w. dat. of pers.

and gen. of thing) wish

yelic- = iec-

ýdel(-) = idel(-)

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ymbset</th>
<th>n. siege</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ymb-sittan</td>
<td>5 besiege, surround</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ymbsittend</td>
<td>adj. neighboring, adjacent; as sb. neighbor, company</td>
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<tr>
<td>ymb-útan</td>
<td>adv. around</td>
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<tr>
<td>yrğ-, yrh- = ierğ-</td>
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<tr>
<td>yrm-, yrn-, yrr- = ierm-, irn-, ierr-</td>
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| yrsian, yrðling = iersian, ierðling |
| yrsian, yrðling = iersian, ierðling |
| ysl fjó. spark, ember |
| yð fjó. wave |
| yðan, yw- = īðan, īew- |
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
Æþelwold m. Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, held office 963–84
Affrice Africa 7.314
Affrodosía 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
Águstus Augustus 1.11
Alerīċ, Eallerīça 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
Angelpēod Angles 1.11, 83
Antecrīst Antichrist 8.5
Antiopia 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
Apollonius m. Apollonius, prince of Tyre; acc. -ǐum, gen. -ius, -ies, dat. -īo, -ī(ġ)e, vocative -ī (partly Latin endings)
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Cantwara burg f. Canterbury
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Dena mearc, Denemearc(a) Denmark 7.80, 84, 88
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Dorcēceaster Dorchester 3.135
Dunstān m. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, held office 961–88
Ēadgār m. Edgar, king of England, reigned 959–75
Ēalleriča = Alerić
Ealdseaxan Continental Saxons, Saxon 1.28
Ēastengle East Anglians 1.29; 3.39, 68, 85, 87, 99, 123, 127, 138, 166
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Lædenware mp. Romans, speakers of Latin 2.45
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Langa land Langeland, in Denmark 7.87
Lēga ċeaster Chester 3.88
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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
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