Hempl, George
Old-English phonology
Old-English Phonology

D.C. Heath & Co
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The following pages are the first of my forthcoming *Old-English Grammar and Reader*. They are now published primarily for the use of the members of my classes.

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SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

> = "become(s)," "became," or "(is changed) into."

< = "(derived) from," "a later form of."

* marks a form not found in Mss. but inferred philologically.

/ is a sign of gradation, § 47.

: is a sign of the working of Verner's Law, § 57.

+ = "plus," or "together with following."

[ = "after," or "preceded by," for ex., *[io] > u = "io after w becomes u," or "under the influence of a preceding w, an io becomes u."

] = "before," or "followed by," for ex., e[nas.] > i = "e before a nasal, becomes i."

[ = "breaks," or "broken," § 41, for ex., [i] > io = "i breaks into io," or "breaking changes i to io," and ea < æ] = "the ea that arises by the breaking of æ."

1. = "[mutation," § 43; )n = "u-mutation," § 44. For ex., ð) > ê = "the [mutation of þ is ê," or "þ mutated by i becomes ê."

a, ã, &c., § 15 N2.

d, ã, h, &c., § 85.

e, ë, § 40 N3.

g, ã, ft. nt. p. 22, § 38.

iæ, ì, &c., = "unsyllabic i, u, &c."

η = the back nasal in 'sing,' § 53.

f = sh in 'she.'

3 = s in 'pleasure.'

 æ = the voiceless fricatives in German ä (back) and ï (front), § 54.

æ = a sound like i in 'machine' or 'pin,' but made with the lips nearly closed, or "rounded."

eWS. = early West Saxon, § 7.

Ge = Germanic, § 6.

lWS. = late West Saxon, § 7.

ME. = Middle English, § 9.

M. Ger. = Midland German.

MnE. = Modern English, § 9.

N = Note.

iv
INTRODUCTION.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.*

1. ENGLAND, once a peninsula like Denmark, had been separated from the mainland long before the first tribes of Indo-European stock came and conquered the people they found there. These new-comers were Celts, and had become thoroughly established on the island when Caesar, having conquered the Celts of Gaul, invaded Britain with his Roman legions, 55 and again 54 B.C. The Roman conquest, however, did not begin until a century later, A.D. 43. In time forts arose in various parts; two immense walls were built to shut out the Picts of the north; and the island was traversed by great military roads, along which troops might quickly be sent to the west to hold the less civilized natives in restraint, to the north against the Scots and the Picts, or to the south-east to oppose the marauding Saxons that devastated that coast. But it is a mistake to suppose that Britain was only a military colony. Archaeological and philological evidence is constantly accumulating to the effect that during the four hundred years of Roman rule Roman civilization not only pervaded the towns, but even spread to the country parts; in time Christianity gained a footing on the island. But large tracts were still covered by dense forests, and many rivers were not easily

* The learner is advised to read the first chapters of some good English history: Gardiner’s Student’s History; Green’s History; Freeman’s Old English History or vol. i. of his Norman Conquest.
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approached for the great marshes that lined them. Little is recorded of the history of the Roman Province of Britain; after 410 Rome hardly claimed it, and no longer pretended to do for it.

2. The Saxon pirates were but the forerunners of a great German invasion, which began about 450 and in time overran the larger part of the island. The invaders were, for the most part, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes (OE. Eng-le, Se'axe or -an, I'ote). Kent and the country about Southampton fell into the hands of the Jutes, the rest of the South was settled by Saxons, while the north-east became the home of the Angles. 'As it was among the Ængle of Northumberland that literary culture first flourished (§ 12) and an Ænglisc dialect was the first to be used for vernacular literature, Ænglisc came eventually to be a general name for all forms of the vernacular as opposed to Latin (which the English called Læden), etc.; and when the West Saxon of Ælfred became in its turn the literary or classical form of speech (§ 7), it too was called Ænglisc, or English.'* Later the term Angelcyn (= Angle kin, or English people) came to be applied to Saxons as well as Angles, and the fact that the Angles occupied the larger part of the country may have had something to do with this. According to ancient usage, the words Ængle and Angelcyn were also used where we should expect a name for the country; but in time Englaland (M.Æ. England), that is, "land of the Engle," came into use. The natives, on their part, called all the new-comers by the name of those that first devastated their coast,—the Saxons. Many of these natives (the English called them Welsh, that is, "strangers") were either slain or driven to the west and the north, but not a few became the slaves of the conquerors, and their young women the mothers of a large part of the next generation. Thus, from the start, Celtic blood mingled with Teutonic.

* Murray in Encyclopædia Britannica.
3. The new-comers cared little for Roman civilization and Christianity, but brought with them the institutions, customs, and religion of their forefathers. The bulk of the free population consisted of Čeorls (pronounce ke'orls or čē'orls), who in time sank to the position of serfs, and their better, the Eorls (ē'orls) and Āthelings (ādh'elings). The chiefs were called Ealdormen (ā'ōldormen', = elders or magistrates) or Her'etog'as (= leaders of the army). Their retinue of fighting-men, called Ġesiths (yē-seeths', = companions) and later Thegns (thanes, or attendants), was for the most part made up of Eorls. By those of lower rank an Ealdorman or a king was in deference called Hlāford (hlah'vord, M.E. lord). The general levy of the villagers for the defence of their homes was termed the Fierd (fi'erd). When various tribes united, as for a military expedition or for defence against a common foe, they chose a leader of the combined forces, whom they called Cyning (kūning, = king); in time the kingship acquired more permanence and power, and supplanted or subordinated the rule of the Ealdormen. When a king was to be elected, the most eligible member of the royal family was chosen by the Wit'enagemōt' (g = y), an assembly or Great Council that to a certain extent controlled the action of the king. At times one king got a sort of supremacy over other kings and was called Bretwealda (brē'twā'olda, = wielder of Britain), or overlord.

4. The history of England during the Old-English period (to about the twelfth century) is too full to be more than hinted at here. For a time ĀEth'elberht, king of Kent, was over-lord over the other kings south of the Humber; he married a Christian woman, the daughter of the king of the Franks, and permitted the establishment of Christianity among his people. Later, E'adwine, king of Northumberland and over-lord of all England except Kent, did the same. Gradually Christianity spread throughout the English domains, and there was a united English church before a united
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England. There were three chief kingdoms: Northumberland (OE. Norð-hymbre, cf. Engle, § 2, end, = those dwelling north of the Humber), Mercia (mersha, OE. Mi’erce = the inhabitants of the Mearc or borderland), and Wessex (OE. West Seaxe, or the West Saxons); the over-lordship shifting to and fro.

5. About three hundred years (A.D. 787) after the first Teutonic hordes gained a footing on the island, others, called "Danes" by the English, but coming from the Scandinavian as well as from the Danish peninsula, began to make inroads upon the north-east coast. In time they founded settlements, and pressed forward until they were masters of most of the English territory north of the Thames. Wessex (with its dependencies, Sussex and Kent) alone held out against them. The West-Saxon resistance was maintained by a line of valiant kings, the greatest of whom was Ælfred (reigned 871–901), equally noted as warrior, statesman, and scholar. He consolidated his kingdom, reorganized the Fierd (§ 3), built a navy, had the laws revised, established schools, encouraged native scholars and attracted foreign ones, and, though his own knowledge of Latin was defective, translated with the aid of others various Latin books that he thought would be of use to his people (§ 13). Under his son and grandsons all England south of the Humber gradually became subject to the West-Saxon king; and the Scandinavian element was pretty well absorbed by the English. But some two hundred years after the first "Danes" had come to England, new swarms crossed over (984) from Norway and Denmark and conquered the island, which was now for some time ruled by Danish kings. In the next century England was again conquered (1066) by men of Teutonic blood,—the Normans (or Northmen), who had been settled now more than a hundred years in France, where they had adopted the French language and the Christian religion.
6. The Teutonic or Germanic languages are: (1) Gothic, (2) Scandinavian (including Norwegian and Icelandic, Swedish and Danish), (3) West Germanic. The WG. languages are (1) Low German (the languages native to the northern lowlands: Plattdeutsch, Dutch, Frisian, English), (2) High German (the speech of the middle and southern highlands, from which has developed the literary language now spoken in all parts of the country). The English language is thus a peculiarly developed Low-German dialect, nearest akin to Frisian, and more like Dutch and Plattdeutsch than like High German.†

7. We have seen (§ 2) that there were various LG. tribes that settled in Britain; and as each tribe had come to speak somewhat differently from the others, we have to deal with various Old English Dialects, four of which are important: Kentish, West-Saxon, Mercian, and Northumbrian. The last two are forms of Anglian speech, WS. was the most prominent Saxon dialect, and Kentish represents the speech of the Jutes. Of these, West Saxon has the greatest importance; for under the political supremacy of Wessex (§ 5) and the enlightened policy of Ælfric, it became the literary and official language, and in it are written most of the OE. literary monuments that have been preserved to our day (§ 13). It is therefore best to begin the study of OE. with early West Saxon (eWS.) and

* The learner is advised to read Dr. Murray’s article on the English Language in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, or that in Webster’s *International Dictionary*; and the opening chapters of a good English literature, for example, Ten Brink’s. For lists of texts, editions, etc., cf. the appendix to Cook’s translation of Sievers’ OE. grammar, or Wülker’s *Geschichte der angels. Litteratur."

† Students of Old English who understand Latin or German will be able to make good use of this knowledge if they familiarize themselves with the general scheme of “Grimm’s Law.”
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to regard this as the standard with which to compare other dialects.

8. We have seen (§ 2) that all the settlers called their language *Englisc*, or English, after the *Engle*, or Angles. They occasionally called themselves *Angelseaxan*, or *Anglo-Saxons* (which means English Saxons as distinguished from the continental Saxons, whom they called *Ealdseaxan*, or Old Saxons, as we in America speak of "Old England"; later the word was misunderstood as meaning a combination of Angles and Saxons); but they never called their language Anglo-Saxon. This was first done by scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to whom Old English seemed more a distinct language than an older stage of their own. We are, therefore, justified in joining those who a score of years ago discarded the term Anglo-Saxon as applied to language, and began to call the oldest known form of our speech "Old English"* or "First English." The oldest dated Ms. containing OE. words is a charter of 679, but some of the English inscriptions that were made in Runic letters (§ 14) are probably older' (Sweet, H.E.S. § 345).

9. The chief periods of English are called Old, Middle, and Modern. The change from one to the other was, of course, gradual: the transition from OE. to ME. was in the twelfth century; that from ME. to MⁿE., in the fifteenth. Sweet has well defined OE. as the period of full endings (*mōna, sunne, sunu, hringas*); ME. as the period of levelled endings, weak vowels being reduced to a uniform e like German final *e* (*mōne, sunne, sune, ringes*); MⁿE. as the period of lost endings (*moon, sun, son, rings*).

10. But it was not always the same dialect that was the literary language. We have seen that literature first flourished among the Angles (§ 2), where it was brought to an

* "Old English" is still used by some to designate Middle English or early Modern English; so in Webster's and Stormonth's dictionaries.
untimely end by the Danish inroads,* that later WS. became the literary and official language (§ 7), only to be crowded into obscurity when the Normans brought in French (§ 5, end). When English again got the upper hand, it was the dialect of London that became the standard. This was originally a Saxon Dialect, early affected by the neighboring Kentish and Mercian. At all times, but particularly after the city had been depopulated by the great plagues, from various parts of the island people thronged to the capital; as the larger part of the island was Anglian, the dialect of the metropolis gradually assumed a more Anglian, or Mercian (§ 7), character. It was the London dialect in which Chaucer wrote, and from which the modern standard speech is descended.

11. English has been much and often subjected to external influences.

a) Even before the emigration from the continent, Latin words were learned from the Roman traders that visited the German tribes, from the Germans that served in the armies of the Empire, and in other ways. Thus Lat. vinum > OE. wīn MₚE. wine, Ger. Bēin, similarly with butter, cheese, etc.; (via) strāta > OE. strāt MₚE. street, Strāfē, so with mile, pound, inch, etc.; and even the Christian ēŋgel, Ėŋgel, and deōfol MₚE. devil, Ťeufēl. Lat. buxum, popular Lat. bucsō, “writing-tablet of box-wood” (used particularly for documents), was associated by the Germans with Gₚ bōco-, bōc(j)ōn- “beech-tree,” and > Gₚ bōc-s (OE. OS. bōc, OHG. buoh) “writing-tablet, charter, book.”

b) On the island the conquerors heard both Latin and Celtic, the former particularly in the towns,† and thus added to their vocabulary (1) many such words as munt “mount” < Lat. montem, pihten “part of a loom” < Lat. pecten, bēpōčan “be-

* Even the literary products of the period would have been lost had they not come down to us in copies made by Saxon scribes.
guile, cheat" < Lat. pāco "soothe, pacify"; cf. also the proper names Chester, Wor-cester, Lan-caster, etc., < OE. čeaster "forti-fied town" < Lat. castra; and (2) such Celtic words as cradle, mat-tock, rock, curse, and many proper names: for example, those, like London, in āon < Celtic āun, for which the real English word is tūn "town." Some of these words the Celts themselves had learned from their Roman conquerors; thus, "ass" < OE. āssa < Celtic āssan < Lat. asinus, which had long before passed directly into Gc as asilus, OE. ēsol, Ger. Ėzel.

c) With the introduction of Christianity many Latin and Greek ecclesiastical terms became popular (thus, prēost "priest," nunne "nun," scōl "school," nōn "noon," etc.); and, all along, our language has drawn learned and technical terms from Latin and Greek.

d) Much greater was the influence of the large Scandinavian element (§ 5), and to this source we owe many of our most familiar words. Thus, even in OE. we find tacan "take" < Sc. taka (for which the real English word was nīman nehmen), wrang "wrong," lagu "law," and many others. But most of the Sc. words do not appear till later, in the ME. period, when the Sc. population and speech had been absorbed by the English. Words beginning with the sound sk are foreign words, and most of them are of Sc. origin, the native E. word having sh- < OE. sē-, § 85, 3. Thus skin, skill, sky, scabby (the real E. form being shabby), skirt (for E. shirt, both words, like Ger. Sdürʒ and our short, being from Late Lat. ex-curtus).

e) Still greater was the influence of Norman French (§ 5, end) upon English; but all this happened after the OE. period.

12. We have seen (§ 2) that Literature was first cul-tivated among the Angles of the North. This was toward the close of the seventh century, when Christianity had become established in the country (§ 4), and the new faith was cher-
ished with a rare ardor and devotion. We know that, long before, all Teutonic peoples had been fond of music and song, and that poems, celebrating in sturdy rhythm the deeds of chieftain or god and the glory of war, were composed and recited by travelling minstrels in the hall of the chief, where he and his Gesiths sat drinking mead. Such a poem was the great epic *Bēowulf* (*bay'owulf*). But this, like most of the little of heathen literature that escaped the mistaken zeal of early Christianity, bears traces of Christian conception and faith. Directly inspired by the religion of Jew and Christian was the paraphrase of the Bible composed by *Caedmon* (*kād'mon*) under the patronage of Hilda, Abbess of Whitby. In this as well as in the noble Christian poems of *Cynewulf* (*kū'newulf*), but less in the *Judith*, there reappears the old English delight in the clash of arms and in the struggle with the sea. Lyric poetry prospered less than epic; but there have been a few lyrics (*Déor’s Complaint, The Complaint of the Woman, The Seafarer, The Wanderer*) preserved to us, which generally voice the complaint of one who has suffered, or is lonely. Even in Christian days war-songs were composed that had much of the old poetic fire. Two that celebrate events of the tenth century deserve special mention, *The Battle of Maldon* and *The Battle of Brunnanburh*.

13. *Prose*, too, may be said to have begun in the days of Northumbrian culture, for it was at Jarrow that the learned *Bēda* (modern *Bede*), whose Latin writings were the well of scientific and historical knowledge for generations after, translated a part of the Bible into English. But it was particularly during the days of the WS. renaissance (§§ 5, 7) that English prose (cWS., § 7) was much cultivated. We have seen that *King Ælfred* not only encouraged schools and scholarship, but himself translated various Latin books: Boëthius’ *Consolation of Philosophy*, Orosius’ *History of the World*, Gregory’s *Pastoral Care*, etc. In his day, too, the laws were revised, and the *English* or *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* became more than a mere list
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of events. Later on there was another revival of English prose (late WS.). This time it is the Homilies of the abbot Ælfriċ (written about the year 1000) and of Archbishop Wulfstān that attract most attention. Ælfriċ also translated parts of the Bible, and wrote a Latin grammar in English. He, as well as the WS. monk Byrhtferth, who taught in a school at Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, revived in English the learning of Bēda.
# I. PHONOLOGY.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE ALPHABET.

14. The German settlers brought with them an alphabet that was in use among their kinsmen the Goths and Scandinavians as well as among themselves. This was the **Runic Futhark**, a Greek modification of the Latin alphabet, made before 200 A.D. The modification consisted principally in the use of

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<td>ST stān</td>
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Obsolete values etc. are in ( ).
perpendicular or oblique lines for horizontal ones, and of angles for curves, and was due to the fact that the runes were, probably, first cut on twigs, which were sometimes used for purposes of divination. There were 24 Gæ runes, but the changes in OE. utterance caused some changes in the alphabet and the addition of several new characters. As a often > æ (§ 25, 1) or o (§ 25, 4), and as o was mutated (§ 43) to æ later e, and u to y, new runes were made for a and o by modifying the old a-rune, and one for y by changing that for u. As a distinction arose between c g and c g (§§ 55, 56), new runes were made for the latter. When j and g got the same value (§§ 56 b, 64), the rune of the former was dropped.

Note.—After the runes had gone out of general use, they were still occasionally employed in inscriptions, rebuses, &c., or for their name words.

15. With the introduction of Christianity (§ 4) and Latin learning, the Latin Alphabet was introduced afresh, and that in the form it had assumed in Ireland, for the Scots of Ireland had more or less to do with the spreading of Christianity among the English. In England the alphabet went its own way. For the u or uu and the th at first employed, the runes ð and þ came into use, and for þ a crossed d, that is ðð, was often substituted, especially medially and finally.

Note 1.—The usual mediaeval contractions are not wanting in OE. MSS. Thus ~ or ~ over a vowel = m (but ðoð hwoñ = ðonne hwoonne), and over a cons. it = er, less often or. þ (a crossed þ) is the usual way of writing þæt; ond, or and, is rare, being written 7 (like &c, a contraction of Lat. et); and I (a crossed l = Lat. vel) is often used instead of oðoðe.

Note 2.—Over long vowels (especially if the word is very short) a mark like ~ is often found in MSS.; much less frequently is ~ found over short vowels. In this book all long vowels are marked with a macron (á &c.), while short ones are left unmarked.

Note 3.—In the earlier editions of OE. texts, types were employed that imitated the letters of the MSS. (so 8 E ð æ þ f g r s t), cf. March's Anglo-Saxon Grammar; but now ordinary letters are used, only þ or ð, and sometimes ð = g, being retained. For þ a w (less often v) is used.

Note 4.—The punctuation of the MSS. is very imperfect; that in printed texts is supplied by the editors.
16. 1) The vibration of the vocal chords produces a sound that is technically called **Voice**. The vowels are all "voiced"; consonants may be (for ex. b, l, w, &c.), or they may be "voiceless" (for ex. p, h, &c.).

2) In a **Vowel**, the "voice" is the chief thing, and the modification of the sound (by the varying shape of the vocal passage in the various vowels) is a subordinate matter; in a **Consonant**, voice is secondary and may be entirely wanting, while the local sound (as that at the teeth in the case of s, at the lips in the case of p or b) is the main thing. But some cons*. approach very nearly to vowels, for ex. the "semi-vowels" w and j (= Eng. y) are really only unsyllabic (cf. 3) u and i (= MÆE. oo and ee). So too the "sonorous consonants" (cf. 3) are "vowel-like." The transition sound produced in passing from one sound to another, is called a **Glide** (§§ 55, 56), but glides are not generally noticed.

3) The more **sonorous** a sound, the more likely it is to become syllabic; thus in a diphthong, the more sonorous vl. is syllabic, the other not. Vl. are more sonorous than cons*. Of the latter, l m n r are pre-eminently "Sonorous Consonants" (§ 20, 1), and hence often syllabic: nægl nail, hræfn raven.

17. 1) If the tongue is pressed forward during the formation of a vowel, it is called a **Front Vowel** (OE. æ, e, i, &c.); if drawn back, a **Back Vowel** (OE. a, ǭ, o, u).

2) A vowel is said to be **Low, Mid**, or **High**, according as the tongue is lowered a good deal, but moderately, or very little.

3) If the lips are brought close together while a vl. is being sounded, it is called a ** Rounded Vowel**. OE. o and æ
14

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(= Ger. ë) were alike in that both were rounded, while e was not; but æ and e were alike in being front vl.

4) If a vl. is quickly sounded, it is called "short"; if it is prolonged, it is called "long." Cf. § 19, 2.

18. Simple Vowels

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Rounded Vowels

<table>
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<tr>
<th>back</th>
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<td>high</td>
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<td>mid</td>
<td>o</td>
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<td>low</td>
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</table>

19. 1) A syllable that ends in a vowel is called an Open Syllable; one that ends in a cons., a Closed Syllable. A single cons. belongs to the following syllable. Open syllables: pū, pe, slē-pe, beo-re; closed syllables: blōd, glæd, brin-gan, lib-ban.

2) A syllable is long if it contains a long vowel or diphthong, or if its vowel is followed by more than one cons.

Thus the first syllable is long in: blōd, cræft, ðū, slēpan, ēēosan; and short in: ðe, glæd, hwatu, beore. A long syllable must not be confounded with a long vowel (§ 17, 4).

3) A syllable that is not strongly stressed is called a Weak Syllable; its vowel is often different from that in the corresponding Strong Syllable. Strong M.E. 'my' is sounded mai, while weak 'my' is mā or mī. Cf. §§ 48–50, 25, 3, 30 N, 47, 93, 95, 2.

20. 1) A cons. produced by stopping and then exploding the breath, is called a Shut Consonant or a Stop (also a "Mute"), so p, t, d. A cons. produced by allowing the breath to escape through an opening, is called an Open Consonant: if the opening is very narrow so that there is much friction of the breath against the walls of the passage, the cons. is called a Fricative (or a "Spirant"), thus OE. s, f, h; if the opening is not so narrow as to cause marked friction, the cons. is called a Sonorous Consonant (§ 16, 3) or a Semi-Vowel (§ 16, 2).

2) Cons made (1) with the lips are called Lip Consonants (also "Labials"), so b, m, &c.; (2) by the front of the tongue, Front Consonants (namely, Point Con, or "Dentals," and Top Con, or "Palatals"), so t, s, n and ć, g, &c.; (3) by the back of the tongue, Back Consonants (also "Gutturals"), c, h, &c., § 85.
CHAPTER III.

The WS. Vowels, Their Pronunciation and Source.

1. Simple Vowels.

21.

a is sounded as in M*E. artistic: dagas "days." [< Ge a § 25, 2]

ā as in art: stān "stone." [< Ge ai § 35, 1; WG. ā] § 30, 2, 3

æ " " mankind: dæg "day." [< Ge a § 25, 1]

œ " " man¹: þær "there." [< WG. a § 30, 1; ā] § 43, 1; æg]d, n § 88

e, æ " men: stefn, men. [e < Ge e § 26, 1; æ < a]§ 43, 1, and o]§ 43, 2

e " " they²: gēs. [< Ge e § 31; weak Ge æ § 30, 1 N; ō] § 43, 2; eg]d, n § 88

i " " in: bite "bite." [< Ge i § 27, 1; Ge e]nas. § 26, 2; cf. also § 22 N³

i " " machine: mīn. [< Ge i § 22, 1; i+nas.]s&c.$§ 72; iğ]d, n § 88; cf. also 22 N³

o " " N.E. stone or Ger. Gott: göd. [< Ge o § 28, 1; Ge u § 29, 2]

q " " on: môn "man." [< Ge a § 25, 4]

ō " " stone³: göd. [< Ge o § 33; Ge ē]nas. § 30, 4; o + nas.]s&c.$§ 72 & N³

u " " full: wulf. [< Ge u § 20, 1; Ge o]nas. &c.$ § 28, 2, 3; w]io § 39, 1

ū " " rule: hūs "house." [< Ge ū § 34; u + nas.]s&c.$ § 72]

y " " Ger. Müller⁴: wylten "woolen." [<u] § 43, 3; cf. also § 22 N³

ŷ " " grün⁴: brŷd "bride." [<ū] § 43, 3; yn]s&c.$ § 72; yg]d, n § 88; cf. also § 22 N³

For ō cf. § 43, 2, ft. nt. 2.

¹ When prolonged, as is usual in America.
² M*E. ey in they, like "long a" in date &c., is often a diphthong ending in ą, while OE. ē is the same vowel from beginning to end.
³ In strictness, not the same; for M*E. "long o" is often a diphthong ending in ŏ, while OE. ō is a pure vowel.
⁴ Ger. grün and Müller are like E. green and miller, but the lips are nearly closed — or "rounded" — during the formation of the vowel.
2. Diphthongs.

**Note 1.** — In the OE. diphthong the first element (whether long or short) is syllabic (§ 16, 3), or has the stress; but in some cases the stress shifted later to the second element. For *geāra* cf. § 40 N1.

**Note 2.** — ēa and ēo are from older *au* and *eu* and their second element (whether written *a* or *o*) was an obscure unaccented vowel, a reduction of *u*. The *a* of *au* became *æ* (cf. § 25, 1(2)), and *ea* would better be written *æa*, as it sometimes was; but the *e* of *eo* is a true *e*.

**ea** = *æ* + *æ*¹: heard.  [<æ] § 41; *a*)u § 44; pal.[æ § 40]

**ēa** = *æ*¹ + *æ*¹: heafod.  [<Ga au § 36; a + o or u § 45; pal.[æ § 40]

**eo** = *e*¹ + *o*: eorde.  [<e] and 1]§ 41; e)u, o and i)u, o § 44; pal.[o or u § 40]

**ēo** = *æ*¹ + *o*: céosan.  [<Gce eu § 37; pal.[ō § 40; e or i + back vl. § 45]

**ie** = *i*¹ + *e*: ieldra.  [<(ea)¹ or eo)¹ § 43, 4, 5; eo]pal, § 40, 2); i)u, o § 44]

**īe** = *i*¹ + *e*: hīeran.  [<(ea)¹ or ēo)¹ § 43, 4, 5]

**Note 3.** — *eo* and *io* sometimes had different origins, but even in eWS. they were confounded, and *eo* supplanted *io*.

**Note 4.** — *ie* and *īe* were often written *i*, later *y*; from which Lloyd infers that *ie* assumed a sound intermediate to *i* and *e*; while *y*, on becoming unrounded (§ 17, 3), was reduced to the same sound.

For weak vowels cf. §§ 48–50.

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¹ *æ*a with prefixed *y* may be heard in the colloquial *yæah* = "yes," and *æ*a in the same word when drawled.
CHAPTER IV.

I. THE Gc AND THE WG. VOWEL SYSTEM.

23. Primitive Germanic had the following:

Short vowels: a e i o u

Long vowels: ā ē Ĩ ō ū

Diphthongs: ai au eu

NOTE 1.—Some of the i's were once e's; for Indo-European e > Gc i:—
1) before nas. + cons. (cf. Lat. offendimentum with OE. Bindan);
2) when i or j stood in the next syllable (so inf. helpan but 3 s. ind. hilpē (< orig. hilpē)) § 43 N². (Perhaps this happened in WG. times.)

So, too, ei > ii > i as in Latin (Gr. θείκνυμ, Lat. dicō, Gc tīhan, OE. tōn, § 46, 1 (3)).

NOTE 2.—Some o's were once u's; for older u > o if the next slb. had a (or o, N³), unless this was prevented by intervening nas. + cons., or i, j (by which the u was later mutated to y § 43, 3). Thus we have Gc giholpan (OE. geholpen) but gibundan (OE. gebunden) and huggian (OE. hyēgan).

NOTE 3.—IE. o > Gc a (Lat. octo, Goth. ahtau, OE. eahta, § 41, eight), but the unstressed o of endings remained o longer, in certain positions probably into primitive OE. times, § 49, 1.

24. The WG. system differed from the Gc only in having ā for older ē § 30, 1.

II. WHAT THE Gc VOWELS BECAME IN WS. §§ 25–50.

A. Chiefly of Stem Vowels. §§ 25–47.


25. 1) a > æ (1) in closed (§ 19, 1) slb*: dæg day.

æ | > ea § 41, and ea¹ > ie § 43, 4.

æg |⁴, n > ē § 88.
PHONOLOGY.

(2) sometimes in open slb* if next slb. has e: dæ-ges
day's; and in ēa < au § 22 N².
(3) if next slb. had i or j, but æ)'>e § 43, 1. Cf. 2) end.
2) a remains a in open slb* if next slb. has a, o, or u
(or a vl. derived from one of these): da-gas, da-
gum, days; macian (i < ēj) make.
a)u > ea § 44.
3) a in weak slb* (§ 19, 3): —
(1) remains a: ae but, herepað but pæð.
(2) > o: of of Ger. ab, herepoð. So aone &c., and weak on but strong on (stressed
adv.); weak ot was displaced by strong æt.
4) a]nas. > q § 38, 1 (1, q) > q § 43, 1; q + nas.]* sc. > ð
§ 72, ð) > ð § 43, 2].
5) a + o or u > ēa § 45.
For pal.[a, or rather æ, cf. § 40.
26. 1) e often remains e: beran bear.
2) e]nas. > i § 38, 2).
3) e]i > eo § 41, eo) > ie § 43, 5 { w]eo > o § 39, 2.
4) e)u > eo § 44
5) eg]d.n > ē § 88.
6) e + back vl. > ēo § 45.
For pal.[e cf. § 40.
27. 1) i often remains i: witan know.
2) i]i > io § 41, io) > ie § 43, 5 { w]io > u § 39, 1.
3) i)u > io § 44
4) in]s sc. (§ 72) and i]g]d.n (§ 88) > i.
5) i + back vl. > io or ēo § 45.
i + e > ie § 45.
28. 1) o generally remains o: god god, folc, word.
2) o, espec. next labials, often > u: wulf, lufu.
3) o]nas. > u § 38, 3, u) > y § 43, 3.
4) o) > e § 43, 2.

Note.—When (so espec. in foreign words) o was followed by i, and
analogy did not prevent (§ 43, 2, ft. nt. 3 end), o > u and u) > y: Scuttas
WHAT THE GC VOWELS BECAME IN WS.

29. 1) u often remains u: hund dog.
     2) u > o in or-: ordal Ger. Urteil judgment.
     3) un[^] > u § 72; a[^] > y § 43, 3.

For pal. [u > eo cf. § 40.

b) Long Vowels. §§ 30-34.

30. I. WG. ä (< Gc æ): —
    1) a generally > æ: æfen Abend evening.

   Note. — Weak (§ 19, 3) æ > ë: Ælfred, hirêd Ættrat.

    2) ä[w remains a: tawian prepare, a[^] > æ § 43, 1:
       æltæwe complete, cf. § 43, N1.
    3) ä[back vl. > a or æ (cf. § 40 N1): làgon làgon, làc-
    4) a[nas. > ö § 38, 1 (3), ö[^] > ë § 43, 2.
    5) æ[h+cons. > a > ea, and eah may > ëa: smæalic
       dainty, cf. § 91 & 2.

For pal. [æ cf. § 40.

II. Gc and WG. nasalized ã (< an[^]h) > ö § 72 N1, ö[^] > ë
     § 43, 2.

31. ë remains ë: hêr here.

32. 1) i generally remains i: mîn mine, wif wife.
     2) i[h+cons. > i (§ 46 II.) and then (§ 41, 3) eo: leohert,
       Ger. leidht light, so *betwîhnum > betweohnum
       (§ 91, & 2) > betweönum between.
     3) i + back vl. > io, ëo § 45, 1 (3).

33. 1) ö generally remains ò: göd good, ò[^] > ë § 43, 2.

     2) Final stressed ò > ú: cû cow, tû two; but weak tô.

34. û remains û: tun town, û[^] > y § 43, 3.

   c) Diphthongs.

35. 1) ai > a: stân Stein stone, a[^] > æ § 43, 1.
     2) ai[w > a rarely ò: snàw snow, ò or ò (< aiw) ever.

36. au > ëa (§ 22 and N1, 2): ëac auðf eek, ëa[^] > ëe § 43, 4.

37. eu > øo (§ 22 and N1, 2): déop deep, øo[^] > ëe § 43, 5.
PHONOLOGY.

2. Chief Effects of Neighboring Sounds upon Stem Vowels. §§ 38–46.

a) Influence of Nasals (\(\text{n}^\text{as}\)).

38. 1) \(G^e a\) acquired before nasals a sound like that of \(o\) in on, or of \(a\) in ball; as there was no letter to represent the new sound, it was in the MSS. sometimes spelled \(a\), and sometimes \(o\). Sweet first suggested the use of \(q\) for this "open \(o\)."

(1) \(a\)\(^{\text{nas}}\) > \(q\): môn, lônd, čqmbH, lông.

(2) Nasalized \(G^e \tilde{a}\)\(^{\text{h}}\) > OE. \(ō\) § 72 N: ūōhte bādhte thought. Cf. § 46 II.

(3) \(G^e \tilde{e}, \text{WG. }\tilde{a}\)\(^{\text{nas}}\). also > \(ō\) § 30, 4: ģędōn ģęthān done.

2) \(e\)\(^{\text{nas}}\) > \(i\): niman nēhmen take. Cf. § 23 N¹.

3) \(o\)\(^{\text{nas}}\) > \(u\): ōnur Ōnner thunder.

b) Influence of \(w\) (\(\text{w}^\text{f}\) and \(\text{w}^\text{p}\)).

39. 1) \(w\)^{io} (< \(i\) § 27, 2, 3) usually > \(u\): wuduwe, (less often) weoduwe, or widuwe widow.

2) \(w\)^{eo} (< \(e\) § 26, 3, 4) sometimes > \(o\): worold, (more usually) weorold ĢeIt world.

3) \(a\)^{\text{w}} and \(e\)^{\text{w}} > \(au\) and \(eu\), and these (§§ 36, 37) > \(ēa\) and ēo: ťěawe ťew, ţěowas servants.

4) \(i\)^{\text{w}} > \(iu\) > \(io\), but \(i\)\(^{o}\) > \(i\)ē: ťiēwē new.

Cf. also § 28, 2.

(2) Influence of Palatals (\(\text{p}^\text{al}\)) and \(\text{p}^\text{al}\)).

40. 1) Influence of Initial Palatal.

(a) For older \(jw, jo\), we usually find \(gea, geo\) (Ger. \(\text{fahr}\) OE. gear year, \(\text{fog}\) geoc yoke) and \(ju\) is spelled both \(iu\) and \(geo\) (iung, geong young).

(b) So after the palatals (\(\text{g}, \tilde{e}, \text{sc}\)) we find not \(\text{æ}, \tilde{e}a, e\), but \(ea, ēa, ie\): geaf (for gæf), gëafon (for gæfon) gave, giefan (for gefan) give, ceaf (for cæf) chaff, sceal (for scæl) shall.
Note 1. — This spelling is differently interpreted by OE. scholars. In general we shall follow Sievers and Sweet, who are substantially agreed that the palatal cons. was succeeded by a glide (§ 16, 2) which with the following vl. formed a diphthong, this diphthong coming in time to have the stress on the first element, like other diphthongs (§ 22). But the gen. pl. geūra (MⁿE. yore) = jāra (§ 30, 3) and has the spelling ge instead of g by analogy to géär (MⁿE. year) < *jār (§ 30, 1); "géāra" is therefore to be written geāra, and "géár" géār.

Note 2. — Between the guttural g and c, and the back, or guttural, vowels a, q, o, u, as well as their i-mutations, no i or e occurs: göd good, Cent Kent.

Note 3. — The e or i sometimes found between sc and back vl. (sc(e)acan shake, sc(e)ōn shoe) is a glide (in eWS. still unstressed), §§ 16, 56, and shows that the c had become palatalized by the s, the first step toward the modern sh, §§ 11 d, 85, 3. This unstressed e, i, may be printed e, i.

2) Influence of Following Palatal (Sievers' "Palatalum-laut"'), cf. § 54.

In eWS. this is manifested only in eo[pal.] > ie: reoht > rieht right. Cf. § 41, 3 (e and i).

d) The Breakings (†).

41. Before certain guttural sounds, the front vl. e, æ, and i acquire a more guttural quality, and are said to be broken into two elements (cf. the pronunciation wæ'al for MⁿE. well).

1) Before r + consonant.
   e > eo: steorra Stern star;
   æ (< Gʷ a) > ea (really æa § 22 N²): earm arm;
   i > io, and io) > ie: hierde ſirte herdsman.

2) Before l + consonant.
   æ (< Gʷ a) generally > ea: feallan fall.
   e > eo only before i + guttural c or h: meolcan melfen milk, eolh elk.

3) Before h + cons. and before final h.
   æ (< Gʷ a) > ea: ehta adh eight.
e > eo: seox fēhs six, but in most of the words the h later > palatal and changed eo to ie: siex six § 40, 2.
i > eo and this (§ 40, 2) > ie: Peohtas, Pichtas the Picts.

e) The Mutations.

42. Mutation (Ger. Umlaut) is the change produced in a stressed vl. by a following vl. or semi-vowel (§ 20, 1). If the mutating vl. is the high front vl., the vl. before it is assimilated to it (that is, if back, it > front; if already front, it > higher § 17, 2); if the mutating vl. is a back vl., only the latter part of the preceding vl. becomes assimilated, or guttural, and thus a diphthong is produced.

Note.—Mutation may affect an intervening unstressed or weakly stressed vl. before reaching the stressed vl.: ā-buri any time > *ābyri > *ēbyri > *ēberi > ēbre > ēfre, ever.

(I.) I-mutation (i).

43. Note 1.—The i or j that caused )i appears as i only after r; elsewhere it sometimes became e (§ 48), but it generally disappeared entirely (§ 66 N). The ēj of the II. class of weak verbs > i too late to cause )i.

Note 2.—The earliest instance of )i, namely e > i, occurred early in Ge times, and is not generally classed with the later mutations, cf. § 24 N1 (2). The )i of ā, which is ā, may be ignored.

1) § 25 a > \{æ, æ\}1 > æ1 \{hêrian praise, lêcgan (< lagjan) lay, mên men.

ā)i > ā: hālān (< hāljan < hāl whole) heal.

2) o)i > e1: dohtor, but dat. sg. dęhter,3 daughter.

ō)i > ē: dēman (< dōmjan < dōm judgment) judge.

3) u)i > y: hyngran to hunger < hungor3 hunger.

ū)i > ū: betyñan (< betūnjan < tūn enclosure) enclose.

1 This e is well printed ë in grammars and dictionaries, to distinguish it from old e § 21. A few words have æ for ë: fiestan fasten, sëc strife.

2 o)i and ō)i first > æ and æ (that is, > front vl.4, § 17, but retained the rounding of the o, § 18), but like other front vl. they early lost the rounding and > e, ë. Cf. M. and S. Ger. Getter for Götter. Cf. § 14.

3 u usually > o (§ 23 N3), but generally not when i or j followed; and so when mutation took place, it was u that was mutated and consequently
EFFECTS OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS.

4) ea)¹ > ie: eald old but ieldra older.
    ēa)¹ > ie: hēah high but hīehra higher.
5) eo)¹ and io)¹ > ie: weorpan throw but 3 sg. wierpō (ā<īā).
    ēo)¹ and io)¹ > ie: lēohht light but līehntan to light.

Note. — For ie > ï, y cf. § 22 N⁴.

(II.) U- and O-mutation ( )u, )o).

44. Cf. § 42. WS. was less affected by this mutation than other dialects; and many forms that once showed it have become levelled under neighboring ones that did not have it. The high vl. u (§ 17, 2) was more effective than the mid vl. o, which did not affect the mid vl. a at all. )u and )o seldom operated across a palatal cons. (§ 85, 2) or two or more cons⁴.

Note. — The u or o that caused mutation is not often preserved as such: u appears as u or o; o always as a; ō in almost any form.

1) a)¹ > ea: ealu ale. (Rare)
    e)¹ > eo: heofon heaven. (Frequent)
    i)¹ > io, eo, ie: lim limb pl. leomu, siendun are. ("")

2) a)⁰.
    e)⁰ > eo: ēeole throat. (Rare)
    i)⁰ > io, eo: teolian to aim. (Occasional)

f) Hiatus, Contraction, &c.

45. Two vl⁴ sometimes (particularly through the dropping out of an h, less often w or j) come to stand next each other, — that is, an hiatus is formed.

I. If the first of the two vl⁴ is unstressed, it becomes silent: be-ūtan > būtan > MⁿE. but.

II. If the first vl. is stressed —

1) The two form a diphthong, the second element being an obscure vl. spelled a, o, or e. (For unstressed o see § 23 N⁴.)

> y. (For o)¹ > u and u)¹ > y cf. § 28 N.) But as u > o in most of the forms of such a word as dohtor, it did so by analogy in the dat. too, though it was there followed by i.
(1) a + o or u > ēa: *sla(h)on > slēan śplagen slay.
   ā (< Gc ā) + o or u > ēa: *nā(h)or > nēar nearer.
(2) e + back vl. > ēo: *se(h)on > sēon sēhen see.
   e + e > ē: *te(h)en > tēn sēhn ten.
(3) ɨ + back vl. > ɨo, ēo: *tɨ(h)on > tēon censure.
   i + e > īe: *si(j)e > sē be.

2) The second element is usually assimilated to the first
   and so disappears. (For unstressed o see §24 N².)
   (1) ē + vl. > ē: *hō(h)on > hōn hang.
   (2) ū + vl. are not changed or > ū: būan or būn build.
   (3) ɨ + vl. > ɨ: *fũir (< *fũir) > fũr fire.
   (4) ā (< Gc ai) + vl. > ā: *tai(h)a > tā toe.
   (5) ēa + vl. > ēa: *hēa(h)es > hēas, gen. sg. of hēah high.
   (6) ēo + vl. > ēo: *tēo(h)on > tēon draw.

3. Changes in Quantity.

46. The quantities usually assigned to the OE. vl⁹ are what
   may be called historic quantities. That is, such changes in
   quantity as have taken place in OE. as distinguished from
   WG., are usually ignored. The reason for this is that it is
   very difficult to determine just when and where the changes
   took place.

   (I.) Lengthening.

   1) It is certain that final stressed vowels > long: pū thou,
      hwā who, sē he or that; but unstressed sē the, hē, the rel. pē, &c.,
      similarly eal-swā just so, Mn also, but weak (§93, 2) ealswa as.

   2) There was a tendency to lengthen vl⁹ before a sonorous
      cons. + a voiced stop (§20, 1: bīndan, wōrd, gōld, ēōmb), but
      this seems not to have been true of all vl⁹, nor universally the
      case before nd and ng. These lengthenings will not be noticed
      in this book.

   (II.) Shortening.

   A vl. before h + cons. > short: pōhte > pohte, *wīh-bēod >
   *wihbeod > *weohbod (§32, 2; for ēo > eo > o in bēod, cf. §48
   end) > wēofod (§91 & 2, §76 N¹) altar.
4. **Vowel Gradation.**

47. 1) Gradation (Ger. *Ablaut*) is a difference of vowel due to a difference of accent (cf. § 19, 3) in Indo-European times in various forms of a word or in related words.

With Greek *φαίνειν, φοίνικα, φίδενν* or Lat. *vidēre, visus*, compare OE. *wītan* (<ei, § 23 N¹ end), wāt (<ai, § 35, <oi, § 23 N³), witon, wīs.

The difference of accent can no longer be seen, for in Gc times the stress came to be uniformly placed upon the first sib. of simple words (§ 94) and some of the older accented sibs fell away, § 50.

2) Gradation plays in Gc its chief role in the verb, which shows six gradation series:—

1  Ĩ (<ei, § 23 N¹(2)) a Ĭ Ī
2  eu aū u u (o)
3  e (i) a u u (o)
4  e (i) a ā u (o)
5  e (i) a ā Ī e
6  a Ī Ī Ī Ī a

1–5 have the gradation e/o (Gc e/a, § 23 N³, or i/a, § 23 N¹), with the changes due to the following cons. (1 and 2, the semi-vowels j and w, or ĭ, ī; 3, sonorous cons. + cons.; 4, simple sonorous cons.; 5, nonsonorous cons.); 6 has the gradation a/ā (Gc a/ā).

Gradation continues in OE., but, in consequence of the many changes in the various sles (§§ 25 ff.), the subject appears more complicated, §§ 00 ff.

B. **The Vowels of Medial and Final Syllables.**

a) Quantity and Quality.

48. The vowels in unstressed sibs are all short, but e and i long kept their length under a slight accent in the endings -ere (leornēre *learner*, § 97 b) and -tan of the II. weak conjugation. Old ā and ī generally > e: ārē > āre g. d. a. sg. & n.
PHONOLOGY.

a. pl. of ār honor; rīči (§ 49 N') > rīče realm, hilpis > hilpes(t) helpest; but a slight stress generally preserved i in the derivative endings -īg, -īng, -īsc, cf. also § 43 N'. For i + vl.: j + vl. cf. § 66 N. An u is often lowered to o, o unrounded to a, and this fronted to e. The vowel in a syllable that once had at least secondary stress but has lost it, is apt to become short and to be reduced to an obscure vowel usually written e or o; so mislič' > mislič, and mislicer > mislecor; hlāf'w(e)ard' > hlā'ford, § 25, 3. Cf. also § 19, 3, and 95, 2.

b) Gradation (cf. § 47).

49. I. Ancient Gradation. The IE. gradation series e/o appears in Gc as i/o or a, and (though all these vl's may have > e) the gradation can still be recognized in OE. in such forms as āgen/āgen own, the first only showing j'), § 43.

II. Recent Gradation. Unstressed o and u > e if the next slb. contains a back vl., and similarly unq > ing: roder rodores/roderas heaven; sealfode/sealfedon anointed; leorninga learning. But cf. §

c) Apheresis, Syncope, Apocope (cf. also § 45, i., ii.).

50. Note 1.—The loss of a sound is termed apheresis, syncope, or apocope, according as it is initial, medial, or final.

Note 2.—Before disappearing, a vl. generally > the “mid-mixed,” or “obscure,” vl., usually written e; hence vl's that are already mid disappear sooner than high vl's. Cf. § 17.

1) Apheresis is rare in native words (ræfnan < ar-æfnan perform), but it frequently happened to foreign words adopted into Gc speech: episcopus > bíséop bishop, epistula > pistol letter.

2) Syncope occurs according to the following important rule: —

After a long slb. (§ 19, 2) an originally short medial vl. is dropped unless it be guarded by more than one cons.: dēofol
dēofles < *dēofoles; but rodo r odores, as ro d- is a short slb.; and roccettan, as e is guarded by the two cons* tt.

Note 1.—Trisyllabic f. and nt. forms in -u do not syncopate: *delu idle, *niētenu cattle (but fem* in -(i)ōu syncopate regularly: *strēngōu strength); on the other hand, micel large regularly and yfel evil generally syncopate in spite of the shortness of the stem vl.: micles, yfles.

Note 2.—Analogy sometimes levels the forms that arise from this law; thus we find dēofoles (for dēofles) by analogy to dēofol, and adjectives with short stems, like hwæt, have (not -ere -ene, but) -re -ne, just as gōd has gōdre gōdne.

Note 3. — The e of the 2d and 3d pers. sg. ending (-es(t) -eð) of strong verbs and of weak verbs of the I. class is generally dropped in WS.

3) Apocope.

I.) The original final mid vl* a, o, and e, fall away (§ 50 N2): Greek ἀνά, Gō ana, OE. on; *dōmoz (§ 23 N3) > *dōmo (§ 68 N) > dōm judgment; voc. dōme > dōm.

II.) The high vl* i and u regularly fall away only after long slb* (§ 19, 2): *wurmi > wyrm, but wini > wine; wordu > word, while hofu retains u. Still u is dropped after a short medial slb. that follows a short stem vl.: *firinu > firen crime.

Note 1.—But the i after long slb* (§ 66 N) which became final by the apocope of a following vl. (§ 49, 1), did so too late to be affected by this law. It > e, § 48: rício > ríči > ríče realm.

Note 2.—When, in consequence of apocope, the semi-vowel w or a sonorous cons. (§ 20, 1) becomes final, it becomes syllabic (§ 16, 3): barw- > bearu forest; æcr field, fugl bird, tācn sign, mādm treasure. Before a sonant cons., espec. before r, an obscure vl. (generally written e after palatal vl* o after guttural) is sometimes inserted: æcer, fugol, tācen, mādum.
CHAPTER V.


51. p, b, m, w; t, d, r, l have their ordinary MⁿE. values: bewit’an, dyppan, mære, lêt. But in making r, the front of the tongue was turned back, and thus r acted like a guttural in “breaking” front vl, § 41. Similarly, OE. l, like MⁿE. l, often had a guttural quality. For k and q cf. § 86, for v § 78, for x § 84.

52. The fricatives f, s, p (or Ѳ) were —

1) Voiceless (or as in MⁿE. for, so, thick, § 16), when initial or final, but medially only when doubled or next a voiceless cons.: forð forth, scéaf sheaf, þæs of the; snoffa snuffles, scéðanın injure, cyssan kiss; gepɔfta companion, wascan wash;

2) Voiced (or as in MⁿE. of, rose, the, § 16), when between vowels or voiced cons*: ofer over, sealfian to salve, furðor further, hæðen heathen, ærǐsan arise.

53. n generally represents MⁿE. dental n, as in nōn noon; but before dental, palatal, and guttural cons*, it too is dental (bindan bind and probably in sēnGAN (= sendʒAN) singe, § 55, l. N. end), palatal (Englisc English), or guttural (Qnangelcyn the Angles); for the two last, a letter like ŋ is sometimes used in grammars.

54. 1) h originally stood for the voiceless back open cons. heard in Ger. aฑ, and it still often had that value (hēah high, hliehhan laugh); before t, and to some extent before h and s, it palatalized, or became front (so reoht > reohť > rieht, § 40,2)), or as in Ger. iฑ.

Note. — The back and the front Ѳ-sounds may be learned by whispering respectively koo and key and dwelling on the sound that follows the k.
2) Initially h early became the weak glottal cons. heard in M^nE., as in hund hound. Initial hl, hn, hr, hw were either pronounced as h + l, h + n, &c. or as voiceless (§ 16) l, n, &c. (hlædder ladder, hnutu nut, hrôf roof, hwâr where); later this h generally became silent, but for hw, which is now written wh, one may hear h + w, voiceless w, or voiced w. For hs cf. § 90, 4 N.

55. g was —
1) A shut cons. (§ 20) I. after n,* II. when doubled.
   I. After n: —
   g was sounded as in M^nE. go; ping thing, lông, cyning king.
   ĝ (§ 85) was articulated farther toward the front of the mouth, like M^nE. g in give: Englisc English.

   Note. — If a vl. followed, a glide intervened (as in the dialectic pronunciation guirl for girl), which may have been a remnant of the original i, j (§ 85, 2); it was sometimes written e, but was often not indicated at all: sêng(e)an singe. It is very probable that this ĝj had even in OE. times passed through dj to dʒ, spelled (d)ge in M^nE., cf. ĝɡ below.

   II. When doubled: —
   gg was sounded like g in go, but was held, or prolonged: dogga dog, frogga frog.
   ĝg was written eg and was pronounced like ĝe in sêng(e)an (1. N above), that is, early ĝj, later dj (cf. miéğern suet < midd-ğearn) or dʒ: hryōg back, ridge, bryēg bridge.

2) An open cons. (§ 20) elsewhere.
   g was like North Ger. g in Tâge (or like M^nE. cons. y made far back in the mouth): gōd good, dagas days, ġenōg enough.
   ĝ (§ 85) was like M^nE. cons. y (cf. also § 88 N): dēg day, ġēar year, nigontig ninety, ġelīefan believe.

56. c was sounded like c in cool: cuman come, cyning king, Ċent Kent, cwic quick, bucca buck. For cs cf. § 84 end.
   ĉ (§ 85) was articulated farther toward the front of the mouth, like k in kill, but was followed by a glide (as in the

* Perhaps g was a fricative after n in eWS. and only > a stop in lWS.
dialectic pronunciation of *sky, §16, 2 end), which may have been a remnant of the original i, j (§85, 2); before a back vl. this glide was sometimes written e or i, but often was not indicated at all: *cild *child, *rice *rich, *tæc(e)an *teach, reče(e)an relate. It is very probable that this cj had even in OE. times passed through tj (ort-geard is early written orceard *orchard) to tf, spelled (t)ch in MNE. For see cf. §85, 3.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL MATTERS AS TO Gc, WG., AND OE. CONSONANTS. §§57–61.

a) Verner's Law.

57. We sometimes find in an OE. word an r, d, g, or w where a related word or another form of the same word would lead us to expect s, ð, or h: —

\[
\begin{align*}
s - r & : \{ \text{risan} \ \text{rise} \ ; \ \text{ræran} \ \text{rear}, \\
& \{ \text{cēosan} \ \text{choose} \ ; \ \text{coren} \ \text{chosen}; \\
ð - d & : \{ \text{liðan} \ \text{travel} \ ; \ \text{lædan} \ \text{lead}, \\
& \{ \text{sēoðan} \ \text{seethe} \ ; \ \text{soden} \ \text{sodden}; \\
\text{h - g} & : \{ \text{tiēn} < *\text{tihen} \ \text{ten} \ ; \ \text{twēntīg} \ \text{twenty,} \\
& \{ \text{slēan} < *\text{slahon} \ \text{slay} \ ; \ \text{slaēgen} \ \text{slain}; \\
\text{h(w) - w} & : \ \text{sēon} < *\text{sch(w)on} \ \text{see} \ ; \ \text{sāwōn} \ \text{saw.}
\end{align*}
\]

Note. — This is what was still manifest in OE. of a Gc law according to which after a sbl. not having the primary accent a voiceless fricative > voiced (for ex. s > z). The full applicability of the law cannot be made plain to beginners: from the first there were exceptions, and later the primitive accent (§94 ft. nt.) largely changed, and some of the fricatives underwent modification (for ex., z > r, and ð > ð, while all voiceless fricatives > voiced between vl, §52).
b) Go. ft, ht, ss.

58. Before t we find only the voiceless fricatives f, h, (p), though a related word or some other form of the same word might lead us to expect a stop or a voiced fricative; and pt > ss.

\[
\begin{align*}
ft &: \text{giefan } (f = v) \text{ give } \text{geben : gift gift Gift.} \\
ht &: \text{magan can mögen: meaht might Macht.} \\
ss &: \text{witan know : wisse knew and gewis(s) certain.}
\end{align*}
\]

c) Gemination.

59. 1) Any cons. (ex. the semi-vowels j and w, § 16, 2) may occur doubled, but ĝĝ (spelled ĝg) became differentiated into ĝj later ą3, § 55, II).

(a) Go. Gemination (mostly due to the assimilation of n to a preceding cons.) : wulle wool, steorra, star, mqn(n) mqqnnae man, swiambaana swim.

(b) WG. Gemination (due to j: every WG. single cons. ex. r was doubled by a following j, provided the cons. was immediately preceded by a short vl.; after long slbs. j fell away, § 66) : Goth. saljan, OS. sælljan, OE. sællan give, so hliehhan laugh, smioöde smithy, lęęg(e)an lay; but Goth. nasjan, OE. nërian (= nërjan) save. For voiced ff we find the double stop bb: hébbban heave. After long stems: *dömjan > déman deem, § 66 N.

(c) OE. Gemination (due to following r or l, but not regular) : bit(t)or bitter, æp(p)el apple.

2) The Simplification of Gemination. Every gemination (ex. ĝg, which was no longer a real geminate, cf. 1 above) was simplified —

(a) When final: eal ealles; mqn mqqnnae.

(b) Néxt another cons.: ealre ealles; cyste cyssan, sënde < send-de sent.

But etymological spellings (eall &c.) are not uncommon.
d) Assimilation and Dissimilation.

60. I. Assimilation. There is a tendency to make adjacent sounds similar or alike—to make them in the same way or in the same place: *bidded* ‘biddeth’ > (§ 50, 2 N 3) *bdd* > (§ 59, 2 b) *bidd*, but as *v* was voiceless (§ 52) it made *d* so, that is, changed it to *t*, *bitt*, then *t* assimilated to *t* and we get *bitt*, which may > *bit* (§ 59, 2 a). For *ds* > *ts*, *ts* > *ss*, &c. cf. § 80. For *sr* > *ss* and *lr* > *ll* cf. § 70.

II. Dissimilation. a) It seems difficult to sound two fricatives in succession. In OE., one of the two is generally stopped (§ 20), that is, *v* > *t*, *h* > *c*, &c.: *fif*a ‘fifth’ > *fifta*, so *siexta*, but *feor*a &c.; *hilpes pu* > *hilpestu* ‘helpest thou’; *siehs* > *siec* or *siex* ‘six.’ More rarely one fricative was assimilated or lost: *blit*s > *bliss* ‘bliss,’ *pihs*l > *pis*l ‘thill.’ Cf. § 83, 90, 4 N.

b) Foreign words were liable to dissimilation, thus *r* — *r* > *r* — *l*: Lat. *turtur* > OE. *turtur* and *turtle*, Lat. *purpura* > OE. *purpura* and *purple*.

e) Metathesis.

61. Metathesis, or leaping, of sonorous cons't is frequent, particularly:—

1) If thereby cons't made with the same organs of speech are brought together: *hros* (Ῥοῦ) > OE. *hors* horse § 69.

2) If thereby the sonorous cons. is brought near a more sonorous sound (§ 16, 3) than the one it has stood next: *ādl* > *āld* § 67, *worsm* > *worms* *pus*, *tācn* > *tānc* token § 74.

The metathesis of other cons't is rare, cf. § 84.
CHAPTER VII.

DETAILS AS TO OE. CONSONANTS. §§ 62–91.

A. The Semi-vowels (w, j, § 16, 2).

w (cf. §§ 14, 15 & N³, 16, 2, 51; also 39, 45).

62. Initial w is often dropped after n(e) 'not': nœs nœron < ne was &c. was not; but it rounds i to y, § 17, 3: nyllan < ne willan will not. w- often falls away through weakness of stress in the second part of a compound: hlaford < *hlafword, § 48.

63. Medial w falls away before the high vl* u and i (§§ 17, 2, 16, 2 about w): sæ < saiwi sea; clēa < clāwu claw § 45, II, 1(1). Cf. also tū two < *tū < *twoo (§ 33, 2), so hū how. But w is at times restored through the influence of forms without u or i: sæw like gen. pl. sæwa < sæwja § 66 & N, &c.

64. Final w — 1 > vocalic, that is u (§ 16, 2) :

(1) After a cons.: barw(o)- > bearu forest.
(2) After a short vl., with which it forms a diphthong: *cnewo- > (§ 49) *cnew > *cneu > cnēo (§ 45, II, 1(2)) knee.

2) Falls away entirely after long vl* and diphthongs: ā or ō < aiw ever (§ 35, 2), snā snow.

But w may be restored by analogy to medial forms: thus snāw like gen. snāwes.

j (cf. §§ 14 end, 16, 2, 55, 1, I. N, II. and 2, 56; also 40, 43, 45, 59, 1 & b.).

65. There was no special character to represent the semi-vowel j (= y in you); it was written —

I.) i sometimes (1) in foreign words: Iūdēas jews; (2) initially before the high vl. u: iung young; and (3) often after r: nērian save, § 59, 1 b, heries gen. of hēre army.

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II.)  $g$ usually (§ 85):  ḡeong = iung, nērgan = nērian.

Note.—For $i$ or $g$ we sometimes find $īg$ and before back $vl$ even $īge &c.$ (this may represent $ī$ or $īj$ and in some cases even $ī$, rather than $j$): hērīges, nērīg(e)an.

66.  $j$— 1) fell away after long closed slb$^*$ saljan $>(§ 59, 1 \text{ b})$ sēlljan $> sēllan$ give.

Note.—As regards the interchange of $i$ and $j$, — in G$^c$ $i + vl.$ stood after long $vl.$, and $j + vl.$ after short: rício- OE. rícē (§ 50 3 N$^1$) realm but racjan (OE. rçcé(e)an, § 50, 1 b) relate. In OE. times the $i$ too $> j$ and fared as that did (for ex. *rícies $> *rícjes $>(§ 66)$ rícēs gen. of rícē; *dōmian $> *dōmjjan > dēman$ deem); but, of course, it had not caused G$^c$ gemination, § 59, 1 b.

2) was retained after r (nērian save) and after a long open slb., § 19, (cēegan call).

B.  The Sonorous Consonants ($r, 1; m, n; \S 20$).

1.  The Liquids (1, $r$).

1 (cf. §§ 14, 16, 3, 20, 51; also 41, 59, 1 c).

67.  Metathesis (§ 61, 2) of 1 occasionally occurs: $sl > ls$ inbridels 'bridle' &c. (§ 98 sla); spādl later spāld 'spittle,' so ādl and āld 'sickness.' For $r > l$ cf. § 60, II b.

$r$ (cf. §§ 14, 15 N$^1$, 16, 3, 20, 51; also 41, 57, 59, 1 c, 60 II b).

68.  OE. $r$ arises from —

I.)  G$^c$ $r$: bringan bring; wer man, Lat. vir.

II.)  G$^c$ $z$: māra larger, more, Goth. maiza; and cf. § 57 & N.

Note.—This $r < z$ is only medial; for there was no G$^c$ initial $z$, and the final $r < z$ became silent: Goth. hwās wer OE. hwā who, Goth. batis OE. bet better; Lat. hortus, Primitive G$^c$ gardoz (§ 50, 3, I.) OE. geard yard.

69.  Metathesis (§ 61) of $r$ is common, especially if thereby the $r$ comes to stand next other cons$^*$ made with the tip of the tongue: hors horse ḡo$: beornan burn brennen.
70. r is sometimes assimilated (§60, 1) to l and s: selra or sella better, læssa less.

71. r is sometimes lost after a labial: sprecan and specan speak ðpréðen.

2. THE NASALS (m, n, η).

72. Before the voiceless fricatives f, s, p, a nasal early fell away and a preceding stressed vl. was lengthened: Goth. fünf fünf OE. fife five, Gœ gans > (§38, 1) OE. *gans > gós goose, so müð mouth Mund, *jugun ⇒ ðeguð youth Jugend.

NOTE 1.—Before the voiceless fricative n, the nasal had fallen out in Gœ times: *þanhte ⇒ þöhte baȝte thought, cf. §§38, 1, 46, II.

NOTE 2.—After the working of the law stated in §72, some nasals came to stand before fricatives in consequence of syncope &c. (clæn(i)siian cleanse), and some foreign words with ns &c. were brought in (pinsiian weigh < Lat. pensäre, §38, 2).

m (cf. §§14, 15 N1, 20, 51, 72; also 38).

73. For the metathesis of m cf. §61, 2.

n (cf. 14, 15 N1, 16, 3, 20, 53; also 38, 88).

74. 1) Metathesis (§61, 2) of n occasionally occurs in the case of final cn and gn: tācn ⇒ tānc token, þeġn ⇒ þeŋth thane.

2) n is often dropped in the pl. of verbs if we, ge, &c. follow (cf. §82 N): sohte ġē but ġē sohton ‘you sought.’ Occasionally elsewhere: cyning ⇒ cyn(i)g ‘king’; onweġ ⇒ aweġ ‘away’; nemnde ⇒ nemde ‘called.’

C. Non-Sonorous Consonants, §20.

(p, b, f, v; t, d, ũ, s; c, ñ, g, ġ, h, ĕh)

1. LABIALS, §§20, 2, 28, 2.

(p, b, f, v)

p (cf. §§14, 16, 20, 51, 58).

75. Most Gœ words beginning with p are words borrowed from other languages, §11.
b (cf. §§ 14, 16, 20, 51, 58).

76. b generally represents the voiced labial stop (MⁿE b in bib), but this only occurs initially (bindan bind), after m (limb), and doubled (habban have).

Note. 1.—Otherwise medially and finally we find f (often = v, § 52, 2) where we might expect b: webb (for web cf. § 59, 2 a) wefan weave, wæf wove. If foreign or initial b > medial, it, in time, > the voiced fricative f: Lat. probâre > OE. prôfian prove, test; ã-byre any time > ðære ever.

Note 2.—In the oldest texts b is used to represent the voiced labial fricative afterwards represented by f: obaer = ofer over.

f (cf. §§ 14, 52, 76 N¹; also 58, 72).

77. f represents the denti-labial fricative (§ 20), both voiced and voiceless, § 52. Geminated voiced f appears as bb, § 76 N¹; for b = f = v cf. § 76 N².

Note.—Voiced f sometimes > m by assimilation to n: efne > emne even(ly).

u or v.

78. Lat. v (or u) appears as w in the oldest loan-words (§ 11); but when it had become denti-labial in late Latin and the Romance languages, it was spelled f (fers verse) in OE., less often u or v (Dauid &c.), but this spelling became more frequent in time (uers verse).

2. Dentals, § 20, 2.
(t, d, ð, s)

t (cf. §§ 14, 20, 51, 58).

79. t is sometimes lost, esp. (as generally in MⁿE.) between a voiceless fricative and a sonorous cons. (rieh(t)lie right, sōðfæs(t)nesse truth) or another fricative (Wes(t)seaxan).

Note.—(1) As sþ > st (§ 83) and the old spelling was often retained, we even find sþ written for original st: læstþ = læst least. (2) As ð had > tj or tj (§ 56 end) we also find the spelling c for original tj: orceard = ort-geard orchard.
DETAILS AS TO OE. CONSONANTS.

\[d\] (cf. §§ 14, 20, 51; also 57, 58, 88).

80. Next voiceless cons\(\text{l}^*\), \(d > (\S 60)\) voiceless, or \(t\), though the old spelling is often retained: \(\text{bindst} = \text{bintst} < \text{bindest bindest, sc\'\'encte} < \text{sc\'\'enc-de gave, bl\'\'eds\'\'an} > \text{bl\'\'ets\'\'an} > \text{bl\'\'ess\'\'an bless.} \) Weak sind (§§ 19, 3, 93 e) ‘are’ often > sint.

Note.— (1) For ehte \(<\text{eht-te} \) ‘persecuted,’ and cyste \(<\text{cyss-te} \) ‘kissed,’ cf. § 59, 2. (2) \(d\) often fell away between two \(l\)’s: \(\text{siel(}\)\(d\)\(\text{li\'\'e} \) ‘strange.’ (3) In weak sl\(\text{b}\) \(d\) fell away after \(n\) and before another cons. : \(\text{on(}\)\(d\)\(\text{fonl} \) ‘receive.’ (4) Before \(l\) an \(n\) is often exploded as a \(d\) : endlufon Goth. ain-lif ‘eleven.’

\(p\) or \(v\) (cf. §§ 14, 15 & N\(^3\), 52; also 57, 58, 72).

81. The \(p\) in old \(lp\) and, after a long \(vl\), \(pl\), having > voiced, was stopped and exploded, that is, > \(d\) : Goth. gUL\(p\) OE. gold ; Goth. n\(\text{\'\'e}\)pla OE. n\(\text{\'\'edl\) needle.

82. \(dp > tp > tt\), § 60: \(\text{\'\'a}\text{\'\'m\'\'od humble, } \*\text{\'\'a}\text{\'\'m\'\'\'edp\'\'u} > \text{\'\'a}\text{\'\'m\'\'\'ett\'\'o humility; } \text{\'\'a}\text{\'\'et\'\'e} > \text{\'\'a}\text{\'\'e t\'\'e that conj. ; } \) and simplified, § 59, 2: \(\text{bint} < \text{bintt} < \text{bint\'\'o} < \text{binde\'\'o bindeth.}\)

Note.— \(p\) is often lost in verbs if \(w\)\(\text{\'\'e}\), \(\text{\'\'e}\) follows (cf. § 74, 2): \(\text{binde } \*\text{\'\'e but } \*\text{\'\'e binda\'\'o you bind’ ; also in } \text{l\'\'a}\(\text{\'\'e}\text{\'\'o teacher, } \)\&c.

83. \(sp > st\), that is, one of the two open cons\(\text{l}^*\) is stopped (§ 60, II) : \(\text{hilpes } \*\text{\'\'u} > \text{hilpestu} \) ‘helpest thou,’ the \(t\) in time being regarded as a part of the ending and remaining in \(p\) \(\text{hilpest; } \) cf. also § 79 N\(^1\). \(p\)\(\text{s} > ss\) : \(\text{bl\'\'i\'\'s} > \text{bliss.}\)

\(s\) (cf. §§ 14, 20, 52; also 57, 58, 72, 83, 85, 3).

84. By metathesis (§ 61 end) \(sc\) sometimes > \(cs\) : \(\text{\'\'a}\text{\'\'s\'\'ian } \*\text{\'\'a}\text{\'\'s\'\'ian ask.} \) Old \(hs\) in time > \(cs\) (§ 90, 4, N), and both this and other \(cs\)’s were very often written \(x\) : \(\text{siex six, } \text{r\'\'ix\'\'ian rule, } \text{\'\'ax\'\'ian ask.}\)

3. PALATALS AND GUTTURALS, § 20, 2. (c, \(\acute{e}\), g, \(\grave{g}\), h, \(\grave{h}\))

85. The original guttural cons\(\text{l}^*\) (c, g, h) became fronted (§ 20, 2) under certain conditions, but the Mss. do not generally distinguish the gutturals from the palatals. It is more
or less customary in text books, esp. in the case of c and g, to place a dot, or some other mark, over the palatales.

1) c, g > ě, ģ before the originally front vl's (æ æ, ea ěa, e ě, eo ěo, i ě) and their i-mutations (e æ, ie ěe, —, ie ěe, —), but remained guttural before cons* and before the back vl's (a q ěa, o o, u ū) and their i-mutations (e æ, e ě, y ěy), these last having become front vl's too late to affect the preceding cons. For examples, see Vocabulary.

2) Medial c, g > ě, ģ before original i, j (cf. § 43 N3): *bœnci- > benci 'bench,' *bœcjon- > bêče 'beech,' *drügi- > drýge, 'dry,' d. sg. byrģ < *burgi but d. pl. burgum, Lat. uncia > ynče 'inch,' riče 'powerful, rich' and acc. sg. rične < *ricina, similarly ėčenes 'eternity' as well as ėče 'eternal.'

Note 1.—c was palatal also in ěc when final or before ē: ěc 'I,' ědě 'ditch,' -lîče 'like' (but -licor), and in the contracted derivatives in -lîč: ělè 'each,' hvělè 'which,' svelè 'such.'

Note 2.—g was palatal also finally after the front vl's of monosyll of monosyll (dav ě 'day,' but dagas 'days,' &c.) and in the suffix -ig (hâlîg 'holy'); and medially after front vl's, provided no back vl. followed (dæjes 'day's,' lějde 'laid,' bég(e)n 'thane,' but hâl(i)gu).

3) sc > sč not only according to 1) and 2) above, but also initially (§ 11 d), and finally if no back vl. preceded (fisč fish); in the latter cases it was the s that fronted the c. Where there was no front vl. next a medial or final sc, palatalization was delayed or prevented.

In the process of time, sč > sčj > sčď > sď > š, or the M^nE. 'sh'; in OE. times it may have been at any one of the first stages. § 40 N3.

c (k, q; x) cf. §§ 14 end, 20, 56; also 58, 85.

86. c is the letter most commonly used for both the palatal and the guttural voiceless stop, § 56; rarely the guttural was indicated by k: kyn(in)g king. In this book, the guttural is spelled c, and the palatal ě. For the sound kw, the usual spelling was cw; in the oldest texts also cu, less often qu, as in Lat.: cwæð, cuæð, quæð says. For x = cs cf. § 84. For ěg cf. § 55, 1, II.
87. After long back vl*, IWS. \( h < g \) occasionally appears even in eWS., that is, final \( g \) tended to > voiceless: \( \text{đenōh} = \text{đenōg} \text{ enough} \); and rarely after \( r, l \): burh = burg \text{ fortress}.

88. After front vl*, \( g \) often disappears before \( d, n \), but the preceding vl. > long: mædgan > mæden maiden, breðgan > brēdan pull, brīgdel > bridel bridle, regn > rēn rain, on-, tō-\( gēgn > -gēn > -gēan \) (§ 40, 1 b) against.

Note. — This loss of \( g \) is one of the proofs of the fact that even in eWS. medial and final \( g \) tended to become vocalic, or \( i \).

\[ h \] (cf. §§ 14, 15, 54; also 41, 45, 46 II, 57, 58, 87).

\[ x \] (§ 84 end).

89. Initial \( h \) and often medial \( h \) acquired the weak sound that \( h \) has in MnE. (§ 54, 2), and in certain cases it was assimilated to neighboring voiced sounds or disappeared entirely.

90. \( h \) was retained when —

1) \( \text{Initial (§ 89): habban have, hryēg ridge}. \)

Note. — Initial \( h \) is dropped when it comes to stand after another cons.: n(e)habban > nabban have not.

2) \( \text{Final: furh furrow, wōh bad}. \)

3) \( \text{Doubled: hliehhan laugh}. \)

4) Before a voiceless cons.: wiht wight, pōhte thought, § 46 II.

Note. — For hs we often find \( x \), and the fricative \( h \) in time > the back stop \( c \), § 60 II.: siehs, siex six, weaxan grow. Rarely \( h \) fell away before \( s \): \( \text{þīsl} < *\text{þīsl} \text{ Deidhel thilh, wæstn growth} \) : weaxan.

91. \( h \) disappeared, with frequent lengthening of the preceding vl. (or assimilated to a neighboring sonorous sound), when —

1) \( \text{Unstressed:} \)

(I) \( \text{fūrum} < \text{furhum d. pl. of furh furrow, befēolan} < \text{be-}\)

feolhan concea1, būan < *būhon dwell, sēon < *sehon see, ēa < *ahwu water, § 45.
Note.—In WS. the loss of an h is often prevented by the early syncope of the following vl. (§ 50, 2 N³, § 90, 4), so esp. in the 3d sg. of the verb: *sihô > Anglian sîd but WS. sihô or sîhô 'sees,' § 41, 3.

(II) Originally having secondary stress: pūsund < pūs-hund 'thousand'; names like Ælfere < Ælf-ere; -or(r)ettan or -örettan < -öret 'fight' < *or-hât &c. ; efen(n)ehô 'level surface, field' < efen-hëah 'equally high'; ægôr < æghwæðer 'either'; on-hat'jan > onhëttan > (by analogy to other verbs in unstressed -ettan, § 94 b N) on'ëttan > ôn'ëttan 'hasten,' but onhât'jan > onhëttan 'excite.'

Note.—The h is often maintained or restored by the influence of the stressed simple word, espec. if that have the same vl., § 95 c: efenhëah, 'evenly high;' but efen(n)ehô 'plain,' ä'wër and ä'hväër 'anywhere' < hwær 'where.'

2) Between a vl. and a voiced cons., esp. if sonorous, § 16, 3: smëaliç < *smeåliç (§ 41, 3) < *smahliç (§ 46, II.) < *smäliç 'dainty;' so neawist 'nearness,' néalæcan 'come near,' &c. < *nåhwist &c. (nëah 'near' has ëa by analogy to these and to nèar 'nearer,' nèan 'from near,' § 45, 1 (l)), lëoma 'light' < *léohma, cf. lëoh 'light,' wëofod 'altar' < wih-bêod 'sacred table;' wô(h)dóm 'false judgment;' hëa(n)ne acc. masc. of hëah 'high;' nëa(r)ra comp. of nëah 'near.' Occasional hëahnæ &c. are due to the influence of hëah, cf. note above.
CHAPTER VIII.

Stress.

A. Sentence-Stress.

92. A sentence involves the connection of two ideas: the one first in the mind is the psychological subject; and the one that attaches itself to this is the psychological predicate. These may or may not correspond with the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate. If a theft has been spoken of and some one says "John stole it," 'stole it' is the psychological subject, and 'John' the psychological predicate; if John is under discussion and some one says "John is a good fellow," 'John' is the psychological subject, 'a good fellow' the psychological predicate, and 'is' a connective.

The psychological predicate is uppermost in the mind of the speaker, is the idea he is anxious to put into the mind of the listener, is the 'emphatic' word or words, and is, naturally, stressed.

93. 1) As a result of this, little stress falls upon words that refer to an idea already in mind (the psychological subject), and upon words that denote an idea that is necessarily or naturally associated with another and, consequently, neither excites the mind of the speaker or needs to be called to the attention of the listener, but is expected by him. Here belong words denoting only the relation ideas bear to one another.

Unstressed are, therefore:—

(a) Personal and relative pronouns (cf. e Note below).

(b) Weak demonstratives (including the article), which simply refer to objects in sight or under consideration (and do not contrast some with others).
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Note. — Interrogative pronouns and adverbs, being but temporary symbols for unknown or undefined psychological predicates, are not stressed.

(c) Indefinite pronouns (mon, sum &c.).
(d) Most negatives and indefinite quantitative adj* and adv*.
(e) Conjunctions and prepositions, copulative and auxiliary verbs, and verbs of saying &c. followed by þæt &c. (cwæð þ, bæd þ).

Note. — Prepositions are stressed before personal (but not demonstrative) pronouns and after nouns and pronouns.

2) The tendency to stress the psychological predicate, 1 when adapted to the primitive word-order, gave to Ge speech a prevailing trochaic rhythm 2 (using `trochaic' in a broad sense): of two associated nouns (whether substantive or adjective) the first received the stronger stress — þæs eorles sunu `the earl's son,' se gōda hierde `the good shepherd,' dēad is Æschere `Æschere is dead,' — while a noun 3 was more heavily stressed than the verb with which it was used — Æowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþowes `Æowulf spake, the son of Æcgþow,' — and this generally even if the verb was for any reason placed first — āhlēop þa se gomela `then the old man leaped up,' but ġierede hine Æowulf `Æowulf prepared himself.' Like adj*, adv* that retain a definite meaning have the heavier stress when preceding an adj. or verb — bī standan `to stand by.'

1 It would not do to carry this matter into details here: suffice it to say that modifiers are degenerated psychological predicates, and that, when Ge speech was more synthetic, modifiers more regularly preceded the word modified.

2 Through the operation of the same natural principle under changed conditions, — the more frequent use of proclitic words (prep*, the articles, the auxiliary verbs, &c.) and the reduction or loss of final unstressed syllables, — modern English has acquired a prevailing iambic rhythm.

3 In ordinary speech (where speech-laws originate) nouns generally represent psychological predicates, for they are usually displaced by pronouns when psychological subjects are to be referred to.
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B. Word-Stress.

1. Chief Stress.

94. In OE. as in Gc

a) The stress of voice regularly fell upon the first syllable of a word: Simple, fæder father, þone the, clæne cleanly, ġítsian ġítsung desire, āeorfan cut, mónig many; Compound, mónslaga manslaughter, dōmsæl judgment seat, árlēas dishonorable, blīōe-liće gladly, tōward toward. Cf. 2.

b) But compound verbs stress the second member:—

on-ġinnan begin; but on-ġin beginning,
ā-cnā wan know, “ or-cnāwe known,
tō-dālan divide, “ tō-dāl division,
wiō-sacan oppose, “ wiōer-saca foe.

Note.—Verbs with the derivative endings -lēcan, -cītan, stress the first slb.: ānlēcan unite, cohċēt lan cough.

c) Nouns (substantive or adjective) having the verbal prefixes be-, ġe-, for- also came (in OE. as in WG. generally) to stress the second member: be-hāt pledge, for-wyrd destruction, ġe-māne common, ġe-sihō sight.

Note.—The original prefix stress is still occasionally found (forwyrd, Crist 1615), and remained fixed in a few words, most of which early underwent contraction: bl-ismer disgrace, *bl-hāt > bōot boast.

d) Derivatives retain the stress of the primitive; thus, verbs derived from compound nouns keep the stress on the first member: andswarian to answer (< andswaru an answer, not < and + swarīan); and nouns (for ex., participles used as adj* or subs*) keep the stress on the second member: ā-līesend redeemer and ā-līesednes redemption < ā-līesan redeem.

1 In oldest Gc (§ 57 N), as in IE. speech, the accent was “free,” that is, it was not bound by such a law; for ex., the word for ‘father,’ as in Greek, had the accent on the last slb. while that for ‘mother’ had it on the first, and the pret. pl. ā was not accented like the pret. sg.
e) Conglomerations generally retain the old sentence-stress (§§ 92, 93): to-dæg to-day, betwēonum between, for-pām-pe because.


95. a) The second element of compound words (other than verbs, § 94, b) usually had secondary stress. For examples, see Vocabulary.

b) But when a compound in time assumed a simple meaning, there was a tendency to treat it as a simple word and to neglect the secondary stress; the second member was then exposed to all the changes suffered by unstressed syllables (§§ 19, 3, 48–50, 91, 1, II): hlāf-ween > hlāford lord, ful-tēam > fultum protection, ā-hwār > āwér anywhere.

c) Nevertheless, if the meaning of the second element of the compound was not entirely lost, the mental association of the simple word with it would maintain or restore the secondary stress in the compound, specially if both elements were long syllables; hence the rule a) above.

Note.—Of three more or less stressed syllables, the middle one was apt to lose its stress: gehier'sum'nes' > gehier'sumnes' obedience. Before a third syllable / / is apt to > / / : Norh'ym'bron, hund'twelf'tig = 120. It is generally not necessary to indicate secondary stress, unless it might be misplaced.