Hempl, George
Old-English phonology
Old-English

Phonology

HEMPL
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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 v becomes u," or "under the influence of a preceding v, 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 < aw] = "the ea that arises by the breaking of a."
\) = "i-mutation," § 43; )\[^{n}\] = "u-mutation," § 44. For ex., (\(\)\[^{i}\]) > hydrate = "the i-mutation of \(\(\)\[^{i}\] is hydrate," or "\(\(\)\[^{i}\] mutated by i becomes hydrate."
\(\) = "unsyllabic i, u, &c.
\(\) = the back nasal in 'sing,' § 53.
\(\) = sh in 'she.'
\(\) = s in 'pleasure.'
\(\) = the voiceless fricatives in German adj (back) and idj (front), § 54.
\(\) = a sound like i in 'machine' or 'pin,' but made with the lips nearly closed, or "rounded."

eWS. = early West Saxon, § 7.
G\(\) = Germanic, § 6.
IWS. = late West Saxon, § 7.
ME. = Middle English, § 9.
M. Ger. = Midland German.
M\(\) = 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 Cæsar, 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.
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. Engle, Se'axe or -an, Í'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 Õnyle of Northumberland that literary culture first flourished (§ 12) and an Õnglisc dialect was the first to be used for vernacular literature, Õnglisc 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 Õnglisc, 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 Õnyle and Angelcyn were also used where we should expect a name for the country; but in time Õnglaland (MⁿE. 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 Ćeorsls (pronounce kē'orls or chē'orls), who in time sank to the position of serfs, and their betters, the Eorls (ē'orls) and Āthelings (ādh'elings). The chiefs were called Ealdormen (ā'öl'dormen, = elders or magistrates) or Her'etog'as (=leaders of the army). Their retinue of fighting-men, called Gesiths (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'ōlda, = 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 Æth'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
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 Ælfred, 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 angls. 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."
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 M⁰E., 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); M⁰E. 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. *wǐn* MnE. *wine*, Ger. *Bein*, similarly with *butter*, *cheese*, etc.; (via) *strāta* > OE. *strēt* MnE. *street*, *Strāfge*, so with *mile*, *pound*, *inch*, etc.; and even the Christian *ēngel*, *Engel*, and *đeōfol* MnE. *devil*, *Zeufel*. Lat. *buxum*, popular Lat. *bucso*, “writing-tablet of box-wood” (used particularly for documents), was associated by the Germans with G° *bōco-, bōc(j)ōn- “beech-tree,” and > G° *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*, *bepōēcan “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, Worcester, Lan-caster, etc., < OE. ceaster "fortified town" < Lat. castra; and (2) such Celtic words as cradle, mattock, rock, curse, and many proper names: for example, those, like London, in don < Celtic dūn, 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. asa < Celtic assa < Lat. asinus, which had long before passed directly into G as asilus, OE. ðæol, Ger. Cigel.

c) With the introduction of Christianity many Latin and Greek ecclesiastical terms became popular (thus, prēōst "priest," nunne "nun," scēl "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 nimian neðmen), 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. sc-, § 85, 3. Thus skin, skill, sky, scabby (the real E. form being shabby), skirt (for E. shirt, both words, like Ger. Cfurz 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 cultivated 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 (*eWS., § 7*) was much cultivated. We have seen that *King Ælfred* not only encouraged schools and scholarship, but himself translated various Latin books: Boethius' *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
of events. Later on there was another revival of English prose (late WS.). This time it is the Homilies of the abbot Ælfrič (written about the year 1000) and of Archbishop Wulfstan that attract most attention. Ælfric 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 Ge modification of the Latin alphabet, made before 200 A.D. The modification consisted principally in the use of

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<td>E eodel</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>wyn</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>sigel</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>dæg</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Obsolete values etc. are in ( ).

| A | ac |
| O | os |
| Y | yr |
| EA | ear |
| C | cweorod |
| G | gar |
| ST | stän |
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 Gc 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 ê 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 p 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 ðûñ hwûñ = ðonne hwonne), 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 e, a contraction of Lat. et); and l (a crossed l = Lat. vel) is often used instead of ðððc.

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 (ä &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 ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ p g r t, cf. March's Anglo-Saxon Grammar; but now ordinary letters are used, only þ or þ, and sometimes æ = 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.
CHAPTER II.

SPEECH SOUNDS AND NAMES.

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 (= M=E. 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, 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
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(= Ger. ö) were alike in that both were rounded, while e was not; but œ 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 \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{high} & \text{back} & \text{front} \\
\text{mid} & a & e \\
\text{low} & \alpha & \varepsilon
\end{array}
\]
Rounded Vowels \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{high} & \text{back} & \text{front} \\
\text{mid} & u & y \\
\text{low} & o & \varepsilon
\end{array}
\]

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, stlæ-pe, beo-re; closed syllables: blød, 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: blød, cæeft, ðū, slæpan, ċēosan; and short in: pe, 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 MₚE. '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 ĕ, 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 MₜE. artistic: dagas "days."  [<Gₜ a § 25, 2]
   ā as in art: stān "stone."  [<Gₜ aI § 35, 1; WG. ā]w &c. § 30, 2, 3]
   æ " mankind: ðæg "day."  [<Gₜ a § 25, 1]
   āe " man¹: þær "there."  [<WG. ā § 30, 1; ā]i § 43, 1; æg]d, n § 88]
   e, ë " men: stefn, mën.  [e < Gₜ e § 26, 1; ë < a]i § 43, 1, and o]i § 43, 2]
   ë " they²: gēs.  [<Gₜ ë § 31; weak Gₜ æ § 30, 1 N; ō]i § 43, 2; eg]d, n § 88]
   i " in: bite "bite."  [<Gₜ i § 27, 1; Gₜ e]nas. § 26, 2; cf. also § 22 N⁴]
   ī " machine: mīn.  [<Gₜ i§32,1; i+nas.]&w &c.§72; iég]d,n§88; cf. also 22 N⁴]
   o " N.E. stone or Ger. Gott : god.  [<Gₜ o § 28, 1; Gₜ u § 29, 2]
   q " on: môn "man."  [<Gₜ a § 25, 4]
   ō " stone³: gōd.  [<Gₜ ō §33; Gₜ õ]nas. § 30, 4; q + nas.]w &c. § 72 & N¹]
   u " full: wulf.  [<Gₜ u § 20, 1; Gₜ o]nas. &c. § 28, 2, 3; w]to § 39, 1]
   ū " rule : hūs "house."  [<Gₜ ū § 34; u + nas.]w &c. § 72]
   y " Ger. Müller⁴: wyllen "woolen."  [<u]i § 43, 3; cf. also § 22 N⁴]
   ſy " " grün⁴: brŷd "bride."  [<ũ]i § 43, 3; ſyn]w &c. § 72; ſyŷ]d, n § 88; cf. also § 22 N⁴]

For œ cf. § 43, 2, ft. nt. 2.

¹ When prolonged, as is usual in America.
² MₜE. ey in they, like "long a" in date &c., is often a diphthong ending in ë, while OE. æ is the same vowel from beginning to end.
³ In strictness, not the same; for MₜE. "long o" is often a diphthong ending in ō, 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.

22. 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
ea &= æ' + æ^1: \text{heard.} & \text{[<æ] § 41; a)u § 44; pal.}[æ § 40] \\
\bar{e}a &= \bar{æ}' + æ^1: \text{hēafod.} & \text{[< Ge au § 36; a + o or u § 45; pal.}[æ § 40] } \\
eo &= e' + o: eorðe. & \text{[<e]and1]§ 41; e)u, o and i)u, o § 44; pal.[o or u § 40]} \\
\bar{e}o &= \bar{e}' + o: \text{cēosan.} & \text{[< Ge eu § 37; pal.} [\bar{o} § 40; e or i + back vl. § 45]} \\
ie &= i' + e: \text{ieldra.} & \text{[<ea]1 or eo]1 § 43, 4, 5; eo]pal., § 40, 2); i)u, o § 44] \\
\bar{e}i &= \bar{i}' + e: \text{hīeran.} & \text{[<e]1 or eo]1 § 43, 4, 5]}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Note 4. — ie and ìe 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.

1 æ'a with prefixed y may be heard in the colloquial yæah="yes," and ìe'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: \( \text{a} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{u} \)

Long vowels: \( \text{ā} \quad \text{ē} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{ō} \quad \text{ū} \)

Diphthongs: \( \text{ai} \quad \text{au} \quad \text{eu} \)

NOTE 1. — Some of the \( \text{i} \)'s were once \( \text{e} \)'s; for Indo-European \( e \geq \text{GC} \text{e} \): —

1) before nas. + cons. (cf. Lat. offendimentum with OE. blindan);
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, \( \text{e}i \) > \( \text{i} \) as in Latin (Gr. δεικνύω, Lat. dicō, GC tīhan, OE. tēon, § 46, 1(3)).

NOTE 2. — Some \( o \)'s were once \( u \)'s; for older \( u \geq o \) 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. hyćgan).

NOTE 3. — IE. \( o \geq \text{GC} a \) (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, i.

24. The WG. system differed from the GC only in having \( \text{ā} \) for older \( \text{ā} \) § 30, 1.

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

A. Chiefly of Stem Vowels. §§ 25–47.


25. 1) \( a \geq \text{æ} \) (1) in closed (§ 19, 1) slb*: daęg day.

\( \text{æ} \) > ea § 41, and ea) > ie § 43, 4.

\( \text{æ} \) > æ § 88.
(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) α remains α in open slb if next slb. has a, o, or u
   (or a vl. derived from one of these): da-gas, da-gum, days; mac'ian (i < õj) make.
   α) > ea § 44.
3) α in weak slb (§ 19, 3):
   (1) remains a: ac but, herepað} but pæð.
   (2) > o: of of Ger. ab, herepô.  
   So pone &c., and weak on but strong òn (stressed adv.); weak ot was displaced by strong æt.
4) α][nas. > q § 38, 1 (1), q) > q § 43, 1; q + nas.][sc. > ð § 72, ð) > ð § 43, 2].
5) α + 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[io > o § 39, 2.
4) e) > eo § 44
5) eg][n > ð § 88.
6) e + back vl. > ðo § 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)i > io § 44
4) in][sc. (§ 72) and ig][n (§ 88) > i.
5) i + back vl. > io or eo § 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)i > 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)i > y: Scottas Scyttisc, box byxen. Cf. Pogatscher §§ 223 ff.
WHAT THE Ge VOWELS BECAME IN WS. 19

29. 1) u often remains u: hund dog.
   2) u > o in or:- ordal Ger. Urteil judgment.
   3) un\textsuperscript{t} \textsuperscript{nc.} > ü § 72; ü\textsuperscript{t} > y § 43, 3.
   For pal-[u] > eo cf. § 40.

b) Long Vowels. §§ 30-34.

30. I. WG. å (< Ge æe):—
   1) å generally > æ: æfen Abend evening.

   Note.—Weak (§ 19, 3) æ > e: Ælfred, hirèd Ættrat.

   2) å\textsuperscript{w} remains å: tåwian prepare, å\textsuperscript{i} > æ § 43, 1: æltæwe complete, cf. § 43, N\textsuperscript{t}.

   3) å\textsuperscript{back vl.} > á or æ (cf. § 40 N\textsuperscript{t}): lågon lægon, lácnian læcnian heal, and \textsuperscript{i} > æ: læce physician.

   4) å\textsuperscript{nas.} > ð § 38, 1 (3), ð\textsuperscript{i} > ð § 43, 2.

   5) å\textsuperscript{h + cons.} > å > ea, and eah may > ðá : smæalic dainty, cf. § 91 & 2.

   For pal-[æ] cf. § 40.

II. Ge and WG. nasalized å (< an\textsuperscript{t}) > ð § 72 N\textsuperscript{t}, ð\textsuperscript{i} > ð § 43, 2.

31. e remains e: hér here.

32. 1) i generally remains i: mîn mine, wif wife.
       2) i\textsuperscript{h + cons.} > ï (§ 46 II.) and then (§ 41, 3) eo: leocht,

       Ger. leicht light, so *betwînnum > betweohnum

       (§ 91, & 2) > betweœnum between.

       3) ï + back vl. > īo, ēo § 45, 1 (3).

33. 1) ð generally remains ð: gòd good, ð\textsuperscript{i} > ð § 43, 2.
       2) Final stressed ð > ū: cû cow, tû two; but weak tô.

34. ū remains ū: tûn town, ū\textsuperscript{i} > y § 43, 3.

   c) Diphthongs.

35. 1) ai > å: stân Stein stone, å\textsuperscript{i} > æ § 43, 1.
       2) ai\textsuperscript{w} > å rarely ð: snåw snow, å or ð (< aiw) ever.

36. au > ðá (§ 22 and N\textsuperscript{t} 2): ðac auð ðeek, ðá\textsuperscript{i} > ðe § 43, 4.

37. eu > ðo (§ 22 and N\textsuperscript{t} 2): deop deep, ðo\textsuperscript{i} > ðe § 43, 5.
PHONOLOGY.

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

a) Influence of Nasals (\[nas\]).

38. 1) Ge 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\[nas\] > q: mön, lond, cömb, lönq.

   on\[spirant\] > ó \$ 72: gös < göns Geånø goose.

   (2) Nasalized Ge a\[h\] > OE. ó \$ 72 N: þóhte bádyte thought. Cf. § 46 II.

   (3) Ge æ, WG. a\[nas\] also > ó \$ 30, 4: gedón gethan done.

2) e\[nas\] > i: niman nehmen take. Cf. § 23 N1.

3) o\[nas\] > u: ðúnor ðonner thunder.

b) Influence of w (\[w\] and \[\w\]).

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 Welt world.

3) a\[w\] and e\[w\] > au and eu, and these (§§ 36, 37) > ea and éo: fëawe few, fëowas servants.

4) i\[w\] > iu > io, but io\)¹ > ie: nïewe new.

   Cf. also § 28, 2.

\[palatization\] includes.

\[pal\]

b) Influence of Palatals (\[pal\] and \[\pal\]).

40. 1) Influence of Initial Palatal.

(a) For older jaæ, jo, we usually find gea, geo (Ger. Jahr OE. gear year, Geöy geoc yoke) and ju is spelled both iu and geo (iung, geong young).

(b) So after the palatals (jæ, eæ, seæ) we find not æ, æ, e, but ea, éa, ie: geaf (for gæf), geafon (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) = jūra (§ 30, 3) and has the spelling ge instead of g by analogy to geār (MⁿE. year) < *jàr (§ 30, 1); “geūra” is therefore to be written geāra, and “geār” geār.

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, Čent Kent.

Note 3. — The e or i sometimes found between sc and back vl (sc(e)acan shake, sc(e)oh 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 ē, ī.

2) Influence of Following Palatal (Sievers’ “Palatalum-laut”), cf. § 54.

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

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 [star]
   æ (< Gₚ a) > ea (really æa § 22 N²): earm arm;
   i > io, and io)¹ > ie: hierde [herdsman].

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

3) Before h + cons. and before final h.
   æ (< Gₚ a) > ea: eahṭ eight.
e > eo: seox [eৎ] 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, Piehtas 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.: a-buri any time > *ābyri > *āberi > ābre > āfre, 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 (§ 60 N). The āj of the II. class of weak verbs > ā too late to cause i.

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

1) § 25 a > {\(\alpha, \varepsilon\)i} > ā.1 {hērian praise, lēćgan (< lagjan) lay, mēn men.

āi > ā: hēlan (< hāljan < hāl whole) heal.

2) o1 > ē1: dohtor, but dat. sg. dēhter,3 daughter.

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

3) u1 > y: hyńgran to hunger < hungor3 hunger.

ũ1 > ū: betēyan (< betūnjan < tūn enclosure) enclose.

1 This e is well printed ę in grammars and dictionaries, to distinguish it from old e § 21. A few words have æ for ę: fiest an fasten, see strut.

2 o1 and ō1 first > æ and ō (that is, > front vls, § 17, but retained the rounding of the o, § 18), but like other front vls they early lost the rounding and > e, ę. Cf. M. and S. Ger. Getter for Götter. Cf. § 14.

3 u usually > o (§ 23 N2), but generally not when i or j followed; and so when mutation took place, it was u that was mutated and consequently
4) \(ea)^i > ie\): eald *old* but ieldra *older*.
\(\ddot{e}a)^i > ie\): hēah *high* but hīehra *higher*.
5) \(eo)^i\) and \(io)^i > ie\): weorpan *throw* but 3 sg. wierpō (\(\ddot{e}<i\))
\(\ddot{e}o)^i\) and \(\ddot{i}o)^i > ie\): lēoh *light* but liehtan *to light*.

**Note.** — For \(ie > i, y\) cf. § 22 N.

(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 cons.

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

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

2) \(a)^o\). (Does not occur, cf. § 44)
\(e)^o > eo\): ðæole *throat*. (Rare)
\(i)^o > io, eo\): teolian *to aim*. (Occasional)

1) **Hiatus, Contraction, &c.**

45. Two vl 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 vl is unstressed, it becomes silent:
be-ūtan > būtan > M*E. *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 N.)

\(> y\). (For \(o)^i > u\) and \(u)^i > y\) 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 \(i\).
PHONOLOGY.

(1) a + o or u > ëa: *sla(h)on > sléan ſhľagen slay.
   ñ (< Gc a) + o or u > ëa: *ná(h)or > nēar nearer.
(2) e + back vl. > ëo: *seh(w)on > sēon ſeſhen see.
   e + e > ë: *te(h)en > tēn ſeſhn ten.
(3) i + back vl. > iō, ëo: *ti(h)on > tēon censure.
   i + e > ie: *tai(h)a > sie ſe.

2) The second element is usually assimilated to the first and so disappears. (For unstressed o see § 24 N.)
(1) õ + vl. > ō: *ho(h)on > hōn hang.
(2) ŭ + vl. are not changed or > ŭ: būan or būn build.
(3) y + vl. > y: *fyir (< *fūir) > ſyr fire.
(4) a (< Gc ai) + vl. > a: *ta(h)a > ſa toe.
(5) ëa + vl. > ëa: *hēa(h)es > hēas, gen. sg. of hēah high.
(6) eo + vl. > eo: *teo(h)on > tēon draw.

3. Changes in Quantity.

46. The quantities usually assigned to the OE. vl 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 vl before a sonorous cons. + a voiced stop (§ 20, 1: bīdan, wōrd, göld, cōmb), but this seems not to have been true of all vl, 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-bōd > *wīhbeod > *weohbod (§ 32, 2; for eo > eo > o in bōd, cf. § 48 end) > wēofod (§ 91 & 2, § 76 N) altar.
4. Vowel Gradation.

47. 1) Gradation (Ger. \( \ddot{a}blaut \)) 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 \( f\dot{e}\delta \vartheta, f\dot{e}\delta \alpha, f\dot{e}\delta \nu \) or Lat. vidère, visus, compare OE. *wítan (\( i<ei, § 23 N^1 \) end), wät (\( \ddot{a}<ai, § 35, <oi, § 23 N^3 \)), wíton, wīs.

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

2) Gradation plays in G\( ^c \) its chief role in the verb, which shows six gradation series:—

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & i & (<ei, § 23 N^{1(2)}) & a_i \\
2 & eu & au & u (o) \\
3 & e (i) & a & u (o) \\
4 & e (i) & a & æ (o) \\
5 & e (i) & a & æ (o) \\
6 & a & õ & o (a)
\end{array}
\]

1–5 have the gradation \( e/o \) (G\( ^c e/a, § 23 N^3 \), or \( i/a, § 23 N^3 \)), with the changes due to the following cons. (1 and 2, the semi-vowels \( j \) and \( w \), or \( i, w \); 3, sonorous cons. + cons.; 4, simple sonorous cons.; 5, nonsonorous cons.); 6 has the gradation \( a/\ddot{a} \) (G\( ^c a/\ddot{a} \)).

Gradation continues in OE., but, in consequence of the many changes in the various vl\( ^s \) (§§ 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 slbs are all short, but \( e \) and \( i \) long kept their length under a slight accent in the endings -ēre (leornēre learner, § 97 b) and -īn of the II. weak conjugation. Old \( æ \) and \( i \) generally \( > e : ã\ddot{æ}e > ãre \) g. d. a. sg. & n.
a. pl. of ār honor; rīči (§ 49 N) > rīce realm, hilpis > hilpes(t) helpest; but a slight stress generally preserved i in the derivative endings -īg, -ing, -isē, cf. also § 43 N!. For i + vl.: j + vl. cf. § 66 N. An ū is often lowered to ō, ō 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 mislić > mislič, and mislicer > mislicer; hlāf'w(e)ard' > hlāford, § 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 sib. contains a back vl., and similarly ung > ing: rodo/rodores/roderas heaven; sealfode/sealfedon anointed; leorn-ung/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 > bísèop bishop, epistula > pistol letter.

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

After a long sib. (§ 19, 2) an originally short medial vl. is dropped unless it be guarded by more than one cons.: ðēofol
VOWEL GRADATION — WEAK SYLLABLES.

\[ \text{dēofles} < \text{*dēofoles}; \text{but rodor rodores, as rod- is a short slb.}; \text{and roccettan, as} \ e \text{is guarded by the two cons\textsuperscript{\text{\text{t}}}}. \]

Note 1. — Trisyllabic f. and nt. forms in \(-u\) do not syncopate: \( \text{idelu} \) idle, nīetenu cattle (but fem\textsuperscript{\text{\text{s}}} in \(-(i)\)\(δu\) syncopate regularly: \text{streng\textsuperscript{\text{\text{3}}}u} 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 \( \text{dēofoles} \) (for \( \text{dēofles} \)) by analogy to \( \text{dēofol} \), and adjectives with short stems, like hwæt, have (not -ere -ene, but) -re -ne, just as göd has gödre gödne.

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

3) Apocope.

I.) The original final mid vl\textsuperscript{\text{\text{1}}} a, o, and \( e \), fall away (§ 50 N\textsuperscript{\text{\text{2}}}): Greek \( \text{άνδρα} \), G\( ° \) ana, OE. on; \( \text{*dōmōz} \) (§ 23 N\textsuperscript{\text{\text{3}}} \) > \( \text{*dōmo} \) (§ 68 N) > dōm judgment; voc. dōme > dōm.

II.) The high vl\textsuperscript{\text{\text{1}}} \( i \) and \( u \) regularly fall away only after long slb\textsuperscript{\text{\text{1}}} (§ 19, 2): \( \text{*wurmi} \) > 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.: \( \text{*firinu} \) > firen crime.

Note 1. — But the \( i \) after long slb\textsuperscript{\text{\text{1}}} (§ 66 N) which became final by the apocope of a following vl. (§ 49, 1), did so too late to be affected by this law. \( \text{It} \geq e \), § 48: rício > ríci > ríce 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, māðm treasure. Before a sonant cons., espec. before \( r \), an obscure vl. (generally written \( e \) after palatal vl\textsuperscript{\text{\text{3}}} \), \( o \) after guttural) is sometimes inserted: æcer, fugol, tācen, māðum.
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\(^1\), § 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 ů) 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.: for⁰ forth, scēaf sheaf, þæs of the; snoffa snuffles, scēòsan injure, cyssan kiss; ġe Sophia companion, wascan wash;

2) Voiced (or as in MⁿE. of, rose, the, § 16), when between vowels or voiced cons.: ofer over, sealftian to salve, fur⁰ or further, háðen heathen, ñrisan arise.

53. n generally represents MⁿE. dental n, as in nōn noon; but before dental, palatal, and guttural cons\(^4\), it too is dental (bindan bind and probably in sæŋgan (= sendʒan) singe, § 55, l. N, end), palatal (Englisc English), or guttural (Ǫngelcyn the Angles); for the two last, a letter like ñ is sometimes used in grammars.

54. 1) h originally stood for the voiceless back open cons. heard in Ger. ad, 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 reohť > reohť > rieht, § 40,2)), or as in Ger. id.

NOTE. — The back and the front ŏ-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 MⁿE., 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. (hlæudder ladder, hnutu nut, hrôf roof, hwær 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 MⁿE. go; ping thing, long, cyning king.
- ġ (§ 85) was articulated farther toward the front of the mouth, like MⁿE. g in give: Englisc English.

Note. — If a vl. followed, a glide intervened (as in the dialectic pronunciation gyirl 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: seqg(e)an singe. It is very probable that this ġj had even in OE. times passed through ďj to ďź, spelled (ď)ge in MⁿE., cf. ġg below.

II. When doubled: —

- ġg was sounded like g in go, but was held, or prolonged: dogga dog, frogga frog.
- ġg was written ěg and was pronounced like ďe in seqg(e)an (I. N above), that is, early ďj, later ďj (cf. mięgern suet < midd-ģearn) or ďź: hryŏģ back, ridge, bryęģ bridge.

2) An open cons. (§ 20) elsewhere.

- g was like North Ger. g in Tağe (or like MⁿE. cons. y made far back in the mouth): gŏd good, dagas days, ďenōg enough.
- ģ (§ 85) was like MⁿE. cons. y (cf. also § 88 N): daęg day, ģēar year, nigontiģ ninety, geliefan 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 ĝ 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: *čild* child, *riče* rich, *tæč(e)an* teach, *reč(e)an* relate. It is very probable that this *cj* had even in OE. times passed through *tf* (ort-geard is early written orcéard orchard) to *tf*, spelled *(t)ch* in MⁿE. For s cf. § 85, 3.

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**CHAPTER VI.**

**General Matters as to G², 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*:

\[
\begin{align*}
&s - r: \{ \text{risan} \text{rise} ; \text{ræran} \text{rear}, \\
&\quad \{ \text{ċēosan} \text{choose} ; \text{coren} \text{chosen}; \\
&\ð - d: \{ \text{liðan} \text{travel} ; \text{lædan} \text{lead}, \\
&\quad \{ \text{ʃeðan} \text{seethe} ; \text{soden} \text{sodon}; \\
&h - g: \{ \text{tiên} < *\text{tiên} \text{ten} ; \text{twêtig} \text{twenty}, \\
&\quad \{ \text{slēan} < *\text{slahton} \text{slay} ; \text{slaʃen} \text{slain}; \\
&h(w) - w: \text{ʃeon} < *\text{ʃawon} \text{on see} ; \text{ʃawon} \text{saw}.
\end{align*}
\]

**Note.** — This is what was still manifest in OE. of a G² law according to which after a slb. 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.**

- **ft**: giefan (**f = v**) *give* geben: *gift* gift *Gift.*
- **ht**: magan *can* mögen: meah *might* Macht.
- **ss**: witan *know* : wisse *knew* and gewis(s) *certain.*

**c) Gemination.**

**59.** 1) Any cons. (ex. the semi-vowels **j** and **w, § 16, 2**) may occur doubled, but **gg** (spelled **cg**) became differentiated into **gg** later **d3, § 55, II).**

   (a) **Go. Gemination** (mostly due to the assimilation of **n** to a preceding cons.): wulle *wool*, steorra, star, mön(n) mönnes man, swimman 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 hliehban *laugh*, smiðē *smithy*, læg(e)an *lay*; but Goth. nasjan, OE.cererian (= njerjan) *save.* For voiced **ff** we find the double stop **bb**: hebban *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. **cg,** which was no longer a real geminate, cf. 1 above) was simplified —

   (a) When final: eal ealles; mön mönnes.

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

   But etymological spellings (call &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: *biddeð* ‘biddeth’ > (§ 50, 2 N°) *bidda* > (§ 59, 2 b) *bidda*, but as ḍ was voiceless (§ 52) it made ḍ so, that is, changed it to *t*, *bitḍa*, then ḍ 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, ṝ > *t*, *h > c*, &c.: *fīʃa* ‘fifth’ > *fīfta*, so *siexta*, but *feorða* &c.; *hilpes pu > hilpestu* ‘helper thou’; *siehs > siecs* or *siex* ‘six.’ More rarely one fricative was assimilated or lost: *bliðs > bliss* ‘bliss;’ *pihsl > pīsl* ‘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 is frequent, particularly: —

1) If thereby cons 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, *worms > worms pus*, *tācn > tānc token* § 74.

The metathesis of other cons 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 wæs &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: hláford < *hláfword, § 48.

63. Medial w falls away before the high vl* u and i (§§ 17, 2, 16, 2 about w): sā < saiwi sea; clēa < clāwu claw § 45, II, 1(1). Cf. also tú two < *twū < *twō (§ 33, 2), so hū how. But w is at times restored through the influence of forms without u or i: sēw like gen. pl. sēwa < sēwja § 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: *cnēw(o- ) > (§ 49) *cnew > *cneu > cnēo (§ 45, II, 1(2)) knee.

2) Falls away entirely after long vl* and diphthongs: ō or ô < 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, hēries gen. of hēre army.
II.) g usually (§ 85): geong = iung, nęrgan = nęrian.

Note.—For i or g we sometimes find ig and before back vl even ige &c. (this may represent i or ij and in some cases even ī, rather than j): hęriges, nęrig(e)an.

66. j— 1) fell away after long closed slb* saljan > (§ 59, 1 b) sęlljan > sęllan give.

Note.—As regards the interchange of i and j,—in Ge i + vl. stood after long vl, and j + vl. after short: rićio- OE. rīçe (§ 50 3 N1) realm but racjan (OE. reće(e)an, § 50, 1 b) relate. In OE. times the i too > j and fared as that did (for ex. *rückes > *rückes > (§ 66) rückes gen. of rīçe; *dömian > *dömjan > děman deem); but, of course, it had not caused Ge gemination, § 59, 1 b.

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

B. The Sonorous Consonants (r, l; m, n; § 20).

1. The Liquids (l, r).

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

67. Metathesis (§ 61, 2) of l occasionally occurs: sl > ls in bridels ‘bridle’ &c. (§ 98 sla); spält later spăld ‘spittle,’ so ādl and āld ‘sickness.’ For r > l cf. § 60, II b.

r (cf. §§ 14, 15 N1, 16, 3, 20, 51; also 41, 57, 59, 1 c, 60 II b).

68. OE. r arises from —

I.) Ge r: bringan bring; wer man, Lat. vir.

II.) Ge z: măra larger, more, Goth. maiza; and cf. § 57 & N.

Note.—This r < z is only medial; for there was no Ge initial z, and the final r < z became silent: Goth. hwas wer OE. hwaō who, Goth. batis OE. bett better; Lat. hortus, Primitive Ge gardoz (§ 50, 3, 1.) 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 Roš: beornan burn brennen.
70. **r** is sometimes assimilated ($\S\ 60,1$) to **l** and **s**: **sella** or **sella better**, læssa less.

71. **r** is sometimes lost after a labial: **sprecan** and **specan** speak $\textit{spred}en$.

2. **The Nasals** (m, n, ƞ).

72. Before the voiceless fricatives **f**, **s**, **p**, a nasal early fell away and a preceding stressed **vl.** was lengthened: Goth. *fünf* OE. *five*, G$^c$ *gans* > ($\S\ 38,1$) OE. *gãns* > gōs goose, so **mûðmouth Mund**, *jugunþ* > ġeoguð youth *Jugend*.

Note 1.—Before the voiceless fricative **n**, the nasal had fallen out in G$^c$ times: *þanhte* > þöhte badže 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. (clān(i)sian cleanse), and some foreign words with **ns** &c. were brought in (pinsiān weigh < Lat. pensāre, § 38, 2)).

m (cf. §§ 14, 15 N$^1$, 20, 51, 72; also 38).

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

n (cf. 14, 15 N$^1$, 16, 3, 20, 53; also 38, 88).

74. 1) Metathesis ($\S\ 61, 2$) of **n** occasionally occurs in the case of final **cn** and **gn**: tācn > tānc token, þeIGN > þeIGN thane.

2) **n** is often dropped in the pl. of verbs if **wē**, **gē**, &c. follow (cf. § 82 N): sohte ğē but ğē sohton 'you sought.' Occasionally elsewhere: cyning > cyn(i)g 'king'; onweğ > aweiğ 'away'; nemnde > nemde 'called.'

C. **Non-Sonorous Consonants**, § 20.

(p, b, f, v; t, d, ş, s; c, č, g, ġ, h, ĥ)

1. **Labials**, §§ 20, 2, 28, 2.

(p, b, f, v)

p (cf. §§ 14, 16, 20, 51, 58).

75. Most G$^c$ words beginning with **p** are words borrowed from other languages, § 11.
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: webbb (for web cf. § 59, 2 a) webfan weave, wæf wove. If foreign or initial b > medial, it, in time, > the voiced fricative f: Lat. probare > OE. prôfan prove, test; a-byre any time > Æfre ever.

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

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, l, s)

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

NOTE.—(1) As sb > st (§ 83) and the old spelling was often retained, we even find sb written for original st: lēsð = læst least. (2) As ê had > tj or tf (§ 56 end) we also find the spelling c for original tj: orceard = ort-geard orchard.
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\[d\] (cf. §§ 14, 20, 51; also 57, 58, 88).

80. Next voiceless cons, \[d\] > (§ 60) voiceless, or \[t\], though the old spelling is often retained: bindst = bintst < bindest bindest, scencet < scenc-de gave, blëdsian > blëtsian > blëssian bless. Weak sind (§§ 19, 3, 93 e) 'are' often > sint.

Note.—(1) For ehte < eht-te 'persecuted,' and cyste < cyss-te 'kissed,' cf. § 59, 2. (2) \[d\] often fell away between two \(l\)'s: siel\(d\)lič 'strange.'

81. The \(p\) in old \(lp\) and, after a long vl., \(pl\), having > voiced, was stopped and exploded, that is, > \(d\): Goth. gulp OE. gold; Goth. nēpla OE. nādl needle.

82. \(dp\) > \(tp\) > \(tt\), § 60: ēaðmōd humble, *ēaðmēdpu > ēaðmēttō humility; \(p\)ēt ḫē > ḫǣtte that conj.; and simplified, § 59, 2: bint < bintt < bintō < bindeō bindeth.

Note.—\(p\) is often lost in verbs if ṽē, ṽē follows (cf. § 74, 2): bindē ṽē but ṽē bindað 'you bind'; also in lār(ṽ)ēo 'teacher,' &c.

83. \(sp\) > \(st\), that is, one of the two open cons, is stopped (§ 60, II): hilpes \(p\)ū > hilpestu 'helpest thou,' the \(t\) in time being regarded as a part of the ending and remaining in \(p\ū hilpest\ce{;} cf. also § 79 N. \(p\)s > ss: bliðs > bliss.

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

84. By metathesis (§ 61 end) sc sometimes > cs: āscian ācsian ask. Old \(hs\) in time > cs (§ 90, 4, N), and both this and other cs's were very often written x: siex six, rīxian rule, āxian ask.

3. PALATALS AND GUTTURALS, § 20, 2.

(\(c\), Ĕ, \(g\), š, \(h\), \(h\))

85. The original guttural cons, (\(c\), \(g\), \(h\)) became fronted (§ 20, 2) under certain conditions, but the Mss. do not generally distinguish the gutturals from the palatales. 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 palatals.

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

2) Medial c, g > ĉ, ĝ before original i, j (cf. § 43 N¹): *bœnci- > bœnc ‘bench,’ *bœcjon- > bœc ‘beech,’ *drûgi- > drûge, ‘dry,’ d. sg. byrû < *burgi but d. pl. burgum, Lat. uncia > yncœ ‘inch,’ rîcœ ‘powerful, rich’ and acc. sg. rîcœ < *ricina, similarly âcnes ‘eternity’ as well as âcœ ‘eternal.’

Note 1.—c was palatal also in ïc when final or before e: ïc ‘I,’ ïðc ‘ditch,’ -lîc ‘-like’ (but -lîcor), and in the contracted derivatives in -lić: ālîc ‘each,’ hvelîc ‘which,’ svelîc ‘such.’

Note 2.—g was palatal also finally after the front vl* of monosyll* (dæg ‘day,’ but dagas ‘days,’ &c.) and in the suffix -ig (hâlíg ‘holy’); and medially after front vl*, provided no back vl. followed (dæges ‘day’s,’ lêjde ‘laid,’ béj(e)n ‘thane,’ but hâl(t)gu).

3) sc > sœ not only according to 1) and 2) above, but also initially (§11 d), and finally if no back vl. preceded (fïsc fïsh); 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, sœ > sœj > sœâj > sœj > sœj > f, or the MⁿE. ‘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 ĉ. For the sound kw, the usual spelling was cw; in the oldest texts also cu, less often qu, as in Lat.: cwað, cuæð, quæð says. For x = cs cf. § 84. For õ cf. § 55, 1, II.
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**g** (cf. §§ 14 end, 20, 55; also 57, 58, 59, 85).

87. After long back *vl*, IWS. *h* < *g* occasionally appears even in eWS., that is, final *g* tended to > voiceless: ġenōh = ġenōg *enough*; and rarely after *r*, 1: burh = burg *fortress*.

88. After front *vl*, ġ often disappears before *d*, *n*, but the preceding *vl* > long: mægden > mǣden *maiden*, bregdan > brēdan *pull*, brīdel > brīdel *bridle*, regn > rēn *rain*, on-, tōgēgn > -gēn > -gēan (§ 40, 1b) *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) *Initial* (§ 89): habban *have*, hrycg *ridge*.

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

2) *Final*: furh *furrow*, wōh *bad*.

3) *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*: *bīsl* < *bīhl* Deihfel *thill*, wæstn *growth*: weaxan.

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

1) *Unstressed*:

(I) fūrum < furhum d. pl. of furh *furrow*, befēolan < befeolhan *conceal*, būan < *būhon *dwell*, sēon < *sehon *see, ēa < *ahwu *water*, § 45.
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Note.—In WS. the loss of an h is often prevented by the early syncope of the following vl. (§ 50, 2 N², § 90, 4), so esp. in the 3d sg. of the verb: *sihō > Anglian sīð but WS. sihō or sehō ‘sees,’ § 41, 3.

(II) Originally having secondary stress: pūsund < pūs-hund ‘thousand’; names like Ælfere < Ælf-here; -or(r)ettan or -ōrettan < -ōret ‘fight’ < *or-hāt &c.; efen(n)ehō ‘level surface, field’ < efen-hēah ‘equally high’; ēɡōr < ēɡhwěder ‘either’; on-hāt’jan > onhēṭ’tan > (by analogy to other verbs in unstressed -έttan, § 94 b N) on’hēttan > ón’έttan ‘hasten,’ but onhāt’ján > onhēt’tan ‘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: efenhēah, ‘evenly high,’ but efen(n)ehō ‘plain,’ ē’wēr and ē’hwēr ‘anywhere’ < hwēr ‘where.’

2) Between a vl. and a voiced cons., esp. if sonorous, § 16, 3: smēαlič < *smeahlič (§ 41, 3) < *smahlič (§ 46, II.) < *smālič ‘dainty,’ so neawist ‘nearness,’ néalēεcan ‘come near,’ &c. < *nāhwist &c. (néah ‘near’ has ča by analogy to these and to nēar ‘nearer,’ nēan ‘from near,’ § 45, 1 (1)), lēoma ‘light’ < *lēohma, cf. leoht ‘light,’ wēofod ‘altar’ < wih-béod ‘sacred table,’ wō(h)đōm ‘false judgment’; hēa(n)ne acc. masc. of hēah ‘high,’ nēa(r)ra comp. of nēah ‘near.’ Occasional hēahne &c. are due to the influence of hēah, 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).
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. (cweæg þ, baed þ).

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

2) The tendency to stress the psychological predicates, when adapted to the primitive word-order, gave to Ge speech a prevailing trochaic rhythm (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 was more heavily stressed than the verb with which it was used — Bēowulf maðelode, bearn Æcgþēowes ‘Bēowulf spake, the son of Æcgþēow,’ — and this generally even if the verb was for any reason placed first — ðāhlēop þā se gōmēla ‘then the old man leaped up,’ but ðierede hine Bēowulf ‘Bēowulf 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.
B. Word-Stress.

1. Chief Stress.

94. In OE. as in G穿越x

a) The stress of voice regularly fell upon the first syllable of a word: SIMPLE, fæder father, þone the, clæne cleanly, gítsian gítsung desire, þeorfan cut, môníg many; COMPOUND, mônslaga manslaughter, dômsetl judgment seat, ãrléas dishonorable, blíche-blíche gladly, tóward toward. Cf. 2.

b) But compound verbs stress the second member:—

on-gínnan begin; but on-gin beginning,
á-cnáwan know, " or-cnåwe known,
tö-dælan divide, " tö-dal division,
wið-sacan oppose, " wiðer-saca foe.

Note.—Verbs with the derivative endings -lēcan, -çttan, stress the first slb.: ãnlēcan unite, cohhtëttan cough.

c) Nouns (substantive or adjective) having the verbal prefixes be-, ge-, for- also came (in OE. as in WG. generally) to stress the second member: be-hát pledge, for-wyrd destruction, ge-maåne common, ge-sihë 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-smer disgrace, *bl-hät > bëot boast.

d) Derivatives retain the stress of the primitive; thus, verbs derived from compound nouns keep the stress on the first member: andswarían to answer (< andswaru an answer, not < and + swarían); and nouns (for ex., participles used as adj* or subs*) keep the stress on the second member: ã-lîesend redeemer and ã-lîesednes redemption < ã-lîesan redeem.

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¹ In oldest G穿越x (§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. 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 sylb* (§§ 19, 3, 48–50, 91, 1, ii): hlāf-weard > hlāford lord, ful-tēam > fultum protection, ā-hwār > āwēr 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 sylb*; hence the rule a) above.

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