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THE LANGUAGE
OF
TITUS & VESPASIAN
OR
THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

MS. PEPYS 37 (MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, N:o 2014)

BY

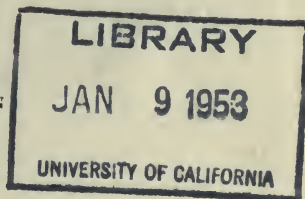
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LIC. PHIL., Ld.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF LUND TO BE
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PREFACE.

In this treatise I propose to deal with the language of the version of the ME. poem *Titus & Vespasian* or *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, which is to be found in MS. Pepys 37 in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and which was edited by RUDOLF FISCHER in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* T. CXI pp. 289—98, T. CXII pp. 25—45. There are, however, at least seven other MSS. of the poem extant. Five of these were used by J. A. HERBERT in his edition for the Roxburghe Club (London 1905). Unfortunately this edition became accessible to me too late to be used as the base of my treatise; but reference to it will help to clear up many doubtful points in our version.

I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to Professor EILERT EKWALL, who suggested this work and who has given me much valuable advice. My thanks are also due to Lector F. J. FIELDEN, who has revised the language of my treatise and has helped me with the proof-reading.

Lund, April 1916.

J. M. Arvidson.

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Anglia.

Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.
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Introduction.

For the sources of our poem I refer to BERGAU, Untersuchungen über Quelle und Verfasser des me. Reimgedichts: The Vengeance of Goddes Deth, Diss. Königsberg 1901, and to HERBERT's account in the introduction of his edition (pp. VI—XXVI). Here I need only call attention to the fact that, in HERBERT's opinion, the author of 'Titus & Vespasian' was not influenced by the Anglo-Saxon translation of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* (Introduction p. XXII)¹.

Our MS. contains only an abridged version of the original poem; ll. 1—814, 4011—5182 are wanting. Now, what is the relation between MS. Pepys 37 (for the sake of brevity I call it P) and the other MSS.?² After a collation I have arrived at the following facts.

¹ FISCHER's erroneous title: '*Vindicta Salvatoris*' was also corrected by him in Archiv CXII p. 45; cf. however Archiv CXI p. 286.

² A description of the five MSS., called A, B, C, D, and L, which HERBERT has used for his edition, will be found in his Introduction pp. XXVI—XLIII. He does not mention MS. Pepys 37, although the version found there had already been edited in 1903—4. No doubt this MS. would have been of great use to him, especially for those parts of the poem which are not found in B, but which occur in P. For instance ll. 1873—4/1055—6 are omitted in CDL.

In A they read thus: *All þe truage is byhynde*
þat þou shuldest Vaspasian the Kyng
In B: *All þe trewage is behynde*
Of his tyme, as we fynde,

There cannot be any doubt as to which of the versions is the better.

(i) Where ACDL differ from B¹, as regards the rendering of a verse, P almost always agrees with B; see e. g. ll. 1377/561, 1991—2/1167—8, 2005—6/1179—80, 2052/1226, 2077—8/1251—2².

(ii) In some cases two or sometimes more lines have been transposed in B; the same transpositions are found in P; see ll. 1374—6/558—60, 1439—40/623—4, 2337—8/1509—10, 2481—2/1653—4, 2647—8/1781—2, 3172—4/2306—8, 3475—6/2605—6.

(iii) Transpositions found in the other MSS. do not occur in P: L 2189—90/1361—2, 3571—2/2693—4; C 3839—40/2947—8.

(iv) When a couplet has been omitted in B (but not in ACDL), it is also wanting in P; see ll. 1993—4, 2115—16, 3329—30, 3389—90 etc. (11 instances); also ll. 3875—8.

(v) Lines which are omitted in A, C, D, or L but are found in B, occur also in P:

- (a) omitted in A: 1923—4/1099—1100, 1929—30/1105—6;
- (b) » » C: 3595—8/2717—20;
- (c) » » D: 2295—6/1467—8;
- (d) » » L: 1988—9/1164—5, 3021—2/2155—6, 3371—4/2503—6, 3911—2/3015—16.

The agreement between B and P is obvious. The two MSS. are, however, by no means identical; on the contrary there are many differences. Some of these are no doubt due to the fact that the scribes spoke different dialects, but all the variations cannot be explained in this way. There must have existed a certain number of copies between B and P. MS. B was written about the beginning of the

¹ This MS. is imperfect; ll. 1—1344, 1441—1976 are missing, several leaves having been lost; see T.-V., Introd. p. XXIX.

² The figures before the stroke refer to T.-V., those after the stroke to P.

fourteenth century¹, and MS. P about 1430—40². Thus we are entitled to assume that P is indirectly based on B.

For the contents of MS. Pepys 37 I refer to FISCHER's account in Archiv CXI p. 285.

During a visit to Cambridge I had the opportunity of collating FISCHER's copy with the MS., and found the following errors.

| | In FISCHER's copy | In the MS. |
|-------|-------------------|-------------|
| l. 44 | with | wip |
| 59 | now | nowe |
| 62 | delyuer | delyuere |
| 71 | Marye | Maryes |
| 223 | nyjt | nyjt |
| 255 | toke | token |
| 368 | finde | fynde |
| 381 | withoutte | wipoutten |
| 388 | of | ouer |
| 424 | pretty | pritty |
| 504 | beleueþ | byleueþ |
| 531 | gaue | 3aue |
| 534 | withouten | withoutten |
| 568 | Pilatus | Pylates |
| 588 | Thei | The |
| 614 | croked | croked |
| 621 | Perauente | perauenture |
| 628 | fell | fel |
| 633 | gaue | 3aue |
| 721 | I can | can I |
| 722 | in | into |
| 725 | wycket | wycked |
| 746 | citee | cytee |
| 842 | pe | pi |

¹ HERBERT, *Introd.* p. XXVII.

² WRIGHT, *Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, *Preface* p. XLV.

| | In FISCHER's copy | In the MS. |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| l. 846 | Cesaris | Cesarys |
| 970 | lange | longe |
| 1029 | permafey | permafay |
| 1051 | if | ʒif |
| 1079 | forgate | forʒate |
| 1132 | frende | frendes |
| 1141 | yfonde | yfounde |
| 1142 | stonde | stounde |
| 1523 | has | hap |
| 1528 | grete | gret |
| 1676 | warante | waraunte |
| 1770 | reson | resoun |
| 1807 | [t]his | hit |
| 1908 | aʒein | aʒen (exactly as in l. 1872) |
| 1938 | had | bad |
| 1992 | gate | ʒate |
| 2035 | aʒein | aʒeyn |
| 2047 | mowpe | mowthe |
| 2076 | wip wynes | wipwynes ¹ |
| 2271 | Kype | Kype |
| 2306 | ʒeue | ʒeuen |
| 2375 | dongeon | dongeoun |
| 2479 | stynke | styncke |
| 2508 | refde | refte |
| 2554 | orysons | orysouns |
| 2618 | vertye | vertue |
| 2646 | stynke | styncke |
| 2647 | comyne | commyne |
| 2765 | I am | am I |
| 2841 | comynte | commynte |

¹ l. 2081 should certainly read *Sowys to myne men made sleye*; cf. BLD 2947, *Lydgate, Troy Book II*, 6436 (E.E.T.S., Extra Series 97): *and large sowis love for to myne*.

| | In FISCHER'S copy | In the MS. |
|---------|-------------------|------------|
| 1. 3003 | gaue | 3aue |
| 3016 | bonde | bounde |
| 3114 | semblante | semblaunte |

FISCHER'S way of denoting the abbreviations of the MS. is not always strictly correct. He prints for instance *resoun* 389, *subieccioun* 390, *counselle* 433, instead of *resoun*, *subieccioun*, *counselle*, the stroke signifying *m* or *n*; cf. SKEAT, *Specimens III*, p. XV.

Our poem is written in rhymed couplets. The metre is intended to be octosyllabic, but many irregularities are found. From MS. Pepys 37 we get very little information as to the original form of the work, as almost every line shows some variation from the other versions.

The author of the poem is unknown. On the whole his language agrees with that of Chaucer, and thus we are entitled to infer that he was from the neighbourhood of London. The poem was probably written in the second half of the fourteenth century. Any more exact determination of the date is most difficult. Our MS. bears traces of being from the hand of a scribe who spoke a SW. Midland or perhaps Gloucestershire dialect; for particulars see *Phonology and Accidence*.

CHAPTER I.

Phonology.

I. The Native Element.

A. Vowels and diphthongs.

1. In stressed syllables.

OE. a.

(1). In close syllables (not before lengthening conso- § 1. nant-groups).

(a) Before *l*-combinations (*a* > *ea* by breaking in WS. and Kent. dialects; no breaking in Anglian dialects; see BÜLBR. § 134).

OE. *a* > *a* [ǣ].

alle pron. 42 (: *metalle* sb.), 283 (: *calle* vb.), 640 (: *smalle* adj.), *halle* sb. 3084 (: *calle* vb.), *calf* sb. 216, *half* sb. 2435, *walles* sb. pl. 233.

(b) Before a nasal (in OE. *a* : *o*; see BÜLBR. § 123).

OE. *a* > *a* [ǣ].

can vb. 2731 (: *Waspasian*), 1306 (: *Velosian*), *man* sb. : *Velosian* 542, 963 etc. : *Waspasian* 352, 460 etc., *woman* sb. : *Velosian* 1464, 1484, 2759, *ranke* adj. 399, *stanke* prt. 400.

Note 1. Of OE. *þancian* there occur forms in *a* and *o*: *þonke* 1783, *þonkeþ* 2440, *thonked* 2414; *þanke* 2400, 2435, *þanked* 1304, 2405, 2421, 3038. — *þanke* sb. has only *a*: 1354, 1742.

Such *o*-forms are rather common in the West Midland and Southern dialects; in East Midland and London they are very rare; see MORSB. § 88. With one exception — *thonke* 2649 — *A* has only forms in *a* in the corresponding places. Thus the *o*-forms are due to the scribe.

Note 2. In *wem* sb. (OE. *wamm*) 'spot', 'stain' 36 (: *hem* pr.) the *e* is due to influence of the verb *wenman*.

§ 2. (2). In open syllables.

(a) Before other consonants than nasals.

OE. *a* > *a* [*ā*].

late adv. (: *Pylate*) 786, 2836 etc., *make* vb. 2741 (: *lake* sb.), *quake* vb. 2670 (: *take* vb.), *slake* vb. 840 (: *take* vb.); also *haue* vb. (OE. *habban*, early ME. *hauen*): *saue* vb. 115, 157 etc., : *craue*¹ vb. 342, 784 etc.

Note 1. Of course *made* prt. also had *ā*; the dropping of the consonant produced lengthening of the preceding vowel (*macode* > *makde* > *made*); cf. TEN BRINK § 27 γ. There are no proving rhymes; cf. however below § 4.

Note 2. The quantity of the *a* in *raþer* (OE. *hrador*) 300, 310 cannot be settled.

(b) Before a nasal.

OE. *a* > *a* [*ā*].

grame sb. 148 (: *Jame*), *name* sb. : *fame* sb. 418, 742, 2547, : *Jame* 104.

OE. *æ*.

§ 3. (1). In close syllables.

OE. *æ* > *a* [*ǣ*].

backe sb. 2031 (: *packe* sb.), *tobrast* prt. 354 (: *cast* vb.), *fast* adv. 2371 (: *cast* vb.), *smalle* adj. 639 (: *alle* pr.), *þan* adv. (< OE. *þænne*, *þanne*): *man* sb. 300, 645 etc., 1254 (: *Velosian*), 31 (: *Chanaan*), 552 etc. (: *Waspasian*), *was* prt.

¹ See SKEAT, Conc., *crave*; cf. BJÖRKM. p. 248.

1088 (: *Barabas*), 853 (: *Judas*), *after* prep. 105 etc., *bad(de)* prt.¹ 529, 663 etc., *had(de)* prt. 6, 7 etc., *that*, *þat* pron. 7, 22, 87 etc., *what* pron. 260, 296 etc.

Note 1. OE. *æ* in this position occurs also in rhymes with OF. *a*: *fast* adv. 1793 (: *hast* sb.), *was* prt.: *cas* sb. 60, 226 etc.; *trespas* sb. 114.

For the rhyme-words see under OF. *a*. For *was* TEN BRINK § 35 *x* assumes 'schwebende' quantity; in *fast a* was certainly short.

Note 2. Beside the form *þan* adv., supported by rhymes, which is found about 65 times, there also occur forms in *e*: *þen* 98, *then* 778, 827, 1320, obviously due to the scribe. When used as a conjunction the word has only *a*-forms 774, 927 etc.

Note 3. OE. *hwænne* occurs as *whan* 199, 280 etc. (about 47 times), *when* 415, 1319 etc. (about 11 times). *A* has *a* 1231, 2147.

Note 4. For *quod* (OE. *cwæþ*) 476, 483 etc. see MORSEB. § 96 note 2 1).

(2). In open syllables.

§ 4.

OE. *æ* > *a*.

fader sb. 86, 95 etc., *water* sb. 1871, 2023 etc.

The quantity of *a* in these words cannot be settled; cf. TEN BRINK § 35 β.

Note 1. The plurals *glad(de)*, *smal(le)* are dealt with here, although the basis may be OE. *a* as well; in the OE. paradigm there occurred forms in *a* as well as in *æ*; cf. SIEVERS, *Ags. Gr.* §§ 49, 50, MORSEB. § 96. 2, TEN BRINK § 27 β.

The rhymes are:

glade: *made* prt. 1139, 1297, *gladde*: *made* 1261, *glad*: *bad* prt. sg. 2598, *smalle*: *tale* sb. 600, *smale*: *tale* 1291.

The vowel was no doubt *ā*. It should be observed that the author seems to make a distinction between the singular and the plural forms of the adjectives in question; *smal(le)* sg. rhymes only with ME. *ǣ* in *al(l)* 639, 2844, *glad*, *gladde* sg. with *bad*, *badde* prt. 969, 1431 etc. (9 times). The fact that *made* prt. rhymes with *glad(de)* pl. but not with the very common *had(de)*, *bad(de)*² goes to prove that the vowel had been lengthened in this word as well as in *glade* pl.

¹ Cf. however below § 4.

² Note, however, the rhyme *made*: *badde* prt. (*A bade*) 693/4; for the vowel in *bad* see BÜLBRING, *St. Zeitw.* p. 61.

Probably \bar{a} also in (*on*) *graue* sb. 1007 (: *haue* vb.), *yware* adj. 1933 (: *Cesare*), *ware* 2029 (: *care* sb.).

Note 2. In two cases there seems to be a development OE. $\alpha > e$: *wheþer* pron. & conj. (< OE. *hwæþer*) 2682; 482 etc., *wtedy* 872, *togeder* adv. (< OE. *tōgædere*) 1456, 1458, 2774. MORSBACH (Gr. § 96 note 2 1) is, however, of opinion that the former word is based on an OE. form in \bar{e} alongside WS. α ; *togeder* is said to go back to an OE. form with *i*-mutation.

§ 5. (3). OE. $\alpha + 3$.

OE. $\alpha + 3 > ay$, *ei* [*ai*].

day sb. : *ay* adv. (< Scand. *ei*) 867, 1316, 1413, : *nay* adv. (< Scand. *nei*) 1283, : *deray* sb. 145, : *pay(e)* (< OF. *paie*) 843, 2470, : *lay* sb. (< OF. *lei*) 163, : *permafay* 1030, *lay* prt. : *pay* sb. 2301, 2385, *may* vb. 291 (: *afray* sb.), *seide* prt. 583 (: *pleyde* vb.)¹.

Note. *fawe* 'glad' 2605 (: *sawe* sb. < OE. *sawu*) is based on OE. *fæzen*, variety of *fæzen*.

OE. ea.

§ 6. (1). In close syllables.

(a) OE. *ea* (in Angl. dialects also α ; BULBR. § 132 c) < WT. *a* by breaking before *r*-combinations.

(α) Before OE. lengthening *r*-combinations. Shortening had probably taken place already in OE., and that is why this group is dealt with here. There are no proving rhymes.

OE. *ea* > *a* [\bar{a}].

harde adv. 453 (: *afterwarde*² adv.), 1114 (: *hyderwarde*² adv.), *warde* vb. 1832, *warnyng* 110, *ywarned* pp. 3019.

(β) Before *r*-combinations, producing no lengthening in OE.

OE. *ea* > *a* [\bar{a}].

armes sb. pl. 1351, *harmes* sb. pl. 3020, *marke* sb. 1080, *sharppe* adj. 249.

¹ Cf. § 122.

² No lengthening took place under weak stress; MORSB. § 55 note 6.

Note 1. *merkys* sb. pl. 90 (: *werkys* sb. pl. < OE. *weorc*) is not based on OE. *mearc* but is a Scandinavian loan-word; see BJÖRKM. p. 146.

Note 2. In *smerte* adj. pl. (OE. *smeart*) 2367 (: *hert* sb. < OE. *heorte*) the *e* is due to influence from OE. *smeortan* vb. (> **smerte*).

Note 3. *sperrred*¹ pp. 229, *ysperryd*² 2852, *spered*³ pp. 1207 (: *yferd* pp.) 'to fasten, to shut up' is, according to Cent. Dict. (*spar*¹ v.t.), based on OE. **sparrian*, **spearrian*; cf. KLUGE, *Mittelengl. Leseb., Glossary, speren*. In my opinion the vowel is due to Scandinavian influence; cf. Icel. *sperra* 'to lock out' (Fritzner); cf. however NED. *spar* vb.

(b) OE. *ea* (Angl. *æ*; BÜLBR. § 205) < WT. *a* by breaking before *h*.

(α) OE. *ea* + *h* > *ay*, *ey*, *ei* [*ai*].

say prt. : *way* sb. 1389, 2410, : *day* sb. 252, : *pay* (OF. *paie*) 881, *sey* 651 (: *ay* < Scand. *ei*), *eiȝt* ord. 255, *heyfer* sb. 211.

(β) OE. *ea* + *h* > *aw*, *au*; [*au*]; (*eah* > Angl. *æh* (BÜLBR. § 205) > early ME. *ahh* (Orrm) > *aw*).

sawe prt. 358, 987, 1111, 2704, 3000, *sauȝ* 1556.

These forms do not occur in rhymes, but they were not necessarily unknown to the author. A has *sawe* 1174, 1807, 2384, 3582, *segh* 1935, 3896. Chaucer has both forms; see TEN BRINK § 41, II δ, § 44 β.

Note. OE. *meaht* sb., *neaht* sb. are dealt with here, although, already in OE., they had been developed to *miht*, *niht*. The development had taken place in the following way:

Teut. **naht* > WS., Kent. *neaht* by breaking (BÜLBR. § 133 a) >
> early Angl. **næoht* by breaking (BÜLBR. l. c.) >
> *nieht* by *i*-mutation (BÜLBR. § 179 b) > *niht* (BÜLBR. § 306).
> *næht* by smoothing (BÜLBR. § 205) > *neht* by *i*-mut. (§ 180 b) > late Merc. *niht* (§ 319).

In the same way Teut. **mæhtiz* > late OE. *miht*. The words occur in our text as *myȝt* 2113 (: *ydyȝt* < OE. *dihtan*) 531, 1661, 2438, *almyȝt* adj. 1831, *nyȝt* 136, 219 etc.

¹ A *yspered* 1043.

² A *spered* B *yspered* C *isperryd* D *isperred* L *sperrred* 3732.

³ A *spered* (: *ferede*) 2033.

§ 7. (2). In open syllables.

OE. *ea* > *a* [*ā*].

(a) After *sc* (in OE. *ea*, *a*, *eo*, *o*; BÜLBR. §§ 301, 302, 303).

shame sb. 2445 (: *grame* sb. < OE. *grama*), 174 (: *Jame*), 874 (: *blame* vb.).

(b) After *c*, *z* (see BÜLBR. § 231).

care sb. 2030 (: *ware* adj.), 1371 (: *welfare* vb.), : *fare* sb. 831, 2051, 2522, *zare* adj. 1817 (: *fare* vb.), 2270 (: *spare* vb.).

Note. *gate* sb. 'street, way' 490, 1771 (: *Pylate*) is a Scandinavian loan-word; see BJÖRKM. p. 151.

OE. e.

§ 8. (1). In close syllables.

OE. *e* > *e* [ē].

better comp. 500 (: *letter* sb.). Rhymes 'inter se': *helle* sb. : *dwelle* vb. 385/6, *telle* vb. : *dwelle* vb. 1215/6.

Moreover there are some rhymes with OF. *e* before *st*; see § 104.

Note 1. OE. *þencan* vb. occurs as *þinke* 2460 (: *bryncke* sb.). The vowel of this word is due to confusion with OE. *þyncan*; see MORSB. § 109 note 5.

Note 2. The preterite of OE. *hōn* (OE. *hēng*, *heng*) is spelt *hyng*e 251, 253, 1577 and rhymes with *streng*e sb. (OE. *strēnge*) 249/50, 857/8. Whether there is a development *e* > *i* before *ng* (MORSB. § 109), cannot be settled; of course the rhymes prove nothing. A has the forms *heng*ed 1065, *hengede* 1067, 2405 and the rhymes *heng* : *stryng* 1063/4, *henge* inf. : *stryng*e 1675/6.

Note 3. The plural of OE. *penning* occurs as *pans* 1573, 1598, 2470, *pens* 856. As regards the forms in *a* see MORSB. § 108 note 1, 1. They seem to be specially Southern and West Midland forms (Ayenbite, Robert of Gloucester) but are also found in the London Rolls. So far as I have found, A has only forms in *e*: 2401, 2426, 3338; 1674. Thus the *e*-forms may safely be set down to the scribe.

(2). I open syllables.

Occurs in rhymes

(a) 'inter se'.

mete sb. : *ete* inf. 405, 2982, *speke* inf. : *breke* inf. 1747,
swere vb. : *dere* inf. 1003, : *bere* inf. 1381, *awreke* pp. : *breke*
inf. 2790.

(b) with OE. \bar{e} .

ete inf. : *swete* adj. 2639, *stedde* sb. : *mede* sb. 961, *swere*
inf. : *here* adv. 1761.

(c) with OE. \hat{e} (= WS. \bar{a} , Angl., Kent. \bar{e} , Goth. \bar{e})¹.
dere inf. : *were* prt. (OE. *wæron*) 2524, *ete* inf. : *strete* sb.
2588, : *lete* inf. 2987, *mete* sb. : *lete* inf. 1529, *meet* : *street*
2700, *stedde* sb. (A has *stede* 1413, 1514, 1540, 2139, 2362)
: *rede* sb. 696, 722, : *dede* sb. 597, : *rede* inf. & pres. 1311,
1534, *awreke* pp. : *speke* prt. (OE. *spræce*) 2361.

(d) with OE. \bar{a} (*i*-mutation of WT. *ai*).

yspeke pp. : *reke* inf. (< OE. *ræcan*) 1711.

(e) with OE. $\bar{e}a$ (WT. *au*).

mete sb. : *gret* adj. 2616, *stedde* sb. (A *stede* 1627, 2631)
: (to) *dede* (OE. *dēaþ*) 809, 1765, *stede* : (after his) *deþ* (= *dede*)
106, *stedde* : *deed*, *dede* adj. 494, 2477.

(f) with OE. $\text{æ}3$, \bar{a} ; see BÜLBR. § 530.

stedde sb. : *seid* prt. sg. 3029, : *seide* prt. pl. 1041. A
has *stede* : *sede* pp. 3925/6, but another version in 1861/2.

It is quite obvious that OE. *e* in open syllables had been
lengthened in our text. It should be noticed that it never
rhymes with ME. \check{e} . But to settle the quality is difficult.
OE. \bar{e} > ME. \bar{e} , OE. \hat{e} > ME. \bar{e} , \bar{e} , OE. \bar{a} > ME. \bar{e} (\bar{e}), OE.
 $\bar{e}a$ > ME. \bar{e} . Of course some of the rhymes may have been
felt by the author as decidedly impure. But if we leave

¹ In accordance with SKEAT I mark this sound \hat{e} ; \bar{a} = *i*-muta-
tion of WT. *ai*.

this out of consideration, the rhymes seem to suggest a sound between \bar{e} and \bar{e} ; cf. MORSB. § 111. — With support of modern dialects LUICK (Unters. § 202, §§ 269 f.) lays down that a pronunciation different from \bar{e} and \bar{e} must have existed in ME. for OE. *e*- (LUICK's way of denoting OE. *e* in open syllables), especially in Northern Midland (§ 202) and in West Midland (§§ 269 f.). Now our text does not belong to either of these districts. But it is not improbable that a special pronunciation of OE. *e*- was more widely spread in ME. than is reflected in modern dialects. The present dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of London may have been influenced by the standard language.

Note 1. The quantity of the vowel in *leþer* sb. 2087, *weders* sb. pl. 377 cannot be settled; TEN BRINK § 35 β assumes 'schwebende' quantity; cf. § 4.

Note 2. *hate* sb. (OE. *hete*): *Pylate* 761, 864, 2240 [\bar{a}]; the vowel is due to influence from OE. *hatian* vb.; see MORSB. § 111 note 7.

Note 3. The rhyme *togeder* adv.: *hyder* adv. 1410/9 may be dealt with here. As the base of ME. *togeder* MORSBACH, as has been pointed out above, assumes an OE. form *tōgedere*, *e* being *i*-mutation of \bar{a} . The rhyme seems to prove a development $e > i$ before a dental; cf. MORSB. § 109. But A has the version *theder*: *togedre* 2237/8. OE. *i* may just as well have developed to *e*; see MORSB. § 115 note 4.

§ 10.

(3). OE. *e* + \bar{z} .

OE. *e* + \bar{z} > *ey*, *ay* [*ai*].

Rhymes with

(a) OE. \bar{a} + \bar{z} = ME. *ai*.

way(e) sb. 1246 (: *day* sb.), : *lay(e)* prt. 2645, 2660, *alwey*, *alway* adv.: *day* sb. 135, 1420.

(b) OF. *ei*.

tweyne card. 719 (: *peyne* sb.), *weye* sb. 2126 (: *praye* sb. < AF. *preie*), *aweye* adv. 2916 (: *preye* vb.), *away* 3076 (: *parfay* adv.), *awey* 1616 (: *fay* sb.).

(c) OF. *ai*.

seyn pp. 340 (: *in veyn*).

OE. eo.

(1). In close syllables.

§ 11.

OE. *eo* > *e* [ĕ].

sterued prt. 2947 (: *deserued* pp.), *hem* pron. (: *Jerusalem*; ĕ in Chaucer; TEN BRINK § 54) 122, 1939, 2479.

Rhymes 'inter se': *hert* sb. : *smert(e)* adj. & sb. 763/4, 1333/4, 2368/7.

Within the verse *fer* adv. 149, 257, 1165, *herkenef* vb. 16, *sterre* sb. 248.

Note 1. Beside *hert* occurs a form in *a:hartes* 2044 (A has *hertes* 2910). This is either a mere slip or it is deliberately put in by the scribe. *ar* for *er* is to be found already in the 15th century; cf. HORN § 32.

Note 2. *fe(e)* sb. 2540 (: *countre* sb.), 2804 (: *agree*) may be based either on OE. *feoh* or on AF. *fee*, the two substantives being confused in ME.; see NED., *fee* sb.^{1,2}.

(2). In open syllables.

§ 12.

OE. *eo* > *e*, probably [ĕ].

There are no proving rhymes.

cleped pp. 19, *fele* adj. 173.

Note 1. The quantity of the vowel in *heuene* sb. 1511, 1512, 1517, *seuene* card. 105 etc. cannot be settled; cf. TEN BRINK § 35 β.

Note 2. OE. *heonan* > *henne* 1821 (: *cristenmen* sb.) [ĕ]. The rhyme *hen* : *seyn* prt. 'saw' 237/8 is careless.

Note 3. OE. *þeonan* 'thence' occurs as *þen* 1886 (: *warden* sb. < AF. *wardein*); in A the rhyme is *wardeyn* : *þain* 2751/2.

(3). OE. *-eoht* (< Teut. *-eht*) = WS. *eo* by breaking

§ 13.

(BÜLBR. § 133 b) > *ie*, *i*; ibid. §§ 306, 311 b.

(BÜLBR. § 203 a) > late Merc. *i*; ibid. § 319.

OE. *-eoht* > *-yȝt*.

fiȝt, *fyȝt* inf. : *almyȝt* adj. 347, 2870, *knyȝt* sb. 519 (: *aplyȝt* adv.), 1031 (: *ydyȝt* pp.), *ryȝt* adj. 224 (: *nyȝt* sb.), 393 (: *almyȝt* adj.), *aryȝt* adv. 2413 (: *almyȝt* adj.), 539 (: *aplyȝt* adv.), 1491 (: *nyȝt* sb.), : *myȝt* sb. 532, 1662.

Note. As the base of ME. *highte* TEN BRINK (§ 48 vii) assumes an OE. form **heoht*, variation of *heht*, *hēt*. The word occurs in the following rhymes:

(a) In the sense of 'promised':

hyȝt prt. 2437 (: *myȝt* sb.), 2424 (: *ryȝt* adv.), *hiȝt* 575 (: *alyȝt* vb.), *hiȝt* pp. 7 (: *lyȝt* adv.), *behiȝt* prt. 2895 (: *ryȝt* adv.).

(b) In the sense of 'was called':

hiȝtte 937 (: *plyȝtte* vb.).

The pronunciation was [*hiχt*].

Within the verse occurs the form *hyte*; see § 210 note 1.

§ 14. (4). OE. *weo*-.

(a) OE. *weo*- (= *wiu*-, *weo*- < *wi*-, *we*- by *u/â*-mutation); already in OE. *wu*-; BÜLBR. § 264.

OE. *s* + *weo*-; *wu*- > *su*-.

suster sb. 2536, 2655; cf. GABRIELSON, pp. 161 f. A has *systour* 3406, *syster* 3529, the *y* [ȝ] being due to Scandinavian influence.

(b) OE. *weor*- > *wer*-.

werkys sb. pl. 89 (: *merkys* sb. pl.), *werke* sb. 2551, *werkes* pl. 339, *werkmen* sb. pl. 2191, *werde* sb.: *herde* prt. & pp. 285, 553, 674; cf. GABRIELSON pp. 170 ff.

Within the verse occur forms in *o*: *worlde* 284, *worldes* gen. sg. 46. — The other MSS. have the following forms: A *worlde* BCL *werd* 1369, A *worlde* LCD *werd* 1490, A *werde* C *werd* D *worlde* 1099, A *worlde* 1098, *worldes* 860. The *o*-forms seem to be due to the scribes; cf. GABRIELSON pp. 186 ff.

Note. As for *worshipp* sb. 42, 1428 the base may be OE. *weor*- or *wyr*- (> late OE. *wur*-; BÜLBR. § 280); *o* may here stand for *u*, cf. *mochel*, *muchel*.

OE. i.

§ 15. (1). In close syllables.

OE. *i* > *y*, *i* [ȝ].

wylle sb.: *spylle* vb. 1627, 2157, 2231, : *skylle* sb. 382, : *tylle* prep. 1602; *blynne* vb. 1514, *fysshe* sb. 132, *ȝitte* 11, *ynne* sb. 935, *picke* 101, *whiche* pron. 16.

Note 1. *e* in *shelyngges* sb. pl. (< OE. *scilling*) 2471 is due to the influence of the following *l*; see MORSB. § 114.

Note 2. The rhyme *with-(wiþ-)ynne* adv.: *engyne* sb. (< OF. *engin*) 2092/1, 2097/8 is uncertain. A has *withinne*: *engyne* 2958/7, *withinne*: *gynne* 2963/4. The spelling is in favour of *ī* in *engyne*, especially as, judging from the metre, the stress was on the *y*.

Note 3. *zīt* adv. (A *zete* 1002) 188 (: *feet* < OE. *fēt*) may have *ē*, being based on OE. *zēt*; see KLUGE, *Angels. Leseb.*, Glossary¹. Note the spelling in A.

(2). In open syllables.

§ 16.

OE. *i* > *y*, *i* [i̇].

prycke sb. 180 (: *wycke* adj.), *spytte* sb. 2595 (: *hit* pron.; assonance?), *þider* adv. 2697, *wykes* sb. pl. 1879.

Note 1. The rhyme *wyte* inf.: *despyte* sb. (< OF. *despit*) 1823/4 is an *i̇*:*i̇*-rhyme.

Note 2. There are some forms in *e*, for instance *leue* inf. (< OE. *libban*) 2686 (: *zeue* inf.), *wete* inf. 2697 (A has *weten* 3575). The rhymes *lyue*: *zeue* inf. 1596/5, 1723/4, *lyue*: *yzeue* pp. 2905/6, *lyue*: *zeue* pp. 3054/3 do not prove a development *i* > *e*, *zeue* being based on OE. forms in *e* (Angl., Kent.) or *i*, *ie* (WS.) but the spelling hints at an open sound for *i̇*; cf. MORSB. § 65 note 1. A has *i*-forms in *give* inf. 2423, 2552, *gyven* pp. 3949 but *e* in *zeven* pp. 3794.

OE. o.

(1). In close syllables.

OE. *o* > *o* [ō].

§ 17.

There are no proving rhymes, only one rhyme 'inter se': *sorowe* sb.: *morowe* sb. 1374/3, 2563/4; *cokkes* sb. pl. 227, *shortte* adj. (OE. *sc(e)ort*; BÜLBR. §§ 301 ff.) 2876.

Note. OE. *-oht* > *-ouzt*:

bouzt prt. 1597, *douztter* sb. 677, 995 etc.; *douztty* adj. 1095, 1923.

(2). In open syllables.

OE. *o* > *o* [ō].

§ 18.

byfore adv.: *more* comp. 161, 1189, : *euermore* adv. 1708, : *sore* adj. & adv. 956, 2359, *þerfor(e)* adv.: *sore* adj. & adv. 692, 1148.

¹ Cf. BÜLBR. § 549, SWEET, HES. § 384.

Note. Lengthening has not taken place in *goddess* g. sg. & plur. (OE. *godes*, -as) 1, 92 etc.; 41; influence from the nom. sg.

OE. u.

§ 19. (1). In close syllables.

OE. *u* > *u* [ū].

thus, *þus* adv. 2758 (: *Josephus*), 431 (: *Tyberius*), 676 (: *Tyrus*) etc.; *bygune* prt. 2608, *rune* prt. 2607.

Note. Judging from the rhyme *fouzt* prt. pl. (< OE. *fuhton*) : *þouzt* (< OE. *þūhte*) 2511/2 OE. -*uht* and -*ūht* have been confused.

§ 20. (2). In open syllables.

OE. *u* in open syllables rhymes

(a) 'inter se'.

come inf. : *ynome* pp. 2307, *ycome* pp. : *ynome* pp. 1171, *ouercome* pp. : *ynome* pp. 727, *son* sb. (< OE. *sunu*) : *shone* vb. 1757, 2314, *wone* inf. : *son* (< OE. *sunu*) 686, 704, 1519.

(b) with OE. *u* in close syllables.

son sb. (< OE. *sunu*) : *kune*, *kone* vb. 1162, 2831, *woneþ* pres. : *konneþ* pres. (< OE. *cunnon*) 505.

(c) with OE. *ō*.

come inf. : *dome* sb. 376, *come* 2nd p. pl. pres. 1825 (: *dome* sb.), *loue* inf. : *proue* vb. (< OE. *prōfian*; cf. OF. *prover*) 1360, *wode* sb. : *good* adj. pl. 1942, *ycome* pp. : *son* adv. 1729 (assonance; uncertain; A has another version 2595/6). Probably also *aboue* adv. (in A prep.) : *houe* inf. 'to hover' 257/8 (*howe* in P is an error of the scribe's; A has *hove* 1072; cf. *honeþ* in P 1086 for *hoveth* in A 1910). The origin of ME. *hove* is, however, unknown; see NED. *hove* vb.

(d) with OF. *u* > ME. *ū*.

son sb. : *oryson* sb. 2380.

(e) with *ō* in proper names.

ycome pp. : *Rome* 2336 (*ȝ* or *ȝ̄*; cf. GRUNDR. § 37 a, TEN BRINK § 72).

MORSBACH (Gr. § 65 notes 7—10) is of opinion that OE. *u* in open syllables was not lengthened in ME. TEN BRINK (§ 35 *α*) assumes 'schwebende' quantity for this sound. LUICK (Unters. §§ 381 ff.) proves however that a development OE. *i* > ME. \bar{e} , OE. *u* > ME. \bar{o} in open syllables took place in the north of England and in adjacent parts of Northern Midland (§ 400). The rhymes under (c) are also in favour of such a change $u > \bar{o}$ in our text. It would, however, be rather curious to find such \bar{o} -forms so far south. The rhymes under (b) also tell against it. Moreover, a development $i > \bar{e}$ is not supported by rhymes, although *e*-forms occur within the verse (see OE. *i*), and OE. *i* and OE. *u* are generally developed parallelly. In the face of these facts it is no doubt most proper to look upon the rhymes in question as borrowed from a dialect where the change $u > \bar{o}$ had really taken place. But in the dialect of our author OE. *u* in open syllables was most probably kept as *u* [ǔ].

(3). OE. $u + \bar{z} > ow$.

§ 21.

flowe prt. (< OE. *fluʒon*) 246, *mowe* vb. (< OE. *muʒon*) 17, *sowys* sb. pl. 2081.

OE. *y*.

(1). In close syllables.

§ 22.

(a) OE. $y > y$ [ȳ].

dynne sb. 231 (: *þerynne* adv.), *fulfyllte* vb. : *wylle* sb. 918, 1364 etc., *gylt* sb. 603 (: *spylt* pp.), *synne* sb. : *ynne*, in prep. 123, 204, 517, 1960, : *þerynne* adv. 289, : *þerin* 2780, *þynne* vb. 2106 (: *withynne* adv.).

(b) OE. $y > u$; probably [ǔ].

suche pron. 63 etc.

Note 1. The lengthening had probably been done away with in *burdon* (A *burthen*) 1196 (< OE. *býrðen*). I suppose the vowel is *ü*; cf. MORSB. p. 174, TEN BRINK p. 36.

Note 2. The rhyme *worche* inf. (< OE. *wyrčan, weorcan*): *chirche* sb. (< OE. *cyrice, cirice*) 2551/2 is dubious. A has *werke*: *chirche* (C *kyrke*) 3421/2. All the MSS. are obviously corrupt. The original rhyme may have been either *worche* (*o = u*): *churche* or *werche*: *cherche*. I incline towards the opinion that the latter forms are those of the author. They need not be borrowed from some Kentish dialect, where OE. *y > e* (f. i. *Ayenbite*), for they occur also in Midland (see MORSB. p. 165) and in the district of London (*ibid.* p. 173); Chaucer has the same rhyme; see TEN BRINK § 11 ε; cf. also GABRIELSON pp. 214 f.

§ 23.

(2). In open syllables.

The material is very scanty and unreliable.

besy 2903 (A has another version, B *bise* 3791), *buryed* prt. 184.

Note 1. The rhyme *mery* adj. pl. (< OE. *myr(i)ȝe*): *wery* adj. pl. (< OE. *wēriȝ*) 1251/2 is dubious. Only B has the same rhyme-words, the other MSS. having another version. If the rhyme is one of the author's, it must be regarded as an *ē: ē* rhyme.

Note 2. OE. *yfel* adj. occurs as *yuel* 399, 779 etc. (12 times), *yuels* pl. 1633, 1661, 1902 but *euyll* 778, 1169. So far as I can see A has only *e*-forms; see 1215, 2461, 2489, 2768 etc. (*ivyl* 1597 is a corruption). The forms in *y* are probably due to the scribe; it should be noticed that he uses the sign *y*, not *u*.

Note 3. OE. *mycel* occurs as *moche* 184, 1187 etc., *muche* 150, 2253, *mochel* 25, 44, 1354 etc., *muchel* 1300. A has *micell* 964, 2182, *mychell* 839, 858, *mikell* 2128, *mykel* 3119. MORSBACH (Gr. § 130, note 4) is of opinion that the forms in *u*, *o* are based on OE. **mucl* < **mukolo*. According to HORN p. 28 (cf. GRUNDR. p. 1046) the *u*-forms have slipped into the standard language from a small South-western district, where OE. *y > u* before an affricate. Did the scribe belong to this district, or had the *u*-forms prevailed also in his dialect?

Note 4. OE. *dyde*, *dydon* occur as *dude* 125, 130 etc.; 3, 111 etc.; A has *dede* 939, 944; 817, 925 etc. That the *u*-forms are due to the scribe, is also made probable by the rhyme *dude*: *zede* 2887/8; cf. MORSB. § 130 note 6, LUICK, *Unters.* § 390.

OE. \bar{a} .

§ 24.

A. Finally, before a single consonant and before *st*.

OE. $\bar{a} > o$ [\bar{v}].

Rhymes

(1). 'inter se'.

so adv. : *go* vb. 1106, 2689, : *two* card. 2985, *wo* sb. : *go* vb. 2319, *aros* prt. : *foes* sb. pl. 629, *loþ* adj. : *cloþ* sb. 1173, *none* pron. : *gon* vb. 2027, *one* card. : *gon* vb. 1575, *sore* sb. & adv. : *more* comp. 1581, 2816 etc. (in all ca. 62).

(2). with OE. *o* in open syllables; see above § 18.

(3). with Scand. *ā*.

also adv. 2709 (: *fro* prep.), *mo* comp. 2740 (: *fro*), *þo* adv. 633 (: *fro*), *wo* adj. 2609 (: *fro* prep.), *wroþ* adj. : *boþ* pron. 754, 2788, *wroþe* 1924 (: *boþe*).

(4). with OF. *o* (> ME. *ō*).

more comp. 2650 (: *tresoure* sb. < OF. *tresor*), *sory* adj. 2573 (: *purgatorye* sb.), *wost* vb. 2810 (: *ost* sb.).

(5). with *o* in proper nouns.

also adv. 656 (: *Centurio*), *none* pron. : *Jordan* 2023, 2123, 2173 (uncertain).

(6). with OE. *ō*.

so adv. : *þerto* adv. 901, 1417, 2278, 2442, : *do* vb. 1006, 2859, 3099, : *to* prep. 920, 2583, 2702, *also* adv. : *to* prep. 1134, 1154, 1760, 1979, 2120, : *þerto* adv. 3113, *wo* sb. 2093 (: *do* pp.), 2728 (: *þerto* adv.), 2961 (: *to* prep.), *anoon* adv. : *doon* pp. 328, *cloþ* sb. : *forsoþ* adv. 131 (A, L, C have *cloth* : *goth* 945/6), *echon* pron. : *don* pp. 2206, *euerychon* pron. : *ydon* pp. 1957, : *don(e)* vb. 2487, 2687, *go* vb. : *ydo* pp. 555, 814, *mo* comp. : *to* prep. 2348, *þo* adv. : *do* vb. 711, 2110, : *to* prep. 1974, 2219, 2822, : *ydo* pp. 1300, : *to* prep. 107.

(7). with OE. *o* in close syllables.

anoon adv. : *vppon* 1002, 2994, *euerychon* pron. 2133 (: *þeron* adv.), *gon* vb. 1175 (: *þervppon* adv.), *stoon* sb. 137 (: *þeron* adv.).

The rhymes under (6) are rather striking, because OE. *ō* > ME. *ō*. Out of the rhymes in question no less than 16 contain *so* or *also* (10 + 6), which words have a side-

form in \bar{o} in ME., due to influence of the preceding *w*. As for the others the same or similar rhymes occur also in Chaucer; see TEN BRINK § 31; cf. MORSE. § 135 note 4.

For the rhymes under (7) see LUICK, *Unters.* §§ 419 ff.

Note. *wham* pron. (< OE. *hwām*) 2563 is a scribal error for *whom*; A has *whom* 3433.

B. Before lengthening consonant-groups.

For the most part there are only rhymes 'inter se'.

§ 25. (1). Before *ld*.

OE. $\acute{a} > o$ [\bar{o}].

colde adj. : *byholde* inf. 2044, *tolde* prt. (< Angl. *tælde*) : *solde* prt. (< Angl. *sælde*) 2427, : *byholde* inf. 2163, *tolde* pp. : *olde* adj. 21 etc.

Moreover, words of this group occur in rhymes with *wolde* prt., *zolde* pp. (890, 1060, 1289, 2264, 2622, 2698, 2725; 2794); see § 55, 2.

Note. *weldep* 3rd p. sg. pres. may be based on OE. *zewéldan*, *zewieldan*, not on OE. *wéaldan*.

§ 26. (2). Before *nd*.

hondes sb. pl. 2407 (: *bondes* sb. pl. < Scand. *band*).

The rhyme proves nothing. For the rest we find only rhymes 'inter se'.

honde sb. : *londe* sb. 945, : *stonde* inf. 2086, *londe* sb. : *sonde* sb. 492, 529, 2468 etc. For the value of the vowel cf. EILERS pp. 191 f.

Note 1. In the rhyme *londe* sb. : *fonde* prt. pl. 'found' 1887/8 *fonde* is of course based on OE. *fānd* sg., not on OE. *fūndon* pl. A has the subject in the sing. 2754.

Note 2. In OE. *handlian* lengthening did not take place because of the consonant group *-ndl-*, and the verb occurs also with *a*: *handel* 1532, *handeled* prt. 1198.

Note 3. The only form in *a* is *handes* sb. pl. 2644. In A *a*-forms are by no means rare, e. g. *hand(e)* 2952 (bis), *lande* 1990, *stande* 2362, 2951, *understande* 1876; cf. below (4).

(3). Before *mb*.

§ 27.

We find only one rhyme:

wombe sb. : *lombe* sb. 215/6.

The rhyme is undoubtedly pure [ǫ]; the modern [u:] in *womb* is based on ME. $\bar{\varrho}$; see HORN § 100. OE. *lāmb* is found with $\bar{\varrho}$, too; see EILERS p. 109, TEN BRINK § 16 γ.

(4). Before *ng*.

§ 28.

There are two rhymes with Scand. *a*.

amonge prep. : *wronge* sb. 2282, *stronge* adj. : *wronge* sb. 182.

The rhymes, however, prove nothing, Scand. *vrangr* being borrowed so early that it took part in the OE. vowel-lengthening; see BÜLBR. § 285 note 2.

For the rest there are only rhymes 'inter se'.

long adj. & adv. : *strong* adj. 262, 687 etc., *spronge* prt. sg. : *stronge* adj. 1043.

Within the verse *þonges* sb. pl. 2135. — EILERS pp. 193 f. assumes long vowel. In our text, however, the spelling with *o* proves nothing about the quantity of the vowel, *o* being used before *nk*, too; see above § 1 note 1.

Note 1. In the rhyme *wronge* prt. pl. : *songe* prt. pl. 2053/4 the plurals may be based on OE. *wrūngon*, *sūngon* or on OE. *wrāng*, *sāng*.

Note 2. *lange* adv. 970 is an error of the editor's; cf. Introd. In A there occur forms in *a*; see f. i. 1790, 2960.

(5). OE. *hlāford* occurs as *lorde* with *ǒ* judging from § 29. the rhymes with *recorde* sb. 1368, and *accorde* sb. 1559.

C. Before *w*, 3.

§ 30.

OE. $\bar{a} + w$, 3 > *ow*, *ou* [ǫu].

ouerthrowe pp. : *lowe* adv. (Scand. *lágr*) 81, *soule* sb. : *Poule* n. pr. 457; cf. TEN BRINK § 71.

For the rest we find only rhymes 'inter se'.

knowe inf. : *þrowe* sb. 2201, : *owe* inf. 1051, *snowe* sb. : *blowe* inf. 1899.

Note. In the rhymes *sawe* prt. pl.: *knowe* inf. 314/3, : *yblowe* pp. 271/2, : *lawe* sb. (A *lowe* 3026) 'lake' 2159/60 *sawe* stands for *sowe*, probably based on WS. *sāwon*; cf., however, BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 73, BJÖRKM. p. 87¹. The form seems to have been unknown to the scribes. The *a*-form appears also in A 1128, 1085, 3025. The word *lowe* (Mod. E. *lough*; see NED.) was rare in ME., and that is why our scribe wrote *lawe*.

OE. $\bar{e}a$ (< WT. au).

(Except OE. $\bar{e}a$ after palatal consonants and OE. $\bar{e}a$ by breaking before lengthening cons.-groups).

§ 31.

(1). OE. $\bar{e}a > e$, *ee* [ē].

Occurs in rhymes with

(a) Scand. \acute{e} :

gret adj.: *sete* sb. (cf. Icel. *sæti*¹) 1547.

(b) OE. \hat{e} :

(*to, but*) *de(e)de*: *rede* sb. 3, 384, 862, 2676, *dede* adj.: *rede* inf. 2506, *deed*: *rede* sb. 2663.

The rhyme (*of*) *dede* sb.: *rede* inf. 521/2 is uncertain; OE. *dēaþ* or *dēd*.

(c) OE. *e* in open syllables; see above § 9 e.

(d) *e* in proper names.

deth, deþ sb.: *Nazareth* 512, 875, *dreem* sb.: *Jerusalem*² 877, *streem* sb.: *Jerusalem* 469, 1764 (uncertain).

Within the verse *brede* sb. 132, *reed* adj. 29, *þrete* inf. 2252.

Note 1. *sleen* inf.: *men* sb. pl. 1084/3 in an \bar{e} : \acute{e} -rhyme. — For the rhyme *tem* sb.: *hem* pron. 70/69 cf. LUCK, Unters. §§ 419 ff.

Note 2. ME. final *e* < OE $\bar{e}a$ seems to have become \bar{e} in *sle* inf., judging from the rhyme *sle*: *ybe* pp. 1926/5; cf. TEN BRINK § 23 δ .

Note 3. *nere, neer* (< OE. *nēar, nīer, nīr*) had \bar{e} . The rhymes are: *neer*: *zeer* sb. 254/3, *nere*: *here* adv. 149/50, : *daungere* sb. 739/40, : *counseller* sb. 1931/2.

¹ SKEAT, Conc., *seat* sb. gives the word with \acute{e} ; cf. FRITZNER.

² With \bar{e} in Chaucer; see TEN BRINK § 54.

Note 4. \bar{e} in *bylene* sb. (OE. *zēlāfa*) 730 (: *greue* inf.) is due to influence from OE. *zēlāfan* vb.

(2). OE. $\bar{e}a > e$ [ĕ] by shortening. § 32.

grettest sup. 393, 1040; whether shortening had taken place in *deffe* adj. pl. (OE. *dēaf*) 612 is most uncertain; cf. the spelling *ff* in *knyff*, *lyff* etc. Moreover, A has *deef* 1428.

(3). OE. $\bar{e}a > a$ [ǣ] by shortening. § 33.

rafte prt. (OE. *rēafian*) 662.

(4). OE. $\bar{e}a + w > ew$. § 34.

Rhymes only 'inter se'.

shewe inf. : *hewe* pp. 1447, *þewys* sb. pl. : *schrewys* sb. pl. 717.

(5). OE. $\bar{e}a + ʒ > y, iʒ, yʒ$ [ī]; cf. DIBELIUS, *Anglia* § 35. 23, pp. 339 ff.

an hye (< OE. *on hēaʒe*) : *crye* sb. 236, : *mynstralsye* sb. 1720, *an hiʒe* : *crye* sb. 2884, *yʒe* sb. : *felonye* sb. 2203.

Note. OE. *flēah* prt. (< Teut. **thlawh*) occurs as *fley* 401 (: *nye* adv. < Teut. **nēhwo-*), *fleiʒ* 1419, 1981, 2002, 1953 (pl.). The spelling of the rhyme-word *nye* occurring as *nyʒe* 218 (adv.), 1453 (prep.), 2722 (adv.), 3000 (prep.) can denote nothing else than [nī]. There is, however, no reason to believe that *ey*, *eiʒ* in *fley*, *fleiʒ* should stand for [ī], and thus the scribe must have felt the rhyme as an *ai* : *ī*-rhyme. — A has *flegʰ* 1217 (: *negʰ*), *flay* 2247 (: *alwey*). The latter rhyme proves that the author pronounced [flai] or [fleī].

Now ll. 2247/8 run in A:

Forþi from Rome hider I flay
And soo I holde me here alwey.

But in P (ll. 1419/20):

Therfor fro Rome hyder I fleiʒ on a day,
And here I holde me alway.

Some scribe perhaps pronounced [flī] or [flīχ] and inserted the words *on a day* to get a pure rhyme.

OE. $\bar{æ}$ (i-mutation of WT. ai).

(1). OE. $\bar{æ} > e$ [ē]. § 36.

mest sup. : *fest(e)* sb. 196, 281, : *best* sb. 2152.

Note 1. Besides the form *mest* sup. there occurs also *most* 1709 (: *gost* sb.), 2955 (: *ost* sb.). TEN BRINK § 49 is of opinion that this form is based on an OE. form **māst* without *i*-mutation. He compares the OE. doublet *gāst*, *gāst*, which is actually found. — SKEAT (Et. Dict. *most*) explains the form as due to influence from comp. *more* (< OE. *māra*). — OE. *calmāst* adv. occurs as *almost* 1342.

Note 2. For the rhyme *hele* sb. (< OE. *hālu*): *fylle* prt. (< OE. *fēoll*) 3044/3 see below § 47 note.

§ 37. (2). OE. $\bar{a} > e$, *ee* [ē].
cleen adj. 781 (: *wene* pres.), 1717 (: *seen* pp.), *lede* inf.
 : *spede* inf. 1475, 1753, : *mede* sb. 546, 1151, 1535, *lere* inf.
 1488 (: *here* adv.), *see* sb. (< OE. *sā*) 1165 (: *Galylee*); cf.
 TEN BRINK § 24 *a*.

§ 38. (3). OE. $\bar{a} > e$ [ĕ] by shortening.
ylent pp. (OE. *lānan*) 2005 (: *amendment* sb.), *lesse* adv.
 comp. 1672 (: *wytnesse* vb.), 2555 (: *dystresse* sb.), *leste* prt.
 371 (: *reste* pp.), *spredde* prt. 362 (: *fedde* prt.); *lefte* prt. 2340
 (: *efte* adv. < OE. *efte*, *æfte*); of course the last rhyme proves
 nothing. Shortening had probably also taken place in *byment*
 prt. (OE. *bimānan*) 832, *empty* adj. 794, *flesshe* sb. 132. —
 For *wreþþe* sb. (< OE. *wrāþþu*) 3080 A has *wrath* 3976.

§ 39. (4). OE. $\bar{a} > a$ [ǣ] by shortening.
agast pp. 274 (: *last* sup.), *las* adv. 558 (: *wonder-cas* sb.;
 ME. *ā*), *last* inf. 2132 (: *fast* adv.), *any* pron. 12 etc. (*eny*
 1582 is probably a scribal error; A has *any* 2410), *clansed* prt.
 517, *ladde* prt. (OE. *lādan*) 807, 1939, *ladders* sb. pl. 2087.

As is shown by the rhymes, the shortening of OE. \bar{a} is either ĕ or ǣ. The same word occurs with *e*- as well as *a*-forms, e. g. *leste*, *last*. Now the *e*-form is a preterite and the *a*-form an infinitive. But we should not infer that the shortening took place at different periods — though the doublet *lesse* adv. : *lasse* adj. in certain dialects may be explained in this way, because the shortening of the vowel of the adj. had taken place already in OE. (*lāssa* > *læssa* > *lasse*) — for we should then expect to find earlier shortening in

the preterite than in the infinitive. The variation in question is probably due to a different development of OE. \bar{e} in different dialects. Within the verse there occur *last* prt. 2107, *lasted* prt. 36, *lest* inf. 642, *last*, *laste* inf. 46, 2619, 2868.

A similar unsettled use is also found in *erst* 1007, 1121, 2362, *arst* 967 (OE. \bar{a} rest). Besides *er* (< OE. \bar{a} er) 1230 (adv.), 2772 (conj.), 2810 (conj.), 2968 (conj.) there occurs *or* 52, 76 etc. (17 times); the *o* is due to Scand. influence; see BJÖRKM. p. 200.

Note 1. *lady* sb. (< OE. hlæfdiȝe) no doubt had \bar{a} (*lady* < hlæfdiȝe < hlæfdiȝe).

Note 2. The value of the vowel in *euer* adv. (< OE. \bar{a} fre) 46, 143 etc., *neuer* adv. (< OE. n \bar{a} fre) 47, 90 etc. cannot be settled.

Note 3. The rhyme *knowlache* vb. (OE. -læcan vb.): *wreche* sb. 1946/5 is ambiguous, as the latter word may be based either on OE. *wrecca* or on OE. *wræcca*.

Note 4. OE. \bar{d} æl occurs in a great many rhymes with *wel* adv. (OE. w \bar{e} l, *wel*) 396, 572, 657 etc.

Probably \bar{e} : \bar{e} , although the rhymes might be pure (\bar{e}); cf. FAHRENBERG, Archiv 89, p. 396.

Note 5. OE. r \bar{a} hte prt. appears as *rauȝtte* 2099 (*au* < \bar{a} < \bar{e} < \bar{a}).

OE. \hat{a} = WS. \bar{a} , Angl. \bar{e} (WT. \bar{a}).

(1). OE. \hat{a} > \bar{e} . It is quite impossible to decide § 40. whether, in every special case, the sound was \bar{e} or \bar{e} . The rhymes may be impure; cf. TEN BRINK § 25.

(a) OE. \hat{a} > \bar{e} .

aslepe adv. 628 (: *kepe* inf.), *dede* sb. (< OE. \bar{d} æd) 860 (: *spede* inf.), 2387 (: *nede* sb. 'necessity' ¹), *drede* sb.: *spede* vb. 1848, 3055, : *ȝede* prt. 1965, : *nede* sb. 26, *drede* pres. & inf. 1509 (: *spede* inf.), 2403 (: *lede* pres. ²), *ete* prt. pl. 2525 (: *feete* sb. pl.), *ȝere* adv. 1037 (: *here* inf.), 2562 (: *dere* adj.), *wede* sb. 1198 (: *ȝede* prt.).

¹ The rhyme is uncertain, OE. *n \bar{e} od* and OE. *n \bar{e} ad* being confused; see SKEAT, Conc., *need*.

² \bar{e} ; see § 37.

(b) OE. $\hat{a} > \bar{e}, \bar{e}$.

zeer(e), zere sb. (< OE. * $\text{z}\hat{e}r$, WS. $\text{z}\bar{e}ar$, Angl. $\text{z}\bar{e}r$).

(α) ME. \bar{e} : : *here* adv. 421, 2049, 2365, : *here* vb. 567, : *outstere* vb. 775, : *messenger* sb. 2299, : *cleer* adj. 51, : *daungere* sb. 2215;

(γ) uncertain: : *werre* sb. (< OF. *werre*) 2107; cf. TĒN BRINK § 68 β .

lete inf.

(γ) uncertain: : *ete* inf. 2988, : *mete* sb. 1530.

rede sb.

(α) ME. \bar{e} : : *lede* inf. 2121;

(β) ME. \bar{e} : : *deed* adj. 2664, : *de(e)de* sb. 'death' 4, 383, 861, 2675;

(γ) uncertain: : *stedde* sb. (< OE. *stede*) 695, 721.

rede inf. & pres.

(β) ME. \bar{e} : : *dede* adj. 2505¹;

(γ) uncertain: : *stedde* sb. 1312, 1533.

strette, street, strete sb.

(α) ME. \bar{e} : : *prophete* sb. 2291, 2342;

(γ) uncertain: : *meet* sb. 2699, : *ete* inf. 2587.

were prt.

(α) ME. \bar{e} : : *here* adv. 1085, 1842, : *messenger* sb. 474, : *here* inf. 972;

(γ) uncertain: : *dere* inf. (< OE. *derian*) 2523.

§ 41.

(2). OE. $\hat{a} > e$ [ǣ] by shortening.

adredde pp. 2213 (: *spedde* pp.).

Note 1. In the rhymes *adradde* pp. : *spedde* pp. 1020/19, 1331/2 *adradde* should of course be changed into *adredde*; A has *adredde* 1840, *adred* 2159. The rhyme *adredde* pp. : *yspredde* pp. 2042/1 proves nothing.

Note 2. Whether shortening has taken place in *erande* 813, 2608, *eraunde* 1096 (< OE. *ārende*) cannot be decided.

¹ For the rhyme (*of*) *dede* sb. : *rede* inf. 522/1 cf. § 31 b.

(3). OE. $\hat{e} > a$ [ǣ] by shortening.

§ 42.

dradde prt. 1685 (: *hadde* prt.).

Within the verse *dradde* prt. 601, 739, 2098.

Note 1. In the rhyme *were* prt. pl.: *ylore* pp. 790/89 *were* should be altered to *wore*. This form is due to Scandinavian influence; see GRUNDR. p. 1033, BJÖRK. p. 85.

Note 2. *fore* adv. 3031 (: *fore* adv.) is based on OE. *fār, fāra*; see GRUNDR. p. 1033; cf. BJÖRK. p. 97.

OE. \bar{e} .

(1). OE. $\bar{e} > e$ [ē].

§ 43.

be, *byleue* vb. (< Angl. *zēlfan*): *greue* vb. 202, 537, 2575, *here* adv. 1098 (: *chere* sb.), *seke* vb. 1579 (: *meke* adj.), *3e* pron. 97 (: *se* inf.), *he* pron. 1546 (: *pyte* sb.), 424 (: *dignite* sb.), 726 (: *countre* sb.), *me* pron.: *cyte* sb. 883, 929, 951 etc., *fe* pron. 2671 (: *cytee* sb.), 2337 (: *plente* sb.), *we* pron. 2842 (: *commynite* sb.).

Note 1. *lyue* inf. (OE. *zēlfan*) 1162, *belyued* prt. 532, *wype* inf. (OE. *wēpan*) 2889 are scribal errors for *beleue*, *beleued*, *wepē*; A has *bileue* 1986, *bileuede* 1348, *wepen* 3769.

Note 2. *wepē* inf. 837 (: *bete* inf.) stands for *grēte*.

Note 3. OE. *hēran* is by no means rare with forms in *u*: *hure* inf. 788 (: *dere* adv.), 1042, 1265 (: *here* adv.), 1268, 1278, 1296, 2927, *ihure* inf. 974, *hure* subj. 1749, *hure* imp. 2388, *hureþ* imp. 1756, *hurde* prt. 1917, 3022, 3059, *hurde* pp. 1722, 2180 (: *aferd* pp.). These *u*-forms suggest that the scribe belonged to the South-western district; cf. MORSE. § 16 note 1.1. — So far as I have found, A has only forms in *e*.

(2). OE. $\bar{e} > e$ [ē] by shortening.

§ 44.

grette prt. 'greeted' 1482 (: *sette* prt.; OE. *settan*), *ymette* pp. 1102 (: *lette* inf. 'to hinder'), *wende* prt. (OE. *wēnan*) 263 (: *amende* inf.). Shortening has no doubt also taken place in *fedde* prt. (OE. *fēdan*) 35, 361, *kept* prt. (OE. *cēpan*) 34, *spedde* pp. (OE. *spēdan*) 2214.

(3). OE. \acute{e} before lengthening consonant-groups.

§ 45.

Rhymes with

(a) OF. *e* : *ende* sb. 1577 (: *amende* vb.), *sende* inf. : *amende* 13, 1415.

(b) OE. *ēo* in *frende* sb. (A has throughout *frende*). *ende* sb. 323, *sende* inf. 1016, *sende* pres. 570, 1062 (A *seende* 1386, 1884)¹, *wende* inf. 812, 1472, 2426; moreover *felde* sb. 2184 (: *byhelde* prt. pl.).

The rhymes under (a) are in favour of *ě*, those under (b) of *ē*. They seem to indicate a fluctuating pronunciation in *ende* sb. and *sende* inf. & pres. The same variation was probably found in *wende* inf., although there are no rhymes with *ě*. Cf. EILERS p. 84. — *felde* no doubt had *ē*.

Note 1. The pret. and pret. partic. in *-ent* had *ě*: *sent* prt. 425 (: *assent* sb.), 452 (: *present* sb.), *sent* pp. 335 (: *repente* vb.), 1553 (: *verament* adv.), *ysent* pp. 189 (: *entent* sb.), 1027 (: *rent* sb.), *yshent* pp. 1876 (: *Clement*), *spent* prt. 440 (: *assent* sb.), *went* prt. 997 (: *oynement* sb.), 1344 (: *verament* adv.).

Note 2. *an ende* 755 (: *sonde* sb.) is a corruption for *and onde* (< OE. *ánda* 'malice', 'envy'; B.-T.); see A 1573.

OE. *ēo*.

§ 46. (1). OE. *ēo* > *e* [*ē*].

be vb. 1309 (: *cyte* sb.), 1906 (: *plente* sb.), 1785 (: *3e* pron.), *fle* vb. 1948 (: *counttre* sb.), 2509 (: *cytee* sb.), 2268 (: *þe* pron.), *yse* vb. 1383 (: *plente* sb.), *se* : *þe* 1799, 2259, *dere* adj. 1128 (: *here* adv.), *helde* prt. 1909 (: *zelde* inf.), *byhelde* prt. 2183 (: *felde* sb.), *knee* sb. 2661 (: *me* pron.), *stere* vb. : *fere* adj. 1228, 1782, : *here* adv. 1214, *þeef* sb. 989 (: *greef* sb.). The spelling *ey* occurs in *kneys* pl. 137, 139 (but *knees* 140).

Note 1. *ou* in *fourþe* ord. (OE. *fēorða*) 219, 224, 275 is due to influence from *foure* card. (OE. *fēower*); see § 48 b.

Note 2. In *wonder-syke* adj. (OE. *sēoc*) 2767 (: *eke* adv.), *syke* 532, 898, 955 etc., *sykenys* sb. 559, 849 *y* is due to the scribe; A has *e*, *ee* 3647, 1348, 1716. As for the *y*-forms see TEN BRINK § 49. *eke* had probably *ē*, being based on Angl. *ēc* (see BÜLBR. § 200), not on OE. *ēac* (> ME. *ēk*).

¹ *sende* prt. : *frende* sb. 1348/7 is a corruption; A has *wende* inf. : *freende* 2176/5.

(2). OE. $\bar{e}o > e$ [ĕ] by shortening. § 47.

felle prt. (OE. *fēoll(on)*) 795 (: *helle* sb.), 1568 (: *dwelle* inf.), *byfelle* prt. 846 (: *telle* inf.). Probably also in *deppyst* sup. (OE. *dēopost*) 796.

Note. OE. *fēoll* occurs also as *fyl* 2993, *fylle* 1980, *byfylle* 2550, 2555. These forms in *y* are due to the scribe; cf. A 2846, 3420; but similar forms are found in Chaucer; see TEN BRINK § 49; cf. MORSB. § 109.

In the rhyme *fylle* prt. : *hele* sb. (< OE. *hælu*) 3043/4 *fylle* should of course be changed into *fell(e)*; *hele* had no doubt ĕ; cf. the modern spelling *ea* in *heal*. The rhyme is probably an ĕ:ĕ-rhyme.

(3). OE. $\bar{e}o + w$. § 48.

(a) The only rhymes are:

knewe prt. (< OE. *cnēow*) : *Jesu* 1435, *3ou* (OE $\bar{e}ow$) : *Jesu* 954, : *nowe* adv. 2846, : *prow* sb. (< OF. *prou*) 1813.

The pronunciation of *knewe* is rather uncertain, perhaps [knēw]; *3ou* probably [jū].

Within the verse occur *rewyng* 22, 58, *rewe* 868 (OE. *hrēowan*), *newe* adj. 318, *rewþe* sb. (OE. *hrēow + þ*) 115, 1853, *trewþe* sb. 1854.

(b) OE. $\bar{e}o + w > ou$, *ow* in *foure* card. (OE. *fēower*) 287, 520, 1649, 2470, *fourty* card. 11, *trowe* vb. 1005, 1721, 2696; cf. SWEET, NEG. § 1159.

(4). OE. *wéo-* seems to have become *wō-*, judging by § 49. the rhyme *sworde* sb. : *corde* sb. 2088/7.

But within the verse occur *swerd(e)* 249, 2941, 2997, 3002, 3007, *swerdes* 1919.

(5). OE. $\bar{e}oht > -yzt$ [-iχt]. § 50.

lyzt adv. 1280 (: *nyzt* sb.), 659 (: *almyzt* adj.), *lyzt* sb. : *nyzt* sb. 220, 2288.

(6). OE. $\bar{e}o3 > -y$ [i]. § 51.

lye pres. (OE. *lēoze*) 1168.

OE. *i*.

§ 52. (1). OE. $\bar{i} > y$, seldom i [\bar{i}].

aryse inf. 199 (: *sacryfice* sb.), *herby* adv. 643 (: *cry* sb.), *hye* vb. 1804 (: *vylonye* sb.), *knuffe* sb. 206 (: *stryffe* sb.), *lyffe* sb. 2582 (: *stryffe* sb.), *styes* sb. pl. 1988 (: *aspyes* sb. pl.), *perby* adv. 120 (: *mercy* sb.), *while* sb. 1075 (: *begyle* vb.). Undoubtedly also OE. i before *-ld*, *-nd*: *child(e)* sb. 692, 698, 1921, *wylde* adj. 2079, *fynde* inf. 17, 330 etc.

Note 1. *bleþelyche* adv. (OE. *blāde* adj.) 3090 is due to the scribe. A has *blithelike* 3986; note also the rhyme *blyþe: kyþe* vb. 1444/3.

Note 2. A curious form is *yern* sb. (< OE. *īren*) 229; see NED. *iron* sb.; cf. *fyer* sb. (< OE. *fȳr*) 2079, 2596.

§ 53. (2). OE. $\bar{i} > y$ [\bar{i}] by shortening.

wypte prt. (OE. *wīpian*) 1194 (: *kypte*; cf. Scand. *kippa*).

Note 1. To what extent shortening of OE. \bar{i} has taken place it is impossible to decide. Judging by the rhymes *þing: rewȳng* 57/8, *:prechyng* 151/2 a short vowel is to be assumed in *þing*.

Shortening had probably also taken place in *childern* sb. pl. 768, 980 etc., *children* 687, *fyfte* ord. 226, *fyfty* card. 51, *lynen* adj. 131, *thrytty* card. 207¹, *Wytsonday* sb. 239, 279. *stuyffe* adj. 1044, 1900 is uncertain; cf. below p. 33. The following rhymes I look upon as $\bar{i}:\bar{i}$ -rhymes: *myn* pron.: *kyn* sb. 625/6, *wyse* adj.: *amys* adv. 3018/7; *tyme* sb.: *him* pron. 1077/8 is a corruption; see A 1899/1900.

Note 2. OE. *wīfman* sg. occurs as *woman* 1141, 2548, 2759, OE. *wīfmen* pl. as *wymmen* 2537, 2588, 2609, *wymen* 656; cf. MORSB. § 112 note 3.

OE. *ō*.

§ 54. (1). OE. $\bar{o} > o$ [\bar{o}].

sone adv. 3091 (: *noon* sb. < Lat. *nōna*), *dome* sb.: *Rome* 697, 1408, 2306. The last rhyme, however, proves nothing, because *Rome* in ME. had \bar{o} as well as \bar{o} ; see GRUNDR. § 37 a.

Note. For the rhymes *mȳsdon* pp.: *on* prep. 2885/6, *don* pp.: *on* prep. 772/1, see LUICK, *Unters.* pp. 234 ff.

¹ *pretty* 424 is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*

(2). OE. *ó* before lengthening consonant-groups. § 55

(a) Before *-ld*.

3olde pp. 2794 (: *holde* inf.), *wolde* prt. : *holde* inf. 2697, : *byholde* inf. 1290, 2263, : *wiþholde* pp. 1059, : *bolde* adj. 889, : *tolde* pp. 2621, 2726.

At first sight the rhymes seem to prove that the long vowel was kept in our text. But we should then expect to find \bar{o} , for OE. *ó* had the value \bar{o} , except when it was based on Teut. *a*; see BÜLBR. § 285 note 1. All the rhyme-words have \bar{o} . According to MORSB. § 118 note 1 rhymes of this kind should be regarded as $\check{o} : \bar{o}$ -rhymes. Moreover, *wolde* is very often used under weak stress. Thus we are entitled to assume \check{o} . Forms in \bar{o} are, however, found in ME.; cf. MORSB. § 55 note 6, EILERS pp. 79, 118.

(b) Before *-rd*.

borde sb. 3093 (: *lord* sb.).

lorde had probably \check{o} ; see above § 29.

Thus the rhyme is in favour of \check{o} . Note, however, the spelling *woordes* A 2183.

(c) Before *-rn*.

corn sb. 2016 (: *byforn* adv.), *horne* sb. 140 (: *byforne* adv.). Probably \check{o} .

(3). OE. $\bar{o} + h$ (χ) > *ow* [\bar{u}].

§ 56.

drowe prt. 3009 (: *þou* pron.), *ynowe* adv. 2013 (: *avowe* sb.), 2724 (: *Jesu*).

(4). OE. $-\bar{o}ht$ > $-ouzt$, $-ozt$ [$ow\chi t$]; cf. TEN BRINK § 45, § 57. GRUNDR. p. 1027, MORSB. p. 79.

noz adv. (OE. *nōht*, *nōwiht*; also *nāht*, *nāwiht*) 345 (: *wrouzt* pp.), *souzt* prt. 2192 (: *wrouzt* prt.), *outsouzt* pp. 1345 (: *ywrouzt* pp.).

For the rest there are only rhymes 'inter se'.

brouzt pp. : *noz* adv. 1126, 1160, 2756 etc.

OE. \bar{u} .

§ 58. OE. $\bar{u} > ow, ou$ [\bar{u}].

aboute adv. : *doute* sb. 1377, 1970, : *route* sb. 1890, *adowne* adv. 1111 (: *resoun* sb.), 1697 (: *deuocioun* sb.), 2394 (: *oryson* sb.), *house* sb. 1326 (: *ielouse* adj.), 442 (: *meruayllouse* adj.), *out* adv. 2499 (: *route* sb.), *sowre, soure* adj. : *honoure* sb. 1527, 2444, *towne* sb. : *prison* sb. 2402, 2420, 2693, 2751, 2897, : *raunso(u)n(e)* sb. 47, 912, 1058, 2648, : *resoun* sb. 2002, 2454 etc., *wiþout* adv. : *route* sb. 2679, : *dout(e)* sb. 2095, 2801.

Also OE. \bar{u} before *-nd*: *bounde* prt. 1271 (: *rounde* adj.).
OE. *dūmb* adj. occurs as *dombe* 611; A has *doumbe* 1427.

Note. Shortening seems to have taken place in *us* pron. (OE. *ūs*).

vs: *Archilaus* 2012, 2242, : *Jesus* 154, 1231, : *Josephus* 2170, 2706, 3012, 3064, : *Tyberyus* 415, : *þus* adv. 2665.

The rhyme *vs*: *meruayllous* adj. 978/7 is, however, in favour of a long vowel.

OE. \bar{y} .

§ 59. OE. $\bar{y} > y$ [\bar{y}]; it has coincided with ME. $\bar{i} < OE. \bar{i}$.

fyer sb. 2079 (: *atyre* sb.), *kyþe* inf. 1443 (: *blyþe* adj.), *pryde* sb. 737 (: *syde* sb.).

Also \bar{y} before *nd*.

kynde sb. : *fynde* vb. 18, 1594.

Note 1. Shortening has probably taken place in *kydde* prt. (OE. *cȳðan*) 144.

Note 2. OE. *lȳðer* occurs as *luþer* adj. 2612; the other MSS. except B have other versions.

Note 3. In the spelling *fyer* sb. 2079, 2596 we may perhaps see the beginning of the development of \bar{e} before *r*; cf. HORN § 73, and above § 52 note 2.

Note 4. OE. *byldan* occurs as *belde* inf. 2667 (: *helde* prt. pl. < OE. *hēoldon*). \bar{e} in *belde* is borrowed from South-eastern dialects; see MORSB. § 132. A has the rhyme *bylde* : *childe* sb. 3545/6, B *helde* C *hyld* L *hilde*.

2. In syllables with medium or weak stress.

A. Heavy suffixes.

§ 60.

(1). OE. *-dōm* > *-dōm*:

kyngdome sb. 463 (: *come* prt. < OE. *cōm*), *þraldome* sb. 49 (: *come* prt.). A has *kyngedome* 1279 (: *Rome*), *thraldam* 863 (: *cam* prt.).

(2). OE. *-ere* > *-er*.

leder sb. 31; *dykers* sb. pl. 2468.

(3). OE. *-ful* > *-ful(le)*.

ryztfulle adj. 93, *worshipful* adj. 460.

(4). OE. **-hǣd*.(a) OE. **-hǣd* > *-hēd*:

godheed sb.: *dede* sb. (OE. *dēaþ*) 1564, 1640, *lordheed* sb. 1068 (: *deed* adj.), *manheed* sb. 2930 (: *stedde* sb.).

(b) OE. **-hǣd* > *-hēd*:

goodheed sb. 172 (: *meed* sb. < OE. *mēd*); cf. TEN BRINK § 55. A has, however, the version *gode dede: mede* 986/5.

(5). OE. *-iȝ* > *-y* [ī].

sory adj. 2573 (: *purgatorye* sb.), *any* pron. 12 etc., *body* sb. 130, 184 etc., *fourty* card. 11, 37 etc., *holy* 378, *worþi* 720; etc.

(6). OE. *-lēas* > *-lē̄s*.

gyltlees adj. 434 (: *pees* sb. < OF. *pais*).

(7). OE. *-līc(e)*.(a) OE. *-līc(e)* > *-lyche*.

pryuelyche adv. 2498 (: *dych* sb.), *bleþelyche* adv. 3090, *gladlyche* adv. 1471, *hardelyche* adv. 967, *namelyche* adv. 1852, 2432, *newlyche* adv. 2834, *safelyche* adv. 1151, *smertlyche* adv. 2899, *sykerlyche* adv. 1770, 3089.

(b) OE. *-lic(e)* > *-ly* [*lī*].

gryslȳe adj. 2848 (: *crye* sb.), *prȳuely* adv. 1135 (: *enuy* sb.), *sykerly* adv. 1788 (: *I* pron.), 2464 (: *mercy* sb.), *kyndely* adj. 2633, *strongly* adv. 2967, *trewly* adv. 658.

(8). OE. *-nes*.

(a) OE. *-nes* > *-nes(se)*.

sykernes sb. (MS. *sykernys*) 2811 (: *lesse*), *wyckednesse* sb. 2854 (: *dystresse* sb.), *douztynes* sb. 417.

(b) OE. *-nes* > *-nys*.

sykenys sb. 559 (: *is* pres.), *gladenys* sb. 915, 1333, *goodenys* sb. 43, *vnkyndenys* sb. 44; etc.; cf. MORSE. § 109, note 6.

(9). OE. *-scipe* > *-shipp(e)*.

lordshippe sb. 63, *worshipp* sb. 42, 1428, 1486.

§ 61.

B. Prefixes.

(1). OE. *ā-* has most probably been shortened in *aboute* adv. & prep. (OE. *ābūtan*, *onbeūtan*) 224 etc., *aryse* inf. (OE. *ārīsan*) 199.

(2). OE. *be-*, *bi-* > *be-*, *by-*.

behynde adv. 910, *besyde* adv. 1191; *byfel* prt. 18, *byfore* adv. 7, 122, 245 etc., *byhote* inf. 540.¹

Note. *i*, *e* have been dropped in *blynne* inf. (OE. *biliman*) 317, 1514, *blyue* adv. (OE. *belīfe*) 175, 1329.

(3). OE. *for-* > *for-*:

forferde prt. 30.

(4). OE. *3e-* > *y-*:

yliche adj. & adv. 179, 188, *ynow3* adv. 1270, *ywys* adv. 91, 210 etc. (but *wys* 2389, 2391).

Note 1. OE. *3e* has been dropped in *ferē* sb. (OE. *3efēra*) 1467, *shappe* sb. (OE. *3esceap*) 1666, *swyncke* sb. (OE. *3eswync*) 1521; *hēnde* adj. (OE. *3ehēnde*) 931, 2571.

¹ *be* prep. (OE. *bī*) 1542 is a scribal error.

Note 2. OE. *3e-* has been changed for *by-* in *byleue* 537, *byleueþ* 504 (OE. *3elēfan*).

Note 3. OE. *3e-* is very often kept as *y-* in the pret. partic. of verbs: *ywrytte* 522, *ychose* 2309, *yfounde* 1434, *yherde* 527, *yset* 376; etc., etc.

It is sometimes found in the infin., too: *yhere* 268, 1308, *ihure* 974, *yse* 976, 1072 etc. (11 times), *ywynne* 2736.

(5). OE. *of-* > *a-*.

adowne adv. (OE. *ofdūne*) 1045, 1110 etc., *adradde* 1331, *adredde* 2042, 2213 (OE. *ofdrâdd*). *a* has been dropped in *downe* adv. 2661.

(6). OE. *on-* > *a-*.

ablode adv. (OE. *on blōde*) 1275, *afote* adv. (OE. *on fōt*) 2501, *azeyn* etc. (see OE. 3), *alyue* adv. (OE. *on līfe*) 1241, 1244, *amonge* prep. (OE. *onmāng*) 83, *amydde* prep. (OE. *on middan*) 2482, 2680. Note *an hye* (OE. *on hēaze*) 236, 1720, *boþ an euen and a morowe* 2564.

(7). OE. *tō-* (= G. *zer-*) > *to-*, probably with a short vowel.

tobote prt. 356, *tobrast* prt. 230, *to hewe* pp. 1448.

C. Inflectional endings etc.

§ 62.

(1). OE. vowels in unstressed inflectional suffixes (*a*, *e*, *o*, *u*) coincided under *e*, medially alternating with *y*. Moreover, *e* was added in a great many cases, especially to feminine substantives with a long root-syllable; for particulars see Accidence.

(2). Judging by the rhymes, weak final *e* seems, as a rule, to be retained in the dialect of the author. It was, however, dropped in some cases, especially in the pret. of verbs with a stem in *-nd*: *sent* 425 (: *assent* sb.), 452 (: *present* sb.), *spent* 440 (: *assent* sb.), *went* 997 (: *oynement* sb.), 1344 (: *verament* adv.). Moreover in *spytte* sb. (OE. *spitu*) 2595 (: *hit* pron.), *fi3t*, *fy3t* inf. (: *almy3t* adj. sg.) 347, 2870, *were*

prt. 474 (: *messenger* sb.), *adowne* adv. (OE. *ofdūne*) 1111 (: *resoun* sb.), 1697 (: *deuocioun* sb.), 2394 (: *oryson* sb.), *lyȝt* adv. 7 (: *hiȝt* pp.), 660 (: *almyȝt* adj. sg.), *more* adv. 2650 (: *tresoure* sb. < OF. *tresor*), *ryȝt* adv. 2423 (: *hyȝt* prt.)¹.

On the other hand *e* seems to be added in *here* adv. (OE. *hēr*), *þere* adv. (OE. *þær*), judging by the rhymes *here* : *stere* inf. 1213, : *hure* inf. 1266, : *swere* inf. 1762, : *fere* sb. (OE. *ʒefēra*) 1468, *þere* : *here* inf. 1037, : *dere* adj. 2562. *e* might be due to analogy with the very common adverbs in *-e*, e. g. *longe*, *sonē* etc.²

Finally, *e* is a mere orthographical sign, especially in the pret. sing. of strong verbs (see Accidence) but also in a great many other cases, e. g. *howe* 2, 526, *nowe* 1, 45 etc., etc.

(3). OE. final *-n* in the endings *-an*, *-en* is, as a rule, dropped. For exceptions see Accidence.

(4). Vowels in other unstressed suffixes were weakened into *e*, *y* : *douȝtter* sb. (OE. *dohtor*) 677, *ernyȝt* sb. (OE. *ēornost*) 148, *fettyr* vb. (OE. *fetorian*) 2371, *heyfer* sb. (OE. *heahfore*) 211, *wedyr* sb. (OE. *weder*) 1905, *whedyr* conj. (OE. *hwæder*) 872.

(5). *e* was sometimes inserted between the root word and the suffix : *gladenyȝ* sb. 915, 1333, *goodenyȝ* sb. 43, *wodenyȝ* sb. 613; *hardelyche* adv. 967, *kyndely* adj. 2633, *wysselȝ* adv. 2383.

(6). Vowels (and consonants) of unstressed syllables and words have a tendency to be weakened or even dropped : *as* conj. 17 etc. (OE. *ealswā*), *eȝt* ord. (OE. *eahtoða*) 255, *eueryche* pron. 529, 761 etc., *euery* 396 (OE. *æfre ælc*), *lady* sb. (OE. *hlæfdize*) 1014, 1146, *oȝer* conj. 727, 728, *or* 898 (OE. *āhwæper*, *āwper*).

¹ Cf. SACHSE § 97.

² Cf. SACHSE § 101; also in Chaucer; see TEN BRINK § 260 γ.

(7). OE. *nādelæs* occurs as *napeles* 659, 1215, 2093, *nepeles* 303, 317 etc. (6 times), *nepeles* 495. The forms in *e* are perhaps due to confusion with the negative *ne*.

(8). *o* (*u*, *ou*) was inserted as a glide between *r*, *l* and *ʒ*, *w* in *borouʒ* sb. (OE. *borh*) 2018, *thoruʒ*, *ʒoruʒ* prep. 4, 29 etc. (more than 50 times), *ʒorouʒ* 1167 (OE. *ʒurh*); *folowed* prt. (OE. *folʒode*) 1552, *morowe* sb. (OE. *morʒen*) 199, 991 etc. (about 10 times), *sorowe* sb. (OE. *sorh*) 26, 84 etc. (about 6 times).

B. Consonants.

Labials.

OE. *p*.

§ 63.

OE. *p* > *p*.

play sb. 1304, *pride* sb. 203, *spede* vb. 500, *sprede* prt. 362, *helpe* inf. 1972, *cleped* pp. 19, *depe* adj. 353, *lyppes* sb. pl. 356.¹

¹ OE. single consonants have often been doubled:

(i) After OE. short vowel or diphthong: *shappe* sb. 1666, *shippe* sb. 470, *shyppes* 1859, *yshipped* pp. 1865, *worshipp* sb. 42, 1428, 1486, *worshipped* prt. 1625, *lordshippe* sb. 63; *affter* 101, 455 (but *after* 105, 155 etc.), *fullyng-staffe* 167 (A *staff* 981); *zitte* adv. 11, 39 etc. (*ʒit* 188, 397 etc.), *pytte* sb. 2154, *spytte* sb. 2595, *wytte* sb. 2153, *wrytte* sb. 1455, 3013, *wrytten* prt. pl. 427, *wrytte* etc. pp. (see strong verbs), *lotte* sb. 2993, *shotte* sb. 2078; *goddess* g. sg. 1, 92 etc.; (*stedde* sb. 597, 696 etc. is due to the scribe; A has throughout *stede*); *prycke* sb. 180.

(ii) After OE. long vowel or diphthong: *deppyst* sup. 796; *deffe* adj. 612, *knyffe* sb. 206, *knyff* 2880, *lyffe* sb. 344, 662 etc. (9 times), *lyff* 1922, 2642, 2879, *lyffes* 1744 (but *lyf* 2277), *stuyffe* adj. 1044, 1900, *wyffe* sb. 661, 1013, 1983, *wyff* 1921, 2641 (but *wyff* 683) — *tt* after OE. long vowel or diphthong is rare in A; the only instances that I have found are *knyffe* 3760, *stiff* 2766 —; *lette* subj. 349 (A *lete* 1163), *strette* sb. 2342, 2538 (A *strete* 3208, 3408), *ette* inf. 2625 (A *eten* 3497), *withoutten* 36, *wipoutten* 1518, 1664, 1884 (A *t* 850, 2492, 2750, 2346).

(iii) After *r*, *n*: *sharppe* adv. 249 (*sharpe* adj. 2504), *shortte* adj. 2876; *brentte* prt. 1888, *styntte* inf. 1323, *stancke* prt. 2653, *styncke* sb.

Note. *p* has been inserted in *empty* adj. (OE. *ǣmtiȝ*) 794. — OE. *wæps*, *wæsp* sb. occurs as *waspes* pl. 359; cf. BÜLBR. § 520.

§ 64.

OE. *b*.OE. *b* > *b*.

bere inf. 74, *body* sb. 130, *dombe* adj. 611, *wombe* sb. 215.

Note. *u* [*v*] in *lyue* inf. (OE. *libban*) 27 (: *ydryue* pp.), *haue* inf. (OE. *habban*): *sauē* vb. 115, 157 etc., : *craue* inf. 342, 784 etc. is due to influence from the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres.

§ 65.

OE. *f* [*f*, *v*].

In OE. *f* denoted the voiceless as well as the voiced dentilabial spirant. The sound was voiceless initially and finally, and medially in the neighbourhood of voiceless consonants, but voiced medially between voiced sounds; cf. BÜLBR. §§ 473, 474.

(1). OE. *f* [*f*] > *f*.

fel prt. 9, *fynde* inf. 17, *folk* sb. 30, *after* prep. 105, *ofte* adv. 260, *fyfty* card. 51.

(2). OE. *f* [*v*] > *u* [*v*].

blyue adv. 175, *ouer* prep. 256, *keruyng* vb. 2504, *syluer* sb. 2627; once occurs the spelling *f* in *ydryfe* 490, a scribal error; A has *driven* 1306.

Note 1. OE. *f* [*v*] has been dropped in *had(de)* prt. (OE. *hæfde*) 6 etc., *heed* sb. (OE. *hēafod*) 168, *lady* sb. (OE. *hlæfdiȝe*) 1014, 1146, *lord* sb. (OE. *hlāford*) 387.

2479, 2646, 2739 (*stynke* 2479, 2646 is a mistake of the editor's; cf. Introd.), *swyncke* sb. 1521; *stynche* sb. 2881 is no doubt a scribal error.

(iv) After *ȝ* preceded (a) by OE. short vowel: *dyȝtte* inf. 1220, *knyȝttes* sb. pl. 631, 633 etc., *plyȝtte* pres. 938, *douȝtter* sb. 677, 995 etc., *douȝtty* adj. 1095, 1923, *wrouȝtte* prt. 40, *fouȝtte* prt. pl. 2287; (b) by OE. long vowel or diphthong: *ouȝttest* prt. 2225, *grettest* sup. 393 etc., *rauȝtte* prt. (OE. *rāhte*) 2099, *hiȝtte(st)* prt. 937; 3064, *brouȝtte* prt. 1978, *rouȝtte* prt. (OE. *rōhte*) 949, *souȝtte* pp. 1167, *souȝtte* prt. 942; there also occur forms in *t*; see Accidence (verbs).

Note 2. OE. *f* [*v*] has been assimilated with the following *m* in *woman* sb. sg. 2548, *wymmen* sb. pl. 2537, *wymen* 656 (OE. *wīfman* sg., *wīfmen* pl.).

Note 3. For the rhyme *about* adv. (< OE. *ābufan*): *howe* adv. (< OE. *hū*) 257/8 see above § 20 c.

OE. w.

§ 66.

OE. *w* > *w*.

wel adv. 16, *wende* inf. 67, *were* prt. pl. 5, *dwelle* inf. 47, *swerd* sb. 249, *wryte* inf. 328, *wroþ* adj. 107.

Note 1. OE. *cw-* occurs as *qu-*: *quake* inf. 2670, *quod* prt. (OE. *cwæþ*) 476.

Note 2. OE. *hw-* appears as *wh-*: *whan* conj. (OE. *hwænne*) 160, *weþer* conj. (OE. *hwæder*) 482, *whiche* pron. (OE. *hwilc*) 16, *why* adv. (OE. *hwī*) 380.

Note 3. OE. *w* has been dropped after a spirant in *so* adv. (OE. *swā*) 5, *as* conj. (< *alse* < OE. *ealswā*) 17, *suche* pron. (OE. *swylc*) 63, *suster* sb. (OE. *swecostor*, *swustor*) 2536, 2655, *þonges* sb. pl. (OE. *þwáng*) 2135.

Note 4. OE. *w* has been diphthongized with a preceding vowel; see the special vowels.

Note 5. OE. *w* had been dropped in compounds with *ne* and forms of *wil* already in OE.; see BÜLBR. § 464 a; for instances see § 240.

OE. m.

§ 67.

OE. *m* > *m*.

make inf. 117, *men* sb. pl. 1, *mete* sb. 35, *come* inf. 79, *dome* sb. 1408, *tyme* sb. 97, *dombe* adj. 611, *wombe* sb. 215.

Note 1. *fro* prep. (OE. *fram*, *from*) 85, 156 etc., 634 (: *þo* adv.) is due to Scandinavian influence (cf. Icel. *frá*); see BJÖRK. pp. 100 f.

Note 2. OE. *m* has become *n* and then been added to the following word in the expression *for þe nones* (OE. *for þēm ānes*) 2618; cf. HORN § 229.

Dentals.

§ 68.

OE. t.

OE. *t* > *t*.

telle inf. 2, *tyme* sb. 97, *stede* sb. 106, *stonde* inf. 1534, *mete* sb. 35, *first* ord. 19, *gret* adj. 5, *nyzt* sb. 136, *sytte* inf. 1456.

Note 1. OE. *t*, *d* > *d* in *pryde* sb. (OE. *prȳte*, *prȳde*) 737 (: *syde* sb.); cf. GRUNDR. p. 1009.

Note 2. OE. *ts* > *ss* in *blessed* prt. 1200.

Note 3. OE. *t* has been dropped (assimilated) in (*at* *þe*) *last(e)* adv. (OE. *latost*) 2749 (: *caste* sb.), 2971 (: *fast* adv.) and in *best* sup. (OE. *betsta*) 1694 (: *reuest* pp.), 2673 (: *rest* sb.).

Note 4. A *t*-suffix has been added in *outhest* sb. (OE. **ūthās*) 2046, *azenst* prep. (OE. *onzēan*) 430, 595, 1231; cf. GRUNDR. p. 1009. A has *agayn* 1246, *agaynes* 1411, 2057.

§ 69.

OE. d.

OE. *d* > *d*.

day sb. 79, *deþ* sb. 101, *dryue* pp. 536, *dwelle* inf. 47, *fader* sb. 2655, *moder* sb. 2655, *þider* adv. 464, 473, *good* adj. 102, *nede* sb. 25, *reed* adj. 29, *bydde* inf. 1841, *þridde* ord. 21.

Note 1. *rente* inf. (OE. *réndan*) 2939 is formed after the pret. *rente*. A has *rippe* B *ryve* L *renden* C *racen* 3831.

Note 2. 3rd pers. sg. ind. pres. of OE. *stándan* occurs as *stante* (< *stent* < **stendþ*) 1675 (: *waraunte* sb.).

For *t* < OE. *d* in the pret. of weak verbs see below § 214.

Note 3. OE. *d* has been dropped in *answere* vb. (OE. *ánd-swerian*, *-swarian*) 900.

§ 70.

OE. þ, ð.

In OE. *þ*, *ð* were used indiscriminately for the voiceless as well as for the voiced postdental spirant. The sound was probably voiceless initially and finally, and medially in the neighbourhood of voiceless consonants, but voiced medially between voiced sounds; cf. above § 65.

(1). OE. *þ* (voiceless) > *þ*, *th*.
thre card. 15, *þing* sb. 57, *thoru3* prep. 4, *wroþ* adj.
 107, *siþþe* adv. 9.

(2). OE. *d* (voiced) > *þ* [*d*]. The only spelling seems
 to be *þ*.

baþing vb. 133, *broþer* sb. 186, *cloþing* vb. 134.

Note 1. A *þ*-suffix has been added in *reiwþe* sb. (OE. *hrēow*)
 1853 (: *treiwþe* sb.).

Note 2. OE. *ð* has been dropped in *worshipp* sb. (OE. *weorð-
 sciþe*) 42.

Note 3. OE. *þ* > *d* in *quod* prt. (OE. *cwæþ*). KLUGE (GRUNDR.
 p. 1008) is of opinion that *d* is due to influence from *cwædon* pl. SWEET
 (HES. § 732) gives another explanation. The development may have
 been facilitated by influence from the synonymous *seid(e)*.

Note 4. OE. *ð* > *d* in *burdon* sb. (OE. *bjrden*) 1196, *cowde* prt.
 (OE. *cūde*) 2515, 3013, *weddyr* conj. (OE. *hwæder*) 872; cf. GRUNDR.
 p. 1008.

Note 5. OE. *þ*, *ð* > *d* in the dative and accusative of *deth* (OE.
dēaþ), which is supported by rhymes: (*after, but, to*) *de(e)de*: *rede* sb. 3,
 384, 862, 2676; *sted(d)e* sb. 105 (MS. *deþ*), 810, 1766, *dede* acc.: *godheed* sb.
 1563, 1639. NED. (*death* sb.) says about this: 'Of the ME. form *ded*,
dede, usual in the northern dial. (but not confined to it) the history is
 not quite clear; the final *d* agrees with Sw. and Da., and suggests Norse
 influence, but the vowel regularly represents OE. *éa*'. *d* may also be
 explained as depending on influence from the adj. *ded*; cf. BJÖRKEM.
 p. 161', ANGLIA, Beiblatt xxvii pp. 54 f.

OE. s.

§ 71.

As regards the distribution of voiceless and voiced *s*
 in OE., I refer to what has been said about OE. *f* (*v*) and
 OE. *þ*, *d*. To what extent *s* was voiced in our text cannot
 be decided.

OE. *s* > *s*.

sende vb. 13, *sone* sb. 71, *stede* sb. 106, *stounde* sb. 76,
first ord. 19, *ros* prt. 205, *thus* adv. 23; probably [ʒ] in
aryse inf. 199, *chese* inf. 671.

Note 1. *was* prt. (< OE. *wæs*; Mod. E. [z]) seems to have had [s], judging from the rhymes *was* : *cas* sb. 60/59, 226/5, : *trespas* sb. 114/3, : *Judas* 853/4, : *Barabas* 1088/7.

Note 2. An *s*-suffix has been added in *hennys* adv. (OE. *heonan*) 485, 1507, 2024, 2124, 2772, *hennes* 68, *hennys* adv. (OE. *heonan*) 1916, 1948, *whennys* adv. (OE. *hwanon*) 478, 795, 2168, 2175, *a3ens* 164, 210 etc., *a3e3yns* 348; but in rhyme *henne* adv. 1821 (: *cristenmen* sb. pl.).

§ 72.

OE. l.

OE. *l* > *l*.

last vb. 46, *londe* sb. 28, *cloþes* sb. pl. 36, *cloudes* sb. pl. 270, *folk* sb. 30, *hool* adj. 502, *wel* adv. 16, *telle* vb. 2.

Note. *l* has been dropped before OE. *ċ* : *eche* pron. (OE. *ælc*) 120, *suche* pron. (OE. *swylc*) 63, *whiche* pron. (OE. *hwile*) 16; also in *werde* sb. (OE. *weorold*) : *herde* pp. & prt. 285, 553, 674, *as* conj. (OE. *ealswā*) 17.

§ 73.

OE. r.

OE. *r* > *r*.

rede sb. 4, *reed* adj. 29, *gret* adj. 5, *wroþ* adj. 107, *erþe* sb. 114, *herkenep* imp. 16, *fader* sb. 2655, *ouer* prep. 256.

Note. The OE. metathesis has been done away with in some cases, a fact which is also supported by rhymes : *tobra3t* prt. pl. (OE. *bær3t* sg.) : *fast* adv. 230, also by the rhyme with *cast* prt. 805, although the MS. has the spelling *bar3t*; moreover in *fresshe* adj. (OE. *fersc*) 2023, 2116, *froste* sb. (OE. *for3t*) 1899, *grasse* sb. (OE. *gær3s*, *græs*) 2529 (: *chasse* vb.); as for *fresshe* cf. SKEAT, Conc., *fresh*. OE. *þridde* appears as *þridde*, *þirde*, *þirdde*; cf. BÜLBR. § 519. Variation is also found in *þrytty*, *þirtty* (OE. *þriti3*); cf. Numerals. OE. *worhte* prt. occurs as *wrou3t* 2191 (: *sou3t* prt.); cf. BÜLBR. § 448.

§ 74.

OE. n.

OE. *n* > *n*.

name sb. 104, *ny3t* sb. 136, *knaue* sb. 2230, *knowe* vb. 313, *3one* sb. 71, *men* sb. pl. 1, *byggyne* inf. 318, 1896, *wymne* inf. 2156.

Note 1. Apocope of OE. *n* in terminations took place to a large extent; see Accidence.

Note 2. OE. *n* has been dropped in *kyng* sb. (OE. *cyning*) 388, *mylwardes* g. sg. (OE. *mylen-weard*) 677.

Note 3. OE. *n* has been doubled in *vnnep̄e* 'scarcely' (OE. *un-ēade*) 403.

Palatals and gutturals.

OE. *c*.

§ 75.

In late OE. *c* denoted two different sounds in the dialects south of the Humber (the dialects north of the Humber show another development which is of no importance here): (1) [*k*] (palatal or guttural stop) found (i) initially before guttural and secondary (i. e. due to *i*-mutation) palatal vowels, as well as before consonants; (ii) finally after other vowels than *ī* and after consonants (BÜLBR. § 496); (iii) medially, unless, in primitive OE., *c* stood before *i*, *ī*, *j* (BÜLBR. § 499). (2) [*tʃ* (*č*)] (voiceless affricate) < *ċ* (palatal *c*; BÜLBR. § 493), found (i) initially before primary (i. e. existing before the *i*-mutation) palatal vowels; (ii) finally after *ī* (BÜLBR. § 496) and (iii) medially before primitive OE. *i*, *ī*, *j* (BÜLBR. § 499). What has been said of medial *c*, also applies to the geminate *cc*.

In our text these sounds are represented in the following way.

(1). OE. *c* [*k*] > *c*, *k* [*k*].

can vb. 194, *corn* sb. 2016, *come* inf. 79; *kepe* inf. 627, *kydde* prt. 144, *kynde* sb. 18; *cleped* pp. 19, *kne* sb. 475, *knowe* inf. 313, *craue* inf. 341, *quake* inf. 2670; *boke* sb. 72, *eke* adv. 2768; *folk* sb. 30, *werkys* sb. pl. 89; *ylke* pron. 332, *loke* inf. 100, *make* inf. 117, *token* sb. 110, *wreke* inf. 462; in gemination *ck* [*kk*]: *necke* sb. 9, *picke* adj. 610.

Note 1. The OE. fronting of *c* took place first after the breaking (BÜLBR. § 492 p. 195). As breaking before *l*-combinations only took place in WS. and Kent. but not in Angl. (BÜLBR. § 134), there arose a variation between *ċ* (WS. and Kent.) and *c* [*k*] (Angl.). In this case our text shows *c* [*k*] in *calf* sb. (< OE. *calf*, *cealf*) 216.

For *keruyng* vb. (OE. *ceorfan*) 2504, see BÖRKM. p. 142, SKIAT, Conc., *carve* vb.

Note 2. OE. *a* > *ea* by *u*-mutation (in Merc.; BÜLBR. § 231), but as this transition took place later than the *i*-mutation, when the fronting was finished — cf. above — *ea* could, of course, cause no fronting of *c* in words like OE, *cearu*, *caru* sb. This word also appears as *care* (*c = k*) 831.

(2). OE. *c* [*tʃ* (*č*)] > *ch* [*tʃ* (*č*)].

chese inf. 671, *child* sb. 692; *eche* pron. 120, *suche* pron. 63, *whiche* pron. 16; *leche* sb. 509, *mochel* adj. 25, *teche* inf. 510, *worche* inf. 2551, *wreche* sb. 1945.

Note 1. OE. *reccan* (< **rakjan*) 'to care about' occurs with forms in *ch* as well as in *ck*, both supported by rhymes (: *feche* inf. 841, : *necke* sb. 10). We should expect *ch*. In OE., however, the verb had in certain forms (namely when, by primitive OE. syncope, a consonant came to stand immediately after *c*; BÜLBR. § 500) normally *č*, and from these forms (e. g. 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres.) *č* has found its way into the infinitive, too. In modern English the *k*-forms have prevailed (*reck* vb.).

In the same way the variation *k* : *ch* may be explained in *seke* inf. 12, 2770, *seche* 789, 1611, 2684 (< OE. *sēcan* < **sōkjan*); only the form in *k* is supported by rhyme : *seke* inf. : *meke* adj. (Scand. *mjúkr*) 1579/80. In this word, too, *k* has prevailed (*seek*). — The verb *reke* 'to stretch' (< OE. *rācan*) 1712 (: *yspeke* pp.) has only *k*.

Note 2. OE. *c* [*č*] has been dropped in *I* pron. (OE. *ic*) 2.

Note 3. SKEAT (Conc., *ditch* sb.) seems to be of opinion that *ch* in *dych* sb. (OE. *dīc* m. & f.) 2456, 2473, 2484, 2497 (: *pryuelyche* adv.) is based on the dat. *dīce*. Final *č* > *č* after *ř* in Southumbrian (BÜLBR. § 496), and for that reason it seems to be erroneous to start from the dative. *speche* sb. 3114 may, on the other hand, be based on OE. *spāce*, dat.

§ 76.

OE. *sc*.

OE. *sc* (already in OE. [*sχ* (*š*)]; BÜLBR. §§ 506 ff.) > *sch*, *sh*, medially *ssh* [*š*].

schal pres. 2, *shame* sb. 84, *shende* inf. 2092, *shene* adj. 2579, *sheve* inf. 194, *shortte* adj. 2876, *schrewys* sb. pl. 718, *fysse* sb. 132, *flesshe* sb. 132, *wasshyng* vb. 133.

In OE. ʒ (*g*) denoted the following sounds:

(1). Palatal spirant [j] originating in (a) Teut. *j* (= cons. *i*; BÜLBR. § 457); (b) WT. ʒ (= voiced guttural spirant; BÜLBR. § 486) fronted (i) initially before primary palatal vowels (BÜLBR. § 492); (ii) finally after palatal vowels (BÜLBR. § 494); (iii) medially between palatal vowels (BÜLBR. § 497); (iv) before primitive OE. *i*, *ī*, *j* (BÜLBR. § 498).

(2). Guttural spirant: (i) initially before secondary palatal vowels and before OE. *ea* < *a* by *u*-mutation (BÜLBR. § 492 pp. 195—6); (ii) initially before guttural vowels and before consonants, in which position ʒ (= voiced guttural spirant) > *g* (= guttural voiced stop) in late OE. (BÜLBR. § 487); (iii) medially and finally in other positions than those above under (1) (ii), (iii) or below under (3).

(3). Guttural voiced stop in the combination *ng* (BÜLBR. § 486) and in gemination; *ng* and *gg* were fronted in Southumbrian before primitive OE. *i*, *ī*, *j*; *ng* > *nġ*, *gg* > *ċġ* (*ddž*); BÜLBR. § 499.

In our text OE. ʒ appears in the following way:

(1). (a) OE. ʒ > ʒ, *y* [j].

ʒeer sb. 11, *ʒif* conj. 12¹, *ʒitte* adv. 11, *younge* adj. 22.

(b) (i) OE. ʒ > ʒ [j].

ʒelde inf. 1910, *ʒeue* inf. 721.

Note 1. *gaue* prt. 531, 633, 3003 is an error of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*

Note 2. Besides *ʒate* sb. 'gate' 2952, 2955 there occurs *gate* sb. 'way, street' (Scand. *gata*) 490, 1771².

Note 3. In *byggynne* inf. (< OE. *on-ginnan*; cf. Goth. *ginnan*) 318, 1896 we should expect to find ʒ; *g* is due to influence from the pret. and past. partic., which forms normally had *g*.

¹ *if* 1051 is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*

² *gate* 1992 is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*

Note 4. OE. *onʒeʒn*, *onʒēan* occurs as (1) *aʒeyn* adv. & prep. 153, 812, 1214 etc. (8 times); (2) *aʒen* adv. & prep. 40, 433, 1814 etc. (7 times); (3) *aʒeyns* prep. 348; (4) *aʒens* prep. 164, 210, 329 etc. (16 times); (5) *aʒenst* prep. 430, 595, 1231; in the corresponding places A has *agayn* 1246, *agaynes* 1411, 2057. *t*-forms are not found until about 1400 (NED. *again*), and thus they must be due to the scribe; (6) *aʒee* adv. 921 (: *see* subj. sg.), *aʒe* 2111 (: *sle* inf.). A has *agayn* 1739 (: *ʒenne*), 2977 (: *sayn* inf.). *aʒe* is found in southern dialects (NED.); (7) *ageyn*, *agayn* adv. 590 (: *in vayn* adv.), 816 (: *sayen* inf.), 1834 (: *tweyn* card.) etc. (8 times); *g* is probably due to Scandinavian influence; see NED. and BJÖRK. p. 151. — I take the opportunity of pointing out that forms in *ʒ* are rare in A. In 18 instances in P, I only found 2 in A (the expressions *aʒeynes her pay* 978, *aʒeynes my prow* 2680).

(ii) In this position OE. *ʒ* has formed a diphthong together with the preceding vowel.

day sb. 79, *may* pres. 192, *way* sb. 486; also before a consonant: *hayle* sb. 1899, *reyne* sb. 1899, *sayle* sb. 1877.

(iii) OE. *ʒ* has been vocalized in this position, too.

vnʒeyn adj. 208, *fryday* sb. (OE. *fr̄ʒedæʒ*) 770, *hye* inf. 1804 (: *vylonye* sb.), *mayn* sb. 169, *ysleyn* pp. 207.

(iv) OE. *ʒ* > *y* [*j*].

burye inf. (OE. *byrʒan* < **burʒian*) 2650.

(2). (i) OE. *ʒ* > *g* (voiced stop).

gylte sb. (< OE. *gylt* < **gultiz*) 598, *gyltlees* adj. 434.

(ii) OE. *ʒ* > *g* (voiced stop).

game sb. 117, *god* sb. 107, *gost* sb. 526; *gladde* adj. 969, *gnaue* inf. 2643, *gret* adj. 5.

(iii) (a) Medial *ʒ* between vowels has formed a diphthong together with the preceding vowel.

drawe subj. 156, *owe* inf. 1052 (: *knowe* inf. < OE. *cnāwan*), *owe* pres. : *knowe* pp. 1681, : *yknowe* pp. 2717, *owne* adj. 325, *sawe* sb. 155, *yslawe* pp. 2351.

Note 1. OE. *daʒas* acc. pl., *daʒum* dat. pl. should, regularly developed, give *dawes*, *dawe*. These forms are also found and are even supported by rhymes: *dawes* 905 (: *lawes* sb. pl.), (*by*) *dawe* 1035 (: *Jewenlawe*). More common, however, is the form *dayes* 520, 525 etc.

Note 2. OE. γ in $\bar{e}a\gamma e$, (on) $h\bar{e}a\gamma e$ ($h\bar{e}ah$) was first kept as a guttural spirant. In ME. it was developed into a palatal and seems then to have been dropped; see above § 35.

(b) Medial $\gamma > w$ after consonants.

folowed prt. (< *folwede* < *folzode*) 1552, *morowe* sb. (< < *morwen* < *morzen*) 199, *sorowe* sb. (< *sorwe* < *sorze*) 26.

(3). OE. $g > g$ in the combination *ng*.

kyng sb. 581, *long* adv. 687, *þing* sb. 151.

Note 1. OE. $g > k$.

þinke sb. (< OE. *þing*) 2558 (: *drynke* sb.), *kyng* sb. (< OE. *cying*) 3098 (: *drynke* sb.).

Note 2. OE. *gg* (spelt *cg*) in *licgan*, *lecgan*, *secgan*, *bycgan* has been dropped by influence from the 2nd and 3rd p. sg. pres. The verbs occur as *lye* 2850 (: *dye* 'to die'), *leye* 'to lay' 357 (: *dye* inf.), *sey(e)*, *say* 126 (: *alwey* adv.), 485 etc. (: *way* sb.), 2196 (: *preye* vb.), 2839 (: *prey* sb.), *abye* 1104 (: *mastrye* sb.), 2856 (: *dye*). — Only once occurs the form *lygge* (with *ddž*) 2494.

Note 3. *synne* vb. (OE. *sýngian*) 1542 is a new formation from OE. *synn* sb., OE. *synnig* adj.

OE. [χ].

§ 78.

In the combinations χs , χt , χb OE. *h* (= χ ; voiceless guttural spirant) had been kept in OE. if a guttural vowel followed or preceded, but otherwise had been palatalized (BÜLBR. § 515). In these cases OE. *h* [χ , $\dot{\chi}$] is kept as a spirant in our text. The spelling is γ . Before a guttural χ there has developed a *u*: *brouzt* prt. (< OE. *brōhte*) 299, *rouztte* prt. (< OE. *rōhte*) 949, *souztte* prt. (< OE. *sōhte*) 942, *wrouztte* prt. (< OE. *worhte*) 40; *lyzt* adv. 8, *nyzt* sb. 136.

Note 1. For *h* [χ] in OE. *seah* see above § 6 b.

Note 2. Final *h* [χ] seems to have been dropped: *drowe* prt. (< OE. *drōh*) 3009 (: *þou* pron.), *ynowe* adv. (< OE. *zenōh*) 2724 (: *Jesu*), 2013 (: *awoue* sb.).

OE. h.

§ 79.

(1). OE. $h > h$ before a vowel.

haue inf. 115, *herkeneþ* vb. 16, *howe* adv. 2, *house* sb. 442.

- (2). OE. *h* has been dropped
 (a) before a consonant:
ladders sb. pl. 2087, *lepe* prt. (< OE. *hl̄eop*) 3001,
lystenne inf. 2714, *lowde* adj. 1184, *necke* sb. 9, *rewe* inf.
 868.
 (b) in *nadde* prt. (< *ne* + *hæfde*) 2932.

II. The Scandinavian Element.

A. Vowels and diphthongs.

1. In stressed syllables.

§ 80.

Scand. *a*.

(1). In close syllables.

Scand. *a* > *a* [ǣ].

¹ † *calle* inf. 284 (: *alle* pron.), *gappe* sb. 2939, *gat* prt.
 (cf. Icel. *gat*) 684.

Note. *cast* vb. (cf. Icel. *kasta*) occurs with forms in *a* as well as in *e*, both supported by rhymes.

(α) *a* : *cast* inf. 2372 (: *fast* adv.), 3073 (: *at the last* adv.), *kast* prt. 2285 (: *fast* adv.), *cast* 353 (: *tobrastr* prt.), *ycast* pp. 1361 (: *stedfast* adj.), *outcast* inf. 410 (: *at þe last* adv.), *outcast* prt. 1351 (: *fast* adv.).

There are also rhymes with OF. *a* = ME. *ā* : *cast* prt. 2077 (: *arblast* sb.), *bycast* pp. 2964 (: *hast* sb.).

(β) *e* : *kest* inf. 2089 (: *best* sup.), *keste* prt. (MS. *kyste*) 563 (: *beste* sup.), *kest* prt. (MS. *kyst*) 260 (: *rest* prt.; OE. *restan*), *ykest* pp. 391 (: *best* sup.). As for the *e*-forms see MORSE. § 87 note 2. The forms in *y* 260, 563, 2366 are due to the scribe; A has *e* 1074, 1379, 3232; cf., however, MORSE. § 109.

¹ † denotes that the word is found in BJÖRKMAN'S 'List I' (Words the Scandinavian origin of which is tolerably certain), †† 'List II' (Words which may be looked upon as possibly borrowed from Scandinavian).

(2). In open syllables.

Scand. $a > a$ [ā].

gate sb. (cf. Icel. *gata*): *Pylate* 490, 1771, †† *rape* vb. 1857 (: *ascape* vb.), 2004 (: *scape*), † *same* adj. 3003.

(3). Scand. a before *nd*, *ng* $> o$; cf. BÜLBR. § 285 note 2.

†† *bondes* sb. pl. 2408 (: *hondes* sb. pl.), † *wronge* sb. (cf. Icel. *rangr*) 181 (: *stronge* adj.), 2281 (: *amonge* prep.); cf. § 28.

Scand. e.

§ 81.

(1). In close syllables.

Scand. $e > e$ [ē].

merkys sb. pl. 90 (: *werkys* sb. pl.).

Note. Scand. $e > y$ [ÿ] in *gyste* sb. (Icel. *gestr*) 1264; cf. BJÖRKRM. pp. 152 f.

(2). In open syllables.

Scand. $e > e$ [ē]; cf. above § 9.

bygete sb. (cf. Icel. *geta* vb.) 2626 (: *ette* inf.), *gete* vb. 915.

Scand. i.

§ 82.

Scand. $i > y$, i [ÿ].

gryþe sb. 1397 (: *wiþ* prep.), *kypte* prt. (cf. Icel. *kippa*) 1193 (: *wypte* prt.), *skylle* sb. 381 (: *wylle* sb.), 2117 (: *wylle* vb.), †† *bryncke* sb. 2459, *skynne* sb. 138, † *tyl* conj. 251, *wyndowe* sb. 468, 2043, †† *wytterly* adv. 879, 1674, *witterly* 1137, 2188.

Scand. y (*i*-mutation of *u*).

§ 83.

Scand. $y > y$ [ÿ].

byrþe sb. (cf. Icel. *burðr*, OSw. *byrþ*) 1625 (: *myrþe* sb.), †† *hylde* pp. (cf. Icel. *hylja*) 2143 (: *yfulfylde* pp.), †† *vnhyilde* adj. 2654 (: *fylde* pp.).

Scand. á.

§ 84.

Scand. $á > o$ [ǫ].

lowe adv. (cf. Icel. *lágr*) 82 (: *ouerthrowe* pp.), *won* sb. 'quantity' (OW. Scand. *ván*) 2186 (: *gon* inf.), 2632 (: *manyone*).

§ 85.

Scand. é.

The only instance is *felawe* sb. (cf. Icel. *fēlagi*) 476, 477, 493. In this word shortening of é had most probably taken place.

§ 86.

Scand. í.

Scand. *í* > *y* [*ī*].

tydyng sb. (cf. Icel. *títindi*) 885, 1224.

§ 87.

Scand. ó.

The only instance is † *housbonde* sb. (cf. Icel. *húsbóndi*) 2641.

§ 88.

Scand. ú.

Scand. *ú* > *ou* [*ū*].

† *housbonde* sb. 2641.

§ 89.

Scand. ý.

Scand. *ý* > *y* [*ī*].

skye sb. (cf. Icel. *ský*) 248 (: *crye* sb.), *tyne* vb. (cf. Icel. *týna*) 1186 (: *pyne* sb.).

§ 90.

Scand. æ.

(1). Scand. *æ* > *e* [*ē*].

†† *sete* sb. (cf. Icel. *sétí*) 1548 (: *gret* adj.).

(2). Scand. *æ* > *a* [*ǣ*] by shortening.

þraldome sb. (cf. Icel. *þrǣldóm*¹) 49.

§ 91.

Scand. ø.

Scand. *ø* + *ʒ* > *y* [*ī*].

† *slye* adj. (cf. Icel. *slógr*) 2089.

¹ SKEAT, Conc., *thrall* sb., gives the word wrongly as having Icel. *a*.

Scand. ai, ei.

§ 92.

Scand. *ai, ei* > *ay, ey* [*ai*].

ay adv. : *say, sey* prt. 270, 652, : *day* sb. 868, 1315, 1414, : *Goodfryday* sb. 774, *nay* adv. 1284 (: *day* sb.), 899, 1006 etc., *swayn* sb. 2326 (: *ageyn* prep.), *upreysed* pp. 706 (: *praysed* pp.).

Note. Scand. *deyja* 'to die', late OE. *dēzan*, occurs with *ī* as well as with *ai*.

(α) *ī* : *dye* inf. & pres. : *asspye* sb. 3016, : *companye* sb. 1454, : *courtesye* sb. 111, : *enuye* sb. 1572, : *eresye* sb. 1421, : *felonye* sb. 1599, : *prophhecye* sb. 2585, : *abye* vb. 1121, 2855, : *lye* vb. 2374, 2495, 2849, 2980, : *yze* sb. pl. 1555, : *wrye* vb. (< OE. *wrēzan*) 967, *dye* inf. : *yzen* sb. pl. 988, *dyled* prt. (MS. *deyde*) : *aspyed* pp. 419, *dyde* prt. : *cryde* prt. 1089.

(β) *ai* : *dye* inf. 358 (: *leye* inf. < OE. *lecgan*), 2738 (: *sey* inf. < OE. *secgan*).

Scand. au.

§ 93.

Scand. *au* > *ou*.

wyndowe sb. 468, 2043, *loce* adj. (cf. Icel. *lauss*) 2406, *loced* prt. 2408.

Scand. øy.

§ 94.

tryste sb. 'confidence', 'expectation' 2449 (: *rest* sb.), *tryst* adj. 'confident', 'sure' 1204 (: *kyst* prt. 'kissed') are supposed to be related to ON. *trøysti*, *treysti*, but the relation is not clear; see NED. *trist*, sb. & adj., *traist* sb.

Scand. iú.

§ 95.

Scand. *iú* > *e* [*ē*].

†*meke* adj. (cf. Icel. *mjúkr*) 1580 (: *seke* inf.).

2. In unstressed syllables.

§ 96.

(1). Scand. vowels in unstressed syllables have been levelled under *e*: †*calle* inf. (cf. Icel. *kalla*) 284, *gate* sb. (cf. Icel. *gata*) 490, 1771, *awe* sb. (cf. Icel. *agi*) 311; etc.

(2). The Scand. suffix *-iga* > *-ī*.

††*wytterly* adv. (cf. Icel. *vitrliga*): *Davy* 879, : *by* prep. 1674, *witterly* 2188 (: *by*), 1137 (: *vylyny* sb.).

B. Consonants.

§ 97.

Labials.

Scand. p.

Scand. *p* > *p*.††*rape* inf. 1857, 2004; *gappe* sb. (cf. Icel. *gap*) 2939, *kypte* prt. (cf. Icel. *kippa*) 1193.

Scand. b.

Scand. *b* > *b*.††*bryncke* sb. 2459, *byrþe* sb. 1625, †*housbonde* sb. 2641.

Scand. f.

Scand. *f* > *f*.*felaave* sb. 476, 477, 493 etc.

Scand. v.

Scand. *v* > *w*.*wyndowe* sb. 468, 2043, ††*wytterly* adv. 879, 1674, *won* sb. 2186, 2632, *swayn* sb. 2326.

Note. *w* had been dropped before *r* in primitive OIcel. but was kept in OSw.; see NOREEN, Aisl. Gr.^s § 278. It was kept in ME.: †*wronge* sb. (cf. Icel. *rangr*, OSw. *vranger*) 181, 865, 2281.

Scand. m.

Scand. *m* > *m*.†*meke* adj. 1580, *merkys* sb. pl. 90, †*same* adj. 3003.

§ 98.

Dentals.

Scand. t.

Scand. *t* > *t*.*tydyng* sb. 885, 1224, †*tyl* conj. 251, *tyne* vb. 1186, *gate* sb. 490, 1771, *gete* inf. 95, ††*sete* sb. 1548.

Scand. d.

Scand. $d > \bar{d}$.*wyndowe* sb. 468, 2043, *housbonde* sb. 2641.Note. $nd > ng$ in *tydyng* (cf. Icel. *tíðinde*) 885, 1224.

Scand. þ.

Scand. $\bar{þ} > þ$.*þraldome* sb. 49, *þou3* conj. (cf. Icel. $\bar{þ}\bar{o} < *þ\bar{o}h$; cf. BJÖRK. p. 73) 271.

Scand. ð.

Final Scand. $\bar{ð} > þ$ (voiceless interdental spirant; cf. BJÖRK. p. 303).*þyrþe* sb. (cf. Icel. *burðr*) 1625 (: *myrþe* sb.), *gryþe* sb. (cf. Icel. *gríð*) 1397 (: *wiþ* prep. ¹).Note. For d in *tydyng* sb. (cf. Icel. *tíðinde*) 885, 1224 see BJÖRK. p. 167.

Scand. s.

Scand. $s > s$.†*same* adj. 3003, ††*sete* sb. 1548, *swayn* sb. 2326, †*housbonde* sb. 2641, *cast* prt. 353, *upreysed* pp. 706.Note. The scribe has used the spelling *loce* adj. 2406, *loced* prt. 2408. A has forms in s : 3272, 3274.

Scand. l.

Scand. $l > l$.*loce* adj. 2406, *loced* prt. 2048, *lowe* adv. 82, †*slye* adj. 2089, *felawe* sb. 476, 477 etc., †*tyl* conj. 251, †*calle* inf. 284.Note. Scand. l has been doubled in *skylle* sb. (cf. Icel. *skil*) 115, 381 etc.¹ $\bar{þ} > \bar{ð}$ in *wiþ* about 1500; see HORN p. 156.

Scand. r.

Scand. $r > r$.
 ††*rape* vb. 1857, 2004, *upreysed* pp. 706, ††*bryncke* sb. 2459, *byrþe* sb. 1625, *merkys* sb. pl. 90, *þraldome* sb. 49, †*wronge* sb. 181, 865, 2281.

Scand. n.

Scand. $n > n$.
nay adv. 899, 1006, ††*bryncke* sb. 2459, *wyndowe* sb. 468, 2043, *tyne* vb. 1186 (: *pyne* sb.), *swayn* sb. 2326 (: *ageyn* prep.), *skynne* sb. 138.

§ 99.

Palatals and gutturals.

Scand. k.

Scand. $k > c, k [k]$.
 †*calle* inf. 284, *cast* prt. 353, *kypte* prt. 1193, ††*bryncke* sb. 2459, *merkys* sb. pl. 90 (: *werkys* sb. pl.), †*meke* adj. 1580 (: *seke* inf.).

Scand. sk.

Scand. $sk > sk$.
skye sb. 248, *skylle* sb. 115, 381, 391, 2117, *skynne* sb. 138.

Scand. g.

Scand. $g > g$.
gappe sb. 2939, *gate* sb. 490, 1771, *gat* prt. 684, *gete* vb. 95, 915, *bygete* sb. 2626, *gryþe* sb. 1397.

Scand. ʒ.

Scand. $ʒ > w$ after a guttural vowel.
awe sb. 311, *felawe* sb. 476, 477 etc., *lowe* adv. 82 (: *ouerthrowe* pp.), *wyndowe* sb. 468, 2043.

Scand. *y*.Scand. *y* > *y*.†*wyng* sb. 362, †*wronge* sb. 181 (: *stronge* adj.), 2281 (: *amonge* prep.).Scand. *h*.(1). Scand. *h* > *h*.†*housbonde* sb. 2641, ††*hylde* pp. 2143.(2). Scand. *h* has been dropped before a consonant in ††*rape* inf. (cf. Icel. *hrapa*) 1857, 2004.

III. The French Element.

A. Vowels and diphthongs.

OF. *a*.A. OF. *a* except before a nasal followed by a consonant.

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

§ 100.

(a) OF. *a* > *a* [ā] in open syllables and before a single final consonant.(a)*scape* vb. : *rape* vb. 1858, 2003, *blame* inf. (< OF. *blasmer*¹) 873 (: *shame* sb.), *cardyacle* sb. (< OF. *cardiaque*) 2316 (: *vndertake* inf.), *fume* sb. : *name* sb. 417, 741, 2548, *caue* sb. 2975, *dame* sb. 1127, 1155 etc.; *myracle* sb. 2723, *myracule* 38 etc.; *face* sb. 187, *grace* sb. 12, 54, *space* sb. 11; *age* sb. 46, *Sages* sb. pl. 413, *wage* vb. 2260, *costage* sb.²¹ *s* had been dropped in OF. before the end of the 11th cent.; see SCHW.-B. § 129.² In words of this type (in OF. *-age*) the stress is always on *-age* in rhymes, sometimes even in the verse, e. g. *Sjxty and tén languáges I héerde* 1657; otherwise *To péyntte his visage pérppón* 1176, *Vppón my cóstage Í schal fónde* 497.

497, *herytage* sb. 74, *languages* sb. pl. 527, 1657, *lynage* sb. 24, 73, *outrage* sb. 2207, *outrages* 435, 443; etc.; *astate* sb. (< OF. *estat*) 900 (: *late* adv.), *cas* sb. ¹: *was* prt. 59, 225 etc. (11 times), 557 (: *las* adv.; \bar{a} : \check{a} -rhyme), *lake* sb. 2742 (: *make* inf.); probably also *chares* sb. pl. 269; uncertain is *alas* int. 304 (: *cas* sb.).

(b) OF. *a* before *st*.

hast sb. 1794 (: *fast* adv.), 2963 (: *bycast* pp.).

For the quantity of *a* I refer to GRUNDR. § 27 f.,
TEN BRINK § 80.

(c) OF. *a* > *a* [\check{a}], especially before *r*-combinations.

metalle sb. 41 (: *alle* pron.), *false* adj. 4; *arme* inf. 2284, *yarmed* pp. 1032, *cowardes* sb. pl. 2496 ², *large* adj. 1829, 2097, 2540, *marbyl* sb. (< OF. *marbre*) 1272, *parted* prt. 753.

Note 1. *trespas* sb.: *was* 113/4, *trespasse* vb.: *grace* sb. 1585/6. *was* occurs with \bar{a} or \check{a} in ME.; *grace* had certainly \bar{a} . Thus the rhymes are in favour of \bar{a} in *trespass(e)*; cf. GRUNDR. § 27 d ('nicht entschieden gelangt'), TEN BRINK § 69 [\bar{a}].

Note 2. OF. *espringalle* sb. appears as *spryngoles* pl. 2090; *a* > *o* under weak stress. A has *spryngals* 2956.

§ 101. (2). OF. *a* in originally unstressed syllables.

(a) OF. *a* > *a*, probably [\bar{a}].

habitation sb. 1539, *habitiouns* 1516, *sauoure* sb. 'taste' 2600, *Sauyoure* sb. 1701.

(b) OF. *a* > *a* [\check{a}].

abate vb. 428, 724, 735, 1026, *accorde* sb. 1560, *apert* adj. 38, *palyce* sb. 82, 2329, *palyse* 1459, *charyte* sb. 141, 2584, *pauylon* sb. 1894, 2058, *pardon* sb. 56, *party* sb. 2506, *partye* 2748, *assemble* sb. 715, 1504, *assent* sb. 426, 439.

Note 1. OF. *jalous* adj. appears as *ielouse* 1325; cf. STURMFELS p. 248.

¹ A has the spelling *caas* 1039, 1373, *case* 873.

² The stress seems to be on the first syllable: *Than hère as cówardes lónge lje*.

Note 2. *a* has been dropped in *queyntaunce* sb. (< OF. *acoïtance*) 2543, *sawte* sb. (OF. *as(s)aut*) 2095.

B. OF. *a* before a nasal followed by a consonant (*ā*).

(1). In originally stressed syllables. § 102.

(a) OF. *ā* > *au*.

combraunce sb. 5, *greuaunce* sb. 130, *myschaunce* sb. 6, *ordinaunce* sb. 2155, *penaunce* sb. 129, 265, 2554, *queyntaunce* sb. 2543, *veniaunce* sb. 177, 266 etc.; *comaunded* prt. 2283, 2472; *aungel* sb. 795, 1553 etc., *aungels* 35, 1519, 1559; *adauntten* vb. 718¹, *couenaunt* sb. 501, 3071, *grauntte* vb. 119, 1807 etc., *graunte* 1030, 1156, *graunted* 461, 899, 2687, *leftenaunt* sb. 1069, *semblaunte* sb. 1206, 1219 etc.²

(b) OF. *ā* > *a*.

chambre sb. 402; *dampne* inf. 182, *dampned* prt. 594, *ensample* sb. 1609, 1646³; *France* n. pr. 702; *changyng* pres. part. 133; *canky* sb. 355.

(c) OF. *ā* > *au*, *a*.

chaunce sb. 75, 178, 1752, 1897, 1950, *chance* 701; *waraunte* sb. 1676⁴, *waraunte* vb. 1645, 1828, *waraunt* 1070, *warante* 1002.

The spelling *au* is quite regular before *-nc*, *-nd*, *-nt*, *chance* 701, *warante* 1002 being due to the scribe's carelessness. He very often denotes an *n* by a stroke over the preceding vowel, and the stroke may easily be omitted. In the same way may *France* 702 instead of *Fraunce* be explained.

As for the value of *au* see TEN BRINK § 70.

¹ OF. *danter* by the side of *donter*; see BEHRENS p. 115.

² *semblante* 3114 is an error of the editor's; cf. Introd.

³ For *ā* instead of *ē* (cf. Lat. *exemplum*) see STURMFELS p. 243.

⁴ *warante* is a mistake of the editor's; cf. Introd.

- § 103. (2). OF. *ā* in originally unstressed syllables.
 (a) OF. *ā* > *au*, prob. [*ā*].
daungere sb. 740, 2216; probably also in *raunsoune* sb.
 48, *raunson* 66, 1057, *raunsoun* 911, 2647.
 (b) OF. *ā* > *a* [*ā*].
bandoun sb. 732, *languages* sb. pl. 527, 1657.

OF. *e*.

A. OF. *e* except before a nasal followed by a consonant.

- § 104. (1). In originally stressed syllables.
 (a) OF. *e* > *e*, *ee* [*ē*] finally, before a single *r* (*e* = L. *ā*),
 and before *t* (*e* = L. *ē*).
charyte sb. : *be* vb. 141, *cyte(e)* sb.¹ : *me* pron. 884, 930 etc.
 (6 times), : *be* vb. 892, 1310, 2063 etc., : *he* pron. 1053, : *pe*
 pron. 2672, : *fle* inf. 2510, *dignite* sb. 423 (: *he* pron.), 2310
 (: *pe* pron.); in similar rhymes *communte* sb., *countre* sb.,
pyte sb., *plente* sb., *trynite* sb.; *cleer* adj. 52 (: *zeer* sb.), *pro-*
phete sb. : *strette* sb. 2292, 2341.

Note 1. OF. *prive* adj. occurs as *pryue* 2763 (: *be* inf.). Within the verse occurs *préuy* 709, 939, 966, 2715, 2781. The metre shows that stress-change had taken place, and hence *y* instead of *e* is quite natural. The originally unstressed OF. *i* had become *e* before the stress-change. A has *prive* 1527, 1759, *privy* 3593, C *preve* 1786. The adverb is *pruely* 1449, *pryuely* 1135, 3036, *pryuelyche*, *-liche* 1032, 1259, 1988, 2498. Almost the same development has taken place in *perry* 'precious stones' (< OF. *perrée*) 926 (*perré* > *pérre* > *pérry*). A has *perry*, LCD *perre* 1744. Fluctuation is found in *vale* sb. 2143, *valy* 2139.

Note 2. Change of suffix has taken place in *pyloure* sb. (OF. *piler*) 1272.

- (b) OF. *e* before *st*.
best sb. 2151 (: *mest* 'most'), *fest(e)* : *mest* 'most' 195, 282,
 : *best* sup. 1380, *reuest* pp. (OF. *revestir*) 1693 (: *best* sup.).

¹ Note the spelling *cytee* 81, 197 etc., *countree* 198.

TEN BRINK § 79 assumes 'schwebende' quantity for OF. *e* before *st* just as for OF. *a* in the same position. The rhymes with *mest* as well as the spelling *beestes* A 1029 are in favour of \bar{e} , but *best* sup. had \check{e} . Note the modern pronunciation of *vest* vb.

Note. OF. *arbaleste* sb. has the form *arblast* 2078 (: *cast* vb.).

(c) OF. *precher* occurs as *preche* inf. 122, 530, 1660, *preched* prt. 104, 160 etc. As there are no rhymes it cannot be settled whether the word had \bar{e} or \bar{e} ; cf. TEN BRINK § 68 note.

(d) OF. *e* > *e* [\check{e}].

deserued pp. 2948 (: *sterued* prt.), *dystresse* sb. 2556 (: *lesse* adv.), 2853 (: *wyckednesse* sb.), 2493 (: *gesse* sb.), *felle* adj. 750 (: *dwelle* inf.), *letter* sb.¹ 499 (: *better* comp.), *certes* adv. 1723, 2841, *certys* 2170, *conferme* vb. 1615, 1840, *confermed* 2332, *reherse* inf. 1294, *reherse* prt. 836, *terme* sb. 1839.

Note 1. *werre* sb. : *zere* sb. 2108/7. *werre* occurs with \bar{e} and \check{e} in ME.; cf. TEN BRINK § 79.

Note 2. We may also assume \check{e} in the following words: *camels* sb. pl. 140, *charnels* sb. pl. 2476, 2481, *quarel* sb. 2100, 2289, *vessel* sb. 345. The metre shows that stress-change has taken place. In *castel* the stress is kept on the last syllable in the place-name *Castel Pellan* 1955.

Note 3. The value of the vowel in *pres* sb. 2958 cannot be settled.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables.

§ 105.

OF. *e* > *e* [\check{e}].

defende vb. 562, *desyre* sb. 934, *eresye* sb. 1422, *herytage* sb. 74, *memorye* sb. 642, *mesure* sb. 69, *perylous* adj. 1366; *certeyn* 1839, 1844, *clergy* sb. 1837, *exile* adj. 447, *serutage* sb. 20, 45, *trespas* sb. 113, 1805; etc.

Note 1. OF. *meschance* sb. occurs as *myschaunce* 6, OF. *meschieff* sb. as *myschieff* 2850; *y* here is due to influence from the native prefix *mis-*, *mys-* (OE. *mis-*).

¹ STURMFELS p. 247 gives the word with \bar{e} ; misprint?

Note 2. OF. *destresse* sb. appears as *dystresse* 2494, 2556, 2853, OF. *desdein* sb. as *dysdeyn* 914; influence from Lat. *dis*? OF. *desrei* sb. occurs as *deray* 146.

Note 3. OF. *e* > *a* before *r* in *parseyed* pp. 571. *a* alternates with *e* in *marveylous* 680, *meruayllous* 977, *meruayllouse* 441; cf. BEHRENS p. 96, STURMFELS p. 243.

Note 4. OF. *e* > *y* [i] in *mynstralsye* sb. (< OF. *menestralsie*) 1719, *medycines* sb. pl. (< OF. *medecine*) 508; probably Latin influence; moreover OF. *sauveour* sb. appears as *Sauyoure* 1701.

Note 5. OF. *e* has been dropped in *surer* comp. (< OF. *seür*) 1753.

Note 6. *e* in an original medial syllable has been dropped in *commynite* sb. (< OF. *communete*) 601, 2841, *meselrye* sb. (< OF. *mesellerie*) 353, *mynstralsye* sb. (< OF. *menestralsie*) 1719.

Note 7. OF. prosthetic *e* before *sk*, *sp*, *st*; cf. BEHRENS p. 96, STURMFELS pp. 247 f.

(a) *e* has been dropped.

scape vb. 2003, 2824, *scaped* 266, 1341, *scapyng* 65, *scourges* sb. pl. 1274; *spye* vb. 3077, *spryngoles* sb. pl. (< OF. *espringalle*) 2090; *state* sb. 1340, 1840, *stryffe* sb. 205, 1884, 2581, *stryue* vb. 343.

(b) *e* appears as *a*.

ascape vb. 1446, 1858, 2961, *ascaped* 1114, 2434; *aspye* sb. 1094, *asspye* 3015, *aspyes* 1987, *asspyes* 2007, *aspye* vb. 800, *aspyed* 420, *asspyed* 2836; *astate* sb. 900.

Note 8. OF. *effrei* (Lat. *ex* + *fridāre*) occurs as *afray* 292, 2010, the OF. stem *esbaïss-* as *abashyd* prt. 217.

B. AF. *e* before a nasal followed by a consonant (*ē*).
(AF. *ē* = OF. *ā*; GRUNDR. § 22 a; SCHW.-B. § 42).

§ 106. (1). In originally stressed syllables.

AF. *ē* > *e* [ě].

assent sb. 426 (: *sent* prt.), 439 (: *spent* prt.), *entent* sb. 190 (: *ysent* pp.), *rent* sb. 1028 (: *ysent* pp.), *amendement* sb. 2006 (: *ylent* pp.), *oynement* sb. 998 (: *went* prt.), *amende* inf. 14 (: *sende* inf.), 264 (: *wende* prt.), 648 (: *went* pp.), 1578 (: *ende* sb.); etc.

§ 107. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.

AF. *ē* > *e* [ě].

enchesoun sb. 1612, 1769, *ensure* vb. 1157, *enuye* sb. 62, 708 etc., *Emperoure* sb. 96, 388 etc., *empire* sb. 397, 562,

empyre 498, *veniaunce* sb. 177, 266 etc., *ientyl* adj. 707, *plente* sb. 1384, 1905 etc.

Note 1. The prefix *en-* alternates with *a-* in *acombred* pp. 124, 204, *encombred* 1960, 2780.

Note 2. *in-* in *inclosed* prt. (OF. *en* + *clos* pp.) 234 is probably due to Latin influence.

Note 3. OF. *engin* sb. occurs as *engyne* 2091, 2098, *engynes* pl. 2075, 2270, and as *gynne* 2867, 2965.

Note 4. *ensample* sb. (OF. *essample*) is based on AF. *ensample*; cf. BEHRENS p. 203.

OF. i.

A. OF. *i* except before a nasal and before \bar{l} , \bar{n} .

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

(a) OF. *i* > *y*, *i* [\bar{i}] finally, in open syllables and before a single final consonant. § 108.

asspye sb. 3015^{*} (: *dye* vb.), *aspyes* pl. 1987 (: *styes* sb. pl.), *aspyed* pp. 420 (: *deyde* 'died' for *dyede*), *cry(e)* sb. 235 (: *an hye* < OE. *on hēaze*), 2883 (: *an hize*), 247 (: *skye* sb.), 644 (: *herby* adv.), 2847 (: *gryslye* adj.), *cryde* prt. 1090 (: *dyde* 'died'), *companye* sb. 1453 (: *dye* 'die'), *courtesye* sb. 112 (: *dye* inf.), etc.¹; *atyre* sb. (OF. *atirier* vb.) 2080 (: *fyer* sb.), *begyle* inf. (< *be* + OF. *guile*) 1076 (: *while* sb.), *sacryfice* sb. 200 (: *aryse* inf.), *seruyce* sb. 243 (: *agryse* inf.), *feyntyse* sb. 1807 (: *wyse* sb.), *ilc* sb. 723 (: *vyle* adj.); *avyse* sb. 2491 (: *pryse* sb.), *pryse* sb. 2156 (: *wyse* adj.), *vyse* sb. 405, *stryffe* sb. 205 (: *knyffe* sb.), *exile* adj. 447 (: *vyle* adj.), *vyle* adj. 448, 724, *desyre* sb. 934.

Note 1. OF. *delivrer* vb. occurs as *delyuere* 62, 700, *delyuered* prt. 593; TEN BRINK assumes 'schwebende' quantity.

Note 2. The quantity of *i* in *acquite* vb. (< OF. *aquiter*) 1152 cannot be settled.

Note 3. There is no reason why the *i* in *despyte* sb. (< OF. *despit*; Mod. E. *ɔi*) 513, 907, 1122 etc. should not have been lengthened

¹ There are a great many other rhymes of the same kind.

the rhyme *despyte* : *wyte* inf. (< OE. *witan*) 1824/3 must be looked upon as an \bar{i} : \bar{i} -rhyme. OF. *profit* sb. occurs as *profyte* 908, 1809 in rhymes with *despyte*.

(b) OF. $i > y$ [\bar{i}].

ypalyssed pp. (< OF. *palisser*) 2459.

Note 1. i has been dropped in *abashyd* prt. (< OF. *esbaiss.*) 217.

Note 2. $i > e$ in a secondary unstressed syllable in *régesty* sb. (< MF. *registre*) 909; C *register* LD *registre* A *legistre* (l error for r) 1727.

§ 109. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.

OF. $i > y$, i [\bar{i}].

charyte sb. 141, 2584, *cytee* sb. 81, 197 etc., *cyte* 884, 892 etc., *ymages* sb. pl. 436, *myracle* sb. 2723, *ordinaunce* sb. 2155, *pyte* sb. 872, 1545, *pite* 1556, *trynite* sb. 1706, *vysage* sb. 1194, *visage* 1078, 1176; etc.

Note. For *preuy* adj. (< OF. *prive*) etc. see above § 104; also *presoun* sb. 2898.

B. OF. \bar{i} .

§ 110. OF. $\bar{i} > i$ [\bar{i}].

princes sb. pl. 85, 606.

Note. OF. *engin* sb. occurs as *engyne* : *wip*, *withynne* 2091, 2098, *engynes* pl. : *wipervynes* sb. pl. 2075; probably \bar{i} in spite of the rhymes.

The short form is *gynne* 2867 (: *synne* sb.), 2965 (: *to kepyn*); no doubt \bar{i} . STURMFELS p. 253 is of opinion that the last word is not based on OF. *engin* but is a Scandinavian loan-word.

§ 111. C. OF. i before \bar{l} , \bar{n} .

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

OF. $i > y$ [\bar{i}].

iénty adj. 707, *sótyl* adj. 2999.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables.

OF. $i > y$, i .

paunyon sb. 1894, 2058, *perylous* adj. 1366; *dignite* sb. 423, 2310, *lynage* sb. 24, 73.

OF. o.

(1). In originally stressed syllables. § 112.

(a) OF. *o* > *o* [ȝ].

cost sb. (< OF. *coste*, L. *costa*) 1986 (: *ost* sb.), 2073 (: *ost* sb.), *ost* sb. 2809 (: *wost* vb. < OE. *wāst*), 1903 (: *most* sup.), *purgatorye* sb. 2574 (: *sory* adj.); *inclosed* prt. (< AF. *enclos-*) 234, *purpos* sb. 323; *noble* adj. 77, 352 etc.; *roste* sb. 2600, *roste* inf. 2596; *memorye* sb. 642, *restore* inf. 1613, *storye* sb. 17, 641, *story* 330, 414 etc.

Note 1. OF. *tresor* sb. (< L. *thēsaurum*) occurs with \bar{o} as well as with \bar{u} : *tresoure*: *more* comp. 2649; *tresoure*: *honoure* sb. 437, : *bytteroure* comp. 2637. The other MSS., with the exception of B, have, however, only rhymes with \bar{o} : *tresoure*: *store* sb. (< OF. *estor*) 1253, *tresour*: *more* comp. (A), : *therefore* (C) 3511 (B: *bitterour*), : *more* comp. 3523.

Note 2. OF. *povre* adj. (< L. *pauper*) appears as *pore* 2290, 2616; probably \bar{o} .

Note 3. *cost* sb. 'cost' 357 is of another origin than *cost* 'coast' (OF. *coster* vb. < L. *constāre*).

(b) OF. *o* > *o* [ō].

accorde sb. 1560 (: *lorde* sb.), *corde* sb. 2087 (: *sworde* sb.), *recorde* sb. 1367 (: *lorde* sb.), *cofre* sb. 1207, *comfort* sb. 2399, *comforte* vb. 3112, *comfort* 1125, *robbed* prt. 2535.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables. § 113.

(a) OF. *o* > *o* [ō].

folye sb. 40, 2747, *foly* 343, *procured* prt. 2754, *prophete* sb. 515, 585 etc., *profyte* sb. 908, 1809; *ordeyne* vb. 2070, 2074, *ordinaunce* sb. 2155.

(b) OF. *o* has probably been lengthened in *deuocioun* sb. 1698.

OF. (AF.) u.

A. AF. *u* except before a nasal.

(1). In originally stressed syllables. § 114.

(a) AF. *u* > *ov*, *ou* [ū] finally and before a single final consonant.

avoue sb. 2014 (: *ynowe*), *prow* sb. 'profit, advantage' 1814 (: *you* pron.); *dout(e)* sb. : *aboute* adv. 1378, 1969, : *wiþ-*, *without* adv. 2096, 2802, *honoure* sb. (< AF. *honur*): *sowre*, *soure* adj. 1528, 2443, *ielouse* adj. 1325 (: *house* sb.), *meruayllouse* adj. 441 (: *house* sb.), *route*, *rowte* sb. 1889 (: *aboute* adv.), 2500 (: *out* adv.), 2680 (: *without* adv.); moreover in *floure* sb. 'flower' 2257, *houre* sb. 224, *towre* sb. 2599; probably also in *sauoure* sb. 'taste' 2600 (: *towre* sb.), *Sauyoure* sb. 1701 (: *honoure* sb.), *socoure* inf. 183 (: *honoure* sb.), 2976, *socoure* sb. 1495 (: *honoure* sb.), 1929 (: *honoure* sb.).

Note. *marveyulous* adj.: *Atus* 680/79 is an $\bar{u} : \ddot{u}$ -rhyme.

(b) AF. *u* before *r* followed by a consonant.
court sb. 550, *courtte* 1472, *scourges* sb. pl. 1274.

The spelling is in favour of \bar{u} in both the words, although Mod. E. [*skædʒ*] is based on ME. \ddot{u} ; see GRUNDR. § 39 a.

(c) AF. $u > o$, *ou*, *ow*, probably [\ddot{u}].

grocheþ vb. 2589, *suffre* vb. 1826, 2816, *suffer* 2621, *suffred* 308, 1408, *sufferd* 2282; *towche* vb. 45, *toucheþ* 640; \bar{u} ?; cf. Mod. E. *pouch*.

Note. AF. *suburbe* appears as *súbbarbes* pl. 2101; $u > a$ because of weak stress.

§ 115. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.

(a) AF. $u > ou$, *ow* [\bar{u}].

cowardes sb. pl. 2496, *outrages* sb. pl. 435, 443, *power* sb. 348, 895, 1473.

(b) AF. $u > u$, *o*, *ou* [\ddot{u}].

sodeynlyche adv. 213, *socoure* sb. & vb.; see § 114 a; *curteys* adj. 1014, *curtesye* sb. 39, 654, 707, 851, *courtesye* 112, *purpos* sb. 323, *purueyde* prt. 1890.

Note. *u* has been inserted in *miracule* sb. (< OF. *miracle*) 38, *miracule* 782, *miracules* 615, *miracules* 651 (but *miracle* 2723), *discipules* sb. pl. (< OF. *disciple*) 853, but forms without *u* occur in 1406, 1575, 1654. BEHRENS (p. 197) is of opinion that such forms suggest that *l* has become syllabic. I do not think that this explanation is to the point here. It is noteworthy that the corresponding Latin words end in *-ulum* (*mīrāculum*, *discipulum*). The scribe may have had some know-

ledge of Latin, and if so it seems probable that he would have the Latin forms in his mind.

B. AF. *u* before a nasal.

(1). In originally stressed syllables. § 116.

(a) AF. $\tilde{u} > ow, ou, o$ [\tilde{u}].

commyssioun sb. 1829 (: *towne* sb.), *deuocioun* sb. 1698 (: *adowne* adv.), *enuyroun* sb. 1039 (: *towne* sb.), *renowne* sb. 127 (: *towne* sb.), *rounde* adj. 1272 (: *bounde* prt.). The following words occur in rhymes of the same kind: *oryson* sb. 2393, *passioun* sb. 1242, *pauylon* sb. 1894, *pryso(u)n* sb. 2401, 2419, 2694, 2752, 2898, *raunso(u)n(e)* sb. 48, 911, 1057, 2647, *resoun* sb. 1112, 2001, 2453, *visyon* sb. 295.

Probably also in *confunded* prt. 80.

Note 1. *oryson* sb.: *son* sb. 'son' 2379/80 is an $\tilde{u} : \tilde{u}$ -rhyme.

Note 2. No doubt *tombe* sb. (< OF. *tumbe*) 2385 had \tilde{u} ; cf.

BEHRENS p. 116.

Note 3. OF. *flum* sb. appears as *flom* 1954, 2024, 2124, 2174. A has *fleem* 2820, 2890, 2990, 3040, *fleme* (CD *flom* L *flum*) 331 (< OE. **flēam*).

(b) AF. $\tilde{u} > o, u$ [\tilde{u}].

acombred pp. 124, 204, *trumpe* inf. 'to trumpet' 2283.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables.

(a) AF. $\tilde{u} > \tilde{u}$, spelt *o*. § 117.

dongeoun sb. 2375.

(b) AF. *con*.

(a) *ou* [\tilde{u}].

counseille vb. 965, *counselle* 1018, *counseil* sb. 4, *counseille* 2669, *counselle* 109, 433 etc. (7 times), *counseller* sb. 1932; *conseille* 2308 is evidently a scribal error.

(3) *o* [\tilde{u} ?]

condyte sb. 441, *conferme* vb. 1615, 1840, *confermed* 2332, *confunded* prt. 80, *confusioun* sb. 1369.

Note 1. It is to be noticed that OF. *contree* sb. always occurs with the spelling *ou* (149, 198 etc.; 14 times); A has *o*, once *u* 1565. Had *u*, in the dialect of the scribe, been lengthened?

Note 2. OF. *covenant*, *conveuant* sb. appears as *couenaunt* 501, 3071.

(c) AF. *com*.

AF. $\ddot{u} > o$ [\ddot{u}].

combraunce sb. 5, *comfort* sb. 2399, *comforte* vb. 3112, *companye* sb. 799, 1453 etc.

OF. \ddot{u} .

A. OF. \ddot{u} except before a nasal.

§ 118. (1). In originally stressed syllables.

(a) Final \ddot{u} .

vertue sb. 2176 (: *howe* adv. < OE. *hū*), *vertu* 160 (: *Jesu*).

A has the spelling *vertewe* 3042, *vertu* 974, 2435, 2534, 3488. The first rhyme is in favour of a change $\ddot{u} > \bar{u}$ or *iu*; note also the spelling *vertewe* in A; cf. TEN BRINK § 75, BEHRENS pp. 118 ff.

(b) In open syllables.

OF. $\ddot{u} > u$ [$\bar{\ddot{u}}$?].

aventure sb. 561, *durep* vb. 2800, *ensure* vb. 1157, *exscuse* vb. 649, 820, *excused* 643, 645, *mesure* sb. 69, *mules* sb. pl. 2128, *procured* prt. 2754.

It should be observed that the sound never appears as *ou*, *ow*.

(c) In close syllables.

OF. $\ddot{u} > u$ [\ddot{u}].

fluxe sb. 771, 1167.

§ 119. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.

(a) OF. $\ddot{u} > v$, *ew*; probably lengthened.

vsages sb. pl. 444, *trewage* sb. 492, 567 etc.

(b) OF. $\ddot{u} > u$ (short; \ddot{u} ?).

destruccion sb. 1618, *iugement* sb. 93, *justice* sb. 597, 747 etc., *purgatorye* sb. 2574, *subieccioun* sb. 390, *suspeccyon* sb. 618, *vnpunysshed* 1962.

B. OF. *ü* before a nasal.

(1). In originally stressed syllables. § 120.

OF. $\tilde{ü} > y$ [$\tilde{ü}$?].

commyne adj. 2647. The spelling *y* is due to the neighbourhood of *m* and *n*.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables. § 121.

OF. $\tilde{ü} > y$ [$\tilde{ü}$].

commynste sb. 601, 2841; as for the spelling *y* cf. 1.

OF. ai.

A. OF. *ai* except before a nasal or \bar{l} , \bar{n} .

(1). In originally stressed syllables. § 122.

(a) OF. *ai* > *ay*, *ey* [*ai*] finally, in open syllables and before a single final consonant.

pay sb. 'satisfaction', 'pleasure' 844 (: *day* sb.), 882 (: *say* 'saw'), : *lay* prt. 2302, 2386, *paye* sb. 'payment' 2469 (: *daye* sb.); *pleyde* inf. 584 (: *seide* 'said' ¹), *wayted* prt. 1460; *ayer* sb. 257.

Note. For *master* sb. (OF. *maistre*) 77, 475 cf. BEHRENS p. 132. *a* may, however, be due to weak stress; the word very often occurs in connexion with a noun, e. g. *master Josephus* 77. *A* has throughout forms in *ai* 891, 1291, 1344 etc.

(b) OF. *ai* > *ee*, *e* [\bar{e}] before *s*:

pees sb. (< OF. *pais*) 433 (: *gyltlees* adj.), *ese* vb. 1327.

Note. OF. *palais* occurs as *palyce* 82, 2329 (: *Sarasynes*)¹ *palyse* 1459 (: *alwayes* adv.). The spelling shows that stress-change had taken place in the dialect of our scribe. But the author seems to have kept the French stress; see *And þe htze palyce schal lye fulle lówe* 82. The rhyme with *alwayes* proves that the author pronounced the word with *ai*. *A* has *paley*s 896, *palays* 3195, *palace* 2287. The rhyme 2329/30 is curious.

¹ This rhyme, however, is ambiguous; *seide* may stand for *sede* (OE. *sæde*). We should then read *plede* : *sede*. *A* has *plede* : *seide* 1400/1399. Cf. GRUNDR. § 43 b.

- § 123. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.
- (a) OF. *ai* > *ay* [*ai*].
traytoure sb. 853, 864 etc.; cf. BEHRENS p. 134.
- (b) OF. *ai* before *s*.
- (α) OF. *ai* > *e*.
enchesoun sb. 1612, 1769, *reson* sb. 379, 617, *resoun* 389, 1112 etc., *vessel* sb. 345.
- (β) OF. *ai* > *y*.
oryson sb. 2379, 2393, *orysouns* 2554; A has *oresoun* 3245, 3259, *oresones* 3424. *y* is evidently a later development; cf. BEHRENS p. 132.
- (γ) OF. *ai* > *a*.
verament adv. 1343, 1554.
- Note. OF. *vilainie* sb. occurs as *vilanye* 1093, *vylany* 1138, *vilonye* 1803; A has *vileny(e)* 1917, 1962, 2669; cf. STURMFELS p. 227. For *masterye* sb. 1103 see above § 122,1 a, note.
- B. OF. *ai* before a nasal.
- § 124. (1). In originally stressed syllables.
- OF. *aī* > *ay*, *ey* [*ai*].
in certeyn adv. 1844 (: *ageyn* adv.), *in veyn*, *in vayn* 339 (: *seyn* pp. 'seen'), : *again*, *azein*, *ageyn* prep. & adv. 589, 2036, 2237, 2311, 2448, *pleynt* sb. 445, 1285, *seynt* adj. 103, 147 etc., *sodeynlyche* adv. 213.
- Note. OF. *gardain* sb. occurs as *warden* 1885 (: *pen* adv.). A has *wardeyn*: *pain* 2751/2.
- § 125. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.
- OF. *aī* > *ey* [*ai*].
meyntened prt. 312.
- C. OF. *ai* (< *a* before *ī*, *ñ*).
- § 126. (1). In originally stressed syllables.
- OF. *ai* > *ay*, *ai* [*ai*].
assayled prt. 2295, *avayled* prt. 2296, *fyale* vb. 904, 1078 etc., *fyaleþ* 1586, *fyyled* 2288, 2649, 2933, *trawaylle* sb.

172, 1328 etc., *vytaille* sb. 1795, 2534, *vitaylles* 2016, 2614, *vytailles* 2977, *Spayne* 676.

Note. OF. *ai* has been weakened into *e* in *batelle* sb. 2260; A has *batayll* 3126.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables. § 127.

OF. *ai* > *ay* [*ai*].

baylye sb. (OF. *baillie*) 1838.

Note. For *companye* sb. 799, 1453 etc. cf. STURMFELS p. 235.

AF. ei.

A. AF. *ei* except before a nasal or \tilde{l} , \tilde{n} .

(1). In originally stressed syllables. § 128.

AF. *ei* > *ey*, *ay* [*ai*].

afray sb. 292 (: *may* vb.), 2010 (: *say* prt. 'saw'), *deray* sb. 146 (: *day* sb.), *fay* sb. 1615 (: *awey* adv.), *permafay* adv. 1029 (: *day* sb.), *parfay* adv. 3075 (: *away* adv.), *lay* sb. 164 (: *day* sb.), *praye* sb. (< AF. *preie*) 2125 (: *weye* sb.), *prey(e)* vb. (< AF. *preier*) 1505 (: *seye* 'say'), 2067 (: *weye* sb.), 2195 (: *seye* inf.), 2840 (: *sey* inf.), 2915 (: *aweye* adv.); *feij̄* sb. 1490 (: *seij̄* 'says'), *praysed* pp. 705 (: *upreysed* prt.), *curteys* adj. 1014, *eyer* sb. 'heir' 72, *purueyde* prt. 1890; before *v*: *parseyued* pp. 571, *reseyued* prt. 1930, *receyued* 1696; cf. BEHRENS p. 143.

Note. AF. *poeir* occurs as *power* sb. 895 (: *vyker* sb. < OF. *vicaire*), probably \bar{e} . *vyker* may have had \bar{e} , too, on the analogy of *messenger* etc.

(2) In originally unstressed syllables. § 129.

The only instance is *unlele* adj. (AF. *leial*) 2858 (: *wel* adv.); *ei* seems to have been monophthongized; cf. STURMFELS p. 255.

B. AF. *ei* before a nasal. § 130.

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

AF. *eī* > *ey*, *ay* [*ai*].

ordeyne inf. 2070, 2074, *ordayned* 451, *yordayned* 447,

peyne sb. 720 (: *tweyne* 'two'), 840 etc., *peynes* 730, 733, *paynes* 2110, *peyntte* inf. 1176.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables.

AF. *ē* > *ey*.

feyntyse sb. 1807, *peyntoure* sb. 1175, *peynttoure* 1181.

C. AF. *ei* before \bar{l} , \bar{n} .

§ 131. (1). In originally stressed syllables.

AF. *ei* > *ey*, *ei*.

dysdeyn sb. 914 (: *seyn* inf.), *counseille* vb. 965, *counseille* sb. 2669, *counseil* 4, *conseille* 2308. — *counseille* vb. 1018, *counsele* sb. 109, 433 etc. are forms of the scribe's depending on stress-change; A has throughout *ei* 1838, 923, 1249, 1529 etc.

Note. For the spelling *regned* prt. 424, 455 cf. BEHRENS p. 145.

§ 132. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.

(α) AF. *ei* > *ay*, *ey*.

meruayllouse adj. 441, *marveylous* 680.

(β) AF. *ei* > *e*.

counseller sb. 1932, *tarbarells* sb. pl. 2079.

OF. *ie* (AF. *e*).

§ 133. OF. *ie* > *e*, seldom *ee* [\bar{e}].

chere sb. 1097 (: *here* adv.), *counseller* sb. 1932 (: *nere* adv.), *daungere* sb. 740 (: *nere* adv.), 2216 (: *zere* sb.), *greef* sb. 990 (: *preef* sb.), *greueþ* vb. 503 (: *byleueþ* vb.), *greue* vb. 779 (: *byleue* sb.), : *be*-, *byleue* vb. 201, 538, 2576, *messanger* sb. 473 (: *were* prt.), 2300 (: *zeer* sb.), *feble* adj. 4, 2525, 2664, *maner* sb. 152, 506 etc., *manere* 1516, 1719, 2534, *mater* sb. 640, *meyntened* prt. 312, *pece* sb. 'piece' 1174, *sege* sb. 275, 1909 etc.

Note. Once occurs the spelling *ie*, in *myschieff* sb. 2850; B has *myscheeff* 3730, the other MSS. have another version.

OF. *ue*.

§ 134.

(1). OF. *ue* > *e* [ē] in *peple* sb. 136, 190 etc.; A has throughout, so far as I can see, the spelling *poeple* 950, 1004 etc.

(2). OF. *ue* > *o* [ō] in *proue* inf. (< OF. *prover. pruev-*) 1359 (: *loue* inf.), 1993 (: *byhoue* sb.), 626, *proued* 571; cf. GRUNDR. p. 977, BEHRENS p. 152.

Note. Lat. *ō* + *ī* occurs as *oyl* in *assoyle* vb. 1688.

OF. *oi* (oi < L. *au* + *i*)

§ 135.

OF. *oi* > *oy* in *ioye* sb. 281, 807 etc.

OF. *oi* (oi, ui < L. *ō* + *i*, *ū* + *i*, *ō* + *i* + *nas.*)

§ 136.

(1). OF. *oi* except before a nasal followed by a consonant.

OF. *oi* > *oy*.

croys sb. 866, 992, 1183, *destroye* vb. 87, 1765 etc., *voys* sb. 865, 991, 1184, *voyce* 287. For the form *cross* 331, 2888 (A *croys* 1145, 3768) see NED. *cross* sb.

(2). OF. *oi* before a nasal followed by a consonant.

OF. *oi* > *oy*.

poynt sb. 250. *oi* in an originally unstressed syllable shows the same development in *poynement* sb. 2692; also before *ñ* in *oynement* sb. 998, 2384.

Note. *queynt* adj. 2091, *queyntte* 737, *queyntelyche* adv. 2984 are based on AF. *queint*; see BEHRENS p. 157. So also in an originally unstressed syllable in *queyntyse* sb. 742, *queyntaunce* sb. 2543.

OF. *üi*.

§ 137.

OF. *üi* occurs as *y* in a secondary unstressed syllable in *condyte* sb. 'an artificial channel for the conveyance of water' 441; A has *conduyt* 1257.

§ 138.

OF. au (L. a + l + cons.)

(1). OF. *au* > *au* in *defaute* sb. 2557, 2616, *defautes* 446.(2). OF. *au* (< L. a + l + labial) > *a* [ā].*saue* inf. : *haue* vb. 116, 158 etc. (10 times).

§ 139.

OF. eu.

OF. *eu* > *ew*.*Jewe* sb. 208, 938 etc., *Jewes* 3, 146, *sewyd* prt. 1407.

Note 1. *Jewyse* 650 (: *wyse* sb.) is not the plural of *Jewe* but is based on OF. *juise* 'judgement, a judicial sentence'. But the text seems to be corrupt. The other MSS. have different versions.

Note 2. OF. *lieutenant* sb. (< L. *locum tenent*-) occurs as *leftenaunt* 1069; A has *lieutenant* 1891.

B. Consonants.

Labials.

§ 140.

OF. p.

OF. *p* > *p*.

pardon sb. 56, *pees* sb. 433, 1397 etc., *poynnt* sb. 250, *pleyde* vb. 584, *space* sb. 11, 2005, *apert* adj. 38, *aspye* sb. 1094, *ascape* vb. 1858 (: *rape* inf.), *scape* inf. 2003 (: *rape* inf.), *trumpe* inf. 2283.

Note. *p* has been inserted in *dampne* vb. (< OF. *damner*) 182, *dampned* 594.

§ 141.

OF. b.

OF. *b* > *b*.

barons sb. pl. 2326, *best* sb. 2151, *blame* vb. 326, 873, 1777, *abate* vb. 428, 724 etc., *feble* adj. 4, 2525, 2664, *noble* adj. 77, 352 etc., *tombe* sb. 2385, *robbed* prt. 2535.

Note. For *b* in *chambre* sb. (L. *camera*) 402, *semblaunte* sb. (L. *similāre*, *simulāre* vb.) 1206 etc., *assemble* sb. (L. *assimulāre* vb.) 715, 1504 cf. BEHRENS p. 170.

OF. f.

§ 142.

OF. *f* > *f*, seldom *ph*.

face sb. 187, 354, 1206, *feble* adj. 4, 2525, 2664, *floure* sb. 2257, *comfort* sb. 2399, *grees* sb. 990 (: *beef* sb.), *suffre* inf. 2816, *suffer* 2621, *suffred* 308, 1408. The spelling *ph* occurs in *prophete* sb. 515, 585 etc., *prophetes* 1621, 2033, 2176, *prophecy* sb. 61, 2586, *prophecyes* 666.

Note. *afray* sb. 292, 2010 (OF. *ff*), *stryffe* sb. 205 (: *knyffe* sb.), 1884, 2581 (: *lyffe* sb.), *myschieff* sb. 2850, *vouchesaffe* vb. 1738 (OF. *f*) are due to the scribe. A has *affray* 1106, 2876, *stryfe* 1019, *strife* 2750, 3451, *vouchsauf* 2604, B *myscheef* 3730.

OF. v.

§ 143.

OF. *v* > *v*, medially *u* [*v*].

vertu sb. 160, 1607, *visage* sb. 1078, 1176, *voys* sb. 865, 991, *deuocioun* sb. 1698, *sauoure* sb. 2600, *deserued* pp. 2948 (: *sterued* pret.), *seruyce* sb. 243, 1038, *greue* vb. : *be-*, *byleue* vb. & sb. 201, 538, 779, 2576, *greueþ* 503 (: *byleueþ* pres.), *saue* vb. : *haue* vb. 116, 158 etc., *stryue* vb. 343.

Note. OF. *v* has been dropped in *pore* adj. (< OF. *povre*) 2290, 2616.

AF. w.

§ 144.

(Pop. L. *gu*, OF. *gu*, *g* < Teut. *w*.)

(1). AF. *w* > *w*.

wage vb. 2260, *waraunte* vb. 1645, 1828, *waraunt* 1070, *warante* 1002, *waraunte* sb. 1676, *warden* sb. 1885, *wayted* prt. 1460, *werre* sb. 84, 261, 2108.

(2). AF. *w* > *g*.

gyle sb. 800, *begyle* vb. 1076, *gyse* sb. 2330.

OF. m.

§ 145.

OF. *m* > *m*.

maner sb. 152, 506 etc., *measure* sb. 69, *amende* vb. 14, 108 etc., *camels* sb. 140, *kamels* 2128, *enemyes* sb. pl. 1813,

blame inf. 326, 873 (: *shame* sb.), 1777, *fame* sb. : *name* sb. 417, 741, 2548, *memorye* sb. 642, *tombe* sb. 2385, *commyne* adj. 2647, *commynthe* sb. 601, 2841.

Dentals.

§ 146.

OF. t.

OF. *t* > *t*.

terme sb. 1839, *towre* sb. 2599, *tresoure* sb. 437, 752 etc., *atyre* sb. 2080, *herytage* sb. 74, *astale* sb. 900 (: *late* adv.), *doute* sb. : *aboute* adv. 1378, 1969, : *wipout* adv. 2802, *dout* 2096 (: *without*), *assent* sb. 426 (: *sent* prt.), 439 (: *spent* prt.), *best* sb. 2151 (: *mest* sup.), *letter* sb. 499 (: *better* comp.).

Note. Forms in double *t*, e. g. *courtte* sb. 1472, *grauntte* inf. 2277, *grauntte* imp. 1807, 1822, *graunted* pp. 1789 etc. are due to the scribe; cf. pp. 33 f.

§ 147.

OF. d.

OF. *d* > *d*.

dame sb. 1127, 1155 etc., *doute* sb. 1378, 1969, 2802, *ordeyne* vb. 2070, 2074, *pardon* sb. 56, *pleyde* inf. 584 (: *seide* prt.), *accorde* sb. 1560 (: *lorde* sb.), *amende* inf. 14 (: *sende* inf.), *corde* sb. 2087 (: *sworde* sb.).

Note. OF. *feid*, *fei* sb. appears as *fay* sb. 1615 (: *away* adv.), *fey* 1003, *feip* 1490 (: *seip* 'says'), 647, 1499, 1672, 2716; moreover *permafay* 1029 (: *day* sb.), *parfay* 3072, 3075 (: *away* adv.), *mafay* 1318, 1827, *mafey* 2737, 2745; cf. BEHRENS pp. 175 f.

§ 148.

OF. [dž] (voiced affricate).

OF. *dž* > *dž*, spelt *i*, *j*, *g*.

ielouse adj. 1325, *ientyl* adj. 707, *ioye* sb. 281, 807 etc., *iugement* sb. 93; *Jewe* sb. 208, 938 etc., *justice* sb. 597, 747, 863, 891; *gynne* sb. 2867, 2965; medially as a rule *g(e)* : *age* sb. 46, *aungel* sb. 795, 1553 etc., *clergy* sb. 1837, *dongecoun* sb. 2375, *languages* sb. pl. 527, 1657, *large* adj. 1829, *scourges* sb. pl. 1274, *sege* sb. 275, 1909 etc., *seruage* sb. 20, 45, *venge* vb. 1813; *i* in *veniaunce* sb. 177, 266.

OF. [tš].

§ 149.

OF. *tš* > *tš*, spelt *ch*.

chambre sb. 402, *chaunce* sb. 75, 178, *charyte* sb. 141, 2584, *chere* sb. 1097, *myschieff* sb. 2850, *enchesoun* sb. 1612, *towche* inf. 45, *touchep* 640, *vowchesaffe* vb. 1738; *grochep* vb. 2589 (Mod. E. [dž]).

OF. *s*.(1). OF. *s* (< L. *s*) > *s*.

§ 150.

saue vb. 116, 158 etc., *seynt* adj. 103, 147 etc., *solace* sb. 53, 2328, 2399, *best* sb. 2151 (: *mest* 'most'), *fest* sb. 282 (: *mest*), 1380 (: *best* sup.), *feste* 195 (: *mest*), *hast* sb. 1794 (: *fast* adv.), 2963 (: *bycast* vb.), *cas* sb. : *was* 59, 225 etc., : *las* 557, *curteys* adj. 1014, *ielouse* adj. 1325 (: *house* sb.), *assemble* sb. 715, 1504, *messanger* sb. 369, 473, 2300, *passioun* sb. 664, 760 etc.

Note. Before *l*, *n*, *m*, *s* had been dropped in early OF.; see SCHW.-B. § 129. OF. *bla(s)mer* vb. occurs as *blame* 326, 873 (: *shame* sb.), 1777, OF. *isle* sb. as *ile* 723 (: *vyle* adj.), 732, 734, 738.

(2). OF. *s*, older *ts*, *ds* < L. *ce*, *ci*, *ci*, *ti*, *ts*.

§ 151.

(a) Initially.

The spelling is *c*.*certeyn* 1839, 1844, *cytee* sb. 81, 197 etc.

(b) Finally.

The spelling is *s*, seldom *ce*.

croys sb. 866, 992, 1183, *pees* sb. (L. *pācem*) 433 (: *gyltlees* adj.), 1397, *pryse* sb. 2156 (: *wyse* adj.), *voys* sb. 865, 991, 1184, *voyce* 287. Note the rhyme *solace* sb. (OF. *solaz*) : *grace* sb. 53/4, 2399/2400.

Note. OF. *palais* sb. occurs as *palyce* 82, 2329, *palyse* 1459 (: *always* adv.).

(c) Medially.

The spelling is *c*, seldom *s*.*chaunce* sb. 75, 178 etc., *deuocioun* sb. 1698, *face* sb.

187, 354, 1206, *grace* sb. 1586 (: *trespasse* vb.), 12, 54 etc., *medycines* sb. pl. 508, *mercy* sb. 67, 69 etc., *pece* sb. (L. *petia*) 1174, *place* sb. 315, 1955 etc., *prophecye* sb. 61, 2586; *justice* sb. 597, 747 etc., *sacryfice* sb. 200 (: *aryse* inf.), *sacrifyce* 212, *seruyce* sb. 243 (: *agryse* inf.), 1038, *seruice* 1724; *raunsoun(e)* sb. 48, 911, 2647, *raunson* 66, 1057.

The rhymes 200/199, 243/4 are in favour of [z] in spite of the spelling *-ice*, *-yce*; A has *sacrefise* 1014. The base is an OF. form in *-ise* (with voiced s); cf. TEN BRINK § 111, BEHRENS pp. 187 f., VOLLMER, *Anglia* 31, p. 203.

Note 1. L. *-cti-* appears as *-cci-*, *-xci-* in *destruccion* sb. 1618, *affliacions* sb. pl. 2553.

Note 2. OF. *-iss-* (< pop. L. *-isk-*) appears as *-yssh-* in *vnpuuysshed* 1962, OF. *esbaïss-* as *abash-yd* 217.

§ 152.

OF. s (voiced spirant).

OF. *s* > *s* [z].

desert sb. 37, *desyre* sb. 934, *enchesoun* sb. 1612, 1769, *ese* vb. 1327, *gyse* sb. 2330, *mesure* sb. 69, *oryson* sb. 2379, 2393, *present* sb. 451, *prison* sb. 65, 1088 etc., *pryson* 55, 2376 etc., *resoun* sb. 389, 1112, *tresoure* sb. 437, 752 etc.

§ 153.

OF. l.

(1). OF. *l* > *l*.

lake sb. 2742, 2744, *letter* sb. 426, 452, *blame* vb. 326, 873, 1777, *cleer* adj. 52, *pleyde* inf. 584, *ielouse* adj. 1325, *vyle* adj. 448, 724, *noble* adj. 77, 352 etc., *peple* sb. 136, 190 etc.

Note 1. OF. *l* has been doubled in *felle* adj. (OF. *fel*) 750 (: *dwelle* vb.), 716 etc., *metalle* sb. (< OF. *metal*) 41 (: *alle* pron.) but *metal* 346.

Note 2. For *myracule* sb. 38 etc. see above § 115 note; also *marbyl* sb. (< OF. *marbre*) 1272.

Note 3. *l* has been inserted in *cardyacle* sb. (< OF. *cardiaque*) 2316; the rhyme shows that the *l* is due to the scribe; A has *cardiake* 3182.

(2). OF. \bar{l} is no longer mouillé but occurs as *l*, *ll*; for examples see above §§ 111, 126, 127, 131, 132.

OF. r.

§ 154.

OF. $r > r$.

rent sb. 1028, *route* sb. 1889, 2500, *prophete* sb. 515, 585 etc., *traytoure* sb. 853, 864 etc., *barons* sb. pl. 2326, *chere* sb. 1097 (: *here* adv.), *accorde* sb. 1560 (: *lorde* sb.), *corde* sb. 2087 (: *sworde* sb.), *deserued* pp. 2948 (: *sterued* prt.), *cleer* adj. 52 (: *zeer* sb.), *counseller* sb. 1932 (: *nere* 'nearer'), *perry* sb. 926.

Note 1. OF. *quar(r)el* sb. occurs as *quarel* sb. 2100, 2289, OF. *werre* sb. as *werre* 84, 261, 2108 (: *zere* sb.); BCD have *were* 2974, LCD *werre* 898, A (and the other MSS.) *werre* 1075. The different spelling and the rhyme with *zere* suggest a fluctuation between \bar{r} and \bar{r} ; cf. TEN BRINK § 68 β .

Note 2. OF. $r > l$ in *marbyl* sb. (OF. *marbre*) 1272 (*-re > -le > -el > -yl*).

Note 3. OF. *-re* after a consonant occurs as *-er* in *letter* sb. 499 (: *better* comp.), 426, 452 etc., *-yr* in *cankyr* sb. 355, but as *-re* in *chambre* sb. 402, *cofre* sb. 1207. OF. *suffrir* appears as *suffre* inf. 2816, *suffer* inf. 2621, *suffre* subj. 1826, *suffred* prt. 308, 1408, *sufferd* 2282.

Note 4. *e* has been inserted before *r* in *ayer* sb. 'air' 257, *eyer* sb. 'heir' 72; cf. BEHRENS p. 194.

OF. n.

§ 155.

(1). OF. $n > n$.

noble adj. 77, 352 etc., *crowne* vb. 1377, *honoure* sb. 95, 184 etc., *peyne* sb. 720 (: *tweyne* card.), *amende* vb. 14 (: *sende* vb.), *assent* sb. 426 (: *sent* prt.), 439 (: *spent* prt.), *deuocioun* sb. 1698 (: *adowne* adv.), *renowne* sb. 127 (: *towne* sb.).

Note 1. *n* has been inserted in *messenger* sb. 369, 473, 2300, *messengers* 743; cf. BEHRENS p. 200. A has *messenger* 3166, *messagere* 1289, *messageres* 1561.

Note 2. OF. $n > m$ in *pilgrimage* sb. (OF. *pelerinage*) 19, *pylgrimage* 23. A *pilgrimage*, L *pylgrynage*, C *pylgrimage*, D *pilgrimage* 833, 837. — *m* in *comfort* sb. 2399, *comforte* vb. 3112, *comfort* 1125 (OF. *conforter* vb.) is due to influence of the following labial.

Note 3. OF. *covenant*, *convenant* sb. appears as *couenaunt* 501, 3071; cf. GRUNDR. p. 989.

Note 4. *bancrers* sb. pl. 2041 is a scribal error for *baners* (OF. *banere*); see A 2907.

(2). OF. *ñ* is no longer mouillé but appears as a rule as *n* (for examples see above §§ 111, 126, 131), as *gn* in *dignite* sb. 423, 2310, *regned* prt. 424, 455.

Palatals and gutturals.

OF. *k*.

§ 156. (1). OF. *k* < L. *k* except before *a*.

OF. *c* [*k*] > *c*, *k* [*k*].

cofre sb. 1207, *court* sb. 550, *courtte* 1472, *curteys* adj. 1014; *cleer* adj. 52, *croys* sb. 866, 992, 1183; *scourges* sb. pl. 1274; *recorde* sb. 1367, *socoure* vb. 183, 2976, *socoure* sb. 1495, 1929; *lake* sb. 2742 (: *make* inf.), 2744; as for *k* in this word see SCHW.-B. § 145. 2.

Note 1. OF. *c* [*k*] has been doubled in *accorde* sb. (OF. *acord*) 1560, perhaps through Latin influence.

Note 2. OF. *ks* occurs as *x*, *xc*, *xs*.

exile adj. 447; *affliacions* sb. pl. 2553; *excuse* inf. 649, 820, *excused* pp. 643, 645.

Change of prefix has taken place in *ensample* sb. (OF. *essample*) 1609, 1646.

Note 3. OF. *coint*, *quointe*, *queinte* adj. occurs as *queynt* 2091, *queyntte* 737; also *queyntelyche* adv. 2984, *queyntyse* sb. 742, *queyntaunce* sb. 2543.

§ 157. (2). Lat. *k* before *a* had become *tʃ* in OF.; see SCHW.-B. § 139. This sound occurs as *ch* [*tʃ*] in ME.; see above. Lat. *k* was, however, preserved in Picard and Northern Norman. Moreover, some words are later loans; see SCHW.-B. l. c., note.

The following words have *c*, seldom *k* [*k*] in our text: *camels* sb. 140, *kamels* 2128, *cankyr* sb. 355, *cardyacle* sb. 2316, *cas* sb. 59, 225 etc., *Castel* sb. 1956, *caue* sb. 2975, *ascape* vb. 1446, 2961; cf. BEHRENS p. 205.

(3). OF. *qu* > *qu*, *cqu* [*kw*]. § 158.
quarel sb. 2100, 2289, *acquite* vb. 1152.

OF. *g*. § 159.

OF. *g* > *g*.

grace sb. 12, 54 etc., *grees* sb. 990, *groche* imp. 2589,
languages sb. pl. 527, 1657, *purgatorye* sb. 2574.

OF. *h*. § 160.

(1). OF. *h* < Lat. *h* (spiritus asper); Lat. *h* was dropped
 in pop. Latin; see Schw.-B. § 21.

(a) Forms in which *h* is kept.

habitation sb. 1539, *habitaciouns* 1516, *herytage* sb. 74,
honoure sb. 95, 184 etc., *honoured* prt. 42, *houre* sb. 224.

(b) Forms in which *h* is dropped.

eyer sb. (L. *hērēdem*) 72, *eresye* sb. (L. **hæresia*) 1422,
ost sb. (L. *hostem*) 1753, 1903 etc.

(2). OF. *h* < Teut. *h* [*χ*]; see Schw.-B. § 30 b.

OF. *h* is kept in *hast* sb. (< WT. **haisti-*) 1794, 2963,
haste 2826, *hast* vb. 1464, *haste* 1751.

(3). OF. *hurter* vb. (of unknown origin) occurs as *hyrte*
 prt. 1273; also the frequentative *hurtel* 346.

CHAPTER II.

Accidence.

A. Substantives.

§ 161. The investigation of the accidence, and especially of the inflection of substantives and adjectives, is rendered very difficult by the scribe's careless treatment of weak final *e*. Therefore, in dealing with substantives and adjectives, I, as a rule, confine myself to forms occurring in rhymes. Not even these, however, are always reliable, because final weak *e* may have begun to be dropped.

I. Strong Declension.

1. Masculine *o-*, *jo-*, *wo-*, *i-* and *u-*stems.

(a) Singular.

§ 162. (a) **Nominative (and accusative).**

(1). The nom. (and acc.) is without any ending in *o*-stems.

dreem 877 (: *Jerusalem*), *god* 107, 121, *gost* 1710 (: *most* sup.), *kyng* 388, 581, *knyzt* 519 acc., 1031, *lord* 937, 958, *ooþ* acc. 1917 (: *gooþ* 'goes'), *tem* 70 (: *hem* pron.), *þeef* 854, 857, *þouzt* 623 (: *nozt* adv.); *flood* (*u*-stem) 1874 acc. (: *good* adj. sg.).

(2). The nom. (and acc.) ends in *e*, answering to

(aa) OE. *e* in ($\alpha\alpha$) *jo*-stems with a long root-syllable: *ende* 1248 acc. (: *sende* inf.), 1577 (: *amende* inf.), *leche* 509 (: *teche* inf.); also *dynne* (OE. *dyn(n)*, *dyne*) 231 (: *þerynne* adv.); ($\beta\beta$) *i*-stems with a short root-syllable: *hate* (OE. *hete*) 2240 acc. (: *Pylate*), *mete* 1529 acc. (: *lete* inf.), *stedde* acc. : *to dede* 'to death' 809, 1765.

(bb) OE. *u* in *u*-stems with a short root-syllable:

*son*e 277 (: *shone* inf.), 1757 acc. (: *shone* subj.), 2314 acc. (: *shone* inf.), (acc.) : *wone* inf. 685, 703.

(cc) OE. *-en* (*n* has been dropped).

morowe 199, 1031.

(dd) *e* seems to have been added in some cases, especially in nouns with a long root-syllable:

rede 2121 (: *lede* inf.), 2675 (: *but dede* < OE. *dēaþ*), 721 acc. (: *stedde* sb.), *towne* 234 acc. (: *adowne* adv.), *walle* 1914 acc. (: *falle* inf.), *wynde* acc. 1878 (: *behynde* adv.); *snowe* 1899 acc. (: *blowe* inf.); within the text *hounde* acc. 2528; *felde* (*u*-stem) 2507 acc.

e might of course be a mere orthographical sign, the final *e* of the rhyme-words being dropped, but I do not think that is the case. With one exception (the uncertain *hounde*), the nouns in question are either abstract (*rede*) or names of things. As the feeling of grammatical gender had become weakened already in early ME., the *e* may very well be explained as depending on influence from feminine \bar{a} -stems with a long root-syllable, where *e* had been extended to the nom. from the oblique cases; cf. TEN BRINK § 207, SWEET, NEG. § 972.

(3) In the matter of final *e* there is variation in *wey*, *way* 486, 619, 2409, 2676, *weye* 2068 (: *preye* 1st. p. sg. pres.), 2684 (: *seye* inf.); cf. TEN BRINK § 199, note; SACHSE p. 7.

§ 163.

(β) Genitive.

The genitive ends in *es*.

cokkes 227, *dayes* 2288, *domes* 597, *goddes* 1, 92, *kyngges* 705, 710, *lordes* 1773.

Note. The genitive *heuene* in the compound *heuene-blysse* 2592 is based on OE. *heofone* (weak fem.), not on OE. *heofon* (strong masc.); cf. SACHSE § 1 note.

§ 164.

(γ) Dative.

We have pointed out above that the nom. sing. very often ends in *e*. In this case it is, of course, impossible to prove any dative ending. Moreover, we find that the dative only occurs in prepositional phrases, and these should be dealt with very cautiously, because it is rather difficult to determine, in every case, whether the preposition governed the dative or accusative. It should also be observed that when the nom. of a word is not found in our text the *e*, occurring in the dative, may have existed in the nom. too.

(1). The dative ends in *e*.

(*on*) *graue* 1007 (: *haue* inf.), (*to*) *mowþe* 1353 (: *cowþe* prt.), (*with*) *wode* (*u*-stem) 1942 (: *good* adj. pl.).

(2). The dative is without any ending.

(*of*) *cloþ* 1174 (: *loþ* adj. sg.), (*vppon*) *stoon* 137 (: *þeron* adv.), (*in*) *þouzt* 1356 (: *ybrouzt* pp.), 2130 (: *brouzt* pp.), 2218 (: *nozt*).

(3). Variation between *e* and no termination.

(*to*) *dede* 810 (: *stedde* sb.), 1766 (: *stedde* sb.), (*after*) *dede* (MS. *deþ*) 105 (: *stede* sb.); (*to*) *deth*, *deþ* : *Nazareth* 512, 875; (*of* (A *to* 1191)) *dome* 375 (: *come* inf.), 697 ((*by*) *d* : *Rome*; uncertain); 1182 ((*toward*) *d* : *come* prt. sg.); (*to*) *walle* 2197 (: *calle* inf.), 2257 ((*uppon*) *w* : *calle* subj. 2nd p. sg.), 2703 ((*to*) *w* : *calle* inf.), 2944 ((*ouer*) *w* : *alle* pron. pl.), *towne-walle* 2104 ((*into*) *t* : *alle* pron. pl.); 2456 ((*aboute*) *w* : *schalle* 1st. p. sg.). The instances of *walle* except perhaps 2257 are

most uncertain; in OE. *ā-būtan* governed the acc. A has throughout *wall* 3063, 3123, 3581, 3836, 2970, 3322.

(b) Plural.

§ 165.

The plural ends in (*e*)s, seldom *ys*.

goddes 41, 436, *lordes* 1505, 1760, *wyndes* 287; *þewys* 707, 717; *feldes* 2039. — There is no instance of the genitive.

Note 1. *peny* (< OE. *penning*) occurs in the plur. as *pens* 856, *pans* 1573, 1598, 2470.

Note 2. A relic of an old dat. plur. is to be found in (*by þilke*) *dawe* (< OE. *daȝum*) 1035 (: *Jewenlawe*); cf. above p. 42.

2. Neuter *o-*, *jo-*, *wo-* and *i-*stems.

(a) Singular.

(α) Nominative (and accusative).

§ 166.

(1). The nom. (and acc.) is without any termination in (aa) dissyllables:

syluer 2627, *tymber* 2466, *water* 2116, 2134; *body* 130, 184.

(bb) a great many others:

lym 344 (: *hym* pron.); *corn* 2630, *folk* 30, *lyȝt* 220, 2288, *ryȝt* 181, *þing* 57, 657; *fen* 2526, 2039 pl.? (: *men* sb. pl.); *gle* 1790, probably also in *bloode* 2968 (: *wiȝstode* prt. sg.).

(2). The nom. (and acc.) ends in *e* in

(αα) one *jo*-stem with a long root-syllable:

era(u)nde 813, 1096; A has *erand* 1631, *erande* 1920.

(ββ) *o*-stems with a short root-syllable, according to TEN BRINK § 203.5 by influence from the plur.; cf. SWEET, NEG. § 977.

dale 2138, *ȝate* 2955. *backe* 2031, *grasse* 2529, *shippe* 470, 471, *ynne* 935 are rather uncertain; A has *bak* 2897, *shipp* 1286, *shippe* 1287, *in* 1755.

(γγ) some nouns in OE. *-en*; *n* has been dropped.
game 1267 (: *shame* sb.), *mayde* 1566.

n is kept in (*into*) *mayden* 577, *token* 193, 209, 255¹.

Note. *e* seems to have been added in *kynde*:*fynde* pres. pl. 88, 2891; *fynde* 1st p. sg. pres. 797; it may be due to influence of OE. *gecynd* f.; cf. SACHSE § 10 c. Moreover in *golde* acc. 926 (: *wolde* prt.).

The material is of rather small value. Only a few words occur in rhymes, and thus it cannot generally be decided to what extent the forms are due to the scribes. Within the verse there is great fluctuation between forms in *e* and those without any termination: *childe* 1921, *brede* 132, *lombe* 216, *londe* 33, *lyffe* 344; *child* 692, 698, 2567, *lyff* 2642, 2879 etc.

§ 167.

(β) **Genitive.**

The genitive ends in *es*. The only instance is *lyffes* 1744.

§ 168.

(γ) **Dative.**

I refer to what has been said above under masc.

(1). The dative ends in *e*.

(*for*) *colde* 2248 (: *holde* inf.), (*of*) *londe* 677 (: *vnderstonde* 1st p. sg. pres.), (*in*) *londe* 1647 (: *vnderstonde* 1st p. sg. pres.), (*of*) *wrytte* 1455 (: *sytte* inf.), (*of*) *writte* 1610 (: *sitte* 3rd p. sg. subj.).

(2). The dative is without any termination.

(*in*) *liþ* 1000 (: *þerwiþ* adv.), (*on*) *tre* (A *tree* 1410) 594 (: *me* pron.), (*of*) *tre* (A *tree* 2022) 1196 (: *he* pron.). Uncertain is (*of*) *bloode* 1424 (: *good* adj. sg.), (*of*) *bloode* 1935 (: *as he* *vnderstode*). In the first place A has (*of*) *blode*:*gode* adj. pl. 2252, in the second (*of*) *bloode*:*understode* 2801/2; cf. nom.

¹ *toke* is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Intro.*

(b) Plural.

§ 169.

(1). In most cases the plural ends in (*e*)s, *ys*, just as in the masc. vowel-stems.

*bony*s 302 (: *ony*s < OE. *ānes*), *lond*es 389, 1379, *so*res 1714, *swerd*es 1919, 2504, *werk*es 339, *werk*ys 89, *word*es 543, 1967; *bed*es 109, *zates* 228, *lymes* 1712, *shypp*es 1859; *body*es 2648, 2654, 2668, *token*es 311, 335, 340, *wond*ers 101, 573; *wyt*tes 1523; *bale*s 838; *sper*es 2504, *sper*ys 1919.

(2). Some *o*-stems with a long root-syllable form a plural without (*e*)s: *hors* 258, 1993, 2040, 2127, *swyne* 2128.

Note 1. *zeer* appears without *es* when preceded by a cardinal: 11, 37, 51 (: *cleer* adj.) etc., and in the expression *fele zeer* 567 (: *here* inf.); within the verse *fele zeres* 371, 3024. In GRUNDR. p. 1093 these forms without *s* are said to be based on OE. *zēara* gen. > *zeere*; the rhyme seems also to require a final *e*.

Note 2. In OE. *cild* formed a plural in *r*, and has in our text the plurals *childern* 768, 980 etc., *children* 687.

Note 3. OE. *cnēow* seems to occur without *s* in the plural, judging by the rhymes *kne:be* subj. 475/6, *knee:me* pron. 2661/2; within the verse *kneys* 137, 139, *knees* 140, 2407, 2920.

3. Feminine *ā*-, *jā*-, *i*- and *u*-stems.

(a) Singular.

(α) Nominative (and accusative).

§ 170.

The nom. (and acc.) regularly ends in *e*; for the extension of the termination see TEN BRINK § 207.

(aa) *ā*-stems: (αα) with a short root-syllable:

nom. : *care* 2030, *shame* 118, 2356;

acc. : *care* 831, 1371 (: *welfare* inf.), *fare* 2052, *loue* 154, *sawe* 1669 (: *drāwe* 2nd p. sg. subj.), 2352 (: *yslawe* pp.), 2593 (: *drawe* inf.), 3059 (: *drawe* inf.), *shame* 84, 174, *tale* 599, 2037;

(ββ) with a long root-syllable:

nom. : *mede* 1536 (: *lede* inf.), *sorowe* 2364;

acc. : *bote* 842, *helpe* 2171, 2684, *mede* 545 (: *lede* inf.), 962 (: *stedde* sb.), 1152 (: *lede* inf.), 1734 (: *spede* inf.)¹, *sorowe* 84, 2269, *stounde* 76 (: *founde* pp.), 1387, 1433 (: *yfounde* pp.), 3038 (: *vnbounde*), *pruwe* 1116 (: *knowe* pres.), 2202 (: *knowe* inf.), 2546 (: *yknowe* pp.), *while* 2511, 2677;

(γγ) one original polysyllable:

soule nom. 457 (: *Poule*).

(bb) *jā*-stems:

nom. : *sybbe* 1934, *synne* 1547, 1551; *blysse* 1536;

acc. : *helle* 1512 (: *telle* 1st p. sg. pres.).

(cc) *i*-stem:

nom. : *dede* 623, 625;

acc. : *dede* 860 (: *spede* inf.), 1652 (: *rede* 1st p. pl. pr.).

(dd) *u*-stem:

honde acc. 700.

§ 171.

(β) Genitive.

The genitive ends in *es* in *worldes* 46. The older genitive-termination *e* is, however, kept in *soule* 1428 and in the compound *rodetre* 803.

§ 172.

(γ) Dative.

There are only prepositional phrases. It is here, however, of no importance whether the preposition governed the dative or not. We may be sure that a form which occurs after a preposition is used throughout the sing., except in the genitive. The termination is always *e*.

(*for*) *sake* 1592 (: *make* inf.), 2033 (: *make* pres.), 2476 (: *make* inf.), (*after*) *saive* 155 (: *drawe* subj.), (*to*) *shame* 874 (: *blame* inf.), 1302 (: *game* sb.), (*of*) *shame* 1268 (: *game* sb.);

(*of*) *halle* 3084 (: *calle* inf.), (*to*) *halle* 1260 (: *alle* pron. pl.), (*for*) *lore* 1451 (: *euermore* adv.), (*on*) *roode* 1276 (: *ablode*

¹ Instead of the rhyme *meed*:*goodheed* 171/2, A has *mede*:(*for*) *dede*. 985/6.

adv.), (*by*) *stret(t)e* 2538 (: *ete* prt. pl.), 2587 (: *ete* inf.), (*in*) *strete* (MS. *street*) 2699 (: *meet* sb.), (*in*) *while* 1075 (: *begyle* inf.); (*for*) *synne* 289 (: *þerynne* adv.);

(*vnder*) *honde* 63 (: *vnderstonde* 1st p. sg. pres.), (*in*) *honde* 498 (: *fonde* inf.), 2954 (: *vnderstonde* 1st p. sg. pres.), (*of*) *honde* 2086 (: *stonde* inf.), (*at*) *honde* 2150 (: *astonde* pp.).

(b) Plural.

§ 173.

The plural ends, as a rule, in *es*.

tales 2427; *styes* 1988; *ladders* 2087; *dedes* 689, *zyftes* 733 (: *shyftes* 3rd p. sg. pres.), *ziftes* 743, *hydes* 2131; *hondes* 763, 1532, *handes* 2644.

Note 1. An old dative is kept in *honden* 1731 (: *stonden* inf.), 2053 (< OE *hondum*)¹.

Note 2. *soule* 1519 is probably a scribal error for *soules*; A has *soules* 2347.

II. Weak Declension (*n*-stems).

1. Masculine.

(a) Singular.

§ 174.

(α) Nominative.

The nom. terminates in *e*.

fere 1467, *grame* 2446, *hope* 2449, *name* 2547, *tyme* 1319, *wylle* : *fulfyllen*, *-fille* inf. 917, 1725, 2590, 2775, : *styllen* adv. 2796.

(β) Genitive.

There is no instance of the genitive.

¹ A seems to have an old nom. plur. in *e* in *Wher mannes synne were soo grete* (: *seete* sb.) 2375; LBC have *was*; probably a scribal error in A, although the plur. would be better for the sake of the rhyme.

(γ) Dative.

The dative ends in *e*.

(*in*) *name* 1427 (: *game* sb.), (*at*) *wylle* 1363 (: *fulfylle* inf.), 2022 (: *stylle* adv.).

(δ) Accusative.

The acc., too, ends in *e*.

knaue 2290, 2466 (: *haue* inf.), *lippe* 1644, *name* 104 (: *Jame*), *playe* 1790, *sterre* 248, *tyme* 971, *wylle* : *fulfylle* inf. 2866, 2924, : *stylle* adv. 1952, 2182, 2730¹; (*on*) *necke* 9 (: *recke* inf.).

§ 175.

(b) Plural.

The plural has, as a rule, the same ending as the masculine vowel-stems.

asses 2127 (acc.), *bowes* 2078 (gen.), *lyppes* 356 (acc.).

Note. *n* has been kept in *oxen* 2127 (< OE. *oxan*), *foon* (OE. *zefān*) 1605 (: *anoon* adv.) (but *amonge foes* 630 (: *aros* prt.)).

§ 176.

2. Neuter.

(a) Singular.

There is no instance.

(b) Plural.

(1). The plur. ends in *es*.

eres 1525.

(2). The plur. of OE. *ēaȝe* is *yȝe*, *yȝen*.

(*wiþ*) *yȝe* 1556 (: *dye* inf.), 2203 (: *felonye* sb.), (*wiþ*) *yȝen* 987 (: *to dyen*), 1525.

¹ Instead of the rhyme *wylle* : *tylle* prep. 1602/1 A has *wille* : *stille* adv. 2430/29.

3. **Feminine.**

§ 177.

(a) **Singular.**(α) **Nominative.**

The only instance is *lady* 1146; the ending has been dropped after a weak syllable; cf. SACHSE § 32 b.

(β) **Genitive.**

Of the gen. there is no instance.

(γ) **Dative.**

The dative has the termination *e*.

(*out of*) *herte* (MS. *hert*) 2368 (: *smerte* adj. pl.), (*of*) *tunge* 2046 (: *ronge* prt. pl.).

(δ) **Accusative.**

The ending is *e*.

erþe 1512, 1521, *hert* (for *herte*) 763 (: *smert* inf.; A *smerte* 1582).

(b) **Plural.**

The plural ends in *es*.

belles 2045, *hartes* 2044, *wykes* 1879.

III. **Minor Declensions.**A. **Monosyllabic Consonant Stems.**1. **Masculine.**

§ 178.

(a) **Singular.**

Nom.: *man* 120, *woman* 2548, 2759;

Gen.: *manes* 1550, *manys* 347, 672, 1313, 1519, 1521, *mannys* 1563;

Dat.: *man* 1523 (no *i*-mutation);

Acc.: *woman* 1141.

(b) Plural.

feet 187, 1199, 1532, *men* 1, 174, *wymmen* 2537, 2588, 2609, *wymen* 656, *teef* 2643.

Note. *feete* may be regarded as an old dative plur. It occurs in the expression (*vnder her*) *feete* 2526 (: *ete* prt. pl.) and is based on OE. *fēt* nom. + OE. *fōtum* dat.; cf. TEN BRINK § 214.

§ 179.

2. Feminine.

(a) Singular.

Nom.: *bokē* 72 (: *forsokē* prt. pl.), 1633 (: (*or he þe deþ*) *toke*);

Dat.: (*in*) *bokē* 99 (: *loke* inf.), (*by*) *bokē* 334 (: *forsokē* prt. pl.), (*in*) *bokē* 3040 (: *loke* inf.); (*in*) *bokē* 368 (: *toke* prt. sg.);

Acc.: *nyzt* 136, 227, 408.

(b) Plural.

bokēs 325, 578 etc.

Note 1. The rhymes suggest a fluctuation between *book* and *bokē* in the singular. I am inclined to assume that such a variation really existed. When the mutation of the dative sing. had been done away with, and the word had taken the ending *es* in the plural, it had lost its connexion with the other mutation-nouns, and it was then quite natural to decline the word like the common vowel-stems throughout the sing; cf. SIEVERS, *Ags. Gr.* §§ 283 f.

Note 2. A double plural is *kyne* (OE. *cū*, pl. *cȳ*) 2127 (: *swyne* sb.).

B. Stems in -r.

§ 180.

1. Masculine.

(a) Singular.

Nom.: *broþer* 2655, 2757, *fader* 86, 95 etc.;

Gen.: *faders* 541¹, 2317, 3059;

Dat.: *fader* 2725;

Acc.: *broþer* 186, 713.

¹ A has *his fader steward* 1357.

(b) Plural.

former-faders 50.

2. Feminine.

§ 181.

(a) Singular.

Nom.: *dou3tter* 677, 995, *moder* 2655, *suster* 2536, 2655;Dat.: *moder* 2725 (no *i*-mutation);Acc.: *dou3tter* 2561.

(b) Plural.

Of the plural there is no instance.

C. Stems in *-nd*.

§ 182.

(a) Singular.

Nom.: *fende* 663, 669, *frende* 324 (: (to) *ende*), 811 (: *wende* inf.), 1015 (: *sende* inf.), 1061 (: *sende* 2nd p. sg. subj.), 2425 (: *wende* inf.);Acc.: *fende* 665, *frende* 569 (: *sende* 1st p. sg. pres.).

(b) Plural.

fendes 612, *frendes* 1132¹, 1925, 2278.

The rhymes suggest that *e* has been added in the nom. and acc. sing. of *frende*². As regards *fende*, there are no rhymes, but the spelling is quite regular. A, too, has throughout forms in *e* in *freende* 1629, 1835, 1883, 3291, 1385; *feende* 1479, 1481 alternates with *feend* 1485. How is this *e* to be explained? It may originally be due to Scand. influence; cf. Icel. *frændi*, Sw. *frände*, Icel. *fjándi*, Sw. *fiende*. As the text, however, on the whole shows a rather small Scand. influence, I am inclined to assume that the *e*-forms are loans from a dialect where the Scand. influence has been stronger.

¹ *frende* is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*² Note also *Thát Jou wóldest my frénde bé* 1440.

§ 183.

IV. Foreign Substantives.

(a) Singular.

The genitive ends in *es*.

bestes 215, *ostes* 2476, *prophetes* 2176; *Maryes* 71, 92, *Pylates* 568.

Note. The genitive is formed by adding the apostrophe to proper names ending in *s*: *Herodes'* 1975, *Pylatus'* 2212. Such forms are not found in A.

Plural.

The plural ends in *s*, *es* (*ys*).

felawes 2974, 2978, *merkys* 90; *aungels* 35 (gen.), 1519, 1559, *barons* 2326, *charnels* 2476, 2481, *divisiouns* 1515, *kamels* 2128, *messangers* 743; *armes* 1795, 2085, 2965, *bestes* 1889, 2529, *cases* 1906, *princes* 85, 606, *vsages* 444; *enemyes* 1813, *storyes* 1312; etc.; *foles* 2870, *folys* 1396.

B. Adjectives (and Adverbs).

§ 184.

No doubt the adjectives were, upon the whole, inflected in the same way as in Chaucer. The differences may, for the most part, be set down to the scribes.

I. Inflection.

§ 185.

1. Strong Declension.

The adjective has strong endings (i) when used predicatively; (ii) when used attributively except after the definite article or a possessive or demonstrative pronoun or as a vocative. The case endings have fallen off, and we have only one form in each number.

(a) Singular.

§ 186.

(1). The singular is without any termination in

(α) OE. *o/ā*-stems:

*longe*¹ 2876 (: *amonge* prep.), *ranke* 399 (: *stanke* prt. sg.), *wonder-syke* 2767 (: *eke* adv.), *soþ* 769 (: *doþ* 3rd p. sg. pres.), *stronge* 84 (: *amonge* prep.), 182 (: *wronge* sb.), 1044 (: *spronge* prt. sg.), *wood(e) : stood(e)* prt. sg. 166, 1081; *glad(de) : bad(de)* prt. sg. 969, 1221, 1431, 1501, 2261, 2440, 2451, 2765, 3047, *ware* 2189 (: *bare* prt. sg.);

good 1588, 1696, 1698, *gret* 5, 40, *hool* 502, 1608, *ryst* 72, *wroþ* 107, 754; etc.;

(β) dissyllables:

douȝtly 1095, *holy* 378, 1394, *mochel*, *muchel* 25, 1022, 1300, *mody* 717, *redy* 2956, 3068, *sory* 2218, *worþi* 720; *almyȝtly* (polys.) 630.

(2). The singular ends in *e* in

§ 187.

(α) OE. *jo/jā*-stems with a long root-syllable:

blyþe 1444 (: *kyþe* inf.), : *swiþe*, *swyþe* adv. 2057, 2708, 3058, *ferē* : *stere* inf. 1227, 1781, *shene* 2579 (: *bytwene* prep.), *swete* 2640 (: *ete* inf.);

(β) *moche* 184, 1187, 1778, 2438, *muchē* 150 by apocope of *l*;

(γ) *harde* (*u*-stem) 1408, 1826 (uncertain, but the metre requires a dissyllable; A has *hard* 2236).

(b) Plural.

(1). The plural terminates in *e* in *o/ā*-stems.

§ 188.

bolde 1574 (: *solde* prt.), *colde* 2044 (: *byholde* inf.), *dede* 2478 (: *stedde* sb.), *goode* (MS. *good*) 1941 (: *wode* sb.), *grete* (MS. *gret*) 2615 (: *mete* sb.), *sounde* 1570 (: *founde* prt. pl.), *stronge* 2279 (: *longe* adv.) *woode* 218 (: *stooode* prt. pl.), *wyde* 1745 (: *ryde* inf.); *glad(d)e* : *made* prt. 1139, 1261, 1297, *smale* 1291 (: *tale* sb.), *ware* 2029 (: *care* sb.).

¹ *e* is of course a mere orthographical sign.

Note. Adjectives ending in *e* in the sing., do not add another *e* in the plur.

cleen 781 (: *wene* 1st p. sg. pres.); *zare* (*wo/wā*-stem) 1817 (: *fare* inf.).

- § 189. (2). The plural has no ending in the case of dissyllables.
doužty 1923, *mery* 1251, *sory* 2573, *synful* 1616, *wery* 1252, *worpi* 342, 2429, 2815.

Note. Some irregularities are, however, found.

bolde sg. 890 (: *wolde* prt.), 1849 (: *holde* 3rd p. sg. subj.), *deed* sg. (A *deede*) 493 (: *stedde* sb.), *sounde* sg. 898 (: *founde* pp.), *stronge* sg. : *longe* adv. 947, 2233, *wyde* sg. 2939 (: *syde* sb.); *glad* pl. 2598 (: *bad* prt. sg.). For the last rhyme cf. TEN BRINK § 234. As regards the others the final *e* of the rhyme-words may have been dropped; the spelling with *e* in *bolde* etc. occurs, however, in A, too; cf. also SACHSE p. 35.

§ 190.

2. Weak Declension.

The adjective has a weak ending when used attributively after a possessive or demonstrative pronoun or as a vocative.

The termination is *e* in all cases in the sing. as well as in the plur., except in dissyllables.

(a) Singular.

depe 2138, *hiže* 82, 1764, *leue* 481 (voc.), 495, 2817, *olde* 321, 2149, *owne* 934, 1935, 2527, 2664, *stronge* 1635, *younge* 103; *bare* 2104, *feyre* 1292, 1304; *newe* 318; *swete* (*jo/jā*-stem) 1188 (voc.), 2382; without any termination *holy* 526, 756, 1656, 1710 (voc.), 1949.

(b) Plural.

bare 137, *olde* 575, *owne* 325, 440.

Note. Some monosyllabic adjectives occur without any termination, e. g. *good* 963, 1031, 1688, 1711, 1741, 2759, 2862, 3085, *gret* 158, 428, *reed* 29, *ryzt* 364, 1499, *strong* 1217. In all these places, however, the metre requires dissyllables. Where we should expect weak forms, A, too, has forms in *e* in the places above-mentioned. The only exception is *right* 2327. As a dissyllable we may also take *gret* 177, 266, 1545 (two short unaccented syllables).

II. Comparison.

1. Regular Comparison.

(a) Comparative.

§ 191.

The comparative of adjectives and adverbs is formed by adding *er* to the stem of the positive.

feyrer 2492, 2849, *fayrer* 2877, *harder* 774 (adv.), *leuer* 2801, *leuere* 1218, 2813; *surer* (of French origin) 1753.

Note 1. *i*-mutation is found in *lenger* 27, 2355, 2621, 2905, 2912, *lengger* 2867, *strengger* 2535. The spelling *ngg*, suggesting [*ɣg*], does not occur in A.

Note 2. In a single case the comparative is formed by the ending *-oure*: *bytteroure* 2638 (: *tresoure* sb.). A has the rhyme *more*: *tresour* (for *tresōr*), B *bitterour*: *tresour*, C *therefore*: *tresoure* 3512/11.

(b) Superlative.

§ 192.

The superlative is formed by adding *est*, *yst* to the stem of the positive.

hizest 113, *rychest* 197, *sonyst* 2189 (adv.); *noblyst* (of French origin) 553.

Note. The final consonant is doubled in *grettest* 393, 1040, 2900, *deppyst* 796; A has the same doubling in *grettest* 1209, 1860, 3788, *deppest* 1614.

2. Irregular Comparison.

§ 193.

| Positive. | Comparative. | Superlative. |
|--------------|---|--|
| (good, well) | <i>better</i> adj. & adv. 316, 500, 645 etc. | <i>best</i> adj. & adv. 392, 700 etc., 2673 (: <i>rest</i> sb.), 1694 (: <i>reuest</i> pp.) |
| (late) | | <i>last</i> 273 (: <i>agast</i> pp.), 2914 |

| Positive. | Comparative. | Superlative. |
|------------|--|--|
| (lytel) | <i>las</i> adv. 558 (: <i>wonder-cas</i> sb.), <i>lesse</i> adj. & adv. 1672 (: <i>wytnesse</i> inf.), 2030, 2555 (: <i>dystresse</i> sb.), 2812 (: <i>sykernys</i> sb.) | <i>lest</i> 196, 1206, 2152 |
| (moche(l)) | <i>more</i> adj. & adv. 162, 326, 347 etc., <i>mo</i> 808 (: <i>þo</i> adv.), 1862 (: <i>also</i> adv.) | <i>most</i> : <i>ost</i> sb. 1904, 2955, 3061, <i>mest</i> 196 (: <i>feste</i> sb.), 281 (: <i>fest</i> sb.), 2152 (: <i>best</i> sb.) |
| (niȝe) | <i>nere</i> 1931 (: <i>counseller</i> sb.), 2023, 2123, 2173 | <i>next</i> adj. & adv. 209, 554, 936, 1424, 1583. |

§ 194.

C. Numerals.

| Cardinal. | Ordinal. |
|---|--|
| <i>one</i> 165, 426, 439, 510 etc. | <i>firste</i> 2299, <i>first</i> 19, 110, 1541, 1891 |
| { <i>two</i> 85, 494, 556 etc., <i>twey</i> 1922, 2471, <i>tweye</i> 1426, <i>tweyne</i> 719, 2476, <i>tweyn</i> 1833 | <i>oþer</i> 20 |
| <i>thre</i> 15, <i>þre</i> 996, 1426, 1516, 2167 | <i>þridde</i> 21, <i>þrydde</i> 629. <i>þirde</i> 867, <i>þirdde</i> 57, 209, 993, 1283, 1539 |
| <i>four</i> e 287, 520, 1649, 2470 | <i>fourþe</i> 219, 224, 275 |
| <i>fyue</i> 1523 | <i>fyfte</i> 226 |
| <i>sixe</i> 1879 | <i>sixte</i> 235 |
| <i>seuene</i> 105, 413, 2107, 2914 | <i>seuenþ</i> (OE. <i>seofoda</i>) 247 <i>eizt</i> (OE. <i>eahtoða</i>) 255, 421 <i>nynþe</i> (OE. <i>nizoda</i>) 267 <i>tenþe</i> (OE. <i>tēoda</i>) 273 |

twelue 1654
twenty 2348
thrytty 207, *þirtty* 856, 1573, 1595, 1598
thre and þritty 424¹
foure and þirtty 2049
fourty 11, 37, 525, 2006, 3043
fyfty 51, 53
ten and sixty 527
syxty and ten 1657
foure hunderd 2141
a þousand 1860
a eleuen þousand 2879
þirtty þousand 2500, *thrytty þousand* 207
fourty þousand 2508
fyfty þousand 2501
an hunderdþousand 1862

Cardinals. *two, tweye* etc. are used indiscriminately (OE. § 195. *twēzen* masc., *twā* fem. and neutr.). The conjoint *fyue, twelue* are based on the OE. absolute *fīfe, twelfe*. *syxty and ten* is a translation of OF. *soixante-dix*, and *ten and sixty* was formed in analogy with *thre and þritty* etc. As for *thrytty, þirtty* see OE. *r*.

The indefinite article is *a* before a cons. except *h*: 38, 76, 99 etc.; *an* before a vowel and *h*: 947, 1553, 2394, 2579; 211, 1394, 1862, 3108. *ones* (*of þise dawes*) 905 is a scribal error, probably due to attraction.

Ordinals. For *seuenþ, nynþe, tenþe* see SWEET, NEG. § 196. § 1170, concerning *þridde* etc. see above OE. *r*.

The ordinals except *oþer* are inflected as weak adj. Forms like *first* 110, 1541, 1891 are due to the scribe; the metre requires dissyllables. It is quite natural that *e* has been dropped in *seuenþ*; cf. dissyllabic adjectives as *holy, mody* etc.

First also appears as an adv. 49, 791, 1542 etc.

¹ *þretty* is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*

D. **Pronouns.**

§ 197.

1. **Personal Pronouns.**

| | 1st pers. | 2nd pers. | | |
|------------|----------------------|--|-----------------------|-------|
| Sing. Nom. | <i>I</i> 2 etc. | <i>hou</i> 154, 157 etc. | | |
| Dat. | <i>me</i> 465, 814 | <i>he</i> 476, 1126 | | |
| Acc. | <i>me</i> 489, 490 | <i>he</i> 158, 496 | | |
| Plur. Nom. | <i>we</i> 17, 117 | <i>ze</i> 29, 97 (: <i>se</i> inf.) | | |
| Dat. | <i>vs</i> 413, 1138 | <i>zou</i> 2, 191 | | |
| Acc. | <i>vs</i> 804 | <i>zou</i> 1505 | | |
| | | 3rd pers. | | |
| | | masc. | fem. | neut. |
| Sing. Nom. | <i>he</i> 7, 13 etc. | <i>sche</i> 334, 679 | <i>hit</i> 9, 54 etc. | |
| Dat. | <i>him</i> 492, 545 | <i>hyr</i> 1143 | — | |
| Acc. | <i>him</i> 128, 166 | <i>hyr</i> 663, 1131 | <i>hit</i> 8, 252 | |
| Plur. Nom. | <i>thei</i> 5, 10, | <i>hei</i> 6, 8, <i>the</i> 248 (scribal error) | | |
| Dat. | | <i>hem</i> 7, 11, 122 (: <i>Jerusalem</i>), 799 | | |
| Acc. | | <i>hem</i> 42, 62, 176. | | |

§ 198.

2. **Reflexive Pronouns.**

The personal pronouns are, as a rule, also used in a reflexive sense. In the 3rd pers. (sing. and plur.) the personal pron. occurs in combination with *self*. In the 2nd pers. of the sing. there is only one instance of the poss. pron. being used in combination with *self*.

| | 1st pers. | 2nd pers. |
|---------|----------------------------|---|
| Sing. : | <i>me</i> 1220, 1420, 1724 | <i>he</i> 819, 930, 1233, 2181, 2729, 2778 <i>thiself</i> 2232 |
| Plur. : | <i>vs</i> 2021, 2698, 2815 | <i>zou</i> 1793, 2936 |

3rd pers. masc. (there are no instances
of fem. and neut.).

Sing. : *him* 305, 1041 etc. (10 times)
himself 548, 549 etc. (7 times)

Plur. : *hem* 14, 336 etc. (10 times)
hemself 116, 2025.

Note. Forms in *self* also occur as emphasizing: *himself* 1063.
3004, *oureself* 2901, *hemself* 2565.

3. Possessive Pronouns.

§ 199.

I. Conjoint before a substantive.

Sing. 1st p. : before a cons. except *h*, *m* : *my* 324, 495 etc..
me 2662

before a vowel, *h*, *m* : *myn* 987, 2070; 700,
924, 925, 1336, 2368, 2435; 1832, 1846.
my (*hert*) 1776

2nd p. : before a cons. except *h* : *þi* 152, 155 etc.

before a vowel or *h* : *thyn* 1753, *þin* 2203; *þin*
1333, 1702, 2113, *þi* (*hert*) 1670

3rd p. masc. : *his* 24, 28, 30, 137 etc.

fem. : *hir* 1400, *hyr* 679, 680, 685, 1152

Plur. 1st p. : *oure* 56, 153, 492

2nd p. : *zoure* 1485

3rd p. : *her* 9, 23, 31, 36 etc.

Conjoint after a subst. : *þin* 2433.

Note. Only once occurs *þeyre* 1658 (A *her* 2486).

me 2662 may be taken as a weak form of *my* or perhaps as a
mere scribal error.

II. Absolute.

Sing. 1st p. sing. : *myn* 625 (: *kyn* sb.), 1870, *myne* 2209
(: *pyne* sb.)

plur. : *myne* 1777 (: *pyne* sb.), *myn* 2271 (: *pyne* sb.)

2nd p. sing. : *þin* 3041, 3052, *þine* 1445 (: *pyne* sb.)

plur. : *þin* 1842

3rd p. masc. sing. : *his* 464, 960

plur. : *hyse* 2422 (: *þe wyse* adj.).

Of fem. and neut. there are no instances.

Plur. 1st. p. sing. : *oures* 2450

plur. : *oure* 2019, 2032 (A *oures* 2885, 2898)

2nd p. No instance.

3rd p. sing. : *her* 2450 (A *heres* 3316).

The list shows that *myn*, *myne*, *þin*, *þine* are used indiscriminately. We should expect *myn*, *þin* in the sing., *myne*, *þine* in the plural.

The plur. *oure* 2019, 2032, and the sing. *her* 2450 are peculiar; they are evidently due to the scribe.

§ 200.

4. Demonstrative Pronouns.

| | Sing. | Conjoint. | Plur. |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|-------|
| | <i>þat</i> 73, 106, 144 etc. | <i>þo</i> 2368 | |
| | <i>þis</i> 49, 59, 75 | <i>þis</i> 174, 1500, 2917 (A <i>þese</i> 988, 2328, <i>þis</i> 3807) | |
| | | <i>þise</i> 311, 335, 367 etc. | |
| | | <i>thyse</i> 687 | |
| | <i>þilke</i> 1391 | <i>þilke</i> 1035 | |
| | <i>þat ylke</i> 332 | | |
| | <i>þis ylke</i> 1433 | | |
| | <i>such</i> 95 | | |
| | <i>suche</i> 63, 1298 etc. | | |
| | <i>suche a</i> 205, 220, 230 etc. | | |

| | Sing. | Absolute. | Plur. |
|--|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-------|
| | <i>þat, that</i> 7, 33, 38 etc. | <i>þo</i> 810, 1570 | |
| | | <i>tho</i> 183 | |
| | <i>this</i> 89, 141 | <i>thise</i> 1515 | |
| | | <i>þise</i> 1533, 1535 | |
| | <i>þilke</i> 346 | <i>þilke</i> 790, 2323, 2628 | |
| | <i>sucheone</i> 3081 | | |

Note. An old dative is preserved in the expression *for þe nones* (<for then ones < OE. *for þæm ānes*) 2618; cf. HORN § 229.

5. Interrogative Pronouns.

§ 201.

Conjoint.

Absolute.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--|
| Sing. | Plur. | Nom. <i>what</i> (neut.) 477 etc. |
| <i>what</i> 961, 1990, 2692 | <i>what</i> 573 | Acc. <i>whom</i> (masc.) 942 <i>what</i> 260, 488 |

Predicative.

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Sing. | Plur. |
| <i>whiche</i> 268 etc. | <i>whiche</i> 16 etc. |

6. Relative Pronouns.

§ 202.

Conjoint.

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Sing. | Plur. |
| <i>whiche</i> 107 | |
| <i>what</i> (neut.) 1735 | |
| <i>weþer</i> 2682 | |

Absolute.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Sing. | Plur. |
| <i>þat, that</i> 46, 72, 87, 92 etc. | <i>þat</i> 140, 173, 174 etc. |
| <i>whiche</i> 1530 | |
| <i>what</i> 296, 2084 | |

Who (only absolute).

| | |
|---|--|
| Masc. | Fem. |
| Nom. <i>who</i> 2486 | |
| Dat. and Acc. (<i>þoru3</i>) <i>whom</i> 1783 | (<i>for</i>) <i>wham</i> 2563 (probably a scribal error; A <i>whom</i> 3433. |

'Indefinite relative pronouns: *what so euer* 314, *what-soeuer* 620.

§ 203.

7. Indefinite Pronouns.

| | | Conjoint. | | Absolute. | | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|---|-------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------|
| | Sing. | Plur. | | Sing. | Plur. | | | | |
| <i>one</i> | 277 | | | | | | | | |
| <i>none</i> | 185, 311, 358 etc. | | | <i>none</i> | 342, 915, 1064 | | | | |
| <i>no</i> | 67, 112, 115 etc. | <i>no</i> | 1083 | | | | | | |
| <i>eny</i> | 1582 | | | <i>any</i> | 406, 1950, 2628 | | | | |
| <i>any</i> | 12, 644, 673 etc. | | | | | | | | |
| <i>oþer</i> | 193, 315 etc. | <i>oþer</i> | 443, 508, 656 | <i>oþer</i> | 185, 206, 358 etc. Gen. <i>oþeres</i> 1534, <i>oþers</i> 2642 | | | | |
| <i>som</i> | 259, 924, 1072 etc. | | | | <i>som</i> | 2851, 2875 | | | |
| <i>anoþer</i> | 97, 696 etc. | | | <i>anoþer</i> | 167 | | | | |
| <i>a noþer</i> | 490, 722 | | | <i>a noþer</i> | 714 | | | | |
| <i>al</i> | 39, 70, 88 etc. | <i>alle</i> | 543, 606 etc. | <i>al</i> | 87, 521 | <i>alle</i> | 42, 213, 283, 515 <i>al</i> | 217, 1270 Gen. <i>allyr</i> | 1898 |
| | | <i>all</i> | 196 | | | | | | |
| | | | | <i>ouzt</i> | 886, 887, 897, 2180 | | | | |
| | | | | <i>nozt</i> | 238 | | | | |
| | | | | <i>neiþer</i> | 1924, 1926 | | | | |
| <i>eche</i> | 120, 698, 1129 etc. | | | <i>eche</i> | 1920, 2469 etc. | | | | |

| Conjoint. | | Absolute. | |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| | | <i>echon</i> 1092, 2059 etc. | |
| <i>eueryche</i> 529, 770, 1209 <i>euery</i> 396, 738, 1245 etc. | | <i>eueryche</i> 206, 1918 | |
| | | <i>euerychon</i> 2133, 2284 etc. | |
| <i>many a</i> 208, 1894 etc. <i>many</i> 1652, 2091, 2294 | <i>many</i> 615, 651 etc. | <i>many one</i> 613, 1244 etc. | <i>many</i> 1650 |
| | | <i>neuerone</i> 1912 | |
| | <i>boþ</i> 356, 682 etc. | | <i>boþ</i> 750, 753 etc. <i>boþe</i> 1923 |

Note. Indefinite pronouns in the sing. are often used as appositional words with the nouns in the plur., e. g. *but þe Jewes euerychoon* 736, *tyl þei knowleched euerychone* 1288, *þei wiþin swore echon* 1911, *there þei helde hem euerychon* 1957 etc.; cf. GRUNDR. p. 1087.

E. Verbs.

I. Formation of the Preterite.

1. Strong verbs.

Class I.

§ 204.

OE. *ī, ā, ĭ, ĭ.*

| Inf. | Pret. sing. | Pret. plur. | Past part. |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>abyde</i> 1236 etc. | <i>abode</i> 177, 786 | | |
| | <i>tobote</i> 356 | | |

| Inf. | Pret. sing. | Pret. plur. | Past part. |
|---------------------------|---|--|--|
| | | <i>droue</i> 1889 | <i>dryue</i> 536 <i>ydryue</i> 28 <i>ydryfe</i> 490 |
| <i>agryse</i> 244 | | | |
| <i>ryde</i> 1746, 1780 | <i>rode</i> 2073 | <i>rode</i> 1992, 2325 | |
| <i>ryse</i> 2082 | <i>ros</i> 205 <i>rose</i> 1031 | <i>rose</i> 1479 | <i>ryse</i> 632 |
| <i>aryse</i> 199 | <i>aros</i> 629 <i>arose</i> 805 etc. <i>smote</i> 169, 355 | <i>aros</i> 173 | |
| <i>wryte</i> 328, 821 | <i>wrote</i> 99 etc. | <i>wrytten</i> 427 <i>wrote</i> 431 | <i>wrytte</i> 3026 <i>writte</i> 368 <i>ywrytte</i> 522 <i>ywryte</i> 639 |

The forms in the inf., pret. sing., and past part. are normally developed; *ydryfe* 490 is evidently a scribal error; cf. above OE. *f*. — The sing. of the pret. is regularly extended to the plur.; the only exception is *wrytten* 427, but the line in question is most probably corrupt in P; see A (and L) 1243. In A the normally developed forms in the plur. of the pret. are kept: *dreven* (see BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 84) 2, 755, *riden* 2858, 3191, *risen* 2307, *arisen* 987, *writen* 1247.

§ 205.

Class II.

OE. *ēo* (*ū*), *ēa*, *u*, *o*.

| | | | |
|------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|
| <i>chese</i> 671 | <i>chasse</i> 2530 (: <i>grasse</i> sb.) | <i>chosse</i> 551 (A <i>chosen</i> 1367) | <i>ychose</i> 2309 |
| <i>lese</i> 672 | | | <i>lore</i> 534, 1664, 2349 |

ylore 789, 1611
 (: *þerfor* adv.)
forlore 580,
 2230
forlor 2806 (: *for*
 prep. < OE.
for, fore)
ylocke 1968
 (: *spoke* pp.)

rewe 868

shotte 2285
fle 596, 612 etc. *fleiȝ* 1419, *fleiȝ* 1953
 1981, 2002 *flowe* 246
fley 401

The change of consonants in OE. *cēosan*, depending on Verner's law, is got rid of in *chosse* prt. pl. (OE. *curon*), *ychose* pp. (OE. *coren*), the *s* of the infin. and pret. sing. having prevailed, but is kept in *lore* etc. pp. (OE. *-loren*).

The infinitive-forms show nothing noteworthy. — *chasse* prt. sg. is rather uncertain. The rhyme proves, strictly speaking, nothing; A has another version 3400, B *chas*, LC the normal *ches* < OE. *cēas* (: *gres* L); cf. BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. pp. 91 f. — Extension of the pret. sing. to the pret. plur. is found in *fleiȝ* 1953. In this place A has, however, the regular *flowen* (< OE. *fluȝon*) 2819. The *o* in *chosse* is, of course, due to influence from *ychose* pp., but the affricate in both forms has come from the infin. and pret. sing. The *o* in *shotte*, too, seems to have come from the past part. A has *shoten* 3151; cf. however BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 94. — *ylocke* (with *ck*) pp. is a form of the scribe's, depending on influence from ME. *loke* sb. (< OE. *loc*). The rhyme proves that the author used the normal form *yloke(n)* < OE. *zelocen*. — *forlor* pp. evidently stands for *forlore*.

§ 206.

Class III.

(a) Verbs with a stem in a nasal + cons.

OE. *i, a, u, u.*

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--|--|---|
| | | <i>bounde</i> 298, 592, 989, 1271 (: <i>rounde</i> adj.) | <i>ybounde</i> 2000 <i>bounde</i> 3016 ¹ |
| <i>fynde</i> 17, 330 etc. | <i>fonde</i> 331 (: <i>londe</i> sb.), 598, 603 | <i>founde</i> 1037, 1569 (: <i>sounde</i> adj.), 2603 <i>fonde</i> 1888 (: <i>londe</i> sb.) | <i>founde</i> 75, 1432 <i>yfounde</i> 1141 ² , 1434, 1468, 2322 <i>founde</i> 887 (: <i>sounde</i> adj.), 1999 |
| | <i>gan</i> 214, 284 etc. | <i>gune</i> 228, 584 etc. | |
| | <i>ganne</i> 244 | <i>gan</i> 1456, 1714 etc. | |
| <i>byggynne</i> 318, 1896 | <i>bygan</i> 275, 1514 etc. <i>byganne</i> 23, 317 etc. | <i>bygune</i> 2608 | |
| | | <i>ronge</i> 2045 (: <i>tonge</i> sb.) | |
| | <i>ranne</i> 1275 | <i>rune</i> 2607 <i>ran</i> 1953 (: <i>Jordan</i>), 2861 (: <i>man</i> sb.) | |

¹ *bonde* is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*² *yfonde* is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*

songe 2054

spronge 1043,
1108 etc.

stanke 400
stancke 2653

wynne 2156,
2454, 2750
ywynne 2736

wanne 752

wonne 2063

awan 801

wronge 2053

(b) Verbs with a stem in *l* + cons. (OE. *e, ea a, u, o*)
or in *r, h* + cons. (OE. *eo, ea, u, o*).

helpe 3054

holpe 2996

fyzt 2086,
2493, 2870

fouzt 2511
(: *fouzt* prt.)

fizt 347

fouzte 2287

fauzt 259

barst 805 (: *cast* vb.)

tobrašt 230
(: *fast* adv.),

354 (: *cast* prt.)

The infinitive, pret. sing., and past partic. are, as a rule, normally developed; for *g* in *byggynne* inf. instead of *ȝ* see OE. *ȝ*; *holpe* prt. sg. (instead of **halp* < OE. *h(e)alp*) has the vowel from the past partic.; see NED. *help* vb. *barst* 805 is a scribal error. The rhymes show that the OE. metathesis in this verb has been done away with.

As is shown by the rhymes, the normally developed forms in the plur. of the pret. are kept (*founde* : *sounde* adj. 1569/70 etc.), but the sing. forms are also extended to the plur. (*ran* : *Jordan* 1953/4, *tobrašt* : *fast* adv. 230/29 etc.). The *o* in *wronge*, *songe* prt. pl. is dubious; it may denote either *ou*

(< OE. *ú* : *wrúngon*, *súngon*) or *ρ* (< OE. *á* : *wráng*, *sáug* sg.).
fonde pl. 1888 (: *londe* sb.) is sing. in A 2754.

Note 1. OE. *zieldan* has, as a rule, weak forms: *zelde* prt. pl. 43, 171, 1884, 1929, *zelde* pp. 729, 1916, 2636, 2812, 2826, 2957, *vnzeldde* 1961. The only strong form is *zólde* pp. 2794 (: *holde* inf. < Angl. *háldan*)¹. The weak forms are, however, never supported by rhymes, although rhyme-words were not wanting (e. g. *felde* sb., *held(e)* < OE. *hēold(on)*). Some rhymes also prove that the pret. and-past partic. must have had an *o*-vowel. Thus the past partic. (OE. *gólde*) rhymes with *schulde* prt. (< OE. *sceólde*) 729/30, 1916/5, *vnzeldde* with the same word 1961/2; the plur. of the pret., too, rhymes with *schulde* 1884/3; I suppose the vowel may be explained as depending on analogy from the past part. (cf. BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. pp. 119 ff.), although it may have come from the sing. of the pret. (OE. *zédld* > **zēld*). — The rhyme *kylde* : *zelde* 2635/6 is an evident corruption; see A 3509/10.

Note 2. *sterued* prt. sg. 2947 (: *deserued* pp.) is a weak form (OE. *steorfan*, *stearf*).

§ 207.

Class IV.

OE. *e*, *æ*, *ê*, *o*.

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| <i>bere</i> 74, 492, <i>bare</i> 423, 2190 <i>bare</i> 2610 | <i>bore</i> 360 (: <i>by-</i> |
| 799, 1382 etc. (: <i>ware</i> adj. sg.) | <i>fore</i>), 579 etc. |
| | <i>ybore</i> 480, |
| | 1565, 2229 |
| | etc. |

breke 1748,
2789

ystole 634

The forms are normally developed, with the exception of *bare* (OE. *bæron*) 2610. It cannot be settled whether this form had *ā* or *ǣ*; probably *ǣ* from the sing.

¹ *z* is of course due to influence from the infin.

Note 1. OE. *cuman*.

come inf. 79, 85 etc., *come* pp. 555, 916 etc., *ycome* 1171, 1442 etc., *ouercome* pp. 727, 2523, *bycome* pp. 1069 are quite regular.

In the pret. the following forms are found.

| | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|------------------------|--|--|
| (a) \bar{o} -rhymes. | | |
| | <i>come</i> 50 (: <i>þraldome</i> sb.) ¹ , | <i>come</i> 1392 (: <i>Rome</i>) |
| | 464 (: <i>kyngdome</i> sb.), | |
| | 1181 (: <i>dome</i> sb.), | |
| | 2324 (: <i>Rome</i>) | |
| (β) \bar{a} -rhymes. | | |
| | <i>came</i> 1321 (: <i>þan</i> adv.) ² , | <i>cam</i> 1955 (: <i>Pellan</i> ; A <i>Pelham</i> 2822) |
| | 1617 (: <i>man</i> sb.; MS. <i>come</i>) ² , | |
| | 792 (: <i>Adam</i> ; MS. <i>come</i>) | |
| (γ) \bar{e} -rhymes. | | |
| | <i>come</i> 1907 (: <i>home</i> adv.) | <i>come</i> : <i>home</i> adv. 1982, 2008 |
| (δ) \bar{e} -rhymes. | | |
| | <i>kem</i> (MS. <i>come</i>): <i>Jerusalem</i> | |
| | 255, 287, 745, 2544. | |

The \bar{o} -forms are normally developed (OE. *c(w)ōm(on)*); those in \bar{a} are supposed to be based on OE. **cam*; cf. BÜLBRING, *St. Zeitw.* p. 75. The rhymes *come*: *home* do not prove that *come* had \bar{o} , as there occur other rhymes between \bar{o} and \bar{e} ; see OE. \bar{a} . Even in Chaucer *hoom* is found in rhymes with \bar{e} ; see TEN BRINK § 31. As for the rhymes under (δ) it should be noticed that FISCHER wrongly prints *Jerusalom* for *Jerusalem*. *kem* is, so far as I know, as yet unexplained; cf. however BÜLBRING, *St. Zeitw.* p. 76. It seems most probable that the form is based on OE. **kēm*, **kēmon* (cf. OHG. *quāmun*), where WT. \bar{a} > OE. \hat{a} in spite of the following nasal.

Note 2. OE. *niman*.

| | <i>Pret. sing.</i> | <i>Pret. plur.</i> | <i>Past partic.</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>nam</i> | | <i>nome</i> | <i>ynome</i> |
| | 1641 (: <i>cam</i> prt. sg.), | 1880 (: <i>come</i> prt. pl.), | 728 (: <i>ouercome</i> pp.), |
| | 2991 (: <i>cam</i> prt. sg.), | 2719 (: <i>ouercome</i> prt. pl.), | 1172 (: <i>ycome</i> pp.), |
| | | 2882 (: <i>come</i> prt. sg.) | 2308 (: <i>come</i> inf.) |
| <i>bynam</i> | 3002 (: <i>cam</i> prt. sg.) | | |
| <i>bynome</i> | 2642 | | |

¹ A *cam*: *thraldam* 864/3.

² These assonances are dubious; A has *cam*: *hem* pron. 2445/6, *cam*: *nam* prt. pl. 2149/50.

ynome pp. had *ǣ*, but it is not possible to infer anything as to the pronunciation of the preterite forms.

§ 208.

Class V.

OE. *e*, *æ*, *ê*, *e*.

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| <i>bydde</i> 1841 | <i>bad</i> 786, 1432 etc. <i>badde</i> 529, 663 etc. | <i>badde</i> 159, 694 (: <i>made</i> prt.), 767 | |
| | <i>forbad</i> 2624 | | |
| <i>ete</i> 406, 2588 etc. | <i>ete</i> 132, 2538 (OE. <i>êt</i>) | <i>ete</i> 2525, 2537 (: <i>strette</i> sb.) | |
| <i>ette</i> 2625 | | <i>eten</i> 1139 | |
| | <i>forzate</i> 1079 ¹ , 2578 | | |
| <i>zeue</i> 721, 925 etc. | <i>zaf</i> 1562 (: <i>staf</i> sb.) <i>zæue</i> 3003 ¹ (: <i>hæue</i> inf.), 11, 168 (: <i>fullyng-</i> <i>staffe</i> sb.) etc. | <i>zeue</i> 607 <i>zæue</i> 545, 599, 633 ¹ | <i>zeue</i> 2306, 3053 (: <i>lyue</i> inf.) <i>yzeue</i> 2906 (: <i>lyue</i> inf.) <i>zyue</i> 365 <i>yzyue</i> 1523 |
| <i>lye</i> 82, 2373 <i>lygge</i> 2494 | <i>lay</i> 407, 468 etc. <i>laye</i> 1649, 2659 <i>quod</i> 476, 483 etc. | <i>lay</i> 2646, 2654 | <i>leye</i> 2666 |
| <i>speke</i> 611, 889 etc. | <i>spake</i> 715, 963 etc. | <i>spake</i> 1455 | <i>yspeke</i> 1711 (: <i>reke</i> inf.) |

¹ *forzate* 1079, *zæue* 633, 3003 are mistakes of the editor's; cf. Introd.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>speke</i> 1230 (: <i>awreke</i> pp.), 2362 (2nd p. : <i>awreke</i> pp.) | <i>spoke</i> 75, 1967 (: <i>ylocke</i> pp.) <i>yspoke</i> 1621 |
| <i>sytte</i> 1456 | <i>satte</i> 597, 1399 <i>sette</i> 1269 etc. <i>satte</i> 2577 (: <i>for-</i> <i>sette</i> 2395 (: <i>wept</i> <i>zate</i> prt. sg.) prt.) |
| <i>wreke</i> 462 | <i>wreke</i> 2281, 2833 <i>wroke</i> 1622 |
| <i>awreke</i> 392, 394 etc. | <i>awreke</i> 1085, 1229 (: <i>speke</i> prt.), 2790 (: <i>breke</i> inf.) |

Infinitive. The forms are regular with the exception of *lye*; see OE. 3.

Pret. sing. *speke* is supposed to be based on an OE. side-form **sprâc*; see BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. pp. 53, 56. *speke* 2nd p. 2362 may, however, be normally developed from OE. *sprâce*. — Instead of the rhyme *sette*: *wepte* A has *seete*: *grete* inf. 3261/2. Thus we are here entitled to assume *ē*, and the form is explained in the same way as *speke*; cf. BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. pp. 56 f. *zæue*, too, probably had *ā*, but *zaf* has the regular *ǣ*. As for *quod* see OE. *æ*. The other forms are normally developed.

Pret. plur. In the forms *spake*, *zæue*, *badde*, *satte* we find the extension of the sing. to the plur. *zæue*, on the other hand, is normally developed (Angl. *zēfon*). *sette* may have had the regular *ē* (< OE. *sætton*); A has, however, the trans. *sette* 2095. *lay* may be based on OE. *læzon*, or be the sing. extended to the plural. The rhyme *badde*: *made* prt. 694/3

is uncertain. *made* had \bar{a} , but as there are $\bar{a} : \bar{a}$ -rhymes to be found in our text, we can assume \bar{a} in *badde* (= the sing.) or \bar{a} ; the latter form may be explained in accordance with BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 61.

Past partic. Of *speke* and *wreke* we find participles in *e* as well as in *o*. The forms in *e* are regular, those in *o* being due to influence from the preceding class, with which class V coincided in all forms save the past partic.

Note. OE. *sēon*.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>se</i> 98, 302 etc. | <i>say</i> 252 (: <i>day</i>) etc. | <i>sawe</i> 271 (: <i>yblowe</i> pp.) | <i>sey</i> 340 (: <i>vēyn</i> adv.) |
| <i>yse</i> 976, 1072 | <i>sey</i> 651 (: <i>ay</i> adv.) | <i>say</i> 221 (: <i>day</i>), | <i>seye</i> 2180, 2932 (: <i>eye</i> sb.) |
| etc. | <i>sau</i> 1556 | 269 (: <i>ay</i> adv.), | <i>seen</i> 1718 (: <i>cleen</i> adj.) |
| | <i>sawe</i> 358, 987 etc. | 2009 (: <i>afray</i> sb.), 2040 | <i>ysowe</i> 1350 (: <i>rowe</i> sb.) |
| | <i>se</i> 366, 471, 1677, | <i>saye</i> 1650 (: <i>laye</i> prt.) | |
| | 2185 | <i>sey</i> 238 | |
| | | <i>se</i> 248, 257, 2521. | |

As for *say*, *sey*, *sau*, *sawe* in the sing. of the pret. see OE. *ea*. *sawe* prt. pl. has been dealt with under OE. \bar{a} . *say*, *saye*, *sey* may depend on analogy from the sing., or be normally developed from OE. *sāzon*. *se* sg. & pl. is due to influence from the past partic. *seen*. *sey*, *seye* < OE. *sesēzen*, *seen* < Angl. *sesēne* adj. *ysowe* cannot be based on OE. *sesawen* but must be due to influence from the plur. of the pret.

§ 209.

Class VI.

OE. *a*, \bar{o} , \bar{o} , *a*.

| | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>drawe</i> 2594, | <i>drowe</i> 166, | <i>drowe</i> 709, |
| 2644 etc. | 1041 etc. | 1877 |
| <i>wiþdrawe</i> 778 | | |
| <i>fare</i> 1818, | | |
| 2878, 2894 | | |
| <i>gnawe</i> 2643 | | |

lou 1269
(: *ynow* adv.)

wiþtoke 587

bytoke 1695

waxe 127¹,

754²

wyxe 138³

wysshe 763⁴

Infinitive. *slawe* is formed after *yslawe* pp. (< OE. *zēslaʒen*) in analogy with *drawe* inf. : *drawe* pp.; cf. BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 96.

Pret. sing. *waxe* (OE. *wōx*, *wēox*) is formed after class III (*feohtan*, *feahht*). As for *wyxe* (< *wëx* < *wēx* < *wēox* by analogy from the reduplicative verbs), *wysshe* (< *wësch* < *wēsch* < *wēosc*) see MORSB. § 109. Besides *waxe*, *wyxe* there also occur weak forms *waxed* prt. sg. 751⁵, *wexed* prt. sg. 1882⁶, *waxed* prt. pl. 759⁷, 2044⁸.

Pret. plur. To what extent the forms of the sing. have been extended to the plur. cannot be settled with certainty. Note, however, the rhymes *lowz* pl. : *ynowz* adv. 1269/70, *drowe* pl. : *slowe* sg. 709/10.

Past partic. The forms of *sle* are normally developed: *ysley(n)e* < OE. *zēsleʒen*, *zēsleʒen*, (*y*)*slawe* < OE. *zēslaʒen* (specially characteristic of Southern dialects; cf. BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 100). The rhyme *ysleye* : *abye* 1226/5 may be pure, OE. *abycgan* also occurring as *abeyen* in ME.; see e. g. TEN BRINK § 41 II γ. B has *abeyen*, too, the other MSS. have the rhyme *abye* : *dye* 2051/2.

¹ A *wex* 941.

² A *was* 1572.

³ A *wex* 952.

⁴ A *wes* C *wosshē* LD *wesshe* 1581.

⁵ A *wex* 1569.

⁶ A *were* 2748.

⁷ A *weren* 1577.

⁸ A *bigan* to B *wexed* C *woxen* 2910.

Reduplicative verbs.

Class I.

§ 210.

OE. pret. in \bar{e} (e).

fonge 3106
(: *longe* adv.)

hyng 249 (itr.)¹
(: *streng* sb.),
251 (itr.)², 253
(itr.)³, 857 (tr.)⁴
(: *streng* sb.),
1577 (tr.)⁵

| | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>lete</i> 1530, 2988 | <i>let</i> 328, 1121 | <i>let</i> 2528, 2667 | <i>let</i> 55, 817, |
| <i>let</i> 1792, 2276, | etc. | | 2741 |
| 2773 | <i>lette</i> 808 | | |
| | <i>leet</i> 1200 (: <i>feet</i> sb. pl.) | | |

As for the infin. *fonge* cf. BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 106, TEN BRINK § 131. (*honge* inf. 594 (itr.) < O.E. *hangian*). As regards *hyng* see MORSE. § 109; it is used in a transitive as well as in an intransitive sense.

Note 1. OE. *hātan*.

| Pres. | Pret. sing. | Pret. plur. | Past partic. |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>hattyst</i> 2nd p. 477 | <i>hyzt</i> 1087 etc. | <i>hizt</i> 575 | <i>yhote</i> 1956 |
| <i>hizt</i> 1 sg. 3011 | <i>hizte</i> 2541 | | <i>hizt</i> 7 (: <i>lyzt</i> adv.) |
| <i>hette</i> 1 sg. 479 | <i>hizte</i> 937 | | |
| <i>hote</i> 1 sg. 1779 | <i>hyte</i> 466, 675 etc. | | |
| | <i>hizttest</i> 2nd sg. 3064 | | |

¹ A *heng* (itr.): *stryng* 1063/4.

² A *hened* (itr.) 1065.

³ A *hengede* (itr.) 1067.

⁴ A *henge* (tr.): *stryng* 1675/6.

⁵ A *hengede* (tr.) 2405.

| | <i>Pres.</i> | <i>Pret. sing.</i> | <i>Pret. plur.</i> | <i>Past partic.</i> |
|------------------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | | <i>hette</i> 511, 1485 | | |
| <i>byhote</i> inf. 540 | | <i>behizt</i> 2895 | | |
| | | <i>behēt</i> 1126 | | |

There seems to be no distinction between the sense of 'be called' and that of 'order'.

Pres. tense. *hote* and *byhote* inf. are normally developed. *hattyst* is probably formed from OE. *hātest* by shortening of $\bar{a} > \ddot{a}$; cf. superlatives as *deppyst*, *grettest*. As for *hette* see GRUNDR. p. 1067, BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 109. *hyzt* depends on analogy from the pret.

Pret. *hyzt* is the regular form; it has adopted a weak form which is proved by *hyzttest* 2nd p. The common forms without *z* are due to the verb's being often used under weak stress in the sense of 'was called'. *hette* < OE. *hāette* (originally pres.), *behēt* < OE. *hēt*; cf. BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 109.

Past Partic. *yhote* is the normally developed form, *hyzt* is an extension from the pret.

Note 2. OE. *scādan*, *-drādan*, *rādan* are inflected weakly in our text: *shadde* prt. sg. 170 (A *shed* 984), *dradde* prt. sg. 601 etc., prt. pl. 739, *adredde* pp. 2042, 2213, *adradde* 1020, 1331, *redde* prt. sg. 225. *shedde* inf. 2968 is due to infl. from the pret. and past partic.; see BÜLBRING, St. Zeitw. p. 108. Weak forms occurred already in OE.; see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 395.

§ 211.

Class II.

OE. pret. in *eo*.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| | | <i>bete</i> 298, 301 | <i>bete</i> 2774 |
| | | | etc. |
| <i>blowe</i> 228, 1900 | | | <i>yblowe</i> 272 |
| <i>falle</i> 79, 89 etc. | <i>fel</i> 9, 219 | <i>fel</i> 628 | <i>falle</i> 59, 670 |
| | <i>felle</i> 76, 210 | <i>felle</i> 1568 | etc. |
| | etc. | (: <i>dvelle</i> inf.) | <i>yfalle</i> 573, |
| | <i>fylle</i> 1980, | | 1613 |
| | 3043 (: <i>hele</i> sb.) | | |
| | <i>fyl</i> 2993 | | |

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>befalle</i> 544 | <i>byfelle</i> 118, | | |
| <i>byfalle</i> 292, | 282, 846 etc. | | |
| 296 etc. | <i>byfel</i> 18, 202 | | |
| | etc. | | |
| | <i>byfyll</i> 2550, | | |
| | 2555 | | |
| | | | <i>to-hewe</i> 1448 |
| <i>holde</i> 732, | <i>helde</i> 1720, | <i>helde</i> 590, | <i>holde</i> 1959 |
| 2247 etc. | 1909 (: <i>zælde</i> | 1957 etc. | <i>iholde</i> 948 |
| | inf.) | | <i>yholde</i> 1836, |
| | | | 2292, 2441 |
| <i>byholde</i> 1289 | <i>byhelde</i> 3111 | <i>byhelde</i> 2183 | |
| etc. | | | |
| <i>wiþholde</i> 309, | | | <i>wiþholde</i> 1060 |
| 635, 2208 | | | |
| <i>knowe</i> 313, | <i>knewe</i> 1435, | <i>knewe</i> 558 | <i>knowe</i> 1682 |
| 903 etc. | 1438, 1937 | | <i>yknowe</i> 2545, |
| <i>knownen</i> 1078 | | | 2718 |
| | | | <i>aknowe</i> 2204 |
| | <i>lepe</i> 3001 | | <i>ouerthrowe</i> 81. |

The forms are, as a rule, normally developed. As for *fylle*, *byfyll* (< *fëll* < *fëoll*) see MORSB. § 109. The rhyme *fylle* < *hele* sb. 3043/4 has been dealt with above, § 47 note.

Note. OE. *w(e)alcan*, *wēpan* are found with weak forms: *walkyd* prt. sg. 979, *wepte* inf. 837 (: *bete* inf. < OE. *bētan*) stands for *grete* (OE. *grēotan*), *wepte* prt. 2396 (: *sette* 'sat') for *grete* inf.; see A 3262.

2. Weak verbs.

§ 212.

In ME. there were two classes of weak verbs: (I) those forming their pret. (and past partic.) without any intermediate vowel; (II) those forming their pret. (and past partic.) with the intermediate vowel *e*.

I. The pret. without any intermediate vowel.

A. The infin. and pret. have the same vowel.

§ 213.

(i) The pret. ends in *de*, *d*.

To this group belong the following verbs:

(a) *j*-verbs with a long root-syllable ending in a single voiced cons.: *d*, *ð*, *r*.

fedde 35, 361, *ladde* 807, *spedde* 1222, *spredde* 362; *kydde* 144 (*ðd* > *dd* already in OE.; SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 405.2); *herde* 235.

(b) *j*-verb with a short root-syllable.

leyde 319.

(c) *ō*-verb.

made 41.

(d) *ē*-verbs.

had 6 etc., *seid(e)* 61 etc.

(e) OE. *rādan* (originally a reduplicative verb; weak forms already in OE.; see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 395 note 3).

redde 225.

(f) Verbs with more than one syllable.

answerd(e) 2217, 2795, *gaderd* 146, *wonderd* 1881.

In the past partic. syncopated and unsyncopated forms sometimes alternated in OE.; see SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. §§ 402, 406. In our text we find almost always syncopated forms: *spedde* 1019, 1332, *yspredde* 2041, *ykydde* 737, *herde* 29, 554, *herd* 830, *yherde* 527; *ymade* 2484, 2770; *had* 669, *seid* 122; *ygaderd* 195, 1427. The only exception is *ymaked* 114.

§ 214.

(ii) The preterite ends in *te*, *t*.

To this group belong the following verbs:

(a) Verbs ending in *te* already in OE., viz. those the stem of which ends in *p*, *t*:

kept 34, *clypte* 1352; *grette* 940, *mette* 295.

Note. Verbs in *t* preceded by a cons. do not add another *t*; cf. SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 405 note 11: *dyzt* 931, *lyzt* 1110, *lyste* 1323, *rest* 259, *sette* 1481, *set* 436, 2075.

(b) Verbs with another ending in OE., viz. those the stem of which ends in *n*, *nd*, *s* [*z*], *f* [*v*]:

byment 832; *spent* 440 (: *assent* sb.), *blente* 1279; *lost* 2879; *lefte* 1885, *refte* 2508¹; moreover *put(te)* 2497, 2595, *wypte* 1194.

Note. The pret. of **brenne* is *brentte* 1888, *brende* 1986. Besides *last* 1169 occurs *lasted* 36 (*ylasted* pp. 3080), besides *kyst* 1203 is found *kyssed* 1353. Fluctuation is also found in *sent* 425 (: *assent* sb.), 452 (: *present* sb.), *sende* 1348 (: *friende* sb.), 1797; *went* 24, 997 (: *oynement* sb.), 1344 (: *verament* adv.), *wende* 1197, 1322. The forms *brende*, *sende*, *wende* are, however, rather uncertain; see A 2852; 2176, 2663; 2023, 2150. — The pret. of **wene* (OE. *wēnan*) is *wende* 263 (: *amende* inf.).

In the past partic. there occur only syncopated forms: *ymette* 1102; *ydyzt* 1032, 2114, *set* 3095, *yset* 376, *bysette* 1116; *forrefte* 2560.

Note 1. Just as in the pret., variation between *t(e)* and *d(e)* is found in *sent* 335 (: *repente* vb.), 1553 (: *verament* adv.), *ysent* 189 (: *entent* sb.), 1027 (: *rent* sb.), *sende* 489 (A *sent* prt. 1305). The rhyme *went* pp.: *amende* inf. 647/8 is a corruption; see A 1463/4.

Note 2. The past partic. ends in *t* in some verbs, of which no pret.-forms are found in our text.

ylent 2005, *myst* 2378, *yshent* 1876 (: *Clement*); *yfet* 3096, *agast* 1882; moreover in *yswept* 2103 (originally a reduplicative verb).

B. The infin. and pret. have different vowels. § 215.

To this group belong some verbs which in OE. had a mutated vowel in the stem of the present but no mutation in the pret., because the verbs in Germanic formed their pret. without the intermediate vowel *i*.

¹ *refide* is a mistake of the editor's; there is also a form in *a*: *rafte* 662.

(i) The pret. ends in *de*.

There are only a few verbs, the stem of which ends in *ll*: *solde* 855, *tolde* 310.

The past part. ends in *de*: *tolde* 21 (: *olde* adj. pl.), *ytolde* 951.

(ii) Verbs with a pret. in *ht* in OE.

bouzt 1597, *abouzt* 787, *brouzt* 299, *rauhtte* 2099, *rouhtte* 949, *rouht* 1010, *souhtte* 942, *souht* 1170, 2192, *bysouht* 337, *wrouhtte* 40, *wrouht* 2191.

Note. OE. *þōhte* (*þencan*) and *þūhte* (*þyncan*) have been confused under *þouzt* 648; 429.

The past partic. ends in *t(e)*.

brouht 211, *ybrouht* 898, *souhtte* 1167, *ysouht* 212, *outsouht* 1345, 2601, *wrouht* 346, *ywrouht* 1346; *þouht* 903.

§ 216. II. The pret. is formed with the intermediate vowel *e(y)*.

To this group belong

(i) verbs which in OE. had the ending *ian* in the infin. of the pres., and formed their pret. with the ending *de* and the intermediate vowel *o*:

asked 941, *cleped* 185, *folowed* 1552, *handeled* 1198, *hated* 1637, *hungred* 2609, *loked* 469, *loued* 173, *pleyed* 2291, *shewed* 566, *stared* 1081, *þanked* 1304, *þoled* 514, *wered* 131, *woned* 1165; etc.;

(ii) some verbs which in OE. formed their pret. without any intermediate vowel:

buryed 184, *deled* 850, *heled* 849, *knowleched* 1288, *lyued* 26, *belyued* 532, *reryd* 519, *arered* 1650, *semyd* 139, *wysshed* 2758.

Note. Variation is found in *feled* 1204, *felde* 2406. *lered* 528 (: *yherde* pp.) is probably a scribal error.

The past partic. ends in *ed* (*yd*).

cleped 19, *hated* 3079, *yloued* 1189, *thonked* 2414, *warned* 1948, *ywarned* 661, *woned* 242; *heled* 2437, *lyued* 869.

Moreover in the following *ō*-verbs, not found in the pret. in our text: *glyped* 999, *openyd* 2955, *ywounded* 2513.

Appendix.

Verbs of Foreign Origin.

A. Verbs of Scandinavian Origin. § 217.

(1). The preterite

(a) ends in *de* in *deyde* 419 (: *aspyed* pp.), *dyde* 1089 (: *cryde* prt.);

(b) ends in *te* in *kyppte* 1193 (: *wyppte* prt.);

(c) ends in *ed* in *louced* 2408;

(d) is without any termination in *cast* 353 (: *tobrast* prt.).

Note. Scand. *geta* has the strong pret. *gat* 684.

(2). The past partic. ends

(a) in *de* in *hylde* 2143 (: *yfulfylde* pp.);

(b) in *ed* in *upreysed* 706 (: *praysed* pp.).

B. Verbs of French Origin. § 218.

(1). The preterite ends, as a rule, in *ed*, seldom *yl*.

delyuered 593, *graunted* 461, 2687, *meyntened* 312, *ordayned* 451, *regned* 424, 455, *suffred* 308, 1408; etc.; *cryed* 304, 1184, 2047, 2883, *payed* 2474, *prayed* 2452, *preyed* 749, 1397; *abashyd* 217, *sewyd* 1407.

Note. Syncope is rare. The only instances are *cryde* 1090, *purueyde* 1890, *sufferd* 2282 (inf. *suffer* 2621, *suffre* 2816).

(2). The past partic. ends in *ed*, seldom *yd*.

yarmed 1032, *deserued* 2948, *endyted* 426, 453, *yoffred* 438, *parseyued* 571; etc.; *aspyed* 420, *ycryed* 1835, *preyed* 1417; *avenged* 1785, *auenged* 972, *avengyd* 13.

Note. Syncope is found in *reuest* 1693 (: *best sup*).

II. Inflection.

1. Present.

(a) Indicative.

Singular.

§ 219. The 1st pers. ends in *e* in strong, *j*-, *ō*- and *ē*-verbs.
lye 1168, *bydde* 1705, *vnderstonde* 64, *drede* 294, *holde* 1116; *fele* 1212, *byleue* 537 (: *greue* inf.), *telle* 1215 (: *dwelle* inf.), *wende* 1134; *hope* 499, *trowe* 1005, *panke* 1292; *haue* 322. Also in verbs of foreign origin: *gete* 915; *graunte* 1030 (but *graunt* 3072), *wage* 2260.

Verba contracta seem to occur without any ending.

se 2193 (: *me* pron.). Note also *seye* 1425, *sey* 1671.

The same fluctuation is found in *praye* 920, 1235, 1255, *preye* 2067, 2195, *pray* 1123, 1254, *prey* 1145, 1150 etc. (about 12 times). *vnderstond* 676 is a scribal error; the rhythm requires a quadrisyllable. A has *understande* 1496.

§ 220. The 2nd pers. ends in *est*, *yst*.

comyst 478, *holdyst* 1053, *knowyst* 1240, *hattyst* 477; *worþest* 1491, *leuyst* 1703; *lyuest* 1492; *getyst* (Scand.) 2443.

Variation between syncopated and unsyncopated forms is found in *seyst* 3017, *seyest* 1073. — Of *haue* we find *hast* 488, 1060.

§ 221. The 3rd pers. ends in *eþ*.

begynneþ 350, *comeþ* 771, *holdeþ* 772, 907; *kepeþ* 344, *lasteþ* 345, *semeþ* 1095, *telleþ* 465; *askeþ* 1051, *hateþ* 1131, *makeþ* 2842; *lyueþ* 761. Also in verbs of French origin:

dureþ 2800, *fayleþ* 1586, *toucheþ* 640. Contraction is found in *haþ* 376 etc., *seiþ* 72, *stante* 1675 (: *waraunte* sb.); *sitte* 1609 (: (of) *writte* sb.) is uncertain; it may be subjunctive.

Note. Once we find the typical Northern ending *es*: *shyftes* 734 (: *zyftes* sb. pl.); A has the same rhyme 1552/1. The author has used *es* to get a complete rhyme. The case is just the same in Chaucer, who regularly employs the ending *eth* in the 3rd pers. sing. of the pres., but once *es* in the rhyme *telles: elles*; see TEN BRINK § 185. — *has* 1523 is a mistake of the editor's; cf. *Introd.*

Plural.

The common ending of the plural in P is *eþ*. § 222.

fyndeþ 2859, *comeþ* 411, *byddeþ* 151, *draweþ* 1395; *leueþ* 1831, *byleueþ* 504; *woneþ* 505, *sheweþ* 2857; *haueþ* 774, *lyueþ* 1662, contraction in *haþ* 494. In verbs of foreign origin: *dyeþ* 2853; *preyeþ* 1806. — A has, however, the Midland ending *e(n)*: *comen* 1227, *bydde* 966, *drawen* 2223, *bileven* 2697, *shewen* 3737, *have* 1592. The ending *e* appears in P, too, especially when the pronouns *we*, *3e* stand after the verb as subjects; this was the case already in OE.; see SIEVERS, *Ags. Gr.* § 360.2: *haue we* 1769, 2116, *what rede 3e nowe* 2845, *what sey 3e* (without any ending after a diphthong) 1786, *holde 3e al nowe to þis* 2989, *howe fare 3e þer within* 2735; also when the pron. precedes the verb: *haue* 2129 (*we*), 2309 (*thei*), 2885 (*we*), 2933 (*3e*), even in a word of French origin: (*we*) *preye* 2915 (: *aweye* adv.). — Worth noticing is the expression *for we hopen and þeron byleueþ* 504 (: *greueþ* 3rd p. sing.); *en* also in (*we*) *dreden* 983.

(b) Subjunctive. § 223.

The ending is *e* in all persons of the sing. as well as of the plur.

Sing. 1st pers.: *lyue* 1225 (*3if*); *fayle* (French) 904.

2nd pers.: *zelde* 2354, *helpe* 2389, *drawe* 1670 (: *sawe* sb.), *take* 2068, *drede* 1099; *sende* 1062 (: *frende* sb.), *dwelle* 1307

(: *telle* inf.), *here* 1223, *lyue* 1307, *haue* 1870; *dye* (Scand.) 3016 (: *asspye* sb.). Without termination *assent* (French) 3087.

3rd pers.: *helpe* 2765, *come* 293, *drawe* 156 (: *sawe* sb.), *falle* 2682 (: *alle* pl.), *holde* 1850 (: *bolde* adj.); *lede* 2404 (: *drede* inf.), *leue* 1001, *seke* 1586, *spede* 1847; *aske* 893, *make* 2253; *haue* 1103; *dye* (Scand.) 2374 (: *lye* inf.);

in verbs of French origin: *ascapē* 1858 (: *rape* inf.), *faylle* 1796 (: *vytaille* sb.), *sauē* 1869 (: *haue* subj.), 2275 (: *haue* inf.), *suffre* 1826.

Plur. *zelde* 2701, *come* 2701, *ete* 2567, *wake* 2827, *haue* 2273.

Without any termination occur *se* 2nd p. 1233 (: *be* inf.), *fle* 3rd p. 2457 (: *yse* inf.), *sey* pl. 620 (: *wey* sb.); for the last rhyme cf., however, above § 162. 3.

§ 224.

(c) Imperative.

The sing. of the imperative ends in *e* in all verbs, even in strong verbs and *j*-verbs with a long root-syllable, which had no termination in OE.

come 921, *bydde* 2706, *ete* 3067, *stonde* 1708, *holde* 1233; *grete* 1106, *kepe* 1837; *burye* 2949, *wende* 920; *answere* 1065, *knele* 1687, *janke* 2400; *haue* 487.

Without any termination only *sey* 1106, 2701 etc., *let* 2022, *comfort* (Fr.) 1125; fluctuation in *prey* 2805, *preye* 1843.

The plur. ends in *eþ*.

helpeþ 1085, *holdeþ* 643; *hereþ* 828; *lengþeþ* 2582, *lysteneþ* 191, *lokeþ* 2273; *haueþ* 1848. In verbs of French origin: *grocheþ* 2589, *preyeþ* 1847. *venge* 1813 is a scribal error.

Note. After *Syr* the sing. and plur. forms are used without distinction: *leue* 624, *make* 2440, *haue* 3055; *spekeþ* 2195, *zeneþ* 814, *hereþ* 845, *telleþ* 481, *þonkeþ* 2440, *haueþ* 1371; without any termination: *sey* 917.

2. Preterite.

(a) Indicative.

(α) Strong verbs.

§ 225.

Sing. 1st pers.: *badde* 970 (: *gladde* adj. sg.);

2nd pers.: *come* 2710, *bad* 2439 (: *glad* sg.), *lay* 2385
(: *pay* sb.), *speke* 2362 (: *awreke* pp.);

3rd pers.: *smote* 169, *wrote* 99, *byganne* 23, *come* 50,
73, *3aue* 11, *drowe* 166, *stood* 165, *fel* 9; etc.

The *e*, which as a rule is added in the 1st and 3rd pers., was probably not pronounced; *speke* 2nd pers. may be based on OE. *spræce*.

Plur. The termination (e)n (< OE. *on*) is kept in *wrytten* 427, *seyen* 238. For the rest the forms of the sing. are very often extended to the plur.; see above §§ 204 ff.

(β) Weak verbs.

§ 226.

The 1st and 3rd pers. of the sing. and the whole of the plur. have, as a rule, the termination *e* in verbs which form their pret. without any intermediate vowel, but verbs which form their pret. with the intermediate vowel *e*, as well as polysyllabic verbs, have no ending.

Sing. 1st pers.: *e*: *dradde* 601, *herde* 286, *lefte* 2340,
mette 1182, *redde* 225, *tolde* 1344;

without any term.: *feled* 1204, *kneled* 1199, *warned*
3023, *woned* 1165, *wysshed* 2758, *handeled* 1198;

2nd pers.: *haddest* 3018, *haddyst* 3019;

3rd pers.: *e*: *clypte* 1352, *ferde* 2344, *herde* 449, *lefte*
1885, *leyde* 319, *made* 693, *seide* 320, *tolde* 513; etc.

without any term.: *heled* 849, *loked* 469, *loued* 2391,
semed 254, *shewed* 566, *spared* 126, *wered* 131 etc.; *answerd*
2217, *wonderd* 1881.

Plur. *e*: *fedde* 361, *forferde* 30, *grette* 1482, *herde* 235,
kydde 144, *made* 41, *sette* 1481, *tolde* 856, *wende* 'thought' 222;

without any term.: *asked* 2416, *cleped* 185, *deled* 850, *dwelled* 51, *lasted* 36, *loked* 2483, *loued* 173, *semyd* 139, *hanked* 2421; etc.; *gaderd* 146.

Note. In a great many cases variation is found, especially in verbs with a pret. in *-t*, e. g.: *went* 1344 (1st p. sg.), 24 etc.; 175, 997, 1303 (pl.); *wente* 165, 1329 etc.; 2951 (pl.); *souzt*^a 2383 (1st p., sg.), 2192 (3rd p. sg.), 1895 (pl.); *souzte* 942 (3rd p. sg.); *brouzt* 2384 (1st p. sg.), 567 etc.; *brouzte* 1978 (3rd p. sg.); *rouzt* 1010 (3rd p. sg.); *rouzte* 949 (3rd p. sg.); note also *herd* 1173 (1st p. sg.). The following verbs occur only with forms without *e*: *bouzt* 1597 (pl.), *lost* 2879 (pl.), *rest* 259 (pl.), *houzt* 'thought' 264 (pl.).

§ 227.

(b) Subjunctive.

(a) Strong verbs.

There are no certain instances. In a few cases we may perhaps assume a subjunctive of the pret., e. g. (*what in Cesarys tyme*) *byfelle* 846 (: *telle* inf.), (*what he*) *3aue* 949 (: *haue* inf.), but it is by no means quite sure; the *e* of the rhyme-words may have been dropped.

(β) Weak verbs.

No certain instances.

§ 228.

3. Infinitive.

The infinitive (and gerund) generally ends in *e*, even in *ō*-verbs.

wryte 821, *fynde* 17, *3eue* 721, *fare* 1818; *here* 454, *telle* 2; *fonde* 2139, *loke* 100, *make* 117; *lyue* 2905, *haue* 70.

In some verbs the use of *e* is unsettled.

sende 13, *send* 83, *brynge* 1369, *bryng* 885, *laste* 1518, 2619, *last* 46, *lest* 642, *seye* 1506, 2196, 2683, *sey* 126, *say* 485.

Other verbs occur only without *e*: *anhent* 176, *lyzt* 1045, 1111, *alyzt* 576, *put* 622, *rest* 1328, *handel* 1532, *heed* 1320 (: *nede*). (*e*)*n* (< OE. *an*) is retained in some cases: *zelden* 906, *seyn* 913 (: *dysdeyn* sb.), 2256 (: *ageyn*), *stonden* 1732.

Note. Verbs of foreign origin, too, take the ending *e*: *calle* 284 (: *alle* pron. pl.), *gete* 95, *rape* 1857; *abate* 428 (: *Pylate*), *blame* 326, 873 (: *shame* sb.), 1777, *greue* 538 (: *byleue* pres.); etc. Without any termination occur *outcast* 410; *hast* 1464. *en* is found in (*to*) *adauntten* 718.

The gerund has, as a rule, the same form as the infinitive; cf. above. There are, however, some forms evidently based on OE. *-anne*: *to knowen* 1078, *to sleen* 1084 (: *men* sb. pl.), *to sayen* 815 (: *agayn* adv.), *to boten* 2762.

Note. The rhyme *to kepyn*: *gynne* sb. 2966/5 is a corruption; A has *kepen*: *wepen* sb. 3858/7. The scribe has inserted the *y* to get a tolerable rhyme. He was perhaps thinking of the corresponding verbal noun.

4. Participles.

(a) Present participle. § 229.

The present partic. ends in *ying*.
comying 270, *berying* 1183, *swetyng* 1195¹.

The verbal noun has the same termination: *wynnyng* 753, *berying* 1393, *comying* 1444, *metying* 2503, *warnying* 110; etc.

(b) Preterite participle. § 230.

(α) Strong verbs.

The pret. partic. generally ends in *e*:
wrytte 3026, *ylore* 789, *yfounde* 1434, *ybore* 480, *yspoke* 1621, *yzyue* 1523, *yswore* 1630; etc.

n seems to be retained only after the diphthong *ey*:
seyn 'seen' 340 (: *in veyn* adv.), *ysleyn* 207 (: *vnfeyn* adj.), 714, *ysleyne* 549 (: *feyne* adj.).

The OE. prefix *3e-* is very often kept; see the list of strong verbs above.

¹ A and L sometimes have the Northern ending *and*; see T.-V, *Intro.* p. xxxvii.

(3) Weak verbs.

The pret. partic. of weak verbs has been dealt with above (§§ 213 ff.).

III. Preterite-present verbs.

§ 231.

Class I.

| | OE. <i>āzan.</i> | OE. <i>witan.</i> |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. | <i>owe</i> 1681 (: <i>knowe</i> pp.), 2431, 2717 | <i>wote</i> 818, 1115 etc. |
| 2nd p. | | <i>wost</i> 2810 (: <i>ost</i> sb.), <i>wotyst</i> 667, 1168, 2065 (: <i>most</i>), 2424 |
| 3rd p. | <i>oweþ</i> 1128 | <i>wote</i> 535. |
| Plur. | | <i>wyteþ</i> 373 |
| Subj. Sing. | | |
| Plur. | | |
| Imp. | | <i>wyte</i> 2692 |
| Inf. | <i>owe</i> 1052 | <i>wyte</i> 1059, 1823 etc. <i>wete</i> 2697 |
| Pret. Sing. 1st p. | | <i>wyst</i> 1179 |
| 2nd p. | <i>ouzttest</i> 2225 | |
| 3rd p. | | <i>wyste</i> 840, <i>wyst</i> 524, 1008 etc. |
| Plur. | <i>ouzt</i> 117 | <i>wyste</i> 2324, <i>wyst</i> 214, 272 |
| Past Partic. | | <i>wyst</i> 1074 |

The present forms *owe* (OE. *āz*, *āh*), *oweþ* (OE. *āz*, *āh*), *wyteþ* are formed in analogy with regular strong and weak verbs. *wyst* pp. has been formed by analogy with verbs like *kysse*, *kyste* etc.

Class III.

§ 232.

OE. *cunnan*.OE. *dear*.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *can* 194, 379 etc. *dar* 1671, *dare* 540,
1002, *darre* 1070

2nd p.

3rd p. *cān* 1488, 2056 *dar* 1447

Plur. *kone* 2832 (: *sone* sb.), *darre* 1020, *dar* 776,
kune 1161 (: *sone* 2681
sb.), *can* 414,
konneþ 506 (: *woneþ*)

Pret. Sing. 1st p. *cowde* 3013 *derst* 595, *durste* 602

2nd p.

3rd p. *couþe* 357, *cowþe* 1354(: *mowþe* sb.), *cowde* 2515Plur. *cowde* 2551

In the present the sing. forms are often extended to the plur. *conneþ* is formed by analogy with other regular verbs; A has, however, the rhyme *cone* : *wone* 1322/1.

The forms in *-de* in the pret. of *cunnan* (OE. *cūde*) depend on influence from weak verbs which formed their pret. in *-de*. Only the *þ*-forms are supported by rhymes; A, too, has *couth* 3383, *couthe* 3421.

Class IV.

§ 233.

OE. *sculan*.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *schal* 2, 45, 396 etc., *schalle* 2455

2nd p. *schalt* 157, 500 etc.3rd p. *schal* 46, 79, 81 etc., *schalle* 293

Plur. *schulle* 64, 268, 534, *schul* 47, 85 etc.,
schal 70, 2444 etc.

Pret. Sing. 1st p. *schuld* 816

2nd p.

3rd p. *schuld* 74, 201, 516 etc., *schulde* 296,
366, 579, 839

Plur. *schuld* 374, 1748, 2962, *schulde* 1382,
1664, 1883

The verb shows nothing noteworthy except that the
sing. of the pres. is extended to the plur.

§ 234.

Class V.

OE. *mæz*.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *may* 192, 240 etc.

2nd p. *myzt* 1646, 1753 etc., *may* 3054 (A
myght 3950)

3rd p. *may* 291, 347

Plur. *mowe* 868, 2863, 2868 etc.

may 811, 2072, 2913 (: *day* sb.) etc.

Subj. Sing. *mowe* (late OE. *mūze*) 120,
1316 etc.

Plur. *mowe* 17, 454, 568 etc.

Pret. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *myzt* 886, 1177, 1782

2nd p.

3rd p. *myzt* 27, 176 etc.

Plur. *myzt* 52, 100, 142, 266 etc., *mizt* 404

myzt 2nd p. pres. is the regular form (OE. *meaht*);
may has slipped in from the 1st and 3rd persons. It is
worth noticing that *may* plur. is supported by a rhyme.

§ 235.

Class VI.

OE. *mōt*.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *note* 1851, 2340, 2462, *muste* 1066, 1387

2nd p. *muste* 1024, 1469, *note* 1497

3rd p. *muste* 1808

Plur. *note* 1263, 2028, 2893, *muste* 1771,
1804, 2026 etc.

Pret. Ind. Sing. 3rd p. *muste* 358, 1550, 1555, 2320, 2994
most 3076

Plur. *muste* 2558

The forms *mote*, *muste* are used throughout the pres. without distinction, in OE. *mōst* is found only in the 2nd pers. sg.

IV. Anomalous verbs.

OE. *gān*.

§ 236.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p.

2nd p. *goyst* 18543rd p. *goop̄* 1918 (: *oop̄* sb.), *goḥ* 1538

Plur.

Subj. Sing. *go* 1146Plur. *go* 237, 2255; 1821, 1825(?)Imp. Sing. *go* 2404, 2690, 2697, 2949Plur. *go* 1812Inf. *go* 52, 529 etc., *gon* 1175, 1219 (: *anoon* adv.), *goon* 1792 (: *anoon* adv.)Gerund. *go* 814 (: *ydo* pp.), 1218 (: *fo* sb. sg.), *goen* 614 (: *one* pron.), *gon* 1576 (: *one*), 1855 (: *anoon* adv.), 2406 (: *anoon* adv.), *goon* 1666 (: *none* pron.).Pret. Ind. Sing. 3rd p. *zede* 1191, 1197, 1202 etc.Past partic. *gon* 2977 (: *eueyrychon* pron.), *goon* 632 (: *anoon* adv.), *goen* 815*go* 555 (: *ydo* pp.)

The *i*-mutation of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. of the present has been done away with. *go* imp. pl. 1812 is no doubt a scribal error.

OE. *dōn*.

§ 237.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *do* 1787, 30222nd p. *doyst* 908, 22073rd p. *doḥ* 770, *doeḥ* 381Plur. *doḥ* 2448, 2743, 2747, 2846, *do* (*we*) 2745.

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Subj. Sing. | <i>do</i> 1824, 2252 etc. |
| Plur. | <i>do</i> 2585 |
| Imp. Sing. | <i>do</i> 920, 1702 etc. |
| Plur. | <i>doþ</i> 2840, <i>doþe</i> 1486 |
| Inf. | <i>do</i> 496 etc., <i>don</i> 2688 |
| Gerund. | <i>do</i> 242 (: <i>to</i> prep.), <i>done</i> 2488 (: <i>euerych-</i> <i>on</i> pron.), : <i>sone</i> 488, 1010, 2253, 2792. |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 1st p. | |
| 2nd p. | <i>dudyst</i> 2436 |
| 3rd p. | <i>dude</i> 125, 130 etc. |
| Plur. | <i>dude</i> 3, 111, 174 |
| Past partic. | <i>doon</i> 327, <i>ydon</i> 1958, <i>don</i> 772, 2205, <i>done</i> 1233, 2146, <i>do</i> 719, 1544, 1689, 1805 (: <i>þereto</i> adv.), 2734, 2913, <i>ido</i> 658, <i>ydo</i> 487, 556, 586, 813 etc. |

As in *go*, the *i*-mutation has been done away with in *doyst*, *doþ*, *doeþ*. For the *u*-forms of the pret. see § 23 note 4.

§ 238.

Be.

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. | <i>am</i> 480, 509 etc. |
| 2nd p. | <i>art</i> 1098, 1319 etc. |
| 3rd p. | <i>is</i> 22, 54 etc., <i>ys</i> 92 |
| Plur. | <i>beþ</i> 140, 390 etc., <i>ben</i> 342, 780 |
| Subj. Sing. | <i>be</i> 476, 482 etc., <i>ben</i> 1241 (scribal error) |
| Plur. | <i>be</i> 536, 1468 etc. |
| Imp. Sing. | <i>be</i> 2013, 2179, 2204, 2805 |
| Inf. | <i>be</i> 81, 96 etc. |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 3rd p. | <i>was</i> 19, 21 etc. |
| Plur. | <i>were</i> 5, 55 etc., <i>was</i> 339 |
| Subj. Sing. | <i>were</i> 166, 372 etc., <i>wer</i> 1108 |
| Plur. | <i>were</i> 1794, 2801 |

Past partic. *ybe* 494, 1132 etc., *be* 142 (: *charyte* sb.),
222, 233, 871 (: *pyte* sb.), 891 (: *cyte*
sb.) etc.

Note. *wesan* is really a strong verb (class V), but I give it here to obtain a survey of the expressions for 'to be'.

OE. *willan*.

§ 239.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *wylle* 1154, 1452, *wolle* 845, 1224 etc.,
wol 191, 626 etc.

2nd p. *wylt* 154, 1071, 1278, *wolt* 1051, 1061 etc.

3rd p. *wylle* 539, 1129, 1162, 1604 etc., *wyl*
2773, *wolle* 79, 1314 etc., *wol* 150,
181 etc.

Plur. *wolleþ* 1730, *wolle* 622 etc., *wol* 783 etc.

Subj. Plur. *wylle* 2118 (: *skylle* sb.), *wolle* 1247

Pret. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *wolde* 596 etc., *wold* 1214

2nd p. *woldest* 1440, 1740

3rd p. *wolde* 13, 410 etc., *wold* 372 etc.

Plur. *wolde* 313 etc., *wold* 336.

OE. *nylle*.

§ 240.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *nyl* 841, 1755

Plur. *nyl* 2789

Pret. Ind. Sing. 1st p. *noide* 3050

3rd p. *noide* 1579, *noid* 278

Plur. *noide* 10, 1663

The list shows that forms in *o* are rather common in the pres. of *willan*; A has throughout *i*. *o* might be explained as depending on analogy from *wolde* pret., but we should then expect to find it in *nyl*, too. This not being the case the vowel must be ascribed to influence from the preceding labial consonant; cf. *woman* < OE. *wīfman*.