THE LANGUAGE
OF
TITUS & VESPASIAN
OR
THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

MS. PEPYS 37 (MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, No 2014)

BY

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O'CLOCK A. M. FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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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. Englische Studien.
Introduction.

For the sources of our poem I refer to Bergau, Untersuchungen über Quelle und Verfasser des me. Reimgedichts: The Vengeaunce 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).

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.? 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 Kynge
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—2 ².

(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;

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Fischer's copy</th>
<th>In the MS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44 with</td>
<td>wip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 now</td>
<td>nowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 delyuer</td>
<td>delyuere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 Marye</td>
<td>Maryes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223 niêt</td>
<td>nyêt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255 toke</td>
<td>token</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368 finde</td>
<td>fynde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381 withoutte</td>
<td>wipoutten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388 of</td>
<td>ouer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424 pretty</td>
<td>brittle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504 beleuep</td>
<td>byleuep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>531 gaue</td>
<td>3aue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>534 withouten</td>
<td>withoutten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>568 Pilatus</td>
<td>Pylates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588 Thei</td>
<td>The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614 crooked</td>
<td>croked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>621 Perauente</td>
<td>perauenture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>628 fell</td>
<td>fel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>633 gaue</td>
<td>3aue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>721 I can</td>
<td>can I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>722 in</td>
<td>into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>725 wycket</td>
<td>wycked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>746 citee</td>
<td>cytee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>842 pe</td>
<td>pi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Herbert, Introd. p. XXVII.
² Wright, Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, Preface p. XLV.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Fischer’s copy</th>
<th>In the MS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l. 846 Cesaris</td>
<td>Cesarys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>970 lange</td>
<td>longe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1029 permafey</td>
<td>permafay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1051 if</td>
<td>3if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1079 forgate</td>
<td>forgate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1132 frende</td>
<td>frendes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1141 yfonde</td>
<td>yfounde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1142 stonde</td>
<td>stounde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1523 has</td>
<td>hap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1528 grete</td>
<td>gret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1676 warante</td>
<td>waraunte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770 reson</td>
<td>resoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807 [t]his</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908 a3ein</td>
<td>a3en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(exactly as in l. 1872)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 had</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992 gate</td>
<td>3ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2035 a3ein</td>
<td>a3eyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2047 mowpe</td>
<td>mowthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2076 wip wynes</td>
<td>wipwynes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2271 Kype</td>
<td>Kype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2306 3eue</td>
<td>3euen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2375 dungeon</td>
<td>dongeoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2479 stynke</td>
<td>styncke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2508 refde</td>
<td>refte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2554 orysous</td>
<td>orysouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2618 vertye</td>
<td>vertue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2646 stynke</td>
<td>styncke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2647 comyne</td>
<td>commyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2765 I am</td>
<td>am I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2841 comynte</td>
<td>comynte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Fischer's copy               In the MS.
1. 3003  gaue                   3aue
    3016  bonde                  bounde
    3114  semblante              semblante

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 consonant-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 [ä].

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 [ä].

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. *pancion* there occur forms in *a* and *o*: *ponke* 1783, *ponkep* 2414; *thonked* 2414; *panke* 2400, 2435, *panked* 1304, 2495, 2421, 3038. — *panke* 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. *wamman*) 'spot', 'stain' 36 (: *hem* pr.) the *e* is due to influence of the verb *wemman*.

§ 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 *rafer* (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* [ā].

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

1088 (\textit{: Barabas}), 833 (\textit{: Judas}), after prep. 105 etc., \textit{bad(\text{de})} prt.\textsuperscript{1} 529, 663 etc., \textit{had(\text{de})} prt. 6, 7 etc., \textit{that}, \textit{pat} pron. 7, 22, 87 etc., \textit{what} pron. 260, 296 etc.

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

For the rhyme-words see under OF. \textit{a}. For \textit{was} T\textsc{en} B\textsc{rink} § 35 x assumes 'schwebende' quantity; in \textit{fast} \textit{a} was certainly short.

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

Note 3. OE. \textit{hweome} occurs as \textit{whan} 199, 280 etc. (about 47 times), \textit{when} 415, 1319 etc. (about 11 times). \textit{A} has \textit{a} 1231, 2147.

Note 4. For \textit{quod} (OE. \textit{cwcep}) 476, 483 etc. see M\textsc{or}sb. § 96 note 2 1).

(2). In open syllables.

\textsc{§ 4.} OE. \textit{æ} > \textit{a}.

\textit{fader} sb. 86, 95 etc., \textit{water} sb. 1871, 2023 etc.

The quantity of \textit{a} in these words cannot be settled; cf. T\textsc{en} B\textsc{rink} § 35 ?.

Note 1. The plurals \textit{glad(\text{de})}, \textit{smal(l)e} are dealt with here, although the basis may be OE. \textit{a} as well; in the OE. paradigm there occurred forms in \textit{a} as well as in \textit{æ}; cf. S\textsc{i}e\textsc{vers}, Ags. Gr. §§ 49, 50, M\textsc{or}sb. § 96. 2, T\textsc{en} B\textsc{rink} § 27 ?.

The rhymes are:


The vowel was no doubt \textit{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; \textit{smal(l)e} sg. rhymes only with ME. \textit{ā} in \textit{ak(l)} 639, 2844, \textit{glad}, \textit{gladde} sg. with \textit{bad}, \textit{badde} prt. 969, 1431 etc. (9 times). The fact that \textit{made} prt. rhymes with \textit{glad(\text{de})} pl.

but not with the very common \textit{had(\text{de})}, \textit{bad(\text{de})}\textsuperscript{2} goes to prove that the vowel had been lengthened in this word as well as in \textit{glade} pl.

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. however below § 4.

\textsuperscript{2} Note, however, the rhyme \textit{made}: \textit{badde} prt. (A \textit{bade}) 693/4; for the vowel in \textit{bad} see B\textsc{ül}b\textsc{ring}, St. Zeitw. p. 61.
Probably 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. \(a > e\): wheher pron. & conj. (< OE. hweher) 2682; 482 etc., whedyr 872, togeder adv. (< OE. tōgedere) 1456, 1458, 2774. Morsbach (Gr. § 96 note 2 1)) is, however, of opinion that the former word is based on an OE. form in \(e\) alongside WS. a; togeder is said to go back to an OE. form with i-mutation.

\[
\text{§ 5. (3). OE. } a + 3.
\]

OE. \(a + 3 > ay, ei [ai].\)


Note. faue 'glad' 2605 (: sawe sb. < OE. saʒu) is based on OE. faʒen, variety of faʒen.

OE. ea.

\[
\text{§ 6. (1). In close syllables.}
\]

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

(a) 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. \(ea > a \ [\d].\)

härde 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. \(ea > a \ [\d].\)

armes sb. pl. 1351, harms 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. sperred^ pp. 229, ysperryd'' 2852, spered^ pp. 1207 (: yferd pp.) *to fasten, to shut up' is, according to Cent. Dict. (spar^ 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.

(a) 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), eįst ord. 255, heyfer sb. 211.

(β) OE. ea + h > aw, au5 [au]; (eah > Angl. æh (Bülbr. § 205) > early ME. ahh (Orrm) > aw).

save prt. 358, 987, 1111, 2704, 3000, sau5 1556.

These forms do not occur in rhymes, but they were not necessarily unknown to the author. A has save 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. *neoh by breaking (Bülbr. l. c.) >
> niht by i-mutation (Bülbr. § 179 b) > niht (Bülbr. § 306).
> neht by smoothing (Bülbr. § 205) > neht by i-mut. (§ 180 b) > late Merc. niht (§ 319).

In the same way Teut. *mahtiz > late OE. miht. The words occur in our text as myzt 2113 (: ydyzt < OE. dihtan) 531, 1661, 2438, almyzt adj. 1831, nyzt 136, 219 etc.

1 A yspered 1043.
2 A spered B yspered C isparryd D ispered L sperred 3732.
3 A sperede (: ferede) 2033.
§ 7. (2). In open syllables.
OE. ea > a [ä].

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

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

(b) After c, 3 (see BÜLBR. § 231).

care sb. 2030 (: ware adj.), 1371 (: welfare vb.), : fare sb. 831, 2051, 2522, sare 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 [ç].

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. pencan vb. occurs as pinke 2460 (: bryncke sb.). The vowel of this word is due to confusion with OE. jynccan; see MORSB. § 109 note 5.

Note 2. The preterite of OE. hön (OE. heng, heng) is spelt hynge 251, 253, 1577 and rhymes with strenge sb. (OE. strénge) 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 henged 1065, hengede 1067, 2405 and the rhymes heng : stryng 1063/4, henge inf.: strynge 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 (Aynesbite, 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'.


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

\textit{ete} inf.: \textit{swete} adj. 2639, \textit{stedde} sb.: \textit{mede} sb. 961, \textit{swere} inf.: \textit{here} adv. 1761.

(c) with OE. \textit{e} (= WS. \textit{e}, Angl., Kent. \textit{e}, Goth. \textit{e})\footnote{In accordance with Skeat I mark this sound \textit{e}; \textit{e} = i-mutation of WT. \textit{ai}.}


(d) with OE. \textit{ē} (i-mutation of WT. \textit{ai}).

\textit{yspeke} pp.: \textit{reke} inf. (< OE. \textit{rêcan}) 1711.

(e) with OE. \textit{ea} (WT. \textit{au}).

\textit{mete} sb.: \textit{gret} adj. 2616, \textit{stedde} sb. (A \textit{stede} 1627, 2631) : (to) \textit{dede} (OE. \textit{dêa}) 809, 1765, \textit{stedde}: \textit{(after his) deph} (= \textit{dede}) 106, \textit{stedde}: \textit{dede}, \textit{dede} adj. 494, 2477.

(f) with OE. \textit{ā}, \textit{ā}; see BûLB. § 530.

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

It is quite obvious that OE. \textit{e} in open syllables had been lengthened in our text. It should be noticed that it never rhymes with ME. \textit{ē}. But to settle the quality is difficult. OE. \textit{ē} > ME. \textit{e}, OE. \textit{ē} > ME. \textit{a}, \textit{ē}, OE. \textit{ā} > ME. \textit{a}, \textit{ē} (\textit{e}), OE. \textit{ēa} > ME. \textit{ē}. Of course some of the rhymes may have been felt by the author as decidedly impure. But if we leave
this out of consideration, the rhymes seem to suggest a sound between \( \tilde{e} \) and \( \tilde{e} \); cf. Morsb. § 111. — With support of modern dialects Luick (Unters. § 202, §§ 269 f.) lays down that a pronunciation different from \( \tilde{e} \) and \( \tilde{e} \) 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 leper sb. 2087, weders sb. pl. 377 cannot be settled; ten Brink § 35 § assumes 'schwebende' quantity; cf. § 4.

Note 2. hate sb. (OE. hatte): Pylate 761, 864, 2240 [\( \tilde{a} \)]; 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 Morshach, as has been pointed out above, assumes an OE. form \( \tilde{a} \)ogedere, \( e \) being i-mutation of \( a \). 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. \( e + \tilde{a} \).

OE. \( e + \tilde{a} = ME. \ a i \).

Rhymes with

(a) OE. \( e + \tilde{a} = ME. \ a i \).

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

(b) OF. \( \tilde{e} \).

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

(c) OF. \( \tilde{a} \).

seyn pp. 340 (: in veyn).
(1). In close syllables. § 11.

OE. eo > e [ê].

sterued prot. 2947 (: desuered pp.), hem pron. (: Jerusalem; ë 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, herkenep vb. 16, sterre sb. 248.

Note 1. Beside hert occurs a form in a: hertes 2910 (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 [ê].

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 2.

Note 2. OE. heonan > heune 1821 (: christenmen sb.) [ê]. The rhyme hen : seyn prot. 'saw' 237/8 is careless.

Note 3. OE. heonan 'thence' occurs as ën 1886 (: warden sb. < AF. wardein); in A the rhyme is warden : pain 2751/2.

(3). OE. -eoht (< Teut. -eht) = WS. eo by breaking = Angl. e by smoothing § 13.

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

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

OE. -eoht > -yêt.

fist, fyist inf. : almyist adj. 347, 2870, knyist sb. 519 (: aplyst adv.), 1031 (: ydyist pp.), ryist adj. 224 (: nyist sb.), 393 (: almyist adj.), aryst adv. 2413 (: almyist adj.), 539 (: aplyst adv.), 1491 (: nyist sb.), : nyist sb. 532, 1662.
Note. As the base of ME. *highte* ten Brink (§ 48 vii) assumes an OE. form *heoht*, variation of *heht, héht*. The word occurs in the following rhymes:

(a) In the sense of 'promised':

- *hyst* prt. 2437 (: *myht* sb.), 2424 (: *ryht* adv.), *hiht* 575 (: *alyht* vb.), *hiht* pp. 7 (: *lyht* adv.), *behiht* prt. 2895 (: *ryht* adv.).

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

- *hiht* 537 (: *plyht* vb.).

The pronunciation was [hiht].

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

§ 14.

(4). OE. *weo*.

(a) OE. *weo-* (= *wiu-, weo-* < *wi-, we-* by u/d-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 [?] being due to Scandinavian influence.

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


Within the verse occur forms in *o*: *worlde* 284, *worldes* gen. sg. 46. — The other MSS. have the following forms:


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

OE. *i*.

§ 15.

(1). In close syllables.

OE. *i > y, i [i]*.

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-*<wif>*-gynne* 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 *i* in *engyne*, especially as, judging from the metre, the stress was on the *y*.

Note 3. *siet* adv. (*2ete* 1002) 188 (*:feet* *< OE. fêt*) may have *i*, being based on *OE. sêt*; see Kluge, Angels. Leseb., Glossary.

Note 1. *The rhyme* *wyte* inf.: *despyte* sb. (*< OF. despit*) 1823/4 is an *i:* *i*-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*, *ic* (WS.) but the spelling hints at an open sound for *i*; cf. MORSB. § 65 note 1. A has *i*-forms in *give* inf. 2423, 2552, *gyven* pp. 3949 but *e* in *seven* pp. 3794.

OE. o.

(1). In close syllables.

OE. *o* > *o* [ɔ].

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. *se(e)ort*; BÜLB. §§ 301 ff.) 2876.

Note. OE. *-oht* > *-ou<st*:

*bou<st*prt. 1597, *dou<stter* sb. 677, 995 etc.; *dou<stty* adj. 1095, 1923.

(2). In open syllables.

OE. *o* > *o* [ɔ].


Note. Lengthening has not taken place in *goddes* 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* [u].

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

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

§ 20. (2). In open syllables.

OE. *u* in open syllables rhymes

(a) 'inter se'.


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

*sone* sb. (< OE. *sunu*) : *kune, kone* vb. 1162, 2831, *wone* pres. : *konneb* pres. (< OE. *cunnon*) 505.

(c) with OE. *o*.

*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. : *sone* adv. 1729 (assonance; uncertain; A has another version 2595/6). Probably also *aboue* adv. (in A prep.): *houe* inf. ‘to hover’ 257/8 (*houe* in P is an error of the scribe's; A has *hove* 1072; cf. *horneb* 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*.

*sone* sb. : *oryson* sb. 2380.

(e) with *ō* in proper names.

*ycome* pp. : *Rome* 2336 (*p* or *ō*; 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 a) assumes 'schwebende' quantity for this sound. Luck (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 parallely. 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 \(u\) [\(\ddot{u}\)].

(3). OE. \(u + \ddot{a} > ow\). § 21.
flowe prt. (< OE. *flwOH) 246, mowe vb. (< OE. *mu5on) 17, sowys sb. pl. 2081.

OE. \(y\). § 22.

(a) OE. \(y > y [i]\).

(b) OE. \(y > u\); probably [\(\ddot{u}\)].
suche pron. 63 etc.

Note 1. The lengthening had probably been done away with in burydon (A buryden) 1196 (< OE. *byr'den). I suppose the vowel is \(u\); cf. Morsb. p. 174, Ten Brink p. 36.
Note 2. The rhyme worche inf. (<OE. wyrcan, weorcan): chirche sb. (<OE. cyrice, cirice) 2551/2 is dubious. A has werke: chirche (C kyre) 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)z) : very adj. pl. (<OE. weīrī) 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 e : ē rhyme.

Note 2. OE. yfel adj. occurs as yuel 399, 779 etc. (12 times), yuels pl. 1633, 1661, 1902 but yvel 778, 1169. So far as I can see A has only e-forms; see 1215, 2461, 2489, 2768 etc. (iyel 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, 1554 etc., muchel 1500. A has michell 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. *mucel < *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 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. ā.

§ 24. A. Finally, before a single consonant and before st. OE. a > o [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, loęb adj. :cloph 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), bo
adv. 633 (: fro), wo adj. 2609 (: fro prep.), wrof adj. : bof
pron. 754, 2788, wrofe 1924 (: bofe).

(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.: perto adv. 901, 1417, 2278, 2442, : do vb. 1006,
2859, 3099, : to prep. 920, 2583, 2702, also adv.: to prep.
1134, 1154, 1760, 1979, 2120, : perto adv. 3113, wo sb. 2093
( : do pp.), 2728 (: perto adv.), 2961 ( : to prep.), anoon adv.:
doon pp. 328, cloph sb.: forsof 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, bo adv.: do vb. 711, 2110,

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

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

The rhymes under (6) are rather striking, because OE.
ū > 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 φ 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. Morsb. § 135 note 4.

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

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

B. Before lengthening consonant-groups.
For the most past there are only rhymes 'inter se'.

§ 25. (1). Before ld.
OE. á > o [φ].

colde adj.: byholde inf. 2044, tolde prt. (< Angl. tālde)
: olde adj. 21 etc.

Moreover, words of this group occur in rhymes with
woldeprt., zoldepp. (890, 1060, 1289, 2264, 2622, 2698, 2725; 2794); see § 55, 2.

Note. weldeβ 3rd p. sg. pres. may be based on OE. zeweldan, zewieldan, not on OE. wiceldan.

§ 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. fāndon 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, handeledprt. 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).
17

(3). Before mb.

We find only one rhyme:

\[ \text{wombe sb.: lombe sb. 215/6.} \]

The rhyme is undoubtedly pure [\(\text{ð}\)]; the modern [\(\text{u}\)] in \( \text{womb} \) is based on ME. \(\text{ð}\); see Horn § 100. OE. \(\text{lamb} \) is found with \( \text{ð} \), too; see Eilers p. 109, Ten Brink § 167.

(4). Before ng.

There are two rhymes with Scand. a.

\[ \text{amonge prep.: wronge sb. 2282, stronge adj.: wronge sb. 182.} \]

The rhymes, however, prove nothing, Scand. \(\text{vrangr} \) being borrowed so early that it took part in the OE. vowel-lengthening; see Bülbbr. § 285 note 2.

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

\[ \text{long adj. & adv.: strong adj. 262, 687 etc., spronge prt. sg.: stronge adj. 1043.} \]

Within the verse \(\text{ponge} \) 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 \(\text{wronge} \) prt. pl.: \(\text{songe} \)prt. pl. 2053/4 the plurals may be based on OE. \(\text{wringon, singon} \) or on OE. \(\text{vrang, säng} \).

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. \(\text{hláford} \) occurs as \(\text{lorde} \) with o judging from § 29. the rhymes with \(\text{recorde} \) sb. 1368, and \(\text{accorde} \) sb. 1559.

C. Before w, z.

\[ \text{OE. } \text{ā} + w, z > ow, ou [\text{u}]. \]

\[ \text{ouerthrowe} \text{ pp.: lowe adv. (Scand. lágr) 81, soule sb.: Poule n. pr. 457; cf. Ten Brink § 71.} \]

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

\[ \text{knowe inf.: prove sb. 2201, owe inf. 1051, snowe sb.: blowe inf. 1899.} \]
Note. In the rhymes save pt. pl.: knowe inf. 314/3; & blowe pp. 271/2; lawe sb. (A love 3026) 'lake' 2159/60 save stands for sove, probably based on WS. sæwōn; cf., however, Bülbring, St. Zeitw. p. 73, Björkm. p. 87. The form seems to have been unknown to the scribes. The a-form appears also in A 1128, 1085, 3025. The word love (Mod. E. lough; see NED.) was rare in ME., and that is why our scribe wrote lawe.

OE. êa (< WT. au).
(Except OE. êa after palatal consonants and OE. êa by breaking before lengthening cons.-groups).

§ 31. (1). OE. êa > e, ee [ê].
Occurs in rhymes with
(a) Scand. ê:
gret adj.: sete sb. (cf. Icel. sæti 1) 1547.
(b) OE. ê:
(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. dēap 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, jrete inf. 2252.

Note 2. ME. final e < OE êa seems to have become ê in sle
inf., judging from the rhyme sle: ybe pp. 1926/5; cf. Ten Brink § 23 3.
Note 3. nere, neer (< OE. near, nier, nyr) had ê. 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 æ; cf. Fritzner.
2 With ë in Chaucer; see Ten Brink § 54.
Note 4. ë in byleue sb. (OE. ȝelēafa) 730 (: greue inf.) is due to influence from OE. ȝelēfan vb.

(2). OE. ëa > e [ê] 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. ëa > a [ã] by shortening. § 33.
rafteprt. (OE. rēafian) 662.

(4). OE. ëa + w > ew. § 34.
Rhymes only 'inter se'.
shewe inf.: hewe pp. 1447, ñewys sb. pl.: schrewys sb. pl. 717.

an hye (< OE. on hēaze): crye sb. 236, : mynstralsye sb. 1720, an hye: crye sb. 2884, yȝe sb.: felonye sb. 2203.

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

Now ll. 2247/8 run in A:

For不满意 from Rome hider I flay
And soo I holde me here alwey.

But in P (ll. 1419/20):

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

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

OE. ë (i-mutation of WT. ai).

(1). OE. ëe > e [ê]. § 36.
mest sup.: fest(e) sb. 196, 281, : best sb. 2152.
Note 1. Besides the form *mēst sup. there occurs also *mōst 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, gēst, which is actually found. — Skeat (Et. Dict. *mōst) explains the form as due to influence from comp. more (< OE. māra). — OE. cālmāst adv. occurs as almost 1342.

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

§ 37. (2). OE. æ > e, ee [ê].

cleen adj. 781 (: vene pres.), 1717 (: seen pp.), lede inf. : sped inf. 1475, 1753, : mede sb. 546, 1151, 1535, lere inf. 1488 (: here adv.), see sb. (< OE. sæ) 1165 (Galylee); cf. Ten Brink § 24 a.

§ 38. (3). OE. æ > e [ê] by shortening.

ylent pp. (OE. lænan) 2005 (: amendement sb.), lesse adv. comp. 1672 (: uytnesse vb.), 2555 (: dysstesse sb.), leste prt. 371 (: reste pp.), spreddeprt. 362 (: feddeprt.); lefteprt. 2340 (: efteadv. < OE. efte, æfte); of course the last rhyme proves nothing. Shortening had probably also taken place in bymentprt. (OE. bimænan) 832, empty adj. 794, flesshe sb. 132. — For wrebbe sb. (< OE. wrebba) 3080 A has wrath 3976.


agast pp. 274 (: last sup.), las adv. 558 (: wonder-cas sb.; ME. a), last inf. 2132 (: fast adv.), any pron. 12 etc. (any 1582 is probably a scribal error; A has any 2410), clansed prt. 517, laddeprt. (OE. lēdan) 807, 1939, ladders sb. pl. 2087.

As is shown by the rhymes, the shortening of OE. æ is either ê or â. 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. (lēssa > lēssa > 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. ā 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. ārest). Besides er (< OE. āer) 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. hlæfdiže) no doubt had ā (lady < hlæfdiž < hlæfdiže).

Note 2. The value of the vowel in euer adv. (< OE. āfre) 46, 143 etc., neuer adv. (< OE. nāfrē) 47, 90 etc. cannot be settled.

Note 3. The rhyme knowlache vb. (OE. -tēcan vb.): wrecche sb. 1946/5 is ambiguous, as the latter word may be based either on OE. wrecce or on OE. wrēcca.

Note 4. OE. dāl occurs in a great many rhymes with wel adv. (OE. wel, wel) 396, 572, 657 etc.

Probably ā : ē, although the rhymes might be pure (ē); cf. Fahrenberg, Archiv 89, p. 396.

Note 5. OE. rāhteprt. appears as rauztte 2099 (au < ā < ā < ā).

OE. ā = WS. ā, Angl. ē (WT. ā).

(1). OE. ā > ē. It is quite impossible to decide § 40 whether; in every special case, the sound was ē or ē. The rhymes may be impure; cf. ten Brink § 25.

(a) OE. ā > ē.

aslepe adv. 628 (: kepe inf.), dede sb. (< OE. deōd) 860 (: spede inf.), 2387 (: nede sb. 'necessity'¹), drede sb. : spede vb. 1848, 3055, : zede prt. 1965, : nede sb. 26, drede pres. & inf. 1509 (: spede inf.), 2403 (: lede pres. ²), etc. prt. pl. 2525 (: feede sb. pl.), lere adv. 1037 (: here inf.), 2562 (: dere adj.), wede sb. 1198 (: zede prt.).

¹ The rhyme is uncertain, OE. néod and OE. néad being confused; see Skeat, Conc., need.
² ē; see § 37.
(b) OE. $\tilde{a} > \tilde{e}$, $\tilde{e}$.

3eer(e), 3ere sb. (< OE. *3êr, WS. 3êar, Angl. 3êr).

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

(γ) uncertain: :werre sb. (< OF. werre) 2107; cf. TEN Brink § 68 β.

lete inf.

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

rede sb.

(α) ME. $\tilde{e}$: :lede inf. 2121;

(β) ME. $\tilde{e}$: :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. $\tilde{e}$: :dede adj. 2505;

(γ) uncertain: :stede sb. 1312, 1533.

strette, street, strete sb.

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

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

were prt.

(α) ME. $\tilde{e}$: :here adv. 1085, 1842, :messanger sb. 474, :here inf. 972;

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

§ 41.

(2). OE. $\tilde{a} > \tilde{e}$ [ê] 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, er unde 1096 (< OE. ärunde) cannot be decided.

1 For the rhyme (of) dede sb.: rede inf. 522/1 cf. § 31 b.
(3). OE. ē > a [˘] 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 were. This form is due to Scandinavian influence; see Grundr. p. 1033, Björkm. p. 85.

Note 2. pore adv. 3031 (: fore adv.) is based on OE. pār, pāra; see Grundr. p. 1033; cf. Björkm. p. 97.

OE. ē.

(1). OE. ē > e [˘]. § 43.

be-, byleue vb. (< Angl. zelēfan): 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., he pron. 2671 (: cytee sb.), 2337 (: plente sb.), we pron. 2842 (: commynnte sb.).

Note 1. lyue inf. (OE. zelēfan) 1162, belyued prt. 532, wyve inf. (OE. wēpan) 2889 are scribal errors for beleue, beleued, wepe; A has bileve 1986, bilevede 1348, wipen 3769.

Note 2. wepe inf. 837 (: bete inf.) stands for grete.

Note 3. OE. hōran 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, hurep 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. Morsb. § 16 note 1.1. — So far as I have found, A has only forms in ē.

(2). OE. ē > e [˘] 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. ē before lengthening consonant-groups. § 45.

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

(b) OE. ðe in frende sb. (A has throughout freende). 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 ð, those under (b) of ð. 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 ð. Cf. Eliers p. 84. — felde no doubt had ð.

**Note 1.** The pret. and pret. partic. in -ent had ð: sent pret. 495 (: 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 pret. 440 (: assent sb.), went pret. 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.

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OE. ðe.

§ 46. (1). OE. ðe > e [ð].

be vb. 1309 (: cyte sb.), 1906 (: plente sb.), 1785 (: þe 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 pret. 1909 (: selde inf.), byhelde pret. 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 kneyes pl. 137, 139 (but knees 140).

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

**Note 2.** In wonder-syke adj. (OE. sóoc) 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 ð, being based on Angl. êc (see Bûlbr. § 200), not on OE. êac (⇒ ME. ĕk).

\(^1\) sende pret. : frende sb. 1348/7 is a corruption; A has wende inf. : frende 2176/5.
(2). OE. ëo > e [e] by shortening. § 47.

felleprt. (OE. feoll(on)) 795 (: helle sb.), 1568 (: dwelle inf.), byfelleprt. 846 (: telle inf.). Probably also in deppystsup. (OE. déopost) 796.

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

(3). OE. ëo + w. § 48.

(a) The only rhymes are:
kneveprt. (< OE. enéow) : Jesu 1435, 3ou (OE éow) : Jesu 954, : nowe adv. 2846, : prov sb. (< OF. prov) 1813.

The pronunciation of kneve is rather uncertain, perhaps [knéw]; 3ou probably [jU].

Within the verse occur rewynge 22, 58, rewe 868 (OE. hréowan), neve adj. 318, rewebe sb. (OE. hréow + ë) 115, 1853, trewebe sb. 1854.

(b) OE. ëo + w > ou, ow in foure card. (OE. fëower) 287, 520, 1649, 2470, fourty card. 11, trowe vb. 1005, 1721, 2696; cf. Sweet, NEG. § 1159.

(4). OE. wëo- seems to have become wô-, judging by § 49. the rhyme swordesb. : corde sb. 2088/7.

But within the verse occur sword(e) 249, 2941, 2997, 3002, 3007, swordes 1919.

(5). OE. -éoht > -yzt [-i¿t]. § 50.

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


lye pres. (OE. lëoze) 1168.
OE. ı.

§ 52.  (1). OE. ı > y, seldom ı [i].

aryse inf. 199 (: sacryfice sb.), herby adv. 643 (: cry sb.), hye vb. 1804 (: vylonye sb.), knyffe sb. 206 (: stryffe sb.), lyffe sb. 2582 (: stryffe sb.), styes sb. pl. 1988 (: aspyes sb. pl.), herby adv. 120 (: mercy sb.), while sb. 1075 (: begyle vb.). Undoubtedly also OE. ı before -ld, -nd:

c/«^e) sb. 692, 698, 1921, wylde adj. 2079, fynde inf. 17, 330 etc.

Note 1. blepelyche adv. (OE. blîde adj.) 3090 is due to the scribe. A has blithelike 3986; note also the rhyme blype: kypfe vb. 1444/3.

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

§ 53.  (2). OE. ı > y [i] by shortening.

wypteprt. (OE. wîpian) 1194 (: kypfe; cf. Scand. kippa).

Note 1. To what extent shortening of OE. ı has taken place it is impossible to decide. Judging by the rhymes ping: rewyng 51/8, prechyng 151/2 a short vowel is to be assumed in ping.

Shortening had probably also taken place in childern sb. pl. 768, 980 etc., children 687, fyfte ord. 226, fyfty card. 51, lymen adj. 131, thrytty card. 2071, Wytsonday sb. 239, 279. styffe adj. 1044, 1900 is uncertain; cf. below p. 33. The following rhymes I look upon as ı:ı-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. wîfman sg. occurs as woman 1141, 2548, 2759, OE. wîfmen pl. as wymmen 2537, 2588, 2609, wymen 656; cf. Morsh. § 112 note 3.

OE. ǝ.

§ 54.  (1). OE. ǝ > o [ǝ].

sone adv. 3091 (: noon sb. < Lat. nōna), dome sb.: Rome 697, 1408, 2306. The last rhyme, however, proves nothing, because Rome in ME. had ǝ as well as ǝ; see Grundr. § 37 a.

Note. For the rhymes mysdon 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. ġ before lengthening consonant-groups. § 55

(a) Before -ld.

At first sight the rhymes seem to prove that the long vowel was kept in our text. But we should then expect to find ġ, for OE. ġ had the value ġ, except when it was based on Teut. a; see BÜLBR. § 285 note 1. All the rhyme-words have ġ. According to MORSB. § 118 note 1 rhymes of this kind should be regarded as ġ: ġ-rhymes. Moreover, *wolde* is very often used under weak stress. Thus we are entitled to assume ġ. Forms in ġ 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 ġ; see above § 29.

Thus the rhyme is in favour of ġ. Note, however, the spelling *woordes* A 2183.

(c) Before -rn.
    *corn* sb. 2016 (: *byforn* adv.), *horne* sb. 140 (: *byforne* adv.). Probably ġ.

(3). OE. ġ + h (χ) > ow [u]. § 56.
    *droue* prt. 3009 (: *fon* pron.), *ynewe* adv. 2013 (: *avowe* sb.), 2724 (: *Jesu*).

    *noȝt* adv. (OE. nōht, nōwiht; also nāht, nāwiht) 345 (: *wrouȝt* pp.), *souȝt* prt. 2192 (: *wrouȝt* prt.), *outsouȝt* pp. 1345 (: *ywrouȝt* pp.).

For the rest there are only rhymes 'inter se'. *brouȝt* pp. : *noȝt* adv. 1126, 1160, 2756 etc.
§ 58. OE. ă > ow, ou [a].


Also OE. ă before -nd: bounde prt. 1271 (: rounde adj.).
OE. dàmb adj. occurs as dombe 611; A has doumbe 1427.

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

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

§ 59. OE. ỹ > y [i]; it has coincided with ME. ĕ < OE. ī.

fyer sb. 2079 (: atyre sb.), kyşe inf. 1443 (: blyşe adj.), pryde sb. 737 (: syde sb.).

Also ỹ before nd.

kynde sb. : fynde vb. 18, 1594.

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

Note 2. OE. lyðer occurs as luper 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 ə before r; cf. Horn § 73, and above § 52 note 2.

Note 4. OE. býldan occurs as belde inf. 2667 (: helde prt. pl. <OE. héoldan). ĕ 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), *fraldome 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).
   *rystfulle adj. 93, *worshipful adj. 460.

(4). OE. -*hēd.
   (a) OE. -*hēd > -hēd:
       *godheed sb. : *dede sb. (OE. dēap) 1564, 1640, *lordheed sb. 1068 (: *dede adj.), *manheed sb. 2930 (: *stedde sb.).
   (b) OE. -*hēd > -hēd:
       *goodheed sb. 172 (: *meed sb. < OE. mēd); cf. TEN BrINK § 55. A has, however, the version *gode *dede: *meede 986/5.

(5). OE. -*ī3 > -y [i].
   *sory adj. 2573 (: *purgatorye sb.), *any pron. 12 etc., *body sb. 130, 184 etc., *fourty card. 11, 37 etc., *holy 378, *worpi 720; etc.

(6). OE. -*lēas > -lēs.
   *gyltlees adj. 434 (: *pees sb. < OF. paiz).

(7). OE. -*lic(e).
   (a) OE. -*lic(e) > -lyche.
(b) OE. -lic(e) > -ly [li].

gryslye adj. 2848 (: crye sb.), pryuely 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.), doustynes sb. 417.

(b) OE. -nes > -nys.
sykenys sb. 559 (: is pres.), gladenys sb. 915, 1333, goodenys sb. 43, vnkyndenys sb. 44; etc.; cf. Morsb. § 109, note 6.

(9). OE. -scipe > -shippe.

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

§ 61. 

B. Prefixes.

(1). OE. a- has most probably been shortened in aboute adv. & prep. (OE. ahutan, onbeutan) 224 etc., aryse inf. (OE. ärisan) 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. bilinnan) 317, 1514, blyme adv. (OE. belife) 175, 1329.

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

forferde prt. 30.

(4). OE. se- > y-:

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

Note 1. OE. se has been dropped in fere sb. (OE. seféra) 1467, shappe sb. (OE. seceap) 1666, swyncke sb. (OE. sewyncé) 1521; heude adj. (OE. sehénde) 931, 2571.

¹ be prep. (OE. bi) 1542 is a scribal error.
Note 2. OE. 3e- has been changed for by- in byleue 537, byleuef
504 (OE. 3eUfan).

Note 3. OE. 3e- is very often kept as y- in the pret. partic.
of verbs: ywyrtyte 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. ofdûne) 1045, 1110 etc., adradde
1331, adredde 2042, 2213 (OE. ofdrëdd). a has been dropped in
downe adv. 2661.

(6). OE. on->a-.
   ablode adv. (OE. on blôde) 1275, afote adv. (OE. on fôt)
2501, aeyn etc. (see OE. 3), alyue adv. (OE. on life) 1241,
1244, amonge prep. (OE. onmâng) 83, amydde prep. (OE. on
middan) 2482, 2680. Note an hye (OE. on hëaye) 236, 1720,
bop an euen and a morowe 2564.

(7). OE. tó- (=G. zer-) > to-, probably with a short vowel.
   tóbote prt. 356, tobrast prt. 230, to hewe pp. 1448.

C. Inflectional endings etc. § 82.

(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 partic-
ulars 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. spith) 2595
(: hit pron.), fîst, fyîst inf. (: almyst adj. sg.) 347, 2870, were
On the other hand e seems to be added in _here_ adv. (OE. _hēr_), _pere_ adv. (OE. _pǣr_), judging by the rhymes _here_ : _stere_ inf. 1213, _hure_ inf. 1266, _swere_ inf. 1762, _fere_ sb. (OE. _zefēra_) 1468, _pere : here_ inf. 1037, : _dere_ adj. 2562. _e_ might be due to analogy with the very common adverbs in -e, e. g. _longe_, _sone_ etc.

Finally, _e_ is a mere orthographical sign, especially in the pret. sing. of strong verbs (see Accident) 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 Accident.

(4). Vowels in other unstressed suffixes were weakened into _e, y_ : _douȝter_ sb. (OE. _dohtor_) 677, _ernyst_ sb. (OE. _cernost_) 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 : _gladenys_ sb. 915, 1333, _goodenys_ sb. 43, _wodenys_ sb. 613; _hardelyche_ adv. 967, _kyndely_ adj. 2633, _wyssely_ 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. _ealswǣ_), _eȝt_ ord. (OE. _eahtōda_) 255, _euaryche_ pron. 529, 761 etc., _euary_ 396 (OE. _ǣfre_ _ǣle_), _lady_ sb. (OE. _hlǣfðæge_) 1014, 1146, _ôfer_ conj. 727, 728, or 898 (OE. _āhwæþer, āwþer_).

1 Cf. SACHSE § 97.
2 Cf. SACHSE § 101; also in Chaucer; see TEN BRINK § 260 r.
(7). OE. nādelēs occurs as nāpēles 659, 1215, 2093, nēpēles 303, 317 etc. (6 times), nēpēlees 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 3, w in borouȝ sb. (OE. borh) 2018, thoruȝ, poruȝ prep. 4, 29 etc. (more than 50 times), porouȝ 1167 (OE. þurh); folowed prt. (OE. folgamode) 1552, morowe sb. (OE. mōræn) 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.


1 OE. single consonants have often been doubled:

(i) After OE. short vowel or diphthong: shappe sb. 1666, shappe sb. 470, shyppe 1859, yshipped pp. 1865, worshipp sb. 42, 1428, 1486, worshipped prt. 1625, lordshippe sb. 63; after 101, 455 (but after 105, 155 etc.), fullyng-staffe 167 (A staff 981); zitte adv. 11, 39 etc. (3it 188, 397 etc.), pytte sb. 2154, spytte sb. 2595, wytte sb. 2153, wytte sb. 1455, 3013, wrytten prt. pl. 427, wrytte etc. pp. (see strong verbs), lotte sb. 2993, shotte sb. 2075; goddes g. sg. 1, 92 etc.; (stede 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, lyfes 1744 (but lyf 2277), styffe adj. 1044, 1900, wyffe sb. 661, 1013, 1983, wyff 1921, 2641 (but wyf 683) — it after OE. long vowel or diphthong is rare in A; the only instances that I have found are knyffe 3760, stif 2766 —; lette subj. 349 (A lete 1163), strett sb. 2342, 2538 (A strett 3208, 3408), ette inf. 2625 (A eten 3497), withoutten 36, withouten 1518, 1664, 1884 (A t 850, 2492, 2750, 2346).

(iii) After r, n: sharrpe adv. 249 (sharpe adj. 2504), shortte adj. 2876; burrente prt. 1888, stynnte inf. 1323, stancke prt. 2653, styyncke sb.
Note. p has been inserted in empty adj. (OE. ðemtig) 794. — OE. wæps, wasp sb. occurs as wæspes pl. 359; cf. Bůlbr. § 520.

§ 64.

OE. b.

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

Note. u [v] in lyne inf. (OE. libban) 27 (: ydryne pp.), haue inf. (OE. habban): saue 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. Bůlbr. §§ 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 ha(ðe) prt. (OE. hæfde) 6 etc., heed sb. (OE. hēafod) 168, lady sb. (OE. hlæfðizæ) 1014, 1146, lord sb. (OE. hlæforcð) 387.

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

(iv) After 3 preceded (a) by OE. short vowel: dyȝtte inf. 1220, kownstes sb. pl. 631, 633 etc., plyȝtte pres. 938, douȝtter sb. 677, 995 etc., douȝtty adj. 1095, 1928, wrouȝtte prt. 40, fowȝtte prt. pl. 2287; (b) by OE. long vowel or diphthong: ouȝttest prt. 2225, grettest sup. 393 etc., rauȝtete prt. (OE. rōhte) 2099, hĭȝttest) prt. 987; 3064, brouȝtete prt. 1978, rauȝtte prt. (OE. rōhte) 949, souȝtte pp. 1167, souȝtteprt. 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, wmen 656 (OE. wifman sg., wifmen pl.).

Note 3. For the rhyme above 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. cwæf) 476.

Note 2. OE. luc- appears as wh-: whan conj. (OE. hwænn) 160, wēþer conj. (OE. hwæder) 482, whiche pron. (OE. hwilc) 16, why adv. (OE. hwē) 380.

Note 3. OE. w has been dropped after a spirant in so adv. (OE. swā) 55 as conj. (< alse < OE. calswā) 17, suche pron. (OE. swylic) 63, suster sb. (OE. swecstor, swustor) 2536, 2655, ponges sb. pl. (OE. hwāng) 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 BULBR. § 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 (; fo adv.) is due to Scandinavian influence (cf. Icel. frā); see BJÖRKM. pp. 100 f.

Note 2. OE. m has become n and then been added to the following word in the expression for þē nones (OE. for þēm ðanes) 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, ny5t sb. 136, sytte inf. 1456.

Note 1. OE. t, d > d in pryde sb. (OE. pryte, pryde) 737 (: syde sb.); cf. GRUNDE. p. 1009.

Note 2. OE. ts > ss in blessedprt. 1200.

Note 3. OE. t has been dropped (assimilated) in (at þe) last(e) adv. (OE. lastost) 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. *uthæs) 2046, aȝenst prep. (OE. onzæn) 430, 595, 1231; cf. GRUNDE. p. 1009. A has agayn 1246, agaynes 1411, 2057.

§ 69. OE. d.

 OE. d > d.

day sb. 79, deþ sb. 101, dryne 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. renite 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. stândan 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. andswaran, -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. $b$ (voiceless) $\rightarrow$ $b$, th.

$thre$ card. 15, $bing$ sb. 57, $thoru$ prep. 4, $wro$ adj. 107, $sib$ adv. 9.

(2). OE. $d$ (voiced) $\rightarrow$ $[t]$. The only spelling seems to be $b$.

$baping$ vb. 133, $bro$ vb. 186, $clo$ vb. 134.

Note 1. A $b$-suffix has been added in $rewpe$ sb. (OE. $hr$) 1853 (rewpe sb.).

Note 2. OE. $d$ has been dropped in $worshipp$ sb. (OE. $weord$) 42.

Note 3. OE. $b > d$ in $quad$ prt. (OE. $cw$). KLUGE (Grundr. p. 1008) is of opinion that $d$ is due to influence from $cw$ pl. SWEET (HES. § 732) gives another explanation. The development may have been facilitated by influence from the synonymous $seid(e)$.

Note 4. OE. $d > d$ in $burdon$ sb. (OE. $bijro$) 1196, $cowde$ prt. (OE. $cud$) 2515, 3013, $whedyr$ conj. (OE. $hu$) 872; cf. GRUNDUR. p. 1008.

Note 5. OE. $b$, $d > d$ in the dative and accusative of $deth$ (OE. $de$), which is supported by rhymes: (after, but, to) $de$ : rede sb. 3, 384, 862, 2676; $sted$ : rede sb. 105 (MS. $de$), 810, 1766, $dede$ : 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. $a$. $d$ may also be explained as depending on influence from the adj. $ded$; cf. BJÖRKM. 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. $b$, $d$. 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 $[z]$ in $aryse$ inf. 199, $chese$ inf. 671.
Note 1. *was* pt. (< OE. *was*; Mod. E. [ə]) seems to have had [s], judging from the rhymes *was* : *cas* sb. 60/59, 226/5, : *trespas* sb. 114/3, : *Judas* 858/4, : *Barabas* 1088/7.

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

§ 72.

OE. 1.

OE. *l > l.*


Note. *l* has been dropped before OE. *é*: *eche* pron. (OE. *éle*) 120, *suche* pron. (OE. *swyle*) 63, *wichie* pron. (OE. *huile*) 16; also in *werde* sb. (OE. *weorold*): *herde* pp. & prt. 285, 553, 674, as conj. (OE. *ealswóð*) 17.

§ 73.

OE. *r > r.*


Note. The OE. metathesis has been done away with in some cases, a fact which is also supported by rhymes: *tobrast* pt. pl. (OE. *bærst* sg.): *fast* adv. 230, also by the rhyme with *cast* pt. 805, although the MS. has the spelling *barst*; moreover in *fresshe* adj. (OE. *fersc*) 2023, 2116, *froste* sb. (OE. *forst*) 1899, *grasse* sb. (OE. *gærs, græs*) 2529 (: *chasse* vb.); as for *fresshe* cf. Skeat, Conc., *fresh*. OE. *pridda* appears as *fridde, pirdrde, pírdrde*; cf. BÜLR. § 519. Variation is also found in *thrytty, pirtty* (OE. *préttí*); cf. Numerals. OE. *worhte* pt. occurs as *wrouȝt* 2191 (: *souȝt* pt.); cf. BÜLR. § 448.

§ 74.

OE. *n > n.*


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, mylcardes g. sg. (OE. mylen-weard) 677.

Note 3. OE. n has been doubled in vnnefe 'scarcely' (OE. un-cade) 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 ī, ī, j (Bülbr. § 499). (2) [tʂ (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, pícce 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 kerwyn vb. (OE. ceorfan) 2504, see Björkm. p. 142, Skeat, Conc., carve vb.
Note 2. OE. $a > ea$ by $u$-mutation (in Merc.; BÜBLR. § 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. $c [\ell \theta (\phi)] > ch [t\theta (\phi)]$.

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 rhyme: (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 $c$; BÜBLR. § 500) normally $\dot{c}$, and from these forms (e. g. 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres.) $\dot{c}$ has found its way into the infinitive, too. In modern English the $k$-forms have prevailed.

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

Note 2. OE. $c [\bar{c}]$ has been dropped in I pron. (OE. ic) 2.

Note 3. Skeat (Conc., ditch sb.) seems to be of opinion that $ch$ in dyche sb. (OE. dic m. & f.) 2456, 2473, 2484, 2497 (: pryuehche adv.) is based on the dat. dtce. Final $\bar{c} > c$ after $y$ in Southumbrian (BÜBLR. § 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. spèvece, dat.

§ 76.

OE. sc.

OE. $sc$ (already in OE. [$s\varepsilon(\ddot{s})$]; BÜBLR. §§ 506 ff.) $> sch, sh$, medially $ssh [\dddot{s}]$.

schal pres. 2, shame sb. 84, shende inf. 2092, shene adj. 2579, shewe inf. 194, shortte adj. 2876, schrewys sb. pl. 718, fysshe sb. 132, flesshe sb. 132, wasshyng vb. 133.
OE. 3.

§ 77.

In OE. 3 (g) denoted the following sounds:

(1) Palatal spirant [j] originating in (a) Teut. j (== cons. i; Bûlbr. § 457); (b) WT. 3 (== voiced guttural spirant; Bûlbr. § 486) fronted (i) initially before primary palatal vowels (Bûlbr. § 492); (ii) finally after palatal vowels (Bûlbr. § 494); (iii) medially between palatal vowels (Bûlbr. § 497); (iv) before primitive OE. i, i, j (Bûlbr. § 498).

(2) Guttural spirant: (i) initially before secondary palatal vowels and before OE. ea < a by u-mutation (Bûlbr. § 492 pp. 195—6); (ii) initially before guttural vowels and before consonants, in which position 3 (== voiced guttural spirant) > g (== guttural voiced stop) in late OE. (Bûlbr. § 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 (Bûlbr. § 486) and in gemination; ng and gg were fronted in Southumbrian before primitive OE. i, i, j; ng > nỳ, gg > cỳ (ddz); Bûlbr. § 499.

In our text OE. 3 appears in the following way:

(1). (a) OE. 3 > j, y [j].
3eer sb. 11, 3if conj. 12 1, 3itte adv. 11, younge adj. 22.
(b) (i) OE. 3 > j [j].
3elde inf. 1910, 3eue inf. 721.

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

Note 2. Besides gate sb. 'gate' 2952, 2955 there occurs gate sb. 'way, street' (Scand. gata) 490, 1771 2.

Note 3. In bygynne inf. (<= OE. on-ginnan; cf. Goth. ginnan) 318, 1896 we should expect to find 3; 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. onzæn, onzæn occurs as (1) ægæn adv. & prep. 153, 812, 1214 etc. (8 times); (2) ægen adv. & prep. 40, 433, 1814 etc. (7 times); (3) ægæns prep. 348; (4) ægens prep. 164, 210, 329 etc. (16 times); (5) ægænst 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) æyeg adv. 921 (: see subj. sg.), æze 2111 (: sle inf.). A has agayn 1739 (: ðonne), 2977 (: sayn inf.). æze is found in southern dialects (NED.); (7) ægæyn, agayn adv. 590 (: in vayn adv.), 816 (: sayen inf.), 1834 (: twæyn card.) etc. (8 times); g is probably due to Scandinavian influence; see NED. and Björkm. p. 151. — I take the opportunity of pointing out that forms in æ are rare in A. In 18 instances in P, I only found 2 in A (the expressions ægænes her pay 978, ægæymes my prow 2680).

(ii) In this position OE. æ 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. æ has been vocalized in this position, too.

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

(iv) OE. æ > y [j].

burye inf. (OE. byrzan < *burzian) 2650.

(2). (i) OE. æ > g (voiced stop).

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

(ii) OE. æ > g (voiced stop).

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

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


Note 1. OE. ðæsas acc. pl., ðæsum 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. 5 in ðæze, (on) hēæze (hēah) 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 ʒ > w after consonants.


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

kyng sb. 581, long adv. 687, ping sb. 151.

Note 1. OE. g > k.

pinke sb. (<OE. ping) 2558 (: drynke sb.), kying sb. (<OE. cyning) 3098 (: drynke sb.).

Note 2. OE. gg (spelt cg) in liegan, lecgan, secgan, byegan 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 (: alwaye adv.), 485 etc. (: way sb.), 2196 (: prey vb.), 2839 (: prey sb.), abye 1104 (: mastrye sb.), 2856 (: dye). — Only once occurs the form lygge (with ddz) 2494.

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

OE. [ɣ].

In the combinations ɣs, ɣt, ɣb OE. h (= ɣ; 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 [ɣ, ɣ] is kept as a spirant in our text. The spelling is ʒ. Before a guttural ɣ there has developed a u: brouȝt pt. (<OE. brōhte) 299, ronȝtle pt. (<OE. rōhte) 949, souȝtze pt. (<OE. sōhte) 942, wrouȝtze pt. (<OE. worhtze) 40; lyȝt adv. 8, nyȝt sb. 136.

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

Note 2. Final h [ɣ] seems to have been dropped: droue pt. (<OE. drōh) 3009 (:ounc pron.), ynowe adv. (<OE. zenōh) 2724 (: Jesu), 2013 (: avowe sb.).

OE. h.

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

haue inf. 115, herkenēh vb. 16, howe adv. 2, house sb. 442.
II. The Scandinavian Element.

A. Vowels and diphthongs.

1. In stressed syllables.

Scand. a.

§ 80.

(1). In close syllables.

Scand. a > a [ɔ].

1 † calle inf. 284 (\(\text{alle} \) pron.), gappe sb. 2939, gat prt. (cf. Icel. yat) 684.

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

(a) a: cast inf. 2372 (\(\text{fast} \)adv.), 3073 (\(\text{at the last} \)adv.), kast prt. 2285 (\(\text{fast} \)adv.), cast 353 (\(\text{tobrast} \)prt.), ycast pp. 1361 (\(\text{stedfast} \)adj.), outcast inf. 410 (\(\text{at be last} \)adv.), outcast prt. 1351 (\(\text{fast} \)adv.).

There are also rhymes with OF. a = ME. \(\text{a}\): cast prt. 2077 (\(\text{arblast} \)sb.), bycast pp. 2964 (\(\text{hast} \)sb.).

(3) e: kest inf. 2089 (\(\text{best} \)sup.), keste prt. (MS. kyste) 563 (\(\text{beste} \)sup.), kest prt. (MS. kyst) 260 (\(\text{rest} \)prt.; OE. restan), ykest pp. 391 (\(\text{best} \)sup.). As for the e-forms see Morsb. § 87 note 2. The forms in y 260, 563, 2366 are due to the scribe; \(\text{A}\) has e 1074, 1379, 3232; cf., however, Morsb. § 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. \(a > a \, [\hat{a}]\).

gate sb. (cf. Icel. gata): Pylate 490, 1771, \(\dagger\dagger \) rape vb. 1857 (: escape vb.), 2004 (: scape), \(\dagger\) same adj. 3003.

(3). Scand. \(a\) before \(nd, ng > o\); cf. BÜLBR. § 285 note 2.
\(\dagger\dagger\) bondes sb. pl. 2408 (: hondes sb. pl.), \(\dagger\) wronge sb. (cf. Icel. rangr) 181 (: stronge adj.), 2281 (: amonge prep.); cf. § 28.

Scand. e.

§ 81.

(1). In close syllables.
Scand. \(e > e \, [\hat{e}]\).

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

Note. Scand. \(e > y \, [\hat{y}]\) in gyste sb. (Icel. gestr) 1264; cf. BJÖRKMN. pp. 152 f.

(2). In open syllables.
Scand. \(e > e \, [\hat{e}]\); cf. above § 9.

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

Scand. i.

§ 82.

Scand. \(i > y, i \, [\hat{y}]\).

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

Scand. y (i-mutation of u).

§ 83.

Scand. \(y > y \, [\hat{y}]\).

byrhe sb. (cf. Icel. burðr, OSw. byrþ) 1625 (: myrþe sb.),
\(\dagger\dagger\) hylde pp. (cf. Icel. hylja) 2143 (: yfulfylde pp.), \(\dagger\dagger\) vnhylded adj. 2654 (: fyldpe pp.).

Scand. á.

§ 84.

Scand. \(á > o \, [\hat{o}]\).

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. *félagi*) 476, 477, 493. In this word shortening of *é* had most probably taken place.

§ 86.

Scand. í.

Scand. í > y [i].

*tydyn* sb. (cf. Icel. *tíðindi*) 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 [i].


§ 90.

(1). Scand. œ > e [e].

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

(2). Scand. œ > a [a] by shortening.

† *braldome* sb. (cf. Icel. *brálðóm* ¹) 49.

§ 91.

Scand. ó.

Scand. ó + ȝ > y [i].

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

¹ Skype, Conc., *thrall* sb., gives the word wrongly as having Icel. *ær*.
Scand. **ai, ei**.

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 (: *prayed* pp.).

**Note.** Scand. *deyja* 'to die', late OE. *de-san*, occurs with *i* as well as with *ai*.


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

Scand. **au**.

Scand. **au > ou**.


Scand. **øy**.

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

Scand. **iū**.

Scand. **iū > e [e]**.

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

2. **In unstressed syllables.**


(2). The Scand. suffix -iga > -ī.

B. Consonants.

§ 97.

Labials.

Scand. p.


$\dagger\dagger$rape inf. 1857, 2004; gappe sb. (cf. Icel. gap) 2939, kyppe prt. (cf. Icel. kippa) 1193.

Scand. b.

Scand. $b > b$.

$\dagger\dagger$bryncke sb. 2459, byrhe sb. 1625, $\dagger$housbonde sb. 2641.

Scand. f.

Scand. $f > f$.

felawe sb. 476, 477, 493 etc.

Scand. v.

Scand. $v > w$.

wyndowe sb. 468, 2043, $\dagger\wedge$wyterly 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. § 278. It was kept in ME.: $\dagger$wronge sb. (cf. Icel. rangr, OSw. vranger) 181, 865, 2281.

Scand. m.

Scand. $m > m$.

$\dagger$meke adj. 1580, merkys sb. pl. 90, $\dagger$same adj. 3003.

§ 98.

Dentals.

Scand. t.

Scand. $t > t$.

tydying sb. 885, 1224, $\dagger$tyl conj. 251, tyne vb. 1186, gate sb. 490, 1771, gete inf. 95, $\dagger$sete sb. 1548.
Scand. d.

Scand. $d > d$.

$wyndowe$ sb. 468, 2043, $housbonde$ sb. 2641.

Note. $nd > ng$ in $tydyng$ (cf. Icel. $tiðinde$) 885, 1224.

Scand. p.

Scand. $p > \ddot{p}$.


Scand. ð.

Final Scand. $ð > \ddot{p}$ (voiceless interdental spirant; cf. Björkm. p. 303).

$byrþe$ sb. (cf. Icel. $burlr$) 1625 (:*myrþe$ sb.), $gryþe$ sb. (cf. Icel. $grid$) 1397 (:*wip$ prep. 1).

Note. For $d$ in $tydyng$ sb. (cf. Icel. $tiðinde$) 885, 1224 see Björkm. 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.

† $p > \ddot{p}$ in $wip$ about 1500; see Horn p. 156.
Scand. r.

Scand. \( r > r \).

\( \dagger \dagger raepe \) vb. 1857, 2004, upreysed pp. 706, \( \dagger \dagger brynke \) sb. 2459, byr\( \underline{\text{\f}} \)e sb. 1625, merkys sb. pl. 90, praldome sb. 49, \( \dagger wronge \) sb. 181, 865, 2281.

Scand. n.

Scand. \( n > n \).

\( nay \) adv. 899, 1006, \( \dagger \dagger bryncke \) 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. \( k > c, k [k] \).

\( \dagger calle \) inf. 284, cast prt. 353, kypte prt. 1193, \( \dagger \dagger bryncke \) sb. 2459, merkys sb. pl. 90 (: werkys sb. pl.), \( \dagger meke \) 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, gry\( \underline{\text{\f}} \)e sb. 1397.

Scand. z.

Scand. \( z > w \) after a guttural vowel.

awe sb. 311, felawe sb. 476, 477 etc., lowe adv. 82 (: onerthrowe pp.), wyndowe sb. 468, 2043.
Scand. ψ.

Scand. ψ > η.
†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.

(a) OF. a > a [ä] in open syllables and before a single final consonant.

(escape vb. : rape vb. 1858, 2003, blame inf. (< OF. blasmer ¹) 873 (: shame sb.), cardyacle sb. (< OF. cardiaque) 2316 (: undertake inf.), fame 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. ²

¹ 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. Sixty and tén langüages I herde 1657; otherwise To pégnte his visage pér/ppón 1176, Vppón my cóstage 1 schal fonde 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.; ā : ā -rhyme), lake sb. 2742 (: make
inf.); probably also charies 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 [ā], 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, marbly sb. (< OF. marbre) 1272, partedprt. 753.

Note 1. trespass sb.: was 113/4, trespass vb.: grace sb. 1585/6.
was occurs with ā or ā in ME.; grace had certainly ā. Thus the
rhymes are in favour of ā in trespass(e); cf. GRUNDR. § 27 d ('nichtenteiligen gelängt'), TEN BRINK § 69 [ā].

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

§ 101.

(2). OF. a in originally unstressed syllables.
(a) OF. a > a, probably [ā].
habitacion sb. 1539, habitaciouns 1516, sauoure sb.
‘taste’ 2600, Sauyoure sb. 1701.

(b) OF. a > a [ā].
abate vb. 428, 724, 735, 1026, acordve 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 heire as
cowards longe lyre.
Note 2. a has been dropped in queyntaunce sb. (<OF. accointance) 2543, sawte sb. (OF. as(s)aut) 2095.

B. OF. a before a nasal followed by a consonant (â).

(1) In originally stressed syllables.

§ 102.
(a) OF. â > 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; adauntaen vb. 718 1, couenaunt sb. 501, 3071, grauntae vb. 119, 1807 etc., graunte 1030, 1156, graunted 461, 899, 2687, leftenaunt sb. 1069, semblaunte sb. 1206, 1219 etc. 2

(b) OF. â > a.

chambre sb. 402; dampne inf. 182, dampned prt. 594, ensample sb. 1609, 1646 3; France n. pr. 702; changyng pres. part. 133; cankyr sb. 355.

(c) OF. â > au, a.

chaunce sb. 75, 178, 1752, 1897, 1950, chance 701; waraunte sb. 1676 4, 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 semblaunte 3114 is an error of the editor’s; cf. Introd.
3 For â instead of _estimators (cf. Lat. exemplum) see Sturmfels p. 243.
4 waraunte 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 raunsone 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 [ê] 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, : ēe pron. 2672, : ūe inf. 2510, dignite sb. 423 (: he pron.), 2310 (: ēe pron.); in similar rhymes commyte sb., countre sb., pyte sb., plente sb., trynite sb.; cleer adj. 52 (: ēer sb.), prophete 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 price 1527, 1759, privy 3593, C preve 1786. The adverb is priuely 1449, pryuely 1135, 3036, pryuelyche, -lich 1052, 1259, 1988, 2498. Almost the same development has taken place in perry 'precious stones' (< OF. perrée) 926 (perré > pérré > perry). 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. pilor) 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 e, but best sup. had ê. 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 ê or e; cf. TEN BRINK § 68 note.

(d) OF. e > e [ê].

desered pp. 2948 (: sterued prt.), dystresse sb. 2556 (: lesse adv.), 2853 (: wykednesse sb.), 2493 (: gesse sb.), felle adj. 760 (: dwelle inf.), letter sb. 499 (: better comp.), certes adv. 1723, 2841, certys 2170, conferme vb. 1615, 1840, confirmed 2332, rehersed inf. 1294, reversed prt. 836, terme sb. 1839.

Note 1. werre sb.: zere sb. 2108/7. werre occurs with ê and e in ME.; cf. TEN BRINK § 79.

Note 2. We may also assume ê 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 [ê].

defende vb. 562, desyre sb. 934, eresye sb. 1422, herytage sb. 74, memorye sb. 642, mesure sb. 69, perylous adj. 1366; certeyn 1839, 1844, clergye sb. 1837, exile adj. 447, seruage 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 ê; 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 parseyued pp. 571. a alternates with e in marvelous 680, meruayllous 977, meruayllouse 441; cf. Behrens p. 96, Sturmfels p. 243.

Note 4. OF. e > y in mynstralsye sb. (< OF. menestralie) 1719, medycines sb. pl. (< OF. medicine) 508; probably Latin influence; moreover OF. sauveour sb. appears as Sanyoure 1701.

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

Note 6. e in an original medial syllable has been dropped in commynte sb. (< OF. commune) 601, 2841, meselrge sb. (< OF. mesellerie) 353, mynstralsye sb. (< OF. menestralie) 1719.

Note 7. OF. prosthetic e before sA-, sp, s^; 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, stryfe sb. 205, 1884, 2581, stryue vb. 343.

(b) e appears as a.

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

Note 8. OF. effrei (Lat. ex + friddre) occurs as afrac 292, 2010, the OF. stem esbaiss- as abashyd prt. 217.

B. AF. e before a nasal followed by a consonant (ê). (AF. ê = OF. â; Grundr. § 22 A; Schw.-B. § 42).

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

AF. ê > e [ê].


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

AF. ê > e [ê].

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 inclosedprt. (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 ï, ï.

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

(a) OF. i > y, i [i] finally, in open syllables and before a single final consonant.

asspye sb. 3015; (: dye vb.), aspyes pl. 1987 (: styes sb. pl.), aspyed pp. 420 (: deyde 'died' for dyede), crye(s) sb. 235 (: an hye < OE. on heæze), 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.), servyce sb. 243 (: agryse inf.), feymyte sb. 1807 (: wyse sb.), ile sb. 723 (: vyle adj.); avyse sb. 2491 (: pryse sb.), pryse sb. 2156 (: wyse adj.), vysse sb. 405, styffye sb. 205 (: knyfye 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. ai) 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 *i*:r rhyme. OF. *profit* sb. occurs as *profyte* 908, 1809 in rhymes with *despyte*.

(b) OF. *i > y [i]*.

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

*Note 1.* *i* has been dropped in *abashid* prt. (< OF. *esbaïss*) 217.

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

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

OF. *i > y, i [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 *prwy* adj. (< OF. *prive*) etc. see above § 104; also *presoun* sb. 2898.

B. OF. *i*.

§ 110. OF. *i > i [i]*.

**princes** sb. pl. 85, 606.

*Note.* OF. *engin* sb. occurs as *engyne:wyf*, *withynne* 2091, 2098, *engynes* pl. : *wiferyynes* sb. pl. 2075; probably *i* in spite of the rhymes. The short form is *gynne* 2867 (: *synne* sb.), 2965 (: to *kepyn*); no doubt *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 *l*, *n*.

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

OF. *i > y [i]*.

**iéntyl** adj. 707, **sötyl** adj. 2999.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables.

OF. *i > y, i*.

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

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

(a) OF. $o > o$ [ŋ].

cost sb. (< OF. coste, L. costa) 1986 (: ost sb.), 2073 (: ost sb.), ost sb. 2809 (: vost 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. thésaurum) occurs with ŭ as well as with ū: tresoure : more comp. 2649; tresoure : honoure sb. 437, : byteroure comp. 2637. The other MSS., with the exception of B, have, however, only rhymes with ū: tresoure : store sb.(< OF. estor) 1253, tresour : more comp. (A), : therefore (C) 3511 (B : betterouf), : more comp. 3523.

Note 2. OF. povre adj. (< L. pauper) appears as pore 2290, 2616; probably ū.

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

(b) OF. $o > o$ [ɒ].

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

(2). In originally unstressed syllables.

(a) OF. $o > o$ [ɒ].

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.

(a) AF. $u > ow, ou$ [ũ] finally and before a single final consonant.
avowe sb. 2014 (: ynowe), prow sb. 'profit, advantage' 1814 (: zou pron.); doule(e) sb.: aboute adv. 1378, 1969, : wip-, without adv. 2096, 2802, honoure sb. (< AF. honur) : sourre, sourre adj. 1528, 2443, ie loue adj. 1325 (: house sb.), mer-
Wayllouse adj. 441 (: house sb.), route, route 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.), Profoure sb. 1701 (: honoure sb.), socoure inf. 183 (: honoure sb.), 2976, socoure sb. 1495 (: honoure sb.), 1929 (: honoure sb.).

Note. marveylous adj.: Atus 680/79 is an ù: ù-rhyme.
(b) AF. u before r followed by a consonaut.
court sb. 550, courtte 1472, scourges sb. pl. 1274.
The spelling is in favour of ù in both the words, although Mod. E. [shoodz] is based on ME. ù; see GRUNDR. § 39 a.

(c) AF. u > o, u (ou, ow), probably [ü].
grocheb vb. 2589, suffre vb. 1826, 2816, suffer 2621, suffred 308, 1408, suffered 2282; touche vb. 45, toucheb 640; ù?; cf. Mod. E. pouch.

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

§ 115.
(2). In originally unstressed syllables.
(a) AF. u > ou, ow [ü].
cowardes sb. pl. 2496, outrages sb. pl. 435, 443, power sb. 348, 895, 1473.

(b) AF. u > u, o, ou [ü].
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 myracule sb. (< OF. miracle) 38, miracule 782, myracules 615, miracules 651 (but myracle 2723), disciplues 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 (míraculum, discípulum). 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. ũ > ow, ou, o [ŋ].

commyssion sb. 1829 (: town sb.), deuocioun sb. 1698 (: adowne adv.). enuyroun sb. 1039 (: town sb.), renowne sb. 127 (: town sb.), rounde adj. 1272 (: bounde prt.). The following words occur in rhymes of the same kind: oryson sb. 2393, passioun sb. 1242, paunyln 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.: sone sb. 'son' 2379/80 is an ũ: ũ-rhyme.


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. *fleam).

(b) AF. ũ > o, u [ŋ].

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

(2) In originally unstressed syllables. §117.

(a) AF. ũ > ũ, spelt o.

dongeoun sb. 2375.

(b) AF. con.

(a) ou [ŋ].

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

(3) o [ŋ?]

condyte sb. 441, conferme vb. 1615, 1840, confermed 2332, confunded prt. 80, confusion 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 ũ 1565. Had ũ, in the dialect of the scribe, been lengthened?
Note 2. OF. covenant, convenant sb. appears as couenaunt 501, 3071.

(c) AF. com.
AF. \(\ddot{u} > o [\ddot{u}]\).

combraunce sb. 5, comfort sb. 2399, comferte 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. \(h\ddot{u}\)), vertu 160 (: Jesu).

A has the spelling vertewe 3042, vertu 974, 2435, 2534, 3488.

The first rhyme is in favour of a change \(\ddot{u} \geq \ddot{u}\) or \(iu\); note also the spelling vertewe in A; cf. ten Brink § 75, Behrens pp. 118 ff.

(b) In open syllables.

OF. \(\ddot{u} > u [\ddot{u}]\).

aurenture sb. 561, durep vb. 2800, ensure vb. 1157, excuse vb. 649, 820, excused 643, 645, mesure sb. 69, mules sb. pl. 2128, procuredprt. 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, ingement sb. 93, justice sb. 597, 747 etc., purgatorye sb. 2574, subieccioun sb. 390, suspeccyon sb. 618, unpunysshed 1962.
B. OF. \( \ddot{u} \) before a nasal.

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

OF. \( \ddot{u} \rightarrow y \ [\ddot{u}?] \).

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

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

OF. \( \ddot{u} \rightarrow y \ [\ddot{u}] \).

commynte sb. 601, 2841; as for the spelling \( y \) cf. 1.

OF. \( ai \).

A. OF. \( ai \) except before a nasal or \( \ddot{i} \), \( \ddot{n} \).

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

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

pay sb. 'satisfaction', 'pleasure' 844 (: day sb.), 882 (: say 'saw'), : lay prt. 2302, 2336, paye sb. 'payment' 2469 (: daye sb.); pleye inf. 584 (: seide 'said'), 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. \( ai \rightarrow ee, e [\ddot{e}] \) before \( s \):

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

Note. OF. palais occurs as palyce 82, 2329 (: Sarasynesy palyse 1459 (: always 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 he hizoe palyce schal lye fulle love 82. The rhyme with always proves that the author pronounced the word with \( ai \). A has paleys 896, palays 3195, palace 2287. The rhyme 2329/30 is curious.

1 This rhyme, however, is ambiguous; seide may stand for sede (OE. swēde). We should then read plede : sede. A has plede : seide 1400/1399. Cf. GRUNDKR. § 43 b.
§ 123. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.
(a) OF. ai > ay [ai].
(b) OF. ai before s.
(x) OF. ai > e.
*encesoun* sb. 1612, 1769, *reson* sb. 379, 617, *resoun* 389, 1112 etc., *vessel* sb. 345.
(p) 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.
(y) 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 *mastrye* sb. 1103 see above § 122,1 a, note.

B. OF. ai before a nasal.

§ 124. (1). In originally stressed syllables.
OF. ai > ay, ey [ai].


Note. OF. *gardain* sb. occurs as *warden* 1885 (: *pen* adv.). A has *wardeyn: pain* 2751/2.

§ 125. (2). In originally unstressed syllables.
OF. ai > ey [ai].
*meyntened* prt. 312.

C. OF. ai (< a before ï, ñ).

§ 126. (1). In originally stressed syllables.
OF. ai > ay, ai [ai].
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].

bastylye 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 ō, ū.

(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.); feip sb. 1490 (: seif 'says'), prayed pp. 705 (: upreysedprt.), curteys adj. 1014, eyer sb. 'heir' 72, purreyde prt. 1890; before v: parseyued pp. 571, receyuedprt. 1930, receyued 1696; cf. Behrens p. 143.

Note. AF. poeir occurs as power sb. 895 (: vyker sb. < OF. vicaire), probably è. vyker may have had ë, too, on the analogy of messanger 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. §190.

(1). In originally stressed syllables.

AF. ei > ey, ay [ai].

ordeyne inf. 2070, 2074, ordayned 451, yordayned 447,
peyne sb. 720 (: tweyne 'two'), 840 etc., paynes 730, 733, paynes 2110, peynite inf. 1176.

(2). In originally unstressed syllables.

AF. eü > ey.

feyntyse sb. 1807, peyntoure sb. 1175, peyntouree 1181.

C. AF. ei before ï, ŋ.

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

AF. ei > ey, ei.

dysdeyn sb. 914 (: seyn inf.), counseille vb. 965, counseille sb. 2669, conseil 4, conseille 2308. — counsell vb. 1018, counselfe 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.

(a) AF. ei > ay, ey.

meruayllouse adj. 441, marveylous 680.

(b) AF. ei > e.

counseller sb. 1932, tarbarelles sb. pl. 2079.

OF. ie (AF. e).

§ 133. OF. ie > e, seldom ee [é].

chere sb. 1097 (: here adv.), counseller sb. 1932 (: nere adv.), daungere sb. 740 (: nere adv.), 2216 (: zere sb.), greef sb. 990 (: zeff sb.), greuef vb. 503 (: blyeuef vb.), greue vb. 779 (: blyeue vb.), : be-, blyeue 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 myscheff 3780, the other MSS. have another version.
OF. ue. §134.

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


Note. Lat. ō + ĭ 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 crosse 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 poyniement sb. 2692; also before ū in oynement sb. 998, 2384.

Note. queynt adj. 2091, queyntle 737, queyntelyche adv. 2984 are based on AF. queint; see Behrens p. 157. So also in an originally unstressed syllable in queyntyse sb. 742, queyntawnce 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].

\[\textit{sau} \text{ inf. : } \textit{haue} \text{ vb. 116, 158 etc. (10 times).}\]

§ 139. OF. *eu*.

OF. *eu* > *ew*.

\[\textit{Jewe} \text{ sb. 208, 938 etc., } \textit{Jewes} 3, 146, \textit{sewyd} \text{ prt. 1407.}\]

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

\[\text{Note 2. OF. } \textit{lieutenant} \text{ sb. (\textless L. } \textit{locum tenent-)} \text{ occurs as leftenaunt 1069; } A \text{ has } \textit{lieutenant} 1891.\]

B. Consonants.

Labials.

§ 140. OF. *p > p*.

\[\textit{pardon} \text{ sb. 56, } \textit{pees} \text{ sb. 433, 1397 etc., } \textit{poynt} \text{ sb. 250, } \textit{pleyde} \text{ vb. 584, } \textit{space} \text{ sb. 11, 2005, } \textit{apert} \text{ adj. 38, } \textit{aspye} \text{ sb. 1094, } \textit{ascape} \text{ vb. 1858 (:\textit{rape} \text{ inf.}), } \textit{scape} \text{ inf. 2003 (:\textit{rape} \text{ inf.}), } \textit{trumpe} \text{ inf. 2283.}\]

\[\text{Note. } p \text{ has been inserted in } \textit{dampne} \text{ vb. (\textless OF. } \textit{damner}) 182, \textit{dampned} 594.\]

§ 141. OF. *b > b*.

\[\textit{barons} \text{ sb. pl. 2326, } \textit{best} \text{ sb. 2151, } \textit{blame} \text{ vb. 326, 873, 1777, } \textit{abate} \text{ vb. 428, 724 etc., } \textit{fëble} \text{ adj. 4, 2525, 2664, } \textit{noble} \text{ adj. 77, 352 etc., } \textit{tombe} \text{ sb. 2385, } \textit{robbed} \text{ prt. 2535.}\]

\[\text{Note. For } b \text{ in } \textit{chambre} \text{ sb. (L. } \textit{camera} 402, } \textit{semlaunte} \text{ sb. (L. } \textit{similäre, simuläre} \text{ vb.) 1206 etc., } \textit{assemble} \text{ sb. (L. } \textit{assimuläre} \text{ vb.) 715, 1504 cf. Behrens p. 170.}\]
§ 142.

OF. f.

OF. \( f \) > \( f \), seldom ph.


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

§ 143.

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


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

AF. w.

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

(1). AF. \( w \) > \( w \).


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

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

OF. m.

§ 145.

OF. \( m \) > \( m \).

*maner* sb. 152, 506 etc., *mesure* 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, commynne sb. 601, 2841.

Dentals.

§ 146.

OF. t > t.

terme sb. 1839, towre sb. 2599, tresoure sb. 437, 752 etc., atyre sb. 2080, herytage sb. 74, astate 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, grauntted pp. 1789 etc. are due to the scribe; cf. pp. 33 f.

§ 147.

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. [dz] (voiced affricate).

OF. dz > dż, spelt i, j, g.

eilouse adj. 1325, ientyl adj. 707, ioye sb. 281, 807 etc., iugement sb. 93; iewe 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., clergye sb. 1837, dougoun sb. 2375, languages sb. pl. 527, 1657, large adj. 1829, scourges sb. pl. 1274, sege sb. 275, 1909 etc., servage sb. 20, 45, venge vb. 1813; i in vennaunce 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, touchevb. 640, vouchesaffe vb. 1738; grochef vb. 2589 (Mod. E. [dʃ]).

OF. s. §150.

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

saue vb. 116, 158 etc., seymt 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. blaismer 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.
croyss sb. 866, 992, 1183, pees sb. (L. pæcem) 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., denocioun 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., prophecy sb. 61, 2586; justice sb. 597, 747 etc., sacrifice sb. 200 (aryse inf.), sacrifyce 212, seruice 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, afflixciona sb. pi. 2553.

Note 2. OF. -iss- (< pop. L. -isk-) appears as -yssh- in vpnunysshed 1962, OF. esbaiess- 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 > l.

lake sb. 2742, 2744, letter sb. 426, 452, blame vb. 326, 873, 1777, cleer adj. 52, pleyde inf. 584, iclouse 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. .attack is no longer mouille but occurs as l, ll; for examples see above §§ 111, 126, 127, 131, 132.

OF. r.

§ 154.

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.), desered pp. 2948 (: sterued prt.), cler adj. 52 (: seer sb.), counseller sb. 1932 (: nearer'), perry sb. 926.  

Note 1. OF. quar[r]el sb. occurs as quarel sb. 2100, 2289, OF. weerre sb. as weere 84, 261, 2108 (: seere sb.); BCD have weere 2974, LCD weerre 898, A (and the other MSS.) weerre 1075. The different spelling and the rhyme with seere suggest a fluctuation between e and e; cf. TEN BRINK § 68 b.

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, suffered 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 (: twayne card.), amende vb. 14 (: sende vb.), assent sb. 426 (: sent prt.), 439 (: spent prt.), deuocioun sb. 1698 (: adowne adv.), renoune sb. 127 (: towne sb.).

Note 1. n has been inserted in messanger sb. 369, 473, 2300, messangers 743; cf. BEHRENS p. 200. A has messager 3166, messagere 1289, messagers 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, conforte 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. Grundt, p. 989.

Note 4. bancreys sb. pl. 2041 is a scribal error for baners (OF. banere); see A 2907.

(2). OF. .Schedule 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, regnedprt. 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; seourges sb. pl. 1274; recorde sb. 1367, socoure vb. 183, 2976, socoure sb. 1495, 1929; lake sb. 2742 (:makeinf.), 2744; as for k in this word see Schw.-B. § 145.2.

Note 1. OF. c [k] has been doubled in accorde sb. (OF. accord) 1560, perhaps through Latin influence.

Note 2. OF. ks occurs as x, xc, xs.

exile adj. 447; afflixcions sb. pl. 2553; excusse inf. 649, 820, excusced pp. 643, 645.

Change of prefix has taken place in ensample sb. (OF. essample) 1609, 1646.

Note 3. OF. coynt, quointe, queinte adj. occurs as queynt 2091, queynte 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. 1. c., note.

The following words have c, seldom k [k] in our text: camels sb. 140, kamels 2128, cankyr sb. 355, cardycle sb. 2316, cas sb. 59, 225 etc., Castel sb. 1956, caue sb. 2975, ascape vb. 1446, 2961; cf. Behrens p. 205.
(3). OF. $q > q$, cqu [kw].

quarel sb. 2100, 2289, acquite vb. 1152.

OF. g.

§ 159.

OF. $g > g$.

grace sb. 12, 54 etc., greef sb. 990, grochef 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.

habitacion sb. 1539, habitaciouns 1516, herytage sb. 74, honoure sb. 95, 184 etc., honouredprt. 42, houre sb. 224.

(b) Forms in which $h$ is dropped.

eyer sb. (L. herédem) 72, eresy sb. (L. *hœresia) 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 hyrteprt. 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.

dream 877 (: Jerusalem), god 107, 121, gost 1710 (: most sup.), kyng 388, 581, knyst 519 acc., 1031, lord 937, 958, oof acc. 1917 (: oof 'goes'), tem 70 (: hem pron.), peef 854, 857, pouzt 623 (: nost adv.); flood (u-stem) 1874 acc. (: good adj. sg.).
(2) The nom. (and acc.) ends in e, answering to 

(aa) OE. e in (aa) io-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 (: perynne 
    adv.); (ββ) 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: 
    sone 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 deede < OE. deað), 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 
    à-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. (5) Genitive.

The genitive ends in *es.*

*cockes 227, dayes 2288, domes 597, goddes 1, 92, kyngyes 705, 710, lordes 1773.*

Note. The genitive *heuene* in the compound *heuene-bhysse* 2592 is based on OE. *heofone* (weak fem.), not on OE. *hefon* (strong masc.); cf. Sachse § 1 note.

§ 164. (7) 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) *mowpe* 1353 (: couche prt.), (with) *wode* (u-stem) 1942 (: good adj. pl.).

(2). The dative is without any ending.

(of) *clop* 1174 (: lop adj. sg.), (upon) *stoon* 137 (: peron adv.), (in) *bouzt* 1356 (: ybrouzt pp.), 2130 (: brouzt pp.), 2218 (: n0zt).

(3). Variation between *e* and no termination.

(to) *dede* 810 (: stede sb.), 1766 (: stede sb.), (after) *dede* (MS. def) 105 (: stede sb.); (to) *deth, dep* : 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 ((upon) 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; pewys 707, 717; feldes 2039. — There is no instance of the genitive.

Note 1. peny (<OE. penning) occurs in the plur. as pens 856, pans 1578, 1598, 2470.

Note 2. A relic of an old dat. plur. is to be found in (by ðilke) dawe (<OE. daʒum) 1035 (:Jeuenlave); cf. above p. 42.


(a) Singular.

§166.

(x) Nominative (and accusative).

(1). The nom. (and acc.) is without any termination in

(aa) dissyllables:

syluer 2627, tymbber 2466, water 2116, 2134; body 130, 184.

(bb) a great many others:

lym 344 (: hym pron.); corn 2630, folk 30, lyst 220, 2288, ryzt 181, þing 57, 657; fen 2526, 2039 pl.? (: men sb. pl.);

gle 1790, probably also in bloode 2968 (: wiþstode prt. sg.).

(2). The nom. (and acc.) ends in e in

(32) one jo-stem with a long root-syllable:

era(u)nde 813, 1096; A has erand 1631, erande 1920.

(33) o-stems with a short root-syllable, according to
ten Brink §203.5 by influence from the plur.; cf. Sweet, NEG. §977.

dale 2138, yate 2955. backe 2031, grasse 2529, shippe 470, 471, ynne 935 are rather uncertain; A has bak 2897, shipp 1286, shippe 1287, in 1755.
(77) some nouns in OE. -en; n has been dropped.

game 1267 (\textit{shame sb.}), mayde 1566.

\textit{n} is kept in (into) mayden 577, token 193, 209, 255\textsuperscript{1}.

\textbf{Note.} e seems to have been added in \textit{kynde}: \textit{fynde} pres. pl. 88, 2891, \textit{fynde} 1st p. sg. pres. 797; it may be due to influence of OE. \textit{gecynd} f.; cf. SACHSE § 10 c. Moreover in \textit{golde} acc. 926 (: \textit{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 \textit{e} and those without any termination: \textit{childe} 1921, \textit{brede} 132, \textit{lombe} 216, \textit{londe} 33, \textit{lyffe} 344; \textit{child} 692, 698, 2567, \textit{lyff} 2642, 2879 etc.

\textbf{§ 167.} \textit{(β) Genitive.}

The genitive ends in \textit{es}. The only instance is \textit{lyffes} 1744.

\textbf{§ 168.} \textit{(γ) Dative.}

I refer to what has been said above under masc.

(1). The dative ends in \textit{e}.

\textit{(for) colde} 2248 (: \textit{holde} inf.), \textit{(of) londe} 677 (: \textit{vnderstonde} 1st p. sg. pres.), \textit{(in) londe} 1647 (: \textit{vnderstonde} 1st p. sg. pres.), \textit{(of) wrytte} 1455 (: \textit{sytte} inf.), \textit{(of) writte} 1610 (: \textit{sitte} 3rd p. sg. subj.).

(2). The dative is without any termination.

\textit{(in) lif} 1000 (: \textit{perwip} adv.), \textit{(on) tre} (A tree 1410) 594 (: \textit{me} pron.), \textit{(of) tre} (A tree 2022) 1196 (: \textit{he} pron.). Uncertain is \textit{(of) blood} 1424 (: \textit{good} adj. sg.), \textit{(of) bloode} 1935 (: \textit{as he} \textit{vnderstode}). In the first place A has \textit{(of) bloode} \textit{gode} adj. pl. 2252, in the second \textit{(of) blood} \textit{vnderstode} 2801/2; cf. nom.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{toke} is a mistake of the editor's; cf. Introd.
(b) Plural.

§ 169.

(1). In most cases the plural ends in (e)s, ys, just as in the masc. vowel-stems.

bonys 302 (: onys < OE. ënes), londes 389, 1379, sores 1714, swerdes 1919, 2504, werkes 339, werkys 89, wordes 543, 1967; bedes 109, zates 228, lymes 1712, shyppes 1859; bodyes 2648, 2654, 2668, tokens 311, 335, 340, wonders 101, 573; wyttes 1523; bales 838; speryes 2504.

(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 zee 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. zêara gen. > zere; 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. cnèow seems to occur without s in the plural, judging by the rhymes kne:be subj. 475/6, kne:me pron. 2661/2; within the verse kneys 137, 139, knees 140, 2407, 2920.

3. Feminine a-, ja-, i- and u-stems.

(a) Singular.

§ 170.

(a) Nominative (and accusative).

The nom. (and acc.) regularly ends in e; for the extension of the termination see TEN BRINK § 207.

(aa) a-stems: (aa) with a short root-syllable:

nom. : care 2030, shame 118, 2356;
acc. : care 831, 1371 (: welfare inf.), fare 2052, lone 154,
sawe 1669 (: drawe 2nd p. sg. subj.), 2352 (: yslawe pp.), 2593 :
(drawe inf.), 3059 (: drawe inf.), shame 84, 174, tale 599, 2037;
(b) 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), prowé 1116 (: knowe pres.), 2202 (: knowe inf.), 2546 (: yknowe pp.), while 2511, 2677;
(γ) 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. (γ) 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) saice 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) lorr 1451 (: euermore adv.), (on) roode 1276 (: ahlode

¹ Instead of the rhyme need : goodheed 171/2, A has mede : (for)
dede 985/6.

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adv.), (by) strete 2538 (: ete prt. pl.), 2587 (: ete inf.), (in) strete (MS. street) 2699 (: meet sb.), (in) while 1075 (: begyle inf.); (for) synne 289 (: perynne 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, 3yftes 733 (: shyftes 3rd p. sg. pres.), 3iftes 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.

(a) Nominative.

The nom. terminates in e.

fere 1467, grame 2446, hope 2449, name 2547, tyme 1319, wylle : wylfylle, -fille inf. 917, 1725, 2590, 2775, : stylle adv. 2796.

(\(\phi\)) Genitive.

There is no instance of the genitive.

\(^1\) A seems to have an old nom. plur. in e in Wher mannnes 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.
(7) **Dative.**

The dative ends in *e.*

(*in*) name 1427 (: game sb.), (*at*) wylle 1363 (: fulfylle inf.), 2022 (: stylle adv.).

(8) **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, 2730⁹; (*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. zefân) 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. ēaze is *y3e, yzen.*

(*wip*) y3e 1556 (: dye inf.), 2203 (: felonye sb.), (*wip*) yzen 987 (: to dyen), 1525.

¹ Instead of the rhyme wylle: tylle prep. 1602/1 A has wille : stille adv. 2430/29.
3. **Feminine.**

(a) **Singular.**

(a) **Nominative.**

The only instance is *lady* 1146; the ending has been dropped after a weak syllable; cf. SACHSE § 32 b.

(§) **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*.

*erpe* 1512, 1521, *hert* (for *herte*) 763 (: *smert* inf.; A *smerte* 1582).

(b) **Plural.**

The plural ends in *es*.

*belles* 2045, *hartes* 2044, *wykes* 1879.

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III. **Minor Declensions.**

A. **Monosyllabic Consonant Stems.**

1. **Masculine.**

(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, teelp 2643.

**Note.** feet may be regarded as an old dative plur. It occurs in the expression (under her) feete 2526 (eas. pt. pl.) and is based on OE. ðet nom. + OE. futum dat.; cf. Ten Brink § 214.

§ 179.

2. **Feminine.**

(a) **Singular.**

Nom.: boke 72 (forsoke pt. pl.), 1633 (or he be deþ toke);

Dat.: (in) boke 99 (loke inf.), (by) boke 334 (forsoke pt. pl.), (in) boke 3040 (loke inf.); (in) boke 368 (toke pt. sg.);

Acc.: nyȝt 136, 227, 408.

(b) **Plural.**

bokes 325, 578 etc.

**Note 1.** The rhymes suggest a fluctuation between book and boke 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. cu, pl. cy) 2127 (swyne sb.).

§ 180.

1. **Masculine.**

(a) **Singular.**

Nom.: broþer 2655, 2757, fader 86, 95 etc.;
Gen.: faders 541 1, 2317, 3059;
Dat.: fader 2725;
Acc.: broþer 186, 713.

1 A has his fader steward 1357.
87

(b) Plural.

former-faders 50.

2. Feminine.

(a) Singular.

Nom.: doujter 677, 995, moder 2655, suster 2536, 2655; Dat.: moder 2725 (no i-mutation);
Acc.: doujter 2561.

(b) Plural.

Of the plural there is no instance.

C. Stems in -nd.

(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 frende 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 fōu woldest my frénde bē 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, divisious 1515, kamels 2128, messangers 743; armes 1795, 2085, 2965, bestes 1889, 2529, cases 1906, princes 85, 606, usages 444; enemyes 1813, storyes 1312; etc.; folies 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.
§ 186. (1) The singular is without any termination in
(a) OE. o/a-stems:
   longe 2876 (: amonge prep.), ranke 399 (: stanke prt. sg.),
   wonder-syke 2767 (: eke adv.), so‡ 769 (: do‡ 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, 1501, 2261, 2440, 2451, 2765, 3047, ware 2189 (: bare
   prt. sg.);
   good 1588, 1696, 1698, gret 5, 40, hool 502, 1608, ryxt
   72, wro‡ 107, 754; etc.;
   (β) dissyllables:
      dou^tty 1095, holy 378, 1394, muchel, muchel 25, 1022,
      1300, mody 717, redy 2956, 3068, sory 2218, worpi 720; almijUty
      (polys.) 630.
(2) The singular ends in e in
(a) OE. jo/jä-stems with a long root-syllable:
   blype 1444 (: kybe inf.), : swipe, swype adv. 2057, 2708,
   3058, fere : stere inf. 1227, 1781, shene 2579 (: bytwene
   prep.), swee 2640 (: ete inf.);
   (β) moche 184, 1187, 1778, 2438, muche 150 by apo-
   cope of l;
   (γ) harde (u-stem) 1408, 1826 (uncertain, but the metre
   requires a dissyllable; A has hard 2236).

§ 187. (b) Plural.
(1) The plural terminates in e in o/a-stems.
   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 (: stooed
   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.); fare (wo/wa-stem) 1817 (: fare inf.).

§ 189. (2). The plural has no ending in the case of dissyllables.
doustly 1923, mery 1251, sory 2573, synful 1616, wery 1252, worbi 342, 2429, 2815.

Note. Some irregularities are, however, found.
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, hize 82, 1764, leue 481 (voc.), 495, 2817, 
olde 321, 2149, owne 934, 1935, 2527, 2664, stronge 1635, 
younge 103; bare 2104, feyrce 1292, 1304; newe 318; swete 
(jo/jä-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, ryst 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.


Note 1. i-mutation is found in *lenger* 27, 2355, 2621, 2905, 2912, *lengger* 2867, *strengger* 2535. The spelling *ngg*, suggesting *[f^g]*, does not occur in A.

Note 2. In a single case the comparative is formed by the ending -oure: *byteroure* 2638 (*tresoure* sb.). A has the rhyme *more*: *tresour* (for *tresör*), 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.

*higest* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(good, well) better adj. &amp; adv. 316, best adj. &amp; adv. 392, 500, 645 etc.</td>
<td>best adj. &amp; adv. 392, 700 etc., 2673 (: rest sb.), 1694 (: runest pp.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(late)</td>
<td>last 273 (: agast pp.), 2914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>Superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lytel)</td>
<td>las adv. 558 (: wonder-</td>
<td>lest 196, 1206, 2152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cas sb.),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lesse adj. &amp; adv. 1672</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(: wytynes inf.),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2030, 2555 (: dystresse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sb.),</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>2812 (: sykernys sb.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mochë(ll))</td>
<td>more adj. &amp; adv. 162,</td>
<td>most : ost sb. 1904,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>326, 347 etc.,</td>
<td>2955, 3061,</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>mo 808 (: fo adv.), 1862</td>
<td>mest 196 (: feste sb.),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(: also adv.)</td>
<td>281 (: fest sb.), 2152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nize)</td>
<td>nere 1931 (: counseller next adj. &amp; adv. 209,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sb.), 2023, 2123, 2173</td>
<td>554, 936, 1424, 1583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 194.

C. Numerals.

Cardinal.

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>165, 426, 439, 510 etc.</td>
<td>firste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>85, 494, 556 etc., twey</td>
<td>oper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1922, 2471, tweye</td>
<td>1426,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tweyne</td>
<td>719, 2476, tweyn</td>
<td>1833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thre</td>
<td>15, tre</td>
<td>996, 1426, 1516, 2167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>287, 520, 1649, 2470</td>
<td>fourpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fyue</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>fytte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixe</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>sixte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seuene</td>
<td>105, 413, 2107, 2914</td>
<td>seuene (OE. seofoda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eist (OE. eahtoda)</td>
<td>255, 421</td>
<td>nynpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenpe</td>
<td>(OE. téoda)</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
twelue 1654
twenty 2348
thrytty 207, pirtty 856, 1573, 1595, 1598
thre and pritteny 424
foure and pritteny 2049
fourty 11, 37, 525, 2006, 3043
fifty 51, 53
ten and sixty 527
syxty and ten 1657
foure hundred 2141
a thousand 1860
a eleuen thousand 2879
pirtty thousand 2500, thrytty thousand 207
fourty thousand 2508
fifty thousand 2501
an hundred thousand 1862

Cardinals. two, tweye etc. are used indiscriminately (OE. §195.
twezen masc., tweē fem. and neutr.). The conjoint fyue, twelue are based on the OE. absolute sīfe, twelse. syxty and ten is a translation of OF. soixante-dix, and ten and sixty was formed in analogy with thre and pritteny etc. As for thrytty, pritteny 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 pise dawes) 905 is a scribal error, probably due to attraction.

Ordinals. For seuenþ, nynþe, tenþe see Sweet, NEG. §196.
§1170, concerning pridde etc. see above OE. r.

The ordinals except ofer 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 pritteny is a mistake of the editor's; cf. Introd.
### D. Pronouns.

#### § 197. 1. Personal Pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. Nom. I 2 etc.</td>
<td>pou 154, 157 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. me 465, 814</td>
<td>pe 476, 1126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. me 489, 490</td>
<td>pe 158, 496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. Nom. we 17, 117</td>
<td>se 29, 97 (: se inf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. vs 413, 1138</td>
<td>sou 2, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. vs 804</td>
<td>sou 1505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. Nom. he 7, 13 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. him 492, 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. him 128, 166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thei 5, 10, pei 6, 8, the 248 (scribal error)</td>
<td>hem 7, 11, 122 (: Jerusalem), 799</td>
<td>hem 42, 62, 176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### § 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*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. : me 1220, 1420, 1724</td>
<td>pe 819, 930, 1233, 2181, 2729, 2778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. : vs 2021, 2698, 2815</td>
<td>sou 1793, 2936</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)
      *hemselves 116, 2025.

Note. Forms in *self also occur as emphasizing: *himself 1063.
      3004, *ourselves 2901, *himself 2565.

3. Possessive Pronouns.

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; 1882, 1846.
   *my (hert) 1776
2nd p. : before a cons. except *h : *pi 152, 155 etc.
   before a vowel or *h : *thyn 1753, *pin 2203; *pin
   1333, 1702, 2113, *pi (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. : *oure 1485
3rd p. : *her 9, 23, 31, 36 etc.

Conjoint after a subst.: *pin 2433.

Note. Only once occurs *peyre 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. : *pin 3041, 3052, *pine 1445 (: *pyne sb.)
   plur. : *pin 1842
3rd p. masc. sing.: *his* 464, 960
   plur.: *hyse* 2422 (: *he 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*, *pin*, *pine* are used indiscriminately. We should expect *myn*, *pin* in the sing.,
*myne*, *pine* 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.**

**Conjoint.**

Sing.
   *pat* 73, 106, 144 etc.
   *pis* 49, 59, 75

Plur.
   *po* 2368
   *pis* 174, 1500, 2917 (A *pese* 988, 2328, *pis* 3807)
   *pise* 311, 335, 367 etc.
   *thys* 687
   *pilke* 1035

*pilke* 1391
*pat ylke* 332
*pis ylke* 1433
such 95
suche 63, 1298 etc.
suche a 205, 220, 230 etc.

**Absolute.**

Sing.
   *pat, that* 7, 33, 38 etc.
   *this* 89, 141

Plur.
   *po* 810, 1570
   *tho* 183
   *thise* 1515
   *pise* 1533, 1535
   *pilke* 790, 2323, 2628
   *suceone* 3081
Note. An old dative is preserved in the expression for he nones (<for then ones <OE. for hēm ónes) 2618; cf. Horn § 229.

5. Interrogative Pronouns. §201.

Conjoint. Absolute.
Sing. Plur. Nom. what (neut.) 477 etc.
what 961, 1990, 2692 what 573 Acc. whom (masc.) 942 what 260, 488

Predicative.
Sing. Plur.
whiche 268 etc. whiche 16 etc.


Conjoint.
Sing. Plur.
whiche 107 what (neut.) 1735
what 2682

Absolute.
Sing. Plur.
that, that 46, 72, 87, 92 etc. that 140, 173, 174 etc.
whiche 1530 what 296, 2084

Who (only absolute).
Masc. Fem.
Nom. who 2486
Dat. and Acc. (for) whom (for) wham 2563 (probably a
1783 scribal error; A whom 3433.

'Indefinite relative pronouns: what so ever 314, what-
soeuer 620.
### § 203. Indefinite Pronouns.

#### Conjoint.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>185, 311, 358 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>67, 112, 115 no 1083 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any</td>
<td>1582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any</td>
<td>12, 644, 673 etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oper</th>
<th>193, 315 oper 443, 508, oper 185, 206, etc.</th>
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<tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen.</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>som</th>
<th>259, 924, 1072 etc.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anooper</td>
<td>97, 696 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anooper</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a nooper</td>
<td>490, 722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a nooper</td>
<td>714</td>
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<tr>
<th>al</th>
<th>39, 70, 88 alle 543, 606 al 87, 521 etc.</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<th>alle</th>
<th>42, 213, 283, 515</th>
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<th>oust</th>
<th>886, 887, 897, 2180</th>
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<tr>
<th>nost</th>
<th>238</th>
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<table>
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<th>neioper</th>
<th>1924, 1926</th>
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<tr>
<th>eche</th>
<th>120, 698, 1129 etc.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eche</td>
<td>1920, 2469 etc.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>allyr 1898</th>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>al 217, 1270</th>
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<tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>all 196</th>
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### Conjoint. | Absolute.
---|---
**Sing.** | **Plur.**
*echon* 1092, 2059 etc. | *echon* 1092, 2059 etc.
*everyche* 529, 770, 1209 | *everyche* 206, 1918
*every* 396, 738, 1245 etc. | *every* 2133, 2284 etc.
*many a* 208, 615, 651 etc. | *many one* 613, *many* 1650 etc.
*many* 1652, 1894 etc. | *many* 1244 etc.
*neuerone* 1912 | *bope* 750, 753 etc.
*bope* 356, 682 | *bope* 356, 682 etc.

Note. Indefinite pronouns in the sing. are often used as appositional words with the nouns in the plur., e.g. *but he Jewes everychoon* 736, *tyl he i knowleched everychoone* 1288, *thei wipin swore echon* 1911, *there hei helde hem everychoon* 1957 etc.; cf. **GRUNDR.** p. 1087.

## E. Verbs.

### I. Formation of the Preterite.

#### 1. Strong verbs.

**Class I.**

OE. *a, ã, ã, ā.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>abide</em> 1236 etc.</td>
<td><em>abode</em> 177, 786</td>
<td><em>tobote</em> 356</td>
<td></td>
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<td>------</td>
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<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agryse 244</td>
<td>rode 2073</td>
<td>rode 1992, 2325</td>
<td>droue 1889, dryue 536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ryde 1746, 1780</td>
<td>ros 205</td>
<td>rose 1479, ryse 632</td>
<td>ydryue 28, ydryse 490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ryse 2082</td>
<td>rose 1031</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aryse 199</td>
<td>aros 629, aros 805 etc.</td>
<td>wrytten 427, wrote 431</td>
<td>wrytte 3026, writte 368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wryte 328, 821</td>
<td>wrote 99 etc.</td>
<td>wryte 522, wryte 639</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms in the inf., pret. sing., and past part. are normally developed; *ydryse* 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: *dreen* (see Böhring, St. Zeitw. p. 84) 2, 755, *riden* 2858, 3191, *risen* 2307, *arisen* 987, *writen* 1247.

### § 205.

**Class II.**

OE. ëo (ū), ëa, u, o.

- chese 671  | chasse 2530  | chosse 551  | ychose 2309 |
- lese 672  | (: grasse sb.)  | (A chosen 1367)  | lore 534, 1664, 2349 |
The change of consonants in OE. céusan, depending on Verner's law, is got rid of in chosseprt. pl. (OE. curon), ychose pp. (OE. coren), the s of the infin. and pret. sing. having prevailed, but is kept in loren etc. pp. (OE. -lören).

The infinitive-forms show nothing noteworthy.— chasseprt. 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 fleīʒ 1953. In this place A has, however, the regular flowen (< OE. fluson) 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.

\[ bounde \ 298, \ ybounde \ 2000 \]
\[ 592, 989, 1271 \]
\[ bounde \ 3016 \ 1 \]
\[ (: \ rounde \ adj.) \]

\[ fynde \ 17, \ 330 \]
\[ fonde331(:londe \ fonde \ 1037, \ founde \ 75, 1432 \]
\[ etc. \ sb.), \ 598, 603 \]
\[ 1569 (: \ sounde \ yfounde \ 1141 \ 2, \ adj.), \ 2603 \]
\[ 1434, 1468, \]
\[ fonde \ 1888 \]
\[ 2322 \]
\[ (:\londe \ sb.) \ founde \ 887 \]
\[ (: \ sounde \ adj.), \ 1999 \]

\[ gan \ 214, 284 \]
\[ gune \ 228, 584 \]
\[ etc. \]
\[ etc. \]
\[ ganne \ 244 \]
\[ gan \ 1456, 1714 \]
\[ etc. \]

\[ bygynne \ 318, \ 1896 \]
\[ bygan275, 1514 \]
\[ bygune \ 2608 \]
\[ etc. \]
\[ byganne \ 23, 317 \]
\[ etc. \]

\[ ronge \ 2045 \]
\[ (: \ tonge \ sb.) \]

\[ ranne \ 1275 \]
\[ rune \ 2607 \]
\[ ran \ 1953 \]
\[ (: \ Jordan), \ 2861 \]
\[ (: \ man \ sb.) \]

1 bounde 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
stanke 2653

wynne 2156, wanne 752 wonne 2063
2454, 2750

wynne 2738

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

fyst 2086, fouzt 2511
2493, 2870 (: foust pret.)

fyst 347

fouzhte 2287
fauzt 259

barst 805 (: cast tobrast 230
354 (: cast pret.)

vb.) (: fast adv.),

The infinitive, pret. sing., and past partic. are, as a rule, normally developed; for g in bygynne inf. instead of ; see OE. 3; holpe pret. 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, tobrast : fast adv. 230/29 etc.). The o in wronge, songe pret. pl. is dubious; it may denote either ou
(<OE. ú : wrúngon, sungon) or ə (<OE. á : wráng, sáŋg sg.).
fonde pl. 1888 (londe sb.) is sing. in A 2754.

Note 1. OE. ʒeldan has, as a rule, weak forms: ʒeldeprt. pl. 43, 171, 1844, 1929, ʒelde pp. 729, 1916, 2636, 2812, 2826, 2957, vnʒelde 1961. The only strong form is ʒolde pp. 2794 (holde inf. < Angl. háldan). The weak forms are, however, never supported by rhymes, although rhyme-words were not wanting (e.g. felde sb., held(e) < OE. heold(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 pret. (<OE. scelōde) 729/30, 1916/5, vnʒelde 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. ʒe ld > *ʒuld). — The rhyme kylde: ʒelde 2635/6 is an evident corruption; see A 3509/10.

Note 2. sterued pret. sg. 2947 (deserved pp.) is a weak form (OE. steorfan, stearf).

§ 207.

Class IV.

OE. e, æ, ā, o.

bere 74, 492, bare 423, 2190 bare 2610
bore 360 (: by-
799, 1382 etc. (: ware adj. sg.)
fore), 579 etc.
ybore 480,
1565, 2229
e tc.

breke 1748,
2789

ystole 634

The forms are normally developed, with the exception of bare (OE. bærón) 2610. It cannot be settled whether this form had ə or ə; probably ə from the sing.

1 ʒ 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., overcome pp. 727, 2523, bycome pp. 1069 are quite regular.

In the pret. the following forms are found.

Sing.                      Plur.
(a) æ-rhymes.
come                      come
50 (praldome sb.)¹       1392 (Rome)
464 (kynqdome sb.),      
1181 (dome sb.),
2324 (Rome)

(b) æ-rhymes.
came                      cam
1321 (:pän adv.)²        1955 (Pellan; A Pelham 2822)
1617 (:man sb.;MS. come)²,
792 (Adam; MS. come)

(c) ð-rhymes.
come                      come
1907 (:home adv.)         home adv. 1982, 2008

(2) ȝ-rhymes.
kem (MS. come): Jerusalem
255, 287, 745, 2544.

The ð-forms are normally developed (OE. c(w)ðm(on)); those in æ are supposed to be based on OE. *cam; cf. BÜLBING, St. Zeitw. p. 75. The rhymes come:home do not prove that come had ð, as there occur other rhymes between ð and ð; see OE. ā. Even in Chaucer hoom is found in rhymes with ð; see TEN BRINK § 31. As for the rhymes under (ð) it should be noticed that FISCHER wrongly prints Jerusalem for Jerusalem. kem is, so far as I know, as yet unexplained; cf. however BÜLBING, St. Zeitw. p. 76. It seems most probable that the form is based on OE. *kām, *kæmon (cf. OHG. kuāmum), where WT. ā > OE. ā in spite of the following nasal.

Note 2. OE. niman.

nam                      none                      ynome
1641 (:cam prt. sg.),     1880 (:come prt. pl.),     728 (:overcome pp.),
2991 (:cam prt. sg.),     2719 (:overcome prt. pl.), 1172 (:ycome pp.),
                       2882 (:come prt. sg.),
bynâm 3002 (:cam prt. sg.)
bynome 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 ù, but it is not possible to infer anything as to the pronunciation of the preterite forms.

§ 208.

Class V.

OE. e, æ, ð, e.

bydde 1841  
bad 786, 1432  
badde 159, 694  
badde 529, 663  
badde (: made prt.), 767  
badde (: strettue sb.)

forbad 2624

ete 406, 2588  
ete 132, 2588  
ete 2525, 2537  
ete (: ette sb.)

ette 2625  
eten 1139

forzate 1079, 2578

zeue 721, 925  
zaue 1562 (: staf sb.)  
zaue 607  
zaue 545, 599  
zaue (: haue inf.), 11  
zaue 3003 (: lyue inf.)  
zaue 365  
zyue 1523  
zyue 1523

lye 82, 2373  
lay 407, 468  
lay 2646, 2654  
leye 2666

lygge 2494  
laye 1649, 2659

quod 476, 483

speke 611, 889  
spake 715, 963  
spake 1455  
yspeke 1711

1 forgate 1079, gauue 633, 3003 are mistakes of the editor’s; cf. Introd.
Infinitive. The forms are regular with the exception of *lye; see OE. *lye.

Pret. sing. *speke is supposed to be based on an OE. side-form *sprēc; see Bülbring, St. Zeitw. pp. 53, 56. *speke 2nd p. 2362 may, however, be normally developed from OE. *sprēc. — 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. *3aue, too, probably had ā, but *3af has the regular ā. As for quod see OE. *a. The other forms are normally developed.

Pret. plur. In the forms *spake, *3aue, *badde, *satte we find the extension of the sing. to the plur. *3aue, on the other hand, is normally developed (Angl. *3éfon). *sette may have had the regular ē (< OE. *sétôn); A has, however, the trans. *sette 2095. *lay may be based on OE. *lázôn, or be the sing. extended to the plural. The rhyme *badde: *made pt. 694/3
is uncertain. made had ā, but as there are ā : ā-rhymes to be found in our text, we can assume ā in *badde* (= the sing.) or ā; 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. seōn.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OE. seōn</th>
<th>OE. seēn</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se 98, 302 etc.</td>
<td>sey 252 (: day) etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>yse 976, 1072</td>
<td>say 221 (: day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>saye 221 (: day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau, 1556</td>
<td>saye 221 (: day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>save 358, 987 etc.</td>
<td>save 358, 987 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se 366, 471, 1677</td>
<td>seye 1650 (: lays prt.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2185</td>
<td>seyn 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se 248, 257, 2521</td>
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</table>

As for *say*, *sey*, *sau*, *save* in the sing. of the pret. see OE. *ea*. *save*prt. pl. has been dealt with under OE. ā. *say*, *saye*, *seyn* 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*. *seyn*, *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. ā, ē, ē, ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OE. ā, ē, ē, ā.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drawe 2594,</td>
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<tr>
<td>drowe 166,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2644 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wipdrawe 778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fare 1818,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2878, 2894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnawe 2643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loun 1269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(: ynow3 adv.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
forsake 2266, forsoke 3109 forsoke 71, 333
2900
sle 434, 694 slowe 206, 458 slowe 91, 103
 etc. etc. etc.
sleen 1084 (men
sb. pl.)
slawe 1920
(: -drawe)

stonde 1534, stoode 283, 543 stoode 217, 1950 etc. etc. 1040
stonden 1732 stood 165 stode 2183 stode 879, 1038 etc.

wipstonde 2140 wipstode 2967
vnderstoode 382
vnderstode 1936
swere 1003, swore 1915, swore 1911 yswore 1630
1381, 1761 2373

take 174, 839 toke 167, 367 toke 8, 297 etc. take 1963,
 etc. etc. 2957
itake 935
ytake 757, 2657

undertake 2315

ysleyu 207 (: un-
feyn), 714
ysleyne 549
(: feyne adj.)
yseley 1226
(: abyge inf.)
ystalwe 1494
(: lawe sb.),
2351 (: swaweb.
 sb.)
slawe 2998
(: -drawe inf.)

astonde 2149

yswore 2223

Pret. sing. *waxe* (*OE. *wōx, wēox*) is formed after class III (*feohtan, feahht*). As for *wyxe* (*< wēx < wēx < wēox* by analogy from the reduplicative verbs), *wysshe* (*< wēsch < wēsch < wēosc*) see Morsb. § 109. Besides *waxe, wyxe* there also occur weak forms *waxed* pret. sg. 751, *wexed* pret. sg. 1882, *waxed* pret. pl. 759, 2044.

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 *luw3* pl.: *ynow5* adv. 1269/70, *drowe* pl.: *slowe* sg. 709/10.

Past partic. The forms of *sle* are normally developed: *ysleyn(e) < OE. *3eslæzen, 3eslæzen, (y)slawe < OE. *3eslæzen* (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.
Reduplicative verbs.

Class I. §210.

OE. pret. in e (e).

fonge 3106

(: longe adv.)

hynge 249 (itr.)¹

(: strenge sb.),
251 (itr.)², 253
(itr.)³, 857 (tr.)⁴
(: strenge sb.),
1577 (tr.)⁵

lete 1530, 2988 let 328, 1121 let 2528, 2667 let 55, 817,
let 1792, 2276, etc.
2773 lette 808
leet 1200 (: feet
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 hynge see Morsb. § 109; it is used in a transitive
as well as in an intransitive sense.

Note 1. OE. hātan.

hattyst 2nd p. 477 hyst 1087 etc. hīst 575
hīst 1 sg. 3011 hīste 2541
hette 1 sg. 479 hītte 937
hole 1 sg. 1779 hyte 466, 675 etc.
hīsttest 2nd sg. 3064

¹ A heng (itr.): stryng 1063/4.
² A henged (itr.) 1065.
³ A hengede (itr.) 1067.
⁴ A henge (tr.): stryng 1675/6.
⁵ A hengede (tr.) 2405.

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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 ð > ð; cf. superlatives as deppyst, grettest. As for hette see Grundr. p. 1067, Bülbring, St. Zeitw. p. 109. hyt depends on analogy from the pret.

Pret. hyt is the regular form; it has adopted a weak form which is proved by hyttest 2nd p. The common forms without ð are due to the verb's being often used under weak stress in the sense of 'was called'. hette < OE. hette (originally pres.), behet < OE. hēt; cf. Bülbring, St. Zeitw. p. 109.

Past Partic. yhote is the normally developed form, hyt 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, adreddde pp. 2042, 2213, adradde 1020, 1381, ređde 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.
besalle 544  byfelle 118, byfalle 292, 18, 202 296 etc. 282, 846 etc. etc. byfylle 2550, 2555

holde 732, helde 1720, helde 590, 2247 etc. 1909 (: selde 1957 etc. inf.)

hyfelle 292, 282, 846 etc.

hyfylle 2550, 2555

holde 1959
iholde 948
yholde 1836, 2292, 2441

holde 202

hyfylle

hyfylle

byfylle

byholde 1289 byhelde 3111 byhelde 2183

et.

et.

wiþholde 309, 635, 2208

knouwe 313, knewe 1435, knewe 558

903 etc. 1438, 1937

kouwen 1078

wipholde 1060

knewe 1682
yknewe 2545, 2718

aknewe 2204

ouerthrowe 81.

The forms are, as a rule, normally developed. As for fylle, byfylle (< fell < feoll) see Morsb. § 109. The rhyme fylle < hele sb. 3043/4 has been dealt with above, § 47 note.

Note. OE. w(æ)lcan, wépan are found with weak forms: wálcyd prt. sg. 979, wepte 1199. wepte inf. 837 (: bete inf. < OE. bêtan) stands for gréte (OE. gréotan), wepte prt. 2396 (: sette ‘sat’) for gréte 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 > ðd already in OE.; Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 405.2); herde 235.

(b) j-verb with a short root-syllable.
leyde 319.

(c) ð-verb.
made 41.

(d) e-verbs.
had 6 etc., seid(e) 61 etc.

(e) OE. rēdan (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, 1352, 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: dyʒt 931, lyʒt 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]:
bynent 832; spent 440 (: assent sb.), blente 1279; lost 2879; lefte 1885, refte 2508¹; moreover pul(te) 2497, 2595, wypte 1194.

Note. The pret. of *brēnne is brente 1888, brende 1986. Besides last 1169 occurs lasted 36 (ylasted pp. 3080), besides kyßte 1203 is found kyssed 1353. Fluctuation is also found in senṭ 425 (: assent sb.), 452 (: present sb.), sende 1348 (: frende sb.), 1797; went 24, 997 (: ygnement 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; ydyʒt 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 refde 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 *tt*: *soldē* 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.


Note. OE. *fōhte* (*pencan*) and *fūhte* (*pyncan*) have been confused under *fouzt* 648; 429.

The past partic. ends in *t(e)*.


§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 *e*:


(ii) some verbs which in OE. formed their pret. without any intermediate vowel:


Note. Variation is found in *seled* 1204, *felled* 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 *o*-verbs, not found in the pret. in our text: *ylyped* 999, *openyd* 2955, *ywonded* 2513.

### Appendix.

**Verbs of Foreign Origin.**

**A. Verbs of Scandinavian Origin.**

(1). The preterite

(a) ends in *de* in *deyde* 419 (*: aspyed* pp.), *dyde* 1089 (*: cryde* prt.);

(b) ends in *te* in *kypye* 1193 (*: wypte* 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 (*: yfulfyldde* pp.);

(b) in *ed* in *upreysed* 706 (*: preyed* pp.).

**B. Verbs of French Origin.**

(1). The preterite ends, as a rule, in *ed*, seldom *yd*.

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 741, 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, deservyd 2948, endytod 426, 453, yoffred 438, parseyued 571; etc.; aspyed 420, yeryed 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-, o- and e-verbs.

lye 1168, bydde 1705, vnderstonde 64, drede 294, holde 1116; fele 1212, bylleue 537 (: greue inf.), telle 1215 (: dwelle inf.), wende 1134; hope 499, troue 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, prey 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; worpest 1491, leuwst 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.

begynmep 350, comep 771, holdep 772, 907; kepeþ 344, lastep 345, semep 1095, taleþ 465; askep 1051, hateþ 1131, makeþ 2842; lyueþ 761. Also in verbs of French origin:
duref 2800, faylef 1586, touchef 640. Contraction is found in hap 376 etc., seif 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: shyttes 734 (: yftes sb.); 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 ef. § 222. fyndef 2859, comef 411, byddf 151, drawef 1395; lewef 1831, bylewef 504; wonef 505, shewef 2857; hawe 774, lynef 1662, contraction in hap 494. In verbs of foreign origin: dyef 2853; preyef 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, ze 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 ze nowe 2845, what sey ze (without any ending after a diphthong) 1786, holde ze al nowe to pis 2989, howe fare ze per within 2735; also when the pron. precedes the verb: haue 2129 (we), 2309 (thei), 2885 (we), 2933 (ze), even in a word of French origin: (we) preye 2915 (: aweye adv.). — Worth noticing is the expression for we hopen and heron bylewef 504 (: grewef 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: ascape 1858 (: rape inf.), faylle 1796 (: vytaille sb.), saue 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, panke 2400; haue 487.

Without any termination only sey 1106, 2701 etc., let 2022, comfort (Fr.) 1125; fluctuation in prey 2805, preyse 1843.

The plur. ends in ef.

helpef 1085, holdep 643; herelp 828; lenghef 2582, lystenef 191, lokef 2273; hauelp 1848. In verbs of French origin: grochef 2589, preyef 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; spekef 2195, senef 814, herelp 845, tellef 481, bonkef 2440, hauelp 1371; without any termination: sey 917.
2. Preterite.

(a) Indicative.

§ 225. Sing. 1st pers.: badde 970 (gilde adj. sg.);
2nd pers.: come 2710, bad 2439 (glad sg.), lay 2385
(pay sb.), speke 2362 (awake pp.);
3rd pers.: smote 169, wrote 99, byganne 23, come 50,
73, yanc 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, seyn 238. For the rest the forms of the sing.
are very often extended to the plur.; see above §§ 204 ff.

(b) Strong verbs.

§ 226. 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, showed 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, banked 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, 1308 (pl.); wende 165, 1329 etc.; 2981 (pl.); souzt 2388 (1st p., sg.), 2192 (3rd. p. sg.), 1895 (pl.); souztte 942 (3rd p. sg.); brouzt 2384 (1st p. sg.), 567 etc.; brouztte 1978 (3rd p. sg.); rouzt 1010 (3rd p. sg.); rouztte 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.), pouzt '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) byselle 846 (: telle inf.), (what he) saue 949 (: haue inf.), but it is by no means quite sure; the e of the rhyme-words may have been dropped.

(3) Weak verbs.

No certain instances.

§ 228.

3. Infinitive.

The infinitive (and gerund) generally ends in e, even in ð-verbs.

wryte 821, fynde 17, seue 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, brynge 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) *adaunt- ten* 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 *kepyng: 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 *yng*.

The verbal noun has the same termination: *wynnyng* 758, *beryng* 1393, *comyng* 1444, *metynge* 2503, *warynyng* 110; etc.

(b) Preterite participle. §230.

(2) Strong verbs.

The pret. partic. generally ends in *e*:

*n* seems to be retained only after the diphthong *ey*: *seyyn* 'seen' 340 (: *in vegyn* adv.), *ysleyyn* 207 (: *vnfeyn* adj.), 714, *ysleyne* 549 (: *feyne* adj.).

The OE. prefix *3e-* is very often kept; see the list of strong verbs above.

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1 A and L sometimes have the Northern ending *and*; see T.-V, Introd. p. xxxvii.
(§) Weak verbs.

The pret. partic. of weak verbs has been dealt with above (§§ 213 ff.).

### III. Preterite-present verbs.

#### § 231.

**Class I.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OE. ǣzan.</th>
<th>OE. witan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. <strong>owe</strong> 1681 (: knowe pp.), 2431, 2717</td>
<td><strong>wote</strong> 818, 1115 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd p.</td>
<td><strong>wost</strong> 2810 (: ost sb.), <strong>wotyst</strong> 667, 1168, 2065 (: most), 2424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd p. <strong>oweþ</strong> 1128</td>
<td><strong>wote</strong> 535.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td><strong>wyteþ</strong> 373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. Sing.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp.</td>
<td><strong>wyte</strong> 2692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td><strong>owe</strong> 1052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pret. Sing. 1st p.</td>
<td><strong>wyte</strong> 1059, 1823 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd p.</td>
<td><strong>wete</strong> 2697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd p.</td>
<td><strong>wyst</strong> 1179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td><strong>wyste</strong> 840, <strong>wyst</strong> 524, 1008 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Partic.</td>
<td><strong>wyste</strong> 2324, <strong>wyst</strong> 214, 272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present forms **owe** (OE. ǣʒ, ǣh), **oweþ** (OE. ǣʒ, ǣh), **wyteþ** are formed in analogy with regular strong and weak verbs. **wyst** pp. has been formed by analogy with verbs like kyssé, kyste etc.
Class III. § 232.

OE. cunnan. O. dear.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p. can 194, 379 etc. dar 1671, dare 540, 1002, darre 1070

2nd p.

3rd p. can 1488, 2056 dar 1447

Plur. kone 2832 (sone sb.), darre 1020, dar 776, kune 1161 (sone 2681 sb.), can 414, konne p 506 (wone p)

Pret. Sing. 1st p. cowde 3013 derst 595, durste 602

2nd p.

3rd p. coupe 357, coupe 1354 (moupe sb.), cowde 2515

Plur. cowde 2551

In the present the sing. forms are often extended to the plur. connep 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. cu de) depend on influence from weak verbs which formed their pret. in -de. Only the -p-forms are supported by rhymes; A, too, has counth 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
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. mæse) 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., miszt 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. mote 1851, 2340, 2462, muste 1066, 1387
   2nd p. muste 1024, 1469, mote 1497
   3rd p. muste 1808

Plur. mote 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* 1854
- 3rd p. *gōp* 1918 (*oo p* sb.), *gōp* 1538

Plur.
- Subj. Sing. *go* 1146
- Plur. *go* 237, 2255; 1821, 1825(?)
- Imp. Sing. *go* 2404, 2690, 2697, 2949
- Plur. *go* 1812
- Inf. *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. *sede* 1191, 1197, 1202 etc.

Past partic. *gon* 2977 (*: everychon 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, 3022
- 2nd p. *doyst* 908, 2207
- 3rd p. *dōp* 770, *doep* 381

Plur. *dōp* 2448, 2743, 2747, 2846, *do* (*we*) 2745.
Subj. Sing.  do 1824, 2252 etc.
    Plur.  do 2585
Imp. Sing.  do 920, 1702 etc.
    Plur.  do 2840, dope 1486
Inf.  do 496 etc., don 2688
Gerund.  do 242 (: to prep.), done 2488 (: everych-on pron.), : sone 488, 1010, 2253, 2792.

Pret. Ind. Sing. 1st p.
    2nd p.  dudyst 2436
    3rd p.  dude 125, 130 etc.
Plur.  dude 3, 111, 174
Past partic.  doon 327, ydon 1958, don 772, 2205, done 1238, 2146, do 719, 1544, 1689, 1805 (: pereto adv.), 2734, 2913, ido 658, ydo 487, 556, 586, 813 etc.

As in go, the i-mutation has been done away with in doyst, dope, doepe. For the u-forms of the pret. see § 23 note 4.

§ 288.

Be.

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1st p.  am 480, 509 etc.
    2nd p.  art 1098, 1319 etc.
    3rd p.  is 22, 54 etc., ys 92
Plur.  bep 140, 390 etc., ben 342, 780
Subj. Sing.  be 476, 482 etc., ben 1241 (scribal error)
    Plur.  be 536, 1468 etc.
Imp. Sing.  be 2013, 2179, 2204, 2805
Inf.  be 81, 96 etc.
Pret. Ind. Sing. 3rd p.  was 19, 21 etc.
    Plur.  were 5, 55 etc., was 339
Subj. Sing.  were 166, 372 etc., wer 1108
    Plur.  were 1794, 2801
129

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. |
| Pres. Ind. Sing. 2nd p. | wylt 154, 1071, 1278, wolt 1051, 1061 etc. |
| Pres. Ind. Sing. 3rd p. | wylle 539, 1129, 1162, 1604 etc., wyl 2773, wolle 79, 1314 etc., wol 150, 181 etc. |
| Plur. | wolphem 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 |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 2nd p. | woldest 1440, 1740 |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 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. | nolde 3050 |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 3rd p. | nolde 1579, nold 278 |
| Plur. | nolde 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. *wifman*. 