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DIALECTAL AND IRREGULAR FORMS

IN BEOWULF

by

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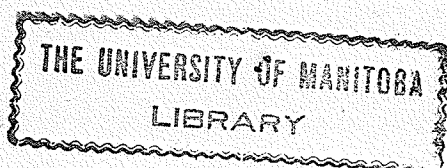


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CHAPTER I

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE OLD ENGLISH DIALECTS.

Language develops by being spoken not written. As the common experiences of men grow need for expression grows and language gradually develop^s. As mankind is spread far and wide over the whole globe and cut off from each other by geographical situation of necessity there is a vast difference in their common experiences; and as there is little or in some cases no intercourse one with another different languages develop. The more remote and isolated a country is the more individual is its language; and the less intercourse there is between countries the more dissimilar do we find their tongues. Just as the different languages develop so develop different dialects within a language. For "the difference between a language and a dialect is one of degree and not kind."

As different languages, then, have grown because of men's isolation one from another so dialects grew. For to quote from Sweet "the unity of a language can be kept up only by free and uniform intercourse between all the members of the community which speaks the language." (Sweet, - New Eng. Grammar, Part I, p. 201). If a community then has grown so large that intercourse between all parts is no longer possible, then the language of that community will begin to vary. Each section of the community will begin to have its own individual use of that language, and will begin to develop pecul-

larities of sound and structure, and not coming into contact with other sections of the community whereby these peculiarities might be worn off, they develop until we find several dialects have arisen and are often almost not understood in the most widely separated sections. If communities are separated too, and isolated by geographical or political situations all the more readily will dialects arise, and the more estranged the communities the greater the difference of dialect. Or if foreign tribes, as often happened in history, settle in a new country still more readily will different dialects result. These dialects may rise and fall in importance until one for various reasons will finally gain supremacy over the others and become the standard for the others.

Dialects, then have arisen very naturally and to try to do away with them, as some suggest, would be quite impossible. Not only is it impossible but to lose the dialects would mean a serious loss to the study of a language. For instead of forms being corrupt as they are often regarded they are generally more correct than the modern form. Through them many an old word is preserved which otherwise would be lost. Skeat says "There is no limit to the good use to which a reverent study of our dialects may not be put by a diligent student." (From - English Dialects from 8th Century to Present Day - p. 7) So every literary language has had its dialects, and to quote from Skeat again "will continue to have them in secluded districts though they are at the present time

losing much of that archaic character which gives them their chief value." (English Dialects from 8th Century to Present Day - p. 2)

Coming then to study our own English language we find it had and still has its dialects. To understand the rise of the dialects in the early stage of the development of our tongue it is necessary to look back to the early history of England. Lounsberry says "The Celts, the Romans, the Saxons, the Northmen, and the French have met or succeeded one another upon British soil; and the occupation of the country by each has left ineffaceable records of itself in the tongue we use today. But English was not the original speech of the island". (English Language, p. 17) First we must go back to Julius Caesar to whom we owe our first real history of the island Britain.

After conquering the Gauls Caesar, lured by the stories of merchants who had been to Britain and curious to find out about the people who had been giving aid to the Gauls, decided to land in Britain himself. He found there a people of kin to the Gauls, both belonging to the Celtic race. Beyond satisfying his curiosity in regards this country Caesar did little, but left it to his successors to colonize. Nearly one hundred years later about A. D. 42 the real conquest of Britain began. Gradually the Britains were overcome and the Romans took up the administration of the country.

Roads were built, walls for protection against their enemies were erected, towns were fortified and the language and literature of the Romans, as well as their laws and customs, were introduced. For more than three hundred years the Romans occupied the island and it is remarkable to note how the language of the Roman left so little trace of itself. The language did not apparently spread through the country but was confined more especially to the town and to the educated classes, which fact Lounsberry says accounts for its comparatively slight influence upon the tongue of the early Britain. Traces of Roman occupation are found chiefly in names of towns, e. g. Lincoln, Lancaster, etc.

Trouble at home forced the Romans to withdraw from Britain and the Britons were left to the mercy of their enemies. "Up to this time", says Lounsberry, "English was not known in the island. It is to the Teutonic invasion which followed soon after the Roman occupation ceased, that we owe the introduction of our language into Great Britain and the gradual displacement of the Celtic tongue." (English Language p. 20) This Teutonic invasion which laid the foundation for our language came about thus.

Early in the fifth century the Romans withdrew from Britain and the Picts and Scots who had never been successfully repulsed, pressed down upon the Britons from the north. The Romans were unable to send them any aid so in desperation

the Britons invited "certain Teutonic tribes dwelling upon the north coast of Germany" to help them repulse their enemies and in return for their help promised them a portion of their country to the south. The offer was accepted and the Scots and Picts were driven back. But the newcomers were not long content with the territory assigned them and turned on the Britons driving them farther and farther back to the North, until at last they succeeded in conquering the whole country and taking it for their own.

These Teutonic invaders were Low Germans. They were divided into three tribes - the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles. These people represented different tribes and their language represented different dialects; and while each was not quite unintelligible to the other they had no speech in common. So we find the language of the island divided into four distinct dialects, the area of each corresponding to the location of the different tribes. The Saxons settled in the southern part of the island, i. e. the part south of the Thames, except in Cornwall whither many of the Britons had retreated. In the southern part of the island then the West Saxon dialect prevailed. The Jutes, who are regarded as the first of these settlers on the island, took Kent and the Isle of Wight and their dialect was known as the Kentish. The remaining part of the island was occupied by the Angles. Among the Angles there were two main dialects spoken. The

Angles, living in the district between the Thames and the Humber, were called Mercians. The word meant borderers from the Old English 'meare' meaning boundary. This name was given them because their country bordered on that of the Wales where the remnant of the Britons or "foreigners" had settled. The dialect of this part of the Angles was called Mercian also. To the north of the Humber and extending in the north to the Firth of Forth and to the Pennine Mountains on the west which included part of the Lowlands of Scotland, were several tribes but the name Northumbrian was given to them all and the dialect was also called Northumbrian.

These tribes all agreed in calling their language English i.e. English. It seems strange perhaps that the language should not have been called after the Saxons rather than the Angles, as the Saxons became the ruling tribe. Their language became the literary and official language and Alfred was a Saxon king. Some reasons have been set forth accounting for the name 'English': (1) that kings like Edwin gave a political importance to the Anglian dialect; (2) that names like Bede and Caedmon gave it literary importance; and (3) it was the Angles that pope Gregory saw in the market place at Rome thus giving the name recognition abroad; (4) the Angles had marked superiority in numbers and extent of territory. This reason was no doubt the determining factor. Whatever were the reasons the name English i. e.

the language of the Angles has persisted as the name of our language though called by some Anglo-Saxon which is a confusing term - and the island Britain loses its old name and becomes England.

"The Angles, Saxons and Jutes brought with them to England the Runic alphabet which was common to all Germanic tribes". (Lindelof and Garrett. - Elements of History of the English Language - p. 40) / ^{from} (Sievers - Runen und Runeninschriften) The Germans did not invent the Runic alphabet, it was adopted from the Latin alphabet. The result was largely influenced by the materials used in writing. But it was not long until the English adopted the Roman alphabet as they found it in England. It was impossible to express some of the Old English characters in Latin script, e. g. w and th. Two Runic characters were introduced to represent these; 'th' was expressed by 'ð' or 'þ'; 'c' was the sign for the 'k' sound; and oe is never written as one letter so ae became very common in Old English.

The first dialect to produce a literature was the Northumbrian or Anglian. In the seventh and eighth century a rich abundance of English poetry was produced and the dialect showed itself to be a rich and vigorous one. Bede, Caedmon and Cynewulf all belong to this period and dialect. But this literature which contained much that was hopeful

for a great future was swept away by the fearful desolations of the Danes. Monasteries were destroyed and the learning and literature of the Northumbrians were destroyed with them. Before the end of the seventh century the Northumbrian dialect had lost its lead although it continued to produce some literature still. This learning and literature was lost sight of until we find it again in Scotland. Very little of the Mercian or Northumbrian literature now remains to us, and what does has come down to us in the West Saxon dialect.

"From the death of Bede 734 to the reign of Alfred in 871 none of the Old English dialects can be said to have established a supremacy over the others although there are evidences of Kentish and West Saxon writings in the eighth century. But with ~~Egbert~~^{Egbert} who reigned 802 to 839 began the rise of the West Saxon kingdom; and with Alfred the Great, whose reign extended from 871 to 901 was completed the ascendancy of the West Saxon dialect which was to remain the standard language of England until the overthrow of Wessex by the Danes." (Emerson - History of the English Language - p.47)

Fostered, then, by the activity of Alfred the West Saxon soon gained a place of importance and became the literary dialect of England. Secure from attacks from the Danes the country thrived in peace and prosperity; and its fine arts receiving not only the protection of the king but his untiring efforts to improve and bring them to the knowledge of his people.

this period became one of great literary activity. The best of the Saxon literature is composed at this time and the West Saxon dialect becomes the accepted as the standard language. We have preserved to us much of the West Saxon literature and it is on this literature that earlier grammarians based their study of the principal dialect of Old English. But this idea had to be abandoned, says Lindelof and Garrett, as it was discovered that much of this West Saxon literature was Anglian in its origin and had been preserved by West Saxon scribes. (Lindelof & Garrett - Elements of the History of the English Language - p. 37-38).

The West Saxon is divided into two periods, the early and late. The Early West Saxon dates from 900 A. D., i. e. about the close of Alfred's reign. After about 950 A. D. is known as Late West Saxon.

At Alfred's death the West Saxon literature lost its outstanding position. However, it partly regained its pre-eminence in the last of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. Its final fall came with the fall of the West Saxon kingdom after its conquest by the Danes.

England again had no standard language. For following upon ^{this} the Norman French conquest which speedily deposed Old English from its position as the standard language and brought the period of Old English to a close, "English", says Lounsbury, "did not cease to be a written language; it did cease to be a cultivated one." (English Language, p. 54-55) French became the language of the court and of course became accepted

as the standard language.

In the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century there was in reality no national tongue and the three dialects Southern, Northern and Midland seem to be on a level of importance. Gradually, however, the Mercian dialect began to grow in importance until it finally displaced the French even at the court and reduced the other two dialects to a very insignificant position. The supremacy of the Mercian dialect has lasted down to the present day and it is from the Midland dialect that our language has descended. This dialect was divided into two sections - the East and West Midland. East Midland roughly "included the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, Northampton and Buckingham and all the counties (between the Thames and Humber) to the east of these viz. Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Hertford, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. We must also include, if not Oxfordshire, at any rate the city of Oxford." (Skeat - English Dialects from 8th Century to Present Day - p. 65) It was this branch of the Midland dialect which became our modern language.

The reasons for the ascendancy of the Midland dialect are quite obvious. In the first place lying between the other two dialects it was most readily understood by them than either would have been by the other. Lounsberry says "it was in its nature a compromise between the two found on each side of it and could, therefore, be much more readily

adopted by both than could either by the other". (English Language, p. 131). In the second place it covered a wider area than either of the others. Further Oxford and Cambridge where the universities were situated spoke the Midland dialect. Midland also became the language used at both the court and the capital.

Although these are powerful reasons for the rise in importance of the Midland dialect yet the really determining factor in the continued pre-eminence of this dialect was the fact that Chaucer used it in his literary works. For as Lounsberry says, to quote directly, "No really national language could exist until a literature had been created which could be admired and studied by all who could read, and taken as a model by all who could write." (English Language p. 132-133)

The sources for the study of these different dialects are for the most part limited except in the case of the West Saxon dialect.

The best sources by which we know the Northumbrian are "a number of Runic inscriptions of which the most interesting is the inscription of the Ruthwell Cross. Furthermore we have some old Northumbrian poems, as Caedmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song. The texts in later Northumbrian are especially voluminous. These texts are grouped into two clearly marked dialects, - a northern, represented by the in-

terlinear versions of all the Gospels in the so-called Durham Book (or the Lindisfarne Gospels) together with the interlinear version of the Durham Ritual; and a southern, represented by the interlinear translations of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John in the Rushworth M.S." (Lindelof & Garrett - Elements of the History of the English Language - p. 39-40)

Of the Mercian Skeat says "there is more Mercian to be found than was at first suspected". Also "The language of the oldest Glossaries have been discovered to be Mercian". (Skeat: Our English Dialects from the 8th Century to the Present Day, p. 66) There are extant four Glossaries in MSS. of the eighth century - Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus and Leyden. These are important because of the fact that a few of the hard words are explained in Mercian and not in Latin. (See Skeat, English Dialects, etc. p. 67) One of the oldest Mercian specimens is the "Lorica prayer". Mercian is also represented in the important interlinear translation of the Vespasian Psalter from the first half of the ninth century. A few Charters in the Mercian still exist. These are the most of the sources of the early Mercian dialect. Of the interlinear version of the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the so-called Rushworth manuscript (latter half of tenth century) Lindelof & Garrett say it is impure in its dialectal qualities. (Lindelof & Garrett - Elements of the History of the English Language - p. 39).

"In the West Saxon we find that the translations made by Alfred are pure. Of the greatest importance are the translation of Pope Gregory's "Arva Pastoralis" and of "Orosius". Our knowledge of West Saxon is also derived from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In later times West Saxon is subject to frequent changes and has been preserved to us by the works of the Monk Aelfric - mostly works on religious themes. Before the time of Alfred only a few proper names and Charters exist for study of the dialects." (Lindelof & Garrett - Elements etc. - p. 38-39) Several examples of the Dialect after the Conquest are said to be extant.

The oldest form of the Kentish is preserved by a large number of Charters. Later Kentish is found in a large Glossary about the end of the tenth century and also in a translation of a hymn and psalm of the same time. (Lindelof & Garrett Elements, etc. p. 39) Not long ago five short sermons were found in the Kentish dialect by H. Paul Meyer in the Bodleian Library with their French originals. (Skeat - English Dialects from the 8th Century to the Present Day, p. 58)

This, briefly treated is the history of the Old English Dialects together with some of the sources for the study of these different dialects. The characteristics of the different dialects will be taken up next.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS COMMON TO THE DIFFERENT DIALECTS AND FEATURES PECULIAR TO EACH

I. Isolative Vowel Changes common to all Dialects of Old English.

(1) West Germanic 'a' becomes Old English 'æ'.

'a' regularly occurs when the following syllable contains one of the guttural vowels, o, a, u. Before original 'e' there seems to be a rule requiring 'æ'. 'a' often occurs where 'æ' is expected. 'a' then is due to levelling and new formations, e. g. sace for saece - influence of plural forms; imperative and past participles of strong sixth class verbs on analogy of infinitive.

(2) West Germanic ā becomes Old English æē

This æē occurs regularly in the preterite plural of the fourth and fifth ablaut classes of strong verbs. The i valant of this wu is identical with it.

(3) West Germanic au becomes ēa

This ēa was monophthongised to ē in late Old English.

(4) West Germanic ai becomes Old English ā.

The i valant of this ā is wu. Exceptions are: ō always, ever, together with its compounds (ōwint, ōwper) for

and beside $\bar{a}$ (Goth. $\bar{a}iw$, O. H. G. eo); and $w\bar{e}a$, $harn$ (O. H. G. $w\bar{e}ro$?). With these exceptions $ai(w)$ passes regularly into $\bar{a}(w)$. "It is difficult to account for $\bar{o}$ beside $\bar{a}$ (Goth $\bar{a}iw$) ever; and similarly in the compounds $\bar{o}$ - $wiht$, $n\bar{o}$ - $wiht$ ". (1)

(5) West Germanic eu becomes O. H. $\bar{eo}$. Only the oldest documents occasionally preserve the diphthong eu .

II. Combinative Vowel Changes.

(1) W. Gmc. $\tilde{a}$ becomes O. H. $\bar{o}$. The nasalized $\tilde{a}$ of Gmc. and W. Gmc. undergoes first a process of rounding - to $\bar{o}$ and then a lengthened vowel is substituted for the short nasalized vowel.

(2) - (a) W. Gmc. $\bar{a}$ which becomes $\bar{ae}$ in Pr. O. H. by an Isolative Vowel Change does not undergo this fronting if followed by 'n' or 'm', but is rounded and appears in the earliest historical period as $\bar{o}$.

(b) W. Gmc. $\bar{a}$ before 'w' or 'g' followed by a back vowel, remains in O. H. The ' $\bar{a}$ ' occurs in an open syllable followed by a guttural vowel.

(3) Pr. O. H. a becomes $\bar{o}$. W. Gmc. an - or am - when it stood before the voiceless open consonants s , f , p appears in the oldest English simply as $\bar{o}$. The ' a ' first nasalized a to $\tilde{a}$ then this was rounded to o , nasalization was replaced by length giving $\bar{o}$.

(1) Wright - Old English Grammar, p. 64, sect. 133, note.

"This process is the same as above, only the nasal in the first case was lost before (x) already in Pr. Gmc. and is thus absent in all Gmc. tongues. In the second case the loss of m, n before s, f, þ, is an O. E. process. 'n' was always lost in O. E. before s, f, þ just as it is lost in Gmc. before x. The other vowels are lengthened after losing their nasalization, but undergo no qualitative change comparable to that from $\bar{u}$ to $\bar{o}$ $\bar{o}$." (1)

(4) - (a) Original 'an' becomes 'on'.

"West Germanic 'a' before nasal consonants which remain in O. E. is generally rounded to 'o' in the period of Alfred. In later O. E. 'a' again predominates. In no period are either the 'an' or 'on' forms used with perfect consistency in any of the texts." (2) "After the ninth century 'a' increases in frequency and finally succeeds in supplanting the 'o'." (3)

"In some parts of Mercia it seems to have become o, which has been preserved in many of the Midland dialects to the present day." (4)

(b) This change to 'o' is older than the metathesis of r; this accounts for the preterite orn, born from ronn, bronn.

(c) For ^hdone and ^hwoone forms see Sievers

65, Note 3.

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- (1) Wyld - "A Short History of English", p. 70, sec. 100
(2) Wyld - "A Short History of English", p. 71, sec. 101
(3) Sievers-Cook - Grammar of Old English, p. 42, sec. 65
(4) Wright - Old English Grammar, p. 39, sec. 59.

(5) Fracture of Vowels before certain Consonant Combinations.

Fracture is the term applied to the diphthongization of front vowels before *rr* and *r* plus another consonant; *ll* and *l* plus consonant; *h*, *hh* or *h* plus consonant. The fracture of *i* is indistinguishable from that of *e* except in Northumbrian.

(a) *e* becomes *eo* before *r* plus consonant and *a* becomes *ea* under the same circumstances.

The breaking remains, even when the second consonant is lost, e. g. *nearh*, *neares*. Breaking does not occur in ^h*herstan*, etc. where *r* plus consonant is the result of metathesis. For *arn*, (*orn*) forms see sec. 4 above. Breaking is of rare occurrence in foreign words, e. g. *arce*.

(b) *i* becomes *i^o* later *e^o* before *r* plus consonant. West Germanic *i* becomes *io* (later *eo*) but as W. G. *i* scarcely appears before *r* plus consonant except in cases where *i*, *j* formerly followed this combination. N. S. *io* (*eo*) is unaltered e. g. *hierde*.

(c) *a* becomes *ea* before *ll* or *l* plus consonant. This fracture does not take place in the Anglian dialect nor in late loan words.

(d) "West Germanic 'e' undergoes regular breaking to 'eo' only before *l^h*, *lc*. In other cases 'e' before *l* plus consonant is retained." (1) "e only broken before *l*

(1) Sievers-Cook - Grammar of O. E., p. 52, sec. 81

when followed by ^lh". (1) Breaking did not take place in
Anglian before ^lie, ^lih". (2)

(e) i was broken before l only when the conson-
ant following l was h". (3)

(f) a becomes ea, æ becomes ēa before h plus
consonant. 'a' remained unbroken in late Latin loan words.

(g) Under the same conditions as in the foregoing
paragraph Gmc. e was originally broken to eo alternating in
E. W. S. with ie. However but few forms have been preserved
with an invariable eo, ie.

(h) (1) In like manner, Gmc. i was broken to
E. W. S. ie common W. S. io. Now and then (but hardly genuine
W. S.) in proper names like Wicht, etc. But there are often
parallel forms with i, y (for older ie) which are to be re-
ferred partly to i umlaut, partly to the so-called palatal
Umlaut.

(2) Gmc. ī is broken in some cases to ēo
(not īo); lēht, betwēoh; compare common W. S. imperatives
lēch, tēch, etc. for which E. W. S. instances are wanting.
Elsewhere we have also E. W. S. īo and after 'w' a 'u' in
betw^uh which points to shortened io.

(6) Mutation or Umlaut.

There are two kinds of Mutation in O. E., one A which

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- (1) Moore and Knott - Elements of O. E. - p. 48, sec. 85.
(2) Wright - Old English Grammar - p. 45, sec. 85
(3) Moore & Knott - Elements of O. E. - p. 41, sec. 85

affects back vowels is caused by a following i or j and results in fronting of the vowel; the other, E, which affects front vowels, is caused chiefly by u, or o—in some dialects also by a. The result of the later process is to develop a vowel glide (u), which combines with the preceding front vowel to produce a diphthong. The former process is known as i or j Mutation, the latter u-Mutation, or o/a Mutation, according to the vowel which causes it. The i-Mutation is by far the more universal, affecting all dialects, and is less liable to be upset by analogy. U-Mutation affects the different dialects in varying degrees of frequency. West Saxon generally tends to eliminate the diphthongized forms due to u-mutation in favor of those with simple vowels, which may occur in certain cases of nouns or persons of verbs.

A. Front or j Mutation.

(a) i or j Mutation of $\bar{o}$ is $\bar{e}$.

Primitive O. E. $\bar{o}$ no matter what its origin, becomes first $\bar{e}$ which in all dialects except W. S. survives nearly to the end of the O. E. period. In W. S. eo is unrounded to $\bar{e}$ before the period of Alfred.

This affects (1) older $\bar{o}$, (2) $\bar{o}$ before nasals from West Gmc. $\bar{a}$, (3) $\bar{o}$ from older on , an .

(b) o becomes e . Normally 'o' cannot occur before i or j (a) because o in native words is not an original sound, but was developed in W. Gmc. out of u as an original Gmc. u became o in W. Gmc. if $\bar{o}$, a , or $\bar{a}$ followed in the next syllable, but remained when followed by i or j. and (b) because

in those early loan-words where it occurred it became u before i or j. The Umlaut then of this was 'y'. Therefore ^ue as mutation of ^uo is very rare and when found needs special explanation. On forms like *exen*, *de^uxter*, *ele*. etc. (1)

(c) Pr. O. E. *ā* (earlier *ai*) becomes *ae*.

(d) Pr. O. E. *a* becomes *ae*.

"This change takes place also by an Isolative change but 'a' remains, or is restored if a back vowel follows, hence *dagas*. It happens sometimes, though comparatively rarely, that an O. E. *a*, which had originally a back vowel after it, is preserved as such till after the Isolative tendency which changed Pr. *a* to *ae* has passed away. If syllables containing such 'a' sounds receive a suffix with 'i' or 'j' later on, but before the period of i or j mutation the *a* undergoes fronting to 'ae'. (3) This umlaut evident in foreign words.

(e) *a* before nasals which interchanges with 'o' is in the oldest texts as later *e*.

"The 'ae' has persisted where it was separated from the following nasal by early metathesis; hence we have *aernan*, *baernan*.

"Different from this is the use of *ae* instead of 'e' which at a later period is confined to certain texts which have a dialectal (especially Kentish) cast; these employ it frequently in a fairly uniform manner." (2)

(1) Wyld - A Short History of English - p. 74, sec. 109

(2) Sievers-Cook - Grammar of Old English - p. 57, sec. 89, 4. note 4, 5

(3) Wyld - A Short History of English - sec. 107, note, p. 73

(f) The i-Umlaut of short ae before consonant groups is normally 'ae'. Constant exceptions with e are: eft=again, rēst=rest, stefn, steinn = trunk, etc. Beside 'ae' we occasionally also find e in efnan, steinnan.

(g) The i-Umlaut of the short ae before an originally single consonant is normally e.³

(h) The i-Umlaut of W. S. $\overline{ae}$ = Gae. $\overline{ae}$. Goth $\overline{e}$ is likewise $\overline{ae}$.

(i) Pr. O. E. $\overline{u}$ becomes $\overline{y}$. The Umlaut of $\overline{u}$ from un is also $\overline{y}$.

(j) Pr. O. E. $\check{u}$ becomes $\check{y}$. (Cf. Note to e becomes e)

(k) A true O. E. i Umlaut of e does not exist since every Gae. e when followed by i, j, had already become i.

B - Back or u-Mutation.

"All the Old English dialects are to some extent subject to this change which consists in diphthonging i. e. and in Mercian ae. ("The ea is very generally found in poetry where it is doubtless due to Anglian originals, when u or o (from earlier an) followed in the next syllable."⁽¹⁾) In W. S. this mutation takes place only (a) when the word begins

(1) Sievers-Cook - A Grammar of Old English - p. 66, sec. 103, note 2.

with a 'w', or any consonant followed by w, sw etc. in which case it occurs no matter what consonant intervenes between the i or e and the following u; or (b) when the intervening consonant is l, r or a lip consonant p, m, f. In words in which the u only occurs in certain cases - nominative and accusative plural, neuter or Dative plural. - Standard W. Saxon tends to give up the diphthongization, even in these cases, on the analogy of the undiphthongized forms of the other cases. The result is that this mutation is a far less prominent feature in W. S. than in any of the other dialects where no such tendency exists." (1)

"U and o Umlaut act in general only through a single consonant; these consonants differ in their effect upon the umlaut, some facilitating it, while others obstruct it. Most favorable are the liquids (r, l), followed by the labials (f, p); then come the gutturals g and c (c is disregarded because of breaking) and finally the dentals (d, t, þ, s) which are the most obstructive. Both umlauts are facilitated by a 'w' preceding the affected vowel; here umlaut takes place before consonants which otherwise hinder its occurrence. This group of umlauts too seems to be older than the rest." (2)

1. U Umlaut.

(a) a to ea. "This umlaut is extremely rare in pure W. S. prose. The only word in which it regularly occurs

(1) Wyld - A Short History of English - p. 74, sec. 110

(2) Sievers-Cook - A Grammar of Old English, p. 65, sec. 101.
3, 4

is ealu. Otherwise the ea is entirely lacking.

In forms like fealu, bealu, bearn, nearn, etc. the 'ea' is not the result of u-unlaut but is transferred from cases like genitive fealwes, bearnwes, etc. which exhibit breaking.

In texts of a less purely W. S. cast the ea is somewhat commoner, and in particular is very generally found in poetry where it is doubtless due to Anglian originals."⁽¹⁾

"ae never undergoes the process in pure W. S. except in the word 'ealu' - never in Northumbrian, and only sporadically in a few forms in one or two early Kentish charters where it is probably due to Mercian influence. In Mercian the u-mutation of ae(a) to ea is a typical feature of the dialect."⁽²⁾ In Mercian Back mutation especially marked.

(b) e to eo. (See notes given with examples in W. S. forms in following chapter). Also the occurrence of the older e is limited by the more frequent u and o/a unlaut in Kent and Anglian; the e which in other dialects is Unlaut of o is wanting in Nthhb. In its stead occurs an 'e' which, on the whole, is foreign to West Saxon.

(c) i to io. (Also cf. notes in following chapter). Frequency of back mutation of e and i characteristic of Nor. W. S. dialects. The io due to u-unlaut is already gone in E. W. S. texts. W. S. forms with io, eo occur,

(1) Sievers-Cock - A Grammar of Old English, p. 65, sec. 103.

(2) Wyld - A Short History of English, p. 75, sec. 110

therefore only sporadically in less pure texts being especially frequent in the poetry. But the umlaut form of North. is everywhere 'io'.

2. o/a Umlaut. The o/a which produces this Umlaut usually belongs to inflectional syllables, and often interchanges with other vowels, e, i, as well as u in the inflection of the same word.

(a) No o/a Umlaut of a in W. S. or North. and no o/a Umlaut of old 'a' in Kentish.

(b) No o/a Umlaut of 'e' in W. S. West Germanic 'e' undergoes in general no o/a Umlaut, not even before liquids and labials nor after w. A few words like ceole, ceolan (throat); ceorian (complain) are treated differently and are probably to be referred to u-umlaut. Otherwise the eo for e appears in texts less purely W. S. especially often in poetry.

(c) Original wi becomes ui. (See notes and examples on o/a Umlaut, in following chapters on further operation and limitation of this Umlaut).

7. Palatal Mutation (so-called)

"This term was suggested by Hulbring to denote primarily the loss in Anglian of the second element of the diphthong ea (which thus appears merely as e) before the consonant groups

ht, hs, hp when followed by a front vowel, or when final.

"A very similar, though later process affects also eo, io, in W. S. where we find 'enibt' or 'enicht' instead of normal 'enecht' from 'ereht' with fracture. Here eo is fronted and the first element raised to i. This only happens when the ht is final, as in Nominative Accusative Singular or when a front vowel follows.

"This is an important difference for the subsequent development of the language since Mod. Engl. 'knight' can only be derived from the 'enibt' type, and not from 'enecht'." (1)

"Before c, g, h the diphthongs $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{e}o$, $\bar{i}o$ may lose their second element, being thus simplified to $\bar{e}$ ($\bar{e}e$), $\bar{e}$, $\bar{i}$.

"In W. S. the whole phenomenon is of slight importance, but in the Anglian dialects is developed to a considerable extent. Only before gutturals does it subsequently disappear.

"The chief cases in W. S. are (1) in the place of the eo and io produced from older e and i by breaking before h plus consonant there generally occur, apart from the exceptions, noted in 83 and 84 like feoh, fih, etc. (with variable eo and io) and teohhian etc. (Germ. i broken to E. W. S. io, common W. S. eo) the forms ie or unstable y; (2) ea, and $\bar{e}a$ before h(x= hs), g, c becomes L. W. S. e $\bar{e}$; (3) a similar influence exerted in opposite direction appears in the frequent L. W. S. transformation of ea $\bar{e}a$ into e, $\bar{e}$ after g, c, sc." (2)
(Examples and notes given in following chapter.

(1) Wyld - A Short History of English, p. 75, sec. 111

(2) Sievers-Cock - A Grammar of Old English, p. 72, sec. 106 and 109.

8. Loss of h between vowels and contraction of vowel groups.

Early in the historical period h disappears between vowels. The combinations of vowels are simplified by the loss of the unstressed vowel, but the remaining vowel or diphthong is lengthened if short.

9. Vowel Lengthening in O. E.

(a) "We have seen that when the combinations an - am - stand before s, f or p the nasal consonant is lost having previously nasalized the 'a' which is then rounded and subsequently lengthened in compensation for the later loss of nasalization. Precisely the same nasalization, loss of nasal consonant, and gradual replacing of the vowel nasalization by vowel length, takes place when i or u stand before n or m, followed by a voiceless open consonant. Nasalized $\tilde{i}$ and $\tilde{u}$ before h are lengthened in the same way." (1)

"The loss of the consonant occurs also in unstressed syllables, but in this position the vowel is afterwards shortened; ind. pres. third Singular of the verbs in - æt, geogub, dugub, etc." (2)

(b) Short vowels were lengthened before the combinations nd, mb, (ng?) ld, rd. For importance of this see (3) "The vowels which precede consonant groups are also frequently lengthened. In this respect there is the widest discrepancy between one text and another." (4)

(1) Wyld - A Short History of English, p. 76, sec. 113

(2) Sievers-Cock, Grammar of Old English, p. 128, sec. 186, note 3

(3) Wyld - p. 76, sec. 114 (4) Sievers-Cock - p. 84, sec. 124

III. Sound Changes which occur only in
West Saxon

I. Diphthonging after Initial Front Consonants.

(a) After the front consonants c, g and the combination sc the Pr. O. E. vowels æ, $\bar{æ}$, e are diphthongized, in the earliest period, to ea, $\bar{ea}$, ie respectively.

This process of diphthongization is later than that caused by fracture, as may be seen from O. E. ceorl - churl - from earlier 'cerl'. The 'eo' which occurs in all the dialects, is the result of fracture.

(b) The palatal semi-vowel 'j' when beginning a word, unites with the vowels a (æ) and o to form gea, geo. The combination 'ju' quite frequently remains unchanged, but its place is usually taken by geo, gio. ie very rarely persists unchanged.

(c) When the palatal diphthongization of 'e' is in conflict with breaking the latter has the preference; hence, ceorfan, carve; ceorl, man; georn, eager, etc. Under similar circumstances the u-o/a Umlaut likewise has the preference over palatal influence; geolo, yellow, etc.; yet pure W. S. always has giefu, after the model of the genitive dative accusative giefo; though outside of the limits of pure W. S. there is also a nominative geofu.

(d) Other vowels undergo no change after g and c;

this is true not only of the guttural vowels a, o, ɔ, u, but also of the resulting secondary palatals $\overline{ae}$, e, $\overline{e}$, y, $\overline{y}$, due to Umlaut.

(e) Instead of sca, seo there is a frequent occurrence of scea, seeo. This variation is extremely irregular, in regard not only in the spelling of single words but also to the usage in the different texts. Initial sc was already pal. to sc before primary palatal vowels as early as Pr. O. E. like simple c, and hence exerted influences. Precisely similar the palatal^{ization} of sc before originally guttural vowels is later; its effect on adjoining vowels is therefore different.

In most cases seu remains unaffected. Not till L. W. S. do we encounter single instances of seu. No change is experienced by sey.

(On account of the irregularity which prevails among these phenomena they are not to be classed with those described above, which are consistently carried out in W. S. It is not at all impossible that in the first case, to some extent at least, the e may have been a mere graphic insertion, to indicate that sc had the pronunciation of sh.)

(f) To indicate palatal pronunciation there is frequently an insertion of a palatal vowel between the medial palatals c, g, and sc, and following a guttural vowel

2. i - j Mutation of the Pr. O. E. Diphthongs $\overline{ea}$, $\overline{io}$
In W. S. alone of all the O. E. dialects, $\overline{ea}$ and $\overline{io}$.

when followed by i or j are mutated to $\bar{i}e$. The short diphthongs ea and io no matter what their origin become ie in W. S. through the influence of a following i or j.

The W. S. form $\bar{i}ese$ shows that $\bar{i}$ -Mutation was a later process than that of diphthonging after front consonants, e. g. $\bar{c}aesi$ becomes $\bar{c}esi$ becomes $\bar{c}iesi$.

This $\bar{i}e$ was later represented by unstable i; the latter is often represented by i (beside ie) and then chiefly by y. In the 10th and 11th centuries the 'y' predominates, except in certain cases where there seems to have been an actual change to the pure $\bar{i}$ sound. Besides there may occur in many texts the collateral forms e, $\bar{e}$ which may perhaps be regarded as reductions of ie, $\bar{i}e$ to a monophthong. In general these e's $\bar{e}$ s may be regarded as dialectic.

The i Umlaut of eo and $\bar{e}o$ is in general exactly the same in pure W. S. as that of ea and $\bar{e}a$ being represented by ie, i, y and $\bar{i}e$, $\bar{e}$, $\bar{y}$.

Beside there occurs in E. W. S. as umlaut of $\bar{e}o$ an $\bar{i}o$ which eventually, like all $\bar{i}o$'s becomes $\bar{e}o$ and thus comes to coincide in form with the non-Umlauted $\bar{e}o$. Not to be confounded with this phenomenon which may be called semi-umlaut and which holds even in the purest W. S. is the occurrence in less pure W. S. texts, as in Anglian, of occasional ($\bar{i}o$) $\bar{e}o$, not due to Umlaut instead of ie, $\bar{i}e$.

3. Later Treatment of W. S. $\bar{i}e$.

"Already in Alfred's time 'i' is often written $\bar{i}$ no

matter what the origin of this. This points to the conclusion that, at any rate in part of the W. S. area, *i* and *ie* had both been levelled under the one sound 'i'. On the other hand, after and before *r*, *i* often appears as 'y', so that for instance *ryht* 'right' from *riht* becomes *riht* becomes *reht* is the regular E. W. S. form of this word.

"In other parts of the W. S. area *ie* is not levelled under *i* but kept distinct until in late W. S. it is rounded to *y* which does not happen to original *i*. As in E. E. the (*y*) sounds are still preserved in these words, in the Saxon area, we must assume that the change of *ie* to *y* was typical of this area generally, although Alfred's forms do not in all cases appear to be consistent with this assumption. In Alfred's dialect, apparently, there was a tendency, already noted, of levelling *ie* under *i* which was not characteristic of the whole Saxon speech area."

"*ie* and *ie* are typical E. W. S. sounds, and occur in no other dialect. *y* representing earlier *ie* or anything else than *i*. Mutation of *ie* occurs in W. S. alone." (1)

"It is necessary to distinguish between two *i*-sounds in W. S. The one evidently had a purer *i* quality and is therefore consistently expressed by 'i' down to a late period and in all dialects; only in very late documents does 'y' sometimes take its place. The second *i* sound which originally sprang from a diphthong, *ie*, *io*, was assimilated to the pro-

(1) *Wyllä - A Short History of English* - p. 78, sec. 119

nunciation of the 'y' earlier than the other for which reason the character representing it fluctuated much earlier between i and y (and the older ie, io). These statements hold good without distinction both for the short and the long vowel." (1)

"The diphthongs ie and īe belong to the characteristic peculiarities of E. W. S. At an early period their place is usurped by unstable i, ē and at length by y, ŷ: these latter then remain characteristic of L. W. S." (2)

Sievers' view of īe becomes ī becomes ŷ seems to be more widely accepted than Wyld's of īe becomes ŷ and not being levelled under ī.

4. Pr. O. E. æ in W. S.

This sound undergoes no alteration in the Saxon area during the whole O. E. period and indeed remains as a characteristic Southern English (with the exclusion of Kentish) in the M. E. period. The other dialects have raised this æ to ē before the period of the earliest documents.

The æ variant of this æ is identical with it.

(For further notes see examples and notes in following chapter.)

5. Late West Saxon Treatment of weo.

"It is typical of L. W. S. that the combination weo-, whether the diphthong be the result of fracture, or u-mutation

(1) Sievers-Cook - Grammar of Old English - p. 15, sec. 22.

(2) Sievers Cook - Grammar of Old English - p. 21, sec. 41.
see also sec. 31, -. 18 for further note.

becomes *wu*. A few cases of *wo* occur in Alfred."⁽¹⁾

"The combination *wiu*, *wio*, arising from Germanic *wi* by breaking or through the agency of *u* and *o/a* umlaut usually becomes *ew*; yet older forms with the diphthong *io(eo)*, and even such as have simple *i*, now and then occur. Rare and late is the occurrence of *wo*. More usual in L. W. S. texts is *wy*. The combination *weo* from Gae. *we* generally retains its form; yet beside dialectal *weorold* occurs always the pure W. S. *worold*: thus *very weorðig*, *wordig*, and more rarely in L. W. S. certain others, like *wore*, *worpan* etc. beside usual *weore*, *weorpan*, etc. For this *eo* L. W. S. frequently substitutes *u*. Subsequently this *u* is replaced by 'y'. Contrariwise, the later language not seldom writes *wur* for *wyr*."⁽²⁾

6. Unrounding of O. E. $\bar{y}$ (1 mutation of $\bar{u}$ in late W. S.

"In some L. W. S. texts, a tendency to unround O. E. $\bar{y}$ to $\bar{i}$ before front consonants and 'n' is observable. It is clear that the unrounding tendency did not obtain over the whole W. S. area in the late O. E. period."⁽³⁾

"Not till a comparatively late period does *i* sometimes take the place of stable 'y', first of all in the combination 'ci' for 'cy' as in *cining*, *cīnn*; *scildig*; before palatals; and before *n*, *l* plus palatal."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Wylle - Short History of English, p. 79, sec. 121.

(2) Sievers-Cook - Grammar of Old English, p. 44-5, sec. 71 and 72 - notes.

(3) Wylle - Short History of English - p. 79, sec. 122

(4) Sievers-Cook - Grammar of Old English, p. 16, sec. 31, note

7. The fracture of *ae* before *ll* and *l* plus consonant.

In Anglian there is an absence of this fracture. The fracture of *ae* before the *r* combinations is not found so consistently in Anglian as in W. S. Before 'h' etc. fracture takes place originally, but the diphthong is simplified again by the process of smoothing. This absence of fracture of *ae* is typically Anglian.

8. The original *u* or *o* of first person. Pres. Indic. becomes *e*.

In all dialects, *u* (later *o*) is to be regarded as the original ending of the indicative present first singular. This ending is most fully preserved in Anglian. In the Southern dialects it is soon supplanted by the optative ending - *e*, so that this is to be regarded as the normal form for W. S. and Kent.

9. Loss of Medial *g*.

After a palatal vowel, *g* (palatal) often disappears before 'd' and 'n' and, in compensation, the vowel is lengthened.

The occasional disappearance of *g* (guttural) after a guttural vowel is therefore due to the influence of palatal forms.

10. In later documents (guttural) *g* when final passes more or less regularly into 'h' after a long guttural vowel or 'r' or 'l'. So also palatal *g* before sord consonants with

which it combines as the result of syncope. This change is more or less wanting in the older texts. Final 'h' occurs extremely seldom after a long palatal vowel: *stīh*; *hēh*. After a short vowel 'h' is somewhat commoner. h plus g is often assimilated to hh in L. W. S. and Hthmb. As an intermediate spelling gh is also occasionally found.

II. U, o/a Umlaut in W. S. (See notes above and examples and notes in following chapter).

There is a predominance of eo forms over io in W. S.

IV. Changes which occur in Common in
Non W. S. dialects.

1. Raising of Pr. O. E. *æ* to *ē*.

2. i or j-Mutation of Pr. O. E. *ea*

Here all dialects except W. S. have *ē*. The process whereby we have *ē* in non W. S. instead of diphthong is not clear.

3. Frequency of Back Mutation of e and i.

"All the non W. S. dialects show a tendency to diphthongize e and i when followed by a back vowel, especially u, to an extent which is unknown in the literary dialect of Wessex. The results of the process are most fully developed in Kentish but the Anglian dialects also have them with great frequency limited indeed only by smoothing which eliminates the second element of the diphthong. The non W. S. dialects do

not like the W. S. get rid of the diphthongized forms of words in favor of those without mutation, which may occur in particular cases of nouns, or parts of verbs. They tend rather to generalize the diphthongized forms as much as possible. W. S. eliminates such a form as *geofu*, which is perfectly normal, in favor of *giefu* formed on the analogy of *giefe*, whereas the Kentish tends to have the diphthongized forms everywhere."⁽¹⁾

"The distinction between unlauteu and the ununlauteu vowel is often preserved in inflected forms. This happens in Kent and in Nthab, but here levelling with ununlauteu inflectional forms has already made considerable inroads. The unlauteu also takes place before guttural and dental forms. Only before gutturals does it subsequently disappear in Angl. The unlauteu often occurs, too, before consonant groups, but with no particular agreement among the various dialects. The o/a unlauteu extends also to the older 'a' in Mercian but not in Kent, Nthab."⁽²⁾

4. In the non-W. S. dialects there is no diphthonging after front consonants. This process of diphthonging is confined to W. S. though there are traces of it in Northumbrian. "The clearest cases of the diphthonging of back vowels in (Nthn) Northumbrian are found after *sc* and must be very late indicating a rising diphthong i. e. one stressed on second element, if we take them seriously as diphthongal forms, *scean*, *sceaca*, *sceoh*. The 'e' in these forms may be merely a graphic device

(1) Wyld - A Short History of English, p. 80, sec. 124.

(2) Sievers-Cook - p. 107, sec. 160.

to indicate that *eo* is front." (1) Northumbrian also has the orthography *ee*. In Northumbrian there is also diphthongization of *geonga* (for *gongan*) which is unknown to the other dialects.

5. i-Umlaut of *eo*, *eo* is *īo*, *io*.

(This varies in the different dialects. See examples in following chapter.)

6. Beside these characteristics noted above there are (1) a non-W. S. breaking of *e* before *l* plus other consonants than *e* and *h*, (2) *ade* instead of *ode* for preterite singular of second class weak verbs is rare in W. S. but characteristic for Kentish and especially for Anglian. (3) In the past participle of second class weak verbs W. S. generally has *-od*, and non-W. S. generally *-ad* - but there are many variations in detail. (4) A genitive singular in *-as* occurs in proper names. Such genitives occur in *Wthab.* and sporadically in W. S. and in Part I of *Rushworth Gloss.* to the Gospels.

Personal names. Symons (Paul's *Grundriss* III, p. 651) has pointed out that names common to *Beowulf* and the Northumbrian texts are of non-W. S. origin. (For this see Thomas' *Notes on Language of Beowulf*, *Modern Language Review*, Vol. 1)

(1) *Wylid* - A Short History of English - p. 82, sec. 130

V. Characteristics which are Common to
the Anglian Dialects.

1. Absence of fracture of ae which appears as ā before ll and l plus consonant.

2. Smoothing.

"This is the name given by Sweet to the monophthongization of all diphthongs, both long and short which took place in Primitive Anglian before back and front consonants eu, iu become ē, ī; instead of ea, before back and front consonants we get first ae and later e. O. E. ea was developed out of earlier au through the stages aeu, aeo, aeæ, and the short ea had a similar development. These diphthongs appear to have been overtaken by the smoothing process while they were at the aeo stage" "The short ae, smoothing from ea is usually not raised to e. Pr. O. E. ae remains in Northumb. but becomes e in Merc." (1)

3. Retention of oe.

The i mutation of ē which was originally oē in all dialects remains in the spelling, and probably in the pronunciation of the Anglian dialects throughout the O. E. period. Northumbrian has ae throughout (even where it is short).

4. The u e/o valent has wider scope than in W. S. and only disappears later before gutturals. This is Sievers' view. Bright in his Old English Grammar (2) says 'e' did not

(1) Wyld - A Short History of English p. 81, sec. 127.

(2) p. 49, sec. 93

become eo by o/a Umlaut before gutturals in Anglian. The occurrence of older e is limited by the more frequent u and o/a umlaut.

5. i-Umlaut of ea before r is Anglian e.

Wright⁽¹⁾ gives this as a characteristic either of Anglian or Kent. Also the i-umlaut of a (unbroken in Merc. North. before l plus consonant) and of Germanic a W. S. ea before l plus consonant is ae.

6. Especially characteristic for Angl. are contractions due to the loss of medial 'h' in cases where W. S. and Kent retain the 'h' and undergo syncope of a following vowel. This occurs especially in the inflection of contract verbs, for example second and third singular sist sīp = W. S. siehst, siehp. Compare also forms like superlative hēsta, Nthmb. also has heista = W. S. hiehsta, etc.

7. Original 'j' generally causes no diphthongization in Anglian. 'ju' in Mercian remains unchanged e. g. jung. Nthmb. has mostly 'ging'. Original jae = W. S. gea appears in Anglian as gē. (For further notes see non-W. S. forms).

8. ēh from eoh or eah plus guttural vowel gives predominantly ēa, e. g. flēan = W. S. fleon.

9. In the case of original ih and of Angl. Ih from Ioh the instances are hardly numerous enough to furnish a

(1) Sec. 187

definite rule. $\bar{I}h$ plus original i gives Angl. $\bar{I}$ in forms like second and third singular sip , $wrip$, etc.

10. The treatment of the Anglian $\bar{I}$ plus vowel varies greatly. In certain words $\bar{e}o$ or $\bar{I}o$ ($\bar{I}u$) appears characteristic. Here older forms with $\bar{I}$ plus u seem to form basis. A second group of forms (probably going back to older $\bar{I}$ plus o , a or e) is characterized by the appearance of an $\bar{e}a$ which interchanges on one hand with $\bar{I}a$, $\bar{I}e$, $\bar{e}$ and on the other with $\bar{e}o$ and $\bar{I}o$.

11. In Anglian there seems to be no breaking of 'e' before $l\bar{e}$, or $l\bar{h}$ or else this eo has become levelled under 'e'. Breaking did not take place so regularly before 'l' and 'r' plus consonant in Anglian as in W. S. and Kent due to pronunciation. Absence of breaking is regarded by Thomas⁽¹⁾ as a non W. S. characteristic.

12. The forms $haefast$, $haef\bar{a}$; $nafast$, $nafa\bar{a}$ are extremely rare in pure W. S. while in texts having dialectic coloring they may occur frequently. In the Anglian poetry they prevail exclusively, while in the south $haefet$, $haef\bar{e}$, etc. are collateral forms; the Anglian poetry has also a first singular $hafa-o-(a)$.

13. $\bar{ae}$ Goth. $\bar{e}$ becomes $\bar{e}$

The form 'mece' is regarded by Wright and Sweet as Anglian, although this changing of $\bar{ae}$ to $\bar{e}$ is typical of all non W.S. dialects.⁽²⁾

(1) Notes on Language of Beowulf, Modern Language Review, Vol. 1.

(2) Wright - Old English Grammar, p. 59, sec. 119

Sweet - Anglo-Saxon Dictionary

Also Sievers-Cock - Grammar of Old English, sec. 91

VI. Characteristics Common to Northumbrian

Only.

1. Instead of ea before r plus consonant, Northumbrian frequently has a.
2. Northumbrian possesses the diphthong ei, also has ai for ae.
3. In the Northumbrian dialect, 'w' often changes a following e and even at times an ae into oe (not quite unknown in Mercian) and in like manner an ē into $\overline{oe}$ in late Nthn. Northumbrian (unknown in Mercian).
4. Woo (fracture) which persists in W. S., usually becomes Nthmb. wo. In Nthn. Northumbrian woo the result of o or u mutation also becomes wo. Bülbring gives 'wasa' as only result of this happening in Sthn. Northumbrian. In a similar manner wea ^(fracture) often became wa and sometimes wee.
5. In Nthmb. wio after becoming wa becomes when it experiences i umlaut, in contrast with W. S. iuf.
6. The groups ew and iw are frequently simplified in Nthmb. to ew (eo, eu etc) and iw (io, iu). Likewise ew is shortened to ew etc., though rarely. Nthmb. ew, iw, are probably only graphic abbreviations of eaw, iaw.
7. Original a plus vowel becomes $\bar{a}$ in contract verbs.
8. Original eh plus guttural vowel gives a predominant Nthmb. $\bar{eo}$, more rarely $\bar{ea}$.

9. For $\bar{I}h$ plus a Nthmb. has presumably disyllabic $\bar{I} - a$.
10. Retention of Pr. O. E. $\bar{a}e$ as in W. S. In Mercian and Kentish this is raised to 'e'. Also $\bar{a}e$ (Unlaut of $\bar{a}$ from ae ai) becomes $\bar{a}e$.
11. In Nthmb. there are traces of late diphthonging after front consonants. The clearest cases of the diphthonging of back vowels in (Nthm) Nthmb. are found after se and must be very late indicating a rising diphthong. The 'e' in such forms as 'sceasa', 'sceān' may be merely a graphic device to indicate that se is front. W. S. ae oscillates in Nthmb. between ae and ea . ~~Also~~ also has cae . Nthmb. has also $geonga$ for (gongan).
12. Absence of back mutation of se .
13. Distinction preserved between $\bar{eo}$ and $\bar{io}$.
In W. S. the old diphthong $\bar{io}$ (Pr. O. E. $\bar{i}u$) which only arose in W. Sme. when i or j followed, became $\bar{ie}$ in the mutation period unless there was a change of suffix. In Anglian, no alteration was effected in the sound by the following $\bar{I}$ and the diphthong is preserved as $\bar{io}$ in O. Nthmb. and remains distinct from $\bar{eo}$ from Pr. eu whereas in Mercian $\bar{io}$ is levelled under $\bar{eo}$. The same distinction is preserved in Nthmb. between the short diphthong eo and io .

14. In Southern Northumbrian, W. Gmc. au (W. S. ea) appears generally as eo being apparently arrested at the aeo stage. Nthn. Nthab. more commonly writes ea, as in all other dialects.

15. Nthn. Nthab. writes ea more frequently for fracture of e before rr and r plus consonant than eo. In the Sthn. Nthab. texts eo is more frequent. (Mercian also shows some traces of ea, but eo is general).

16. Sthn. Nthab. of the later period on the other hand, generally writes eo instead of ea for the fracture of ae. (In Mercian, as in Kentish, eo sometimes occurs for ea, but rarely).

17. Third Singular and all plural present indicative sometimes ends in s instead of p.

18. Northumbrian drops final 'n'.

19. The preference for ea is characteristic of Nthab; hence the short is retained in Lindisfarne Gospels almost entirely and even the long ea is not so very frequently replaced by eo; On the other hand, ea is very often written for short eo (though there is great variation in detail) and in general ea may be regarded as the rule instead of eo. There is however a great confusion between ea and eo in Nthab.

20. Older io is kept intact except as result of contraction frequently interchanges with eo; otherwise eo is only

sporadic and then is probably sometimes replaced by ea.

21. Retention of $\bar{o}e$. The 'e' which is umlaut of e in the other dialects is wanting in Nthmb. In its stead occurs an e which on the whole, is foreign to W. S.

22. "The Northumbrian had its dialects unsettled earlier than the other dialects." (1)

23. W. S. e, Mercian eo by o/a umlaut is ea in Nthmb. (2)

24. Germanic eu, Mercian and W. S. $\bar{e}o$ is $\bar{e}a$ in Nthmb. (3)

25. Other Northumbrian forms.

(a) Singular imperative with vowel ae instead of 'e'

(b) Form 'paes' may be possible Northern form of the nom. masc.

(c) In E. W. S. texts the io due to umlaut is already gone, but the umlaut form of Nthmb. is everywhere 'io'.

VII. Characteristics Common to the Mercian Dialect.

1. Raising of ae to e.

In distinction to Nthmb. and W. S. which retain ae throughout the O. E. period, but in agreement with Kentish, in part of the Mercian area this vowel is raised to e by an

(1) Wyatt - Old English Grammar, p. 11, sec. 2 (2)
(2) Wright - Old English Grammar, p. 83, sec. 196.
(3) Wright - p. 84, sec. 208

isolative change. This is most consistently shown in the ninth century Vespasian Psalter and Hyans and in the later Glosses in M. S. Royal. The Mercian Matthew, however, writes *ce* far more commonly.

2. Back mutation of Pr. O. E. *ae*.

This mutation took place in the dialect of the Vespasian Psalter, also when 'g' or 'c' was the intervening consonant, but such forms as 'deagas' etc. were smoothed to 'daegas' etc. This smoothing of 'ea' is the chief source of *ae* in this text.

3. Levelling of *iū*, later *īo* under *eo*.

The same levelling occurs in the case of *io* the result of fracture of *i*. Sievers⁽¹⁾ says the older *īo* is sometimes preserved but for most part is replaced by *eo*.

4. In Mercian, *ea* and *eo* are much better discriminated than in Northumbrian.

5. Influence of preceding palatal in Mercian *ju* remains unchanged. *e* is not diphthongized after *c*, *g*, *sc*. There is likewise no change of *e* (M. S. *ae*) to *ea*.

6. The *o/a* variant extends to older *a* in Mercian.

7. Back mutation is especially marked.

8. *weo* the result of *e* or *u* mutation which becomes *wo* in Northumbrian remains unchanged in Mercian.

(1) Sec. 150, note 5.

9. The change $\bar{w}e$ becomes wce is not quite unknown to Mercian.

10. The change $\bar{w}e$ becomes $\bar{w}ae$ which occurred in late Nthn. Nthmb. is unknown in Mercian.

VIII. Characteristics Common to Kentish Dialect.

1. $\bar{ae}$, the i Mutation of Pr. O. E. $\bar{a}$ raised to $\bar{e}$.

Kentish is the only O. E. dialect which does not preserve this $\bar{ae}$ unaltered during the whole O. E. period. This change can be shown to be distinctly later than the raising of Pr. O. E. $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{e}$ which is common to all non-W. S. dialects.

2. Typical Kentish Back Mutation.

"We may consider such forms as 'reogolweard', foresprecca, breogo as typically Kentish, since W. S. does not admit of this mutation before a back consonant, and although it no doubt occurred under these conditions in early Anglian, it would be reduced by smoothing in the Anglian dialects."⁽¹⁾

3. O. E. $\bar{y}$ (i Mutation of $\bar{u}$), unrounded, and lowered to e .

Sievers⁽²⁾ gives as note to this: "As in Kent the sounds of $\bar{e}$, $\bar{ae}$, $\bar{y}$ gradually coincide as e , it may also happen that contrariwise, the traditional sign 'y' is written for the

Short History of English
(1) Wyld, - sec. 141.
(2) Sec. 154, note.

sounds of 'e' and 'ae'.

4. The group *win*

In Kentish, the otherwise usual change to *wa* does not occur, so that we get *weada*, *weotun*, instead of *wuda*, *watum*. The diphthongs *iu*, *eo* are not clearly and consistently distinguished in Kentish. *io* is commoner in this dialect than *eo* for earlier *eu*. For short *eo* and *io* we find often *ia*, *io* by the side of *eo*. *ea* and *eo* are but slightly confused.⁽¹⁾

5. Treatment of *oe* (i mutation of *ō*) in Kentish.

"The ninth century Charters consistently write *oe* for the i mutation of *ō* of every origin. In later Kentish 'e' is the more usual spelling. The spelling *eo* occurring already in the latter half of the ninth century seems to show that the traditional spelling *oe* was no longer felt as satisfactory and may imply that the vowel was already but slightly rounded. It is curious that *eo* should crop up again in Late Kentish. We can hardly take it to represent a rounded vowel, in the face of the far more numerous *ē* spellings. It seems probable that by the year 831, the old vowel *oe* had already been unrounded in Kent."⁽²⁾

6. The occurrence of the older *e* is limited by the more frequent *u* and *o/a* unmut.

7. *g* sometimes passes into *i*.

When following a palatal vowel at the end of a syllable *g* sometimes passes into *i*.

(1) Sievers, sec. 150, note 3.

(2) Wyld - Short History of English - p. 86, sec. 144

8. Influence of preceding Palatal.

Original $\bar{j}ae = W. S. \bar{g}ea$ appears in Kent as $\bar{g}e$. ju seems to remain unchanged. Older jo in Kent becomes geo . 'e' is not diphthongized in Kent after g, c, sc . The same holds for Kent $\bar{e}$.

9. The breaking of a to ea before l plus consonant is unknown in Merc. Nthab. but this is not unknown in Mercian.

10. No o/a umlaut of older 'a' in Kent.

11. In Anglian where ea becomes simplified to ae before $h, ht, x (= hs)$ and also before g and c where ea might be expected as the result of u or o/a umlaut Kentish has ea before h and a before g, c .

12. The i -Umlaut of ea is old Kent ae for which e appears later.

13. ae is raised to e .

14. Angl. $\bar{e}a$ which becomes $\bar{e}$ before h, g, c . Kentish has usually preserved.

15. In certain texts which have a dialectal cast (especially Kentish) ae is used instead of e which is the umlaut of a before nasals which interchanges with o and in the oldest texts is ae , later e .

Summary of Chief Dialectal Characteristics
in O. E.

I. Isolative Vowel Changes.

1. W. G. a equals O. E. æ
2. W. G. ā equals O. E. ǣ
3. W. G. au equals O. E. ē
4. W. G. ai equals O. E. ē
5. W. G. eu equals O. E. eo.

II. Combinative Vowel Changes.

1. W. G. ǣ becomes O. E. ē.
2. ā equals O. E. ǣ equals a/n equals o.
3. Pr. O. E. ǣ becomes ē.
4. Original an becomes on.
5. Fracture of vowels before certain consonant combinations.
6. Mutation or Umlaut
 - (a) i or j Mutation (Front)
 - (b) u o/a Mutation (Back)
7. Palatal Mutation
8. Loss of h between vowels and contraction of vowel groups.
9. Vowel Lengthening in O. E.
 - (a) Lengthening replaces Nasalization.
 - (b) Short vowels were lengthened before certain consonant combinations.

III. West Saxon Characteristics.

1. Diphthonging after initial front consonants.
2. (a) i - j Mutation of the Pr. O. E. diphthongs
 $\overline{ea}$, $\overline{io}$ to $\overline{ie}$.
 (b) i - j Mutation of the short diphthongs ea ,
 io , eo to ie .
3. Later treatment of W. S. $\overline{ie}$.
4. Pr. O. E. $\overline{ae}$ remains unchanged in W. S.
5. weo becomes wa .
6. Unrounding of O. E. $\overline{y}$ (i Mutation of $\overline{u}$) in late W. S.
7. Fracture of ae / ll or l plus consonant.
8. First Person Present Indicative ends in e .
9. Loss of medial 'g'.
10. g becomes h after l , r or long guttural vowel.
11. u o/a Unlaut limited in W. S.

IV. Non W. S. Characteristics.

1. Raising Pr. O. E. $\overline{ae}$ to $\overline{e}$.
2. i - j Mutation of Pr. O. E. $\overline{ea}$ is $\overline{e}$.
3. Frequency of Back Mutation of e and i .
4. No diphthonging (in general) after initial front consonants.
5. i Unlaut of $\overline{eo}$, eo is io , io .
6. Personal Names.

V. Anglian Characteristics.

1. Absence of fracture of ae , which appears as $\overline{a}$
 before ll and l plus consonant.

2. Smoothing or Levelling.
3. Retention of $\overline{oe}$ (i unlaute of e).
4. u- o/a Unlaute has wider scope than in W. S.
5. i unlaute of ea/x is e and of the unbroken 'a' in Merc. Nthmb. before l plus consonant and Germanic a W. S. ea is 'ae' before l plus a consonant.
6. Contractions due to loss of medial 'h'.
7. No diphthongization after original 'j'.
8. $\overline{eh}$ from $\overline{ech}$ or $\overline{eah}$ plus guttural vowel becomes $\overline{ea}$.
9. Treatment of $\overline{ih}$ and $\overline{Ih}$ from $\overline{Ioh}$ indefinite.
10. Treatment of Anglian $\overline{I}$ plus vowel varies greatly.
11. Breaking did not take place so regularly before l and x plus consonant.
12. hafast and hafa^t occur exclusively in Angl. In poetry also forms like hafu - O - (a)

VI. Northumbrian Characteristics.

1. Instead of ea before x plus consonant Northumbrian frequently has a.
2. Northumbrian possesses the diphthong ei; also has ai for ae.
3. Influence of initial 'w' upon following vowels -
 - (a) weo becomes wo
 - (b) we becomes woe
 - (c) $\overline{we}$ becomes $\overline{wo}$
 - (d) wio becomes wu becomes by i unlaute wy.

4. $\bar{e}ow$, $\bar{i}ow$ becomes $\bar{e}w$ ($\bar{e}o$ $\bar{e}u$) and $\bar{i}w$ ($\bar{i}o$ $\bar{i}u$).
5. Original a plus vowel becomes $\bar{a}$ in contract verbs.
6. Original eh plus guttural vowel gives $\bar{e}o$ more rarely $\bar{e}a$.
7. For ih plus a has disyllabic $\bar{i} - a$.
8. Retention of Pr. O. E. $\bar{a}e$.
9. Traces of late diphthonging after front consonants.
10. Absence of back mutation of $\bar{a}e$.
11. Distinction preserved between $\bar{e}o$ and $\bar{i}o$.
12. In Sthn. Nthmb. W. Gmc. $\bar{a}u$ appears generally as $\bar{e}o$
Nthn. Nthmb. more commonly writes $\bar{e}a$.
13. Nthn. Nthmb. has $\bar{e}a$ for fracture of e/r or r plus
consonant. Sthn. Nthmb. $\bar{e}o$ is more frequent.
14. Sthn. Nthmb. (later period) has $\bar{e}o$ for fracture
of $\bar{a}e$.
15. s instead of $\bar{t}$ in third singular and all plural.
16. Drops final 'n'.
17. Preference for $\bar{e}a$.
18. Older $\bar{i}o$ kept intact.
19. Retention of $\bar{e}e$.
20. o/a unlaunt of e is $\bar{e}a$.
21. Germanic $\bar{e}u$ is $\bar{e}a$ in Northumbrian.

VII. Characteristics of Mercian Dialect.

1. Raising of $\bar{a}e$ to $\bar{e}$
2. Back Mutation of Pr. O. E. $\bar{a}e$.
3. Levelling of $\bar{i}u$, later $\bar{i}o$ under $\bar{e}o$.

4. ^uea and ^ueo much better discriminated than in Northumbrian.
5. ^uju becomes ju. ^ue is not diphthongized after e, g, ec. There is no change of e(W.S. ae) to ea.
6. The o/a Umlaut extends to older a.
7. Back Mutation is especially marked.
8. Initial 'w' has not much influence on following vowels.

VIII. Kentish Characteristics.

1. ^uae, the i-Mutation of Pr. O. E. ^ua raised to ^ue.
2. Typical Kentish Back Mutation.
3. O. E. ^uy (i Mutation of ^uu) unrounded and lowered to e.
4. Usual change to wu does not occur. ^uiu, ^ueo not consistently distinguished in Kt. for short eo and ^uio we often find ^uia, ^uio by side of eo.
5. Treatment of ^uea (i Mutation of ^ue).
6. Occurrence of older e limited by frequent u o/a umlaut.
7. g sometimes passes into i.
8. Influence of preceding palatal.
9. a is sometimes broken before l plus consonant.
10. No o/a umlaut of older 'a'.
11. ea remains /h and a/ð.

12. i Umlaut of ea is old Kent ae for which e appears later.
13. ae is raised to e.
14. Angl. $\overline{ea}$ which becomes $\overline{e}$ before h, g, c is usually preserved in Kent.

Chapter III.

Examples of Characteristics Common to the O. E.

Dialects as found in "Beowulf".⁽¹⁾

I. Isolative Vowel Changes common to all O. E. Dialects.

1. West Germanic *a* became *æ*.

E. g. *was* 18 etc. *faeder* 21 etc. *baed* 29. *maegen* 1455
naes 1299. *laeg* 40 etc. *paet* 11 etc. *aefter* 12 etc. *paes* 16 etc.
aet 45 etc. *daege* 1311. *maeg* (from *magan*) 1341. *faest* 1307 etc.
freegn 1027. *waeter* 1364 etc. *baer* 1405. *glæd* 1181 etc.

2. West Germanic *ā* became *æ*.

E. g. *wæpne* 39. *maegþa* 5. *dæda* 900 etc. *gehwære* 25 etc.
Complete list given on characteristics common to West Saxon
dialect. This *æ* becoming *ē* in other dialects.

3. West Germanic *au* became *ēa*.

prætan 4. *geþeag* 1241. *deap* 1275. *þeag* 35. *hēah* 48.
hēafad 48. *dēadne* 1309. *ēadig* 1225. *dream* 1227. *lēan* 102.
strēam 1359. *stēap* 1409. *þeamas* 1414. *hēap* 1091. *ceas* 1201.
frēa 1166. *lēas* 1470. *brēas* 1487. *dēaf* 1619. *ēacne* 1621. *ēac* 1693
brēat 1298. *ēagena* 1766. *geþeod* 2369. *þlēat* 2385. *þereafad* 2746.
þeacna 2777.

This change regularly occurs in the preterite singular
of the second class of strong verbs.

(1) Wyatt & Chambers edition used.

4. West Germanic ai becomes ā.

E. g. gār 1, stān 632, gebād 7, pān 8, gewāt 26, bān 1445, ātor 1459, sār 1251, gāsta 1266, mādmas 1027, lār 1220, hāten 991, pāra 996, āna 999, sawl 1004 (ai(w) becomes ā(w)), mārān 1023, lār 1032, gelāc 1040, twā 1194, mē 1055, āgan 1088, āp 1097, ād 1110, stān 1208, ^hplāwe 1120 cf. ^hplaw (listed in unlanted foras), hāmas 1127, lād 1139, tānam 1459, swāc 1460, ā 1478, grāp 1501, brād 1546, āngan 1547, grāpode 1566, wlat 1572, ^hbrā 1588, rāp 1610, tācne 1654, ārās 1790, bāt 1900, sāl 1906, wlatode 1916, hāl 1974, brād 2207, sārīg 2942, godāl 3068.

This change regularly occurs in the preterite singular of the first class of strong verbs.

5. West Germanic eu becomes ēo.

pēod 2, lēode 24, lēof 31, cēol 38, pēodan 1046 (N. Gmc. becomes ēo or Io), bēor 1094, nēotan 1217, trēow 1072, dēorestan 1309, dēor 1510, drēagan 1470, sēaxce 1603, gēotande (Gothic iā) 1690, bēod 1713, scēotep 1744, drēosep 1754, nēosan 1786, dēop 1904, pēofes 2219.

This change occurs in infinitive of second class of strong verbs.

II. Combinative Vowel Changes common to all O. E. Dialects.

1. West Germanic $\tilde{a}$ becomes O. E. $\bar{o}$.

$\bar{f}\bar{o}n$ 439, $on\bar{f}\bar{o}n$ 911, $p\bar{o}hte$ 739, 691 etc., $gep\bar{o}ht$ 610, $ap\bar{o}hte$ 2643, $purh\bar{f}\bar{o}n$ 1504, $w\bar{o}m$ 1747, 2827 from $w\bar{o}h$.

The nasalized $\tilde{a}$ of Germanic and West Germanic undergoes first a process of rounding - to $\tilde{o}$ and then a lengthened vowel is substituted for the short nasalized vowel.

Cf. here also $p\bar{u}hte$ 842 etc., $\bar{u}hte$ 126.

2. West Germanic $\bar{a}$ which is fronted to $\bar{ae}$ in Pr.

O. E. by an Isolative vowel change does not undergo this fronting if followed by m or n but is rounded to ' $\bar{o}$ '.

E. g. $\bar{m}\bar{o}nan$ 94, $\bar{n}\bar{w}\bar{o}mon$ 239, $so\bar{n}a$ 121, $ge\bar{m}or$ 49 (This form has been palatalized), $gen\bar{o}m$ 2776 (this has been transferred from the preterite plural).

3. West Germanic an -(or am) when it stood before s , f , or $\bar{p}$ becomes $\bar{o}$ in O. E. Same change takes place when ' i ' or ' u ' stands before ' m ' or ' n '.

(a) E. O. $s\bar{o}pe$ 51, 524, 590 etc., $s\bar{o}plice$ 141, $\bar{o}per$ 534, 870, 859 etc., $\bar{o}perne$ 652, 1860 etc., $\bar{u}sic$ 456, $c\bar{u}plicor$ 244, $c\bar{u}pe$ 90, 359, 372 etc., $unc\bar{u}pne$ 276, $s\bar{i}pum$ 202, 336, $sw\bar{i}p$ 493, $ges\bar{i}pas$ 23, 853 etc., $l\bar{i}pe$ 1220, $f\bar{i}fel$ 104, $f\bar{i}ftena$ 207, 216, $f\bar{i}ftig$ 2733, $f\bar{i}fe$ 420, $s\bar{u}p$ 606, $m\bar{u}pan$ 724, $f\bar{u}slicn$ 232, $w\bar{a}pe$ 854, $estum$ (from $esti$ ^{from} becomes $anstiz$) 945, 958, $\bar{u}pe$ 960, $s\bar{e}ft$ (comparative of $s\bar{o}ft$) 2749, $\bar{u}s$ 346, 382, etc.

genēpan (an becomes ē then by i-umlaut becomes ē) 510, 538 etc.
tōp 2082, ūp-geŋe 2123, unsofte 2140, nēpende 2350, sīpian 720,
fēpe 1401.

(b) The loss of the consonant occurs also in unstressed syllables but in this position the vowel is afterwards shortened.

e. g. ofost 256, geogub 2664, geogop 66, 160 etc,
dugub 160, 498 etc, orub 2557 (later oreb, orb), earfoþlice 86?

This change is shown in all three persons of the Indicative present plural together with the imperative second plural - the ending aī being derived from anpi - onp; the -and of third plural of the Gothic has grammatical change.

e. g. hwyⁿafap 98, scripaī 163, seaī 190, gehyradⁱ 255,
wurdaī 282, etc.

4. Original an becomes on. (Very inconsistent).

manigum 1771, monegum 5, 1419, manegum 1887, 2103,
ond 33 etc, monige 2982, monig 3022, 3077, 2762 etc, manig
1112, 1860, manigum 1235, longe 54, longne 528, lange 1257, 1336
lang 1708, long-sum 1341, 192, long-sunne 1536, mon 196, 209 etc
manna 701, 712 etc, man 534 etc, ondsvarode 258, hond 322, 551
etc, handa 746, 558, etc, whanc 1332, etc, wlone 331 etc,
scale 1317, rand 1298 etc, rond 656 etc.

There is also a variation of spelling in the use of 'on' and 'an'.

e. g. samod 329 etc, somod 1211 etc, gomen 1065 etc,
gamen 1066 etc, gomene 1775, gamene 2941, gomela 1397 etc,

ganele 1595 etc, gomel 2682 etc, gomel 2112 etc, gamelum 1677, gomelum 2444, clammum 963 etc, clomum 1502, neman 2116, lichama 2651, homera 2629, fornam 1080 etc, genam 1302 etc, benam 1886 etc, nēm 1612, genōm 2776, alamp 622, lomp 1987, gelamp 1252 etc, ombent 287.

This change to 'o' older than met. of 'r' hence preterites like arn 67, 721, forbarn 1616, 1667, forborn 2672.

5. Breaking.

(a) 1. Before 'r' plus consonant.

e. g. e becomes eo, e. g. eorlas 6, weorp 8, feorran 91 eorpan 92, beor^lne 93, deore 160, ceorlas 202, beorge 211, feorae 451, weore 661, gefeorm^oed 744, geornor 821 etc.

2. a becomes ea.

e. g. wearp 6, pearfe 14, bearne 21, earde 56, bearn 70, neare 103, eard 104, weardode 105, aearn 136, heardra 166, eardode 166, earfop 283, wearne 366, nearwe 976, beccarf 2136 etc.

(b) Before 'l' plus consonant.

1. a becomes ea

e. g. wealdend 40, cwealm 107, sealde 72, heals 63, astfealh 968 etc.

Complete list of these given in W. S. forms.

2. e becomes eo (only before 'l' plus 'c' or 'h')

No examples found to illustrate this.

In other cases 'e' remains unbroken.

e. g. ellor 55, selfe 419, helpe 351, eiran 752, elne 893, ellen 900, helme 1286, gesellen 1029, selfre 1115, spell 2109, oferhelmaþ 1364, sellice 1426, wel 1792, twelfe 1867, well 1951, seldan 2029, telge 2067, fellan 2088, eldo 2111, (age) eldum 2214 (men), melda 2405, swellan 2713, meltan 3011, hell 3072, etc.

3. i becomes io (only before 'l' plus 'h')

(c) Before 'h' plus consonant.

1. a becomes ea

e. g. ^{le}leachtōr 611, geneahhe 783, eahe 816, meahon 648, meahē 243 etc.

2. e becomes eo (alternates in E. W. S. with io)

e. g. feohtan 576, feoh 21.

3. i becomes io (Common W. S. eo)

e. g. teohhede 951, teohhe 2938?

4. ī becomes ēo.

e. g. ^{le}teoh 569, tēoh 366, gepēoh 1218.

5. ēe becomes ēa . e. g. nēah (G. nehwa)
(See Sievers sec. 57 2d)

6. i or j Mutation.

(1) ē becomes ē (from older ēe)

dēne 687, afēde 693, orwēna 1002, 1565, bētan 2465, wēne 1184, sēce 1369, sēcan 1830, gedrēfed 1417, sēft 2748, ^{le}wēne 2699, sēttan 1421, genēpan 1469, ēhton 1512, ēhtende 159,

grētan 1646, cwenlic 1940, wēn 2323, glēd 2650.

(2) *e* becomes *e*. (On these forms see note in previous chapter)

e. g. fet 745, gehette 830, dehter 1262, mērgenne 2939,
e becomes *y* - gylðenne 47.

(3) *ā* (earlier *ai*) becomes *ae*

e. g. aerest 6, mænan 1067, ænig 1099, gæst 1122,
sæ 316, dæd 621, læddon 1159, læf 1178 (verb from *læf*),
twæm 1191, mænig 1514, bræded 1239, dæde 80, hæpt 1368,
flæse 1566, ænne 1579, æht 1613, manfordælan 563,
æræred 1703, læstan 24, lær 1722 (verb), bædde 2016,
mæst 2181 (adj.), læfan 2315, læst 2354, læssan 2571,
læw 2411, gebæded 2580, gesæled 2764, ræhte 2965,
sældon 226, gelaæded 37.

(4) *a* becomes *ae* (See note in previous chapter)

e. g. æpeling 3, to-gædre 2630, æpele 198,
hælep 190, æl 1500, (from *aljis*, sometimes *a* becomes *e*)

(5) '*a*' before nasals which interchanges with '*o*'
is in the oldest texts as later *e*.

fremnan 101, men 1284, sendan 13, strengest 1543,
mengan 1449, ben^ce 1161, nemnan 364, ceapa 206, þencep 355,
lange 837, wendan 1739, bærnian 1116, ærn 2225?, æcenned 1356?
hende? 2081, bennum 2740? strenge 1270.

(6) *ae* becomes *ae* before consonant groups.

fæpmae 2652 (fæd[†]man), æfnd[†]e 1254 (æfnan),
æsc 1772, bæfaestan 1115, vlæst 52, hæft 2408, nægled 2023.

(See note in previous chapter on '*e*' for *ae* as in
efnan).

(7) *ae* becomes *e* before 'an' originally single consonant.

e. g. *letton* 48, *gebedda* 63, *hete* 84, *herian* 182, *nepel* 236, *herge* 243, *f(ombekt 387; ombiht 336)* *settan* 325, *werian* 541, *nereþ* 572, *alegde* 834, *mere* 845, *beweredon* 938, *bendum* 977, *stede* 1082, *ben-geat* 1121, *wrecca* 898, *here* 1176, *egesan* 276, *sceþpan* 1514, *weccan* 3144.

(8) *æ* remains *æ*

e. g. *daede* 889, *maere* 1046 etc. (A complete list of these forms is given in W. S. forms)

(9) *ū* becomes *ȳ*

e. g. *geȳsed* 217, *gecȳpan* 354, *bryd* 221, *fȳr* 1119, *geȳfde* 1272, *hȳdan* 1372, *lȳtel* 1748, *gerȳmed* 2983, *ȳpe* 548 etc. The forms *geȳsed* and *ȳpe* have been unlaunted from 'un' to 'ū' to *ȳ*.

(10) *u* becomes *y*.

cyninga 2, *þrym* 2, *myndum* 8, *cynna* 98, *myne* 169, *byrne* 238, *cyme* 257, *gemyndig* 613, *fylle* 1014, *afyllied* 1018, *gebyrd* 1074, *hyre* 1188, *byrig* 1199, *swylt* 1255, *synnum* 1255, *onysedan* 1328, *wyrt* 1364, *wynn* 1416, *wyrn* 1425, *cystum* 1486, *bryttan* 1487, *geȳntum* 1869, *gecyste* 1870, *cymed* 2058, *hȳlde* 2057, *unsynnigne* 2089, *yfla* 2094, *nytte* 2360, *cystum* 2543, *byslica* 2637, *gefyllan* 2655, *dyrtig* 2638, *genyttod* 3446.

7. Back, or u-Mutation and Palatal Mutation taken up under the different Dialectal Characteristics.

8. Loss of 'h' between vowels and contraction of vowel groups.

e. g. feorum 73 etc, flēam 1001, tēon 1036 etc, fēa 156 (cf. fēo 1380) etc, hrēon 1307, gefēan 2740, leoma 311, be^lēan 511, nēan 528, feore 537, sēon 387, pēon 25, ōret 332 (from orhat) slēa 681, bēot (from bihat) 80, flēon 755, mēarum 855, mēaras 865, hēan 919, sif^aa 91 etc, (cf. feorh), eored 2866, tēaras 1872, leoman 95, ōnettan 306 ('h' disappeared in the second element of compounds which were no longer felt as such in O. E.)

9. Short vowels were lengthened before the combinations 'nd', 'mb', (ng?), 'ld', 'rd'.

e. g. fēng 1494, 1542, 52, cf. feng 1447, gefēng 1563 1537, 1501, 2609, onfēng 1214, feng (noun) 1764.

Sievers says there is a wide discrepancy in this respect between one text and another. (1)

III. Characteristics of West Saxon Dialect.

1. Diphthonging after initial front consonants.

(a) After e, æ, ǣ, e becomes ea, ēa, ie

e. g. ceare 189, ceaster 767, secean 821, etc. cearep 1536, nēceas 2202, sēcean 2422, cēap 2415, cearig 2455, aglācecan 2520 etc, sercean 2755, seceap 3001, gecēapod 3612, peccan 3015, weccan 3015, gewyrcean 20.

(b) After 'g', æ, ǣ, e becomes ea, ēa, ie.

e. g. gear 1 etc, ongeat 14, forgeaf 17, geafor 49, Sec. 124, also sec. 395.

gēap 82, āngengea 165, Gēatan 195, Gēata ² 205, geatolic 215, ferigeap 333, gif 378 (ie becomes i becomes y), ongeat 1512, geador 491, gepingea 525, geatwe 674, Denigea 696, piagean 736 togeanes 747, wānigean 787, liegean 966, ongean 1034, andgit 1059 (ie becomes i becomes y), giat 1138 (cf. giest), gife 1271 (cf. giefu), winigea 1664, ongitan 1911 (cf. gietan), ongit 1723 (cf. ongiot), gidd 2105 (cf. giedd), geara 2664? swengas 2224, gifan 2311 (cf. giefan), gifu 2884 (Note Slev-ers 75, n. 3), gefriogean 2869, friogeap 3002, byrgean 448.

(c) After se, ae, $\bar{ae}$, e becomes ea, $\bar{ea}$, ie

e. g. sceapena 4, fea-sceaft 7, sceal 20 etc., sceatas 96, sceawdon 132, sceaweras 253, sceapona 274, gesceapu 650, scenda 703, gup-sceare 1213, sceapen 1351, sceatt 1686.

Also sea, seo become sca, seo.

This variation is extremely irregular.

e. g. scēotend 1154, scēod 2222, cf. scōd 2777, sceaced 2752, sceacen 2306 cf. scecen 1124, folc-scare 73, scapa 554, 707, 1339, gesceop 97, scēaweras 253, geasād 288, scapu 650, gesceapu 650, scolde 1034, scop 1066

In most cases scu remains unaffected. Not till

L. W. S. do we encounter scu e. g. scu 160, scuocum 939.

L. W. S. sceucca, sceocca, scūr 1033.

No change is experienced by 'scy'. e. g. scynda 918.

2. The i or y Umlaut of $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{e}o$, $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}e$.

(a) These $\bar{i}e$ forms by levelling process became $\bar{i}$ and in L. W. S. $\bar{y}$. Only a few words in the text have not been levelled to $\bar{y}$.

e. g. $\bar{n}ie\bar{h}stan$ 2511, cf. $\bar{n}y\bar{h}stan$ 1203, $gie\bar{e}ste$ 2550
 $iernan$ (Infinitive does not occur), $slex$ 2904?

Other unlauded forms are listed under 'y' forms.

(b) $\bar{e}o$ became $\bar{i}e$ became $\bar{e}o$.

e. g. $\bar{e}e\bar{e}d$ 543 etc. $el\bar{e}fodig$ 336, $tr\bar{e}ow$ 1072, 2922,
 $tr\bar{e}owen$ 1166.

3. (a) $\bar{i}e$ from i-umlaut became $\bar{i}$ became $\bar{y}$ (See note in previous chapter)

e. g. $\bar{h}yran$ 10 (C. $hausjan$ becomes $\bar{e}a$ becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{y}$), $y\bar{l}de$ 22 etc. ($al\bar{d}a$ becomes $\bar{e}a$ becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{y}$), $\bar{h}yrde$ 38 etc, cf. $\bar{h}yran$ (above), $hiera$ 1164, $hyre$ 488 etc., $hire$ 1115. (These three forms from $heora$).
 $gegyrwan$ 38 etc. ($gearwjan$ $\bar{e}a$ becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{y}$)
 $hegyrwe\bar{d}$ 553 etc. $gegyrede$ 2192, $gyr\bar{d}ed$ 2078, $gyrede$ 1441, cf.
 $gegiredan$ 3137, $\bar{p}ystrum$ 67 ($\bar{p}eostrum$ $\bar{e}o$ becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{y}$), $hwyr\bar{f}ap$ 98 (from $hweorfan$ $\bar{e}o$ becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{y}$), $fyrst$ 76 ($\bar{e}o$ breaking becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{y}$)
 $wylma$ 82 etc. (from $weallan$ - broken form, third singular $wiel\bar{p}$ - i Umlaut from which $wielm$ is derived. This became $\bar{i}$ became $\bar{y}$).
 $fylle$ 125 (from $feall$ - $\bar{e}a$ became $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ became $\bar{y}$).
 $syrede$ 161 (from $syran$ - $\bar{a}$ became $\bar{e}a$ becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ became $\bar{y}$)
 $hwyrftan$ 163 cf. $\bar{h}wyr\bar{f}ap$ (above), $\bar{h}yn\bar{p}a$ 166, 277 etc. (from

hēan, ēa became īe became ī became y), nȳd 193 etc (G. nauþs became nēaþs, became nīed became nīd became nȳd), undyrne 127 (ea became ie became i became y), dyrne 271 etc, fyrd 232 (a became ea became ie became i became y), wērþe 368, 1317 (from noun weorþ - eo became ie became y), forgyneþ 1751 (G. gaumjan an became ēa became īe became ī became y), yrfe 1903, 2453 (G. arbi - a became ea became ie became i became y), yrape 2005 (G. H. G. armida - a became ea became ie became i became y), dȳre 2050, cf. aTerre (ēo becomes īe), syllan 2160, 2729 (G. saljan - a became ea became ie became i became y. See Sievers, 80, n. 3). The breaking before 'll' from Germanic lj is unusual. Usually we find 'e', i-unlaut of unbroken 'a'). byrnende 2272 (G. brinnan. In spite of metathesis of 'r' the 'i' became io later eo became ie became i became y), hȳnde 2319 (from hēan, ēa became īe became ī became y), gepȳwe 2332 (from pēaw became īe became ī became y), yldra 2378 (ald became eald became ieldra, comp. became yldra), yldestan 2435 cf. yldra, gȳman 2451 (G. gaumjan became ēa became īe became y), nȳd 2454 (G. nauþs became ēa became īe became y), yrape 1259 (from earm - ea became ie became i became y), cȳpan 2496 (from cēap - ēa became īe became ī became y), gelyfde 1272 (G. gelaubjan - au became ēa became īe became ī became y), dyrnan 2290, wile 1181, wille 1184, cf. wielle, dȳgel 1357 (from daugila became ēa became īe became ī became y. There is also an unlauted form dēagol). geflȳmed 1370 (from flēam - ēa became īe became ī became y), gist 1441, gyst 1545, gistas 1602, gyste 2227, (gasta - a became ea by pal. became ie by i-unlaut became i

became y. The form 'gaest' sometimes appears in poetry).
 ahyrdeð 1460 (G. hardjan - a became ea became ie etc).
 wyla 1494 etc. (ea became ie became i became y) style 1533
 G. stāxlija - ā became ēa became īe became ī became ȳ. Before
 'h' plus consonant (x equals hx) āe is broken to ēa. tȳne 1582
 feowertȳne 1641 (?texuni, or taihun became ā became ēa became
 īe became ī became ȳ - became teohuni became tēon - (loss of
 'h' produced long vowel) became tīen became i became ȳ)
 alysed 1630 (lansjan - an became ēa became īe became ī became ȳ)
 hyrte 2593 (heorte), genȳdeð 2660 (ēa became īe became ī became
 ȳ). gefylðan 2706 (from feall), strȳnan 2798 (eo became īe
 became ī became ȳ). slyht 2929, 2972 (G. slahti - a became ea
 became ie became i became y), bȳman 2943 (bēam), cirran 2957
 (ea became ie became i), gewyrpte 2976 (cf. weorpan), gehylð
 (from healdan), forwyrne 429 (cf. wearn), hylde 688 (heald).
 trȳne 1165, 1126 (from trēow became trīew became trīwe became
 trȳwe), genȳdde 1005 (G. nauþs - au became ēa became īe became
 ī became ȳ), nȳhstan (cf. nēah); gesyht 2041, 2455 (cf. gesieht)
 ȳpde 421 (auþs - au became ea became ie became i became y).
 genȳrcu 209 (meare), brygean 269, 448 (cf. biergan).
 nȳrcan 1405, cf. mierce (used only in poetry), wyrgegne 1516
 cf. wearg.

Before 'h' plus consonant the variant y is rarely met
 with.

e. g. līhte 311, 485, etc, wrizlan 366, 374, (These
 forms listed in Anglian forms).

(b) *ie* (from Palatalization) became *i* became *y*.

e. g. *gyfan* (P. P. of *giefan*) 64, 1102 etc. (O. H. G. *geban* became *giefan* became *gifan* became *gyfan*), *gyfan* (noun) 1342, 2652, *gyfa* 1012 (cf. *gyfen*), *gyldan* 11, 1054 etc. (*geldan* *e* became *ie* became *i* became *y*), *Scyppend* 106 (O. *scapjan* became *sceapjan* became *scieppan* became *scippan* became *scyppan*), *scýne* 3016 cf. *sciēne* (from *skauns*), *gyddun* 151, *giðdum* 1118, *gyð* 1160 etc., *gið* 1065 (cf. *gieðð*), *scyld* 288 etc (cf. *scieldie* became *i* became *y*), *scyldingas* 1019, *scildingas* (cf. *scyld*), *ongyton* 308, 1496, *ongitan* 1484 (cf. *gietan* became *i* became *y*), *Wiper-gyld* 2051 (cf. *gielð*), *scyldre* 1658 (verb) (cf. *scieldan*), *gystran* 1334 (cf. *giestran*), *gylpe* 586, 675 (cf. *gielpen*), *gilp* 829 (noun), *scyle* 1179, *scile* 3176, also *sciele* (Present subjunctive). (These are E. W. S. forms, L. W. S. *scule*, *scecle*). *gieclum* 1606 cf. *giessel*, *miht* 115, *mihte* 190 (cf. with these such forms as *neahst* and *neahste*). Thomas says in his "Notes on the language of Beowulf" that later palatal influence has produced this 'i'. (1)

^u*ȳ* as alternate spelling for *ī*.

e. g. *hȳne* 28, *gȳt* 47, *dydon* 44 etc., *pysses* 197 etc. *hwyðer* 163, *oferwyðeð* 277 etc., *gyf* 280, *hyt* 2158 (L. W. S. form), *synn* 2472, *sȳn-bysig* 2226 (cf. *sin-bisig*), *ylean* 2239, *fȳra* 2250 (cf. *fira*), *dryne-feet* 2254, *unlifgendum* 468 (cf. *unlyfgendes* 1744), *byreð* 296, 2055 (cf. *bireð*), *pyðer* 379 (archaic form *ðæder*), *gȳtsap* 1749 (cf. *gītsap*), *pyrne* 1771.

(1) Cf. Sievers, sec. 98, note

cwydas 1841, cwyde 1979 (cf. cwida 1845), nymep 1846 (nimep)
 byn 1918, scype 1470, gynne 1551 (cf. ginne), ryht 1555,
 fȳf 1582 (from fīf which has been unlauted from fimf),
 swynnan 1624 (cf. swimnan), hylt 1687 (cf. hilt), gerysne 2553
 (cf. risne), nyper 3044, 3086, swynsode 611 (cf. swinsian),
 byp 1002, swȳn 1111 (cf. swīn), ^lWlynian 1120 (cf. ^lWlinian),
 syngales 1135, ead-fynde 138, ^lbrysedon 226, wyllap 1818, wylt
 1852, cf. wilt, wyle 2864, cf. wile, acwyp 2046, cf. cwip 2041,
 wylle 2148, 2766, cf. wille, scype 1470, cf. scip, scypon 1154.

4. Pr. O. E. *ae* in W. S. undergoes no change.

(a) *maegpa* 1771, *daeda* 1669, 954, 900 etc.

gehwaere 25, haeron 28, 213, etc, maerum 1301, 1992, swaese 29,
 1868 etc, waepen 39, 292, 685, raedende 51, 1346, gefraege 55,
 2480, 837 etc, raeswa 60, aeare 77, 354, graedig 121,
 ondraedan 1674, hwaer 138, 1259, untaele 1865, baedon 176,
 mael 189, 907 etc, gewaede 227 etc, gewaedum 1442, ende-saeta
 241, graeg 330, 334, onlaetep 1609, maeg 408, 468 etc,
 maereto 2134, maetost 1455, gestaeted 1340, ohwaer 1737,
 Raedend 1555, strael 1435, graedig 1499, faer 476, 738 etc,
 maeton 514, cwaedon 535 etc, laenan 1622, saeton 564, laegon
 565, waeg 217 etc, aefen 646 etc, swaefon 703, ^lstaepende 741
 etc, waeron 1145, 1188 etc, spraecon 1476 etc, waere 1096 etc,
 faette 1750 (adjective), bael 1109 etc, gaeringa 1414, 1988,
 aefen-spraece 759, aese 1332, oflaetost 1163, naere 1167,
 slaepe 1251, blaed 1013, 1124 etc, gefaegon 1014, gepaegon 1014,

bræce 1100 (Preterite subjunctive of breccan), gewræccan 2479, næpne 2593, næron 2657, græg-mael 2682, æte 3026, sælpe 3152, wæg-lifendum 3156, wære 27 (treaty), won-sæli 105, ædrum 2966, ædre 77 (quickly).

(b) $\bar{a}$ is retained before 'w'

e. g. gesāwan 2252, 1023 etc, sāwan 1650, sāwol 1406, 2693 etc, sāwle 1742, sāwle 2422, sāwul 3135, geonāwan 2047. Elsewhere occurs in open syllable followed by a guttural vowel, as lāgon, pāgon (beside lægon, pægon).

5. In L. W. S. weo (breaking or u-mutation) became wu.

e. g. worold 1760, 1183, etc. (The combination weo from Gmc. we (breaking or u-umlaut) generally retains its form, yet beside dialectal "weorold" occurs always pure W. S. 'worold', thus vary weorfig and worfig and more rarely in L. W. S. certain others like wore, weore, worpan, weorpan etc. For this so L. W. S. frequently substitutes 'u').¹ Cf. woruld 1968, 3083, worpig 1972 (cf. note on worold), swutel 90 (from Gmc. wi), wuda 208, 216 etc (from Gmc. wi), wurpab 282 (cf. weorpab), warpan 807, swurd 539, 1901, cf. sweorde 561, 567, 586, 672, 679, swyrd 2610, 2884, 2987, 3048. In L. W. S. eo became u, later y, e. g. wyruld³¹⁸⁰.

6. Unrounding of O. E. 'y' to 'i' (L. W. S.)

e. g. driht 67, 118, 181 etc, (cf. dryht 431, 662 etc; dryhten 1231, 1484 etc); hige 593, 746 etc. (cf. hyge 755, 403 etc); higende 394, 799, etc. (cf. hygende 2235, gebygdum 233), geālgde 1655, 2543, geālgab 300 (cf. gedýgan 2531)

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forhioge 435, ^ðbiogan 1305, þincep 1748, cf. (þyncean 2032),
þince 687, dyhtig 1287, seylaig 1338, 1683 (cf. seildaig 3071)
higum 3148, hige- þihtigne 746, oferhigian 2766.

7. Palatal plus 'o' or 'a' became eo or ea -
ju became ja or became geo or gio.

e. g. geong 13, 854, 2019 etc, geomer (W. G. $\bar{a}$ from
G. $\bar{ae}$ became e before nasals), 49, 151 etc; geond 75, 840,
1280 etc, gēoc 177, geogop 621, geodor 491, geo 1476, jū 2459,
gīo 2521, iū - nonna 3052.

8. a became ea before 'll' or 'l' plus consonant.

e. g. heals 63, eall 71, 651, etc, heal 68, ealdum 72,
Healfdenes 189, wealle 229, healdan 1296, etc, fealdne 256,
eald 357, 373 etc, healle 389, 614 etc, acwealde 1055, wealdan
442, gewealc 464, sealde 622, 1271 etc, dealle 494, weallend 17,
healdende 1227, cealde 1261, cealdost 546, weallas 572, 1224,
hwealf 576, weallendu 581, geweald 654, 764, swealh 743,
forgeald 2094, 2968, swealm 792, tealde 794, 1810 etc, ealgian
796, healfa 800, fealwe 865, 916, gestcallan 882, acwealde 2121
886, cwealdest 1334, swealt 892, genesalt 897, 2628 etc, bealwa
909, wearp 913, Al-wealdan 928, mashton 941, feallan 1070 etc,
healfre 1087, forawealg 1122, gesteald 1155, wealhþeo 1162,
ealgode 1204, weallap 2065, fealle 1711, gefeallep 1755,
stealdra 1889, hwealf 2015, healsode 2132, nealles 2179,
befeallan 2256, ceald 3022, cealm 3149, scealc 918, (noun),
Herebeald 2434, sealdan 2460, gealp 2583, healp 2698.

9. The original 'u' or 'o' of first person present indicative became 'e'.

e. g. wēne 272, wisige 292, hāte 293, wille 318 etc, cupe 372, haebbe 383 etc, talige 532 etc, seege 590, nelle 679, upe 960, etc. etc.

10. ea, ēa before h, x, g, c and after palatal lc, c, g became e, ē

e. g. feze 2967, fexa 2962, alēh 80, gefeh 827, 2298, 1569, geondseh 3087, beg 3163, wehte 2854, pehton 513, towehton 2948, bēen 3160, bēgon 563, mehte 1082, 1496, 1515, 1877, togenes 344, sceft 3118, ofgefan 2846, peh 1613, 2967, beget 2872, neh 2411, rehte 2106, 2110, pēgun 2633, sceel 455, 2804, 3010 (listed in unpalatalized forms in Non W. S. forms) ehtigap 1222 (listed also in Anglian forms)

11. eo, io, became ie, i, y before 'h' plus consonant.

e. g. riht 1700, rihte 144, 1695, 1049, aetrihte 1657, eniht 372, 535, enyhtum 1219, unriht 1254, gewrixl 1304, sixtig 40, ryht 1555. (The word 'right' with its derivatives, is nearly always 'ryht' in E. W. S. almost never 'riht'. In L. W. S. the 'i' becomes rather firmly established.)⁽¹⁾

12. (a) After a palatal vowel, g (palatal) disappears often before 'd' and 'n' and the vowel is lengthened.

e. g. alēdon 34, wāen 3134 (cf. waegn), hȳdum 434,

(1) Sievers - 108, 83

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oferhȳda 1760, hȳdig 723, 1749, 2810, frīnan 351, abraēd 2575, anhȳdig 2667, won-hȳdan 434, anbraēd 723, 2703 (cf. braegd 794), gebrāed 1664, 2562, frīn 1322, gesaēd 1696, sēdan 1945 rēnian 2168.

(b) The occasional disappearance of 'g' (guttural) after a guttural vowel is therefore due to the influence of palatal forms.

e. g. frunan 2, 70, gefrunan 1969, frunen 694, 2403, 2952. (In the text the vowel marking of 'u' is short.)⁽¹⁾
brōden 1443, 1616, 1548.

The final vowel of monosyllabic words is lengthened.
e. g. wē, hē, hwā, swā.

13. 'g' becomes 'h' before a long guttural vowel or 'l' or 'r'. (Also under other conditions)

e. g. deah 273, 573, 1839, ^hdeah 894, 921, 1137, 1211, 2172, etc, alēh 80, drēh 131, 2179, 2360, ēh 1727, 422, dreoh 1782, geslēh 459, slēh 1565, ^hslēh 576, 2678, 2699, serh 473, 512, barh 523, 693, 912, 1127, 1928, 2265, 3100, āstāh 3144, ofelōh 574, 1665, 1687, 2355, 3060, gestāh 1118, 1160, 632 (cf. stāg 783), gebēah 690, 1540 etc, swealh 743, forswalg 1122, gebearh 1548, geteah 2323, beorh 2242, 2299, biorh 2807, bebeorh 1758, 3097, flēah 1200, ymbbearh 1503, abealeh 2280⁽²⁾
syn-dolh 817.

(1) Sievers, 389, note 3

(2) Sievers, 223, note 1

14. A. - U, o/a Umlaut in W. S.

(1) The u-Umlaut

(a) a to ea. This umlaut is extremely rare in pure W. S. prose. Exception eal^u. e. g. dagum, 1062, 1354, 1451, 2233, 3159, lag^u 209, 239, 1530, 297, magu 293, 2079, stafum 317, 458, 382, wadu 581, fatum 1162, lapu 1192, 1320, wvanode 1356, scadu 650, stapulum 2718, walu (wael) 1042, talast 594, sacu 2472, 1737, swapum 1403, an-papas 1410, ondswaren 2860, swadu 2946, stapale 926, farode 28, 580, 1916, warope 234, sadol 1038, 2175, frased 1575, nasod 2273, 2585, 539, mapelode 286, 925, etc, gewaned 477, hafoc 2263, land-ward 2321, darepum 2848, hafelan 1120, etc. (cf. hafola). Exception: ealo 481, 495, 769, 1029, 1945; eal^u 2021, 2867.

(b) - (1) e to eo. u-umlaut of e to eo is the rule in W. S. before the liquids 'r' and 'l'.

e. g. Heorot 432, 1017, 1176, 1279, etc., Heorate 766, Heorote 1267, 1302, 1330, 1588, etc. geole 438, heor^u 487, 1285, 849, 935, heore 1267, 1438, 1498, 1554, 1590, 1780, 2720, geolwe 2610 (2) .

The levelling process of analogy does away with 'eo' in inflection.

e. g. were 993, 1731, 3000, weras 216, 1222, 1233, 1650, 1650, werum 1256, gicelum 1605, leas-sceaweras 253.

(1) Sievers, sec. 75, note 3, and sec. 81, note 2

(2) Sievers, Ibid

(2) Before labials E. W. S. has usually e, which later becomes normally eo. Texts which are less purely

W. S. especially the poetical ones frequently have umlaut forms with 'eo': likewise in inflection.

e. g. eoferas 1328, eofer 303, eofer 1112, 1437, geofenes 362, geofan 515, geofena 1173, heofenes 576, 1801, 2070, heofenes 414, sweofote 1581, 2295, heofon 3155.

(3) Before gutturals and dentals the 'eo' is lacking in pure W. S.

e. g. pegu 617, brego 427, 609, 1925, 1954, 2196, 2370, 2389, gemedu 247, medu 776, etc, 1052, medo 484, 924, 604, 624, 1015, 1067, sine-pegu 2384, beweredon 938, etc, sceawedon 983.

(W. S. has wo for weo before 'r', 'l' in worold, worold (world); swoloð a (heat). On the other hand werod and weored (troop). But there is no umlaut in Denum 757, 828, 823, etc, fremu 1932, gewitenum 1479.

(4) Only after 'w' does u-umlaut of 'e' regularly take place in pure W. S. even before consonants which do not otherwise transmit it.

e. g. sweetol 817, 833.

(e) i to io.

(1) After 'w' the u-umlaut of 'i' occurs even in W. S. without reference to the following consonant but becomes 'wu' in this case. L. W. S. has also wy.

e. g. wudu 1364, 1416, etc, wutun 2648, swutol 90, gewi(o)fa? 697. This rule is broken by numerous levellings in the inflection.

(2) Apart from the position after 'w' u-umlaut of 'i' to E. W. S. io, W. S. eo takes place, as a rule, only before the liquids r, l and the labials f and p; that is, before these consonants which also favor the u-umlaut of 'e' to 'eo'. E. g. secon 517, 2195.

Levelling frequently takes place between i and io, eo in inflection. e. g. elifu 230, 1911, tilu 1250 (cf. cleofu 2540)

In L. W. S. 'y' occurs in certain words for otherwise stable eo. e. g. syfan 2428.

(3) Before other single consonants u-umlaut of 'i' does not regularly take place in pure W. S.

e. g. bisiga 281, fripu 2017, hlipu 1409, winum 1418, brima 570, gripum 738, gripe 753, seypon 1154, (originally had umlaut but umlaut disappears in W. S. prose), genipu 2808, aealieu 1941, nicor 1411.

Only quite sporadically do the E. W. S. texts have io and eo in these cases and even then the dialect is hardly free from suspicion. Beside 'i' and 'io' E. W. S. has occasionally ie, y, in certain cases, e. g. pysum 2639. These y's are not rare in L. W. S.

A u-umlaut occurs in E. W. S. before consonant combinations in the words siend^uum 361, 393, beside sindum and dioss^uum beside pissum; hence L. W. S. frequently has syndan 237, 257 etc. (and after this model synd, synt) and pyssum (to which conform pysses, etc..)

B. - The o/a Umlaut.

(1) The West Gmc. 'a' suffers no o/a umlaut in W. S.

e. g. magan 943, maga 978 etc, mago 408, etc,
nacan 214, manap 2057, wara¹ 2277, daga 2341, anhaga 2368,
faran 2551, 2915, 2945, hild-latan 2846, hagan 2892, 2960,
onsacan 2954, haman 3177, scapan 801, hafast 953, stapa 1368,
stapan 1348, wado 546, fato 622, atolan 1502, atole 592,
atol 732, etc, granan 777, gesacan 1773, ^wandsaca 786, 1682,
hafa 658, waca 660, faran 502, blaca 1801, scacan 1802, scapan
1803, 1895, panan 1668 etc, panon 463 etc, panon 1373 etc,
ganotes 1861, dracan 2088 etc, draca 692 etc, papas 1410,
starap 1465, dagas 1622, wala 1031.

(2) West Gmc. 'e' undergoes in general no o/a Umlaut not even before liquids and labials.

e. g. beran 48, 291 etc, sefa 49 etc, sefan 1737,
Dena 1, 253, etc, swefan 119, swefap 2256, Metode 1778, metod 1180,
2527, 2815, wesan 272, Regvelan 1710, biteran 1746, fresan
2205, 2366, 2496, freca 2414, plegan 2039, gomela 1397,
tobrecan 780, 2380, etc, egesa 784, wrecan 1339, 3172, wegas
840, 866, etc, fela 869 etc, nefa 881, nefan 2206, tela 948
etc, steda 985, Rotena 1072, wela 2344, wegan 2400, swefap
2457, swelan 2713, welan 2747, 3100, 2750, fretan 3014, 3114,
sprecan 3172, metan 514, geowepan 535, Onela 2616.

(3) Original *wi* has in some cases become *wa* through o/a Umlaut but side by side occur more frequently *wio*, *wie* and the unumlauted *wi*.

e. g. *weotena* 1098 cf. *witena* 157, *gewitan* 1350, *witan* 764 etc., *wiga* 629. In pure L. W. S. 'u' is found only in 'tuwa' and in words where the o/a umlaut is indistinguishable from the u-umlaut as in genitive dative *wuda*, beside nominative accusative *wudu* ('wood') etc. Elsewhere 'i' prevails, e. g. *witan* etc. The combination *wiu* becomes *wa* in all dialects except Kentish.

(4) If no 'w' precedes, original 'i' before liquids and labials is normally converted by o/a Umlaut to E. W. S. 'io' later W. S. 'eo'.

e. g. *leofap* 1366, *heora* 691, 698 etc., *hiora* 1166, *lifap* 3167 (Umlaut often set aside by analogy).

(5) Before other consonants than those mentioned, an o/a Umlaut of 'i' is in general not found in pure W. S.

e. g. *sigora* 2583, *wiga* 2603, 2918, *wigan* 2674, 2811, *gesipas* 29 etc., *sigon* 307, *niman* 1808, *wlton* 1592, *saipa* 1681.

An apparent contravention of this rule is furnished by such words as W. S. *heonan* 252, 624 etc., *beheonan* etc.

Especially strange is *sioððan* (ⁱ*seoððan*, *sieppan*, *sippan*, *syppan* from *slāton* with shortening of the 'i')⁽¹⁾

(1) Sievers, *loc. cit.* 107, note 5.

IV. Characteristics Common to all Non W. S. Dialects.

1. Raising of Fr. O. E. $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{e}$.

e. g. $\bar{p}egon$ 563, $\bar{p}egun$ 2633, $\bar{g}efegon$ 1627, $\bar{e}drum$ 742, $folc\bar{r}ed$ 3006, $\bar{s}etan$ 1602, $\bar{s}ele$ 1135, $\bar{w}ondredes$ 2971, $\bar{w}onreding$ 2965.

2. i or j Mutation of Fr. O. E. $\bar{e}a$ is $\bar{e}$

e. g. $\bar{n}edlan$ 2223, $\bar{g}esene$ 1344, $\bar{e}\bar{f}$ 1110, 2861, $\bar{e}\bar{t}e$ 2583
 $\bar{l}eg$ 3115, 3145, 2549, 3040, $\bar{e}g$ 577, 2893, $\bar{h}edige$ 3165 (1)
 Thomas gives these as Anglian, possibly Kentish.

3. Frequency of Back Mutation of 'e' and 'i'.

e. g. $\bar{f}reopu$ 1942, $\bar{f}reopo$ 188, 851, 2959, $\bar{f}riopu$ 1096
 $\bar{f}riopo$ 2282, $\bar{e}odor$ 1044, 428, $\bar{e}oderus$ 1037, $\bar{e}odur$ 663, $\bar{n}eodu$
 638, $\bar{n}eodo$ 1643, $\bar{b}leopum$ 710, 1427, $\bar{s}eowne$ (from $\bar{s}inu$) 817,
 $\bar{b}leopu$ 520 (from $\bar{b}lip$), $\bar{m}eoted$ 1077, $\bar{b}leonian$ 1415 (2)
 $\bar{l}eopo$ 1505, 1890, 2769, $\bar{n}iepor$ 2699, $\bar{n}eowle$ ($\bar{n}iwol$) 1411,
 $\bar{l}eomum$ 97. (Sievers says - "Only quite sporadically do the
 E. W. S. texts have io and eo in these cases and even then the
 dialect is hardly free from suspicion" (3))

4. Absence of Diphthong after Initial Front Consonants.

e. g. $\bar{o}fgefan$ 2846, $\bar{S}eeden$ 1685, $\bar{s}cennum$ 1694,
 $\bar{S}eede$ 19, $\bar{b}eget$ 2372, $\bar{g}esceap$ 26, $\bar{s}eedan$ 243 (this 'e' holds

(1) These forms taken from Thomas "Notes on Beowulf", Modern Language Review, Vol. 1.

(2) Sievers - 416, note 14.a

(3) Sec. 105, note 5.

ground to about the same extent as it is substituted for 'ie'. It cannot however, be regarded as pure W. S. But W. S. always has 'e' and in poetry a rare 'y' - scyððan). gegnum 314, gegn 367, ofscet 2439, scel 455, 2804 3010, gomen 854(?) (listed in Sievers as Kent. Merc. but may also be W. S. ea becomes e before c, g, sc) (1)

5. i-Infant of eo, ēo is io, īo. (This varies in the different dialects). (In Merc. Kent varies with later eo. In Nthab. it is kept).

e. g. nīowan 1789 (Ps. (Mercian in linguistic character) has niowe somewhat more frequently than nēowe), diore 1949 (Nthab), eorres 1447, of. yrres 2668, deogol 275, dēore 2256 etc., hēorā 1372, unhīore 2413, unhēorā 987, ēowed 1738. Some of these forms given on Thomas' authority (2) He compares them with such forms as dýre, dýgel, unhýre, nīw, nīwe, genīwod, -ad ywde - and says they may also be Kentish and are not unknown to L. W. S. writers.

6. Some non-W. S. forms

(a) Breaking of 'e' before 'l' plus consonant (3)

e. g. heolfre 1302, 1423, 2138, seolfa 3067.

(b) Ad for past participle of second class

weak verbs (4)

e. g. gewurpad 331, 1038, gewērgad 2852, genyrdgad 2450

(1) Under absence of palatalization Thomas "Notes on Language of Beowulf" lists 'geest' giving references to Bülbring Altenglisches Elementarbuch, sec. 156, and to Sievers sec. 75.
(2) Modern Language Review, Vol. 1.
(3) Sievers, sec. 81; Wright 84, n. 2
(4) Sievers, 414.

gefondad 2454, gesyngad 2441.

(a) The forms *ēawop* 276, *ēawed* 1194 from *ēawan*.

(a) Genitives in *-as* *Merewioingas* 2921, *yrfe-weardas* 2453. This occurs in North.*R* and sporadically in L. W. S., which is rare and probably never in pure W. S., especially in the preterite *ēawde*.

(a) *Ad* for preterite of second class weak verbs. Characteristic for Kentish and especially for Anglian, rarer in W. S.

e. g. *wisade* 370, 208, 1795, *prōwade* 1589, *hafenade* 1573
maðelode 2425, *abredwade* 2619, *drūsade* 1630, *losade* 2096,
weardade 2098.

V. Characteristics Common to Anglian Dialect.

1. *ae* remains unbroken before 'll' or 'l' plus consonant

e. g. *alder* 15, 56, 1308, 1676, 1371, 1587, etc.

Waldend 183, 1661, 1693, 1752, 2741, 2875, *hals* 238, *halse* 1566,

Alwalda 316, 955, 1314, *Alwealdan* 928, *nalles* 338, 1076, 1018,

1442 etc, *aldre* 346, 661, 680, 955, 1434, 1469, etc, *aldrum* 510,

538, *Anwaldan* 1272, *aldres* 822, 1002, 1565, *balwon* 977,

Aelmightiga 92, *wald* 1403, *nalas* 1493, 1529, 1537, *nalas* 1811,

nalles 1719, 1749, *balde* 1634, *balðor* 2428, *cwalum* 1712,

Waldendes 2292, 3109, *galðre* 3052, *galga* 2446, *galg-mod* 1277,

galg-treow 2940.

2. (a) i-Umlaut of *ea* before 'r' becomes 'e'

e. g. *wergan* 133, 1747, *mercelses* 2439. According to

Thomas a similar form is found in Aelfred and Aelfric⁽¹⁾
 hicro-sercan 2539, sercean 2755, werhto 589, undern 1428,
 hwergen 2590?

(b) i-Umlaut of 'a' before 'l' is ae (and some-
 times 'e')

e. g. sellan 72 etc. (from saljan), waelm 2546 etc.⁽²⁾
 saeld 1280 (cf. waelm), eldo 2111, eldum 2214. Thomas says
 "In most of these words smoothing to 'e' or 'ae' had taken place
 before i-umlaut." Some of these forms may also be Kentish.
 For eldo and eldum, Thomas gives Ten Brink (p. 240) as his author-
 ity for regarding them as possibly Kentish. (On most of these
 forms see list of Kentish forms under Kentish Characteristics
 below).

3. U- o/a Umlaut has wider scope than in W. S.
 (No o/a Umlaut of 'a' before gutturals later).

e. g. heate-rinc 2466, headu 2522, 2581, eafor 2152,
 Heapobearðne 2032, 2067, 2037, eafera 897, 19, eafora 12, 2992,
 379, eaforan 2451, eaferan 1185, 1547, eaforum 1710, eaferum
 1068, 2470, etc. heapo 39, 63, 772, 2691, 584, 370, 381, 401,
 526, etc. headu 453, 501, 582, 990, etc. headwe 1539, heado 1109
 1454, 1523 etc. eafod 602, 2349, 960, eafodum 1717, eafodes
 1466, 1763, eafol 2074, eafolne 2478, heafu 1862, heafo 2477,
 eafode 2534, heafolan 2661, 2679, 2697. Possibly also proper
 names Eafores 2964 and Eofer.

(1) Bulbring Altenglisches Elementarbuch, sec. 179.
 (2) Sievers, 159, 1, 3

4. Smoothing of $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{i}u$ to $\bar{e}$, $\bar{i}$; $\bar{e}a$ to $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{e}$; ea to a before back and front consonants.

(a) eo before h , x , ro , rg , rh , ll , becomes e .

e. g. *ferh* 2706 (from *feorh*), *ferhde* 754, *hlor-berge* 304 *gehdu* 3095. Of this form Thomas says " ea becomes e before ' h ' in '*gehdu*' where i -umlaut has followed" and gives reference to Sievers, section 164. He also lists *wider-raehtes* 3039 in the same list and says it may be a Northumbrian form.

(b) io before ht , hp , x , xl , rh , ro , e , g , becomes i .

e. g. *tixte* 311, 485, 1570. (In W. S. this seems to be also levelled to ' i '. The i -Umlaut of $\bar{e}o$ becomes $\bar{i}e$ becomes $\bar{i}$ becomes $\bar{y}$) Cf. also *wrixlan* 366, 874, *wrixle* 2969.

The simplification of ' io ' to ' i ' is older than the passage of wio into W. S. wu ; hence simple wi in Anglian corresponds to this W. S. wu . e. g. *etwice* 792, 98, 2785, *etwices* 2314, *wiht* 120, 581, 541, 862, 186. (In W. S. however older forms with the diphthong $io(eo)$ and even such as have the simple ' i ' now and then occur.

(c) $\bar{e}o$, $\bar{e}a$ before h , g , c , becomes $\bar{e}$

e. g. *eo* 3131.

(d) ea before h , ht , x , ro , rg becomes e (In Ethnb. sometimes ae).

e. g. *ehtigap* 1222 (from *eahtian*) listed in W. S. forms. *geachtlan* 369, *gesehted* 1885, *hergum* 3072, *ferh* 305 from (*fearh*) if translated "pig". If the meaning is 'life' compare with form in line 2706 listed above in (a). *haerg* 175. (1)

(1) Siev. 162-2. See also note in text.

5. (a) u, o, a in first person, singular present Indicative.

e. g. hafo 2150, 3000 (used in Anglian poetry),
hafu 2523, ful-laesta 2668.

(b) Forms like hafap 595, 939, 975, 2026, 2265,
474, 1340, 2453, hafast 953, 1174, 1649, 1655 are rare in W. S.
but prevail in Anglian.

VI. Characteristics Common to Northumbrian Dialect.

1. weo becomes wo; wea becomes wa or wae.

e. g. worp 1186, forsworep 1767 (In W. S. there is a
variation of 'eo' and 'o' in such forms. So these may be W. S. (1))

2. Preference for 'ea'

e. g. ^fea 156 (See note in text). Possibly Eaforea
2964, cf. Eofor. These forms may be Northumbrian confusion
of 'ea' and 'eo'. There is also the spelling for dative,
Iofore which may be Kentish (See Kentish forms). Or these
forms may all be West Saxon confusion of ea, eo and io.

3. as for e.

e. g. waes 407 (imperative), spraeo 1171 (imperative) (2)
paes 411 (3)

4. The Umlaut form of Northumbrian is everywhere io (4)

e. g. seionan 303, riodan 3169. In E. W. S. the io due

(1) Sievers, sec. 72

(2) For these two forms see Sievers 427, n. 10

Wylf - A Short History of English, sec. 133-c gives weos for

imperative (3) See note in text and Sievers 338, n. 4
(4) Sievers 376

to Umlaut is already gone.

5. $\bar{e}ow$ becomes $\bar{e}w$ ($\bar{e}o$, $\bar{e}u$); $\bar{i}ow$ becomes $\bar{i}w$ ($\bar{i}o$, $\bar{i}u$)
 $\bar{r}e\bar{o}n$ (from $\bar{r}e\bar{w}an$) (This is the preterite $\bar{r}e\bar{o}won$).

6. Other Northumbrian forms. $\bar{H}ylaces$. (See note
in text.) $\bar{sw}efap$ 2457, may be a Nthab. singular (1)

VII. Characteristics common to Mercian Dialect.

1. ju in Mercian remains unchanged.

$i\bar{u}$ 2459, $i\bar{u}$ -monna 3052. These forms may also be W. S. (2)
 ju quite frequently remains unchanged.

2. Raising of Pr. O. E. a to e .

$\bar{d}rep$ 2860, $\bar{g}esce\bar{r}$ 2973, $\bar{h}re\bar{d}e$ 991, $\bar{s}ecce$ 600. These
forms may also be Kentish. (See Kentish forms).

VIII. Characteristics common to Kentish Dialect.

1. ea becomes ae becomes e influence of i-Umlaut.

e. g. $\bar{e}ldo$ 2112, $\bar{w}aelmes$ 2135, $\bar{s}ael\bar{d}$ 1280, $\bar{e}ldum$ 2214,
2314, 2511, 3168, $\bar{w}aelm$ 2546, $\bar{d}rep$ 2860, $\bar{h}re\bar{d}e$ 991, $\bar{s}ecce$ 600,
 $\bar{g}est$ 994, $\bar{g}estum$ 1976. Sweet gives 'gest' as Anglian L. W. S. (3)
Wright gives it as Anglian and Kentish. Thomas in ~~an~~ article
in Modern Language Review, Vol. 1, gives 'gest' as Mercian or

(1) Sievers, 358, n. 2
(2) Sievers, 74
(3) Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
Wright, sec. 181

Kentish. He also gives *eldo*, *eldum*, *waels*, *saeld* as Anglian. i-Unlaut of *ea* before 'l' plus a consonant. For *Waelnes* 2135 and possibly *saeld* 1280, see Sievers 159, 1 and 3.

2. Simple 'n' is occasionally written both for 'ng' and 'ne' when medial, especially in Kentish texts, e. g. *gende* 1401 for *gengde*. (See note in text).

3. Preference for *ia* and *io*.

Wright (sec. 137) says *eo* remained in W. S. and Mercian, but was often written *io* in early W. S. and Mercian. In Kentish became *io*. In Nthmb. mostly became *ea*.

e. g. *giomor* 2894, 3150, *logope* 1674, *io-meowlan* 2931, ('g' often dropped in later M.S.S.) *giogude* 2112, *hiold* 1954, *Biowulf* 792, 2563, 2024, 1987, 1999, 2359, 2389, 2425, *bior* 2635 *giofen* 2972, *biorn* 2559, *biorna* 2404, *hiora* 1166, genitive plural of *he*. *giong* 2409, 2446 (adjective), 2715 (preterite) *giogope* 2426, *wunder-sion* 995, *Biowulfe* 2842, 2907, 3066, *biolen* 2336, 2788, *Swio* 2383, *hiorte* 1990, *hiorte* 2099, *Egþioes* 1999, *giong* 2214, *Egþiowes* 2398, *niode* 2116, *hiorogor* 2150, *Biowulfes* 2194, 2807, 2324, 2681, *geiode* 2200, *piod* 2219, 2579, *hiofende* 3142, *siomian* 2767, *hiora* 2599, *hiore* 2539, 2761, *oneniow* 2554, *fiorda*, ²⁶⁷¹ *Engendio* 2924, *Engendiow* 2961, *iofore* 2993, 2997 cf. *Eafores* 2964 and *iofor* ~~2971~~, *drifere* 2693, *siocum* 2754, *siocene* 1787, *Engendices* 2367, *Engendiow* 2961, *niosian* 3045, *biorn* 2607, *driforigne* 2789, *biorges* 3066, *diowe* 3069, *sioloda* 2367, *ciosan* 2376. "Short *eo* originally came from older 'e'".

while io springs from older 'i'; yet this distinction is no longer carried out even in oldest W. S. texts. We can only make the general statement that eo occurs quite frequently for io from i, but that io is less frequently found (or is Kentish) for the eo which springs from 'e'.⁽¹⁾ So that possibly some of the forms listed are W. S. as well as Kentish.

4. Some Kentish Forms.

(1) Simple 'n' is occasionally written for 'ng' and 'nc' when medial especially in Kentish texts, e. g. gende 1401 for gengde.

(2) æ is used instead of 'e' at a later period in certain texts which have a dialectal (especially Kentish) cast, e. g. læng 2307 for leng.

(3) epcan 2864, example of ecthipsis (at first probably Kentish).

3. O. E. $\bar{y}$ (i-mutation of $\bar{u}$) unrounded and lowered to e. Also 'y' sometimes is written for sounds of 'i' and 'æ' e. g. tremi 2525 (listed in Thomas' authority⁽²⁾) fyredon 378 (from ferian cf. preterite plural feredon). This may be 'y' written for 'e'. feornynd 2256 cf. feornaend 2761. This form also may be 'y' for 'e'. Also syllia 2086 cf. sellie

4. $\bar{ae}$ (i-mutation of $\bar{o}$) in later Kentish becomes $\bar{e}$. e. g. gemette 757, ^hwrenig 1882, gestæpte 2393, begote 2861. These forms may not belong in this section. Sweet, however,

(1) Sievers - 38

(2) Notes on Language of Beowulf, Modern Language Review Vol. 1

in Anglo-Saxon Dictionary gives ⁸þrenig as having been originally as . Forms similar to the other forms listed here are found in Wyld - A Short History of English, sec. 144

CHAPTER IV.

Irregular Forms in Beowulf⁽¹⁾ Requiring
Special Explanation.

heold 57, 142 etc, weoldon 2051, geweoold 1654, feoll
2100, wæox 1711, greow, feollon 1042, weol 1131, hweoldon 1214,
æhleop 1397, behweold 1498. (Sievers-Cook, Old English Grammar,
sec. 61, note 1). It is uncertain whether this eo is the
result of breaking or from an originally long diphthong.
sybpan. Sievers says (sec. 107, note 5). Especially strange is
sioððan (seoððan, sioððan, sibpan, sybpan) from sioðan with
shortening of the 'i'. gub-reow 58. This shows the 'w'
on the way to becoming a vowel and causing the triphthong 'eou'
(See note in text)

aern 69, 657. No breaking because 'r' plus consonant
is result of metathesis (Sievers, sec. 79, n. 2)

gearo 121. This is not unlaute but 'ea' is from the
inflected stem which exhibits breaking, cf. gearwe 246, etc.
(Wright, Old English Grammar, sec. 66)

beala 136, bealo 156. Not unlaute but has 'ea' from
inflected stem which exhibits breaking. (Sievers, sec. 103, n.1)

weana 148, wean 191. The etymology of wea is very ob-
scure. Certain scholars assume a change from $\bar{a}$ plus u to $\bar{e}a$
(Sievers, sec. 118, n. 1)

Wyatt and Chambers edition used.

cwehte 235. 'e' intruded from Present or new formations. Anglian has ae in the preterite past; W. S. ea. Occasionally in E. W. S. and almost always in L. W. S. ea before ht in preterite and past participle of verbs in 'c' becomes 'e' either transference of vowel of present or (less probable) palatal unlaut. (Sievers 407, note 9)

searu^u 232, searo 215 etc. This is not result of Unlaut but the ea is transferred from the inflected stem which exhibits breaking. cf. gearo above.

colotes 224. This word occurs here only. The meaning seems to be rather uncertain. The first element 'eo' may by the Anglian confusion of eo and ea be the same as ea 'river' (Latin aqua, G. ahwa). Others suppose the word to mean 'labour' or perhaps ^{it} is result of scribe's blunder. (See note in text).

bealuw 281. In O. E., especially in later period, a svarabhatki vowel was often developed between r, l, d, or t plus w, and between r or l plus c, g, or h. In former case fluctuated between u(O) and e, rarely a. (Wright, sec. 220)

niw 295. Forms with ie, i like ni(e)we (G. niufis) etc. do not go back to an old 'iw' but to an older 'i^uw' which arose from West Gm. gemination. (Sievers 73, note 3)

wisige 292, for wisie. The 'i' was often written 'ig' also 'ige' before guttural vowels. (Sievers 412, n. 2)

eowerne 294. When a word contained two middle vowels i.e. was originally tetrasyllabic, the second vowel is always syncopated without regard to the quantity of the radical syllable provided it was originally short and has not been rendered long by position. (Sievers 147)

cowre 257, cowra 634. Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopated after a long radical syllable; after a short radical syllable this syncopation does not take place. (Sievers sec. 144 (a))

anhar 357. Text seems to regard this to be an emendation from H. 3. unhar which is regarded as bad spelling. (See note in text).

getawum 368. See note in text.

gestwum 324, gestawum 395. cf. bealwa.

ferigeap 333. For 'ia' (ja) the graphic substitutes may be ga, iga, igea; for 'ie' they may be ge, ige. (Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader, sec. 10, note 3)

nearo 422. Not unlaut-'ea' from inflected stem which exhibits breaking. (See Sievers, sec. 103, n. 1)

seowed 406. Forms like siowan (sew) have probably borrowed their io(eo) from forms with original 'iw' before vowels. (Sievers, sec. 73, n. 3)

hlēo 429, hlēo (protection) which only occurs in the singular has a rare form hlēow; otherwise final 'w' is generally found in H. 3. (Sievers sec. 250, n. 3)

niman 452. West Germanic 'e' before original 'n' becomes 'i' in the verb 'niman'. (Sievers, sec. 69)

behton 513, gesohte 520. The verbs in a guttural so far as their lack of a middle vowel goes back to Germanic, take 'ht' in the Preterite and Past Participle (Sievers sec. 407)

wintrys 516. In later manuscripts the obscure 'e' of an unstressed syllable is not infrequently replaced by 'y'. (Sievers, sec. 44, n. 2)

dohte 526. This verb has (1) lack of umlaut in preterite and past participle, (2) the (Germanic) change of original 'c' and 'g' plus 'd' into 'ht'. (Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader, sec. 98)

talige 532. cf. ferigeap (above).

mannon 577. Besides 'monn' there is also a weak masculine monna, manna declined like 'guma'. It occurs for most part in only accusative singular. (Sievers 281, note 1)

saece 154 (Accusative of saec-fem) Before original 'e' (as of the oldest texts), that is one not weakened from a, o, u there seems to be a rule requiring 'ae'. Yet there exists much discrepancy. (Sievers 50. 2)

wael-reow 629. Initial 'h' disappears in the second member of certain early compounds. cf. wael-hreow (Sievers, sec. 217)

wiga 629. In pure L. W. S. 'u' is found only in 'tuwa' and in words where the o/a Umlaut is indistinguishable from the u-umlaut as in genitive dative wuda, beside nominative accusative wudu etc, elsewhere 'i' prevails. (Sievers, sec. 107, n.3)

hogode 632. From hycgan (Goth. hugjan). Weak III, has a form like Weak II hogode etc. Wright says "'u' followed originally by an o, a or e in the next syllable became 'o' when not protected by a nasal plus a consonant, or an intervening 'i' or 'j'". (Wright, sec. 43). cf. bohte and worhte etc.

worhte 635. cf. hogode and gesohte (above).

frian 641. Germanic 'j' is regularly preserved only when initial; when medial only occasionally between vowels as in frigea. Words like this systematically contract the vowel of the radical syllable with that of the derivative syllable into the diphthong $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{e}o$ or the vowel $\bar{a}$. (Sievers 176 and 277, n. 2)

gefrungen 666. Metathesis of 'ñ'. fugle 218
ufan 692. fugol 218
ufan 330, murnan 50, etc., furpur 254, furpum 323, 465. As a rule West Germanic 'o' is retained, but in certain words, especially in the vicinity of labials, 'u' is found instead of 'o', which might have been expected. (Sievers, sec. 55)

fultum 698. From $\bar{e}a$ sprang the second 'u' of fultum (Sievers, sec. 43, n. 4)

gewiofu 697. A few words go over more or less completely to the jo-declension by doubling the simple consonant at the end of the radical syllable and dropping the 'e' in the nominative accusative singular. Sievers says irregular is gewif, genitive gewifes, plural gewi(o)fu, beside gewef (wob) (Sievers, sec. 263, n. 3)

fēa 7. The combination 'aw' remains normally unchanged before vowels. Where ēa crops up beside it, as in fēawe, it has crept in from forms in which original 'aw' had for some reason become 'au'. fēawe contracts to fēa in poetry. (Sievers, sec. 73 and 301, n. 1)

wēcun 60. un, an, on seem optional in preterite plural. (Sievers 352)

ræswa(n) 60. W. S. ræswa - final 'n' of oblique cases of weak nouns may already have been lost in Anglian original of Beowulf and so scribe who put it into W. S. would not recognize it as a plural. (Note in text)

sel 167. cf. gewi(o)fu (above). Irregular beside neuter sael, masculine sele and (neuter?) selor. (Sievers 263, n. 3)

scēðpan 243. G. scapjan. No palatalization. W. S. always has scēð^p_n (while poetry has a rare scyðpan) (Sievers sec. 75, n. 2)

heonan 252. Except before liquids and labials or if no {w' precedes, the o/a unlaunt of W. S. is not found in general in W. S. But an apparent contravention of this rule is furnished by such words as W. S. heonan beside hinan. More probably these are cases of u-unlaunt. (Sievers, sec. 107, n. 5)

aetgaedere 321. Contrary to rule (of palatalization) 'ae' maintains itself in gaedeling, aetgaedere and in certain Latin words received into L. W. S. In another note Sievers says 'g' is a guttural spirant before W. S. ae. (Sievers, sec. 75^{n.1} and 212)

gān 386. Sievers says "Of doubtful origin is the ā of gān which unaccountably remains unchanged before nasals"

(Sievers sec. 57, n. 1)

hēofe 404. See note in text.

sele 411. Meaning 'hall' is used only in poetry. Cf. also sael.

Geotena 443. Many editors alter to Gēata but there is a dialectal confusion of eo and ea and this is peculiarly apt to survive in proper names, and weak and strong forms of proper names alternate. (See note in text).

gehēdde 505. There is some doubt over what verb this is from, whether hydan, began, or hedan.

cunneðon 508. For second class weak verbs preterite plural is regularly 'odon', but in certain manuscripts 'edon' is sometimes found. (See Sievers sec. 413, notes 3 and 6)

geþungen 624. This is a sporadic form from þeon. Cf. þūgon. (Sievers sec. 386, n. 2)

beadwe 709. Retains unlauded form from beadu.

swaþule 782. There is some doubt as to what word this is derived from - sweolofe and swirolofe or swolof and swopel. (See note in text)

haefton 788. 'on' for 'an' is not uncommon in weak declension. Cf. haton 849. (See note in text)

hēanne 963. When the final 'h' of hēah is lost, there is frequent gemination of the following n, r. Cf. hēan 919. (Sievers, sec. 222, n. 2)

māgas 1015, māga 1853- $\bar{a}$ becomes $\bar{a}$ when followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable. (Sievers, 57, n. 3)

wāran 1015. Doubtful M. S. reading. (See note in text).

sceotenium 1026. Doubtful W. S. reading, M. S. has sectenum (See note in text).

^hlīeo 1035. 'w' is lost. Otherwise 'w' is usually kept in W. S. (Sievers 250, n. 3)

efnan 1041. sefnan is another spelling.

fēaum 1081. fēawe usually contracts in the poetry to fēa, dative fēam (fēaum). Original form must have been feam; the 'u' has been inserted on analogy of other datives. (Sievers 301, n. 1. Also see note in text).

wēa 1084. Certain scholars assume a change from $\bar{a}$ plus 'u' to $\bar{e}a$ in the etymologically very obscure wēa. woe, obl. wēan, which is referred to wā(w)un(cf. O. H. G. O. S. wēno) (Sievers, sec. 118, n. 1)

hig 1085. For final long 'i' M. S. often have 'ig' (Sievers, sec. 24, note and note in text)

dogra 1090 (day). Mainly poetical form but may occur in prose. (Sweet - Anglo-Saxon Dictionary)

benende 1097. Sievers says "neuman 'name' has nende with the loss of 'n' beside E. W. S. nemnode. (Sievers, sec. 404, note 1(a))

worcum 1100. Occurs rarely in L. S. W. instead of the more usual weore. (Sievers sec. 72)

āhafen 128, cf. āhaefen 1108. Before original 'e', that

is one not shortened from a, o, u, there seems to be a rule requiring ae. Yet there exists much discrepancy in certain adjectives, feminines and past participles of strong verbs. (Sievers 50, n. 2)

baernan 1116. No breaking as the consonant combination is due to metathesis of 'r'. (Sievers 79, n. 2)

aetspranc 1121. 'ng' is sometimes replaced by 'nc'. (Sievers, sec 215).

trēowde 1166. In E. W. S. there occurs an unmut of $\bar{e}o$ an $\bar{i}o$ which eventually, like all $\bar{i}o$'s, becomes $\bar{e}o$ and thus comes to coincide in form with the non-unmutated form $\bar{e}o$. (Sievers, sec. 100, 2)

hē 1188. cf. note to hig.

giogod 1190. Alternative spelling with eo.

gefraegen 1196. An optional form for frⁱgen. (Sievers 389, n. 3)

gecran 1209. Cf. aetspranc 1121 (above)

rēafedon 1212. "M. S. has reafeden; the plural indicative in 'en' does occur in O. E. dialects but so rarely as to make it probable that here it is only the late scribe's error. (See note in text).

gea-sceaft 1234. See note in text to this line.

seypon 1154, heafdon 1242. The dative plural frequently substitutes un, on, an, for um in L. W. S.; this holds in all declensions. (Sievers, 237, n. 6)

swaefun 1280. un, an, or on, may form preterite plural (Sievers 352). Wyatt says "The past indicative plural origin-

ally ended in 'uh'. E. W. S. texts often have 'an'. (Wyatt: Old English Grammar, sec. 66 (e))

wulf 1358. West Germanic 'o' becomes 'u' before ^anasal.
(Lindelöf and Garrett: Elements of the History of the English Language, sec. 24)

dyrre 1379. E. W. S. usually durre.

uton 1390. 'w' is dropped only occasionally before 'u'
(Sievers 172, note)

māgan 1391. ā occurs in an open syllable followed by
a guttural vowel. (Sievers 57, n. 3)

hors 1399. Metathesis of 'r'

sāgon 1422. In texts which are not pure W. S. especially
in the poetry sāgon occurs instead of sǣwone. (Sievers
391, n. 7 and 9)

ael-wihia 1500. Beside 'e' occurs a sporadic 'ae' -
ael beside el (G. aljis) is an example. (Sievers, sec. 89, n.1)

forma 1527. Metathesis of 'r'.

hrape 1541, hraepe 1437. Adverbs of the short stemmed
adjectives with 'ae' fluctuate between 'a' and 'ae'. (Sievers,
sec. 315, n. 2)

scēd 1555. The W. S. preterite of scadan, sceadan is
sceād, beside scēd. (Sievers 395, n. 4)

fræt 1581. The fifth class strong verbs usually have
short 'ae' in preterite singular, but etan and fretan had 'ae'
in the preterite singular already in Primitive Germanic.

(Wright: Old English Grammar, sec. 505. See also Sievers 391, n.3)

^hbrā 1588. More generally ^hbrāw.

hwate 1601. Before original 'e' that is one not weakened from a, o, u, there seems to be a rule requiring ae. Yet there exists much discrepancy; adjectives like *hwæt* have genitive *hwates*, ^{instr.} *hwate* etc. (Sievers, sec. 50. 2)

setan 1602. un. on, an, can form preterite plural (Sievers, sec. 352) This is a corrected form. (See note in text).

forbarn 1616. The change of 'a' to 'o' is older than the metathesis of 'r', hence preterites like *born* (barn). (Sievers, sec. 65 Note)

hēr 1654. Long ē corresponds but seldom to Germ. (Goth) ē, O. H. G. ea, ia as in hēr. (Sievers, sec. 21.1 and 58)

gewearx 1711. has commonly adopted the preterite of a reduplicating verb. (Sievers 352, n. 5)

seoppan 1775. cf. note on sybpan above.

heht 1786. (See Sievers 394, n. 1)

hlifade 1799, cf. 1898. 'u' denotes Latin 'v'. Earlier loan words replace Latin 'v'(u) by (f). (Sievers 194)

log 1811. 'g' due to grammatical change through influence of preterite plural.

wordum ond weorcum 1833. "M. S. weordum becomes worcum. Such interchange of eo and 'o' was encouraged by the fact that L. R. S. weore often became worc. (See note in text, also Sievers 72)

wigtig 1841. 'ig' equals 'ī', cf. wītig. (See note in text to this line and to line 1085).

freofor 698, firen 1932. These are feminines of the a-Declension and in the accusative should end in 'e'. But Sievers says "In North. many of these feminines are also employed as neuters and masculines, and then conform to the inflections of these genders". (Sievers 251 and note)

sædan 1945. uh, on, an, optional forms in preterite plural. (Sievers sec. 352)

wordig 1972. There is a variation of wordig and weordig in W. S. (Sievers, sec. 72)

gehogodest 1988, from hyegan. In L. W. S. even the infinitive has gone over to the second class. (Sievers 416, n.4)

gemeting 2001. In Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary this word is listed with the note that it is Slavish imitation of the Latin.

forlæddan 2039. cf. sædan above.

gaest 102, gaest 2073. See note in text to line 102.

dēofles - dēofol 2088, 'i' or 'y' by contraction with a following guttural vowel becomes ēo, īo. (Wright, sec. 104) (Sievers, sec. 114.2) Original 'ċ' plus original a, ǣ blends into a diphthong which fluctuates greatly in E. W. S. between ēo and īo but appears in W. S. as eo.

nāman 2116. cf. noman. (Sievers, sec. 390, n. 2)

For 'an' in preterite plural cf. sædan above.

hoder 2124 from ne ē hwæder.

kyning 2144. 'k' occasionally found for 'c' in E.S.S

prio 2174. 'i' plus 'u' becomes E. W. S. īo later W. S. eo. cf. pree 2278. (Sievers 114)

nāh 2252, from ne āh (āgan)

genæs 2426. The i-umlaut of the short 'æ' before an originally single consonant is normally 'e'. Beside 'e' occurs a sporadic æ. This æ is constant in certain words which are assumed, notwithstanding the O. E. geminates to have originally had but a single consonant after the vowel. (Sievers 89.1 and Note 1)

rēote 2457. Rarely is eo written for oe equals œ. (See note in text on this word)

gæled 2460, from galan. Before original 'e' that is, one not weakened from a, o, u, there seems to be a rule requiring æ. (Sievers, 50.2)

serhge 2468, cf. sorg. As an intermediate spelling (gh' is also occasionally found. (Sievers 214, n. 5)

wæran 2475. Cf. sædan (above).

gewræcan 2479. Cf. sædan above.

winia 2567. The ending Ig(e)a, ia is only found in Denig(e)a and winig(e)a. (Sievers 263, n.2)

hrēom 2581, feaum 1081. Original form must have been hrēom; the 'u' has been inserted on the analogy of other datives. (See note to line 1081. Sievers 73, 1.2)

hrēon 1307. Sievers says "In a few words contraction takes place; dative singular hrēon from hrēoh. (Sec. 304, n.4)

togaedre 2630, cf. note on aetgsedere above.

pegun 2633, cf. pegon 563. un, en, on, may be used as ending in preterite plural.

ūssum 2634. Foreure the typical W. S. form, the less

pure W. S. texts together with the poetry, have also $\bar{u}sser$.
 $\bar{u}sser$, once dative $\bar{u}ssum$ in *Cura Pastoralis*. (See Sievers 335,
note 1) $\bar{u}sser$ generally assimilates 'sr' to 'ss' in the cases
which have syncope of the middle vowel, e.g. $ussas$, $ussum$.
(Sievers, sec. 335, note)

$wutun$ 2648. Cf. $\bar{p}egun$ above.

$faedmic$ 2652. Note in text says "I take 'e' here to
signify 'ae' which is the oldest form of the optative ending." (1)

$scyle$ 2657. E. W. S. form for optative. (Sievers 423)

$onsp\bar{e}an$ 2723. Preterite $sp\bar{o}n$ E. W. S. Later form,
the preterite $sp\bar{e}on$ after the manner of the reduplicating verbs,
and in more recent texts a corresponding present $spennan$,
where diphthong $\bar{e}o$ is retained in the preterite by such as have
original 'a' before 'l' plus consonant, as well as a few in 'n'
plus consonant. (Sievers 392, n. 4 and 396)

$hladon$ 2775. The normal ending of the uninflected
infinitive is 'an'. The E. W. S. documents have a few sporadic
instances of -on for -an. For further note see Sievers, sec.
363, n. 1

$disas$ 2775. From Greek through Latin 'discus'.

$\bar{u}sses$ 2813. Cf. $\bar{u}ssum$ above.

$\bar{p}ah$ 2836 - $\bar{d}igean$ forms preterite especially in poetry
as $\bar{d}eah$, $\bar{d}ah$ (there also occurs the weak preterite $\bar{d}igde$,
 $\bar{d}igde$ especially in pure W. S. and there apparently always)
(Sievers 391, n. 8)

$\bar{b}uon$ 2842. Cf. $hladon$ above.

$\bar{b}aeran$ 2850. Cf. $\bar{c}aeden$.

(1) See note in text to line 1981.

specan 2864, cf. sprecau (Kent and L. W. S. also specan).

'r' is generally stable, whatever its position in the word.

Isolated examples of ecsthlipsis are specan, spae (at first probably Kentish). (Sievers, sec. 391, n. 1 and sec. 180)

abreot 2930. Text note "Confusion of $\overline{eo}$ and $\overline{ea}$ is common in the non W. S. dialects and traces of it are abundant in Beowulf. Further in this type of strong verb $\overline{eo}$ is found in place of $\overline{ea}$ even in W. S."

dropen 2981. This seems to be the only place this form is found. (Sievers 391. note 1)

strude 3073 E. S. strade 'a' and 'u' are in many scripts hardly distinguishable. (Note in text)

mæowle3150. a becomes e by i-umlaut. Then 'e' becomes eo before 'w' plus a following vowel. (Wright, Old English Grammar, sec. 52 and 77)

userne 3002. "The Anglian forms are: Ps. ur, E¹ ure (beside accusative singular masculine $\overline{userne}$)". $\overline{U}$ ser generally assimilates 'ar' to 'as' in the cases which have syncope of the middle vowel; $\overline{usses}$, $\overline{ussun}$ for $\overline{usres}$, $\overline{usram}$, etc; but $\overline{userne}$ (Sievers 335 and 336)

el-land 3019, cf. ael-fylcum 2371. The i-umlaut of the short 'ae' before an originally single consonant is normally 'e', but beside 'e' occurs a sporadic ae. (Sievers 89.1 and n.1)

gessegan 3138, cf. gesegen 3126. In Anglian the preterite of seon is saeh, plural sēgun, on. (Sievers 391, note 7) an, on, un, are optional in preterite plural. (Sievers 352)

lāgon 3048. The verbs in 'g' have in the indicative preterite plural W. S. $\bar{a}$ beside more frequent $\bar{ae}$ by analogy with other verbs (Sievers 391, note 9)

syfone 3122. L. W. S. writes 'y' for 'eo' in certain words. (Sievers 105, n. 4)

senfun 3131. an, on, un, optional for preterite.

riedan 3169. an, on, un, optional for preterite.
(Sievers 352)

riedan from ridan (first). In first preterite there may be 'i' (io, eo). (Sievers 382)

scile 3176. E. W. S. scyle, sciele, scille. L. W. S. seule, seeole.

mildust 3181. 'ust' is optional for 'oet'.

mon-($\dot{a}$ w)serust - 'ust' is optional for 'oet'. (Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader, sec. 63, note 2)

seece 600, cf. saecce 953. Besides 'e' occurs a sporadic 'ae' but in certain words which are assumed notwithstanding the O. E. geminates, to have had originally but a single consonant after the vowel. Seece apparently violates this rule. (Sievers 89, n. 1)

saelli 105. Cf. saelig. 'g' is dropped.

bel 2126. Here the mark under the 'e' used to convert 'ae' into 'e'. (See note in Sedgfield to line 1981 of poem)

(Sievers, 334) "Rarer and partially dialectic by-forms are nominative singular feminine hie, hi, hig and conversely accusative feminine singular heo; plural nominative accusative

heo, dative heom. The i-forms often occur in L. W. S. with y, e.g. hys, hym, hyne, hyt.

hlaemum 2201. Cf. hlema. Sporadic 'ae' occasionally occurs for 'e'. (Sievers 89, n. 1)

þryðlicost 2869. See note in text.

ower 2870 for ohwær. Some scholars think West. Germ. 'ae' is slurred or in unstressed syllables becomes ē. Sometimes the vowel in final syllable is short ōwar. (Sievers, 57 n. 2)

gimfaeste 1271, blim-bed 3034 - At the close of a syllable 'mn' often places later into 'nn', 'n' (Sievers, 188)

wyrāte (worth) 368, 2185, wyrea (worse) 1212, wyrren 525, wyree 1739. In North. and Ps. wio after becoming 'wu' becomes when it experiences i-umlaut in contrast with W. S. 'wy' in these words. (Sievers, sec. 156, -4)

mece 565, etc. i-umlaut of ae (Goth. ē) is usually æ but in mēce from (Goth. mēkais) the ē remains. (See Sievers 91. note) Wright regards this as Anglian (Sec. 119).

weg, 264, etc. aprecan 341, etc., breccan 1100, etc. (Sievers 164, n.2)

wiht (wuht) 120, etc, cīwio 98 etc. The combination 'wio' 'wio' arising from Germanic 'wi' by breaking, or through agency of 'u' and o/a umlaut usually becomes 'wu'; yet older forms with the diphthong io(eo) and even such as have simple 'i' now and then occur. (Sievers, sec. 71). In Anglian the simplification of io to 'i' is older than the passage of 'wio' to 'w\i', hence simple 'wi' in Anglian corresponds to this W. S. 'wu'. (Sievers, sec. 164, 2)

geŷwan 2149. cf. lewan and eawan, ywde 2834. Beside lewan, ŷwan there occurs, as early as E. W. S. ēowan preterite ēowde; beside present ēowian, according to conjugation II, to which is subsequently added a preterite ēowode. More rare (and probably never in pure W. S. is ēawan, especially in the preterite ēawde. (Sievers, sec. 408, n. 10). Cf. also bywan 2257. (Other forms of this word are biewan or beowan).

gēn 83, etc. from gīen. Source of this īe is not yet determined. (Sievers, sec. 74. n.1)

hyrde 610, 931 (G. hairdeis) (Sievers, sec. 79.2)

weora 2947. The neuters with 'i', 'a' before a single consonant originally have eo, io in the plural by 'u' or o/a uniaut instead of 'e', 'i' so far as the phonetic laws of the various dialects permit. The genitive plural is the first to lose the eo, io. In the P. S. and to some extent in Northumbrian its occurrence is extended to the masculine. (Sievers 241, and note)

maenige 41, cf. menigec. See Sievers 89, note 1.

This may possibly account for this 'ae'.

gestreonum 44. Listed in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary as Late Northumbrian.

wyrce 1387, gewyrht 2657. Two developments are given to this word. Wright (sec. 112) gives it as the i-uniaut of 'n' to 'y'. The text gives it from waurjan. Hence development would be an becomes ea becomes ie becomes i becomes y.

inige 2577. Except for this line it is otherwise unrecorded. The meaning is uncertain.

Wipergylð 2051. See note in text. Gylð from root gylðan if a common noun.

purhtene 3049. cf. purhtene. See note in text.

neon 3104. See note in text to this line.

gesegen 3128, gesegan 3038. In texts which are not pure W. S. especially in the poetry sægon occurs instead of sawon. In Anglian the preterite of seon is sæh (Sievers 162.1) plural sǣgun-on optative sǣge - participle gesegen, also gesēen. For 'on' or 'an' in preterite plural cf. forms listed above.

For the following forms no satisfactory explanation was found.

e.g. symbol 119, cf. symle. The meaning of feast, that in which it is used in the text, is not given in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

Isern 671, cf. O. E. Iren

omhiht 673, omheht 287. Gothic form is andhahte - what is the development?

swalces 680, cf. swyle, swile.

gehlēod 895. Preterite of hladan 6th class strong verb.

eotenas 112. Account for 'eo'.

buēnd 254. Why not buende?

aepell 392, peiln 486, 1239. What no operation of the u-umlaut?

scerwan 769. Is this Anglian i-umlaut of 'ee' before 'r' or absence of palatalization or of breaking?

fara 578, from fah, fag.

fyrwit, firwit, fyrwet, 1985, 2784. Is the interchange of 'i' and 'e' poor spelling or is some inherent vowel change?

gyrgen 1359, 1414, firgan 2128 (from fairgun -ai becomes $\bar{a}$). $\bar{a}$ must break here to give above forms? Breaking of $\bar{a}$ not usual.

yrre 769, 1532. yrringa 1569, 2964 (from airzais)
Here again does $\bar{a}$ become $\bar{e}\bar{a}$.

byrhten from beorht (G. bairht). Here ai must become $\bar{a}$ which becomes eo. This is unusual.

Swertinges 1203. Is this Anglian i-umlaut of 'ea' before 'r' becomes 'e'?

$\bar{a}$ hsode 1206. Would not $\bar{a}$ before consonant become $\bar{e}\bar{a}$ as in $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{a}\bar{h}$?

genipu 1360. Why does not the 'u' umlaut operate?

hefene 1571. cf. heofone.

snytttrum 1706. cf. snotor.

gemænra 1784 (G. gaimans) What is development?

geþingest 1837. Is this 'i' developed from the stable 'y'?

fealone 1950. Is this transferred breaking or u-umlaut?

fricgean 1985. Account for extra 'e'.

bifongen 2009. Why not be?

Scyldungas 2052. Why not the usual spelling 'Scyldingas'?

mergen 2103. What is its development? (G. maurgin)

merna 2450. Cf. morgen

weallinde 2464. Why not weallende?

beran 2653, cf. boren fourth conjugation, strong verb
orcas 2760 (from aurkeis) Account for 'o'
earfōþlice 86 etc. How did this develop from arbaips?
gētan 2940, cf. gietan. The form getan is unpala-

talized but why does the vowel become long?

scild 3118. Is this an 'i' spelling for 'y'?

hlytne 3126. Listed in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary
as 'hlist'.

wyruld 3180. Account for 'y'.

strēd 2436 from stregan (C. straujan) preterite strewede
The W. S. form is strewian, later streowian (strewian)
preterite streawede, strewede. (Sievers 408, notes 14 and 15)
For further note see Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. strēgan
is a non W. S. poetical form. The preterite strēde is very
early form.

Lines 3150 to 3158. See note in text. These lines
very corrupt in text.

Concluding Note.

There is no information or history of the manuscript of Beowulf. Even in what dialect it was originally written is not definitely known. It comes down to us in the West Saxon dialect as does most of the Old English which is still extant. The poem is, of course, colored with dialectal forms and the general opinion seems to be that it was originally written in Northumbrian or Mercian of the seventh century. Gummere in the Notes to the text on "Oldest English Epic" says "The manuscript is written in West Saxon of the tenth century, with some Kentish peculiarities; it is evidently based on successive copies of an original in either Northumbrian or Mercian which probably belonged to the seventh century. Two scribes made this copy. One wrote verse to 1939; the other who seems to have contributed the Kentish forms, finished the poem." In the analysis of the forms in the poem in Chapter III, the words which have a Kentish form seem to occur most often in the latter half of the poem which bears out Gummere's statement. But it is not possible in many cases to know whether a form is really Kentish, West Saxon, or Anglian, as often the same characteristics are found in all dialects. Further, critics disagree as to classification of these dialectal forms. For instance, Sedgefield says in the introduction to his text "Beowulf", "Of many of these forms we can only say that they are not West Saxon; some are clearly Anglian; there are no characteristic Northumbrian forms; a

few are either Mercian or Kentish, while characteristics of Mercian or Kentish forms may be numbered on the fingers of one hand." Whereas P. G. Thomas in his "Notes on the Language of Beowulf" in the Modern Language Review, Volume I, says in conclusion: "Of these 269 forms, classified as non West Saxon, 92 belong to the Anglian, 73 to the Mercian dialect; the Kentish forms are all doubtful." So that it is impossible to classify these non West Saxon forms with any degree of certainty.

As to the date of the poem, the seventh century seems to be fairly accurate judging by internal evidence. Garnett in his "Beowulf" gives the Death of Hygelac, who was killed about 511-12 in a battle with the Franks and the mention of the Merovingians not later than 752, as the two bits of internal evidence for the date of the poem.

If, then, we accept the view that the manuscript was written in Northumbrian or Mercian about the seventh century, we are likely to be as near the truth as possible. As for the many dialectal forms, a close and careful study will reveal and make clear many peculiarities, but the nature of many, also, will perhaps always remain a secret.

Abbreviations.

O. E.	Old English
Pr.	Primitive
W. S.	West Saxon
E. W. S.	Early West Saxon
L. W. S.	Late West Saxon
G. or Goth.	Gothic
Gmc.	Germanic
Kent.	Kentish
Merc.	Mercian
Angl.	Anglian
Ethn ^y or North.	Northumbrian
Ethn	Northern
Ethn	Southern
M. E.	Middle English
O. H. G.	Old High German
Wright	Wright's "Old English Grammar"
Wyl ^d	H. E. Wyl ^d "Short History of English".
Sievers	Sievers-Cook "Grammar of Old English."
Thomas	P. G. Thomas "Notes on Language of Beowulf"

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