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The Phonology of the London MS.
of the
Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter.

Inaugural-Dissertation
zur
Erlangung der Doktorwürde
genehmigt
von der hohen philosophischen Fakultät
der
Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität
zu Bonn.

Von
T. O. Hirst, M. A.,
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Promoviert am 4. Juli 1907.

Bonn,
Carl Georgi, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei und Verlag
1907.

Referent: Prof. Dr. Bülbring.

Introduction.

The text upon which the following phonological investigations are based, has been edited by Prof. Bülbring, for the Early English Text Society [part 97].

The MS. is preserved in the British Museum [Additional M.S. 17, 376].

The date of the MS. is discussed by Prof. Konrath in the introduction to his edition of William of Shoreham [EE. TS. ES. 86]¹⁾, where he makes the following remarks.

“The date of the MS., according to Sir Frederic Madden, is the earlier half of the 14th century. In a colophon at the end of the poem on the seven deadly sins [p. 114 of the present edition] the name of Archbishop Simon of Canterbury is mentioned. This is Simon Mepham, a Kentishman who held the see from 1327 to 1333. So the MS. cannot have been written before 1327. Mr. Wright attributes it to the beginning of the reign of Edward III. But is it really so early as that? Varnhagen [‘Englische Studien’ II, p. 86, footnote], speaking of the portion which contains the poems, thinks that it can scarcely be assigned to an earlier date than the last quarter of the 14th century, and if I were to judge only from internal evidence, especially that of the spelling, I should be strongly inclined to agree with him. Dr. Furnivall, however, assures me that in his opinion the MS. cannot be later than 1350.”

Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, p. 9, says that the oldest and best of the two MS. belongs to the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

1) See also *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* Nr. 40, p. 1456.

My original plan was to write a complete grammatical investigation of the text, and to determine its dialectical peculiarities with relation to other texts and the modern English dialects of the district to which presumably it belongs. For personal reasons, however, — especially on account of my failing health — I have found myself compelled to limit my present work to a merely statistical phonology on an etymological and historical basis.

I have used Prof. Bülbring's MS. glossary in the preparation of the work, and have checked all forms and references myself. Hence the whole responsibility lies with me.

Prof. Bülbring has moreover given me the following corrections to his edition: —

72, 12. Read: *Se! þes synzers and.*

10, 7. Instead of *partener* read *parcener.*

48, 18. For *iu* read *in.*

56, 13. Read *vn-to* instead of *vn to.*

61, 10. Read *zou, ze, zour*, instead of *you, ye, your.*

28, 7. Read *flaume* instead of *flamne.*

72, 12. Read *enflaumed* instead of *enflammed.*

I give a complete phonology: every form is included, and a sufficient number of passages given. All quotations of numbers after 150, refer to the pages in Prof. Bülbring's edition. In the arrangement of the material I have mainly followed H. Stodte, *Über die Sprache und Heimat der Katherine-Gruppe*, Göttingen 1896. In conclusion, I may here say that I feel it a great pleasure, to express my grateful thanks to Prof. Bülbring, not only for suggesting the theme of the dissertation, but also for giving me much valuable assistance in the arrangement of the material, and improving the whole work greatly.

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The stressed Vowels.

The Old English Element¹).

§ 1. O. E. *a* from W. G. *a*.

O. E. *a* is preserved, or in open syllables lengthened to *ā*, according to well-known rules. I have included here all forms in which possibly u/a-Umlaut had changed W. G. *a* into *ea* (as in Anglian *fearan*), because no distinction is made here between O. E. *a* and *ea*. Likewise also the possible effect of the smoothing of *ea* to *æ* (as in Anglian *mæcian*) does not appear.

1. *a* in closed syllables remains.

asses 103, 12; *sak* † 29, 14; *wasshen* 25, 6; *wasshe* 6, 8; *wasshen* p. p. 38, 18; *whasshe* imp. sing. 50, 3.

2. *a* in open syllables.

bape inf. 189, 63; *gaderen* inf. 38, 10; *gader* inf. 15, 4; 128, 6; *gadored* pret. sg. 38, 10; *gaderyng* 31, 8; *gladen* inf. 5, 14; 9, 15; 13, 11; 15, 9; 20, 1; 30, 8 etc.; *glade* 32, 21; *gladand* 67, 18; *gladyng* † sb. 88, 15; *gnare* (of uncertain origin) 'snare' 30, 5; 34, 9; 118, 110; 123, 6; 139, 6; *grauē* 'sepulcrum' 5, 11; *hate* sb. 108, 4; 138, 21; *hateþ* ind. sg. 10, 6; *haten* pl. 85, 16; *hateden* 128, 4; *hated* 24, 20; *hatyng* † 24, 20; 35, 2; *hating* 108, 2; *hateing* 118, 113; *hatyngē* 118, 128; *haue* imp. sg. 40, 4; *han* inf. 36, 9; *han* ind. pres. 94, 8; *hauen* 106, 29; *ladand* 134, 7; *make* 11, 6; 20, 12; 40, 12;

1) Here I have included also those few words which are of Celtic origin, f. i., *acurseden*; and also a few words of quite uncertain origin, f. i., *gnare*.

maky 67, 21; *mak* † 7, 2; 17, 30; *makeþ* 3. sg. pres. 71, 11; *make* imp. sg. 3, 6; 6, 4; 7, 1 etc.; *made* pret. sg. 9, 8; *ma-dest* pret. 2. sg. 8, 3; 8, 8; *maden* pret. pl. 63, 3; *made* 10, 2; *made* p. p. 9, 10; 33, 9; *makyng* † sb. 64, 10; *makeyng* † 16, 14; *naked* 184, 20; *quaken* 118, 39; *quaked* pret. sg. 118, 159; *quakeyng* 54, 5; *quakeing* 2, 11; *quakyng* 183, 17; *shaken out* p. p. 108, 22; *smale* 190, 10; *spare* inf. 71, 13; *spared* pret. 77, 55; *tales* 118, 85; *wake* ind. pres. 62, 1; *wakeþ* 3. sg. pres. 126, 2; *wakeinges* 76, 4; *wlated* pret. sg. 106, 18; *wla-teinge* 87, 8.

§ 2. O. E. *a, o*, before nasals.

1. Not lengthened in O. E.

a) In closed syllables.

man sb. 1, 1; 5, 7; 8, 5; 9, 20; *mannes* g. sg. 8, 5; 28, 2; *manhede* sb. 195, 31; *manhode* 195, 33; *mankynde* 75, 9; 76, 18; *manneliche* adv. 30, 31; *manneleche* 26, 20; *rammes* [MS. *raynes*] 'arietes' 64, 14; *ran* pret. 2. sg. 49, 19; *ran* pret. pl. 77, 23; 104, 39; *þanne* adv. 113 (115), 19; 118, 6; *þan* 2, 5; 18, 14; 39, 10; 68, 6; *þan* conj. 8, 6; 18, 11; 36, 17.

b) In open syllables.

mani adj. 3, 1; 4, 6; 34, 19; *many* 3, 2; *manifold* 62, 2; *name* 4, 4; 5, 14; 17, 53; *names* pl. 15, 4; *shame* sb. 43, 17; 68, 23 [MS. *shante*]; *shame* inf. 24, 1; *shame* opt. pl. 6, 10; *shamel* sb. 98, 5; 109, 2.

Note: The wrong forms *raynes*, for *rammes*, 64, 14, and *shante*, for *shame*, 68, 23, prove that also in the source from which the London MS. was copied, these words had *a*.

2. With early O. E. lengthening, and ME. rounding of *á* to *ó*.

amonge 6, 7; 9, 11; 71, 16; *a-monges* 54, 20; 98, 6; *bonde* sb. 80, 9; *fond* pret. sg. 68, 25; *fonde* 83, 3; 88, 20; 186, 13; *fonde* pret. pl. 106, 4; 114, 3, is probably by analogy with the sg. *fond*, instead of the usual pl. *founden* 118, 143; & *founde* 75, 5; *honde* 9, 35; 16, 14; 128, 6; 186, 10; *honde-fouls* sb. 128, 6; *honde-maiden* 85, 15; 115, 6; *honykombes*

18, 11; *lombes* 186, 20; *lond* 62, 3; *londe* 15, 2; 47, 9; 77, 60; *long*— 12, 3; *longe* adv. 12, 1; 12, 2; *song* 80, 2; *songe* 46, 5; 80, 3; 95, 1; *songelich* 118, 54; *stonden* inf. 35, 13; *stonde* 5, 4; 17, 42; 23, 3 etc.; *stonden* p. p. 103, 22; *stondynge* sb. 137, 12; *stronge* 23, 8; 46, 9; 53, 3; *vnderstonde* inf. 35, 3; *vnderstonde* 2. sg. pret. 39, 1; *vnderstonden* pret. pl. 63, 10; *understounde*¹⁾ imp. sg. 60, 1; *vnderstonden* p. p. 87, 4; 118, 95; *vnderstondynge* sb. 15, 7; 31, 10; 31, 11; *vnderstondynge*— 39, 9; *vnderstondynge* 11, 8; *understondynge*s sb. pl. 77, 78; *wombe* 16, 15; 21, 8; 43, 27.

§ 3. O. E. *æ* narrowed from *a*.

1. In closed syllables.

after 7, 9; 7, 18; *appel* 16, 9; 186, 14; *baches* 'lumbi' (MS. *uaches*) 37, 7; *brasse* 17, 37; *had* 93, 17; *faste* adj. 183, 9; *fasten* inf. 31, 10; *fastened* p. p. 32, 6; 68, 18; 88, 14; *fastenyng* sb. 24, 15; 70, 24; *fastening* 17, 1; *fastelich* adv. 196, 40; *fastnes* sb. 104, 15; *fasted* pret. sg. 'feci jejunium' 68, 13; *fastyng* sb. 'jejunium' 34, 16; 108, 23; *glad* 80, 2; *gladnes* 29, 14; 44, 17; 50, 9; 58, 13; *gladnisse* 105, 5; *gladnesse* 31, 9; *gras* 185, 3; *grasse* 103, 15; 146, 9; *grashope* sb. 'locusta' 77, 51; *nas* pret. sg. 13, 9; 17, 45; 36, 38; 43, 14; *pat* rel. pron. 1, 1; 1, 4; 1, 5; 2, 4 etc.; *pa[t]* dem. pron. 102, 17; *pat* dem. pron. 23, 8; 23, 10; *pat* conj. 2, 12; 4, 4; 7, 2; 22, 9; *to pat* conj. 71, 7; 111, 7; *pat whiles* adv. 93, 15; *for pat* 58, 19; *patou* 30, 23; 31, 10; 93, 13; *pa-tou* 36, 8; 50, 5; *pat-ou* 8, 5; *was* 1. and 3. pret. 1, 2; 12, 4; 34, 15 etc.; *whas* 48, 21; 119, 6; *was* 2. sg. pret. 62, 7; 98, 9; *what* pron. rel. and int. 9, 36; 26, 2; 29, 11; 55, 11.

2. In open syllables, with possible lengthening.

*bare*²⁾ pret. 1. & 3. sg. 17, 24; 77, 30; 186, 16; *brake* pret. 3. sg. 75, 3; *brake* 2. sg. 73, 16; 106, 14; 106, 16; *fader*

1) Evidently a blunder for *understonde*; cf. Konrath, Deutsche Literaturzeitung No. 40, 1456.

2) Formed from the ME. pl. *baren*.

2, 3; 2, 6; 67, 5; *faderles* 9, 38; 67, 5; *spake* pret. 2. sg. 88, 19; *spake* 1. & 3. sg. 76, 4; 115, 1; 143, 9; 191, 3 Za; *spaken* pl. 11, 2; 21, 6; 68, 15; *spake* 72, 8; *water* 17, 13; 22, 2; 123, 3; *waters* pl. 17, 17.

§ 4. O. E. *e* (W. G. *ë* and primitive English *æ—i*).

1. W. G. *ë*.

a) Not lengthened in O. E.

a) In O. E. closed syllables.

help 83, 6; *helpe* 7, 11; 20, 8; *helpes* pl. 184, 6; *help* sb. 'adjutor' 69, 7; 77, 39; *helpen* inf. 36, 42; *helpe* 39, 18; *helper* 9, 9; 17, 2; 18, 6; *helpere* 9, 38; *melteþ* 3. sg. 57, 8; *melted* pret. sg. 96, 5; *meltand* 21, 14; *melting* pres. part. 74, 3; *meltyng* sb. 54, 28; *nek*—| 184, 20; *nest* 83, 3; *rekening* 196, 38; *self* 43, 16; 104, 20; 186, 8; *seluen* 35, 1; 41, 8; 79, 3; *selcouþnesse* 41, 11; *swelweþ* imp. pl. 33, 8; *welpe* 16, 13; *whelpes* pl. 103, 21; *west* 102, 12.

b) In O. E. open syllables, including *eo* from *u/a*-umlaut, because the MS. makes no distinction.

berer 9, 21; *berar* 83, 7; *fetteres* 104, 17; *fetteris* 149, 8; *fetered* p. p. 78, 11; *feþers* 90, 4; *feþered* p. p. 77, 31; 148, 10; *rekening* 196, 38; *spekyng* sb. 118, 50; *spekyng* 118, 41; *spekynges* pl. 118, 11; *spele* imp. sg. 18, 13; *sweuen* 72, 20; *wepers* pl. 'arietes' 28, 1; 186, 20; *wuand* pres. part. 180, 5 [MS. *woniand*]; *wreke* inf. 98, 9; *wrekand* pres. part. 88, 41. Also *leuinges* 'fulgura' 17, 16 — a word of uncertain origin — may, perhaps, be mentioned here.

c) With O. E. lengthening.

sheldes 4, 5; *zelden* inf. 36, 22; *zelde* 21, 26; *zeldeþ* pres. 3. sg. 137, 11; *zelde* pret. 2. sg. 137, 11; *zelde* pret. sg. 68, 6; *zelden* pl. 7, 4; *zelde* subj. 7, 4; *zeldyng*—| 18, 12; 54, 22; 90, 8; 93, 2; *zeldeinge* 93, 2; *zelde-inges* pl. 102, 2.

2. Primitive English *æ*—*i*.

a) Not lengthened in O. E.

α) In closed syllables, except before nasals.

bed 6, 6; *bedde* 62, 7; *better* 62, 4; *denne* 9, 31; *dwellen* 5, 5; 24, 14; 29, 16; *dwelling* 126, 3; *dwellyng*— 17, 13; *eft* adv. 11, 7; *efter* prep. 5, 12; 7, 9; 9, 25; 17, 23; 43, 12; adv. 48, 13; *efterwardes* 15, 3; *feche* imp. sg. 118, 120; *helle* 6, 5; 7, 16; 35, 6; *melshede*¹⁾ 118, 147; *rest* sb. 131, 5; 131, 8; 131, 15; *reste* 126, 4; *resten* inf. 4, 9; 14, 1; 15, 9; 54, 6; *shelle* 'testa' 21, 15; *setten* 50, 20; 88, 29; *sett* 11, 6; 12, 2; 17, 47; 20, 5; 20, 9; 20, 12; *settynges* 143, 10; *whetted* pret. pl. 63, 3.

β) From *a*, *o*, before nasals.

bi-pe[n]chen inf. 21, 28; *by-pencheþ* imp. pl. 104, 4; 104, 5.

γ) O. E. *e*, from *a*, *o*+*i*, before palatal *-n-*, appears as *ei*.

meined p. p. 'commixtus' 105, 33; *streinþed* pret. sg. 102, 11.

b) In open syllables.

herien inf. 9, 42; 19, 5; 19, 8; 21, 22; 34, 21; *heryen* 68, 35; *hery* 55, 4; 68, 35; *heried* p. p. 9, 24; 33, 2; 43, 10; *heriinge* 47, 9; *herieing*— 77, 5; *hereing* 110, 3; 110, 10; 117, 13; *hereinge* 101, 22; *heryng* 67, 37; *heryng*— 28, 4; *heryyng* 21, 3; 34, 32; *heryyng*— 25, 7; 33, 1; 49, 24; 50, 16; 54, 19; 64, 1; *heryynge* 8, 3; *32, 1; 49, 15; *heryynges* 9, 14; *mere* 77, 22; *meres* pl. 48, 12; 48, 21; 49, 11; 77, 53; 106, 37; *mete* 13, 8; 45, 28; *stedfaste* adj. 34, 21; *stedfastnes* 39, 3; 88, 39; 150, 1; *swereþ* 3. sg. pres. 14, 6; *sweringes* pl. 184, 14.

3. O. E. *e* raised to *i*.

togider 13, 4; 48, 2; *to-gidres* 27, 3; 28, 7; 30, 17; 32, 7; *to-gideres* 15, 4; 43, 27; *ozainsiggeinge* sb. 80, 7; *ozainsiggeing*

1) Seems to represent O. E. **melisc* > W. G. **malisk*; cf. Dutch *malsch* 'soft, fully ripe'.

30, 26; *ozainsigging* 54, 9; *ozainsyggeynge* pl. [MS. reads -ng- for -gg-]; *siggen* pres. ind. pl. 4, 6 [MS. *singgen*]; *siggen* opt. pl. pres. 106, 2 [MS. *singgen*].

Note: The wrong forms quoted last prove that also the MS. from which the London MS. was copied had *i* here.

§ 5. O. E. *i* (W. G. *i*).

1. Not lengthened in O. E.

a) In O. E. closed syllables (spelt *i*, *y*).

*ablynt*¹⁾ p. p. blinded 82, 12; *amidde*s 39, 11; 47, 8; *amidde*s of 21, 14; 21, 22; 22, 4; 54, 10; *amidward* adv. 81, 1; *bidlich* adj. 80, 15; *by-gynne* inf. 49, 4; 101, 27; *bi-gynnyng* sb. 76, 11; *byggymyng* † 77, 2; *biginyng* 109, 4; *bischopriche* 108, 7 [MS. *bischof bride!*]; *bytter* 63, 3; *bitterest* 180, 11; *bitternesse* 92, 9; *bitternes* 180, 10; 180, 11; *bitternysse* 13, 6; *briddes* 8, 8; *drynk* † 22, 7; 35, 9; *drynke* 77, 29; *drynken* inf. 103, 12; *drynke* 49, 14; *drynk* † 77, 49; *fisshe*s 88, 8; 104, 27; *gynnyng* 101, 26; *libbynges* 16, 15; *lybbeinges* 62, 4; *lippe*s 11, 2; 11, 4; 20, 2; *likken* inf. 71, 9; *liggeþ* 83, 3; *liggand*²⁾ 61, 3; *middel* 103, 13; *midel* 179, 1 Ez; *mydday* 54, 19; *middai* 36, 6; *midnizt* 118, 62; *mys-bileue* sb. 73, 7; *mys-bileue* 2, 3; *missaid* p. p. 54, 12; *shippes* 103, 26; 106, 22; *shrift* 41, 5; 95, 6; *shrifte* 146, 7; *shryzt* 94, 2 (Mistake); *sitten* 46, 8; *siten* 28, 9; 131, 13; *sitte* 25, 5; *sitteþ* pres. 2. sg. 143, 3; *sittyng* † sb. 138, 1; *stille* adj. 49, 21; *style* 38, 3; 49, 3; *style* imp. sg. 27, 1; *stilled* p. p. 108, 1; *swift* 13, 6; *swyftlich* adv. 6, 10; *swiflich* 44, 2; *swiftnes* 103, 4; *pikkenesses* 117, 25; *bridde* 196, 36; *twynquelin* pres. ind. pl. 34, 22; *wicked* 5, 5; 17, 29; 17, 52; *wicked.* 1, 1; 1, 5; 1, 6; 9, 3; 9, 23; 17, 29; *wickedliche* adv. 37, 20; *wickednes* 5, 6; 9, 33; 17, 5; *wyckednes* 5, 4; *wickednes* 35, 2; *wickednesse* 6, 8; 7, 10; 7, 15 etc.; *wyckednesse* 10, 7; *wickenesse* 7, 17; *wickednesses* 16, 16; 31, 1; 38, 12; *wickednisses* 54, 3; 54, 17; 63, 6; *wickednesse* pl. 25, 10; *wickednes* pl. 3, 7; *wille* sb. 20, 2;

1) This is a new formation for **ablynded*.

2) With change of sense.

26, 8; *wylle* 1, 2; 5, 15; 27, 10; 29, 5; 29, 8; 36, 5; 39, 11 etc.; *wil* 144, 20; *wyl* 67, 14; *willes* pl. 15, 2; *wilful* 67, 10; 118, 108; *wylle* inf. 36, 24; *wil* 111, 1; *wyst* 2. sg. pret. 39, 12; *wyst* pret. sg. 34, 18; *wist* 40, 12; *wit* 81, 5 [Text reads *nowit.*]; *witt* 118, 104; *wittes* pl. 34, 11; *witnesses* 'testes' 26, 18; 34, 13; *witnisses* 'testimonia' 77, 62; *wittenes* 24, 11; *witnes* inf. 49, 8; *witnesyng* - 'testimonium' 18, 8; *zyftes* pl. 54, 6; 71, 10; *zyftes* 14, 6; 25, 10; *zyftos* 44, 14; 71, 10; cf. Bülbring, *Elementarb.*, p. 492.

b) In O. E. open syllables.

a) *i*-forms.

abiden pret. pl. 118, 95; *arisen* pret. pl. 123, 2; *arysen* 55, 3; *chirche* 21, 26; 77, 76; *chirch* 192, 11; *fibel* 'dolosus' 51, 4 [read **fikel*: cf. O. E. *ficol.*]; *liue* ind. pres. 1. sg. 189, 60; *liuiand* pres. part. 26, 19; *liueand* 130, 24; *priked* pret. sg. 41, 4; *prikked* p. p. 4, 5; 29, 15; 34, 19; 108, 15; *prikkyng* - 59, 3; *quiken* inf. 79, 19; *quike* 136, 8; *quikened* pret. sg. 118, 50; *quike* opt. sg. 40, 2; *quik* imp. 2. sg. 118, 37; *quick* - 118, 149; *quike* 118, 25; 118, 40; 118, 154; 118, 156; *rysen* p. p. 103, 22; *slider* adj. 'lubricus' 34, 7; *smiten* pret. pl. 119, 6; *smiten* p. p. 126, 5; *tilier* sb. 'incola' 118, 19; 119, 5; *tyliers* 104, 11; *þider* 121, 4; 132, 4; *whider* 138, 6; *widowe* 108, 8; *widowes* 77, 70; *wydowes* 93, 6; *widues* 67, 5; *witen* 43, 23; *wyten* 29, 12; *wyte* 40, 9; *which* rel. pro. 31, 1; *which* inter. pro. 23, 8; 23, 10; *wich* pro. qui 9, 23; 9, 29; 31, 1; *which* rel. pro. 13, 6; 21, 33; 26, 1; *wyche* [corrected from *weche*] 13, 8; *wiche* 18, 3; *which þat* 20, 11; 34, 9; *þe which* 7, 11; *þe which þat* 137, 11; *swyche* 62, 3; *swich* 194, 7.

β) *e*-form.

smete 2. sg. pret. 3, 7 [corrected from *smote* by erasure].

2. In a few monosyllabic words, mainly pronominal forms, O. E. *i* is often spelt *ij*, and once *y3*, besides the usual *i*-, *y*-type. Do those spellings denote length of *i*?

him pron. 9, 32; *hym* 2, 9; 2, 13; 3, 2; *hir* 186, 15;

his 1, 3; 18, 7; *hys* 2, 2; 2, 5; 2, 6; 2, 13 etc. [Seems to be the commonest spelling]; *hys* 1, 2; 1, 3; 1, 4; 73, 7; *is* 77, 9; 77, 59; 106, 30; 111, 9; *ys* 32, 6; *hit* 47, 7; 94, 5; *hyzt* [!] 17, 9; *it* 7, 2; 7, 5 etc.; *yt* 88, 47; 117, 22; *is* 3. sg. pres. 45, 1; *ys* 3, 8; 5, 11; 7, 12; 50, 4 etc.; *his* 13, 10; *hys* 3, 8; 6, 5; 6, 7; 7, 3; 10, 4 etc.; *hys* 1, 3; 96, 12; *is* 3. pl. 106, 26; 188, 47; *nys* 3. sg. pres. 3, 2; 5, 10; 6, 5; 7, 2; 18, 7; 21, 10.

3. Lengthened in O. E., with possible later shortening.

a) Before *nd*, *mb*.

bi-hinde adv. 195, 24; *by-hynde* 43, 12; 49, 18; *bynde* 149, 8; *bindeing* 124, 5; *blynde* adj. 145, 6; *climben* 23, 3; *finde* 36, 10; *finde* pres. pl. 131, 6; *finde* opt. sg. 20, 8; *fyn-dynges* 27, 5; 80, 11; 105, 28; *fyndeynges* 98, 9; *vnbindeþ* 145, 6; *vnbinde* opt. sg. 101, 21; *wynde* 1, 5; 17, 46; 77, 30; 82, 12.

b) Before *ng*.

bringeþ imp. pl. 28, 1; 28, 2; *brynges* 28, 1; 28, 2; *fyngers* pl. 77, 64; *fyngers* 8, 4; *syngen* 9, 2; 20, 13; *synges* 7, 18; 12, 6; *spryng* opt. sg. 185, 25; *þyng* 33, 21; *þyng* † 7, 3; *þynges* 7, 8; *þynges* pl. 1, 4; 17, 36; *þynges* pl. 44, 15.

c) Before *ld*.

child 47, 6; 85, 15; *childe* 68, 21; *childer* pl. 8, 3; 10, 5; 17, 49; 131, 12; 131, 13; 181, 18; *children* 17, 49; 47, 10; *childed* vb. pret. 7, 15; 181, 8; *mild* 17, 30; 146, 6; *milde* 99, 5; *mylde* 50, 9; (*pe*) *milden* sb. pl. 149, 4; *mildenes* 131, 1; *mildnes* 89, 3; 89, 12; *wilde* 49, 11; *wildernes* 77, 22; *wyl-derness* 64, 13.

§ 6. O. E. *o* (W. G. *o*).

1. Not lengthened in O. E.

a) In O. E. closed syllables.

borow 36, 22; *coruen* p. p. 180, 5; *doluen* p. p. 93, 13; *droppes* sb. pl. 10, 7; from an hypothetical O. E. **droppa*, cf. N. E. D. *drop*; *droppand* 71, 6; *droppinges* 71, 6 (also

dropes pl. 185, 3; See § 6, b); *flok* † sb. 48, 14; *flokkes* sb. pl. 49, 10; *flok* 77, 76; *folk* 13, 8; *folk* † 3, 6; 128, 1; *folkes* 9, 18; 9, 21; 21, 29; 21, 30; *folkes* pl. 7, 7; 9, 15; *folk* pl. 2, 1; 7, 8; *folk* † 9, 5; 9, 8; 32, 12 (bis); *folwen* 22, 8; 36, 7; *folwe* 36, 8; *forpe* 18, 2; 18, 5 etc.; *forþ* 16, 3; *frosche* sb. 'rana' 77, 50; *frosches* 104, 28; *frost* 190, 7; *god* nom. 2, 5; 3, 2; 3, 6; 4, 1 etc; *gode* 12, 3; 42, 2; *god* acc. sg. 13, 3; 51, 6; 52, 3; 52, 6; *goddess* gen. sg. 28, 1; 42, 4; 67, 15; *godes* 51, 8; *goddess* pl. 46, 9; 49, 1; *god-hede* 43, 5; 194, 6; *godhede* 79, 17; *godehede* 195, 31; *holpen* p. p. 93, 17; *hors* 32, 17; 146, 11; *horses* 19, 8; 31, 11; *lob* sb. 'aranea' 38, 15; 89, 10; *lokkes* pl. 'vectae, serae' 147, 7; *lockes* 106, 16; *lot* 124, 3; *lott* 21, 18; 77, 60; *morwen* 29, 6; 54, 19; 64, 8; 180, 6; *morwening* 72, 14; *morwenyng* 180, 6; *morwenyng* † 45, 5; *morwenynges* 56, 11; *mornyng* † 89, 6; *oft* adv. 128, 2; *oftz* [!] 128, 1; *often* 105, 39; *organ* 150, 4; *oxen* pl. 49, 11; 65, 14; *apostels* 192, 8; *pot* sb. 101, 10; 147, 5; *short* 2, 13; *sorow* 7, 15; 9, 29; 12, 2; *sorowe* 7, 17; 9, 37; 30, 12; *sorowes* pl. 17, 6; *sorowes* 17, 5; *sorow* interj. 34, 28; *sorzful* 37, 6; *sorrowful* 50, 18; *sorweand* pres. part. 77, 69; *sorwand* 48, 2; *sorowand* 68, 34; *sorweing* 37, 8; *sorowynge*s pl. 6, 6; *swolze* sb. 'gorges' 184, 15; *swolwe* inf. 'devorare' 187, 34; 189, 63; *swolwed* pret. sg. 105, 17; 183, 13; *swolwed* p. p. 123, 3; 140, 7; also *swolwe-bridde* sb. 'pullus hirundinis' 180, 7 may, perhaps, be mentioned here, if its *o* is due to popular etymology.

b) In open syllables.

born p. p. 44, 18; 45, 2; 67, 31; 72, 7; *borne* 21, 33; 134, 8; *to-broke* p. p. 123, 7; *tobroken* p. p. 36, 16; *chosen* 17, 29; 50, 19; 72, 15 (wrongly spelt *cheson* 68, 38); *coles* 17, 10; 17, 14; *dore* 140, 3 seems to be taken from *dor* (Gmc. **dūrom*) a form existing by the side of *dūrū* (Gmc. **dūrūz*) cf. Streitberg § 172; *dropes* pl. 185, 3; *hope* sb. 4, 10; 13, 10; 39, 6; *hopen* inf. 17, 2; 26, 6; 35, 8; 43, 8; *oped* pret. sg. 142, 9; *hoseing* sb. 'calceamentum' 107, 10; *lopen* p. p. 40, 8; is an analogical form — cf. Bülbring, Ablaut, p. 113; *loren* pres. pl. 'annunt' 34, 22; *noses* 113 (115), 6; *open* adj. 5, 11; 13, 5; *open* inf. 48, 4; 50, 16; *open* imp. 2. sg. 80, 9;

opened 105, 17; *ouen* sb. 20, 9; *ouer* adv. 'ultra' 77, 30; *ouercum* opt. sg. 50, 5; *ouercumen* p. p. 181, 6; 192, 18; *ouercummer* [MS. *ouercunner*] 185, 32; *ouergon* p. p. 37, 4; *ouermor* adj. 'superiora' 103, 10; *ouerpassen* inf. 148, 6; *roteden* pret. pl. 37, 5; *smoke* sb. 36, 21; 67, 2; 101, 4; *smoken* inf. 103, 32; *isproken* p. p. 11, 2; *spoken* 54, 13; *shorne* p. p. 185, 29; *prote* 5, 11; 113 (115), 7; 149, 6; *tofor*n 35, 1; 53, 3; *toforne* 16, 14.

2. Lengthened in O. E.

a) Before *ld*.

gold 18, 11; 67, 14; 118, 72; *wolde* pret. sg. 113 (115), 3; 134, 6; *wold* 17, 22; *woldest* 2. sg. pret. 40, 12; *wold* p. p. 50, 17; *zolden* p. p. 64, 1.

b) Before *rd*, *rp*, *rn*.

bord 'mensa' 77, 22; *borde* 77, 24; *borne* 91, 10; 97, 6; *norpe* 47, 2 [cf. O. E. *nordan*.]; *bornes* 117, 11; *word* 103, 34; 104, 17; 104, 18; *worde* 18, 2; 32, 4; 32, 6; 39, 4; 44, 1. [In *word*, *worde*, the spelling can either denote the pronunciation *u* or the pronunciation *ō*.]

§ 7. O. E. *u* (Gmc. *u*).

O. E. *u* is spelt *u*, or *o*, in our text, the latter spelling occurring chiefly in the neighbourhood of *m*, *n*, *l* and *w*. Where lengthened, it is represented by the French spelling *ou*.

1. Not lengthened in O. E.

a) O. E. *u* (Gmc. *u*) in closed syllables.

butter 186, 20; *conyng* 18, 2; *conyng*e 138, 6; *conen* pres. pl. 88, 15; *cunne* opt. sg. 118, 28; *coluer* sb. 'columba' 180, 7; *acurseden* 55, 5; *runnen* p. p. 118, 70; *sum* 6, 3; *sumtyme* 93, 8; *sunne* 'sol' 18, 5; *sonne* 49, 2; *turtel* 83, 3; *purz* 16, 4; 32, 16; 43, 7 etc.; *pourz*¹⁾ 67, 12; 73, 7; 104, 17; 135, 16; *purwe* 32, 6; *purzt* [!] 195, 33; *purth* 104, 16; *purz-out* prep. 135, 14; *up* prep. 2, 6; 8, 2; 17, 36; 51, 3; *vp* 4, 7;

1) Evidently a mistake for *purz*.

7, 9; 9, 4; 24, 3; 62, 4; 64, 3; *up* adv. 7, 8; 17, 10; *vp* 19, 9; *wolle* 147, 5.

b) In open syllables.

abouen 49, 5; *a-bcuen* 37, 5; 77, 27; *loue* sb. 68, 12; *loue* inf. 17, 1; *luuesum* 83, 1; *sone* 'filius' 2, 3; 2, 7; 8, 5; 192, 16; 194, 5 etc.; *wonne* inf. 'habitare' 26, 7; *wonen* 67, 17; *whonen* 67, 17; 103, 13; *woned* pret. pl. 67, 20; *wonand* 16, 13; *woniand* 47, 12; *woning* sb. 183, 20; *wonyng* 67, 18; *wonyng* + 25, 8; 45, 5; *wonyyng* + 75, 2; *wunier* 179, 3 Ez; *woniers* 183, 16.

2. With O. E. lengthening.

a) Before *nd*.

houndes 67, 25; *houndeflezes* 77, 50; 104, 29.

b) Before *ng*, with later shortening.

dung 112, 16; 181, 11; *hungred* 33, 10; *tunge* 15, 9; 21, 15; *zonge* 36, 26; 149, 12 (bis); *zonge* [MS. reads *honge*] 118, 141; *zenge* [mistake for *zonge*] 118, 91; *zongelinges* 77, 69; *zounlinges* 67, 27.

§ 8. O. E. *y* (Gmc. *u—i*).

O. E. *y* appears as *i* or *y*, and only rarely as *u* or *e*.

1. Not lengthened in O. E.

a) In O. E. closed syllables.

α) *i*-forms.

bigge inf. 'redimere' 33, 22; 54, 20; *bigē* 48, 16; *biggeþ* 3. sg. 48, 7; *bigge* imp. 43, 28; 118, 154; *biggeand* pres. part. 108, 15; *biggand* 107, 20; *biried* pret. sg. 'sepelire' 78, 3; *biriel* 'sepulcrum' 13, 5; *byriels* pl. 67, 7; 87, 5; *birþe* 106, 36; 112, 3; *clippe* imp. pl. 47, 11; *dipped* p. p. 67, 25; *fille* inf. 80, 9; *fild* p. p. 16, 7; 16, 15; 21, 27; 77, 33; *fyllyng* 22, 2; *filzen* inf. 'aemulari' 36, 1; *firstborn* 77, 56; *girt* pret. sg. 17, 35; *girt* pret. 2. sg. 17, 43; *girt* p. p. 64, 7; 108, 28; 185, 26; *hill*

14, 1; *hyl* 2, 6; *hille* 41, 8; *hylle* 42, 3; *hylles* pl. 113, 4; *kynreden* 'gens' 13, 11; *kynreden* 'cognatio' 73, 9; *kyn-redenis* 'natio' 104, 35; *kynredens* pl. 'natio' 105, 44; 182, 9; *kist* p. p. 84, 11 [*myrre* 44, 10]; *pitte* [or *pute*] 'puteus' 54, 25 [Reading uncertain]; *rigge* 49, 18; 68, 28; 128, 3; *rygge* 43, 12; 65, 10; *riggen* 17, 44; *a-rigge* adv. 20, 12; *sinne* sb. 8, 3; 9, 39; *synne* 9, 12; 9, 15; 9, 33 etc.; *sinze* 37, 19; *syne* 38, 18; *synnes* pl. 2, 3; 9, 34 etc.; *synnies* 50, 10; *synzes* 36, 17; 38, 13; *sinzen* inf. 4, 5; *sinzeb* 3. sg. pres. 5, 7; *synze* opt. sg. 118, 11; *synned* p. p. 50, 5; *sinned* 40, 4; *synzed* 105, 6; *synful* 36, 22; *sinful* 34, 21; *synzer* 9, 24; 9, 27; 9, 39; 36, 12; 36, 34; *synner* 9, 25; 38, 17; *sinner* 7, 15; 9, 37; *synzers* 1, 7; 10, 2; 10, 7; *sinniers* 1, 6; *pinche* imp. sg. 186, 8; *pinne* 180, 8; *wyrchen* pres. ind. pl. 6, 8; *wirichen* 13, 8; *wirchen* 5, 6; 27, 3; *wircheing*¹⁾ 103, 23; *whirle-winde* 184, 21.

β) *u*-forms.

brunstone 'sulphur' 10, 7; *hulles* pl. 'montes' 113, 6; *brust* 106, 32; *sules* pl. 'cardines' 181, 13 [O. E. *syll.*]; *smullen* 113, 6.

γ) *e*-forms.

frest adv. 'primo' 88, 27; *helles* 'montes' 184, 10; *lefted* pret. sg. 'elevare' 24, 1; 118, 48; *shett* pret. 3. sg. 'conclussit' 77, 68; *shette* 77, 55; *shettest* pret. 2. sg. 30, 10; *shetten* pret. pl. 16, 11; *shete* opt. pl. pres. 67, 33; *bishett* p. p. 188, 54; *prest* 'sitis' 103, 12; *prestand* 106, 5 [or possibly *prostand*]; *prefe* pret. sg. 'sitivit' 41, 2 [possibly for *preste*]; *werst* 33, 21.

b) In O. E. open syllables.

α) *i*-forms.

did pret. 1. sg. 7, 3; pret. 3. sg. 10, 3; 14, 4; 35, 2; 104, 18; *dide* 14, 3; *diden* pret. pl. 5, 11; 9, 15; *did* 43, 19; *iuel* sb. 7, 4; 7, 13; 17, 1; 30, 1; *yuel* 7, 1; *iuels* sb. pl. 5, 12; 7, 4; 22, 4; 34, 5; 34, 29; 34, 36; *yueles* 39, 16; *yuel* adv.

1) If these forms do not come from O. E. *wirčan* W. G. **wirkian*.

17, 24; 43, 19; *Michel* adj. & adv. 18, 11; 20, 5; 32, 16; 37, 8; 45, 1; 46, 2; 47, 1; *mychel* 6, 3; *miches* 12, 3 [*spekand* follows]; *Michelhede* 32, 16; *Michelnes* 36, 11; *mychelnes* 8, 2; 48, 6; *Michilnes* 68, 20; *stiren* inf. 28, 7; *stired* pret. sg. 9, 36; *stired* pret. pl. 21, 6; *stired* p. p. 12, 5; 14, 7; 15, 8; 16, 6; *styred* 2, 13; 7, 13; 9, 28; 17, 9; 32, 8; *stiryng* † sb. 88, 10; *stiryng* † 65, 8; *stireing* † 43, 15.

β) *e*-forms.

euel sb. 7, 4; 9, 34; *euesynges* 'domicilia' 101, 7; *mechel* adj. 18, 12; *mechelhede* 9, 25; *mechelnes* 5, 12.

2. With O. E. lengthening.

a) Before *nd*.

α) *i*-, *y*-forms.

kind 'generatio' 84, 5; *kynd* 144, 4 (bis); *kinde* 76, 8; 84, 5; 99, 5; *kynde* 9, 28; 21, 33; 76, 8; *minde* 134, 18; *mynde* 29, 4; 33, 16.

β) *u*-form.

mund 9, 7.

γ) *e*-form.

kende 99, 5.

b) Before *ld*.

α) *i*-, *y*-forms.

gildan adj. 'deauratus' 41, 11.

c) Before *ng*; here however the vowel was later shortened again.

α) *i*-, *y*-forms.

king 5, 2; *kyng* 44, 13; 46, 7; *kyng* † 2, 6; 46, 2; *kyng*e 17, 54; 23, 7; 23, 9; 23, 10; 44, 1; *kynges* pl. 2, 2; 2, 10; *kyngdom* 21, 30; *kyng* † *dome* 102, 9; *zyngþe* 87, 16; *zingþe* [MS. *þingþe*] 42, 4.

β) *e*-forms.

zengnes 143, 10; *zengþe* 24, 7; 102, 5; 128, 1; but probably these are only wrong spellings for *zongnes* and *zongþe*.

§ 9. O. E. *ā*.

1. With rounding to *ō*.

a) Preserved long.

abode pret. sg. 39, 1; 54, 8; 68, 24; 118, 166; *abrode* adv. 77, 50; 91, 9; *aros* pret. 3. sg. 3, 5; 77, 25; 138, 17; 196, 36; *aros* pret. pl. 26, 18; 85, 13; *bon* 'eos' 101, 6; *bones* 6, 2; 21, 13; 21, 17; *boþe*¹⁾ pron. & conj. 1, 2 etc.; *cloþen* 131, 17; *cloþe* 131, 19; *cloþed* pret. sg. 92, 1; 108, 17; *cloþed* p. p. 34, 15; 34, 30; 92, 1; 108, 28; *cloþyng* 44, 11; *cloþyng* † 101, 27; 108, 28; *cloþynges* 21, 18 (bis); *gost* 2, 3; 9, 12; 9, 23; 19, 2; 21, 24; *hole* adj. 29, 2; 193, 2 (Creed); *holi* 2, 3; 10, 4; 11, 1; 98, 3; *holy* 2, 6; 3, 4; 5, 8; *holynes* 11, 1; *holinesse* 29, 4; *ros* pret. sg. 75, 9; *ros* pret. pl. 19, 9; *shone* pret. sg. 117, 24; *smot* pret. sg. 77, 23; *smote* 77, 56; 77, 57; *smote* pret. 2. sg. 68, 31; *so* 1, 5; 47, 7; *sori* 34, 17; 41, 6; 41, 16; 68, 25; *sory* 41, 13; *ston* 77, 19; 77, 23; *stone* 77, 18; *tokne* 85, 16; *toknes* pl. 73, 6; 73, 10; *tockenyng* † 59, 4; *þo* dem. pron. fem. 77, 58; *þo* pron. 'eos' 20, 8; 21, 31; 24, 2; 73, 18; 134, 8; *wote* pret. sg. 38, 10; 93, 11; *wost* 2. sg. pret. 68, 7; 68, 23; *wroþ* 59, 1; 179, 1 Is; *wroþe* 73, 1; 78, 5; *hote* 38, 4; *lome* 'lutum' 17, 46; *loues* sb. pl. 40, 10; 41, 13; 131, 16 [MS. reads *leues* in 131, 16]; *louerd* 85, 5; 131, 1; *lord* 1, 2; 1, 7; 2, 11; 2, 12; 3, 5; 3, 8; *lord* 2, 2; 2, 4; 2, 7; 3, 1; 3, 3; 3, 4; 3, 5; 3, 8; *lorde* 6, 2; 23, 8; 39, 18; 40, 4; *lor* 29, 8; *lordship* 102, 22; 144, 13; *lordshippes* 41, 10; *loþed* pret. sg. 105, 37; 118, 163; *loþeliche* adj. 13, 2; 52, 2; *more* 12, 4; 18, 11; 50, 3; 51, 3; *non* adj. 3, 2; 6, 5; 7, 2; 13, 2; 39, 7; *no* 12, 4; 14, 3; 14, 4; 21, 5; *nomore* 38, 18; *no noþer* 189, 58; *noþer* 189, 58; *noþyng* † 22, 1; *on* 13, 2; 21, 20; 24, 17; 33, 20; 67, 6; 195, 23 etc.; *o* 83, 10;

1) Most probably native, though possibly influenced by Scandinavian forms. Cf. O. N. *bádir* M. Dan. *baade*.

108, 12; 194, 3; 194, 6; *ones* adv. 61, 11; 88, 35 is for O. E. *ānes*, by the side of *ænes*. Cf. Morsb. Schr. p. 43, N. E. D. 'once'. *ones* 'solitudo' 101, 7; *on-hede* sb. 1. 'solitudo' 106, 4; 2. 'unitas' 194, 3; 195, 25; *onlich* 17, 39; *oneliche* 140, 11; *on-liche* adv. 4, 10; 32, 15; *ope* 104, 8; 191, 6 Za; *two* 195, 32; *to* 61, 11; *who* pron. inter. 4, 6; 6, 5; 17, 34 etc.; *whos* pron. rel. 196, 38; *whom* pron. rel. 31, 2; 38, 10; 40, 10; *to whom* adv. 81, 2.

b) Shortenings of *ā*.

asken inf. 43, 23; *aske* opt. pl. 103, 21; *askyng* 105, 15; *askynges* 19, 6; *askinges* 36, 4; *cladde* p. p. 131, 9; *halwe* sb. 31, 7; *halwen* 29, 4; 30, 30; 36, 29; 49, 6; 78, 2; 82, 3; 148, 14; *halwed* pret. sg. 45, 4; *halwing* sb. 95, 6; *halwyng* 113, 2; *halwyng* † 96, 13; *halweinge* 77, 59; 131, 19.

§ 10. O. E. *ā*, *ē* from W. G. *ā*.

1. *ā*, *ē* remains long.

dedes 26, 9; 36, 19; 50, 9; *drede* 13, 7; 30, 14; 33, 11; 34, 30; 26, 5; *dredyng* † 110, 9; *dredful* 65, 2; 65, 4; 75, 7; 110, 9; *dredful* 46, 2; 88, 8; *dredfullich* 138, 13; *dredfulnissess* 87, 17; *eten* pret. pl. 21, 31; 40, 10; 77, 33; 105, 27; 189, 56; *ete* pret. sg. 77, 29; 77, 50; 100, 6; 101, 10; *euen* 29, 6; 54, 19; 58, 16; *heres* sb. pl. 'capilli' 39, 17; *lechess* 87, 11; *shepe* 5, 7; 43, 13; *sezen* pret. pl. 21, 6; 30, 15; 34, 24; 47, 7; 67, 26; 96, 6; 193, 7 (Sim); *sede* 'semen' 21, 23; 21, 32; 24, 14; *seide* 'semen' 20, 10; *speches* pl. 18, 3; *speken* pret. pl. 37, 13; *seten* pret. pl. 118, 23; *slepe* inf. 4, 9; *slepanđ* pres. part. 77, 71; *sleping* sb. 131, 4; *stretes* 17, 46; *per* adv. 'ibi illic.' 13, 9; 22, 1; 35, 13 etc.; *per* adv. 'quo' 13, 9; 49, 24; 52, 6; *per-for* adv. 44, 9; 51, 5; *per-fore* 45, 2; *perinne* 23, 1; *perin* 67, 11; *per ynne* 11, 6; *per-of* 17, 10; *per-on* 89, 12; *per-wyþ* 92, 1; *perwhiles þat* conj. 9, 23; 9, 32; 30, 12; 38, 2; 41, 14; 41, 15; 42, 2; 67, 15; *per-whyles þat* 7, 2; 27, 2; *per-wyles þat* 41, 3; 57, 7; 72, 18; *weren* pret. pl. 37, 12; *were* 3, 7; 33, 10; 34, 15; 77, 33; *wer* 121, 2; *wher* adv. 78, 10; *where* 41, 3; 88, 48; 188, 55; *were* 41, 15; *wher-to* adv. 'quid'

4, 3; *wreche* 'vindicta' 2, 5; 57, 8; 78, 11; 118, 126; 184, 18; *zere* 101, 25; *zeres* pl. 30, 12; *zere* pl. 89, 10; 89, 11; 94, 4. On the last word cf. § 20.

2. O. E. *ā* shortened to *a* in: —

adrad p. p. 76, 3; *dradde* 1. and 3. sg. pret. 118, 161; 183, 1; *drad* pret. sg. 63, 9; 2. sg. pret. 192, 17; pl. 54, 22; 77, 58; *naddres* 139, 31.

3. O. E. *ē* shortened to *e* in: —

nedders 'aspides' 13, 5.

§ 11. O. E. *ā* from W. G. *ai*.

1. *ā* remains long, except perhaps in a few cases in which it was possibly shortened.

areren 87, 11; *arere* imp. sg. 40, 11; opt. sg. 26, 6; *arereþ* pres. 144, 15; *brede* sb. 17, 22; 29, 1; 117, 5; 118, 5; *clene* 18, 13; 23, 4; 50, 8; *clennesse* 17, 23; 17, 27; 36, 39; *clennes* 88, 33; *dele* 6, 3; 101, 25; *er þat* 57, 9; *erliche* 58, 17; *erleche* 87, 14; *erlich* 5, 3; 5, 4; 45, 8; *euer* 26, 7; 33, 12 etc.; *euermore* 33, 1; 39, 22; *euerlastand* 23, 7; 23, 9; 57, 9; *euerlastend* 138, 23; 194, 10 (bis); 194, 11; *euerlastendhede* 184, 10; *flesshe* (may be from O. E. *flēsc*.) 15, 9; 27, 10; 37, 7; *flesche* 37, 3; *helen* 189, 59; *hele* imper. 2. sg. 40, 4; *helynges* 37, 5; *helpe* 3, 8; 9, 15; 17, 3; 37, 3; 37, 7; *helpes* 17, 54; 43, 6; *hete* sb. 18, 7; *lede* 'ducere' 36, 6; *lered* p. p. 89, 14; 93, 12; *leuinges* sb. pl. 20, 12; *neuer* 36, 26; 38, 10; 194, 11; *see* 8, 8; 32, 7; 105, 8; 105, 9; 135, 13; 182, 1; 182, 4; 182, 5; 183, 22; *se* 8, 8; 105, 21; *seo* (scribal error) 88, 10; *spredand out* 103, 3; *teche* 17, 39; 24, 10; 33, 11; *techyng* 25, 5; *techyng*—106, 18; *techynges* 32, 2; 41, 10; *whete* 'frumentum' 4, 8; 80, 15; 147, 3; *wete* [MS. *swete*] 187, 21; *wheten* 64, 14.

1) This is probably merely a scribal error.

2. With shortening.

a) to *a*.

ani 13, 3; 52, 3; *anny* 87, 12; *ar þat* 128, 5; *bilaft* p. p. 'derelictus' 9, 38; *fatt* sb. 147, 3; *fatt* adj. 22, 7; 77, 35; 143, 13; *fatthede* 189, 56; *fathede* 140, 8; *fattnes* 16, 11; *fatnes* 21, 31; *fatted* p. p. 187, 22 (bis); *lad* 3. sg. pret. 22, 3; *lader* 'dux' 54, 14; *ladres* 67, 30; *laft* pret. sg. 105, 11; *lanep* 3. sg. pres. 36, 27; 111, 5; *lasse* adj. 8, 6; 33, 10; 195, 24; *lasten* inf. 71, 77; *last* 26, 7; 88, 35; 105, 46; *laste* 33, 12; *radý* 'paratus' 28, 8; *radi* 22, 6; 64, 10; *shade* inf. 'effundere' 13, 6; *shade* imp. sg. 34, 3; *shade for þat* = 'pretende' 35, 11; *shad* p. p. 78, 11; *shadde* pret. pl. 105, 35; *shadde* p. p. 44, 3 [MS. *shadde*]; *sprad* pret. sg. 79, 12; *sprad out* pret. 1. sg. 142, 6; *sprad out* 2. sg. 183, 13; *sprad abrode* 77, 50; *sprade abrode* p. p. 91, 9; *spradden* inf. 93, 23; *sprad* pret. pl. 105, 32. The same shortening is found in *stal-worþ* 'fortis' 138, 18; *stal-worþe* 7, 12; though *a* here is of different origin; *wraþþe* 76, 9; 87, 7; 105, 23; *wraþe* 2, 5; 17, 10; 34, 23; 88, 45; 89, 13; 136, 8; 187, 28; *wraþ* 187, 24; *wraþ* opt. sg. 21, 2; *wraþed* pret. pl. 5, 12; *wraþed* p. p. 17, 9; 84, 5; 183, 16; *wraþþe (him)* 102, 9; *wraþes (hym)* 3. sg. pres. 7, 12; *wraþed (him)* pret. sg. 105, 37; *wraþþes (zou)* imper. pl. 4, 5; *wraþful* 17, 51.

Note 1. The wrong form *shadde* proves that also the source of the London MS. had *a* in *shadde*.

Note 2. The forms *lanep*, *shade*, can be explained in two ways, either 1) as shortening from *ā*, taken from a dialect where O. E. *ā* > *a*, or 2) from the preterites of the two verbs which would appear as *lante*, *shadde* and might cause the formation of the present forms *lānen*, and *shāden*.

b) to *e*.

bihest 55, 9; 79, 9; *bred* pret. sg. 'expandi' 87, 10; *clensed* pret. sg. 76, 6; *clensed* p. p. 18, 14; *clense* imp. sg. 50, 3; *left* pret. sg. 193, 8; *redi* 'paratus' 9, 8; *redý* 16, 13; *red[i]nes* 9, 41.

§ 12. O. E. *e* from W. G. *e* and other sources.

1. From W. G. *e* and final *ē* (lengthened in monosyllables).

a) Preserved long.

dreden pret. pl. 76, 15; 183, 17; *he* pron. 1, 2; 1, 3; 3, 4 etc.; *her* adv. 131, 15; *me* pron. 2, 7; 2, 8; 3, 1; 3, 4; 3, 5; 3, 6; 3, 7 etc.; *mede* 40, 11; 118, 112; *medes* 138, 19; *slepe* pret. sg. 3, 5; *þe* pron. 2, 8; 5, 5; 7, 1; 17, 1; *we* pron. 2, 3; 19, 5; *we* 19, 15; 43, 7; *wele* adv. 4, 4; 35, 3; *welikeing* 146, 11; *welelikand* 104, 7; *ze* pron. 2, 12; 4, 3; 6, 8; 49, 6 [MS. *he*] etc.; *he* [for *ze*] 48, 1; 61, 8; 94, 8; 97, 5; 113 (115) 16; 133, 2; 134, 21.

2. From primitive English *o*—*i*.

a) Preserved long.

α) *ō* > Gmc. *ō*.

breþer 68, 11; 104, 16; 132, 1; *bisemeþ* 92, 7; *bisechen* 26, 7; *deþ* 3. sg. pres. 135, 4; *dest* 2. sg. pres. 49, 21; 88, 38; 88, 42; *fede* 77, 77; *fele* 113 (115), 7; *fele* opt. sg. 195, 26; *feet* 24, 16; *fet* 8, 7; *fete* 13, 6; 17, 11; *hele* 'heel' 48, 5; *kep* pret. sg. 186, 14; *kepyng* sb. 140, 3; *quemeyng* sb. 48, 7; *quemeing* 68, 16; *sechen* 9, 36; 30, 30; *seche* 9, 25; 26, 13; 36, 10; *secheþ* pres. 2. pl. 4, 3; *sechand* 9, 10; 13, 3; 33, 10; 52, 3; *schand*—mistake for **sechand*—9, 2; *secheyng*—sb. 63, 6; *swete* 24, 9; 46, 5; *swetnes* 20, 3; 30, 23; 67, 11; *wepying*—sb. 101, 10; *wepyinge* 29, 6; *wepe* sb. 6, 8 is a new formation from the verb; *wery* 68, 4.

β) *ō* < W. G. *a* before nasals.

quene 44, 11.

γ) *ō* < W. G. *a*+*n* before *f*, *s*, *þ*.

teþ 111, 9; *teþe* 34, 19; 36, 12.

b) With M. E. shortening.

α) Appearing as *e*.

blesce imp. sg. 192, 23; *blesced* pret. sg. 113, 12; 113, 13;

p. p. 1, 1; *fed* p. p. 36, 3; 77, 78; *mett* pret. pl. 84, 11; *wept* pret. pl. 125, 7; 137, 1; *wept* p. p. 77, 70; *wendest* 2. sg. pret. 49, 22.

β) Appearing as *i*.

bliscen 'benedicere' 15, 7; 28, 10; 33, 1; *blisse* inf. 5, 14; 25, 12; *blische* 102, 1; 102, 2; 102, 22; 103, 1; *blisced* pret. sg. 113, 13; 113, 14; *blisced* p. p. 2, 13; 27, 18; *blissand* 36, 23; *bliscyng* sb. 36, 27; *bliscyng* † 20, 6; 23, 5; *blisseing* 3, 8; *bliscedness* 84, 13.

§ 13. O. E. *i* from Gmc. *i*, and primitive English *i*.

O. E. *i* is spelt *i*, *y*, in the Psalter, and in a few cases *ij* and *yy*, which last forms were probably intended to denote *i* unmistakably.

1. *i* from Gmc. *i*.

a) Preserved long.

abiden inf. 103, 12; *abyde* 51, 9; *abideþ* imp. pl. 45, 10; *abidand* 39, 1; *abidyng* sb. 118, 116; *abydyng* † 38, 11; *abideing* † 72, 4; *arisen* 71, 1; 126, 3; *arise* 1, 6; *aryse* 11, 5; *arisyng* † 49, 2; *bij* prep. 1, 3; 8, 8; *bi* adv. 12, 2; 21, 2 (bis); *bisiden* 140, 9; *bisid* 5, 5; *diche* 7, 6; 27, 1; 142, 8; *hi* 'ei' 67, 20; *hy* 88, 6; *hii* 9, 21; 39, 19; 44, 17; 58, 7; 67, 2; *hij* 2, 1; 2, 13; 3, 1; 5, 12 etc.; *hyy* 17, 21; *y* 104, 11; 118, 37; *idel* 2, 1; 7, 4; *ydel* 5, 10; 93, 11; *idelliche* 38, 15; *idelnesse* 23, 4; *idelnes* 30, 7; *ydelnes* 4, 3; *idelshippe* 'acridia' 24, 3; 34, 8; *gren* 104, 17; *iren* 106, 10; 106, 16; *yse* 148, 8; 190, 8; *lich* 39, 7; *liche* 27, 1; 48, 12 (bis); 48, 21; 70, 21; *lif* 20, 4; 22, 8; 25, 9; 26, 2; *lyf* 15, 11; 62, 5; *liif* 35, 10; 103, 33; *liue* 48, 9; *likeand* 67, 17; *likened* 48, 21; *liknes* 43, 15; 143, 11; *likenes* 105, 20; *likenes* 38, 9; *myn* pron. 'my' [Used in all positions. Very common] 5, 1; 5, 2; 5, 9; 6, 2; 6, 9; 6, 10; 9, 1; 15, 1; 15, 5; 49, 13 etc.; *min* [less common than *myn*] 3, 3; 6, 6; 7, 11; 12, 6; 15, 6; 21, 1; *myne* [scarce] 7, 3; 7, 4; 7, 9; 16, 7; 17, 4; *my* [used before consonants] 2, 7; 3, 2; 3, 3; 3, 4; 3, 6; 4, 1; 4, 2; 4, 4; 5, 1; 5, 2; 5, 9; *my* [used

before *h.*] 4, 7; *mi* [scarce, before consonants] 7, 5; 10, 1; 13, 8; 24, 19; 39, 11; *mye* [scarce, before consonants] 5, 3; 15, 5; 26, 12; *mie* [scarce, before consonants] 138, 12; *pine* 'poena' 80, 14; *pin* sb. pl. 36, 20; *pynes* 7, 14; 39, 2; *riche* adj. 9, 30; 48, 2; *rimefrost* 190, 7; *rime-frost* 77, 52; 118, 83; *rise* 196, 38; *rysyng* 106, 3; *shynyng* 90, 6; *shininge* sb. 17, 14; *shynyng* - 89, 19; *shynyng* 143, 7; *shinynges* 109, 4; *shryuen* 17, 53; *shriue* 41, 7; 44, 19; *shryue* [usual form] 6, 5; 7, 18; 9, 5; 27, 10; 29, 12; 29, 15; *schryue* 41, 17; 42, 5; *schryueþ* imp. 2. pl. 106, 1; *shryf* sb 110, 3; *syde* 90, 7; *slide* opt. pres. sg. 188, 51; *slydyng*e 55, 13; *slideinge* 114, 8; *smiten* 189, 59; *smytand* 28, 7; *time* sb. 'tempus' 20, 9; 33, 1; *tyme* 1, 3; 31, 7; *no time* adv. 12, 4; *þin* pron. 'thy' [before vowels] 9, 41; *þyn* 19, 3; 30, 2; *þyne* 5, 1; 8, 3; 8, 6; *þin* [before *h.*] 9, 35; *þyn* 8, 4; 9, 37; *þyne* 20, 5; is uncertain, as the following word *helpe*, is wanting in the MS.; *þyn* [before consonants] 9, 1; 24, 4; 25, 7; *þyne* 9, 2; *þy* [before *h.*] 42, 3; *þy* [before consonants] 3, 8; 5, 9; 6, 4; 8, 1; 8, 9; 19, 3; 35, 6; 42, 3; 47, 8; *þi* [before consonants] 35, 6; *þy-self* 43, 6; *whit* 192, 10; *whyte* 67, 18; *whyzte* 50, 8 [bad spelling]; *wyf* 127, 3; *wif* 108, 8; *wyn* 103, 16; *win* 4, 8; *wise* adj. 48, 8; *wiseliche* 46, 7; *wiselich* 57, 5; *wrytand* 44, 2.

b) With shortening.

blisful 68, 20; *blisfolhede* 51, 3; *blisfullich* 50, 19; *ich*¹⁾ *a* adj. 'each' 64, 2; 118, 51; *ich* 7, 12; 21, 24; 34, 9; 38, 8; 40, 7; *ichan* 'each one' 31, 7; 53, 7; *ichon* 11, 2; 23, 1; 33, 19; *wisdom* 18, 8; 60, 7; *wisdome* 48, 3; 89, 14; *wisdam* 36, 32.

2. Primitive English *ī*.

a) Preserved long.

a) With loss of nasal, before *f*, *s*, *þ*.

lip adj. 33, 8; *lipe* 144, 9; *lypenes* 74, 7; *sipes* 11, 7; 118, 164.

1) Cf. F. Kluge, PGr² I 465.

§ 14. O. E. *ō*.

1. From Gmc. *ō*.

a) Preserved long.

blode 13, 6; 49, 14; 67, 10; 57, 25; 192, 21; *boke* 68, 33; 138, 15; *bosom* 88, 49; *bosme* 78, 13; 128, 6; *besome* [read **bosome*] 73, 12; *broke* sb. 'torrens' 82, 8; *brokes* 73, 16; *broper* 34, 17; 48, 7; *coleyng* sb. 65, 11; *croked*¹⁾ p. p. 37, 6; 68, 28; 184, 10; *don* 17, 46; 40, 14 (bis); *do* 35, 3; 36, 5; *don oway* 17, 46; 40, 14; *dost* 2. sg. pret. 39, 7; 51, 2; *doand* 33, 16; 182, 12; *don* p. p. 39, 6; 48, 14; 50, 5; 97, 1; *flode* 28, 9; *flodes* 'flumina' 23, 2; 92, 4; 92, 5; *fote* 25, 12; *gode* 4, 6; 5, 15; 19, 3; 33, 12 etc.; *god* pl. 49, 6; *þe gode* 'boni' 4, 8; 11, 6; 50, 9 etc.; *god* sb. 52, 4; *gode* 13, 2; 33, 10; 33, 14; 36, 28; 52, 2; *gode* sb. pl. 'bona' 24, 14; 34, 14; *godes* sb. pl. 37, 21; *godes* 'bona' 12, 6; 15, 1; 26, 19; *goddes* [!] 83, 13; 102, 5; *godelich* 44, 5; *godnes* 24, 8; *godenes* 37, 21; *godnisse* 118, 32; *godnesses* 50, 20; *godenesces* 15, 6; *godnesse* 16, 12; *godnesse* 36, 3; *hordom* 72, 26; *horedome* 105, 36; *loke* 11, 8; 34, 20; *lokep* 3. sg. pres. 136, 7; *moder* 26, 16; 49, 21; *moderles* 9, 42; 81, 3; *quake* 106, 25; *stode* 1, 1; 25, 12; 35, 4; 81, 1; 106, 24; 184, 8; *stoden* 37, 11; 37, 12; *stode* pl. 131, 7; *swor* pret. sg. 88, 35; *swore* 23, 4; 88, 4; 109, 5; *swore* 2. sg. pret. 88, 48; *swore* pret. pl. 101, 9; *wodeship* 36, 8; 123, 3; 188, 37; *wodnesses* 89, 6; *woke* pret. sg. 101, 8.

b) With shortening.

gospelles 67, 12.

2. From W. G. *ā*, *a*, before nasals.

a) Preserved long.

α) With the nasal preserved.

bicom pret. sg. 38, 3; *bycom* 38, 13; *bycome* 36, 26; *com* pret. sg. 17, 11; *comest* 2. sg. pret. 20, 3; *comen* pret.

1) This word is probably native. Cf. Dutch *krōken*, *kroeken* ('crock'), *krok*, *kroek* (curl.), also O. N. *krókr*.

pl. 30, 17; 34, 18; 54, 5; *commen* 187, 26; *com* 17, 21; 37, 11; 67, 27; 77, 38; *mone* 8, 4; *sonc* 'soon' 36, 2; 195, 25.

β) With loss of Nasal.

anoper 104, 12; 108, 7; 194, 5; *oper* 18, 13; *sop* 118, 160; *sobe* 18, 10; *sopfast* 85, 14; 192, 13; *sopeliche* 54, 14; *sopenes* 5, 10; 24, 11; 29, 12; 30, 6; 88, 3; 84, 12; 110, 7; *sopenesse* 24, 5; 25, 3; *sopenisse* 110, 6; *sopnes* 14, 3; 44, 6; 84, 11; *sopnes* pl. 11, 1; *sopnesses* 88, 6; *sopenesses* 88, 2; *forsothe* 103, 34.

b) With shortening.

soft 44, 6; *softnes* 85, 4.

§ 15. O. E. *ū*.

O. E. *ū* is spelt *ou*, *ov*, *ow*, in the Psalter, hardly ever *u*.

1. From Gmc. *ū*.

a) Preserved long.

aboute prep. 16, 11; 17, 5; 33, 7; *abouzt* 16, 12; *about* adv. 26, 11; *abouten* 30, 16; *a-boute* 44, 15; *adoun* 19, 9; *adoune* 17, 11; 49, 2; *alabouten* 44, 11; *cloude* 77, 17; 98, 7; 147, 5; *crowde* 149, 3; 150, 4; *doun* 7, 17; *doungoing* 67, 4; *hous* 22, 9; 25, 8; 45, 4 etc.; *houus*¹⁾ 5, 8; 100, 4; *louteden* pret. pl. 'declinaverunt' 52, 4; *out* adv. 18, 4; 30, 15; *ouzt* 5, 2; *out* 2, 12; 21, 8; 30, 5; *outgoing* † 21, 9; *souke* 186, 19; *sukand* 8, 3; *souking* sb. 130, 4; *pousand* 67, 18; 188, 44 (bis); *pou-sandes* 67, 18; 90, 7; *pousaundes* 3, 6; *vnderlout* p. p. 61, 1.

b) With M. E. shortening.

buxum 114, 6; *mulbery-trews* 77, 52; *vttemast* 57, 6.

2. From final W. G. *ō*.

hou 10, 1; 12, 1; 12, 2.

1) The last two letters, however, are represented in the MS. by the well-known abbreviation.

3. From final W. G. *ǔ*.

nou 19, 6; 26, 10; 38, 11; *nov* 2, 10; 11, 5; 16, 12; *now* 43, 11; *pou* 9, 10; 9, 35; 9, 37; 9, 38; 11, 9 etc.

4. From W. G. *u+n* before *f*, *s*, *þ*.

moupe 5, 10; 8, 3; 9, 29; 49, 20; *mouthe* 34, 24; *ous* 89, 2; 191, 2 Za; *our* 2, 2; 2, 11; 2, 12; *oure* 1, 2; 1, 7; 2, 4.

§ 16. O. E. *ȳ* from W. G. *ū—i*.

O. E. *ȳ* appears as *i*, *y*, occasionally as *u*.

1. Preserved long.

a) *i*-, *y*-forms.

file inf. 88, 34; *filden* pret. pl. 78, 1; *filed* p. p. 9, 26; 18, 8; 25, 9; 88, 38; *vnfiled* 17, 33; 17, 35; 18, 14; *hiden* 80, 25; *hydynges* 16, 15; *hidynge* 43, 23; *hydyng* † 30, 25; *hydels* 16, 23; *hidels* 28, 8; *pride* sb. 21, 21; 48, 13; 72, 6; *pryde* 16, 11; *why* 3, 1; 4, 3; *whi* 2, 1; 21, 1.

b) *u* forms.

fur 10, 7; 11, 7; 17, 14; 45, 9 (very frequent).

2. Shortened.

a) *i*-forms.

filpes 186, 5; *hidde* p. p. 138, 14; *hid* 16, 16; *hided* 188, 50 (new formation); *litel* 36, 10; *lytel* 36, 17; *littel* 18, 8; 41, 8; 74, 8; *lyttel* 8, 6; *litelhede* 54, 8; *littelen* 28, 6; *litted* (!) 17, 46.

b) *e* in *hed* p. p. 31, 1.

§ 17. O. E. *ēa*.

I. Not mutated.

1. Except before *w*.

Here are also included forms with possible smoothing before *k*. For *eze* and similar forms see § 29. For *ēa+w* see § 32.

beten 'beaten' 97, 6; *bileuen* pres. ind. pl. 192, 18; *bi-leued* 3. pl. pret. 67, 20; *byleueden* 105, 12; *byleue* 'fides' 67, 33; 195, 28; 196, 40; *brede* 'bread' 13, 8; 52, 5; *ches* sg. pret. 24, 13; 46, 4; 77, 73; 77, 74; 77, 76; *chees* 32, 12; *ches* 2. sg. pret. 64, 4; *cheson* p. p. 68, 38 [mistake for **chosen*]; *clees* 'ungulae' 68, 36; *ded* 87, 4; 87, 11; *dedelich* 18, 13; 25, 9; 126, 3; *def* 57, 4; *dep* 9, 14; 9, 15; 17, 5; 17, 6 etc.; *depe* 7, 14; *ekand* 64, 11; for *eze* 'oculus' etc. see § 30; *ere* 'auris' 30, 2; *eren* pl. 5, 1; 17, 8 etc.; *byn eren* 16, 7; *by neren* 16, 2; *est* 67, 36; *gret* 54, 13; 134, 5; *grete* 20, 9; 21, 26; 32, 19; 85, 9; *greteleche* 20, 1; *greteliche* 6, 10; 30, 14; 77, 33; *gretliche* 46, 9; *gretnes* 70, 9; 76, 16; *heued* 3, 3; 7, 17; *heuede* 139, 8; *lede* 'plumbum' 182, 11; *lef* 1, 4; *lef-worme* 77, 51; *lepen* 184, 13; *lesyng* † 'falsehood' 4, 3; 5, 6; 58, 14; see N.E.D. 'leasing'; *nete* pl. 'boves' 8, 7; 143, 13; *reed* sb. 'ruber' 105, 9; 105, 21; 182, 4; 182, 5; *slen* 182, 10; 189, 59; *sle* 36, 34; 108, 15; *schre[d]* imp. sg. 118, 39; *teres* 6, 6; 38, 16; 41, 3; *pretynges* 10, 2.

II. With *i*-umlaut.

1. Except before palatal consonants, for which cases see § 29.

a) Preserved long.

here 'audire' 4, 4; 5, 3; 19, 7; 21, 2; 37, 16; *here* imp. 2. pl. 49, 8; *herieing* 111, 6; *heryng* † [MS. *berying* †] 50, 9; *herynge* 17, 48; *leuen* 'confidere' 92, 7 [MS. *louen*]; *leued* pret. pl. 105, 24; *leued* p. p. 192, 20; *nede*¹⁾ 15, 1; 68, 26; *nedeful* 11, 5; 33, 16; 34, 12, 40, 1; 69, 6; *nedful* 67, 11; *nedfulnes* pl. 9, 9; *nedefulnes* sb. sg. 24, 18; *nedfulnesses* 30, 9.

b) With shortening.

α) to *e*.

*gretter*²⁾ 186, 9; *herd* pret. sg. 96, 8; 105, 24; *next* 44, 16.

1) Probably *i*-umlaut of W. G. *au*, but its origin is not quite clear.

2) Possibly a new M. E. formation from *grēt*.

β) And later change to *a* through *r*-influence.

harden pret. pl. 136, 5.

§ 18. O. E. original *ēo*.

1. Preserved long.

a) Appears as *e*.

be inf. 'esse' 1, 3; 7, 10; 7, 17; 9, 19; 9, 38 etc.; *ben* 9, 28; 17, 28; 34, 22; 35, 9; 36, 25; 36, 29; *be* opt sg. 1, 1; 20, 8; 33, 8; *ben* opt pl. 34, 30; *ben* 'apes' 117, 11; *crepand* 68, 39; *depe* 32, 7; 129, 1; *deped* p. p. 91, 5; *depnes* 64, 7; 70, 22; *depenes* 68, 19; 77, 18; *fend* 184, 8; *fende* 17, 37; 21, 20; *fendes* gen. sg. 80, 9; *fondes* [mistake for **fendes*¹⁾]; *fle* 103, 8; 138, 6 etc.; *fre* 87, 4; *frelich* 93, 1; *frend* 87, 19; *frendes* 107, 5; 107, 10; *held* pret. sg. 31, 3; 88, 49; 118, 53; *helde* 38, 3; 49, 21; 72, 6; 129, 5; *helde* pret. 2. sg. 72, 23; *held* pret. pl. 75, 8; *nere*²⁾ 31, 8; 33, 8; 72, 2; 118, 87 etc.; *preste* 2, 2; 19, 6; *prest* 27, 11; *prestes* 104, 14; *se* 15, 10; 26, 19; 33, 12; 35, 10; 48, 9; 48, 20; *sen* 5, 4; 36, 36; 39, 5; *tre* 1, 3; *tres* 103, 17; 148, 9; *þef* 49, 19; *þre* 194, 12; *þre-hede* 195, 25; 195, 26; *zede* pret. sg. 1, 1; 26, 11; *zeden* pl. 11, 9. Also *ten*, decem 90, 7 possibly belongs here. For *fleze*, *leze* etc. see § 29.

Also *smeke* 'fumus' 17, 10 may, perhaps, be mentioned here. It may be a new formation from O. E. *smēocan*, ME. *smēken*.

For words with *-ēow-* see § 32.

b) as *i*, *y*.

bi inf. 'esse' 71, 15; *bi* imp. sg. 36, 6; *bi* opt. sg. 35, 31; *by* 98, 1.

2. With shortening.

deppest 62, 9; 85, 12; *wesshe* pret. sg. 72, 13; *wex* pret. sg. 6, 7; 38, 4; 49, 20; 77, 43; *wexen* pret. pl. 31, 3.

1) A new M. E. formation.

2) Can represent *ēa* or *ēo*.

§ 19. O. E. original *io*.

a) Appearing as *e*, either long or short.

breses pl. 'bruchus' 104, 32; *deuel* 79, 14; 90, 7; *deuel shippes* 187, 25; *floes* 'vellus' (mistake for **flees*).

b) Appearing as *i* in:

sik 6, 2; *sike* 30, 3; *syke* 17, 40; 25, 1; *sykenes* 40, 3; *syknesses* pl. 15, 3; *sikelich* [MS. *sikeled*] 108, 23.

§ 20. The development of W. G. *a* before *r*- and *l*-combinations and *rr*, *ll*.

1. Before *r*+consonant, and *rr*.

a) Not mutated.

In the following examples the breaking of W. G. *a*, cannot be traced, as older *ea* may have been simplified to *a*, or perhaps W. G. *a* may have remained unbroken.

arme 17, 37; *armes* pl. 45, 9; *hard* 16, 5; 56, 6; *harden* 94, 8; *harden* opt. sg. 89, 6; *hardeneþ* p. p. [read **hardened*] 71, 11; *hardnes* 104, 29; 104, 32; *hardnesse* 10, 2; *harp* 56, 11; 70, 24; 97, 6; *martirs* 192, 10; *sharp* 44, 7; 51, 2; *sharppe* 149, 6; *sharp* pres. ind. sg. 189, 6; *sharped* pret. pl. 139, 3; *sharpnes* 2, 9; *sharpenes* 40, 3; 62, 9; 74, 7; *sharpenesses* 67, 8; *sparwe* 10, 1; *sparow* 83, 3; *sparowe* 101, 8; *towardes* 37, 11.

2. With *i*-Umlaut.

The first of the two groups given below shows no trace of breaking before *r*. The forms in the second group, however, are undoubtedly due to it.

α) W. G. *a* unbroken:

tarien 187, 32; *tariden* pret. pl. 105, 8; 105, 16; *taried* 105, 28; *tarynge* 94, 9; *waryen* 108, 127; *waried* pret. pl. 61, 4; *warynge* 58, 14; *waryynge* 13, 6; 108, 16; *waryng* † 9, 29; *wareing* 108, 17.

β) W. G. *a* broken:

mere 'jumentum' 72, 22; *merzbe* 'medulla' 187, 21; *merzþ* 65, 14; *weryen* inf. 104, 14; *weried* p. p. 73, 4; 118, 21; *zerde* 'virga' 44, 8; 109, 3.

2. Before *l*+consonant and *ll*.

a) Not mutated.

a) Excepting the O. E. lengthenings before *ld*.

In the majority of the examples appended breaking cannot be traced. In *galle* it undoubtedly never took place. Yet *chalþ* and *chalues* can only be explained by means of it.

alabouten 44, 4; *aldrabitterest* 187, 21; *alderfewest* 144, 11; *alderhezest* 49, 15; 56, 3; 90, 9; *alder[he]zesta* 12, 6; *alderhezestnes* 103, 3; *aldermyzfullichest* 44, 4; *al* 8, 1; 9, 1; 37, 6; 43, 24; *aldai* 88, 16; 101, 9; *aldaie* 24, 5; *aldaye* 71, 15; *all* 5, 13; *alle* 1, 4; 3, 7; 5, 6 etc.; *halle* 134, 6; *almizti* adj. 194, 13; 194, 14; *almyzful* adj. 45, 4; 182, 4; *alon* 50, 5; 82, 17; 148, 12; *also* 8, 7; 15, 9; *alwaies* 18, 15; *alway* 24, 16; 49, 19; *alwaie* 34, 31; *oway* (read *alway*) 88, 3; *chalþ* 'vitutus' 68, 36; 105, 19; 105, 20; *chalues* pl. 49, 10; *dalþ* pret. sg. 7, 16; *fallen* 7, 17; 9, 33; *falle* 7, 4; *falland* 87, 4; *fallen* p. p. 36, 25; *fallyng* sb. 67, 19; *fallinges* 109, 7; *galle* 'fel' 188, 48; 188, 49; *halfdele* 101, 25; *half* 'side' 15, 8; 16, 9; 44, 11; 118, 107; 149, 6; *halþ* pret. sg. 93, 18; *halpe* 106, 12; 106, 40; *halþ* 2. sg. pret. 85, 16; 88, 42; *psalme* 180, 15; *psalmes* pl. 180, 15; *salme* pl. 26, 11; 56, 10; *psalmen* inf. 20, 13; 107, 1; *wall* 'paries' 61, 3; *walles* 'muros' 54, 10.

β) Before *ld*, *a* remains unbroken in:

colde sb. 147, 6; 190, 7; *cold* 190, 6; *fold* 78, 14; 185, 29; *holde* inf. 76, 9; 129, 3; *hold* 147, 6; *holde* imper. 2. sg. 34, 25; *holde* subj. 3. sg. 193, 1 Creed; *holden* p. p. 43, 24; 77, 41; *olde* 6, 7; 31, 3; 36, 23; 106, 31; 118, 100; *solde* pret. 3. sg. 188, 45; *solde* p. p. 104, 16; *told* pret. sg. 118, 26; 118, 119; *tolden* pl. 21, 17; *told* 77, 3. Besides we find *seldest* 2. sg. pret. 43, 14; *telde* sg. pret. 55, 8; *telden*

pl. 43, 1; 63, 5; 96, 6; 116, 85; *teld* p. p. 105, 30. These are possibly only scribal errors for *soldest*, *tolde* etc.; or they represent O. E. *séaldest*, *téalde* etc.

b) With *i*-Umlaut.

α) Except before *ld*.

I. *e*-form.

welle 'fons' 41, 2 (but this word may have W. G. *ë*).

II. *i*-form.

*wille*¹⁾ 'fons, torrens' 35, 10; 61, 7; 109, 8.

β) Before *ld*.

I. *e*-forms.

elde sb. 70, 10; 70, 19; 91, 10; 91, 14; *elde* adj. 104, 20; *elden* inf. 101, 27; *elled* p. p. 17, 49; *helded* pret. sg. 68, 16; *helded* p. p. 21, 23; *welde* sb. 183, 19; 186, 7; *welden* inf. 78, 12; *welledest* pret. 2. sg. 138, 12.

II. *u*-form.

vlde 70, 19.

§ 21. W. G. *ë* before *r*+consonant and *rr*.

In most of the following examples the result of breaking cannot be proved. But *workes*, *worþ*, are undoubtedly due to it.

1. Not lengthened.

a) Without labial influence.

fer adv. 21, 1; 37, 12; 64, 6; *herte* 4, 3; *hert* 4, 7; *ë*, 10; 9, 1; 9, 28 etc.; *heret* † 7, 11; *hert* 'cervus' 41, 1; *hertes* pl. 17, 36; *kerue* inf. 76, 8; 184, 15; *keruen* 128, 4; *sterres* 8, 4; 146, 4; *werped* pret. sg. 180, 5; *werke* 'opus' 43, 2; *werk* † 183, 2; *workes* 8, 4; 8, 6; 16, 5 (cf. § 26); *derk*, *derke* 17, 13; 34, 7; 68, 28; 138, 11; *derked* p. p. 76, 16; *derknesse* 10, 2; 17, 11; 17, 31.

1) Did the scribe here confuse **welle* with *will* 'voluntas'?

b) With labial influence.

workes pl. 17, 7; *worþ* adj. 51, 7; *worþy*¹⁾ adj. 12, 4; *worþship* sb. 144, 5; *worþship* inf. 51, 15; *worþshipped* p. p. 138, 16; *worþshipped* 36, 2; *worþshipfull* adj. 71, 14; 95, 4; 112, 3; *worþshipfullich* 179, 5 Is.

2. With possible lengthening before *rd*, *rđ*.

erþe 2, 2; 7, 5; 67, 35; *erthe* 105, 17; 183, 13; *herþe* 48, 1; 72, 1; *þerþe* [i. e. *þe-erþe] 43, 27; 45, 9; *erþes* pl. 48, 11; *erþelich* 48, 2; *swerde* 43, 4; 43, 8; 63, 3.

§ 22. W. G. *i* before *r* + consonant.

erne 'currere' 18, 6; *ernand* 57, 7; 147, 7; *erneþ* 3. sg. pres. 147, 4; *ernyng*— sb. 64, 10; *ernynges* pl. 1, 3; *herdes* 'pastores' 174, 4 Ez.

§ 23. The diphthongisation of original palatal vowels after palatal consonants.

Of this development there is hardly any trace in our text.

1. After *j* or palatalised *ʒ*.

a) W. G. *ë*.

zeuen inf. 'dare' 48, 7; 67, 12; 84, 13; 103, 13; *zeue* 1, 3; 2, 8; 115, 13.

Note 1. The following forms may perhaps be mentioned here, though their origin is very doubtful:

zisterdai 89, 14; *zit* adv. 36, 10; 41, 17 (cf. however Luick, Studien p. 190 ff.); *zete* 41, 7; 42, 6; 48, 8; 77, 20.

Note 2. In the following, *i* most probably represents W. G. *i* (cf. Holthausen, E. Stud. XXXII, 81; Bülbring, Elementarb. § 306):

ziue inf. 84, 13; *zyf* inf. 13, 11; 15, 10; 17, 23; 77, 24; *zyf* 'si' 7, 3; 7, 4; *zif* 'si' 7, 13; 18, 14; 22, 4.

b) W. G. *a*:

zaf pt. sg. 4, 7; 12, 6; 15, 7; 17, 38; 17, 44 etc.; *zauen* pl. 34, 14; 68, 26; 113 (115), 17; *zate* sb. 117, 18; 126, 6.

1) This form may also represent O. E. *y*.

e) W. G. *ā*:

zere 101, 25; *zeres* pl. 30, 12; *zere* pl. 89, 10; 89, 11; 94, 4.

d) W. G. *ē*:

ze 'vos' 2, 12; 4, 3.

2. After *sc*.

a) W. G. *a*.

shadow(e) 16, 10; 22, 4; 106, 14; *shadew* 43, 21; *shadue* 106, 10; 143, 5; *shadow* inf. 70, 4; *shadued* pret. 2. sg. 139, 8; *shal* 1. and 3. sg. 5, 4; 5, 5; 5, 7; 5, 8; 6, 6; 7, 7; 7, 10; 7, 13; 7, 17 etc. etc.; *shalle* 40, 8; 70, 16; *schal* 1, 2; 1, 3; 1, 4; 1, 6; 1, 7; 2, 4; 2, 5; 2, 8; 5, 5; 8, 4 etc.; *shall* 39, 12; *shalt* 2. sg. 5, 6; 5, 13; 5, 14; 15, 11; 17, 28; 17, 29; 17, 47; *schalt* 2, 9; 5, 3; *shal* 11, 8; 15, 10; 30, 25; 30, 26; 37, 16; 43, 11; 50, 18; *shal tou* 50, 20; 118, 82; *shalt* 3. sg. (mistake) 40, 2; *shalt* pl. 11, 4; 12, 5; 13, 8; 24, 2; 31, 8; 36, 18; 36, 22; 44, 16; 48, 10; *schal* 1, 4; 5, 5; *shalt* pl. (mistake) 5, 14.

b) Of W. G. *ē*.

shelde 5, 15 [MS. *shelpe*]; *sheldes* pl. 45, 9.

c) Of W. G. *a*.

shepe 5, 7; 43, 13; 43, 24.

d) Of W. G. *a—i*.

shelle 'testa' 21, 15.

§ 24. The diphthongisation of original velar vowels,
after palatal consonants.

No trace of this diphthongisation is found.

1. W. G. *u* after *j*.

zonge 36, 26; 149, 12 (bis); *zonge* [MS. *honge*] 118, 141;
zongelinges 77, 69; *zounlinges* 67, 27; *zengnes* 143, 10; *zengpe*
24, 7; 102, 5; 128, 1. May these two forms be explained

from O. E. *zeong* with accent on the *e*, which would develop into **zeng*? But see also § 8^{III} β.

Also *zoupe* 'juventus' 24, 7; 70, 6; 70, 18 belongs here.

The p. p. *zolden* 64, 1 is a contaminated M. E. form.

2. After *sc*.

a) W. G. *a*.

shaken p. p. 108, 22; *shame* sb. 43, 17; 68, 23; *shame* inf. 24, 1; opt. pl. 6, 10; *shamel* 98, 5; 109, 2.

b) W. G. *u*.

shuldres 186, 16; *shulderis* 90, 4; *shul* 43, 4; 43, 7; 43, 10; 45, 16.

§ 25. Smoothing and palatal mutation.

In most cases the ME. development has obscured the differences of the O. E. forms which ought to be considered here. For instance *ekand* may just as well come from O. E. *ēacand* as from *ēcand*, no distinction being made by our scribe between *ē* and *ē*. But in the following instances the forms of our text still betray their origin more or less unmistakably.

1. *melk* 186, 20 must be derived from late O. E. *meol(u)c*, whilst *milk* 118, 70 comes from Old Anglian *milc*. Cf. Weyhe, PBB. 31, 43 ff.

2. *merked* p. p. 4, 7; 188, 50, shows the Old Anglian development of *ea* > *e* before *rk*.

3. *wex* 'cera' 21, 14; *wexen* 'grow' 71, 16; *wex* opt. sg. 78, 10; *wexing* 29, 7; 32, 17; 121, 6; 121, 7; may come from Old Anglian *wex*, *wexan* or from late WS. *wex*, *wexan*. On the other hand we find *wax* 'cera' 57, 8; 96, 5; *waxen* 64, 14; *wax* imp. 6, 10; opt. 89, 6; *waxing* 71, 7. These forms represent either Old Anglian *wæxan* or late WS. *węaxan*.

4. *lizēn* 'mentiri' 65, 2; *lize* 135, 28; *lized* pret. pl. 77, 40; *lizer* 115, 2; *lizers* 61, 9; if compared with *fleze* etc. (§ 29), seem to point to Old Merian *ligende* (Bülbring, Altengl. El-Buch § 323 and § 513).

5. *betwix* 67, 14.

See also the forms quoted in § 31.

§ 26. The *u-* and *a-/o-*Umlauts.

These Umlauts are difficult to trace, many impossible. It is impossible to recognize those of *a*, because older *ea* appears as *a* throughout (cf. § 1). Also W. G. *ë*, e. g. in *heuen*, may have been mutated or preserved unmutated (cf. § 3).

However, the result of *u-* or *a-/o-*mutation on *i* is still noticeable in *here* 'eorum' 2, 3; 73, 9; *her* 5, 10; 18, 4; 20, 10; 77, 67; 85, 13; *melk* sb. 186, 20; *neperest* 138, 14; *seluer* 'argentum' 113 (115), 4; 188, 72; *seluered* p. p. 67, 14; *sep* conj. 126, 4; 189, 55; *sen* conj. 126, 3.

Seuen 77, 7; 78, 13; 118, 164, and *seuenti* 89, 10, are doubtful, since they may start from prehistoric forms with *i* or *e*.

Also *wetep* imp. pl. 99, 3, and *wetest* 2. sg. 143, 4, and also *smete* 2. sg. pret. (corrected from *smote*) 3, 7, allow of various explanations.

Syluer 104, 35 and *siluer* 11, 7 seem to come from O. E. *siolfor* (cp. Luick, Archiv 98, 437 f.).

With influence of initial *w* we have *wode* 82, 23; 104, 31; *world* 17, 54; 18, 4 etc.; see § 28. In this word also *e* is found twice: *werld* 89, 2; *werldes* 73, 13.

But in *widowes* 77, 70; *wydowes* 93, 6; *widues* 67, 5; *witen* 43, 23; *wyten* 29, 12; *wyte* 40, 9; the *u-* and *a-/o-*umlaut has seemingly not taken place (cf. § 8 II).

§ 27. *w-*Influence.

Influence of *w* is observable in *wode* 'lignum' 82, 13; 104, 31; *worme* 21, 5; *world* 17, 54; 18, 4; 20, 4; 20, 6; 21, 27; *world* 9, 40; 17, 17; *word* 'world' 117, 4 (but *e* appears in *werld* 89, 2; *werldes* 73, 13; this may simply be due to a scribal error, since *e* for *o* occurs pretty frequently by mistake in this MS.); *workes* 9, 17 (only once; the usual form is *werkes* § 21); *worþ* 51, 7; *worþy* 12, 4; *worþship* 144, 5; *worþship* inf. 71, 15; *worþshipped* 36, 21; 138, 16; *worþshipful* 71, 14; 95, 4; 112, 3; *worship* inf. 49, 19; *worten* 'olera' 36, 2. No *w-*influence appears in *swerde* 43, 4; 43, 8; 63, 3; *werst* 'pessimus' 33, 21; *widowe* 108, 8; *widues* 67, 5; *widowes* 77, 70; *wydowes* 93, 6; *wyten* 29, 12; *wyte* 40, 9; *witen* 43, 23; *wir-*

chen, wyrchen 5, 6; 6, 8; 27, 3; *wirichen* 13, 8. The *o* in *swolwe-bridde* 'pullus hirundinis' 180, 7, may simply be a scribal error for *a*; but Stratmann quotes a form *swolwe* 'swallow' from Sir Ferumbras (cp. § 6).

§ 28. The lengthenings before consonant groups.

This development is often not ascertainable in the Psalter, e. g. *child, sheldes*. But lengthening is apparent in forms like *swerd, holde*. On the contrary we have short vowels in *hard, tunge*, consequently also in *singe*.

1. Before *nd* we find lengthening.

a) Of O. E. *a, o*.

bonde sb. 80, 9; *fond* pret. sg. 68, 25; *fonde* 83, 3; 88, 20; 186, 13; *honde* 9, 35; 16, 14; 128, 6; 186, 10; *honde-fouls* 128, 6; *honde-maiden* 85, 15; *lond* 62, 3; *londe* 15, 2; 47, 9; 77, 60; *stonden* inf. 35, 13; *stonde* 5, 4; 17, 42; 23, 3 etc.; *stonden* p. p. 105, 22; *stondynge* 137, 12; *vnderstonde* inf. 39, 1; *vnderstonde* 2. sg. pret. 39, 1; *vnderstonden* pret. pl. 63, 10; *vnderstounde*¹⁾ imp. sg. 60, 1; *vnderstonden* p. p. 87, 4; 118, 95; *vnderstondynge* 15, 7; *vnderstondynge* 11, 8; *vnderstondynge* pl. 77, 78.

b) Of O. E. *u*.

houndes 67, 25; *houndeflezes* 77, 80; 104, 29. Consequently also *i* in *finde, wynde, kind* etc. may be considered long.

2. Before *ng*.

a) O. E. *a, o* appears long.

amonge 6, 7; 9, 11; 71, 16; *a-monges* 54, 20; 98, 6; *long-* 12, 3; *longe* adv. 12, 1; 12, 2; *song* 80, 2; *songe* 46, 5; 80, 3; 95, 1; *songelich* 118, 54.

1) For this form see § 2, 2.

b) Shortening, however, has taken place in the following cases.

α) O. E. *i*.

bryngēþ imp. pl. 28, 1; 28, 2; *bryngēþ* 28, 1; 28, 2; *fyngirs* pl. 77, 64; *fyngers* 8, 4; *syngen* 9, 2; 20, 13; *syngē* 7, 18; 12, 6; 17, 53; 26, 11; *singe* 12, 6; *spring* opt. sg. 185, 25; *þyng* 33, 21; *þyng* + 7, 3; *þinge* 7, 8; *þynges* pl. 1, 4; 8, 7; 17, 36; *þyngē* pl. 44, 15.

β) O. E. *u*.

hungred 33, 10; *tunge* 15, 9; 21, 15; *zonge* 36, 26; 149, 12 (bis); *zonge* [MS. reads *honge*] 118, 141; *zenge* [mistake for *zonge*] 118, 91; *zongelinges* 77, 69. These spellings *u* and *o* are conclusive. Only once we find *ou*: *zounlinges* 67, 27.

γ) O. E. *y*.

king 5, 2; *kyng* 44, 13; 46, 7; *kyng* + 2, 6; 46, 2; *kyngē* 17, 54; 23, 7; 23, 9; 23, 10; 44, 1; *kynges* pl. 2, 2; 2, 10; *kyngdom* 21, 30; *kyngdome* 102, 9; *zyngþe* 87, 16; *zyngþe* [MS. *þingþe*] 42, 4; *zengnes* 143, 10; *zengþe* 24, 7; 102, 5; 128, 1; are probably wrong spellings for *zongnes* and *zongþe*.

3. Before *mb* we have lengthening of O. E. *a*, *o* in:

honykombes 18, 11; *lombes* 186, 20; *wombe* 16, 15; 21, 8; 43, 27.

4. Before *ld* O. E. *a* appears lengthened.

colde sb. 147, 6; 190, 7; *cold* 190, 6; *fold* 'pascua' 78, 14; 185, 29; *holde* inf. 76, 9; 129, 3; *hold* 147, 6; *holde* imp. 2. sg. 34, 25; *holde* 3. sg. subj. 193, 1 Creed; *holden* p. p. 43, 24; 77, 41; *olde* 6, 7; 31, 3; 36, 23; 106, 31; 118, 100; *solde* pret. 3. sg. 188, 45; *solde* p. p. 104, 16; *told* pret. sg. 118, 26; 118, 119; *tolden* pl. 21, 17; *told* 77, 3.

The following forms either show the result of O. E. lengthened *ea*, or are blunders: *seldest* 2. sg. prt. 43, 14; *telde* sg. pret. 55, 8; *telden* pl. 43, 1; 63, 5; 96, 1; 116, 85; *teld* p. p. 105, 30.

5. Before *rd*.

a) W. G. *a* appears short in:

hard 16, 5; 56, 6; *harden* 94, 8; *harden* opt. sg. 39, 6; *hardeneþ* p. p. [read *hardened*] 71, 11; *hardnes* 104, 29; 104, 32; *hardnesse* 10, 2; *towardes* 37, 11.

b) O. E. *eo* appears lengthened in:

swerde 43, 4; 43, 8; 63, 3.

§ 29. The development of the O. E. palatal vowels, before \dot{z} and \dot{z} in stressed syllables.

1. O. E. $\alpha + \dot{z}$.

day 17, 21; 18, 2; 31, 4; 41, 3; *dai* 87, 10; *daye* 1, 2; 18, 2; 40, 1; *daie* 19, 10; 21, 2; 41, 11; 48, 5; 49, 16; *fair* 44, 3; 64, 13; *faire* 146, 1; *fayre* 64, 9; *fairhede* 44, 13; 67, 23; 77, 67; *fayrenesse* 29, 8; *fairnes* 25, 8; 44, 5; 49, 2; 49, 12; 98, 6 etc.; *hail* 'grando' 17, 14; 77, 52; 77, 53; *haile* 148, 8; *mai* 1. sg. pres. 26, 7; *maie* 3. sg. 123, 4; *maiden* 188, 39; *maidenes* pl. 44, 16; *maidens* 77, 69; *seide* pret. sg. 2, 7; 15, 1; 39, 13; 49, 17; *seid* 9, 28; 9, 34; 9, 36; 13, 1; 15, 4 etc.; *seied* 187, 29; *seiden* pret. pl. 34, 24; 40, 5; 41, 15; *seiden* 11, 4; 82, 2; *slain* p. p. 78, 12; 101, 21; *slayn* 43, 24; *slaine* 105, 36 (O. E. *slæzen*).

2. O. E. $e + \dot{z}$.

laie inf. 'ponere' 131, 11; *laip* 3. sg. 36, 25; *leid* pret. sg. 46, 3; *laideſt* 2. sg. pret. 8, 7; 43, 15; *laid* 49, 19; *rain* 'pluvia' 71, 6; 185, 2; *raine* 67, 10; *reine* 185, 3; *rayne* inf. 'pluere' 10, 7; *rained* pret. sg. 77, 28; 77, 31; *saien* 34, 11; *sayen* 51, 6; *saie* [usual form] 26, 11; 28, 8; 49, 13; 56, 12; *saye* 60, 8; *sai* 56, 10; *way* 5, 9; 36, 8; 48, 13; 50, 2; *wai* 35, 4; 79, 10; *waie* [usual form] 1, 1; 1, 7; 2, 12; 13, 7; 17, 33; 24, 9; *waye* 1, 7; 17, 35; 18, 6; 36, 36; *waies* 13, 7.

3. O. E. $\bar{e} + \dot{z}$.

hai 'foenum' 101, 12; *hay* 36, 2; 71, 16; *haie* 105, 20; *lait* 'ignis' 105, 18.

4. O. E. *ēz-* or *ēaz-*.

eze 'oculus' 16, 9; 30, 11 etc.; *ezen* pl. 10, 5; 16, 3; 18, 9; 131, 4 etc.; *hezen* 'oculi' 132, 18; *ezeliddes* 10, 5; *ezenliddes* 131, 4; *heze* 'altus' 7, 8; 17, 19; 17, 36; *eze* 'altus' 101, 20; *heize* 46, 2. Also the following form may be added here: *heze* 'exaltare' 29, 1; *heden* pret. pl. 113, 4; *hezand* 3, 3; *hezed* p. p. 87, 16; 88, 24; *anheze* 17, 52; 36, 16; *and-hezef* imp. 98, 5; 98, 10; *an-hezed* 20, 13; *an-hezed* [MS. *and-hezed*] 9, 35; 88, 14; *ahezéd* pret. pl. 82, 2; *hezestlich* 9, 2; *heznes* 148, 1; *ezenes* 'highness' 11, 9.

5. O. E. *sēzon*, *sāzon*.

seizen pl. 89, 17; 94, 10; 108, 24; *seiz* 57, 8; 68, 28; *seize* opt. sg. 40, 6; *seyze* 39, 16; *seze* 21, 18; 67, 26; 73, 10; *sezen* [MS. *sehen*] 47, 5; 63, 9; *leze* pret. pl. 'mentiri' 80, 4 (cp. § 31).

6. O. E. **dēzan* or O. N. *deyja*.

dien inf. 36, 40; 40, 5; 117, 16; *dyen* 48, 18; *dyand* 48, 9.

Note. *Sholden* 'disperire' 36, 23; according to Professor Bübring is most probably a blunder for *shul dien*.

7. O. E. *ēoz-* or *ēz-* or *īz-*.

fleze 'volare' 54, 6; 186, 15; *flezand* 186, 15; *lizen* 'mentiri' 65, 2; *lize* 135, 28; *lized* pret. pl. 77, 40; *lizer* 115, 2; *lizers* 61, 9.

8. O. E. *ȳz-*, *īz-*.

bridel 31, 12; *drie* 89, 6; *drien* inf. 36, 2; *dride* p. p. 77, 20; *drihede* 'arida, sichima' 94, 5; *dryhede* 65, 5; 77, 45; 107, 7; *driehede* 59, 6; *bistie* sb. 'semita' 26, 17; *bistize* 118, 35; *bisti* 138, 2; *bisties* sb. pl. 24, 4; *bysties* 43, 20; *besties* 141, 3; *bestizes* 16, 6; *bistizes* 22, 3; also once *bystees* 8, 8; *sties* pl. 138, 22.

§ 30. The development of the O. E. velar vowels before *ȝ* in stressed syllables.

I. O. E. *a* diphthongised to *au*.

daweing †77, 38; *dawyng* †73, 17; *drawe* 24, 16; 51, 5; *drawe* pret. 2. sg. 21, 8; *drawe* opt. sg. 9, 32.

II. O. E. *o*.

bowe sb. 45, 9; *bow* 17, 37; *bowe* vb. 16, 12; 26, 14; 48, 4; *bewed* pret. sg. 74, 8 (read **bowed*); *flowen* pret. pl. 30, 15; *flowe* opt. pl. pret. 61, 10.

III. O. E. *u*.

foules pl. 78, 2; 103, 13; 148, 10; 187, 36; *foweles* 49, 12; *fouler* 123, 6; *mow* inf. 17, 42; *zoupe* 70, 6; 70, 18; 128, 2.

IV. O. E. *ō*.

drowe pret. 2. sg. 87, 19; *droȝ* pret. sg. 101, 6; 118, 31; *drow* 87, 3; 118, 25; *drowe* 21, 15; *drowen* pret. pl. 118, 150; *droute* (read **drow to*) pret. pl. 24, 22; *sloȝe* pret. sg. 77, 35; 77, 52; 100, 9; 104, 27; *slo* opt. sg. 9, 30; *sloȝt* pret. 1. sg. 77, 38; *slowen* pret. pl. 78, 7; 93, 5 (bis); *zowes* 'oves' 186, 20.

§ 31. The development of palatal vowels before *h*.

1. Before final *h*.

peȝ 'though' 195, 32; *seiȝ* prt. sg. 'videbat' 32, 13; 36, 37; 96, 4; *seiȝe* 32, 13; 36, 37; 96, 5 (cf. § 29).

2. Before *ht*.

a) *i*-forms.

a) *bryȝt* adv. 90, 6; *briȝted* p. p. 138, 11; *fiȝt* inf. 17, 37; *fiȝt* imp. 2. sg. 34, 1; *fiȝtand* pres. part. 34, 1; *fiȝter* sb. 182, 4; *fiȝtiers* pl. 184, 21; *kniȝt* 183, 22; *kniȝt* pl. 183, 22; *ryȝt* 2, 12; 58, 11; *riȝt* adv. 41, 4; *riȝt* sb. 16, 1; *ryȝt* 4, 6; 16, 17; 17, 23; 57, 1; *ryȝtes* 47, 12; *ryȝteȝ* imp. pl. 8, 3; *riȝtful* 7, 10; *ryȝtful* 1, 4; 7, 11 (bis); *riȝtful* 67, 3; *riȝtfullich*

57, 1; *ryztfulness* 'justitia' 7, 9; *ryztfulness* 9, 4; *ryztfulness* 5, 9; 28, 10; *ryztfulnesses* 18, 9; 118, 16; *ryztfulnesses* 118, 12; *ryzthalf* 76, 10; 77, 59; 90, 7; *ryztinge* 118, 62; *ryztinges* 118, 48; 118, 54; 118, 56; 118, 64; *ryzttinges* 118, 93; *ryztynnges* 118, 23; *ryztynnges* 118, 33; *ryztlich* 18, 9; *ryzt-wysnesse* 17, 25.

β) *mizt* sb. 9, 39; *myzt* 26, 9; *miztes* pl. 19, 7; *myztes* 36, 18; *miztful* adj. 119, 4; 193, 7; *myztful* 51, 1; *myzt* pret. sg. 77, 24; *mizten* pret. pl. 128, 2; 140, 8; *myzt* 20, 11; 35, 13; *nyzt* 1, 2; 16, 4; 18, 2; 41, 11; *nyzt-rawin* 'nycticorax' 101, 7.

γ) *dizten* vb. 77, 22; 102, 19; *dyzt* 77, 24; 191, 9; *dyzted* pret. sg. 7, 14; *dittest* 2. sg. pret. 98, 4; *dizten* pret. pl. 56, 8; *dizt* p. p. 88, 3; 111, 7; *dizteyng* 88, 14; *sizt* 5, 9; 17, 14; 17, 25; *syzt* 9, 26; 17, 8; 17, 27.

δ) *lizt* sb. 35, 10 (bis); 148, 3; *lyzt* 4, 7; 30, 28; *lit* 193, 4 Sim.; *lizt* imp. sg. 66, 1; *lizten* 191, 12; *liztenand* 18, 9; *lyztyng* sb. 89, 8; *lizting* 138, 10; *liztyng* † 26, 1; *lyztyng* † 77, 17; *liztyngens* sb. pl. 'fulgura' 96, 4; *alyzt* inf. 104, 37; *alyztest* 2. sg. pres. 17, 31; *alizt* imp. sg. 79, 17; *alyzt* imp. sg. 17, 31; 30, 20; *alyzted* p. p. 17, 10; *alizt* p. p. 187, 33; *lyzt* adj. 17, 36; *liznesse* 17, 12; *liztnes* 4, 7; 80, 2; *lizten* inf. 'laetificare' 20, 6.

b) e-forms.

α) *fezt* sb. 143, 1; *feztand* 55, 1; 55, 2. Cf. Bülbring, ABeibl. X, 1 ff.

β) *ehti* 'octaginta' 39, 11.

γ) *hez*t 'altitudo' 55, 3; 72, 8; 72, 11; 92, 6.

§ 32. The O. E. vowels before *w*.

I. O. E. *ā*, rounded to *ō*.

blowe inf. 147, 7; *crowe-bridde*s 146, 10; *knowen* inf. 13, 8; *knowen* p. p. 9, 17; 15, 11; 19, 6; 38, 5; 75, 1; *aknow* 55, 10 [read *haua know*]; *knower* adj. 54, 14 [read **knowen*]; *knowelich* inf. 194, 19; *knowelich* opt. pl. 195, 28; *soule* 3, 2; 6, 3; 6, 4; 7, 2 etc. etc.; also *noiper* 74, 6; 194, 4; possibly belongs here.

II. O. E. *ēa* monophthongised.

alderfewest 104, 11; *dew* 122, 3; 185, 2; 189, 5; *dewes* pl. 190, 7; *dewey* inf. 6, 6; *dewand* 103, 14; *fewe* 16, 15; 108, 7; *fewenes* 101, 24; *shewen* 49, 24; *shewe* 21, 83; 28, 8; 57, 7; *shew* 4, 6; 7, 13; *swewe* [mistake for **shewe*] 9, 14; *shewed* 21, 33; *shewynge* 118, 130; *sheweinge* 193, 4 Si; *sheweinges* pl. 92, 6.

III. O. E. *ēo*.

α) Monophthongised to *ē*.

bleu pret. 182, 11; *floes* 'vellus' 71, 6 (probably a mere scribal error for *flees*); *knew* 1, 7; 34, 13; 80, 5; *knewe* 17, 48; 72, 16; *kneu* pret. 2. sg. 138, 4; *knu* 141, 3; *knewen* pret. pl. 13, 7; 77, 3; *knewe* 73, 6; *knew* 187, 25; *new* 67, 14; *newe* imp. sg. 50, 11; *newed* p. p. 38, 3; *rewful* 144, 8; *reuful* 111, 4; *sewen* pret. pl. 'seminare' 106, 36; *trew* adj. 18, 8; 39, 12; 100, 7; 110, 7; *trewe* 77, 41; 88, 36; *treupe* 80, 6; *trewlich* 196, 40; *vntrewe* 187, 30; *trews* 95, 12.

β) Appearing as *o*.

fourty 94, 11; *knowes* pl. 'genua' 108, 23; *knowe* pret. sg. 102, 3; *trowed* pret. pl. 77, 36; *trowed* p. p. 77, 11; *trowand* 17, 33; 86, 3; *trowe-lich* 195, 27; *zou* pron. 4, 5; 49, 23; 61, 10; 113 (115), 15; *zour* poss. pron. 23, 7; 23, 9; 61, 10; 113 (115), 15 etc.; *our* 4, 5 [read **zour*].

IV. O. E. *ī*.

nywe 67, 14. Cf. Van Helten, P.Br.B. XVI, 304 ff., and Bülbring, Elementarb. § 306, Anm. 5.

§ 33. The development of the O. E. velar vowels before velar *ht*.

I. O. E. *o* from W. Gmc. *o*.

α) Diphthongised to *ou*.

bouzt 2. sg. pret. 70, 25; *bouzttest* 2. sg. pret. 30, 6; 76, 14; *douzters* 105, 35; *douters* 105, 34.

β) Without *u*.

dozters 96, 9.

II. O. E. *ō* from Gmc. *ō* or from Gmc. *a+ny*.

α) Diphthongised to *ou*.

brouzt p. p. 14, 5; 44, 16; 44, 17; *bisouzt* pret. sg. 33, 4; *bypouzt* pret. sg. 41, 4; 46, 6; *souzt* p. p. 9, 39; *pouzt* pret. sg. 9, 12; [MS. *nouzt*] 76, 5; *pouzten* pret. pl. 20, 11; 34, 23; *pouten* 37, 13; 40, 8; 82, 3; *pouzt* 82, 5; *poz* 2, 1; *pouzt* sb. 18, 15; 30, 28; 38, 4; *pouztes* sb. pl. 5, 12; 32, 11; 39, 7; *pozutes* (read **pouztes*) 138, 2; *poutes* 55, 5.

β) Without *u*.

sozt pret. sg. 26, 13; *sozten* pret. pl. 37, 13; 63, 6; 85, 13; *sozt* 53, 3; *poztes* 44, 12.

III. O. E. *nāwiht* appears as —.

nouzt 1, 4; 1, 5; 1, 6; 3, 6, etc., or as *nauzt* (read *nouzt*) 7, 1; 9, 26; 12, 4; 50, 12, or as *nozt* 21, 2; 23, 4; 27, 3; 34, 25; 37, 1.

Note. *Fozten* pret. pl. 128, 2; *foeten* 128, 1, (mistake) are formed from the p. p. *zefohten*. *fahten* 108, 2 is either a mistake for **fozten*, or is formed from the sg. **fazt*.

§ 34. The Scandinavian Element.

The Scandinavian Element is but very slightly represented in our text, which is evidently due to the fact, that in the region from whence it arose there were but few Danish or other Scandinavian Settlers.

§ 35. Scand. *a*.

1. Uninfluenced by following sounds.

taken 17, 41; 49, 10; *take* 23, 5; 47, 3; 48, 18; 50, 20; *taken* p. p. 9, 16; 9, 17; 9, 23; 58, 13; *tauken* [!] 189, 61; *ytake* 39, 15; *takyng* sb. 121, 3; *takeing* 195, 33; *takeing* 195, 33; *takeyng* 34, 9; *takeyng* † 107, 8; *taker* 17, 43; 41, 12; 45, 7; 58, 10.

2. Scand. *a* before *ng* > *ǫ*.

wronge sb. 102, 6; *wrong* 118, 78; *wronges* 36, 7; *wrongful* 118, 118; *wrongfullich* 68, 6.

3. Scand. *a+h*.

slazter 'interfectio' 67, 24; *slazter* [MS. *scaztter*] 43, 24.

4. Scand. *a+g* appears as *aw*.

law sb. 67, 33; 118, 61; *lawe* 1, 2; 2, 1; 9, 40; 17, 47.

5. Scand. *a* has become *e* before *st* in:

kest 3. sg. pret. 77, 60; *kest* 2. sg. pret. 49, 18; 79, 9; *kestand* pres. part. 16, 12.

§ 36. Scand. *e* and *æ*.

brenen inf. trans. 96, 3; *brenne* 45, 9; *brent* pret. sg. 104, 18; 105, 18; *brenne* inf. 'intrans' 38, 4; 49, 4; 187, 33; *brennen* 187, 34; *bren* 88, 45; *brent* pret. sg. 105, 18; *brenden* pret. pl. 117, 11; *gresse* sb. 'herba' 89, 6 (cf. Björkman, p. 30, Footnote 1).

§ 37. Scand. *i*.

brynnand pres. part. intrans. 7, 14; *brynnand* 104, 30; *brynyng* sb. 'ardor' 120, 5; *kiddes* 49, 10; 49, 14; *kyddes* 68, 14; *skyn* 103, 3; *skynnes* 184, 11.

§ 38. Scand. *o*.

1. Uninfluenced by following sounds.

rotennes 188, 25.

2. Scand. *o+g* appears as *ow*.

lowe 'flamma' 82, 13.

§ 39. Scand. *y*.

bigged pret. sg. 'fundavit, aedificavit' 23, 2; 77, 75; *birpe* 106, 38; 112, 3; *hilen* 103, 10; *hiled* p. p. 103, 2; *hilled* 2. sg.

pret. 84, 2; *lift* inf. 62, 5; 189, 60; *lifte* pret. 1. sg. 122, 1; *lifted* pret. sg. 105, 25; 120, 1; *lifted* p. p. 23, 7; 23, 9; *lifting* sb. 140, 2.

§ 40. Scand. *a+g > ou*.

lowe adj. 136, 7; *lowen* inf. 17, 30; 54, 21; *lowed* p. p. 37, 8; 45, 6; *lowenesse* 24, 19; *lowenes* 9, 13; 30, 9; *lowenisse* 118, 92; *lowelich* adv. 130, 3.

§ 41. Scand. *æ*.

E in *wenges* 'alac', 186, 16; seems to represent W. Scand. *ǣ*, instead of E. Scand. *i*. Brate (p. 67) is inclined to think that the *æ*-form may have existed in O. Dan., though it has never been found. See also Björkman, Dial. Prov., p. 6.

§ 42. Scand. *é*.

felawés 44, 9; *felawe-shippe* 63, 2; *felaweship* 192, 8; 192, 10; *felawship* 79, 9; *felawshippes* 15, 4.

§ 43. Scand. *ó*.

1. *oker* 14, 6; *rote* 51, 5; *rotes* sb. pl. 51, 5; *tok* pret. sg. 14, 6; *toke* pret. 1. and 3. sg. 3, 6; 6, 9; 14, 4; 17, 19; 17, 38; 23, 4; 62, 8; *toke* pret. 2. sg. 40, 13; 67, 19; *token* pret. pl. 16, 13; 39, 16; *toke* 76, 4.

2. The origin of *rumiand* pres. part. 'rugiens' 21, 12; *rumyand* 103, 21; is uncertain.

§ 44. Scand. *ei*.

agaist p. p. 118, 20; *gnaist* inf. 36, 12; *gnaisted* pret. pl. 34, 19; *gnasting* 184, 18.

These words must have been borrowed previously to the simplification of *ei* to *ē*. Cf. Brate P.Br.B. X, pp. 70—71.

§ 45. Scand. *iu*.

mek adj. 9, 42; 50, 18; *meknes* sb. 118, 50; *mekenes* 21, 21; *meken* inf. 71, 4; *mekep* 3. sg. pres. 7, 47 [MS. *makep*].

The French Element.

§ 46. O. French *a* (except before nasals).

Since such forms as *castels* 77, 32; *rauyns* sb. 61, 10; *dragons* 188, 49; show loss of *e* in the final syllable, it is clear that the English shifting of accent had already taken place in such instances.

1. ME. stressed *ǎ*.

alas 32, 24 (bis); 39, 21 (bis); *asper* adj. 68, 6; 90, 3; *aspide* 57, 4; *aspides* pl. 13, 5; 139, 3; *auarice* 118, 36; *balauces* 61, 9; *batail* 17, 43; 23, 8; 45, 9; *bataille* 88, 42; *bataile* 26, 6; 139, 8; *carnacioun* 192, 18; *castels* 77, 32; *catholik* 194, 19; 196, 40; *catholich* 193, Creed 1; *chalanges* 'calumniae' 118, 34; *challenge* 118, 122; *chalangand* 71, 4; *chalice* 115, 4; *chastieþ* 3. sg. pres. 93, 10; *chastied* pret. sg. 117, 17; *chastiand* 117, 17; *chasteing* † 88, 32; *chastisyng*e 72, 14; *depart* vb. trans. 67, 10; 142, 13; *departen* intrans. 67, 13; 88, 33; *departe* imp. (trans.) 53, 5; *depart* imp. (intrans.) 16, 15; 21, 91; 34, 25; 37, 22; *dep(ar)teden* pret. pl. 21, 18; *departed* 16, 16; *departed* pret. sg. 43, 20; *departynges* pl. 135, 13; *desparple* inf. 145, 8; *disparplen* 184, 21; *desparplis* 144, 21; 181, 15; *desparplist* 2. sg. pret. 17, 44; *desparplist* 3. sg. pret. 43, 3; *desp(ar)ple* opt. sg. 11, 3; *desparplist* p. p. 36, 40; *enhabite* inf. 27, 7; *enlarged* 2. sg. pret. 118, 32; *enlarged* p. p. 187, 22; *grauel* 77, 31; 138, 17; *haterel* 'vertex' 7, 17; *haterels* 128, 4; *large* 17, 40; 30, 10; *maieste* 28, 3; 191, 7 TD.; *malice* 49, 20; 51, 1; 51, 3; *malices* 10, 2; 63, 9; *marchaundis* 126, 4; *part* 15, 5; 72, 28; *parte* inf. 104, 28; *parted* pret. sg. 77, 60; *partener* 118, 63; *parcener* 10, 7; *partye* 186, 12; *parties* 62, 9; *passage* 143, 14; *passen* 17, 32; 41, 4; 103, 11; *passe* 103, 15; *passyng* † 21, 15; 30, 28; 67, 29; *passing* 115, 2; *passion* 67, 22; *pasture* 22, 1; 94, 7; *rauyns* sb. 61, 10; *rauvis* inf. 9, 32; *ravist* pret. pl. 88, 40; *rauvis* opt. 3. sg. 7, 2; 9, 32; *sacrefie* 115, 7; *sacrifie* 39, 9; *sacrifed* vb. pret. sg. 26, 11; *sacrifice* 4, 6; 19, 3; 28, 1; *stabilisse* inf. 44, 18; *stabilis* 49, 22; *stablice*

20, 11; *tabores* 67, 27; *tabernacle* 14, 1; 17, 13; 18, 5; 26, 9; *talent* 72, 7; *talens* 118, 72; *trappe* 123, 7; *trappes* 17, 6; 90, 3; *trauail* 9, 29; 9, 37; 24, 19; *trauaile* 104, 34; *trauales* sb. pl. 108, 10; *trauailes* 104, 42; *trauail* inf. 48, 8; *traualed* pret. 1. sg. 76, 6; *trauayled* p. p. 105, 31; *valai* 83, 6; *ualeye* 107, 7; *valaie* 59, 6; *vanyte* 38, 8; *uanites* pl. 30, 7; 37, 13; 39, 6; *warnist* p. p. 59, 10; 70, 3; 107, 11.

2. ME. *ā* from Old French stressed *ā*.

asswage vb. opt. sg. 93, 13; *blame* inf. 140, 6; *blamed* pret. sg. 9, 5; pl. 15, 7; *blameþ* 41, 9; *blamyng*— sb. 17, 18; *carnacioun* 192, 18; *chace* inf. 43, 7; *chaceden* pret. pl. 188, 44; *chast* 11, 7; *embraceden* pret. pl. 118, 61; *fables* 68, 15; *face* 1, 5; 4, 7 etc.; *fac* 79, 8; *grace* 22, 6; *graces* sb. pl. 35, 8; *grape* 187, 21; 188, 48; *hasten* pres. pl. 188, 52; *hasteden* pret. pl. 15, 3; *haste þe* imp. 2. sg. 69, 1; *hastilich* 36, 2; 68, 21; 101, 3; *hastiloche* 39, 21; *hastyng* 77, 37; *ymages* 72, 20; *palenes* 67, 14; *rasour* 51, 2; *stable* 17, 37; 67, 33; *stablens* 26, 10; *traces* 16, 6; 17, 40; *vnstable* 57, 7; 63, 8; *wasten* inf. 143, 7; *waste* 188, 38; *wasteþ* 3. sg. pres. ind. 32, 10; *wasted* pret. sg. 17, 16; 52, 7; *wasted* p. p. 7, 10; 34, 19; 67, 1; 118, 126; 140, 9.

§ 47. *a* before nasals.

a) Not diphthongised.

angeles sb. pl. 102, 20; 103, 5; *anguisse* sb. 118, 28; *dampne* inf. 36, 35; *dampne* opt. sg. 49, 23; *dampnacion* 68, 27; *dampnacioun* 57, 9; 123, 7; 139, 11; *languissed* pret. pl. 87, 9; *lanterne* 17, 31; 118, 105; *manaces* sb. pl. 7, 13; 17, 16; 26, 5; 36, 14; 36, 16; 63, 3; [cf. O.Fr. *manace* : *menace*]; *maner* 118, 43; 147, 9; *manere* 38, 8; 47, 5; *manicles* 149, 8; *sanctuari* 72, 17; 73, 8; 82, 11; 88, 38; *strange* 'alienus' 43, 22; 53, 3; *stranges* 48, 10; *strange* pl. 59, 9.

b) With diphthongisation.

French *a* before nasal+consonant appears in most instances as *au*.

affiance sb. 188, 55; *aungel* sb. 33, 7; 34, 6; *braunches* 'novellae' 127, 4; *chaumbre* 18, 5; *chaunge* 54, 22; *chaungen* 101, 28; *chaungeden* pret. pl. 105, 20; *chaunged* p. p. 72, 21; *chaungeing* 88, 50; *chaungeinge* 76, 10; *chaungynges* 43, 14; *comaunded* pret. 32, 9; 110, 8; *comaundement* 7, 7; 39, 11; 95, 20 etc.; *comauntdement* (!) 85, 15; *enflaumed* p. p. 72, 21; *flaume* 28, 7; *graunten* 88, 6; *graunte* imper. 2. sg. 38, 18; *haunted* p. p. 'exercere' 1'8, 15; 118, 23; 118, 27; *haunteyng* 54, 2; *launce* 184, 17; *marchaundis* 126, 4; *plaunted* p. p. 91, 13; *raunsoun* 48, 8; 110, 8; 129, 7; *raunson* 190, 1; *raun-soun* inf. 7, 2; 48, 7; 71, 14; 129, 8; *raunceoun* imp. sg. 25, 11; *sclaunder* sb. 48, 13; 105, 33; 139, 6; *sclaundre* 49, 21; *sclaundres* sb. pl. 140, 10; *saruaint* 18, 12; *seruaint* 18, 13; 26, 14; *straunge* adj. 'alienus' 17, 49 (bis); *straunge* pl. 86, 4; 9, 36; *vengeaunce* 9, 6; 21, 20; *vengaunce* 6, 1; 45, 6; *uen-geaunces* pl. 17, 51.

§ 48. O. French e.

1. ME. ē.

aduersarie 73, 11; *aduersaries* 182, 6; *ansemble* inf. 146, 2; 187, 35; *apert* adj. 50, 7; 79, 2; *aperte* 147, 9; *aperteliche* 49, 3; *assemble* sb. 61, 8; *assembleþ* imper. pl. 49, 6; *assembled* p. p. 34, 18; 46, 9; *assente* sb. 54, 15; *beggand* 'mendicans' 39, 23 (also *biggen* 'mendicare' 108, 9); *bernache* 'camus, snaffle' 31, 12; *bestaile* 185, 29; *cherubyn* 79, 2; *confermed* 2. sg. pret. 37, 2; 40, 13; *conferme* imper. sg. 50, 13; *conferme* 3. sg. opt. 19, 4; *confermed* p. p. 37, 20; 50, 19; *defenden* inf. 33, 7; 39, 12; 90, 14; *defende* 17, 47; 17, 52; 30, 26; 36, 42; 49, 16; *defend* 90, 15; *defended* pret. 3. sg. 17, 20; *defendyng*— 21, 19; *defendour* 17, 3; 17, 21; 17, 33; 27, 11; 70, 3; *defens* 17, 38; 88, 42; 90, 1; *descenden* 48, 18; *descendant* 27, 1; *desert* 28, 7; 77, 57; 105, 9; *edefien* 88, 5; *edefied* p. p. 88, 3; 121, 3; *edifiand* pres. part. 146, 2; *enemi* 7, 2; *enemy* 7, 5; 8, 3 etc.; *enheretien* 81, 8; *enheryte* 24, 14; *enherit* 36, 23; 36, 31; *enerit* 36, 11; *entent* sb. 44, 5; 58, 6; *enterete* 59, 8; *entre* sb. 120, 7; *entren* inf. 65, 12; *entre* 23, 7; 42, 4; *envie* 77, 64; 79, 14; *erren* inf. 106, 39; *erren* pres. pl. 94, 11;

erreden pret. pl. 57, 3; *excusen* 140, 4; *excusaciouns* 140, 4; *fendour* sb. 120, 4; *herbes* pl. 36, 2; *heritage* 9, 6; 15, 5; 27, 12; *herytage* 104, 10; *eritage* 2, 8; *legats* 67, 34; *lettrure* 70, 17; *menzes* 'familiae' 106, 40; *meinzeis* 21, 29; *merci* 20, 8; 22, 8; *mercy* 4, 2; 5, 7; 6, 2; 6, 4; *mercyng*e 101, 14; *merciable* 24, 12; 77, 42; *mercyable* 78, 9; *merciful* 36, 27; *mercyful* 64, 3; *meruailles* 76, 11; *meruayles* 25, 7; *meruailous* 44, 15; *pellican* 101, 7; *penaunce* 29, 11; 34, 15; 124, 3; *penne* 44, 2; *perils* 114, 3; 143, 8; *perissen* 1, 7; 9, 3; 91, 40; *perischen* 91, 9; *perisse* 9, 19; 36, 30; 36, 36; *peris* 40, 5; 193, 2 Creed; *persecucioun* 54, 8; *persone* 194, 19; *persoun* 194, 15; *persons* 194, 4; *plente* sb. 23, 1; 35, 9; *plentiuose* adj. 129, 7; *plentiuous* 67, 16; 143, 13; *plentifous* 91, 10; 91, 14; *plentiuousliche* adv. 80, 30; *precious* 18, 11; 20, 3; 115, 5; *precieuse* 192, 21; *rebels* 71, 2; 71, 4; *regnen* inf. 9, 40; 145, 9 (bis); *regne* 46, 8; *repenten* pres. pl. 125, 6; *rewarde* 27, 6; *septres* 184, 21; *serpent* 57, 4; *serpentes* 148, 10; *seruen* inf. 21, 32; 71, 11; *serueþ* pres. ind. pl. 36, 9 (Text reads *seruen*): *seruant* 30, 20; 88, 38; *seruaunt* 18, 13; 26, 14 (also *saruiaunt* 18, 13; cp. infra); *seruage* 67, 34; *seruice* 103, 5; *seruise* 80, 3; *tempest* sb. 49, 4; 106, 23; 106, 28; *tempestes* 10, 7; *temple* 5, 8; 10, 4; 17, 8; 26, 8; *tempten* pres. ind. pl. 69, 2; *tempted* pret. pl. 56, 8; *temptedd* 77, 46; *temptacioun* 17, 32; 21, 11; *tentours* 184, 11; *terme* 103, 10; *termes* 71, 8; *terme* pl. 2, 8; *testament* 24, 15; 77, 13; *tremblen* inf. 103, 32; *trembleþ* 3. sg. pres. 118, 28; *trembled* pret. sg. 17, 9; *trembleden* pret. pl. 13, 9; 52, 6; *trespasse* 18, 14; *trespas* pl. 24, 19; *trespasses* 18, 13; *trespases* 21, 1; 24, 7; *trespassynges* 100, 3; *trespassen* inf. 33, 21; 33, 22; *venge* inf. 189, 65; *venged* p. p. 117, 9; 117, 10; 117, 12; *vengeance* 30, 30; *vengeaunce* 9, 6; 21, 20; *vengaunce* 6, 1; 45, 6; *uengeaunces* sb. pl. 17, 51; *ueniales* 18, 13; *vertu* 17, 43; 20, 1; *uertu* 17, 35; 21, 15; *uertue* 32, 6; *vertou* 101, 24; *vessel* 30, 16; *uestment* 44, 10; *uncertain* 50, 7.

2. *e* lowered to *a* before *r*+Consonant.

paraunter adv. 118, 92; 123, 2; *par aaventure* 80, 13; *parchaunce* adv. 54, 13; 118, 41; 123, 4; *parfit* adj. 11, 1; 88, 36; 195, 30; *parfizt* 186, 4; *-parfite* in *wiparfite hate* 131,

21; *saruant* 18, 12 (usually *seruant* see above). Note also *peraventure* 90, 12. These forms must be accepted with caution, because of the frequent contraction of *er* and *ar* in manuscripts, and the uncertainty as to actual pronunciation.

3. ě or ē.

adresce imper. 5, 9; *adresced* p. p. 19, 9 (cp. Morsbach, Festschrift für Wendelin Foerster, p. 324 sq.); *beste* 134, 8; *bestes* 8, 7; 49, 11; *drescen* inf. 7, 10; 24, 10; *drescing* † 44, 8; *drescyng*e 118, 7; *dresceinges* pl. 98, 4; *medeled* pret. 1. sg. 101, 10; *medeled* p. p. 74, 7; *mesure* 79, 6; *measured* pret. sg. 184, 4; *mesurable* 38, 7; *tettes* or *tettis* sb. pl. 21, 8; *trecherie* 9, 29; 11, 2; 14, 3; *trecherie* 33, 13; *trecherous* 11, 2; 11, 3; *trecherous* 5, 7; *trecherouslich* 35, 2; *trecherousliche* 13, 5; *trecherouslich* 35, 2; *tresour* 'pecunia' 14, 6; *tresours* 'thesauri' 32, 7; 38, 10; *tresories* 'thesauri' 188, 50; *venim* 13, 5; 118, 49; *venym* 39, 3; *uenym* 57, 5.

4. ME. ē and ē̄.

aliened p. p. 57, 38; *apperen* inf. 16, 17; *apere* 41, 2; *apered* pret. pl. 91, 7; *cedres* 91, 12; 103, 17; 148, 9; *cedros* 28, 5 (bis); 36, 37; *chere* 'vultus' 89, 8; *clere* 15, 6; 18, 9; 22, 7; *creme* 2, 2; 17, 54; 19, 6; *creyme* 104, 14; *grece* 62, 6; *grees* 72, 7; *grese* inf. 140, 6; *gresed* p. p. 187, 22; *greue* adj. 37, 4; *greuen* inf. 104, 13; *greued* pret. sg. 9, 25; *greueden* pret. pl. 77, 45; 77, 62; *greued* 77, 45; 105, 31; *greued* p. p. 31, 4; 37, 4; *precheand* pres. part. 2, 6; *prechynges* pl. 72, 28; *sege* sb. 44, 8; 46, 8; 88, 14; *spece* 49, 2; *vmseged* pret. sg. 21, 16; *cuntres* 7, 6; 58, 15; *cuntreis* 21, 28; *cuntreys* 17, 53; *contreis* 18, 4.

In *cracches* sb. Nor. Fr. *e* seems to have become *a* after *r*, but the development is not clear. See N.E.D. 'cratch'. Behrens p. 88. Skeat Etym. Dict.

§ 49. O. French *i*.

abyme 182, 11; *abimes* 182, 8; *affien* 'confidere' 117, 7 (bis); *affien* ind. pl. 48, 6; *afien* 2, 13; *affied* pret. sg. 24, 1;

bygglen 103, 27; *cite* 47, 1; 47, 2; 47, 7; *cymbals* 150, 5 (bis); *crye* 5, 1; 9, 12; *crie* 17, 8; *crye* inf. 27, 1; *crien* 21, 2; 29, 10; *cristalle* 147, 6; *deliten* 50, 17; 89, 16; *delyten* 36, 11; *delithed* pret. sg. 118, 14; *deliteden* pret. pl. 44, 10; *delitinges* 35, 9; *delitynges* 15, 11; *deliuer* 34, 12; 90, 14; *deliuiere* 40, 1; *diliuer* 36, 42; *deliuerer* 17, 1; *delyuerer* 17, 51; *delyuerour* 69, 7; *depriue* 83, 13; *desiderable* 18, 11; 105, 23; *desire* 9, 41; 20, 2; 32, 19; *desired* pret. sg. 41, 1; *despisen* 50, 18; *despisen* 43, 7; *despised* pret. sg. 77, 68; *despite* 118, 22; 122, 4; 122, 5; *dignacioun* 29, 5; *discipline* 17, 39; 22, 5; 49, 18; *discomfortables* 'desolatorius' 119, 4; *distincted* pret. sg. 105, 32; *distribucioun* 77, 60; *enclined* pret. sg. 9, 33; *enired* p. p. 184, 12; *enticement* 34, 8; 120, 5; *enuironed* pret. pl. 87, 18; *ficched* p. p. 9, 15; 31, 4; 37, 2; 68, 3; *figer* 'ficus' 185, 27; *fygers* 'ficuineae' 104, 31; *firmament* 18, 1; 190, 18; *gileri* 23, 4; *gilery* 31, 2; *hidous* 186, 13; *ydolatries* 67, 33; *yles* 71, 10; *yldes* 96, 1; *illusiouns* 37, 7; *indignacioun* 77, 54 (bis); *inspiracioun* 17, 18; *ire* 2, 13; *yre* 7, 6; *issu* 77, 55; *yssu* 120, 7; *licor* 187, 21; *lioun* 9, 31; *lion* 7, 2; *lyon* 16, 13 (bis); 21, 12; *liuer* inf. 96, 11; *ministres* 103, 5; *ministris* 102, 21; *piler* 98, 7; *pilgrime* 68, 11; *pilgrimage* 118, 54; *pite* 26, 12; 29, 13; *pyte* 24, 17; *pites* 24, 6; *piteful* 110, 4; *pityful* 85, 14; *princes* 2, 2; 23, 7; *pris* 43, 14; 48, 8; *prison* 104, 18; *pryue* 'occultus' 50, 7; *priuelich* 100, 5; *priuete* 26, 9; *priuete* 9, 31; *priuetes* 9, 30; *priuetez* 18, 13; *relikes* 36, 39; 36, 40; *religion* 194, 19; *riches* 36, 3; 36, 7; 48, 6; 48, 10; 61, 10; *ryuers* [MS. *ryueils*] 64, 11; *scriuayn* 44, 2; *sir* 'domine' 12, 1; *spirizt* 17, 18; 32, 6; *synagoge* 7, 7; *tribled* p. p. 37, 10; 38, 9; *tribulacion* 21, 10; 36, 41; *tribulacioun* 4, 1; 9, 9; *tribuland* (or *trybuland*) 105, 11; *tribluled* p. p. 54, 2; *trinite* 194, 3; 195, 24; *uices* 39, 2; *uiciouseliche* 48, 13; *vine* 127, 3; *uines* 77, 52; *vynes* 104, 31; *virgine* 102, 17; *virgines* 148, 12; *uisiten* 58, 6; *uisite* 88, 32; *uisited* pret. 2. sg. 16, 4; *viseted* pret. sg. 191, 11; *uisited* 190, 1.

§ 50. Norman-French o.

acorde sb. 138, 2 (merely a blunder for *corde*=funiculus, cf. the Dublin MS.); *acorden* pres. pl. 2, 2; *acordeden* 74, 4;

aproched p. p. 106, 18; *close* imper. sg. 34, 3; *closed* pret. pl. 117, 11; *corde* sb. 77, 60; 104, 10; 186, 12; *cordes* 105, 4; *corner* 117, 20; 117, 25; *enprospered* p. p. 117, 23; *force* 37, 12; 43, 7; *glorie* 3, 3; 7, 5; 8, 6; 18, 1; 20, 5 (bis); 23, 8; 23, 9; *glorieþ* imper. pl. 31, 14; *glorifien* inf. 85, 11; 182, 13; *glorifie* 85, 8; *glorifieþ* 3. sg. pres. ind. 14, 15; *glorifieþ* imper. 2. pl. 21, 23; *glorious* 86, 2; 192, 8; *glorouse* 190, 18; *gloriousliche* 182, 1; *gorge* 13, 15; *honour* 20, 5; 28, 2; 98, 3; *honur* 8, 6; 44, 10; *honouren* 192, 13; *honour* 49, 24; 195, 25; *hoste* 182, 4; *innocent* 14, 6; 17, 28; *innocens* pl. 67, 5; *innocentz* 25, 6; *innocence* 25, 11; *innocens* 25, 1; 100, 2; *inprofitable* 52, 4; *molist* p. p. 54, 24; *morsels* 147, 6; *morter* 61, 3; *noble* 80, 3; *offren* 65, 12; 67, 32; 71, 10; *offre* imper. 2. sg. 49, 15; *offrand* sb. 39, 10; 115, 7; *offerand* 26, 11; *offrendes* 65, 12; 65, 14; *offryndes* 95, 8; *offryng* + 19, 3; *offrynge* 39, 9; *ordeine* ind. pl. 49, 6; *ordeined* pret. sg. 88, 4; 104, 8; *order* sb. 109, 5; *ordinaunce* 118, 91; *recorded* pret. sg. 102, 14; *restoren* 15, 5; *solas* 179, 4 Is.; *solempne* 73, 9; 117, 25; *solemnite* 80, 3; *throne* 50, 20; *trone* 9, 4; 9, 8; *topaz* 118, 127; *volatils* 77, 31; *vnprofitable* 13, 4.

Stoppe inf. 'oppilare' 106, 4; *stopband* 'obturus' 57, 4; *stoppe* p. p. 'obstructus' 62, 10; are most probably taken from the Italian. See Skeat Etym. Dict. 'stop'.

§ 51. Norman-French *u*.

I. Before consonant groups or long consonants.

1. *u* before nasal+consonant.

confounde inf. 118, 31; *confoundest* 2. sg. pres. 13, 10; *confounded* 2. sg. pret. 43, 9; *confoundedest* 43, 11; *confunded* p. p. 33, 5; 34, 4; *confounded* 21, 4; 24, 2; 24, 3; 30, 20; 34, 5; 36, 20; *counfounded* 30, 1; 68, 9; *corrumped* 13, 2; 37, 5; 52, 2; *contreis* 18, 4; *cuntreis* 21, 28; *cuntreys* 17, 53; *cuntres* 7, 6; 58, 15; *contricioun* 59, 2; 146, 3; *cumpainie* 67, 33; *cumpas* sb. 43, 16; 88, 8; 88, 9; *cumpassen* inf. 31, 13; *cumpasse* 49, 4; 96, 2; *cumpas* 90, 5; *compassen* pres. pl. 31, 9; *cunpassed* pret. sg. 31, 9; *cumpasement* 139, 10; *desconforte* 72, 19; *descounforted* pret. pl. 78, 7; *encumpas* 7, 7; *encum-*

passed pret. pl. 108, 2; *encumpassed* p. p. 21, 16; *encompassd* 44, 11; *founded* pret. sg. 47, 7; 86, 5; *fonded* 2. sg. pret. 118, 152; *founded* p. p. 47, 2; *foundementes* sb. pl. 86, 1; *foundement* 17, 17; *foundemenzt* 17, 9; *mount* sb. 47, 2; *mounte* 183, 4; *mountep* pres. sg. 73, 24; *mounted* pret. 17, 10; 17, 12; *mountein* 23, 8; *mounteyn* 47, 1; *mounteine* 132, 8; *nombre* 38, 6; 192, 9; *trumpe* 'tuba' 46, 5; *trumpes* 97, 6.

2. *u* before *r*+consonant.

burion 'germina' 185, 27; *buryon* 64, 11; *burron* 187, 34; *burionand* 190, 10; *curlu* 104, 38; *destourbed* pret. sg. 77, 35; *destourbed* p. p. 82, 1; *desturbed* 89, 7; *enfourme* inf. 31, 10; *fourme* 44, 3; *formedest* 2. sg. pret. 73, 18; *fourmeour* 187, 27; *gourde* 32, 7; *turment* 43, 21; 90, 10; *tourmentes* sb. pl. 31, 13; 37, 18; *tourmentz* 139, 11; *turmentes* 63, 8; 48, 14; *tourmentep* 41, 13; 42, 2; *turmented* p. p. 37, 8; *turment* opt. pl. pres. 68, 19; *tourmementyng* † 17, 21.

3. *u* before other long consonants or French consonantal groups.

substaunce 38, 7; 38, 11; 68, 2; 194, 4; *suffren* 58, 7; 58, 16; *suffrand* pres. part. 7, 12; 36, 15; *suffraunce* 9, 19; 61, 5; *supplaunten* 139, 5; *supplauntynge* 40, 10; *suspeccioun* 118, 39; *susposeing* 49, 22; *susteine* pl. pres. 24, 2; *sustained* pret. 24, 5; 24, 22.

II. In open syllables or before single final consonants.

1. ME. stressed *u* from O.Fr. stressed *u*.

couer inf. 139, 10; *couered* pret. sg. 43, 21; *couered* pret. pl. 54, 5; *couered* p. p. 43, 17; 44, 15; *couering* † sb. 60, 4; *couertour* sb. 6, 6; 101, 28; 103, 7; *croune* 20, 3; *crouned* p. p. 5, 15; *crounep* 102, 4; *corouned* pret. 8, 6; *defoule* 'contritio' 13, 7; *defoule* inf. 45, 9; 90, 13; *defoulen* 45, 9; 47, 6; *defouledest* pret. 3, 7; *defouled* pret. pl. 54, 23; 55, 2; *defoule* imper. sg. 9, 39; *defoule* opt. sg. 7, 5; *defouled* p. p. 33, 20; 55, 1; *defouledede* 36, 18; *deuoren* 34, 28; 57, 9; *deuoure* 20, 9; *deuore* 187, 36; *dououre* opt. sg. [MS. *donouere*] 68, 19; *doute*

2, 11; 5, 8; 13, 9; 18, 10; *douten* 22, 4; 26, 1; 39, 5; 45, 2; *doute* 3, 6; 48, 5; *doutep* 111, 1; *floure* 102, 14; *flour* 62, 6; 80, 15; *honour* 20, 5; 28, 2; 98, 3; *honur* 8, 6; 44, 10; *honouren* 192, 13; *honour* 49, 24; 195, 25; *langour* 87, 9; *lioun* 9, 31; *lyon* 16, 3 (bis); 21, 12; *lion* 7, 2; *proue* imp. sg. 25, 2; *proued* pret. sg. 80, 7; *proued* p. p. 17, 33; *proud* adj. 88, 11; *prude* 100, 6; *proude* sb. 118, 51; *proudep* 3. sg. pres. 9, 23; *prouded* pret. opt. pl. 188, 4; *reproce* sb. 30, 14; 38, 12; 88, 40; 118, 39; *repruce* 88, 49; *repruce* 43, 16; *repruces* sb. pl. 68, 12; 77, 72; *reproces* 68, 10; *reprucen* inf. 93, 10; *reprocep* 3. sg. pres. ind. 32, 10; *repruce* imp. sg. 6, 1; *repruceand* pres. part. 68, 12; *reproceand* 43, 18; *reprucynge* sb. 122, 5; *reprusynge* 14, 4; *reproceyng* † 21, 5; *reproceing* † 78, 4; *reproceinge* 56, 4; *repruue* inf. 49, 9; *reproue* 49, 22; *reproued* pret. pl. 41, 14; 88, 50; *repruued* pret. sg. 72, 15; *reproue* imp. sg. 6, 1; *resonable* 195, 30; 195, 35; *resoun* 72, 22; *socour* 58, 18; 70, 4; 89, 1; *somened* 77, 64; *somond* pret. pl. 77, 45; *soune* 18, 4; 41, 55 [MS. *seune*]; *sounand* 150, 5; *sounded* pret. pl. 45, 3; *spouse* sb. 'sponsus' 18, 5; *spouse-breches* sb. pl. 49, 19; *tour* 60, 3.

2. ME. stressed *u* from O.Fr. unstressed *u*.

cuuaytise 73, 21; *couenant* 77, 63; *florissen* 71, 16; 102, 14; *flurissen* 91, 13; *floris* 91, 12; 185, 27; *florische* opt. sg. 89, 6; *glotonie* 68, 15; *gouverne* 47, 13; *gutere* 64, 11; *norisen* 54, 25; *sudeinlich* 63, 4; *sudeinliche* 72, 19.

III. Before *st* or before mutes+liquids.

double 78, 13; 108, 28; *stuble* 82, 12; 182, 7; *trublen* 2, 5; 20, 9; *trubled* p. p. 6, 2; 6, 3; 6, 7; 6, 10 etc. But also *yttroubled* p. p. 118, 60; because *bl* may belong to the next syllable. *trublyng* 30, 25; *pouste* 40, 2; 44, 6; 47, 23; *poste* 17, 38.

IV. ME. *ũ* or *û*, according to Morsbach's law.

couche 35, 4; *couches* 103, 22; 149, 5; *chouches* 4, 5; *gruched* pret. pl. 105, 24; *grucched* 40, 8; *gutt* 'gutta' 44, 10; *touchen* 104, 14; *touchep* 103, 32.

V. In final positions, appearing as *ow*.

a-vowes pl. 'vota' 60, 8; 65, 12; *awowed* [MS. *abowed*] pret. sg. 131, 2; *vowe* 64, 1 [MS. *bowe*]; 131, 2; *vowes* 21, 26; 115, 5 [MS. *bowes*]; *uowes* 49, 15.

§ 52. Norman-French *ü*.

abusion 30, 22; *commune* 140, 5; *confus* 73, 22; *confusyon* 70, 14; *confusion* 39, 21; 43, 17; *confusione* 39, 30; *confisioun* 68, 23; *confucioun* 68, 10; *corrupcioun* 59, 4; *corupcioun* 15, 10; *custum* 67, 6; *flum* 'fluvius' 113, 3; 113, 5; *fractifiand* 51, 8; *hurteled* 2. sg. pret. 88, 43; *hurteled* p. p. 144, 15; 145, 7; *iuge* sb. 7, 12; 49, 7; 192, 20; *iugen* inf. 49, 5; *iuggen* 134, 16; *iuge* 9, 8; 9, 42; *iugent* [for *iugen*] 188, 53; *iuge* imper. 35, 27; *iugement* 1, 6 etc.; *iugumen* 49, 22; *iugementz* pl. 18, 10; *mule* 31, 11; *multiplien* 1, 4; *multiplied* p. p. 15, 3; 24, 18; 24, 20; *multitude* 30, 23; 43, 14; 63, 2; *punist* p. p. 36, 30; *purged* p. p. 11, 7; *purifie* 50, 8 [MS reads long *s* instead of *f*]; *refusen* 120, 3; *refused* pret. 77, 65; *refut* 9, 9; 17, 1; 30, 3; 30, 4; 'susceptor' 90, 2; *refuit* 31, 9; *refuted* 77, 73; *studies* 13, 2; *studynges* 9, 11; *subiect* 61, 8; *subiectes* 59, 9; *suget* 36, 6; *vnycorne* 91, 10; *vnicorns* 77, 75; *vnicornus* 28, 6; *vse* inf. 76, 12; *usure* sb. 54, 11; *vsures* 71, 14; *usurer* 108, 10.

§ 53. *ai* in Norman-French words.

I. French *ai*.

1. Appearing as *ai*.

aier 17, 13; *barain* 112, 8; 181, 8; *barainesse* 34, 4; *chaitif* 137, 11; *chaitifs* 84, 1; 125, 1; 137, 3; *chaitifnes* 13, 11; 125, 5; *chaitifte* 11, 5; 31, 4; *debonairte* 64, 12; *haire* 'hairshirt' 68, 14; *vain* 88, 34; *vayn* 62, 9; *waimentand* 34, 17; *waimentyng*— 11, 5; *waymentyng*— 29, 14; 37, 9; *waientynges* 101, 21; *waiteþ* 3. sg. pres. 'insidiatur' 9, 31; 9, 32; *waityng*— sb. 'insidiae' 43, 8; *waientynges* 9, 30.

2. Appearing as *ei*.

heyrouns 'herinaria' 103, 18; *oreisoun* 6, 9; 54, 1; *oreison*

41, 12; 101, 18; *peisible* 36, 39; 119, 6; *peisiblelich* 34, 23; *pleise* inf. 114, 9; *pleised* pret. sg. 34, 17; *pleisant* 76, 7.

3. Appearing as *e*.

deboner 24, 10; 85, 4; *egle* 186, 15; *enchesoun* 'causa' 9, 4; *enchesun* 3, 7; *anegreden* 106, 11; *enegred* pret. sg. 'exacerbavit' 104, 26; *enengred* for *enegred* 'incitavit' 73, 19; *pes* 'pax' 33, 14; *pees* 4, 9; 54, 20; *pesest* 'mitigas' 88, 10; *plesen* 48, 13; *plesed* pret. sg. 25, 3; 43, 5; *plese* pres. opt. 55, 13; *plesaunce* 118, 108; *resoun* 72, 22; *resonable* 195, 30; 195, 35.

II. *ai* from *a*+palatal consonant.

aparaile 'stratum' 131, 3; *defailen* 22, 1; *defailed* pret. sg. 9, 6; 21, 15; *defaile* opt. sg. 103, 35; *faillen* inf. 72, 19; *faïlen* 101, 28; 103, 29; *faïle* 36, 26; *faïland* 36, 21; *faïled* pret. sg. 38, 14; *vaïled* pret. pl. 'praevalere' 64, 3; *versail* inf. 'psallere' 100, 1; *ver-saïlep* imp. pl. 97, 5.

§ 54. *ei* in Norman-French words.

I. French *ei*.

1. Appearing as *ai*.

couait 44, 13; 61, 10; *couaited* pret. pl. 105, 14; *couayted* 93, 21; *couaitise* 'avaritia, concupiscentia' 105, 14; *cuuaitis* 68, 3; *cuuaytyse* 73, 21; *cuuaytyse* adj. 73, 21; *faintes* 'figmentum' 102, 13; *fainteliche* 67, 14; *faïpe* 32, 4; 193, 1; 194, 3; *faïplich* 179, 2 (IS.); *faïpliche* 11, 6; *praie* 'praeda' 16, 13; *praien* inf. 'orare' 36, 6; *praie* 5, 3; 29, 10; 31, 7; *praye* imper. sg. 36, 6; *prayere* 4, 2; 139, 7; *praïere* 38, 16; 53, 2; 101, 2; 101, 9; 5, 2; 6, 9; 27, 2; *prayse* inf. 11, 4; *praised* pret. pl. *praier praisyng* 144, 22; *praiseyng* 148, 14; *praiseable* 192, 9; *quaintise* sb. 'prudentia' 48, 3; *quaintyse* 104, 20; *queintise* 188, 43; *quaintis* 90, 13; *quainte* 'prudens' 118, 98.

2. Appearing as *ei*.

conceiued pret. 7, 15; 50, 6; *conceiued* p. p. 50, 6; *deceiue* 131, 11; *deceyue* pl. opt. 86, 15; *deceiueþ* 14, 6; *deceivable* 32, 17; *desceit* 78, 4; *destreingne* opt. sg. 68, 19; *feineþ*

93, 20; *feined* pret. sg. 32, 15; 93, 9; *peine* 123, 4; *peines* 67, 8; *peynes* 73, 14; *receiue* imper. 16, 2; *reines* 'renes' 138, 12; *reiners* 7, 10.

3. Appearing as *e*.

leal 88, 28.

II. *ei* from *e*+palatal consonant.

1. From older *e*+palatal *l*.

conseil 19, 4; 25, 4; 39, 4; *counseil* 1, 1; 9, 23; 12, 2; 21, 16; 32, 11; *conseyl* 1, 6; *counseils* pl. 32, 10; *counseiles* 32, 10; *counseiled* pret. pl. 30, 17.

2. From older *e*+palatal *n*.

constreigne imper. sg. 31, 12; *constreinand* 34, 6; *constreint* p. p. 194, 19.

§ 55. Norman-French *oi*, *ui*, *üi*.

1. Appearing as *oi*.

alloined p. p. 72, 26; *anoiens* 88, 22; 88, 33; *a-noiand* 9, 30; 34, 1; 34, 15; *anoient* pret. 44, 9; *anoit* p. p. 17, 54; *anoient* 2, 2; 19, 6; 27, 11; 83, 9; 104, 14; 131, 10; 131, 18; 184, 19; *anoynt* 181, 16; *croice* 'catheractae' 41, 9; *ioie* 29, 14; 41, 5; *ioiens* 9, 2; 39, 22; *ioyens* 5, 13; 19, 5; *coisen* opt. pl. [cf. O.Fr. *joisse*] 49, 2; *ioiand* 41, 5; *ioyful* 18, 9; 31, 14; *ioiful* 88, 41; *ioient* p. p. 40, 7; *ioient* 67, 27; *noiand* 26, 3 [MS. *noinand*]; *nouzt noiand* 'innocentes' 24, 22 [MS. *nouzt noinad*]; *noyse* 9, 7; *oile* 4, 8; 54, 24; *oil* 44, 9; *reioys* 48, 19; *spoiles* 182, 9; *voice* 5, 2; 6, 8; *voyce* 26, 12; *uoice* 5, 3; 17, 8.

2. Appearing as *o*.

onement 182, 2; *spolinges* 118, 162.

3. Appearing as *ui*, *uy*.

anguis 'taedium' 118, 143; *anguisses* pl. 80, 7; *destruiden* pret. pl. 10, 3; *destruie* opt. sg. 8, 3; *destruye* 33, 16;

fruite sb. pl. 'fructus' 186, 18; *spuyles* 'spolia' 67, 13; *suiled* p. p. 'pollutus' 138, 18.

4. Appearing as *u*.

brulen inf. 'urere' (trans.) 120, 5; *brueling* 'aestus' 190, 6; *destruen* 51, 5; 118, 95; *destrue* 27, 7; *destruedest* 2. sg. pret. 9, 6; *destrued* p. p. 79, 13; *destrued* 59, 1; *frut* 1, 3; *frute* 4, 8; 20, 10; 77, 51; *frutt* (or *fruit* — reading uncertain) 104, 33; *frusced* p. p. 'quassatus' 41, 14.

5. Appearing as *ou* or *o*.

crouse inf. 'conquassare' 109, 7; *croused* pret. 73, 14; *crossyng* sb. 'quassatio' 105, 29.

§ 56. Norman-French *au*.

1. *au* from older *a+l*.

assaut 140, 10; 140, 11; *a-sautes* pl. 37, 2; *auter* 25, 6; 42, 4; *caudron* 'lebes' 107, 9; *cause* 34, 26; 42, 1; *cautel* 'cautela' 28, 6; *defaut* 118, 53; *faucouns* 'herodii' 103, 18; *sauf* adj. [usual form] 3, 6; 7, 2; 7, 11; 11, 1; 16, 8; *saufe* 6, 4, 7, 1; *saue* inf. 33, 18; 35, 7; *sauen* 43, 4; 43, 8; *sauue* imp. sg. 21, 21; *sauacioun* 184, 13; *saviour* 24, 5; *sautes* pl. 21, 12; *sautrie* 56, 11; 107, 2; *sautre* 80, 2; *sauter* 48, 4.

Note: *fals* 1, 1; 26, 18; 39, 6; *falsnisses* pl. 63, 1; *palme* 91, 12 are most probably borrowed direct from the Latin.

2. From older *a+o, u*.

maumetes 'simulacra' 96, 7; *maummetries* 'ydolatrie' 67, 88; *maummetries* 187, 28.

§ 57. Norman-French *ue*.

puple 49, 5; 105, 46.

The unstressed vowels.

§ 58. Words with secondary stress or weak stress.

a prep. 'on' 149, 6; *ac* conj. 1, 2; 17, 45; 43, 5; *and* conj. 1, 2; 1, 3 etc.; *ande* 3, 6; 10, 8; *an* (before *d*) 62, 3; *art* 2. sg. pres. ind. 3, 6; 21, 8; 21, 9; *ar-tou* 41, 16; *artou* 44, 3; *bot* conj. 'sed' 7, 13; 123, 1; *bote* 70, 26; [*B*]/*vt* 51, 7; *bot* prep. 'praeter' 17, 34; *ert* 2. sg. pres. 'es' 2, 7; 8, 5; *ertou* 2. sg. pres. 'es' 41, 6; *for* 17, 18; 38, 14; 'propter' 5, 9; 30, 4; 38, 14; 48, 8; 'in' 34, 21; *for pe depe* 'de profundis' 129, 1; *for* conj. 'pro' 34, 14; *for pat* conj. 'quia, quoniam' 20, 3; 24, 17; 36, 42; *for whi* conj. 'quoniam' 10, 2; *for* conj. 'quia, quoniam, nam, etenim' 5, 10; 6, 12; 17, 24; 18, 12; 22, 4; *fro* prep. 5, 12; 6, 5; 20, 10; 21, 9; *i* pers. pron. 'ego' 29, 10; 41, 17; *y* 5, 3; 5, 8; 9, 28; 11, 5; 11, 6; 12, 4; 12, 5; 12, 6; 15, 8; 34, 16; 34, 17; 88, 20 etc.; *hy* 41, 4; 49, 8; 68, 25; *hij* 26, 12; 34, 21; 40, 11; 55, 4; 101, 12; *ich* pron. 2, 6; 2, 8; 3, 4; 3, 6; 4, 9; 6, 6; 7, 1; 17, 32; 39, 1; 41, 13; *ichaue* for **ich haue* 40, 4; 118, 6; 118, 7; 118, 10; 118, 13; 118, 45; *ichade* for **ich hade* 118, 163; *ichad* for **ich had* 118, 128; *iches* [?] for **ich ches* or **y ches* 131, 15; *yn* pret. 17, 10; *in* 1, 1; 1, 2 etc.; *ne* adv. 1, 1; 1, 6; 3, 6; 6, 1; 7, 2; 7, 12 etc.; *ne* conj. 'nor' 1, 1; 1, 6; 5, 5; 15, 4; 17, 24; 17, 45; 18, 3; 21, 24; 21, 25; 39, 6; *ne ne* conj. 'neque neque . . .' 58, 4; *nert* 'non es' 5, 4; *o* prep. 68, 15; 83, 11; 89, 5; *of* 1, 1; 1, 2; 1, 3; 1, 5; 1, 7 etc.; *pen* conj. 'than' 80, 8; *fram* *pennes* adv. 'inde' 196, 37; *up* prep. 'super' 2, 6; 8, 2; 17, 36; 51, 3; *vp* 4, 7; 7, 9; 9, 4; 24, 3; 62, 4; 64, 3; *up* adv. 7, 8; 17, 10; *vp* 19, 9; *us* pron. 5, 15; 11, 8 etc.; *vs* 2, 3; 4, 6; 4, 7; 11, 8 etc.; *os* 77, 3; *whennes* adv. 120, 1; *wyþ* prep. 2, 7; 2, 11 etc. (usual form); *wip* 13, 5; 34, 1; *wyt* 17, 35; *wi* (in *wiparfite hate*) 138, 21.

§ 59. Pretonic unstressed syllables in English words.

1. O. E. *a*, *o*.

a) Appearing as *o*.

owai 9, 5; *oway* 2, 3; 9, 27 etc.; *owaie* 26, 14; 30, 28; *ozain* 7, 8; 17, 41; 27, 10; *ozayn* 7, 17; *ozainnes* 81, 5; prep. 'contra' 2, 2; 9, 31; 17, 24; *ozayn* 14, 4; 17, 37; *ozaines* 17; 43; *ozayns* 22, 6; 30, 21; 31, 6; *ozains* 2, 2; 3, 7; 7, 17; *ozainbigger* 'redemptor' 77, 39; *ozainbygger* 18, 16; *ozainerning* 58, 5; *ozainward* 9, 3; 43, 20.

b) Appearing as *a*.

a-monges 54, 20; *azeins* 3, 1; *azainst* 43, 28.

2. O. E. *i*.

inmiddes prep. 45, 5; 109, 3; *in-middes of* 54, 17; *in-myddes of* 73, 5; *in-nermast* 108, 17; *instede of* 118, 54; *into* 5, 8; 7, 5; *into* 26, 18; *wyþ-oute* 188, 38; *wyþ-innen* 44, 15; 108, 21; 188, 38; *wit-outen* 29, 7; *wyt-outen* 40, 3; *wyþ-outen* 2, 1; 3, 7.

3. O. E. *o* and *ō*.

forsothe adv. 'autem' 103, 34; *for þy* 103, 30; *forzetten* p. p. 9, 34; 41, 13; 118, 83; 118, 109; *to-fore* prep. 'ante' [usual form] 13, 7; 17, 14; 17, 21; 17, 46; 34, 6; *to-for* 20, 3; 44, 9; *to-forne* prep. 'ante' 16, 14; *to-fore þat* conj. 89, 2; *togadres* 195, 24; *tougadres* 54, 15.

4. O. E. *u*.

uncunninges 37, 5; *vtrew* 39, 14; *vnwemmed* p. p. 36, 19; 63, 3; 72, 13; *unwys* 52, 1; 72, 23; 75, 4; 75, 5; *vnwis* 38, 12; *unto* 15, 2; 42, 4; *vnto* 17, 43; 17, 54; *vn-to þat* conj. 'donec' 17, 41; *vnto wham* 'usquequo' 78, 5.

§ 60. Weak vowels of pretonic and medial syllables, in words of French origin.

amended 3. sg. pret. 17, 39; 95, 10; *amendedþ* 3. sg. pres.

118, 9; *amendyng* 22, 5; *amendement* 96, 2; *amer-uailed* p. p. 47, 5; *amonestinge* sb. 76, 19; *anouren* 71, 11; *anoure* 80, 8; *anour* 85, 8; *anore* pres. opt. 94, 6; *aouren* inf. 21, 29; *aoured* pret. 3. pl. 21, 31; *aoureb* imper. 2. pl. 28, 2; *assaie* vb. imper. 25, 2; *assaidest* 2. sg. pret. 16, 4; *assaid* 68, 9; *misais* 33, 9; *mysais* 34, 12; 87, 19; also *mesais* 'inops' 13, 10; 71, 13; 139, 13; 'inopia' 87, 9; 106, 40; 139, 11; *mesayes* 68, 24; *orysoun* 65, 19.

§ 61. Post-tonic syllables with secondary stress.

drededeful 65, 2 etc.; *fairhede* 44, 13; *fastelich* adv. 196, 40; *greteliche* 6, 10; *greteleche* 20, 1; *hastiloch* 39, 21 (o corrected from *y*); *hordom* 72, 26; *knowelich* inf. 194, 19; *kynreden* 13, 11; *kyngdom* 21, 30; *likenes* 38, 9; *likeand* 67, 17; *litelhede* 54, 8; *lypenes* 74, 7; *manhede* 195, 31; *manhode* 195, 33; *manifold* 181, 4; *manneliche* 30, 31; *manneleche* 26, 20; *melshede* 'maturitas' 118, 147; *moderles* adj. 9, 42; *oneliche* adv. 140, 11; *onlich* 17, 39; *rewful* adj. 144, 8; *sengeand* 103, 5; *sopfast* adj. 85, 14; 192, 13; *sopenisse* 110, 6; *stedfaste* adj. 34, 21; *trewlich* adv. 196, 40; *penchend* 73, 19; *wickedleche* 49, 22; *wickednisses* 54, 17; *wisdam* 36, 32; *wiseliche* adv. 46, 7.

§ 62. Final *e*.

a) Immediately after a stressed syllable.

I. *e* preserved.

chirche 21, 26; 77, 76; *elde* 'aetas' 63, 3; 70, 10; *erpe* 66, 2; *galle* 'fel' 188; 48; 188, 49; *mone* 8, 4; *herte* 4, 3; *zeue* inf. 1, 3; 2, 8; *wylle* inf. 36, 24; *tunge* 9, 29; 21, 15.

II. *e* lost.

chirch 192, 11; *lob* 'aranea' 38, 15; 89, 10; *wrap* opt. sg. 98, 1; *hert* 4, 7; 5, 10; 9, 1 etc.; after loss of final *n*: *zyf* 13, 11; 15, 10; 17, 23; 77, 24; *wil* inf. 111, 1.

III. *e* added.

diche 7, 16; 27, 1; 142, 8; *faste* adj. 183, 9; *fote* 67, 25;

grasse 103, 18; *hole* 'integer' 29, 2; 193, 2 (Creed); *lorde* 6, 2; 23, 8; *olde* 31, 3; *sede* 68, 42; *songe* 67, 4; *swerde* 43, 4; 43, 8; 63, 3; *worme* 21, 15; *werke* 43, 2; *worde* 18, 2; *zere* 101, 25; *wote* 38, 10; 93, 11.

b) Immediately after a syllable with secondary stress.

I. *e* preserved.

aperteliche adv. 49, 3; *dryhede* 65, 5; *erliche* 58, 17; *greteliche* 6, 10; 77, 33; *idelliche* adv. 38, 15; *manneliche* 30, 31; *slomeringe* 131, 4; *wrechedhede* 67, 19.

II. *e* lost.

erlich adv. 5, 4; *godelich* adv. 44, 5; *hezestlich* 9, 2; *likeand* 67, 17; *sengeand* 103, 5; *trecherouslich* 5, 11; *trewlich* adv. 196, 40; *wirship* subst. 57, 4; after loss of final *n*: *worþship* inf. 71, 15; *worship* 49, 19.

c) Immediately after an unstressed syllable.

I. *e* preserved.

helpere 69, 7.

II. *e* lost.

berer 9, 21; *berar* 83, 7; *cleped* pret. 4, 1; *helper* 9, 9; 17, 2; 18, 16; *lizer* 115, 2; *maky* 67, 21; *ozainbigger* 77, 39; *sinner* 7, 15; *synzer* 9, 24; 9, 27; 9, 39; *taker* 17, 3; 41, 12; 45, 7; 58, 10.

§ 62. *e* + consonant in final syllables.

a) Immediately after a stressed syllable.

I. *e* remains.

broper 34, 17; *breken* 2, 9; *dwellen* 5, 5; *erþen* 2, 9; *euen* 'vesper' 29, 6; *naked* 184, 20; *seuen* 11, 7; 118, 164; *wicked* 103, 35 etc.

II. *e* is syncopated.

fair 44, 13 etc.; *sain* inf. 60, 8; *saiþ* imper. 65, 2.

b) Immediately after a weak syllable.

I. *e* preserved.

togideres 15, 4; 43, 27.

II. *e* syncopated.

nedders 13, 5; *neperst* 138, 14; *synzers* 103, 35.

§ 63. *e* in medial syllables.

a) Before single consonants.

I. *e* preserved.

acurseden 55, 5; *askedest* 39, 16; *federed* p. p. 77, 31; 148, 10; *gaderen* 38, 10; *gadering* † 73, 2; *hopeden* 21, 3; 21, 4; *roteden* pret. pl. 37, 5; *togideres* 31, 19; *togideres* 15, 4; 43, 27.

II. Without *e*.

togidres 32, 7; 68, 33; *togadres* 198, 24; *tou-gadres* 54, 15.

III. Silent *e* added in spelling.

likenes 105, 20; *sykenes* 40, 3; *sopenes* 50, 7; *wiselich* 57, 5; *wodeship* 36, 8; *pikkenesses* pl. 107, 25.

b) Before more than one consonant, or before consonantal combinations.

hezestlich 9, 2; *zisterdai* 39, 4.

The Consonants.

§ 64. O. E. *c* in the neighbourhood of original velar vowels.

1. In initial positions.

keping 'custodia' 140, 3; *kind* 'generatio' 84, 5; *kynd* 144, 4 (bis); *kinde* 76, 8; 84, 5; 99, 5; *kynde* 9, 28; *kende* 99, 5; *king* 5, 2; *kyng* 44, 13; 46, 7; *kyng*-† 52, 6; *kyng*e 17, 54; 23, 7; 23, 9; 23, 10; 44, 1; *kynges* 2, 2; 2, 10 etc.; *kynreden* 'gens' 13, 11; pl. 'cognatio' 73, 9; *kist* p. p. 84, 11; *bicome* 38, 1; *come* 3. sg. pret. 17, 11 etc.; *colde* sb. 147, 6; 190, 7; *cold* 190, 6; *coruen* p. p. 180, 5; *cumlighenes* 44, 5.

2. In medial positions.

ekand 64, 11; *make* inf. 11, 6; 20, 12; 40, 2; *maky* 67, 21; *mak*-† 7, 2; 17, 30; *merked* p. p. 4, 7; 188, 50; *naked* 184, 20; *shaken out* p. p. 108, 22; *smoke* 36, 21; 67, 2; *smoken* inf. 103, 32; *wake* pres. ind. 62, 1; *wreke* inf. 98, 9; *wrekand* 88, 41.

3. In final positions.

ac conj. 1, 2; 17, 45; 43, 5; *bok*e 68, 33; 138, 15; *broke* 82, 8; *flok*-† 48, 14; *folk* sb. 13, 8 etc.; *melk*-† 186, 20; *sik* adj. 6, 2; *sike* 30, 3; *syke* 17, 40; 25, 1; *woke* pret. sg. 101, 8.

§ 65. O. E. fronted *č* in the neighbourhood of original palatal vowels.

1. In initial positions.

chalf 'vitulus' 68, 36; 105, 19; 105, 20; *chalues* pl. 49,

10; *ches* pret. sg. 24, 13; 46, 4; *child* 47, 6; 85, 15; *childe* 68, 21; *childer* pl. 8, 3; 10, 5; 17, 49; 131, 12; 131, 13; 181, 8; *children* 17, 49; 107, 10; *chirche* 21, 26; 77, 76; *chirch* 192, 11.

2. In medial positions.

Michel 18, 11; 20, 5; 32, 16; 37, 8; 45, 1; 46, 2; 47, 1; *mychel* 6, 3; *mechel* 18, 12; *teche* 17, 39; 24, 20; 33, 11; *techyng* 25, 5; *techyng* † 106, 18; *pinche* imper. 186, 8; *wyrchen* ind. pl. 5, 8; *wirchen* 8, 6; 27, 3; *wirichen* 13, 8; *wreche* 2, 5; 57, 8; 78, 11; 184, 18.

3. In final positions.

diche 'fovea' 7, 16; 27, 1; 142, 8; *ich* 'ego' 54, 7 etc.; *lich* adj. 39, 7; *riche* 9, 30; 18, 2; 48, 2; *ryche* 65, 9.

§ 66. O. E. velar *ȝ* in initial positions.

gaderen inf. 38, 10; *gader* 15, 4; 128, 6; *galle* sb. 'fel' 188, 48; 188, 49; *gildan* 44, 11; *girt* 3. sg. pret. 17, 35; 92, 1; 2. sg. pret. 17, 43; p. p. *gird* 181, 6; *girded* 44, 4; *bigynne* inf. 49, 4; 101, 27; *gynnyng* † 'initium' 101, 26; *god* 'Deus' 2, 8; 3, 2; 3, 6; 4, 1 etc.; *god* adj. 'bonus' 4, 6; 5, 15; 19, 3; 33, 12 etc.; *gold* 18, 11; 67, 14; 118, 72; *gospales* 'evangelia' 67, 12; *graue* sb. 51, 11; *gret* 54, 13; 134, 5; *gretter* 186, 9; *togadres* 195, 24; *togideres* 15, 4.

§ 67. O. E. *ȝ* as open consonant.

a) In medial positions.

1. Changed into *w*, *uw* or *u*.

borow 36, 22; *bowe* 45, 9; *bowe* 17, 37; *bowe* inf. 16, 12; 26, 4; *daweing* † 77, 38; *dawying* † 73, 17; *drawe* inf. 51, 5; *drawe out* pret. 2. sg. 21, 8; *draw out* 24, 16; *drawe* opt. sg. 9, 32; *drawe* 2. sg. pret. 21, 8; *drowe* pret. 2. sg. 87, 19; *drow to* pret. 2. sg. 87, 3; 118, 28; *drowe to* 21, 15; *flowen* pret. pl. 30, 15; *flowe* opt. pret. pl. 61, 10; *folwen* 22, 8; 36, 7; *folwe* 36, 8; *foules* 78, 2; 103, 13; 148, 10; 187, 36; *foweles* 49, 12; *fouler* 123, 6; *slowen* pret. pl. 78, 7; 93, 5 (bis); *sorow*

7, 15; 9, 29; 12, 2; *sorowe* 7, 17; 9, 37; *sorwes* pl. 17, 6, are formed from the oblique cases where O. E. *z* was medial: *swelweþ* imper. pl. 33, 8; *zouþe* 70, 6; 70, 18; 128, 2.

2. Changed into *j*, *i* (after *i*).

synzer sb. 9, 24; 9, 27; 9, 39; 36, 12; 36, 24; *sinzen* inf. 4, 5; *sinze* 37, 19; *sinniers* 1, 6; *synner* 9, 25; 38, 17 (also *sinner* 7, 15; 9, 37; *tarien* inf. 187, 32; *tariden* prep. pl. 105, 8; 105, 16; *taried* 105, 28; *waryen* inf. 108, 127 etc.

b) In final positions.

merzþe 'medulla' 187, 21; *merzþ* 65, 24 (Cp. N. E. Dict. s. v. *marrow*); *sorz-ful* 'contritus' 37, 6; *þurz* prep. 16, 4; 32, 16; 43, 7; *þourz* 67, 12; 73, 7; 104, 17; 135, 16; *þurz-out* 138, 14.

§ 68. O. E. *g* after nasals.

bringep imp. pl. 28, 1; 28, 2; *þingirs* 77, 64; *þingers* 8, 4; *kyng* 44, 13; 46, 7; *syngen* 9, 2; 20, 13; *synge* 7, 18; 12, 6; *þynges* 1, 4; 17, 36; *zongelinges* 77, 69; with omission of *g*: *zounlinges* 67, 27.

§ 69. O. E. fronted *ǰ* in the neighbourhood of original palatal vowels and *j*.

1. In initial positions.

zelden inf. 36, 22; *zelde* 21, 26; *zeldeþ* pres. ind. 137, 11 etc.; *zeldyng* -| 'restitutio' 18, 12; 54, 22; 90, 8; 93, 2; also *zolden* p. p. 64, 1; which owes its *z* to the inf. and other forms with *z*. *zerde* 'virga' 44, 8; 109, 3; *zete* 41, 7; 42, 6; 48, 8; *zeuen* 48, 7; 67, 12; 84, 13; 103, 13; *zeue* 1, 3; 2, 8; 115, 13; *zif* conj. 18, 14; *zyf* 7, 3; 7, 4; *zyftes* 54, 6; 71, 10; *ziftes* 14, 6; 25, 10; *ziftos* 44, 14; 71, 10; *zisterdai* 89, 4; *zit* adv. 36, 10; 41, 17; *ziue* 84, 13; *zyf* 13, 11; 15, 10; 17, 23; 17, 24.

2. In medial positions.

I. Except before consonants.

fleze inf. 54, 6; 186, 15; *flezand* 186, 15; *houndeflezes*

'eunomyia' 77, 50; 104, 29; *leze* pret. pl. 'mentiri' 80, 14; *lizen* inf. 65, 2; *lize* 135, 28; *lized* pret. pl. 77, 40; *lizere* sb. 'mendax' 115, 2; *lizers* pl. 61, 9; *ozainsiggeinge* 80, 7 etc.

II. Appearing as *i* before *r*, *l*, *n*.

fair adj. 44, 3; 64, 13 etc.; *hail* 'grando' 17, 14; 77, 52; 77, 83; *maiden* 118, 39 etc.; *rain* 71, 6; 185, 2 etc.; *slain* p. p. 78, 12; 101, 21; *slayn* 43, 24.

3. In final positions.

alday 87, 12; *day* 17, 21; 18, 2; 31, 4; 41, 3; *daye* 1, 2; 18, 2; 40, 1; *daie* 19, 10; 21, 2; 41, 11; 48, 5; 49, 16; *mai* vb. 1. sg. pres. 26, 7.

§ 70. O. E. palatal *cz*.

ligged 83, 3; *liggand* 61, 3; *rigge* 49, 18; 68, 28; 128, 3; *rygge* 43, 12; 65, 10; *riggen* 17, 44; *arigge* adv. 20, 12; pres. ind. *siggen* [MS. *singgen*] pl. 4, 6; *siggen* [MS. *singgen*] pres. opt. pl. 106, 2; *ozainsiggeinge* 80, 7; *ozainsiggeing* 30, 26; *ozainsigging* 54, 9; *ozainsyggynge* [MS. -ng-].

§ 71. O. E. *sc*.

1. In initial positions.

shall pres. ind. 5, 4; 5, 5; 5, 7; 5, 8 etc.; *schal* 1, 2; 1, 3; 1, 4 etc.; *shelde* 5, 15; *shelle* 21, 15; *shepe* sb. pl. 8, 7; 43, 13; 49, 24; *shewen* inf. 49, 24; *shewe* 21, 33; 28, 8; 57, 7; *shew* 4, 6; 7, 13; *schre[d]* imper. sg. 118, 39.

2. In medial positions.

fisshe 8, 8; 104, 27; *wasshen* inf. 25, 6; *wasshe* 6, 8; *wesshe* 72, 13; *wasshen* p. p. 38, 18; *wasshe* imper. sg. 50, 3.

3. In final positions.

frosche 'rana' 77, 50 [cf. O. E. *forsc*].

§ 72. O. E. *ȝ*=Gmc. *j*.

1. In initial positions.

zere sb. 101, 25; *zeres* pl. 30, 12; *zere* 89, 10; 89, 11; 94, 4; *zete* adv. 41, 7; 42, 6; 48, 8; 77, 20; *zit* 36, 10; 41, 17; *zingþe* sb. 42, 4; *zyngþe* 87, 16; *zonge* 36, 26; 149, 12 (bis); *zenge* 118, 91.

2. *-ij-* has turned into *i*, *y*.

herien inf. 9, 42; 19, 5; 19, 8; 21, 22; 84, 21; *heryen* 68, 35; *hery* 55, 4; 68, 35; *maky* 67, 21.

§ 73. O. E. *h*.

1. In initial positions.

I. Preserved.

held pret. pl. 75, 8; *heued* 3, 3; 7, 17; *heuy* adj. 4, 3; *heze* adj. 77, 39; *hezand* pres. part. 3, 3; *hezep* 3. sg. pres. 74, 7; *hij* pron. pl. 93, 4 etc.; *hit* pron. 47, 17; 94, 5; *honde* 30, 19; *hou* adv. 73, 4.

II. *h* lost.

ezenes 'highness' 11, 9; *y* 'ei' 104, 11; 118, 37; *welpe* 16, 13; *wyche* 18, 3.

III. *h* wrongly added.

hezen 'oculi' 132, 18; *hij* 'ego' 26, 22; 34, 21; 40, 11; *hy* 41, 11; 49, 8; 68, 25; *his* vb. 3. sg. 22, 26; 76, 13; *hys* 30, 13; 67, 5; 73, 13.

b) O. E. palatal *h* in medial positions.

I. Preserved as *ȝ*.

bryzt 90, 6; *fiȝt* inf. 17, 37; *feȝtand* 55, 1; *knizt* 183, 22; *knyzt* 183, 22; *lizt* 35, 10; *mizt* sb. 9, 39; *nezbur* 23, 4; 27, 4; 34, 17; *nyzt* 1, 2; 18, 2; *ryzt* 2, 12; 58, 11; *ryztful* 1, 7; *sizt* 5, 9; 17, 14; 17, 35; *syzt* 22, 32.

II. *ȝ* wanting.

fitand 34, 1.

III. *ž* wrongly inserted.

hyžt 17, 9; *whyžte* 50, 8.

e) Palatal *h* in final positions.

pež conj. 195, 32; *flege* 'volavit' 17, 12; *seiž* 'vidit' 36, 26; 54, 9.

d) Velar *h* in medial positions.

I. Represented by *ž*.

boužt p. p. 106, 2; pret. 70, 25; *dožters* 105, 35; *nožt* 77, 36; *noužt* 1, 1; 1, 4 etc.; *soužt* 9, 39; *sožten* pret. pl. 77, 38; *houžten* pret. pl. 20, 11.

II. *ž* wrongly inserted.

aboužt 16, 12; *oužt* prep. 5, 2.

e) Velar *h* in final positions.

drož pret. sg. 101, 6; 118, 31; *slože* 77, 35; 77, 52.

§ 74. O. E. *t*.

1. In initial positions.

teche inf. 17, 39; 24, 10; *teres* pl. 38, 16; 44, 3; *told* pret. sg. 118, 26; 118, 119.

2. In medial positions.

hete sb. 'calor, aestus' 18, 7; *whete* sb. 4, 8; 80, 15.

3. In final positions.

bryžt 90, 6; *eft* adv. 5, 12; 7, 19; 7, 25 etc.; *knyžt* 183, 22.

§ 75. O. E. *d*.

1. In initial positions.

dedes pl. 26, 9; 36, 19; *diche* 7, 16; 40, 14; *don* 17, 46; 40, 14.

2. In medial positions.

abiden inf. 103, 12; *idel* 2, 1; 7, 4; *gaderen* 38, 10; *sheldes* pl. 48, 9; *widowe* 108, 18.

3. In final positions.

child 47, 6; 85, 15; *colde* 147, 6; 190, 7; *gold* 18, 11; *mild* 17, 30; 146, 6.

§ 76. O. E. *p*.

1. In final positions.

pat rel. pron. 1, 1; 1, 4; 1, 5 etc.; *per* adv. 13, 9; 22, 1; 35, 13 etc.; *pyng* sb. 33, 21; *pyng*e 7, 8; *pynges* 1, 4; 17, 36.

2. In medial positions.

I. As open consonant.

anoper 104, 12; 108, 7; 194, 5; *broper* 48, 7; *erpe* 2, 2; 7, 5; *erthe* 105, 17; 183, 113; *helpe* 32, 17; *sipes* 11, 7; 118, 62.

II. *p* stopped to *t*, after *s* or original *t*.

artou 44, 3; *ar-tou* 41, 16; *as tou* 35, 7; *dwellistou* 43, 25; *ertou* 42, 5; *puttestou* 42, 2; *tellestou* 43, 26; *turnestou* 43, 26; *pat tou* 68, 31; *patou* 30, 23; 31, 10; 93, 13; *pat-ou* 8, 5; *pa-tou* 36, 8; 50, 5.

3. In final positions.

bryngep imp. pl. 28, 1; 28, 2 etc.; *dep* sb. 33, 21; *makep* 28, 7; 28, 9.

§ 77. O. E. *n*.

1. In initial positions.

nede sb. 15, 1; 68, 26; *nest* sb. 8, 33; *nigt* 1, 2; 18, 2; *norpe* 47, 2.

2. In medial positions.

ende 5, 13; 9, 17; *honde* 9, 35; 16, 14.

3. In final positions.

I. In stressed syllables.

man 1, 1; 5, 7; 8, 5; 9, 20; *ran* pret. 2. sg. 49, 19.

II. In unstressed syllables and syllables of secondary stress.

a) *n* preserved.

abiden pret. pl. 118, 95; *drynken* inf. 103, 12; *sitten* inf. 46, 8.

β) *n* lost.

drynke inf. 49, 14; *sitte* inf. 25, 5.

§ 78. O. E. *p*.

1. In initial positions.

pitte (or *putte*) 54, 26.

2. In medial positions.

cleped 56, 2; *hoped* pret. 51, 7; *kepen* inf. 55, 6; *slepan* 77, 71.

3. In final positions.

help sb. 83, 6; *welpe* 16, 13.

§ 79. O. E. *b*.

1. In initial positions.

bi-hinde adv. 195, 24; *bynde* inf. 149, 8; *bitter* 63, 3
bon sb. 'os' 101, 6.

2. In medial positions.

lambren 113, 4; 113, 6.

3. In final positions.

lob 'aranea' 38, 5; 89, 10.

§ 80. O. E. *f*.

1. In initial positions.

faste adj. 183, 9; *feþers* pl. 90, 4; *fiŋgirs* 77, 64; *folk* 13, 8 etc.; *frend* 87, 19.

2. In medial positions.

I. Appearing as voiced *v*.

euer adv. 26, 7; 33, 12; *iuel* sb. 7, 4; 7, 13; 17, 1; 30, 1; *liueand* 54, 16.

II. Voiceless before voiceless consonants.

shrift 41, 5; 95, 6; *shrifte* 146, 7; *swift* 13, 6; *zyftes* 54, 6; 71, 10.

3. In final positions.

def 57, 4; *half* 101, 25; *self* pron. 43, 16; 104, 20; 186, 8; *þef* 49, 19; *zyf* conj. 51, 17.

§ 81. O. E. *m*.

1. In initial positions.

michel adj. and adv. 18, 11; 20, 5 etc.; *mizt* sb. 9, 39; *more* adv. 12, 4; 18, 11.

2. In medial positions.

climben inf. 23, 3; *lombes* 186, 20; *names* 15, 4; *shame* inf. 24, 1.

3. In final positions.

hym pron. 3, 2; 4, 4.

§ 82. O. E. *s*.

1. In initial positions.

syngen inf. 9, 2; 20, 13; *sitten* inf. 46, 8; *sone* sb. 'filius' 2, 3; 2, 7 etc.; *sorow* sb. 7, 15; 9, 29; 12, 2.

2. In medial positions.

I. Voiced.

arisen inf. 71, 1; *bosom* sb. 88, 49; *lesyng* † 4, 3; 5, 6; 58, 14.

II. Voiceless.

nest 83, 3.

3. In final positions.

a) Spelt *s*.

gras 185, 3; *hous* 22, 9; *ryztfulnes* 118, 27.

b) Spelt *z*.

comaundementz 118, 45; *iugementz* 118, 30.

§ 83. O. E. *r*.

1. In initial positions.

rammes pl. 6, 14; *reed* 105, 9; 105, 21; *rysen* p. p. 103, 22; *roteden* pret. pl. 37, 5.

2. In medial positions.

α) *r* remains unmetathesized.

here inf. 5, 3; 19, 7 etc.; *herien* inf. 9, 42; 19, 5 etc.; *herte* sb. 4, 3; *lered* p. p. 89, 14; 93, 12; *sori* adj. 34, 17; 41, 6; 41, 16; *sorow* sb. 7, 15.

β) With metathesis of *r*.

frest adv. 88, 27; *prest* sb. 103, 12; *prestand* 106, 5; *prefe* pret. sg. 41, 2 (possibly for *preste*); *prust* 'sitis' 106, 32.

3. In final positions.

bitter 63, 3.

§ 84. O. E. *l*.

1. In initial positions.

lippes 58, 8; 58, 13; *liggeþ* 3. sg. 83, 3; *Lord* 3, 1; 8, 1; 28, 4; 71, 19 etc.

II. In medial and final positions.

folk 13, 8; *folk* † 52, 5; *helpeþ* 3. sg. 53, 4.

§ 85. O. E. *w*.

1. In initial positions.

was pret. 1, 2; 12, 4 etc.; *wasshen* inf. 25, 6; *wende* imper. sg. 10, 1; *wonne* inf. 'habitare' 26, 7.

2. In medial positions.

crowebriddes pl. 146, 10; *dewey* inf. 6, 6; *knowen* inf. 13, 8; *ouer-prawe* imper. 54, 9.

3. In final positions.

dew sb. 132, 8; 185, 2; 189, 15.

§ 86. Consonantal Gemination.

1. In medial positions.

a) Already present in O. E.

all 5, 13; *alle* 1, 4; 6, 8; 6, 10; *amiddes* 115, 8; *appel* 16, 9; *asses* 103, 12; *bytter* 63, 3; *denne* 9, 31; *droppand* 71, 6; *dwellistou* 43, 25; *fallen* 7, 17; *fatted* p. p. 187, 22 (bis); *helle* 7, 16; *libbynges* 16, 15; *likken* 71, 9; *lyttel* 8, 6 etc.; *lockes* 106, 16; *mannes* 8, 5; *mennes* 106, 15; *sitten* inf. 46, 8; *sitte* 25, 8; *telleþ* imper. pl. 104, 1 etc.; *wille* 'fons' 109, 8.

b) With M. E. Gemination.

anny 87, 12; *cladde* p. p. 131, 9; *deppest* 62, 4; *fetteres* 104, 17; *fetteris* 149, 8; *shadden* p. p. 105, 35; *shippes* 106, 22; *spradden* inf. 93, 23; *tockenyng* † 59, 7; *uttemast* 57, 6; *wraþþes* imper. pl. 4, 5; *wonne* inf. 26, 7.

2. In final positions.

fatt sb. 147, 3; *fatt* adj. 22, 7; 77, 35; 143, 13; *putt* imper. 119, 10; *sett* pret. sg. 166, 34; *witt* 118, 104.

Instances like *man*, where only a single consonant is

used in spelling for a long consonant, have already been given above.

3. Final consonants simplified in a stressed syllable.

lad pret. sg. 17, 22; *shad* p. p. 78, 11; *sprad* pret. sg. 79, 12; 142, 6; *wrap* 187, 24; *wrap* opt. sg. 21, 2.

4. Final *n* simplified in syllables with secondary stress.

heuen 72, 9; 73, 20; 75, 2; 75, 8 etc.; *maiden* 188, 39; *seuen* 78, 13.

Final Remarks.

There can be no doubt, that our text is Midland, as it contains no specifically Northern features, such as the preservation of O. E. *ā* unrounded or the absence of palatalisation of *c* and *ç* before original palatal vowels; nor does it contain more than a sprinkling of forms which show specifically Southern features. These latter are very few in number, being at the most one thousandth of the whole vocabulary. There are two possible ways of explaining their presence, either as being due to *scribal* influence; or as actual borrowings of Non-Midland forms in the dialect of the author of the Psalter.

Actual dialect mixture of the latter kind does not seem to have taken place here, as the number of Non-Midland forms is very small. When Heuser [I.F. XVII, Anz. p. 76] speaks of the „von Bülbring edierte Prosapsalter, mit seinem unglücklichen Mischdialekte“, he seems to be wrong. From a dialectical point of view the text generally is reliable, though the numerous mistakes of the scribe (cp. the introduction to the printed edition, p. IX) render it more difficult to investigate. It is possible that some of the supposed Southern forms are merely cases of bad spelling.

The fact that in this MS. the Psalter was copied by the the same hand which copied Shoreham's poems, makes it quite possible that part of the Non-Midland forms are due to this

scribe. Morsbach [M. E. Gram. § 3, p. 10] states that the scribe who copied to MS. of the poems was not of Kentish origin.

Possibly he spoke a southern dialect, a fact which would certainly make clear the source of the southern forms.

The tests for distinguishing between the East and West divisions of the Midland dialect are few. The most reliable lies in the treatment of the present participial ending, which appears in the East as *-ende*, in the West as *ande*.

The Psalter has, as a rule, *-ande* therein agreeing with the West Midland, e. g. *hezand* 3, 3; *liztenand* 18, 9; *spredand* 103, 3; *wrekand* 88, 4, etc.; but *derend* 54, 3; and *þenchend* 73, 19 occur, which may possibly be merely bad spellings.

Older *a* before *n* appears as *o* usually in the West Midland Dialect. The Psalter has *a* if not lengthened, whereas Myre seems always to have *o*. The Alliterative Poems have both *a* and *o*.

I have found no examples of the verbal endings *-us*, *-ud*, which Morsbach states to be West Midland.

Lebenslauf.

Ich Tom Oakes Hirst, Sohn des protestantischen Pfarrers Joseph Crowther Hirst und seiner Frau Hannah Oakes Hirst, wurde am 8. Juli 1879 zu Cheltenham [Gloucestershire] geboren.

Ich habe meine erste Schule im Jahre 1883 zu Dewsbury (Yorkshire) besucht, wo mein Vater damals Pfarrer war. Danach sind wir nach Bowdon (Cheshire) im Jahre 1885 ausgezogen. Dort habe ich die Privatschule von Fräulein Wallace bis zum Jahre 1893 besucht. Im Jahre 1894 war ich sechs Monate im Bowdon College (einer Art Gymnasium).

Danach, weil meine Gesundheit nicht gut war, habe ich in den Jahren 1895—1897 Privatunterricht beim Herrn T. D. Hall gehabt.

Oktober 1897 wurde ich als Student in Owens College, Manchester (Viktoria-Universität) aufgenommen. Im Sommer 1898 zogen meine Eltern nach Liverpool. Danach habe ich in „Liverpool University College“, der jetzigen selbständigen Universität von Liverpool, studiert. Ich habe bei den folgenden Professoren und Dozenten in Manchester und in Liverpool gehört: Bonnier, Carey, Case, Davies, Elton, Gwyther, Hebblethwaite, Lloyd, Johannson, Mackay, Meyer, McNeil, Muir, Raleigh, Sefton, Sharpe, Strachan, Strong, Summers, Swanwick, Toller, Tout, Wilkins und Wyld.

Ich habe den Grad eines B. A. (Honours in English Language and Literature) im Juni 1903 erworben.

Nachher bin ich B. A. von Liverpool „per eundem“ geworden.

Im Herbst 1903 ging ich nach Leipzig, um germanische und indogermanische Philologie zu studieren. Nach zwei Semestern siedelte ich nach Bonn über, wo ich hauptsächlich Anglistik getrieben habe. Die mündliche Doktorprüfung bestand ich am 21. Februar 1906.

Ich habe bei den folgenden Professoren und Dozenten in Deutschland gehört: Brugmann, Bülbring, Frank, Hirt, Leskien, Sievers, Steffens, Trautmann und Wilmanns. Allen schulde ich meinen innigsten Dank.





Hirst, T.

BS

1424.5.

The phonology of the London MS .H5
of the earliest complete English
prose psalter

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