A Grammar of
Old English

Volume 2: Morphology

RICHARD M. HOGG

and

R. D. FULK

Contents

Preface

When Richard M. Hogg died suddenly on 6 September 2007 at the age of sixty-three, he left unfinished the present, second volume of his *Grammar of Old English*, of which the first volume appeared in 1992. In early 2001 he had shown me drafts of chapters 8 through 10 and asked me to critique them. Because of that prior acquaintance with the work, on the advice of Donka Minkova David Denison asked me, on behalf of Richard Hogg's widow Margaret, to look into the state of the work to determine whether it might be possible to complete it. With relatively minor omissions, RMH had completed drafts of chapters 8 through 11, and half of chapter 12, though he had not yet made any revisions to his initial drafts. My own contributions to the present volume comprise the remaining chapters and revision of the material he left. The chief manner of revision was to supply references to and discussion of scholarship published in the interval since the appearance of the latest editions of the grammars of Sievers–Brunner and Campbell. RMH undoubtedly intended to add such references in the course of revision, as in his drafts he had not cited more than a few even of his own very many publications.

Although my revisions have been extensive, they are for the most part superficial, as I have avoided altering the fundamentals of RMH's approach. One notable exception is in regard to the analysis of Proto-Indo-European noun morphology and its development in early Germanic, as treated in chapter 9, which has been brought into line with more current views. Another is in regard to both the synchronic and the diachronic analyses of disyllabic noun and adjective stems, as presented in chapters 10 and 11, respectively. RMH's views on such matters were continually in course of development, and the analysis offered in the chapter drafts did not agree entirely with views he advocated in publications subsequent to their drafting, particularly Hogg (2000) and Bermúdez-Otero and Hogg (2003). Given his unsettled views, it seemed best to look into the matter afresh,

and this resulted in some rather thoroughgoing changes. Otherwise, I have generally avoided altering the framework, methodology and conclusions of what he left us.

This is particularly true of the theoretical underpinnings of the work. One of the innovative features of the first volume was its employment of generative phonological theory. But the theoretical framework adduced was essentially that of N. Chomsky and M. Halle's *Sound Pattern of English* (1968), and its rule-governed model of phonology has lost ground in the intervening years to Optimality Theory, Exemplar Theory, and other recent approaches. RMH himself came eventually to question the viability of the rule-governed model, for example in Hogg (2000). It would not, however, have been possible to revise the chapter drafts in conformity with the theory of constraint ranking, or other recent theoretical developments in phonology and morphology, without altering fundamentally the nature and aims of the work. Under the circumstances, it was necessary to preserve the work's original premises (though some of the discussion of generative rules has been moved to the notes) so that it might serve two particular purposes. The first of these was to ensure that RMH's work was made available to scholars with as little tampering, in regard to fundamentals, as could be managed. The value of this, it is hoped, will be particularly apparent in regard to his innovative separation of diachronic and synchronic considerations in the analysis of noun morphology, as represented by chapters 9 and 10, respectively. The second purpose was to include full treatment, or as full as was feasible, of scholarship on Old English morphology, especially scholarship subsequent to that of Sievers–Brunner and Campbell, since there is currently no convenient way to locate relevant scholarship of the past 40 years on Old English morphology but by careful bibliographical study. It is hoped that these two purposes of themselves will be seen to justify the work. As RMH acknowledged in the preface to the first volume, with characteristic modesty, the work was intended to supplement rather than supplant the excellent grammars of Campbell and Sievers–Brunner (and, for the phonology, it might be added, that of Luick). The same is true of the present volume, and readers will find that they are often referred to those grammars for a fuller or alternative account of particular points.

RDF

Acknowledgments

RMH's *Grammar of Old English* of course would never have reached completion but for the foresight of David Denison, Margaret Hogg, and Donka Minkova, to whom my profoundest thanks are due. I am equally indebted to three anonymous readers for the press, who studied the typescript with extraordinary care and suggested changes that have improved the work decisively. I wish also to express my gratitude to Danielle Descoteaux, Acquisitions Editor for Linguistics at Wiley-Blackwell, who perceived the value of completing a work such as this, despite the special difficulties involved in producing the second volume after the lapse of so many years, and to Julia Kirk, Editorial Assistant, who smoothed over those difficulties with such a sure hand as to make it all look easy. Glynis Baguley performed the copyediting with consummate skill. Janet Moth completed the project management, and to her many thanks are due for stepping in at short notice. My greatest debt, however, is to my partner of more than twenty years, Brian Powell, whose constant and selfless help and support are grounded in the bedrock of a sociologist's prudent unconcern for dead languages.

List of Abbreviations

General

Angl	Anglian
C	consonant
DOEC	*Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Healey, 2004)
eKt	early Kentish
eME	early Middle English
eNbr	early Northumbrian
eOE	early Old English
EWS	Early West Saxon
Gmc	Germanic
Got	Gothic
Grk	Greek
IE	Indo-European
IGmc	Inland Germanic
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Kt	Kentish
lNbr	late Northumbrian
Lat	Latin
Li	*Lindisfarne Gospels*
lOE	late Old English
LVD	*Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*
LWS	Late West Saxon
MCOE	*A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Healey & Venezky, 1980)
ME	Middle English
Merc	Mercian
Nbr	Northumbrian
NGmc	North Germanic

NMerc	North Mercian
NNbr	North Northumbrian
NSGmc	North Sea Germanic
NWGmc	North-West Germanic
nWS	non-West Saxon
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OFris	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
OSax	Old Saxon
PDE	Present-day English
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Pre-OE	Pre-Old English (see §2.14n1)
Ru1	*Rushworth Gospels* (Mercian gloss)
Ru2	*Rushworth Gospels* (Northumbrian gloss)
SE	South-Eastern
Skt	Sanskrit
SNbr	South Northumbrian
V	vowel
WGmc	West Germanic
WMerc	West Mercian
WS	West Saxon

Note: The short titles of individual texts are those employed by the *Dictionary of Old English* and its *Corpus* (Healey 2004).

Special

a	aanmerkung (in citations of Dutch texts)
A	Anmerkung (in citations of German texts)
fn.	footnote (in citations of English texts)
n	note (in citations of English texts)
†	form not found in the *DOEC*
*	reconstructed or hypothetical form
**	form not known to occur in Old English

Grammatical

adj.	adjective
acc.	accusative

comp.	comparative
dat.	dative
def.	definite
du.	dual
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
imper.	imperative
ind.	indicative
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
infl.	inflected
instr.	instrumental
loc.	locative
masc.	masculine
neg.	negated
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
pa.	past
part.	participle
pl.	plural
pr.	present
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
sup.	superlative
vb.	verb
wk.	weak
1sg., 2sg., etc.	first person singular, second person singular, etc.

1

Preliminaries

1.1 The discussion of Old English inflexional morphology in a work such as this presents particular difficulties which must be made explicit at the very start. These difficulties arise from the fact that the structure and organization of inflexion underwent considerable change both during the relevant prehistory of Old English and within the Old English period itself.[1] Major structural changes occurred particularly with the declension of nouns and adjectives, see §§1.2–4, and it is naturally with these declensions that the most serious difficulties arise. In verbs, the third major word class, changes, although frequent, are either less often of such a far-reaching structural nature or affect all verbs in the same way, and therefore the difficulties anticipated here do not arise to the same extent.

[1] For a general overview of the structural shifts alluded to here, see Hogg (1992c).

1.2 In the Indo-European protolanguage the inflexional system of nouns was originally root-based. That is to say, the noun consisted of a root to which one or more suffixes might be added to form the stem, and to that stem were added inflexions that were originally the same for all stem classes. By late PIE this orderly system was already in process of change, with certain exceptions to the rule that inflexions were the same in all stem classes and to the rule that the stem was formed the same way throughout a given paradigm, with only allophonic and ablaut variations. This process of change continued in the Germanic protolanguage, with the result that in certain stem classes the inflexion attracted to itself the stem termination, particularly if it was vocalic. Thus, we may reconstruct a shift illustrated by the following singular paradigms, representing the change of PIE *wlk^w-o-s 'wolf', comprising root *wlk^w- plus stem-forming suffix *-o- plus inflexion *-s, to late PGmc *wulf-az, comprising stem *wulf- plus inflexion *-az:

	PIE		PGmc
Nom.	*wlk^w-o-s	>	*wulf-az
Acc.	*wlk^w-o-m	>	*wulf-ã
Gen.	*wlk^w-o-so	>	*wulf-as(a)[1]
Loc.	*wlk^w-o-y	>	*wulf-ai

Although in the nom.gen. PGmc *-a- could still have been regarded as belonging to the stem rather than the inflexion, by late PGmc, *-m had been lost in the acc., with nasalization of the preceding vowel, which then had to be regarded as the sole inflexion rather than a combination of suffixal vowel plus inflexion; and *-ai in the locative was a diphthong, a unitary phoneme, and thus the inflexion must be regarded as *-ai rather than *-i. A similar development affected the PIE etymon of PDE *mead*, with different results:[2]

	PIE		PGmc
Nom.	*medh-u-s	>	*með-uz
Acc.	*medh-u-m	>	*með-ū
Gen.	*medh-ew-s	>	*með-euz
Dat.	*medh-ow-ey	>	*með-ēu[3]

The vowel alternations in the PGmc inflexions do not lend themselves readily to the supposition that the endings might have been analysed as stem formative + inflexion. Note that the gen.sg. inflexion on this noun was differentiated from that of *wlk^w-o-so already in PIE.

[1] For the gen.sg. inflexion of *a*-stems, see Hogg (1992b: §3.28) and references.
[2] The variation *-u- ~ -ew- ~ -ow- in the stem is due to PIE ablaut phenomena.
[3] The Gmc dat. is not actually a direct development from the PIE dat., see Bammesberger (1990a: 153).

1.3 The paradigms given in §1.2 illustrate the rise of different declensional classes distinguished not on the basis of stem endings, as in PIE, but on the basis of the variety of inflexions attached to the now truncated stem. The paradigms illustrate just two of the sets of inflexions that arose in this manner; the full range of inflexional sets is examined in chapter 2. Subsequent developments were chiefly of two types. Firstly, inflexional endings were further reduced, resulting either in the loss of the ending altogether, as very commonly happened in the nom. and acc. sg., see for example Hogg (1992b: §§3.31, 6.2), or in reduction of the number of contrasts amongst the endings. In some declensional categories, loss of the original inflexional endings caused what were originally derivational suffixes to serve as inflexions, particularly those nouns bearing a PIE suffix in *-n-,[1] see especially §§2.84–5. Secondly, the early Gmc languages in general seem to have tolerated relatively little

paradigm allomorphy in declension. When irregularities did develop, they were very commonly removed on an analogical basis. Thus, for example, WGmc nom.sg. *saʒi should have resulted in OE *seġe, but instead only seċġ 'man' occurs, since the stem *sagg- found in all the other cases was levelled into the nom.sg., see §2.23. Such paradigm regularization has operated throughout the history of the Gmc languages; very likely it is responsible for the PGmc gemination of approximants described in Hogg (1992b: §3.17), see Fulk (1993).

[1] These are the so-called weak nouns. The use of the terms 'strong' and 'weak' to denote vocalic stems and *n*-stems (less often all consonantal stems), although common and due originally to Jakob Grimm, has little to recommend it, and we avoid it here in the description of nominal morphology; see §4.1 on the use of analogous terminology in connexion with adjectival morphology. For further information on the usage, see *OED*: strong *a*.23.

1.4 In Gmc there had developed a syntactically motivated distinction between definite (or 'weak') and indefinite (or 'strong') adjectives. Broadly speaking, the definite form of the adjective was used after a demonstrative or its equivalent, i.e. a possessive NP or possessive pronoun, whilst the indefinite form of the adjective was used elsewhere; for further details and qualification, see §§4.1–2 and Mitchell (1985: §§102ff.). The comparative forms always follow the definite declension, whilst the superlative may be definite or indefinite. Quantifying adjectives, e.g. *eall* 'all', *moniġ* 'many', *sum* 'some', are usually indefinite, by virtue of their syntax, although for most such words some definite forms exist.[1] A few adjectives are indeclinable, notably the quantifier *fela* 'many', see further §4.17.

[1] There are apparently no definite forms of *sum*, as might be predicted from its syntax.

1.5 The indefinite declensions of adjectives derive in principle from the same PIE patterns as are found in nouns, with stems ending in a vowel referred to as vocalic stems. However, the morphology of indefinite adjectives incorporated a number of pronominal inflexions, see §4.9–13 for details. The definite declension of adjectives is a Gmc innovation and is plainly the result of the adoption of the endings of the *n*-stem noun declension.[1] Consequently, the principal changes in adjective declensions during the OE period closely matched those in the corresponding noun declensions, albeit with some minor variations. A notable characteristic of the definite adjective declension is that there are no distinctions of gender in the plural, although this is due directly to the normal development of the *n*-stem noun declension.

[1] There was in PIE a substantivizing/individualizing suffix *-ōn-, as in Gk. γάστρων 'paunchy', 'fat-gut' (cf. γαστήρ 'paunch'). Words bearing it were most commonly in

definite usage, and it is likely that this is the origin of use of the *n*-stem suffix with definite adjectives in Gmc, see Krahe and Meid (1969: II, §53).

1.6   The kinds of structural changes outlined in §§1.2–5 and their scope mean that it is not appropriate to provide an historical survey of nominal (and adjectival) morphology which would suggest a continuity of structure from earliest Germanic to late OE. Rather, it is necessary to provide both an account of the Gmc system of inflexional morphology as it relates to the emergence of the OE forms and an account of how that system was restructured during the OE period. For this reason the sections on noun morphology are divided into two chapters, the first, chapter 2, dealing with the topic in terms of the Gmc system, the second, chapter 3, dealing with the OE restructuring of that system. For chapter 2 the principal data discussed will be from texts up to *c*.925, especially EWS or Alfredian texts, but also other major texts from other dialects of the same period, e.g. the Mercian gloss on the Vespasian Psalter, whilst for chapter 3 the principal data will be from texts of *c*.1000, especially LWS or Æthelwoldian and Ælfrician texts, but also major texts from other dialects such as the glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels.[1] This approach is not used in dealing with the morphology of adjectives, since their development can in these respects be related to that in nouns.

[1]   For discussion of the dialects and their texts, see Hogg (1992b: §§1.7–10).

1.7   One unfortunate consequence of this methodology is that OE nouns may be classified as belonging to two (or more)[1] declensions, according to whether membership relates to the Gmc or OE inflexional system. However, it is hoped that the context of discussion will be sufficiently clear to avoid confusion.

[1]   As will be observed in chs. 2–3, nouns could, because of class transfer during the period, belong to more than one declension within either structure.

1.8   Although the OE pronominal system can be traced back to PIE, it is not possible to give a coherent overview of pronouns' morphological structure as a whole. From a morphological point of view, i.e. the core members of the pronoun system are the demonstrative pronouns, i.e. OE *sē*, *sēo*, *þæt*, to which are closely related the interrogative pronouns *hwā*, *hwæt* and the anaphoric (third person) pronouns *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*. These pronouns share some morphology with strong adjectives, see §§1.5, 4.9–13. The personal pronouns *ic* 'I', *þū* 'thou' have quite different morphological systems, but the possessive adjectives derived from the genitive of the personal pronouns, e.g. *mīn* 'my', decline as strong adjectives.

1.9   The characteristically Gmc distinction between strong and weak verbs is one which is well maintained during the OE period. Although the formation of strong verbs had its origins in PIE, Gmc developed a somewhat different structure which persisted into OE. The crucial characteristic of the Gmc system was the replacement of aspectual categories by a binary opposition between present and preterite tense, a distinction which was indicated in the inherited primary verbs by vowel gradation or ablaut. Derived or secondary verbs in PIE had present-tense forms only, and the major innovation in Gmc was the development of preterite forms through the addition of a dental suffix. This Gmc innovation of two distinct types of preterite, one formed by IE ablaut, the other by the addition of a new dental suffix, creates the typological distinction between strong and weak verbs. In OE the strong verbs maintained the Gmc system of marking tense and person by vowel variation, albeit in a simplified and obscured form, but the weak verbs, in parallel to the majority of nouns, gradually shifted from a root-based to a stem-based method of conjugation. In OE this did not have quite the same dramatic morphological consequences as the parallel nominal shift, and therefore the development of verbs is discussed within a single framework.

1.10   Alongside these major classes of verbs there existed a small group of preterite-present verbs. Such verbs formed their present tense according to the system for the preterite of strong verbs, and then formed a new preterite by the addition of a dental suffix. A small number of other verbs of very high frequency, *bēon* 'be', *willan* 'will', *dōn* 'do', *gān* 'go', reflecting, for the most part, the ancient class of athematic verbs, by the time of OE have to be classed simply as irregular.

1.11   The morphology of OE prepositions and conjunctions is not sufficiently complex to warrant separate treatment in a grammar such as this; some brief remarks about them will be found in §§4.76, 5.4n2. This grammar is, moreover, chiefly concerned with inflexional morphology, though some attention to various aspects of compounding may be found in the places just cited and in §§3.144–7. To keep the treatment of morphology within manageable proportions and a coherent framework, it has proved necessary to exclude other word-formation issues that might have been pursued, such as the synchronic status of the distinction between roots and affixes, and between affixes and inflexions, the productivity of individual morphemes, and headedness in compounding, among many others.

1.12   There are few handbooks in English which provide a survey of Gmc inflexional morphology, and Prokosch (1939) remains the most valuable of these. Brief guides may be found in Bammesberger (1984a, 1992a), and

Wright (1954) offers a full survey of Gothic. On verbs, valuable information may be found in Fullerton (1977) and Mailhammer (2007), the latter on strong verbs only. The choice in German remains much wider, including such major texts as Streitberg (1896), Hirt (1932) and Krahe and Meid (1969), which are frequently supplemented by works on individual topics such as Bammesberger (1990a) for nouns, Seebold (1970) for strong verbs and Bammesberger (1986b) and Rix (2001) for verbs in general. Markey, Kyes and Roberge (1977) offers a comprehensive bibliography on all topics relevant to Gmc, Seymour (1968) on word formation. Specifically on OE, the historical bibliographies of Tajima (1988) and Fisiak (1987) are valuable. For more recent bibliographical information, the annual *Linguistic Bibliography / Bibliographie Linguistique* is most comprehensive; more current are the annual bibliographies in the journals *Anglo-Saxon England* and *Old English Newsletter*, the latter also on line at <http://www.oenewsletter.org/>. Some useful introductions to Indo-European backgrounds are Lehmann (1993), Beekes (1995), Szemerényi (1996), Meier-Brügger (2003), Mallory and Adams (2006), Clackson (2007) and Fortson (2010).

2

Nouns: Stem Classes

I   Early backgrounds

2.1   In PIE, nouns were formed by the addition of inflexions either to a thematic stem, i.e. a stem that ended in the theme vowel that appeared as $*o$ or $*e$, or to an athematic stem, i.e. one lacking the theme vowel. Thus is reconstructed thematic acc.sg. $*Hékw\text{-}o\text{-}m$ 'horse', comprising a stem made of root $*Hékw\text{-}$ plus theme vowel $*\text{-}o\text{-}$, to which was added the inflexion $*\text{-}m$, whilst athematic acc.sg. $*péd\text{-}m$ 'foot' lacks the connecting theme vowel, with the result that the inflexion $*\text{-}m$ becomes syllabic, on a purely allophonic basis. The athematic stems may add the inflexions directly to the root (i.e., the stem comprises solely a root, without any suffix or theme vowel), in a sub-class called root stems, of which $*péd\text{-}$ is an example, or the stem may be formed by the addition of one or more suffixes to the root, for example $*pH\text{-}tér\text{-}$ 'father'.[1] Hence, we have the following possible combinations in nouns in the accusative singular:

root + inflexion, e.g.:	$*Haig\text{-}m$ 'oak'
root + theme vowel + inflexion, e.g.:	$*wegh\text{-}o\text{-}m$ 'way'
root + suffix + inflexion, e.g.:	$*dhghm\text{-}on\text{-}m$ 'man'
root + suffix + theme vowel + inflexion, e.g.:	$*penk^w\text{-}r\text{-}o\text{-}m$ 'finger'

and similar constructions in which there is more than one suffix attached to the root, as in $*mr\text{-}t\text{-}r\text{-}o\text{-}m$ 'murder'. Already in late PIE certain sound changes were beginning to obscure the distinctions amongst the categories root, suffix, theme and inflexion, causing the agglutinative morphological structures of earlier PIE to become fusional, and this process continued in PGmc, where there tended to be reanalysis of stems and inflexions, such that in the thematic stems the theme vowel melded with the inflexion: e.g., PIE theme $*\text{-}o\text{-}$ plus nom.sg.masc. inflexion $*\text{-}s$ produced the unified PGmc

inflexion *-az.[2,3] The result was that in PGmc the inflexions added to the stem were no longer the same in each type of noun, but they varied from one stem class to another, e.g. nom.sg. masc. *-az in what had originally been thematic stems, *-iz in what had been athematic stems ending in -i-, *-uz in what had been athematic stems ending in -u-, and so forth.[4] With the theme vowel incorporated into the inflexion, in Gmc it is no longer entirely apposite to refer to thematic and athematic stems,[5] and a more useful distinction (though not an entirely logical one) is that between vocalic and consonantal stems. As a result of the fusion of inflexions with stem endings in PGmc, the traditional terminology that identifies the various Gmc stem types as a-stems, ō-stems, i-stems, and so forth, is somewhat illogical, since a, ō and i were no longer part of the stem but of the inflexion, and such terminology must therefore be understood in diachronic perspective as referring to elements that had at an earlier time distinguished the stem types rather than the different sets of inflexions.[6] For a full survey of PGmc noun morphology, see Bammesberger (1990a), also Ringe (2006: 168–80).

---

[1]   On this analysis, by 'suffix' is meant any material that appears between the root and the inflexion; the theme vowel is thus, technically, a suffix. For an overview of PIE noun declension, see Szemerényi (1996: §§7.1–7), or any of the handbooks of PIE mentioned in §1.12.

[2]   PIE *o regularly produces Gmc a, and PIE final *s after an unstressed vowel gives PGmc *z, see Hogg (1992b: §4.4).

[3]   This metanalysis has its basis in a variety of sound changes in early Gmc. One is the loss of final *-m after an unstressed vowel, which is then nasalized, e.g. in PIE acc.sg.masc. *-o-m > PGmc *-ã, see Hogg (1992b: §4.10), with the result that there remains nothing of the original inflexion but the nasal quality of the vowel, so that what was originally the theme vowel had now to be regarded as the inflexion. Similarly, PIE locative *-e-y/ -o-y developed to a unitary phoneme in PGmc, a monophthong *-ī and a diphthong *-ai, respectively. Also, although [u] and [w] were allophones of a single phoneme in PIE, as were [i] and [j], the distinction was phonemicized over time, so that, for example, in the PGmc masc. u-stems the alternative stem-endings *-u- in the nom.sg., *-eu- in the gen.sg. and *-eu- in the nom.pl. were no longer analysable as phonologically conditioned variants, and each had to be regarded as part of a fixed inflexional ending.

[4]   On this process of reanalysis of root, suffix and inflexion in Gmc, see Erdmann (1974) and Werner (1984). The former points out that in OE, stem classes may be defined in part by the types of inflexions added, in part by vowel alternations in the root (or stem, it may be added).

[5]   Confusingly, following some older analyses, Campbell (1977: §620) uses the term 'athematic' to refer solely to the sub-class of root-stems. This is done on the assumption that 'theme' refers to whatever suffix is used as the class-marking stem formative, e.g. *-i- in i-stems, *-nd- in nd-stems, and so forth, and in that sense root-stems are the only athematic nouns, lacking any 'theme' (i.e. suffix) between root and inflexion. But the term 'thematic' in IE linguistics now regularly refers to classes of words formed with the thematic vowel *e/o and no other class. Even PIE *-ā- in the commonest fem. class is suffixal in origin (*e/o plus laryngeal consonant; to which inflexions were added directly), though some scholars refer to the Gmc a- and ō-stems (reflecting the PIE o- and ā-stems, respectively) as together comprising the thematic classes, e.g. Erdmann

(1974: 17), perpetuating an analysis of PIE prevalent before the discovery of laryngeal consonants, on which see §6.34n6. Thus, it will be less confusing if 'athematic' is understood to refer to all classes other than PIE o-stems. In that event, the term has little relevance to specifically Gmc linguistics.

[6]   It would perhaps be more logical to abandon the practice of referring to Gmc 'stem' types, because in Gmc it is no longer the stem ending that is distinctive but the class of inflexions attached to the stem. Yet even if one referred to 'a-nouns', 'ō-nouns', etc., as does Campbell (1977), instead of a-stems, ō-stems, there would remain the inconsistency that, in PGmc at least, some classes are identified by the type of inflexion they take (a-nouns, ō-nouns, etc., see §2.2) and others by the stem ending (nd-nouns, etc.). The distinctions amongst Gmc a-stems, ja-stems, etc., are synchronically useful, and yet, as the most effective way of distinguishing the inflexional types, such terms are necessarily diachronic in nature. The discrepancy is addressed in this book, in part, by presenting a diachronic perspective in the present chapter and a relatively synchronic one in the next, as a companion to the present analysis.

2.2   Amongst vocalic stems, the vocalic element transferred from the stem to the inflexion by metanalysis could in early PGmc be any of four different vowels, namely */a, o:, i, u/, and this led to four major declensions or noun-classes,[1] namely a-stems,[2] ō-stems, i-stems and u-stems. In the first two classes, the stem-final vowel could be preceded by */j/[3] or */w/, leading to the sub-classes of ja-, wa-stems and jō-, wō-stems. The other two vocalic classes originally paralleled each other in inflexion, having been distinguished only by metanalysed vowel, which was /i/ or /u/. The principal consonantal class bore a suffix ending in */n/ and hence is known as the class of n-stems. Within the n-stems there was originally in Gmc a distinction between nouns in which n was preceded by *-ō-, hence ōn-stems, and a small group of feminine abstracts in which -n- was preceded by *-ī-, hence īn-stems. The distinction is plain in Gothic, e.g. *tuggō*, gen. *tuggōns* 'tongue': *managei*, gen. *manageins* 'multitude'. For the history of the latter in OE, see further §§2.88–90. In addition to n-stems there were, however, other, less frequent consonantal nouns with PIE stems ending in */r/, */s/, */t/ and */n/ + dental stop, which give rise to Gmc r-stems, s-stems (or z-stems),[4] þ-stems and nd-stems.[5] Naturally, there is no subdivision of the root-stems.

---

[1]   In order to distinguish the historical origins and affiliations of nouns from the synchronic properties discussed in ch. 3, we use the term (*stem-*)*class* for the historical morphological structure and the term *declension* for the synchronic structure.

[2]   a-stems are sometimes called o-stems, because PGmc */a/ derives from PIE */o/. Similarly, ō-stems are sometimes called ā-stems, since they had PIE */ā/ > PGmc */o:/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.3). Unsurprisingly, confusion can occur, but in the context of OE it is preferable to use the nomenclature associated with the development of the vowels in Gmc rather than in the original PIE system. For the contrary view, see Prokosch (1939: 227), Brunner (1965: §235).

[3]   */j/ > */ij/ by Sievers's Law in PGmc, see Hogg (1992b: §4.6).

[4]   The s-stems are occasionally referred to as z-stems, since the PIE *s of the suffix, where it survives in NWGmc, is reflected as r (or runic ᚱ) < *z. Since *z is never reflected as such outside of Gothic, the term 'z-stems' seems no more desirable than 's-stems'.

[5] If the *n*-stems are called weak nouns, see §1.2n4, then the other consonantal stems are usually classed as minor declensions. This latter term is used differently in this work to refer to synchronic declensions whose membership consists of a closed set, see §3.4.

2.3 There was a correlation between grammatical gender and stem class in PGmc which was to continue into the OE period.[1,2] Thus, in PGmc, *a*-stems were either masculine or neuter; *ō*-stems were all feminine; *i*-stems could be of any gender, as could *u*-stems, the consonantal *n*-stems, possibly the root-stems,[3] and the rare examples of *þ*-stems. In all of the relevant stem types except the *a*-stems, the number of neuters was small and continued to decline up to and throughout the OE period and beyond.[4] *r*-stems are distinguished in PGmc and OE by the fact that they are nouns of relationship, and hence they are either masculine or feminine on grounds of natural gender. The majority of *nd*-stems derive from an old pres.part. formation and are masculine, but there is a small minority of feminine *nd*-stems, mostly of a learned nature, see further §2.104. Finally, *s*-stems could be at least masculine or neuter, although only neuter forms survive as recognizable *s*-stems in OE.

[1] On the origins and development of the PIE gender system, see Szemerényi (1996: §7.1.2 and references).
[2] But during the OE period there begin to emerge plain signs of the subordination of gender to case assignment, most particularly in Nbr. This topic is discussed in §3.139.
[3] On the absence of root-stem neuters in Gmc also, see Bammesberger (1990a: 188; and 205–6 regarding Got *fōn* 'fire'). Like Campbell (1977: §622n2), we find no unambiguous trace of the alleged neuter dat.sg. *scrȳd* 'garment'. PsGl(K) 21.19 has *scrȳd* acc.pl., but this is a text in which <u> is confused with <y>, see Sisam and Sisam (1959: §49).
[4] There are no neuter *u*-stems in OE, although the indeclinable WS *fela* 'many' reflects an oblique form of a member of the *u*-stem class, whilst Angl *feolu*, *feolo* is from the nom.acc.sg.

2.4 It is possible to reconstruct eight distinct cases in PIE: nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, locative and ablative. In the historical Gmc languages, however, just four cases are regularly found in noun classes: nominative, accusative, genitive and dative.[1] In respect of the dative, the inflexional endings are the result of a selection from dative, instrumental and locative forms, see further §§2.16–17, 2.43.[2] On the preservation of separate instrumental forms in the adjective and pronoun, see §§4.9, 4.17, 5.7, 5.10.

[1] But the instrumental case was plainly present in PGmc and persists in adjectival and pronominal paradigms, see G. Anderson (1958), Bammesberger (1994). In Gothic, the vocative is formally identical to the accusative.

[2] It is important not to equate the PIE dative with the PGmc/OE dative either morphologically or syntactically. See further Lass (1991).

2.5 Even in PGmc, for nouns there was only a singular : plural contrast in number. On the prehistory of the dual see, for example, Hirt (1932: §11), Prokosch (1939: 229–30). On the preservation of dual number in personal pronouns, see §§5.23–31, and on its syntactic uses, see Mitchell (1985: §§257–9).

2.6 It is possible to reconstruct typical PGmc nominal paradigms to illustrate the discussion in §§2.1–5. We give only the reconstructed paradigm at an early stage of PGmc for **stain-* (> OE *stān*) 'stone' (m.) supplemented by **wurð-* (> OE *word*) 'word' for neuter forms:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*stainaz (*wurðam[1])	*stainōosez[2,3] (*wurðō)
Voc.	*staine	*stainōosez[2]
Acc.	*stainam[1]	*stainanz (*wurðō)
Gen.	*stainasa[4]	*stainōom[1,2]
Dat.	*staināai[2]	*stainomaz[5]
Instr.	*stainō	*stainomiz[5]
Loc.	*stainei	————
Abl.	*stainōo[2]	*stainomaz[5]

As may be observed, such forms mostly show the reflex of the PIE thematic vowel as Gmc */a/ or its lengthened equivalent */oː/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.3). For the parallel structures in the other PGmc noun stems, see the relevant material in Bammesberger (1990a).

[1] Final **-m* would be lost before the end of the PGmc period, with nasalization of the preceding vowel.
[2] The sequence **-ōo-* or **-āa-* indicates a trimoric vowel, see Hogg (1992b: §6.27&n1). It must be remembered, however, that **-ōo-* is an abstraction, not necessarily standing literally for a bimoric vowel followed by a monomoric one, but for whatever property characterized the vowels we call 'trimoric'. It is possible, for example, that trimoric vowels represent a pair of vowels of any quantity, separated by hiatus, see Fulk (1992: 152–3nn2–3) and Jasanoff (2003) for references. The development of dat.sg. **-āai* from PIE **-o-ey* suggests as much, since the *a*-quality of the diphthong presumes a short vowel, there having been no unstressed **ā* in PGmc.
[3] The nom.pl. ending **-ōosez* apparently results from contraction of PIE **-es* (the original ending, reflected in other classes in Gmc) with the thematic vowel **-o-*, resulting at first in **-ōos*. Because this did not resemble the ending found in other classes, **-es* was added once again by analogy, resulting in **-ōosez*. See further §2.8n2. Here the usual explanation is presented, although it is not unlikely that Jasanoff (2003: 22–3) is right that the contraction of PIE **-es* with thematic **-o-* produced a bimoric rather than a trimoric vowel.

⁴   *-asa* would be reduced to *-as* before the end of the PGmc period, see Hogg (1992b: §3.28). It is to be assumed that stress fell on the first vowel of the ending, i.e. *-ása*. This prevents the voicing (and otherwise consequent loss) of */s/, see ibid.: §§4.4, 4.10. Ablaut alternations seem also to have placed a stressed vowel before the suffix in the PIE athematic classes, see Bammesberger (1990a: 24). The reconstruction of the gen.sg. inflexion is problematic. For references, see Seldeslachts (1992: 294–5).

⁵   Although PIE *o developed to Gmc *a*, preservation of *o* before *m* in medial syllables is a necessary assumption to account for the North and West Gmc dat.pl. ending *-um*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34).

2.7   Some impression of the relative importance of the various noun classes in the development of OE can be gleaned from the following statistics regarding the 100 most frequent nouns in OE.[1] These statistics suggest the number of nouns in each class which OE inherited from PGmc (and hence do not show, for example, later, specifically OE, class changes). The figures are as follows: *a*-stems 47 (22 masc., 25 neut.); *ja*-stems 6 (3 masc., 3 neut.); *wa*-stems 1 masc.; *ō*-stems: 7; *jō*-stems 6; *wō*-stems 1; *i*-stems 9 (3 masc., 6 fem.); *u*-stems 4 (3 masc., 1 fem.); *n*-stems 9 (4 masc., 1 neut., 4 fem.); *r*-stems 3 (2 masc., 1 fem.); *nd*-stems 2; root-stems 5 (2 masc., 3 fem.).[2] The most noteworthy point to be drawn from these statistics is the dominance of masc. and neut. vocalic stems, which account for 55–60% of the total, cf. n2.

[1]   The figures which follow are derived from the frequency lists in the OE *Microfiche Concordance* (Healey and Venezky, 1980). Some adjustments have been made to allow for the occurrence of homonyms. RMH, however, tested the results sufficiently to suggest that they are fairly accurate. In order to allow readers to test the results for themselves, the nouns are listed in the discussion of each of the individual stem classes.

[2]   These statistics may be compared with those in Quirk and Wrenn (1957: §25). Quirk and Wrenn suggest that over the total vocabulary the distribution is as follows: 'General Masculine' 35% (here 29%); 'General Neuter' 25% (28%); 'General Feminine' 25% (20%); '-*an* Declension' 15% (9%). The differences may be largely accounted for by the many 'irregular' nouns of high frequency, which account for 14% of nouns in the present count. Once this factor is taken into account, the figures are reasonably close. We must also reckon with the possibility that less frequently occurring nouns were, relatively speaking, over-represented in the '*an*-declension'.

2.8   The endings to be reconstructed for early PGmc *a*-stems are represented in §2.6, where all that follows the stem *stain*- (or *wurð*-) developed as an inflexion. In the case of the dat.sg., the picture is more complex because of the interaction of instrumental and locative forms, see §2.17 and further references therein. The endings of Gmc nouns of other classes differ in part because the Gmc reflexes of the PIE inflexions fused with stem-final elements other than the *a* that reflects the PIE thematic vowel. Because they incorporate the reflexes of the same PIE inflexions, however, certain similarities between the Gmc *a*-stem inflexions and the inflexions of other classes are

observable, as will be demonstrated below in the discussion of individual classes. To make this plain, it will be useful to present here the reflexes of the PIE inflexions in the form they might be expected to take in early PGmc, before the widespread metanalysis of inflexions to incorporate stem endings. These might be expected to have appeared on all nouns except the ō-stems, which show a number of critical differences:[1]

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*-z, *-m (neut.)	*-ōsez,[2] *-Ø (neut.)[3]
Acc.	*-m	*-nz, *-Ø (neut.)
Gen.	*-sa	*-ōm[4]
Dat.	*-ai	*-miz

[1]   There are exceptions to this statement, for example the nom.sg. of many consonantal stems, but these will be discussed at the relevant places, since they do not significantly detract from the generalization, see further §2.79.

[2]   PGmc raising of */e/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.30), would regularly have given *-ōsiz at a very early stage. The diacritic on *o* reflects uncertainty about how to represent separately the originally inflexional element of what had become a trimoric vowel, see §2.6n3.

[3]   The ending *-ō in the nom.acc.pl.neut. in the *a*-stem paradigm given in §2.6 at this stage must be regarded as thematic. The etymological neuter inflexion proper was a laryngeal consonant.

[4]   Most (though not all) IE languages reflect a gen.pl. ending with a long vowel even in athematic stems, where the length cannot be due to contraction of thematic vowel + inflexional vowel, except by analogical processes. Gmc is here assumed to have inherited a similar ending.

2.9   For feminine nouns, endings comparable to those laid out for masc. and neut. nouns in §2.8 (i.e., the reflexes of the PIE inflexions in the form they might be expected to have taken in early PGmc, before the widespread metanalysis of inflexions to incorporate stem endings) may be reconstructed as follows. These should be compared especially to the reconstructed ō-stem endings given in §2.38:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*-Ø	*-ez
Acc.	*-om	*-z[1]
Gen.	*-ōz	*-ōm
Dat.	*-ai	*-miz

In PIE these inflexions may have been more similar to those of §2.8, and the differences in large measure arose because of the influence of the preceding thematic element.

[1]   See Bammesberger (1990a: 105).

II   Vocalic stems

1   a-*stem nouns*

2.10   Nouns belonging to this class were either masculine or neuter. Differences in inflexion between the two genders were in PGmc restricted to the nom.sg. and the nom. and acc.pl.; in OE such differences persisted only in the nom.acc.pl. As outlined in §2.2, there were two sub-types in this class, *ja-* and *wa-*stems. Simple *a-*stems are discussed in §§2.11–18, *ja-*stems in §§2.19–26, and *wa-*stems in §§2.27–33.

(a)   Simple a-*stems*

2.11   In Early West Saxon, *a-*stems typically were inflected according to the following paradigms:

	Masculine	Neuter	
		Light	Heavy
Singular			
Nom.	stān *stone*	sċip *ship*	word *word*
Acc.	stān	sċip	word
Gen.	stānes	sċipes	wordes
Dat.	stāne	sċipe	worde
Plural			
Nom.	stānas	sċipu	word
Acc.	stānas	sċipu	word
Gen.	stāna	sċipa	worda
Dat.	stānum	sċipum	wordum

As can be seen, there are clear differences in the nom.acc.pl. between light- and heavy-stemmed neuters, see also §2.12. Further, these are the only inflexions which distinguish the neuter *a-*stems from the masc. *a-*stems. Light-stemmed masc. nouns such as *wer* have the same set of forms as heavy stems such as *stān*.

2.12   This class has an extremely large membership, which prohibits a listing of the relevant nouns.[1] However, amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited *a-*stems occur:

(a)   masc.: *apostol* 'apostle', *bisċop* 'bishop', *Crīst* 'Christ', *cyning* 'king', *dæġ* 'day', *dēofol* 'devil',[2] *dīċ* 'ditch',[3] *dōm* 'judgement', *drihten* 'lord', *enġel* 'angel', *god* 'god',[4] *heofon* 'heaven', *hlāf* 'bread', *hlāford* 'lord', *hund* 'dog', *middanġeard* 'earth', *mūþ* 'mouth', *prēost* 'priest', *stān* 'stone', *þeġn* 'thane', *weġ* 'way', *wer* 'man';

(b)   neut.: *bearn* 'child', *bebod* 'command', *ġebed* 'prayer', *blōd* 'blood', *folc* 'people', *fȳr* 'fire', *gāst* 'spirit',[5] *ġēar* 'year', *godspell* 'gospel', *hēafod* 'head', *hūs* 'house', *land* 'land', *lēoht* 'light', *līf* 'life', *lof* 'praise', *mōd* 'mind', *mynster* 'monastery',[6] *þing* 'thing', *weorc* 'work', *wīf* 'woman', *wæter* 'water', *word* 'word', *wuldor* 'glory', *wundor* 'wonder', *yfel* 'evil'.

[1] Kastovsky (1995: 232) estimates that 60% of OE nouns were thus declined.
[2] But also neut. in the sg., e.g. CP(H) 415 (3×) *ðæt dīoful*, and regularly neut. in the pl., hence nom.pl. *dīoflu, dīofla*, cf. *god* and n3. See also §3.138.
[3] But in charters, where the noun most frequently occurs, it is often fem. and *dīċ* dat.sg. is often found alongside *dīċe*, see §§3.135, 143.
[4] Occasionally (but not in Ælfric) neut.pl. to distinguish pagan gods from the Christian deity, as in Or 24.12, see §3.138.
[5] Originally an *s-*stem, see §2.95ff.
[6] Originally a *ja-*stem, see §2.20n1.

2.13   The paradigm of the *a-*stem *stān* may be traced back to a late PGmc paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*stainaz (neut. *wurðā[1])	*stainōosiz (neut. *wurðō)
Acc.	*stainā[1]	*stainanz (neut. *wurðō)
Gen.	*stainas	*stainōō[1]
Dat.	*staināai	*stainomiz

Most of these forms show the regular development of the PGmc forms cited in §2.6, but dat.pl. -*omiz* may be instrumental in origin, see Bammesberger (1990a: 45–6).

[1] See §2.6n1 on the loss of *-*m*.

2.14   The regular phonological development of the forms cited above would produce a Pre-Old English[1] paradigm of the following type, except in the acc.pl.masc., for discussion of which see immediately below:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*stain (*word)	*stainōs (*wordu)
Acc.	*stain (*word)	*stainōs (*wordu)
Gen.	*stainas	*stainō
Dat.	*stainæ	*stainum

The acc.pl. masc. inflexion must be explained as due to syncretism, with the inflexion of the nom.pl. having been extended to the acc.pl., see for example Campbell (1977: §571), Bammesberger (1990a: 46).[2]

[1] The term Pre-Old English (Pre-OE) is used here to refer to a time when all the PGmc and WGmc changes discussed in Hogg (1992b: chs 3–4) had occurred. It is a variable term, sometimes referring to so early a stage as that in which we find a system of unstressed vowels of the type outlined in Hogg (1992b: §6.1), prior to first fronting and associated changes, both in stressed and unstressed syllables. At other times it may refer to later, though still prehistoric, stages in the development of OE.

[2] A similar syncretism occurs in OHG also, where the common inflexion is -a, see Wagner (1986). This OHG parallel, together with the voiced nature of final *-z in the PGmc acc.pl., renders it unlikely that the syncretism is almost entirely the result of normal phonological processes, as advocated by Prokosch (1939: §79i–k).

2.15 The paradigm presented immediately above leads in most elements directly to the EWS paradigm given in §2.11. Only the following inflexions require comment:

gen.sg.: */a/ > /æ/ by first fronting (Hogg 1992b: §6.2) and later merger with /e/ (ibid.: §6.48).

dat.sg.: NWGmc */ai/ is monophthongized to */aː/ > */æː/ (ibid.: §6.27(4)), which is shortened to /æ/ (ibid.: §6.28), which later merges with /e/, as above.

nom.acc.pl.masc., gen.pl.: */oː/ was shortened and lowered to /a/ (ibid.: §6.28).

nom.acc.pl.neut.: Word-final */u/ was subject to apocope after heavy syllables (ibid.: §6.20) to give *word*, etc. but after light syllables it remained, hence *scipu*, etc. This variation in inflexion also arose in disyllabic stems such as *hēafod* 'head' vs. *werod* 'troop', which have in LWS nom.pl. *hēafdu*, *werod* respectively, see ibid.: §§6.20, 24, but cf. §3.64 in the present volume on the historical situation of which this is an analogical refashioning. Such stems are prone to reanalysis during OE, see the discussion of the synchronic morphology in §§3.56ff.

2.16 The earliest OE texts have many spellings reflecting the earlier forms of the gen. and dat.sg. inflexions postulated in §2.15. Thus, for the gen.sg., eNbr texts such as CædH, BDS, RuthCr and the eMerc glossaries EpGl and ErfGl, together with a number of charters, all have frequent forms with inflexional -æs; for further examples both of this and of the equivalent dat.sg. inflexion -æ, see Hogg (1992b: §6.49). By the time of the EWS texts such early forms had been lost without significant exceptions.

2.17 In early texts, mostly before c.800, there are a number of forms in both masc. and neut. nouns which appear to demonstrate the existence of an instrumental case. These forms show an instr.sg. ending in -i, e.g. EpGl, ErfGl 83, CorpGl 230 *fācni* 'cunning', EpGl84, CorpGl 155 *hraecli*, *hrægli* 'cloak', EpGl, ErfGl 869, CorpGl 1720 *spelli* 'story', EpGl, ErfGl 699,

CorpGl 1450 *werci* 'work'.[1] Despite their instrumental meaning, such forms must regularly derive from an original locative form, cf. loc. **stainei* (> **staini*) in §2.6, also Bammesberger (1994).[2] It is notable that in these forms /i/ does not cause *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel except in the adverbial forms *ǣne* 'once', *hwēne* 'a little', see Hogg (1992b: §5.85(3)&n3), also §2.18n3 in the present volume. The forms are curious but nevertheless seem to prove the existence of an instr.sg. in the earliest period.[3,4] Additionally, RuthCr *blōdæ* 'blood' is usually analysed as an instr.sg., most recently by Bammesberger (1994: 102–3), but its origins, if genuine, are difficult, and the form is not entirely trustworthy because of the merger of unstressed /æ/ and /e/, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.48–9), similarly Wrenn (1943), King (1986: 77), Lass (1991).

[1] ErfGl 845 *uuegi* 'way' contrasts with EpGl *uuaega*, CorpGl 1700 *uuega*.

[2] RuneThornhill 3 *on bergi* 'on a mound' shows apparently the same inflexion but with the original locative meaning. EpGl 494 *thys gēri* 'in this year' is a temporal locative.

[3] On the persistence of unstressed /i/ up to 800, see Hogg (1992b: §6.53). The unstressed /i/ is not lost through syncope because at that time it was long, according to Hogg (ibid.: §6.28), though it should be assumed that -i was restored analogically after heavy stems if *i* was shortened before high vowel syncope, as argued by Bliss (1967: 113–17), see Fulk (1992: §§187–93).

[4] CP(H) 101.16, Dream 63 *bēafdum* 'head', both with locative meaning, appear to show a fossilized instr.sg. form in -um, which may be traceable back to PIE. Apparently parallel forms are *meolcum*, Angl *milcum*, which appear both as instr. and loc., and *nosum*, both particularly frequent in Bald's *Leechbook*. For early discussion of these forms, see Cosijn (1882), Kluge (1891: 386), Brugmann (1903: §469.2), and for a more recent useful discussion with extensive references see Grant (1991), as well as Bammesberger (2001). The oddity of these forms and their distribution has never been fully explained, but the inflexion may signify an adverbial-like function.

2.18 Locative forms with zero inflexion are particularly frequent in compound place-names of the type -*hām* -*wīc*, see Dahl (1938: 50, 61–2) for examples, less frequently in other words, e.g. -*mynster*, -*stān*, -*tūn*, -*þorp*, see also §2.12n2. The same forms are regular with uncompounded *hām* 'home'.[1] Temporal nouns such as *ǣfen* 'evening', *dæg* 'day', *morgen* 'morning' also show an endingless locative, especially in the phrases *on ǣfen*, *on dæg*, *todæg*, *on morgen*. During the OE period the endingless construction is gradually extended to other phrases such as *ǣlce dæg* 'every day',[2] which may suggest an idiomatization of the form, see Girvan (1931: §262a4).[3] The origin of this endingless locative is disputed, but it may be that it is from a variant PIE locative **-ē*, which would develop as **-æ* in Pre-OE. It is then necessary to suppose that this final **-æ* would be subject to apocope, cf. Hogg (1992b: §6.20). But if **-ī* was shortened before high vowel apocope, see §2.17n3, at least some of the endingless forms may be true etymological locatives. For discussion of this difficulty and further references, see Dahl (1938: 51–5).

¹ The only possible example of *æt hāme* 'at home' is at JnGl(Li, Ru) 11.20, where it is more likely that the dat.sg. has been substituted. It may be that *dīc* dat.sg. is a further example, but see §2.12n3.

² Thus, CP has 5 examples of *ǣlce dæge*, 2 of *ǣlce dæg*, whilst ÆCHom has 1 of the former, 4 of the latter.

³ Or (4×) *on mergen* shows *i*-umlaut of the root vowel, which may be related to the adverbial forms discussed in §2.17, although the connexion is difficult. The same form is regular in Ælfric, and the parallel form *on mærgen* is regular in lNbr.

(b)   ja-stems

2.19   In EWS, *ja*-stems typically were inflected according to paradigms of the following types:

	Masculine		Neuter	
	Light	**Heavy**	**Light**	**Heavy**
Singular				
Nom.	secg *man*	ende *end*	cynn *race*	wīte *punishment*
Acc.	secg	ende	cynn	wīte
Gen.	secges	endes	cynnes	wītes
Dat.	secge	ende	cynne	wīte
Plural				
Nom.	secgas	endas	cynn	wītu
Acc.	secgas	endas	cynn	wītu
Gen.	secga	enda	cynna	wīta
Dat.	secgum	endum	cynnum	wītum

In these stems there are clear distinctions between originally light-stemmed and originally heavy-stemmed nouns of both genders and in both nom.acc.sg. and nom.acc.pl. For variations in the declension of polysyllabic nouns, see §§3.56ff. A further distinction occurs between light-stemmed nouns such as *secg* and light-stemmed nouns which have final *-r*, for their inflexion in EWS is as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	here *army*	hergas, heras
Acc.	here	hergas, heras
Gen.	herges, heres	herga
Dat.	herge, here	hergum

2.20   This class has a fairly large membership, of which by far the largest subgroup is that of agentive nouns with the suffix *-ere*, e.g. *bæcere* 'baker', *bōcere* 'scribe', *leornere* 'disciple', *scipere* 'sailor', *scōere* 'shoemaker', and many others. Amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited *ja*-stems occur:

(a)   masc. (i) light: *here* 'army', *cāsere* 'emperor';¹ (ii) heavy: *ende* 'end';
(b)   neut.: (i) light: *cynn* 'nation'; (ii) heavy: *rīce* 'kingdom', *wīte* 'punishment'.

Other examples include nouns such as: (a(i)): *bridd* 'bird', *hrycg* 'ridge', *hyll* 'hill', *wecg* 'wedge'; (a(ii)): *esne* 'servant', *hwǣte* 'wheat', *hyrde* 'shepherd', *lǣce* 'physician', *mēce* 'sword'; (b(i)): *bedd* 'bed', *nebb* 'beak', *nett* 'net', *webb* 'web', *wedd* 'pledge', *wicg* 'horse'; (b(ii)): *ǣrende* 'message', *stȳle* 'steel', *wǣge* 'weight', *yrfe* 'inheritance'.²

¹ From Lat. *Caesar*. The *-ere* is reanalysed in OE as the agentive suffix discussed immediately above. But, conversely, *mynster* < Lat. *monasterium*, where no agentive function may be supposed, transferred to the *a*-stems.

² Also to be included here are *flicce* 'flitch', *stycce* 'piece', where the geminate consonant is not due to WGmc gemination but is of earlier origin.

2.21   Certain processes of affixation are associated with *ja*-stems. Thus, there are two further suffixes in addition to *-ere*: *-en(n)* (< WGmc **-innja*, **-unnja*), and *-et(t)* (< PGmc **-atja*, **-itja*), both of which form mainly neut. nouns; additionally, the prefix *ge-* is added to a large number of neut. collectives formed with the PGmc suffix **-ja-*. Typical examples of these types are:¹ *ǣfen* 'evening' (also masc.), *fæsten* 'fortress', *fæsten* 'fast', *wēsten* 'desert' (also fem., see §3.136); *bærnet* 'arson', *līget* 'lightning' (also masc.),² *nyrwet* 'narrowness', *rēwet* 'rowing', *sǣwet* 'sowing', *þēowet* 'slavery' (masc.), *þiccet* 'thicket'; *gefylce* 'troop', *gescȳ* 'pair of shoes', *getimbre* 'building', *geþēode* 'language', *gewǣde* 'dress', and many others.³

¹ On the usual absence of gemination in nom.acc.sg. of nouns with suffixal *-enn*, *-ett*, see §3.40. On the derivation of nouns in *-ett* from verbs of weak class I, see Wissmann (1975: 55–7).

² See further §2.47(4) on this noun as a fem. *jō*-stem.

³ Campbell (1977: §647n2) would include here *īren* 'iron', gen.pl. *īrenna*, but more likely this is an *a*-stem with assimilation of **-zn-* to **-nn-*, see Seebold (1984: 54). Adjective forms lacking the geminate, e.g. PsGl(A) *īrenu*, are then to be assumed to show a different assimilation, of **-s-z-* to **-z-*. On the dialect distribution of *īsern* and *īren*, see Kleinman (1997).

2.22   The inflexion of light-stemmed masc. *ja*-stem nouns can be exemplified by a PGmc paradigm which parallels that of the simple *a*-stems but with **/j/* preceding the inflexional vowel. This **/j/*, however, would have been **/ij/* after a heavy syllable by the process known as Sievers's Law, see Hogg (1992b: §4.6). Hence, we can reconstruct the following late PGmc paradigms for masc. *ja*-stem nouns:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	*saʒjaz	*andijaz
Acc.	*saʒjā	*andijā
Gen.	*saʒjas	*andijas
Dat.	*saʒjāai	*andijāai
Plural		
Nom.	*saʒjōosez	*andijōosez
Acc.	*saʒjanz	*andijanz
Gen.	*saʒjōō	*andijōō
Dat.	*saʒjomiz	*andijomiz

The inflexion of neut. nouns differed only in the nom.sg., which was identical to the acc.sg., e.g. *kunjam, *wītijam, and the nom.acc.pl., e.g. *kunjō, *wītijō.

2.23 The expected development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type parallel to the simple *a*-stems:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	*saʒi (*kunni)	*andī (*wītī)
Acc.	*saggi (*kunni)	*andī (*wītī)
Gen.	*saggjas	*andijas
Dat.	*saggjai	*andijai
Plural		
Nom.	*saggjōs (*kunnju)	*andijōs (*wītiju)
Acc.	*saggjōs[1] (*kunnju)	*andijōs[1] (*wītiju)
Gen.	*saggjō	*andijō
Dat.	*saggjum	*andijum

The suggested development above implies that nom.sg. *-az was lost before the time of WGmc gemination, giving *saʒjaz > *saʒi but that acc.sg. *-ā remained until after gemination, giving *saʒjā > *saggjā > *saggi. It is noteworthy, however, that **sege, the expected reflex of *saʒi, never occurs in OE, the nom.sg. always being of the type seċġ, the development proper to the acc.sg. under this account. We must therefore assume, with Dahl (1938: 81–6), that only *-az was lost prior to gemination and that acc.sg. seċġ, neut.sg. cynn are regular forms, with the masc.nom.sg. re-formed with a final geminate on the analogy of syncretism of nom.acc.sg. in the simple *a*-stems, see also Hogg (1979: 68–73) and the discussion of the synchronic status of masc. *i*-stems in §§3.43–4. Alternatively, one might

suggest, following Campbell (1977: §576), see also Dal (1934), that both inflexions were lost prior to gemination, in which event all geminated forms in the nom.acc.sg. would be re-formations from the oblique forms or the plural.

[1] The inflexion *-ōs is extended analogically from the nom.pl., see §2.14.

2.24 The paradigms presented above, together with the assumption of syncretism in the nom.acc.sg., lead for the most part directly to the EWS paradigms presented in §2.19. However, the development of the original heavy stems and also of original light stems in -*r* requires special attention:[1]

(a)   In the heavy stems the different developments of three types of inflexion are difficult: (i) *andī > ende nom.acc.sg.; (ii) *andijas > endes gen.sg., similarly dat.sg.pl. and nom.acc.pl.masc.; (iii) *wītiju > wītu nom.acc.pl.neut., similarly gen.pl. In regard to (i), after the loss of *-az from *andijaz, final *-ij became *-ī,[2] but medial *-ij- remained in the other cases, see Hogg (1992b: §6.27(2)). In regard to (ii) and (iii), in explanation of the attested forms it has been proposed that high vowel apocope was earlier than high vowel syncope, see ibid.: §§6.22, 25, with the consequence that high vowel apocope applies vacuously in such forms. Under the prescriptions of ibid.: §6.22 we might then assume *andijas > *endjæs > endes and *wītiju > *wītju > wītu. But on the older view of Sievers (1898: §177), *j was lost in *wītiju, and subsequently *wītiu developed to *wītju, in which *j would have been lost just the way *j of other origins was lost after a heavy syllable, e.g. in *kunnju. Sievers's view is easier to reconcile with the historical facts about the interaction of high vowel syncope and apocope, as presented in §3.64, implying that *wītiju need not have been subject to these processes at all: see the discussion in Fulk (2010c).[3]

(b)   The predicted development of light-stemmed nouns such as *here* would produce forms with /j/ before an inflexional vowel, thus *herġes, herġe, herġas, herġa*. Although forms of this type can be found in EWS, they are already being replaced by forms without /j/, i.e. *heres*, etc. For details and discussion of this synchronic restructuring see §§3.47–9.

[1]   See §2.15 on the development of unstressed vowels in this sub-class.
[2]   On whether this *-ī, after shortening, would have remained or been apocopated and then restored analogically, see §2.17n3.
[3]   The explanation for the type *cynn* nom.acc.pl. < *kunnju remains uncertain, see further Hogg (1992b: §6.25). Possibly *kunnju > *kynnj > cynn. Such an assumption need not conflict with the reconstruction *saʒjā > *saggjā > *saggi offered in §2.23, since the loss of *-ā was presumably earlier than high vowel apocope, resulting in syllabification of final *-j in one instance and not the other. Alternatively, and perhaps

more plausibly, it may be supposed that post-consonantal *-j- was lost continuously in the prehistoric period, both before high vowel apocope (and thus affecting *kunnju) and after both high vowel apocope and high vowel syncope (thus affecting *andijas > *endjæs).

2.25 The earliest OE texts have a number of spellings which reflect earlier forms of a variety of inflexions. For nom.acc.sg., examples of -i include: EpGl 1053, CorpGl 2075 *durheri* 'folding door',[1] EpGl 56, CorpGl 123, 250 *meeli* 'basin', EpGl 49, CorpGl 49, 1431 *steeli, staeli* 'steel', LdGl 140 *teblheri* 'gambler',[2] †LVD 103, 319 *Hiordi* pers. name, see further Hogg (1992b: §6.53) and Dahl (1938: 109).[3,4] For gen.sg., note CædH *rīcaes, cynnæs*.[5] It is notable that even in the earliest texts *-here*, when it is the second element of a compound, never retains *-j-* in the gen.dat.sg. In texts such as LVD, compounds show a high number of nom.acc.sg. forms with *-i*, e.g. †LVD 11 *Wulfheri*.

[1] Alongside EpGl 925, CorpGl 1948 *durhere*.

[2] Alongside EpGl 7, CorpGl 111 *teblere*.

[3] Note also EpGl 24 *merici* 'parsley', glossing Lat. dat. *apio*, but possibly nom., cf. CorpGl 182 *merice*.

[4] CorpGl 159 *dili* 'dill', alongside EpG 21 *dil* with a simplified geminate, is probably, in view of the several later examples of *dile*, an *i*-stem, see also Wynn (1956: 110) and, for an opposing view, Dahl (1938: 87), followed by Pheifer (1974: §77).

[5] Similar examples for the dat.sg. seem to be absent from this stem class, but note the apparent instr.sg. of EpGl 374, CorpGl 733 *geddi* 'song', cf. §2.17.

2.26 Historically, the *ja*-stems can be distinguished from *a*-stems in two ways: (i) the occurrence of geminate consonants in original light stems, such as *secg, cynn*; (ii) the occurrence of *i*-umlaut, cf. PGmc *sagjaz, *kunnjam. The presence of gemination as well as *i*-umlaut also distinguishes, regardless of inflexional patterns, *ja*-stems from *i*-stems, which show only the latter, but cf. §3.41. A third distinction is created by the presence of final *u* in the nom.acc.pl. of neut. nouns such as *witu*.

(c) wa-stems

2.27 In EWS, *wa*-stems typically were declined according to paradigms of the following types:

	Masculine	Neuter
Singular		
Nom.	bearu *grove*	searu *device*
Acc.	bearu	searu
Gen.	bearwes	searwes
Dat.	bearwe	searwe

Plural		
Nom.	bearwas	searu
Acc.	bearwas	searu
Gen.	bearwa	searwa
Dat.	bearwum	searwum

A significant number of *wa*-stems are nouns in which the *-w-* was directly preceded by a vowel or diphthong. The typical inflexion of such nouns in EWS may be exemplified by masc. *þēow* 'servant', see further §2.30:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	þēow *servant*	þēowas
Acc.	þēow	þēowas
Gen.	þēowes	þēowa
Dat.	þēowe	þēowum

2.28 There are fewer *wa*-stems than there are *ja*-stems, and notably there are no significant phonological effects of such processes as syncope and high vowel apocope to be reckoned with, as there are in connexion with the *ja*-stems. Amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the only example of a *wa*-stem noun is *þēow*.[1] In discussing *wa*-stems it is useful to distinguish between nouns whose root ends in a consonant and those whose root ends in a vocalic element. Thus, other examples in addition to *þēow* include:

(a)   with a consonant before *-w-*: *bearu* 'grove' (masc., no other examples), *bealu* 'evil', *cudu* 'cud', *melu* 'meal', *smeoru* 'fat', *teoru* 'tar' (all neut.) In such words that contain a diphthong, the diphthong in the nom. acc.sg. is best analysed as showing extension of breaking from inflected forms in which /l/ or /r/ was followed by /w/, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.22n3&6, 5.105n2).

(b)   (i) stems with an original vowel or diphthong before *-w-*, resulting in an OE diphthong in the root: *bēow* 'barley',[2] *dēaw* 'dew' (masc. and neut.), *ġehrēow* 'lamentation' (neut.?), *sēaw* 'juice' (neut.), *þēaw* 'custom' (masc.),[3] all with Gmc diphthongs, and *cnēow* 'knee', *strēaw* 'straw', *trēow* 'tree' (all neut.), *hlēow* 'shelter' (masc. or neut.), all (like *þēow*) with diphthongs of WGmc origin. For the resolution of the distinction between the types in OE, see §§3.43–9.

(ii) stems with an original vowel or diphthong before *-w-*, not resulting in an OE diphthong in the root: *brīw* 'porridge', *hlāw* 'mound',[4] *īw* 'yew', *slīw* 'tench', *snāw* 'snow', *Tīw* 'Tiw' (all masc.), *brāw* 'body' (neut.).[5]

[1]   From which are derived *lāreow* 'teacher', *latteow* 'leader', obscured compounds of *þēow*.

[2]   Probably neut., cf. ON *bygg*, OSax *beu*.

[3]   Campbell (1977: §584) groups *þēaw* with *þēow* and other words which developed a diphthong in West Germanic, but it contains a Germanic diphthong, see Fulk (1992: §164).

[4]   Also *hlǣw* 'mound' with *i*-umlaut, suggesting an original neut. *s*-stem, see §2.95. The noun is occasionally neut. in late texts, see §3.136.

[5]   Also *hrǣw* with *i*-umlaut, like *hlǣw*, see n4 above.

2.29   The inflexion of *wa*-stem nouns can be exemplified by a reconstructed paradigm which parallels that of the simple *a*-stems, but with */w/ preceding the inflexional vowel. Hence we may assume the following late PGmc paradigm for masc. nouns, using the etymon of OE *bearu* to exemplify masculine inflexion, with specifically neuter forms represented by the etymon of OE *searu*:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*barwaz (*sarwā)	*barwōosez (*sarwō)
Acc.	*barwā	*barwanz (*sarwō)
Gen.	*barwas	*barwōō
Dat.	*barwāai	*barwomiz

2.30   The expected development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type parallel to the simple *a*-stems:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*baru (*saru)	*barwōs (*saru)
Acc.	*baru	*barwōs (*saru)
Gen.	*barwas	*barwõ
Dat.	*barwai	*barum

2.31   Although the further development of these forms is generally regular, several WGmc changes involving */w/ led to a complex set of allomorphic variations:

(1)   The loss of the nom.acc.sg. inflexion would have vocalized */w/, to give forms such as *baru. Historically, the diphthongal forms of EWS such as *bearu* are best viewed as showing analogical extension of breaking from inflected forms in eOE, see §2.28(a), although synchronically the situation may be different, see §3.42.

(2)   */w/ was lost wherever it stood before */u/, see Hogg (1992b: §4.7), hence nom.acc.pl.neut. *saru, whose further development is as in (1) above. The same should occur in the dat.pl. of all *wa*-stems, but there -*w*- seems always to be restored.[1]

(3)   If */w/ was vocalized to */u/, cf. (1) above, then it should always have been apocopated after a long vowel or diphthong, producing such nom.acc.sg. forms as PGmc *snaiwaz > *snaiu > snā 'snow', *dauwaz > *dēau > *dēa 'dew'. In OE, *w*-less forms are practically absent, note CollGl 12.83 *sēa*, MtGl(Li) 17.2, 28.3 *snā*. The nom.acc.pl.neut. should show the same development, but no such forms of the relevant nouns are recorded.[2]

(4)   If */w/ was vocalized to */u/, cf. above, and the immediately preceding vowel was short, then in WGmc diphthongization occurred, hence nom.acc.sg. forms such as WGmc *strawaz > *strau > *strēa 'straw', and nom.acc.pl.neut. forms like *cnewō > *cneuu > *cneu > cnēo. In OE, *strēa* is restricted to the compound *strēaberige* 'strawberry', whilst the type *cnēo* occurs sporadically (not in Ælfric) alongside usual *cnēow*. In the rest of the paradigm the short vowel would remain and perhaps break before /w/, see Hogg (1992b:§5.22), but cf. §3.45n2 in the present volume.

[1]   Angl forms such as *cnēum* 'knees' dat.pl. are possible exceptions, but they should perhaps be handled differently, see §3.47 for further discussion.

[2]   On words in which the root vowel was */iː/, e.g. *briw* 'porridge', see Hogg (1992b: §§4.9(2)) and §3.44 in the present volume.

2.32   The variety of changes described in §2.31 predict the following paradigm for neuter *cnēo* 'knee', from which the paradigms of the other types may be deduced:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	cnēo *knee*	cnēo
Acc.	cnēo	cnēo
Gen.	cneowes	cneowe
Dat.	cneowe	cnēom

Although all the above forms are recorded, especially in Angl texts, there is considerable levelling of the variations in the OE period, and this type of paradigm is not typical of either EWS or, especially, LWS, see further §§3.45ff. Rather, more commonly *w* from the inflected cases was levelled into the uninflected ones, and the long diphthong of the uninflected cases was extended to the inflected ones, resulting in a uniform stem *cnēow(-)* throughout the paradigm, as indicated for *þēow* in §2.27. These analogical changes are more thoroughgoing in some words than in others. For example, *cnēo* occurs several times, almost always in poetry or in Angl texts, whilst *þēo* (instead of *þēow*) is rare, see §3.46n1.[1] In poetry of all dates, the metre often indicates that the analogical lengthening of diphthongs in inflected cases has not yet taken place; only in the relatively late Met and Jud are there also undeniable signs of lengthening, see Fulk (1992: §§162-9).

¹ But certainly in Beo there are many examples of names in -*þēo* (*Ecg-*, *Ongen-*, *Wealh-þēo*), see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 327–8).

2.33 There are few spellings in early texts which reflect earlier forms of the inflexions, but note gen.sg. ErfGl 645 *bēowaes* 'barley'; dat.sg. Bede(M) †*baruæ* 'grove' as second constituent of a place-name (4×);¹ instr.sg. EpGl, ErfGl 769, 944 *smerwi* 'fat'.² Early texts also show a number of examples in which levelling of an allomorphic variation has not taken place. Hence we find EpGl, ErfGl 1078 *smeru-*, *teru* 'tar' nom.acc.sg. (3×),³ LorGl 1.22 *smerum* dat.pl.⁴ CorpGl 88 *sarwo* for *searu* shows extension of *-w-* from inflected forms.

¹ The root vowel is most probably due to Nbr retraction in place of breaking, see Hogg (1992b: §5.29), although it could also be a variant under low stress, see ibid.: §6.7.
² The absence of breaking here may be due to the influence of nom.sg. *smeru* (Campbell, 1977: §582, see also Hogg 1992b: §5.22n6).
³ The absence of back umlaut in *smeru-*, *teru* is almost certainly chronological, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.104(2), 5.105(2)).
⁴ This form also shows the most typically Angl failure to reintroduce *w-*, cf. §2.31&n1.

2 ō-*stem nouns*

2.34 All nouns belonging to this class are feminine. As with the *a*-stems, see §2.10, there are two sub-types in the class of ō-stems, namely *jō-* and *wō*-stems, formed in a manner comparable to *ja-*, *wa*-stems. The simple ō-stems are discussed in §§2.35–44, the *jō*-stems in §§2.45–51, and the *wō*-stems in §§2.52–4.

(a) Simple ō-*stems*

2.35 In Early West Saxon, ō-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	*ġiefu* gift	*lār*¹ learning
Acc.	*ġiefe*	*lāre*
Gen.	*ġiefe*	*lāre*
Dat.	*ġiefe*	*lāre*
Plural		
Nom.	*ġiefa*	*lāra*
Acc.	*ġiefa*	*lāra*
Gen.	*ġiefa*	*lāra*
Dat.	*ġiefum*	*lārum*

As may be seen, the only consistent difference between light- and heavy-stemmed nouns of this class is in the nom.sg., see further §2.40. On a further distinction in the gen.pl. which occurs primarily in poetry, where light stems adopt the gen.pl. inflexion -*ena* from the *n*-stems more frequently than do heavy stems, see §3.75.

¹ Wissmann (1975: 50) counts this among the deverbative nouns.

2.36 This class has too large a membership to permit a listing of the relevant nouns, but amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited ō-stems occur:

bōt 'remedy', *hǣlu* 'health',¹ *hīd* 'hide (of land)', *lār* 'learning', *rōd* 'cross', *sāwol* 'soul', *þēod* 'nation'.

Additional examples include:

(a) light: *andswaru* 'answer', *caru* 'sorrow',² *cwalu* 'death', *faru* 'journey', *ġiefu* 'gift', *nafu* 'nave', *racu* 'narrative', *sacu* 'strife', *sċ(e)amu* 'shame', *sċolu* 'school', *talu* 'tale', *wracu* 'pain', and others;

(b) heavy: *feoht* 'fight', *fōr* 'journey', *gād* 'goad', *glōf* 'glove', *heall* 'hall', *lād* 'way', *lāf* 'remainder', *meord* 'reward',³ *sorg* 'sorrow', *stund* 'period of time', *weard* 'protection', *wund* 'wound' and many others.

(c) disyllabic: *byden* 'barrel', *feter* 'fetter', *lyġen* 'lie', *netel* 'nettle', *spinel* 'spindle', all with vowel plus sonorant,⁴ and *ċyfes* 'concubine', *duguþ* 'virtue', *efes* 'eaves', *ġeoguþ* 'youth', *ides* 'woman',⁵ all with light first syllable and unsyncopated vowel in the second syllable.⁶ Many disyllabic forms with a stem ending in a sonorant were originally monosyllabic, the sonorant having become syllabic upon the loss of *-u* in the nom.sg. after the heavy syllable, e.g. **feþru* > **feþr* > *feþer* 'wing', see Hogg (1992b: §§6.34–41). Subsequently the syllabic sonorant could be extended analogically to the inflected cases, e.g. gen.pl. *feþera* beside *feþra*. There is great variability in the orthography as to whether such forms are written unambiguously as disyllabic. For example, *frōfr* 'comfort' is an unusual spelling, found almost exclusively in related Psalter glosses, whilst *ādl* 'disease' and *nǣdl* are almost never written with a vowel before *l*.⁷ Examples of (often or intermittently) disyllabic stems that were originally monosyllabic are: (i) *ādl* 'disease', *ċeaster* 'city', *feþer* 'wing', *frōfor* 'comfort', *lifer* 'liver',⁸ *nǣdl* 'needle', *stefn* 'voice', *sweġer* 'mother-in-law', *wōcor* 'increase'. Because these stems were originally monosyllabic and heavy, they correctly show loss of *-u* in the nom.sg. Conversely, disyllabic forms could become monosyllabic as a result of syncope, presumably originating in inflected forms. Thus:

(ii) *cyln* beside *cylen* 'kiln', *firn* beside *firen* 'transgression', *meolc* beside *meoluc* 'milk', and always *eln* 'ell'.[9] Because these stems originally comprised a light syllable followed by another, they correctly lack -*u* in the nom.sg.[10] There appears to have survived just one comparable fem. noun with a heavy initial syllable, *sāwol*, *sāwl* 'soul', and it is difficult to explain.[11,12]

[1] Originally a fem. *īn*-stem, see §2.37n4.

[2] On this form and the alternative form *cearu*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.37(3)).

[3] But probably not *reord* 'food', *reord* 'voice', which usually show *i*-umlaut, and hence must be *jō*-stems. On these forms, and also *briord*, *breard* 'point', the latter of which appears to be a variant *ō*-stem, see Hogg (1992b: §3.21).

[4] And thus like *cyln*, etc., see immediately below. For further discussion, see Hogg (1992b: §6.68).

[5] Of these examples, *duguþ*, *geoguþ* and *ides* were *i*-stems in PGmc, but all had transferred to this stem class by the OE period.

[6] But in WS *æx* 'axe' (< *acas*-), where the medial *a* was followed by an obstruent, that vowel is always syncopated.

[7] However, *ādl* must be scanned as a disyllable at GuthB 978, 1064. Across noun classes, to judge by orthography alone, the sonorants are not syllabified with equal consistency: *r* is almost always syllabified, *n*, *l* and *m* less frequently. Metrical treatment, however, indicates that syllabic *r*, though always written <or> or <er> in verse, is sometimes non-syllabic, whilst *l* and *m* usually are, see Sievers (1893a: §79.4), Fulk (1992: §85). The claim of Peinovich (1979: 106) that forms like *ādl* are always disyllabic, no matter the spelling, is thus untenable. To speakers of English it may appear that monosyllabic forms like *wōkr* and *tācn* are an impossibility if the final sonorant is monosyllabic and voiced. However, syllabicity is not a matter of physiological facts but of native speakers' perceptions. If a language has no sound [ə] and no syllabic sonorants in other positions (Modern Icelandic is such a language), a native speaker will perceive *wōkr* and *tācn* as monosyllables.

[8] This derives from *libar-ō*, but medial *a* would have been syncopated early, see Hogg (1992b: §6.14), producing a monosyllabic stem.

[9] For further discussion, see Hogg (1992b: §6.68).

[10] ClGl 1.2788 *egenu* 'chaff' is an exception, which may be due to the influence of the alternative gloss *scealu* 'husk' or even the Latin. In any case, it is not significant.

[11] We should expect that PGmc *saiwalō* would lose medial *-a-*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.14), and then, after *-ō > -u*, it would be apocopated, see ibid.: §6.22. The metrical evidence, however, cannot be reconciled with the assumption that *sāwol* and *sāwel* are late developments for earlier *sāwl*. They must reflect Pre-OE restoration of the medial vowel, or uncharacteristically early syllabification of final *-l*, see Fulk (1992: §98), and see further §3.104n3.

[12] It is difficult to assess the significance of a number of examples of proper names of the type LVD 29 †*Aebbino*, since they could easily be fossilized forms. The same type occurs even after heavy monosyllables in names such as LVD 45 †*Bettu*.

2.37   There are two major processes of suffixation associated with *ō*-stems. The first of these, which is exceptionally frequent, pertains to the deverbal suffix -*ung*/-*ing*.[1] Typical examples are: *ascung* 'asking', *bodung* 'preaching', *cost(n)ung* 'temptation', *cȳping* 'trading', *lēasung* 'falsehood', *gemēting*

'meeting', *scotung* 'shooting', *wunung* 'dwelling'. The second type of suffixation, also frequent, is with the de-adjectival suffix *-iþō*, which forms abstract nouns. In such forms final *-u < *-ō* would have remained after syncope of *-i-*, according to Hogg (1992b: §§6.22, 25), but, to the contrary, it is regularly lost in Ælfric and frequently lost even in EWS, see further §3.98. Rather, it appears that *-iþu* should have remained after a heavy syllable and been reduced to *-iþ* after a light, in accordance with the findings presented in §§3.64, 70. However, after a heavy syllable, **i* should have been syncopated in all cases but the nom.sg., and the syncopated form of the suffix was apparently extended to the nom.sg. at an early date. If the first syllable of these nouns was originally light, syncope should not have occurred, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.18–19). However, syncope seems to have been extended to all forms,[2] and hence we find *frymþ* 'beginning', *gesihþ* 'vision', *trymþ* 'strength', the lone, early relic of the original situation being EpGl, ErfGl *siuida* 'siftings' (for *sifiðan*, as at CorpGl 2 6.386). Once **i* had been eliminated after both heavy and light syllables, all such stems were heavy, and accordingly there was no obvious way to predict whether the nom.sg. should end in *-þu* or *-þ*, leading to random mixture of the two. Hence, typical examples are: *cȳþþ(u)* 'kinship', *fylþ* 'filth', *myrhþ* 'mirth', *ofermettu* 'pride',[3] *gesǣlþ* 'happiness', *strengþ(u)* 'strength', *yrmþ(u)* 'misery', and many nouns with the adjectival suffix *-leas* followed by the reflex of PGmc *-iþō*, with consequent assimilation, as in n2 and Hogg (1992b: §7.92), hence *lārleast* 'ignorance', etc.[4,5]

[1] This may be regarded as a single suffix, see Kastovsky (1992: 388). Broadly speaking, *-ung* is associated with words derived from weak verbs of class II, whilst *-ing* is associated with the other deverbal derivations. There is variation and fluctuation, however, see Weyhe (1911: 14–49) for details.

[2] It might be more appropriate to see this as a restructuring of the suffix, see §3.98n1.

[3] In this and other nouns with a stem-final dental there is assimilation of the fricative to a stop, see Hogg (1992b: §7.92).

[4] For an extensive list of nouns formed this way, see Čermák (2002: 23–5).

[5] A further group of nouns which have by the OE period become associated with this stem class are abstract nouns originally of the Gmc *īn*-class, such as *menigeo* 'multitude'. See §§2.88–90 for details and discussion.

2.38   The inflexion of the *ō*-stem nouns in early PGmc may be exemplified by a reconstructed paradigm of the following type, the etymon of EWS *giefu* 'gift', compare §2.9:[1]

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*ʒebō*	*ʒebōoz*
Acc.	*ʒebōm*[2]	*ʒebōz*[3]
Gen.	*ʒebōoz*	*ʒebōom*[2]
Dat.	*ʒebāai*	*ʒebōmiz*

For details of the origin of these forms and their development in early Gmc, see Bammesberger (1990a: 100ff.), and cf. Kortlandt (2005).

> [1] The quality of the WS stem vowel in this noun is due to palatal diphthongization of *e/, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.53). In Kt and Angl, back mutation may apply, since palatal diphthongization does not.
> [2] See §2.6n1 on the loss of *-m.
> [3] See here Bammesberger (1990a: 105).

2.39   The expected development of these forms would produce a prehistoric OE paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*ȝebu	*ȝebō
Acc.	*ȝeba	*ȝeba
Gen.	*ȝebō	*ȝebō
Dat.	*ȝebai	*ȝebum

2.40   The paradigm presented above leads in most elements directly to the paradigm presented in §2.35. Amongst regular developments it should be particularly noted that apocope of final */u/ after a heavy syllable (Hogg, 1992b: §6.20) leads to the contrast *gifu : lār*.[1] However, OE forms of the nom.acc.pl. and the gen.sg. have been subject to some re-formation. Nom.pl. -*a* is the expected development of *-ō*, see ibid.: §6.28, and this is regular in EWS.[2] On the other hand, although the expected development of acc.pl. *-a* would be *-e*, in EWS -*a* is already much more frequent than *-e*, see Dahl (1938: 130) for statistics. It seems most probable that this is due to syncretism of the nom. and acc.pl. endings. On the other hand, in Angl the usual inflexion for nom. and acc.pl. is -*e*. As suggested by Sievers (1893b), these alternative syncretisms provide an important dialect criterion.[3] In the gen.sg., the predicted development would give -*a*, but in fact -*e* is the regular form. It is possible that this is due to the falling together of all the oblique cases, a process which progresses further in late texts, see §§3.76–80, and which here perhaps permits a plainer distinction between sg. and pl. forms. Alternatively and more narrowly, it may be in order to distinguish gen.sg. and gen.pl., for the latter has the regular inflexion -*a*. This would account for the frequent retention in EWS of -*a* in the gen.sg. of the abstract nouns in -*ung*, see §2.41 and references therein, since those nouns are not often used in the plural. This may also explain CP(H) 183.3 *iermða* 'poverty' gen.sg. (also PsGl(A) 39.3 *ermða*), 439.1 *ofermetta* 'pride' gen.sg.[3]

> [1] Since the suffix *-ung/-ing* is heavy, apocope occurs in all forms, hence *bodung, lēasung*, etc. On the suffix *-iþō* see §2.37; on other stem types, §2.36.
> [2] Or 107.15 *sundorspræce* 'private conversation' appears to be acc.sg.

> [3] Flasdieck (1930b) attempts to provide a phonological account of the syncretism. Although the closeness of the phonological developments in the two cases ought not to be ignored, it seems impossible to avoid assigning a critical role to morphological forces.
> [4] Yet another view, presented in Flasdieck (1930b) and Brunner (1965: §252A1), is that the gen.sg. has taken on the inflexion of the dat.sg. This is possible, although unilluminating, and there are difficulties, see especially Dahl (1938: 133–4). And it seems unlikely that the form is borrowed from the original acc.pl. (i.e. -*e*) following feminine *n*-stems, as suggested by Campbell (1977: §586).

2.41   Nouns with the suffix -*ung/-ing*, see §2.37, form a special case, for in the sg. they frequently form the gen. in -*a*. The same inflexion is also often found in acc.dat.sg. The statistics for EWS and early texts from other dialects, presented and discussed in Dahl (1938: 141–3), show that the most frequent use of -*a* is in the acc., followed by the dat. and only then by the gen., which argues strongly against the view that -*a* was extended from the gen. to other cases (as supposed in Campbell, 1977: §589.8). Also, Dahl demonstrates that -*a* is much more frequent after -*ung* than after -*ing*, which supports his view that the variation in inflexion is due to harmonic assimilation of the unstressed vowel to the vowel of the suffix.[1]

> [1] One might also note that nouns of this type are infrequent in the plural, and therefore confusion between sg. and pl. was less likely, cf. §2.40.

2.42   The earliest OE texts have many spellings in <æ> reflecting the earlier form of the acc.sg., gen.sg. and dat.sg. inflexions, but such spellings do not appear in EWS texts. One example of each is: LRid 13 *aerigfaerae* 'flight of arrows' acc.sg., BedeH(M) †*Humbrae* 'Humber' gen.sg., EpGl 796 *nāēðlae* 'needle' dat.sg.[1] By contrast, the only clear example in early Angl except CorpGl of the later development of the nom.sg. to -*o*, -*a* is LVD29 †*Aebbino*, see, however, §2.36n12.[2] Outside Angl, the Kt forms Ch 1197 *Lubo, Lufa, Luba* are noteworthy.

> [1] EpGl 6 *tehlae* 'die' could be fem.nom.sg. of an *n*-stem rather than dat.sg., see Pheifer (1974: 59).
> [2] ErfGl 732 *scoma* 'shame' may be an error for *scamo*, cf. EpGl *scamu*, and ErfGl 912 *ruga* for *suga* 'sow' is untrustworthy, cf. EpGl *sugu*. CorpGl has 1393 *snoro* 'daughter-in-law', 1679 *scomo* 'shame', and possibly 976 *scala* 'shell'.

2.43   There are three forms[1] which show an inflexional -*i*, namely RuthCr 56 *rōdi* 'cross', Rune Auzon 10 *cæstri* 'city', both in locative functions, and EpGl 97 *gitñungi* 'preparation', an instrumental. The inflexional ending, even if genuine,[2] cannot be original to ō-stems, but it is most probably borrowed from the *a*-stems, cf. §2.17, and see Bammesberger (1994), Brunner (1965: §252A1), Dahl (1938: 123), Lass (1991, 1992: 111n8).

[1]   To these should be added the *jō*-stem EpGl 109 *mēgsibbi* 'relationship', apparently instr.sg.

[2]   See §2.17, with further references. One might also point out that such decorative runic inscriptions as those on the Ruthwell Cross and the Auzon (Franks) Casket may be archaizing and not reflections of the immediately contemporary language.

2.44   In the nom.acc.pl. there is considerable variation between forms in -*a* and -*e*, as mentioned in §2.40, but in both instances there are <æ> spellings indicating the earlier form, e.g. LRid 5 *ueflæ* 'woof' nom.pl., EpGl *halbae* 'half' acc.pl.

(b)   jō-*stems*

2.45   In EWS, *jō*-stems typically were declined according to paradigms of the following types:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	synn *sin*	ġierd *rod*
Acc.	synne	ġierde
Gen.	synne	ġierde
Dat.	synne	ġierde
Plural		
Nom.	synna	ġierda
Acc.	synna	ġierda
Gen.	synna	ġierda
Dat.	synnum	ġierdum

As may be observed, there is no inflexional difference between those nouns which originally had a light stem and those which originally had a heavy stem. On their historical origins, see below, §2.48.

2.46   This class has a very large membership, particularly as a result of the variety of suffixes which go to form *jō*-stem nouns, and amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited *jō*-stems occur:

bliss 'bliss',[1] *hell* 'hell', *sibb* 'relationship', *synn* 'sin', and the following words with the suffix -*ness*, see §2.47(1): *ēċness* 'eternity', *mildheortness* 'mercy', *rihtwīsness* 'righteousness'.

Other examples of unsuffixed *jō*-stem nouns (i.e., nouns in which -*jō*- is the only suffix added to the root, at least as regards suffixes recognizable as such in PGmc) include:

(a)   original light stems: *benn* 'wound', *bryċġ* 'bridge', *criċċ* 'crutch', *eċġ* 'edge', *henn* 'hen', *nytt* 'use', *sæċċ* 'strife', *seċġ* 'sword', *syll* 'base';[2]

(b)   original heavy stems: *bend* 'bond',[3] *cǣġ* 'key', *hild* 'battle', *hind* 'hind', *īġ* 'island',[4,5] *liss* 'kindness', *milts* 'mercy',[6] *rest* 'rest', *sprǣċ* 'speech', *wylf* 'she-wolf', *ȳþ* 'wave'.[7]

[1]   The geminate consonant is due to an *s*-suffix of obscure origin, not WGmc gemination, and hence the noun theoretically patterns like *ġyrd*, see also Hogg (1992b: §7.98&n2).

[2]   We might add here *ewe* 'sheep', originally an *i*-stem, cf. Lat *ovis*, which is the regular development of PGmc **awi*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.14n1). Under reinterpretation as a *jō*-stem it is re-formed as *eowu*, with back umlaut, see ibid.: §5.105(1).

[3]   In EWS alongside masc. *i*-stem *bend*. Ælfric uses only the masc. noun. It is fem. at Bco 1936.

[4]   Here, and probably also in *cǣġ*, the root was vowel-final and hence directly followed by **hj*. The phonological developments are regular.

[5]   For variation in the gender of this noun, see §3.137.

[6]   For *liss*, *milts*, cf. *bliss* and n1 above.

[7]   Also to be taken here are *reord* 'food', *reord* 'voice', see §2.36n3.

2.47   As mentioned above, suffixation is a rich source of *jō*-stems. The principal suffixations are as follows:

(1)   The most frequent *jō*-stem suffix is undoubtedly the deverbal and de-adjectival, and even occasionally denominal, abstract suffix -*nes(s)*.[1] Examples additional to those cited in §2.46 are: *beorhtness* 'brightness', *biterness* 'bitterness', *clǣnness* 'purity', *wōdness* 'madness', all de-adjectival; *blinness* 'cessation', *costness* 'temptation', *forġifness* 'forgiveness', *onġitness* 'understanding',[2] all deverbal, and many others of both origins, although the former are more frequent. Denominal instances include *cwealmness* 'torment', *flǣsċness* 'incarnation' and *ġeoguþhǣdness* 'youth'.

(2)   The suffix -*en(n)* has two sources: (a) WGmc **-innjō*, **-unnjō* > OE -*enn* and (b) PGmc **-īniz* > **-en*. The latter type is in origin an *īni*-stem, that is to say, a sub-group of *i*-stems, but at a very early date such nouns transferred to the *jō*-stems.[3] Nouns of type (a) include feminine nouns derived from masculines, hence *fixen* 'vixen', *gyden* 'goddess', *men(n)en* 'maidservant', *myneċenu* 'nun',[4] *sċylċen* 'female servant', *þēowenn* 'maidservant', *þīnen* 'maidservant', -*wyrġenn* 'female monster'. But some other nouns bear the suffix of type (a), as well, including *byrġenn* 'burial',[5] *byrþen* 'burden', *henġen* 'hanging'. Except where indicated, the nom.sg. has no final geminate consonant. Nouns of type (b) are deverbal or denominal nouns either concrete or abstract,[6] for example *hæften* 'captivity', *rǣden* 'condition',[7] *sel(l)en* 'gift'.

(3)   The suffix -*es(s)* is from PGmc **-isjō* and is used to form a number of feminine nouns, including: *byres* 'chisel', *ċyfes* 'concubine', *forleġes* 'prostitute', *hæġtes* 'witch'.[8] *Cnēoris* 'race' appears to be an original

i-stem which has been reanalysed in OE as a *jō*-stem on the basis of its final syllable, see Kluge (1882: 528), also Dahl (1938: 153).[9]

(4) The suffix *-et(t)*, from PGmc *-itjō*, *-atjō*, is found on nouns such as *ānet* 'solitude', *hyrnet* 'hornet', *lempet* 'dish', *ylfet* 'dish'. But in early texts these appear with *-u* in the nom.sg., e.g. ErfGl 275 *hirnitu*, EpGl 718 *aelbitu* (= *ylfetu*), whilst ErfGl2 20 *lempite* 'basin' nom.pl. shows no geminate consonant, and the neut.pl. *līgetu* 'lightning' is reinterpreted as belonging to the same class, and with lack of gemination in inflected forms. Such early forms may be explained as early transfers to the *ō*-stems, see Brunner (1965: §258.1), or as original *ō*-stems with later forms such as *hyrnet* being taken as transfers to the *jō*-stems, see Dahl (1938: 118–19).[10] Given the parallel existence of *mynecenu*, above, which is a derivation from the Lat loan *munuc*, the former of these explanations seems the more probable, see further §2.49.

---

[1] This is the usual form in EWS; in LWS the usual form is *-nyss*. In Angl the form is *-niss*, whilst Kt varies between *-ness* and *-niss*, the latter being absent from CollGl 49. On the etymology and development of the suffix, see Suzuki (1990). See §2.49 on degemination of the final consonant in this and other suffixes of similar structure, e.g. *-nes*, *-nys*, *-en*, etc., and §3.91(1)&n3 on nom.sg. *-nesse*, etc.

[2] Alongside *forgifness*, *ongitness* we find *forgifenness*, *ongitenness*, the former from the inf., the latter from the pa.part. On such doublets, see Suzuki (1990) and Kastovsky (1992: 387–8).

[3] This suffix does not, however, always produce *jō*-stems, and some of the examples given below may also be neut., for example *byrgen*, and others are never fem. In this context note especially *dryhten* 'lord', *þēoden* 'prince', which are masc. *a*-stems in OE, and the neut. *a*-stem *nȳten* 'animal'. On the *jō*-stems, see Dahl (1938: 152–3) and Bammesberger (1990a: 148).

[4] For example at ÆCHom II 2 106.499. For discussion of the retention of inflexional *-u*, see (4) below. Some other words of this type show the same phenomenon, thus *gydenu* 'goddess', *mennenu* 'maidservant'.

[5] Kluge (1926: §149(b)) regards *byrgen* as belonging to type (b), but this leaves the geminate *-nn-* usually found in inflected forms unexplained.

[6] See Kastovsky (1992: 385), against the common view that all these derivatives are abstract.

[7] Cf. Got *garaideins* 'regulation'. Rare examples of inflected *rǣdenne* are perhaps due to confusion with the suffix seen in nouns like *camprǣden* 'war', *hīwrǣden* 'family', *manrǣden* 'homage', all probably with WGmc *-innjō*, on which see Fulk, Björk and Niles (2009: 189), with references.

[8] *Lynis* 'linchpin', nom.pl. *lynisas*, is of the same origin, but it has the inflexions of the *a*-stems. *Ides* 'woman' came to be inflected like these nouns, but it is of different origin (cf. OHG *itins*), having been originally an *i*-stem.

[9] But Nbr *cnēoresu*, etc. is a *wō*-stem, see §3.93n4 and further references therein for fuller details.

[10] These nouns often transfer to the *n*-stems in later OE, see §3.102n2.

2.48 The inflexions of originally light *jō*-stem nouns can be traced back to PGmc inflexions which parallel those of the simple *ō*-stems but with **/j/*

preceding the inflexional vowel. This **/j/* would have been **/ij/* after a heavy syllable, cf. the discussion of *ja*-stems in §2.22. Hence we can reconstruct the following early PGmc paradigms:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	**sunjō*	**ȝardijō*
Acc.	**sunjōm*	**ȝardijōm*
Gen.	**sunjōoz*	**ȝardijōoz*
Dat.	**sunjāai*	**ȝardijāai*
Plural		
Nom.	**sunjōoz*	**ȝardijōoz*
Acc.	**sunjōz*	**ȝardijōz*
Gen.	**sunjōom*	**ȝardijōom*
Dat.	**sunjōmiz*	**ȝardijōmiz*

2.49 All *jō*-stems should show the same developments as heavy *ō*-stems, including the types of variation discussed in §2.40. But additionally, in the original light stems there is gemination of all final consonants except **/r/*. The zero inflexion in the nom.sg. is due to apocope of final *-u* after a heavy syllable whether due to gemination, as with *synn*, or original, as in *gierd*.[1] However, suffixed nouns frequently show degemination in the unstressed suffix. Such degemination occurs earlier than in stressed positions, see Hogg (1992b: §7.80), and it could be extended to medial position in inflected cases. Thus, in CP we typically find examples such as *sōðfæstnes* 'truth', *byrðen* 'burden', alongside much less frequent *sōðfæstness*.[2,3] If degemination were early, the types exemplified by *hirnitu*, *mynecenu*, etc. (§2.47), might then have been reinterpreted as *ō*-stems and hence might have invited reintroduction of inflexional *-u* in the nom.sg.

---

[1] As suggested by Dahl (1938: §148), EpGl, ErfGl 440, CorpGl 922 *aetgǣru* 'javelin' is the predicted nom.sg. from PGmc **atgairijō*, cf. *ja*-stems such as *wītu*, §2.24.

[2] See further Cosijn (1886: §18). Cosijn gives no EWS instances of *enn*-suffixes with gemination in nom.sg., and, for example, there are no examples anywhere of **(-)byrþenn* in the DOEC.

[3] In the instance of the suffix *-ness*, at least, Ælfric, by contrast, appears to have free variation between geminated (*-nyss*) and ungeminated (*-nys*) forms.

2.50 There are few spellings in early texts which reflect particularly archaic forms, but note EpGl 109 *mēgsibbi* instr.sg., and see §2.43. To this might be added the highly suspect LdGl *tynd(e)ri* 'tinder' (? = *tyndrin*, cf. ErfGl 555a, CorpGl 1156).

2.51   Historically, the light *jō*-stems can be distinguished from the *ō*-stems by the presence of gemination and *i*-umlaut (where possible), whilst the heavy *jō*-stems are distinguished only by *i*-umlaut (where possible).

(c) wō-*stems*

2.52   In EWS, *wō*-stems typically were declined according to paradigms of the following types:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	sinu *sinew*	lǣs *pasture*
Acc.	sinwe	lǣswe
Gen.	sinwe	lǣswe
Dat.	sinwe	lǣswe
Plural		
Nom.	sinwa	lǣswa
Acc.	sinwa	lǣswa
Gen.	sinwa	lǣswa
Dat.	sinwum	lǣswum

As with *wa*-stems, see §2.27, there are a number of nouns in which *-w-* was directly preceded by a vowel or diphthong. In EWS such nouns typically have a paradigm that resembles nom.sg. *stōw* 'place', acc.sg. *stōwe*, but see §2.54 for further discussion.

2.53   There are relatively few nouns which belong to this declension, but light stems like *sinu* include *beadu* 'battle', *nearu* 'difficulty', *sċeadu* (beside neut. *sċead*) 'shade',[1] and the pluralia tantum *frætwe* 'ornaments', *ġeatwe* 'armour'; heavy stems like *lǣs* include *blōd(e)lǣs* 'blood-letting', *mǣd* 'meadow' and Az 126 *rǣswum* 'council' dat.pl.

[1]   Occasionally *searu* 'device', usually a *wa*-stem, occurs as a fem., cf. §2.27, although some of the apparently fem. examples could be taken as masc., see §3.9n5.

2.54   Except for nouns such as *stōw*, the paradigm of this sub-class closely follows that of the *ō*-stems and is otherwise phonologically predictable except for the dat.pl., where *-w-* has been analogically restored, cf. §2.31(2).[1] In *stōw*, /w/ should have been lost finally, and before /u/, to give nom.sg. **stō*, dat.pl. **stōm < *stō-um*. But in both instances *-w-* is regularly restored, perhaps orthographically in the nom.sg., see Hogg (1992b: §§7.72–3). Nouns of the same type include *hrēow* 'penitence', *trēow* 'faith'. Where the root vowel was originally **a*, the phonological development should

have been to a nom.sg. like **clēa* 'claw', *þrēa* 'affliction', with forms of the type *claw-*, *þraw-* in the other cases. But in early texts we find EpGl, ErfGl 29, CorpGl 211 *clauuo*, EpGl 53 *thrauu*, CorpGl 200 *thrauuo*, which show re-formation of the nom.sg. on the analogy of the inflected cases. Yet later examples of the type *clēa* nom.pl. suggest that the unattested nom.sg. must have existed, see further §3.94.

[1]   For early examples of the usually later type in which *-w-* is lost before any inflexion, see §3.93. LRid 10 *ġeatum*, a dat.pl. used adverbially meaning 'with splendour', is certainly no early form, as the poetic metre demands a word with a heavy initial syllable. See §3.93 also for a discussion of forms in which an epenthetic vowel is introduced before *-w-*, e.g. *beaduwe* 'battle' dat.sg.

3   i-*stem nouns*

2.55   Nouns belonging to the class of *i*-stems could be of all three genders, although in PGmc, neuters were much less frequent than the others.[1] Originally, masc. and fem. nouns were declined identically. However, the evidence of Gothic, for example, shows that in PGmc the masc. *i*-stems had already adopted the inflexions of the masc. *a*-stems in the singular, and the evidence of OE (which differs from that of Gothic, however, in regard to the singular) shows that this process had begun to be extended to the plural by the earliest times. Similarly, the OE fem. *i*-stems adopted at a very early date the inflexions of the *ō*-stems, and the neuters adopted the inflexions of the neut. *a*-stems. The consequence of these changes is that for the majority of *i*-stems, even in eOE, their membership in that stem class is primarily an historical fact rather than an indication of their structure in OE.[2] For discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of *i*-stems, see below, §2.69, and for their status within the OE period see §§3.32–3, 10.41, 10.77.

[1]   Thus, there are no apparent examples of neuter *i*-stems in Gothic.
[2]   On the elimination of the *i*-stems as a discrete declensional category, see Hogg (1992c), Adamczyk (2008).

2.56   In EWS, masc. *i*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	wine *friend*	dǣl *part*
Acc.	wine	dǣl
Gen.	wines	dǣles
Dat.	wine	dǣle

Plural

Nom.	winas[1]	dælas
Acc.	winas	dælas
Gen.	wina[2]	dæla
Dat.	winum	dælum

The only clear-cut distinction between light and heavy stems is found in the nom.acc.sg., where *-e* is found only in the light stems.[3] The loss of *$*$-iz* in the heavy stems was the cause of their more thorough assimilation into the category of *a*-stems. For the occasional distinction between light and heavy stems in the gen.pl., see §2.61n1.

[1] Except for names of ethnicities and other pluralia tantum, which form a special case, see §2.70, there are very few examples of the historically expected *-e* in the nom.acc.pl. The claim of Sprockel (1965: 170) that *-e* is the regular nom.acc.pl. inflexion in ChronA must be read in this light. See further §2.62.

[2] For poetical *wini(ġe)a*, see §2.61n1.

[3] See §3.33 for discussion of whether or not this *-e* should be analysed synchronically as an inflexion.

2.57   This quite large class contains a few nouns of high frequency, and amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following masc. *i*-stems occur:[1] (a) light: *mete* 'food'; (b) heavy: *dǣl* 'part', *sǣ* 'sea'.[2]

Additional examples include:

(a)   light: *bere* 'barley', *bite* 'bite', *bliċe* 'brightness', *bryċe* 'breach', *bryċe* 'use', *bryne* 'burning', *byġe* 'bending', *byre* 'youth', *cwide* 'speech', *ċyle* 'cold', *cyme* 'arrival', *cyre* 'choice', *dile* 'dill' (cf. §2.25n4), *drepe* 'slaying', *dryre* 'decline', *dyne* 'din', *eċe* 'pain', *eġe* 'terror', *ele* 'oil', *flyġe* 'flight', *gripe* 'grip', *gryre* 'terror', *gyte* 'flood', *hefe* 'weight', *heġe* 'hedge', *hete* 'hate', *hrine* 'touch', *hryre* 'fall', *hyġe* 'mind', *hype* 'hip', *hyse* 'young man', *ile* 'sole', *lyġe* 'lie', *lyre* 'loss', *mere* 'lake', *myne* 'mind', *myne* 'necklace', *(fore-)nyme* 'taking', *pyle* 'pillow', *ryġe* 'rye', *ryne* 'course', *scriðe* 'journey', *sċyfe* 'pushing', *sċyte* 'shooting', *sele* 'hall', *siċe* 'sigh', *siġe* 'victory', *sleġe* 'blow', *slide* 'slip', *snide* 'cut', *spiwe* 'vomiting', *stæpe* 'step',[3] *stede* (occ. Nbr. *styde*) 'place', *stiċe* 'prick', *stiġe* 'rise', *stride* 'stride', *swiċe* 'smell', *swyle* 'swelling', *sype* 'suction', *tiġe* 'tug', *þyle* 'orator', *wlite* 'beauty'.[4]

(b)   heavy: *æf(e)st* 'envy', *ǣrist* 'resurrection', *bend* 'bond' (cf. §2.46n3), *byht* 'bend', *brǣw* 'eyelid', *bylġ* 'bag',[5] *byrst* 'loss', *ċyrm* 'shouting', *ċyrr* 'turn', *demm* 'damage',[6] *drenċ* 'drink', *ent* 'giant', *fenġ* 'grasp', *fyll* 'fall', *fyrs* 'furze', *fyrst* 'period of time', *glǣm* 'brightness', *gylt* 'guilt', *gyst* 'guest', *hyll* 'hill',[7] *līġ* 'flame', *lyft* 'sky',[8] *mǣw* 'mew', *pliht* 'danger', *sǣl* 'time',[9]

---

sp ryng 'source', *stenċ* 'smell', *stenġ* 'pole', *strenġ* 'string', *styll* 'leap', *swēġ* 'noise', *swenġ* 'blow', *swylt* 'death', *tyht* 'manner', *þyrs* 'giant', *wǣġ* 'movement', *wrenċ* 'trick', *wyll* 'well', *wyrm* 'serpent', *wyrp* 'throw'.

[1] Not all the nouns listed in this paragraph are in origin *i*-stems, but their historical development shows that they were members of this class in PGmc. A number of the nouns cited here undergo divergent developments during OE, e.g. *mete > mett*. For discussion of this, see §3.41.

[2] Also fem., see §3.135. Masc. usage is usually Angl and poetic, but see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 244) for references.

[3] The usual form alongside the less frequent but predicted form *stepe*. *Stæpe* may be due to umlaut of analogically restored /a/, cf. nom.pl. *stapas* without *i*-umlaut (attributable, presumably, to an early transfer to the *a*-stem class), or it may simply show a re-formation of the noun parallel to the alternation *dæġ – dagas* 'day – days', see further §3.15.

[4] To these might be added the loan *drȳ* 'magician' (from Old Irish *drui*), although it follows the paradigm of the *a*-stems. The inflected stem has a short vowel, as indicated by the poetic metre at Jul 301.

[5] For forms such as Ru1 *belgas* 'wine-skins', see Hogg (1992b: §5.79(2)a).

[6] But this, of unknown origin, could be a *ja*-stem.

[7] Nom.sg. *$*$hyle* does not occur, and ungeminated forms are found only in late charters, suggesting that the word had been transferred to the *ja*-stems at a very early stage, see also §3.39. For *hyll* as a heavy *i*-stem, cf. Lat. *collis*. For the variable gender of *hyll*, see §3.135.

[8] But *lyft* is found in all three genders.

[9] Rarely fem., as at GenA 1184 *seo sæl*.

2.58   The frequent suffix *-scipe* is an important source of masc. *i*-stems, including examples such as: *(ġe-)bēorscipe* 'feast', *frēondscipe* 'friendship', *(ġe)fērscipe* 'fellowship', *hǣðenscipe* 'paganism', *lēodscipe* 'nation', *weorðscipe* 'worship'.

2.59   The paradigm of *wine* can be traced back to the early PGmc paradigm type presented below (with the gen.pl. of the heavy-stemmed etymon of OE *dǣla* supplied for comparison with that of light-stemmed *wina*). In order to clarify the historical developments, those parts of the paradigm which are not reflected as such in EWS, where *a*-stem inflexions have been adopted instead, are italicized:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	$*$weniz	*$*$wenejez*[1]
Acc.	$*$wenim	*$*$weninz*
Gen.	$*$weneiz	*$*$wenijōom*[2] ($*$dailijōom)
Dat.	$*$wenai[3]	*$*$wenimiz*

[1] In very early texts there are a few forms with *-i*, *-e*, e.g. CorpGl 1510 *stridi* 'strides'. This is the regular development of the PGmc *$*$-ejez > $*$-īz* with trimoric vowel, which

would perhaps have been bimoric at the time of apocope and therefore would possibly have remained even after heavy syllables, e.g. CorpGl 548 *dǣle*, see further §2.62. But there are many uncertainties: see Bliss (1967: 113–17), Fulk (1992: 421–2).

[2] The PIE ending was *-i(y)ōom*, with syllabic *i*, cf. Homeric Greek gen.pl. πολίων 'cities', Lat *marium* 'seas', etc. See further §2.61n2. Some scholars assume that the trimoric gen.pl. ending arose only in the *a-* and *ō-*stems, or perhaps only in the latter. In that event, it must be assumed that in Gmc the trimoric variant was extended to the *i-*stems, *u-*stems and consonantal stems. Preservation of the distinction after the PGmc period might explain why *manna* occurs beside *manno*, the latter with the usual gen.pl. inflexion, as the gen.pl. of OSax *man* 'person'.

[3] This dat. form is locative in origin, see Bammesberger (1990a: 126), if it is not borrowed from the *a-*stem dat. The parallel of the dat.sg. of *u-*stems, see §2.74, suggests the ending here is locative. See §2.62 on the possible retention in early texts of the original dat. ending.

2.60 The phonological development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type, except that the italicized forms are now replacements based on *a-*stem inflexional patterns, cf. §2.14:[1]

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*wini	**winōs*
Acc.	*wini	**winōs*
Gen.	**winas*	**winijṓ* (**dailijṓ*)
Dat.	*winai	**winum*

In all forms in which the inflexion is from the *a-*stems we should not expect the stem vowel to have been raised, see Hogg (1992b: §3.6). Although it is difficult to determine when the inflexions of the *a-*stems were adopted, it is likely that the process was not complete until near the beginning of the historical period, and therefore the root vowel of, say, **winas* is likely to be phonological in origin.

[1] On the reasons for the substitution of *a-*stem inflexions, see Berracca (2001).

2.61 In EWS, the nom.acc.sg. presents a genuine *i-*stem inflexion which develops directly into EWS, the only variation in form being between light stems such as *wine* and heavy stems with apocope of earlier *-i*, e.g. *dæl*. The gen.pl. of heavy stems is regular: compare with *dǣla* a *ja-*stem gen.pl. such as *enda*. But in light stems the gen.pl. ending *-ijṓ* in the prose of all dialects has been replaced by the *-ṓ* found in the *a-*stems. It is only in poetry that gen. pl. *wini(ge)a* occurs,[1] reflecting the original Gmc form.[2] Aside from these few exceptions and, probably, the dat.sg., the inflexions of *i-*stems are all taken over from the *a-*stems.[3]

[1] Gen.pl. *winiga* occurs at GuthB 1365 (with confusion of minims: the manuscript has <wiinga> altered from <wimga>), and *winia* appears at Beo 2567, beside two

instances of *-wina* in the poem. Also in Beo, *Deni(ge)a* 'Danes' occurs (14×) beside *(-)Dena* (15×). With just one exception, *Deniga* could be substituted for all instances of *Dena* without detriment to the metre, whilst the substitution of *Dena* for *Deniga* would disrupt the scansion in every instance, see Fulk (1992: 243–5).

[2] Bammesberger (1990a: 127) maintains that PGmc *-ijṓ* would have been reduced to *-jṓ* after a light syllable, causing gemination in light stems, with subsequent analogical restoration of the non-geminate. However, the basis for this view, the so-called converse of Sievers's Law, is not now generally credited, see Collinge (1985: 159–74), Fulk (1986: 12–13) and Barrack (1998: 247n.12) for references. Cf. the discussion of these forms by Adamczyk (2001).

[3] It is sometimes suggested that Ch 31.8 †*Folcuuinis* pers. name (gen.sg.) may have *-s* of the *a-*stem inflexion attached to *-i-*, marker of the *i-*stem class, thus Dahl (1938: 161), Campbell (1977: §601n1), but this is less likely than that the form merely shows confusion between unstressed vowels, see Bazell (1960: 29) and, for discussion of another possible variant, §2.68. But infrequent examples of *-e* for acc.pl. are regularly developed from PGmc *-inz* > *-iz*. See also §2.59n1.

2.62 The earliest OE texts evince a variety of spellings which reflect earlier forms of the inflexions or of inflexions originally proper to *i-*stems but which have usually been superseded by *a-*stem inflexions. For the nom.acc.sg. there are a great many examples of *-i*, almost all of which are in names with the second element *-wini*, e.g. *Aelfuini, Ōsuini*, etc.[1] Examples not from name elements include EpGl, ErfGl 962 *meri* 'lake', 918 *rygi* 'rye',[2] CorpGl 664 *cyri* 'choice'. There are no significant early forms of the gen. sg., for the frequent *-wini* in Nbr names is a Latinism, and †*Folcuuinis* is unreliable, see §2.61n2, whilst Bede 2 *Ēadwinis* is late, see Dahl (1938: 161&n) for this and for Latinisms. There are a few dat.sg. forms in *-i*, thus EpGl, ErfGl 731, CorpGl 1471 *dǣli*, Inscr 55,[3] RuneThornhillA *-wini*. The first might be an instr., but this is less probable for the other examples, both governed by *æfter*. Except with names of nationalities and other pluralia tantum, for which see §2.70, there are only rare examples of nom.acc.pl. in *-i* or its later development *-e*. Examples are: CorpGl 1510 *stridi* 'strides', 548 *dǣle* 'parts' acc., and possibly PsGl(A) 134.19–20 *gehússcipe* 'family'.[4] Other examples of the same inflexion are poetical, e.g. Beo 1188 *byre* 'boys, sons' nom.pl., 2018 acc.pl.[5]

[1] But with the name element *-sige* Nbr almost invariably has an inflexionless form, e.g. *Aelfsig*. Here it may be supposed that *-iji* > *-ij*, see Girvan (1931: §178a2).

[2] Cf. *dile*, ErfGl 918 *ryg* is not necessarily significant, but cf. n1 above.

[3] That is, the Wycliffe Stone, see Okasha (1971: 129–30).

[4] But we cannot help but suspect, *pace* Dahl (1938: 163), that the examples from PsGl(A) are instances of the infrequent use of a plural verb with a collective noun in the sg., see Mitchell (1985: §84), who does not cite or discuss these examples.

[5] For variant gen.pl. forms, see §2.61n1.

2.63 Even in EWS, neut. *i-*stems followed the paradigm of the neut. *a-*stems except in the nom.acc.sg., where *-e* < *-iz* was retained. Heavy stems were

distinguished from light stems by having zero inflexion in the nom.acc.sg.&pl. due to apocope. Hence we find paradigms as follows:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	spere *spear*	flǣsċ *flesh*
Acc.	spere	flǣsċ
Gen.	speres	flǣsċes
Dat.	spere	flǣsċe
Plural		
Nom.	speru	flǣsċ
Acc.	speru	flǣsċ
Gen.	spera	flǣsca
Dat.	sperum	flǣscum

2.64   The number of *i*-stem neuters is relatively small, and it is not always possible to determine the stem class with certainty, in view of the scarcity of the comparative evidence, see §2.55. However, the following light stems occur: *clyne* 'lump', *ġedyre* 'door-post', *ofdele* 'slope', *ofersleġe* 'lintel', *orleġe* 'strife', *sife* 'sieve'.[1] The following heavy stems occur: *flȳs* 'fleece', *hǣl* 'omen', *hilt* 'hilt', *hrēð* 'glory',[2] and a number of derived forms with the prefix *ġe-*, e.g., *ġebenn* 'proclamation', *ġedwyld* 'error', *ġefēġ* 'joint', *ġegrynd* 'plot of ground', *ġehlȳd* 'cry', *ġehyld* 'guard', *ġehnǣst* 'clash', *ġeswinċ* 'labour', *ġewēd* 'madness', *ġewylċ* 'rolling'[3] and, already prefixed (and hence without *ġe-*), *ymbċyrf* 'circumcision'. These derived forms are always neut., but in other forms there is fluctuation between fem. and neut., see for this and also unmlauted variants §2.69.

[1]   *Ġedyne* 'noise' may be a neut. collective alongside *dyne* (§2.57a), but firm evidence is lacking; it is uncertain whether ClGl 1,3 *ġewife* 'fate' (4×) is a nom. or dat. form; ?†*ġewile* is unclear, cf. LawIICn 75.1 *ġewill*, which behaves as a neut. *ja*-stem. In all three cases the root vowel would suggest an original *i*-stem, but the OE evidence does not help to confirm the suggestion.
[2]   The latter two are also masc.
[3]   Possibly also *ġeresp* 'conviction'.

2.65   In EWS, heavy[1] fem. *i*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigm:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	dǣd *deed*	dǣda
Acc.	dǣd, dǣde	dǣda
Gen.	dǣde	dǣda
Dat.	dǣde	dǣdum

The plural forms of these nouns are wholly those of the ō-stems, and hence they show the same dialectal variations found in ō-stems, see §2.40 for details.[2]

[1]   See §2.66 on light-stemmed fem. nouns of this class.
[2]   But on the important variation between zero and *-e* in the acc.sg., see the discussion in §3.77.

2.66   There are very few light-stemmed fem. nouns of this class, and they can be deduced only by the *i*-umlaut of their stem vowel, since they always follow the paradigm of the light ō-stems, even in nom.sg. Safe examples of such nouns are *denu* 'valley' and *fremu* 'benefit', to which may be added *hylu 'hollow' and compounds in *-legu*,[1] *-neru*, e.g. *ealdorlegu 'death', *ealdorneru 'safety', none of which occurs in the nom.sg.

[1]   Perhaps the suffix should be *-leġu*, in view of the evidence that *i*-stem inflexions could be preserved into the historical period, see §2.68.

2.67   By contrast, there are a considerable number of heavy-stemmed fem. nouns, including several amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes:

ǣ 'law',[1] *dǣd* 'deed', *miht* 'power', *sǣ* 'sea' (also masc., see §2.57b), *tīd* 'time', *woruld* 'world' (rarely masc.), *wyrt* 'plant'.

Other such nouns include: *ǣht* 'property', *bēn* 'prayer', *benċ* 'bench', *brȳd* 'bride', *cwēn* 'queen', *dryht* 'crowd', *ēst* 'favour', *fyrd* 'army', *fȳst* 'fist', *glēd* 'coal', *hǣst* 'violence', *hȳd* 'hide', *hȳf* 'hive', *hyrst* 'ornament', *lǣn* 'loan', *lyft* 'air' (mainly fem., but see §3.137), *nȳd* 'need', *sċyld* 'guilt', *spēd* 'success', *þrȳð* 'force', *wēn* 'hope', *wist* 'sustenance', *wyrd* 'fate', *ȳst* 'storm', together with a number of derived forms with the prefix *ġe-*, e.g. *ġecynd* 'nature' (also frequently neuter), *ġehyġd* 'thought', *ġemynd* 'mind', *ġescēaft* 'creation', *ġeþeaht* 'thought', *ġeþyld* 'patience', *ġewyrht* 'deed'.[2]

[1]   *Ǣ* is usually uninflected except in the gen.dat.pl., where *ǣa, ǣwum* are found. But alongside uninflected forms, new acc.gen.dat.sg. *ǣwe* is formed, and hence analogical nom.sg. *ǣw*.
[2]   Several fem. *i*-stems, especially abstracts, tend to transfer to neut. gender during the OE period. For discussion and exemplification, see §3.134. On lack of *i*-umlaut in some of these forms, see §2.69&n4.

2.68   There are a few forms in early texts which may represent archaic varieties of some inflexions. For the nom.acc.pl. we find CorpGl 133 *hȳfi* 'hive', CaedH 2 *maecti* (M), *mehti* (L). *Hȳfi* occurs alongside a number of other forms with *-e*, but EpGl 764 *uuyrdae* 'Fates' already shows an ō-stem inflexion, possibly alongside the difficult 605 *flēti* 'curds', on which see

Dahl (1938: 174–5) and the *DOE:* fleote[3]. *Maecti* lacks *i*-umlaut, whilst *mehti* has *i*-umlaut. The proper interpretation of all the above forms remains difficult. LRid 9 *uyrdi* gen.sg. is not easily explained,[1] although it appears to be genuine, see Smith (1978: 34), also Hogg (1992b: §6.53).

> [1] Although -*i* here is usually derived from PIE *-*eys*, a presumed ablaut variant of normal *-*oys*, there is no evidence for the preservation of such an inflexion in other Gmc languages, and so this idea seems rather speculative. Therefore Campbell (1977: §605) would explain -*i* as introduced by analogy to the original acc.pl. inflexion, since he suggests a similar analogy to explain the appearance of -*e* rather than ``*-*a* in the gen.sg. of ō-stems; but cf. §2.40n4 above.

2.69   The primary characteristic of *i*-stem nouns is that they show *i*-umlaut of the root vowel or the PGmc equivalent of vowel harmony, hence *dǣd*, *wine*, so distinguishing these nouns from *a*- and *ō*-stems. Additionally, light stems should not have gemination of the final consonant, e.g. *wine*, which distinguishes these nouns from light *ja*-, *jō*-stems. However, this situation is obscured by developments in late PGmc and OE. In PIE, neuter nouns of the *s*-stem class were formed with *-*os* in the nom.sg. and *-*es*- in the gen.sg. due to ablaut alternation, see §2.95 for discussion, and in Gmc these developed as *-*az*, *-*iz*-, respectively. In PGmc, the variant *-*iz*- seems to have been levelled into the nom.acc.sg. from the other cases, cf. Got *riqis* 'darkness', etc. Consequently, *s*-stem nouns could transfer to the *i*-stem class as a result of the equation of the nom.sg. ending *-*iz* in the two stem classes. Since, as is noted in §2.55&n1, neut. *i*-stems were extremely rare in PGmc, it may be that all, or almost all, such neuts originally belonged to the *s*-stems. But a consequence of transferral to the *i*-stem class is that umlauted forms may exist alongside unumlauted forms, due to the ablaut variation noted above. Hence we find *helt*, *ġebann*, *ġecund*,[1] *ġefōg*, *ġeheald*, *ġehnǣst*, *ġewealc* beside the umlauted forms cited in §2.64. Some other original neut. *s*-stems transfer their gender on becoming *i*-stems, hence masc. *bere*, *eġe*, *hete*, *sele*, *siġe*, see §2.57a. In these cases *i*-umlaut is always present,[2] and their original status is determinable only comparatively, cf. Got *baris (from which is derived *barizeins* 'of barley' adj.), *agis*, *hatis*, *sigis*, or by the presence of related forms in -*or* < *-*az*, e.g. *salor* 'hall', *sigor* 'victory'.[3] A further Gmc development appears to account for the absence of *i*-umlaut in derived abstract fem. nouns in PIE *-*ti*- such as *ġesċeaft*, *ġeþeaht* (§2.67), which may have been influenced in PGmc by similar ō-stem abstract nouns in PIE *-*tā*-, e.g. OE *ōht* 'enmity', cf. *ōga* 'terror'.[4]

> [1] Found only at ÆHomM 1.159 *ġecunde*.
> [2] Note, however, the *a*-stem variant of *sele*, namely neut. *sæl* ~ *salu*, without *i*-umlaut.
> [3] The number of these nouns is necessarily doubtful; to the above some have added *hyġe*, but this is not supported by Got *hugis* gen.sg.

> [4] See Kluge (1926: §127). As Brunner (1965: §261) remarks, these nouns are not likely to have been *s*-stems originally, even though they are also attested as neuters; and perhaps to be explained the same way is *meaht* alongside *miht*, though the stem of the verb *mæġ* 'can' (2sg. *meaht*) may have exerted analogical influence.

2.70   Names of nationalities, which are found only in the plural, form a special subset of masc. *i*-stems, for they have nom.acc.pl. in -*e*, thus showing the predicted development of the PGmc inflexion, see §2.56&n1. They decline as follows:

Nom.	Engle *English*
Acc.	Engle
Gen.	Engla
Dat.	Englum

Typical examples of such names are: *Beorniċe* 'Bernicians', *Dene* 'Danes',[1] *Dēre* 'Deirans', *Myrċe* 'Mercians', *Norþ(an)*-, *Sūþ(an)hymbre* 'North-, Southumbrians', *Seaxe* 'Saxons', *Ēġipte* 'Egyptians', *Rōmane* 'Romans', *Perse* 'Persians'.[2] Also to be included in this type are the pluralia tantum *lēode* 'people',[3] *ylde* 'men', *ylfe* 'elves'. Suffixal *ware*, as in *burgware* 'citizens', *Rōmware* 'Romans', is a transfer into this class on the basis of the fem. ō-stem *waru*, and the two can co-exist.[4] A few of the above, in particular *Seaxe*, *Myrċe* and compounds in -*sǣte* such as *Sumorsǣte* 'people of Somerset', have their gen. in -*(e)na* from the *n*-stems, whilst forms such as *Sūþriġe* 'people of Surrey' may have either gen. form. Since the form *Seaxan* 'Saxons' occurs throughout the period and is also an *n*-stem in OSax *Sahson*, it is reasonable to assume that the word transfers to the *i*-stems but retains the original gen. inflexion, which then is applied to related names, see Girvan (1931: §280a2).[5,6]

> [1] But with gen. *Deniġea* alongside *Dena* in Beo, see §2.61n1.
> [2] But names of foreign, esp. less frequent and classical, nationalities are often found in Latin forms, e.g. *Egipti*, *Persi*. Note also *Crēcas*, *Perseas*.
> [3] *Lēod* 'man' masc.sg. does occur, but perhaps it should be taken separately. Probably under the influence of *þēod* 'people', *lēode* appears to have been reanalysed as an ō-stem plural, for we find a nom.acc.pl. in -*a* in WS (including poetry) and regularly in Li. See Hamp (1977), with references.
> [4] For the opposite view, that *ware* is the original form and that *waru* is a later formation, see Girvan (1931: §280a2), Dahl (1938: 164–5).
> [5] It therefore seems inappropriate to take this set as a separate sub-class, as is apparently done in Campbell (1977: §610.7). Beo *Ēotena* 'Jutes' gen. (3×) is thus not surprising, as the name was like *Seaxna* in having original *n*-stem forms; possibly Beo *Ēotenum* dat. (2×) shows extension of -*n*- from the gen. (cf. §2.87), but more likely the scribe, unfamiliar with the by his day obscure national name, took <eotena> to be *eotena* 'giants' gen.pl. and assumed <eotum> in his exemplar was therefore an error for *eotenum* 'giants', see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 171).

⁶ To these examples should be added occasional *-waran*, alongside *ware*. In Ælfric the form is particularly frequent in *ceastergewaran* 'citizens'.

4   u-*stem nouns*

2.71   This stem class is in origin parallel to the *i*-stems, and thus nouns could be of all three genders, although neuters were again very rare: Got *faihu* (= OE *feoh* 'cattle', transferred early to the *a*-stems), *filu* (= Angl *feolu* 'many', a relic form; cf. WS *fela*, from an oblique case-form), see also §2.73&n1. There is no distinction between the paradigms of masculine and feminine nouns of this stem class in Gmc.

2.72   In EWS, both masc. and fem. *u*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:[1]

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	sunu *son*	hand² *hand*
Acc.	sunu	hand
Gen.	suna	handa
Dat.	suna	handa
Plural		
Nom.	suna	handa
Acc.	suna	handa
Gen.	suna	handa
Dat.	sunum	handum

The only distinction between light and heavy stems is found in the nom.acc.sg., where, due to apocope, see §2.76, the heavy stems are inflexionless, whilst the light stems retain final *-u*.

---

¹ *Sunu* is masc., and a comparable fem. noun would be *duru* 'door'; *hand* is fem., and a comparable masc. noun would be *feld*. The particular examples have been chosen because of their high frequency.
² On the etymology, see Devleeschouwer (1974).

2.73   This class, though sparsely represented, nevertheless contains a few nouns of very high frequency, and amongst the 100 most frequent noun lexemes, see §2.7, the following occur: *sunu* 'son', *winter* 'winter' (both masc.), *hand* 'hand' (fem.). Also originally to be included here is *dēað* 'death' (fem.), although it always has the inflexions of the *ō*-stems.

Additional examples of *u*-stems include:

(a)   masc. light: *medu* 'mead',[1] *sidu* 'custom', *spitu* 'spit (for cooking)'² and a few nouns which are attested only in nom.acc.sg. forms: *bregu* 'prince', *heoru* 'sword', *lagu* 'lake', together with *magu* 'youth' which has nom.acc.pl. *magas* and also a nom.sg. *maga* from the *n*-stems.³

(b)   masc. heavy: *ford* 'ford', *weald* 'weald', *æppel* 'apple', *winter* 'winter',⁴ all of which have many forms with the inflexions of *u*-stems; *eard* 'country', *færeld* 'journey',⁵ *flōd* 'flood', *hād* 'person', *hearg* 'shrine', all of which are much more frequently found as *a*-stems.⁶

(c)   fem. light: *duru* 'door',⁷ *nosu* 'nose'.

(d)   fem. heavy: *cweorn* 'mill', *flōr* 'floor', both of which transfer to the *ō*-stems, and *flōr* may also become a masc. *a*-stem, as at Beo 725, see §3.137.

---

¹ Occasionally neut., as in Lch2 52.1.16, 53.1.13 *medo*, see Ross (1954: 98). For other, later, forms of *medu*, see §3.119(1).
² Apart from the form *spitu*, there is a dat.sg. Notes2 11.71 *spite*, which is from the *a*-stems, and a dat.pl. ÆGram 89.12 *spitum*, which could be from either class.
³ When serving as the first constituent of a compound, the relic *u*-stems *friðu-* 'peace', *leoðu-* 'limb' retain *-u-*, but in isolation they are either neut. *a*-stems, *frið*, *lið* or, in the former case, a fem. *ō*-stem *friðu*, perhaps by association with forms such as *strengþu*, see §2.37, or simply *ġyfu* 'gift', since the initial syllable is light.
⁴ And hence, by association, *sumor* 'summer'. For discussion of *wintru* 'winters', a neut. form, see §3.119n6.
⁵ At CP(H) 257.9 *færelta* gen.sg. Note also ClGl 1.4071 *færeltu* nom.sg. with inflexional *-u*.
⁶ And then *flōd* is sometimes neut.
⁷ There are late forms such as *dyru* nom.pl., *dyre* dat.sg., which appear to be on the analogy of *hnutu*, see van Helten (1910: 471).

2.74   The paradigm of *sunu* can be traced back to an early PGmc paradigm of the following type, with the same inflexions on heavy as on light stems:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*sunuz	*sunawez¹
Acc.	*sunum	*sununz
Gen.	*sunauz	*sunewōom
Dat.	*sunōu²	*sunumiz

---

¹ For this and the acc.pl., see further the discussion in §2.75n1.
² In origin a locative ending, PIE *-ōu.

2.75   The phonological development of the forms cited above would produce a prehistoric OE paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*sunu	*sunō¹
Acc.	*sunu	*sunō
Gen.	*sunō	*suniwõ
Dat.	*sunō	*sunum

The acc.pl. form must be the result of syncretism with the nom.pl., as also occurs in, for example, masc. *a*-stems, cf. §2.14.

[1]   The usual reconstruction for the PGmc nom.pl. itself is *-ewez*, which regularly gives Got *-jus* (*sunjus, handjus,* etc.), and clearly OE *-a* cannot be a descendant of that PGmc form. Following in part a suggestion by C.E. Bazell, see Campbell (1977: §612n1), it may be possible to suppose a development of *-ewez > *-euz*. This would eventually give a normal diphthong *-eu*, but any subsequent development to *-a* seems obscure. See further the objections of Bammesberger (1985a: 366). The usual assumption is that *-a* reflects PGmc *-awez*, an ablaut alternant of the usual PGmc form, which could develop as *-awiz > *-auz > *-au*, with subsequent development as for the gen.dat.sg. But there is no evidence outside of OE, in any IE language, for such an ablaut alternant. Bammesberger (1985a), acting on a suggestion of Dahl (1938: 182), argues that *-a* represents the reflex of a dual inflexion.

2.76   The development of this paradigm into OE is almost entirely regular. In the nom.acc.sg., final *-u* would be apocopated after a heavy syllable (Hogg 1992b: §6.20), but *-u* would otherwise remain, giving the contrast *sunu* : *hand*. In all the other inflexions except dat.pl., */oː/* is shortened in Pre-OE to */a/* (Hogg 1992b: §§6.27(4), 28), and this accounts for all forms, except that in the gen.pl. *-iwõ* was replaced by analogy to the *a*-stem ending, see §2.61.

2.77   Amongst early forms, the only one which requires discussion is RuneAuzon *fiscflōdu* 'fish-flood' (lit.). This is sometimes analysed as an acc.pl. with original *-u < *-unz* (so Dahl, 1938: 182), sometimes as an error for *fiscflōd up* (Chadwick, 1912: 69n4).[1] More plausible than either of these explanations is the claim by Ball (1988: 110–11) that *-flōdu* is an *n*-stem because it is the second constituent of a compound.[2]

[1]   Chadwick's idea, though endorsed by Brunner (1965: §273A4) and Campbell (1977: §346n2), faces insuperable objections *metri causa*: see Fulk (1992: 378–9&n64).
[2]   On *aetgāēru*, see §2.49n1.

III   Consonantal stems

1   n-*stem nouns*

2.78   Nouns belonging to this class could be of all three genders, and we can reconstruct for PGmc clear differences in inflexion between masc. and fem. nouns in addition to expected differences between masc. and neut. nouns in the nom.acc.sg.&pl., see further §2.84ff. The vast majority of *n*-stems are formed with the PIE ablauting suffix *-en-/-on-/-ēn-/-ōn-/-n-* and are often called *ōn*-stems because of the shape of the suffix in the PIE

nom.sg. This usage is followed here, in order to distinguish this class from a minority class which appears to consist only of feminine Gmc de-adjectival formations and which is usually called the *īn*-stem class. It should be remembered, however, that the suffixal vowel of *ōn*-stems was in ablaut variation as mentioned above.[1] The *ōn*-stems are discussed in §§2.80–7 and the *īn*-stems in §§2.88–90.

[1]   For examples of OE reflexes of variant ablaut grades, see §2.87.

2.79   For early PGmc we may assume for all consonantal stems a shared set of inflexional endings which were added to the class-forming suffix that ended the stem or, in the case of the root-stems, directly to the root. These inflexions were as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*-z/-Ø*	*-iz*
Acc.[1]	*-um*	*-unz*
Gen.	*-(a)s*[2]	*-ōom*[3]
Dat.-Instr.	*-i*	*-(u)miz*

The usual form of the nom.sg. was presumably *-z < PIE *-s*, but in uter consonantal stems, the nom. sg. in PIE lacked *-s* and had a long vowel in the root or stem-forming suffix, e.g. PIE *dōn* nom.sg., *dont-m̥* acc.sg. 'tooth', probably as the result of compensatory lengthening upon loss of *-s*.[4] In Gmc, the *n*-stems retain this irregularity, whilst other consonantal stems for the most part have reintroduced the oblique stem to the nom.sg.,[5] and all these but the *r*-stems have reintroduced *-z* as the nom.sg. inflexion, see Bammesberger (1990a: 190–2).

[1]   Of course, for neut. nouns the acc. would be identical to the nom.
[2]   On the gen.sg., see §2.6n4.
[3]   On trimoric vowels like *ōo*, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.27&n1) and §2.6n2 above. The gen.pl. ending apparently was trimoric in consonant stems and *i*- and *u*-stems as well as *a*- and *ō*-stems, see Jasanoff (2003: 22).
[4]   Such is the argument of Szemerényi (1996: §§6.2.7.1–6); cf. Bammesberger (1990a: 166–8), entertaining the older view of a lengthened ablaut grade. In the example given, the development of the nom.sg. is *dont-s > *dons-s > *dōn*. On other problems with the vocalism, see Lass (1986).
[5]   A prominent exception is OE *fōt* 'foot' and its Gmc cognates.

(a)   ōn-*stems*

2.80   In EWS, *ōn*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Singular			
Nom.	guma *man*	ēaġe *eye*[1]	tunge *tongue*
Acc.	guman	ēaġe	tungan
Gen.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Dat.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Plural			
Nom.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Acc.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Gen.	gumena	ēagena	tungena
Dat.	gumum	ēagum	tungum

As may be seen, the only differences in inflexion among the genders arise in the nom.sg. and, with neuters only, the acc.sg.

[1] On the palatalized consonant here, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.41(1), 42), and note especially the analogically extended palatalized consonant of CP 273.8, 287.12 *ēaġean*.

2.81 This class contains a very large number of masc. and fem. nouns, comprising 10–15% of the total number of nouns in OE, see §2.7. The number of neut. nouns which remain in OE, however, is extremely small, see below for details. Amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, the following *ōn*-stems occur:

(a) masc.: *līċhama* 'body', *mōna* 'moon' (occasionally fem., probably under Lat influence), *nama* 'name',[1] *wita* 'sage';

(b) neut.: *ēaġe* 'eye';

(c) fem.: *ċyriċe* 'church', *eorþe* 'earth', *heorte* 'heart', *sunne* 'sun'.

The only other neut. *ōn*-stems are: *ēare* 'ear' and *wange* 'cheek' (along with *þunwange* 'temple (of the head)'), which has a variety of other inflexions: gen.sg. *wonges*, dat.sg. *-wange*, nom.pl. *wangas*, *-wonge*, *-wonga*, gen.pl. *-wonga*. The range of *ōn*-stems can be observed from the following typical examples:[2]

(a) masc.: *anda* 'envy', *andsaca* 'adversary', *bana* 'slayer', *bera* 'bear', *boga* 'bow', *cnapa* 'boy', *crabba* 'crab', *docga* 'dog', *eafora* 'son', *ġefā* 'enemy',[3] *ġefēa* 'joy', *ġefēra* 'companion', *flota* 'sailor', *frēa* 'lord', *ġealga* 'gallows', *hana* 'cock', *lida* 'sailor', *naca* 'boat', *nefa* 'nephew', *rā* 'roe', *sċucca* 'demon', *steorra* 'star', *twēo* 'doubt', *þearfa* 'pauper', *wēa* 'woe';

(b) fem.: *ælmesse* 'alms', *bēo* 'bee', *burne* 'stream', *cēo* 'crow' (see §3.114n5), *ċeole* 'throat', *cuppe* 'cup', *cwene* 'woman', *dā* 'doe', *flā* 'arrow', *folde* 'earth', *hearpe* 'harp', *hrūse* 'earth', *næddre* 'adder', *rēo* 'blanket', *sēo* 'pupil of eye', *tā* 'toe', *þō* 'clay', *wīse* 'manner', *wulle* 'wool'.

[1] This and fem. *heorte* (below) were originally PGmc neuters.
[2] There are considerably fewer fem. *ōn*-stems than masc. ones.
[3] The paradigm of vowel-final *ōn*-stems follows that of the other nouns, with some marginal but predictable differences. For details and discussion, see §§3.110–15.

2.82 OE inherited from PGmc a sub-class of nouns in which the *ōn*-suffix was preceded by */j/, hence *jōn*-stems. In OE this sub-class inflects according to the paradigms set out in §2.80 and hence is not to be distinguished from the simple *ōn*-stems, although the nouns are recognizable from the presence of *i*-umlaut in the root vowel and/or WGmc gemination. Hence we find examples of the type: *bylda* 'builder', *dēma* 'judge', *wyrhta* 'worker' (all masc.), *bēċe* 'beech',[1] *byrne* 'corselet', *dǣġe* 'baker' (all fem.), which show *i*-umlaut; and: *wræċċa* 'exile' (masc.), *smiþþe* 'smithy' (fem.), *beriġe* 'berry' (fem.) which show either gemination or retention of /j/ after /r/.[2]

[1] On the etymology, see §2.111n4. On late developments, see §3.143.
[2] For other *ōn*-stems which in PGmc differed morphologically in ways parallel to the *jōn*-stems, see Bammesberger (1990a: 183ff.). Such nouns are not to be distinguished from simple *ōn*-stems in OE.

2.83 The most important suffixes associated with the *ōn*-stems are the fem. agentive suffixes *-estre*,[1] *-iċġe*,[2] the former of which is WS, the latter Angl, see Schabram (1970). Typical examples of these suffixes are: *bæcestre* 'baker',[3] *hīgenġestre* 'female worshipper', *byrdestre*, *-iċġe* 'female weaver', *cempestre* 'female soldier', *(-)cennestre*, *-iċġe* 'mother', *dryiċġe* 'sorceress',[4] *fiðelestre* 'female fiddler', *hearpestre* 'female harper', *hlēapestre* 'female dancer', *luf(i)estre* 'female lover', *sċeriċġe* 'actress', *synniċġe* 'sinful woman', and others. Other, less frequent suffixes which also form *ōn*-stems are: *-ele*, as in *hacele* 'cloak', *swingele* 'scourge' and many Lat loans such as *cugele* 'cowl', *fæcele* 'torch', *ferele* 'rod', *fifele* 'buckle', all from Lat first-declension nouns in *-ul(l)a*; *-iġe* in *mōdriġe* 'maternal aunt';[5] the quasi-suffix *-bora* 'bearer'[6] in *mundbora* 'protector', *rǣdbora* 'counsellor', *sweordbora* 'swordsman', etc.

[1] This suffix derives alternately from PGmc *-astrijōn- and *-istrijōn-, see Kluge (1926: §§48–51), and thus OE *-estre* might or might not be expected to produce umlaut of the root vowel and, under appropriate conditions, affrication. In fact, umlaut (and, presumably, affrication) is almost entirely confined to those examples in which the verb from which the noun is derived normally shows umlaut. Thus, for example, there is umlaut in *lǣrestre* 'female teacher' (cf. *lǣran* 'teach'), *bepǣċestre* 'harlot' (cf. *bepǣċan*

'deceive') but not in *luf(i)estre* 'female lover' (cf. *lufian* 'love'), *blēapestre* 'female dancer' (cf. *blēapan* 'spring'). An exception is *cempestre* 'female soldier' (cf. *campian* 'fight'), perhaps derived instead from *cempa* 'warrior'.

² Historically these are *jōn*-stems; *-icge* < *-iggjōn* shows WGmc gemination and OE palatalization and affrication.

³ Originally fem. but also used for eunuchs, and then used to gloss Lat *pistor* as well as *pistrix* 'miller or baker'.

⁴ On the quantity of the root vowel, see §2.57n4.

⁵ But *blǣfdige* 'lady' is an obscured compound (*blǣf-dīge*).

⁶ The simplex *bora* appears to occur only at AldV 3.1.72.

2.84   The inflexional patterns of the *ōn*-stems were restructured after the PGmc period, but on the basis of comparative evidence, the following paradigms may be assumed very tentatively for an early stage of PGmc:

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Singular			
Nom.	*ʒumōom	*auʒōn	*tungōn
Acc.	*ʒumunum[1]	*auʒōn	*tungūnum[1]
Gen.	*ʒumenaz	*auʒenaz	*tungenaz
Dat.	*ʒumeni	*auʒeni	*tungeni
Plural			
Nom.	*ʒumanez	*auʒanō	*tunganez
Acc.	*ʒumununz[1]	*auʒanō	*tungūnunz[1]
Gen.	*ʒumanōom	*auʒanōom	*tunganōom
Dat.	*ʒumonmiz[2]	*auʒonmiz	*tungonmiz

On the difficulties that attend reconstruction of the PGmc forms, due to subsequent extensive analogical remodelling, see Ringe (2006: 274–6), with references. The nominative singular is particularly difficult: see Jasanoff (2002). The Gothic and North Germanic *n*-stems suggest a rather different sort of paradigm.

¹ In these forms, PIE *o or *ō has resulted in PGmc *ū before *u in the following syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34). To the contrary, Bammesberger (1990a: 169) regards the suffix *-un- in the acc.sg.masc. as a secondary formation derived from the dat.pl.

² The vowel *-o- in the ending *-onmiz is assumed to have remained (later to become *-u-), rather than changed to *-a-, on the same basis as described in Hogg (1992b: §3.34), see Krahe and Meid (1969: II, 47). The paradigm is thus perhaps not precisely a synchronic representation, since *o has already developed to *u in the cases addressed in n1. On the later development of the ending, see §2.85. Alternatively, the *n*-suffix may have appeared in the PIE reduced grade, giving the PGmc ending *-un-miz, see Bammesberger (1990a: 170).

2.85   The Pre-OE paradigms that must underlie the EWS ones given in §2.80 appear to have been the following:

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Singular			
Nom.	*ʒumō	*auʒa	*tunga
Acc.	*ʒumun	*auʒa	*tungun
Gen.	*ʒuman	*auʒan	*tungan
Dat.	*ʒuman	*auʒan	*tungan
Plural			
Nom.	*ʒuman	*auʒan	*tungan
Acc.	*ʒumun	*auʒan	*tungun
Gen.	*ʒumanõ	*auʒanõ	*tunganõ
Dat.	*ʒumum	*auʒum	*tungum

It will be seen that in most cases the stem formative, whose vowel alternated *e ~ a ~ o ~ u ~ ō* in PGmc, has been standardized as *-an-*, or was to be so standardized at a later date, in the instance of *-un*.[1] Most of these inflexions then develop unchanged into EWS. In the masc.nom.sg., final */oː/* is shortened to /a/ (Hogg, 1992b: §§6.27(4), 6.28), whilst in the neut.fem.nom.sg., */a/ is subject to regular first fronting to */æ/ > /e/ (ibid.: §6.2). The usual form of the gen.pl. is *-ena*,[2] since in a sequence of two unstressed back vowels the first vowel generally shifts in OE to /ɔ/, see ibid: §6.64. Only the dat.pl. inflexion poses particular difficulties. Here it is assumed that *-onmiz developed to *-ummiz, with later degemination and regular loss of *-iz, see §2.84n2. It is of course also possible that OE *-um* is analogical, since this is the usual ending in other stem classes.

¹ Retention of *-un into Pre-OE is necessary to account for certain Nbr developments, see §§2.86, 3.108.

² For other forms, see §2.86.

2.86   In the earliest texts there are a number of words with nom.sg.fem -*æ*, showing an earlier state of that inflexion, for details of which see Hogg (1992b: §6.49). Of more interest are RuncAuzon *galgu* 'gallows' acc.sg.masc., CædH *foldu* 'earth' acc.sg.fem., LRid *eorðu* 'earth' acc.sg.fem. These may show the regular development of unlevelled *-ŭnum, see ibid.: §3.34, with Nbr loss of final -*n* (ibid.: §7.98).[1] An early example of gen.pl. -*ana* (§2.85) is seen in CorpGl 687 -*doccana* 'muscles', and this form remains regular in lNbr and frequent in Ru1, see §3.108. In poetry especially there is a strong tendency to syncopate the medial vowel after a heavy syllable, hence *brōgna* 'terrors, monsters', *ēagna* 'eyes', *ūhtna* 'pre-dawns'.[2] In some late texts a sometimes syncopated dat.pl. ending -*num* is found rarely: AldV 13.1 (Nap) 3370 *nefenum* 'nephews', 3843 *tānum* 'toes', *lēonum* 'lions' (several times in Ælfric); on *oxnum* 'oxen', see §2.87n1; on *Ēotenum* 'Jutes', §2.70n5.

2.87 Two *ōn*-stems show variation throughout the period. *Oxa* 'ox' has gen.pl. *oxna* alongside *oxena* and dat.pl. *oxnum*.¹ *Oxna* is the usual form in Lch and is found occasionally in some Anglian and Anglian-derived texts, as well as in some charters, whilst Ælfric uses *oxena*. *Oxna* (cf. Got *auhsne*) and *oxnum* probably represent a zero-grade ablaut variant of the *n*-suffix, perhaps also to be reconstructed in nom.pl. **oxsniz > *oexsn*, giving (with syllabification of the final sonorant) PsGl(A) *oexen* (2×), lNbr *exen*, *exin* (extended also to the acc.pl.) beside the usual *oxan*.² The usually fem. plural *ēastron* 'Easter' nom.acc. is from the lengthened grade *-ōn-*, but its nom.sg. is regular *ēastre*. It also occurs with an *a*-stem neut. plural *ēastru, ēastro*, showing a retained *-u*.³

(b) *īn-stems*

2.88 There existed in PGmc a group of *n*-stems bearing the suffix **-īn-*, reflected e.g. in Got *managei*, pl. *manageins* 'crowd'. These nouns were all fem. de-adjectival formations. By the OE period, however, all these nouns had transferred to the *ō*-stems under the influence of the parallel fem. nouns with the suffix **-iþō*.¹ Examples of these nouns are: *byldu* 'boldness', *brǣdu* 'breadth', *bysġu* 'trouble', *enġu* 'narrowness', *fyllu* 'fullness', *hǣlu* 'health', *hǣtu* 'heat', *hyldu* 'favour', *lenġu, lenġeo* 'length', *meniġu, meniġeo* 'multitude', *miċelu* 'greatness', *ofermēdu* 'pride', *snyttru* 'wisdom', *strenġu, strenġeo* 'strength', *þēostru* 'darkness', *wæstmbǣru* 'fertility', *wlencu, wlenċeo* 'pride', *wyrþu* 'honour', *yldu* 'age'.² Spellings like *lenġeo, meniġeo* imply that transferral to the *ō*-stems was relatively late, after the palatalization of stem-final *g*.

2.89 The inflexion of these nouns, which appear mostly in the sg. only, normally follows that of other *ō*-stems, for which see §2.35.¹ However, acc.gen.dat.sg., nom.acc.pl. forms in *-u*, *-o* occasionally occur alongside the expected forms, e.g. PsGl(A) 60.4 *strenġu* gen.sg., suggestive of an invariant stereotyped form, see Girvan (1931: §287a2).²

2.90 The principal sign of the origin of these nouns is the presence of *i*-umlaut in the stem vowel, as in all the examples quoted in §2.88. Additionally, spellings such as *meniġeo* show palatalization of the stem-final velar.¹ A particular characteristic of these nouns is the usual presence of inflexional *-u* in the nom.sg., where it might have been expected to undergo apocope after a heavy syllable. Apocopated forms such as *fyll, hǣl, lenġ, yld* are found in LWS, the last three in Ælfric, and are most probably due to the association with *iþō*-stems and their development in LWS, see §2.37&n5.

2   *r-stem nouns*

2.91 By the time of PGmc, the originally productive PIE *r*-stems were restricted to nouns expressing kinship relations, and hence in OE the only *r*-stems which persisted were the five nouns *brōðor* 'brother', *dohtor* 'daughter', *fæder* 'father', *mōdor* 'mother', *sweostor* 'sister'. Of these, *brōðor, fæder, mōdor* are amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7. The paradigms of these five *r*-stems in EWS were as follows:

Singular

Nom.	brōðor	dohtor	fæder	mōdor	sweostor
Acc.	brōðor	dohtor	fæder	mōdor	sweostor
Gen.	brōðor	dohtor	fæder	mōdor	sweostor
Dat.	brēðer	dehter	fæder	mēder	sweostor

Plural

Nom.	brōðor, -ru¹	dohtor, -ra¹	fæd(e)ras	(mōdru, -a)²	sweostor³
Acc.	brōðor, -ru¹	dohtor, -ra¹	fæd(e)ras	(mōdru, -a)²	sweostor³
Gen.	brōðra	dohtra	fæd(e)ra	mōdra	sweostra
Dat.	brōðrum	dohtrum	fæd(e)rum	mōdrum	sweostrum

The formative -*r*- originally was preceded by an ablauting vowel, see further §2.92.

> [1] Usually with syncope, i.e. *brōðru, dohtru, dohtra*, but cf. in LWS PsGl(D,E) *dohtora*. Also in LWS, *dohtru* is attested and *brōðra* is not uncommon. In EWS, *dohtra* is actually attested only in the acc.pl., at Or 2 2.39.2.
> [2] Neither form occurs in EWS for nom.acc.pl., although they are to be found in later texts. Ælfric has *mōdru* at ÆCHom II 12.2 124.491.
> [3] Also *swustra* not infrequently in LWS, but rarely *swustru*: ÆCHom II 260.15, Mk(WSCp) 10.30.

2.92   The crucial factor in the formation of these nouns is the nature of the ablauting stem formative, for the inflexions are those outlined in §2.79 (with -Ø in the nom.sg.). For the EWS paradigms cited above we may assume a base form of PGmc *-*er*, which would develop to *-*ær* (Hogg 1992b: §3.30 and Stiles 1988: 339), for the nom.acc.sg.pl. and zero-grade for the gen.dat.sg.pl.[1]

> [1] On variations in vowel grade and results in OE, see §2.94.

2.93   In the development of the inflexional system from PGmc to EWS we can distinguish between those inflexions in which the final syllable is lost through regular phonological change and without other consequence, and those inflexions which either (i) though lost, leave an effect on the stem vowel or (ii) are retained or innovated.[1] To the first type belong nom.acc.gen.sg., to the third (type (ii)), gen.dat.pl. We deal with the other inflexions (type (i)) immediately below:

dat.sg.: here the ablaut variation would produce a PGmc structure of the type *brōþri, and the final -*i* would remain, cf. Hogg (1992b: §3.29), long enough to cause *i*-umlaut before being apocopated. This is the source of *brēðer, dehter, mēder*,[2] whilst *swiostor* occurs once alongside *sweostor*.[3] *Fæder* has been restructured by analogy to the nom.sg.

nom.acc.pl.: it is possible that the inflexion -*u* is to be derived from acc.pl. forms with zero grade (*pace* Brunner, 1965: §285A1) and then extended to the nom.pl.; lack of apocope might then be explained as due to an alternative form with a different vowel grade, presumably from the nom.pl.[4] More likely, however, is the alternative explanation of Wright and Wright (1925: §415) that -*u* may be from the collective neut.pls. *ġebrōþru* 'brethren', *ġesweostru*. This explains *brōþru, swustru*, as well as forms with final -*a*, since -*a* varies freely with -*u* in such neuter plurals. Alternatively, final -*a* in *dohtra, mōdra, swustra* might be explained as derived from the ō-stems, but this will not explain *brōðra*. Still, since *brōðra* is not found in EWS, whilst *dohtra* is (1×), it may be that *brōðra*

is by analogy to it, and the ending may be derived from the ō-stems after all. *Fæderas* is plainly re-formed on the basis of the *a*-stems.

> [1] See §2.94 on the variation in the vowel of the second (unstressed) syllable of each of these words.
> [2] PsGl(A) *mōēder, doehter* show extension of umlaut to gen.sg. Note also Ch 1508.45 *rehtmēōdrencynn* 'direct maternal line' (with <eo> for <oe>). For discussion of levelling or extension in later texts, see §3.130.
> [3] Campbell (1977: §210.2n3) records the following observations about *sweoster*. The word does not show umlaut in Nbr (Li *suoester, soester*, Ru2 *swester*) or in Merc (the word does not occur in PsGl(A), whilst Ru1 has *swæster*, but also *swuster*, to be derived by combinative back umlaut, Hogg (1992b: §5.109), from *swister, with *i*-umlaut, see Brunner (1965: §285A1)). On Campbell's view, EWS nom.sg. *swiostor* (1×, Or 3 9.69.5), beside usual *sweostor, swostor*, may be significant, given the occurrence of *swustor* in LWS.
> [4] That is, acc.pl. *brōþrunz could have been re-formed as *brōþerunz by analogy to nom.pl. *brōþeriz; a similar development is found in Greek and Old Church Slavonic. But Got *brōþruns* acc.pl. suggests otherwise. A very unlikely alternative suggestion: Ross (1977).

2.94   Perhaps the only significant form in early texts is RuneAuzon *gibrōþær* 'brothers', in which -*ær* appears to represent an earlier form of the ablaut vowel, see §2.92 and for another view Campbell (1977: §369). PsGl(A) *feadur* gen.sg. and CædH -*fadur* gen.sg. (= ON *fǫður*) may represent an archaism, cf. Sanskrit gen.sg. *pitúr* < PIE **pHtr̥s*, also Got gen.sg. *brōþrs*, though Bammesberger (1983; 1990a: 207) makes a case for origins in analogical influence from the dat.pl.[1] Also in PsGl(A), there is gemination in nom.gen.pl. *feddra(s)*, alongside ungeminated forms, and this development may underlie occasional instances of *fæder* in verse that seem to require a heavy initial syllable, see Fulk (1992: §199). The variation in the quality of the vowel of the unstressed syllable in EWS and later texts is primarily a function of vowel harmony, whereby the unstressed vowel appears as *e* after a stressed front vowel and *o* after a stressed back vowel, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38). That is, the PGmc sequence *-*er*(-) had been reduced to a syllabic /r/ in Pre-OE.[2] But in Ru2 and DurRitGl, final -*er* and -*or* are largely interchangeable, whilst in Li and Ru1, -*er* prevails.[3]

> [1] But for other inflexions PsGl(A) has forms based on nom.sg. *feder*, except *feadrum* dat.pl.
> [2] It seems unnecessary to assume, with Boutkan (1992), that *-*er*(-) lost all syllabicity and the remaining *-*r* was then syllabified. Boutkan's further assumption that syllabification of /r/ was always to *-*ur* is intended to explain forms like dat.sg. *sweostor* and *s*-stems like *sigor* 'victory'. But in the former, at least, -*or* is the natural result of the analogical removal of umlaut.
> [3] This is not because of late merger of unstressed /u/ and /e/, as maintained by Boutkan (1992: 11), but because of the way syllabic sonorants are represented in each text, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38).

3   s-*stem nouns*

2.95   Although there were a few uter *s*-stems in PIE, neuters predominated, and this stem class in PGmc consisted of neuter nouns only, with stems formed from a root to which the original ablauting suffix *-es-/-os-* was added.[1] The *s*-stems, however, were subject to considerable re-formation in their development to OE, both in their treatment of the stem formative and their adoption of inflexions from the neut. *a*-stems. By normal sound change we should expect the vowel of the ablaut grade *-es-* to develop as *-i-* and then cause *i*-umlaut, whilst suffixal *-s-* > *-z-* after the unstressed vowel would develop to *-r-* by rhotacism, see Hogg (1992b: §4.15).

---

[1]   Some would add a zero-grade *-s-* to this series, but see §2.99n2.

2.96   Perhaps the most archaic type of paradigm is found in a variety of forms of *dōgor* 'day', as follows:[1]

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	dōĕġ (Li)	dōgor (Li)
Acc.	dōĕġ (Li)	dōgor (Li)
Gen.	dōgores (Beo)	dōg(o)ra (Beo)
Dat.	dōgor(e)[2] (Beo)	dōgrum (Li, Beo)

Here we can see *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel in the nom.acc.sg. due to the stem formative *-iz*,[3] which is then lost finally, whilst the other forms show retention of the suffix *-z-* > *-r-* preceded by an unstressed vowel whose quality is due to vowel harmony, as in *r*-stems, see §2.94. In all cases, however, the noun has adopted the inflexions of the neut. *a*-stems. Such umlauting types are common in Angl, where PsGl(A), CorpGl, ErfGl all have nom.acc.sg. *cælf* 'calf', and DurRitGl similarly has *lemb* 'lamb'. Archaic forms of other inflexions in these nouns include PsGl(A) nom.acc.pl. *calfur, lombur* and Li, Ru1 *lombor*, all beside *calferu, lomberu*, -*o*, see also §2.99. For later examples of this umlauting type, see §3.53n2.

---

[1]   The forms cited here are taken either from the Lindisfarne Gospels (Li) or from *Beowulf* (Beo). The nom.acc.sg. is often re-formed as *dōgor* on the basis of the inflected forms, see §2.99. Relevant examples in EWS are CP 281.13, Or 90.16 *dōgore* dat.sg.
[2]   The endingless dat.sg. occurs Beo 1395, 1797, but the latter is altered to *dōgore* under circumstances that suggest *dōgor* was what the scribe's exemplar read, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: cxlv, xxxiii). These appear in Beo beside *dōgore* 2573, where the meter is inconclusive. The endingless form is probably best explained as an archaic instrumental in PIE *-ā; dōgore* has acquired an *a*-stem ending.
[3]   Levelled into the nom.acc.sg., see §2.69.

2.97   In EWS the *s*-stems survive in two types only: (i) nouns in which *-r-* appears in pl. inflexions but is absent from the sg.; (ii) nouns in which *-r-* appears throughout the paradigm, including nom.acc.sg. In both types, however, *s*-stems regularly adopted the inflexions of the neut. *a*-stems, see §2.99 for exceptions. The first type is discussed in §§2.98–9, the second in §2.100.

2.98   Three nouns regularly belong to the first type above, and their paradigms are as follows:

Singular

Nom.	ċealf *calf*	lamb *lamb*	æġ *egg*
Acc.	ċealf	lamb	æġ
Gen.	ċealfes	lambes	æġes
Dat.	ċealfe	lambe	æġe

Plural

Nom.	ċealfru	lambru	æġru
Acc.	ċealfru	lambru	æġru
Gen.	ċealfra	lambra	æġra
Dat.	ċealfrum	lambrum	æġrum

2.99   The forms cited in §2.98 are all regular developments of these nouns after they have transferred to the neut. *a*-stems. On the final *-u* of the nom.acc.pl., see the discussion in §§3.54–5, also §3.56ff. on the relevant disyllabic type exemplified by *hēafod* 'head'. Sometimes these nouns appear to decline exactly as *hēafod*, and then there are inflexionless examples of nom.acc.pl. in some Angl texts, e.g. PsGl(A) *calfur* (2×), *lombur*, lNbr *lombor* (4×), all alongside forms with *-ru*.[1] PsGl(A) 105.20 *calfur* shows an inflexionless gen.sg. which would be the expected development of the PGmc form *kalbuzaz*.[2] A few other words have forms which demonstrate earlier adherence to the paradigms of §2.98, the most frequent of which is *ċild* 'child'. Hence, alongside frequent forms which are not to be distinguished from neut. *a*-stems, e.g. *ċild* nom.acc.pl., we may note CP(H) 459.17 *ċilderu*. For the slightly different situation in Ælfric and other, later texts, see §§3.53–5.

---

[1]   One explanation for the cases with *-ur*, *-or* is that they reflect forms with stem-final non-syllabic *-r-* rather than *-ur-*. That is, e.g., PGmc nom.acc.pl. *lambzō* develops to *lambr*, with later syllabification of *-r* upon loss of *-ō*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38), and see Fulk (1988: 155–6). But since it is doubtful that zero-grade *-z-* occurred anywhere in the PGmc paradigm, it would be better to reconstruct *lambazō* (not *lambizō*: see §3.64), which would perhaps undergo syncope followed by apocope, producing Pre-OE *lambr*, see Bammesberger (1990a: 210). Alternatively, Campbell (1977: §635n1) proposes that *-ar-* (from *-az-*) changed to *-or-* before *u* in the next

syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34). This explanation faces some difficulties, chief of which is that if these nouns were neuter in early Gmc, as appears to have been the case, there should not have occurred any case-forms in which PGmc *-*a*- stood before *-*u*- in the next syllable; thus, it would be necessary to assume, firstly, replacement of *-*iz*- in the locative plural by *-*az*- (since the PIE locative plural inflexion was *-*su*), and, secondly, analogical extension of the resultant *-*uz*- to other case-forms, though the locative plural seems an unlikely case to have exerted such analogical influence. (Note that Boutkan, 1992: 17–18, assumes that raising of PGmc *-*a*- took place before *-*a*- as well as *-*u*-, which would lead to the change of *-*az*- to *-*oz*- in the nom.acc.pl. But such an assumption would make it more difficult to explain developments in the *n*-stems, see §2.84.) As Campbell rightly remarks, it is not at all likely that -*ur*, -*or* reflects PIE *-*əs*- (i.e., *-*H̥s*-), a view held by some *Junggrammatiker*. See also §§3.95ff. on the synchronic status of endings subject to *u*-apocope.

[2]   But explaining the appearance of *-*uz*- where *-*iz*- or analogical *-*az*- should be expected is difficult. Bammesberger (1990a: 209–10), supported by Schlerath (1995: 259), proposes the replacement of the alternants *-*iz*-/-*az*-/-*z*- by *-*iz*-/-*az*-/-*uz*- in PGmc by analogy to the alternations found in stems with sonorants, e.g. *n*-stems. That there was a zero-grade form of the *z*-suffix in PGmc, however, may be doubted on the basis of comparative evidence: see Szemerényi (1996: 174), but cf. Bammesberger (1990a: 212). Possibly *calfur* is by analogy to *feadur*, see §2.94.

2.100   The second type is undoubtedly due to re-formation of older nom.acc.sg. forms on the basis of inflected forms, hence *dōgor* 'day', cf. §2.96&n1. Similar examples include *ēar* 'ear of corn', *hālor* 'salvation', *hæteru* 'garments',[1] *hōcor* 'mockery',[2] *hrōþor* 'comfort', *nicor* 'water monster',[3] *salor* 'hall', *sigor* 'victory' (masc.), *wildor* 'wild animal',[4] all without *i*-umlaut; *scærero* 'shears' nom.pl. (EpGl, CorpGl only), *stæner* 'stone' dat.sg. (lNbr only), both with *i*-umlaut; *hrīþer* 'cattle', which shows both umlauted and unumlauted forms in other cases, e.g. *hrȳðeru*, *hrūðeru* both nom.pl.[5] The vocalism -*or* of *nicor*, *sigor*, *wildor*, for expected -*er*, is usually explained as due to original suffix ablaut, i.e. PIE *-*os*- alongside *-*es*-, and this is probably correct, although there are phonological and morphological difficulties.[6]

[1]   Recorded only in the pl., but not a plurale tantum, see Bosworth and Toller (1898: *hætera*).

[2]   Found only in dat.sg. *hōcere* and the compound *hōcorwyrde*.

[3]   Found only in inflected forms and in the compound *nicorhūs*. It is frequently masc.

[4]   More frequently folk etymology intervenes to give *wild(d)ēor*, and the original form is found only in inflected forms and as the first constituent of a compound.

[5]   A further example may be EpGl *bēger* 'berries' from sg. *bēg* (cf. *bēgbēam* 'berry tree'), in which event lNbr *wīnbēger*, pl. *wīnbēgera* would be a typical re-formation, see further Bately (1993: 511).

[6]   Some of these difficulties are discussed in §2.99n1. Boutkan (1992: 16–18) summarizes the approaches that have been taken. His own solution is to assume that Pre-OE *·/r/ was always syllabified as *-*ur*; but this is difficult to reconcile with the plain evidence that OE final syllabic /r/ was written <er> or <or> on the basis of the vocalism of the preceding syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38). It seems likelier that -*or* in *sigor* and the like does not develop from a syllabic consonant.

2.101   Alongside many of the forms in §2.100 are found parallel nouns with *i*-umlaut, which are generally regarded as having transferred to the *i*-stems rather than the *a*-stems, e.g. *hrēþ* ~ *hrōþor*, *sele* ~ *salor*, *siġe* ~ *sigor*. This, however, may be misleading. It seems equally possible that either the umlauted or the unumlauted (more usually the former) form of the noun could be extended throughout the paradigm, and that the noun acquired exactly the same set of inflexions in either event, as would be predicted from the gradual disappearance of the *i*-stems as a separate class, §§2.55ff.[1] For further examples, see the discussion in §2.69.

[1]   The change is not a particularly early development, since, for example, the OHG cognate of *siġe/sigor* has been transferred to the *u*-stems. The later the transfer took place, the less likely it is that the *i*-stems remained a discrete declensional category at that time.

4   þ-stem nouns

2.102   In OE, few traces remain of this stem class, which in PIE was formed with suffix *-*t*- preceded by a vocalic element, usually the ablauting vowel *-*e*-/-*o*-, which would give PGmc *-*iþ*-/-*aþ*-. However, *-*uþ*- also occurs in Gmc, and its possible sources are various.[1] To this stem the usual consonantal inflexions appear to have been added, and the predicted development in OE of this class would have been for the final syllable to have been lost except in the nom.sg., where the stem formative */θ/ (or */z/ < */s/ < PIE */ts/), being final, would have been lost. We should, therefore, obtain paradigms with nom.sg. having the reflex of the vocalic element that originally preceded *-*þ*-, the remainder of the sg. and the nom.acc.pl. having zero inflexion, and the gen.dat.pl. having the inflexions -*a*, -*um* as in the *ōn*-stems. But in all stems the nom.sg. may be extended to the acc.sg., or, conversely, the stem with final consonant is not infrequently extended to the nom.sg.

[1]   As Bammesberger (1990a: 215n356) remarks, in some instances the stem may have ended in PIE *-*wet*-. In reduced grade, this would produce PGmc *-*uþ*-. Another possibility is that *u* arose from PIE *o* when *u* stood in the next syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34), as in the acc.pl., and then spread analogically to other cases.

2.103   Nouns which at least in part show signs of the expected paradigm are as follows:[1] *ealu* 'ale' neut., with gen.dat.sg. *ealoð* and gen.pl. *ealoða*, but also acc.sg. *ealoþ*;[2] *hæle* 'man' masc., with nom.pl. *hæleþ*, gen.pl. *hæleþa*, dat.pl. *hæleþum*, and alongside *hæle* the re-formed nom.acc.sg. *hæleþ* with pl. *hæleþas*, once *hæleþe* (Rim 60), like some agentive nouns in -*nd*, see §2.108; *mæġ(e)þ* 'maiden' fem. has gen.dat.sg., nom.acc.pl. *mæġ(e)þ*, gen.pl. *mæġeþa*, dat.pl. *mæġeþum*, but the nom.acc.sg. is always

mæġ(e)þ; **mōnaþ** 'month' masc. has nom.pl. *mōnaþ* alongside *mōnþas* (on the syncope, see Hogg 1992b: §6.32), but otherwise follows the paradigm of the *a*-stems.

[1]   *Nefa* 'nephew', which is cognate with Lat. *nepōs, nepōtis* is always an *ōn*-stem in OE.
[2]   On the variety of forms of the stressed vowel, see firstly Hogg (1992b: §5.106(2)&n6), and on variation in the unstressed vowel, see ibid.: §6.60.

5   nd-*stem nouns*

2.104   This stem class comprises nominalized present participles which function as agentive nouns. These nouns are therefore formed with the characteristic OE *-end-* suffix of the pres.part., which is added directly to the root of the noun, *-e-* being lost if the root has a vocalic final, see below. In OE the pres.part. follows the paradigm of the *ja*-stems, but the *nd*-stems at least in origin share the inflexions of the root-stem nouns, on which see §§2.109–13. Almost all nouns in this stem class are masculine, the few exceptions being feminine.[1]

[1]   Of these exceptions the most important is *swelgend* 'whirlpool', which has a dat.sg. *swelgende*, an *ō*-stem form. It contrasts with masc. *swelgend* 'glutton', but in late texts it may also be masc. or neut. The other exceptions are found only in learned translations, where they are examples of natural gender, and except for their being modified by fem. adjs. or translating a feminine form (e.g. *londbūend* 'settler' rendering Lat *colonia*), they are indistinguishable from masculines: Brunner (1965: §287) offers the examples *wealdend* 'ruler', *fēond* 'enemy', and *timbrend* 'architect'.

2.105   In EWS, *nd*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

Singular

Nom.	frēond *friend*	hettend *enemy*
Acc.	frēond	hettend
Gen.	frēondes	hettendes
Dat.	frīend, frēonde	hettende

Plural

Nom.	frīend	hettend, -e, -as
Acc.	frīend	hettend, -e, -as
Gen.	frēonda	hettendra
Dat.	frēondum	hettendum

As may be observed, there are differences in inflexion between monosyllabic and disyllabic *nd*-stems in the dat.sg. and throughout the plural except dat.pl.

2.106   This class consists of a large number of agentive masc. nouns, although many are of infrequent occurrence or are restructured during the period so that their origins are not always plain from the (partial) paradigms which they form. Two *nd*-stems occur amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, namely *fēond* 'enemy', *hǣlend* 'saviour'. But amongst the more frequent nouns which are certainly *nd*-stems, typical examples include: *tēond* 'accuser',[1] like *frēond*,[2] together with the reciprocals *ġefīend* 'mutual enemies', *ġefrīend* 'mutual friends'; *āgend* 'owner', *būend* 'inhabitant', *dēmend* 'judge', *wealdend* 'ruler', *wīġend* 'warrior', all like *hettend*.

[1]   No umlauted forms occur, but note PsGl(C) 67.22 *tēonda* gen.pl.
[2]   Possibly to be added here is El 359 *gōddēnd* 'benefactor' acc.pl. < *ʒōddoandiz*, although this is on the assumption that there is iterative *i*-umlaut in the second constituent, as in *endemes* < *andōmis*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.76). On the quantity of the root vowel in *-doandiz*, see §6.143.

2.107   The paradigm of *frēond* can be traced back to the early PGmc paradigm presented below, with which compare the PGmc paradigm of the root-noun *fōt* in §2.112:[1]

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*frijōndz	*frijōndiz
Acc.	*frijōndum	*frijōndunz
Gen.	*frijōndiz	*frijōndōom
Dat.	*frijōndi	*frijōndumiz

[1]   On the development in Gmc and OE of the stressed diphthong in *frēond*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.19(3)).

2.108   The development of the inflexional system from PGmc to EWS is in many respects parallel to that of root nouns, cf. §2.113. There are, however, a number of significant differences, especially in the dat.sg. and nom.acc.gen.pl., and only these forms are discussed below:[1] The most significant feature, therefore, of this stem class is that the stem vowel of monosyllabic nouns should be *i*-umlauted in the gen.dat.sg. and the nom.acc.pl.,[2,3] whilst in disyllabic nouns *i*-umlaut should have affected the vowel of the second syllable in the same inflexions. In the latter case, however, *i*-umlauted vowels are found throughout the paradigm, to the complete exclusion of unumlauted. It is less probable that this is due to influence from dat.sg. or nom.acc.pl. than that the nouns are restructured according to the form of the pres.part., which, being a *ja*-stem, see §§2.104, 4.45, 6.28, always has the form *-end-* from *-andja-*, see the discussion of dat.sg., nom.acc.pl. forms below.

dat.sg.: here final *-i* should remain until the time of *i*-umlaut, when it would mutate the stem vowel of monosyllabic nouns before being apocopated after a heavy syllable (Hogg 1992b: §6.20), hence EWS *friend*, LWS *frȳnd*. But the dat.sg. can, even in EWS, be re-formed according to the paradigm of the *a*-stems, and then the stem vowel remains unumlauted and the *a*-stem inflexion *-e* appears. In disyllabic nouns the inflexion of *a*-stems is always found, but the second syllable always has the umlauted form *-end*, despite the restructuring.

nom.acc.pl.: here the WGmc loss of final *-z* (Hogg 1992b: §3.31) meant that this inflexion then developed in parallel to the dat.sg. In disyllabic nouns, however, even in EWS the alternative inflexions *-e*, *-as* are found, e.g. Oros 47.7 *ēhtende* 'pursuers' (alongside 140.1 *ēhtend*), CP(H) *waldendas* 'rulers' (3×); *-as* is clearly from the *a*-stems, whilst *-e* is from the adjectival forms of the pres.part. and is used in order to distinguish sg. and pl. inflexions.[4] The umlauted vowel of the second syllable is equally to be derived from the pres.part. As elsewhere, the acc.pl. fell together with the nom.pl. at an early stage.

gen.pl.: monosyllabic nouns have the predicted development of the PGmc inflexion, cf. §§2.13–14, but in disyllabic nouns the EWS inflexion is from the adjectival forms of the pres.part., cf. above.[5,6]

[1]   See, in particular for the unumlauted gen.sg., the parallel forms of the root-stem masculines, §2.113.
[2]   Under the assumption that the acc.pl. adopted at an early date the inflexion of the nom.pl., see further below.
[3]   Late Nbr has only nom.acc.pl. *fiondas, friondas* (and similar), re-formed in accordance with the *a*-stems. Similar forms are also found in Merc and in poetry, see Fulk (1992: 321), with references.
[4]   Even in the conservative language of verse, the inflexion of present participles and agentive nouns in *-nd-* is not kept strictly separate, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 125, note on Beo 159), with references.
[5]   For extension of this gen.pl. formation to the remainder of the plural in later texts, see §3.131.
[6]   PsGl(A) *fienda, fiendum*, gen.dat.pl., are most probably to be taken as restructured disyllabic forms on the basis on the pres.part. rather than as examples of extension of *i*-umlaut, see further Hogg (1992b: §5.83&n5).

6   Root-stem nouns

2.109   The class of root-stem nouns was formed in PIE by the direct addition of inflexional suffixes to the root of a noun, without the presence of an intervening suffixal element. Nouns in this class could be only masc. or fem., see §2.3&n3. In PGmc it is likely that the two genders shared a single set of inflexions, but in the development to OE there were various restructurings which created distinctions between the two genders. In the fem. nouns there are distinctions between light- and heavy-stemmed nouns,

but these distinctions cannot be observed in masc. nouns, if only because light-stemmed masc. nouns are not found in the data.

2.110   In EWS, root nouns typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Masculine	Feminine Light	Heavy
Singular			
Nom.	*fōt foot*	*hnutu nut*	*bōc book*
Acc.	*fōt*	*(hnutu)*	*bōc*
Gen.	*fōtes*	*hnute*	*bēċ*
Dat.	*fēt*	*hnyte*	*bēċ*
Plural			
Nom.	*fēt*	*hnyte*	*bēċ*
Acc.	*fēt*	*hnyte*	*bēċ*
Gen.	*fōta*	*hnuta*	*bōca*
Dat.	*fōtum*	*hnutum*	*bōcum*

The acc.sg. *hnutu* is not recorded but may be inferred from parallel forms such as *studu* 'post' acc.sg.

2.111   Although this class may have been reasonably large in PIE, in both PGmc and to an even greater extent in OE the membership was considerably reduced, so that only a small number of root nouns, mainly feminine, remain.[1] These nouns are, however, for the most part of high frequency. Thus, amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following root-stem nouns occur: *fōt* 'foot', *man(n)* 'person',[2,3] *tōþ* 'tooth' (all masc.), *bōc* 'book',[4] *burh* 'city',[5] *niht* 'night'.[6] The only other masc. root noun recorded in OE in addition to those cited above is apparently *ōs* 'god'.[7] There are rather more fem. nouns, including:

heavy stems: *āc* 'oak',[8] *brōc* 'legging', *cū* 'cow', **dung* 'prison',[9] *ēa* 'river',[10] *furh* 'furrow', *furh* 'fir', *gāt* 'goat', *gōs* 'goose', *grūt* 'meal', *lūs* 'louse', *mūs* 'mouse', *sulh* 'plough', *turf* 'turf', *þrūh* 'trough', *wlōh* 'fringe';
light stems: *hnitu* 'nit',[11] *hnutu* 'nut', *studu* 'post';[12]
bisyllabic stems: only *meoluc* 'milk', WS beside Angl *milċ*, on which see Hogg (1992b: §3.29n3). On the apparent dat.pl. *meolcum*, Angl *milcum*, see §2.17n4.

[1]   For an extensive survey of the Gmc forms, see Griepentrog (1995).
[2]   On the rather difficult question of the original stem class of this noun, see Bammesberger (1990a: 201; 2000).

³ When *-man(n)* is the second constituent of a dithematic personal name, it always declines as an *a*-stem, thus Bede 4 260.22 *Gearomonne* dat.sg. In Gothic, too, there occur some *a*-stem forms in compounds, but as the initial element, thus *mana-maurþrja*, *mana-seþs*. As the second element of a normal compound, however, as in *wīfman* 'woman', OE *man* follows the paradigm of the simplex even when, as occasionally occurs, the noun changes gender. The paradigm of Got *manna* 'person' is a mixture of *n*-stem and root-stem forms, and thus it is probably no coincidence that OE *n*-stem *manna* is attested mostly as acc.sg. *mannan* (174× in the *DOEC*; cf. Got *mannan* acc.sg.): very likely an original, irregular paradigm has led to the creation of analogical forms, see Bammesberger (2000).

⁴ OE *bōc* 'beech' is presumably an *ō*-stem, like OSax *bōka*, though it is attested only in the nom.sg. On controversy over the etymological relation between 'book' and 'beech', see Pierce (2006).

⁵ But when *-burh* is the second constituent of a fem. dithematic personal name, it takes the inflexions of the *ō*-stems, e.g. *Æþelburge* acc.dat.sg. On the relation of *burh* to *bearh* 'barrow', see Motz (1977).

⁶ In WS, *niht* regularly has an umlauted stem vowel throughout the paradigm and then has inflexions which closely parallel those of the *ō*-stems except in the nom.acc.pl., which is normally *niht*. Unmutated *neaht* is rare in WS except in Lch II, where it is frequently found in the temporal locative construction *on neaht*. In Angl dialects unmutated *næht* and variants is the usual form, see further §3.127.

⁷ Note MCharm 4 *ēsa* gen.pl. (2×).

⁸ But as the name of a rune we find Rid 42.10 *ācas*. On the etymology, see now Seebold (1999), but cf. Lewickij (2003: 100–3).

⁹ Only And 1272 *ding* dat.sg.

¹⁰ But usually *ēa* throughout the sg., although Or in particular has many examples of *īe* for gen.dat.sg. The early nature of the OE evidence for inflexion as a root-stem thus tells against the claim of Seldeslachts (1992: 303), against Bammesberger (1990a: 199), that such inflexion is an OE innovation. (Transferral of any noun to the root-stems in Pre-OE is in any case difficult to credit, given how unproductive this class was after the PGmc period.) In the plural the most frequent forms are nom.acc.gen. *ēa*, dat. *ēam*, *ēaum*, but even in EWS the re-formed gen.sg. *ēas* (from the masc. *a*-stems!) is found, beside *ēan* nom.pl. (from the *n*-stems), which Ælfric appears to prefer.

¹¹ Only in the nom.sg. and Exod 21.28, Med 1.1 10.15 *hnite* nom.acc.pl.

¹² Also Bede 3 14.204 *styðe* (2×) dat.sg. and Alex 118 *stypeo* nom.pl., which appears to be an unusual restructuring from the *ō*-stems on the base form **stype*. A further *ō*-stem form is OccGl 49.281 *stoðe* (after Hoad, 1978: 178; the *DOEC* has *stuðe*, but in the facsimile Hoad's reading appears to be correct: see Pulsiano 1996: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. vi, fol. 10r) acc.pl.

2.112　The various paradigms of the root nouns can be traced back to a single early PGmc paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	**fōs*¹	**fōtiz*
Acc.	**fōtum*	**fōtunz*
Gen.	**fōtiz*	**fōtōom*
Dat.	**fōtī*	**fōtumiz*

¹ **Fōs* directly reflects PIE **pōs* < **pod-s*, cf. Greek πούς. The individual Gmc languages show that an analogical replacement later occurred, with extension of the oblique stem to the nom.sg., with various other adjustments.

2.113　The phonological (or analogical, see §2.112n1) development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	**fōt*	**fōti*
*Acc.*¹	**fōt*	**fōti*
Gen.	**fōti*	**fōtõ*
Dat.	**fōti*	**fōtum*

Although the majority of forms show a straightforward development into OE, some inflexions require further discussion:

nom.acc.sg.: fem. nouns may have adopted **-u* from the *u*-stems, cf. the masc. Gothic noun *fōtus* 'foot' and note EWS *studu* acc.sg. Alternatively, one might suggest, see Bammesberger (1990a: 191), that the nom.sg. of all root nouns was replaced by the original acc.sg. form, in which *-u* (from **-um*) would appear except when apocopated after a heavy syllable (Hogg 1992b: §6.20).²

gen.sg.: the predicted development in both masc. and fem. would involve *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel and then apocope of final *-i* after a heavy syllable. In masc. nouns, however, the gen.sg. is always re-formed on the basis of the *a*-stems. The predicted development is seen in heavy-stemmed fem. nouns, although scattered examples of *bōce* on the basis of the *ō*-stems are to be found, whilst the evidence from short-stemmed nouns is sparse;³

nom.pl.: the development here would be parallel to the gen.sg., cf. above, but note that *i*-umlaut is regularly retained. See §3.126 for late forms such as *fōtas* 'feet', *burha* 'cities';

gen.pl.: the inflexion here is the regular development of **-ōō* with reduction of trimoricity to bimoricity, followed by shortening and lowering of nasalized **-ō* > *-a* (Hogg 1992b: §3.32).⁴ The vowel apparently was still long at the time *Beowulf* was composed, as it contrasts with short *-u*, **-i* under the dictates of Kaluza's Law, see Kaluza (1896: 120–31) and Fulk (1992: §§170–83), with references.

¹ In both sg. and pl. there is merger with the nom., as elsewhere. However, it is also possible that in the sg. syncretism is achieved by the reverse process, namely the merger of the nom. with the acc., see the discussion of the nom.acc.sg.fem. below.

² It should be noted that in Gothic the fem. root-stems adopt the acc.gen.dat.sg. inflexions of the *i*-stems.

[3] The evidence for an unumlauted gen.sg. rests on AntGl 2.860 *hnutehula* 'nut oil'.

[4] Instances with gen.pl. *-ena* are a later, more general phenomenon, see §3.127.

2.114   There are few significant forms in early texts, but note CollGl 3.2 *fēurstod* 'buttress', with which compare the somewhat later ClGl 1.4892 *durustod* 'door-post', both with apocopated *-u*. The dat.pl. form Ch 1510.21 *bōēcum* is more probably a confused spelling than an inverted spelling for **bēcum* with extension of *i*-umlaut.

3

Nouns: Declensions

I   Introduction

3.1   As indicated in chapter 1 and in §2.1, the morphological structure of OE nouns changed considerably during the period, so that their status may be defined by the set of inflexions which are attached to their stems, rather than by the stem type. In this chapter, therefore, a noun will be assigned to a particular declension by virtue of the inflexions which it takes, and the variety of declensions will correspond to the variety of distinct sets of inflexional endings. The question of how many discrete declensions existed in OE is necessarily a theoretical one, and more than one plausible answer is possible. It cannot be determined precisely how native speakers of Old English might have mentally categorized the declensional morphology of nouns in their language, and indeed it is likely that the categories varied by dialect and date within the period. An attempt at a declensional schema, however, no matter how tentative, and even if by its nature incapable of expressing the taxonomic diversity that must have prevailed from century to century and dialect to dialect, demands to be made, since the taxonomy laid out in chapter 2 on largely diachronic principles plainly cannot have served as the basis for the categorization of declensions in the Old English period itself. For example, although *word* 'word' may be classified as an *a*-stem neuter and *cynn* 'race' as a *ja*-stem neuter on the basis of derivation, they were inflected alike, and it seems most unlikely that in any dialect or period from which records survive an Anglo-Saxon should have regarded them as belonging to different declensional classes. Accordingly, although a single schematization cannot plausibly be made to suffice, it may nonetheless furnish insights into the kinds of general taxonomic principles that must have obtained in the period.