

Notes on the Development
of the Principal Sounds
of Indo-European
through Proto-Germanic
and West Germanic
into Old English

By

M. H. SCARGILL, PH.D.

University of Alberta

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended for the beginning student in Germanic Philology and, in particular, for students of Old English.

My apparent neglect of the findings of the laryngealists and the Indo-Hittite school will doubtless draw criticism from the more vigorous supporters of the various exciting laryngeal theories proposed by Kurylowicz, Sturtevant, Hammerich, and others. (E. H. Sturtevant, *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* (Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1942); Jerzy Kurylowicz: *Études indoeuropéennes* (Cracow, 1935); L. L. Hammerich, *Laryngeal before Sonant*, Det Kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskab; Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, vol. XXXI, no. 3 (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1948).)

The laryngeal theory is based on evidence mainly drawn from Hittite, and it is closely related to attempts made to postulate a Indo-Hittite language stock which developed into an Indo-European group and an Anatolian family (Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, Lydian, Lycian). The laryngeals have apparently been lost in every Indo-European language except Hittite, where they sometimes appear as *h* or *hh*. However, supporters of the various laryngeal schools claim that the original laryngeals of Indo-European or of Indo-Hittite caused, *inter alia*, qualitative and quantitative vowel changes, formed voiceless aspirates from voiceless stops, and had the power to voice a preceding *p*.

If the theories of the laryngealists prove correct, the work of nineteenth-century philologists may well be invalidated, although Sturtevant (*The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*) said that "Proto-Indo-European, as reconstructed in the nineteenth century, can stand with only minor changes."

However, so far the interesting new theories have not won general approval, but have met with opposition in some quar-

ters mainly on the following grounds: the proper position of Hittite has not yet been made clear; the "irregularities" of one language can frequently be explained within the language itself; the laryngealists have not reached a full measure of agreement.

I do not consider this book to be the place to make any attempt to select what might prove permanent in the work of the progressive comparativists and impose this on beginning students as established fact. I have found the descriptions of possible Indo-European sounds given by such men as Brugman fairly satisfactory for that part of my book which touches on Indo-European.

The thanks of the author are due to Dr. F. Owen, University of Alberta, and Dr. W. Leopold, Northwestern University Graduate School, who read the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions. Miss Sherlock and Miss Hamilton of the University of Alberta's library gave great help in securing books of reference.

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M. H. SCARGILL

March, 1951

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THE POSITION OF OLD ENGLISH IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES

Old English is one of a number of languages showing striking similarities in sounds,* forms, and basic vocabulary. These similarities are not the result of extensive borrowings, but they arise from actual relationship. As the earliest writings in these related languages are found in India and Europe, the languages are generally described as the "Indo-European family of languages." The family includes the following language groups: Indian, Iranian, Celtic, Italic, Hellenic, Germanic, Balto-Slavonic, Armenian, Albanian, Hittite, Tokharian.

The parent tongue from which it is assumed that these language groups are descended is called "Indo-European." It is nowhere recorded, but it has been partially reconstructed on scientific principles.

Old English belongs to the Germanic group of the Indo-European family, and it was evolved through the following stages:

- i. Proto-Germanic
- ii. West Germanic
- iii. Low West Germanic

* The student will realize from observation of his own speech that a given sound, for example *p*, shows slight variations in certain combinations: the sound of *p* in *pick* is not quite the same as that of *p* in *spine*. Many philologists now use "phoneme" instead of "sound" or "speech sound" and "allophones" to describe the varieties of the sound which constitute the phoneme: the *p* of *pick* and the *p* of *spine* are allophones of the phoneme *p*.

On page 36 of this book I refer to "exceptions" to the operation of the First Sound Shift: Indo-European *p* does not give Proto-Germanic *f* when preceded by *s*. This exception is perhaps due to the fact that the *p* of Indo-European *sp* is a variety of the Indo-European phoneme *p*, and, as a variation or allophone of *p*, does not undergo the change.

iv. The Anglo-Frisian branch of Low Germanic

v. Old English

Proto-Germanic is nowhere recorded, but it is a partial reconstruction of an Indo-European dialect probably imposed upon a group of non-Indo-European speakers.

North, East, and West Germanic are geographical names used to describe three varying developments of proto-Germanic. North Germanic includes Norwegian, Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish. East Germanic is represented by the now extinct Gothic. West Germanic is divided into High and Low German.

High German is divided chronologically into Old High German (to 1100), Middle High German (to 1500), and Modern German (from 1500); it includes a number of dialects, e.g., Bavarian and Rhenish, and shows the effects of a consonant change which was completed by about 600 A.D. in southern Germany. Low German includes Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, and English.

REPRESENTATIVE OLD ENGLISH TEXTS AND DIALECTS

TEXTS

Eighth Century

The Epinal, Erfurt, and Leyden Glosses; Cædmon's Hymn; Bede's Death Song; Leyden Riddle; *Beowulf*.

Ninth Century

The Vespasian Psalters; the Lorica Glosses; the *Cura Pastoralis*; Orosius; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (to 891 A.D.)

Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

The Durham Rituals; the Lindisfarne Gospels; the Rushworth Gospels; the Royal Glosses; Ælfric's Homilies; the Blickling Homilies.

DIALECTS

Old English has four dialects: Kentish, West Saxon, Mercian, Northumbrian. Because they have certain features in common, Mercian and Northumbrian are often classed together as "Anglian."

The majority of surviving Old English texts are in the West Saxon dialect.

ABBREVIATIONS

Angl.	Anglian
Fris.	Frisian
Gk.	Greek
Goth.	Gothic
I.E.	Indo-European
Ktsh.	Kentish
Lat.	Latin
Lith.	Lithuanian
Merc.	Mercian
M.E.	Middle English
N.W.S.	Non-West Saxon
Nthbn.	Northumbrian
O. Bulg.	Old Bulgarian
O.E.	Old English
O. Fris.	Old Frisian
O.H.G.	Old High German
O. Lat.	Old Latin
O.N.	Old Norse
O.S.	Old Saxon
P. Gmc.	Proto-Germanic
Skt.	Sanskrit
S. Merc.	Southern Mercian
W. Gmc.	West Germanic
W.S.	West Saxon

An asterisk indicates reconstructed forms.

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN VOWELS, DIPHTHONGS, AND VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND NASALS IN PROTO-GERMANIC

1. In its latest stage of development, just before it began to be differentiated into separate dialects or dialect groups, the Indo-European parent language had the following vowels, diphthongs, and vocalic liquids and nasals:

*a, e, i, o, u, ə¹, ə²,
ā, ē, ī, ō, ū,
ai, ei, oi, ə¹i, au, eu, ou, ə¹u,
āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu,
Vocalic ɭ, ɡ, ɣ, ʀ.*

(Wright: § 16; Brugmann: § 28; Lehnert: 20. Wright does not give *ə¹i* and *ə¹u*.)

2. The Indo-European long diphthongs were often either monophthongized or they fell together with the short diphthongs in stem-syllables.

(Wright: § 16, note 1; Lehnert: 21, 4.)

The "European" dialects of the parent Indo-European tongue have certain phonological features in common, e.g., the change of Indo-European *ə¹* to *a*. There are, however, certain changes affecting both vowels and consonants which are peculiar to the Germanic dialects, and thus we can postulate a period when there was spoken a separate "proto-Germanic" tongue, later to be differentiated into North, East, and West Germanic. In this proto-Germanic branch the Indo-European vowels and diphthongs and vocalic liquids and nasals have undergone certain changes. These changes are of two

types: isolative, i.e., changes which appear to have been carried out no matter where the sounds occurred; combinative, i.e., changes caused by neighbouring sounds. As a result of these changes the proto-Germanic system of vowels and diphthongs appears as simpler than that of Indo-European.

A. ISOLATIVE CHANGES

3. In proto-Germanic *o* and *ə*¹ fell together with *a*, and *ə*² became *u*:

Goth. *ahtáu*; O.E. *eahta*: Lat. *octō* (*eight*)

Goth. *gasts*: O. Bulg. *gostǎ* (*guest*)

O.E. *fæder*: Skt. *pítár* (*father*)

O. H. G. *zweinzug* (*twenty*)

(Wright: §§ 20, 22; Lehnert: 21, 1; Brugmann: §§ 83, 109 (f).)

4. Indo-European *ā* became proto-Germanic *ō*:

O.E. *mōdor*: Lat. *māter* (*mother*)

Goth. *fōdr* (*sheath*): Skt. *pātrām* (*vessel*)

(Wright: § 23; Lehnert: 21, 2; Brugmann: § 91.)

5. Indo-European *oi* and *ə*¹*i* gave proto-Germanic *ai*:

Goth. *aíns*: O.E. *ān*: O. Lat. *oīnos* (*one*)

O.E. *gād*: I.E. **ghə¹idhos* (*goad*)

(Wright: § 30, *oi* only; Lehnert: 21, 3; Brugmann: § 83 and § 144, *oi* only.)

6. Indo-European *ou* and *ə*¹*u* gave proto-Germanic *au*:

Goth. *ráuþs*: O.E. *rēad*: O. Lat. *roufus* (*red*)

O.N. *staurr* (*stake*): I.E. **stə¹uros*

(Wright: § 33; Brugmann: § 83; Lehnert: 21,3.)

7. Indo-European *ei* gave proto-Germanic *ī*, probably through the stage *iǣ*:

O.H.G. *drī*: O. Bulg. *trije* (*three*)

O.E. *tēon* (*accuse*) < P. Gmc. **tīχan*: O. Lat. *deico*

(Wright: § 39; Lehnert: 21, 3; Brugmann: §§ 142, 144.)

8. Indo-European *ē* gave proto-Germanic *ǣ*. This *ǣ* was a slack vowel and is not to be confused with proto-Germanic *ē*, a tense vowel, which probably arose from the monophthongization of I.E. *ēi*:

O.E. (W.S.) *ǣton* (< W. Gmc. *ā*): Lat. *ēdimus*
(pret. *to eat*)

O.E. *sǣd*: O.S. *sād*: Lat. *sēmen* (*seed*).

(Lehnert: 21, 2; Wright: § 24, “*ē* remained, but it is generally written *ǣ* in works on Germanic philology”; Brugmann: § 75.)

9. The Indo-European vocalic liquids and nasals *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*, *r̥*, gave proto-Germanic *ul*, *um*, *un*, *ur*:

Lith. *pilnas*; O.E. *full* (*full*): L.E. **pl̥nós*

O.E. *hund* (*hundred*): I.E. **k̥mtóm*

O.E. *gemynd* (*remembrance*): I.E. **m̥ntós* (pp.)

O.E. *furh* (*furrow*): I.E. **pr̥kǎ*.

(Wright: §§ 34-7; Lehnert: 21, 5; Brugmann: §§ 244-7, 299.)

B. COMBINATIVE CHANGES

10. Before *n*, *m*, *ŋ*, followed by another consonant and before *ɨ/j* in the next syllable, Indo-European *e* appeared as proto-Germanic *i*:

O.E. *bindan* (*to bind*): Lat. *offendix* (*band*)

O.E. *midd*: Lat. *medius* (*middle*).

(Wright: § 41, 1 and 2; Lehnert: 22, 1; Brugmann: § 67; Meillet: p. 63; Bülbring: 81 (b), (c).)

11. Before *ǣ*, *ō*, *ǣ* in the next syllable, Indo-European *u* gave proto-Germanic *o* and Indo-European *i* gave proto-Germanic *e*. Every proto-Germanic *o* in accented syllables is of this

origin. These changes did not take place if $\tilde{i}/j$ or a covered nasal followed the vowels u/i in the next syllable.

O.E. *wer*: Lat. *vir* (*man*)

O.E. *gold* beside *gylden* (*golden*)

O.E. *bunden* (*bound*) beside *holpen* (*helped*), both of Class III, Strong Verbs

(Wright: §§ 42, 43; Lehnert: 22, 2; Meillet: p. 64; Bülbring: 81 (d).)

12. When a, i, u occurred before the group nasal + $\chi(h)$, the vowel was nasalized and lengthened and the spirant disappeared in proto-Germanic. Every proto-Germanic $\bar{a}$ in accented syllables is of this origin.

O.E. *þōhte*: O.S. *thāhta* < **paηχt-* (pret. *to think*)

O.E. *þūhte* < **puηχt-* (pret. *to seem*)

(Wright: § 40 and note; Lehnert: 22, 3; Brugmann: § 214; Sievers: 45 (5); Bülbring: 121.)

13. Before $\tilde{i}/j$ in the next syllable Indo-European *eu* gave proto-Germanic *iu*:

O.S. *liuhtian*: Gk. *leukós* (*light*)

(Wright: § 44; Lehnert: 22, 4; Bülbring: 104.)

14. The sound changes described above were all completed before the parent proto-Germanic was split into North, East, and West Germanic.

As a result of these changes proto-Germanic had the following vowels and diphthongs:

a, e, i, o, u

$\bar{e}, \bar{a}, \bar{i}, \bar{o}, \bar{u}$

ai, au, eu, iu

nasalized $\bar{a}, \bar{i}, \bar{u}$

(Wright: § 45; Lehnert: 24; Bülbring: 80, 81.)

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROTO-GERMANIC VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN WEST GERMANIC

In West Germanic the following vowel changes took place.

15. According to some grammarians the nasalized vowels $\bar{a}$, $\bar{i}$, $\bar{u}$, lost their nasalization. There is no real evidence that this change took place in West Germanic. Indeed, in view of the Old English change of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{o}$ in such words as *þōhte* and of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{o}$ before a nasal, e.g. *nōmon*, it seems reasonable to suppose that $\bar{a}$, at any rate, retained its nasalization and was rounded in Old English because of it.

16. Proto-Germanic $\bar{x}$ gave West Germanic $\bar{a}$. Some scholars do not accept this change, but say that proto-Germanic $\bar{x}$ continued in West Germanic, becoming $\bar{e}$ in Old English (Anglian and Kentish) and remained as $\bar{x}$ in West Saxon.

(Wright: § 119.)

The development of proto-Germanic $\bar{x}$ seems to have been

North Germanic	$\bar{a}$
West Germanic	$\bar{x}$, $\bar{a}$ or $\bar{e}$ (O.S. $\bar{a}$)
East Germanic	$\bar{e}$

(Brugmann: § 75; Sievers: 46; Lehnert: 24; Bülbring: 82.)

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEST GERMANIC VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN ANGLO-FRISIAN AND IN OLD ENGLISH IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES BEFORE THE EIGHTH CENTURY

A. ISOLATIVE CHANGES

17. The nasalized vowel $\bar{a}$ (see 15 above) was rounded to $\bar{o}$, and then it and the nasalized vowels $\bar{i}$ and $\bar{u}$ lost their nasalization. This was an Anglo-Frisian change.

O.E. *þōhte*: O.H.G. *dāhta* (pret. *to think*)

(Wright: § 40, note, and § 117.)

18. When not rounded before a nasal (see 23 and 24 below), West Germanic $a/\bar{a}$ (< proto-Germanic $\bar{x}$) appear in Old English as $\text{x}/\bar{x}$ or $e/\bar{e}$. The change to $\text{x}/\bar{x}$ is called "fronting" as it involves the fronting of the back vowels, and its effects can best be observed in West Saxon, although there the regular operation of fronting is often hindered by analogy. Frisian shows similar changes.

- i. West Germanic $\bar{a}$ appears as West Saxon $\bar{x}$, Anglian and Kentish $\bar{e}$:

W.S. *dǣd*: Angl. and Ktsh. *dēd* (*deed*)

(Sievers: 57 (2); Lehnert: 26, 2; Bülbring: 96.)

- ii. West Germanic a appears as West Saxon x . In Southern Mercian and Kentish this x was raised to e :

W. S. *dæg*: S. Merc. and Ktsh. *deg* (*day*)

(Sievers: 49; Wright: § 54; Lehnert: 26, 1; Bülbring: 91.)

Wright does not accept the fronting of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{æ}$, but says that proto-Germanic (and West Germanic) $\bar{æ}$ was retained in West Saxon and became $\bar{e}$ in Anglian and Kentish.

(Wright: § 119.)

The vowel $\bar{a}$ in early Latin loans had the same development as West Germanic $\bar{a}$ in Old English:

W.S. *næp*: Lat. *nāpus* (*turnip*)

W.S. *stræt*: Lat. *strāta* (*street*)

19. West Germanic $-\bar{o}$ became Old English $-\bar{u}$ when final in monosyllables:

O.E. *cū*: O.S. *kō* (*cow*)

(Lehnert: 26, 2; Bülbring: 102.)

20. West Germanic *ai*, *au*, *eu*, *iu* gave Old English (West Saxon) $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}a$ ($< \bar{æ}a < \bar{æ}o < \bar{æ}u$), $\bar{e}o$, $\bar{i}o$ (later $\bar{e}o$).

In Northumbrian *eu* generally gave $\bar{e}a$.

In Kentish, *eu*, *iu*, are often represented by $\bar{i}a$.

W.S. *ān*, *lēof*, *ēage* (*one*, *dear*, *eye*)

Nthbn. *lēaf*: Ktsh. *līaf*, *līof*

(Sievers: 62, 63, 64; Wright: §§ 133-8; Lehnert: 26, 4; Bülbring: 106, 107, 109, 110.)

B. COMBINATIVE CHANGES

21. In Anglo-Frisian a change similar to that described in 12 (above) took place in groups consisting of vowel and nasal and *s*, *f*, or *þ*. The nasal was lost, and the vowel was lengthened. The $\bar{a}$ resulting from this change was rounded to $\bar{o}$ whilst still nasalized.

O.E. *gōs*: O.H.G. *gans* (*goose*)

O.E. *sōfte*: O.H.G. *samfto* (*softly*)

O.E. *ōþer*: O.H.G. *andar* (*other*)

(Sievers: 66, 67; Wright: § 283 (*f* and *s*), § 286 (*s* and *þ*); Lehnert: 28, 1 (*s*, *f*, and *þ*); Mossé: 21, 2; Bülbring: 122.)

22. In Anglo-Frisian *e* appears as *i* before *m*. This change explains the differences between the root vowels in *niman* (*to take*) and in *beran* (*to bear*), both infinitives of Class V, Strong Verbs.

O.E. *gimm* < Lat. *gemma* (*jewel*)

(Sievers: 69; Wright: §§ 81, 82; Lehnert: 28, 3; Mossé: 21, 5; Bülbring: 126.)

23. In Anglo-Frisian *o* became *u* before nasals:

O.E. *munuc*: Lat. *monachus* (*monk*)

O.E. *þunor*: O.H.G. *donar* (*thunder*)

(Wright: § 109; Sievers: 70; Lehnert: 28, 3; Mossé: 21, 5; Bülbring: 125.)

24. Before nasals West Germanic *ā* was rounded to *ō* in Old English:

O.E. *spōn*: O.H.G. *spān* (*spoon*)

This change accounts for the difference between the root vowels in such words as *bæron* (pret. *to bear*) and *nōmon* (pret. *to take*), both preterite plurals of Class IV, Strong Verbs.

(Wright: § 121, gives *æ* becomes *ā* becomes *ō*; Lehnert: 28, 2; Mossé: 21, 3; Sievers: 68; Bülbring: 124.)

25. West Germanic *a* before a nasal was slightly rounded in Old English. This rounded vowel was generally represented by *a* in the earliest MSS, but in early West Saxon *o* is more frequent than *a*:

O.E. *land/lond* (*land*)

In words which were lightly stressed *o* was general:

O.E. *on, hwone* (*on, whom*)

(Wright: § 59; Sievers: 65; Lehnert: 28, 4; Mossé: 21, 4; Bülbring: 123.)

26. Old English (West Saxon) *æ* and *ǣ* (see 18 above) were returned to the position of back vowels *a* and *ā* in certain combinations in Old English. This change is called "retraction" and is mainly a West Saxon change as elsewhere *ǣ* became *ē* and in Kentish and Southern Mercian *æ* became *e*.

- i. West Saxon *æ* becomes *a* in open syllables when an original back vowel followed in the next syllable:

W.S. *dæg*: *dagas* (*day, days*)

Such a form as *macian* (infinitive, Class II, Weak Verbs) seems irregular. The original form was **makōjan*, and thus conditions for retraction existed. West Saxon *æ* becomes *a* before *w*, provided that an original *i* did not follow:

W.S. *clēa* beside genitive and dative singular *clawe* (*claw*)

æ becomes *a* before *l* + consonant in Anglian:

W.S. *eald* < **æld*: Angl. *ald* (*old*)

- ii. West Saxon *ǣ* becomes *ā* in open syllables when an original back vowel followed in the next syllable, particularly before *g* and *w*:

W.S. *mæg*: *māgas* (*kinsman, kinsmen*)

W.S. *lāgon, sāwon, lǣton* (*lay, saw, left*), all preterites of Class V, Strong Verbs.

Such a form as genitive singular, *papes* beside W.S. *pæpes* is analogical.

Some grammarians (e.g. Mossé, 18, 3, and Sievers: 57 (2) (a)) say that fronting did not take place under the conditions described above as causing retraction. It seems better to assume that fronting was carried out regularly and that then retraction took place than to suggest that sound changes are

only partially operative. There was fronting and also further raising in Anglian, South Mercian, and Kentish forms before back vowels, and one would assume that this was also the case in West Saxon with regard to fronting.

27. In early Old English the consonants *h*, *l*, *r* in certain positions were pronounced as back consonants. When one of these back consonants was immediately preceded by a front vowel, a glide developed between the vowel and the consonant and this glide combined with the vowel to form a diphthong.

This sound change is usually called "fracture," a term arising from J. Grimm's term "gebrochen." It is a misleading term. There is no "breaking" into two elements, but a combination of a full vowel and a glide vowel into a regular diphthong. A similar change is going on in such words as Modern English *tiresome*, *fire*, where a glide is developing between *i* and *r*. A better term for the sound change might be "*h*, *l*, and *r* diphthongization."

The glide and, later, the diphthongs developed as follows:

- i. before *h* or *h* + consonant, when *æ* becomes *ea*, *e* becomes *eo*, *i* becomes *io* (later *eo* in West Saxon), *ā* becomes *ēa*, *ē* becomes *ēo*, *ī* becomes *īo* (later *ēo* in West Saxon):

O.E. *eahta*: O.H.G. *ahto* (*eight*)

O.E. *feohtan*: O.H.G. *fehtan* (*to fight*)

O.E. *miox* < **mihst* (*manure*)

O.E. (W.S.) *nēah* (*near*): O.S. *nāh*

N.W.S. *nēolācan* (*approach*): W.S. *nēalācan*

W.S. *lēoht*: O.H.G. *līht* (*i*), (*light*)

- ii. before *r* + consonant, when *æ* becomes *ea*, *e* becomes *eo*, *i* becomes *io* (*eo*):

W.S. *earm*: O.S. *arm* (*poor*)

O.E. *eorde*: O.S. *ertha* (*earth*)

Nthbn. *hiorde*: O.S. *hirdi* (*shepherd*)

- iii. before *l* + consonant when *æ* becomes *ea*, *e* becomes *eo* (before *lc*, *lh*, *lw* only):

W.S. *ceald*: O.N. *kaldr* (*cold*)

O.E. *meolcan*: O. Fris. *melka* (*to milk*)

O.E. *eolh*: O.H.G. *elaho* (*elk*)

O.E. *wealh* (*foreigner*)

W.S. *eall*: O.N. *allr* (*all*)

This process of diphthongization took place most consistently in West Saxon. In Kentish and in Southern Mercian the *æ* from fronting of *a* had been raised to *e*, and in all Non-West Saxon dialects (except those bordering on Wessex) the *ǣ* from fronting of *ā* had been raised to *ē*. In Anglian *æ* was retracted before *l* + consonant, especially in the neighbourhood of *w*:

W.S. *eald*: Angl. *ald* (*old*)

W.S. *wearp*: Angl. *warp* (pret. *to cast*)

In Anglian the diphthongs arising through this change were smoothed at an early date.

Since there is no reason why a glide should develop between a back vowel and a back consonant, we may date the fronting of *a* before this diphthongization.

In certain cases there is no diphthongization before *r* + consonants: e.g. *berstan* (*to burst*). At the time of diphthongization before a back consonant the *r* came before the vowel—*brestan*.

(Sievers: 79-84; Wright: § 49; Mossé: 22; Lehnert: 29; Bülbring: 130-9, 145-7.)

28. In the course of the seventh century *h* was lost between vowels or between a liquid and a vowel. When the vowel was short, it received compensatory lengthening.

O.E. *mēares* (gen. sg. of *mearh*, *horse*)

O.E. *sēon* < **seohan* (*to see*)

(Wright: § 329, 3 and 4; Mossé: 35, 3; Bülbring: 216-19.)

29. In Primitive Old English between the front consonants *k*, *ȝ*, and *ȝ*, and the front vowels *e*, *æ*, and *ǣ* a glide developed to form a rising diphthong. Later these rising diphthongs became the falling diphthongs *ie*, *ea*, *ēa*. This sound change is generally called "front diphthongization," and is mainly a West Saxon change.

æ becomes *ea*:

geaf (pret. *to give*); *ceaf* (*chaff*)

ǣ becomes *ēa*:

gēafon (pret. pl. *to give*); *scēap* (*sheep*)

e becomes *ie*:

giefan (inf. *to give*); *scieran* (inf. *to shear*)

Such spellings as O.E. *giong/geong* (*young*) are not examples of front diphthongization. The *i* or *e* is inserted to show the front pronunciation of the initial consonant: compare O.S. *jung*.

Such a form as O.E. *ceorl* shows that front diphthongization was later than diphthongization before *h*, *r*, *l*. Had front diphthongization taken place first, we should get a form **cierl*.

The diphthong in such a form as *gēad* (*folly*) or *cēap* (*bargain*) is not the result of front diphthongization, but is the Old English development of an original *au*: compare O.N. *gauð* and Latin *caupo*.

(Sievers: 75; Wright: § 51; Mossé: 23; Lehnert: 30; Bülbring: 148-57.)

30. In proto-Germanic an *ǣ/j* influenced an *e* in the preceding syllable, and in Primitive Old English the influence of *ǣ/j* was still felt. Before the end of the seventh century most Old English vowels and diphthongs had been affected by an *ǣ/j* in the following syllable: front vowels were raised, back vowels were fronted, and in diphthongs the first element was raised and the second element was fronted. The sound changes resulting from the influence of *ǣ/j* are known collectively as the effects of "front mutation" or of "palatal or i-umlaut."

By the time of the earliest Old English MSS the $\text{ǣ}/j$ which had caused mutation had either disappeared or had been weakened to e . Evidence for the presence of the original mutating element can frequently be found in Gothic:

O.E. *settan*: Gothic *satjan* (to place)

Front mutation also took place extensively in Old Norse. Front mutation had the following effects in Old English: a became æ :

O.E. (Angl.) *fællan* (to fall)

O.E. (Angl.) *ældra* (elder) < $*alþiza$

æ became e :

O.E. *settan*: Goth. *satjan* (to place)

O.E. *here*: Goth. *harjis* (army)

a/o (see 25 above) through æ became e :

O.E. *sendan*: Goth. *sandjan* (to send)

O.E. *menn* < $*manniz$ (men)

ō became ǣ , later ĕ ; in Northumbrian ǣ generally remained:

O.E. (W.S.) *dehter* < $*dohtri$, O.E. (Nthbn.) *dæhter*
(dat. sg. daughter)

O.E. *ele* < $*æli$: Lat. *oleum* (oil)

O.E. *sēcan*: Goth. *sōkjan* (to seek)

(Since Indo-European o becomes proto-Germanic a and since no later o could develop before $\text{ǣ}/j$ in proto-Germanic, the mutated o in Old English must always be analogical or the o of a loan word. The regular form of the dative singular of Old English *dehter* would be $*dyhter$, but o from other cases of the noun has replaced the original u .)

ū becomes ȳ (Kentish ē):

O.E. *cȳning*: O.H.G. *kuning* (king)

O.E. *mȳs* < $*mūsiz$ (mice)

O.E. *fyllan*: Ktsh. *fellan* (to fill)

$\bar{a}$ (< ai) becomes $\bar{æ}$ (Kentish $\bar{e}$):

O.E. *hæþ*: Goth. *haiþa* (*heath*)

O.E. *hælan*, *hāl* (*heal*, *whole*)

$\check{a}$ becomes West Saxon $\check{ie}$ (later $\check{i}$, $\check{y}$), Non-West Saxon $\check{e}$:

W.S. *hliehhan* < **hleahhjan*, Goth. *hlahjan* (*to laugh*)

W.S. *hieran* < **hēarian*: Angl. *hēran* (*to hear*)

$\check{io}$ becomes West Saxon $\check{ie}$ (later $\check{i}$, $\check{y}$), but remained in Non-West Saxon, later becoming $\check{eo}$ in Mercian:

W.S. *frīend*, N.W.S. *frīond*/*frēond* (*friends*)

W.S. *hierde*: N.W.S. *hiorde* (*shepherd*)

(Presumably the diphthong which is mutated is *iu*. In Northumbrian the $\check{io}$ from the mutation of *iu* does not fall together with $\bar{eo}$ (< *eu*) as it does in Mercian.)

$\check{i}$, $\bar{æ}$, and $\bar{e}$ are not affected by $\check{i}/j$ in the next syllable.

The *i* in such forms as *birest*, *bireþ* (second and third person singular, present indicative *to bear*) may be the result of the change described in 10 above.

Verbs such as *lōcian* (*to look*) and *macian* (*to make*) do not show front mutation because the vowel of the second syllable is not an original *i*: *lōcian* < **lōkōjan*; *macian* < **makōjan*.

The effects of front mutation were numerous in Old English because of the large number of words originally containing an $\check{i}/j$: nouns and adjectives in *-ja* and *-jō* and *-in*; weak verbs of Class I.

(Sievers: 88-100; Wright: § 47; Noreen: p. 40; Lehnert: 31; Mossé: 24, 25; Bülbring: 158-92.)

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES IN OLD ENGLISH BEFORE THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

A. ISOLATIVE CHANGES

31. In monosyllables final short vowels were lengthened:

O.E. *swā*: Goth. *swa* (*so*)

O.E. *bī*: Goth. *bi* (*by*)

(Wright: § 144; Lehnert: 37, 1; Bülbring: 101.)

B. COMBINATIVE CHANGES

32. The terms "back mutation," "*u/a*-umlaut," or "velar umlaut" are used to describe the Old English diphthongization of *i*, *e*, *æ* before the back vowels *u*, *a* in the next syllable. The diphthongization is the result of the production of a glide after the front vowel in anticipation of the following back vowel:

i becomes *io*, *e* becomes *eo*, *æ* becomes *ea*.

Back mutation took place most frequently before single consonants followed by *u* (*o*) or *a*, and its operation can best be observed in West Saxon.

- i. *æ* becomes *ea* in Mercian, where the front vowel had never been retracted:

featu: *fæt* (*vessels*: *vessel*)

Merc. *heafoc*: W.S. *hafoc* (*hawk*)

West Saxon *ealu* (*ale*) was influenced by the Mercian form.

- ii. *e* becomes *eo* before a liquid or a labial followed by *u* (*o*), *a* in all dialects except West Saxon. In West

Saxon the back mutation of *e* took place only before *u* (*o*):

O.E. *heorot*: O.S. *hirut* (*hart*);

O.E. *heofon*: O.S. *heþan* (*heaven*)

The change of *e* to *eo* did not take place in West Saxon before dentals or back consonants. It did not take place in Anglian before *c*, *g*, *h* or, if it did, the diphthong was smoothed again:

N.W.S. *meodu* (*mead*)

Ktsh. *spreocan*: W.S. and Angl. *sprecan* (*speak*)

Ktsh. *wegas*: W.S. and Angl. *wegas* (*ways*)

- iii. *i* becomes *io* (later *eo*) in all dialects before a liquid or a labial followed by *u* (*o*), *a*:

O.E. *mioluc* (*milk*)

O.E. *siofun*, *seofun* (*seven*)

O.E. *hiora*, *heora* (*their*)

In West Saxon the effects of analogy were frequent, and we often find an example of back mutation where it is not regular and no back mutation where we expect it:

W.S. *scipu* (*ships*) by analogy with singular *scip*

W.S. *cliopian* (*to call*) by analogy with the preterite *cliopude*

(Sievers: 103-9; Wright: § 48; Mossé: 26; Lehnert: 32; Bülbbring: 128, 226-54.)

33. i. The rounding influence of *w* can be observed in Old English in such late West Saxon forms as *wurd*, *wurm* (*word*, *serpent*) for earlier *word*, *wyrm*.

ii. The vowels *i* and *e* often became *u* and *o* when preceded by *w* followed by a back vowel. The change does not normally take place in Kentish. It is a continuation of *u*, *a* umlaut.

O.E. *wudu* < **weodu* < **wiodu* < **widu* (*wood*): compare O.N. *viðr*

iii. O.E. *wi-* becomes *wy-*:

hwilc: *hwylc* (*which*)

iv. Between *w* and *l*, *o* often became *u* in Old English:

O.E. *wulle*, *wulf*: O.H.G. *wolla*, *wolf* (*wool*, *wolf*)

(Sievers: 71; Wright: § 52; Mossé: 27; Lehnert: 33; Wyld, 143; Bülbring: 116, 362-83.)

34. The distinguished scholar Henry Sweet first used the term "smoothing" to refer to the Old English monophthongization of diphthongs before *c*, *g*, *h*, singly or in combination with *r* or *l*. Smoothing takes place most fully in Anglian.

i. In West Saxon, certainly by the time of Alfred, *eo*, *io* became *ie* (later *i*) before *hs* and *ht* provided that a back vowel did not follow in the next syllable:

W.S. *cneoht*: *cniht* (*boy*)

Such late West Saxon forms as *cneoht* and *cnihtas* are analogical.

ii. In late West Saxon *ĕa* frequently became *ĕ* before *c*, *g*, *h*, and after *c*, *g*, *sc*:

Late W.S. *ehla* (*eight*); *bēg* (*ring*); *cēs* (pret. *to choose*); *scēp* (*sheep*)

iii. Before front *c*, *g*, *h*, singly or in combination, and before palatal *n*, *īe*, *ȳ* often became *ī* before the end of the tenth century:

W.S. *niht*, *cining* (*night*, *king*)

iv. In Anglian *ĕa*, *ĕo*, *īo* were smoothed to *ǣ* (later *ē*), *ē*, *ī* before *c*, *g*, *h*, singly or in combination with a liquid:

Early W.S. *seah*: Angl. *sæh* (pret. *to see*)

Early W.S. *feohtan*: Angl. *fehtan* (*to fight*)

Early W.S. *ēage*: Angl. *ǣge*, *ēge* (*eye*)

(Lehnert: 35; Wright: § 66, note; § 68, note; § 72, note; § 78, note; § 85, note; § 86; § 91; § 89, note; § 99, note; § 112, note; § 124, note; § 135, notes 1, 2; § 138, note; Bülbring: 193-211.)

35. Vowels were lengthened in Old English under certain conditions:

- i. The consonant *g* was often lost before *d* and *n* with lengthening of a preceding vowel:

O.E. *sæde*: *sægde* (pret. *to say*)

O.E. *mæden*: *mægden* (*maiden*)

O.E. *frignan*: *frīnan* (*to ask*)

- ii. Before the groups *mb*, *nd*, *ng*, *ld*, *rd*, *rl*, *rn* short vowels and diphthongs were lengthened in Old English in the ninth century:

O.E. *clīmban* (*climb*); *fīndan* (*find*): *ēald* (*old*); *ald* (*old*);
fēld (*field*)

This lengthening did not take place if the consonant group was immediately followed by another consonant.

O.E. *cīld*: *cildru* (*child*, *children*)

(Wright: § 143; Wright, *M.E.*: §§ 68-75; Bülbring: 285, 530; Lehnert: 37 (2), (3); Mossé: 35, 4.)

36. In Old English long vowels were shortened under the following conditions:

- i. Before three consonants, excepting *st* and a liquid:

O.E. *gōdspell* (*gospel*); *þīostre* (*darkness*)

- ii. Before double consonants:

O.E. *læssa* (*less*); *siððan* (*since*)

- iii. Before two consonants in words of more than two syllables:

O.E. *bletsian* < **blōðisōjan* (*to bless*)

(Wright: §§ 150-1; Lehnert: 38; Bülbring: 339.)

CHAPTER V

THE VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

37. In Primitive Old English the proto-Germanic *a* from Indo-European *a*, *o*, whether it was originally final or became final after the loss of a consonant, was lost:

O.E. *dæges* < P.Gmc. **ðazasa* (gen. sg. *day*)

O.E. *wulf* < P.Gmc. **wulfaz* (nom. sg. *wolf*)

(Wright: § 212; Sievers: 130; Bülbring: 365.)

38. Indo-European original final *e* was lost in proto-Germanic:

O.E. *bær* < I.E. **bhore* (*to bear*)

O.E. *dōm* (voc. sg. *doom*)

O.E. *mec* < P.Gmc. **meke* (*me*)

(Wright: § 213; Sievers: 131; Bülbring: 357.)

39. Proto-Germanic *-ō* from Indo-European *ō* and *ā* became Primitive Old English *-ū*. This *-ū* remained in Old English after a short syllable, but was lost after a long syllable:

O.E. *giefu* < **gebō* (*gift*)

O.E. *lār* < **laizō* (*teaching*)

(Wright: §§ 214, 215; Sievers: 134 (b), (c), 135 (2); Bülbring: 387.)

40. Proto-Germanic *-ī* became Old English *-i*, later *e*, and this vowel remained after a short syllable, but disappeared after a long syllable:

O.E. *nere* < **nazī* (imp. sg. *to save*);

O.E. *sēc* < **sōkī* (imp. sg. *to seek*).

(Wright: §§ 214, 215; Sievers: 133 (c).)

41. Proto-Germanic *u* and *i* which became final through the loss of a consonant remained after short syllables, becoming late *o/a* and *e*, but disappeared in disyllabic forms after a long syllable:

O.E. *wine* < **winiz* (nom. sg. *friend*)

O.E. *giest* < **ǵastiz* (nom. sg. *guest*)

O.E. *hand* < **handuz* (nom. sg. *hand*)

O.E. *sunu* < **sunuz* (nom. sg. *son*)

(Wright: § 215; Sievers: 133 (a), 134 (a); Bülbring: 358.)

42. Indo-European final *-ai*, *-oi*, *-ou*, *-au* became proto-Germanic *-ai*, *-au*, Old English *-æ* (later *-e*) and *-a*:

O.E. *giefe* (< *æ*) < **ǵeþai* (dat. sg. *gift*)

O.E. *eahta* < **ahtau* (*eight*)

O.E. *suna* < **sunauz* (*sons*)

(Wright: § 217; Lehnert: 48, 4.)

43. Indo-European bimoric and trimoric vowels, finally, develop differently from one another in Germanic:

After the loss of *n* (*m*) proto-Germanic *ǝ* becomes Old English *-a*:

O.E. *daga* < **ǰaǵōm* (gen. pl. *day*);

After the loss of *z* proto-Germanic *ǝ* becomes Old English *-e*:

O.E. *giefe* < **ǵeþōz* (nom. pl. *gift*);

After the loss of *n* (*m*) proto-Germanic *ǝ* becomes Old English *æ* (later *-e*):

O.E. *giefe* **ǵeþōn* (acc. sg. *gift*)

(Wright: § 217; Bülbring: 389, 390.)

44. Indo-European *o* became proto-Germanic *u* when followed by *u* in the next syllable:

O.E. *dagum* < **ǰaǵomuz* (dat. pl. *days*)

45. Proto-Germanic *a* < Indo-European *a/o* remained before *n*, but became Old English *æ* (later *e*) elsewhere in unaccented syllables:

O.E. *beran* < **beranan* (inf. *to bear*)

O.E. *hunæg/huneg*: O.H.G. *hunag* (*honey*)

(Wright: § 218, 1.)

46. Proto-Germanic *i*, from Indo-European *e*, became Old English *e* in the seventh century:

O.E. *birest* < **berisi* (2 sg. indic. *to bear*)

(Wright: § 218, 3; Bülbring: 369 (2).)

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDO-EUROPEAN CONSONANTS IN PROTO-GERMANIC

47. Indo-European seems to have had a complex consonant system, but this was considerably modified in proto-Germanic. The changes which the Indo-European consonants underwent into proto-Germanic are usually known collectively as the "First Sound Shift" or as the results of the operation of "Grimm's Law." Similar consonantal changes have been observed in Armenian. The old view was that the sound shift took place as the result of the efforts of a group of people to learn a language which was not their own original tongue. Recent opinion suggests that there is no need to assume that the shift was due to anything but the natural tendency of languages to change.

Indo-European had the following consonant system:

	<i>Labial</i> <i>stops</i>	<i>Dental</i> <i>stops</i>	<i>Palatal</i> <i>stops</i>	<i>Velars</i>	
				Pure	Labialized
Voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q^w</i>
Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g^w</i>
Aspirates					
Voiceless	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>q^wh</i>
Voiced	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>g^wh</i>
Sibilants					
Voiceless		<i>s</i>			
Voiced		<i>z</i>			
Nasals: <i>m, n, ŋ</i>					
Liquids: <i>l, r</i>					
Consonantal: <i>u</i> and <i>i</i>					

(Wright: § 229; Brugmann: § 15.)

48. The Indo-European languages fall into two groups which are called the *centum* and the *satem* groups from their treatment of the Indo-European palatal stops. In the *centum* group (Germanic, Italic, Celtic, Hellenic, Hittite, and Tokharian) the palatal stops either remain as stops or develop into sounds for which the immediately preceding stage must have been stops. In the *satem* group (Indo-Iranian, Albanian, Armenian, Balto-Slavonic) the palatal stops appear as sibilants.

I.E. *k, kh, g, gh* > Avestan *s, z, z:* P.Gmc. *χ, k, ȝ*.

The terms *centum* and *satem* are taken from the development of Indo-European **kmtóm* (hundred) which is in Latin *centum* and in Avestan *satəm*.

(Brugmann: § 380; Gray: p. 310.)

49. The Indo-European velars were of two kinds: pure velars and velars with labialization. In proto-Germanic the velars developed like the palatal stops, but the velars with labialization appear sometimes with and sometimes without labialization. Labialization seems most frequent before front vowels.

In the *satem* group there is no evidence of labialization, but the velars and the palatal stops do not fall together.

(Brugmann: § 417; Wright: § 229, note 1.)

50. In proto-Germanic the Indo-European voiceless aspirate stops developed like the voiceless stops. The development seems to have been (a) voiceless stops > voiceless aspirate stops, (b) the new voiceless aspirate stops and the Indo-European voiceless aspirate stops > voiceless spirants.

(Brugmann: §§ 541, 527; Wright: §§ 230 (5), 233; Meillet: pp. 28, 34.)

51. By the First Sound Shift the Indo-European consonants show the following changes in proto-Germanic:

- i. Indo-European *p, t, k, q, q^w, ph, th, kh, qh, q^wh* become proto-Germanic *f, þ, χ, χ^w*:

Lat. *pēs*: O.E. *fōt* (*foot*)
 Lat. *pecu*: O.E. *feoh* (*cattle*)
 Lat. *tū*: O.E. *þū* (*thou*)
 Lat. *trēs*: O.E. *þrī* (*three*)
 Armenian *šun*: Lat. *canis*: O.E. *hund* (*dog*)
 Lat. *centum*: O.E. *hund* (*hundred*)
 Lat. *quis*: O.E. *hwā* (*who*)

In proto-Germanic, Indo-European *p*, *t*, *k* remain in combination with *s*:

Lat. *spuere*: O.E. *spiwan* (*spit*)
 Lat. *hostis* (*foe*): O.E. *giest* (*guest*)
 Lat. *piscis*: O.E. *fisc* (*fish*)

Indo-European *t* remained in proto-Germanic in the combinations *pt*, *kt*, *qt*:

Lat. *octō*: O.E. *eahta* (*eight*)
 Lat. *captus*: O.E. *hæft* (*prisoner*)
 Lat. *noctis* (gen. sg.): O.E. *neahht* (*night*)

(Brugmann: §§ 342, 374, 393, 439-43; Wright: §§ 231, 233; Meillet: pp. 29, 32, 33; Lehnert: 23, 1.)

- ii. Indo-European *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *gh*, *gʰh* become proto-Germanic *þ*, *ð*, *ʒ*, *ʒʷ*.

Initial *þ* and *ð* then become *b* and *d*; and *þ*, *ð*, *ʒ*, medially after nasals, become *b*, *d*, *g*.

Skt.: *bhrātar*: O.E. *brōþor* (*brother*)
 Skt.: *jāmbhas* (*tooth*): O.E. *camb* (*comb*)
 O.E. *dæg* (*day*) < I.E. **dhoghos*
 O.E. *enge* (*narrow*) < I.E. **angh-*
 Lith. *žāsīs*: O.E. *gōs* (*goose*) < I.E. **ghans-*

(Brugmann: §§ 344, 376, 395, 439-43; Wright: § 234; Meillet: pp. 30, 32; Lehnert: 23, 2.)

- iii. Indo-European *b*, *d*, *g*, *g*, *gʷ* became proto-Germanic *p*, *t*, *k*, *kʷ*:

Lat. *labium*: O.E. *lippa* (*lip*)

Lat. *decem*: O.E. *tiēn* (*ten*)

Lat. *genu*: O.E. *cnēo* (*knee*)

Lat. *gelu* (*frost*): O.E. *ceald* (*cold*)

Lat. *venio*: O.E. *cuman* (*to come*) < I.E. *g^w*emiō-*

(Brugmann: §§ 343, 375, 394, 439, 440; Wright: § 232; Meillet: pp. 29, 31; Lehnert: 23, 3.)

52. Certain seeming exceptions to the operation of Grimm's Law were explained by the Danish philologist, Karl Verner, in 1877. For example, Old English *fæder*, from an Indo-European form with medial *t*, should have a medial voiceless dental spirant according to Grimm's Law. Also, Old English *hund*, compared with Latin *centum*, should show a voiceless dental spirant. Verner showed that, shortly after the operation of Grimm's Law, proto-Germanic stress was still free and that when the main stress did not fall on the syllable immediately preceding the voiceless spirants *f*, *s*, *þ*, *χ*, *χ^w*, they became the voiced sounds, *ð*, *z*, *ð*, *z*, *z^w*.

(Brugmann: § 530; Wright: § 238; Meillet: pp. 47-54; Lehnert: 23, 1 (Ausnahme 2).)

53. i. Indo-European *-nw-* became proto-Germanic *-nn-*:

Skt. *tanvī*: O.E. *þynne* (*thin*)

ii. Indo-European *-md-* became proto-Germanic *-nd-*:

Lat. *centum*: O.E. *hund* (*hundred*)

iii. Indo-European *-ln-* became proto-Germanic *-ll-*:

O.E. *full*: Lith. *pilnas* (*full*)

(Brugmann: § 214; Wright: § 242.)

54. i. Indo-European final *-m* became proto-Germanic *-n* and disappeared, as did final Indo-European *-n*:

O.E. *geoc*: Lat. *jugum* (*yoke*)

O.E. *wolf*: Lat. *lupum* (*wolf*)

- ii. Indo-European *t* disappeared in proto-Germanic when final, except after a short accented vowel:

O.E. *bere* (pres. subj. *to bear*): Skt. *bhárēt*

O.E. *bærun* (pret. pl. *to bear*): I.E. **bhērnt*

O.E. *hwæt*: Lat. *quod* (*what*)

- iii. Indo-European *-s* became proto-Germanic *-z* and was lost in West Germanic:

O.E. *dæg*: Goth. *dags*: O.N. *dagr* < P.Gmc. **ðazaz*
(nom. sg. *day*)

- iv. Indo-European final *-r* remains in proto-Germanic:

O.E. *fæder*: Lat. *pater* (*father*)

(Wright: § 211; Brugmann: § 214; Lehnert: 48, 1.)

55. In proto-Germanic the labials underwent certain changes, and we find an *f* where we might normally expect *w*:

O.E. *wolf* < I.E. **ulq^wós* (*wolf*)

O.E. *fīf* < I.E. **peŋq^we*.

(Brugmann: § 444.)

CHAPTER VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROTO-GERMANIC CONSONANTS IN WEST GERMANIC

56. Proto-Germanic *-z-* appears medially as West Germanic *-r-*:

Goth. *máiza* (*more*): O.E. *māra*

(Wright: § 252; Lehnert: 25, 1.)

57. Proto-Germanic *ǝ* became West Germanic *d* (Old High German *t*):

O.E. *fæder*: O.N. *faðer* (*father*)

(Wright: § 253; Lehnert: 25, 2.)

58. All single consonants except *r* were lengthened in West Germanic after a short vowel if an original *j* followed in the next syllable. In Old English the *j* was then lost, but it usually remained in Old Saxon:

O.S. *settian*: O.E. *settan* (*to place*)

Goth. *nasjan*: O.E. *nerian* (*to save*)

Goth. *dōmjan*: O.E. *dēman* (*to deem*)

(Brugmann: §§ 277, 529, 532, 535; Wright: § 254; Mossé: 31; Lehnert: 25, 3; Bülbring: 540.)

59. Proto-Germanic *p*, *t*, *k*, *h* (*χ*) were lengthened in West Germanic before *r* and *l*:

O.E. *bitter*: Goth. *báitrs* (*bitter*)

O.E. *æppel*: O.N. *epli* (*apple*)

The lengthening took place in the inflected forms and was then extended by analogy to the uninflected forms.

(Wright: § 255; Sievers: 229; Mossé: 31; Lehnert: 25, 3.)

60. Proto-Germanic *-ijj-* and *-ajj-* became Old English *-ī-* and *-ǣ-*, and between these vowels and a following vowel a consonantal glide was developed, written *g*. This *-g-* was frequently extended to uninflected forms by analogy. In Gothic the proto-Germanic *-jj-* had become *-ddj-*, and in Old Norse it became *-gg-*:

O.E. *wæg*: Goth. *waddjus*: O.N. *veggr* (*wall*)

(Wright: § 275; Bülbring: 461, says that the first *j* combined with a preceding *i* to give O.E. *ī* and combined with other preceding vowels to form a diphthong.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST GERMANIC CONSONANTS IN OLD ENGLISH

61. We have referred above (29) to the fronting of the voiceless back stop (*k*) and of the voiced back spirant (*ɣ*). This fronting is the most important development affecting the West Germanic consonants in Old English.

The fronting of (*k*) and (*ɣ*) took place

- i. initially before all primary front vowels, although the spellings *c* and *g* remain:

O.E. *cēosan*: Goth. *kīusan* (to choose)

O.E. *giefan*: Goth. *giban* (to give)

O.E. *geaf*: Goth. *gaf* (3 sg. pret. to give)

- ii. medially before an original *i/j* (later *e* or lost) and between front vowels:

O.E. *sēc(e)an*: Goth. *sōkjan* (to seek)

O.E. *dæges* (gen. sg. day)

- iii. finally, after a front vowel:

O.E. *ic*, *dæg* (*I*, *day*)

(*sk*) *sc* was fronted in Old English in all positions:

O.E. *scīnan*, *fisc*, *englisc* (*shine*, *fish*, *English*)

(Wright: §§ 309, 311, 312, 313, 316; Mossé: 33; Lehnert: 44; Bülbring: 491, 492, 493, 494, 496, 497, 498, 508; Sievers: 206.)

62. i. Between voiced sounds the voiceless spirants *f*, *s*, *þ* were voiced in Old English in the early part of the eighth century, although the spellings remain:

O.E. *wulfas*, *cēosan*, *maþm* (*wolves*, *choose*, *treasure*)

- ii. The voiced spirant (ð) is frequently represented by *d* in Old English.

(Wright: §§ 296, 302, 307; Mossé: 34; Bülbring: 474.)

63. Final (ð) became *f* in Old English, and final (ʒ) became *h*:

O.E. *hlāf*, *genōh* (*loaf*, *enough*)

(Wright: §§ 294, 323; Sievers: 206 (4); Bülbring: 488.)

64. Consonant groups were frequently simplified in Old English:

- i. *d + þ*, *t + þ* became *tt* (*t* after a preceding consonant):

O.E. *rītt* < **rīdþ* < **rīdeþ* (3 sg. pres. indic. *to ride*)

O.E. *bītt* < **bītþ* < **bīteþ* (3 sg. pres. indic. *to bite*)

- ii. *s + þ* became *st*:

O.E. *cīest* < **cīesþ* < **cīeseþ* (3 sg. pres. indic. *to choose*)

- iii. *ds* became *ts*:

O.E. *bintst* < **bindst* (3 sg. pres. indic. *to bind*)

(Wright: § 305; Mossé: 35; Sievers: 202 (4), (6), (7).)

65. Before voiceless consonants *ng* > *nc*:

O.E. *strencð* < P. Gmc. **strangiþō* (*strength*)

(Bülbring: 502.)

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