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ALDREDIANA[1] XXIII: NOTES ON THE ACCIDENCE OF THE DURHAM RITUAL[2]

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This contribution is a parallel work to my *Studies in the Accidence of the Lindis-farne Gospels*, Leeds School of English Texts and Monographs, II (1937). Here I follow, as far as possible, the order used in that publication.

Nomen

Examples of a gen. pl. in *-o* appear to be more plentiful than in L (*Studies*, p. 45): *cynno* "gentium" 2/11; 2/27; 32/1; *agyltingo* "culparum" 23/15; *saulo* "animarum" 89/30; *tido* "temporum" 37/35; "horarum" 179/28; *ðohto* "mentium" 32/5; *woruldo* "saeculorum" 3/36. In *Studies*, loc. cit. I suggested that this *-o* is an archaism. This is, however, very unlikely. Certainly the gen. pl. must have ended in *-o* in Primitive English (cf. OS *-o*), but this must be regarded as a purely prehistoric form, for it is recorded in none of the earliest texts. The true explanation is simple: since *-o* occurs beside *-a* in the nom.-acc. pl. (see below), *-o* could be used beside *-a* in the gen. pl. also.[4] In gen. pl. *wyrteno gimonge* "aromata" 3/42, this phenomenon is seen extended to the weak *-ena* also.[5]

The nominative-accusative plural. In nouns and adjectives, as well as in some numerals and pronouns, the normal ending is *-o* (cf. *Studies*, p. 101):—*sigbego* 77/38 (masc. *a*-stem); *beado* [5]; *beodo* [6]; *gibeado* 7/11; *gibeodo* 14/36; 41/23 (short neut. *a*-stem); *bano* 177/29 (long neut. *a*-stem); *netto* 117/4 (short neut. *ja*-stem); *uoedo* 5/6 (long neut. *ja*-stem); *geafo* [8] (short *ō*-stem); *laro* 22/40 (long *ō*-stem); *synno* [5] (short *jō*-stem); *dælo* 65/25 (long masc. *i*-stem); *boeno* 40/27; 72/8 (long fem. *i*-stem); *witgo* 83/9 (masc. *n*-stem); *hearto* 177/5; 182/10 (fem. *n*-stem); *broðro* [4] (*r*-stem); *godo* [4] (*a*/*ō*-adj.);[6] *tuoego* 192/25; *teno* 193/19; 193/21; *nængo* 59/21; *oðro* [4]; *oðero* 107/17.

Some other endings of this case should be mentioned.

(*a*) The endingless form is confined, as is normal in OE and in L, to long neut. *a*-stems: *hors* 119/16; 119/28; *scip* 9/40; 10/3; *scip* 9/34; *suin* 119/16; *ðing* [3].

(*b*) The ending *-as* is, nearly exclusively, confined to its regular sites. Masc. *a*-stems: *acras* 146/6; *accras* 118/24; *cnæhtas* 101/34; *cnaihtas* 102/27; *cyningas* [4]; *domas* 10/10; *lecedomas* [4]; *farras* 107/21; *fuglas* 147/25; *heartas* "ceruos" 117/25; *heofnas* [4]; *rapas* 117/4; 117/14; *streamas* 1/21; *tanas* (a.f. *danas*) 95/21; *ðegnas* [7]; *uallas* 124/3; *dorweardas* 193/39—also, presumably, *bulas* "murenulas" 4/3. (Latin loan-words: *Crecas* 194/17; *measap'stas* 194/19; *reglas* 199/5; *regulas* 199/11; *sacerdas* [3]; *salmas* 184/6; 184/20;). Old long *i*-stems: *gestas* 82/30; *wyrmas* 118/33; *wᵘyrmas* 145/19. Old *s*-stem: *gastas* 192/31. Long *ja*-stem: *esnas* [8]. Suffix *-ere: ceigeras* 194/1; *godspelleras* 83/9; *hergeras* 124/17; *rederas* 194/1; *of'insceawras* 194/25; *ðrouras* 62/30; 75/34. Cf. also *waras* 44/19;

61/14; *halgauaras* ˈ92/10; *halgawaras* 47/26—see Campbell, §610.7. But, in a few cases the ending has been extended, as in L (*Studies*, p. 100), to other classes: *bearnas* 110/9 (long neut. *a*-stem); *bloedsungas* 126/1 (*ō*-stem, fem.); *fiondas* 23/38; 44/28 (*nd*-stem).[7]

(c) The ending -*a* (*Studies*, p. 101) is fairly common in all classes of nouns, and in adjectives; it also occurs in some numerals and pronouns. Masc. *a*-stem: *sgytila* 171/41. Long neut. *a*-stems: *mægna* 122/14; *worda* 55/18; *wundra* 51/5; *wᵘndra* 77/19. Short neut. *a*-stem: *lioma* [4]. Neut. -*en*-suffix: *netna* 125/33. Long *ō*-stems: *mearda*[8] 18/5; *uorulda* [3]; *worulda* 60/31; 110/29; -*ung*- -*ing*-suffix: *cunnunga* 110/1; *earnunga* [4]; *ðoncunga* 14/3; 117/6; *ðoncunca* 45/5; *gyltinga* 167/33. Short *jō*-stems: *sibba* 108/19; *synna* [3]; *hehsynna* 5/16. Fem. -*en*-suffix: *wacana* 63/34. -*ess*-suffix: *cefissa* 68/42. Long fem. *u*-stem: *honda* 115/5. Root-stem: *fota* 168/11.[9] In some of these cases the -*a* could be old; cf., for instance, nom. acc. pl. WS *giefa, lāra, synna, handa*. Adjectives (all classes):—*ætt'na* 125/31; *gidegla* 46/40; *feerræsenda* 125/31; *ðorfæsta* 91/27; *woghfulla* 116/17; *gearua* 107/21; *leafa* [4]; *leofa* 28/17; *dioublica* 103/1; *diublica* 170/13; *eastrolica* 30/23; *eastorlica* 31/32; *ecelica* 46/22; 174/33; *biliorendlica* 170/11; *gisceððendlica* 118/33; *fadorlica* 45/1; *gilomlica* 64/30; *næhtlica* 171/39; *oestlica* 54/18; *ondueardlica* 170/11; *toueardlica* 170/11; *micla* 43/37; 77/19; *gimetomicla* 50/11; *niua* 80/3; *stronga* 50/13; *gitriua* 84/15; *yfla* 18/33; 56/19. In part, this adjectival -*a* could be old too; cf. nom. acc. pl. fem. WS *blinda, wilda*.

(d) The old adjectival ending nom. acc. pl. masc. WS -*e* hardly exists at all. Only: *deade* 48/7; *hæghale* 124/15; *engellice* 71/37; *giðoncle* 4/24; ppart. *asuoencte* 43/29; ppart. *asuoencde* 7/1.[10] Except for *alle*, which occurs 50 times; this form is also extremely frequent in L. For its explanation see *Studies*, p. 108.

The accusative singular of feminine nouns. In OE generally the acc. sg. of long fem. *i*-stems is regularly endingless (OE *ēst* = Gothic *anst*), whereas that of the *ō*- and *jō*-stems, long or short, has the ending -*e*: WS *wræce* [Gothic *wraka*], WS *bōte* [Gothic *bota*], WS *sibbe* [Gothic *sibja*], WS *bende* [Gothic *bandi*]. In the long fem. *i*-stems, Aldred has the regular endingless form:—*ðio cuoen* [Gothic *qens*] "reginam" 134*ra*22; *ðy cwoen* "do." 21*va*5–6; *heht hine ðe hlaferd* . . .*f'guᵘlde reht l eofut l scyld* [OHG *sculd*] "iussit eum dominus . . . reddi debitum" Mt 18, 25; *ðone scyld f'geaf him* "debitu' dimisit ei" Mt 18, 27; *wið he gulde þ scyld* "donec redderet debitum" Mt 18, 30; *eghuelc scyld f'geaf ic ðe* "omne debitum dimisi tibi" Mt 18, 32; *sceauiges l locas l behaues ðæt wyrt* [Gothic *waúrts*] "considerate lilia" Mt 6, 28; *gie teiᵍðas* . . . *ælc wyrt* "decimatis . . . omne holus" Lk 11, 42; *mæht* [Gothic *mahts*] "potestatem" 23/38; 100/31; 121/17; *oest* "deuotionem" 15/1; 49/4; 65/1; 104/4; 104/35; *tid* [Ic *tíð*] "horam" 170/15; *tíd* "ʜᴏʀᴀᴍ" 183/29; *tid non* "ʜᴏʀᴀᴍ ɴᴏɴᴀᴍ" 184/8; *symbbeltid* "solempnitatem" 2/27. By analogy, an endingless form also occurs in the *ō*- and *jō*-stems; see *Studies*, p. 119. Ritual examples:—*hall* [Ic *holl*] "aulam" 66/2; *sauel* [Gothic *saiwala*] "animam" 5/22; 10/24; 171/15; 172/27; 175/17; *sawel* "do." 5/22; *stefn* [Gothic *stibna*] "uocem" 47/22; *ðerh allne woruld* [Ic *verold*] "per omne seculum" 163/25; *agnung* "possessionem" 190/11; *onbasnung* "expectationem" 4/34; *bloedsung* "benedictionem" 88/14; 96/23; 147/23; *bloetsung* "do." 79/28; 97/20; 117/25; *geadrung* "copulam" 109/19; *heolstrung* "caliginem" 182/35; *tohigung* "affectum" 7/27; *pinung* "penam" 109/27; 123/26; *ymbsceawung* "circumspectionem" 46/5; *sprædung* "propagationem" ·109/4; *giðafung* "consensum" 113/34; *erning* "cursum" 179/24; *ymbwoending*

"uegetationem" 17/1, 3; *stól* [l.w.f. Latin *stola*] "stolam" 45/29; *sibb* "pacem" 13/21; 94/35; 110/25; 164/24; *sib* "do." 39/40; 90/20; 176/19.

, *Genitive singular -as* (*Studies*, p. 54): cf. *neirxnauongas gǽtto* "paradisi portas" 124/7.

. "*DAY*" (*Studies*, p. 57). Corresponding to the aberrant L nom. acc. sg. *dǽge*, we have *dǽgi* "dies" 11/31; 109/17; 198/36, with *gi* written for *ge* as is normal in Ritual (e.g. in the prefix *gi-*); the weak gen. pl. *dagana* occurs three times.

"*WAY*" (*Studies*, pp. 58–59). A form corresponding to L nom. acc. sg. *u(o)ege* does not occur. But cf. gen. pl. *woegena* 107/35.

ja-stems (*Studies*, pp. 59 ff.). The weak form *hiorda*, occurring in L, is not found in Ritual. *iorre* [8][11] corresponds to WS *ierre*; it might be suggested that *iorra* for this, occurring four times, is a parallel weak form; but the *-a* is certainly due to that of Latin *ira*, which it glosses (28/21, 28/33, 41/3, 170/23); the Latin influence is even more marked in *irra* "ira" 12/35. The obscure, endingless *ric*[12] (for WS *rice*) is the only non-oblique form of the word found in Ritual: *ríc* [4]; *ríc* 60/31; 107/13.

Short ō-stems (*Studies*, pp. 61–63). A number of Ritual forms correspond to those found elsewhere in OE. For instance:—*gefe* "gratiam" 4/32, 11/23, 13/13, 17/31, 18/25, 23/40, 30/9, 33/26, 41/37, 42/29, 81/41, 82/1, 88/20, 91/39, 95/31, 97/4, 98/14, 117/16; "dono" 31/7; 95/12; 105/17; "gratia" (abl. sg.) 27/23, 38/21, 42/23, 43/35, 48/36, 60/9 (2), 108/25;[13] "gratiæ," "gratie" (gen. sg.) 7/19, 8/7, 22/1, 23/20, 37/1, 37/39, 71/40, 96/17, 98/3, 99/16, 100/1, 111/18, 121/34, 145/27, 192/23; "largitatis" 117/6; *geafa* "dona" 87/38; *lufe* "amore" 50/6; "fide" 58/35; 188/25; *sceome* "confusione" 27/31; *ondsuære* "sententiam" 109/29. Further:—*geafo* [= WS *giefu*] "donum" 28/7; *lufu* "dilectio" 6/36; 90/31; "caritas" 163/40; "karitas" 189/35; *godes lufu* "caritas" 6/24; *broðerlufu* "do." 6/26. Since the nom. and acc. are not distinct in the fem. sg. (see above), the nom. form can here be used for the acc.:—*lufu* "amorem" 30/11; 72/22; 86/7; "fidem" 36/9; 38/1; 48/14; 82/21. *geafa* "gratia" 3/26 and *sceoma* "obprobrium" 190/29 could be weak forms; cf. also *geafa* "gratiam" 12/29; 73/15; "oblationem" 12/15; *of lufa* "ex fide" 2/5; *sceoma* "calumniam" 102/11.[14] *geafana ðoncunga* "gratias" 117/6: for the analogical weak gen. pl. see p. 57. *geafona* "donorum" 95/35; 97/8; *geafona ðoncungo* "gratias" 38/5; *geafona ðoncunca* "do." 45/5; *geafona ðoncunco* "do." 124/11:[15] *geafona* from *geafana* + nom. sg. *geafo;* similarly gen. sg. *geafæ* "gratiæ"[16] 4/22 from *gefe* + nom. sg. *geafo*. Gen. sg. *lufu* occurs three times (beside *lufes* [7]): *lufu* "dilectionis" 95/27; *godes lufu* "caritatis" 64/13; 7 *godes lufu* "caritatisque" 93/5. Its origin is not clear.

Abstract nouns in -iþō- (*Studies*, pp. 63–64). The forms *fro' frymðe* "auorigine" [? read "ab origine"] 98/1; *fro' fry'ðe* "ab initio" 68/19; *gisihðe* "uisum" 58/15; *on gisihðe* "in uisu" 116/3. The forms *wrǽðdo* "indignatio" 12/35; *wrǽðo* "ira" 11/1; *wrǽðde* "indignationis" 43/23 are normal, but in the following forms *-ðo* has been extended to cases other than the nom.—(similar examples are found in L): *wrǽðdo* "indignationem" 42/15; *in wrǽðdo* "in iniuria" 105/9; *wrǽððo* "indignationis" 40/37; 42/33; *urǽððo* "do." 41/17; "iracundie" 15/25; *uraðdo* "iracundiæ" 8/37.

"EARTH" (*Studies*, pp. 64–65). The abnormal forms in *-ðu -ðo* found in L do not occur in Ritual, in which the word has the forms normal in Aldred's weak declension.

Long ō-stems (*Studies*, pp. 65 ff.).
   (i)   *dat. sg. -a: mersunga* "celebritate" 73/30.
   (iv) There is, in Ritual, no evidence for a weak form beside the strong *meard.*
   (v)   There is one clear example of the weak *rōda: crist hroda his gebær* "christus crucem suam portauit" 198/16.
   (vi) *stoue* "locus" 70/23 is a clear example of the weak form.
   (vii) On *ðiua* 103/28 see *NQ*, CCXIII, 407.
The nouns in "-ness" (*Studies*, pp. 70 ff.). In Ritual the suffix is almost invariably *-nisse* or *-nise* (cf. however *frumsettnesse* 123/16), and the gen. sing. in *-es* coexists with that in *-e*. Here, in contradistinction to his practice in L, Aldred has no feeling against *-es: miltheartnisses* "misericordiæ" 13/33, beside *miltheartnise* "do." 41/5.

Short masculine i-stems (*Studies*, pp. 75 ff.). With the exception of *tocyme* "aduentum" 105/39; *ðerh tocyme* "per aduentum" 102/21, the form of the nom.-acc. sg. is endingless: *met*[17] 105/11; *sig* [5]) *f'awlit* 4/13; *megewlit* 1/19.

The nouns in "-ship" (*Studies*, pp. 77–78). Forms with and without final *-e* are found: *gicorenscipe* "excellentiam" 54/20; *hogascip* "prudentiá" 81/14.

The u-stems (*Studies*, pp. 79 ff.). As in L *sunu* occurs both as gen. sg. "filii" 23/5, 114/28, 147/5, 147/19, 147/27 and as nom.-acc. pl. "do." 12/11.

The n-stems. The state of affairs is very similar to that found in L (*Studies*, pp. 82 ff.), *-a* ∼ *-e* being normal throughout the sg. of both the masc. and fem. paradigm: *noma* [10] ∼ *nome* [36]; *hearta* [4] ∼ *hearte* [11]. But, as will be seen from these two examples—cf. also *lichoma* [5] *lichʰoma* 6/7; *licho'a* 13/5 ∼ *lichome* [23]; *licho'e* 29/28; *licome* 109/15 — *-e* is proportionately much more frequent than in L. For the feminines it could be suggested that this was due to identity with WS *-e* in the nom. sing. (see n. 84, 1), but the fact that *-e* is also frequent in the masc. runs counter to this view. As in L, *-o* is rare in the non-abstract *n*-nouns: *mego* "amica" 4/1; 4/7; *of sido* "de latere" 115/3; *ondwlioto* "faciem" 19/21; but occurs in the abstract *uillo* [3]—and cf. *geleafo* 194/35. "Easter" (*Studies*, p. 87) is *eastro* 25/15. "Eye" does not occur in the sg. (cf. *Studies*, p. 88).

The r-stems. Nom. acc. pl. *dohtoro* 68/40 is trisyllabic (*Studies*, pp. 90–1) as against nom. acc. pl. *broðro* [4]; *rehtgibroðro* "germanos" 57/8. Dat. sg. *moeder* 126/15 is regular (*Studies*, pp. 91–92). Nom. acc. sg. *broðer* [4]; *moder* 3/24; 45/23; *dohter* 111/12 have IndE *-ēr* (*Studies*, pp. 92–93), as against *broðor* 170/9 =WS *brōþor*. Ritual has nom. acc. sg. *fæder* [26]; *fæd'* 195/10; *faeder* [7]; *faed'* 164/26; *fader* 76/26; gen. sg. *fadores* [6]; *fador'* [8]; *fado'* 147/19; *fædor'* 164/3; *fæder'* 27/19; gen. pl. *fadora* 181/25; dat. pl. *faedoru'* 36/23. Cf. *Studies*, pp. 93 ff. Dat. sg. *feder* [10]; *fæder* 100/13; 182/12; *feder* (a.f. *fæder*) 14/5; 28/9; and gen. pl. *fædera* 194/41 are regular. On *fadorlic* see *Ald*, XV, 366–67.

nd-stems. The endingless form is very frequent in Ritual. Apart from *fiond* [7]; *friond* 108/3; *hælend* [14]; *scæppend* [4]; *scæpend* 180/8; *sceppend* 65/15; 99/16; *scepend* 33/15; (*fru'sceppend* 122/10; *fru'scepend* 16/19)—all very common words in OE generally—we have:—*byend* 98/8; *inbyend* 104/32; *ondælend* 103/38; *micildoend* 45/14; 122/12; *doemend* 35/7; 35/9; *endefæstend* 27/29; *f'efroefrend* 190/17; *gefend* [3]; *f'gefend* 5/10; *gyltend* 189/3; *haldend* [5]; *helpend* [6]; *rehtlefend* 116/44; *lesend* [3]; *eftlesend* 126/21; *inlihtend* 2/11; *lufend* 102/17; *104/34; *milsend* [4]; *rædend* 108/16; *ricsend* 26/33; 164/10; *ricsand*[18] 102/15;

scildend 15/28; 98/6; *sellend* [4]; *sendend* 100/35; *sprecend* 107/11; 176/17; *ðorfend* 175/33; *unnend* 5/10; *wyrcend* 10/22; 29/7.

The remaining declensions

s-stems. "Calf" (*Studies*, pp. 96–97) has nom. acc. pl. *calfero* 119/28; gen. pl. *calfᵉra* 21/12. "Lamb" (Campbell, §635) has nom. acc. sg. *lomb* 113/10; 169/19; nom. acc. sg. *lemb* 47/14; 47/36; gen. sg. *lombes* 24/40; 48/1; *leⁱᵒmbes* 70/37.

"*MAN*" (*Studies*, pp. 97–99): acc. sg. *monno* occurs five times.

The s-genitive. Analogical extension is wide-spread in Ritual as in L (*Studies*, p. 99):—*gefes* [4] (short *ō-stem*); *frofres* 38/31; 41/35 (long *ō-stem*); *ricsunges* 174/19; 179/13 (*-ung*-suffix); *sibbes* [12] (short *jō-stem*); *dedes* 49/32 (long fem. *i*-stem); *lichomes* [17] (masc. *n*-stem); *earðes* 55/36; 118/3; *eorðes* 169/11 (fem. *n*-stem, see p. 56).

Weak genitive plural. The extension of this to strong nouns (*Studies*, p. 101) is very usual:—*bodana* 95/35; 97/8; *giciidana* 164/18; *cnehtana* 184/27; *dedana* 32/5; *gættana* 59/21; *godana* "deorum" 101/10; *liomana* 32/15; 116/19; *tidana* 98/1; *toðana* 108/9; *ðingana* 191/27; *ðrouerana* 44/32; *windana* 192/35; *wyrtana*[19] 3/40.[20]

Adjectival -ra. As in L (*Studies*, n. 240), this is sometimes found in the gen. pl. of nouns:—*fæstinra* "ieiuniorum" 8/21; *hehstaldra* "uirginum" 113/16.

The Adjective

The regular acc. sg. fem. in *-e* is rare:—*eadge hia bodadon* "beatissimam eam predicauerunt" 68/40, 42; *liffæste ł   rod* "uiuificam crucem" 94/1; *uisfæste ...fylnise* "perfectam ... plentitudinem" 105/30; *micle milsa* "magnam misericordiam" 167/37; *smylte ... arfæstnise* "sinceram ... pietatem" 48/28.

As in L (*Studies*, p. 106), there are a number of examples of a nom. sg. in *-o -a* in congruence with nouns originally fem.:—*ða bloedsunge sald bið ða ana* ... "ea benedictione donatur quę sola ..." 109/25, 27; *nængo ... uiðerwordnise* "nulla ... aduersitas" 8/28; *nængo ... unrehtnise* "nulla ... iniquitas" 8/29, 31; *nængo woerding* "nulla lesio" 102/9; *culfra mino uisfæsto* "columba mea perfecta" 68/38; *god ðæm eadga cecil'* ... *gicuoemde* "deus cui beata cæcilia ... conplacuit" 77/32, 34; *halga godes sunucenn' deað undereade* "sancta dei genetrix mortem subiit" 66/24; *gitriwa 7 hygdedo gimungia* "fidelis et casta nubat" 109/33, 35; *cirica ... oestigo ðerhwunige* "æcclesia ... deuota permaneat" 72/13, 17; *þte haluoend' ... sie ... giscildado* "ut salubritas ... sit ... defensa" 122/3, 5, 7; *ne is giscyrtedo hond driht'* "non est adbreuiata manus domini" 5/28; *æfæstnis' ... unawoemmedo* "religio ... inmaculata" 29/11; *suoelce cedrisc wynsumændo am* "quasi cædrus exalta sum" 65/31.[21]

The form is also found in the acc. sg. fem.:—*hælgo ... symbel'* "sanctam ... sollemnitatem" 85/41; *hælgo wyrðo æc ðin bloedsunge* "sanctam dignamque tuam benedictionem" 110/34; *æft' micla miltheartnis'* "secundum magnam misericordiam" 24/28; *ðerh ðinra micla miltheartnisse* "per tuam magnam misericordiam" 179/28; *ðu doest ðerhunia unuoemmedo* "facias permanere inmaculatam" 104/18, 20; *sawel awoerdedo ... ðu gifyllᵈest* "animam afflictam repleueris" 5/22, 24.

There are a few examples of the dat. sg. masc.-neut. in *-e* (*Studies*, p. 106):— *nænge in styde* "nusquam" 165/3; *mið gaste rummode* "cum spiritu paraclito" 165/13; *ru'mode ... fultu'me* "benigno ... auxilio" 15/21; *on dæg yfle* "in die

malo" 175/33, 35; *oferdoene ł   nǣhtes ru'e* "transacto noctis spatio" 36/35; *lehtes ahefene tüngle* "lucis orto sidere" 162/17.

Numerals

"*ONE*". *enne of ðǣm ne bið gebrocen* "unum ex his non conteretur" 177/29, 31. In L *enne* occurs as a nom. (*Studies*, n. 280 and cf. *userne* p. ooo, below), and this could be a Ritual example of the use; but it has little force, for Aldred could so easily have taken "unum" as acc.

"*TWO*". *tuu* 106/32; *tuoegra* "duorum" 115/28—see *Studies*, pp. 108–109.

"*THREE*". *ðrio·*[5]; *ðria* 102/27;[22] gen. *ðrea* 2/15; 184/25—see my discussion, *Britannica: Festschrift für Hermann M. Flasdieck*, pp. 218–219; dat. *ðriim* 100/20—see *Studies*, pp. 110–112.

"*FOUR*". The Aldredian forms are diverse but essentially straightforward; they are however rendered non-transparent, first, by the Aldredian correspondent of WS *ēow* of *fēower* being *euw*, written *ew*, and, secondly, by the "*u*-orthographies" (see *Ald*, XI). In the non-oblique case *-e -o* of the nomen is sometimes added.

(A) Corresponding to WS *fēower* we have:—L *feower* [4]; *feowero* 89*vb*; L *feowerteno* [3]; *feouer* Col 2'3; 47/16; *feouer* (a.f. *feoure*) Lk 2, 37; *feouerteno* 145/9; *fewer* 4*rb*24; Mt 24, 31; *fewer* (a.f. *fewera*) 7*rb*13;[23] *fewere* 6*va*1; *fewero* 5*ra*11;[24] L *feuer* [5]; *feuero* J 4, 35; *feoer*[o25] 104/14; and *feoerdoger*[26] J 11, 39; *feuoer*[27] J 19, 23.

(B) Corresponding to OHG *feor* (van Helten, p. 95) we have:—*feor* [5]; 113/10; *ðerh feor'* "per. IIII." 113/20; *feoro* 47/28; *feoro* (a.f. *feorti*) 47/30; *fearfald*[28] Lk 19, 8.

Further, (C), by confusion of (A) and (B), probably in the main orthographic:—*feuor* J 11, 17; *mið feour'* "cum quattuor" 146/21.[29]

I discuss "forty" in *TPS*, 1954, 127–128; Aldred's forms are:—(A) *feowertig* Mt 4, 2; *feouertig* 47/16; *feoertig* (see n. 25) Mk 1, 13; (B) *feortig* [5]; 47/30; *feortih*[30] Lk 4, 2; dat. *feortigu'* 104/14; *feort'* ".XL." 113/10; (C) dat. *feourtigum* 146/21.[31]

"*SEVEN*." *Preliminary remarks.* (1) In general *n* is lost in this word when final[32] but is otherwise preserved;[33] (2) *eo* is sometimes written *e*;[34] (3) *-o -a -e* is sometimes added in the non-oblique case (cf. "*FOUR*" above).

The forms occurring can now be explained in the following way:—

(A) < **seβun* (> OSw *siū*—van Helten, pp. 100–101):—L *seofo* [12]; *seofo* (a.f. *seofona*) 22*ra*3; Mt 12, 45; Mk 8, 5; *seofo* (a.f. *seofone*) Mt 15, 36; *seofo* (a.f. *seofuna*) 7*vb*15; *seofo* (a.f. *seofa*)[35] Mk 8, 20; L *seofono* [4]; L *seofona* [3]; dat. *seofonu'* Mt 22, 28; *sefo* Mt 18, 21; *hundseofontig* Lk 10, 1; Lk 10, 17; 113/20; *undseofontig* 135*rb*14; *undseofontig* (er. f. *hundseofontig*) 132*rb*13; dat. *unseofontigu'*[36] 133*vb*1; dat. *seofu'*[37] 20*ra*16; *hundseofuntig* 22*rb*22; Mt 18, 22; dat. *unseofuntigu'* 4*rb*15; 133*vb*4; *unsefuntig* 4*ra*7.

(B) *seofa(n* from *seofo(n + ǣhta*:[38]—L *seofa* [9]; *seofana* Mk 8, 20; dat. *seofanu'* 207*vb*17; *seofanfallice* 191/45.[39]

"*EIGHT*."

(A) Corresponding to WS *eahta*:—*ǣhta* 192/9; *hundðǣhtatih* (see n. 30), Lk 2, 37.

(B) *ǣhto* from *ǣhta + seofo*:—L *ǣhto* [7]; *aehto* 192/11.

(C) Corresponding to Tatian[40] *ahtu*:—*eahtu*[41] 205*ra*7; *ǣhtuu*[42] 207*vb*11;

the upper alternative of *æht^{u}o*[43] J 20, 26; *æht^u* Col 22—which must be emended to **æhtu*, since **æht* is an impossible form. (With *aehtou* Lk 13, 4, cf. OHG *hatouui = ahtouui*.)[44]

"*TEN.*" The Aldredian forms are of two kinds, (A) *tẹa*, or, with preserved *-n*, *tẹan*;[45] and (B) *tẹno* and *-tẹne* of the teens, with nominal ending;[46] (B) has clearly to be brought into connection with WS *tien*, *-tiene*.

(A) presents no difficulties: *tẹa = OHG zẹhan* exactly as inf. *fẹa = OHG gi-fẹhan* (for which see *TPS*, 1968, 85). We thus have *1.1*[47] **texan > 1.2 *texån > 1.3 *teoxån > 1.4 *teaxan > 1.5 *texan > 1.6 tẹa(n.*[48]

(B) *Explanation (i)*. The usual explanation of WS *ie* and non-WS *ẹ* is that they are due to *i*-umlaut in a form deriving from **texani*.[49] This would indeed account for the *ẹ*, and thus for the Aldredian form:—*2.1 *texani > 2.2 *texani > 2.3 *texåni > 2.4b *teoxåni > 2.5b *teoxæni > 2.6b *texæni > 2.7b tẹn(-*, but not for the WS form:—*2.3 *texåni > 2.4a *teuxåni > 2.5a *teuxæni > 2.6a *tẹuni > 2.7a *tẹon(-*.

Explanation (ii). A form **texuni*, easy to justify (cf. van Helten, p. 105) would account for the WS form:—*3.1 *texuni > 3.2 *tixuni*[50] *> 3.3 *tixuni > 3.4 *tiuxuni > 3.5a *tiexyni*[51] *> 3.6a *tiexini > 3.7a tien(-*, but not for the Aldredian form:—*3.4 *tiuxuni > 3.5b *tiuxyni > 3.6b *tiuxini > 3.7b *tixini > 3.8b *tin(-*.

Explanation (iii). Assumption of the post-umlaut interaction *1.3 *teoxån + 3.4b *tiuxyni > 4.1b *teoxyni > 4.2b *texyni > 4.3b tẹn(-* would account for the Aldredian form.

Explanation (iv). Assume the special assimilation evidenced in OS *tehin (-fald)*—van Helten, p. 105; then *5.1 *texini* (too late to become **tixini* with *e > i* before a following *i*) *> 5.2b *teoxini*. Assume next that there is no *i*-umlaut of *eo*.[52] Then *5.2b *teoxini > 5.3b *texini > 5.4b tẹn(-*. This would account for the Aldredian form, but not for the WS form:—*5.1 *texini > 5.2a *teuxini > 5.3a *tẹuni > 5.4a *tẹon(-*.

It is clearly not desirable that the WS and Aldredian forms should be derived from two different proto-forms. Explanations (i) and (iv) are thus to be rejected and Explanations (ii) and (iii), which are both based on the proto-form **texuni*, accepted.

We are now in a position to enumerate the Aldredian forms.

(A) *tea* [7]; 193/19; *hundteantig* 92va9; *hundteantih* (see n. 30) Lk 16, 6; *hundtean'* Lk 16, 7; Lk 24, 13;[53] L *hunteantig* [5]; gen. *hunteantiges* 93ra2; 105/17; dat. *hunteantigum* 193/13.[54]

(B)—*4.3b tẹn(-* :—*teno* [11]; 193/19; 193/21;[55] *tene* 134va19; L dat. *tenu'* [5]; L *feowerteno* [3]; *feouerteno* 145/9; dat. *fiftenum* J 11, 18.

Dat. *teu'* Lk 14, 31 is simply made on *tẹa*. Dat. *tew^{u}m* Mt 25, 1: upper alternative *wu* for [u] *(Ald, XI, 131)*,[56] lower, *w* for [u] *(Ald, ibid.)*.[57]

Pronoun

Personal

For the acc. and dat. of the pronouns of the first and second persons, cf. my discussion *Ald*, XVII, 22–34. On the third person, cf. Ross, "The nom. acc. sg. fem. and the nom. acc. pl. of the Anglo-Frisian *hi*-pronoun," *LSE* IV, 14–23 (which includes mention of gen. pl. *hiara*).

userne occurs as nom. sg. in Ritual just as it does in L *(Studies*, n. 280) e.g. *scildend userne* "protector noster" 15/28; *hælend userne* "saluator noster" 33/10.

In the sg. possessive of the first two persons there are a number of Aldredian examples of -*ra* (: WS -*re*) in the dat. sg. fem.; similar examples also occur in "one" and "all":—*to suiðra minra* "ad dexteram meam" Mt 20, 23; *to swiðra minra* "ad dextera' meam" Mk 10, 40; *of dohter ðinra* "de filia tua" Mk 7, 29; *an to suiðre ðinra 7 oðer to wynstra ðinra* "unus ad dexteram tuam et alius ad sinistram tua' " Mk 10, 37; *hælgia ðinra arfæstnisse* "sanctificare tua pietate" 121/3, 5; *in anra hyht* "in sola spe" 17/7; *of allra heorte 7 of allra ondget 7 of allra sawele 7 alra strengo* "ex toto corde et ex toto intellectu et ex tota anima et ex tota fortitudine" Mk 12, 33; *of allra heorta ðin 7 of allra sauele ðin* "ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua" Lk 10, 27; *alra lufu* "tota dilectione" 90/22; *on allra hearta* "in toto corde" 125/13. This ending -*ra* is not genuine; it is often due to the copying of a Latin -*a* (cf. Mk 12, 33 above, where, clearly, the -*ra* starts in imitation of the two *totas*), sometimes to the -*a* of a preceding form (*suiðra,* above)—and cf. further *ðerh ðinra micla miltheartnisse* "per tuam magnam misericordiam" 179/28.[58]

In Ritual, *ðinræ* is equally non-genuine and due to the Latin it glosses, "tuæ," "tuae," "tue"—gen. sg.:—37/1, 37/41, 40/23, 40/35, 41/5, 41/15, 41/21, 42/27, 42/33, 43/23, 67/24, 71/35, 77/24, 80/24, 93/3, 98/20, 99/37, 103/17, 105/35, 106/2, 120/9, 124/34, 125/7, 125/19, 173/3; dat. sg.:—38/35, 67/31, 74/12, 80/17, 173/21, 176/9[59]—as against regular *ðinre:* gen. sg. "tuæ" 117/6; "tuae" 95/27; dat. sg. "tuæ" 47/9; *ðu ðe . . . ðinre f'esceaunge gisundradest* "qui . . . tua prouidentia destinasti" 56/30, 32. There is thus a marked scribal preference[60] for *ðinræ.*[61]

The definite article (*Studies,* pp. 115–117). *t*-forms occur as in L: *ðe,* passim; nom. sg. fem. *ðiu* [3]; *ðio* [23]. Nom. sg. fem. *ðy* and acc. sg. masc. *ðene,* found in L, do not occur in Ritual (cf. n. 84, 2). Acc. sg. masc. *ðon* appears to be present in *ðio aerist lif gisilið ece þ l ðon mæhte ongeatta l wᵘtta ondueardne* "quę prius uitam prestitit sempiternam quam posset nosse presentem" 48/28, 30.

"*THIS*": see my discussion in *NQ,* CCXII, 284–288.

"*WHICH*" and "*SUCH*" (*Ald,* II, 282):—Ritual has -)*huoelc*(- [26]: *suæhuælc* 116/19; *suoelce* [26]: *soelce* (on *o* for [w] see n. 25) [3]: *suælce* [6].

Syncretism and case-fission

On the use of the acc. for the dat. in Ritual see *Ald,* XVII, 34–43 and cf. n. 84, 3.

In the fem. sg. of the pronoun of the third person and the definite article the distinction between gen. and dat., well—but not completely—maintained in L, is also maintained in Ritual:—gen. *hire* [12]: dat. *hir* 70/9; 105/7; gen. *ðære* [6]; *ðaere* 50/22: dat. *ðær* [24]—with the exception of ".viii. KL' APR'L' ADNUNTIO SC'E MARIE" . . . *þte . . . hir mið ðec ðingungum ue sie aholpen* "ut . . . eius aput te intercessionibus adiuuemur." 51/27, 32, 34; and "Nº FEB' SC'E AGATHE VIR" . . . *þte . . . ðerh ðær to ðe biseno gistepe ue* "ut . . . per eius ad te exempla gradiamur" 51/4, 7, 9.

Verb

The first singular present indicative. The normal ending is -*o* (*astigo* 181/7; *sello* 1/7; *bego* 6/7), except in the second weak class, in which it is -*igo* (*wuldrigo* 6/14), and, beside it, -*iga* (*Studies,* p. 143):—*giwiga* 116/32; *halsiga* 117/34;

gihalsiga 120/32; *uniga* 65/15.[62] In *TPS*, 1968, 71–73, I establish an altern-
ative Aldredian ending *-e* (= WS *-e*). To my examples there I now add three
from Ritual:—*to allu' suæ huidder ic s e n d e ðec ðu gæst 7 allo ða ðe ic b i b e a d e*
... "ad omnia quae mittam te ibis et uniuersa quę mandauero ..." ' 55/10,
12; *ic bidde ðec* "rogo te" 116/30, 32.

-s ∼ -ð.

As is well-known, Aldred uses *-s* beside *-ð* in the 3rd sg. and pl. of the pres.
ind. His *s*-endings have been much discussed; see especially L. Blakeley,
"The Lindisfarne s/ð problem", *StN*, XXII, 15–47, R. Berndt, *Form und
funktion des verbums im nördlichen spätaltenglischen* and my review of the latter
EPS, VIII, 45–47; and cf. n. 84, 4.

In Ritual the *s*-endings are not very frequent, being forty-eight in number:—
beres "portabit" 10/18; *ondredes* "timet" 45/21; *gifæres* "progreditur" 69/2;
ageldes "reddet" 60/21; *haldes* "optinet" 46/28; *gihaldes* "obtinet" 87/22;
gistondes "adsistitur" 71/13; *fylges* "SEQUITUR" 171/27; *giheres* "deseruit"
125/23; *gilefes* "credit" 28/5; *gerestes* "requiescit" 196/13; *gisendes* "miserit"
102/37; *of'suiðas* "exsuperat" 177/3; *ymwoendes* "auerterit" 10/20; *unnas*
"manet" 177/15; *ue ondredes* "timemus" 125/13; *faras gie* "exite" 21/3; *fleas*
"fugite" 106/34; *ue bigeongas* "colimus" 44/26; "percolimus" 57/15; *gie
stondas* "statis" 60/1; *ue biddas* "deprecamur" 68/6; 123/26; "precamur"
41/3; "præcamur" 146/15; "exoramus" 93/23; "poscimus" 180/8; *we biddas*
"quesumus" 2/19; *we biddas suæ* "quasi" 191/7; *ue gibiddas* "deprecamur"
71/19; *ue onceigas* "inuocamus" 104/8; *ue dæles* "fundimus" 108/40; *gie gimoetas*
"inueneritis" 107/35; *gioehtas* "persequuntur" 168/7; *sendas* "mittite" 108/7;
sittes "sedent" 168/11; *soecas* "querimus" 125/15; *of'timbras gie* "superaedi-
ficati" 82/32; *gionuældas* "dominabuntur" 86/36; *giwoedes* "induite" 13/31;
ue gibloetsas "benedicimus" 115/9; *ue mersias* "celebramus" 44/30; *ue gimersas*
"do." 66/18; *wutas gie* "scientes" 24/36; *doas* "faciunt" 176/37; *ue bigas*
"colimus" 50/15; 51/15; *ue bigaas* "do." 53/1.

Since *-s* can be used for *-ð* in the 3rd sg. pres. ind., it is natural that *-ð*
can be used for *-s* in the 2nd sg. (e.g. *ðu giunlihteð* "tu inluminas" 167/9).
I enumerate the relevant forms in *TPS*, 1968, 69–70.

The remaining endings of the present indicative.[63] In the main verbal classes
other than the second weak, there is essentially no difference between the pl.
and the 3rd sg., for *-að -as -eð -es* can occur in either (*Studies*, pp. 155, 152).
Pl. pres. ind.:—*gibrucað* "utuntur" 99/4; *ue bigeongas* "colimus" 44/26;
giscineð "fulgebunt" 86/34; *ue ondredes* "timemus" 125/13; *soecað* "quaerunt"
5/18; *gie gimoetas* "inueneritis" 107/35; *ue gitry'með* "ortamur" 11/23; *ue
dæles* "fundimus" 108/40. 3rd sg. pres. ind.:—*uæxeð* "crescit" 82/38; *beres*
"portabit" 10/16; *instondað* "instat" 165/7; *sendeð* "mittit" 189/9; *fylges*
"SEQUITUR" 171/27; *giwyrcað* "operatur" 28/21; *of' suiðas* "exsuperat" 177/3.
In these classes the 2nd sg. can have *-es -est -as -ast*—also *-eð -að* (see above):—
ðu gispreces "loqueris" 55/12; *ongettest* "ignoscis" 40/33; *ðu ageatas* "effuderis"
5/22; *hæles* "saluas" 45/7; *doemest* "iudicas" 102/17; *ondspyrnas* "offenderis"
8/33. In the second weak class the state of affairs is similar; the 3rd sg. can
have *-að -as -eð -es* (*Studies*, p. 152); the pl. has the regular *-i(g)að*[64] *-i(g)as*
-i(g)eð -i(g)es (see n. 84, 5) and also *-að -as -eð -es*, which are the endings of the
3rd sg. (*Studies*, p. 147). In the 3rd sg., however, extended pl. forms (*Studies*,
p. 146) are not very common. The 2nd sg. can have *-as (-að) -ast -es- (-eð) -est*,
and, rarely, extended pl. forms.

Examples:—

Pl. pres. ind.:—*ue gisomniað* "congregamur" 69/9, 11; *we giearnigað* "mere-
mur" 43/29; *ue mersias* "celebramus" 44/30; *ue gibloedsað* "benedicimus"
115/24; *ue gibloetsas* "do." 115/9; *gifoersciped* "comitentur" 93/13.

3rd sg. pres. ind.:—*lufað* "diligit" 6/30; *uunas* "manet" 177/15; *gierfeuardeð*
"hereditabit" 84/37; *giæfistiað* "inuidet" 122/1; *giuiað* "postulat" 92/32;
mersiað (a.f. *gimersiað*) "celebrat" 63/19; *gisynngiað* "peccat" 107/1; *uilniað*
"desiderat" 92/30; *giarwyrðigeð* "honorificabit" 1/5.

2nd sg. pres. ind.:—*ðu gigladas* "laetificas" 31/21; *gisceawast* "conspicis"
7/5; *ðu gimeodumes* "digneris" 97/29; *ðu gimeodomest* "do." 98/10; *gladias*
"laetificas" 78/6.

The present subjunctive. As in L there is variation between the regular *-e* and
an analogical *-a* (*Studies*, p. 152). The *-a*-forms are much more frequent in
Ritual than in L (cf. n. 84, 6). In the second weak class *-ige* is rare, in the other
main classes the *-e-* and *-a-* forms occur in roughly equal proportions. Examples:
ðy læs ðu geblinne "ne cesses" 194/3; *þte ne gihere* "ut non exaudiat" 5/30; *þte
giselle* "ut det" 12/27; *þte . . . ue gibega* "ut . . . declinemus" 171/31; *gilefes
. . . þte ue gibruca* "concedis . . . perfrui" 56/14, 16; *þte . . . gitry'ma* "ut . . .
ualeat" 18/7, 9; *þte . . . ðu giagnige* "ut . . . possideres" 20/41, 21/1; *gigladia
ue* "gaudeamus" 9/25. A rare ending *-o -igo* is also found; this occurs in
Late WS (Campbell, §735 *f*) and is due to confusion with the spelling of the
ending of the pret. pl. (Ross, *NM*, XXXV, 169–70):—*þte . . . f'ecymo* "ut . . .
preueniant" 72/34; 73/5; 87/2, 6; *þte . . . hia giclænsigo* "ut . . . castigant"
18/13, 15; *þte . . . þte we se eftniuado ue giearnigo* "ut . . . reformari mereamur"
2/19, 21; and cf. *gifre'mo* (a.f. *gifre'me*) "efficiant" 23/20.

The imperative singular. In OE this part, regularly endingless in the strong
verbs and long-stemmed first weak verbs, has the ending *-e* in the short-
stemmed first weak verbs, and the ending *-a* in the second weak verbs (WS
rid, hier, freme, lufa). Ritual has these forms as normal, except in the third
case,[65] in which, by analogy, the part is endingless (Campbell, p. 326):—
arís 168/1; *giher* 7/11; *gifæstna* 105/37—and *f'acy'* 15/42: *tocym* 9/27; 15/34;
tocy' 14/18;[66] *ahef* [3]; *upahef* 5/14; *sel* [70]; *gisel* 73/17; 73/26; *eftsel* 178/29;
sett 174/15; 179/9; *gesett* 182/16; *underureð*[67] 37/35.

The following forms require special notice:

(1) The curious analogical *-ig* in the second weak verbs:—*giclænsig* 7/21;
8/29; *giendig* 167/1; *ðerhendig* 4/32; 16/17; *gearuig* [10]; *gearwig* 18/21; 59/3;
oefistig 175/3. This is due to an analogy:—

     aris-a : aris :: endig-a : endig.

(2) Examples of the regular form of the short-stemmed first weak verbs:—
*sunu gicerr to gode 7 f'let synno ðino g i b i d d e wut' ondwliote his 7 wona þ ondspyr-
nis'* "fili conuertere ad deum. et relinque peccata tua preca autem faciem eius
et minue offendiculum" 11/11, 13; *agef me glædnisse haluoende' ðines 7 gast
aldorlic' g i t r y' m e mec* "redde mihi lætitiam sanctam tuam et spiritu principali
confirma me" 168/29, 31. Cf. also *ginere* [3].

(3) *ðu driht' s e n d e on hine seofafald gast ðin halig rummod of heofnu'* "tu
domine mitte in eum [eam] septiformis spiritum tuum sanctum paraclitum
de celis" 119/40, 120/1. There is no reason to suppose that *sende* is pres. subj.;
it shows the converse analogy to that which has produced *sel*, etc., above.

(4) *giinlihte* 46/14; *geinlihte* 3/13 (beside *inlihta* 37/13; *giinlihta* [3]; *giin- lichta*
99/37) have *-e* for regular *-a* because *-a* occurs for *-e* in the pres. subj. (see above).

(5) *Special cases.*

ædeau "ostende" 175/21: the verb is difficult and deserves fuller discussion than it has received—cf. however Campbell, §753.6 and n. 2; here it is sufficient to say that the endingless form corresponds to WS *iew* (first weak class) and the stem to that of OFr *ā(u)wia* (second weak class).

gidrysne "extingue" 125/35; "extinge" 164/18: apparently there exists both a first weak and a second weak verb (R. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen wortschatzes*, p. 37) so that the form may be either first weak ((3) above) or second weak ((4) above).

girihte "dirige" 167/25: this could be first weak (OE *rihtan*)—(3) above; but, in L, a second weak verb is also attested (*rehtas* "dirigite" J 1, 23; *to rehtanne foet* "ad dirigendos pedes" Lk 1, 79; *ahefen wæs l gerehtad* "erecta est" Lk 13, 13), so that *girihte* could be from **giriht* + **girehte* ((4) above).

geriord sed sedlic' "satia semen seminalem" 146/17: the second weak verb is well attested in L *(IVG: [ge]riordað)*; cf. also *gi^{h}riordiga ue* "epulemur" 25/17; *giriordade* "cibauit" 46/9; "cibabit" 84/31; *hia sie giriordado* "reficiantur" 15/5; *eft sie gihriordad* "reficiatur" 37/37. This verb is clearly a denominative to OE *ge-riorde*. But traces of a first-class denominative to this noun seem also to exist: *giriordest* "satiasti" 18/1; *of'fara efthriordest* 124/3; the Latin is "transi", the rest is illegible—but cf. Lindelöf's suggestion, n. ad loc., "transire fecisti" taken as "transi refecisti". These two forms, however, could be, not the obvious pret. of the first weak verb, but, rather, could represent an erroneous use of the pres. of the second weak verb. Cf. further:—*on þone ylcan dæg Crist gereorde fif þusenda wera of fif hlafum ond of twam fiscum*, G. Herzfeld, *An Old English Martyrology* (EETS, OS 116), p. 14, lines 19–20; and *we willað mid þy hlafe gereorde beon* "pane illo refici uolumus",·Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Schipper, II, line 654 v.r. Both these examples are from texts well-known to show Mercian influence (Herzfeld, op. cit., p. xix, and Campbell, p. 9 n. 2, respectively); *eo* for earlier *io* is thus to be expected (Campbell, §294).

Infinitive. As in L this normally varies between *-a* and *-e* (*Studies*, p. 39):[68] *gerihta* "dirigere" 182/8 as against *girihte* "do." 171/3.

The inflected infinitive and present participle. These may conveniently be considered together (cf. *Studies*, pp. 143–146). The regular endings are *-enne* and *-ende*. In the second weak class the original extended forms are preserved in WS *(lufienne, lufiende)*, but, in Anglian, after a long syllable or two syllables syncope which resulted in the disappearance of the extension (Campbell, §757) occurred. Its effects are apparent in Aldredian, and have been analogically extended to *all* verbs of the class.

Two further analogical tendencies are next relevant. First, *-enne* becomes *-anne* by analogy with inf. *-an* (Campbell, §735*i*). Secondly, in the second weak class, the *-a-* of certain parts spreads into other parts of that class, and, thence, into the same parts of other classes. Hence, *inter alia*, pres. part. *-ande*, which in L is much more frequent in the second weak class than in other classes, and may have been reinforced by the Scandinavian pres. part. (Ic *-andi*). See *Studies*, pp. 142 ff.

The relevant Ritual forms are as follows:—

In the infl. inf. of the second weak class:—*giendanne* 83/11; *gilícanne* 22/36; *gimersanne* 32/7; *worðanne* 94/1. In the other classes *-anne* (e.g. *f'drifanne* 118/9; *abiddanne* 87/31) is more frequent than *-enne* (e.g. *f'drifenne* 121/32; *fylgenne*

30/31. In the pres. part. of the second weak class *-ende* (e.g. *giðingende* [9]) is more frequent that *-ande* (e.g. *giðingande* 23/3).[69] In the other classes *-ende* is invariable (e.g. *inblauende* 103/32; *drencende* 101/42; *næbbende* 'non habens' 108/3). In the second weak class there are some extended forms of the pres. part.:—*adliende* 121/38: *compigende* 60/11; nom. acc. pl. *gladiendo* 9/21; *sceomiende* 79/13; 125/27; *sceomigende* 19/21; 19/23; *wynsumiende* 97/16; 123/20.[70] These could be original, that is equivalent to the WS form, but, more probably, they show analogy with the extended forms. Similarly infl. inf. *bodian'* 58/37 could be equivalent to WS *bodienne* (with *-a-* from the inf.) or analogical.

The extension in the second weak class. The various forms of this found in L are discussed in *Ald*, X, 158 ff. In Ritual almost all the extended forms have either *-ig-* or *-i- (wuldrigað* "glorificate" 27/1: *wuldriað gie* "do." 107/7. Exceptional forms:—3rd sg. pres. ind. : *gihersumaiað* 106/22; *gimilsageð* 20/17; inf.: *giidlage* 103/5; *giðingage* 60/42; pres. subj.: *agefaiga* 124/36; *giidlege* 98/24; *gimilsage* 40/19; *giðingage* 66/14; *giðoncage* 31/1; *giwlitgega* 105/19.

The plural preterite indicative. The normal ending is *-on*. Exceptional forms:—*brohten* 95/25; *gisungan* 47/26. See *Studies*, p. 125.

The preterite and past participle of the weak verbs. Regularly the vowel should be *-i- (> -e)*—syncopated in the pret. and in the infl. ppart. after a long stem—in the first weak class, *-a- ~ -o-* in the second. Thus:—

First Weak

Pret. ind. 3rd sg./pl. :—*-iðæ-iðun*[71] > *-idæ -idun* > *-idæ -idun* > *-(e)de -(e)don*.
Ppart. nom. pl. masc./dat. pl.:— *-iðaz -iðum-*[72] > *-ið(um* > *-id(um* > *-(e)d(um*.

Second Weak

Pret. ind. 3rd sg. :— *-ōðæ*[73] > *-ōdæ* > *-odæ* > *-adæ* > *-ade*.
    pl. :— *-ōðun*[74] > *-ūðun* > *-ūdun* > *-udun* > *-odon*.
Ppart. nom. sg. masc. :— *-ōðaz*[75] > *-ōð* > *-ōd* > *-od* > *-ad*.
    dat. pl.:— *-ōðum-*[76] > *-ūðum* > *-ūdum* > *-udum* > *-odum*.

In the second weak class *-o-* has been generalised in WS, *-a-* in Anglian: WS *-ode, -odon, -od(-*; Vespasian Psalter[77] *-ade, -adon, -ad(-*.

The Ritual forms are as follows:—

In the pret. the forms of the first weak class are regular:—3rd sg. *gitrymmede* 88/16; *gitry'mede* 60/25; *untynde* 19/11; 20/1. In the second weak class *-a-* is almost invariable (e.g. 3rd sg. *genomade* 146/31, 33). But the *-a-* has been weakened to *-e-* (*Studies*, pp. 33–53) in 2nd sg. *gihælgedest*[78] 2/27 and 3rd sg. *wæstmede* (see n. 70) 3/20 (see n. 84, 7).

In the ppart. *-a-* is normal in the second class of weak verbs (e.g. *giclænsad(-* [5]),[79] but there are examples in which it has been weakened to *-e-*: nom. sg. fem. *costedo* 110/7; *gicosted* 85/21; 91/7; *inn . . . gicosted* 17/7; *gicunned* 19/29; *acunned* 59/27; *giliced* 109/35; dat. sg. masc. neut. *uoepnedum* 99/20.[80] In the first class *-ed* is normal[81] — *-e-* is often syncopated in inflected forms after a long stem — e.g. *gitrymed* 56/12; 82/25; *bityned* 95/8; nom. acc. pl. *untyndo* 44/9; 115/32. But, because *-e-* exists beside *-a-* in the ppart. of the second weak class, *-a-* comes to exist beside *-e-* in that of the first weak class, e.g. *-)scildad(-* [7].

Weak forms to strong verbs (*Studies*, pp. 153–155): ppart. *gihrinad* 105/19; ppart. *gihrined'*[82] 121/7; nom. acc. pl. ppart. *girinado* (a.f. *gihrinado*) 97/27; sg. pret. *f'eslepde* 44/17.

Strong past participles to weak verbs (*Studies*, p. 155): *alesen* 94/22; nom. acc. pl. *gileseno* 24/38; nom. acc. pl. *awoerdeno* 40/29.[83]

NOTES

[Professor Ross, one of the founder-editors of *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* (see *LSE*, New Series I (1967), Editorial Note) laid the foundations for his extensive publications on the Lindisfarne gloss as Assistant Lecturer, later Lecturer, in English Language in the University of Leeds, 1929–1946.]

¹ For the scope, list and conventions of the *Aldrediana* Series and for the methods of reference here to U. Lindelöf, *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* and to the Urs Graf edition of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, see *TPS* (1968), 67, n. 1. Note that Lindelöf's *v* is here printed *u* (see *Lindisfarne Gospels* II, p. 16). The edition of the *Durham Ritual* ed. T. J. Brown, A. S. C. Ross, E. G. Stanley and F. Wormald is now published as *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* XVI.

² Abbreviations:—abl. = ablative; acc. = accusative; adj. = adjective; a.f. = altered from; *Ald*, I = A.S.C. Ross, *Aldrediana I: Three suffixes* (*Moderna Språk, Language Monographs* 3); *Ald*, II = Ross, "Aldrediana II: Observations upon certain words of the Lindisfarne gloss," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, LXXVII, 258–295; *Ald*, IV = G. C. Britton, "Aldrediana IV: The *ę-* and *i-*diphthongs" *EGS*, VII, 1–19; *Ald*,X = Britton and Ross, "Aldrediana X: Manifesta," *Anglia*, LXXVIII, 129–168; *Ald*, XI = Ross, "Aldrediana XI: The *u*-orthographies," *Studia germanica*, I, 115–159; *Ald*, XV = the same, "Aldrediana XV: On the vowel of nominal composition," *NM*, LXIX, 361–374; *Ald*, XVII = the same, "Aldrediana XVII: Ritual Supplement," *EPS*, XI, 1–43; *Ald*, XXI the same (see n. 84, 8). Campbell = A.Campbell, *Old English grammar*; Carpenter = H. C. A. Carpenter, *Die deklination in der nordhumbrischen evangelienübersetzung der Lindisfarner handschrift*; dat. = dative; "do."—used to indicate that a glosseme is the same as the one immediately preceding; er.f. = erased from; fem. = feminine; gen. = genitive; Ic = Icelandic; ind. = indicative; IndE = Indo-European; inf = infinitive; infl. inf. = inflected infinitive; *IVG* = the *Index verborum glossematicus* of the Urs Graf edition of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*; L = the Lindisfarne gloss; Luick = K. Luick, *Historische grammatik der englischen sprache*; l.w.f. = loan-word from; masc. = masculine; mg = margin; n. = note; neut. = neuter; nom. = nominative; OE = Old English; OFr = Old Frisian; OHG = Old High German; OS = Old Saxon; OSw = Old Swedish; part. = participle; pl. = plural; ppart. = past participle; pres. = present; pret. = preterite; sg. = singular; *Studies* = A.S.C. Ross, *Studies in the accidence of the Lindisfarne Gospels*; subj. = subjunctive; van Helten = W. van Helten, "Zum germanischen zahlwort," *Indogermanische forschungen*, XVIII, 84–126; WS = West Saxon.

³ I am extremely grateful to Professor Stanley (London) for his detailed and valuable criticism of this article; my thanks are also due to Professor Campbell (Oxford).

⁴ *ðara earnunge* "meritorum" 18/5 has the usual weakening of *-a* to *-e*; cf. gen.pl. *canone* J 19, 30 (mg); see *Studies*, n. 51.

⁵ Aldred's *-eno* cannot be of Scandinavian origin. In Primitive Norse the gen. pl. had *-o* in the *a*-stems and *-ano* in the masc. *n*-stems, but these endings were *-a* *-na* respectively by the Viking Period. Cf. A. Noreen, *Geschichte der nordischen sprachen*, §§191. 7, 195.8.

⁶ "Many": in L *-o* is almost invariable in this case, doubtless due to the influence of the abstract noun *menigo* (*Studies*, p. 108). Ritual has only *-o*-forms: *menigo* [4] (*mengo* 85/13 [? read *menigo*]; *monigo* 57/37.

⁷ The weakened ending *-es* (*Studies*, pp. 33–53) is recorded in *ðroures* 119/24. On *di°ules* 121/32 see *Ald*, XVII, 4.

⁸ But cf. *Studies*, p. 68 and p. 56.

⁹ Class doubtful: *innaða* 169/21 (Campbell, §336).

¹⁰ Nom. acc. pl. *halfe* 108/27; *worulde* 166/7 (both *ō*-stems) could be old, for this ending is found here elsewhere in OE (Campbell, §585). But, more probably, it is due to the weakening of *-a* (*c*, above) to *-e* (*Studies*, pp. 33–53).

¹¹ Not recorded in L.

¹² *Studies*, n. 111.

¹³ Since in written Latin abl. sg. *grātiā* is indistinguishable from nom. sg. *grātiă*, Aldred also uses *gefe* to gloss the latter: 27/13, 82/42.

¹⁴ And conversely *ondsuære* "sententia" 191/11.

¹⁵ Cf. also *gefe* [gen. sg.] *ðoncgunco* "gratias" 36/33.

¹⁶ *-æ* for *-e* from Latin.

¹⁷ *Ald*, XV, 365 n. 4.

¹⁸ *-and* because of pres. part. *-ande* beside *-ende* (p. 63).

¹⁹ *wyrteno gimonge* "aromata" 3/42 arises from the variation *-o* ~ *-a* in the gen. pl. of strong nouns (p. 53).

20 This variation -*a* ~ *ena*- in strong nouns resulted in the occasional use of -*a* for -*ena* in weak nouns; *culfra* "columbarum" 4/9 (WS *culfre*); *intinga* "causarum" 193/11 (WS *intinga*).
21 Cf. *moder arwyrðe/*⁰ "mater honorificata" 45/23, 25.
22 *ðriga* "tres" 191/29 doubtless because of *ðriga* "ter" above (191/23).
23 *fewer* 7rb19. There has been alteration here. The appearance of the manuscript suggests that Aldred first intended to write *fewuer*, using his orthography *wu* for [w] (*Ald*, XI, 132–133). After writing the first four letters, he decided to write *fewer*, altered *u* to *e*, and completed the word.
24 *fe⁰wer* Mk 13, 27.
25 *o* for [w] (*Ald*, XI, 131–132).
26 Beside the old formation *feoðordoger* 206*v*a2 (Gothic *fidurdogs*).
27 *uo* for [w] (*Ald*, XI, 132).
28 *ea* for *eo* (*Ald*, IV); cf. L *fearða* [5] beside *feorða* Mt 14, 25; 91*v*b17; 110/11 (= OS *fiorðo*); further, *feorðung* Mt 5, 26; Mk 12, 42; *feorðungc* Lk 21, 2; *feorð'* "minuta" Lk 21, 2 (= Ic *fjórðungr*).
29 Cf. also dat. *few⁰rum* Mk 2, 3; *feoᵘr* 9ra8; 22ra2; *fewo⁰r* 6rb23.
30 *Ald*, XI, 145.
31 And cf. *feᵘortig* Mt 4, 2.
32 Cf. *Ald*, X, 156.
33 *seofon* 132rb14; *seofafald* 119/40; *seofafallice* 21*v*a8; 134ra15, are exceptions, doubtless due to confusion between the two sites.
34 *Ald*, X, 148–149.
35 Type (B).
36 On *un*- see *Ald*, II, 282.
37 ? = *seofonu'*; cf. *seofonu'*, above—or simply made on *seofo* (cf. *teu'*, below); so Carpenter, §626.
38 Cf. Ross, *Etymology* (1958), p. 33.
39 *hundseofe/⁰ntig* 131ra10—upper alternative (A), lower (B), with *e* for *a* (*Studies*, pp. 33–53).
40 For the High German forms mentioned in this paragraph see J. Schatz, *Althochdeutsche grammatik*, p. 263; J. Franck, *Altfränkische grammatik*, §§58.2, 167.4.
41 *ea* for *æ* (*Ald*, X, 138).
42 *uu* for [u] (*Ald*, XI, 131).
43 *uo* for [u] (*Ald*, XI, 130); the lower alternative is (B).
44 For the C-forms see van Helten, p. 102.
45 Exception (cf. n. 32): *teafald* 18*v*a18.
46 Cf. "*SEVEN*", *Preliminary Remarks* (1) and (3).
47 The proto-forms and their stages of descent are numbered, in italics, for convenience; *a* following the numeral refers to WS; *b* to Aldredian.
48 For the contractions, smoothings and loss of *x* with compensatory lengthening, cf., throughout, Campbell, §234ff.
49 So van Helten, p. 105.
50 Luick, §73.
51 With double umlaut (Campbell, §203).
52 A reasonable assumption if only because *eo* cannot normally occur in a position where it would be subject to umlaut; but cf. Campbell, §202.
53 Also *hunt'* Mk 10, 30.
54 Loss of *d* (*Ald*, X, 154).
55 *tenu* 'x' 3rl with occasional *u* for *o* as in "*SEVEN*".
56 Thus no connection with Gothic *fimf hundam taihun tewjam bro þre* πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς I Corinthians XV, 6.
57 Cf. also dat. *teⁿum* 4*v*a20 and dat. *teum* (a.f. *tenum*) 8*v*b24.
58 L includes examples of a gen. sg. fem. in -*ra* in the definite article:—*léce geboren sirisc ðara burug* "medicus natione syrus antiocensis" 6*v*b4–5; *moder ðæra maedne* "matrem puellae" Mk 5, 40—for the fem. gender of the word cf. *JEGP*, XXXV, 323; *gaast hire t ðæra* 'sp's eius' Lk 8, 55. Gen. pl. *ðara* [118] [36]; L *ðæra* [35]; *ðaera* J 2, 15, exist beside *ðære wegana* "uiarum" Mt 22, 9; *ðaere ðærstana* "azymorum" Mk 14, 12—the last showing weakening of -*a* to -*e* (*Studies*, pp. 33–53). The gen. sg. fem. forms given above, with -*a* (including one with stem-*ā*) beside the normal *ðære* [9] [6]; *ðaere* 50/21, owe their existence to this juxtaposition in the gen. pl. (contrary to my explanation of the form in *Studies*, p. 116).

[59] It is thus not surprising that *ðinræ* is carried over to gloss the spelling "tue" (gen. sg.) 41/17, 71/39, 96/13, 98/12, 100/1, 123/6—or even further:—*þte . . . ðinræ soðfæstisto soðfæstnise ðis giberhta* "ut . . . tua iustissima ueritas hoc declaret" 102/39, 41, 43; *f'e ðinræ miltheartnise* "pro tva misericordia" 172/1. Cf. also *minræ* "meae" (gen. sg.) 55/30.

[60] Cf. my discussion of "scribal preference" in L in *MLN*, XLVIII, 519–521.

[61] L also includes:—*dohter ðæræ herodiades* "filia ipsius herodiadis" Mk 6, 22; *æfter costung* (a.f. *gecostung*) *ðæræ ilca* "post tribulationem illam" Mk 13, 24; *lucas ðe syrisca ðæræ burge t· ðæræ ceastra fostring* "LUCAS SYRUS anthiocensiae" 131ra2–3; *feder ðæræ mædne* "patri puellae" Lk 8, 50; *fader 7 moder ðæræ mægdne* "patrem et matrem puellae" Lk 8, 51; *mið herum heafdes hiræ gedrygde* "capillis capitis sui tergebat" Lk, 7, 38; *f'gefen biðon hiræ* "remittentur ei" Lk 7, 47. Here the -*æ* is merely an example of the common *æ* for *e* in unstressed syllables (Carpenter, pp. 61–63).

[62] But cf. *eft ic gimyndga* 19/5, with loss of vowel in the tetrasyllabic form (*Studies*, p. 148). Because of -*igo* ~ -*iga* in this class -*a* for -*o* is occasionally found in other classes:— *eftsoeca* 9/34; *sila* 57/23 (< *selo*, with *sel*- > *sil*- —*Ald*, X, 148; *Ald*, XVII, 16).

[63] The imperative pl. is identical with the pl. pres. ind.

[64] And other rare forms of the extension (see below).

[65] As is well-known, certain strong verbs belong here.

[66] An unrecorded *cum* (= WS *cum*) may have had influence here.

[67] For this first weak verb see Campbell, §211.

[68] As does the pres. subj. (p. 62); for this reason inf. and pres. subj. are treated as one part in *IVG*.

[69] *ge* written as *gi* (p. 55) in *gihefgindu* "ingrassante" 102/39.

[70] On the relevant forms of the verb corresponding to WS *wunian*, see *Ald*, XXI.

[71] = suffix and ending of Gothic 3rd sg. pret. ind. *nasida*/ OHG 3rd pl. pret. ind. *neritun*.

[72] = suffix of Gothic ppart. *nasiþs*, ending of this latter for nom. sg. masc., and that of the masc. and neut. *a*-nouns (Gothic *dagam*) for dat. pl.

[73] = suffix and ending of Gothic 3rd sg. pret. ind. *salboda*.

[74] = suffix and ending of OHG 3rd pl. pret. ind. *salbôtun*.

[75] = suffix and ending of Gothic ppart. *salboþs*.

[76] = suffix of Gothic ppart. *salboþs*, endings as in first weak class.

[77] R. Zeuner, *Die sprache des kentischen Psalters*, p. 114.

[78] For this verb see Ross, *NQ*, CCXIII, 406.

[79] In nom. acc. pl. *bihogodo* 28/27; *b8/29*, -*o*- is not original—i.e. equivalent to WS -*o*- of ppart. *lufod*—but due to vowel-harmony (*Ald*, X, 149–151).

[80] *þ ue se giworðiad* "uenerari" 4/20 has been influenced by extended forms.

[81] *ge* is written as *gi* (p. 55) in nom. acc. pl. *giceigido* 108/11; nom. acc. pl. *aceigido* 70/37; *gifoegid* 109/23; *afoegid* 109/6.

[82] With the erroneous abbreviation-sign so common in Ritual (cf. Ross, *NQ*, CCXII, 287, n. 29).

[83] Aldred has some forms corresponding to WS *ge-liefen* (*gelefen* Lk 14, 19; dat.pl. *gelefenum* 206ra9; *gelefeno* "indulta" 40/5), which can hardly be regarded as a ppart. It is apparently an -*ina/ō*-formation (cf. F. Kluge, *Nominale stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen didlekte*, §198 ff.) standing in the same relationship to WS *ge-liefan* as does Ic *fylginn* to Ic *fylgja*.

[84] 1 Ross, *NQ* CCXV, 365.
2 Ross, *NQ* CCXV, 364,365.
3 Ross, *NQ* CCXV, 363.
4 Ross, *NQ* CCXV, 364.
5 Ross, *Archivum Linguisticum*, N.S. II,119.
6 Ross, *NQ* CCXV, 365.
7 *Ald* XXI, 531.
8 = A. S. C. Ross, Aldrediana XXI: The correspondent of West Saxon "wunian", *NM* LXXI, 529-533.