

**THE LANGUAGE OF THE
RUSHWORTH GLOSS TO THE
GOSPEL OF MATTHEW AND
THE MERCIAN DIALECT, PART II**

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The Language of the Rushworth Gloss to the Gospel of Matthew and the Mercian Dialect, Part II
by Edward Miles Brown

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EDWARD MILES BROWN

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The Language
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Rushworth Gloss

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Gospel of Matthew
and the
Mercian Dialect

Part II.

The vowels of other syllables than stem-syllables;
Consonants; Inflection.

by

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TO VDU
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The Vowels of Medial and Final Syllables, and of Prefixes.

Here are considered the vowels of suffixes, whether old or secondary and auxiliary (svarabhakti). Inflectional syllables will be treated under the head of Inflection. Many prefixes have been already considered in Part I. The arrangement of the material is, in the main, that of Zeuner in »*Die Sprache des kentischen Psalters*«.

Vowel-Gradation.

§ 1. In WS. the Germanic back vowel of suffixes appears most commonly as *o*, often weakened to *a* and *e* (cf. Cosijn, § 114 ff.). R' has both *u* and *o* (sometimes *e*), with the balance on the side of *u*. In Corpus Gl. *u* is in excess of *o* (cf. Dieter, p. 45). The Ritual fluctuates between *u* and *o* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46), while the Ps. has regularly *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 56 ff.).

a) *ur-er* (stems in *-os*, *-es*; cf. Sievers, § 288, Cosijn, II., §§ 8 and 35, 10). The only forms in R' that show *r* are these: *æcīr* (acc. pl.) 12. 1 (WS. has *ēar* from **ahur*, cf. Pt. I., p. 24); this *-ir* does not appear to be original; *æ* is probably due to the following palatal; *sigor* (dat. sg.) 12. 20 and, with syncope, *cildra* 21. 16. The Ps. has *-ur* final, and *-er* before inflectional *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 56); Rit. has *-er*, or syncope, before a back vowel, and umlaut in *lēmō*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46).

b) *ud-ed*. R' has:

heafud 14. 11 etc. (8) and *-od* (5) 6. 17; 10. 80; 14. 8; 21. 42; 27. 33; *nacud* 25. 36. 43; *-ne* 25. 38 (for WS. cf. Cos. p. 127); *e* occurs only in *somed* 13. 29; *hæmed* (coitus) 15. 19; 19. 18; *hæmēþ* 5. 32, with syncope *hæmēds* 24. 38 (cf. Cos., p. 147 g); *frēmðum* appears only with syncope as in the Ps. (cf. Zeuner, p. 57).

Here may be mentioned:

inguðe 19. 20 with loss of *n* before *ð*, and *eorfeþe* 7. 14 from the stem *arbaidd-* (cf. Kluge, Stamm., § 131a); WS. has both *o* and *e* in this word (cf. Cos., p. 137).

c) Adjectives ending in original *-ag*, *-ig*.

The suffixes *-ag* and *-ig* (from *-ig*) appear in O.E. in the form *-ig* (oftener written *-eg* in O.WS. cf. Cos. § 120; once *-eg* in Rit., and several times *-eg*, *-ei*, *-æg* in Corp. Gl., cf. Lindelöf p. 47, Dieter p. 46). R' has regularly *-ig* (94), seldom *-eg* (7), once *yg*. The form *-eg* is found in:

dysage 25. 8 (but 4 *dysig* 5. 22 etc.); *monegu* 25. 21. 23 (but 30 *monige*); *monegra* 8. 30; 24. 12 (*monigra* 24. 24); *nænegum* 17. 9; *nænegu* 13. 88 (10 *næniy* 12. 19 etc.; -ne 17. 8); *scyldig* 23. 16 (7 *scyl-dig*). In all other cases *-ig*: e. g. *hungrig*, *wæliy*, *stanig*, *eadig* etc. Forms having original *-ag* show no trace of umlaut in WS., in the Ps. (cf. Zeuner, p. 57), or in R', but Rit. has forms of *monig* and *la-ig* both with and without umlaut (cf. Lindelöf, p. 47).

d) Abstract nouns in *-nis*, *-nes* (cf. Kluge, Stamm., § 137 ff.). In O.WS. the form *-nes* appears almost without exception (cf. Sievers, § 258, Cosijn, I, pp. 134—135, II, p. 28.) In R' *-nis* prevails (139), *-nes* is found only 3 times:

ðspyrnes 16. 23 (but *-nisse* 26. 31); *gewitnesse* 18. 16 (but 5 *-nisse*); *gehernesse* 13. 9 (but 4 *-nisse* 11. 15 etc.). In the Ps. *-nis* is the regular ending, *-nes* occurs only 14 times (cf. Zeuner, p. 57); Rit. and Corpus have only *-nis* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46; Dieter, p. 46); the charters have *-nis*: *gewitnisse* 48. 17. 18; *hernisse* 48. 8; the Minora have 3 *-nis*, 1 *-nes*: Bl. 6. 12; Mt. 50; CA. 7.

e) Abstract feminine nouns in *-ung*, *-ing* (cf. Kluge, Stamm., § 158 ff.). O.WS. has regularly *-ung*, occasionally *-ing* and *-eng*, once *-ong* (cf. Cos., II, p. 22 and pp. 23—25). R' has *-ung*, only 1 *-ing*, *aeldingę* 24. 48.

In the Ps. *-ing* is found side by side with the more usual *-ung*, but *-ing* alone (1 exception) in the dat. pl. (cf. Zeuner, p. 58); Rit. has *-ing* (28), *-eng* (2), usually *-ung*, but *-ing* does not occur before back vowels as in Ps. (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 47—48).

f) Masculine nouns in *-ing*, *-iing* (cf. Kluge, Stamm., §§ 22, 24 ff., 100) appear in O.WS. with *i*, sometimes *e* (cf. Cosijn, p. 141), but *cyning* has always *i* or syncope. R' has *-ing*:

casering 17. 24 (2); *scilling* 17. 27; -a 27. 3. 9; 26. 15; -as 27. 5. 6; *lyttingan* 19. 14; *bæclinc* 4. 10; *cyning* (s. Pt. I. § 41).

g) The gradation *und* -*end*. Only -*end* occurs in R':
husend (6 times, s. I. § 55); once *husenð* 14. 21. So in O. WS.,
 in Ps., and in Rit.

h) -*end* from -*and* appears in:

olbend (Got. *ulbandus*) 19. 24; -*n* 23. 24; -*ena* 3. 4.

i) Vowel-gradation before *m*. O. WS. has *o* or *e*, only
 once *u* (cf. Cosijn p. 139). R' has 7 *e*, 4 *i*, 2 *u*, 1 *ę*:

meoduma 10. 37; 25. 45; *wæstem* 13. 8; *wæstim* 3. 10; *wæstem*
 12. 33 (2); 3. 8; 13. 22. 23. 26; *wæstim* 21. 19. 41. 43; *wæstem* 7. 19;
 no auxiliary vowel in other forms of this word; O. WS. has *wæstm*
 (cf. Cosijn, § 126).

The Ps. has *e* 3 times in *gemeodemian* (cf. Zeuner p. 59); Rit.
 has *o* and *u* in this word, but *wæstem* (2); *wæstim* (4); *wæstm* (2), (cf.
 Lindelöf, p. 48).

j) Vowel-gradation before *n*. The frequent inflectional
 endings (-*an*, -*on*) will be found, of course, under Inflec-
 tion. Here it may be mentioned, however, that *i*-umlaut
 occurs once (as in the Ps., Zeuner, p. 58) in the past part
gedōen 28. 11; but *gedoan* 18. 31; 23. 15. Suffixes, not
 inflectional or adverbial endings, have *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* before *n*
 in R', (for O. WS. -*on*, -*en* s. Cos. § 113 and p. 140).

-*en* appears in:

efen (evening) 23. 6 etc. (8); -*enna* 16. 2; 28. 1; *æfenne* 27. 57;
byrðen 11. 30; *byrgenne* 23. 29 etc. (8); in the loan-word *cymen* 23. 23;
ciken 23. 37 (cf. Pt. I. § 63); *dryhten* 25. 23 etc. (34); and abbrevia-
 ted, *dryht* 24. 45 etc. (21);

druncenn(m) 24. 49; *mægden* (old -*ka*) 9. 24. 25; 14. 11; *menen* (an-
 cilla) 26. 69; *morgen* 6. 34; 20. 1; 27. 1; *mærgen* 6. 30 (with umlaut,
 cf. Pt. I. § 37c); *seten* 12. 4; *tacen* 16. 3. 4 etc. (10); but *tacun*
 24. 3; 26. 48; *ticen* 25. 33; *woesten* 14. 13; -*ne* 3. 1; 4. 1; *wæstenna*
 11. 8; 15. 33; *wæstena* 24. 26; but once *wæstenna* 3. 3; *woolken* 17. 5.

-*in* occurs in:

firina 18. 17; -*e* 21. 31; -*se* 21. 32; *gefirimade* 27. 4, but once
firinfullra 11. 19; see also *wæstenna* above.

-*on* is found in:

nigon 18. 12. 13; -*tig* 18. 12. 13; *wacone* 14. 25; and twice in
heofona 23. 13; -*on(um)* 5. 45, though *u* appears regularly in this word,
heofuna (15); -*unu* (26), and always *heofun*, -*unas* (s. Pt. I. § 17); -

-*un* also in:

seofun 15. 34. 36; 18. 21. 22; *siofun* 16. 10 etc. (5); -*una* 22. 28;
 -*und* (ord.) 22. 26.

The Pt. has only *e* in words like these, but often *o*, *u*-umlaut, showing an older *o*, *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 59); Rit. has both *-on* and *-en*, often in the same word (s. Lindelöf, p. 48); Corpus has *-en*, but of teneb *-in* (cf. Diöter, p. 46).

The adverbial ending in R' is regularly *-an*, as in WS. (cf. Cosijn, p. 125), seldom *-on*, *-en*; occasionally *u* has fallen away:

bufan 2. 9; *on-ufan* 21. 7; *butan* 10. 29 etc. (11); *utan* 23. 25. 27. 28; *beforan* 5. 24 etc. (21); *be-hyndan* 9. 20; *binnan* 23. 27. 26; but *binne* 23. 25; *innann* 9. 3; 7. 15; *innan* 3. 9; 9. 21; 21. 38; 23. 28; but *innæ* 24. 26; *hæonan* 9. 24; 17. 20; *feorran* 26. 58; 27. 55; *-ne* 23. 14; *eastan* 2. 1; 8. 11; *westan* 8. 11; *ðonan* 19. 15 etc. (16); but *-on* in *hænonon* 15. 33; *-as* 18. 25; 21. 25; 13. 54. 56. 27; *-en* in *ðenden* 25. 10; 26. 47; but without *n*, *ðende* 17. 5. 22; 9. 15; 12. 46; 26. 6. 26; *ðendi* 1. 20.

Without auxiliary vowel appear:

æfn, *æfn* (s. Pt. I. § 15 b); *frægn* 16. 13; 27. 11; *ongægn* 8. 28 etc. (6); *rægn* 7. 25; *stæfn* 17. 6; *ðægn* 20. 26; 23. 11, (so in WS. cf. Cosijn, § 126).

h) The gradation *ul-el*. WS. has both *u* and *o*, sometimes *e* (cf. Cosijn, pp. 127 and 139; § 127).

R' has *-el* (= *-il* causing umlaut) in:

(the loan-word) *engel* 2. 13; 11. 10; *fædel-* 22. 4; *orþel* 18. 54. 57; *mieel* 20. 29. etc. (16); *-v* 6. 30; *-u* 24. 21; *-ne* 27. 60 (often with syncope, s. Pt. I., p. 55); *symbel* 26. 5; 27. 15; *ðyrel* 19. 24; *yfel* 5. 11 etc. (8); *-e* 15. 19; *-ne* 12. 33 (usually with syncope in obl. case, s. Pt. I., p. 55).

-il once in *lytilra* 18. 10 (in other cases syncope, s. Pt. I. p. 67); only with syncope, *idlu* 5. 22.

-ul (for *-il* causing umlaut, cf. Pog. §§ 107, 260) in *esule* 18. 6; and 3 times with *u*-umlaut *esule* 21. 5; *-a* 21. 7; *æsul* 21. 2.

-el not causing umlaut appears in:

candel 5. 15; *gæfel* 5. 46 etc. (6 times, s. Pt. I. p. 25), WS. has regularly *-ol* in this word (cf. Cosijn, p. 1, b); *-scame!* 5. 35; *seþel* 5. 34; but *setil* 23. 6, and twice with *-ul*; *setule* 23. 2; *-as* 23. 6; *tæppel* 5. 35 (cf. *tæped*, Pog., § 42); but *tæppil* 22. 44; *ðeele* 25. 1 may have umlaut; in *evidale* 5. 44 the *i* need not be due to the suffix.

-ul appears in:

degullice 1. 19; 17. 19; 20. 17; 24. 8; *-nisse* 6. 4. 6. 18; *dooful* 4. 5. 8 etc. (20); *æfulung* 12. 31; but six times *-al* in this word (s. Pt. I. § 17 a); *gestafulad* 7. 25; *lungul-* 2. 1. 7. 16; *-scoful* 3. 12; and twice in *setule* (s. above).

Without auxiliary vowel are:

rægi 28. 3; *hrægi* 17. 2 etc. (11); *spætl* 27. 30.

The Ps. has *-ei* (= *-il* causing umlaut), in other cases both *-ul* and *-ei* (*-ul* usually in the uninflected, *-ei* in the inflected forms, cf. Zeuner p. 59); Rit. has *-ei*, often *-ii* (= *ü*), otherwise *-ul*, *-ol*, only once *-ei* (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 48, 49); the Corpus Gl. has chiefly *-ei*, but often *-il* (cf. Dieter, p. 45).

1) The gradation *ur-er* (excluding *-os*, *-es* stems, s. above, § 1. a). The vowel is in part old, in part secondary or auxiliary (for O. WS. s. Cosijn, pp. 125, 139). R' has *-er*, often *-or*, *-ur*.

-er appears in: *æfter* (15); *-ere* (1); *-ora* (2); (abbreviated) *aft* (18); *hider* (4); *þider* (2); *niþer* (9); *nider* 11. 23; *hwider* 8. 19; *ofer* (18); *-eru*; *-ore* etc. (s. Pt. I. § 11); *hwæþer* (4); *hwæþer* (2); *under* (5); *ofer* (31); *cæfer* 26. 3. 58; *-e* 26. 69; *seower* 16. 10, (cf. Cosijn, p. 128); *summer* 24. 32; *winter* 9. 20; *summer* (grea) 8. 30 32; *eower* (30); once *sower* 9. 11; only *-or* in *sundor* 14. 13. 14; (abbreviated) *sund* 17. 1; *-ur* in *elcur* 6. 1; 9. 17; *wæð(er)* appears only abbreviated or with syncope.

In the following words the vowel is secondary and appears as *o* or *u*, seldom *e*:

aldor (10); *aldur* (16); *ewiðor* (6); *wuldor* 4. 8; 16. 27; *morþur* 15. 19; 19. 18; *wundur* 21. 15; *-lic* 21. 42; *syfþur* 10. 9; *-er* occurs in *hunger* 24. 7; *snatter* 24. 45, other cases of this word show syncope.

The Ps. has chiefly *e* for the old, *u* for the secondary vowel (cf. Zeuner, pp. 60, 61); Rit. has *-er*, *-ir*; *-or*, *-ur*, with occasional interchange of *-ir*, *-ur* etc. (cf. Lindelöf, p. 49); Corpus has *-er*, only once *-ir* (cf. Dieter, p. 46).

m) The nouns of relationship, which in R' have *-er* throughout, will be found under Inflection.

n) The suffix *-els*, *-ils* (= *-isł*) appears in:

gyrdeis 8. 4; 10. 9; *recils* 2. 11.

o) The second syllable of certain loan-words:

-ic is preserved in *cælic* (4), *cælic* (1), (cf. Pt. I. p. 28 c); for *-es* in *almesse* 6. 3; *almes* 6. 4 occurs once *-is*, *almisse* 6. 2, (cf. Pog. § 237).

p) Other suffixes occurring in R', e. g., *-ere* (*-ári*), *-sum*, *-isc* require no special mention.

The vowels in the second member of compounds have been sufficiently treated in Pt. I,

e. g., *-geard*, *-weard* (s. I. p. 21); *-arn*, *-arn*, *-fast*, *-fast* (s. I.