

**THE LANGUAGE OF THE
NORTHUMBRIAN GLOSS TO THE
GOSPEL OF SAINT MATTHEW.
PART I. PHONOLOGY**

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The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Part I. Phonology by
Emily Howard Foley

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EMILY HOWARD FOLEY

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE
NORTHUMBRIAN GLOSS TO THE
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PART I. PHONOLOGY

BY
EMILY HOWARD FOLEY, Ph.D.



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PREFACE

THE following pages contain the results of my phonological investigation of the Lindisfarne Gospel of Matthew. The study is based upon the text of Skeat, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, Cambridge, 1887; and upon Cook's *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, Halle, 1894. Where there is a difference between Skeat's and Cook's collations, I have chosen the latter's.

In the arrangement of my material, I have closely followed the order which Sievers employs in his Grammar, making West Germanic the point of departure. I have not always given every example illustrating the point in question; neither have I noted all the graphic variations of letters, such as æ-æ; ā-aa; u-wu; uu-vv.

The works which have proved most helpful in my investigation are listed in the Bibliography at the close of these pages. In addition to this acknowledgement, however, I must make special mention of three works which have given me an advantage over my predecessors in this field. I refer to Sievers' *Zum Angelsächsischen Vocalismus* (Decanatsprogramm); Bülbring's *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*; and Lindelöf's *Die Südnorthumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts*. In this connexion it is only fair to add that the greater part of my work had been done before either of these last two books fell into my hands; indeed, I did not receive Lindelöf's volume till my manuscript was about to be sent to press. I therefore have attempted

nothing more than to incorporate mere references to the most significant of his suggestions and conclusions.

Furthermore, I must acknowledge aid from the *New English Dictionary*, a valuable source which Fuchsél does not mention.

My work in the main merely confirms, of course, the results of previous investigators; but in a few instances, which it is not necessary for me to specify, I trust that I have suggested considerations which others have overlooked, even though I may not have arrived at certainty.

In conclusion, it gives me pleasure to acknowledge the guidance which Professor Cook has given me in this task.

EMILY HOWARD FOLEY.

YALE UNIVERSITY,

May 29, 1902.

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PHONOLOGY

A. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

CHAPTER I. SHORT VOWELS

§ 1. a.

In originally closed syllables WGmc. *a* appears as *æ* (S. § 49).

I. æ before a simple consonant, or where the consonant has been doubled by the scribe, occurs in the following forms of the pret. ind. 1 and 3 sing. of the st. vbs. Cl. IV, V: *gebræcc* 14. 19; *tobræc* 27. 40; *gebær* 8. 17; *gespræc* 12. 22; *spræcc* 12. 46; *bæd* 27. 58 (beside *gebæd* 18. 26; *gebeaed* 26. 42); *begæt* 12. 43; *cwæð* I 17. 11 (beside *cwæð* I 17. 18; v. S. § 391, anm. 10; F. pp. 4-5); *gesæt* 26. 69; *sætt* 26. 55 (beside *set* I 21. 2; *sett* I 19. 8); also the pret. of the root *wes*: *wæs* I 6. 15; *waess* 1. 19; *wes* 2. 3; *waes* I 7. 5 (2); likewise in the pret.-pres. vb. *mæga*: *mæg* 9. 28; *maeg* I 17. 9; and in the imp. of the st. vbs. Cl. VI: *fær* 2. 20; *gefær* 17. 20; cf. S. § 49, anm. 2; *Bülbring*, *Angl. Beib.* IX, 89-91; F. § 1 (1).

Other examples are: *æfist* I 1. 10; *æt* I 5. 5; *aet* I 6. 19; *æd* 18. 29 (S. §§ 43, 51, 130; for *d* and *t* v. §§ 38, 39); *bæcgling* I 3. 10; *bærlice* I 5. 4; *lehtfæt* 6. 22; *glædnise* 28. 8; *hwæt* I 1. 3; *huæs* 22. 20; *hrædlice* 8. 32; *ðæt* I 4. 4; *ðætte* 11. 23; *ðæs* I 3. 12; *bærsynnig* 18. 17; *gæt* 7. 14 (beside *geat* 7. 13; *geatt* 16. 18 (§ 21)); *bræccoc* 17. 15; *blæc* 5. 36; *dæg* 6. 34; *dæg(huæm)* 26. 55; *oferfær* (sb.) 1. 17; *scæl* 10. 8 mg.

2 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

glaeren I. 8. 3 is not clear to me; cf. NED. 'glass,' 'glare'; S. § 234.

II. æ is found before consonant groups in: æfter I 5. 11; æfter I 1. 1; ðætte 11. 23; gesægdniſe 13. 11; soðfæst 1. 19 (beside soðfæstra 13. 49; soðfæsta 9. 13; soðfæstniſse I 16. 14; wisfeast 19. 21; v. B. §§ 250, 251); fæste 27. 22; fæstnagæð I 7. 7 (beside efnegefæstnade I 21. 7; gefæstnadon I 22. 6; cf. *ibid.*); fæstnunga I 5. 4; gefrægn 22. 35 (beside gefragade 2. 16; gefraignad 2. 4; v. § 14); gebrægd 26. 51; gebrægdas 13. 22; gedærsted (?) (*Lind.*² § 64) 13. 33; dærstum 16. 6 (beside darste 16. 11); creft 25. 24 (beside crefta 25. 22); onrægn (?) 25. 6 (beside ongeaegn 25. 1; togægnas 27. 32); these words according to *Lind.*² § 9 may belong here, or they may be the result of umlaut (§ 21; *ibid.* § 66; cf. B. § 296); also in the pres. opt., pres. p., pret. ind., and pp. of habba and sæga (v. S. § 415, 1; cf. *Bülbring*, *Angl. Beib.* IX, 93): hæbbe 19. 16; hæbbend 9. 23; hæfdes 22. 12; næfde 22. 25; sægde I 18. 17; egesægde 22. 6; sæge 26. 63; furthermore in: hrægle 27. 28 (beside waghrahel 27. 51); wæstm 21. 29 (with disappearance of h before breaking, or pal-umlaut took place; v. S. § 165, anm. 3); wæstim I 19. 4; mægn 13. 54; mægen 11. 12; genæglede 27. 31; v. S. § 49.

e occurs in gers 14. 19 (3); unfegernis 24. 15 mg.

For the æ in plægde 11. 17, &c., v. S. § 416, anm. 13 b, 17.

Unexplained: nevdæ I 4. 3; fræppigdon 21. 37; gefræpgedon 12. 10 (cf. *Lea* p. 68, note; *Lind.*² § 10, anm.; v. NED. 'frap'); gegræppde 14. 31 (v. S. § 405, anm. 10; cf. *Lea* § 24; *Björkman*, *Scand. Loan-Words in ME.* p. 54, note).

For the e in hehstald 25. 7 cf. *Cook's Gloss.*; F. p. 4; *Lind.*² § 11.

a occurs in ah I 17. 18; ac 16. 13; was 21. 42; v. S. § 49, anm. 1; asca 11. 21; lattera 12. 45; also in acas 3. 10 (S. § 50, anm. 2).

fās (fāsn) is *Cook's* way of glossing the word. It occurs in *Mt.* as fas 9. 20; fās 14. 36. *Sweet* and *Hall* give only