

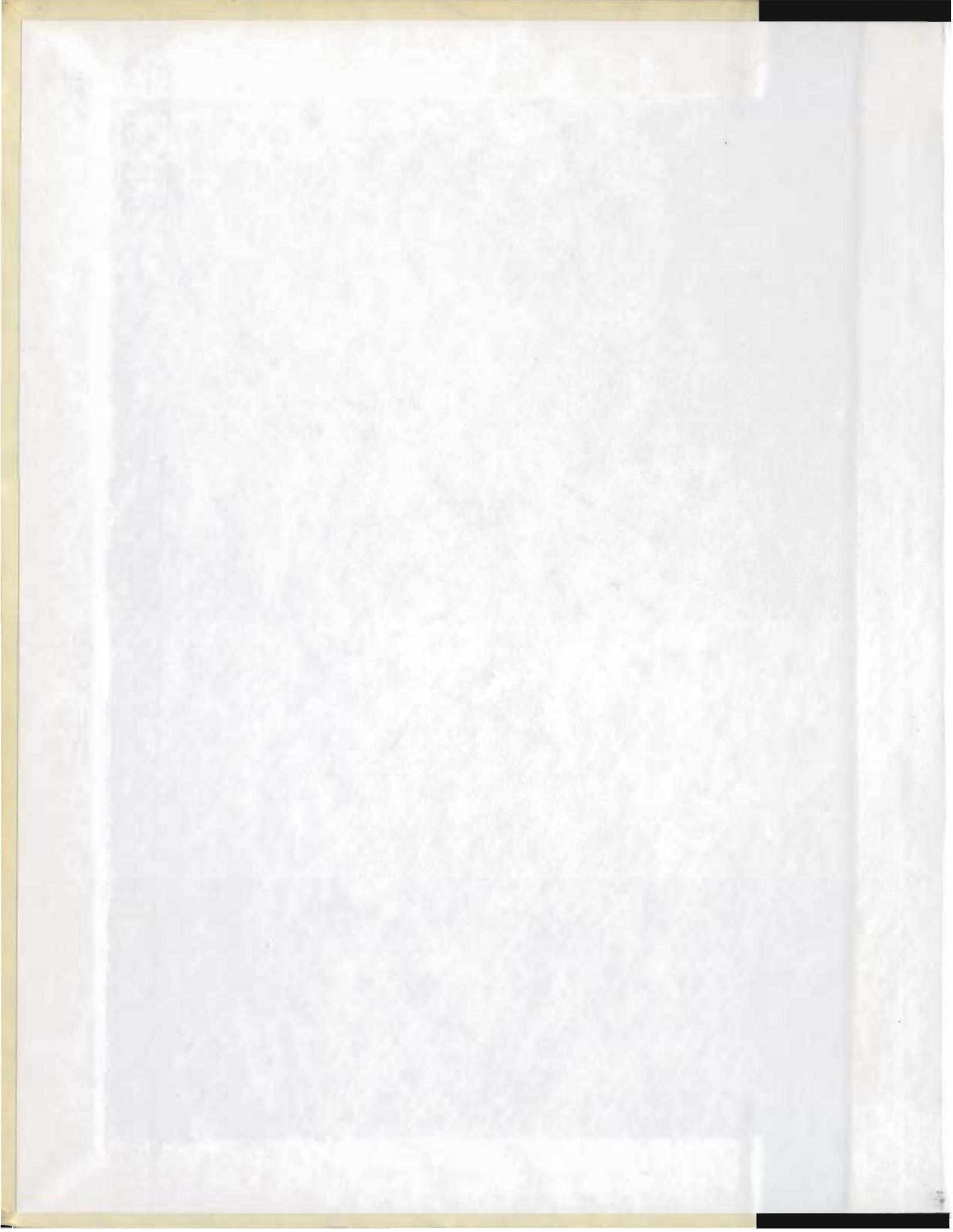
A REEXAMINATION OF THE SEPARABLE VERB
IN SELECTED ANGLO-SAXON PROSE WORKS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

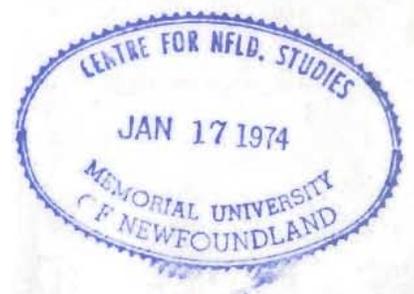
(Without Author's Permission)

ROBERT L. HILLIARD



c1

334627



A REEXAMINATION OF THE SEPARABLE VERB IN SELECTED
ANGLO-SAXON PROSE WORKS

By

© ROBERT L. HILLIARD

A THESIS

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of English Language and Literature of
Memorial University of Newfoundland

September 1971

This thesis has been examined and approved by:

G. O. Roberts

The systems of compounding verbs in Old English and German are analogous, but not every grammarian is agreed that Old English possessed a system of separable compound verbs. One authority, Joseph Wright, dismisses any need for discussing separable compounds in Old English on the grounds that they were merely juxtapositions of independent words, but others have shown that Old English did indeed possess such a system, notably F. P. Harrison, George Curme, and Murat Roberts.

Three types of compound verbs can be distinguished in Old English: two groups which are inseparable and one which is separable. One of the inseparable groups is comprised of verbs or verb stems to which have been prefixed prepositions or decayed prepositions (a-, ge-, on-, mis-, etc.); the second inseparable type is formed with certain verbs to which nouns or adjectives have been added (nealcan, ofensorgian, etc.). The separable verb, so-called, is one which is used with an adverb or prepositional adverb (the term given to particles which function both as prepositions or as adverbs), but whose components are not always written together as one word. The adverbial particle may be found following the verb,

ABSTRACT

The systems of compounding verbs in Old English and German are analogous, but not every grammarian is agreed that Old English possessed a system of separable compound verbs. One authority, Joseph Wright, dismisses any need for discussing separable compounds in Old English on the grounds that they were merely juxtapositions of independent words, but others have shown that Old English did indeed possess such a system, notably T.P. Harrison, George Curme, and Murat Roberts.

Three types of compound verbs can be distinguished in Old English: two groups which are inseparable and one which is separable. One of the inseparable groups is comprised of verbs or verb stems to which have been prefixed prepositions or decayed prepositions (a-, ge-, on-, mis-, etc.); the second inseparable type is formed with certain verbs to which nouns or adjectives have been added (nealæcan, efensorgian, etc.). The separable verb, so-called, is one which is used with an adverb or prepositional adverb (the term given to particles which function both as prepositions or as adverbs), but whose components are not always written together as one word. The adverbial particle may be found following the verb,

for example, as in eode ða in.

This thesis re-examines the separable verb in Old English on a broader basis than some of the earlier studies. A considerable sampling of English prose has been made, much of it not translations of foreign sources, and the selections range from King Alfred's Orosius through Wulfstan, Ælfric, and the late prose of the Peterborough Chronicle.

Because stress in prose, whether spoken or read aloud, is difficult to ascertain, especially with the rather scanty legacy of Old English works, this linguistic aspect has been left to one side except for a brief mention of how it might have influenced the separation of verb and particles. Most authorities are agreed that the separable compound verb took the stress on the particle; the inseparable verb, on the verb base or stem. Separation or lack of it also affected the meaning of the verb as will be seen.

In addition to the difficulty of determining stress in Old English prose, another problem met with is ambiguous or dubious syntax. Frequent examples of word order in which an objective pronoun is followed by a prepositional form and then a verb, allow two-fold interpretations. One can interpret the sequence as that of a prepositional phrase with the preposition placed

after its object, or one may regard the structure as that of a compound verb with the pronoun object in the particular case required by usage. The ambiguity can sometimes be resolved by comparison to clear-cut illustrations in other areas of Old English; sometimes, analogous patterns and syntax in Old High German point to a compound verb; frequently, however, no definitive analysis can be made.

Generally, compound verbs are formed with adverbs of place. This was the rule in Old High German and still is in present-day German; examination of representative texts in Old English prose shows a similar tendency for adverbs of place to form verbal combinations. Not every adverb of place formed a compound or combination, however, and adverbs in -an proved to be the least productive of such types.

Unlike Modern English, Old English combinations of adverbial particle and verb tended to remain literal in meaning, but the frequency with which verb and particle occurred together points to real combinations or sense-units.

Many of the prepositional adverbs are traditionally considered to form only inseparable compounds, but several instances were observed of both separable and inseparable usage for the same combination of verb and particle.

Ofslean, for example, was used in both ways: separated, it means 'strike off', 'cut off'; as an inseparable verb, 'kill'. Though not prefixed with a prepositional adverb, the verb forðfaran also showed the same differentiation between a literal meaning when the verb and particle were separate and a figurative meaning when inseparable. According to the evidence of the corpus, the system in Old English was not as regular as it is in present-day German, but the basis of the principle of separation or lack of separation with consequent differences in literal and figurative meanings can clearly be seen.

The following conclusions can be drawn: based on the frequency of occurrence and spread of usage among authors and by virtue of noun compounds composed of parallel verb-adverb combinations, adverbial particles often formed sense-units with the verb in close enough syntactical relationship to be considered true compounds or verb-adverb combinations. Prepositional adverbs formed obvious compounds, for the most part, but a large number of ambiguous cases must remain unresolved in classification either as prepositional constructions or as compound verbs. However, on the basis of comparison with Old High German, compound verbs in Old English may be more numerous than some grammarians have hitherto considered.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
LIST OF TABLES	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
I. BACKGROUND AND DELIMITATION OF STUDY	1
II. ADVERBIAL COMBINATIONS	23
III. COMBINATIONS WITH PREPOSITIONAL ADVERBS AND PREPOSITIONS	89
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	149
APPENDIX A: SEQUENCE OF PRONOUN-VERB- PARTICLE IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES	154
APPENDIX B: VERB LIST	157
LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED	160

PREFACE

At this time, a note of appreciation and gratitude is in order for the valuable help and assistance freely given by several persons during the gestation and completion of this study. I would like to acknowledge especially: Miss Margaret Miles-Cadman, my adviser; Dr. William J. Kirwin, for his time and patience in reading the preliminary versions of the text and his advice; and Dr. Margaret M. Bryant, who first stimulated the research project on Anglo-Saxon verbs in the early stages of my Anglo-Saxon studies. Also, Dr. G. W. L. and D. E. L. for their constant encouragement.

A word of thanks, too, to Memorial University of Newfoundland for its generosity in making this research possible through its fellowship program.

Meinen Eltern in Dankbarkeit gewidmet.

R. L. H.

St. John's, Newfoundland

August 1971

LIST OF TABLES

I.	Frequency and Distribution of Potential Verb-Adverb Combinations	27
II.	Placement of <u>Forð</u>	48
III.	Placement and Frequency of <u>Up</u> in Combinations	61
IV.	Placement and Frequency of <u>Ut</u> in Combinations	74

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Æ	<u>Ælfric, as represented in various editions of his works:</u>
H	<u>Selected Homilies, ed. Henry Sweet</u>
SL	<u>Lives of Saints, ed. W.W. Skeat</u>
PTest	<u>Introduction to The Heptateuch, ed. S.J. Crawford</u>
PG	<u>Preface to Genesis, in the same volume</u>
Ep	<u>Epilogue to The Heptateuch</u>
Supp	<u>Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, ed. J.C. Pope</u>
Alex	<u>"Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle", in Three Old English Prose Texts, ed. S. Rypins</u>
Apo	<u>Apollonius of Tyre, ed. P. Goolden</u>
BenO	<u>The Benedictine Office, ascribed to Wulfstan, ed. J.M. Ure</u>
Bl	<u>The Blickling Homilies of the X Century, ed. R. Morris</u>
Xrod	<u>The Rule of Chrodegang, ed. A.S. Napier, and including:</u>
Th	<u>The Capitula of Theodulf</u>
Epit	<u>The Epitome of Benedict of Aniane</u>
Xron	<u>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. C. Plummer</u>
JEGP	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
MdE	<u>Modern English</u>
MdG	<u>Modern German</u>
N	<u>The Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. S.J. Crawford</u>
O	<u>King Alfred's Orosius, ed. Henry Sweet</u>
OE	<u>Old English</u>
OHG	<u>Old High German</u>
OI	<u>Old Icelandic</u>
ON	<u>Old Norse</u>
PBB	<u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</u>
StM	<u>"Saint Mary of Egypt", in Ælfric's Lives of Saints, formerly ascribed to Ælfric and now recognized as the work of another author</u>
TPS	<u>Transactions of the Philological Society</u>
V	<u>The Vercelli Homilies, ed. Max Förster</u>
W	<u>The Homilies of Wulfstan, ed. Dorothy Bethurum</u>

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND DELIMITATION OF STUDY

The following study is an outgrowth of an investigation into verbal prefixes in Anglo-Saxon. While much of the ground has already been covered in various studies, it was found that most of the available material involved the so-called inseparable verb prefixes and that relatively little attention was given to the separable ones. Many grammars, like Anderson and Williams (Boston, 1935), Moore and Knott (Ann Arbor, 1940), Sweet (Oxford, 1882; rpt. 1967) mention nothing at all about these separable and inseparable verbs and prefixes. Others discuss the prefixes in a general way of word-formation, as for example, Quirk and Wrenn (London, 1965), or Bruce Mitchell (Oxford, 1965). The most detailed analysis of the prefixes is found in Joseph and Elizabeth Wright's Old English Grammar (London, 1934), but even here, attention centers on the inseparable verbal prefixes. The separable prefixes the Wrights dismiss with the statement: "Separable verbs call for no further comment, because they merely consist of the juxtaposition of two independent words."¹

¹Joseph and Elizabeth Wright, Old English Grammar (3rd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 328.

Surely, this is an oversimplification: mere juxtaposition of verb and modifier would not create a compound verb. What, then, is a compound verb? To begin with, in Germanic one can broadly distinguish, in addition to classifying verbs as strong or weak, two major groups: simple and compound. Simple verbs are basically a stem, generally of one morpheme, to which are added the various personal and tense endings.

bringan, infinitive; ðu bringst, 2nd person, singular, present indicative. Compound verbs are those having a composition of two or more morphemes forming a unit.

These compounds can be further distinguished: one class of such compounds is formed by means of a simple verb and an attached prefix which operates as a bound morpheme.² In Old English these prefixes are a-, be-, ed-, for-, ge-, mis-, of-, on-, oð-, and to-. The prefixes are generally considered to be prepositions or decayed prepositions, which no longer exist except as the bound morpheme; e.g., a-, ge-, ed- and mis- do not occur independently. Even though these prefixes do sometimes appear in manuscripts separated from the verb stem, they are considered

²According to Daniel Steible in his Concise Handbook of Linguistics (London: Peter Owen, 1967), a bound morpheme is one that cannot occur by itself, always being attached to another morpheme. Prefixes and suffixes and declensional endings would constitute bound morphemes in English. See p. 13.

inseparable (gewitan appearing as ge witan, for example).
 Ex. giefan 'give', forgiefan 'grant', 'allow', 'overlook';
gan 'go', forgan 'neglect', 'lose'; don 'do', misdon 'do
 wrong', 'transgress'. In the older grammars, these verbs
 consisting of the simple verb with its bound morpheme are
 called inseparable verbs; the bound morphemes, inseparable
 prefixes.

A second, smaller, class of compound verbs is
 made up of verbs comprising two morphemes, but unlike
 those in the first class above, the prefixed morpheme exists
 as a word in its own right, as full, efen, neah. Although
 independent words, they act as bound morphemes might,
 generally acting as inseparable prefixes. Samples
 include fullgan, nealæcan, efensargian. Often, these
 appear compounded with a bound morpheme from class 1:
genealæcan, geefenlæcan, gerihtwisian. The prefixes in
 this group are non-prepositional.

A third class contains verbs which have variable
 prefixes, that is the verb stem is accompanied upon some
 occasions by a particle before it, very much as with the
 compounds in class 1, but upon other occasions the
 particle follows the verb. This tmesis or splitting is
 characteristic of this group, and the prefixes which so
 operate are traditionally called separable prefixes and
 the combinations they form with the verb are called
 separable compounds. Both adverbs and prepositions are

found in this class, forō, up, and ut, for example. An infinitive may show the form utgan; within a sentence pattern, the same verb might appear as se cyning eode ut. As will be seen from the further citations in the text, the position of the particle, as the variable prefix shall be called, may occur almost anywhere in the sentence.

A separable compound verb, then, reveals a looser syntactical relationship between the verb and its modifying particle than is possible with its opposite inseparable type, where the particle must always appear before the verb (whether written attached to the verb by the scribe or not). A problem in dealing with separable verbs lies in determining when the verb is truly a compound and when it is merely a verb with an adverbial modifier. Despite looseness of syntax, however, verbs in class 3 often combine with a prefix from class 1, as in geutlagian, utadrifan, forōgefaran, and geforōfaran.

This system of separable and inseparable compound verbs is historically old in the Germanic languages, but is probably best known today through modern Dutch and German. It is generally agreed, though not unanimously,³ that OE

³H.M. Meroney and L. Bloomfield would disagree in connection with many of the adverbial particles. See, for example, Meroney's dissertation "Old English upp, uppe, uppan, and upon" (University of Chicago, 1943), pp. 46, 48.

possessed the two types of verbal compounds in a system analogous to that in other Germanic languages. Although many grammars do not consider the topic, as already has been observed, the definitive treatment can be found in Campbell's grammar where separable verbs and prefixes are discussed under the heading of accent.⁴ According to Campbell, OE separable verbs functioned much as do the separable verbs of German even though editorial treatment does not print the compounds and "quasi-compounds" (those formed from prepositional adverbs) as units.⁵ Authorities like Campbell, Wright, and Curme, agree that the accent of the inseparable compound verb fell upon the verb stem, while the accent fell upon the particle of the separable compound. Because it is difficult to determine precisely accent or stress in prose works, this aspect of the separable verb will be left to one side.

The major work on separable prefixes is a dissertation by T. P. Harrison ("The Separable Prefixes in Anglo-Saxon"; Johns Hopkins, 1892); a fine collection of instances of the separable verb in the prose works of King Alfred, its value and significance are not questioned; however, its scope is limited by its being

⁴A[llistair] Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 30-33.

⁵Campbell, p. 32. Similarly, Wright, sec. 14, pp. 18-19. Prepositional adverb: having the function of both parts of speech - Campbell, p. 30. To be discussed further in a later section.

confined only to Alfred's prose as delineated in Bede, Boethius, Orosius, and Cura Pastoralis. In addition, while Harrison does discuss many of the prepositional adverbs (æfter, æt, in, mid, of, ofer, on, to, ðurh, under, wið ymb) and three adverbial particles (ford, up, and ut), he eliminates from his list any consideration of other particles, such as ær, beforan, betweoh, efen, from, ham, hider, nider, ongean, onweg, togædere, togeanes, ðider, tosomne. Many of these adverbs just listed are capable of forming verb-adverb combinations as will be seen.

A more recent study of compound verbs is the dissertation by J.R. Hendrickson ("Old English Prepositional Compounds in Relationship to Their Latin Originals"; University of Pennsylvania, 1948), not, however, exclusively devoted to separable verbs. Hendrickson includes as compounds many of the separable type, not so listed in Bosworth-Toller: upateon, uphebban, upweallan and the like. Although Hendrickson limited his investigation to Alfred's Orosius, he found that inseparable prefixes tended to lose their meanings. Despite this loss, however, inseparable verbs predominate in Alfred's prose over the more specific verbs compounded with separable prefixes.

The separable compound has also been studied by George Curme in his article "The Development of Verbal Compounds in Germanic" (PBB, XXXIX (1914), 320-361); as its title indicates, the study is not limited just to OE. Also covering the Germanic group is the short, but helpful

article by Murat Roberts entitled "Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution" (JEGP, XXXV (1936), 466-481).

The purpose of this study, then, is to re-examine the verbs in class 3, the so-called separable compounds, and to extend the investigation beyond the limits of Alfred's prose set by Harrison in his investigation. Further, it is proposed to include all particles that may form compounds, whether simple adverbs and prepositions or whether compound forms. Both Harrison and Hendrickson excluded compounded forms of adverbs and prepositions from their studies. The scope of the literature is limited only to its being prose; since Harrison has covered the Alfredian prose so thoroughly, only the Orosius, parts I-III, has been included here. The remainder of the selections covers the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle runs into the twelfth. The material has been divided according to the nature of the particles. One chapter will deal with the adverbial combinations and a separate chapter will be devoted to compounds with prepositional adverbs. Words functioning in OE only as prepositions (oð, toforan, uppan) constitute such a small group that they will be discussed under the larger group of prepositional adverbs.

The corpus. Ideally, a study of separable prefixes should be based on works of original composition;

the relative scarcity of original prose material in OE, however, makes it obligatory to include translated works. To what extent the Latin influenced OE is not directly measurable, but the influence is possibly less than might be assumed; Hendrickson's findings show the independence of King Alfred in translating.⁶ Insofar as Latin verbs when compounded appear only as inseparable, that usage does not seem to have inhibited the Germanic tendency to separate verb and verbal particle. Indeed, the direction taken by English over the course of the centuries is almost the reverse of Latin preverbal compounding; most of the combinations today show postverbal order, e.g. 'to put up', not 'to upput'; 'to pull up', not 'to uppull' and so on.

Works included in this study are as follows (full details in bibliography):

1. "The Peterborough Chronicle" in Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, edited by C. Plummer.
2. Apollonius of Tyre, edited by P. Goolden.
3. The Benedictine Office (ascribed to Wulfstan), edited by J. Ure.
4. The Blickling Homilies, edited by R. Morris.

⁶John R. Hendrickson, Old English Prepositional Compounds in Relationship to Their Latin Originals, Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1948 (No. 43 in Supplement to Language, vol. 24, no. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1948), p. 66.

5. The Rule of Chrodegang, including in the same volume: The Capitula of Theodulf and The Epitome of Benedict of Aniane, edited by A.S. Napier.
6. The Gospel of Nicodemus, edited by S. Crawford.
7. Orosius, Books I-III, edited by H. Sweet.
8. The Vercelli Homilies i-viii, edited by M. Förster.
9. The Homilies of Wulfstan, edited by D. Bethurum.
10. "The Letter of Alexander the Great", in Three Old English Prose Texts, edited by S. Rypins.
11. "St. Mary of Egypt", in Ælfric's Lives of Saints, no longer ascribed to Ælfric.
12. The following selections from Ælfric:

Selected Homilies, edited by H. Sweet.

Ælfric's Introduction and Epilogue to the Heptateuch; his Preface to Genesis in The Old English Heptateuch, edited by S. Crawford.

"The Nativity", "Seven Sleepers", "St. Eustace", and "St. Eufrasia", in Lives of Saints, edited by W. Skeat.

"Sermo ad Populum..." and "Domenica Prima...", two homilies in metrical prose, in Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, edited by J. Pope.

Terminology. Although the older grammars use the terms separable and inseparable in referring to compound verbs, more recent studies favor other terms, phrasal verbs, group verbs, composite verbs being a few of the more recent

ones; in "Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis" T.F. Mitchell classifies compounds as prepositional or non-prepositional, phrasal and non-phrasal to achieve a grouping of four: as, 'to take', 'to take to', 'to put up', 'to put up with'.⁷ Compounds with adverbs are often referred to as verb-adverb combinations. In view of the fact that there is lack of agreement on the newer terminology, the older, traditional terms will be employed; for the adverbial compounds in Chapter II, the term verb-adverb combination will be used. Grammatical references in general will follow traditional terminology. The use of terms like separable and inseparable, the common terms of noun, verb, adjective, etc., has an advantage in matching traditional nomenclature in German reference works and of being widespread in usage. In discussing the combinations with adverbs, the term particle is used in place of prefix because the flexible placement of the unattached morpheme which can precede or follow the verb requires a term which is neutral in its meaning. In this way, prefix is reserved for the proclitic bound morpheme and its use made to adhere more closely to its etymological meaning (a-, be-, ed-, ge-, etc.); by particle, one will understand those adverbial or prepositional forms which may

⁷Transactions of the Philological Society, 1958, p. 106.

be used freely before or after the verb, yet which work closely enough with the verb to be considered a combination (forð, ham, onweg, up, ut, and others).

There are several difficulties encountered in treating the so-called separable compounds: the placement of accent, the point at which verb and particle function together as a unit, and the fact that some particles function both as separable and inseparable particles and prefixes.

Point of compounding or combination. In his Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination, A.G. Kennedy discusses the Modern English phrasal verb as an outgrowth of the older compounds; he identifies a very real difficulty in attempting to distinguish at what point adverbial and prepositional particles cease to function as separate or independent morphemes and meld into a true phrasal verb whose meaning may differ from that of the simple verb.⁸ On a more restricted scale, the same problem applies to Old English, especially since the OE separable compound tends to remain literal in meaning, that is, keeping the basic meaning of the verb and its

⁸Stanford University Series, Language and Literature, Vol. I, No. 1 (Stanford: Stanford University Publications, 1920), p. 9.

particle. Only in later OE do figurative meanings in separable compounds foreshadow the MdE phrasal verb, as giefan up for 'yield' in the latter part of the Chronicle; and tacan wið for 'accept' in the same work.

A further complication in deciding upon a compound is caused by ambiguity in syntax when a noun or pronoun in the objective case precedes the particle in preverbal position. It is not always possible to distinguish the construction as a postposited preposition or as a true verbal compound.⁹ For example, in the clause ". . . and him geornlice æfter ferde mid fæwum geferum..." (Æ, SL, II, 192.32), it is quite possible to read the OE in two ways: either, ferde æfter him (verb completed by a prepositional phrase), or, him æfterferde (compound verb with dative object). In an attempt to decide, one can only try to find clear-cut illustrations with the same verb and particle or to resolve the ambiguity by analogy to similar types. Other verbs, in this instance, attest the possibility of compounding ferde with æfter: æfterfylgan, æfterrowan, æfterspyrian.¹⁰

⁹Kennedy, p. 17.

¹⁰Yet the case for interpreting the construction as a prepositional phrase would be strongly upheld by such scholars and researchers as G.H. Vallins, A. Reszkiewicz, and F. Wende. In noting the common occurrence of the construction in OE, Vallins calls it "a little surprising" and explains that with the decline of inflection the

The question of accent. As remarked earlier in the chapter, accent or stress in prose works is difficult to determine. Although accent marks are sometimes supplied by the scribes, the usage is not followed to an equal degree so that the accents that do appear cannot be reduced to rule. However, accent can be determined to a degree from OE verse,¹¹ by comparison with Old High German, Gothic, and by a comparison with MdE and other modern Germanic languages. Accent in German today distinguishes separable verbs from inseparable ones: when the accent or stress falls upon the stem of a compound verb and the particle is unstressed, the compound never separates in inflected forms within a sentence or clause - conversely, an accented prefix or particle separates.¹² Consequently, the verb übersetzen is both separable and inseparable, depending upon the way it is accented: accented on the verb stem, it would appear as a unit in a sentence like

preposition took its normal place in front of its governed word-group. See his The Pattern of English (London: Andre Deutsch, 1956), p. 61. Alfred Reszkiewicz labels the type "split construction"; see his article "Split Construction in Old English" in Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Margaret Schlauch (Warsaw: PWN-Polish Scientific Publishers, 1966), pp. 318-319. Dr. Fritz Wende's monumental investigation is contained in Palaestra, LXX (1915).

¹¹See Campbell, p. 32 (sec. 78).

¹²Peter Jørgensen, German Grammar I, transl. G. Kolisko and F.P. Pickering (New York: New York University Press, 1963), pp. 46-47.

er übersetzt das Buch, 'he translates the book'; with accent on the prefix über, it would appear as er setzt den Mann über, 'he sets the man across' or 'he ferries the man across'. It will be noted at once with the separated form that there is also a difference in meaning: in general, the inseparable verb is figurative; the separable verb, literal.¹³ According to Wright, the same treatment of accent determined separable and inseparable verbs in OE.¹⁴

When the Germanic element survives in MdE, the operation of accent may still be observed, as in the following: with figurative meaning, 'he underwent an operation', where the primary accent falls on the verb stem went; when, however, the same stem and particle are used in a literal meaning, as 'at the beach today, a man went under three times before the guards could reach him', not only are the two elements separated, but there is a noticeable accent on under which was lacking in the first example underwent. Presumably, then, if one can determine the accent of verbal compounds in OE prose, he can eliminate

¹³Jørgensen, p. 50. The same is true in modern Swedish. See sec. 225 in Ann-Mari Beite's Basic Swedish Grammar (3rd ed.; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963), p. 120.

¹⁴Wright, pp. 18-19 (sec. 14). He makes a similar observation for OHG and Middle High German in his Historical German Grammar, Vol. I: Phonology, Word-Formation, Accidence (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), p. 20.

the ambiguity of syntax described above as a source of difficulty.

Separable and inseparable. In present-day German, a group of compound verbs prefixed with durch 'through' hinter 'behind', über 'over', um 'around', unter 'under', voll 'full', and wider 'against' may function either as inseparable verbs or as separable.¹⁵ Those which receive the stress on the stem of the verb act in the same manner as inseparable verbs with bound morphemes (class 1 above). When the stress falls on the prefix, the prefix and verb separate, the prefix being placed at the end of a sentence or clause. German usage today affords a parallel to OE usage: Wright does not discuss æt, ofer, durh, under, wid, wider, and yambe as verbal prefixes on the grounds that they were separable or inseparable according to the

¹⁵Jørgensen, pp. 46-47. The author also makes a distinction in terminology between inseparables of the class 1 type (those with bound morphemes), which he calls derivative verbs and those with the prefixes just listed above. The latter group he labels compound, dividing them into separable or inseparable verbs as the accent warrants. For his definition of derivative, see p. 36; prefixes and examples follow, pp. 37-40.

principle of accent as noted above.¹⁶ The two lists are nearly identical.

Not only this group of prefixes just listed shows separable or inseparable usage, however. Several of the prefixes, usually considered inseparable, of-, on-, and to- for example, revealed separable traits upon occasion. These will be treated in the chapter on prepositional adverbs, but one illustration can be cited here: ofslean may mean 'kill', 'strike down', 'destroy', 'cut off'. [Unless otherwise specified, definitions for OE words are cited from Clark-Hall's A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Cambridge, 1966).] In Ælfric's introductory section to *The Heptateuch*, both the separated and unseparated usage can be observed: "...and sloh him of þæt heafod..." (35.478-36.479) 'and cut off his head'; "... and man ofsloh his twegen suna ætforan his gesihpe..." (38.516) 'and they killed his two sons

¹⁶Wright, OE Grammar, p. 329. In connection with the references to parallel situations in OE and German, there are, of course, obvious pitfalls and dangers in comparing an older form of one language with the modern form of another, even when they do belong to the same language family. However, the very conservative nature of present-day German preserves many of the older usages: Friebisch and Collinson state that it represents an earlier stage of development than Dutch, Scandinavian, and English. See their The German Language (6th ed., rev.; London: Faber & Faber, 1968), p. 437. Pertinent, too, is Karl Heinz Wagner's statement "As a native speaker of German I can confirm that the regularities of O.E. syntax are much closer to those of German than to those of Mod.E. This is almost a commonplace." Generative Grammatical Studies in the Old English Language (Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 1969), pp. 44-45. A final

before his eyes'. While the first quotation has an element of ambiguity in that one could interpret him of as a postposited preposition with its object preceding, here is a place where comparison between German and OE might help in interpreting the syntax. Using the cognate verb schlagen, the OE sentence could be read into German as und schlug ihm das Haupt (or den Kopf) ab. The two sentences are practically identical, for German places its separable prefix ab at the end of the clause and employs a dative of reference in preference to a possessive adjective. While the position of the separable prefix has been 'fixed' in MdG, it was not in earlier stages. Old High German is more like OE as can be seen in the following illustration: "min quena fram ist gigangan in ira tagun", where the verb is not gigangan, but framgigangan.¹⁷ The

reference to the nature of the German language today (and hence its relevance to OE) is taken from Curme's study of verbal compounds. Comparing English and German usage, he remarks: "German is in many respects a highly archaic language. Its form often does not conform to modern feeling." "The Development of Verbal Compounds in Germanic", PBB, XXXIX (1914), 360. However, such comparisons as will be made, will be offered only as illumination of a problem, not as proof of OE usage.

¹⁷Jeffrey Ellis, An Elementary Old High German Grammar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 90.

ability of the prefix to 'wander' within the sentence confines should not prevent the conception of sloh him of as a verbal compound. Curme notes that the adverbial particle usually followed the verb when used in a concrete sense and preceded the verb when used in a figurative manner.¹⁸ The OE sloh him of þæt heafod well illustrates Curme's observation, especially when placed next to ofsloh his twegen suna.

In attempting to resolve such cases, one would do well to remember that the older the usage, the more likely it is a compound, even though strange to modern eyes. Murat Roberts traces the movement of compounds in Germanic as an incomplete transition from early preference for compounding to placement of the preposition in an adnominal position, English having progressed further in this direction than has German.¹⁹ Curme, too, records instances to show that the modern forms of the same languages have detached the prefixes from the verb, converting the prefix into a preposition with its own object and an independent position in the sentence: for example, OHG "Gotes geist imo ánawas", which shows a

¹⁸See his article "Verbal Compounds", p. 328.

¹⁹"Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution", JEGP, XXXV (1936), 474.

compound verb anawesan, must now be rendered as "God's spirit was upon him" (underlining editorially supplied).²⁰

Usage of phrasal verbs in English today may also shed some light on the earlier constructions. Should we say that the objects in the following sentences are objects of a preposition or objects of a composite verb? 'He looked at the new book'; 'He could not put up with the child's behaviour'. In each instance, the composite verb can be replaced by a single verb: looked at by 'examined', put up with by 'tolerate' or 'endure'.²¹ Applying the principle to OE would favor the interpretation of sloh him of as a verbal unit rather than as a postposited preposition.

In addition to comparison with other cognate languages and the application of analogy, another criterion to be used in helping to determine the validity of a compound verb is the frequency with which the same verb and particle may occur together. The more frequently a

²⁰Curme, "Verbal Compounds", pp. 347, et seq.

²¹Many recent grammars cover the subject of composite or phrasal verbs in detail. Particularly helpful are Barbara Strang's Modern English Structure (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), pp. 156-159; F.R. Palmer, A Linguistic Study of the English Verb (London: Longmans, Green, 1965), Chap. 10; and T.F. Mitchell, "Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis", mentioned earlier, TPS (1958), pp. 101-118.

combination appears, the greater the probability that OE writers considered the unit a compound. In this study, using frequency as a yardstick, as it were, was found to be helpful in determining adverbial combinations where literal meanings often made analysis difficult. Yet another means of ascertaining whether a combination of verb and adverb formed a legitimate compound is to check for conversion of the verb-adverb unit into another part of speech, as a noun for example. If a noun which has been derived from a verb retains the adverbial particle, it should be safe to assume that the verb and particle -- despite separation within a sentence or clause -- are a functioning unit. Ælfric often uses the combination of gewitan and aweg; since he also employs the noun aweggewiten-nys, it would seem that separation of parts does not preclude a thought unit.

In summary, then, for the purpose of this study the determination of a separable compound verb as a true compound (where one deals with a unit as opposed to individual words modifying the verb), will be made on frequency of usage, conversion of verb and particle into another part of speech, analogy within OE, and occasionally comparison to cognate languages. By frequency of usage, one may understand either repeated use of the same verb and particle in one author or repeated use in the works of several authors.

Citations from the various authors are given in quotation marks or single-spaced; underlining is used to draw attention to the words or parts under discussion which are of immediate importance. The spelling, which not only varies from author to author or period to period, but also within the same work, even within the same sentence, has been retained as given in the printed text; contractions have not been reproduced as given in the texts, but expanded. In the case of contracted and, it has been expanded to ond in Orosius and Alexander's Letter to Aristotle to conform with the o-spellings in the rest of those texts, otherwise to and. Every effort has been made to insure that spelling and usage conform to the texts.

References to various texts will be made by an abbreviation for the author (as Æ for Ælfric) or by an abbreviation for the title (as Apo, for Apollonius of Tyre) and by page and line for the actual quotation. Omission of material not necessary for the understanding of verb-particle usage within a clause has been indicated in the conventional manner, but enough of the sentence is retained to insure comprehension. Citations from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are made by year alone, where the entries are short; page references are given for longer entries and Plummer's notation of top [t], high [h], middle [m], low [l], and bottom [b] are retained.

A knowledge of Anglo-Saxon is assumed, translations not being supplied except in special cases to emphasize a point in the syntax.

CHAPTER II

ADVERBIAL COMBINATIONS

The traditional definition of an adverb is that of a word which modifies a verb, adjective, or another adverb.¹ Since the subject of this study is limited to verbs, however, the function of an adverb as a modifier of a verb is all that needs concern us here. In view of the parallel systems of Old and Modern English word classes, the descriptions of potential combinations of verb and adverb are based upon the assumption that OE had a word class closely resembling the modern adverb class. The problem, as mentioned in Chapter I, is to decide at which point the adverb ceases to be a separate entity and enters into a close enough relationship with the verb to combine with it to form a sense unit, not just a variable modifier.

¹An inadequate definition according to standards set by the modern linguists. Steible, on the one hand, defines an adverb as "the form of a word in which it functions as modifier of a determiner and is identified by its position in a structure." See p. 13 of his Handbook. On the other hand, H.A. Gleason subdivides the old adverb group into 'intensifiers', 'limiters', and the like, but retains the name adverb for a subdivision which operates as the Latin meaning of the term implies. See pp. 130-131 of his Linguistics and English Grammar (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).

Adverbs may be classified according to their essential meanings, as adverbs of degree, adverbs of manner, adverbs of place, and adverbs of time. In the collection of samples of adverbial usage which might qualify as illustrations of separable prefixes or particles,² the following were observed to occur most often with verbs of basic meaning like come, go, bring, fall:

<u>adun</u>	<u>forð</u>	<u>hindan</u>	<u>onsundran</u>	<u>ufor</u>
<u>ætgedere</u>	<u>ham</u>	<u>inne</u>	<u>togadere</u>	<u>up</u>
<u>aweg</u>	<u>hider</u>	<u>niðer</u>	<u>ðider</u>	<u>ut</u>

While not all of these may create compound verbs and not all occur with equal frequency, it is clear that most of them involve the idea of place or position. The only adverb of time which appears to be used as often or as freely is ær; ætgedere can be used of time, and onsundran is perhaps more an expression of manner ('singly'), but in its meaning of 'apart' could qualify in the sense of 'not in the same place'.

An interesting parallel exists with Modern German here, since the so-called separable prefixes in German have been "derived from abverbs of place".³ Whereas MdE

²"... originally all such prefixes were adverbs", Curme, "Verbal Compounds", p. 320.

³R. Priebisch, and W.E. Collinson, The German Language (London: Faber & Faber, 1968), p. 257.

verb-adverb combinations result in new meanings and the directional or literal force of the adverb is lost,⁴ both the German and OE combinations remain relatively literal. For example, in MdE the up in the phrase 'put up with' is not to be understood literally, nor the out in 'carry out a scheme' (Meyer-Myklestad, p. 104). In OE, however, both the up and ut in the following examples retain their basic meanings as in MdE 'come in', 'go out'. In Ælfric's phrase eagan ut ahaccendon, the adverb ut serves to reinforce the verb since ahaccian means 'to pick out'. Similarly, in the Blickling Homilies one may read: his eagan ut-astungon, where the verb astingan has the basic idea of 'pierce out', 'bore out'. The Chronicle for 1096 contains the phrase het þa eagan ut adon; in this instance, the ut seems less superfluous than in the preceding two examples, inasmuch as adon by itself does not specify an explicit action as do both ahaccian and astingan.⁵

Despite a literal use of the verb and adverb, combinations may still be considered compounds when the

⁴J. Meyer-Myklestad, An Advanced English Grammar for Students and Teachers (2nd ed.; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968), p. 104.

⁵The need for ut, or the use of the adverb, in such instances as Ælfric and BlH, reinforces the findings of Hendrickson in his study of Alfred's Orosius, where he notes the loss of meaning for the specialized prefixes. "OE Prepositional Compounds", pp. 69-70, 73.

two form a sense-unit and especially if the combination recurs.⁶ The following Table shows both the range and the frequency of certain adverbs as possible verbal particles. For the most part, the adverbs are primary, although a few secondary forms are included; most will qualify as adverbs of place or direction.⁷

From Table I it can be seen that ford, up, and ut are by far the most productive, both in the number of verbs with which they are used and in the range of sources; the least productive combinations are those adverbs in -an and -weard. Consequently, if one uses frequency as a test, such adverbs as fornean, heonan, hindan and the like can probably be safely set aside as not forming sense-units to qualify as true compounds, as well as the three -weard entries, hamweard, togædereweard, and diderweard. For consideration, then, there remain adun, ætgedere, aweg, eft, ford, ham, hider, nider, togædere, dider, up, and ut.

Before one examines these remaining adverbs, however, a look at the verbs of the combinations suggested

⁶The term sense-unit has been borrowed from Meyer-Myklestad, p. 104.

⁷Primary adverbs: those not derived from other forms. Secondary forms: those adverbs derived from other words. Meyer-Myklestad, p. 376. Included in the Table are OE compound adverbs, hamweard etc.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF POTENTIAL VERB-ADVERB COMBINATIONS

Adverb ^a		Æ	Alx	Apo	BnO	Bl.	Xrd	Xrn	N	O	StM	V	W
adun -	8	12					1	1	1		1	1	
æftan -	1												1
ætgædere/ ætsomne -	15	7			1	2	5					2	3
aweg/ onweg -	14	11	3	1	1	4	1	2	1	2			
eft -	12		3			7	1				1	4	
fornean -	1	1											
forð -	32	7	8	4	2	12	6	5	1	1	6	3	2
ham -	8	11		3		1	1	5	1	1	2		2
hamweard -	7									9			1
heonan -	4	2				1							1
hider -	12	10		1		4		4			2	4	1
hindan -	1	1											

^aThe figure following the adverb in column 1 indicates the number of independent verbs used with that adverb; remaining columns indicate the frequency of occurrence in any given author or source.

TABLE 1 (continued)

FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF POTENTIAL VERB-ADVERB COMBINATIONS

Adverb		Æ	Alx	Apo	BnO	Bl	Xrd	Xrn	N	O	StM	V	W
niðer -	16	9	1			4	1	1	2				1
onsundran -	2	2											
togædere -	15	5		1				2		6	2		5
togæderwweard	1									1			
tosomne -	3		3							1			
ðanon -	1						1						
ðider -	22	20				12	3	7			2	1	3
"/weardes-	1											1	
ufan -	3					1						2	
ufene -	2												2
ufor -	2	1					1						
up -	48	39	5	6		16	15	29	10	21	7	5	6
upheah -	1					1							
ut -	72	25	4	9	3	18	14	47	8	22	7	10	16
utan -	3							1				2	
ute -	1							1					

in the Table may be in order. Both simple (i.e., un-compounded) and inseparable compound verbs enter into potential combinations. As might be suspected, verbs with elementary concepts of coming, going, and motion are the most prolific.

Of the seventy-six simple verbs encountered, the majority are used but once or twice; those used five or more times are as follows (their totals in parentheses following each entry):

<u>beran</u> (9)	<u>feran</u> (32)	<u>lætan</u> (5)
<u>bringan</u> (13)	<u>fleon</u> (5)	<u>licgan</u> (5)
<u>cuman</u> (40)	<u>gan</u> (65)	<u>locian</u> (6)
<u>drifan</u> (5)	<u>giefan</u> (5)	<u>sceotan</u> (13)
<u>faran</u> (36)	<u>iernan</u> (5)	<u>sendan</u> (5)
<u>feallan</u> (7)	<u>lædan</u> (6)	<u>teon</u> (8)
		<u>wendan</u> (6)

In contrast with the simple verbs, an even larger number of potential combinations occur with compound verbs of an inseparable nature: a total of eighty-seven are used with the adverbs under discussion. Although a greater number of verbs are found, they do not repeat as often as the combinations with simple verbs, only one (ahebban) approaching the frequency of use of faran or cuman. Occurring four or more times apiece are:

<u>aberan</u> (4)	<u>aræran</u> (8)	<u>forlætan</u> (7)
<u>adræfan</u> (6)	<u>arisan</u> (8)	<u>gelædan</u> (9)
<u>adrifan</u> (8)	<u>asceotan</u> (4)	<u>gesyllan</u> (4)
<u>ahebban</u> (38)	<u>aspringan</u> (6)	<u>gewendan</u> (13)
<u>alædan</u> (9)	<u>astigan</u> (6)	<u>gewitan</u> (14)

Some of the most prolific of the simple verbs, faran and gan, for example, do not parallel their rate of usage in compounded forms: afaran occurs but once, agan twice.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the combinations of adverbial particles and the compound verbs is the relatively high ratio with which the a- prefix is used, principally with nider, up, and ut. Of the compound verbs in the sampling, half were found to be prefixed with a-; the next most prolific prefix is ge- with twenty-four verbs. The remaining compound verbs are prefixed with be-, for-, in-, on-, od-, to-, and durh-, in descending order of frequency.

The basic meaning of the prefix a- is 'forth' or 'away' (Clark-Hall); sometimes it is only an intensifier. From the large number of compound verbs in a- used with adverbial particles, it would seem OE was increasingly dependent upon the adverb to sharpen a fading meaning; that this dependence upon adverbial particles to convey the precise meaning was not a phenomenon of decay of the compound verb in the late OE period, nor a consequence of

the Norman Conquest, can be seen from the prose of the early period.⁸ To illustrate:

astigan 'to proceed', 'rise', 'mount', used once with ðider, three times with niðer, and ten times with up.

ahebban 'lift up', 'raise', used thirty-eight times with up.

In a similar fashion are aweorpan 'to throw out', used with ut; aspringan 'to spring up', used with up; and, adrafan 'to expel', 'drive away', used with ut. The predilection of American English for adverbial particles combined with verbs in such colloquialisms as finish up, wash up, polish off, may have linguistic antecedents of great antiquity.⁹

The adverbs under discussion may be used both before and after the verb; as a rule, however, when the adverb appears in a position before the verb, it is seldom placed anywhere but directly in front of the verb, whether written as a separate word or as a unit. The few instances in which there is pre-position with intervening modifiers will be mentioned under the separate headings to follow.

⁸As shown in Hendrickson's study, cited earlier. See "OE Prepositional Compounds", pp. 69-70.

⁹This is actually the subject of an article by Fred C. Robinson. See his article "The American Element in Beowulf", English Studies, XLIX (Dec. 1968), 508-516.

Adverbial particles that follow the verb occupy any number of positions, including final position. Without a formal classification such as Murat Roberts's 'pre-contiguous', 'post-contiguous', 'pre-removed', and 'post-removed',¹⁰ the citations from the texts illustrating the various verb-adverb combinations are arranged in a somewhat similar fashion: examples of pre-position are organized into one group to be treated first; a second section will deal with instances of postposition. This latter group will be further divided into sections according to the placement of the adverb in the predicate portion of the sentence.

The following headings represent collections of representative examples of adverbs used in combinations with verbs. Inasmuch as every example could not be cited owing to limitation of space, an attempt has been made to indicate how often the usage occurs or to list the verbs themselves without meanings. (Some of the short entries are fully represented.)

¹⁰"Verb-Adverb Locution", pp. 466-467.

ADUN(E)

From Table I it can be seen that the greatest number of entries for adun(e) occur in Ælfric.¹¹ The most frequently used individual verb is feallan, accounting for eight of the combinations. One phrase employing ofdune is listed here as being substantially the same word, adune, adun, being mere variants, and two phrases from the Chronicle using dun are likewise entered here. No noun usage, employing this adverb and a verbal base, was noted in the readings.

Preposited, 5 occurrences.

Da genamon hie Cristes Hælendes lichoman and hine adune adydon... (V, 41.351).

...Pa nolde he adún asceotan... (Æ, H, 44.96).

Das word se ealde hyrende hine adune astrehte (StM, 20.292). (Occurs also in Æ's Saints' Lives.)

...Pá áforhtodon hig, and sume adún féollon... (N, 16.16-17).

Postposited, 13 occurrences.

¹¹The relatively high number of potential verb-adverb combinations in Ælfric opens the possibility of a stylistic trait. Although The Rule of Chrodegang was at one time ascribed to Ælfric, A.S. Napier notes that no proof is needed for the fact that the Rule is not the work of the abbot (Introduction to his edition of the Rule, p. i, and footnote). With the exception of the two adverbial particles up and ut, this particular OE work has relatively few verb-adverb combinations, a characteristic which might be useful in determining authorship, were such help or proof needed.

1. Following the verb immediately:

...he fylð adun sona pam ...stelum to unbearfe gewiss (Æ, PTest, 72.1218-1219). (4 others)

"Gif þu Godes Sunu sy, sceot adun..." (Æ, H, 43.71-72).

þa aseh dune se biscop of Lincolne... (Xron, 1123, p. 251 [h]).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it:

"Gif þu Godes Sunu sy, feall nu adun..." (Æ, H, 42.17-18).

...gif Críst scute þa adun... (Æ, H, 44.92-93).

Separation in each instance here is the result of the placement of an adverb of time. The following examples could have been placed with the two categories above, except that they are used with prepositional phrases:

...and eall seo mænio feollan adune on þa eorðan... (Æ, SL, I, 536.781).

...ac he feoll ða adun to deofle awend... (Æ, PTest, 20.104-105).

...swá þæt ic for oft ofdune on þa eorðan... (StM, 38.575).

And se kyng alihte dune of his hors... (Xron, 1123, p. 251 [h]).

...hræce and snyte bæftan him oððe adun be his sidan... (Xrod, 23.8).

The first three items do not present any obstacles to verb-adverb combinations; the last two, however, do show some tendency for the adverb to be felt as belonging partly to the prepositional phrase. In alihte dune of his hors, one

could use the analogy of another verb in the very same sentence (cited in section 1, immediately above, item 3, ƿa aseh adune se biscop) to help classify the phrase as a true verb-adverb combination. The lateness of the entry date in the Chronicle may well point to a changing usage, however. In the Chrodegang quotation, the placement of the adun following one prepositional phrase and preceding a second makes it extremely unlikely that the adverb is part of a verbal combination. The usage would show that it was possible in OE for an adverb to modify or qualify a prepositional phrase.

AWEG (ONWEG)

Because aweg and onweg are merely variant forms, they are here treated together and the spelling difference ignored. As with the adun(e) combinations Ælfric shows the greatest number of possible uses, but the range of occurrence in other authors and sources is wider than for adun(e), and a few samples of nouns compounded with the adverb do occur.

Preposited (20 occurrences).

...ne huru onweg aber þone halgan gast...
(BenO, 91.26-27); the line translates the Latin, "Et spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me...".

...and ferdon and of slogon and awég adrifan
eall þet hæðena folc... (Xron, 1087, p. 222[t]).

...beh þe sume deade wæron, sume uneape gedryc-
nede aweg coman (O, 102.9-10).

...his hors bestrād, on þam sipfæte þe hē
bider cōm aweg ferende (Æ, H, 65.44-45).

...ponon he næfre onweg ne gewat þurh his þa ecean
godcundnesse (Bl, 117.1). ¹²

In similar combinations, though not cited, appear:

onweg afflieman, aweg alædan, onweg animan, onweg fligan

(from Rypins' gloss and note on fol.110 b/15, p. 112),

aweg fleon, aweg forlætan, aweg gan, aweg niman. A

citation, not counted in the tally, illustrates the

omission of a verb of motion when used in connection with

modal auxiliaries; one may understand gan or possibly

fleon in "...and anre stemne clypedon þæt hī mid ealle

aweg þanon woldon..." (Æ, SL, I, 492.95-96).

Postposited (6 occurrences).

...þæt hi frige moston faran aweg swa hider
swa hi woldon... (Æ, SL, I, 498.191-192).

And Ælmar abbud hi lætan aweg... (Xron, p.
141[b]).

...on eallum þam lande hi alæddon aweg to wircenne
godeweb... (Æ, PTest, 74.1252-1253).

"...gewitap aweg, wahlreowe fugelas, to eowrum
epele of þisum Iglande" (Æ, H, 70.193).

¹²This affords an illustration of what Roberts calls pre-removed order, although he claims not to have observed it in OE. Using "Ut eode se sædere" (Mk.4,4), as his example, he states: "Were an element inserted between ut and eode the order would be pre-removed...." See his article "The Antiquity of Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution", p. 476. Other instances will be noted as they occur.

The aweg/onweg combinations show a preference for preverbal position: of the total number found in the corpus, twenty precede the verb and only six follow. This situation contrasts with the adun/e usage where only five samples preceded the verb and thirteen followed it. While no noun incorporating any of the forms of adun was found in the readings, the noun aweggewitennys occurs twice in Ælfric's Lives of Saints in the selections chosen for this study. Clark-Hall records several nouns under onweg (onwegacyrrednes, onwegadrifennes, for example); that the nouns and combinations of verb and adverb parallel each other shows to what degree these combinations were felt as a unit. It is quite possible that the high ratio of preverbal usage with aweg combinations points to a stronger sense of compound than the frequent postposition met with in the adun combinations. With the exception of the noun aweggewitennys, no solidly written forms were found in the corpus.

FORþ

Forð is one of the most productive of the adverbs listed, having not only a large number of possible verb combinations, but also a wide range of representation in the works examined. It is also the first adverb thus far treated to be observed forming an inseparable compound and

also the first thus far to be written as a solid unit even when the meaning is literal and hence separable by nature. The use of fordfaran in both a literal and figurative sense illustrates the usage plainly: fairly consistently, fordfaran is written as a solid unit when it means 'die'; in its basic meaning of 'go forth', it is usually found separated. However, usage with verbs other than fordfaran is less precise as can readily be seen in the number of verbs and particles written on some occasions separately and again as one word without any observable distinction in meaning.

Preverbal position in ford combinations is relatively higher than postposition: there are over fifty instances of pre-position, ignoring for counting purposes the enormous repetition of both fordfaran and fordferan in the figurative sense 'to die'. (Over one hundred examples of these two verbs occur in the Chronicle alone, not counting all the other sources and authors.) By contrast, twenty-three occur in postposition.

Several nouns derived from verbal bases and compounded with ford are attested both by Bosworth-Toller (J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary [London: Oxford University Press, 1898; Supplement by Toller alone, 1921]) and Clark-Hall, but only one, fordsid, was encountered in the corpus of this study.

Because of the numerous illustrations of forð combinations, no attempt will be made to cite them all; instead, representative samples will be given and the remaining combinations listed by verbs or suggested by a tally figure.

Preposited.

1. Solidly written units (14 occurrences):

...sume þa preostas þe woroldwelan habbað,
and lytle oððe nane nytwyrðnyssse doð on
mynstre, scolon maran and creaslicran fodan
habban on mynstre þonne þa þe ealne þone
godcundan beowdom forðdoð... (Xrod, 13.
14-17).

Ða ðe wæron forðferede for hund gearum
oððon gyt firnor... (W, 129.29).

...and gif se gingra sitte, and se
yldra þær forðgange, arise se gingra...
(Xrod, 9.31-32).

...and his eagan upahof and forðlocade
(Bl, 217.31).

In this category of solid compounds the verbs and their frequency count are as follows:

* <u>forðberan</u> (1)	* <u>forðgan</u> (4)
* <u>forðbringan</u> (2)	<u>forðgefremman</u> (1)
* <u>forðcuman</u> (1)	<u>forðgelædan</u> (1)
<u>forðdon</u> (1)	<u>forðlætan</u> (1)
* <u>forðfaran</u>	<u>forðlocian</u> (1)
* <u>forðferan</u>	* <u>forðstæpan</u> (2)
<u>forðyrnan</u> (1)	

Verbs marked with * also occur as separated forms both in pre-position and, with the exception of forðstæpan, in postposition. (See Table 2.) All are used literally with the exception of forðfaran and forðferan; no frequency count has been supplied for these two verbs because of their profusion. Approaching the figurative sense is the verb forðlet in the following sentence from Nicodemus: "Swylce word hé þar forðlet..." (10.24), where the meaning is 'uttered', 'spake', rather than 'let forth'. Forðstæpan may mean 'to pass by' as well as 'to issue forth'.

2. Separately written combinations (26 occurrences):

In this the largest group of preposited combinations (See Table 2), the majority of examples show forð immediately preceding the verb; only five citations occurred in which the adverb was separated from the verb by one or more words, as negative particle (ne), to with the inflected infinitive or gerund, and a prepositional phrase.

...þonne hé myð hræðum flyhte wyle forð
áfléon (N, 20.21).

Zosimus þa hine soðlice forð astrehte on
þa floras... (StM, 42.638).

Dæt mæden ða forð eode mid cynelicum reafe
ymbscrid... (Apo, 40.19).

...ond monig fatu gimmiscu ond cristallisce drync fatu ond gylðne sestras ðær wæron forð borene... (Alex, 7.5-8); but compare wille forðberan in Blickling 25.2.

...and fela fægera pinga þar forð teah... (Apo, 26.17).

...ðæt hie æt þære þridan tīde on morgenne hie forð trymedan ongean heora feondum (Bl, 201.35-36).

One can contrast the interlinear gloss forð stepð for Latin procedit (Epit, 124.29) with Ælfric's forð-stæpð (SL, I, 498.168) and forðsteppende (SL, I, 14.77).

Verbs in this group and their frequency count are:

forð plus - afleon (1); astreccan (1); aðenian (1);
beran (2); bringan (5); cuman (1); feran (2); forwyrcean (1);
fylgian (1); gan (2); gewendan (1); gewitan (1);
hreowan (1); reccean (1); sendan (1); stæpan (1);
siglan (1); teon (1); and, trymian (1).

All are used in a literal sense. Of these verbs, beran, bringan, cuman, feran, gan, and teon also occur in postposited situations; with the exception of teon, they also appear as solidly written units, as in section 1 above.

The five examples mentioned at the very beginning of this section as showing separation from preverbal position either by prepositional phrase, negative particle, or gerund sign to follow:

...and þe hi forð magon bringan mid ge-
sceade (Xrod, 11.2). Separation by
inflected verb (modal).

...elles he anig forð na bringe... (Epit,
119.15). Verb-adverb translates Latin
aliud nullum proferat. Separation by nega-
tive particle.

... gebencean hwylc handlean we him forþ
to berenne habban (Bl, 91.13-14).
Separation by gerund sign to and contrasting
to the citation wille forðberan in the same
work (25.2).

...cwæð, þæt he nolde nænne forlætan þe him
forð ofer þæt fylian wolde... (BenO, 88.26-27).
Compare two entries forðfolgian and forðfyli-
gean in the glossary for Consuetudine
Monachorum. 13

... for þæm hie ne dorston forþ bi þære
ea siglan for unfriþe... (O, 17.21-22).

It should be noted that all of these positions in the
examples just given illustrate Roberts' pre-removed order.
See note 12, p. 36, of this chapter.

3. Hyphenated forms (10 occurrences):

A small group of verb-adverb combinations with
hyphenated spellings was found in the various printed

¹³The interlinear gloss "De Consuetudine
Monachorum", edited by W.S. Logeman in Anglia, XIII (1891),
365-454, was consulted as a potential source for
compounds and combinations, but not included in the
corpus for this thesis.

texts.¹⁴ The verbs include adilgian, ageotan, bringen, gewitan, gan, sendan, stæpan, and teon. With the exception of the second illustration, below, the verbs all exhibit literal meanings.

...mid forð-agotenum benum... (StM, 52.789), illustrating participial adjective use.

Zosimus þa witodlice gehyrende þæt heo þære haligra bōca cwydas forð-brōhte... (StM, 40.587). The verb in this sentence means 'uttered' or 'quoted', rather than 'brought forth'.

He þa forð-teah þa fiftig mancsas, and þam abbode sealde... (Æ, SL, II, 344.153).

Postposited.

Eleven verbs enter into combination with forð in postposition:

<u>begietan</u> (1)	<u>dælan</u> (1)	<u>lædan</u> (2)
<u>beran</u> (1)	<u>faran</u> (4)	<u>weorpan</u> (1)
<u>bringen</u> (2)	<u>feran</u> (6)	<u>teon</u> (1)
<u>cuman</u> (1)	<u>gan</u> (3)	

¹⁴In general, hyphens are not used frequently in MSS. In the facsimile edition of the Blickling Homilies (vol. X; Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile [Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960]), many of the hyphenated forms of the printed text appear to be written as one word and only occasionally do they occur at the end of a line where hyphenation would be justified. In the facsimile edition of Alfric's Catholic Homilies (First Series) (vol. X; EEMSF [Copenhagen, 1966]), it is noted that one scribe employed hyphens occasionally, but always to mark the breaking of a word at the end of a line. See p. 26. Since this study was based primarily on the printed text, the textual usage is being followed.

Of these, only begietan, dælan, lædan, and weorpan did not occur in pre-position. The combinations are used literally, and the literal usage best shows in the pair forðfaran/feran because of the contrast afforded by their figurative use noted previously. The combinations with separation of forð in postposition with faran/feran always carry the meaning (in the readings done for this study) of 'to set forth', 'to march'.

1. Following the verb immediately (11 occurrences):

... [Harold] begeat forð mid him swa fela scipu, swa þær fera wæron... (Xron, 1052, p. 178[m]). Begi(e)tan is glossed by Plummer as 'take' in this instance, rather than its more usual 'seize'.

...þæt ma [man; loss of n frequent in Xrod] ne mæge þæt drincgæmett bringan forð... (Xrod, 15.24).

þa hit eall com forð, þa wearð hit eall of earcedæcnes wifes... (Xron, 1129, p. 260[t]).

Het ic þa ælcne mon hine mid his wæpnum gegerwan and faran forð... (Alex, 14.2-3).

(het)...þa fyrð faran forð þy wege þe we ær on gunnon hæfdon (Alex, 25.7-8).

...and habban æfre gearo, to teonne forð þone wisdom... (Æ, H, 54.148-149). Compare forð-teah in section 3 above (p. 40).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it (12 occurrences):

Separation by another adverb -

Eodon pa forð to Pilate... (V, 38.321).

Ferde ða forð ofer þæt wæter þæt wæs genemned
idispis... (Æ, SL, II, 208.308).

Separation by the subject -

...pa ferdon we forð by wege þe we ær
ongunnon... (Alex, 12.3).

...eodon manige lease gewitan forð and
him mænig alogen þing onsægdon (V, 13.
109-110).

Separation by object -

...and bær us wepende forð on his weg...
(Æ, SL, II, 210.327).

...and dæle þeah his ælmessan forþ of
þon nigeoþan dælon (Bl, 53.11-12).

Separation by subject and object -

Da wearp ic me sylfe forð on þa flór...
(Æ, SL, II, 32.468-469).

Some borderline and non-combinative items.

The examples listed in this section exhibit either dubious verb-adverb relationship or a non-combinative nature.

In the following sentence, forð intensifies the prepositional phrase: "...and anrædlice þurhwuniað on rihtan geleafan forð oð heora ende..." (W, 141.116-117).

In "...and nu forð heonan eall min unriht adwæsc æghwær symle" (Ben0, 91.15-16), the forð combines with another adverb ('henceforth', in reverse as it were).

Another sentence from Wulfstan reads: "...and fulllice .LXX. wintra syððan on an was se ðeodscype eall geðeoweod under heora feonda gewealde, swa forð hy wæron wið God þa forworhte" (150.120-122). The time element here seems to preclude a verb-adverb combination of forðforworhte, in addition to the physical separation within the sentence. Yet, its structure is similar to "...men beoð purh synna swa forð forworhte þæt hi beoð þæs wel wyrðe þæt deofol openlice þænne fandige..." (W, 129.18-20), which was counted a possible compound. In the latter citation, however, the close grammatical relationship between forð and forworhte is matched by juxtaposition of the two elements; swa introduces a clause of result, very much as 'so - - - that' functions in MðE.

Similar to the preceding examples are two further sentences from Wulfstan. The first was not counted as a verb-adverb combination, while the second was. The time element in forð in this sentence again seems to preclude combination, just as in the citation of the preceding paragraph. Compare "Nis æfre æniges mannes mæð þæt he cunne God swa forð geherian swa he wyrðe is" (BenO, 81.14-15) with the following "...and ðurh Godes fultum swa forðgefremman swa hy fyrrest magan" (W, 193.58-59).

Other examples which were not counted as verb-adverb combinations include:

"...and beop þeostra forþ gewordene ofor ealle world" (Bl, 93.18).

"...forð mid micel menio ealre ðære burhware..." (Æ, SL, I, 534.749-750). Verb is understood.

"...and seo éa Danai irnð þonan suðryhte on westhealfe Alexandres herga...and þonne forþ mid micle flode..." (O, 8.16-19). Here again, a verb is understood, possibly irnð or floweð, both of which occur elsewhere in the same sentence.

Summary. Most of the verb-adverb combinations with forð are literal in use, whether the verb and adverb are written as one word, whether written separately in preposition, or whether placed after the verb in a variety of positions. More combinations appear in preposition than in postposition, even when taking into consideration that several of the preposited forms occur in dependent clauses where the verb by rule would occupy end position.

Because of the length of the forð section and the number of examples and citations, the following Table may be helpful in review: see p. 48.

HAM

A small group of eight verbs occurred often enough with the adverb ham to make the possibility of a verb-adverb combination similar to German heimkehren, heimkommen, and OHG heimfuorren (heimführen) quite feasible. Ham is used both in preposition and postposition with the following verbs:

TABLE 2

PLACEMENT OF FORP

VERB	PRE-POSITION		POSTPOSITION	
	unit ^a	separate	adjacent	separate
adiglian	1			
afleon		1		
ageotan	1			
astreccan ...		1		
aðenian		1		
begietan			1	
beran	1	2		1
bringan	4	5	1	
cuman	1	1	1	1
dalan				1
don	1			
faran ^b	pro-		4	
feran ^b	lific	2		6
forwyrcean ...		1		
fylgian		1		
gan	4	2	1	2
gefremman ..	1			
gelædan	1			
gewendan		1		
gewitan		1		
hreowan		1		
iernan	1			
lædan			2	
lætan	2			
locian	1			
reccean		1		
sendan	1	1		
siglan		1		
stapan	4	1		
teon	1	1	1	
trymian		1		
weorpan				1

^aIncludes hyphenated forms in printed sources.

^bColumn 1 (unit) represents figurative use of both verbs; remaining columns, literal use.

<u>beran</u> (1)	<u>feran</u> (7)
<u>cuman</u> (4)	<u>gewendan</u> (6)
<u>cyrran</u> (1)	<u>lædan</u> (1)
<u>faran</u> (6)	<u>hweorfan</u> (2)

Table 1, p. 27, shows the spread amongst the sources. One noteworthy point is that ham is used once in Orosius, but its translator employed the adverb hamweard nine times in connection with the verbs just listed.

In the corpus the noun hamfarelt (cf. German Heimfahrt) was used once.

Pre-position of the adverb in relation to the verb is more evident than postposition; all are used with literal meaning, and none occur written as a solid unit.

Preposited (20 occurrences).

1. Immediately preceding verb:

...and ham ferde God herigende... (Æ, SL, II, 350.259-260).

...bædon hig gesunde beon and ham gewendon (Apo, 28.6).

...and hi mid micclum sige ham hwurfon... (Æ, SL, II, 214.389-390).

2. In a dependent clause:

...ða he eft ham com... (Bl, 217.17).

...and was þær bletcæd [sic] to abbot ær he ham come... (Xron, 1154, p. 268[b]).

...oð þæt he gedo þæt se preost ham fare to his agenre cyrcan (Xrod, 85.15-16).

3. Separated from verb by other elements:

...se kyng hem geaf ealle leue [leue]
ham to farene... (Xron, 1129, p. 260 [h]).
 Separation by to of the inflected infinitive.

...and he ham þa gewende eft to Efesan
 birig... (A, PTest, 63.1063-64). Separation
 by another adverb.

And ælc þære Iúdea wæs þá hám tó his
 ágenum farende myð mycelre fyrhto... (N,
 25.34). Separation by a prepositional
 phrase.

Postposited (7 occurrences).

1. Following the verb immediately:

...and let hine beran ham to his inne
 (Xron, 1123, p. 251 [h]).

...and hine lædde ham mid him... (Apo, 34.12).

To meet a possible objection that ham does not combine with the verb because of the influence of the following prepositional phrases in the citations just made, one could demonstrate that the use of the adverb in post-position parallels those in pre-position; the juxtaposition of a prepositional phrase need not alter the combination unless the meaning is substantially changed as a result of the phrase. In both sentences, one could omit the prepositional phrases to his inne and mid him without substantially altering the sense of either sentence.

2. Following the verb, but separated from it:

Ða gewændon hie ham mid ðissere and-
 sware... (Apo, 34.10). Separation by the
 subject of the sentence.

Eustachius gewende pa ham... (Æ, SL, II, 198.138). Separation by another adverb.

HIDER

In contrast to ham, the adverb hider forms potential verb-adverb combinations with a greater number of verbs, but shows a somewhat narrower range among the authors. Hider is found used with both compound and simple verbs in nearly equal ratios, although the frequency of occurrence favors two simple verbs, bringan and cuman. The verbs (with frequency count in parentheses) are:

<u>asendan</u> (1)	<u>gelædan</u> (2)	<u>lædan</u> (1)
<u>bringan</u> (4)	<u>gelangan</u> (1)	<u>sendan</u> (2)
<u>cuman</u> (5)	<u>gelaðian</u> (1)	<u>ingesyllan</u> (1)
<u>gefaran</u> (1)	<u>gesecean</u> (1)	<u>wendan</u> (1)

In placement within the sentence, pre-position is more frequent than postposition. All usages are literal, whether the adverb occurs before or after the verb. While no solidly written forms are evidenced from the corpus, they may occur elsewhere; such units should not be an impossibility, judging from the compound forms with niðer in the next section.

One noun, hidercyme, was noted in the corpus.

Preposited (17 occurrences).

1. Immediately preceding the verb:

...and gif ic her purh-wunige, se ofer-eaca
hider cymō (Æ, SL, II, 344.154-155).

...men...pa be byder ferdon, eft hider
coman... (Bl, 125.14).

...and nu ic hider com... (Æ, SL, II,
196.108).

Some of these are found in subordinating clauses in which
the verb would be in final position:

...gif þu fram gode hider asend ware...
(StM, 52.780).

...þæt þu hīt ne mihte on ōrim dagum
hider gefaran... (Bl, 235.35).

...and ic him behēt þæt ic hī hider
ingesyllan [wolde]... (Æ, SL, II, 352.296).

2. Separated from verb by other elements:

"Englas beoð to ðegnunge gæstum fram Gode
hider on world sended..." (Bl, 209.23).
Separation by prepositional phrase.

...pance gode, þæt he me flīman hider to
eowrum gemaran gelædde (Apo, 14.11).
Separation by prepositional phrase.

Postposited (9 occurrences):

1. Following the verb immediately:

Ic hæbbe broht hider þone wæstm þinra
gebæda mine dohtor... (Æ, SL, II, 336.39-40).

Ic gedó þæt hi cumaō hider... (Æ, SL, II,
344.146).

...and wendaō hider to me... (W, 220.217).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it:

...to hwan cóme pu hider? (V, 3.33).
Separation by subject.

...ponne ne læddon we hine hider to be...
(V, 17.142-143). Separation by subject and object.

A dubious formation is illustrated by the following sentence in which both the adverb hider and the adverb ut follow the verb, lædan: "'Nu gyt ic hine hâte lædan hider ut beforan eow ealle..." (V, 25.215). It is quite possible that hider forms a sort of directional signal attached to the verb, already combined with another adverb, the same type of compound which is so common in German. The particles hin and her, for example, are attached to many verbs to indicate direction away from the speaker (hin) or direction towards the speaker (her). In the preceding citation, it is conceivable to view the basic verb as utlædan with adverbial hider appended in much the same fashion as MdG herauskommen, hinausgehen (her.aus.gehen) or OHG haraniderfaren (hara . nider . faren) and hinauffaren (hina . uf . faren). Since these particles are fairly common in OHG, either compounded with another particle as the two just cited or used alone as in harafaran, hinafaran, herafuaren, and hinafuaren, there is no real reason for doubting the existence of analogous

combinations in OE for particles like hider and ðider.¹⁵

That the particle ut in the OE sentence belongs to the verb as a combination and not the prepositional phrase can be deduced from the sentence sense. The idea is 'to lead out', not 'out before all of you'.

A similar use of hider is found in the sentence, "And nán mann ne astihþ nateshwón to heofenum, buton se ðe of heofonum hider nyðer astáh..." (Æ, Supp, 480.35-36). Here the basic verb would be nyðer astah to contrast the simple verb in the preceding clause astihþ (to heofenum); the particle hider would show direction towards the speaker, who, after all, as a mortal is earthbound. Such a compound in OE seems unusual only because we are not used to the type in MdE; for a German-speaking person, it would present no problem inasmuch as his language has retained such compounds. OHG haraniderfaren (hara.nider.faren) appears in MdG only changed in appearance as herniederfahren (OHG niderstigan, MdG niedersteigen, herabsteigen).¹⁶

¹⁵The eminent German linguist Otto Behaghel often used OE to clarify OHG because of their similarity and because some of the OE records are earlier. See W.B. Lockwood, Historical German Syntax (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 275. Conversely, then, certain situations in OHG should be helpful in clarifying matters in OE.

¹⁶The OHG samples have been taken from the Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch, ed. Rudolf Schützeichel (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1969).

NIDĒR

Combinations with niðer occur with sixteen verbs, all single instances with the exception of one verb, astigan. Of this number, half are compound verbs with the prefix a-, several of which reveal parallel simplex forms: feallan and afeallan; hreoſan and ahreoſan; sendan and asendan; sceotan and asceotan; stigan and astigan (3). No discernible differences in meaning were observed between the combinations of niðer and simple verbs and those compounded with a-.

The remaining verbs are ageotan, asigan, atredan, gan, gewitan, and settan.

Instances of pre-position outnumber postposited forms. Unlike hider, where no solidly written forms were attested in the corpus, several of the niðer combinations appear written as one word; on the other hand, no noun formations were observed to parallel hidercyme. Such noun formations with niðer, however, are attested by dictionary entries.

All occurrences of niðer combinations are literal in meaning.

Preposited (14 occurrences).

1. Solidly written units:

...ác he...mid micclan ege nyðereode...
(Æ, SL, I, 516.492).

...þær ealle wætero niðergewitað...
(Bl, 209.31).

...eallunga þus heofende ic to helle
niðerstige (Æ, SL, II, 350.273-352.274).

2. Separately written:

Ádám wæs þá nyðer áfeallende... (N,
23.24.

...and hit þa beforan heora ealra onsyne
niðer agêat... (Alex, 11.14-15).

...and forðon God to ús niber astahg...
(Bl, 17.29).

3. Separated from verb by other elements:

Nyber he ahreas, and under bæcc he eode
fram frimpe his anginnes... (Æ, H,
45.141-142). Separation by subject of
sentence.

Postposited (5 occurrences).

1. Following the verb immediately:

...and feoll niber on his ansyne...
(Æ, SL, II, 196.106).

...þæt hé sceolde sceotan nyber of þæs
temples scylfe (Æ, H, 48.210). For con-
trast to postposition, note from the same
work: ...mihte...his lima nyber asceotan...
(44.93-94).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it:

...send þe nyber of þisse heanesse...
(Bl, 27.10-11).

...þonne gewitan þa saula niðer... (Bl,
211.4).

DIDER

Dider (ðæder, ðyder) proved to be more productive in combining with verbs than its opposite, hider. Most of the combinations in the corpus, however, were single occurrences. Although simple and compound verbs of an inseparable nature are used with ðider, repetition of combinations favor the simple verbs.

Nowhere in the corpus did ðider form a solid compound as with forð and niðer, and no noun formations were observed. Pre-position was more frequent than post-position and many of those in pre-position were found in dependent clauses, where, for the most part, the verb would be placed last.

Verbs appearing in possible combinations with ðider are:

<u>astigan</u>	<u>don</u>	<u>iernan</u>	<u>siðian</u>
<u>becuman</u>	<u>gebringan</u>	<u>lædan</u>	<u>syllan</u>
<u>bringan</u>	<u>geferan</u>	<u>inbugan</u>	<u>tosendan</u>
<u>cuman</u> (15)	<u>galaðian</u>	<u>ingan</u>	<u>utcuman</u>
<u>faran</u> (6)	<u>gan</u>	<u>ingesyllan</u>	
<u>feran</u> (4)	<u>geyrnan</u>	<u>insyllan</u>	

Preposited (35 occurrences).

1. Immediately preceding the verb:

Hie...mid haligra lofsanga lácum
byder cóman... (Bl, 207.9-10).

...and hi bider comon mid mycelre
wundrunge... (Æ, SL, II, 206.278).

"...to hwam wille ge byder faran?"
(Bl, 233.9-10).

Some of the examples occur in subordinate clauses:

And he was eft-cyrrende purh bone ylcan
siðfat þæs westenes þe hé ær byder becom...
(StM, 42.641-642).

...(penegas) þe he byder brohte mid him...
(Æ, SL, II, 528.646).

þa hi ðider comen, þa be gan þæt mot...
(Xron, 1129, p. 259[b]).

2. Separated from verb by other elements:

...ure Drihten wolde þæt þa men þe byder
mid geleafan coman... (Bl, 125,27-28).

Ac se ðe byder mid clænum mode færð...
(W, 249.119-120).

"...þæt he...cume, þe þæder purh meda
gelaðod næs" (Xrod, 61.28).

In each instance, separation was caused by a prepositional phrase.

Postposited (13 occurrences).

1. Following the verb immediately:

...þa com bider unrim folces...
(Æ, SL, II, 216.422).

"Farað bider..." (Bl, 239.11).

...and ealle men geond þa byrig urnon byder
sona... (Æ, SL, I, 524.611).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it:

...þa ferde he ðyder mid his discipulum...
(Bl, 225.7). Separation by subject.

Da ge-arn agaptus byder... (Æ, SL, II,
352.301). Separation by subject.

Syllab ge eowre teoban sceattas byder...
(Bl, 43.3). Separation by subject and
object.

Some special instances. The two examples which follow are not counted as forming possible verb-adverb combinations, because the syntactical function of ðider is that of a conjunction in both sentences.

"...þæt minum gaste sie to Drihtne weg byder he feran sceal" (Bl, 227.22).

...þær eower gesomnung wæs, in eowrum templum, byder ealle Iudas comon (V, 9.79-80). Almost a 'where...there' correlation.

In the following instances, ðider is used almost like German dahin to form a compound which gives speaker-oriented directions, the same type which was discussed above in the hider section (pp. 53-54). Although Bosworth-Toller cites the ðider and in as one word in Ælfric's "...gif hwilc þider in bugan wile..." (SL, II, 338.66), several analogous structures occur in the same homily, but with clearer indication of verbal compounding. For example, "...and he þa micelne dæl feos þider in-gesealde..." (336.13-14); with a slight alteration in the verb, "...and mycelne dæl feo þider insealde..." (336.38).

A similar sentence in Blickling Homilies supports a verbal combination in: "...ge þonne nu byder ingongað..." (207.2). The following sentence was not counted because of its ambiguous structure: "Ac on dægred sibþan hit frumlyhte, hie byder inwæron to Æm lofsangum gesamnode" (Bl, 207.35-36).

UP(P)

The most striking observation about up in its capacity as a combinative particle is the number of verbs with which it is used and the frequency with which certain verbs recur; only ut is more productive as an adverbial particle. As with the preceding adverbs which have been touched upon, many of the combinations with up occurred but once in the corpus. Although simple verbs predominate in the combinations (30 simple verbs; 19 inseparable compounds), compound verbs in a- are quite productive, ahebban and up being especially prolific. See Table 3, pp. 61-62.

In sentence placement, up was used in a position before the verb in ninety-eight instances; in post-position, sixty-six times. Much of the apparent high frequency of preverbal usage, however, is dependent upon the repetition of one verb, ahebban, which occurred thirty-seven times. As far as individual verbs are concerned, ignoring mere repetition, there is a higher ratio for post-position than for pre-position (38:25).

TABLE 3

PLACEMENT AND FREQUENCY OF UP IN COMBINATIONS

VERB	PRE-POSITION		POSTPOSITION	
	1 unit	separate	adjacent	separate
aberan		1	1	1
abregdan		1		
ahebban	13	24	2	2
ahwylfan		1		
amæran		6		2
arisan		6	1	1
aspringan		5	1	
astigan	1	5	4	2
astandan		3		
ateon		1		
aðenian			1	
beran		1	1	2
baseon				1
bestelan		1		
cuman		5		1
cyrran				1
faran		1		1
feallan				1
feran		1		
ferian				1
flowan			1	
forlætæn		2		
gan	2	5	1	4
gehyran			1	
geniman				1
gerihtan			1	
gewendan	1			1
giefan			4	1
hon			1	

TABLE 3 (continued)

PLACEMENT AND FREQUENCY OF UP IN COMBINATIONS

VERB	PRE-POSITION		POSTPOSITION	
	1 unit	separate	adjacent	separate
hleapan			1	
iernan				1
licgan				2
lātan				1
locian		4		1
niman				1
ræcan			1	
ræsan		1		
ridan				1
sceotan	1	1		3
sciftan				1
sittan				1
springan ...		1		
stigan			1	1
standan		1		
teon	2		2	1
weallan	1			
wendan			1	
weorcan				1
weorpan				1
Frequency total	21	77	26	39

Although postposition seems more significant in the verb-adverb combinations with up than for the other particles under discussion (with the exception of adun), the separation of verb and particle does not apparently inhibit the ability of the two to form a close enough association to be considered a sense-unit or compound. Nouns formed with up and various verbs in the text were encountered more frequently than was the case with the other particles examined thus far. For example, upstige, upastigennes, upspring, and upahefednys were all observed in the readings, and these nouns formed with up and a verb or verb base are but a few of the dozen or more in the dictionary.

As solidly written units appear:

upastigend

upahafen

upeode

upahafu

upgewende

upahof

upscyt

upahofon

uptugon

uppahafen

With the exception of the participial adjectives, all of these occurred in separated forms as well and consequently no distinction is made between literal and figurative usage on the basis of separation or non-separation of verb and particle.

Most of the up combinations are literal in meaning as in ahebban up 'lift up' (hands, etc.); beran up 'carry up'; aræran up 'raise', 'get up' (from the floor or ground); astigan up 'climb up'. Some of these verbs are employed metaphorically, however, so that one finds the heart 'lifted up' (heortan ahof...upp, Æ, SL, I, 488.26). Like weeds in a garden, sin and vice 'spring up' (unbeawas up aspringað, W, 203.65-66; leahtras upp aspringon, Xrod, 47.5-6); and warnings abound against being 'lifted up' with pride or boasting.

Specialized meanings do appear with a few forms: gewinn upahebban 'create, foment trouble' (or, in more colloquial English, 'stir up'); beran up in a middle section of the Chronicle means 'expound' ("Pær beer Godwine eorl up his mal...", 1052); and, up gan and up cuman may mean 'land' and 'go inland', as well as their basic 'go up' and 'come up'. On the whole, however, usage with up remains predominately literal.

Preposited.

1. Solidly written units (21 occurrences):

...ær morgensteorra upeode... (V, 132.38).

...ond scluncon [sic; = sluncon] wundorlice wæron him þa breost upgewende... (Alex, 20.19-20).

...ond hie of ðam neaheum ond merum ða hronfiscas uptugon... (Alex, 33.7-8).

...þæt þu eft beo upahafen on gastlicum welum... (Æ, SL, II, 198.120).

...and his eagan upahof and forðlocade (Bl, 217.31).

2. Separately written (63 occurrences):

...and bið up abróden fram synnum aðwogen... (Æ, Supp, 484.132-133).

...þæt wif...ðone munuc up arærde þus cweðende... (StM, 18.281-282).

...Arcestrate, soðlice, his wif, up aras... (Apo, 38.5).

And on þam feoh be hate se here hine on niht up be stæl, and ofer hergode ealle Cent... (Xron, 865).

...ond hie upp forlet an feower hund éa ond on LX... (O, 74.1).

Ðæt is on Englisc, upp ræsað peoda, he cwæð... (translating Latin surget; W, 124.23-24).

...ac sona swa hi [pride, covetousness, and sins] up springen, swa forceorfe ma[n] hi... (Xrod, 18.10).

"Ælc þæra þe hine silfne mid prytum up ahefð..." (Xrod, 8.11-12).

3. Separated from verb by other elements (14 occurrences):

...nu hit swá upp is aboren... (Æ, SL, I, 524.604). Separation by inflected verb.

Bearn ic afeðde, he cwæð, and up hy arærde, ac hi me forletan... (W, 215.108). Separation by pronoun object.

... and þurh oðre gode worc gecyrre and up of þam wo arise... (Xrod, 8.29). Separation by prepositional phrase.

Her com se here to Exan muðan, and up ða
eodan to ðere byrig... (Xron, 1001).
 Separation by another adverb.

Postposited.

1. Following the verb immediately (24 occur-
 rences):

þæt flod weox þa and abær up þone arc...
 (Æ, H, 13.227-228).

...and ne ahebbon up hig sylfe mid nanon
 gylpe (Xrod, 77.10-11).

...and ahefe up ðine stemne... (trans-
 lating Latin exalta; W, 142.8-9).

...þone heagan stipel, þe sceolde astigan
upp to heofenum... (Æ, PTest, 24.216-218).

...þæt he alle his castles sculde ffuen
 [giefan] up. Sume he iaf [geaf] up, and
 sume ne iaf he noht... (Xron, 1140, p. 267[m]).

...me[n] henged up bi the [sic] fet and
 smoked heom... (Xron, 1137, p. 264[m]).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it (42
 occurrences):

"þa genám he hine eft, and abær hine upp
 on ane dune..." (Æ, H, 44.103). Separation
 by object. Compare the first example in
 section 1 immediately above and with the
 following "...bær up on þæt templ..."
 (43.69-70).

Arás ða eft upp and locode wið ðæs weges...
 (Æ, SL, II, 204.247-248).

"Astig nu, Drihten Hælend Crist, up..."
 (Bl, 87.22). Separation by an adverb and
 nouns in apostrophe.

"...and siððan þu þe to me gebeden hæfst,
ferige þe up ealswa Heliam" (Xrod, 99.12-13).
 Separation by object.

...namon hine up and feredon hine to Win
 ceastre... (Xron, 1046, p. 169[m]).
 Separation by object.

Da ge axode Godwin eorl þet and teah þa up
 his segl and his lið... (Xron, 1052, p.
 177[1]).

Instances not counted.

1. "...and upheah arærde, and hine lædde forð
 to þon cafortune..." (Bl, 219.20). This was the only
 occurrence of upheah in the corpus. If frequency of
 usage is taken as a yardstick, no verb-adverb combination
 has been formed.

2. The boundary between constituent parts in the
 following sentence seems to be between ametene and up, the
 latter not forming a sense-unit with the verb, but with
 the following preposition: "Þonne syndon from þære burge
 weallum twelf mila ametene up to þæm hean cnolle..." (Bl,
 197.20-21). In other words, the verb is 'measured', not
 'measured up', and the distance is twelve miles 'up to'
 the hill.

3. "Þa se Hælend gesæt up on þære dune, þa ahóf
 hē up his eagan..." (Æ, H, 51.42). Here the adverb up
 is not a particle forming a sense-unit with the verb
gesittan, because the sense of the sentence is obviously

not that Christ sat up from a reclining position; nor is it any more likely that the up is combined with on to form a compound preposition upon. Rather, it functions to fix location very much in the same manner as MdE employs such expressions as 'down by the shore', 'out in the country', and thus 'up on the hill'. As a contrast, a sentence from *Elfric's Saints* will serve neatly: "...and hi saton ealle upp gesunde..." (SL, I, 512.435). In this citation, the verb combines with the adverbial particle and means, just as it does yet 'sit up', or in the given tense of the sentence, 'they all sat up...'.¹⁷

The uses of up with verbs are merely touched upon here. A full treatment can be found in Howard Meroney's fine, detailed study of up and its uses in OE.¹⁷ His dissertation covers a wide range of material since he includes poetry in addition to prose, so that his figures on the frequency of up are even higher than those determined from this study. Despite an imposingly high rate of frequency for up and verbal combinations, Meroney concludes that up does not form compounds with the verbs with which it appears.

Speaking of ahebban in combination with up and the relative frequency with which it appears in pre-position

¹⁷As cited earlier, "Old English upp, uppe, uppan and upon" (Chicago, 1943).

or postposition, Meroney comments:

By themselves the sixty-one instances not preverbal ought to show that upp ahebban is not a compound. We may also remark that of the two hundred and forty-nine examples of pre-verbal order one hundred and eighteen involve infinitive verb-forms, before which upp usually stands anyhow. Even the expression upp ahafen "proud" is not demonstrably one word, cp. up ahafen on his mode, CP39.13, as against up ofer hine selfne ahafen on his mode, CP111.7. Upp ahebban, therefore, is not a compound. Nor should any such Old English combination be so treated, upp asittan, upp forlatan, and the other verbs for which we have only pre-verbal examples (cf. p. 22.3) being recorded so seldom that the negative evidence carries no weight.¹⁸

Even subtracting Meroney's 118 instances of up preceding an infinitive, one still has a ratio of 131 preposited forms to 61 postposited, more than twice as many preposited forms. The figures obtained in the analysis of the prose corpus selected for this study (see Table 3, pp. 61-62) do not reveal as high a percentage for postposition as Meroney's results, but this difference may stem from the fact that poetic usage might sanction an entirely atypical set of patterns, the up being placed for metrical reasons rather than reflecting spoken patterns or the prose structures derived from them.

The mere weight of the frequency with which up and ahebban occur together, regardless of the position of the particle, would lead one to suspect that the two are bound

¹⁸Meroney, pp. 46, 48.

as a sense-unit. In addition, the adjective upahafen (past participle), the adverb upahafenlice, the nouns upahafennes and upahafednes would indicate that the union of up and ahebban as a sense-unit was an established one in OE. The positioning of the adverbial particle in front of the verb upon some occasions and after the verb on others should attest to the fact that up is a separable particle as opposed to an inseparable prefix or a mere adverb.

A satisfactory solution to the problem is not made any easier if one takes into account scribal variations. Just to cite a few instances from one manuscript, Bodleian Laud 636, the Peterborough Chronicle, the scribe wrote ge wendon on one line and within the same sentence gewendon. (Easily seen in Plummer's edition, p. 180[t].) The same situation prevails in other entries: underfengon sometimes is so written, at other times as under fengon (1002, for example); the prefix ge- is often written separated from its verb base, but most editors emend to solidly written forms. Should one therefore assume that upp and ahebban are not to be analyzed as a compound, simply because the scribe wrote them separated in form? In the Rule of Chrodegang, up and ahafen occur as two words in one instance; the same scribe wrote upahafu in another passage. Ælfric's scribe spelled upahafen, and the same word is so spelled as a unit in

the Blickling Homilies; upahofon occurs as one word in Crosius, along with uppahæfene.¹⁹

Meroney agrees with Leonard Bloomfield that up combinations, as up ahebban and up asittan and others, are not real compounds, only considered such under Dutch and German spelling influence.²⁰ Their position, however, denies the fact that OE was related to Old Saxon and Old High German. Presumably, Germanic grammatical structures and patterns would still be basic in pre-Conquest English, relatively untouched by foreign influences such as were to come later. One need only examine an OHG text to find parallels between the two languages: similarities have already been cited under ham (p. 47), under hider (p. 53). A further analogy is provided in the following examples: Translating Latin et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur (Xrod, 7.29), the OE reads: "'... and se þe hine sylfne geeaðmet, he bið up āhafen and gewurðod" (Xrod, 8.12-13).

¹⁹On the whole question of scribal spacing in manuscripts and its significance for indicating timing, phrases (and possibly oral patterns), see Robert Stevick's Suprasegmentals, Meter, and the Manuscript of "Beowulf", Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, No. 71 (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), especially Chapters I and II, and his article entitled "Scribal Notation of Prosodic Features in the Parker Chronicle, Anno 894 [893]", in the Journal of English Linguistics, I (March 1967), 57-66.

²⁰Meroney, p. 48.

An interlinear translation of the Psalter in Rhenish-Franconian dialect reads: "...unde ûferhaban ist horn mîn in gode mînemo...", in which ûferhaban (OE upahafen) translates exaltatum est of the Latin.²¹ There is no question in OHG that the particle ûf and the verb form a compound. Another illustration of its use occurs in the Ludwigslied, another Rhenish-Franconian document:

"...Huob her gundfanon ûf..." ('he raised the war banner', or 'he lifted the war banner up').²² The separable nature of the compound is shown by the placement of ûf at the end of the line. An OE equivalent can be made by translating word for word: ahof he guðfanan up. It is difficult to understand why the particle ûf compounds with verbs in OHG, but that the analogous forms in OE should not be considered such.

UT

Of the adverbial particles touched upon thus far, ut is the most productive in forming verb-adverb combinations. It has one strikingly frequent combination with

²¹W. Braune, and K. Helm, Althochdeutsches Lesebuch (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1952), p. 36.

²²The line is taken from the poem in Franz Löffel's edition in A Short Old High German Grammar and Reader (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1969), p. 30, line 27. The poem can be found in almost any OHG reader.

gan, otherwise a moderate repetition. Of the total sixty-eight verbs found in combination, thirty-four occur but once, and simple verbs outnumber the compounds in use (39:29).

As with niðer and up, ut is often used with verbs prefixed in a-, frequently with parallel forms in the simplex: bannan and abannan; drafan and adrafan; drifan and adrifan; nydan and anydan.

Table 4, pp. 74-75, shows the relative frequency and the positioning of the particle, with the exception that verbs occurring but once have not been listed, merely tallied at the end.

In regard to placement within the sentence, pre-position of the particle occurred ninety-nine times; postposition was nearly as frequent, being found in ninety cases. Postposition of the particle is higher than for up, a practice which may or may not account for the number of occasions in which ut is placed with prepositional phrases, a point to be discussed later. However, pre-position still accounts for the greater number of cases, including a goodly number of solidly written units.

By far the larger number of combinations with ut are literal in connotation, even those written as one

TABLE 4

PLACEMENT AND FREQUENCY OF UT IN COMBINATIONS

VERB	PRE-POSITION		POSTPOSITION	
	1 unit	separate	adjacent	separate
abannan			2	
abeodan		1	1	
adon		2		
adræfan	1	5		
adrifan	1	5	1	1
agan		1	1	
alædan	3			1
ascadian			1	1
asceotan		2		
astingan	1	1		
aweorpan		1		1
beran		1		2
cuman			2	
cydan*		2		
drifan	1	1		2
faran		6	7	3
feran		2	1	6
flowan	1	1		
forlætan	1	3		

* Appears with particle as solidly written unit in two MSS not used by the editor in his text.

TABLE 4 (continued)

PLACEMENT AND FREQUENCY OF UT IN COMBINATIONS

VERB	PRE-POSITION		POSTPOSITION	
	1 unit	separate	adjacent	separate
gan	8	19	4	9
gelædan	1	1		1
gesellan		1	1	
gewitan				2
lædan		1		2
lagian	2			
lætan.....			2	1
licgan			1	1
nyddan			2	
sceofan	1		1	
sceotan	1	1	1	1
stelan			2	
wendan			1	2
gewendan		1	3	2
weorpan		1	1	
<hr/>				
Single-entry verbs ...	3	15	13	3
<hr/>				
Frequency total	25	74	48	42
<hr/>				

word. A few specialized and idiomatic uses are seen in the following:

stelan ut (Xron, 1140), 'to steal out', 'to escape furtively'.

lætan ut (Xron, 1140), 'to release from prison'.

Several times the verb-adverb combinations are applied in a literal fashion to inanimate things or to concepts, as 'soul', 'hell', 'the invisible'.

In contrast to up with its fairly productive noun combinations, only one example was found in the texts:

utfær.

The unusually large number of instances of possible combinations with ut creates a problem in handling citations; in contrast to the preceding sections, citations of clear-cut examples of verb-adverb combinations are reduced to a minimum and somewhat more space and attention will be given to doubtful cases.

Preposited.

1. Solidly written units (25 occurrences):

...and he sceolde beon útradraefed (Æ, H, 45.119).

...of pissum carcerne útalædde... (Bl, 241.1).

...wæs...swipe wynsum ond hluttor wáta útflorende... (Bl, 209.2-3).

...þa geseah ic þær balzamum...genoh of þæm treowum utweallan... (Alex, 41.15-17).

2. Separately written (60 occurrences):

...him het se cyng þa eagan ut adǫn...
(Xron, 1096, p. 232[m]).

Ac þar án ut asceat of Latina weorode...
(O, 108.10).

Ond hit nænig mon út cyðan ne moste...
(Alex, 49.5).

Her Ædwine eorl and Morkere eorl ut hlupon... (Xron, 1071). Plummer cites MS D as having hlupon út.

3. Separated from verb by other elements (14 occurrences):

...oððe hwæne se biscop ut hæfde adræfed
(Xrod, 99.35). Separation by inflected verb.

...ond nænig mon his geðoht openum wordum út ne cyðe (Alex, 43.13-14). Separation by negative particle. (Accent on u uncertain - Rypins)

...þæt hi hine ut sceoldon wurpan... (Æ, SL, II, 200.169-170). Separation by inflected verb.

Postposited.

1. Following the verb immediately (48 occurrences):

þa het se cyng abannan út ealne ðeodscipe of Westseaxum... (Xron, 1006, p. 136[m]).

...anydde ut þone Adam of ðære myrhðe þe he ær on wæs... (W, 236.20).

...and þærrihte sona cwehte ut his sawle (Xrod, 99.33-34).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it by other elements (42 occurrences):

...se scop wæs secgende þæt Egypti adrifen Moyses út mid hys leodum (O, 34.16).
Separation by object of sentence.

...and man bær þa út þa teage... (Æ, SL, I, 534.760-761). Separation by an adverb.

...þonne byrð man hine út, and forbærneð... (O, 21.7).

Juxtaposition of ut and prepositional phrases. A rather high number (35%) of the combinations with particle and verb occurred in conjunction with a prepositional phrase, raising the question whether one is dealing with a type of compound preposition or with a verb-adverb combination. Ut is followed by a prepositional phrase on twenty occasions in preposited sentence placement and forty-eight times when it occurs postposited.

By comparing these instances of juxtaposition of ut and prepositional phrase with sentences showing clear-cut cases of verb-adverb combination, it seems clear that a majority of the juxtaposed situations represents actual verb-adverb usage.

Preposited:

1. ...and eac þa geata þe hie út of Romebyrig to þæm gefeocht ferdon... (O, 72.13-14).
2. ...Rotbert de Bælesme mid un sehte fram þam cyngre út of ðison lande into Normandige fór (Xron, 1106, p. 240[h]).

3. And se cyng syððan scipa ut on sã sende
his broðer to dare... (Xron, 1101, p. 237[t]).

While these examples and many similar ones not here cited do not show close syntactic relationship, as far as physical placement in the sentences is concerned, many others do. To parallel sentence 1, one can cite "...and heo ut ferde þa of Engla land..." (Xron, 1075, p. 211[m]), where the verb-adverb combination is fairly clear. Sentence 2 can be paralleled with: "...þæt ic of þære halgan byrig ut fõr" (StM, 36.516). The elements in all these sentences remain the same, but the variation in word order creates the problem. If one can show that OE possessed a separable compound verb utfaran or utferan, placement of the adverbial particle before a prepositional phrase becomes less troublesome. Sufficient examples exist to show that ut did form separable combinations with verbs in OE. Two illustrations of ut and faran/feran have already been cited; other examples taken at random are: "...of hys setlum út ádráf" (N, 20.39-21.1); "...of þissum carcerne útalædde..." (Bl, 241.1); "...ut eode of ðam bæðe..." (Apo, 20.19-20).

Postposited:

1. ...and mann awearp þa lic for þan laplican stence ut ofer ðone weall... (Æ, PTest, 73.1240-41).
2. ...he draf þone ælpeodigan ut of his inne... (Xrod, 99.26).

3. ...and alæd me ut of byssum bendum, and of byses carcernes huse, and of deapes scuan (B1, 87.33-34).
4. ...þær Bore seo éa scýt ut on ðone garsecg... (O, 14.14-15).
5. ...and lædde hi ut of earde... (W, 150.120); and, "Nu gyt ic hine hate lædan hider ut beforan eow ealle..." (V, 25.215).

Beside each of these constructions, however, there are examples of a closer relationship between ut and the verb than these five would show. In sentence 1, for example, where ut might very well be construed as part of the preposition ofer ('out over'), a parallel sentence in the Blickling Homilies offers a clear-cut union of ut and the verb: "...and þa ut awearp þa sceomolas þara cypemanna..." (71.18).

The second sentence is paralleled by "And seo hell þa Sātān of hys setlum ut ádráf..." (N, 20.39-21.1); "...and þonne wyrð sona þurh godes mihte se deofol geýrged and utdrifen..." (W, 172.17-18).

The quotation from Orosius in the fourth citation has a counterpart to it a few pages later where one finds the following: "Be suðan Narbonense is se Wendelsæ, þær þær Rodan seo éa utscýt..." (22.28-29).

The illustrations in number 5 may be contrasted with "Se Hælend...mé genam, and mé ut lædde tō Arimathia on mýn ágen hús..." (N, 16.11-13).

The separation of ut from the verb alæd and its placement next to the prepositional phrase, as seen in sentence 3, is the only instance in the corpus in which this occurred; the other examples of ut and alædan being used together show the two written as one word: "þæt he þe utalædeþ of þyssum carcerne..." (Bl, 231.5-6). Cf., too, a similar entry cited on page 79. One might also note that ut does not repeat although the preposition of is repeated three times, possibly a sign that the particle is combined with the verb.

While it is not possible to make a firm statement that ut always forms a verb-adverb combination, many of the instances of juxtaposition of ut and prepositional phrases can be shown to be such a combination by comparison with other sentences, as has been done in the preceding sections. A possible explanation for the frequency of a prepositional phrase following ut is that the placement represents a transitional stage, one in which the older verb-adverb usage was yielding to a newer word order where the adverb was attracted to the phrase. The supposition, however, is not borne out by the examples in the corpus, where both types of construction occur in both early and late texts.

A second explanation is that placement with the prepositional phrase may have afforded a degree of

emphasis to be secured through change in the expected word order; such a supposition would receive some reinforcement from the use of the acute accent which can be observed with many (though not all) of the instances in which ut accompanies the phrase. Note the accent use on sentences 1 and 2 in the preposited section (p.78-79) and the following list:

abannan út, abeodan út, wearð adrifen út (of), bannan út, cumað út, far út (of), ferde út (on); ferde...út (to), adrifen...út (mid), eode...út (of), eode...út (on), gecyrde...út (ymbe), gewende...út (mid).

How reliable the marking of acute accents on vowels is, is a matter of uncertainty since they are not always marked by the scribes in a consistent fashion. For example, in the text of Nicodemus, where accents are fairly liberally used, some of the sentences show few or none of the accents: "And se wuldorfulla Dryhten þá his swýðran hand áðenede and cwæð..." (23.15-16). Yet, other sentences abound with accented vowels: "...and hé syððan an árendgewryt áwrát and tó Róme ásende tó þám cyninge..." (26.2-4). In the latter sentence where acute marks are used on the traditionally unaccented prefix a-, and on both prepositions and the article immediately following, one can but question the meaning or function of the marks.

Some instances of non-combination. A few instances of the particle ut not forming verb-adverb combinations will be listed; the situations in which the usage occurs are the same as for the preceding cases which were counted as legitimate combinations. In most of the following, the sense of the sentence precludes any attempt to consider ut and the verb a combination:

1. "Þa com hit to witenne þam eorlum ut to Sandwich..." (Xron, 1048, p. 177[m]). Ut cannot logically modify the verb, and conversely an illustration of ut modifying a prepositional phrase is gained.

2. "...hi namon þa ænne úpgang 'út' þurh Ciltern..." (Xron, 1009, p. 139[b]). As in the first example, the verb does not combine well with the particle, but ut and ðurh make better sense.

3. "Dises geares eac se bisceop Rannulf to þam Candel mæssan út of þam ture on Lunden nihtes oð bærst..." (Xron, 1101, p. 237[1]). The physical separation of ut and the verb in this sentence is difficult to explain if the two are meant to be combined, especially in view of the fact that the verb oðberstan means 'to break out', 'escape'. The lateness of the entry in the Chronicle might just point to a loss of meaning for the prefix oð-, but in view of the uncertainty in arguing either aspect, the sentence was not included in the totals.

4. "...for ðon þa feawan þe þær út odflugon ; hæfdon eft þa burg gebune..." (O, 96.3-4). Ut was not counted in this case because it forms, in all likelihood, a compound with ðær, 'from it' or 'therefrom'.

OTHER PARTICLES

Although adverbs in -an, like hindan, heonan, fornean, and the like, were excluded at the beginning of this chapter because they were so restricted in use and occurrence, one such adverb, æftan rather clearly shows a combining force as used in Wulfstan's Larspell: "...mæst ælc oðerne æftan heawed mid sceanlican onscytan..." (257. 62-63). Clark-Hall lists it only under hcawan.

A small group of verbs with adverbial elements appeared to be inseparable in usage, i.e. in those instances in which they occurred more than once, they were always written as solid units. Where they occurred but once, the nature of the combination can only be surmised. The combinations appear with efen- (fairly productive in the corpus and never separated) as in geefenlæccan, efensargian, efendrowian; full- in fullgan, fullfyligan; gelide- in gelidewæhte; geriht(e)- in gerihtlæccan and gerihtwisod; nea(h)- in nealæccan.²³

²³Forms in -læccan are adjectival, according to Quirk and Wrenn's grammar. See the section on Word Formation (172) in An Old English Grammar (2nd ed.; London: Methuen 1965), p. 117.

In Orosius, the adverb ðær was used almost as a compound in "hwelce bisene he ðær stellende wæs..." (64.24-25), a parallel to German darstellen 'to represent'.

In his edition of the Chronicle, Plummer lists several specialized combinations of togædere with cuman, faran, and gan in the sense of 'engage in battle', 'take place', and 'come about'. Since in Modern German the equivalent adverb of OE togædere is a highly productive separable prefix (zusammen), a check to compare potential OE combinations is in order.

OE possessed several synonyms or near-synonyms for the notion of 'together': ætgædere, ætsonne, gegædere, togædere, and tosonne. Of these, the last-mentioned, tosonne, is actually the cognate of German zusammen, but in the corpus, tosonne did not appear very frequently. Used more often were ætgædere and togædere; in use, however, ætgædere was often more adjectival than adverbial, almost invariably occurring with ealle or some other pronoun. Consequently, its likelihood of forming real verb-adverb combinations is rather slight. Both ætgædere and ætsonne may also be used in temporal senses, 'at once', 'at the same time'. Of eighteen instances in which these two adverbs occurred, twelve were in preverbal position; only one of these could qualify as a potential combination: "...and gelicie þe on urum lichaman þæt hi ne

beon totwæmde, ac læt hi beon ætgædere gelede" (*A*, SL, II, 216.442-443). The remaining examples are either dubious or clearly incapable of forming verbal combinations:

"...þi læs we ætgædere ealle forweorðan" (*W*, 265.164).

A few instances of sentences containing togædere should suffice to illustrate its usage:

1. "...and to þam mynstre ferde on þære ilcan tīde þe heora eoster-gewuna wæron to-gædere becuman..." (*StM*, 42.642-643).

2. "...þæt he næfre eft togædere ne cóme..." (*A*, SL, I, 510.376).

3. "...and hi to gædere comen and wurde sahte..." (*Xron*, 1135, p. 263[1]).

In Alexander's Letter to Aristotle, tosomne was used with the verb gesamnian, almost as in *MdE* 'gather together': "...ond hie mon þa seamas ond þa þing ðara ura wicstowe earfoðlice tosomne for þam winde gesomnode..." (34.10-12). The fact that in OE the root of the verb and the adverb is the same raises the possibility that the verb gesamnian was weakening in meaning and that tosomne was needed to intensify the basic action. (Compare *Hendrickson's* comments about loss of meanings in compound verbs in *Alfred's Orosius*, cited above p. 8, and a similar reference to loss of meaning on page 25 and note.)

A good illustration of lack of verb-adverb combination is the following sentence from *Alfric's Lives*

of Saints: "...god ælmihtig wát ealle þing togaðere..."
(I, 18.136-137).

Too few examples occurred in the corpus for a firm statement on the usage of onsundran. In the following instance, however, it operates very much in the manner of German auseinander 'asunder': "...ðað seofan halgan eodon him on-sundran..." (Æ, SL, I, 496.133-134). Compare German separable usage in auseinandergehen, as geht or ging...auseinander.

Finally, a few instances of eft in combination with a verb were observed, all from Saint Mary of Egypt: "And he wæs eft-cyrrende þurh þone ilcan siðfat þæs westenes þe hé ær þyder becom..." (42.641-642); "...and eft-cyrrende wæs herigende..." (42.639-640); "...and me eft-cyrrende hwearf þus cwæðende..." (44.668); "...þi halgan lencten-fæstene þæs toweardan geares eft-hwyrfende, ne ofer-far þu na iordanen..." (40.612-614).

In each of these citations, eft is used with the force of Latin re-, eftcyrran 'return' efthwyrfan 'recur'. Consequently, the following examples may also qualify as verb-adverb combinations, since they are analogous to the preceding both in meaning of the particle and position held in the sentence:

1. "...and on dust bið eft gecyrred..." (Bl, 57.30).

2. "...ac to fasiacen ond porre þam cyninge eft gehworf þu..." (Alex, 48.16-17).

3. "...ond in macedoniam ic eft gelæded wære to olimphiade minre meder..." (Alex, 37.4-6).

4. "...ða gewiton we to urum geferum eft..." (Alex, 46.4-5).

In the Rule of Chrodegang, eft is used to translate Latin re- in "For þig ic beode and eft beode..." (68.11-12), where the Latin reads: Inde mando et remando (67.21). Usage varied in OE, however, and eft also had a temporal sense as can be seen in the following lines. Generally, the adverbs of time were not involved in verb-adverb combinations.

1. "Þa hi ða eft arison, þa befran he Crist heo eft..." (V, 3.23-24). Upon occasion, eftarisan is a compound in the sense 'rise again', 'resurrect'; here, however, it means merely 'get up' (as from a dinner). The second eft means that the question was asked for a second time.

2. "...þa sona eft adruþiap ..." (Bl, 59.3). The two adverbs in this sentence probably form a unit, such as 'immediately after', or 'soon again'.

Because of the relative infrequency with which the various constructions above occurred in the corpus, none have been counted as forming distinctive verb-adverb combinations for this study.

CHAPTER III

COMBINATIONS WITH PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL ADVERBS

In the preceding chapter, the rôle of the adverb in making potential verbal combinations was discussed. In this chapter, the rôle of the preposition and the prepositional adverb¹ will be investigated. In OE, a relatively large group of words operated syntactically both as prepositions and as adverbs; a much smaller group, only as prepositions. The former group includes: abutan, æfter, æt, ætforan, beforan, betweonan, bufan, foran, fore, fram, geond, in, mid, of, on, onbutan, ongean, samod, to, toforan, togeanes, toward, ðurh, under, and ymbe. In the prepositional group are found æthindan, oð, uppan, and wið (Clark-Hall).

The dual function of these prepositional-adverbial particles would be in keeping with Curme's hypothesis that adverbs are the earlier of the two forms and that the

¹Any word functioning either as an adverb or preposition in connection with verbal combinations. Used by several of the authorities cited in this paper, the term is best defined by Campbell in his OE Grammar; see note 1, p. 30.

prepositional use followed after.² The association with case which Curme and Lockwood discuss as part of the evolution of an adverb into a preposition becomes one of the distinguishing characteristics of a preposition as opposed to other parts of speech. Before proceeding further, however, it might be wise to define the term preposition itself.

Not so readily defined as the adverb, a preposition may be said to be a relation word, associated with a specific case of a noun or pronoun, a word which serves to link the inflected noun or pronoun it governs with another part of the sentence, whether verb, noun, or adjective. Further, a preposition itself is indeclinable.³ In inflected languages like Old English or Modern German, the preposition may cause its noun or pronoun object to be placed in a particular case as opposed to another. Thus, for example, in German zu 'to' always governs the

²"Development of Verbal Compounds", p. 325. His article in PBB employs simplified spelling, a system which will account for the strange appearance of many of the words in the following quotation. The author states: "All prepositions wer originally adverbs. In course of time many adverbs became associated not only with the verb but also with an object so that its specific adverbial quality was weakend and its strength of stress decreast." In a later section, p. 347, he adds: "Only after a long development did certain adverbs become associated with certain cases." W.B. Lockwood traces the development of the preposition in the same way. See his Historical German Syntax, pp. 175-176.

³Meyer-Myklestad, p. 542.

dative case; in OE, on the other hand, to may be followed by the dative case, or, in expressions of time, the genitive. A preposition like for, moreover, could be followed by the dative, accusative, or instrumental cases.

In OE, a preposition usually preceded its object, although upon occasion the preposition could be found following. Postposition, however, is rare with noun objects, at least in the prose corpus selected for this study. Postposition of the preposition occurred most frequently with the third-person, singular, masculine pronoun or with the third-person plural. Even these constructions are open to interpretation, however; many of them were found in juxtaposition with a verb so that the syntax could also point to a verbal compound with an indirect object. Many cannot be satisfactorily categorized as either one construction or the other as will be seen in the following sections where examples will be cited in detail.

That so few of the words listed above qualify solely as prepositions (oð, uppan, and wið the most frequent) would indicate an incomplete transition from adverb function to prepositional function for the majority of the particles. So much so, as a matter of fact, that Roberts calls them "incipient prepositions" or

"transition adverbs"⁴ and they represent a fertile source in the creation of verbal compounds in Modern German, a point of importance for this paper.

Differences in verbal combinations with particles that are purely adverbial and those which function as prepositions as well may be marked by the spelling of the particles in some instances: inn, adverbial; in, prepositional.⁵ Be and bi are also distinguished upon occasion, but very few were observed in the corpus; these will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Stress is another means of differentiating the types of particles; according to most authorities, the adverb receives the stress or accent in a verbal combination, but a preposition prefixed to a verb loses its stress to the stem or base of the verb.⁶ While it is

⁴"Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution", p. 474.

⁵But Campbell warns that these distinctions are not always observed in practice. See p. 31 of his OE Grammar.

⁶There is universal agreement on this principle. See Wright, OE Grammar, pp. 18-19; and his section on verbs and their formation, pp. 328-329. A similar statement on accentuation can be found in his Historical German Grammar, p. 20. Curme in his PBB article "Development of Verbal Compounds" deals extensively with the question of accent; see p. 321 *et seq.* Campbell's section on OE accent has been referred to on several occasions thus far and is especially helpful; see pp. 30-33 in his grammar. Other sources with similar treatment include Bruce Mitchell's A Guide to Old English (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), and Jeffrey Ellis's Elementary Old High German Grammar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

difficult to determine exactly where stress might have fallen in the spoken language and in the prose records which have been transmitted, grammarians have used OE verse as a means of ascertaining accent or principles of stress which may also be applied to prose. In his book Postscript on Beowulf, S.O. Andrew undertook to clarify OE stress by using analogy to present-day stress.⁷

The difference between the adverbial and prepositional particle may also be discerned within the clause itself as follows:

(a) "...and him Cirus was æfterfylgende..." (O, 74.33). Verb and particle form a sense-unit; the object of the sentence is in the dative case, as frequently happens with compound verbs (see Visser, p. 282 et seq.) The particle æfter would be considered prepositional in use in this sentence and in similar constructions elsewhere.

(b) "...þa hyrdas ðæs landes geseonde þæt se leo þæt cild swa cucu bær, æfter urnon and hit ahreddon..." (Æ, SL, II, 202.184-185). In contrast to the preceding sentence or with the verb ahreddon in this example, there is no object, nor is it possible for one to be used with

⁷New York: Russell & Russell, 1969. Originally published 1948 (Cambridge University Press).

the intransitive verb iernan. The use of the particle here is adverbial in nature, and fits Curme's illustrations of present-day usage of prepositional adverbs in sentences like: "We soon reached the park and strolled through."⁸

By way of contrast, the following example illustrates adverbial usage, but not one that combines with the verb to form a verbal compound: "... hie of ðæm neaheum ond merum þa hronfiscas uptugon ond þa æton ond be þæm lifdon ond þæt wæter æfter druncon" (Alex, 33.6-9). In this sentence, æfter is best translated 'afterwards', the natives first catching the 'fish' (hronfisc is technically a 'whale', but whales in the rivers of the Indian sub-continent seem implausible), then eating them, and afterwards drinking the water. Adverbial the construction is, but æfter and druncon do not constitute a sense-unit as in the previous examples.

The particle or prefix to may be used to illustrate the difference of stress. Originally two different prefixes in meaning, unstressed te- (ti-) fell together with the stressed prefix to,⁹ so that in OE one had the verb tocuman in which the prefix is stressed and adverbial in usage and

⁸George O. Curme, Syntax. Vol. III of A Grammar of the English Language (2 vols. in an incomplete series; Boston: D.C. Heath, 1931), p. 568.

⁹Wright, OE Grammar, p. 332.

the verb literal in meaning ('come together', 'arrive') and another verb like tofáran, in which the prefix is unstressed, conveying the meaning 'to pieces', 'apart', hence tofaran 'scatter', 'disperse'. This unstressed prefix is cognate to German zer- ('in pieces', 'asunder') and represents a more figurative use than the stressed adverbial form.

Technically, then, the prepositional adverb may form combinations with a verb in which either the adverbial element predominates or the prepositional. A problem does exist, however, in that the placement of various elements within the OE sentence leads to the possibility of more than one interpretation.

In a sentence or clause where there is a sequence of pronoun object + preposition + verb, as in "Cassander hiere æfter for..." (O, 148.20), "...ond on elpendum ûngemetlicu mængeo ûs æfter ferde..." (Alex, 13.13), or "...þe him æfter fylgeon...." (Bl, 81.7), it is not always possible to categorize these in an absolute fashion. Syntactically, they (and all other phrases like them) may be analyzed (a) as simple verbs with prepositional phrases in which the proposition follows rather than precedes its object, or (b) as compound verbs or phrasal verbs with a pronoun object in a particular case.

In his historical survey of English syntax, F. Th. Visser discusses this very ambiguity and notes that there is no ready solution since OE possessed many

compound verbs (like onsittan and ymsittan) which parallel the ambiguous instances.¹⁰ Whether it will ever be possible to reach a definite solution is doubtful, barring the discovery of new manuscripts or some sort of OE Rosetta stone. Hopefully, the samples to be cited in these pages will shed some light on the usage.

The problem created by the interpretation of such phrases described above was noted by Ann Shannon in her study of the Parker Chronicle, and her views are worth quoting here:

There is a similar overlapping between particles functioning as prepositions, adverbs, and verbal prefixes.

.....
 Editorial treatment of such particles, judging by the way they are printed, sometimes together with the verb, and sometimes separated from it, seems inconsistent. For example, there are three clauses with the particle on which seem very similar in structure, two of which have on separated from the verb, and one which has them written together:

be Crist on browude ... (885)
be hi on foron ... (891)
be him Ælfred þes cwninges brobur
and anlipig aldorman ... oft rade
onridon ... (871)

The analysis of these particles as prepositions, adverbs, or verbal prefixes affects the analysis of be as a simple connective or the object of a delayed preposition.

.....
 On the basis of this text alone, one can point out different possible analyses of these particles and find parallels for the different possibilities,

¹⁰F. Th. Visser, An Historical Syntax of the English Language: Part I, Syntactical Units with One Verb (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963), p. 396.

but not reach a conclusive analysis.¹¹

Even with the reading of a larger corpus of prose works, however, the situation does not alter substantially and for many examples the ambiguity of interpretation remains. One usage is clear, however: in subordinate clauses, no matter whether the verb is placed last in the clause (its normal position for subordination), or whether it occurs in some other position within the clause as it may occasionally, the particle in question -- adverbial or prepositional in nature -- is almost always placed directly before the verb.

In over sixty samples gathered at random, only one revealed a separation of particle from verb when employed in subordinate clauses; in this instance, the separation was occasioned by the adverb ða. A few illustrations are:

With traditional subordinate order (verb final) -

- (a) ...underfeng ða menniscnysse of us, þe
hē us mid alysde (Æ, Supp, 418.88-89).
- (b) ...þe him sibban of acom... (Æ, H, 11.
175-176).
- (c) þe hire fæder tó sohte... (Æ, SL; II,
342.135-136).
- (d) þe he ærest to com... (Æ, SL, I, 518.515-
516). Note that the verb and prefix here
are written as one word.

¹¹Ann Shannon, A Descriptive Syntax of the Parker Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 734 to 891, Diss. Univ. of Mich. 1962; Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, No. 14 (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), p. 65.

With verb in other than end position -

- (a) ...þe hie sybpan mid getremede wæron on þas halgan tide... (Bl, 119.14).
- (b) ...ðe he ær on ðrowode to ecum ðingum awend... (Æ, Supp, 417.41-42).
- (c) ...þe missenlicra cynna eardung in wæs nædrena ond rifra wildeora (Alex, 14. 11-13).
- (d) ...þe Drihten lichomlice nehst on stod her on middangearde... (Bl, 125.15).

The only instance in which separation of verb and particle occurred is: "...þe Crist embe þa spræc..." (Æ, Supp, 482. 70-71).

The consistency with which the verb and particle occur together despite syntactic variations within the clause itself and despite the fluctuating placement of the objective personal pronoun anywhere in the clause from the beginning to a location adjacent to the preposition itself, may be the clue to a partial solution or resolution of how such constructions should be treated: the insistent juxtaposition may well point to syntactic combinations or verbal compounds which have been replaced over the years by the more modern construction of verb and prepositional phrase.

Such a process took place in Germanic and several instances of the change are cited by Curme in his analysis of verbs in his sixth category of prepositional compounds. Though not illustrating subordinate clauses, his samples show

the principle at work:

"...þæt swurd burhwod wratlicne wyrm" (ib. [Beowulf] 890-1), "The sword went thru the monster." "And se Hælend ymbfor ealle burga" (Matth. 9,35), "Jesus went about all the cities." As can be seen by the translations, the prefix in these old compounds was later felt as a preposition and hence was placed¹² before the object to which it was felt as belonging.

Many of the phrases, then, that seem ambiguous to us in the corpus of OE writings, may very well be a record of the transition whereby the older order of compound verbs with their objects had already been replaced in the main clause by the more dominant new order of verb and prepositional phrase, but not yet displaced in subordinate clauses of various types.

A more detailed listing of these ambiguous constructions is presented in Appendix A. (See p. 154.)

In situations other than subordinate clauses, the particle in verb-adverb combinations may appear with the verb or follow the verb, sometimes immediately, sometimes separated by other sentence elements. The position of the objective pronoun, when one occurs, is fairly free, just as in the subordinate clause, at times appearing at the beginning of the sentence before the subject, at times after the subject in a mid-position, at times just before the verb or the particle.

¹²Curme, "Verbal Compounds", p. 352.

In the remainder of this chapter, as many of the particles in frequent use will be cited as space allows; those used less frequently will be touched upon briefly in a concluding section, along with examples of doubtful usage.

The group of words functioning in OE only as prepositions is so small that it can be disposed of almost immediately. Listed earlier were æthindan, oð, toforan, uppan, and wið, based on Clark-Hall's entries. Bosworth-Toller has citations, however, for the adverbial use of æthindan and wið so that any discussion of these two is properly under the heading of prepositional adverbs. The preposition oð in its capacity as verbal particle or prefix forms only inseparable compounds with verbs, and hence it does not fall within the scope of this study.¹³ Of the two remaining prepositions, toforan and uppan, only one example which could be considered as forming a verbal compound was observed in the corpus. In the interlinear gloss of the Epitome of Benedict of Aniane, the Latin consideranda est is translated into OE as "is toforan sceigende" (123.35).

Therefore, based on the samples gathered from the corpus, words functioning solely as prepositions may be considered as not forming separable compounds for the purpose of this study and set aside.

¹³Wright, OE Grammar, p. 332.

Of the larger group, the prepositional adverbs, there are so many examples that it will be necessary to omit clause and phrasal citations for all of them because of space limitations and either to list the verb alone, where practical, or to give a number count in the cases where the combination is especially prolific.

A rather arbitrary subdivision has been adopted: the first group of prepositional-adverbs to be treated will be those listed in Wright's grammar as being either separable or inseparable: æt, ofer, öurh, under, wið, wiðer, and ymb(e).¹⁴ A second group will consist of particles observed in the corpus in verbal combination, but not treated by Wright in his section on verbal prefixes; they are æfter, fore, fram, in, mid, and ongean. With the exception of ongean, these particles are discussed, however, in Wright as noun prefixes.¹⁵ A third group will consist of to, of, and on, which many authorities consider inseparable. Lastly, a section will be devoted to random use and some dubious examples. Appendix B (pp. 157-159) contains a list of verbs used with the various particles.

¹⁴Wright, OE Grammar, p. 329.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 309-314.

ÆT, OFER, FURH, UNDER, WIF, YMB(E)

Æt. Although æt is classified by Wright as a separable or inseparable prefix, by far the greatest number of examples encountered in the corpus always appeared as one unit, a solidly written compound of particle and verb. The few times in which æt occurred in a separated form are all doubtful:

1. Although the verb is written separately in the following example, it is very likely meant as the compound atfeolan 'adhere to', 'continue in':

Ac hie daga gehwylce and geornlice þær
 ðte heora gebedum æt fulgon (Bi, 201.17-18).

2. Two uses of æt and beon in Ælfric are of interest:

...þa ongeat eustachius þæt seo fore-sæde
 costnung him ða æt was... (SL, II, 198.
 143-144). The verb carries the meaning here
 'is at hand'.

A parallel sentence in the Vercelli Homilies uses the same construction of æt and beon, except that the editor, Förster, prints it in a hyphenated form:

"...þæt seo tid nu æt-is..." (133.46-47).

The verb and particle are translated by Förster as steht bevor, that is 'at hand', 'is approaching', and his handling shows that he regarded them as a compound. The second sentence from Ælfric illustrates a slightly different meaning of the verb:

...swa swa ealle ða ge-hyrðon þe ðær
æt wæron... (SL, I, 492.91).

The meaning conveyed here is that of 'to be present at something'. Whether the æt belongs with the ðær to form a pronominal compound is, of course, a possibility. Still, the Vercelli example would show that æt and beon could form compounds, and the clause translates quite readily as 'as all heard (then) who were there present'.

3. The difference between the combined form and the separated can be demonstrated by an example from the Blickling Homilies:

...þære stowe genealæcan þe hie þæt hryper
 gesawon æt stondan (199.25).

General consensus would analyze æt as a delayed preposition with the relative pronoun þe in a relative clause. Yet, a question could be raised about the position of æt which is inserted in the sentence between two verb forms: the usual position for a postposited preposition in the relative clause is immediately before the verb, not between verbs. This can be very easily illustrated by taking a sampling of relative clauses from the corpus: "...þe hie to ge-scapene wæron...", "...þe þe cnapan of alædde wæron...", "...þe him on wann swiðe...", "...þe he for ure neode on ahangen was", and many more.

For this reason, æt and standan may well be a legitimate compound verb in the passage cited from Blickling. It is a legitimate compound with several different applications: 'stand still', 'stand up'; 'check', 'resist', 'cease' (all cited from Clark-Hall).

In the second instance from the Blickling Homilies, the scribe has written the particle and verb as a unit, and his treatment avoids the ambiguity of the preceding:

...and me æts[t]londað... (207.2).

As a result, one can sum up by saying that the particle æt tends to form a fairly definite and stable compound, rather than a loose phrasal construction, especially if one accepts ætbeon as a legitimate compound in the illustration given in section 2 above.¹⁶

As solidly written forms appear: ætberstan, ætbreġdan, ætbycgan, ætfeallan, ætfleon, æthleapan, æthrinan, ætlimpan, ætsacan, ætstandan, ætwenian, ætwitan, ætwindan, and ætywan (ætiewan). No truly separated forms were observed.

¹⁶ ætbeon, of course, is a dictionary entry; Campbell cites mid-wesan (p. 33), and Mätzner in his Englische Grammatik, Erster Theil (2nd ed.; Berlin, 1873) cites underbeon, pp. 546-547. In addition, forewesan 'to rule over' helps to add to the list of actual compounds with forms of the verb 'to be'. For the sake of comparison between related languages, it should be noted that Old High German is rich in compounds with both the verb 'to be' and the verb 'to have'.

Ofer. Ofer is a highly productive particle, forming a great many compounds of the solidly written format. Over forty combinations with ofer occurred in the corpus, of which the greater number showed no separation of particle from the verb. In ten instances, there was clear-cut separation, not only in spelling, but also in position within the sentence. The separable combinations always had the idea of 'over' or 'across' with whatever verb was being used, as can be seen in the citations to follow. The inseparable forms are mixed: while many proved to be figurative in meaning as in oferlædan 'oppress', 'translate'; oferhogian 'despise', many were quite literal in meaning, as ofergetimbrian 'to build over', 'erect'; oferhyran 'to hear', 'overhear'; more figuratively, 'to disobey'.

Preposited.

1. In a coördinate clause:

Him þa to com an fiscere, ond ðneape hienne
 ænne ofer brohte (O, 84.10).

Bosworth-Toller cites this sentence as illustrating adverbial use of ofer, but adverbial force seems to predominate in all the instances where ofer appears as a separable and literal particle.

2. In a subordinate clause:

...and þurh þa mænig fealde gyld þe
 næfre ge swican ær se cyng ofer fore...
 (Xron, 1105, p. 240[t]).

...seo [the sea] is bradre þonne ænig man
ofer seon mæge... (O, 19.19).

Note that ofer and seon here have the sense 'see over, across', as contrasted to the following use of oferseon from Alexander's Letter: "...æfter þære wisan þe ic hit oferseah" (2.8-9); the compound verb means 'observed', and the difference between the two sentences and the two verbs is similar to the difference in MdE between 'to see over', on the one hand, and 'to oversee', on the other.

3. The following three examples are treated as true compounds by Plummer in his edition of the Chronicle, although the verbs and the particles appear in the text as separate words:

Ac þæt¹⁷ ofer com Rome þet ofer cumeð eall weoruld þæt is gold and seolure... (Xron, 1123, p. 252[1]).

...and fordydon eall þæt he ofer ferde (Xron, 1016, p. 151[h]).

...and slogon and bærndon swa hwæt swa hi ofer foron (Xron, 1016, p. 150[m]).

These last two examples of ofer used with faran and feran offer an excellent contrast with the postposited citations below. Oferferan in the first quotation above means 'to come upon', 'meet', rather than a literal, 'travel, go across'. The same observation can be made for oferfaran in

¹⁷The discrepancy between the spellings of ðæt and ðet is explained by the fact that the first use in the quotation represents an expanded contraction. Despite the fact that ðet is the usual form in the Peterborough Chronicle, the scribe uses ðæt elsewhere in the entry for the same year.

the second example above; the differences can be seen with the similar verbs in postposition in the following section.

4. Several instances of ofer and various verbs occur in relative clauses. Here again, one is faced with the problem of trying to determine whether one is dealing with a verbal combination or a simple verb with a delayed preposition. Beon and ofer are juxtaposed on several occasions in Orosius, Chrodegang, and Blickling Homilies. A typical usage is the following from Blickling: "...pone hired þe hie ofer beob..." (45.9), where, in all probability, one is not dealing with a combination of verb and particle. In the following sentence taken from Orosius, the construction is very much the same, but here the meaning might warrant favoring consideration of ofer and beon as a combination: "He angan sierwan mid þæm folce þe he ofer wæs..." (52.3-4). Ofer wæs can mean more than just 'was over'; the force here could also include 'ruled', 'commanded', or 'led'. Oferbeon is attested as a compound by both Clark-Hall and Bosworth-Toller.

Not all the ambiguity is the result of use in relative clauses: in "...ond sibpan mid his firde þær ofer fór..." (O, 74.1-2) the difficulty is that ofer can combine with ðær to form a compound adverb 'thereover' as well as with the verb to create a compound verb. If the scribal

accent on fór has real significance, it could point to an inseparable compound verb, since the prefix of such verbs is never accented, the accent being given to the base or stem of the verb, as noted in Chapter I.

Postposited.

1. Following the verb immediately:

...þa wæs ymbe twa niht þæt se cyning
ge wende ofer at Brent forða and þa
wið þone here ge feaht... (Xron, 1016,
p. 150[h]).

...ond hie on sunde to þære byrig foron
ond swumman ofer æfter þære ða to þæm
eglande... (Alex, 15.15-16).

2. Following the verb, but separated from it:

...þa sona swa he hæfde wind swa ferde
he ofer in to Normandie... (Xron, 1123,
p. 253[h]). Separation by subject.

...and by ilcan dæg rad Æþælmund ealdor-
man of Hwiccium of'er at Cynemæres
forða... (Xron, 800). The 'er' is over
the line, according to Plummer.
Separation by subject and attributive
prepositional phrase.

"...swa þæt hi ásætton hi on ænne sið
ofer mid horsum mid ealle..." (Xron,
892). Separation by objective pronoun
and prepositional phrase.

As noted in the opening paragraph of the section, combinations with ofer most frequently occur as inseparable verb and particle forms. Combinations were observed in the ratio of thirty-three inseparable to ten separable instances. Not only simple verbs compounded with ofer, but several

compound verbs in ge- also occurred within the corpus:
ofergetimbrian, ofergesettan, ofergetilian.

Purh. Only a small number of combinations with verbs and ðurh were noted in the corpus and those that did occur were, with two exceptions, written as solid units and never observed in separated form. These include ðurhborian, ðurhdrifan, ðurhfaran, ðurhferan, ðurhgeotan, ðurhöyrelían, ðurhsmeagan, ðurhteon, and ðurhwunian.

The first of the two exceptions is not really an exception to compounding, but represents scribal usage: "...þa earan him purh by relode..." (Alex, 40.12-13). Context shows that him is a dative of reference ('his ears') and not the object of a delayed preposition. The separation of by and relode is caused by a break at the end of the line. The editor of the text, Rypins, treats it as a compound verb.

The second exception is very likely an instance of a postposited preposition in a relative clause: "...ðyreló þe hiora mon purh cunnode..." (Alex, 29.19-20). There is no ready proof to show that it forms a verbal combination.

Although classified as an inseparable or separable prefix,¹⁸ ðurh forms, according to the evidence here, only inseparable compounds.

¹⁸ See Wright, OE Grammar, p. 329.

Under. The comments made for ōurh apply likewise to the particle under: only solidly written forms were observed in the corpus and one dubious separated form. Those to occur are: underbeginnan, underfon, underlicgan, undergietan, underniman, understandan, underōeodan, and underwreōian, all inseparable in use.

The dubious instance is the sequence of pronoun, preposition, and verb so often encountered in cases of ambiguous constructions: "...þæt hie mostan huru sume uncýme streownesse him under gedón for his untrumnesse..." (B1, 227.12-13). The construction may be read as a prepositional phrase with postposited preposition; on the other hand, the possibility exists that under and gedon form a compound on the analogy of the verb underdon 'to put under' (Clark-Hall). Him would then be a dative object, just as in the clause "...gif he him underlið."¹⁹ By analogy, then, undergedon as a compound verb should be possible.

Wið. The following verbs with the particle wið occurred in the corpus as solidly written compounds and are treated or

¹⁹The clause is from Ælfric and is cited by Visser in his list of verbs governing the dative case, p. 308. The list in Part I of his Historical Syntax covers 28 pages, and the author notes that the frequency with which verbs compounded with a prepositional adverb take a dative object is very high. See p. 282.

considered inseparable: wiðcweðan, wiðgynan, wiðfehtan, wiðlicgan, wiðmetan, wiðsacan, wiðstandan.

A few entries appeared with the particle separated from the verb, most of them borderline cases similar to those in the preceding citations in other sections. A sampling follows:

1. With juxtaposition of pronoun, preposition, and verb:

...and on þam geare sanct Ædmund cining
him wið ge feaht... (Xron, 870; spacing
between wið, ge, and feaht is narrower
than between other words.)

On the analogy of wiðfehtan, wiðgefehtan should be possible as a compound. The same combination appears with the particle in postposition in Orosius: "...op Somnite him gefuhton wið..." (110.8-9).

The following combination is not listed as a compound in Plummer's glossary of the Chronicle, but by virtue of its specialized meaning, it may well qualify as a true compound:

...se kyng of France brohte þone eorles sunu
...and iæf hine þone eorlðom and þet land
folc him wið tóc (Xron, 1127, p. 257[h]).

Lending support to wið and tacan as a compound, is the accented verb base (tóc) and a comparable verb in Old

Norse taka við 'accept'.²⁰

2. In relative clauses:

...þes man þe þu swa wel wið gedest...
(Apo, 22.19).

Because of the context here and its colloquial tone, it would seem that the verb is a combination, although not an inseparable one. The use of wið and don conveys here the meaning of 'treat' or 'deal' (cf. MdE 'deal with').

"Hwæt wæron þá wýf þe se engel wyð spæc..."
(N, 12.20-21).

...to þon þæt he wolde beladian his modor...
þe mon sæde þæt heo hie wið forlege...
(O, 126.24-26).

The use of wið in connection with the verb forlicgan is analogous to the combination hæman wið, cited by Visser (p. 395).

3. In postposition: only one example noted.

Seo heofone us wind wið þonne heo sendeð
stýrnlice stormas....Seo eorde us wind wið
þonne heo forwyrneð eorðlices wæstmas...
(W, 125.38-40).

4. Other dubious combinations:

"...ðær he geseah Godes englas and wið spæc,
and wið God sylfne he spæc..." (W, 236.15-16).

²⁰See glossary in Andreas Heusler's Altisländisches Elementarbuch (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967). Cf. also ON use of mep in the section on OE mid, below.

That no pronoun referring back to englas is used in the phrase and wið spæc may be a scribal omission; on the other hand, if the pronoun's absence is legitimate, then an adverbial use of wið is demonstrated, comparable to "We reached the park and strolled through", which was cited earlier (p.94), and the particle and verb may be considered a combination. Paralleling this use of wið spæc is the following construction from the Chronicle: "...and þær him comon ongean .vi. cyningas, and ealle wið trywsodon..." (972).

In the following quotation from Nicodemus, "...and hym wyð specan" (15.4), an attempt to analyze verb and particle as a combination would be negated almost immediately, for following the preceding clause in another section there appears "þæt hig wyð ús sprecon..." (16.36).

Ymbe (embe). The particle ymbe (variants in ymb, embe, and emb) formed another relatively small group of combinations. As with the preceding æt, ofer, under, and wið, combinations with ymbe in the corpus were nearly all inseparable in use.

A few examples of separated forms did occur, mainly in relative clauses, so that they do not present clear-cut instances of separation of a verbal combination. As is usual with these constructions in relative clauses,

the particle may be functioning as a delayed preposition in syntactic relationship with either the relative pronoun or some other pronoun within the clause. A few of these will be cited, but in general the pattern is the same as with the other instances of ambiguous usage which have already been cited:

...be ðu embe axast... (Æ, SL, I, 532.727).

Abraham be man on bocum fela ymbe rædeþ... (W, 148.100).

...be we ær bufan emb spræcon... (Bl, 43.27).

Although written as a unit in the text, the combination "... of ðæm þeodlande þæm þe þær ymbmyndon..." (Bl, 209.18), is not so treated either by Morris in his glossary, nor by Clark-Hall, presumably because it can be read just as easily as ðærymb myndon. In view of other compound verb forms for beon, cited above (p. 104, note 16), ymb and beon might be a legitimate compound.

One clear-cut instance of separated usage is seen with the following inflected infinitive: "Seo menniscnes is wundorlice ymbe to smeagenne" (W, 151.142-143). The separation of particle and verb by the preposition to, which serves to introduce the inflected form of the infinitive, is still very much a part of Dutch and German word order, where the 'sign of the infinitive', te or zu,

intervenes between particle and verb: umzusehen (um.zu.sehen). Clark-Hall enters a noun for the combination of ymb and the stem or base smeag- (yumbsmeagung), but no verb.

AFTER, FORE, FRAM, IN, MID, ONGEAN

In this second group of prepositional adverbs, fore and in exhibit a considerable degree of frequency in forming solidly written units which can be considered inseparable compounds. Conversely, no solid forms were observed in the corpus for fram and mid, with the exception of a few hyphenated forms of fram in Förster's edition of the Vercelli Homilies, as fram-adon, fram-adrifeð. These may well be merely textual in nature, rather than scribal. After occurred three times in a solid combination and ongean but once. All the particles show a fairly high rate of frequency of usage, whether used in preposition or postposition.

Editorial treatment of these particles would seem to cast some doubt upon the ability of certain ones, notably fram and mid, to enter into combination with verbs. As mentioned above (p. 101), Wright treats this group, with the exception of ongean, under the heading of noun prefixes; Clark-Hall states that the verb entries

under fram may also be interpreted as separate prepositions.²¹ Yet, the samples gathered in the corpus point to very much the same usage as with the preceding groups of separable-inseparable particles. Where there are doubtful instances and more than one interpretation of the syntax possible, the problems arise from the same juxtaposition of pronoun, preposition, and verb, or the same relative clause sequences that have been observed before.

After. In the corpus, after formed solid compounds with folgian, fylgian, and cweðan. Its rate of usage, however, is much higher than these three compounds would suggest, for over twenty instances of after and a verb were observed in separated forms, either before or after the verb itself. A representative selection of these examples follows:

Preposited.

1. Immediately preceding the verb in a coordinate situation:

Da het se cyng scipa gegæarcian and him
after faran... (Apo, 10.23).

...ond him Philippus after fór... (O,
114.11-12).

²¹See pp. 309-314 in Wright's OE Grammar for the treatment of noun prefixes; see the framacyrran entry in Clark-Hall, p. 137.

...and him geornlice after ferde mid
fæwum geferum (Æ, SL, II, 192.32-33).

In each of these illustrations, some might construe the verb, not as a compound, but as a simple verb completed by a prepositional phrase, the preposition of which follows its object. By analogy to the compound verbs æfterfolgian or æfterfylgan (-ian), it seems logical to consider after and faran/feran as compounds as well, especially if one notes the similarity of the use of the dative pronouns in the following instances in which æfterfylgan/folgian are used: "...ond him æfterfolgiende wæron..." (O, 44.16); "se cyningc [sic] þa mid his folce him wæs æfterfylgende..." (O, 38.22); and, "...ealle þa hālgan heom æfterfyligdon" (N, 23.30-31).

A second reason for considering after a verbal particle with faran and feran in the examples cited at the beginning of this section, can be found by extension of Carlton's findings for prepositional order in his study of the OE Charters.²² If a postposited preposition follows its object at once, except in relative clauses, as Carlton states, then the citations "him Philippus

²²Charles Carlton, Descriptive Syntax of the Old English Charters, Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, No. 3 (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), pp. 185-186.

æfter fôr..." and "and him geornlice æfter ferde..." contain compound verbs. If æfterfaran/feran exist as compound verbs, other sequences like hiere æfter for, ūs æfter ferde which have not been previously cited, are automatically clarified, and such phrases as him æfter rād, him sende scipon æfter need no longer be considered prepositional phrases and objects completing a simple verb, because their syntax is comparable.

2. In relative clauses:

...be him raðe ðæs æfter côm... (O, 86.25).

"...se iunga man, be þu æfter axsodest..." (Apo, 20.30).

"...se forlidena man is cumen, be ðu æfter sændest..." (Apo, 22.7).

...bysene onstellan þam be him æfter fylgeon (Bl, 81.6-7). EETS translates the line 'to those that succeed them'.

3. Other subordinate uses:

...butan se cyng him æfter sende... (Xron, 1087, p. 224[1]).

...swa swa se cyng Heanrig be his witena ræde him æfter sende (Xron, 1100, p. 236 [m]).

Postposited.

Only five instances of postposition were observed, all but one from the Chronicle.

...of heora wif him sendon ærendracan æfter.
(O, 44.20).

...and se cyng mid his here ferde æfter, and
besætt þone castel abutan... (Xron, 1087,
p. 224[h]).

...and he him sende scipon æfter...
(Xron, 1094, p. 229[l]).

Other verbs used in combination with æfter, but not cited, include: ridan, iernan (yrnan) and sican. While the number of separate verbs combining with æfter to form either an inseparable or separable compound are relatively few, they proved to be frequently used.

Fore. In those combinations with fore in which the particle and verb were written as a unit, ten formed inseparable compounds, with the exception of foresecgan and foresceawian, both of which showed separation in isolated examples.

Some of the combinations occurred fairly often (foresprecan, foresecgan, foresceawian), but most were used but once or twice within the corpus (forestihtian, foreðingian).

About an equal number of separated forms occurred, but it is quite likely that many of these instances are merely representative of scribal practice, as in "...ne næfre fore secgan ne gehyrde..." (StM, 14.215) and "...þa þa he þa fræcednysse him fore sæde" (Æ, H, 68.132), and

that these can be considered compounds. If one accepts Carlton's premise that pronoun and postposited preposition must occur in juxtaposition to each other, the following verb and particle will qualify as a verbal combination: "...blipre bið seo sawl þæs mannes, þonne hire man þa ælmessan fore dæleð..." (Bl, 41.30-31).

In postposition, the following samples evidence verb-particle combinations quite clearly: "Ne can ic ne æfre ænig man oðrum asegan fore ealne þone egsan þe þurh deofol on worulde geweorðan sceal" (W, 132.66-67); "...þa sæde he his ðegnum fore eal hu hit gewurðan scolde, and hit sona æfter þam ealswa aeode" (W, 153.179-180); "God scawe fore" (Xron, 1127, p. 258[1]).

As with after, fore represents a small group of compounds. In addition to those verbs already cited, others combining with fore are began, feran, geceosan, gelaðian, and standan.

Fram. Fram-adrifan, fram-adon, and fram-ascufan, all taken from the Vercelli Homilies (Förster's edition), represent the only compound forms encountered with fram: "...gif hio hyre gymeleste fram-adrifeð and ælc gitsunge afyrreð..." (137.2); "...and hio ge-bydeð to þam englum,

and dioflu fram-ascyfð" (69.163-164).²³

Similar to the foregoing instances, but written separately as two words, is the use of fram and abregdan in two citations from the Capitula of Theodulf:

...þæt ðurh ða folc fram [sic] openum
mæssena symblum...beo fram abroden...
(117.15-17).

Fram abroden translates the Latin verb abstrahatur. In a later section of the same passage the Latin clause ut populus a publicis sollempnibus non abstrahatur is rendered into OE as:

...þæt þæt folc fram openlicum symblum ne
sƿ fram abroden (117.37-118.1).

Both the Latin and the English verbs have the meaning of the verbal prefix repeated in the preposition of the prepositional phrase used in conjunction with the verb (ab plus a publicis sollempnibus; fram abroden plus fram openlicum symblum).²⁴

²³Max Förster, the editor of the Vercelli Homilies, comments on these combinations: "Indes zeigen Belege wie ic fram-atere 'diripio' oder ic fram-awurpe 'abiicio'... dass schon die Angelsachsen, wie die heutigen Deutschen, hier ein Verbalkompositum empfanden." See Förster's footnote to fram-ascyfð, p. 69.

²⁴This repetition of the verbal prefix meaning in a prepositional phrase within the same sentence was quite common in Latin, and still is common in MdG. See Lockwood's analysis in his section on "Preverb and Preposition", p. 177.

So, too, "...ond on þæm earfedum no fram bugon, ac hie on þære gebylde mid me ^â wunedon..." (Alex, 3.13-14). Ambiguous because of its use in a relative clause is "...þe heo fram com..." (Æ, SL, I, 16.93).

Since instances of fram in combination with various verbs are numerous, only a few citations will be made because of space limitations; the remaining combinations will be listed. Representative are:

fram + aweorpan - ...þurh þone god þe him nænne fram ne awyrpð... (StM, 14.194-195).

The clause shows typical separation of particle and verb by a negative particle.

...rihtlic is me swa besmitenre fram þinre clænan ungewemmednysse beon ascirod and fram aworpen... (StM, 30.437-439).

fram + ateon - ...ac hine his pegnas ofer his willan from atugon, þæt he sippan was fleonde mid þære firde... (O, 128.6-7).

fram + aflyman - ...and mé ða gedrefedan gedohtas fram aflymde (StM, 38.558-559).

fram + bugan - ...and mæst hine dryfdon his agene mæn þe him ge lome fram bugon, and swicon, and to his feondan cyrdon... (Xron, 1118, p. 248[t]).

Other verbs so combined with the particle fram are fram + abugan, fram + afaran, fram + feolan, fram + gewitan, and fram + sendan.

The sequence of pronoun, particle, and verb which proves so ambiguous in syntax can be illustrated here by

the following: "...mehton hi heora gemanan fiend him fram adón" (O, 118.14-15). In this instance, however, a parallel sentence from the Vercelli Homilies is of help in making the preceding less dubious: "...mid unyðnesse hit him mon sceal fram-adon" (147.100), in which the compound nature of the verb is quite explicit.

The following example was not counted as forming a verbal combination: "...and hi feorh-fagene him fram sona ðanon eodon..." (Æ, SL, I, 506.309). Because of sentence sense and the mid-sentence placement of the him and fram, analysis of the syntax favors treating fram as a postposited preposition.

In. A relatively small number of solidly written forms and a large number of separated ones characterize the use of the particle in. Of the many possible combinations, only inbelucan, incuman, inforlætan, ingan, ingecigan, ingesellan, insellan, instyrian, and intimbrian show compound format. One form has been discarded or discounted as a scribal error: "...hie ðyder inwæron to ðæm lofsangum gesamnode..." (Bl, 207.36). Bosworth-Toller enters ðiderin as a compound, so that the word division may very properly be ðiderin wæron, nor should the possibility of a verbal combination in plus gesamnode be overlooked.

Although written as separate units, the following examples are probably just as much true compounds as the ones listed above:

- in + abregdan - ...ond he ðær weard from þæm burgwarum in ábroden... (O, 134. 13-14).
- Context here does not favor a combination of ðær and in.
- in + ateon - Nis seo orþung þe wé ut blawap and in ateod... (Æ, SL, I, 22.214-215).
- in + faran - The Epitome of Benedict twice uses in and faran to translate the Latin introire and intrent, pp. 125 (l. 21) and 127 (l. 19) respectively.
- in + clipian - "...þæt ðu sceoldest béon in geclypod" (N, 7.9).
- in + gelædan - ...and hé mé sona in gelædde on þá swýðran healfe... (N, 24.39-25.1).
- in + geladian - ...untrume þa þe on cwærterne beoð to geneosianne, and cuman ['strangers'] in to geladianne... (Theo, 108.13-14).
- in + tyhtan - ...and ut lændisce hider in tihte... (Xron, 959, p. 115[h]).

Similarly, one finds instances of in + becuman, in + bugan, in + beran, and in + geceosan in the corpus, although the citations have been omitted. (See also Appendix B.)

Postposited.

1. A few postposited forms are found:

...ac mid Godes ege gangan in... (Xrod, 34.5-6).

...þar eode in ðæs cynges iunge dohtor...
(Apo, 22.26).

...ac eode ut and þwōh his eagan and com eft inn... (Æ, SL, II, 206.264-265).²⁵

...and þær gedydon twa weofedu in...
(Bl, 205.15).

Despite the fact that the EETS edition translates the separated þær and in as the compound 'therein', Clark-Hall enters ingedon as a compound, citing the Blickling Homilies as the source. Further, the physical separation of the þær and in would contravene Carlton's findings on prepositional order (cf. p. 117 above, and note 22).

2. With following prepositional phrase:

"...gelæde hyne in tō mē" (N, 7.5).

In the preceding example, there is a certain ambiguity in the construction, since in and to in juxtaposition can form a compound preposition. In this instance, however, it appears fairly certain that in forms a part of a verbal compound. Even in MdE we would not say 'Lead him into me', but 'Lead him in | to me', with a pause or juncture between in and to. From the records, however, one cannot always be certain, for a passage in the late OE romance Apollonius

²⁵A word on the use of inn just above is in order: technically, inn is the adverbial form of in, but the spelling distinctions are not always observed. Cf. note 5, p.92, above. Since so many of the in examples above are adverbial in use, the inn forms are included here under the prepositional adverbs instead of being placed with the purely adverbial forms of the preceding chapter. Others: inn cōm, inn eode, inn agangen.

of Tyre reads: "...eode þa into ðam cyninge..." (6.2).²⁶

Quite a few such sequences occurred in the corpus; other representative examples follow:

...hire fæder þa he ham com ofest-lice
eode inn to þam bure... (Æ, SL, II, 346.
176).

Although into would fit quite naturally here, the verb gan occurs so frequently with in/inn that it would seem the logical combination in this sentence as well; in addition, the adverbial form inn might also be a syntactic signal that it combines with the verb, not the following preposition.

Ic gegaderige in to þe of deorcynne...
(Æ, H, 13.221).

Context in this example yields 'ingather', rather than 'into thee'.

"...ond hyrð in on Dene" (O, 19.24). But, compare: "...hyrað to Denemearcan ..." (O, 19.36) and "...igland þe in Denemearce hyrað" (O, 19.30-31). In and on do not form a compound preposition, according to the dictionaries. In and hyran form, in all probability, an idiomatic combination and the same elements are combined in the noun inhyrnes 'possession'.

Preposited, with intervening phrase.

A few examples of in preceding the verb and

²⁶A reading based upon Goolden's edition. Napier's German edition reads in and to separately.

separated from it by an intervening prepositional phrase are of interest because the way the sentence is read or interpreted affects the classification of in as a particle. The first illustration is not troublesome: "...one ic eac in mid mec gelædde mine þrie ða getreowstan frynd..." (Alex, 45.2-3). Here, the meaning is so obviously 'led in' that a verbal combination is not in doubt. A second instance has the combination of in and on in sequence: "...ðú náfre ne gefafige þæt hé in on mé cume..." (N, 20.16). It has already been pointed out in the preceding section that there is no dictionary entry for a compound in and on; the in therefore may be taken as a separated particle.

A third illustration involves in and ofer, but again, the sentence sense seems to require ingan as a compound verb; in and ofer appear to require a juncture between them.²⁷ However, juncture is difficult to prove in a language no longer spoken in its early form.

"...þæt hé sceolde in ofer his hrægel gán" (N, 7.10-11).

A few dubious sequences:

...oð Alexandres þegnas toemnes him þone weall
abracon, ond þær in coman (O, 134.21-22).

²⁷Juncture is defined as a momentary pause in speech. See John P. Hughes, The Science of Language (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 254-255.

...oð ðæt he becom to þare ceastre geate and
ðar in eode... (Apo, 18.24-25).

In both of these examples, it is difficult to eliminate the ambiguity between reading ðarin or incoman, or ðarin or ineode.

Da eode se man in beforan to ðam cynges...
 (Apo, 22.6-7).

...he læi seoc in þa secræ man in (Xron,
 1070, p. 207[h]).

Mid. No solidly written forms of mid in combination with a verb were noted, although the noun midwuning did occur, having the particle and the verbal base wun-. Instances in which mid precedes a verb are open to more than one interpretation of the syntax, owing to the juxtaposition of a dative pronoun in front of the particle or to use within a relative clause, as in the following:

...bæd þæt hē moste him mid sibian to heo-
 fenlicum brymme of bysum gewinne... (Æ, H,
 74.325-326).

Both Clark-Hall and Bosworth-Toller admit this combination of mid and siðian. There seems very little difference in syntax between the use of the dative pronoun, the particle, and the verb in that sentence and in one such as:

...and ealle men heom mid tiledon...
 (Æ, SL, I, 530.703).

or

...geond feowertigra daga fyrst him mid
wunode... (Æ, H, 16.336).

With the second illustration, an argument in favor of viewing the particle mid as forming a verbal combination with the verb wunian, stems from the formation of the noun midwunung. Since the -ung suffix (and its variant -ing) indicate a noun formation from a verb,²⁸ supposedly there should be a verb midwunian from which the noun could originally have been derived.

Similar to the preceding examples, but showing a separation of pronoun and particle:

Ic me ða mid genom .cc. ladpeowa...
(Alex, 8.9-10).

Campbell cites mid-wesan as an example of a separable verb.²⁹ In such a case, the compound midwesan would help to explain and clarify the fluctuation of word order with pronouns and prepositions in the following sentence, "...þæt he ¹fram ²Gode cóme, and þæt God ²him ¹mid were..." (A, Supp, 482.63-64). Such a combination as midwesan also existed in OHG with the verb 'to be': mitesin.

In the following relative usage, the order of helping verb, preposition, and participle would seem to favor a verbal combination:

²⁸Quirk and Wrenn, p. 107.

²⁹Campbell, p. 33, labelling them quasi-compounds.

...ac he gelice slog ond hiende
 þæ þe him on siml wæron mid farende
 ond winnende (O, 130.19-20).

Although the dictionary recognizes forms like midspecend, midsp(r)eca, and midsprecende, there is no entry for a verb, midsp(r)ecan. Still, such a verb is indicated in "'...þú ðe wære gepwærigende and myd specende þám Hælende?" (N, 11.9-10), and less clearly in "'...þás men þe hym myd specad?" (N, 8.6).

A second group of possible compounds with mid clearly shows adverbial force in the particle. In most of the illustrations, one senses the omission of a nominal agent. Since OE possessed a means of referring back to a noun or pronoun through the use of compound pronominal adverbs, such as ðærin, ðærfrom, ðærmid, ðæron, it may be of some significance for the concept of verbal compounding that these adverbial compounds are not employed in the following cases:

Preposited.

- mid + bycgan - "...and ure neode mide biggað..."
 (Æ, SL, I, 532.706).
- mid + scioldan - "...þæt we hæbben þa scyldas þærongean,
 þe Dryten [sic] us hæfd ge-sett
mid to scyldanne..." (V, 105.355-357).
- "...þæt we þas wæpn us to niman willað
 and us mid scyldan þam scotiendum
 dioflum..." (V, 106.369-370).

In this last citation there can be no doubt in eliminating the idea of a postposited preposition as a construction, since to render us mid as 'with us' would violate the sentence sense.

mid + sceotan - "...diofle, þe of þære stylenan helle cymd mid his scearpum strælum us mid to scotianne..." (V, 106.375-376).

As with the mid scieldan example immediately above, there can be no doubt here of the inability of us and mid to form a phrase. A verbal combination is possible because of the context.

mid + gesmyrian - "...þæt ðu myhtest mýnne lýchaman myd gesmyrian..." (N, 18.31-32).

"...ele of þám tréowe þære myldheortnysse, þæt ðú Ádám, þýnne fæder, myd smyrian móte for his lichaman sære..." (N, 19.1-3).

Postposited.

mid + faran - "...and for to porte mid..." (Æ, SL, I, 514.464).

mid + fon - "...for ðæm hy foð þa mildan hranas mid (O, 18.12).

mid + gewendan - "...þæt an leo genam þæt cild and gewende to wuda mid..." (Æ, SL, II, 200.177-178).

mid + scieldan - "...ða het ic eald hrægl toslitan ond habban wið þæm fyre and sceldan mid..." (Alex, 35.17-19).

Cf. the preposited usage with the same verb above. Note, too, the counterpart of smyrian in preposited position with the postposited usage that follows:

mid + smyrian - "...þæt Maria gename an pund deor-
wyrþre smyrenesse, and smyrede mid
þæs Hælendes fét..." (Bl, 73.18).

In his analysis of the use of adverbs and prepositions in Old Icelandic, Heusler notes instances of their use in verbal compounds and comments on mep (OE mid) as follows: "Zu mep bemerke: hann fôr mep fiôra menn bedeutet mehr: ,er nahm vier Mann mit'"³⁰ In other words, Heusler rules out a prepositional phrase in favor of a verbal combination fara mep. Such a use parallels and supports the consideration of mid as a verbal particle in OE, as illustrated by the quotations above. Whether the samples in postposition have been influenced by the Old Norse usage of a preposition without pronoun completion, a construction common enough in OI,³¹ or whether the usage represents a common Germanic tradition, needs further study and investigation. In the Introduction to her edition of the later Peterborough Chronicle, Cecily Clark notes Norse influence in prepositional and adverbial forms following verbs, as "feren mid [cf. fara mep, above], gyfen up, leten ut, tacen to [cf. ON taka

³⁰Heusler, p. 144.

³¹Heusler, p. 146.

vip], and possibly to æten bi."³²

While the productivity of mid combined with verbs may be slight, it seems reasonable to assume that it was capable of such formations in OE, just as its cognate equivalent was in OHG. Mit is still common in MdG; witness, for example, mitbringen 'to take along, bring along', mitgehen 'to go with, to accompany', mitmachen 'join in, follow', mitnehmen 'to take along' (cf. OE mid geniman, cited above), and many others. In OHG, a number of common verbs compound with mit(e) or miti, including mitefaren (OE faran), mitifliehen (OE fleon and fleogan), mitefuoren (lædan), mitegan (OE gan), mitilouffan (OE hleapan, iernan), mitewerfen (OE weorpan), and others.

Ongean. Just a few solidly written forms with ongean occurred in the corpus, two of which were participles and one a noun. In view of the frequency, however, with which the particle appeared with verbs in situations corresponding to the usage of the other particles under discussion, it would be difficult to dismiss ongean as not being compound-fähig. Nineteen instances of the particle and the verb cuman were recorded; its productivity,

³²The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154 (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), lxxv. See also her article "Studies in the Vocabulary of the Peterborough Chronicle, 1070-1154", English and Germanic Studies, V (1952-1953), 87.

however, with other verbs is less striking: faran (7), cyrran (4), and bringan (3) representing the next highest frequencies. Most verbs show single occurrence, as ongean cweðan, ongean gewendan, ongean locian, and the like. Ongeanwinnend is used as an adjective in Apollonius: "...þa ongeanwinnendan fæmnan mid micelre strengðe earfoðlice ofercom..." (2.17-18). Vercelli Homilies record "...þone engel ongean-cumende..." (70.167), to which the noun form, ongeancyme (Ælfric), can be added.

The interlinear gloss of Benedict of Aniane employs beon agengebrote (128.17) for the Latin reducantur, although parallel citations in other sections of the work show the agen and verb in separated form: agen cyrrre for revertens (121.17), agen cuman for recurrant (123.13), ongean cume for recurrat (121.29), and agen cume, again, (125.3).

Written separately, but probably to be understood as compounds are:

ongean plus

clipian - ...and ealle þá hálgan ongéan clypodon... (N, 18.20).
 ...þá clypode héo ongéan... (N, 21.27-28).

Compare MdG entgegenrufen in connection with this use of ongean clypian.

cweðan - ...ac he symle ongen cwæð... (Æ, SL, II, 336.32-33). 'Replied', 'answered'.

cierran - þæt folc þa ofscamod ongean cyrde¹
to þære lāre... (Æ, H, 68.129-130).

One might add here the gloss cýrre ongean for the Latin revertatur in "De Consuetudine Monachorum" (Anglia, XIII (1891), 434.

gesendan - ...and mid swiftre rædnesse geslegene
asendan ongean gesænde to ðam plegendan cynge,
eft he agean asænde... (Apo, 20.9-10).

iernan - And þá Iudéas, þá hig þæt gehýrdon,
ealle ongean urnon... (N, 15.24).

With objective pronouns in the sentence or clause, the choice lies between treating the construction as a verbal compound or construing a delayed preposition:

ongean plus

bringan - ...forsoc þone triumphan, þe him
mon ongean brohte... (O, 70.18-19).

cuman - ...ond self fór in Sirium, ond hie
him ongean comon... (O, 126.13-14).

...ond fundon þæt Antigones him
sceolde mid firde ongean cuman (O,
146.15-16).

faran - ...ond him ðær an giong cyning mid
firde ongean fór... (O, 76.4-5).

standan - Ac swilce me hwilc strang meniu
ongean stode... (StM, 28.415-416).
Cf. MdG entgegenstehen.

winnan - And forðy us eac swencað and ongean
winnað manege gesceafta... (W, 124.
34-35).

Postposition of the preposition when a noun was the object did not occur in the corpus with the possible

exception of the following citation:

"...strælas...toðæm picce þæt hie nænige þinga ongean locian ne mihton..." (Bl, 203.10-11).

By accepting ongean locian as a compound, even this one exception can be avoided, and a general rule could be formulated that in OE prose prepositions did not occur in postposition when their objects were nouns.

Occasionally, ongean in the sense of again does not function as a verbal particle, rather as a purely adverbial modifier:

...and þæt wyrð þe he mid þam hwæte genâm,
he ageaf sona agean to ðære ceastre bote
(Apo, 16.2-3).

...oð þæt Cirus cyning hi asende eft ongean
to Iudea lande... (Æ, PTest, 39.541-543).

In the sense of 'in front', 'forward' is found:

...sume foran ongean, sume ferdon hindan...
(Æ, Ep, 416.67).

OF, ON, TO

The three prefixes of-, on-, and to- are usually considered inseparable. The two distinctive meanings of to-, resulting from the coalescence of two different prefixes, have already been discussed above.

With each of these prefixes, however, a few separable forms have been observed and these are to be treated in succession.

Of. Over thirty solidly written forms with of- were encountered, most of which can be considered inseparable compounds. A goodly number of separated instances were also observed, but many in this class are best considered to be units along with the solidly written forms; a few of the latter are of aceorfan, of adrincan, of aweorpan, and the like. See Appendix B for complete listing.

When the of occurs in a sentence or clause with an objective pronoun in its proximity or in relative clauses in which the relative pronoun could function with a delayed preposition, many of the separated forms possess the same ambiguity as do other particles. In some instances, it is possible to find parallels with clear-cut cases of inseparable compounding or of separation which can be used to resolve the ambiguous items. A line in the Vercelli Homilies reads: "...pa genam þæt eare, þe þær of-aslagen wæs..." (4.40), where of-aslagen is treated as a verbal compound. In turn, this can be compared to "...hwanon he in to Godes e(o)wde cume and þær ænig scep of abrede..." (Xrod, 21.13-14); the question could be raised whether of abrede is any the less a compound. Or, had the following line appeared with its verb written as two words, "Heo þa þone wiflican gegyrlan hire of-dyde..." (Æ, SL, II, 342.130-131), would the objective pronoun hire be construed as the object of the postposited preposition of?

If these few examples can serve as a guide, then the following ambiguous cases may be decided or settled more readily in favor of verbal combinations: him of gewann, him of ge numon, him of anam, him eft of gewitan, be him of com, be he ær of sceapen wæs, and others.

The few postposited forms show more clearly that some of the of- compounds are separable:

...ne gebafian þæt hi wexon, ac sona snoterlice hi asnyðon of... (Xrod, 18.26-27).

...and ceorf of heora handa, and heora nosa... (Xron, 1014, p. 145[1]).

These two examples may be compared with "...and him þæt swiðre eare ofasloh..." (V, 3.37-4.38) and with:

...and sloh him of þæt heafod... (Æ, PTest, 35.478-36.479).

One final example: "...and swæt swiðe lað-licum swate, and him feallað of únfægere dropan..." (V, 100.321-322).

On. Most of the innumerable compounds with on are inseparable, including the many instances in which the particle was not spelled as a unit, but should be so counted. A few adverbial uses were observed, however, just as with mid and in. Postposition of on, when it occurred, was not always without a two-fold interpretation of the syntax. The following examples are clear-cut:

...he reuede þe landes and læide mic[ele gilde]s on... (Xron, 1140, p. 267[b]).

The verbal phrase 'laid on' is clearly the equivalent of 'impose', 'assess'.

...and þær abraecon an geweorc; inne on ðam fæ[ste]lne saton feawa cyrlisce men on... (Xron, 892, p. 85[m]). 'Sat about', 'occupied'.

...swa þæt on þære rode þe stod bufon þam weofode sticodon on mænige arewan... (Xron, 1083, p. 215[h]).

While the foregoing are clear-cut, the following citations are ambiguous because of the pronoun, either juxtaposed or removed:

Pharao se kyning ferde him æthindan on git mid maran fyrde... (Æ, PTest, 29.343-345).

The phrase him æthindan on can be construed as a prepositional phrase, the equivalent of on him æthindan; or, as a separable combination of feran on in the sense of 'pursue' so that the translation would read 'Pharaoh pursued them from behind with an even larger force'.

...hī fengon him sóna ón... (Æ, SL, I, 524.607).

...and útlagode mann Ælfgar eorl, forðon him man wearp ón... (Xron, 1055). Wearp on is the equivalent of 'charged with'.

...Him wunað on se Halga Gast... (W, 248.79).

Adverbial uses are frequent, many in the form of the inflected infinitive:

...and wæs his anlicnys on agrafen... (Æ, SL, I, 528.659-660).

...he hine unscridde þam healfan scicelse ðe he on hæfde... (Apo, 20.2). But,

...and genam his sciccels þe he him on
hæfde... (Bl, 215.6).

...and hyne on hys nýwan þrúh áléde, on
þære þe nán ðöer man ær on ne læg (N,
10.33-34).

It is possible that the particle on before the negative in the citation above is merely repetitive, but a compound onlicgan is not to be automatically ruled out. As was pointed out earlier, the construction of a compound verb being completed by a prepositional phrase containing the same element as the verbal prefix was not at all uncommon in Latin, and still is common in MdG. Lockwood cites: "er springt aus dem Fenster hinaus", where the preposition aus repeats the verbal prefix hinaus; "er läuft in den Laden hinein (hinein is the stressed form of in)", with a repetition of the same prepositional idea.³³

Infinitive uses:

for þon þe heo [seo sæ] is hwiltidum
smylde and myrige ón to rowenne, hwilon eac
swibe hreoh and egeful on to beonne (Æ, H,
51.33-35). Cf. ætbeon, underbeon.

"...for þam þe leohtré is þam bearnum mága
swingcela to gebolianne þonne Godes yrre on
to beyrnanne" (Theo, 109.27-28).

"...hu God þysne middangeard hæfð ge-stapelod
us on to eardianne" (V, 80.83).

This illustration not only shows the adverbial use of on, but also clearly reveals that pronouns and prepositions

³³Lockwood, p. 177.

need not be in close syntactic relationship with each other despite juxtaposition. The infinitive phrase is best translated 'for us to dwell in'.

Other such instances, without their citations, are: an to locianne, on to seonne, on to wicenne, on to wunianne. An interesting usage occurs with Wulfstan's phrase "...æt fulluhte to onfonne..." (183.149), where the infinitive is clearly inseparable. By contrast, the Chronicle for 1009 reads "...ealle folc gearu wæs heom on to fonne..." (p. 139[1]), where on fon means 'attack' ('fall upon') and is more literal in meaning than Wulfstan's onfonne 'receive'.

To. To only as a separable particle will be considered here. Although the greatest number of occurrences of the particle happened to be of the inseparable variety, like toberstan 'break into pieces', 'burst apart', tosceadan 'separate', 'scatter', tostencan 'drive apart', several instances of adverbial usage were observed in the corpus:

Preposited.

"...and fæla, þe ic hæfde tó mé gewyld and tó átogen..." (N, 19.18).

"...and þær tóforan þám scrafe stán tó áwylte..." (N, 11.17-18).

...and hergodon and bærndon and slogon eall þæt hi to comon (Xron, 1016, pp. 146-147).

...mænig lacnung gewanað sume unheale, and sume geycd, gif hi ma[n] to ded... (Xrod, 96.19-20). 'Applies'. Cf. the following:

"...þæt ne mihte nan læcewyr̄t awiht gelipian, beah þe heo gelome to geléd wære" (Æ, H, 65.39-40).

Postposited.

...beah we beotiap tó (Bl, 33.27).

...þa þæt ongeaton yfele men, þæt hi swa be-reafode wæron, þa ferdon hi to, and namon gold and seolfor... (Æ, SL, II, 198.148-200.150).

This is an excellent illustration of the difference in use between inseparable toferan 'separate', 'scatter', and tóferan with a separable prefix; the meaning of tóferan remains literal, 'to go to a place'.³⁴

Se consul...sceolde beon heora yldost to anes geares fyrste; feng þonne oder to..." (Æ, Ep, 414.17-18). 'Succeeds to'.

...and ma[n] to nihtsange cnylle, þonne gan hi eadmodlice to on þære nihte angynne... (Xrod, 55.22-23).

Gif hi þonne gyt nellan geswican, do hi man of heora wurdmynte, and sette odre to... (Xrod, 18.32-34).

Ambiguous syntax frequently results when to is used in juxtaposition with a pronoun and verb, as has been noted above for the other particles. A few of these

³⁴Bruce Mitchell takes note of this construction in A Guide to Old English, p. 116.

can be illustrated using the verb cuman as a typical specimen:

...ac ðær comon munecas tó on ðæs mannes
forðsiðe... (Æ, Supp, 423.171).
Ambiguity in construing ðarto or tocomon.

Þa æt sumon sæle on wintres dæge him
com to Godes engel... (Æ, H, 66.65-66)

Frequently, the pronoun occurs in front position in a sentence or clause: "Him com þa mycel folc tó..." (Xron, 1087, p. 224[b]); occasionally, in another position but still preceding the verb, as "...þa he eft heom to com on þam scræfe..." (Æ, SL, I, 522.557-558). The pronoun may also follow the verb and still occur before the particle: "Þa æt nyxtan com him an begen to..." (Æ, SL, II, 336.33-34) or "Þa com him to sum abbudysse..." (Æ, H, 71.219). If the rule followed throughout the chapter and applied to other particles that instances of prepositions being postposited are limited to actual juxtaposition of preposition and object, then most of these citations above can be considered examples of verbal combinations.

In contrast to the mobility exhibited by the particle-pronoun-verb placement in the preceding, is the consistent treatment of particle and verb in the following group of infinitives:

...þæt heom man to cuman ne mihte...
(Xron, 1095, p. 231[1]).

...beh hie æt þam ærran gefeohte him
ne mehton to cuman (O, 82.14-15).

...þær ma[n] eaðe mage to cuman (Xrod,
51.27-28).

To close this section on the usage of cuman and to as an illustration for the separable combinations with to as a whole, several clear-cut instances will be cited:

...þone þe me to-cymð ne drife ic hine
fram me (Æ, SL, II, 338.68-69).

...æfter þon þe se deað him tocymeb Godes
dóm to abeodenne... (Bl, 59.11).

...oð þæt ic eow tócyne (Bl, 239.7-8).

Other verbs used like cuman in combination with to include to ærran, to bugan, to clipian, to cweðan, to feohtan, to gebeodan, to secan, to sendan, to sp(r)ecan, to teon, all with literal application and adverbial force. Just as with cuman, some of these verbs cited immediately above appear in solidly written forms: him tocwæð (Bl, 15.22 and 24), him...tospræc (Bl, 199.36), for example. That they do appear in these forms should help resolve the ambiguity in many instances.

OTHER FORMS

Geond. Wright does not list geond as a verbal prefix, nor do Mätzner and Koziol in their works dealing

with word formation in OE.³⁵ However, several clear-cut examples of verbs compounded with geond did occur in the corpus: geondfaran, geondferan, geondbrædan, geonddrencan, geondgan, geondleccan, geondlihtan, and geondsendan.

Inasmuch as all instances in which they occurred exhibited only solidly written forms and no cases of postposition or other separation of parts, it can be inferred that geond is an inseparable prefix and beyond discussion for this study.

Be-/bi-. Authorities agree that be- is an inseparable prefix, but both Wright and Förster note separable instances for bi-, the stressed equivalent of be-. Bīlibban is Wright's example;³⁶ in the corpus, however, its use was not clear-cut because of its occurrence in a relative clause:

...and Godes is þæt yrfe þe we bi
leofiab... (Bl, 51.18).

...þe ure saul bi leofab... (Bl, 57.9).

...þara nytena meolc þe hy mæst bi
libbað (O, 30.9-10).

³⁵Both Mätzner and Koziol treat OE prefixes and word formation in light of MdE. Mätzner's work has been cited earlier; while rather old, it is still of value. Herbert Koziol's Handbuch der englischen Wortbildungslehre (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1937) is thorough and complete.

³⁶See Wright, OE Grammar, p. 19.

Other combinations to occur in relative clauses include bi gewicod, big sægde.

One clearly separable usage was observed:

"...þa eode he ðær rihte big on sume stowe..." (Bl, 221.23). Since neither Clark-Hall nor Bosworth-Toller enters rihte-big as a word, but do cite ðærrihte, a verbal combination of eode and big is logical. Bf(g)-gan as a separable usage can then be distinguished from begán, inseparable.

No further illustrations were observed in the corpus.

Samod. At the end of the chapter on adverbial usage were several citations illustrating the use of ætgedere, ætsonne, togædere, and tosonne (pp. 85-86). Similar to these in meaning is the prepositional adverb samod, which appeared rarely in the corpus.

In the Epitome of Benedict, samod is twice used with cuman to translate the Latin verbs conuenire and conueniunt. The first is simply samod cuman magon for conuenire possint (125.11); the second is of greater interest because it shows both togædere and samod in use: "ealle togædere hi samod cuman" (127.7) for Latin omnes in unum conueniunt". The Latin prepositional phrase in unum is translated simply by an adverb, but the translation shows that the OE was able to achieve nuances in its use of words

which seem the same to the modern reader. In De Consuetudine Monachorum, the same combination is attested: "Þýsum gefýlledum gedonum tacne fram yldran samod cumende to capitule..." (385.282-283).

The only other occurrence of samod in verbal combination was observed in Nicodemus: "...and hig synd on þære ceastre Arymathfa samod gebyddende and wyð nánne man sprecende..." (16.32).

Despite its infrequent use, samod is capable of forming verbal compounds, but on the basis of the few instances cited above, it is difficult to say whether it should be classified as separable or inseparable in usage.

Prepositional adverbs in -an'. A large number of prepositional adverbs end in -an and denote place or direction: æthindan, ætforan, beaftan, beforan, bufan, betweonan, toforan, and ymbutan. The majority of these, however, did not appear frequently in the corpus. When used, they did not seem to form combinations with verbs very readily, ongean being the exception. Where used in proximity of the verb as in "And þonne se sacerð him ætforan singð..." (W, 172.25-26), the juxtaposition alone is insufficient to overrule the syntax of a delayed preposition and its object (him ætforan).

In the following sentence, foran may form a verbal combination, but its syntax is not completely unambiguous:

"...me þincð eac swilce ic stande gesewenlice æt his wuldorfullan mægen-ðrymme foran..." (Æ, SL, I, 538.829-540.830). Since a separated prepositional adverb may stand anywhere within the sentence, foranstandan is a distinct possibility; however, the possibility that the phrase represents a separation of ætforan into its component parts must not be overlooked. (Such separation of parts of a compound preposition or prepositional adverb could occur; Clark-Hall cites geond...innan.) Neither Bosworth-Toller nor Clark-Hall list æt...foran as a variant of ætforan, however. Most of the situations in which ætforan occurred in the corpus may be interpreted more readily as postposited prepositions: "Engla werod berað þá beorhtan rôde him ætforan..." (Æ, Supp, 430.290). If one were to assume that ætforan formed part of the verb, it would then be difficult to explain the word order of a noun in the accusative case followed by a pronoun in the dative case, when the customary sequence, according to most scholars, is dative object followed by accusative object.

A few isolated examples occur in which verbal combinations are suggested, but it is noteworthy that such combinations, if valid, do not recur elsewhere in the corpus. A few instances are here cited:

toforan sceigende (Epit, 123.35), glossing Latin consideranda est.

toforansettan (De Consuetudine Monach.,
p. 434), glossing anteponat.

þa amancg þam þe hi him an oðer betwynan
spracon... (Xrod, 99.31-32).

...and þæt folc wafigende him sāh eall
onbutan... (Æ, SL, I, 528.650-651).

...eode swa abutan be heora gebyrdum...
(Æ, Ep, 415.19-20).

...and wæs sippan mid firde farende on
Scippie...ond his arendracan beforan ásende
to þære ðeode... (O, 44.6-8).

...þu scealt beforan gan, and hi ealle
folgian (Xrod, 92.37-93.1).

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters and sections, I have endeavoured to show the various possible combining relationships between verbs and adverbs, on the one hand, and between verbs and prepositional adverbs, on the other.

That such combinations existed has long been acknowledged, but the degree to which they occurred has not been systematically assessed, and they have been sometimes dismissed by scholars who have analyzed the troublesome phrases as postposited prepositions and their objects, that is as words belonging to constructions other than the verb.

Even though verb-adverb combinations do not occur as frequently as inseparable verb compounds, it is hoped that the data presented in these pages has shown the extent to which the verb-adverb combination was employed in Old English prose.

In determining whether a syntactical construction was a verbal combination or separable compound, reliance upon the frequency of repetition of entries was the major factor. Frequency notwithstanding, where sentence sense

seemed to indicate a combination, it was accepted as such, even if the construction occurred but once in an author or source.

In many instances, analogy and comparison with clear-cut syntax in OE, and with parallel situations in a related language like Old High German, were used to clarify ambiguous cases. Unfortunately, many constructions must remain in the doubtful category, without being classified unambiguously as verbal combinations. In MdE, we are so conditioned to the idea of a preposition governing its object and the whole phrase being used to complete the idea of the verb that we may overlook the possibility that an earlier stage of the language might have preferred using other syntax: specifically, that of using a compound verb with an object in the particular case which usage sanctioned for that verb. Such constructions were frequent, not only in the Germanic languages, but also in Latin.

Thus, without denying the existence of such constructions as postposited prepositions within the OE sentence, I have tried to show that many such formations now so considered might properly be classified as parts of verbal compounds more accurately, that the Germanic system of separable verbs was as much alive in OE as in its Continental counterparts. Even in MdE we can see

evidence of the existence of such features of the system in the variable placement of the adverbial and prepositional elements of the following: 'put out the light' or 'put the light out'; 'put on your coat' or 'put your coat on'. No grammarian would attempt to define coat as the object of the on, much less consider on in the last illustration a delayed preposition. What we are dealing with here is, of course, a phrasal verb, or, to use the older terminology, a separable verb. The difference is that the verb in MdE may not be written as a unit, whereas in OE they were upon occasion, just as they still are in present-day Dutch and German. Thus, while OE could have the verbal particle both before and after the verb, MdE has restricted the preverbal use of the particle: although it is possible to speak of output as a noun, it is no longer possible for English to employ it as a verb, as in 'he output the light'. Nor can we say 'he onput his coat'.

Whereas a fluctuation in placement of the particle is permissible when nouns are used as in 'put out the light', 'put the light out', 'take off your hat', 'take your hat off', we cannot say 'put out it' or 'take off it'. When the pronouns are used, the particle is always separated from the verb, but despite the separation, the verb is still considered phrasal or a unit. This usage may help clarify an analogous situation in OE. In

the corpus, cwædan frequently occurred in a sort of phrase or formula 'said to him'. When a noun was employed in the clause, the sequence was always preposition first followed by its noun object: "...he ¹cwæð ²to Drihten", for example. With pronouns, however, one might read: "...he ²him ¹to cwæð" or "...he cwæð ²him ¹to". It is difficult to explain why a preposition should be so reversed in the sentence, when it is not the usual order. The difficulty can be resolved, however, by understanding to and cwædan together as a separable compound verb, a forerunner of today's phrasal verb. Since there was no fixed position for the particle, as evidenced by many of the citations in the preceding sections, it would be easier to understand the variable placement of the particle than the reversing of the preposition.

Here again, the difficulty lies in not having a record of spoken OE; such oral features as juncture, stress, and intonation could clarify the ambiguities which have been encountered in many of the examples cited. Since the spoken language is not recoverable, we must rely on such unambiguous examples as can be found in the written records.

From the section on prepositional adverbs one may conclude that a reclassification of some of the separable and inseparable prefixes is called for. Geond, for

example, should be included in a listing of inseparable prefixes like that of Wright's, Magoun's, or Quirk and Wrenn's. Of, on, to, generally labelled inseparable, showed separable usage when the meaning of the combinations was literal and could be placed more accurately under the heading of inseparable/separable prefixes in any such list. Fram, in, mid, and ongean deserve to be included as separable particles or prefixes. Wright's list of inseparable/separable prefixes included æt, ðurh, under, and ymbe; yet, according to the evidence of the examples in the corpus, they formed firm compounds with but few exceptions, and most of these exceptions were not clear-cut instances of separation of verb and prefix.

The subject of verbal compounds or combinations is by no means exhausted. A thorough investigation into the use of verbal combinations and literary departures or licence in the poetic writings of OE is needed before authoritative conclusions can be drawn.

APPENDIX A

SEQUENCE OF PRONOUN-VERB-PARTICLE IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The following citations contain instances of ambiguous syntax. In these subordinate clauses, it should be noted that two interpretations are nearly always possible, i.e., that one is dealing with (a) pronoun objects of a preposition which has been detached from its phrase and placed elsewhere in the clause, or (b) an object of a compound or quasi-compound verb.

Most importantly from the standpoint of viewing these constructions as verbal compounds, it should also be noted in the examples that follow that the verb and prepositional particle always are placed together:

1. Objective pronoun following the subordinating conjunction at the beginning of the clause:

...swa me Apollonium lifigendne to gebringō...
(Apo, 10.16-17).

...þe him raðe þæs æfter cōm... (O, 86.25).

2. Objective pronoun following the subject of the clause:

...þe he us on ðysum lænan life to forlæten
hafō... (W, 229.72).

...þæt hi mē þe mænigfealdlicor to geurnon...
(StM, 22.338).

With this last illustration, one could compare a similar clause in the same text, in which the verb and particle are written as a unit: "...þe he Zosimus hire ær to-wearp..." (52.792-793).

3. Objective pronoun in second half of a compound predicate:

...þæt he us lufode and us hyldo
to worhte (V, 43.376).

4. Objective pronoun immediately preceding the particle:

...þe he him to aspanan mehte... (O, 126.10).

With this can be compared the following example from the Blickling Homilies, in which verb and particle appear written as a unit: "...þe he us tolæteþ" (51.24).

In relative clauses especially, where the indeclinable pronoun ðe is so frequently used, it is difficult to state categorically that the construction is one type or another. In the clause "...þe we embe spræcon..." (Æ, Ep, 414.13), no decision could be made without resorting to analogous examples.

Whether or not we are dealing with true verbal compounds or with postposited prepositions, there is, according to Wende, a very close relationship between

the verb and the preposition, enough to attract the preposition to a preverbal position in the clause.¹

¹In his "Über die nachgestellten Präpositionen im Angelsächsischen", Fritz Wende observes: "Nachstellung der Präpositionen setzt also direkte Beziehung zu einem Verbum voraus." See Palaestra, LXX (1915), 69.

APPENDIX B

VERB LIST

The following list contains the various verbs which were used in combination with the prepositional adverbs discussed in Chapter III. The arrangement here is alphabetical, as opposed to the groupings of the chapter, and is inclusive, i.e., all verbs are listed, both those that occurred as clear-cut examples of combination and those that may be classified as dubious. All of them appeared in the corpus written as separate words, either in pre-position or postposition.

After:

axian	faran	fylgan	sendan
cuman	feran	iernan	sican
cweðan	folgian	ridan	

Æt:

beon	feolan	standan	
------	--------	---------	--

Fore:

asecgan	geceosan	andrædan	standan
began	gelaðian	sceawian	
dælan	ceosan	secgan	

Fram:

abregdan
abugan
aflyman
aspanan

ateon
aweorpan
bugan
adon

cuman
faran
feolan

gewitan
sendan

In(n):

abregdan
afaran
agan
ateon
becuman
beran
bescufan
besincan

bugan
cuman
faran
feran
gan
gangan
geberan

geclipian
geceosan
gedon
gegaderian
gelædan
gelaōian
geōringan

hieran
lædan
licgan
onfon
sceotan
stæppan
tihtan

Mid:

alysan
befon
beon
beran
bycgan
derian

faran
fon
gefehtan
geniman
gesmyrian

gewendan
sceotan
sciieldan
sellan
siōian

smyrian
sprecan
tilian
winnan
wunian

Of:

abregdan
aceorfan
acuman
adrincan
afeallan

alædan
animan
asnidan
awæcnian
aweorpan

beon
ceorfan
cuman
druncnian
feallan

geniman
gewinnan
gewitan
slean
scieppan

Ofer:

asettan
beon
bringan

cuman
faran
feran

gesettan
gewendan
ridan

seon
swimman

On:

ablawan
afæstnian
afercian
agrafan
ahon
alecgan
astigan

awritan
beclysan
becuman
befeallan
beiernan
belædan
belecgan

beon
besecgan
beseon
bespanan
bestelan
buan
cuman

cyōan
drohtnian
eardian
faran
feran
findan
feohtan

On (cont.):

fon	geseon	risan	ðeowian
geberan	gewician	ricsian	ðringan
gebringan	habban	rowan	ðrowian
gefeallan	lecgan	secgan	weorpan
gefaran	libban	seon	wician
gehealdan	licgan	sittan	winnan
gelædan	locian	stician	wunian
gelyfan	lutian	teon	wyrcean
geniman	rædan		

Ongean:

belucan	cuman	iernan	sendan
bringan	cweðan	leogan	standan
cierran	faran	locian	winnan
clipian	gesendan		

To:

abugan	cweðan	gecierran	gewieldan
arnan	dælan	geclipian	gewyrcean
asendan	don	gehalgian	onhagian
aspannan	faran	geiecan	ridan
ateon	feohtan	geiernan	sceadan
awyltan	feran	gelædan	sceotan
becuman	fon	gelaðian	sendan
begietan	fleogan	geneadian	settan
belimpan	forlætan	genealæcan	secan
beotian	gan	genogian	sprecan
bringan	gebiddan	gescieppan	teon
bugan	gebringan	gesettan	ðencan
cierran	gebugan	geteon	weorpan
clipian	gebyrian	geðeodian	wyrcean
cuman			

Durh:

cunnian	ðyrelan
---------	---------

Under:

gedon

Wið:

gedon	forlicgan	sp(r)ecan	winnan
gefeohtan	tacan	treowsian	

Ymbe:

beon	axian	smeagan	sprecan
rædan	secgan		

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

I FACSIMILES OF MANUSCRIPTS

- The Blickling Homilies. John H. Scheide Library.
Ed. Rudolph Willard (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. X. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960).
- The Nowell Codex. British Museum Cotton Vitellius A.XV, Second MS. Ed. Kemp Malone (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. XII. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1963).
- The Peterborough Chronicle. Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636. Ed. Dorothy Whitelock (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. IV. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1954).
- The Tollemache Orosius. British Museum Additional Manuscript 47967. Ed. A[listair] Campbell (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. III. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1953).

II EDITED TEXTS

- Bethurum, Dorothy. The Homilies of Wulfstan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Crawford, S.J. The Gospel of Nicodemus. Awle Ryale Series. Edinburgh: I.B. Hutchen, 1927.
- The Old English Version of The Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament, and His Preface to Genesis. Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 160. London: Oxford University Press, for the Society, 1924.
- Förster, Max. Die Vercelli-Homilien: I.-VIII. Homilie. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. XII. 1932; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964.
- Goolden, P. The Old English Apollonius of Tyre. Oxford English Monograph Series. London: Oxford University Press, 1958.

- Morris, R. The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century.
Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 73,
3 vols. London: N. Trübner, for the Society, 1874-1880.
- Napier, Arthur S. The Old English Version of the Enlarged
Rule of Chrodegang, together with the Latin Original.
An Old English Version of the Capitula of Theodulf. . . .
An Interlinear Old English Rendering of the Epitome of
Benedict of Aniane. Early English Text Society, Original
Series, No. 150. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner,
for the Society, 1916.
- Plummer, Charles, and John Earle. Two of the Saxon Chronicles
Parallel. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892.
- Pope, John C. Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection.
Vol. I. Early English Text Society, Series No. 259.
London: Oxford University Press, for the Society, 1967.
- Rypins, Stanley. Three Old English Prose Texts in MS: Cotton
Vitellius A xv. Early English Text Society, Original
Series, No. 161. London: Oxford University Press, for the
Society, 1924.
- Skeat, W.W. Ælfric's Lives of Saints. Early English Text
Society, No. 76. London: N. Trübner, for the Society,
1881.
- Ælfric's Lives of Saints. Early English Text
Society, No. 114. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and
Trübner, for the Society, 1900.
- Sweet, Henry. King Alfred's Crossius. Part I. London:
N. Trübner, for the Society, 1883.
- Selected Homilies of Ælfric. Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1885.
- Ure, J.M. The Benedictine Office. Edinburgh Univ.
Publications, Language and Literature, No. 11. Edinburgh:
University Press, 1957.

III CRITICAL AND LINGUISTIC WORKS

- Andrew, S.O. Postscript on "Beowulf". 1948; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1969.
- Bachman, Walter. Lautlehre des alteren Teiles der Chronik von Peterborough. Diss. Universität Leipzig, 1927. Weida i. Thüringen: Thomas Hubert, 1927.
- Beite, Ann-Mari, et al. Basic Swedish Grammar. 3rd. ed. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963.
- Bosworth, J., and T.N. Toller. An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press, 1898; Supplement by Toller, 1921.
- Campbell, Alistair. Old English Grammar. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Carlton, Charles. Descriptive Syntax of the Old English Charters. Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, No. 3. The Hague: Mouton, 1970.
- Clark, Cecily. "Notes on MS Laud Misc. 636". Medium Aevum, XXXIII (1954), 71-75.
- The Peterborough Chronicle: 1070-1154. Oxford English Monograph Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- "Studies in the Vocabulary of the Peterborough Chronicle", English and Germanic Studies, V (1952-1953), 67-89.
- Clark Hall, John R. A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. 4 ed., with Supplement by Herbert D. Meritt. Cambridge: University Press, 1966.
- Curme, George O. "The Development of Verbal Compounds in Germanic". FEB (Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur), XXXIX (1914), 320-361.
- Syntax. Vol. III of A Grammar of the English Language. 2 vols. in an incomplete series. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1931.
- Ellis, Jeffrey. An Elementary Old High German Grammar: Descriptive and Comparative. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.

- Fischer, Albert. Der syntaktische Gebrauch der Partikeln 'of' und 'from' in Ælfric's Heiligenleben und in den Blickling-Homilien. Diss. Univ. of Leipzig, 1908. Leipzig: Dr. Seele & Co., 1908.
- Gleason, H.A., Jr. Linguistics and English Grammar. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.
- Harrison, Thomas P. "The Separable Prefixes in Anglo-Saxon". Diss. Johns Hopkins, 1892.
- Hendrickson, John R. "Old English Prepositional Compounds in Relationship to Their Latin Originals". Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1948. Diss. No. 43 in Supplement to Language, XXIV (Oct.-Dec., 1948), 1-73.
- Heusler, Andreas. Altisländisches Elementarbuch. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967.
- Hughes, John P. The Science of Language. New York: Random House, 1962.
- Jespersen, Otto. A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. 7 vols. London: Allen & Unwin, 1949-1954.
- Jørgensen, Peter. German Grammar I. Trans. by G. Kolisko, and F.P. Pickering. New York: New York University Press, 1963.
- Kennedy, Arthur. The Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination. Stanford University Series, Language and Literature, Vol. I, No. 1. Stanford: Stanford University Publications, 1920.
- Ker, N.R. "Some Notes on the Peterborough Chronicle", Medium Aevum, III (1934), 136.138.
- Koziol, Herbert. Handbuch der englischen Wortbildungslehre. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1937.
- Lockwood, W.B. Historical German Syntax. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Logeman, W.S., ed. "De Consuetudine Monachorum", Anglia, XIII (1891), 365-454.
- Lösel, Franz. A Short Old High German Grammar and Reader. Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1969.

- Luick, Karl. Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache.
Ed. by F. Wild, and H. Koziol. 1914-1921; rpt. Basil
Blackwell, 1964.
- Mätzner, Eduard. Englische Grammatik. Erster Theil: die
Lehre vom Worte. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmannsche
Buchhandlung, 1873-75.
- Magoun, F.P. "Word Formation", In An Anglo-Saxon Reader.
Ed. Milton Turk. Rev. ed. New York: Scribner's, 1930.
- Meritt, Herbert D. Fact and Lore about Old English Words.
Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1954.
- Meroney, Howard M. "Old English upp, uope, uupon, and upon".
Diss. Univ. of Chicago, 1943.
- Meyer-Myklestad, J. An Advanced English Grammar for Students
and Teachers. 2nd ed. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968.
- Mitchell, Bruce. A Guide to Old English. Oxford: Basil
Blackwell, 1965.
- Mitchell, T.F. "Syntagmemic Relations in Linguistic Analysis",
Transactions of the Philological Society (1953), 101-118.
- Onions, C.T. An Advanced English Syntax. 6th ed. London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Palmer, F.R. A Linguistic Study of the English Verb.
London: Longmans Green, 1965.
- Paul, Hermann. Deutsche Grammatik. 5 vols. Halle a.
S.: Max Niemeyer, 1916-1920.
- Poutsma, Hendrik. A Grammar of Late Modern English. 2 parts
in 5 vols. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1914-1926; pt. I,
2nd ed., 1928-1929.
- Pribsch, R., and W.E. Collinson. The German Language.
6th ed., rev. London: Faber & Faber, 1968.
- Quirk, Randolph, and C.L. Wrenn. An Old English Grammar.
2nd ed. London: Methuen, 1957.
- Reszkiewicz, Alfred. "Split Constructions in Old English",
Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Margaret
Schlauch. Warsaw: PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1966.

- Rice, Allen L. "Gothic Prepositional Compounds in Relation to Their Greek Originals". Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1932. In Language Dissertations, Supplement, XI (Dec., 1932), 1-142.
- Roberts, Murat. "Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXXV (1936), 466-481.
- Robinson, Fred C. "The American Element in Beowulf". English Studies, XLIX (Dec., 1968), 508-516.
- Rosen, Harold. "Old High German Prepositional Compounds in Relation to Their Latin Originals". Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1934. In Language Dissertations, Supplement, XVI (March, 1934), 1-91.
- Schützeichel, Rudolf. Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1969.
- Shannon, Ann. A Descriptive Syntax of the Parker Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 734 to 891. Diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1962. Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, No. 14. The Hague: Mouton, 1964.
- Sprockel, Charles. The Language of the Parker Chronicle: Phonology and Accidence. Vol I. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965.
- Steible, Daniel. Concise Handbook of Linguistics. London: Peter Owen, 1967.
- Stevick, Robert D. "Scribal Notation of Prosodic Features in The Parker Chronicle", Journal of English Linguistics, I (March, 1967), 57-66.
- Suprasegmentals, Meter, and the Manuscript of 'Beowulf'. Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, No. 71. The Hague: Mouton, 1968.
- Strang, Barbara. Modern English Structure. London: Edward Arnold, 1962.
- Vallins, G.H. The Pattern of English. London: Andre Deutsch, 1956.
- Visser, F. Th. An Historical Syntax of the English Language. 2 parts in 3 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963-1969.
- Wagner, Karl Heinz. Generative Grammatical Studies in the Old English Language. Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 1969.

Wende, Fritz. "Über die nachgestellten Präpositionen im Angelsächsischen", Palaestra, LXX (1915), 1-294.

Wilmanns, W. Deutsche Grammatik: Gotisch, Alt-, Mittel- und Neuhochdeutsch. 3rd ed., rev. 1906-1911; rpt. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1930.

Wright, Joseph. Grammar of the Gothic Language. 2nd ed., with Supplement by O.L. Sayce. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.

----- . Historical German Grammar: Phonology, Word-Formation, Accidence. London: Oxford University Press, 1907.

-----, and Elizabeth M. Wright. Old English Grammar. 3rd ed. 1925; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

