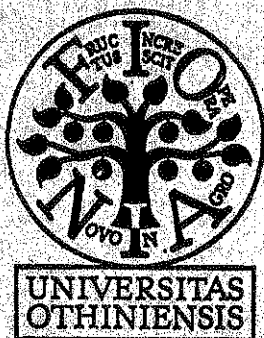# THE OLD ENGLISH DIALECTS AND THE CONTINENTAL GERMANIC LANGUAGES

A survey of morphological
and phonological interrelations

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THE OLD ENGLISH DIALECTS AND THE CONTINENTAL GERMANIC LANGUAGES: A SURVEY OF MORPHOLOGICAL AND PHONOLOGICAL INTERRELATIONS

by

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The two leading grammars of the OE language, Karl Brunner's _Alt-englische Grammatik_ and Alistair Campbell's _Old English Grammar_, differ considerably in their views of the origin of the OE dialects. According to Brunner,[1] the main dialect groups reflect old tribal divisions; and Anglian and Kentish are more closely connected - lexically and phonologically - with North Germanic than is West Saxon. Campbell, on the other hand, thinks that the dialects mostly developed after the Anglo-Saxon emigration in consequence of 'the considerable isolation of the various parts of the country.'[2] Whatever dialectal forms the invading Angles, Saxons and Jutes brought to England, the linguistic differentiation was slight and was restricted to lexical matters.

The hypothesis that the Anglo-Saxons of the fifth and sixth centuries spoke a more or less uniform language that only later split up into distinct dialects was put forward as early as in 1876 by Henry Sweet,[3] who thought that the emigrating tribes came from the southern and eastern North Sea region, and that the language retained by those who stayed behind developed into Frisian.

Sweet's theory was taken up about thirty years later by H.M. Chadwick,[4] who ascribed the formation of OE dialects to later political divisions in England, seeing that none of the phonetic differences between the dialects as investigated by him went back beyond the sixth century. Also the affinities between the dialects were determined not by (hypothetical) tribal affiliations, but by geographical proximity: the early East Saxon dialect had more features in common with the neighbouring dialects of the East Midlands and of Kent than with WS, and similarly the Midland dialects were intermediate in relation to Northumbrian and WS.

Chadwick's investigation came to exert influence on scholars like Johannes Hoops[5] and Karl Luick,[6] who agreed that dialectal

features in OE had mainly arisen after the Anglo-Saxon emigration. However, Hoops as well as Luick thought that England had been settled by separate tribes whose continental origins were still reflected lexically within the main dialects. Thereby both scholars accommodated Chadwick's view of the OE dialects with Richard Jordan's (see below).

A comparatively recent advocate of the insular origin of the OE dialects is David DeCamp. In a paper from 1958[7] he argues that several important dialect criteria were due to post-invasion spread from Friesland to Kent and from there to Mercia ($\breve{æ} > \breve{e}$) and Northumbria ($\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$), and, in the case of $\underline{i}$-mutation, to the whole country including Wessex. Certain features did not spread much beyond Kent ($\breve{u} + \underline{i},\underline{j} > \breve{e}$; $\bar{a} + \underline{i},\underline{j} > \bar{e}$), owing to extralinguistic factors. The most conservative part of England was Wessex, whose political expansion from the ninth century and onwards entailed a reintroduction of conservative features in areas which had previously been affected by Kentish-Frisian influence, cf. the restoration of $\breve{æ}$ in the SE Midlands. As for the Anglo-Saxon colonization of Britain, DeCamp saw this not as a wholesale transfer of continental tribes, but as a slow settlement by numerous small bands of varying affiliation.

In an even more recent article - and with reference to Chadwick and Campbell - A. Russchen[8] regards it as an established fact 'that the difference between the English dialects is due to the different surroundings, in which they came into existence and not to their ethnic substrate.' Also, Russchen draws attention to M. Gysseling's investigation from 1962,[9] according to which Frisian as a separate language came into being only in the eighth century. Therefore it would make no sense to speak of particularly close relations bwtween Frisian and one (or several) of the OE dialects prior to the Anglo-Saxon emigration.

But to return to the alternative point of view, Brunner's view of the OE dialects: the continental origin hypothesis also has its history. In a monograph from 1915 on OE dialect geography Alois Brandl wrote that the Germanic landnám in Britain was carried out by 'die schon auf dem Festlande gesonderten Hauptstämme,'[10] and to him it was axiomatic that such old tribal differences were reflected in the dialects.[11]

Scholars before Brandl had assumed a particularly close relationship between Angl. and Old Norse, stemming from a time when the Angles bordered on the NG tribes in Jutland. Without producing any evidence H. Møller[12] and Th. Siebs[13] had propounded such a theory, and in 1906 Richard Jordan[14] set out to determine the positions of Angl. and WS in relation to the continental Gmc. languages. His conclusions, which were based almost exclusively on lexical material, seemed to reveal close connections between Angl. and ON on the one hand, and between WS and Old Saxon/Old Frisian on the other. However, Jordan's results can be questioned on the grounds that lexical parallels are not the best evidence - and certainly not so reliable as morphological and phonological correspondences- for establishing prehistoric tribal contacts.[15]

According to Siebs[16] the development of $\breve{u}$ + $i,j > \breve{e}$, $eu > ia$ and $\breve{eg} > \acute{ei}$[17] in Kt. and OFris. bore witness to contacts between the two prior to the departure of the Jutes from the Continent, and Otto Bremer[18] saw a special connection between WS and North Frisian.[19]

In a paper from 1934 on the dialectal position of OS L. Wolff[20] argued in favour of a close relationship between OS and WS. The evidence advanced, viz. Gmc. $\bar{e}^1 > $ WS $\bar{æ}$/OS $\bar{a}$, the penetration of gen.pl. $\underline{n}$-st. endings into the $\bar{o}$-declension and the loss (lack) of acc. forms in 1/2. pers. prons., is, except for the last item (which is also Frisian and Kt.), questionable.[21]

Wolff's OS/WS parallels were repeated fifteen years later by Wolfgang Jungandreas,[22] who also accepted Th. Siebs' interpretation of the resemblance between Kt. and OFris. Further, Jungandreas saw the greater extension of back mutation in Angl. and Kt. than in WS as an indication of closer contact between the two dialects and NG.[23] Already Jordan[24] had seen a parallel between ON breaking and the frequent back mutation in Angl. Another correspondence between Angl. (Nhm.) and NG listed by Jungandreas was the replacement of $-\underline{þ}$ by $-\underline{s}$ in the 3rd pres.sg.ind.[25]

A few years ago, in an article on linguistic correspondences between Kent and the Low Countries, M.L. Samuels[26] argued 'against the currently accepted dogma that they are all due to post-invasion contacts,' cf. DeCamp and Russchen. Of the seven parallels he mentions, only two, viz. $\bar{o} > \underline{uo}$ and $\underline{þ} > (\underline{ð} >) \underline{d}$,[27] are due to spread

after the Anglo-Saxon departure from the Continent, whereas five,
in Samuels' view, may reflect pre-invasion inheritance, viz.
a̯>æ̯>e; ū + i,j>ȳ̆>ē̆; f, s, þ>v, z, d̯; back mutation (ON break-
ing) and the development of rising diphthongs.[28] The fact that all
five phonetic changes are attested long after the invasion does
not prove that there was no original connection, seeing that sub-
phonemic and suprasegmental features may ultimately be held re-
sponsible for the changes. This point of view is in line with con-
temporary theories of phonological development, but it is inter-
esting that Samuels makes inferences (which shall not be repeated
here) as to the continental homes of the Anglo-Saxon tribes on the
basis of such evidence. He does not foresee the possibility that
the actual phonemicisation of allophones may have been more or less
coincidental, - that phonemicisation in some Gmc. dialects and not
in others does not necessarily prove that the same suprasegmental
and subphonemic features were not present in all dialects.[29]

After this brief outline of the research history of the last 100
years we shall proceed to investigate the relationship of the OE
dialects to the continental Gmc. languages on the basis of mor-
phological and phonological features,[30] and real as well as seem-
ing parallels will be discussed. Further, the survey will include
not only such correspondences that arose before the Adventus
Saxonum, but also such that stem from later periods.

1. In the nom.acc.pl. ō-stems -a is the usual ending in WS and
Kt., while -e predominates in Angl. As was pointed out in my 1976
paper,[31] both suffixes have exact counterparts in the other North
and West Germanic languages, and in such a way that WS/Kt. -a cor-
responds to Runic -ōR, ON -ar, OFris. -a (Indo-European $^{+}$-ãs
n/ap.), whereas Angl. -e is parallelled by OS -a, Old High German
-ā (derived from the NG/WG innovation $^{+}$-ōnz ap.). Since there are
also (rare) reflexes of $^{+}$-ōnz in OS/OHG and of IE $^{+}$-ãs in OFris.
(-e)/ON (-a), it may be concluded that both endings were present
in all NG/WG dialects, and that WS/Kt. and Angl. levelled in dif-
ferent directions, WS/Kt. settling for the variant that came to
prevail in OFris./ON, and Angl. sharing the $^{+}$-ōnz reflex with
OS/OHG.

2. Wolff[32] - supported by Schwarz[33] - thinks that the presence of the gen.pl. n-st. ending in WS/Kt. ō-stems (cf. giefena, ārena) is due to the spread of an OS/OHG innovation prior to the Anglo-Saxon emigration, whereby the tribal dialects closest to the 'German' area were affected. However, forms in -ana, -ona occur in late Nhm., and in the Vespasian Psalter gp. -warena crops up just as it does in early WS.[34] Also, weak gp. forms are frequent in the OFris. ō-st. declension, cf. nēdena,[35] and even in early Norse there may be an instance of this analogical suffix, cf. r u n o n o Stentoften.[36]

3. The Angl. nom.pl.masc. n-stem forms oexen (VP), exen (Nhm.) closely correspond to West Norse yxn, øxn and OFris. ixen, seeing that all the forms listed have undergone i-mutation.[37] In Brunner's view[38] the IE $^+$-en-grade (Gmc. $^+$-in(iz)) of the thematic element may be held responsible for this. However, there is not much support for IE $^+$-en- in the plural paradigm, but another explanation is possible: the vanishing grade of the thematic element, which is to be found in gp. ON oxna, yxna, Gothic aúhsne and OE oxna,[39] may have been extended to the nominative, resulting in np. $^+$oXniz ($^+$uXniz).[40] The fact that a similar np. form is not attested in Goth., is likely to be a coincidence; the vanishing grade is well established in the n-stem paradigm of this language.[41]

4. Unlike gen.sg. r-stem OHG fater, OS fader, OFris. feder, OE fæder and Goth. fadrs ($<$ IE $^+$pətr-és/-ós, cf. Latin patris), ON fọþor derives from Gmc. $^+$faðurz $<$ IE $^+$pətŕ-s, cf. Sanskrit pitúr. There are parallels to the ON form in the Angl. dialect of OE, cf. feadur (VP), fædor (Royal Gl.), fædur, fador (Rusworth Gospels^{II}), fador (Lindisfarne Gospels) and -fadur (Cædmon's Hymn).[42]

5. In early Kt. the dsm/n. pronominal ending of the strong adjective is occasionally -em instead of -um, cf. mīnem, þis(s)em.[43] The original vowel of the suffix - and, in fact, of the dem. pron. dsm/n. - was probably o in IE and early Gmc.[44] The introduction of e in this case was an OHG innovation, cf. demu, blintemu, which spread to OS (them(u), aldemu). Should early Kt. þis(s)em, etc., be seen as an extension of this process? First of all, it must be

pointed out that -o-forms were predominant in dsm/n. of the OS strong adjective (aldum(u)).[45] Secondly, the vowel quality can more plausibly be explained in terms of influence from such Kt. pronominal forms as đĕt, đĕs, đēre, đēm.

6.   In contradistinction to the other OE dialects Angl. (especially Nhm.) distinguishes in most instances between the accusative and the dative of 1/2. pers. prons.: mec, mĕ; ūsic, ūs and đec, đĕ; ēowic, ēow.[46] These forms bear a striking resemblance to OHG mih, mir; unsih, uns and dih, dir; iuwih, iu.[47] Several scholars are of the opinion that the differentiation between the accusative and the dative was originally present in all the so-called WG languages, and that a late innovatory simplification radiating from the southern shores of the North Sea was responsible for syncretisms in WS/Kt. (mĕ; ūs and þĕ; ēow) and OFris./OS (mī; ūs and thī; iu), leaving the southern half of Germany and the north of England unaffected.[48]

It appears that in early Gmc. the accusative and the dative were differentiated only in the singular: $^+$mi-k/me-k, $^+$mi-z/me-z; $^+$ti-k/te-k, $^+$ti-z/te-z, cf. pl. $^+$uns (IE $^+$ṇ-s); $^+$(u)izṷiz (IE $^+$ṷes).[49] Goth. and ON extended the sg. differentiation into the plural (and dual) by adding the dat.sg. ending -iz to uns: $^+$uns-iz (dat.pl.), cf. Goth. unsis, ugkis; ON oss (Old Icelandic øss[50]), okr. (OE/OFris./OS ūs, OHG uns; OE unc, OS unk can derive from $^+$unsiz; $^+$unkiz as well as $^+$uns; $^+$unk.[51])

OHG and Angl. have instead suffixed acc.sg. -ik to the common acc./dat.pl. forms when occurring with the acc. function, so that a case distinction was achieved also in the plural: acc. unsih, ūsic, dat. uns, ūs, etc. Although there may be a few traces of a similar system in OS, cf. acc. unsik,[52] and in Old Low Franconian, cf. acc.dat. unsig,[53] - which most probably are due to OHG influence - objections can be raised against those who see a 'WG' pattern in this. A simpler interpretation of the dialectal forms is that in North Sea Germanic the original plural syncretism was quickly imitated in the singular. There are no traces of $^+$-ik forms in WS/Kt. and OFris; further, such a development fits well in with the analytic tendencies in these dialects, and conversely, the differ-

entiation in the OHG plural paradigm can be seen as a symptom of synthetic development in German.[54]

But where does that leave Angl.? The fact that the forms under discussion in this dialect have been considered 'WG' retentions, is due, at least in part, to extralinguistic assumptions, e.g. that the Angles emigrated from Angeln in Schleswig. An unbiassed investigation of the linguistic relationship between the OE dialects and the continental Gmc. languages must be based on criteria which are strictly linguistic - and the simplest interpretation of the morphological parallel pointed out here suggests a common Angl./OHG innovation.

7. None of the OE dialects exhibit forms with an initial s̲- in n/asf. and n/ap. of the 3rd pers. pron. In the south-eastern dialect of ME such forms do occur, however, perhaps in consequence of contacts between Kent and the Continent, cf. OFris. s̲e̲, Middle Dutch s̲i̲.[55]

8. According to Brunner[56] the Nhm. possessive pronoun ūsa (Li.)[57] corresponds to OS ūsa, both being derived from the oblique stem of the personal pronoun without the addition of -e̲r̲, the reflex of the old IE suffix [+]-e̲r̲o̲, which is characteristic of plural and dual forms of the poss. pron., cf. Goth. u̲n̲s̲a̲r̲, OHG u̲n̲s̲e̲r̲e̲r̲ and the more usual Nhm. form ūser̲. Frings/Linke,[58] on the other hand, think that Angl./OS u̲s̲a̲ (vowel quantity not indicated) - and we may add Old Low Franconian u̲n̲s̲a̲ - represents an old gen. pl. pers. pron. [+]unsera, [+]u̲s̲r̲a̲, in which -s̲r̲- has developed into -s̲s̲- (assimilation). No matter which of the two interpretations we choose, Angl. and OS (OLF) have innovated. The Low German area seems to be the innovatory centre since the process has gone furthest here, cf. OS i̲u̲w̲a̲, u̲n̲k̲a̲, i̲n̲k̲a̲; OLF i̲u̲u̲w̲a̲ - duals not attested; (OFris. ūse, iuwe; Old Franconian u̲n̲s̲ē̲r̲, i̲u̲u̲ē̲r̲;[59]) but OE ē̲o̲w̲e̲r̲, u̲n̲c̲e̲r̲, i̲n̲c̲e̲r̲ (-e̲r̲ forms retained).

9. In (late) Nhm. þ̲- occasionally replaces s̲- in nsm/f. dem. pron.: Nhm. nsm. s̲ĕ̲, þ̲ĕ̲; nsf. s̲ī̲o̲, þ̲ī̲u̲. This development is comparable to that of OS/OHG where s̲-, except for a few cases in OS,[60] has been

ousted: OS thē, thiu; OHG der, diu. The Nhm. forms need not be
explained in terms of contact - a generalization of þ- is only
to be expected, seeing that this is the initial consonant of all
other OE cases. To illustrate this process further, it may be added
that the compound dem. prons. in nsm/f. only have þ-forms in OE
(þes, þēos), although they derive from the normal dem. pron. + -s(i).
The s-forms of dem. prons. are eventually replaced in all English
dialects.

10. In some Nhm. texts (Ru.[I,II], Li.) asm. dem. pron. þene occurs
beside the normal form, þone. Streitberg[61] thinks that the -e-form
reflects the suffix $^{+}$-in-ōn (i-mutation), cf. OE ǣnne < $^{+}$aininōn.
Another explanation is possible, however. Very likely, the asm.
vowel was originally -a- in all Gmc. dialects.[62] On the analogy of
gen.sg., -e- was extended into asm. in OHG (den), and from here
it may have spread northwards, cf. OS thena, thana; OFris. thene
and MDu. dien. What was later to become Nhm., may have been affected
by this development.

11. WS/Kt. and OFris. exhibit -e in the 1st pres. sg. ind. of the
(strong) verbs instead of the regular reflex of IE $^{+}$-ō, which we
find in Goth. baíra, ON ber, Run. w r i t u , OS/OHG biru and Angl.
beoru, bindo. WS/Kt. -e has been explained as (1) an early weaken-
ing of -u/-o,[63] (2) an optative ending[64] and (3) a reflex of Gmc.
$^{+}$-ōm (-m added on the analogy of secondary endings[65]). Any of these
explanations may apply to OFris. as well; according to Siebs[66] -e
reflects earlier -u, -o. However, it is doubtful whether this corre-
spondence between the southern OE dialects and OFris. developed
prior to the Anglo-Saxon emigration: in early WS (once) and Kt. -o
(-u) forms occur.[67]

12. Syncopated forms in the 2/3 pres. sg. ind. of the strong verbs
(and Class I weak verbs) are characteristic of OFris. (binst, bint)
and, with some vacillation, of WS and Kt., whereas unsyncopated
forms are retained in Angl.: bindes, bindeð. According to Walde[68]
the origin of the shortened forms is to be sought in the inverted
expressions bindis þu, bindið he; the generalization in WS/Kt. did

not take place until perhaps the late ninth century, and uncon-
tracted endings must be assumed for all OE dialects in the pre-
ceding centuries.[69]

13. In Nhm. -þ is often replaced by -s in the 3rd pres. sg. ind.,
which thereby becomes identical with the 2nd pres. sg. ind. (e.g.
bindes). This development may be seen as a result of the higher
frequency of the -s suffix in comparison with that of -þ, cf. the
fact that -s also penetrates into the Nhm. pres. pl. ind.[70] Camp-
bell[71] suggests that Scandinavian influence may have speeded up
the amalgamation of 2/3. pres. sg. ind., seeing that a similar
development had taken place in Norse. But the coalescence here can
hardly have been much earlier than the age of the Vikings, cf. the
seventh-century Blekinge stones of Stentoften (b A r i u t i þ)
and Björketorp (b A r u t R).[72] In other words, if the Nhm. develop-
ment should be ascribed to contact with Scandinavian, it must be of
late origin, i.e. a consequence of Viking settlement in North-
umbria.

14. Except for Goth. and to a limited extent Angl., reduplicated
preterites have nearly been completely lost in the Gmc. dialects.
Thus pt. Goth. haíhait, laílaik, laílōt, raírōþ; Angl. heht, leolc,
leort, reord have no extant counterparts anywhere else.[73]

15. The fact that the preterite of Class II weak verbs ends in
-ade in Angl. (macade) and OFris. (klagade) is seen by N. Bøgholm[73a]
as an Angl./OFris. innovation. We may add that -ade is also the
usual Kt. ending, and that ON has an -a-form (kallaþa) as well. WS,
on the other hand, has -o- (lōcode), and the same applies to OS
(salboda); in Goth. and OHG -ō- prevails (salbōda, salbōta).
   According to Campbell[74] Gmc. ō develops into NG/WG ū in me-
dial unaccented syllables when followed by u in the next syllable.
This would lead to variation between e.g. -ōdo and -ūdunt in the
preterite paradigm of Class II weak verbs, and the dialectal dif-
ference between Angl./Kt. lufade and WS lufode would therefore be
the result of generalization of ō in the former case and ū in the
latter. Campbell is probably right as far as OE is concerned. It is
doubtful, however, whether this explanation applies to the other

NG/WG dialects. In OHG the retention of $\bar{o}$ as a medial vowel is con-
sistent;[75] in OS $\bar{o}$ > o irrespective of the phonological context;[76]
in ON medial syllables $o/\bar{o}$ > a except in the position before m;[77]
and in OFris. the regular reflex of unaccented $\bar{o}$ before a consonant
is a.[78]

It may therefore be concluded that the weakly accented medial
vowels in pt. Class II weak verbs in all Gmc. dialects[79] reflect the
Gmc. vowel. The OE dialectal difference between WS -o- and Angl./Kt.
-a- stems from an internal OE rule.

16. Bøgholm[80] notes that -i- was often dropped in Class II weak
verbs in Angl. and OFris.: in pres. ptc. Angl. locende, locande,
OFris. klagand no -i- is retained in the endings. In OE the regular
loss of -i- was to occur only after long syllables and after two
syllables, whereas -i- was retained after short syllables. In WS/
Kt. -i- was levelled to all verbs; in Angl. (Nhm.) forms without
-i- became more numerous, but even here -i- remained after short
syllables in about 40% of the attested forms.[81]

In OFris. pres. ptcs. without -i- prevail, but forms like
kāpiand and makiand are possible as well. The predilection for i-
less forms in OFris. and Angl. can hardly go back to continental
times even in its origins, for early OE texts show the original dis-
tinction that was outlined above. Also, when -i- occurs in OFris.,
its distribution is not restricted to the position after short syl-
lables as in Angl., which suggests that the OFris. levelling was
altogether of a different kind. For these and other reasons it seems
safer to assume that the loss of -i- in OFris. and Angl. did not
depend on mutual contact - before or after the Anglo-Saxon emigra-
tion.

17. The presence of the root IE $^{+}$er/or in the 'be' paradigms of
OE and ON is an important exclusive parallel between these two
Gmc. languages.[82] But even if the root crops up in all OE dialects
(WS/Kt. eart, Kt. earun[83]), its use is more widespread in Angl.
than anywhere else (Angl. (e)arð, earun/aron).

18. In the 2nd pres. sg. ind. of 'be' only Goth. exhibits a full-scale continuation of the old -t-less form (is, cf. Lat. es), but in WN and Nhm. there are rare -t-less variants (WN es, Nhm. (Ru.[II]) is). A common retention shared by Goth., ON and OE tallies well with the pattern shown in my 1979 article.[84] Nevertheless, a simpler explanation would interpret Nhm. is as a product of the confusion/coalescence of 2/3. pres. sg. ind.[85]

19. In the pt. pl. of 'do' Angl. (Li., Ru.[II]) has dedon besides dydon, and in the inscription on Codex Aureus deodon crops up, the accented vowel of which leads Campbell[86] to posit short vowel quantity (back mutation).[87] Kt. dede, dedon may represent exact counterparts of WS dyde, dydon.

On the Continent -e-forms are attested in the sg. of OS/OHG (deda, teta) and in the OS pl. (dĕdun). If the first vowel in Angl. dedon is long, it would correspond to ā in OS dādun, OHG tātun. The vowel quantity of e in OFris. dede, deden has been subjected to different interpretations.[88] Siebs[89] thinks that the vowel is long (= Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$) because modern dialectal forms presuppose length.

No matter how the accented vowel of Angl. dedon is interpreted, it links up with the vowel of at least some of the OS/OHG (OFris.) forms. In comparison, the OE -y-forms (dyde, dydon) stand completely apart, and result from an OE innovation.[90]

20. Reflexes of +waljan in the paradigms of the verb 'will' are especially frequent in OHG, but OS, OFris. and Angl. also exhibit quite a few instances (-e-forms).[91] In WS and Kt., on the other hand, -i-forms are practically universal.

To this should be added that only Angl. and OS show positive examples of pt. forms in -a-: Angl. walde, OS walda (Heliand C, twice). MDu. woude may derive from either +walda or +wolda.[92]

21. The reflex of Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ (IE $\bar{e}$) in Goth., OFris. and Angl./Kt. is $\bar{e}$ (lēta(n)), in WS $\bar{æ}$ (lǣtan) and ā in OHG (lāʒʒan), OS (lātan) and ON (láta). Despite the front vowels in OE and OFris. most scholars think that only Goth. $\bar{e}$ constitutes a retention, the innovation of $\bar{e}^1 > \bar{a}$ taking place in all NG/WG languages. There are

at least three reasons for this assumption. First of all, the development of Gmc. $^+\!-\bar{e}n$, $-\bar{e}m > $ OE/OFris. $-\bar{o}n$, $-\bar{o}m$ could hardly have taken place except by way of $^+\!-\bar{a}n$, $-\bar{a}m$.[93] Secondly, the borrowing of Lat. <u>strāta</u> as <u>strāʒʒa</u> in OHG and <u>strāta</u> in OS and as <u>strēt(e)</u> in Angl./Kt./OFris. and <u>strǣt</u> in WS suggests that the forbears of OE/OFris. had an open vowel, which was subsequently fronted.[94] And thirdly, the expansion of $\bar{e}^1$ to $\bar{a}$ was a direct consequence of the appearance of $\bar{e}^2$ in the long/tense subsystem of late Gmc. (NG/WG).[95] In Goth. there was no $/\bar{e}^2/$.

A different interpretation of the dialectal reflexes of Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ is given by Bennett,[96] who thinks that the innovation $\bar{e}^1 > \bar{a}$ took place only in the central Gmc. dialects, leaving Goth. and OE/OFris. unaffected. There were no instances of $\bar{a}$ ($< \bar{e}$) in Franconian until the early sixth century;[97] according to Gysseling[98] $\bar{a}$ invaded the Low Franconian area (Netherlands) from the south, but was unable to oust $\bar{e}$ along the Flemish coast, in Zeeland, Holland, Friesland, Groningen and Ostfriesland until the eleventh century. Even today some words with $\bar{e}$ ($< $ Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$) have been retained in some of the coastal provinces. Most Dutch dialectologists have been of the opinion that the fronted reflexes of $\bar{e}^1$ in the Gmc. West have not developed by way of $\bar{a}$, one reason being that northern Dutch exhibits $\bar{æ}$ even in front of nasals, cf. Vleeskruyer[99] who thinks that $-\bar{æ}n$, $-\bar{æ}m$, a stage unrecorded in OE and OFris., must have preceded $-\bar{o}n$, $-\bar{o}m$.

Van Wijk established that the reflex of Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ was in fact $\bar{æ}$ in West Flanders, South Holland, Zeeland, the south of North Holland and in a few of the inland districts, which should be seen in contrast to $\bar{e}$ in the remainder of North Holland and in OFris. Schönfeld/van Loey,[100] who apparently see $\bar{e}$ as a further development of $\bar{æ}$, observe that this dialectal distribution corresponds to the English pattern (WS $\bar{æ}$, Angl./Kt. $\bar{e}$). A line can be drawn to Campbell[101] who thinks that the

> Germanic invaders of Britain already most probably possessed one clear dialect distinction: the dialects from which W-S was to descend had $\bar{æ}$ from Prim. Gmc. $\bar{æ}$, but those from which are descended all other known OE dialects had $\bar{e}$.

Wolff[102] agrees with his Dutch fellow scholars in consider-
ing the OE/OFris. (Dutch) reflex of Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ a common retention,
but thinks that WS $\bar{æ}$ reflects the intermediate position of this
dialect in relation to Angl./Kt./OFris. ($\bar{e}$) and OS ($\bar{a}$). From a
strictly linguistic point of view Wolff's hypothesis cannot be
accepted, however, since (pre-)WS might equally well be regarded
as transitional in relation to any other Gmc. $\bar{a}$-dialect (ON, OLF,
OHG).

A compromise between the two principal views of the history
of $\bar{e}^1$ in the Gmc. West is provided by Hans Kuhn:[103] he imagines
that the old homelands of the Anglian and Saxon tribes, Schleswig
and northern Germany, had become $\bar{a}$-dialect areas long before the
Anglo-Saxon emigration. Very likely the Frisians, on the other
hand, had retained the front vowel[104] in view of their proximity
to the most conservative part of the Franconian area. On their way
to England the Anglo-Saxons, according to Kuhn, went through Fri-
sian lands, with the linguistic result that their $\bar{a}$ reverted to
$\bar{æ}/\bar{e}$ (except before nasals).

By way of summing up, Angl./Kt. $\bar{e}$, WS $\bar{æ}$ can be said to agree
with OFris. $\bar{e}$ (Dutch $\bar{æ}$) in having fronted reflexes of Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$;
these may represent a shared innovation, but a case can also be
made for considering them a direct inheritance from Gmc. - or per-
haps a combination of both, cf. Kuhn. Anyhow, the WS and the Angl./
Kt. vowels point to approximately the same continental region: the
Low Countries and Friesland.

As for the seeming parallel between Goth. $\bar{e}$ and Angl./Kt./
OFris. $\bar{e}$, it may, at best, be called a common retention.

22. Gmc. $\underline{a}$ continues as such in Goth. (fadar, ON (faþer), OS (fa-
der) and OHG (fater), but is fronted (except before nasals) in
OE (fæder) and OFris. (feder). There is dialectal variation in OE
(Kt./Mercian (VP) $\underline{e}$; $\underline{æ}$ elsewhere), but no special contact between
OFris. and Kt./Merc. need be assumed on account of the -$\underline{e}$-. Camp-
bell[105] has given strong arguments for regarding the fronting of
Gmc. $\underline{a}$ in England and Frisia respectively as separate develop-
ments, arguments which I shall not repeat here. Instead, I shall
draw attention to Krupatkin's view of the evolution of the OE and

OFris. vowel systems, according to which the subsystem of short vowels was restructured on the pattern of the long vowels, i.e. the split of $\underline{a}$ into a fronted and a nasalized vowel took place subsequent to a similar split within the long subsystem.[106]

Whether the fronting process eventually resulted in æ or $\underline{e}$ seems, on the whole, to have been dependent on the corresponding long vowel: OFris. $\bar{e}/\underline{e}$, Kt. $\bar{e}/\underline{e}$, Merc. (VP) $\bar{e}/\underline{e}$, WS $\bar{æ}/æ$. Note that VP, in which $\underline{e}$ prevails, has no instance of $\bar{æ}$ for $\bar{e}$, and that Ru.[I], in which $\bar{æ}$ is frequent, has practically no $\underline{e}$'s. In early Kt. there is vacillation between not only $\bar{æ}$ and $\bar{e}$, but also æ and $\underline{e}$. However, in Nhm. there exists no such correlation of vowel quality between the long and the short reflexes of Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ and $\underline{a}$.

23. The preference for $\underline{o}$ instead of $\underline{a}$ before nasals in Old East Frisian and Angl./Kt. (mon(n)) and the predilection for $\underline{a}$ in Old West Frisian and WS (man(n)) in such cases have often been noted, most recently by Ramat.[107] But already Siebs[108] assumed that OWFris. $\underline{a}$ + nasal constituted a back formation from $\underline{o}$ + nasal, an assumption which has been substantiated by later investigations: $\underline{o}$-forms occur sporadically in early OWFris. texts, and conversely, some instances of $\underline{a}$ before nasals crop up in late OEFris.[109]

As for the OE dialects $\underline{o}$ (Gmc. $\underline{a}$ before nasals) appears most consistently in the Angl. dialects of the ninth and tenth centuries. But in early Angl. there are many examples of $\underline{a}$ + nasal (Epinal Gl., Erfurt Gl.). The heyday of $\underline{o}$-forms in Kt. as well as WS is the ninth century where they outnumber $\underline{a}$-forms; early WS has $\underline{o}$-forms besides $\underline{a}$-forms. When scholars assert that WS is an $\underline{a}$-dialect, such a statement can apply only to late WS. In Kt. texts there is a reversion to $\underline{a}$ simultaneous with that of WS, and $\underline{a}$ becomes prevalent before nasals in Angl. (except for the West Midlands) in the eleventh century.[110] As in OFris., then, the distinction between $\underline{a}$ and $\underline{o}$ before nasals in OE is chronological rather than dialectal.

24. Bøgholm[111] connects (northern) Nhm. $\bar{ea}$ ($<$ Gmc. $\underline{eu}$) and mutated $\bar{io}$ ($\bar{iu}$) with OFris. $\underline{ia}$ and $\underline{iu}$ respectively (Nhm. $\flat\bar{eaf}$, $l\bar{io}de$; OFris. $\underline{thiaf}$, $\underline{liude}$). Kt. $\bar{ia}$ ($<$ Gmc. $\underline{eu}$) has also been seen as a parallel to the OFris. form, cf. Kt./OEFris. $\underline{b\bar{iade}/biade}$,[112] but

it should be noted that $\bar{\text{ia}}$ in Kt. can reflect the unmutated as
well as the mutated form, cf. ahrīasð '(he) falls'. Also, Kt. ïa-
forms crop up not in the earliest texts, but in ninth-century char-
ters. Campbell characterizes the developments of eu (iu) in OFris.
and Kt. as 'radically dissimilar'.[113] On the other hand, he agrees
that the resemblance between the OFris. and Nhm. reflexes is re-
markable, though he sees no need to infer a close connection between
OFris. and Nhm. from it. But Nhm. $\bar{\text{ea}}$ (< eu) must have developed at
a relatively early stage in view of its presence in the Ruthwell
inscription.[114] Gysseling[115] assigns the Frisian development to the
eighth century (early ninth century at the latest), basing his chron-
ology on the evolution of eu in the personal name elements Gmc.
[+]þeudō- and [+]leudi-.

25. Brunner[116] observes that Angl. and OFris. have both redeveloped
a before ll and l + consonant, in contradistinction to the WS/Kt.
fracture of æ > ea. The parallel goes even further in that Nhm. and
OFris. exhibit retraction to a before r + cons.,[117] in Nhm. es-
pecially when a labial consonant (f, p, b, m, w) precedes the vowel
(or follows r-), and in OFris. without exception when w- precedes:
Nhm. warþ, arm; OFris. wartha, swart, but erm.

        The restoration of a in open syllables when a, o, u followed
is a development shared by all OE dialects, and is therefore not
relevant to the present discussion, even though OFris. displays a
retraction under similar circumstances: OE faran, macian; OFris. fara,
makia.

        It is unlikely that a was restored in these cases prior to
the Anglo-Saxon emigration seeing that the development presupposes
the fronting of Gmc. a.[118]

26. Bremer[119] saw a significant parallel between the WS front diph-
thongization of e, æ and $\bar{\text{æ}}$ after c, g and sc and certain diphthong-
izations that took place in the North Frisian island dialects, and
which he attributed to the influence of preceding palatal conson-
ants, cf. WS gearn, Amrum jûarn, Helgoland jũärn (OFris. [+]jern);
WS gẽar, Amrum/Föhr jûar, Helgoland jôar (OWFris. jẽr). Siebs, how-
ever, has repeatedly[120] rejected the idea of basing any special re-

lationship between WS and the North Frisian island dialects on this similarity, the main reason being that the North Frisian diphthongizations took place irrespective of the quality of the preceding consonants, cf. Helgoland mûárn, môárn.[121]

27. $\bar{e}$ is the i-mutated reflex of Gmc. au not only in OFris. (nēd, hēra), but also in Angl./Kt. (nēd, hēra(n)),[122] cf. WS nīed, hīeran. But very likely the parallel is just a graphic one. In his investigation of the accented vowels in the Schiermonnikoog dialect Arne Spenter presupposes an opposition between $\bar{æ}$ and $\bar{e}$ for OWFris., au + i, j resulting in $\bar{æ}$.[123] Traditionally, OFris. $\bar{e}$ is supposed to derive from Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$, $\bar{e}^2$, a/u + nasal + spirant + i, j, ai, ai/au/ō/ū + i, j, a very heavy burden, indeed, and as Spenter points out, it is 'äusserst problematisch, ob es jemals ein afries. $\bar{e}$-Phonem so vielfachen Ursprungs gegeben hat.'[124]

Similarly Gmc. ai, whether i-mutated or not, may well have developed into OFris. /$\bar{æ}$/, written $\bar{e}$, cf. OFris. dēla, hēla, hwēte; Schm. dēlǝ, vēt.[125] Thus the OFris. forms may not correspond to Kt. dēlan, hēlan at all, but rather to WS/Angl. dǣla(n), hwǣte.

Most scholars follow Luick[126] in dating the OE i-mutation to the sixth century, and in other Gmc. languages the change manifests itself even later. The late appearance of this and other umlaut phenomena in NG/WG constitutes a difficult problem in respect of Gmc. dialect grouping.[127]

28. In Kuhn's view[128] the development of $\breve{y}$ ($<\breve{u}$ + i,j) $>\breve{e}$ in Kt. and OFris. can hardly be a coincidental parallel: Kt. fellan, brecð (WS fyllan, brȳcð), OFris. fella, hēd (WS hȳd). The unrounding in Kt. probably took place about 900,[129] and such a dating does not contradict the Frisian evidence - in fact, OFris. k does not undergo assibilation in front of $\breve{e}$ ($\breve{u}$ + i,j), cf. kest (WS cyst).[130] If Kuhn is right, then, this correspondence between OFris. and Kt. must be due to late contact across the North Sea.

In Angl. and to a large extent in WS $\breve{y}$ was unrounded to $\breve{i}$ in the tenth and eleventh centuries: fillan, brīd.[131] Unrounded forms also occur in the North Frisian island dialects, cf. Amrum/Föhr hid 'hide',[132] whereas the vowels in OEFris. (Rüstring) ekimen,

kining, sinne probably reflect an earlier e (< y), which has been raised in front of nasals.[133]

More interesting are perhaps the occurrences of unrounded i (and e)< y in MDu., cf. Old Flemish (brig(ghe), pit, ric and hil(le) (also Old Zeeland/Holland); OWFl./OZeel. hīde (OE hȳð); North Holland pet, reg(ghe).[134] The modern Dutch dialects show a similar pattern: the word for 'ridge, back', rug (Algemeen Beschaafd), is rik in West Flanders and Zeeland, ri(e)g in Brabant and West Limburg and reg in North Holland and Friesland.[135]

The OFris./Kt. change of y̆ > ĕ thus has a counterpart in the unrounding of y̆ > ĭ in especially the southern Dutch coastal regions, in the North Frisian island dialects and in large parts of the late Angl. and late WS dialect areas.

29. M.L. Samuels has recently drawn attention to the striking re-semblance between OE back mutation and ON breaking, cf. OE eofor, heorot, mioluc; ON jǫforr, hjǫrtr, miólk, [136] which Neckel[137] - following Schmidt, Loewe, Bremer and Jordan[138] - saw as a signifi-cant parallel between OE and ON. Samuels correctly points out that back mutation 'is found most extensively in Kentish, less in Anglian, and least of all in West Saxon' (see below), and in his view such a 'distribution mirrors exactly the varying degrees of connection between North Germanic and the Jutes, Angles and Saxons that might be expected from the historical evidence for their original posi-tions.'[139]

The sound processes in the two languages seem to have been similar in kind: accented front vowels develop into diphthongs with velar second elements because of the influence of unaccented u or a in the following syllables. However, the OE back mutation differs from ON breaking in the following respects: (1) the diphthongiz-ation in OE takes place only before single consonants; (2) back mutation occurs before all consonants only in Kt.; in WS back mu-tated vowels are primarily found in positions before labials and liquids, and in Angl. there is no back mutation before c and g;[140] (3) in ON only accented e is affected whereas in OE accented i, e and æ are involved; (4) in OE i > io, e > eo and æ > ea irrespective of the unaccented vowel being u or a; in ON e (> ea) > ia before a,

and e (> eu > iu > io) > jǫ before u - only the ON changes can be explained according to Kock's theory of epenthesis;[141] and (5) in OE the effect of back mutation was strengthened when w preceded the accented vowel (= combinative back umlaut[142]). In ON there was no breaking if v, w, l or r preceded the accented vowel.[143]

There is nothing in the runic inscriptions before 600 to suggest breaking, but there may be signs of the development on the seventh century stones of Björketorp and Istaby.[144] At least, the change must have been initiated by 700, for at this time the final conditioning a had disappeared.[145]

The earliest OE texts (Ep., Erf., etc.) have no traces of back mutation. Further, the diphthongization must be later than i-mutation,[146] which is shown by the development of eosol ((suffix substitution) < +esil < +asiluz), where i-mutated e is subjected to the innovation.

Neckel[147] interpreted the similarity between OE back muta- tion and ON breaking in terms of geographical proximity between ON and OE prior to the Anglo-Saxon emigration, but he did not have much success in establishing an earlier dating for the phenomena. Hirt[148] saw the resemblance as 'ein Hinweis auf ein gemeinsames Völkersubstrat,' while Hammerich[149], Skautrup[150] and Schwartz[151] regarded the developments in ON and OE as unconnected changes. More recently, Höfler[152] has advanced the hypothesis that the ultimate reason for the a-/i-/u-umlaut phenomena in the Gmc. languages was a suprasegmental one, viz. the fixation of accent on the first syl- lable in early Gmc. Owing to the increasing stress accent, the a, i, u of the weakly accented syllables underwent qualitative re- ductions, which again led to compensatory colouring ('Ersatzfär- bung') of the accented vowels.[153] Höfler's theory does not pre- suppose expansion by contact. The fixation of accent took place in the Gmc. 'Urheimat' in and around the Jutland peninsula, and the subsequent effects of this on the vowels could crop up in the later Gmc. languages as phylogenetic parallels, to use a Höfler term borrowed from biology.

A theory which now seems to be generally accepted posits sub- phonemic variation in the accented vowels in umlaut conditions, i.e. before a, i, u in the following syllables. With much variation in

detail, the separate allophones were phonemicized after the different dialects had been established. But, to quote Antonsen,[154] the 'divergent shapes and distributions of the phonemes in the individual dialects can be ascribed to a very large extent to secondary developments in those dialects which have no direct connection with the umlaut process itself.'

As intimated above, the loss of unaccented a in ON had taken place by 700, and this may in fact have been the reason for the original phonemicization of the diphthong (- u was probably lost later). In OE the conditioning factors, i.e. unaccented a, u in the following syllables, are not lost, but nevertheless the developments of i > io (iu), e > eo, æ > ea (æa) may be explained intrasystemically. Krupatkin[155] following Fourquet thinks that the new short diphthongal phonemes arose to balance the appearance of īu, ēo, ǣa in the OE vowel system. The short diphthongs first appeared in front of h, r, l, not because of the special quality of these consonants, but because it was 'the "allophones" before h, r, l which had a comparatively more mobile timbre variation.' Therefore these allophones were especially well suited to 'be used by the language for creating an opposition of timbre gliding within the short vowels.'[156] In my view, the allophones conditioned by the quality of the following back vowels eventually came phonetically close enough to the new diphthongs for a split plus merger to be effected,[156a] whereby the short diphthongal subsystem was strengthened. But it is a strictly OE phonemicization which has nothing to do with ON breaking - except that OE and ON like other Gmc. languages possessed similar allophones for potential utilization. An instructive parallel to the OE back mutation is the diphthongization in OFris. of i (e) before u, w in the following syllables, cf. niugun 'nine', siunga (ON syngva); iu was phonemicized as the short counterpart of long iu,[157] cf. also i > iu before h as in kniuht, liuht. - Note that the diphthongization in niugun - unlike WS/Angl. - occurs before g, and in siunga - unlike WS/Angl./Kt. - before a consonant group.

It is a curious circumstance that Samuels, who prefers to ascribe the different distribution of back mutated diphthongs in Kt., Angl. and WS to 'the varying degrees of connection between

North Germanic and the Jutes, Angles and Saxons' before the Anglo-Saxon emigration, i.e. expansion determined by closeness of contact, is himself strongly in favour of taking suprasegmental and subphonemic features into account when assessing late (post-emigration) phonetic correspondes between England and the Continent, considering that the chief advocates of such solutions, viz. Höfler and Antonsen, both think that the umlaut phenomena have come to light independently in the individual Gmc. dialects, given a common inheritance (a fixed accent (Höfler); subphonemic variation (Antonsen)).

All things considered, the resemblance between OE (Kt./Angl. (/WS)) back mutation and ON breaking cannot be accepted as a shared innovation. The actual manifestations of the processes are too different (and too late) to allow any conclusion in the way of (early) contact; and further, there are plausible alternative explanations of the development of umlaut phenomena.

30.   In the past scholars[158] have seen the development of final ĕg (æg) to ēi as a shared Kt./OFris. innovation, cf. Kt. dei, wæi 'weighed', wei 'way', wrēi 'accuse!'; OFris. dei, wei 'way', kēi 'key'. The first examples of the vocalization of -g, however, are found in early glosses (Ep. grēi, bodæi; Corpus Gl. grēi, popei[159]) which are not normally considered to be Kt. Spellings with -i become frequent in the Kt. charters of the ninth century; in tenth-century WS, -eg- represents ON -ei- in Stegen, Swegen (ON Steinn, Sveinn),[160] and in later WS we often find -ig for -g: weig, mæig. Similarly, instances of -ig for -g are found in Nhm. and also in the Kentish Glosses to Proverbs, as a matter of fact. In ME -i and -y have replaced OE -g everywhere.

As for OFris, Kuhn[161] has dated eg > ei to the eleventh century, cf. Adaldei, Amuldei, Birdei, Erdei (Werdener Heberegister[I,II]).

It appears, then, that the vocalization of -g in -ĕg spread from England to Frisia. But even though the -i spelling is most consistently used in OKt., we are hardly permitted to interpret this alone as a sign of special Kt./OFris. contacts: the difference

between Kt. on the one hand, and WS/Angl. on the other, may well have been an orthographic one.

31. Despite the title of this paper the treatment of Gmc. $\bar{o}$ in Middle Kentish and on the Continent will be discussed here. It is a well-known fact that $\bar{e}^2$ and $\bar{o}$ are diphthongized in OHG to _ia_ and _uo_. The spelling _uo_ also crops up in OLF personal names with elements like _(h)ruod_, _guod_ and _uodel_. In OGhent. _uo_ has survived in name material (_Buocholt_, _Bruoderchin_). According to Schönfeld/van Loey[162] such OLF spellings should not be attributed to OHG influence; during the age of the bilingual Merovingian empire the diphthongization probably spread from Romance to Franconian speakers in northern France (cf. Old French _cuer_) and from here in an easterly and a northerly direction. From the Netherlands the innovation spread to eastern and southern Kent, where it appears as a back rising diphthong /wo/ in _guod_, _guos_ (along with /wɔ/ < OE /$\bar{a}$/). In Samuels' view[163] it was a welcome addition to the MKt. vowel system which had developed rising diphthongs in the front series.[164] If Samuels is right, this is an example of the way in which contact may provide material for utilization on the _langue_ level. And more importantly in this context, it shows that continental innovations could spread across the Channel/North Sea many centuries after the Anglo-Saxon emigration.

32. The presence of rising diphthongs in WN, OFris. and MKt. (cf. the preceding paragraph) is the subject of an article from 1953 by W.H. Bennett, who points out the marked parallelism of e.g. WN _djúpr_, OFris. _diap_, MKt. _dyep_ (Gmc. _eu_[165]); WN _jǫrð_, MKt. _yerþe_ (ON breaking/OE back mutation of the accented vowel in Gmc. $^+$_er-þō-_[166]); WN _sjá_, OFris. _sia_, MKt. _sye-_ (contracted forms of Gmc. $^+$_seχwan_); WN _djǫfull_, OFris. _diovel_, MKt. _dyevel_ (loan words, cf. Lat. _diabolus_). In Kt. the development from falling to rising diphthongs is usually assigned to the ME period,[167] but Bennett[168] attempts to push the shift back into OKt. As for OFris., Bennett[169] notes that the first records exhibit the change in a well-advanced stage.[170] The WN shift dates back to before 1200, and may have begun as early as in the late ninth century.

According to Bennett it is possible that the parallel out-
lined above is the result of coincidence, but it may also be in-
terpreted as 'the result of tribal interassociations.' How Ben-
nett sees these, appears from the following lines:[171]

> If the Jutes originally inhabited part of Jutland ...,
> their home lay very close to that of the West Norsemen.
> Jutland and Norway once belonged to the same strip of
> land, and the strait that subsequently developed between
> them was for many centuries much narrower than it is to-
> day. How much contact there was between the Jutes of Jut-
> land and the West Norsemen of Norway is of course hard
> to determine, but it is at least interesting to note that
> the speech of both groups was characterized by rising [j]-
> diphthongs. If the Jutes later spread south along the coast
> to Friesland, as indicated by the Finn Episode, they en-
> tered the lower Rhine area and still retained vestiges of
> its culture when they finally settled in Kent. And the close
> association between the Jutes and the Frisians ... is also
> paralleled by their common use of rising [j] -diphthongs.

It is evident that the argumentation put forward here is circular:
the rising diphthongs are taken as evidence for tribal interasso-
ciations even though Bennett set out to show the probability of
such connections in order to explain the presence of these diph-
thongs in WN/OFris./Kt.!

To the theory outlined above it should be added that in Ben-
nett's view the rising diphthongs may have first arisen in WN owing
to the influence of an early Finno-Ugric substratum.

It is difficult for me to see any great significance in this
parallel;[172] there can hardly be any doubt that the WN/OFris./Kt.
rising diphthongs arose long after the Anglo-Saxon emigration, cf.
their various origins, and the only question that in my opinion is
left open for discussion is whether the resemblance could be due to
late contacts. There are several instances of late linguistic ex-
changes between Kent and Friesland, and the presence of rising diph-
thongs in both places may be another example. With a reference to
Hammerich's article from 1937 Gysseling[173] asks whether ninth-cen-

tury Danish influence may be held responsible for the Frisian rising diphthongs? Of course, I am in no better position to answer that question than is Gysseling, but it is worth pointing out that - despite Bennett[174] - the shift of accent took place not only in WN, but also in EN, cf. Old Danish diūpær, iorth, fiāndi, diavul.[175] Viking Age contacts may have resulted in an expansion of the innovation from southern Scandinavian to Friesland,[176] from where it spread to Kent.

33. The development of þ>(đ>) đ took place very early in the Bavarian dialect and spread west- and northwards from here, so that đ prevailed in all of Upper Germany from the ninth century.[177] A further spread into Middle Franconian and from here into OLF (before 1100[178]) and Low German during the subsequent period, brought đ close to English shores, and we do in fact find examples like de 'the', dys 'this', dykke 'thick' in south-eastern ME.[179] The rest of England seems to have been left unaffected, whereas on the Continent the innovation had repercussions in Frisian[180] and Danish/ Swedish,[181] the expansion to Scandinavia being more or less contemporaneous with the spread from the Netherlands to Kent (and neighbouring countries), i.e. around 1400.

34. The voicing of initial f, s, þ to v, z, đ (MKt. vader, verste; zelve, zoþe; þe, þyef)[182] took place in Kt. (SE), WS (SW) and probably West Mercian (WM), and could occur without difficulty on the phonological level because, at the time of the shift, the voiced spirants were still allophones of the /f, s, θ / phonemes. In OLF there was a similar development, and as in England there was no opposition between unvoiced and voiced spirants.[183] Spellings like OWFl. vogala and OGhent. Velthem show that voicing had taken place at least by 1100 in Low Franconian.[184] As for England, the shift is usually supposed to have occurred in late OE or early ME,[185] because it affects almost exclusively words of native origin and not Anglo-Norman loan words. Since there are other indications of late linguistic cross-Channel relations between the south of England and the Netherlands, there is nothing extraordinary about interpreting the presence of initial voiced spirants in both places in terms of late contact.

Bennett[186] rejects such a solution on very slender grounds; instead he attempts to build up a case for assigning the parallel to intertribal relations prior to the Anglo-Saxon emigration: the Jutes, on their way to Kent, as well as the Saxons before emigrating to the <u>Litus Saxonum</u> and the south-west of England, 'entered the lower Rhenish - i.e. the Low Franconian - area.'[187] and here both tribes may have acquired the voicing of initial <u>f</u>, <u>s</u>, <u>þ</u>. But this view rests almost entirely on hypothetical non-linguistic considerations; and what little linguistic support Bennett adduces for an earlier dating, is rejected by H. Flasdieck.[188]

Samuels[189] is probably right in placing the innovatory centre within Franconian. The voicing of spirants has perhaps spread from here into Upper German,[190] and similarly it may have crossed the Channel - from Flanders to the south of England.

35. In the southern OE dialects of the ninth and tenth centuries[191] the consonant group <u>fn</u> (<u>ƀn</u>) shifts to <u>mn</u> (> <u>mm</u>), undoubtedly as a result of assimilation (the soft palate is lowered too quickly in anticipation of the alveolar nasal): <u>stemn</u>, <u>stefn</u>; <u>hremn</u>, <u>hræfn</u>.

The change probably occurred only where <u>f</u> (<u>ƀ</u>) and <u>n</u> were in direct contact, i.e. in inflected forms. It may therefore be assumed that there were both assimilated and unassimilated forms within the paradigm, and a subsequent levelling is to be expected. In the Angl. dialects there are hardly any instances of assimilation (an exception is Ru.[I] <u>stemn</u>[192]), and this may be taken as a result of the levelling process, even though it is surprising that no more assimilated forms have survived.

On the Continent this type of assimilation is widespread, cf. OHG <u>ram</u>, <u>rammes</u>/<u>raban</u>, <u>rabanes</u>; OS <u>stemna</u>, <u>Hrammeshuvila</u>/ <u>hraban</u>; OFris. <u>stemme</u>/<u>stifne</u>; MDu. <u>stemme</u>/<u>stevene</u>; ON (Old Norwegian ca. 1200) <u>iamn</u>/<u>iafn</u> 'even',[193] and the question is whether the southern English shift is a product of continental inspiration. It should be remembered, however, that the change under discussion is a conditioned one, and that there is really nothing to prevent this kind of development from arising everywhere. But this is not to deny that contact can trigger off potentialities.

36. In WS g̲ is often lost before d̲, b̲, n̲ and (occasionally) l̲,
cf. -bro̅den (pp. of bre̅dan), ti̅d̆ian, onge̅an and snæl̲. The other
OE dialects nearly always retain g̲ in such cases, but early non
-WS forms like Ep. sne̅l̲, stre̅l̲ (also Cp.) should be noted.

On the Continent a similar loss is seen only in Frisian, cf.
OFris. pp. bru̅den, je̅n̲, je̅nst (OS gegin). The normal OFris. de-
velopment of g̲ before d̲, n̲, l̲ (and s̲) is i̲, however, cf. inf.
breida (OS bregdan), wein (WS wæn̲, OS wagan), but a shift com-
parable to that of WS is reflected in the Frisian dialects, cf.
North Frisian se̅l̲ (< ⁺segl), le̅d (non-WS -legd), etc.[194]

The resemblance between WS and OFris. as seen here is hardly
of great significance: (1) in WS there was much vacillation, es-
pecially in early WS; (2) geographically, the loss was probably
more widespread during the early period; and (3) in OFris. the
loss was the exception rather than the rule.

37. The loss of final -n̲ is a feature common to Nhm., OFris. and
ON, although ON exhibits a larger number of -n̲ losses than either
of the two other dialects (-an̲, the asm. ending of the strong ad-
jectives, where -n̲ was retained in ON, was originally covered by
a final vowel[195]). Early runic inscriptions (400 A.D.) in Norway
and Sweden retain -n̲ where it is later lost, cf. n̲-stems gsm.
þ r a w i j a n (Kalleby) and dsm. h a l a i b a n (Tune), but
the Norwegian Eggjum inscription (700 A.D.) appears to have dropped
final -n̲.

In Nhm. and OFris. -n̲ is lost mainly in infinitives, in a/g/ds.
of weak nouns and in adverbs, cf. Nhm. cuma, hearta, u̅ta; OFris.
kuma, kempa, bu̅ta (; ON koma, hana, þá), but usually not in pt. plur.
ind.: Nhm. bre̅con, OFris. ko̅mon (ON 3rd pt. plur. ind. tóku) and
pp.: Nhm. a̅risen, OFris. faren (ON hlaupinn).

Forms without -n̲ crop up in the earliest Nhm. sources, but
there is a good deal of vacillation, cf. the Ruthwell Cross. Luick[196]
may therefore be right in dating the loss to the period immediate-
ly preceding the earliest written texts, i.e. the seventh century.

In Campbell's opinion, which is that of a dialect geographer,
the loss of final -n̲ in ON, OFris. and Nhm. is not due to 'descent
from a common type of Germanic,' but should rather be seen as an

innovation 'which, cutting across the old linguistic grouping, linked North Germanic to Frisian and Northumbrian.'[197] We agree that the loss is a post-invasion development, and repeat that it is more general in ON than elsewhere.

As appears from the individual discussions of the items listed above, a good deal of the material must be rejected as evidence of special OE dialectal connections with continental Gmc. languages. This holds true of:

2. WS/Kt./OS/OHG $\bar{o}$-stem endings in -ena.
5. Kt. -e- in the dsm/n. pronominal ending of the strong adjectives.
9. The replacement of nsm/f. dem. pron. þ- by s- in Angl. (Nhm.), OS and OHG.
15. Angl./OFris. -ade in the pt. of Class II weak verbs.
16. Angl./OFris. pres. ptc. Class II weak verbs without -i-.
22. Gmc. a > Kt./Merc./OFris. e.
23. Gmc. a > o before nasals in OEFris. and Angl./Kt.
26. Palatal diphthongization in WS and North Frisian.
27. The i-mutated reflexes of au and ai (uncertainty about the phonemic interpretation in OFris.).
29. ON breaking/OE (Kt./Angl.) back mutation.
30. ĕg (ǽg) > ĕi.

Fifteen of the remaining correspondences clearly belong to the post-invasion period, in fact some of them are due to spread in ME. It is significant that Kt. participates in nine of these parallels, either alone among the OE dialects (as in five cases) or in combination with WS (in four instances):

28. Kt./OFris. (ŭ + i,j > ĕ)
7. Kt./OFris./MDu. (n/asf., n/ap. 3rd pers. pron. s-)
31. Kt./Franconian (ō > uo)
33. Kt./Franconian (þ (> đ) > d)
32. Kt./OFris./WN (rising diphthongs)

11. Kt./WS/OFris. (1st pres. sg. ind. strong verbs -e)

12. Kt./WS/OFris. (syncopated 2/3. pres. sg. ind. strong and Class
    I weak verbs)

34. Kt./WS/Franconian ($\underline{f}$, $\underline{s}$, $\underline{þ} > \underline{v}$, $\underline{z}$, $\underline{đ}$)

35. Kt./WS/Continent ($\underline{fn}$ ($\underline{þn}$) $> \underline{mn}$ ($> \underline{mm}$)

The majority of the nine correspondences can be ascribed to
spread from the Continent (the Low Countries and Frisia) to the
south of England, cf. Nos. 7, 31, 33, 32, 34 and perhaps 35. As for
Nos. 34 and 35 they may well have expanded by way of Kent, seeing
that there is little evidence of late direct linguistic connections
between WS and the Continent. The only exclusive parallel is No. 36
(WS/OFris. loss of $\underline{g}$ before $\underline{d}$, $\underline{n}$, $\underline{l}$), whereas No. 28 ($\underline{\breve{u}}$ + $\underline{i}$,$\underline{j} > \underline{\breve{y}} > \underline{\breve{i}}$)
is common to not only WS, North Frisian and MDu., but also Angl.

As for other post-invasion parallels in which Angl. partici-
pates, there are two exclusively shared by Angl. and OFris.: No. 24
(Gmc. $\underline{eu} > \underline{\bar{ea}}$) and No. 25 (the restoration of $\underline{a}$ before $\underline{ll/l/r}$ + cons.),
one shared by Angl. (Nhm.), OFris. and ON, viz. No. 37 (loss of fi-
nal -$\underline{n}$), and one common to Angl. and ON (perhaps in consequence of
the Viking settlement in Northumbria), cf. No. 13 (3rd pres. sg. ind.
-$\underline{s}$).

The most striking feature about the pre-invasion correspondences is
that there is Angl. participation in nearly all of them. But were
Jordan and other scholars right in assuming close Angl./NG links on
the Continent? Above, two early parallels between Angl. and ON were
pointed out, viz. No. 4 (gs. $\underline{r}$-stem $< $ IE $^+\underline{pə\text{-}t\acute{r}\text{-}s}$) and No. 17 (IE
$^+\underline{er/or}$ 'be' in ON, and more widespread in Angl. than in WS/Kt.).
Both items represent common choices of the same IE variants, No. 4
obviously being the more important correspondence. However, No. 8
(1st pers. poss. pron. Nhm./OS $\underline{\bar{u}sa}$ (OLF $\underline{unsa}$) without -$\underline{er}$) consti-
tutes an interesting Nhm./OS (OLF) innovation, and item No. 6 (suf-
fixation of $^+\underline{\text{-}ik}$ to ap. forms of 1/2. pers. prons.) is best inter-
preted as an early common Angl./OHG innovation. As shown in No. 3,
the npm. $\underline{n}$-stem forms with $\underline{i}$-mutation (reflecting either an exten-
sion of the vanishing grade from gp. or, less plausibly, the IE
$^+\underline{\text{-}en}$-grade of the thematic element) is a parallel between Angl.,
OFris. and WN, whereas No. 19 (accented vowel $\underline{\breve{e}}$ in pt. forms of

'did' and No. 20 (Gmc. [+]$\underline{waljan}$) connect Angl. with OFris., OS and OHG, No. 19 constituting a retention and No. 20 a common choice of the same Gmc. variant. The presence af -$\underline{e}$- in asm. of the dem. pron. (No. 10) is open to much doubt (and alternative explanations), but may link Angl. to OFris., OS, OHG and MDu. The reflexes of n/ap. $\bar{o}$-stem Gmc. [+]$-\bar{o}nz$ (No. 1) in Angl., OS and OHG represent the common choice of the same NG/WG alternative.

In some (insignificant) cases Angl. shows agreement with Goth.: reduplication is retained to a greater extent than elsewhere (No. 14), and, along with WN, Angl. and Goth. exhibit -$\underline{t}$ less forms in the 2nd pres. sg. ind. of 'be' (No. 18), at best a retention. Finally, Goth., Angl., Kt. and OFris. may have retained Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ (No. 21), although it is more likely that the $\bar{e}$ of Angl., Kt. and OFris. derives from NG/WG $\bar{a}$ (< Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$) and thus represents a common innovation.

This review of early (pre-invasion) parallels between Angl. and the continental Gmc. languages has revealed no pattern on the basis of which a special relationship between Angl. and NG can be assumed, indeed the parallels point in no particular direction. Instead, we conclude that Angl. exhibits links to all NG/WG languages. The correspondences with Goth. prove nothing since they are all (both) common retentions.

Nor can pre-invasion relationships between WS and OS and between Kt. and OFris. be inferred from our material, cf. Wolff and Siebs respectively. There are no early exclusive parallels between Kt. and any one of the continental languages and only one such parallel in which WS participates, viz. No. 21 (Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ > WS/Du. $\bar{æ}$) - but even this correspondence is hardly of much importance as a criterion of a specific WS place of origin on the Continent, for (non-Gothic) fronted reflexes of Gmc. $\bar{e}^1$ are all found within a very restricted area (the Low Countries and Frisia). However, Kt. and WS agree with OFris. and OS in having syncretism in a/ds. 1/2. pers. prons. (No. 6), a common innovation, and with OFris. and ON in showing a common predilection for the same Gmc. variant (< IE [+]$-\tilde{a}s$) in n/ap. $\bar{o}$-stems (No. 1).

The links of Kt. and WS to the continental languages are thus too few and too diverse to allow inferences in respect of the continental origins of these dialects.

To sum up: there is nothing to suggest that the OE dialects were the direct successors of ancient tribal dialects transferred from the Continent. This is not to say that no specific morphological and phonological features were introduced into England - in fact, our investigation has revealed a variety of features in the Angl. dialect of OE that have counterparts in different sections of the entire NG/WG Sprachraum. It would be interesting to see if the archaeological evidence of fifth-and-sixth-century Mercia and Northumbria, once it has been established, also points to a mixed origin of the early Gmc. invaders.

Finally, attention should, perhaps superfluously, be drawn to the fact that the present survey has been concerned only with the parallels that connect the OE dialects with the Continent and not with the correspondences between OE (as a whole) and her sister languages. A thorough investigation of the linguistic position of Old English within the Germanic language group remains to be undertaken.

Notes:

1. Karl Brunner, Altenglische Grammatik, 3. Auflage (Tübingen, 1965), § 2 Anm. 1.

2. A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959), § 5.

3. Henry Sweet, 'Dialects and Prehistoric Forms of Old English,' Transactions of the Philological Society 1875-6, pp. 543-69, esp. pp. 561-2.

4. H. Munro Chadwick, The Origin of the English Nation (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 57-69.

5. Johannes Hoops, 'Angelsachsen,' Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde I (Strassburg, 1911-13), 87-95.

6. Karl Luick, Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1921-40, rpt. Oxford/Stuttgart, 1964), § 6 and § 9.

7. David DeCamp, 'The Genesis of the Old English Dialects: A New Hypothesis,' Language 34 (1958), 232-44. Rpt. in Approaches to English Historical Linguistics, ed. Roger Lass (New York, 1969), pp. 355-68.

8. A. Russchen, 'Jutes and Frisian,' It Beaken 26 (1964), 26-37, esp. 29.

9. M. Gysseling, 'Het oudste Fries,' It Beaken 24 (1962), 1-26.

10. Alois Brandl, Zur Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte, Abhandlungen der kgl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. 4 (Berlin, 1915), 19.

11. '... denn auf der Verschiedenheit jener Stämme beruhte naturgemäss die ursprüngliche Verschiedenheit der Mundarten.' Ibid. p. 5.

12. Hermann Møller, Review of A. Erdmann, Über die Heimat und den Namen der Angeln in Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 22 (1896), 129-64, esp. 148.

13. Theodor Siebs, 'Geschichte der friesischen Sprache,' Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, hrsg. Hermann Paul, I, 2. Auflage (Strassburg, 1901), 1152-1464, esp. 1156.

14. Richard Jordan, Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes, Anglistische Forschungen 17 (Heidelberg, 1906).

15. See ch. V,4 in Hans Frede Nielsen, <u>De germanske sprog. Bag-</u>
    <u>grund og gruppering</u> (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag –
    forthcoming); and Kenneth Sisam, 'Dialect Origins of the
    Earlier Old English Verse,' <u>Studies in the History of Old</u>
    <u>English Literature</u> (Oxford, 1953), pp. 118-39, esp. p. 126.

16. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' pp. 1157-8, and 'Die Friesen und die
    nächstverwandten Stämme,' <u>Mitteilungen der schlesischen Ge-</u>
    <u>sellschaft für Volkskunde</u> 31 (1930), 44-84, esp. 65 and 71-2.

17. See below, Nos. 28, 24 and 30.

18. Otto Bremer, 'Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme,' <u>Grundriss</u>
    <u>der germanischen Philologie</u>, hrsg. Hermann Paul, III (Strass-
    burg, 1900), 735-950, esp. 848.

19. See below, No. 26.

20. Ludwig Wolff, 'Die Stellung des Altsächsischen,' <u>Zeitschrift</u>
    <u>für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</u> 71 (1934), 129-
    54.

21. See below, Nos. 21, 2 and 6.

22. Wolfgang Jungandreas, <u>Geschichte der deutschen und der eng-</u>
    <u>lischen Sprache</u> III (Göttingen, 1949), 20-28.

23. See below, No. 29.

24. Jordan, <u>Eigentümlichkeiten</u>, p. 115.

25. See below, No. 13.

26. M.L. Samuels, 'Kent and the Low Countries: some linguistic
    evidence,' <u>Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots</u>, ed. A.J.
    Aitken, Angus McIntosh and Hermann Pálsson (London, 1971), pp.
    3-19, esp. p. 8.

27. See below, Nos. 31 and 33.

28. See below, Nos. 22, 28, 34, 29 and 32.

29. See below, No. 29.

30. Cf. Nielsen, <u>De germanske sprog</u>, ch. V,4.

31. Hans F. Nielsen, 'A List of Morphological and Phonological
    Parallels between North and West Germanic,' <u>Acta Philologica</u>
    <u>Scandinavica</u> 31 (1976), 96-116, esp. 98-9.

32. Wolff, 'Stellung,' p. 143.

33. Ernst Schwarz, <u>Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen</u> (Bern/München,
    1951), p. 232.

34. Campbell, <u>OE Grammar</u>, § 586-7.

35. Cf. W.L. van Helten, <u>Altostfriesische Grammatik</u> (Leeuwarden, 1890, rpt. Wiesbaden, 1970), § 169β.

36. Wolfgang Krause, <u>Die Sprache der urnordischen Runeninschriften</u> (Heidelberg, 1971), p. 50.

37. Hans F. Nielsen, 'Morphological and Phonological Parallels between Old Norse and Old English,' <u>Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi</u> 90 (1975), 1-18, esp. 7.

38. Brunner, <u>Ae. Grammatik</u>, § 276 Anm. 1. and § 277 Anm. 1.

39. Hans F. Nielsen, 'The Earliest Grouping of the Germanic Dialects,' <u>ANF</u> 94 (1979), 1-9, esp. 4.

40. Campbell, <u>OE Grammar</u>, § 619[1]; and Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen, <u>Gammeldansk Grammatik</u>, 8 vols. (København, 1928-73), § 480[5].

41. Hans Krahe, <u>Historische Laut- und Formenlehre des Gotischen</u>, 2. Auflage bearb. von Elmar Seebold (Heidelberg, 1967), pp. 90-91.

42. Brunner, <u>Ae. Grammatik</u>, § 285 Anm. 3[a]; and Nielsen, 'ON and OE,' p. 7.

43. Campbell, <u>OE Grammar</u>, p. 157 n. 2; and Brunner, <u>Ae. Grammatik</u>, § 293 Anm. 2 and § 338 Anm. 3.

44. Cf. Hans F. Nielsen, 'Betragtninger over pronomenet <u>den</u>,' <u>ANF</u> 86 (1971), 249-54.

45. F. Holthausen, <u>Altsächsisches Elementarbuch</u>, 2. Auflage (Heidelberg, 1921), § 353-4.

46. Campbell, <u>OE Grammar</u>, § 702.

47. Wilhelm Braune, <u>Althochdeutsche Grammatik</u>, 13. Auflage bearb. von Hans Eggers (Tübingen, 1975), § 282.

48. Cf. Wolff, 'Stellung,' pp. 143-4; Alan S.C. Ross, 'The Accusative and Dative of the Pronouns of the First and Second Persons in Germanic,' <u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u> 32 (1933), 481-2; William Foerste, 'Die Herausbildung des Niederdeutschen,' <u>Ludwig Wolff zum 70. Geburtstag</u>, hrsg. Werner Schröder (Neumünster, 1962), pp. 9-27, esp. pp. 15-16; and Hans Kuhn, 'Zur Gliederung der germanischen Sprachen,' <u>ZDA</u> 86 (1955), 1-47, esp. 38.

49. Hans Krahe, <u>Germanische Sprachwissenschaft</u> I-II, 7. Auflage bearb. von Wolfgang Meid (Berlin, 1969), II, § 32.

50. Adolf Noreen, Altnordische Grammatik I, 5., unveränderte Auflage (Tübingen, 1970), § 112[1] and § 464.

51. Cf. Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, 'Ingwäonisch he, hi und das Personalpronomen im Germanischen,' Forschungen und Fortschritte 29 (1955), 150-56, esp. 153.

52. Johan Hendrik Gallée, Altsächsische Grammatik, 2. Auflage (Halle/Leiden, 1910), § 363 Anm. 4.

53. Thomas L. Markey, A North Sea Germanic Reader (München, 1976), p. 334.

54. Cf. Ingerid Dal, 'Systemerhaltende Tendenzen in der deutschen Kasusmorphologie,' Untersuchungen zur germanischen und deutschen Sprachgeschichte (Oslo, 1971), pp. 158-70. An earlier version of this article was published in Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap 12 (1942), 199-212.

55. Karl Brunner, Die englische Sprache I, 2. Auflage (Tübingen, 1960), 80-81; Walther Steller, Abriss der altfriesischen Grammatik (Halle, 1928), § 83; and Johannes Franck, Mittelniederländische Grammatik, 2. Auflage (Leipzig, 1910, rpt. Arnhem, 1971), § 210.

56. Brunner, Ae. Grammatik, § 335 Anm.

57. The SED material, now available in the maps of The Linguistic Atlas of England, ed. Harold Orton, Steward Sanderson and John Widdowson (London, 1978), reveals that a Modern English dialect area comprising south-western Yorkshire, large portions of Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire, and smaller slices of Lancashire and Nottinghamshire, exhibits the form us (poss. pron.) and not our (ibid. M75).

58. Theodor Frings und Elisabeth Linke, 'Westgermanische Pronomen an Nordsee und Rhein,' Die Wissenschaft von deutscher Sprache und Dichtung, Festschrift für Friedrich Maurer (Stuttgart, 1963), pp. 91-117, esp. pp. 106-7.

59. Johannes Franck, Altfränkische Grammatik, 2. Auflage von Rudolf Schützeichel (Göttingen, 1971), § 173.

60. Nsm., cf. Holthausen, Elementarbuch, § 336.

61. Wilhelm Streitberg, Urgermanische Grammatik, 4., unveränderte Auflage (Heidelberg, 1974), p. 269[b].

62. Nielsen, 'Earliest Grouping,' p. 5.

63. Krahe, Sprachwiss. II, § 69.

64. Hermann Hirt, Handbuch des Urgermanischen I-III (Heidelberg, 1931-4), II, 138.

65. Cf. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 731.

66. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1334.

67. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 735[a].

68. Alois Walde, Die germanischen Auslautgesetze (Halle, 1900), p. 125 Anm.

69. Cf. Sisam, 'Dialect Origins,' pp. 125-6; and Brunner, Ae. Grammatik, § 358.

70. Ibid. § 357 Anm. 1; and C.E. Bazell, 'Some Problems of Old English Morphology,' Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie, F. Mossé in memoriam (Paris, 1959), pp. 27-31.

71. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 735[b].

72. Noreen, An. Grammatik, § 530 Anm. 3; and Krause, Runeninschriften, § 31.

73. Wolfgang Krause, Handbuch des Gotischen, 3. Auflage (München, 1968), § 235-6; and Brunner, Ae. Grammatik, § 394[1].

73a. N. Bøgholm, English Speech from an Historical Point of View (Copenhagen/London, 1939), pp. 11-12.

74. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 331[6].

75. Braune, Ahd. Grammatik, § 63.

76. Holthausen, Elementarbuch, § 134.

77. Noreen, An. Grammatik, § 137.

78. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1241; and van Helten, Aofr. Grammatik, § 78.

79. For Goth., see Krahe, Sprachwiss. I, § 47.

80. Bøgholm, English Speech, p. 11.

81. Brunner, Ae. Grammatik, § 412 Anm. 10.

82. Nielsen, 'ON and OE,' p. 13 and p. 17.

83. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 768[d].

84. Nielsen, 'Earliest Grouping,' p. 8.

85. See above, No. 13; and cf. Brunner, Ae Grammatik, § 356 Anm. 2.

86. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 768[b].

87. For a different view, see Brunner, <u>Ae. Grammatik</u>, § 429 Anm. 1.

88. Cf. van Helten, <u>Aofr. Grammatik</u>, § 310; and Steller, <u>Afr. Grammatik</u>, § 107.

89. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1333.

90. Gunnar Bech, <u>Die Entstehung des schwachen Präteritums</u>, Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. 40, no. 4 (København, 1963), 16.

91. See Nielsen, 'Earliest Grouping,' p. 7.

92. Werner Simon, <u>Zur Sprachmischung im Heliand</u>, Philologische Studien und Quellen, hrsg. Wolfgang Binder, Hugo Moser, Karl Stackmann und Wolfgang Stammler, Heft 27 (Berlin, 1965), 56-7.

93. Brunner, <u>Ae. Grammatik</u>, § 62 Anm. 1.

94. Cf. Herbert L. Kufner, 'The Grouping and Separation of the Germanic Languages,' <u>Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic</u>, ed. Frans van Coetsem and Herbert L. Kufner (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 71-97, esp. pp. 86-7.

95. Y.B. Krupatkin, 'From Germanic to English and Frisian,' <u>Us Wurk</u> 19 (1970), 49-71, esp. 66-7; and Elmer H. Antonsen, 'The Proto-Germanic Syllabics (Vowels),' <u>Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic</u>, ed. Frans van Coetsem and Herbert L. Kufner (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 117-40, esp. p. 131 and p. 140.

96. William H. Bennett, 'The Germanic Development of Indo-European $\bar{e}$,' <u>Language</u> 26 (1950), 232-5.

97. Cf. Nielsen, 'North and West Gmc.,' p. 109.

98. Gysseling, 'Fries,' pp. 7-8.

99. R. Vleeskruyer, 'A. Campbell's Views on Inguaeonic,' <u>Neophilologus</u> 32 (1948), 173-83, esp. 182.

100. <u>Schönfeld's Historische Grammatica van het Nederlands</u>, 8e druk, verzorgd door A. van Loey (Zutphen, 1970), § 80.

101. Campbell, <u>OE Grammar</u>, § 257.

102. Wolff, 'Stellung,' pp. 141-3.

103. Hans Kuhn, 'Friesisch und Nordseegermanisch,' <u>Us Wurk</u> 4 (1955), 37-46, esp. 44; and Kuhn, 'Gliederung,' pp. 32-3.

104. According to Markey (<u>Reader</u>, p. xi), the 'oldest Frisian runic inscriptions (Britsum and Wijnaldum) show $\bar{a}$ in the 6th century.' Markey may well be right in assigning $\bar{a}$ to Britsum, but it is

probably not $\bar{a} < \bar{e}^1$ as he seems to think, but $\bar{a} < ai$, cf. W.J. Buma, 'Das Runenstäbchen von Britsum,' Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 73 (1951), 315; and Wolfgang Krause, Runen (Berlin, 1970), p. 91. Of the Wijnaldum inscription H. Arntz and H. Zeiss in Die einheimischen Runendenkmäler des Festlandes (Leipzig, 1939), p. 417, say: 'Eine sinnvolle Ausdeutung erscheint unmöglich.' Possibly, a misinterpretation of Kuhn, 'Gliederung,' p. 33, underlies Markey's statement.

105. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 132.

106. Krupatkin, 'From Gmc.,' p. 55.

107. Brunner, Ae Grammatik, § 62 Anm. 2 and § 52 Anm. 1.

107a. Paolo Ramat, Das Friesische (Innsbruck, 1976), p. 72.

108. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' pp. 1180-81 and p. 1369.

109. B. Sjölin, 'Zur Gliederung des Altfriesischen,' Us Wurk 15 (1966), 25-38, esp. 30-31.

110. Brunner, Ae. Grammatik, § 79; and Luick, Hist. Gramm., § 110 and § 367.

111. Bøgholm, English Speech, p. 11.

112. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1158.

113. A. Campbell, 'Some Old Frisian Sound-Changes,' TPS 1939, pp. 78-107, esp. pp. 85-6.

114. Luick, Hist. Grammatik, § 127 Anm. 1 and 2.

115. Gysseling, 'Fries,' p. 20.

116. Brunner, Engl. Sprache I, 80.

117. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 144; and Steller, Afr. Grammatik, § 3[1].

118. See above, No. 22.

119. Bremer, 'Ethnographie,' p. 848.

120. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1214. He repeated his arguments in 'Die Friesen und ihre Sprache,' Die Friesen, hrsg. C. Borchling und R. Muuss (Breslau, 1931), p. 66.

121. The North Frisian spellings in this paragraph stem from Siebs, 'Geschichte,' pp. 1214-15.

122. Cf. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1159 and p. 1233.

123. Arne Spenter, Der Vokalismus der akzentuierten Silben in der Schiermonnikooger Mundart (Kopenhagen, 1968), p. 190.

124. Arne Spenter, Review of Bo Sjölin, Einführung in das Frie-
     sische in BGDSL 92 (1970), 310-14, esp. 312.

125. Spenter, Vokalismus, pp. 191-3.

126. Luick, Hist. Gramm., § 201.

127. See below, No. 29 with further references.

128. Kuhn, 'Gliederung,' p. 28; and Kuhn, 'Friesisch,' p. 39.

129. Brunner, Ae. Grammatik, § 31 Anm.1; and Luick, Hist. Gramm.,
     § 183. Campbell (OE Grammar, § 290) argues in favour of a
     somewhat earlier change.

130. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1206.

131. Luick, Hist. Gramm., § 287; and Knud Schibsbye, Origin and De-
     velopment of the English Language I (København, 1972), p. 27.

132. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1158 and p. 1160.

133. G. Gosses, Grammatica van het Oudfries (mimeographed), p. 5.

134. Schönfeld's Grammatica, § 46 and § 33 Opm. 3; and Franck, Mnl.
     Grammatik, § 35.

135. Taalatlas van Noord- en Zuid-Nederland, Nieuwe Noord- en Zuid-
     Nederlandsche dialectbibliotheek, deel 1, uitgeg. door G.G.
     Kloeke (Leiden, 1939vv.), Afl. 4, No. 3.

136. Cf. Noreen, An. Grammatik, § 88-9; Campbell, OE Grammar,
     § 205-21; and Luick, Hist. Gramm., § 224-34.

137. Gustav Neckel, 'Die verwantschaften der germanischen sprachen
     untereinander,' BGDSL 51 (1927), 1-17.

138. Cf. Nielsen, 'ON and OE,' pp. 1-3.

139. Samuels, 'Kent,' p. 7.

140. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 210.

141. Cf. Brøndum-Nielsen, Gd. Grammatik, § 93, with further refer-
     ences.

142. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 205 and § 218; and Luick, Hist. Gramm.,
     § 221-2.

143. Noreen, An. Grammatik, § 90.

144. Krause, Runeninschriften, pp. 77-8.

145. Noreen, An. Grammatik, § 95[1].

146. See above, No. 27.

147. Neckel, 'Verwantschaften,' pp. 11-15.

148. Hirt, Handbuch I, 49.

149. L.L. Hammerich, 'Über das Friesische,' Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à Holger Pedersen (Aarhus, 1937), pp. 351-8.

150. Peter Skautrup, Det danske Sprogs Historie, 4 vols. (København, 1944-68), § 12.

151. Schwarz, Goten, p. 264.

152. Cf. Nielsen, De germanske sprog, ch. V,3.

153. Otto Höfler, 'Stammbaumtheorie, Wellentheorie, Entfaltungs-theorie,' BGDSL 77 (1955), 30-66, esp. 62-6.

154. Elmer H. Antonsen, 'On defining stages in prehistoric Germanic,' Language 41 (1965), 19-36, esp. 25.

155. Krupatkin, 'From Gmc.,' p. 62.

156. Ibid. pp. 62-3.

156a. The fact that WS exhibits back mutation if a labial or a liquid intervenes, is explained by Niels Davidsen-Nielsen and Henning Ørum ('The Feature "Gravity" in Old English and Danish phonology,' Acta Linguistica Hafniensia 16 (1978), 201-13) in terms of 'gravity' assimilation: 'the non-grave vowels $[i, e, (æ)]$ are changed to the diphthongs $[iu, eo, (æa)]$, whose second components are grave, before a grave consonant followed by a grave vowel' (ibid. p. 207). 'Gravity' can be described as an acoustic(-auditory) feature that marks a given vowel or consonant in whose spectrum the acoustic energy is at a relatively low pitch. This appears to be another indication that back mutation was an OE development that took place independently of similar diphthongizations in other Gmc. languages.

157. Cf. OFris. liude (see above, No. 24).

158. E.g. Siebs ('Geschichte,' p. 1158) and Bøgholm (English Speech, p. 12).

159. Campbell, OE Grammar, § 266.

160. Luick, Hist. Gramm., § 257[2]; and Kuhn, 'Gliederung,' p. 28.

161. Ibid. p. 28.

162. Schönfeld's Grammatica, § 68.

163. Samuels, 'Kent,' p. 9.

164. See below, No. 32.

165. See above, No. 24.

166. See below, No. 29.

167. Luick, Hist. Gramm., § 359.

168. William H. Bennett, 'A West Norse-Frisian-Kentish Parallel,' International Anthropological and Linguistic Review 1 (1953), 71-80.

169. Ibid. p. 76.

170. This tallies with the view of Gysseling, who thinks that the rising diphthongs had become well established in Friesland in the eleventh century. In Ostfriesland the innovation seems to have been on its way in the tenth century ('Fries,' pp. 20-21).

171. Bennett, 'West Norse,' pp. 78-9.

172. Cf. Samuels, 'Kent,' p. 7.

173. Gysseling, 'Fries,' p. 20.

174. Bennett, 'West Norse,' p. 76.

175. Brøndum-Nielsen, Gd. Grammatik, § 176-80.

176. For instances of linguistic exchanges between Friesland and Scandinavia, see Tony Feitsma, 'Sproglige berøringer mellem Frisland og Skandinavien,' Sprog og Kultur 23 (1962), 97-121.

177. Braune, Ahd. Grammatik, § 167.

178. Schönfeld's Grammatica, § 50.

179. Samuels, 'Kent,' pp. 11-14.

180. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' pp. 1280-81.

181. Brøndum-Nielsen, Gd. Grammatik, § 287 Anm. 3 and § 294[5].

182. Today initial voiced spirants are characteristic of only the south-western dialects, cf. The Linguistic Atlas of England, Ph214-19 and Ph226-35. It is interesting, though, that furrow is still pronounced with a v- in dialectal speech all along the south coast from Cornwall to East Sussex (ibid. Ph215).

183. Schönfeld's Grammatica, § 86.

184. Ibid. § 50.

185. Brunner, Ae. Grammatik, § 192 Anm. 1; and Luick, Hist. Gramm., § 703.

186. William H. Bennett, 'The Southern English Development of Germanic Initial $[f \, s \, \text{þ}]$,' Language 31 (1955), 367-71. Rpt. (with minor corrections) in Approaches to English Historical Linguistics, ed. Roger Lass (New York, 1969), pp. 349-54, esp. pp. 353-4.

187. <u>Ibid.</u> p. 351.

188. Hermann M. Flasdieck, 'Die Entstehung des engl. Phonems [ʃ],'
<u>Anglia</u> 76 (1958), 339-410, esp. 363-4; Luick, <u>Hist. Gramm.</u>,
§ 703 Anm. 7.

189. Samuels, 'Kent,' p. 8.

190. Braune, <u>Ahd. Grammatik</u>, § 102^a.

191. Luick, <u>Hist. Gramm.</u>, § 681.

192. Campbell, <u>OE Grammar</u>, § 484.

193. Braune, <u>Ahd. Grammatik</u>, § 99 and § 125 Anm. 1; Holthausen,
<u>Elementarbuch</u>, § 184 and § 222 Anm. 3; Gallée, <u>As. Grammatik</u>,
§ 212^3; van Helten, <u>Aofr. Grammatik</u>, § 115; Siebs, 'Geschichte,'
p. 1263; Franck, <u>Mnl. Grammatik</u>, § 112^5; Noreen, <u>An. Grammatik</u>,
§ 237^2; and Brøndum-Nielsen, <u>Gd. Grammatik</u>, § 290^1.

194. Siebs, 'Geschichte,' p. 1193 and p. 1297; and Steller, <u>Afr.
Grammatik</u>, § 42 Anm. 2.

195. Noreen, <u>An. Grammatik</u>, § 299^5 Anm. 4.

196. Luick, <u>Hist. Gramm.</u>, § 654.

197. Campbell, <u>OE Grammar</u>, § 415.

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