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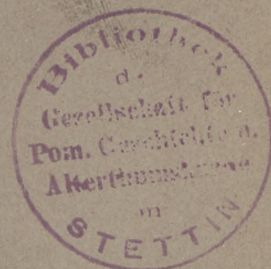
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CRITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS
TO
EARLY ENGLISH SYNTAX

BY

Dr. A. TRAMPE BØDTKER

FIRST SERIES:

I. OF. II. AT, BY, TO. III. NUMERALS, ADVERBS,
CONJUNCTIONS

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CHRISTIANIA

ON COMMISSION BY JACOB DYBWAD

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The much debated question of French influence on English Syntax is not likely to be definitely settled. At the time of the Invasion, Anglo-Saxon was already in a state of rapid evolution. From the greater and more interesting part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries we possess only few and insufficient linguistic documents; our knowledge of Old English is limited. Many apparently new phenomena may also be due to similar constructions in Latin or Scandinavian.

We cannot tell when French syntactical influence began, and have no means of measuring its strength. In some cases it may have been paramount, in others, altogether secondary; but exact proofs cannot be given. Special investigations like those of *for* (Stoffel) and the Absolute Participle in Middle English (Ross) show the difficulty of positive statements. One scholar asserts French influence as probable where another finds it only possible, or perhaps denies it. According to Einkenkel, a large portion of the English Syntax is due to French, while Jespersen, in his 'Growth and Structure of the English Language', passes over the delicate question in significant silence.

I have here — in chapters of very unequal length and plan — tried to show how new constructions may have arisen on native soil, favoured or not by foreign influence. Einkenkel's 'Syntax' in Kluge's *Geschichte der englischen Sprache* (Grundriss der germanischen Philologie I, pp. 1071—1151) offers a convenient starting point in a great many cases. When I leave different assertions of French influence unnoticed, it is not to imply that I subscribe to all of them; but in the absence of new facts there is no need of entering into a discussion of the matter.

French idiom did not only enrich the Vocabulary, it also left considerable traces in English Phraseology.

Set phrases were taken over at an early date, e. g. *cry mercy* (Anc. R. p. 136), French fashion brought the Figurative Negation into vogue¹, measuring by the length of the sword and the spear passed from French Romances into the Middle English literature², and so on. But expressions of this kind hardly belong to Syntax proper and have not, as a rule, been dealt with here³.

Plummer's 'Two Saxon Chronicles' is quoted by year and page; I have used Skeat's edition of the OE. Gospels, but have only had access to Bosworth's edition of Wyclif and Tyndale. Zupitza's edition of Koch's Grammar, Cook's Biblical Quotations, and many other books have not been within my reach. The same is the case with several American publications and most German Dissertations of the last three years.

I have been obliged to introduce a few slight changes as regards orthography and punctuation in some quotations. Modern Scandinavian instances are given in the Dano-Norwegian form, unless stated otherwise.

¹ Hein, Anglia XV. pp. 41—186, pp. 396—472; Sykes, French Elements in Middle English, pp. 24—39; Wülfing, Anglia XXVIII. pp. 53 ff.; W. Comfort, Mod. Lang. Notes 1908, pp. 61—63. Figurative Negations are not so sparingly used in Scandinavian as Sykes supposes.

² This was also imitated in ONorse Translations, e. g. Karlam. Saga 8. 514 *bar hann spjótskaps lengð af hesti sinum*, see G. Cederschiöld, Forn sögur Suðrlanda, P. XXXI.

³ I observe that Modern Philology VI contains an article on 'Old French Influence on Middle English Phraseology', by W. Owen Sypherd.

I. Of.

1. According to Dr. Murray, French *de* played an all-important part in the development of *of*: 'Whether *of* might have come independently in English to be a substitute for the genitive is doubtful. In the expression of racial or national origin, we find *of* and the genitive apparently interchangeable already in the 9th c.; and this might have extended in time to other uses; but the great intrusion of *of* upon the old domain of the genitive . . . was mainly due to the influence of French *de*'¹.

Dr. Bradley is less positive: 'We do not know whether, apart from French influence, the English language would not have evolved this convenient device for obviating the ambiguities arising from the decay of the old inflexions; but imitation of French idiom certainly helped it to attain general currency'².

Dr. Bradley next observes that the many nouns adopted from French naturally formed their genitive after the French pattern. But it is not proved that *of* first made its appearance with French loan-words, nor is there any reason why these words should affect the grammar. Moreover, French loan-words were not very numerous about the middle of the 12th c. when *of* seems to be fairly established.

I think Bradley is more justified in mentioning the nouns which had lost their distinctive inflexions. *Of* set in at a favourable moment when the *s* was yet struggling to become the regular ending of the genitive, at least in the South of England³.

¹ See the N. E. D. *of*, Introduction and XIV.

² The Making of English, p. 59. I have not seen J. Deroquigny, 'A Contribution to the Study of the French Element in English', Lille 1904, and 'La préposition anglaise *of* et l'influence française' in *Revue germanique*, Jul.—Aug. 1905.

³ Draugelattes Beitr. z. Geschichte d. analyt. Kasus im Frühmittelenglischen, Diss. Greifswald 1893, O. Knapp, Die Ausbreitung des flektierten Genitivs auf *-s* im Mittelenglischen, Diss. Heidelberg 1902, W. Svane, Studien zur Casussyntax des Frühmittelenglischen, Diss. Kiel 1904; see further Lindelöf, Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik X, p. 98, *Mémoires de la Société néophilologique à Helsingfors* I, pp. 219 ff.

A few words must be said about the signification of *of* in OE.

Of sometimes corresponds to Latin *ab*, but more commonly to *de* or *ex*. *Ab* comes nearer to *fram*. Between *of* and *fram* an interchange may often take place, apparently without any change of meaning, e. g. after verbs of healing, freeing, and the like. Wulfstan does not neglect the opportunity of writing H. 195,22 *of eastdæle to westdæle and fram sūddæle to norðdæle middaneardes*. Later on, *fram*, on the whole, extended its scope, and we are now often obliged to render *of* by 'from'¹. But the OE. sense which gave rise to the enormous extension of *of* in MidE. as a substitute for the genitive case was 'out of'. Thus Oros 36,23 *Moyses lædde Israhela folc of Egyptum* means that they were led out of the country where they were formerly residing. It is true that *fram* also occurs: Oros. 1,16 *Moyses lædde Israhela folc from Egyptum ofer þone Readan Sæ*, but *from* indicates only the starting point, 'away from Egypt'; the thought dwells on the distance the people were traversing. I entirely disagree with Wülfiŋg, who says (Syntax II. p. 366) that *of* and *fram* are used alike in Ps. 21, 8 *Drihten, þu eart se þe me gelæddest of* (Latin *de*) *minre modor innode; þu wære min tohopa, syþþan ic fram* (Latin *ab*) *minre modor breoston gelæd wæs; compare the following þinre gymenne ic wæs beboden; syððan ic of hire innode eode, þu wære min God: in te jactatus sum ex utero, de ventre matris meæ Deus meus es tu, and further 21,9 Ne gewit þu fram me: ne discesseris a me. I am well aware that the difference is often effaced, but this does not alter the fact that *of* essentially meant 'out of', and kept this meaning also in figurative uses.*

Before we consider the use of *of* as a substitute for the genitive, it will be convenient to take a general view of its development in various other directions.

2. OE. *of* introduces the agent after a verb in the passive, as Mat. XIV. 24 *wæs þ̅ scypp of þam yþum totorfod* jactabatur fluctibus. Less frequently used than *fram* in OE., *of* begins to gain ground on the latter preposition in S. Chron. E, F and in the interpolations of A. *Be* appears later.

After verbs like *ongietan*, *oncnāwan*, *of* indicates that by means of which something is known. The primary sense 'out of, from'² still sufficiently distinguishes *of* from *be*, *þurh*, and *on* in similar uses. In

¹ Cf. the survey which Franz gives in his Shakespeare-Grammatik, p. 240.

² Compare Luke 1. 18 *hwanun wāt ic þis* (unde hoc sciam), Wycl. translates *wherof shall I wite this*, Tynd. *whereby*, Orm 199 *þurh whatt mazz ic nu witenn þiss?*

MidE. *of* attains a more strongly marked instrumental sense: Orm 10 137 *off þiss kirrtell mahht tu zét deoplikerr unnderrstannðenn*, Trin. H. 91 *of þe calice understoððeð tocne of sehtnesse*, Lamb. H. 81 *ane forbisne of twa bronðes*, cf. Bo. IV. 19 *bispell bi þære sunnan* (Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 335).

OE. *of* in an instrumental sense was chiefly used with abstracts, see examples in Wülfing's Syntax II. p. 446, the NED. *of* VI. *Gefyllan of* (see also Shipley, Gen. Case in AS. Poetry, p. 36) = 'fill with a substance' has affinities with the partitive sense: Ælfc. H. I² p. 402 *of ðære lafe wæron gefyllede seofan spyrtan* (= Mark VIII. 8 et sustulerunt quod superaverat de fragmentis septem sportas, also Mat. XV. 37); Reg., Canterb. Interl. Hy. 9 (10), 53 *hingriende he gefylde of godum esurientes implevit bonis*, from Luke I. 53, which in the AS. Gospel is translated *mid gode* (Wycl., Tynd. *with*); Stowe, Reg., Canterb. Interl. Ps. 64, 10 *flod godes gefylled is of wætre flumen dei repletum est aqua*, Vesp. MS. *mid*¹, (MidE. Prose Ps., ed. Bulbring: *of*) and similarly 60, 12, etc.², compare Reg. Canterb. Stowe Interl. Ps. 49, 19, *muþ þin genihtsumude of niðe (yfele)*: os tuum abundavit nequitia, in Vesp. MS. *mid niðe*, the Paris Ps. reads *ful unrihtes*. The local meaning is passing into instrumental Cart. Sax. II. p. 367 *ic wille þ Æffe feornige of þam prim ðalum æt Ingepenne þa Godes þeawas*.

As illustrative of a more extended use, I mention Ælfc. H. I² p. 448 *of flysum minra sceapa wæron gehlywde ðearfena sidan*. (Lat. *de*, Job. XXXI. 20), cf. *of* with the passive form. Ælfc. Lives II. 52 *þæs toslitenan rægeles . . . of þam maria sumne hire lichaman bewæfde*, Ælfc. H. I² p. 400 *ða gereordiað of Drihtnes hláfum*, ib. I² p. 534 *hē forgeaf him bigleofan of heora bodunge*, Luke IV. 4 *se man ne leofað be hlāfe anum ac of ælcum godes wôrde*, Lat. *in . . . in*, and similarly *be . . . of* in Ælfc. Lives II. 40³, which further contains *ic eom aféðed of þam genihtsumestan wist-mettum minre fyllle, þæt is mid þam hihte minre hæle*⁴, Canterb. Reg. Interl. Ps. 59, 5 *þu drænctest us of wine*

¹ Paris Ps. *Beoð Godes streamas gode wætere fæste gefylde*.

² *Full of* is quoted by the NED. *of* VI. from the S. Chron. E. 1137, but it occurs earlier: Northumb. Gloss John XXI. 11 *drog vel þ nett on eorðe full mid miclum fiscum vel of miclum fiscum hunteantig ⁊ fiftig driim vel ðreo*: traxit rete in terram plenam magnis piscibus centum quinquaginta tribus, Reg. Interl. Ps. 13³ *ðara* (Canterb. *þære mud*) *of awyrgednisse ⁊ of biternisse ful is* quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est and 9, 27; further Angl.-Sax. Min. *handa mine fulle synd of blode*, Logeman, Angl. XI. p. 117.

³ The latter from Mat. IV. 4, where the AS. Gospel reads *be hlāfe . . . be ælcon worde*. Orm. 11670 *bi bræð . . . bi þatt word*.

⁴ In the Vesp. Interl. Ps. etc., 80, 17 *foeðeð hie of smeorwe hwætes ⁊ of stane mid hunge gereordeð hie* we have of rendering Lat. *ex. and de*.

onbryrdednesse potasti nos vino compunctionis, but Vesp., Stowe MSS. *mid*, and similarly in the Paris Ps. *mid wynsume wine drenchtest*.

The Interlinear Psalter Glosses contain several other instances of an instrumental *of*. They do not, of course, merit an absolute confidence, but are worthy of notice as *of* does not correspond to any preposition in the Latin text: Reg., Canterb. 50,14 *of gaste aldorlicum getryme me spiritu principali confirma me*; Reg., Stowe, Canterb. 5,13 *swa of scylde godes willan þines ðu gehelmudest us ut scuto bonæ voluntatis tuæ coronasti nos*, Vesp. *mid*, like the Paris Ps., MidE. Pr. Ps. *wyþ*; Reg., Canterb. 59,7 *halne me do of swiþran þinre saluum me fac dextera tua*, Vesp. *mid*; Reg., Canterb. 65,10 *of fyre us þu amyreddest swa swa mid fyre amered bið seolfor*, igne nos examinasti sicut igne examinatur argentum, Vesp. *mid* (the MidE. Pr. Ps. *wyþ*); Reg., Canterb. 92,1 *he begyrde hine of mægene precinxit se virtute*, Vesp. *mid* (like the Paris Ps., MidE. Pr. Ps. *wyþ*). Canterb. Interl. Hy. 8,20 *þa of deorwyrdum blode þu alysddest quos precioso sanguine redemisti*¹.

The context seems to give an instrumental sense to *of* in S. Chron. D 1067, p. 201 *se forewitola Scyppend wiste on ær hwæt he of hyre gedón habban wolde* (cf. p. 12).

3. OE. *of* introduces motive, sometimes reason or cause, especially with abstracts after an intransitive verb, the primary sense being easily perceptible. Otherwise the causal use is rarer: Ælfc. H. I² p. 38 *ne dránc hé . . . nán ðæra wætan ðe menn of druncniad*. 'Die of' (Scand. 'dø af') occurs a few times in the S. Chron. E: 1124, p. 255 *stærþ of hungor* (= 1137), 1119, p. 249 *forðferde se eorl . . . of þam wundan*. *Of* here supersedes OE. *on*².

The causal use extends in MidE.:

S. Chron. E 1083 *hit com of þæs abbotes unwisdome* (usual)
 > Anc. R. 54 *hwat com of þet ilke biholdunge ? . . . þerefter of þen ilke* (= because of the same) *weren trouðen tobrokene of heie patriarkes*, ib. 158 *ne durste he wunien among men . . . þauh hit nere of nowiht elles bute of speche ane*, Orm 10065 *þez3 ne shulenn unnderrfon nan mede . . . off þatt tezz didenn her summ god*, ib. 5548 *þatt hemm baþe beo þe bett off þatt tezz neh te biggenn*, ib. 19863 *zho toc wrappe z hēte z niþ till Sannt Johan þæroffe*, ib. 3880 *lufenn Crist z lofenn himm*

¹ Further *of* = *mid* Interl. Ps. 9,7; 17,31; 17,33; 34,13; 44,8; 67,31, etc.

² Cf. Wülfing, Syntax II. pp. 501 f. (also the instrumental case, ib. I. p. 274), Belden, The Prepositions *in, on*, etc., in Anglo-Saxon Prose, p. 29.

Ʒ wurrþenn off þatt he wollde, ib. 4904 zellpenn off þin duhtiz-lezȝc . . . rosenm off þin hazherrlezȝc¹, Laȝ. 24 227 heore zeolp makeden of muchele biȝeten, Laȝ. 28 081 weri of sorȝen. Lamb. H. 7 crist heom milcie of heore misdede.

In the last instances, *of* introduces the cause of emotion; hence *of* came to denote the object of emotion. It blends with *of*, indicating the subject-matter of speech and thought. Between cause and object no distinct line can be drawn:

Orm 9814 was modiz folc . . . off þatt it was off Abrahamess childre, ib. 9835 modiznesse off þezȝre kinn, Vic. a. V. 141, 10 ða ðe swa ne bieð . . . hie is ðarof swiðe sari, Trin. H. 49 habben sorinesse and reuðe of ure synnes, Vic. a. V. 65,6 hauen rewðe oðer mildce of ðe (see also ib. 21, 20—22), Orm 5566 himm reoweþþ off hiss aȝhenn woh, ib. 13 862 soþ reowwsing off alle ure woh, Lamb. H. 81 haueð reunesse of þisse forwundede, Laȝ. 27 147 of Arðure he hafde muchele kare, Orm 18 444 he blisseþþ . . . off þiss bridgumess spæche, ib. 3180 was gladd inoh Ʒ bliþe off hire dere child, ib. 783 tu shaltt off þatt child habbenn gladdshipe Ʒ blisse, Anc. R. 90 he is gelus of alle þine lates, Wint. Reg. Ben. 23,35 of domesdaz beon ofdrad² and of hellewite agrisan, Laȝ. 31 164 heo gunnen dreden of Cadwalanes deden³.

In this use *of* touches OE. *for* marking a distinct cause⁴, *on* (*in*), *be*, *ymb*, *ofer*, marking, with different shades, 'where':

Luke II. 20 god wuldriende Ʒ heriende *on* (Lat. *in*, Wycl. *in*, Tynd. *for*) eallum þam ðe hi gehyrdon, Vic. a. V. 151,22 þat ðu godd ne herize and þanke *of* alle gode; Past. C. 54,8 *for* ðære genyhte ðæs flowendan welan he blissað⁵, ib. 411,12 mara gefæa wyrð *on* hefonum *for* anum hreowsiendum ðonne *ofer* nigon & hundnigontig ryhtwisra⁶ = Luke XV. 7 swa byð *on* heofone blis *be* (Lat. *super*, Wycl. *on*, Tynd. *over*) anum synfullum . . . ma þonne *ofer* (Lat. *super*, Wycl. *of*, Tynd. *over*) nigon Ʒ nigontigum rihtwisra; Luke II, 33 þa wæs his fæder Ʒ his modor wundriende *be* (Lat. *super*, Wycl. *on*, Tynd. *att*) þam

¹ Cf. OE. *mōdigian on* and *gieldan fram*, Wūlfing, Syntax II, p. 380: Oros, 220, 10 þonne hie from gesælgum tidum gilpað.

² This blends with *of* introducing the agent after a verb in the passive: S. Chron. E. 1083, p. 215 þa wæron þa munecas swiðe afeæde of heom, cf. also *ege of* 18.

³ Also in ONorse *af* introduces the cause and object of emotion: Háv. 69,3 *sumr er af sonom sell, sumr af frændom*, Gebhardt, Beiträge zur Bedeutungslehre der altwestnord. Präpos. p. 85.

⁴ Similarly later e. g.: Or. Lady 48 (Misc. p. 162) *for mine sunnes ich am sari*.

⁵ Orm uses no preposition 3408 *tokenn . . . Godd to lofenn Ʒ to þannkenn all þatt teȝȝ haflenn herrd*.

⁶ Wūlfing, Syntax II, pp. 345 ff., *blissian on*, etc., id. pp. 471 f.

þe be him gesæde wæron = Orm 7633 wundredenn baþe *off* all þatt hemm wass cwiddedd tære *off* Criste; Luke II. 47 þa wundrodon hig ealle þe gehyrdon *be* (Lat. *super*, Wycl. *on*, Tynd. *at*) his gleaw-scipe ⁊ hys andswarum = Orm 8936 hemm þuhhte mikell wunn derr *off* þatt he wass full zæp ⁊ wis to swarenn ⁊ to frazznenn, cf. Anc. R. 8 gif him þunched wunder ⁊ selkuð *of* swuch onswere, Laz. 21967 seollic þuhte Howel *of* swulchere isihðe, and wondrede wide *bi* þan watere flode; Luke II. 18 ealle þa ðe gehyrdon wundredon *be* (Lat. *de*, Wycl. *of*, Tynd. *att*) þam þe him þa hyrdas sædon = Orm 3416 iwhillc mann . . . forrwunndredd wass *þæroffe*; similarly *wun-drian be* Luke IV. 22, Lat. *in*, Wycl. *in*, Tynd. *att*, Luke IV. 32, Lat. *in*, Wycl. *in*, Tynd. *at*¹; Luke III. 19 þa he wæs fram him geðread *be* ðære herodiadiscan hys broðor wife ⁊ *be* eallum yfelum þe herodes dyde = Lat. *cum corripereetur ab illo de Herodiade uxore fratris sui, et de omnibus malis quæ fecit Herodes*, paraphrased by Orm 19857 Sannt Johan hæfde þe king bigripenn *off* hiss sinne, Wycl. whanne he was blamyd . . . *for* Herodias . . . and *of* alle euels, Tynd. *for* . . . *for*, cf. Vic. a. V. 141,13 ure hierte . . . us ne wreihð *of* nane senne, Anc. R. 70 etwited him *of* his unðeau, ib. 54 hwarof kalenges tu me. OE. Mænan *be* or *ymb*², complain *of*, MidE. *of*: Vic. a. V. 137,29 *of* ðelliche unsali menn bemaneð ðe apostel, Anc. R. 64 Godes prophete makede swuche mone *of* eien.

Wreken of probably belongs to the same category:

Vic. a. V. 105,29 þa ðe willed hem seluen wreken of unrihte ðe hem is idon, Trin. H. 51 he nam stronge wrache þer-of, cf. Mor. O. 205 (in Lamb. H.) God nom swa muchele wrake for are misdede.

But, in '*be wreken of*' or '*he wrekeþ him of*' *of*, also introduces the offender, the cause and object of the vengeance taken (compare above 'pity of something, of somebody'):

Vic. a. V. 5,23 he is wel iwreken of his unwine, Anc. R. 286 [þe demare þet] awrekeð him of þe, Gen. a. Ex. 3281 ðus is israel of hem wreken, Havelok 544 þe of Godard wreke(n)!, etc.³.

¹ A similar blending of cause and object appears in conjunctive clauses: Luke I. 21 *þ̅ folc wundrodon þ̅ he on þam temple læt wæs*: Lat. *mirabantur quod tardaret*, Orm 218 *þuhhte mikell wunn derr forrwhi þe preost swa lanngc wass*, Wycl. *thei wondriden for he tariede*, Tynd. *mervelled that he taryed*.

² AS. Reg. Ben. 14,12 *ne sceal he syfian ne mænan ymb woruldspeda*.

³ OE. *wrecan hine on his feondum* continues in MidE, e. g. Or. Lady 43 (Misc. p. 162) *awrec þe nu on me*, Gen. a. Ex. 2028 *ghe ðhenkeð on him for to ben wreken*, etc.

4. OE. *be* (besides *ymb* = mod. 'about') indicates the subject-matter after 'speak, sing, ask, write, be wise', and the like. In headings and after some verbs, as *secgan*, *be* may interchange with *on* (thought resting on something). The primary meaning 'news from' is passing into 'news of, about' in *secgan fram* (ONorse *segja frá*), hardly different from *secgan of*, and in *singan fram*¹. *Of* thus gradually came to denote many relations, expressed in ONorse by *af* (Fritzner, Dict. *af* 23) and in German by *von*. *Sprecan of* occurs in the S. Chron. E 1129, p. 259 *þær scolden sprecon af ealle Godes rihtes*. But, by that time, *of* had already attained general currency: S. Chron. E 1129, p. 260 *þa weorð hit eall of earcedæcnes wifes ⁊ of preostes wifes þ̅ hi scolden hi forlæten*, 'it was bespoken (resolved) in regard to the wives', S. Chron. E 675, p. 37 *þas gewrite of Medeshamstede*, corresponding to **gewritan of*. The same passage contains twice *ic eam witnesse of þas gewrite*² (passing into 18 obj. gen.).

'Care of' is another early instance of the same kind, OE. *carian ymb*, *leohtlice lætan ymb*: S. Chron. D 1076, p. 211 *se kyngc let lihtlice of*, ib. E 1123, p. 252 *of his gyfe naht ne rohton*, ib. E 1137, p. 265 *was heom naht þar of*, Wint. Reg. Ben. 19,24 *þat heo ne beo recceleas, ne litel ne telle of þare saule hælpe . . . ⁊ ni mon mare gyeme of eorðlice þingum* parvi pendens salutem animarum sibi commissarum, plus gerat sollicitudinem de rebus transitoriis³, ib. 31,15 *gif ic eadmodlice ne lett of me sylue*, Mor. O. 260 (Lamb. H) *lutel let of godes borde*, ib. 292 *heom nas nout of godes bode*, etc.⁴.

The preceding instances warrant the conclusion that *of* was regularly established very much earlier than the literary sources⁵ allow us to ascertain after verbs, adjectives, and nouns meaning 'tell, teach, learn, know, think, lie, own, show, advise, betoken, understand, answer, listen, hear, ask, bid, remind, trust; be certain, uncertain, »ware«, ignorant, distrustful; word, speech, tidings, teaching, belief, knowledge, lesson, warning, heed, hope', etc., etc.

5. An example like La3. 14 552 *lust us nu lauerd king of wre leod-runen* is not essentially different from those quoted above, but *of*,

¹ Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 380.

² *Witnesse* is here the person who gives evidence. *Witnes to* appears in late AS. Charters besides a genitive.

³ AS. Vers. 14,11 *ne sceal him na lytel þincean . . . þara . . . Ne sceal he syfian ne mænan ymb woruldsþeda*.

⁴ This passes into *of* in expressions of emotion (3 p. 9).

⁵ Lamb. H., Cott. Vesp. H., Trin. H., Anc. R., Orm, La3., etc.

loosened from *lust*, approaches 'in respect of', 'concerning'¹. This vague translation seems still more appropriate in Orm 10 165 *we findenn uppornn Latin boc off þise Puplicaness*, ib. 9887 *blind off Godd to enawenn* ('ignorant of'), and further ib. 9401 *all swa wass off þatt illke folc* (this was also the case with the same people), where the context does not suggest any notion like 'know, find'.

Also in this free use, *of* encroached on *be*: Past. C. 182,23 *ne sculon we eac forgitan hu hit wæs be Saule ðæm kyninge*².

The widely spreading sense 'in respect of' is not only due to an extension of 'speak of', etc., but to a weakened conception of the primary sense, in general.

This is particularly clear in *do of* supplying *dōn be* (*dōn ymb*): S. Chron. D 1072, p. 208 *þa menn ealle he tōc ⁊ dyde of heom þ he wolde*³, Orm 2383 *þatt he þæroffe shollde don all whattse hiss wille wære*, Anc. R. 4 *al þet me eauer ded of þe oðer*⁴, kindred to Laz. 22 659 *of al þat þu bizinnest þu dest þine iwille* ib. 20 839 *ah of him bið iwurden swa bið of þan voxe*, Vic. a. V. 37,31 *hwat swo æure of him betide*.

Lamb. H. 147 *þet faire ikunde þet god haued on him idon of saule and of likame* shows *of* in a free position approaching the possessive use. Wint. Reg. Ben. 145,15 *hyre seocnesse ægðer ze of licaman ze of zepance sibsumlice heom beotwene forbere* renders Lat. *infirmitates suas sive corporum sive morum patientissime tolerant*, and corresponds to AS. Vers. 131,18 *hi mid geþylde him betweoh betende forberen þa untrumnessa hira lichamena and þa tyddernessa hira þeawa*. The possessive pronoun *hyre* and the place of the adjunct caution us, however, against taking *of licaman ze of zepanke* as an ordinary prepositional genitive (a kind of *x*-genitive). *Of* has deviated half-way, and 'deriving from', 'originating in' has developed into a vague 'relating to', 'on the part of', French *de la part de*⁵. I compare Lamb. H. 21 *þes þu hefdest mare deruenesse on þisse liue of þine licome, þes þu scoldest*

¹ Cf. already the above example (4) S. Chron. E 1129, p. 260 *þa weorð hit eall of earcedæcnes wifes*, etc.

² Wülfling, Syntax II. p. 333, cf. also id. pp. 334—336.

³ ONorse *gera af* (Fritzner, Dict. af 15).

⁴ Mod. *do with* continues OE. *dōn wip*. The NED. (*of* 26 d) quotes as the earliest example of *do of* Rob. Glouc. Rolls 7106 *of þe croune of engelond he nuste wat best to do*.

⁵ Cf. Wint. Reg. Ben. 145, 31 *we habbað arwyrdnesse on þeawe* = *honestatem morum*, AS. Vers. 132,16 *godra þeawa arwyrdnesse*.

*hersumian þe bet þine leofe drihten*¹, perhaps with a slight causal shade.

Already the S. Chron. E offers several examples of this sense:

1124, p. 254 *six men spillde of here ægon ⁊ of here stanes*. In the Glossary Plummer translates *spillan* 'destroy, mutilate, deprive'. I suppose that 'deprive' refers to the present passage, but this sense does not exist in OE., and is not registered in MidE. by Stratmann-Bradley. The construction might be compared with *bescierian of*, *forrædan of*, and with S. Chron. E 1091, p. 226 *wearð Eadgar æpeling belandod of þam þe se eorl him æror þær to handa gelæten hæfde*, but this does not prove anything as to a new meaning of *spillan*. Even 'mutilate' must be considered as a somewhat free translation. The passage immediately following runs: *Fela soðfeste men sæidon þ þær wæron manege mid micel unrihte gespilde*, and gives evidence that *spillan of* literally meant 'destroy with regard to'. Lamb. H. 17 offers a similar example: *hit is riht þet me hem spille, forþan betere hit is þet heo beon ispilld of heore licome þenne mid alle fordon to þes deofles hond. Gif þin nexta freond agult wið þe beo hit of ane þinge beo hit of oðre alswa moni deð, bide hine luueliche þet he þe do riht.*

963, p. 116 *ic . . . gife . . . freedom Sancte Petres mynstre Medeshamstede of kyng ⁊ of biscop* is more doubtful. *Of* is perhaps privative (OE. *ālīesan of*, etc.), and may have displaced *wiþ*, the usual preposition introducing persons, as some lines above *hu hi hit freodon wið king ⁊ wið biscop ⁊ wið ealle weoruld þeudom*, 675, p. 35 *hi hit heafden gefreod wið kyning ⁊ wið biscop of ealle þeudom*. At any rate, *of* being separated from *freodom* advances towards a laxer sense, as e. g. in Lamb. H. 83 *ho of hire meiden-had nawiht ne wemde*.

1137, p. 265 [*he*] *begæt thare privilegies, an of alle þe landes of þabbotrice, ⁊ an oþer of þe landes þe lien to þe circewican, ⁊ gif he leng moste liuen, alse he mint to don of þe horderwycan* = 'privileges, one for all the lands of the abbacy, and another for all the lands which belonged to the [office of] sacrist; and had he lived longer, he intended having done the same for the [office of] treasurer'².

¹ Also Anc. R. 26 *Almihti God, Feder, ⁊ Sune, ⁊ soðfest Holi Gost, also ze þreo beoð o God, ⁊ o mihte, o wisdom ⁊ o luue, ⁊ tauh is mihte iturnd to þe in holi write nomeliche, þu deorewurde ueder; to þe wisdom, of þine Sune; to þe luue, of þe Holi Gost*, cf. *Ælfc. H.* 1¹ p. 324 . . . *his Sunu þæt is his Wisdom, and se Halga Gast se ðe is heora begra Lufu and Willa*, similarly *ib.* 1² p. 604 and p. 606, see also *Ælfc. Lives I.* 12 *se sunu is þæs fæder wisdom of him and mid him*, etc.

² Stevenson's version, Plummer, S. Chron. Pt. II, p. 310.

1123, p. 252 *se ærcebiſcop ſwor him underþeodnyſſe of ealle ða þing þ̅ se papa him on leide*¹.

Orm 3068 baþe droghenn all till an off Jesu Cristess come, ib. 19871 itt zede off Sannt Johan all affterr Godes wille, ib. 7274 tiſſ bilimmpeþþ wel till Crist off þatt he comm to manne, Vic. a. V. 17,1 ða fif wittes ðe god me betahte to lokin of mine wrecche lichame, Trin. H. 119 þe holi goſt . . . alihte hem of brihtere ⁊ of feſtere bileue, Vic. a. V. 13,8 herof ic am ſceldi, Orm. 17968 ec iſſ ned ⁊ godd off me þatt I nu forþwarrd wannſe (Paraphr. John III. 31), ib. 11675 þin egginng iſſ off flæſheſſ luſt ⁊ nohht off ſawleſſ fode, ib. 11695 þe33 hallzhenn Cristeſſ flæſh off bræd ⁊ Cristeſſ blod te33 hallzhenn off win, Vic. a. V. 71,11 ifonded of religiun, Anc. R. 46 3if ze . . . gluffeð of wordes (blunder in words).

The ſenſe ‘on the part of’, ‘relating to’ often appears after adjectives. The different ſources have blended, but in ſeveral caſes the ſenſe ‘out of’ iſſ ſtill perceptible, ſometimes cauſal, or akin to the above *ſeocneſſe . . . of licaman . . . of zepance*. *Of*, on the whole, correſponds to OE. *on (in)*², and it iſſ curious to obſerve that the earlieſt inſtance I have met with, ſeems to contain a ſubſtitution. In the Interl. Vesp. Ps. 4,3 *uſque quo grave(s) corde* iſſ tranſlated *hu longe *hwefie on heortan*, but the Reg. and Canterb. MSS. have *hu lange hefige of heortan*³, like the MidE. Proſe Ps. *why ben ze heuy of herte?* I do not dare to attach too much importance to this early uſe, but quote ſome MidE. paſſages of various kinds:

Orm 5074 all þatt æfre iſſ god inn me off kinde ⁊ ec off dede (cf. Orm 18314 *icc amm mann off bodiz ⁊ off ſawle*),

¹ Lat. *ex* ſeems to prevail in *bote of*: AS. Min. (Logeman, Angl. XI. p. 116) *ſode of eallum þam ⁊ þeſlice me þu ſylle dædbote* (veramque ex omnibus hiſ et condignam mihi tribuas penitentiam), S. Chron. C 1052, p. 182 *he dyde ealles to lytle dædbote of þære Godes are þe he hæfde of manegum halgun ſtowum*, Mor. O. 314 (Lamb. H) *of alle vre gultes unne uſ come bote*, Anc. R. 28 *ibote of þeos bruchen*, etc.

² See examples Wülſing, Syntax II. pp. 495 ff. (*on*), Belden, The Prepositions *in, on* etc. in AS. Proſe p. 32 (*on*), Krohmer, Altenglisch *in und on*, Diſſ. Berlin 1904, p. 44 (*on* and a few examples of *in*).

On (in), of courſe, continues in MidE. A few examples will ſuffice: Lamb. H. 115 *ða beoð wrecchan on gaſte*, Prov. Alfr. (Misc. p. 103) *he weſ wiſ on hiſ word and war on hiſ werke*, Orm 17983 *ſoffaſt i ſpæche*, ib. 9713 *ſinnðenn . . . i þohht ⁊ ec i ðerne dedeſſ biforenn Drihhtin fule menn (on, in indicating ‘where’)*.

Scandinavian ſimilarly uſe *i* and *af*. It iſſ true that this *af* in the main continues the ONorſe prepoſition *at*, but in ſeveral expreſſions the old language made uſe of *af*: *ágætr af át* (ſee Falk & Torp, Dansk-norſkens ſyntax, p. 324) *frægr af hinum beztum lutum, ek gerða þik ſem meſtan mann af öllu* (Fritzner, Dict. *af* 22). German makes a diſtinction between *klug an geiſt, ſchön von geſtalt*. Compare Italian *egli era grande della perſona, e bello e piacevole nel viſo*, Boc. Dec. Giorn. II. Nov. 2.

³ The Stowe MS. haſ no prepoſition. The Paris Ps. renders the paſſage *hu lange wyllge beon ſwa heardheorte wið Gode?*

Vic. a. V. 131,8 hali maiden of þanke (holy in thoughts), Laz. 22236 næs in nane londe maide nan swa hende of speche & of dede, and of tuhtle swiðe gode, ib. 28853 þis ilke wes a god kinge, buten of þere sunne, Lamb. H. 7 3ef we beod . . . godfructe þurh-ut of alle þinge, Anc. R. 158 3ung of zeres, Havelok 345 of bodi he was þe beste knicth, ib. 1648 þicke in þe brest of bodi long, ib. 107 of word of wepne he was bold, Horn 188 [he was] of wit þe beste, Orm 16954 unnwis mann iss blunnt ⁊ blind off herrtess e3he sihhte ib. 11020 sinnelæs off bodiz ⁊ off sawle, Vic. a. V. 109,10 me ne auh to bien hersum bute of gode (= in good things), ib. 81,19 hem he is ilich of werkes, ib. 139,22 senneleas and scameleas . . . of ates and of drenches.

We consider the following examples separately:

Orm 4698 *full kisstiz mann off whattse Godd te lenepþ* belongs, no doubt, to 'give out of': Ælfc. H. I² p. 102 *dæl of ðam ðe ðe God forgeaf*, like ONorse *gjöfull (mildr) af gulli* (Fritzner, *Dict. af* 22). Similarly, Mor. O. 264 (Lamb. H.) *weren to gredi of solure and of golde* with a partitive shade, cf. Laz. 27886 *3if heo 3irnen wolden of Ardures golden*, ib. 27301 *for heo al mid wronge wilneden of ure londe*. Orm 12141 *wurþenn riche off eorþlic þing* is probably connected with 'full of' (2). 'Sackless, free of' occurs in late OE. Charters: Diplom. Angl. p. 646 *Willelm . . . cwæð Wulfric Píg freoh ⁊ saccles of þa lande*, ib. p. 645 *Aðelicc . . . cwæð Hrodolf . . . saccles of elcre crauigge; . . . Rotberd . . . cwæð saccles Willelm . . . of Poldrahamlande ⁊ of elcre craufigge*. *Of* is privative, as in OE. *clænsian of, hāl of*; I suppose, however, that this meaning became extinct in MidE.: Vic. a. V. 9,14 *sacleas of ðessere senne*, leading into Orm 13858 *wasstmelæs of alle gode dedess*. Lamb. H. 157 *weren stille of hore wope* runs parallel to 'cease from', like Lamb. H. 47 *þa erming saule habbeð ireste inne helle of heore muchele pine*. In all these cases the sense 'in respect of' became more or less prevalent.

6. In many of the constructions mentioned in the preceding sections, MidE. *of* apparently represents OE. *on*, and the question arises whether *of*, particularly in the sense 'in respect of', is not largely due to a confusion suggested by phonetic likeness. The reduction of *on* (*an*) to *o* (*a*) belongs to the OE. period. *O* for *of* is later. The NED. quotes the earliest instance from Curs. Mund., but *o* occurs already in Orm. A (NED. from Wyclif) in S. Chron. E 1087, p. 223 *Rodbeard a Mundbræg* looks too suspicious, in spite of the syntactical legitimacy of *of Mundbræg*.

We consider, in the following, some doubtful cases of an early blending.

Of is perhaps due to a clerical error in Lamb. H. 127 *we sculen markian þet tacne of þere halie rode. In qua triumphavit rex angelorum. þet is of þere rode of hwem englan king ouercom þene deofel*, or *of* may denote 'out from'¹. S. Chron. E 661 *gehergode Wulfhere Pending of Æscsedune* is certainly a blunder, as A has *of*, BC *on*. Trin. H. 181 *ilch man of his wise noted his swinhc swilch se he is to iteied, clerc on his wise, criht on his wise* contains, in the first instance, the same *of* as in OE: Blickl. Hom. 31 *þás cyþnesse Drihten nam of þisse wisan*. Lofs, Lefdi (OEH. I p. 207) *him on hokerunge . . . him of scornunge* distinguishes between the two prepositions. Morris translates '(put) on him in mockery' . . . 'given him in scorn', but *of* may as well indicate reason, like Scand. 'af foragt'; *on* expresses purpose 'zum Schimpf', compare OE. *on bismar*, etc. Lamb. H. 131 *þe de sawed on blescunge he scal mawen of blescunge* (repeated 137) renders II Cor. IX. 6 *qui seminat in benedictionibus de benedictionibus et metet*; in the corresponding passages Trin. H. 153, 159, the scribe did not notice the difference and put *on* in both places. Wint. Reg. Ben. 31,14 *ne ic ne ferde on michele þinga, ne ic of wunderlican þingan me ne bestag*: 'neque ambulavi in magnis neque in mirabilibus super me'², is more difficult to explain. We may perhaps translate 'I did not wander in high things, nor exalt myself above (out of) wonderful things'.

It is difficult to say whether the decline of West-Saxon *on* might cause some confusion with *of*. Anglian *in* could not, at any rate, favour any blending. *On* and *of* were, on the whole, kept distinct in MidE. A confusion as e. g. in *of eiper of her hedes a crowne he sette* (Parton. Add. MS. 35 288, Brit. Mus. f. 153b.) could not have any serious consequences. But in special cases in which a likeness of sense was already at hand, a substitution might more easily take place, and it is possible that this did happen with some of the constructions we have mentioned, e. g. *wreken of*. In the sense 'in respect of' *of* and *on* were liable to confusion, but they may also express different shades of meaning, as Curs. M. 10613 Gött. MS., etc., *as scho of body wex* against Cott. MS. *on hir licame*. *Of* was furthermore supported by French *de*, which in the Old language was more used in this sense than it is now.

7. *Of* indicating the material (out) of which anything is made was common in OE. after the verbs *wyrcean*, *timbran*, and the like: Ælfc. H.

¹ It is not instrumental, cf. the following *scala per quam : leddre furh hwam*.

² The passage is taken from Ps. 130,2 (131,2). The Ps. Versions do not afford any clue.

I² p. 402 *spyrtē bið . . . of riæum gebrōden, oððe of palmtwygum*, ib. p. 494 *mid feower horsum of golde agōten*. In adnominal use, e. g. Mat. III. 4 *reaf of olfenda hærum*, a verb is easily suggested to the mind, cf. Ælfc. H. I¹ p. 352 *eal his reaf wæs awefen af olfendes hærum* (= Blickl. Hom. 169 *of olfenda hærum awunden*); Ælfc. Lives I. 100 *ge-seah þa anlicnyssa ealle to-cwysede gyldena and sylfrena, and sume of smyltinga, sume of cristallan*. Later instances: S. Chron. E 1070, p. 205 *hi . . . namen þa þe kynehelm of ure Drihtnes heafod eall of smeate golde, namen þa þet fotspure . . . þ wæs eall of read golde . . . hi namen fiftene mycele roden ge of golde ge of seolfre*¹.

Of = 'consisting of' S. Chron. E 963, p. 115 *he macode þær twa abbotrice, an of muneca oðer of nunna*. In S. Chron. E 1001, p. 133 *þa gesomnode man þær ormate fyrde of Defenisces folces ⁊ Sumorsætisces*², of supplants a genitivus generis.

Of in partitive expressions is rare in OE. poetry³, while instances abound in OE. prose⁴, frequently rendering Lat. *ex* or *de*. We should not exaggerate the importance of this fact. Corresponding prepositions are used in other Germanic languages, e. g. ONorse *einn af þeim, mikill hlutr af Englandi*, and even granted that the earliest appearance of *of* in OE. was supported by the Latin construction, we may safely say that the development took place independent of Latin. *Of* even renders a Lat. gen.: Luke VI. 2 *sume of þan sundor-halgan* = *quidam autem Pharisæorum*⁵, Ælfc. Exod. III. 18 *þa yldestan of Israela folce* = *seniores Israel*, the same Exod. XVII. 5⁶. *Of* interchanges with a genitive in Ælfc. Lives II. 278 *an þære preosta and ún of þam nunnum*.

¹ Here too, *of* competes with *on* Ælfc. Lives I. 58 *het him smiðian on smætum golde anre culfran anlicnysse*, Vitellius MS. *of*.

² Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 448, is not right in calling this a double genitive. The scribe simply inserted *of* (C and D have no *of*), because this construction was natural to him, and he did not care about the case-endings. In the late portions of the Chronicle (see pp. 253 ff.) we frequently find *on þes ilces geares, on þes dæges*, etc., due to the same carelessness. The scribes put *on* (as *on þam geare*) before *þes geares*, mechanically retaining the *s* of a construction which was no longer in force. Alfred uses only *dæges* and *nihtes*, but genitive of time is common in other texts, e. g. Wulfstan H. 23,12 *ðæs þridan dæges*, S. Chron. A 871, p. 72 *þæs geares*, A 921 *þæs ilcan hærfestes*, C 911 *ðæs oþres geares*, 912 *þæs ilcan geares*, DE. 1067 *þæs sumeres*, etc. Ælfc. H. I¹ p. 310 *an lamb anes geares* is, exactly in the same way, transcribed in Lamb. H. 87 *an lomb of anes zeres*.

³ Shipley, Genitive Case in AS. Poetry, pp. 88—89.

⁴ Examples from Alfred's writings in Wülfing's Syntax II. p. 445 f. *Of* is common in Ælfric's writings, less so in the Blickl. Hom.

⁵ Quoted by the NED. *of* 42.

⁶ Cf. also AS. Reg. Ben. 38,10 *an ræding of þære apostola lare* (and similarly 33,18; 34,1) corresponding to a genitive in Latin; but *ex* prevails in such instances.

Nothing could be more natural than '(taken) out of' developing into a partitive use. *Diplom. Angl.* p. 591 *go . . . of dat land æt Dorp VIII. acres into Æsewelle kirke* illustrates the transition into *ib.* p. 586 *V. hida of þam ilcan landæ*, *ib.* p. 371 *þone þriddan dæl of ðam mete*. I quote some of the numerous examples in the later MSS. of the *S. Chron.*: E 1087 *an of heom*, F 785 *sum dæl of his biscopdome* (other MSS. genitive)¹, D 1052, p. 176 *man þær ofsloh swyþe feola Engliscra godra manna ⁊ eac of þam Frenciscum*, C 1054, p. 184 *mycel wæl of Scottum gesloh* (perhaps 'of Scots', gen. generis), E 1106, p. 240 *feawa odre of þam heafod mannan*, E 1095, p. 231 *forneah ealle þa betste of þes eorles hirede*, E 1091, p. 226 *XII. þa betste of þes cynges healfe and XII. of þes eorles*, E 963, p. 115 *on þe fyrste sunnondæg of Aduent*. In the last instance, *of* is on the verge of expressing a possessive relation, as already in *Ælfc. Gen. IV. 4 and Abel brohte to lace þa frumcennedan of his heorde*: Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui, 'the firstlings of his flock'.

Preceded by words meaning 'beginning' or 'end', *of* approaches a possessive genitive: *Basil. Hex. 2 he sylf is soð anginn of þam soðan anginne*², *Jul. 611 þæt hyre endestæf of gewindagum weorðan sceolde*³, *S. Chron. E 1111, p. 243 be þam gemæran of France*, *Wint. Reg. Ben. 145,31 þæt we habbað . . . anzinn of rihtfulle life* (= initium conversationis, *AS. Vers. 132,16 angin godre drohtnunge*).

Imperceptibly extending towards a possessive sense, *of* designates any part of an object as belonging to it. This meets with a similar development from the sense of origin (10): *Anc. R. 54 biginnunge ⁊ rote of þis ilke reoude*, *Peri Didax. Cap. 20 þæt hwita of æze* (*Petrocellus: albumen ovorum*), *Laz. 18 094 þe ord of þan sworde*.

Anc. R. 82 of swuche speche . . . schal euerich word beon irikened, *Lamb. H. 75 þan formeste word of þe salm*, *Orm 4530*

¹ Hence *Lamb. H. 47 beo heo dal neominde of heofene riches blisse*, superseding *on* (= *Germ. an, Scand. i*): *S. Chron. E. 656, p. 31 swa swa hi willen beon del nimende on þa ece lif*, or a genitive, e. g. *Blickl. Hom. 11 dæl-nimende þæs heofonican rices*.

² *Mätzner, Gram. III. p. 332*.

³ Quoted by Shipley, *Genitive Case in AS. Poetry*, p. 89. Shipley further adduces a doubtful instance of a partitive *of* in OE. poetry: *Andr. 1473 næs him gewemmed wite, ne wloh of hrægle lungre alysed ne loc of heafde*. In my opinion, *of* belongs to the verb — 'loosened from' — and does not denote a genitive case — 'fringe of his garment' . . . 'hair of his head' —. Another citation is more interesting: *Andr. 1425 þu gehete . . . þæt ne loc of heafde to forlore wurde*, but *of*, as Shipley suspects, depends on *Lat. de*. The passage, in reality, refers to *Luke XXI. 18 et capillus de capite vestro non peribit* (= *Act. Apost. XXVII. 38*). The *AS. Gospel* translates: *⁊ ne for-wyrð a locc of eowrum heafde* (*Wycl. and an heer of zoure heed schal not perische*), similarly in *Blickl. Hom. 243 ne an loc of eowrum heafde forwyrð*.

þe firrste staff off Cristess name (5344 þe feorþe staff, etc.), Anc. R. 42 þe uif lettres of vre lefdi nome, ib. 70 euerich urideie of ðe yer, Lamb. H. 139 alle oðer dazes of þe wike, Orm 6958 þe þrittende daz3 off Jesu Cristess elde.

Orm 8461 whillc ende off Issraæless land, Vic. a. V. 47,9 ðane grundwall . . . of ðese hali mihtes, Anc. R. 62 þe kerneaus of þe castel, Lamb. H. 127 þa postles and þet ouerslaht of ure huse þet is of ure heortan, Orm 9983 sume bozhess off þatt treo.

8. I add some minor details concerning the partitive use:

Einenkel (Grundr. § 184 ε) cites S. Chron. E 1086, p. 218 *sloh of his mannon mycelne dæl* as »der bis jetzt einzige Beleg«¹ of an analytical genitive preceding its noun. There are, however, other instances in the S. Chron.: C 1066, p. 196 *þa for he of Sandwic. ⁊ nam of þam butsekarlon. Sume mid him. Sume þances. Sume unþances*, E 1124, p. 254 *of þa oðre swa felu swa him þuhte he sende*²; compare the word-order in e. g. Ælfc. H. I² p. 160 *of ðam twelf mynstrum . . . wæron ðreo asette on healicum muntum*.

Of without preceding partitive word, e. g. S. Chron. E 1087, p. 224 *he sende of his mannan . . . gelæhton of þam mannon*, is not due to any ellipsis. *Of* implies by itself a partitive notion. It is true that, in many instances, *of* corresponds to Latin *de*, but as other Germanic languages show, the English preposition is altogether independent of Latin influence. *Of* is particularly frequent with verbs like 'give, bring, take, eat, drink', but is not restricted to such verbs³. We shall have to mention it later on (24) with 'a friend of mine'. I observe, by the by, that the Hatton MS. inserts *of* in Mark II. 26 *he ætt of þa offrungehlafes* = panes propositionis manducavit.

To the NED. 45,46 (be a member of, be included in, belong to) I add Lamb. H. 85 *þet we ne bo noht of þe smalcheue, ah þet we moten bon of þe corne*, Anc. R. 10 *men þet beoð of religiu . . . neren heo of gode ordre?*, ib. 158 *þeos þet ic habbe inempned her weren of þen*

¹ Probably meaning Mätzner, Gram. III. p. 622.

² In all these instances it is doubtful whether *of* is dependent on the quantitative word *dæl*, *sume*, *fela*, or is immediately connected with the verb (as in the instances below). *Of* here offers a parallel to the development of the adnominal partitive genitive, as explained by Delbrück, Vergleich. Syntax der indog. Sprachen, I. p. 333: In der That konnte ein Satz wie *es isst des Brodes, einen Bissen* leicht zu *er isst des Brodes einen Bissen* werden. Compare the examples p. 18 top.

³ Cf. Mätzner, Gram. II. p. 274. For other examples see also Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 447 (»Etwas zu ergänzen«), Kellner, Histor. Outl. of Engl. Syntax, p. 112 (elliptic genitive).

olde lawe, La3. 31 251 *þer wes þe swein ⁊ þe cnaue beinen of are laze*, cf. the genitive of quality or description¹.

NED. 42 c: the whole included under the partitive form is a common construction in familiar Scand. speech, as 'der er to søstre af dem'.

NED. 43: *of* preceded by a superlative, Orm 2595 *3ho þatt cwemnde himm allre mæst off all mannkinn onn eorþe* (also 2671, 2684).

NED. 43 b: I have found *of all* already in Havelok 71 *ricth he louede of alle þinge*.

9. Flamme, in his dissertation on the Syntax of the Blickl. H., p. 65, finds that *of* expresses 'den reinen Genitiv' in 19,24 *þære godcundnesse nænig onwendnesse on carcerne wæs of þære menniscan gecynde, na las of þære godcundan*, which Morris translates 'there was no change either of the divine nature or of the divine power in its imprisonment in the human nature'. But the passage, in reality, contains 'change from', cf. *Ælfc. H. I² p. 606 heora nán næfre of ðam háde þe hē is ne awent*. Similarly Blickl. H. 55,14 *he afylleþ þa inwitfullan wórd of his tungan* translated by Morris 'puts down the deceitful words of his tongue'², means only 'word coming from', or perhaps 'words spoken by'. Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 445, mentions as an approach to a genitive e. g. Oros. 34,31 *syþþan wæs sio bysen of him ofer ealle world*. We can fix no certain date when examples like these passed into true prepositional genitives.

Of 'coming from' blends with *of* = mod. *by* (denoting the agent or *døer*): S. Chron. E 675, p. 36 *haue þ̅ ilce forgiuenesse of Criste ⁊ S. Peter ⁊ of þonne abbot ⁊ of þone muneca* (cf. *ib. gebletsad of, gecoren of*), Wint. Reg. Ben. 53,7 *for þan doman of his rihtwisnesse* (super iuditia iustitiæ suæ) = AS. Vers. 40,12 *be þam domum his rihtwisnesse*. From *ācenned of* is formed *Ælfc. H. I² p. 6 þeos acennednys . . . wæs of eorðlicere meder*.

Of thus came to express the relation of a subjective genitive:

Anc. R. 68 *wiðute wisse of weopmen oðer of wummon*, Lamb. H. 85 *þe heste of hali chirche*, Vic. a. V. 41,21 *mid manize euele upbreides aiðer of his azene wiue and ec of his auene frienden*, Cott. Vesp. H. 235 *þesser lāze of þe witzin*, Orm 1563

¹ *Ælfc. I¹ p. 30 he wæs of Dauides mægðe*, quoted by Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 437, where the partitive notion blends with *of* denoting descent.

² The NED. *of* 17 quotes as the earliest instance of this kind Cott. H. 217 *þenche z̅e ale word of him swete*, but I doubt very much that this particular example contains a clear subjective genitive. Besides expressing a genitive case, *of* naturally kept its original value.

þe lufe off Criste. Extending to: Vic. a. V. 19,1 ðar is chiue-
ringe of toðen, Orm 707 att te come off Sannt Johan, etc.

A quality, attribute, particularity, condition, state, 'arising from',
'originating in' (or 'caused by') is perceived as 'possessed by':

Lamb. H. 53 þe sweote smel of þe chese, Anc. R. 10 þe
grace of God, ib. 22 þe peis of holi church, Vic. a. V. 45,12
ðe michele merhðe of heuene riche, Orm 4679 all þe blisse off
heoffne, ib. 666 þe wlite off ennglekinde, Lamb. H. 47 þe herd-
nesse of þe rapes, Orm 5500 off all þe boc i Godess hus þe
deope dighelnesse, etc.

Similarly with abstracts passing into concretes:

Orm 1088 tær wass swa mikell smec off recless, Anc. R. 80
te swote breð ⁊ te strençde þerof, ib. 28 ðe seoue ziftes of ðe
Holi Goste¹ = Lamb. H. 99, Orm 5518, etc.

10. Ælfc. H. I¹ p. 494 *he* (i. e. Christ) *is soð God of soðum Gode,*
Ælmihtig Sunu of ðam Ælmihtigan Fæder at first sight seems to con-
tain the modern prepositional genitive, and Thorpe translates 'he is true
God of true God, Almighty Son of the Almighty Father'. But this
stage was not yet attained. 'God of, Sunu of' suggested to the mind
acenned of, as in Ælfc. H. I² p. 606 *þæs Ælmihtigan Godes Sunu is*
æfre of ðam Fæder acenned. We can only consider this instance as a
germ of the prepositional genitive.

The sense 'from' gradually gave way to a possessive notion: Peri
Didax, Cap. 62 *eftsona* (Loeweneck adds: *nim*) *endlufun leaf of bulza-*
zine, corresponding to Petrocellus item *bulgaginis folia IX aut XI*, is
but a step distant from Mor. O. 143 (Lamb. H.) *swines brede is swide*
swete, swa is of wilde dore, Orm 9225 *hiss mēte . . . wass huniz off*
þe feld.

Vic. a. V. 23,9 *ic am an leme of godes anlicnesse*², ib. 31,24
ðat liht of his ansiene, Lamb. H. 81 *þe brond of þe lutle fure*,
Vic. a. V. 119,9 *ðat wastme of ðe treuwe*, Anc. R. 60 *erindebere*
of þe lihteheorte.

In other examples we approach the partitive use (see 7):

Lamb. H. 157 *þe ezene of his horte*, ib. 127 *þan deore-*
wurþe bleode of þan clenan . . . lombe, ib. 43 *þa erming licome*
of þa ilca men.

¹ Laud MS. *þæs halzan zastes*, Heuser, Angl. XXX. p. 108.

² Ælfc. H. I² p. 606 *oðer is se leoma oððe beorhtnys æfre of ðære sunnan*, (= going
out from), similar examples Ælfc. Lives I. 14.

11. The passage into a possessive notion appears early before nouns of place or residence, as 'the King of England', 'the nuns of the convent'. Originally *of* indicates the starting point: Ælfc. H. I² p. 512 *oft hine geneosodon englas of heofenum*, with a partitive character more or less marked: Ælfc. Lives II. 278 *þa wearð an cnapa of þæs þegenes hiwraedene þurh næddran geslit nealice adyd* (cf. 7), Ælfc. H. I² p. 334 *án engel of ðam upplicum weredum behead ðam gewæpnodum engle*.

In the cases we are going to consider, *of* had a general tendency to supplant *on* (*in*), *æt*, which were reserved for the purely local meaning. The same shift has already been mentioned in the preceding sections. We add some other examples:

Ælfc. H. I¹ p. 368 *se ðe ne bytlað of ðam grundwealle* (i. e. 'out from'), *his weorc hryst to micclum lyre*, compare some lines above in the same Hom.: *ic timbrige mine cyrcan uppon ðisum stane, þæt is ofer ðone geleafan ðe ðu andetst*; the Lat. Gospels use *super*.

Of healfe encroaches on *on healfe* S. Chron. A 1031, p. 158 *ealla þa gerihtra þe þær of arisaþ of ældre healfe ðare hæfene*¹, S. Chron. E 887, p. 81 *heora nan næs of fædren halfe geboren butan him anum*, the manuscripts ABCD have *on*.

S. Chron. E 1123, p. 252 *he wæs boren of Luuein*, evidently due to a confusion of 'coming from' and 'born at'. Dipl. Angl. p. 433, an. 1066 *Ealdreð wæs þæs biscopes mann of þam lande æt Hele* 'tenant of'.

¹ According to Belden, The Prepositions *in*, *on*, etc. in Anglo-Saxon Prose, p. 20, '*on* . . . *hand*, *on* . . . *healfe*' are used to denote 'the side on which', without any reference to any idea of motion in the verb of the sentence. See also Wülfing, Syntax II, pp. 476 f. But when 'a motion from' was to be expressed there can be no doubt as to the use of *of* or *fram*, just as *tō* is used Gen. XIII. 9 *gif ðu færst to ðære winstran hæle* (Bosw. To.), S. Chron. E. 1129 *be þis half þa muntas*. The above example from the S. Chron. A does not offer anything particular so far, but it is interesting as showing the tendency of *of* to convey the notion '*on* (a side)'; compare MidE. *of a part*, *of a side*, and similar expressions, which Einkenkel (Grundr. § 155) derives from French (see also the NED. *of* 55 b and 57): *seeng his enmyes cam a lunde and in so fayre ordonaunce y-sette of that one part, and of that other syde he sawe them of the cyte*, Caxt. Gothic *af* is clearly influenced by Greek ἐκ: Mark XV. 27 *jah miþ imma ushramidedun twans waidedjans, ainana af taihswon, jah ainana af hleidumein is Kai sōn awtō statorōsan ðōo lhotōs, ēna ek dexiōn kai ēna ek eiōnōmōn awtō* (Lat. *a dextris* . . . *a sinistris*), and similarly in other passages.

I further mention, 'on behalf of': Cott. Chart. X. 17 (1061—65?) *ic bidde of godes healua . . . and of mine*, S. Chron. E 1095, p. 232 *þam arcebiscep Ansealm . . . of þæs Papan healfe Urbanus his pallium geaf*, and frequently in Charters.

Of healfe determining the noun belongs to the common category 'origin, descent' (13): Oros. 86,21 *hiora III hund 7 six men of ægðerre healfe to anwigge eodon*. It passes into a partive notion, see example 7, p. 18.

12. *Ælfc. Gen. XIV. 10 þa feollon þa ciningas on þam gefeohte ofslagene of Sodomian and Gomorran*¹ contains *of* corresponding to a Lat. genitive: *rex Sodomorum et Gomorrhæ*; we observe the same in *Deuteron. XXIX. 7 and Seon cing for ut of Esebon and Og cing of Basan for ongen us to gefeohte = egressusque est Sehon rex Hesebon et Og rex Basan occurrentes nobis ad pugnam*. I think that, in spite of the Lat. genitive, *of* had still its original value², and that the change of conception only took place at the end of the OE. period.

S. Chron. C 1066, p. 196 þa com Harold cyning of Norwegan norð into Tínan . . . (p. 197) æfter þam gefeohte for Harold cyningc of Norwegan ⁊ Tostig eorl into Eoferwic³, ib. D 1066, p. 197 hine gemette þær Harold cyng of Norwegan (E se Norrena cyng), ib. E 1129, p. 260 se Kasere of Sexlande ⁊ se kyng of France ⁊ se kyng Heanri of Engleland, D 1075, p. 210 se scirgerefa of Eoferwic, etc.

In the later portions of the Chronicle *cyng, papa* nearly always take *of*, generally also *eorl*. With *biscop, abbot*, and the like, *of* more frequently interchanges with *on* (or *in, æt*): *abbot on Abbandune, abbot of Abbandune*. *Of* is equally used with common nouns: e. g. E 963, p. 116 *nan biscop ne haue þær nane hæse, buton se abbot of þone minstre*⁴.

Lamb. H. 123 þa hefdmen of þissere worlde, Orm 7437 king off alle shaffte, ib. 344 king off alle kingess ⁊ preost off alle preostess ec, ib. 297 hæfedd mann off Issraæle þeode, ib. 638 hæfedd off alle preostess, Cott. Vesp. H. 235 þe heretoche of his folce.

Extending to: Orm 4934 þiss mahhte iss . . . moderr off alle þóþre, Vic. a. V. 21,5 moder of mildce, ib. 9,25 ðe selue dieuel is icleped mid rihte fader of leasinge.

13. The same transition appears in *Ælfc. H. I³ p. 302 ða asende hē him to ðone scearpan here of Romana rice*, S. Chron. ABC 896, p. 89 *þa men of Lundenbyrig gefetedon þa scipu (D on) > S. Chron. E 656, p. 30 ic . . . gife . . . þa munecas of þe mynstre þas landes*, ib. E 1137, p. 264 *hi suencten suyðe þe wurecce men of þe land mid castel weorces*, ib. D 1016, p. 152 *wearð þær ofslægen eall seo dugud of Angel-*

¹ Also quoted by the NED. *of* 48. The example quoted from Oros. is not convincing, cf. Wülfiŋg's punctuation, *Syntax II*. p. 439.

² Note of *Esebon* separated from *cing*. Or does the passage mean 'went out from E.'?

³ But in the same passage *Harald cyng on Norwegan ⁊ Tostig eorl wæron up cumene; . . . Willelm eorll fram Normandige Eadwardes cingces mæg wolde hider cuman*.

⁴ This passes into an objective genitive (18).

cynnes þeode (E *eall se dugod on Angelcinne*); ib. E 1129, p. 260 *he . . . weas boren of þa ricceste men of Rome, mid him helden ða of Rome*, ib. E 1013, p. 143 *eall þ̅ folc on Lindesige ⁊ syððan þet folc of Fifburhingan*.

Lamb. H. 41 *þa engles of heofene ham iblissied*, Trin. H. 51 *þat folc of babilonie*, Orm 6519 *þe laþe gast off helle*, Vic. a. V. 7,4 *menn of ðe world*, Anc. R. 24 *þe preostes of þe world*, ib. 246 *þe weorreur of helle*.

14. Edifices situated 'at a place' are felt to form 'part of it' 'belong to': S. Chron. D 1071, p. 204 *man hergade þ̅ mynster æt Burh* > ib. E 1066, p. 198 *he dyde swa mycel to gode into þ̅ mynstre of Burh*, (frequently), ib. E 1130, p. 260 *ðis geares was se mynstre of Cantwara-byri halgod*.

The partitive *of* develops into a possessive *of* in S. Chron. E 656 p. 30 *ic Wulfere gife . . . þa landes þa þær abuton ligged ða of mine kynerice sindon* > ib. E 1138, p. 265 *alle þe landes of þabbotrice . . . þe landes þe lien to þe circewican*, ib. E 852, p. 65 *leot Ceolred . . . Wulfrede to hande þet land of Sempigaham . . . ⁊ Wulfred scolde gifen þ̅ land of Sliowaforde in to Medeshamstede*.

Orm 8469 *ʒerrsalæm wass hæfedd burrh off Issraæless riche*, Lamb. H. 87 *on elche huse of þam egiptissen folche* (= Ælfc. H. I¹ p. 310 *on ælcum huse ðæs Egyptiscan folces*), ib. 129 *ðet weter of egipte*, ib. 43 *þe sea of helle*, Trin. H. 97 *þe ateliche pit of helle*, Vic. a. V. 7,27 *ðe treu of paradise*, Orm 6815 *an wazhe off Cristess kirkke*, ib. 4115 *þe ʒate off heoffness blisse*; Vic. a. V. 27,8 *ða ʒaten of helle*, Lamb. H. 131 *þa irene barren of helle* (akin to 7).

In OE. Charters *æt* (rarely *on*) is used with estates situated near some town or homestead, as Cart. Sax. II. p. 57 f. *sellað . . . ðet land æt Sempigaham . . . bruce ðes landes æt Slioforda ⁊ . . . þes on Sempigaham*. But the homestead is also taken in a wider sense as the name of the whole 'land' (district): S. Chron. E 963, p. 116 *ic gife . . . þas land, þ̅ is Barwe, Wermigtun, Æsctun, Ketering, Castra, Egleswurde, Waltun, Wiðringtun, Ege, Thorp . . . Ðas land ⁊ ealla þa oðre þe lin into þe mynstre, þa cwede ic scyr*. The possessive construction *þet land of Sempigaham* could thus become equivalent to an appositive genitive, or a genitive of definition¹.

¹ Delbrück, Vergleich. Syntax der indogerm. Sprachen I. p. 343: Als eine besondere Spielart des Genitivs des Besitzers erscheint der Genitiv in der Umschreibung (definitivus).

We note at once S. Chron. F 46 *þ egeland of Orcanie* (A *Orcadus þa ealand* = BC¹, formed on analogy with *land of*).

15. The genitive of definition, which is so common in ONorse², was in OE. chiefly restricted to cases like *Egypta folc*, *Scotta þeod*, or *Ælfc. Lives II. 46 heo . . . iordanes wæteru bletsode*, in which the possessive notion is distinctly felt. Other instances are rare. Mätzner III. p. 323 mentions Bede 1,2 *Breotone ealond*, cf. S. Chron. II. Gloss., Ein-enkel³ (»rare«) Ags. Ps. *Romes burh*. I add Mark I. 5 *wæron fram him gefullode on iordanes flode* (*in Iordanis flumine*, the Lat. text in the Northumb. Gl. reads *in iordane flumine*⁴. *Ælfc. Exod. XVII. 6 uppan Oreb stane*, Exod. XIX. 10 *Sinai munt*, Exod. XXXI. 18 *on Sinai dune*, Exod. XIX. 1 *to Sinai westene*, Deuteron. XXXII. 48 *on Nebo dune*, *Chanaan land* (cf. Gen. XIII. 12 *on þam lande Chanaan*, Deuter. XXXIV. 1 *uppan þone munt Nebo*, etc.), and numerous other instances in Vet. Test. might be taken as genitives (Hebrew place-names have, as a rule, no case-endings), but more probably we have here the usual apposition (Thus Mätzner, Gram. III. p. 335).

16. Corresponding to *þet land of Sempigaham*, we find in the S. Chron. E 1123, p. 253 *se burh of Lincolne*. Here again we observe a change of preposition. Taking an example like S. Chron. A 921, p. 102 *mon worhte þa burg æt Tofeceastre mid stan wealle*⁵, it will be seen that the 'burg' is designated as being situated at or near some place. In 1122 (S. Chron. E p. 250) *forbearn se burch on Gleaweceastre þa hwile þe þa munecas sungeþ fære messe*⁶. The same English annalist relates that in the following year *forbearn eall meast se burh of Lincolne, ⁊ micel ungerime folces wæpmen ⁊ wimmen forburnen*. The signification of 'burg' is identical in both cases, but in the latter instance the annalist describes it as 'belonging to' the locality. Compare 1141.

¹ Oros., p. 24 *Orcadus þæt igland*, Plummer, S. Chron. Pt. II. p. 8.

² Falk & Torp, Dansk-norskens syntax, p. 51, M. Nygaard, Norrøn Syntax, p. 130.

³ Grundr. d. germ. Phil. I. p. 1088.

⁴ Cf. O. Sax, *Jordanes ström*, Holthausen, Altsächs. Elementarbuch, p. 180, Behaghel, Die Syntax d. Heliand, p. 111.

⁵ The 'burg' is a fortified place, or a fortified town, city (Sweet, Angl.-Sax. Dict.). It never means a single citadel or castle inside the walled city, like German *burg* or French *castel*. The latter word was adopted in English (masc.). York and Lincoln are old burgs: William I provides them with castles, S. Chron. D. 1067, p. 202 *for swa to Eoferwic ⁊ fære worhte twegen castelas ⁊ on Lincolna and gewær on þan ende*. See also Plummer S. Chron. Pt. II. p. 156.

⁶ Such instances are frequent in the Chron., cf. also Paris Ps. 45,4 *seo Godes burh on Hierusalem* (civitatem Dei), for the common *seo burg Hierusalem*.

Aug. combusta est civitas Wintonie et pene omnes ecclesie infra et extra civitatem, (Liebermann, Ungedruckte Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen, p. 6). The 'burg' contrasts with the adjacent territory, and the *tūn*, the unprotected village, vicus, outside the walls¹: S. Chron. E 1127, p. 258 *þis wæs segon on þe selue derfald in þa tune on Burch ⁊ on ealle þa wudes ða wæron fram þa selua tune to Stanforde*.

So far, *se burh of Lincolne* runs parallel to *ðone mynstre of Burh* (S. Chron. E 1128, etc.)². *Of*, containing a possessive (originally partitive) sense, supplants a preposition denoting 'where'.

This view is corroborated by the introduction of *of* after words like *abbotrice*, *biscopdom*, etc.: S. Chron. E 1042, p. 165 *feng to ðam abbotrice at Abbandune* (= C p. 164), ib. E. 1052, p. 183 *feng to þam arcebiscoprice on Cantwarabyrig*, ib. E 1068 *Willelm cyng geaf Rodberde eorle þone eorldom on Norðhymbraland*, but: ib. E 1127, p. 257 *ixf se kyng him þone eorldom of Flandres*, ib. E 1127, p. 257 *þone arcebiscoprice of Besencun*, ib. E 1066, p. 198 *þ abbotrice on Byrtune ⁊ se of Couentre . . . ⁊ se of Crulande, ⁊ se of Forneie*, E 963, p. 115 *ðe biscopdome on Wintanceastra, F of Winceastre*³.

As, on the other hand, 'burg', like the above *civitas*, also designated the whole municipality: *seo burg Lincolne*, the original meaning of *se burh of Lincolne* was troubled at the very outset.

It is interesting to note that the new construction reacts on the inflected genitive, e. g. Orm 6987 *Ʒerrsalæmess chesstre*, ib. 9243 *Ʒerrsalæmess land*, 9177 *Ʒerrsalæmess kinedom*.

¹ Orm. 8629 (Elias came) *towarrd an mikell burghess tun fatt wæs Sareppta nemmedd*; he meets the widow at *tatt burzghess gate* (ad portam civitatis, I Reg. 17,10).

² Through a shifting conception, an apposition may replace a prepositional construction. For the primary and usual S. Chron. E 675, p. 36 *þ mynstre on Medeshamstede*, appears p. 37 *his minstre Medeshamstede*, and ib. E 963, p. 116 *Sancte Petres mynstre Medeshamstede*, according to ib. E 675, p. 35 *heafden wroht an minstre Medeshamstede wæs gehaten*. *Dol* is considered in a different light by the two scribes S. Chron. 1076, p. 213: E *beset þone castel Dól* (*Dól* considered as the name of the castle, cf. E 1124 *his an castel Belmunt het*), D *besæt þone castel æt Dól*, like e. g. 1124, p. 254 *on þone castel on Gleucestre: die feste Dol, die feste zu Dol*.

³ In the last instance A reads to: *feng Aþelwold abbot to þam biscooprice to Wintanceastre*. The direction is expressed twice as in e. g. S. Chron. E 1025 *for Cnut cyng to Denmearcon . . . to þam holme*, ib. E 1128, p. 259 *ferde ham to his agen minstre to Peitou*, ib. E 1129, p. 259 *ferde ham to his agen land to France*, ib. E 1123, p. 244 *sænde . . . into þam castele to Wærham*, ib. E 1085, p. 216 *ðær wæs Mauricius gecoren to biscop on Lundene ⁊ Willelm to Norðfolce ⁊ Rodbeard to Ceaster-scire*, etc., *Biscooprice* was felt as something independent of *Wintanceastre*, contrasting with its use in the appositive relation: Chron. E 685 *feng Johannes to Ceastre biscopdome*.

17. A possessive notion also forms the basis of constructions like AS. Reg. Ben. 130,10 *hyrsumnesse god and dugud* (= *obediētiæ bonum*). The Wint. V. 143,19 changes this into *þeo godnesse of zehyrsumnesse*, in which the sense 'resulting from' > 'belonging to' is still perceptible, though *of* tends to express a genitive of definition.

Extending to: Lamb. H. 129 *þet treo of þere rode* (= Vic. a. V. 119,2), ib. 127 *we sculen markian þet tacne of þere halie rode* (OE. *rōde-tācn*), ib. 53 *þe nome of Cristene* (cf. Orm 1927 *Nazaræþess* name), Orm 4337 *þe tale off ehhte* (frequently), (Kath. i *Novembres moneð*¹).

18. The partitive construction Wulfst. H. 72,3 *se ðe wære gitsjende oðra manna þinga and ahta, weorðe of his agenan rihte begytenan ælmesgyfa georne* (cf. p. 15) is not far from taking an objective sense '(alms-)giver of something', and may be connected with S. Chron. E 1091, p. 226 *gif se eorl forðferde . . . wære se cyng yrfenuma of eallon Normandig . . . gif se cyng swulte, wære se eorl yrfenuma ealles Engla-landes*.

The class 'rule, possession', to which the above 'yrfenuma' is akin, took an important share in the development of *of* in the sense of an objective genitive. Beginning with words like 'king, bishop' (see 12) *of* extends to S. Chron. E 1127, p. 257 *he wæs legat of ðone Romescot*, Pat. Nost. 81 (OE. H. I 59) *lauerd he is of alle scafte*, Orm 3596 *Crist iss hirde off hise shep, off hise dere þeowwess*, Lamb. H. 75 *creatorem celi ⁊ terre, scuppēde and weldēde of heouene and of orðe and of alle iscefte*. Extending to abstract nouns: Laz. 19 402 *þa warde of alle þissen wærde*, Lamb. H. 79 *þere muchele mihte þet crist him hefde izefen of al þer orþe scrude of þe uisces*, etc., Orm 5460 *whase winneþþ oferrhannd ⁊ size off laþe gastess*.

A privative origin appears in:

Orm 5378 *takenn hæle att himm off iwhille untrumnesse* (OE. *hāl of*), ib. 3354 *zuw iss borenn nu to dazg hælēnde off zure sinness*; Lamb. H. 33 *habben forzefēnesse of þire misdēde* (cf. ib. 37 *awesscen of his sunne*) = Trin. H. 75; Anc. R. 68 *wone of witnesse* (early Danish 'mangel af').

With nouns containing a transitive verbal notion, the starting point may be perceived as the object of the verbal notion. Some examples will illustrate the transition:

¹ Quoted by Eienkel, Grundr. § 142 ψ.

Laz. 20927 A *þat land heo al bilæfden, ⁊ liden after vden þæt nænne siht of lond iseon heo ne mahten*: they had no sight of (coming to them) from land i. e. = B *no lond hii ne sehze*.

Deuter. XXVIII. 10 *him stent ege of þe* = timebunt te, and also S. Chron. E 1135, p. 263 *micel æie wes of him*, contain *of* = 'from'¹, but an objective sense appears in S. Chron. E 1154 *ne durste nan man don oþer bute god for þe micel eie of him*, i. e. 'they feared him'.

In an example like Cott. Vesp. H. 235 *ærndraces of þisser lage wer Abel, Seth*, we return to *of* indicating the subject-matter of speech and thought (4). The blending with *of* introducing the object of emotion (3), is furthermore apt to develop an objective sense. Many of the instances referred to, 'witness of (S. Chron.), demand of, hope of, complaint of, pity of, repentance of', etc. might as well be mentioned here².

19. As a first trace of *of* supplying a genitive of quality, we may consider OE. *of* with words denoting birth, descent: *sum munuc of Scotta cynne*. A further development appears in Orm 4007 *i bodiz . . . off heofennlike kinde*. The partitive notion prevails in Vic. a. V. 7,2 [*zif hie bied of heize kenne*] *oder zif he bie of heize menstræ* (8 'be a member of'), material (7): Vic. a. V. 45,14 *þat ure ropes ne to-breken, ðe bied ibroiden mid þrie strænges, of rihte ileaue and of faste hope . . . and of ðare soðe luue*, ib. 61,22 *se ðe is of harte hierte*, 'full of' (2): Orm 7205 *bisshopess off dep lare*, 'in respect of' (5): Orm 3707 *to libbenn her . . . inn uselldom off metess ⁊ off clafess*.

It is surprising to find Ælfc. H. I² p. 84 *sum wis lareow hatte Amalarius, se awrát ane bôc be cyrclicum ðeawum, hwæt ða gesetnyssa Godes þenunga of gearlicum ymbryne getæcniad*. Thorpe translates: 'what the ceremonies of God's services of yearly recurrence betoken'. *Of* (originally partitive?) seems to be put in order to avoid four consecutive genitives. If *of* is instrumental, we should translate 'what . . .

¹ *Of* is not necessarily causal (cf. Sweet AS. Dict. *of*, and Wülfiug, Syntax II, p. 319 *ege fram*), compare Scand. 'der staar skræk af ham' (ONorse *ógn stendr af e-u*) which is felt like 'der staar kjølighed, vind af ham' (draught, wind from). This continues in MidE., e. g. Mor. O. 18 (Lamb. H.) *mare eie stondeð men of monne þanne hom do of criste*. Cf. also S. Chron. CDE 1006, p. 137 *þa wearð hit swa mycel ege fram (F of) þam here*.

² Apart from 'love of the world', it is often difficult to decide whether 'love of' is subjective or objective. A clear instance (obj.) is Vic. a. V. 39,30 *mani mann seið mid wordes þatt he godd luueð. Þe soðe luue of godd, hie is mare on werkes ðanne on wordes*; (subj.) Laz. 145 890 *þenne hauest þu aboht þe luue of þire brude*.

betoken through (on account of) yearly recurrence', but the context hardly allows of this explanation. I cannot find that *of* depends on any Latin preposition in Amalarius.

Most instances, however, belong to the type Orm 9510 *fulluht off dædbote*¹ = Luk. III. 3 *baptismum poenitentiae*. This is to be considered as a peculiar kind of the possessive genitive. The sense 'coming from' which passes into the common possessive meaning (9, 10) prevails more or less: Orm 7627 *lihht ⁊ leom off eche rihtwisnesse*.

The blending of these cases produces a further development:

Orm 7906 *sume sinn denn off miccle lasse mahhte*, Vic. a. V. 99,6 *alle ðo mannen ðat waren bone voluntatis* 'of gode wille', Laz. 20850 *he weneð to beon of duzeðe* (cf. 8 'be included in'). Lamb. H. 87 *an lomb of ane zeres* (= Ælfc. H. I¹ p. 310 *an lamb anes geares*), Orm 3206 *till þatt he waxenn wass ⁊ neh off þrittig winnterr elde*, Vic. a. V. 49,27 *child of one niht ielde*².

20. We have, in this sketch, tried to show how *of*, starting from its primary sense 'out of', came to express a series of new relations and supplied various kinds of the OE. genitive. At the end of the 12th century³, perhaps somewhat earlier, Middle English texts show *of* firmly established as a substitute for the possessive genitive. Orm seems to use the inflected and the phrasal form as it suits metre and rime. We need not think that the two kinds of genitive were identical. Modern English distinguishes between 'the history of England' and

¹ Other examples: Orm 3735 *pine off þrist ⁊ lunngerr*, Lamb. H. 41 *þe dei of blisse ⁊ of lisse ⁊ of alle-irest*, ib. 83 *mid spere of prude, of zitunge, of zifernesse, of eorre, of hordome*, Anc. R. 60 *mid scute of tien, mid spere of wundinde word, mid sweorde of deadliche hondlung*, etc., Vic. a. V. 45,18 *for none watere of wisdom*; Trin. H. 81 *man of þoleburdnesse*, Cott. Vesp. H. 233 *hlaforð of mihte* Anc. R. 60 *þe lefdi of chastete*.

The last instances may be considered as set compounds. Sykes, *French Elements in MidE.* pp. 56 ff. gives some later instances which he is probably right in attributing to French (cf. also maiden of joy, of honour, etc.). French models certainly furnished a great many similar expressions, cf. also Falk & Torp, *Dansk-norskens syntax*, p. 50.

² I have found the construction 'a boy of fifteen years old' (cf. the NED. *of* 39 b, and *old* 4 b) already in Horn 17 *he was fayr and eke bold and of fiftene winter hold* (Laud MS.), cf. Scand. 'en femtenaars gammel gut'.

³ The date of the Early Middle English literature cannot be exactly fixed. Scholars have, of late, vindicated that the Anc. R. is very much older than has been commonly assumed; Heuser, *Angl.* XXX pp. 104 ff. calls it 'ein aus angelsächsischer Zeit überliefertes Denkmal', and puts it on a level with the Hatton Gospels and the Reg. Ben. I am not convinced that the Anc. R., in its present form, is older than the Lamb H. and the Poema Morale.

'England's history'¹, and it is probable that a difference in meaning or emphasis was felt still more distinctly at a time when the inflected genitive had a more living force. The capital point is that *of* was used in possessive expressions in which there is no trace of the primary sense of the preposition, as e. g. Anc. R. 44 *þe vres of þe holi goste*, Vic. a. V. 7,25 *hie is kœie of alle oðre sennes*. If we abandon the theory of a predominant French influence, we cannot doubt that the expressions that belong to this ultimate stage, were formed on the analogy of those in which the original sense of *of* had already gradually given way to the notion 'pertaining to'.

We do not consider *of* with place-names as the immediate source from which any possessive use was derived by way of analogy. It only marks a prominent step in the general movement towards the possessive sense. Its early appearance here seems largely due to the fact that *of* was grafted on other prepositions; consequently, the hold of the traditional inflected genitive was less strong than in other cases.

Turning to the time about 1150, we note as typical instances 'the frontiers of France', 'the Son of the Almighty Father', 'the heir of Normandy', 'the king of England', 'the monks of the Cathedral', 'the Cathedral of Canterbury', 'the lands of the abbacy'. We may be entitled to infer that it would not have been impossible to say 'the roses of the garden'², which we should now consider as a good example of a phrasal genitive. But was it, about 1150, a thorough genitive after the pattern of which we might form e. g. 'the colour of the hat'? It cannot be denied that in the instances we have considered, the preposition was still in contact with its original sense. It is true that we have a genitive of definition, as *þ egeleud of Orcanie*, but this was again restricted to place-names.

21. In order to answer this question we take recourse to a text which can only be utilized with the greatest prudence, I allude to the Interlinear Version of Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter, written about 1150³. Of course, Glosses have not, as a rule, a very great value as

¹ See Bradley, *The Making of English*, p. 60.

² Compare *Peri Didax*. Cap. 20 *þæt hwita of æze*, ib. Cap. 62 *leaf of bulgazine* (p. 18 and p. 21).

³ I have not seen B. Hein, *Die Sprache der altengl. Glosse zu Eadwines Canterb. Psalter*, Diss. Würzburg 1903. K. Wildhagen, *Der Psalter des Eadwines von Canterbury*, Stud. z. engl. Phil. XIII., p. 208, sets the Interlinear Version of it towards the middle of the 12th century. In *Engl. Stud.* 39 pp. 189 the author repeats the same (*Zum Eadwine- und Regius Psalter*); in the table p. 197, he sets the date of E about 1130.

regards syntax. But when the phenomena they present, are viewed in connexion with other facts, they cannot be rejected, if sifted critically. The principal condition is here that *of* corresponds to a genitive in the Latin text.

From 96,10 ff., the last three hands, I have not observed anything particular.

The third hand offers 89,4 *ðusend gearas toforan eagan þinum ⁊ swa deges of ean ðet forefered*: mille anni ante oculos tuos sicut dies hesterna quæ preteriit.

In 26—77 (second hand), *of* is due to a corrector, not to the original scribe:

77,31 *manege of hem plurimos eorum.*

73,17 *þu worhtes eælle gemere of eorðe tu fecisti omnes terminos terræ.*

71,10—11 *kininges of tarsis ⁊ iglonde læc brohton kininges of arabe ⁊ feredæ giefæ togededþ ⁊ gebiddþ hine eællæ kininges of eorðæn*: reges tharsis et insulae munera offerent reges arabum et saba dona adducent. Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae; 67,28 *dær wuned . . . eælðras of zabulon ⁊ eælðermen neptalim*: ibi principes zabulon et principes neptalim. 77,41 *þane haligne of isræhele hie gremeden*: sanctum israel exacerbaverunt.

73,15 *þu adrigdest flodes vel streæmas of etham*: tu exsiccasti fluvios etham.

28,5 *drihten gebriced cederas of libani*: confringet dominus cedros libani, compare the following 6 ⁊ *fornided hie swæ swæ þet sceælf on libani*: et comminuet eas tanquam vitulum libani¹.

76,19 *stefne of þunorræ þin on hweole*: vox tonitruui tui in rota, 'the voice of thy thunder was in the whirlwind'. 65,19 *he behyold stefne of bene mine*: intendit voci deprecationis meae.

50,21 *þu onfehst offrunge vel onsegðnesse of rihtwisnesse*: acceptabis sacrificium iustitiae.

We regret that the first hand copied only twenty-five psalms:

23,10 *hwilc is þes wuldorfestæ kyning drihten of meigne he is kyning on wuldre*: quis est iste rex glorie dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae.

1,1 *Ædi se were þe ne eode on ðere rede vel þæhte arleasre ⁊ on þan wege of þan sunfullan ne stod ⁊ on þan setele of þan quulmere ne set 2 ac on æ of þan lauorde wes willa his . . . 3 ⁊ sceal beon al swca*

¹ The Paris Ps. reads *þa hean ceder on Libano, þam myclan munte.*

treow þet is geset bi ða rynas of þa wæteras: Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit. 2 Sed in lege domini fuit voluntas eius. 3 Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum.

4,6 *geoffried offrunge of rihtwisnesse*: sacrificare sacrificium iustitiæ, is written on erasure by some other hand.

There seems to be some misunderstanding about Ps. 18,3 *dies diei eructuat verbum et nox nocti indicat scientiam*: *se deig of þem dege belced word ⁊ seo nicht þere nicht gecyþeð inhygd*, etc. According to the editor, *se deig* and *seo nicht þere nicht*, besides some other words, were written by a corrector on erasure, but not *of þem dege*. I am inclined to believe that the original scribe took *diei* as a genitive, and that the corrector did not notice the error.

I mention for the sake of completeness, *Canterb. Hy. 16,1 (prol.) þes ilcan psalm . . . is wiðutan ðere tale of ðan hundrede ⁊ fifti psalman*: extra numerum, *ib. 16,4 himseolf off allan hiheret*: ipse omnium exauditor.

We are at once struck by the different treatment of the Latin genitive.

The last four scribes of the Psalter mechanically copied the text they had before them. Ps. 89,4 'the days of one (year)' shows, however, that the partitive-possessive use of *of* was familiar to the writer.

The second scribe, who in other respects was more independent of the original, did not interfere with the genitives. *Of* is everywhere due to a corrector who especially revised the psalms written by the first two hands. The value of these corrections depends on the date at which they were made. But even if they be considerably later, we cannot leave them out of consideration. It is interesting to note that the constructions in which *of* occurs, present an older or more primitive aspect than the original passages in Ps. 1—25. 'Many of them', 'the borders of the earth', 'the kings of Tharsis, of Arabia, the kings of the earth', 'the aldermen of Zabulon', 'the Holy One of Israel', exactly correspond to examples we have met with in the later portions of the Saxon Chronicle. 'The rivers of Etham', 'the cedars of Lebanon', are scarcely different. 'The voice of thy thunder', 'the voice of my prayer', 'the sacrifices of righteousness', would not have been impossible in the time of Ælfric, though of course with a somewhat different signification, see 9. Setting aside the purely partitive use in one instance, we find eight instances in which *of* occurs before nouns of place or nation. In the three others the original sense is also easily recognized. There can

be no doubt that *of* was felt to be equivalent to a genitive, but its use is apparently restricted. The corrector gives an excellent illustration of an earlier stage of the phrasal genitive.

Another corrector repeats 4,6 'the sacrifices of righteousness'. We do not insist on the evidence of Hymn 16, but return to the sure instances furnished by the first hand: 'The Lord of glory'¹, 'the law of the Lord', 'the streams of the water', 'the way of the sinners', 'the seat of the murderer'.

The testimony of these passages cannot be mistaken: *of* has become a regular substitute for the genitive case.

The reason of this advanced use is obvious. As Wildhagen observes, the first (and second) scribe intended to modernize the text, in order to make it more intelligible. These endeavours are seen not only in phonology and accident, but also in syntax: the future is sometimes expressed by means of *sceal*, the genitive by *of*; the word-order is frequently made consistent with English usage. Altogether the scribe tried to write good English instead of glosses².

22. Thus, about the middle of the 12th century, *of* had made its appearance in English literature. We can hardly believe that French was able to effect this important syntactical change scarcely a hundred years after the Conquest³. The use of *von* in German dialects⁴ is also a strong argument against the theory of foreign influence. But, if it is admitted that the development which we have tried to follow, is due to the language itself, it is natural that *of* had been current more or less among the people some time before it was committed to writing. Tradition restrained its literary employment in the first half of the 12th century.

French influence more probably came later on. Working with constant pressure, *de* may have left traces in many later constructions of nouns, adjectives, and verbs. We cannot enter into a study of these doubtful matters⁵. We will consider only two special cases.

¹ 'The King on virtues' again shows the intimate contact with *on*, cf. Wint. Reg. Ben. 145,31 *we habbað arwyrdnesse on þeawe* honestatem morum, and many other cases referred to.

² See Wildhagen, *Der Psalter des Eadwine*, pp. 28 ff.

³ *De* in territorial titles, *Robert de Balesme* (S. Chron.), *Unfreiig de Tettaborna* (Dipl. Angl. p. 633) is of no moment, as *de* forms part of the name.

⁴ See O. Behaghel, *Grundriss d. germ. Phil.* I. p. 753.

⁵ Referring to the NED. 62 b, I observe: *of neih* occurs already in Anc. R. 60; I have found *of suddenne* in Horn 189, 1062. Cf. ONorse *af niðu*, *af skyndingu*.

23. Einkenkel (Grundr. § 142 *a*) says that the use of a prepositional genitive (*of me*) instead of a possessive pronoun (*my*) is due to French: *l'honneur de vos* > *thonnour of you* (Chauc.), mod. *not for the life of me*, etc.

The analytical construction *l'ame de lui*, *la puissance de lui* was usual in OFrench. But the MidE. construction also found a model in OE: Oros. 34,31 *sio bysen of him* (see 9). The possessive *of* develops in the usual way in Woh. Lau. (OEH. I. p. 273) *te strengde of þe helpe mi muchele wacnesse and hardschipe of þe balde min herte*, subjectively: Havelok 1361 *for the holi milce of you* (originally from you). Woh. Lau. (OEH. I 273) *te luue of þe* is probably objective, and meets with S. Chron. *ege of him* the sight of him. After words designating parts of the body as in 'I will break the neck of you' *of* may be due to the analogy of instances like: Pat. Nost. 163 (OEH. I 63) *þe saule of him*, Vic. a. V. 59,25 *ðat eadi lif of zeu*¹; compare Scand. 'i halsen paa mig', etc.

Wyclif imitates Latin *ejus*, *eorum*, e. g. Luke II. 47 *the prudence and answeris of him*, Mat. VII. 29 *nat as the scribis of hem*, John II. 5 *the modir of him* (Scand. 'mor af ham'). John VII. 18 *the glorie of him*².

24. *A friend of mine* corresponds, as Einkenkel has shown³, to French *un chevalier des siens* (Froiss.). Is the construction due to French?

It is obvious that the OE. construction *seo heora jugoþ*⁴ can afford no appropriate basis, not even if we substitute an indefinite pronoun, e. g. S. Chron. 472 *A liera þegn an*, *E heora an þegn*.

Einkenkel is perfectly right in disregarding Luke XXIV. 22 *sume wif of urum*, i. e. 'of our party'. We might as well adduce the possessive pronoun in the sing., used of things, Lamb. H. 79 *zif þu mare spenest of þine*, i. e. 'of thy property', Havelok 2017 *and trusse al þat he mithen fynde of hise*.

Einkenkel has found no instance of **une fille des miennes*, which would leave no doubt that the French pronoun, referring to the preceding noun, had the same meaning as the modern 'of mine', and was different

¹ Sweet, New English Grammar, 2104 observes that some dialects distinguish between 'the man's head' and 'the head of a beast'.

² Cf. also H. Smith's study in the Syntax of Wyclif, Angl. XXX. p. 494.

³ Angl. XXXIII. pp. 504 ff.

⁴ I cannot consider this as 'eine inhaltlich, wie es scheint identische, nur dem äusseren bau nach verschiedene redeform'.

from OE. 'of urum'. I do not attach much importance to this apparent want. I have, at any rate, found in Catalan *una doncella de las suas*, and do not see why the phrase should not occur in French as well.

Jespersen says that the construction *a friend of my brother's* began in the fourteenth century with such instances as 'an officere of the prefectes' (Chauc.), where 'officers' is readily supplied . . . ; compare also 'ne no-thing of hise thinges is out of my power'¹.

If Jespersen is right in adducing the last example, it is tempting to take Vic. a. V. 77,²¹ *gif du him lanst ani þing of dinen* as an early instance of the same construction. But it is safer to say that 'no-thing, ani þing' were felt as indefinite pronouns, in which the original signification of 'thing' had become effaced. *Dinen* then means 'thy property', compare the preceding passage *zif nedfull mann wile borzín at te of ðín eihle*. The NED. (*of* 44) records as the earliest instance Curs. M. 6480 (Gött. Trin. MSS.) *nor best of his*. The definite article is found as early as Ipomadon 2130 *þe wille of yours*².

Why should the language choose a construction in which something was to be supplied, when a more straightforward expression 'one of the prefect's officers' was at hand? No doubt, because it wanted to emphasize the head-word by putting it first. This does not, however, explain the formal development of the construction.

It began, I suppose, in tag-sentences³.

In careless Norwegian speech we have such tagged phrases as *hent nogle æbler til mig, af de sure* = 'fetch some apples to me, of the sour ones', *jeg tog en cigar, af dem i kassen* = 'I took a cigar, of those in the box'. But the meaning may just as well be completed by adding a personal pronoun or a genitive: *jeg tog en cigar, af dine*, 'I took a cigar, of yours', *har du seet nogle strømper, af guttens?* = 'have you seen some stockings, of the boy's?', which are current expressions in some parts of the country⁴.

Af does not necessarily refer to a preceding word of quantity or number: *jeg har lagt ud penge, af mine* = 'I have ad-

¹ Growth and Structure of the English Language, p. 183.

² Kellner, Historical Outlines of English Syntax, p. 115.

³ Sweet, New English Grammar, Pt. II. 1774: In careless speech it often happens that a speaker finishes a sentence grammatically, and then adds one or more words as an after-thought to complete the meaning or define it more clearly.

⁴ I do not know the geographical limits of the construction. It prevails, at any rate, on the South Coast of Norway, but I think it may be occasionally heard anywhere. Dr. Amund B. Larsen, whom I have consulted on the matter, informs me that on the Coast of Nedenes an attraction regularly takes place: *en kniv af min, et hus af mit*.

vanced money, of mine'. But it should be added that in this case the use is not restricted to those verbs which in a direct construction may be followed by a partitive *af*: *jeg drak af melken*, 'I drank of the milk' (cf. p. 19).

In the above examples I have put a comma to indicate that a pause precedes the explanation that completes the meaning. But usually there is no pause: *her skal De se en blomst af Sundts* = 'here you shall see a flower of Sundt's', exactly corresponding to the English phrase.

This is, I suppose, the germ of the English construction. In course of time, *I saw a friend, of my father's* ceased to be regarded as a tag-sentence, and *a friend of my father's* became a word-group that was no longer bound to end-position. The French *un chevalier des siens, une famille des plus nobles* (see Einkenkel's article, p. 507) might contribute to this development, or cause it to be recognized in the literature.

II. At, by, to.

25. Many of the *at*-phrases studied by Sykes¹ are probably due to French. The superlative expressions should, however, be considered as English, in spite of the definite article: *at the first*, etc.² In some cases, Scand. influence may be thought of: *at hófi, at réttu, at muni, at fullu, at gllu*, cf. Orm *att hof, att hofelæs, att oferrdon*.

Play at has a parallel in ONorse *plega at*.

26. The distributive use of *be*, 'by twos and threes' which Einkenkel (Grundr. § 151 β) ascribes to French, is found in Gothic and OH. German, and is not altogether unknown in OE.: *word be worde*³. Mätzner, Gram. II. p. 423 (and similarly the NED. *by 25*) quotes as the earliest instance with numerals Laz. 16 116 *heo drozen ut . . . bi sixti* ⁊ *bi sixti*, etc.⁴ I find in the S. Chron. E 1095, p. 230 [*wæs gesewen*]

¹ French Elements in MidE. pp. 40-54.

² Cf. e. g. Mark. XII. 6 Royal MS. (and Hatton MS.) *æt þam nextan*.

³ Mätzner, Gram. II. p. 423; Wülfig, Syntax II. p. 358 ib. *be twifealdum*, etc. Wright, Old English Grammar, p. 222, gives *be twæm, be þrim*. Where do those forms occur?

⁴ Anc. R. 336 *bi monie þusendes*. H. Redepenning, Syntakt. Kapitel aus der 'Ancnen Riwle', Diss. Berlin 1906, p. 122.

*swide mæni fealdlice steorran of heofenan feollan, naht be anum oddde twam, ac swa þiclice þ hit nan mann ateallan ne mihte*¹.

27. In a paper on *æt, be, ymb* (Angl. XXVIII. pp. 305—393), R. Gottweiss examines (pp. 352 ff.) ‘*be* zur bezeichnung der mittelsperson’, and ‘Spuren der verwendung des *be* beim passiv’.

Gottweiss has found one instance in OE. of *be* introducing the person by means of whom anything is done. *Ælfc. H. I² p. 170 sum eawfæst man sende ðam halgan were twegen butrucas mid wine to lāce, be anum cnapan*, ‘by a boy’. I add: *Wulfst. H. 292,14 ða asende se almihtiga god án arendgewrit ufan of heofenan be anum halgan engle to anum bisceope*, *Diplom. Angl. p. 561, an. 1015 þære andsware þe he me sende . . . be Ælfgare Ælffan suna*, *S. Chron. E 675, p. 37 ðas writ seonde seo papa Agatho . . . bi Wilfred . . . to Engla lande*, *ib. E 1095, p. 232 man syððan þ Romegesceot be him sende*, *ib. E 1128, p. 259 ealle . . . be him senden to Ierusalem micel eahte*.

Thus, *sendan be* was regularly established at the close of the OE. period. We cannot think that *sendan* was the only verb construed with *be*, but no other has yet been found². At any rate, this shows a step towards the use of *be* as introducing the agent after a passive verb.

Be is doubtful in Bede 637,3 (Smith’s edition) *be ðisses B.’ lifes stealle foreweardum we sculan feawum wordum gemynegian, ða ðe be him gedōne wæron*. I am inclined to believe that *be* does not denote the agent, but means ‘with regard to’ (cf. Miller’s translation, *Wulfings’ Syntax II. p. 338*). Nor am I sure about *Blickl. H. 163,27 þæt be þære cennendra gefyrhtum þæs bearnes weorþe ongyten wære be þyson eallum oþrum mannum*, which Gottweiss quotes as a second example of *be* introducing the agent (person) in a passive construction: ‘understood by all these men’. The Homilist first speaks of the prophets and the predecessors of S. John. I think *þyson . . . mannum* refers to these predecessors, and that *be* expresses the standard = ‘according to’, (German *gemäss*). A translation ‘the value of the child should be judged (measured) by (according to) all these men’ seems to be supported by the next passage: *forþon hie þære án his gebyrde oforstog ealle é þisse*

¹ I have not yet had access to F. Dusenschön’s dissertation: *Die Präpos. æfter, æt, be in der altengl. Poesie*, Diss. Kiel 1907, and do not know whether he treats the phenomena dealt with here.

² *þurh* is the common preposition, *S. Chron. E 1123, p. 251 ðis wæs eall ear gedon ðurh se biscop of Seresbyrig* & *þurh se biscop of Lincolne*, *AS. Reg. Ben. 40,5 ðæt seofonfealde getæl bið þus þurh us gefyllad (= a nobis implebitur)*, see also *Wulfing, Syntax II. p. 514*, frequently approaching *fram, of*.

menniscan gecynde, and by the preceding lines *I. se was mara & selra eallum oþrum mannum*; see also p. 167 *Sanctus Iohannes þonne gæþ beforan eallum oþrum witgan*, etc.¹

28. Gottweiss discusses *ib. pp. 338 ff. by himself* = 'alone', without bringing any new material. The only instance hitherto known is Boet. 258,33 *hit is gecynd ðære godcundnesse þæt hio mæg beon ungemenged wið oþre gesceafta buton oþerra gesceafta fultume, swa swa nān oþer gesceaft ne mæg; ne mæg nān oþer gesceaft be him selfum bion*². Gottweiss concludes that *by himself* is modelled on OFrench *par moi, toi, soi*, etc. (cf. Einkenel, Streifzüge, p. 132, and Grundr. § 151 *u*).

I find in the Wint. Reg. Ben. 21,13 *se abbodesse zeladize togedere eall þone zeferscyepe ⁊ segge hyreself, hwæt þar beo to donne. And zehyre þonne hyre sustre rædd ⁊ smeaze bæ hyre sylfro, and don la hwet hyre þince betst* = *et audiens consilium sororum tractet apud se*, in the Interl. Vers. 17,14 *he smæge mid him sylfan*, AS. Vers. 15,7 *smeage on his agenum gepance*.

Be is obviously local, and akin to German *bei sich erwägen*, Scand. *overveie med (ved, hos) sig selv*. But the German and Scand. phrase meaning 'she thinks to herself', merely expresses that the abbess is about her own thoughts: she is alone with her own mind or activity. In English the sense of seclusion rather applies to the person: the abbess is alone with herself. This meaning appears more distinctly in other MidE. examples: Anc. R. 12 *hwarse wummon liued oder mon bi him one, eremite oder ancre*, Laz. 24 575 *alle þa wepmen at heore mete seten sundi bi heom seoluen*, in German *für sich*, Scand. *for sig (selv)*.

'Alone' (cf. above Boet. *ungemenged*) implies 'without the help of others (*buton oþerra gesceafta fultume*), by one's own means'. To attain this shade it is not necessary to recur to the *be* introducing the agent, or the person by whom anything is done (see the NED. *by* 4 b³).

¹ Eadw.-Canterb. Hy. 16,1 *þes ilca psalm is iwruten bi seoluan dauide* (Lat. *hic psalmus proprie scribitur david*), is the earliest instance I have met with.

² Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 338. The passage quoted § 636 *σ*, Past. C. 158,6 *be him selfum sceal ælc mon gedencean hu he oðrum deman wille* contains, in my opinion, *be* = 'according to' (see above), like *ib. 184,20 wolde þæt he arest hiene be oðrum men gedemde*.

³ The NED. and Mätzner Gram. II. p. 424 mention John VII. 17 *Gyf hwa wyle his willan don he gecnæwð be þære lare hwæfer heo si of gode hwæfer þe ic be me sylfum spece*; 18 *Se þe be him sylfum sprycð secf his agen wuldor*: *Si quis voluerit voluntatem eius facere: cognoscet de doctrina, utrum ex Deo sit, an ego a me ipso loquar. Qui a semetipso loquitur, gloriam propriam querit. Mätzner calls be causal (why not instrumental?). I confess that I find be problematic and venture the opinion that it is due to an incorrect translation, being the common *be in sprecan be* = 'speak*

Already the passage from Boet. contained this shade, and it is still more prominent in two instances I have met with in the S. Chron. F 870 (Plummer, Appendix B, p. 284) *hi scoldan helpan þan feawan munecan þe þar bylifen wæran to donne Cristes deowdam, for ðan he na mihte swa ferlice munecas findan þa mihtan be heom sylfum þone þeowdom don, far ðissen he het þ̅ ða preostas . . . þan munecan helpan scoldan*, and later on: *þ̅ magan þone deowdom be heom sylfan don*¹. It seems, however, likely that the local sense was influenced by the instrumental. Boet. *be him selfum* looks very like *per se ipsum*, but there is no corresponding passage in the Latin original.

29. *Be* in temporal use: Wulfstan H. 116,1 *utan gelæstan . . . ure geogude teofunge be pentecosten and ure eorðwæstma be emnihte odde huru be ealra halgena mæssan, and seo ælc heorðpening agifen be Petres mæssedæg to ðam biscopstole*. A search through the Laws will probably reveal more instances of this kind². *Be* is frequent in the S. Chron. E; I quote 1129, p. 260 *hi scolden hi forlæten be sancte Andreas messe*, 1052 p. 183 *forlet Arnwi abbot of Burh abbotrice be his halre life*, 1137, p. 264 *be nihtes ⁊ be dæies*.

30. The OE. preposition *tō* has been dealt with by Belden³. More materials are furnished by Wülfig in his Syntax II, pp. 519 ff. Here are some additional notes.

From expressing direction toward something, or destination, *tō* came to denote a *dativus commodi* (now frequently expressed by *for*): S. Chron.

of, about'. So far as I can see, the use of *be* in the sense of Lat. *a*, is without a parallel in OE. If there was no misunderstanding, the Translator would not hesitate to take *fram* (*of* had already done duty for *ex*), the preposition that corresponds to Lat. *a*, and which naturally presented itself to the Northumbrian Glosser: *from gode . . . from me seolfum . . . from hine seolfne*, like Gothic *fram* (Greek *πότερον ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαλῶ*¹⁸ *ὁ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ λαλῶν*, etc.). Compare John V. 44 *þ̅ wuldor þe is fram gode syluum*: *gloriam quæ a solo Deo est*. An average Englishman certainly takes *of* as meaning 'about' and not 'from' when reading in the Authorised Version the passage from John VII 17-18: *If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself*.¹⁸ *He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory* (Similarly Wyclif and Tyndale); the Revised Version judiciously puts *from*: 'whether I speak from myself. He that speaketh from himself'. The less surprising that the OE. Translator should mistake Lat. *a* in this connexion.

¹ The MS. belongs to the twelfth or perhaps to the end of the eleventh century, see Plummer, Pt. II. Introd. p. XXXVI. and p. XLIV. The above is a marginal entry.

² Cf. also Mätzner, Gram. II. p. 425, Wülfig, Syntax II, p. 325, Gottweiss, Angl. XXVIII. p. 340.

³ Belden, The Prepositions *in, on, etc.* in AS. Prose, pp. 48 ff. I have not seen J. Albers, Der syntaktische Gebrauch der Präposition *to* in der altenglischen Poesie. Diss. Kiel 1907.

1013, p. 144 [*seo burhwaru*] *bead þa Swegen full gild ⁊ metsunga to his here*, Wulfst. H. 155,32 *him symle sy lof and wyrðmynt to worulde = Ælfc. Lives I. 382, etc., S. Chron. E 656, p. 31 þær ne be numen of na geld buton to þa munecan ane*. Sometimes *tō* tended to introduce an indirect object. Between the different categories it is difficult to draw any distinct line (compare e. g. Wūlfing, Syntax II. p. 535 *lætan tō*).

Geunnan

is construed in OE. with dative of person. In such an example as Diplom. Angl. p. 562 an. 1015 *þa ðingc þe ic to Gode into Godes cyrican ⁊ Godes þeowan geunnen hæbbe*, and in several examples below, it is doubtful whether *tō* really expressed the relation of an indirect object. But there can be no doubt when the construction with *tō* appears as the equivalent of the old dative case in Diplom. Angl. p. 563 an. 1046 *ic gean to Wol[kytele] ⁊ Kytele mīnum sunum þæs londes æt Wælsingaham . . . ⁊ ic gean mīnum twam dohtrum . . . Seaxlingaham, etc.*

With *geunnan*, *giefan*, and the like, *intō* is used to denote the place, church, etc., (in-) to which something is granted, as Diplom. Angl. p. 596 ab. 1066 *ic gean þæs landes æt Brycandune into Sancte Petre to Westmenstre*, but there is sometimes an interchange between *tō* and *intō*, as ib. p. 572 (late) *ic an þat lond at Sculham . . . half into Sancte Benedicte to Rameseye and half into Sancte Benedicte into Holm*, and ib. p. 559 an. 1015 *ic gean to Scaftenesbyrig to þære halgan rode ⁊ to Sancte Eadwearde þara VI. punda*. Similarly:

āgiefan,

Wulfstan H. 231,1 *eowre teodunge ageofað to godes mynstrum*.

sellan,

Ælfc. Lives II. 340 *ne ne syle þu þinne wlite to ænigum hospe, ac bewedde þe sylfe Criste* (doubtful indirect object, cf. some of the following verbs). S. Chron an. 876 B (= CDEF, cf. Thorpe's edition, pp. 144—5) *him þa gislas sealðan þe on ðam here weorðæste wæron to þæm cinge*.

dælan,

S. Chron. E 1086, p. 222 *se cyng . . . dælde þa gersuman for his fæder saule to ælcen mynstre þe wes innan Englelande, to suman mynstre . X. marc goldes, to suman . VI. ⁊ to ælcen cyrcean uppe land . LX. pænega*.

geoffrian,

S. Chron. D 1058, p. 189 *wurðlic lac eac geoffrode to ures Drihtenes byrgene*.

Secgan,

Secgan *tō* formed after the analogy of *cweþan tō* has been noted a few times. I add S. Chron. E 1123, p. 251 *seide to þam kyng*, and E 1135, p. 263 *durste nan man sei to him naht bute god*. AS. Reg. Ben. 19,21 *he to lareowum þus cwid*, is transcribed in the Wint. V. 27,16 *he sezð to þam lareowum*, compare Canterb. Ps. 40,6 which inserts *to: fynd mine cweðon vel sægdon yfela to me*, inimici mei dixerunt mala michi.

witegian,

Ælfc. H. I² p. 16 *be ðam wundrum þe Crist geworhte witegode Hieremias to þære byrig Hierusalem*.

forsprecan,

Ælfc. H. I² p. 494 *forsprecað hi foran to ðisum folce*.

wrēgan,

John V. 45 *ic eow wrege to fæder*, Ælfc. Lives I. 42 *wrægdon philippum to ðam fore-sæden casere*.

forwrēgan,

S. Chron. D 952, p. 112 *he was oft to þam cyninge forwregeð*, ib. C (= DEF) 1009, p. 138 *forwregeð Wulfnoð cild . . . to þam cyninge*.

underþædan,

S. Chron. E 1132 *he uuolde underpeden ð mynstre to Clunie*¹.

giernan,

Wulfst. H. 180,11 *girne to godes þeowum þæt hy him siððan absolutionem macigan*, S. Chron. C 1049 *Ðar com eft ongean Swegen eorl to Eadwerde cinge, ⁊ gyrnde to him landes þ he mihte hine on afedan*.

bycgan,

bycgan tō for *bycgan æt*: Land Chart. p. 241 an. 1038(?) *ic gean Ælfwig preoste þ land þe ic bohte to Leofwenne*, the land which I bought of Leofwen. If there is no error, the fundamental idea must be 'to go to somebody for something', as in *sæcan*, *wilnian tō* (also *æt*).

derian,

Wulfst. H. 55,4 *hy derjad mid swa geradan dædan ge ærest him sylfum ge syððan to manegan*.

It is particularly interesting to see *tō* replacing the dative case after an intransitive verb like *derian*.

¹ Cf. Wülfing, Syntax II, p. 564 and Belden, l. c. p. 53.

After *adjectives*:

ieldest

S. Chron. E 1075, p. 211 *Roger eorl ⁊ Raulf eorl þe wæron yldast to ðam unreode.*

fæge

S. Chron. A 937, p. 108 *fæge to gefeohte.*

cūþ

S. Chron. C (= DE, cf. Thorpe's edition pp. 260—61) 1009, p. 139 *ða þis þus cud wæs tō þam oderum scipum*¹.

31. Einkenkel (Grundr. § 159 τ) considers *son to* and similar expressions as modelled on French *filz à*. Logeman² supposes influence from Scand. *søn til*.

I think we have to start from the OE. final dative, as in Oros. 178,21 *þæt hit na geweorpan sceolde þæt se wære leoda cyning se þe ær wæs folce þeow* (quoted by Wulfing, Syntax I. p. 133). The dative, originally belonging to the whole sentence, passes into adnominal use, as in Latin (*quoi est servus Sosia* Plaut.) and in numerous other Indo-Germanic languages³. *To* next replaces the dative in conformity with Scand. *til* (cf. ONorse *fadir at barninu*, Fritzner, Dict. at 22), and *zu* in German dialects, Romance *ad*.

Father, son, servant to, etc., may be due partly to the analogy of *belimpan tō*, compare ONorse *skógen til Rossalanda* (Fritzner, Dict. til 10), partly to an extended use of *to* in phrases of purpose or function: S. Chron. E 1087, p. 224 *hine þe wæs ærur heafod to ðam unræde*, compare *auctor his rebus quis est?* Ter., Ælfc. Lives I. 206 *hi rædboran wæran þæs arleasan deman to his yfelum dædum*, Wint. Reg. Ben. 147,5 *nis swide riht rezol to mancynnes life?* = *non est rectissima norma huius uite humane*, and the frequent 'witness to', e. g. Diplom. Angl. p. 634 *þerto is gewittnes Ælwine preost*.

The sense of function is somewhat more effaced before nouns of place, as in Diplom. Angl. p. 649 *þ toll nam Garwise gerefa to Toppes-*

¹ Belden, l. c. p. 55: *cud, wilsum, leof, gelic*, take complementary dative without *to*.

² Herrig's Archiv CXVII, p. 282.

³ Delbrück, Vergleich. Syntax d. indog. Spr. I. pp. 303 ff., Westholm, Étude historique sur la construction du type »Li filz le rei« en français, Diss. Uppsala 1899.

*hamme*¹ ib. 650 *wæs gebures dohtor to Hæpfelda . . . wæs inbyrde to Hæðfelda* (later on also *wæs gebur into Hæðfelda*).

In Modern English *to*, as contrasting with *of*, is still felt to contain the notion 'serving as' (see examples Mätzner, Gram. II. p. 316 and III. p. 342), except perhaps with nouns expressing physical relationship. In figurative use, however, *to* after such' words as 'father, son', retains its more original meaning, as in Job XXIX 15—16 *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the needy = oculus fui cæco et pes claudo, pater eram pauperum*, rendered in OE. with a corresponding dative and genitive, Ælfc. H. I² p. 448 *ic wæs blindum men eage, and healtum fót, and þearfena fæder*, and Hiob IV.

32. Belden does not mention the use of *tō* indicating price (compare Wülfing, Syntax II. p. 589). Examples are frequent in late charters, as Diplom. Angl. p. 633 *Teolling gebohte Ælword Stamera ⁊ Edwine his broðor to VII mancson*, ib. p. 635 *gebohton Ælfilde . . . to feower ⁊ sixtuge penegon*, ib. p. 636 *bohte hine silfne ⁊ his ofsprung . . . to healfe punde*, etc., alternating with the prepositions *mid* and *wip*.

III. Numerals, Adverbs, Conjunctions.

33. Einkenel (Grundr. § 187 δ) says that the modern word-order of numerals is rare in OE.: *hundteontig and fiftig þreo*, Joh. This quotation can refer only to John XXI. 11 in the Northumbrian Glosses *hunteantig ⁊ fiftig driim vel dreo*, which does not prove anything, being a literal translation of Lat. *centum quinquaginta tribus*. The West-Saxon version reads *hundteontig ⁊ dreo ⁊ fiftig*. John II. 20 *feortig and sex*, quoted by Fricke², is also taken from the same Glosses = *quadraginta et sex* (WS. *six ⁊ feowertigon*).

There can be no doubt that the modern word-order is due to imitation of Latin and French (as in Swedish), cf. the Latin order in Bede 475,26 (Smith's ed. quoted by Wülfing I p. 320) *hundteontig ⁊ fiftig ⁊ six gear*. In Gen. and Ex. we frequently find the units put after the tens when it suits rime and metre, e. g. 987 *LXXX. gere and*

¹ Belden, l. c. pp. 56 f. mentions *to* only in predicative constructions with verbs of appointing, consecrating, and the like.

² Das altenglische Zahlwort, Diss. Göttingen 1886, p. 29.

sexte mo : do (but 990 *IX. and nigenti ger he was old*), similarly Havelok 2026 *he weren bi tale sixti and ten : men*. Wyclif imitates Latin: John XXI. 11 *an hundrid fyfti and thre*, II. 20 *fourty and sixe*.

34. According to Einkenkel (Grundr. § 147 *v ff.*), MidE. *ofte tyme(s)* is due to French *soventes fois*; hence again *selden tyme* and perhaps *whan tyme*. We need not here insist on the lax distinction in MidE. between adjectives and adverbs, nor on the common confusion of different constructions, but shall only mention Scand. *en sjelden gang*, *sjelden* being regularly established as an adjective (German *selten*), and *naar tid* in colloquial Norwegian.

Seven S. *the wisest in that so was Katoun*, Chauc. *for Goddes loue, so beth me nought unkynde, for Godes sake as beth of better chere* are not necessarily modelled on French¹. I think *so (as)* is a further development of the OE. correlative *swa* — *swa*: Laz. 25 909 *sone swa he hider com, swa he pat maide inom* (the B-text omits the second *swa*); Kent. Serm. (Misc. 28) *wo so hath beleaue ine gode swo offreth him god gold . . . for ase se smech of þe store wanne hit is i-do into þe uerēē and goth upward to þo heuene and to gode ward, Swo amuntet si gode biddinge to gode of þo herte of þo gode cristenemanne*, Vic. a. V. 9,13 *al þat we more swerizeð, swo it is euel and senne*, B. Bruce 6,215 *and as he raid into-to the nycht, Sa saw he*². The last instance readily passes into Caxt. Reyn. 6/16 *Whan thyse wordes were spoken so stode there a lytyl hunde*, (which de Reul ascribes to Dutch influence)³. In a similar way the correlative *þonne* is frequently introduced after *gif*: Diplom. Angl. p. 593 *gif ic hom cume þanne wille ic sitten*.

35. Laz. 2360 [*hehte hine*] *makian an eorð-hus . . . and þat inne swide feire stude* (Grundr. § 164 9) corresponds to Scand. usage, compare also Orm 11 321 *þe Goddspell sez3þ þatt he wass ledd þurh Gast inntill þe wesste, And tatt forr þatt he sholde þær Beon fandedd*. Einkenkel brings no French passage corresponding to Laz. 2075 *he heom bitahte þa burh ⁊ izearwed mid þan beste*, MS. B omits *and*.

¹ Compare: *Der var en gang tre Bukke, som skulde gaa til Sæters og gjøre sig fede, og alle tre saa hedte de Bukken Bruse*, Asbjørnsen, Norske Folke- og Huldre-Eventyr, p. 150. See also Falk & Torp, Dansk-norskens Syntax, p. 282.

² M. Kolkwitz, Das Satzgefüge in Barber's Bruce und Henry's Wallace, Diss. Halle 1893, p. 16.

³ The Language of Caxton's Reynard the Fox, London 1901, p. 158.

36. After the analogy of conjunctions formed by a preposition and the demonstrative pronoun + *that* (OE. to *þam þæt*, etc.), MidE. added *that* to other conjunctions; Orm frequently uses *ziff þatt*, Woh. o. u. Lau. (OEH. I. 277) *hwen þat*, favoured by *þa þa*, *þa þe*.¹ Compare *at* in colloquial (vulgar) Norwegian *naar at*, etc.

That being felt as part of the conjunction serves as a connective word in a second subordinate clause *when that . . . and that*. But the first *that* may be omitted: *Though my soul be guilty and that I think*, Shak.² The latter *that* does not only correspond to French *que* (Einenkel, Grundr. § 165 *v*), but also to colloquial Norwegian *at*, which is a common »blunder« in the compositions of our school-boys³. *That* is severely censured by Hodgson⁴, consequently still in vigour.

Einenkel continues: Auch die Auslassung sogar dieses *that* ist afrz.: *le roy d'Angleterre ne les osa combattre pour ce qu'ils estoient en place aduantageuse et estoient aduitaillez de la ville de Vendosme, et les dits Anglois mouraient de faim*, Al. Chart. > *If I it told and ye it toke a-mys*, Chauc. But examples of *gif* governing two or more subordinate clauses abound in OE.: Laws of Hlothar and Eadric (Schmid) 7 *Gif man oðrum mæn feoh forstele, and se agend hit eft ætfo, geteme*, etc., Laws of Ine 31 *Gif mon wif gebygge and sio gyft forð ne cume, agife þæt feoh*, similarly ib. 25, 29, 39, 42, 43, 44, 48, 56, 57, 71, 72, 75, etc., and in other Laws. Ælfc. Exod. XXI. 23 *gif hit swa ne bið and heo æfter þam deade bið, sylle lif wið life* = *sin autem mors ejus fuerit subsequata, reddat animam pro anima*, see also ib. XXI. 28, 29, 36, XXII. 2, etc. I further mention *þonne*: Laws of Ine 43 *þonne mon beam on wuda forbærne, and weorðe yppe on þone þe hit dyde gielde he ful wite*. Later Laz. B 28 226 *a morwe þo hit dai was, ⁊ drihte hine sende, arthur him forþ wende*.

*All be it that*⁵ is possibly from French *tout soit ce que*, but the expression may also be derived from OE. concessive clauses, as Wulfstan

¹ See other examples, W. Böhme Die Temporalsätze in der Übergangszeit vom AS. zum Altengl., Diss. Leipzig 1903, pp. 15, 20 ff. *Gif that* is frequent in the 13th c.

² Conversely Trin. H. 127 *for þat he wolde . . . ⁊ for he was send*.

³ Here are some examples furnished by a teacher of adults: *Dette kan vare saa længe, indtil denne ven kanske har forbrugt sine penge, eller at han bliver syg: de andre arbeidere vil da skaffe de forulempede deres ret, enten fordi deres retfærdighedsfølelse tilsiger dem det, eller, hvad der vel oftere er tilfældet, at de frygter for selv engang at komme i den samme stilling; i regelen bliver man venner . . . naar der for dem som slutter venskab ikke sker nogen større opofrelse ved dets indgaaelse, men at begge tvertimod . . . har fordel af det*.

⁴ Errors in English, 5th Ed., Edinburgh 1885, p. 120.

⁵ To this and the following, cf. Einenkel, Grundr. pp. 1113 ff.

H. 271,1 *gif hwæt færlices on þeode becymð, beon hit hereræsas, beon hit færcwealmas . . . beo swa hwæt swa hit beo.* If this holds, *all* must be due to the analogy of *although*, *all if*.

But if that is frequent in Orm, e. g. 2609 *niss nan mahht riht god inoh . . . Butt iff itt beo þurh þidless gold.*

For that expressing purpose has nothing to do with French. It regularly continues OE. *for þam þæt*, which expresses purpose as well as cause. Orm 1018 *þatt wagheriff wass henngedd ter Forr þatt itt hidenn sholde all þatt* illustrates the double function.

For that 'as regards', see Stoffel, *Studies in English*, p. 40 f.

So that = 'provided that' starts from OE. *swā*, cf. Mather jr. *The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 53. *By so that* is more doubtful.

Grundr. § 166 η: »Beim Kausalsatz zu erwähnen, dass afrz. *que* viel entschiedener kausal ist als ae. *þæt* z. B. in *geblissiað þæt eower naman synd on heofonum awritene*, Luc., afrz. *Li jours fu froids qu'il ot negié*, Raoul de Houd. > me. *hir thoughte that sche dyde*, *That sche so long a counseil scholde hyde*, Chauc. > ne. *Cursed be I that I did so!* Shak". It is true that OE. *þæt* never expressed cause so distinctly as *que* did in the above French example. Still, *þæt* might have a more causal character than in *geblissian*, *wundrian þæt* (cf. p. 10): Wulfst. H. 140,20 *wā me earmre, þæt ic æfre geboren sceolde wurdan, oððe þæt ic æfre sceolde niman eardungstowe* (similarly Ælfc. Lives II. 354), which exactly corresponds to the passage quoted from Shakespeare, further S. Chron. E 1119, p. 249 *ðysra deað wæs heora freondan twyfealdlic sār, an þet hi swa fearlice þises lifes losedan, oðer þ feawa heora licha-man ahwær syððan fundena wæron.*

I take the opportunity of mentioning S. Chron. D 1065, p. 193 *þa Ryðrenan dydan mycelne hearm abutan Hamtune . . . ægþær þ hi ofslogon menn ⁊ bærndon hūs*, etc. (in that), ib. A, etc. 918, p. 98 *hie him sealdon gislas, þæt hie of Eadweardes cyninges anwalde afaran woldon* (as a pledge that).

37. It is somewhat difficult to understand why French *que*, according to Eienkel, in some cases results in English *that*, in others in *as* or *than*, or why *how* and *as* alternate because OFrench *comme* alternates with *comment* (Grundr. § 165).

There as is somewhat freely rendered by *au lieu que*. Eienkel gives no examples, but probably alludes to the cases mentioned by

Mätzner, Gram. III. pp. 464 f. = German *während*, French *tandis que*. Originally *there as* had a local meaning; an intermediate stage is represented in ONorse: Partal. S. 2,18 *þotti henni þat mikil minkan at heita sidan keisarinna þar er adr het hon meykongr*, 'she thought it was a great falling off to be called empress where (i. e. while) she was earlier called sovereign'.

Fond as we are, also considered as French by Mätzner, Gram. III. p. 520, had better be connected with OE. *swa earm folc swa hie wæron* (Wülfig, Syntax II. pp. 160 ff.), the first *swa* being omitted, as frequently otherwise, Anc. R. 158 *zung of zeres ase he was*.

For as much as is taken to be a translation of *pour autant que* (Mätzner, Gram. III. p. 495, Western, Engelske Bisætninger, p. 100). But *for*, which alternates with *in*, may also be explained as meaning 'as regards'; *as much as* indicates measure, like *swa wide swa*, cf. ONorse *svá vitt sem* (local), modern *for saa vidt som*¹.

As soon as is rightly explained by Böhme² as due to the analogy of *swa oft swa*, *swa lange swa* (or better *swa hraþe swa*).

Rather than, in my opinion, continues OE. *ær þonne* (*ær þæm þe, ær*). The temporal sense imperceptibly changes character. Boet. 44,20 *manegum men is leofre þæt he ær self swelte ær he geseo his wif ⁊ his bearn sweltende*, (Wülfig, Syntax II. p. 118) exactly corresponds to the MidE. example quoted by Einkenel: *so many han hemselven slayn Wel rather they wolde defouled be*, Chauc. Compare Orm 6316 *forr ær þez3 þenn þolenn dæþ . . . ær þann þez3 woll denn gilltenn ohht*. *Rather than* lies *ær*, as in Laz. 6318 A *heo wes ær on Bruttisc*, B *he was raþer bruttus* (earlier). German *eher als*, Scand. *før end* show the same general development towards the sense 'in preference to', like English *rather than*, Scand. *snarere end*.

Erst than, *erst er for ær than* is connected with the common use in the 14th c. of the adverb *erst*, in a comparative sense, see the NED. *erst* 4.

For the natural use of *when* = *if* see Mätzner, Gram. III. p. 469 and 498; Kühn, Die Syntax des Verbuns in Ælfrics Heiligenleben, Diss. Leipzig 1889, p. 20; Mather, The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon p. 50 (conditional *þonne* is »tediously common« in Past. C.), Wülfig, Syntax II. p. 146. Compare German *wenn*, Scand. *naar*.

¹ Falk & Torp, Dansk-norskens syntax, p. 236.

² Die Temporalsätze in der Übergangszeit, pp. 34 ff.

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38. Without entering into omission of *that*, as introducing i

Orm omits *that*: 17 401 *z badd he sholde ledenn hemm*, 17 417 *z badd he sholde melltenn brass*. *That* is often omitted in Gen. and Ex. e. g. 3572 *ic wene he figten dun her-bi*, 1735 *do sag Iacob Laban wurd wrod*, and very frequently in Havelok.

That recalls the French construction in Kent. Serm. (Misc. p. 26) *hem askede wer crist solde bien i-bore. Hi answerden þet ine ierusalem.*

39. I am not convinced that Jespersen is right when suggesting that English owes to Scandinavian the use of a preposition governing a dependent clause: 'he talked of how people had injured him'¹, but here too I have found the earliest instance in Orm, Ded. 161 *writenn uppo boc off Cristess firste come, off hu soþ Godd wass wurpenn mann*. To my knowledge, OE. possessed only the construction *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*, as Wulfst. H. 133,15 *me swa gegramedon þurh þæt hi noldon mine lage healdan*.

¹ Cf. lately about German *dass*, P. Diels, Zur Entstehung der indirekten Rede im Deutschen, Zs. f. vergleich. Sprachforsch. XL, pp. 194 ff.

² Growth and Structure of the English Language, p. 83.

