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THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE IN OLD ENGLISH

*Approved for publication in the Monograph Series of the Modern  
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THE  
CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE  
IN OLD ENGLISH

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# THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE IN OLD ENGLISH

## INTRODUCTION

This monograph is the second of my studies on the Subjunctive in Old English, and follows in general the plan of my first study in this field, *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English* (The University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas, 1931).

The present investigation is based upon a statistical reading of the chief Old English texts, prose and poetical, and, in the case of translations, of the Latin originals. The texts read and the abbreviations used therefor are indicated in Appendix B, Bibliography.

Only one detailed treatment of the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English has appeared hitherto, "The Clause of Result in Old English Prose," in *Anglia*, xxxi, 1908, pp. 197-255, by Professor Allen H. Benham, of the University of Washington, Seattle. As the title of this Yale dissertation indicates, the investigation is restricted to the Old English prose texts. The statistics are professedly complete, but the examples are cited by page and line only, the verbs concerned not being named except occasionally. Little attention is paid to the Latin originals of the Old English translations, or to the Consecutive Subjunctive in the kindred Germanic languages. It is believed that the results obtained in the present investigation differ so widely from those of Dr. Benham and of the writers on Old English mood-syntax who have incidentally touched on the consecutive use of the subjunctive as to warrant this second study.

Consecutive Sentences are by some scholars, as by Professors Gildersleeve and Lodge, in their *Latin Grammar* (3d ed., Boston, 1896), §551, 2, subdivided into two classes:<sup>1</sup> I. Pure Consecutive Sentences, those in which the tendency is expressed by an introductory particle, and II. Complementary Consecutive Sentences, those in which the tendency lies in the leading verb, as after verbs of making, or in a word or phrase requiring expansion, as *custom, time, worthy*, etc. The Pure Consecutive Clauses are adverbial in nature; the Complementary Consecutive

<sup>1</sup> Though somewhat different terms are used, substantially this two-fold classification of Latin Consecutive Clauses is given by Charles E. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, Vol. 1. *The Verb*, Boston, 1910, pp. 296 ff.; by R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 2. Band: *Satzlehre*, 2. Auflage, Neubearbeitet von Dr. Carl Stegmann, Hannover, 1912, 1914, Teil II, pp. 234 ff.; and by F. Stolz and J. H. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik: Syntax und Stilistik*, 5. Auflage, Neubearbeitet von Dr. J. B. Hofmann, München, 1928, §§321 ff.

Clauses, as a rule, are either substantival (subjective, objective, etc.) or adjectival (relative) in nature.

In this study I propose to treat only the Pure Consecutive Clauses, hereafter designated merely as Consecutive Clauses. For my exclusion of the so-called Complementary Consecutive Clauses there seem to be several good grounds. (1) Many writers on Old English and Germanic syntax treat most phases of this group under other headings, such as Substantival Clauses (Appositive, Subjective, Objective, Predicate Nominative) and Adjectival (Relative) Clauses. For instance, this plan is followed, in the main, by J. E. Wülfing, in his *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen* (Bonn, 1894-1901), II, 155 ff., and by the chief student hitherto of the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English, Dr. Benham, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204. The latter scholar, however, includes in his monograph Relative Clauses Denoting Result. (2) In some of the categories put under Complementary Consecutive Clauses the idea of result seems to me very slight. (3) I think that I can treat these complementary clauses more helpfully in subsequent studies dealing respectively with the Subjunctive in Substantive Clauses and the Subjunctive in Relative Clauses. (4) Chiefly this exclusion enables me to bring out more clearly what seem to me the noteworthy things to be told concerning the Old English Subjunctive in Pure Consecutive Clauses.

A special difficulty encountered in any discussion of the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English arises from the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of drawing a hard-and-fast line between the Clause of Result and the Clause of Purpose, so closely akin are the two uses. This relationship in Latin is succinctly put by Professors Gildersleeve and Lodge (*op. cit.*, §543):

1. Sentences of Design are commonly called Final Sentences. Sentences of Tendency are commonly called Consecutive Sentences. Both contemplate the end—the one, as an aim; the other, as a consequence. 2. They are alike in having the Subjunctive and the particle *ut* ('how,' 'that'), a relative conjunction. 3. They differ in the Tenses employed. The Final Sentence, as a rule, takes only the Present and Imperfect Subjunctive. Consecutive Sentences may take also Perfect and Pluperfect. 4. They differ in the kind of Subjunctive employed. The Final Sentence takes the Optative. The Consecutive Sentence takes the Potential. Hence the difference in the Negative [normally *ne* for the Final, and *ut non* for the Consecutive sentence].

The difficulty of distinguishing the two types of sentences is then indicated (§543, Note 2):

It is to be remarked that the difference between Final and Consecutive often consists only in the point of view. What is final from the point of view of the doer is consecutive from the point of view of the spectator; hence the variation in

sequence and negative after verbs of Effecting. A frustrated purpose gives a negative result; hence the variation in negative after verbs of Hindering.

The relationship between Consecutive Clauses and Final Clauses in Old English has recently been discussed by Dr. Hans Glunz, in his unusually able monograph, *Die Verwendung des Konjunktivs im Altenglischen*:

Der Unterschied zwischen den sogenannten Finalsätzen und den Konsekutivsätzen besteht nur darin, dass jene etwas Gewünschtes, Ersehntes, Gewolltes, Begehrtes zum Inhalt haben, diese etwas nicht so Determiniertes, sondern Berichtetes, interesselos Betrachtetes. Beide stimmen aber darin überein, dass sie Folgesätze sind, d. h. die Folge angeben, die sich aus einer anderen Handlung, Tätigkeit usw. ergibt. Ganz verfehlt ist die mechanistisch-logistische Ansicht, als ob mit 'so dass' eingeleitete Sätze immer konsekutiv wären, oder dass umgekehrt Sätze, deren Konjunktion wir mit 'damit' übersetzen, immer Finalsätze wären (Clauses of Purpose). So liegt in *þa underþioddan mon sceal swæ læran, þæt hie ealles ne sien genæt ne geiermed, and þa ofergesettan mon sceall swæ manian, þæt se hiera folgop hiene ne oþhebbe* C. P. 188.15, der Konjunktion nach zu urteilen, ein Konsekutivsatz im Konjunktiv vor. In der Tat aber ist der Satz viel eher final. Die Folge wird gewünscht, anbefohlen, erstrebt, und das ist charakteristisch für den Finalsatz. Andererseits wird durch das vorausgehende *swæ* auch der Folgegedanke betont (p. 36).

After quoting several other Old English sentences that may be considered either consecutive or final, Dr. Glunz (p. 37) tells us when and why, in his opinion, the Indicative is often used in Consecutive Clauses in Old English:

Wenn der sogenannte Konsekutivsatz einfach die Folge konstatiert, ohne dass der Redende ein Interesse daran äussert, so steht der Indikativ: *He lædde hie swa mid ligenum and mid listum speon idese on þæt unriht, þæt heo hire mod ongan lætan æfter þam larum* Gen. 591.

Despite Dr. Glunz's clever and persistent plea for a Subjunctive of Interest, here allotted to the consecutive use of the subjunctive, I question the cogency of his reasoning. Certainly a result in which the speaker is deeply interested is at times expressed by the Indicative both in Old English and in Modern English. For the former consider the following examples from the *West Saxon Gospels*:—*Matthew* 8.27: *Gewisslice þa men wundrodun and þus cwædon, Hwæt is þes þæt windas and sæ him hyrsumia þ?* = *Matthew*<sup>2</sup> 8.27: *Porro homines mirati sunt, dicentes: Qualis est hic quia et uenti et mare obædiunt ei* (not cited in Benham, *op. cit.*, p. 250, among his indicatives of result, but the following example is cited by him);—*Mark* 1.27: *Ða wundredon hi ealle swa þæt hi betwux him cwædon, Hwæt ys þis? hwæt is þeos niwe lar, þæt he on anwealde*

unclænum gastum *beby*t, and hi *hyrsumia* þ him? = *Mark*<sup>2</sup> 1.27: Et mirati sunt omnes, *ita ut conquirerent* inter se, dicentes: Quidnam est hoc? quae doctrina haec noua? *quia* in potestate et spiritibus inmundis *imperat*, et *obædiunt* ei? By some, as by the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible and by the editors of the Vulgate, Messrs. Wordsworth and White, the last clause of the passage from *Mark* is allowably considered causal, but to me it seems more probable that it is consecutive, as in the corresponding clause in *Matthew* 8.27. For the Modern English consider these examples:—*Hamlet*, I, v, 49:

O Hamlet, what a falling-off was there!  
From me, whose love was of that dignity  
*That it went* hand in hand even with the vow  
I made to her in marriage;—

Colloquial English: "I was so intent upon communicating with John *that I sent* him a night letter." At any rate, I prefer to consider that contingency rather than interest is the chief factor differentiating the Consecutive Subjunctive from the Consecutive Indicative.

Since to distinguish the consecutive use of the subjunctive from the final use thereof is so difficult, some of my classifications will doubtless be questioned by other students of Old English syntax. I hope, however, that these differences of interpretation may not seriously affect my general results.

As restricted in this monograph, the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English may be subdivided into two larger groups according to the nature of the introductory particles. We have A, the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Particles, such as *swa þæt(te)* (*swa . . . þæt(te)*), *swilc þæt* (*swilc . . . þæt*), *to þon þæt* (*to þon . . . þæt*), etc.; and B, the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles, such as *swa*, *þæt*, and *þætte*. Typical examples of these two subdivisions are as follows:

A. The Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Particles:

*Pref. to Gen.* 79.100: æfre he sceal gefadian hit *swa þæt þæt* Englisc *hæbbe* his agene wisan = no Latin.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 411.26<sup>o</sup>: Hwa is nu þæra þe gesceadwis sie, & *to þæm* gleaw sie *þæt* he swelces hwæt *to cnawan cunne*, *þætte nyte þætte*, etc.? = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 332.10: Quis enim consideratis ipsis rerum imaginibus *nesciat*, quod, etc.?

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 46.14<sup>a</sup>: Syn þa ealdras *swylce* gecorene, *þæt* se abbod his byrþenna on hy *todælan mæge* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 86.14: Qui Decani *tales* eligantur, in quibus securus Abbas *partiat*ur onera sua.



## B. The Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles:

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 67.23<sup>b</sup>: biþ ašmorod þæt sæd Godes worda, þeah hie upaspryttæn, þæt hie ne *moten fulgrowan* ne wæstmbære weorþan = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 42.18<sup>b</sup>: euntes suffocantur, et non *referunt* fructum.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 255.18: þæt gode mod þe sio hælo ful oft aweg adriefþ þæt gemynd þære medtrymnesse geedniewaþ, þætte þæt mod þe ofer his mæþ biþ upahæfen *gemyne* of þæm suingum þe þæt flæsc þolaþ to hwæm eal monncynn gesceapen is = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 192.30: *ut* animus, qui extra se in elationem ducitur, cui sit conditioni subditus, ex percussa, quam sustinet, carne *memoretur*.

In Appendix A are given the Statistics of the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English. The subjunctives are listed alphabetically in the respective categories. I have habitually taken account of the Latin Correspondents to the consecutive subjunctives in the Old English translations, hoping thereby to determine with reference to each category whether the idiom is native English or is borrowed from the Latin. And I have considered the Consecutive Subjunctive in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* as well as in the West Saxon dialect. Some account is taken, also, of our construction in the kindred Germanic languages, which account is based primarily upon the research of others.

Although I have at times cited as consecutive subjunctives forms that, because of their ambiguity, could be considered indicatives, I have based my study primarily upon forms that are indisputably subjunctive. I have not treated separately the analytic subjunctives and the synthetic subjunctives; but I have so arranged my statistics that, if one should desire, he can easily segregate the former from the latter.

Moreover, I have striven to make my statistics complete. Since, however, these statistics were taken at odd intervals along with those of all other uses of the Subjunctive in Old English, omissions and misclassifications are unavoidable. I trust, however, that possible errors of the sorts alluded to in this Introduction may not prove so numerous or so serious as to invalidate the trustworthiness of my findings.

## CHAPTER I

### THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY CORRELATIVE PARTICLES

Somewhat over half the Consecutive Subjunctives in West Saxon are introduced by Correlative Particles, the total number so introduced being 428. These correlative particles fall into two larger subdivisions: A. Non-Prepositional (362) and B. Prepositional (66).

#### A. THE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY NON- PREPOSITIONAL PARTICLES

##### AA. In West Saxon (362)

###### *General Statement*

Although in this sub-group thirteen different correlative particles are used to introduce the dependent consecutive subjunctive, only a few of these particles occur frequently. Of these introductory particles a complete list is given below, in alphabetic order:

- swa swa (sua sua)*, 'so as,' 'so that' (3).
- swa . . . swa*, 'so . . . as,' 'so . . . that' (19).
- swa . . . þæs þe*, 'so . . . as,' 'so . . . that' (1).
- swa (swæ, sua) þæt*, 'so that' (86).
- swa (swæ, sua) . . . þæt*, 'so . . . that' (192).
- swa (swæ) þætte*, 'so that' (5).
- swa (swæ, sua) . . . þætte*, 'so . . . that' (14).
- swelc (swilc) þæt*, 'such that' (2).
- swelc (swilc) . . . þæt*, 'such . . . that' (8).
- swelc (swilc) . . . þætte*, 'such . . . that' (2).
- to . . . þæt*, 'too . . . that' (8).
- þæs . . . þæt*, 'so . . . that' (21).
- þillic . . . þæt*, 'such . . . that' (1).

The distribution of these introductory particles is quite uneven. One (*þæs . . . þæt*) is restricted almost entirely to the poetry, 18 of the 21 examples being found therein. Of the remaining twelve particles, only two are found in the poetry and these very sparingly (*swa . . . þæt*, 2; *to . . . þæt*, 1). In the prose texts some particles (*swa swa*, *swa . . . swa*, *swa . . . þæs þe*, *swa þætte*, *swa . . . þætte*, *swelc . . . þætte*) occur chiefly in the works of Alfred. Only *swa . . . þæt* is found well represented in both Alfred and Ælfric.

In Subgroup A the Subjunctive is far less frequent than is the Indicative. Of the latter mood Dr. Benham (pp. 215-218, 220-228, 232, 248-253) gives a total of about 697 examples for the prose works included in my present study, distributed as follows: *swa þæt* (*þat*, *þet*), 351; *swa . . . þæt* (*þat*, *þet*), 302; *swa* (*swæ*) *þætte*, 24; *swa* (*swæ*) . . . *þætte*, 17; *swelc* (*swilc*) . . . *þæt*, 3; *swelc* (*swilc*) . . . *þætte*, 1.

With the particles above listed we have the Consecutive Subjunctive in West Saxon, as a rule, when the result is represented as contingent. Some scholars of distinction, however, offer other explanations of the subjunctive in such clauses, claiming that the nature of the governing clause primarily accounts for the use of the subjunctive in the dependent consecutive clause,—a topic better discussed after we shall have given examples of our idiom.

### Statistics

Typical examples of the Consecutive Subjunctive introduced by the Correlative Particles of Subgroup A are here given:

1. With *swa swa* (*sua sua*), *so as, so that* (3):

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 199.13<sup>a,b</sup>: *sua doþ þa þe hira hlafordas diegellice tælaþ, & þeah sua sua hit him no ne derige, ne ne egle* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 148.20<sup>a</sup>: 0.

2. With *swa . . . swa* (*sua . . . sua*), *so . . . as, so . . . that* (19):

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 61.19. He sceal tilian *sua* to libbanne *sua* he *mæge* þa adrugodan heortan *geþwænan* mid þæm flowendan yþon his lare = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 36.21: Qui *sic* studet vivere, *ut* proximorum quoque corda arentia doctrinæ *valeat* fluentis *irrigare*.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 453.20<sup>a</sup>: ond *swa* lære þa oþre eaþmetta, *swa* he þone ege to swiþe þæm oþrum ne *geice* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 384.14: quatenus *sic* superbis prædicetur humilitas, *ut* tamen timidis non *augeatur* metus.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 453.26<sup>b</sup>: & þeah *swa* tilige hi to onælenne, *swa* hi þa hatheortan ne *forbærnen* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 384.22: *sic* lenes accendantur ad zelum, *ut* tamen iracundis non *addatur* incendium.

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 64.20: *swa* forsceawige *swa* hy næfre . . . *beswicene* ne *weorþan* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 122.12<sup>a</sup>: considerans in omnibus ne *subrepat* satietas. [May be Final in O.E. as in Latin.]

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 63.20: stande se eaca on þæs abbodes dome þæt þonne *swa* sy foresceawod *swa* þær næfre oferfyl ne *filige* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 120.12: in arbitrio et potestate Abbatis erit, si expediat, aliquid augere, remota præ omnibus crapula, et *ut* nunquam *surripiat* Monacho indigeries.

3. With *swa . . . þæs þe*, *so . . . as, so . . . that* (1):

*Bede*<sup>1</sup> 92.6: Se me [*sic* for *ma*?] allum . . . aldormonnum Bretta þeode fornóm & forhergade, *swa* efne *þæs þe meakte wiþmeten* beon Saule = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 71.13:

qui . . . gentem uastauit Brettonum; *ita ut* Sauli . . . comparandus *uide- retur*. [*Meakte* may be indicative, as is claimed by Benham, *op. cit.*, p. 252.]

4. With *swa* (swæ, sua) þæt, *so that* (86):

*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 63.7: þu wast æac genoh geare þæt he nane gesceafta ne forlet eal- lunga gewitan *swa þæt* hy to nawuihte *weorþen* = no Latin.

*Chron.* 37.23 (E 675): Ðas landes ic gife Sancte Peter eal swa freolice swa ic seolf hit ahte & *swa þæt* nan min æftergengles þær nan þing of ne *nime*.

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 140.18: sy þæt gedon . . . *swa þæt* þa gebroþra him *onlocian mægen* = no Latin.

*Ælf. Hom.* 1, 284.15, 16: Ne bepæce nan man hine sylfne, *swa þæt* he *secge* oþþe *gelyfe* þæt þry Godas syndon.

*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 22.20: Far mid him, *swa þæt* þu *do* þæt ic þe beode = uade cum eis: *ita duntaxat, ut* quod tibi præcepero, *facias*. [Wohlfahrt, *Die Syntax des Verbuns in Ælfric's Übersetzung des Heptateuch und des Buches Hiob*, p. 63, puts this example in his section on the Consecutive Clauses, but adds: "Einmal hat *swa þæt* modalen Sinn, indem es das lateinische *duntaxat* vertritt."]

*Wulf.* 174.1<sup>b</sup>: bete þæt . . . *swa þæt* oþre manega *beon gestyrde* be þam.

5. With *swa* (swæ, sua) . . . þæt, *so . . . that* (192):

*Chr. & S.* 351: Nis nænig *swa* snotor ne *swa* cræftig ne þæs *swa* gleaw nymþe god seolfa, *þæt asecan mæge* swegles leoman.

*Vom Jüngsten Tage* 216: biþ þæt earne breost . . . swenced, for hwi fyr- gende flæsc on þas frecnan tid hym selfum *swa* fela synna geworhte, *þæt* hit on cweartern *cwylmed wyrde*, on þære grimman susle on helle.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 145.15<sup>b</sup>: Forþæm nan man nis þe eallunga *sua* libban mæge *þæt* [he] hwilum ne *agylte* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 104.21: Nemo quippe est, qui *ita* vivat, *ut* aliqua- tenus non *delinquat*.

*Chron.* 116.19 (E 963): ic gife þone tun . . . *swa* freolice *þæt* ne king . . . ne *haue* þær nane hæse.

*Laws, Cnut* 274[9]<sup>b</sup>: Gif hwa *swa* dyrstig sy . . . *þæt* ongean Godes lage *ga*.

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 66.7: And se æfen *swa* sy gefadod, *þæt* hy candellichtes . . . ne *behofien* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 124.19<sup>b</sup>: Ipsa . . . *Vespera sic agatur, ut* lumine lucernæ non *indigeant*.

*Ælf. Hom.* 1, 22.20: Ða cwædon hi . . . þæt hi woldon wyrcean . . . ænne stypel . . . *swa* heahne *þæt* his hrof *astige* up to heofenum.

*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 15.7<sup>o</sup>: ne beo þu *swa* heardheort *þæt* þu him þines godes *wyrne* = non obdurabis cor tuum, nec *contrahes* manum.

*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> 15.33: Hwar nime we *swa* fela hlafa . . . , *þæt* we *gegyllan* *swa* mycele mænegu? = Unde ergo nobis in deserto panes *tantos, ut* saturemus turbam tantam? [Other MSS. have *habetis panes*.]

*Wulf.* 102.15: nis ænig man on life *swa* wær, *þæt* he . . . wiþ deofol *gescyl- dan mæge*.

6. With *swa* (*swæ*, *sua*) *þætte*, *so that* (5):

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 413.12: God us drencte swiþe gemetlice mid tearum, *swa þætte* æghwelces mannes mod swa micle oftor *wære gepwæned* mid hreowsunge tearum swa swa he gemunde þæt hit oftor wære adrugod from Gode on his synnum = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 334.4: "Potum dedit nobis in lacrymis in mensura;" *ut videlicet . . . mens tantum* pœnitendo compunctionis suæ *bibat* lacrymas, quantum se a Deo meminit aruisse per culpas.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 461.24: Ærest hi sculon eowian . . . *swa þætte* þa weorc *clipien* ær, ær þa word = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 396.5: et antequam verba exhortationis insonent, omne, quod locuturi sunt, operibus *clament*.

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 108.24: þe meahthe gan . . . oþ þisse eorþan ende *swa þætte* nan dæl þisse eorþan ofer þæt *nære* = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 93.83: eum qui pedibus incedens ad eum locum usque peruenire potuisset, *quo nihil* ulterius peruium *iaceret incessui*, ambulandi potentissimum esse censes.

7. With *swa* (*swæ*, *sua*) . . . *þætte*, *so . . . that* (14):

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 317.7, 8: Ac *sua* he sceal etan *þætte* hine sio gewilnung þære giefernesse of his modes fæsþrædnesse ne *gebrienge*, ne eft sio þræþing þæs lichoman þæt mod ne *ascrence* mid upahæfenesse = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 244.11<sup>a, b</sup>: Itaque *ne* aut illos appetitus gulæ a mentis statu *dejiciat*, aut istos afflicta caro ex elatione *supplantet*, audiant illi ex ore Veritatis. [May be Final in O.E. as in Latin.]

*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> 226.2: Eþna fyr afleow up *swa* brad & *swa* micel, *þætte* feawe men þa monna *mehten beon* eardfæste, þe on Lipare wæron = *Oros.*<sup>2</sup> 227.2:0.

8. With *swelc* (*swilc*, *swylc*) *þæt*, *such that* (2):

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 126.18: seo ripung . . . sy *swylc*, *þæt* hine ne *worian* . . . ne *lyste* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 194.1: Ad portam . . . ponatur senex sapiens, . . . *cujus* maturitas eum non *sinat* *vagari*.

*Ælf. Hom.* I, 446.33: habbon hi hoge þæt hi syn *swilce* *þæt* hi wurþfullice herigan *magon* (or Indic.?).

9. With *swelc* (*swilc*) . . . *þæt*, *such . . . that* (8):

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 59.8: Hwæt is nu ma ymbe þis to sprecenne, buton se se þe *swelc* ongieten sie *þæt* he þa cræftas *hæbbe* þe we ær bufan cwædon, þæt he þonne to foo = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 34.18: quid sequendum est, quid tenendum, nisi *ut* virtutibus *pollens* coactus ad regimen veniat, virtutibus vacuus nec coactus accedat?

*Laws, Iud. Dei*, 415[2, 3]<sup>o</sup>: we . . . biddaþ . . . þæt þu gedo her *swilc* tacn . . . *þæt* þis wæter hine ne *onfo*.

*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 187.9<sup>b</sup>: hit sægd is, þæt þyses . . . weres lif *swylc* wære, *þæt* se þe ongyteþ his drohtaþ, ne *scyle* he *wundrian* his mægn = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 228B<sup>o</sup>: sed *talis* ejusdem viri vita perhibetur *ut* qui conversationem ejus agnoverit, virtutem non *debeat* *mirari*.

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 46.14<sup>a</sup>: Syn þa ealdras *swylce* gecorene, *þæt* se abbod his byrþenna on hy *todælan* *mæge* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 86.14: Qui Decani *tales* eligantur, in quibus securus Abbas *partiat* onera sua.

10. With *swelc* (*swilc*) . . . *þætte*, *such* . . . *that* (2):

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 435.26: se þe hine upahefeþ on [þa] ofermetto *swelcre* unryhtwisnesse *þætte* he *fullfremme* hwelc yfel huru þurh geþeaht = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 362.2: qui tanta iniquitatis elatione attollitur, *ut adimplere* malum etiam consilia conetur.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 103.20<sup>b</sup>: *suelce* hie sculon hie selfe ætiowan, þa þe oþrum fore beoþ, *þætte* þa þe him underþiedde sien him *dyrrren* hira dieglan þing for scome *geandettan* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 72.2: *Tales* autem sese, qui præsumt, exhibeant, quibus subjecti occulta quoque sua prodere non *erubescant*. [Dr. W. Fleischhauer, *Ueber den Gebrauch des Coniunctivis in Alfred's altengl. Uebersetzung von Gregor's Cura Pastoralis*, p. 65: Result; but Dr. H. G. Shearin, *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*, p. 61: Purpose.]

11. With *to* . . . *þæt*, *too* . . . *that* (8):

*Jul.* 713: wæs an tid *to* læt *þæt* ic yfeldæda ær *gescomede* þenden gæst ond lic geador siþedan onsund on earde. [Or Temporal? Professor Kennedy translates: "It was too late an hour when first I repented of my deeds of evil, while spirit and flesh journeyed on together unharmed." Dr. W. Kopas, *Die Grundzüge der Satzverknüpfung in Cynewulfs Schriften*, p. 23: Consecutive.]

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 23.21: buton þu git *to* ful sy þæs þe þe læfed is, *þæt* þe forþy *wlatige* = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 33.35: Promouimus . . . aliquantum *si* te nondum totius tuæ sortis *þiget*.

*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 3.19: ac me þincþ þath [*sic*] beah *þæt* þu si *to* unhal, *þæt* þu ne *mæge* hit æall *awritan* = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 3.22: a paraphrase.

*Bl. Hom.* 43.23, 24: Se mæsse-preost se þe biþ *to* læt *þæt* he *þæt* deofol of men *adrife*, and þa sawle . . . æt þon wiþerweardan *ahredde*, þonne biþ he geteald *to* þære fyrenan ea, etc.

*Wulf.* 236.6, 7: him þuhte þonne seo tid *to* lang *þæt* he hit *gehyrde* and þærinne *wære*, and wende hine þonne aweg, *þæt* he ne mihte hit *gehyran*.

*Wulf.* 237.22: hire þuhte seo tid *to* scort *þæt* heo ne *moste* *gehyran* ymbe Cristes þrowunge secgan. [Possibly the three examples just quoted from *Wulfstan* are Temporal, *þæt* meaning 'until,' although no such definition is given of *þæt* in Dr. Loring H. Dodd's *Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies* (*Yale Studies in English*, No. xxxv). Because of their ambiguity, these three passages were not given in my *Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*. In that monograph, however, p. 58, several examples were given of *þæt* meaning 'until.']

12. With *þæs* . . . *þæt*, *so* . . . *that* (21):

With three exceptions this particle is found only in the Old English poems. Typical examples follow:

(a) *In the Poetry* (18):

*Beow.* 1367: No *þæs* frod leofaþ gumena bearna, *þæt* þone grund *wite*. [Cf. pp. 23 ff. below, where a similar locution is found with *þæt* alone.]

*Gen.* 833: nære he firnum *þæs* deop, merestream *þæs* micel, *þæt* his o min mod *getweode*, ac ic *to* þam grunde genge, gif ic godes meachte willan *gewyrcean*.

*Exod.* 439: He aþ swereþ . . . þæt þines cynnes . . . rim ne cunnon . . . to gesecgenne soþum wordum, nymþe hwylc þæs snottor in sefan weorþe þæt he ana mæge ealle geriman stanas on eorþan.

*And.* 1373: Hwylc is þæs mihtig ofer middangeard þæt he þe alyse of leoþubendum . . . ofer mine est? [Cf. pp. 21 ff. below, where a similar locution occurs with þæt alone.]

*Minor Poems: Gericht* 31: Hwa is þonne þæs ferþgleaw oþþe þæs fela cunne, þæt æfre mæge heofona heahþu gereccan? [Cf. pp. 21 ff. below, where a similar locution occurs with þæt alone.]

*Rid.* 2.2<sup>a</sup> (=p. 2, l. 5): Hwylc is hæleþa þæs horsc ond þæs hygecræftig þæt þæt mæge aseccan, hwa mec on siþ wræce? [Cf. pp. 21 ff. below, where a similar locution occurs with þæt alone.]

*Guth.* 840: Nænig monna wæs . . . æfre godes willan þæs georn ne gynnwised, þæt he bibugan mæge þone bitran drync, þone Eve . . . Adame geaf.

(b) *In the Prose* (3):

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 75.5: ic wat þæt nan nis þæs welig þæt he sumes eacan ne þyrfe = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 67.16:0.

*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>: *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.10<sup>b</sup>: Hu mage ge þæs frymdige beon, ge þe mine þeowas sindon, þæt ge sceolan faran fram me? = Sic Dominus sit uobiscum, quomodo ego dimittam uos, et paruulos uestros.

*Wulf.* 185.2: þam synfullum þinceþ þæt nan wiht ne sy þæs hates ne þæs cealdes ne þæs hnesces ne þæs wraþes . . . ne þæs leofes ne þæs laþes þæt hig þonne mihte fram ures drihtnes lufan asceadan.

13. With þillic . . . þæt, such . . . that (1):

*Ælf. Hom.* 1, 406.23: þa tihte seo gitsung þa sacerdas þæt man þillic orf þær to ceape hæfde, gif hwa feorran come, and wolde his lac Gode offrian, þæt he on gehendnyssse to biganne gearu hæfde.

**BB. In the "Lindisfarne Gospels" (6)**

In the *Lindisfarne Gospels* we find few Consecutive Subjunctives Introduced by Non-prepositional Correlative Particles.

Twice this subjunctive is found introduced by *sua* (*swa*, *swæ*) þæt, and each time the Old English consecutive subjunctive corresponds to the same Latin idiom introduced by *ita ut*. The examples occur in *Matthew* 1. 8.16; chapter 12, verse 22. In the latter passage we have in the Old English a curious interchange of the indicative and the subjunctive moods: geleicnade hine *swæ þæt* he gespræc & gesæh uel *gesege* = *curauit eum ita ut loqueretur et uideret*. Here the Rushworth and the West Saxon versions give an indicative for both *loqueretur* and *uideret*.

Once *sua* . . . þæt introduces a consecutive subjunctive:—*Mat.* 15.33: hona forþon us in woestern hlafas *sua* monigo þæt we gefylle þreat suæ

michil? = unde ergo nobis in deserto panes *tantos ut saturemus* turbam tantam?

*Sua* (*suæ*) *þætte* introduces a consecutive subjunctive three times:—*Mk.* 8.25: eftniwad wæs *sua uel þus þætte gesege* gleoulice = restitutus est *ita ut uideret* clare [R.: *gisege*; W. S.: *geseah*]; *Mk.* 15.5: noht geondsuarede *suæ þætte þæt [sic]* he *woere awundrad* se groefa = nihil respondit *ita ut miraretur* pilatus [R.: *were awundrad*; W. S.: *wundrode*]; *L.* 5.7<sup>o</sup>: gefyldon þa . . . sciopo *suæ þætte gedrucnadon uel were* = impleuerunt ambas nauiculas *ita ut mergerentur* (R.: o; W. S.: *wæron besencte*).

In all the examples of the consecutive subjunctive introduced by correlative particles in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* we find a corresponding consecutive subjunctive in the Latin original. But, in some of the passages in question, as we have seen, the Lindisfarne translator makes his subjunctive interchange with an indicative of result.

## B. THE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY PREPOSITIONAL PARTICLES

### AA. In West Saxon (66)

#### *General Statement*

Eight Prepositional Particles are found introducing Consecutive Subjunctive Clauses in West Saxon, as follows:

- on þa wisan þæt*, 'in such wise that' (2).
- on þa wisan . . . þæt*, 'in such wise . . . that' (1).
- to þæm (þam) þæt*, 'to the extent that,' 'so that' (4).
- to þæm (þam) . . . þæt*, 'to the extent . . . that,' 'so . . . that' (26).
- to þæs . . . þæt*, 'to the extent . . . that,' 'so . . . that' (15).
- to þon (þan) þæt*, 'to the extent that,' 'so that' (7).
- to þon (þan) . . . þæt*, 'to the extent . . . that,' 'so . . . that' (10).
- to þon þætte*, 'to the extent that,' 'so that' (1).

In Subgroup B, again, the distribution of the introductory particles is very uneven. Only one of these particles (*to þæs . . . þæt*) is found in the poetry, and there only three times. The particles occur chiefly in Alfred (25 examples), rarely in Ælfric (6 examples), and not at all in the *Chronicle* or in the *West Saxon Gospels*. Further details are given in Appendix A.

In this subgroup the Subjunctive is less frequent than the Indicative. According to Dr. Benham (pp. 218–220, 228–229, 248–253), in the prose works read by me, 112 examples of the consecutive indicative are found: *to þæm (þam) þæt*, 6; *to þæm (þam) . . . þæt*, 15; *to þæs . . . þæt*, 3; *to þon (þan) þæt*, 49; *to þon (þan) . . . þæt*, 38; *to þæt*, 1.

As in Subgroup A, so in Subgroup B, it seems to me that the subjunctive occurs, as a rule, when the result is represented as contingent. Other



students of the subject, however, attribute the use of the consecutive subjunctive primarily to the influence of the governing clause,—a topic that is discussed later.

### Statistics

Here follow typical examples of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by the Prepositional Particles listed above.

#### 1. With **on þa wisan þæt**, *in such wise that* (2):

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 69.7, 8: sy þeah seo leaf *on þa wisan, þæt* þær seo foresæde bot *fylige* and hine mid þæm eaþmodlice scyldigne *gesweotolige* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 130.13: nec præsumat sociari Choro psallentium usque ad satisfactionem, nisi forte Abbas licentiam dederit permissione sua; *ita tamen, ut satisfaciat* reus ex hoc.

#### 2. With **on þa wisan . . . þæt**, *in such wise . . . that* (1):

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 65.1: we þa geþafunga þæs drynces *on þa wisan doþ, þæt* þær næfre seo fyl . . . ne *weorþe* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 122.16: saltem vel hoc consentiamus, *ut non usque ad satietatem bibamus.*

#### 3. With **to þæm (þam) þæt**, *to the extent that, so that* (4):

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 55.22: hit biþ . . . oferdrenced and gedwelod *to þam þæt* hit ne *mæge . . . aredian* = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 53.54: non est aliud *quod . . . perficere* beatitudinem *possit.*

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 319.17: To manienne sint þa þe hiera mildheortlice sellað þætte hie ne aþinden on hiora mode *to þæm þæt* hi hi *hæbban* [= *hebban*] ofer þa þe hie hiora sellað = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 246.17: Admonendi sunt, qui jam sua misericorditer tribuunt, *ne cogitatione tumida super eos se quibus terrena largiuntur, extollant* (or Final, as in the Latin?).

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 425.24<sup>a, b</sup>: Ðonne ahebbað þa synfullan swiþe up hira hornas, þonne hi hi næfre nyllað geeaðmedan *to þæm þæt* hie *ongieten* hira unryhtwisnesse & þa *hreowsian* [*sic*] = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 348.22: Cornu quippe delinquentes exaltant, si nequam se *ad pœnitentiam ex cognitione suæ iniquitatis* humiliant.

#### 4. With **to þæm (þam) . . . þæt**, *to the extent . . . that, so . . . that* (26):

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 411.26<sup>o</sup>: Hwa is nu . . . þe . . . *to þæm* gleaw sie *þæt* he swelces hwæt *to cnawan cunne?* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 332.10: *Quis enim consideratis ipsis rerum imaginibus nesciat, quod, etc.*

*Laws, Ælfred* 88[77]<sup>d</sup>: Gif mon . . . forwundie *to þæm* swiþe *þæt* . . . hwæþre *lifie* swa gescended, geselle him mon c scill.

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 47.6<sup>o</sup>: gif seo menigo *to þam* micel sy, *þæt* hy ne *mægen* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 88.6: *sin autem multitudo non sinit.*

*Ælf. Hom.* I, 508.32: Nis . . . nan mann *to þam* dyrstig *þæt* he . . . binnan þære cyrcan *cuman durre.*

*Wulf.* 174.6: na sig nan gehadod man *to þam* dyrstig *þæt* he æfre *life* ænigan men þis fæsten *to abrecenne.*

5. With *to þæs . . . þæt*, to the extent . . . that, so . . . that (15):

*Rede der Seele* 98: þonne ne biþ nan na *to þæs* lytel liþ on lime aweaxen þæt þu ne *scyle* for anra gehwylcum onsundrum riht *agildan*.

*Seaf.* 42: nis þæs modwlonc mon ofer eorþan, . . . ne him his dryhten *to þæs* hold, þæt he a his sæfore sorge *næbbe*.

*Zaubers.* 1. 64: Nu ic bidde þone waldend, . . . þæt ne sy nan *to þæs* cwidol wif ne *to þæs* craftig man, þæt *awendan* ne *mæge* word þus gecwedene.

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 53.5: Nis nan *to þæs* lytel æwylm þæt he þa sæ ne *gesece* = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 52.11:0.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 345.9: sint to manigenne þæt hie gewisslice wieten þæt hie na on *to þæs* manegum goodum cræftum ne beoþ, þæt hie æfre *mægen* gæsplice [*sic*] *beon*, gif hie þurh ungemodnesse agiemeleasiaþ, þæt, etc. = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 266.12: Discordes namque admonendi sunt ut certissime sciant *quia* quantislibet virtutibus polleant, spiritales *feri* nullatenus *possunt* si uniri per concordiam proximis negligunt.

*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 44.17: Næfþ þeah nan man *to þæs* unhale æagan þæt he ne *mage* lybban be þære sunnan, and hire nyttian, etc. = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 44.32:0.

*Bl. Hom.* 111.25: nænig man . . . *toþæs* [*sic*] mycelne welan nafaþ . . . þæt se . . . to ende ne *cume*.

6. With *to þon (þan) þæt*, to the extent that, so that (7):

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 65.17: is þæt þonne forweorþfullic wela þæt nauþer ne mæg ne hine selfne gehealdan . . . *to þon* þæt he ne *þyrfe* maran fultumes = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 60.6: a præclara potentia *quae* nec ad conservationem quidem sui *satis* *efficax* *inuenitur*.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 383.21<sup>a,b</sup>: Ongean þæt sint to manianne þa þe nabbaþ nauþer ne ildo ne wisdom *to þon* þæt hie *mægen* oþþe *cunnen* *læran* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 298.20: At contra admonendi sunt quos a prædicationis officio vel imperfectio vel aetas *prohibet*, etc.

*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 189.22<sup>a,b</sup>: ic geteah his mod *to þon* þæt he *lufode* . . . þa nunnan & ofer þa sculdru *þaccode* = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 229D<sup>b,c</sup>: adjunxit *quia* . . . ejus mentem traxerit, *ut* in terga ejusdem . . . *feminæ blandiens* *alapem daret* (or Indicative?).

7. With *to þon (þan) . . . þæt*, to the extent . . . that, so . . . that (10):

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 69.10: ic lære þæt þu fægenige oþerra monna goodes & heora æþelo *to þon* swiþe þæt þu ne *tilige* þe selfum agnes = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 63.25:0.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 67.25: Se þonne biþ siwenige se þe his ondgiet biþ *to þon* beorhte scinende þæt he *mæge* *ongietan* soþfæstnesse, gif hit þonne aþistriaþ þa flæsclican weorc = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 42.19: Lippus vero est cujus quidem ingenium *ad cognitionem* veritatis emicat, sed tamen hoc carnalia opera obscurant.

*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 305.3: hwylc rihtgewittigra manna is *to þon* snotor þæt he *wylle* þa gastas *secgan* lichamlice? = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 368B<sup>e</sup>: Quis sanum sapiens esse spiritus corporeos *dixerit*?

8. With *to þon þætte*, to the extent that, so that (1):

*Bede*<sup>1</sup> 296.30: Ða wæs . . . gemeted seo þruh gerisenre lenge to gemete þæs lichoman, *to þon* þætte from dæle þæs heafdes eac swylce *meahte* wongere betweoh

*geseted beon* = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 227.14: inuentum est sarcofagum illud congruae longitudinis ad mensuram corporis, *adeo ut* a parte capitis etiam ceruical *posset interponi* (or Indic.?).

### BB. In the "Lindisfarne Gospels" (0)

No clear example of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Prepositional Correlative Particles has been found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

### C. NOTES

1. "Ðæt" seems to have been omitted in the locution "Swa . . . Ðæt" in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 144.23: *Is þæt sægd, þæt . . . swa micel sib wære in Breotone æghwyder ymb, swa Eadwines rice wære, þeah þe an wiif wolde mid hire . . . cilde, heo meahthe gegan buton ælcere sceþenise . . . ofer all þis ealond* = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 118.8: *Tanta pax in Britannia quaquauersum imperium . . . Æduini peruenerat, fuisse perhibetur, ut, sicut usque hodie in prouerbio dicitur, etiam si mulier una cum . . . paruulo uellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se ledente ualeret.*

2. Repetition of "Ðæt(te)" with the "Swa Ðætte" and "Swa . . . Ðæt(te)" particles occurs at times, as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 274.31<sup>b</sup>: *Wæs he . . . bicumen in swa micle lufan þære . . . gesetnesse . . . þæt gif he gehæled wære, þæt he wolde to Rome feran & þær . . . his lif geendigan* = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 214.18: *Qui in tantum . . . tenebatur amore . . . institutionis, ut, si ab infirmitate saluaretur, etiam Roman uenire, ibique . . . uitam finire disponderet.* See, also, *Lind. Gosp., Mk.* 15.5, quoted on p. 12 above.

3. An interchange of "Swa . . . Ðæt" and "Swa . . . Swa" is found occasionally, as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 453.19<sup>a</sup>, 20<sup>a</sup>: *Ond þæt he huru swa egesige þa ofermodan, þæt he þa eaþmodan mid þy to swiþe ne fære; ond swa lære þa oþre eaþmetta, swa he þone ege to swiþe þæm oþrum ne geiece* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 384.14, 15: *quatenus sic superbis prædicetur humilitas, ut tamen timidis non augeatur metus; sic timidis infundatur auctoritas, ut tamen superbis non crescat effrenatio.*

4. An interchange of Indicative and Subjunctive in a Consecutive Clause appears now and then, as in *Lind. Gosp., Mat.* 12.22, quoted on p. 12.

5. Repetition of "Swa" with the "Swa Ðæt" Particle is found occasionally, as in *Ælf. Hom.* 11, 280.18: *Godes cwydas sind to smeagenne mid swa micelre carfulnysse, swa þæt ealle his beboda mid andgite and weorce beon asmeade on nihte þises andwerdan lifes.* See, too, *Ælf. L. S.* 1, 286.50.

6. Many "Swa . . . Swa" Clauses are considered consecutive by Dr. Benham that seem to me better interpreted as comparative. On p. 222 (c) he says:

*Swa . . . swa*, besides being used as an equivalent for *swa . . . þæt*, is employed to introduce correlative, progressive result clauses, the progenitors of such modern periods as the following from Bacon, *The History of King Henry VII*: 'But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure.' Here there is a result, as it were, at every advance in the degree of action in the first clause. *Swa . . . swa* is used to introduce such clauses only when there are adjectives in the comparative degree in both clauses of the sentence. The greater part of our examples are to be found in CP. [=my *Greg.*<sup>1</sup>].

Of type (c) Dr. Benham lists 84 examples, but, as he himself states (pp. 348-352), most of the verbs cited by him are in the indicative. Of the consecutive subjunctive with this particle he quotes *Wulf.* 180.14 as a typical example: aa is *swa* betere manna gehwilcum, *swa* he oftor to þam gearwige hine silfne. To me, however, the clause in this and similar examples denotes comparison rather than result.

The view advocated by me has been held by most earlier writers on Old English syntax, and is concurred in by Dr. E. E. Ericson, in his recent exhaustive study, *The Use of "Swa" in Old English* (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1932), pp. 42-47. It should be added, however, that Dr. Ericson's purpose did not require him to differentiate indicatives and subjunctives.

7. That "*Ðe . . . Ðe*" introduces Clauses of Result is asserted by Dr. Benham (p. 223):

In a few instances *þe . . . þe* has taken the place of *swa . . . swa*, or one of its variations, thus foreshadowing modern usage. This *þe* is for *þy*, instrumental of *se, seo, þæt*, and is construed as an instrumental of degree of difference with the adjective in the comparative degree.

Again, the majority of the examples cited by Dr. Benham (five in all) are in the indicative mood. As an example of the subjunctive in this idiom he cites *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 429.8: hit biþ se degla Godes dom þæt hi eft *þy* mare wite hæbben *þe* hi gere *witon* þæt hi on þweorh doþ, & þeah nyllaþ geswican. Whether used with the indicative or the subjunctive, the *þe . . . þe* clauses in the examples cited seem to me to denote comparison rather than result; indeed, Dr. Benham's own comment on *þy* (*þe*) as denoting degree of difference militates against, if it does not preclude, the classification of *þe . . . þe* clauses as consecutive.

8. In *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 61.7 the text used by me (MS.C) has a co-ordinated indicative (& *þæt byþ*), but that used by Dr. Ericson has a consecutive subjunctive (*swa þæt hit si*, etc.).

9. *Consecutive or Final?* Several clauses introduced by *swa þæt* which I have listed as consecutive, are by Dr. Ericson (p. 73) allowably considered final: *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 68.12 (*swa þæt he sy gewend* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 128.20); *Bl. Hom.* 245.22 (*swa þæt sien gewemmede ealle*); *Wulf.* 193.15 (*swa þæt heo . . . wære godcund*). On the other hand, several clauses introduced by *swa . . . þæt* which I consider final are by Dr. Ericson (pp. 66 ff.) allowably considered consecutive: *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 66.3, 4 (*swa . . . þæt huru þa sawla healdene syn*, and . . . *wyrca* (*sic*) = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 124.13, 14); *Met. Ps.* 118.31 (*Swa . . . þæt ic . . . geheolde*); *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 348.1 (*swa . . . þæt eallum . . . sy gecyþed*) = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 425 B.

10. *As Substantival Clauses are not included under Pure Consecutive Clauses*, to which latter my study is restricted, Dr. Ericson (pp. 65 ff.) lists a number of complementary consecutive clauses with the subjunctive that are purposely excluded in this monograph.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY SINGLE PARTICLES

In West Saxon nearly half the time the Consecutive Subjunctive is introduced by Single Particles. There are 351 consecutive subjunctives so introduced to 428 introduced by Correlative Particles. In the *Lindisfarne Gospels* only a few consecutive subjunctives (15) are introduced by Single Particles.

#### A. In West Saxon (351)

##### I. Normal Type: Introduced by *swa*, *þæt*, *þætte*

###### *General Statement*

The Consecutive Subjunctive in West Saxon is introduced by these Single Particles:

*swa*, 'so that' (3).

*þæt*, 'that,' 'so that' (334).

*þætte*, 'that,' 'so that' (14).

As is evident from the figures just given, only one of these Single Particles is found often with the Consecutive Subjunctive, namely, *þæt*. This particle is so used in both the poetry and the prose of the Old English epoch, and is found in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon.

In Consecutive Clauses introduced by Single Particles, the Subjunctive is much more frequent than the Indicative, there being 141 examples of the latter in the Old English prose works read by me to 351 of the former. According to Dr. Benham (pp. 206-208, 248-252), the distribution of the indicatives is as follows: *þæt* (*þat*, *þet*), 138; *þætte*, 3.

As *þæt* and *þætte* are regularly used in West Saxon to introduce Final as well as Consecutive Clauses, and as *swa* is used to introduce Modal, Comparative, Temporal, and Consecutive Clauses, it is more difficult to distinguish the consecutive use of the Subjunctive with Single than with Correlative Particles. Undoubtedly some of the subjunctives here classed as Consecutive may by others be considered Final. I hope, however, that, as a whole, my classification may be accepted by students of Old English mood-syntax. Scarcely any of the subjunctives here classed by me as consecutive are listed as final by the late Professor H. G. Shearin in his dissertation, *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*, or in his later article, "The Expression of Purpose in Old English Poetry," hereafter referred to as Shearin<sup>1</sup> and Shearin<sup>2</sup> respectively.

The Consecutive Subjunctive introduced by Single Particles, like that introduced by Correlative Particles, seems to me to be due primarily to the contingency of the result expressed in the dependent clause rather than, as has usually been held, to the nature of its governing clause,—a topic discussed later in this monograph.

### *Statistics*

Below I give what seem to me typical examples of the Consecutive Subjunctive with each of the Single Particles named above.

#### 1. With *swa*, *so that* (3):

*Rid.* 61.17 (=p. 44.17): Ðæt is wundres dæl on sefan searolic þam þe swilc ne conn, hu mec seaxes ord ond seo swiþre hond, eorles ingeþonc ond ord somod, þingum geþydan, þæt ic wiþ þe sceolde for unc anum twam ærendspræce abeodan bealdlice, *swa* hit beorna ma uncre wordcwidas widdor ne *mænden*. [Professor Frederick Tupper, in his *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, sub. v. *swa*, conj., considers that *swa* here denotes result; but this passage is not cited by Dr. R. Schneider, in his *Satzbau und Wortschatz der Altenglischen Rätsel*, pp. 21-23.]

*Rid.* 88.31 (=p. 62.31): Wit wæron gesome sæcce to fremmanne; næfre uncer awþer his ellen cyþþe, *swa* wit þære beadwe began ne *onþungan*. [Dr. Schneider, p. 23, considers this clause consecutive; but Professor Tupper translates *swa* here by 'where.']

*Laws, Ine*, 92[7]<sup>b</sup>: Gif hwa stalie, *swa* his wyf *nyle* & his bearn, geselle lx scill to wite. [Not cited by Dr. Benham. The clause may be modal, but the *Quadripartitus* version reads: Si quis furetur *sic*, ut uxor eius *nesciat* (hoc) et pueri sui, reddat wite lx sol.]

#### 2. With *þæt*, *that*, *so that* (334):

*Beow.* 3081, 3082: Ne meahton we gelæran leofne þeoden, rices hyrde ræd ænigne, *þæt* he ne *grette* goldweard þone, *lete* hyne licgean, þær he longe wæs. [May be objective, but see my note to *Beow.* 3071 below.]

*Beow.* 965: Ic hine . . . wriþan þohte, *þæt* he for mundgripe minum *scolde* licgean lifbysig, butan his lic swice.

*Beow.* 3071: Swa hit oþ domes dæg diope benemdon þeodnas mære, þa *þæt* þær dydon, *þæt* se secg *wære* synnum scildig, hergum geheaþerod, hellbendum fæst. [No one of the four examples cited by me from *Beowulf* is classed as consecutive by Dr. E. Nader, in his "Tempus und Modus im Beowulf." But each passage is rendered by a consecutive clause in the translations of *Beowulf* by Professor J. M. Garnett, by Professor C. G. Child, and by Professor F. B. Gummere.]

*Gen.* 429: Gif hit eower ænig mæge gewendan mid wihte, *þæt* hie word godes, lare, *forlæten*, sona hie him þe laþran beoþ. [Not cited as consecutive by either Dr. H. Seyfarth, in his Leipzig dissertation (1891), or by Dr. G. Steche, in his Leipzig dissertation (1895). Both scholars, however, list *Gen.* 417 (*þæt* he . . . *fleogan meahte*) as consecutive.]

*Exod.* 264: Him . . . wile mihtig drihten . . . dædlean gyfan, þæt hie lifigende leng ne *moton ægnian* mid yrmþum Israhela cyn. [May be Final, as by Shearin<sup>2</sup>, p. 249.]

*El.* 831: Ongan þa wilfægen æfter þam wuldres treo, elnes anhydig, eorþan delfan under turfhagan, þæt he on twentigum fotmælum feor *funde* behelede, under neolum niþer næsse gehyde in þeostercofan; he þær þreo mette in þam reonigan hofe roda ætsomne, greote begravene, etc. [Professor C. W. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 113, translates þæt 'until,' making the clause temporal. But Dr. W. Kopas (*Grundzüge der Satzverknüpfung in Cynewulfs Schriften*, p. 23) considers þæt consecutive in this passage. It is possible, I think, that *funde* is here an analogical weak indicative: cf. Sievers, *Ags. Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Halle, 1898, §386, Anmk. 2.]

*And.* 303: Næbbe ic fæted gold ne feohgestreon, welan ne wiste ne wira gespann, landes ne locenra beaga, þæt ic þe *mæge* lust *ahwettan*. [Shearin<sup>2</sup>: Final; but Consecutive according to Kopas, *op. cit.*, p. 23, G. P. Krapp, *sub v. þæt*, and H. A. Reussner, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax in dem ags. Gedichte vom heiligen Andreas*, p. 22.]

*Guth.* 360: Ne sceal se dryhtnes þeow in his modsefan mare gelufian eorþan æhtwelan, þonne his anes gemet, þæt he his lichoman lade *hæbbe*. [May be Final, as by Shearin<sup>2</sup>, p. 243; but is more probably Consecutive, as by Max Furkert, *Syntaktischer Gebrauch des Verbuns in dem ags. Gedichte vom heiligen Guthlac*, p. 26.]

*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> 103.33: And þa fyrenfullan frecne forweorþaþ, þa on þysse eorþan synt, ealle sniome, þæt *hio* ne *wunian* on worldlife = 103.35: Deficient peccatores a terra, et iniqui, *ita ut non sint*. [Shearin<sup>2</sup>, p. 243, lists as Final with a query; but the Latin indicates that the clause is more probably Consecutive.]

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 333.9: Hwæt forstent ænigum menn þæt, þeah he mangige þæt he ealne þisne middangeard *age*, gif he his saule forspildt [*sic*]? = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 256.24: Quid prodest homini, *si totum mundum lucretur*, animae vero suae detrimentum faciat?

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 387.14<sup>a</sup>: þylæs hie gedwelle sio gehydnes & þa getæsu þe hie on þam wege habbaþ, þæt hie *forgieten* hwider hie scylen = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 302.26<sup>a</sup>: ne subsidia itineris in obstacula perventionis vertant.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 119.17: þylæs þæt geþoht hine ofersuiþe & on lustfulness his mod geteo hwelces unþeawes, þæt he hit *mæge* þonne to his willan *gewealdan* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 84.3: ne cogitationem vincat, ne in delectationem sui animum rapiat, *ne jam sub se mens eam regere non possit*.

*Chron.* 138.14 (E 1009): we gyt næfdon þa geselþa ne þone wurþscipe þæt seo scipfyrd nytt *wære* þisum earde þe ma þe heo oftor ær wæs.

*Laws, Ælfred*, 86[75]<sup>o</sup>: gif hie mon gelacnian *mæge*, þæt hio hal *sie*, geselle XII scill. to bote.

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 75.6: tæce him man oþer weorc, þæt he ealles unnyt ne *beo* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 142.16: injungatur ei opus quod faciat, *ut non vacet*.

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 14.9: he sceal rædan and racian oþra manna saulum . . . þæt he *mæge* *gefeon* = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 24.15: *ita se omnibus conformet . . . ut . . . gaudeat*.

*Ælf. Hom.* 1, 514.19: Se æswicaþ oþrum þe hine on Godes dæle beswicþ, þæt his sawol forloren beo.

*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.29<sup>b,c</sup>: Sende þe Drihten on ungewit & blindnysse . . . þæt þu ne mæge þine weg as *aredian* & þolie bysmor on ælcne timan = et non *dirigas* uias tuas. *Omni que tempore calumniam sustineas.*

*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>, *L.*<sup>1</sup> 23.22: ne mette ic nan þing yfeles on þissum men þæt he *si* deaþes scyldig = nullam causam mortis inuenio in eo.

*Wulf.* 307.21<sup>b</sup>: we læraþ þæt ælc cristen man geleornige huru þæt he *cunne* rihtne geleafan *understandan*.

*Wulf.* 285.5: gyf þonne þissa þreora þinga ænig hwylcne man lette, þæt hine to þam fæsten ne *onhagie*, þonne is hit alefed þæt, etc.

### 3. With *þætte*, *that*, *so that* (14):

*Exod.* 509: forþam þæs heriges ham eft ne com ealles ungrundes ænig to lafe, þætte siþ heora *secgan* *moste*.

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 55.26: wenaþ þæt hi mægen . . . gegadrian . . . , þætte nan butan þære gesomnunga ne *sie* = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 53.57:0.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 325.12: ac ofer þæt þe ge selfe genog hæbben, sellaþ þæt þearfum, & mid þy hiera wædle gebetaþ, þætte sua ielce sua hie beoþ her gefyllede mid ure genyhtsumnesse, we *beon* eac mid hiera genyhtsumnesse = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 250.23: "Non ut aliis sit remissio, vobis autem tribulatio, sed ex æqualitate, vestra abundantia illorum inopiam suppleat, et ut illorum abundantia vestræ inopiæ sit supplementum."

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 147.2<sup>a</sup>: Ðonne is suiþe micel þearf þæt we . . . gemetgien þa gemetgunge þæs reccedomes, þætte . . . þæt hit þonne sua bald *sie* for his freodome þæt hit ne gewende on selflice & on ofermetto = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 106.1: necesse est, ut cura regiminis tanta moderaminis arte temperetur, *quatenus* subditorum mens . . . sic in vocis libertatem *prodeat*, ut tamen libertas in superbiam non erumpat.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 363.21, 22: forþam þæt yfel hiera unryhtwisnesse hie hæfþ þonne giet ahierde, þætte hie þonne *gemonnþwærige* sio lufu & sio geferræden hiora niehstena, & hie to beteran *gebrenge* = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 282.12<sup>a,b</sup>: inter hos nimirum debet terrena pax construi, et priusquam ab eis valeat superna cognosci: *ut* hi scilicet quos contra dilectionem Dei malitia suae impietatis exasperat, saltem ex proximi amore *mansuescant*; et quasi e vicino ad melius *transeant*. [May be Final, but is not listed in Shearin<sup>1</sup>, pp. 59-63.]

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 255.18: geedniewaþ þætte þæt mod þe ofer his mæþ biþ upahæfen *gemyne* of þæm suingum = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 192.30: *ut* animus, qui extra se in elationem ducitur, . . . *memoretur*.

*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 105.15<sup>a</sup>: þonne hie him ondettaþ, hie beoþ onlicost suelce hi beren þone ceak . . . ; þætte sua hwelc sua inweard higige to gangenne on þa duru þæs ecean lifes, he þonne *ondette* ælce costunge þe him on becume = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 72.19: velut ante fores templi luterem portant, *ut* quisquis intrare aeternitatis januam nititur, tentationes suas menti pastoris *indicet*.



II. Special Type: Introduced by *þæt* (occasionally by *þætte*) Following *beon* (*wesan*) without Intervening Adjective or Adverb.

*General Statement*

In the foregoing pages we have had illustrations of what may be termed the normal construction of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by *þæt* and *þætte*. Let us now consider a less frequent construction of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by *þæt* (occasionally by *þætte*), namely, that one in which the consecutive subjunctive so introduced follows the verb *beon*<sup>1</sup> (*wesan*) without an intervening adjective or adverb between *beon* (*wesan*) and *þæt* (*þætte*). Of this special idiom there seem to be two subtypes. One (a) occurs in an Interrogative-Deliberative Sentence; another (b), in a Sentence Resembling a Relative Clause of Characteristic. Though, as shown below, seldom so construed by former writers on Old English syntax, in each subtype the *þæt*-clause grammatically is a clause of result. As very little notice has been taken of this idiom in Old English, I give copious<sup>2</sup> examples of the two subtypes.

*Statistics*

*Subtype (a)*<sup>3</sup> (30 in West Saxon):

*Met.*<sup>1</sup> 198.18: hwa is on weorulde *þæt* ne *wafige*, buton þa ane þe hit ær wisson, *þætte* mænig tungul maran ymbhwyrft hafap on heofonum? = *Met.*<sup>2</sup> 107.13: Nemo *miratur*, etc.—Similarly *Met.*<sup>1</sup> 199.31 = *Met.*<sup>2</sup> 107.13. [Dr. Albert Eismann, *Der Konjunktiv in Nebensätzen in der altengl. Poesie*, p. 3, cites the former passage, but no other example of my Subtype (a).]

*Met.*<sup>1</sup> 198.6: hwa is moncynnes *þæt* ne *wundrie* ymb þas wlitigan tungl? = *Met.*<sup>2</sup> 107.6: quis Arcturi sidera nescit . . . legem *stupebit* aetheris alti. [Cf. *Met.*<sup>1</sup> 198.2: Hwa is on eorþan nu unlærðra þe ne *wundrige* wolcna færeldes, rodres swifto, ryne tungla, hu hy ælce dæge utan ymbhwerfaþ eallne middangeard? = *Met.*<sup>2</sup> 107.6, as in the preceding example.]

*Met.*<sup>1</sup> 199.40: hwa is on weorulde *þæt* ne *wundrige* fulles monan, þonne he færinga wyrþ under wolcnum wites bereafad? = *Met.*<sup>2</sup> 107.13: Nemo *miratur*, etc.

*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> 143.4: Hwæt is se manna, mihtig drihten, þe þu him cuplice cyþan woldest, oþþe mannes sunu, *þæt* hit gemet *wære*, *þæt* þu him aht wiþ æfre hæfdest? = 143.3: quid est homo quia innotuisti ei, aut filius hominis quia reputas

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally the subjunctive follows other verbs as (*weorþan* in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 23.26 (p. 22 below).

<sup>2</sup> In reality I give, on the following pages, all the examples that I have observed of Subtype (a) and of Subtype (b), but in the general Statistics these have not been segregated from the normal type of the consecutive subjunctive with *þæt* and *þætte*. Similar constructions in Modern English are treated by H. G. Shearin in his monograph, *The "That"-Clause in the Authorized Version of the Bible*, pp. 50-52.

<sup>3</sup> For somewhat similar locutions with *þæs* . . . *þæt* see pp. 10-11 above.

eum? [Note the interchange of relative and consecutive clauses in the Old English.]

*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> 88.41<sup>a,b,c</sup>: Hwylc is manna, þæt feores neote & hwæþere on ende deaþ ne sceawige? oþþe hwylc manna is, þæt his agene fram helle locum sawle generige? = 88.49<sup>a,b,c</sup>: Quis est homo qui vivet et non videbit mortem, eruet animam suam de manu inferi?

*Chr. & S.* 17: Hwa is þæt þe cunne orþonc clene nymþe ece God? [Not in Ludwig Walter's *Syntaktischer Gebrauch des Verbums in dem ags. Gedichte "Christ und Satan,"* p. 33.]

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 23.26: hwa wyrþ get æfter us on þisse worulde, þæt him nanwuht wiþ his willan ne sie? = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 33.39: Quis est . . . tam compositae felicitatis, ut non aliqua ex parte cum status sui qualitate rixetur? [Not in Benham, p. 253, or in Wülfing, II, 154.]

*Oros.* 40.28: Hwær is nu on ænigan cristendome betuh him sylfum þæt mon him þurfe swilc ondrædan? = 41.22: no Latin. [Is in Benham, p. 253, but not in Wülfing, II, 154.]

*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 136.30: hwæt is þæt þe wite hwylc þæs mannes modgeþancas syn (MS. H.: hwylc man wat þæs mannes modgeþancas)? = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 166A<sup>a</sup>: Quis enim scit hominum quæ hominis sunt? [Not in Tilley, as he does not treat dependent clauses. Not in Benham, p. 253.]

*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 301.10: hwylc man is þæt þe cunne Godes þa diglan domas? (MS. C: þæt cunne) = 364B<sup>a</sup>: Quis occulta Dei iudicia sciat? [Not in Tilley. Not in Benham, p. 253.]

*Wærf.* 144.10: hwylc eom ic la, þæt ic æfre sceolde þyslicum men þeowian? = 172A<sup>a</sup>: Quis sum ego, ut isti serviam? [Not in Tilley. Not in Benham, p. 253.]

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 2.19: Hwa is manna, þæt . . . gode dagas geseon wille? = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 4.24: Quis est homo, qui . . . cupit videre dies bonos? [Not in Benham, as he used the Winteneý version of this work.]

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 2.18: Hwa is manna, þæt lifes wilnige? = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 4.23: Quis est homo qui vult vitam? [Not in Benham.]

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 133.4: hwylc tramet is, oþþe hwylc spræc þæs godcundan lareowdomes . . . þæt ne sy seo rihteste bysen uran menniscan lifes? = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 206.1: Quæ enim pagina, aut quis sermo divinæ auctoritatis Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, non est rectissima norma vitæ humanæ? [Not in Benham.]

*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 133.6<sup>a,b</sup>: hwylc boc is þara halgan fædera . . . þæt þæt ne clypige and swege, þæt we . . . cuman scylan to urum scyppende? = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 206.3: Aut quis liber sanctorum Catholicorum Patrum hoc non resonat, ut, etc.? [Not in Benham.]

*Bl. Hom.* 59.33: Hwylc man is þæt mæge ariman ealle þa sar? [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in J. Flamme, *Syntax der Blickling Homilies*, p. 50.]

*Bl. Hom.* 147.18: Hwylc is of us Drihten þæt hæbbe swa hwite saule swa þeos halige Marie? [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Flamme, p. 50.]

*Ælf. L. S.* 1, 232.191: Hwæt eom ic manna þæt ic mihte God forbeodan? [Not in Benham, p. 254; or in P. T. Kühn, *Die Syntax des Verbums in Ælfrics Heiligenleben*, p. 57; or in B. Schrader, *Studien zur Ælfricschen Syntax* (Jena, 1887), as Schrader does not take up mood-syntax.]

*Ælf. Hom.* II, 192.15: Hwæt is se Drihten þæt ic his stemne *gehyran sceole?* [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Schrader.]

*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 3.11<sup>a,b</sup>: Hwæt eom ic þæt ic ga to Pharaone & ut *alædende sy* Israhela bearn? = Quis sum ego *ut uadam . . . et educam filios Israel?* [Not in Benham, p. 254; or in Wohlfahrt, *Die Syntax des Verbuns in Ælfric's Uebersetzung des Heptateuch und des Buches Hiob*, p. 63.]

*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 5.2: Hwæt is se Drihten þæt ic him *hyran scule?* = Quis est Dominus *ut audiam uocem eius?* [Not in Benham, p. 254; or in Wohlfahrt, p. 63.]

*Wulf.* 140.3: hwa is æfre þæt *hæbbe swa hearde heortan þæt he ne mæge him* ondrædon þa towardan witu? [Not in Benham, p. 254; or in A. Mohrbutter, *Darstellung der Syntax in den vier echten Predigten des ags. Erzbischofs Wulfstan*, p. 93. Strange to say, Mohrbutter declares that in Wulfstan only the indicative is found in clauses of result.]

*Wulf.* 214.14<sup>a</sup>: hwylc man is þonne æfre, butan his heorte sy . . . awrecen, þæt he *wene* þæt se papa and se biscop dorston swerian mænne aþ? [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

*Wulf.* 225.5: hwilc man is þonne efre, butan his heorte se . . . awrecan [*sic*], þæt he *wæne* þæt se . . . papa and se biscup dorstan swerigan menne [*sic*] aþ þus micel megen? [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

*Subtype (b)*<sup>4</sup> (26 in West Saxon):

*Met.*<sup>1</sup> 188.50: nis þeah ænig man þætte ealles swa *bereafod sie* þæt he andsware ænige ne cunne findan on ferhþe, gif he frugnen sie = *Met.*<sup>2</sup> 81.13:0.

*Rid.* 61.5 (=p. 43.5): fea ænig wæs monna cynnes þæt minne þær on anæde eard *beheolde*. [Not in Schneider, *Satzbau und Wortschatz der altengl. Rätsel des Exeterbuches*, p. 22.]

*Guthl.* 896: Nænig forþum wæs þæt he æwiscmod eft *sipade* hean hyhta leas. [*Sipade* may be Indicative, as is claimed by Ferkert, p. 26; not in Kopas, p. 23.]

*Guthl.* 962: heo Adame . . . scencte bittor bædeweg, þæs þa byre sipþan grimme onguldon gafulrædenne þurh ærgewyrht; þætte ænig ne wæs fyra cynnes from fruman sipþan mon on moldan, þætte *meahte* him *gebeorgan* & bibugan þone bleatan drync deopan deaþweges. [Ferkert, p. 26: Indic.; but Kopas, p. 23: Subjunctive.]

*Sal.* 423: forþon nis nænegu gecynd . . . þæt he forþ ne *sie* fyrenes cynnes.

*Sal.* 434: sægdon . . . þæt nære nænig manna middangeardes þæt *meahte* þara twega tuion *aspyrian*.

*Des Vaters Lehren* 68: Is nu fela folca þætte fyrngewritu *healdan wille*, ac him hyge brosnæþ.

*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 55.29: Ac þæt nis nan man þætte sumes eacan ne *þyrfe*, buton Gode anum = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 53.60:0. [Not in Benham, p. 253; or in Wülfing, II, 154.]

<sup>4</sup> For somewhat similar locutions with *þæs . . . þæt* see pp. 10–11 above.

*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 13.4: Nis nan þara þe þe rihte secþ, þæt he þe ne finde = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 13.25: sed non deseris, quia tu es summum bonum, quod nemo recte quaesivit et minime invenit. [Not in Benham, p. 253; or in Wülfing, II, 154.]

*Laws, Gerefa* 455[16]: nis ænig man þæt atellan mæge þa tol ealle, þe man habban sceal. [Not in Benham, p. 253.]

*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 345.8<sup>a</sup>: þa næs nænig þara broþra þæt wære geeadmodod þæt him to eodon & wiþsprecan woldon = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 420D<sup>a</sup>: cum . . . nullus e fratribus ei applicari et loqui dignaretur. [Not in Tilley, who does not treat Dependent Clauses; not in Benham, p. 253.]

*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 320.2: nis nænig man, þe hine cuþe, þæt he nyte þæt he swylc wæs = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 385A<sup>b</sup>: Quod sic fuisse, nullus qui illum novit, ignorat. [Not in Tilley or in Benham, p. 253.]

*Bl. Hom.* 103.19: nis nænig man þæt asecggan mæge þa miltsa. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Flamme, p. 50.]

*Bl. Hom.* 219.25: nis nænig man þæt þa wundor ealle asecggan mæge.

*Bl. Hom.* 103.14: Nis þæt þonne nænig man þæt þurfe þone deopan grund . . . gesecean. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Flamme, p. 50.]

*Mart.* 46.1<sup>a</sup>: nis ænig manna þæt he wite. [Not in Benham, p. 253.]

*Ælf. L. S.* II, 44.675: nu her nan scip nys þæt heo to me unwurþan becuman mæge. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Kühn, p. 57, or in Schrader.]

*A. S. Hom. & L. S.* II, 166.59: Nis þonne nan man, þæt þæne deopan grund þæs . . . fyres gesecean mæge. [Not in Benham, p. 254.]

*A. S. Hom. & L. S.* II, 166.62: nys nænig man, þæt asecgan mæge þa miltse. [Not in Benham, p. 254.]

*A. S. Hom. & L. S.* II, 169.133: nis nan deofol, ne nan synful sawl, þæt hi mæge behydan. [Not in Benham, p. 254.]

*Wulf.* 301.30<sup>b</sup>: gif hwa sy þæt he nu gyt ne cunne, he hit leornige. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

*Wulf.* 136.12<sup>a</sup>: gyf hwylc man sy þæt ne cunne his pater noster and his credan, beo he swyþe geornlice embe þæt he hit leornige. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

*Wulf.* 284.10: gyf þæt þonne hwylc mon sy þæt him on his mode to earfoþe þince þæt he on ælce tid swa forwernedlice lyfige, tylige he . . . þæt, etc. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

*Wulf.* 96.2: forþam nis nan man þæt ne sy synful. [Cf. 94.7: nis se man on life þe areccan mæge ealle yrmþa. *Wulf.* 96.2 is not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

*Wulf.* 211.14: forþon nis an stæpe þæt heo wille oferyrnan fram nontide þæs sæternesdæges oþ þæs monandæges lihtincge. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

*Wulf.* 219.24: forþon nis nan stepe þæt hio [= Jordan] wile oferyrnan fram nontide þæs seternesdeges ær þæs monandeges lihtincge. [Not in Benham, p. 254, or in Mohrbutter, p. 93.]

### B. In the "Lindisfarne Gospels" (15)

In the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, somewhat more numerous than the consecutive subjunctive introduced by correlative particles is the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles. Of the latter about fifteen examples have been found in all.

The consecutive subjunctive is introduced once by *sua*:—*Mk.* 9.3: woedo his awordne sint scinendo huit *uel* lixendo suiþe suelce snaua *sua*—[a blank] ofer eorþo ne *mæge* huito *gedoe*= uestimenta eius facta sunt splendentia candida nimis uelut nix qualia fullo super terram non *potest* candida *facere* (R.: *mæg*; W. S.: *mæg*). As is evident, in this passage the Lindisfarne translator is alone in using the subjunctive.

In three instances the consecutive subjunctive is introduced by *þæt*. The examples are *Mat.* 7.1: nellap ge doeme *þæt* ge ne *se gedoemed* = Nolite iudicare *ut* non *iudicemini*; *Mat.* 9.18: onsett hond ofer hia & lifep *uel þæt* hiu *lifige*= impone manum super eam et *uiuēt* (R.: heo *leofap*; W. S.: *ibidem*); *Mat.* 21.32: gie . . . gesepon ne hreonise hæfdigie [*sic*] æfter þon *þæt* gie *gelefd*e him = uos autem uidentes nec pænitentiam habuistis postea *ut crederetis* ei. Of these three examples the Latin has a subjunctive in only two.

Most frequent of all as an introductory particle is *þætte*, of which eleven examples have been found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. *John* 6.7 furnishes a typical example: tuu hund penninga to hlafum ne genyhtsumiaþ him *þætte* eghuelc an lyttel hothuoego *onfoe*= ducentorum denariorum panes non sufficiunt eis *ut* unus-quisque modicum quid *accipiat*. To these eleven examples of the consecutive subjunctive introduced by *þætte* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* the Latin correspondent is invariably a subjunctive. But in the Latin as in the Old English in some of the examples the subjunctive may possibly denote purpose rather than result.

In one of the eleven examples, it should be added, we have an illustration of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by *þætte* following *wosa* without an intervening adjective or adverb: *John* 9.36: cuæþ huæd is drihten *þætte* ic *gelefo* on him? = dixit quis est domine [*sic*] *ut credam* in eum (R.: *gilefo*; W. S.: *gelyfe*). In all three Old English versions the mood-form is indeterminate, but is probably intended for the subjunctive.

### C. NOTES

1. "Ðe" introduces a Clause of Result in *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 1.6?—Wülfing (II, 155, Anm.) thinks that in the passage just cited we have *þe* introducing a clause of result: "An einer Stelle scheint *þe* einen Folgesatz einzuleiten: *So.* 163.5: *ne com ic naþer mid anre byrþene ham, þe me ne lyste ealne þane wude ham brengan, gif ic hyne ealne aberan mehte.*" Wülfing quotes Cockayne's edition of the *Soliloquies*, whereas I refer to Endter's edition; but for this passage

the text is the same in each. With Wülfing Dr. Endter considers that *þe* here introduces a consecutive clause, and refers to Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*: "Zur Konstruktion des Folgesatzes mit *þe* vgl. Bo.-To.: A.S.D. unter *þe* III, 1,  $\beta$  (adverb clauses)." Bosworth-Toller, however, does not cite this passage from the *Soliloquies*, nor does Dr. Benham. The latter, however, quotes (p. 207) from other texts three passages in which he considers that we have *þe* used as "a consecutive connective," but presumably he construes *þe* in these instances as a relative pronoun rather than a conjunction. Dr. Hargrove, in his translation of *King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies* (*Yale Studies in English*, No. xxii, New York, 1904) construes the *þe*-clause as causal, not consecutive, and translates: "Nor came I home with a burden, for it pleased me not to bring all the wood home, even if I could bear it." From his translation, as well as from the entry in his glossary to his edition of *King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, it is evident that Dr. Hargrove takes *lyste* to be an indicative. To me, however, *lyste* seems a subjunctive here, and the *þe*-clause to denote cause rather than result.

2. "*Oþ*," "*Oþþæt*," and "*Oþþe*," 'Until,' introduce Consecutive Clauses according to Dr. Benham, pp. 217-218. But, in the examples quoted by him, the clauses introduced by these particles seem to me to denote time rather than result; and, when the verb is in the subjunctive, the passages have been cited in *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*, pp. 157-166. Dr. Ericson (p. 71) allowably considers that the following clauses introduced by *oþþæt* denote result: *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 70.7 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 132.17, *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 131.6 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 202.15, *Bl. Hom.* 193.4, and *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 220.9, 10 = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 268D. To me, however, these clauses seem more probably to denote time, and have likewise been cited in *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English* (pp. 161 and 164), except the examples from *Wærferth*, which, despite the *en*-ending of one of the verbs, I took to be indicatives rather than subjunctives.

3. *Duplication of Ðæt(te)*.—Occasionally, as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 147. 2<sup>a</sup>, quoted on p. 20 above, *þæt(te)* is pleonastically repeated.

4. *An interchange of Consecutive Clause and Relative Clause* occurs at times, as in *Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> 143.4, quoted on p. 21 above; in *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 320.2, quoted on p. 24; and in *Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> *Mk.*<sup>1</sup> 4.22<sup>b</sup>: *Soplice nis nan þing behydd þe ne sy geswutelod; ne nis digle geworden, ac þæt hit openlice cume* = *Non enim est aliquid absconditum, quod non manifestatur: nec factum est occultum, sed ut in palam ueniat.*

5. *Consecutive or Temporal?* *Laws* 392 [6] is cited by Dr. Ericson (p. 66) as having a clause of result introduced by *swa . . . þæt*. But I considered that the clause rather denoted time, and recorded it, on p. 165 of *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*, under *þæt* meaning 'until,' thinking that *swa* was completed by *forþ* rather than by *þæt*. The passage runs: *Of þam dæge, þe þæt healsfang agolden sy, on xxi nihtan gylde man þa manbote; þæs on xxi nihtan þæt fyhtewite; þæs on xxi nihtan þæs weres þæt frumgyld; & swa forþ, þæt fulgolden sy on þam fyrste, þe witan geræden.* The *Quadripartitus* version gives *donec* for *þæt*; Liebermann, *damit*.

6. *Additional Consecutive Subjunctives, some introduced by correlative particles and some by single particles*, cited by Dr. Benham, but not by me, because oc-

curing in texts not included in my study, are given on pp. 253-254 of Dr. Benham's dissertation. These additional examples make a total of 107, and are distributed as follows: Ælfric's *Grammatik*, 1; Ælfric's Version of *Alcuin's Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*, 1; Ælfric's Writings in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 8; *Colloquium Ælfrici*, 3; *Apollonius of Tyre*, 1; Byrhtferth's *Handboc*, 1; *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 7; *Codex Diplomaticus*, 12; the Non-Ælfrician Writings in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 9; the Anglo-Saxon Version of the *Hexameron of St. Basil*, 1; *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, 56; an Anglo-Saxon *Leben des Neot*, 1; the Old English Version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 2; the *Oldest English Texts*, 4. Despite the absence of this large number of consecutive subjunctives from my statistics, my total of consecutive subjunctives in Old English prose is appreciably larger than that of Dr. Benham therefor, as explained in footnote 1, p. 31, and footnote 2, p. 34.

CHAPTER III  
ORIGIN OF THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE  
IN OLD ENGLISH

A. NATURE OF THE GOVERNING CLAUSE

Many previous writers on Old English syntax, including the only special student of the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English, Dr. Benham, have held that the chief factor in the use of the consecutive subjunctive is to be found in the Nature of the Governing Clause,—a theory first set forth for the Germanic languages as a whole by Oskar Erdmann and, slightly later, by Ernst Bernhardt, in the early seventies, and by me designated, in *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*, pp. 18–19, the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax.

Probably the fullest and most definite statement of this theory as applied to the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English is by Dr. Wilhelm Fleischhauer, in his monograph, *Ueber den Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in Alfred's altengl. Uebersetzung von Gregor's Cura Pastoralis*. After declaring that he finds no essential difference between the use of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Particles and that Introduced by Single Particles, Dr. Fleischhauer (pp. 65–68) thus lays down the principle for the occurrence of the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English:

Im Konsekutivsatz steht Conj.: I., wenn der ganze Satz (Haupt- und Konsekutivsatz)

§74. A., einen Wunsch enthält. Dies wird im Hauptsatze ausgedrückt durch 1., Imper. . . . ; 2., *sculan* . . . ; 3., blossen Conj. des Wunsches . . . ; 4., . . . *is to* + flekt. Inf. . . . ; 5., einen von *þæt* eingeleiteten abhängigen Wunschsatz im Conj. . . .

§75. B., eine Absicht enthält. Dies wird im Hauptsatze ausgedrückt durch 1., finales *þæt* . . . ; 2., finales *þylæs* . . .

§76. C., einen unsicheren Inhalt hat. Dies wird im Hauptsatze ausgedrückt durch 1., *mæg* . . . ; 2., *swelce* mit Conj.; . . . 3., *gif* mit Conj. . . . ; 4., *þæt is þonne þæt* . . . Conj. . . . (=Subjektssatz) *þæt* . . . Conj. . . . (=Prädikatssatz) . . . ; 5., eine Frage . . .

§77. D., in eigentlicher indirekter Rede steht . . .

§78. II., wenn der Konsekutivsatz A., eine Absicht enthält . . . ; B., einen unsicheren Inhalt hat, was wir durch 'etwa, vielleicht, möglicherweise' ausdrücken können . . . ; C., unter dem Bereiche einer im Hauptsatze enthaltenen Negation steht . . .



While, as is evident from the preceding quotation, Dr. Fleischhauer does not utterly ignore the nature of the dependent clause as a factor in the use of the subjunctive in consecutive clauses, he considers that the chief factor is to be found in the nature of the governing clause; that the majority of consecutive subjunctives in Old English occur when the governing clause has an Imperative Mood, a Subjunctive Mood (Jussive or Optative), or a Negative Particle.

As incidentally stated above, many writers on Old English mood-syntax have held substantially the view set forth by Dr. Fleischhauer. With slight modifications this view is expressed with reference to the consecutive subjunctive in the following monographs: Joseph Schürmann, *Darstellung der Syntax in Cynewulfs Elene*, p. 384; T. Wohlfahrt, *Die Syntax des Verbuns in Ælfrics Uebersetzung des Heptateuch und des Buches Hiob*, p. 15; Max Prollius, *Ueber den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in den Cynewulfschen Dichtungen Elene, Juliana, und Crist*, p. 50, where it is stated that the consecutive clause "hat als modus sowohl indicativ wie conjunctiv, je nach der beschaffenheit des hauptsatzes"; P. T. Kühn, *Die Syntax des Verbuns in Ælfrics Heiligenleben*, p. 22; E. Nader, "Tempus und Modus im Beowulf," *Anglia*, XI, 444; A. N. Henshaw, *The Syntax of the Indicative and Subjunctive Moods in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, p. 43; Georg Steche, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch der Conjunctionen in dem ags. Gedichte von der Genesis*, p. 53; H. M. Blain, *Syntax of the Verb in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 787 to 1001 A.D.*, p. 26, where, strange to say, we read: "Our investigation shows no examples in the Chronicle"; Otto Henk, *Die Frage in der altengl. Dichtung, Eine syntaktische Studie*, pp. 13-14; Andreas Vogt, *Beiträge zum Konjunktivgebrauch im Altenglischen*, pp. 46, 71, 73-75.

As Dr. Vogt is the most recent advocate of the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory as applicable to Old English, perhaps I should quote some of his statements. This theory, he asserts (p. 46), applies to Old English so far as the influence of an imperative mood or a hortatory subjunctive of the governing clause is concerned:

Erdmann, Bernhardt, Wilmanns, Behaghel u. a. sprechen einem Imperativ oder Konj. etc. einen Einfluss auf den Modus des untergeordneten Satzes in den verschiedenen altgermanischen Dialekten zu. Gegen diese Ansicht erhob V. E. Mourek in mehreren Schriften energisch Widerspruch. In seiner Abhandlung 'Zur Syntax des Konjunktivs im Beowulf' sucht er seine Meinung auch für die Sprache des Beowulfepos und damit indirekt für das Ae. überhaupt zu verfechten. Moureks Einwände können aber m. E. nicht als berechtigt anerkannt werden.

Dr. Vogt then seeks, unsuccessfully it seems to me, to demonstrate the erroneousness of Professor Mourek's interpretation of the Erdmann-

Bernhardt theory with reference to conditional, relative, and temporal clauses. Dr. Vogt speaks specifically (p. 71) of the subjunctive in consecutive clauses: "In Folgesätzen steht der Konj., wenn die Gradbestimmung (*þæs* etc.) im Hauptsatz und damit auch die erläuternde Folgesatzaussage verneint wird." Later (pp. 73-75) Dr. Vogt discusses the influence of negation in the governing clause upon the mood of the dependent clause, and again seeks to uphold the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax and to overthrow Professor Mourek's strictures thereon. Dr. Vogt's argument runs as follows:

Die Einwirkung einer Negation auf einen untergeordneten Satz wurde für das Beowulfepos und damit indirekt für das Ae. überhaupt von V. E. Mourek (Zur Synt. des Konj. im Beow., Prag, 1908) mit Nachdruck bestritten. Gegen die rein äusserliche Auffassung, wie sie z. B. E. Nader in seinem Aufsatz 'Tempus und Modus im Beowulf,' *Anglia* 11, 444 ff. an einer Reihe von Stellen vertritt, dass eine Negation im übergeordneten Satz schlechthin den Konj. im Nebensatz erfordere, ist Mourek mit seinem Einspruch gewiss im Recht. Im übrigen sind aber seine Einwände m. E. nicht anzuerkennen.

Possibly Dr. Vogt's first stricture against Dr. Mourek's *Beowulf* monograph may be allowed some weight (p. 73):

Mourek führt (S. 122 ff.) alle möglichen Arten von indikativischen Nebensätzen auf, um zu zeigen, dass eine Negation im Hauptsatz ohne Einfluss auf den untergeordneten Satz sei. Da sich die eigentliche Frage nur um gewisse Satzarten, nämlich Relativ-, Konsekutiv- und ergänzende Substantivsätze dreht, erledigt sich ein grosser Teil seiner Einwände von vornherein.

But his second stricture seems to me indefensible. This objection must be quoted in fairness to Dr. Vogt despite its length (p. 73):

Mourek sagt weiterhin (S. 123): 'Ausnahmen von der vermeintlichen Regel sind so zahlreich, dass man sie nicht einfach übersehen kann. Aber man behilft sich mit der Ausrede, dass in solchen Fällen sich der Einfluss der Negation des Hauptsatzes nicht auf den Nebensatz erstreckt. Sicher mit Unrecht, denn wäre er überhaupt vorhanden, so müsste sich seine Wirkung immer zeigen.' Es liegt hier eine Verkennung des Problems und eine willkürliche, apriorische Forderung vor, deren Berechtigung Mourek mit keinem Wort dartut. Es verhält sich, wie der Vergleich zwischen indikativischen und konjunktivischen Nebensätzen nach Negation zeigt, tatsächlich so, dass die Negation nicht 'immer' und in jedem Fall automatisch den Konj. im Nebensatz bewirken müsste. Der Konj. findet sich vielmehr nur dann, wenn die logische Möglichkeit dazu gegeben ist, nämlich in jenen Fällen, wo die Negation die tatsächliche Gültigkeit des Nebensatzes annulliert und ihm damit vorstellungsmässigen Charakter verleiht. Zwischen negiertem Hauptsatz und Nebensatz muss eine innere, sinnvolle Beziehung bestehen; die Verneinung rein als solche genügt noch nicht, um den Konj. im abhängigen Satz nach sich zu ziehen. In den von Mourek (S. 124 ff.) als Gegenbeweis aufge-

fürhten indikativischen Nebensätzen nach Negation besteht kein solcher innerer Zusammenhang; die Negation berührt den Inhalt des Nebensatzes gar nicht.

A slight modification of the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax, as applied to the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English, is made by Professor Benham, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-235. True, his general statement (p. 233) closely resembles that quoted from Dr. Fleischhauer:

I distinguish the following circumstances under which the optative<sup>1</sup> is used in O.E. result clauses: (a) By Attraction. (b) After an Imperative. (c) To Express Tendency. . . . (a) By Attraction (152) . . . I mean that when a result clause depends on a clause in which the verb is already optative, the verb of the result clause is itself found in the optative. . . . This is by far the most numerous class of optatives in O.E. result clauses, and its use is nearly constant throughout the period. . . . (b) After an Imperative (38). When the manner or degree of action of a verb in the imperative mode is indicated by a result clause following it, the verb of the latter is found in the optative. . . . (c) To Express Tendency (85). In case the result is merely intended, or aimed at, the optative is used in consecutive clauses in O.E. prose. The optative in this construction is equivalent to the infinitive of result in modern English or in Greek. In the latter, as Goodwin [220 *seq.*] points out, the accomplishment of the result is inferential, if the infinitive construction is used. As much may be said for the infinitive of result in Modern English, and for the optative in O.E.

But, on p. 235, Dr. Benham declares that the influence of a negative in the governing clause upon the mood of the dependent consecutive clause is by no means so potent as was claimed by Erdmann and by Bernhardt:

Earlier investigators of the syntax of result, especially in single poetical texts, have been inclined to say that the use of the optative to express tendency has been confined to negative clauses; but, while it is true that four-fifths of the clauses of tendency in O.E. prose have [a] negative in the main clause, or [a] negative in the result clause, or [a] negative in both, or are rhetorical questions, yet there is the remaining one-fifth made up of *affirmative* clauses of tendency.

Some writers on Old English syntax say nothing of the nature of the governing clause in consecutive sentences, but merely state that the subjunctive in such clauses is due to the contingent nature of the result. Among these may be mentioned the following: O. Hennicke, *Der Con-*

<sup>1</sup> Professor Benham uses *optative* for my *subjunctive*. The numbers in parenthesis in my quotation give Dr. Benham's totals for each category of the consecutive subjunctive. To these numbers, however, he later (p. 236) adds 71 consecutive subjunctives expressed by auxiliary verbs, and on p. 235, 22 unclassified consecutive subjunctives.

*conjunctiv im Altenglischen*, p. 51, which, though devoted primarily to Middle English (1250-1500), treats briefly, also, of Old English; C. F. Koch, *Historische Grammatik der Engl. Sprache*, II, 50; Eduard Mätzner, *Engl. Grammatik*, II, 137; Theodor Müller, *Ags. Grammatik*, p. 246; Julius Flamme, *Syntax der Blickling Homilies*, p. 50; Max Furkert, *Syntaktischer Gebrauch des Verbuns in dem ags. Gedichte vom Heiligen Guthlac*, p. 26; H. A. Reussner, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax in dem ags. Gedichte vom Heiligen Andreas*, p. 22; B. Hertel, *Syntaktischer Gebrauch des Verbuns in dem ags. Gedichte Crist*, p. 22; H. Seyfarth, *Syntaktischer Gebrauch des Verbuns in dem Cædmon beigelegten ags. Gedicht von der Genesis*, p. 28; A. Müller, *Syntaktischer Gebrauch des Verbuns in dem ags. Gedichte von der Judith*, p. 13; J. D. Spaeth, *Syntax des Verbuns in dem ags. Gedicht Daniel*, p. 27. But, while the writers above named correctly assert that the determining factor in the use of the subjunctive in consecutive clauses in Old English is to be found in the nature of the dependent clause of result, no one of them attempts to demonstrate the correctness of that view.

A few writers do not attempt to differentiate the Subjunctive of Result from the Indicative of Result, but merely give examples of each mood. To this group belong, among others, these writers on Old English syntax: F. A. March, *A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, p. 195; and J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, II, 151-155. Strange to say, Dr. Gerold Hotz, in his dissertation, *On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Anglo-Saxon and Its Further History in Old English*, p. 37, declares that in Anglo-Saxon the subjunctive never expresses result.

Still others<sup>1a</sup> stoutly deny that the nature of the governing clause has any influence upon the mood of the dependent consecutive clause. Professor V. E. Mourek, in his "Zur Syntax des Konjunktivs im Beowulf," does not specifically take up the consecutive use of the subjunctive (probably because of the paucity of examples thereof in *Beowulf*), but he concludes his article with this emphatic declaration: "Das Ergebnis der voranstehenden Untersuchung ist klar: die Regel, dass Negation, Imperativ, Konj. des Hauptsatzes einen Konj. im Nebensatze herbeiführen, hat für den Beowulf absolut keine Geltung." Though this statement is a bit too strong, yet it seems to lead in the right direction. Mourek finds subjunctives in *Beowulf* contravening the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory, and holds that the subjunctives seemingly in accord with that theory can be explained otherwise.

Equally emphatic in his dissent from the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory is

<sup>1a</sup> In his penetrating study, *The Comparison of Inequality*, p. 3, Dr. G. W. Small denies the applicability of the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory to comparative clauses.

Dr. Hans Glunz, in his excellent monograph, *Die Verwendung des Konjunktivs im Altenglischen*. On pages 18, 36, 45, 49, 65, 78, 80, 84, 85, and 108, Dr. Glunz inveighs against this theory as applied to various sorts of dependent clauses. On pp. 36 and 85 he commends the attacks of Mourek on this theory. And on p. 78 he specifically denies the applicability of this theory to the consecutive subjunctive in Old English:

Die gewöhnliche Erklärung, dass eine voraufgehende Negation u. ä. den Konjunktiv im Folgesatz bewirkte, dass sie die Ursache des Konjunktivs wäre, hört sich einfach an, ist es aber nicht. Man kann sprachpsychologisch nicht begründen oder beweisen, dass man den Konjunktiv setzte da, wo der betreffende Satz von etwas Negativem, nicht Existierendem abhängig ist. In jeder Lüge ist das der Fall, und doch lügt man im Indikativ. Der Konjunktiv ist nun einmal nicht der Ausdruck für etwas nicht Wirkliches, sondern der für eine Seelenstimmung. Diese besteht hier darin, dass man einen Verbalvorgang mit zweifelnden Augen als unsicher, bedingt und von Unsicherem abhängig ansieht, im Zweifel, in der Ungewissheit.

As is evident from the preceding quotation, Dr. Glunz bases his view of the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax primarily on theoretical-psychological grounds. In 1925 I attacked this problem from the theoretical-statistical side in a series of Research Lectures at the University of Texas, one of which in amplified form was published as a separate volume in 1931 (University of Texas Press), and another of which is presented in the present monograph. In the former work, the MS. of which had gone to the printer before the appearance of Dr. Glunz's monograph in 1930, I maintained that the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory was inapplicable to the Temporal Subjunctive of Old English; and I was delighted to find my conclusion fortified by the independent investigation of so able a scholar as Dr. Glunz.

The Erdmann-Bernhardt theory, I now venture to assert, is as inapplicable to the Consecutive Subjunctive of Old English as to the Temporal Subjunctive. For, while the accompanying tabulation of the Governing Clause of Consecutive Sentences in West Saxon shows an appreciable number of subjunctives whose governing clauses might be considered as according with the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory, in the majority of cases (nearly 60 per cent) the subjunctives occur in contravention of that theory. And this is true of the two larger types of the Consecutive Subjunctive considered by us: I. Those Introduced by Correlative Particles, whether non-prepositional or prepositional, and II. Those Introduced by Single Particles. Moreover, this is true, in the main, of Subgroups A and B of I. Specially noteworthy is the very large number of instances—about 55 per cent according to our tables—in which a consecutive subjunctive occurs after a positive main clause.

This percentage is larger than that given by Professor Benham (25 per cent), possibly because of the disparity between the total number of consecutive subjunctives for Old English prose given by me (698) and that given by him (368).<sup>2</sup> A theory that works less than half the time can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. And yet, as we shall see in the chapter on the Consecutive Subjunctive in the Other Germanic Languages, this theory is still advocated by a majority of the grammarians who have written upon the mood-syntax of the Germanic languages other than English.

The following Tables show the Nature of the Governing Clause in the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive.

GROUP I: INTRODUCED BY CORRELATIVE PARTICLES  
SUBTYPE A: NON-PREPOSITIONAL (362)

Imperative				Subjunctive				Indicative					
Positive	Negative	Total		Positive	Negative	Total		Positive	Negative	Total			
7	1	8	In Adhortative Cl.	2	3	5	In Independent Cl. With <i>sculan</i>	72	39	111			
			In Apodosis Cl.	0	2	2		28	0	28			
			In Deliberative Cl.	1	0	1		100	39	139			
			In Jussive Cl.	16	3	19	In Appositive Cl.	7	0	7			
			In Obligatory Cl.	43	5	48	In Causal Cl.	1	0	1			
			In Appositive Cl.	12	0	12	In Conditional Cl.	3	1	4			
			In Comparative Cl.	2	0	2	In Consecutive Cl.	1	0	1			
			In Concessive Cl.	2	0	2	In Objective Cl.	3	3	6			
			In Conditional Cl.	20	5	25	In Pred. Nom. Cl.	1	0	1			
			In Consecutive Cl.	4	1	5	In Relative Cl.	5	0	5			
			In Final Cl.	21	2	23	In Subjunctive Cl.	2	0	2			
			In Objective Cl.	22	3	25							
			In Pred. Nom. Cl.	7	0	7							
			In Relative Cl.	1	0	1							
			In Subjunctive Cl.	10	1	11							
			7	1	8		163	25	188		123	43	166

<sup>2</sup> The disparity between my estimate of the consecutive subjunctives in Old English prose and the estimate of Dr. Benham, however, is not so great as at first appears. I reckon in my grand total (prose and poetry) about 90 indeterminate forms that seem to me subjunctive in function; but Dr. Benham does not include the indeterminate forms in his count.

## SUBTYPE B: PREPOSITIONAL (66)

Imperative				Subjunctive				Indicative		
Positive	Negative	Total		Positive	Negative	Total		Positive	Negative	Total
0	0	0	In Jussive Cl.	0	2	2	In Independent Cl.	12	14	26
			In Obligatory Cl.	2	1	3	With <i>sculan</i>	0	0	0
			In Appositive Cl.	2	0	2	In Conditional Cl.	2	0	2
			In Concessive Cl.	2	0	2	In Consecutive Cl.	0	1	1
			In Conditional Cl.	7	0	7	In Objective Cl.	0	1	1
			In Consecutive Cl.	1	0	1	In Relative Cl.	1	2	3
			In Final Cl.	0	3	3				
			In Objective Cl.	6	2	8				
			In Pred. Nom. Cl.	1	1	2				
			In Relative Cl.	3	0	3				
0	0	0		24	9	33		15	18	33

## GROUP II: WITH SINGLE PARTICLES (351)\*

Imperative				Subjunctive				Indicative		
Positive	Negative	Total		Positive	Negative	Total		Positive	Negative	Total
10	5	15	In Adhortative Cl.	3	0	3	In Independent Cl.	119	53	172
			In Jussive Cl.	9	4	13	With <i>sculan</i>	8	3	11
			In Obligatory Cl.	15	1	16		127	56	183
			In Optative Cl.	1	0	1	In Appositive Cl.	0	1	1
			In Appositive Cl.	4	0	4	In Causal Cl.	0	1	1
			In Comparative Cl.	2	0	2	In Conditional Cl.	5	1	6
			In Concessive Cl.	3	1	4	In Consecutive Cl.	1	6	7
			In Conditional Cl.	22	9	31	In Objective Cl.	2	1	3
			In Consecutive Cl.	1	1	2	In Relative Cl.	5	1	6
			In Final Cl.	7	8	15	In Temporal Cl.	3	1	4
			In Objective Cl.	19	5	24				
			In Pred. Nom. Cl.	2	0	2				
			In Relative Cl.	3	0	3				
			In Subjective Cl.	2	0	2				
			In Temporal Cl.	2	0	2				
10	5	15		95	29	124		143	68	211

\* One example has an Accusative with an Infinitive as the Governing Clause.

B. LATIN CORRESPONDENTS TO THE OLD ENGLISH  
CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE

Let us consider next what bearing the Latin may have had upon the use of the consecutive subjunctive in Old English. We discuss the two larger groups separately.

I. *The Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Particles*

## Subtype A. Non-Prepositional

Of the 196 Old English Consecutive Subjunctives found in the translations and introduced by Correlative Non-Prepositional Particles, the Latin Correspondents are as follows:

## I. Oftenest a Subjunctive (134):

## 1. Of Result (98):

(a) With *ita ut* (*ita . . . ut*), 'so that,' positive and negative (9), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 42.13 (pos.) = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 78.18; *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 70.15<sup>a</sup> (neg.) = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 134.2.

(b) With *sic ut* (*sic . . . ut*), 'so that,' positive and negative (27), as in *Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>, *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> 5,16<sup>b</sup> (pos.); *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 66.7 (neg.) = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 124.19<sup>b</sup>.

(c) With *talis . . . ut*, 'such . . . that' (3), as in *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 187.9<sup>b</sup> = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 228B<sup>c</sup>.

(d) With *taliter . . . ut*, 'in such manner that' (1), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 74.22 (pos.) = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 142.9<sup>a</sup>.

(e) With *tam . . . ut*, 'so . . . that' (1), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.21<sup>b</sup>.

(f) With *tantus . . . ut*, 'such . . . that' (2), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Lev.*<sup>1</sup> 26.31 (*in tantum*); *Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>, *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> 15.33.

(g) With *quatenus*, 'to the extent that,' positive and negative (5), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 253.23<sup>a,b</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 192.11, 12 (pos.); *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 107.15<sup>c</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 74.11 (neg.).

(h) With *sic quatenus* (*sic . . . quatenus*), 'to the extent that' (4), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 229.14 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 174.1 (pos.), *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 389.4 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 304.22 (neg.).

(i) With *quin*, 'that not' (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 59.1<sup>a</sup> = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 56.18.

(j) With *ut* (*non*), positive and negative, 'that (not)' (45), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 68.12 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 128.20 (pos.); *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 63.20 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 120.12 (neg.).

2. In a Comparative Clause (1), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 372.34 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 275.21 (?).

3. In a Relative Clause (9), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 109.21 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 176.2.

4. In a Locative Clause (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 108.24 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 93.83.

5. In a Final Clause, positive or negative (16), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 72.19<sup>b</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 138.5 (pos.); *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 189.11 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 140.26 (neg.); *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 64.20 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 122.12<sup>a</sup> (neg.).



6. In a Jussive Clause (2), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 44.12 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 82.14.
7. In a Conditional Clause, positive or negative (2), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 122.11 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 103.106 (pos.); *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 457.21 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 390.12 (neg.).
8. In an Optative Clause (1), as in *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 7.9 = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 6.36.
9. In an Objective Clause (2), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 73.18<sup>a</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 140.4.
10. In an Obligatory Clause (1), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 44.16 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 82.18.
11. In a Temporal Clause (1), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 14.24.

## II. Occasionally an Indicative (9):

1. In an Independent Clause (5), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 141.10<sup>a</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 100.29<sup>b</sup>; *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 15.7.<sup>o</sup>
2. In a Dependent Clause (4):
  - (a) Relative (2) as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 16.16<sup>b</sup>.
  - (b) Temporal (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 453.35<sup>a</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 386.3<sup>a</sup> (*dum*).
  - (c) Conditional (1), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 107.15 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 172.20.

## III. Miscellaneous Locutions (26):

1. An Imperative Mood (1), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.11<sup>b</sup>.
2. An Accusative with Infinitive (2), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 122.7 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 103.104.
3. An Infinitive as Predicate Nominative (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 353.8, 9 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 272.21<sup>a,b</sup>.
4. A Subjective Infinitive (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 53.16 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 52.16.
5. An Objective Infinitive (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 435.26 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 362.2.
6. A Present Participle in the Predicative Accusative (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 59.18 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 56.28<sup>b</sup>.
7. An Appositive Participle (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 59.8 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 34.18.
8. A Participle in the Ablative Absolute (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 107.15<sup>b</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 74.10.
9. A Gerund in the Ablative (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 229.15 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 174.3.
10. *Ad* plus a Gerundive (3), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 13.17 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 140.4; *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 235.2<sup>b</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 176.26.
11. A Substantive in the Accusative as Object (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 59.19 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 56.28.
12. A Paraphrase (7), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 58.1<sup>b</sup> = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 55.37<sup>b</sup>.
13. A Prepositional Phrase (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 253.17 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 192.7.

IV. Nothing (29), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 199.13<sup>a,b</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 140.20<sup>a,b</sup>; *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 140.6 = no Latin.

To sum up the matter, in Subtype A of the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Non-Prepositional Particles, if we



I. SUBJUNCTIVE (134) *Continued*

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Waxf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
In Final Cl. (Neg.)	Pr.	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	14	14
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Jussive Cl.	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Locative Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Pt.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Objective Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Obligatory Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Optative Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Relative Cl.	Pr.	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	8	9
	Pt.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Temporal Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
														134	

## II. INDICATIVE (9)

In Conditional Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Independent Cl.	Pr.	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	5
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Relative Cl.	Pr.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Temporal Cl.	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
														9	

## III. MISCELLANEOUS LOCUTIONS (26)

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
Ablative Absolute	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Acc. with Inf.	Pr.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
<i>Ad</i> +Gerundive	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
	Pt.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
Appos. Participle	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Gerund in Abl.	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Imperative Mood	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Inf. as Pred. Nom.	Pr.	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Noun in Acc. as Obj.	Pr.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Obj. Infinitive	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Paraphrase	Pr.	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	7
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Prepositional Phrase	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Pt.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Pres. Ptc. as Pred. Acc.	Pr.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Subj. Infinitive	Pr.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
														26	

IV. NOTHING (29)

	<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
Pr.	0	8	2	0	6	0	0	5	4	0	0	1	26 3}	29   29
Pt.	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		

Subtype B. Prepositional

Relatively few consecutive subjunctives occur in Old English of Subtype B, those Introduced by Prepositional Correlative Particles, about 34 examples in the translations from the Latin. To these Old English subjunctives the Latin correspondents are the following:

I. A Subjunctive (15):

1. Of Result (6):

(a) With *ut*, 'that,' 'so that' (2), as in *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 189. 22<sup>b</sup> = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 229D<sup>c</sup>.

(b) With *quatenus*, 'to the extent that,' negative (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 417.1 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 338.5.

(c) With *ita . . . ut*, 'so . . . that' (2), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 69.7<sup>b</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 130.13.

(d) With *talis . . . ut* (1), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 113.17 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 178.20.

2. In a Relative Clause (2), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 25.6 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 34.2.

3. In a Final Clause, negative (3), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 319.17 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 246.17.

4. In an Objective Clause (1), as in *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 48.3 = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 48.25.

5. In a Deliberative Clause (2), as in *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 304.21 = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 368B<sup>b</sup>.

6. In an Appositive Clause (1), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 65.1 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 122.16.

II. An Indicative (7):

1. In an Independent Clause (1), as in *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 3.16 = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 3.31.

2. In a Dependent Clause (6):

(a) In a Conditional Clause (1), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 47.6<sup>c</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 88.6.

(b) In an Objective Clause (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 345.9 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 266.12.

(c) In a Relative Clause (4), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 383.21 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 298.20.

## III. Miscellaneous Locutions (8):

1. A Prepositional Phrase (4), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 425.24<sup>a,b</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 348.22<sup>a,b</sup>.
2. A Paraphrase (2), as in *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 35.12 = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 35.24.
3. An Objective Infinitive (1), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 114.31 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 93.5.
4. An Appositive Participle (1), as in *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 189.22<sup>a</sup> = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 229D<sup>b</sup>.

IV. Nothing (4), as in *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 44.17 = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 44.32.

As in Subtype A, so in Subtype B, in an appreciable number of examples the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive has as its Latin correspondent a subjunctive (6 consecutive and 9 distributed among five other uses of the Latin subjunctive). For the rest, the Latin correspondent is an Indicative 7 times (independent, 1; dependent, 6, of three different varieties); a Miscellaneous Locution 8 times (four varieties); and Nothing 4 times. Apparently, then, the Latin is not responsible for the origin of the idiom.

On succeeding pages I give Tables of the Latin Correspondents to Subtype B of the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Prepositional Particles.

GROUP I: INTRODUCED BY CORRELATIVE PARTICLES  
SUBTYPE B, PREPOSITIONAL  
I. SUBJUNCTIVE (15)

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	Totals	Group Totals
In Consecutive Cl.	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	4	6
	Pt.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	
In Appositive Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Deliberative Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Final Cl. (Neg.)	Pr.	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Objective Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Relative Cl.	Pr.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
														15	

II. INDICATIVE (7)

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
In Conditional Cl.	Pr. Pt.	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	1
In Independent Cl.	Pr. Pt.	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	1
In Objective Cl.	Pr. Pt.	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	1
In Relative Cl.	Pr. Pt.	0 0	1 0	3 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 0	4
7															

III. MISCELLANEOUS LOCUTIONS (8)

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
Appos. Participle	Pr. Pt.	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	1
Obj. Infinitive	Pr. Pt.	1 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0	1
Paraphrase	Pr. Pt.	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0	2
Prepositional Phrase	Pr. Pt.	0 0	0 0	4 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 0	4
8															

IV. NOTHING (4)

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
	Pr. Pt.	0 0	2 0	0 0	0 0	2 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 0	4
4															

## *II. The Old English Consecutive Subjunctive*

### *Introduced by Single Particles*

To the Old English Consecutive Subjunctives Introduced by Single Particles in the translations (about 175 examples in all), the Latin Correspondents are as varied as to those introduced by Correlative Particles. As correspondents to the former we find:

#### I. Oftenest a Subjunctive (89):

##### 1. Of Result (55):

(a) With *ut*, 'that,' 'so that,' positive and negative (45), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 255.18 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 192.30 (pos.); *Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>, *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> 7.1<sup>b</sup> (neg.).

(b) With *ita ut* (*ita . . . ut*), 'that,' 'so that,' (4), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 14.9 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 24.15; *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.27<sup>b</sup>.

(c) With *quin*, 'that not' (2), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 59.1<sup>b</sup> = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 56.18.

(d) With *quatenus*, 'to the extent that' (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 147.2<sup>a</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 106.1.

(e) With *talis ut*, 'such that' (2), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 75.10<sup>b</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 142.18<sup>b</sup>.

##### 2. Other Uses of the Subjunctive (34):

(a) In a Causal Clause (2), as in *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 345.17<sup>a</sup> = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 421A<sup>b</sup>.

(b) In a Concessive Clause (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 409.16 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 328.26.

(c) In a Conditional Clause, positive (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 333.9 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 256.24.

(d) In a Final Clause, negative (8), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 119.17 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 84.3.

(e) In a Jussive Clause (1), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 10.35<sup>o</sup>.

(f) In an Objective Clause (2), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 65.7 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 122.19.

(g) In an Obligatory Clause (6), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.29<sup>d</sup>.

(h) In a Predicate Nominative Clause (3), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Jos.*<sup>1</sup> 11.20<sup>b, c, d</sup>.

(i) In a Relative Clause (3), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 36.27 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 41.32.

(j) In a Subjective Clause (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 87.18<sup>a</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 58.16.

(k) In a Temporal Clause (2), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.61.

(l) In a Potential Clause (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 24.5 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 33.44.

(m) In a Deliberative Clause (3), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 3.11<sup>a, b</sup>, quoted on p. 23 above.

#### II. An Indicative (33):

1. In an Independent Clause (19), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 277.13<sup>c</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 208.29.

##### 2. In a Dependent Clause (14):

(a) Conditional (3), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 103.12<sup>a</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 168.19.

(b) Consecutive (1), as in *Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>, *J.* 7.35 (or Causal?).

(c) Objective (1), as in *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 262.16 = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 320C<sup>b</sup>.

(d) Relative (8), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.25.

(e) Temporal (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 287.6 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 216.21.



## III. Miscellaneous Locutions (28):

1. An Appositive Participle (3), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 394.25<sup>b</sup> = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 287.13.
2. A Present Participle in the Predicate Nominative (1), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.34.
3. A Consecutive Infinitive (1), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 394.25<sup>c</sup> = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 287.13 (or the Infinitive may be considered final).
4. An Objective Infinitive (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 109.16<sup>c</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 76.5<sup>c</sup>.
5. A Predicative Infinitive with Accusative Subject (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 90.5 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 77.11.
6. A Complementary Infinitive (3), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 159.8 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 114.24<sup>b</sup>.
7. A Gerundive in the Genitive (1), as in *Oros.*<sup>1</sup> 98.10 = *Oros.*<sup>2</sup> 99.12.
8. A Gerundive in the Dative (1), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 50.5 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 30.11.
9. *Ad*+a Gerundive (3), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 219.2 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 164.19.
10. A Prepositional Phrase (3), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 87.17<sup>b</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 58.16.
11. A Paraphrase (9), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 63.18<sup>a</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 120.11.

IV. Nothing (32), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 140.20<sup>a</sup> = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup>: no Latin; *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Judg.*<sup>1</sup> 15, p. 411, l. 7.

We find, then, that to the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles the Latin Correspondents are oftenest a Subjunctive (89, of which 55 are consecutive and the remaining 34 of thirteen different varieties), much less frequently an Indicative (33: 19 Independent and 14 Dependent of five varieties), and Miscellaneous Locutions (28 of eleven varieties). And in 32 instances there is no Latin correspondent.

These facts lead us to believe that in most instances the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles, is a native English idiom, especially when referring to a contingent present or a contingent future event. It is probable, however, that, owing to Latin influence, the idiom is relatively more frequent in the Old English translations than in the original works.

As to the special type<sup>3</sup> of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by *þæt(te)* Following *beon* (*wesan*) without an Intervening Adjective or Adverb, discussed on pp. 21-24, the Latin Correspondents to Subtype

<sup>3</sup> As the examples of the special type of the Old English consecutive subjunctive have been quoted in full on pp. 21-24 above, it seems unnecessary to give specific references for the several different categories of Latin correspondents thereto.

(a) (i.e., those occurring in an Interrogative-Deliberative Sentence) are as follows:

I. Oftenest an Indicative (12):

1. In a Relative Clause, 5.
2. In an Independent Interrogative Sentence, 7.

II. Somewhat less frequently a Subjunctive (6):

1. Consecutive, 5.
2. Deliberative, 1.

III. Nothing (2).

Though not strong, the Latin influence in this subgroup seems to me patent. While the consecutive subjunctive is more frequent in the Old English translations of this subgroup than in the Latin originals, the Old English consecutive subjunctives are echoes of true Latin consecutive subjunctives or of true Latin subjunctives of characteristic that were frequent in ecclesiastical Latin; and most of the Old English examples of Subtype (a) occur in ecclesiastical writings.

Of the Consecutive Subjunctives of Subtype (b) (i.e., those occurring in Sentences Resembling a Relative Clause of Characteristic), only five examples have been found in the Old English translations. To these five examples the Latin correspondents are an Indicative in a Relative Clause, 2; a Subjunctive of Cause, 1; and Nothing, 2. As with Subtype (a), so with Subtype (b), I think that the Latin influence is probably greater than at first appears; for in the latter, too, the Old English consecutive subjunctives are echoes of true Latin consecutive subjunctives or of true Latin subjunctives of characteristic that occur frequently in ecclesiastical Latin. A further consideration favoring this opinion concerning Subtype (b) is the fact that the consecutive subjunctives of this subtype occurring in the Old English original works are, as a rule, of the ecclesiastical Latin pattern.

Before turning from our consideration of the Latin Correspondents to the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive, it is interesting to note how wide is the divergence in the handling of the Latin subjunctive of result by some of the Old English translators. In some texts (*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup>, *Greg.*<sup>1</sup>, *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>) approximately half of the Latin consecutive subjunctives are similarly rendered; in others (*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>), approximately two-thirds; in *Benedict*<sup>1</sup>, all but three; in *Bede*<sup>1</sup>, scarcely a dozen; and in *Orosius*<sup>1</sup>, none is so rendered.

Following are shown Tables of the Latin Correspondents to the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles.

GROUP II: WITH SINGLE PARTICLES

I. SUBJUNCTIVE (89)

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
In Consecutive Cl.	Pr.	0	1	8	0	1	2	1	7	15	15	1	0	51	55
	Pt.	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	
In Causal Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Concessive Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Pt.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Conditional Cl.	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Deliberative Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	3
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Final Cl. (Neg.)	Pr.	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	8
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Jussive Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Objective Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
In Obligatory Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	6
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Potential Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Pt.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Pred. Nom. Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	
In Relative Cl.	Pr.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	3
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
In Subjective Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Pt.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
In Temporal Cl.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
															89



III. MISCELLANEOUS LOCUTIONS (28) *Continued*

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
Gerundive in Dative	Pr.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Gerundive in Genitive	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Obj. Infinitive	Pr.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Paraphrase	Pr.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	1	8	9
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Prepositional Phrase	Pr.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3
	Pt.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Pres. Ptc. in Pred. Nom.	Pr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
	Pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
														28	

IV. NOTHING (32)

		<i>Bede</i>	<i>Boeth.</i>	<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Oros.</i>	<i>Solil.</i>	<i>Pr. Ps.</i>	<i>Wærf.</i>	<i>Bened.</i>	<i>Hept.</i>	<i>Gosp.</i>	<i>Met. Ps.</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Group Totals</i>
Pr.	0	9	1	2	3	0	1	1	3	0	1	2	23	32	
Pt.	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9		
														32	

C. OLD ENGLISH NON-SUBJUNCTIVE RENDITIONS OF LATIN CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVES

The partial independence of the Old English translators is further attested by the large number and the variety of Non-Subjunctive Renditions of the Latin Consecutive Subjunctive found in the Old English translations. And, since this method of rendering the Latin consecutive subjunctive is frequent whether this subjunctive is introduced (a) by a Correlative Particle or (b) by a Single Particle, we may illustrate the

two types at one and the same time. For the Latin Consecutive Subjunctive we find the following Old English non-subjunctive renditions:

I. Oftenest an Indicative (272):

1. In a Dependent Clause (210):

(a) Consecutive (189), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 26.22 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 10.32 (correlative);—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 183.10, 11 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 136.20<sup>a,b</sup> (correlative);—*Bede*<sup>1</sup> 334.11, 12 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 254.11<sup>a,b</sup> (single).

(b) Non-consecutive (21):

(aa) Appositive (2), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 127.7 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 108.9 (correlative).

(bb) Causal (4), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 83.27 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 72.27;—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 271.15 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 204.18 (single).

(cc) Comparative (3), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 284.24 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 220.18 (correlative);—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 351.7, 9 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 270.25, 26 (single).

(dd) Modal (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 453.17 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 384.13 (single).

(ee) Objective (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 143.21 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 104.2 (single).

(ff) Predicate Nominative (1), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 284.23 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 220.15<sup>b</sup> (single).

(gg) Relative (1), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 417.9 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 338.14 (single).

(hh) Subjective (1), as in *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 132.31 = *Boeth.*<sup>2</sup> 112.128 (correlative).

(ii) Temporal (6), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 455.33 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 388.12 (single).

2. In an Independent Clause (62), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 122.22 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 99.14 (correlative); *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 39.24 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 20.5 (single).

II. Miscellaneous Locutions (17):

1. An Appositive Participle (1), as in *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> 11.6 = *Bened.*<sup>2</sup> 18.18 (correlative).

2. An Imperative Mood (4), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 65.18<sup>a,b</sup> = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 40.15<sup>a,b</sup> (single).

3. An Infinitive as Object (2), as in *Oros.*<sup>1</sup> 220.9 = *Oros.*<sup>2</sup> 221.12, 13 (correlative).

4. An Infinitive of Result (1), as in *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> 28.5 = *Solil.*<sup>2</sup> 28.28 (single).

5. An Infinitive as Subject (2), as in *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 279.6, 7 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 210.15, 16 (single).

6. A Paraphrase (6), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 204.1 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 160.5 (correlative); *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 347.1 = *Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 268.3 (single).

7. A Prepositional Phrase (1), as in *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup>, *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 12.36 (single).

III. Nothing (64), as in *Bede*<sup>1</sup> 116.13 = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 93.20 (correlative); *Oros.*<sup>1</sup> 38.28 = *Oros.*<sup>2</sup> 39.27 (single).

This survey of the Old English Non-Subjunctive Renditions of the Latin Consecutive Subjunctive shows that very often for the Latin Consecutive Subjunctive the Old English translator substituted an Indicative (272 examples in all, of which 210 are in a Dependent Clause and 62 in an Independent Clause). Of the 210 Old English Indicatives in dependent clauses, 189 denote result, while the remaining 21 are distributed among nine other varieties of dependent clauses. For 17 of the Latin consecutive subjunctives the Old English translators give us Miscellaneous Locutions of seven varieties; and for 64, Nothing. Clearly a considerable degree of independence is exhibited in these non-subjunctive renditions by the Old English translators, who in so many instances are loath to use the subjunctive to denote result. And, when we look at the Latin subjunctives of result that are turned by an Old English consecutive indicative (or by other non-subjunctive renditions), we find that the avoided Latin subjunctive is in an appreciable majority of passages a preterite tense (201 preterites to 152 presents), and that often to the modern mind as to the Old English this Latin preterite seems to refer to an accomplished result rather than to an inferential result; hence the indicative seems preferable to the subjunctive in such passages. Examples of this substitution are frequent in the *West Saxon Gospels*. The following are typical examples of this substitution:<sup>4</sup>—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>, *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> 8.24: Ða wearþ mycel styrung geworden on þære sæ, swa þæt þæt scyp wearþ ofergoten, mid yþum = motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut nauicula operiretur fluctibus;—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup>, *Mk.*<sup>1</sup> 4.37: þa wæs mycel yst windes geworden, and yþa he awearp on þæt scyp þæt hit gefylled wæs = Et facta est procella magna uenti, et fluctus mittebat in nauem, ita ut impleretur nauis.

For details see the following Synoptic Tables of the Old English Non-Subjunctive Renditions of the Latin Consecutive Subjunctive. The number of such renditions would have been appreciably larger than here represented if I had taken account in *Met. Ps.*<sup>2</sup> and in *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> of Latin Consecutive Subjunctives not rendered by Old English subjunctives,—an omission due to the fact that of these works I had to use Library copies, which could not be marked.

<sup>4</sup> With this Old English handling of a difficult situation compare the Latin habit as stated by Professors Gildersleeve and Lodge, *op. cit.*, §543, Note 1: "Inasmuch as the Subjunctive cannot express a fact, the Latin Consecutive clause does not properly express actual result, but only a tendency, which may, we infer, lead to a result. To obviate this difficulty, the Latin has recourse to the circumlocutions with *accidit, evenit, etc.*"







## D. CONCLUSION

Let us strive now to draw some general conclusions as to the origin of the consecutive subjunctive in Old English.

To begin with Subtype A of Group I, the Consecutive Subjunctive with Correlative Non-Prepositional Particles, the fact that the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive is found almost exclusively in the poetry when introduced by *þæs . . . þæt* tends to show that this idiom is native to Old English, although the fact that only one example is found in *Beowulf*, and that most of the other examples occur in poems based on Latin originals, warns us that some Latin influence is possible if not probable. Since *swa þæt* and *swa . . . þæt* are found in most of the Old English prose texts, including for the latter both the *Chronicle* and the *Laws*, it seems likely that the consecutive subjunctive with these particles is of native English origin. Again, however, we are surprised to find so few examples of this idiom in the *Chronicle*; and we note that the construction is quite frequent in the Old English translations from the Latin. As consecutive subjunctives introduced by *swa þætte*, *swa . . . þætte*, and *swelc . . . þætte* are relatively few, except for one example of the second particle in the *Laws* are found only in Alfred, and except in six instances translate Latin subjunctives (usually consecutive), the occurrence of this idiom in these categories is probably due to Latin influence, at least partially. Though also infrequent, the consecutive subjunctive introduced by *swa swa*, *swa . . . swa*, and *swelc . . . þæt* is probably of Latin origin, as the idiom has been found chiefly in the translations from the Latin, and with only two exceptions has a subjunctive in the original Latin. Of the consecutive subjunctive introduced by the remaining particles (*swa . . . þæs þe*, *swelc þæt*, *to . . . þæt*, and *þillic . . . þæt*) the examples are either so few or so scattered as to preclude a positive statement as to the origin.

We conclude, then, that in Subtype A of Group I, the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive is probably of native origin when introduced by these particles: *swa þæt*, *swa . . . þæt*, *þæs . . . þæt*; that it is probably of Latin origin when introduced by these particles: *swa swa*, *swa . . . swa*, *swa þætte*, *swa . . . þætte*, *swelc . . . þæt*, and *swelc . . . þætte*; and that its origin is indeterminable when introduced by these particles: *swa . . . þæs þe*, *swelc þæt*, *to . . . þæt*, and *þillic . . . þæt*.

Again, Subtype B of Group I, in which the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive is Introduced by a Correlative Prepositional Particle, is very sparingly represented in the Old English poetry (3 examples only), is not found in the *Chronicle*, occurs chiefly in the translations from the Latin (Alfred, 25; *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup>, 4; and *Bened.*<sup>1</sup>, 5), but is found also in the *Laws* (8 examples), in the *Blickling Homilies* (5 examples), in Ælfric's *Homilies* (5 examples) and *Lives of Saints* (1 example), in *A. S.*

*Hom. & L. S. II* (3 examples), and in *Wulfstan* (7 examples). The wide distribution of the idiom seems to indicate native origin, though the frequency of the construction in Alfred was partially due to Latin influence.

In Group II, the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles, the idiom is so sparsely represented with one of the particles found therewith, *swa* (1 in the *Laws*), as to preclude positive statement. *Ðætte*, also, is infrequent (14 in all, 10 in Alfred and 4 in the poetry); and as with *þæt*, the consecutive subjunctive with *þætte* is sometimes of native origin, and is sometimes due to Latin influence, and under substantially the same conditions as is the consecutive subjunctive with *þæt*, to which we now turn. With *þæt* the consecutive subjunctive is found in the poetry (49 in all, chiefly in poems based on Latin originals, though 4 examples occur in *Beowulf*), in Early West Saxon (in Alfred, 64; in the *Chronicle*, 3; in the *Laws*, 27), and in Late West Saxon (*Wærf.*,<sup>1</sup> 11; *Bened.*,<sup>1</sup> 19; *Bl. Hom.*, 14; *Mart.*, 3; Ælfric, 88; *A. S. Hom. & L. S. II*, 8; *Gosp.*,<sup>1</sup> 19; and *Wulf.*, 26). In a total of 334 examples of the Consecutive Subjunctive with *þæt*, 251 have a present tense referring to the future; and in this category the consecutive subjunctive is so widely distributed that we must consider the idiom native except in what I have termed the special type thereof, introduced by *þæt(te)* following *beon* (*wesan*) without an intervening adjective or adverb. Of this unusual type, Subgroup (a), in which the consecutive subjunctive clause introduced by *þæt* is preceded by an interrogative clause with *hwa* (*hwæt*), *hwylc*, etc., and the sentence as a whole is of the Interrogative-Deliberative Type, about 30 examples occur in all, chiefly in the present tense (26), occasionally in a preterite tense referring to the future, 4. Of Subtype (b) of the special type, in which the Old English consecutive clause resembles a Clause of Characteristic, we have about 26 examples (21 present and 5 preterite). For reasons stated on pp. 45 ff., each of these subtypes is probably due to Latin influence, at least in a measure. Of the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive with *þæt*, 83 examples are in the preterite tense. When this preterite subjunctive refers to a contingent future result (as in *Beow.* 965 and 3071, quoted on p. 18), the idiom is probably of native origin. But, when the preterite subjunctive refers to a past result which to the modern mind seems real rather than inferential (as in *Elene* 831, quoted on p. 19), the idiom seems due to Latin influence. The grounds for this conclusion have been given somewhat in detail on pp. 45 ff.; here we need merely state that the chief reasons are these. (1) The preterite subjunctive referring to an accomplished result is seldom found in Old English works, original or translated, the indicative being used instead of the subjunctive in numerous instances (80 per cent) even when the Latin original has a subjunctive. (2) The preterite subjunctive referring to a future hypothetical result is found in the original Old English works as well as in the translations.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE IN THE OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Concerning the Consecutive Subjunctive in the Germanic Languages Other than English decided diversity of opinion exists, as will become evident from the following brief survey of the subject. Despite its brevity, it is hoped that this survey may shed some light on our main problem, the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English.

#### I. In Gothic

According to Artur Köhler, "Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Optativs im Gotischen" (pp. 112-114) and Ernst Bernhardt, "Der gotische Optativ" (p. 22), the consecutive subjunctive, by them called the optative, is found in Gothic occasionally with *ei*, 'that,' somewhat oftener with *swe*, *swaswe*, and *swaei*, 'so that,' though the indicative is chiefly used with the three last particles. Says Bernhardt:

An die finalsätze schliessen sich die consecutivsätze an, in denen griechischem ὡστε (*iva*) *ei*, *swe*, *swaswe*, *swaei* entspricht. Dieselben stehen meist im indicativ, bisweilen nach griechischer art im infinitiv, womit wir uns hier nicht zu befassen haben. Aber es finden sich, auch abgesehen von den oben angeführten sätzen mit *ei*, einige stellen mit dem optativ: Röm. VII, 6 *andbundanaï waurþum af witoda—swaei skalkinoma in niujþai ahmins jah ni fairniþai bokos* (ὡστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς); I.C. XIII, 2 *jabai—habau alla galaubein, swaswe fairgunja miþsatjan, iþ friarþwa ni habau, ni waihts im* (ὡστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι); II. C. III, 7 *jabai andbakti dauþaus in gameleinim gafrisaktiþ in stainam warþ wulþag, swaei ni mahtedeina sunjus Israelis fairweitjan du wlita Mosezis in wulþaus wlitis is* (ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι); II C. I, 8 *ni wileima izwis unweisans, broþrjus, bi aglon unsara þo waurþanon uns in Asiai, unte ufarassau kauridai wesum ufar maht, swaswe afswaggwidai weseima (B skamaidedeima uns) jah liban* (ὡστε ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς); II. C. VIII, 6 ist von dem reichen ertrage der samlungen in Makedonien die rede, worauf Paulus fortfährt *swaei bedeima Teitaun, ei, swaswe faura dustodida, swah ustiuhai in izwis þo anst* (εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι ἡμᾶς).

Bernhardt offers the following explanation for the use of the subjunctive in these passages (p. 22):

Liesse sich nun auch Röm. VII, 6 eine zweckbeziehung denken und war I.C. XIII, 2 der optativ zur bezeichnung der folge eines fingierten hauptsatzes notwendig, so ist doch für die drei letzten stellen keine solche erklärung möglich, und man muss annehmen, dass das verhältnis der grammatischen abhängigkeit die wahl des modus bestimmt habe. Vgl. auch Skeir. III, 3.

The last clause of the former sentence seems to be a brief designation of what I have called the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax with an affirmation of its applicability to consecutive subjunctives in Gothic.

In his "Die Syntax der gotischen Partikel *EI*," Dr. H. Klinghardt (p. 296) declares that *ei* never denotes result in Gothic, that in the only possible example of its consecutive use, *Romans IX, 20*, we have a causal rather than a consecutive sentence.

Dr. T. L. M. Douse in his *Introduction to the Gothic of Ulfilas* has only a brief paragraph concerning consecutive clauses (p. 254):

To indicate Consequence or Result the Gothic sometimes uses *swaswē* or *swaei* with the infinitive, in imitation of the Greek ὥστε+infinitive (See § 90 (xii)); but more frequently *swaswē*, *swaei*, *swē*, with a finite verb, either indicative or (rarely) subjunctive, according as the clause is historical or argumentative; e.g.: *Afslauþnodedun allai . . . swaei sokidedun* (ὥστε συζητεῖν) *miþ sis misso* (Mk. 1.27) = 'They were all astonished . . . so that they questioned with one another'; — *Galuknoda himins . . . swe warþ* (ὡς ἐγένετο) *huhrus mikils* (Lk. IV. 25) = 'Heaven was shut up, so that there was a great famine.'

In 1892 Professor V. E. Mourek published his essay, "Ueber den Einfluss des Hauptsatzes auf den Modus des Nebensatzes im Gotischen," in which he seeks to controvert the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax with respect to Gothic. He discusses the alleged bearing of this rule on the mood of dependent conditional, relative, temporal, and consecutive clauses,—the clauses in which the mood is said by the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory to be due to the nature of the governing clause. According to this theory the subjunctive in such clauses is due primarily to the fact that in the governing clause there occurs an imperative mood, a hortatory subjunctive, or a negative particle. On pp. 292–295 of his monograph, Professor Mourek takes up one by one the examples of the consecutive subjunctive cited by Bernhardt (quoted above on p. 56) and attempts, successfully I think, to demonstrate that the subjunctive in these examples is not due to the nature of the governing clause but to the meaning of the dependent clause. This conclusion he reaches (1) because he finds instances of the indicative in dependent clauses that, according to the alleged rule, should have the optative, and (2) because the optative in the dependent consecutive clauses can be easily accounted for without reference to the nature of the governing clause. He concludes his essay with these words (p. 296):

Das resultat der vorangehenden zusammenstellungen ist klar. Der einfluss des hauptsatzes auf den modus des nebensatzes ist im gotischen minimal, in der that nur auf die assimilierende kraft des optativs, und auch diese nur mit bedeutenden vorbehalten, beschränkt. Ueberall kommt man zur erklärung des optativs im abhängigen satze mit den eigenen umständen des untergeordneten

satzes aus und es gilt von demselben genau die gleiche regel, wie sie Bernhardt treffend (*loc. cit.*, s. 8) vom optativ in hauptsätzen ausspricht: 'Potentialis und adhortativ, sowie der optativ des wunsches bezeichnen eine subjective erregung und eine theilnahme des redenden am inhalte des satzes, während dieselbe beim adhortativ und beim wunsche im begehren nach verwirklichung besteht, ist sie beim potentialis zur reflexion über die wirklichkeit abgeschwächt, die sich wider in verschiedene unterarten gliedert; der inhalt des satzes kann erscheinen als wahrscheinlich, als möglich, als zweifelhaft, als . . . im gegensatze zur wirklichkeit stehend.'

In two later studies, *Syntaxis Složených vět v Gotštině* (1893), pp. 320-321, and *Nochmals über den Einfluss des Hauptsatzes auf den Modus des Nebensatzes im Gotischen* (1896), Mourek reaffirms his original thesis, and strengthens his position.

Professor W. Wilmanns accepted the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory concerning the influence of a negative principal clause upon the mood of the dependent consecutive clause at least in part. In his *Deutsche Grammatik* (III, 1, §§140-142) Wilmanns treats of "Der Optativ unter dem Einfluss einer Negation im Hauptsatz," and gives examples of the optative in consecutive clauses in Gothic, in Old High German, and in Middle High German (§§140, 5, and 141, 4).

Professor Joseph Wright in his *Grammar of the Gothic Language* (Oxford, 1910) says nothing of the mood in consecutive clauses.

Professor Wilhelm Streitberg (*Gotisches Elementarbuch*, §361, c) gives examples both of the indicative and of the subjunctive in consecutive clauses introduced by *swe*, *swaswe*, and *swaei*, but does not state the grounds of differentiation between the two moods. Probably, however, Streitberg held that, in consecutive clauses, as in relative and temporal clauses, mood-usage was determined by the nature of the dependent clause rather than of the governing clause. Concerning the mood in relative clauses he remarks (§351, a.1):

Mourek hat nachgewiesen, dass der Einfluss des Hauptsatzes auf den Modus des Nebensatzes verschwindend gering ist und sich auf den Optativ des Hauptsatzes zu beschränken scheint.

And in §360.2, concerning the mood in temporal clauses he says:

Der Optativ steht nur, wenn der Inhalt des Temporalsatzes selbst ihn verlangt, namentlich dann, wenn der Temporalsatz hypothetische Färbung zeigt. Hie und da kann der Optativ des Temporalsatzes auch durch Angleichung an einen Optativ des übergeordneten Satzes erklärt werden.

See further *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*, pp. 105-106.

Despite the vigorous opposition of Professor Mourek to the applicability of the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory to the consecutive subjunctive in

Gothic, Professor Otto Behaghel, in his recently published *Deutsche Syntax* (III (1928), 622), lays down the following laws for the occurrence of the subjunctive in consecutive clauses in the Germanic languages, and cites what he considers proof-examples from Gothic, Old High German, and Middle High German:

Der Konjunktiv kann eintreten: A. Wenn der Folgesatz Nebensatz einer Anforderung ist, vgl. §1307. B. Wenn er Nebensatz eines Satzes von negativer Form oder Bedeutung ist, vgl. §1301. C. Wenn er Nebensatz eines Bedingungssatzes ist, vgl. §1311. D. In anderen Fällen ganz vereinzelt.

Unfortunately no syntax is given in the most recent Gothic grammar, *Handbuch der vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik* (München, 1928), by Professor Ernst Kieckers, of the University of Dorpat.

It is apparent, then, that most of the writers, early and late, on Gothic syntax adhere to the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax, though an influential minority oppose that theory.

## II. In the Scandinavian Languages

The fullest and the most recent treatments of the subjunctive in the older Scandinavian languages are by Professor M. Nygaard: (1) "Om Brugen af Konjunktiv i Oldnorsk" (1883-85); (2) *Norrøn Syntax* (1906). The consecutive subjunctive is treated in §§50-52 of the former work and in §§293-295 of the latter; and, as the statements concerning this use of the subjunctive are substantially the same in both, I quote only the latter. That Professor Nygaard holds that, in Old Norse, the use of the subjunctive in consecutive clauses is dependent chiefly upon the nature of the governing clause, is evident from the following statements:

Følgesætninger (indledede med *at*, *svá at*) sættes i Konjunktiv (a) naar hovedsætningen er negtende . . . ; (b) naar hovedsætningen er spørgende . . . ; (c) naar hovedsætningen indeholder en opfordring (udtrykt i imperativ, opford. Konj. eller ved *skulu*) . . . ; (d) efter udtryk, som betegner 'værdig, skikket, passende til' . . . ; (e) naar følgesætningen er fjøiet til en betingelsessætning eller en sætning med *þóat* ('selv om, om ogsaa'). . . . Konjunktiv sættes endelig efter *svá at* i indskrænkende betydn. 'forsaavidt.' . . . I alle andre tilfælde sættes følgesætningen i indikativ.

No modification of these statements is made in Professor Nygaard's supplement to his *Syntax* published in 1917.

In substantial agreement with the statement of Professor Nygaard just quoted is that by Professor B. Kahle, in his *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, §454:

Die wichtigsten Konjunktionen, nach denen der Optativ steht, sind folgende: 1. *at*, 'dass.' . . . (g) In Folgesätzen, meist mit vorhergehendem *suá*, bei verneinen-

dem, fragendem oder befehlendem Hauptsatz, z. B. *eige var sá leikr, at nakkvarr þyrfti við hans at keppa*, 'nicht gab es das Spiel, in dem jemand sich hätte mit ihm messen dürfen'; *huárt ero þeir bróðr suá nær, at þeir mege heyra mál mitt*, 'sind die Brüder so nahe, dass sie meine Rede hören können?' *géttu hans suá at hann komesk eige á braut*, 'achte so auf ihn, dass er nicht fort kommt.'

Dr. Andreas Heusler in his revision of Kahle's work gives no specific treatment of the mood in consecutive clauses, but Dr. F. Holthausen (*Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, §473) adopts the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory.

Clearly, then, the writers on mood-syntax in the Scandinavian languages so far quoted hold that the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax is applicable to the consecutive clause in these languages.

Moreover, Professor Delbrück, in his "Der germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge" (pp. 201-304, especially pp. 242-245), seems to adopt, with some modifications, the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax not only for Old Norse but for the Germanic languages as a whole. Under the heading "Consecutive Sätze," he makes this statement concerning the mood in such clauses (p. 242):

Was die modi anbetrifft, so wird der indicativ oder optativ gebraucht, je nachdem der redende den inhalt des consecutivsatzes dem gebiete der tatsächlichkeit oder der vorstellung zuweisen will. Da nun die innere stellung des redenden zu dem inhalt des folgesatzes schon in der gestaltung des hauptsatzes zum ausdruck kommt, so kann man auch die äusserliche im allgemeinen zutreffende regel aufstellen, dass auf einen positiven indicativischen hauptsatz (wenn er nicht etwa ein vorschreibendes verbum wie *sollen* enthält) der indicativ folgt, auf einen negativen fragenden begehrenden aber der optativ. Nicht selten erklärt sich auch der optativ daraus, dass man den abhängigen satz als finalsatz auffassen kann.

Professor Delbrück gives illustrations from Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, and Old High German. But his *im allgemeinen* allows more exceptions to his alleged rule than do many other writers on Germanic mood-syntax; as also does Professor Tenney Frank in his article on "The Use of the Optative in the Edda" (cf. especially pp. 28-30). And in his later work, *Germanische Konjunktionssätze*, p. 72, Delbrück seems less confident about the influence of a negative in the principal clause upon the mood of the dependent clause. In discussing "die Merkmale der Nebensätze," he remarks: "Bei dieser Aufzählung habe ich einen Punkt weggelassen, der gelegentlich erwähnt worden ist, nämlich den Einfluss der Negation im Hauptsatz auf den Modus der Nebensatzes . . . weil ich zu einer mich befriedigenden Formulierung nicht gelangt bin."

### III. In Old Saxon

In Old Saxon, likewise, former investigators have uniformly held that the mood of the subordinate consecutive clause depends upon the nature



of the independent clause. Professor Behaghel, in his *Die Modi im Heliand*, p. 40, declares,

Im zweiten Fall, im Folgesatze, steht der Indicativ, wenn der Hauptsatz positiv ist, der Conjunctiv, wenn er negativ (bei den im vorigen Paragraphen aufgeführten Stellen, wo der Indicativ stand, erscheint auch nur positiver Hauptsatz).

This view is substantially reaffirmed in his later work, *Die Syntax des Heliand*, §500.

In discussing the consecutive subjunctive in Old Saxon the same attitude toward the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory is taken by Dr. H. Pratje, in his "Syntax des Heliand. I. Das Verbum," §§70-71, and by Professor F. Holthausen, in his *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* (§537 on *Folgesätze*):

Diese werden eröffnet durch *that* und stehen nach positivem Hauptsatz im Indicativ, nach negativem im Optativ, vgl. *habda them heriskipie herta gisterkid, that sia habdun bithwungana thiodo gihwilika*, und: *ni was fêmea sô gôd, that siu lang libbian mōsti*. Statt *that* kann auch *sô* eintreten, vgl. *willik thī tōgean sulik tēkan, sô thū an treuwa maht wesān an werolde*.

Almost without exception, we see, the writers on Old Saxon syntax have adopted the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax.

#### IV. In Old High German

Oskar Erdmann (*Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, I, §§271 ff.) speaks as follows of consecutive clauses introduced by *thaz* in Old High German:

Wie in den Relativsätzen steht in der Regel auch in den durch *thaz* oder *thaz ni* eingeleiteten Folgesätzen der Indicativ, wenn sie sich an einen affirmativen indicativischen Hauptsatz anschliessen, eine wirklich eingetretene Folge eines wirklichen Ereignisses angehend. I, 9, 26 *thô screib er, theiz ther liut sah*. II, 3, 52 *quam in inan, thaz man sah*. . . . Dagegen steht Conjunctiv regelmässig, wenn sich an einen negierten Hauptsatz der mit *thaz* eingeleitete Folgesatz so anschliesst, dass sein Inhalt mit unter der Negation des Hauptsatzes steht. I, 8, 3 *siu ni mohta inberan sīn, theiz alles wesān mohti*. III, 26, 9 *ni sprâchun sie, thaz si giloubtīn*. . . . Mit *sô* im Hauptsatze: IV, 13, 47 (*nist*) *fiant io sô hebtgêr, thaz mih io ginôtti*.

To this general rule Erdmann frankly recognizes several exceptions. The first exception noted by him (§273) is very slight: "Nicht nur an einen vollständigen negierten Satz, sondern auch an einfache negierenden Partikeln (*ni, nales*) schliesst sich *thaz* mit einem Conjunctivsatze an, welcher gleichsam auf negativer, unwirklicher Grundlage aufgebaut ist." Of more importance are the two following exceptions (§274):

(b) Ebenso steht der Folgesatz mit *thaz* im Coniunctiv, wenn die im Hauptsatze für ihn gegebene Grundlage unsicher oder bloss als möglich angenommen ist. So nach Fragesätzen und nach allgemeinem *sô wer. . .* (c) Seltener folgt auf einen einfachen indicativischen Aussagesatz ein coniunctivischer Folgesatz.

In his later work, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, §192, Erdmann holds to the same general rule, and contends that it applies not only to Old High German but also to Middle High German and to New High German, though not so stringently in the later epochs:

Der Coniunctiv steht in der älteren Sprache überwiegend und auch noch in der neueren sehr häufig (obwohl hier oft Conj. Prät. den Conj. Präs. ersetzt hat), sobald eine Negation im Hauptsatze eine solche Wirkung auf den Nebensatz übt, dass der Inhalt desselben in das Gebiet des rein Vorgestellten oder nur Angenommenen verlegt wird. Dies ist bei verschiedenen Arten der Satzverknüpfung der Fall, namentlich bei Relativsätzen, die etwas von einem Gegenstande aussagen, dessen Existenz im Hauptsatze verneint wird: *niemand ist, der das wisse (wüsste)*; bei Substantivsätzen: *es ist nicht möglich, dass jemand alles wisse* (jetzt gewöhnlicher: *weiss*); bei Folgesätzen: *er ist nicht so weise, dass er alles wüsste* (jetzt kaum noch: *wisse*). Gleiche Wirkung wie die Negation übt zu mit dem Adj. oder ein Comparativ mit folgendem *als dass*; ähnlich wirkt im Nhd. auch *ohne dass*.

Erdmann then gives examples of the consecutive subjunctive (and indicative) in Old High German, in Middle High German, and in New High German.

Dr. Karl Förster, in his dissertation, *Der Gebrauch der Modi im althochdeutschen Tatian*, holds that an interrogative or a negative in the main clause is followed by a subjunctive in the dependent consecutive clause of Tatian. For the former see §56, for the latter §61.

In Notker's translation of Boethius, the subjunctive, according to Dr. H. Wunderlich, is quite common in dependent clauses of result. In his dissertation, *Beiträge zur Syntax des Notker'schen Boethius*, he states (p. 94):

Die Folgesätze zeigen den Ind. Praes. in unserem Boethius ganz überraschend selten. Nach negirtem Hauptsatz, nach Fragestellung, Konjunktiv oder Imperativ finde ich im Folgesatz stets den Konjunktiv, allerdings, mit Ausnahme des ersten Falles, stets nur in Anlehnung an den lateinischen Text. Letzterer scheint mir überhaupt für den Modus des Folgesatzes von ziemlichem Gewicht gewesen zu sein, wie eine Vergleichung der beiden Modi ergibt. Gegen den lateinischen Text finde ich den Indicativ nur in 44<sup>a</sup>.24 . . . ebenso in 192<sup>a</sup>.21 und in 65<sup>b</sup>.21; 203<sup>b</sup>.10 nach *sôlih*.

And on pp. 108–109 we learn that the consecutive subjunctives in the Old High German *Boethius* are found almost altogether after a negative,

an interrogative, or a hortatory (imperative or subjunctive) governing clause.

In his study of Notker's translation of Martianus Capella, Dr. Willy Manthey (*Syntaktische Beobachtungen, etc.*, p. 77) thus speaks of the consecutive clause:

Folgesätze stehen in acht Fällen im Indikativ, doppelt so oft im Konjunktiv. . . . Von jenen 16 Fällen zeigen 5 ohne lateinischen Vorgang den Konjunktiv. Dieser Modus erklärt sich daher, dass die Folge nicht als Tatsache angeführt wird, sondern als in der Ursache liegend, durch sie bedingt, gleichgültig, ob sie wirklich zustande kommt oder nicht. Es ist also eine Art innerlicher Abhängigkeit.

On the other hand, in the Old High German *Isidor* Dr. Max Rannow finds only the consecutive indicative (*Der Satzbau des althochdeutschen Isidor im Verhältniss zur lateinischen Vorlage*, p. 78):

Fassen wir alle drei behandelten Fälle (39.24, 35.3, 11.29) als Consecutivsätze, so ergibt sich, dass der Uebersetzer stets die Conjunction *dhasz* gebraucht und in freier Weise den lat. Conjunctiv durch den deutschen Indicativ ersetzt, während z. B. Notker im Boeth. in Bezug auf den Modus engeren Anschluss an das Lat. sucht (Wunderlich, S. 94).

Apparently, then, the majority of those that have written specifically concerning mood-syntax in Old High German have adopted the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory concerning the consecutive subjunctive in that language, though a few seem to hold that the use of the subjunctive depends upon the nature of the subordinate rather than of the governing clause. And the more recent authorities on Germanic syntax as a whole, as Behaghel (*Deutsche Syntax*, 111, 622), continue to assert that the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax is applicable to Old High German.

## V. In Middle High German

When we turn to Middle High German, the situation is much the same. Thus, Dr. Joseph Knepper, in his dissertation, *Tempora und Modi bei Walther von der Vogelweide* (p. 87), states that, in consecutive sentences,

Conjunctiv haben wir:

(1) nach opt.-imperativ. Hpts. 7,35: wir biten umb unser schulde dich, daz du uns sist genaediclich, so daz din bete erklinge; . . .

(2) nach neg. Hpts. 7, 27: doch brahten si din lop nie dar, daz ez vollendet wurde gar; . . .

Es macht sich also auch bei den Consecutivsätzen das bekannte Gesetz der modalen Assimilation sowie der Einfluss einer Negation im Hauptsatze geltend.

Similar statements are found in Dr. Hermann Göhl's dissertation, *Modi in den Werken W. v. Eschenbach* (pp. 19, 20).

Professor Victor Michels (*Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*, p. 279, a.4) writes as follows concerning the mood in consecutive clauses:

In Relativ-, Konsekutiv-, Subjekt- und Objektsätzen steht nach negiertem Hauptsatze und bei inhaltlicher Beziehung zwischen der Negation des Haupt- und dem Inhalt des Nebensatzes der Konjunktiv zum Ausdruck dafür, dass der Inhalt des Nebensatzes entweder allgemein oder für einen bestimmten Fall nicht existiert.

After giving examples of the subjunctive in these respective categories, Professor Michels continues: "Der Indikativ ist an sich nicht ausgeschlossen und gibt dem Satz grössere Bestimmtheit." He then proceeds to cite examples of the indicative after a negative governing clause.

In his *Deutsche Grammatik* (IV, 285) the late Professor Paul makes the following statement concerning the influence of the governing clause upon the mood of the dependent clause in Middle High German:

Im Mhd. ist eine Beeinflussung des Modus im abhängigen Satze durch den Modus des regierenden Satzes nicht zu verkennen. Nach dem auffordernden oder wünschenden Konj. sowie nach dem Imperativ steht im abhängigen Satze in der Regel der Konj., wenn es sich um etwas Gedachtes, noch nicht Feststehendes handelt. . . . Doch kommt daneben auch der Indik. vor und sogar Wechsel zwischen Konj. und Indik. . . . In ähnlicher Weise steht der Konj. in abhängigem Satze, wenn im regierenden ein Verb. steht, das ein Geschehensollen bezeichnet.

Of the same import is the statement in the twelfth edition of Paul's *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, revised by Dr. Erich Gierach. Of the consecutive sentence, referred to under the more general term, *Modalsatz*, it is stated (§365):

Der Konjunktiv steht gewöhnlich in Substantiv-, Modal- und Relativsätzen, die von einem negativen Satze in der Art abhängen, dass die Negation mit Rücksicht auf den Inhalt des abhängigen Satzes ausgesprochen wird.

In his *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, just issued from the press, Professor Otto Mausser, of the University of Munich, though admitting exceptions thereto, in the main adheres to the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax (pp. 1048 ff.). Under "C. Konjunktiv im Nebensatz, mit Konjunktion, Pron., Frage-, Relativadverb eingeleitet," Dr. Mausser gives, besides other subheads, the following: "1b) Konjunktiv im Nebensatz bei a) *Imperativ* oder *imperativischem Sinn* oder ß) bei *Konjunktiv* im übergeordneten Satz: sehr häufig anzutreffen, wenn auch die Regel in der späteren Zeit des 13. Jh. öfter durchbrochen ist; . . . 7. *Konjunktiv in Relativsätzen mit konsekutivem oder finalem Sinne*: auch dieser Kon-

junktiv ist Formausdruck einer moderierten Behauptung. . . . 11. *Konsekutivitätskonjunktiv in Nebensätzen mit en, ne*: ebenfalls ein Konjunktiv erflossen aus der Basis gemilderter Behauptung, im Nhd. übersetzbar mit: a) 'dass nicht, ohne dass, ohne zu,' ß) mit Relativsatz+Negation.'" In 11 Dr. Mausser gives a cross-reference to p. 836, A. 5, which reads: "*Negation en, ne*='ohne dass, ohne zu, dass nicht' oder durch Relativsatz mit Negation aufgelöst: Negation *en* steht in dieser Bedeutung im konjunktionslosen Nebensatz hinter formell oder dem Sinne nach *negativem* übergeordnetem Satz: zur Bezeichnung einer Folge."

Not quite such unlimited credence is given to the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory by Dr. Heinrich Bätjer in his dissertation, *Die Verwendung der Konjunktion 'daz' in Wolfram von Eschenbachs Parzival*. On p. 28 he remarks concerning the mood in consecutive clauses:

Wie aus der grossen zahl der bisher angeführten fälle hervorgeht, ist der indikativ der den folgesätzen zukommende modus. Das verbum dieser sätze steht im konjunktiv nur da, wo auch im selbständigen satze der konjunktiv stehen würde oder wo der modus des nebensatzes durch den hauptsatz beeinflusst wird (vgl. Erdmann Grz. §158).

On the same plane as the foregoing is Dr. Starr Willard Cutting's statement in his dissertation, *Der Konjunktiv bei Hartmann von Aue*, p. 35.

On the other hand, emphatic opposition to the applicability of the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax to Middle High German has been voiced by two distinguished Germanists, Professor V. E. Mourek, who, as we have seen, denied the applicability of this theory to Gothic and to *Beowulf*, and Professor Josef Lešnar. Mourek, in his *Zur Syntax des mittelhochdeutschen Konjunktivs mit Belegen aus Wolframs Parzival*, (p. 2) asserts:

Ich finde nun, dass auch in Wolframs Parzival . . . meine These, die ich bisher eigentlich nur für das Gotische und für *Beowulf* behauptet habe, dass nämlich der Einfluss des Hauptsatzes auf den Modus des Nebensatzes minimal und höchstens auf die assimilierende Kraft eines vorausgehenden Konjunktivs beschränkt ist, auch für das Mhd. voll und ganz ihre Giltigkeit hat. Von irgend einer Wirkung der Negation, des Imperativs, der Frage kann überhaupt keine Rede sein.

For this stand Dr. Mourek assigns these reasons: (1) that in numerous instances he finds indicatives and subjunctives that contravene the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory; and (2) that, in the few instances in which the conditions called for by this theory are found present, the subjunctive is to be explained by the nature of the dependent clause rather than by that of the independent clause. He then considers in detail the indica-

tives and the subjunctives found in six books of the *Parcival*, and strives, successfully it seems to me, to prove that the foregoing statements are true of this Middle High German monument. He treats consecutive sentences on pp. 23-24. And he concludes his study with this emphatic declaration:

Nachdem sonach bei Wolfram von einer Wirksamkeit der vermeintlichen Regel keine Spur nachzuweisen ist, und nachdem meine Seminaristen auch zahlreiche andere mhd. Sprachdenkmäler mit demselben Enderfolge durchgenommen haben, stehe ich nicht an nunmehr entschieden zu erklären, dass die Regel auch im Mhd. nicht gilt.

No less emphatic is Professor Josef Lešnar's opposition to the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory. In his study, *Ueber den Einfluss des Hauptsatzes auf den Modus des Nebensatzes in Gottfrieds Tristan* (Prag, 1910), which was read before the Royal Bohemian Academy of Science almost a year earlier than Professor Mourek's *Parcival* paper, though both were published in the same year, the indicatives and the subjunctives in the *Tristan* were subjected to a searching investigation. Concerning the subjunctive in consecutive clauses Professor Lešnar (p. 21) asserts, it seems to me justifiably:

Wo immer der Konjunktiv im Konsekutivsätze zum Vorschein kommt, ist er also durch die eigenen Umstände des Nebensatzes begründet, so dass man auch in diesem Falle nicht von dem Einfluss des Hauptsatzes sprechen kann.

Other sections of Professor Lešnar's monograph are devoted to the subjunctive in relative clauses (pp. 3-11), in dependent declarative and interrogative clauses (pp. 11-16), in conditional clauses (pp. 16-19), in temporal, causal, and comparative clauses (pp. 22-30). Professor Lešnar sums up his study as a whole in these words (pp. 30-31):

Wenn wir nun die Ergebnisse der einzelnen Satzgruppen zusammenfassen, so gelangen wir zu dem Resultate, dass von irgend einer Geltung der Regeln Erdmanns in unserem Falle—und wohl überhaupt auch im Mhd.—gar keine Rede sein kann. Der übergeordnete Satz entscheidet niemals (mit Ausnahme der beschränkten assimilierenden Einwirkung eines regierenden Konjunktivs) über die Wahl des Modus im Nebensatz, dieser lässt sich immer aus den ureigensten Umständen des abhängigen Satzes erklären, d. h. der Nebensatz hat den Modus, den er auch hätte, wenn er unabhängig wäre. Er steht nämlich im Indikativ, wenn der Redende keinen besonderen Grund hat einen anderen Modus zu setzen, dagegen bedient sich der Redende des Konjunktivs des Verbuns, wenn er die Handlung des Nebensatzes als erwünscht, oder möglich oder zweifelhaft oder vergangen möglich bezeichnen will.

With few but weighty exceptions, the writers on Middle High German syntax, as we have seen, accept with only slight modifications the theory

of mood-syntax expounded by Erdmann and Bernhardt. This theory is advocated as applicable to Middle High German, also, among the more recent authorities on Germanic syntax in general; it is sponsored by Paul (*Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, §473) and by Behaghel (*Deutsche Syntax*, III, 622).

#### VI. CONCLUSION

It is apparent, then, that the majority of the writers on Germanic mood-syntax, including several recent writers (as Behaghel, Holthausen, Mausser, Nygaard, and Paul), adhere in the main to the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory, and hold that the chief factor in the use of the dependent consecutive subjunctive is to be found in the nature of the governing clause. But an influential minority deny the applicability of the rule to Gothic, to the Scandinavian languages, to Old High German, and to Middle High German. And to me personally it seems likely that the opinion of the minority will ultimately prevail, that the chief factor in the use of the consecutive subjunctive in these Germanic languages is to be found in the contingent nature of the dependent consecutive clause, and for several reasons. The more detailed studies of this problem have been made by members of the minority (Mourek and Lešnar). The view of the minority seems inherently more probable. And the evidence derived from my own detailed studies of the problem in Old English is decidedly in favor of the minority view.

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS

Let us briefly sum up the Results of our study. We have considered the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive under two larger heads: I. The Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Particles and II. The Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles. The total number of examples in the former category is 434, in the latter 366, giving a grand total of 800. This grand total for the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English, however, is smaller than that for the Consecutive Indicative. For the prose works included in my study, Dr. Benham (pp. 232 ff.) gives a total of 950 consecutive indicatives.

#### I. THE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY CORRELATIVE PARTICLES

(428 in W. S., 6 in *Lind. Gosp.*)

The Subjunctive Introduced by Correlative Particles has two divisions, Subtype A. Non-Prepositional and Subtype B. Prepositional, which may best be treated separately.

##### *Subtype A. Non-Prepositional*

(362 in W. S., 6 in *Lind. Gosp.*)

1. Subtype A of Group I of the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive is introduced by the following Non-Prepositional Particles in West Saxon: *swa swa (sua sua)*, 'so as,' 'so that,' 3; *swa . . . swa (sua . . . sua)*, 'so . . . as,' 'so . . . that,' 19; *swa . . . þæs þe*, 'so . . . as,' 'so . . . that,' 1; *swa (swæ, sua) þæt*, 'so that,' 86; *swa (swæ, sua) . . . þæt*, 'so . . . that,' 192; *swa (swæ) þætte*, 'so that,' 5; *swa (swæ) . . . þætte*, 'so . . . that,' 14; *swelc (swilc) þæt*, 'such that,' 2; *swelc (swilc) . . . þæt*, 'such . . . that,' 8; *swelc (swilc) . . . þætte*, 'such that,' 2; *to . . . þæt*, 'too . . . that,' 8; *þæs . . . þæt*, 'so . . . that,' 21; and *þillic . . . þæt*, 'such . . . that,' 1.—In the *Lindisfarne Gospels* only three particles are found in this construction: *swa þæt*, 2; *swa . . . þæt*, 1; and *swa þætte*, 3.

2. Quite uneven is the distribution of the consecutive subjunctive introduced by these particles. With one particle (*þæs . . . þæt*) this subjunctive is found almost exclusively in the Old English poetry (18 times out of a total of 21 examples). Of the remaining twelve particles in this construction only two are found in the poetry and these very seldom (*swa . . . þæt*, 4; *to . . . þæt*, 1). In the prose texts, some particles (*swa swa*, *swa . . . swa*, *swa . . . þæs þe*, *swa þætte*, *swa . . . þætte*, and *swelc . . . þætte*) occur chiefly in the works of Alfred. Only two of the thirteen



particles in this subtype, namely, *swa þæt* and *swa . . . þæt*, are found well represented in Ælfric and in Alfred.

3. The chief factor in the occurrence of the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive of Subtype A is to be found, I think, in the fact that the result is looked upon as contingent. As hereinafter indicated, with some particles the consecutive subjunctive seems due to the influence of the Latin originals. And, as in the temporal use of the subjunctive, so in the consecutive use, occasionally the subjunctive is due to analogy with a subjunctive of the independent clause; and, at times, indirect discourse tends to the use of the consecutive subjunctive. But these latter factors are relatively insignificant as compared with that first mentioned,—the contingent nature of the dependent clause of result.

4. But many previous investigators of the consecutive subjunctive in Old English, as Dr. Wilhelm Fleischhauer in 1885, Dr. Allen R. Benham in 1908, and Dr. Andreas Vogt in 1930, have, as a rule, held that the determining factor in the use of this subjunctive is the nature of the governing clause. According to these scholars the consecutive subjunctive occurs when the governing clause has a hortatory subjunctive, an imperative mood, or a negative, as laid down in the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax. Our study has shown, however, that this theory does not hold for Subtype A, as more than half of these consecutive subjunctives could not be accounted for by that theory.

5. Since, as indicated in 2 above, the consecutive subjunctive with *þæs . . . þæt* is restricted almost exclusively to the Old English poetry, this idiom is probably of native English origin. Except under the conditions stated in 6 below, it seems likely, too, that the consecutive subjunctive introduced by *swa þæt* and *swa . . . þæt* is a native idiom. Though seldom found in the Old English poetry, the subjunctive introduced by these particles is widely distributed in the prose, occurring in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, in the original prose and in the translations. Moreover, in the Old English translations, this subjunctive, though frequently rendering a Latin consecutive subjunctive, often has other and varied Latin correspondents, and at times occurs without any correspondent in Latin.

6. On the other hand, the consecutive subjunctive of Subtype A is probably of foreign (Latin) origin when introduced by these particles: *swa swa*, *swa . . . swa*, *swa þætte*, *swa . . . þætte*, *swelc . . . þæt*, and *swelc . . . þætte*. This subjunctive occurs chiefly in the Old English translations from the Latin, and, with only a few exceptions, has a Latin subjunctive (usually consecutive, but occasionally final) as its correspondent. Although, as stated in 5 above, as a rule the consecutive subjunctive introduced by *swa þæt* and *swa . . . þæt* is a native English

idiom, in some instances this subjunctive seems due to Latin influence, namely, when the Old English preterite subjunctive denotes a result that to the modern Englishman seems real rather than inferential. But in most instances of this sort the Old English writer uses an indicative even when the Latin original has a subjunctive,—a proceeding similar to the Old English habitual rendition of the Latin circumstantial subjunctive with *cum* by an indicative, as shown in *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*, pp. 98 ff.

7. We have not sufficient data to determine the origin of the consecutive subjunctive introduced by these particles of Subtype A of Group I: *swa . . . þæs þe*, *swelc þæt*, *to . . . þæt*, and *þillic . . . þæt*.

8. In the Germanic languages other than English the consecutive subjunctive corresponding to our Subtype A seems less frequent than in Old English. It is rare in Gothic, but occurs occasionally with *swaei*, 'so that,' and *swaswe*, 'so as,' 'so that.' In Old Norse we find *sva . . . at* more frequently than *at* alone; in Old Saxon we have *so . . . that*, occasionally *so . . . so*; in Old High German, *so . . . thaz*, and *zu . . . thaz*; and in Middle High German, the corresponding *so . . . dass*, and *zu . . . dass*. And, as we have seen, most of the writers on mood-syntax in the Germanic languages, from the earlier ones, as Erdmann and Bernhardt, to the latest, as Behaghel, Holthausen, Mausser, Nygaard, Paul, and Gierach hold that the occurrence of the consecutive subjunctive in each of these Germanic languages is dependent primarily upon the nature of the governing clause. However, two stout opponents of that theory have appeared, Professor Mourek and Professor Lešnar, who contend, successfully it seems to me, that in the Germanic languages the determining factor in the use of the consecutive subjunctive is the nature of the dependent clause.

*Subtype B. Prepositional*

(66 in W. S., none in *Lind. Gosp.*)

9. In Subtype B of Group I, the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive is introduced by the following Correlative Prepositional Particles in West Saxon: *on þa wisan þæt*, 'in such wise that,' 2; *on þa wisan . . . þæt*, 'in such wise . . . that,' 1; *to þæm (þam) þæt*, 'to the extent that,' 'so that,' 4; *to þæm (þam) . . . þæt*, 'to the extent . . . that,' 'so . . . that,' 26; *to þæs . . . þæt*, 'to the extent . . . that,' 'so . . . that,' 15; *to þon (þan) þæt*, 'to the extent that,' 'so that,' 7; *to þon (þan) . . . þæt*, 'to the extent . . . that,' 'so . . . that,' 10; *to þon þætte*, 'to the extent that,' 'so that,' 1.—This subtype is not represented in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

10. Subtype B is far less frequent than Subtype A, there being only 66 examples of the former to 368 of the latter. Subtype B is very rare in

Old English poetry, only 3 clear examples having been found therein, these in the Minor Poems. In the prose this subtype occurs chiefly in the works of Alfred, but is found, also, in the *Laws*, in the *Blickling Homilies*, and in Late West Saxon (Ælfric and Wulfstan).

11. The Consecutive Subjunctive in Subtype B is primarily to be accounted for, I think, by the contingent nature of the result expressed in the dependent clause. In a few instances, the consecutive subjunctive may be due to certain other influences, as indirect discourse, or a subjunctive of the Latin original or of the O.E. governing clause.

12. Many previous investigators, however, as Dr. Benham (p. 233) and Dr. Fleischhauer (p. 65), hold that the consecutive subjunctive in Subtype B is chiefly due to the nature of the governing clause. But this claim is disproved, it seems to me, by our table on p. 34 above, which shows that an appreciable proportion (about 60 per cent) of the consecutive subjunctives of this subtype could not be accounted for on this theory.

13. The consecutive subjunctive of Subtype B is probably a native English idiom. Although, as stated in 10 above, this subjunctive occurs chiefly in the Alfredian and other Old English translations from the Latin, and is rarely found in the Old English poetry, of the 34 examples found in these translations, only 15 render Latin subjunctives (6 consecutive and 9 of five other varieties); to the remaining 19 examples the Latin correspondents are varied. Moreover, subjunctives of Subtype B occur, though not frequently, in the *Blickling Homilies*, in the *Laws*, and in *Wulfstan*.

14. Of Subtype B in the other Germanic languages I have found no specific treatment in the treatises accessible to me.

## II. THE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY SINGLE PARTICLES

(351 in W. S., 15 in *Lind. Gosp.*)

1. In Group II the Old English Consecutive Subjunctive is introduced by these three Single Particles in West Saxon: *swa*, 'that,' 'so that,' 3; *þæt*, 'that,' 'so that,' 334; and *þætte*, 'that,' 'so that,' 14.—In the *Lindisfarne Gospels* 15 examples of this subjunctive have been found: 1 with *swa*, 3 with *þæt*, and 11 with *þætte*.

2. As is evident from 1 above, two of the Single Particles introducing the consecutive subjunctive are very seldom found in Old English. *Swa*, 'so that,' occurs only three times, twice in the *Riddles* and once in the *Laws*. *Ðætte*, 'that,' 'so that,' occurs four times in the poems, and ten times in the prose (all in Alfred). The consecutive subjunctive introduced by *þæt*, 'that,' 'so that,' is widely distributed, being found in the poetry and in the prose, early and late, original and translated.

3. In Group II, as in Group I, the chief factor in the use of the consecutive subjunctive I take to be the contingent nature of the result expressed. As indicated below, however, the Old English subjunctive in clauses of result is due sometimes to the Latin original, sometimes to a subjunctive of the governing clause, and sometimes to the fact that the verb occurs in indirect discourse.

4. Again, however, previous investigators have contended that the determining factor in the occurrence of the consecutive subjunctive in Group II is to be found in the nature of the governing clause substantially in accordance with the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory of mood-syntax. This view is advocated, with slight modifications, by the earlier writers on this idiom in Old English, as Dr. Fleischhauer and Dr. Benham, and by the most recent, as Dr. Vogt. This theory was opposed by me on theoretical-statistical grounds in lectures delivered in 1925, and independently by Dr. Hans Glunz in 1930, on theoretical-psychological grounds. The table on p. 35 above shows that of our examples of the consecutive subjunctive about 60 per cent could not be accounted for by the Erdmann-Bernhardt theory.

5. Normally, when the result is expressed by a present subjunctive, and is looked upon as contingent in the present or in the future, or when the result is expressed by a preterite subjunctive, and is looked upon as contingent in the future, the consecutive subjunctive introduced by Single Particles is probably an idiom native to Old English. In these two categories, especially in the former, the consecutive subjunctive is found in Old English poetry and prose of all periods, in the original works as well as in the translations, though somewhat more frequently in the latter than in the former. Besides this, while, in the Old English translations from the Latin, the consecutive subjunctive, as is natural, often renders a Latin subjunctive (oftenest consecutive, but frequently of other varieties), it often has other Latin correspondents.

6. But in some of its uses, the consecutive subjunctive of Group II is probably due to Latin influence. One of these is found, I think, when a result expressed by a preterite subjunctive seems real to the Old Englishman but inferential to the Latin writer. In most of such instances the Old English translator renders the Latin preterite subjunctive by an indicative, but at times he follows the Latin model.

7. Again, the idiom seems more or less due to Latin influence in what I have denominated the Special Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Single Particles, in which the Consecutive Subjunctive is Introduced by *þæt(te)* Following *Beon (Wesan)* without an Intervening Adjective or Adverb. Of this idiom there are two subtypes, one (a) occurring in an Interrogative-Deliberative Sentence and another (b) in a Sentence Re-

sembling a Relative Clause of Characteristic. The grounds for considering these subtypes as due in part to Latin influence are these. (1) The idiom is not found in the more original Old English prose or poetry. (2) The idiom, especially in Subtype (a), is found chiefly in Old English translations from the Latin or in works known to be based on Latin originals. (3) Though at times answering to a Latin indicative, the Old English consecutive subjunctive at other times translates a Latin subjunctive (usually consecutive but occasionally deliberative). (4) The Old English consecutive subjunctives in these subtypes seem echoes, though awkward ones, of true Latin subjunctives of Characteristic, of Deliberation, or Result, so frequently found in ecclesiastical Latin.

8. In the other Germanic languages, again, the majority of the writers on mood-syntax contend that the use of the consecutive subjunctive introduced by Single Particles depends primarily upon the nature of the governing clause; and this is true of the more recent investigators, as Nygaard, Holthausen, Paul, and Behaghel, as well as of the older ones, as Erdmann, Bernhardt, etc. But a militant minority oppose this view, and among them are found possibly Streitberg and certainly Mourek and Lešnar.

If we disregard our Groups for a moment, and consider the Consecutive Subjunctive in Old English as a whole, several noteworthy facts aside from those set forth in the preceding sections will emerge. One is this: the consecutive subjunctive in Old English is much more frequent than writers on Old English Syntax have supposed. For instance, Dr. Gerold Hotz (*On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 37) declares:

As for the rest the indicative is in Anglo-Saxon and Old English [= Middle English] the mood of the consecutive sentence, the subjunctive never expressing result. Jud. 24 *mihten* and 136 *mihten* are exceptions, if so be that *mihten* is really a subjunctive form.

Dr. Alfred Mohrbutter (*Darstellung der Syntax in den vier echten Predigten des ags. Erzbischofs Wulfstan*, p. 93) says that the consecutive clause always has the indicative,—a statement controverted by our statistics, which show an appreciable number of consecutive subjunctives in Wulfstan. Again, Dr. H. M. Blain (*Syntax of the Verb in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 26) asserts that no example of the consecutive subjunctive occurs in the *Chronicle*. As our statistics show, however, some indisputable examples of that idiom do occur in that text, though surprisingly few. Finally, Professor Benham, pp. 233–237, records a total of only 368 consecutive subjunctives in Old English prose as against my total of 698. Of my 698 examples, however, 90 are indeterminate in

form; and, as Dr. Benham does not include the indeterminate forms in his count, the difference between his total for the consecutive subjunctive in Old English prose and my total therefor is not so great as at first appears. Moreover, as already stated, some of the verbs that are indisputably subjunctive in form, and that have been interpreted as consecutive by me, allowably may be interpreted as final by others. But, when all possible deductions shall have been made from my total for the consecutive subjunctive in Old English prose, the number remaining will be appreciably larger than that given by Dr. Benham and others.

On the other hand, the consecutive subjunctive is not so frequent in Old English as has been stated either explicitly or implicitly by several noted writers on English syntax, as by F. A. March (*Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, §421), by John Earle (*A Book for the Beginner in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 58), by Leon Kellner (*Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 312), and by Dr. C. T. Onions (*An Advanced English Syntax*, p. 114), each of whom declares in varying words that the range of the subjunctive in Old English is about the same as in Latin. We have found, however, that in approximately 400 instances the Old English translators have rendered a Latin consecutive subjunctive by some other locution; to which should be added the further fact, disclosed in *The Temporal Subjunctive in Old English*, p. 126, that in over a thousand instances the Old English renders a Latin subjunctive with circumstantial *cum* otherwise than by a subjunctive.

## APPENDIX A: STATISTICS OF THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE IN OLD ENGLISH

EXPLANATORY NOTE.—The verb that occurs in the Subjunctive is regularly cited in the Infinitive form and given in alphabetic sequence under the respective groups. Under each word are given all the occurrences, first of the Present Tenses (Pr.) and then of the Past Tenses (Pt.)<sup>1</sup> Under each of these two categories are given, first, the Determinate forms (D.), which are not so ticketed, and then the Indeterminate forms (I.), which are regularly so ticketed. Prose works are cited first, then the poetical works, in each case in the approximate chronological order, except that the Minor Prose Works and the Minor Poems are given in alphabetic sequence at the end of their respective groups. The abbreviations for the texts are explained in the "Bibliography." For convenience, I have not distinguished  $\delta$  and  $\beta$ , but have uniformly used  $\beta$ . As a rule, contractions in the text have been expanded. The totals for each group are given at the beginning of the section in which each category is discussed.—Synthetic subjunctives are not segregated from the analytic forms thereof; but the analytic forms may be discovered easily by referring to the auxiliary verbs, under each of which is entered its complement (Infinitive or Participle, each in the infinitive form). Nor are Active Subjunctives segregated from Passive Subjunctives; but the latter may be discovered by referring to the auxiliary verbs (*beon* and *weorþan*) under each of which the complementary verbal (Infinitive or Participle) is entered in the infinitive form, in alphabetic sequence. In citations from the Old English translations, the reference to the Latin original is given immediately after the sign of equality without specific naming of the Latin text; thus "*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 199.13<sup>a</sup>=148.20<sup>a</sup>" means "*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 199.13<sup>a</sup>=*Greg.*<sup>2</sup> 148.20<sup>a</sup>," etc., etc.

In each section, I give, first, the Consecutive Subjunctives in West Saxon and, secondly, those in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

### I. THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY CORRELATIVE PARTICLES

#### SUBTYPE A. NON-PREPOSITIONAL

##### I. In West-Saxon (362)

1. With *swa swa* (*sua sua*), *so as*, *so that* (3):

*deri(g)an*, *injure* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 199.13<sup>a</sup>=148.20<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

<sup>1</sup> Under the Present Tense is included the compound perfect, and under the Preterite Tense the compound pluperfect.

eglan, *disturb* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 199.13<sup>b</sup> = 148.20<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—ofaceorfan, *cut off* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 141.5 = 100.25.—Pt. (0).

## 2. With swa . . . swa (sua . . . sua) (19):

befeallan, *fall* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 189.11 = 140.26.—Pt. (0).

forbærnan, *injure by fire* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.26<sup>b</sup> = 384.22.—Pt. (0).

forsion (forseon), *contemn, despise* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 453.31<sup>b</sup> = 384.30<sup>a</sup>, 453.34<sup>a</sup> = 386.2<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

fil(i)gan (fyl(i)gan), *follow* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 63.20 = 120.12.—Pt. (0).

gebrengan, *bring, make* (3).—Pr. (3):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (3): 453.25 = 384.21<sup>a</sup>, 453.29<sup>a</sup> = 384.26, 453.30 = 384.27<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

gebringan, *bring, make* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.28<sup>a</sup> = 384.24.—Pt. (0).

gedon, *make* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.23<sup>b</sup> = 384.19.—Pt. (0).

geiecan, *increase* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.20<sup>a</sup> = 384.14.—Pt. (0).

geswencan, *afflict* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.22 = 384.18<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (4):

—astandan, *stand up, recover* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 455.31<sup>a</sup> = 388.9.—Pt. (0).

—geegesian, *frighten* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 119.5 = 82.21.—Pt. (0).

—geflieman, *put to flight, dispel* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 455.29 = 388.8.—Pt. (0).

—geþwænan, *moisten* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 61.19 = 36.21.—Pt. (0).

oleccan, *soothe* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.33 = 386.1<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

weorþan, *become, be* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.21 = 384.5.—Pt. (0).

weorþan, *become, be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—beswican, *deceive* (1).—Pr. (1).—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 64.20 = 122.12<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

## 3. With swa . . . þæs þe, so . . . as, so . . . that (1):

magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—beon wiþmeten, *be comparable* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 92.6 = 71.13.—Pt. (0).

## 4. With swa (sua, swæ) þæt, so that (86):

alecgan, *lay aside* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 268.3.—Pt. (0).

arian, *honor* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 53.23.—Pt. (0).

beon (wesan), *be* (3).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 446.8;—*Ælf. L. S.* (1): I. 360.348.—Pt. (1):—*Wærf.* (1): 263.19 = 321A<sup>o</sup>.

beon (wesan), *be*, plus a complementary verbal (12):

—acennan, *bear, bring forth* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 193.16.

—asmeagan, *consider* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 280.19.—Pt. (0).

—flotigan, *float* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Chron.* (1): 158.5 (A1031).—Pt. (0).

—forlætan, *leave* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 234.16.—Pt. (0).

—metan, *meet, find* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 128.12.—Pt. (0).

—nemnan, *name* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 604.32.—Pt. (0).



- singan, *sing* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 34.15<sup>b</sup> = 64.21.—Pt. (o).
- standan, *stand* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Chron.* (1): 158.6<sup>b</sup> (A 1031) (*stande* for *standende*).—Pt. (o).
- styrian, *move* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 174<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- todælan, *divide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 44.12 = 82.14.—Pt. (o).
- wemman, *destroy* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 245.22.—Pt. (o).
- wendan, *turn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 68.12 = 128.20.—Pt. (o).
- besettan, *set, place* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 398.36.—Pt. (o).
- betæcan, *commit, deliver* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 218.15<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- betan, *repent, atone for* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 68.14 = 128.22.—Pt. (o).
- biddan, *pray for* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 576.1.—Pt. (o).
- blyssian (blissian), *rejoice* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 360.349.—Pt. (o).
- ceorian, *complain* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 546.10<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- cuman, *come* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 134.16.
- derian, *injure* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1) I. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 424.407.
- don, *do, make* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (2):—*Num.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 22.20;—I. (1):—*Lev.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 26.31.—Pt. (o).
- faran, *go* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 416.7.—Pt. (o).
- forbeornan, *burn up* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 166.5.
- forbugan, *eschew* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 20.154<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- fordiligan, *destroy* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 76.6 = 144.8.—Pt. (o).
- forgyldan (-gieldan), *repay* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 546.12.—Pt. (o).
- fremi(g)an, *assist* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 400.1.—Pt. (o).
- fullfremman, *perform, commit* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 103.17 = 87.52; 0.—Pt. (o).
- gebeodan, *offer* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 260.31<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- gebiddan, *pray* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 286.50.—Pt. (o).
- gedrefan, *trouble* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 72.20 = 138.5.—Pt. (1).
- geearn(g)an, *earn, merit* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 304.293.—Pt. (o).
- gefeon, *rejoice* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 311.12 = 376A<sup>c</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- geglençgan, *adorn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 218.15<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- gelyfan (-liefan), *believe* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 284.16.—Pt. (o).
- geseon, *see* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 564.23<sup>a</sup>;—*Wulf.* (1): 53.24<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- getimbri(g)an, *build up, edify* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 72.19<sup>b</sup> = 138.5.—Pt. (o).
- geþafian, *allow* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 546.10<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- geunstillan, *disquiet* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 73.14<sup>a</sup> = 138.21<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- gewarnian, *warn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 430.30<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- gewilnian, *desire* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 430.30<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- gewyldan (-wieldan), *tame* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 360.19.—Pt. (o).
- habban (nabban), *have (not)* (4).—Pr. (4):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 95.9 = 81.9;—*Chron.* (2): 30.27 (E 656), 158.6<sup>o</sup> (A 1031);—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1):—*Pref. to Gen.* (1): 79.100.—Pt. (o).
- healdan, *hold, preserve* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 222.18.—Pt. (o).

**hlystan**, *listen* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1):—*On N.T.* (1): 58.960.—Pt. (0).

**lufi(g)an**, *love* (3).—Pr. (3):—*Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 260.30, 268.4;—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 270.126.—Pt. (0).

**magan**, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (3):

—**gehælan**, *heal* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—**I.** (1): *Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 234.247.

—**geræcan**, *reach* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):**I.** (1): *Chron.* (1): 84.26<sup>a</sup> (A 894).

—**onlocian**, *look upon, see* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 140.18 = 0.—Pt. (0).

**niman**, *take* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Chron.* (1): 37.23 (E 675).—Pt. (0).

**oferwinnan**, *conquer* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 218.14.—Pt. (0).

**offri(g)an**, *offer* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 314.123.—Pt. (0).

**onscunian**, *shun* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 270.127.—Pt. (0).

**sculan**, *shall*, plus a complementary verbal (4):

—**gebugan**, *submit* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 199.22.—Pt. (0).

—**geeacnian**, *become pregnant* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1): **I.** (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 193.15.

—**lætan** (**ut**), *let out, release* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1): **I.** (1): *Chron.* (1): 267.7 (E 1140).

—**settan**, *set, place* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1): **I.** (1): *Chron.* (1): 262.13 (E 1131).

**secgan**, *say* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 284.15.—Pt. (0).

**syngian**, *sin* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 304.292.—Pt. (0).

**þancian**, *thank* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 218.16.—Pt. (0).

**þurhwuni(g)an**, *persevere* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 5.24 = 12.4.—Pt. (0).

**underfon**, *undertake* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 596.11.—Pt. (0).

**wacian**, *watch, be watchful* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 222. 11 = 272B<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

**wendan**, *turn* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 114.28;—*Wulf.* (1): 267.29.—Pt. (0).

**weorþan**, *become, come* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 7.9 = 6.36, 63.7 = 0.—Pt. (0).

**weorþan**, *become, be*, plus a complementary verbal (2):

—**alefan**, *injure* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 290.104.—Pt. (0).

—**getwæman**, *separate* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.* I. (1): 59.198.

**willan**, *will*, plus a complementary verbal (3):

—**ahydan**, *hide* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1): **I.** (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 289.17 = 349C<sup>o</sup>.

—**beon**, *be* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1): **I.** (1): *A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II (1): 127.343.

—**gesettan**, *set* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1): **I.** (1): *Chron.* (1): 210.14 (E 1075).

**wuldrian**, *glorify* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 564.23<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

**wuni(g)an**, *live* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 222.19.—Pt. (0).

##### 5. With swa (sua) . . . þæt, so that (192):

**abrecan**, *break* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 172.2<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

**afyllan**, *fell, slay* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *V Æthelr.* 244.31[1].—Pt. (0).

**agyltan**, *do wrong* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 145.15<sup>b</sup> = 104.21.—Pt. (0).

**ahebban**, *remove* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 400.7 = 289.28.—Pt. (0).

- aslawian**, *become torpid* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 415.10 = 336.8.—Pt. (0).  
**astigan**, *ascend* (3).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (3):—*Ælf. Hom.* (3): I. 22.20, 318.16; II. 472.26.  
**atillan**, *touch* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Gen.*<sup>1</sup> (1): II. 4<sup>o</sup> (MS. C.).—Pt. (0).  
**beginnan**, *begin* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 70.15<sup>a</sup> = 134.2.—Pt. (0).  
**behelian**, *cover, hide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 141.9 = 100. 29<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**behofian**, *need* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 66.7 = 124.19<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**beon (wesan)**, *be* (8).—Pr. (6):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 58.1<sup>b</sup> = 55.37<sup>b</sup>;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 109.21 = 176.2, 140.6 = no Latin;—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 262.35<sup>a</sup>;—*Wulf.* (2): 155.6, 12<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (2):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 59.1<sup>a</sup> = 56.18;—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 17.7 = 17.25.  
**beon (wesan)**, *be*, plus a complementary verbal (13):  
 —**abysgian**, *be busy* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 73.18<sup>a</sup> = 140.14.—Pt. (0).  
 —**beginnan**, *begin* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 42.14<sup>b</sup> = 78.20.—Pt. (0).  
 —**forswelgan**, *swallow up* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 51.6<sup>a</sup> = 96.1.—Pt. (0).  
 —**gefadian**, *arrange* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 66.10 = 124.23.—Pt. (0).  
 —**gefyllan**, *fill* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 66.8<sup>a</sup> = 124.20.—Pt. (0).  
 —**gehalgian**, *hallow* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 262.28.—Pt. (0).  
 —**gehealdan**, *hold, observe* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 32.21 = 60.17.—Pt. (0).  
 —**gelædan**, *lead* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 432.14 = 308.27.—Pt. (0).  
 —**gelæstan**, *accomplish, realize* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 264.1<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
 —**genædan**, *compel* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 189.16 = 142.4.—Pt. (0).  
 [Cf. Glunz, *op. cit.*, p. 36, who considers this clause final rather than consecutive.]  
 —**niman**, *take* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Chron.* (1): 31.10<sup>b</sup> (E 656).—Pt. (0).  
 —**todælan**, *divide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 42.13 = 78.18.—Pt. (0).  
 —**underþeodan**, *subject* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 264.1<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**beswican**, *deceive* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 25, *Intn.*<sup>b</sup>  
**cuman**, *come* (3).—Pr. (2):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 58.1<sup>a</sup> = 55.37<sup>a</sup>;—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 63.14 = no Latin;—*Met.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 172.76 = 55.37<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**cunnan**, *know* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 39.13<sup>a</sup>; *Met.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 188.51 = 81.13.—Pt. (0).  
**cweþan**, *say, speak* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 20.28.—Pt. (0).  
**don**, *do, observe* (3).—Pr. (2):—*Chron.* (1): 36.13<sup>a</sup> (E 675);—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 107.15 = 172.20.—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 143.30 = 132.29: 0.  
**drædan**, *dread, fear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 107.17<sup>a</sup> = 74. 11<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**durran**, *dare*, plus a complementary verbal (2):  
 —**betellan**, *answer* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 570. 34.—Pt. (0).  
 —**cweþan**, *say* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 25.4 = 25.25.—Pt. (0).  
**efstan**, *hasten* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 600.3.—Pt. (0).  
**etan**, *eat* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Pr. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 16.14<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**faran**, *go, live* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 602.4.—Pt. (0).  
**færan**, *frighten* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.19<sup>a</sup> = 384.14.—Pt. (0).  
**forceorfan**, *cut off* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 141.10<sup>a</sup> = 100.29<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**forfleon**, *avoid* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 121.24<sup>a</sup> = 188.5.—Pt. (0).

- forhtian, *fear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 149.13<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- forlætan, *neglect* (5).—Pr. (5):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (4): 123.23 = 86.17<sup>b</sup>, 137.12 = 98.13, 191.22<sup>b</sup> = 142.27, 393.28 = 312.1<sup>a</sup>;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 68.6 = 130.13.—Pt. (0).
- forweorþan (-wurþan), *perish* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 3.15<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- forwyrcean, *condemn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 154.25.—Pt. (0).
- freogean, *love* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 36.523.
- fylgean, *follow* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 141.4 = no Latin, 141.5 = no Latin.—Pt. (0).
- fyrþrigan, *further* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 121.7 = 186.13.—Pt. (0).
- gan, *go* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Cnut* 274[9]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- gebetan, *atone for, amend* (1).—Pr. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.I.* (1): 62.254<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- gedyrstlæcan, *presume* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 15.12 = 28.2.—Pt. (0).
- geearnian, *earn, merit* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 372.34 = 275.21.
- gefæstni(g)an, *fasten* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 393.31<sup>a</sup> = 312.4.—Pt. (0).
- gefillan, *fill, satisfy* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Mat.* (1): 15.33.—Pt. (0).
- gehieran, *hear* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 253.17 = 192.7.
- gehwyrfan (-hwierfan), *turn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 84.30.—Pt. (0).
- geiecan, *increase* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 455.12<sup>a</sup> = 386.17.—Pt. (0).
- gelæstan, *perform, do* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 173.29.—Pt. (0).
- gemunan, *remember* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 122.7 = 103.104.—Pt. (0).
- gesæcan (gesacan), *oppose* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Cnut* 275[18]<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- geseon, *see* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 5.16<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- getiþigan, *grant* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 262.29.—Pt. (0).
- geþwærgan, *be agreeable* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 45. 11<sup>b</sup> = 84.12.—Pt. (0).
- geunnan, *grant* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Laws* (2): *VIII Æthr.* 263[1, 1]<sup>b</sup>, 1 *Cnut* 280 [2, 3]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- gewendan, *turn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 147.2<sup>b</sup> = 106.2.—Pt. (0).
- gewifi(g)an, *marry* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Laws* (1): *Cnut* 274[16]<sup>b</sup>;—*Wulf.* (1): 271.23.—Pt. (0).
- gewiscan (-wyscan), *wish* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): I. 200.80<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- gieman (gyman), *care for* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 191.23 = 144.1<sup>b</sup>;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 44.16 = 82.18.—Pt. (0).
- grapian, *grope* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.21<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- habban (nabban), *have (not), possess (not)* (11).—Pr. (9):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 59.18 = 56.28<sup>b</sup>;—*Chron.* (2): 116.15, 19 (E 963);—*Laws* (1): *II Cnut* 336 [35]<sup>b</sup>;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 74.22 = 142.9<sup>a</sup>;—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 16.16<sup>b</sup>, *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 11.22<sup>a</sup>;—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 3.15<sup>b</sup>;—*Wulf.* (1): 149.14<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (2):—*I.* (2): *A.S. Hom. & L.S.I.* (1): 67.56;—*Wulf.* (1): 25.3<sup>b</sup>.
- healdan, *hold* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Pr. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 16.14<sup>c</sup> (?).—Pt. (0).
- helpan, *help* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> 144.24 = 133.54.—Pt. (0).
- hogian, *consider* (1).—Pr. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.I.* (1): 48.590.—Pt. (0).

- lætan, *allow, consider* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 107.15<sup>b</sup> = 74.10;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 121.8 = 186.13.—Pt. (o).
- lifigan (libban), *live* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 257.4<sup>a</sup> = 313D<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- losigan, *be lost* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *IV Eadgar* 210[2, 2]<sup>g</sup>.—Pt. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): I. 110.359.
- lufian, *love* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 600.2<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- lystan, *please* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 229.14 = 174.1;—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 47.15 = 47.33.—Pt. (o).
- magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (18):
- adreogan, *bear, endure* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 244.16 = 297D<sup>b</sup>.
- asegan, *tell, recount* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Chr. & S.* (1): 351.—Pt. (o).
- bringan, *bring* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 14.24<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- don, *do* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 110.13 = 95.118.—Pt. (o).
- forbugan, *change* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): I. 380. 230.—Pt. (o).
- forgifan, *give* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 82.24 = 72.5.—Pt. (o).
- gebetan, *atone for* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 498.19, II. 602.21.—Pt. (o).
- gegan, *go* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 144.23 = 118.8 (with *þæt* to be supplied?).
- gegodian, *enrich* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 34.11<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- gehealdan, *hold* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 3.13 = 3.30.—Pt. (o).
- gescyldan, *shield* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 102.15.—Pt. (o).
- oferfaran, *cross over* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 38.12 = 20.11.
- ondrædan, *dread, fear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 140.4.—Pt. (o).
- ongitan, *understand* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 131.29 = 111.101.—Pt. (o).
- smeagan, *consider, meditate upon* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 75.4<sup>b</sup> = 142.14<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- þurhseon, *penetrate* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 72.31 = 65.23.—Pt. (o).
- wyrca, *do* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 99.27 = 84.73.—Pt. (o).
- mislician, *displease* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 393.26 = 310.25.—Pt. (o).
- motan *may, must*, plus a complementary verbal (2):
- beon gefullod, *be baptized* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 46.32.
- don, *do* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 142.32 = 129.88<sup>a</sup>.
- offrian, *offer, sacrifice* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.11<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- ofslean, *slay* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 235.2<sup>b</sup> = 176.26.
- oliccan (oleccan), *flatter* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 383.12<sup>a</sup> = 298.10.—Pt. (o).
- ondrædan, *fear* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 393.29 = 312.2;—*Wulf.* (1): 149.14<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- onhagian, *be in one's power* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 4.3 = 4.20.—Pt. (o).
- onhyrgan, *imitate* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 229.15 = 174.3.—Pt. (o).
- reccan, *care for* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 383.12<sup>b</sup> = 298.10.—Pt. (o).
- rixigan, *reign* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 262.35<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- sculan, *shall* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Chron.* (1): 52.28 (E 777) (an infinitive is to be supplied).

**sculan**, *shall*, plus a complementary verbal (5):

—**abyrgean**, *taste* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 149.19.—Pt. (o).

—**alætan**, *leave, lose* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 148.8.—Pt. (o).

—**arisan**, *arise* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 544.2.—Pt. (o).

—**gaderian**, *gather, collect* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 73.17 = 140.4—Pt. (o).

—**sprecan**, *speak* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 197.6<sup>b</sup> = 146.28<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**sweltan**, *die* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 318.12.—Pt. (o).

**tobrecan**, *break* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 173.28<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**þincan (þyncan)**, *seem* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 144.21 = 133.52:0.—Pt. (o).

**þurfan**, *need* (4).—Pr. (4):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (4): 53.16 = 52.16, 58.17 = 56.10, 59.19 = 56.28, 60.20 = 57.51.—Pt. (o).

**þurfan**, *need*, plus a complementary verbal (2):

—**beon**, *be* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 105.3.—Pt. (o).

—**gesciendan**, *shame* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 341.14 = 264.3.—Pt. (o).

**þurhwunigan**, *remain, continue* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 263.16 = 198.19.—Pt. (o).

**underfon**, *undertake* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 25.17 = 6.4.—Pt. (o).

**wanigan**, *diminish* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 121.9<sup>a</sup> = 186.14.—Pt. (o).

**weaxan**, *increase* (4).—Pr. (4):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (4): 455.13 = 386.18, 455.21<sup>a</sup> = 386.26, 455.22 = 388.1, 457.21 = 390.12.—Pt. (o).

**wenan**, *think* (5).—Pr. (5):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 26.14 = 34.89, 122.11 = 103.106;—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 107.15<sup>o</sup> = 74.11, 453.35<sup>a</sup> = 386.35<sup>a</sup>;—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 24.20 = 36.0.—Pt. (o).

**weorþan (wurþan)**, *become* (4).—Pr. (4):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> 325.9 = 250.21<sup>b</sup>;—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 63.15 = no Latin;—*Laws* (2): *VIII Æthr.* 263[1,1], *I Cnut* 280[2, 3]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**weorþan**, *become, be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—**cwylman**, *kill* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Vom Jüngsten Tage* 216.

**wepan**, *weep* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 149.13<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**willan (nyllan)**, *will (not), desire (not)* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 75.4<sup>a</sup> = 142.14<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**willan (nyllan)**, *will (not)*, plus a complementary verbal (9):

—**alætan**, *leave off* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 269.10 = 202.23.—Pt. (o).

—**betan**, *repent* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Laws* (1): *Cnut* 274[9]<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (o).

—**feran**, *go* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 274.31<sup>b</sup> = 214.18.

—**foresceawian**, *provide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): 532.21.—Pt. (o).

—**miltisian**, *pity, show mercy to* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 154.181.

—**niman**, *take* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 216.5.

—**secan**, *seek* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 64.17 = no Latin.

—**þancian**, *thank* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 546.17.

—**wunian**, *dwel, remain* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 280.14.—Pt. (o).

- wilnigan, *desire* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 64.18 = no Latin;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 121.23 = 188.5<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- witan (nytan), *know (not)* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 95.19 = 81.15:0.—Pt. (o).
- wuldrian, *glorify* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 5.16<sup>e</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- wunian, *remain, be* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 121.4 = 194.13;—*Wærf.* (1): 257<sup>b</sup> = 313D<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- wyrčan, *work* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Cnut* 275[18]<sup>d</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- wyrdan (wirdan), *injure, violate* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *II Cnut* 366[83, 2]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- wyrnan (wiernan), *deny, refuse* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 15.7<sup>e</sup>.—Pt. (o).

#### 6. With swa þætte, so that (5):

- beon (wesan), *be* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 108.24 = 93.83.
- beon (wesan), *be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):
- geþwænan, *soften* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 413.12 = 334.4.
- clipian, *call* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 461.24 = 396.5.—Pt. (o).
- gebindan, *bind* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 253.23<sup>a</sup> = 192.11.—Pt. (o).
- gefegan, *join, unite* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 253.23<sup>b</sup> = 192.11, 12.—Pt. (o).

#### 7. With swa (sua) . . . þætte, so . . . that (14):

- ascrencan, *supplant* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 317.8 = 244.11<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- awendan, *turn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 389.4 = 304.22.—Pt. (o).
- beon (wesan), *be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):
- gelipian, *soften* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 151.2<sup>b</sup> = 108.13.—Pt. (o).
- findan, *find* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.13<sup>a</sup> = 384.9<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- forlætan, *leave, omit* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 237.18 = 180.6.—Pt. (o).
- gebringan, *bring* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 317.7 = 244.11.—Pt. (o).
- gehælan, *heal* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 425.19 = 348.18.—Pt. (o).
- gesettan, *set, place* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 253.16 = 192.7.
- geþafigan, *allow, permit* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 303.20 = 230.19.—Pt. (o).
- giberhtan, *declare* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Iud. Dei* 410[4, 4]<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- hatigan, *hate* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 353.9 = 272.21<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- lufigan, *love* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 353.8 = 272.21<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):
- beon (wesan), *be* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 226.2 = 227, 2: 0.
- sculan, *shall*, plus a complementary verbal (1):
- leornian, *learn* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 162.1<sup>b</sup> = 136.10.

#### 8. With swilc (swylc) þæt, such that (2):

- lystan, *please* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 126.18 = 194.1.—Pt. (o).
- magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):
- herigan, *praise* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): 1. 446.33.—Pt. (o).

9. With *swilc* (*swylc*, *swelc*) . . . *þæt*, *such* . . . *that* (8):

*beon* (*wesan*), *be* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.I.* (1): 32.10.

*habban*, *have* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 59.8 = 34.18.—Pt. (0).

*healdan*, *keep*, *observe* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 5.29<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

*magan*, *may*, *can*, plus a complementary verbal (2):

—*sprecan*, *speak* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 119.24<sup>b</sup> = 186.4.—Pt. (0).

—*todælan*, *distribute*, *divide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 46.14<sup>a</sup> = 86.14.—Pt. (0).

*ondrædan*, *fear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 5.29<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

*onfon*, *receive* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Iud. Dei* 415[2, 3]<sup>e</sup>.—Pt. (0).

*sculan*, *shall*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—*wundrian*, *wonder* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 187.9<sup>b</sup> = 228B<sup>c</sup>.—Pt. (0).

10. With *swelc* . . . *þætte*, *such* . . . *that* (2):

*durran*, *dare*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—*geandettan*, *confess* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 103.20 = 72.2.—Pt. (0).

*fullfremman*, *complete*, *effect* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 435.26 = 362.2.—Pt. (0).

11. With *to* . . . *þæt*, *too* . . . *that* (8):

*adrifan*, *drive away* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 43.23.—Pt. (0).

*ahreddan*, *save* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 43.24.—Pt. (0).

*beon* (*wesan*), *be* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 236.7.

*gehyran* (*-hieran*), *hear* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 236.6.

*gescomian*, *be ashamed* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Jul.* (1): 713.

*magan*, *may*, *can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—*awritan*, *write out* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 3.19 = 3.22.—Pt. (0).

*motan*, *may*, *must*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—*gehyran* (*-hieran*), *hear* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 237.22.

*wlatigan*, *cause a person loathing* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 23.21 = 33.35.—Pt. (0).

12. With *þæs* . . . *þæt*, *to the extent* . . . *that*, *so* . . . *that* (21):

*alysan*, *release* (1).—Pr. (1):—*And.* (1): 1373.—Pt. (0).

*beon* (*wesan*), *be* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Gericht* 110.—Pt. (0).

*biscyrgan*, *deprive* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Gab.* 11.—Pt. (0).

*forlætan*, *leave* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Gab.* 22.—Pt. (0).

*getweogan* (*-tweon*), *doubt*, *hesitate* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Gen.* (1): 833.

*lufian*, *love* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Jul.* (1): 178.—Pt. (0).

*magan*, *may*, *can*, plus a complementary verbal (8):

—*asceadan*, *separate*, *depart* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wulf.* (1): 185.2.

—*asecgan*, *say*, *tell* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Rid.* (1): 2.2<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—*bibugan*, *avoid* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Guthl.* (1): 840.—Pt. (0).

—*gereccan*, *reckon* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Gericht* 31.—Pt. (0).



- geriman, *number* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ex.* (1): 439.—Pt. (0).  
 —habban, *have* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Höllenfahrt Chr.* 66.—Pt. (0).  
 —witan, *know* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Schöpf.* 77.—Pt. (0).  
 —wiþhabban, *withstand* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Minor Poems* (1): *Chr. & S.* (1): 519.  
 onsendan, *send* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Gab.* 21.—Pt. (0).  
 onwendan, *turn aside* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Jul.* (1): 57.—Pt. (0).  
 sculan, *shall*, plus a complementary verbal (1):  
 —faran, *go* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.10<sup>b</sup>.  
 þurfan, *need* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 75.5 = 67.15: 0.—Pt. (0).  
 weorþan, *become, be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):  
 —gegearwian, *prepare* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1):—*Gab.* 99.—Pt. (0).  
 willan, *will*, plus a complementary verbal (1):  
 —reccan, *heed* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Dan.* (1): 596.  
 witan, *know* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Beow.* (1): 1367.—Pt. (0).

13. With þillic . . . þæt, *such . . . that* (1):

habban, *have* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): 1. 406.23.

II. In the "Lindisfarne Gospels" (6)

1. With swæ (swa) þæt, *so that* (2):

gesea, *see* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Mat.* (1): 12.22.  
 wosa, *be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):  
 —toslita, *divide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Mat.* (1): *Int.* 8.16.—Pt. (0).

2. With suæ (sua) . . . þæt, *so . . . that* (1):

gefylla, *satisfy* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Mat.* (1): 15.33.—Pt. (0).

3. With suæ (sua) þætte, *so that* (3):

gesea, *see* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Mk.* (1): 8.25.  
 wosa, *be* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*L.* (1): 5.7<sup>e</sup>.  
 wosa, *be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):  
 —awundriga, *wonder* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Mk.* (1): 15.5.

SUBTYPE B. PREPOSITIONAL

I. In West-Saxon (66)

1. With on þa wisan þæt, *in such wise that* (2):

fyligan, *follow* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 69.7<sup>b</sup> = 130.13.—Pt. (0).  
 gesweotoligan, *manifest, prove* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 69.8 = 130.13.—Pt. (0).

2. With on þa wisan . . . þæt, *in such wise . . . that* (1):

weorþan, *become, happen* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 65.1 = 122.16.—Pt. (0).

## 3. With to þæm (þam) þæt, to the extent that, so that (4):

hæbban (= hebban), extol, exalt (1).—Pr. (1):—Greg.<sup>1</sup> (1): 319.17 = 246.17.—Pt. (o).

hreowsian, repent of, atone for (1).—Pr. (1):—Greg.<sup>1</sup> (1): 425.24<sup>b</sup> = 348.22.—Pt. (o).

magan, may, can, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—aredian, find the way, go (1).—Pr. (1):—Boeth.<sup>1</sup> (1): 55.22 = 53.5.—Pt. (o).

ongietan, understand (1).—Pr. (1):—Greg.<sup>1</sup> (1): 425.24 = 348.22.—Pt. (o).

## 4. With to þæm (þam) . . . þæt, to the extent . . . that, so . . . that (26):

agan (nagan) owe (not), have (not) (1).—Pr. (1): Laws (1): Ælfred 88[77]<sup>c</sup>.—Pt. (o).

beon, be (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—Greg.<sup>1</sup> (1): 293.7 = 220.29.

cunnan, can, be able, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—tocnawan, know (1).—Pr. (1):—Greg.<sup>1</sup> (1): 411.26<sup>c</sup> = 332.10.—Pt. (o).

durran, dare, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—cuman, come (1).—Pr. (1):—Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 508.32.—Pt. (o).

forsearian, dry up, wither (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—Greg.<sup>1</sup> (1): 293.6 = 220.29<sup>a</sup>.

gebringan, bring (1).—Pr. (1):—Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 164.11.—Pt. (o).

gedælan, give, bestow (1).—Pr. (1):—Wulf. (1): 306.5<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).

gesettan, place (1).—Pr. (1): Greg.<sup>1</sup> (1): 459.11<sup>b</sup> = 392.10.—Pt. (o).

gewunian, live, reside (1).—Pr. (1):—Laws (1): VI Æthelr. 256[36]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).

lætan, leave (2).—Pr. (2):—Wulf. (2): 135.13, 291.6<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).

lifan (liefan), allow (1).—Pr. (1):—Wulf. (1): 174.6.—Pt. (o).

lifian (libban), live (1).—Pr. (1):—Laws (1): Ælfred 88[77]<sup>d</sup>.—Pt. (o).

lystan, please (1).—Pr. (1):—Solil.<sup>1</sup> (1): 48.3 = 48.25.—Pt. (o).

magan, may, can (1).—Pr. (1):—Bened.<sup>1</sup> (1): 47.6<sup>c</sup> = 88.6.—Pt. (o).

magan, may, can, plus a complementary verbal (6):

—begytan (-gietan), acquire (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 140.4<sup>a</sup>.

—gehæaldan (-healdan), hold (1).—Pr. (1):—Solil.<sup>1</sup> (1): 3.16 = 3.31.—Pt. (o).

—gesecan, seek (1).—Pr. (1):—A.S. Hom. & L.S. II. (1): 144.9.—Pt. (o).

—gestrienan, beget (1).—Pr. (1):—Laws (1): Ælfred 84.65.—Pt. (o).

—sp(r)ecan, speak (2).—Pr. (2):—Wulf. (2): 38.15<sup>b</sup>, 301.11.—Pt. (o).

unrotsigan, be sad (1).—Pr. (1):—Solil.<sup>1</sup> (1): 32.7 = 32.25.—Pt. (o).

willan (nyllan), will (not), plus a complementary verbal (2):

—beon underþeod, be subject (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): Bened.<sup>1</sup> (1): 113.17 = 178.20.

—ofslean, slay (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): Ælf. L.S. (1): II. 62.148<sup>a</sup>.

wilnigan, desire (1).—Pr. (1):—Boeth.<sup>1</sup> (1): 25.6 = 34.2.—Pt. (o).

wyrnan (wiernan), deny, refuse (1).—Pr. (1):—Laws (1): VI Æthels. 178 [8, 2]<sup>c</sup>.—Pt. (o).

## 5. With to þæs . . . þæt, to the extent . . . that, so . . . that (15):

beon (wesnan), be (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—Bl. Hom. (1): 117.25<sup>b</sup>.

beon (wesān), *be*, plus a complementary verbal (2):

—behydān, *hide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S. II.* (1): 154.65.—Pt. (0).

—onscunigan, *shun* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 111.29.—Pt. (0).

cuman, *come* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 111.25.—Pt. (0).

don, *do, inflict* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 114.31 = 93.5.

gesecan, *seek* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 53.5 = 52.10:0.—Pt. (0).

habban (nabban), *have (not)* (2).—Pr. (2):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S. II* (1): 158.152;

—*Minor Poems* (1): *Seaf.* (1): 42.—Pt. (0).

magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (5):

—awendan, *change* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Zaubers.* (1): 1. 64.—Pt. (0).

—beon (wesān), *be* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 354.9 = 266.12.—Pt. (0).

—gewercean (-wyrčan), *work* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 127.18.—Pt. (0).

—locigan, *look* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 35.12 = 35.24.—Pt. (0).

—lybban (libban), *live* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 44.17 = 44.32.—Pt. (0).

onfon, *receive* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 223.24.

sculan, *shall*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—agildan, *pay for* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Rede der Seele* 98.—Pt. (0).

#### 6. With to þon (þan) þæt, *to the extent that, so that* (7):

cunnan, *can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—læran, *teach* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 383.21 = 298.20.—Pt. (0).

gemetan, *find, obtain* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 417.1 = 338.5.—Pt. (0).

iernan, *run* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 431.23 = 356.17.—Pt. (0).

lufian, *love* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 189.22<sup>a</sup> = 229D<sup>b</sup>.

magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—læran, *teach* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 383.21<sup>a</sup> = 298.20.—Pt. (0).

þaccian, *stroke* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 189.22<sup>b</sup> = 229D<sup>c</sup>.

þurfan, *need* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 65.17 = 60.6.—Pt. (0).

#### 7. With to þon (þan) . . . þæt, *to the extent . . . that, so . . . that* (10):

forstandan, *protect, defend* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *VI Æthels.* 178[8, 2]<sup>d</sup>.—Pt. (0).

fremman, *perform, commit* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 185.15.—Pt. (0).

magan, *may, can* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Wihtr.* 12[6]<sup>d</sup>.—Pt. (0).

magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (3):

—bodian, *announce, preach* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt.<sup>1</sup> (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): 1. 232.24.

—ongietan, *understand* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 67.25. = 42.19.—Pt. (0).

—wiþsacan, *deny* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 304.21 = 368B<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

tiligan, *strive for* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 69.10 = 63.25.—Pt. (0).

unnan, *grant* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *IV Eadgar* 206[1, 2]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

willan (wyllan), *will*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—secgan, *say* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 305.3 = 368B<sup>1</sup>.—Pt. (0).

wyrigan (wirigan), *condemn, curse* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 114.26.—Pt. (0).

8. With *to þon þætte, to the extent that, so that* (1):

magan, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—(ge)settan, *set, place* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 296.30 = 227.14.

## II. In the "Lindisfarne Gospels" (0)

Of the Consecutive Subjunctive Introduced by Prepositional Correlative Particles no clear example has been found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

### II. THE CONSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE INTRODUCED BY SINGLE PARTICLES

#### I. In West-Saxon (351)

1. With *swa, so that* (3):

mænan, *tell* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Rid.* (1): 61.17.

onþeon, *succeed* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Rid.* (1): 88.31 (or Locative, as by Tupper?).

witan (nytan), *know (not)* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Ine* 92[7]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

2. With *þæt, that, so that* (334):

abugan, *incline, yield* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 202.210.—Pt. (0).

acwelan, *die* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 16.3.—Pt. (0).

agan (nagan), *own (not)* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 333.9 = 256.24;—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 220.13.—Pt. (0).

alysan, *release* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 306.5<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

arasigan, *reprove* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 143.19 = 104.1.—Pt. (0).

arisan, *arise* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 602.9.

aslawian, *become torpid* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 453.24<sup>a</sup> = 384.19.—Pt. (0).

aslidan, *slip* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Pr. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 16.5<sup>a</sup>;—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 32.35.—Pt. (0).

ateon, *pull out* (1).—Pr. (1);—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *L.*<sup>1</sup> 6.42<sup>b</sup> (or Final?).—Pt. (0).

ateorian, *fail* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 480.137.

bacan, *bake* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 12.39.

bebyrgan, *bury* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 50.5 = 30.11 (or Final?).

befeallan, *fall* (1).—Pr. (1):—I. (1): *Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 416.295.—Pt. (0).

begietan, *obtain, merit* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Jos.*<sup>1</sup> 11.20<sup>e</sup>.

behealdan, *behold* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1): *Rid.* (1): 61.5.

behofian, *need* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 63.18<sup>a</sup> = 120.11.—Pt. (0).

beon (weson), *be* (34).—Pr. (23);—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (3): 23.26 = 33.39, 90.5 = 77.11, 131.30<sup>b</sup> = 111.101;—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 165.4 = 120.7;—*Pr. Ps.* (1): 38.16<sup>b</sup>;—*Laws* (3): *Ælfred* 32[El. 21]<sup>b</sup>, 86[75]<sup>c</sup>; *Northum.* 380[2]<sup>d</sup>;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (3): 75.6 = 142.16,

75.9 = 142.17<sup>b</sup>, 133.4 = 206.1;—*Ælf. Hom.* (2): I. 174.34, 596.2;—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 34.9<sup>o</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 25.13;—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *L.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 23.22;—*Wulf.* (4): 96.2, 212.30<sup>a</sup>, 220.24, 273.10;—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 140.5<sup>b</sup>;—*Minor Poems* (2): *Sal.* 423, *Vom Jüngsten Tage* 40.—Pt. (11):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 24.5 = 33.44, 59.1<sup>b</sup> = 56.18;—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 36.28 = 37.26, 94.4<sup>b</sup> = 95.3;—*Chron.* (1): 138.14 (E1009);—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 41.3<sup>a</sup>;—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 136.24;—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Gen.*<sup>1</sup> 45.1<sup>a</sup>;—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 418.303;—*Beow.* (1): 3071;—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 143.4.

**beon** (wesan), *be*, plus a complementary verbal (18):

—**adilegian** (adylegian), *blot out* (2).—Pr. (2): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 25.6<sup>b</sup>; *Judg.*<sup>1</sup> 5, p. 406, l. 13.—Pt. (0).

—**adon**, *remove, take away* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 79.1.—Pt. (0).

—**afigan**, *put to flight* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 75.10<sup>b</sup> = 142.18<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—**alædan**, *lead away* (1).—Pr. (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 3.11<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—**amyrran**, *injure* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *II Cnut* 348 [56]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—**fordeman**, *judge* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 7.1<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—**forleosan**, *lose* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 514.19.—Pt. (0).

—**(ge)beran**, *bear* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 9.2.

—**(ge)cyrran**, *convert* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 12.40<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—**(ge)eadmodian**, *deign, humble one's self* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 345.8<sup>a</sup> = 420D<sup>a</sup>.

—**(ge)fyllan**, *fill* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Judg.*<sup>1</sup> 15, p. 411, l. 7.—Pt. (0).

—**(ge)lyfan**, *believe* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): 234.238.

—**(ge)þreagan**, *rebuke* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 96.5.—Pt. (0).

—**(ge)untrumian**, *make infirm* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 101.4 = 68.24.—Pt. (0).

—**ofsettan**, *oppress* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 75.10 = 142.18<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—**onstyrrian**, *excite* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 159.7<sup>o</sup> = 114.24<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

—**underþe(o)dan**, *subject* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Chron.* (1): 31.12 (E 656).—Pt. (0).

**beridan**, *besiege* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Ælfred* 74[42, 1]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

**besargian**, *sorrow over* (1). Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 584.6<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).

**besittan**, *besiege* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Laws* (2): *Ælfred* 74[42, 1]<sup>o</sup>, 76[42, 3].—Pt. (0).

**bringan**, *bring, offer* (3).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.25;—*Wulf.* (1): 238.2.—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II (1): 123.214.

**clypigan**, *proclaim* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 133.6<sup>a</sup> = 206.3.—Pt. (0).

**cuman**, *come* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 23.35, *Mk.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 4.22<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

**cunnan**, *know* (7).—Pr. (7):—*Laws* (1): *I Cnut* 304[22, 6]<sup>o</sup>;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 103.12<sup>b</sup> = 168.19;—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 301.10 = 364B<sup>a</sup>;—*Wulf.* (3): 136.12<sup>a</sup>, 301.30<sup>b</sup>, 307.28<sup>b</sup>;—*Minor Poems* (1): *Chr. & S.* 17.—Pt. (0).

**cunnan**, *can, may*, plus a complementary verbal (2):

—**aredian**, *find out* (what is appropriate) (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 287.6 = 216.21.—Pt. (0).

—**understandan**, *understand* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 307.21<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).

**cweþan**, *say, speak* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 198.136<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 190.32<sup>a</sup>.

- derigan, injure** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 464.370<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**don, put** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 5.7.—Pt. (0).  
**dreogan, suffer, allow** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Northum.* 38[48]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**durran, dare, plus a complementary verbal** (3):  
 —gedon, *do, act*, (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 134.6 = 113.156.  
 —syngian, *sin* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 109.16<sup>o</sup> = 76.5<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
 —werian, *defend* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 194.16 = 195.13.  
**ecan, increase** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Pr. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 9.38<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**fægnigan, rejoice** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 584.6<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**faran, go** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.8<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**feallan, fall** (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Jos.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 11.20<sup>b</sup>.  
**findan, find** (3).—Pr. (2):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 13.4 = 13.25;—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 7.35.  
 —Pt. (1):—*El.* (1): 831.  
**fleon, flee** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 10.35<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**forbeodan, forbid** (1).—Pr. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.* I (1): 9.212.—Pt. (0).  
**forberan, forbear, tolerate** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 219. 2 = 164.19.—Pt. (0).  
**forberstan, burst** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *III Æþelr.* 230[4, 1]<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**forgietan, forget** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 387.14<sup>a</sup> = 302.26<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**forlætan, dismiss** (5).—Pr. (3):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 8.29;—*Gen.* (1): 429;—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1):—*I.* (1): 140.5.—Pt. (2):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II (2): 201.200<sup>a, b</sup>.  
**forweorþan (-wurþan), perish** (4).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *Gen.*<sup>1</sup> 42.2<sup>b</sup>, *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.61.—Pt. (2):—*Wulf.* 86.1, 198.9.  
**fremigan, help** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 556.15.—Pt. (0).  
**fultumigan, help** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 350.269.—Pt. (0).  
**gan, go** (2).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 3.11<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 394.25<sup>b</sup> = 287.12<sup>b</sup>.  
**gangan, go** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.34.—Pt. (0).  
**gebidan, await** (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.67<sup>a, b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**gebugan, turn** (2).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 96.6.—Pt. (1):—*Mart.* (1): 38.3<sup>b</sup>.  
**geeacnigan, increase, add to** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Mat.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 6.27.—Pt. (0).  
**gefremman, perform, do** (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 386.31;—*Wulf.* (1): 212.30<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**gegripan, seize** (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1).—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II. (1): 203.263<sup>b</sup>.  
**gehæftan, take captive** (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Jos.*<sup>1</sup> 11.20<sup>a, 2</sup>.  
**gehælan, heal** (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 12.40<sup>d</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**gehealdan, keep, observe** (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 45.22.  
**gehyran (-hieran), hear** (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 177.15 = 320C<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).  
**gelyfan (-liefan), believe** (2).—Pr. (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 262.16 = 320C<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (1):  
 —*I.* (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 175.25.

<sup>2</sup> In this passage, however, *gehæftan* seems to mean *fight* and to answer to *pugnarent* of the Latin.

- generigan**, *save* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 88.41<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**gesceawigan**, *see* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 88.41<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**geseon**, *see* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *L.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 8.10<sup>b</sup>; *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 12.40<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**geteorigan**, *fail* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *L.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 22.32.—Pt. (o).  
**geþafian**, *allow* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Episc.* 478[9]<sup>d</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**geþencan**, *think* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 198.136<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**gewegan**, *weigh* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Blas.* 388[1]<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**gewitan**, *depart* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 178.2.  
**grapian**, *grobe* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.29<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**gretan**, *touch* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—**I.** (1): *Beow.* (1): 3081.  
**gyltan**, *commit sin* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—**I.** (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 21.10<sup>b</sup> = 42.10.  
**gyman**, (**gieman**), *take care of* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—**I.** (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 136.23.  
**habban** (**nabban**), *have (not)* (15).—Pr. (12):—*Laws* (4): *Norpleoda* 460[7]<sup>b</sup>, [9]<sup>b</sup>, [10]<sup>b</sup>, [11];—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 147.18;—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 432.5;—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (2): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.29<sup>b</sup>, 35<sup>b</sup>;—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.* I (1): 63.272;—*Wulf.* (1): 140.3;—*Guth.* (1): 360;—*Minor Poems* (1): *Zaubers.* V, C 10<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (3):—**I.** (3): *Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 59.2<sup>a</sup> = 56.18;—*Laws* (2): *Gepyncþo* 458[7]<sup>o</sup>, *Aþ* 464[2].  
**habban**, *have*, plus a complementary verbal (1):  
—**forgietan**, *forget* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 159.8 = 114.24<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**healdan**, *hold, keep* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Predigtbruchstück* 38.—Pt. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 68.3 = 67.28.  
**herigan**, *praise* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 72.20<sup>b</sup> = 65.17:0.—Pt. (o).  
**hlænigan**, *make or become lean* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 87.17<sup>b</sup> = 58.16.—Pt. (o).  
**hlistan** (**hlystan**), *listen* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 5.9<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
**hwearfian**, *turn, change* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 18.28 = 28.40:0.  
**lætan**, *allow* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Beow.* (1): 3082.  
**libban**, *live* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 30.19;—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 109.13.—Pt. (o).  
**licgan**, *lie* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 14.3<sup>d</sup>;—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 109.13.—Pt. (o).  
**lufigan**, *love* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Laws* (1): *Northum.* 383 [48]<sup>o</sup>;—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 584.7.—Pt. (o).  
**lystan**, *please* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 285.9 = 214.27.—Pt. (o).  
**magan**, *may, can* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 103.12<sup>a</sup> = 168.19;—**I.** (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 346.12.—Pt. (o).  
**magan**, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (54):  
—**adwæscan**, *extinguish* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 435.10 = 360.17<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
—**afæstnian**, *fix, fasten* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—**I.** (1): *Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 294.27 = 295.24.  
—**ahwettan**, *whet* (1).—Pr. (1):—*And.* (1): 303.—Pt. (o).  
—**aredian**, *direct* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 139.31 = 121.12;—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.29<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).  
—**ariman**, *count* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 59.33.—Pt. (o).

- asegan**, *recount* (3).—Pr. (3):—*Bl. Hom.* (2): 103.19, 219.25; *A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II (1): 166.62.—Pt. (0).
- aspyrian**, *discover* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Minor Poems* (1): *Sal.* 434.
- atellan**, *reckon, enumerate* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Gerefa* 455 [16].—Pt. (0).
- becuman**, *come* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 44.675.—Pt. (0).
- befeolan**, *devote* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 7.11<sup>b</sup> = 0.—Pt. (0).
- behydan**, *hide* (1).—Pr. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II (1): 169.133.—Pt. (0).
- beon getæled**, *be reproved* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 345.17<sup>a</sup> = 421A<sup>b</sup>.
- cuman**, *come* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 14.2 = 14.22.—Pt. (0).
- cweþan (cwæþan)**, *say* (2).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 15.17 = 15.31.—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 159.24<sup>a</sup> = 186B<sup>o</sup>.
- derian**, *injure* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 112.696.—Pt. (0).
- don**, *do* (3).—Pr. (3):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 36.27 = 41.32, 141.29 = 125.6;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 58.15<sup>b</sup> = 110.2.—Pt. (0).
- eardian**, *live* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 37.9.—Pt. (0).
- feohtan**, *fight* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 318.69.—Pt. (0).
- fleogan**, *fly* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Vom Jüngsten Tage* 110.—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Gen.* (1): 417.
- forbeodan**, *forbid* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf.L.S.* (1): I. 232.191.
- forþbringan**, *produce* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Norþleoda* 460 [7]<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- gan**, *go* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 107.15 = 92.46.—Pt. (0).
- gecirran**, *return* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 277.13<sup>o</sup> = 208.29.—Pt. (0).
- gefeon**, *rejoice* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 14.9 = 24.15.—Pt. (0).
- gefultumian**, *help* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 336.12.
- gegaderian**, *collect, assemble* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Chron.* (1): 135.26 (E 1004).
- gegan**, *go to, visit* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 140.20<sup>a</sup> = 178.12:0.—Pt. (0).
- gehieran**, *hear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Ælfred* 80 [46, 1]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- gelipian**, *assuage, help* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 134.33.
- geræcean**, *reach* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 207.22.
- gesecan**, *seek* (1).—Pr. (1):—*A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II (1): 166.59.—Pt. (0).
- geseon**, *see* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Judith* (1): 136.
- getæcan**, *teach* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 4.51<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (0).
- gewealdan**, *control* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 119.17 = 84.3.—Pt. (0).
- gewrecan**, *avenge* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 98.10 = 99.12.
- habban**, *have* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 409.16 = 328.26;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 65.7 = 122.19.—Pt. (0).
- hyran**, *hear* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—*Judith* (1): 24.
- longian**, *long for* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 84.27 = 85.27.—Pt. (0).
- myltsian**, *pity* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf.L.S.* (1): I. 62.188<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (0).



- onsecggan, *abjure, renounce* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Ælfred* 58 [14]<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- scinan, *shine* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 95.12 = 81.12:0.—Pt. (o).
- tocwysan, *crush* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 296.1247.
- þurhteon, *accomplish* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 127.15 = 90.3.—Pt. (o).
- witan, *know* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 64.3 = no Latin.—Pt. (o).
- wiþstandan, *withstand* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf.L.S.* (1): II. 248.454.
- wrecan, *punish* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 151.2 = 108.13.—Pt. (o).
- motan, *may, must*, plus a complementary verbal (8):
- ægñian, *vex* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Exod.* (1): 264.—Pt. (o).
- began, *accomplish* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 47.11 = 47.27.—Pt. (o).
- don, *do* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 142.10 = 126.11:0.
- eglan, *torture* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Judith* (1): 185.
- fulgrowan, *grow to the full* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 67.23<sup>b</sup> = 42.18<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- gesceþþan, *injure* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *And.* (1): 916.—Pt. (o).
- gestillan, *stay, restrain* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 167.25 = 49.16.—Pt. (o).
- lesan, *redeem, absolve*, (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Laws* (1): *Ælfred* 66 [32]<sup>a</sup>.
- neotan, *enjoy* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met.Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 88.41<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- niman, *take* (3).—Pr. (3):—*Laws* (1): *VI Æthels.* 183 [12, 2]<sup>c</sup>;—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 65.3<sup>b</sup> = 122.16;—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 6.7.—Pt. (o).
- oferbreccan, *break* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 242.8 = 243.2.—Pt. (o). [*Oferbrec* = *oferbrece*?]
- oferflowan, *overflow* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 459.15<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- offrian, *offer* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 10.8<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- ongebringan, *bring upon* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 187.5 = 228B<sup>a</sup>.
- ongi(e)nnan, *begin* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 341.3<sup>b</sup> = 262.26<sup>b</sup>;—*Solil.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 30.25 = 30.33.—Pt. (o).
- ongytan (-gietan), *understand* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 12.40<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (1):—*Mart.* (1): 170.3.
- onhagian, *please* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 285.5.—Pt. (o).
- oþferian, *carry off* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Zaubers.* V, C 11.—Pt. (o).
- oþhealdan, *withhold* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Zaubers.* V, C 12.—Pt. (o).
- oþlædan, *take away* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Zaubers.* V, C 10<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- scamigan, *be ashamed* (2).—Pr. (2):—*I.* (2): *Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 101.5 = 68.25, 165.5 = 120.8.—Pt. (o).
- sceþþan, *injure* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Guth.* (1): 414.
- sculan, *shall*, plus a complementary verbal (12):
- beon (bion), *be* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):*I.* (1): *A.S. Hom. & L.S.* II. (1): 203.266.

- fyllan**, *fill* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Guth.* (1): 944.
- gehyran**, *hear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 192.15.—Pt. (o).
- geþolian**, *suffer* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 18.26 = 28.40:0.
- gyrnan**, *yearn for, desire* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 14.8 = 24.14.—Pt. (o).
- hyran**, *hear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 5.2.—Pt. (o).
- lætan**, *allow* (1).—Pr. (1):—I. (1): *Wulf.* (1): 185.13.—Pt. (o).
- licgan**, *lie* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Beow.* (1): 965.
- lufian**, *love* (1).—Pr. (1):—I. (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 115.1<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- þeowian**, *serve* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 144.10 = 172A<sup>a</sup>.
- weorþan** (**wurþan**), *become* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Rid.* (1): 4.31.—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Dan.* (1): 325.
- secgan**, *say, tell* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 73.9.—Pt. (o).
- seofigian**, *sigh* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 19.4 = 29.3:0.—Pt. (o).
- siþian**, *journey* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Guth.* (1): 896.
- speligan**, *represent* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 592.29.—Pt. (o).
- sprecan**, *speak, say* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 512.16<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- suwigan**, *be silent* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 434.139.—Pt. (o).
- swegan**, *sound* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 133.6<sup>b</sup> = 206.3.—Pt. (o).
- sweltan**, *die* (2).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Exod.*<sup>1</sup> 21.14.—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 21.5.
- swencan**, *afflict* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 87.17<sup>a</sup> = 58.16.—Pt. (o).
- swican**, *forsake* (1).—Pr. (1):—*And.* (1): 958.—Pt. (o).
- syllan** (**sellan**), *give* (1).—Pr. (1):—I. (1): *Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 11.13<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- tiligan**, *strive for, attempt* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 143.13.—Pt. (o).
- tocnawan**, *know, recognize* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Gen.*<sup>1</sup> 11.7<sup>b</sup> (MS. C).—Pt. (o).
- þegnian** (**þenian**), *serve* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Laws* (1): *Geþyncþo* 458 [7]<sup>d</sup>.
- þencan**, *think* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): I. 512.16<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- þicgan**, *partake of* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 394.25<sup>o</sup> = 287.13.
- þincan** (**þyncan**), *seem* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 284.10.—Pt. (o).
- þolian**, *suffer, sustain* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> 28.29<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- þurfan**, *need*, plus a complementary verbal (6):
- beon getæled**, *be reproved* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—I. (1): *Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 345.17<sup>b</sup> = 421A<sup>b</sup>.
- feccan**, *fetch* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 4.15<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- geoffrian**, *offer, sacrifice* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): I. 176.128.—Pt. (o).
- gesecan**, *seek* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bl. Hom.* (1): 103.14.—Pt. (o).
- murnan**, *mourn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Judith* (1): 153 (or Final?).—Pt. (o).
- ondrædan**, *fear* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 40.28 = 41.22.—Pt. (o).
- þyrstan**, *cause thirst* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Gosp.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *J.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 4.15<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- understandan**, *understand* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 202.11.—Pt. (o).
- utflowan**, *flow out* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Laws* (1): *Ælfred* 80 [53]<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).
- wænan**: see *wenan*.

**wafigan**, *wonder* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Met.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 198.18 = 107.13, 199.31 = 107.13.—Pt. (o).

**warnigan**, *warn* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Wulf.* (1): 202.13.—Pt. (o).

**wenan** (**wænan**), *ween, think* (3).—Pr. (3):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 138. 5 = 118.30:0;—*Wulf.* (2): 214.14<sup>a</sup>, 225.1.—Pt. (o).

**weorþan** (**wurþan**, **wyrþan**), *become* (4).—Pr. (3):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Deut.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 28.27<sup>b</sup>;—*Wulf.* (1): 247.21;—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 50.12.—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 126.30<sup>b</sup>.

**weorþan** (**wurþan**), *become, be*, plus a complementary verbal (6):

—*astyrian*, *shake* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. Hom.* (1): II. 258.20.

—*beswican*, *deceive* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Wulf.* (2): 101.21, 273.21.—Pt. (o).

—(ge)hælan, *heal* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 250.486.

—*gehergian*, *harass* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Ælf. Hept.*<sup>1</sup> (1): *Num.*<sup>1</sup> 14.3<sup>o</sup>.—Pt. (o).

—*ofteon*, *deprive of* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*Met.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 192.31 = 95.4.

**willan**, *will*, plus a complementary verbal (5):

—*geseon*, *see* (1).—Pr. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 2.19 = 4.24.—Pt. (o).

—*geswican*, *cease* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bl. Hom.* (1): 45.28.

—*oferyrnan*, *run over* (2).—Pr. (2):—*I.* (2): *Wulf.* (2): 211.14, 219.24.—Pt. (o).

—*ofslean*, *slay* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Ælf. L.S.* (1): II. 102.549.

**wilnigan**, *desire* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Bened.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 2.18 = 4.23.—Pt. (o).

**witan** (**nytan**), *know (not)* (5).—Pr. (4):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 136.30 = 166A<sup>a</sup>, 320.2 = 385A<sup>b</sup>:—*Mart.* (1): 46.1<sup>a</sup>;—*I.* (1): *Rid.* (1): 37.13.—Pt. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 78.15 = 79.13<sup>b</sup>.

**wundri(g)an**, *wonder* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Met.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 198.6 = 107.6, 199.40 = 107.13.—Pt. (o).

**wunian**, *dwelt, live* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met. Ps.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 103.33.—Pt. (o).

**wyrcan**, *work* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 144.8 = 132.40:0.—Pt. (o).

### 3. With **þætte**, *that, so that* (14):

**beon** (**wesan**), *be* (3).—Pr. (3):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 55.26 = 53.53:0;—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (2): 147.2<sup>a</sup> = 106.1; 325.12 = 250.23.—Pt. (o).

**beon** (**wesan**), *be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):—

—*bereafian*, *bereave* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Met.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 188.50 = 81.13.—Pt. (o).

**gebrengan**, *bring* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 363.22 = 282.12<sup>b</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**gemonnþwærigan**, *mollify* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 363.21 = 282.12<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**gemunan**, *remember* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 255.18 = 192.30.—Pt. (o).

**magan**, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (3):

—*bebeorgan*, *protect* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Guth.* (1): 962.

—*gestieran*, *steer, direct* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 94.31 = 95.28.—Pt. (o).

—*stondan*, *stand* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Bede*<sup>1</sup> (1): 178.10. = *Bede*<sup>2</sup> 145.22.

**motan**, *may, must*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—*secgan*, *say* (1).—Pr. (o).—Pt. (1):—*I.* (1): *Exod.* (1): 509.

**ondettan**, *confess* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Greg.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 105.15<sup>a</sup> = 72.19<sup>a</sup>.—Pt. (o).

**þurfan**, *need* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Boeth.*<sup>1</sup> (1): 55.29 = 53.60.—Pt. (0).

**willan**, *will*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—**healdan**, *hold* (1).—Pr. (1):—**I.** (1):—*Minor Poems* (1): *Des Vaters Lehren* 68.—Pt. (0).

## II. In the "Lindisfarne Gospels" (15)

### 1. With *sua*, *so that* (1):

**mæga**, *may, can*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—**gedoa**, *do, make* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Mk.* (1): 9.3.—Pt. (0).

### 2. With *þæt*, *that, so that* (3):

**gelefa**, *believe* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—**I.** (1): *Mat.* (1): 21.32 (or Final?).

**lifiga**, *live* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Mat.* (1): 9.18.—Pt. (0).

**wosa**, *be*, plus a complementary verbal (1):

—**gedoema**, *judge* (1).—Pr. (1):—*Mat.* 7.1.—Pt. (0).

### 3. With *þætte*, *that, so that* (11):

**forleta**, *dismiss* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—**I.** (1): *Mk.* (1): 15.11.

**gebruca**, *eat* (1).—Pr. (1):—**J.** (1): 6.5<sup>b</sup> (or Final?).—Pt. (0).

**gelefa**, *believe* (1).—Pr. (1):—**I.** (1): **J.** (1): 9.36.—Pt. (0).

**gesenda**, *put, let down* (1).—Pr. (1):—**J.** (1): 5.7<sup>a</sup> (or Final?).—Pt. (0).

**ofgebrengra**, *pull out* (1).—Pr. (1):—**L.** (1): 6.42<sup>b</sup> (or Final?).—Pt. (0).

**onfoa**, *receive* (1).—Pr. (1):—**I.** (1): **J.** (1): 6.7.—Pt. (0).

**wosa**, *be* (2).—Pr. (2):—*Mat.* (1): 23.26;—**J.** (1): 16.24.—Pt. (0).

**wosa**, *be*, plus a complementary verbal (3):

—**acenna**, *bear* (1).—Pr. (0).—Pt. (1):—**J.** (1): 9.2.

—**gecerra**, *turn, convert* (1).—Pr. (1):—**J.** (1): 12.40.—Pt. (0).

—**gefylla**, *fulfill, accomplish* (1).—Pr. (1):—**L.** (1): 21.22.—Pt. (0).

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## CORRIGENDA

The following examples of the Consecutive Subjunctive, by inadvertence overlooked, should be added in the respective categories (in the body of the essay and in the tables):

1. With **Swa** (1): *A.S. Hom. & L.S. II*, 201.216: *swa þær wære hundseofontig*.

2. With **Swa Swa** (1): *Ælf. on O. & N. T.* 75: *swa swa him ne derede* = no Latin.

3. With **Swa Ðæt** (1):—*Wærf.*<sup>1</sup> 100.21: *swa þæt heo mihte beon . . . befangen* = *Wærf.*<sup>2</sup> 132B: *ita ut manu capi posset*.

4. With **Swa . . . Ðæt** (2):—*Oros.*<sup>1</sup> 178.17: *swa heane hie geþohton þæt hi heora gelican wurden* = no Latin;—*Laws* 226[9]: *swa longe þæt man wiste*.







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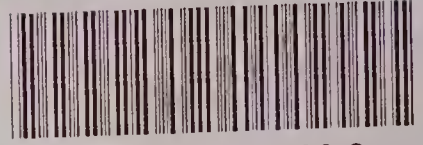
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