The life cycle of constraint rankings

Studies in early English morphophonology

RICARDO BERMÚDEZ-OTERO

All the world over and at all times there have been practical men, absorbed in ‘irreducible and stubborn facts’: all the world over and at all times there have been men of philosophic temperament who have been absorbed in the weaving of general principles. It is this union of passionate interest in detailed facts with equal devotion to abstract generalization which forms the novelty in our present society.

Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the modern world*

Appendix A

A-stem nouns in Alfred

This appendix lists the nom/acc.pl. and oblique forms of *a*-stem nouns found in *CP* and *Or*. For identifying tokens of *a*-stem nouns in these texts, I have relied on the catalogues provided by Cosijn (1886) and Dahl (1938), supplemented by my own searches; the data have in all cases been checked against the printed editions (see Note on Sources). I list each item as printed; macrons are not supplied. The data are categorized according to the sevenfold classification of *a*-stem nouns described in §7.2 and summarized in (7,8). I have relied on Brunner (1965) and Campbell (1959: specially §574.3-§574.6) for classifying each stem as etymologically mono- or disyllabic, and for identifying medial vowels that were originally long or root-initial. Nouns whose stem type cannot be determined with certainty are not included. I do not provide data from the *scip* and *word* types, which are profusely attested and do not raise descriptive problems. A model paradigm, summarizing the evidence, is provided for the neuter nouns of each class, as explained in §7.2; the outcome is tabulated in (7,9).

AppA.1 The *wæter* type

neut.nom/acc.pl.

apla[1] 'apple' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 95.4 (2×), (*C*) 94.13

wætru 'water' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 373.13-375.9 (6×)
wæter 'water' *Or*(*C*) 25.17

appla[1] 'apple' *CP*(*H*) 95.13
mægenu[2] 'power' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 87.4, 311.9, etc. (6× *H*, 5× *C*)
wæteru 'water' *CP*(*H*) 413.27

wedera 'weather' *Or*(*C*) 19.17

neut.obl.

botle 'dwelling' *CP*(*H*) 443.36
hrægles 'garment' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 87.22 (*mæsse-*)
hrægle 'garment' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 77.9, 77.15, etc., (14×, including 2× *mæsse-*); *Or*(*C*) 17.28

mægnum[2] 'power' *CP*(*C*) 82.12

setle 'seat' *CP*(*H*) 435.19-22 (3×); *Or*(*L*) 100.14 (*winter-*), 132.4
swefne[3] 'dream' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 101.18; *Or*(*L*) 73.31
wætres 'water' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 277.6

brægene 'brain' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 139.18
mægenes[2] 'power' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 27.17, 163.17, 251.1; *Or*(*L*) 46.2, 55.19
mægene[2] *CP*(*H*,*C*) 39.18, 51.16, etc. (12× *H*, 10× *C*); *Or*(*L*) 46.30, 60.29, 64.17
mægena[2] *CP*(*H*,*C*) 215.19, (*H*) 463.16, (*C*) 40.11
mægenum[2] *CP*(*H*) 83.22, 87.25, etc. (7× *H*, 4× *C*); *Or*(*L*) 37.23
legere[4] 'lying' *Or*(*C*) 17.29
setelum 'seat' *CP*(*H*) 435.21

wæteres 'water' *Or*(*C*) 18.1, *Or*(*L*) 46.16

wætre 'water' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 261.8, (*C*) 268.24 (*H -a-*), (*C*) 292.8; *Or*(*L*) 10.27, 93.20, 93.21
wætra 'water' *CP*(*H*) 469.11
wætrum 'water' *Or*(*L*) 9.20
wætere 'water' *CP*(*H*) 293.8, 421.8; *Or*(*L*) 81.4, 129.27
wættre 'water' *CP*(*H*) 309.7
wætera 'water' *CP*(*H*) 413.26; *Or*(*L*) 43.7, 43.15

masc.nom/acc.pl.

æcras 'field' *CP*(*C*) 356.17
æplas 'pupil' (of the eye) *CP*(*C*) 68.2
fuglas 'bird' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 349.21
næglas 'nail' *Or*(*L*) 85.14
æceras 'field' *CP*(*H*) 356.17
æpplas 'pupil' (of the eye) *CP*(*H*) 69.1
ðegnas 'thane' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 15.6, 131.4, etc. (7× *H*, 6× *C*); *þ- Or*(*L*) 65.31, 70.3, etc. (7×)

masc.obl.

æcra 'field' *Or*(*L*) 86.30
æples 'pupil' (of the eye) *CP*(*C*) 68.4
æples 'apple' *CP*(*H*) 309.17
fugla 'bird' *CP*(*H*) 383.29
nægla 'nail' *Or*(*L*) 85.16
ofne 'oven' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 181.12, 183.2, etc. (8×)
ofre 'bank' *Or*(*L*) 12.20
segle 'sail' *Or*(*C*) 16.23, (*L*) 92.20
ðegnes 'thane' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 35.23, 145.19; *Or*(*L*) 103.12
þegne 'thane' *Or*(*L*) 48.5, 85.6
ðegna 'thane' *CP*(*H*) 469.10; *Or*(*L*) 43.8, *þ-* 73.23, 77.24
ðegnum 'thane' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 237.12, 321.1
æcere 'field' *Or*(*L*) 50.4
æpples 'pupil' (of the eye) *CP*(*H*) 69.4
fugela 'bird' *Or*(*C*) 15.15
sticele 'goad' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 293.1

model paradigm

neut.nom/acc.sg.	*wæter*
neut.nom/acc.pl.	*wætru*, *-a*; *wæteru*, *-a*; *wæter*
neut.obl.(gen.pl.)	*wætra*; *wætera*

[1] The noun *æppel* 'apple' is usually masculine in OE: e.g. masc.acc.sg. *ānne æppel* 'one apple' *ÆCHom* I.5.163, *þone forbodenan æppel* 'the forbidden apple' *ÆCHom* I.11.158. The tokens that occur in *CP* 95.4 and 95.13, however, are unequivocally neuter:

(i) […] on ðæs sacerdes hrægle scoldon hangigan bellan & ongemang ðæm bellum reade **apla**. Hwæt elles is getacnod ðurh ða readan **apla** […]? *CP*(*H*) 95.2-4
'[…] bells were to hang on the priest's vestment and, among the bells, red apples. What else is symbolized by the red apples […]?

(ii) Sio anlicnes wæs gecueden ðæt sceolde bion on ðæs sacerdes hrægle ða readan **appla** ongemang ðam bellum . *CP*(*H*) 95.11-13
'It was said as a comparison that there were to be those red apples on the priest's vestment among the bells.'

The syntactic context, as well as the form of the accompanying determiners and adjectives, indicates that these forms are nom/acc., but the only *a*-stem nouns that can take *-a* in the nom/acc.(pl.) are the neuters; see §7.5. Unambiguously masculine tokens of *æppel* do occur in *CP*, but only with the meaning 'pupil': *æpplas* 'pupils' masc.nom.pl. *CP*(*H*) 69.1, *ðone* ***æpl*** *ðæs eagan* 'the apple of the eye' masc.acc.sg. *CP*(*H*,*C*) 69.17. In a note Sweet (1872: 480) suggests, echoing Cockayne, that in Alfred's dialect *æppel* with the meaning 'apple' was perhaps one of those nouns that changed their gender in the plural. Be that as it may, the facts require a slight modification of Cosijn's (1886: §3) figures for the incidence of neut.nom/acc.pl. *-a* in *CP*; see §7.5 (note 19).

[2] Sievers (1882[1898]: §49) classifies *mægen* 'power' as an etymologically monosyllabic stem, like *wæter*; he reconstructs a WGmc etymon "*maɣna-*". In contrast, Dahl (1938: 70) takes *mægen* to be a member of

the *werod* class: "*mægen* (< **maɣana-*)". Campbell (1959: §334, §574.4) agrees with Dahl, noting the OHG cognate *magan*. He consequently treats *mægen**u*** as a case of analogical failure of apocope; for a *werod*-type noun, the expected nom/acc.pl. would be *mægen* (Campbell 1959: §574.4). Looking beyond *CP* and *Or*, however, it is clear that *mægen* behaves synchronically in OE as a member of the *wæter* class. Observe that stems with a light root-syllable are not subject to syncope in OE: for Alfred, see §AppA.3 below; for Ælfric, see §7.7 (note 40). Nonetheless, texts from a variety of periods and dialects (crucially including Ælfric) exhibit suffixed forms of *mægen* lacking a medial vowel: for *Ps*(*A*), see §7.5 (note 25); for *Ru2*, see §AppB.1 (note 1); for Ælfric, see §AppC.3 (note 3).

If *mægen* is a member of the *wæter* class, the frequency with which it undergoes epenthesis in the Alfredian texts may appear anomalously high: there is a single token of unepenthesized *mægnum* in *CP*(*C*) 82.1. This may seem surprising, as the average probability of anaptyxis in Alfred remains relatively low (see §AppC.1 for a summary of the data). It may be, however, that /ɣ/, in this case palatalized to [j̟], is highly marked as a coda segment; if so, it may be expected to boost the rate of epenthesis (see §7.7).

[3] For this noun's membership of the *wæter* class, see Campbell (1959: §204.8).

[4] The noun *leger* is cognate with the verb *licgan* 'lie, lie dead' < WGmc **leɣ-jɑn*. For its membership of the *wæter* class, see Campbell (1959: §574.3). Campbell glosses it as 'bed', and Ælfric uses it to mean 'sickness' (see §AppC.3); both meanings arise naturally by metonymy.

AppA.2 The *tungol* type

neut.nom/acc.pl.

tungul 'star' *Or*(*C*) 28.10, (*L*) 58.11
wæpn 'weapon' *Or*(*L*) 75.26, 79.21
wæpna 'weapon' *Or*(*L*) 29.21
wæpeno[1] 'weapon' *Or*(*L*) 111.31, 112.4
wæpena[1] 'weapon' *Or*(*L*) 152.14
wolcn 'cloud' *CP*(*C*) 284.24, *wolc* (*H*) 285.24
wundor 'wonder' *Or*(*L*) 3.26, 4.26, 86.23 98.27, 100.29, 100.31; *Or*(*C*) 123.13 (*L wurdor*)
wundru 'wonder' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 103.13

neut.obl.

atres 'poison' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 281.8; *-tt- Or*(*L*) 136.4
atre 'poison' *Or*(*L*) 3.16, etc. (6×); *-tt- CP*(*H*,*C*) 365.9, *Or*(*L*) 90.5, 135.8
facne 'crime' *Or*(*C*) 22.24, (*L*) 30.32
roðrum[2] 'rudder' *CP*(*H*) 445.13
symble 'feast' *Or*(*L*) 71.19
tacne 'sign' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 37.6; *Or*(*L*) 48.8, 59.3, etc. (7×), (*C*) 26.25
tacnum 'sign' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 153.14, 157.20, (*H*) 443.6 (*tacnum & foretacnum*)
wæpna 'weapon' *Or*(*L*) 66.27, 152.13
wæpnes 'weapon' *Or*(*L*) 103.25
wæpnum 'weapon' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 83.13; *Or*(*L*) 57.21, (*C*) 17.28
wolcnes 'cloud' *CP*(*H*) 304.8, 305.1
wuldre 'glory' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 39.18
wundra 'wonder' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 27.22; *Or*(*L*) 135.6
wundrum 'wonder' *Or*(*C*) 25.16, (*L*) 87.9

masc.nom/acc.pl.

wæstmas 'fruit' *CP*(*C*) 338.13, (*H*) 405.4, *Or*(*C*) 22.32; *-ð- CP*(*H*) 339.13

masc.obl.

bosme 'bosom' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 47.3
fingre 'finger' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 357.21
fingrum 'finger' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 359.4
hleahtres 'laughter' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 231.6
leahtrum[3] 'vice' *CP*(*H*) 401.25
maðma 'treasure' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 5.10
sculdrum 'shoulder' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 53.1, 83.9, 83.21
wæstme 'fruit' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 379.8; (*C*) 330.11, 336.8 (*H -ð-*)
wæstma 'fruit' *Or*(*L*) 1.11

model paradigm

neut.nom/acc.sg.	*tungol*
neut.nom/acc.pl.	*tungol*; *tungolu*, *-a*; *tunglu*, *-a*
neut.obl.(gen.pl.)	*tungla*

[1] Trisyllabic neut.nom/acc.pl. forms such as *wǣpeno* and *wǣpena* can only derive from restructured disyllabic stems: i.e. from /wæ:pen-/ rather than form original /wæ:pn-/. See §7.5, §7.6, and §8.3 for discussion.

[2] OE *rōðor* < *WGmc *ro:θrɑ-. Cf. Old Norse *róðr* 'rowing'. Cf. also <roðr> in *Corpus Glossary* 2.18.206 (late 8th century; for this dating, see Hogg 1992: §1.8 note 1).

[3] "OE *leahtor* < **laχtra-*" (Campbell 1959: §417).

AppA.3 The *werod* type

neut.nom/acc.pl.

∅[1]

neut.obl.

gafole 'tribute' *Or*(*L*) 1.11, 15.14, etc. (5×)
gamene 'game' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 249.1
weorode 'troop' *Or*(*L*) 46.23, 60.4, 68.11
werode 'troop' *Or*(*L*) 130.9
wereda 'troop' *CP*(*H*) 467.28

masc.nom/acc.pl.

hefonas[2] 'heaven' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 99.23
munecas 'monk' *Or*(*L*) 152.13, 152.16
weleras[3] 'lip' *CP*(*H*) 91.17 (*C -o-*)

masc.obl.

hefones[2] 'heaven' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 99.8, *Or*(*L*) 123.19, 28.10; *-eo- Or*(*L*) 123.22, etc. (3×)
heofone[2] 'heaven' *Or*(*L*) 123.21
hefonum[2] 'heaven' *CP*(*C*) 32.13 (*H -fe-*), (*H*,*C*) 125.20, (*H*) 411.12, etc. (*H -fo-* 6×, *-fe-* 5×); *-eo- Or*(*L*) 49.18, 87.11, 123.20
munucum 'monk' *Or*(*L*) 137.4
welora[3] 'lip' *CP*(*C*) 238.15 (*H welena* sic), 380.11 (*H -e-*)
welerum[3] 'lip' *CP*(*H*) 469.3

model paradigm

neut.nom/acc.sg.	*werod*
neut.nom/acc.pl.	[*werod*][1]
neut.obl.(gen.pl.)	*weroda*

[1] Cosijn (1886: 13) lists no nom/acc.pl. forms of neuter nouns of the *werod* type in *CP* or *Or*. It is nonetheless safe to assume apocopated *werod* for Early West Saxon. Campbell (1959: §574.4) describes *weredu* as 'late West-Saxon'; Brunner (1965: §243.2) declares, "Formen wie *weredu* treten erst spät auf." Decisively, Ælfric's Late West Saxon dialect still has apocopated *werod* consistently (15 tokens against one of *werodu*). See §7.7 and §8.6.

[2] For *heofon* 'heaven' as an originally disyllabic stem, see Brunner (1965: §150.3, §245).

[3] For *weler* 'lip' as an originally disyllabic stem, cf. Gothic dat.pl. *wairilōm* (cited in Campbell 1959: §459.5).

AppA.4 The *hēafod* type[1]

neut.nom/acc.pl.

deofla[2] 'devil' *Or*(*L*) 57.9; *-io-* 87.28, 88.22, 88.25
heafdu 'head' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 139.12; (*C*) 104.5, 130.23
heafda 'head' *CP*(*H*) 131.23; *Or*(*L*) 40.22, 86.20
heafudu 'head' *CP*(*H*) 105.5
heafod 'head' *Or*(*C*) 40.22, *Or*(*L*) 108.11

neut.obl.

deofles[2] 'devil' *CP*(*H*) 285.25; *-io- CP*(*H*,*C*) 227.1, 359.13, (*H*) 465.14
deofle[2] 'devil' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 359.24, (*C*) 112.5; *-io- CP*(*H*,*C*) 227.21, 329.7, (*H*) 465.2, (*C*) 326.24
deofla[2] 'devil' *Or*(*L*) 144.1
deoflum[2] 'devil' *CP*(*C*) 368.3; *-io- CP*(*H*) 393.14
unryhthæmdes[3] 'fornication' *CP*(*C*) 312.9, (*H*) 397.23, 401.28, 457.24
(*un*)*ryhthæmde*[3] '(un)lawful sex' *CP*(*C*) 98.17, (*H*) 453.31, 457.17
heafde 'head' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 113.10, 139.17, etc. (5× *H*, 3× *C*); *Or*(*L*) 107.29
heafdum 'head' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 101.16
diofules[2] 'devil' *CP*(*C*) 284.25
diofule[2] 'devil' *CP*(*H*) 113.4
diobule[2] 'devil' *CP*(*H*) 327.24
diofulum[2] 'devil' *CP*(*H*) 369.3
unryhthæmedes[3] 'fornication' *CP*(*H*) 313.9
(*un*)*ryhthæmede*[3] '(un)lawful sex' *CP*(*H*) 99.17, 397.11

masc.nom/acc.pl.

englas[4] 'angel' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 101.20, 249.18, (*H*) 405.33
cawelas[5] 'basket' *Or*(*L*) 100.35

masc.obl.

bitles 'mallet' *CP*(*C*) 252.17, *-ie-* (*H*) 253.17
bridle[6] 'bridle' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 293.2
dryhtne 'lord' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 189.23, etc. (3×); (*H*) 301.22
dryhtnes 'lord' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 9.9, 213.15, etc. (6× *H*, 4× *C*); *Or*(*L*) 35.25
eðles 'home' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 159.23, 336.6, (*H*) 433.10
eðle 'home' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 169.10, 249.15; *oeþle Or*(*L*) 131.16, *oeðle Or*(*L*) 131.20
engles[4] 'angel' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 301.18, 359.1, 379.16
engle[4] 'angel' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 357.16, (*H*) 399.22
engla[4] 'angel' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 111.23, 261.12, (*H*) 385.14
englum[4] 'angel' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 329.7

model paradigm

neut.nom/acc.sg.	*hēafod*
neut.nom/acc.pl.	*hēafdu*, *-a*; *hēafodu*, *-a*[7]
neut.obl.(gen.pl.)	*hēafda*

[1] I exclude nouns such as *bismer* 'disgrace', whose suffixed forms cannot be straightforwardly parsed into two well-formed syllables when syncopated. Spellings suggesting the application of syncope do occur: e.g. <bismre> *Or*(*L*) 66.25, 83.1, etc. (5×); <bismrum> *Or*(*L*) 87.29, 137.20. Cf. <bismere> *CP*(*H*,*C*) 61.10, 227.9, 279.9, *Or*(*L*) 38.21, 66.12, etc. (5× *Or*); <bismeres> *CP*(*H*,*C*) 73.12, 207.12, *Or*(*L*) 88.17. If a spelling such as <bismrum> does indeed represent surface [bismrum], it is not clear how this form should be syllabified.

[2] *Dēofol* occurs in OE in both masculine and neuter forms: e.g. 'the cunning devil' *se lytega dīoful* masc.nom.sg. *CP*(*H*,*C*) 225.24, *ðæt lytige dīoful* neut.nom.sg. *CP*(*H*) 415.10; see also §AppB.4 (note 1). The stem is etymologically disyllabic, with a short unstressed medial vowel: < Gmc *diuβul-; cf. Lat *diabolus*, Gk *διάβολος* (see Campbell 1959: §492, §574.4). The four unsyncopated oblique forms found in *CP* are an oddity. In most OE texts the noun displays syncope consistently in all suffixed surface forms, except (as expected) in the neut.nom/acc.pl.; see §7.6. *Ru2*, for example, contains one instance of neut.nom.pl. *dīow**u**lo*, but elsewhere has syncopated *dīowles* (1×), *dīowle* (1×), *dīofle* (1×), *dīowlas* (8×), *dīowlo* (2×), *dīowla* (1× acc.pl., 4× gen.pl.), *dīowlum* (4×); see §AppB.4. Similarly, there are no unsyncopated tokens in *ÆCHom* or *ÆHom*. In Æthelwold, however, one finds unsyncopated *dēof**o**les BenR* 53.83.8, *dēof**o**le BenR*(*F*) 54.87.18, alongside *dēofles BenR* 58.103.2, *dēofle BenR* 43.68.22, *BenR*(*A*) 54.87.18.

[3] Campbell (1959: §574.4) lists *hǣmed* as a member of the *hēafod* class. This classification seems valid for *Ru2*, which contains a single token of the noun: *hǣmdo JnGl*(*Ru*) 2.1. In Ælfric, however, *hǣmed* seems to have been transferred into the *nīeten* class, for syncope is consistently absent: e.g. *hǣm**e**des ÆCHom* II.6.123; *hǣm**e**de ÆCHom* I.21.214, I.21.217, etc. (7×), *ÆHom* 1.426, 19.45, etc. (4×).

[4] < Gmc *aŋgil-; cf. Lat *angelus*, Gk *ἄγγελος* (see Campbell 1959: §492, §574.4).

[5] The absence of syncope in this item is unexpected. The noun's etymon is Lat *căuellum*. The first vowel is assumed to have lengthened in OE ("*cāwel*", Campbell 1959: §539) through a rather complex set of changes that affected Lat *-au-* before liquids in relative late loans (Campbell 1959: §509); the evidence, however, does not seem as robust as one might wish, and involves inferences from later developments in ME (Campbell 1959: §509 note 2). *Li* displays the expected disyllabic nom/acc.pl. forms: *cēawlas MtGl*(*Li*) 14.20, *cēaulas MkGl*(*Li*) 6.43. In these forms, however, Lat *-au-* has undergone the same developments as Gmc *-au- (> OE -æːa-), as is characteristic of relatively early Lat loans (Campbell 1959: §508). According to the *OED*, *cawel* is attested in Modern Cornish dialects with the meaning 'creel'; the *OED* gives the pronunciation /kɔːl/, which does not help to elucidate the situation in OE.

[6] The medial syllable was originally closed (*brig.del.se*), but the *-s-* of the suffix *-els-* has been lost: cf. acc.sg. *brīdels CP*(*H*) 427.31, but acc.sg. *brīdel CP*(*H*) 467.2 (see Campbell 1959: §267).

[7] In the light of the evidence adduced in §7.2 (note 6), I set apocopated nom/acc.pl. *hēafod* aside as arising through Mercian interference. Observe that this form occurs only twice in Alfred: *Or*(*C*) 40.22 (where, significantly, the more authoritative *L* has *hēafda*; see Note on Sources) and *Or*(*L*) 108.11; there are no tokens at all in *CP*. The norm for Alfred is clearly the same as for Ælfric, i.e. *hēafdu*(*-a*): cf. *dēofla* (1×), *dīofla* (3×), *hēafda* (3×), *hēafdu* (3×). Unlike Ælfric, however, Alfred still retains traces of an obsolescent variant without vowel deletion, which reflects the original proto-OE pattern (§7.6). Tokens of this variant include one instance of *hēafudu* in *CP*(*H*) 105.5, as well as trisyllabic realizations of items historically transferred from the *tungol* to the *hēafod* class: *wēpeno* (2×), *wēpena* (1×); see §7.5, §7.6, §8.3, and §AppA.2.

AppA.5 The *nīeten* type

neut.nom/acc.pl.

mædena[1] 'maiden' *Or*(*C*) 26.5
nietenu[1] 'animal' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 109.7ff., 155.15ff., etc. (*C* 12×; *H* 11×, *nit-* 1×); *Or*(*L*) 123.27, (*C*) *nyt-* 25.22, 25.31, 26.19
nieten[1,2] 'animal' *Or*(*L*) 85.26

neut.obl.

mægdena[1] 'maiden' *Or*(*L*) 2.10
mædene[1] 'maiden' *CP*(*H*) 415.18
nietena[1] 'animal' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 153.22, 155.14, 349.25; *Or*(*L*) 119.20, (*C*) *nyt-* 22.3
nitenum[1] 'animal' *CP*(*H*) 157.7, (*C*) *-ie-*
tyncenum[1,3] 'small cask' *Or*(*L*) 43.9
ðeowutes[4] 'slavery' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 265.5
ðeowote[4] 'slavery' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 131.14; *Or*(*L*) *þ-* 70.25
weobude[5] 'altar' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 217.21, 219.1, etc. (4×); *wiof-* *CP*(*H*,*C*) 349.9, (*C*) 349.11 (*H weof-*)

masc.nom/acc.pl.

∅[6]

masc.obl.

folgoðes[7] 'rule' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 47.23, 55.5, 55.21
folgoðe[7] 'rule' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 53.14, 57.17, etc. (6×)
fultumes[8] 'help' *CP*(*H*) 305.3; *Or*(*L*) 54.13, 55.20, etc. (7×)
fultume[8] 'help' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 103.24, (*H*) 389.6, *Or*(*C*) 23.22, (*L*) 31.8, 44.8, etc. (*Or* 75×); *-tom-* *CP*(*H*,*C*) 53.5, 161.7, etc. (4× *H*, 3× *C*), *Or*(*L*) 44.9, 47.2, 90.12
huntoðe[7] 'hunting' *Or*(*L*) 14.3
innoðes[7] 'innards' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 71.9
innoðe[7] 'innards' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 71.6
innoða[7] 'innards' *CP*(*H*,*C*) 73.9

model paradigm

neut.nom/acc.sg.	*nīeten*
neut.nom/acc.pl.	*nīetenu*, *-a*
neut.obl.(gen.pl.)	*nīetena*

[1] These forms contain the derivational suffix *-iːn-, and indeed Cosijn (1886: 11) lists them separately under the heading '*-îno*-stämme'; see Campbell (1959: §574.6), Brunner (1965: §162), Hutton (1998b: 869). For Gmc *nɑutiːn- as the etymon of *nīeten*, see also Bülbring (1902: §556 Anm.) and Dahl (1938: 64-5, 70). For *mæ*(*g*)*den*, cf. also OHG *magatīn* (Bülbring 1902: §438).

[2] Pl. according to Dahl (1938: 67), but possibly sg.

[3] Hapax legomenon. Usually taken to be a diminutive with double suffix (Campbell 1959: §574.6; Bately 1980: 234).

[4] As Campbell (1959: §579.2) observes, the suffix *-ot-* alternates with *-ett-* (< Gmc *-it-jɑ-; Dahl 1938: 76), where the medial syllable is also short-vowelled but closed: e.g. *līgette* 'lightning' dat.sg. *Or*(*L*) 142.3 (see §AppB.5 note 3).

[5] < Gmc *wiːx-βiuð- or * wiːx-βeð-. Cf *Ps*(*A*) *wībed* e.g. 25.6; *Li wīgbed* e.g. *MtGl*(*Li*) 5.23; Owun *wībedes* *LkGl*(*Ru*) 1.11, *wībide* *LkGl*(*Ru*) 11.51. See Campbell (1959: §229, §382, §461), Brunner (1965: §43 Anm. 4).

[6] Cosijn (1886: §2) lists no examples.

[7] These forms contain the derivational suffix *-oːθ-; see Cosijn (1883: 128, 137-8), Campbell (1959: §331.6), Hutton (1998a: 128, 1998b: 870). On *innoð*, however, see Campbell (1959: §336).

[8] < *ful-tēam-*; cf. *Erfurt Glossary* 1.360, 8th century. See Campbell (1959: §86, §88, §356), Brunner (1965: §44 Anm. 4).