

# **The life cycle of constraint rankings**

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*Studies in early English morphophonology*

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## Appendix C

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### Anaptyxis in Old English nouns

This appendix provides evidence of the application of anaptyxis in OE (§7.7). It comprises tokens of *a*-stem nouns of the *wæter* type, both masculine and neuter, surfacing with nonzero inflectional endings (see §7.2 and the introduction to Appendix A). Nouns are classified by stem-final cluster: C+/r/, C+/l/, or C+nasal (where C is a consonant less sonorous than the following segment). The following dialects are covered (see Note on Sources):

- (i) Alfred (*CP, Or*): West Saxon towards the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (c. 889-899);
- (ii) Æthelwold (*BenR*): West Saxon around the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (c. 940-960);
- (iii) Ælfric (*ÆCHom, ÆHom*): West Saxon towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (c. 990-995);
- (iv) Owun (*Ru2*): South Northumbrian in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

At the end of each section I provide a summary of the data from the corresponding dialect, showing the number of epenthesized forms out of the total number of tokens of each consonant cluster. For the sake of distinctness, anaptyctic vowels are highlighted in boldface.

#### AppC.1 Alfred (*CP, Or*)<sup>1</sup>

##### C+/r/

<i>wæter</i> ‘water’	<i>wætres</i> (1×); <i>wæteres</i> (2×); <i>wætre</i> (6×); <i>wætere</i> (4×); <i>wættre</i> (1×); <i>wætru</i> (6×); <i>wæteru</i> (1×); <i>wætra</i> (1×); <i>wætera</i> (3×); <i>wætrum</i> (1×)
<i>weder</i> ‘weather’	<i>wedera</i> (1×)
<i>æcer</i> ‘field’	<i>æcere</i> (1×); <i>æcras</i> (1×); <i>æceras</i> (1×); <i>æcra</i> (1×)
<i>leger</i> ‘lying’	<i>legere</i> (1×)
<i>ofor</i> ‘bank’	<i>ofre</i> (1×)

##### C+/l/

<i>æppel</i> ‘pupil’ (eye)	<i>æples</i> (1×); <i>æpples</i> (1×); <i>æplas</i> (1×); <i>æpplas</i> (1×);
<i>appel</i> ‘apple’	<i>æples</i> (1×); <i>apla</i> (3×); <i>appla</i> (1×)
<i>botl</i> ‘dwelling’	<i>botle</i> (1×)
<i>setl</i> ‘seat’	<i>setle</i> (5×); <i>setelum</i> (1×)
<i>sticel</i> ‘goad’	<i>sticele</i> (1×)
<i>fugel</i> ‘bird’	<i>fuglas</i> (1×); <i>fugla</i> (1×); <i>fugela</i> (1×)
<i>hrægl</i> ‘garment’	<i>hrægles</i> (1×); <i>hrægle</i> (15×)
<i>nægel</i> ‘nail’	<i>næglas</i> (1×); <i>nægla</i> (1×)
<i>segel</i> ‘sail’	<i>segle</i> (2×)

## C+nasal

<i>brægen</i> ‘brain’	<i>brægene</i> (1×)
<i>mægen</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘power’	<i>mægenes</i> (5×); <i>mægene</i> (15×); <i>mægenu</i> (6×); <i>mægena</i> (3×); <i>mægnum</i> (1×); <i>mægenum</i> (8×)
<i>þegn</i> ‘thane’	<i>ðegnes</i> (3×); <i>þegne</i> (1×); <i>ðegnas~þegnas</i> (14×); <i>ðegna~þegna</i> (4×); <i>ðegnum</i> (2×)
<i>ofen</i> ‘oven’	<i>ofne</i> (8×)
<i>swefne</i> ‘dream’	<i>swefne</i> (2×)

## Summary

	C+r		C+l		C+nasal
			pl	0/9	
tr	10/26 (38%)		tl	1/7	
dr	1/1				
kr	2/4		kl	1/1	
ȝr	1/1		ȝl	1/23 (4%)	ȝn 38/63 (60%)
fr	0/1				fn 0/10

<sup>1</sup> See §AppA.1 for textual references. If *CP(H)* and *CP(C)* agree with each other regarding the presence or absence of anaptyxis in a given wordform, the form counts as a single token; if the manuscripts disagree, each variant counts as a different token.

<sup>2</sup> See §AppA.1 (note 2).

AppC.2 Æthelwold (*BenR*)

## C+/r/

<i>wæter</i> ‘water’	<i>wetere</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>BenRApp</i> 134.17
<i>æcer</i> ‘field’	<i>æcere</i> <i>BenR</i> 7.31.6, 41.65.19
<i>þunor</i> ‘thunder’	<i>þunresdæg</i> ‘Thursday’ <i>BenR</i> 13.38.7

## C+/l/

<i>æppel</i> ‘apple’	<i>æppla</i> <i>BenR</i> 39.63.13
<i>setl</i> ‘seat’	<i>setle</i> <i>BenR</i> 2.12.19, 2.13.1, 63.117.4
<i>hrægel</i> ‘garment’	<i>hrægle</i> <i>BenR</i> 55.89.11
<i>sufel</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘garnish’	<i>sufle</i> <i>BenR</i> 39.63.14

## C+nasal

<i>mægen</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘virtue’	<i>mægenes</i> <i>BenRApp</i> 138.17; <i>mægene</i> <i>BenR</i> 4.16.16, 6.21.14; <i>mægena</i> <i>BenR</i> Prol.3.5, Prol.5.18, 7.32.4, 64.121.21, 67.128.6, <i>BenRApp</i> 139.8
<i>stefn</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘voice’	<i>stefne</i> <i>BenR</i> Prol.2.9, 5.20.4, 7.26.6, 7.30.10, 7.30.15, 13.38.16, 38.62.17, 52.81.11
<i>swefen</i> ‘dream’	<i>swefne</i> <i>BenR</i> 7.23.5

## Summary

	C+r	C+l	C+nasal
		pl	0/1
tr	1/1	tl	0/3
kr	2/2		
		yl	0/1
		fl	0/1
		yn	9/9
		fn	0/9
nr	0/1		

<sup>1</sup> This form should be regarded with suspicion. West Saxon normally has *wæt(e)r-* (see §AppA.1 and §AppC.3). The variant *wet(e)r-* is characteristic of Mercian (Campbell 1959: §164-§169) and Kentish (Campbell 1959: §288-§292).

<sup>2</sup> An early attestation of this noun is the gen.pl. form *suf̄la* in a Canterbury charter of 805-810 (London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii.79); see Whitelock (1970: 33a.34). The form indicates that *sufel* belongs in the *wæter* class.

<sup>3</sup> In *BenR* there is no direct evidence that *mægen* belongs synchronically in the *wæter* class, but cf. §AppA.1 (note 2) and references therein. Schröer (1885-8[1964]) prints *mæгна* at *BenR* 73.133.17, but the passage is an editorial reconstruction, as both *A* and *O* give corrupt readings at that point; *F* has *mægena*.

<sup>4</sup> *Stefn* is a feminine *ō*-stem noun (Campbell 1959: §589.4). It is included here to supplement the evidence of *a*-stems.

AppC.3 Ælfric (*ÆCHom*, *ÆHom*)

## C+/r/

<i>wæter</i> ‘water’	<i>wæteres</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.21.41, I.29.177, etc. (6× <i>ÆCHom</i> ), <i>ÆHom</i> 2.130, 12.103, etc. (7× <i>ÆHom</i> ); <i>wætere</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.1.107, I.4.11, etc. (30× <i>ÆCHom</i> ), <i>ÆHom</i> 1.396, 2.21, etc. (19× <i>ÆHom</i> ); <i>wætera</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.12.107; <i>wæterum</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.15.113, <i>ÆHom</i> 12.101
<i>weder</i> ‘weather’	<i>unwedre</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.10.52
<i>æcer</i> ‘field’	<i>æcere</i> <i>ÆHom</i> 18.28, 18.35, etc. (8×), <i>ÆCHom</i> I.37.210 ; <i>æcre</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.6.198 (1×, doubtful); <i>æceras</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.7.78, II.7.79, <i>ÆHom</i> 21.241; <i>æcerum</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.12.60
<i>leger</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘sickness’	<i>legeres</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.11.559, <i>ÆHom</i> 2.147; <i>legere</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.6.180, II.12.377, II.34.296
<i>ofer</i> ‘shore’	<i>ófre</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.10.107, <i>ofre</i> II.10.209
<i>weder</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘wether’	<i>wedera</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.40.44
<i>þunor</i> ‘thunder’	<i>þunore</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.12.230, <i>ÆHom</i> 20.32; <i>ðunres</i> ( <i>dæg</i> ) ‘Thursday’ II.1426, <i>þunresdæg</i> I.14.158

## C+/l/

<i>botl</i> ‘dwelling’	<i>botles</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.10.174; <i>botle</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.29.224, I.30.163, etc. (6×)
<i>setl</i> ‘seat’	(frequently in compounding) <i>setles</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.36.13, II.9.81, etc. (4×); <i>setle</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.13.190, II.11.77, etc. (37×), <i>ÆHom</i> 23.86; <i>settle</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.20.227, I.27.129, I.30.96; <i>setlum</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.27.128, I.27.153, etc. (4×)
<i>fugel</i> ‘bird’	<i>fugeles</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.3.3; <i>fugele</i> <i>ÆHom</i> 20.87, <i>fugole</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.AppB2.29; <i>fugelas</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.1.80, I.9.96, etc. (29× <i>ÆCHom</i> ), <i>ÆHom</i> 1.210; <i>fugela</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.10.194, II.40.45; <i>fugelum</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> I.1.108, II.40.51, <i>ÆHom</i> 2.236
<i>hagol</i> ‘hail’	<i>hagole</i> <i>ÆCHom</i> II.21.37

*hrægel* ‘clothing’ *hræglum* *ÆCHom* II.31.71  
*nægel* ‘nail’ *næglas* *ÆCHom* I.16.20, II.18.50, II.28.117, *næiglas* *ÆCHom* I.9.172; *næglum* *ÆCHom* I.14.183, I.30.139, *ÆHom* 11.36, *næiglum* *ÆCHom* I.15.53; *nægelum* *ÆCHom* II.14.241, II.14.290, *ÆHom* 11a.138

## C+nasal

*mægen*<sup>3</sup> ‘power’ *mæignes* *ÆCHom* I.30.146; *mægne* *ÆCHom* II.9.96; *mægene* *ÆCHom* II.28.108; *mægnu* *ÆCHom* II.6.50, II.8.81; *mægenu* *ÆCHom* II.16.205, II.25.58; *mægna* *ÆCHom* I.8.205, II.37.124, etc. (5× *ÆCHom*), *mæigna* *ÆCHom* I.18.113; *mægena* *ÆCHom* II.40.87; *mægnum* *ÆCHom* I.7.257, I.15.119, etc. (10× *ÆCHom*), *ÆHom* 2.191, 21.642, *mæignum* *ÆCHom* II.4.43

*þegen*<sup>4</sup> ‘thane’ *þegenes* *ÆCHom* I.praef.47, I.8.116, etc. (5×), *ðegenes* *ÆCHom* II.11.307, II.38.244; *þeigne* *ÆHom* 23.53; *ðegene* *ÆCHom* I.8.142, II.14.339, II.21.143; *þegnas* *ÆCHom* I.11.200, I.24.127, etc. (4× *ÆCHom*), *ÆHom* 20.221, 21.353, *ðegnas* *ÆCHom* II.45.164, *ðeignas* *ÆCHom* I.8.122; *þegenas* *ÆCHom* II.14.344, *ðegenas* *ÆCHom* I.praef.92, I.AppB1.4, etc. (6× *ÆCHom*), *ÆHom* 22.46; *þegna* *ÆCHom* I.30.245, *ÆHom* 8.151, 26.85; *þegena* *ÆCHom* I.1.267, *ÆHom* 20.407, 22.30, *ðegena* *ÆCHom* II.14.1; *þegnum* *ÆCHom* I.35.15, I.35.115, *ÆHom* 21.669, 21.673, *ðegnum* *ÆCHom* II.11.239, II.14.38, etc. (5×); *þegenum* *ÆCHom* I.35.175, *ÆHom* 13.188, 22.45, *ðegenum* *ÆCHom* II.33.50

*ofen* ‘oven’ *ofne* *ÆCHom* I.37.192, II.1.229, *ófne* *ÆCHom* II.1.247, *ÆHom* 21.294 (19× in total); *ofene* *ÆCHom* I.36.87

*swefen* ‘dream’ *swefne* *ÆCHom* I.5.30, II.11.309, etc. (9× *ÆCHom*); *swefene* *ÆCHom* I.34.85, II.11.314, II.11.324; *swefnum* *ÆCHom* I.5.33, I.5.168, II.29.22

*fæþm* ‘fathom’ *fæðma* *ÆCHom* I.1.185-186, II.37.196, II.40.55-57, *ÆHom* 21.532 (10× in total)

## Summary

	C+r	C+l	C+nasal	
tr	65/65 (100%)	tl	0/56 (0%)	
dr	0/1			
kr	13/14 (93%)			
yr	5/5 (100%)	yl	42/51 (82%)	
fr	0/2		yn	30/74 (41%)
θr	1/1		fn	1/20 (5%)
nr	2/4		θm	0/10

<sup>1</sup> See §AppA.1 (note 4).

<sup>2</sup> For evidence that this noun belongs in the *wæter* class, take for example an early form such as *wedras*, found in a Canterbury charter of the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century (London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii.52); see Whitelock (1970: 33c.5). Cf. also Gothic *wipr-us* ‘lamb’ masc. *u*-stem (see e.g. Wright 1924: §201-§203, specially §203).

<sup>3</sup> The evidence of disyllabic suffixed forms such as *mæignes* (1×), *mægne* (1×), *mægnu* (2×), *mæ(i)gna* (6×), and *mæ(i)gnum* (13×) confirms that, for Ælfric, *mægen* is a member of the *wæter* class. See §AppA.1 (note 2) and references therein.

<sup>4</sup> In this noun the medial *-g-* is sometimes subject to vocalization: e.g. *þén* *ÆHom* 25a.4, 25a.7; *þēnas* *ÆHom* 17.152, 19.12; *þēnum* *ÆHom* 16.151. The numerous examples of nom/acc.sg. *þegen*, without vocalization, include *ÆCHom* I.22.88, I.27.239, *ÆHom* 19.140, 22.42. According to Godden (2000: 776 sub voce *þen*), Ælfric drew a distinction between *þegen* ‘person of high standing, officer of an emperor or king’ and *þēn* ‘servant’.

AppC.4 Owun (Ru2)<sup>1</sup>

## C+/r/

<i>wæter</i> ‘water’	<i>wætres</i> (6×); <i>wætre</i> (7×); <i>wætere</i> (1×); <i>wættre</i> (1×)
<i>sweger</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘mother -in-law’	<i>swegre</i> <i>LkGl(Ru)</i> 12.53
<i>feðer</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘feather’	<i>feðrum</i> <i>LkGl(Ru)</i> 13.34
<i>ðunor</i> ‘thunder’	<i>ðvnres</i> <i>MkGl(Ru)</i> 3.17

## C+/l/

<i>sedl</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘seat’	<i>sedle</i> (3×); <i>sedlo</i> (1×); <i>seatlas</i> (2×), <i>seotlas</i> (1×); <i>sedla</i> (1×); <i>seotlum</i> (1×)
<i>hrægl</i> ‘garment’	<i>hrægle</i> (3×); <i>hræglum</i> (2×)
<i>fugol</i> ‘bird’	<i>fuglas</i> <i>MkGl(Ru)</i> 4.32
<i>yfel</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘evil’	<i>yfles</i> (1×); <i>yfle</i> (4×); <i>yflum</i> (1×)

## C+nasal

<i>mægen</i> <sup>5</sup> ‘power’	<i>mægnas</i> (1×); <i>mægne</i> (3×)
<i>ðegn</i> ‘thane’	<i>ðegne</i> <i>LkGl(Ru)</i> 14.23, <i>JnGl(Ru)</i> 19.27, etc. (4×); <i>ðegnas</i> <i>MkGl(Ru)</i> 2.18, 2.23, etc. (77×), <i>ðegnna</i> <i>JnGl(Ru)</i> 4.2; <i>ðegna</i> <i>JnGl(Ru)</i> 13.15, 18.22, etc. (4×); <i>ðegnum</i> <i>MkGl(Ru)</i> 2.16, 3.6, etc. (50×)
<i>hræfn</i> ‘raven’	<i>hræfnas</i> <i>LkGl(Ru)</i> 12.24
<i>stefn</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘voice’	<i>stefne</i> <i>MkGl(Ru)</i> 5.7, 15.34, etc. (21×); <i>stefnum</i> <i>LkGl(Ru)</i> 23.23 (2×)
<i>swefn</i> ‘dream’	<i>swefnes</i> <i>JnGl(Ru)</i> 11.13
<i>fæðm</i> ‘fathom’	<i>fæðme</i> <i>JnGl(Ru)</i> 1.18

## Summary

	C+r	C+l	C+nasal
tr	1/15 (7%)	dl 0/9	
yr	0/1	yl 0/5 fl 0/1	yn 0/140 fn 0/24
θr	0/1		θm 0/1
nr	0/1		

<sup>1</sup> References are provided only for masculine (and feminine *ō*-stem) nouns; for the neuters, see §AppB.1.

<sup>2</sup> This is a feminine *ō*-stem noun (Campbell 1959: §589.4). It is included here to supplement the evidence of *a*-stems.

<sup>3</sup> See §AppB.1 (notes 2 and 5).

<sup>4</sup> See §AppB.1 (note 3).

<sup>5</sup> See §AppB.1 (note 1).