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# The Language of Lazamon's *Brut* (3)

— Verbs —

Haruo IWASAKI

1. Preserving the format of my previous articles, comparisons will be made between the text preserved in Cotton Caligula A IX and that preserved in Cotton Otho C XIII. They will be hereafter referred to as the C-text and the O-text respectively. The C-text will be further divided into two parts: C<sup>1</sup> (lines 1-1441), written by the first scribe, and C<sup>2</sup> (lines 1487-2927), written by the second scribe. The corresponding portions of the O-text will be referred to as O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> respectively. The following observations will be valid for only about the first 3000 lines under investigation. It is hoped, however, that the observations hold true for all of the text and that they will give some idea of the language used in Lazamon's *Brut*.

The phenomena are not set out according to a grammatical analysis. Only those features which I consider essential and interesting will be given below.

## Some Morphological Notes

2. The vowel change of strong verbs is fairly well preserved in both texts. A few examples from each class will suffice to show that the conjugation has not been greatly transformed from that of Old English.

Class 1. C<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *arisen* [626]—Prt. Sg. *aros* [204], *aræs* [1022,

- 1272]—Prt. Pl. *arisen* [993]
- C<sup>2</sup>: Prt. Sg. *igrap* [2292]—Prt. Pl. *igripen* [2275]
- O<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *driuen* [1174], *driue* [475]—Prt. Sg. *draf* [157, 804], *drof* [989]—Prt. Pl. *driuen* [838], *driue* [839]
- O<sup>2</sup>: Prt. Sg. *igrop* [2292]—Prt. Pl. *grepe* [2275]
- Class 2. C<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *feon* [791, 943, 1434]—Prt. Sg. *fleh* [278, 685], *fleih* [808], *flei* [805]—Prt. Pl. *fluzen* [737, 924, 1087], *fluwen* [409], *flowen* [411]
- C<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *buzen* [2686], *buwen* [1852, 2441]—Prt. Sg. *bæh* [2369, 2479, 2758], *beh* [2776]—Prt. Pl. *bizen* [2834], *buzen* [2898], *buze* [2772]
- O<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *sceote* [159]—Prt. Sg. *set* [129, 594]—Prt. Pl. *soten* [940]
- O<sup>2</sup>: Prt. Sg. *fleh* [1921, 1923, 2268, 2598]—Prt. Pl. *flozen* [2775], *floze* [1946]
- Class 3. C<sup>1</sup>: Prt. Sg. *adronk* [1103]—Prt. Pl. *adronken* [1246]—P. P. *adrunken* [1112, 1249]
- C<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *fehten* [1921, 2361, 2519, 2641, 2646, 2757, 2914, 2919], *fæhten* [2091, 2214], *feahten* [2032, 2759], *fihten* [2875], *fuhten* [1965], *fahten* [2808]—Prt. Sg. *faht* [2367, 2885], *fæht* [2172], *fahte* [2824]—Prt. Pl. *fehten* [2836, 2881], *feohten* [1853, 2366], *fuhten* [1878, 2076], *feudten* [2581]
- O<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *finde* [618]—Prt. Sg. *funde* [11, 166, 663, 809, 865, 902, 1012, 1299], *fond* [1295]—Prt. Pl. *funden* [679, 878, 885], *funde* [141, 155, 569, 571, 654, 655, 993, 1115], *ifunde* [644]—P. P. *ifunde* [543]
- O<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *biwinne* [2565, 2572, 2892]—Prt. Sg. *biwan* [1854]—Prt. Pl. *biwonne* [1888]—P. P. *biwonne* [2605]
- Class 4. C<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *breken* [354]—Prt. Sg. *brac* [781, 952], *breac* [1312]—Prt. Pl. *brecon* [1442]
- C<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *binimen* [1845, 1996, 2416]—Prt. Sg. *binom* [1885, 2474]—Prt. Pl. *binomen* [1699]—P. P. *binu-*

*men* [2009], *binomen* [1757]

O<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *bere* [251]—Prt. Sg. *bar* [592, 914]—P. P. *ibore* [150, 194, 199, 880], *hi-bore* [148]

O<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *nime* [1509, 1790]—Prt. Sg. *nam* [1515, 1610, 1744, 1806, 1885, 2015, 2276, 2329, 2394, 2465, 2468, 2491, 2677], *nom* [2012, 2085, 2212, 2235, 2477, 2499]—Prt. Pl. *nomen* [1749, 1910, 1928, 2101, 2108, 2226, 2227, 2301, 2732, 2786], *nemen* [1623, 1881, 2601, 2623, 2645, 2822], *nome* [2814], *neomen* [2560]—P. P. *inome* [2607, 2685]

Class 5. C<sup>1</sup>: Prt. Sg. *quað* [350, 466], *quad* [352], *queð* [770], *iqueð* [1134]—Prt. Pl. *queðen* [449]—P. P. *iqueðene* [505]

C<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *liggen* [2574, 2927]—Prt. Sg. *læi* [1799, 1858, 1937, 1998, 2831], *lai* [1997]—Prt. Pl. *leien* [1641, 2101, 2606], *laien* [2232]

O<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *isee* [1435]—Prt. Sg. *iseh* [807, 1116], *iseþ* [677, 706], *seh* [282], *sez* [161], *seeh* [1009], *seze* [278]—Prt. Pl. *sezzen* [974]

O<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *speken* [1789, 1809], *speke* [1487]—Prt. Sg. *spac* [1499, 1537, 1575, 1660, 1764, 2207, 2539, 2708, 2799]—Prt. Pl. *speken* [1622, 1630, 2045, 2608, 2705, 2755, 2901], *speke* [1905, 2642, 2911], *ispeke* [2023]—P. P. *speke* [1698], *ispeke* [1566]

Class 6. C<sup>1</sup>: Prt. Sg. *droh* [48, 730, 1330]—Prt. Pl. *drozen* [411], *drowen* [641, 678]—P. P. *idrowen* [163]

C<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *slæn* [1972, 2106, 2348, 2707, 2921], *slen* [2095, 2096]—Prt. Sg. *sloh* [1925, 1936, 1994, 2039, 2276]—Prt. Pl. *slozen* [1881, 1910, 2115, 2601], *slowen* [1926, 2108, 2596], *slowe* [2052, 2626]—P. P. *islæzene* [2785]

O<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *drawe* [671]—Prt. Sg. *droh* [1439], *drop* [1330], —Prt. Pl. *drowen* [678, 919], *idrowen* [411], *drowe* [641]

O<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *swerie* [2694, 2926]—Prt. Sg. *swor* [1721]—

Prt. Pl. *sworen* [2046, 2573, 2764], *swore* [2576, 2856]

Class 7. C<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *fallen* [278, 289, 403]—Prt. Sg. *feol* [90, 769, 1443, 1446]—Prt. Pl. *feollen* [291, 316, 409, 767, 873, 1082]

C<sup>2</sup>: Inf. *halden* [1540, 1966, 2063, 2144, 2169, 2339, 2440, 2441, 2456, 2575, 2609, 2712], *halde* [2709]—Prt. Sg. *heold* [1861, 1978, 2030, 2147, 2470], *huld* [1953, 2379, 2397, 2382], *hold* [1584], *held* [1707]—Prt. Pl. *heolden* [1891], 2149, 2399, 2576], *halden* [2275]

O<sup>1</sup>: Inf. *biholde* [1435]—Prt. Sg. *biheold* [614, 825, 1005, 1006, 1006, 1008, 1116], *biheolde* [244, 784, 795, 1003, 1004], *bieolde* [24], *biheld* [1007], *bihelde* [25]—Prt. Pl. *biheolde* [935]

O<sup>2</sup>: Prt. Sg. *leop* [2819]—Prt. Pl. *leopen* [2676]

3. As may be expected, phonological changes or analogical factors have helped to cause some of the principal parts of a verb to coalesce, in some cases both in spelling and pronunciation and in others only in spelling.

(1) Inf. and Prt. Pl.

C<sup>1</sup>: *arisen, bizeten, comen, speken.*

C<sup>2</sup>: *buzen, comen, cumen, fehten, fuhten, liðe, speken, walden, iwurðen.*

O<sup>1</sup>: *bizete, bizeten, come, comen, driue, driuen, onfenge, speke.*

O<sup>2</sup>: *breke, come, comen, ride, speken.*

(2) Prt. Pl. and P. P.

C<sup>1</sup>: *biwonnen, biwunnen, overcomen.*

C<sup>2</sup>: *biwunnen, binomen.*

O<sup>1</sup>: *adronke, biwonne, ifunde, inomen, ouercome.*

O<sup>2</sup>: *biwonne, icomen, ispeke.*

(3) Inf. and P. P.

C<sup>2</sup>: *ibiden, bizeten, underfon, writen.*

O<sup>1</sup>: *anhon.*

O<sup>2</sup>: *onderfon, iworpe*

(4) Prt. Sg. and Prt. Pl.

C<sup>2</sup>: *letten.*

O<sup>1</sup>: *bihehte, biheolde, folle, fulle, funde, helde, lette, letten, stod.*

O<sup>2</sup>: *folle, fulle, fohte, lette.*

(5) Inf. and Prt. Pl. and P. P.

O<sup>1</sup>: *zeue.*

O<sup>2</sup>: *bicome, speke.*

(6) Inf. and Prt. Sg.

O<sup>1</sup>: *welde.*

Of special interest is the case of *-fon* and *-hon*, where the infinitive form is sometimes transferred to the past participle, and in one instance the preterite form to the infinitive.

The foregoing lists show that the phenomenon of the preterite singular and plural of strong verbs falling together is characteristic of the O-text. It practically never takes place in the C-text except in the case of *letten*, in which untraditional *-n* is added to the singular form. This addition of *-n* will be dealt with later.

The phenomenon of the infinitive, the preterite plural and the past participle all falling together is again characteristic of the O-text. This has been mainly brought about by the loss of the initial *i-* and the final *-n*.

4. The operation of Verner's Law is usually discarded in the case of *ð-d* correspondence, and the former sound prevails, as: C<sup>1</sup>

*forworðen* (prt. pl.) [890], *queðen* (prt. pl.) [449], *iqueðene* (p. p.) [505], *wurðen* (prt. pl.) [558]; C<sup>2</sup> *liðe* (prt. pl.) [2767, 2769], *iwurðen* (prt. pl.) [2142], *iworðen* (p. p.) [1864]; O<sup>2</sup> *iworpe* (p. p.) [1864]

5. In some instances the strong form of a verb has been replaced by a weak form, as: C<sup>1</sup> *bonnede* (prt. sg.) [883], *liðde* (prt. sg.) [1140], *lidðe* (prt. sg.) [1011], *liðden* (prt. pl.) [863, 909], *liðden* (prt. pl.) [638, 653], *liððen* (prt. pl.) [894], *liððeden* (prt. pl.) [1297], *scupte* (prt. sg.) [977]; C<sup>2</sup> *bannede* (prt. sg.) [2359], *beonnede* (prt. sg.) [2830]; O<sup>1</sup> *bannede* (prt. sg.) [883], *lipede* (prt. pl.) [894]; O<sup>2</sup> *bonnede* (prt. sg.) [2359], *bannede* (prt. pl.) [2566], *sip̃te* (prt. sg.) [977].

It must be noted that, in the case of *lipen*, the C<sup>1</sup>-text has only weak forms whereas the C<sup>2</sup>-text has strong forms as well. This is one of the features that mark the difference between C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup>. The frequent replacement of *lipen* by some other verbs is characteristic of the O-text. Only about a quarter of the whole number of occurrences in the C-text survives in the O-text. O<sup>1</sup> has only one instance of the preterite: *lipede* (3 pl.) [894], which corresponds to C<sup>1</sup> *liððen* [894], and O<sup>2</sup> also has only one instance of the preterite: *lap* (3 sg.) [2270], which corresponds to C<sup>2</sup> *lað* [2270]. This could easily be accounted for if the O-text was a direct copy of the C-text.

6. The reduction of the final *-n* which is characteristic of Middle English can be observed in both texts. Three of the four principal parts, i. e. the infinitive, the preterite plural and the participle of strong verbs, will be investigated below.

(1) The infinitives without *-n* are not uniformly distributed in the C-text. C<sup>1</sup> has 17 instance of the *n*-less infinitive; in other words, only about 6 percent of the whole number of infinitives are without the final *-n*; whereas C<sup>2</sup> has 49 instances of the *n*-less infinitive, which amount to about 12.5 percent of the whole

number of occurrences. The O-text shows a greatly advanced stage of the language: in both O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> the *n*-less infinitives make up about 80 percent of the total. Some verbs however, retain their final *-n* fairly well: i.e. *don*, *gon*, *faren* and *slean*.

- (2) The percentage of the *n*-less preterite plural again reveals a substantial discrepancy between C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup>. The former fairly well retains the final *-n*, only 2 percent of the whole number of occurrences being without *-n*. In the latter the percentage increases up to 11 percent. The O-text, on the other hand, exhibits a fairly uniform state. In both O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> the *n*-less preterite plural forms make up about 55 percent of the total.
- (3) Past participles of strong verbs show a similar tendency. Out of the total number of occurrences, C<sup>1</sup> has about 3 percent and C<sup>2</sup> about 13 percent of the *n*-less past participle, whereas O<sup>1</sup> has about 80 percent and O<sup>2</sup> about 70 percent.

It has been shown that C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> are clearly different in their treatment of the final *-n*, whereas O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> present no marked difference between each other, but that they show a fairly advanced stage when compared with the C-text.

7. A phenomenon contrary to the foregoing, i.e. the addition of untraditional *-n* to the singular form can be observed, but this may be regarded as characteristic of the C<sup>2</sup>-text, since O<sup>1</sup> has only sporadic instances and C<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> have none.

(1) Present Tense.

C<sup>2</sup>: *beon* (subj. 3 sg.) [1743], *beon* (subj. 1 sg.) [1968], *habben* (ind. 1 sg.) [1605, 1708], *ileuen* (ind. 1 sg.) [2175], *wullen* (ind. 1 sg.) [1742, 2723], *wullen* (subj. 3 sg.) [2350], *ibiden* (subj. 1 sg.) [1659].



(2) Preterite Tense.

O<sup>1</sup>: *coupen* (ind. 3 sg.) [881], *le(t)ten* (ind. 3 sg.) [1038], *wolden* (ind. 3 sg.) [747].

C<sup>2</sup>: *breken* (subj. 3 sg.) [2416], *ferden* (ind. 1. sg.) [2333], *felden* (ind. 3 sg.) [1990], *folweden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2794], *haueden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2326, 2386, 2789], *leiden* (ind. 3 sg.) [1991], *letten* (ind. 3 sg.) [1573, 2829], *makeden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2125], *mihten* (ind. 3 sg.) [2291], *nolden* (ind. 3 sg.) [1515], *nusten* (subj. 1 sg.) [1790], *sculden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2857], *seiden* (ind. 3 sg.) [1729, 1732, 2245], *senden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2244], *sorzeden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2532], *weonden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2706], *wolden* (ind. 3 sg.) [2248, 2388, 2440, 2912], *weoren* (subj. 3 sg.) [1533, 2105, 2447, 2706], *weren* (subj. 3 sg.) [1530, 2015], *weren* (subj. 2 sg.) [2511].

8. A few more remarks will be needed on the past participle. The past participle frequently takes a plural ending *-e* in the C-text. The ending is mainly used in the perfect tense with intransitive verbs and in the passive construction, as:—

C<sup>1</sup>: *þat Dardanisc kun: þe we beoð of icomene* [227]; *þas word weoren iqueðene* [505]; *Tohælde weoren þe walles* [570], etc.

C<sup>2</sup>: *þa seoue zer weoren aliðene* [1981]; *alle þa ilke: þe aniht weoren atcropene* [2828]; *we beoð hidere isende* [2703], etc.

The inflected form in the perfect tense with a transitive verb can be seen only once: C<sup>1</sup> *He hafde moni lond awest. & leodene biswikene* [1075]. This fact points to the tendency for the participle to lose its adjectival force much earlier in this construction.

The O-text, on the other hand, has only six instances of the inflected past participle against more than thirty in the C-text. The following examples almost look like adjectives.

O<sup>1</sup>: *alle heo weren wel ihedde* [1362]; .....ren *isaide* [505] (cf. C<sup>1</sup> *þas word weoren iqueðene* [505]).

O<sup>2</sup>: *Beop bope þine sostres: toward him forsworene* [1758]; *Nou*

hii beop *forsworene* [2058]; alle hii beop *forsworene* [2107];  
*peos bropers weren sehte* [2142].

In the O-text the final *-e* is occasionally added to the singular form, a feature that can rarely be met with in the C-text.

O<sup>1</sup>: as Englissemen hit habbeþ *iwende* [988] (cf. C<sup>1</sup> *awend*).

O<sup>2</sup>: þo Brennes hadde *ihorde*: his cniptene lore [2200] (cf. C<sup>2</sup> *i-hirde*); Al þis was *idemde*: also þe duk seide [2464] (cf. C<sup>2</sup> *idon*); þar iwarþ Brennes: *isehte* wiþ his broper [2550] (cf. C<sup>2</sup> *sæht*).

The prefix *i-* is almost always preserved in both texts, except for a few instances in C<sup>2</sup>, O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>. As will be seen from the following examples, the form with neither the prefix nor the final *-n* may be regarded as characteristic of the O-text.

C<sup>2</sup>: Leir wes *cumen* liðen [1890]; þe Leir is *haten* [1576]; þas breðren iwurðen heom *swahte* [2142].

O<sup>1</sup>: Þis.....(*do*) [424]; þat Brutus him *do* hafde [811]; sorwe þe is *zeue* [1136]; Laweman was *hote* [1].

O<sup>2</sup>: þat weren awei *crope* [2828]; ase he *speke* adde [1698].

9. The C-text strongly retains the Old English distinction between *pohte* (prt. of *pencan*) and *puhte* (prt. of *pyncan*). Only once does it exhibit an instance of *pohte* where *puhte* might be expected, as: C<sup>1</sup> to heora scipe heo hit fusden: feirest þat heom *pohte* [655]. The O-text, on the other hand, entirely discards the distinction between the two forms and only *pohte* is used for both verbs.

10. Old English *-ian* verbs (Weak Class II) preserve the medial *-i-* quite well in both texts.

C<sup>1</sup>: *biluuien* (2 pl. subj.) [463], *cleþian* (inf.) [428, 886, 1025], *hercniaw* (2 pl. imper.) [760], *huntieaw* (2 pl. indic.) [718], *makien* (inf.) [319, 325, 532], *woniende* (pres. part.) [582], etc.

C<sup>2</sup>: *leowie* (1 sg. indic.) [2274, 2455], *makiet* (2 pl. imper.) [2925],

*iðolien* (inf.) [1659, 1874], *wonien* (inf.) [1542, 1825], etc.

O<sup>1</sup>: *cleopie* (inf.) [1025, 1250], *fondien* (1 pl. subj.) [479], *louieþ* (1 pl. indic.) [501], *makie* (inf.) [184, 325, 605, 625, 790, 1277, 1329], *talie* (3 sg. subj.) [396], etc.

O<sup>2</sup>: *gripie* (inf.) [2384, 2768], *lofuiē* (1 sg. indic.) [2455], *polie* (inf.) [1659, 1717], *wonieþ* (2 pl. imper.) [2541], etc.

The medial *-i-* is sometimes dropped in both texts.

C<sup>1</sup>: *bihoueþ* (3 pl. indic.) [475], *fulwen* (inf.) [1202], *runan* (inf.) [1166], *sumunen* (inf.) [214], *wreastlene* (inf.) [931], *wundre* (inf.) [1293].

C<sup>2</sup>: *balen* (inf.) [2188], *fainen* (inf.) [1792], *herizen* (inf.) [1868].

O<sup>1</sup>: *bihoueþ* (3 pl. indic.) [475], *dreʒ(en)* (inf.) [188], *zarke* (inf.) [1316], *hontep* (2 pl. indic.) [718], *þreteþ* (3 pl. indic.) [248], *wilnep* (1 pl. indic.) [539].

O<sup>2</sup>: *folʒen* (inf.) [2066], *louē* (inf.) [1740], *maken* (inf.) [2858], *makeþ* (2 pl. imper.) [2925], *make we* (1 pl. imper.) [2931], *troueþ* (3 pl. indic.) [1705].

In a few cases the medial *-i-* is extended to where it is not expected to be found.

C<sup>1</sup>: *cleouied* (3 sg. indic.) [981].

C<sup>2</sup>: *baðie* (2 sg. imper.) [1781], *makie* (2 sg. imper.) [1781].

O<sup>2</sup>: *baþie* (2 sg. imper.) [1781], *makie* (2 sg. imper.) [1781], *wonieþ* (3 sg. indic.) [2653].

11. Syncopation, which was characteristic of West-Saxon, usually does not take place in both texts.

C<sup>1</sup>: *abideð* [1212], *bided* [29], *findest* [360], *hateþ* [1062], *sendeð* [240], *stondeð* [55, 64].

C<sup>2</sup>: *greteþ* [1577], *hateð* [1822, 2544], *hatest* [2702], *haldest* [1829], *stonded* [2069, 2669], *stondet* [2592].

O<sup>1</sup>: *biddeþ* [29], *findeþ* [754], *hoteþ* [1062], *st(an)deþ* [981], *stondeþ* [700].

O<sup>2</sup>: *greteþ* [1577], *hoteþ* [2544], *stondeþ* [2592].

It only takes place in the case of *halden* and *stonden*, as:—

C<sup>1</sup>: *stond* [700].

C<sup>2</sup>: [*h*]alt [1646], *halt* [2353], *stond* [2161].

O<sup>2</sup>: *halt* [1646, 1647–8], *stend* [2669], *steond* [2161].

12. OE umlaut, which took place in the endings of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. indic., is almost entirely discarded in both texts, as: C<sup>1</sup> *comest* [359], *hateþ* [1062], *helpeð* [339]; C<sup>2</sup> *cumes* [2195], *cumeð* [1759, 1802], *doð* [1696]; O<sup>1</sup> *comest* [359], *doþ* [132, 229, 339], *helpeþ* [339]; O<sup>2</sup> *comeþ* [1802], *doþ* [1696]. The following are the only examples to be found that show umlaut: C<sup>1</sup> *deð* [132, 339], O<sup>2</sup> *stend* [2669], *steond* [2161].

13. The present plural form *sculleð*, an analogical formation probably based on *wulleð*, is characteristic of the C<sup>2</sup>-text. Out of the eight instances of *sculleð* in C<sup>2</sup>, five have been corrected to the traditional form in O<sup>2</sup>, one replaced by *wulleþ* and only two survive: *sculleð* (1 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *solle*) [2664]; *sculled* (1 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *solle*) [2671]; *sculled* (3 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *solle*) [2672]; *sculleð* (1 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *sollen*) [2808]; *sculleð* (3 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *wolleþ*) [2878]; *sculleð* (2 pl. O<sup>2</sup> lacks corresponding line) [2896]; *sulled* (1 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *solleþ*) [2694]; *swulled* (1 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *sollen*) [2195]. The reverse process can be met with only once: C<sup>2</sup> *sullen* (1 pl. cf. O<sup>2</sup> *solleþ*) [2097].

14. The Old English differentiation between *wille* (1 sg. pres. indic.) and *wile* (3 sg. pres. indic.) is well preserved in C<sup>1</sup>, but *-ll-* is extended to 3rd sg. in C<sup>2</sup>, as: *wulle* [1825, 1827, 1838, 1844, 2063]; *wille* [1697, 1828]. The form with single *-l-* can be found only once: Me punched þe alde mon: *wole* dotie nou nan [1645]. In the O-text, however, the reverse process may be observed: *-ll-* is extended to 3rd sg. only once in O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> respectively, and O<sup>1</sup> has eight instances of *wole* (1 sg.) and O<sup>2</sup> has four. (To be continued.)