OLD ENGLISH *GEOND* EXPRESSING DURATION OF TIME: THE WINCHESTER USAGE[1]

Abstract

"The Winchester group" is a restricted group of late Old English texts, including the works of Ælfric, which are connected with Winchester. They are known to show a remarkable uniformity in their choice of vocabulary within certain groups of synonyms. Lexical studies confirm the existence of "Winchester words"—the Winchester group's preferred words (Gneuss 1972, Ono 1986, Hofstetter 1987 & 1988, Gretsch 2001). However, no study has considered the possibility that the Winchester group may show syntactic uniformity as well. In this article, I focus on the preposition *geond* 'through, throughout', used to express duration of time. In the Old English period, the adverbial accusative was commonly used for this function. In fact, temporal prepositions were not yet fully developed, and *geond* was rarely employed as such. Utilizing the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, I will demonstrate that the use of the temporal *geond* is strictly confined to the Winchester group.

Keywords: Ælfric, duration of time, *geond*, Old English, temporal preposition, the Winchester group.

Resumen

El "grupo Winchester" es un grupo reducido de textos en inglés antiguo tardío, que incluye las obras de Ælfric y que están conectados con Winchester. Se sabe que muestran una clara uniformidad en la elección de vocabulario en lo concerniente a ciertos grupos de sinónimos. Los estudios léxicos confirman la existencia de "palabras Winchester"—las palabras preferidas por el grupo Winchester (Gneuss 1972, Ono 1986, Hofstetter 1987 & 1988, Gretsch 2001). Sin embargo, ningún estudio ha considerado la posibilidad de que el grupo Winchester pueda mostrar tambien uniformidad sintáctica. En este artículo me centro en la preposición *geond* 'a través de, a lo largo de', usada para expresar duración temporal. En inglés antiguo el acusativo adverbial se usaba comúnmente para tal función. De hecho, las preposiciones temporales aún no estaban plenamente desarrolladas, y *geond* rara vez se usa como tal. Usando el *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, demostraré que el uso temporal de *geond* está confinado estrictamente al grupo Winchester.

Palabras clave: Ælfric, duración temporal, *geond*, inglés antiguo, preposiciones temporales, grupo Winchester.

1 INTRODUCTION

"The Winchester group", an idea first proposed by Gneuss (1972: 75), refers to a certain group of texts that can be connected to Winchester in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. As

Gneuss clearly demonstrates, these texts display a significant uniformity in their choice of vocabulary, which is ascribable to the movement to standardize the English language led by Æthelwold's school at the Old Minster in Winchester. Texts that Gneuss identifies as belonging to this group are the works of Ælfric, the Lambeth Psalter gloss, the gloss to the *Expositio hymnorum*, and the Old English translation of the *Rule of Chrodegang*. Building on his argument, scholars of Old English have proved the significant role that Æthelwold's school played in standardizing English. They have also identified additional Winchester texts by presenting convincing evidence that the texts show the same choice of vocabulary characteristic of the Winchester group. The most comprehensive and influential study is Hofstetter's 1987 monograph. Establishing thirteen semantic fields, Hofstetter distinguishes between "Winchester words", which are confined to the Winchester group, and synonymous words, which are preferred in non-Winchester texts.[2] Gretsch (2001) discusses the nature and origin of Winchester words as well as the motives for employing them. Ono (1986) shows that some Winchester words did not survive in Modern English. Thus, the language of the Winchester texts, particularly the uniformity of vocabulary, has received much attention. However, other linguistic aspects, for example, the possibility of syntactic uniformity, have been disregarded in the literature.

An important historical change in Old English syntax is the replacement of case-forms with equivalent prepositional constructions. As Sato (2009a) has shown, in the Old English period when this development was still in progress, case-forms and prepositions overlapped for various functions. The use of a preposition (for which a case-form was still available) indicated not merely a chronological development but also the stylistic preference of an individual author or translator. For example, to express duration of time, Ælfric uses prepositions such as *binnan* 'within', *for*, *geond* and *to* as well as the accusative of extent. His contemporaries, by contrast, never or rarely used prepositions for this function, choosing the accusative instead (Sato 2009a: 108–113, 140–144, 174–175). Mitchell discusses the high frequency of temporal prepositions that is found in

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[2] Hofstetter 1988 is a summary of his monograph.

Ælfric's works[3] and poses the question of whether this should be viewed as the result of a chronological change or simply as Ælfric's personal preference (Mitchell 1985: §1384). The matter has been left unresolved thus far.

In this paper, I shall deal exclusively with the temporal use of the preposition *geond*.[4] Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* are evidence that this preposition served the same function as the accusative of temporal extent,[5] viz.

> (1)   ÆCHom I, 22.104 He ða gesæt þ setl **þritig geara** 'He then sat on that seat thirty years'[6]
>
> (2)   ÆCHom II, 17.70 He geheold cristes setl **geond ðrittig geara fæc** 'He held Christ's seat for a space of thirty years'

In both sentences, the subject *he* refers to St. James the Greater. Ælfric writes that St. James held Christ's seat for thirty years, employing the accusative in the first sentence, but a *geond*-phrase in the second. *Geond* can express either spatial or temporal relationships,[7] but the latter is much less common: although *geond* is recorded, including its variant forms, 886 times in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*,[8] it expresses temporal duration only thirty-eight of these times, accounting for 4.3 per cent of the occurrences.[9] The distribution of temporal *geond* is also important:

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[3] For Ælfric's preference for prepositions, see also Yamakawa 1980: 13.

[4] For the temporal sense of *geond*, see *DOE geond* sense 1.A.3.

[5] Mitchell (1985: §1383) mentions the semantic equivalence between them, too.

[6] For the abbreviated titles and the method of citation of Old English works, I follow Mitchell, Ball & Cameron 1975 & 1979 unless otherwise specified.

[7] It is a common cross-linguistic tendency that spatial expressions become temporal expressions; see Lyons 1977: 718.

[8] For this data, I searched the *Variant Word/Phrase Search* of the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form* and confirmed the data by the *DOE*, s.v. *geond*. All the variants and their frequencies are as follows: *eond* (3×), *geand* (2×), *gend* (8×), *geod* (1×), *geon* (2×), *geond* (806×), *geonden* (1×), *geont* (1×), *giend* (1×), *gind* (14×), *giond* (13×), *gund* (4×), *gynd* (23×), *iand* (3×), *ion* (1×), *iond* (3×); accessed on 4 May 2009.

[9] I exclude examples of *geond* used to render *per singulos dies* 'each day', which has the distributive (not durative) temporal meaning, e.g. PsGlF 7.12 *geond ænlipie dag*. For the distributive sense, see *DOE geond* sense I.A.3.a.i.a.

there are nineteen instances in Ælfric's works, five in the Lambeth Psalter gloss and five in the continuous interlinear gloss to the *Regula S. Benedicti*, respectively; outside of these works, the temporal *geond* does not occur more than twice in one text. Ælfric's works and the two interlinear glosses are typical Winchester texts. The others are also assumed, as will be shown below, to be Winchester texts or otherwise connected to Winchester. In the following sections, I will demonstrate that the temporal use of *geond* is strictly limited to the Winchester group, especially to the works of Ælfric. I will further show that it is used under direct influence (and, in the case of Ælfric, also indirect influence) of the Latin preposition *per*.

2 *Geond* and *per*: a Winchester set

If data from the works of Ælfric are excluded from analysis, there are nineteen instances of temporal *geond* in the Old English texts. Most of them (sixteen instances) occur in interlinear glosses, always corresponding to *per*: the Lambeth Psalter gloss (5×),[10] the continuous interlinear gloss to the *Regula S. Benedicti* (5×),[11] the Durham Hymnal gloss (2×),[12] the continuous interlinear gloss to the *Expositio hymnorum* (2×),[13] the glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* (1×)[14] and the interlinear gloss to the monastic canticles (1×).[15] The remainder are found in three prose works

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[10] Examples from the Lambeth Psalter gloss are given in (3b), (4b), (5b) and (6b) below.

[11] BenRGl 49.11 *geond þa ylcan tida* [*per easdem horas*], 50.1 *iond þa ylcan tida* [*per easdem horas*], 52.3 *iond þære uwucan emrene* [*per septimane circulum*], 72.4 *geon dæg* [*per diem*], 118.8 *geond ealle minsterlice tida* [*per omnes canonicas horas*].

[12] HyGl 2, 36.4 *geond gæres ymbrene* [*per anni circulum*], 65.1.2 *geond tida* [*per tempora*]. (Cited by hymn and verse numbers.)

[13] HyGl 3, 36.4 *geond ymbryne geares* [*per circulum anni*], 65.1.2 *geond tide* [*per tempora*]. (Cited by hymn and verse numbers.)

[14] AldV1.480 *gend þam ylcan timan* [*per idem tempus*]. (Cited by line numbers assigned by DOE.)

[15] MonCa 3.10.17 *geond dæg 7 nihte* [*per diem et noctem*]. (Cited by hymn and verse numbers.)

translated from Latin source texts, i.e. the Life of St Machutus (1×),[16] an Old English translation of the *Sermo in Cena Domini ad Penitentes* (1×)[17] and the Old English translation of part of the *Capitula Theodulfi* (1× in Oxford Bodleian, Bodley 865).[18] Manuscript variants are found only in the last work: *ofer* appears in place of *geond* in the translation of the *Capitula Theodulfi*, which is contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201.

It is important to note that all the texts above, both gloss and prose, show a strong preference for Winchester words. Based on his analysis of vocabulary, Hofstetter (1987) concludes that they belong to the Winchester group, with the exception of the Old English translation of the *Capitula Theodulfi*, which is extant in Oxford Bodleian, Bodley 865. In general, this manuscript avoids Winchester words in favour of non-Winchester synonyms (Sauer 1978: 274; Hofstetter 1987: 324). It does contain two typical Winchester words, *leahtor* 'sin' (ThCap 2, 357.3) and *undergytan* 'to understand' (ThCap 2, 371.1);[19] however, Sauer (1978: 274–275) considers the occurrence of *leahtor* accidental and, due to the overall dominance of non-Winchester words in the text, he recognizes no relation to Winchester.[20] Yet, if we consider the temporal use of *geond* to be a Winchester usage, there are at least three pieces of linguistic evidence (*leahtor*, *undergytan* and *geond*) to link this work to Winchester. In addition, Oxford Bodleian, Bodley 865 is assumed to have been written in the first half of the eleventh century, perhaps in Exeter (Hofstetter 1987: 324; Ker 1990: 380–381, no. 318). In view of the fact that a number of texts written in the second half of the eleventh century in Exeter used

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[16] LS 13.22r.6 *geond ealle tida* [*per tempora*]. (Cited by folio and line numbers.) Godden notes a syntactic similarity between the Life of St Machutus and Ælfric's works: "the only text I have so far come across that shows anything resembling Ælfric's variation in the case governed by *þurh* is another Winchester text, of uncertain date but certainly produced by his time: the anonymous Life of St Machutus" (2002: 28). The use of temporal *geond* can be another piece of evidence for the syntactic similarity between them.

[17] HomS 23.32 *geond syx hundred geara fæc* [*per sexcentos annos*]. Ed. Bethurum 1957: 366–373. (Cited by line numbers.)

[18] ThCap 2, 401.8 *gynd ealne dæg* [*per totum diem*].

[19] The occurrence of *undergytan* was pointed out by Ono (1986: 569).

[20] Hofstetter agrees with Sauer on this matter (Hofstetter 1987: 324).

Winchester words under the influence of Winchester (Hofstetter 1987: 546, 549 n. 19), we may ascribe the usage of Winchester vocabulary in the translation of the *Capitula Theodulfi* to the influence of Winchester.

Secondly, Latin played a very important role in the employment of temporal *geond*: all nineteen examples mentioned above render *per* in Latin. Manuscript variants further suggest the significance of Latin. The Old English translation of the *Capitula Theodulfi* survives in two manuscripts: Oxford Bodleian, Bodley 865, which represents "the rather literal Old English" and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, which represents "the free and fluent Old English translation" (Fulk & Cain 2003: 130).[21] Temporal *geond* appears in the former, while *ofer* is preferred in the latter (ThCap 1, 401.8 *ofer ealne dæg*). Thus, it seems that temporal *geond* was available for direct translations from Latin but was avoided in free translation.

By analysing the distribution of temporal *geond* and given the significant influence from the Latin *per*, we can conclude that temporal *geond* most plausibly originated from the practice of glossing *per* as *geond* in Winchester. In order to show that non-Winchester texts are not characterized by this practice, I will compare the five examples from the Lambeth Psalter gloss (PsGlI) with corresponding phrases in the Vulgate Psalter (Gallican version), the Vespasian Psalter gloss (PsGlA) and the prose and verse translations of the *Paris Psalter* (Ps(P)):

(3a) Ps 21.3 [Deus meus clamabo **per diem** 'I call to my God through day']

(3b) PsGlI 21.3 god min ic clepige **iand dæg**

(3c) PsGlA 21.3 god min ic cleopiu **ðorh deg**

(3d) Ps(P) 21.2 Ic clypige **dæges and nihtes** to ðe 'I call to you day and night'

(4a) Ps 91.3 [ad adnuntiandum mane misericordiam tuam et veritatem tuam **per noctem** 'to show your compassion in the morning and your truth through night']

(4b) PsGlI 91.3 to kyþanne on ærnemorgen þine mildheortnesse þine soðfæstnesse ⁊ **geond niht**

(4c) PsGlA 91.3 to seggenne on marne mildheortnisse ðine ⁊ soðfestnisse ðine **ðorh naeht**

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[21] See also Ker 1990: 90–91.

(4d)   PPs 91.2 And þonne on morgene mægene sæcge / ... / and his soðe sæcge **nihtes** 'And then in the morning I say mightily ... and say his truth at night'

(5a)   Ps 104.39 [expandit nubem in protectionem eorum et ignem ut luceret eis **per noctem** 'he spread cloud for the protection of them and fire so that it would be light for them through night']

(5b)   PsGlI 104.39 he aþenede genipu on gescyldnesse heora ꟲ fyr þæt hit lihte heom **geond nihte**

(5c)   PsGlA 104.39 aðeneð wolcen in gescildnisse heara ꟲ fyr ðæt hit lithe him **ðorh næht**

(5d)   PPs 104.34 He hi wolcne bewreah, wraðum ahredde, / het him neode **nihta gehwylce** / fyrenne beam beforan wisian 'He covered them with cloud, rescued the band, eagerly ordered a burning pillar to show the way before them'

(6a)   Ps 120.6 [**per diem** sol non uret te neque luna **per noctem** 'throughout day the sun does not burn you or the moon through night']

(6b)   PsGlI 120.6 **ðurh dægtiman ł geond dæg** sunne he forswæle þe ne mona **geond nihte**

(6c)   PsGlA 120.6 **ðorh deg** sunne ne berneð ðec ne mona **ðorh naeht**

(6d)   PPs 120.6 Ne þe sunne **on dæge** sol ne gebærne / ne þe mona **on niht** min ne geweorðe 'May the sun not burn you during the day / nor the moon get small at night'

In the Lambeth Psalter gloss, temporal *per* is glossed as *geond*. The only exception is the "double gloss" in (6b) above, where *geond* is combined with *ðurh*.[22] In contrast, *per* is consistently glossed as *ðorh* in the Vespasian Psalter gloss. The other Old English interlinear versions agree with the Vespasian Psalter gloss in their selection of *þurh/ðurh* for *per*. In fact, out of the twelve Old English interlinear versions, only the Lambeth Psalter gloss renders temporal *per* as *geond*. Thus, the glossator's choice in rendering temporal *per* supports Gneuss's observation: "the glossator of the Lambeth Psalter appears to have deliberately rejected words from the

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[22] A double gloss is a combination of a word from the earlier psalter glosses and a "modern" or "Winchester" word, which is quite common in the Lambeth Psalter gloss (Gneuss 1972: 77).

earlier psalter glosses he may have utilized when such words did not agree with the usage of the Winchester group..." (Gneuss 1972: 77). In the prose translation of the *Paris Psalter*, which King Alfred freely translated into the early West-Saxon dialect, the *per*-phrase is rendered as the adverbial genitive; in the verse translation of the *Paris Psalter*, it is rendered as either the adverbial genitive or the preposition *on*.

Thus, temporal *geond* occurs in the Winchester texts and in texts influenced by Winchester but not elsewhere. As temporal *geond* is always paired with Latin *per*, they constitute "a Winchester set of Latin-Old English equivalents" (Godden 1980: 222).

3 Syntactic anglicization in non-Winchester texts

Before examining the rest of the Winchester group, i.e. Ælfric's works, I will expand my investigation into prose works unaffiliated with the Winchester group in order to show that rendering temporal *per* as the accusative of extent is the prevailing way of translation. This, I dare say, is a syntactic Anglicization since the accusative of extent is especially common in texts that are generally believed to have little influence from Latin. My investigation will examine the Old English translation of Orosius' *Historiarum* and the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. In their description of historical events, these texts provide examples of temporal duration which confirm my argument that the use of temporal *geond* is strictly limited to the Winchester group.

The Old English Orosius is written in the Alfredian period, between AD 889 and 899. Stylistically, it is "much more of a paraphrase than a strict translation" (Greenfield & Calder 1986: 55).[23] It is expected therefore that the language of this work should represent the early Old English usage free from the influence of Latin. In Orosius' *Historiarum*,[24] temporal *per*

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[23] See also Bately 1980b.

[24] Orosius' *Historiarum* (OH) is referred to by book, chapter and section numbers in Zangemeister's (1967 [1882]) edition.

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appears twenty-three times, and twenty of these occurrences (87.0 per cent) are translated into Old English using the accusative, e.g.[25]

(7)   Or 77.19
        Alexander **xii gear** þisne middangeard under him þrysmde ꞌ egsade 'Alexander oppressed and terrified this world under him for twelve years'
        [OH 3, 23.6 Alexander **per duodecim annos** trementem sub se orbem ferro pressit 'Alexander oppressed the world cruelly under himself for twelve years']

The Latin sentences that contain the remaining three *per*-phrases are largely paraphrased in translation, and the *per*-phrases are changed syntactically to fit the Old English contexts:

(8)   Or 96.24
        on þæt gerad ... þæt hie ... him gesealden þæronufan iii m talentana **ælce geare** 'on condition that they should pay them three thousand talents each year in addition'
        [OH 4, 11.2 condiciones autem erant, ut ... tria milia talentum ... aequis pensionibus **per annos uiginti** penderent 'conditions were, so that they pay three thousand talents by equal payment through twenty years']

(9)   Or 115.23
        Ymb xiiii gear þæs þe Ueriatus wið Romane winnan ongan, he wearð from his agnum monnum ofslagen 'Fourteen years after Viriatus began to fight against Rome, he was killed by his own men'
        [OH 5, 4.14 Viriatus autem cum **per quattuordecim annos** Romanos duces atque exercitus protriuisset, insidiis suorum

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[25] The rest are: Or 22.10 *twa ꞌ feowertig wintra* [OH 1, 4.4 *per duos et quadraginta annos*], 29.9 *fiftene gear* [1, 14.4 *per xv annos*], 34.30 *xx wintra* [1, 21.3 *per annos uiginti*], 35.3 *x winter* [1, 21.4 *per decem annos*], 45.8 *xxx wintra* [2, 7.6 *per annos triginta*], 46.7 *v gear* [2, 9.1 *per quinquennium*], 56.15 *lxx wintra* [3, 3.4 *per septuaginta annos*], 56.28 *ii gear* [3, 4.3 *per biennium*], 66.3 *xxv wintra* [3, 14.10 *per uiginti et quinque annos*], 76.22 *lviiii wintra* [3, 22.10 *per quadraginta et nouem annos*], 95.22 *fif winter* [4, 10.1 *per quinque annos*], 113.24 *cc wintra* [5, 1.6 *per annos ducentos*], 117.2 *xiiii winter* [5, 7.3 *per annos quattuordecim*], 125.20 *xl wintra* [6, 5.11 *per quadraginta annos*], 131.2 *ealne dæg* [6, 20.6 *per totum diem*], 133.29 *xii winter* [7, 3.4 *per duodecim ... annos*], 137.25 *vi dagas ...ꞌ vii niht* [7, 7.4 *per sex dies septemque noctes*], 139.6 *xv gear* [7, 10.1 *per annos xv*], 139.23 *xix ger* [7, 12.1 *per annos decem et nouem*].

interfectus est 'After Viriatus oppressed Roman generals and armies for fourteen years, he was killed by his men's plot']

(10)   Or 147.22
        for þon gebode gewurdon fela martyra **on x wintra firste** 'for this order there were many martyrs in the space of ten years' [OH 7, 25.13 persectio ... **per decem annos** ... caedibus martyrum incessabiliter acta est 'persecution by slaughter of martyrs through ten years is incessantly done']

In (8) above, Orosius writes that the Carthaginians sued for peace with the Romans and were granted it on condition that they pay three thousand talents by instalment *per annos uiginti* 'for twenty years'. However, the Old English translator, perhaps misunderstanding the Latin, writes that the same amount of money is to be paid *ælce geare* 'every year'.[26] In (9), *per quattuordecim annos* 'for fourteen years', which modifies *protriuisset* 'oppressed', is rendered as *Ymb xiiii gear* and moved in front of the *þæs þe*-clause. In (10), *on x wintra firste* is the translation of *per decem annos*. However, *on* and *per* differ in the meaning that they convey. Orosius intends to state that acts of martyrdom incessantly (*incessabiliter*) continued *per decem annos* 'for ten years'; note that what Orosius describes here is duration. On the other hand, the Old English translator writes that many acts of martyrdom happened (not continued) *on x wintra firste* 'in ten years'; what the preposition *on* means here is punctual, 'in, within', rather than durative, 'for the duration of'. Thus in the three passages above, *per*-phrases are paraphrased rather than translated verbatim. In summary, the Old English translator of Orosius favours the accusative and does not use Old English prepositions to serve the same function as temporal *per*.

Next, I will examine the Old English Bede. Its source text, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*,[27] contains fourteen instances of temporal *per*. As in

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[26] Bately (1980a: 283) also mentions the difference in description of the payment, but offers no reason for it.

[27] Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (HE) is referred to by page and line numbers in Colgrave & Mynors's (1969) edition.

most Old English psalter glosses, seven of them are rendered as *þurh*, e.g.[28] [29]

> (11) Bede 360.21
> Se [Cuthberht] ... ancorlíf lædde **þurh monig gear** in mycelre forhæfdnesse lichaman ond modes 'He led a solitary life for many years in great temperance of body and mind'
> [HE 430.23 uitam solitariam **per annos plures** in magna corporis et mentis continentia duxerat 'he led a solitary life in great continence of body and mind for many years']

It is widely accepted that the Old English Bede renders the source language faithfully (Greenfield & Calder 1986: 58). Potter lays particularly strong emphasis on its linguistic closeness to Latin, stating that the translator of Old English Bede "endeavour[s] to follow the Latin text slavishly, so slavishly, in fact, that the translation sometimes becomes little more than a gloss..." (1931: 2). His observation would be valid if the Old English Bede consistently used *þurh* for *per*, as do most psalter glosses. However, the other seven of the fourteen instances are translated using the accusative, i.e. the Anglicized rendering, e.g.[30]

> (12) Bede 192.22
> he to riice feng, ⁊ þæt **eahta ⁊ twentig wintra** gewinnesfullice heold ⁊ hæfde 'he took over the kingdom and laboriously held and had that for twenty two years'
> [HE 254.25 suscepit regni terrestris sedem pro eo frater eius Osuiu ... et **per annos XXVIII** laboriosissime tenuit 'his brother Osuiu succeeded to his seat in the earthly kingdom for him, and laboriously ruled for twenty-eight years']

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[28] The rest are as follows: Bede 34.4 *ðurh tyn winter full* [HE 28.6 *per x annos*], 132.16 *þurh sume tide* [180.30 *per aliquod tempus*], 162.10 *þurh eall ger* [226.27 *per totum annum*], 288.5 *þurh nigon ger full* [360.8 *per annos nouem*], 320.25 *þurh twegen dagas* [394.20 *per biduum*], 338.14 *þurh syx singal ger* [410.36 *per sex continuos annos*].

[29] The temporal use of *þurh* is limited to the Old English Bede, psalter glosses and some verse texts; see Sato 2008.

[30] The rest are as follows: Bede 44.10 *fela geara* [HE 40.21 *per annos*], 220.10 *eall ger ⁊ þæs oðres syx moonað* [276.32 *per annum et sex menses*], 252.9 *anes wonðe twentig wintra* [328.6 *per nouem annos*], 420.28 *sum gear* [486.10 *per annos aliquot*], 466.19 *XII winter* [530.30 *per annos XII*], 474.27 *feower ⁊ þritig wintra ond ... fifte healf* [556.4 *per XXXIIII semis annos*].

This clearly suggests that the accusative is available as a translation for *per*-phrases even in the Old English Bede, the syntax of which is generally assumed to be close to its source language.[31] In the Old English Orosius and Bede, *geond* is never attested in its temporal sense. In fact, this usage is uncommon in Old English. In Wulfstan's *Homilies* the accusative is always used to convey the meaning of temporal duration (Sato 2009a: 163–164). In the Latin source passages corresponding to the anonymous portion of the *Heptateuch*, temporal *per* occurs twice, and both times it is translated using the accusative in the Old English version, e.g.[32]

> (13) Gen 41.34
> hi gegaderion togædere þone fiftan dæl ealra wæstma **þas seofon wæstmbæran gear** 'they gather the fifth part of all the produce during the seven fruitful years'
> [et quintam partem fructuum **per septem annos fertilitatis** 'and the fifth part of fruits through seven fruitful years']

Yet, temporal *geond* appears in Ælfric's works, including the portion of the *Heptateuch* ascribable to him, as will be shown in the next section.

4 ÆLFRIC

I will proceed to examine Ælfric's usage of temporal *geond*. It appears nineteen times in his works, accounting for just half of the total occurrences in Old English texts. They are distributed in the first series of *Catholic Homilies* (4×), its second series (3×), the *Lives of Saints* (9×), Ælfric's portion of the *Heptateuch* (2×)[33] and the *Grammar* (1×). Given that *geond dagas* is given as the equivalent of *per dies* in Ælfric's *Grammar*, we can expect to find that the Latin *per* is a semantic model in Ælfric's works. In fact, he rarely translates a *per*-phrase using the accusative (see the last paragraph of this section). However, it is not surprising that Ælfric was inclined to go against the conventional Anglicization, choosing instead to follow the

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[31] Sato (2008: 29) argues against Potter's view that the syntax of the Old English Bede is as slavish as glosses.

[32] Also Num 10.33 *ðry dagas* 'for three days' [*per dies tres*].

[33] The Old English *Heptateuch* consists of non-Ælfrician and Ælfrician parts. The parts ascribable to Ælfric are Gen. I–III, VI–IX, XII–XXIV.22; Num. XIII–XXXI; Josh. (except for I.1–10, XII); Judg. See Clemoes 1959: 218; Pope 1967: 143.

syntax of Latin. Sato has argued that Ælfric is fond of applying Latinate syntax to his vernacular writing: "Ælfric adopts absolute constructions—a loan syntax from Latin—as his own usage, occasionally employing them without their Latin counterparts" (2009b: 14). Ælfric's independent use of *geond* is best explained along this line, too: its temporal sense, which probably originated from Latin *per*, was adopted by Ælfric as his own expression in his vernacular writing. This postulation supports Godden's statement about the Winchester vocabulary: "It is easy to imagine … that the practice of glossing Latin texts in the school of Winchester, as part of a training in Latin, would produce as a perhaps unintentional by-product a Winchester set of Latin-Old English equivalents which influenced the practice of literary writers trained in the school [Ælfric, for example] too" (1980: 222). In addition, it would be more reasonable to consider that Ælfric remained as faithful as possible to the syntax of the Latin source than to expect that he would Anglicize it in translation. As he himself wrote in the preface of his *Grammar*, he intended to produce *simplicem interpretationem* 'the straightforward interpretation'.[34]

Furthermore, Ælfric's usage of temporal *geond* is distinguished from that of other translators and glossators who use it only to render *per*. In Ælfric's works, *geond* is not always a translation of *per*. Of the nineteen examples, eleven correspond to *per* (see Table 1 below), but six have no Latin counterparts.[35] I will analyse these six examples to show how Ælfric alters his Latin source passages:

> (14) Num 20.30
> Ᵹ hi ealle beweopon Aarones forðsið **geond .xxx. daga** geomriende swyðe 'and they all wept over Aaron's decease for thirty days, lamenting very much'

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[34] ÆGram 5.13 *scio multimodis uerba posse interpretari, sed ego simplicem interpretationem sequor fastidii uitandi causa … nos contenti sumus, sicut didicimus in scola Aðerwoldi uenerabilis praesulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuit* 'I know that words can be rendered in many ways, but I always adopt the straightforward interpretation for the sake of avoiding tedium. … I am happy to translate in the way I learned at the school of Æthelwold, the venerable bishop, who taught many for their own good'. Lapidge's English translation is cited (2002: 302).

[35] Latin source texts are unidentified for the other two, viz. ÆCHom I, 1.281 *geond feowertig daga fyrste* and ÆCHom II, 17.70 *geond ðrittig geara fæc*.

[Omnis autem multitudo ... fleuit super eo **triginta diebus** per cunctas familias suas[36] 'And all the multitude ... wept over him for thirty days throughout all their families']

(15)   ÆLS 2.307
ác hé wunade swá ðeah on þam wundum cucu .
geond þreora daga fǽc .
'but he remained alive after the wound for the period of three days'
[*Pasionario Hispanico* II, 93.29: Beatissimus vero Filippus post percussuram **tribus diebus** esse in corpore permissus est 'Philips, the most blessed, in fact, was allowed to be in body for three days after the buffeting']

(16)   ÆLS 9.8
Seo wydewe wæs unhál . swa þæt hire arn blód
geond feower geare fæc .
'The widow was ill so that blood ran from her for the period of four years'
[De Probatis Sanctorum VI, 892: quæ **annis quatuor** fluxu sanguinis patiebatur 'who suffered from the flux of blood for four years']

(17)   Num 13.22
⁊ hi ferdon ða sona ⁊ sceawodon þone eard,
⁊ **geond feowertig daga** embferdon ðone eard.
'and they went then at once and examined the land, and for forty days travelled round the land'
[Reuersique exploratores terræ **post quadraginta dies**, omni regione circuita 'And explorers of the earth returned after forty days, after going around all the regions']

(18)   ÆLS 3.469
Mid þam wunode án mæden mærlice drohtnigende .
geond feowertig geare fec fægre gehealden .
'With him dwelt a virgin, living in splendour for the period of forty years, well considered'
[*De Probatis Sanctorum* I, 14.1: Erat enim virgo venerabilis vitæ & conuersationis, quæ iam **quadraginta annos** exegerat apud contubernalem suum 'Indeed, was a virgin of venerable life and behaviour, who spent forty years now with his mate']

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[36] Here, *per* construes with *cunctas familias suas*.

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(19) ÆCHom II, 11.557
and hé ðærrihte mid stiðlicum fefore **geond ða seofon niht**
þearle gedreht wearð 'and he was immediately afflicted with
severe fever for the seven nights'
[**per dies singulos** languor ingravesceret 'Day by day faintness
grew heavy']³⁷

In (14), Ælfric renders *triginta diebus* 'for thirty days' as *geond .xxx. daga*;
here he translates a synthetic construction as an analytic one. Sentences
(15) and (16) display the same translation pattern (cf. Sentence (20)
below, which is a translation of the opposite direction). In the remaining
examples, Ælfric translates Latin somewhat more loosely. Sentence (17) is a
close paraphrase: in Ælfric's version, the explorers travelled the land *geond
feowertig daga* 'for forty days', while in the Latin version, they went around
the land and returned *post quadraginta dies* 'after forty days'. Sentence
(18) contains a syntactic alteration: Ælfric employs the intransitive verb,
drohtnian 'live' modified by the adverbial phrase *geond feowertig geare fec*
'for forty years'. However, the source Latin uses the transitive verb *exegerat*
'spent', which takes *quadraginta annos* 'forty years' as its direct object. In
(19), Ælfric replaces the phrase *per dies singulos* 'day by day', which is used
in the distributive (not durative) temporal sense,³⁸ with *geond ða seofon niht*
'for the seven nights', which is not found in Latin.³⁹

Thus, Ælfric uses *geond* to express temporal duration regardless
of whether or not *per* appears in the Latin source. His preference for
geond becomes more obvious when we take into account his treatment of
temporal *per*. As I have mentioned previously, he translates *per* as *geond*
eleven times (Table 1), but Anglicized the construction only twice:⁴⁰

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³⁷ The Latin sentence is cited from Godden 2000: 447.

³⁸ For the distributive sense of *per*, see Leumann & Hoffmann 1928: 522; Glare 1982 s.v.
per 5.

³⁹ This is a rather free translation of the Latin sentence which comes from Gregory's
Dialogues; *per dies singulos* is usually rendered as *ælce dæʒe* in Old English, as Wærferth did
in his translation of this passage: GD(C) 175.16 *þa ælce dæʒe weox se ece, ⁊ seo adlhefeʒode*
'then day by day the pain and the disease became heavy'. Sato (2008: 28) shows the way of
rendering distributive *per*.

⁴⁰ Also ÆCHom I, 22.228 *seofon dagas* 'for seven days' [*per septem dies* (Godden 2000:
182)].

(20) Josh 5.4
Heora fæderas wæron ær on Egypto ymbsnydene � seo iugoð
næs, ðe be ðam wege wæs acennd on ðam langsumon færelde
feowerti geara 'Their fathers were circumcised in Egypt and
the youth was not, who was born on the way on the long
journey for forty years'
[**Per quadraginta annos** itineris latissimæ solitudinis
incircumcisus fuit 'On the long journey of the desert for forty
years, he was uncircumcised']

He uses the preposition *for* twice, e.g.[41]

(21) ÆCHom I, 31.59
se þe **for manegum gearum** mid egeslicre wodnysse gedreht
wæs 'who was afflicted by terrible madness for many years'
[*Passio Bartholomaei*, Mombritius, 141.25: qui **per multos
annos** passus est 'he suffered for many years']

For, which usually means 'before' in the temporal sense in Old English,
developed the meaning 'for the duration of' much later, perhaps in the
Middle English period.[42] Ælfric's inconsistency in rendering *per* suggests
that he makes linguistic experimentation, but he favours *geond* over the
other two alternatives.

Temporal *geond* in Ælfric	Latin counterparts
ÆCHom I, 21.5: *geond feowertig daga*	Acts I.3: *per dies quodraginta*
ÆCHom I, 30.23: *geond æighwylces geares ymbrene*	De Assumptione, §7: *per singulos annos tota*
ÆCHom I, 38.251: *geond ealle þa niht* [MS D *ealle þa niht*]	Passio Andreae, 18.8: *per totam noctem*
ÆCHom II, 17.2: *geond twentig geara fæce*	Passio Philippi, Mombritius II, 385.3: *per annos uiginti*

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[41] Also ÆCHom I, 31.54 *for manegum gearum* 'for many years' [*Passio Bartholomaei*,
Mombritius, 141.22 *per multos annos*].

[42] For example, *OED* cites the earliest instance from c1450 *Cov. Myst.*129 (s.v. *for* prep.
28a); the quotations in *MED* also come from late Middle English except for one from
a1175 (?OE) *Bod. Hom* (s.v. *for* 15a). For more details, see Sato 2009a: 111–112, 143–144.

ÆLS 2.401: *geond twentig daga*	Pasionario Hispanico II, 97.41: *per vigintim dies*
ÆLS 8.12: *geond þrittig nihte*	Acta S. Agathae, Ass Feb. I, 615: *per dies triginta*
ÆLS 21.145: *geond fif monþas*	Landfred's Swithun 4.4: *per interstitium quinque mensium*
ÆLS 21.157: *geond nigon geara fec*	Landfred's Swithun 5.3: *per spatium … novem annorum*
ÆLS 31.1223: *geond twentig wintra fyrst*	Sulpicii Severi 205.4: *per uiginti annos*
ÆLS 34.189: *geond seofon dagas*	Passio Sanctae Ceciliae, Mombritius I, 336.56: *per septem dies*
ÆGram 269.17: *geond dagas*	per dies

Table 1: Ælfric's geond*-phrases which correspond to* per*-phrases (11×)*

5 Conclusions

This investigation has shown that the use of *geond* to express duration of time is a syntactic feature of texts of the Winchester group. This conclusion does not rule out one of the two possibilities that Mitchell suggests: the preference for prepositions is due to the general historical development toward a more analytical language (see section 1 above). Yet, it is difficult to ascribe this usage of *geond* to a simple chronological development because it is not found in texts written in earlier or later periods of Old English unless they are connected, either directly or indirectly, with Winchester. Secondly, it is important to note that the temporal meaning of *geond* derives from the Latin *per*, and Ælfric is so familiar with this Latinate meaning that he uses it even where Latin has no direct influence. The following lexical question still remains: Why did the glossators in Winchester choose *geond* in place of *þurh*? It may be difficult to find a convincing reason for their choice of function words. In any case, the answer to this question is beyond the scope of this paper, as it requires a comprehensive survey of the distribution and competition of

the two prepositions, taking into account both the temporal and spatial meanings.

The use of either *geond* or *þurh*, which was analysed in the Lambeth Psalter gloss and Ælfric's works on the one hand and eleven other interlinear psalter versions and Bede on the other, is little more than a question of lexical choice. On the other hand, the competition between the adverbial accusative and *geond-* or *þurh*-phrases concerns both lexis and syntax. Old English scholars studying the language of the Winchester group have almost exclusively focused upon its lexical uniformity so far, paying little attention to the possibility of syntactic uniformity.[43] Further investigation into the language of the Winchester texts may reveal more syntactic similarities, thus shedding new light on what is known about the language of the Winchester group.

Kiriko Sato
Kumamoyo Gakuen University

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[43] Ogawa (1988: 58–59) mentions a syntactic disparity between Ælfric's works and the rest of the Winchester group of texts.

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