AN HISTORIC TONGUE

Studies in English Linguistics in Memory of Barbara Strang

Edited by
Graham Nixon and John Honey

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Preface

Following Barbara Strang's untimely death in 1982 a number of her former colleagues, students, and fellow scholars in related disciplines responded to an initiative from Graham Nixon (who had taken his MA under Barbara at Newcastle) to offer a volume of essays in her memory. John Honey (likewise a product of that course) joined the enterprise later as co-editor, and he alone takes responsibility for the compilation of the biographical essay which prefaces this book, and which was compiled on the basis of information and impressions from several sources, including Colin Strang, Jean Bone (whose long friendship with Barbara began during their student days in London), Richard N. Bailey and Kelsey Thornton.

These essays, all on topics on which Barbara took a lively interest, are offered in humble tribute to a remarkable scholar and teacher, and a wonderful person, whose influence lives on both in her own publications and in the creative work she inspired in others.

The Editors

Foreword

Sir Randolph Quirk
President of the British Academy

It is difficult to do justice in a few words to a treasured friendship that extended over a period of thirty-five years. It is next to impossible when, as in the present case, the need arises to convey the abiding sense of *privilege* felt in enjoying this long friendship. Even the briefest acquaintance with Barbara was enough to show that she combined a rare and precious set of qualities. Sparkling intellect and originality. Profound moral strength. Unshakable dedication to the most demanding standards of scholarship. Generosity. Loyalty. And sense of fun.

She and I graduated in the same year in the same university but we did not actually meet until I had pored over her weighty MA thesis on Kentish — awesome in quality as well as in scale. From then on we established the agreeable habit of reading each other's work in manuscript, of regularly exchanging views, and (especially when we were colleagues in Durham and Newcastle) of debating the goals of the subject 'English'. These discussions, at once deliberative and convivial, were further enriched after Barbara's marriage to Colin, when my sense of privilege was enhanced by awareness of a philosophical dimension added to the philological one.

Even during the last decade or so of her life, when we were separately busy in widely separated universities, our mutual trust and close relationship happily persisted. I still miss the monthly occasions when she would emerge from the night train en route to a UGC meeting and join me for a dietarily frugal but conversationally copious breakfast in my Bloomsbury office.

Few people can have left a more beloved and deeply revered memory than this noble colleague.

BARBARA STRANG
1925–1982

In Memoriam Barbara Strang

Barbara Strang was born Barbara Mary Hope Carr in 1925, the only child of Frederick and Amy Carr, and grew up in Shirley, Surrey. Her father was an engineer who suffered unemployment in the 1930s, and Barbara was proud of her humble origins. Though not Catholics, her parents made sacrifices to give her a good schooling at Coloma Convent of the Ladies of Mary in Croydon. The school was evacuated to Wales for the early years of the war, and when Barbara entered King's College, London, in 1942, she spent her first undergraduate year in the college's wartime refuge in Bristol before studies were resumed in the Strand. It was at King's that Barbara was introduced to the Anglican liturgy, whose linguistic influence on her was lasting.

Graduating in 1945, she proceeded to the research degree of MA under Professor C.L. Wrenn, submitting for her thesis an extended study of historic Kentish dialects. Three years as an assistant lecturer at Westfield College helped to convince Barbara, and one of her mentors at that time, Marjorie Daunt, that her first tenured post should be in a mixed academic community rather than another cloistered single-sex institution such as the Oxford women's college for whose English language post she was runner-up in 1950. It was a happy chance which took her instead in that year to a lectureship at King's College, Newcastle, then a part of the University of Durham and later to become the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which she served, as one of its most outstanding teachers and scholars, for the rest of her life.

It was here that she met Colin Strang, lecturer in an adjoining department (Philosophy), whom she married in 1955; his father, (Sir) William Strang, who had himself risen from modest origins to become head of the Foreign Office, had been created a peer in the previous year, and Colin, who became Professor of Philosophy at Newscastle in 1975, succeeded as the second Baron Strang in 1978. It was in many ways an ideal partnership, and a source of great strength to Barbara. Their only child, Caroline, was born in 1957.

Barbara quickly established herself as a deeply impressive teacher. But the content of her teaching was to prove no less significant. From a background in conventional philology, she

had at an early stage begun to develop that unique integration of descriptive and historical approaches to the study of English Language which was to become the hallmark of the Newcastle Department. In close partnership with Randolph Quirk, at first Reader and soon Professor of English Language in the Durham Colleges, she developed a teaching programme which contributed to her rising reputation in the fast-developing field of linguistics. That reputation was further enhanced in 1962 by the publication of her first book, *Modern English Structure*, which rapidly became a standard work. Her promotion by Newcastle to a new Chair in English Language and General Linguistics in 1964 gave her the opportunity to gather around her a small team of able colleagues in a School which began to be known internationally, and to attract postgraduate students and academic visitors from far afield. A single term's leave in late 1968 to accompany her husband for part of his visiting semester at Harvard enabled her (sitting, he recalls, 'on a balcony in a bathing costume') to produce the first draft of *A History of English*. Published in 1970, it represents the inspired synthesis of 20 years of deep learning and lively interaction with her students, and was immediately recognised as destined to become — as it has indeed become — *the* History for our generation.

During the 1970s she was increasingly involved in university administration. She was frequently on Senate, and the respect in which she was held in the counsels of the university led to a demand for her services in a wider sphere. She served on the University Grants Committee from 1975 to 1980 and thereafter on its Hong Kong counterpart. All these roles were ideally suited to her grasp of complex details — often quarried from the unlikely content of official documents — and to her love of planning. Despite these demands on her time, and a substantial teaching programme, she was heavily involved in a number of long-term research topics which included linguistic analysis of the work of writers such as Swift and Spenser, Shakespeare and Clare. The Tyneside Linguistic Survey, established on her initiative, is the subject of a separate contribution in this volume. Later, when the possibility of early retirement began to open up, a work on dialect in English literature and a history of English rhythm and metre were among the projects for which she was formulating plans.

Such a national and international reputation naturally led to

attractive offers of senior posts elsewhere, but her loyalty to the University of Newcastle, the city, and the county, proved even stronger. 'I told them I would only come if they would let me live in Northumberland,' was her explanation to her colleagues of her rejection of one dazzling offer. Her home and family, her students and colleagues, and the richness of local historical associations and of resources for dialect study, were part of the bond which held her. Another was the opportunity for horse-riding, into which she had been initiated by a contemporary and friend at King's College, London, and which replaced her childhood enthusiasm for ballet dancing. Having fulfilled her long-held ambition to own her own horse, she derived enormous pleasure from regularly riding on the Town Moor and with the Morpeth Hunt, almost always in the company of her daughter.

To everything she undertook Barbara brought intelligence and determination, and it is understandable that this led to an often gruelling personal timetable and ultimately told on her health, though there was little warning of the cerebral haemorrhage which struck her down at home on 11 April 1982. She died the next day, at the age of 56. As the *Times* said in its obituary, her early death robbed the international community of English language scholarship of one of its most considerable figures.

Barbara's most obvious memorial is in her own publications: her books and articles and, no less important to the development of the discipline, her reviews. Professor Richard N. Bailey has provided for this volume as complete a list as is possible of all these. Another memorial is the influence of Barbara on the work of other practitioners of English linguistics, both among her students and colleagues at Newscastle and indeed all over the world, and this volume is a tangible, though of course not necessarily representative, embodiment of that.

A memorial of a third kind is constituted by the memories which her colleagues, students and friends will carry with them for the rest of their lives. If she had published nothing, and if her administrative achievements had been negligible, the immediate influence of Barbara on those around her was of that deeply formative kind which is the mark of the really great teacher. To have been taught by her was a truly memorable experience, as many of the public and private tributes at the time of her death attested. The first reaction to her teaching was commonly awe; the next stage reflected admiration, affection,

and gratitude. These feelings were intensified for many who experienced the personal acts of kindness and special concern which it was so characteristic of her to bestow. Typical was her willingness to find time, even at moments of great pressure in her own crowded timetable, for a first-year student struggling (for example) with the intricacies of language, so that she could help him to discover with her its delights. Not that the awe would necessarily diminish on close contact: despite her humanity, there was about her a certain austerity, and a sometimes formidable composure. 'Perhaps,' wrote a close colleague, 'the root of her love of teaching lay in the fact that it allowed the expression of her care and concern which she always seemed to feel, but was not always able to express.' And there were other, very palpable ways in which that kindness and concern were manifested. Not many even of the recipients were aware that studentships and grants for postgraduate work in English Language and in Philosophy were funded by Barbara and Colin Strang personally, and it is a fitting tribute that the University has recognised this in the re-designation of what are now the Strang Studentships. All this helps to explain why, the length and breadth of the British Isles and around the world, there are former students now in many walks of life who look back on the experience of having been taught by Barbara Strang as among the most inspiring events of their lives.

PART I
Old to Middle English Period

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1

The Difficulty of Establishing Borrowings Between Old English and the Continental West Germanic Languages

E.G. Stanley
Pembroke College, Oxford

Barbara M.H. Strang, in *A History of English* (London, 1970) § 184, provides her readers with a succinct account of linguistic borrowing within the West Germanic group of languages. She had a special interest in linguistic contacts of different periods, and that emerges from other passages of this book and from various other writings.

In § 184 she follows a long line of scholarly speculations on the history of OE *heretoga* 'dux, comes, ealdorman, eorl', and its West (and thence North) Germanic equivalents. The word in West Germanic had been the subject of a protracted controversy between E. Schröder and R. Much, neither of them really sufficiently at home in the Old English material some of which they used.[1]

Barbara Strang (1970: § 184) sums up what she accepts of the arguments for English:

> Occasionally borrowing can be traced between the Germanic languages. One of the most interesting cases is ***here-toȝa*** (literally, 'one who draws the army [after him]', 'a general', also used to translate L *consul*). This was first used by Alfred, then in later poetry (where it is one of the survivals into ME). The source of this is WG, and it may have been brought to England by one of Alfred's Continental aides. In turn, WG got it from EG, where it was used in the Gothic Bible as a calque of Greek *strategos*, 'army leader'. Having adopted it, OE characteristically used it as a model for a new formation, *folctoȝa*, in which the first element is translated as *people* (*folk*) or *army*, and means 'the whole people considered in its capacity to form a (national) fighting force'.

In fact, no such calque occurs in the Gothic Bible, but was invented by Schröder as a link in his chain of argument, involving the hypothesised East Germanic origins of the calque.[2] It is said, Germanic *strategoi*, roughly contemporary with Wulfila, fought in Imperial armies; the invented Gothic calque is irrelevant to the problem of establishing borrowings between the early West Germanic languages. For the history of the relationship of Old English to Old Saxon the distribution of OE *heretoga*/OS *heritogo* and OE *folctoga*/OS *folctogo* is important. Schröder suggested that OE *folctoga* was modelled on *heretoga*, and that furthermore the Old Saxon poet of *Heliand* borrowed OS *folctogo* from the *folctoga* of the Old English poets, and used the word once for Herod and three times for Pilate (both of whom he more often called *heritogo*).

As Schröder knew from the dictionaries more or less as fully as we know it from the concordances now,[3] OE *folctoga* occurs only in poetry (fifteen times), *heretoga* occurs rarely in verse (twice in Alfred's *Metres of Boethius* and once in the Exeter Book *Gifts of Men*) but often in prose (161 times, according to the Venezky–Healey *Concordance*). The occurrence in *Gifts of Men* 76 is of interest because the word is varied by the unique *fyrdwisa*, which confirms that the Anglo-Saxons who used them fully understood the elements from which such compounds are constructed.

The compound *folctoga* comes in verse most of which would not generally be accepted as of the time of King Alfred or later, including, *Genesis A*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, *Juliana*, *Guthlac B*, as well as *Judith* and *Solomon and Saturn* which would be more generally accepted as late. This is not a good basis for Schröder's suggestion that OE *folctoga* was coined on the model of *heretoga*:[4] if, in the ninth century, the *Heliand* poet had an ear for Old English poetry he may have known that the Old English poets did not use the word corresponding to OS *heritogo* but had a word that would correspond to an OS *folctogo* for which he quite happily used *heritogo* more often. On the other hand, it seems no great stroke of poetic genius to coin *folctogo* if one had *heritogo* in ordinary use, and an Old Saxon would not need to go to Old English verse to coin it, quite independently. Schröder's other assumption, that OE *heretoga* is from West Germanic words such as OS *heritogo*, was not, as he thought, strengthened by finding the rare form *heretoha*,[5] and Much lost no time before he pointed that out.[6]

The use of *heretoga* in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss of the middle of the ninth century was overlooked by Schröder as well as by Much.[7] Before any Alfredian text, the gloss has Ps. 67:28 (the earliest of many similar Old English psalter glosses):

ðer se gungesta in fyrhtu aldermen
Ibi Beniamin adulescentior in pauore principes Iuda

heretogan heara aldermen 7 aldermen
duces eorum principes Zabulon et principes Neptalim.[8]

Also highly relevant, and overlooked by Schröder and Much, though recorded in Bosworth–Toller, s.v. *teón* (from *teóhan*), II, is a use in the Old English translation of Bede of *teon* + *here* 'to lead an army': 'þa he þæt þa longe tiid dyde, þa gelomp þætte Penda Mercna cyning teah here 7 fýrd wið Eastengle 7 þider to gefeohte cwom',[9] not a slavish translation such as might involve unidiomatic calquing: 'Quod dum multo tempore faceret, contigit gentem Merciorum duce rege Penda aduersus Orientales Anglos in bellum procedere' where it would be unwarranted to see *teon here 7 fyrd* as arising from the double title of Penda *dux rex Merciorum.*[10]

The distribution of the word *heretoga* in the Anglo-Saxon charters is puzzling. According to the Venezky–Healey *Concordance* it comes only seven times, each time as part of the opening formula in documents by Oswald Bishop of Worcester and later Archbishop of York, each time with reference to the permission or leave granted by Ealdorman Ælf(h)ere of Mercia in addition to that of the king (and others): in Robertson charters 34, 42, 46, 55, 56, 57, and 58, all of them in Hemming's Cartulary (in the case of Robertson 46 also British Library Additional Charter 19792), in that part of Hemming given the letter G by N.R. Ker.[11] The documents have reference to transactions datable as follows: 34 AD 962, 42 AD 966, 46 AD 969, 55 AD 977, and 56, 57 and 58 AD 975–8.[12] In the Latin charters in Hemming's Cartulary Ælf(h)ere's rank is given as *dux* or *comes*, and in English *ealdorman* (Robertson 36; and from Cotton MS Claudius C.ix Robertson 51 twice, from Textus Roffensis Robertson 59 twice; in a will British Library Additional MS 15350 of AD 968–71,[13] and in the legal text 'IV Edgar', 15.1).[14] Wulfstan the homilist, in the annal in Cotton MS Tiberius B.iv, AD 975,[15] assigned to him on grounds of

style, calls him *Ælfere ealdorman.* Why did seven of Oswald's charters call the ealdorman *heretoga*? I do not believe that the reason is recoverable, and regard it as too easy to shrug it off as mere whim or fashion, as Schröder does.[16]

If we had more early West Mercian texts like the Vespasian Psalter gloss and more texts from the area of the West Mercians, though the texts may be West-Saxonised as the Bede and the Oswald Charters are, we might have evidence for the use of *heretoga* and *teon here* that might lead us to look to pre-Alfredian Mercia rather than to the continent for the use in English of *heretoga* for *dux*, a use with abundant parallels in the cognate West Germanic languages, but not necessarily borrowed from them into English. We have not the evidence to assert with Schröder that *heretoga* was not indigenous in England and was never truly naturalised, especially not for the first half of that assertion. For the second half, it is significant that the use, particularly frequent in Ælfric, of *heretoga* for biblical figures, for Moses above all others, and for other non-Germanic army-leaders was well established in 'classical Old English' prose; but it is rare for English generals.

OE *heretoga* and its relationship to OS *heritogo* may serve as an introduction to the more complicated problems of the dependence, if any, of *Christ III* on the Old Saxon *Heliand* (or perhaps on the source of *Heliand*). Some treatment has recently been given to the subject of such dependence by Roland Zanni in a work with a serviceable bibliography and also an account of the scholarship of the subject, but without perhaps sufficient evaluation of and discrimination between the various contributions and their methodologies.[17] The problem of the indigenousness of *Christ III* is more complicated than that of *heretoga* because it at once got entangled with the now settled problem of the unity of *Christ*, as a single poem by Cynewulf or in three parts of which Cynewulf wrote (and 'signed') only the second. Some of the early defenders of the unity of *Christ* thought that they had to demolish the view that only *Christ III* (or even only parts of *Christ III*) contained features pointing to Old Saxon origins. Now that the text in the Exeter Book is generally accepted as consisting of three separate parts, the demonstration of different origins of the three parts has ceased to be entangled with Cynewulf's authorship. The indigenousness of *Christ III* or its debt to Old Saxon verse is of interest in its own right. The methodology of the demonstration either way is of interest.

Christ III was regarded as having a close connection with Old Saxon verse by O. Grüters, first published as a *Teildruck* of his Bonn dissertation of 1904, and published in full in 1905.[18] Grüters's study was methodologically too weak to bear the weighty conclusions supposedly drawn from it. Some lines in *Christ III*, for example 1379–1427 (I use ASPR numbering throughout), seemed to him significantly dense with what might be Old Saxonisms. G. Binz, writing in 1907, had no difficulty in showing that Grüters's work was unsatisfactory, but Binz himself also wished to show that *Christ III* is, at least in part, dependent on Old Saxon.[19] Of course, he did not wish it to appear that he in his analysis of the Old Saxonisms in *Christ III* was indebted for the idea, though not the methodology, to Grüters, and so he takes care to point out at the start that his, Binz's, demonstration of Old Saxonisms in *Christ III* had not derived its impetus from Grüters; he himself had given expression to the idea in 1904, the year of the *Teildruck* in fact.

Both Binz and Grüters had the example of Sievers and *Genesis B* before them, an example which still reverberates in its triumphant effects in Barbara Strang's § 184: Sievers's boldly asserted and rigorously proved theory of Old Saxon origins for that part of the Old English poem had been rejected by inferior scholars like George Stephens in *Academy* 21 October 1876, 409, as Grüters reminds his readers (p. 2), but the discovery of the Vatican fragments of the Old Saxon *Genesis* vindicated Sievers's brilliant philological deductions. As late as 1948, F. Mossé, at the end of an article on possible Old Saxonisms in *Christ III*, still toys with the possibility that a lucky find may bring proof; but he despairs of such luck:

> A moins de quelque heureux hasard qui fasse découvrir un jour le texte vieux-saxon qui a servi à l'auteur anglais de *Christ III*, il ne sera jamais possible d'administrer la preuve de l'emprunt. Pris séparément, chacun des faits que nous venons d'évoquer serait un témoignage insuffisant. Réunis, ces phénomènes qui vont tous dans le même sens, celui de calques involontaires, concourent à fournir une présomption qui n'est peut-être pas négligeable.[20]

Binz relied on words found in Old English only in *Christ III* but more common in Old Saxon. Zanni's monograph gives an

historical account of Old Saxonisms discussed in this connection by Binz and others. Binz, however, failed to avail himself of all the lexicographical tools at his disposal, relying too much on Grein's *Sprachschatz* without checking Bosworth–Toller for prose uses.[21] The reviewers had little difficulty in disposing of Binz to their satisfaction.[22]

By the time Binz's material was sifted little remained for continued discussion; but some items, especially the following, were still considered of interest: *crybb, tom, mur.* Mossé still relied on such material in his acceptance of cumulative evidence for philological deductions. It seems doubtful if, when each strand of evidence has been found weak, after proper scrutiny, such evidence can nevertheless combine to give support to the edifice of Old Saxon origins. The case of *Genesis B* was quite different even before the great discovery of 1894. Various classes of borrowings from Old Saxon do not admit of doubt: e.g. *giongorscipe, giongordom*; *romigan*; *hearran hyldo*; *fyrnum, þicce.*[23] Even if in one or two cases the evidence is less convincing because a newly adduced use in Old English reduces it to some extent, e.g. *strið*,[24] or in a more English form, e.g. not *-abal* but *-afol*,[25] the language of *Genesis B* is uniquely different from ordinary Old English as used in verse or prose, that it is significant that a relatively high proportion of its unique features are close to the language of *Heliand.*

Having scrutinised Binz's listings and removed from them item after item as unproven, his critics went over to the attack by seeking proof of English indigenousness of *Christ III* by making the most of those linguistic items which were English and not Old Saxon. In this they may have built upon Sievers's methodology for *Genesis B.* He had been able to contrast the many locutions based on Old Saxon with the few exclusively English in that poem. The distribution was quite different from that in *Christ III,* and it seems a singularly unconvincing procedure to single out *holm* 'sea' (978), as Brown did (p. 95), and regard it as 'a piece of positive evidence against Binz's theory'. W. Krogmann, pointing out that *neorxnawong* (1405) is exclusively English, uses that as evidence.[26] The absence in this poem on Judgement Day of an Old English form of OS *mutspelli* (OHG *muspilli*) is regarded by Krogmann (pp. 26–7) as evidence for the indigenousness of *Christ III*: but forms of the word — so prominent in the minds of *Germanisten* — occur only three times in West Germanic, twice in *Heliand* and once

in the Old High German poem that goes under the name of the word,[27] and four times in Old Icelandic literature where it is used rather differently. With such a rare word we can deduce very little from non-occurrence other than that it was not equally prominent in the minds of authors in the Germanic languages. Differently questionable is Krogmann's rejection (pp. 18–21) of Binz's highly unlikely derivation (pp. 187–8) of *feorhgomum* (1548) as having the second element from OS *goma* 'entertainment, banquet' and the first element perhaps OS *fern* (< Latin *infernum*) 'hell'. Krogmann triumphantly points to OFris *gōm* 'punishment',[28] and adds: 'Damit ist auch die letzte Stütze Binz' zusammengebrochen.' The proposed etymology of *feorhgomum* looks away from the obvious sense of the words in Old English: *feorh* 'soul, life' and *goma* 'palate' in pl. 'jaws', leading to an adequate, early representation of hell-mouth as the jaws in which the soul enters, 'soul-jaws', or perhaps, thus Bosworth–Toller, 'fatal or deadly jaws'. (For another depiction of hell-mouth in Old English verse, cf. *Andreas* 1703 *in helle ceafl* 'into the jaws of hell'.) For *Genesis B* this kind of etymology often works well; for example, OE *sælð* 'happiness' is not uncommon, but at 784 the word seems to be OS *seliða* 'dwelling'; OE *wǣr* is common as a noun 'agreement' or as an adjective *wǣr* 'prepared'; but *Genesis B* 475 has *wǣr* corresponding to OS *uuār* 'true'. Such etymologies provide a demonstration of Neo-Grammarian skills: after discovering concealed meanings in some words of *Genesis B* the Germanic philologist may therefore be tempted to look for similar concealed Old Saxonisms in *Christ III* if he believes that the poem is of Old Saxon origins.

A complex example of a claim to have detected concealed borrowings from Old Saxon in *Christ III* occurs at line 1440.[29] It may be most convenient to begin with OS *felgian*, thought to underlie the verb in the *Christ* reading: *fylgdon me mid firenum.* In Old Saxon verse *felgian* 'lay, charge, impose (something) upon (a person)' occurs only at *Heliand* 1340, 4968, 5116, and probably 5299.[30] The readings are: *felgiad iu firinspraka endi fiundskepi* (1340 M, C similar): '(they) subjected you to wicked speech and hostility'; *Thar im ok en uuif bigan / felgian firinspraka* (4967b-8a M, C similar): 'Then a woman did also subject him to wicked speech'; *felgidun imu firinuuord fiundo menegi* (5116 M, C similar): 'the multitude of enemies subjected him to wicked words';

ledian hiet ina lungra mann, endi lastar spracun,
folgodun im firinuuord, thar hie an feteron geng
bihlagan mid hoscu. (5298–5300 C, not in M)

where MS *folgodun* is usually emended to *felgidun*, '(Herod) commanded strong men to lead him, and they spoke evil, subjected him to wicked words, where, derided with mockery, he went in fetters'. In the 'Formelverzeichnis' to his edition (s.v. *lästern*, p. 430), Sievers drew attention to the phrase *fylgean mid firenum* in *Christ III*. The etymology of *felgian* is not obvious, and certainly not close to that of OE *folgian, fyl(i)gan* 'follow'. Of cognates (or probable cognates) only OHG *felgen* has senses in any way comparable with those of OS *felgian*.[31] In Old Saxon the word is used in formulas invoking evil, and these rare formulas include explicitly 'evil speech' or 'evil words'. The verb in the Cotton MS at 5299 is significantly different; there is confusion with *folgon* 'follow', cf. OE *folgian, fylgan*. Not everyone favoured the emendation of the Cotton text at 5299; C.W.M. Grein, whose cautious editing of Old English texts has had a lasting influence on Anglo-Saxon textual scholarship and has made it more conservative than is customary in most branches of Germanic studies, suggests that *lastar-spracun* is a compound instr. pl. with *firinuuord* nom. pl.: 'and wicked words pursued him with evil utterances'.[32] That may well be how the Cotton text could be made sense of, but in view of line 5116 a form of the verb *felgian* probably underlies 5299, the reading *folgodun* providing evidence perhaps that *felgian* + dat. of the person + *firin*-compound acc. was obsolescent.

The reading at *Christ III* 1440 is different. Hofmann regards it as the result of an Anglo-Saxon's misunderstanding of an Old Saxon poetic formula, i.e. *felgidun mi firinuuord* 'they subjected me to wicked words'. The text makes sense as it stands, however: 'Then I received before the people the hatred of enemies; they pursued me with iniquities; they did not shrink from hostility, and with scourges they struck.' (For a similar use in verse of *fylgian* 'pursue', cf. *Pharaoh* 3: 'þa hy folc godes / þurh feondscipe fylgan ongunn[on]', 'when through enmity they did pursue God's people'.) The context of *Christ III* 1440a is significantly concerned with the iniquity of hating Christ and giving expression to that hatred in physical violence causing corporal pain (*licsar* 1429), buffeting (*hearmslege* 1434) of head and countenance, spitting from the mouth of the ungodly