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Older Germanic Languages in a Comparative Perspective

edited by
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Preface

The articles in this book are the visible and solid result of a symposium – The Seventh International Tromsø Symposium on Language, entitled *Older Germanic languages in a comparative perspective* – which was held in June 1991 at the School of Languages and Literature, University of Tromsø.[1]

The authors of the articles in the present volume, who, with the exception of Professor Vennemann, were all participants of the symposium, are those linguists at the University of Tromsø working with older Germanic languages, and are those of our Norwegian colleagues with whom we have most professional contact, as well as some outstanding foreign scholars who brought new knowledge and fresh inspiration to our geographical outpost.

In the invitations to the symposium we cited an important passage from a paper by the Norwegian Germanist, Ingerid Dal (1983: 92); this passage underlines the importance of looking at the older Germanic languages as a connected whole:

> Die altgerm. Sprachen bilden in so hohem Grade eine Einheit, daß ihre Systeme nur durch eine vergleichende Betrachtung erforscht und verstanden werden können. Dagegen weichen die Sprachen der alten Periode in ihrer Struktur und in der Art ihrer Überlieferung so sehr von denen der späteren Epochen ab, daß die Gesichtspunkte, die man von hier aus anlegt, oft zu schiefen Problemstellungen und Lösungen führen können.
> 'The old Germanic languages form a unity to such a high degree that their systems can only be investigated and understood if we adopt a comparative point of view. On the other hand, in terms of their structure and in terms of the types of data which have come down to us, the old languages of the old period are so different from those of later periods that the perspectives adopted on the basis of these may often lead to inappropriate questions as well as answers. [Olaf Jansen Westvik's translation]

As we believe that Dal's suggestion has great validity, we were happy to see that many of the participants of the symposium complied with the request implicit in the passage cited above; obviously, however, not all Germanic studies lend themselves equally well to a comparative perspective.

The papers read at the symposium and, consequently, the articles in this book vary greatly with respect to subject matter and approach. This

eclectic state of affairs accurately reflects the fact that those working with older Germanic languages constitute a very heterogeneous class, including philologists, runologists, and "pure" linguists (as well as those who combine fields). Most of the papers, however, are syntactic studies. Old English and Old Norse are the languages which are discussed most often, although most of the older Germanic languages are drawn into the discussion. Some of the topics and languages considered are among the most central to Germanic linguistics, but new light is also thrown on topics and languages which are less heavily researched.

In several papers one (or occasionally two) older Germanic language is the chief object of investigation. Thus a given linguistic phenomenon will be analyzed in terms of this language, through other languages may provide additional evidence and are used to compare and contrast divergent (or indeed convergent) developments. In addition, of course, different stages of one language may illustrate changes and be compared and contrasted.

In the group of papers dealing mainly with English we find Stockwell and Minkova's paper, as well as Breivik's. In Kastovsky's and Swan's papers English also plays a major role, but German and Old Norse, respectively, are equally important to their arguments. Stockwell and Minkova's paper presents a discussion of recent treatments of Kuhn's (1933) generalizations about clause beginnings in older Germanic verse. While there have been proposals for metrical as well as syntactic explanations of word order in such poetry, Stockwell and Minkova argue that these interact; that is, the metrical principles determine which of the syntactic possibilities will be exploited.

Breivik's paper discusses the comparative construction in a cross-linguistic perspective; he suggests that particle comparatives in English, as well as in many other Germanic languages, have gradually lost their semantic transparency, and that the comparatives in such languages have become re-analyzed as independent constructions. Breivik suggests that comparatives should be studied in a wider context than that typical at present, which tends to focus on English and the other European languages (and indeed Breivik does bring in data from a wide variety of languages in this paper).

Kastovsky discusses typological differences with respect to the morphology of German and English, arguing that while the older forms of these languages were typologically heterogeneous (including both a word-based and a stem-based morphology), the modern descendants have developed very differently. Kastovsky investigates the causes of these

divergent developments, and shows that both phonological changes and certain general morphological changes were important.

Swan compares Old Norse and Old English word order in sentences with initial sentence and non-sentence adverbials and suggests that Old Norse and Old English differ greatly with respect to the verb-second constraint.

In one single paper, namely Fischer's, Dutch is the major language under discussion. Dutch is, however, contrasted with, and compared to, English. Fischer discusses the divergent fortunes of the Latinate accusative with infinitive constructions following verba declarandi et cogitandi in these languages. She claims that while both languages have been influenced by Latin, this construction has become fully accepted in the English language, but has died out in Dutch. It is argued that this situation is related to typological changes, notably the change to SVO in English, with Dutch, of course, remaining an SOV language.

The Scandinavian languages, specifically Norwegian, are the the major concern of Christoffersen's and Mørck's papers. Christoffersen discusses Old Norse sentences introduced by adverbials, focussing on the position of the subject in such sentences. She shows that the subject normally follows the finite verb, precisely as in modern Norwegian, and argues that positions further to the right in the sentence are possible only under certain well-defined conditions. Mørck's paper deals with the distribution of subject properties and the acquistion of subjecthood in the West Scandinavian languages. He suggests that the languages in question, Old Norse and its modern descendants, Icelandic, Faroese, and contemporary Norwegian, represent four stages of a common development, crucially varying with respect to case morphology, word order, and syntactic properties related to subject-like nominatives.

The remainder of the papers (Vennemann, Braunmüller, Bammesberger, Nielsen, and Jansen Westvik) are more general or less language-specific, dealing either with developments in, or from, Proto-Germanic, or with features of several different Germanic languages. Unlike the above-mentioned papers, which all are syntactic, these vary more with respect to subject matter.

Vennemann's paper argues that the division between High and Low Germanic (i.e., the Second Consonant Shift) occurred at least half a millennium earlier than has been assumed traditionally. Vennemann advances three sets of arguments, one of which is based on his sociolinguistic "repression theory". Other arguments involve attempts to determine the relative chronology of the Shift, dating it to a period at least

as early as the dissolution of the West Germanic Sprachbund. In addition, he discusses evidence from Latin loan words in Old High German and from various adjectival names of deities in inscriptions from the second and third centuries.

Braunmüller's paper on the development of the NP structure in West and North Germanic languages suggests that there is evidence for Proto-Germanic being typologically ambiguous. Braunmüller discusses two approaches to the development of the NP structure, namely the typological approach and that of Government and Binding theory, concluding that the Government and Binding approach provides a better explanation for the development of the NP.

Jansen Westvik's paper is concerned with subjects, or rather with the apparent lack of subjects, in certain sentences in Old Germanic languages. Specifically, Jansen Westvik discusses modalized and non-modalized nominativeless sentences, claiming that they differ crucially with respect to analysis of the "lacking" subject. He argues that the former should be analyzed as structures where a non-finite sentence with a lexically empty subject position has been embedded under the modal.

Bammesberger's paper deals with the development of the runic script and its relationship to Germanic phonological history. He discusses the relationship between certain changes of vocalism in early Germanic and later Anglo-Frisian, as well as the development of the runes symbolizing those vowels.

Nielsen's paper is devoted to a discussion of Ingerid Dal's dictun, cited above, and to her work; as such it is a tribute to this grand old lady of Germanics. In particular he deals with her views on Old Saxon texts, for instance her attempts to show that their great variety of morphological forms reflects a duality attributable to language contact.

Finally we would like to express our gratitude to our contributors and to NAVF (the Norwegian Research Council); the grants from NAVF financed the symposium and also made possible the publication of this volume.

Endre Mørck *Olaf Jansen Westvik* *Toril Swan*

Organizers of the Seventh International Tromsø Symposium on Language

Note

1. The first in this series was held in 1984. The topics of these previous symposia were as follows (we also note publications where applicable):
   Comparative Germanic–Romance syntax (1984).
   Lexical phonology and morphology (1985).
   The causes of language change – do we know them yet? (1987). Papers published as *Language change: Contributions to the study of its causes.* (Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin 1989). Editors: Leiv Egil Breivik and Ernst Håkon Jahr.
   Language, sex and society (1988). Papers published as *Language, sex, and society* as Volume 94 of *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.* (Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin, 1992). Issue editors: Tove Bull and Toril Swan.
   Language contact (1989). Papers published as *Language contact – theoretical and empirical studies.* (Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin, 1990). Editor: Ernst Håkon Jahr.
   Language conflict and language planning (1990). Papers in press (Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin). Editor: Ernst Håkon Jahr.

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The development of the runic script and its relationship to Germanic phonological history

Alfred Bammesberger

In Ingerid Dal's quote which opened the initial invitation to the Tromsø symposium the high degree of unity between the Germanic languages was stressed. After some hesitation and some searching it seemed to me that the subject that would most usefully fit this description was the one artifact that is common to what we may call the Germanic speech community, namely the runic script. And given the fact that runic inscriptions hail in great number from Denmark, Norway and Sweden the subject seemed indeed appropriate for a symposium held at the world's northernmost university.[1]

1. Why were runes invented?

The origin of runic writing is in several respects an unsolved riddle, and not much space will be devoted to this issue here. What I would like to discuss at greater length is the question as to how the phonological development of Germanic dialects is reflected in the system of runic writing used to render texts in those dialects. But before turning to these major issues I would like to discuss briefly conceivable purposes in inventing the runic script in the first place.

I will omit from consideration the major issue as to which alphabet was the immediate source for the runic letters. I would wish to add, however, that on the whole the position held by a number of distinguished Scandinavian scholars who think that Latin is the source alphabet seems to me basically correct; see now Odenstedt (1991). I would like to mention Ebbinghaus (1988), who, in a short review of Page (1987), pointed out that runes 1 ᚠ (= F); 2 ᚢ (= V [inverted]); 5 ᚱ (= R); 6 ᚲ (= K); 9 ᚺ (= H); 11 ᛁ (= I); 16 ᛋ (= S); 17 ᛏ (= T); 18 ᛒ (= B); 21 ᛚ (= L) clearly show "formal *and* phonetic relations" to the corresponding Latin characters. But the Latin alphabet must have followed fairly complicated paths until it ultimately emerged in the shape of runes used for writing dialects of Germanic. The latest work on this subject is Seebold's 1991

article, which refines the derivation of the runic script from Latin. We may still ask why the runes were invented in the first place.

I readily accept Moltke's view that magical purposes can hardly have been the driving force in creating the runic script: "... writing is primarily a neutral means of communication that comes into being when it is needed, whether it serves to maintain the complex correspondence and accounts of state administration or to help a merchant keep track of his clients and stock at home and abroad" (Moltke 1985: 69). But it must be stressed that for the purposes set out the Latin script was available and would certainly have been used. The language of business transactions must have been Latin anyway. Therefore it is very doubtful indeed whether Moltke's optimistic prediction can be fulfilled: "One day a stroke of providential luck will lead us to discover a Roman Iron Age bill of lading inscribed on wood – a find to match that archaeological explosion in Bergen which sent a shower of everyday runes over an astonished world – cargo lists, merchant's tags, love letters, magic spells, and ordinary, commonplace messages" (1985: 69). This inference is not based on any evidence we have. Odenstedt (1990: 171–172) took the – to my mind more promising – approach of analyzing the contents of the runic texts we have.

Admittedly any analysis of this kind is difficult to carry through because in many instances we are not certain what a given inscription really means. In Odenstedt's listing, inscriptions consisting of "a single personal name" constitute a group of semantically describable content, and significantly, this group is the one with the highest number of members (26). We may well ask what the purpose of these inscriptions may originally have been. To my mind the "single personal name" inscriptions originally served mainly for identification and for signaling property. That at a later stage they could have ornamental value is certainly also true. These general observations will now be applied to two specific texts.

2. Two early inscriptions

In order to test the validity of what has just been said I will now deal with two inscriptions, one of them certainly non-runic, the other just as clearly in runes. I need the first inscription to make my point about the purpose of writing. The second will be of importance as being one of the earliest runic documents. In theory I would expect two types of syntactic structures to prevail in runic inscriptions if they served the purposes

outlined above. On the one hand, I would expect vocatives to be fairly frequent. The vocative would serve as a means of addressing the person in question. The second type could be nominal clauses of the type "I am X", in which X can be a substantive (including a name) or an adjective. The two inscriptions to be mentioned here illustrate both types.

The so-called *Negau*-helmet (now in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna) has for a long time been considered as presenting us with the earliest piece of text in a Germanic language; see Figure 1 and Plates 1

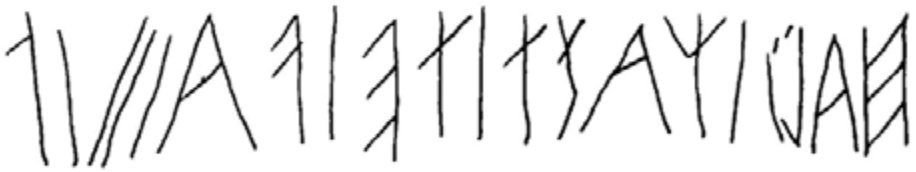


Figure 1. The Negau Helmet inscription

and 2. Archaeological details and the complicated issue of dating the helmet need not detain us here. The most extensive discussion of the linguistic issues is offered in Reichardt (1953). Reichardt read the text as follows:

HARIXASTITEIVA|||IP

What can be said to be generally agreed upon is the interpretation of (normalized) *Harigasti* as indicating a name. The boundaries of the following word are not clear, although it is usually assumed that the sequence (normalized) *teiwa* belongs to the stem IE **deyw-ó-* 'divine' (cf. Skt. *devá-* 'God'; Lat. *deus* etc.). No really convincing analysis of the sequence has been suggested so far, however. Under the circumstances I would like to submit that both *Harigasti* and *teiw* are correctly shaped vocatives;[2] *-a* in *teiwa* is assumed not to belong to the word.[3]

For the *i*-stem Gmc. **gasti-*, nominative **gastiz*, the vocative can regularly be expected to lack the nominative marker **-s* > Gmc. **-z*.[4] The Germanic thematic stem **teiwa-* may well have functioned as an adjective. If an adjectival vocative was needed, it could theoretically follow both the strong and the weak declension pattern. Therefore the vocative Gmc. **teiwe* (< IE **deywe*) would be quite regular. In final position *-e* (and *-a*) were lost very early, as we can clearly see from the strong preterite, where in 1 sg. and 3 sg. only endingless forms occur: *staig* 'I climbed, he climbed' goes back to **staiga, staige*. *Harigasti teiw* can therefore be parsed as the vocative *Harigasti* followed by the epithet

Plate 1

Plates 1 and 2. The Negau Helmet; reproduced with permission of *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.*

teiw. This part of the inscription could mean 'o Harigast, divine one', and this would be the way in which the owner of the helmet wanted to be addressed by his fellows (or subordinates).

Apart from the vocatives I expect nominal clauses of the type "I am X". From later times these are well known and need no further illustration. It may be mentioned, however, that perhaps the Pietroassa ring could also contain a nominal clause. The drawing in Figure 2 is based on the publication in Stephens (1866).[5] The inscription of the ring can be quoted as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
g	*u*	*t*	*a*	*n*	*i*	*o*	*w*	*i*	*h*	*a*	*i*	*l*	*a*	*g*

With regard to the interpretation of the text one essential assumption seems necessary and widely accepted, namely that rune 7 ᛟ does not just represent a letter but stands for the "name" of ᛟ. Since the name of ᛟ is well-known from the manuscript tradition, we can assume that the word

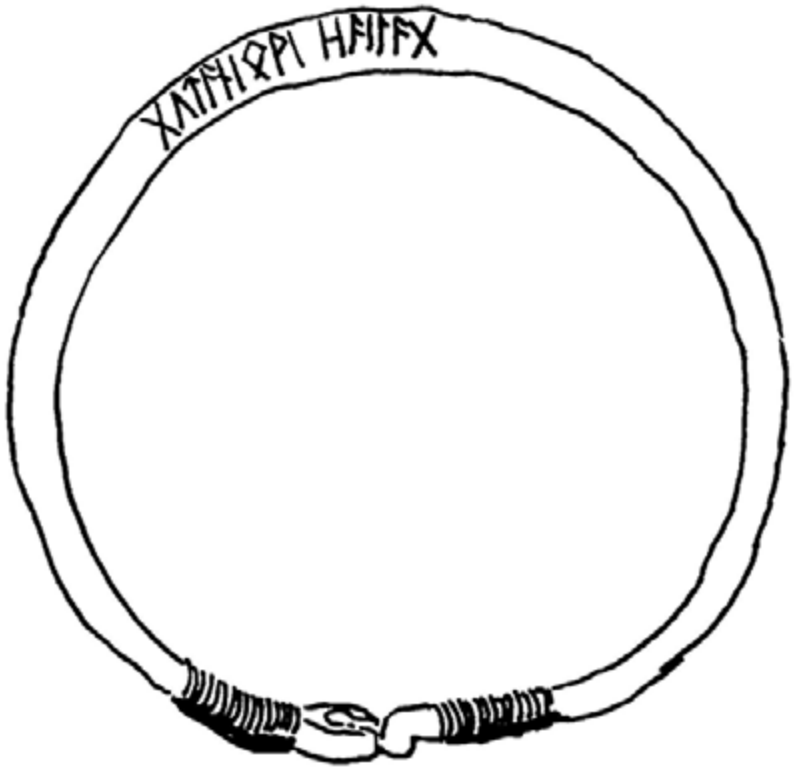


Figure 2. The Pietroassa Ring inscription

in place of rune 7 is to be read as *oþal* (Gmc. **ōþala-*) 'possession'. A further observation is necessary about rune 10. Since in runic inscriptions geminated consonants were widely represented by a single grapheme, it is quite possible that ᚺ is in reality to be read as *h-h-*. On the assumption that the above points are correct, the inscription can be edited as follows:

Gutani-o-wi-hailag = Gutani oþal wih hailag

The inscription may be translated as follows: 'this hereditary treasure of the Goths (IS) sacrosanct'. This is a nominal clause with the copula unexpressed.

3. An early change in the Germanic vowel system

According to the material so far dealt with we can assume that runic writing must have been developed around the time of the birth of Christ or earlier, certainly not later. The runes normally do not distinguish phonemic length, we therefore have one shape for the short and the long

vowel respectively. This system was well-known from Latin; absence of length indication thus in itself makes it likely that Latin writing stood behind the invention of runes.

We can assume that from an early stage runes had "names" according to the acronymic principle, which means that regularly a word beginning with a certain sound stood for the rune as such. We have seen this principle at work in the Pietroassa ring, where ᛟ seems to stand for *opal*.

One of the most intractable problems of runic writing is the so-called "yew-tree" rune. Even its phonetic value is very hard to establish.[6] From later sources we get the curious impression that the "yew"-rune could represent both a vowel and a consonant, which is certainly not what we would expect a normal runic letter to do.[7] The problems of the "yew"-rune have been dealt with repeatedly, and it would be useless to present all the various opinions expressed on the issue. To my mind the right approach in explaining the history of the "yew"-rune has been taken by Elmer Antonsen, although I do not agree with his conclusions. Antonsen has dealt with the "yew"-rune on several occasions, but for the present purposes it may suffice to take up his latest discussion in Senner (1989: 137–158). In brief, Antonsen thinks that ᛇ was originally used to render Gmc. $\bar{æ}$ [$\bar{e}^1$]. My misgivings[8] about this interpretation are basically twofold. Firstly I do not believe that the runic writing system made consistent distinctions between long and short vowels; therefore it would seem much more natural to me that $\bar{æ}$ [$\bar{e}^1$] would be rendered by the rune for /e/ (at an early stage) or by the rune for /a/ (at a later stage, when $\bar{æ}$ was opened to /ā/ in West Germanic and North Germanic). The second point I would wish to make is that Gmc. *$\bar{e}^1$, although rarely, did occur in initial position. One can think of some forms of the root for 'eat' with lengthened grade, there are a few words like 'eel' and some further items: Had ᛇ been used for Gmc. *$\bar{e}^1$, then we would expect it to have a name that originally had initial *$\bar{e}^1$.

These thoughts can hardly be called "objections", but I think that they cast doubt on the identification of ᛇ with Gmc. *$\bar{e}^1$. I would, however, stress that Antonsen's approach seems methodically correct. Antonsen's main idea is that we have to follow up the phonological history of the language in order to understand the development of the runic writing system. It seems to me that the history of ᛇ is indeed intimately linked to the development of Germanic phonology.

One of the early sound changes in the Germanic vowel systems concerns the monophthongization of the inherited diphthong /ei/. The form *teiw* quoted above from the *Harigasti* inscription preserves the inherited diph-

thong /ei/ that was later monophthongized to /ī/. My contention is that the development of the rune ᛇ must be seen precisely in the context of the monophthongization of /ei/ > /ī/. The following observations, although hardly conclusive, may be submitted.

Runes were used acronymically. Thus *fehu* was the "name" for the rune *F*, and so on. Therefore we can expect that the rune in question at some time stood for the word for "yew". Although we are not able to reconstruct the word for "yew" precisely, there are enough indications to help us on. We seem to find both **īwa-* and **īha-*, and I assume we could combine these two into one common form by positing **īgwa-/īh(w)a-*. I do not know what the ultimate etymology of this word is. But a few suggestions may be submitted even so. Since **-gw-/-hw-* are alternants within the Verner's Law regulation, we can assume that the accent could be either on the root syllable or on the thematic vowel.

This opens up an entirely different way for explaining the initial vowel. The vowel could well be a long *ī*, but if we are concerned with a formation in *-a-* with apparently the possibility of having the thematic vowel stressed then this makes us think immediately of a vrddhi formation. Vrddhi formations are characterized by a thematic vowel and an insertion of *e* into the root. If therefore the root element of the word in question was **īhw-*, then a vrddhi could be expected as **eīgwa-*, and this would lead regularly to **eiwa-*. The main issue now is this: If there was a root noun **īhw-* (whose precise prehistory we need not deal with here) and this had a thematic derivative **eiwa-* by its side, the two could come to have similar functions. Originally **īhw-* 'yew' would have been a substantive, **eiwa-* was an adjective, meaning 'having the quality of being a yew'.

The decisive point is that the diphthong *ei* was monophthongized in all Germanic languages. We do not know precisely when this change occurred. But we can certainly assume that around the time of the birth of Christ the monophthongization had been carried through. This caused one of the problems with which I will be concerned further on. We can imagine that the word for "yew" was written as ⟨ih⟩ or possibly ⟨eiw⟩ at an early stage. When *ei* became a monophthong the spelling ⟨ei⟩ was no longer meaningful. The "yew"-rune may be a remnant of times gone by. The rune may well be a bind-rune. It became useless because of the phonological development.[9] As far as I can tell the suggestion submitted here has not been put forward in this form before.[10] The following points will be along the same lines. But they will largely concern the development of runic writing as seen in the Anglo-Frisian area.

4. Runes 4, 25, and 26 in the *fuþorc*

The Old English runes can be listed in three rows of eight runes each; the fourth row has seven members only. The first three rows represent the "original" runes; the fourth row contains runes that were added; see Figure 3. What was rune 4 in the original *fuþark* split up into three

Figure 3. The Old English *fuþorc*

different runes in the Old English system, and this innovation must certainly be seen in relationship to the phonological development of the language. There is an often overlooked statement in Campbell's grammar to the effect that the assignment of the sound value *æ* to ᚦ was independent of the manuscript tradition (Campbell 1959: 28). We would indeed expect the unmodified runic letter ᚦ to render *a* if the Latin system of the period had been the underlying model for reforming the runic letters.

That runes 4, 25, and 26 are modifications of one underlying rune is obvious. The underlying rune is ᚦ. ᚠ and ᚨ must then be viewed as modifications of ᚦ. The sound values of the three runes as used in Old English inscriptions are as follows:

26 ᚦ = *æ*
25 ᚠ = *a*
4 ᚨ = *o*

Page (1973: 44–45) (see also Page 1985: 34) linked the development of runes 4, 25, and 26 to sound changes in (Pre-)Old-English: Gmc. /a/ was brightened to /æ/ in the prehistory of Old English and Old Frisian, but before a nasal no brightening occurred. These changes must have had repercussions in the runic writing system. Page (1973: 45) proposed to derive ᚪ from ᚨ + ᛁ. In a comparable way, ᚫ could be assumed to go back to ᚨ + ᚾ. But Odenstedt (1990: 140) objected to this explanation: "This theory seems to presuppose that the inventor of ᚪ knew that OE *ā* derived from Prim. Gmc. *ai*, a fact that he could not possibly have been aware of. Even more far-fetched seems the notion that ᚫ is a combination of ᚨ and ᚾ = *n*."

In addition to the two sound changes mentioned by Page, a third sound change must also be taken into consideration. This change is a typically Ingvaeonic one and, at least to the full extent it is found there, does not occur in the remainder of West Germanic nor, for that matter, in the remaining Germanic languages. Old English and Old Frisian are set off from the other Germanic languages by having lost at an early stage the diphthong /ai/.[11] In Old English /ai/ uniformly yielded /ā/, which could undergo *i*-umlaut (> /ǣ/). In Frisian we find both /ā/ and /ē/ corresponding to Gmc. *ai*. It is not important here to spell out the precise course by which /ai/ became monophthongs in Old English and Old Frisian. The essential point is that the diphthong disappeared from the linguistic system.[12]

While it is certainly true that the inventor(s) of the Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc* could not possibly know the historical descent of OE *ā* from Gmc. *ai*, the "rational" explanation suggested by Odenstedt (1990: 140) is hardly self-evident: "The inventor had no doubt noticed that *a* and *æ*, *a* and *o* frequently alternated in the same word (e.g. *dæg* – *dagas; mann* – *monn*). Since *a, æ, o* were somehow related in these words, the inventor thought it fit to allocate similar symbols to them, based on the old ᚨ-rune. He achieved this in the simplest possible way, by adding one short angular stroke to the upper arm in ᚪ and two angular strokes in ᚫ. These strokes are not reflexes of other runes; they are merely arbitrary graphic conventions."

This explanation is not convincing. One might even wonder if it would not have been more natural for the inventor to preserve the original ᚨ-rune in what was the original value. That OE *æ* is the phonologically regular continuation of an older *a* is certainly also a detail of the language history of which the inventor of the Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc* cannot have been aware. With regard to Odenstedt's linguistic material some objec-

tions may be raised. It must be stressed that the creation of ᚠ would seem particularly useless in the period preceding *i*-umlaut, since clearly ᚩ was available.[13] The statement that "*a* and *æ*, *a* and *o* frequently alternated in the same word (e. g., *dæg* – *dagas*, *mann* – *monn*)" (Odenstedt 1990: 140) certainly requires some modification. It is true that *mann* is found in some dialects, *monn* in others, and mixtures may have occurred. But we should assume that originally a given dialect had one form and not the other. The case of *dæg* – *dagas* is completely different in that the incidence of *æ* – *a* is directly linked to the position of the vowel in the word: *-a-* as found in (plural) *dagas*[14] was raised to *-æ-* in (singular) *dæg*. The alternation in *dæg* – *dagas* is morphonologically conditioned; the speakers were by no means free to exchange *æ* – *a*. In a given dialect the singular was *dæg* (not **dag*), the plural was *dagas* (not **dægæs* or the like).[15]

We must envisage the runes in concrete writing situations, and with regard to the runes under investigation we can certainly consider their "names", which have reasonably clear etymologies:

26 ᚨ = *æ* *æsc* 'ash'
25 ᚪ = *a* *āc* 'oak'
4 ᚠ = *o* *ōs* 'god'

If we assume that a word like "oak" was written at some stage of West Germanic as ᚨ | ᛣ ⟨a-i-k⟩, then the sequence ⟨a-i-⟩ must have appeared rather useless from the period when the word was pronounced /āk/ or possibly /ēk/. If the bind-rune ᚨ + | (→ ᚪ) was used, then it is totally comprehensible that this bind-rune could come to carry the sound value /ā/. Since there was usually no distinction between long and short vowels, this sign was used for short /a/ as well as for /ā/.[16]

We can certainly assume that the "names" for ᚨ 'ash' (< Gmc. **ask*-), ᚪ 'oak' (< Gmc. **aik*-), and ᚠ 'god' (< Gmc. **ansu*-) were written out in runes. The following list can be drawn up:

26 ᚨ: ᚨ ᚴ ᛣ Gmc. **ask*- > OE *æsc* 'ash' ᚨ ᚴ
25 ᚪ: ᚨ | ᛣ Gmc. **aik*- > OE *āc* 'oak' ᚪ ᛣ
4 ᚠ: ᚨ ᚾ ᚴ Gmc. **ans*- > OE *ōs* 'god' ᚠ ᚴ

When **ans*- yielded *ōs*, it might have seemed natural to write ᚩ ᚴ, since the sound *ō* (as well as *o*) was regularly rendered by ᚩ. At the same time we must keep in mind that any writing system is very conservative. It is therefore quite thinkable that both ᚠ and ᚩ for writing /o(:)/ (ᚠ ᚴ ~ ᚩ ᚴ = ⟨os⟩) could occur side by side for some time. From the period when

ᛝ[17] had received the *i*-umlaut value *æ*, it was no longer useful for rendering /o/, and ᚩ may have taken its place. That rune 4 retained its original place in the *fuþorc* may be due to its "name": rune 4 traditionally meant 'god'. It is therefore the modified rune ᚩ that kept the place, whereas the original ᚭ was moved towards the end of the rune row. Both ᚩ 'āc' (25) and ᚭ 'æsc' (26) received secondary "names" according to the acronymic principle, when the three sound changes typical for Ingvaeonic were carried through: monophthongization of /ai/ (> OE *ā*), brightening of /a/ (> OE *æ*), and velarization (and then lengthening) of /a/ followed by nasal + spirant (> OE *ō*).[18]

These rather theoretical considerations will now be checked with reference to some runic inscriptions.

5. Four Old English runic inscriptions

From the pre-650 period four Old English inscriptions will be dealt with in the following lines.[19]

Caistor-by-Norwich

The roe-deer's ankle-bone seems to date from ca. A. D. 400 (Page 1987: 32); it presents one of the earliest runic inscriptions we have (see Figure 4). The runes can be read without difficulty:

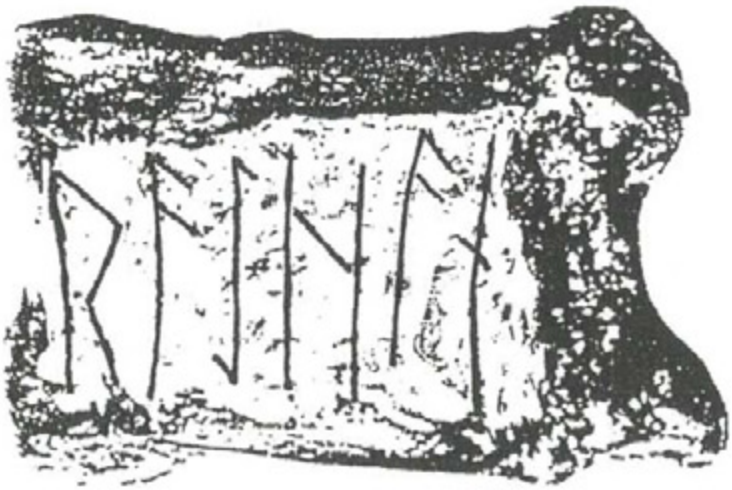


Figure 4. The Caistor-by-Norwich inscription

ᚱ ᚨ ᛇ ᚺ ᚨ ᚾ
1 2 3 4 5 6
r a ? h a n

The most widely accepted interpretation of the six runes is nowadays that they represent a case form of the *n*-stem Gmc. **raih-an-* (> OE *rāha, rā* 'roe'). This would seem to imply that at least the suffixal *-an* was written by means of ᚨ + ᚾ. The piece could be assumed to have a genitive form inscribed. We would then posit the underlying form as **raih-an-az*, in which the final syllable was lost in West-Germanic. The text could mean '(this is) Raiha's (piece)'.

Undley

The identification of the runes on the gold bracteate found in 1981 seems to pose minor problems only (see Figure 5). The bracteate can be dated to A. D. 450–500 according to Hines (1990: 441); see also Nielsen (1991). Reading from right to left there are eleven individual runic elements on it, and they will be counted consecutively as numbers 1–11. Numbers 1, 2 and 3 are counted as one rune each, although in theory runes 1 and 3 could be counted as two runes each (ᚷ+ᚨ); for rune 2 it will be argued that it could stand for three runes (ᚷ + ᚨ + ᚾ). It should be noted that in the second word the bind-rune ᚷ + ᚨ (runes 6 and 7) was avoided, although it could have been used in the same way as in runes 1 and 3. The text can be rendered as follows:

ᛦ ᛗ ᛖ ᛗ ᛜ ᛏ ᚷ ᛏ ᛗ ᛜ ᚷ ᚷ ᚷ
11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
←

This sequence has been read as:

gæ go gæ ᛜ m æ g æ ᛜ m e d u
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Odenstedt interpreted the inscription as '(This bracteate representing) a she-wolf (is) a reward to my kinsman' (Odenstedt 1990: 138, also Odenstedt 1983 and Hines – Odenstedt 1987). Eichner (1990: 316) took Odenstedt's interpretation as his starting-point, but parsed *gægogæ* (read as *gægo[n]gæ*] as 3 sg. pres. subj. of *-gangan* 'go'. He translated the text as 'Es werde zuteil dem Verwandten Belohnung'. While Eichner's objections to Odenstedt's interpretation of *gægogæ* as **ga-gō-ōjōn* 'Heulerin' (thought to refer to the she-wolf shown in the lower part of the bracteate)

Figure 5. The Undley Bracteate

are certainly cogent, it must remain unclear whether the phrase 'may a reward go to the kinsman' (= 'may the kinsman get a reward')[20] is really meaningful.

We should take into account the possibility that the Anglo-Frisian runes had not fully developed by the time the Undley runes were written. On the assumption that had the value *a* and that rune 2 is a bind-rune consisting of ᚷ + ᚨ + ᚾ (⟨g + a + n⟩) we could read:

ga gan ga ° m a g a ° m e d u

This sequence could be assumed to mean 'a companion strong (= a strong companion) (is) mead'. While I will certainly not insist on this rendering, it would seem quite possible from the grammatical point of view. The predicate noun *medu* 'mead' would be regularly expected in

this shape, and the lack of the copula seems also quite regular. The subject *gaganga maga* 'a companion strong' consists of a substantive *gaganga* followed by the attributive adjective *maga*. A weak adjective *maga* 'powerful, strong' (used substantivally) is quite well attested in Old English. For *gaganga* we would have to posit a nominal formation basically of the *companion*-type: Gmc. **ga-gang-an-* would contain the root of the verb for 'go' preceded by the particle **ga-*; the nominative singular **gagangõ magõ* would regularly yield OE *gaganga maga* for the period assumed for the Undley inscription.

Chessel Down

At least five of the runes on the Chessel Down sword (datable to A. D. 475–525 according to Hines [1990: 439]) can be read without any difficulty (see Figure 6). The seventh rune may well be |; rune 4 will be discussed below. The inscription has been rendered as follows:

1	2	3		4	5	6	7
æ	*c*	*o*		*s?*	*æ*	*r*	*i*

Figure 6. The Chessel Down Sword inscription

Page (1973: 12) lists several interpretations of this text and finds none of them convincing. No agreement has been achieved as to what message precisely the inscription is meant to convey. No really new attempt at interpreting the inscription will be made here. The difficulties in interpreting this inscription are compounded by the uncertainties in analyzing the runes, although most of the shapes are fairly clear.

The main problem consists in knowing what precisely ᚨ, ᚩ, and ᛟ stand for in this inscription. Most scholars seem to assume that the readings should be more or less "Old English", which means that they render ᚨ = *æ*, ᚩ = *o* and ᛟ = *æ*. The most widespread interpretation is that *æco* is some type of name, and this possibility will be considered as most likely here. One problematic point, however, is that the name would be

a masculine *n*-stem, which ended in Gmc. *$\tilde{o}$ > WGmc. *-o* > OE *-a* (type OE *guma* 'man').

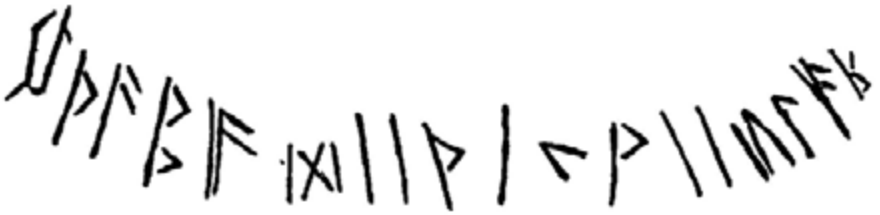
Odenstedt,[21] on the other hand, assumed that rune 5 represented *o*, i. e., the sound value it had before *i*-umlaut, which may well be correct. But if so, the trouble is that ᚠ seems to have the same sound value as ᛟ. This possibility should certainly not be excluded from consideration, but we must nevertheless examine carefully whether it is really tenable.

For rune 4 the reading is anything but certain. Eichner (1990: 329) mentioned the possibility that it could stand for *w*.[22] If we read the sequence ᚹᛟᚱ as an abbreviation for *worht* (possibly, but not necessarily *worhte* or *worhtæ*), then a totally new possibility opens up.

Rune 3 could be interpreted as a bind-rune consisting of ᚨ + ᚾ. Therefore for the sequence of runes 1–3, we may also try *ækan*, which could be an oblique case (dative, instrumental) of the name *Ælcca*.[23] If we assume that ᚨ still has the original value /a/, the reading *acan* (conceivably *accan*) would also be admissible; *a-* would then show retraction. If we take *worht* [24] as 'made, produced', the inscription could readily be interpreted as meaning '(this sword is, was) made, produced by, for *Ælcca, Acca, Aca*'.[25]

Loveden Hill

The Urn A. 11/251 was unearthed in the course of the 1955–1962 excavations at Loveden Hill, Lincolnshire. The urn may date back to the sixth century. The runes must have been cut before firing the clay. Figure 7 offers a drawing of the runes. The inscription can be rendered as follows:



s	*ʒ*	*þ*	*æ*	*b*	*æ*?	*d*	‖	*þ*	*i*	*c*?	*þ*?	‖	*h*	*l*	*æ*?
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8	9	10	11		12	13	14

Figure 7. The Loveden Hill Urn inscription

The vertical strokes probably represent word dividers. By no means all individual runes can be identified with certainty.[26]

Runes 1–7 seem to stand for a name. How rune 6 is to be read must remain unclear. Page (1984: 32) allows both *-bæd* and *-bld* as readings for runes 5–7. The possibility that rune 6 is meant to represent two runes (*a* + *l*?) also deserves consideration. The reading of the rune 14 (and what is possibly rune 15) is apparently quite uncertain. Consequently it must remain open whether the third word is OE *hlāf* ('bread').[27]

Rune 4 may well stand for *æ* here, as Odenstedt (1991 a: 57) thinks. Whether this is a svarabhakti vowel seems rather uncertain. It could well be the original vowel before syncope. Runes 1–7 read as *siþæbæd* (conceivably °*-bald* or °*-bad*) certainly indicate a name. All interpretations agree on seeing a man's name in this sequence.[28] If, however, *þiuw* means 'female servant', then the possibility that *siþæbæd* in fact represents a female name should also be taken into account. In a postcard dated 18 February 1992 Fred C. Robinson raised the question "But mightn't *Hlæ* be a personal name, perhaps incomplete?" He suggested the following rendering of the inscription: 'Siþæbæd, the servant-girl of Hlæ ...'.

Since we hardly know what the inscription means it is rather pointless to argue about the sound value of the individual runes. It would seem admissible to interpret ᚦ as representing *æ*, but we can certainly not be dogmatic about this.

6. Old English and Old Frisian sound changes as reflected in the runic script

Since the runic system was certainly not fossilized to the extent that modern alphabetic writing systems have become fixed, we may well expect it to reflect the phonological development of West Germanic to Old English.

From the above discussion it will have become clear that I cannot fully accept the following statement of Odenstedt's concerning the date of the spelling reform in the runic script: "... the Undley bracteate, the only surviving inscription produced on the continent, provides us with a *terminus ante quem* at about 450. We have seen above that the sound change that probably initiated the introduction of the new vowel runes, *a* > *æ*, took place in the third or fourth century. It is reasonable to assume that some time elapsed before a reform was felt to be necessary.

We may conjecture that the new runes (which were no doubt introduced simultaneously) were created about 400. By then the Anglo-Saxons had probably known runic writing for some time, perhaps since the fourth century. It is to be hoped that there will be new finds from Schleswig-Holstein which can shed light on the early history of the *futhorc*." (Odenstedt 1990: 139). A number of objections must be raised here.

The brightening began as a purely phonetic change, which hardly required a special adaptation of the runes. *a* became *æ*, which meant that at some stage all *a*'s had to change. The *a*'s followed by a nasal were the only exception, and here again the nasalization was automatic. There would have been no need to change the writing system. Retraction of /æ/ to /a/ before a velar vowel probably did not require a spelling modification either.[29]

Perhaps even the monophthongization of /ai/ did not immediately require a change in the spelling system. *ai* (probably written as ᚨ + ᛁ)[30] became a monophthong, although it is uncertain as to what the precise route of the monophthongization was.[31] The "spelling" ᚨ + ᛁ became rather meaningless, perhaps even disturbing. At some stage, the spelling ᚨ + ᚾ also became disturbing in certain cases. Since *-n-* was lost preceding a spirant, the sequence ᚨ + ᚾ + a spirant would have been odd, but otherwise ᚨ + ᚾ (~ ᚫ) may have persevered for quite some time.[32]

It is possible that for some time ᚫ and ᛟ were allographs in the way Odenstedt envisaged: "It would therefore seem that from at least 450 up to the period of *i*-umlaut (when ᛟ was reserved for œ) ᛟ and ᚫ were allographs for *o*" (Odenstedt 1990: 139). On the whole one would assume that /o(:)/ would be written by one runic symbol, no matter what its prehistory. But it is certainly thinkable that ᚨ ᚾ ᚾ ⟨a-n-s⟩ kept the spelling ᚫ ᚾ (with the bind-rune ᚫ), because spelling is always traditional, and this word may have occurred frequently in certain contexts. We can also assume that ᚨ and ᚪ were to some extent allographs from the period that /ai/ had become monophthongized to /ā/. Basically this would not have been very troublesome for the writing system.[33]

Anglo-Saxon[34] runic writing certainly underwent a "spelling reform". The changes mentioned above may be considered as having started a spelling reform. But they would probably not have required a spelling reform. Although I think that monophthongization of diphthongs was more important than brightening and influence of nasals on *a*, I can agree with Odenstedt's view expressed in the following sentence: "The fact that in the Anglo-Frisian *fuþorc* ᚨ came to denote *æ* (rather than *a* or *o*) indicates that the spelling reform did not take place until after the

passage *a* > *æ*, which occurred in the third or fourth century." (Odenstedt 1990: 137). I would insist, however, that these changes may have started the spelling reform, but they were not the main cause.

The main phonological innovation that really required a spelling reform was *i*-umlaut, which evidently reshuffled the vowel system so drastically that a reform was more or less unavoidable. From the period when *i*-umlaut was phonemically relevant it was just unavoidable to distinguish between /fōt/ ~ /fœ̄t/ 'foot' ~ 'feet' and /kū/ ~ /kȳ/ 'cow' ~ 'cows'. In a similar way a distinction between /ā/ and /ǣ/ in such words as *gāt* ~ *gǣt* 'goat' ~ 'goats' required a differentiation between the signs for /a(:)/ and /æ(:)/. For /ā/ ~ /ǣ/ it is certainly also important to stress that the "name" **aik-* shows clear signs of originally belonging to the class of root nouns (Campbell 1959: 253). Therefore ᚨ ᛁ ᛉ (> ᚪ ᛣ = OE *āc* 'oak') could not possibly be used for rendering OE *ǣc* (plural) 'oaks'; but ᚨ ᛣ provided a simple solution since the distinction between long and short *æ* was not shown in the runic script. The spelling reform in the Anglo-Saxon runes may have occurred by around A. D. 600. At that stage the linguistic changes which seemed to require a spelling reform had by and large taken place. If we disregard the problem of /k/ ~ /ḱ/ and /g/ ~ /ǵ/,[35] the "spelling reform" affected five runes, which either kept their original shape and had new sound values assigned (ᚨ → *æ*; ᛟ → *æ*) or had their shape modified (ᚪ = *a*; ᚬ = *o*; ᚣ = *y*). ᚣ was needed for rendering a sound that did not occur before, but ᚪ and ᚬ were needed because ᚨ was no longer sufficient for rendering *a*. In sum, it is at least five vowel runes that developed new shapes and/or new sound values:

4 ᚬ = *o*
23 ᛟ = *æ*
25 ᚪ = *a*
26 ᚨ = *æ*
27 ᚣ = *y*

For ᚨ it seems possible that the earliest attestations allow it to be read as either *a* or *æ*. In view of the phonological history of Old English this is certainly not surprising.

7. By way of summary

The "otherness" of Anglo-Saxon runes stressed repeatedly by Page is a fact. The *fuþorc* presents several innovations that do not recur in this fashion outside of "Ingvaeonic". But one should certainly not overem-

phasize the "otherness" of the *fuþorc*. It could be pointed out that both present-day Icelandic and French ultimately use the same "Latin" alphabet, but the general impression of a given text is definitely "Icelandic" or "French". Whether it is useful to adopt a special method of rendering Old English runes in transcribing is an entirely different issue. I would personally think that the spacing advocated by Page (see Page 1984) is not particularly helpful. The "otherness" does become clear, however, when one reproduces the runes. Therefore work on Old English runes should always provide drawings and photographs of the inscriptions dealt with.

Notes

1. This paper is largely identical with the version I presented orally, but references to recent literature have been added. Some sections are nearly identical with my 1991 article, on which I drew heavily when I prepared the Tromsø paper.
2. Another inscription that possibly contains only a vocative is the Værløse clasp (Denmark, ca. 200 A. D.): *alugod* was interpreted as the vocative of **Qlgóðr* by Krause (1971: 174); Antonsen (1975: 75), on the other hand, parsed *alugod* as nominative, which is only possible if the inscription is classed as "West Germanic".
3. *A* could be the abbreviation for *ala*; see Egger (1959: 84).
4. The reconstruction of the vocative singular for *i*-stems is not totally clear, cf. Szemerényi (1990: 186). Even if the inherited form was IE **-ey, -i* (cf. Go. *gast*) could certainly arise in the same way in which forms like *πόλι* came about in Greek.
5. The latest discussion of this inscription is Ebbinghaus (1990). Ebbinghaus voices a number of well-founded doubts about the traditional reading of the inscription.
6. It may be noted that Seebold (1991) assigned the value [ç] to ᛇ (1991: 22), but in his 1991a paper he put "?" in place of the sound value of ᛇ (1991a: 450).
7. Page's transliteration of the Caistor-by-Norwich inscription as *raīhan* (Page 1987: 32) is methodically correct, but linguistically meaningless. He defines *ī* as "an uncertain vowel in the region of *i*" (1987: 8). ᛇ clearly has consonantal value in *almeᛇttig* on the *Ruthwell Cross*.
8. Antonsen (1989: 149) is completely right in pointing out that the "Germanic futhark displays six vowel symbols, even though only five would suffice to designate all ten vowels in the language of the oldest known runic inscriptions". But I am rather doubtful about his assignment of special runes to vowel phonemes. He allows only ᛁ and ᚨ to represent both /i/ ~ /ī/ and /u/ ~ /ū/ respectively. For ᛟ he accepts the value as /ō/ only, but when /o/ arose from /u/ by lowering in words like /hurn-a/ > /horn/, there was no alternative to using ᛟ for representing /o/ (as on the Gallehus horn). /ā/ did not exist in the vowel system of Proto-Germanic, but when the group /anh/ yielded /āh/ there was again no alternative to using ᚹ for the long vowel. The whole question would deserve a more comprehensive discussion.
9. With the modifications as outlined above in mind, I can accept Antonsen's conclusion: "ᛇ ... is occasionally used in place of both the *i*-rune and the *h*-rune, a clear indication that its original function has been lost." (Antonsen 1989: 149)

10. I cannot fully accept the often repeated assumption that "ᛇ was originally a *superfluous* rune" (Odenstedt 1990: 165). If ᛇ arose in writing the diphthong /ei/, then it certainly was not "superfluous". It is quite possible, on the other hand, that ᛇ was never used as consistently as, say, ᚠ, ᛗ, etc. Further important discussions of the ᛇ-rune include Beck (1972), Schrodt (1975), and Connolly (1979).
11. The complicated issue as to the extent to which /au/ was monophthongized in Ingvaeonic cannot be dealt with here. Old Saxon has monophthongization of both /ai/ and /au/, Old High German regularly preserves diphthongs, which are monophthongized in certain positions only.
12. It could be useful to include the history of the diphthong /au/ here as well. Unfortunately the development of /au/ > OE *ēa* is rather obscure. The possibility that the history of /au/ may be linked to the "invention" of ᛠ was suggested by Page (1961); Page (1961: 69) collects the rather scarce evidence for ᛠ.
13. Although one should certainly not press the point, it is worth mentioning that the *skanomodu*-coin evidences the rune ᚠ synchronously with ᛟ. This could be interpreted as meaning that ᚠ was available before the need for ᚡ arose.
14. This wording is somewhat imprecise. We should assume that /a/ was generally raised to /æ/, but /æ/ was "retracted" before back vowels: The plural form was **dagōs*, which would have yielded /*dægōs/, but /æ/ was retracted to /a/ preceding /-ōs/ > /-as/. The problems of "second fronting" need not detain us here.
15. Odenstedt's view that "the reason why the old *a*-rune was chosen to denote *æ* was no doubt that that sound was very common in Prim. OE" (1990: 137) seems hardly convincing. Even in a given paradigm like that of *dæg*, the vowel *æ*, which appears in the singular, is hardly more common than *a* (in the plural).
16. The most obvious parallel to the creation of ᚡ (← ᚠ + ᛁ) is ᚣ, which became necessary after the period of *i*-umlaut. We can imagine that for some time the plural of ᚳᚢ (OE *cū* 'cow') was written ᚳᚢᛁ (pre-Old-English **kū-i* > OE *cȳ*), and a bind-rune ᚢ + ᛁ led to ᚣ. With regard to the "name" of ᚣ it may be pointed out that the relevant passage in the Rune Poem is rather unclear. Halsall's comment (1981: 156) is worth quoting: "Although the name *ȳr* was regularly associated with this rune (i.e. ᚣ), its meaning remains a matter for debate. Probably the easiest assumption is that the new rune name was initially meaningless in itself, being simply a by-form of rune name II: *ūr*, devised to represent an *i*-umlaut of the relevant vowel *u*." One could assume that the feminine belonging to *ūr* (rune 2: ᚢ) was **ūr-ī*, which yielded OE *ȳr* and originally meant 'female aurochs'. It may be pointed out that at least some of the rune "names" may have had rather archaic shapes. Thus **ūr-* may well have been a consonantal stem (following the pattern of root nouns); the nominative could then have been **ūr-z*, acc. **ūruⁿ*.
17. The "name" of ᛟ was **ōþila-/ōþala-*, and the form with the suffix **-ila-* underwent *i*-umlaut (> OE *ēþel, ēþel*).
18. For ᚡ, however, it seems that we have not exhausted all possibilities. The history of the diphthong /au/ in Ingvaeonic is by no means totally clear. Whereas we find a monophthong corresponding to /au/ in Frisian, the Old English of the historical period usually presents /ēa/. Theoretically it would seem possible that /au/ first became a monophthong generally in Ingvaeonic and was secondarily diphthongized in pre-Old-English. One could then suggest that the sequence ᚠ + ᚢ lies also behind ᚡ. The uncertainty surrounding the development of /au/ is a major difficulty in this context, however. The problem has been dealt with in exemplary fashion by Page (1961).

19. Since all early inscriptions are very short, it is only to be expected that there is considerable disagreement with regard to their interpretation.
20. The linguistic problems posed by *mægæ medu* /mǣgæ mēdu/ have been discussed by Eichner (1990: 316–317), but I doubt whether all his conclusions can be accepted. The difference of /ǣ/ (< Gmc. $ē^1$) and /ē/ (< Gmc. $ē^2$) would certainly be unexpected in the Anglian area. I prefer the alternative of taking *medu* as the regularly shaped *u*-stem neuter Gmc. **medu* 'mead'.
21. Odenstedt (1984) reads the whole inscription as *ako : þori*, which he interprets as the dative singular of Gmc. **akōn-þunraz*; he assumes that the inscription is "an Anglo-Saxon copy of an original Scandinavian inscription on the sword" (1984: 113). Most of Odenstedt's conclusions in this respect seem too bold to me.
22. Odenstedt (1984: 118) argued in favor of taking rune 4 as ᚦ. Since *þorn* and *wynn* are hard to distinguish, one could certainly also assume that rune 4 = *w*.
23. The phonological problems of *æc-* have been dealt with by Eichner (1990: 329–330).
24. Rune 7 could be an ᚺ not fully carried out. But | may also be interpreted as a final marker. The inscription would then read as follows: *ækan* or *akan wor*|.
25. The name-forms require further investigation.
26. Odenstedt (1980: 28) gives a detailed description of the runes. Page (1987: 33) reads rune 14 as *æ*; rune 15 cannot be identified. See also Nedoma (1993).
27. Odenstedt (1980: 30) translates the inscribed text *Siþæbad þicþ hlaf* as 'Siþæbad gets bread.'
28. The first element of this name is certainly Gmc. **sinþa-* (> OE *sīþ* 'journey' [see most recently Wagner 1991: 300–308]); Connolly's identification of *siþæ-* with the Germanic word for 'custom' (OE *sidu* etc.) founders in the first place on the root-final consonantism (Connolly 1979: 29).
29. There were several ways, in which the opposition /a/ ~ /æ/ (originally allophones [a] ~ [æ]) can have become phonologically relevant. The substantive Gmc. **far-a-* regularly yielded OE *fær* n. 'journey'. The imperative for second person singular of Gmc. **far-ana-* 'travel' (> OE *faran*) would have to be posited as **far-(e)*, yielding preOE **fær*, but adopted the vowel *-a-* from the present stem, because the imperative generally had the same root vowel as the present stem. From that period onwards (imp.) *far* 'travel!' and (substantive) *fær* formed minimal pairs.
30. The sequence ᚦ + ᛇ should also be considered as underlying ᚠ. ᚦ + ᛇ occurs in the *raihan*-inscription.
31. The chronology of this change has been dealt with by Eichner (1990: 322).
32. The assumption that ᚠ actually stands for *a-n-* can even be tried on the Frisian material: *edæboda* in the Arum inscription (Quak 1990: 360) can be read as *edæbanda*, and we would certainly not have more problems in interpreting this sequence than in reading *edæboda*. The usual assumption is that *boda* is an agent noun that contains the zero-grade of the root *beud-* 'order' (OE *bēodan*). While this is certainly possible, we could just as well assume that *banda* is an agent noun containing the *o*-grade of the root *bind-* 'bind'.
33. From the above it should have become clear that I cannot accept Odenstedt's reasoning about rune 2 in the Undley inscription: ᛉ "shows, interestingly, that the new vowel runes had been invented as early as 450" (Odenstedt 1990: 139).
34. The Old English phonological development which, to my mind, caused the spelling reform is, to a certain extent, paralleled in Frisian. The main difference is the absence of /y/ as *i*-umlaut product of /u/ in Frisian. The question whether Frisian runic writing

was modeled on the Old English system or whether the development was the other way round is perhaps better left open. I would assume that the priority lies with the Anglo-Saxons, but since there were continued ties across the Channel the real story may be very complicated indeed.

35. It would seem reasonable to assume that early in the seventh century no distinction in spelling was used for rendering the phonemic contrast between palatal and velar tectals.

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