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Simplification in Derivational Morphology in the Lindisfarne Gloss

Abstract: The language of the English gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels bears witness to early morphological simplification in the late Northumbrian dialect compared to other Old English varieties. Cases of merger in the nominal inflection have already been widely noted. Morphological syncretism in the area of derivation has attracted less attention, although here too variation with respect to other Old English dialects is to be expected. The aim of this paper is to establish how the language of the Lindisfarne gloss differs from that of other Old English texts concerning the degree of syncretism of the causative *jan*-formation. To that end, all deverbal *jan*-pairs (base and derivative) in the gloss have been identified, and the syntactic valency and meaning of each member of the pair have been assessed by studying each attestation individually. The main conclusion reached is that the language of the Lindisfarne gloss does not show more innovative traits than that of other Old English texts in the use of the causative formation. This points to derivational morphology behaving differently from inflexional morphology with respect to morphological loss in Old Northumbrian.

1   Introduction: the *jan*-formation in early Germanic languages

In this section, the Germanic causative formation will be briefly described, differences in the lexicalization stage of causatives among West Germanic languages will be pointed out and the aim of this paper will be more narrowly defined against that background. Section 2 focuses on Old English causatives and their processes of semantic and morpho-syntactic change. Section 3 explains the methodology followed in this study, its sources and the process of data collection. Section 4 presents the data and the results obtained. Section 5 presents the conclusions of the study and the questions which deserve further research. An Appendix contains a list of all the *jan*-causatives and their derivational bases attested in the Lindisfarne gloss, with an indication of their meaning and syntactic use in the gloss as well as in 'general' Old English (for this term see note to section 2 below). A label indicates the relationship between *jan-* and strong verb in Lindisfarne, general Old English, and Germanic. The selection of items in the list and the information contained there have resulted from research conducted for this paper and from previous work (see García García 2012a). All *jan*-pairs discussed below may be found in the Appendix.

In the Germanic proto-language there existed a productive word-formation mechanism for deriving causative verbs from non-causative verbal bases by means of the *ija*-suffix. It is the most common deverbal word-formation pattern in this language, where deverbal *jan*-pairs constitute a significant portion of the verbal lexicon, with roughly a third of all Germanic strong verbs (about 640 listed by Seebold 1970) having a *jan*-derivate attested in one or another Germanic language. This mechanism, which goes back to Indo-European, consists of the addition of the aforementioned *ija*-suffix to a primary verbal root in the Indo-European *o*-grade (Germanic *a*-grade). One example is:

(1)   PGmc

seta- 'to sit, be seated'   strong base
sat-ija- 'to place, set, sit (sth.)'   weak derivative.

Although this pattern had ceased to be productive by the time of the first Germanic texts, *jan*-causatives constitute a substantial part of the verbal lexicon of early Germanic languages and are still recognizable in Present-Day English; cp. *sit ~ set*; *fall ~ fell*; *rise ~ rear*; *drink ~ drench*; *lie ~ lay*.

As has been pointed out in previous research (García García 2012b, 2013), the relationship between the base verb and its *jan*-derivative is formally rather opaque in all Germanic languages except Gothic, and is further obscured by semantic and syntactic changes associated with a process of lexicalization understood literally as a shift from grammar to lexicon.[1] As an example of semantic change, in this case metaphorization, undergone by both members of the *jan*-pair consider:

(2)

a.   non-causative base OE *weallan* 'to bubble forth, flow; well (with); exist in large numbers'
b.   causative derivate OE *wyllan* 'to boil (something); torment, agitate (someone)'.

The causative *jan*-pair PGmc *melta-* 'to melt' (non-causative/intrans.) ~ *maltija-* 'to melt' (causative/trans.) provides a good example of syntactic change. Whereas in Germanic the causative and non-causative senses of the verb *melt* are distinguished morphologically, in Present-Day English both senses are expressed by the same form, in what is known as a "labile causative opposition" (Haspelmath 1993: 91, and n. 7):

(3)

The ice melts   (non-causative)
The sun melts the ice   (causative).

Note that causativization is a valency-increasing word-formation mechanism, that the causative derivatives of intransitive verbs differ from their transitive counterparts only in syntactic valency, as in for example *fall ~ fell*.[2]

Old English represents a transition between Proto-Germanic and Present-Day English, as in the following example:

(4)

a.   causative OE *myltan* (wk I) 'to melt' (trans. and intr.) < PGmc *maltija-* 'melt' (trans.)
b.   non-causative OE *meltan* (st. 3) 'melt' (mostly intrans.) < PGmc *melta-* 'melt' (intrans.).

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[1] See for instance Brinton and Traugott (2005: 54), quoting Ramat (1992: 557): "today's grammar may become tomorrow's lexicon". Incidentally, Brinton and Traugott refer repeatedly to Germanic causatives as instances of lexicalization (see pp. 54, 87, 105, 153 among others).
[2] For a detailed description of valency-changing morphological mechanisms cross-linguistically, see Haspelmath and Müller-Bardey (2000: 1130−1145).

The weak verb, originally causative, is labile, that is to say, it can be used in both a causative and an intransitive sense in Old English. However, the intransitive use was originally reserved to the non-causative strong base. It is a case of 'syntactic merger' in that the valency frames of the causative and its base are no longer kept apart, and the morphological alternation *myltan* (wk) ~ *meltan* (st.) is functionally empty (see García García 2012a: 137–139). Predictably, once syntactic merger has begun, one (or both) of the members of the causative opposition will disappear or change its (their) meaning. The loss of the distinctions formerly expressed by a given word-formation pattern, in this case the causative *jan*-formation, constitutes an instance of morphological simplification at the derivational level.

As a result of the lexicalization process of *jan*-causatives, the causative sense might ultimately become barely recognizable, as in *singe*, the *jan*-causative derived from *sing*, or disappear entirely, as in OE *onegan* 'to fear', *jan*-derivative to *og* 'fear'; cp. Go. *jan*-verb *ogjan* 'to scare (someone)'.[3]

As explained in García García (2013: 253–256), *jan*-causatives are affected by semantic and syntactic changes to a greater extent in Old English than in other Germanic and even West Germanic languages. Old English causatives exhibit a higher degree of lexicalization. Thus, for instance the Go. *ogjan* 'to scare (someone)' above preserves its causative sense, but OE *onegan* 'to fear' does not.

By comparing their nominal and verbal paradigms it is apparent that Old English is inflexionally less rich than other West Germanic languages, with the exception of Old Frisian. A well-known example is the plural present inflexion, with three different personal endings in Old High German against one in Old English (Old Saxon and Old Frisian coincide with Old English in this). The nominal inflection provides further examples, as detailed in García García (2000). In addition, note that Old Saxon seems to occupy an intermediate position between Old High German and Old English, with, for instance, overt instrumental case in *a-*, *i-* and *u*-stems, like Old High German.

The causative formation supplies an example of comparatively greater syncretism of Old English in the area of derivational morphology. Compare the reflexes of the Germanic causative pair *-leiba-* 'to remain' ~ *-laibija-* 'to leave' in Old High German, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, and Old English:

(5)

OHG *biliban* 'to stay'	OHG *leiben* 'to leave, leave unfinished'
OFris. *biliva* 'to stay'	OFris. *leva* 'to leave, let'
OS *bilivan* 'to remain'	OS *farlevian* 'to leave (over)'
OE *belifan* 'to be left over, remain'	OE *læfan, belæfan* 'to leave, remain'.

The causative opposition expressed by this *jan*-pair has remained intact in all West Germanic languages except Old English. Both OE *belifan* and *belæfan* can express the (non-causative) meaning 'to remain', with OE *belæfan* adopting the valency frame of the non-causative verb OE *belifan*. This is, as mentioned above, a process of syntactic merger that leads to morphological indistinctiveness, as the same meaning (in this case 'remain') can be expressed by both the strong and the *jan*-verb. The example illustrates a process that is often alluded to, though there has been no systematic study of it to date. The morphological behaviour of Old Northumbrian with respect to other Old English varieties seems to replicate that of Old English – even at its most inflexionally complex, early West Saxon – with respect to other early Germanic languages. The early inflexional syncretism undergone by Northumbrian has

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[3] Not all *jan*-verbs are causative. For a description of the functions of the Germanic *-ija*-suffix, see Ringe (2006: 252–254).

been widely acknowledged (see Ross 1937: 119–124; and standard Old English grammars, especially Brunner 1965 passim).[4] To mention just two examples, consider the disintegration of the gender system (Brunner 1965: 195 n.; Fernández Cuesta et al. 2008: 139) and analogical levelling towards the most common noun inflectional pattern, masculine *a*-stems (see Fernández Cuesta and Rodríguez Ledesma 2001a: 480–481).[5] The aim of this paper is to determine whether the equation holds for derivational morphology too, as illustrated by the causative formation in the Old English gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (hereafter: Lindisfarne). The meaning and valency of the *jan*-causatives and their bases attested in Lindisfarne will be established and contrasted with those found in other Old English varieties. The data that provide the base of comparison are drawn from a previous study on Old English causatives and will be summarized in the following section.

2 Old English causatives and their lexicalization process

As pointed out in García García (2012a), the Old English lexicon contains 106 deverbal *jan*-verbs with potential causative meaning with respect to their strong bases.[6] In that article the meaning and syntactic use or valency of both the non-causative bases and the *jan*-derivatives (a total of 212 verbs) were determined in order to ascertain the current relationship between the base and its potentially causative derivative in Old English. The *Dictionary of Old English* (hereafter: *DOE*), complete up to letter G, and the nineteenth-century but still indispensable Old English dictionaries by Bosworth and Toller (1882–1898 and 1908–1921) and Clark Hall (1960; first edition in 1894) were consulted for every item. In cases where the meaning or valency of a formation is not sufficiently clear or different dictionaries supply conflicting versions, primary sources were collated via the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (hereafter: *DOEC*).

Once the meaning and use of Old English *jan*-verbs with respect to their verbal bases were established, they were compared with those of their cognates in other Germanic languages, with the aim of determining the original derivational meaning of each pair in Proto-Germanic as the starting point from which that extant in Old English developed. The reconstruction of Proto-Germanic *jan*-pairs derives partly from previous work (García García 2005).

As a result of the analysis, a basic list was compiled of Old English deverbal *jan*-verbs that were most probably causative in origin (including one which was intensive/iterative). The relationship between each *jan*-verb and its base, so far as it is attested, was analysed and labelled, both in Old English and in Proto-Germanic, when the *jan*-formations were coined. By comparing the function of *jan*-verbs in the two language stages it is possible to assess the changes that these verbs have undergone in Old English and identify some tendencies in their evolution, which were summarized in the previous section of the present paper.

Table 1 below demonstrates in figures the development of all 106 deverbal *jan*-verbs in Old English. Fifty-seven of them have a causative sense with respect to their bases in Old English, as against 71 in Proto-Germanic. These have evolved into Old English as follows: 56 Germanic causative pairs remain causative in Old English, three are doubtful, four develop

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[4] Toon (1992), in his survey of Old English dialects for the first volume of *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, does not deal with it.

[5] Extension of the endings of the *n*-declension to strong nouns does also occur in Old Northumbrian to a greater extent than in other varieties (Ross 1937: 101; Brunner 1965: 196).

[6] In this paper, and in the coming sections in particular, the term 'Old English' refers to 'undifferentiated' or 'general' Old English, including Old Northumbrian and the language of the Lindisfarne gloss. Often, as in the choice of spelling for infinitive forms, (general) Old English is skewed towards the late West Saxon variety. However, in the meaning and syntactic description of verbs, all areas and periods of Old English are represented.

idiosyncratic semantic relationships, five show no difference between the members of the pair, and three Proto-Germanic causative pairs are clearly not causative in Old English.

Table 1. Function of Old English deverbal *jan*-verbs with respect to their base, in figures[7]

Causative	57	(56 causative in Germanic)
Causative?	12	(3 causative in Germanic)
Idiosyncratic	4	(4 causative in Germanic)
No difference	20	(5 causative in Germanic)
Non-causative	9	(3 causative in Germanic)
Not identifiable	3	
Intensive?	1	
TOTAL	106	(71 causative in Germanic)

Notice that of the 57 secure causative pairs attested in Old English (first line), nine show semantic deviation in one or both of their members; they are labelled 'C+IDI' (causative with idiosyncratic semantic development) and 'C+SPE' (causative with specialized meaning) in the mentioned article. Thirteen have changed their valency frame, and are labelled 'ColC' (collapsing causative opposition). This labelling convention is maintained in the final list in the appendix.

The results of the study just described are global, that is, do not reflect textual, temporal or dialectal variation. This means that the deverbal *jan*-verbs that appear in Lindisfarne are obviously included, but they are not considered separately from other Old English texts. The next step is thus to contrast those global results against the textual data in Lindisfarne, as a representative of Old Northumbrian. The methodology of the study will be described next.

3   Methodology, sources and data collection process

To carry out the present study, the occurrences of all 106 Old English deverbal *jan*-verbs and their strong bases attested in Lindisfarne were checked to begin with. The exact meaning and syntactic use of the relevant verbs were determined and the relationship between the *jan*-verb and its base was classified according to the types listed in Table 1 above. The results obtained for the *jan*-verbs attested in Lindisfarne were then contrasted with those obtained for the whole Old English period.

For the purposes of the study (degree of morphological syncretism in Lindisfarne causatives), only those 57 verb-pairs for which a causative relation holds in Old English (see Table 1) were found relevant. They will be included in the final list attached. All the clauses in which they are attested in Lindisfarne, together with their Latin original, were analysed. The relationship between the members of the *jan*-pairs is labelled as 'Causative', 'Causative+SPE', 'Causative+IDI' and 'ColCausative', depending on whether they are straightforward causatives or display any semantic and/or syntactic (valency) changes (see above). In addition, one of the 12 instances of 'Causative?' (that is, a causative relation is

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[7] In brackets, the number of verbs in each group that has causative function in Germanic (adapted from García García 2012a: 135).

suspected but impossible to confirm) registered in Table 1 was clarified thanks to the present study.

Concerning the sources of the primary data for the study, the localization of *jan*-derivatives and their basic strong verbs was carried out by means of comprehensive searches in the *DOEC*; the task was facilitated by Cook's (1894) glossary and the *DOE*. Skeat's edition of the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels was used primarily (Skeat 1871–1887), mainly via the *DOEC*. However, the facsimile of the original manuscript was routinely consulted in the digitized version of the British Library webpage in all less than straightforward cases.

For the purposes of the study both the *jan*-verb and its strong base are equally relevant. That is, if the *jan*-member of an Old English causative pair is not attested in Lindisfarne but its base is, the semantic and syntactic behaviour of the latter has to be analysed in order to determine whether it is additionally used in a causative sense (as a labile verb), in lieu of its *jan*-counterpart.

Simple formations were chosen as primary data to avoid semantic interference by prefixes. If these were not attested for a given verb, all its prefixed formations were considered, starting with *ge*-formations, which are least likely to carry weighty additional meaning. This is the case for instance of Li. *-drenca*, the *jan*-derivative to *drinca* 'to drink', only attested as *gedrenca* (*demergere*) 'to drown, sink', as *ofgedrenca* 'to drown, sink' (cp. L *demergere*) or as *underdrenca* 'to throttle' (cp. L *suffocare*). This example touches upon two other points which need clarifying with respect to the treatment of data. One is that if the verb is attested only in the past participle, no conclusive information about its valency can be drawn. All formations with *-drenca* are attested in the past participle. See for instance f. 166rb17 (Luke 10.15) under (6). The Lindisfarne text is from the digitized facsimile of the manuscript in the British Library webpage, cited by folio, page, column and line in that order; the relevant verbs are in bold; all English translations have been adapted from the *Douay-Rheims* English version; this one corresponds to the Latin original:

(6)

et tu capharnaum usque in caelum exaltata usque ad infernum **demergeris**
& ðu þæt is burg oðð heofon ahefen oðð to helle **gedrencged**
'and you, Capharnaum, which are exalted to heaven, shall be submerged into hell'.
<div align="right">(f. 166rb17; Luke 10.15)</div>

L *demergeris* is in the passive voice and L *demergere* is a transitive-causative verb, but this need not be the case with Li. *gedrenca*, attested in the past participle *gedrencged* in the excerpt above. A past participle, even in a perfect construction with auxiliary verb, can have a transitive reading (*he was captured by bandits*), an intransitive one (*she was gone*) and even both (*he/the bottle was drunk*). Of course, comparison with the use of *drencan* elsewhere in Old English heavily suggests that it should be transitive-causative in Lindisfarne too, but caution has to be exercised in every case.

The other point to make explicit is that the translations of the verbs in this paper, specified in the final list, are contextual; etymological translations are avoided, as far as possible. In the above example Li. *gedrenca* means roughly 'to submerge', even though its etymological translation would be 'to give to drink' or 'to drench'. Similarly, Li. *lecga*, *jan*-causative to Li. *licga* 'to lie', translates L *sternere*, *substernere* only, and contextually means 'to spread, strew', not 'lay', which would be its etymological translation.

Finally, the lemmatization of the attested forms has to be addressed. Present tense forms cannot always be classified as belonging to a strong verb or its weak *jan*-counterpart. The root vowel should provide information as to whether a particular present form is a reflex of the *jan*-verb or the strong verb, but given the sound changes affecting particularly

diphthongs and long vowels in Old Northumbrian, this is not always the case (Campbell 1959: esp. 110–112; Brunner 1965: 38–51, 106–119). In fact, dictionaries tend to interpret the forms differently. By way of illustration, "(leht fato) beornendo" 'burn (intr.)' (f. 134va 2; Luke 7.17; cp. L (*lucernas*) *ardentes*) appears under *berna* (wk) in Cook (1894) and under *byrnan* (st.) in the *DOE*. This is a particularly intricate *jan*-pair, in which even the normalized infinitive forms are disputable. For the purposes of this study, however, the correct ascription of the form *beornendo* is not decisive, since its meaning and function are found in other forms that clearly belong either to the strong verb or the weak *jan*-verb. A more significant case is Li. *reca* 'to fumigate', as will be explained in the following section.

The data relevant for the study have been collected in the final list attached. The list is the result of both an etymological and a textual study of the verbs involved. The former determines the selection of items and the historical classifications proposed; the latter brings about a new assessment of their meaning and syntactic usage.

4 Data analysis

This section presents the results obtained from the analysis of the deverbal *jan*-verbs and their derivational bases attested in Lindisfarne. Their exact meaning and valency in the gloss will be established, classified and contrasted with those found in other Old English texts. The basic assumption is that those instances where Lindisfarne diverges significantly from other texts point to general directions of linguistic change in Old Northumbrian derivational morphology. In the first subsection (4.1), those Old English *jan*-verbs unattested in Lindisfarne will be dealt with; those attested will be the concern of the second subsection (4.2)

4.1 Old English *jan*-causatives unattested in Lindisfarne

35 *jan*-verbs out of 57 are not attested in Lindisfarne. They are:

(7)

(a)bylgan 'to anger, offend', *acwencan* 'to extinguish (fire, lamp); snuff out (a candle)', *ahrȳran* 'to destroy, cause to fall', *astyrfan* 'to cause to die, kill', *aþrȳtan* 'to weary, tire out (so.)', *berȳfan* 'to deprive (so. + acc)', *beswemman* 'to make to swim', *bǣtan* 'to bridle and saddle; bait (so. + acc/dat)', *cennan* 'to make known, declare', *dwellan* 'to lead into error (so. + acc); err (intr.)', *dyrfan* 'to bring into danger, afflict; engage in (1x)', *flȳgan* 'to put to flight, disperse (so., sth.)', *fyllan* 'to cause to fall, fell, kill', *gremman* 'to enrage, provoke', *leccan* 'to moisten, wet (sth.)', *hnægan* 'to cause to bow; humiliate', *litan* 'to incline (sth.)', *myltan* 'to melt (caus.; intr.); digest', *rǣran* 'to cause to rise, rear, raise', *slȳpan* 'to put, slip (sth. + acc)', *scremman* 'to cause to stumble', *sencan* 'to sink (sth.), submerge, drown', *slǣtan* 'to incite (a beast + acc) in order to cause damage', *smican* 'to emit smoke (intr.); smoke, fumigate (sth.)', *sprengan* 'to scatter; burst (sth.); cause to spring; apply a clyster', *stæþþan* 'to support', *stepan* 'to cause to take a step', *swebban* 'to put to sleep; kill', *swengan* 'to cause to swing; swing, fling, strike', *sȳcan* 'to suckle, give suck', *wyrdan* 'injure, annoy; hinder', *þwǣnan* 'to reduce the size, cause to dwindle', *þyrran* 'to render dry', *wecgan* 'to move, shake (sth.)', *wyllan* 'to boil (sth.); torment, agitate (so.)'.

Most of them are only scantily attested even outside Lindisfarne, but there are two conspicuous absences in the gloss. One is OE *myltan,* the causative corresponding to the strong verb OE *meltan,* not attested in Lindisfarne either. The reason probably lies in the lack of context for it in the original text. L *fundere*, which would most closely correspond to OE

myltan, is used in the sense of 'to pour' (not 'to melt') in Lindisfarne and more accurately glossed with OE *ageotan*. The other notable absence is OE *rǣran* 'to cause to rise, rear, raise', causative to OE *risan* 'to rise', which is attested in Lindisfarne only in the elsewhere rarer sense 'to be fitting, becoming' (L *debere, licere*). For the sense 'to rise', the prefixed formation OE *arisan* is mostly used, glossing L *surgere, oriri, ascendere* and others. The sense 'to cause to rise, raise' is frequent in Lindisfarne, where L *tollere* is glossed mostly as Li. *ahebba*. The absence of OE *rǣran* seems therefore to be a genuine gap in the Old Northumbrian lexicon.[8]

After studying all the attestations of the relevant verbs in the gloss, one may conclude that none of the *jan*-verbs in the above list has been functionally replaced by its strong counterpart in Lindisfarne. That is, none of the strong verbs that serve as bases for any of the *jan*-formations absent in the gloss (see (7)) shows causative meaning in Lindisfarne in addition to its original non-causative sense. This is the case, however, in other Old English texts. As a clear example, consider the strong verb Li. *smeca*, used only as intransitive 'to emit smoke' (L *fumigare*), whereas OE *smeocan* can be used both as intransitive 'to emit smoke' and transitive 'to smoke; fumigate (sth.)'. This verb serves as the base to the *jan*-formation OE *smican* 'to emit smoke (intr.); smoke, fumigate (sth.)', not attested in Lindisfarne as shown above. Thus, with respect to *jan*-verbs not attested in Lindisfarne, the preservation of original non-causative meaning and valency in their strong bases in the gloss is a conservative trait concerning linguistic change in comparison with other dialects.

4.2   Old English *jan*-causatives attested in the Lindisfarne gloss

23 out of 57 secure Old English causatives are attested in Lindisfarne. The meaning and function of 17 of them do not diverge from those in other Old English texts. They are:

(8)

Li. *bega* 'to humiliate', *berna* 'to burn', *gecœla* 'to cool (sth.), *cwœlla* 'to destroy', *gedrenca* 'to drown', *grœta* 'to greet', *hwerfa* 'to convert', *lœda* 'to lead', *lœra* 'to teach', *lecga* 'to spread', *generiga* 'to deliver', *reca* 'to smoke', *setta* 'to set', *geswœnca* 'to afflict', *wœcca* 'to watch', *towœlta* 'to roll (sth.)', *wœnda* 'to turn'.

Little of interest can be gleaned from similarities in a contrastive study, beyond ascertaining their existence, determining the extent of overlap (in this case, roughly three quarters of the verbs show no difference in their usage in Lindisfarne with respect to other varieties) and some linguistic observations, which follow.

Li. *reca* 'to send forth smoke' cannot be clearly classified as strong or weak. Its only attestation is the present participle <recende> 'smoking (flax)' (cp. (*linum*) *fumigans*; f. 49vb5, Matthew 12.20). The form could correspond to (non-Northern) OE *reocan* 'to reek, send forth smoke' with Anglian smoothing, or to the weak verb OE *recan* 'to smoke (sth.), fumigate (sth.)'. Both the meaning and intransitive use of Li. *reca* in this attestation support its interpretation as strong verb.

The elsewhere rather common simplex OE *nerian* is not attested in Lindisfarne. L *salvare* is glossed with Li. *(ge)haeaela, gehalgiga*. For L *eruere*, which in other texts is also sometimes glossed with OE *nerian*, Lindisfarne uses Li. *generiga* and *genioma*.

Occasionally, the absence of a verb in a causative opposition can be put in relationship with the existence of a frequently attested synonym. This applies to the strong verb OE

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[8] For a detailed summary of dialectal differences in vocabulary in Old English see Fernández Cuesta and Rodríguez Ledesma (2001b).

cwelan 'to die', base to the causative OE *cwellan* 'to kill' (cp. Li. *cwœlla*). The former is not attested in Lindisfarne, where verbal derivatives of the adjective OE *dead* (OE *deadiga* and others) and the verb Li. *(ge)swelta* are used instead.

Finally, Lindisfarne preserves the original meaning of the *jan*-verb *gretan* (cp. Li. *grœta*). This is the *jan*-causative to the strong verb OE *gretan* 'to bemoan, weep for', not attested in Lindisfarne. The usual meaning of the *jan*-verb OE *gretan* is 'to approach, visit, address, greet'. In Lindisfarne it translates L *salutare* 'to greet'. The original causative sense of the *jan*-verb OE *gretan* is appreciable in the meanings 'to insult', 'to attack' and the like, which are attested in Old English, but much less frequently than the senses 'to approach, greet'. Not so in the Lindisfarne text, where they are pervasive in the prefixed formations Li. *agrœta* 'to throw down' (cp. L *elidere*), or even more telling, Li. *gegrœta* 'to torment' (cp. L *torquere*). Again in this instance the Lindisfarne gloss preserves inherited material to a higher degree than other Old English texts. For one of the *jan*-verbs attested in the gloss, Li. *besenca*, an alternative reading has been proposed; it will be addressed in more detail below.

Five of the 23 causatives attested in Lindisfarne show a different meaning or function from other texts in Old English. They are:

(9)

Li. *depa* 'to dip', *feriga* 'to carry', *lœfa* 'to leave', *gescrenca* 'to cause to dry', *stenca* 'to stink'.

The diverging instances have varying degrees of significance depending on the robustness of attestation among other factors. They will be dealt with individually. The *jan*-verb Li. *lœfa* is attested twice in Lindisfarne (Mark 12.9 and Mark 12.22) with the meaning 'to leave (sth.)' (L *relinquere*), causative to the strong verb OE *belifan* 'to be left over, remain', unattested in the gloss. The *jan*-verb is attested in other Old English texts mainly with causative sense ('to leave (sth.)'), but also, though seldom, as non-causative 'to remain' (e.g. in *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies*, ÆCHom II, 3 21.79, following the *DOEC* citing system), having incorporated the meaning of the strong verbal base OE *belifan*. This innovation is not found in the gloss in the simplex. The prefixed formations Li. *gelœfa* and *oferlœfa* do have the intransitive sense 'to remain', glossing L *manere* and *superesse*, respectively; on Li. *gelœfa*, see below.

Two other *jan*-verbs remain faithful to their original causative meaning in Lindisfarne, namely Li. *depa* and *gescrenca*. The first is attested only once (Matthew 23.26), translating L *intingere* 'to dip, lower into or immerse in liquid', causative to a strong verb OE *dufan* 'to dive, plunge, sink (intr.)', unattested in the gloss.[9] The *jan*-verb has developed the specialized metaphorical meaning 'to baptize' outside Lindisfarne, where it is well-attested (normalised as OE *dypan*) in this sense. In the gloss, however, L *baptizare* is glossed as Li. *clœnsiga*, *fulwiga*, *gefulwiga* and *ingefulwiga*, never as Li. *depa*.

As for Li. *gescrenca* 'to dry (sth.)' (strong base Li. *gescrinca* 'to wither away, dry up'), it is only in Lindisfarne that the straightforward causative meaning appears. Its only occurrence follows, with the English translation:

(10)

sole autem orto aestuauerunt et quia non habebant radicem **aruerunt**
sunna uutedlice miððy arras weron forbernedł besenced & forðon ne hæfdon ł næbbend

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[9] For the ultimately unexplained sound relationships in this verbal root see Seebold (1970: 155−156), Heidermanns (1993: 153−154) and García García (2005: 102−103).

wyrtrumme gescriungon ł **weron gescrencde** (f. 51vb16; Matthew 13.6)
'And when the sun was up they were scorched: and because they had not root, they withered away'.

Outside Lindisfarne the fairly well-attested OE *(ge)screncan* has the meaning 'to cause to stumble, ensnare' (L *supplantare*). Given the semantic divergence, it is a fair question whether L *(ge)screncan* 'to cause to dry' and 'to cause to stumble, ensnare' represents one or two different formations. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*: s.vv. *shrench*, v.[1], and *shrench*, v.[2]) gives two different entries for *shrench*, reflexes of OE *screncan* and Li. *gescrenca*, respectively. In doing so, the authors bypass the difficulty of harmonizing the meanings 'to dry (sth.)' and 'to put a stumbling block on the way of'. In this, they follow Bosworth and Toller, who separate OE *screncan* 'to lay a stumbling block in a person's way, trip up, ensnare' from OE *gescrencan* 'to cause to shrink', for which they provide the Lindisfarne citation. For the purposes of this study, the argument is of little relevance: whether OE *screncan* is a single verb with two related senses or two homonymous verbs, the original causative sense is attested in Lindisfarne only. The *jan*-opposition OE *screncan* 'to cause to stumble' ~ *scrincan* 'to wither away, dry up' was defined as 'C+IDI?' in García García (2012a), that is, doubtful causative with idiosyncratic lexical development. A close reading of its only attestation in Lindisfarne yields the meaning 'to cause to dry', causative to 'to dry', and allows us to confirm the interpretation of OE *gescrencan* as causative. Thus, the number of causative oppositions attested in Old English has to be increased from 57 to 58.

A semantic hapax is also provided by the only attestation of the *jan*-verb Li. *stenca* in Lindisfarne. This verb has the meaning 'to stink' (L *foetere*) in John 11.39, whereas OE *stencan* means 'to scatter; emit breath with effort' in other texts.[10] The verb is in a collapsing causative opposition with OE *stincan* 'to spring, leap; emit a smell', which is not attested in Lindisfarne.

The last of the *jan*-verbs whose function in Lindisfarne diverges from other Old English texts is OE *feriga*, OE *ferian*, causative to OE *faran* 'to go, travel', widely attested throughout Old English texts, including Lindisfarne. The entry of OE *ferian* in the *DOE* supplies the information that this verb is attested around 200 times, with the transitive-causative meaning 'to carry, transport'. The *DOE* lists only one occurrence of *ferian* as an intransitive verb of movement 'to go, travel, depart', namely Mald 175 (their abbreviation). Because of the exceptionality of this usage, it is tagged with a question mark in the *DOE* entry, and a possible mistake for OE *feran* is suggested.

The *jan*-verb Li. *feriga* is attested twice in Lindisfarne, in both instances as a gloss for L *ferre*. However, the syntax of the constructions is dissimilar. In f. 97vb4 (Mark 2.3), "feredon" glosses L *ferentes* in a paratactic verbal construction (in bold) with "brengende" as second gloss:

(11)

et **uenerunt ferentes** ad eum paraliticum qui a quatuor portabatur
& ***cuomon feredon*** *vel brengende to him ðone eorðcrypel se ðe from feowrum wæs geboren*
'And they came to him, bringing one sick of the palsy, who was carried by four'.

In f. 156va4–5 (Luke 7.12) the Latin verb in the passive voice *efferebatur* 'was being carried' is rendered with the active participial construction "wæs ferende" 'was going past':

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[10] The noun OE *stenc* can mean both 'fragrance' and 'stench', as well as neutral 'odour'. The sense 'stench' might have influenced the meaning of Li. *stenca*.

(12)

> et ecce defunctus **efferebatur** filius unicus matris suae
> *& heono dead **wæs ferende** sunu ancende moderes hi*s
> 'behold a dead man was carried out, the only son of his mother'.[11]

The Lindisfarne manuscript reads clearly <wæs ferende>, and not <wæs ferede>, which would normally be expected if Li. *feriga* was used in a transitive sense 'to carry'. The fact that the subject of "wæs ferende", is not animate is not an obstacle for the interpretation of the verb as active; OE *feran* 'to go', for which Li. *feriga* has been suggested to stand (see above), is consistently attested with inanimate subjects. Therefore we could conclude, with all due caveats because of poor attestation, that the causative verb Li. *feriga* is in a process of syntactic merger in the language of the Lindisfarne text. In this case, the transitive-causative verb *feriga* adds to its original valency pattern – that of its intransitive counterpart in the causative opposition Li. *fara* 'to go, travel, depart' (L *ire, abire, exire* etc.). This may be interpreted as an innovative trend in Lindisfarne with respect to other Old English texts, where, as has been pointed out, the intransitive use is virtually absent in OE *ferian*.[12]

  The process of syntactic merger has been detected in 13 causative pairs in Old English so far, including for instance OE *bærnan* 'to burn (caus.; intr. (-))', and its strong base OE *byrnan* 'to burn (intr.; caus. (-))' (García García 2013). In Lindisfarne the following causative pairs with a collapsing opposition showing syntactic merger are attested:

Table 2. Causative pairs with syntactic merger in the Lindisfarne gloss

jan-causative in Lindisfarne and (general) Old English	non-causative base in Lindisfarne and (general) Old English
Li. *bega* 'to humiliate' (trans.); bend (the knees)' (only past part) (cp. L *humiliare, flectere*) OE *bigan* 'to bend (trans.; intr. (-)); turn (caus.; intr.); 'humiliate'	Li. *gebuga* 'to bow, bend; cut down' (trans.) (cp. L *caedere, inclinare*) OE *bugan* 'to bow, bend (intr.; trans.?); turn (intr.)'
Li. *berna* 'to burn, light' (trans. and intr.) (cp. L *accendere, ardere, comburere*) OE *bærnan* 'to burn' (trans.; intr. (-))	Li. *bearna* 'to burn' (intr.) (cp. L *ardere*) OE *byrnan* 'to burn (intr.; trans.(-))'
Li. *hwerfa* 'to convert (intr.); borrow' (L *convertere, mutuari*) OE *hwyrfan* 'to go, return; turn, change (caus.; intr.); exchange'	Not in Li. OE *hweorfan* 'to go; turn, change (intr.; caus. (-))'
Li. *wæcca* 'watch, be awake; raise, provoke' (cp. L *vigilare, suscitare*) OE *weccan* 'to waken, arise, spring (intr.; caus. (-))'	Not in Li. OE *wæcnan* 'come into being, be born, spring'
Li. *wænda* 'to turn' (intr.) (cp. L *verti, reverti*) OE *wendan* 'to turn (round), change (caus.; intr.); go (refl.; intr.)'	Li. *winda* 'to plat (sth.)' (cp. L *plectere*) OE *windan* 'to spring (intr.); roll (intr.; caus.); weave (sth.)'.

The above examples illustrate the kind of meanings which are amenable to double valency (causative and non-causative) in one and the same form, that is, for which expression through

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[11] The West Saxon version of the Gospels, which reads "geboren", is consistent with this translation.

[12] As one of the reviewers has aptly pointed out, "wæs fregend" glosses L *interrogatus* in Luke 9.9. Whether both instances (a present participle glossing a Latin past participle) respond to the same underlying causes is unclear.

a labile verb might be expected. Briefly, these are verbs that denote a change of state (more rarely, a process) that can be conceived of as either happening spontaneously or induced by an agent, such as for instance 'to melt', 'to turn', 'to change', 'to cool', 'to fold' (Haspelmath 1993: 90). The meaning of Li. *feriga* 'to carry' does not belong to this group, as it inevitably involves an agent. In verbs of similar meaning an intermediate stage between causative and intransitive meaning is often attested in which a reflexive pronoun is used to express intransitive 'to go' (in this case, *feriga hine*; see Hermodsson 1952: *passim* for numerous examples in West Germanic languages). This predictable stage is not attested in Lindisfarne, although there is context for it glossing the very frequent L *ire* and verbs of similar meaning. The *DOE* gives only one instance of OE *ferian* used with reflexive pronoun, for which the translation 'to convey oneself by walking, walk' is given. The occurrence follows, with the verb construction and reflexive pronoun in bold and a translation:

(13)

ic wolde ðine ðenunge sylf nu gearcian. gif **ic me** mid feðunge **ferian mihte** (ÆCHom II, 10 82.36)
'I would now prepare your refection myself, if I could walk (literally 'convey myself by walking')'.

In summary, Li. *feriga ~ fara* stand in a 'collapsing causative opposition', with the *jan*-causative adopting the valency of its intransitive base. This is on the one hand typologically rare for this type of meaning, and on the other it constitutes an innovation with respect to most other Old English texts, where OE *ferian* is almost exclusively transitive.

With respect to the last of the *jan*-verbs to be addressed, Li. *besenca*, there are sufficient grounds for interpreting the manuscript reading <besenced> as an alternative spelling for <besenged>, from the OE *jan*-verb *besengan* 'to singe, burn slightly'.[13] Its only occurrence follows:

(14)

[sole autem orto] aestuaverunt: *weron forberned ł besenced*
(f. 51vb14; Matthew 13.6)
'[And when the sun was up] they were burned or scorched'.

In the first place, the context requires a meaning closer to OE *besengan* 'to singe, burn slightly' than to OE *besencan* 'to cause to sink, submerge, drown'. Further, variation between <nc>, <ng(c)> and <nc(g)> in the same phonetic environment, i.e. nasal and velar plosive originally followed by palatal semivowel, is found elsewhere in the gloss. Notice the following instances belonging to the paradigms of Li. *-drenca* and *ge-screnca*:

(15)

-drenca: <gedrencged> (f. 166rb17; Luke 10.15)*,* <ofgedrenced> (f. 62vb16; Matthew 18.6)
gescrenca:<gescrengc> (f. 153va4; Luke 6.8), <gescrencde> (f. 51vb16; Matthew 13.6).[14]

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[13] This is assumed by the *DOE*, too, where Li. <besenced> is listed under the entry for OE *besengan*.
[14] To my knowledge, the causes of this variation remain to be established. At any rate, it cannot be solely explained by assibilation (or lack of it) of palatalized velars as described in Luick (1964: 907 § 689).

Finally, during the data collection process and analysis several questions have arisen that might be worth further study. In some verbal derivational paradigms the prefix *ge-*, rather than the suffix *-jan*, seems to function as causativizer. This is the case with the strong verb Li. *luta* 'to fall down, bend forward', an intransitive verb glossing L *procidere*, the *jan*-formation of which is not attested in Lindisfarne; its semantic causative pendant is the prefixed formation Li. *geluta* 'to lay', glossing L *reclinare*. Another example is the strong verb Li. *bearna* attested only once as intransitive 'to burn', whereas the prefixed Li. *gebearna* is transitive 'to burn' in its four occurrences (Matthew 22.7, Luke 3.17, Luke 8.16 and Luke 11.33); the *jan*-formation Li. *berna* 'to burn' is used both as transitive and intransitive. Finally, the *jan*-verb Li. *hwerfa* 'to convert; borrow' is intransitive in its first and original meaning, whereas Li. *gehwerfa* 'to convert' is transitive-causative in its only conclusive occurrence, viz. the imperative singular <gehuerf>, cp. L *converte* (f. 83rb2; Matthew 26.52; it is also attested in the past participle). In other verbal paradigms, however, the *ge*-formation seems to have exactly the opposite function; this is the case with Li. *læfa* 'to leave', transitive-causative, and Li. *gelæfa* 'to remain', intransitive. That the verbal prefix *ge-* had in its origin a transitivizing function has been considered and rejected by a few authors previously (see for instance Hiltunen 1983: 49). The question here is whether the suffix *ge-* stood in competition with the *jan*-formation as a causativizer during the Old English period itself.[15]

Another issue that deserves attention is the weakening of strong verbs in the Lindisfarne gloss. The shift to the weak inflexion is present in all Old English varieties, but it seems to be more frequent in the Lindisfarne text in the wake of morphological, or rather, inflectional levelling in this variety (thus e.g. Hogg 1992b: 90). Ross (1937: 153–154) lists some instances of weak forms of strong verbs in Lindisfarne. To these the case of OE *sweltan* 'to die' should be added. This is an ablauting verb in other Old English varieties. In Lindisfarne it is attested in the past singular as <suoelte> (f. 237vb24; John 11.37), non-ablauting and with final <-e> by analogy with weak pasts (compare, with the same root-vowel combination, the present participle form <suoeltende> in f. 238va23; John 11.51). The past tense to the *jan*-causative to a strong verb Li. *swelta* would probably be Li. *swælte*, in accordance to the attested past tense of the deverbal *jan*-causative Li. *-wælta*, namely Li. *-wælte* (see e.g. <to wælte> in f. 129ra5; Mark 15.46); the derivative base of Li. *-wælta* is not attested in Old English, but can be reconstructed as PGmc **welta-* on account of OIc *velta* 'to roll (intr.)', a strong verb with the same phonetic structure as OE *sweltan*.[16]

Summing up the results obtained from the data analysis, in the first place the initial list of secure Old English causative *jan*-pairs has to be increased by one item (viz. (*ge-*)*screncan*). Twenty-three out of those now 58 causative pairs are attested in the Lindisfarne gloss. There is some information to be gained from unattested causative *jan*-verbs. All of their strong bases attested in the gloss show non-causative meaning exclusively, whereas some of them have adopted additional causative meaning in other texts. The evidence suggests that the variety of which the Lindisfarne text is witness has not taken part in this innovation. The vast majority (17) of the 23 *jan*-verbs attested in the gloss do not diverge in meaning and/or valency from other Old English texts. Their label in the attached list is the same as that in (general) Old English. One of these verbs, Li. *græta* 'to greet', retains the original causative meaning to the strong verb OE *gretan* 'to weep' in its prefixed formations Li. *agræta* 'to throw down' and Li. *gegræta* 'to torment'. This is not the case in other Old English texts, where the first formation

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is not attested[17] and the second (OE *gegretan*) almost universally has the meanings 'to visit, address, greet'. Again, the Lindisfarne text preserves rather than innovates. The form <besenced> must be ascribed to an infinite Li. *besenga* 'to scorch' (L *aestuare*) rather than Li. *besenca*, and agrees in meaning and valency with *besengan* in other Old English texts. Five out of 23 *jan*-verbs present diverging meaning and/or valency in the gloss. Allowing for distortions due to the limitations and arbitrariness of attestation, the behaviour of three of them (Li. *læfa*, *depa*, *gescrenca*) can be read as conservative, whereas Li. *stenca* and *feriga* show rather innovative traits. In a nutshell, the Lindisfarne gloss does not diverge substantially from other Old English texts in its use of causative *jan*-verbs. There are a few divergences, which point both in the direction of preservation and innovation, with a tendency to the former. There are no signs that the Lindisfarne gloss is more innovative than other Old English varieties with respect to derivational morphology, as opposed to inflectional.

5 Conclusions and questions for further study

In this paper all the attestations of the deverbal *jan*-verbs in the Old English glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels have been analysed in context from the point of view of their meaning and morphosyntax. The main aim was to find out whether the Lindisfarne text showed signs of greater morphological syncretism than other Old English varieties in this area of derivational morphology. The results obtained for the Lindisfarne gloss have thus been contrasted with those obtained for general Old English in a previous study on the topic (García García 2012a).

The most relevant conclusion of this study is that the Lindisfarne text does not show greater syncretism in the use of the word-formation pattern of deverbal *jan*-verbs than other Old English varieties; if anything, it is rather conservative with respect to the preservation of their causative meaning and valency compared to other texts. This stands in contrast to the proportionally abundant cases of merger and loss of inflectional markers evident in the Lindisfarne gloss (see Millar's and Cole's papers in this volume). Clearly, derivational morphology has to be separated from inflectional morphology in this regard.

A further contribution is the etymological, lexicological and syntactic reassessment of the verbs on which the study is based, specified in the attached list. The inclusion of a verb in the list is a statement of its etymology. The meanings and usages proposed for each verb follow the textual analysis of all their respective occurrences in the gloss. Moreover, the list has both diatopic and historical depth as the general Old English correspondence of each of the *jan*-causatives attested in Lindisfarne is provided and their function in those two variants and in their Germanic ancestor tagged. The data collected in the Appendix afford information that can be useful for other researches.

The present analysis confirms, for those verbs attested in the Lindisfarne gloss, the etymological, semantic and syntactic classification set out in García García (2012a), with a single exception. The verb OE *screncan* 'to cause to dry' has clearly causative meaning in the gloss, but had been labelled 'doubtful' in the earlier study. The number of secure causatives in Old English thus rises from 57 to 58.

One of the questions for further study addressed by the paper is the possible encroachment of the prefix *ge-* in the function of the *jan*-formation as expression of the causative pendant to a non-causative base. One such example is Li. *luta* 'to fall down, bend

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[17] The *jan*-verb *agræta* 'to throw down' is only attested in the Northumbrian gloss to the Rushworth Gospels, besides Lindisfarne.

forward' and *geluta* 'to lay (sth.)' (see previous section). Another issue worth pursuing is the use of weak for strong forms in Lindisfarne, as in Li. *swelta* 'to die'.[18]

Appendix

Deverbal *jan*-verbs with possible causative meaning attested in the Lindisfarne gloss

The following alphabetical list includes all potentially causative *jan*-pairs attested in Lindisfarne and their function in the Lindisfarne gloss (Li.), general Old English (OE; see n. 2) and Germanic (PGmc). In the first column of the table the *jan*-verb is given in its (conjectured) Lindisfarne infinitive form with Present-Day English translation and Latin original in italics. Below it, in the same line, the normalized Old English form is listed with its meaning (revised from García García 2012a: 143–148). In the second column, the corresponding strong verbal bases in Lindisfarne (if attested) and Old English are listed as before. The third, fourth and fifth columns label the relationship between *jan*-verb and base in Li., OE and PGmc. The following labels describe the function of the *jan*-formation or the semantic relationship between *jan*-verb and strong base, as the case may be:

C   =   causative
Col C   =   collapsing causative opposition, with one or both members
                  adopting new valency values (see section 1)
IDI   =   a Germanic causative relationship has undergone idiosyncratic
                  semantic changes
SPE   =   semantic specialization in either member of the *jan*-opposition.

JAN-VERB	BASE	FUNC. IN LI.	FUNC. IN OE	FUNC. IN PGmc
Li. *bega* 'to humiliate' (trans.); 'bend (the knees)' (only past part) (cp. L *humiliare, flectere*) OE *bigan* 'to bend (trans.; intr. (-)); turn (caus.; intr.)', 'humiliate'	Li. *gebuga* 'to bow, bend; cut down' (trans.) (cp. L *caedere, inclinare*) OE *bugan* 'to bow, bend (intr.; trans.?); turn (intr.)'	Col C+IDI	Col C+IDI	C
Li. *berna* 'to burn, light' (trans. and intr.) (cp. L *accendere, ardere, comburere*) OE *bærnan* 'to burn' (trans.; intr. (-))	Li. *bearna* 'to burn' (intr.) (cp. L *ardere*) OE *byrnan* 'to burn (intr.; trans.(-))'	Col C	Col C	C
Li. *gecæla* 'to cool (sth.)' (cp. L *refrigerare*) OE *celan* 'to cool or chill (sth.), make cold; quench (thirst)	Not in Li. OE *calan* 'to be or become cold; to make cold'	C	Col C	C
Li. *cwælla* 'to destroy, kill' (cp. L *interficere*) OE *cwellan* 'to kill'	Not in Li. OE *cwelan* 'to die'	C	C	C
Li. *depa* 'to dip, lower into, or immerse in liquid' (trans.) (cp. L *intingere*) OE *dypan* 'to dip, immerse in liquid (sth.); baptize'	Not in Li. OE *dufan* 'to dive, plunge, sink (intr.)'[19]	C	C+SPE	C
Li. *gedrenca* 'to drown, sink', trans.? (only *ge-* + past part) (cp. L *demergere*)	Li. *drinca* 'to drink' (cp. L *bibere*)	C	C	C

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[19] To *p/f* variation in this verb see Seebold (1970: 155−156).

OE *drencan* 'to give drink to; drench, saturate'	OE *drincan* 'to drink, drink'(sth. + acc)			
Li. *feriga* 'to carry; go, pass' (cp. L *ferre*) OE *ferian* 'to carry, transport'	Li. *fara* 'to go travel' (cp. L *ire*, etc.) OE *faran* 'to go, travel'	Col C	C	SPE (by ship)
Li. *grœta* 'to greet' (cp. L *salutare*); Li. *gegrœta* 'to torment' (cp. L *torquere*) OE *gretan* 'to approach, touch; damage, attack; address (so. + acc); greet'	Not in Li. OE *gretan*, *greotan* 'to bemoan, weep for'	C+IDI	C+IDI	C
Li. *hwerfa* 'to convert (intr.); borrow' (cp. L *convertere*, *mutuari*) OE *hwyrfan* 'to go, return; turn, change (caus.; intr.); exchange'	Not in Li. OE *hweorfan* 'to go; turn, change (intr.; caus. (-))'	Col C	Col C	C
Li. *lœda* 'to lead, carry' (cp. L *ducere*, *adducere*, *educere*, *tollere*, *ferre*, *conferre*) OE *lœdan* 'to lead, take, carry, bring, produce'	Not in Li. OE *liþan* 'to go, sail'	C	C	C
Li. *lœfa*' leave (sth.)' *relinquere* OE *lœfan* 'to leave; remain (-)'	Not in Li. OE *belifan* 'to be left over, remain'	C	Col C	C
Li. *lœra* 'to teach, instruct' (cp. L *docere*, *instruere*, *admonere*) OE *lœran* 'to teach; preach; persuade, suggest'	not in OE; Go. *lais* 'knows'	C	C	C
Li. *lecga* 'to spread, strew (sth.)' (cp. L *sternere*, *substernere*) OE *lecgan* 'to cause to lie, lay; slay'	Li. *licga* 'to lie, be at rest, lie down' (cp. L *jacere*, *discumbere*) OE *licgan* 'to lie, be at rest; lie dead'	C	C	C
Li. *generiga* 'to deliver, pluck out' (cp. L *eruere*) OE *nerian* 'to save'	Not in Li. OE *nesan* 'to be saved from, escape from'	C+IDI	C	C
Li. *reca* 'to smoke' (intr.) (cp. L *fumigare*) OE *recan* 'to smoke (sth.), fumigate'	Not in Li.?[20] OE *reocan* 'to reek, send forth smoke'	?	C	C
Li. *gescrenca* 'to cause to dry' (cp. L *arere*) OE *screncan* 'to cause to stumble, ensnare'	Li. *gescrinca* 'to wither away, dry up' OE *scrincan* 'to wither away, dry up; become weak; shrink'	C	C+IDI?	C?
Li. *besenca* 'to scorch' (cp. L *aestuare*) OE *sengan* 'to singe, burn slightly; afflict'	Li. *singa* 'to sing' (cp. *cantare*, *canere*) OE *singan* 'to sing'	C	C	C
Li. *setta* 'to set, place, put, settle' (cp. L *imponere*, *ponere*, *statuere*, *instituere*, *constituere*)	Li. *sitta* 'to sit, be seated, sit down' (cp. L *sedere*, *discumbere*)	C	C	C

[20] The occurrence in Lindisfarne might be an attestation of the strong verb OE *reocan* (see section 4).

OE *settan* 'to set, place, put; settle, subside (intr.) (-)'	OE *sittan* 'to sit, be seated; occupy (a seat)'			
Li. *stenca* 'to stink' (cp. *foetere*) OE *stencan* 'to scatter; emit breath with effort; stink'	Not in Li. OE *stincan* 'to spring, leap; emit a smell'	SPE	Col C+SPE	C
Li. *geswænca* 'to afflict' (cp. L *vexare*) OE *swencan* 'to cause a person to labour, harass, afflict'	Not in Li. OE *swincan* 'to toil, labour, work with effort'	C	C	C
Li. *wæcca* 'to watch, be awake; raise, provoke' (cp. L *vigilare, suscitare*) OE *weccan* 'to waken, arise, spring (intr.; caus. (-))'	Not in Li. OE *wæcnan* 'to come into being, be born, spring'	Col C	Col C	C
Li. *to/ge/a/efta/fromawælta* 'to roll (sth.)' (cp. L *advolvere, revolvere*) OE *wyltan* 'roll (sth.)'	Not attested in OE; OIc *velta* 'to roll (intr.)'	C	C	C
Li. *wænda* 'to turn' (intran.) (cp. L *verti, reverti*) OE *wendan* 'to turn (round), change (caus.; intr.); go (refl.; intr.)'	Li. *winda* 'to plat' (cp. L *plectere*) OE *windan* 'to spring (intr.); roll (intr.; caus.); weave (sth.)'	Col C+SPE	Col C+SPE	C