OE pēr AND hwēr
— A STUDY OF WHERE DEVELOPING IN THE
SUBORDINATING FUNCTION (I) —

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I. Introduction

Just as the temporal connective when (<OE hwonne), originally an indefinite adverb, has supplanted then (<OE ponne) or tho (<OE pā), which is properly a demonstrative adverb, but was formerly used as a clause-introducer, so the local connective where (<OE hwēr), an indefinite adverb which originally means 'in some or any place,' 'to some or any place,' has supplanted there (<OE pēr), properly a demonstrative adverb meaning 'in or to that place.' These historical processes are apparently parallel, both turning from the concrete and sometimes cumulative determination to the abstract and compact subordination.

It must be noticed, however, that in semantic or syntactic relation there is a considerable difference between a when-construction and a where-construction. The temporal relation, as seen between a principal clause and a subordinate clause, is usually felt so abstract and intangible that the connective when hardly seems to mean anything more than a syntactic connection. On the other hand, the local relation, as expressed between the two clauses, usually involves a more concrete modification toward an action or occurrence predicated in the principal clause, and the connective where, while introducing the subordinate clause, has such force as to actually define the surrounding of the action or occurrence. That is why we feel it more proper to call where, even when it introduces an adverbial clause, a relative adverb than a subordinate conjunction, while we feel little hesitation in terming when a subordinate conjunction.

The semantic or logical feature of where, as contrasted with when, is reflected in the historical phenomena. So far as we are instructed by the biblical quotations given below as examples 4 and 5, it may be concluded that already in Middle English ther was replaced by whēr; but it is merely a broad generalization. The fact is that there maintained its longer resistance against where than then or tho did against when, though on the other hand the incipient phenomena of hwēr in the subordinating function can be attested to in Old English texts, probably to a greater extent than the case of hwonne.1 This means that the concreter force of relative where is, in a greater degree, inherent in the older word there and that there remained semantically fit to perform the relative function longer than then, which sooner

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1 As to the development of when in the corresponding function, I have essayed some observations in “The Development of When as Subordinate Conjunction or Relative Adverb” (Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts & Sciences X.1, 1969).
appeared unsuited to indicate the more abstract and formal relation, the temporal relation between two propositions.

Now we shall look further into the original nature of the substitution of where for there and, for that purpose, compare the corresponding phenomena in other Germanic languages. OE þær corresponds to German da, which goes back to OHG thār, ON par, further to Gothic par; while OE hwēr corresponds to German wo, which goes back to OHG hwār, ON hwar, further to Gothic hwar. In Old High German hwār was used as a subordinating indefinite adverb, usually intensified by the double demonstrative sō . . . sō and so taking the form sō hwār sō, which is exactly correspondent to OE swā hwēr swā, as it will be dealt with in III. ii below. In Middle High German the form was shortened into swā, with the first sō pros-clitically fused with hwār and the second sō utterly dropped.2 In the course of Middle High German this swā was further shortened into wā and so identified with the form directly derived from the single hwār. As a subordinating adverb of place wā began to replace dā in the early Middle High German period, though the latter continued fairly longer to be used by later writers. It is noticeable, by the way, that the decay of dā as a local relative was furthered by the fact of dā being confused with the temporal conjunction dā, which corresponds to OE pā.

Below we shall quote the various versions of the same biblical passage, Matthew vi. 19-21, so as to compare the corresponding expressions dated from the different periods of the Germanic languages and see how parallel they are to one another.

(1) Goth.:3 Ni huzdyiap izwis huzda ana airpai, parei malo yah nidwa frawardeip, yah parei piubos ufgraband yah hilifand; Ip huzdyiap izwis huzda in himina, parei nih malo nik nidwa frawardeip, yah parei piubos ni ufgraband, nih stiland. parei auk ist huzd izwar, paruh ist yah hairto izwar.

(2) Luther:4 Yhr sollt euch nit schetze samlen auff erden, da sie der rost vnd die motten fressen, vnd da die diebe nach graben vnd stelen. Samlet euch aber schetze ym hymel, da sie widder rost noch motten fressen, vnd da die diebe nit nach graben, noch stelen, denn wo ewer schatz ist, do ist auch ewr hertz.

(3) Mod. G.:5 Sammelt euch nicht Schätze hier auf Erden, wo Motte und Rost daran zehren und wo Diebe einbrechen und stehlen. Sammelt euch vielmehr Schätze im Himmel, wo weder Motte noch Rost daran zehren und wo keine Diebe einbrechen und stehlen. Denn wo dein Schatz ist, da wird auch dein Herz sein.

(4) A.-S. Gosp.:6 Nellen ge gold-hordian eow gold-hordas on eorpan, der om and moppe hit fornimp, and der peofas hit delfap and forstelap; Gold-hordiap eow soplice

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3 The Gothic Bible was composed by Ulphilas about A.D. 360, translated from the Greek original. The text, which is based upon the Codex Argenteus, is here taken from The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale, edited by J. Bosworth and G. Waring, Reeves & Turner, London, 1888.

4 For the quotations from Luther’s Bible I am dependent on Die Septemberbibel von 1522: Das Neue Testament deutsch (W. Scherer, ed.: Deutsche Drucke älterer Zeit in Nachbildungen 1; Berlin, 1883).

5 As the text of the modern German Bible I have adopted Neues Testament; Herder, Treiburg im Breisgau; 1958.

6 Abbreviated from The Anglo-Saxon Gospels. The text adopted here is taken from Bosworth and Waring’s edition, mentioned above in footnote 3. It is mainly based on the MS. No. CXL. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The Corpus MS. is composed in the West Saxon dialect and is assigned to about A.D. 995.
gold-hordas on heofenan, SUMER na dör om ne mopp hit ne fornimp, and SUMER peofas hit ne delfap, ne ne forstelap. Witodlice SUMER dör ÜN gold-hord is, SUMER is ÜN heorte.

(5) Wycliffe: Nyle 3e tresoure to 3ou tresours in erthe, wher rust and mou3the distruyeth, and wher theues deluen out and stelen; But tresoure 3ee to 3ou tresouris in heuene, wher neither rust ne mou3the distruyeth, and wher theues theues deluen nat out, ne stelen. Forsothe wher thir tresour is, there and thin herte is.

(6) R.V.: Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.

These biblical extracts comparatively arranged show clearly enough how the relative adverbs or subordinate conjunctions meaning 'where' have been shifted along a certain line in the history of the Germanic languages. We can observe that NHG wo in example 3 and ME whër or ModE where in example 5 or 6, both indefinite or interrogative forms, have respectively been substituted for Early German dâ in example 2 and OE ðær in example 4, both demonstrative forms. In Gothic, which is properly called parental Germanic, as seen in example 1, the word that corresponds to pâr or dâ is parei, the complex form composed of par (= 'there') and relative particle ei, which itself is derived from the stem of the anaphoric pronoun *e- (cf. Gk έτέρ, 'if,' έιτά 'then').

When parei in a subordinate clause is correlated with a demonstrative adverb in a principal clause, we see for the latter the distinctive form paruh, -uh being an intensifying enclitic particle that may be compared with L que (= 'and'). This shows that the syntax of the Gothic Bible had already attained to the stage where well-balanced hypotaxis, probably furthered by the model of the Greek original, was considerably developed, though we see some features of primal parataxis still revealed in the doubled demonstrative stem par- ~ par- . . . .

In remarkable contrast with this is the construction in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, with the simple double form pâr ~ pâr . . . kept intact.

At the same time it is worth to notice that in example 2, Luther’s quotation, we see for the correlative construction the new form wo ~ do11 . . ., though as the single relatives the older das are consistently used.12 From older German, however, we can cite instances of the double determinative thar (dar, dâ) ~ thar (dar, dâ) . . ., which exactly corresponds to OE pâr ~ pâr . . .:

1 The text of the Wycliffite Version is also taken from Bosworth and Waring's edition, where it is dated 1389.

8 Abbreviated from The Revised Version dated 1881. For the quotations I am dependent on The Interlinear Bible: The Authorised Version and the Revised Version, Cambridge, 1898.


10 With this should be compared the corresponding form in Old Norse, where par, combined with relative particle er (cognate with Gothic ei) or sem (derived from the IE demonstrative stem so-), is equivalent to English where, as in “Peir pôttust par eiga allt traut er hann var.” (=They thought that all their hope was where he was.)—Quoted from G.T. Zoëga, A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic (Oxford, 1910) p. 508.

11 This do is a mere variation for da. Cf. Luther, Luke xii. 34: “denn wo wirt aus schatz ist, da wirt auch ewr hertz seyn”.

Now it would be worth while to have a glimpse of the corresponding phenomena in the Romance languages. Here we find the historical situation to be fairly different from that of the Germanic languages. The French relative adverb or conjunction of place is où, which goes back to Latin ubi (<quo-bi, quo ‘where’ derived from the IE indefinite-interrogative stem *kwo-), also an indefinite or interrogative adverb. Just as in Latin indefinite ubi is sometimes correlated and intensified with demonstrative ibi (‘there’), with the IE anaphorical stem *i-; cf. F y), so in French indefinite où is sometimes accompanied with demonstrative là (‘there’), <L illâc adv. derived from demonstrative ille ‘that’ <IE stem *i-). Là is sometimes used in immediate combination with où when introducing an adverbial clause of place. Again, we shall quote the Latin and French versions of Matthew vi. 19-21, the same biblical passage as given above under 1-6.


(10) F15: Ne vous amassez pas des trésors sur la terre, où le teigne et la rouille détruisent, et où les voleurs percent et dérobent; mais amassez-vous des trésors dans le ciel, où la teigne et la rouille ne détruisent point, et où les voleurs ne percent ni ne dérobent. Car là où est ton trésor, là aussi sera ton cœur.

In the Romance syntax the relative or conjunctio nal use of an indefinite or interrogative is so essentially rooted that few demonstrative elements have anything to do with the origin of the function here as well as in the other kinds of subordinate constructions. It seems, rather extraordinary, therefore, that still in Modern French a reduplicated determinative, so characteristic of the Germanic syntax, should be found in the form “là où ~ là . . . ”.16

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13 The text adopted here is *Die Nibelungen*, edited by P. Piper (Union Deutche Verlagsgesellschaft, Stuttgart; 1889). The old German epic was composed about 1200-5.
14 The Latin biblical verses are quoted in this article from *Biblica Sacra Latina*, Vulgata Editiones (Bagster, London; 1794).
16 By the way, another edition of the French Bible, that is, *La Sainte Bible*, du Chanoine Crampon (N. T. revised by A. Tricot; Desclée et Cie, Paris; 1960) reads in the same verses: “Ne vous amassez pas des trésors sur la terre: là, les vers et la rouille dévorent, les voleurs percent les murs et dérobent. Mais amassez-vous des trésors dans le ciel: les vers et la rouille n'y dévorent pas, les voleurs n'y percent pas les murs et n'y dérobent rien. Car là où est trésor, là aussi sera votre cœur.” Except in the last sentence, we see here a different type of constructions, a series of paratactic clauses, which are symbolic of the primal stage in the development of subordinate constructions, while representing a dominant aspect of modern French syntax.
II. OE \(\textit{p\'e}\)

As was mentioned in the preceding chapter, the local relative adverb or conjunction in Old English was \(\textit{p\'e}\); \(\textit{hw\'e}\r\) was not yet fully developed into that kind of connective. The relative or conjunctional use of \(\textit{p\'e}\) in hypotactic constructions had grown out of its demonstrative use in parataxis. The demonstrative force, either anaphoric or deictic, had adjusted \(\textit{p\'e}\) to the concrete, straightforward nature of old Germanic syntax. In the following quotation we can perceive something suggestive of the original status of \(\textit{p\'e}\) as a local connective.

(1) onne ic on uhtan ana gonge
under actreo geond pas eor\(\o\)scrafu.
\(\textit{p\'e}\) ic sittan mot sumorlangne d\(\o\)g,
\(\textit{p\'e}\) \(\textit{p\'e}\) ic wepan m\(\o\)g mine wr\(\a\)csipas,
ear\(\o\)opa fela;
—\textit{The Wife's Lament} \(1735-9\).

(\(=\)While alone at dawn I pass under the oak-tree through this earthcave. There I must sit a long summer's day; there I can only weep my miseries, many hardships.)

In this passage, the first \(\textit{p\'e}\), though it is placed at the beginning of the period by the editor, is semantically related to the local expression "\(\textit{pas eor\(\o\)scrafu}\)" in the preceding line, and so it may be said to have the potentiality of functioning as a relative adverb that refers to the antecedent noun. Again, the parallel arrangement of the two paratactic clauses, both introduced by \(\textit{p\'e}\), naturally reminds us of the double determinative construction as in "\(\textit{d\(\o\)er \(\o\)in gold-hold is, \(\o\)er is \(\o\)in heorte,}\)" exemplified under 4 in I above. Here we cannot say that "\(\textit{p\'e}\) ic sittan mot . . ." is subordinated to "\(\textit{p\'e}\) ic wepan m\(\o\)g . . ."; and yet there is a certain affinity between this and the hypotactic construction.

Below we shall give some instances of OE \(\textit{p\'e}\) in the subordinating function, classifying them into four groups: group A with \(\textit{p\'e}\)\(\textit{r}\)s introducing adverbial clauses, group B with \(\textit{p\'e}\)\(\textit{r}\)s functioning as relative adverbs that refer to the preceding nominal expressions, whether restrictively or non-restrictively, group C with combinations "\(\textit{p\'e}\) \(\textit{p\'e}\)" that function either conjunctionally or relatively, and group D with double determinative constructions "\(\textit{p\'e}\) . . . \(\textit{p\'e}\) . . .".

Group A:

(2) ond ic wene me
    daga gehwylce hw\(\a\)nne\(18\) me dryhtnes rod,
    pe ic her on eordan \(\o\)r s\(\o\)cwode,
    on pysson l\(\o\)nan life gefetige
    ond me onne gebringe \(\textit{p\'e}\) is blis m\(\o\)cel,
dream on heofonum, \(\textit{p\'e}\) is dryhtnes folc

\(17\) The text is adopted from \textit{The Exeter Book}, edited by G.P. Krapp and E. van K.Dobbie, 1936, in \textit{The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records} \(\text{abbr. A.-S. P.R.}\) III \(\text{(Columbia U.P., N.Y.)}\). The four main MSS. of OE poetry which are compiled into the six volumes of A.-S. P.R.—Junius MS., Vercelli Book, Exeter Book, and Beowulf MS.—are all dated about the last part of the tenth century and were composed in the dialect of West Saxon, mixed with some Anglican or, sometimes Kentish elements, though the poems themselves are pre-Alfredian and mostly of Anglican origin.

\(18\) For the status of this \textit{hw\(\a\)nne} (\(=\) 'when'), which is essentially associated with that of \textit{hw\(\o\)r}, the theme of III below, see my article mentioned in footnote 1.
geseted to symle,  
ond me ponne asette  
wunion on wulde,  
dreames brucan.  

—Dream of the Rood\textsuperscript{10} 135-44.

(=... and each day I hope to see when the Lord's cross, which I once beheld here on earth, will fetch me from this fleeting life and then bring me where there is great bliss, joy in heaven, where God's people are placed at the banquet, where there is perpetual delight, and then set me where I may thereafter dwell in glory, well sharing joy with the saints.)

(3) Pa weard slope  
pam casere,  
sigerofum gesegen swefnes woma.  

—Elene\textsuperscript{20} 69-71.

(=Then to the triumphant emperor himself in his sleep, where he slumbered amid his company, there was shown a revelation of a dream.)

(4) Eode pa fromlice  
anræd ond yrepweorh,  
per he glædomode  
wic weardian.  

—Juliana\textsuperscript{21} 89-92.

(=Then resolute and antagonistic, furious with anger, he boldly went to speak to the maiden where he knew the gentle-minded virgin had her abode.)

(5) Hwearf pa hrædiclice  
eald ond anhar mid his eorla gedriht;  

—Beowulf\textsuperscript{22} 356-7.

(=Then he quickly returned where Hrothgar sat, old and hoary, with his suite of nobles.)

(6) Land lið befaran eow; wuna per de leofost ys.  

—Ælfric, Gen.\textsuperscript{23} 35-6. (=The land lies before you. Dwell where you like best.) (Cf. L: . . . ubicumque\textsuperscript{24} tibi placuerit habita.)

(7) Frige men ne motan wealdan heora sylfa, ne faran par hi willad, ne ateon heora 

—Wulfstan, Sermo ad Anglos, MS. C,\textsuperscript{25} 49-51. (=Free men cannot keep their independence, nor go where they will, nor dispose of their property as they like.)

Group B:

(8) Mæg ic be me sylfum  
sipas secgan,  
hu ic geswincdagum  

—The text is adopted from \textit{The Vercelli Book}, edited by G.P. Krapp, 1932, in A.-S.P.R. 11.

—Also taken from Krapp, ed.: \textit{The Vercelli Book}.

—Taken from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: \textit{The Exeter Book}.

—The text adopted here is \textit{Beowulf and Judith}, edited by E. van K. Dobbie, 1953, in A.-S.P.R. IV.


—Swa swa is another instance of those double determinatives which are composed of words of the demonstrative stem and are characteristic of Old English syntax. It is of the same nature as pā pā, pēr pēr, pæt pæt, sē pē, etc.

—The text is adopted from D. Bethurum, ed.: \textit{The Homilies of Wulfstan}, Oxford, 1957. The composition of MS.C in the late West Saxon dialect is assigned to c. 1050-80.
1971] OE pâr AND hwâr

bitre brestceare gebiden hæbbe,
gecunnad in ceole cearselda fela,
atol ypa gewealc, per mec oft bigeat
nearo nihtwaco æt n acan steftnan,
ponne he be clifum cnossað. —The Seafarer27 1-8.

(=I can recite a true lay about myself, how in the toilsome days I have often suffered a
time of hardship, borne bitter sorrow of heart, and explored by ship many sorrowful
abodes, the hateful rolling of the waves, where the anxious night-watch at the boat’s stem
was often my task, when it dashed by the cliffs.)

(9) bearhtme stopon
to ðam gysterne, per hie Iudithðe
funden ferhôgleawe, —Judith28 39-41.

(=Noisily they stepped into the guest-chamber, where they found prudent Judith.)

(10) ... pa ridon hie pider. ... ond pone æpeling on pære byrig metton per se
cyning ofslægen læg, ... —The Parker Chronicle,29 an. 755 (45. 13-6).

(=Then they rode there, and found the prince in the fortified place where the king lay
killed.)

(11) ... se cyning Ælfred ... hie hindan ofridan ne meahte ær hie on pam fæstene
wærôn, per him mon to ne meahte; ... —ibid. an. 877 (74. 17-9). (=King Alfred
could not overtake them from behind before they were in the fortress, where they could
not be got to.)

(12) Gehet he him, pæt he wolde in pam fyrrestum dælum Ongolcynnes, per næning
lar ær cwom, pa sæd sawan pæs halgan geleafan.—Bede30 III. vii (I. 166. 25-7). (=He
promised him that he would sow the seed of the holy faith in the remotest parts of England,
where no teaching had ever penetrated.)

(13) Pa becom se apostol æt sumum sæle to pære byrig Pergamum, per ða foresædan
cnihtas iu ær cardodon, ... —Ælfric, Homilies31 (quoted from Sweet, A.-S.R.32 xiii.
91-2). (=Then the apostle once came to the city Pergam, where the before-mentioned
boys had formerly lived.)

(14) and he bið æfre anweard eallum weldondum
on ælcum lande per hys geleafa byð. —Ælfric, Homilies, Sup.33 v. 188-9.

27 The text is taken from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: The Exeter Book.
28 Quoted from Dobbie, ed.: Beowulf and Judith.
29 For the quotations from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle I am dependent on Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel (Vol. I), edited by J. Earl and C. Plummer, Oxford, 1952. The Parker MS. is the most authentically West Saxon of the seven MSS. of the Chronicle, and the composition of the entries from the beginning down
to the annal 891 is dated c. 900.
30 The text adopted here is The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People,
edited by T. Miller (E.E.T.S., Nos. 95, 96; 1890, ’91, reprinted 1959). It is mainly based upon the MS. Tanner
10 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which was composed at the end of the tenth century, in the dialect of
West Saxon mixed with Mercian.
31 Ælfric’s Homilies are mainly edited from the MS. Cambridge Gg. 3. 28, which is dated c. 1000-25 and
whose dialect is late West Saxon.
32 Abbreviated from H. Sweet, An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse; 9th ed. revised by C.T. Onions;
Oxford, 1922.
33 Quoted from J.C. Pope, ed.: Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection (E.E.T.S., Nos. 259, 260;
(and he is always present with all the well-doers in every country where his faith is.)

Group C:

(15) ...ic de bebiode ...dat du de dissa wuruldöinga to dem gæmetige swæ du oftost mæge, dat du ðone wisdom de de God sealde ðær ðær du hiene befestan mæge, befestæte.—Pastoral Care\textsuperscript{34} 5. 1-4. (=1 command you that you should keep yourself free from these worldly matters as often as you can, so that you may apply the wisdom that God has given you wherever you can apply it.)

(16) ...he gewicode betwuuh þæm twam hergum, þær þær he niehst rymeð handaþe for wudufæstenne, ond for wæterfæstenne, ...—The Parker Chronicle, an. 894\textsuperscript{35} (84. 23-5). (=He was encamped between the two hosts, where he was nearest both to the fastness in the woods and to the fastness on the water.)

(17) Gif hwa penige me, fyfige me; and min pen bip ðær, ðær ic eom.—A.-S. Gosp., John xii. 26. (=If anyone serves me, let him follow me; and my servant will be wherever I am.) (Cf. L: ...ubi sum ego, illæ\textsuperscript{36} et minister meus erit. / Goth.: ...parei im ik, paruh sa andbahts meins wisan habaip.)

(18) An ea of ðam hatte Fison; seo gæð onbutan ðæt land ðæ is gehafen Euilað, ðær ðær gold wyxð.—Ælfric, Gen. ii. 11. (=One of the streams is named Pison. It goes round the land called Havilah, where gold is produced.) (Cf. L: ...ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Hevilath, ubi nascitur aurum:).

(19) ge secgað
pæt on Hierusalem si seo stow
þær þær gedafeanð to gebiddenne. —Ælfric, Homilies, Sup. v. 41-3.

(=You say that in Jerusalem is the place where we should worship.) (Cf. L John iv. 20\textsuperscript{37}: vos dicitis, quia Ierosolymis est locus, ubi adorare oportet.)

(20) eft, pa pa hi comon
to Criste sylfum þær þær he sæt,
pa bædon hi pæt he wunode þær sume hwile, —ibid. v. 280-2.

(=Afterwards when they came to Christ himself where he sat, they entreated him to remain there for some time.)

Group D:

(21) Þær twegen ðode pry synt on minum naman gegaderode, ðær ic eom on hyra midlene.—A.-S. Gosp., Matt. xviii. 20. (=Where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in the middle of them.) (Cf. L: Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congrugate in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.) Also cf. A.-S. Gosp., Matt. vi. 21 (in ex. 4 under 1).

(22) Stormas þær stanclifu beotan, þær him stearn oncwæð
isigfepera; —The Seafarer 23-4.

(=There storms beat on the rocky cliffs where the tern with icy feathers answered them.)

\textsuperscript{34} The text adopted here is the Hatton MS. of King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, edited by H. Sweet (E.E.T.S., Nos 45, 50, 1871). The MS. Hatton 20 in the Bodleian was composed at the end of the ninth century.

\textsuperscript{35} The composition of the annals 892-921 in the Parker MS. is dated 900-930.

\textsuperscript{36} L illæ (=' there '), synonymous with illæc, ibi, is derived from ille (demonstr. pron.;=' that ') and -ce (demonstr. suff.).

\textsuperscript{37} In the A.-S. Gosp., by the way, the same content is rendered with conjunctival relative ðat ( ... on ' in '), instead of adverbial ðær: " ge secgap, ðat on Hierusalem sy seo stow, ðat man on-gebidden."
(23) *Par fram sylle abeag
     medubenc monig, mine gefræge,

(=There many a mead-bench, adorned with gold, started from the floor, as I have heard
say, where the wrathful fighters contended.)

Though all these instances illustrate the use of OE *par* in the subordinating function, yet
we can perceive a considerable difference in the degree that *par* in each of them has deepened
its force of introducing a hypotactic construction, having weakened its original force as
demonstrative in parataxis. In example 8, where the poetic description goes on expanding
in steady rhythm, we might put a period at the end of the first half of the sixth line and open
the new sentence with *par*, thus punctuating the line: “atol ypa gewealc. *Par mec oft
bigeat ’ so that the second half line means ‘There I was often occupied . . . ’. It seems
that here is disclosed some of the original nature of relative adverb *par* in Old English.

In “wuna *par* de leofost ys” (ex. 6), “faran *par* hi willað” (ex. 7), “in pam
fyrrrestum dælum Ongoleynnes, *par* nenig lar ær cwom” (ex. 12), “on ælccum lande *par*
hys geleafa byð” (ex. 14), and “seo stow *par* *par* gedafenað to gebiddenne” (ex. 19),
on the other hand, *par* has its connective function, either as subordinate conjunction or
as relative adverb, displayed to the fullest extent. As to the double form exemplified in
group C, it is worth to notice the peculiarity of “. . . dær, dær ~” in example 17. Unlike
*par* *par* in example 15, 16, 18, 19 or 20, this “dær, dær” is not one compound relative;
the first dær is a full demonstrative belonging to the principal clause and the second dær
alone functions as relative at the head of the subordinate clause. If we were to shift in
any measure the structural balance of “min pen bip dær, dær ic eom,” we should be able
to transform it into “dær ic eom, dær bip min pen,” the same kind of correlative construc-
tion as in example 21 of group D. In this respect the structure in example 17 may be
said to have retained greater traces of original parataxis, out of which the more hypotactic
structure, as in examples 15, 16, 18, 19 and 20, has come into existence, though it still has
a connective in the outer form of double determinative. At the same time we should
observe the appropriateness of the double determinative form for intensive or general
indication of place, as in example 15, where dær dær is equivalent to modern wherever.

In the case of correlative constructions of group D, it is sometimes delicate to decide
which of the two clauses should be interpreted as a principal clause and which as a
subordinate one. In example 22, though it is structurally clear that the second *par*, not
the first *par*, has been expressed in the sense of ‘where,’ yet semantically it would be
quite possible to have the principal and the subordinate clause exchanged in order, with a
slight shift of the elements, and thus transform the first line into “*par* stormas stanclifu
beotan, *par* him stearn oncwæð,” which would mean ‘Where storms beat on the rocky
chiffs, there the tern answered them.’ Such delicacy in expression or in interpretation
is due to the concrete and straightforward feature of parataxis that is latent in this kind
of construction.
III. OE hwær

The origination of OE hwær as a clause-introducer, as that of OE hwonne, may be considered from two points of view—first from its function as indirect interrogative, and secondly from its more intrinsic nature as indefinite adverb. As the starting point of the category whose source is hwær as interrogative, we may mention a very typical use as in the following example:

(1) Da he hi findan ne mihte, ða axode he ða landes men hwær þat wif wære, . . . —Ælfric, Gen. xxxviii. 21. (=When he could not find her, he asked the men in the place where the woman was.) (Cf. L: . . . Interrogavit homines loci illius: Ubi est mulier . . . ? [expressed in a direct question]).

Now the semantic range of the governing verb or noun in this kind of construction is expected to be rather wide. The further the governing verb or noun goes from the genuinely cognitive in the direction of the sort of verb or noun that means caring, observing, examining, or considering, the looser is the logical or syntactic relation between the verb or noun and the hwær-clause. In other words, the more the process goes, the less is felt of the nature of the clause as syntactic object and the more adverbial it becomes, with the interrogative force of hwær so much weakened. The following instances may illustrate the transitional phenomena along the process.

(2) Da com Maria Magdalene, and Josepes Maria and beholdon, hwær he geled wære. —A.-S. Gosp., Mark xv. 47. (=Then came Mary Magdalene and Mary Joseph, and they beheld where he was laid.) (Cf. L: Maria autem Magdalene, et Maria Joseph aspiciebant ubi poneretur. / Goth.: Ip Marya so Magdalene, yah Marya Josezis sewhun, whar galagips wes.)

(3) . . . pa ofseah he hwær sum uðwita lædde twegen gebroðru, . . . —Ælfric, Homilies (quoted from Sweet, A.-S. R. xiv. 53-4). (=Then he saw where a philosopher led two brothers . . .)

(4) Pa sum dæge rad se cyng up be pære æe, ond gehawade hwær mon mehte pa ea forwyrce, þet hie ne mehton pa scipu ut brengan.—The Parker Chronicle, an. 896 (89. 10-3). (=Then one day the king rode up along the river and observed where the river could be barricaded, so that they might not bring up their ships.)

(5) épæhten sceawað

hwær pa eardien ðe his æ healden; —Guthlac99 54-5.

(=The Lord scrutinizes where those who keep his law are dwelling.)

(6) ond pa his modor het

feran foldwege folca preate
to ludeum, georne secan
wigena preate hwær se wuldræ beam

99 Quoted from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: The Exeter Book.
halig under hrusan, hyded wære, ædelcyninges rod.


(7) Ic sece mine gebroðru, hwær hig healdon heora heorda.---Ælfric, Gen. xxxvii.
16. (=I am seeking my brothers, where they are keeping their flocks.) (Cf. L: Fratres meos quæro, indica mihi ubi pascant greges. [indica (imper.) miki ubi ... ‘tell me where...’])

(8) shote sele dreorig sines bryttan, hwær ic fæor oppe neah findan meahte pone pe in meoduhealle min mine wisse,

---The Wanderer40 25-7.

(9) Uton we hycgan hwær we ham agen, ond ponne gepencan hu we pider cumen,

---The Seafarer 117-8.

(10) Antigones and Perðica ... Ionge ymb þæt síredon hwær hie hie gemetan wolden ...
---Orosius41 III. xi (144. 33-5). (=Antigones and Perthica thought long over where they would meet in battle.)

(11) hæfde ic uhtceare hwær min leodfruma londes wære. ---The Wife’s Lament 7-8.

(12) Nu is pearf mycel pæt we fæstlice, ferhða staþðlian, pæt we ðæs morðres meldan ne weorðen hwær pæt halige trio beheld wurde æfter wigpræce, ---Elene 426-30.

(13) Pu scealt geaginga wisdom onwreon, swa gewritu secgap, æfter stedewange hwær seo stow sie Caluarie, ---ibid. 673-6.

(14) Wundur hwær ponne eorl ellenrof ende gefere lifgesceafte, ponne leng ne mæg mon mid his magum meduseld buam. ---Beowulf 3062-5.

---Quoted from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: The Exeter Book.
---The text adopted here is King Alfred’s Orosius, edited by H. Sweet (E.E.T.S., No. 79, 1883). It is edited from the Lauderdale MS., dated c. 893, though the part of pp. 18/3-24/24 in Sweet’s edition is supplied from the Cotton MS., which was composed in the mid-eleventh century.
(=It is a mystery where a brave nobleman may meet the end of his fortune, when he cannot
dwell any longer in the mead-hall with his kinsmen.)

It should be observed that in all these quotations the verbal or nominal expressions to
which the hwær-clauses are subordinated imply more or less the idea of mental or physical
inquiry or searching for something unknown or uncertain. This semantic feature of the
hwær-clauses as objects of inquiry or searching is grammatically reflected in the forms of the
predicate verbs in the clauses in all the examples 2-14 as well as example 1, which are either
distinctly subjunctive or to be interpreted as subjunctive. In each of the examples 2-6 and
9 hwær introduces a clause that is syntactically the direct object of the main verb. It is
examples 7, 8, 10 and 11-14 that deserve special attention; for in each of them hwær introduces
a clause that is not so directly related to the predicate verb of the principal clause. In ex-
amples 7 and 8 the direct objects of séce and söhite are accusative nouns mine gréorda and
sele respectively and the hwær-clauses are rather loosely appended to them so as to construct
a sort of appositional relation. In example 10, too, the hwær-clause is placed as appositive
to the demonstrative pronoun pat in the prepositional phrase ymb pat (= 'about that'),
which functions as adverbial object of siredon (pret. pl. of syrian ' devise ').

The three next examples 11-13 show looser relations of similar constructions. In either
example 11 or example 12 the relation between the antecedent noun—uhtceare (= 'care
at dawn') or meldan (= ' informer ')—and the hwær-clause may be looser than can be
called appositional. We should rather describe that the hwær-clause is in the relation of
object to the whole verbal expression "hæfde uhtceare" or "... meldan ne weorden." What is most noteworthy now is example 13. In outward structure the local noun stedewange (= 'plain') immediately precedes hwær as if the latter functioned as definite relative
referring to the former, just as modern where in "... the plain where ~" does. Here again,
however, we should interpret that the hwær-clause is loosely related to the whole idea of the
main predicate, that is, the need to give full information about the place, and that it is the
semantic object of "telling." The combination "stedewange hwær," therefore, is nothing
more than an incidental juxtaposition, though it is still an instance of that cumulative and
appositional type as it appears in verse which is characteristic of Old English syntax.

Example 14 is another remarkable instance of the paratactic construction. Here the
hwær-clause is subject, not object, toward the preceding predicative noun wundur (= 'wonder').
That is syntactically true; but the cognitive sense "wondering" of the noun has exerted
the same influence on the following clause as a transitive verb does. The use of interrogative
hwær has been naturally adjusted to the context here.

Through the transitional stage, as we have observed in the instances above, OE hwær
was passing from an indirect interrogative introducing a noun clause to a subordinate con-
junction or definite relative introducing an adverbial or adnominal clause, while it displayed
a good deal of its original nature as indefinite determinative. In this respect the following

41 Referring to "ofseah hwær ~" in example 3, Sweet (A.-S.R. p. 213), paraphrasing the part into 'saw a
philosopher leading ... ' explains that "this peculiar use of 'where' is very common in O. Norse, not only
after 'see', but other verbs also," and quotes: "Peir finna l helli nokkvorum hwar gygr sat." (=They found
a giantess sitting in some cave.)—Snorra-Edda. This is also true of "beheoldon hwær ~" in example 2,
and it seems to suggest a tendency in old Germanic syntax to have recourse to more emphatic but more devious
constructions than in modern speech.

42 For the interpretation of this passage from The Wanderer, especially concerning the construction in ques-
tion, see B. Mitchell, A Guide to Old English (Basil Blackwell, Oxford; 1965) 8 159.
instance should further be compared.

(15) *Pæt tacn nugyt is orgyte on pæs sæs stæde, hwær para wigwægna hweol on
gongende wæron.—Orosius I. vii (38. 34-5). (=The sign is now clearly perceived on the
seashore, where the wheels of those war-chariots were going on.)

Here, indeed, hwær looks like a relative adverb, referring to the preceding local expression
pæs sæs stæde. Moreover, the predicate verb of the hwær-clause, wæron, is in the indicative
mood. But that is not the construction here; the hwær-clause is rather related to the subject
pæt tæcn, to which it is, though somewhat indirectly, added in a sort of apposition. The
meaning here, if put more explicitly, would be ‘the sign to indicate where...’, and so we
can still perceive the function of hwær as indirect interrogative. It is nevertheless true, so
far as the actual expression here is concerned, that hwær is a good deal attracted to pæs sæs
stæde, so much so that hwær here can be interpreted to have superseded pær, the ordinary
word for the function in Old English.

As for the idiomatic expression as seen in:

(16) Foxas habbap holu, and heofenan fuglas nest, soplice mannes sunu næfp hwær
he hys heafod ahyldे.—A.-S. Gosp., Matt. viii. 20. (=Foxes have holes, and birds
of the sky nests; but the Son of man has not where he may lay his head.) (Cf. L: . . .
filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet. / Goth.: sunus mans ni habap whar
haubip sein anahamwiai.)

Karlberg gives an explanation that L habēre (=‘have’), when construed with an
indirect question introduced by an interrogative, is coloured with the notion of ‘scire’
(=‘know’) that OE næfp (<ne heifp) is accordingly equivalent to nāt (<ne wāt ‘does
not know’), and that the two verbs are found interchangeable in this type of construc-
tion.46 The idiomatic combination ‘næbbe hwæt,’ ‘næfp hwær’” may thus be interpreted
as primarily meaning ‘have not anything that...’ ‘has not any place where...’,
tintured with ‘do not know what...’, ‘does not know where...’ respectively.

It is now interesting to see that the content of Matthew viii. 20 was differently rendered
by Ælfric:

(17) Deor habbað hola, and fugelas habbað nest, hwær hi restað, and ic nābbe hwider
ic ahyldē min heafod.—Homilies 160. 33 (q. Kivimaa). (=Animals have holes, and
birds have nests, where they rest, and I have not whither I lay my head.)

As to the use of hwider (>MOdE whither), which is morphologically cognate with hwær,
in the last clause, it may be understood in the same way as “næfp hwær...” in example 16.
What deserves special attention here is the function of hwær in “hwær hi restað”. It evidently
refers to the antecedent nouns hola and nest. The comparison of the two renderings, examples
16 and 17, suggests to us that hwær was shifting in its syntactic function from interrogative

45 E. g.: Gif he næbbe hwæt he selle, sie he self beborht wid ðam fio.—Alfred, Laws, Intro. 24 (MSS. E & G)
[MS. H: nite for mæbbe] (q. Karlberg). (=If he has not [does not know] what to sell, let him be sold for his
theft.)
46 K. Kivimaa, Pe and Pat as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Especial Consideration of
Emergence of the Pleonastic Pat (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki; 1966) p. 37. Also cf. Karlberg,
op. cit. p. 67; O. Johnsen, “On Some Uses of the Indefinite Relatives in Old English and on the Origin of the
Definite Relatives” (Anglia, Bd. 37, 1913) § 17.
Next we have to consider another type of expression that could be interpreted as containing \( hw\ddot{a}r \) of interrogative origin. That is the type "lo\(c(a) \ hw\ddot{a}r, \)" the same category as "lo\(c(a) \ hw\ddot{e}t, \) " lo\(c(a) \ h\ddot{u}\), \) " lo\(c(a) \ hw\ddot{e}nne, \)" etc. Here lo\(c(a) \) is originally an imperative verb, and the \( hw\)-word, as indirect interrogative, introduces a clause which is in the relation of object to lo\(c(a), \) though it is originally supposed to have been expressed in straightforward parataxis. In such a simple and emphatic construction, it may be safely assumed, lo\(c(a) \) and the indefinite-interrogative directly following came to be semantically fused with each other and gradually to be felt as an indefinite relative in the sense of ' whoever,' ' whatever,' ' however,' ' whenever,' or ' wherever'. Thus the compound form came to introduce a clause in subordination to the otherwise independent sentence that followed or preceded it. We can below cite one instance of lo\(c(a) \ hw\ddot{a}r. \) Though it is from the MS. whose composition is assigned to the very close of the eleventh century, we may be justified in regarding it as illustrating a genuinely Old English syntactic idiom.

\[ (18) \ldots \text{se papa} \ldots \text{het hi faran loc whar hi woldon.} \quad \text{— The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, F,}{ }^{48} \text{ an. 995 (130. 24-6) (=The pope ordered them to go wherever they would.)} \]

The presence of this usage illustrates the potentiality of indefinite-interrogative \( hw\ddot{a}r \) to be developed into a relative or subordinate conjunction.

We are now in a position to take the second point of view for considering the development of \( where \) as a clause-introducer, that is, the standpoint from which to observe how the indefiniteness of \( where \) contributed to the development. From this point of view we are first to remark the variant renderings in the different Old English versions of the Bible, since they show a fluctuation in the usage concerned. Matthew ii. 9 in the Corpus MS. reads:

\[ (1) \ldots \text{se steorra} \ldots \text{him beforan ferde, o\ddot{h} he stod ofer, d\ddot{a}r d\ddot{a}t cild w\ddot{a}s.} \quad (= \text{The star went before them till it stood over where the child was.}) \quad (\text{Cf. L:} \ldots \text{veniens staret supra, ubi erat puer.}) \]

Here \( p\ddot{a}r \) means 'in the place where, where' and so introduces an adverbial clause of place. \( O\ddot{e}r, \) which precedes it, is naturally an adverb that defines the place of the state denoted by \( st\ddot{o}d, \) and the following \( p\ddot{a}r\)-clause is an additional, and more accurate local determiner. In the corresponding verse in the R.V.: "It came and stood \( \text{over where} \) the young child was," \( \text{over} \) can be described as a preposition that governs the whole clause introduced by relative \( where. \) This means that the structure of the Old English sentence is different from that of the Modern English one. In the former the sentence goes on cumulatively from "\ldots st\ddot{o}d ofer" to "\( p\ddot{a}r\ldots, \)" while in the latter "\( \text{over where} \ldots \)" forms a close syntactic unit depending on "stood."\(^{49} \) It must be admitted, nevertheless, that the

\[ ^{41} \text{Further may be compared the corresponding use of } \text{hwider:} \quad " \text{Foxes habba\d{d} holu and fugelas habba\d{d} nest and ic n\ddot{a}bbe wununge hwider ic min heafod ahylden m\ddot{a}ge" (wunung, a feminine noun, meaning 'dwelling') } \quad — \text{Elfric, Lives of Saints xvi. 157-9 (I. 348).} \]

\[ ^{48} \text{MS. F of the Chronicle, commonly called the Canterbury MS., which is now in the Cotton Collection (Domitian A. viii), is assigned to a. 1100 (cf. Plummer & Earle, } \text{op. cit. II. p. xxxvi).} \]

\[ ^{49} \text{The older type of construction was kept on, in a more distinct form, to the Wycliffite Version of 1389: } \quad " \text{it cummynge stood aboue, wher the child was.}" \]
Old English construction as it appears in this sentence, is of a closer kind for the syntax of the period; and this fact might be held responsible for the variant renderings found in the different Versions of the Old English Gospels. Just like the Corpus MS. quoted above, both the Hatton MS. and the Rushworth Gospels have *pēr* in the corresponding position, as “Hatton MS.: he stod ofer *par* pæt child wæs. / Rush.: he cumende gestod bufan *dar* se cneht wæs.” On the other hand, the Lindisfarne Gospels exhibit the possibility of *pāer* and *hwær* to alternate with each other: “cuom gestod ofer *der* l *hwer* wæs de cneht.” These variants given in the Lindisfarne Gospels might be attributed to the fact that the Northumbrian glossarist paid more attention to the original Latin expressions and that he was more decisively induced to consider indefinite *hwær* no less appropriate to *ubi* in the Latin original than demonstrative *dēr*. It is remarkable indeed that we can thus trace an earliest instance of *where* in its subordinating function to the Northumbrian writing of the tenth century.

*Matthew* in the Lindisfarne Gospels contains two other instances, vi. 19 and vi. 21, where *hwær* is intended to replace *pēr* either as relative adverb or as subordinate conjunction. *Matthew* vi. 19 and 21 from the Corpus MS. was above quoted in example 4 under I. Below we shall quote the corresponding verses from the three other MSS.

**Matt.** vi. 19:—

(2) Hatton MS.: Nellen ge goldhordian eow on eorðan goldhordas, *par* om and mohpe hit fornymð, and *par* peofes hit delfēð and forsteleð. / Rush.: ne hydep eow hord in eorpe *par* om and mohpa gewyrfeð † etap and *par* dœifes adelœf and forstelœ / Lind.: nælles gie gestionaiie iuh gestriono in eorðo *der* l *huer* rust and mohða gefreten bið † gespilled bið *der* ðæfas ofdelfæs † hrypes and forstealas

**Matt.** vi. 21:—

(3) Hatton MS.: Witoðlice *par* pin gold-hord ys, *par* is pin heorte. / Rush.: forpon *par* pin hord is *par* is pin eorta / Lind.: *der* l *huer* forðon is strion ðín *der* is and hearta ðín

It is most likely that the scribe of the Lindisfarne Gloss was to a greater extent influenced by the differentiated form of the correlative expression in the Latin construction “*ubi ~ ibi* . . .,” where the antecedent element *ubi* explicitly means an indefinite idea, as distinct from the definite and demonstrative denotation of the consequent element *ibi*.

A similar variation is also found in the different versions of *John* xi. 32:

(4) Corpus MS.: Da Maria com *dar* se Hæland wæs, . . . / Lind.: Maria forðon cuome *der* l *huoer* was se hælend . . . (=When Mary came where the Saviour was, . . .) (Cf. L.: Maria ergo, cum venisset *ubi* erat Jesus, . . . / Goth.: Marya, sunsei qam parei was Jesus, . . .)

Now an indefinite idea is more explicitly and forcibly expressed by *swā hwær swā*, which
is equivalent to ModE wheresoever, wherever. With this Old English compound should be compared OHG só hwär só (as explained in I above), ON par sem, and further Gothic pis-hwar pei, where pis is originally the genitive of neuter demonstrative pata (="that") and pei is an old locative of the demonstrative pronoun (cf. Doric Gk τετ-αε 'here').

We should also compare the Latin equivalent ubicumque, cumque (=quomque) being an intensive of indefinite origin and commonly used with the force of ' -soever,' ' -ever' as suffix of an indefinite relative. Just as was the case with OHG só in só swär só, the second swá in OE swá hwär swá was sometimes suppressed and the shortened form swá hwär was occasionally found with the fuller swá hwär swá. Having an indefinite hw-word propped up by the double form of a determinative that is originally a demonstrative and so the function of indefinite relative doubly reinforced, this type of combination was a favourite one in Old English syntax.

A phenomenon of special interest in this respect is the set of variants of John xii. 26. Although it was quoted from the Corpus MS. as example 17 in II, the relevant part of it will be repeated below, together with the variant readings in the two other MSS.

(5) Corpus MS.: min pen bip đær, đær ic eom. / Rush.: hwer am ic đer and đegn mine bið / Lind.: sua huer ic am đer æc đegn min bið (Cf. L: ubi sum ego, illic et minister meus erit.)

Here the Rushworth glossarist strictly follows the Latin model using indefinite hwär in the antecedent clause, and the Lindisfarne scribe has recourse to sud huær (=swá hwär), the form with its force as indefinite relative explicitly intensified.

Again, the counterpart of Matthew vi. 21, reobserved above as example 3, is seen in Luke xii. 34, where the scribal variants reveal a similar tendency to substitute swá hwär for pær:

(6) Corpus MS.: Dar eower gold-hord is, đar byp eower heorte. / Rush.: Swa hwer gistrion goldes iower is þer heorte bio j Lind.: sua huer forðon strion iuer wæs . . . (Cf. L: Ubi enim thesaurus vester est, ibi est cor vestrum erit.)

The fuller form swá hwär swá is found in the following instances from the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. Examples 7 and 8 hold byp, đæder beop earnas gagaderode. [Lind.: sua huer bið pæt lic ðider þ der gesomnad biðon ða earnas]—Matt. xxiv. 28. (=Whenever a dead body is, there the eagles will gather.). (Cf. L: Ubicumque fuerit corpus, illic congregabuntur et aquilae.)

(7) Swa hwær swa hold byp, ðæder beop earnas gagaderode. [Lind.: sua huer bið pæt lic ðider þ der gesomnad biðon ða earnas]—Matt. xxiv. 28. (=Whenever a dead body is, there the eagles will gather.). (Cf. L: Ubicumque fuerit corpus, illic congregabuntur et aquilæ.)

(8) Swa hwær swa se lichama bip, dyder beop earnas gagaderod. [Rush.: swa hwer / Lind.: sua huer]—Luke xvii. 37. (L: the same as in Matt. xxiv. 28 except for illuc instead of illic. / Cf. Goth.: þarei leik, yaindre galisand sik arans.)

(9) . . . swa hwær swa ðys godspel byp gebodod on eallum midan-carde, byp gesed on hyre gemynd, ðæt heo ðis dyde.—Matt. xxvi. 13. (=Wherever this gospel is preached in all the world, it will be said to her memory that she did this.) (Cf. L: Ubicumque præ-
dicatum fuerit hoc evangelium in toto mundo, dictetur et quod hæc fecit in memoriam ejus.)

(10) \(\ldots swa hwar swa ðis godspell gebodod bip on eallum middan-earde, bip gebodod, ðæt heo ðis on his gemynde dyde.\) [Rush.: \(\textit{swa hwer} /\) Lind.: \(\textit{swa huer}\)] — Mark xiv. 9.
(Cf. L: \(\textit{Ubicumque} \) predicatum fuerit Evangelium istud in universo mundo, et quod fecit hæc, narrabitur in memoriam ejus. / Goth.: \(\textit{piswharuh pei} \) meryada so aiwaggelyo and alla manasep, yah patei gatawida so, rodyada du gamundai izos.)

(11) And \(\textit{swa hwar swa} \) he on wic ðode on tunas eode, on streton hi ða untruman ledon, \(\ldots\) — Mark vi. 56. (=And wherever he went into villages or towns, they led the sick in the streets, \(\ldots\)) (Cf. L: Et \textit{quicumque} introibat, in vicos, vel in villas, aut civitates, in plateis ponebant infirmos, \(\ldots\) / Goth.: Yah \(\textit{piswhaduh padei} \) iddya in haimos aippau baurs, aippau in wehisa, ana gaggag lagidedun siukans, \(\ldots\) )

(12) Se \(\textit{swa hwer swa} \) he hine geleæp, forgnit hine, \(\ldots\) — Mark ix. 18. (=And wherever he seizes him, he crushes him.) (Cf. L: Qui \textit{ubicumque} eum apprehenderit, allidit illum, \(\ldots\) / Goth.: Yah \(\textit{piswharei pei} \) ina gehahip, gawairpip ina, \(\ldots\) )

To these may be added the following instances that are taken from other Old English texts than the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.

(13) \(\ldots \) hi \(\ldots\) sige hæfdon \(\textit{swa hwar swa} \) hi comon. — The Parker Chronicle, an. 449 (12. 9). (=They had victory wherever they came.)

(14) \(\ldots\) he pa se bishop his geferan, \(\textit{swa hwar swa} \) he meahte, purh mynster his freondum was befestende; \(\ldots\) — Bede iv. xxvi (II. 358. 22-3). (=Then the bishop committed his clergy to his friends in all the monasteries, wherever he could.)

(15) Ac gap and gaderiap \(\textit{swa hwar swa} \) ge hyt findan magon, \(\ldots\) — Ælfric, Exod. v. 11. (=But go and gather it wherever you may find it.) (Cf. L: \(\textit{Ite, etcol ligite sicubi} \) invenire poteritis, \(\ldots\) )

(16) \(\textit{swa pæt him ælice dæg com edniwe mete to mid pam upplicum deawe æt heora geteldum, swa hwer swa} \) hi vicodon, \(\ldots\) — Ælfric, Homilies, Sup. xx. 14-6. (= ... so that food came to them at their tents, wherever they encamped, afresh every day with the heavenly dew.)

From these instances we may safely infer that the use of an indefinite relative, so far as \(\textit{hwar} \) is concerned, has been well enough established in Old English. There is another factor that may serve to reinforce this inference. Rare phenomenon as it is\(^{60}\), we can quote from a Late Old English text what may be called a formal prototype of modern \textit{wherever}, as follows:

(17) \(\ldots\) pa het se casere georne smeagan \(\textit{hwer} \) mann \(\textit{afre} \) pa halgan ge-axian mihte.

\(^{68}\) L \textit{quicumque} means ‘whithersoever’; \textit{quō}, an adverb of place derived from the same stem as interrogative-indefinite \textit{quō} (= ‘what,’ ‘who’), here means ‘whither.’

\(^{67}\) Like \(\textit{piswharuh pei} \) (= ‘wherever’). Goth. \(\textit{piswhaduh padei} \) (= ‘whithersoever’) is a composite relative adverb; both \textit{hwad} or \textit{hwap} and \textit{pad-ei} mean ‘whither’, the former originating in an indefinite and the latter in a demonstrative with the particle \textit{ei}.

\(^{68}\) Here we might compare the same type of combination containing \textit{hwæder} or \textit{hwider} (= ‘whither’), as in: ‘\(\textit{ic fylige ðe, swa hwæder swa ðu færst.}\)’ — Matt. viii. 19. (=I will follow you wherever you go.) (cf. L: sequar te, \(\textit{quicumque} \) iens. / Goth.: laistya puk, \(\textit{piswhaduh} \) gaggis.) / ‘\(\textit{ic fylige ðe, swa hwyrder saw ðu færst.}\)’ — Luke ix. 57 (L & Goth.: the same as in Matt. viii. 19).

\(^{69}\) L \textit{si-cubi} is a subordinate conjunction, composed of \textit{si} (= ‘if’) and \textit{ubi} (= ‘where’).

\(^{70}\) Cf. Johnsen, \textit{op. cit.} § 11.
—Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* 61 xxiii. 264-5 (I. 502). (=... then the emperor ordered them to search diligently wherever they could hear of the saints.)

With this, furthermore, should be compared the following sentence, which comes a few lines after the one quoted above in the same text by Ælfric.

(18) ... man strunnode on ælcere stowe *per* man hi æfre geaxian cuðe.——*ibid.* 267-8 (I. 504). (=They searched every place wherever they could inquire.)

It is certain that in these sentences æfre (>ModE ever) has weakened its original sense 'at any time' and acquired some force to intensify an indefinite or general implication. We might infer easily that the adverb that functioned as modifier of the whole subordinate clause came to be attracted to the connective of the clause and finally to be reduced into a suffixal component of the indefinite relative, as in whoever, whatever, wherever, etc. It is rather a delicate problem what factors caused Ælfric to use the different expressions, "hwær . . . æfre" and "*per* . . . æfre" in the same sequence of context. I would venture to say that in the former sentence, example 17, he was attracted by the infinitive *smeagan* (= 'scrutinize,' 'investigate'), which looked as if governing the indirect interrogative clause as its object, while in the latter, example 18, the intervention of the nominal expression *ælcere stōwe* (= 'each place') induced him to prefer the ordinary definite relative *per* to accompany it with.

IV. Summary

From what we have observed above, we may conclude as follows:

(1) In Old English *per* (>ModE there) is positively prevalent in the function of ModE where, both as relative adverb and as subordinate conjunction. The use has naturally grown out of a paratactic construction, with a demonstrative as a concrete determinative for the subsequent clause. This indeed represents a feature inherent in old Germanic, but in Old English it is especially displayed by the double correlative form "*per* (. . .) *per* -" or "*per* - *per* . . . ."

(2) The incipient phenomena of hwær (>ModE where) in the subordinating function are found roughly in two cases, though it is sometimes difficult to differentiate them. First hwær, as indefinite or interrogative adverb, introduces a clause that may be more or less likened to an object clause dependent on a main verb whose meaning is mainly searching, discovering, considering or wondering. The second main source lies in the intensified general use of the indefinite relative in the form of *swā hwær swā*. It can be sufficiently exemplified, chiefly from texts in prose, to enable us to expect that one way has been fairly enough prepared for where to be developed into a subordinate conjunction that introduces an adverbial clause of place.

(3) Though we cannot say that hwær has been fully developed into a relative adverb referring to an antecedent of a definite local signification in the Old English period, it is a noteworthy fact that there are some data convincing enough to corroborate Johnsen's assertion (*op. cit.* § 17) that hwær is the first indefinite relative in Old English that has begun to be used as definite relative.

61 The text adopted here is Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, edited by W.W. Skeat from the MS. Julius E. VII. in the Cottonian collection (E.E.T.S., No. 82, 1885). The MS. is dated 1025-50.
(4) It cannot be overlooked, on the other hand, that, as is proved by the variant renderings in the quotations from the Lindisfarne Gospels, the influence by the Latin interrogative-indefinite *ubi* is a good deal responsible for the development of OE *hwær* as definite relative or subordinate conjunction.

We can thus trace two ways to the development of OE *hwær* as relative adverb or subordinate conjunction, that is, the way of an indefinite interrogative and that of an indefinite determinative. In the course of the Middle English period, the latter more and more encroached upon the former, while strengthening the status of *where* in the subordinating function. So it went on replacing *there*, though the latter kept standing its ground longer than is expected. This second stage in our history will be further observed at a later opportunity.