<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>OE pr And hw r-A Study of Where Developing in the Subordinating Function (I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Yamakawa, Kikuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>Hitotsubashi journal of arts and sciences, 12(1): 1-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>1971-09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Departmental Bulletin Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text Version</td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://doi.org/10.15057/3996">http://doi.org/10.15057/3996</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OE pēr AND hwār
— A STUDY OF WHERE DEVELOPING IN THE SUBORDINATING FUNCTION (I) —

By Kikuo Yamakawa*

I. Introduction

Just as the temporal connective when (<O Ephonne), originally an indefinite adverb, has supplanted then (<O Eponne) or tho (<O Epā), which is properly a demonstrative adverb, but was formerly used as a clause-introducer, so the local connective where (<O Ehwr) an indefinite adverb which originally means 'in some or any place,' 'to some or any place,' has supplanted there (<O Epar), 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 wher; 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 hwār 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

---

* Professor (Kyōju) of English.

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 *pēr* corresponds to German *da*, which goes back to OHG *thār*, ON *par*, further to Gothic *par*; while OE *hwār* corresponds to German *wo*, which goes back to OHG *hwār*, ON *hvar*, further to Gothic *hwarr*. 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 hwār 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* pro-clitically fused with *hwār* and the second *sō* utterly dropped. 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.


(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.


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

---


\(^4\) 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.

\(^5\) 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, *dær* naðor om ne mopp hit ne fornimp, and *dær* peofas hit ne delfap, ne ne forstelap. Witodlice *dær* dín gold-hord is, *dær* is dín heorte.

(5) Wycliffe\(^2\): Nyle ges tresoure to ȝou tresours in erthe, *wher* rust and mouȝthe distruyeth, and *wher* theues deluen out and stelen; But tresoure ges to ȝou tresouris in heuene, *wher* neither rust ne mouȝthe distruyeth, and *wher* theues deluen nat out, ne stelen. Forsothe *wher* thi tresour is, there and thin herte is.

(6) R.V.\(^8\): 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 *wher* or ModE *where* in example 5 or 6, both indefinite or interrogative forms, have respectively been substituted for Early German *dā* in example 2 and OE *dær* in example 4, both demonstrative forms. In Gothic, which is properly called parental Germanic, as seen in example 1, the word that corresponds to *pār* or *dā* 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 *et*, ‘if,’ *e*ī- *ta* ‘then’).\(^9\) 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*- . . . .\(^10\) In remarkable contrast with this is the construction in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, with the simple double form *pār* ~ *pār* . . . 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* ~ *do*\(^11\) . . . , 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*, *dā*) ~ *thar* (*dar*, *dā*) . . . , which exactly corresponds to OE *pār* ~ *pār* . . . :

\(^1\) The text of the Wycliffite Version is also taken from Bosworth and Waring’s edition, where it is dated 1389.

\(^2\) 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 “*Pir póttust par eiga allt traust 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 wār schatz ist, da wīrt auch ewr hertz seyn*”.

\(^12\) To be compared are the following verses in Luther’s Bible: “*da ich bīn, kund yhr nicht hyν komen,*” —John vii. 34. (Cf. A.-S. Gosp.: “ge ne magon cuman, *dar* iċ eōm.”/R.V.: “where I am, ye cannot come.”)/ “*wo ich bīn, da kund yhr nicht hyν komen.*” —John vii. 36. (A.-S. Gosp. & R. V.: the same as in verse 34.)

The modern edition of Luther’s Bible (published by Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart; 1912) has *wo* in verse 34 as well as verse 36: “*wo ich bin, könnet ihr nicht hin kommen.*” (v. 34)/“*wo ich bin, da könnet . . . .*” (v. 36).
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.


15: 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 conjunctional 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

---

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 percents 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 percents 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 pær

As was mentioned in the preceding chapter, the local relative adverb or conjunction in Old English was *pær*; *hwær* was not yet fully developed into that kind of connective. The relative or conjunctural use of *pær* in hypotactic constructions had grown out of its demonstrative use in parataxis. The demonstrative force, either anaphoric or deictic, had adjusted *pær* to the concrete, straightforward nature of old Germanic syntax. In the following quotation we can perceive something suggestive of the original status of *pær* as a local connective.

(1) *ponne ic on uhtan ana gonge*
   *under acitreo geond pas eorðscrafu.*
   *pær ic sittan mot sumorlangne dæg,*
   *par ic wepan mæg mine vræcipas,*
   earfopa fela;
   —*The Wife's Lament* 17 35-9.

(=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 *pær*, though it is placed at the beginning of the period by the editor, is semantically related to the local expression "*pas eorðscrafu*" 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 *pær*, naturally reminds us of the double determinative construction as in "*ðær ðin gold-hold is, ðær is ðin heorte,*" exemplified under 4 in I above. Here we cannot say that "*Pær ic sittan mot . . . *" is subordinated to "*par ic wepan mæg . . . *"; and yet there is a certain affinity between this and the hypotactic construction.

Below we shall give some instances of OE *pær* in the subordinating function, classifying them into four groups: group A with *pærs* introducing adverbial clauses, group B with *pærs* functioning as relative adverbs that refer to the preceding nominal expressions, whether restrictively or non-restrictively, group C with combinations "*pær pær*" that function either conjunctionally or relatively, and group D with double determinative constructions "*pær . . . pær . . . *".

Group A:——

(2) *ond ic wene me*
   *daga gehwylce hwænne18 me dryhtnes rod,*
   *pe ic her on eorðan ær sceawode,*
   *on pysson lænan life gefetige*
   *ond me ponne gebringe *pær* is blis mycel,*
   dream on heofonum, *pær* is dryhtnes folc

17 The text is adopted from *The Exeter Book*, edited by G.P. Krapp and E. van K. Dobbie, 1936, in *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (abbr. A.-S. P.R.) III (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 *hwænne* (= 'when'), which is essentially associated with that of *hwær*, the theme of III below, see my article mentioned in footnote 1.
geset to symle, *per* is singal blis,
ond me ponne asette *per* ic syppan mot
wunian on wuldre, well mid pam halgum
dreames brucan. —*Dream of the Rood* 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 wearð slepe *syllum ætywed*
pam casere, *per* he on corðre swæf,
sigerofum gesegen *swefnes woma*. —*Elene* 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 *fæmnan to spræce,*
anræd ond yrepweorg, yrre gebolgen,
*per* he glædomde *george wiste*
wic weardian. —*Juliana* 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 hrædlice *per* Hroðgar sæt
eald ond anhar mid his eorla gedriht; —*Beowulf* 356-7.

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

(6) Land lið beforan eow; *wuna per* de leofost ys.—Ælfric, *Gen.* xx. 15. (=The
land lies before you. Dwell where you like best.) (Cf. L: ... *ubicumque* tibi
placuerit habitā.)

(7) Frige men ne motan wealdan heora *sylfa,* ne faran *per* hi willad, ne ateon heora
agen swa *hi willad.*—*Wulfstan, Sermo ad Anglos,* MS. C, 49-51. (=Free
men cannot keep their independence, nor go where they will, nor dispose of their
property as they like.)

Group B:

(8) Mag ic be me *syllum* soðgied wrecan,
sipas secgan, hu ic geswinedagum
earþþwile oft prowade,

---

The text is adopted from *The Vercelli Book*, edited by G.P. Krapp, 1932, in *A.-S.P.R. II.*

Also taken from Krapp, ed.: *The Vercelli Book*.

Taken from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: *The Exeter Book*.

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

For the quotations from Ælfric's version of the Bible I am dependent on *The Old English Version of

*ubicumq*e (= 'wherever') will be explained later in III. ii.

*Swa swa* is another instance of those double determinatives which are composed of words of the demonstra-
tive stem and are characteristic of Old English syntax. It is of the same nature as *pā pā, pēr pēr, pēt pēt, se pe*, etc.

of MS.C in the late West Saxon dialect is assigned to c. 1050-80.
bitre brestceare gebiden hæbbe,
gecunnad in ceole cearselda fela,
aton ypa gewealc, per mec oft bigeat
nearo nihtwaco æt nacan stefnan,
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) beartme stopon
to ðam gysterne, per hie Ælþithþe
fundon færhdglæwe, —Judith28 39-41.

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

(10) . . . pa ridon hie pider . . ., ond ponne æþeling on þære 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 Ælþfred . . . hie hindan ofrīdan ne meahte ær hie on þam fæstene
wæron, per him mon to ne meahtæ; . . . —ibid. an. 877 (74. 17-9). (=King Ælþred
could not overtake them from behind before they were in the fortress, where they could
not be got to.)

(12) Gehet he him, þæt he wolde in þam fyrrerestum dælum Ængolcynnes, per næning
lar ær cwom, pa sæd sawan þæs hælgan 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 þære byrig Pergamum, per ða foresædan
cnihatas iu ær cardodon, . . . —Ælþric, 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 æþre anweard eallum wælordundum
on ælcan lande per hys geleafa byð. —Ælþric, Homilies, Sup.33 v. 188-9.

27 The text is taken from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: The Exeter Book.
15 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.
11 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 Ælþric’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.
and he is always present with all the well-doers in every country where his faith is.

Group C:

(15) ...ic de bebiode ...æt ðu de ðissa worulđoinga to ðæm gææmetige swæ ðu oftost mæge, æt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God sealde ðær ðær ðu hiene bæfæstan mæge, bæfæste.—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 betwuh pæm twam hergum, pær pær he nieht rymet hæfde for wudufæstonne, ond for wætterfæstonne, ... —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, \textit{illîc}\textsuperscript{36} et minister meus erit. / Goth.: ... \textit{parei im ik}, \textit{paruh} sa andbahs meins wisan habaip.)

(18) An ea of ðæm hatte Fison; seo gæð onbutan æt ðæt land ðe is gehaten 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, \textit{ubi} nascitur aurum:).

(19) ge seccgæð
pæt on Hierusalem si seo stow
\textit{pær pær} gedafennæd ðæt 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, \textit{ubi} adorare oportet.)

(20) eft, pa pa hi comon
to Criste sylfum \textit{pær pær} he sæt,
pa bædon hi pæt he wunode \textit{pær} 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) ðær twegen ðoðe 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: \textit{Ubi} enim sunt duo vel tres congregate in nomine meo, \textit{ibi} sum in medio eorum.) Also cf. A.-S. Gosp., Matt. vi. 21 (in ex. 4 under 1).

(22) Stormas \textit{pær} stanclifu beotan, \textit{pær} 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 \textit{illîc} (= 'there'), synonymous with \textit{illære}, \textit{ibi}, is derived from \textit{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 \textit{ðæt} (... \textit{on 'in'}), instead of adverbial \textit{ðær}: "ge seccgap, ðæt on Hierusalem sy seo stow, ðæt man \textit{on-}gebidde."
Though all these instances illustrate the use of OE *pær* in the subordinating function, yet we can perceive a considerable difference in the degree that *pær* 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 *pær*, thus punctuating the line: "atol ypa gewealc. *Pær* 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 *pær* in Old English.

In "wuna *pær* de leofost ys" (ex. 6), "faran *pær* hi willað" (ex. 7), "in pam fyrrestum dœlum Ongoleynnes, *pær* nenig lar ær cwom" (ex. 12), "on ælcum lande *pær* hys geleafa byð" (ex. 14), and "seo stow *pær* *pær* gedafenað to gebiddenne" (ex. 19), on the other hand, *pær* 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 "...ðær, ðær ~" in example 17. Unlike *pær* *pær* in example 15, 16, 18, 19 or 20, this "ðær, ðær" is not one compound relative; the first ðær is a full demonstrative belonging to the principal clause and the second ðær 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 ðær, ðær ic eom," we should be able to transform it into "ðær ic eom, ðær bip min pen," the same kind of correlative construction 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 ðær ðær 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 *pær*, not the first *pær*, 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 "*pær* stormas stanclifu beotan, *pær* him stearn oncwæð," which would mean 'Where storms beat on the rocky cliffs, 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 pæt 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) Ða com Maria Magdalene, and Josepes Maria and beholdon, hwær he geled wære. —A.-S. Gosp., Mark xv. 47. (=Then came Mary Magdalene and Marry 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 Ioseziis sewhun, whær galagips wes.)

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

(4) Pa sum dæge rad se cyng up be pære ez, ond gehawade hwær mon mehte pa ea forwyrcan, pæt hie ne mehton pa scipu ut brengan. —The Parker Chronicle, an. 896 (89. l0-3). (=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) Dryhten sceawað
hwær pa eardien pe 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 wuldres beam
halig under hrusan, hyded wære,
ædelcyninges rod.


(=... and then he bade his mother travel the road to the Jews with a band of people and zealously seek with a band of warriors where the glorious tree, the cross of the noble King, was hidden in holiness under the earth.)

(7) Ic sece mine gebroðru, hwar hig healdon heora heorda.—Ælfric, Gen. xxxvii.

16. (=I am seeking my brothers, where they are keeping their flocks.) (Cf. L: Fratres meas quæro, indica mihi ubi pascant greges. [indica (imper.) miki ubi ... 'tell me where...']

(8) shote sele dreorig sinces bryttan,
hwar ic feor oppe neah findan meahte
pone pe in meoduhealle min mine wisse,

---The Wanderer40 25-7.

(=I sadly sought the hall of a distributor of treasure, where I could find, far and near, someone who could show regard for me in the mead-hall.)

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

---The Seafarer 117-8.

(=Let us consider where we may possess our home, and then think how we may get there.)

(10) Antigones and Perðica ... longe ymb pæt siredon hwar 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
hwar min leodfruma londes wære.

---The Wife's Lament 7-8.

(=I had care at dawn, wondering where in the world my prince might be.)

(12) Nu is pearf mycel
pæt we fæstlice, ferhða stæðelien,
pæt we ðæs morðres meldan ne weorden
hwar pæt halige trio beheld wurde
aefter wigpræce,

---Elene 426-30.

(=Now there is great need that we should firmly make up our minds not to become informers of the murder that may disclose where the holy tree was hidden after the strife.)

(13) Pu scealt geagninga
wisdom onwreon, swa gewritu secgap,
aefter stedewange hwar seo stow sie
Caluarie,

---ibid. 673-6.

(=You shall disclose everything you know about the place, just as the writings say, where the spot is on Calvary.)

(14) Wundur hwar 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 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 examples 7 and 8 the direct objects of see and sahte are accusative nouns mine gebræðru 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 conjunction 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

43 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 i helli nokkvorum hwarr ægr 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.

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

(15) Pet tacn nugyt is orgyte on pæs sæs staðe, 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 staðe. 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 pet tacn, 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 staðe, so much so that hwær here can be interpreted to have superseded þær, 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 ahylde.—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 habaip whar hauhip sein anahnaiwai.)

Karlberg gives an explanation that L habère (= '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 construction. The idiomatic combination 'næbhe 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 nabbe hwider ic ahylde 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

E. g.: Gif he nabbe hwæt he selle, sie he self beborb wid dam fio.—Alfred, Laws, Intro. 24 (MSS. E & G) [MS. H: nite for nabbe] (q. Karlberg). (=If he has not [does not know] what to sell, let him be sold for his theft.)
Next we have to consider another type of expression that could be interpreted as containing *hwār* of interrogative origin. That is the type "lōc(a) *hwār*,” the same category as “lōc(a) *hwēr*,” “lōc(a) * hwet,*” “lōc(a) *hū,*” “lōc(a) *hwonne,*” etc. Here lōc(a) is originally an imperative verb, and the hw-word, as indirect interrogative, introduces a clause which is in the relation of object to lōc(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, lōc(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 lōc(a) * hwār.* 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) ... se papa . . . het hi faran loc whar hi woldon.—*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* F, 48 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 *hwār* 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) ... se steorra ... him beforan ferde, oð he stod ofer, ðær ðæt cild wæs. (=The star went before them till it stood over where the child was.) (Cf. L: . . . veniens staret supra, ubi erat puer.)

Here ðær means ‘in the place where, where’ and so introduces an adverbial clause of place. *Ofer,* which precedes it, is naturally an adverb that defines the place of the state denoted by stōd, and the following ðær-clause is an additional, and more accurate local determiner. In the corresponding verse in the R.V.: “It came and stood over *where* the young child was,” 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 “. . . stōd ofer” to “ðær . . .,” while in the latter “over where . . .” forms a close syntactic unit depending on “stood.”

Further may be compared the corresponding use of *hwider:* "Foxes habbað holu and fugelas habbað nest and ic nābbe wununge hwider ic min heafod ahylden mæge" (wunung, a feminine noun, meaning ‘dwelling’) —*Ælfric, Lives of Saints* xvi. 157-9 (I. 348).

Further may be compared the corresponding use of *hwider:* “Foxes habbað holu and fugelas habbað nest and ic nābbe wununge hwider ic min heafod ahylden mæge” (wunung, a feminine noun, meaning ‘dwelling’) —*Ælfric, Lives of Saints* xvi. 157-9 (I. 348).

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, *op. cit.* II. p. xxxvi).

The older type of construction was kept on, in a more distinct form, to the Wycliffite Version of 1389: “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 _pēr_ _pæt_ child _wæs_. / Rush.: he cumende gestod _bufan_ _ðær_ se _cnæht_ _wæs_.” On the other hand, the Lindisfarne Gospels exhibit the possibility of _pēr_ and _hwær_ to alternate with each other: “cuom gestod _pēr_ _ðær_ _hwær_ _wæs_ ðe _cnæht_.” 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 _ðær_. 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, _pēr_ om and _mohpe hit fornymð_, and _pēr_ _peofes hit _defde_ and _forsteled_. / Rush.: _ne hydep eow hord_ in _eorpe _pēr_ _om_ and _mohpa gewyrfeð_ _etàp_ and _pēr_ _ðíofes_ _adelfap_ and _forstelap_ / Lind.: _nællas gie gesterionaige _iuh_ _gestriono_ in _eord_ _ðær_ _hwær_ _rust_ and _mohða_ _gefreten _bíd_ _tà_ _gespilled _bíd_ _ðær_ _ðeafas_ _ofdelfes_ _tà_ _hrypes_ and _forstealas_.

_Matt._ vi. 21:—

(3) Hatton MS.: _Witoðlice _pēr_ _pin_ _gold-hord_ _g_ _s_, _pēr_ _is_ _pin_ _eortes_. / Rush.: _forpon _pēr_ _pin_ _hord_ _is_ _pēr_ _is_ _pin_ _eortas_ / Lind.: _ðær_ _hwær_ _forðon_ _is_ _strion _ðín _ðær_ _is_ and _heartas _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 _ðær_ _se_ _Hælend _wæs_, . . . / Lind.: _María forðon cuome _ðær_ _hwær_ _was_ _se_ _hælend_ . . . (=When Mary came where the Saviour was, . . .) (Cf. _L_: _María ergo_, _cum_ _venisset _ubi _erat_ _Iesus_, . . . / _Goth._: _Marya_, _sunsei _qam _parei _was _Iesus_, . . .)

Now an indefinite idea is more explicitly and forcibly expressed by _swā _hwær_ _swā_, which.

---

60 For the comparative quotations from the Hatton, Rushworth, and Lindisfarne MSS. of OE _Matthew_ I am dependent on W.W. Skeat, ed.: _The Gospel According to Saint Matthew in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions, Synoptically Arranged, with Collations exhibiting All the Readings of All the MSS_. (Cambridge, 1887). The Hatton MS. No. 38 in the Bodleian, Oxford, is assumed to have been written about the time of Henry II (who reigned 1154-89); the Lindisfarne Gloss (abbr. Lind.) in the British Museum, Nero DIV, was composed in North Northumbrian between 946 and 968; and the Rushworth Gloss (abbr. Rush.), in the Bodleian, No. 3946, was composed in East Mercian between 950 and 1000.

61 For the quotations of the variant renderings from the OE versions of _Mark, Luke, and John_ I am dependent on _O.E.D._ (abbr. from _The Oxford English Dictionary_, 1933) (s.v. _Where_ 5 b), _A.-S.D._, Sup. (p. 576 r.) and Johnsen (op. cit. § 17).
is equivalent to ModE wheresoever, wherever. With this Old English compound should be compared OHG so hwar so (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 τε-ας "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 so in so swâr sô, the second swâ in OE swâ hwar swâ was sometimes suppressed and the shortened form swâ hwâr was occasionally found with the fuller swâ hwâr swâ. 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 dâr, dâr ic eom. / Rush.: hwer am ic dêr and ðegen mine bîð / Lind.: sua huer ic am dêr æc ðegen min bîð (Cf. L: ubi sum ego, illic et minister meus erit.)

Here the Rushworth glossarist strictly follows the Latin model using indefinite hwâr in the antecedent clause, and the Lindisfarne scribe has recourse to suâ hwuer (=swâ hwâr), 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 swâ hwâr for pêr:

(6) Corpus MS.: Dar eower gold-hord is, dâr byp eower heorte. / Rush.: Swa hwer gistrior goldes iower is dêr heorte bîð / Lind.: Suahuer forðon strion iuer wæs... (Cf. L: Ubicumque fuerit corpus, illic congregabantur et aquilae.)

The fuller form swâ hwâr swâ is found in the following instances from the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. Examples 7 and 8 are counterparts of each other, and so are examples 9 and 10.

(7) Swa hwâr swa byp byp, dæder53 beop earnas gagaderode. [Lind.: sua huer bið pæt lic ðider ð der gesomnad ða earnas]—Matt. xxiv. 28. (=Whenever a dead body is, there the eagles will gather.). (Cf. L: Ubicumque fuerit corpus, illic congregabantur et aquilae.)

(8) Swa hwâr swa se lichama bip, dýder beop earnas gegaderod. [Rush.: swa hwer / Lind.: sua huer]—Luke xvii. 37. (L: the same as in Matt. xxiv. 28 except for illuc54 instead of illic. / Cf. Goth.: Þarei leik, yaindre55 galisand sik arans.)

(9) ...swa hwâr swa dys godspel byp gebodod on eallum midden-carde, byp gesed on hyre gemynd, ðet 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 pra-
dicitum fuerit hoc evangelium in toto mundo, dicitur et quod haec fecit in memoriam ejus.)

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

(11) And swa hwar swa he on wic oðde on tunas eode, on streton hi ða untruman 
ledon, . . . — Mark vi. 56. (=And wherever he went into villages or towns, they led the 
sick in the streets, . . .) (Cf. L: Et quicumque introbat, in vicos, vel in villas, aut civitates, 
in plateis ponebant infirmos, . . . / Goth.: Yah piswhaduh padei iddya in haimos aippau 
baurgs, aippau in weisha, ana gagga lagidedun siukans, . . .)

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

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

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

(14) . . . he pa se bispoc his geferan, swa hwar swa he meahte, purh mynster his freondum 
wæs befæstende; . . . — 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 swa hwar swa ge hyt findan magon, . . . — Ælfric, Exod. 
v. 11. (=But go and gather it wherever you may find it.) (Cf. L: Ite, etcol ligite sicubi invenire poteritis, . . .)

(16) swa þet him ælce dæg com edniwe mete to 
mid pam upplicum deawe æt heora geteldum, 
(= . . . 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 
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, we can quote from 
a Late Old English text what may be called a formal prototype of modern wherever, as follows:

(17) . . . pa het se casere georne smeagan hwar mann aþre pa halgan ge-axian mihte.

46 L quicumque means ‘whithersoever’; quoq, an adverb of place derived from the same stem as interrogative-
indefinite qu (‘what’, ‘who’), here means ‘whither.’
47 Like piswharuh pei (‘wherever’) Goth. piswhaduh padei (‘whithersoever’) is a composite relative 
adverb; both hwad or hwap and pad-ei mean ‘whither’, the former originating in an indefinite and the latter 
in a demonstrative with the particle ei.
48 Here we might compare the same type of combination containing hwæder or hwider (‘whither’), as in: 
“ic fylige þæ, swa hwæder swa ðu færst.” — Matt. viii. 19. (=I will follow you wherever you go.) (cf. L: 
sequear te, quicumque iens. / Goth.: laistya puk, piswhaduh gaggis.) / “ Ic fylige þæ, swa hwider saw ðu færst.” 
— Luke ix. 57 (L & Goth.: the same as in Matt. viii. 19).
49 L si-cubi is a subordinate conjunction, composed of si (=‘if’) and ubi (=‘where’).
50 Cf. Johnsen, op. cit. § 11.
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 strutnode on ðælcere stowæ pær 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 “pær ... 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 smēagan (= ‘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 ðælcere stōwe (= ‘each place’) induced him to prefer the ordinary definite relative pær to accompany it with.

IV. Summary

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

(1) In Old English pær (>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 “pær (...) pær ~” or “pær ~ pær . . . .”

(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.

---Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* xxiii. 264-5 (I. 502). (=...then the emperor ordered them to search diligently wherever they could hear of the saints.)

**Notes:**

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.