OE *pǣr* AND *hwǣr*

——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 *thō* (<OE *pā*), which is properly a demonstrative adverb, but was formerly used as a clause-introducer, so the local connective *where* (<OE *hwǣr*), an indefinite adverb which originally means ' in some or any place,' ' to some or any place,' has supplanted *there* (<OE *pǣr*), 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 *thēr* was replaced by *whēr;* but it is merely a broad generalization. The fact is that *there* maintained its longer resistence against *where* than *then* or *tho* did against *when*, though on the other hand the incipient phenomena of *hwǣr* 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.i, 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 *pǣr* corresponds to German *da*, which goes back to OHG *thǎr*, ON *par*, further to Gothic *par;* while OE *hwǣr* corresponds to German *wo*, which goes back to OHG *hwǎr*, ON *hvar*, 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 hwǣr 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* proclitically 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 *dō*, 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 huzdyaip izwis huzda ana airpai, *parei* malo yah nidwa frawardeip, yah *parei* piubos ufgraband yah hlifand; Ip huzdyaip 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, vnnd *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, ðær om and moppe hit fornimp, and ðær peofas hit delfap and forstelap; Gold-hordiap eow soplice

[2] Cf. O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax* III. (Carl Winter, Heidelberg; 1928) §§ 1031, 1382; W.B. Lockwood, *Historical German Syntax* (Oxford, 1968) p. 227.

[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, ðær naðor om ne mopp hit ne fornimp, and ðær peofas hit ne delfap, ne ne forstelap.   Witodlice ðær ðin gold-hord is, ðær is ðin heorte.

(5) Wycliffe[7]: Nyle ȝe tresoure to ȝou tresours in erthe, *wher* rust and mouȝthe distruyeth, and *wher* theues deluen out and stelen; But tresoure ȝee 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 *whēr* 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 *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 *par* 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 $\epsilon\iota$' ' if,' $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$-$\tau\alpha$ ' 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 *pǣr* ∼ *pǣr* ... 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 *pǣr* ∼ *pǣr* ...:

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[7] 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.

[9] Cf. J. Wright, *Grammar of the Gothic Language;* Second edition by O. L. Sayce (Oxford, 1954), §270; E. Prokosch, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar* (Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore; 1938) p. 276.

[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 "Þeir 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* ewr schatz ist, *da* wirtt auch ewr hertz seyn ".

[12] To be compared are the following verses in Luther's Bible: " *da* ich byn, kund yhr nicht hyn komen," ——*John* vii. 34. (Cf. A.- S. Gosp.: " ge ne magon cuman, ðar ic eom."/R.V.: "*where* I am, ye cannot come.")/ " *wo* ich byn, *da* kund yhr nicht hyn 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).

(7) *Tar* Romani herebergoton, *dar* umbegruoben sie sih.——Notker, *Schriften* 46.21
[a. 1022] (q. Behaghel). (=Where the Romans sojourned, they dug a moat around them.)
    (8) *da* ir der künc Etzel   hin engegene gie,
       da si den fürsten edele   mit kusse guetlich enpfie.
                         ——*Der Nibelunge Not*[13] 1351. 3-4.

(=Where King Etzel passed toward her, she received the noble prince with a kind kiss.)
    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 *illāc* 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.
    (9) L[14]: Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra: *ubi* ærugo, et tinea demolitur:
et *ubi* fures effodiunt, et furantur. Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in cœlo: ubi neque
ærugo, neque tinea demolitur, et *ubi* fures non effodiunt, nec furantur. *Ubi* enim est
thesaurus tuus, *ibi* est et cor tuum.
    (10) F[15]: Ne vous amassez pas des trésors sur la terre, où le teigne et la rouille détrui-
sent, et *où* les voleurs percent et dérobent; mais amassez-vous des trésor 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]

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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).
   [15] For the French biblical quotation I am dependent on *La Sainte Bible*, edited by Louis Segond, published
at 58 Rue de Clichy, Paris, 1959.
   [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 de 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* pǣr

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

(1) ponne ic on uhtan   ana gonge
      under actreo   geond pas eorðscrafu.
      Pær ic sittan mot   sumorlangne dæg,
      pær ic wepan mæg   mine wræcsipas,
      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 *pǣr*, though it is placed at the beginning of the period by the editor, is semantically related to the local expression " pās 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 *pǣr*, 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 " *pær* ic wepan mæg . . . "; and yet there is a certain affinity between this and the hypotactic construction.

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

Group A:——

(2)   ond ic wene me
      daga gehwylce   hwænne[18] me dryhtnes rod,
      pe ic her on eorðan   ær sceawode,
      on pysson lænan   life gefetige
      ond me ponne gebringe   *pǣr* is blis mycel,
      dream on heofonum,   *pǣr* is dryhtnes folc

> geseted to symle,   *þær* is singal blis,
> ond me þonne asette   *þær* ic syþþan mot
> wunian on wuldre,   well mid þam halgum
> dreames brucan.   ——*Dream of the Rood*[19] 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) Þa wearð slæpe   sylfum ætywed
> þam casere,   *þær* he on corðre swæf,
> sigerofum gesegen   swefnes woma.   ——*Elene*[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 þa fromlice   fæmnan to spræce,
> anræd ond yreþweorg,   yrre gebolgen,
> *þær* he glædmode   geonge wiste
> wic weardian.   ——*Juliana*[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 þa hrædlice   *þær* Hroðgar sæt
> eald ond anhar   mid his eorla gedriht;   ——*Beowulf*[22] 356-7.

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

(6) Land lið beforan eow; wuna *þær* ðe leofost ys.——Ælfric, *Gen.*[23] xx. 15. (=The land lies before you. Dwell where you like best.) (Cf. L: ... *ubicumque*[24] tibi placuerit habita.)

(7) Frige men ne motan wealdan heora sylfa, ne faran *þar* hi willað, ne ateon heora agen swa swa[25] hi willað.——Wulfstan, *Sermo ad Anglos*, MS. C,[26] 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   soðgied wrecan,
> siþas secgan,   hu ic geswincdagum
> earfoðhwile   oft þrowade,

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

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

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

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

[23] For the quotations from Ælfric's version of the Bible I am dependent on *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, edited by S.J. Crawford (E.E.T.S., No. 160, 1922).   It is based on the MS. Cott. Claud. B. IV, dated c. 1000.

[24] L *ubicumque* (='wherever') will be explained later in III. ii.

[25] *Swā swā* 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 *þā þā*, *þær þær*, *þæt þæt*, *sē þe*, etc.

[26] The text is adopted from D. Bethurum, ed.: *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, Oxford, 1957.   The composition of MS.C in the late West Saxon dialect is assigned to c. 1050-80.

> bitre breostceare   gebiden hæbbe,
> gecunnad in ceole   cearselda fela,
> atol ypa gewealc,   *pær* mec oft bigeat
> nearo nihtwaco   æt nacan stefnan,
> ponne he be clifum cnossað.   ——*The Seafarer*[27] 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,   *pær* hie Iudithðe
> fundon ferhðgleawe,   ——*Judith*[28] 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 *pær* 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 wæron, *pær* 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, *pær* nænig lar ær cwom, pa sæd sawan pæs halgan geleafan.——*Bede*[30] 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, *pær* ða foresædan cnihtas iu ær eardodon, ... ——Ælfric, *Homilies*[31] (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 *pær* hys geleafa byð.   ——Ælfric, *Homilies*, Sup.[33] v. 188-9.

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[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 dailect 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; 1967, '68).

(=... and he is always present with all the well-doers in every country where his faith is.)
Group C:——

(15) ... ic ðe bebiode ... ðæt ðu ðe ðissa woruldðinga to ðæm geæmetige swæ ðu oftost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God sealde *ðær ðær* ðu hiene befæstan mæge, befæste.——*Pastoral Care*[34] 5. 1-4.   (=I 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 niehst rymet hæfde for wudufæstenne, ond for wæterfæstenne, ... ——*The Parker Chronicle*, an. 894[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, *illic*[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 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, *ubi* nascitur aurum:).

(19)   ge secgað
        pæt on Hierusalem si seo stow
        pær pær gedafenað 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[37]: vos dicitis, quia Ierosolymis est locus, *ubi* adorare oportet.)

(20)   eft, pa pa hi comon
        to Criste sylfum *pær pær* he sæt,
        pa bædon hi pæt he wunode 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 oððe 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 congregate in nomine meo, *ibi* sum in medio eorum.)   Also cf. A.-S. Gosp., *Matt.* vi. 21 (in ex. 4 under I).

(22) Stormas *pær* stanclifu beotan,   *pær* him stearn oncwæð
        isigfepera;   ——*The Seafarer* 23-4.
(=There storms beat on the rocky cliffs where the tern with icy feathers answered them.)

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[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.
[35] The composition of the annals 892-921 in the Parker MS. is dated 900-930.
[36] L *illīc* (=' there '), synonymous with *illāc, ibi,* is derived from *ille* (demonstr. pron.;=' that ') and *-ce* (demonstr. suff.).
[37] In the A.-S. Gosp., by the way, the same content is rendered with conjunctional relative *ðæt* (... *on* ' in '), instead of adverbial *ðær:* " ge secgap, ðæt on Hierusalem sy seo stow, ðæt man *on*-gebidde."

(23)   *Þær* fram sylle abeag
        medubenc monig,   mine gefræge,
        golde geregnad,   *þær* þa graman wunnon.   ——*Beowulf* 775-7.
(=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 *þǣr* in the subordinating function, yet
we can perceive a considerable difference in the degree that *þǣr* 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 *þær*, thus punctuating the line: " atol ypa gewealc.   *Þær* 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 *þǣr* in Old English.

In " wuna *þær* ðe leofost ys " (ex. 6), " faran *þær* hi willað " (ex. 7), " in þam
fyrrestum dælum Ongolcynnes, *þær* nænig lar ær cwom " (ex. 12), " on ælcum lande *þær*
hys geleafa byð " (ex. 14), and " seo stow *þær* *þær* gedafenað to gebiddenne " (ex. 19),
on the other hand, *þǣr* 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 " . . . ðǣr, ðǣr ~ " in example 17.   Unlike
þǣr *þǣr* in example 15, 16, 18, 19 or 20, this " ðǣr, ðǣr " is not one compound relative;
the first ðǣr is a full demonstrative belonging to the principal clause and the second ðǣr
alone functions as relative at the head of the subordinate clause.   If we were to shift in
any measure the structural balance of " min þen biþ ðǣr, ðǣr ic eom," we should be able
to transform it into " ðǣr ic eom, ðǣr biþ min þen," 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 ðǣr ðǣr is quivalent 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 *þær*, not
the first *þær*, 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 " *Þær* stormas stanclifu
beotan, *þær* 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* hwǣr

i

The origination of OE *hwǣr* 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 *hwǣr* as interrogative, we may mention a very typical use as in the following example:

(1) Ða he hi findan ne mihte, ða axode he ða landes men *hwar* pæt wif wære, . . . ——ÆIfric, *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,[38] the looser is the logical or syntactic relation between the verb or noun and the *hwǣr*-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 *hwǣr* so much weakened. The following instances may illustrate the transitional phenomena along the process.

(2) Ða com Maria Magdalene, and Josepes Maria and beheoldon, *hwar* 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 Iosezis sewhun, *whar* galagips wesi.)

(3) . . . pa ofseah he *hwǣr* sum uðwita lædde twegen gebroðru, . . . ——ÆIfric, *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 eæ, ond gehawade *hwǣr* mon mehte pa ea forwyrcan, pæt 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)   Dryhten sceawað
         hwǣr pa eardien   pe his æ healden;   ——*Guthlac*[39] 54-5.
(=The Lord scrutinizes where those who keep his law are dwelling.)

(6)   ond pa his modor het
         feran foldwege   folca preate
         to Iudeum,   georne secan
         wigena preate   *hwǣr* se wuldres beam

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[38] Cf. *A.-S.D.* (abbreviated from J. Bosworth & T.N. Toller, ed.: *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898-1921), Sup. s.v. *Hwǣr* II (I) (c).
[39] Quoted from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: *The Exeter Book.*

halig under hrusan,   hyded wære,
            æðelcyninges rod.   ——*Elene* 214-9.

(=... 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 meos quæro, indica mihi *ubi* pascant greges. [*indica* (imper.) *miki ubi* ... ' tell me where...'])

(8) shote sele dreorig   sinces bryttan,
            hwær ic feor oppe neah   findan meahte
            pone þe in meoduhealle   min mine wisse,
                                                  ——*The Wanderer*[40] 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   *hwær* 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 þæt siredon *hwær* hie hie gemetan wolden ...
——*Orosius*[41] 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.

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

(12)   Nu is pearf mycel
            pæt we fæstlice,   ferhð staðelien,
            pæt we ðæs morðres   meldan ne weorðen
            hwær pæt halige trio   beheld wurde
            æfter 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,
            æfter stedewange   *hwær* 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
            lifgesceafta,   ponne leng ne mæg
            mon mid his magum   meduseld buam.   ——*Beowulf* 3062-5.

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[40] Quoted from Krapp & Dobbie, ed.: *The Exeter Book.*
[41] 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 *hwǣr*-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 *hwǣr*-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 *hwǣr* introduces a clause that is syntactically the direct object of the main verb[42]. It is examples 7, 8, 10 and 11-14 that deserve special attention; for in each of them *hwǣr* introduces a clause that is not so directly related to the predicate verb of the principal clause. In examples 7 and 8[43] the direct objects of *sēce* and *sōhte* are accusative nouns *mine gebrōðru* and *sele* respectively and the *hwǣr*-clauses are rather loosely appended to them so as to construct a sort of appositional relation. In example 10, too, the *hwǣr*-clause is placed as appositive to the demonstrative pronoun *pæt* in the prepositional phrase *ymb pæt* (='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 *hwǣr*-clause may be looser than can be called appositional. We should rather describe that the *hwǣr*-clause is in the relation of object to the whole verbal expression " hæfde uhtceare " or " ... meldan ne weorðen." What is most noteworthy now is example 13. In outward structure the local noun *stede-wange* (='plain') immediately precedes *hwǣr* 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 *hwǣr*-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 *hwǣr*-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 *hwǣr* has been naturally adjusted to the context here.

Through the transitional stage, as we have observed in the instances above, OE *hwǣr* 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

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[42] Referring to " ofseah huær ～ " 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: " Þeir finna í helli nökkvorum *hvar* gýgr sat." (=They found a giantess sitting in some cave.)——Snorra-Edda. This is also true of " beheoldon hwar ～ " 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.

[43] 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) Þæt 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 *pæt tācn*, 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 *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 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* haubip sein anahnaiwyai.)

Karlberg[44] gives an explanation that L *habēre* (=' have '), when construed with an indirect question introduced by an interrogative, is coloured with the notion of ' scīre ' (=' know ') that OE *næfp* (<*ne hæfp*) is accordingly equivalent to *nāt* (<*ne wāt* ' does not know '), and that the two verbs are found interchangeable in this type of construction.[45] The idiomatic combination " næbbe hwæt," " næfp hwær " may thus be interpreted as primarily meaning ' have not anything that . . . ,' ' has not any place where . . . ,' tinctured 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[46]). (=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* hī 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

[44] G. Karlberg, *The English Interrogative Pronouns* (Almqvist, Stockholm; 1954) p. 51.

[45] E. g.: Gif he *næbbe hwæt* he selle, sie he self bebort wið ðam fio.——Alfred, *Laws*, Intro. 24 (MSS. E & G) [MS. H: *nite* for *næbbe*] (q. Karlberg). (=If he has not [does not know] what to sell, let him be sold for his theft.)

[46] K. Kivimaa, Þe *and* Þat *as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Especial Consideration of Emergence of the Pleonastic* Þat (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.

or indefinite to definite relative in the course of Late Old English[47].

Next we have to consider another type of expression that could be interpreted as containing *hwǣr* of interrogative origin. That is the type " lōc(a) *hwǣr*," the same category as " lōc(a) *hwā*," " lōc(a) *hwǣt*, " 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) hwǣr*. 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 *hwǣr* to be developed into a relative or subordinate conjunction.

ii

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 *pǣr* 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 *pǣr*-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 " pǣr ... ," while in the latter " over where ... " forms a close syntactic unit depending on " stood."[49] It must be admitted, nevertheless, that the

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

[48] 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).

[49] 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[50].   Just like the Corpus MS. quoted above, both the Hatton MS. and the Rushworth Gospels have *pǣr* in the corresponding position, as " Hatton MS.: he stod ofer *pær* pæt child wæs. / Rush.: he cumende gestod bufan *ðær* se cneht wæs." On the other hand, the Lindisfarne Gospels exhibit the possibility of *pǣr* and *hwǣr* to alternate with each other: " cuom gestod ofer *ðer* ł *hwer* 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 *hwer* no less appropriate to *ubi* in the Latin original than demonstrative *ðer*.   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 *hwǣr* is intended to replace *pǣr* 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, *pær* om and mohpe hit fornymð, and *pær* peofes hit delfeð and forsteleð. / Rush.: ne hydep eow hord in eorpe *pær* om and mohpa gewyrfeð ł etap and *pær* ðiofes adelfap and forstelap / Lind.: nællas gie gestrionaige iuh gestriono in eorðo *ðer* ł *huer* rust and mohða gefreten bið ł gespilled bið *ðer* ðeafas ofdelfes ł hrypes and forstealas

   Matt. vi. 21:——

   (3)   Hatton MS.: Witoðlice *pær* pin gold-hord ys, *pær* is pin heorte. / Rush.: forpon *pær* pin hord is *pær* is pin eorta / Lind.: *ðer* ł *huer* forðon is strion ðin *ðer* is and hearta ðin

   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[51]:

   (4)   Corpus MS.: Ða Maria com *ðar* se Hæland wæs, . . . / Lind.: Maria forðon cuome *ðer* ł *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 Iesus, . . .)

   Now an indefinite idea is more explicitly and forcibly expressed by *swā hwǣr swā*, which

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[50] 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.
[51] 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 *sō hwār sō* (as explained in I above), ON *par sem*, and further Gothic
pis-hwar pei, where *pis* is originally the genitive of neuter demontrative *pata* (='that')
and *pei* is an old locative of the demonstrative pronoun (cf. Doric Gk τεῖ-σε 'here').[52]
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 *sō* in *sō swār sō*, the second
swā in OE *swā hwār swā* was sometimes suppressed and the shortend form *swā hwār* was
occasionally found with the fuller *swā hwār swā*. 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 *ðær, ðær* ic eom. / Rush.: *hwer am ic ðer* and ðegn mine
bið / Lind.: *sua huer* ic am *ðer* æc ðegn min bið (Cf. L: *ubi* sum ego, *illic* et minister
meus erit.)

Here the Rushworth glossarist strictly follows the Latin model using indefinite *hwēr*
in the antecedent clause, and the Lindisfarne scribe has recourse to *sua huēr* (=*swā hwǣr*),
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 *swā hwǣr* for
pǣr:

(6) Corpus MS.: Ðar eower gold-hord is, ðar byp eower heorte. / Rush.: *Swa hwer*
gistrion goldes iower is ðer heorte bið / Lind.: *Suahuer* forðon strion iuer wæs ... (Cf.
L: *Ubi* enim thesaurus vester est, *ibi* est cor vestrum erit.)

The fuller form *swā hwǣr swā* 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 hwær swa* hold byp, *ðæder*[53] beop earnas gagaderode. [Lind.: *suæ huer* bið
pæt lic *ðider* ╪ *ðer* gesomnad biðon ða earnas]———*Matt.* xxiv. 28. (=Whenever a dead
body is, there the eagles will gather.). (Cf. L: *Ubicumque* fuerit corpus, *illic* congrega-
buntur et aquilæ.)

(8) *Swa hwar swa* se lichama bip, *ðyder* beop earnas gegaderod. [Rush.: *swa hwer* /
Lind.: *sua huer*]———*Luke* xvii. 37. (L: the same as in *Matt.* xxiv. 28 except for *illuc*[54] instead
of *illic*. / Cf. Goth.: Þarei leik, *yaindre*[55] galisand sik arans.)

(9) ...*swa hwær swa* ðys godspel byp gebodod on eallum middan-earde, byp gesæd
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-

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[52] Cf. Wright, *op. cit.* §§ 265, 276.

[53] OE *pider*, earlier *pæder* (>ModE *thither*) is formed from the demonstsative base **pa-* with *-der*, suffix
denoting motion to a place (cf. L. *-trā* in *intrā* 'within'). In the same way OE *hwider, hwæder* (>ModE
whither) is formed from the indefinite-interrogative base **hwa-* with the suffix.

[54] L *illūc* is cognate with *illic, illāc* (='there') in deriving from demonstrative *ille* (='that'), and means
'thither', 'to that place.'

[55] Goth. *jaindrē* also means 'thither,' suffix *-drē* (<**-tred* an ablative ending) denoting motion to a place.

dicatum fuerit hoc evangelium in toto mundo, dicetur et quod hæc fecit in memoriam ejus.)

(10) . . . *swa hwar swa* ðis godspell gebodod biþ on eallum middan-earde, biþ gebodod, ðæt heo ðis on his gemynde dyde.   [Rush.: *swa hwer* / Lind.: *sua huer*]———*Mark* xiv. 9. (Cf. L: *Ubicumque* prædicatum fuerit Evangelium istud in universo mundo, et quod fecit hæc, 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 oððe on tunas eode, on stræton 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 *quocumque*[56] introibat, in vicos, vel in villas, aut civitates, in plateis ponebant infirmos, . . . / Goth.: Yah *piswhaduh padei*[57] iddya in haimos aippau baurgs, aippau in weihsa, ana gagga lagidedun siukans, . . .)

(12)   Se *swa hwær swa* he hine gelæcp, 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, . . .)[58]

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 þa se biscop his geferan, *swa hwær swa* he meahte, þurh 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*[59] invenire poteritis, . . .)

(16)   swa þæt him ælce dæg com edniwe mete to
        mid þam upplicum deawe æt heora geteldum,
        swa hwær swa hi wicodon, . . .   ———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 *hwǣr* 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 *wherever*, as follows:

(17)   . . . þa het se casere georne smeagan *hwær* mann *æfre* þa halgan ge-axian mihte.

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[56] L *quōcumque* means 'whithersoever'; *quō*, an adverb of place derived from the same stem as interrogative-indefinite *quī* (='what,' 'who'), here means 'whither.'

[57] Like *pishwaruh pei* (='wherever') Goth. *pishwaduh 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*.

[58] Here we might compare the same type of combination containing *hwæder* or *hwider* (='whither'), as in: "ic fylige ðe, *swa hwæder swa* ðu færst."———*Matt.* viii. 19.   (=I will follow you wherever you go.) (cf. L: sequar te, *quocumque* ieris. / Goth.: laistya puk, *piswhaduh* gaggis.) / " Ic fylige ðe, *swa hwyder saw* ðu færst." ———*Luke* ix. 57 (L & Goth.: the same as in *Matt.* viii. 19).

[59] L *si-cubi* is a subordinate conjunction, composed of *si* (='if') and *ubi* (='where').

[60] Cf. Johnsen, *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 strutnode on ælcere stowe *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 infintive *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 *ælcere 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.

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[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 *hwǣr* as definite relative or subordinate conjunction.

We can thus trace two ways to the development of OE *hwǣr* 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.