THE STATUS OF *DEARR* AND *ÞEARF* IN OLD ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

This article is concerned with the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of *dearr* and *þearf*, which in Old English were clearly distinct preterite-present verbs. Nothing yet foreshadowed their future merger and the Middle English replacement of *thar(f)* with *need*. Their most significant syntactic restriction was that unlike other Old English premodal verbs they tended to occur only in nonassertive (negative, interrogative and conditional) contexts. Another interesting phenomenon was the occasional occurrence of third person singular forms ending in *-eþ* in northern glosses to gospels.

1. Introduction

Dearr and *þearf*, whose semantic and syntactic properties distinguished them from other preterite-present verbs, were ancestors of modern *dare* and *need*, which also behave differently than typical modals. For this reason some grammarians call them 'marginal' modals (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1972: 82, Denison 1993: 295). In late Middle English *thar(f)* was replaced by *need*, as its forms started to merge with those of *dare*. The degree of morphological, syntactic and semantic overlap between *þurven* and *durren* was so high in Middle English that one of the verbs had to go (cf. Molencki, forthcoming). Similar processes occurred in the cognate Germanic languages. Nevertheless, in Old English they still appeared to be two clearly distinct verbs, though they shared certain morphosyntactic and semantic properties. The language material for this study comes from the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (Kytö 1993), *B&T, OED* and also from the Early English Text Society editions of Old English texts.

2. Indo-European and Germanic origins

Both *dearr* and *þearf*[1] belonged to the third class of preterite-present verbs, which means that they followed the third ablaut series. The Indo-European proto-form of *dearr* was reconstructed as **dhers-, *dhors-, *dhrs-* on the basis of such cognate forms as, for example, Sanskrit *dhrsh-*, perf. *dadharsha*, Greek θαρσεǎυ, Old Church Slavonic *drьzate* (cf. *B&T, OED*, Prokosch 1939, Reszkiewicz 1973: 156). The Proto-Germanic apophony in this case must have been **ders-, *dars-, *durs-, *durs-* and due to subsequent phonological changes the following cognate forms developed in Germanic languages:

Gothic	ga-daursan	dars	daursum/daursun	daursta
OHG	turran	tar	turrun	torsta
OSax	durran	dar	durrun	dorsta
OFr	thura,dûra	thur,dur,dor	thuron	thorste,dorste
OE	*durran	dear(r)	durron	dorste

The perfective prefix *ga-, ge-, gi-* was often attached to the verb, especially in the past tense forms. In Old Norse the verb appears to have been lost and replaced by the weak verb *þora* (cf. Tellier 1962: 56, Nielsen 1981: 186). The two biblical quotations below show that early Germanic languages were consistent in rendering the Latin semideponens *audere*:

1) Et nemo iam *audebat* eum interrogare.   *Vulgate Mark* 12.34
    jah ainshun þanaseiþs ni *gadaursta* ina fraihnan.   *Wulfila's Gothic*
    7 hine ne *dorste* nan mann ahsian.   *West Saxon Gospels*
    7 neænig mon soð ł gee *gedarste* hine gefraigne.
        Lindisfarne Gospels (Old Northumbrian)
    7 nænig mon soðða *gidarste* hine gifregna.
        Rushworth Gospels (Old Mercian)

2) et nemo *audebat* discentium interrogare eum...   *Vulgate John* 21.12
    And nan þæra þe þar sæt ne *dorste* hine axian hwæt he wære.   *WSG*
    7 negi *darste* ænigmonn ðara hlingindi ł ðara ræstendra gifrægna
        ł frasiga hine...   *Lindisfarne Gospels*
    7 nænigmonn ne *darste* of ðegnum gifregna hine...   *Rushworth Gospels*
    Inti nioman ni *gidorsta* thero sizzentero fragen inan...
        Tatian 237.4 (Old High German)

It appears that the Second (High German) Consonantal Shift *d > t* has not yet affected the forms of *durran* in the language of *Tatian* (c.830). The verb is also attested in the coeval Old Saxon poem *Heliand* (e.g. *ni gidorstun nahor gangan*, 1055; cf. Tellier 1962: 55).

As for the etymology of *þearf*, the pre-Teutonic ablaut **terp-, *torp-, *trp-* is not certainly identified (cf. *OED* s.v. *thar*). Some etymological dictionaries (e.g. Brückner 1927: 579, Linde 1859: 724, Machek 1971: 477) list several probable cognates in other Indo-European languages, whose consonantism and semantics provide some evidence for the relationship, e.g. Sanskrit *tarpati* 'satisfies', Avestan *thrafdha* 'satisfied', Greek τέρπω 'I am satisfied', Latin *oportet* < **ob-portet* 'one should, need' (with the metathesis of *p* and *t*), Lithuanian *tarpti* 'to be well off' and especially Prussian *enterpo* 'I need' and Old Church Slavonic *trěbovati* 'to need' (hence Slovenian *treba*, Czech *treba*, Polish *trzeba, potrzebować*). Rejzek (2001: 679) and Snoj (1997: 880) believe that the Indo-European root **terp-* 'to satisfy need' had the variant **terb(h)-* 'to need', whose descendant forms developed in Slavonic and Germanic. The Proto-Germanic gradation forms are reconstructed as **þerß-, *þarß-, *þurß-, *þurß-* on the basis of the following cognates:

Gothic	*þaurban	þarf	þaurbum	þaurfta
OHG	durfan	darf	durfun	dorfta
OSax	thurban	tharf	thurbun	thorfta
MDu	dorven	dorv	dorven	dorfte
OFr	*thurva	thurf/thorf	thurvon	thorste
OE	*þurfan	þearf	þurfon	þurfte
ON	þurfa	þarf	þurfom	þurfta

Here are some early attested Germanic examples, which show that apart from the preterite-present *þearf* and the prefixed *beþearf*, we also find synonymous verbs (*behofian*) and periphrastic expressions discussed in Section 7:

3) scit enim pater vester quia his omnibus *indigetis*...   *Vulgate Matt* 6.32
    waituh þan atta izwar sa ufar himinam þatei *þaurbuþ*...   *Wulfila's Gothic*
    Witodlice eower fæder wat þæt ge eallra þyssa þinga *be-þurfon*...   *WSG*
    wat forðon fader iuer forðon of ðæm allum ge *behofes* ł iuh behofes...
        Lindisfarne Gospels
    forþon þe eower fæder wat þæt ge þissa alra *ðurfun*...
        Rushworth Gospels
    Uueiz iuuer fater thaz ir thes alles *bithurfut*...   *Tatian* 38.32

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[1] I prefer to use their third person present forms rather than the hypothetical unattested infinitives.

(4) nunc scimus quia scis omnia et *non opus est* tibi ut quis te interroget...

Vulgate John 16.30

nu witum ei þu kant alla, jah *ni þarft* ei þuk hvas fraihnai...

Wulfila's Gothic

Nu we witon þæt þu wast ealle ðing. 7 þe *nis nan þearf* þæt ænig þe axie...

WSG

nu ue uutun þætte ðu wast alle 7 *ne ned-ðarf 1 is* ðe þætte huælc ðec gefraigna...

Lindisfarne Gospels

nu we wutun ðætte ðu wast alle 7 *ne ned is* ðe þætte hwelc ðec gifregne...

Rushworth Gospels

Nu uuizumes thaz thu allu uueist inti *nist* dir *thurft* thaz thih ioman frage...

Tatian 176.2

The verb was also used in a similar way in Old Norse (e.g. *Eigi þarf langt frá því at segja*, Hrafnkels Saga 1.120) and in Old Saxon (*ne tharft thu ferah caron barnes thines*, Heliand 2197), though Old Saxon *thurban* also developed the sense of possibility (cf. Tellier 1962: 55), which is now the central meaning of German *dürfen*, the original sense *need* being preserved only in the prefixed verb *bedürfen*.

3. Old English verb forms – morphology

The Old English forms display regular West Germanic phonological developments – the present forms of *dearr* and *þearf* (and its synonymous prefixed form *beþearf*) have the same vocalism as Class Three strong verbs in the past (Reszkiewicz's 1973: 156 subclass 3c), e.g. *steorfan, ceorfan*, i.e. the original Germanic *e* was diphthongized before the consonantal cluster of /r/ + another consonant (*ceorfan, cearf, curfon, corfen*). Like other preterite-present verbs, in the preterite they took weak endings *-te/-ton* (*dorste, dorston; þurfte, þorfton*).

The table below presents the inflectional forms of both verbs in West Saxon:

Present Indicative		Subjunctive	Preterite
ic dear/dearr[2]	we		
þu dearst	ge durron	durre/dyrre[3]	dorste dorston/dorstan
he dear/dearr	hie	durren/dyrren	

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[2] Although most reference books list *dearr* as the basic form, the form with a single *r* is much more common in the Helsinki corpus.

[3] According to Campbell, in the past subjunctive "umlaut is frequent in pret.-pres. verbs" (1959: §736.m).

ic þearf	we	þurfe/þyrfe	þorfte/þurfte
þu þearft	ge þurfon	þurfen/þyrfen	þorfton/þurfton
he þearf	hie		

In northern dialects there are some other variants (cf. Brunner 1942: 368, Campbell 1959: 344), e.g. Mercian *Rushworth 1* has the preterite *durste, dyrste* and Northumbrian *Rushworth 2* and *Lindisfarne* have *(gi)darste*. Also in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* we find the singular present form *darr*. The variant forms of *þearf* include 2sg *ðearf, þærf* and plural *ðurfun* (*Rushworth 1*) and plural *ðurfu* (*Lindisfarne*). Third person singular forms with the ending *-(e)ð* from both the *Rushworth* and *Lindisfarne Gospels* might be the first indication of the process by virtue of which these verbs began to lose some of the characteristics of (pre)modal verbs. Witness the sentence from *St. John's Gospel* (13.10):

5)   cuoeð him to se hælend seðe geðuæn 1 is sprec uæs ne *ðorfæð* 1 þætte aðoa hine...

Lindisfarne Gospels

cwæð him ðe hælend seðe gisprecen wæs ne *ðorfeð* ðæt eft ðwæ...

Rushworth Gospels

(*WSG:* Ða cwæð se hælend to him. Se þe clæne byþ ne *beðearf* buton þæt man his fet þwea)

or another example from *Luke* 5.31, where the manuscript form *ðofeð* was emended by Skeat to *ðorfeð*:

6)   7 ondsuarade se hælend cuoeð to him ne *ðofeð* ðaðe halo sint to lece ah ða ðe yfle habbað.

Lindisfarne Gospels

(the *Rushworth* fragment is not extant, *WSG* has: þa andswarude se hælend and cwæþ to him; Ne *beþurfon* læces þa ðe hale synd: ac þa ðe unhælþe habbað)

Brunner (1942: 368) also mentions northern forms *biðorfeð, beðorfeð*. In *Rushworth Gospels* we also find:

7)   Hwæt helpeþ 1 *beþearfaþ* menn?   *Mt 16.26* (Quid enim prodest homini?)

One of the most conspicuous features in the tables above is the absence of nonfinite forms, i.e. the lack of infinitives and participles. *B&T* mention the infinitives *durran, ðurfan* and the past participle *(ge)dorren*, but I do not find any examples in the Helsinki Corpus. First instances of these nonfinite forms are dated by the *OED* in the 14th and 15th for the infinitive and past participle, respectively. Warner (1993: 146), however, does not exclude the possibility that nonfinite forms of these verbs existed in Old English, but are not attested due to relatively low frequency of occurrence (cf. also Mitchell 1985: §§990-995). We

find some indirect support for this claim in Old High German, where the past participle *gitorran* is recorded (cf. Schmidt 1984: 189). The form *þearfende* (*þorfende, þurfende*) that looks like the present participle (Campbell 1959: 344) was only used as a nominal adjective corresponding to modern 'poor, needy'.

4. Syntactic properties

As for the types of complementation for both verbs, the most common is the *simple infinitive* either in the brace construction:

8) Ða cirdon hie up in on ða ea, for þæm hie *ne dorston* forþ bi þære ea *siglan* for unfriþe.   *Or* 14.18

9) *Ne ðearf* he landgafol *syllan*.   *Laws William* 446.3.2

or following the preterite-present verb immediately:

10) ic þe halsie þurh þone, þe þu to færst, þæt *ic ne þurfe libban* seofon dagas æfter þe on þysum middangearde.   *GregD3* 21.53.28

11) ða ða he ðegn wæs, he mette his feond, 7 ðeah for Godes ege 7 for ryhtwisnesse lufum he hine *ne dorste ofslean*.   *CP* 50.393.4

The infinitive can sometimes undergo ellipsis:

12) as clænne, mæssige, *gyf he durre*, 7 ladige on þam husle heana hine sylfne, æt anfealdre spæce. 7 æt þryfealdre spæce ladige he, *gyf he durre*, eac on þam husle mid twam his gehadan.   *Laws Cnut* 286.5.1

13) Gif hine mon gilt, þonne mot he gesellan on þara hyndenna gehwelcere monnan 7 byrnan 7 sweord on þæt wergild, *gif he ðyrfe*.
                                                                  Laws Ine 112.54.2

In the Old English corpus we find singular instances of the passive infinitive:

14) ac swa þeah he ne *dorste beon* beforan him upp *aræred* of þære eorðan.
                                                                  GregD4 14.132.17

15) eac to manienne ðæt hi unaðrotenlice ða gedonan synna gelæden beforan hira modes eagan, 7 ðonne hi hi gesewene hæbben, gedon ðæt hie ne *ðyrfen bion gesewene* æt ðæm nearwan dome.   *CP* 53.413.17

In the *Book of Leechdom* there is an interesting example of a complex (inflected) infinitive, whose ending appears to have been reduced (*to don* for *to donne*):

16) Gif hit sie winter *ne þearft* þu þone wermod *to don*.   *Laece* 2.3.4

Thus, in most cases the two verbs are auxiliaries, but in the corpus there are also some marginal uses of *þearf* followed by a noun or a pronoun (both genitive and accusative objects):

17) 7 gyf he sig mægleas, ladige mid geferan oððe on fæsten fo, gif he *þæt þurfe*, 7 ga to corsnæde 7 þæræt gefare, swa swa God ræde.
                                                                  Laws Cnut 286.52

18) Ne ðearf he *nanes þinges* buton ðæs ðe he on him selfum hæfð.
                                                                  Bo 24.4

I do not find any corresponding examples for *dearr*.

The best proof that in Old English the two verbs had the same status as other preterite-present is the fact that they could be used in conjunction with other premodals, including the anomalous verb *willan*:

19) Ic cweðe nu ðæt ic *ne dearr* ne ic *nelle* nane boc æfter ðisre of Ledene on Englisc awendan;   *ÆPrefGen* 80.113

20) ælc mon mot onsacan frymþe 7 werfæhðe, *gif he mæg oððe dear*;
                                                                  Laws Ine 110.46.2

21) Se ðe forstolen flæsc findeð 7 gedyrneð, *gif he dear*, he *mot* mid aðe gecyðan, þæt he hit age; se ðe hit ofspyreð, he ah ðæt meldfeoh.
                                                                  Laws Ine 97.17

22) Ic *wolde* eac gif ic *dorste* gadrian sum gehwæde andgit of ðære bec þe BEDA, se snotera lareow gesette;   *ÆDT* 1.1

23) Næs me næfre gewunelic þæt ic worhte fleames, ac ic *wolde* swiðor sweltan gif ic *þorfte* for minum agenum earde;   *ÆLS* 320.78

24) þæt syndon þa, *ðe nellað oððe ne cunnon oððon ne durron* folc wið synna gewarnian and synna gestyran;   *InsPol* 123

The most interesting syntactic restriction of *þearf* and *dearr* is that except for some isolated examples from poetry they were used only in nonassertive contexts (negative, interrogative, conditional). In affirmative sentences we find other expressions. The usual equivalent of *dearr* was the weak verb *gedyrstigan* (derived from the adjective *gedyrstig*), e.g.

25) ðe *gedyrstigon* ðæt hi Eastran heoldan butan heora rihtre tide. (qui Pascha non suo tempore observare præsumerent).   *Bede* 5.21

The verb *þearf* in assertive contexts was most commonly replaced by various periphrastic constructions discussed in Section 7 below. However, such restriction did not apply in Gothic, as can be seen in:

26) villam emi et *necesse habeo* exire et videre illam.   *Vulgate Luke* 14.18
    land bauhta jah *þarf* galeiþan jah saihvan þata.   *Wulfila's Gothic*
    ic bohte ænne tun. *ic hæbbe neode* þæt ic fare 7 hine geseo;   *WSG*
    lond ic bohte 7 *neððarf ic hafo* þæt ic geonga 7 gesea þæt ilca...
                                                    Lindisfarne Gospels
    lond ih bohte forðon 7 *neððearfe ic hafo* þæt ic gongo 7 gisie ðæt...
                                                    Rushworth Gospels
    thorph coufta ih inti *nôtthurft haben ih* ûzziganganne inti gisehen iz...
                                                    Tatian 125.3

   Both *þearf* and *dearr* were used, albeit rarely, in impersonal constructions, where the logical subject or experiencer was in the dative case (cf. Denison 1993: 295, 302):

27) be þam *ne dorste us* nan wen beon geðuht þæt hi mihton beon dælnimende
    þæs heofonlican wuldres.   *GregD* 232.7

28) Cwæð þa eft raðe oðre worde to Sarran sinces brytta: *Ne þearf ðe* on edwit
    Abraham settan, ðin freadrihten.   *Gen* 2727

29) for ðam *me* witan *ne ðearf* waldend fira morðorbealo maga, þonne min
    sceaceð lif of lice.   *Beowulf* 2739

What is very interesting is the fact that most of the impersonal examples come from poetic texts, which means that the structure may already have been perceived as archaic. In prose we almost invariably find personal constructions with nominative subjects. Compare the examples below:

30) *Ne þearf him* ondrædan deofla stræals ænig on eorðan ælda cynnes, gromra
    garfare, gif hine god scildeþ, duguða dryhten.   *Christ* 779

31) *Ne þurfan we* us ondrædan þa deoflican costnunga.   *ÆLetSig* 106.96

5. *dearr*

The earliest English instance of *dearr* is found on the south-east face of the Ruthwell Cross. This runic inscription dated for c.700 is in the Northumbrian dialect:

(32) ⱶⱯⱤⱯ ⰹⰽ ⱤⰹⰽⱶⱯ Ɫⰿⱶⰹⰼⰽ ⱨⱦⱤⱂⱶⱶⱨ ⱨⱦⱤⱤⰽⰿ ⱨⱦⱦⰿⱤ ⰹⰽ ⱶⰹ ⰿⱯⱤⱨⱦⱶ
     ahof ic riicnæ kyning heafunes hlafard hælda ic ni *dorstæ*

Interestingly, in the later West Saxon version we find the impersonal use of the same verb:

32a)Ahof ic ricne cyning, heofona hlaford, *hyldan me ne dorste.*

Indeed this fragment of *The Dream of the Rood* has a whole series of clauses where this verb is used:

33) þær ic þa ne *dorste* ofer dryhtnes word bugan oððe berstan, þa ic bifian
    geseah eorðan sceatas. Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte. Ne *dorste* ic
    hwæðre bugan to eorðan, feallan to foldan sceatum, ac ic sceolde fæste
    standan. Rod wæs ic aræred. Ahof ic ricne cyning, heofona hlaford, hyldan
    me ne *dorste.* þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum. On me syndon þa
    dolg gesiene, opene inwidhlemmas. Ne *dorste* ic hira nænigum sceððan.
                                                    Dream 35-48

In a modern translation (Raffel 1998) only the last *dorste* is translated as *dared,* whereas the three preceding ones are rendered by *could,* which shows that as early as Old English there was a great deal of semantic overlap in the class of preterite-present verbs, the ancestors of modern modals. Nonetheless, in translations from Latin *dearr* was usually the equivalent of the semideponens *audere* and *praesumere* (thus means 'to have the courage or impudence to do something') or *timere* 'fear', if negated:

34) Se mæsse preost, þe mæssað and *ne dear* ðæt husel ðicgan, wat hine
    scildigne, se is amansumad; (Presbiter missam celebrans et *non audens*
    sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia sua, anathema sit) *ÆLetSig* 95

35) for herodem his fæder *ne durste* þider gangan ł færan...   *Rushw Mt*
    2.22
    (*timuit* illuc ire; *WSG* he *ondred* þyder to farende)

   As I have already mentioned, the verb was only used in nonassertive contexts, i.e. in *conditional* clauses, both in *gif*-protases:

36) *gif hio dear* mid aðe gecyðan, þæt hio þæs forstolenan ne onbite, nime hire
    ðriddan sceat.   *Laws Ine* 116.58

37) ac wit on niht sculon secge ofersittan, *gif he gesecean dear* wig ofer
    wæpen...   *Beowulf* 688

38) ðonne wene ic to þe wyrsan geþingea, ðeah þu heaðoræsa gehwær dohte,
grimre guðe, *gif þu* Grendles *dearst* nihtlongne fyrst nean bidan.
Beowulf 525

and in negative conditional *butan*-clauses (*butan* corresponding to modern *unless*):

39) gedeme heonon forð, for læððe oððe for feohfange, beo se wið þone cingc
CXX scyllinga scyldig on Engla lage, *butan* he mid aðe cyðan *durre*, þæt he
hit na rihtor ne cuþe...
Laws Cnut 316.5.1

40) leafan buton synne æt þam forman gylte þære fiohbote onfon, þe hie ða
gesettan. *buton* æt hlafordsearwe hie nane mildheortnesse *ne dorston*
gecweðan...
Laws Ine 46.49.7

I have also come across instances in *swa*-clauses of hypothetical semblance, i.e.
also counterfactual, where *swa* was the equivalent of modern *as if*:

41) þa dyde hio *swa* hio *dorste* hyre aþe gebiorgan.   *Charters* 128.33

Another type of adverbial clauses where *dear* occurred were negative final
clauses introduced by the conjunction *ðylæs*, the ancestor of modern *lest*:

42) Forðon we ðiss feawum wordum sædon, ðy we woldongecyðan hu micel
sio byrðen bið ðæs lareowdomes, *ðylæs* ænig hine underfon *durre* ðara ðe
his unwierðe sie;
CP 33.9

43) Hine waldend on, tirfæst metod, tacen sette, freoðobeacen frea, *þy læs* hine
feonda hwilc mid guðþræce gretan *dorste* feorran oððe nean.   *Gen* 1044

The verb was also found in *interrogative* sentences, both direct and dependent ones:

44) *Hu durre* ge nu forseon heora ealra gesetnyssa, þonne munecas healdað
anes mannes gesetnyssa, þæs halgan Benedictus;   *ÆLetWulfsige* 23.101

45) *Hwa* wæs æfre swa dirstiges modes *þæt dorste* cynges dohtor gewæmman
ær ðam dæge hyre brydgifta and him ne ondrede þæs cyninges irre?
ApT 4.2.8

46) 7 ðone papan 7 þæt papseld þæt hie befrinon 7 beahsodan hwæt him þæs to
ræde þuhte, *hweþer* hie þa ciricean *halgian dorston* on oþre wisan.
BlHom 205.157

But in the vast majority of cases, *dearr* was used in sentences that contained
negative elements:

47) forðon hie *nan monn ne dearr* ðreagean ðeah hie agylten, ac mid ðam beoð
synna suiðe gebrædda ðe hie beoð sua geweorðade.   *CP* 2.31.12

48) *Nis* nu cwicra *nan* þe ic him modsefan minne *durre* sweotule asecgan.
Wanderer 9

49) ða sægde se bisceop þæt þær næfre in þæm londum regnes dropa ne
cwome, *ne* fugel *ne* wildeor, *ne nænig* ætern wyrm þæt her *dorste* gesecean
ða halgan gemæro sunnan 7 monan.   *Alex* 42.826

50) Swilce he wæs eac swyðe stearc man 7 ræðe. swa þæt man *ne dorste nan
þing* ongean his willan don.   *Chr* 1086.85

51) *Ne dorste* swa þeah se mæssepreost þone bisceop geaxian, for hwan he
swylce þing bude, ac he þa gehyrsumode his hæsum 7 ealle þa winfatu
gegearwod.   *GregD* 3 22.58.3

52) 7 we *ne durron na mare* awritan on Englisc þonne ðæt Leden hæfð, ne ða
endebyrdnysse awendan, buton ðam anum, ðæt ðæt Leden 7 ðæt Englisc
nabbað.   *ÆPrefGen* 78.94

6. þearf

As is well known, each Modern English modal verb has a number of senses and
in numerous cases meanings of different modals overlap. The Old English data
show that preterite-present verbs behaved in a similar way. In (33) we can see
how *dearr* encroaches upon the territory of *mæg*. Also *þearf* developed a number of meanings (cf. *B&T*, s.v. *þurfan*). Tellier (1962: 103) observed that the
negative forms of *þearf* were in a symmetrical relationship with *mæg*, i.e. the
most natural negative counterpart of *he mæg secgan* was *he ne þearf secgan*.
Thus, apart from its basic, prototypical sense of '*to need to do* something', either
to fulfill a purpose or because the need is based on grounds of right, morality, as
in:

53) He ne *ðearf* na faran fram stowe to stowe...   *ÆCHom* i.52.3

54) Ðæt ðu ne wene ðæt Iudea leasungum gelyfan *þurfte*...   *BlHom* 177.35

þearf often expressed the idea of compulsion, or where the inevitability of a
consequence is expressed, and thus is synonymous with *sceal* in the sense of
modern 'should, ought to' (cf. Tellier 1962: 114):

55) Hu he ðisse worulde wynna *ðorfte* læsast brucan.   *Guthlac* 122.20

Ðearf also corresponded to *sceal* in the sense of modern 'to owe':

56) Ne *þearf* ic N. sceatt ne scilling, ne pænig ne pæniges weorð.   *Oaths* 11

Another Old English preterite-present verb whose sense *þearf* seems to approximate was *deah* 'to be of use, to be good for a person to do something'. Visser (1963-1973: §1343, fn.1) draws our attention to the fact that one of the probable causes for the loss of *dugan (dowen)* in Middle English was its phonetic and semantic similarity to *thar* and *dare*. The example below is the evidence that some confusion might have begun in Old English already:

57) Ne *þurfan* ge noht besorgian hwæt we sprecan...   *BlHom* 171.18

Finally, in *Beowulf* there is a very interesting example where *þearf* becomes very close in meaning to *dearr*, which might be treated as a harbinger of the confusion between the two verbs in Middle English (cf. Molencki, forthcoming):

58) ne þær nænig witena wenan *þorfte* beorhtre bote to banan folmum.
                                                       Beowulf 157

Tellier (1962: 103) admits that this usage is exceptional ("dans un cas isolé, ÐURFAN semble avoir le même sens que DURRAN"), and supports his interpretation with the modern version of this sentence translated by Gordon: "Nor did any of the councillors MAKE BOLD TO expect fairer conditions from the hands of the slayer." In a more recent glossed edition of *Beowulf* (Alexander 1995) *þorfte* is rendered in this case by 'have reason', the sense found in other quotations from *Beowulf*, e.g.

59) forðam me witan ne *ðearf* Waldend fira...   *Beowulf* 2741

The semantic extension from 'did not need' through 'did not have reason' to 'did not dare' must have started from similar contexts.

Another interesting development is the fact that apart from their basic deontic senses, both *dearr* and *þearf* also appear to have developed some epistemic senses as early as Old English (e.g. sentences (54) and the impersonal constructions in (27-29)).

Except for two isolated instances in *affirmative* impersonal sentences from the Anglo-Saxon poetry below with accusative objects:

60) *Mec* þæs *þearf* monaþ, micel modes sorg.   *Elene* 717

61) muþa gehwylc *mete þearf*, mæl sceolon tidum gongan...   *Maxims* 124

þearf, like *dearr*, was predominantly found in nonassertive contexts, i.e. *conditional* clauses:

62) wuda ond wætres nyttað, þonne him biþ wic alyfed, mete bygeþ, *gif* he
    maran *þearf*, ærþon he to meþe weorþe;   *Maxims* 111

and *comparative* clauses:

63) Sume him ondrædað earfoðu *swiðor þonne hi þyrfen*, þeah hi hi eaðe
    adreogan mægen.   *Bo* 39.133.27

There are several examples in dependent and independent *interrogative* sentences:

64) *Hu þearf* mannes sunu maran treowe?   *Exod* 426

65) Drihten is min onlyhtend, and min Hælend; *hwæt þearf ic ondrædan*?
                                                       ParPs 55.26.1

66) Hwæt, hi eac *witon hwær hi eafiscas secan þurfan*, and swylcra fela
    weoruldwelena.   *MetBo* 177.19.24

Otherwise, typical and most frequent uses of *þearf* were in *negative* contexts:

67) *Ne þearf nan* mon on ðys andweardan life spyrian æfter þæm soðum
    gesælðum, ne þæs wenan ðæt he ær mæge good genog findan.
                                                       Bo 33.77.31

68) *Ne þearft* þu *ma* swincan ymbe þæt.   *Bo* 34.87.25

69) *Ne þorftan* þa þegnas in þam þystran ham, seo geneatscolu in þam neolan
    scræfe, to þam frumgare feohgestealda witedra wenan;   *Elene* 683

70) Se ðe for ðæm anum god deð ðæt he sumre ðreaunge yfel him ondrætt, se
    wilnað ðætte *nan ðing ne* sie ðe he him ondrædan *ðyrfe*;   *CP* 265.7

71) *Ne* secge ic *no* þæt he *nauhtes* maran *ne ðyrfe*, forðæm ic wat þæt *nan nis*
    þæs welig þæt he sumes eacan *ne þyrfe*.   *Bo* 33.75.5

72) *Ne þurfe* ge *næfre* þæs wenan, þæt ic æfre eowrum godum me to gebidde,
    forþon þe hi syndon dumbe and deafe and blinde and mid drycræfte
    geworhte.   *Margaret* 174.142

7. Noun *þearf*

Apart from the verb *þearf* there was also a homonymous noun *þearf*, often used in various periphrastic structures, most commonly with a dative experiencer and

the genitive object. Unlike the verb *þearf* the periphrases with the noun *þearf* are found mostly (though not only) in affirmative sentences:

73) ic minne kynegyrylan 7 me mid uncuþe hrægle 7 mid lyþerlice gerelan me gegerede, swelce ic wære hwelc folclic mon 7 *me wære mete 7 wines þearf.*
Alex 519.27

74) þæt ic þe wel herige ond þe to geoce garholt bere, mægenes fultum, *þær ðe bið manna þearf.*
Beowulf 1836

75) Mara gefea wyrð on hefonum for anum hreowsiendum ðonne ofer nigon 7 hundnigontig ryhtwisra ðæra ðe *him nan ðearf ne bið hreowsunga.*
CP 52.411.12

The impersonal variant of this structure made use of the nominative form of the empty pronoun subject *hit*:

76) Ac do freonda gehwylc, *eallswa hit þearf is*, warnige hine georne and beorge him sylfum, þæt he God ne abelge ealles to swyðe, ac cweme his drihtne mid rihtlicre dæde.
InsPol 81.93

The object could also be an inflected infinitive:

77) Leofan men, understandað swyðe georne þæt ge rihtlice 7 wærlice þæt healdan þæt *eow mæst þearf is to gehealdenne*, þæt is, rihtne cristendom.
WHom 116.2

78) þa nydendre þære lufe he gebohte, þæt *him nan þearf næs to habbenne.*
GregD 4 123.10.79.5

or an object *þæt*-clause with a subjunctive verb:

79) *Him is ðearf ðæt* hie geðencen hu micel menigu ðæra getreowfulra bið, ðe ægðer ge hi selfe clæne gehealdað, ge eac oðre of hira gedwolan ahwierf.
CP 403.20

80) *Næs him ænig þearf þæt* he to Gifðum oððe to Gardenum oððe in Swiorice secean þurfe wyrsan wigfrecan, weorðe gecypan.
Beowulf 2493

The noun could be modified by the adjective *micel* or its superlative form *mæst*:

81) Leofan men, *eallum cristenum mannum is mycel þearf þæt* hy heora fulluhtes gescead witan.
WHom 175.2

82) *Is me þearf micel þæt* seo halge me helpe gefremme.
Elene 133.695

83) æt ærestan we lærað, *þæt mæst ðearf is, þæt* æghwelc mon his að 7 his wed wærlice healde.
Laws Ine 46.1

The genitive object could sometimes be followed by an appositive clause, as in:

84) *Nis eow ðæs weorces þearf þæt* ge ða ciricean halgian, forðon þe ic hie geworhte 7 ic hie gehalgode.
BlHom 207.174

Instead of *þearf* we occasionally find the noun *neod* (variant spellings: *nied, nyd, ned*), meaning 'desire', 'compulsion' or 'need', in the same construction:

85) *Us is neod þæt* we ða halgan eastertide be ðam soðum regole healdon næfre ær emnihte, 7 oferswiðdum þeostrum.
ÆDT 46 6.4

Sometimes both stems were combined into the compound *nedþearf*:

86) Nis him nanes þinges *nedþearf.*
Bo 42

87) Is eallum mannum *nedþearf* and nytlic ðæt hie heora fulwihthadas wel gehealdan.
BlHom 109.25

The following example from the three different versions of Old English gospels proves that the expressions were interchangeable:

88) Nu we witon þæt þu wast ealle ðing. 7 þe *nis nan þearf þæt* ænig þe axie...
WSG John 16.30

nu ue uutun þætte ðu wast alle 7 *ne ned-ðarf l is* ðe þætte huælc ðec gefraigna...
Lindisfarne Gospels
nu we wutun ðætte ðu wast alle 7 *ne ned is* ðe þætte hwelc ðec gifregne...
Rushworth Gospels

Other analytic predicative constructions with the nouns *þearf* and *neod* were:

89) *Nage we nane ðearfe þæt* we ðyses weorðan lease; ac utan don swa us þearf is, gelæstan hit georne.
WHom 181.125

90) ic bohte ænne tun. *ic hæbbe neode*[4] þæt ic fare 7 hine geseo.
WSG Luke 14.18

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[4] The phrase could also mean 'to desire' as in *and we habbaþ nu neode þæt he dead gefylle* (*ÆLS* 31.1460).

91) þonne we geheton ussum hlaforde in biorsele, ðe us ðas beagas geaf, þæt we
    him ða guðgetawa gyldan woldon *gif him þyslicu þearf gelumpe*, helmas
    ond heard sweord.   *Beowulf* 2638

92) Wæs þeaw hyra þæt hie oft wæron an wig gearwe, ge æt ham ge on herge,
    ge gehwæþer þara, efne swylce mæla swylce hira man dryhtne *þearf*
    gesælde;   *Beowulf* 1251

The present participle of the verb *þearf* was sometimes used in the function of
the adjective or noun corresponding to modern *poor, needy*:

93) Hlaford Apolloni, ure ceaster *is þearfende* and ne mæg þine
    æðelborennesse acuman, ...   *ApT* 14.9.10

94) eadig þa *þurfende* in gaste forþon heora his heofuna rice.   *Rushw Mt* 5.3

    (*WSG*: Eadige synt þa gastlican *þearfan, Lindisf:* eadge biðon ða *ðorfendo*
    of ł from gaste, *Vulgate*: Beati *pauperes* spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum
    cælorum)

The stem *þearf* was very productive in Old English word formation, and
some of the commonly used derivatives were nouns *þearfedness, þearflicness*,
adjectives *þearfa, þearfendlic, þearfleas*, adverbs *þearflice, þearflease* and fi-
nally weak verbs *þearfan, (ge)þearfian, beþearfian*, which may have contributed
to their confusion with the conjugational patterns of preterite-present *þearf*.

8. Later developments

With the loss of final -*f* and/or replacement of the initial dental fricative conso-
nant with the plosive stop *d-*, in Middle English certain forms of *tharf* became
similar to and sometimes even identical with those of *dearr*. This will be subject
of the sequel to this article (Molencki, forthcoming). Let me only say now that
such confusion led to the increasing use of the verb *neden*. Derived from the
noun *neod* (see the previous section), the verb *neodian/neadian* had already ex-
isted in Old English, but is described in the *OED* as rare. Its two main senses in
Old English were 'to force, compel, constrain':

95) Se ðe oðerne *neadaþ* ofer his mihte to drincenne...   *ÆLetSig* 74.1263

and 'to be necessary':

96) On cealdum eardum *neodað* þæt þæs reafes mare sy, on hleawfæstum læs.
    Ðæs abbodes forsceawung sceal beon be ðysum hu ðæs *neodige*.
                                                                   BenR 89.6.8

In Middle English *neden* increasingly occupied the slot of *þurven* and acquired
the modal characteristics in both its syntax and semantics. *Thurven* was totally
lost in the late 15th century except for northern, especially Scottish dialects,
where it survived in the form *thar*. Similar processes of confusion between the
two verbs can be observed in other Germanic languages, e.g. Old Norse, Middle
German, Middle Dutch and Middle Frisian lost *dare* altogether, Modern German
preserved *dürfen* in the sense of English *may*, in Modern Dutch *durven* is used
in the sense of *dare*. But in the period discussed in this paper, *dearr* and *þearf*
were still clearly distinct Old English preterite-present verbs, though in a way
exceptional ones.

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