

Title	The language of Lazamon's Brut (II)
Sub Title	
Author	岩崎, 春雄(Iwasaki, Haruo)
Publisher	慶應義塾大学藝文学会
Publication year	1966
Jtitle	藝文研究 (The geibun-kenkyu : journal of arts and letters). Vol.21, (1966. 4) ,p.115(18)- 132(1)
JaLC DOI	
Abstract	
Notes	
Genre	Journal Article
URL	<a href="https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00072643-00210001-0132">https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00072643-00210001-0132</a>

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# THE LANGUAGE OF LA3AMON'S *BRUT* (II)

Haruo Iwasaki

## GRAMMAR

1. This and the forthcoming articles will deal with the grammar of the language of Lazamon's *Brut*.<sup>(1)</sup> The investigation being restricted only to the first 3000 lines, the result would exclude many phenomena presented in the rest of the texts, and yet it might be of some help, it is hoped, to give a rough sketch of a transitional phase of the early thirteenth century English.

### Numerals

#### Cardinal

#### 2. a. *an*<sup>(2)</sup>

#### *Nominative*

C: *a* [26], *an* [14]

O: *a* [29], *an* [3], *on* [9]

2. b. In both texts *a* is the predominant form for the nominative case; this is always used before words beginning with a consonant. *An*, which comes from OE. *an*, is well preserved in the C-text, but it is giving way to *on* in the O-text. The C-text has eight examples of *an* out of eleven used before words beginning with a consonant, while the O-text has three examples of *an* or *on* out of seven thus used. The statistics show that the O-text is a step further towards Modern English.

The pronominal use of *an* or *on* is found in both texts: *pe an sloh pene obren* (1936) *pe on sloh pan oper*.

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(1) The text used is 'Lazamon: *Brut*' (ed. by G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, EETS 250, 1963). The numbers in brackets indicate frequency and those in parentheses indicate line-numbers.

(2) This is mainly adjectival and sometimes pronominal. It is therefore used as a numeral, an indefinite article and a pronoun.

## Genitive

2. c. C: *anes* [2], *ones* [1]

O: *ones* [1], *one* [1]

2. d. The genitive is quite infrequent in both texts. One of the only two examples in the O-text has even lost its inflexion: *one eze kinges dopter* (1108) (cf. C *anes halzes kinges dohter* (1108); the other is pronominal: *heo(re n)ames no herde ich neuere telle in bok no in spelle / bote pes ones name* (903-4) (C also has *pes anes name*).

## Objective<sup>(1)</sup>

2. e. C: *enne* [28], *anne* [9], *æne* [8]

*an* [9], *on* [1],<sup>(2)</sup> *a* [10]

*ane* [65], *ana* [3], *æne* [4]

*are* [19], *hare* [1], *ære* [1]

O: *anne* [15], *onne* [1]

*an* [4], *on* [11], *hon* [1], *a* [16]

*ane* [9], *one* [78]

2. f. The C-text has three variants from OE. asm. *anne*, i.e. *enne*, *anne*, and *æne*. These forms are mainly followed by masculine nouns<sup>(3)</sup> and are governed by verbs.<sup>(4)</sup> The corresponding forms in the O-text are *anne* and *onne*, but their frequency is considerably lower; they are always governed by verbs and are mainly followed by masculine nouns.<sup>(5)</sup>

*An* in the C-text is considered the descendant of OE. asn. *an* in that it is always governed by verbs and is chiefly followed by neuter nouns.<sup>(6)</sup> As regards *on* see the footnote on this page. The reduced form *a* is used as often. The O-text has the same three forms, but the first two, *an* and *on*, show a more complex phase: they are governed not only by verbs but also by prepositions, and

(1) The 'objective' includes the accusative and the dative; a distinction will be made when necessary.

(2) This is rather a doubtful example: *wrcen hire . . . on licnesse of rede golde* (635-6). It is an exceptional form in the C-text, and before feminine nouns, *ane* is more usual. It might be suggested that the line should go *onlicnesse* and not *on licnesse*.

(3) Except for *burh* (f) [1], *moder* (f) [1], *blase* (f) [1] and *hul* (mf) [1].

(4) The only prepositions used here are *bote* [3], *in* [2] and *on* [2].

(5) Except for *borh* [2] and *cheuteine* (OF) [1].

(6) Except for *castel* (m) [1] and *æð* (m) [1].

they are accompanied more often by masculine than by neuter nouns. It must also be noted that *a* is usually followed by neuter nouns in both texts.

*Ane* in the C-text has a double function: it is accompanied mainly by feminine nouns when it is governed by verbs,<sup>(1)</sup> and mainly by masculine and neuter nouns when governed by prepositions.<sup>(2)</sup> The former has its origin in OE. asf. *ane* and the latter in OE. dsmn. *anum*. The other two variant forms *ana* and *æne* are very infrequent. The O-text has *one* and *ane*, of which the former is predominant. When they are governed by verbs, they are followed not only by feminine nouns but also often by masculine nouns and sometimes by neuter nouns. When governed by prepositions, they are followed by nouns of all genders. Feminine nouns are very frequent here and the reason is that the form *one* completely supplanted the forms *are* and *ære*. These two forms, which come from OE. dsf. *anre*, are found only in the C-text and are always governed by prepositions.

The pronominal use of the above forms is not so frequent; both texts have three examples respectively: e.g. *pat nefde he næfer enne of alle his monnen* (1298) *pat nadde neuere anne of alle his manne*.

### 3. a. *twa*

C-text				O-text		
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	tweien [1] tweiene [1] tweie [1]	twa [2]	twa [4]	tweie [1] twei [1]	two [2]	two [3]
<i>Acc.</i>	tweine [1] tweiene [1] twene [1] tweize [1] tweie [1]	twa [3]	twa [1] tua [1] tueie [1]	twei [4] twey [1]	two [3]	two [1] tweie [1] twei [1]
		<i>all genders</i>			<i>all genders</i>	
<i>Gen.</i>				tweire [1], twei [1]		
<i>Dat.</i>		twam [4] twain [1] tuæin [1]		twei [3] two [2]		

3. b. *Twa* fairly well preserves the Old English inflexion in the C-text. The

(1) Except for *temple* (n) [1] and *Troy* [1].

(2) Except for *bachē* (?) [2], *half* (f) [1] and *stunde* (f) [1].

O-text has entirely abandoned *-n*, and the two forms, *twel(e)* and *two*, mainly prevail. The genitive *twelre*, contrary to expectation, is found only in the O-text, while *two* is beginning to appear in the dative.

The C-text has *twelre pusend cnihtes* (2791) besides *twa pusend rideres* (2740); in the former *twelre*, together with *pusend*, must have been felt an adjective modifying *cnihtes* (n.p.m.) and the latter example half preserves the Old English construction, but incidentally it is more like Modern English.

Both texts have *twa* to refer to more than one nouns that differ in gender: *pat deade weoren bo twa* (=the king and the horse) (1303) *pat dead iweren bop. two*.

*Twa* (or *two* in the O-text) is the sole form in *a-twa* (or *a-two* in the O-text).

4. a.	C-text	O-text
	preo [15], pre [5], pro [1], proe [1]	preo [15], pre [2]
	fewer [7], feower [3], feowre [1]	four [11], foure [1]
	feour [1], fouwer [1], fewere [1],	
	feur [1], feor [1], fower [1], four [1]	
	fif [8], fiue [2]	fif [8], fiue [2], viue [1]
	six [4], sexe [1]	six [4]
	seouen [7], seoue [8], soue [1]	seoue [5], soue [5], seue [5]
	æhte [1]	ehte [1]
	nizen [2], nihen [1]	nize [3], nizene [1]
	ten [3], tene [1]	ten [4]
	twelof [2], twelf [2], twelfe [2],	twelf [4], twealf [1], twelfe [1],
	tueolf [1], tweolfe [1], twelfa [1],	twelue [4]
	tweolue [1]	
	fiftene [3]	fiftene [2]
	sixtene [1]	sixtene [1]
	seouentene [2]	souentene [2]
	nizentene [1]	nizentene [1]
	twenti [9], tuenti [3]	twenti [10]
	pritti [9], priti [1], pirti [1],	pritti [8], prittie [1], .rittie [1]
	wirtti [1]	
	fewerti [7], feuwerti [2], fauwerti [1],	fourti [10], fourtie [1]
	fourti [1]	
	fifti [3], fihitie [1]	fifti [3]
	sixti [5]	sixti [5]
	hundred [17], hund [1]	hundred [17], vndred [1]

pusend [16], pusenð [1], pusement [1], pousend [5], pusend [14]  
 peosende [1]

4. b OE. *hund* (red) and *pusend* take the genitive, but in *Brut* they are usually used as adjectives, *mid fifti hundred cnihtes* (C&O 2942). *Monie pusend godere monnen* (C 2845) is rather an exceptional example. *An hundred punda* (C1770) leaves some doubt; the C-text also has *ten hundred punde* (2656) and *preo pusend punden* (2387).<sup>(1)</sup> Instead of the genitive they sometimes take an *of*-phrase: *many pousend of hire gode manne* (O 2845) They never take plural forms in the C-text, but the O-text has *p(o)usendes* twice (234, 882).

In numbers made up of tens and units, the units always precede, except for one interesting example in the O-text: *pis lond twenti ȝer and fwe he heold* (O 1386) (cf. *fullue fif and twenti ȝer* C 1386).

### Ordinal

5. a.	C-text	O-text
	forme [1], æreste [1], eæreste [1]	forme [1], ereste [1], forste [1]
	oper [3]	oper [3]
	pridde [3], pridda [1], pridden [1]	pridde [6]
	feorðe [1], feourðe [1], ferpe [1]	feorþ [1], feorpe [1]

5. b. For Modern English 'first', the C-text has two words and the O-text has three; which of them is the most usual it is difficult to say owing to the scarcity of examples. *Second* is not yet used in either of the texts.

### Pronouns

#### Personal<sup>(2)</sup>

#### Nominative

#### 6. a. First Person

C-text		O-text	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
<b>ich</b>	<b>we</b>	<b>ich</b>	<b>we</b>
ic [14]	weo [1]	hich [1]	
ihc [3]	ue [1]	i [1]	

(1) As may be seen here, *pusend* and *hundred* in the C-text sometimes seems to fluctuate between an adjective and a noun. See also 3. b.

(2) The predominant forms will be printed in gothic and frequency not shown.

iche [1]

i [1]

6. b. *Second Person*

C-text			O-text	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
pu	ʒit [6]	ʒe	pou	ʒe
pou [6]	ʒet [1]		pu [1]	ʒeo
peo [3]				
peu [1]				
peou [1]				
tu [2]				

6. c. *Third Person*

C-text			O-text	
	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>		
<i>Masc.</i>	he	<i>all genders</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	he
	heo [8]			a [5]
		heo		heo [2]
		ha [3]		hee [1]
		hi [3]		hi
				i [19]
<i>Neut.</i>	hit	he [1]	<i>Neut.</i>	hit
	it [1]	i [1]		heo [2]
				-et [1]
				a [1]
<i>Fem.</i>	heo		<i>Fem.</i>	ʒeo
	ho [1]			ʒe [10]
				heo [2]
				paie [1] <sup>(2)</sup>

6. d. The gender of nouns is beginning to be confounded already in the earlier text. *He* refers not only to masculine but also to feminine nouns in both texts: *C burh* (twice); *O stræt* (once) and *borh* (four times). *Burh* is more often referred to by *heo* (seven times) in the C-text, but only once in the O-text. The C-text rightly has *heo* for *stræt*. *Flod* (mn.) is masculine in the C-text, but neuter in the O-text: *pe al her a-quelde quic pat he fund* (11) *pat al ere acwelde cwic pat hit fund*. *Hul* (mf.) is referred to by *he* in both texts and may therefore be masculine.

In the C-text *hit* usually refers to neuter nouns and rarely to masculine or feminine nouns; only two examples: *gare* and *onlicnesse*. The O-text also has *hit* for these two nouns, and also for *castle* (once) and *borh* (once). Both texts have *hit* for *child* in line 1206: *pis child weox and wel ipeh and al folk hit wes*

(1) O 1641

(2) O 2116

*leof* (1206) *pis child wex and wel ipeh and alle men hit was leof*; but in line 152 it is replaced by *he* in the O-text: *pis child leuede and wel ipei and peweas hit lunede* (152) *pis child leuede and wel ipeh and peweas he louede*.

A man is often referred to by *hit* in a *swilc-* or *a(l)se-*clause, but in line 689 *hit* is replaced by *he* in the O-text: *swlc hit* (=Corineus) *weore an eotand* (689) *alse he were an eotande*.

### Objective

#### 6. e. First Person

C-text		O-text	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
<b>me</b>	<b>us</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>vs</b>
	ous [2]		hus [6]
			us [1]

#### 6. f. Second Person

C-text			O-text	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
<b>pe</b>	inc [4]	eow [11]	<b>pe</b>	<b>3ou</b>
		eou [6]	pee [1]	ou [4]
		3eow [1]		ow [1]
		ou [2]		
		oeu [1]		
		æu [1]		

#### 6. g. Third Person

C-text			O-text		
<i>M. acc.</i>	<b>hine</b>	<i>all genders</i>	<i>M. acc.</i>	<b>hine</b>	<i>all genders</i>
	hin [1]	<b>heom</b>		hene [2]	<b>heom</b>
	hene [1]	hem [16]		ine [1]	<b>3am</b>
	-ine [1] <sup>(1)</sup>	heo [7]		-ene[1] <sup>(2)</sup>	<b>ham</b>
<i>dat.</i>	<b>him</b>	ham [4]	<i>dat.</i>	<b>him</b>	him [7]
<i>N.</i>	<b>hit</b>	hom [1]	<i>N.</i>	<b>hit</b>	hem [2]
	it [1]	him [1]		-et [2] <sup>(4)</sup>	
	-et [1] <sup>(3)</sup>				

(1) and *hatine fare swi3e* (1774)

(2) He *makede anne riche borh and hehtene* Winchestre (1408)

(3) and *wite he alle is mon 3at he here haldet on* (1829)

(4) one *deal of his londe and settet on his honde* (983)

*i-3euet* (=lond) *mine two do3tren* (1582)



F. acc. **heo**  
 hoe [1]  
 dat. **hire**  
 here [1]  
 heore [2]

F acc. heo [1]  
 dat. **hire**  
 hure [1]

6. h. *Hine* refers to masculine nouns in the C-text, while in the O-text it also refers to feminine nouns: *stræt* (once) and *borh* (12 times). *Hul* (mf.) may safely be regarded as masculine; it is referred to by *hine* in both texts. *Mahun* is a foreign word and is treated as masculine: both texts have *he* for the nominative and *hine* for the objective. *Him* rarely refers to inanimate things in both texts; only one example: *ah scupte him (=lond) nome æfter him-seluan* (977) *ac sipte him name after him-seolue*.

Both texts have *hit* not only for neuter but also for masculine and feminine nouns: C *æð*, *castle*, *dale*, *horn*, *æhte*, *Bruttain*, *Rome*, *sibbe*, *speke* and O *castel*, *horn*, *borh*, *Brutain*, *flo*, *Rome*, *speche*.

*Here*, *hire* etc. always refer to feminine nouns in both texts, but *heo* is quite suppressed in the O-text and *hire* takes its place. *Borh*, for which the O-text has *hine*, is referred to by *heo* or *hire* seventeen times in the C-text, but only three times in the O-text.

#### Possessive<sup>(1)</sup>

##### 7. a. min

C-text

##### Singular

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	min [2] mi [14]	min [1] mi [4]	mi [5]
<i>Acc.</i>	minne [1] mine [7] min [1]	mine [2] mi [9]	mine [10] min [1]
<i>Gen.</i>	mines [1]		
<i>Dat.</i>	mine [9]	mine [16] min [1]	mire [12] mine [2] min [1]

(1) A few examples in which the gender of nouns cannot be determined are omitted.

*Plural*

<i>Nom.</i>	mine [16]	mine [1]
<i>Acc.</i>	mine [5]	mine [2]
<i>Dat.</i>	min [1]	mine [4]
		minen [1]

O-text

*Singular*

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	min [2] mi [10]	min. [1] mi [2]	mi [5]
<i>Acc.</i>	mine [6] min [3] mi [3]	mine [3] min [2] mi [6]	mine [11]
<i>Dat.</i>	mine [6]	mine [12] mi [3]	mine [7] min [1]

*Plural*

<i>Nom.</i>	mine [11]	mine [2] mi [1]
<i>Acc.</i>	mine [5]	mine [2]
<i>Dat.</i>	mine [5]	mine [6]

7. b. **pin**

C-text

*Singular*

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	pin [2] pi [7]	pine [2]	pine [1] pi [2]
<i>Acc.</i>	pinne[2] pine [5] pi [2]	pine [4] pina [1] pin [1] pi [3]	pine [7]
<i>Gen.</i>	pines [1] pine [1]		
<i>Dat.</i>	pine [4]	pine [3]	pire [10]

	pire [1] <sup>(1)</sup>	pire [1] <sup>(2)</sup>	pine [1] <sup>(3)</sup>
	<i>Plural</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	pine [2]		pine [1]
<i>Acc.</i>	pine [2]		pine [1]
<i>Dat.</i>	pine [3]		pire [1] <sup>(4)</sup>
O-text			
	<i>Singular</i>		
	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	pin [2]		pin [1]
	pi [8]		pi [1]
<i>Acc.</i>	pine [5]	pine [2]	pine [6]
	pin [1]	pin [1]	pin [3]
	pi [1]	pi [3]	
<i>Dat.</i>	pine [5]	pine [3]	pine [7]
	pin [1]		pin [1]
			pinen [1] <sup>(5)</sup>
	<i>Plural</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	pine [1]		pine [2]
<i>Acc.</i>	pine [2]	pine [1]	
<i>Gen.</i>	pine [1]		
<i>Dat.</i>	pine [3]		pine [2]

7. c. Already in the C-text *-n* is dropping off. These forms, *mi* and *pi* are most frequent in the nominative singular and then in the accusative singular neuter. The C-text has no examples of *mi* or *pi* in the dative singular, while the O-text has three. *Minne*, *mines*, *mire*, *minen*; *pinne*, *pines*, *pire* are not found in the O-text, but it has *pinen* once. In the plural *mine* and *pine* are the predominant forms in both texts, but the O-text has one example of *mi*. *Mi* and *pi* are not yet used with words beginning with a vowel.

Both texts have the pronominal use of *mine* and *pin* only once respectively:

- 
- (1) C 2504  
 (2) C 2185  
 (3) C 2462  
 (4) C 2337  
 (5) O 790

*swa ich wille mine* (340) *so ich wole mine*; *pin is pat beste deal* (1496) *pm sal beo pat beste deal*.

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 7. d. OE. ure     | C-text: <b>ure</b> , oure [7], vre [5], ore [1], uren [1]<br>O-text: heure [17], hure [10], oure [6], vre [4], hour [2]                           |
| 7. e. OE. eower   | C-text: eower [5], eowre [5], ore[2], eouer[1], eouwer[1],<br>eoure [1], eore [1]<br>O-text: ȝoure [14]   |
| 7. f. OE. uncer   | C-text: unker [1]   |
| 7. g. OE. incer   | C-text: incer [1], inkere [1]   |
| 7. h. OE. his     | C-text: <b>his</b> , is, hiis [4], hes [1]<br>O-text: <b>his</b>  |
| 7. i. OE. hi(e)re | C-text: <b>hire</b> , heore[4], heora[1], hiire[1], hira[1], hir[1]<br>O-text: <b>hire</b> , hure [1], heore [1]                                  |
| 7. j. OE. hi(e)ra | C-text: <b>heora</b> , <b>heore</b> , here [14], her [1], hora [1],<br>hire [1], heoræ [1], heoren [1]<br>O-text <b>hire</b> , heore [2], hir [1] |

7. k. *His* rarely refers to inanimate things; it is used in this way only once in the O-text: *Of þan ilke flode þe king his (=borh) name funde* (1994).

*His* has a peculiar function in the O-text; it serves as the possessive ending -es: e.g. *Locrines mæx eode suð and east forð* (1067) *Locrin his mer eode sup forþ*; *bi Corineus siden* (731) *bi Corineus his side*. This is usually the case with personal names and rarely with place names or ordinary nouns; it occurs only once in each case: *þe wes Wales lauwerd* (1929) *Wales his louwerd*; *swa monnes fader scolde* (1740) *so man his fader solde*. An interesting example of a double possessive is found in line 107: *Priames kinges dohter* (107) *king Priames his doh . . r*.

The above forms (7. d.—7. j.) are not used pronominally except for *heore*(pl.) [1], *heora*(pl.) [1] and *heoren*(pl.) [1] in the C-text: e.g. *heora eiper wilnada oðer to wælden* (948) (cf. *O aiper wilnede oþer bringge to deape*).

## Demonstratives and Definite Article

### Nominative Singular

- |       |                            |          |
|-------|----------------------------|----------|
| 8. a. | C-text                     | O-text   |
|       | þe [225]                   | þe [212] |
|       | pat [66], þet [6], þæt [1] | pat [56] |
|       | þeo [6], þa [48]           |          |

pes [7]

pes [4]

pis [23]

pis [27]

peos [4], pas [4]

peos [3]

8. b. The old *s-* forms do not occur in either of the texts. Both texts have *pe* for the nominative singular masculine, but in the C-text it is sometimes, and in the O-text it is more often, followed by neuter and feminine nouns.

The C-text has *pat*, *pet* and *pæt* for the nominative singular neuter, while the O-text has *pat* only. Both texts have only a few examples with masculine and feminine nouns.

For the nominative singular feminine the C-text has *peo* and *pa*, of which the latter is predominant. The former can be traced back to OE nsf. *seo*, the initial sound being the analogical substitution. From the fact that the form *peo* refers to *mōder*, *wifmon* and *mæiden* it is rightly inferred that there is a shift of grammatical to natural gender in the last two nouns. As regards the form *pa* it might be suggested that the form comes from OE. asf. *pa* and has to a great extent encroached upon the standard form *peos*, thus a simpler paradigm being eventually intended. *pa* is most commonly followed by feminine nouns, but it is used with masculine nouns as well, which suggests that *pa* and *pe* were probably pronounced much alike.<sup>(1)</sup>

There is little to be noted as regards *pes* and *pis* in the C-text; the former has its origin in OE nsm. *pes* and the latter in OE. nsn. *pis*. They are followed by masculine and neuter nouns respectively with few exceptions.

Just as in the case of *peo* and *pa*, there is a conflict between the two forms *peos* and *pas*, which come from OE. nsf. *peos* and asf. *pas* respectively. It is *peos*, however, as will be seen later, that survives and encroaches upon other forms.

The O-text has, as may well be expected, much fewer forms. It has *pe* for the nominative singular masculine and feminine, *peo* and *pa* being completely supplanted by this form, and *pat* for the neuter. For Modern English 'this' there exist *pes*, *pis* and *peos* for each gender.

Of the above forms the following are used pronominally: C *pat* [12], *peo* [1], *pes* [1], *pis* [7]; O *pat* [6], *pis* [8].

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(1) On the other hand there is evidence against this: *pa*+adj. or pron. or numeral always refers to female persons, and *pe*+adj. or pron. or numeral always to male persons.

### Nominative Plural

8. c. C-text: *pa* [95], *pe* [23], *pæ* [1], *peo* [8], *po* [1]

*pas* [8], *pæs* [2], *pis* [1], *peos* [12]

O-text: *pa* [1], *pe* [101], *peo* [1]

*pis* [2], *peos* [15]

8. d. There are only a few points to be noted: first, *pa* in the C-text is almost completely supplanted by *pe* in the O-text; second, here again is found the conflict between *peo* and *pa*, and *peos* and *pas*. In the former case it ends in the overwhelming victory of *pa* (*pe* in the O-text) over *peo*. In the latter case *peos* predominates in the C-text, and finally in the O-text it is almost completely established as the sole nominative plural case.

Both texts have the pronominal use of the above forms: C *peo* [5], *pis* [1], *peos* [3]; O *pis* [1], *peos* [4].

### Genitive Singular

8. e. C-text

*pes* [26], *pæs* [2], *pas* [2]

*pere* [5], *pare* [1]

*pan* [1]

*pa* [1]

*pisses* [1], *pisse* [1], *pis* [1]

*peos* [6]

O-text

*pes* [2], *pas* [3]

*pare* [1]

*pane* [1], *pan* [2], *pat* [1]

*pe* [8]

*pis* [11]

*peos* [5]

8. f. *pes*, which is the predominant form for the genitive singular masculine and neuter in the C-text, is quite suppressed in the O-text. It is often replaced in the O-text by *pis* (5 times), *pe* (4 times), *peos* (3 times) and *pat* (once). The feminine forms *pere* and *pare* are also suppressed in the O-text. Here, as in other cases, the indeclinable forms are beginning to be established. It is interesting to note that *peos*, which serves as the nominative singular and plural, is also found here.

The definite article is usually put in the genitive agreeing with the noun (A) with which it is associated, and not with the noun (B) on which it depends. But sometimes it seems that the definite article agrees with the noun B: e. g. *for pan weorlde's scome* (226) *for pane worles same*; <sup>(1)</sup> *at pan kinges fote* (O 2688); *for pan kinges bode* (O 1393).

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(1) *Scome* can be traced back to OE *scamu* (f), but in *Brut* it is treated as masculine; cf. *Ne do þu neuere pane scome* (2509) *Ne do þo(u me) . . . re pane same*.

### Genitive Plural

8. g. C-text: *pare* [2], *pere* [3]

*pisse* [1], *pes* [2]

O-text: *pare* [1], *pe* [1]

*pis* [3], *pissere* [1]

8. h. The C-text has *pare* and *pere* from OE. *para*, and *pisse* from OE. *pissa*. *pare* appears only once in the O-text; it has no examples of *pisse*, but it has *pissere* instead. On the whole the C-text follows the West-Saxon model more closely, but the examples are not abundant enough to allow a definite conclusion.

In line 890 the O-text has an *of*-phrase for the genitive in the C-text; and *pere Freinsce monnen þe i þon feht forworðen* (890) and *of þe Frence menne þat weren in þan fipte*.

### Objective Singular

8. i. C-text

*pene* [53], *þeone* [2], *þænne* [1], *penne* [1]

*pane* [20], *pone* [3], *þanne* [2], *þen* [18], *þeon* [4], *þæn* [1], *þon* [71]

*pat* [79], *pet* [9], *þæt* [1]

*þa* [37], *þæ* [2]

*þe* [21], *þea* [1]

*þare* [21], *pere* [30], *þære* [5], *þera* [1], *þer* [2]

*pisne* [2], *pesne* [2]

*pis* [59], *pes* [1], *pæs* [1]

*pas* [13], *þeos* [4]

*pissen* [6], *pisse* [32]

*pissere* [8]

O-text

*pane* [63]

*pan* [67]

*pat* [76]

*þe* [84]

*pare* [24], *þar* [1]

*þ-* [4]

*pisne* [4]

*pis* [54]

pes [9]

pas [1], peos [5]

pisse [37]

8. j. From a functional point of view the first four forms in the C-text serve as the accusative masculine and the next eight<sup>(1)</sup> as the dative masculine and neuter, except for *pane*, which has a double function. All these forms<sup>(2)</sup> are reduced to two forms in the O-text: *pane* for the accusative masculine and *pan* for the dative masculine and neuter.

There is little to be noted as regards *pat*, *pet*, *pæt* in the C-text and *pat* in the O-text; they follow the West-Saxon model fairly closely.

The C-text has *pa* and *pæ* mainly for the accusative feminine, but the O-text has entirely discarded these forms. This is a phenomenon parallel to that in the nominative plural.

There are several forms in the C-text from OE. dsf. *pære*, but only two forms, *pare* and *par*, survive in the O-text, the latter being rather exceptional.

*pe* is found in both texts, but it has a few peculiarities in the C-text; first, it is seldom accompanied by neuter nouns; second, it usually takes feminine nouns when it is governed by transitive verbs and masculine nouns when governed by prepositions. A similar phenomenon has been observed in case of *ane* (See 2 f.). This suggests, as has been noted in 8. b., that *pe* and *pa*, a weakened form from OE. asf. *pa*, were probably pronounced much alike. *pe* is by far more frequent in the O-text and it is accompanied by nouns of all genders. The high frequency of feminine nouns may be accounted for by the fact that *pa* is entirely replaced by *pe*.

OE. asm. *pisne* and asn. *pis* are preserved in both texts, but the former is not frequent. The C-text has again *pas* and *peos* in conflict, but both serve, with *pes* and *pæs*, as the accusative singular neuter as well. These forms, except for *pæs*, are preserved in the O-text and more often construed with neuter nouns than with feminine nouns.

Of the three forms *pissen*, *pisse* and *pissere* in the C-text *pisse* is the one to survive in the O-text, the other two forms being mostly replaced by this form.

Both texts have the pronominal use of the above forms: C *pon* [2], *pat* [6],

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(1) Of these forms *pone*, *panne* and *pæn* are not followed by neuter nouns.

(2) They are rarely followed by feminine nouns in the C-text, whereas in the O-text *pane* has four examples with feminine nouns and *pan* has 13 examples used in this way.



*pet* [2], *pis* [14]; O *pan* [2], *pat* [5], *pis* [14], *pisse* [1].

### *Objective Plural*

#### 8. k. C-text

*pa* [94], *pe* [15], *pæ* [3], *peo* [4], *pea* [2]  
*pan* [33], *pon* [23], *pen* [9], *pane* [4], *pone* [1], *peine* [1]  
*pere* [1]  
*pas* [22], *peos* [8], *pes* [2], *pæs* [1], *pis* [1]  
*pisse* [2]

#### O-text

*pe* [79], *peo* [1], *po* [1], *p-* [1], *paie* [1]<sup>(1)</sup>  
*pan* [32]  
*par* [1]  
*peos* [21], *pes* [6], *pis* [4]

8. 1. The C-text has mainly *pa* and *pe* for the accusative, and *pon* and *pan* for the dative; *pe* and *pan* become the predominant forms in the O-text.

For Modern English 'these' the C-text has *pas* and *peos* in the accusative and *pisse* in the dative, while in the O-text *peos* becomes the predominant form for both functions. All these phenomena have a striking similarity to some of those seen above.

### *Instrumental Singular*

9. a. C-text: *pe* [20], *pa* [13], *pi* [1], *pon* [3], *pan* [1]

O-text: *pe* [25], *pi* [1], *pan* [4]

9. b. *pe* and *pa* are used with adjectives in the comparative, and *pi*, *pon* and *pan* to form a conjunction phrase such as *for pi*, *for pon pe*.

### **Reflexive**

#### 10. a. *First Person*

##### C-text

*Sing.* (1) *me seolf* [1] (Subj.<sup>(2)</sup> [1])  
*me suluen* [3], *me seoluen* [1], *me seoluan* [1] (V.<sup>(3)</sup> [2], Prep.<sup>(4)</sup> [3])

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(1) O 2262

(2) Subj.= (used as a) Subject.

(3) V.= (used as the object of a) Verb.

(4) Prep.= (used as the object of a) Preposition.

(2) *mi self* [1] (Subj. [1])

*Pl.* *vs sulve* [1], *vs selve* [1] (Subj. [2])

*us seoluen* [1] (V. [1])

**O-text**

*Sing.* (1) *me silue* [1] (Prep. [1])

(2) *mi seolf* [1] (Subj. [1])

*mi seolue* [6] (Subj. [1], V. [2], Prep. [3])

*Pl.* *hus seolf* [2] (Subj. [2])

*vs seolue* [1], *hus seolue* [1] (V. [2])

**10. b. Second Person**

**C-text**

*Sing.* *pu seolf* [1] (Subj. [1])<sup>(1)</sup>

*pe seoluen* [1] (V. [1])

*Dual* *inc seluen* [1] (V. [1])

*Pl.* *eow seluen* [1] (Subj. [1])

**O-text**

*Sing.* *pi seolf* [2] (Subj. [2])

*pi silue* [1] (V. [1])

*Pl.* *ʒou seolue* [1] (V. [1])

**10. c. Third Person**

**C-text**

*Masc. Sg.* *hine sulne* [1], *hine seulfne* [1] (V. [2])

*hine silue* [1] (V. [1])

*him seolf* [9], *him self* [3], *him sulf* [1] (Subj. [13])

*him seolfue* [1], *him seolfe* [1], *him seoluen* [1], *him selua* [1],

*him seluan* [1], *him seoluen* [1], *him seoluan* [4],

*him suluen* [2] (V. [2], Prep. [8], 'to' <sup>(2)</sup> [1])

*Fem. Sg.* *hire sculuen* [1], *hire seoluen* [1], *hire suluen* [1] (V. [2], 'to' [1])

*Plural* *heo seolf* [1] (Subj. [1])<sup>(3)</sup>

*heom seolf* [1] (Subj. [1])

*heom seoluan* [1] (V. [1])

**O-text**

*Masc. Sg.* *him seolf* [13], (Subj. [11], V. [1], 'to' [1])

*him seolue* [13], *him silue* [1] (V. [4], Prep. [10])

*Fem. Sg.* *hire seolue* [1] ('to' [1])

*Plural* *ham seolue* [3] (V. [2], Prep. [1])

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(1) C 1594

(2) 'to' = used as in Modern English 'to himself' etc.

(3) C 2988

10. d. *Se(o)lf* is usually associated with the oblique cases of personal pronouns. There are only two examples with the nominative in the C-text and none in the O-text. In the first and second person singular the O-text mainly has the genitive, as in Modern English, whereas the dative predominates in the C-text. The form with *hine* is no longer used in the O-text.

When it is used as a subject, *se(o)lf* is the usual form especially in the singular. The inflected forms are usually used as the objects of verbs and prepositions.

*Se(o)lf* directly associated with a noun is quite infrequent: only two examples in the C-text, e. g. *pe king su[l]f hine for-ȝef* (2132). It is also used as an adjective: *pat peos sulfes leafdi leoflice bi-heold* (O 614). All the other examples present an interesting word order:<sup>(1)</sup> *mid seoluen hire claðen* (1592) *mid seolue hire cloping; bi seoluen his quene* (C 1305) etc.

(To be continued.)

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(1) This word order will be discussed in another article.