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Indefinite Pronoun *man* in the Transitional Period[1]

Misato Hori

1. Introduction

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) an indefinite pronoun *man*[2] became obsolete in the fifteenth century, when it was replaced by an indefinite pronoun *one*,[3] but neither clear reasons why *man* died out nor its uses in detail have been revealed by any authorities of medieval English. Rissanen (1967) closely investigates the uses of an indefinite pronoun *one* in medieval English, but it is true that he just refers to an indefinite pronoun *man* in a few pages of his study.[4] My investigation aims to pursue the course of the demise of *man* and to find the reasons how and why it became obsolete. Particularly, the texts of the transitional period are worth examining because they make it possible to observe changes of the uses of *man* from Old to Middle English. This paper describes the frequent uses of *man* in the transitional period and shows that the grammatical environment around *man* starts changing.

Grammatically speaking, Mitchell (1985: §§363-376) states that an indefinite pronoun *man* occurs with a third person singular form of the verb, and it can be periphrasis for the passive voice as Campbell (1959: §723) states. I collect the examples of *man* which occur with no articles nor adjectives to differentiate from a noun *man*.

The corpora examined in this paper are the *Peterborough Chronicle*, *Homilies* from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343[5] and *Homilies* from London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian D. xiv.,[6] the *Lambeth Homilies* and the *Trinity Homilies*. The manuscripts which contain the *Lambeth* and the *Trinity Homilies* were made in the thirteenth century, but their composition dates back to the transitional twelfth century.[7] The *Dictionary*

of *Old English Web Corpus* (the *DOEC*) contains the first three texts. The *Lambeth* and the *Trinity Homilies* are not contained in the *DOEC*, but they are also examined because of their language regarded as Old English showing some features of Middle English. These texts are put chronologically according to their composition date offered by the *OED3*, *MED* and Laing's *Catalogue* (1993).

2. Indefinite Pronoun *man* in the *Peterborough Chronicle*

The *Peterborough Chronicle*, the E-text, is the latest version of the five substantial manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It preserves the first stage of the linguistic change from Old to Middle English.[8] After the preface, the annals continue from 60 BC to 1154, which were copied in the twelfth century.[9] In addition, the *Peterborough Chronicle* has the twenty local insertions called the Peterborough Interpolations particularly relating to Peterborough. The E-text can be linguistically divided into three parts,[10] but this study deals with the whole text as one, referring to the annals.

The following examples from (1) to (5) are quoted because they can be regarded as the typical uses of the *man*-construction in the *Chronicle*. In the E-text *man* tends to be used particularly with verbs of calling, killing and consecrating. It means that the situations in which *man* can be employed are restricted to some extent.

(1) ChronE (Irvine) 37.13 (746)[11]

Her *man sloh Selred cining*.

'In this year *King Selred was killed*.'

(2) ChronE (Irvine) 16.24 (449)

Of Iotum comon Cantwara ⁊ Wihtwara, þet is seo megð þe nu eardaþ on Wiht, ⁊ þet cyn on Westsexum e man nu git hæt Iutnacynn.

'From the Jutes the people of Kent and of the Isle of Wight came, that is the kinsman who now inhabits the Isle of Wight, and the kin in Wessex *which is now called the race of the Jutes*.'

(3) ChronE (Irvine) 19.7 (519)[12]

Her Certic ⁊ Kynric onfengon Westseaxna rice, ⁊ þi ilcan geare hi gefuhton wið Bryttas *er man nu nemna Certicesford;* ⁊ siððan rixadon Westseaxna cynebarn of þam dæge.

'In this year Cerdic and Cynric received the West-Saxon kingdom, and in the same year they fought against the Britons *at a place which is now called Charford*; and afterwards the royal child of the West-Saxons ruled it from the day.'

Stylistically speaking, as mentioned in the introduction, the *man*-construction can be alternative to the passive construction. (4) and (5) illustrate that the *man*-construction is stylistically useful in changing the grammatical structure. (4) illustrates the structure *man ofsloh* preceding the passive construction *wes Labienus gehaten*. In (5) it is noticeable that the A-text, the *Parker Chronicle*, has the same content, which uses the passive construction, while the *Peterborough Chronicle* uses the *man*-construction.

(4) ChronE (Irvine) 3.25 (60BC) [13]

⁊ þa hi ærost togedore geræsdon, þa *man ofsloh es caseres gerefan se wes Labienus gehaten.*

'and when they first rushed together, then *the reeve of the emperor, who was called Labienus, was killed.*'

(5) ChronE (Irvine) 36.14 (731)

⁊ þy ilcan geare *man gehalgode Tatwine to ærcebiscop*, seo wæs ær in Mercum preost in Breodune; hine halgodan Daniel Wæntan biscop ⁊ Ingwald Lunden biscop ⁊ Aldwine Licetfelda biscop ⁊ Aldulf Rofesceastre biscop die .x. Iunii mensis.

'And in the same year *Tatwine was consecrated as an archbishop*, who was a priest in Breedon in Mercia; Daniel the bishop of Winchester, and Ingwold the bishop of London, and Ealdwine the bishop of Lichfield, and Eadwulf the bishop of Rochester ordained him on 10th June.'

Cf. ChronA (Bately) 35.14 (731)

⁊ þy ilcan geare *Tatwine (⁊) wæs gehalgod* to ærcebiscope.

'and in the same year *Tatwine was ordained* as an archbishop.'

Morphologically speaking, it is notable that the weakened form *me* started to be used as an indefinite pronoun in the *Peterborough Chronicle*.[14] The E-text has 11 examples of *me*.

The form *me* slightly differs from the uses of the form *man*, because, as examined previously, *man* tends to occur in the limited situations such as a battle field and an introduction of place-names, while the form *me* does not show the same tendency as (6), (7) and (8) illustrate.

(6) ChronE (Irvine) 134.22 (1137) [15]

Me henged up bi the fet ⁊ smoked heom mid ful smoke. *Me henged* bi the þumbes other bi the hefed ⁊ hengen bryniges on her fet. *Me dide cnotted strenges* abuton here hæued ⁊ uurythen it ðat it gæde to þe hærnes.

'*They* (villains) *hung them* (people) up by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke. *They hung them* by the thumbs or by the head, and hung coats of mail on their feet. *They put knotted cords* around their heads and twisted it so that it went in to the brain.'

(7) ChronE (Irvine) 116.27 (1110)

 ises geares *me began ærost to weorcenne* on þam niwan mynstre on Ceortesæge.

'In this year *people first began to work on* the new monastery in Chertsey.'

(8) ChronE (Irvine) 137.8 (1140)

Þa feorden þe wise men betwyx þe kinges freond ⁊ te eorles freond ⁊ sahtlede sua ðat *me sculde leten ut e king of prisun* for þe eorl ⁊ te eorl for þe king, ⁊ sua diden.

'Those wise men went between the king's friends and the earl's friends went and they reconciled in order that *the king should be released out of the prison* in exchange for the earl, and the earl for the king, and they did so.'

The Peterborough Interpolations, added in the later period, show a characteristic use of *man* in introducing place-names. A verb *cleopian* is frequently used in the *man*-construction. The *man+cleope* (present tense) combination appears in 10 examples, all of which are found in the Peterborough Interpolations; therefore, it is possible to consider that the combination is one of distinctive characteristics of the interpolations, or of the later period.

(9) ChronE (Irvine) 28.1 (656)

Ðas is se gife: fram Medeshamstede to Norðburh, ⁊ swa to *et stede et man cleope Folies*,

⁊ swa æl se feon riht to Esendic, ⁊ fra Esendic to *et steode e man cleope Fe ermu e*.

'These are the gifts: from Medeshamstede to Norðburh, and as to *the place which is called Folies*, and as all the fen right to Asendyke, and from Asendyke to *the place which is called Fethermud*.'

(10) ChronE (Irvine) 32.7 (675)

Ða heot seo kining þone ærcebiscop Theodorus þet he scolde setton ealle gewitene mot *æt one stede et man cleope Heatfelde*.

'Then the king ordered the archbishop Theodore to set a meeting of all wise men *at the place which is called Heatfelde*.'

In the *Peterborough Chronicle* an indefinite pronoun *man* is still frequently used, although the weakened form *me*, though infrequent, started to appear. *Man* tends to be used particularly in limited situations, that would be one of reasons, for which it became obsolete. The *man*-construction is used effectively as an alternative to the passive construction.

3. Indefinite Pronoun *man* in *Homilies* from London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian D. xiv.

An indefinite pronoun *man* (including the form *mann*[16]) appears 34 times and the weakened form *me* is used 6 times in the texts examined in this section.

As seen in the following examples, the uses of *man* are found in a certain situation to explain abstract concepts. (11) and (12) have a similar construction by using the *man*-construction within a æt-clause, when *[s]e so e wisedom* and Latin *Temperantia* are expounded.

(11) Alc (Warn 35) 91.27

Se soðe wisedom is, þ *man fram deofles þeowdome gewite*, ⁊ his synne forlæte.

'The true wisdom is that *one departs from devil's slavery*, and abandons his sin.'

(12) ÆAbus (Warn) 17.28

An is '*Temperantia*,' þ is 'gemetegung' on Ænglisc, þ *man beo gemetegod*, ⁊ to mycel ne þygge on æte ⁊ on wæte, ne ær time ne gereordie.

(5)

'One is *Temperantia*, which is temperance in English, that *one is moderated*, and does not have too much in food and in water, nor feasts too early.'

(13) uses the form *mann*, but it should be interpreted as an indefinite pronoun in the light of the context, that is a biblical story known generally and widely. It is noticeable that *man* occurs with *sæg* (the present form of *secgan* 'to say').[17]

(13) Notes 26.2 (Först) 199.26
Mann sæg , æt fram þan time, þe ærest Adam gescapen wæs, oððe Cristes tocyme, wæron agane fif þusend and fif hundred and fif-and-twentig geare, swa-swa writen seggeð.
'*It is said that* from the time when Adam was created, or Christ's coming, there were five thousand and five hundred and twenty five years, as a writing says.'

(14) has two examples of the form *me*. In these examples the first *me* occurs with an auxiliary *scolde* (the third person singular, in the subjunctive mood, past tense) in the context of commanding, and the second *me* follows.

(14) LS 11 (James) 24.1
He het þa þ *me hine beheafdigen scolde*, Ꝼ þa þa *me hine to beheafdunge lædde*.
'He commanded then that *he should be beheaded*, and then *he was to be brought to beheading*.'

In the texts contained in Vespasian D. xiv. the number of occurrences of *man* is small, and its uses are likely to be limited to the situations where abstract conceptions and general knowledge widely known are explained. As seen in (14), the form *me* even shows its general use. Stylistically speaking, neither *man* nor *me* has a use alternative to the passive voice.

4. Indefinite Pronoun *man* in *Homilies* from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343

The texts examined in this section have 36 examples of an indefinite pronoun *man* (*mon*) and 3 of the weakened form *me*. In (15) the *man*-construction is used in a context to explain *[r] iht ileafæ* and *[ ]e hiht*. (16) also uses the *man*-construction in a context of an explanation

about three kinds of alms.

(15) HomS 15 (Belf 6) 50.4

Riht ileafæ is þ *mon ilyfe on Fǽder ⁊ on Sune ⁊ on Haliȝne Gast*, ---þ heo ne beo[n] ná ðreo Godæs, ac is án Almihtiȝ God, þe ðe scéop héofenæs, ⁊ eorðan, ⁊ sæ, ⁊ allæ þa ðing ðe on þam bið. Þe hiht is þ *mon hopiȝe to   am ecen life*, ⁊ on þam unaseȝendlice méde þe Drihten hæfð ihaten ælc þare ðe mid gode willæ ⁊ mid gode dedæ his wille wurcæð hér on worulde.

'Right faith is that *one believes in Father and Son and the Holy Ghost*, that it is not three Gods but it is one Almighty God, who created heaven and the earth, and the sea, and all the things which are in them. The hope is that *one hopes for the eternal life*, and for the unspeakable reward which the Lord has promised to each of those who perform his will with good will and with good deeds here in the world.'

(16) HomS 15 (Belf 6) 58.5

Þeo ælmes is ðreoræ cynne; án is lichamlic, ---þ *mon   am   earfum sylle   æt to gode maȝe*; ⁊ þa twá beoð gastlice. Oþer is þ *mon forȝife   am* ðe wið him aȝyltæð. Oþer þ *mon   one unwisæn ⁊   one dwelliȝendan   reaȝe* ⁊ hine to rihte wæȝe cyrre.

'The alms are three kinds; one is bodily, that *what can be good is given to the needy*; and the other two are spiritual. One is that *one forgives those* who commit sin against him. The other is that *one punishes the foolish man and the erroneous man*, and changes him to the right way.'

(17) illustrates that *man* occurs with an auxiliary *sculan*. (18) also uses the *man+sculan* combination. Both instances show a kind of rules which should be generally kept.

(17) HomS 15 (Belf 6) 50.29

Æfter þare andetnesse *mon sceal underfon dǽdbote*.

'After the confession *one should undertake repentance*.'

(18) ÆHomM 7 (Irv 2) 189

Ac Augustinus us sægð ðæt *mon steoræn sceal his agen(um) child(e)* mid æge and mid lufe, hwilon mid wordum, hwilon mid swingelum, gif he ælles ne mæg his dysig alecgæn.

'But Augustine says us that *one should steer his own child* with fear and with love, for a time with words, at times with scourging, if he cannot suppress his error at all.'

In (19) the *man*-construction appears twice in the forms *mon* and *me*.

(19) ÆHomM 1 (Bel 9) 84.29

ꝺ gif ᴣe þaræ gode cyðon, ᴣe sceolden ilome gán to þam halᴣe husle eowre sawle to hæle, swá swá *mon de   gehwær þær ðe   me wæl halt   one cristendom*.

'and if you knew the good, you should go to the holy communion frequently to heal your soul, just as *done* at every place where *the Christianity is kept well*.'

(20) attests to the combination *man*+a verb of saying *cwe an*.[18]

(20) ÆHomM 2 (Irv 3) 137

Man cwæ   on bocum ᴣehu be þissum bearnteame, þæt ᴣehwa beo icwædon þæs sunæ þe he folᴣæð: *Filius diaboli, filius iniquitatis, filius uindicte, filius gehenne, et his similia*, þæt is, he is deofles sunu, ðe þe deofles weorc wyrcð, and unrihtwisnesse sunu, ðe þe unrihtlice leofæð.

'*It is said in books* in some way about this offspring that everyone has said about this son whom he follows: *Filius diaboli, filius iniquitatis, filius uindicte, filius gehenne, et his similia*, that is, he is a devil's son, who commits devil's deed, and unrighteous son, who lives unrighteously.'

5.   Indefinite Pronoun *man* in the *Lambeth Homilies*

In the *Lambeth Homilies* an indefinite pronoun *man* appears 24 times, *me* 48 times and the form *men* is used once. It is notable that the occurrence of the form *me* outnumbers *man*. The number of examples of *me* increased as Table 1 shows. It is necessary to note that the grammatical environment around *man* changed in the last quarter of the twelfth century, when the *Homilies* were composed according to Laing (1993: 111). *Man* basically occurs with a third person singular form of the verb, but the ambiguous verb form does not show clearly whether the *man* is indefinite or not. I collect examples which have the spelling *man*, *me* and *men* even in the case that the verb form is ambiguous. The grammatical ambiguity

should also be mentioned as a characteristic seen in the transitional period.

Man is still frequently used in certain situations as seen in the following examples. (21) uses *man* in a   *æt*-clause.

(21) LambHom 49.3

for seint gregori seið. *Melius est uiam ueritatis non agnoscere; quam post agnitam retroire*. Betre hit is þet *mon ne iknawe noht* þe wei to godalmihtin þe he hine icnawe and seodðe hine for-hoȝie;

'for St Gregory says, "Melius est uiam ueritatis non agnoscere; quam post agnitam retroire", It is better that *one should not know at all the way* to Almighty God than that he knows Him and then despises Him;'

(22) and (23) illustrate that the *man*-construction is used in a context to explain a Latin word *Largitas* in the former and *almesse* in the latter.

(22) LambHom 105.11

Þe þridde mihte is. *Largitas*. þet is custinesse on englisc þet *mon wisliche spene   a   ing* þe him god lene on þisse liue to brukene. and noht for world ȝelpe.

'The third virtue is *Largitas*, that is "liberality" in English, that *one should wisely spend things* which God gives him to enjoy in this life, not for worldly vainglory.'

(23) LambHom 111.4

Al þis bið almesse and ec þet *mon biswinke   ene stunte lichome* for steore þe þe steoran scal for þet is mildheortnesse. þet þe wisa mon mid steore þene unwisan irihleche.

'All this is alms and also that *one should produce the obstinate body* with labour for spiritual correction which would guide for that is mercy, so that the wise man corrects the unwise man with the correction.'

In (24) the use which has been typically found from the Old English period can be observed. This example contains two examples of the form *me* used to introduce of a proper noun and its meaning.

(24) LambHom 5.6 [19]

Osanna filio dauid benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini. þet is he is iblesced þe þe her
cumet on drihtenes nome. Þus ha hine hereden a þe þe rad in et þan est ʒete þere burh þet ʒet
me hat. *Speciosa porta*. þet his þet faire ʒet *me hat hit*
'*Osanna filio dauid benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini*, means that he who comes here is blessed
in the name of God. Thus they praised him and he rode on the east gate of the city which *is still called*
Speciosa porta, that means the beautiful gate and *it is still called so*'

      (25) shows that the *man*-construction can be alternative to the passive voice. The
combination *me hem spille* precedes the passive construction *heo beon ispilled* by using the
same verb *spillan*.

(25) LambHom 17.2 [20]

hit is riht þet *me hem spille*. forþan betere hit is þet heo beon ispilled of heore licome þenne
mid alle fordon to þes deofles hond.
'it is right that *they are punished*, because it is better they are punished from their body than with all
destroyed to the devil's hand.'

      It is necessary to note that the form *men* started to be used as an indefinite pronoun
as seen in (26). The verb *fulie* can be regarded as a singular verb. The indefinite pronoun
man occurs with a singular form of the verb in theory, but, as the *OED3* [21] attests the same
example, the form *men* is also used as an indefinite pronoun with a singular form of the verb
in the transitional period, although its frequency is quite low.

(26) LambHom 33.17

For godes luue gað to scriffte of alla eower sunne. for þah ʒe gan of sunne ower sunne to
bote. and ʒe nulleð forleten hordomes. and ʒifernesse and druncnesse. ne halt nawiht þat
scrift. and þis beot þa twa sunne þe *men fulie* alra swi est. and weneð þet hit ne beo na
sunne bute he habbe scrift.
'For God's love goes to the confession of all your sins, for though you go from sins over sins to
salvation, and you will not abandon adultery and greediness and drunkenness, nor any one has that

confession. These are the two sins which *people very commonly follow* and think that it is not a sin unless he would have a confession.'

In summary the *Lambeth Homilies* have a tendency to use *man*, which appears in explanations of abstract ideas and rules to keep. The most important point is that the grammatical environment around *man* changed, and it is not clear whether the form *men* is an indefinite pronoun or a plural noun.

6. Indefinite Pronoun *man* in the *Trinity Homilies*

The *Trinity Homilies* were supposed to be composed in the second half of the twelfth century according to Laing (1993: 37-38), though some items are linguistically regarded as Old English in *MED*.

The use of *man* seen in (27) can be regarded as typical in homilies as I have examined with some examples in this paper. (28) uses the *man*-construction in a *gif*-clause, which introduces a kind of instruction for the Christians. The example needs further discussions because it is not clear that here *man* is an indefinite pronoun. The structure consists of '*man+be* (a *be*-verb)+*forwunded* (a past participle or adjective)'; therefore, this may exemplify the use of *man* in a passive construction, which is quite rare in contrast with the usual active structure.

(27) TrinHom 13.25 [22]
Ðe ðridde is þat *man be waker. and liht.* and snel. and seli. and erliche rise. and gernliche seche chireche.
'The third is that *one should be active and light* and swift and virtuous and should rise early and visit a church eagerly.'

(28) TrinHom 57.1
Vnderstondeð get an þi[n]g þat ich giu wile warnie fore. gif *man be   forwunded*. he wile anon sechen after leches. and shewen him his wunden. and bi his wissinge leden is lif. forte þat he bie hol.
'Understand one thing that I will warn you beforehand. If *one is wounded*, he wishes to seek after a

physician soon and show him his wound, and the life is led by his instruction until he shall be healed.'

(29), (30) and (31) can be interpreted as the passive equivalent. Particularly, (30) and (31) are quite typically observed.

(29) TrinHom 199.33

Oðer hwile us luste leornie hwu we mugen ure sinnes forleten. and beten. and cumen þar *man lorspel sei* . and lusten. and wurð ure heorte þanne swo sor for ure sinnes. þat wel neih hie to-chineð.

'Another time it pleases us to learn how we can abandon and punish our sins and come to the place where *sermons are preached*, and we listen to them and our heart becomes very sore for our sins, which nearly break asunder our heart.'

(30) TrinHom 3.1 [23]

To dai is cumen ðe holie tid þat *me clepe aduent*.

'Today the holy time that *is called advent* has come.'

(31) TrinHom 211.1 [24]

and for is ech man efned to þe deore. þe he nimeð after geres. sum fox. sum wulf. sum bere. sum leun. and *ech man me nemne* after þan þe his geres beoð.

'for every man is compared to wild animals which he hunts after their manners. Some fox, some wolf, some bear, some lion, and *every man is called* according to what are his manners.'

In (32) *men* can be supposed to be an indefinite pronoun, since the verb *ræd* can be regarded as the third person singular form as *MED* lists the form of the verb.[25]

(32) TrinHom 141.12 [26]

Ðe lauerd Seint l. þe trenneð þat holi godspel þe *men ræd inne holie chireche* seið þar on þat ure drihten underfeng eadmodliche ane sinfulle wimman and forgiaf hire hire sinnen.

'The Lord St Luke who composes the holy gospel which *is read in the holy church* says thereon that our lord humbly received a sinful woman and forgave her her sins.'

The *Trinity Homilies* show a similar tendency to that of the *Lambeth Homilies*. The *man*-construction is used particularly in expressions to indicate obligation and a conditional clause; at the same time, it can be the passive equivalent. The *Trinity Homilies* show the possibility of an indefinite pronoun *men* used with a singular form of the verb.

7. The Five Texts shared by the *Lambeth* and the *Trinity Homilies*

The *Lambeth Homilies* and the *Trinity Homilies* share the same texts, in which the uses of *man* can be compared when the similar context is found.[28] I use the *Lambeth Homilies* as the main text, while the corresponding passage of the *Trinity Homilies* is given under the translation.

Some examples of *man* are observed in the texts in common, but I would like to add a fact that there is, in the *Lambeth Homilies*, no example which is expressed by the passive construction in the *Trinity Homilies*. The comparison between the two texts, however, makes it clear that the form *men* started to be used in the twelfth century onward, corresponding to an indefinite pronoun *man* in the other text; in addition, the grammatical environment around *man* seems to be gradually changing.

The forms *man*, *me*, and *men* are interchangeable in the following three examples. (33) shows that *Mon mei understonden* corresponds to *man mai understonden*.

(33) LambHom 75.11.

Þis word. credo. *Mon mei understonden*. on þro wise.

'This word "credo" *may be understood* in three ways.'

   Cf. TrinHom 17.32

  Ðis word credo *man mai understonden* on þre wise.

(34) and (35) show an interesting correspondence. In (34) the *Lambeth Homilies* use the form *me+shal* (the third person singular form of *shulen*), while the *Trinity Homilies* use *men fasten shal* (the singular form of *shulen*). In (35) the *Lambeth Homilies* use *me mei ᵹeo steorren* corresponding to the sentence *men mugen tellen ᵹe sterres on heuene* in the *Trinity*

Homilies, in which the subject is a plural noun *men* and the verb form is plural.

(34) LambHom 133.14

Nis na stude to istreone bicumelic butan ða þe istreonieð beon bispused rihtliche to gedere. ne neaure nis riht time þer to; þenne *me scal ueste* oðer al freosʒe.

'There is no place fit for procreation except those that procreate be lawfully married together, nor is there ever right time thereto when *one should fast* or keep holy day.'

> Cf. TrinHom 155.5
>
> Nis nefre no stede to sterne bicumeliche bute hie ben bispused rihtliche to-gedere. ne hure riht time þenne *men fasten shal*; oðer halgen.

(35) LambHom 133.1

vre drihten cleopede monnes streon sed; þa þe he spec wið ðene halie mon abraham of his istreone and seide. þet swa muchel moncun sculde springen of him ðet na man ne mihte itellen a mare þe *me mei eo steorren of heuene*;

'Our lord called man's procreation seed, when he speaks to the holy man Abraham of his seed and said that very many mankind should spring from him, that no man can count more than *one can count the number of the stars of heaven*.'

> Cf. TrinHom 153.23
>
> þe þridde is wel dede Ure helende clepede mannes streon sed. þo he spac wið þe holi man abraham; of his strene. and seide þat swo michel mankin sholde springen of him. þat no man hit ne mihte tellen. nan more þene *men mugen tellen e sterres on heuene*.

The facts drawn from these examples suggest two points: firstly, the grammatical environment surrounding *man* is obviously changing, since the form *men* as an indefinite pronoun occurs with a singular verb in one text; secondly, a plural noun *men* can be alternative to an indefinite pronoun *man* (*me* in this case) in a similar context, corresponding to the form *me*. The uses of *man* as an indefinite pronoun seems to be becoming ambiguous, whereas the original use of *man* also continues.

8. Summary

This paper has examined the uses of an indefinite pronoun *man* in the transitional period, with special references to the *Peterborough Chronicle*, *Homilies* from Cotton MS Vespasian D. xiv., *Homilies* from MS Bodley 343, the *Lambeth Homilies* and the *Trinity Homilies*, all of which reflect the language of the twelfth century.

In the *Peterborough Chronicle man* continues in frequent use; at the same time, the weakened form *me* begins to appear, particularly from the second continuation, although its first attestation seems debatable (see n.14). The uses of *man* are limited because they show the same pattern in the similar contexts.

The *Homilies* contained in Vespasian D. xiv. and Bodley 343 show a similar tendency in the uses of *man* because of their homiletic nature of texts. The *man*-construction is used particularly in explaining some important knowledge or rules to keep among Christians as seen in (11), (12) and (15). It also appears in the contexts to indicate obligation.

The *Lambeth Homilies* show that the *man*-construction tends to appear in both a context giving a judgement and the context explaining a kind of rules and a Latin word to be known generally as seen in (22). *Man* is used also when a proper noun is introduced. The *man*-construction is employed not only as equivalent to the passive voice but also effectively in changing the style. The form *men* started to be used as an indefinite pronoun, because the verb form can be regarded as singular.

The *Trinity Homilies* also have a similar tendency to that of the texts contained in Bodley 343, Vespasian D. xiv. and the *Lambeth Homilies*, when rules and instructions need to be explained. The uses as the passive equivalent are also found. It should be mentioned that the form *men* as an indefinite pronoun occurs with the third person singular form of the verb as seen in (32). The grammatical environment around *man* gradually changed.

As for the five texts in common between the *Lambeth* and the *Trinity Homilies*, there are no correspondences between the *man*-construction and the passive one in the corresponding part. The instances also show the change of the grammatical environment. As observed in (34) and (35), the form of the indefinite pronoun *man* sometimes does not agree with the verb form. It may mean that a plural noun *men* also has the same or similar function as the indefinite pronoun *man*. Table 1 summarises the number of occurrences of *man*, *me* and *men*

used as the indefinite pronoun.

Several examples of *men* appear after the transitional period. It is expected that the situations in which *man* can be used become more restricted after the thirteenth century onward. Further investigation of texts written in Early Middle English period is needed to reveal the whole history of the demise of *man*.

Table 1: the number of occurrences of the indefinite pronoun *man*

	ChronE	Vesp.D.xiv.	Bodley343	LambHom	TrinHom
*man**	180	34	36	25	45
me	11	6	3	48	30
men	0	0	0	1	2

*The form *mon* includes *mon*, *mann*, and *monn*.

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Notes

1   In all examples modern translations are mine. The italicised part in quotations refers to the *man*-construction used in the sentence. The italicised portion in translations corresponds to the example (but Latin is also italicised as printed in each edition). I put the titles of each

text following the *DOE* abbreviations. For the *Lambeth and Trinity Homilies*, I follow the abbreviations given by Ogura (1981).

2   When I write *man* in this paper, it includes the variant forms *man* (*mann*), *mon* (*monn*), *me* and *men*.

3   According to the *OED3*, the indefinite pronoun *one* is first attested in *Cursor Mundi* (see s.v. *one*, indef. pron. 17. a).

4   See Rissanen (1967: 65-68).

5   I collected the examples from the editions as my corpora: Belfour (no. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 13) and Irvine (texts from 1 to 7).

6   I used the following editions as my corpora: Warner (texts 6, 7, 8, 11, 24, 26, 27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48), and I used Hulme (1903) and Assmann (1889) for Nic (C) and VSal2.

7   I define the transitional period as the period from the *Peterborough Chronicle* to the end of the twelfth century.

8   See Irvine (2004: ciii).

9   See Ker (1957: 424-426). Irvine (2004: xxxvi-xxxvii) discusses the common stock, which is regarded as the earliest part of the *Chronicle* retained also in the A, B and C-texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

10   Irvine (2004: ciii) states that the *Peterborough Chronicle* can be linguistically divided into three portion: the language used in the annals up to 1121, the First Continuation (1122-1131), and the Final Continuation (1132-1154). The annals up to 890 are written in the common stock, which is regarded as the part copied in the contemporary language to King Alfred. This study does not discuss those linguistic differences because of focusing on the uses of *man*.

11   The annal has a similar context in the A-text. Cf. ChronA (Bately) 36.3 (746) Her *mon slog Selred cyning*.

12   The annal has a similar content in the A-text. Cf. ChronA (Bately) 20.27 (519) Her Cerdic ꝺ Cynric Westsexena rice onfengun ꝺ þy ilcan geare hie fuhton wiþ Brettas   *ær mon nu nemne Cerdicesford*.

13   This annal has a similar content in the D-text. Cf. ChronD (Cubbin) 1.28 (60B.C) ꝺ þa hi ærost togædere geræsde, þa *mon ofsloh æs kaseres gerefan*, se wæs Labienus gehaten.

14   Ogura (2013: 58-59) attests the first occurrence of the weakened form *me* in the annal 721, which belongs to the part before the First Continuation (1122-1131) but is not an interpolated passage. Irvine's interpretation is different from Plummer's; therefore, I quote the concerned passage from both editions: ChronE (Irvine) 35.31 (721) *Her Daniel for to Rome. ꝺ i ilcan geare __Ine__ ofsloh Cynewulf one æ eling*, and ChronE (Plummer) 43.20 (721) *Her Daniel for to Rome. ꝺ i ilcan geare __me__ ofsloh Cynewulf one æ eling*. Plummer's edition (vol. 2, 39) makes a note as to the construction: "Probably a mistake for 'ine ofsloh'(D), but it can

be construed, as 'me' is occasionally found in E and F for 'man'". In view of the uses of *man* which I have investigated so far, it is not rare at all that the combination *man*+ a verb of killing *(of)slean* occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but the combination *me+(of)slean* is seen just once in this example at least in the E-text, if the element *me* can be interpreted as an indefinite pronoun. I would like to emphasise the two possibilities: here *me* can be read as an indefinite pronoun as Plummer and Ogura interpret, while, in addition to Irvine's reading (*Ine*), it is the fact that the combination *me+(of)slean* appears just once in the E-text, in which the uses of *me* do not show a limited use and do not occur with verbs of calling in the E-text.

15   These sentences are listed in the entry of the *OED3*. See s.v. *me*, indef. pron.

16   The form *mann* is usually used for a normal noun which means 'male person, a man', but *mann* often has the function of an indefinite pronoun. The *Homilies* contained in Vespasian D. xiv. show another variation *mænn*, but the form is not used as an indefinite pronoun.

17   Ogura (1981: 100) examines the combination *mon/men*+a verb of saying in medieval English. She takes examples from Old and Middle English texts, listing them in the chronological order. Her study reveals that the forms *man* and *me* have occurred with verbs of saying. According to her research and now confirmed by the *OED3*, the combination survives into Early Middle English period, after 1200, as an example of *me* in *Ancrene Wisse* (CCCC402, the edition published in 1962) lists in the entry. See s.v. *me*, indef. pron. in the *OED3*, *þus, ofte, as me sei , of lutel muchel waxe* , 'Thus, often, *as is said*, much increases from little'.

18   Cf. (13). In (13) *secgan* is used, while (20) has *cweðan*.

19   Cf. (2), (3), (9), (10), (30) and (31).

20   Mustanoja (1960: 220) gives this sentence as an example of an indefinite pronoun *me*. According to him, "*me* occurs mainly in the South and SW Midlands".

21   See the *OED3*, s.v. *men*, indef. pron. Mustanoja (1960: 220) also gives the same passage as an instance in his study.

22   Cf. (12) and (22).

23   Cf. (2), (3), (9), (10), (24), and (31). A similar instance is found in TrinHom 25.1 *Pater noster et cetera. þu singest þe salm þe me clepe crede*, '*Pater noster et cetera*. You sing the psalm which *is called Creed*.'

24   Cf. (3).

25   See s.v. *reden*, verb (1).

26   A similar use can be found in TrinHom 117. 12 *alse þe louerd seint lucas. seide on þe holie pistle. þe me ret to dai and ech holie chirche*, 'as the lord St Luke said in the holy epistle which *is read* today and at every holy church'. Cf. (26).

27   Morris (1868: xliii) and (1873: xix) states that the *Lambeth Homilies* have the indefinite pronoun *me*, whereas the *Trinity Homilies* use the indefinite pronoun *man* and *me*. His remarks should be modified, because the variant forms can be observed in both texts as my

investigation shows.

28   The two manuscripts share the five texts, but there is no direct relationship between the two.