

SOME NOTES ON THE RELATIVE
PRONOUNS IN OLD ENGLISH
INTERLINEAR GLOSSES TO
THE LATIN PSALTERS
(PART II)

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IV. The Factors Affecting the Forms of the Relative Pronoun

IV.a. Much discussion has been devoted to factors affecting the choice between different forms of OE relative pronoun, although no definite agreement has yet been reached. Several of the factors suggested hitherto are grammatical: for example, the case of the relative pronoun required by the relative clause, the presence of a definite article in the antecedent noun phrase, or the gender of the antecedent (animate or inanimate).¹ Some scholars, such as K. Kivimaa, explain some forms of the relative pronoun, especially *se þe*, as stylistic variation:

“In the texts examined, the compound relatives *se þe* etc. occur less frequently in straight, sober narrative—which, for the most part, *Chronicle A* and *Orosius* are. But *Cura Pastoralis* is clearly different in genre, being didactic and calculated to arouse devout feelings. Here frequent use is made of the compound relatives, especially *se þe*. This is a matter of style, still evident in later homiletic literature.”²

He further goes on to say:

“The compound relatives are much more frequent in high-flown,

oratorical style than in a simple narrative.”³

The result of the present research suggests that the variation, especially the compound *se þe*-relative, is basically stylistic because the forms of the relative often seem to be dependent on rhetorical factors.

In the following sections, three factors which are supposed to be involved in choosing between different forms of the relative pronoun in the OE psalter glosses will be considered: a) the case required by the relative clause, b) the length of the relative clause, c) the grammatical structure and length of the antecedent noun phrase. Other minor factors will also be mentioned in the discussion.⁴

In the following discussion, it seems reasonable to treat the psalters in three groups so that we can foreground the characteristic usage of the relatives in each group.

Group I: Vespasian, Junius

Group II: Royal, Tiberius

Group III: Lambeth, Vitellius, Arundel

As the Junius Psalter is a direct descendant of the Vespasian psalter, the usage of the relatives in Junius is, for the most part, the same as that of Vespasian. Likewise, the Tiberius psalter is grouped together with the Royal Psalter, the glosses of which it mostly follows, although in terms of the location of composition, it should belong to Group III, being written in Winchester. Group III comprises the three psalters associated with Winchester which share some characteristics in the usage of the relatives (cf. Part 1.III.b.).

IV.b. The case of the relative pronoun required by the relative clause

Some forms of the relative pronoun are evidently restricted to certain case forms, while other forms are indiscriminately used for all the cases. Usage varies with the groups. The statistics are given in the tables (Tables I.a–g) in the Appendix.

1) In Group I, the *se*-relative is used in all the case forms throughout the texts, but the compound relative, though only sporadic in both psalters, is restricted to the nominative case (‘*se þe*’ and ‘*þa þe*’) with a human antecedent. The only exception is the accusative

'þone þe' (Psalm 7:16) in both Vespasian and Junius. A close examination discloses that the variation 'se þe' in the nominative mostly occurs when the antecedent is a demonstrative or a personal pronoun. The nominative 'se þe' and 'þa þe' are employed in eight out of thirteen examples after a demonstrative or personal pronoun antecedent. Examples are supplied below from the Junius Psalter in order to illustrate this interchangeability.

demonstrative pronoun as antecedent:

B 17:18 *generede me of feondum minum þæm strongestum & from ðissum þa (se-relative) feodon me forðon gestrongade wæron ofer me [Eripuit me de inimicis meis fortissimis. et his qui oderunt me qum confortati sunt super me] (He delivered me from my strong enemy, and from them which hated me: for they were too strong for me. A.V. 18:17)*

22:5 *þu gearwades on gesihde minre beod ongen ða ða ðe (compound relative) swencad me [Parasti in conspectu meo mensam. adversus eos qui tribulant me] (Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: A.V. 23:5)*

personal pronoun as antecedent:

B 34:3 *ageot sweord & beluc wið hie þa ðe (compound relative) me oehtað [Effunde frameam et conclude adversus eos qui me persequuntur] (Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me: A.V. 35:3)*

B 36:7 *(the gloss is partly defective) ðu sie hine se (se-relative) bið gesundfullad on wege his [ne æmulatus fueris eum qui prosperatur in via sua] (fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, A.V. 37:7)*

This stylistic preference for 'se þe' with a short, light, human antecedent will be discussed later in IV.c.

The indeclinable 'þe' does not appear in this group.

2) In Group II, the *se*-relative appears in all the case forms as it

does in Group I. Especially in the dative and the genitive it is much more frequent than the *pe*-relative or the compound 'seþe'. The indeclinable 'þe', the most frequent relative in Group II, is almost exclusively used in the function of nominative or accusative. The compound *seþe*-relative, the most infrequent relative in both Royal and Tiberius, occurs in all the case forms except accusative.

Thus in the nominative and the accusative, 'þe', 'se' and 'se þe' are interchangeable. Particularly, the *pe*-relative is favoured when the antecedent is a demonstrative pronoun as in Royal 17:18:

D 17:18 he neredde ('me' is not glossed) of feondum minum
 ðam strengestum & fram *ðyssum þe* hatedon ('me' is
 not glossed) [Eripuit me de inimicis meis fortissimis; et
 ab his qui oderunt me;] (He delivered me from my
 strong enemy, and from them which hated me: A.V.
 18:17)

Among the fourteen examples of a demonstrative or a personal pronoun antecedent, there is only one exception to this pattern (Royal/Tiberius 31:9). This salient influence of the grammatical category of the antecedent on the forms of the relative will be discussed in IV.c. As for the *seþe*-relative in this group, it seems to represent a stylistic variation utilized when the relative clause is unusually long.⁵ For instance, 'se þe' introduces a long relative clause in Royal 1:1 and in Royal 39:5, while in Royal 33:9 'þe' appears in front of a short relative clause (cf. IV.d.), as illustrated below:

D 1:1 eadig wer se þe na eode on geþeahte arleasra (no gloss
 for 'et') on wege wynfulra na stod & on heahesetle
cyldes vel wawan (no gloss for 'non') sæt [Beatus uir
 qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in uia peccato-
 rum non stetit. et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit]
 (Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of
 the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor
 sitteth in the seat of the scornful. A.V. 1:1)

D 39:5 eadig wer þæs þe is nama (no gloss for 'domini') hyht
his & na beseah on edelnissa (no gloss for 'et') swæce

heow lease [Beatus vir cuius est nomen domini spes eius. et non respexit in uanitates. et insanias falsas] (Blessed is that man that maketh the Lord his trust, and respecteth not the proud nor such as turn aside to lies. A.V. 40:4)

D 33:9 eadig *wer þe gehyht on hine* [beatus uir qui sperat in eum] (blessed is the man that trusteth in him. A.V. 34:8)

The only exceptional example of 'þe' in the dative function is Psalm 31:8 in both Royal and Tiberius:

D 31:8 ic lære þe on *wege þy þe* ðu in ongangest [instruam te in via hac qua ingredieris] (I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou shalt go. A.V. 32:8)

In this case, 'þy' is glossed to Latin 'hac', so the glossator might have avoided using the *se-* or *seþe-*relative which would have caused a repetition of 'þy'.

3) In Group III, all the three psalters make use of the *se-*relative in all the cases as the other psalters (in Group I and II) do. The *þe-*relative in this group is almost invariably used in the nominative or the accusative function. The compound 'se þe', the most frequent relative in this group, takes on all the case forms in Lambeth and Vitellius, though Arundel has no example of the genitive 'þæs þe'.

The only one example of 'þe' in the dative function is Psalm 31:8 just as it is in Group II mentioned above. The purpose here may also have been to avoid the repetition of 'þæm', because the combination 'þissum þa þe' ('þissum' is not repeated) is not uncommonly encountered in these texts.

The Lambeth Psalter, which makes conspicuously frequent use of the compound relative (cf. III.), has its own characteristic style in the choice of the forms. When the relative clause is interposed within a sentence immediately after the antecedent, the glossator prefers 'þe' to 'se þe', whereas 'se þe' is usual in the relative clause put in the final position of a sentence (cf. IV.e.). Among the sixteen interposed relative clauses, ten are introduced by 'þe'. The following are illus-

trative examples from the Lambeth Psalter.

‘se þe’ clause in the sentence final position:

I 43:14 þu gesettest us to hope nihgeburum urm tale vel
bysmur vel on hlacerungum & hleahter *pæm þa þe*
synt onbutan us vel on urum ymbhwyrfte [Posuisti nos
opprobrium uicinis nostris subsannationem et derisum
his qui sunt in circuitu nostro (Thou makest us a
reproach to our neighbors, a scorn and a derision to
them that are round about us. A.V. 44:13)

‘þe’ in the interposed clause:

I 33:19 gehende is (‘dominus’ not glossed) *pæm þe* gedrefede
synt on heortan (‘et’ not glossed) þa eaðmodan on
gaste & he gehþlō [Iuxta est dominus his qui tribulato
sunt corde et humiles spiritu saluabit] (The Lord is
nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth
such as be of a contrite spirit. A.V. 34:18)

The *se*-relative in the Lambeth Psalter appears only once in the nominative (17:34) and once in the dative (30:20). In these exceptional examples, the antecedent is a coordinated noun phrase which might have affected the choice between ‘se’ and ‘se þe’ (cf. IV.c.).

In the Vitellius and the Arundel Psalters, both ‘þe’ and ‘se’ seem to alternate with ‘se þe’ in the nominative and the accusative, but when the antecedent is a demonstrative or a personal pronoun, the glossator of Vitellius tends to show preference for ‘þe’, as in Group II (cf. IV.c.). In the dative and the genitive, ‘se’ is prevalent in both psalters.

The relation between the case and the forms of the relative in the psalter glosses may safely be summarized as follows: a) the declinable ‘se’ has the most extensive use in terms of the case: b) the indeclinable ‘þe’ is almost restricted to the nominative and the accusative as far as the psalter glosses are concerned: c) the use of the compound relative ‘se þe’ depends on the rhetorical factors discussed below.

IV.c. Grammatical structure and length of the antecedent

The antecedent of the relative pronoun may consist of one word

such as a demonstrative or a personal pronoun or a single noun, but it can also be of several words; a determiner and some modifiers may accompany a noun, or two noun phrases may be coordinated to constitute a long antecedent noun phrase. The glossators' usage of forms seems to diverge according to whether they have a short, light antecedent or a long, heavy antecedent. The tables showing the statistics are in the Appendix (Table II.a-g).

1) In Group I, 'se' prevails either with a long or a short antecedent. 'Se þe' appears to be an alternative for the *se*-relative in the nominative (cf. IV.b.) preceded mostly by a one-word antecedent (either a pronoun or a single noun) but sporadically by a two-word phrase. The only exception is Jun 40:9, where the antecedent consists of three words, 'mon sibbe minre'. This exceptional use may be due to the separation of the antecedent from the relative clause by another intervening relative clause.⁶

2) In Group II, the *se*-relative may follow a three-word noun phrase or a coordinated noun phrase (the longest one consists of seven words) as well as a short antecedent. On the other hand, the indeclinable 'þe' occurs only after a short antecedent, especially a demonstrative or a personal pronoun. In the Royal Psalter, fourteen out of the sixteen examples containing a pronoun antecedent are introduced by 'þe'.

The compound *se þe*-relative, though only a few examples are found, refers mostly to a single noun short antecedent. Unlike the usage in Group I, the compound relative does not follow a pronoun antecedent.

demonstrative pronoun as an antecedent:

D 22:5 ðu gearwodest on gesihðe minre beod ongean *ða þe*
 swencton ('me' not glossed) [Parasti in conspectu
 meo mensam aduersus eos qui tribulant me] (Thou
 preparest a table before me in the presence of mine
 enemies. A.V. 23:5)

personal pronoun as an antecedent:

D 34:3 ageot ut flane ('et' not glossed) bleluc ongean *hy þe*

me ehtað [effunde frameam et conclude aduersus eos qui me persecuntur.] (Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me. A.V. 35 : 3)

noun as an antecedent:

D 10:6 ('Dominus' not glossed) ahsað ryhtwisne ('et' not glossed) arleasne ðe soþlice lufað unryhtwisnesse he hatað sawle his [Dominus interrogat iustum et impium qui autem diligit iniquitatem odit animam suam] (The Lord trieth the righteous: but the wicked and him that loveth violence his soul hateth. A.V. 11:5)

D 45:2 ('Deus' not glossed) ure frofr & mægen gefyulsta on geswincum ða gemeton us swiþe. [Deus noster refugium et uirtus aduitor in tributationibus qui inueniunt nos nimis] (God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. A.V. 46:1)

One of the two exceptions is Royal/Tiberius 24:6, where the two compounded noun phrases, both accompanied by possessive pronouns, function as an antecedent to the *pe*-relative clause. We expect 'seo' (feminine singular) in this context. The *pe*-relative here might be due to the fact that the glossator never uses 'seo' as a relative. The other exception is 'se þe' in Royal 23:4 after a six-word coordinated noun phrase. This usage might be ascribed to the fact that 'se þe' here introduces an extremely long relative clause (cf. IV.d.).

3) In Group III, the glossators employ the *se*-relative, though infrequently, not only with a short antecedent (except for a demonstrative pronoun) but also with a long antecedent as in the other psalters.

The *pe*-relative is mostly preceded by a short antecedent. In Lambeth, in fifteen out of eighteen examples of 'þe', the antecedent consists of one word, while in the other two the antecedent consists of two words. The difference between Group II and the Lambeth Psalter lies in that 'þe' is not necessarily a preferred expression with a

demonstrative or a personal pronoun antecedent in the latter as it is in the former. Eleven examples are found but 'þe' occurs only in four of them.

'þe' after a demonstrative pronoun antecedent:

I 17:18 he alyside vel he generode fram *pam þe* hatedun me
[eripuit me de inimicis meis fortissimis it ab his qui
oerunt me] (He delivered me from my strong enemy
and from them which hated me. A.V. 18:17)

As for the compound relative, there is a difference in the usage between the Lambeth Psalter and the other two psalters in this group. In Lambeth, which shows a marked preference for the *seþe*-relative (cf. Part 1.III.), the compound relative follows both a long and a short antecedent, sporadically alternating with the *se*-relative as in the following example.

I 40:10 soðlice *man sybbe minre on þæm* ic gehihte vel on
pane þe ic hopode *se þe* æt hlafas mine miclode ofor
me hleoþræsenesse vel forscæncednyse [Etenim
homo pacis meae in quo speraui qui edebat panes meos
magnificauit super me supplantationem] (Yea, mine
own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat
of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me. A.V.
41:9)

Vitellius and Arundel, on the other hand, do not make as frequent use of 'se þe' after a long, complex antecedent as Lambeth does. Instead, the *se*-relative usually occurs after a long, complex antecedent. With a long antecedent, the compound relative appears only when it introduces a long relative clause or when the antecedent is separated from the clause by a long phrase (cf. IV.d and e.).

The two exceptional uses of 'þe' after a long antecedent are Lam 8:4 and Lam 24:6. In Group II, too, the glossators use 'þe' exceptionally after a long antecedent in order to avoid the feminine singular 'seo' or 'seo þe'. However, the Lambeth glossator is not alien to the declined feminine form.

IV.d. Clause length

The possibility that OE writers might have devoted considerable attention to the length of the clause should be taken into consideration. As is pointed out in Harlow's comment about Aelfric's punctuation:

The effect of clause length is seen in all types of construction. For instance, when an adverbial clause precedes the principal clause and the combination exceeds about 20 syllables, punctuation is normally found[.]⁷

A correlation between the clause length and the forms of the relative is observable in our corpus. The illustrating tables are in the Appendix (Tables III.a-g).

1) In Group I, the *se*-relative is used for the relative clause of any length, whereas the compound relative mostly introduces short relative clauses of less than seven words (two-word or three-word clauses are the most frequent with the compound relative). Examples are from the Junius Psalter:

B 9:18 *beoð gecerde þa synfullan in helle ealle þeode þa þe ofergeteliað dryhten* (2 words) [Conuertantur peccatores in infernum omnes gentes qui obliuiscuntur] (The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God. A.V. 9:17)

B 17:33 *god se begyrde me mid mægene & gesette unwemne weg minne* (9 words) [Dominus qui precinxit me virtute. et posuit immaculatur viam meam] (It is God that girdeth me with strength and maketh my way perfect. A.V. 18:32)

2) In Group II, the glosses are often defective, since the well-known words are often left unglossed. Therefore, the clause length measured by the number of words contained in the clause can only be approximate.

The indeclinable 'þe' is restricted mostly to short clauses of less than six words, as in Group I. In forty-one out of forty-three examples

of *pe*-clauses, the length ranges between one word and five words.

The compound 'se þe' in this group appears mainly in short (less than 6 words) clauses, but it is noticeable that when the relative clause exceeds ten words 'se þe' reappears in the Royal Psalter. See Table III. c. in the Appendix.

D 39:5 eadig wer *pæs þe is nama* ('domini' un glossed) *hyht his & na beseah on idelnissa swæce heow lease* (12 words) [Beatus uir cuius est nomen domini spes eius. et non respexit in uanitates et insanias falsas] (Blessed is that man that maketh the Lord his trust, and respecteth not the proud, nor such as turn aside to lies. A.V. 40:4)

The *se*-relative clause ranges between two words and ten words. Except in an extremely long clause or a single word clause, 'se' occurs interchangeably with the other forms, depending on the other factors than the clause length.

The two exceptions are Royal/Tiberius 33:13 (7 words) and Royal/Tiberius 30:19 (8 words), for which we expect 'se' and 'þa' (m. pl.) respectively.⁸

3) In Group III, particularly in the Lambeth psalter, the clauses tend to be longer than those in the other psalters because of the abundant double or triple glosses. The *pe*-relative in this group is seldom used in a clause of more than seven words. The two exceptions are as follows:

I 15:3 *halgum þe syndon on eorðan vel his lande* (eight words) [Sanctis qui sunt in terra eius] (But to the saints that are in the earth A.V. 16:3)

Here the antecedent consists of a single word, for which 'þe' seems to be often preferable. Moreover, this clause contains five monosyllabic words, so actually the clause is short in terms of the number of the syllables. For this same verse, Vitellius and Arundel use 'se þe' introducing a very short clause because they have no alternate gloss here.

The other exception:

I 17:33 *god þe begerde me mid mægene & gesette unawemm-
endne weg minne* (nine words) [Deus qui precinxit
me uirtute et posuit immaculatam uiam meam] (It is
God that girdeth me with strength, and maketh my
way perfect. A.V. 18:32)

We expect 'se þe' here, as is the case in Arundel, because the clause is long, but, on the other hand, the single word antecedent requires 'þe' as it does in the previous example. Here the priority seems to go to the grammatical structure of the length of the antecedent. In this passage, the antecedent 'God' is followed by three consecutive relative clauses, so the glossator of Lambeth might have employed 'þe' to achieve a variety of expression.

In Group III, the *se*-relative clause ranges between one word and nine words. The exception appears in 17:34 in one of the three relative clauses mentioned in the explanation of 17:33 above, where the glossator might have chosen 'se' for the sake of variety.

The compound relative is employed in all the relative clauses of more than nine words, which suggests the Winchester glossators' preference for 'se þe' in the long relative clause.

I 31:2 *eadig se wer þam þe ne tealde vel þe ne talode drihten
synne ne nis on gaste his faken* [Beatus uir cui non
imputauit dominus peccatum nec est in spiritu eius
dolus] (Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord
imputeth not iniquity and in whose spirit there is no
guile. A.V. 32:2)

Thus the effect of the clause length is clear in that the use of 'þe' is usually avoided in a long relative clause; when the relative clause is unusually long, the glossators seem to favour the use of the compound *seþe*-relative (except in Group I).

V. The Usage of the Relative Pronoun in other OE Prose texts

V.a. *The Life of Saint Chad*

The Life of Saint Chad belongs to the same dialect and to the same

age as the Vespasian Psalter, being written in Mercia in the ninth century, although it is not a gloss to a Latin text. This prose work is said to be a forerunner of the alliterative prose which flourished in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.⁹ The number of the examples for each form of the relative in *Saint Chad* is as follows:

se—25 xx
 þe—11 xx
 seþe— 2 xx

Although the predominance of the *se*-relative indicates similarity between *Saint Chad* and Group I (Vespasian and Junius), the close examination of the usage has disclosed some similarities between *Saint Chad* and the Group II and III psalters.

Saint Chad is similar to the Group I psalters in that the most frequent use is made of the *se*-relative in all the case forms, while the compound relative occurs only in a small number of examples (nominative 1x, accusative 1x). The results above suggest that the predominance of 'se' as a relative pronoun might characterize the ninth century Mercian dialect. However, the use of 'þe' is indicative of its similarity to Group II and III, because 'þe', which never appears in Group I, is frequently employed in the nominative and in the accusative.

se-relative:

St. Chad 1.5 Se halga wer Ceadd aerest wes gehaded in biscopdome from *Alwine se* wes biscop in þere londoniscan cestre. (The holy man Chad was first consecrated in the bishopric by Alwine, who was bishop in the London city.)¹⁰

þe-relative:

St. Chad 1.38 he þa ymbhydelice his mod fæstnade in *þa þing þe* he þer geherde. (he then anxiously fixed his mind on the thing he had heard there)

seþe-relative:

St. Chad 1.42 hi eac swylce þa gesettan þeodscipas & regolþeawas *þa þe* hi et him geleornadon (they also

settled the disciplines and a custom of ecclesiastical rule which they learned from him)

As for the relation between the antecedent and the forms of the relative, the *se*-relative is preceded both by a short antecedent (no example of a demonstrative pronoun as an antecedent is found) and a long one as in all the psalters. In particular, the coordinated clumsy antecedent is invariably followed by 'se' in *Saint Chad*. The indeclinable 'pe' refers mostly to a two-word but sporadically also a three- or four-word noun phrase headed by a definite article. It seldom follows a pronoun antecedent as it does in the psalters of Group II and III. On the other hand, all the three examples of 'se pe' are preceded by one-word antecedents. Illustrative examples are supplied below:

a coordinated noun phrase as an antecedent:

St. Chad 1.67 *se halgesta wer & se þoncfullista pes nama wes Hygbald se wes abbud in þere megðe lindesse.* (the holiest and the most thoughtful man whose name was Hygbald, who was abbot of the people of Lindsey)

a noun preceded by a definite article as an antecedent:

St. Chad 1.7 *Norðhymbra þeoda rixiendum Oswie þam kyning in þam selde pe his eftergengan hefdon in þam bolde pe is haten eoferwicceaster.* (to the king of the Northumbrian people, Oswie, in the seat which his descendants held in the town which is called York city)

a single noun as an antecedent:

St. Chad 1.42 *regolþeawas þa pe hi et him geleornadon & in him gesegn oðð in foregongendra fedora dedum oðð cuidum gemetun* (the disciplines that they learned from him and saw in him or found in the foregoing fathers' deeds or sayings)

The clause length seems to affect the forms of the relative as it does in Group II and III. The *se*-relative is employed for a clause of any length. The indeclinable 'pe' tends to introduce a clause of less

than eight words, while the compound relative occurs in long clauses of more than eight words (as can be seen in the example above).

V.b. *Lindisfarne Gospels*

Lindisfarne Gospels is a Northumbrian gloss to the Latin gospel text, composed in the latter half of the tenth century. It is of the same age as the Royal Psalter but is close to the Vespasian Psalter in terms of dialect. The number of examples for each form of the relative from the first twelve chapters of Matthew is indicated below:

se—35 xx

þe— 5 xx

seþe—27 xx

The scarcity of the *pe*-relative and the prevalence of 'se' seem to be characteristic of the Anglian (including Northumbrian and Mercian) works, but, at the same time, *Lindisfarne Gospels* shares the frequent use of the compound relative with the Group III Winchester psalters. Unlike the Winchester psalters, however, the use of the compound relative and the indeclinable 'þe' is evidently restricted to the gloss for Latin 'qui' referring to human beings or God. Thirty five examples out of thirty seven (that accounts for 94%) of the relative pronoun 'qui' are glossed with 'se þe' or 'þa þe'. The *pe*-relative clauses in this text are mostly short, following immediately after the antecedent, but noticeably it never follows 'God' as an antecedent. In all the seventeen examples where the antecedent refers to God, the relative pronoun is 'se þe'. The tendency to use 'se þe' in abnormally long relative clauses (the two longest relative clauses are of twenty-one and twenty-two words, both introduced by 'seþe') is discernible but not so obvious as it is in the psalters. As far as *Lindisfarne Gospels* is concerned, the form of the relative is determined mainly by the form of the corresponding Latin relative pronoun. Three examples are presented below:

the nominative compound relative:

Mat 7:24 eghuelc ðonne se ðe geheres uorda mina ðas & does
ða ilco geefned bið vel geliced bið vel geteled bið wer

snotre se ðe getimbres hus his ofer vel on carr vel stan. [Omnis ergo qui audit uerba mea haec et facit ea assimilabitur uiro sapienti qui aedificauit domum suam supra petram] (Therefore whoseover heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock. A.V. 7:24)

the nominative *pe*-relative:

Mat 2:6 from ðe forðon of-cymes *aldormon vel latua ðe* ricces folc min [ex te enim exiet dux qui reget populum meum esrahel] (for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel. A.V. 2:6)

the accusative *se*-relative:

Mat 12:18 heonu *cnæht min ðone* ic geceas derling min in ðæm wel licade sawle mine vel minum [ecce puer quem elegi dilectus meus in quo bene placuit animae meae] (Behold my servant, whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased A.V. 12:18)

V.c. *The Blickling Homilies*

This tenth century West-Saxon homiliary compares with the Royal Psalter in terms of dialect and composition date. As has already been mentioned in III.c, in *The Blickling Homilies* (BL) ‘*pe*’ is the most frequent relative as in the Royal Psalter, although there is a great difference between the two texts. The number of examples is indicated below:¹¹

se—138 xx
pe—370 xx
sepe— 89 xx

As for the case of the relative pronoun, the *pe*-relative in BL is, for the most part, in the nominative or in the accusative, a feature common to the psalters in Group II and III. There is a difference,

however, between BL and Royal concerning the proportion of 'þe' to the whole corpus—63% in BL and 42% in the Royal Psalter. The declinable *se*-relative occurs in all the case forms in BL, conforming with the common practice of the psalters. The compound relative is used in all the case forms except the genitive, 'se þe' (nominative singular) and 'þa þe' (nominative and accusative plural) accounting for 80% of the examples. Examples are as follows:

the nominative 'þe':

BL p.21 1.12 [a]c biddon we Drihten *pæs leohtes þe næfre ne geendað*. (but let us ask the Lord for the light that never endeth)¹²

the dative 'se':

BL p.11 1.9 Weorþian we eac þa clapas his hades, of *pæm wæs ure gecynd geedneowod* (Let us honour also the clothes of his person (humanity), by which our nature (or original condition) was renewed.)

As to the relation between the antecedent and the forms of the relative, BL only partly conforms with the psalters. 'þe' is frequently employed with a pronoun antecedent in BL as in some of the psalters. Nevertheless, unlike the psalters, it does occur with a long, heavy antecedent if a definite article is present in the antecedent noun phrase. Thus the form of relative in BL seems to be dependent on the presence of the definite article rather than the complexity or the length of the antecedent noun phrase.¹³

When there is no definite article in the antecedent noun phrase, the *se*-relative is much more frequent than the other forms. On the other hand, as far as the use of the compound 'se þe' in BL is concerned, the structure of the antecedent noun phrase seems to be irrelevant.¹⁴

the antecedent phrase preceded by a definite article:

BL p.55 1.20 Maniges mannes wise bið þæt he wile symle to his nehstan spreca *þa word þe he wenþ þæt him leofoste syn to gehyrenne* (It is the practice of

many a man ever to say to his neighbour the words that he thinketh may be most pleasant for him to hear,)

BL p.125 1.25 *Seo mycclē cirice þonne, seo þe þær on middum stondeþ, seo is ufan open & unoferhrefed, (the great church which stands there in the midst is open above and unroofed,)*

the antecedent without a definite article:

BL p.83 1.18 *se . . . seoþþan on ecum witum wunian, para næfre ende ne cymeþ (he . . . afterwards shall dwell in eternal torments, of which there shall be never any end.)*

BL p.61 1.27 *& rihte domas soþfæstra manna onwendap, pa þe ær rihtlice gesette wæron. (and pervert the right laws of just men, which aforetime were rightly instituted.)*

The clause length has been attested to have an influence on the form of the relative in BL just as we have seen it in Group II and Group III.¹⁵ The *pe*-relative appears mostly in a short relative clause. On the other hand 'se' and 'se þe' introduce either a short or a long relative clause, but when the clause is unusually long, the compound relative is obviously favoured. Refer to the table in Ono p. 89.

V.d. *Aelfric's Lives of Saints*

Lives of Saints, written in the late tenth century by Aelfric, parallels the Group III psalters in that they are all closely connected to Winchester. We have noticed in Chapter III that they have a common tendency to make frequent use of the compound relative. The frequency for each form of the relative pronoun has already been cited from Mitchell (cf. III.c.2. 'se' 14%, 'þe' 65%, 'se þe' 21%). According to Kivimaa's investigation, the compound relative is more frequent in Aelfric's Homilies than in BL, the Royal Psalter and Wulfstan's Homilies (cf. III.c.2.), although less frequent than in Winchester psalters. Because of the limited time and space, in this

section, we will throw light on the compound relative pronoun in *Lives of Saints* (57 examples in all), instead of making an exhaustive study of Aelfric's vast corpus of homilies.¹⁶

The *sepe*-relative is employed in all the case forms except the genitive, as it is in Arundel. Among the examples, the masculine nominative singular form, 'se þe', prevails (32xx), while the plural nominative 'þa þe' occurs only seven times. The table below indicates the frequency of the compound relative in each case form.

The case of the compound relative in *Lives of Saints*

Case	the number of examples
Nominative	39
Accusative	12
Dative	6

Unlike *The Blickling Homilies* mentioned above, but similar to the psalters, whether a definite article accompanies the antecedent or not does not seem to be involved in Aelfric's use of the compound relative pronoun. Among the 57 examples, 27 have an antecedent preceded by a definite article (or a demonstrative), but 30 have no article attached to the antecedent noun phrase.

The grammatical structure or length of the antecedent noun phrase is considered to be basically irrelevant to the forms of the relative pronoun in *Lives of Saints*. The compound relative follows both a short antecedent and a long complex antecedent, making a contrast with the Group II psalters (where the compound relative refers to a single noun antecedent in all the examples), but conforming with the Group III psalters.

the compound relative with a long complex antecedent:

LS XXIX 1.190–191 and sendan to *damiciane. þam deoflican casere se ðe æfter nero genurwde ða cristenan* ([the savage idolaters . . .] and sent to Domitian, the diabolic emperor, who after Nero oppressed the Christians,)¹⁷

the compound relative with one-word personal pronoun antecedent:

LS XXI 11.281–282 *Him* wæs eac forgifen þæt he wel mihte gehyran. *se ðe* ær nōfde ne eagan ne hlyst. (It was also granted him that he could hear well, he who formerly had neither eyes nor hearing.)

It should be noted that Aelfric obviously pays considerable attention to whether the relative clause follows immediately after the antecedent or it is separated by intervening words. Aelfric's choice is in most cases 'þe' or 'se' in clauses placed immediately after the antecedent. In forty out of fifty-seven examples of the compound relative pronoun, the clause is detached from the antecedent by several words (for instance, a preposition, a prepositional phrase or even another relative clause). In this respect, we cannot conclude anything definite about the psalters, because the word order of the glosses inevitably follows that of the Latin text; we cannot distinguish the influence of the Latin from the indigenous properties of OE.

the compound relative separated from the antecedent noun phrase:

LS XXIX 11.36–37 þa cwæð se halga paulus. *þone god* ic eow bodige *þone ðe* ge hatað uncuðne (Then said the holy Paul, That God I preach to you whom ye call unknown;)

LS XXXI 11.1493–1495 Sy wuldor and lof þam *wel-willendan scyppende* þe his halgan sacerd swa geglengde mid wundrum *se þe* on ecnyse rixaþ ðlmihtig wealdend (Be glory and praise to the benign Creator who so adorned his priest with miracles; who reigneth in eternity, Almighty Ruler)

The same relation between the clause length and the compound relative as in Group II and III is recognizable in *Lives of Saints*. The compound relative can introduce both a short clause and a considerably long clause, but when the clause is unusually long, the compound relative invariably appears. The following is a table illustrating this

point:

The clause length of the compound relative clause														
length of the clause	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	15	27	35
	words													
the number of examples	1	17	8	8	8	6	2	2	1	1	1	1	1*	1*

* the examples are LS XXXV 11.108 'se þe' (27 words) and LS XXI 1.307 'þa þe' (35 words)

In clauses of less than six words the indeclinable 'þe' is prevailingly employed, although the compound relative seems to be interchangeable with it. In clauses of more than four words, the *se*-relative, the compound relative and the þe-relative are interchangeable.

VI. Conclusion

VI.a. The OE relative pronoun has three forms: the declinable *se*-relative, the indeclinable 'þe' and the compound *seþe*-type. In Part I, the distribution of these forms in the seven psalters was illustrated and further subsidiary evidence was presented from the other OE prose texts assumed to have dialectal or chronological connection with the psalters. The results have led us to classify the psalters examined into three groups: Group I (Vespasian, Junius), Group II (Royal, Tiberius) and Group III (Vitellius, Lambeth and Arundel). In Group I, the ninth century Anglian text and its derivative, the *se*-relative is prevalent, and is used almost exclusively in the Vespasian Psalter. On the other hand, 'þe' is common in the tenth century West-Saxon Group II psalters and *The Blickling Homilies*. In the Winchester psalters, however, and especially in the Lambeth Psalter, the compound is conspicuously frequent. In view of Aelfric's frequent use of 'seþe', this usage is considered to belong to the tradition of the Winchester School.

VI.b. In Part II, rhetorical as well as grammatical factors were observed to affect choice among the three forms of the relative.

1) As to the grammatical factor, the case of the relative pronoun has a relation to the forms of the relative. The usage, moreover, varies as between the Anglian texts (except *Lindisfarne Gospels*) and the West-Saxon texts. In the Anglian works (the Group I psalters and *Saint Chad*), the *se*-relative appears most frequently (more than 50%) in all the case forms. On the other hand, in the West-Saxon texts (the Group II and III psalters and *The Blickling Homilies*) 'se' is most frequent in the accusative, genitive and dative but not in the nominative (except in Lambeth where it is used only once in the accusative). Within the West-Saxon documents, moreover, the usage of the nominative relative varies in that 'seþe' is always the most frequent in the Winchester books (the Group III psalters and *Lives of Saints*), while 'þe' is the commonest choice in the tenth century Group II psalters and *The Blickling Homilies*.

When we consider the survival of 'þe' and 'þæt' (neuter singular of 'se') as relative pronouns in early ME, the declining use of nominative 'se' and the increasing use of 'þe' in the Group II psalters and *The Blickling Homilies* seem to be in line with the later development of the relative pronoun. On the other hand, the frequent use of nominative 'seþe' in the Winchester texts is presumed to be a usage peculiar to the Winchester School.

2) Another salient characteristic observable in the usage of the relative is that the grammatical structure and length of the antecedent noun phrase seem to be reflected in the forms of the relative.

The *se*-relative is rarely employed after a antecedent demonstrative pronoun presumably in order to avoid the awkward repetition of 'se'. Otherwise, the *se*-relative can follow both a short antecedent of one or two words and a long complex antecedent (especially when the antecedent is a coordinated noun phrase, 'se' is preferred). This usage characterises all the OE texts examined except the Group I psalters (Vespasian and Junius) and *Lindisfarne Gospels*. The indiscriminate use of 'se' isolates the Group I psalters from the other OE texts. As mentioned in V.b., the glossator of *Lindisfarne Gospels* uses 'se' mostly for the Latin relative pronoun other than 'qui' regardless of the nature

of the antecedent.

On the other hand, there is a remarkable difference in the use of the indeclinable 'þe' in the psalters when compared to the other OE texts. In the psalters, 'þe' is glossed to a relative with a short antecedent, while among the other OE texts only *Saint Chad* shares this feature. 'þe' introduces both short clauses and long clauses in the texts other than the psalter glosses. When we consider that *Saint Chad*, with the *Vespasian Psalter*, is the oldest document among our corpus, it might be surmised that the usage in the psalters is somewhat archaic.

Lastly, the compound relative serves to distinguish the Group II from the Group III psalters. In Group II, the compound relative is used for a short antecedent. Interestingly, this tendency can be observed in *Saint Chad* and the *Junius Psalter*; therefore, we might be justified in assuming that the usage suggests the archaic quality of the language in the Group II psalters. On the other hand, the *Winchester books*, including *Lives of Saints*, and *The Blickling Homilies* employ the compound relative both for a short and a long antecedent besides the *se*-relative.

3) The length of the relative clause has been shown to be one of the rhetorical factors affecting the forms of the relative in our corpus. While 'þe' is commonly favoured in a short relative clause, 'se' and 'seþe' introduce both a short and a long clause. In particular, a closer examination has disclosed that the compound relative tends to appear in an unusually long clause. However, as might be expected, the usage in Group I does not conform with this tendency. 'þe' is not used in this group and 'seþe', appearing only sporadically in *Junius*, introduces a short relative clause. In *Lindisfarne Gospels*, although the same tendency is discernible to some extent, the compound relative is almost exclusively glossed for 'qui' regardless of the clause length. In *Saint Chad*, 'þe' is employed in short clauses, while in long clauses 'se' is prevalent (the number of the examples of 'seþe' is too small to allow us to say anything definite). The compound relative is an alternative expression of the OE relative 'þe' or 'se', appearing with a considerable

frequency in the late West-Saxon, but its use seems to belong, to some extent, to a stylistic preference by the individual writer or a particular group like the Winchester School.

NOTES

- 1) B. Mitchell gives a detailed explanation about the possible factors affecting the forms of the relative in his *Old English Syntax*, on pp. 160–177.
- 2) Kivimaa, p. 32.
- 3) Kivimaa, p. 45.
- 4) The following ten items have been examined as to whether they are relevant to the forms of the relative or not. Among them, the last seven seem to be basically irrelevant as far as the psalter glosses are concerned.
 1. the case of the relative pronoun required by the relative clause
 2. the grammatical structure and length of the antecedent noun phrase
 3. the length of the relative clause
 4. the grammatical gender (m.f.nt.) of the antecedent
 5. the number (sg.pl.) of the antecedent
 6. the clause type (restrictive or non-restrictive)
 7. the position of the relative clause in the sentence
 8. the gender of the antecedent (human or non-human)
 9. whether or not the definite article is present in the antecedent noun phrase
 10. whether or not the relative clause comes immediately after the antecedent noun phrase

It is usually held that the *pe*-relative clause occurs with the antecedent accompanied by a definite article, *se*. However, because Latin noun phrases have no article corresponding to OE *se*, the OE noun phrases glossed to the Latin text are more often left without article than they are in OE prose texts in general. Therefore, the relation between the OE definite article and the *pe*-relative cannot be reflected in our data.
- 5) Actually, there is no example of genitive plural compound ‘para þe’ either in Royal or in Tiberius.
- 6) The separation of the antecedent from the relative clause has been proved to affect the forms of the relative pronoun in *The Blickling Homilies*. cf. Ono, p. 87.
- 7) C. G. Harlow, “Punctuation in Some Manuscripts of Aelfric,” *Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. X, No. 37 (1959), p. 7.
- 8) In 31 : 13, the antecedent is assumed to be ‘homo’, which is unglossed. In 30 : 19, the glossator seems to avoid ‘þe’ as he does in a short clause (8 : 9) preceded by the antecedent of the same construction. Therefore, the antecedent might have affected the form.
- 9) Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*, New York University Press, 1986, New York & London, p. 62.
- 10) Translation mine.

- 11) cf. Ono, p. 78.
- 12) Translation by Morris. cf. Bibliography.
- 13) cf. Ono, p. 80.
- 14) cf. Ono, p. 81.
- 15) cf. Ono, p. 89.
- 16) As far as *Lives of Saints* is concerned, however, 'se þe' is not so frequent as Mitchell's statistics indicate. Below is the number of examples in the thirtieth homily in *Lives of Saints, Passion of St. Eustace, Martyr*:
 - se—14 xx (19%)
 - þe—56 xx (76%)
 - se þe— 4 xx (5%)
- 17) Translation by Skeat. cf. Bibliography.

APPENDIX

I. The case and the forms of the relative

a. VESPASIAN

	se	þe	se þe
NOMINATIVE	34	0	3
ACCUSATIVE	16	0	1
GENITIVE	7	0	0
DATIVE	7	0	0

b. JUNIUS

	se	þe	se þe
NOMINATIVE	30	0	14
ACCUSATIVE	15	0	1
GENITIVE	7	0	0
DATIVE	7	0	0

c. ROYAL

	se	þe	se þe
NOMINATIVE	12	25	4
ACCUSATIVE	10	5	0
GENITIVE	5	0	2
DATIVE	5	1	2

d. TIBERIUS

	se	þe	se þe
NOMINATIVE	11	21	3
ACCUSATIVE	8	6	0
GENITIVE	5	0	3
DATIVE	5	1	2

e. LAMBETH

	se	þe	se þe
NOMINATIVE	1	10	30
ACCUSATIVE	1	8	9
GENITIVE	4	0	2
DATIVE	4	1	3

f. VITELLIUS

	se	þe	se þe
NOMINATIVE	6	6	23
ACCUSATIVE	8	1	3
GENITIVE	5	0	2
DATIVE	4	1	1

g. ARUNDEL

	se	þe	se þe
NOMINATIVE	9	11	23
ACCUSATIVE	8	4	5
GENITIVE	7	0	0
DATIVE	6	0	1

II. The Grammatical Structure and the Length of the antecedent

a. VESPASIAN

	Antecedent Noun Phrase	þe	se	se þe
1 word	demonstrative pronoun		7	1
	personal pronoun		6	
	noun		31	1
2 words	article + noun		1	
	noun + article		3	
	noun + possessive		5	
	noun + genitive noun		2	
3 words	noun + genitive noun + possessive		1	1
	noun + possessive + genitive noun		1	
	appositive noun phrase		1	
Coordinated noun phrases as ant.				
3 words	spræca ne word (18:4)		1	
	noun 'and' noun		2	
more than 3 words	unscæþful on handum & clæne heorte (23:4)		1	
	alle weolure fæcne & tungan yfel sprecende (11:5)		1	
	mildsa ðinra dryhten & mildheortnis ðin (24:6)		1	
	se ilca cyning min & god min (43:6)			
	mid ðæm arleasum... & mid weorum bloda (25:9)		1	

b. JUNIUS

	Antecedent Noun Phrase	þe	se	se þe
1 word	demonstrative pronoun		3	4
	personal pronoun		3	2
	noun		31	3
2 words	article + noun		2	1
	noun + article		3	
	noun + possessive		3	2
	noun + adjective		1	
	noun + genitive noun		2	
3 words	noun + genitive noun + possessive		1	1
	noun + possessive + genitive noun		1	
	appositive noun phrase		1	
Coordinated noun phrases as ant.				
3 words	spræca ne word (18:4)		1	
	noun 'and' noun		2	
more than 3 words	unsçæþful on handum & clæne heorte (23:4)		1	
	alle weolure faecne & tungan yfel sprecende (11:5)		1	
	mildsa ðinra dryhten & mildheortnis ðin (24:6)		1	
	se ilca cyning min & god min (43:6)			
	mid ðæm arleasum... & mid weorum bloda (25:9)			1

c. ROYAL

	Antecedent Noun Phrase	þe	se	se þe
1 word	demonstrative pronoun	8	1	
	personal pronoun	6	1	
	noun	11	16	5
2 words	article + noun	1	1	
	noun + article	2	2	
	noun + possessive	1	1	2
	noun + genitive noun		2	
	noun + adjective	1	1	
3 words	noun + genitive noun + possessive		1	1
Coordinated noun phrases as ant.				
3 words	spræca ne word (18:4)		1	
	noun 'and' noun		2	
more than 3 words	unscæþful on handum & clæne heorte (23:4)			1
	alle weolure faecne & tungan yfel sprecende (11:5)		1	
	mildsa ðinra dryhten & mildheortnis ðin (24:6)	1		
	mid ðæm arleasum... & mid weorum bloda (25:9)		1	

d. TIBERIUS

	Antecedent Noun Phrase	þe	se	se þe
1 word	demonstrative pronoun	4		
	personal pronoun	2	2	
	noun	15	16	4
2 words	article + noun	1	1	
	noun + article	3		
	noun + possessive		3	2
	noun + genitive noun		1	
	noun + adjective	1	1	
3 words	noun + genitive noun + possessive		1	1
Coordinated noun phrases as ant.				
3 words	spræca ne word (18:4)		1	
	noun 'and' noun		1*	
more than 3 words	unscæþful on handum & clæne heorte (23:4)			1
	alle weolure faecne & tungan yfel sprecende (11:5)		1	
	mildsa ðinra dryhten & mildheortnis ðin (24:6)	1		
	mid ðæm arleasum . . . & mid weorum bloda (25:9)		1	

* 'hwylc' appears in this context.

e. LAMBETH

	Antecedent Noun Phrase	þe	se	se þe
1 word	demonstrative pronoun	4		1
	personal pronoun	1	1	4
	noun	6	2	22
2 words	article + noun	4	1	6
	noun + article	2		1
	noun + possessive			2
	noun + genitive noun		1	1
	noun + adjective			1
3 words	noun + genitive noun + possessive		1	
	appositive noun		1	
Coordinated noun phrases as ant.				
3 words	spræca ne word (18:4)			1
	noun 'and' noun	1		1
more than 3 words	unscæþful on handum & clæne heorte (23:4)			1
	alle weolure faecne & tungan yfel sprecende (11:5)			1
	mildsa ðinra dryhten & mildheortnis ðin (24:6)	1		
	mid ðæm arleasum... & mid weorum bloda (25:9)		1	
Alternate gloss				
	(prep)noun vel (prep)noun			1
	noun vel noun + genitive noun			1
	noun vel noun + possessive		1	

f. VITELLIUS

	Antecedent Noun Phrase	þe	se	se þe
1 word	demonstrative pronoun	2		1
	personal pronoun	2	2	3
	noun	4	12	19
2 words	article + noun		2	
	possessive + noun			1
	noun + article	2	1	1
	noun + possessive	1	1	
	noun + genitive noun	3		1
	noun + adjective		1	1
3 words	noun + genitive noun + possessive		1	
	noun + possessive + genitive noun		1	
Coordinated noun phrase as ant.				
3 words	spræca ne word (18:4)		1	
	noun 'and' noun		2	
more than 3 words	unscæþful on handum & clæne heorte (23:4)			1
	alle weolure faecne & tungan yfel sprecende (11:5)			1
	mid ðæm arleasum . . . & mid weorum bloda (25:9)		1	

g. ARUNDEL

	Antecedent Noun Phrase	þe	se	se þe
1 word	demonstrative pronoun	1		2
	personal pronoun	3	2	2
	noun	2	16	17
2 words	article + noun		2	3
	possessive + noun			1
	noun + article	1	2	
	noun + possessive		1	
	noun + genitive noun	3		1
	noun + adjective			1
3 words	noun + genitive noun + possessive		1	1
	noun + possessive + genitive noun		1	
Coordinated noun phrases as ant.				
3 words	spræca ne word (18:4)		1	
	noun 'and' noun		3	
more than 3 words	unscæþful on handum & clæne heorte (23:4)			1
	alle weolure faecne & tungan yfel spræcende (11:5)			1
	mildsa ðinra dryhten & mildheortnis ðin (24:6)	1		
	mid ðæm arleasum... & mid weorum bloda (25:9)		1	

III. The clause length and the Forms of the Relative

a. VESPASIAN

the number of words	pe	se	se pe
1 word		3	
2 words		17	2
3		15	2
4		10	
5		7	
6		5	1
7		1	
8			
9		2	
10		2	
11			
12		1	
13			
14			
15			

b. JUNIUS

the number of words	pe	se	se pe
1 word		5	
2 words		11	7
3		15	4
4		9	1
5		7	
6		5	1
7		1	
8			
9		2	
10		2	
11		1	
12			
13			
14			
15			

c. ROYAL

the number of words	pe	se	se pe
1 word	3		
2 words	12	4	2
3	10	6	1
4		6	
5	16	6	1
6		1	
7	1	1	
8	1	2	
9			
10		1	
11			1
12			2
13			
14			
15			

d. TIBERIUS

the number of words	pe	se	se pe
1 word	4		
2 words	11	6	2
3	7	7	3
4	2	4	1
5	3	5	
6		2	
7		1	
8		3	
9	1		
10			
11		1	
12			
13			1
14			
15			

e. LAMBETH

the number of words	pe	se	se pe
1 word			2
2 words	9	3	8
3	1	2	10
4	5	1	6
5	2		5
6		1	3
7		1	2
8	1		2
9	1	1	2
10			1
11		1	2
12			
13			
14			1
15			1
16			1

f. VITELLIUS

the number of words	pe	se	se pe
1 word	1	1	
2 words	4	7	10
3	4	7	5
4	2	5	7
5	1	1	4
6	1	3	1
7	1		
8		2	2
9			
10			1
11		1	1
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			

g. ARUNDEL

the number of words	pe	se	se pe
1 word	1	1	1
2 words	2	7	11
3	2	5	8
4	3	6	5
5	2	5	1
6		4	2
7	1		
8		1	
9		1	1
10			2
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			

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