

The Demonstrative and Relative Pronouns in **Beowulf**

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The demonstrative pronoun is an indispensable grammatical item to make a text cohesive. The definite article and the personal pronoun may act as partial substitutes for the demonstrative, but they do not have enough deictic ('pointing') force to replace it completely. The demonstrative pronouns in Modern English (abb. ModE) are *this*, *that* and their plurals, *these* and *those*. They function both as substantives and as adjectives. ¹ In Old English (abb. OE) they had following forms.

	masculine	feminine	neuter	plural
(that)				
Nom.	<i>se</i>	<i>seo</i>	<i>thaet</i> ²	<i>tha</i>
Acc.	<i>thone</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>thaet</i>	<i>tha</i>
Gen.	<i>thaes</i>	<i>thaere</i>	<i>thaes</i>	<i>thara, thaera</i>
Dat.	<i>thaem, tham</i>	<i>thaere</i>	<i>thaem, tham</i>	<i>thaem, tham</i>
Ins.	<i>thon, thy</i>		<i>thon, thy</i>	
(this)				
Nom.	<i>thes</i>	<i>theos</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>thas</i>
Acc.	<i>thisne</i>	<i>thas</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>thas</i>
Gen.	<i>thisses</i>	<i>thisse</i>	<i>thisses</i>	<i>thissa</i>
Dat.	<i>thissum</i>	<i>thisse</i>	<i>thissum</i>	<i>thissum</i>
Ins.	<i>thys</i>		<i>thys</i>	

The forms of modern *this* and *that* originate from the singular, nominative and accusative cases of the neuter forms of the O Edemonstratives. In Middle English (abb. ME) they were extended to the

other genders, as masculine *thes*, *se*, feminine *theos*, *seo* and their inflected forms had disappeared. Then, *this*, *that* and their plurals established themselves as the only demonstratives in English, although the development of *those* and *these* is not so straightforward as the singular demonstratives. Heltveit says that *these* goes back to ME *these*, which in its turn probably goes back to nominative singular masculine *thes* in OE³ and that modern *those* is a new formation in ME consisting of *tha* and the plural formative *-s*, not the direct continuation of OE *thas* 'these' as it has generally been supposed.⁴ Likewise, the function of the demonstrative in OE somewhat differs from that in ModE. The purpose of this paper is to look at this difference as it is found in *Beowulf*.

The reason for including the relative pronoun within the scope of this study is that *tha(e)t*, *se*, *seo*, *tha* and their inflected forms (henceforth represented by *thaet* only or expressed as *thaet* and its equivalents or as *thaet*-group unless further differentiation is necessary) in OE were sometimes ambiguously used either as a relative or as a demonstrative. For instance,

Guman onetton

*sigon aetsomne, oth thaet hy sael timbred
geatolic ond goldfah ongyton mihton;
thaet waes foremaerost foldbuendum
receda under roderum, on thaem se rica bad;*

Beowulf 306-310

is translated into ModE prose by John R. Clark Hall thus:

The warriors hastened; they went together until
they could descry the timbered hall, splendid and gold-
adorned, which was for men dwelling on this earth

the most famous of buildings under heaven; --in this
the ruler dwelt.

Thaet (309) is translated into *which*, a relative, and *thaem* (310) into *this*, a demonstrative in the translation above. On the other hand, Fr. Klaeber takes the former as equivalent of the personal pronoun *it* and the latter, a demonstrative *that*.⁵ There are many examples of this kind in *Beowulf* (13, 114, 196, 348, etc.) . This ambiguity arises mainly from the fact that the punctuation for the manuscript is often arbitrarily given by an editor and that it could easily make the difference in interpretation.⁶ In this study, however, the distinction has to be made and I shall follow Klaeber's decision, because he pays more attention to grammatical relationship of the words than Clark Hall does in his translation. Another OE relative *the* will receive a brief notice. *Which* is outside the scope of this study because it does not appear in this poem.

The adjectival (attributive) demonstratives are used more often than the substantive demonstratives in *Beowulf*. *Thaet* and its equivalents (attributive) is usually translated into *the* in Clark Hall's translation. It amounts to 186 in singular and 16 in plural,⁷ whereas the number of *thaet* and its equivalents (attributive) which take the same part of speech, *that*, in his version is only 37 in singular and 3 in plural.⁸ Since *the* is the reduced form of *thaet* and the demonstrative equivalent to *thaet* is assumed to have existed since the beginning of the Christian era,⁹ it is only too natural that *thaet* and its equivalents with the deictic or defining function are most frequently used among other uses of the demonstrative. When *thaet* remains to be *that* in the ModE version, it is often

emphatic pointing to the treasure (*hring*-1202, *mathme*-1902), weapons (*haeftmece*-1457, *waepen*-1660, *sweord*-1696) or property (*leodscipe*-2197, *wong*-3073), or it shows less degree of proximity of the object to the speaker in comparison with the case of *this* e. g. *thaere faehthe* 'that feud' (109) of Abel as against *thaet ellenweorc* 'this bold adventure' (661) of Beowulf in the immediate future. *Thaet*-equivalent before the personal noun remains to be *that* in translation. There is one example of "that + pronoun" construction i. e. *Eart thu se Beowulf* 'Art thou that Beowulf...?' (506) interrogated by Unferth, though this *se* is not necessarily emphatic. It may have been inserted for the metrical reason. There was a deprecatory use of *that* which goes back at least as far as to ME according to Mustanoja,¹⁰ but *se* before *Beowulf* does not seem to imply this mentality, even though Unferth was malicious enough to Beowulf, because no example of *thaet* in this use is attested in OE.

Besides *thaet* with the function of *the* and more emphatic *that*, *Beowulf's thaet* (attributive) is translated into *this* (in case of the plural, *these*) without apparent reason (943, 2093, 2278...sg. ; 233, 270, 1841, 2053, 2640, 2948...pl.). It may suggest that the domain of *thaet* was greater in OE than in ModE. For instance, about the words uttered immediately before the narrator's speech, the author of *Beowulf* usually uses *tha* e. g. *tha word* (639), *thaem wordum* (1492, 2669) instead of *thas*, and these instances are changed into *these* in Clark Hall. In other places, a sort of set phrases like *this world* or *this life's day* appear with *thaet* and its equivalent: *on thaem daege* (*thysses lifes*) (197, 790, 806).

The other attributive demonstratives (*thaet*-group) are replaced

by the personal pronouns in the translation: *its* (311), *his* (812, 1309, 1721, 1877, 2098, 2323, 2628), *her* (626) and *their* (114, 2038). The gender of the demonstrative pronoun corresponds with that of the object noun rather than with the natural sex; therefore *his right hand* (Grendel's) in 2098 and *his trust* (the dragon's) in 2323 have the feminine form *sio swithre* and *seo wen* respectively, and *her desire* (Wealththeow's) in 626 has the masculine form *se willa*.

Sometimes the attributive demonstratives (*thæt*-group) receive no article or demonstrative in translation. More than half of the instances (8 out of 13)¹¹ are in the nominative case e.g. *se ecghetewaecnan scolde*—cruel hatred should arise (84-85). The rest of the examples of no demonstrative before the noun in translation are found either before the abstract noun with the preposition directly preceding it e.g. in fight—*thære saecce*(1665), with sorrow —*thære sorhge* (2468) or before the object complement which requires no article in ModE e.g. I have heard dwellers.....say—*Ic thæt londbuend.....secgan hyrde* (1345-46). The indefinite *one* has no article in ModE, but it has *se* in *Beowulf* (2453), though of course it has *that* before *one* in ModE when there is a referent before it (2237). Mustanoja says that in ME *that* instead of *the* occurred frequently before *one* and *other* because they begin with a vowel, but there is no such rule in *Beowulf* in which *the* had not established itself as an article yet.¹²

One thing which remains to be said about the attributive demonstrative (*thæt*-group) in *Beowulf* is that it is often used before the substantivized adjectives. There are 42 examples¹³ of this combination, the representatives being, *se goda* (205, 355, 384,

675, 758, 1190, 1518, 2944, 2949), *se hearda* (401, 1807, 1963, 2977), *se gomela* (1397, 2817, 2851), etc. Here, however, the problem of the punctuation again arises. For instance, a phrase *se goda, maeg Higelaces* (758) has a comma in the middle in Klaeber's edition whereas there is no comma there in Wrenn's edition. As far as the translation is concerned, it reads *Hygelac's brave kinsman*, which is in accordance with Wrenn's interpretation. Klaeber took the second phrase, *maeg Higelaces*, to be the appositive phrase of the first, *se goda*. Since the conversion of the adjective into noun in generalizing singular sense is not uncommon in OE, though it falls into disuse later in ME,¹⁴ it seems better to regard them as separate appositive phrases as Klaeber does.

This and its equivalents are almost always used as the attributive demonstrative in *Beowulf*, and only one (290) is used as a substantive. They are used before the concrete noun..... 4 times each for a man or a group of men—432, 1219, 1702, 2732, ; for the treasure—1216, 1652, 2635, 2640 ; 3 times each for the weapons—1217, 2155, 2499, for the building of Heorot which is the heroes' immediate concern—411, 484, 638. It is also placed before the abstract noun*thisse ansyne* 'this sight' (928), *this gid* 'this tale' (1723), *thyssum sithfate* 'this adventure' (2639), *this ellenlweorc* 'this deed of bravery' (2643). The noun denoting time e.g. *windagum* 'day of labour' (1062), *dogor* 'day' (1395), naturally receives this demonstrative whenever necessary. But the most frequent collocation that has *this* is the word denoting the life in this world i.e. (*on thaem daeg*) *thysse lifes* (197, 790, 806), *thisne middangeard* 'this earth' (75, 1771), *thas laenan gesceaft* 'this transitory world' (1622) and

thas worold (1681). All instances of *this* in the original poem remain to be *this* in translation except in two cases (1771, 2635) where it is changed into *the*. There seems to be no particular reason that necessitates this change, and the predominance of the number of *this* retained in translation suggests that it may have been an established emphatic form or the form to denote things in immediate environment to the speaker in time, space or thought.¹⁵

The demonstrative (*thæt*-group) used substantively presents some problems. One of them has already been mentioned in the beginning of this paper: the demonstrative-relative ambiguity. S. O. Andrew tries to give a solution to this problem and he says that no part of the demonstrative pronoun *se*, *seo*, *thæt* other than the neuter nominative can stand at the head of a sentence except as the antecedent, and that any supposed instance to the contrary is really a relative pronoun.¹⁶ However, he admits exception to the rule in verse elsewhere in his article;¹⁷ otherwise the passage beginning with *Sio gehaten is, geong gold hroden, gladum suna Frodan* (2024–25) (Sio=Freawaru) cannot be the beginning of Heathobard episodes.¹⁸ The problem of demonstrative-relative ambiguity is difficult to solve particularly when the paratactic or hypotactic nature of the sentence sequence is not clear.

Another problem is that the masculine demonstratives in *thæt* group are sometimes used in place of the personal pronoun. There are 12 instances of this in *Beowulf*. Three of them denote Beowulf (196, 2391, 3009) and others, Scyld (12), Healfdenes (59), Ecgtheow (374), Heorogar (469), Sigemund (898) and Aeschere (1296). An unknown man is also called *se* instead of *he* in 2406, so is the dragon

(3042). Freawaru is called *sio* (instead of *heo*, 2024) as it was stated on the previous page. In these cases there seems to be no syntactic or contextual difference between *se* and *he* or between *seo* and *heo* and it is hard to know the cause of this variation except for the metrical reason such as alliteration.

The substantive *thæt* is most often used to indicate the preceding events as a whole. For instance, Grendel's murderous action is lamented as *Thæt waes wraec micel* (170) 'That was great heart-breaking sorrow' and Haethcyn's misdeed against Herebeald is summed up as *Thæt waes feohleas gefeoh* (2441) 'That was an onset beyond compensation.' There are 29 instances¹⁹ of *thæt* used in this way in *Beowulf*. Similar to that use of *thæt* is the construction "*thæt waes* + personal noun." There are seven instances of this construction (11, 62, 348, 1075, 1611, 1812, 2390): *Thæt waes god cýning* (11), *Thæt waes modig secg* (=noble warrior) (1812), etc. This *thæt* can be regarded as representing the characteristic deeds of the person in question, but it is not the case when the sentence has no qualifying adjective e.g. *thæt waes Wendla leod* (= a child of the Wendles) (348).

Related to *thæt*-construction above is "*thæt waes* (or *is*) + noun + *thæt* (conjunction)....." The first *thæt* corresponds to the formal *it* in ModE. There are 9 instances of this construction in *Beowulf* (765-6, 932, 1255-6, 1304-5, 1361-2, 1455-6, 1463-4, 1598-9, 1607-8), the first example being: *Theat waes geocor sith, thæt se hearmscatha to Heorute ateah* (765) 'That was a sorry journey which that injurious foe had made to Heorot.' Though similar in construction, the situation is not the same in the sentence beginning with

tha e.g. *Tha waes wundor micel thaet*..... (771) 'Then was it a great wonder that.....', *Tha* is an adverb here and there is no subject because the construction here is impersonal.²⁰ There are 4 other examples of this construction, two with the conjunctive *thaet*-clause (1527, 2625) and two without it (1306, 2209). The adverbial *thaet* translated as *for that* (588, 2335, etc.) is excluded from consideration, though it also works to sum up the preceding events.

In the rest of the examples of *thaet* (substantive) in *Beowulf*, it is either translated into ModE *this* (277, 1826, 2611, 2769) or *it* (2027, 2200, 3070, 3087) or remains unchanged (586, 1372, 1388, 1455, 2194, 2354). *Thaet* in 1826 is used cataphorically ('referring forward'): *Gif ic thaet gefricge ofer floda begang, thaet thec ymbsittend egesan thywath* 'If I learn this across the circuit of the sea, that those around thy borders threaten harm'. *That* in 290, 2000 and 2300 are also cataphoric, though this is not translated as such in Clark Hall's translation. Finally, it should be mentioned that the conjunctive *thaet* which appeared as the second *thaet* in above construction with the formal *it* (the first *thaet*) is often used after the verb which requires the object complement clause e.g. *Wen ic thaet*.....(338) 'I believe that.....;' *se eorl ongeat thaet*..... (1512) 'the chief perceived that.....,' and the number of its use amounts to 135²¹. Another sort of conjunctive *thaet* which is given ModE *so that* in Clark Hall is also very numerous in *Beowulf*.²²

As for the substantive demonstrative *this*, there is only one instance in *Beowulf* i. e. *Ic thaet gehyre, thaet this in hold weorod frean Scyldinga* (290-91) 'I understand that this is a company friendly to the lord of Scyldings.' This speech is made by a coast guard

toward Beowulf and his followers when the latter arrived at the land of the Danes. The strange band in front of the guard is an imminent threat to the guard and it is natural for him to use this deictic or emphatic demonstrative. However, when Beowulf and his party walk on and meet the herald of King Hrothgar and Hrothgar himself, *this*-demonstrative is not used for them, *oretmeccas* (332) or *ellenrof* (340). Although no certain conclusion can be drawn from this scarce instance, it seems not unlikely that *this* was not the only demonstrative to express the immediacy of matters in time and space. *Thaet* was extensively used where this would be used in ModE.

The OE relative pronouns are *thæt*, *se*, *seo*, *tha* (and their inflected forms), *the* and their combination, *thæt* (etc.)+ *the*. A brief glance at the relative *thæt* and its equivalents is going to be made because of the similarity of the forms of the relative and the demonstrative and because of their ambiguity in actual verse making as mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

Among 12 instance of *se* used as a relative, 7 have a man, mostly Beowulf (370, 2407, 2865) and Grendel (1267, 1617) for the antecedent.²³ But when the antecedent of *se* is a thing, it is often (2 out of 4) the feminine noun (*wyrd* 'fate'-2421) or neuter (*yth-gewinne* 'strife of waters'-2412). The antecedents of the relative pronouns in oblique cases, *thone* (13, 2751) and *thaem* (2199, 2612, 2779) are all masculine. The plural *tha* presents no problem of gender correspondence because it is common to all genders.

In *Beowulf* the case of the relative pronoun agrees sometimes with that of the antecedent and at other times with that of the word required by the verb in the subordinate clause. Also there are many

unidentifiable cases.²⁴ It is because the case of the antecedent in the principal clause and the case of the corresponding part of speech in the embedded clause happen to be identical e.g. *se aldor deah se thaem heathorincum hider wisade* 'the chief is doughty who has led these battle-leaders hither' (369-70). In *Beowulf* the case of 11 relative pronouns agrees with that of the word in question in the subordinate clause (13, 41, 1266, 1363, 1458, 1688, 2412, 2612, 2704, 2804, 3157) and only 2 (*thaem*-2199, 2779) take the case of the principal clause, although the situation is different in the compound relative *se the* and the like. The problem of the agreement of the case of the relative ceased only after the inflection of the demonstrative had disappeared. From the twelfth century on, *that* is used for all cases and genders.²⁵ In OE and in *Beowulf* the relative particle which causes no gender-case problem is *the*. There are 32 of it²⁶ in this poem, taking mostly the abstract noun (12 times) and persons (9 times) as antecedents. It takes even the plurals for an antecedent e.g. *thas saelac.....the* (1652-54) 'These seaspoils.....which.'

The compound demonstrative *se the* is more numerous than the single form in *Beowulf*. And the form in the nominative case, *se the*, is predominant (41 times for a man and 5 times for a thing²⁷) whereas the oblique case is smaller in number.²⁸ The neuter nominative *thaet the* is not found, though there is one feminine nominative *seo the* (1445). Disagreement of the genders of the relative and the antecedent occurs for *se the* in 1344 (*hand*, f.), 2685 (*hond*, f.) and 1887 (*ylde* 'old age', f.) as well as in the case of Grendel's mother (1260, 1497). But she is treated as a man even in the personal pronoun (*he*-1392, 1394) and Wrenn attributes this

to her demoniac character which allowed her to be taken as a male at times.²⁹

The case of the compound relative pronoun agrees with that of the antecedent more often than with that required by the verb in the subordinate clause (25:8).³⁰ This phenomenon may be natural because *se*, *seo*, *thæt* before *the* originally belonged to the principal clause.³¹ Following is an example of OE characteristic construction in which ModE would require the oblique case of the relative :
Drihtnes dome se the hine death nimeth 'He whom death carries off shall resign himself to God's judgement' (441). There are again, however, many unidentifiable examples (51 times)³² as to the case assignment of the relatives, as it was mentioned in case of the single form relative pronouns. It includes such an ambiguous case pointed out by J. Hoops.³³

Swa maeg unfaege eathe gedigan
wean and wraecsith se the Waldendes
hylde gehealdeth *Beowulf*
2291-93

Klaeber : So may an doomed man whom favour of the Almighty protects easily survive both woe and banishment.

Wrenn : So may an doomed man who retains the favour of the Almighty easily survive both woe and banishment.

The difference of interpretation arises from the fact that Klaeber thinks *hylde* 'favour' to be nominative and Wrenn, accusative.³⁴

The characteristics of *thæt*-group in *Beowulf*, though they may represent only a part of general trait of the demonstratives in OE, can be summarized as follows:

1. The attributive demonstrative was used much more often than the substantive ones. The main reason would be that most of

thaet and its equivalents in this use in OE had more vaguely defining or deictic power, which was to develop into the definite article.

2. *Thaet*-group was more extensively used in this poem than in the translation. The reasons can be as follows:

(attributive)

- a. *Thaet*-group appears where no article would be required in ModE or where *this* or the personal possessive pronoun is more appropriate in the modern practice.
- b. *Thaet* + adjective construction denoting a person was employed very often, whereas it is available only in the plural sense in ModE e.g. *the young*.

(substantive)

- c. There are many instances of *thaet* denoting the previous events as a whole. Even the cataphoric *this* in ModE could be *thaet* in this poem.
- d. *Se* and its inflected forms were sometimes used in place of *he* (*his*, *him*) and so did *seo* (for *heo*).
- e. The formal *it* in *it is.....+ that* construction is *thaet* in this poem.

(other uses)

- f. There are many conjunctive *thaet* as in ModE.
- g. The frequent use of the relative pronoun *thaet* and its equivalents as well as the compound relative *se the* and its equivalents contribute to the increase of the use of *thaet*-group. In ModE we mostly use *which*.

3. The attributive *this* and its equivalent were used 29 times but this number is not great because their use was limited perhaps to the emphatic or immediate environment of the object for the speaker. The fact that it did not develop into *the* and that it was not used before the adjective also reduces the number. There is only one instance of substantive *this* in this poem.

Notes :

1. The substantival demonstratives are "principals" and the adjectival demonstratives are "adjunct(s)" in Jespersen's terms. The latter is sometimes called "conjoint" (Poutsma), "attributive" (Zandvoort) demonstratives, or "modifier" (Halliday).
2. Because of the lack of printing types for the thorn, eth and ash, the double letters *the* and *ae* are used in this paper.
3. Heltveit, pp. 75, 81-85 and 127.
4. Heltveit, pp. 70-74 and pp. 106-113.
5. Cf. Klaeber's classification of these words (s. v. *se*) in pp. 393-394 of his edition of *Beowulf*.
6. However, in this instance (ll. 306-310) Wrenn gives the same punctuation as Clark Hall does.
7. *Thaet*-group translated into *the* is found in the lines:
66, 86, 107, 143, 159, 168, 189, 191, 300, 326, 330, 350, 354,
369, 425, 433, 443, 470, 479, 595, 617, 628, 639, 646, 647,
695, 712, 713, 737, 739, 771, 792, 801, 807, 838, 890, 919,
989, 1000, 1016, 1025, 1030, 1052, 1053, 1057, 1073, 1110,
1191, 1199, 1215, 1273, 1280, 1282, 1291, 1313, 1343, 1362,
1421, 1448, 1484, 1485, 1496, 1512, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1575,

1596, 1599, 1605, 1612, 1614, 1621, 1629, 1635, 1638, 1639,
1649, 1667, 1668, 1741, 1750, 1754, 1855, 1876, 1900, 1981,
1984, 1995, 2007, 2010, 2026, 2031, 2033, 2039, 2055, 2059,
2061, 2083, 2127, 2131, 2135, 2139, 2144, 2145, 2163, 2172,
2227, 2258, 2264, 2287, 2309, 2312, 2316, 2318, 2334, 2343,
2348, 2376, 2382, 2389, 2391, 2400, 2403, 2405, 2406, 2407,
2421, 2465, 2514, 2520, 2528, 2546, 2560, 2567, 2577, 2606,
2618, 2629, 2646, 2661, 2675, 2684, 2690, 2697, 2709, 2711,
2712, 2715, 2733, 2745, 2759, 2770, 2771, 2786, 2835, 2856,
2857, 2860, 2865, 2883, 2893, 2905, 2918, 2946, 2959, 2963,
2969, 2971, 2989, 2991, 2999, 3010, 3020, 3024, 3028, 3036,
3040, 3051, 3053, 3061, 3071, 3085, 3105, 3120 and 3150.

(plural)

192, 221, 282, 312, 416, 639, 1482, 1863, 1982, 2592, 2718,
2779, 2788, 2794, 2846 and 2996.

8. *Thaet*-group which remains *that* in translation is found in the lines :

102, 109, 110, 125, 133, 202, 506, 562, 704, 766, 824, 910,
958, 993, 997, 1082, 1202, 1304, 1457, 1471, 1660, 1696, 1742,
1809, 1902, 2011, 2197, 2232, 2237, 2239, 2298, 2366, 2399,
2573, 2633, 3058, and 3073.

Thaet-group translated into *those* is found in the lines: 2, 99
and 2865.

9. Mustanoja, p. 232.
10. Mustanoja, p. 171.
11. *Thaet*-group (in nominative case) with no article in ModE :
84, 1068, 1211, 1376, 1474, 1666, 2230 and 2913.

- 12 Mustanoja, p. 169.
13. *Thaet*-group—adjectives : 92, 125, 132, 205, 258, 270, 310, 340, 355, 363, 384, 399, 401, 675, 758, 777, 1190, 1318, 1397, 1406, 1518, 1570, 1658, 1698, 1739, 1759, 1786, 1807, 1956, 1963, 1975, 2305, 2329, 2435, 2817, 2823, 2851, 2880, 2928, 2944, 2949, and 2977.
14. Mustanoja, p. 644.
15. Cf. Mustanoja, p. 174-175.
16. Andrew, p. 288.
17. Andrew, p. 290.
18. Ono and Nakao, p. 325.
- Other instances of the demonstrative pronoun in the sentence-head position (though not so conspicuous as the one in 2024) may be found in 898, 1296, 2391 and 2406.
19. *Thaet* indicating the preceding events : 7, 137, 170, 429, 586, 716, 798, 833, 1002, 1220, 1304, 1548, 1691, 1885, 2005, 2129, 2200, 2327, 2384, 2415, 2427, 2441, 2479, 2532, 2586, 2629, 2709, 2139, and 2999.
20. Cf. Suzuki, p. 96.
21. Other examples of the conjunctive *theet*-group are found in the list below. It includes the appositive case e.g. *thaet raed talath thaet he.....saecca gesette* (2027-29) 'he counts it good policy that he should sette.....' but excludes the doubtful cases (429, 717, 1361, etc).
- 62, 68, 77, 84, 88, 151, 177, 228, (Klaeber, relative), 290, 300, 313, 338, 347, 365, 377, 388, 392, 411, 415, 433, 435, 482, 503, 556, 563, 574, 591, 595, 627, 632, 681, 691, 694,

701, 705, 731, 739, 750, 765, 779, 809, 812, 822, 875, 890,
894, 910, 932, 937, 945, 961, 988, 1009, 1098, 1167, 1181,
1184, 1221, 1255, 1347, 1367, 1385, 1464, 1466, 1486, 1499,
1513, 1523, 1528, 1593, 1596, 1597, 1599, 1604, 1662, 1671,
1700, 1748, 1763, 1768, 1780, 1819, 1935, 1972, 1995, 2027,
2059, 2132, 2157, 2158, 2163, 2172, 2187, 2227, 2240, 2300,
2325, 2329, 2340, 2346, 2371, 2445, 2494, 2534, 2592, 2616,
2626, 2636, 2651, (twice), 2653, 2657, 2665, 2682, 2683, 2714,
2726, 2822, 2839, 2846, 2865, 2871, 2875, 2924, 2984, 3008,
3058, 3081, 3096, 3112, 3126, 3130, 3153, 3175, and 3180.

22. *Thaet* translated into *so that* in Clark Hall's edition is found in the lines: 22, 65, 221, 567, 571, 698, 890, 965, 1032, 1082, 1434, 1446, 1453, 1504, 1521, 1532, 1540, 1544, 1566, 1664, 1674, 1721, 1772, 1833, 1901, 1911, 1939, 2528, 2577, 2679, 2699, 2749, 2770, 2806, 2830, 2963, 2966, 2974, and 3071.

Thaet which remains to be *that* in Clark Hall's edition but means 'so that' is found in the lines : 431, 622, 1318, 2747, 2918, 2954, 3008, 3053, and 3104.

Other adverbial conjunctions e.g. *thaes* ('therefore'—16) *thaes the* ('because'—108, 626) are excluded from consideration in this paper.

23. *Se* which has the masculine antecedent (man or God, except Beowulf) is found in the lines: 143, 1610, 2238 (pl.); (thing) 3157.

Thaet which has the neuter antecedent (thing only) is found in the lines: 2616 and 2704.

24. Ambiguous case agreement : 143, 370, 453, 1267, 1610, 1617,

- 1796, 2048, 2238, 2258, 2407, 2421, 2534, 2616, 2751 and 2865.
25. Brunner, p. 64.
26. *The* is found in the lines: 15, 45, 138, 192, 238, 355, 500, 831, 941, 950, 993, 1271, 1334, 1482, 1654, 1858, 2135, 2182, 2364, 2400, 2468, 2490, 2606, 2635, 2712, 2735, 2796, 2866, 2982, 3001, 3009, and 3086.
27. *Se the* for a person: 79, 87, 90, 103, 230, 289, 441, 495, 506, 603, 789, 809, 825, 869, 909, 1003, 1049, 1061, 1260, 1342, 1387, 1497, 1618, 1700, 1744, 1756, 1915, 1977, 2008, 2041, 2042, 2212, 2272, 2292, 2542, 2595, 2766, 2864, 2898, 3059 and 3125.
- Se the* for a thing: 1344, 1449, 1883, 1887, and 2685.
28. *Thone the* for a man: 1054, 1298, 2295, 3003, 3034 and 3116.
Thaes se (none for a man); 1751, 1779, 2797 and 3000.
Thaem the for man/men: 183, 186, 2601, 2861, 3055 and 3059.
Thaera the for men: 98, 206, 785, 843, 878, 937, 1051, 1123, 1196, 1407, 1578, 1625, 1686, 2130, 2251 and 2383.
29. Quoted in Suzuki, p. 114.
30. The case of the compound relative agrees with that of the antecedent in 98, 183, 186, 206, 441, 785, 843, 996, 1051, 1123, 1407, 1461, 1686, 1839, 1915, 2130, 2251, 2295, 2383, 2601, 2861, 3003, 3034, 3059 and 3116. It agrees with the word required by the verb in the subordinate clause in 878, 937, 1003, 1054, 1196, 1298, 1342 and 3000.
31. Quoted from Brunner in Ono, p. 326.
32. The case of the compound relative pronoun agrees with the antecedent as well as the word required by the verb in the

subordinate clause in the lines: 79, 87, 90, 103, 230, 289,
378, 495, 506, 603, 789, 809, 825, 869, 909, 1049, 1061, 1135,
1260, 1344, 1387, 1445, 1449, 1497, 1578, 1592, 1618, 1625,
1700, 1744, 1751, 1756, 1883, 1977, 2008, 2041, 2042, 2056,
2173, 2257, 2272, 2292, 2542, 2595, 2685, 2766, 2807, 2864,
2898, 3055 and 3125.

33. Quoted in Ono, pp. 327-328.

34. *Ibid.*

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