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The analysis of the genitive case in Old English
within a Cognitive Grammar framework, based on
the data from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies First
Series*.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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The primary aim of the present study is to give a semantic/conceptual analysis to the genitive case in Old English (= OE) within a Cognitive Grammar (=CG) framework (specifically Langacker's version; Langacker 1987, 1991) and explain the diversity of its use (adnominal, adverbial, adjectival, prepositional, and adverbial), as constituting a coherent network, wherein all variants share a unified semantic structure. My analysis is partly based on Roman Jakobson's (1936/1971) study on the Russian case system, which is recast and updated within a CG framework. Pivotal to my analysis of the semantic structure of the genitive case is the notion of "deprofile", whereby an already profiled (i.e. most prominent) entity in a given predicate becomes unprofiled, to reduce the amount of attention drawn onto the designatum, making it conceptually less prominent. Specifically, the function of the genitive case in OE is to deprofile the profile of the nominal predicate to which the genitive inflection is attached. The crucial claim is that a genitive nominal is a nominal predicate, in that it still profiles a region in some domain, in accordance with the schematic characterisation of the semantic structure of a noun in CG. The nominal character of a genitive nominal means that it can occur in various syntactic contexts where any other nominal expression can occur, namely in a position for a verbal, adverbial, and prepositional complement, as well as in a modifier/complement position for a noun. This account ties in with the subsequent history of the genitive case after the end of the OE period, in which some of its uses became obsolete, especially the partitive function of adnominal genitive, and all functions of the adverbial, adjectival, prepositional genitives. The cumulative effect of this is that a genitive nominal ceased to be a nominal predicate, and its determinative character which had already existed in OE side by side with its nominal character, became grammaticalised during the ME period as a general function of a genitive nominal.

Chapter 1 outlines the history of the genitive case from OE to early ME, to introduce the problems to be dealt with in this dissertation, particularly the diversity of the genitive functions. Reviews of some previous studies relevant to the problems are also provided. Chapter 2 and 3 introduce the framework of CG. Chapter 2 summarises some basic assumptions about grammar, and Chapter 3 focuses on how syntactic issues are dealt with in CG, based on the assumptions summarised in Chapter 2. Here I also introduce Langacker's (1991) and Taylor's (1996) account of a Present Day English possessive construction, using Langacker's reference point analysis, and examine its applicability to the OE genitive. As an alternative, the notion of deprofile will be introduced. Chapters 4 and 5 are the application to the actual examples of genitive nominals, taken from *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies first series*; Chapter 4 deals with adnominal genitive, and chapter 5 covers all the non-adnominal genitives. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses how the diversity of the genitive functions in OE and its subsequent history may be accounted for in the light of the findings in this study.

Preface

The study of the genitive case in Old English has been an exciting subject to me for over ten years, and the simple question of how this case was used both adnominally and adverbally (among other uses of the case) has always been bewildering. There have been several steps made forward to a solution of this question. Firstly, it was through Prof. Kodama Hitoshi at Dokkyo University, who introduced to me this subject and suggested that there might be some relationship between the use of the genitive case and the degree of transitivity. Secondly, it was through Prof. Shun Shirota at Dokkyo University, who recommended me to read Roman Jakobson's *Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre*, which suggested a possibility of explaining the adnominal and adverbial uses of the genitive case in a coherent way. I wrote my MSc dissertation at University of Edinburgh based on Jakobson's theory of case. But I found many problems in explaining what exactly Jakobson meant, and I needed a theoretical framework in which his theory can be formulated. The third step was through Langacker's Cognitive Grammar, which I found capable of recasting Jakobson's theory and also incorporating the notion of transitivity in a persuasive way. So I finally formulated what I have thought and found about the genitive case in Old English in this dissertation.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr Graeme Trousdale, who gave me a lot of encouragement to study Cognitive Grammar, and indeed studied with me, and shared all my interests in the genitive case. Without his supervision, especially in keeping me write it up, I would never have been able to complete this work practically. I would also like to thank Dr Caroline Heycock in Linguistic Department. She gave me a lot of valuable comments and advice from the point of view of more "general" or "generativist's" point of view. Indeed my criticism of Thomas's study (in Chapter 1) was dramatically improved due to her comments on my first draft. Also it was through my discussion with her that I realised that within an adnominal genitive phrase, when the genitive nominal precedes the head noun, the head noun is never accompanied by any determiner of its own, which is an extremely significant fact in the history of the genitive in English. I also want to thank Dr. Fran Colman and Prof. John Anderson, who supervised me in

my first three years in Edinburgh, and encouraged me to explore the originality of ideas. The main point of this thesis is, I think, inspired by John's persistent query: "a genitive nominal (in OE) determines", when I insisted it did not. It turned out that both were right, it seems to me, and that the categories of a determiner class and a nominal class were not so distinct in OE as in PDE. I would also like to thank Pro Kodama Hitoshi, who has introduced me to this inspiring subject, and also Prof. Shirota Shun, who recommended me to read Roman Jakobson's paper.

I would like to express my deepest thanks to my parents, who have supported my long studies financially and mentally, and have been so patient in waiting to see the completion of this degree. Finally, I want to thank my wife Zuzana, who has been so patient and encouraging to me, and took a great care of me when I was so concentrated on my work that I could not think of other things, through prayers and supports. She listened to my "genitive stories" both days and nights, and showed a lot of interest in them. Without her support I would not have survived (at least) the last stage of my Ph.D. I would like to dedicate this thesis to Zuzana.

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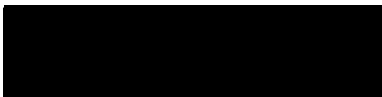
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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is of my own composition, and that it contains no material previously submitted.

2004.3.25



Takeshi Koike

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Abbreviations used in this dissertation.

- CH = Examples from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies 1st series*. (ed. Clemons 1997); examples are quoted by the number of the homily and line.
- CH2 = Examples from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies 2nd series* (ed. Godden 1979) ; examples are quoted by the number of the homily and line.
- Matthew
- Mark
- Luke
- John = Examples from the Gospels in *The Old English version of the Gospels* (ed. Liuzza 1994); examples are quoted by the chapter and verse.
- AW = Examples from *Ancrene Wisse* (ed. Tolkien 1962): examples are quoted by the page number of folio and line in the original manuscript.
- Wulfstan = Examples from the Homilies of Wulfstan (ed. Napier 1883).
- Orosius = Examples from *Orosius* (ed. Bately 1980): examples are quoted by page and line.
- BlHom. = Examples from *Blickling Homilies* (ed. Morris 1880)
- Beowulf = Examples from *Beowulf* (ed. Klaeber 1950)
- Genesis = Examples from *Genesis* (ed. Krapp 1931)
- Daniel = Examples from *Daniel* (ed. Krapp 1931)
- Andreas = Examples from *Andreas* (ed. Krapp 1932)
- Elene = Examples from *Elene* (ed. Krapp 1932)
- Judith = Examples from *Judith* (ed. Dobbie 1954)
- Psalm = Examples from *Paris Psalter* (ed. Krapp 1933)
- Christ = Examples from *Christ* (ed. Krapp 1936)
- Guthlac = Examples from *Guthlac* (ed. Krapp 1936)
- Juliana = Examples from *Juliana* (ed. Krapp 1936)
- Exhaustation = Examples from *An Exhaustation to Christian Living* (ed. Dobbie 1942)
- BT = Bothworth & Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Bosworth & Toller 1898)
- BTS = Bothworth & Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement* (Toller & Campbell 1898)

- A = Adjective
- N = Nominal, which is either a noun or a noun phrase.
- V = Verb
- P = Preposition.

[GEN] = a semantic structure (= a predicate) of the genitive case in OE

CG = Cognitive Grammar

OE = Old English

ME = Middle English

ModE = Modern English

PDE = Present Day English

Introduction

The problems associated with the genitive to be dealt with in this study can best be introduced by Curme's statement in his *Syntax*:

“Today we usually think of the genitive as an attributive adjective element modifying nouns or pronouns, but in Old English it was widely employed also to modify verbs and adjectives. ... the genitive is still used after verbs and adjectives; but it survives here only in the form of *of*-genitive, which we here no longer feel as a genitive but now construe as a prepositional object, so that the old, once common, conception of the genitive as a modifier of verbs and adjectives has been lost. The fact that the genitive after verbs and adjectives now never takes the simple *s*-form has dulled our feeling for it as a genitive and also for its original close relation to the attributive genitive. The older conception of the genitive as a modifier of nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives indicates that the genitive in all these different functions had the same general meaning --- some shade of the general idea of sphere... The fact that we no longer have a live feeling for this old meaning has helped to blunt our feeling for the original close relation between the attributive genitive and the genitive after verbs and adjectives.” (Curme 1931:109)

The particular problem I will deal with is what Curme means by saying “the same general meaning” which seems to be shared by the genitive of all the various types. The genitive case is one of the OE nominal inflectional categories. A noun or a noun phrase was inflected for this case (I will define a **GENITIVE NOMINAL** as a noun (or a noun phrase) inflected for the genitive case throughout this study), and was used, either with another noun or noun phrase, to form a larger nominal structure (= adnominal genitive), or with a verb (adverbial genitive), or with an adjective, or preposition, or as adverbial. How is it that the same case could be used in so many and different ways? This is the first question.

Curme's statement is remarkable, in that he mentions “the same general meaning”. It is customary in various studies on the genitive case in OE to treat adnominal genitive and the other types of genitive (especially adverbial genitive) completely separately. It is interesting to note that Curme assumes that it is *meaning* that is common to all uses of the genitive case. This is the position I will adopt in this study. However, in defining the meaning of the genitive case, we will have to give a sufficient account of “meaning” itself.

Another problem to be dealt with is the evolution of the genitive case in English. As Curme notes above, the genitive as we know it is the attributive genitive (= adnominal genitive). The rest

of the various uses of the genitive case became obsolete gradually after the end of the OE period. It is not the case that all the adnominal genitives survived the history of English. It is only some of the adnominal genitives that remained, and all the rest were replaced by other linguistic expressions (e.g. the *of*-phrase). There must have been a very significant change in the history of the genitive case in OE. This problem has not been elucidated enough in the literature, as we will see in Chapter 1.

Recently there have been a number of studies on the history of the genitive case, especially after the end of the OE period onwards, up until PDE (Allen 1997, 2003; Rosenbach 2003; Taylor 1996), and they all seem to have their unanimous view that the function of the genitive case changes from a case inflection to a determiner. However, in these studies the question of what the genitive case was like as a case inflection is not discussed well enough to serve as the starting point for the study of the history of the genitive case. In order to clarify this question, we also have to clarify the first problem raised above, namely, how can we characterise the genitive case that was used in so many different ways? The solution to this first problem will lead to the solution to the second problem, as regards the history of the genitive case.

These two problems, “the general meaning of genitive”, and “the history of genitive”, are the main subjects of the present study. In dealing with these problems, I will adopt the following procedure.

(1) In my analysis of the genitive case, I will use a Cognitive Grammar framework, especially the version developed by Langacker (1987*a*, 1991), and his particular theory and technical terms will be introduced in Chapter 2 and 3. However, in this particular matter of the genitive case in OE, I will make reference to Roman Jakobson’s (1936/1971) study on the Russian case system. I make use, not so much of his theory as of his explanation of the genitive case in Russian, which shows a lot of similarities to the OE genitive case. One of his most important contributions in the light of the present study is that he explains the various uses of genitive in Russian in a coherent way, as variant uses of the abstract, invariant meaning called [extent]. I will recast Jakobson’s explanation of the genitive within a Cognitive Grammar framework,

and apply it to the analysis of the genitive case in OE.

(2) The data I based my study on comes from my database from *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies 1st series* (ed. by Peter Clemoes 1997). My aim is not to provide an exhaustive analysis of all the instances of the genitive nominal that occur in this text, but the data I deal with cover the majority of the instances, and also represent a general use of the genitive case in OE. Since I also refer to the history of the genitive after the end of the OE period, I use some ME examples to substantiate my argument. The ME data are mostly from my database from *Ancrene Wisse* (ed. by J.R.R Tolkien 1962). For both OE and ME data, I also took examples from other sources when necessary (see Bibliography).

The outline of the study is as follows.

Chapter 1 outlines the general history of the genitive case in all its possible contexts from OE to early ME, and represents the problems with which the present study is concerned. Then it will review some previous studies that are relevant to the problems presented here.

Chapter 2 and 3 will introduce a Cognitive Grammar framework, which I use for the analysis of the genitive case in OE. Chapter 2 will set up basic assumptions in Cognitive Grammar, and provide an analysis of its claims about the structure of meaning (semantic structure). Chapter 4 then moves onto Cognitive Grammar's claims about syntactic issues, such as word classes (nouns, verb, adjectives, prepositions, adverbs), type/instance, transitivity, and its analysis of the PDE possessive construction. Here I will discuss the applicability of this analysis to the OE genitive, and then I offer an alternative explanation for the genitive, where I will introduce a term "deprofile". Chapter 4 and 5 are the application of this theoretical construct "deprofile" to the actual data of OE genitive nominals in various contexts. Chapter 4 deals with adnominal genitive, and Chapter 5 will deal with non-adnominal genitive (i.e. adverbial, adjectival, prepositional, and adverbial genitive; cf. §1.1.1 below). At the beginning of Chapter 5 I will introduce Jakobson's theory of case, and recast his explanation within a Cognitive Grammar framework. Chapter 6 will be a discussion of the problems raised in Chapter 1, in the light of the present study, and will offer some answer to the two questions made above ("the general meaning of genitive", and its

history).

Chapter 1

A history of the genitive case from OE to ME and a review of relevant previous studies

In this chapter I will outline the evolution of various uses of the genitive case from OE to ME, and present the problems with which this study is concerned. Then I will review several previous studies relevant to these problems.

§1.1 A summary of the history of the genitive from OE to ME.

The outline of the history of the genitive case I will present here consists of the description of how the case was used in OE, and its subsequent development from OE to ME, based on what is generally known already in previous studies. The following account is arranged according to the syntactic contexts in which a genitive nominal can occur. It contains its uses as a modifier of a noun, as a complement of a verb, adjective, preposition, and as an adverbial. I will treat these different uses separately. But it will be shown that the genitive in the different uses underwent comparable developments after the end of the OE period. In §1.1.1, I will classify the genitive case in OE into six types according to the function of the syntactic context in which the genitive nominal occurs. In §§1.1.2ff, I will summarise the situation of each type of the genitive case in OE, and how it changed from OE to ME.

§1.1.1 Classification of the genitive in OE

Here is the classification of all the possible uses of the genitive case according to the syntactic contexts. For convenience, each syntactic context will be expressed in terms of formulas. Examples given here are mostly taken from my databases from *Catholic Homilies 1st series* for OE and *Ancrene Wisse* for ME, but I also use examples from other sources when these texts do not contain relevant examples.

1. Adnominal genitive¹: when a genitive nominal occurs with another nominal to form a larger nominal structure as in:

[1-1] *godes sunu* ‘God’s son’ (CH3, 67)

[1-2] *fram frymðe middaneardes* ‘from the beginning of world’ (CH30, 97)

I analyse phrases like *godes sunu* and (*fram*) *frymðe middaneardes* as noun phrases headed by the nouns *sunu* and *frymðe*, and the genitive nominal *godes* and *middaneardes* as bearing the grammatical role of nominal modifier. I refer to a noun phrase containing a genitive nominal such as *godes sunu* or *frymðe middaneardes* as **ADNOMINAL GENITIVE PHRASE**.

I formulate this context as [N+N]. In this formula (and all the other formulas that follow) N represents a nominal² (and V = a verb, V_{copula} = a copula verb, A = adjective, P = preposition in the other formulas). An underlined N (N) represents a structural position in which the genitive can occur. In the formula, the word order is irrelevant (therefore in [N+N] there is no specification as to whether the modifier precedes or follows the head, as in [1-1] and [1-2]).

2. Adverbial genitive: when a genitive nominal occurs as a complement of a verb (both personal and impersonal). Depending on the number of arguments (two or three) of the verb (one of which is inflected for the genitive case), the adverbial genitive can be further classified into two subtypes.

2.1 with two arguments

[1-3] *þæs hlafes we onbyriað* ‘we partake of the bread’ (CH2, 83)

(personal construction)

[1-4] *hu mæig ðe nu twynian þæs ecan leohtes* ‘how can you now doubt the eternal light?’

(CH10, 134) (impersonal construction)

2.2 with three arguments

[1-5] *hu he ... him mancynnes benæmde* ‘how he deprived him of mankind’ (CH31, 87)

These contexts are formulated as [N+V+N] and [N+V+N+N] respectively.

3. Idiomatic genitive: when a genitive nominal occurs as a complement of a verbal idiomatic expression consisting of a verb and a deverbal noun, which together form a unit as one verb semantically (cf. PDE *I took notice of him* = *I noticed him*) as in:

[1-6] *he þæra cristenra manna gymene hæfde* ‘he took care of those Christian men’ (CH37, 12)

I formulate this context as [N+[V+N]+N], where [V+N] represents an idiomatic expression consisting of a verb and a deverbal noun as its direct object. Semantically, such a clausal structure can be said to have only two arguments, though there are three nominal structures involved.

4. Prepositional genitive: when a genitive nominal occurs as a complement of a preposition to form a prepositional phrase. A prepositional phrase thus formed may function as one of the arguments (two or three) of a verb, in a comparable pattern to the way the adverbial genitive nominal does (as in [1-7] and [1-8]). It may also function as an adverbial element (of time, place, purpose, extent, etc.) within a clause (as in [1-9]). I distinguish these types of prepositional phrases with a genitive nominal, referred to here as 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 respectively.

4.1 The prepositional phrase as one of two arguments

[1-7] *he þa beseah wið þæs caseres* ‘he then looked towards the emperor’ (CH29, 217)

4.2 The prepositional phrase as one of three arguments

[1-8] *se hælend ... send me wið ðin* ‘Christ sent me to you’ (CH27, 36)

4.3 The prepositional phrase as adverbial

[1-9] *herodes ... & geornlice hi befran. to hwilces timan se steorra him ærest ætéowede*

‘Herod ... and earnestly asked them what time the star appeared to them first’ (CH5, 22)

I formulate these contexts as [N+V+[P+N]] (for 4.1), [N+V+N+[P+N]] (for 4.2), and [Clause +[P+N]] (for 4.3) respectively.

5 Predicative genitive: when a genitive nominal occurs as a complement of a copula verb (various forms of *beon*, *wesan*), thus as a predicate of the subject of the clause.

[1-10] *Æfre he bið anes modes* ‘he will always be of one mind’ (CH31, 40)

I formulate this context as [N+V_{copula}+N].

6 Adjectival genitive: when a genitive nominal occurs as a complement of an adjective.

[1-11] *Nu wæs ... maria ... godes beboda gemyndig*

‘Now Mary was mindful of God’s promises’ (CH9, 14)

I formulate this context as [A+N].

7 Adverbial genitive: when a genitive nominal occurs as an adverbial within a clause.

[1-12] *he carað dægges & nihtes þ his feoh gehealden sy*

‘He cares day and night that his property may be preserved’ (CH4, 123)

I formulate this context as [Clause +N].

Now, the types 2, 3, 4 can be regrouped according to the number of the arguments of the verb (two or three). 2.1, 3, and 4.1 can form a new type **Adverbial genitive (a)** (with two arguments), whereas 2.2 and 4.2 form another new type **Adverbial genitive (b)** (with three arguments). Furthermore, 4.3 and 7 can be grouped together as **Adverbial genitive**. So now we have a modified six types of the genitive in OE as follows.

1 Adnominal genitive [N+N]

godes sunu

(fram) frymðe middaneardes

2 Adverbial genitive (a) [N+V+N]

þæs hlafes we onbyriað

[N+[V+N]+N]

. he þæra cristenra manna gymene hæfde

	[N+V+[P+N]]	<i>he þa beseah wið ðæs caseres</i>
3 Adverbial genitive (b)	[N+V+N+N]	<i>hu he ... him mancynnes benæmde</i>
	[N+V+N+[P+N]]	<i>se hælend ... send me wið ðin</i>
4 Predicative genitive	[N+V _{copula} +N]	<i>Æfre he bið anes modes</i>
5 Adjectival genitive	[A+N]	<i>nu wæs ... maria ... godes beboda gemyndig</i>
6 Adverbial genitive	[Clause +N]	<i>we ne magon gecyrran þæs weg</i>
	[Clause +[P+N]]	<i>to hwilces timan se steorra him ærest ætéowede</i>

Before going into the details of each of these types of genitive, I point out two general phenomena:

- (1) There is an overall reduction of the genitive functions during the course of the OE period, and
- (2) Some of the genitive nominals are apparently interchangeable with an *of*-phrase.

In relation to (1), we can observe in the data that, whereas in OE a genitive nominal could occur in these different syntactic contexts, in ME it could generally occur only in the context [N+N] and [Clause+N], namely the adnominal and adverbial genitives³. This reduction of the genitive functions seems to have already started in the OE period. Evidence of such anticipation in OE is of two kinds.

- (a) The distribution of genitive nominals in these contexts is not in balance. A genitive nominal occurs more frequently in some contexts (esp. in adnominal construction) than in others.
- (b) Related to (a), the occurrence of a genitive nominal seems to be motivated by different

factors according to the contexts.

- (c) There are other linguistic expressions that can occur in the same contexts, which seem to be more frequent than a genitive nominal in some contexts.

In relation to (2), we can observe in the data that the *of*-phrase already appears in many of the six contexts in OE. But there is a sudden increase in the use of the *of*-phrase after the end of the OE period. More importantly, the OE use of the *of*-phrase, which appears to function the same way as a genitive nominal does, seems to be rather different from that of the *of*-phrase in ME.

Therefore, in explaining the history of the genitive from OE to ME, it is important to consider the following issues relating to the genitive in OE

1. The distribution of the genitive, and factors which motivate the occurrence of a genitive nominal in these contexts.
2. What other linguistic expressions can occur in the same contexts.
3. How the *of*-phrase was used in the same contexts (if it could occur therein).

In the following sections, I will outline how the different types of the genitive were used in OE, and how the use of the genitive changed in ME, taking into consideration these three points above.

§ 1.1.2. A summary of the situation of the adnominal genitive in OE and its subsequent history from OE to ME.

There are two main aspects to be considered regarding the adnominal genitive in OE: the position of the genitive nominal, and the semantic or grammatical relations the case may express between the two nouns or noun phrases (i.e. the genitive nominal and the head nominal).

As for position, in general, it may appear either immediately before or immediately after the head. These two types of the adnominal genitives are called prenominal and postnominal genitive

respectively, for each of which [1-1] and [1-2] above are examples. Generally speaking, there are more examples of prenominal than postnominal genitive in OE: according to my database, the proportion is prenominal: postnominal = 5547:797 = 87%: 13%. Apart from these two positions, the genitive nominal may be separated from the head as in [1-13] below. If the genitive nominal consists of two nominals in apposition, the two nominals may be split before and after the head, and both the nominals will be inflected for the genitive, as in [1-14]. The genitive nominal may stand independently without a head when the head is understood from the context [1-15].

The genitive separated from the head.

[1-13] *AN angin is ealra þinga þ is god ælmihtig.*

‘There is (only) one beginning for all things, that is God Almighty’ (CH1, 6)

Significantly, according to my database, when the genitive is separated from the head, the genitive always appears after the head, but never before. This implies that the separated genitive can be analysed as a variation of a postnominal genitive (cf. §4.1 below).

The split genitive

[1-14] *ON DECIES DÆGE þæs wælhreowan caseres.*

‘During the day of Decius the cruel emperor’ (CH29, 3)

The genitive without a head

[1-15] *Heo lufode crist ofer ealle oþre menn. & for þy was éac hire sarnys be him toforan oþra manna.*

‘She (Mary) loved Christ above all other men, and therefore her sorrow for him was greater than (that, i.e. sorrow = *sarnys*) of other men’ (CH30, 143)

As for the semantic or grammatical relation between the genitive and the head nominals, there is a wide range of possibilities, including such relations as ‘possessive’, ‘origin’, ‘material’, ‘subjective’, ‘objective’, ‘descriptive’, ‘partitive’, etc., according to the terminology used in grammars based on traditional Latin grammar (cf. Curme (1913); Fries (1938); Poutsma (1914:40ff.)). Here are examples of such subtypes of the adnominal genitive:

(a) Possessive genitive

[1-16] *Bilewite cild ne gewilnað oþra manna æhta*

‘Innocent children do not desire other men’s property’ (CH34, 173)

(b) Genitive of origin

[1-17] *ðær com þa micel meniu ealre þære scire to þam cweartern*

‘There came then a great multitude from all the region to the prison’ (CH38, 232)

(c) Subjective genitive

[1-18] *ðæs hælandes ærist* ‘Christ’s resurrection’ (CH15, 97)

(d) Objective genitive

[1-19] *for middaneardes alysednysse* ‘for the salvation of (the) world’ (CH2, 44)

(e) Descriptive genitive

[1-20] *haliges lifes mann* ‘a man of holy life’ (CH30, 8)

(f) Genitive of material

[1-21] *eal purpuran reaf* ‘the entire garment of purple’ (Ælfric Hom.ii 436.4)

(g) Partitive genitive

[1-22] *Behealdað þæt ge ne forseon ænne þyssera lytlinga*

‘Watch out that you do not neglect one of these little ones’ (CH34, 153)

There seems to have been some correlation between the position of the genitive nominal and the relation expressed between the genitive nominal and its head. According to Timmer (1939:72), Mustanoja (1960:76), summarised by Rosenbach (2002:178), there was a tendency for genitive nominals of high animacy (such as nouns denoting a person, proper names) to appear prenominally rather than postnominally. Now, some of the subtypes of the genitive, like possessive and subjective genitives, typically have an animate and more specifically a human noun, because entities that are likely to be a possessor, or likely to be a subject of a verbal meaning of a deverbal noun, are typically animate. On the other hand, the genitive expressing partitivity is likely to be placed after the head, according to Brown (1970:41).

The genitive nominal is a structure that occurs most frequently in the context [N+N], according to my database. When a nominal is subordinated to another nominal to form a larger nominal, the one that is subordinated takes a certain form to indicate its subordination. One form is a genitive nominal. There are also many other forms a nominal can take including other case forms (especially dative), various types of prepositional phrases. The following table shows all the possible forms the N element in the context [N+N] may take.

Table 1-1 All the possible structures that occur in the context [N+N] according to the database from Catholic Homilies 1st series.

Structures	No. of examples	Structures	No. of examples
genitive nominal	6390	<i>ðurh</i> -phrase	4
appositive	1060	<i>mid</i> -phrase	3
denominal adjective	158	<i>binnon</i> -phrase	3
dative nominal	97	<i>æfter</i> -phrase	2
<i>to</i> -phrase	46	<i>betwux</i> -phrase	2
<i>of</i> -phrase	41	<i>æt</i> -phrase	1
<i>on</i> -phrase	25	<i>in</i> -phrase	1
<i>be</i> -phrase	24	<i>for</i> -phrase	1
<i>fram</i> -phrase	9	<i>togeanes</i> -phrase	1
<i>ongean</i> -phrase	9	<i>under</i> -phrase	1
<i>ymbe</i> -phrase	6	<i>wið</i> -phrase	1

This table shows that the genitive nominal is a predominant structure that occurs in the context [N+N] in my corpus of OE. This predominance (of in Jakobson's words, "monopoly": Jakobson 1936/1971:42) of a genitive nominal in this context is correlated with the diversity of semantic/grammatical relationship that may be expressed between the genitive and the head nominal. With the adnominal genitive, there seems to be little restriction on the kind of nominals which can function as head. This contrasts sharply with other types of genitive (such as adverbial genitive). Just to take a few examples, in the case of possessive genitive, any noun which denotes a thing or a person that can be 'possessed' or 'had' in some sense can be a head noun ('house', 'property', 'father', 'arm', etc.), and in the case of subjective/objective noun, all sorts of deverbal nouns can be a head noun. When it comes to descriptive genitive, there seems to be no restriction as long as a head noun denotes a thing or person that can have the denoted quality by the genitive nominal (e.g. 'a man/priest/woman/child of holy life'). Then what triggers the occurrence of a genitive nominal in this context? It appears that it is motivated more or less by the structure of

the context [N+N]. That is, when there are two nominals that are in modifier-head relation and that together form a larger noun phrase, it is likely that the noun (phrase) that functions as a modifier will be inflected for the genitive case.

There are other linguistic expressions that may occur in this context, as *Table 1-1* above shows. Here are examples, especially, of *of*-phrase.

Prepositional phrases (with *of*)

[1-23] *Behealdað þæt ge ne forseon ænne of byssum lytlingum*

‘Watch out that you will not despise one of these little ones’ (CH34, 237)

[1-24] *hi noldon æt fruman gelyfan his ærist of deaðe.*

‘They would not at the beginning believe his resurrection from death’ (CH21, 98)

[1-25]... *þone gehalgode se biscop maximus of þære byrig ostiensis to þam romaniscum
biscopsetle mid wurðmynte*

‘... who the Bishop Maximus of the town of Ostia consecrated as the Roman bishopric with great honour’ (CH29, 29)

[1-26] *Se iohannes witodlice hæfde reaf of olfend hærum* (Matthew 3:4)

‘John in fact had a garment (made of) camels’ hairs’

Compared to the occurrence of the genitive nominal, that of *of*-phrases is much more limited, as *Table 1-1* shows. This restricted occurrence of the *of*-phrase seems to be related to the meaning of the preposition *of*, “from, out of”. Its occurrence is limited to semantic contexts where the relation of “X from/out of Y” is compatible. The examples given above are the cases in point: “one *out of* these little ones”, “resurrection *from* death”, “the Bishop Maximus *from* the town”, “garment (made) *out of* camel’s hair”.

Some of these examples, such as [1-23], [1-25], and [1-26] can be seen as equivalent to examples of the genitive nominal such as [1-22], [1-17], and [1-21] respectively (partitive, origin, material). It is important to note, however, that the meaning of the preposition *of* in these examples can also be seen as ‘from/out of’, or at least, as an extension of that original, lexical

meaning. The *of*-phrase can be used only when the relation between the two entities designated by the two nominals within the context [N+N] can be seen as ‘something from/out of something’. For instance, there is no example of the *of*-phrase in OE, which express objective relation as in [1-19] above: it is hardly possible to interpret ‘salvation of the world’ (with ‘the world’ interpreted as object of the activity of salvation) as ‘salvation from/out of the world’

The situation changes drastically in ME. In terms of position, genitive nominals occur now exclusively prenominal. It also seems that the genitive nominal never appears separated from the head (as it did in OE: cf. [1-13]). When the genitive nominal consists of two noun phrases in apposition, the two noun phrases can still sandwich the head as it did in OE (cf. [1-14]), at least in early ME. In this case, only the genitive nominal which is before the head will be inflected for the genitive, as in [1-27] below (Allen 2003: 10).

[1-27] *þurh Iulienes heast þe empereur.* ‘Through the command of Julian the Emperor’
(AW66a, 14)

The genitive nominal may still appear without a head if the head can be understood from the context, as in [1-28].

[1-28] *Swa muchel is bitweonen. bituhhen godes neoleachunge. & monnes to wummon; þ
monnes neoleachunge madeð of meiden wif; & godd madeð of wif meiden.*

“There is so much (difference) between God’s approach and (a) man’s (approach) towards (a) woman, that (a) man’s approach towards (a) woman makes (a) woman out of (a) maiden, and God makes (a) maiden out of (a) woman’ (AW106b, 27)

In terms of relations, the range of relations that the genitive case can express in ME is much narrower, mainly possessive and subjective relation. Some subtypes of the adnominal genitive, namely partitive and descriptive genitive, became completely obsolete. On the other hand, a significant innovation in ME is that many of the relations are now expressed by means of the *of*-

phrase, which occurs almost always postnominally. Consequently, the predominance of the genitive nominal in [N+N] decreases, and the variation between the genitive nominal and the *of*-phrase emerges.

Here are some examples of the adnominal genitive expressing possessive, subjective, and objective relations, and examples of the *of*-phrases that emerged in ME which express subjective, objective, descriptive, and partitive relation, and the relation of origin.

Examples of the adnominal genitive in ME

Possessive

[1-29] *þurh sein iuhanes muð* ‘Through St John’s mouth’ (AW49b, 8)

Subjective

[1-30] *after þe engles gretunge* ‘After the angel’s greeting’ (AW9b, 1)

Objective

[1-31] *gað forð mid godes dred.* ‘Go forth with the fear of God’ (AW15b, 23)

Examples of the *of*-phrases in ME

Subjective

[1-32] *grucchunge of a mistohe wombe.* ‘Grumbling of a ill-disciplined stomach’ (AW100b, 7)

Objective

[1-33] *þis fallunge is eadmod cnawunge of þin ahne wacnesse. & of þin unstrengde.*

‘This failure is humble acknowledgement of your own weakness and of your frailty’

(AW76b, 26)

Origin

[1-34] *a gentil poure leafdi of feorrene londe* ‘a gentle poor lady from/of far land’

(AW105a, 12)

Descriptive

[1-35] *wise men of hali & of heh lif* ‘wise men of holy & noble life’ (AW60b, 27)

Partitive

There appears to have been a degree of continuity from the situation in OE to that in ME. In OE, the genitive of certain relations (especially possessive and subjective) was predominantly prenominal, and the genitive of certain relations (especially partitive) was predominantly postnominal, as noted above. These positional alternatives are comparable to the formal and positional alternatives in ME between the genitive (prenominal) and the *of*-phrase (postnominal)⁴. Possessive and subjective relations are expressed by means of the genitive (or possessive marker) up until PDE, whereas partitive relation is exclusively expressed by means of the *of*-phrase.

The *of*-phrases in the ME examples given above are of a rather different kind than those in OE, in that the preposition *of* cannot be seen as expressing the idea of ‘from/out of’, or a related meaning any more. In some examples, it is true, the lexical meaning of the preposition may be still present. For example, the *of*-phrase in [1-32] may be seen as expressing a source from which the activity of grumbling emanates. But in examples like [1-33, 35] (objective, descriptive), the lexical meaning is almost completely absent. This is a radical change in the use of the *of*-phrase which suggests the process of grammaticalization of the *of*-phrase taking place from a lexical prepositional phrase to a genitive-equivalent expression.

§ 1.1.3 A summary of the situation of the adverbial genitive (a) and (b) in OE and its subsequent history from OE to ME.

In the following subsections, I will separately summarise

- (i) the situation in OE of the adverbial genitive ‘proper’, (i.e., excluding the adverbial genitive involving a preposition, and idiomatic expressions), both with two and three place verbs in §1.1.3.1, and
- (ii) the situation in OE of the adverbial genitive involving a preposition in § 1.1.3.2, and
- (iii) that involving idiomatic expressions in § 1.1.3.3. , and finally

(iv) the subsequent history of the adverbial genitive altogether in § 1.1.3.4.

§ 1.1.3.1. The adverbial genitive proper: the situation in OE.

A genitive nominal occurs as complements of verbs (both two- and three-place verbs). It is possible to group the verbs according to their meanings, though not exhaustively. In general, verbs of the following types tend to take a genitive nominal as a complement.

1. With two arguments

(1) Verbs expressing various emotional or mental state and activity experienced by a person (e.g. ‘feel sorry’, ‘rejoice’, ‘fear’, ‘doubt’, ‘believe’, ‘remember’, ‘forget’, ‘know’). The genitive nominal denotes the cause or source of the emotions or mental state, or object of the mental activity. The argument representing an experiencer may be expressed by the nominative or the dative.

[1-36a] *Ða þeahhwæðere ofþuhte þam ælmihtigum gode ealles manncynnes yrmða.*

‘Then however the Almighty God felt sorry for misery of all mankind’ (CH13, 10)

[1-37] *& he gemunde his gebroðra þa ðe he bæftan forlet*

‘And he remembered his brothers whom he left behind’ (CH23, 99)

(2) Verbs meaning ‘care for’, ‘help’, ‘have mercy on’. The genitive nominal denotes a recipient of these activities.

[1-38] *ac se wulf geswutolað mid hwylcum mode he gymde þæra sceapa*

‘But the wolf showed with what sort of mind he cared for the sheep’ (CH17, 43)

[1-39] *Eadige beoð ða ðe earmra manna þurh mildheortnyse gehelpanð.*

‘Blessed are those who help poor men with mercifulness’ (CH36, 220)

(3) Verbs meaning ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘take’, ‘have’. The genitive nominal denotes an object of these activities.

[1-40] *Heo þa þæs ofættes æt* ‘She then ate the fruit’ (Genesis 599)

[1-41] *gif þu on god gelyfan wylt; ic únforhtmód þæs drences onfó*

‘If you are happy to believe in God, I (shall) fearlessly take the drink’ (CH4, 219)

[1-42] *Gyf he þære ylde and ðæs andgytes hæfð þæt he hit understandan mæg*

‘If he has the age and the prudence so that he can understand it’ (Wulfstan 32, 8)

(4) Verbs meaning ‘test’, ‘tempt’. The genitive nominal denotes an object of these activities.

[1-43] *gað to smiððan & fandiað þyses goldes. & þyssera gymstana;*

‘Go to the smith and test this gold and these gemstones’ (CH4, 91)

[1-44] *deofol mot ælces mannes afandian. hwæðer he aht sy. oððe naht*

‘Devil may tempt/test every man whether he is something or nothing’ (CH19, 152)

(5) Verbs meaning ‘ask for’, ‘desire’, ‘expect’, ‘labour for’, ‘persecute’. The genitive nominal denotes an aim or goal of these activities.

[1-45] *ac uton biddan þæs leohtes* (CH10, 113) ‘but let us ask for the light’

[1-46] *Se lichama andbidað þæs miclan domes* ‘the body waits for the great judgement’
(CH14, 215)

[1-47] *saule sawwle; hwi ehtst þu min?* ‘Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?’ (CH27, 18)

(6) Verbs meaning ‘touch’. The genitive nominal denotes an object of touching.

[1-48] *Hwa æthran mines reafes?* ‘Who touched my clothing?’ (Mark 5:30)

(7) Verbs meaning ‘lose’, ‘lack’, ‘need’. The genitive nominal denotes an object which is absent in some way (because it is lost, is lacking, or needed).

[1-49] *& þu ðolast þære écan médé;* ‘and you lose the eternal reward’ (CH9, 101)

[1-50] *hi behofiað engla fultummes on ðisum life* ‘they need angels’ help in this life’
(CH11, 65)

(8) Verbs meaning ‘cease’, ‘stop’. The genitive nominal denotes an activity which comes to an

[1-57] *hu he monge oft þurh meah̄t godes*

gehæalde hygegeomre hefigra wita

‘How he often, with God’s power, healed many the sad-in-heart, from heavy punishment’

(Guthlac 884-6)

In addition, there seem to be two other types of the adverbial genitive which occur not depending on the type of verb but depending on structure of the clause, i.e.

(14) Negative sentences: it has not been made clear when, and more essentially how and why, the occurrence of a genitive nominal is triggered by negation. The following example is pointed out by Klaeber (1950: 153), in his note on *Beowulf* 681 as such an example.

[1-58] *þ folc ne cuðe þæra goda þ hi cwædon þ he god wære.*

‘The people did not know the advantage that they could have said that he was God

(CH12, 144)

(15) *beon/wesan* + present participle: It also has not been made clear why and how a genitive nominal appears in some case with present participle.

[1-59] *for ðan þe we beoð hæbbende þæs þe we ær hopedon*

‘Because we are ‘having’ what we hoped for before’ (CH28, 220)

This is briefly discussed in Visser (1970: 357-8), where he explores the possibility that the present participle form in *-ende* is interpreted as the form for the *nomina agentis* in *-end*, in which case this use of a genitive nominal would be adnominal rather than adverbial.

The first question to be asked of the adverbial genitive is what motivates a genitive noun to occur in these contexts. A natural answer is that since verbs which have certain meanings take a genitive nominal as complement, the occurrence of a genitive nominal is motivated because of the semantics of these verbs. But this does not explain everything. Why should verbs with certain meanings tend to take a genitive complement? A logical answer would be that it is, ultimately,

because of the semantics of the genitive case itself: that the adverbial genitive nominal can occur in semantic contexts where the meaning of the genitive case is compatible. This is in analogy to the distribution of the *of*-phrases in OE we looked at in §1.1.2 above. There it was said that their occurrence is restricted to contexts where the relationship between the genitive nominal and the head can be regarded as “something from/out of something”. The occurrence of the adverbial genitive nominal can be seen in a similar vein.

Now what is it that the genitive case expresses? If we look at what a genitive nominal expresses when used in these different contexts from (1) to (15) above (see the list below), there seems to be little common among them.

A genitive nominal denotes:

- (1) The cause or source of the emotions or mental state, or object of the mental activity.
- (2) A person or people who are cared for, helped, or shown mercy to.
- (3) An object of the activities of ‘drinking’, ‘eating’, ‘having’, ‘taking’.
- (4) An object of the activities of ‘testing’, ‘tempting’.
- (5) An aim or goal (i.e., of asking for, desiring, waiting, expectation, labour, or persecution).
- (6) An object of touching
- (7) An object which is absent in some way (i.e. it is lost, lacking, or needed)
- (8) An activity which comes to an end.
- (9) An object with which something (denoted by the accusative) is filled
- (10) An object which is given to someone (denoted by the dative)
- (11) An object which is refused to someone (denoted by the dative)
- (12) An object which someone (denoted by the accusative or the dative) is deprived of.
- (13) An object from which someone (denoted by the accusative) is protected or cleansed.
- (14) (It functions as a verbal complement within a negative sentence)
- (15) (It functions as a complement of a verb in the form of present participle)

This variety of meanings that a genitive nominal can express when combined with a verb

suggests that the genitive case is ‘polysemous’. However, it is important to note that these various meanings are those of a genitive nominal, a combination of a noun (phrase) and the genitive case, and not the meaning of the genitive case itself. Even if a genitive case may be ‘polysemous’, it is not as ‘polysemous’ as it appears to be just because a genitive nominal means so many different things as the list above may suggest. Jakobson (1936/1971:37-8) argues that these different meanings are brought about by the semantics of the verb with which a genitive nominal is used. The fact that so many different meanings may be associated with the genitive nominal implies that they have nothing to do with the meaning of the genitive case itself. He rather claims that a case expresses one abstract, invariant meaning from which various concrete meanings can be derived as its contextual variants and the genitive case is no exception to this principle. We will take up his view of the genitive case and discuss it in greater length in §5.1.2 below⁵.

It is also worthwhile mentioning that there is a strong contrast between the motivation for a genitive nominal to occur in [N+N] and in [N+V+N] or [N+V+N+N], i.e., structural and semantic motivations. From the fact that its occurrence is confined to verbs of some specific meanings, it seems clear that a genitive nominal is not the most predominant linguistic expression in these contexts (“more or less uncommon” cf. Visser 1970: 359). The occurrence of the adverbial genitive makes a strong contrast with that of the accusative case, which was a more predominant structure that occurs in the context [N+V+N]. The following table shows the proportion of the occurrence of the accusative, genitive, and dative nominals in the context for transitive clause, particularly in the context:

[nominative nominal (subject)]-[transitive verb]- [____ (direct object)].

Table 1-2 Proportion of the occurrences of accusative, dative, and genitive nominals in the context [N_{nominative}+V_{transitive}+N]⁶.

construction	number
accusative nominal	3523
dative nominal	675
genitive nominal	236

It is important to note that not all verbs which have one of those meanings listed above take a

genitive complement. If two or three verbs have similar meanings, it often happens that some may take a genitive complement whereas others take an accusative complement. For example, there are several verbs meaning ‘to touch’, such as *æthrinan*, *grapian*, and *hrepan*. Only the first takes the genitive regularly, as in the example in [1-48] above; the other two regularly take the accusative, according to my database:

(*grapian*)

[1-60] *Sete þine hand on minum dolhswaðum. & grapa. mine handa. & mine sidan*

‘Place your hands on my wounds and touch my hands and my sides’ (CH16, 18)

(*hrepan*)

[1-61] *swa hwa swa hrepode þa rode mid handum*

‘Whosoever touched the cross with hands’ (CH38, 331)

It is also important to note that the same verbs which take a genitive nominal as complement may take a noun (phrase) inflected for other cases, namely the accusative and/or the dative, or prepositional phrases with various prepositions. For example, the verb *onfon* ‘receive’ or ‘take’ may take the genitive (as in [1-41]), the accusative, or the dative.

(Accusative)

[1-62] *þ hi þone ecan eþel onfón mid him*

‘So that they may receive the eternal land with him’ (CH34, 131)

(Dative)

[1-63] *þær him hel onfeng* ‘where hell received him’ (Beowulf 852)

Or sometimes the same verb may take noun (phrase)s inflected for different cases even within the same clause, as in:

(Genitive./Dative. - Genitive - Accusative)

[1-64] *he gymð grædelice his teolunge. his gafoles. his gebytlu⁷.*

‘He greedily cared about his business, his wage, and his building (house) (CH4, 124)

The verb *afyllan* may appear with a prepositional phrase with *mid* as well as a genitive nominal as in [1-52]:

[1-65] *se hét afyllan ane cyfe. mid weallendum ele.*

‘He commanded (someone) to fill one cup with boiling oil’ (CH4, 23)

The verb *gehælan* appears with an *of*-phrase, as in [1-66] below as well as with a genitive nominal, as in [1-56] above:

[1-66] *he gehælde manega of adlum ge of witum and of yfelum gastum*

‘He healed many from disease and sickness, and from evil spirits’ (Luke 7, 21)

From these examples, it is clear that the occurrence of a genitive nominal in the contexts [N+V+N] and [N+V+N+N] is semantically motivated, but only tenuously. It seems that, rather than a genitive nominal, an accusative NP is the most predominant expression that occurs at least in the context [N+V+N]. As Quirk & Wrenn notes, ‘the accusative is used for the sole object of the majority of OE verbs.’ (Quirk & Wrenn 1957:60). There seems to have been a certain degree of “entrenchment” (cf. §2.1.1 below) in the construction [nominative nominal]-[verb]-[accusative nominal], which applied to various types of instances of transitive clause (with two place verbs).

As regards the *of*-phrase, there are some examples of it which function in a comparable way to a genitive nominal, as in [1-66]. However, it must be noted that the *of*-phrase in such examples still retains the lexical meaning of the preposition (heal *from* disease). The situation is similar to the *of*-phrase that occurs in the context [N+N].

§ 1.1.3.2 The adverbial genitive involving a preposition; the situation in OE.

Before going into the discussion of prepositional phrases with a genitive nominal which function as one of the verbal arguments, let us look at the prepositions that occur with a genitive nominal in general.

end.

[1-51] *Min cild geswic þines wopes.* ‘My child, stop your weeping’ (CH29, 39)

2. With three arguments

(9) Verbs meaning ‘fill’. The genitive nominal denotes an object with which something (denoted by the accusative) is filled.

[1-52] .. *bebead þæt mon afielde diofolgielða þa cirican æt Hierusalem*

‘... commanded that one should fill the church with idols at Jerusalem’ (Orosius 135:29)

(10) Verbs meaning ‘give’, ‘grant’. The genitive nominal denotes an object which is given to someone (denoted by the dative)

[1-53] *þæt he hire miceles þinges tþian wylle;* ‘... that he will grant her a great thing’

(CH30, 268)

(11) Verbs meaning ‘refuse’. The genitive nominal denotes an object which is refused to someone (denoted by the dative)

[1-54] *hwi wolde god swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan.*

‘Why would God refuse to give him such a small thing’ (CH1, 74)

(12) Verbs meaning ‘deprive’. The genitive nominal denotes an object which someone (denoted by the accusative or the dative) is deprived of.

[1-55] *he hie bereafade heora clāþa & heora wæpna*

‘He deprived them, of their clothing and their weapons’ (Orosius 66/27)

(13) Verbs meaning ‘protect’, ‘heal’, ‘cleanse’. The genitive denotes an object from which someone (denoted by the accusative) is protected or cleansed.

[1-56] ... *þæt þu me generige niða gehwylces* ‘that you protect me from every enemy’

(Psalm 118, 169)

Certain prepositions take a genitive nominal as their complements. According to Mitchell (1985:497-8), they are as follows: *andlang*, *andlanges*, *butan*, (*in*), *innan*, (*on*), *to*, *toforan*, (*tomiddes*), *toward*, *to ... weard*, (*burh*), *utan*, (*wana*), *wið* (those prepositions in round brackets are those with which, according to Mitchell, the occurrence of the genitive is not certain).

The situation is similar to the adverbial genitive. Generally speaking, the genitive noun is not the most predominant case that occurs with a preposition, more predominant ones being the accusative and the dative. Some of the prepositions take the genitive only or almost exclusively (cf. *andlang*, *andlanges*, according to *BTS*), whereas others take the accusative or the dative as well (cf. *to*, *wið*). In the latter case, the accusative and the dative are more frequent, and the preposition has a much wider range of meanings with these cases than with the genitive (cf. the dictionary entries for these prepositions in *BT* and *BTS*: for example, with *wið*, *BT* has only 5 meanings with the genitive, but it has 27 meanings with the dative, and 26 meanings with the accusative). According to the classifications of the meanings given to the prepositions *to* and *wið* in *BT* and *BTS*, the meanings of the prepositions expressed when they occur with the genitive are also expressed when they occur with the accusative and/or the dative (e.g. both *to þæs* and *to þæm* can express purpose 'for that (purpose)' Cf. *BT* s.v. *to* I.(4i) and II(3)), whereas the latter may express relations which the genitive does not. Again, the genitive may be said to be a marked expression as a prepositional complement. Accordingly, the occurrence of the genitive in the contexts [N+V+P+N] and [N+V+N+P+N] (i.e., as a type of the adverbial genitive) is also infrequent.

Bearing this in mind, let us look at the adverbial genitive which involves a preposition. We shall focus on the preposition *wið*, since this is the only preposition that occurs with the genitive nominal in *CH*.

According to Shipley (1903:117-8), the genitive with *wið* denotes the object towards which an action or intention is directed, and consequently, the prepositional phrase with the genitive complement often appears with verbs of motion or action (as in [1-67]) verbs of striving (as in [1-68]), and verbs meaning 'protect', 'shield', to express the object against which there is protection (as in [1-69]).

[1-67] *& micel liget fleah of þære dune swilce flán. wið ðæs hæþenan folces.*

‘And a great light flew from the hill like an arrow towards the heathen people’

(CH34, 54)

[1-68] *þu scealt glædlice swiðe swincan wið ðæs uplican eðelrices*

‘You shall gladly labour hard for the high noble kingdom’

(Exhortation 74-5)

[1-69] *þæt he hie wið þæs hehstan brogan gefriðode*

‘That he protected them from the highest monster’ (Judith 4)

An interesting point to be observed here is that the semantic context in which the prepositional phrase [*wið* + genitive nominal] occurs is analogous to that in which the adverbial genitive proper occurs. The examples [1-67, 68] are comparable to the example [1-45, 46, 47] above (with two arguments), in which the adverbial genitive denotes a goal or aim towards which an expectation, labour, etc. are directed. The example [1-69] is comparable to the example [1-56, 57] above (with three arguments), where the adverbial genitive denotes an entity from which something is protected.

This similarity indicates that the genitive in the context [N+V+P+N] and [N+V+N+P+N] may occur with the same motivation that we discussed in the case of the adverbial genitive proper in §1.1.3 above, i.e., the semantics of the verb and the preposition, correlated to the semantics of the genitive case. One crucial difference between the adverbial genitive proper and the adverbial genitive with a preposition, however, is that the latter, as in [1-67], expresses a goal towards which a concrete motion (i.e., coming, going, flying) is made, whereas the former expresses a goal of abstract motion (e.g., purpose or aim of effort).

At the same time, there are also examples of the same preposition taking the accusative or dative case, expressing more or less the same meaning. For example, compare [1-70, 71] with [1-69].

[1-70] *siððan hie rodera wealdend,*

halig heofonrices weard wið ðone hearm gescylde

‘because the ruler of the skies, the holy guard of the heavenly kingdom, protected them from harm (Daniel 456-7)

[1-71] *ac ic þe lifigende her*

wið weana gehwam wreo and scylde

‘But I defend and protect you alive here, from every trouble’ (Genesis 2170-71)

§ 1.1.3.3 The adverbial genitive involving idiomatic expressions; the situation in OE.

As far as I am aware, there is no list or study available of this type of genitive occurring with idiomatic expressions apart from Shipley’s (1903:66-7) brief comment on it. He gives as examples of it expressions such as *þanc beon* + gen., *þearf beon* + gen., *geweald agan* + gen., *andsæc* or *wiðersæc fremman* + gen., *gefean habban* + gen., *wuldor secgan* + gen., and *lean forgildan* + gen. He regards the genitive nominal that occurs with these expressions as dependent ‘grammatically on the noun, but logically on the single verbal notion expressed by verb + noun’ (*ibid.*: 66). Therefore, for example, *gefean habban* + gen. is logically equivalent to *gefeon* + gen., as in.

[1-72] *Hæbbe þæs gefean folca æghwylc* ‘let everyone of people have joy in that’ (Psalm 66:4)

[1-73] *Forþon we a sculon idle lustas*

synwunde forseon and þæs sellran gefeon

‘Therefore we ever should despise idle lusts, sin-wounds, and rejoice in the better

(Christ 756-7)

Due to the lack of previous studies, all I can say here about this construction comes from my observation of the data. It seems that in the context [N+[V+N]+N] a genitive nominal is by far the most frequent expression: I have not found any examples of any other linguistic expression than a genitive nominal occurring in this position so far in my database of CH. Perhaps this

parallels to the situation of the adnominal genitive; the context [N+[V+N]+N] has as a substructure a pattern of adnominal genitive (the last two nominal expressions) (i.e. the bolded structure in [N+[V+N]+N] is an adnominal construction. As Shipley points out, a genitive nominal is grammatically dependent on the noun of the idiomatic expression. Since within the context [N+N] a genitive nominal is the most predominant expression, as we saw in §1.1.2.1 above, then it stands to reason that the genitive should be the most frequent in the context [N+[V+N]+N].

§ 1.1.3.4. The adverbial genitive: its subsequent history

As Visser states, ‘the most remarkable feature of the ‘causative object’ in the genitive [= adverbial genitive, TK] is its total disappearance after the Old English period’ (Visser 1970:358). This is not only the case with the adverbial genitive proper (discussed in § 1.1.3.1), but also with the adverbial genitive involving a preposition and an idiomatic expression (discussed in §1.1.3.2 and §1.1.3.3).

There are two ways in which adverbial genitive ceased to be used. The verbs which took the genitive in OE now appear either:

(1) with the accusative or dative, or rather, the “common case” as opposed to the genitive case (Lass 1992:109), or

(2) with prepositional phrases, notably the *of*-phrase (as in the examples [1-74, 75] below).

[1-74] *for ure lauerd seolf þer stont bi ham i fehte. ... geueð ham of his strengðe.*

‘for Our Lord himself there stood by them in fight ... gave them ‘of’ his strength’

(AW44a, 2) Cf. [1-53].

[1-75] *al were he ifullet of þe hali gast* ‘as if he were filled with the Holy Spirit’

(AW43a, 7) Cf. [1-52].

Visser offers some possible reasons for the demise of the adverbial genitive. First of all, the verbs which took a genitive complement in OE became obsolete, and consequently the adverbial genitive itself obsolete. Secondly, the fact that many of the verbs which took the genitive in OE

could also occur with other cases or prepositional phrases, and ‘since the construction with a ‘causative’ object was a more or less uncommon case, it was eventually crowded out by its numerically preponderant rivals’ (Visser 1970: 359). This is clearly associated with the “entrenchment” (§2.1.1) of the accusative case as a direct object, as claimed at the end of §1.1.3.1, which will be further associated with the fixation of the SVO word order, which determines the syntactic relations of verbal arguments without recourse to the inflectional endings (Fischer 1992: 370ff).

Also worthwhile mentioning is that the demise of the adverbial genitive involving a preposition has to do with the demise of any prepositional phrase with a genitive complement. This would be a consequence of the general trend in OE that the unmarked cases for most prepositions were the accusative and the dative, and eventually in ME all prepositions take the common case (syncretism of the accusative/dative).

A question that may be asked is whether the *of*-phrase that emerged in this context is a direct continuation from the *of*-phrase that was already used in a similar context. There are certainly cases where the *of*-phrase in ME appears to be a continuation from the OE *of*-phrase, for example, the one in the following example;

[1-76] ... *forte healen moncun of þe secnesse* ‘in order to heal mankind of the sickness’

(AW30b, 28)

would be such an example. However, as we noted briefly in §1.1.3.1. above, the majority of the *of*-phrases in the adverbial constructions in OE are such that the meaning of the preposition can be seen as an extension of its lexical meaning. (Recall that the same was the case with the *of*-phrases in the adnominal construction; see the end of §1.1.2.) On the other hand, many of the examples of the *of*-phrases in ME are those which have no equivalent in OE. For example, the verb *fyllan* (*fullan* in AW) which appears with *of* in [1-75], took the prepositional phrase with *mid* in OE (cf. [1-65]), not with *of*. In the ME example [1-75], the preposition *of* can hardly be said to be an extension of its original lexical meaning. This is a radical change in the use of the *of*-phrase,

rather than a mere continuation from the OE use of the *of*-phrase.

A more plausible explanation is to be found in the development of the *of*-periphrasis in the adnominal construction, discussed in § 1.1.2. above. As we saw, the *of*-phrases emerged as periphrastic construction of the adnominal genitive, giving a new pair of alternatives of the genitive nominal vs. the *of*-phrase, as opposed to the prenominal vs. the postnominal genitive in OE. It is probable that the *of*-phrases also emerged in the context where the genitive nominal used to appear in OE, in analogy to the *of*-phrase in the adnominal construction.

This speculation is further supported by the fact that the adverbial genitive with idiomatic expressions ceased to exist in ME, and instead the *of*-phrase started to appear in the same syntactic context. Compare:

[1-77] *to þy ðæt he þæra cristenra manna gymene hæfde*

‘so that he took care of the Christian men’ (CH37, 12)

[1-78] *Neomeð nu georne geme of þe bitacnunga.*

‘Now take note of this signification carefully’ (AW84a, 8)

There is a parallel development of the adnominal genitive which expresses object relation.

Compare:

[1-79] ... & *him forgeaf ingehid ealra gereorda*

‘(the Holy Spirit) .. and gave him the knowledge of all languages’ (CH22, 110)

[1-80] *þis fallunga is eadmod cnawuga of þin ahne wacnesse & of þin unstrengðe*

‘this failure is humble acknowledging of your own weakness and of your frailty’

(AW76b, 26)

As we saw in §1.3.3, there is an adnominal construction [N+N] within the adverbial construction with an idiomatic expression [N+[V+N]+N]. So it makes sense that the idiomatic expression of the type [1-78] developed out of the type [1-77], just as the *of*-phrase expressing object relation

of the type [1-80] developed out of the type [1-79]. Then, it also follows that the development of the *of*-phrase in the non-idiomatic adverbial construction (of the type [1-74, 75]) may be an analogous development to that of the *of*-phrase in the adnominal construction.

This hypothesis has a further advantage. If we suppose that the development of the *of*-phrase in the adverbial construction, together with the demise of the adverbial genitive in ME is comparable to the development of the *of*-phrase in the adnominal construction, together with the demise of certain kinds of the adnominal genitive (e.g. partitive genitive), then we can treat these two (and probably other) types of the genitive (adnominal and adverbial) within the same framework. There have been various explanations on the development of the so-called *of*-genitive from OE to ME (cf. Thomas (1931), Nunnally (1985), Fischer (1992), Taylor (1996), Rosenbach (2002)). Especially in more recent studies, there has been a suggestion that what happened to the genitive is the change both of its grammatical category, i.e. from an inflection (= 'case') to a determiner, and of its morphological category, i.e. from an affix (inflectional ending) to a clitic. However, the outcomes of these studies have been mostly concerned with the adnominal genitive and its *of*-periphrasis, but they have not been applied to the adverbial genitive. However, now that it is suggested that there is an analogous development both in the adnominal and adverbial (and other) genitives from OE to ME, we can apply these outcomes of the previous studies to the history of the adverbial genitive, for explanation of its demise and the development of the *of*-phrase.

§1.1.4. Predicative genitive: the situation in OE and its subsequent history

The predicative genitive typically appears with various forms of a copula verb (such as *beon*, *wesan*), and it predicates of the referent of the subject nominal, typically a nominative nominal, in an analogous way to other types of subjective predicates (e.g. a nominative nominal, adjective, and a prepositional phrase), as in the following examples.

(A genitive predicate)

[1-81] *Gif ge sind cristes þonne ...* 'if you are of Christ, then ...' (CH6, 115)

(A nominative predicate)

[1-82] *Ɔu eart crist þæs lifiendan godes sunu.* ‘You are Christ, the son of the living God’

(CH4, 267)

(An adjectival predicate)

[1-83] ... & nyste þa gyt þæt he *cristen wæs* ‘and did not know yet that he was Christian’

(CH29, 176)

Semantically the genitive predicate is similar to an adjective predicate, in contrast to a nominative predicate. In the case of a nominative predicate, there is a relation of identity between the subject nominal and the predicate (e.g. in [1-82], what is referred to by *Ɔu* “you” is the same entity as that referred to by *crist*). In the case of the genitive predicate, it expresses that the referent of the subject nominal belongs to some category defined by the genitive nominal (e.g. in [1-81], what is referred to by *ge* “you” belong to the category defined by the genitive nominal *cristes* “of Christ”). Logically, this relation is similar to an adjectival predicate in [1-83].

Apart from adjectives, prepositional phrases are also comparable to the predicative genitive, as in:

[1-84] *for ðan þe he wæs of dauides mægðe.* ‘because he was of/from David’s kindred’

(CH2, 15)

Cf. [1-85] *Ne sind we na abrahames cynnes flæsclice. ac gastlice;*

‘We are not of Abraham’s kindred physically, but spiritually (we are)’ (CH13, 217)

It is important to note here that though the *of*-phrase seems semantically similar to the predicative genitive, the preposition *of* can be also interpreted as having the lexical meaning ‘from/out of’, as is clear in [1-84] (see the translation for [1-84]).

According to Wülfing (1894:30-33), the predicative genitive expresses two kinds of relation, that of (1) ‘belonging’ (Zugehörigkeit) and of (2) ‘property’ (Eigenschaft). (1) is exemplified by [1-81, 85] above and also [1-86].

[1-86] *Eadige beoð þa gastlican þearfan. for þan ðe heora is heofonan rice;* (CH36, 156)

‘Blessed are the spiritual poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heavens’

(2) is exemplified by examples like [1-10] above, which is repeated as [1-87], and also [1-88] here:

[1-87] *Æfre he bið anes modes* ‘he will always be of one mind’.

[1-88] *Biscopas synd þæs ylcan hades on godes gelaðunge.*

‘Bishops are of the same (holy) office in the Church of God’ (CH22, 252)

It is worthwhile noting that the semantic relationship between the predicative genitive nominal and the subject nominal of which it is a predicate mirrors, though only partially, the semantic relationship between the adnominal genitive nominal and its head nominal. This similarity between the predicative genitive and the adnominal genitive is in parallel to the similarity between adjectives in predicative and adnominal (*or* attributive) uses. We have analogous similarities in PDE, between the *of*-phrases in predicative and adnominal uses, and adjectives in predicative and adnominal/attributive uses (e.g. “This matter is *of importance*” and “A matter *of importance*” on the one hand, and “This matter is *important*” and “An *important* matter” on the other). For example the type (1) (“belonging”) is analogous to possessive genitive (compare [1-86] with [1-89] below), partly to descriptive genitive (compare [1-81] with [1-90] below). On the other hand, the type (2) (“property”) is comparable to descriptive genitive (compare [1-87, 88] with [1-91] below).

[1-89] ... *þeah ðe hit his rice wære* ‘... though it might be his kingdom’ (CH5, 176)

[1-90] *Ða wæs þær bynnan þære byrig hierusalem. sum godes man*

‘Then there was a certain man of God within the city of Jerusalem’ (CH9, 17)

[1-91] *ealle þæs hades menn* ... ‘all men of the (holy) office ...’ (CH27, 201)

After the OE period, the predicative genitive survives. In AW there are a number of examples of it which seem to have continued directly from the OE period.

[1-92] *þu art hundes cunnes*. ‘you are of the kind of dog’ (AW33a, 20)

[1-93] *he wat þe castel is his* ‘he knows the castle is his’ (AW98b, 5)

In addition, there emerged the *of*-phrase which seems to function in a comparable manner to the predicative genitive.

[1-94] *Bacbiteres þe biteð bi hinde bac oþre. beoð of twa maneres*.

‘Backbiters who bite other people’s back are of two kinds’ (AW22b, 14)

[1-95] *he is of þ totore folc*. ‘he is of (from?) the distraught people’ (AW98a, 28)

The development of the *of*-phrase here is, as in the case of the adverbial genitive (§1.1.3.4), comparable to that of the *of*-phrase in the adnominal construction. This parallel development (survival of the predicative genitive and the emergence of the *of*-phrase in this context) is similar to the subsequent history of the adnominal genitive. Again, there is a question of whether the *of*-phrase in this context in ME is a continuation from the OE *of*-phrase (of the type [1-84]). The situation is the same here as with the adnominal and adverbial genitive; even if some examples appear to be direct continuation (like [1-95]), there is a clear indication that the *of*-phrase developed a function in ME which was not possible with the OE *of*-phrase. That is, the preposition in some examples of the *of*-phrase in ME does not mean its original lexical meaning ‘from/out of’ (cf. [1-94]).

§1.1.5 Adjectival genitive: the situation in OE and its subsequent history

The genitive appears with a number of adjectives in OE, as it was with the verbs which take the genitive (§1.1.3.1), and though not exhaustively, it is possible to group these adjectives into some

semantically defined groups.

(1) Adjectives expressing emotional states. The cause of the emotion is expressed in the genitive.

[1-96] *And he wæs þa bliðe þæs behates.* ‘and he was then happy with the command’ (CH9, 27)

[1-97] *ða þa he wearð his lifes orwene.* ‘when he became despaired of his life’ (CH5, 149)

(2) Adjectives expressing mental activities (of remembering, forgetting); the object of the activities is expressed by the genitive.

[1-98] *zacharias is gereht gemyndig godes* ‘Zechariah was right, mindful of God’ (CH25, 94)

(3) Adjectives expressing readiness, expectation, longing, for something

[1-99] *ic beo gearo sona*

unwaclice willan þines

‘I will be soon prepared for your will resolutely’ (Juliana 49-50)

[1-100] *(þam grædian fisce þe)... bið þonne grædig þæs æses*

‘the greedy fish which ... will then be greedy for the food’ (CH14, 173)

(4) Adjectives expressing fullness. That of which something is full is expressed by the genitive.

[1-101] *... brohte se gelyfeda cempa romanus. ceac fulne wæteres.*

‘.. brought the faithful soldier Romanus a cup full of water’ (CH29, 177)

(5) Adjectives expressing various kinds of virtues (e.g. ‘bold’, ‘skilful’, ‘mild’, ‘true’, etc.); that in terms of/with respect to which one has the virtue is expressed by the genitive

[1-102] *He is wordcræftes wis* ‘He is ... skilful in the art of speech’ (Elene 590-2)

(6) Adjectives expressing lacking; losing, or being poor; that which something is lacking or poor in is expressed by the genitive.

[1-103] *Gif hwa ymb cyninges feorh sierwie sie he his feores scyldig, and ealles ðæs ðe he age.*

‘If anyone conspires for a king’s life, he should be liable to forfeit his life, and all that he has’ (Laws of Ælfred, cited in *BT* s.v. *scyldig*)

[1-104] *þæt we, tīres wone*

a butan ende sculon ermþu dreogan

‘.. that we, lacking fame, shall suffer misery without end’ (Christ 270-1)

(7) Adjectives expressing cleanness or freedom; that from which one is free or clean is expressed by the genitive.

[1-105] *Ða cwom godes engel ... facnes clæne*

‘Then came God’s angel ... clean of treachery’ (Juliana 563-5)

[1-106] *wigendra hleo*

lindgestealla lifigende cwom

heaðolaces hal

‘Chief of the warriors, comrade in battle, came alive, unhurt of battle’ (Beowulf 1972-4)

(8) Adjective expressing being guilty; the crime of which one is guilty of is expressed by the genitive

[1-107] *Godes andsaca, morðres scyldig*

‘God’s adversary, guilty of (committing) murder’ (Beowulf 1682-3)

(9) Adjectives expressing being worthy or deserving; that of which one is worthy, that which one deserves is expressed by the genitive.

[1-108] *nan gesceaft nis wyrðe þæs wyrðmyntes* ‘no creature is worthy of the honour’

(CH11, 118)

[1-109] ... *þæt he wære deapes scyldig* ‘that he would be guilty of death (deserve death)’

(Mark 14, 64)

(10) Adjectives expressing various kinds of measure (height, length, depth, width, age, etc.).

[1-110] *Ælc hysecild þonne hit eahta nihta eald bið sy ymbsniden ...*

‘every first-born child, when it is eight nights old, should be circumcised’ (CH6, 23)

Some of the types of adjectives are semantically comparable to some types of verbs which take the genitive (§1.1.3.1). For example, the types (1) and (2) for adjectives correspond to the type (1) for verbs: (3) for adjectives to (5) for verbs: (4) for adjectives to (9) for verbs; (6) for adjectives to (7) for verbs; (7) for adjectives to (13). This shows that the genitive nominal appears with these adjectives for some comparable reason to the adverbial genitive, i.e., due to the semantics of the adjectives which take a genitive complement, and the semantics of the genitive case.

With some of these adjectives, the genitive is the only expression that they can be used with. With others, other linguistic expressions can also occur, especially, the dative (instrumental) nominal, and various prepositional phrases, for example,

Dative/instrumental

[1-111] *lethrum scyldige* ‘guilty of treachery’ (Andreas 1216)

Prepositional phrase (with *of*)

[1-112] *Beo of ðysum hal* ‘be healed from this’ (Mark 5, 34)

Note here that when the *of*-phrase occurs in a comparable manner to a genitive nominal with adjectives in OE, the preposition *of* has the lexical meaning ‘from/out of’, or its related meaning, as in [1-112].

In ME, the genitive with adjectives became almost obsolete, though in early ME there are still some examples of it (Mustanoja 1960:87), as in

[1-113] *for he is deaðes wurðe*. ‘for he is worthy of (= deserves) death’ (AW83b, 14)

Some adjectives that took the genitive in OE often appear with the *of*-phrases (*ibid.*), as in the following examples.

[1-114] *as þu art ful of euch god* ‘as you are full of every goodness’ (AW7a, 8) (cf. [1-97])

[1-115] *blīðe mahe ge beon þrof.* ‘you may be glad of it’ (AW94a, 18) (cf. [1-92])

[1-116] *Sir Tristram was hole of his woundes*

“Sir Tristram was whole/healed from his wounds” (Malory, Arthur 8, 13) (cf. [1-102])

Again, such *of*-phrases are analogous to the emergence of the *of*-phrases in the domains of the other types of the genitive. This is not simply a direct continuity from the use of the *of*-phrase in OE (as in [1-112]). The *of*-phrases of the type [1-116] might have continued from the OE *of*-phrase of the type [1-112], indeed, in which it is possible to see a trace of the lexical meaning of the preposition (whole, healed from something) But the *of*-phrases in other examples like [1-114, 115] that emerged in ME have senses remote from the original sense of it, in the comparable manner to the other types of the genitive discussed above.

§ 1.1.6 The adverbial genitive: the situation in OE and its subsequent history from OE to ME.

The genitive (both with and without a preposition) was used in OE as an adverbial element expressing various notions such as various kinds of temporal and local relations, and purpose and/or manner.

(temporal: duration)

[1-117] *he carað dægēs & nihtes þ his feoh gehealden sy*

‘he cares day and night that his property may be preserved’ (CH4, 123)

(temporal: point in time)

[1-118] *herod ... geornlice hi befran. to hwilces timan se steorra him ærest ætéowede*

‘Herod ... anxiously asked them at what time the star first appeared to them’ (CH5, 22)

(local: path)

[1-119] *we ne magon gecyrran þæs wegæs þe we comon* (path)

‘we cannot go back (through) the way that we came’ (CH7, 249)

(local: goal)

[1-120] *Gewat him se æðeling to ðæs gemearces ðe him Metod tæhte* (direction)

‘The prince went to the border which the Lord showed him’ (Genesis 2885)

(manner)

[1-121] *he ... And þrowade deað sylfwilles*; ‘he ... and suffered death of his own accord’

(CH9, 237)

(purpose)

[1-122] *Hie to ðæs here samnodon* ‘They gathered army for that (purpose)’ (Andreas 1125)

The adverbial genitive needs some different treatment, because of its different morphological behaviour. It seems that all the instances of the adverbial genitive, irrespective of gender, have the strong masculine/neuter ending *-es*. This is manifest especially in [1-117], where the feminine noun *niht* is inflected as masculine, when elsewhere the noun has its ordinary genitive ending in *-e^ð*. This is peculiar to the adverbial genitive. There is a possibility that the ending *-es* here may have been in the process of grammaticalization from a genitive inflection to some kind of adverbial-forming affix.

However, there seems to be some instances of the adverbial genitive whose occurrence is triggered by the semantics of the entire clause and the semantics of the genitive case: according to Klaeber’s (1950:150) note to *Beowulf* 504, the occurrence of the adverbial genitive may be due to the negation of the clause.

[1-123] *forþon þe he ne uþe, þæt ænig oðer man*

æfre mærdæ þon ma middangeardes

gehede under heofenum þonne he sylfa

‘because he does not permit that any other man, (anywhere in) the world, should ever

achieve more glory under heaven than himself' (Beowulf 503-5)⁹

Recall that in §1.1.3.1, we saw an example of the adverbial genitive in a negative sentence. If the occurrence of the adverbial genitive nominal in negative sentence is triggered by the semantics of negation, and the semantics of the genitive case, then it is also natural that a genitive nominal can also occur as adverbial within a negative sentence, triggered for the same reasons.

There are various other linguistic expressions that can function as adverbial, for example, a dative NP, an accusative NP, and prepositional phrases with various prepositions. Here are some examples of such adverbials, which are comparable to the adverbial genitive expressing temporal relation of duration.

Accusative

[1-124] *þa wacode se biscop **ane niht** on godes cyrcan*

'then the bishop kept vigil one night at God's church' (CH20, 222)

Dative

[1-125] *Ic beo mid eow **eallum dagum*** 'I will be with you all days' (CH21, 242)

Prepositional phrase (with *for* + dat.)

[1-126] *se þe **for manegum gearum** mid egeslicre wodnysse gedreht wæs*

'.. he who for many years was afflicted with horrible diseases' (CH31, 59)

Prepositional phrase (with *of* + dat.)

[1-127] *& se **cniht** wearð gehæled **of þære tide***

'and the boy servant was healed from that moment' (CH8, 103)

The *of*-phrase does occur as an adverbial, as in [1-227] above. But because the preposition *of* has the lexical meaning 'from', when the *of*-phrase is used as temporal adverbial, it always expressed some starting point in time 'from when', not the duration of time as the genitive nominal does in [1-117].

In ME, the genitive continues to be used as adverbial, expressing temporal and local relations,

and manner. On the other hand, the genitive with a preposition became completely obsolete, as already noted above (§1.1.3.4).

(temporal)

[1-128] *habbeð þrinne wið ow a wummon of cleane lif deies & nihtes.*

‘have therein with your(self) a woman of clean life, day and night’(AW113a, 21)

(place)

[1-129] *þas waiges he wende* ‘this way he went’ (Lawman A 29321)

(manner)

[1-130] *iþe godspel of þe þreo maries is iwruten þisses weis*

‘in the Gospel (it) is written about the three Marys in this way’ (AW102a, 19)

According to Mustanoja (1960:91ff), there are many instances of the adverbial genitive which were recorded first in ME, such as *twies* ‘twice’, *thries* ‘thrice’, *whiles* ‘for a time’, and many others. Among all the types of the genitive, it is only the adverbial genitive that spread more than in the OE period. This suggests that the adverbial genitive took quite a different course of history after (or even before) the end of the OE period, and, as was suggested above, that the value of the ending *-es*, not quite as a genitive but as adverbial forming element, developed even further during the ME period.

At the same time, the *of*-phrase also started to be used in a comparable manner to the adverbial genitive. Here is an example of the *of*-phrase expressing temporal relation of duration.

[1-131] *lazre stonc of fowr dahes. hu stonkeð þe sunfule of fowr ger oðer of fiue.*

‘Lazarus stank for four days, how do the sinful stink for four or five years?’ (AW88b, 20)

Again, the emergence of the *of*-phrase as adverbial shows a radical change in its use, which is comparable to the phenomena happening in the other domains of the genitive: the *of*-phrase now functions as adverbial without involving any sense of the original, lexical meaning of the

preposition *of*, unlike the *of*-phrase in OE.

§1.1.7 Summary

From what has been said above about the situations and the subsequent histories of the different types of the genitive from OE to ME, I will highlight some important points to be considered.

- (1) The demise of the various (sub)types of the genitive after the end of the OE period took place in analogous ways. Some subtypes of the adnominal genitive became completely obsolete (e.g. partitive and descriptive genitive). Likewise, the entire adverbial genitive, and most of the adjectival genitive, became completely obsolete, though not immediately. Moreover, the subtypes of the adnominal genitive (which became obsolete) were replaced by the *of*-phrase in ME. Similarly, many of the adverbial genitive, adjectival genitive, predicative genitive, and also adverbial genitive were replaced by the *of*-phrase in ME. This suggests that those (sub)types of the genitive which became obsolete after the end of the OE period did so for a similar reason, and that their replacement with the *of*-phrase also took place for a similar reason.
- (2) The grammaticalization of the *of*-phrase from a lexical, prepositional phrase to a genitive-equivalent expression seems to have taken place very gradually. The *of*-phrase did occur in OE in the same syntactic contexts as the genitive, but in such examples, the meaning of the *of*-phrase can be seen as an extension of the original, lexical meaning of the preposition ‘from/out of’. In ME, there emerge instances of the *of*-phrase which cannot be seen as an extension of its original meaning any more. This must be when an important linguistic change happened to the *of*-phrase.
- (3) In OE, the genitive was used in as many as six different syntactic contexts, as shown above in §1.1.1. However, there is a great deal of imbalance in the distribution of the genitive in these contexts. In the context [N+N], the genitive nominal (adnominal genitive) is the most predominant (or “most well-entrenched”) linguistic expression. This status gives the genitive its potentiality to be combined with another nominal in a very wide range of relations

(possessive, subjective, objective, etc.). It looks as if the occurrence of the genitive is triggered by the structure. In other contexts, especially in [N+V+N], it is not a predominant expression. We noted above that the occurrence of a genitive nominal seems to be motivated, not by the syntactic contexts like the adnominal genitive, but by semantically defined conditions.

These findings about the general history of the genitive case from OE to ME seem to suggest that the history of genitive must be looked at holistically. The fact that the different (sub)types of genitive underwent analogous changes indicates that there is some mechanism responsible for all these changes. To characterise this mechanism is the general object of this dissertation. This task consists of the following three aspects.

- (a) Characterisation of the genitive case in OE
- (b) Characterisation of the genitive case in ME
- (c) Characterisation of changes from the genitive in OE to that in ME

Among these three, (a) is most fundamental for various reasons. Firstly, it is important from chronological point of view. To characterise changes the genitive case underwent from OE to ME, it is essential to characterise the genitive case in OE in the first place. As we will see in the next section, there are few studies on the genitive case in OE that deal with all its types and subtypes coherently, and it appears that the genitive case in OE as a whole has not been elucidated. Secondly, characterisation of the genitive case in OE is a prerequisite for our understanding of the reanalysis of an *of*-phrase as a genitive equivalent in ME. We will not come to a proper understanding of the idea of “a genitive equivalent” (= equal in “value”) unless the value (whether semantic or syntactic or both) of the genitive case in OE is elucidated. Thirdly, characterisation of the genitive case in OE tells us a lot of information about its subsequent history. The unbalanced use of the various (sub)types of genitive in OE (summarised in (3) above) seems to reflect what was about to happen to the genitive case after the OE period. There are clearly some patterns in the various uses of genitive in OE, i.e. some are more well-

entrenched than others, and more well-entrenched uses survived into ME, whereas less well-entrenched ones became obsolete. Therefore, synchronic characterisation of the genitive case in OE itself involves diachronic aspect of the case from OE to ME.

§1.2 Review of previous studies

There are several previous studies on the history of the genitive from OE to ME which are relevant to characterisation of the genitive case in one way or another. In the following sections I will review and discuss these previous studies. To the best of my knowledge, there is no study dealing with the history of the genitive case from OE to ME coherently in all its possible contexts¹⁰. What we have are mostly studies on various aspects of it: some dealing only with the history of adnominal genitive, some dealing only with the adverbial genitive in OE, and so on. In the following sections I will review these studies dealing with different aspects of the history of genitive from OE to ME.

The first studies to be reviewed are those on the history of the adnominal genitive in English (OE, ME, ModE, and PDE). Among them, the most authoritative is Thomas (1931), in that it deals with the most exhaustive amount of data ranging from the eighth to the fourteenth century, and he gives an insightful account of the development of the *of*-periphrasis. This study, however, needs reconsideration in the light of more recent studies. In §1.2.1, I will give a summary of Thomas's study. In §1.2.1.1 and §1.2.1.2, I will present two points of criticism of Thomas, with reference to other more recent studies. The second set of previous studies to be reviewed are those dealing with the adverbial genitive in OE. They touch on the motivation for the occurrence of genitive in context [N+V+N] and discuss what the semantic value of genitive in OE might be. These studies will be reviewed in §1.2.2.

§1.2.1 Summary of Thomas (1931)

The problem which Thomas' study addresses is how to explain 'the syntactic processes involved in the increased use of the "function-word" *of* as a means of expressing adnominal genitive relationship' (Thomas 1931: 6). He investigated a huge amount of data ranging from the

eighth century to the fourteenth century, both prose and poetry. His data consists of noun phrases with an adnominal genitive nominal, classified depending on whether the genitive nominal is preposed or postposed (for example, see [1-1, 2] above), and noun phrases with a periphrastic genitive with *of*. Table 1-3 shows the proportion of the data according to the different periods.

Table 1-3. Summary of the data of adnominal genitive and of-genitive (in Thomas 1931:70).

prose			
	postposed genitive	periphrastic genitive	preposed genitive
end 9 th C. - begin.10 th C.	47.5%	0.5%	52.0%
latter part 10 th C.- begin.11 th C.	30.5%	1.0%	68.5%
11 th C.	22.2%	1.2%	76.6%
12 th C.	11.8%	6.3%	81.9%
first half 13 th C.	0.6%	31.4%	68.0%
14 th C.	0.0%	84.4%	15.6%
poetry			
begin. 8 th C. - first half 9 th C.	22.4%	0.3%	77.3%
12 th C.	0.0%	19.2%	80.8%
first half 13 th C.	1.0%	12.5%	86.5%
latter half 13 th C.	0.4%	28.6%	71.0%
14 th C.	0.0%	50.7%	49.3%

The important observation he made was of the degree of the loss of inflections in the ‘definite article’¹¹ and strong adjectives, both of which he calls ‘modifiers’, that appear in noun phrases with a genitive nominal. Here are examples of such noun phrases.

[1-132] *ðæs hundredes ealldor* ‘the hundred’s chief’ (CH8, 104)

[1-133] *se hundredes ealdor* ‘the hundred’s chief’ (CH8, 91)

[1-134] *æt þam ytemestan eorþan gemærum* ‘at the outermost borders of the earth’
(BlHom. 119, 25)

[1-135] *of ælcum godes worde* ‘by means of every word of God’ (Luke 4:4)

The structure of such noun phrases may be formulated for convenience as Figure 1-1:

Figure 1-1

[[Modifier(s) (‘definite article’ or strong adjectives)] --- [genitive nominal] --- [head noun]]

In these examples, the modifiers may modify either the genitive nominal ([1-132]) or the head noun [1-133, 134, 135] and the modifier-head relation is indicated by means of inflection in OE (the modifier(s) and the noun modified are underlined in each of the examples). However, the inflectional endings of these modifiers had undergone levelling especially after the OE period (Mosse 1968: 60, 64) (according to Thomas, there was a marked increase in the loss of inflection in the 'definite articles' and adjectives from the twelfth century to the last half of the thirteenth century), which made it more and more difficult to show the modifier-head relation by means of inflection. Thomas's conclusion is that the loss of inflection in the 'definite articles' and strong adjectives is responsible for the increase in the use of the periphrastic genitive from OE to ME. Here is his explanation.

First of all, a periphrastic genitive with *of* made its first appearance in the eighth century in poetry (see *Table 1-3*). Therefore Thomas claims that already during the OE period, the *of*-phrase was one of the constructions which express what he calls 'genitive relationships', though it was much less frequent in occurrence than the inflectional genitive itself (Thomas 1931:96-7).

Second, there was a general increase in the preposed genitive in the course of the OE period (see *Table 1-3*). Thomas gives several reasons for this development. Factors (1), (2), (3) and (4) were those factors present already in OE. Factor (5) is that which came into effect during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

(1) Analogy to possessive adjectives and personal pronouns in the genitive, which usually appeared before the noun they modified: e.g. *þine þry suna* 'your three sons': *his sunu* 'his son'.

(2) Analogy to 'the almost universal position of a proper name in the genitive before the noun which it modifies' (*ibid.* 104): e.g. *On cristes acennednysse* 'on Christ's birth'

(3) The presence of the intact inflectional endings of the 'definite article' and strong adjectives: these inflections guaranteed that a genitive nominal could be preposed even when it intervenes between a 'definite article' or strong adjective and a noun which it modifies, as in examples [1-133, 134, 135].

(4) 'the general tendency of the language toward the use of word-order as a device to indicate

grammatical relationships. ... The word modified and its modifiers are brought into juxtaposition, with the modifiers in pre-position” (Thomas 1931:106).

(5) Loss of inflections in the ‘definite article’ and strong adjectives, which made it impossible to postpose a genitive nominal containing a ‘definite article’ or adjective. As *Table 1-3* shows, after the end of the thirteenth century, ‘constructions such as the following are not to be found’ (Thomas 1931: 107): *þe sunne þe mannes* (in the sense of ‘the son of the man’), *þe foollastes þe drihtnes* (in the sense of ‘the traces of the Lord’).

Then Thomas moves on to discuss the causes for the loss of inflections in the ‘definite article’ and strong adjectives. He points out that in some noun phrases of *Figure 1-1*, like the example [1-132] *þæs hundredes ealdor* “the ‘definite article’ could agree with either the noun- in-the-genitive or the noun-not-in-the-genitive, without changing the sense” (hence the example [1-133] *se hundredes ealdor*, therefore “there was no definite need for denoting specifically through inflection just which noun the article agreed with” (Thomas 1931: 113). So for Thomas, the examples [1-132] and [1-133] both mean more or less the same thing: ‘the hundred’s chief’. In the same way, in the following example [1-136], he argues that it is inconsequential as regards the meaning of the whole expression whether the indefinite adjective *sum* agrees with the genitive noun or the head noun (cf. [1-137]):

[1-136] *þa wæs sumes hundredmannes þeowa* “then (there) was (a) servant of a certain centurion”

(Luke 7, 2: Corpus MS)

[1-137] *þa wæs sum hundredmannes þeowa* “then (there) was a certain servant of centurion”

(Luke 7, 2: Hatton MS).

As the translations show, there might have been certain differences between the meanings of these noun phrases. However, the point Thomas is making is that their meanings are similar enough for them to alternate without causing any major problem in their interpretation. This

situation would make the strong inflectional endings of the adjective redundant. Thomas claims that the presence of these examples [1-132, 136] is one of the causes for the loss of inflection in the ‘definite article’ and strong adjectives. The examples [1-132, 136] would develop, with the loss of inflection, into hypothesised phrases **þe hundredes ealdor* and **sum hundredesmannes þeowa* respectively, without causing change in meaning of the whole phrase. Thomas refers to Curme’s ‘the law of immediate contact’, which states that ‘inflection was demanded only at the point where the two components of the adnominal group touched each other’ (Curme 1913: 21, quoted in Thomas 1931: 115). This law explains that the hypothesised phrase **þe hundredes ealdor*, **sum hundredes þeowa* would be regarded as grammatical as long as there is an inflection at the contact point of the genitive nominal and the head.

Third, he states that this loss of inflection of the ‘definite article’ and strong adjectives made it impossible for a genitive nominal to be postposed. The crucial point is that there were noun phrases of the structure in *Figure 1-1* in which the ‘definite article’ or an adjective could only agree with the head noun (cf. (5) above). The examples [1-134, 135] are the cases in point, which are repeated here as [1-138, 139]

[1-138] *æt þam ytemestan eorþan gemærum* ‘at the outermost borders of the earth’

[1-139] *of ælcum godes worde* ‘by means of every word of God’

If the ‘definite article’ in [1-138] agreed with the genitive nominal *eorþan*, and the adjective *ælcum* in [1-139] agreed with the genitive noun *godes*, then these examples would mean ‘at the border of the outermost earth’, ‘from the word of every god’, which are logically different from the intended meanings. With the loss of inflectional endings, which would result in phrases like **at þe ytemesten eorden* (or *eordes* ?) *gemæren* and **of ælcen godes worde*, the ‘definite article’ and the adjective will be taken to be modifiers of the immediately following genitive nouns *eorden/eordes* and *godes* respectively, which would result in the unintended senses.

Another option left for such noun phrases might have been to postpose the genitive nominal, so we might have hypothesised phrases like **at þe ytemesten gemæren þe eorden/eordes* and **of*

ælcen worde godes. The former example, however, would turn out to be ungrammatical, due to the same law of immediate contact, which we saw above. In this phrase, the immediate contact point is the ‘definite article’ *þe*, which is uninflected, and therefore unable to show the ‘genitive relationships’.

The last resort for such phrases was the use of the *of*-construction, which had already been in use, according to Thomas, to express ‘genitive relationships’. There are examples of the *of*-phrases in OE which express origin, material, and partitivity, as we saw in §1.1.2. Possibly in analogy to such *of*-phrases, there emerged expressions like **at þe ytemesten gemæren of þe eorðen*, which would fulfil the law of immediate contact, on the assumption that the *of* in *of þe eorðen* is seen as a periphrastic inflection of the phrase *þe eorðen*. Then, Thomas argues, the spread of the *of*-construction, to express ‘genitive relationships’, periphrastically made all postposed genitive disappear, whether the genitive nominal contains a modifier or not. Hence we have **of ælcen worde of god*.

§1.2.1.1 Criticism of Thomas (1931).

According to Thomas’ explanation, it seems that the presence of examples of the type [1-132, 133], [1-136, 137] on the one hand, and examples of the type [1-138, 139] on the other, was the major cause of the development of the “periphrastic genitive” with *of*. Examples of the former type enhanced the loss of inflection in the definite article and strong adjectives, and due to the spread of uninflected definite article and strong adjectives, the structure of the latter type became impossible, which resulted in the increased use of the *of*-phrase as an alternative. There are two questions to be considered. First of all, what generalisations can we make as to adnominal genitive phrases of these types? Do such examples of adnominal genitive phrases share any common properties? The second question is, was the presence of adnominal genitive phrases of the type [1-132, 133, 136, 137] such a great influence as to cause the loss of inflection, as Thomas claims it was? I will discuss these two points below.

It seems that adnominal genitive phrases of the type [1-132, 133, 136, 137, 138, 139] fall into two kinds, depending on how words within these phrases form a constituent. Using these

examples again, in [1-132, 133, 138, 139], the genitive noun and the head combine to form a constituent (= Type (1)), whereas in [1-136, 137], the “modifier” and the genitive noun form a constituent (= Type (2)), in the manner illustrated below (with brackets showing a constituency).

Type (1)

[1-140] *ðæs [hundredes ealdor]* ‘the hundred’s chief’

(I will discuss the issue regarding the inflectional agreement shortly below).

[1-141] *se [hundredes ealdor]* ‘the hundred’s chief’

[1-142] *æt þam ytemestan [eorþan gemærum]* ‘at the outermost borders of the earth’

[1-143] *of ælcum [godes worde]* ‘by means of every word of God’

Type (2)

[1-144] *þa wæs [sumes hundredmannes] þeowa* “then (there) was (a) servant of a certain centurion”

[1-145] *þa wæs [sum hundredmannes] þeowa* “then (there) was certain servant of centurion”

The basis for these bracketing is based on semantics, more specifically a coherency of the concept expressed by the bracketed sequence of words. To take the example [1-141] first, it seems that the sequence *hundredes ealdor* forms a constituent, since it designates a single coherent concept as “chief of hundred”, in other words, “centurion” (Godden 2000: 728 glosses the phrase *hundredes ealdor* as “centurion”). This analysis is supported by the following examples, which all occur in the same homily of Ælfric, and part of Matthew’s Gospel from which Ælfric quotes:

[1-146] *sum hundredes ealdor* ‘a (certain) centurion’ (CH8, 88)

[1-147] *an hundredes ealdor* ‘a (certain) centurion’ (Matthew 8: 8)

[1-148] *to þam hundredes ealdre* ‘to the centurion’ (CH8, 101)

or by the presence of compounds such as *hundredmann* (cf. [1-144, 145]) meaning “a centurion”. It seems plausible that the phrase *hundredes ealdor* is a recurrent, well-entrenched expression, and can be taken as forming a constituent. A similar analysis can be applied to other examples of Type (1). In [1-142], the genitive noun *eorðan* combines with the head *gemærum* again to form a coherent sense “boundary of (the) earth” (which is outermost). The genitive noun provides information integral to the concept of “boundary” (since a boundary essentially bounds something), so can be said to be a complement of the head. In [1-143], the genitive noun *godes* and the head combine again to form a coherent concept “word of God”: the genitive noun *godes* in this particular context (in a homily given by Ælfric) has as part of its meaning various encyclopedic knowledge of Christianity, of the Bible, which gives context for the interpretation of the whole phrase. As a result, the sequence *godes worde* can be a coherent concept roughly corresponding to “word typically associated with Christianity”, or “Christian message”.

Phrases of this type can be comparable to the type of PDE possessive variously termed as “descriptive genitive” (Quirk *et al* 1985: 322), or “classifying genitive” (Poutsma 1914: 40; Curme 1931), or more recently, “possessive compounds” (Taylor 1996: 287ff), exemplified by expressions like *a woman’s magazine*, *a child’s language*, *a lady’s glove*, *a gentleman’s shoe*, etc. What characterises these examples is that the possessive phrase (*woman’s*, *child’s*, *lady’s* etc.) specifies the type of the entity designated by the head noun. This kind of possessive contrasts with another type of possessives, such as *John’s book*, *that child’s mother*, etc., where the possessive phrase (*John’s*, *that child’s*) specify the instance of the entity designated by the head noun. In other words, the possessive phrase determines the head noun. It seems that the OE phrase *hundredes ealdor* is an OE form of “possessive compound” using Taylor’s term. Furthermore, in the example [1-141, 142, 143, 144], it is this whole “possessive compound” (*hundredes ealdor*), not just the head noun (*ealdor*), that is modified by the definite article.

The example [1-140] poses some problem, since the inflections on the modifier (*ðæs*) and the genitive noun (*hundredes*) would indicate these two words, rather than the genitive noun and the head, are to form a constituent. But such analysis based on the inflection seems implausible if we take into consideration the context of the relevant discourse. At least in the relevant discourse

which contains this phrase, there seems to be no need to specify *of which hundred* the relevant person is a chieftain¹². According to Clemons (1997: 244n), there is an alteration between *se hundredes ealdor* and *ðæs hundredes ealdor* between different texts. I would take this example as a textual variant of *se hundredes ealdor*, which might be a result of confusion with adnominal genitive phrases of Type (2), which we will turn to now.

In contrast to Type (1), Type (2) has the “modifier” and the genitive noun combining as a constituent. To take [1-144] as example, what characterises Type (2) is that the genitive nominal (i.e. the sequence of the modifier and the genitive noun *sumes hundredmannes*) specifies an instance of the entity designated by the head noun (*þeowa*). In other words, it determines the head (so it has a function as a determiner). The bracketing of *sumes hundredmannes* as a constituent is supported by the context of this phrase. In the relevant discourse which contains this phrase, there is a mention of “a centurion”, therefore it seems clear that the genitive nominal *sumes hundredmannes* designates a single coherent concept “a certain centurion”, and therefore it is to be analysed as a constituent¹³.

Then how can we explain the example [1-145] *sum hundredmannes þeowa*, where based on inflection the adjective *sum* does not combine with the genitive noun *hundredmannes*? I would take this *sum* again as a textual variant of *sumes*. I will discuss causes of such textual variants shortly below.

Now, if these analyses, Type (1) and (2), of the examples Thomas gives are correct, then it follows that Thomas is wrong when he says that the “modifier” in the examples like [1-141, 142], and [1-144, 145] can agree either with the genitive noun or with the head noun without changing the meaning. The contexts seem to allow for only one analysis, either Type (1) for [1-141, 142] (with the genitive noun specifying the *type* of the entity designated by the head) or Type (2) for [1-144, 145] (with the genitive nominal (= phrase) specifying the *instance* of the entity designated by the head). Thomas takes this arguable possibility for the “modifier” to agree with either the genitive noun or the head noun as cause for the loss of inflection. If this possibility proves to be ill-founded, however, then cause for the loss of inflection must be sought elsewhere. More influential factors for the loss of inflection seems to be found in the general reanalysis of a

genitive nominal. I will discuss this point in the following section with reference to other previous studies. We will come back to the criticism of Thomas's view at the end of the section.

§1.2.1.2. Previous studies on the change of the genitive nominal in its grammatical category.

It has been argued by various scholars (Nunnally 1985: Taylor 1996: Rosenbach 2002) that the genitive case, i.e. the genitive inflection, underwent the radical change in its grammatical category from inflection (bearing a case) to a determiner after the OE period. To put it another way, we can say that a genitive nominal underwent a change from a case form (with the genitive inflection) to a determiner¹⁴. The claim that an OE genitive nominal did not have a determiner function seems to be based on some examples such as those in [1-149, 150] below, where the genitive nominal co-occur with indefinite pronominal adjectives, as a result of which the whole phrase is rendered indefinite. In [1-151], on the other hand, the noun phrase containing a genitive nominal is a predicate to the copula *wæron* (<*beon*), which expresses a class of people to which the referent of the subject nominal *hi* "they" is included (Langacker 1991: 67). Then the noun phrase *haliges lifes men* denotes any indefinite men who may be categorised as men of holy life, and not any particular (definite) people.

[1-149] *sum Godes mann* 'some man of God' (CH9, 17)

[1-150] *sume þæra haligra gasta* 'some of the (or those) holy spirits' (CH36, 27)

[1-151] *hi wæron haliges lifes men* "they were men of holi life" (CH30, 8)

Obviously the genitive nominal does not determine the head noun in these examples, in the sense that it does not specify an instance of the entity designated by the head noun. In PDE, in contrast, a possessive phrase tends to determine the head and render the whole phrase definite: e.g. *John's*, *the boy's* etc. determines its head and renders the whole noun phrase definite.

Another evidence is that the genitive nominal can co-occur with other determiners, such as demonstratives, as in the following examples.

[1-152] *on Godes þone soþan þeowdom* ‘in the true service for God’

(quoted in Garcia 2000:74)

In PDE a genitive nominal (including a genitive form of nouns and pronouns) and other determiners (like the (in)definite articles) are in complementary distribution because of the former’s determiner function (hence the ungrammaticality of **the John’s book*).

However, there is evidence that a genitive nominal in OE did have a determiner function, though not always. As Nunnally (1985: 172) points out, there seem to be no examples found of a noun phrase in which both the *preposed* genitive noun and the head noun have its own ‘definite article’, e.g. **se þæs hundredes ealdor* or **þæs hundredes se ealdor*. When a genitive nominal is *postposed*, then both the genitive noun and the head noun can have its own ‘definite article’, as in the following example.

[1-152] *þa eadelicam beboda þære ealdan æ* ‘the easy commands of the Old Law’ (CH23, 120)

But this cannot happen when a genitive nominal is preposed. This is strong evidence to suggest that a preposed adnominal genitive nominal must have some determiner function, but not in the case of a postnominal adnominal genitive.

With all these pieces of evidence, what seems to have happened in the grammatical category of a genitive nominal from OE to ME, can be summarised as follows. The genitive nominal underwent change in its grammatical category, from a case form bearing the ‘genitive case’ to a determiner. Rosenbach (2002: 224-6, 311 (note 176)) refers to the evolution during the ME period of the invariant in/definite articles *þe/the* and *a(n)* out of the OE demonstrative and the OE numeral *an* respectively. She then suggests that this evolution of the article system created a structural determiner position within a noun phrase, for a genitive nominal to fit in. Now, in OE before this change took place, i.e. when a genitive nominal was a case form, it had this determiner function, and this is evidenced by the absence of construction of the type **se þæs hundredes ealdor* or **þæs hundredes se ealdor*, as we discussed above. However, this was the

case only when the genitive nominal was preposed to the head. We might say that this determining function was probably not a primary function of a genitive nominal. What happened to the genitive from the OE to the ME period is that this determining function was grammaticalised and became its primary function.

Now let us go back to the problem as regards cause for the loss of inflection on the “modifier” elements which Thomas (1931) faced. Given a hypothesis that an OE adnominal genitive nominal, when it is preposed, had a determiner function, we can say that a noun phrase of the structure [modifier]-[genitive noun]-[head] tended to be analysed as *Figure 1-2*.

Figure 1-2

[[[modifier]-[genitive noun]]_{DET}-[head noun]] e.g. [[*sumes hundredmannes*] *þeowa*]

This is the internal structure of Type (2) we looked at in §1.2.1.1 above, in which the modifier and the genitive noun form a constituent as a determiner. This tendency was such that even in the absence of the inflectional agreement between the modifier and the genitive noun, this analysis was possible. I speculate that the entrenchment of this structure is one of the essential causes for the loss of inflection on the modifiers¹⁵. It is because of this entrenchment that we have examples such as [1-145] *sum hundredmannes þeowa* side by side with [1-141] *sum hundredmannes þeowa*. Both of them are to be analysed in terms of the internal structure in *Figure 1-2*. This type of adnominal genitive phrase would develop into PDE noun phrases with a possessive phrase such as *the man's book, the woman's mother, a certain man's daughter*, etc.

On the other hand, there seems to be a separate, well-entrenched sub-category of adnominal genitive phrase emerging, which has the same elements [modifier]-[genitive noun]-[head], with the genitive noun and the head analysed as a constituent forming a “possessive compound” in Taylor's term. They are to be analysed as in *Figure 1-3*, in contrast with *Figure 1-2*.

Figure 1-3

[[modifier]-[[genitive noun]-[head noun]]_{Poss-Compound}] e.g. [se [hundredes ealdor]]
of [ælcum [godes wordum]]

In this case, the genitive nominal (or simply the genitive noun) does not have a determiner function, in the sense that it does not specify an instance but a type, of the entity designated by the head noun (cf. §1.2.1.1.). The reason why we occasionally find examples such as *ðæs hundredes mannes* as it occurs in the context of CH8, 104 would be due to the great extent of entrenchment of the internal nominal structure in Figure 1-2. But the form of *se hundredes ealdor* would be the norm (with the inflectional agreement). Adnominal genitive phrases of the structure in Figure 1-3 would develop into either of the following two directions.

- (1) Lexicalisation of the combination of the genitive noun and the head noun as a compound, or a possessive compound.

e.g. (*the, this, etc.*) *doomsday, king's evil, Wednesday, etc.*

(*a, the, etc.*) *woman's magazine, child's language.*

- (2) The periphrastic construction with the preposition *of*.

e.g. *every word of God, the outermost boorder of world, a good student of physics.*

The choice between these two constructions seems to depend, not on whether or not the modifier can agree either with the genitive or the head without changing the meaning as Thomas claims, but on the degree of coherency of the concept designated by the two nouns (the genitive and the head nouns). If the concept expressed by the two nouns forms a single coherent concept or “gestalt” (“perceived whole”, cf. Ungere & Schmid 1996: 33), such as *doomsday, king's evil*, they tend to develop into a compound or a possessive compound. If the concept is to be construed as consisting of two distinct sub-concepts, then they are likely to develop into a periphrastic construction.

§1.2.1.3 Summary of the discussion and its import.

The sections above have offered a critical view of Thomas's account of the history of the adnominal genitive from OE to ME. The main focus was on the various internal structures of adnominal genitive phrases. From the point of view that a genitive nominal underwent the change in its grammatical category from a case form bearing the genitive case to a determiner, I claimed that this grammatical change, accompanied with the entrenchment of certain internal nominal structures (cf. *Figure 1-2, 1-3*), was one of the essential causes for the loss of inflection.

This explanation is plausible for several reasons.

- (1) It explains the process of how a genitive nominal attained the grammatical status as a determiner together with other determiners in a coherent way: it helps us to see the change a genitive nominal underwent not as a process independent of and unrelated to other changes in the grammar of English but dependent on and correlated to them, particularly relating to the emergence of the determiner class.
- (2) It also explains why the genitive inflectional endings all converged into the one form *-(e)s* in the course of the ME period: probably a determiner in this new structural position within a noun phrase was required to be invariant in terms of form, just as the *in/*definite articles became invariant, through the levelling of all their inflected forms. It is possible to regard genitive nominals with the uniform ending *-(e)s* as invariant, if we regard the suffix as the head of the genitive nominal.
- (3) It accounts for the increase of the preposed genitive throughout the OE and the ME period, which was pointed out by Thomas. If a genitive nominal was in the process of becoming a determiner together with the OE demonstrative which was to be the definite article, then it stands to reason that the genitive nominal would prefer the same position as the demonstrative, which was always before the head of the whole noun phrase in OE.
- (4) It also explains why some genitive nominals had to be postposed, aided by the *of*-construction. It is precisely those genitive nominals which could not serve as determiner. Several recent works on the PDE 'genitive' clarify the nature of 'genitive' in PDE as a determiner, and regards a 'genitive' phrase as having the function of 'a referential point' (cf.

§3.8.1 below; Langacker 1991: 170, Langacker 1993: Taylor 1996: 136ff.) using the term of Cognitive Grammar. More specifically, ‘the possessor in the *s*-genitive must be highly accessible and high accessibility should correlate with animacy and topicality (in Taylor’s account both subsumed under topicworthiness)’ (Rosenbach 2002: 226). It is in general those genitive nominals which were, to use Taylor’s term, low in ‘topicworthiness’ (relatively less accessible to the speaker/hearer), e.g. inanimate nominals, indefinite nominals, that were preferred as a determinative nominal.

(5) It also explains why a genitive nominal ceased to appear separated from the head after the OE period (cf. §1.2 above). Since a genitive nominal, which functions as a determiner in ME, has become such an integral and inalienable part of a nominal structure that it was impossible for it to be separated from the head any longer.

(6) Finally, it explains the demise of the other types of genitive, i.e., adverbial, adjectival, prepositional genitives. Once a genitive nominal assumes the grammatical status as a determiner, which is a part of nominal structure, then it would make sense that it ceased to appear in clausal, adjectival, or prepositional structures (as it did in the case of adverbial, adjectival, and prepositional genitive respectively).

However, there is a fundamental problem yet to be solved, which goes back to the question raised at the end of §1.1.7 above. What does “a case form bearing the genitive case” mean? In other words, how can we characterise the genitive case, or a genitive nominal, in OE? If the determining function was not the primary function of the case, what was its primary or basic function then? These questions are seldom touched upon in the literature, and these are the very questions that this dissertation addresses, and offers some answer for.

§ 1.2.2 Previous studies on the adverbial genitive in OE.

As was already mentioned at the beginning of § 1.2, as far as I know, there are no previous studies dealing with the OE genitive in all its syntactic contexts in any coherent way. But we have several studies dealing with some parts of the whole range of genitive functions. These

studies are mostly concerned with ‘meaning’ of the genitive case, especially in relation to adverbial genitive: recall that we saw in §1.1.3 above that there are several semantic groups of verbs which take a genitive complement, and that therefore it would be likely that the motivation for these verbs to take a genitive complement has to do with the semantics of the genitive case. In what follows I will review some of these semantic accounts of the genitive case.

Grimm (1837) described the semantic difference between the genitive and the accusative in the Germanic languages in the following manner.

“The accusative shows that an object is overcome most completely and most definitely by the concept which is contained in the verb of the sentence of the subject. In the genitive, objectification is more limited; with the genitive, the active power is merely attempted and raised, but it is not used up. Therefore this genitive is not, unlike the accusative, transferable to a passive nominative. The accusative expresses a pure, more certain effect, the genitive expresses hampered, modified effect.” (Grimm 1837:646)¹⁶

From this statement it follows that a transitive clause containing a genitive complement expresses ‘unaffectedness’, ‘partial affectedness’, or ‘non-completion’ (Lass 1994: 237) of the object-entity of the transitive action expressed in the clause. In other words, a genitive complement tends to appear in ‘transitive clauses’ in which the degree of ‘transitivity’ (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980) is low¹⁷. Transitivity is defined as:

“a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is ‘carried-over’ or ‘transformed’ from an agent to a patient. Transitivity in the traditional view thus necessarily involves at least two participants, and an action which is typically EFFECTIVE in some way.” (Hopper & Thompson 1980:251)

Grimm’s characterisation of genitive, together with the concept of lower degree of transitivity, will explain why verbs of certain particular meanings take a genitive complement in the syntactic context [N+V+N]. Let us look at the list of semantic groups of verbs taking a genitive in §1.1.3 above. To take some examples, verbs expressing various emotional or mental states or activity experienced by a person (group (1)) take a genitive complement because the entity which causes or arouses these emotional or mental states/activities is not itself affected at all (= unaffectedness). Verbs meaning ‘care for’, ‘help’ ‘have mercy on’ (group (2)) may take a genitive complement in analogy to the verbs of emotions: with both groups of verbs the genitive complement are cause or source of emotions, though with the verbs of group (2) the

complements are typically human. Verbs meaning ‘lose’, ‘lack’, ‘need’ (group (7)), or verbs meaning ‘cease’, ‘stop’ (group (8)) would take the genitive probably for the same reason (= unaffectedness). Verbs meaning ‘touch’ takes genitive (group (6)) because the object of touching is not so affected by the action as in the case of activities with more ‘energy flow’ (Langacker 1991), e.g. ‘grabbing’ (= partial affectedness or non-completion). Grimm’s characterisation of genitive may also explain why verbs meaning ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘take’ (group (3)) take a genitive complement, if a clause with these verbs + a genitive complement, like [1-40] (repeated here as [1-153]) mean something like ‘she then *tried* (or *had a taste of*) that food’ or *see how it would taste like* rather than just ‘she then ate the food’ (cf. ‘the active power is merely attempted and raised, but it is not used up’ in Grimm’s characterisation of genitive above).

[1-153] *Heo þa þæs ofættes æt*

Then this would be a case of partial affectedness. This will also explain why verbs meaning ‘test’, ‘tempt’ (group (4)). In examples like [1-43, 44] (repeated here as [1-154, 155]), ‘testing the gold and the gemstone’ and ‘tempting (= trying) every man’ can be seen as act of ‘trying to see how strong it is’ in analogy to the act of ‘eating’.

[1-154] *gað to smiððan & fandiað þyses goldes. & þyssera gymstana;*

[1-155] *deofol mot ælces mannes afandian. hwæðer he aht sy. oððe naht*

Verbs meaning ‘ask for’, ‘desire’, ‘expect’ and ‘labour for’ (group (5)) may take a genitive complement because the entity which is asked for, desired, etc. is something that is not present at the time of asking or desiring, etc. (since it would be strange for someone to ask for something which he already has). This absence of the entity would be to do with the use of a genitive complement.

The verb meaning ‘have’ (group (3)) rarely takes a genitive complement (its normal complement is in the accusative), but whenever it does, it is mostly in a subordinate clause,

especially a conditional clause as in [1-42]. My corpus also has an example of *habban* + genitive in negative sentences, and example of *beon habbende* + genitive (see Visser 1970:383-4 for more examples of *habban* taking a genitive complement). Recall that it was mentioned as group (14) and (15) in §1.3.1.1 above that some verbs often take a genitive complement in negative sentences and in the construction *beon/wesan* + present participle. Subordinate and negative clauses will lessen the ‘realis’ (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252) of the statement in the clauses, and it would make sense that the complement of the verb in such clauses would express an entity less affected or not affected at all.

A problem with Grimm’s characterisation is that the genitive case is defined in contrast with the accusative case, therefore it applies only for a genitive complement in a transitive clause (with two arguments, i.e. in the context [N+V+N]). Therefore, even though it does explain a high proportion of adverbial genitives as we just saw above, it has a limited range of applicability. For example, it does not explain much about a genitive complement with three-place verbs (i.e., in the context [N+V+N+N]), groups (9), (10), (11), (12), (13)), and also other types of genitive such as adnominal genitive. It appears that Grimm’s characterisation of genitive needs some reorientation within a more recent theoretical framework so that it may be applicable to other types of genitive as well.

Some neogrammarians stated that the genitive case in Germanic languages is a result of syncretism of genitive and ablative cases in Proto Indo-European (Brugmann and Delbrück 1911: 570) It has been said that this ‘ablative-like function of the genitive’ is reflected in a genitive complement with verbs of deprivation, separation like ‘deprive’ (group (12) above) and ‘cease from’ (group (8)) (Ardern 1951: :xxviii; Lass 1994: 237). It certainly explains a genitive with the latter group of verbs. But there is a problem with the former group of verbs. A genitive complement with verbs of deprivation does not express an ablative relation ‘away from something’. See the actual example [1-55], repeated here as [1-156]:

[1-156] *he hie bereafode heora clapa & heora wæpna*

The genitive complement expresses the entities which are taken away from the referent of *hie* 'them'. If a genitive had an ablative function in the sense of 'away from', it is *hie*, i.e. the complement referring to the entity (typically human) *from whom* something is taken away.

A similar semantic analysis of the adverbial genitive is to associate it with the semantic role of cause or source, which in turn is related to the ablative meaning of a starting point. This accounts for the genitive occurring with those verbs in (1) of emotional and mental states or activity (Traugott 1992: 203).

However, interpretation of the adverbial genitive as carrying the semantic role of source/cause is relevant mainly with verbs of mental or emotional state, which presuppose a frame within which there is an experiencer and a cause/source, of some such state. We can say that the adverbial genitive appearing in this frame is likely to be interpreted as a cause/source. Also, given the presence of so many verbs of emotions or mental state which take a genitive complement for this semantic role of source/cause, it would be right to claim that this is the 'prototypical' function of adverbial genitive in OE. But it does not mean that this case expresses source/cause on its own: these semantic roles are relevant in contexts in which there is a 'setting' (Langacker 1987: 287) for an event involving source/cause and also experiencer (events such as 'feel sorry', 'rejoice', 'enjoy', etc.). Adverbial genitive also occurs quite frequently in contexts where there is not such setting, for example, in clauses with verbs 'touch', 'lose', 'cease', 'deprive (someone) of'. Then it must be concluded that the genitive case itself does not carry the semantic roles of source/cause.

From the review of these previous studies above, it is clear that there has not been a coherent account of genitive, even of just the adverbial genitive, let alone of all the types of genitive. To give a coherent account for both adnominal and adverbial genitives (and others) is even more complicated, and this task seems to be avoided in the literature.¹⁸ Pushing this tendency even further is the idea that the primary function of the genitive case is its adnominal one (i.e., in the context [N+N]), and that the adverbial genitive is to be explained as the result of deletion of an accusative object on which an adnominal genitive nominal depends (Kurylowicz 1964; 185; Erickson 1975; Lass 1994: 235-6)

[N+V+N_{acc}+N_{gen}] [N+V+(N_{acc})+N_{gen}] [N+V+N_{gen}]

This possibility was explored seriously by Erickson (1975), who gave an account of the adverbial genitive in the OE poem *Deor* by applying this theory. He concludes that ‘Old English may be said ... to govern surface genitives only when the genitive remains after the deletion of the accusative or dative noun upon which it depends and when itself has not been raised so as to receive normal object inflection’ (Erickson 1975: 77). This study suggests that the only function the genitive case had in OE was its adnominal function, and the question is whether its head noun is overtly expressed or not. In other words, the genitive case has always had only an adnominal function from the beginning. This type of explanation does not capture the grammatical change that the genitive nominal underwent which I examined in §1.2.1.1-3 above. It seems that there was some important change in the internal structure of a genitive nominal, and so the type of explanation Erickson (1975) offers goes against this finding.

§1.2.3 Theoretical framework for this dissertation

The discussions from the previous sections seem to suggest the following two things:

- (1) A genitive nominal underwent a grammatical change from a case form carrying the genitive case, to a determiner: this change is particularly evidenced in the history of adnominal genitive.
- (2) It seems that the occurrence of adverbial genitive is more or less semantically motivated, i.e., the semantics of the genitive case, though so far we do not know what the genitive case means.

Finding (1) seems to relate to the adnominal genitive, and Finding (2) to the adverbial genitive. These two findings appear to be unrelated to each other. This apparent unrelatedness seems to originate in the difference in the nature of these findings. (1) is more “syntactic” (it refers to a

grammatical category, determiner, etc.), and (2) is more “semantic” (it refers to meaning of the genitive case, meanings of the verbs with which a genitive nominal occurs, etc.). Recall from the end of §1.1.7 that the occurrence of the adnominal genitive nominal seems to be more structurally motivated, whereas that of the adverbial, adjectival, and others seems to be semantically motivated. The problem we are facing now is the distinction between “syntax” and “semantics” of the genitive case in OE. To the extent that we deal with syntax and semantics separately as dichotomous entities, we will not come to a coherent account of these two (and other) types of genitive in OE. I believe that the adnominal and the adverbial (and other) genitive are very different from each other. But we will not come to understanding the basic difference between them, unless we examine them in the light of some linguistic theory where syntax and semantics are characterised consistently.

What I attempt in the rest of the dissertation is to give a coherent account of the genitive case in OE with all its uses (adnominal, adverbial, etc.), using a theoretical framework which captures these two linguistic domains of syntax and semantics as non-discrete, related areas. The theory I choose for this task is Cognitive Grammar, especially of the version developed by Langacker (1987, 1991). Its basic assumptions and principles will be presented and discussed in the next two chapters. The advantages of taking Cognitive Grammar are numerous, but its greatest merit is that meanings are characterised in a very wide sense. Meanings range from that of a word, a phrase, a clause, to that of grammatical structures, inflectional endings, or even grammatical classes (such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc). This is exactly the framework in which the genitive case in OE needs to be investigated.

Consider the finding (1) above: there was a fundamental change of genitive nominal in terms of its grammatical category from OE to ME onwards: a change from a case form bearing a ‘genitive case’ to a determiner. This seems to be a key to the solution to all the complicated usage of the OE genitive. To say that a genitive nominal is a determiner means that it is an integral part of a noun phrase. How was it then before this change took place? It would be supposed that a genitive nominal had a more independent status, as a noun phrase rather than just as a substructure of it. If a genitive nominal had the status as a noun phrase in OE, then it would make sense that it could

function as a complement to verbs, adjectives, prepositions, and also as an adverbial, since a noun phrase inflected for other cases could function in the same way. Now, the genitive case must have some meaning, however abstract it may be, which gave some semantic property to a nominal to which the case was attached. This meaning is the key for its “structurally” motivated occurrence with nouns (as adnominal genitive), and for its “semantically” motivated occurrence with verbs, adjectives, etc. In order to account for the history of the genitive according to this line, we need a framework that gives a coherent account for nouns, verbs, determiners, etc. and most importantly, the genitive case, and I believe Cognitive Grammar will serve this purpose.

¹ Terms such as ‘adnominal genitive’, ‘adverbial genitive’, and ‘adverbial genitive’ are already established terms for the types of genitive in question. Others like ‘adjectival genitive’, ‘idiomatic genitive’, and ‘prepositional genitive’ are coined by me for this occasion, to avoid a lengthy term like ‘genitive with adjectives’, etc.

² I use the term “nominal” to refer to both a noun and a noun phrase. I will use the terms “noun” or “noun phrase” whenever the distinction is necessary.

³ As we shall see, there are some examples of adverbial, adjectival, and predicative genitive in texts of the early ME period. However, they are on the decline in general (Mustanoja 60:87-8).

⁴ Nunnally (1985: 47-8) states, ‘both the OE and ME/ENE handling of the genitive retain a certain sameness in that both exploit binary system of stylistic marking: OE varied pre- and postposition of GEN; ME/ENE varied GEN and OF’.

⁵ Though there seems to be some consensus that the genitive case with verbs in OE is to be associated with some meanings such as ‘partitive’ or ‘ablative’ (Lass 1994:237), ‘stimuli’ or ‘source’ (Traugott 1992:205), there seems to be no consensus as to what it is that the case means as yet.

⁶ This table shows only a *rough number* of the examples of the accusative, dative, and genitive nominals that occur in the context [nominative nominal]-[transitive verb]-[____ (direct object)]. The number does not include those examples that are obscure, which do not affect the total proportion.

⁷ There are some verbs, however, though not many, which do make a substantial difference depending on whether they take the genitive or other cases. One example is (*ge*)*polian*. It takes the genitive when it means ‘to forfeit’, ‘lose’, as in [1-34], but it takes the accusative when it means ‘to suffer’,

he sceal þæt wite polian ‘he shall suffer the punishment’ (CH26, 120)

These examples are discussed in §5.4.1 above.

⁸ For example,

swa swa se beorhta dæg todraefð þa dymlican þeostru þære sweartan nihte
‘as the bright day expels the dim darkness of the dark night’ (CH39, 58)

⁹ ‘Adverbial gen. of place (in quasi-negative clause)’ (Klaeber 1950:150).

¹⁰ Shipley (1903) deals with the genitive case in poetry in all its possible contexts. However, in this study there is no coherent discussion on the OE genitive case in general, and his discussions on the genitive with verbs, adjectives, nouns, prepositions, etc. are all compartmentalised and no link is shown between these (sub)types of genitive.

¹¹ Thomas uses the term ‘definite article’ for the OE ‘demonstrative’ used with a noun in adjectival function, however it is disputable whether the OE demonstrative used in this way could be called ‘definite article’.

¹² Here is the context in which the phrase is used. This is taken from the eighth homily of *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies* 1st series (lines 86-105). Ælfric first of all quotes from the passage from Matthew’s Gospel (8: 5-13), in the first paragraph below. Then he comments on this passage in the next paragraph starting with *ðæs hundredes ealdor*. The relevant phrases are bolded below. The four bolded phrases all refer to the same person, “a/the centurion”, and there is no mention of which “hundred” this person might belong to.

*se godspellere cwæð þæt drihten ferde æfter þysum to anre byrig þe is gehaten capharnaum. þa genealæhte him to **sum hundredes ealdor** biddende & cwedende; Drihten. min cniht lið æt ham bedreda. & is yfele gepreatod; drihten him andwyrde; Ic cume. & hine gehæle; ða andwyrde **se hundredes ealdor**. & cwæð; Drihten; neom ic wyrðe. þæt ðu infare under minum hrofe. ac cwed ðin word. & min cniht bið gehæled; Ic eom an mann geset under anwealde hæbbende under me ceman; & ic cwepe to þysum. far þu. & he færð; To óþrum cum þú. & he cymð; To minum þeowum do þis. & he deð; ða wundrode se hælend þa ða he ðis gehyrde. & cwæð. to þære fyligendan meniu; Soð ic eow secge. ne gemette ic swa micelne geleafan on israhela þeode; Ic secge eow to soþan; þæt manega cumað fram eastdæle. & westdæle. & gerestað hi mid abrahame þam heahfædere. & isáác. & iacob. on heofenan rice; ða rican bearn beoð aworpene into þam ytrum þeostrum. þær bið wop & toða gebit; ða cwæð eft se hælend to **þam hundredes ealdre**; far þe ham; & getimige þe swa swa þu gelyfdest; & se cniht wearð gehæled of þære tide **ðæs hundredes ealdor** genealæhte þam hælende; na healfunga. ac fulfremedlice; He genealæhte mid micclum geleafan ...*

“The Evangelist says that the Lord went after this to one town which is called Capharnaum. Then approached to him **a certain centurion** asking and saying; “Lord, my servant lies at home bedridden, and is severely afflicted”. The Lord answered him, “I will come, and heal him”. Then answered **the centurion** and said, “Lord, I am not worthy that you should come under my roof, but say your word, and my servant will be healed. I am a man set under authority, having warriors under me. And I say to these ‘you go’, and he will go. To others (I say) ‘you come’, and he will come. Do this to my servant, and he will do it”. Then Jesus was amazed when he heard this, and said to the following multitude. “Truth I tell you. I have not met such great faith in people of Israel. I say to you truly, that many come from eastern part and western part, and they rest with Abraham the Patriarch, and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. The rich children will be thrown into the outer darkness, where there will be weeping and gashing of teeth. Then again Jesus said to **the centurion**, “Go home, and may it happen as you believe”. And the servant was healed from that moment.

“**The centurion** approached Jesus, not half-heartedly, but full-heartedly; He approached with great faith ...”

¹³ Below is the context in Luke 7:2-6 (Corpus MS) in which the phrase *sumes hundredmannes þeowa* appears (it appears at the beginning of the quoted passage below). Bolded words are all expressions which refer to “the centurion”, either various case forms of the third person masculine singular pronoun, or the noun phrase containing the noun *hundredmann*.

Ƣa wæs sumes hundredmannes þeowa untrum. se wæs sweltendlic; se wæs him dyreæ And þa he gehyrde be þam hælende he sende to him iudea ealdras and bæd þæt he come. and hys þeow gehælde; Ƣa hi to þam hælend comun. hi bædon hyne geornlice and þus cwædon; He is wyrðe þæt ðu him tilige; witodlice he lufað ure þeode; and he us ure samnunge getimbrode; Ƣa ferde se hælend mid him; and þa he wæs unfeor þam huse se hundredmann sende hys frynd to him and cwæþ;

“Then a servant of a **certain centurion** was sick, who was about to die. He was dear to **him**. And when **he** heard about Jesus, **he** sent elders of the Jews to him, to plead that he (= Jesus) would come and would heal **his** servant. When they came to Jesus, they pleaded to him earnestly, and said thus; “**He** is (so) worthy that you should do this for **him**. Truly, **he** loves our country, and **he** built us our synagogue”. Then Jesus went with them, and when he was not far from the house, **the centurion** sent **his** friends to him and said ...”

¹⁴ Here my use of the term “determiner” applies to the morpheme *-es* (or *'s* in PDE) and nominal expressions containing this morpheme (such as *John's*) respectively. In §3.6 above I will give an account of determiners or “epistemic predications”, which are defined as those expressions which anchor an instance of a certain type of a thing in the domain of instantiation by relating it to some external reference point.

¹⁵ This explanation for the loss of inflection is applicable to the loss of the inflectional endings for accusative and nominative on adjectives and demonstratives within a noun phrase which is a subject and a direct object in a transitive sentence. Through the entrenchment of a clausal structure [nominative nominal]-[transitive verb]-[accusative nominal] symbolising a transitive activity (energy transferred from an agent to a patient), even without the relevant inflectional endings, a clause will be analysed as such.

¹⁶ The translation is mine from the following original: “Der Akk. zeigt die vollste, entschiedenste Bewältigung eines Gegenstandes durch den im Verbo des Satzsubjekts enthalten Begriff. Geringere Objektivierung liegt in dem Gen., die tätige Kraft wird dabei gleichsam nur versucht und angehoben, nicht erschöpft. Daher auch dieser Gen. nicht, wie jener Akk., umsetzbar in einen passiven Nom. erscheint. Der Akk. drückt reine, sichere Wirkungen aus, der Gen. gehemmte, modifizierte”.

¹⁷ Probably this is what Visser meant when he stated that verbs which take a genitive complement are not ‘transitive verbs’ (Visser 1970: 355). The relationship between a genitive complement in OE and the lower degree of transitivity was first mentioned in Kodama (1967). But here the concept of transitivity is not well defined except in some traditional sense, i.e. only as a quality of verbs taking a direct object. He does not explain the relationship between the semantic grouping of verbs taking a genitive complement and the degree of transitivity. Wierzbicka (1988) discusses a genitive complement in Russian using the concept of transitivity developed by Hopper and Thompson (1980).

¹⁸ Thus Mitchell quotes in his *Old English Syntax*: “The great function of the Accusative is to form temporary compounds with the verbs, as the great function of the Genitive is to form temporary compounds with the noun. Beyond this statement everything is more or less extra-grammatical, and sharp subdivisions are often unsatisfactory.” (Mitchell 1985: §1264).

Chapter 2 Theoretical orientation.

In this chapter and next chapter, I will outline the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar, especially the version of it developed by Langacker (1987, 1991). It is within this framework that the data of the genitive nominals in OE are to be analysed in Chapter 4 and 5. This chapter is focused on the basic assumptions and its account for conceptual structures. The next chapter will be focused on Cognitive Grammar's account of syntax.

This chapter consists of several parts. §2.1 ff. will introduce some basic assumptions and notions within Cognitive Grammar. §2.2ff will introduce several basic cognitive abilities which will form the basis of various technical terms in CG.

§2.1 Basic assumption in CG

In this section I will introduce Cognitive Grammar's view of grammar of a language, and elements of which it consists, and how these elements are related to each other.

§2.1.1 Grammar as structured inventory of conventional units

In Cognitive Grammar, a **GRAMMAR** is defined as “those aspects of cognitive organization in which resides a speaker's grasp of established linguistic convention” (Langacker 1987:57).

Language is seen as an integral part of human cognition, and therefore it is held that an account of linguistic structure should articulate with what is known about cognitive processing in general, and that there should not be any valid reason to anticipate a sharp dichotomy between linguistic ability and other aspects of cognitive processing. Autonomy of grammar as a “language faculty” is not assumed here.

The grammar of a language is characterised as “a structured inventory of conventionalized linguistic units” (Langacker 1987: 57) which a speaker of the language makes use of in producing sentences. A grammar is not considered as a constructive device¹. It is the speaker, and not the grammar itself, that constructs novel expressions, making use of this inventory of conventional linguistic units². The purpose of using Cognitive Grammar for the analysis of

genitive nominals in OE is to elucidate, based on the particular “usage” of this structure in the particular text (*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies 1st series*) in OE, what conventionalised linguistic units there are which are involved in the production (or “coding” cf. §2.1.2 below) of the particular usage, and how the linguistic units are related to one another as a structured inventory, which is assumed to be grasped by the OE speaker who is responsible for the production of the manuscript (i.e. *Ælfric*).

UNITS, of which a grammar consists, are defined as “a structure that a speaker has mastered quite thoroughly, to the extent that he can employ it in largely automatic fashion, without having to focus his attention specifically on its individual parts or their arrangement” (Langacker 1987: 57). A process in which a structure attains a unit status is called **ENTRENCHMENT**.

Entrenchment is seen as a progressive process, forming a continuum, where there is no definite point beyond which a structure can be said to become a unit. When a structure has attained the status as a unit (**UNIT STATUS**), the speaker does not need constructive effort required for its creation. There are two types of units: **PHONOLOGICAL UNITS** (e.g. basic segments of a language, syllables, words, phrases, or even larger sequence) and **SEMANTIC UNITS** (i.e. established concepts). When there is a symbolic relationship between a phonological unit and a semantic unit and the combination itself has a unit status (e.g. a speaker has no difficulty associating a certain sound sequence with a certain concept, or conversely), it is called a **SYMBOLIC UNIT**. The symbolic relationship that holds between a phonological and semantic unit is called **SYMBOLIZATION**. In other words, a phonological unit which is combined with a corresponding semantic unit in symbolization is regarded as meaningful.

For example, for *Ælfric* (and many other OE speakers familiar with Christianity), the sequence of sounds [h], [æ:], [l], [e], [n], and [d] (for the OE word *hælend*) would have a unit status as a phonological unit (as [hæ:lend]). At the same time, the concept of “Jesus” or “The Saviour”, would also have a unit status as a semantic unit. Moreover, he would need no conscious effort in associating the sound sequence [hæ:lend] with the concept of “Jesus” or “The Saviour”. Then the combination of the sound sequence and the concept has a unit status as a symbolic unit (represented as [[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]]³). For those OE speakers unfamiliar with the word

hælend and the concept which it represents, neither the sound sequence nor the concept nor the association between them would have a unit status (thus they would be represented as (HÆLEND), (hæ:lend), and ((HÆLEND)/(hæ:lend)) for the semantic structure, the phonological structure, and the symbolic structure respectively, all without unit status).

The most basic symbolic unit is a morpheme. It is not only those morphemes which are often called ‘content words’ such as *hælend* that are regarded as meaningful. “Function words” and also grammatical patterns which are often regarded as ‘meaningless’ are seen as meaningful in Cognitive Grammar, as in the case of bound morphemes which express ‘grammatical functions’ (e.g. inflectional endings). Cognitive Grammar sees the difference between ‘content words’ on the one hand, and ‘function words’ and grammatical patterns on the other, not as a matter of kind, but as a matter of degree in specificity, or “schematicity” (cf. §2.1.2.1 below). Then the genitive inflection such as *-es* (as in *hælendes*, the genitive singular form of *hælend*) is assumed to be a symbolic unit, the association of the phonological structure [əs], with some established concept, which I represent as [GEN], the whole symbolic unit is represented as [[GEN]/ [əs]]. I will discuss the nature of symbolic units such as [[GEN]/ [əs]] in the next section.

Basic symbolic units (i.e. morphemes) can be combined together, through a process called **INTEGRATION**, to form a progressively larger unit, which themselves may be mastered as a unit. A genitive nominal such as *hælendes* can be said to be a result of integration of the two symbolic units [[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]] and [[GEN]/ [əs]]. The integration is shown by a hyphen between the two component structures, i.e. [[[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]]-[[GEN]/ [əs]]]. This genitive nominal can further develop into a more complex structure, by integrating with other nouns, or verbs, or adjectives, resulting in adnominal genitive, adverbial genitive, and adjectival genitive respectively.

§2.1.1.1 A genitive inflection as a symbolic unit

At this juncture it is important to discuss some fundamental differences between symbolic units such as [[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]] and [[GEN]/ [əs]]. Even though they are on a par in that both are symbolic units, there are different from each other in several respects.

Firstly, they are different in terms of dependence or autonomy. The meaning of *hælend* is relatively independent in the sense that much of its import derives from its own semantic structure. The phonological structure [hæ:lend] is also independent in that it can appear on its own. On the other hand, the semantic structure [GEN] makes inherent reference to the semantic structure of a noun to which it is attached. This is parallel to the fact that the ending *-es* itself never occurs on its own, but always attached to a noun stem (though not any noun, but rather specifically to a certain class of nouns, namely a masculine noun of the strong declensional class). In other words, the phonological structure [əs] also presupposes the presence of a nominal stem before it.

Secondly, related to this first difference is that of schematicity, i.e. degree of specification. It is impossible to conceive of the semantic content of the genitive inflection on its own without any reference to the semantic structure of a noun, to the same extent that the genitive inflection like *-es* never occurs on its own without its host noun stem. Then we can assume that the semantic structure of a noun (in general), though not specified, is actually part of the semantic structure [GEN], and also the phonological structure of a noun in general, though only schematic, is part of the phonological structure [əs]. In other words, both semantic and phonological structures of the unit [[GEN]/[əs]] inherently contains schematic semantic and phonological structures of a noun. This makes the unit [[GEN]/[əs]] a highly schematic entity, characterised by unspecificity of information along various parameters. This is not so in the case of [[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]]. Its semantic and phonological structures contain relatively⁷ much more specific information; it designates a particular person in the Bible, and its pronunciation is specified in terms of the number of syllables, kind of segments employed, and probably stress pattern as well.

Thirdly, they are different in cognitive saliency, especially in terms of semantic structure. The genitive inflection is always attached to a noun stem, and never independently. Because of its inherent dependence on a noun, much of its semantic import derives from the semantic structure of the host noun. In other words, the semantic structure of the host noun provides much of the contexts necessary for the characterisation of [GEN]. Then it is likely that the value of [GEN] in one genitive nominal differs quite substantially from that of [GEN] in another. Moreover, the

same genitive nominal may be integrated with another noun (adnominal genitive phrase), a verb (adverbial genitive), and so on. The semantic structures of these words will offer a more specific context for the characterisation of [GEN], which will result in more variation in its semantic value. Langacker calls this phenomenon **ACCOMMODATION**, which is a case in which a component structure within a larger integrated structure (or composite structure) adjusts itself to its context (cf. Langacker 1987: 405). Then what involves in the study of the symbolic unit such as [[GEN]/[əs]] is **DECONTEXTUALIZATION** (Langacker 1987: 401ff), abstracting away from all contexts in which the relevant morpheme occurs, and extracting a constant value [GEN], which requires an extreme amount of cognitive effort. In contrast to this, the concept [HÆLEND] has a constant value easily conceivable, and is a highly salient concept.

Fourthly, they are different in terms of the constancy in their phonological structures. The concept [HÆLEND] is symbolised by the relatively constant phonological structure [hæ:lend]. In contrast, the schematic concept [GEN] can be symbolised by varieties of phonological structures. There are other endings than *-es* for genitive singular depending on the gender of the stem noun, or on the declensional class of the stem noun. Just to name a few, *-an* (as in *modrigan* < *modorige* ‘aunt’), *-e* (as in *wylne* < *wyln* ‘female servant’), and \emptyset (zero) for kinship terms (as in *sweoster* ‘sister’) as well as *-es*. There are also different endings for genitive plural, e.g. *-ena* (as in *witegena* < *witegan* ‘prophet’) and *-a* (as in *manna* < *mann* ‘man’).

A question that may be raised is whether the phonological structures of all these various genitive endings symbolise the same concept [GEN]. Intuitively, it would appear that they do. For instance, if we look at the following examples of the adnominal genitive nominal, with various types of inflectional endings, it looks as though all the endings seems to carry identical semantic value, irrespective of the difference in gender, the declension classes, and number. (All expressing that the person(s) designated by the genitive nominal is related to the person designated by the head nominal by some kind of intrapersonal relationship (mostly kinship network, apart from the last one, where the relationship is that of servant and lord.)

[-es: strong masculine genitive singular]

þæs oþres herodes sunu “the other Herod’s son” (CH32, 36)

[-e: r-stem feminine genitive singular (of kinship term nouns)]

& *þære wylne sunu wunað eall his lif on þeowte;*

“And the female servant’s son lives all his life in slavery” (CH7, 135)

[-∅: strong feminine genitive singular]

And heo þa on hyre sweoster suna þenungum wunade;

“And she then lived in her sister’s son’s service/care” (CH4, 19)

[-an: weak feminine genitive singular]

he wæs cristes modrian sunu. “He was Christ’s aunt’s son” (CH4, 5)

[-a: strong masculine genitive plural]

þonne ælc mann is tweigra manna bearn

“When every man is a child of two men (persons)” (CH3, 74)

[-ena: weak masculine genitive plural]

Nu færllice comon tweigra witegena bearn to minum lareowe

“Now soon came two prophets’ servants to my teacher” (CH27, 237)

Then we can represent the symbolic units for these genitive nominals tentatively as follows, with all the various genitive endings symbolising the same concept [GEN].

[[[HEROD]/[herod]]-[[GEN]/[əs]]]

[[[WYLN]/[wyln]]-[[GEN]/[ə]]]

[[[MODRIG]/[modrij]]- [[GEN]/[an]]]

[[[SWEOSTER]/[sweoster]]- [[GEN]/[...]]]

[[[WITEG]/[witeg]]- [[GEN]/[ənə]]]

[[[MANN]/[mann]]- [[GEN]/[a]]]

However, at the same time, it is also true that these endings express, in culmination, other pieces of information as regards number and gender than the genitive case, and the representation above must be admittedly oversimplification. It is out of the scope of the present study to discuss how the concept [GEN] and the concepts as regards number and gender are culminated in the semantic structure of the genitive ending. In this dissertation I will employ the representation [GEN] for the semantic structure of a genitive inflection, regardless of the relevant gender, number, or the declensional class, acknowledging it conflates these various pieces of information together. This point is very important in the history of the genitive case, though: one of the fundamental differences between the OE genitive and the ME genitive is that the ending of the latter symbolises less and less of the information as regards number and gender, and the formal variation is gradually reduced to the one form *-(e)s*.

§2.1.2 Coding

In Cognitive Grammar, a grammar is defined as a structured inventory of conventional linguistic units, as we saw in §2.1.1. When a speaker conceives of some conceptualisation and feels the need to give it some linguistic expression, it is this grammar so defined that provides him with a rich resource of conventionalised linguistic units, from which he chooses one which accords with the conceptualisation. This task of finding a linguistic expression for a conceptualisation is called **CODING**. The resulting structure of the coding is called a **TARGET STRUCTURE** (the term is used in much wider sense), or particularly in this context, it is called a **USAGE EVENT**. Every coding event involves a speaker's judgement as to whether the usage event accords with the conventional linguistic unit he chose from the grammar. The notion of coding is essential to our study of the genitive nominals as we find in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I^s series*, because following the principles of Cognitive Grammar, it is assumed that every instance of genitive nominal, whether adnominal, adverbial, or adjectival, etc., is to be seen as a usage event, which was coded as a result of the relevant speaker's or writer's (in this case *Ælfric*) judgement. Then our aim can be said to be finding out what the conventional linguistic units are

which Ælfric made use of in coding all these instances of genitive nominal. There are two basic types of speaker judgement, and I will account for them below.

§2.1.2.1 Full-sanction and categorisation.

The coding event, more precisely speaking, works as follows. When a speaker conceives of some conceptualisation, he looks for a symbolic unit whose semantic unit accords with the conceptualisation. When he finds one, he utters a sequence of sounds according to the associated phonological unit. There is a relation of **CORRESPONDENCE** between the conceptualisation and the semantic unit on the one hand, and also between the actual utterance and the phonological unit on the other. There is the relationship of symbolisation between the actual utterance and the conceptualisation which it symbolises. The target structure is a novel expression, and so does not have a unit status.

The conventional unit provided by grammar for the linguistic expression of a novel conceptualisation is said to **SANCTION** the target structure, to the extent that the former accords with the latter, and the unit that sanctions the target structure is called **SANCTIONING STRUCTURE**. The degree to which a target structure accords with its sanctioning structure is called **CONVENTIONALITY**, which more or less corresponds to what is often called “grammaticality” or “well-formedness”. Conventionality is seen as a matter of degree, and a great amount of tolerance is allowed for between the sanctioning and target structures.

A target structure is characterised by greater degree of specificity in relation to its corresponding sanctioning structure. The sanctioning structure is **SCHEMATIC** (or it is a **SCHEMA**) in relation to its target structure, in the sense that many details in the former are “underspecified” compared to the latter. When the relation between a target structure and its sanctioning structure is that of identity, but only characterised by more specificity of details in the former, then it is said to be a case of **FULL SANCTION**.

For example, suppose that an OE speaker sees a man who is engaged in fishing business, and feels the need to find some expression to identify who he is. His grammar will provide resource of conventional units and among which he finds a symbolic unit [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]], since the

semantic unit [FISCERE] is in accordance with the conceptualisation he conceived of the man doing the fishing business. Then the speaker utters, in accordance with the phonological unit [fiʃərə], e.g. **(he is) fiscere!* (cf. *Hi wæron soðlice fisceras* (CH38, 6)). The target structure is a symbolic association of ((FISCERE)/(fiʃərə)). The relationship between [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]] and ((FISCERE)/(fiʃərə)) is that of identity, and the former fully sanctions the latter. There is a correspondence between [FISCERE] and (FISCERE) on the one hand, and another between [fiʃərə] and (fiʃərə) on the other. The latter member of each pair is characterised by a greater degree of specificity; the conceptualisation the speaker conceives of the actual ‘fisher’ is more specific in all respects (his appearance, his clothing, his height, etc.) compared to the semantic unit [FISCERE] (which is underspecified in all these respects). At the same time, the actual pronunciation (fiʃərə) is more specified compared to the phonological unit [fiʃərə] (e.g. in terms of pitch, loudness, quantity and quality of the vowels, etc.). Therefore, [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]] is a schema in relation to ((FISCERE)/(fiʃərə)).

When a structure is a schema to another (like a sanctioning structure and its corresponding target structure), the structure is said to **CATEGORIZE** the latter (i.e., the speaker regards the latter as a member of the category characterised by the former), and the relation between them is that of **CATEGORIZATION**. When a schema categorises a structure, the latter is said to **ELABORATE** or **INSTANTIATE** the former. In the example used above, ((FISCERE)/(fiʃərə)) is an elaboration or instantiation of the schema [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]].

The relation of categorisation is analogous to the relationship of hyponyms, like [MANN] (the semantic unit of OE *mann* ‘man’) and one of its hyponyms [FISCERE]. [MANN] is schematic in relation to [FISCERE] in many respects, though there is no conflict between the two (hence there is no problem to say about a fisherman, **“hwa is se mann?”* (cf. *Ac hwa is ure fæder?* (CH18, 155)) instead of **“hwa is se fiscere?”*). Therefore [MANN] categorises [FISCERE], and the latter elaborates or instantiates the former.

§2.1.2.2 Partial sanction

At coding, it is not always the case that a target structure accords with its sanctioning structure in all the specifications. Sometimes there is a certain amount of conflict or “strain” between them. In such a case, the sanctioning structure is said to sanction the target structure only partially (hence the relation between them is that of **PARTIAL SANCTION**). In the case of partial sanction, categorisation will be made based on prototypes⁵, which are “instances people accept as common, run-of-the-mill, garden-variety members of the category” and which “generally occur the most frequently in our experience, tend to be learned the earliest” (Langacker 1987: 17): a schema (= a sanctioning structure) defines a category. A category has several prototypical members. A target structure which is only partially sanctioned is seen as an **EXTENSION** from these prototypical members of the category defined by the schema. As Langacker says,

“Nonprototypical instances are assimilated to a class or category to the extent that they can be construed as matching or approximating the prototype. Membership is therefore a matter of degree: prototypical instances are full, central members of the category, whereas other instances form a gradation from central to peripheral depending on how far and in what ways they deviate from the prototype” (Langacker 1987:17).

Thus, a structure which is only partially sanctioned by its sanctioning structure is seen as “unprototypical” or “unconventional”. However, as Langacker says, “a considerable amount of unconventionality is tolerated (and often expected) as a normal feature of language use” (Langacker 1987:69).

For example, consider the use of the word *fiscere* in the following example:

Se Hælend cwæð. "cumað æfter me. & ic dó þæt ge beoð manna fisceras

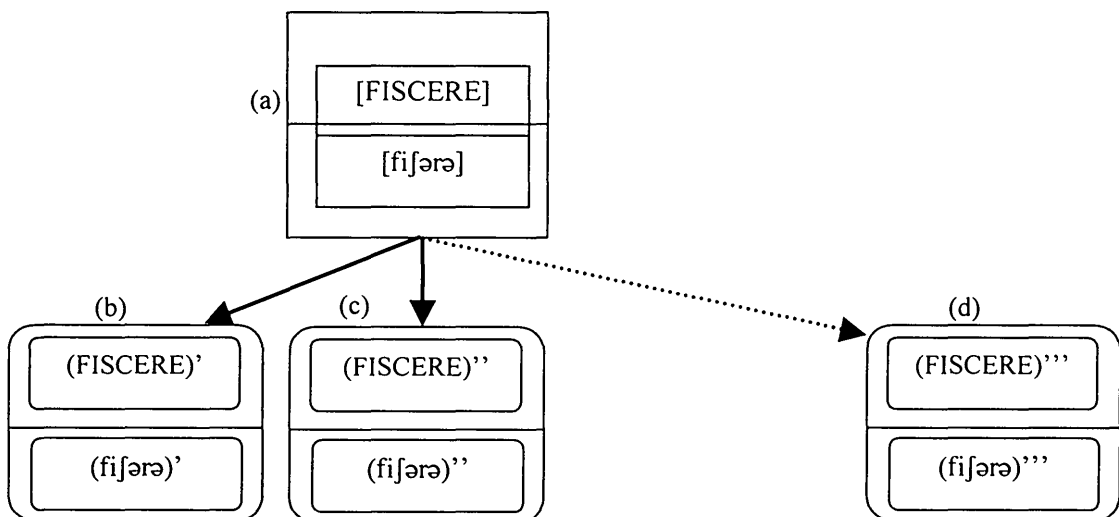
‘Jesus said, “Come after me, and I will cause it to happen that you will be fishers of men (= I will make you fishers of men)”’ (CH38, 17)

There would be a considerable amount of strain between the conceptualisation which the OE hearer of the sentence would have in mind (at least for the first time), and the semantic unit [FISCERE] of the symbolic unit [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]] which his OE grammar provides.

Prototypical members of the category defined by the schema [FISCERE] would be characterised primarily by the profession of catching fish, and also by other things (such as working by seashores, owning boats, etc.). The semantic structure of the word in this particular example does not accord with these specifications, because here the object of the act of fishing is not fish but men. But this strain is tolerated and this particular instance of *fiscere* is categorised as an unprototypical member of the category defined by [FISCERE], probably due to the similarity that this *fiscras* at least catch (though not fish, but men, or hearts of men). It would be also because the image of calling out to bring people to faith is assimilated to that of going out on the ocean, scattering the net to catch fish.

These two types of categorisation (one based on full sanction and another based on partial sanction) are represented by *Figure 2-1*.

Figure 2-1



The structure (a) represents a symbolic unit [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]] (each component and the overall structure are in rectangles for their unit status). The structures (b), (c) and (d) are target structures, all in rectangles with round angles for non-unit status. The apostrophes (') on these three show that these three are elaborations or extensions of the schema (a). The solid-line arrows represent elaboration (or instantiation), and the dotted line arrow represents extension. The target

structures (b) and (c) represent prototypical members of the category defined by [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]]: they would be results of coding in cases where a speaker sees some prototypical fishermen. The target structure (d) represents an unprototypical member of the category, as in the case of *manna fisceras*.

§2.1.2.3 Structured inventory

A grammar in Cognitive Grammar has been said to be an “inventory”, so that it is not to be seen as a constructive device (see §2.1 above). It is said to be “structured”, in the sense that “some units function as components of others” (Langacker 1987: 73). Using the OE example *fiscere*, the phonological units [f],[i],[ʃ],[ə],[r] and [ə] are combined together to form a larger unit [[f]-[i]-[ʃ]-[ə]-[r]-[ə]] (abbreviated as [fiʃərə]). In turn this composite unit can function as a component of a larger unit [[fiʃərə]-[əs]]. Likewise, the semantic unit [FISCERE] can combine with a semantic unit of the ‘grammatical morpheme’ for plural, represented as [PL], to form a larger unit [[FISCERE]-[PL]]. Then the composite phonological unit [[fiʃərə]-[əs]] and [[FISCERE]-[PL]] will be combined as a symbolic unit to form [[[fiʃərə]-[əs]]/[[FISCERE]-[PL]]].

There are three types of relations that hold between structures (with or without unit status) as components of a larger unit.

- (1) *Symbolisation* (represented by a dash (/)): this relation holds between a semantic unit and a phonological unit.
- (2) *Integration* (represented by a dash (-)): this relation holds between those two or more structures (= component structures) in a given domain (semantic, phonological, or symbolic) which combine to form a composite structure of greater size.
- (3) *Categorisation*: this relation holds either, in the case of elaboration (= full sanction: represented by a solid-line arrow, between a schema and its instantiations), or, in the case of extension (= partial sanction: represented by a dotted line arrow, between prototypical (or central) members and peripheral members of the category defined by the relevant schema. An

assembly of categorising units is called **SCHEMATIC NETWORK**. A schematic network is often represented in the form of a diagram like *Figure 2-1*.

Now, how can we fit the study of genitive nominals into the grammar of OE as defined in Cognitive Grammar? Firstly, OE grammar will contain symbolic units, associating the semantic structure [GEN] with various types of phonological structure of genitive inflections (symbolisation: e.g. [[GEN]/[əs]]). Secondly, this symbolic unit is integrated with a symbolic unit of a noun, to form a genitive nominal (integration: e.g. [[[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]]-[[GEN]/[əs]]). Thirdly, this symbolic unit can be said to sanction, either fully or partially, every instance of the genitive noun *hælendes* (categorisation). The full picture is more complex, however. It seems unlikely that every instance of the genitive nominal is sanctioned directly by the symbolic unit such as [[[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]]-[[GEN]/[əs]]. Most of the time, a genitive nominal is further integrated with other words, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc., as we saw in Chapter 1. In some cases, the genitive nominal is used with a particular word or words with some particular semantic fields so frequently, that the composite structure consisting of a genitive nominal and the other word seems to have attained some degree of unit status through entrenchment. In other words, it appears that it is not a genitive nominal on its own but the composite structure of it and other words that is sanctioned. For example, a genitive nominal designating a human being frequently occurs with a noun designating some kinship term (see the examples at the end of §2.1.1.1), almost always the genitive nominal preceding the other noun (as in *dauides sunu* “David’s son”). Then it would be possible to regard the whole sequence of words as a usage event, sanctioning by a symbolic unit whose semantic structure specifies that the genitive nominal designates a human, and the head noun designates a kinship name. The investigation of actual data in CH shows us that there are a number of such symbolic units, of various sizes (depending on the level of integration), and further the symbolic units themselves are categorised by even more schematic units.

§2.1.3 Semantic and phonological pole, and semantic and phonological space

In Cognitive Grammar, there are only three basic types of structures posited: semantic and phonological structures, and symbolic structures which combined the two. A symbolic structure is said to be “bipolar”, i.e. consisting of **SEMANTIC POLE** and **PHONOLOGICAL POLE**, and the association between them.

Langacker postulates “semantic space” and “phonological space” as “two broad aspects of human cognitive organization” (Langacker 1987: 76). Semantic space is defined as “the multifaceted field of conceptual potential within which thought and conceptualization unfold”. Then a semantic structure can be defined as “a location or configuration in semantic space”. (cf. §3.2ff below for the characterisation of semantic structures of *a* noun, *a* verb, etc. in CG, which is all based on this statement).

Let us have a closer look at semantic space. What does Langacker mean by semantic space being “multifaceted”? It seems that it is relevant to refer to the notion of **DOMAINS**. He says that we have, as part of our cognitive abilities, “the inborn capacity for certain basic kinds of experience: we can experience a certain range of colors, pitches, tastes, smells, and tactile sensations; we have a notion of spatial extentionality in which spatial configurations can be manifested; we sense the passage of time; we undergo a certain array of emotions; and so on. I refer to these irreducible realms of experiential potential as *basic domains*” (Langacker 1999: 2). Our thoughts and conceptualizations are unfolded within any of these various ranges of experiences or basic domains. For example, the conceptualisations of coldness or hotness are experienced on the domain of temperature. Those of father or mother are unfolded on the domain of kinship network, and so on. Semantic space can be understood as a general term for all the various basic domains (and also “abstract domains”; this will be defined §2.3 below), and this variety of domains is what Langacker meant by “multifacetedness” of semantic space.

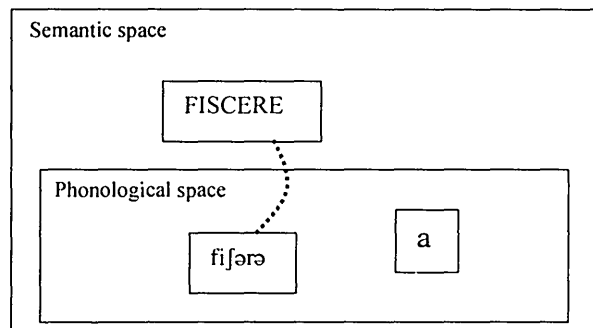
Among this multifacetedness of semantic space, we should also include our experience of sounds as well. As Langacker states, sounds are really concepts (Langacker 1987: 78). Phonological space is to be seen as part of semantic space, and phonological structure can be characterised, in the same way as a semantic structure, a location or configuration within this space. The view of phonological structures as conceptualisations (rather than actual vocalisation)

can be supported by the fact that “usage events” are “often purely conceptual”; for example silent verbal thought does not have to be accompanied by physical vocalisations. In the example given in §2.1.2.2, when an OE speaker sees a man engaged in fishing business, and feels the need to find a linguistic expression for the conceptualisation he conceives of the man, he might say *he is ficere* only ‘mentally’ (i.e., “in his mind”) without exercising his articulatory organs to pronounce the sentence⁶.

Note that there are phonological structures which are not associated with any semantic structures, and those which are (thus both forming a symbolic structure). Both types of phonological structures are to be seen as *concepts* in the sense defined above.

Semantic space and phonological space as part of it can be represented as in *Figure 2-2*, using the example of the symbolic unit [[FISCERE]/[fiʃərə]], and the phonological structure [a] (not associated with a semantic structure) in OE.

Figure 2-2



The figure shows that phonological space occupies part of semantic space. The phonological structure *fiʃərə* symbolises the semantic structure *FISCERE*, and the relation of symbolisation is represented here by the dotted line.

§2.2. Semantic structures

The present study is mainly focused on the semantic structure of a genitive inflection [GEN], or that of a genitive nominal in OE. In Cognitive Grammar, a semantic structure (or more simply, meaning) is characterised as “a mental phenomenon that must eventually be described with reference to cognitive processing” (Langacker 1987: 97). It views meanings as conceptualisations

(what is conceived in the “mind”). Langacker believes it possible “at least in theory (if not in practice) to describe in a principled, coherent, and explicit manner the internal structure of such phenomena as thoughts, concepts, perceptions, images, and mental experience in general”. Any of these entities (whether linguistic or non-linguistic) is referred to as **CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE**. Then a semantic structure is defined as “a conceptual structure that functions as the semantic pole of a linguistic expression.” (Langacker 1987: 98). (This definition entails that not every conceptual structure, like thoughts, concepts, perceptions, etc. serves as the semantic pole of symbolic units.) As we shall see at the end of this chapter, it is the description of a meaning as part of conceptual structure that is needed for the elucidation of the semantic structure [GEN].

In the following several sections, I will summarise Langacker’s account of cognitive abilities, which will lay a basis for the way in which a semantic structure is described in Cognitive Grammar, which, in turn, will provide us with a reasonable tool for the characterisation of [GEN].

Langacker uses the term **PREDICATE** for a semantic structure of a morpheme (i.e. a minimal semantic unit), and another **PREDICATION** for a semantic structure of any linguistic expression (including a morpheme). I will make use of these two terms extensively.

§2.2.1 Event

What is often referred to as mind, thought, and concepts are defined in terms of “event”, “event-type”, “entrenchment”, “routine”, and “activation”. Langacker says:

I will use the term **EVENT** to designate a cognitive occurrence of any degree of complexity, be it the firing of a single neuron or a massive happening of intricate structure and large-scale architecture. We can assume that the occurrence of any such event leaves some kind of neurochemical trace that facilitates recurrence. If the event fails to recur, its trace decays; recurrence has a progressive reinforcing effect, however, so an event (or more properly, **EVENT-TYPE**) becomes more and more deeply **ENTRENCHED** through continued repetition. An event-type is said to have **UNIT STATUS** when it is sufficiently well-entrenched that it is easily evoked as an integrated whole, i.e., when it constitutes an established **ROUTINE** that can be carried out more or less automatically once it is initiated. I will refer to the execution of such a routine as its **ACTIVATION**. The activation of a routine is of course itself a routine”. (Langacker 1987:100: technical terms are bolded and capitalised by me for emphasis)

The term **EVENT** applies to various kinds of mental experience, for example, mental experience through sensory organs (sound, sight, smell, touch, taste, and kinaesthesia), mental experience through intellectual activities (reading, writing, speaking, studying, experimenting), or mental experience of larger scale through everyday activities (eating breakfast in the morning, going to the toilet, being in a certain community) and so on. When any of these mental experiences occurs, it leaves some trace, and the trace helps the person to undergo the same mental experience (or precisely speaking, the same **TYPE** of mental experience) again. For example, when someone is introduced to some community he has moved into from somewhere else, at the beginning he might feel fresh, amazed, or even awkward to see new people, a new place, different customs, not knowing what to do. This experience leaves him some trace, or memory of it, so that when he goes to see these people, he will be more and more accustomed to them, knowing what to expect, what people normally do or talk about, what they wear, and so on. As he repeats this experience again and again, the **EVENT-TYPE**⁷ becomes so “entrenched” that it attains **UNIT-STATUS**, so that he can be in the community and behave himself according to various aspects of the social customs there, even without being conscious of doing so. At this stage, the mental experience of being in the community is an established **ROUTINE**. It is not only this. He could even go through the mental experience of how he feels being in this community without actually being there. These are all examples of the **ACTIVATION** of the routine.

Langacker says that to form a concept means that “a particular pattern of neurological activity has become established, so that functionally equivalent events can be evoked and repeated with relative ease” (Langacker 1987:100). Therefore, in the example above, it is possible to say that this man now has a concept of “being part of the community” (whether or not this concept is symbolised by some linguistic sign).

As there emerge more than one routine, they can be co-activated and coordinated into higher-order routines, and the mental experience will be more and more elaborately structured. For example, the concept of being part of the community may be co-activated with other concepts

associated with it, such as the concept of some particular ways the people there speak, that of the way they dress themselves, etc. As Langacker says;

“At any given moment a brain is the locus of countless ongoing events of great complexity and diversity, but typically they are sufficiently patterned and integrated that many facets of this welter of activity constitute a coherent body of interpreted experience rather than a flux of unfamiliar and unrelated sensations” (Langacker 1987:100).

The activation of routines also applies to perception. Perceptual experience depends only partly on the stimulus on our sensory organs. Also relevant is the activation of an already existing routine and imposition of it onto the stimulus. So perception can be said to be recognition of a stimulus as an instance of some already existing routine.

§2.2.2 Comparison and recognition

In the example of being in some new community given above, what the person is doing cognitively, in the processing of familiarising himself to it, is comparing the previous mental experience of being in the community, with the present mental experience of being there, and recognise identity (or any discrepancy) between them. This is called **COMPARISON** (comparing events and register any contrast or discrepancy between them), and is fundamental to cognitive processing and the structuring of experience. (Without our ability to compare, mental experiences of being in this community at different times do not form a coherent experience.)

To give a simpler example, when one plucks two strings on a guitar when tuning, one compares the tone of the first string with that of the second string. What is happening is that when the first string is plucked and makes a noise, it constitutes an event (leaving an auditory impression as mental experience). Let us call this event *A*. When the second string is plucked and makes a noise, it leaves another auditory impression, which is another event, say *B*. The event *A* is compared to the event *B*, and he judges them as either identical or different. When this comparison takes place, there emerge a complex event, which is represented as $A > B$. $A > B$ is distinct from *A* or *B*; it is “a higher-order event coordinating these three components” (Langacker 1987: 100). This implies that mere occurrence of two events does not entail that they will be compared. If the two strings are picked with a long time of interval, then the two notes will not be

compared, and the events *A* and *B* will be just two distinct events, whereas when they occur one immediately after another, and are compared, the two events, with the act of comparison, will constitute one complex event.

There are three functional components. We can represent the act of comparison schematically as $S > T$. *S* stands for **STANDARD** of comparison and *T* for its **TARGET**. “>” represents **SCANNING**. Standard serves as a reference point or a baseline, with respect to which the target is evaluated. The value of this scanning depends on the degree of the target’s departure from the standard (cf. Langacker 1987: 100).

In comparison, it is not that all aspects of the two events are compared. In the previous example of being part of the community, it is likely that each mental experience the person has as he goes to meet the people in the community will be substantially different from each other. But he selects certain aspects from it, and recognises the identity of these experiences. In this case, selected aspects of the mental experience of the community may be the place (they meet up always in the same place), the people (always the same people come), the purpose (they gather for some purpose), etc. Other aspects are disregarded, or “cancelled” as irrelevant to the particular act of comparison. Selection and cancellation are fundamental to the recognition of events.

As Langacker says, “Our mental experience is coherent by virtue of the structure we impose on it. A pivotal aspect of this structuring capacity is the interpretation of novel experience with reference to previous experience, which I related to the inherent asymmetry between standard and target in acts of comparison” (Langacker 1987: 105). Previous experience may be either (1) an immediately preceding cognitive event (as in the case of tuning a guitar), or (2) a well-entrenched routine activated for the structuring of current sensations.

RECOGNITION can now be orientated as a limiting case of comparison: if we formulate an act of comparison schematically as $S > T = V$ where *V* stands for “a value for the vector of scanning in some domain” (Langacker 1987: 106), which is determined by the discrepancy between *S* and *T*, recognition is a case of comparison where *V* is zero.

Perception is a case of recognition. As Langacker says, perception depends on “previous experience and expectation as well as the actual input” (Langacker 1987: 106). To perceive a sound means that the perceiver compares the input with already existing routine and recognises the former as an instance of the latter. Depending on which routine he selects the same input can be interpreted in various ways. The way in which a particular routine is selected as standard of comparison varies:

- (1) Sometimes it is chosen because of the high degree of entrenchment of the routine
- (2) Sometimes it is chosen because it is facilitated by recent occurrence of the same or related event.
- (3) Sometimes it is chosen as a result of random selection from the myriad comparisons possible for any complex stimulus event.

Recognition also applies to conception, and encoding of a concept with a linguistic sign. It often happens that the objectively identical situation can be described by means of various linguistic expressions (e.g. “John bought the book from Mary for 300 pounds”, “Mary sold the book to John for 300 pounds”, “The book cost John 300 pounds”, or even “Mary’s book went into John’s possession as a result of the transaction of 300 pounds”). This possibility of describing the same situation in alternate ways derives from the possibility of imposing alternate concepts (routines) onto the conceived situation (input), which involves the act of comparison. What structure is imposed onto the perceived situation constitutes a crucial facet of the meaning of a linguistic impression, as Langacker says:

“the meaning of an expression is not determined in any unique or mechanical way from the nature of the objective situation it describes. The same situation can be described by a variety of semantically distinct expressions that embody different ways of construing or structuring it. Our ability to impose alternate structuring on a conceived phenomenon is fundamental to lexical and grammatical variability” (Langacker 1987: 107).

This leads us to the general statement that there are no two linguistic expressions which “mean” exactly the same thing, provided that a meaning of an expression constitutes a structure (routine)

imposed on the conceived situation (which the expression describes) as well as the nature of the situation. There can be many expressions which describe the identical situation. But they differ in terms of standard with reference to which the situation is interpreted. This statement is significant, especially in the analysis of adverbial genitive. We saw in Chapter 1 that the same verbs, or verbs of similar meaning, take either genitive or accusative complement, and there seems to be little difference in meaning between them (e.g. verbs meaning “touch” cf. §1.1.3.1). However, when we say there is little difference in meaning, we are talking about the identity in the objective situation described by alternate linguistic expressions. The difference lies, not in the situation described, but construals of the situation, in other words, structures (standard) imposed upon the situation (target).

§2.2.3 Autonomous and peripherally connected events

The term “cognitive events” was introduced above as if it is an entity that occurs as a result of some sensory input (e.g. sounds). However, cognitive events are not always connected to sensory inputs. Sometimes cognitive events can occur in the absence of external stimulation (for example, when we imagine someone saying something, or close our eyes and evoke some picture in the mind, or imagine tasting or smelling something, etc.). Such cognitive events are referred to as **SENSORY IMAGERY**, which is defined as the occurrence of cognitive events in the absence of external stimulation, as opposed to primary sensory experience, which is the occurrence of cognitive event evoked directly by the stimulation of a sensory organ.

(Though) “sensory stimulation lays the foundation and provides the raw material for the construction of our conceptual world, often we do not attend to it, and vast portion of our mental experience are connected only tenuously and indirectly at best to specific perceptual input. Cognitive functioning is largely autonomous; it proceeds in the absence of sensory input, follows paths where such input can never take it, and even serves to structure (and in some instances, override) this input.” (Langacker 1987:112).

On this basis Langacker makes a distinction between **AUTONOMOUS** and **PERIPHERALLY CONNECTED** cognitive events. There are two types in both autonomous and peripherally connected events: receptive and effective (i.e. in perception and in production).

Receptively, a cognitive event can be evoked either in response to some external stimuli (sound, picture, taste, smell, touch, etc.), or in the absence of them. These cases correspond to “primary sensory experience” and “sensory imagery” as defined above. To add more examples of this, one can either undergo the mental experience of coldness both in the presence of stimulus (e.g. when it is cold) and in the absence of it (e.g. by imagining the situation in which it is cold). However, there are many autonomous cognitive events which do not have any corresponding peripherally connected cognitive events. For instance, emotions (anger, fear, excitement), various abstract concepts (truth, holiness, virtues, good, evil, etc.), products of imagination, thought, or religion (unicorn, ideas, heaven, hell, God); these cognitive events occur in the absence of, at least, external stimuli perceivable through sensory organs (their stimuli are not as obviously audible, visible, tangible, etc. as in the case of peripherally connected events).

Effectively, a cognitive event of motor signal can be evoked both with and without being accompanied by actual activity of effective organs. For example, one can either pronounce, or think of pronouncing, some sounds (in the latter case, by imagining going through all the necessary activities of articulatory organs). The cognitive event of motor signal unaccompanied by actual movement of effective organs is called **MOTOR IMAGE**.

Both receptive and effective autonomous cognitive events constitute an important facet of meanings of various linguistic units. Sounds are said to be concepts; what speakers know about a sound [a] is the receptive autonomous cognitive event (he can evoke the auditory impression in the absence of the actual sound), and also the effective autonomous cognitive event (he can evoke the motor image of the sound without actually producing it), as well as another receptive cognitive event of kinaesthesia (he knows how the muscle feels when he produces the sound). Furthermore, in the meaning of lexical items like “ukulele” is included autonomous cognitive events of the sounds the ukulele makes, and also autonomous cognitive event of the motor image of playing the ukulele (imagination of playing it). Therefore, the semantic content of the word “ukulele” will vary significantly depending on whether or not the person has ever heard it played or whether he has ever played it himself.

Much of autonomous cognitive events derive from peripherally connected events through some chain of mental processes that may be quite long and complex. He gives three examples of such mental processes.

- (1) Recall: this occurs through reactivation of cognitive events that have been entrenched through frequent occurrence of peripherally connected cognitive events. Examples vary widely. E.g. sounds we hear frequently, shapes we often see (circle, square, triangle), types of people, or a social type of “speech community” (Hudson 1996: 237), basic concepts of space, time, smell, emotion, or to what Langacker calls “conceptual archetypes” (Langacker 1999: 171), such as the concept of a human body or face, the concept of network of people (e.g. kinship network), the concept of a whole (as opposed to part), or the concept of action (agent-patient interaction: cf. §3.7 below).
- (2) Coordination of autonomous events, to form a more complex autonomous event. For example, by coordinating the peripherally connected events of the progression of time, of space (in which an object can move in any direction), and of some automobile, we can conceive of the concept of a time machine which can go back in time. Stories, mythologies, and religions are full of this type of coordinated cognitive events resulting in concepts which peripherally connected events cannot reach (e.g. flying men, life on a star, resurrection from death, which all cannot be anything but objects of imagination or belief).
- (3) Extraction: this is the process of extracting from peripherally grounded notions some “schemas that are too abstract to be manifested peripherally in unelaborated form” (Langacker 1987: 113). Examples given by Langacker are clear. The concepts of instances of vowels such as [a] or [e] are peripherally connected events, whereas the concept of a vowel (i.e. [VOWEL]) is too abstract to be experienced through sensory organs, but it only exists as an autonomous cognitive event. The concept [GEN] is also an autonomous cognitive event. As discussed in §2.1.1.1 above, the genitive inflection is always attached to a nominal stem, and never occurs in isolation, as is the case with any other bound morpheme.

As we can see in these examples given above, autonomous cognitive events can be of various size and complexity, of various degree of entrenchment and conventionality. These autonomous cognitive events form what is often called “conceptual world”. Linguistically speaking, conceptual worlds are on a par with what is distinguished as “reality”, in that they both function as a context or “domain” for the characterisation of a semantic structure (Langacker 1987: 114).

Indeed, conceptual worlds and “reality” are not of totally different natures. As Langacker says:

“A person’s conception of reality is itself a conceptual world that is built up from peripherally connected experience through complex sequences of mental operations. We construct our conception of the “real world” bit by bit, stage by stage, from myriad and multifarious sensory and motor experiences. It consists of the organization we impose, through the progressive and interactive application of interpretive procedures, on both primary experience and the higher-order cognitive structures that derive from previous processing.” (Langacker 1987:114).

However, our concept of “reality” is nevertheless distinguished from other concepts and accorded a privileged status. Langacker gives three reasons for its privileged status

- (1) The greater intensity of peripherally connected events vis-à-vis their autonomous counterparts
- (2) The persistence of certain types of sensory experience (in contrast to the freedom of autonomous processing to follow random and highly variegated paths).
- (3) The fact that peripherally connected events constitutes the ultimate foundation for a substantial portion of our autonomous experience. People come to know “reality” more from peripherally connected experiences than from autonomous experience

Our concept of reality is relevant to linguistic semantics (Langacker 1987: 114), and extremely important to the description of the semantic structure of a genitive inflection. As we shall see below (cf. §5.4), it is one of grammatical markers serving to indicate the status of a situation as “real” or “unreal”, with reference to the speaker’s conception of reality⁸.

§2.2.4 Attention, domain, scope of predication, profile.

It was mentioned above (§2.2.3) that any conceptualisation can function as the context for the characterisation of a semantic structure. Such contexts are called **DOMAIN** (cf. §2.3 below for more on “domain”). For example, we have a concept of kinship network. This is a concept that derives from our everyday experience of family, a complex knowledge network including our knowledge that there are men and women, who mate and have children, and they hold the relationship of parents-children. This concept is prerequisite for the understanding of semantic structures of kinship terms such as *father, mother, husband, wife, cousin, uncle* etc., and is called domain for these semantic structures. However, it is often the case that it is only a portion of such domain that is needed for the characterisation of a semantic structure. For example, it is only the knowledge of at least a man and woman related in mating relationship, and a child or children who are born of the woman as a result of their mating, that is required to characterise the semantic structure [FATHER]. In the case of [HUSBAND] or [WIFE], the relevant portion is even smaller, whereas in the case of [UNCLE] or [COUSIN] it requires a wider portion. The portion of domain necessary for the characterisation of a semantic structure is called **SCOPE OF PREDICATION**. Within the scope of predication, our attention falls onto a specific entity. The entity within the scope of predication that is the focus of attention is called **PROFILE** (cf. §2.3.1 and §2.4 for more on profile). For example, in the case of [FATHER], in the scope of attention needed for the characterisation of this semantic structure, it is the entity corresponding to “a man” (related to “a woman” in mating relationship, as result of which “a child” is born) that is focus of our attention. On **ATTENTION**, Langacker says:

“I assume, then, that attention is intrinsically associated with the intensity or energy level of cognitive processes, which translates experientially into greater prominence or salience. Out of the many ongoing cognitive processes that constitute the rich diversity of mental experience at a given time, some are of augmented intensity and stand out from the rest as the focus of attention. The higher energy level in the focal area facilitates the activation within it of a more elaborate and richly articulated set of cognitive events; the result is greater acuity” (Langacker 1987:115-6).

Attention can be shifted from one entity to another. For example, using the same example, within the same scope of predication, one can shift his attention from one entity to another.

Depending on which entity is in the focus of attention (i.e. “profiled”), we use the words *father*,

mother, or *child* (or even *son* or *daughter*, if we want to exercise further attention on the entity for “child” and specify its sex).

Attention can also be characterised in terms of “central or focal area fading off into a periphery of indefinite extension. For example, the semantic structure of *father* includes the entity for “mother” as part of the scope of predication. But the latter entity is put aside in the periphery of indefinite extension. However, when one chooses the word *mother*, the entity for “mother” is brought into the focus and the entity for “father” is now put aside into periphery.

The term “attention” will be used extensively for the characterisation of the notion “deprofile” below (§3.8).

§2.2.5 Imagery

As already noted in §2.2.2 above, the meanings of linguistic expressions about the identical conceived situation vary depending on the structures imposed onto it. This variability in structures to be imposed on a situation is part of our cognitive abilities, i.e. “the ability of speakers to construe the same basic situation in many different ways, i.e. to structure it by means of alternate images” (“image” refers to structures imposed onto a situation). This cognitive ability is called **IMAGERY**. What images are imposed onto a situation, as well as the situation itself, is an important part of a semantic content of a linguistic expression⁹.

The images employed to structure situations vary with respect to a number of parameters. This variation is called **FOCAL ADJUSTMENTS**. I will discuss two parameters of focal adjustments which will be relevant to the analysis of genitive inflection in OE. They are, **SELECTION** (= which facets of a scene are being dealt with), **PERSPECTIVE** (= the position from which a scene is viewed) in terms of figure/ground alignment, deixis, and objectivity/subjectivity.

§2.2.5.1 Selection

SELECTION can be made with reference to (1) cognitive domains, (2) scale, and (3) scope and profile.

The semantic structure of a linguistic expression can vary depending on the domain in which it is characterised: as we saw above, the same word *father* means quite different things in the phrases *John's father* and *the father of invention*. The difference derives from the domain chosen for the characterisation of the meaning of *father*: for the former it is kinship network, and for the latter it is something like “origination”.

Selection in terms of scale can make a substantial difference in meaning, as in the various uses of the adjective *long*, in *It is quite a long distance from the earth to the sun/from London to Edinburgh/from my flat to yours/from my bed to the lamp*.

Selection as to profile/scope has been dealt with in §2.2.4. The scope of predication (or “base”) is a portion of the relevant domain necessary for the characterisation of a semantic structure, whereas the profile is an entity within the scope of predication that is a focal point of attention and therefore is maximally prominent. In using the word *father*, in its ordinary use, the relevant domain is kinship network. But first of all, out of the whole kinship network, only the necessary portion or scope/base is selected, which includes the three entities (“father”, “mother”, and “child”, and the interconnections among them), and the first entity “father” will be the focal point of attention in the scope.

There is a gradual increase in saliency and relevance from the domain through the periphery of the scope of predication to the profile, and the scope of predication need not be sharply defined from the rest of the domain. Sometimes, however, the scope of predication may be quantized, i.e., the degree of saliency and relevance increases or decrease in discrete steps rather than in gradient. In such cases, the innermost region within the scope of predication (the region with the highest degree of salience and relevance) is distinguished from the rest, and is called the **IMMEDIATE SCOPE** (this notion becomes relevant to the characterisation of deictic expressions: cf. §3.7.2)

§2.2.5.2 Perspective

As Langacker notes, the importance of the perspective taken on a situation to semantic and grammatical structures has been recognised by numerous scholars (Langacker 1987: 120). The

notions relevant to perspective will be introduced in the following subsections: they are **FIGURE/GROUND ALIGNMENT, DEIXIS, and SUBJECTIVITY/OBJECTIVITY.**

§2.2.5.2.1 Figure/ground alignment

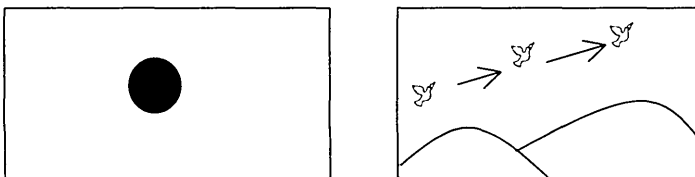
Langacker introduces the terms “figure” and “ground” in the following manner:

“Impressionistically, the figure within a scene is a substructure perceived as “standing out” from the remainder (the ground) and accorded special prominence as the pivotal entity around which the scene is organized and for which it provides a setting” (Langacker 1987: 120).

It is possible to say that it is at a speaker’s disposal to choose a particular entity within a situation rather than others as a figure, and its choice makes a substantial difference in the semantic structure of a linguistic expression. For example, the sentences *John resembles Mary* and *Mary resembles John* are about the identical situation; however the choice is made as to which of the two *John* or *Mary* is accorded the status as a figure, and the choice affects the choice of subject and object¹⁰.

However, as Langacker says, “various factors do contribute to the naturalness and likelihood of a particular choice”. For example, a “relatively compact region that contrasts sharply with its surrounding”, or an entity that is in motion vis-à-vis the rest which has constant relationship to the another, and so on, tends to be selected as a figure. For example, given the drawings in *Figure 2-3*, someone might naturally describe the situations therein,

Figure 2-3



The black spot is on the white space, and The white bird is flying over the mountains. The grammatical structure involving the subject makes it clear that the black spot and the moving

object are taken as figures in the respective scenes. It would take some special cognitive effort to regard the white space or the mountain range as figure.

However, these natural tendencies are occasionally overridden, and “often a scene lacks the striking contrasts or asymmetries that make a particular substructure the obvious choice” (Langacker 1987: 120), of which examples have been given above, i.e. *John resembles Mary* and *Mary resembles John*).

Langacker makes a distinction between figure and the focus of attention, though they often can coincide (what receives attention is normally perceived as a figure). They do not always coincide, however. This is well illustrated in PDE “possessive” expressions involving the possessive morpheme *'s* (e.g. *the man's book*, *the king's daughter*). Nominals likely to be chosen as the possessive phrase (*the man's* in *the man's book*) are said to be high in “topicworthiness” (Taylor 1996:210), i.e., likely to be a topic. A possessive phrase has various sub-properties such as animate rather than inanimate, old rather than new information, etc., which seem to be related to the saliency of an entity to the speaker/hearer. Therefore an entity accorded a figure status tends to be chosen as a possessive phrase. So we can see figure/ground alignment between *the man('s)* and *book* in *the man's book* (see §3.7ff). However, what receives the attention in the phrase *the man's book* is not the referent (or the “designatum” = the profile) of *the man*, but that of *book*. In other words, the profile of the phrase is “(the) book”, though in terms of figure/ground alignment, *the man('s)* is a figure. This asymmetry between figure/ground alignment and focal point of attention is extremely important in the development of the determiner function of the OE genitive (cf. §6.4).

§2.2.5.2.2 Deixis

A semantic structure of a linguistic expression can be substantially different depending on whether some reference to the **GROUND** (=speech event, its participants and its settings) is made. Langacker defines the term **DEICTIC EXPRESSION** as one which includes some reference to a ground element within its scope of predication” (Langacker 1987: 126). Langacker notes that there are different types of deictic expressions, and I will summarise them below.

First, there are “different levels of analysis (constituency)” in deictic expressions. Most lexical items are non-deictic: for example, nouns like *book*, *cow*, and verbs like *eat*, *read*, are non-deictic. Also composite expressions like *red book*, *black cow*, *eat fast*, *read slowly*, are also non-deictic. On the other hand, “nominals” (in Langacker’s terms “nominals” are equivalent to “noun phrases”) and finite verbs *this book*, *a red book*, *the cow*, *ate fast*, *read slowly* are deictic expressions. (These expressions are said to incorporate an “epistemic predication (not always phonologically overt)” (Langacker 1987:126: also §3.6 below).

Second, there are different types of deictic expressions depending on how much the ground element figures in the semantic structure of the expressions. Some expressions such as *here*, *there*, *now*, *then*, specifically “designate” a ground element (i.e., what is profiled in these expressions are elements in the ground, in this case, the local and temporal locations of the speech event.). On the other hand, there are some expressions in which the ground element does not figure so prominently, “functioning only as a secondary point of reference” (Langacker 1987:126). Good examples are demonstratives like *this*, *that* as opposed to personal pronouns like *I*, *we*, *you*. The former type of deictic expressions do make reference to the ground element (proximal/distal to the speaker), but what is profiled is not the entity in the ground, but some entity grounded by means of the ground elements (in this case, the speaker). On the other hand, in the case of the latter expressions, what is profiled are the ground elements themselves (the speaker and/or the hearer: cf. §3.8.2).

§2.2.5.2.3 Subjectivity/objectivity

The final dimension of perspective is the degree of “objectivity” at which the ground element is construed in a deictic expression. The notion of objectivity/subjectivity that Langacker introduces is closely related to the role of the ground elements in a deictic expression: both as “the source of the predication” and as “participants within the predication” (Langacker 1987: 128).

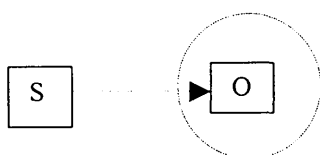
The role of ground elements as the source of predication is explained in the following manner. In every linguistic expression, the speaker (and secondarily, the hearer, both of which are ground elements) conceptualises a scene and impose a certain structure onto it (cf. §2.2.2). When a

speaker chooses a particular structure to be imposed on a conceived scene, it is said that he establishes a **CONSTRUAL RELATIONSHIP** between himself and the conceived scene so structured. Since every linguistic expression presupposes the presence of a speaker, the construal relation is ubiquitous, and therefore the speaker (and hearer) participates as the source of predication, in every linguistic expression, whether deictic or non-deictic.

What kind of linguistic expressions count as deictic, then? They are expressions which involve “some facets of the ground not only as a conceptualizer, but also as an object of conceptualization” (Langacker 1987:129: a conceptualizer is a person who conceives a scene, and imposes a structure on it, i.e., the speaker and the hearer). In other words, the ground element must function not only as “the source of predication” (establishing a construal relationship with the scene), but also as part of the construed scene (= “participants within the predication”).

The difference between the situation in which the speaker/hearer participates merely as a conceptualiser, and the situation in which the speaker/hearer participates both as a conceptualiser and as a participant in the predication, may be understood by using a metaphor of an observer watching a theatrical play. In order for an audience of a play to be able to observe a certain actor in a scene on the stage, there are certain conditions to be met. First of all, the observer and the actor have to be distinct from each other. Secondly, the actor to be observed has to be “properly situated relative to the observer” (Langacker 1987: 129). The actor “must be sharply differentiated from its surroundings, located in a region of maximal perceptual acuity” (i.e. the actor has to be in a region on the stage where the observer can focus his attention, so that he can observe things therein clearly and acutely). Such a region, i.e., the region of maximal acuity, is called **OBJECTIVE SCENE**. Thirdly, it is also required that the attention of the observer is focused solely on the actor, to the extent that the former “loses all awareness of his own role as perceiver”. In other words, what the observer observes is only the actor”, not *himself observing the actor* (cf. Langacker 1987: 129). The following diagram (*Figure 2-4*) illustrates the situations in which these conditions are met.

Figure 2-4



In this diagram, the rectangle bracket with “S” stands for “self” (as an observer), and that with “O” stands for object of the observation, (i.e., the actor). The arrow with a dotted line represents the perceptual relationships between the two. The area covered by the circle with a dotted line is an “objective scene”. This arrangement of “S” and “O”, in relation to the objective scene, in such a way that “S” can observe “O” optimally, is called **OPTIMAL VIEWING ARRANGEMENT**. In this arrangement, the role of “S” is said to be maximally **SUBJECTIVE**, and that of “O” is said to be maximally **OBJECTIVE**.

Now, the various entities introduced above can be equated to the relevant entities in conceptualisation of a scene involved in linguistic expressions.

The observer = a conceptualiser (the speaker/hearer)

The actor (i.e., object of the observation) = a profile (in the scope of predication)

The perceptual relationship = construal relationship

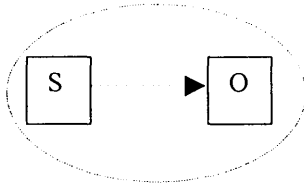
The objective scene = the scope of predication

(note: in case where the scope of predication is “quantized”, the objective scene corresponds to “the immediate scope”: cf. §2.2.5.1)

Moreover, the optimal viewing arrangement represents the way in which the conceptualiser conceives a situation and structures it in non-deictic expressions. In non-deictic expressions, the role of ground elements (speaker/hearer) is maximally subjective, and they do not take part in the scope of predication.

How then can the case for deictic expressions be explained? Deictic expressions are such expressions that the conceptualiser’s role is less subjective, and become more objective. In other words, the conceptualiser takes part in the scope of predication. This process is called **OBJECTIFICATION** (of the speaker/hearer/, or any other ground elements). The arrangement of the speaker/hearer functioning both as a conceptualiser and as a participants in the scope of predication (i.e., conceptualiser taking an objective role) is called **EGOCENTRIC VIEWING ARRANGEMENT** and can be represented by the following diagram in *Figure 2-5*.

Figure 2-5



The process of objectification of ground elements take place as a gradation, and their objectivity is a matter of degree (since every linguistic expression involves a speaker/hearer at least as conceptualisers and therefore is never detached from them). For example, consider expressions *father*, *my father*, *I*.

In *father*, a non-deictic expression, the semantic structure is characterised in the domain of kinship network, and within this domain the scope of predication is the region which includes the entities for “father”, “mother”, and “child” and the interconnections among them. The profiled entity therein is that for “father”. In this scope of predication, there is no mention of any of ground elements.

In *my father*, the semantic structure also has the same domain, scope of predication, and the profile as in the case of *father*. However, here the semantic structure makes reference to the speaker, by having it as one of the unprofiled entities (i.e., the entity for “child”) in the scope of predication (the speaker in this context is said to be “landmark” as opposed to the “trajector” cf. §3.2.1 below). The speaker is partially objectified in this case, however he himself nevertheless remains unprofiled.

In the case of *I*, the semantic structure has the speaker himself as the profile in the scope of predication. This is the most extreme case of the objectification of the speaker.

§2.3 Domain

The previous sections (§§2.2ff) have been concerned with our various cognitive abilities, how we conceive a concept, our abilities to compare, and impose structure on a new experience, and how we can construe the same situation in alternate ways. These are properties that belong to any concepts whether they are linguistically symbolised or not. From this section on we focus on concepts that are symbolised by a phonological structure, i.e. semantic structures (a predication,

or a predicate in the case of a morpheme). The present section accounts for the notion of **DOMAIN**, which has been introduced already in §2.2.3 and §2.2.4 above, and is fundamental to the description of any semantic structure.

As Langacker notes, “All linguistic units are context-dependent to some degree. A context for the characterization of a semantic unit is referred to as a domain” (Langacker 1987: 147). Some contexts are related to our inborn capacity for basic experiences like extentionality of two/three dimensional space, the passage of time, the visual field¹¹, etc (cf. §2.1.3 for “extentionality” of “semantic space”). Some concepts are characterised in these concepts, e.g., the concept [CIRCLE] presupposes that we can mentally experience space extending two-dimensionally to certain geometrical forms. Concepts like space belong to our basic cognitive ability, and they are not reducible to more fundamental domains. Such contexts are referred to as **BASIC DOMAINS**. However, most concepts are characterised in terms of contexts derivative of such basic domains. For example, in characterising the concepts [ARC] one needs to refer to the concept [CIRCLE] rather than two-dimensional space. [ARC] is indeed a shape in a two-dimensional space, and so does make reference to it, but it is not the context that is evoked saliently as part of the concept [ARC]. This is to do with our cognitive ability of “selection” (§2.2.5.1 above), which selects an appropriate context for the characterisation of a concept: thus as one focuses his attention to the concept [ARC] he selects [CIRCLE] as an appropriate, optimal context or background for it, and excludes all other irrelevant potential concepts (e.g. concepts like [SQUARE], [RECTANGLE] will not be evoked here). As Langacker says:

“All human conceptualization is presumably grounded in basic domains, but for the most part this grounding is indirect, being mediated by chain of intermediate concepts derived through cognitive abilities” (Langacker 1987: 150).

Concepts like [CIRCLE], itself characterised in terms of the basic domain of two-dimensional space, functions as a domain for what Langacker calls “higher-order concepts” like [ARC] as we saw, and also [DIAMETER] and [RADIUS] among others. Moreover, this concept can be coordinated with other such concept, such as [THREE-DIMENSIONAL SHAPE], to form another concept [CYLINDER]. Any non-basic concept, like [CIRCLE], i.e., “any concept or conceptual

complex that functions as a domain for the definition of a higher-order concept” is called an **ABSTRACT DOMAIN**¹².

Domains thus defined, a concept can be characterised as “a location or a configuration in a domain” (cf. §2.3.1: Langacker 1987: 151). The concepts [CIRCLE], [PERIOD], [RED], [NOTE], [SWEETNESS], [HAPPINESS] can be said to be located, or occupy some region within basic domains two-dimensional space, time, colour, pitch, taste, emotion, respectively (cf. §3.2.2 below). On the other hand, concepts like [EAT] (a semantic pole of the verb *eat*) are said to form a “configuration”, in the sense that this concept presupposes at least two participants (one, typically animate entity, and another, typically inanimate, edible entity) and their “interconnection”, enfolded in the domain of time (§3.4 below).

§2.3.1 Encyclopedia, centrality, access.

Most concepts require specifications in more than one domain for their characterisation, and Cognitive Grammar claims that all specifications in whatever domains count as part of the meaning of a linguistic expression. Thus it argues for open-ended (= “encyclopedic”) characterisation of a meaning, as opposed to a short, dictionary-type definition.

For example, a dictionary-type definition of the concept [CIRCLE] is “a round plane figure whose boundary consists of points equidistant from the centre” *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (10th edition 2001). This definition itself presupposes a lot of other concepts, such that the basic domain of two-dimensional space (i.e. that a shape can be formed and extended two-dimensionally): the knowledge that one can draw a line using a pen or pencil; the knowledge that a circle has a centre. These concepts or knowledge characterise the dictionary definition. However, these are not the only things that we know about *circle*. It presupposes that in drawing a circle (in the sense of this dictionary definition) we normally use a compass, and we also know that we learn how to do it in a geometry class at school. This means that it also presupposes the knowledge of geometry, and the knowledge that there are many other geometrical shapes than a circle. The knowledge that we have of a circle can extend almost infinitely. Langacker claims that all the knowledge constitutes part of the meaning of the word. He also claims that

distinctions often made in linguistics between “linguistic” and “extra-linguistic” (or “pragmatic”) meanings (e.g. the dictionary-type definition, on the one hand, and concepts involving compass, school, geometry, etc, on the other hand) are largely artificial (Langacker 1987:154). He argues for an open-ended, i.e. encyclopedic characterisation of meaning, which allows for an infinite number of domains for the characterisation of a predicate (= a semantic pole of a linguistic expression).

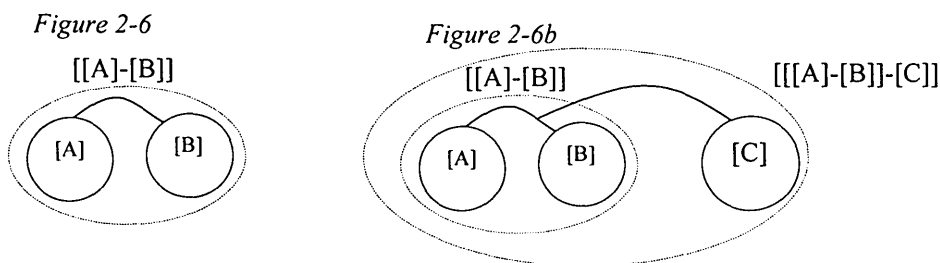
A linguistic expression is learned and used in contexts. Since a context characterises its meaning, and there can be an infinite number of contexts in which a linguistic expression can be learned and used, it stands to reason that its meaning must be characterised in an open-ended (= encyclopedic) manner. Using the example of *circle* again, it can be used referring to circles (in the geometrical sense) of various sizes, depending on whether drawn on a notebook or on a blackboard), drawn with various material (pencil, pen, chalk, or dots, in the case of drawing a circle on a computer screen). It may be used to refer to things or people shaped in a circle, not necessarily in a strictly geometrical sense (cf. *a circle of trees/stones/hills, people standing in a circle*). It may also be used to refer to people forming a group connected by common interests, professions, or by acquaintance (cf. *a political/business/theatrical circles, a circle of friends*). It may even refer to some situation in which problems occur one after another without any improvement or solution (cf. *vicious circle, running around in a circle*). Every usage event of this unit *circle* is used in different contexts (= domains), and the difference in domains often make a substantial difference in its meaning.

It is not that all specifications in domains figure in the characterisation of a predicate. Some specifications are said to be more central, in that they occur as part of the meaning every time the linguistic expression is used. Some specifications are said to be more peripheral, in that they occur only in a limited domain. In the case of *circle*, the basic domain of two-dimensional space is fairly central, since the shape specification of a circle in this domain figures in most of the senses of the word as illustrated in the previous paragraph. The sense of the word in the expression *run around in a circle* would be peripheral: it presupposes some negative aspect of a

circle, that things within a circle cannot escape from it since there is no exit. But such an aspect of the meaning of the word is not evoked at all in the other senses.

Even though a predicate is characterised in an open-ended manner, it is not the case that all specifications in various domains are evoked every time the linguistic expression is used (e.g. when one talks about *a circle of friends*, the concepts relating to the domain of geometry such as [DIAMETER] and [RADIUS] will be irrelevant), but only relevant specifications are evoked. This phenomenon will not be explained if one takes what Langacker calls “conduit metaphor” (Langacker 1987: 161ff) in dealing with meanings, which claims that a lexical item “carries” or “contains” meanings, which are “conveyed” from a speaker to a hearer.

As we saw in §2.2.1 above, a concept is seen as a “cognitive routine”. We saw above that a predicate like [CIRCLE] is open-ended in character, presupposing other concepts in various domains. Then a predicate will be characterised as a set of routines, rather than just one routine. Langacker claims that routines (as a set) as a predicate are “interrelated in various ways facilitating their co-activation (e.g. by inclusion or by the sharing of subroutines) but nevertheless retain enough autonomy that the execution of one does not necessarily entail the activation of all the rest” (Langacker 1987:162). Two or more routines may be interrelated, to form a higher-order routine (cf. *Figure 2-6a*), which in turn can be interrelated to another routine (cf. *Figure 2-6b*), and so on recursively.



Crucially, activation of a higher-order routine ([[A]-[B]] in *Figure 2-6a, b*, and [[[A]-[B]]-[C]] in *Figure 2-6b*) “presupposes --- and is facilitated by --- the activation of the two components” ([A], [B] for [AB]; [[A]-[B]] and [C] for [[[A]-[B]]-[C]]). However, the activation of a component routine does not entail that of the higher-order routine as a whole (Langacker

1987:163). Therefore, the activation of, say, [A], does not necessarily entail the activation of [[A]-[B]], nor does the activation of [[A]-[B]] entail the activation of [[[A]-[B]]-[C]].

As we saw above, a concept is specified in various domains, both basic and abstract (§2.3). So there will be a number of specifications in these domains. All these specifications are tied together by the fact that all of them make reference to a common entity that has special status as the one **DESIGNATED** by the predicate, or its **PROFILE** (Langacker 1987:163). This profiled entity will be the **POINT OF ACCESS** to the relevant domain.

A symbolic unit comprises a semantic structure and a phonological structure between which there is a “correspondence”. This means that the phonological structure activates a routine which serves as a profile. This latter serves as the point of access to the relevant domain, and it activates other various concepts in the domain which are interrelated to the profiled entity. Depending on the way in which the relevant lexical item is used, different domains will be accessed.

I will illustrate this process by using the example of *circle* again. Let us focus on the two senses of the word, (1) a round plane figure with the boundary consisting of points equidistant from the centre, and (2) a group of people having the same common interest, profession, etc. First of all, the semantic structure of this lexical item, in whichever sense it is used, presupposes some general shape specification in the domain of two-dimensional space. Secondly, the sense (1) presupposes, within the knowledge network (domain) of geometry, other concepts like [LINE], [POINT], [CENTRE], [RADIUS]. The sense (2) presupposes, within the knowledge network of, say, society, other concepts like [GROUP], [PEOPLE], [INTEREST], [PROFESSION], [GATHER].

Now, whenever this lexical item is used, the phonological structure [sɜ:kəl] always activates a cognitive routine which serves as a profile in the domain of two-dimensional space. This means that this activation gives an access to the basic domain of two-dimensional space, and there will be a shape specification in this domain. When the word is used in a geometrical sense (e.g. *draw a circle in your notebook with the compass*), the cognitive routine in the domain of geometry which serves as a profile is also co-activated. This gives an access to the domain of geometry. This cognitive routine also co-activates other routines in the same domain, which are the

concepts of [LINE], [POINT], [CENTRE], [RADIUS], which specify the profiled cognitive routine.

On the other hand, when the lexical item is used in the group sense (e.g. *He has a large circle of friends*), then again, together with the activation of the routine in the domain of two-dimensional space, the cognitive routine in the domain of society is activated. This activation gives an access to the domain of society. This routine also co-activates other routines in the same domain such as [GROUP], [PEOPLE], [INTEREST], [PROFESSION], [GATHER], which specify the profiled cognitive routine. Both of these processes can be represented as in *Figure 2-7a, b*.

Figure 2-7a

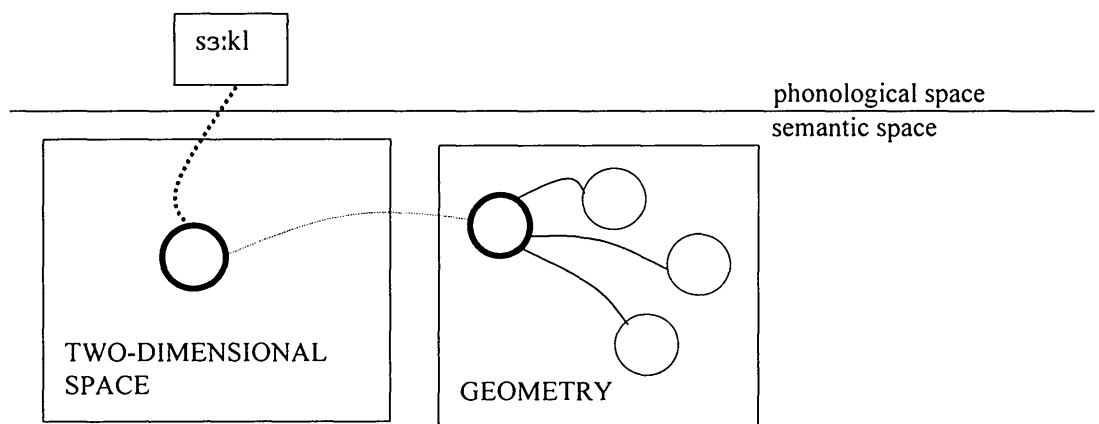
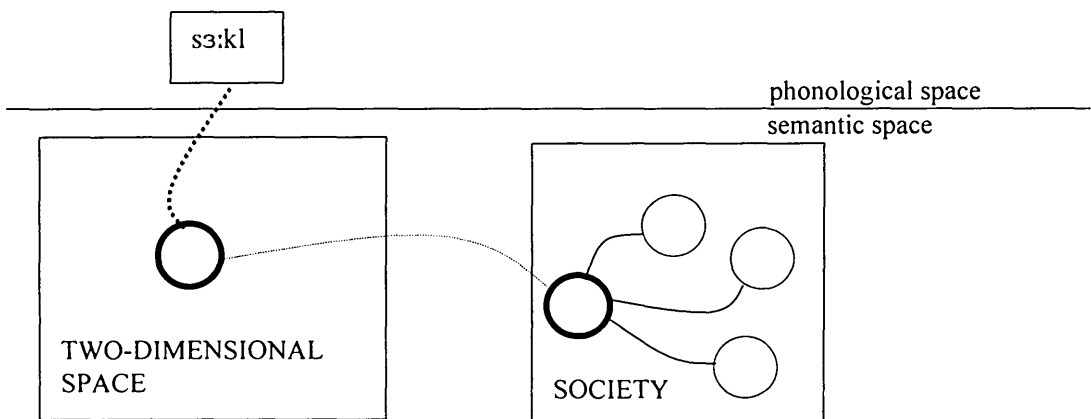


Figure 2-7b



This framework assures that when a linguistic expression is used in a certain context (precisely speaking, when the phonological structure of a given symbolic unit is activated), the relevant

domain(s) will be accessed, and other relevant concepts will also be evoked. This also ensures that in communication between a speaker and a hearer, the meanings of words, phrases, etc. will be understood properly, as long as the hearer employs the same symbolic system as the speaker, and commands comparable knowledge structure to that of the speaker.

In some linguistic expressions, domains which are made accessible through the profile are determined by convention. For example, in the case of *circle*, it is always the domain of two-dimensional space. Such domains are said to be highly prominent in the semantic structure, and they are called **PRIMARY DOMAINS**. Some lexical items are different only in terms of what is the primary domain (for example, *roe* and *caviar*: eating is the primary domain for the latter, whereas it is not salient for the former).

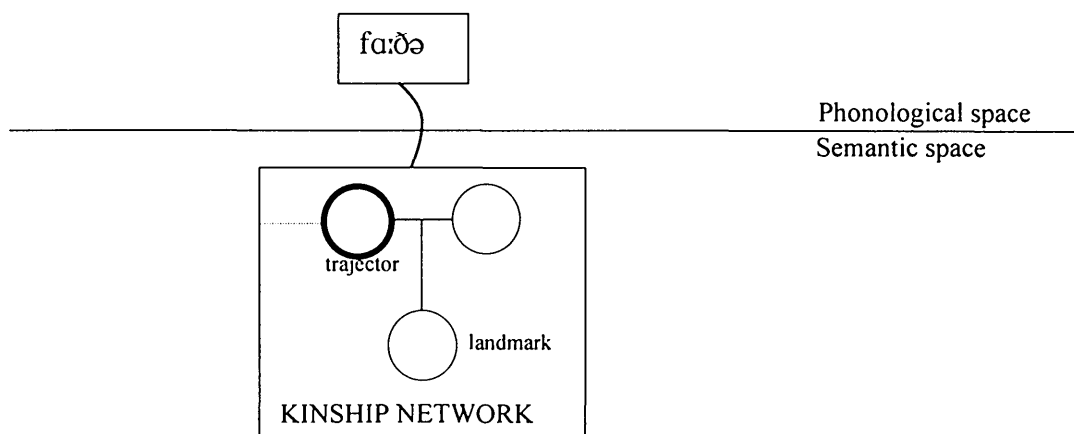
§2.4. Profile, base, designation.

The previous two sections clarified the nature of a domain as a context necessary for the characterisation of a semantic structure. That portion of a relevant domain that is necessary for the characterisation of a semantic structure has been referred to as a **SCOPE OF PREDICATION** (§2.2.4). Within this scope there is an entity which receives the focus of attention, or in Langacker's words, some entity elevated "to a special level of prominence" (Langacker 1987:183). The scope of predication, and the entity within it that is elevated to a special level of prominence are referred to as a **BASE** and **PROFILE** respectively. The semantic structure of a linguistic expression consists of neither the profile nor the base alone, but of their combination; i.e., the elevation of some entity to prominence /focus of attention within the scope of predication. We refer to this relationship between the base and its profile as **DESIGNATION**.

For example, using the example of *father* given in §2.2.4, its semantic structure is characterised in the domain of kinship network of the form. Out of this domain, what is relevant to the semantic structure of *father*, at least in its basic sense, is at least three entities and their interconnections; two entities each of which is characterised in terms of sex (male and female). These two entities are interconnected to each other in the relationship as a couple, and also connected to another entity in the parents-child relationship. In this base, the entity that is

profiled is the one for the male member of the couple. The semantic structure of *father* is graphically illustrated in *Figure 2-8*.

Figure 2-8



The diagram including the rectangle, all the circles and lines represents the semantic structure [FATHER], which occupies some area in semantic space (§2.1.3). This semantic structure is “symbolised” by the phonological structure [fa:ðə], which occupies some area in phonological space (§2.1.3). This relationship of “symbolization” (§2.1.1) is represented by the curved line connecting the two boxes (the box above is the phonological structure). At the bottom of the lower box (= the semantic structure [FATHER]), the domain is specified (as kinship network). The whole area contained in this box including the circles and the lines represents the portion of the domain selected as the base (= the scope of predication). These circles and lines are “entities” relevant to the predicate. The circles and lines are different types of entities, which are called “things” and “relations” (cf. §3.2ff. below). The two circles above are specified in terms of sex, and the circle below is underspecified in that respect. The lines represent the relationship of parents-child. The bolded circle is a profile of the predicate [FATHER]. The relationship of designation between the base and the profile is represented by the dotted line¹³.

What characterises the semantic structure [FATHER] crucially is the profile being related to the other entity for “child” (represented by the bottom circle) in parent-child relationship. The latter entity serves as a “landmark” for the orientation of the profile. But, importantly, it is not this relationship per se that is profiled. We dealt with the cognitive ability of selection above

(§2.2.5.1), specifically the selection of profile and base. In the example of [FATHER], from the same base we obtain semantic structures for [MOTHER], [CHILD], or even [PARENTS], depending on which entities are profiled.

§2.5 Summary

The first section of this chapter has introduced the basic assumption in CG about grammar as a structured inventory of conventional linguistic units. It assumes only three structures, i.e. semantic structures, phonological structures, and symbolic structures (association of the two), which can attain unit status through entrenchment (as phonological, semantic, and symbolic units respectively). It has been explained how these units are structured in one of the three types of relations (symbolisation, categorisation, and integration). The rest of the chapter further explained a semantic structure as a concept that functions as a semantic structure of a linguistic expression, and summarised CG's account of how we conceive of a concept in general ultimately as a mental experience. The basic notion is comparison, which allows us to recognise different mental experiences as of the identical type, and also which explains how the same mental experience can be given different interpretations by imposing different structures on it (our cognitive ability of imagery). Finally the chapter introduces the notion of domain as a context necessary for the characterisation of a semantic structure, and based on this view, a semantic structure is now defined as a location or configuration occupied within the relevant domain. In the next chapter, I will employ the notions introduced here to account for the CG's analysis of various "syntactic" issues, specifically the characterisation of word classes, how two semantic units are integrated to form a higher-order structure, CG's accounts of the PDE genitive (or "possessive") case, and also my analysis of the OE genitive case as an alternative.

¹ This is not the case in generative grammar (cf. Radford (1988:21-2), who states "A grammar incorporating as an explicitly formulated set of syntactic, semantic, morphological, and phonological rules which specify how to form, interpret, and pronounce a given set of sentences is said to generate that set of sentences. Such a grammar is called a generative grammar. For a grammar to be adequate, it must generate ... all and only the well-formed sentences of the language."

² “Putting together novel expressions is something that speakers do, not grammars. It is a problem-solving activity that demands a constructive effort and occurs when linguistic convention is put to use in specific circumstances. Creating a novel expression is not necessarily different in fundamental character from problem-solving activity in general, and the speaker’s knowledge of linguistic convention is but one of the many resources he brings to bear in finding a solution: others include memory, the capacity to plan and organize, the ability to compare two structures and judge between their degree of similarity, and so forth” (Langacker 1987:65).

³ Following the convention employed in Langacker (1987), I will use square brackets for those structures which have unit status and round brackets for those who do not have it (using upper case for a semantic unit, and lower case for a phonological structure). In the notation [[HÆLAND]/[hæ:aland]], the semantic unit [HÆLAND] represents a conceptualisation that is associated with the phonological unit [hæ:aland]. Symbolic association between semantic and phonological units or non-unit structures is represented by a slash (/). For a phonological structure I will use phonetic symbols.

⁴ However, the unit [[HÆLEND]/[hæ:lend]] itself is schematic to its actual usage events. Schematicity cannot be taken as measure for distinguishing between content words and function words, since it is a matter of degree.

⁵ “Experimental work in cognitive psychology has demonstrated that categories are often organized around prototypical instances. These are the instances people accept as common, run-of-the-mill, garden-variety members of the category. They generally occur the most frequently in our experience, tend to be learned the earliest, and can be identified experimentally in a variety of ways (e.g. respondents accept them as class members with the shortest response latencies). Non-prototypical instances are assimilated to a class or category to the extent that they can be construed as matching or approximating the prototype. Membership is therefore a matter of degree: prototypical instances are full, central members of the category, whereas other instances form a gradation from central to peripheral depending on how far and in what ways they deviate from the prototype. Moreover, the members are not necessarily a uniquely defined set, since there is no specific degree of departure from the prototype beyond which a person is absolutely incapable of perceiving a similarity. The best we can say, as a general matter, is that substantial dissimilarity to the prototype greatly diminishes the probability that a person will make that categorization” (Langacker 1987: 16-17).

⁶ Phonological space within which phonological structures as concepts unfold is itself multifaceted. According to Langacker (Langacker 1987: 78) there are three facets.

- (1) Phonological structures as “auditory impressions” or perceptual routines. The auditory impression of a sound we hear is entrenched in our minds as a *concept* after hearing it again and again so that when we hear it we recognise it as an instance of it).
- (2) Phonological structures as “motor routines”. The process of the articulation of a sound has been entrenched and attained unit status as a *concept* in our mind, so that when we produce a sound, we can do so by merely *thinking of the sound* rather than commanding all the articulators to produce it).
- (3) Phonological structures as “the kinesthetic sensations that accompany an articulatory event” and also as “auditory feedback a speaker receives from his own utterances” (cf. Abercrombie 1967:22-3). When we produce a sound, our auditory and kinaesthetic senses send the information to the part of the brain in charge of the articulation, as to whether the articulation process is being carried on properly. These pieces of information themselves have been entrenched as *concepts*. Therefore a speaker knows, as *concepts*, what a sound produced by himself is supposed to sound like and felt like kinaesthetically as a *concept*).

⁷ Not the “event”, since the mental experience he undergoes takes place at different times, and in different places, and he will abstract away a type (schema) from these mental experiences, which is what is common to all.

⁸ “Linguistically it is important that speakers believe in the existence of a ‘real world’, and distinguish it from worlds they regard as purely conceptual, but the validity of this belief is of no direct concern” (Langacker 1987: 114). Another example of grammatical markers indicating the status of a situation as real or unreal is subjunctive mood (e.g. *if I were you, I command that this be done by tomorrow*). Also in sentences like *I just realised that I didn’t take my umbrella with me*, it is understood that the speaker believes the statement within *that*-clause is a matter of “reality” (whether or not his belief is well-founded)

⁹ “The contrasting images imposed on a scene amounts to qualitatively different mental experiences. Consequently, the image embodied by a linguistic expression --- the conventionally established way in which it structures a situation --- constitutes a crucial facet of its meaning” (Langacker 1987: 117).

¹⁰ Consider also the first line of The Beatles’ *Norwegian Wood: I once had a girl, or should I say, she once had me*. The two clauses are about more or less the same situation in which the two participants are in relationship, but their meanings vary substantially depending on which of the participants is accorded a figure status.

¹¹ Langacker distinguishes between the basic domain of two/three dimensional space and the domain of visual field, even though they can be assimilated to some extent (Langacker 1987:149). The visual field is a complex domain including not only two/three-dimensional space but also other domains related to visual sensations such as colour, whereas the spatial domain is purely spatial.

¹² Importantly, Langacker notes that “the distinction between basic and abstract domains may not be always clear, but nothing hinges on it being absolute rather than a matter of degree. The essential claim is simply that not all concepts are optimally characterized directly in terms of primitive notions” (Langacker 1987:150).

¹³ The term “designation” is, strictly speaking, used to refer to “the relation within a semantic structure between the base as a whole and some substructure selected as the profile” (Langacker 1987:488). Derivatively, it is often said that a semantic structure designates the profiled entity (thus, [FATHER] designates the entity). More derivatively, the phonological structure which symbolises the semantic structure is often said to designate the profiled entity (thus, [fɑ:ðə], or informally the word *father* designates the entity).

Chapter 3 Syntax in Cognitive Grammar

This chapter will explain how syntax is dealt with in Cognitive Grammar, based on the basic assumptions about grammar, units, coding, and general conceptual structures described in the previous chapter, and how the Old English genitive might be characterised using this framework. In §3.1, I will summarise an important cognitive model called the “Billiard-Ball Model”, which provides us with prototypical semantic values for some basic word classes. In §3.2, §3.3, and §3.4, I will present Langacker’s semantic characterisation of the basic word classes such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. In §3.5, I will introduce valence relations, and the CG notions of head/modifier and head/complement relationship. §3.6 will introduce the notion of type and instance, and there I will give a Cognitive account of a determiner which is called “epistemic predication”. In §3.7 the notion of transitivity will be accounted for. In §3.8, I will summarise Langacker’s and Taylor’s reference point analysis for the PDE possessive phrase, and discuss its applicability to the OE genitive. Finally in §3.9 I will introduce the notion of deprofiling, which is used to analyse the OE genitive nominal instead of the reference point analysis.

§3.1 Billiard-Ball Model

One of the most important claims CG makes is that various grammatical constructs such as word classes can be characterised conceptually. This claim is extremely important for a coherent analysis of the genitive case in OE, which presents both syntactic and semantic issues as we saw in Chapter 1 (cf. §1.2.3). This section introduces one of the cognitive models essential in accounting for various grammatical constructs, called the **BILLIARD-BALL MODEL** (Langacker 1991: 13). This is a cognitive model of how we conceive of the world, how things, both humans and non-humans, move around and interact with one another. This model will be relevant to the conceptual import of the basic word classes of nouns, verbs, etc., the notion of transitivity, the type/instance distinction, and the reference point analysis, which will be directly related to the analysis of the PDE possessive phrase.

Langacker introduces this cognitive model in the following way.

“We think of our world as being populated by discrete physical objects. These objects are capable of moving about through space and making contact with one another. Motion is driven by energy, which some objects draw from internal resources and others receive from the exterior. When motion results in forceful physical contact, energy is transmitted from the mover to the impacted object, which may thereby be set in motion to participate in further interactions.” (Langacker 1991:13).

This model is a “conceptual archetype” (cf. §2.2.3 above), a concept which emerges through our everyday experience and has become so well-entrenched that it is activated as a standard (§2.2.2 above) in interpreting various mental experiences of what is happening in the world. Moreover, this cognitive model provides us with conceptual imports of the two basic word classes, namely nouns and verbs.

In this model, central constructs are physical objects and energy. These two stand in polar opposition, in terms of how they are manifested (i.e. the way in which they are made evident to our eyes or understanding). Material substance, of which a physical object is composed, is primarily manifested in space. On the other hand, energy is manifested primarily in time, because energy is made visible only through changes in position, shape, state, which can be measured against the procession of time (more precisely, the conception thereof is necessary for the conception of energy). Space and time are therefore called as **THE DOMAIN OF INSTANTIATION** (Langacker 1991: 14) for physical objects and for energy respectively. Space and time are both extensional, and they furnish a “multidimensional setting” (§2.1.3) for the manifestation of physical objects and energy interaction.

Langacker claims that physical objects and energy transfer correspond to prototypical semantic values of the two grammatical classes, namely nouns and verbs. Prototypically, nouns profile some “region” (see shortly below) manifested in space, whereas verbs profiles a series of configuration (involving one or two “regions” as its participants) unfolded in time. By contrast, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions stand between nouns and verbs, in that they profile a configuration not manifested in time. On this basis, Langacker defines **THINGS** and **RELATIONS** (Langacker 1987: 214) as a profile of nouns on the one hand, and a profile of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions on the other. Within the latter group of word class,

verbs are distinguished (as **PROCESS**) from the rest (as **ATEMPORAL RELATIONS**) in that within the semantic structure of a verb the passage of time is profiled, which is not the case with the atemporal relations.

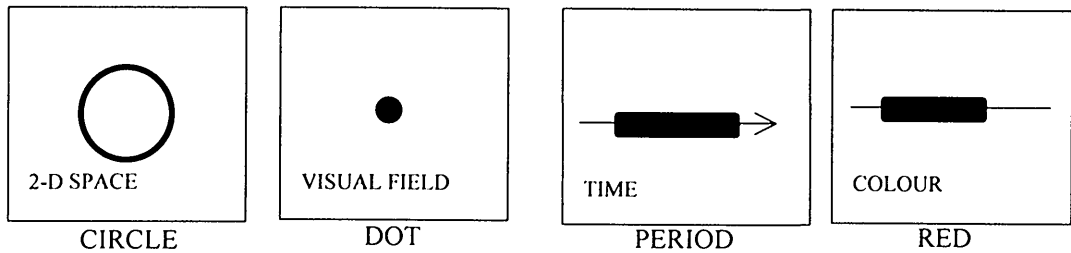
Especially important in this study is Langacker's account for the semantic structure of a noun. In §2.1.1.1 above, we saw that the semantic structure of a genitive inflection in OE makes inherent reference to a noun to which it is attached. This means that a schematic description of the meaning of a genitive inflection entails a schematic description of the meaning of a noun. In this study I assume Langacker's account of semantic characterisation of the various word classes to be well-founded, and employ it in my account of the semantic structure of a genitive inflection. The following sections will demonstrate Langacker's account of "things" (as the profile of nouns), "atemporal relations" (as the profile of adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions), and "process" (as the profile of verbs), following Langacker (1987:ch.5, 6, 7).

§3.2 Thing

A **THING** is defined as "**a region in some domain**". Specifically predicates of count nouns are said to designate "a bounded region in some domain". This definition does not specify the type of domain, so bounding can be made in any domain, whether basic or abstract (§2.3 above). First of all, Langacker takes the terms "region", "bounding" as self-explanatory, and illustrates their applicability to prototypical examples of count nouns.

Examples of count nouns whose predicate designate a bounded region in basic domains are [POINT], [CIRCLE], [TRIANGLE] (bounded in the spatial domain), [MOMENT], [INSTANT], [PERIOD] (bounded in the temporal domain), [SPOT], [DOT], [STRIPE] (bounded in the visual field), [RED], [GREEN], [BLUE] (as nominal predicates: bounded in the colour domain). The diagrams in *Figure 3-1* below illustrate how the profiles of these predicates bound a region in the relevant domains.

Figure 3-1



The squares in each of these diagrams represent the scope of predication (= base), and the relevant domain is noted at the bottom of the square). The profiled regions are represented by the bolded figures within the square.

There are numerous nominal predicates which receive bounding in abstract domains. Predicates like [ARC] can theoretically be said to designate a region bounded in two-dimensional space. However, as we saw in §2.4, the predicate [CIRCLE] is felicitously characterised as part of a circle rather than of an unspecified two-dimensional space. It is characterised in terms of the domain [CIRCLE], which presupposes or “incorporates” the basic domain of two-dimensional space. It is in the abstract domain [CIRCLE] that it receives bounding (= the primary bounding, as opposed to bounding in other, derivative domains). There are many such predicates which designate a region which is bounded in abstract domains where it receives its primary bounding, and but also in the basic domain which is presupposed or “incorporated” in the abstract domain in question. More examples are given in *Table 3-1*.

Table 3-1 Various nominal predicates, their relevant abstract domains and related basic domains.

nominal predicates	abstract domains	basic domains
[KNUCKLE]	[FINGER]>[HAND]>[ARM] >[BODY]	3-DIMENSIONAL SPACE
[TIP]	[(some elongated object)]	3-DIMENSIONAL SPACE
[BEGINNING],[END]	[PERIOD]	TIME
[JANUARY], etc.	[YEAR]	TIME
[MONDAY], etc.	[WEEK]	TIME
[C],[F ^a],[B ^b]	[MUSICAL SCALE]	PITCH

Some nominal predicates which make reference to abstract domain receive their primary bounding, not in the relevant abstract domain, but in the basic domain which is incorporated in the abstract domain. For example, the predicate [FATHER] makes reference to the abstract

domain [KINSHIP NETWORK]. The predicate selects only the relevant entities out of this abstract domain as its scope of predication, and out of this scope, one region is designated for the predicate [FATHER] (cf. *Figure 2-8*). However, it is not in the abstract domain [KINSHIP NETWORK] itself that its primary bounding occurs. This abstract domain presupposes, among various pieces of knowledge, the knowledge that people have bodies which are bounded in three-dimensional space. Though such knowledge does not figure in the predicate [FATHER], this basic domain is crucial in establishing this predicate as designating a thing.

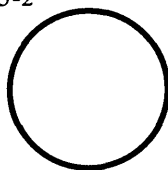
§3.2.1 Closure and virtual boundary

In Cognitive Grammar, meaning is explained, not by describing objective reality (e.g. whether the boundary is objectively present), but by describing “the cognitive routines that constitute a person’s understanding of it” (Langacker 1987:194), in other words, describing what structure the person imposes on his mental experience of the objective reality. The structure (= cognitive routine cf. §2.2.1) he imposes on the mental experience serves as a “standard” (=S), and the mental experience as a “target” (=T). To the extent that the value of the comparison $S > T$ (§2.2.2) approximates to zero, the conceptualiser “recognises” (§2.2.2) the mental experience as an instance of the cognitive routine.

In this process of recognition, there is a great deal of variability.

- (1) More than one established cognitive routine may be available to interpret the target. This means, especially with regard to bounding for nominal predicates, that what is objectively the same thing may be structured in different ways, and may be bounded differently. For example, given a shape as in *Figure 3-2*, depending on what cognitive routines are activated in the act of recognition, one may call it “a circle”, “an oval”, “a planet”, “an egg”, etc. Which routine will be activated is not predictable just from the objective shape and size of the figure.

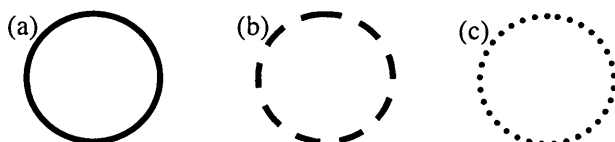
Figure 3-2



(2) Recognition takes place at different levels of tolerance. This results in **CLOSURE**

PHENOMENON, in which “recognition is achieved despite the incomplete or degenerated nature of the target structure” (Langacker 1987:194). For example, all the three diagrams in *Figure 3-3* can be called “a circle”. In the case of (b) and (c), the continuity of the points or broken line is “imposed” rather than objectively given, and this imposed continuity bounds the region.

Figure 3-3



An extreme case of (2) is that sometimes we impose a boundary where there is none objectively (not even in its degraded form like (b) or (c) in *Figure 3-3*). A region may be bounded just because a conceptualiser imposes a boundary in structuring a conceived situation. Such an imposed boundary is called **VIRTUAL BOUNDARY**. Examples of virtual boundary are found in predicates like [MOUNTAIN], [VALLEY]. In the actual mountain range there is no objective line where a valley ends and a mountain starts. *Valley* and *mountain* are count nouns because of that virtual boundary imposed on the mental experience of landscape which makes certain areas bounded. Examples of this kind abound (names for body parts such as *finger*, *hand*, *arm*, or names for parts of a whole such as *middle*, *edge*, *centre*, *side*, etc.).

Closure and virtual boundary also account for cases where nominal predicates designate entities which are separate as a set, such as *archipelago*, *swarm*, *forest*. Even though there is substantial space between entities in such cases, a conceptualiser “associates peripheral members to form a virtual boundary delimiting the populated region from its surrounding, also connects internal members to provide a conception of continuity (even homogeneity)” (Langacker 1987:196).

However, there are cases in which nominal predicates designate entities which are so separate that it is difficult to conceive them as a region. Examples are *set*, *class*, *team*, and *group*. Members of *set*, *class*, for example, can be anywhere, and be present at any time, there seems to be no bounding at all, but nevertheless they are count nouns. This problem derives from the

definition of predicates of count noun “a bounded region in some domain”: the terms “bounded” and “region” inherently make reference to spatial domain, and this definition does not work in cases where entities are not spatially bounded as a region.

The semantic definition given above of the predicate of a count noun applies to prototypical examples of it (cf. physical objects in the Billiard-Ball Model: §3.1 above). However, to account for all instances of count noun, we have to look for a more schematic characterisation, which makes reference to cognitive events (§§2.2.1 ff).

§3.2.2 Abstract characterisation of the semantic structure of a region: a set of interconnected entities.

Langacker defines a **REGION** as **A SET OF INTERCONNECTED ENTITIES** (Langacker 1987: 187). The definition needs explication for each of its components “entities”, “interconnected”, and “set”.

The term **ENTITY** is used by Langacker as “a cover term for anything we might conceive of or refer to for analytical purposes: things, relations, locations, points on a scale, sensations, interconnections, values, etc.” (Langacker 1987:198). Entities are said to be interconnected when they are **COORDINATED**. Now, this term “coordinated” itself is a technical term in Cognitive Grammar: when two cognitive events are incorporated as components of a higher-order event, they are said to be coordinated (Langacker 1987: 177). In this definition of the term, there is no specification as to the nature of the relationship between the two: it only states that there is some relationship between them, and the component events are not totally unconnected (Langacker 1987:177). The notion of coordination derives from our cognitive ability to establish a relationship between two entities (Langacker 1999:2), and to see two separate entities as components of a larger entity rather than as unrelated ones¹. Furthermore, when two cognitive events are coordinated, and temporal sequencing figures in their coordination (i.e. one event occurs one after another), then we say that the two events are in **TRANSITION**, and the sequence of cognitive events in transition are said to form a **TRANSITION CHAIN** (Langacker 1987: 177). Transition chains are exemplified by sequences such as that of number [1]-[2]-[3], or

of just odd numbers [1]-[3]-[5]...., of alphabets [A]-[B]-[C]-[D], adjacent parts of body [finger]-[palm]-[wrist], a sequence of days [Monday]-[Tuesday]-[Wednesday]...., etc. Note in these examples that a transition chain can proceed in any type of domain, and also that two events in coordination do not have to be adjacent in any spatial or temporal sense (cf. the sequence of odd numbers).

For entities to be interpreted as a region instead of disconnected individuals, a conceptualiser must see them as extended, related, or even homogeneous, which can be grouped as one **SET**. Any set of interconnected entities (i.e. cognitive events in transition) is capable of being a semantic structure of a noun. Since transition can take place in any domain, this definition allows us to account for the diversity of nominal predicates characterised in various types of domains.

To take a simple example, the predicate [HAND] designates a set of entities such as [FINGER], [PALM], [NAIL] etc. that are interconnected. The predicate [HAND] profiles the whole region containing these subparts, rather than individuating them. Transition chains occur through these subparts, and as a result these subparts are seen as being interconnected as one part of a body, and also extended, continuous, even homogeneous (since the diversity of the subparts is ignored or demoted in the predicate [HAND]). The same applies to [NUMBER], [ODD NUMBER], [ALPHABET], [WEEK].

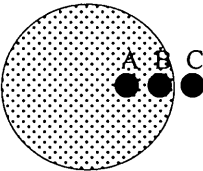
In the same way, the predicate [TEAM] designates a set of entities constituted by people, interconnected through their role as participants in a conceived relationship; they are interconnected by virtue of their working together to attain some common goal. Once this interconnection is established, the word *team* is appropriate for a group of people even if they are scattered among people of the opponent group, therefore the spatial bounding of the entities is almost impossible.

Even though entities can be interconnected in various ways, there are certain conditions with which their interconnection can occur optimally. A set of entities approaches optimality as a region as the density of their interconnection increases, and as their cognitive distance decreases (Langacker 1987: 200). In other words, a set of entities will be optimally seen as a region when they show “a compact, preferably continuous distribution”. A nominal predicate which

designates such a region will be closer to prototype of the category of count nouns. The density and distance among the interconnected entities may be illustrated in the nominal predicate [SPOT]. This predicate consists of cognitive events of colour sensation distributed in the visual field, interconnected by virtue of those events within a certain area having the same colour: a comparison act between any two of them detects no divergence in colour, which makes the cognitive distance between the two very close, and also increases their density. In the same way, the nominal predicate [ARCHIPELAGO] designates a region in the domain of landscape. Its relevant interconnected entities are cognitive events of each of the islands. Actual islands may be quite far away from each other, and this objective distance between them may render the nominal predication a less prototypical instance of count noun. However, transition chains that go through these cognitive events interconnect them, by virtue of our recognition that each of the entities is an instance of island, and that they as a whole form a certain shape. This recognition makes the cognitive distance among these entities small, and makes them dense, despite the objective distance among the actual islands.

Under this definition of “region”, “bounding” is a case in which, within the scope of predication, there is some limit to the set of interconnected entities, i.e., when it does not extend indefinitely. As Langacker says, bounding is “optimal to the extent that the interconnections among “internal” entities are of maximal density and minimal distance, while those between internal and “external” entities are of minimal density and maximal distance” (Langacker 1987:201). I will illustrate this by using [SPOT] again. This predicate designates a bounded region in the visual field, because there is some limit in the transition chain interconnecting the cognitive events of the same colour sensation: as the act of comparison between two cognitive events of colour sensation extends, it detects divergence from the previous colour at the periphery of a certain area. In such cases, the cognitive distance between the two events increases, and their density decreases. In the diagram in *Figure 3-4* below, the cognitive distance between the cognitive events of colour sensation at A and B is closer than the cognitive distance between those at B and C.

Figure 3-4



Some nominal predicates designate a bounded region which show no contrast with its surroundings, but is still bounded, by virtue of internal homogeneity. For example, the predicate [ALPHABET]. This predicate designates a set of interconnected entities which consist of the cognitive events of each of the letters in the alphabet. They are interconnected, by virtue of our knowledge that they all have the common function of being used for spelling and writing. But they do not have anything particular to contrast with².

§3.2.3 Mass nouns and plural nouns.

In contrast with count nouns, predicates of mass nouns can be defined as those designating a region construed as unbounded within the scope of predication in some domain. The relevant domain in which a designated region is not bounded is, in the case of mass noun of physical substance (*gold, glass, water, air*, etc.), is space. To take the example of [GLASS] (as a material, as in *This window is made of glass*), a region designated by [GLASS] is unbounded in the domain of space, since there is no limitation in the expanse of the relevant interconnected entities (cognitive events of quality recognition) in this domain. The same noun can be used as a count noun, designating an object which is used for drinking liquid (as in *a glass*). In this case, the same predicate designates a region bounded in the spatial domain.

The unbounded region designated by the predicate of a mass noun can be bounded by various means. A mass noun that appears as a direct object of transitive verbs often designates a bounded region. For example, *I drank water* presupposes that only a limited amount of water that could be possibly drunk by one person at one time is meant here. A region can be bounded also by means of some quantifiers (*some water, a little air*). Some mass noun, like *glass*, can be used as a count noun just by itself, and appears with an indefinite article when it is singular (*glass: a glass*).

The fact that mass nouns cannot be pluralised can be derived from the definition of count/mass nouns: pluralisation implies the replication of a region designated by a nominal predicate, and in the case of count nouns, since the designated region is limited, replication is possible when there is a boundary. However, in the case of mass nouns, since there is no boundary in the designated region, replication is not possible.

Predicates of mass nouns are characterised by indefinite “expansibility” and “contractibility” of the designated region, i.e., given a certain amount of *water*, one can add more of it or take some amount of it, but the result will still be designated by the same predicate [WATER]. This expanding or contracting is normally not possible with the designatum of count nouns.

Expansibility and contractibility are said to derive from the “homogeneous” nature as *construed* of the designatum of mass nouns. It is important that the relevant entities do not have to be objectively homogeneous, but they are so *construed*: even if interconnected entities show internal variability, it is ignored, and the focus is “on properties that (within limits) can be recognised in portion of arbitrary size and that distinguish the designatum from other substances” (Langacker 1987:205). This homogeneity renders the designatum as a region. Examples of mass nouns which designate a set of interconnected entities with internal variability are *cattle, grass, furniture, information*, etc. Even in *water*, it must be admitted that objectively speaking one portion of water is not precisely the same as any other portion of it. It is by virtue of our structuring our mental experience of water as homogeneous unbounded region that the predicate is mass noun.

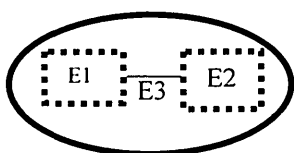
At this juncture, it is important to note that plural nouns also belong to the mass noun category. As Langacker points out, both plural nouns and mass nouns have several identical properties: (1) they cannot be pluralised. (2) they function as a full noun phrase without an article. (3) both can be accompanied by similar kind of quantifiers (e.g. *some, a lot of water/milk*). (cf. Langacker 1991: 77). The salient features of a plural noun are that the region designated by it consists of an indeterminate number of discrete entities all of the same type, obtained by replicating a discrete entity indefinitely many times. The difference between a mass noun and a plural noun is that in the case of the latter the notion of individuation is salient, whereas in the case of the former the notion is de-emphasised, and the region is construed more as continuous and internally uniform. Langacker refers to the designatum of a plural noun as **REPLICATE MASS** (Langacker 1991: 78), to distinguish from that of a mass noun.

§3.3 Relation.

Langacker argues that linguistic predications are either nominal or relational, depending on what they designate. Nominal predications designate a thing. Relational predications, on the other hand, are said to designate a **RELATION** between entities. Relational predications are further divided into two groups, depending on whether a “temporal profile” is included in their predications (see further below). In this section I will focus on elucidating the distinction between “thing” and “relation” following Langacker (1987:214-217).

A “thing” has been defined as a region in some domain. A region has been characterised as a set of interconnected entities, i.e.. These entities are brought into profile collectively as a whole: it is not these entities individually or the interconnection between them that are profiled, but the whole set. The profiling of a thing can be illustrated as in *Figure 3-5* (following Langacker 1987:215).

Figure 3-5

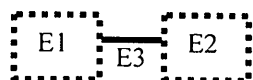


In this diagram, the boxes represent interconnected entities. The operation of interconnecting them (= coordination: the occurrence of cognitive events as components of a higher-order event) is represented by the line between the box. Both the entities and their interconnections are cognitive events, and so each of them is labelled as E1, E2, and E3 respectively. The outer circle represents the region populated by these interconnected entities. To show that what is profiled is this region, i.e. the whole set of the interconnected entities, the outer circle is drawn in bold line. Accordingly, the boxes (E1 and E2) are drawn with dotted lines, showing that the individual entities are not in profile. Their interconnection (E3) is drawn with a normal line, to show that this cognitive event is activated at a lower level of “intensity” than those of E1 and E2 (Langacker 1987:215), i.e., their interconnection is not in focus of attention at all (note that profiling has been characterised as the entity within the scope of predication that is in focus of attention (cf. §2.2.4): it is simply presupposed as part of the base. Consider the nominal predicate [COUPLE] as in *John and Jane are a couple*. This noun prototypically depicts a situation in

which a man and a woman are in a romantic relationship. In this construal, the individuals and the relationship between them are the substructures of the predicate, but they are not themselves in profile. It is the whole region encompassing the two individuals and their relationship that is profiled.

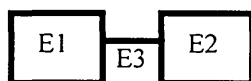
On the other hand, relational predications put in profile interconnections between entities, rather than simply presupposing them as part of the base. This state is illustrated by *Figure 3-6*.

Figure 3-6



As Langacker notes, interconnections are “conceptually dependent” (Langacker 1987:215), that is, an interconnection presupposes the existence of entities which it interconnects, and therefore one cannot conceptualise interconnections without the entities interconnected. It implies that when the cognitive event E3 in *Figure 3-6* is activated at a high level of intensity, the cognitive events E1 and E2 are also activated at comparably high level of intensity. This situation is illustrated in *Figure 3-7*, in which not only the interconnection (E3) but also the interconnected entities (E1 and E2) are drawn in bold lines.

Figure 3-7

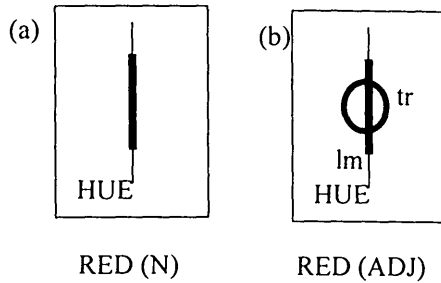


Consider the relation expression [WITH] (as in *John is with Jane*) in contrast with [COUPLE]. This expression might as well depict the same situation as [COUPLE] does, but in the case of [WITH], it is the relationship between the two individuals that is profiled.

In Langacker’s notations, in describing a nominal predicate, a thing is often represented simply by a circle with a bolded line to show its profiled status. In describing a relational predicate, two or more entities (represented by circles or squares, or others) are shown as profiled (bolded), together with their interconnections. The interconnections are often indicated, often explicitly by a bolded line connecting entities, or implicitly (and this more frequently) by the location of the

entities. Langacker gives the following examples. The nominal predicate [RED] and the relational predicate [RED] (as an adjective) are represented as in *Figure 3-8*.

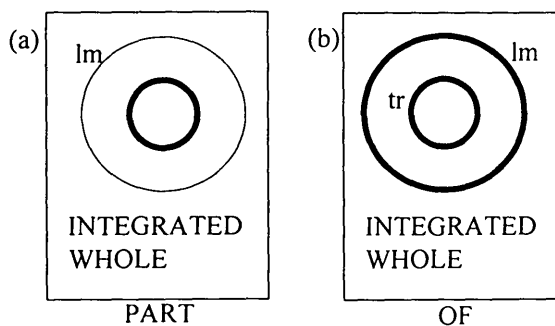
Figure 3-8



In both diagrams (a) and (b), the relevant domains are that of hue (one dimension in colour domain). (a) represents the nominal predicate [RED]. It designates a region in this domain. (b) represents the relational predicate [RED]. It designates the relation of two entities. It shows that a certain thing is within the region on the domain of hue. These two entities are distinguished by their roles as “trajector” (= tr) and “landmark” (=lm cf. the next section).

Another pair of examples given by Langacker are the nominal predicate [PART] and the relational predicate [OF]. They are represented as in *Figure 3-9*

Figure 3-9



In both diagrams (a) and (b), the relevant domains are “integrated whole” (“the conception of part/whole relation” Langacker 1987:148n). (a) represents the nominal predicate [PART]. It presupposes the presence of an area, with respect to which a designated region forms a part. The former functions as a “landmark” (see below) to locate the profiled region. (b) represents the relational predicate [OF]. Its base contains the same entities as in (a). However, here the relation

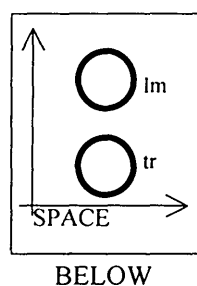
between them is in profile, i.e., the part/whole relation between the two entities (which function as “trajector” and “landmark”).

§3.3.1 Trajector and landmark, basic conceptual relations.

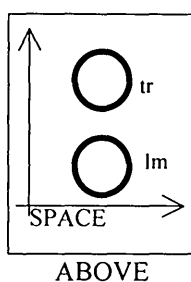
There are two points to be noted as regards interconnection between two entities within the scope of predication. The first point pertains to inherent asymmetry in saliency between them, and the second to various ways in which the entities are related to each other.

The entity within a relational predicate which functions as the figure (cf. §2.2.5.2.1) within a relational profile is called **TRAJECTOR** (= tr), and other salient entities are called **LANDMARKS** (lm): they are seen as “providing points of reference for locating the trajector” (Langacker 1987:217). Each relational predicate imposes on a situation it describes a particular construal in which a particular entity is chosen as trajector, and the choice constitutes a substantial part of the predicate. For example, prepositions such as *below* and *above*, whose predicates designate the interconnection between two entities one of which is located at the longer distance from the ground level than the other, contrast in terms of which of the two entities is selected as a trajector. The diagrams in *Figure 3-10a* and *b* illustrate this contrast.

Figure 3-10a



b



The second point to be made is that there are various basic types of relations in which two entities within the relational predicate are related to each other. Crucial to the understanding of relations between entities is comparison of transition chains (introduced in §3.2.2 above). In the case of [BELOW] (cf. *Figure 3-10a*), a comparison is made between two transition chains:

- (1) A transition chain that measures the distance between the origin and the location of the landmark entity on the vertical axis (I refer to this as transition chain (1))
- (2) A transition chain that measures the distance between the origin and the location of the trajector entity on the vertical axis (I refer to this as transition chain (2))

Transition chain (1) will be a standard, to the target Transition chain (2) (in the case of [ABOVE] (2) will be standard to (1) as target). When (2) is assessed as “included” within (1) (in other words, (2) is “immanent” in (1)), then (2) is recognised as shorter than (1), and the trajector entity is seen as situated at some lower location than the landmark entity. Recall that transition chain can occur not only in space but in any conceivable domain, as long as two cognitive events are coordinated and one event occurs after another. Therefore the predicate [BELOW] (and [ABOVE] can be used to designate not only spatial relationship (*the picture below/above the switch*) but also other non-spatial relationship (*the man above/below me*, in the sense of social rank).

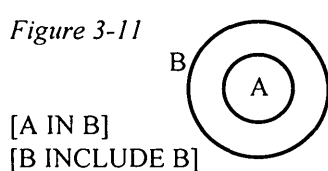
Langacker suggests several basic relations such as “inclusion” which can be characterised in terms of such rudimentary cognitive operations. These relations are called **BASIC CONCEPTUAL RELATIONS**. Basic conceptual relations will prove useful since they can be used as theoretical constructs with which to characterise relational predicates, specifically to characterise various interconnections that hold between entities in a given relational predicate. The predicates [BELOW] and [ABOVE] contain one of these basic conceptual relations, namely “inclusion”, even though it is not salient in their predicates.

In what follows, I will summarise the three basic conceptual relations introduced by Langacker: they are, (1) “inclusion”, (2) “separation”, and (3) “identity”, and (4) “association”.

(1) **INCLUSION**. A is included in B when the transition chain for A is immanent to that for B.

This can be formulated as [A IN B] or [B INCLUDE A], or [IN] relation. This basic conceptual relation is a salient interconnection in the relational predicate [IN]. As we saw above, this relation is also contained in the predicates [BELOW] and [ABOVE]. In these

cases, however, a reference is made to the origin on the vertical line, and the relation of inclusion turns out not to be a salient facet of the predicate. Inclusion is a salient facet of both the predicates [IN] and [OF] (in the PDE sense). According to Langacker (1987: 227), the crucial difference is that in the case of [OF], it specifies the domain (and also the base, or more precisely, its landmark) as an integrated whole. This means that in the predicate [A OF B] it is made salient that not only A is in B, but also A is an inherent or integral facet of B. Such a specification is not made for the predicate [IN] (e.g. the difference between *the cover of the book* and *the bookmark in the book*). The basic relation of inclusion is diagrammed as in *Figure 3-11*.



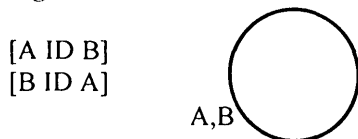
(2) **SEPARATION.** A is separated from B when the transition chain between A and B is not immanent to B. This relation is diagrammed in *Figure 3-12* below. This relation is formulated by [A OUT B] or [B OUT A] (since this relation is symmetrical). This relation is obtained in the relational predicates such as [FROM], [OUT OF] (but see below at the end of this section). It also obtains in the predicates [ABOVE] and [BELOW], since in these predicates the two entities in the spatial domain do not occupy the same location (though there must be the relation of inclusion between transition chains (1) and (2) as we saw above).

Figure 3-12



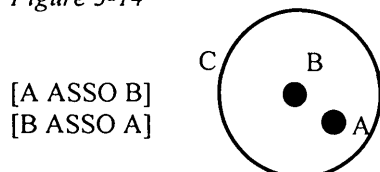
(3) **IDENTITY.** A is identical to or coincides with B when there obtain the relations [A IN B] and [B IN A] at the same time. This relation is formulated as [A ID B] or [B ID A], and is diagrammed as in *Figure 3-13*. In this diagram, there is only one circle drawn. But this is meant to illustrate that two circles (= two transitional chains) coincide.

Figure 3-13



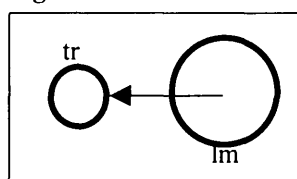
(4) **ASSOCIATION.** This relation is characterised as a complex cognitive operation. When A is associated with B, it implies that A is in the neighbourhood (in some sense) of B. The situation may be illustrated as in *Figure 3-14*: this makes use of an entity C, which defines the neighbourhood of B.

Figure 3-14



Using these basic conceptual relations, we can tentatively analyse the relational predicate [OF] as used in OE. I propose that this predicate contains both [A OUT B] and [A IN B] as its salient facet of the meaning. It designates the interconnection of two entities which were originally in [IN] relation but now in [OUT] relation. Hence we obtain *Figure 3-15*.

Figure 3-15



The predicate therefore implies some movement of the trajector out of the landmark. However, the movement is scanned summarily rather than sequentially (cf. §3.4 below for the difference between sequential and summary scanning). The crucial difference between the predicate [OF] in OE and PDE (cf. *Figure 3-9* (b)) is that the relation of separation has become much less salient feature of the predicate in PDE, and therefore there is little movement implied here.

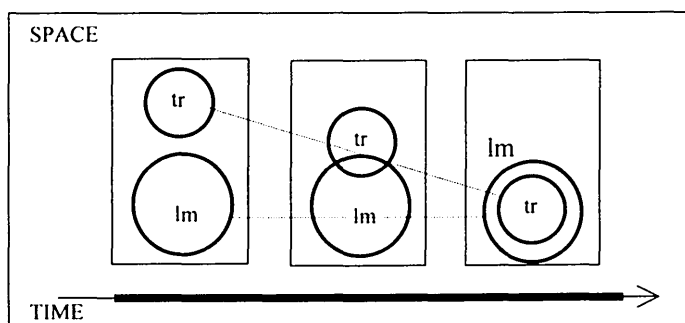
§3.3.2 Classes of atemporal relations.

In Cognitive Grammar it is claimed that grammatical classes are notionally defined: they are characterised according to what they designate. Nominal predicates (which include nouns, noun phrases, pronouns) all designate a thing. All relational predicates designate an interconnection together with entities so interconnected. Furthermore, relational predicates designate either an atemporal relation or a process, depending on whether the evolution of a situation through conceived time figures in the predicate. Relational predicates that designate atemporal relations are adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions. Adjectives are defined as those relational predicates whose trajector is a thing, and adverbs are defined as those whose trajector is a relation. Prepositions are those relational predicates whose landmark is a thing. It is important to note that adjectives and adverbs are defined in terms of what their trajector is, whereas prepositions are defined in terms of what their landmark is. This is not problematic at all in Cognitive Grammar. This allows for cases in which the distinction is not clear between the grammatical classes. A preposition is also an adjective when its trajector is a thing (as in *a house like a castle*, *a man with a wound*), and is also an adverb when its trajector is a relation (as in *work with patience*).

§3.4 Process, temporal profile.

A verb is a symbolic unit whose semantic structure designates a **PROCESS**. What characterises a process is that it has a **POSITIVE TEMPORAL PROFILE**: the evolution of a situation is scanned through conceived time in “sequential” fashion (see below). **TEMPORAL PROFILE** refers to the span of conceived time during which the evolution of a situation is tracked. Since this temporal profile is what distinguishes verbs from any other predicates, temporal profile in processual predicates is necessarily “positive” (i.e., non-zero). As an example of the conventional notation of a process in Cognitive Grammar, the predicate [ENTER] is diagrammed as in *Figure 3-16* (following Langacker 1987:245).

Figure 3-16



What is illustrated in this diagram is that an entity (a trajector) changes its relative location to another entity (landmark) from [OUT] relation to [IN] relation (§3.3.1 above), through some span of conceived time. The primary domain is space. The boxes show different relations between the two entities obtained at each of the successive points through the conceived time. Each of these two entities is identified as the same entity through the correspondence (represented by the dotted lines). The different stages of the relative location of the two entities are distributed through the span of conceived time, and this span of time is in profile, represented by the bold line along the time line at the bottom.

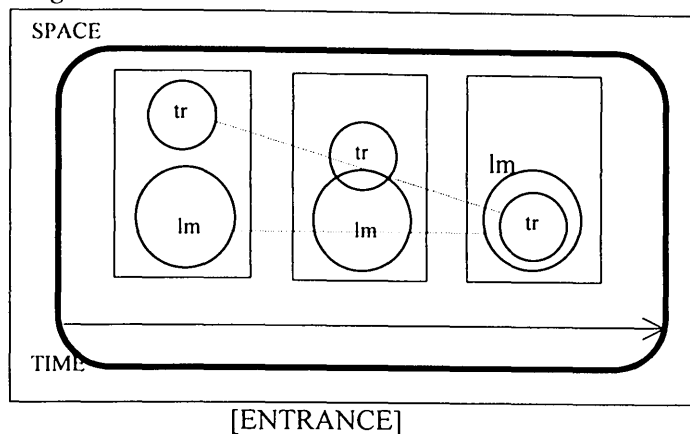
At this point, it is important to explain briefly what a sequential scanning is. **SEQUENTIAL SCANNING** pertains to the way in which one conceives of a situation which contains inconsistency, hence cannot be reduced to a single, consistent configuration (such a situation is called “complex scene”). The scene such as the one depicted in *Figure 3-16* is a case in point. The scene contains inconsistency with regard to the location of the trajector entity, and therefore there is a discrepancy between the first scene and the last scene. It is part of our cognitive ability to construe a complex scene as an integrated, coherent *gestalt* (Langacker 1987: 142), and sequential scanning is one mode of such construal. In sequential scanning, a conceptualiser construes different component states as not coexistent or simultaneously available, but successively existent and individually available. This scanning follows through the concept of time, and as a result the component states are seen as an evolution of the situation rather than unrelated events.

There is another way of looking at a complex scene, called **SUMMARY SCANNING**. In summary scanning, different component states are construed not as a series of scene but as a single complex configuration, so that all the component states are simultaneously available, and they will be seen as coexistent.

The difference between sequential and summary scanning explains the contrast between the predicate of verbs and that of **EPISODIC NOUNS** (e.g. *entrance*, *jump* as a noun), which is often derived from a verb. An episodic noun takes as its base (or the scope of predication) the process of a verb from which it derives (in the case of [ENTRANCE], the base will be [ENTER])

(therefore, all the component states and the span of time during which these states unfold are all part of the predicates). But these component states are construed as a set of interconnected entities, and they are *collectively* profiled. This construal makes the predicate a nominal character. This nominal construal is illustrated in *Figure 3-17*.

Figure 3-17



This diagram shows that [ENTRANCE] has the processual predicate [ENTER] as its base (the same as *Figure 3-16*). Therefore it contains all the component states (which are inconsistent) and the conception of time. All these component substructures are profiled *collectively* rather than *individually*. In other words, a conceptualiser imposes on this complex scene the construal as a region (= a set of interconnected entities). This construal gives the predicate a nominal character. The imposition of the nominal construal onto a processual predicate is referred to as **REIFICATION** (Langacker 1991: 22ff).

This explains why the verb *enter* requires a subject and object nominals to complement its meaning (as in *The man entered the room*). As *Figure 3-16* shows, in the predicate the two entities (trajector and landmark) and their interconnection distributed through the conceived time are profiled, and so these entities are salient sub-structures of the predicate, and have to be “elaborated” by nominal predicates (cf. §3.5 below). On the other hand, for the episodic noun *entrance*, nominals that correspond to these trajector and landmark entities are optional (as in *(the man’s) entrance (into the room)*). This is so because in the predicate [ENTRANCE] these entities are not in profile, therefore they are not salient substructures in the predicate.

§3.5 Valence relations

This section gives an account for how Cognitive Grammar analyses syntagmatic relationship in which two or more symbolic units combine to form a more elaborate expression. The relationship is referred to as a **VALENCE RELATION**. The structures that combine together are called **COMPONENT STRUCTURE**, and the resultant elaborate structures are called **COMPOSITE STRUCTURE**. The valence relation is an important notion in the present study, since it is used to analyse how the genitive inflection is integrated with a stem noun, and further how the resultant genitive nominal is integrated with another noun (adnominal genitive) or verb (adverbial genitive), etc. Since we are mostly concerned with the semantic structure of a genitive inflection, I will limit the scope of the following sections only to valence relations of semantic structures.

When two structures are integrated to form a coherent composite expression, it is essential that these component structures have some substructures in common. In other words, it is required that a certain substructure in one component structure be *construed* as identical to a substructure in the other component. When it is the case then we say there is a **CORRESPONDENCE** between these substructures.

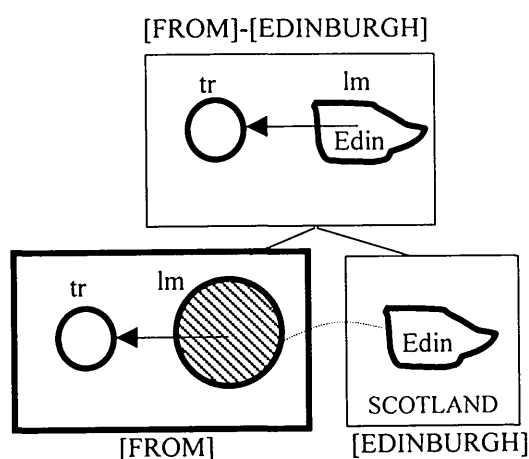
To give a simpler example, let us consider the expression *John from Edinburgh*. This noun phrase consists of the preposition *from* together with two nouns *John* and *Edinburgh*. [FROM] is a relational predicate profiling two entities, trajector and landmark, which are interconnected in terms of their location: the trajector and landmark entities are in [OUT] relation, though the former is presupposed to have been “included” within the latter at some point (cf. §3.3.1 above). I assume that the PDE predicate [FROM] is roughly the same as the OE predicate [OF]. Note that the predicate [FROM] presupposes these two trajector and landmark entities, specifically two “things” (since a preposition profiles the interconnection between two things: cf. §3.3.1) but they are only schematic (the predicate [FROM] itself does not specify what these entities are). The two nominal predicates [JOHN] and [EDINBURGH] both profile a thing. Both predicates profile a bounded region in space, but only some portion of it will be selected as their scopes of predication. For [JOHN], our encyclopedic knowledge will limit the scope of predication to the size of 3-D space which can include an ordinary human being. For [EDINBURGH], on the other

hand, it will be appropriately characterised as part of Scotland, so [SCOTLAND] will be chosen as its scope of predication. When these three component structures are integrated to form the composite structure *John from Edinburgh*, there are two correspondences:

- (1) The profile of [JOHN] corresponds to the trajector entity in [FROM].
- (2) The profile of [EDINBURGH] corresponds to the landmark entity in [FROM].

These correspondences facilitate the integration of these component structures. I will illustrate the valence relation among the three by means of diagrams. I will show, first of all, integration of [FROM] and [EDINBURGH] (resulting in a prepositional phrase *from Edinburgh*), and then another integration of [JOHN] and the complex structure [[FROM]-[EDINBURGH]] (resulting in the noun phrase *John from Edinburgh*).

Figure 3-18

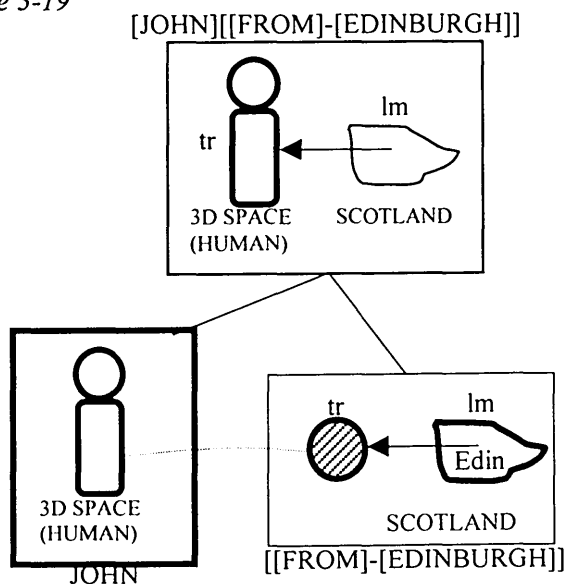


Starting from the bottom, on the left is the predicate [FROM] (the same as in *Figure 3-15* above). It profiles two things (represented as two circles with bolded lines) interconnected in terms of their relative location. These two things are schematic, and they are also schematic in terms of domain (it is not specified in what context the trajector entity is in [OUT] relation to the landmark entity). On the right is the nominal predicate [EDINBURGH], which profiles a bounded region in the scope of predication [SCOTLAND]. There is a correspondence

(represented by the dotted line) between the landmark entity in [FROM] and the profile of [EDINBURGH]. Here we can recognise a “categorisation” judgement (§2.1.2.1), that the profile of [EDINBURGH] is construed as an instance of the schematic thing (= the landmark entity) in [FROM]. In other words, the profile of [EDINBURGH] *elaborates* this schema in [FROM] (the use of the term “elaborate” is essentially the same as that in coding as introduced in §2.1.2.1 above). For this reason, the schematic landmark entity in [FROM], which is elaborated by the profile of [EDINBURGH], is called **ELABORATION SITE** (Langacker 1987: 304), and represented by an area with hatched lines inside. The resultant composite structure shows that its various specifications are inherited from its component structures. First of all, the landmark entity is now replaced by the profile of [EDINBURGH]. Because of this, the domain for the composite structure is also inherited from that of [EDINBURGH]. Therefore, we are now given the context [SCOTLAND] in which the prepositional phrase *from Edinburgh* is to be interpreted. At the same time, [FROM]-[EDINBURGH] is still a relational predicate. It designates a relation (interconnection) between some schematic thing and the profile of [EDINBURGH]. In this case, the composite structure has inherited the profile of [FROM] (a relational predicate). A component structure whose profile is inherited in the composite structure is called **PROFILE DETERMINANT** (Langacker 1987: 289). A component structure which is a profile determinant is represented with a bolded line on the rectangle.

Now, the resultant composite structure [[FROM][EDINBURGH]] is further integrated with the nominal predicate [JOHN], to form the composite structure [JOHN]-[[FROM]-[EDINBURGH]]. The valence relation is shown in *Figure 3-19*.

Figure 3-19



In this diagram, at the bottom, we have the two component structures. On the right is the same structure as the topmost structure in *Figure 3-18*. On the left is the nominal predicate [JOHN], which bounds a region in a portion of 3D space which includes a human body. In this valence relation, a correspondence is established between the profile of [JOHN], and the schematic trajector entity in [[FROM]-[EDINBURGH]]. The former elaborates the latter. Therefore, in this valence relation the trajector entity in [[FROM]-[EDINBURGH]] is the elaboration site. The composite structure again inherits its specifications from its component structures. The most important difference from *Figure 3-18* is that the composite structure is a nominal predicate, inheriting its profile from [JOHN]. Therefore, [JOHN] is the profile determinant in this case.

§3.5.1 Autonomy and dependence. Head/Modifier and Head/Complement relations.

In a valence relation, there are often various degrees of asymmetry regarding dependence between the two component structures. **DEPENDENCE** can be said to be the degree to which one component structure presupposes another, whereas autonomy is the opposite. Dependence can be exemplified by the valence relation between the relational predicate [FROM] and the nominal predicate [EDINBURGH] in the previous section. *Figure 3-18* shows that [FROM] makes a salient internal reference to the landmark entity (“thing”), though only in schematic terms. It presupposes the presence of a thing that functions as a landmark in the predicate. On the other hand, the predicate [EDINBURGH] does not presuppose any of the substructures in [FROM]; at least it does make salient reference to it. This asymmetry makes [FROM] more dependent than [EDINBURGH]. It is important to note that dependence is a matter of degree. Even in the example above, from our encyclopedic knowledge of [EDINBURGH] we know that Edinburgh is a place name, and that there are people who live in, come from, or go to, this place. So in a way the predicate [EDINBURGH] does presuppose some possibility that its profile may be a landmark of the predicate [FROM] (as well as [IN], [TO], etc.). But the degree of saliency is much lower than that in [FROM].

Langacker gives a formal definition of a dependent structure as follows:

“One structure, *D*, is dependent on the other, *A*, to the extent that *A* constitutes an elaboration of a salient substructure within *D*” (Langacker 1987: 300).

Following this definition, [FROM] is dependent on [EDINBURGH], because the profile of the latter elaborates one of the salient substructures (landmark) within the former. In the same way, in the valence relation between [JOHN] and [[FROM]-[EDINBURGH]], again the latter is dependent on the former, since the profile of [JOHN] elaborates another salient substructure (trajector) within [[FROM]-[EDINBURGH]].

It is significant, again, that Langacker points out that the existence of clear dependence/autonomy distinction is found in prototypical cases, and that there are other possibilities in which dependence is mutual. “Nothing in the definition precludes a relation of mutual dependence between the two structures, or guarantees that there will always be a significant relation of dependence in one direction or the other” (Langacker 1987: 300).

Dependency/autonomy asymmetry provides us with a convenient tool with which to define the two types of grammatical relations, head/modifier, and head/complement. First of all, a component structure which is a profile determinant is equated with the head. When a dependent structure is the profile determinant, then we say that the autonomous structure is a complement. On the other hand when an autonomous structure is the profile determinant, then the dependent structure is said to be a modifier. For example, in *Figure 3-18*, the relational predicate is the head, and the nominal predicate [EDINBURGH] is a complement. On the other hand, in *Figure 3-20*, the nominal predicate [JOHN] is the head, and the relational complex predicate [[FROM]-[EDINBURGH]] is a modifier.

In various theoretical frameworks including Cognitive Grammar, the PDE possessive is analysed as belonging to the category of determiners, and it is said to head a phrase (as determiner phrase). In Cognitive Grammar, it is in this sense given above that the possessive phrase is said to be the head of a phrase; the semantic structure of a possessive phrase (such as *John's*) makes a salient reference to a “possessee” entity, which is elaborated by the profile of a nominal predicate it is integrated with (as in *John's book*). This seems to be also the case in some

adnominal genitive phrases in OE, but not in all the cases. These points will be discussed in §3.8ff.below.

§3.6 Type/instance specification and epistemic predicates: the semantic structure of determiner.

We have seen above how nouns have a constant semantic value (§3.2ff). This section first of all deals with the distinction between nouns and noun phrases³, and then elucidates Langacker's notion of "epistemic predicates", which are linguistic expressions crucial to the distinction between noun and noun phrases. Epistemic predicates are taken as a semantic structure of various items of the determiner class.

In CG, the semantic structures of both nouns and noun phrases are treated as "nominal predicates", i.e. predicates that profile a thing. The distinction between nouns and noun phrase is made in terms of whether their predicates specify **TYPE** or **INSTANCE**: a noun is said to specify a type, and a noun phrase an instance of the type specified by the noun contained in it. The function of a noun phrase is to mention a thing and make it a momentary focus of attention (Langacker 1981: 53), generally for purpose of indicating its participation in an event or some other kind of relationship, e.g. *the ball* in *the ball is rolling down the slope*, or *a ball* in *the boy kicked a ball*. By contrast, a noun specifies a kind, an abstract entity which is "the basis for identifying various entities as being representatives of the same class" (Langacker 1991: 53) rather than any specific instance of the class.

Langacker's characterisation of type/instance conception makes reference to **THE DOMAIN OF INSTANTIATION** (cf.§3.1), which has been defined as "the domain within which an entity is thought of residing or having its primary manifestation" (Langacker 1991:56), e.g. space for physical objects like [STONE], [GOLD], [BOOK], time for [MONTH], [HOUR], visual field for [YELLOW]. It is also characterised as the "domain that determines the basic "aspect" of a noun or verb" (Langacker 1991:56). Particularly relevant is the distinction between a mass and count noun, which can be characterised in terms of whether bounded or unbounded in the domain of instantiation. [BOOK] designated a bounded region in the domain of space, but [GOLD]

designates an unbounded region in the same domain. Further characterisation of the domain of instantiation is that it is “the domain in which the location of an entity is sufficient to establish it as an instance of a category distinct from other potential instances” (Langacker 1991:57). For example, two books construed as being in different locations in space, or two events construed taking place at different points in time, will be distinguished as different from each other.

Based on these characterisations of the domain of instantiation, Langacker defines an instance as follows:

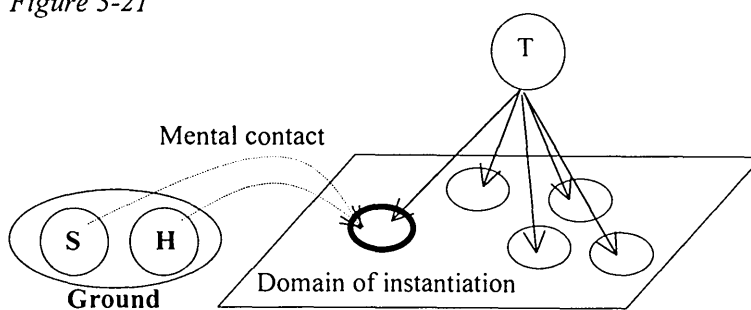
“an instance (but not a type) is thought of as having a particular location in the domain of instantiation” (Langacker 1991:57).

On the other hand, type specification uses the domain of instantiation merely to describe some property of the designated entity such as shape or temporal extension. For example, [LAKE] designates a bounded region in the domain of space, which also specifies a relative prototypical size and shape (e.g. round, having some boundary somewhere). In the case of instance specification, it “goes beyond this by conceiving the domain as having sufficient expanse to support the simultaneous manifestation of multiple entities and by regarding the profiled entity as being situated within this expanse at a specific location in contrast to other possible locations” (Langacker 1991:57). For example, the nominal expressions [THE LAKE] or [A LAKE], their designata are *construed* as “anchored at a particular spot” in the domain of instantiation. In the case of the former, the designatum is construed as located in some spot in the spatial domain where both the speaker and hearer can establish mental access to it (i.e. it can be referred to by them, having a referential status). In the case of the latter, the speaker’s and hearer’s knowledge is confined to the fact that the designatum is anchored somewhere in the spatial domain, but such knowledge is sufficient to distinguish it from other possible entities (in this case, it does not have a referential status).

Instance specification is made by relating the designated region to some external points of reference, with which to anchor it onto the domain of instantiation. There are two such reference points: (1) “reference mass” (the maximal extension of a category in the current discourse from which every instance of a given type can be drawn: Langacker 1991:89-92), and (2) the ground

elements (the speaker, the hearer, and their immediate circumstances). In the case of the former, the instance is specified through various types of quantifiers (e.g. *some, all, most*) and the indefinite article *a(n)*. In the case of the latter, the specification is made by means of various deictic expressions (the definite articles *the*, the demonstratives *this/that, these/those*). In this latter case, both the speaker and hearer establish a mental contact with the designated thing as situated in a particular location in the domain of instantiation, which renders the noun phrase definite. In the former case, this mental contact has not been established, thus the whole noun phrase is indefinite. The instance specification as summarised above is illustrated as in *Figure 3-21* (following Langacker 1991: 92).

Figure 3-21



In this diagram, S and H refer to the speaker and hearer, which, together with their immediate circumstances, form the ground. The circle with T represents a type, which has various potential instantiations on the domain of instantiation. The speaker/hearer establish a mental contact with one of such instances, in the case of definite reference, whereas they do not, in the case of indefinite reference. In both cases, the designated region is construed as occupying a particular location in the domain of instantiation.

Linguistic expressions which thus specify an instance of a given type are called **EPISTEMIC PREDICATES** (Langacker 1991:90), since they relate the conceived situation to their knowledge and their circumstances (either the ground or the referent mass). I take epistemic predicates as a semantic structure of various items of the determiner class (definite/indefinite articles *the/a(n)*, demonstratives *this/these that/those*, various quantifiers *some, all, any, each, every*). Langacker himself does not use the term “determiner”, but synthesising all the discussions in this section, we can have the following definition of a determiner. A

DETERMINER is an epistemic predicate which locates a thing as construed as an instance of the type defined by the head noun, by relating the instance to the ground elements (the knowledge of the speaker/hearer, and their immediate circumstances).

As we will see below (§3.8.2), Taylor (1996) claims that a PDE possessive phrase is a kind of epistemic predicate (= a determiner). There I will extend Langacker's notion of epistemic predicates. Moreover, as Chapter 4 unfolds, it will be also shown that some OE adnominal genitive phrases had this epistemic function.

§3.6.1 World type/instance

This section introduces the notion of world instance/type (Langacker 1991: 71-3), which is a variation of the type/instance specification summarised above. The notion "world type/instance" distinction will be very useful to explain certain types of adnominal genitive in OE (§4.6.1 below on descriptive genitive).

Langacker discusses the uses of the noun *pope* that may refer to the role (within the Roman Catholic Church) and some specific person who happens to take up the role at a given point of time, as in the following examples.

(1) *The pope is selected by the College of Cardinals.*

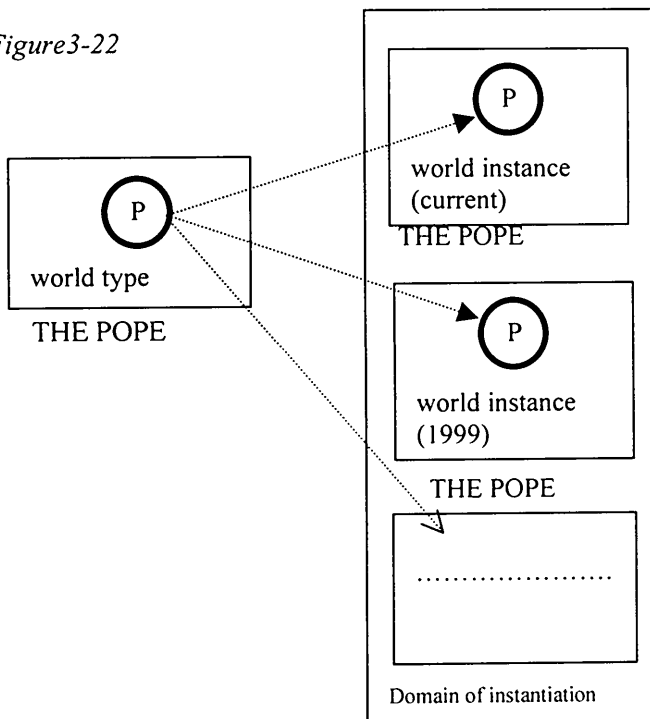
(2) *The pope talked with Tony Blair about Iraq.*

This distinction is referred to as that of "role" and "value", in the sense that a role "can assume different values in different conceived worlds" (Langacker 1991: 71). What makes these nouns able to refer to both the role and its value (i.e. some specific person who takes up the role at a relevant time) is the uniqueness of the role within the context of the world (of various sizes) in which the role resides (i.e. the world with respect to which the role is characterised).

Langacker regards the role/value distinction as a special case of the type /instance distinction. He refers to the concept of the world with respect to which the role is characterised. The present world as it stands now counts as *a* world instance, and any one at different points of time in the

past and in the future (e.g 1970, 1200, 2010, etc.) will count as a **WORLD INSTANCE**, as well as any imaginary world that may diverge from the reality of the world in various specifications. All these world instances can be said to instantiate a **WORLD TYPE**. The predicate [THE POPE] in (1) is characterised with reference to a world type, whereas the same predicate in [2] is characterised with reference to a world instance (particularly the current one in the year 2003). The conception of the world type that is necessary for the characterisation of the predicate [THE POPE] consists of various pieces of knowledge such as “general knowledge pertaining to human society”, “the practice of religion”, “the institution of the Roman Catholic Church”, “the hierarchical structure of this organization”, the knowledge that there is “a single individual as its leader”, and the kind of activities in which this leader engages”, and so forth (Langacker 1991: 72). The predicate [POPE] (as a role) designates a person identified as this leader within this domain. On the other hand, when the same predicate is used to refer to a particular person who takes up the role at a given time (as in (2)), it is characterised with reference to a world instance that instantiates the world type just described above, which inherits all pieces of knowledge about the role. The relationship between the world type and the world instance are diagrammed in *Figure3-22* below.

Figure3-22



Langacker notes two points with respect to which nominals that designate roles like *pope* and other more prototypical nominals such as *cat*. Firstly, “extrinsic properties figure far more saliently in the characterization of *pope* than of *cat*” (Langacker 1991: 72-3), due to the world type/instance that serves as a domain for its characterisation. The predicate [POPE], for its central aspect of the type specification, presupposes far more knowledge, i.e. that of the world (in particular, of human society and of certain religious institution). By contrast, to characterise central aspects of the type specification of [CAT], one makes reference to spatial domain and some other domains that support a description of a cat’s physical properties. Secondly, nominals designating a role presuppose uniqueness in a given world (there is only one instance of *pope* in one world instance), whereas in the case of *cat*, multiple reference is a norm.

The difference between *the pope* as a role and *the pope* as a particular person is also analogous to the difference between “attributive” and “referential” use of a definite description, and the latter can also be subsumed as a special case of type/instance distinction. Phrases like *Smith’s murderer is insane* may be interpreted as referring to a particular individual who both the speaker and hearer know as a person who killed Smith (referential) , and an unspecified person who neither of them knows, anyone who might have killed Smith (attributive). In the case of the referential reading, it designates an instance (thus the possessive phrase *Smith’s* functions more or less as a determiner). On the other hand, in the case of the attributive reading, it designates a type (= a role), where the possessive phrase *Smith’s* functions more like a modifier (for type specification). In this reading, it implies that “anyone capable of such a vile deed must be insane”. For the latter case, the phrase *Smith’s murderer* is characterised with reference to a certain world type which consists of various pieces of knowledge, especially about a particular person Smith who may be known as brutal and strong. This rich context makes it possible for there to be various versions of world instances in which Smith might have been killed, because there could be a number of people who might like to try such a deed. Each of these world instances can be said to instantiate a world type in which the role is characterised schematically. On the other hand, in the referential reading of *Smith’s murder*, its context is a particular, unique world instance in which the person named Smith was killed.

The distinction between world type and world instance is crucial for the analysis of a subtype of adnominal genitive called “descriptive genitive” (cf. §4.6 below).

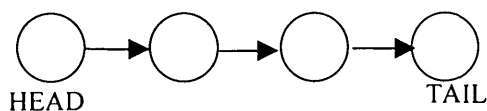
§3.7 Structure of our conception of an event

Langacker argues that the prototypical values of certain grammatical constructs pertaining to clausal structure such as subject, objects, transitivity, etc. are characterised by our conceptual archetype that develop through our experience and our conception of the world. Particularly important is the structure of our *conception of an event*, how we conceive of an event in the world (when we conceive of some prototypical event, how do we structure our conception? What structure do we impose when we recognise an event *as an event*?) The basic cognitive model of our conception of a prototypical event makes use of three cognitive sub-models, they are (1) the Billiard-Ball Model, (2) The Stage-Model, and (3) Role Archetypes.

(1) The Billiard-Ball Model

The basis of this model has been introduced above (§3.1). The model offers a mean of characterisation of a prototypical finite clause. One useful construct is **ACTION CHAIN**. Action chain is a link between physical objects involved in a transmission of energy. It arises “when one object ... makes forceful contact with another, resulting in a transfer of energy.... this second object is thereby driven into contact with a third, again resulting in the transmission of energy, and so on indefinitely, until the energy is exhausted or no further contact is made” (Langacker 1991: 283). The initial object in this chain is called **HEAD**, and the final object **TAIL**. An action chain is often represented by means of a diagram as in *Figure 3-23* (based on Langacker 1991: 283).

Figure 3-23
Action chain



(2) The stage-model

This is another cognitive model of the experience of perceiving an event, in analogy to the experience of someone watching a play. A prototypical experience of it may have several attributes as follows. An observer will be looking outwards, towards other objects (i.e. not himself). His field of vision is limited to only a portion of all his surroundings, i.e. only areas that are before him (not behind him). Within this portion, his attention is focused on a particular region, that is what is going on on the stage (= **SETTING**). The setting is said to be optimal when it is stable (not movable), and inclusive, in the sense that it is populated by interacting **PARTICIPANTS**, who are relatively small and mobile (compared to the setting). Temporally, a cluster of contiguous interactions, especially those involving the same participants, are perceived as forming a discrete **EVENT**.

(3) Role archetypes

This is a cognitive model of our conception of semantic roles, such as agent, patient, instrument, experiencer, etc. Langacker points out that there do not have to be a fixed number of roles (Langacker 1991: 284). At one extreme, there can be as many different types of roles as there are clauses (for example, the role represented by the second nominal in the clauses *The boy kicked the ball* and *The boy kicked the wall* are not exactly the same: in the former the ball receives the energy and is moved, whereas in the latter the wall absorbs the energy but does not move). On the other hand, whenever there is any amount of similarity between roles represented by nominals, there can be a schema for them, and depending on the level of schematicity there can be any number of roles conceivable.

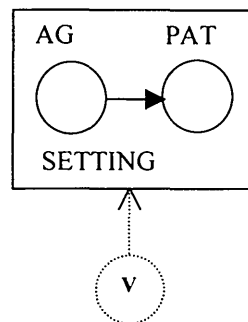
As Langacker points out, semantic roles are not primarily linguistic constructs, but rather concepts that emerge through everyday experiences of various kinds of events. They can however be “invoked as part of the meaning of linguistic expressions or the characterization of linguistic elements, and certain role conceptions are so basic and experientially ubiquitous (cf. §2.2.3 above) that their manifestation in language is for all intents and purposes inevitable

(Langacker 1991: 285). Such well-entrenched role concepts are called **ROLE ARCHETYPES**, and their definitions are given below.

- (1) Agent - a person who volitionally initiates physical activity resulting, through physical contact, in the transfer of energy to an external object.
- (2) Patient - an inanimate object that absorbs the energy transmitted via externally initiated physical contact and thereby undergoes an internal change of state.
- (3) Instrument - a physical object manipulated by an agent to affect a patient: it serves as intermediary in the transmission of energy.
- (4) Experiencer - a person engaged in mental activity (be it intellectual, perceptual, or emotive).
- (5) Mover - an entity that undergoes a change of location.

Combining certain facets of these three cognitive models, we obtain a cognitive model of “the normal observation of a prototypical action” (Langacker 1991: 286) called **CANONICAL EVENT MODEL**, which is illustrated as in the diagram *Figure 3-24* below

Figure 3-24
Canonical event model



According to this model, the viewer is observing the event from an external vantage point (external to the event). The event takes place, as it is observed, on a relatively fixed setting. There are two participants involved in the event. The first participant initiates some activity, through physical contact with the other participant, which undergoes some internal change as a result of the physical activity. Therefore the event consists of action chain in which energy is transmitted from one participant to the other.

Langacker claims that this structure of our conception of an event provides us with a prototypical semantic value of a transitive clause. In other words, the degree of transitivity in a given transitive clause is said to be higher as the concept symbolised by the clause approaches this model. The notion of transitivity has been studied in studies like Hopper & Thompson

(1980), which gives us a number of properties that characterise a prototypical transitive action.

Langacker himself gives the following properties:

- (1) It has two participants expressed by overt nominals that function as subject and object.
- (2) It describes an event (as opposed to a static situation).
- (3) The event is energetic, relatively brief, and has a well-defined endpoint.
- (4) The subject and object represent discrete, highly individuated physical entities.
- (5) These entities already exist when the event occurs (i.e. they are not products of the event).
- (6) The subject and object are fully distinct and participate in a strongly asymmetrical relationship.
- (7) The subject's participation is volitional, while that of the object is non-volitional.
- (8) The subject is the source of the energy, and the object is its target.
- (9) The object is totally affected by the action.

The notion of transitivity is relevant for the characterisation of the semantic structure of an accusative nominal, which stands in contrast with a genitive nominal in many respects.

§3.8 The first approximation of the analysis of the genitive (PDE and OE) in CG.

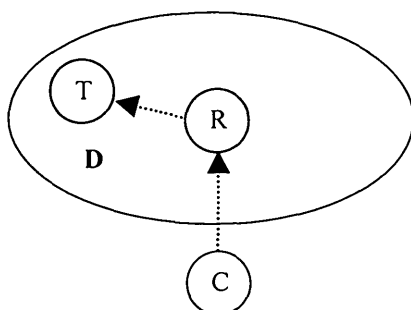
In the following sections, I will deal with the analysis of genitive and genitive nominal, making use of all the assumptions and theoretical constructs in Cognitive Grammar that are given in the previous and present chapters. As a first approximation, I will take up Langacker's analysis of the possessive construction in PDE (*e.g. John's book*), and also Taylor's (1996) version, both of which are based on Langacker's "reference point analysis", which also makes reference to the Billiard-Ball Model. Their accounts are summarised in §3.8.1 and §3.8.2 respectively. Then I will discuss the applicability of the reference point analysis to the genitive in OE (§3.8.3ff), where I will argue that it applies to some cases but not to others. Then §3.8.4 as an alternative analysis I will introduce a new term called "deprofiling".

§3.8.1 Langacker's analysis of possessive constructions in PDE: reference point analysis.

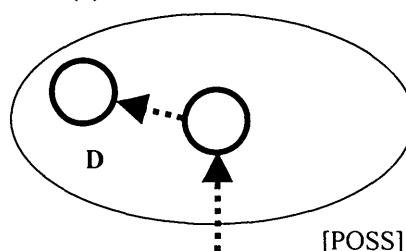
Langacker analyses the possessive construction in PDE (as in *John's book*) with reference to one of our cognitive abilities called **REFERENCE POINT ABILITY** (Langacker 1999:173ff). This reference point ability presupposes the Billiard-Ball Model (§3.1). His reference point analysis of the PDE possessive construction makes reference to physical objects (= material

substance) in the billiard-ball model. Objects in the world as conceived in this model are of diverse character, and specifically they differ greatly in their saliency. Some objects are inherently salient, e.g. such concepts appear more salient than others in our concept of the world, as physical objects (as opposed to abstract things), faces of people we know very well like family (as opposed to faces of those we do not know), whole (as opposed to its part), owners (as opposed to what they own), animate objects (as opposed to inanimate objects), and so on. These objects are apparent to a given conceptualiser, and so will be easy for him to single out, whereas other objects may not be so salient, and they may be singled out only with some special effort. Langacker speaks of “reference point ability” as one of our cognitive abilities. It is “the ability to invoke the conception of one entity for purpose of establishing mental contact with another, i.e. to single it out for individual conscious awareness” (Langacker 1999: 173). The reference point ability is diagrammed as in *Figure 3-25 (a)* (following Langacker 1999:174).

Figure 3-25 (a)



(b)



C stands for a give conceptualiser. T stands for the **TARGET**, an object that the conceptualiser wishes to single out for individualisation. R stands for the **REFERENCE POINT**, an object which is conceptually more salient than T. The region circled (D) represents **DOMINION**, which is a conceptual region or a set of entities to which a potential reference point affords direct access (i.e., the class of potential targets)” (Langacker 1999:173-4). The conceptualiser establishes a “mental path” “represented by the dotted arrow) first of all with the reference point, which delimits the potential region of reference (dominion). Then he selects the specific object (the target) within this region.

Langacker’s claim is that the possessive inflection of PDE (= ’s) has this structure as its semantic structure. He claims that the predicate of this inflection designates an atemporal relation

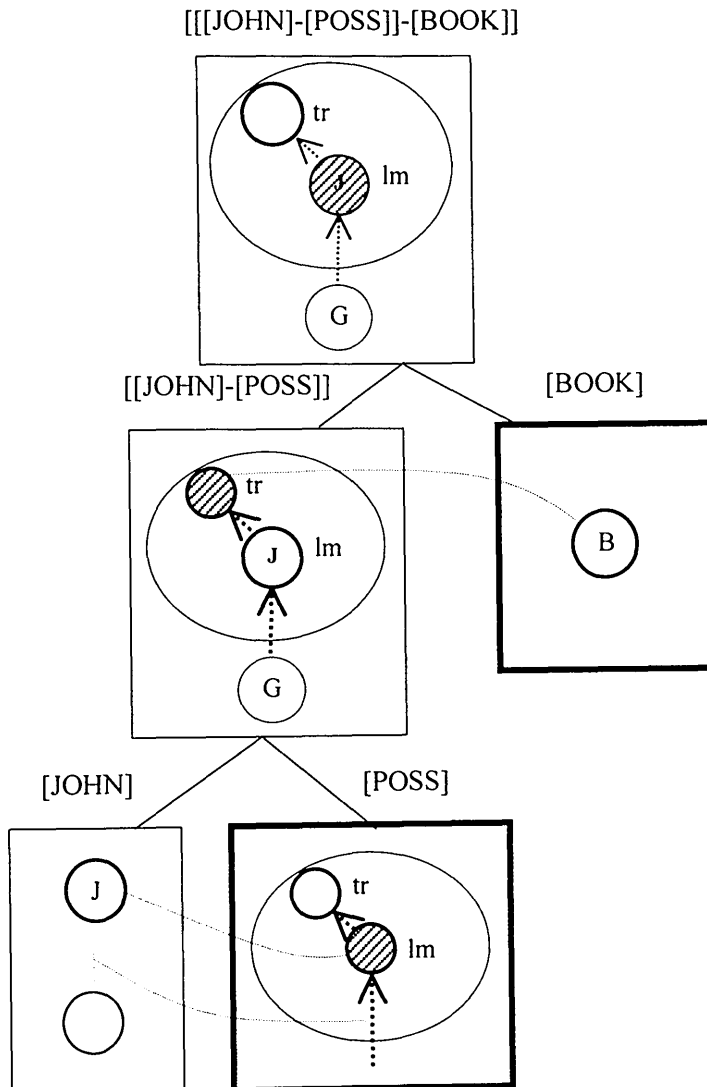
(§3.3): it designates the interconnection between two entities (typically two “things”: cf. §3.2 ff.), interconnected in the relation of the conceptualiser’s mental path, serving as the reference point (i.e. “the possessor”) and the target (i.e. “the possessee”). He argues that in the relational predicate the trajector is the target, and the landmark is the reference point. The predicate of the possessive inflection is diagrammed in *Figure 3-25 (b)* above. This diagram is almost the same as the one in *Figure 3-25 (a)*, except that the profiled entities are bolded, i.e., the interconnection (the mental path), and the reference point and the target which it interconnects, and also that a conceptualiser is not specified in the predicate. I will represent the predicate of the possessive inflection in PDE as [POSS], following Langacker (1991: 172).

I will analyse the semantic structure of the possession expression like *John’s book*, based on the reference point analysis. The expression is a “composite structure”, a structure resulting from the integration of two or more “component structures”, which hold in valence relations (§3.5). First of all, the predicate of the possessive inflection is integrated with the nominal predicate *John*, to form a possessive phrase *John’s*. This possessive phrase is now integrated with another nominal predicate *book*. I will look at how they are integrated more closely. The integration is diagrammed in *Figure 2-26* below.

The predicate of the possessive inflection (= [POSS]) has the structure as in *Figure 3-25(b)* above, which is integrated with the nominal predicate *John*. The predicate *John* is assumed to be a deictic expression, a predicate which makes reference to the “ground” (= G in the figure) (§2.2.5.2.2), in that both the speaker and the hearer know the person, and so are able to establish mental contact with the thing designated by the predicate [JOHN] with ease. In the integration of *John* and the possessive inflection, there are correspondences between substructures in each of the predicates. First of all, the mental path the conceptualiser establishes with the reference point corresponds to the reference between the ground and the profile of the predicate [JOHN]. Another correspondence is between the reference point in [POSS] and the profile of [JOHN]. These correspondences facilitate the integration of the two predicates, which result in the composite structure [JOHN-POSS].

Now [JOHN-POSS] is integrated with another nominal predicate [BOOK], which designates a thing. [BOOK] is a non-deictic expression. It merely designates the “type”, but not any “instance”: as it is, it has no location in the domain of instantiation. When the predicate [BOOK] is integrated with [JOHN-POSS], the former’s profile corresponds to the target (= trajector) of the latter, which facilitates the integration of the two predicates, which results in the higher-order composite structure [[JOHN-POSS]-[BOOK]]. Now this nominal composite structure makes reference to the ground element through the mental path. It now designates an “instance” of the class designated by the predicate [BOOK].

Figure 3-26



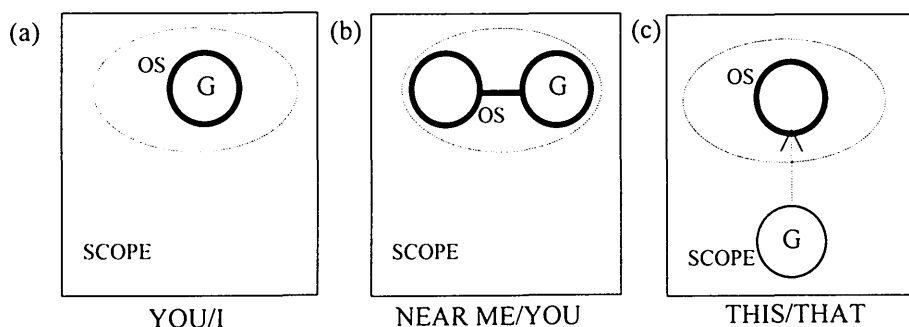
The crucial point in these integrations is the “profile determinant”. In the valence relation between [JOHN] and [POSS], the latter constitutes the profile determinant: since [POSS] is a relational predicate according to Langacker’s analysis, the composite structure [JOHN-POSS] inherits the relational profile. On the other hand, in the valence relation between [JOHN-POSS] and [BOOK], Langacker claims that the latter is the profile determinant. [BOOK] is a nominal predicate, and so the composite structure [JOHN-POSS-BOOK] inherits the nominal profile.

§3.8.2 Taylor’s (1996) analysis of the possessive inflection in PDE.

Taylor (1996) makes use of the reference point analysis in his study of the PDE possessive, but in a modified form. The question he raises is whether Langacker’s claim that the possessive inflection has a relational predicate (profiling a relation) is justified. Taylor claims that the PDE possessive phrase is a kind of “determiner” (in Langacker’s term “epistemic predications” cf. §3.6 above). They are characterised as profiling a “grounded entity” (Langacker 1991: 95), i.e., it is a predicate which profiles an entity that makes reference to the “ground” (§2.2.5.2.2), which, however, remains outside of the objective scene (§2.2.5.2.3), though it is included within the scope of predication. In what follows, I firstly summarise Langacker’s characterisation of epistemic predications (or a grounding predication), then secondly I will account for Taylor’s analysis of the PDE possessive inflection.

Epistemic predications are contrasted with other deictic expressions such as first-or second person pronouns, which include the ground elements with the objective scene. See the diagrams below (*Figure3-27*).

Figure 3-27



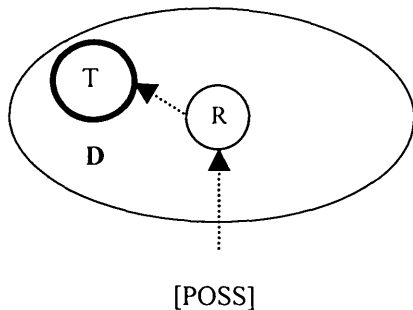
The diagrams (a), (b), and (c) illustrate the relevant parts of the semantic structures of the first/second person pronouns (such as *I, you*), of a prepositional phrase with the first/second person pronoun (such as *near me, near you*), and of the demonstratives (such as *this, that*), which have the epistemic predicates, respectively. The rectangle boxes represent the scope of predication, within which a region is delimited for “objective scene” (= OS; equivalent to “immediate scope”: cf. §2.2.5.1, §2.2.5.2.3), which can be defined as “the general locus of attention within the scope” (Langacker 1991:94). In (a) for *I* or *you*, the ground element is included within the objective scene, and is itself in profile. The pronouns *I* or *you* designate a thing, and is a nominal predicate. In (b), the ground element is still in the objective scene, and constitutes a part of the interconnection between it and another thing (hence a relational predicate). In (c), the ground element is included within the scope of predication, but is excluded from the objective scene. The import of this diagram is that the entity (thing) designated by epistemic predications like [THIS] and [THAT] makes essential reference to the ground, i.e. the speaker and the hearer can recognise what is referred to, but that the speaker and the hearer remain “subjective” (§2.2.5.2.3), i.e. their role is that of an observer rather than that of the object of observation. In Langacker’s words, “the characteristic feature of a grounding predication is that S and H are maximally subjective, consistent with their inclusion in the scope of predication” (Langacker 1991: 93: S = speaker, H = hearer). The important claim Langacker makes here is that an epistemic predication profiles “the grounded entity” (an entity that is specified with reference to the ground element), and not the “grounding relation” (the relation between the profile and the ground element, represented by the broken arrow in (c) in *Figure 3-27*), though the latter constitutes an important facet of the predicate.

Now, Taylor’s (1996) claim about the possessive inflection is that it is an epistemic predicate, and it has a similar semantic structure to that of [THIS], [THAT] as explained above.

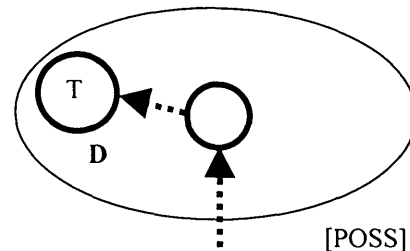
Langacker’s analysis of the possessive inflection as summarised in §8.1 above implies that it profiles the grounding relation, if we take the reference point as part of the ground (cf. *Figure 3-25* (b)), since the reference point is an entity that is salient to the speaker/hearer. However, the functional and distributional identity between demonstratives like *this, that* and possessive

phrases like *John's* (i.e. as determiners) implies that they should have similar semantic structures, and so both should profile the grounded entity rather than the grounded relation. Taylor suggests that the semantic structure of the possessive inflection will be represented as in *Figure 2-28a* below.

Figure 3-28a Taylor's analysis



b Langacker's analysis



The crucial difference between *Figure 3-28a* and *Figure 3-25(b)*, which is repeated here as *Figure 3-28b*, is that in the former the possessive inflection is analysed as a nominal predicate, since it profiles a thing (= a possessee), whereas in the latter it is a relational predicate. The analysis of the possessive inflection as in *Figure 3-28a* enables us to categorise it as a kind of epistemic predicate (i.e. a determiner). Using the example *John's book*, the possessive phrase *John's* by itself designates “the possessee”, and not “the possessor” (though it is not entirely appropriate to use the words “the possessee”, “the possessor”, since *John's* by itself does not say anything about whether there is the relation of possession between the target and the reference point).

Another implication of Taylor's analysis is that the possessive phrase *John's* can be seen as the head of the whole phrase *John's book*: *John's* is a nominal predicate, and then it may be seen as the profile determinant in the valence relation between *John's* and *book*. In this case, though, both *John's* and *book* are nominal predicates, and the resultant composite structure *John's book* is also a nominal predicate. One may argue either of them can be seen as the head of the whole phrase (cf. Langacker 1991:147-8).

The reference point analysis explains the general tendency that a possessive phrase (like *John's*) contains a noun or a noun phrase (like *John*) which is “topicworthy” (Taylor 1996,

chapter 8), i.e. easily accessible to the conceptualiser. The noun or noun phrase within a possessive phrase must profile an entity that is cognitively accessible enough to the conceptualiser to be able to serve as a reference point, at least more salient than the target itself. This is why the noun or noun phrase within a possessive phrase tends to have definite reference (e.g. proper nouns like *John's (book)*, noun phrase with a definite article or a demonstrative like *the king's (daughter)*, *that man's (work)*, *this woman's (wife)*, pronouns like *my book*). The possessive phrase enables the conceptualiser to establish the mental path through these reference points to a less salient, less accessible thing. Then the whole phrase (*John's book*, *the king's daughter*, etc.) is also rendered definite by virtue of this mental path.

§3.8.3 Application of the reference point analysis to the OE genitive.

The relevant question is whether the semantic structure of the PDE possessive inflection based on the reference point analysis also applies to the OE genitive inflection. It seems that with some types of genitive the same analysis applies, but for most types it applies only in its modified forms. For some types of genitive, the reference point analysis does not work at all, and this requires a total reconsideration of the OE genitive as distinct from the PDE possessive. This last evidence implies that the OE genitive needs a fundamentally different analysis of its semantic structure. In the following subsections, I will present and analyse some examples from OE and according to the reference point analysis.

§3.8.3.1 Adnominal genitive in OE: those in which the genitive nominal and the whole phrase have definite reference.

First of all, there are some types of adnominal genitive which have a very similar semantic structure to that diagrammed in *Figure 3-28a*. These types involve a genitive nominal that is a grounded expression, either it being a proper noun or a noun accompanied with a demonstrative such as *se*, *þæt*, etc., as in the following examples.

fram ælfeage biscope aðelwoldes æftergengan

“from Bishop Alfreah, Athelwold’s successor” (Pre. 46)

ðæs hundredes ealdor “the chief of the hundred” (CH8, 104)

In each of these examples, the genitive nominal (*aðelwoldes*, *ðæs hundredes*) is an inflected form of a noun or a noun phrase which has definite reference. In other words, they are both inflected forms of grounded expressions (hypothetically **aðelwold*, **se hundred*). They have a semantic structure similar to that diagrammed in *Figure 3-27(c)*. Now if we apply the reference point analysis to the genitive nominals *aðelwoldes*, *ðæs hundredes*, then they can be assumed to have a semantic structure similar to that diagrammed in *Figure 3-28a* above: they profile some schematic entity, specifically a thing, that is within the dominions defined by the predicates of **aðelwold*, **se hundred*. This schematic thing is elaborated by the profile of the nouns *æftergengan* and *ealdor* (here it is ignored that the noun *æftergengan* is itself an inflected form (dative), and I will omit discussion of what semantic structure the OE dative case has). The hypothesised noun (phrase) **aðelwold*, **se hundred* designate a grounded entity (= grounded expressions), so can serve as a reference point, and the things profiled by their inflected genitive forms *aðelwoldes*, *ðæs hundredes* are made accessible through that reference point to the conceptualiser. Therefore, the whole phrases *aðelwoldes æftergengan*, *ðæs hundredes ealdor* are made grounded expressions (having a definite reference).

§3.8.3.2 Adnominal genitive in OE: those in which the genitive nominal does not have definite reference (and the whole noun phrase), possessive compound

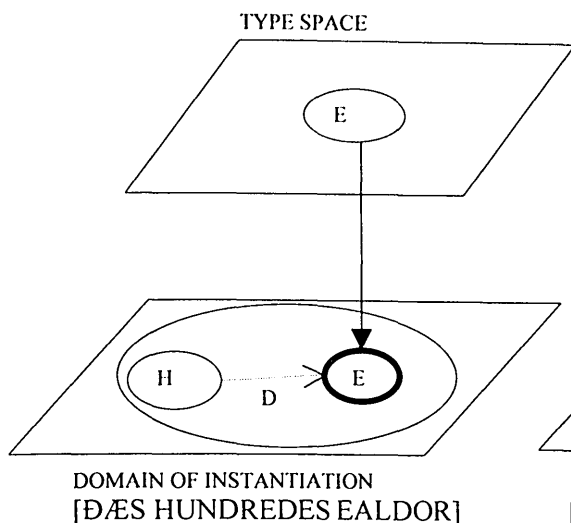
A noun phrase containing an OE genitive nominal is not always a grounded expression. Consider the following example.

sum hundredes ealdor ‘a (certain) chief of hundred, a (certain) centurion’ (CH8, 88)

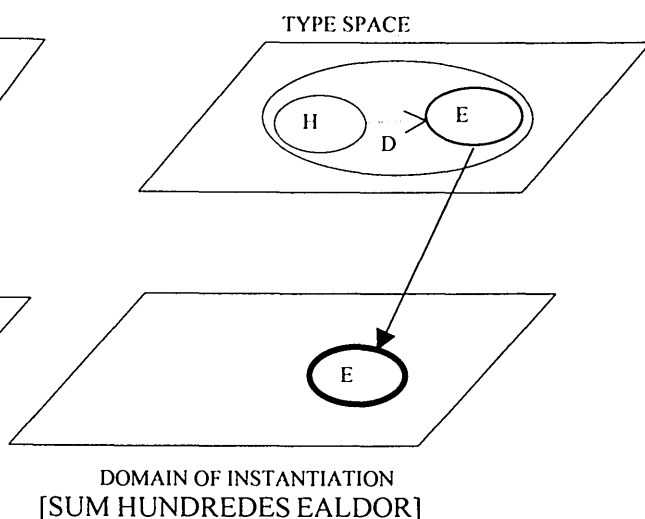
The indefinite *sum* shows that the whole phrase is indefinite. The genitive noun *hundredes* is an inflected form of *hundred*, which is not a grounded expression, not accessible to the conceptualiser, so it would not serve as a reference point.

This type of genitive is comparable to what Taylor calls “possessive compounds”, as opposed to “prenominal possessive” (for their definition and characterisation, cf. §1.2.1.1). The distinction between prenominal possessive and possessive compounds can be made in terms of the distinction between “type” and “instance” (§3.6). Prenominal possessive specifies an instance of a given type, by making reference to some grounded entity. This grounded entity is used as a reference point for the specification. The use of a grounded entity as a reference point renders the target grounded, and makes the whole phrase definite. On the other hand, possessive compound, as it were, specifies a type of a given type: it gives a further type specification of an already given type. In this case, the reference point is not a grounded entity, but an ungrounded entity. But the reference point analysis still applies here in that a more salient entity is mentioned to establish the mental path to a less salient entity. In the example *sum hundredes ealdor*, the ungrounded noun *hundred* of *hundred-es*, and *ealdor*, specifies a certain type. There is an inherent asymmetry between them, since *hundred* and *ealdor* form a kind of part-whole relationship, and in general the whole is seen as more salient than its part, so *hundred* is chosen as a reference point rather than *ealdor*. It would be easier to characterise *ealdor* in terms of *hundred*, than to characterise *hundred* in terms of *ealdor* (compare PDE examples like *the group’s leader* and *the leader’s group* in the sense of “the group presided by the leader). Therefore, the semantic structure of possessive compound can be diagrammed exactly the same as in *Figure 3-27a* above. The phrase *hundredes ealdor* is integrated with an indefinite pronoun *sum*, as a result of which the type specified by *hundredes ealdor* is instantiated as indefinite. The difference between *ðæs hundredes ealdor* and *sum hundredes ealdor* may be illustrated as in *Figure 3-29* below. In these diagrams I make use of “type space” (cf. Langacker 1991:64) and “the domain of instantiation” (cf. Langacker 1991:55).

Figure 3-29 (a)



(b)



In the case of *ðæs hundredes ealdor*, the noun *ealdor* (= E) specifies a certain type (occupies a certain location in type space). This type is instantiated by means of specifying that its instance lies within the dominion of **se hundred* (= H) on the domain of instantiation. On the other hand, in the case of *sum hundredes ealdor*, the noun *ealdor* specifies a type, which is further specified on type space, as lying within the dominion of **hundred* (=H). This further specified type is instantiated by the integration of *sum* and *hundredes ealdor*. Note that the type specified by the composite structure *hundredes ealdor* may be instantiated as definite or indefinite. Hence we have an example such as:

se hundredes ealdor ‘the hundred’s chief’ (CH8, 91)

This expression has the same semantic structure as *Figure 3-28 (b)* above, the difference being only that the expression *se hundredes ealdor* makes reference to the ground element and so is an epistemic predicate because of its integration with the demonstrative *se*, which itself is an epistemic predicate.

§3.8.3.3 Adnominal genitive in OE: partitive genitive

The OE adnominal genitive expresses what is traditionally called “partitive genitive”.

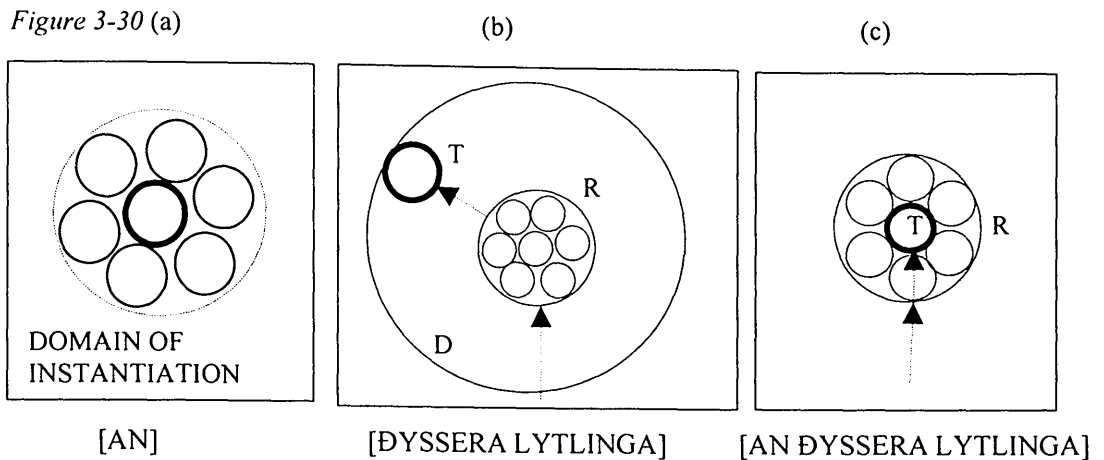
Behealdað þæt ge ne forseon ænne þyssera lytlinga

‘Watch out that you do not neglect one of these little ones’ (CH34, 153)

Assuming that this type of OE genitive nominals also has the semantic structure as in *Figure 3-27a*, we can say that within the noun phrase *ænne þyssera lytlinga*, the predicate of *þyssera lytlinga* has a reference point (the profile of a hypothesised form **þas lytlinga*), which establishes the mental path to another thing within the dominion of the reference point. This other thing, schematic as it is yet, is the profile of the predicate of *þyssera lytlinga*. This schematic thing is elaborated through the integration with *ænne* (at this moment I ignore the semantic effect of the accusative ending *-ne*). In contrast to the other cases that were dealt with above, in the composite structure of *ænne þyssera lytlinga*, the profile is within the reference point, not outside of it. What is designated by this expression is a subpart of what is the reference point within the predicate of *þyssera lytlinga*. Note that in the other cases dealt with above like *þæs hundredes ealdor*, *sum hundredes ealdor*, *se hundredes ealdor*, the profile of the composite structure lies outside of the reference point (this turns out to be a problem; see below). In other words, in these expressions the reference point is a point, and not seen as anything that has any expanse so that it can contain a profile. In the case of *ænne þyssera lytlinga*, the reference point is not a point any longer, but rather a “reference region”. The explanation for the expression *ænne þyssera lytlinga* to have such a semantic structure will be found partly in the semantic structure of *ænne*, the inflected form of *an/æn*, and partly due to the semantic structure of the genitive plural noun phrase *þyssera lytlinga*.

As for the predicate [AN], it would be reasonable to assume that this predicate presupposes a schematic “replicate mass” (cf. §3.2.3: Langacker 1991: 78) in the domain of instantiation such that a certain type of things expands discretely rather than continuously, therefore increases one by one. The profile of the predicate [AN] constitutes a subpart of this domain. When this predicate is integrated with the genitive nominal *þyssera lytlinga*, the reference point of the latter

corresponds to this domain of the former, and this allows for the region-like interpretation of the reference point. The semantic structure [AN] may be diagrammed as in *Figure 3-30 (a)*.



Here in this diagram, the replicated mass is represented by the dotted line with small circles inside, each of which represent potential individual instances of a certain type of thing.

On the other hand, the genitive nominal *þyssera lytlinga* is a plural noun. Assuming that this noun phrase is analysable in terms of the reference point analysis (having (1) a reference point, (2) the dominion of the reference point, and (3) a schematic target (= the profile) within the dominion), the reference point within this predicate will be a replicate mass (see *Figure 3-30 (b)*). In the integration of *þyssera lytlinga* and *ænne*, there is a correspondence between the profile of *an* and the target of *þyssera lytlinga*, and also another correspondence between the schematic replicate mass in *an* and the replicate mass in *þyssera lytlinga*.

However, there is a problem in this analysis. The question is how we can obtain a correct composite structure. The semantic structure of *ænne þyssera lytlinga* should take the form of *Figure 3-30 (c)*, where the target is contained within the reference point, rather than it is outside of the reference point. The crucial problem is that the reference point does not take into consideration the possibility that the target may be part of the reference point, as in the case of partitive genitive. If we assume that the reference point analysis which explains the semantic structure of the PDE possessive inflection is also applicable to the analysis of the semantic structure of the OE genitive, then we would have to say that this expression *an þyssera lytlinga* and a PDE expression like *these little ones'one* should have the semantic structure. The latter

expression would mean ‘something or someone possessed or somehow linked to the people or things referred to by the expression *these little ones*’, as in the following dialogue:

Have you ever seen those little ones’s toy/mother/school?

No, but I’ve seen these little ones’s one.

and certainly not ‘one of these little ones’, which is what the OE expression *an byssera lytinga* means. If we apply the reference point analysis purely as it is to the OE partitive genitive, the resultant composite structure will have to express what the PDE *these little ones’ one* expresses, which has no partitive meaning. Since *an byssera lytinga* does express partitive meaning, it has to be analysed in a different way.

§3.8.3.4 Adverbial genitive

The real problem of applying the reference point analysis to the OE genitive emerges when it comes to adverbial genitive, and also adjectival, prepositional, and adverbial genitive. Here I will illustrate only the case of adverbial genitive.

The implication of the reference point analysis is that a noun phrase inflected for the genitive case would profile another entity than that profiled by a noun phrase that is not inflected for the genitive. So, for example, based on this analysis, a genitive nominal like **þæs mannes* profiles an entity different from the entity profiled by the nominative nominal *se mann*. However, consider the following example:

him ofhreow þæs mannes ‘he felt sorry for the man’(CH13, 13)

The genitive nominal *þæs mannes* does profile what **se mann* profiles, and does not evoke any other entity.

One might argue that what is being felt sorry for is not exactly ‘the man’ but ‘the situation in which he is’, and that there is some non-genitive nominal corresponding to ‘the situation’

omitted. This possibility is pursued in Kurylowicz (1964: 185), Erickson (1975), and also Lass (1994: 236). However, this is the matter of what Langacker calls “active zone” (Langacker 1987: 271ff)⁴, and also of metonymy, and the same phenomenon occurs with any other case in OE than the genitive nominal. This argument does not capture what is specific about the genitive case.

§3.8.3.5 Conclusion

The application of the reference point analysis to various types of the OE genitive shows that the analysis applies to some of the types (especially with those with definite reference, and possessive compound), but not to all the instances of genitive, particularly partitive genitive or adverbial genitive. This implies that the reference point analysis does not capture the semantic structure that is schematic to all the types of OE genitive, though it might be one for some types of it. This suggests that we need an alternative analysis for the OE genitive. A possible explanation is that the OE genitive case had a semantic structure different from the one based on the reference point analysis. However, some of its subtypes were analysable in terms of the reference point analysis. Eventually it is such subtypes of genitive that were grammaticalised as a determiner, and have survived up until PDE. Now in the following section I will give an alternative analysis of the OE genitive.

§3.9 “Deprofilng”

This section will introduce a theoretical construct called “deprofilng”, which means making an already profiled entity unprofiled. This construct is invented specifically to explain the semantic structure of the OE genitive. In the following paragraphs I will summarise the reason for introducing this new term, and explain how it applies to the OE genitive.

This theoretical construct is invented through the observation of the valence relation involving an OE adnominal genitive nominal.

Suppose that a nominal (formulated as [NOM₁]) is integrated with a genitive inflection to form a genitive nominal ([NOM₁]-[GEN]). I refer to [NOM₁] within a genitive nominal as a **ROOT NOMINAL**. A genitive nominal is now integrated with another nominal ([NOM₂]) to form an

adnominal genitive phrase. I will represent the composite structure as ([[NOM₁]-[GEN]]-[NOM₂]), and at this point I will disregard the word order). Observing the valence relation between [[NOM₁]-[GEN]]-[NOM₂], we can see that the profile of [NOM₁] always corresponds and so elaborates one of the substructures in the predicate of [NOM₂] that is not in profile itself. Examples are numerous. Consider the following example

[1] *cristes fæder* ‘Christ’s father’ (CH20, 145)

[2] *cristes ærist* ‘Christ’s resurrection’ (CH27, 88)

[3] *an þyssera lytlinga* ‘one of these little ones’ (CH34, 153)

In [1], the predicate [FÆDER] is a relational noun, and it presupposes knowledge of kinship network, and selects as its scope of predication some portion of it containing at least three “things” (for father, mother, and child) and their interconnections. The profile in this predicate is the thing that is specified as male and interconnected with another ‘female’ thing in mating relationship and with another one in parent-child relationship. This thing is profiled, and is seen as a trajector, in contrast with the thing for ‘child’ as its landmark. In the valence relation between [[CRIST]-[ES]] and [FÆDER], it is this landmark entity which serves as the elaboration site. This entity is itself not profiled in the predicate [FÆDER]. This elaboration site corresponds to the profile of the root nominal [CRIST].

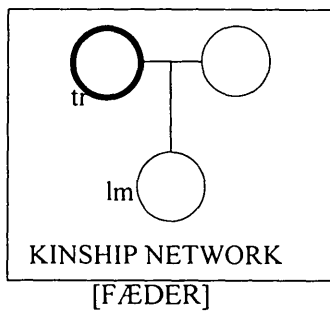
In [2], the predicate [ÆRIST] is a deverbal noun, derived from the verb *ærisan* ‘to arise’. According to Langacker’s characterisation of the semantic structure of an ‘episodic noun’ (Langacker 1986: 247, also §3.4), it designates a “region” that reifies a sequence of relations as scanned summarily through the conceived time. The predicate presupposes at least a thing (as trajector) typically movable, and another entity that is typically horizontal (as landmark). The predicate has as its substructures the state in which the trajector is touching the landmark, and the state in which the former moves upwards and leaves the landmark. These relations are scanned in a summary fashion through the conceived time, and reified as a region which forms the profile of this predicate. In the valence relation the trajector is the elaboration

site, which is itself not in profile. This elaboration site is elaborated by the profile of the root nominal [CRIST], as in the case of [1].

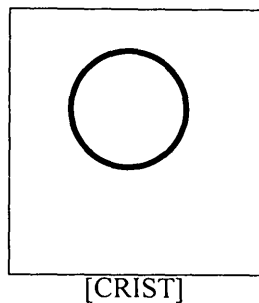
Lastly in [3], as we saw in §3.8.3.3, the predicate [AN] has as one of its substructures a replicate mass, which is schematic, and it is not itself in profile (see *Figure 3-30(a)*). This schematic replicate mass is elaborated by one of the substructures within the predicate [ÞYSSERA LYTLINGA], which would be the same as the profile of the root nominal [ÞAS LYTLINGA].

What is common in all these three examples is that in their valence relation there is a correspondence between one entity in the predicate of a non-genitive nominal that is not in profile by itself and one entity in the predicate of a genitive nominal that is the same entity as that which is profiled by the root nominal. I will diagram the predicate [FÆÐER] and [CRIST] in *Figure 3-31 a* and *b* below.

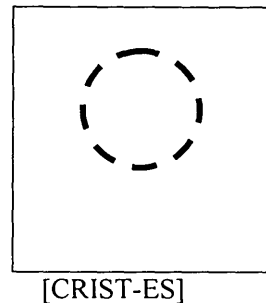
Figure 3-31 (a)



(b)



(c)



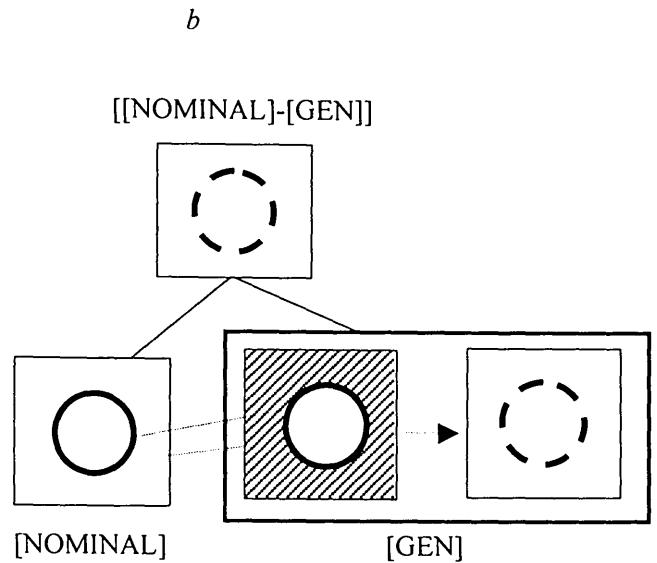
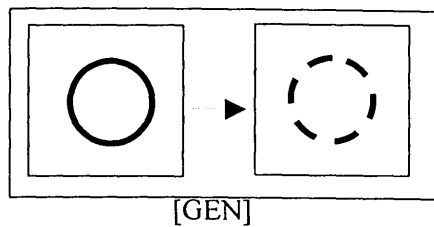
In these diagrams it is assumed that the predicate of the OE *fæder* is the same as that for the PDE *father* (cf. *Figure 2-8* in §2.4 above), and the thing designated by the predicate [CRIST] is simplified as a circle. In the integration between *cristes* and *fæder*, there is a correspondence between the landmark entity in the predicate [FÆÐER] and a substructure within the predicate [CRISTES], which is presumably the same as the profile of the root nominal [CRIST]. However, it must not be exactly the same: the landmark entity in [FÆÐER] is not in profile, and the profile of [CRIST] is in profile (of course). If the two predicates [FÆÐER] and [CRIST] are integrated, the composite structure would have two profiles, and will not form a single coherent gestalt. The profile of [CRIST] must become unprofiled. When this entity is unprofiled, its correspondence with the landmark of [FÆÐER] will be facilitated, because then both entities are unprofiled. I

propose that this is what happens to the semantic structure of [CRIST] when the noun *cris*t is inflected for the genitive case. It makes the profiled entity in [CRIST] unprofiled, which yields [CRISTES], which is diagrammed in *Figure 2-31* (c). In this diagram, the non-profile status of the region designated by [CRISTES] is represented by the broken line around the circle. I refer to this process of making an already profiled entity unprofiled as **DEPROFILING**.

A few words must be said to characterise this construct “deprofiling”. Deprofiling is of course a process opposite to profiling. Profiling itself has been defined as the process in which an entity within the scope of predication (= base) is elevated to a special level of prominence, so that it receives the focus of attention (§2.4). Attention in turn has been associated with the intensity or energy level of cognitive processes. As a conceptualiser focuses his attention on some entity, there will be a higher energy level is exercised in that mental process, which will be experientially translated into greater prominence or salience. The result is greater acuity, i.e., ‘a fuller, finer-grained, more precisely specified mental experience’ (Langacker 1987: 116). Now, the process of deprofiling, the opposite of profiling, can then be characterised as lowering down the level of attention focused on to the designated entity of the root nominal, to the effect that the entity will be less prominent and less salient, and that the mental experience of the designated entity will be less acute.

According to the principle of Cognitive Grammar, I do not draw a sharp line between a profiled entity and a deprofiled entity. What the genitive case does semantically to a nominal predicate is to lower down the level of attention on the designated region of the root nominal, but the predicate still designates a region, with the lower level of attention: since there is no other entity to which higher level of attention is paid, it will be justified to call this deprofiled entity as a designatum (= a profile). Therefore, a genitive nominal is still a nominal predicate. I will represent the semantic structure of the OE genitive case as in the diagram in *Figure 2-32a*, and the diagram *Figure 2-32b* shows the integration of a nominal predicate with a genitive ending. (Here I follow Langacker’s diagram describing the semantic structure of the past-participle morpheme: cf. Langacker 1987: 350).

Figure 3-32a



One of the semantic effects of the lowering down the level of attention onto the profile is to dislocate the focus of attention from the profile of the genitive nominal to somewhere else. This occurs when a genitive nominal is integrated with another nominal (i.e. as adnominal genitive). In this integration, the focus of attention moves away from the designatum of the genitive nominal, and the conceptualiser looks for an entity that is more prominent and salient, until he finds the profile of the other nominal (= the head nominal within the adnominal genitive phrase). Since in the composite structure of a genitive nominal and a non-genitive nominal there is only one most salient entity, the composite structure forms a coherent gestalt as one nominal predicate.

Further advantage of using this theoretical construct to explain the OE genitive is that since a genitive nominal is a nominal predicate, it can occur in contexts in which any other nominal predicate can occur. This allows it to occur with verbs, adjectives, prepositions, and also as an adverbial. The problem we saw in the application of the reference point analysis to the adverbial genitive (§3.8.3.4) is avoided. A genitive nominal still designates the same entity as the one designated by the root nominal.

The nature of the deprofiling of a genitive nominal, however, limits its occurrence with a verb in various ways, depending on the meaning of the verb. Its occurrence with verbs can correlate

with the degree of transitivity in the relevant clause (cf. §3.7 above: Hopper and Thompson 1980; Langacker 1991: 302). As we saw above, a prototypical transitive clause has a number of properties, one of which is that the subject and the object represent discrete, highly individuated physical entities, and that the object is totally affected by the action. The effect of deprofiling on the root nominal predicate is to make the profiled entity less salient and prominent, and it makes the genitive nominal a less suited candidate as a direct object in a transitive clause. Furthermore, by virtue of the profiled entity becoming less salient and prominent, what is also expressed is the disappearance of the designated entity from the scene depicted in the clause. Therefore, a genitive nominal tends to occur with verbs which implies the disappearance, non-existence of some entity.

§3.10 Summary and prospects

This chapter has introduced how various syntactic issues can be handled in CG as relating to conceptual structures as introduced in Chapter 2. The issues we have looked at are word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.), valence relations, type/instance specification, transitivity. Finally, we examined the CG account of the PDE possessive phrase using Langacker's reference point analysis and its applicability to the OE genitive nominals, and concluded that this analysis applies only to some portion of the OE genitive nominals. As an alternative I introduced the theoretical construct "deprofiling", and I attempted a highly schematic analysis of the semantic structure of the OE genitive inflection [GEN], and of a genitive nominal [[NOMINAL]-[GEN]].

It is essential to note that a genitive nominal never occurs by itself (as it does in other languages e.g. Russian, Slovak) but always occurs as component structure of some composite structure; e.g. with another nominal, to form a adnominal genitive phrase (e.g. *cristes fæder*), with a verb within a clausal structure (*him ofhreow dæs mannes*), etc. The integration with such other predicates will furnish a context in which the predicate [[NOMINAL]-[GEN]] is to be characterised. Then it is to be expected that genitive nominals will show an extremely wide range of meanings depending on their contexts.

Another important point to note is that some OE adnominal genitive could be as well analysed in terms of the reference point analysis (i.e. as an epistemic predicate). It suggests that some types of adnominal genitive could be analysed in one of the two alternative ways. Such possibility for alternate analysis will allow for the subsequent grammatical change of the genitive nominal from a case form to a determiner.

In the following two chapters, I will analyse the actual instances of genitive nominals in various contexts in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies 1st series*, and what are the sanctioning structures that sanction these instances, regarding all the instances of genitive nominals as usage events in some kind of coding process. Chapter 4 will deal with adnominal genitive and Chapter 5 non-adnominal genitive, i.e. adverbial, adjectival, prepositional, and adverbial genitive. In Chapter 6, I will revisit the history of genitive from OE to ME, and discuss how the present study can contribute to the understanding of the history of genitive as outlined in Chapter 1.

¹ It is also related to our basic cognitive ability to compare two cognitive events (standard and target) through scanning (§2.2.2). Recall that when an event *A* is compared to another event *B*, there emerge a complex event *B>A* (*A*= target, *B* = standard), which is distinct from *A* or *B* as separate entities.

² They do show contrast with other writing systems such as Chinese characters or Japanese Hiragana and Katakana, especially for those who have the knowledge of such systems.

³ Langacker uses the term “nominal” to refer to noun phrase, which can be defined as a nominal expression whose semantic structure designates an instance of a thing of the type specified by its head noun. To avoid confusion with my use of the term “nominal” (which can refer to both nouns and noun phrases), I keep using the term “noun phrase” to refer to Langacker’s “nominal”.

⁴ An active zone is defined as those facets of an entity that are able to interact with a particular domain or play a direct role in a particular relationship (Langacker 1987: 272). For example, the nominal predicate [TRUMPET] profiles a three-dimensional object typically made of brass, used as a musical instrument. However, in the following sentence, the nominal predicate *the trumpet* does not refer to quite the same thing:

I heard the trumpet.

The designatum of the nominal predicate [TRUMPET] itself is not the thing that is heard, but it is the sound which is produced by it that actually takes part in the situation in this designated process. The nominal predicate [TRUMPET] has many facets, including its sound. Other facets are:

Its colour: *I want my dress to be the same gold as this trumpet.*

Its player: *Can you see that trumpet in the second row of the orchestra?*

Its shape: *Look at the trumpet in the daffodil.*

Its function as an instrument for praising someone: *He's always blowing his own trumpet.*

As these examples show, entities in general have many different facets. Used in a particular context, it is one of these facets that actually is relevant. Active zones refer to such facets of entities. Sometimes it is a part over the whole, as in the examples above that is selected, but sometime it is converse (a whole is selected over the whole), or sometimes concrete object over abstract entities, or vice versa. In these cases it happens that active zones do not coincide with what is profiled by the relevant predicate. Active zones are especially relevant to the analysis of “metonymy”.

Chapter 4 Adnominal genitive

This chapter will analyse the instances of adnominal genitive nominals that appear in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies 1st series* (CH). Regarding the instances of the adnominal genitive as usage events, I will explore what schemas there are that sanction these instances (either fully or partially). In §4.1, various types of OE adnominal genitive are introduced, mainly depending on the kind of relationship between the genitive nominal and the head (such as possessive genitive, subjective genitive, genitive of origin, partitive genitive, descriptive genitive, etc.). With such a wide range of relationships that can be expressed between the genitive nominal and the head, how can we give a coherent account of adnominal genitive in OE? The present chapter will give such an account by arguing that in all instances of adnominal genitive phrases we can assume that the genitive case has the identical semantic value, but that its domain varies, depending on:

- (1) The semantic structure of the nominal with which the genitive case is integrated, and
- (2) The semantic structure of the nominal with which the adnominal genitive nominal is integrated.

Since the domain furnishes contexts in which the semantic structure of a linguistic expression, differences in the domains accordingly result in the diversity of conceptualisations which an adnominal genitive phrase symbolises. This explains why a very wide range of semantic/grammatical relations were observed between the genitive nominal and the head noun within an adnominal genitive phrase, as we saw in §1.1.2 above.

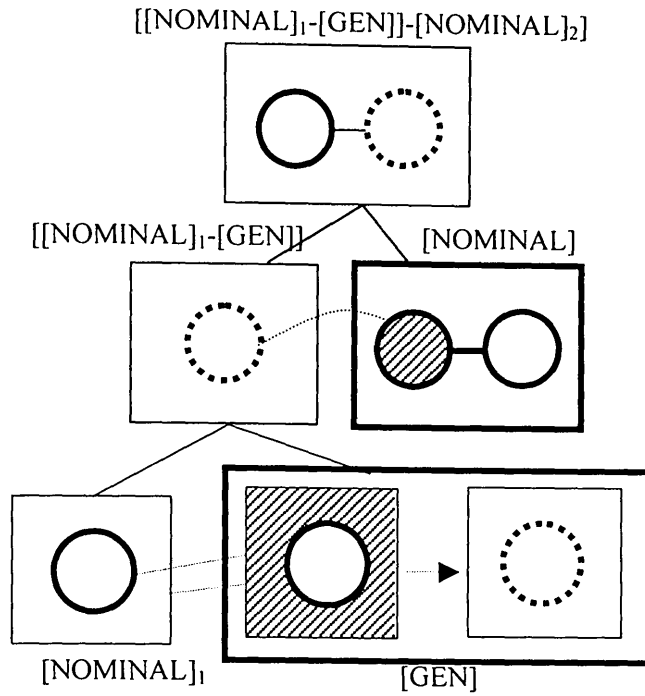
§4.1 General remarks on adnominal genitive in OE

A genitive nominal is integrated with another nominal predicate to form a larger nominal. A genitive nominal itself is the result of the integration of a nominal predicate and a genitive inflection. For example, an adnominal genitive phrase *þæs aldormannes dohtor* is a result of the integration between the genitive nominal *þæs aldormannes* and the noun *dohtor*, whereas the

former itself is a result of the integration between the root nominal **se aldormann'* and the genitive case. The semantic structures of these component structures are formulated as [SE ALDORMANN], a nominal predicate, which profiles a thing (a region in a domain), and [GEN]. In this integration, [GEN] “deprofiles” the profiled region of this root nominal predicate [SE ALDORMANN], and as a result the component structure [[SE ALDORMANN]-[GEN]] has a “deprofiled” profile: in other words, it has a defocused focal point within the scope of predication (cf. §3.9 for the definition of “profile”). This genitive nominal predicate is integrated with the other nominal predicate [DOHTOR]. In this valence relation, the “deprofiled” profile of [[SE ALDORMANN]-[GEN]] corresponds to one of the unprofiled (but salient) substructures within the predicate [DOHTOR] (for more precise description, see §4.2 ff. below), which facilitates their integration. The predicate of the whole phrase [[[SE ALDORMANN]-[GEN]]-[DOHTOR]] is a nominal predicate, which inherits its profile from that of the nominal predicate [DOHTOR]. In this integration, then [DOHTOR] is the profile determinant, and is therefore to be analysed as the head of the whole phrase. In this case, the genitive nominal is a complement, since the (deprofiled) profile of [[SE ALDORMANN]-[GEN]] is the profile determinant, and elaborates one of the salient substructures within [DOHTOR] (cf. §3.5.1).

In *Figure4-1* below, I represent a schematic valence relation of an adnominal genitive phrase [[[NOMINAL]₁-[GEN]]-[NOMINAL]₂], where the schematic nominal predicate [NOMINAL]₂ represents a head nominal predicate (corresponding to [DOHTOR] in *þæs aldormannes dohtor*), and [NOMINAL]₁ represents a root nominal predicate (corresponding to [SE ALDORMANN]) which is integrated with the genitive case.

Figure4-1



The diagram shows the valence relation of the composite structure consisting of a root nominal predicate $[NOMINAL]_2$ and a genitive nominal, which is itself a composite structure consisting of $[NOMINAL]_1$ and $[GEN]$, hence their composite structure $[[NOMINAL]_1-[GEN]]$ (see Figure 3-32 (a) and (b)). At the second level of integration between $[NOMINAL]_2$ and $[[NOMINAL]_1-[GEN]]$, the deprofiled entity of the genitive nominal (shown by the dotted circle) corresponds to one of the unprofiled entity in the semantic structure $[NOMINAL]_2$. This unprofiled entity is the elaboration site in the integration, and is elaborated by the “deprofiled profile” of the genitive nominal. The bold line around the predicate $[NOMINAL]_2$ shows that it is the profile determinant in the valence relation. The composite noun phrase $[[[NOMINAL]_1-[GEN]]-[NOMINAL]_2]$ inherits the profile from the predicate $[NOMINAL]_1$.

However, it is not the case that for every usage event of adnominal genitive phrase, one needs to make reference to this schema. This schema has no specifications as to the interconnections between the profiled and the deprofiled entity, as to the relevant domains, whether it designates a human or a non-human, etc. As we shall see below, the data from the *CH* show that there are a number of examples of the adnominal genitive that are very similar to each other in character, and can be said to instantiate a certain sub-schema which is itself one of the instantiations of the

schema in *Figure4-1* above but is more specific in details. Consider the following examples:

[4-1] *ðæs ealdormannes dohter* “the chieftain’s daughter” (CH33, 82)

[4-2] *þæs cildes fæder* “the child’s father” (CH2, 193)

These noun phrases containing a genitive nominal are indeed instances of the schema [[NOMINAL]-[[NOMINAL]-[GEN]]] in *Figure4-1*. However, the categorising relation between the instances like [4-1,2] and the schema in *Figure4-1* is far too tenuous: there is no specification as to which domains are the primary domain for the characterisation of the predicate, whereas the examples in [4-1, 2] are specific with regard to the primary domain (kinship network). Examples of the type like [4-1,2] are so common and wide spread (as we will see in §4.2) that it would be more plausible to say that these examples are sanctioned not by the schema in *Figure4-1* but rather by a schema which is less schematic. In other words, it is plausible to assume that speakers of OE must have mastered the pattern of a noun phrase whose head is some kind of kinship term and which has a genitive nominal that designates a person, so that such patterns have attained some degree of unit status through entrenchment, and so they can produce without any difficulty such sequences as the following.

ðæs ealdormannes/þære moder / ðæs hlafordes / ðæs cinges/ his / eowre dohter

þæs cildes fæder/ modor / swester / broðer / fosterfæder / hiwisc

(None of these forms is attested in CH but is rather my own creation, following the pattern in [4-1,2]).

Then it is conceivable that there would be a sub-schema which is itself an elaboration of the schema in *Figure4-1* but is more specific in finer details in terms of various parameters (e.g. primary domain), and that it is this sub-schema that sanctions the examples in [4-1, 2].

There are a number of parameters along which examples of adnominal genitive phrases can be classified, among which I take the following as significant.

1. Primary domain of the predicate of an adnominal genitive phrase
2. Saliency of the designatum of the genitive nominal
3. Boundedness of the region designated by a genitive nominal.
4. Interconnection between the designata of a genitive nominal and the head nominal
5. Coherency of the designata of a genitive nominal and the head nominal

1. *Primary domain (§2.3.1 above) of the predicate of an adnominal genitive phrase*

This parameter is concerned with a context in which the predicate of an adnominal genitive phrase is to be characterised, e.g. kinship network for the example we looked at above.

2. *Saliency of the designatum of the genitive nominal*

This parameter is concerned with inherent asymmetry among various objects in the world in terms of their cognitive saliency (§3.8.1 above): for example, objects such as humans (rather than non-humans), concrete objects (rather than abstract ones), whole (rather than its parts) are conceptually more salient to us than their counterparts. To this we should add that a designatum of a grounded nominal predicate (accompanied by an epistemic predicate cf. §3.6 above) is more salient than that of a non-grounded one. The parameter is whether the genitive nominal designates such an inherently salient concept. The example *ðæs aldormannes dohtor* has a genitive nominal which designates a human, and which is an epistemic predicate, since the demonstrative *ðæs* anchors the instance of the type defined by the noun *aldormann* on the domain of instantiation by relating it to the knowledge of the speaker/hearer. Therefore, in this particular example, the genitive nominal can be said to designate a salient entity.

3. *Boundedness of the region designated by a genitive nominal.*

The third parameter is concerned with whether the genitive nominal designates a bounded or an unbounded region, i.e. whether it is a count noun on the one hand, or a mass noun or a plural noun on the other (§3.2.3). This parameter provides us with criteria for the distinction between prototypical examples of partitive and non-partitive genitive (§4.7).

4. *Interconnection between the designata of a genitive nominal and the head nominal*

This parameter is concerned with the type of interconnection between the two things within the

semantic structure of an adnominal genitive phrase, i.e. the profiled and the deprofiled entity (cf. *Figure 4-1* above: the two things are represented by the two circles, one with a bold unbroken line and the other with a bold broken line). I make reference to the basic conceptual relations (cf. §3.3.1), especially the relations of “separation”, “inclusion”, and “identity”. If we refer to the profiled entity and the deprofiled entity as A and B, the possible relationship between A and B are as follows:

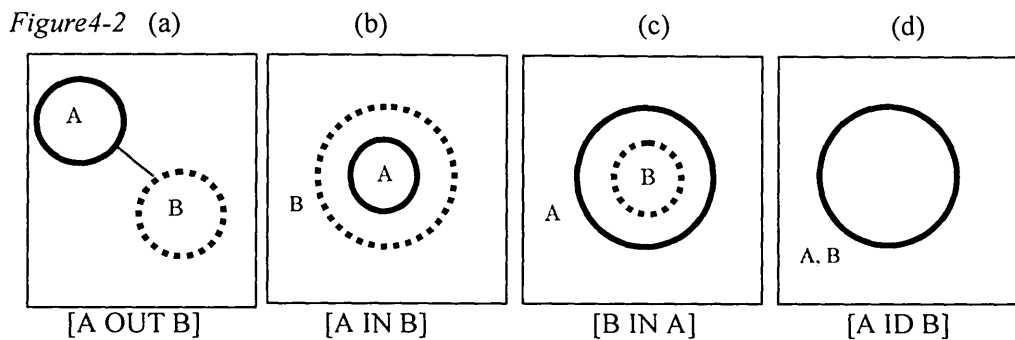
[A OUT B] (A is separated from B)

[A IN B] (A is included within B)

[B IN A] (B is included within A)

[A ID B] (A is identical to B)

These relations are diagrammed in *Figure4-2*.



[A OUT B] relation is obtained when the profiled and the deprofiled entities are construed as distinct, separate. The example *ðæs aldormannes dohtor* is a case in point, where what is designated by *ðæs aldormannes* is distinct from that designated by *dohtor*. Also examples which denote the relation of what is often called “alienable possession” (Chomsky 1970:200) such as *þæs cynges botl* “the king’s house” (CH18, 8) also have [A OUT B] relation (*þæs cynges* and *botl* designate distinct entities). Also included are examples which express various relationship between non-human entities as below:

[4-3] *lazarus ne moste ær on life hedan ðæra crumena his mysan*

Lazarus was not allowed, when alive, to take heed to the (bread)crumbs from his

(= the rich man's) plate" (CH23, 68)

where the crumbs and the table are distinct, separate entities.

[A IN B] is obtained when the deprofiled entity is construed as contained with the profiled entity, i.e. when the former is construed as part of the latter. Examples of "inalienable possession" such as *on þæs blindan eagan* "in the blind (man)'s eye" (CH29, 48) has this relationship, where the body part is part of the possessor of it. This relationship is also found in examples which express various types of part-whole relationship between non-human entities, such as *ðære sunnan trendel* "circle of the sun" (CH20, 100), where the circle is part of the sun. "Partitive genitive" (e.g. *an þæra twelfa apostola* "one of the twelve apostles" (CH16, 12)) also belongs to this category. However, the category of partitive genitive seems to constitute a separate category from the other [A IN OUT]; since prototypical examples of partitive genitive have a genitive nominal predicate designating a mass (either a mass noun or a plural noun), the profiled entity is construed as integral part of the deprofiled entity (cf. §4.7).

[B IN A] is opposite to [A IN B], and is obtained when the deprofiled entity is construed as contained within the profiled entity. There are largely two types of examples belonging to this category. One type typically has a head nominal of some deverbal noun, whose scope of predication is a process (§3.4), as in *cristes slege* "murder of Christ" (CH22, 26): the semantic structure of the head noun *slege* ([SLEGE]) designates a region containing a series of relations at least between two human entities, the agent and the patient of the act of murdering, scanned in a summary fashion (for the distinction between summary vs. sequential scanning, cf. §3.4). The designatum of the genitive nominal *cristes*, on the other hand, corresponds to the patient entity *within* the region designated by the head nominal (for details, cf. §4.5)

The other type of examples representing [B IN A] relation is "descriptive genitive" (§4.6), exemplified by *haliges lifes mann* "a man of holy life" (CH30, 8). In this example, the deprofiled entity (the designatum of *haliges lifes*) constitutes a part, specifically an attribute, of the profiled entity (the designatum of *mann*), so the former can be said to be included within the latter.

Finally, the [A ID B] is obtained when the profiled entity coincides with the unprofiled entity. This relation is observed in what is often called "appositive genitive" (as in [4-3a] below), and

also in one of the variation of partitive genitive, as in the following examples, when the head noun is *eal* (however there is no example of *eal* with partitive genitive in *CH*), as in [4-4]. [4-5] is a metaphorical expression in which the two distinct entities “unrighteousness” and “hook” are likened to be identical..

[4-3a] *mid edleane þæs ecan lifes* “with the reward of the eternal life” (CH27, 203)

[4-4] *eal moncynnes* “all of mankind” (Orosius 88, 6)

[4-5] *ðwyrnyssa beoð gerihte þonne ðwyrlicra manna heortan þe beoð þurh unrihtwisnysse*

hocum awegde; eft þurh regolsticcan þære soþan rihtwisnysse beoð geemnode

“wickedness will be corrected when wicked men’s hearts that are crooked through the hooks of unrighteousness are again made straight by the ruler of the true righteousness” (CH25, 214)

5. Coherency of the designata of a genitive nominal and the head nominal

This parameter is concerned with the degree to which the profiled and the deprofiled entities can be construed as a single coherent gestalt. Even though the two entities within the semantic structure of an adnominal genitive phrase are to be seen as one thing due to the fact that one of them is deprofiled (§3.9 above), the degree of coherency of the semantic structure varies greatly. It seems that this degree is reflected iconically in the word order (prenominal, postnominal, separate: cf. §1.1.2 above). Recall from §1.1.2 that the separated genitive can be analysed as a variation of the postnominal genitive, based on the fact that the separated genitive always follows rather than precedes the head nominal. The possibility for a postnominal genitive nominal to be separated from the head implies that in the semantic structure of an adnominal genitive phrase with postnominal genitive, the degree of coherency at which the two (profiled and deprofiled) entities can be seen as a single gestalt is lower than in the case of prenominal genitive, where the preposed genitive nominal is never separated from the head, as far as my corpus shows.

These parameters are correlated, and for each parameter the value changes gradually (not

simply “+” or “-“). Therefore these criteria are not meant for any watertight categorisation. The type of categorisation I wish to present here is that based on prototypes (Langacker 1987: 16-17), where each category is characterised by prototypical instances, sharing a number of attributes, and in the periphery of each category there are less prototypical instances. Moreover, in my classification, various categories are shown to be linked to one another in network, through unprototypical instances. Therefore the category distinction is clear when prototypical instances of different classes are compared, but it is not clear when unprototypical instances of different categories are compared. Here are the categories I propose for the analysis of the adnominal genitive phrases in my corpus. Each category is exemplified by a prototypical instance for the category.

1. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS (§4.2)
þæs cildes fæder “the child’s father” (CH2, 193)
2. POSSESSION (§4.3)
þæs cynges bol “the king’s house” (CH18, 8)
3. RELATIONS BETWEEN (NON)HUMAN AND NON-HUMAN ENTITIES (§4.4)
ðære sunnan trendel “circle of the sun” (CH20, 100)
4. PROCESS (§4.5)
cristes slege “murder of Christ” (CH22, 26)
5. DESCRIPTIVE GENITIVE (§4.6)
haliges lifes mann “a man of holy life” (CH30, 8)
6. PARTITIVE (§4.7)
an þæra twelfa apostola “one of the twelve apostles” (CH16, 12)
7. APPOSITION (§4.8)
mid edleane þæs ecan lifes “with the reward of the eternal life” (CH27, 203)

Prototypical instances of each of these categories are characterised by various attributes based on the parameters described above. The following table shows how each of the categories can be

characterised.

Table 1 The categorisation of adnominal genitive phrases.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
categories	interpersonal relations	possession	various relations	process	descriptive	partitive	appositive
parameters							
primary domain	interpersonal relation	possessor-possessee relation				part-whole relation	
saliency of gen.nom.	salient (human, grounded)	salient (human, grounded)	(salient) (whole, grounded)	(salient) (human, grounded)	insalient (abstract)	salient (whole)	
boundedness	bounded	bounded	bounded	bounded	bounded	unbounded	bounded
interconnection	A OUT B	A OUT B ~ A IN B	A OUT B ~ A IN B	B IN A	B IN A	A IN B	A ID B
coherency	prenom	prenom.				postnom.	

Note that not all the five parameters are relevant for the characterisation of every category (the column for an irrelevant parameter is left blank). This categorisation can be elaborated further. Especially the categories (3) and (4) are heterogeneous since the primary domain of adnominal genitive phrases of these categories is determined by the semantic structure of the genitive nominal, therefore this category can be further divided into sub-categories according to the primary domains. On the other hand, the categories (1), (2) are rather stable ones, in that their primary domains are constant (interpersonal relation, possession, part-whole relations respectively). Most of the categories are to be distinguished in terms of the type of interconnection. The categories (1) (2) (3) are characterised by the interconnection [A OUT B], though the last two may vary between [A OUT B] and [A IN B]. The categories (4) and (5) have [B IN A]. The category (6) has [A IN B], and the category (7) has [A ID B]. (2) and (3) on the one hand and (6) on the other are distinguished because the genitive nominals in (6) typically designates a mass (= an unbounded region), whereas those in (2) and (3) designate a non-mass region (= a bounded region). For the categories (1) and (2), the designatum of the genitive nominal is particularly salient because it is typically a human and is grounded, (see below shortly) which is related to the fact that their primary domains are interpersonal relationship and possession. With the category (5), the designatum of the genitive nominal can be said to be particularly insalient, since it is typically an abstract noun. With other categories, especially (3) and (4), which are rather heterogeneous in kind as we noted above, the saliency of the

designatum of the genitive nominals is not constant. Some designate humans that are grounded, some denote non-humans grounded. So generalisation cannot be made here in this respect.

In the table above, I also put some attributes which emerge only as a result of the examination of the actual examples of adnominal genitive phrases. As we will see in the relevant sections below, the genitive nominals of the categories (1) and (2) are predominantly grounded expressions (accompanied by some kind of determiners, pronouns, or proper nouns), and they are preposed to the head, which is related to the parameter of coherency.

We can already see that there is already a certain amount of patterning among these various categories of adnominal genitive phrases. Certain attributes cluster around some categories. Most conspicuous is that saliency, coherency, [A OUT B] (or [A OUT B] ~ [A IN B]) are common to both adnominal genitives of interpersonal relations and possessive. As we will discuss below, such patterning is indicative of the emergence of the determinative function of adnominal genitive phrase.

The following sections will present the examples of adnominal genitive phrases in CH, and show how the examples can be classified into the categories described above, and how these categories are linked to one another through unprototypical instances.

§4.2 Interpersonal relations.

In this section I will deal with the examples of noun phrases containing a genitive nominal whose predicates are characterised in the basic domain of various kinds of interpersonal relationship. The semantic structure of adnominal genitive phrases of this category have two human entities (profiled and deprofiled) interconnected in [A OUT B] relation, through an interpersonal relationship. This domain is our knowledge that people can be related to each other in personal networks of various types: some kinds of relationship are exclusive and perpetual (e.g. kinship network,) and others are less exclusive and even temporary (e.g. friendship and enmity), or often made only in the context of some particular human institution (e.g. discipleship, master-servant relationship, hierarchy within a governmental, political, or military organisation).

Prototypical examples will be dealt with first, and then unprototypical examples will be

introduced later in this section.

§3.2.1 Interpersonal relations: prototypical examples

Here are some prototypical examples of the present category. They are classified according to the specific types of interpersonal relationship that serves as their relevant domain.

Kinship network

[4-6] *þæs cildes fæder* “the child’s father” (CH2, 193)

Friendship/enmity

[4-7] *Ge sind mine frynd* “You are my friends” (CH36, 63)

[4-8] *lufiað eowre fynd.* “love your enemy” (CH35, 62)

Discipleship (teacher-student relationship: in the Christian context)

[4-9] *petres æftergencga* “Peter’s successor” (CH37, 35)

[4-10] *Crist lufode eac his apostolas* “Christ also loves his apostles” (CH16, 48)

Lord-servant relationship

[4-11] *þurh paules bodunge gelyfdon þæs caseres þegnas.*

“through Paul’s preaching the Emperor’s servants believed” (CH26, 163)

Leader-people relationship (in a political or a military organisation)

[4-12] *þæs wælhreowan caseres folc* “the people of the cruel emperor” (CH26, 282)

There are several points to be noted common to all these examples.

The head noun in each of the noun phrases is a “relational noun” (Langacker 1987: 218) whose predicate designates a person or a group of people (= trajector) in terms of another person or another group of people (= landmark). For example, the predicate [FÆDER] (cf. [4-6]) assumes at least the presence of someone for whom the designated person is a father (§2.4 above). In the same way, in the predicate [ÆFTERGENCGA] (cf. [4-9]) the designated person is specified with respect to another person whom he or she follows in terms of teaching. When these head nouns are integrated with a genitive nominal, the profile of the latter (= the deprofiled entity)

corresponds to the landmark entity in the predicate of the former.

Both the head noun and the genitive nominal designate humans, or a group of humans (as opposed to non-humans), who are related to each other in the relevant interpersonal relation. This is a natural consequence of the fact that predicates of all these noun phrases are to be understood in the context of some kind of interpersonal (= person-to-person) relationship. Moreover, the genitive nominal in each of these examples is typically a grounded expression: either the genitive form of a noun with some kind of determiner such as a demonstrative ([4-6, 11, 12],) or a possessive adjective ([4-7, 8]), or the genitive form of a pronoun ([4-10]), or of a proper noun [4-9]). *Table 4-2* below shows the eighty percent of all the examples that belong to this category (both prototypical and unprototypical ones: see the next section for unprototypical examples) have a genitive nominal which is a grounded expression.

Table 4-2 The number of the examples of adnominal genitive phrases of interpersonal relations, classified according to whether the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and according to the word order.

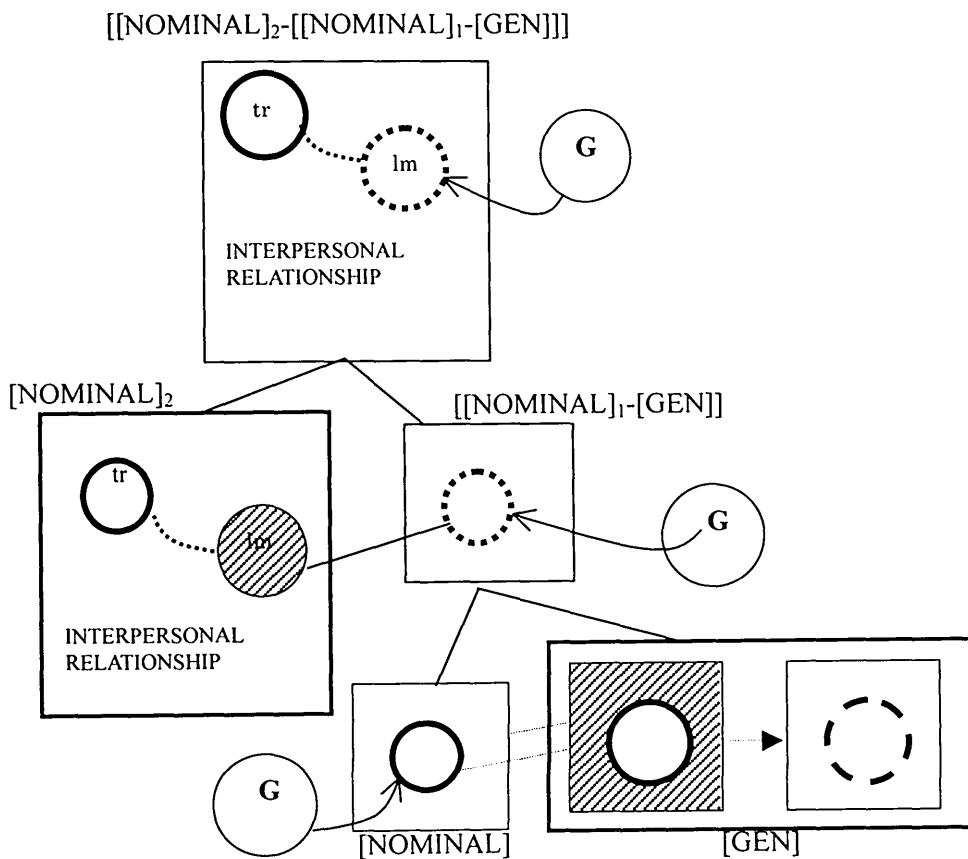
TOTAL	Genitive nominal = grounded expressions				Word order				
	sub-total	With determiner	Pronouns	Proper nouns	before	after	separate	both	ellipsis
1353	1095	87	912	96	1303	38	4	4	4
(100%)	80%	6%	67%	7%	96.3%	2.4%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%

This tendency for the genitive nominal of the present category to be a grounded expression seems to be correlated with the availability of the designatum of the genitive nominal as a reference point in singling out some target (cf. §3.8ff above for the reference point analysis). One of the properties of the basic domain of interpersonal relationship is our knowledge that a person or a group of people can be related to another such in a unique relation, at least in a relevant discourse. Since the genitive nominal is mostly a grounded expression, i.e. designating a thing as located in the domain of instantiation, a conceptualiser can establish a mental path, taking that designatum of the genitive nominal as a reference point, to some target entity which is related to it in some interpersonal relation. Because of this property, the whole noun phrase will also be a grounded expression (anchored on the domain of instantiation). This is basically the same principle as the reference point analysis for possessive in PDE as presented in §3.8.

Table 4-2 also shows that in the majority of the genitive nominal precedes the head noun. This is always the case when the genitive nominal is a genitive form of a pronoun or an inflected form of a possessive adjective. When the genitive nominal preposed, then the head noun will never be accompanied with any determiner of its own, as we noted already (§1.2.1.2 above). This fact implies that the preposed genitive nominal of this category had a determinative function, and the word-order may be said to symbolise this function (see §6.4 below for the discussion on the iconicity of this word order).

Regarding these examples as prototypes, I establish a schema that would categorise these examples as its instantiations. The schema will take the form of *Figure 4-2*.

Figure 4-2



At the bottom right side is the valence relation of a genitive nominal, consisting of some kind of nominal $[\text{NOMINAL}]_1$ designating a human entity, and of a genitive inflection. The nominal predicate is grounded, i.e. it is assumed to be known to both the speakers and the hearer (hence related to the ground element (=G)). The resultant genitive nominal has a deprofiled designatum,

which corresponds, at the second valence relation, to the landmark entity in the nominal predicate [NOMINAL]₂, which is a relational noun. This nominal and the genitive nominal are integrated into an adnominal genitive phrase through this correspondence.

§4.2.2 Interpersonal relations: unprototypical examples

Now, we turn to less prototypical examples of this category. They are seen as unprototypical because there are some conflicts between the specifications of the schema in *Figure 4-2* and those of the examples. Here are some of the unprototypical examples, in which the head nouns are all terms used in kinship network.

[4-13] *þ se hælend is godes sunu* “that Jesus is God’s son” (CH16, 25)

[4-14] *Sy hælu dauides bearne*; “Hail be to Son of David”(CH14, 23)

[4-15] & *þu bist manegra ðeoda fæder* “and you will be a father of many nations” (CH6, 16)

[4-16] *Betwux wifa bearnum ne aras nan mærra man; þonne is iohannes se fulluhtere*

“Amongst children of women has there arisen no greater man than is John the Baptist”
(CH25, 104)

[4-17] *ac he is fæder ælcere leasunge*; “but he is father of every deception” (CH11, 64)

[4-18] *for ðan þe crist is ealra hlaforda hlaford. æigðer ge manna. ge ealra gesceafta*;

“Because Christ is lord of all lords, both men and all creatures” (CH14, 77)

The noun phrases in the example [4-13] have *godes* “God’s” as a genitive nominal, which designates an entity which is not a human in a literal sense. In [4-14, 15] there is no parent-child relationship in a literal sense between the two entities designated by the whole phrase and the genitive nominal. In [4-16] the genitive nominal is not a grounded expression. In [4-17, 18] the genitive nominal designates a non-human, inanimate thing, which is not capable of being a father.

These can be said to be examples of extension from the schema in *Figure 4-2*. They are, in particular, metaphorical expressions in the sense that they show a shift in the relevant domain, from the “source domain” to different “target domains” (Lakoff 1987: 276). The example in [4-

13] shows the extension to the domain of divinity, or of Christian belief (in which Jesus is believed to be Son of God). [4-14, 15, 16] are examples of extension to the domain of genealogy in which a person can be seen as an originator of his descendants. The example [4-17, 18] shows the extension to the domain of origination or creation, in which a person may be seen as responsible for the existence of some human quality. There are examples of similar metaphorical extension from other domains, one example is that of friendship/enmity (cf. the examples [4-7, 8] above).

[4-19] *he is freond þæs ælmihtigan godes* “he is a friend of the Almighty God” (CH31, 30)

[4-20] *he godes feond is* “he is an enemy of God” (CH40, 93)

[4-21] *swa hwa swa wile beon freond þyssere worulde*

“whoever will be a friend of this world” (CH40, 90)

[4-22]... *wære widerwinna þære ealdan gesetnyssse* “... should be adversary of the Old Law”

(CH27, 69)

See Appendix §1 for more examples of unprototypical instances of the category of the genitive of interpersonal relations.

There are several points to be noted here. First of all, in the case of the prototypical examples, there is a wider range of possible head nouns than in the case of unprototypical examples. For example, in the case of the noun phrases whose predicates are to be characterised in the domain of kinship network, it is possible to have as head noun all kinds of kinship terms like *fæder*, *moder*, *sunu*, *bearn*, *cild*, *broðor*, *sweoster*, *sibling*, *aðum*, *modorige*, etc. On the other hand, in the case of unprototypical examples, the range is much less wide: the possible head nouns are *fæder*, *moder*, *bearn*, *sunu*. There is no example which mean “God’s brother”, or ‘aunt of deception’. This reflects a shift in relevant domains, from that of kinship network to that of divinity. The latter domain is the knowledge about the relationship among God, Jesus, and Mary, assumed to be shared by both speakers and hearers (in this specific case, Ælfric and the hearers of his homilies). To the extent that in their knowledge of divinity God does not have parents to himself, there is no possibility that such phrases as **godes broðor* may occur. It is worthwhile noting that

distinction between prototypical and unprototypical examples may vary depending on what kind of knowledge is assumed between speakers and hearer, and hence depending on genre of texts to be used.

Secondly, as we noted in §4.2 above, in the case of prototypical examples, the genitive nominal is typically a grounded expression. Since the primary domain is some kind of interpersonal relationship in which a person can be related to another in some unique way, the adnominal genitive construction is a way in which it is possible to specify someone with reference to another related to the former in an interpersonal relationship. Therefore, the whole noun phrase is also rendered a grounded expression. However, in the case of unprototypical examples, the primary domain is not that of interpersonal relationship, and it is not always possible to specify some particular person by means of the adnominal genitive construction. Therefore, the whole noun phrase may not always be a grounded expression. As a result, in OE, there are examples of noun phrase which consists of a noun phrase with a genitive nominal, determined by some demonstrative or adjective, as in the following.

[4-23] *Se godes sunu* “that Son of God”(CH35, 148) (cf. [4-13] above)

[4-24] *þas godes þegnas* “those servants of God” (CH24, 127)

In these examples, the demonstratives *se* and *þas* are used to determine the whole noun phrase, whereby to specify which instance (i.e. which persons) are being talked about, whereas the genitive nominals *godes* are used, rather to specify what *type* of servants or son are being talked about (for the distinction between type/instance, cf. §3.6).

Thirdly, these unprototypical examples show some link to other categories of the adnominal genitive. There seem to be two directions of gradation, one to the adnominal genitive involving process (§4.5), and the other to the descriptive genitive (§4.6). They will be dealt with in some length below.

1) Examples of the type *se godes sunu*, *þas godes þegnas* show that the genitive nominal only

specifies a type, rather than an instance. Here *godes* designates, not a physically present human, but the object of one's belief understood in terms of a human. Because of this, there is some "accommodation" (§2.1.1.1) at work, to the effect that the focus is not so much on the designatum of *godes* itself, as on the attributes of the designatum of *godes*, ascribed to *godes* according to the belief. (Compare this to the prototypical example of this category such as *þæs cildes fæder*, where the question of what kind of person *þæs cildes* is is not relevant, unless it is made salient by the context). As a result, the genitive nominals in *se godes sunu* and *þas godes þegnas* have similar semantic effect to that of an adjective. Compare the following examples.

he næfð godcundlice englas "he has no divine angels (= angels of God)" (CH26, 193)

Ic geseo godes engel "I see God's angel" (CH29, 170)

Then such unprototypical examples are very similar to the type of adnominal genitive here termed "descriptive genitive": this type of genitive typically specifies the type or attributes of a human or a non-human, as in the following example.

Reaf getacniað rihtwisnyse weorc "Clothing signifies work of righteousness" (CH14, 110)

Similar to this type is the type *betwux wifa bearnum* in [4-16] above., where the genitive nominal is an ungrounded expression. Since the genitive nominal is not grounded, the whole phrase does not specify any particular "children", but it only specifies what *type* of children are being talked about, and this particular expression is almost equivalent to "amongst all human beings".

2) Examples of the type *fæder ælcere leasunge* have some processual (i.e. verbal cf. §3.4) meaning, as a result of the metaphorical extension from the domain of kinship network to the domain of origination or creation: the person designated by the expression *fæder ælcere leasunge* is someone who initiates the deception. Because of this tinge of implied processual

meaning, this expression is very similar to other expressions in which the verbal meaning is more overt. Consider the following example.

he is ealdor & scyppend ealra godnyssa & sibbe.

“he is chieftain and *creator of all goodnesses and peace*” (CH2, 46)

Cf. *Ac se ælmihtiga fæder gesceóp þurh ðone wisdom ealle gesceafta.*

“But the Almighty God created all creation through the wisdom” (CH2, 171)

(*scyppend* = a creator; *ge-scieppan* = to create)

This example is a noun phrase with the head noun designating a performer of certain activity. This example is now very closely related to the category of adnominal genitive with a predicate characterised in the domain of some “process”, typically a noun phrase with some kind of deverbal noun as its head (cf. §4.5.1).

Interestingly, it is only with this type of examples, within the category of interpersonal relations, that we find examples of the separate genitive, as in [4-18], where the genitive nominals *manna* and *ealragesceafta* are separated from the head *hlaford*. Even though the examples are scanty (only four examples in this category), such examples are strong evidence that the word order is symbolic of their categorial status (prototypical or unprototypical).

To sum up, the category of interpersonal relationship can be said to be a well-entrenched category, having a wide range of prototypical examples. This category has some unprototypical examples, which deviates from the prototype by having some conflicting specifications with the schema established in *Figure4-2*: mainly that the genitive nominal may be a nominal designating an entity that is not literally a human, an entity that is human but not grounded, or an entity that is not human at all (inanimate things). Through these unprototypical examples there are links to other apparently remotely related categories, namely descriptive genitive and the genitive of process.

§4.3 Possession

In this section I will deal with examples of noun phrases with a genitive nominal whose predicate is characterised in the domain of “possessor-possessee relation” (see below shortly). This is the largest category of all in terms of the number of examples, and it reflects the extremely high degree of entrenchment of this category, and its saliency. Because of the well-entrenched status of this category, many adnominal genitive phrases which would otherwise be grouped in other categories can be assimilated to this category both by elaboration and extension. As a result it is hard to tell how far the category of possession can extend. The semantic structure of adnominal genitive phrases have two entities (profiled and deprofiled), either in [A OUT B] or [A IN B] relation, through “possessor-possessee relationship”. I will discuss this relationship in the next section briefly, and present prototypical examples.

§4.3.1 Possession: Prototypical examples

The possessor-possessee relation is a “conceptual archetype” (Langacker 1999: 171), which is a concept that emerges through everyday experiences so often that it has a great influence on the way in which we conceive of the world. This concept is our knowledge that things belong to or be associated with a person or people in a unique relationship: some relationship may be exclusive (such as the relation between body parts and a person who has them), others are less so and transferable to others given a necessary transaction (such as the relation between some property like a house or a car and a person who owns them), some relations are only tenuous and are even non-existent in reality, but the two entities are so construed simply because the conceptualiser imposes the possessor-possessee relation on the conceived situation (cf. §2.2.2), as we will see below.

Taylor (1989) refers to such a conceptual archetype of “possessor-possessee relationship” as an “experiential gestalt”. This experiential gestalt is characterised by several attributes associated with the prototypical instances of the possessor-possessee relationship. Taylor gives the following list of such attributes.

- 1)The possessor is a specific human being.
- 2)The possessed is an inanimate entity, usually a concrete physical object.
- 3)The relation is exclusive, in the sense that for any possessed entity, there is usually only one

possessor. On the other hand, for any possessor, there is typically a large number of entities which may count as his possessions.

- 4) The possessor has exclusive rights of access to the possessed. Other persons may have access to the possessed only with the permission of the possessor.
 - 5) The possessed is typically an object of value, whether commercial or sentimental.
 - 6) The possessor's right of access to the possessed are invested in him through a special transaction, such as purchase, or gift, and remain with him until the possessor effects their transfer to another person by means of a further transaction, such as sale or donation.
 - 7) Typically, the possession relation is long term, measured in months and years, not in minutes or seconds.
 - 8) In order that the possessor can have easy access to the possessed, the possessed is typically located in the proximity of the possessor. In some cases, the possessed may be a permanent, or at least regular accompaniment of the possessor.
- (Taylor 1989: 679)

Let us regard these attributes as values of prototypical instances of the possessor-possessee relationship. Then we can say that the more of these attributes the semantic structure of a given adnominal genitive phrase has, the more likely it is for it to be categorised as an instance of the adnominal genitive of possession. It should be noted that we can deduce several prototypical properties associated with the adnominal genitive of possession. The genitive nominal will designate a human being and will be a grounded nominal (from 1): "a specific human being". The head noun will designate an inanimate, concrete entity (from 2)). Since the possessor-possessee relationship is typically unique and exclusive (from 3) and 4)), the genitive nominal will specify the particular instance of the type specified by the head noun.

In CH there are examples of this category, with varying degrees of prototypicality. Let us see some prototypical examples.

Property-owner relationship

[4-25] *þæs cynges botl wearð mid heofonlicum fyre forbearnd* (CH18, 8)

"the king's house was burnt up with heavenly fire"

[4-26] *Æfter þysum gecyrde ypolitus to his hame* "after this Ypolitus went to his home"

(CH29, 230)

Noun phrases with the head noun designating some body part also belong to this category, though here the aspect (6) above is lacking, since the relationship between body parts and their possessor is inherent, rather than something obtained through any kind of transaction.

Human-body part relationship

[4-27] *He þa aleat to þæs cyninges eare* “He then leant to the king’s ear” (CH26, 186)

[4-28] ... *bide þæt he ðe forgyfe iohannes heafod þæs fulluhteres*

“... bid that he should give you the head of John the Baptist”(CH32, 20)

With the “inalienable possession” of this type, the interconnection between the two (profiled and deprofiled) entities in the semantic structure of the adnominal genitive phrase is [A IN B], since a body part is part of the human who has it.

There are numerous examples that extend even further from the prototypical possession relation. For example, the possessed thing may not be a concrete thing, as in the following examples.

Humans- thoughts/belief relationship

[4-29] *swa eac gif þæs synfullan ingehyd bið gehreþod mid fyrfte þæs upþlican domes*

“also if the sinful man’s thought is touched with the fear of the noble judgement”

(CH33, 55)

Humans- human attributes relationship

[4-30] & *þæra gedwolmanna dyrstignysse* “and the heretics’ boldness” (CH4, 180)

Humans-language relationship

[4-31] *Aue.þ is on urum gereorde gretingword* “Ave, that is in our language, greeting word”

(CH13, 46)

The relationship between a person and a thing can be tenuous and only temporary, as in the following example.

[4-32] *se oxa oncneow his hlaford. & se assa his hlafordes binne*

“the ox knew his lord. and the donkey (knew) his master’s manger”(CH2, 111)

(In this context “his master” refers to baby Jesus and the manger refers to the manger he happened to sleep in.)

In the next section I will deal with examples which show gradual extensions from the prototype.

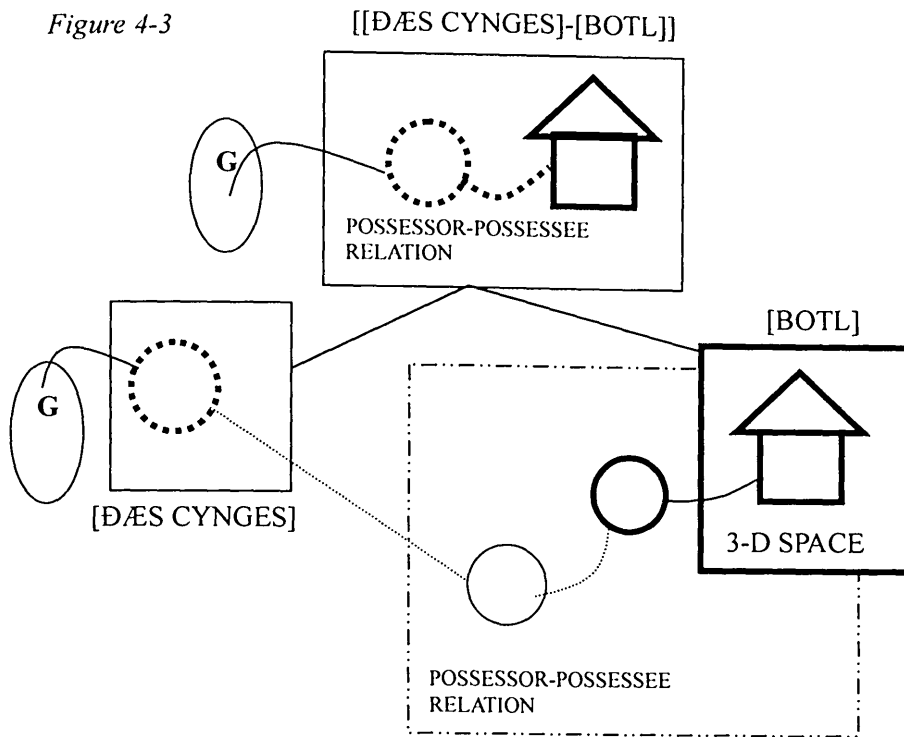
There are several points to be made of these examples. They are very similar to the examples in the category of interpersonal relation we saw above (§4.2). As has already noted above, the genitive nominals designate humans, and typically are grounded expressions (see *Table 4-3* below). Because of the nature of the possessor-possessee relationship, it is possible to specify some particular thing with reference to a person who has access to it. As a result, the whole noun phrase is rendered a grounded expression. As for word order, as in the case of interpersonal relationship, a genitive nominal typically precedes the head noun. See *Table 4-2* below.

Table 4-3 The number of the examples of adnominal genitive phrases of possession, classified according to whether the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and according to the word order.

TOTAL	sub-total	Genitive = Grounding expressions			word order			
		pronoun	with determiner	proper noun	before	after	both	ellipsis
2638	2452	1750	299	453	2560	57	14	7
percentage (100%)	93%	66%	11%	17%	97.2%	2.1%	0.5%	0.2%

One difference between the present category and the previous category is that in the former the head noun (like *botl* “dwelling, residence” or *ham* “home” in [4-39, 40]) does not have within its predicate a salient substructure that would correspond readily to the deprofiled entity of the genitive nominal. (In the category of interpersonal relationship, on the other hand, the head noun is a relational noun, and there is some trajector-landmark asymmetry in the domain of interpersonal relationship evoked inherently within the predicate of the head noun). The domain of possessor-possessee relationship is made especially salient only through the integration of a head noun designating some thing and the genitive nominal designating a person. This is an example of “accommodation” (cf. §2.1.1.1: Langacker 1987: 392). If we take the example of *ðæs cynges botl* “the king’s residence”, the predicate [BOTL] itself does not have a particularly salient substructure that would correspond to the designatum of the genitive nominal *ðæs cynges*. However, our basic knowledge of possession that things can belong to people is so prevalent and can be said to constitute part of domains for the predicate [BOTL] though it is not its primary domain. It is this prevalence of the domain of possession that facilitates the integration between the predicate [ÐÆS CYNGES] and the head noun [BOTL]. The diagram in *Figure 4-3* below illustrates the valence relation of the composite structure [[ÐÆS CYNGES]-[BOTL]].

Figure 4-3



In this diagram I omit the valence relationship of the genitive nominal *ðæs cyninges*. It is a grounded nominal predicate (related to the ground element “G”), and through the integration with a genitive inflection its designatum is deprofiled. The other nominal predicate [BOTL] designates an entity that occupies some area in three-dimensional space (hence its primary domain is 3-D SPACE). But the encyclopaedic knowledge of [BOTL] would contain much more information: it is fashioned from certain materials such as stones or wood; it is built for a people, especially people of high rank like kings, to live in, and therefore it belongs to someone, and so on. These pieces of knowledge can be regarded as portion of the “experiential gestalt” (see above) of possessor-possessed relationship. It will not necessarily be the primary domain of the predicate [BOTL], but can be accessed through the profile (the access is represented by the dotted line in the diagram), and depending on contexts in which the predicate is used, any of such pieces of knowledge may be brought to the primary domain (for the mechanism of access, cf. §2.3.1). In the diagram, the non-primary status of the possessor-possessee relationship is represented in the diagram by the rectangle with a broken line around. When it is integrated with the genitive nominal [ÐÆS CYNINGES], which designates a person, the knowledge of the

possessor-possessee relationship is brought to salience. Then the designatum of [ÐÆS CYNINGES] will be regarded as a likely possessor of the dwelling. In the resultant noun phrase, the domain of POSSESSION is the primary domain for the predicate.

§4.3.2 Possession: Unprototypical examples.

There are various directions to which the category of possession can extend towards unprototypical examples. First of all, the genitive nominal may designate a non-human entity, or an entity that is not a human in a literal sense. Secondly, the genitive nominal may be an ungrounded entity. Thirdly, there is an element of process (i.e., some verbal meaning) involved in the predicate of the whole noun phrase. First of all I will present examples of the first two types of unprototypical examples.

(The possessor = God, angel, devil, Jesus Christ)

[4-33] *þ drihten sylf astihð of heofonum on stemne þæs heahengles & mid godes byman*

“that Lord himself descends from heaven in the voice of the archangel and with God’s trumpet” (CH40, 133)

[4-34] *Gað ealle eademes to godes cyrcan* “All go together to God’s church” (CH4, 197)

[4-35] *deofles templ & deofles wunung* “devil’s temple and devil’s dwelling”(CH19, 68)

(the possessor = ungrounded)

[4-36] *Ic afandie manna heortan* “I will search hearts of men”(CH7, 186)

As for the examples [4-33, 34, 35], the predicates of the noun phrases cannot be characterised in the domain of possession in exactly the same way as the prototypical examples we looked at above, because it is understood that entities such “God”, “angel”, “devil”, etc. do not possess voice, a trumpet, church, etc. in the way ordinary humans do. Even if the predicates are to be characterised in the domain of possession, what figures more than the possessor-possessed relation is some attributes ascribed to these entities (e.g. the quality of holiness in the Christian

sense ascribed to “God”, that of wickedness and sinfulness ascribed to “devil”, etc.). These unprototypical examples make a link to the category of descriptive genitive, as in the case of interpersonal relationship (cf. §4.2.2).

As for the example [4-36], the genitive nominal is not a grounded expression. Therefore they designate “men” in general, applicable to any men. As a result of the integration with the head noun *heortan*, the genitive nominal facilitates for type specification. The genitive nominal in [4-36] is comparable to the adjective *menniscre* in the following example:

[4-37] *on menniscre heortan*; “in human heart”(CH33, 92)

Examples of the types [4-36] again provide a link to the category of descriptive genitive.

Now we turn to the third type of unprototypical examples, that is those with the predicate in which some element of process (some verbal meaning) becomes relatively more salient than in the case of prototypical examples of this category.

First of all the possessed thing may be the result of some effective activity as in the following examples. They may be said to be less unprototypical compared to the other examples, since the possessed entities are concrete.

[4-38] *to iohannes fotswadum* “to John’s foot-tracks” (CH4, 158) (= result of walking)

[4-39] *ðyses mædenes gebysnungum* “this maiden’s examples” (CH36, 130)

(= result of giving an example)

Secondly, the head noun may designate some experience (such as disease, death, or various kinds of emotions), and the possessor may be interpreted as experiencer of the experience, as in the following examples.

[4-40] *ymbe þæra apostla forwyrde* “about those apostles’ death” (CH37, 236)

[4-41] *ure adlunga* “our illness” (CH8, 53)

[4-42] *ure sarnyssa* “our sorrow” (CH8, 53)

Furthermore, the possessed entity may be some affective activity, and the possessor may be interpreted as agent of the activity, as in the following examples.

[4-43] *ne we ne sind þurh his swinglum gerihlæhte*

“we are not corrected by his beatings” (CH38, 60)

It is not clear when unprototypical examples become entirely unacceptable as instantiations of the category defined by the schema in *Figure4-3*. But it is difficult to see the designatum of the whole adnominal genitive phrase in the examples [4-40] to [4-43] as things possessed, and they may be rightly be said to be categorised as instantiations of the other category involving a process (to be dealt with in §4.5 below).

To sum up sections §4.3.1 and §4.3.2, the category of the adnominal of possession is a well-entrenched category, and its unit status is supported by numerous prototypical examples of the category. As in the case of interpersonal relationships, there are various types of unprototypical examples that deviate from the prototype: some have the genitive nominal that designates an entity that is not literally a human, or an ungrounded human, and such unprototypical examples show a link to the category of descriptive genitive. Others have a head noun that designates result of some effective activity, experience, or some affective activity, and the genitive nominal is to be interpreted as the actor, experiencer, or agent in relation to them respectively. The head noun has some element of process, and these unprototypical examples show a link to the adnominal genitive of process.

§4.4 Various relations between non-humans entities.

This category consists of noun phrases with a genitive nominal whose predicate is characterised in the domain of various kinds of relationship between non-human entities. This is a non-human

analogue of the adnominal genitives of interpersonal relations and of possession (§4.2ff and §4.3ff above), in that the semantic structure of adnominal genitive phrases of this category has two entities (profiled and unprofiled) interconnected either in [A OUT B] or [A IN B] relation. First of all I present examples that show [A IN B] relations, i.e. part-whole relationship.

[4-44] ... & setton þa weardas to ælcum geate þære ceastre

“... and then placed guards at every gate of the city” (CH27, 47)

[4-45] ... standan uppon þam cnolle þære healican dune “

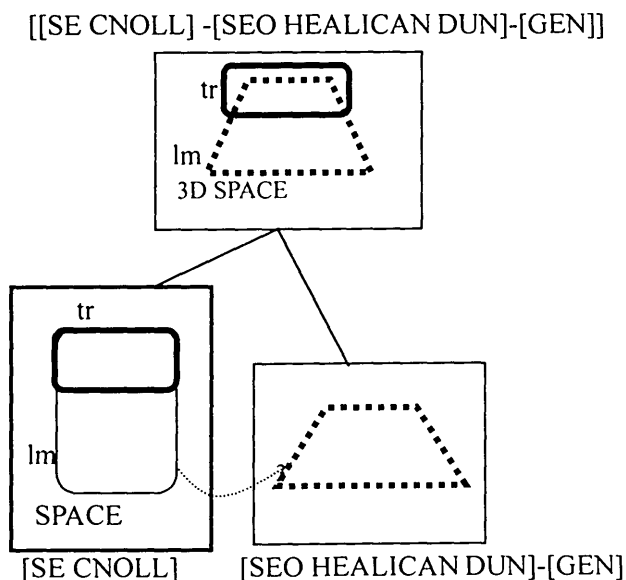
“... standing upon the top of the high dune”(CH34, 14)

[4-46] þa biternyssa his heortan “the bitterness of his heart” (CH21, 170)

The examples [4-44, 45] show concrete part-whole relationship (“gate “ is part of the “city”; the top” is part of “the dune”). The example [4-46] shows the relationship between a thing (designated by the genitive nominal) and its attribute (designated by the head).

The schematic semantic structures and valence relations of the adnominal genitive phrases of part-whole relationship between non-human entities are given below in *Figure4-4* below, using the example from [4-45] þam cnolle þære healican dune “the top of the noble dune”. Here I do not take into consideration the fact that the whole phrase is inflected for the dative case after the preposition *uppon*. So I analyse the phrase as if it were a nominative phrase, hypothetically **se cnoll þære healican dune*.

Figure4-4



This diagram omits the integration between the nominal [SEO HEALICAN DUN] (semantic pole of the hypothetical nominative form * *seo healican dun* > *þære healican dune*) and [GEN], which deprofiles the profile of the former. The predicate of the resultant genitive nominal is represented by the figure on the right bottom, having a hill-shape, which is a bounded region in a three-dimensional space. On the bottom-left is the predicate of *seo cnoll* “the top”, which designates a bounded region (as a trajector) covering the highest area within some vertically long configuration (as landmark). Both these trajector and landmark entities are schematic within the predicate [SE CNOLL]. In the integration between [SE CNOLL] and [[SEO HEALICAN DUN]-[GEN]], it is this landmark entity in the former that functions as an elaboration site. This is elaborated by the deprofiled profile of the genitive nominal.

These are examples of adnominal genitive phrases expressing part-whole relationship, and this type of examples are closely related to the other category of partitive genitive (cf. §4.7 below), and distinction is not always clear cut. However, if we compare prototypical examples of the two categories, it is clear that they are different in terms of their semantic structure. The distinctive difference between the two categories is that in the present category the genitive nominal is typically a count noun, therefore designating a bounded region. As a result, in the semantic structure of the adnominal genitive phrase, the two interconnected entities are construed as distinct, qualitatively separate entities even if the one is part of the other. On the other hand, in the case of partitive genitive, the genitive nominal is typically a mass noun or a plural noun which both designate an unbounded region, which has the characteristics of being homogeneous, expansible, and contractible (cf. §3.2.3). As a result, in the semantic structure of the adnominal genitive phrase, the designatum of the head is construed as not qualitatively distinct from that of the genitive nominal. Compare the following example of partitive genitive below with the examples given above [4-44, 45, 46].

[4-47] & *gif he forlyst an ðæra sceapa*. (CH24, 8)

The genitive nominal here is a plural nominal, which designates a replicate mass, an unbounded

region consisting of indefinitely replicated instances of the type defined by the noun (cf. 3.2.3). The head noun *an* within the whole noun phrase designates one of these instances. Since *an* designates a bounded region, it also bounds a region within the unbounded region designated by the genitive plural noun. Since a mass noun imposes a construal of the designated region as homogeneous, it is assumed here that what is designated by the whole phrase *an ðæra sceapa* is an entity with the same quality as any other subpart of the unbounded region is designated by the genitive nominal. On the other hand, in the case of the examples [4-44, 45, 46], this is not necessarily guaranteed. In [4-44], “the gate” belongs to “the city”, but “the gate” is essentially different from other parts of “the city”. In [4-45], “the top (of the dune)” and “the dune” are almost of the same quality. However, the expression *þam cnolle þære healican dune* imposes a view that what is designated is qualitatively separate and distinct from the rest of the whole, simply by virtue of being “the top” (e.g. rather than “the bottom”), though examples like [4-45] may stand in a fuzzy area between the two categories. In [4-46], the genitive nominal designates a concrete non-human entity, whereas the head designates a quality attributed to it, which is an abstract entity. These two entities are essentially different. On this basis, I distinguish these categories, taking the risk that the distinction is not always clear-cut: the distinction is important to the history of the genitive around this transitional period from OE to ME, because it seems that it is the category of partitive genitive that ceased to exist (but replaced by the *of*-phrase), whereas the category of various part-whole relation survived (at least some of it e.g. *the mountain's top*, *the country's capital*, *the city's gate*), even though these two categories are extremely similar.

This category of adnominal genitive shows various parallelisms with the two previous categories (interpersonal relation and possession). One parallelism is that there are comparably different degrees of “closeness” between the two entities in the predicate of an adnominal genitive phrase. We saw in § 4.2 and § 4.3 above that some interpersonal relationship and possessor-possessed relation are exclusive and permanent (e.g. kinship, body parts), others are less so, and more temporary (e.g. friendship/enmity, ownership). In the present category, too, such difference can be observed. For example, in example [4-45], and also, to a lesser extent, in [4-44], the entity designated by the genitive nominal (“top”, “gate” respectively) are an integral

and rather inalienable part of the entity designated by the head noun (“the hill”, “the city”). On the other hand, in the following example, the entity designated by the genitive nominal does not form so much an integral part of that designated by the head noun as in the previous example, but rather the former designates some source entity from which the latter is or is taken:

[4-48] *lazarus ne moste ær on life hedan ðæra crumena his mysan;*

“Lazarus was not allowed, when alive, to pay heed to the (bread)crumbs from his
(= the rich man’s) plate” (CH23, 68)

[4-49] *& we mid þæra boca lare beoð dæghwamlice gastlice gereordode*

“and we will be spiritually fed every day with (the) teaching of those books”
(CH12, 90)

Also in the following examples, even though they all have the same genitive nominal *ðære sunne* “of the sun”, the degree to which the entity designated by the head noun is integral to the sun as a whole differs:

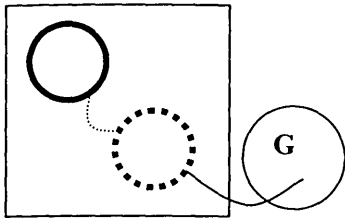
[4-50] *þ is ðære sunnan trendel* “that is circle of the sun” (CH20, 100)

[4-51] *Ðære sunnan hætu gæð of hire* “heat of the sun goes out of it” (CH20, 107)

[4-52] *se mona hæfð þære sunnan leoht* “the moon has light of the sun” (CH40, 165)

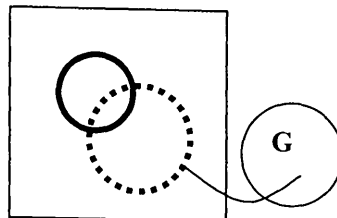
“The circle” of the sun is more or less integral part of it, whereas “light” and “heat” may be said to be something that emanates from the sun. In a similar fashion, the examples of genitive of possession where the head noun designates various kinds of human attributes (cf. [4-30] above) are paralleled by the examples like [4-46], where the whole phrase designates some kind of characteristics attributed to a non-human thing. The following diagrams capture the parallelism among these three categories in terms of the nature of the two entities within the adnominal genitive phrase.

Figure 4-5 (a)



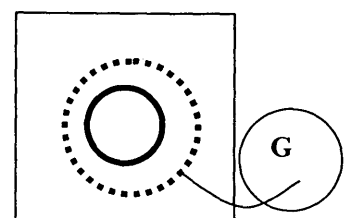
Relevant examples
ðæs aldormannes dohtor
petres æftergencga
þæs cyninges botl
... ðæra crumena his mysan
þæra boca lare

(b)



Relevant examples
þæra gedwolmanna dyrstignysse
þære sunnan hætu
þære sunnan leoht

(c)



Relevant examples
þæs cyninges eare
ðære sunnan trendel
... to ælcum geate þære ceastre
... uppon þæm cnolle þære healican
dune

The diagram (a) shows that the two entities are clearly distinct and separate from each other, and that the deprofiled entity is a grounded predicate. This construal is found in adnominal genitive phrases of interpersonal relation, possession (of property), and some examples of the present category such as [4-48, 49]. Within the examples of adnominal genitive of interpersonal genitive, one can also distinguish between those of kinship network and those of non-kinship network, in that the former has closer interconnection between the two entities (humans) than the latter. The diagram (c) shows that the two entities are conceptually distinct and separate but the profiled entity is construed as part of the deprofiled entity. This is obtained in examples of adnominal genitive phrases of possession of body parts, and prototypical examples of the present category (such as [4-44, 45], and [4-50]). The deprofiled entity is also typically grounded. The diagram (b) shows an intermediate stage between (a) and (b), where the two entities are distinct and separate, but not so clearly as in (a), nor is the profiled entity so much part of the deprofiled entity as in the case of (c). This is exemplified by adnominal genitive phrases of human attributes, or examples of the present category such as [4-51, 52].

The second parallelism is that in all these three categories, as far as prototypical examples are concerned, a genitive nominal is a grounded expression (which is implied in the diagrams in *Figure 4-4* above). In the present category, as in the case of the previous two categories, the majority of the examples have a grounded genitive nominal. See *Table 4-4* below, which shows more than half of the examples of this category (63%) have a genitive nominal which is some kind of grounded expression².

Table 4-4 The number of the examples of adnominal genitive phrases of various relations between non-human entities, classified according to whether the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and according to the word order.

TOTAL	subtotal	Genitive grounded expression =		Word order				
		pronoun	with determiner	before	after	split	both	ellipsis
399	250	29	221	205	185	7	1	1
100%	63%	7%	55%	51.3%	46.3%	2%	0.2%	0.2%

What this implies is that prototypical examples of these three categories make use of our cognitive ability of “reference point” One entity (designated by a genitive nominal) that is relatively salient to a given conceptualiser is invoked to single out another entity (designated by the head), whether human or non-human. It is one of the most important characteristics common to all these three categories that the genitive nominal designates a relatively more salient entity than the head noun, since this gives the genitive a determining function, which is absent in the other categories of adnominal genitive phrases. This would partly explain why, as we will see later, it is mainly these categories, especially the first two categories, that survived through to the early ME and further up until even PDE, where the genitive inflection, or a possessive morpheme, is identified more as a determiner (cf. §1.2.1.2 ff.).

However, there are some crucial differences between the present category and the previous two categories. Firstly, this category is miscellaneous compared to the previous two categories. The title of this category “various relations between non-human entities” does not specify a particular domain. The primary domain is mostly determined by the semantic structure of the genitive nominal of an individual instance. For example, the three examples [4-50, 51, 52] above have the same genitive nominal ‘the sun’, integrated with three different head nouns, each of which designates different parts of the sun. They show how the semantic structure of the genitive nominal provides a context with respect to which the semantic structure of the whole phrase can be characterised. More examples of this category are found in Appendix § 2.

A distinct feature of the category of the adnominal genitive of part-whole relations is its word

order. Half of the examples of this category have the genitive nominal following the head noun (see *Table 4-4* above). [4-44, 45, 46, 48] are examples of such word order. The other half has the genitive nominal preceding the head noun: [4-49, 50, 51, 52] are examples of such word order. More interestingly, it is in this category that we have examples of a genitive nominal split from the head, as in the example below:

[4-53] *Ðæt æftemyste word is þises lofsanges; on worulda;*

“The last word of this praise song is “for ever” (CH13, 220)

This is a notable difference from the previous two categories, where the genitive nominal predominantly precedes the head, and the genitive nominal is always attached to the head noun, whether it precedes or follows the head.

Another distinctive feature of this category that derives from this is that when a genitive nominal follows the head noun, it may happen that the head noun is accompanied with some type of demonstrative, which makes the head noun definite as in the example [4-44, 45, 46, 48] above, and also [4-54, 55] below. But it is not always the case, as in [4-56]:

[4-54] *Beda se trahtnere us onwrihð þa deopnysse þysre rædinge*

“Bede the commentator uncovers for us the depth of this reading” (CH26, 17)

[4-55] *On þære ylcan nihte godes engel undyde þa locu þæs cwearternes*

“On the same night God’s angel unlocked the lock of the prison” (CH37, 233)

[4-56] *noes arc on ypum þæs micclan flodes hæfde getacnunge þyssere gelapunge*

“Noah’s ark in (the?) waves of the great flood has signification of this church”

(CH35, 261)

When a genitive nominal precedes the head noun, as in [4-49, 50, 51, 52], the head noun is never accompanied with a demonstrative, or any kind of determiner, not only in the present category, but also in any other category of adnominal genitive, except for the cases like *se godes sumu* in

[4-23, 24] above. This shows that when a genitive nominal follows the head, it does not always determine the head, and if the whole noun phrase is to be a grounded expression in some way, then the head noun is accompanied with some kind of determiner. On the other hand, when a genitive nominal precedes the head, then it determines the head (again except for the cases in [4-23, 24]).

From the discussion above it is possible to draw some generalisations about this category of adnominal genitive phrase in contrast of the previous two categories. Judging from the fact that a genitive nominal of this category may follow the head or even split from it suggests that the whole adnominal genitive phrase might be seen with less of a single gestalt perception compared to the previous two categories. In these latter cases, in the majority of cases, the genitive nominal always precedes the head, and always attached to it. Not only this, but also when it precedes the head, it also determines it. In such cases, the genitive nominal will be likely to be integrated as part of the head, seen with more of a single gestalt perception. It must be remembered that in both cases (of interpersonal and possession, and of various relations) a whole adnominal genitive nominal is seen as a single gestalt, since there is only one profile in the predicate, the other profile (of the genitive nominal) being deprofiled. However, in the case of interpersonal and possession, it appears that there is a stronger perception of single gestalt. This relatively looser gestalt perception in this category probably allowed the genitive nominal to follow the head or even to be split from it.

§4.4.1 Various relations between non-human entities: unprototypical examples

As mentioned in the previous section, the present category is a miscellaneous category, therefore it is not so clear which examples are prototypical and which are not. However, regarding the examples given in the previous section as prototypical examples of the category, it is possible to distinguish some examples which are less prototypical, or even ones which are very unprototypical.

Here is one type of unprototypical examples. Compare [4-57] (which is a repetition of [4-52] above) with [4-58, 59].

[4-57] *& se mona hæfð þære sunnan leoht* “and the moon has light of the sun” (CH40, 165)

[4-58] *Ic eom middaneardes leoht* “I am the light of the world” (CH35, 188)

[4-59] *þæs lichaman bigleofa* “food for the body” (CH19, 123)

The adnominal genitive phrase in the example [4-57] shows a part-whole relationship, though the entity designated by the genitive nominal may be interpreted as a source as well. In either case, there is no problem in regarding the designatum of the head ‘light’ as belonging to “the sun”. When it comes to the example [4-58], the designatum of the genitive nominal “(the) world” would not be so much of whole or source of “light” as of something that benefits because of “light”. At least in my reading, this sentence would be paraphrased as “I am someone who gives light to the world”. A similar relationship can be observed in [4-59]: here “the body” is clearly not a whole for “food”, but is something for which the food is, or something that it nourishes.

The following examples are yet further unprototypical examples of this category.

[4-60] *se forma intinga mennisces forwyrdes* “the first reason for human death” (CH13, 70)

[4-61] *we sceolon onfon edlean ealra ura dæda;*

“we shall ... receive reward for all our deeds” (CH35, 202)

The adnominal genitive phrases in these examples show the relationship of cause and effect: in [4-60] the genitive nominal designates an event (“death”) for which there is some reason; in [4-61] the genitive nominal designates some event (“deeds”) for the reason of which something is given as a reward. These examples belong with [4-58, 59] above: the genitive nominals there also show some entity for the sake of which something (“light”, “food” respectively) is provided. Interestingly, these unprototypical examples merge into the category of the genitive of process (to be dealt with in §4.5 below). If we take the example [4-59] *þæs lichaman bigleofa* “food for the body” again, the meaning of the head noun *bigleofa* cannot be explained fully without reference to some entity for which the food provides nourishment (e.g. a person, body, soul, etc.). The

predicate [BIGLEOFA] has some processual element (that of “feeding”), and therefore can be said to have the process [FEED] as its domain. This domain would contain three or at least two entities: a person who feeds, a person to be fed, and food as an instrument of feeding someone. Within this domain, the predicate [BIGLEOFA] profiles the entity for the instrument of feeding, The entities for “a person who feeds” and “a person who is fed” are also contained in the predicate, though only schematically. The designatum of the genitive nominal [ÐÆS LICHAMAN] corresponds to the entity for “a person who is fed”, and elaborates it, though there is some conflict in the specification of the schema for this entity (i.e., it is prototypically a human).

Similar merging into the genitive of process is seen in many examples of this category, especially because the head nouns are all deverbal nouns.

[4-62] *on angynne þæs gefeohtes* “at (the) beginning of the battle” (CH34, 52)

(*anginn* “beginning” < *on-ginnan* “to begin”)

[4-63] *on ende þyssere worulde* “at the end of this world” (CH19, 92)

(*ende* “end” < *endian* “to end”)

[4-64] *ða undergeat clemens þæs lambes gebicnunge;*

“then understood Clement the symbol of the Lamb” (CH37, 75)

(*gebicnung* “symbol, signification” < *bicnian* “to make signs, be a symbol of”)

[4-65] *Sume beladunge mihte se rica habban his uncysste.*

“The rich man could make some excuse for his ignorance” (CH23, 50)

(*beladung* “excuse” < *beladian* “to excuse”)

To sum up these sections on the category of “various relations between non-humans”, we can point out the followings. Examples of the adnominal genitive of this category typically have an adnominal genitive phrase in which two distinct non-human entities are interconnected in various ways. Firstly, they are interconnected in [IN] relation (where the profiled entity is included within the profiled entity), but in many cases the two entities are construed as separate from each other

([OUT] relation). These various degrees of closeness between the two entities are paralleled by examples of adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession. The adnominal genitive of the present category is also similar to the two other categories in that in many cases the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and in such examples the designatum of the genitive nominal serves as a reference point for a conceptualiser to establish a mental path to the profiled entity. However, a crucially distinct characteristic of the present category is that the word order is not so fixed as in the case of the adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession. There are a number of examples in which the genitive nominal follows the head, and sometimes is split from it, as well as those in which the genitive nominal precedes it. This indicates that the semantic structure of the adnominal genitive phrase of this category does not receive a construal of such a coherent gestalt as in the case of the adnominal genitive of the other two categories.

This category has various unprototypical examples in which more abstract relations are expressed (such as cause-and effect relation). Some such examples show a link to the category of adnominal genitive of process, to which we will turn in the following section.

§4.5 Process

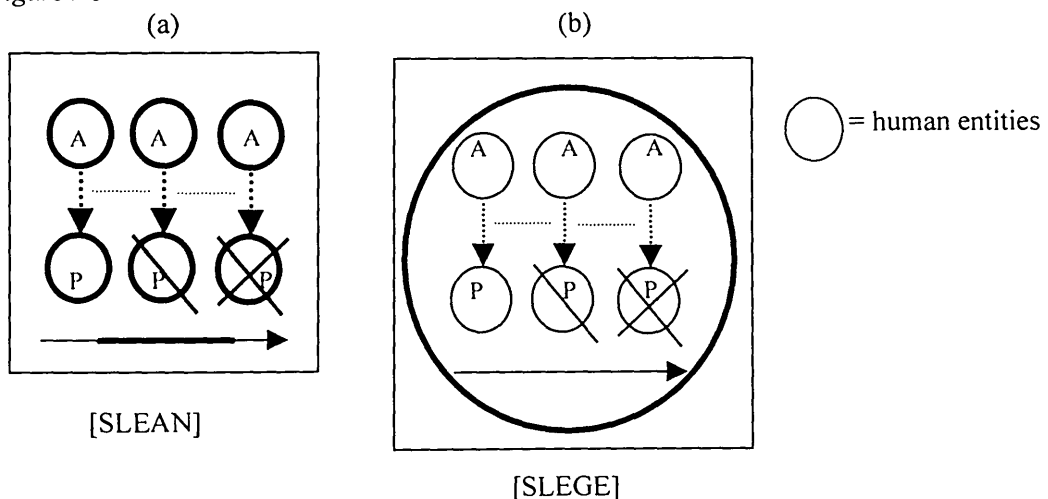
To this category belong examples of adnominal genitive phrases where some kind of “process” (§3.4) serves as a domain for the characterisation of the predicate. Prototypically, the head noun in an adnominal genitive phrase of this category is “an episodic noun” (cf. §3.4: Langacker 1991: 24ff). It has as its domain a process which would be designated by the verb from which the deverbal noun derives. A process has a temporal profile, i.e. the predicate of a verb profiles a series of relations as scanned sequentially through the conceived time. A process (profile of the predicate of a verb) can be made into a thing (profile of the predicate of a noun) through “reification”, (cf. §3.4: Langacker 1991: 22ff). i.e. by scanning summarily the series of relations through the conceived time, and construing the series as a region (see *Figure4-6* below). The series of relations in a given process may presuppose entities associated with various “roles” involved in the relevant process, (§3.7: Langacker 1991: 284) such as agent, patient, experiencer,

instrument, etc. In the predicate of a verb or an episodic noun themselves, however, such entities are merely schematically specified. When a verb appears in a clause structure, integrated with one or two (or more) other nominals, the predicates of the latter will elaborate the corresponding schemas of the entities in the processual predicate that carry the relevant roles. In the case of an episodic noun, it is often a genitive nominal, but also other types of nominals (e.g. a dative nominal, various kinds of prepositional phrases), that elaborates schematic entities associated with relevant roles involved in the process. Here is an example of an episodic noun with a genitive nominal.

[4-66] *æt þæs forman cyðeres stephanes slege* “at the murder of the first martyr Stephen”
(CH27, 12)

The predicate of the head noun [SLEGE] has as its domain a process for predicates such as [SLEAN] (cf. OE *slean* in the sense of “to kill, to murder”). The predicate [SLEAN] has a series of interconnection between two human entities, scanned through conceived time sequentially: through the conceived time, the one human, associated with the role of agent, takes away the life of the other human (typically by striking and hitting), which is associated with the role of patient. The predicate of the episodic noun *slege* has reified this series of relation as a region, so it also presupposes the presence of at least two human entities, carrying the roles of agent and patient. The predicate [SLEGE] and [SLEAN] can be diagrammed as in *Figure4-6a* below.

Figure4-6

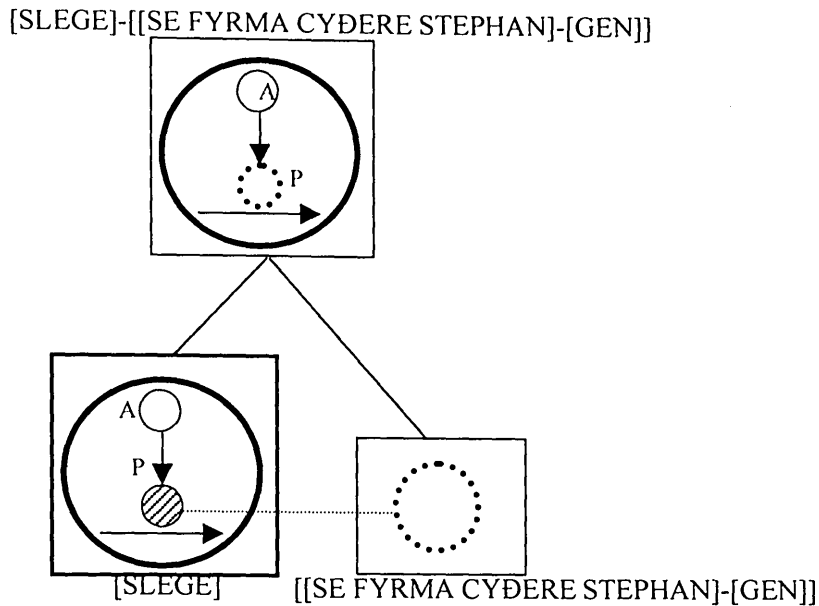


Both diagrams have the same series of relation between the two entities (humans), represented by the circles, scanned through the conceived time, represented by the arrow at the bottom. The two entities are associated with the roles of agent (= A) and of patient (P). The arrow between the two entities shows that the agent entity exercises some influence upon the patient entity, as a result of which the latter loses his life, which is represented by the cross lines on the circle for the patient entity. These series of relations is scanned in a summary fashion in (b), and the whole region encompassing the series is profiled in the nominal predicate [SLEGE].

Now, in the example [4-66] above, this predicate is integrated with the genitive nominal *hæs forman cyðeres stephanes*. In the integration between these two predicates, the deprofiled designatum of the genitive nominal will correspond to one of the schematic entities in the predicate [SLEGE]. It corresponds to the entity for a patient of murdering, since there is no conflict in their specification: the designatum of [ÐÆS FORMAN CYÐERES STEPHANUS] is a person, and is known, as part of our encyclopedic knowledge, as the first martyr in the history of the early Christian church, therefore a suitable candidate for a patient role³. Moreover, both entities are not in profile; the patient entity in [SLEGE] is not in profile, but the entire region that includes this entity is in profile, and the designatum of the genitive nominal has been deprofiled.

The valence relation of prototypical examples of an adnominal genitive phrase of this category is illustrated as in *Figure 4-7*, taking the example *hæs fyrman cyðeres stephanes slege* as a model. In this diagram, the domain of the episodic noun [SLEGE] is simplified, with a single relation scanned through the conceived time. I also omitted the valence relation of the genitive nominal *hæs forman cyðeres stephanes* (whose predicate is analysed as the composite structure consisting of the nominative nominal predicate [SE FORMA CYÐERE STEPHAN] and [GEN]).

Figure4-7



The example [4-66] counts as a prototypical example, in that a processual meaning is salient in the predicate partly due to the derivation of the episodic noun *slege* (< *slean* “to slay, murder”): one can easily evoke a corresponding clausal counterpart, such as “people slew the first martyr Stephen”). The saliency of a processual meaning in the semantic structure of the deverbal noun facilitates the inclusion of the deprofiled entity within the profiled entity in the semantic structure of the whole adnominal genitive phrase, thus obtaining the [B in A] relation.

There are also examples of adnominal genitive phrases where the head noun is strictly speaking not a deverbal noun, but which can be included in this category. Consider the following example which contains two adnominal genitive phrases:

[4-67] *Mid his upstige is adylegod þæt cyrografum ure genyðerunge. & se cwyde ure brosnunge is awend;*

“With his resurrection the hieroglyph (i.e. a writ) of our humiliation is erased, and the proclamation of our corruption is changed” (CH21, 81)

In the first adnominal genitive phrase, the morphology of the head noun *cyrograf-um* does not say much about any processual meaning, but it is in our encyclopaedic knowledge of a hieroglyph that it is used as a writing system, so it is associated with the act of writing. In the

second phrase, the head noun *cwyde* clearly has a processual meaning of saying, partly due to its derivative relation to the verb *cweðan* “to say”. Therefore, predicates of the both adnominal genitive phrases, despite their derivational differences, are defined in a domain of some verbal activities (i.e. using a language, either written or spoken). The genitive nominal in either phrase corresponds to the entity associated with the role of topic in the relevant verbal activity. Such examples are also included in the category of adnominal genitive of process.

As it was the case with the adnominal genitive of various relations between non-humans (§4.3 ff.), this category of adnominal genitive of process is a miscellaneous one. What role in a given process the designatum of the genitive nominal will carry is dependent on what type of process the domain for the characterisation of the predicate of the adnominal genitive phrase is. Therefore we cannot generalise, out of context, which semantic role a genitive nominal is to be associated with. In other words, it is possible for a genitive nominal of process to assume as many different types of roles as there are different contexts (domain) provided by the processual meaning of the adnominal genitive phrase. I classified the examples of adnominal genitive phrases of this category according to what semantic roles the genitive nominal is associated with, in relation to the processual meaning. The semantic roles associated with the genitive nominal are: 1. Agent, 2. Experiencer, 3. Patient, 4. Theme, 5. Cause, 6. Instrumental, 7. Place, and 8. Time. This is only a summary of a more elaborate classification of the examples. The more elaborate classification on which this summary is based will be found in §3 in Appendix. Here are some examples for each of these subcategories (the brief definition of the semantic roles are given below).

1.Agent: typically “a person who volitionally initiates physical activity, resulting, through physical contact, in the transfer of energy to an external object” (Langacker 1991: 285)

[4-68] *hi ... þæs heahengles michaheles fultum bædon*
 “they asked for the Archangel Michael’s help” (CH34, 44)

[4-69] *to þy ðæt he mancyn fram deofles anwealde alysde*
 “lest he may save mankind from devil’s control” (CH8, 18)

2.Experiencer: “a person engaged in mental activity (be it intellectual, perceptual, or emotive)”

(Langacker 1991: 285)

[4-70] *His ærist wæs þæra engla blis.*

“His resurrection was a joy for the angels” (CH15, 99)

[4-71] *drihten wundrode þæs hundredes ealdres geleafan;*

“Lord was amazed at the centurion’s faith” (CH8, 139)

3. Patient: “an inanimate object that absorbs the energy transmitted via externally initiated physical contact and thereby undergoes an internal change of state” (Langacker 1991: 285).

[4-72] *æfter cweale þisra apostola* “after killing these apostles” (CH26, 281)

[4-73] *& for þigene þæs forbodenan bigleofan* “because of eating the forbidden food”

(CH7, 251)

4. Theme: this term is used by Langacker to refer to a participant of a relationship which is “comparatively simple, autonomous relationship involving just a single participant” (Langacker 1991: 287)

[4-73] *swa swa he his acennednysse. þurh ðæs steorran upspringe geswutelode;*

“Just as he revealed his nativity by uprising of the star” (CH7, 85)

[4-74] *for þæs halgan godes þegenes neawiste;*

“for the holy servant of God being near” (CH31, 20)

5. Cause: entity which constitutes a stimulus for various types of emotion, or object of mental activities (intellectual, perceptual)

[4-75] *for þan ðe þær ne bið nan besargung þæra manfulra yrmðe;*

“for there will be no sorrow for the misery of the wicked” (CH23, 110)

[4-76] *Witodlice þurh ðines feondes lufe þu bist godes freond;*

“Truly, by loving your enemy you will be God’s friend” (CH3, 176)

6. Instrumental: “a physical object manipulated by an agent to affect a patient; it serves as an intermediary in the transmission of the energy” (Langacker 1991: 285).

[4-77] *Swa swa crist mid his handa hrepunge þone hreoflian gehælde;*

“Just as Christ healed the leper by touching (him) with his (= Christ’s) hand”

(CH8, 51)

[4-78] *he ... þone micclan deofol mid sige his þrowunge oferswiðde*

“He ... overcome the great devil with the victory of/with his suffering” (CH25, 148)

7. Place: a location into which something/someone moves

[4-79] *him ne bið getiþod naþor ne synna forgyfenys. ne infær þæs heofonlican rices*

“he will not be granted neither forgiveness of sins nor entrance into the heavenly kingdom” (CH26, 96)

8. Time: point in time or duration

[4-80] *þises dæges þenung* “today’s service” (CH39, 2)

[4-81] *þreora daga fæsten* “three days’ fasting” (CH18, 10)

(cf. Appendix §3 for a further classification of the examples of this category).

On the other hand, it would be wrong to state that a genitive nominal of process can carry *any* role involved in a given process. There are certain roles which, as far as the present data are concerned, the designatum of a genitive nominal cannot carry, but which have to be associated with other expressions (e.g. prepositional phrases)⁴. It is not the case, either, that genitive nominals carrying different roles occur at the same frequency. There are some roles more which seem to be favoured by genitive nominals than other roles. See the following table which shows the number of examples of adnominal genitive phrases of this category classified according to the semantic role associated with the genitive nominal.

Table 4-5 The number of examples of adnominal genitive phrases of this category classified according to the semantic role associated with the genitive nominal.

TOTAL	AGENT	EXPERI- ENCER	PATIENT	THEME	CAUSE	INSTRU- MENTAL	PLACE	TIME
2028	876	658	168	95	192	16	4	19
percenta ge (= 100%)	43%	32%	8%	5%	8%	0.7%	0.2%	0.9%

There is a huge difference in frequency between examples with the genitive nominal associated with AGENT and EXPERIENCER on the one hand, and those associated with the other roles. This high frequency of the first two roles is correlated with the tendency in word order of the genitive nominal and the head noun. Moreover, particularly with these subcategories, the genitive nominal is typically a grounded expression. See the following table.

Table 4-6 The number of the examples of adnominal genitive phrases of process, classified according to whether the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and according to the word order.

TOTAL	subtotal	genitive = grounded expression			word order				
		pronoun	with determiner	proper noun	before	after	split	both	ellipsis
AGENT 876	840	456	146	238	843	30		2	1
100%	95%	52%	16%	27%	96%	3%		6.2%	6.1%
EXP. 658	603	365	132	106	607	50			1
100%	92%	55%	20%	16%	92%	8%			0.1%
PAT. 168	136	52	58	26	124	39	3	1	1
100%	81%	31%	35%	15%	74%	23%	1%	0.3%	0.3%
THEME 95	55	22	54	1	61	33	1		
100%	58%	23%	57%	1%	64%	35%	1%		
CAUSE 192	161	16	92	53	116	71	4	1	
100%	84%	8%	48%	28%	60%	37%	2%	0.5%	
INST. 16	11		11		8	8			
100%	69%		69%		50%	50%			
PLACE 4	4		4		2	2			
100%	100%		100%		50%	50%			
TIME 19	10		10		18	1			
100%	53%		53%		94%	6%			
TOTAL 2028	1843	911	508	424	1779	234	8	4	3
100%	91%	45%	25%	21%	88%	12%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%

This table generalises the situation in which, as for the word order, the preposed genitive outnumbers the postposed genitive in most of the subcategories. However, the genitive nominal associated with AGENT and EXPERIENCER is preposed to the head at much higher frequency than with the rest of the subcategories. By contrast, the number of the postposed genitive is remarkably higher in the subcategories such as PATIENT, THEME, CAUSE, and

INSTRUMENT. Generally speaking, most examples seem to have a grounded expression for the genitive nominal, however the frequency is particularly high with the first two subcategories.

We can see a parallelism between the adnominal genitive of process associated with AGENT and EXPERIENCER and the adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession (§4.2ff., §4.3ff.). With the latter two categories, as far as prototypical examples are concerned, the genitive nominal designates a human, and is typically a grounded expression, and is preposed to the head noun at a high frequency. With the adnominal genitive of process associated with AGENT and EXPERIENCER, the genitive nominal particularly designates a human entity, simply because prototypical instances of AGENT and EXPERIENCER are humans (cf. §3.7 above). This parallelism suggests that the semantic structure of the adnominal genitive phrase of process associated with these roles is to be analysed in terms of the reference point analysis, as it was the case with the adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession. What is common among these two categories and the adnominal genitive of process associated with AGENT and EXPERIENCER is that the designatum of the genitive nominal, which is typically a grounded human entity, hence salient to the conceptualiser, serves as a reference point to single out a less salient entity in the world. With the adnominal genitive of process, what is singled out is an event of activity or state. The designatum of the genitive nominal, which is salient and is itself anchored on the domain of instantiation (since it is a grounded expression), anchors an event on the domain of instantiation, by specifying one of the participants of its events.

If this analysis is correct, then it is inferred that the general trend of a genitive nominal towards the determinative function is also found in these subcategories of the adnominal genitive of process. Recall that when the genitive nominal precedes the head, the head is never accompanied by a demonstrative, and the explanation for this phenomenon is that the genitive nominal in such a position determines the head. The consequence of this is that the composite structure of a genitive nominal and its head noun (preceded by it) will be capable of forming a coherent single gestalt, more coherent than two nominals simply integrated into one nominal, since a determiner in OE as well as in PDE is typically *part of* a nominal (e.g. a demonstrative as in *se mann* “the man”) rather than an independent nominal.

However, there is one exception. In the following example, the genitive nominal is preceded by a demonstrative agreeing with the head.

[4-82] *heald for ðy þu mann þinne godes wyrðscipe wið leahtrum*

“Protect, therefore, you man, your worshipping of God, from deceptions”

(CH2, 162)

This example is similar to those we dealt with above as unprototypical examples of the genitive of interpersonal relationship and of possession, where the genitive nominal designate human entities who are not human in literary sense, especially “God”, “Christ” (cf. [4-23] or *þas godes þegen* “these servants of God” (cf. [4-24] in §4.2.2 above). This example [4-82] is particularly revealing because the demonstrative element here is itself a kind of genitive nominal, an inflected form of the possessive adjective *þin*. This demonstrative agrees with the head, rather than the immediately following genitive nominal *godes*. Since this noun phrase can be plausibly said to have parallel structures to the examples like *se godes sunu*, *þas godes þegnas*, where the demonstratives *se* and *þas* determine the head, we can also say that in the example [4-82], *þinne* determines the head. This example belongs to the subcategory of EXPERIENCER, and *þinne* designates the experiencer of the mental activity of worshipping. The same example also belongs to the subcategory of CAUSE, and *godes* designates the object of the mental activity of worshipping. Between these two entities (experiencer and object of the mental activity), it is the experiencer entity that is used as a determiner.

This may be explained in various ways. *þinne* is a grounded expression, so it can function as a reference point in specifying another “thing”. In other words, it functions to specify an “instance”. On the other hand, the second genitive nominal *godes* specifies the *type* of worship, by referring to the object of worship, so it does not specify “instance” (this will relate this example to the category of “descriptive genitive”. See §4.6 below). Another explanation is that as a tendency in OE (probably also in PDE), the agent of a process rather than the patient of it is selected for determining the process. This may be because the agent of an activity can also be

seen as “possessor” of it, and it is ultimately attributed to the basic domain of possessor-possessed relationship in which possessors are conceptually more salient than possessed things. (Possessed things can be located more easily by specifying it with reference to a person who possesses it, than to specify a person with reference to his possessions: we say *John’s book* but not *the book’s John*, cf. Taylor 1996: 40). On the other hand, entities such as PATIENT or CAUSE are not to be seen as “possessor”, even if they are human entities.

The same explanation may also work for another example of the same type:

[4-83] *þæt hi heora handa fram þam bloddes gyte ne wiðbrudon;*

“... that they did not withdraw their hands from the blood-shedding” (CH5, 159)

This example belongs to the subcategory of PATIENT. The genitive nominal *blodes* designates the non-human entity that is affected as a result of shedding. But this genitive nominal does not determine the head. It is the demonstrative *þam* that determines it. *blodes* again specifies the type of shedding, simply by specifying what is shed.

This leads to the discussion of the examples of the subcategories associated particularly with PATIENT, THEME, INSTRUMENT. It seems that as a tendency the entities with which the genitive nominal is associated in these subcategories do not determine the head. In other words, genitive nominals do not function as a determiner, as many of those associated with AGENT or EXPERIENCER do. This tendency is tied with the general characteristics we have witnessed above, that the genitive nominal may precede or follow the head noun, and so it is not so rigid in terms of word order. This characteristics reminds us of the category “genitive of various relations between non-human entities” (§4.4ff). In that category, too, the genitive nominal either precedes or follows the head noun at almost equal frequency. Recall the genitive nominal follows the head, the head noun may be accompanied with some kind of determiner (e.g. demonstratives) in that category. The same also applies to the adnominal genitive of process associated with PATIENT, INSTRUMENT, THEME, as in the following examples.

[4-84] *he bodade þa blisse þisre freolstide* “He proclaimed the joy of this festival” (CH15, 95)

[4-85] *ðis is se cwyde þæs godcundlican domes*

“This is the decree of the divine judgement” (CH32, 133)

This shows that these genitive nominals that follow the head noun do not determine the head, therefore if it needs to be determined then some kind of determiner must accompany it.

Another important aspect is that since the genitive nominals associated with PATIENT, THEME, INSTRUMENT tend not to function as a determiner to their head noun, the combination of the genitive nominal and the head noun do not form as so coherent a single gestalt as in the case of the examples associated with AGENT or EXPERIENCER. In other words, the adnominal genitive phrase with the former subcategories is essentially two nominals integrating into one nominal, whereas that with the latter subcategories is more like just one nominal (determiner + head). This difference in the degree of integrity of the genitive nominal to the whole noun phrase is reflected in the following examples, where the genitive nominal not only follows the head but also is separated from it, as we also saw in §4.4 above.

[4-86] *and ge habbað gescad ægðer ge godes ge yfeles;*

“And you have understanding of both good and evil” (CH11, 163)

[4-87] *þa for ðy þe he swa micle gewilnunge hæfde cristes tocymes;*

“Then therefore he had such a strong desire for the coming of Christ” (CH9, 25)

Since examples of split genitive are only found with the adnominal genitive associated with PATIENT, THEME, INSTRUMENT, they strongly suggest the loose relationship between the genitive nominal and the head noun.

§4.5.1 Process: unprototypical examples.

This section presents a few types of unprototypical instances of the adnominal genitive of process, in the sense that they deviate from the prototype as depicted in *Figure 4-7* (*þæs forman*

cyberes stephanes slege “the murder of the first martyr Stephan”). The semantic structure of the prototype of this category specifies that its primary domain is a process (hence the head noun is a deverbal noun), that the deprofiled entity is included within the profiled entity in the semantic structure of the whole noun phrase (they are interconnected in [B IN A] relation). There are several instances which deviate from these specifications.

The first type is exemplified by the example [4-67] above, where the adnominal genitive phrase *þæt cyrografum ure genyðerunge*. “the hieroglyph (i.e. a writ) of our humiliation” does not have an etymologically salient deverbal noun, but the process (of writing) will be easily evoked through the encyclopedic knowledge of the head noun, as we discussed above.

The second type is where the relationship between the process (as a profiled entity) and one of its participant entities can be construed as a part-whole relationship. Examples of this type have been discussed above at the end of §4.4.1. For example, *on angynne þæs gefeohtes* “at the beginning of the battle” (CH34, 52) may have a process as its primary domain (the semantic structure of the verb *anginnan* “to begin”). It may also have the basic domain of part-whole relation as its primary domain, in which case the concept of process will not figure in the semantic structure of the whole noun phrase.

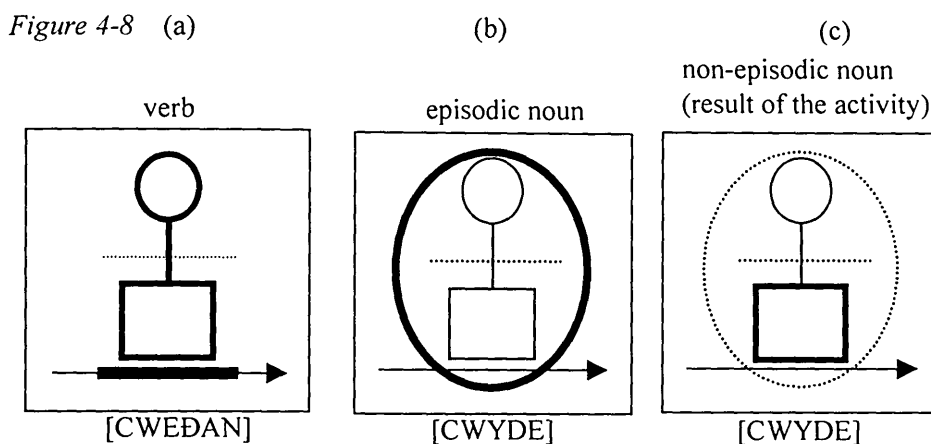
The third type is exemplified by the example *þinne godes wyrðscipe* “your worshipping of God” (CH2-162) ([4-82] in §4.4 above), where the genitive nominal specifies a *type* of worship rather than an *instance*. We have seen parallel examples both in the adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession, where the genitive nominal is a noun designating “God”, “Christ”. With the encyclopedic knowledge that characterises the semantic structure of such nouns, all kinds of attributes ascribed to “God”, “Christ” figure saliently, which attributes facilitate the specification of the type. Examples of this type link to the descriptive genitive (§4.5 below).

The fourth and the fifth types of unprototypical examples involve a shifting of the profile within the semantic structure, and they need an account of some length. Consider the following examples.

[4-88] *Ac þæs witegan cwyde ioheles is nu gefylled;*
 “But the saying of the prophet Joel is now fulfilled” (CH22, 59)

[4-89] *he ... demð wunderlice oþra manna dæda;*
 “he .. amazingly judges other men’s deeds” (CH24, 135)

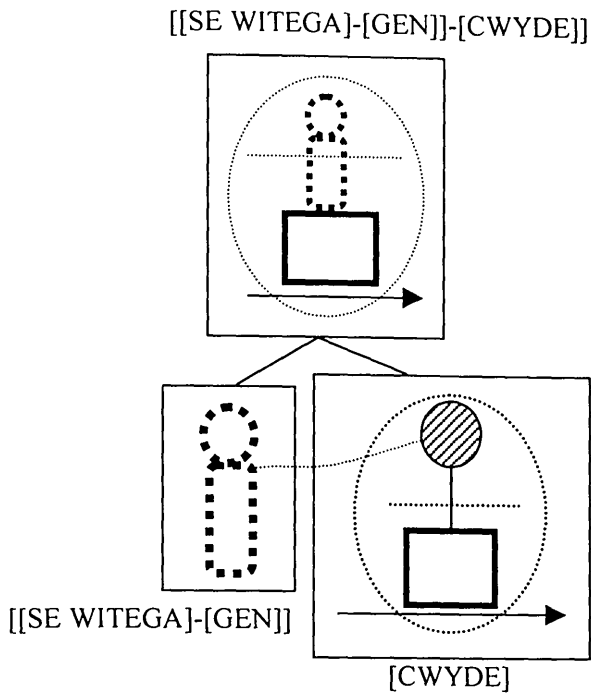
Both these adnominal genitive phrases have a deverbal noun as their head (*cwyde* “saying” > *cweðan* “to say”; *dæd* “deed” > *don* “to do”). These are not episodic nouns in these contexts, however. They do not profile a region encompassing a series of relations between entities scanned through summarily, but what they profile is a result of some factitive activities. This means that they profile not a region with a series of relations between entities, but one of such entities *within* the region, where the region functions as a domain. The difference between the semantic structures of an episodic noun and that of a non-episodic noun which profiles a result is illustrated in *Figure 4-8* below, using the example *cwyde*.



The diagram (a) shows the semantic structure of the verb *cweðan* “to say”, which profiles the interconnection between a person (a speaker) and what is said, both schematic, scanned through the conceived time in a sequential fashion. The diagram (b) is the semantic structure of the deverbal noun *cwyde* in the episodic noun reading. It profiles a region which encompasses a series of the same interconnections as in (a) but scanned in a summary fashion. The diagram (c) is a semantic structure of the same noun in its non-episodic noun reading. This semantic structure demotes its profile from the entire region to the entity representing what is said. So this predicate profiles a thing that is interconnected with some schematic human entity (speaker). Now, when this predicate is integrated with the genitive nominal *ðæs witegan* (ignoring the other genitive

nominal *ioeles*), its deprofiled profile corresponds to this schematic speaker. The following diagram shows the valence relation of the composite structure *ðæs witegan cwyde*.

Figure 4-9



This diagram omits the integration between the root nominal **se witega* and the genitive case. The composite structure *ðæs witegan* (bottom left) has its profile deprofiled, and it corresponds to the substructure (representing a schematic speaker) within the predicate [Cwyde] (bottom right), which serves as an elaboration site. The composite structure is shown at the top. Note that the predicate [[SE WITEGA]-[GEN]]-[Cwyde]] has [A OUT B] relation, rather than [B IN A] relation (as it is the case with examples like *ðæs forman cyðeres stephanes slege* cf. Figure 4-7).

Now, there is another type of unprototypical examples of the adnominal genitive of process which involves a shifting of the profile, as in the following example. See the following example.

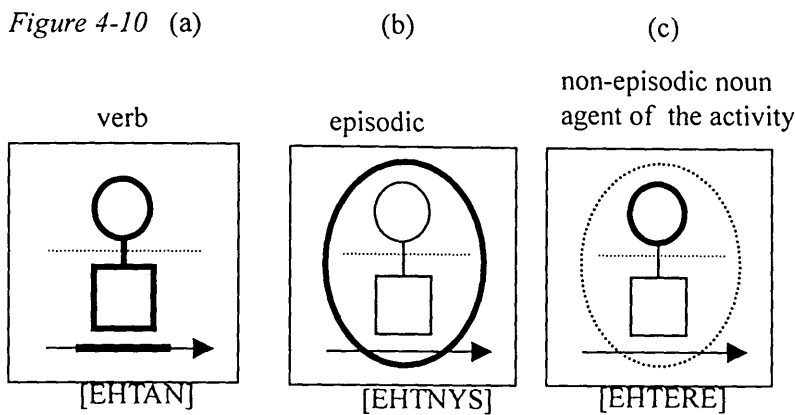
[4-90] *þ he wæs godes sunu; alysend ealles middaneardes*

“that he was Son of God, saviour of all world” (CH9, 31)

[4-91] & *ehtere cristes geleafan* “and persecutor of the faith in Christ” (CH27, 73)

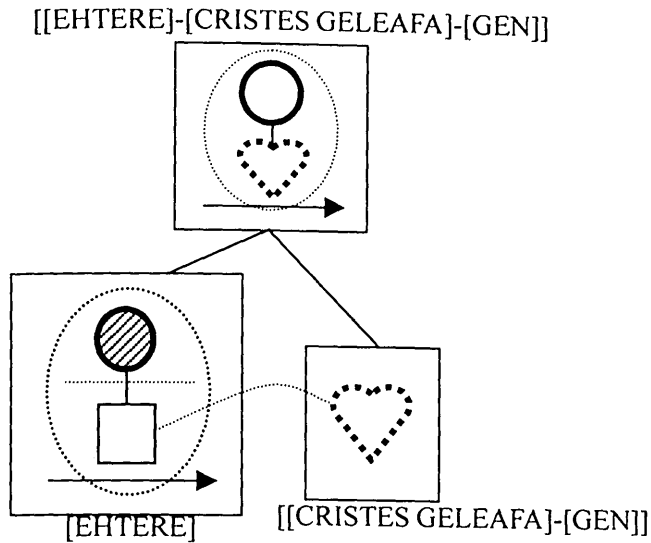
These examples also have non-episodic deverbal nouns *alysend* “saviour” (< *alyсан* “to save”)

and *ehtere* “persecutor” (< *ehtan* “to persecute”). They designate an agent who effects the relevant activities. Their semantic structures also inherits their domain from their corresponding verbs: the verbs *alysan* and *ehtan* both profile a series of interconnection between two schematic entities, one of which is typically a human. In the case of *alysan*, it is a person who does a salvation and an entity (human or non-human) which is saved that constitute the interconnection. In the case of *ehtan*, it is a persecutor and an entity (human or non-human) which suffers a persecution that constitute constitutes the interconnection. When it comes to the deverbal nouns *alysend* and *ehtere*, it is this human entity in these semantic structure that is profiled. *Figure 4-10* illustrates the semantic structure of the verb *ehtan*, the deverbal noun, in contrast with the episodic noun *ehtnys* “persecution”.



The diagram (a) shows the processual predicate [EHTAN], profiling a series of interconnections between a schematic persecutor and a schematic patient of a persecution, scanned through the conceived time sequentially. The diagram (b), the nominal predicate [EHTNYS], reifies a region covering the series of interconnections. The diagram (c) shifts the profile from this region to the entity for a schematic persecutor. This predicate [EHTERE] profiles an entity representing a person who undertakes a persecution, and this entity is interconnected with a schematic entity representing a patient of a persecution. In the integration between [EHTERE] and the genitive nominal *cristes geleafan* it is this schematic patient of a persecution that serves as an elaboration site, elaborated by the deprofiled profile of the genitive nominal. The valence relation is shown in *Figure 4-11* below.

Figure 4-11



The predicate of the genitive nominal (bottom right) is a composite structure of the root nominal **cristes geleafa* (diagrammed as a heart mark) and the genitive case. Its deprofiled profile corresponds to that unprofiled entity of the nominal predicate [EHTERE] (bottom left) which represents a schematic patient of a persecution. Note that the composite structure (topmost) has the interconnection of the two entities in [A OUT B] relation.

Now, recall that in §4.2.2 and §4.3.2 above we saw unprototypical examples of the adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession, which show a link to the adnominal genitive of process. What makes this linking between these categories possible is the relation [A OUT B] which hold between the profiled and deprofiled entities within the semantic structures of adnominal genitive phrases of these categories. The only difference is whether some sort of a processual meaning is evoked or not (the conceived time, a series of interconnection scanned through the conceived time: cf. the topmost structures in *Figure 4-9* and *Figure 4-11* above).

To sum up the present section and the previous section, these sections discuss various aspects of the adnominal genitive of process. The typical head noun in this category is an episodic noun which profiles a region reifying a series of interconnection between entities, each associated with a certain semantic role, conceived through the conceived time summarily. The deprofiled profile of the genitive nominal which integrates with such an episodic noun corresponds to one of the interconnected entities *within* the region. As a result, the relation between the profiled entity (the

region encompassing a series of interconnections) and the deprofiled entity is [B IN A]. The data as summarised in *Table 4-5* and *Table 4-6* shows the high frequency of examples of examples where the deprofiled entity is associated with AGENT and PATIENT, compared to the other semantic roles. This tendency shows a parallel development with the adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession, where the designatum of the genitive nominal serves more as a reference point in order to anchor the event designated by the head noun. The various shared attributes such as the genitive nominal designating a grounded human entity (related to saliency) and the word order in which the genitive is preposed to the head, can be regarded as constituting the prototype of a genitive nominal with the determinative functioning.

We also saw several unprototypical instances of this category. Some examples have a non-deverbal noun as a head where some processual meaning is evoked through encyclopaedic information contained in the predicate of the head noun. Some examples have a semantic structure which can be characterised in the non-processual context, and show a link to the category of the adnominal genitive of various relations between non-humans. Some examples have a genitive nominal designating “God” or “Christ”, whose semantic structure presupposes a rich context of Christian belief (at least in the particular discourse assumed to be there in the world of *Catholic Homilies*), and which provides attributes to be ascribed to the designatum of the head noun. Such examples specify a *type* rather than an *instance*, and show a link to the descriptive genitive. The last two types of unprototypical examples of this category have a deverbal noun which is not an episodic noun. This type of head noun involves shifting of the profile to one of the entities which carries a particular semantic role in the semantic structure, and the resultant adnominal genitive phrase has a semantic structure which has [A OUT B] relation. This relation is the common property that links between the adnominal genitive of process, to that of interpersonal relation, and also to that of possession.

§4.6 Descriptive genitive

Prototypical examples of this category have a head noun that designates some concrete entity, and the genitive nominal that designates some abstract quality, as in the following examples.

[4-92] *ungerim heap mæigðhades manna*

“an innumerable crowd of men of virginity (= virgin men)” (CH36, 131)

[4-93] *hu miclum fremie þære soðan lufe gebed;*

“how much prayer of/with the true love might benefit” (CH3, 113)

[4-94] *leohtes wæpna sind rihtwisnysse weorc.*

“weapons of light are the work of righteousness” (CH39, 68)

The defining feature of this category is that the designatum of the genitive nominal gives some attributes to a thing designated by the head noun. As it is, it is often possible to find parallel expressions with denominal adjectives, which depicts more or less the same objective situation as the genitive of description. See the following pair of examples.

[4-95] *þ ure naman beon awritene on lifes bec mid his gecorenum*

“That our names may be written on the book of life with his chosen ones” (CH2, 74)

[4-96] *& he eowre saula þe nu sind adylegode of þære liflican béc. gelæde eft to
godes gyfe & miltsunge;*

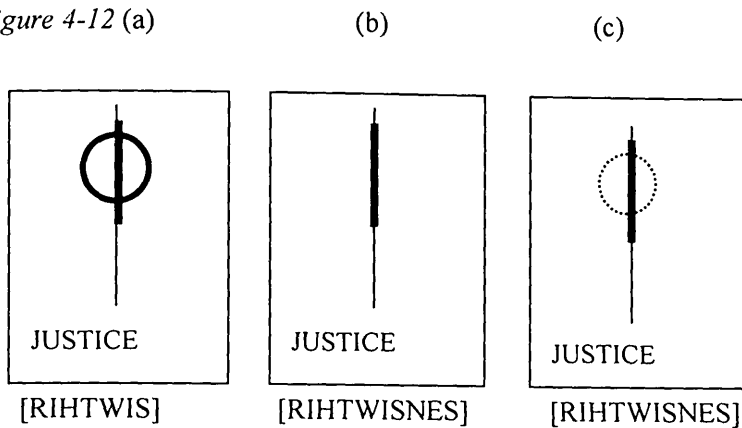
“And he led your soul which are now erased from the book of life, again to God’s grace and mercy” (CH4, 156)

(where both *lifes bec* and *liflican bec* designate some imaginary book that God is believed to have where He writes down names of people as His children).

The semantic structures of genitive of description can be explained as follows. We take the example [4-94] above. The genitive nominal *rihtwisnysse* is an abstract noun, derived from the adjective *rihtwis* “righteous”. According to Langacker’s analysis of the semantic structure of adjective and its derivative noun (cf. §3.3 above: *Figures 3-8 (a) and (b)*), I take the predicate [RIHTWIS] and [RIHTWISNYS] to be characterised in the domain of justice: this domain is based on our knowledge that there are right things and wrong things, and that people can be

judged and measured with respect to whether they do right things or wrong things, or to what extent they do right things, etc. The predicate of the adjective [RIHTWIS] profiles an atemporal relation, which consists of the interconnection between a certain “region” in the domain of justice that is high in the scale of justice, and some schematic thing. In other words, a certain thing is considered as occupying a region that is relatively high with respect to the scale of justice. See the diagram in *Figure4-12 (a)* below for the semantic structure of the adjective *rihtwis*.

Figure 4-12 (a)

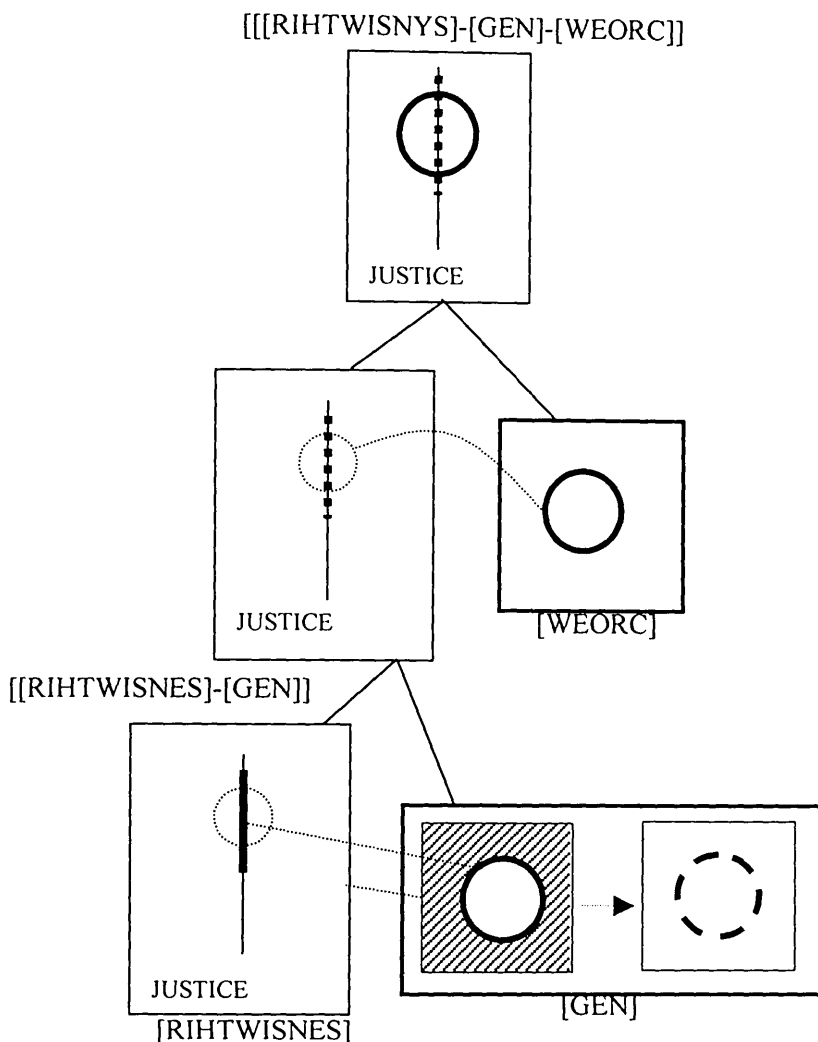


The diagram (a) depicts that a certain thing (represented by the circle) is within the “high” region (represented by the bold line) on the scale of justice. In the case of the nominal predicate [RIHTWISNYS], it only designates a “high” region on the scale of justice, as depicted in *Figure4-12 (b)* above. The difference between the two predicates is the presence of the salient thing in [RIHTWIS] (represented by a circle in the diagram in *Figure4-12 (a)*). However, it would be reasonable to assume that such “thing”, though not salient, would also constitute part of the nominal predicate [RIHTWISNYS], as an entity to which/whom the quality of righteousness is attributed, since for there to be a thing [RIHTWISNYS], there must be something, especially something/someone concrete to whom the quality is attributed or in whom the quality is embodied. In *Figure 3-12 (c)*, I included such an entity as a thin dotted circle in the predicate of [RIHTWISNYS], which shows the non-salient status of the thing.

Now, we see how this predicate is integrated with a genitive inflection, and then the whole genitive nominal is integrated with another nominal, to form an adnominal genitive phrase of descriptive genitive, as in the example [4-94]. Just as in other categories of genitive nominals,

when the predicate [RIHTWISNYS] is integrated with the genitive inflection, the region on the scale of justice that is designated is deprofiled. When this genitive nominal is integrated with another nominal [WEORC], the designatum of the latter corresponds to the “thing” entity to which the quality of righteousness may be attributed (the circle in *Figure4-12(c)*). This valence relation is diagrammed in *Figure4-13* below.

Figure 4-13



Note that in this diagram, at the integration between [WEORC] and the genitive nominal [[RIHTWISNYS]-[GEN]], it is the former that is a profile determinant. The resultant composite structure will inherit the measure of justice as its domain, so that the predicate of the whole noun phrase designates some piece of work that is within some “high” region in the scale of justice. One important distinctive feature with the genitive of description is that the designatum of the

head noun corresponds to one of the substructures in the predicate of the genitive nominal, and nevertheless the head noun (i.e., the non-genitive nominal) is the profile determinant. Following Langacker (1987: 309: cf. §3.5.1), this valence relation makes the genitive nominal a modifier to the head. Note the difference in valence relations with the genitive of the other categories, especially the genitive of process above (cf. *Figure 4-7*), where in the integration between a nominal and a genitive nominal, the designatum of the latter corresponds to one of the substructures in the former, and the head noun (= the non-genitive nominal) is the profile determinant. This makes the genitive nominal a complement to the head. The modifier-head relationship between a genitive nominal and the head is an important distinctive feature for the descriptive genitive.

Some examples of this category may have a genitive nominal designating some concrete entity which is attributed to a concrete entity designated by the head noun, as in the following examples.

[4-97] *anes geares lamb* “lamb of one year (= a one year old lamb)” (CH9, 76)

[4-98] *hi wæron haliges lifes menn* “they were men of holy life” (CH30, 8)

In such cases, a similar analysis will also work. The predicates of the genitive nominals [ANES GEARES] and [HALIGES LIFES] (or more analytically, [[AN GEAR]-[GEN]] and [[HALIG LIF]-[GEN]]) will presuppose the presence of some entities that may be attributed with their designata; for the former, some entity, typically an animate thing, that has lived for one year, and for the latter, some entity, typically a human, who lives a life that may be described as holy. Such entities are part of our encyclopedic knowledge that characterises the meanings of these phrases. When these genitive nominals are integrated with the head nouns, the designatum of the latter corresponds to such entities in the predicate of the former.

In traditional grammars such as Curme (1931), Poutsma (1914-16), it is common that the genitive of description is sub-classified into two classes, i.e. “the genitive of characteristics” and “the classifying genitive”. They are exemplified by phrases like “a man of importance”, “deeds

of courage” for the former, and “a woman’s college”, “a boy’s school”, for the latter. These two types of genitive of description are distinguished from the rest of the categories, that are called “specifying genitive” (e.g. genitive of possession, etc.). Such differences are also evidenced in the OE examples. The two types of the genitive of description can be characterised in terms of their semantic structure as follows: the genitive of characteristics specifies a space in “quality space” (§3.8.3.2), whereas the classifying genitive specifies a space in the “type domain” (§3.6). On the other hand, the “specifying genitive” specifies a space in the “domain of instantiation” (Langacker 1991 Ch.1 and 2). “the genitive of characteristics” is exemplified by the examples [4-92, 93, 94] (and probably [4-97, 98]) above, where the genitive nominals are de-adjectival abstract nouns, whose predicate inherits the relevant quality space from the predicate of the corresponding adjectives. As we can see on the diagram in *Figure4-12* above, in the composite structure at the top, the thing designated by the whole phrase is characterised in terms of a certain region in the domain of the quality space (of justice). The classifying genitive is exemplified by the example like [4-99] above, and also the following examples.

[4-99] *on domes dæge* “on the day of Judgement” (CH20, 271)

[4-100] *ðes cwyde belimpð swiðe to munuchades mannum*

“This saying is very relevant to men of monkhood” (CH27, 199)

The way in which the classifying genitive nominal is integrated with the other nominal is similar to the genitive of characteristics. Taking the example [4-100], the predicate of the genitive nominal [[MUNUCHAD]-[GEN]] is characterised in the domain of profession, and occupies a region in the domain. It is also part of our knowledge about profession in general, that a man has some profession for job. Therefore, we can assume that an entity for humans who have some profession is also included in the domain of profession. These pieces of knowledge furnish the semantic structure [MUNUCHAD]. When the genitive nominal predicate [[MUNUCHAD]-[GEN]] is integrated with the other nominal [MANN] (ignoring the dative plural ending here), the designatum of the latter corresponds to the schematic entity for a human in the predicate of

the former, and it specifies a type of the designatum. This specification is done in terms of profession, because the relevant domain is that of profession.

Since the genitive of description of either type specifies a quality or a type, and not an instance, it follows that this type of genitive nominal does not function as a determiner, as in the case of the genitive of possession, interpersonal relationship, and some of the genitive of process. Then it would be expected that the genitive of description does not belong together with these other three types of genitive we looked at above, and that it should have different characteristics from those of those “determiner” type adnominal genitive. In terms of word order, however, it seems that the genitive nominal tends to precede the head noun. See the following table below.

Table 4-7 The number of the examples of descriptive genitive, classified according to whether the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and according to the word order.

TOTAL	subtotal	genitive = grounding expression		word order			
		with determiner	proper noun	before	after	both	ellipsis
831	501	16	485	769	58	1	3
100%	60%	2%	58%	92%	7%	0.1%	0.3%

This tendency has to be distinguished from the same tendency we observed above, though, with the genitive of interpersonal relationship, possession, and some of the genitive of process. In those cases, the valence relation is that of complement-head, since the designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to one of substructures in the predicate of the head noun. The internal structure of the whole noun phrase is that of determiner-head noun. On the other hand, in the case of descriptive genitive, the valence relation is that of modifier-head, as we saw above. Another point to note in this data in the table is that the total number contains many examples with the genitive nominals designating “God”, “Christ”, which can belong either to the present category or to the other categories (interpersonal, possession, process), which always precedes the head noun.

The fact that in the category the genitive nominal tends to precede the head noun seems to suggest another direction that the genitive of this category moves into, it is “possessive compound” (Taylor 1996: 287ff.), which is more or less the same as “the classifying genitive”

that was mentioned above. The combination of the genitive nominal and the head noun still form a coherent single gestalt, with the internal structure of modifier-head rather than a determiner-head, or the combination may have created an even more coherent single gestalt more as a compound (i.e. as one word).

§4.6.1 The link between the descriptive genitive and the other categories.

Finally, we will look at some possible links between the genitive of description and the other categories of adnominal genitive. We have already seen such possible links to the present category in the categories of the genitive of interpersonal relation, possessive, and also in the genitive of process. Such links are found especially in examples where the genitive nominal designates some supernatural beings like *god* “God”, or *deofol* “devil”. The distinctive feature of adnominal genitive phrases containing such genitive nominals is that they can be preceded by a demonstrative which agrees with the head. Here we review some examples of this type.

[4-101] *Se godes apostol* “the apostle of God” (CH26, 124)

[4-102] *hu hi þone godes cempa acwellan sceoldon* “how they should kill the warrior of God”
(CH27, 46)

[4-103] *Se godes wipersaca* “the adversary of God” (CH30, 216)

[4-104] *se awyrigeda ehtere þone deofles þen his freondscipum geþeodde*
“the wicked persecutor joined the servant of devil to his friendship” (CH26, 149)

[4-105] *hi ufor eodon fram ðam deofles temple.*
“they went further away from the temple of devil” (CH4, 205)

[4-106] *wuniende binnan þam godes temple;* “staying with the temple of God” (CH9, 184)

[4-107] *heald for ðy. þu mann þinne godes wyrðscipe wið leahtrum*
“Protect, therefore, you man, your worshipping of God, from deceptions”
(CH2, 162: the same as [4-82] above).

These examples have been treated as unprototypical examples of the genitive of interpersonal

relationship ([4-101, 102, 103, 104]), of possession ([4-105, 106]). The explanation for them to be unprototypical in these categories is that these supernatural entities like God or devil are not typical of holding a relationship with a person or of possessing things. These examples are important because they provide an essential link between the other categories (interpersonal relations, possession, and process) and descriptive genitive. Let us reconsider these examples, and give an account for how these examples can approach the category of descriptive genitive.

I refer to Langacker's notion of world type/instance specification (cf. §3.6.1). In the examples given above, the genitive nominal *godes* can be said to be characterised with respect to "world type", rather than "world instance". The world type in this case is the domain of Christianity, a general knowledge that must have been shared by the author of *Catholic Homilies* and its readers/hearers. Within this domain, the designata of the predicates [GOD] and [DEOFOL] are characterised with reference to rich context of various knowledge about human society and the practice of a religion, about Christianity, in which there is a supernatural being who is believed to create everything in the world, and so forth.. The predicates [[GOD]-[GEN]] or [[DEOFOL]-[GEN]] (of the genitive nominals *godes* and *deofles*) characterised in such a rich context do not specify any particular instance of the entity designated by the head noun in all the examples above, but they provide attributes to that entity (holiness, Christian values; evil, destruction, unholiness, etc.), (recall the interpretation of the expressions the *pope* and *Smith's murderer* discussed in §3.6.1 above). Then these examples approach the category of descriptive genitive, since all the examples of adnominal genitive nominal of this category provide some attributes (either class or characteristics) to the entity designated by the head noun.

§4.7 Partitive genitive.

Prototypical examples of this category, as shown in [4-108, 109, 110, 111] below, have a genitive nominal which designates a mass (§3.2.3 above), i.e., an unbounded region in the domain of instantiation. In the case of physical objects, the domain of instantiation is space. The genitive nominal is typically a mass noun or a plural of a count noun. The head noun designates some bounded region in the unbounded region designated by the genitive nominal. The

designatum of the head noun limits the expanse of the designatum of the genitive nominal in the relevant domain to various degrees (0% to 100%). In other words, the designatum of the head noun “quantifies” the mass designated by the genitive nominal. What portion of the designatum of the genitive nominal is designated by the head noun is explicit in cases like [4-108, 109] (e.g. “half” or “one” of the designatum), whereas in cases like [4-110, 111], it is not so explicit (e.g. “some portion” or “many” of the designatum).

[4-108] & *zacheus se þe healf e his æhta þearfum dælde.*

“And Zacheus who shared with the poor half of his possessions” (CH8, 172)

[4-109] *þa næs thomas þær an þæra twelfa apostola*

“Then Thomas there was not one of the twelve apostles” (CH16, 12)

[4-110] *þa brohton hi him gebrædne fisc. & sumne dæl huniges;*

“Then they brought for them a roasted fish and some portion of honey” (CH15, 59)

[4-111] ... *se mid mislicum wítum fela cristenra manna acwealde.*

“.. who killed many of Christian men with various punishments” (CH37, 96)

The head noun may be those which designate a abstract portion of some schematic whole, such as *healf* “half”, *an* “one”, *dæl* “part, portion”, and *fela* “many”, as in the examples above, and various types of quantifiers like *ægðer*, *ælc* “each, every”, *ænig* “any”, *ba*, *begen*, *butu* “both”, *læs* “less”, *ma* “more”, *naðor* “neither”. Genitive nominals may be those that designate a more concretely defined portion, such as *byrðen* “burden”, *drenc* “drink”, *ðrym* “host”, *ymbren* “course (of time)”, as in the following examples.

[4-112] *Nu berð se rica swære byrðene. his gestreona*

“Now the rich carries heavy burden of his wealth” (CH18, 175)

[4-113] *ne dranc he wines drenc* “He did not drink a drink of wine” (CH25, 44)

[4-114] *þu ðe gesitst ofer engla þrymme.* “You who see over a host of angels” (CH37, 166)

[4-115] *Modor min nyste ic hu þyses geares ymbren geendode*

“My mother, I do not know how the course of this year ended” (CH37, 143)

The characteristic feature of this category resides in quantification of the designatum of a genitive nominal. The genitive nominal designates a region in some domain that is *construed* to be quantifiable in some way. This construal is a combinatorial meaning of mass and the genitive nominal: mass noun designates an unbounded region in the domain of instantiation, and the genitive inflection deprofiles the designatum of the mass noun. As a result, a conceptualiser’s attention is drawn to measuring or estimating how much of the designatum is manifested or unfolded in various kinds of domain of instantiation (space, time, visual field, etc.). Quantifiable entities have various properties, such unboundedness, internal homogeneity, expansibility, and contractibility. For example, to take the examples of [4-110] above, the designatum of the genitive nominal *huniges* is unbounded, in that there is no inherent limit to its expanse. It is internally homogeneous (at least it is so construed), in that any portion of the designatum will be of the same material substance as any other portion of it. It can expand or contract, in that even if one takes away from it or add some more to it, it will be the same honey. These four properties of quantifiable entities are in fact properties attributed to mass nouns in general (§3.2.3). That is why examples of partitive adnominal genitive of mass noun are prototypical of this category. The genitive nominal can also be plural: a plural noun is said to designate a replicate mass (cf. §3.2.3: Langacker 1991: 78). The example [4-111] is a case in point. The designatum of the genitive nominal *cristenra manna* (i.e. [[CRISTEN MEN]-[GEN]]) is unbounded, internally homogeneous (each and every example of the people called “Christian men” will be construed as a Christian man), expansible and contractible (Christian men may consist of two people or a million of people, and still be called “Christian men”).

However, genitive nominals of all examples that belong to the category of partitive genitive do not have to be those that designate a thing that has all these four properties. For example, the genitive nominal in [4-109] *þæra twelfa apostola* designates a bounded region, because of the numeral *twelfa*, which limits the otherwise infinitely expansible region. The genitive nominal in [4-108] also designates a bounded region. The predicate [HIS ÆHTA] presupposes that a man

can have only a certain amount of possession to various degrees, so it would be assumed that the amount of possession designated by this predicate is not infinitely expansible (though its limit is not specified). What is common to all the four examples above, despite these difference is that the designatum of the genitive nominal is construed as quantifiable (it is possible to delimit the expanse of honey, Christians (unbounded), and of the twelve apostles and someone’s possessions (bounded), and that the designatum of the head noun quantifies the designated region, whether bounded or unbounded, of the genitive nominal, and bring the quantified region to the speaker’s or hearer’s awareness.

Examples become less and less prototypical if the designatum of the genitive nominal is *construed* as a single, solid, irreducible entity that cannot be quantified. Such unprototypical examples merge with the category of “various relations between non-humans” if the genitive nominal is a non-human noun, and also with the category of “possession”, especially when the head noun designates a body part. See the examples below:

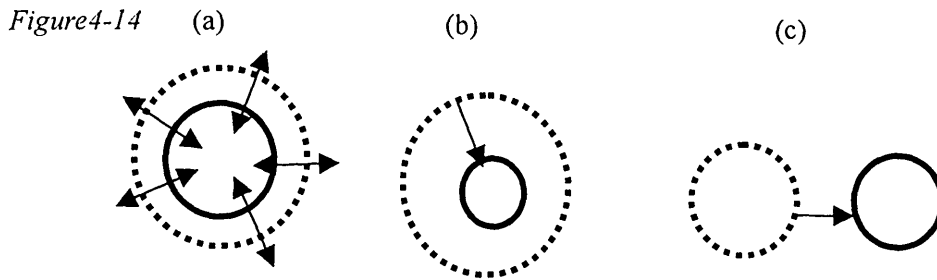
[4-116] *godes engel undyde þa locu þæs cwearternes*

“God’s angel undid the locks of the prison” (CH37, 233)

[4-117] *æt þæs halgan apostoles fotum* “at the feet of the holy apostle” (CH4, 132)

Looking at the objective situations these adnominal genitive phrases depict, there is a part-whole relation in both of them. However, the reason why they do not count as (at least prototypical) examples of partitive genitive is that the genitive nominal does not designate a quantifiable entity. In the case of [4-116], the designatum of the genitive nominal *þæs cwearternes* “(of) the prison” is an entity which has various component parts which are considerably different in material (e.g. wall, door, lock, window, etc.), out of which the lock is chosen as the focus of attention within the whole noun phrase *þa locu þæs cwearternes*. Also in the case of [4-195], the person designated by the genitive nominal *þæs halgan apostoles* cannot be seen as a quantifiable entity (it is not that if one squeezes or contracts the whole body of the apostle one obtains his feet). In either case, the genitive nominal designates a non-quantifiable, solid, single entity. However, of

course, there is not clear boundary that separates these categories from the partitive genitive. The way in which the designatum of the genitive nominal is quantified may be illustrated as in *Figure4-14* (a), in contrast with *Figure4-14* (b) and (c), which represent the way in which the part-whole relation is depicted in the genitive of various part-whole relation” and of “possession”.



The dotted circles in both diagrams represent the deprofiled designata of the genitive nominals, and the circles with bold line represent the designata of the head nouns. The arrows in (a) show the quantifiability (especially contractibility and expansibility) of the designatum of the genitive nominal, indicating that any portion out of it can be brought to a conceptualiser’s attention because of its internal homogeneity. It is essential that because of this homogeneity, the profiled portion (designatum of the head noun) will be *construed* to be of the same material or quality as any other portion out of the designatum of the genitive nominal. In the case of the genitive of various part-whole relation and possession, as diagrammed in (b), the two things designated by the genitive nominal and the head noun stand distinct. What is essential in this construal is that a conceptualiser’s attention is drawn first to one distinct entity (the genitive nominal’s designatum) as a reference point, then to another distinct entity which is close to it in terms of cognitive distance (possessed-possessor, whole-part, etc.). This construal is similar to the construal depicted in (c) for the other types of genitive of possession (those apart from body parts, e.g. *þæs cyninges botl* “the king’s house”) and also for the genitive of interpersonal relationship (*ðæs aldormannes dohtor* “the chieftain’s daughter”). In these cases, the two designata of the genitive nominal and the head noun are not only distinct from each other but also one is not conceptually part of the other. But the commonality between (b) and (c) is that the designatum of the genitive

nominal serves as a reference point to guide a conceptualiser's attention to some other entity distinct from itself.

The difference between these two construals (one illustrated in (a), and another in (b) and (c)) is important for several reasons. Firstly, it is because of this possibility of construing a genitive designatum as quantifiable that a genitive nominal could also appear as a complement of certain verbs in OE, especially those that express activities of eating, drinking, partaking, etc., which indicate the change of quantity of some entity designated by its genitive complement, as we will see in Chapter 5. Secondly, it is this possibility of construing a genitive designatum as quantifiable that is lost from the functions of the genitive case after the OE period. From around the end of the OE period, the *of*-phrase takes over the function of expressing partitive relationship. It is due to this loss that a genitive nominal ceased to be used as an expression of partitive relations (both as adnominal or adverbial genitive).

Another distinctive feature of partitive genitive is its word order. Among all the categories of adnominal genitive, it is only the category of partitive genitive in which the postnominal genitive outnumbers the prenominal. See the following table:

Table 4-8 The number of the examples of partitive genitive, classified according to whether the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and according to the word order.

TOTAL	subtotal	Genitive = grounded expression		word order			
		pronoun	with determiner	before	after	split	both
354	202	62	140	122	228	1	3
100%	57%	18%	40%	34%	64%	0.2%	0.8%

Among those examples in which the genitive nominal precedes the head, the half of them are pronouns: the genitive forms of pronouns are almost invariably prenominal in my database⁵. This tendency is totally opposite to the other tendency we noted with the adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations, possession, or some subtypes of the adnominal genitive of process, where the genitive nominal predominantly preceded the head, where the genitive nominal is associated with determinative function, anchoring an instance on the domain of instantiation. With partitive genitive, its prototypical function is to present an unbounded region of which the designatum of

the head noun bounds a region as a profile of the whole noun phrase. In a sense, it is the designatum of the head noun, rather than that of the genitive nominal, that has a determinative function. Therefore, in terms of function, partitive genitive stands in opposition to these other categories of adnominal genitive associated with determinative function. The word order of partitive genitive can be said to reflect its non-determinative function. Interestingly, this prototypical word order of partitive genitive is in parallel with expressions with a quantifying determiner which is used adjectivally ([4-118]), or appositively ([4-119]), as well as with a genitive plural nominal ([4-120]).

[4-118] *On sumum gecorenū mannum* “among some chosen men” (CH24, 134)

[4-119] *& he eac sume his geferan to ispanian gesende*

“and he also sent some (of) his companions to Spain” (CH37, 49)

[4-120] *sume þæra haligra gasta* “some of those holy spirits” (CH36, 27)

It might be possible that the prototypical word order of partitive genitive may be an analogy to the common word order of the quantifying determiner followed by a noun.

Finally I will discuss the conceptual difference between partitive genitive and an already existing *of*-phrase which seem to function as a partitive expression in OE. This is exemplified by [4-121], in contrast with [4-122].

[4-121] *Behealdað þæt ge ne forseon ænne of þysum lytlingum;* (CH34, 237)

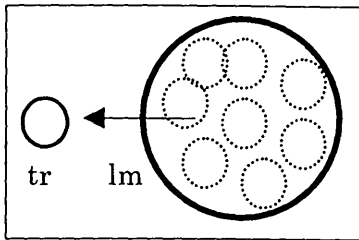
“Watch out that you may not despise one of these little ones”

[4-122] *Behealdað; þæt ge ne forseon ænne þyssera lytlinga;* (CH34, 153)

These two noun phrases, one consisting of a nominal genitive phrase, and the other in *of*-phrase, depict more or less the same objective situations, but the way it is construed is different. In the case of [4-121], the preposition *of*, which is a relational predicate, designates interconnection between two distinct things, of which one as a trajector is construed as coming/being taken away

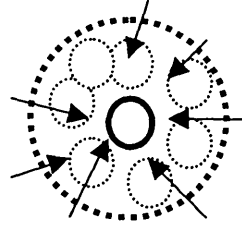
out of the other as a landmark. The diagram in *Figure4-15* below depicts the predicate of [OF] in OE.

Figure4-15(a)



[ÆNNE OF ðYSUM LYTLUNGUM]

(b)



[ÆNNE ðYSSERA LYTLUNGA]

Therefore, the designatum of the dative nominal *bysum lytlungum* “these little ones” is here seen more as distinct from the designatum of the head noun *ænne* “one”. Importantly, since the nominal is not in the genitive case (but in the dative case), the designatum is not deprofiled. This means, the whole entity “these little ones” receive full attention of a conceptualiser. In the case of the partitive genitive *ænne byssera lytlunga*, since the designatum of the genitive nominal (replicate mass) is deprofiled, and itself does not receive a conceptualiser’s full attention. Therefore, the two things designated by the genitive nominal and the head noun will not be seen as so distinct from each other as in the case of the *of*-phrase.

§4.8 The genitive of apposition.

In this category there are two types of adnominal genitive phrases of apposition. The first type has a genitive nominal designating a hyponym of some category designated by the head noun, exemplified by the example [4-123] below. The second type has a genitive nominal whose designatum, prototypically some abstract entity, is embodied or manifested by the designatum of the head noun, prototypically a concrete entity, through some metaphorical extension. Examples of this type are given in [4-124] below.

[4-123] & *se gewuna þæs fæstenes þurhwunað gehwær on geleaffulre. gelapunge*

“the custom of the fasting persists anywhere in faithful congregation” (CH18, 10)

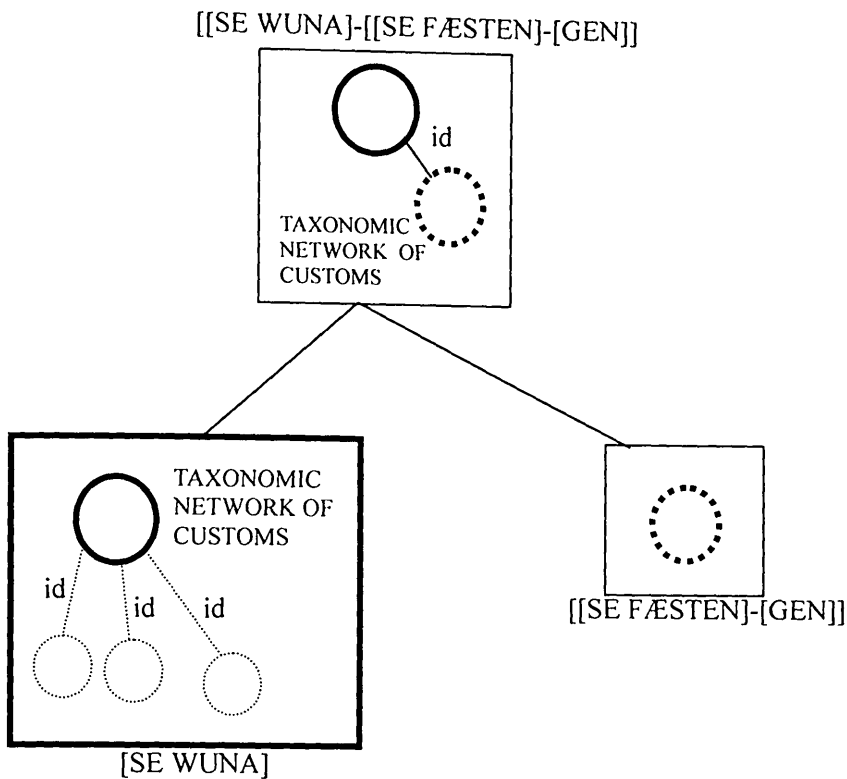
[4-124] *anra gehwylc manna is gewriðen mid rapum his synna;*

“each and everyone of men is bound with ropes of his sins” (CH14, 47)

It is the first type of genitive to which the name of the class “appositive genitive” is applied (Curme 1931), and following this terminology I call the first type “appositive genitive” and the second type “metaphorical genitive”, since the predicate of the whole noun phrase involves some kind of metaphorical expression.

In both cases, the integration of the two nominals (genitive and head) depends on encyclopedic knowledge with respect to which the predicates of the two nominals are characterised. As for appositive genitive, it is the knowledge of taxonomy for a particular subject. To take the example [4-123], in the adnominal genitive phrase *se gewuna þæs fæstenes*, the head noun *se wuna* “the custom” evokes a taxonomic network of schematic activities which may be categorised as instances of custom. Note that the noun *wuna* “custom” is a term of “superordinate level” in the hierarchy of taxonomy, as opposed to those of “basic level” (Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 66-69). The concept of “custom” necessitates concepts of actual instances of “custom” (eating three times a day, going to church on Sundays, etc.), and therefore is dependent on such concepts. In *Figure4-16*, I illustrate, by means of a large circle around the predicate [SE WUNA], such knowledge of taxonomic network of customs as one of the relevant domains for the predicate (here I omitted the semantic structure of the demonstrative *se*).

Figure 4-16



Within this knowledge, the profile of the predicate is related to concepts of actual instances of custom, though such concepts are only schematic, in the relationship of membership identification (represented as “id”). The designatum of the genitive nominal *hæs fæstenes* corresponds to one of such concepts: this schematic concept is not in profile, and also the designatum of the genitive nominal is deprofiled, which facilitates the integration of the two nominals. The resultant composite structure $[[SE\ WUNA]-[ÐÆS\ FÆSTENES]]$ inherits the knowledge of taxonomy network of customs, and the relationship of membership identification between the two genitive nominals. Even though these two entities in the predicate are related in the relation of identity (“the fasting is a custom”), since the relevant domain for the predicate is the knowledge of taxonomic network on which the two entities “custom” and “fasting” are distributed at different levels, the two entities are diagrammed as distinct entities in *Figure4-13* (as two different circles in the composite structure $[[SE\ WUNA]-[ÐÆS\ FÆSTENES]]$).

The second type of the genitive of apposition, metaphorical genitive, is further exemplified by the following examples:

[4-125] *Se apostol us awrehte þ we of slæpe ure ásolcennysse & ungeleaffulnysse æt sumum sæle arisan*

“The apostle aroused us so that we may arise from sleep of our slothfulness and unfaithfulness at some time” (CH39, 35)

[4-126] ... *ðwyrlicra manna heortan þe beoð þurh unrihtwisnysse hocum awegde ...*

“... wicked men’s hearts that are carried off by the hooks of unrighteousness...” (CH25, 214)

[4-127] *Se ðe mid fodan þære uppligan lufe bið gefylled ...*

“He who is filled with food of the love from above (= “heavenly”, lit. “up-ly”) ...” (CH35, 74)

In this case, the predicate of the whole phrase depends much more on the encyclopedic knowledge that characterises the predicates of both the genitive nominal and the head, since if we characterise each of the predicates of the nominals (genitive and head) only in their primary domain, there is little possibility that there is any correspondence between the two predicates. To take the example [4-124] *mid rapum his synna* “with ropes of his sins”, the predicate [RAPUM] and [HIS SYNNA] (or more analytically [[HIS SYNNA]-[GEN]], here omitting the semantic structure for the ambiguous singular/plurality) are characterised in the domain of three-dimensional space and in the domain of human attributes. What make the combination of these two different nominal predicates into a coherent concept is a “metaphorical extension”, from a source domain to a target domain. In this case, the source domain is that of human attributes and the target domain is that of three-dimensional space. I analyse this metaphorical extension in terms of a more general concept of “extension” (one of categorisation judgement), in which the designatum of [RAPUM] “ropes” is construed as unprototypical instance of the designatum of [[HIS SYNNA]-[GEN]]. In order for this extension to take place, there have to be rich context of extended knowledge, about the function of a rope, what it is useful for, Christianity, sins, what a sin does to a person, and so forth. Particularly, ropes are often used to bind a person so that he

cannot move. At the same time, within the context of Christianity which is assumed to be shared by Ælfric and readers and hearers of his homilies, sins are regarded as something that enslaves a person, and bind him and takes away his freedom. Within these rich contexts of knowledge, the designatum of [RAPUM] and that of [[HIS SYNNA]-[GEN]] correspond to each other, because both the designata are something that binds a person and takes away his freedom.

This is a limited case of integration, that the designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to the designatum of the head noun. However, just like in the case of appositive genitive dealt with above, the relationship between the two designata is not complete identification (in the case of appositive genitive, the relationship was that of membership identification). Note that there is some inherent asymmetry between the two designata, which is manifested when we put the two into a predicate clause, in such a way that if we have a adnominal genitive phrase [[NOM]₁-[[NOM]₂-[GEN]], we obtain a proposition in the form “[NOM]₂ is a kind of [NOM]₁”, but not the other way around.

[4-124] (*mid*) *rapum his synna* “(with) ropes of his sins”

1(a) *Sins are a kind of ropes* (because both bind a person and take away his freedom)

1(b) ?*Ropes are a kind of sin.*

[4-125] *slæpe ure ásolcennysse & ungeleaffulnysse*

“sleep of our slothfulness and unfaithfulness”

2(a). *Our slothfulness and unfaithfulness are a kind of sleep*

(because both make a person unaware)

2 (b) ?*Sleep is a kind of our slothfulness and unfaithfulness.*

[4-126] *unrihtwisnysse hocum* “hooks of unrighteousness”

3 (a) *Unrighteousness is a kind of hooks* (because it seizes a person)

3 (b) ?*Hooks are a kind of unrighteousness*

[4-127] *fodan þære upplican lufe* “food of the heavenly love”

4 (a) *Heavenly love is a kind of food* (because both feed us)

4 (b) ?*Food is a kind of heavenly love.*

All the (a) sentences capture the metaphorical extension involved in the corresponding metaphorical genitive phrases, whereas all the (b) sentences do not. In order for the sentences (a) to make sense, there have to be some explanation (put in the round brackets) which derives from the relevant encyclopaedic knowledge (in these cases, mostly various aspects of Christianity), which fill the apparent contradiction in the statements (apparently sins are not ropes, etc.). The reason why only the paraphrases of (a) work and not those of (b) is, I suggest, that in the metaphorical genitive phrases, the designatum provides a topic in terms of which the designatum of the head noun should be understood. In other words, the genitive nominal's predicate, together with its designatum and its contextual knowledge, gives a domain with respect to which the designatum of the head can be characterised. (That is why only the paraphrases (a) work, in which the designatum of the genitive nominal is a subject, which is a topic of the statement, but not the paraphrases (b), in which the designatum of the head noun is a subject.) As a result, the resultant adnominal genitive phrase profiles a thing that is to be characterised in the domain that is inherited from the primary domain of the predicate of the genitive nominal.

Such an analysis also work for the appositive genitive above. The examples can be paraphrased in the same way. (The paraphrase *the fasting is a kind of custom* but not ?*The custom is a kind of fasting* captures the relationship between the two nominals in *se wuna þæs fæstenes* “the custom of the fasting”). In the case, too, the predicate of the genitive nominal *þæs fæstenes* provides a necessary domain with respect to which the predicate of the head noun *se wuna* may be characterised.

As *Table 4-9* below shows, the majority of the genitive nominal in this category is a grounded expression, specifically is some kind of definite nominal (accompanied by a demonstrative as in [4-123, 27] or a pronominal genitive as in [4-124, 125]). On the other hand, in terms of word order, the postnominal genitive is relatively more predominant.

Table 4-9 The number of the examples of appositive and metaphorical genitive, classified according to whether the genitive nominal is a grounded expression, and according to the word order.

TOTAL	Genitive = grounded expression	word order	
	With determiner	before	after
51	42	16	35
100%	82%	31%	69%

The fact that the majority of the genitive nominal in this category is a grounded expression may support the analysis of the genitive designatum as a topic with which something is identified, since a grounded entity is known to the speaker/hearer, and is characterised by its high topicworthiness (Taylor 1996: 210ff). On the other hand, the postnominal word order of the genitive nominal may reflect an explanatory sequence of these expressions iconically. For example, in [4-124] the word order reflects the sequence “(each and everyone of men is bound with) ropes, i.e. his sins”.

§4.9 Summary for Chapter 4

This chapter has demonstrated my analysis of various types of adnominal genitive phrases. I have shown the basic seven types of adnominal genitive, i.e., 1. genitive of interpersonal relations, 2. genitive of possession, 3. genitive of various relations between non-humans, 4. genitive of process, 5. descriptive genitive, 6. partitive genitive, and 7. genitive of apposition. All these categories are linked together, by virtue of the fact that they all contain the symbolic unit [[GEN]/[...]] as one of their component structures. In the semantic pole, the predicate [GEN] deprofiles the profile of the predicate of the root nominal, schematically [NOM]. The composite structure [[NOM]-[GEN]] is integrated with another nominal predicate, which serves as a head. In most cases the deprofiled profile of [[NOM]-[GEN]] corresponds to and elaborates one of salient substructures in the other nominal predicate. In such cases, the genitive nominal is a complement to the head. In one case (descriptive genitive), the profile of the head nominal corresponds to and elaborates one of salient structures in [[NOM]-[GEN]], in which case the genitive nominal is a modifier to the head. In either case, the crucial point to the analysis of

adnominal genitive phrases is the effect of the deprofiling of the designatum of the genitive nominal; a conceptualiser's attention is dislocated to the designatum of the head noun, and as a result the predicate of the composite structure form a coherent, single gestalt, to varying degrees.

Even though it is assumed that the predicate [GEN] has a constant semantic value throughout all the seven categories of adnominal genitive, which is the deprofiling of the profile of the root nominal, prototypical examples of each of these categories show a great diversity of meaning. This is because the predicate [GEN] is characterised in various ways depending on the contexts; firstly depending on the predicate of the root nominal to which it is attached, and moreover, depending on the predicate of the head nominal. This diversity in contexts characterising the predicate [GEN] gives rise to all these different categories of adnominal genitive.

These various categories of adnominal genitives are, however, linked to one another through unprototypical instances. Here are the links between categories that have been discussed in the chapter.

- (1) Adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession are linked together because of the various common features: the genitive nominal typically designates a human, is a ground expression, and it predominantly precedes the head.
- (2) Adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations and of possession are linked to that of various relations between non-humans, because of some common features: the genitive nominal is predominantly a ground expression.
- (3) Adnominal genitive of interpersonal relations, of possession, some of adnominal genitive of process, are linked to descriptive genitive, through examples like *se godes sunu*, *se godes hus*, *þæm bloddes gyte*, where the genitive nominals specify the type of the entity designated by the head noun.
- (4) Adnominal genitive of interpersonal genitive is linked to that of process, through examples like *fæder ælcere leasunge*, where the term for interpersonal relation is extended to a domain of origination, where the processual meaning figures.
- (5) Adnominal genitive of possession is linked to that of process, through examples like *moyses æ*, where the idea of possession is remote and the designatum of the head is seen more as

result of production, where the processual meaning figures.

- (6) Adnominal genitive of various relations between non-humans is linked to that of process through examples like *(on) angynne þæs gefeohtes*, where the part-whole relation is overlapped with the processual meaning.
- (7) Adnominal genitive of various relations between non-humans is linked to partitive genitive, through examples like *þam cnolle þære healican dune*, where the designatum of the head noun can be construed as integral part of the designatum of the genitive nominal.

Moreover, certain types of composite structure of adnominal genitive phrases seem to have been so well-entrenched that the composite structure itself has attained some degree of unit status as a symbolic unit. Such composite structures are exemplified by adnominal genitive phrases of interpersonal relations, of possession, and of many examples of adnominal genitive of process, especially those associated with the roles of AGENT and EXPERIENCER. They all share common features that the genitive nominal designate a human, it is typically a grounded expression, and typically precedes the head noun. This is remarkable because in other categories of adnominal genitive the word order is not so fixed: with other categories it is either that both prenominal and postnominal genitive occur at almost equal frequency, or in some cases the postnominal genitive outnumbers the prenominal one. Moreover, in cases like adnominal genitive of various relations between non-human, or some examples of adnominal genitive of process (e.g. those associated with PATIENT, THEME, INSTRUMENT), a genitive nominal can be split from the head noun. This shows that the adnominal genitive phrases of interpersonal relation, possession, and of (partly) process has a special status among the whole range of adnominal genitive. The two entities (profiled and deprofiled entities) within the semantic structure of an adnominal genitive phrase of these categories were construed as an extremely coherent gestalt. The genitive nominal, which in itself was a nominal predicate (by virtue of profiling a thing though it is deprofiled), seem to be on the process of becoming an integral part of a whole noun phrase as a determiner, together with other members of determiner (such as demonstratives, the numeral *an*). It seems that the grammatical change that the genitive nominal underwent from OE

to ME is characterised as a change from a genitive nominal as nominal predicate to a genitive nominal as part of nominal predicate.

¹ A “root nominal” form (i.e. a nominal which is integrated with a case to form a larger nominal predicate: e.g. **se aldormann* for the genitive nominal *ðæs aldormannes*) is hypothesised according to the declensional system of OE, and is asterisked with *.

² However, compared to *Table 4-2* and *Table 4-3* where the rate of a grounded genitive nominal is 80% and 93%, that of the present category (63%) is significantly low. This may be partly attributed to the fact that there is much less instances of pronominal genitives in this category (only 7%). Because of this (and also for another reason to be discussed shortly below), the category of genitive of various relations between non-humans is to be separated from the first two categories that have been already dealt with.

³ Without such knowledge, the designatum of the genitive nominal might well correspond to the agent role. The difference in the interpretation between the two examples below is dependent on our assumed knowledge that the baby Jesus was under persecution and heathen men would persecute rather than be persecuted.

þa ða he ealle his euenealdan adilegode. for his anes ehtnysse;

“when he (= King Herod) annihilated all children of the same age as he (=the baby Jesus), just in order to persecute him alone” (CH5, 81)

þa wearþ he þurh hæþenra manna ehtnysse for cristes geleafan gemartyrod.

“then he was martyred in the course of heathen men’s persecution because believing in Christ” (CH30, 259)

⁴ To give a simple example, the role of “ellative” (an entity from something/someone moves or emanates) will be represented by an of-phrase or a *fram*-phrase than a genitive nominal.

hi noldon æt fruman gelyfan his ærist of deaðe.

“they would not at first believe in his resurrection from death” (CH21, 93)

Se bið eadig & gesælig þe for criste þolað wyriunge & hospas fram leasum licceterum

“He is happy and blessed who, for Christ, suffers curses and contempt from false hypocrites” (CH36, 259)

⁵ Apart from examples like *Hwilc eower hæfð hunteontig sceapa?* “Which/who of you has hundred sheep?” CH24, 7), where the genitive pronoun is integrated with an interrogative pronoun.

Chapter 5 Non-adnominal genitives.

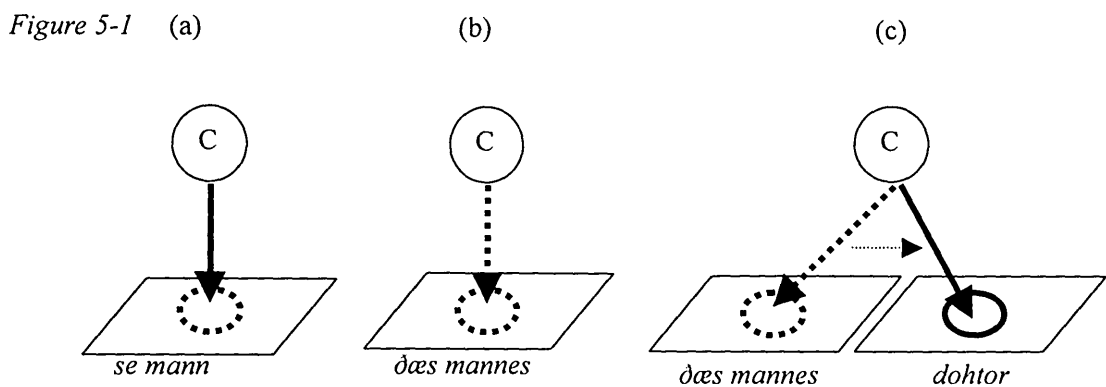
This chapter will deal with all the rest of the types of genitive in OE apart from the adnominal genitive, i.e. adverbial genitive, adjectival genitive, prepositional genitive, and adverbial genitive. The same analysis of the genitive case as the one for the adnominal genitive will be applied to these types of genitive, i.e., deprofiling the profile of the nominal predicate to which the genitive inflection is attached, though the semantic effect of the deprofiling will be different in these cases from that in the case of the adnominal genitive¹. I claim that the schematic characterisation of genitive meaning does not make reference to a particular semantic role, but that a less schematic characterisation of the adverbial genitive in some specific contexts (e.g. that which appears with emotional and mental verbs) does involve semantic roles. In my account of the adverbial genitive and other types of genitive, I will make reference to Jakobson's (1936/1971) study of the Russian case system, updated and revised within a Cognitive Grammar framework.

§5.1 The semantic effect of deprofiling in the case of non-adnominal genitive nominal.

As we have already seen in Chapter 1, the categorisation of non-adnominal genitives in OE, especially the adverbial genitive, has been problematic, because of their diversity in meaning and use. Various classifications of OE verbs that take genitive complements have been made (Shipley 1903, Visser 1970, Rudanko 1983), but none of them elucidates the nature of adverbial genitive, its co-occurrence with the adnominal genitive, and its disappearance after the end of the OE period. Another approach towards the adverbial genitive has been to analyse it with reference to semantic roles, namely the role of cause/source/stimulus, especially those instances of adverbial genitive with impersonal verbs (Fischer and van der Leek 1983, 1987, Anderson 1986). But the characterisation of the adverbial genitive with reference to semantic roles accounts for only a portion of the adverbial genitive as a whole, and does not provide us with a coherent view of genitive in general, as we have already discussed in Chapter 1 above. My claim is that a schematic characterisation of adverbial genitive (and other non-adnominal genitive) does not make reference to any semantic roles. I claim that, as in the case of adnominal genitive, the non-

adnominal genitive is a nominal predicate with a deprofiled designatum, due to the integration of a nominal and the genitive inflection. However, the semantic effect of deprofiling will be different in the case of non-adnominal genitive from that in the case of adnominal genitive. This section will discuss this special semantic effect.

Recall that the definition of deprofiling is to reduce the amount of a conceptualiser's attention to the designatum of a nominal predicate to which the genitive inflection is attached. In the case of adnominal genitive, it has been claimed that a conceptualiser's attention is dislocated from the designatum of the genitive nominal to the designatum of the head nominal, and as a result, the two nominals (the genitive nominal and the head nominal) will be construed as forming a coherent gestalt, since the conceptualiser's attention is drawn onto only one designatum (i.e. there is only one profile in the composite structure). The notion of dislocation is illustrated in *Figure 5-1* (a), (b), and (c), using the hypothesised examples **se mann*, **ðæs mannes*, and **ðæs mannes dohtor*.



The diagram (a) illustrates a construal of a non-genitive nominal predicate. A conceptualiser's (represented by the circles with the capital C) attention is fully drawn onto the designatum of the nominal predicate *se mann*. The full attention is represented by the arrows with a solid line. The diagram (b) illustrates the direct effect of the deprofiling. The genitive nominal predicate *ðæs mannes* has a designatum, to which less of the conceptualiser's attention is drawn (the reduced attention of the conceptualiser is represented by the arrow with a dotted line). One effect of the deprofiling is diagrammed in (c), where the conceptualiser's attention is dislocated from the designatum of the genitive nominal *ðæs mannes* to the designatum of the head noun *dohtor*. In

the case of adverbial genitive, however, there is no other nominal predicate to which the conceptualiser's attention may be dislocated. So the attention still falls onto the designatum of the genitive nominal, as diagrammed in (b) above. We can experience the difference between (b) and (c), i.e. the difference between the dislocated designatum and the non-dislocated designatum, in examples as below.

[5-1] *ðæs ealdormannes dohtor læg æt forðsiþe*. “the alderman's daughter lay at death”
(CH33, 82)

[5-2] *him ofhreow þæs mannes* “he felt sorry for the man” (CH13, 13)

In [5-1], the focus of our attention is not on “the alderman” but on “his daughter”. On the other hand, when reading [5-2], because of the sequence *him ofhreow*, we understand that someone designated by *him* felt sorry for some reason, and we expect the cause or source of the sorrow experienced by him. Then our attention falls onto the designatum of the genitive nominal *þæs mannes*, and no other designata, to identify it as an entity (a person) who made him feel sorry. This experience shows that in the case of non-adnominal genitive, the designatum of the genitive nominal remains as a focus of attention, as opposed to the adnominal genitive.

Now the question is what is exactly meant by the diagram (b) above, i.e., by saying that a reduced amount of attention falls upon the designatum of the genitive nominal. What is the semantic effect of deprofiling when there is no another nominal with which the genitive nominal may be integrated and to whose designatum the focus of the conceptualiser's attention may be shifted? Such a question becomes relevant when we face an example such as those below.

[5-3] *ic unforhtmód þæs drences onfó* “I shall take the drink without fear” (CH4, 219)

[5-4] (*& cwæð þ he nolde gelyfan buton*) *iohannes attor drunce*

“(and said that he would not believe unless) John drinks poison” (CH4, 213)

In these examples, the objective situation that both clauses depict are more or less the same

(some unbeliever who asked John the Apostle to drink poison (*attor*) to see the effect of his faith said the content of the example [5-4], and John replies by saying [5-3], where *þæs drences* refers to the poison): both describes the situation in which John drinks poison. What is the semantic differences between the two nominals *þæs drences* (genitive) in [5-3] and *attor* (accusative) in [5-4]?

Important in answering this question is the notion of imagery (§2.2.5), which is defined as our cognitive ability to construe the same objective situation in alternate ways. The fact that these two nominals are in the genitive and accusative does not necessarily indicate any difference in the object situations they describe (physical appearance of the poison, etc.), but it suggests that there is a difference in construals of the situation. Then how can we characterise differences in construals in cases like [5-3] and [5-4]? I attempt to give an account of this difference in construals in what follows.

The following account is based on Jakobson's (1963/1971) analysis of the Russian case system. Particularly his account of the meaning of the Russian genitive case proves extremely useful and illuminating, especially in an attempt like the present one to give a coherent account of the genitive case both in adnominal and non-adnominal uses. To make his analysis consistent with the analysis of the genitive in the present dissertation, I will recast it within a Cognitive Grammar framework.

§5.1.2 Jakobson's theory of case and his characterisation of the meaning of genitive case: "extent"

A fundamental assumption in Jakobson's theory of case is; a case expresses only one abstract, invariant meaning (= general meaning), from which various concrete, variant meanings (= particular meanings) can be derived. Jakobson (1958/1971) expresses his general meanings of cases in terms of features. For example, in the Russian case system there are three features [directionality], [extent], and [marginality], by virtue of which the cases contrast with one another within the system in *Table 5-1*.

Table 5-1 The distribution of the features in the Russian case-system: “+” indicates the presence of the feature².

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Instrumental	Dative
directionality		+			+
extent			+		
marginality				+	+

Among these cases, we will be concerned only with accusative and genitive, (and nominative in passing) and therefore, with two of the features [directionality] and [extent].

Jakobson says that the feature [directionality] “always states that some action is directed to the referent to a certain extent, is expressed in it, and seizes it”³. The referent of the accusative is always subordinated under some (explicit or implicit) action. Jakobson’s statement about the accusative case corresponds to Langacker’s characterisation of it. He makes reference to the Canonical Event Model (cf. §3.7), and characterises an accusative nominal as designating a thing that is construed as lying at the endpoint of some action chain, and therefore, prototypically bearing the semantic role of patient. According to Langacker

“Prototypically, ACC marks a thematic participant (with the status of secondary figure) that lies downstream from a participant subject (primary figure) in regard to the flow of energy along an action chain. By extension, it further marks the downstream participant in comparable configurations involving some abstract analogy of energy flow” (Langacker 1991:399).

On the other hand, the nominative case does not signal anything (apart from its nominal stem: see *Table 5-1*), which explains why a nominative nominal is the only case form used for addressing, for naming. When a nominative nominal is used with an accusative nominal in a transitive clause, because of the latter signalling that it lies at the end of an action chain, the nominative nominal is construed as lying at the origin of the action chain (Jakobson explains that the nominative nominal is so construed by virtue of not signalling any involvement in an event). Then we can say that the prototypical semantic value of a transitive clause with a nominative nominal and an accusative nominal as its clausal participants is the conception of an event based on the Canonical Event Model.

It is important that this semantic value of a transitive clause with nominative and accusative is a matter of construal, and it is not the case that any transitive clause describes a situation in which

an agent-entity makes a physical contact with a patient-entity. But a situation is *so construed*, as either elaboration or extension, from this prototypical semantic value. Therefore, as we will see below, there are many instances of transitive clauses where the degree of transitivity seems to be low.

Now, we move on to the characterisation of the genitive case. Jakobson defines the feature [extent] in the following manner.

“The genitive case always signals the extent to which the referred object (of the genitive nominal) takes part in the situation (narrated) by the message⁴”.

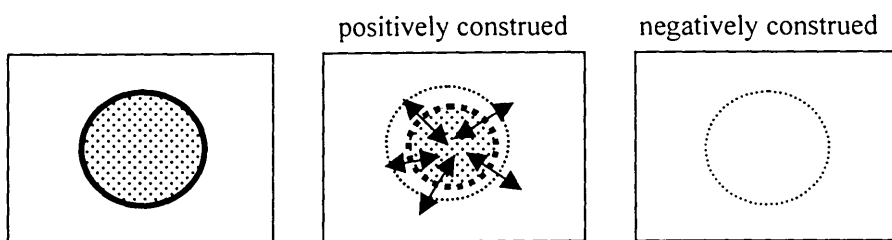
I interpret Jakobson’s “the referred object (of the genitive nominal)” (*des bezeichneten Gegenstandes*) as corresponding to the designatum of a genitive nominal. As for “the situation narrated by the message” (*Sachverhalt der Aussage*), Jakobson himself does not explain what it refers to. But it seems corresponding to what Langacker calls “the domain of instantiation” (§3.1, §3.6), which is a domain in which an entity is thought of as having its primary manifestation. This theoretical construct is introduced as part of “the Billiard-Ball Model”. For example, in the clauses in the examples [5-3, 4], the designata of the nominals such as *ic* “I”, *Iohannes* “John”, *þæs drenches* “the drink”, and *attor* “poison” are all primarily manifested in the domain of space (recall that all nominal predicates designate a region in some domain). On the other hand, the designatum of the verbs *onfo* “take” and *drunce* “drink” are manifested in time (a verb designates a series of relations scanned sequentially through the conceived time). What we are concerned with here is the domain of instantiation for nominal predicates.

Now, what Jakobson seems to mean in the statement above can be paraphrased as follows. A nominal predicate always designates a region in some domain. A nominal predicate (+ the root nominal) [NOMINAL] (e.g. *se drence*) is integrated with the genitive inflection [GEN], to form a larger nominal predicate [[NOMINAL]-[GEN]] (e.g. *þæs drenches*). Now in [[NOMINAL]-[GEN]], there is always some signal made as to the extent to which the region designated by the root nominal [NOMINAL] is manifested on (or in Jakobson’s terms, “takes part in”) the domain of instantiation. In other words, [[NOMINAL]-[GEN]] designates *as much or as little of the region designated by the root nominal predicate as is manifested in the domain of instantiation*.

It is in this signalling of the extent that a genitive nominal contrasts with non-genitive nominals. For example, a nominal inflected for other cases (nominative, accusative, dative) designates a region in some domain, and there is no question about how much of the designatum is manifested on the domain. The accusative and the dative cases signal other aspects of the region which is designated by their root nominals to which the relevant case markers are attached, i.e. the nature of its involvement in a clausal process, in terms of its semantic roles (Langacker 1991: 384). The nominative case is different from other cases in that it does not signal anything (Jakobson 1936/1971: 32). With these cases, there is no signalling of the extent to which the designatum of a relevant nominal is manifested on the domain of instantiation. So a nominal predicate with these cases designates the entirety of what it designates by default. But in the case of the genitive case, it draws a conceptualiser's attention to the question of how much or how little of the designatum of a relevant nominal predicate is manifested on the domain of instantiation.

The expressions above “*as much*” and “*as little*” (at the end of the paragraph before the previous one) correspond to two different construals of the designatum of a genitive nominal which Jakobson stipulates, which are, “partitive” and “negative” (Jakobson 1936/1971:38). I paraphrase these two types as “positive” and “negative” construals. In the positive construal, the designatum of a genitive nominal is construed as having some location in the domain of instantiation. In the negative construal, it is construed as being excluded from the domain of instantiation, hence having no location in the domain. The difference between these two construals is illustrated by the diagrams in *Figure 5-2*.

Figure 5-2 (a) [NOMINAL]₁ (b) [[NOMINAL]₁-[GEN]] (c) [[NOMINAL]₁-[GEN]]



The rectangles represent the domain of instantiation. The diagram (a) represents a non-genitive

nominal predicate [NOMINAL]₁ (such as the predicate of *se drence*), which profiles a region (a circle with a solid line) in some domain.

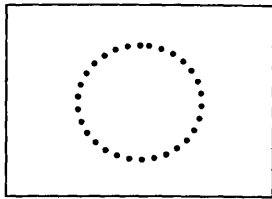
The diagram (b) represents a genitive nominal predicate [[NOMINAL]₁-[GEN]] (such as the predicate of *pæs drences*) positively construed. What is designated, or in other words what is manifested (or “takes part”) in the domain is not the designatum of the root nominal [NOMINAL]₁ (represented by the circle with a dotted thin line) but only *something of it*, and the size of the region designated by the genitive nominal is not determined (which is indicated by the arrows across the circumference of the circle). It should be noted that what is designated by the genitive nominal (what is manifested in the domain of instantiation) may be some integral part of the designatum of the root nominal predicate, or some entity that is merely somehow associated with it (this point will be developed in §5.2.1). Whatever it is that is designated by a genitive nominal, it is left implicit in this construal.

The diagram (c) represents a genitive nominal predicate as construed negatively. Here what is expressed is that none of the designatum of the root nominal predicate is manifested (or “takes part”) in the domain of instantiation. In other words, the designatum is excluded from the domain. There are various subtypes of this negative construal, according to Jakobson. He distinguishes four such types:

- (a)The genitive of boundary: As a limiting case, the genitive nominal designates only *the boundary of the designatum of the root nominal predicate as manifested on the domain of instantiation*.
- (b)The genitive of goal: The genitive nominal designates *the designatum of the root nominal predicate as appearing on the domain of instantiation*.
- (c)The genitive of separation: The genitive nominal designates *the designatum of the root nominal predicate as disappearing from the domain of instantiation*.
- (d)The genitive of negation: The genitive nominal designates *the total absence of the designatum of the root nominal predicate in the domain of instantiation*.

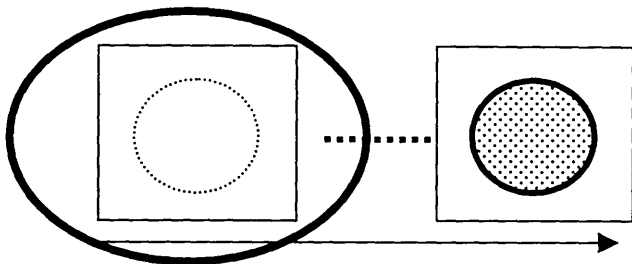
These different construals are illustrated by the diagrams in *Figure 5-3, 4, 5, and 6*. All these diagrams are to be interpreted in relation to the diagrams in *Figure 5-2* above.

Figure 5-3 genitive of boundary



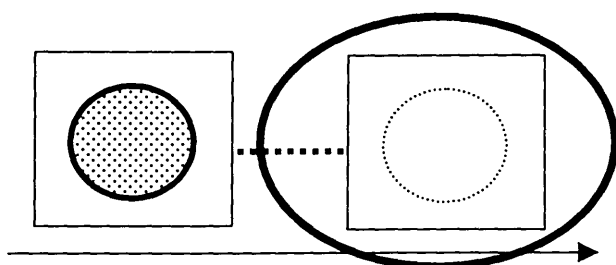
This expresses that what is manifested on the domain of instantiation is only the boundary of the designatum of the root nominal (compare with the diagram (a) in *Figure 5-2* above, where the region profiled by the nominal predicate [NOMINAL] is filled with dots, whereas here only the boundary of the designatum is manifested on the domain).

Figure 5-4 genitive of goal.



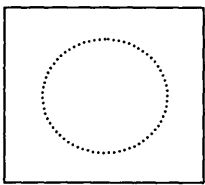
This diagram represents that what is designated by the root nominal predicate is not manifested in the domain of instantiation, but is expected to appear on it, through the conceived time (represented by the arrow). The large circle represents the immediate scope of predication. This expectation that the designatum may be manifested in the domain is part of the predicate, but is not included in the immediate scope of predication.

Figure 5-5 genitive of separation



This diagram represents that the designatum of the root nominal predicate was manifested in the domain of instantiation, but has disappeared from it, through the conceived time. Again, the large circle represents the immediate scope of predication, and the previous state is included as part of the predicate, but is not included in the immediate scope.

Figure 5-6 Genitive of negation



This diagram is the same as the diagram (c) in *Figure 5-2*, and it represents that the designatum of the root nominal is not manifested in the domain of instantiation at all. This construal is the exact opposite of the positive construal. This total absence of the designatum in the domain is expressed by negating the statement made in the diagram (b) of *Figure 5-2*, i.e. that *not* any of the designatum of the root nominal predicate that *may be* manifested in the domain of instantiation is actually manifested in that domain.

The outline above expounded Jakobson's characterisation of the semantic structure of genitive within the framework of Cognitive Grammar. His characterisation offers an answer to the question of how a non-adnominal genitive nominal is to be construed, in other words, what construal is obtained when the designatum of a nominal predicate, when it is integrated with a genitive inflection, is deprofiled, and a less amount of attention of a conceptualiser falls on its designatum. It results in construing as much or as little of the designatum of the nominal predicate as is manifested on or takes part in the domain of instantiation. The various meanings of genitive diagrammed in *Figure 5-2* (a) and (b), *Figure 5-3*, 4-4, 4-5, and 4-6 serve as schemas that sanction (either fully or partially) the actual usage events of non-adnominal genitive

nominal. The extent to which the designatum is manifested in the domain can vary, depending on various kind of factors in the context; e.g. word class of the word with which the genitive nominal is integrated (verbs, adjectives, prepositions), the various types of the root nominal predicate (mass noun, count noun, etc.), and so forth. In §§5.2ff. I will demonstrate how and to what extent the characterisation of the semantic structure of genitive applies to various examples of non-adnominal genitive that are found in *CH*.

§5.1.2 Non-predictability of a non-adnominal genitive

Before embarking on the actual examples, there are a few more things to be noted. The schemas given above will not have any predictive power. In other words, it is not that a genitive nominal will be employed in whatever situations suit the various specifications of these schemas. There are certain conditions in which a genitive nominal is likely to occur, conditions which are defined semantically in relation to the schemas given above. But such conditions can be easily overridden by other factors. One of the most influential factors is the entrenchment of a transitive clause structure with a nominative nominal as subject and an accusative nominal as direct object. As we will see in the following sections, an accusative nominal is often found in contexts as a complement of a verb where a genitive nominal might be expected, given the semantic specifications of genitive. This is apparently contrary to our expectation, since the accusative case is prototypically associated with the semantic role of patient, and as we will see in the next section, a role that an adverbial genitive nominal represent hardly resembles that of a patient. Such extensions from prototypes are well accommodated within Cognitive Grammar: it is attributable to “our proclivity for interpreting the new or less familiar with reference to what is already well established; and from the pressure of adapting a limited inventory of conventional units to the unending, ever-varying parade of situations requiring linguistic expressions (Langacker 1991: 295: cf.§2.2.2). As Langacker says, certain recurring experiences become so well-entrenched and facilitate the emergence of conceptual archetypes. They have a great influence on our construal of new or less familiar situations and its coding into linguistic expressions. The conception of an event according to the Canonical Event Model (§3.7 above;

Langacker 1991: 285-6) is such a conceptual archetype: it is the cognitive model of “the normal observation of a prototypical action”, which involves two participants in which energy is transmitted from one participant (as agent) to the other (as patient). It is our cognitive tendency to impose this cognitive model onto whatever event we conceive of, and interpret the second participant in a given event as an instance of a patient, whether prototypical or unprototypical. The second participant will then be coded as an accusative nominal.

Taking into consideration the well-entrenched employment of an accusative nominal for whatever second participant in an event, it follows that the use of a genitive nominal in the contexts given above is not *predictable*. The semantic effect of the deprofiling can always be overridden by such conceptual archetypes. We should rather say that the use of a genitive nominal is *motivated* (Langacker 1991: 295) by various factors.

(1) Sanctioning. To the extent that a conceptualiser (in the case of the examples we have here, Ælfric) judges a given conceived situation and regards it as a (prototypical or unprototypical) instance of the conceptual content of a genitive nominal as described above, he employs a genitive nominal to encode the situation. In this case, it depends on the conceptualiser’s choice of alternate construals.

(2) Entrenchment. It seems that the use of a genitive nominal in certain specific contexts is itself well-entrenched: for example, certain particular verbs or adjectives, or certain classes of verbs or adjectives, seem to take a genitive complement constantly. Then we can say that constructions involving these verbs or adjectives and a genitive nominal have attained a unit status. Once such constructions become a unit, a conceptualiser’s attention will be drawn more on to the whole construction than onto the individual constituents, and the semantic value associated with a genitive nominal as described above will become less salient (Langacker 1987:59). In such cases, the conceptualiser would employ a genitive nominal, not so much because the conceived situation fits the semantic content of a genitive nominal, as because it is conventional to use it in conjunction with some specific verbs or adjectives.

The actual examples of a non-adnominal genitive nominal show influences of both of these factors to various degrees, and it is not possible to distinguish clearly between the two factors, especially because entrenchment is a matter of degree.

In the following sections, I present the examples of non-adnominal genitive nominals that occur in CH, and show how the examples can be related to one another through network, all making reference to the schematic meaning of a non-adnominal genitive as explained in this section. The examples contain those of adverbial, adjectival, prepositional, and adverbial genitive. I attempt to classify them according to the five types presented above (partitive genitive, genitive of boundary, genitive of goal, genitive of separation, and genitive of negation). However, as in the case of adnominal genitive, there are examples which may be seen as belonging to more than one of these classes. Such examples are shown as unprototypical examples of each of these classes. There will be shown first of all prototypical examples for each of the classes, which represent the relevant class clearly. Then will be shown less prototypical ones, which may merge with other classes.

§5.2. Partitive genitive (positive construal)

In this section I will analyse examples of non-adnominal genitive nominals that are regarded as instances of partitive genitive as explained above. This section is divided into three sub-sections (§2.1, §2.2, and §2.3) corresponding to adverbial, adjectival, and adverbial genitive. §2.1 is further subdivided into two subsections, corresponding to the adverbial genitive (a) (verbs with two arguments) and adverbial genitive (b) (verbs with three arguments).

§5.2.1 Adverbial partitive genitive: verbs with two arguments

The schematic meaning of partitive genitive of adverbial genitive is that a genitive nominal designates as much of the root nominal predicate as is manifested on the domain of instantiation. What is designated by the root nominal itself does not participate in the domain of instantiation, but rather only something that is taken out of it, or something that derives from it. For this reason, it is possible to associate a genitive nominal of partitive genitive with the semantic role of source.

This construal is typically observed when a genitive nominal is a complement to verbs meaning “take”, “eat”, and “drink”, in whose processual meaning the concept of source is salient. The example [5-3] above, which is repeated as [5-5], and also [5-6], are the case in point. The construal is also observed in genitive nominals with verbs meaning “rule (over)”, as in [5-7]

[5-5] *ic únforhtmód þæs drences onfó* “I shall take the drink without fear” (CH4, 219)

[5-6] *gif he geedcucod sy sprece to us; astande. onbyrige metes & ham gecyrre*

“If he is revived, let him speak to us, stand up, eat food, and go home” (CH26, 118)

[5-7] *& se ælfremeda herodes þæs rices geweold;*

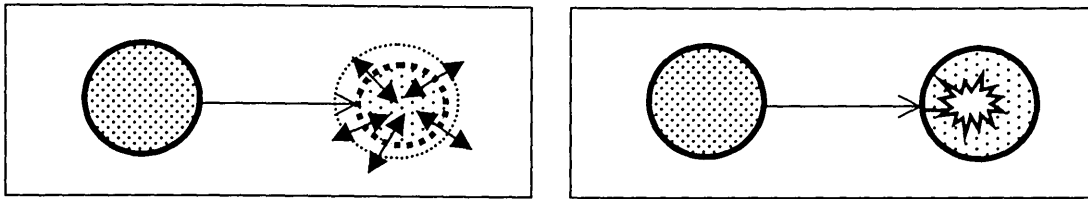
“And the foreigner Herod ruled (over) the kingdom” (CH5, 67)

In [5-5, 6], the genitive nominals *þæs drences*, *metes* designate as much of the designatum of their root nominals **se drence*, **mete* as are manifested in the domain of instantiation. If we regard the act of taking and eating (*onfo*, *onbyrige*) as representing energy flow, we can see action chain extending from the designatum of the nominative nominal *ic* to that of the genitive nominal. What lies at the end of this energy flow is what is designated by the genitive nominals, i.e., as much of the designata of their root nominals as are manifested on the domain of instantiation. It is crucial that it is not the designata of the root nominals **se drence*, **mete* that lie at the end point of this action chain (in other words, “the drink”, “food” itself is not construed as the patient of the act of taking). The designatum of this root nominal **se drence* represents a source from which some implicit amount is taken as the patient of the activity. How much of the designata of the root nominals is construed as patient of the activity of taking and eating is only given in the context. As a result, the whole clauses may be translated as “I will drink (as much of) the drink (as I should/you want me to) without fear”, “Let him eat (some) food”. In [5-7], the construal of the genitive nominal is the same as in the previous examples. What is manifested in the domain of instantiation (space) is not the kingdom itself, but as much of the kingdom as the ruling of the king Herod extends. This nuance may be expressed by translating it into a phrase “rule over”.

Such construal is illustrated in the diagram (a) in *Figure 5-7* (cf. *Figure 5-2* (b)).

Figure 5-7 (a)

(b)



In this diagram, the rectangle represents the domain of instantiation (in this case, space), and the circle on the right, with a bold unbroken line represents the designatum of the nominal predicate *ic* “I” in [5-5], “he” in [5-6] (not expressed overtly in this example, since the sentence is imperative for the third person), or “the Roman Emperor” in [5-7] (expressed as a relative pronoun *þe*). The arrow that starts from this circle represents the energy flow in the act of taking, eating, or ruling. At the end of this energy flow lies the circle on the left, which represents the designata of the genitive nominals *þæs drence*s and *metes*. The designata of their root nominals **se drence*, **mete*, **se rice* are indicated by the outer circle with a dotted thin line. The designata of the genitive nominals are some undetermined quantity of what is designated by the root nominals. The implicitness of the quantity is represented by the arrows across the circumference of the circle.

The diagram (b) represents a scene depicted by a transitive clause with a nominative nominal and an accusative nominal (as a verbal complement), as in the example [5-4], which is repeated as [5-8], and also in [5-9].

[5-8] (& *cwæð þ he nolde gelyfan buton*) *iohannes attor drunce*

“(and said that he would not believe unless) John drinks poison” (CH4, 213)

[5-9] *to þam romaniscum casere þe ealne middaneard on þam timan geweold;*

“to the Roman Emperor who ruled all world at that time” (CH5, 41)

In these clauses the accusative nominals *attor* and *ealne middaneard* designate a region in the domain of instantiation which is construed as a patient (in the diagram a patient role is

represented by a circle with an explosion mark in it), and it lies at the endpoint of some energy flow). A crucial difference from the genitive nominals in [5-5, 6, 7] is that the accusative nominals designate the same region as the designatum of its root nominal **attor* and **eal middaneard* since the accusative inflection does not signal anything as to the extent to which the designatum of the root nominal is manifested in the domain of instantiation. As regards the parameter of [extent], it is underspecified with an accusative nominal. Because of this non-reference to the extent, there is no problem in construing the designatum of an accusative nominal as manifested in its entirety in the domain of instantiation, and participating fully in energy transmission as a patient.

Examples especially like [5-5, 6] are regarded as prototypical of the category of partitive genitive. The genitive nominals *þæs drenches* and *metes* are a mass noun, and therefore whatever portion of the designata of their root nominals **se drence* and **mete* is manifested on the domain of instantiation will be of the same quality as any other portion of it. Therefore the designatum of the genitive nominal constitutes an integral part of the designatum of the root nominal.

Less prototypical but nevertheless well-entrenched examples of partitive adverbial genitive is those with verbs meaning “enjoy” such as *brucan*. This verb almost always takes a genitive complement in CH, as in the following examples.

[5-10] *ac we moton ælce dæg ures metes brucan mid forhæfednysse; þæra metta þe alyfede sind*

“But we may, every day, enjoy our food with restraint, those foods that are allowed”

(CH11, 188)

[5-11] *Herodes þa awearp his riht æwe & forligerlice mánfulles sinscipes breac*

“Herod then turned down his marriage vow and lecherously enjoyed/committed wicked sin”

(CH32, 54)

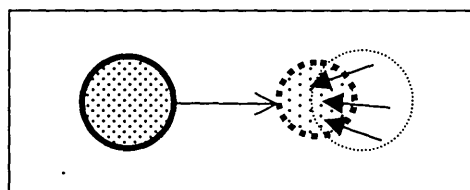
[5-12] *Hu mæg þis gewurðan; for ðan þe ic ne bruce nanes weres?*

“How can this happen, since I have not enjoyed (or have known) any man?” (CH13, 57)

The basic construal of the genitive nominals in these examples is the same as that in the examples

dealt with above: they designate as much of the designatum of the root nominal predicates as is manifested in the domain of instantiation. In these cases, however, the domain of instantiation is not space, but what may be called the domain of experience: this domain is our knowledge that we gain knowledge, skills, pleasure or displeasure, benefit or harm, or various kinds of emotions, by going through some event or by contact with people or things. Enjoyment is a kind of experience, and it is part of this knowledge about enjoyment that when one enjoys something, one takes some pleasures or benefit from it. In [5-10], what is meant by saying “we may enjoy our food” is more than “we may eat our food”, but “we may take pleasure in it, and benefit from it”. This experience of pleasure or benefit is what is designated by the genitive nominal. Such examples are less prototypical of the category of partitive genitive, in that what is manifested in the domain does not precisely constitute an integral part of the designatum of the root nominal predicate (for example, in [5-10, 11] “pleasure” or “benefit” are not integral parts of “our food”, “those foods”, and “wicked sin”, though they derive from them). The construal of the scene depicted by these clauses are illustrated by the diagram in *Figure 5-8* (compare this with *Figure 5-7 (a)*).

Figure 5-8



The rectangle represents the domain of instantiation, which is the domain of experience. There are at least three participants in this domain.

1. An experiencer, and some event which he experiences, and something that derives from this event (knowledge, skill, pleasure or displeasure, etc.).
2. An experience which the experiencer goes through (pleasure, benefit, satisfaction, knowledge, etc.).
3. A physical object which the experiencer interacts, and as a result from which the experience is

derived as a result.

The participant 1 (experiencer) corresponds to the designatum of the nominative nominal, represented by the circle with a solid bold line. The participant 2 (source) corresponds to the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal *ures metes* (the root nominal would be **ure mete*), and this is represented by the circle with a dotted line. The participant 3 corresponds to the designatum of the genitive nominal *ures metes*, and this is represented by the circle with a dotted bold line.

Even though I use a circle to represent this participant 2, which is reminiscent of a “thing” (a semantic pole of a noun), this participant, i.e. an experience underwent by the experiencer is not made explicit linguistically by a noun, but can be assumed to be included as part of the semantic structure of the verb *brucan* schematically (cf. Fischer and van der Leek 1987:116 (note22)). Probably it is this salient reference to this experience that distinguishes the semantic structure of *brucan* from other verbs such as *etan*, *drincan*, etc.

The deviation of this circle with a dotted thin line from the other circle with a dotted bold line illustrates this derivation of pleasure, benefit, etc. from the physical object which the experiencer interacts (i.e. in this case, “eat”). Therefore, in cases like this, the designatum of the genitive nominal somewhat departs from the designatum of the root nominal. This departure is clear in examples like [5-12]. In this example, what is designated by the genitive nominal *nanes weres*, i.e. what is manifested in the domain of instantiation (of experience) is an experience (especially a sexual one) with “man”, and not “man” himself. Because of this departure, the genitive nominal is more clearly associated with the semantic role of source (of experience). It must be noted, however, that it is the designatum of the *root nominal* that corresponds to the semantic role of source: the designatum of the *genitive nominal* corresponds to what is derived from the source. So precisely speaking it is not correct to say that the genitive nominal (or its designatum) is associated with source. But I use the expression such as “adverbial genitive associated with source (of experience) hereafter in a derivative sense.

We can regard examples like [5-10, 11, 12] where the genitive nominal is clearly associated

with the semantic role of source (of experience), as extension from the prototype of adverbial partitive genitive. There are many examples of this type especially with verbs which express various kinds of emotional states or mental activities, and it seems that there is a great degree of entrenchment in the construal of a genitive nominal in terms of source of such emotional or mental experience. Moreover, there seem to have emerged various specific types of such source associated with adverbial genitive (and also adjectival genitive, as we will see in §5.2.3 below) that have attained a certain degree of entrenchment. Some of such specific types will prove to be a link to the other types of non-adnominal genitive (especially genitive of goal and genitive of separation). I will deal with these issues concerning with adverbial genitive associated with source of experience in a separate section below.

§5.2.1.1 Adverbial genitive of source of experience.

There is a cluster of verbs expressing various kinds of emotional states or mental activities which take a genitive complement. The semantic structure of such verbs presupposes a conceptual domain of experience (as explained in §5.2.1 above), where we have participants such as an experiencer, the event that is experienced, and what is gained through the event. The semantic structure of these verbs designates a series of those relations, scanned sequentially through the conceived time, where an experiencer undergoes either emotive, perceptual, or intellectual experience, through interaction with some physical objects (some event, a person, an inanimate object, etc.). A genitive nominal with such verbs designates this experience, which is included as part of the semantic structure of the verb. The designatum of the root nominal predicate, on the other hand, corresponds to the event from which the experience is derived.

[5-13] ... *eall heofonlic þrym þa mid unasecgendlicere blisse hire tocymes fæignian wolde;*

“... all heavenly host, then with indescribable joy, will rejoice in his coming”

(CH30, 99)

[5-14] *Swilcera manna besargað se mildheorta drihten dæighwomlice.*

“For such men the merciful Lord feels sorry everyday” (CH28, 108)

[5-15] *him ofhreow þæs mannes* “he felt sorry for the man” (CH13, 13)

[5-16] *Gif ic me ondrede þære rode gealgan. þonne nolde ic þære rode wuldor bodian*

“If I was afraid of the gallow(s) of the cross, then I would not proclaim
the glory of the cross” (CH38, 205)

In [5-13], “all heavenly host” derives the emotional experience of joy from “his (= Christ’s) coming” (which corresponds to the designatum of the root nominal **cristes tocyme* of the genitive nominal *cristes tocymes*). It is this joy that is designated by the genitive nominal, though it is not made explicit by a separate nominal predicate. In [5-14], contrarily, “the merciful Lord” derives the emotional experience of sorrow or pity from “such men”, corresponding to the designatum of the root nominal **swelce men* of the genitive nominal *swelcera manna*. This genitive nominal designates the sorrow or pity, which is linguistically implicit. The example [5-15] is an impersonal construction, where the experiencer role is represented by the dative nominal *him*. In this case the genitive nominal *þæs mannes* has the same semantic value as in [5-14, 15] above. It designates the experience of sorrow or pity, which derive from the designatum of the root nominal **se mann*. In [5-16] the genitive nominal *þære rode gealgan* designates the experience of feeling fear which the experiencer (“I”) undergoes, through contact with “the gallows of the cross”, which corresponds to the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal.

The examples [5-17, 18, 19, 20] below differ from the two [5-13, 14, 15, 16] in that the verb *gymdon* “took care of/care for”, *gemunde* “remembered”, *geþenc* “think of”, *gemiltsa* “have mercy on”, express a more volitional mental experience than the sensation of emotions.

[5-17] *Ic geseah þa englas þe éower gymdon dreorige wepan.*

“I saw the angels who take care of you weep sorrowfully” (CH4, 146)

[5-18] & *he gemunde his gebroðra þa ðe he bæftan forlet*

“And he remembered his brothers whom he left behind” (CH23, 99)

[5-19] *drihten, geþenc min þonne ðu to þinum rice becymst* (CH37, 272)

“Lord, think of me when you go to your kingdom”

[5-20] *Hælend dauides bearn gemiltsa min*

“Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me” (CH10, 14)

In these cases, again, the genitive nominals *eower*, *min*, *his broðra*, and *min* designate various mental experiences (the experience of caring for, remembering, thinking, and having mercy on) undergone by the experiencers through the contact with the persons designated by the root nominals (“you”, “I”, “his brothers”, “I”) of these genitive nominals. These persons designated by the root nominals represent the source of the corresponding mental experiences.

Even though all these examples can be generalised as containing an adverbial genitive associated with the source of experience, there seem to be certain types of examples which recur frequently and have attained a certain degree of entrenchment. I will discuss three such types in what follows.

§5.2.1.1.1 Adverbial genitive of source of sympathy, compassion, etc.

One such type is those with verbs whose meanings cluster around the ideas of sympathy, compassion, consideration, thoughts for a person. A genitive nominal that occurs with such verbs has a root nominal designating the person from whom these feelings are derived, or in other words, the person towards whom these feelings are directed. Examples like [5-14, 15], and also [5-17, 18, 19, 20] represent this type. One evidence for entrenchment of this type is the use of the verb *besargian* “feel sorry for”. This occurs ten times in CH, take an accusative complement (nine times) except for one example [5-14] above. In the nine examples with an accusative complement, the accusative nominal is non-human, designating as the object of pitying some human nature or some event that happens to some person, as in the following examples⁵.

[5-21] *ealle we sceolon his yfel besargian* “we all should feel sorry for his evil” (CH19, 239)

[5-22] ... *þ he oðres mannes ungelimp besargie.*

“that he should feel sorry for other man’s misfortune” (CH38, 120)

Supposing that this verb takes an accusative nominal as an unmarked complement, the example [5-14] seems to be a special case in which a genitive nominal is used because the complement nominal designates a person.

Another issue is the use of a genitive nominal as complement of the verb *helpan* or *gehelpan* “help”. These verbs often take a dative complement (as in [5-23] below), but occasionally it also appears with a genitive complement as in [5-24, 25] below.

[5-23] *ac he him ne heolp mid nanre hæle* “but he did not help him with any healing”

(CH31, 14)

[5-24] *ac þa ða hi gesawon þ he heora helpan ne mihte*

“but when they saw that he could not help them” (CH31, 22)

[5-25] *Min cild maxime gehelp min* “My child Maximus, help me” (CH28, 108)

It has been said that among all Germanic languages such verbs taking a genitive complement are found only in OE as well as in Gothic (Delbrück 1907: 46), and elsewhere they take a dative complement. Within OE a dative complement is more frequent than a genitive complement (Shipley 1903: 20). The use of a dative nominal as the verbs’ complement seems to be a logical consequence considering that the dative case signals that an entity designated by the dative nominal represents the role of experiencer in some way, and the person helped can be construed as an experiencer, or more specifically a recipient of the help. The question is why the same verbs also take a genitive complement.

I claim that this can be explained as an extension from the examples like [5-17, 18, 19, 20]. The verbs in these examples all express a kind of volitional mental experience tinged with sympathy, consideration, mercy, thoughts, for a person (all the genitive nominals in the examples are human nominals). The use of genitive nominals with verbs *gehelpan*, *helpan* can be seen as an extension of such examples. In other words, there is the relation of family resemblance between the use of a genitive complement with *(ge)helpan* and that with the verbs in [5-17, 18, 19, 20]. This is a family resemblance through an extension of the construction schema consisting of a emotional or

mental verb of sympathy, mercy, sympathy, etc. and a genitive nominal, to a context where the verbs does not have a particular emotional or mental processual meaning. It is possible that as a result of this extension, the sequence of *(ge)helpan* + a genitive nominal of person may have some emotional or mental connotation: it may mean “to help someone because one has mercy on him”, whereas in the case of a dative nominal, such connotation would not emerge.

These two pieces of evidence (that of *besargian* and of *(ge)helpan*) seem to indicate that there is a certain degree of entrenchment in the construction with an emotional or mental verb with a genitive nominal designating a human. Examples like [5-14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20] cluster around this construction schema symbolising not only source of experience in general: they all express some sense of sympathy, compassion, sorrow, thought, care, consideration, mercy, for some person, which is designated by the root of the genitive nominal⁶.

§5.2.1.1.2 Adverbial genitive of source of experience as extension from genitive of goal or genitive of separation

The second and third types are different from the first type discussed above, in that whereas the latter is ultimately regarded as an extension from the more basic type of partitive genitive (positive construal), the former two are seen as extensions from the other basic types of genitive, namely genitive of goal and genitive of separation. Verbs of various kinds of emotions or mental activities which take a genitive complement can be roughly divided into two large classes: positive and negative. Verbs of the positive class express emotions or mental activities like rejoicing, being amazed, expecting, longing, hoping, believing, desiring, etc. In contrast, verbs of the negative class express emotions or mental activities such as fearing, mourning, regretting, sorrowing, neglecting, forgetting, and so forth. According to the analysis of a genitive nominal introduced so far, a genitive nominal that appears with such verbs can be construed as associated with the source of relevant emotional or mental experience. However, another construal seems to be also possible. When we contrast verbs of positive emotions or mental activity and those of negative ones, we can see the two as contrasting in terms of an experiencer’s attitude towards a certain entity: an experiencer expects something either to appear or to disappear. Consider the

following examples:

[5-26] ... þ hi wilniað þæs upplican færeldes

“... that they long for the noble journey” (CH35, 71)

[5-27] on ðære gesuntfulnesse mon forgit his selfes

“in the good health man forgets himself” (Cura Pastoralis 34, 7)

In [5-26], the experiencer “they” has a positive attitude towards “the noble journey”, and hopes that it will take place. On the other hand, in [5-27], the experiencer (“man”) goes through the mental experience in which the concept “himself” disappears in his mind. These construals of the genitive nominals indicate that they can be construed as either appearing or disappearing in certain domain of instantiation. In other words, genitive nominals that occur with verbs of positive and negative emotions or mental activities can be seen as extensions from the genitive of goal and the genitive of separation respectively.

There is no point in attempting to discern which verbs have a genitive nominal associated with source of experience and which verbs have one that is an extension of the genitive of goal/separation. What we have here is a certain number of prototypical examples of these different classes, and around these prototypes there are less prototypical examples that can belong to any of the classes. However, the important point is that a genitive nominal with verbs of various emotions or mental activities (both positive or negative) provides us with some link between the more basic categories of partitive genitive, the genitive of goal, and the genitive of separation.

I will leave these second and third types of genitive nominals associated with source of experience for now, and these issues will be touched upon again in the sections below dealing with the genitive of goal and separation.

§5.2.1.2 Partitive genitive of adverbial and adnominal genitive

The term “partitive genitive”, which the present section is about, has also been used in §4.7 to

refer to a certain type of adnominal genitive (such as *an þæra twelfa apostola* “one of those twelve apostles”), and it is necessary to make the use of this term clear at this juncture. The use of the same term for both adnominal and adverbial genitive of certain types is based on their similarity.

In the category of adverbial partitive genitive we have looked at so far, there are prototypical and unprototypical examples. The criterion for this categorisation is to what extent the designatum of the genitive nominal is construed as integral part of the designatum of the root nominal. In the example [5-5] *ic únforhtmód þæs drences onfó*, the genitive nominal designates as much of “the drink” as is manifested in the domain of space (i.e., as much as “John the Apostle” was ready to drink, etc.). This counts as a prototypical example according to this criterion.

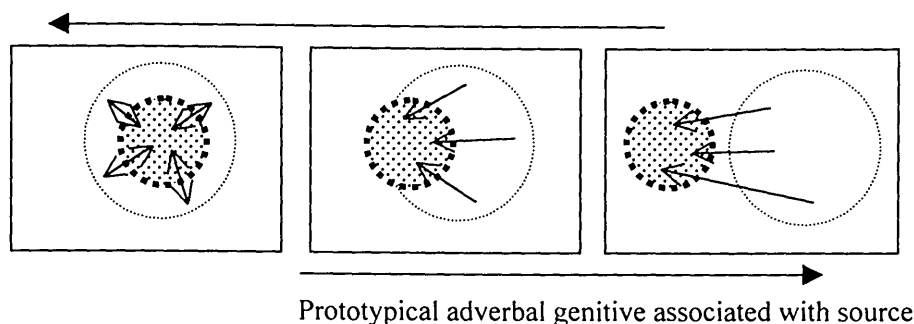
When we come to the example [5-10] *ac we moton ælce dæg ures metes brucan*, there is a deviation of the designatum of the genitive nominal from the designatum of the root nominal. In this case, *ures metes* designates an experience (pleasure, benefit, enjoyment, satisfaction, etc.) which derives through the experiencer’s (= we) interaction with the physical object “our food”, which is the designatum of the root nominal. These two designata are qualitatively distinct, one is an experience and the other is a physical object.

This deviation is more evident in examples like [5-13] ... *eall heofonlic þrym þa mid unasecendlicere blisse hire tocymes fæignian wolde*, where the verb does not express a particular interaction with the physical object (the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal). The qualitative difference between the designatum of the genitive nominal *hire tocymes* (experience of joy, pleasure, happiness, etc.) and the designatum of the root nominal **hire tocyme* (the concrete event) is clear, and the former can hardly ever be seen as integral part of the latter. On the same criterion, this example is regarded as an unprototypical instance of adverbial partitive genitive.

The gradation from prototypical to unprototypical examples of adverbial partitive genitive is illustrated in *Figure 5-9* below.

Figure 5-9

Prototypical adverbial partitive



In these diagrams, the use of the rectangles (= the domain of instantiation), the circles with a thin dotted line (= the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal), and the circles with a bold dotted line (= the designatum of the genitive nominal) are the same as in the previous diagrams. The three diagrams show how the degree of deviation increases as the examples move away from the prototype of partitive genitive. This deviation is correlated with the qualitative difference between the two designata. In the prototypical instance of partitive genitive, the two designata are construed as qualitatively identical (because the genitive nominal is typically a mass noun, designating an unbounded region, in which interconnected entities are construed as homogeneous: cf. Chapter 3, §1.3). In unprototypical examples, the two designata are qualitatively different (experience vs. physical object).

Opposite to the gradation of prototypicality of partitive genitive is the degree to which the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal is construed as a source. The more the designatum of the genitive nominal deviates from the designatum of the root, the more readily the instance is categorised as associated with source⁷. This is so because the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal approaches the prototypical value of source when something moves away from it, and the notion of deviation or movement is salient. This is not so salient in the case of the prototypical instance of partitive genitive.

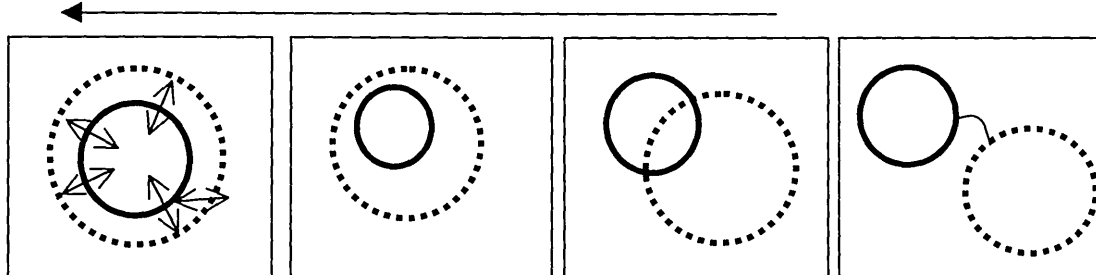
Now, we have noticed a similar gradation in adnominal partitive genitive. Recall that within the category of the adnominal genitive, the partitive genitive is conceptually different from the genitive of various relations between non-humans, which belongs together with the genitive of interpersonal relations and possession. The fundamental difference between the partitive genitive

and these other types of adnominal genitive is whether the designatum of the head noun is construed as integral part of the designatum of the genitive nominal. For example, in the prototypical instance of partitive genitive such as *an þæra twelfa apostola*, the profile of the whole phrase is construed as integral part of the whole designated by the genitive nominal (the one particular apostle singled out by this expression is essentially the same as any other one of these apostles). This construal results from the fact that the genitive nominal is a kind of mass noun, designating a replicate mass, characterised by the property of homogeneity. On the other hand, examples of adnominal genitive of various relations between non-humans such as *to ælcum geate þære ceastre* (from [4-44] in Chapter 4) show that there is a qualitative difference in terms of construal between the designata of the two nominals, even though one is part of the other. This qualitative difference is even greater in examples of the genitive of interpersonal relations or of possession, such as *þæs aldormannes dohtor* or *þæs cyninges botl*.

Now, the gradation of prototypicality in terms of the adnominal partitive genitive can be illustrated as in *Figure 5-10*.

Figure 5-10

Prototypical adnominal partitive genitive



These diagrams show the various types of interconnection between the two entities in the composite adnominal genitive phrases. The rectangles are the relevant domain (of instantiation), the circle with a bold unbroken line is the designatum of the head noun, and the circle with a dotted broken line is the designatum of the genitive nominal. The leftmost diagram shows the semantic structure of partitive adnominal genitive phrase (this diagram should be compared with *Figure 4-5* in Chapter 4).

Now the parallelism between adnominal and adverbial partitive genitive must be clear, by

comparing *Figure 5-10* to *Figure 5-9* above. The common property in the semantic structure of prototypical examples of adnominal and adverbial partitive genitive is that one structure is seen as integral, and qualitatively identical part of another structure. The only difference is that in the case of adnominal genitive, the integral part of the whole is made explicit by the designatum of the head noun, whereas in the case of adverbial genitive, it is not made explicit by means of an overt nominal expression, but is understood in the context (as part of the semantic structure of the verb).

§5.2.2 Adverbial partitive genitive with three arguments.

Partitive adverbial genitive is observed with verbs which take three arguments, i.e. (1) a nominative nominal, (2) either an accusative or dative nominal, and (3) a genitive nominal. Typically, it is observed with verbs expressing “give”, “grant”, “provide”, etc., as in the examples below.

[5-28] *hi uþon þæra laca þam undeadlican cyninge*

“they gave the immortal king those offerings” (CH30, 253)

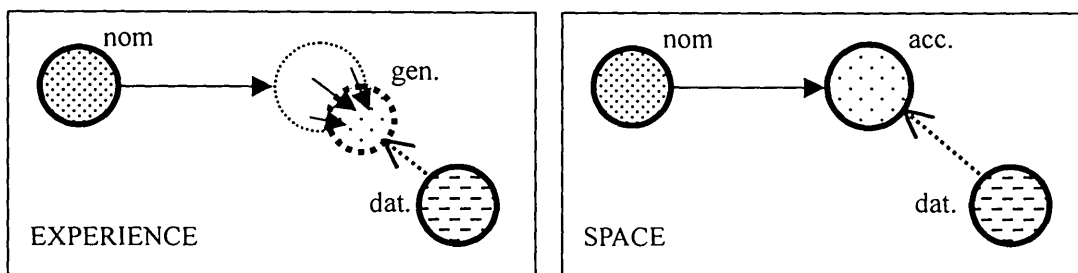
[5-29] *Hit is swiðe geleaflic þæt he hire micles þinges tīþian wylle;*

“It is very credible that he will grant her a great thing” (CH30, 268)

In these examples, the genitive nominal refers to the thing that are given or granted to someone (referred to by the dative nominal) by another person (referred to by the nominative nominal). Such genitive nominals are regarded as instances of partitive genitive (cf. Shipley 1903: 11), but it has not been made clear why this is so. I claim that a genitive nominal in this construction has the same basic semantic value as the adverbial partitive genitive that we looked at in §5.2.1 above, i.e. it designates as much of the designatum of its root nominal as is manifested in the domain of instantiation. Let us analyse the example [5-28]. This clause has a finite verb *uþon* meaning “gave”, “granted”, or “offered”. The semantic structure of this verb can be characterised in the domain of space, since a giver, a recipient, and things given are all manifested in space (they are

all physical objects). But it is also possible to say that they are manifested in the domain of experience, in the sense introduced in §5.2.1 above, since a recipient is also a beneficiary who enjoys the access to the thing that is given. Then in analogy to the examples of adverbial partitive genitive with verbs with two arguments such as *brucan* “enjoy” (cf. [5-10, 11, 12] above), we can say that the recipient is an experiencer of some benefit, pleasure, deriving from the things received. In other words, in the example [5-28], the relationship between the designatum of the dative nominal *þam undeadlican cyninge* and that of the genitive nominal *þæra laca* is analogous to the relationship between the nominative nominal and the genitive nominal in a clause with two arguments (with verbs like *brucan*). This construal is illustrated in the diagram in *Figure 5-11* (a) below.

Figure 5-11
(a)



In this diagram, the leftmost circle with a bold line represents the designatum of the nominative nominal, which in this construction is construed as an agent in the act of giving. The circle with a broken thin line represents the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal, which corresponds to the thing given. The circle with a broken bold line is a benefit derived from this thing given, experienced by the experiencer, which is the designatum of the dative nominal (represented by the rightmost circle with a bold line). The relationship between the designata of the dative nominal and the genitive nominal in this diagram is analogous to the relationship between the designata of the nominative and genitive nominals in *Figure 5-8* above.

There are many verbs expressing the idea of “giving”, “granting” which take an accusative and a dative nominal for verbal complement, such as (*a, for*)*gifan, sellan*; and indeed an accusative

nominal seems to be much more common than a genitive nominal, according to my database from CH. Here are such examples.

[5-30] *Ealle ðas þing ic forgife ðe* “I give you all these things” (CH11, 22)

[5-31] & *eall mennisc him anum cynelic gafol ageaf*

“And all mankind gave royal tribute to him alone” (CH2, 50)

[5-32] *gif ge cunnon þa ðe yfele sind. syllan ða godnysse eowrum bearnum*

“If you, who are evil, can give the goodness to your children” (CH18, 140)

The difference between the genitive nominal and the accusative nominal in this construction is ultimately attributed to the difference between their semantic structures: the former designates as much of the region designated by its room nominal as is manifested in some domain, and the latter designates a region construed as a patient. More specifically, it seems, the difference in the relevant domain is also important. In the case of a genitive nominal, it is the domain of experience, and as *Figure 5-11(a)* shows, the genitive nominal designates whatever experience (usually positive) derived from the designatum of its root nominal, experienced by the designatum of the dative nominal. In the case of the accusative, the relevant domain is space, and the accusative nominal simply designates a thing that is transferred from one person (agent) to another (recipient). This construal is illustrated in *Figure 5-11 (b)* above.

Adverbial partitive genitive of this type occurs with other verbs whose meanings are extensions from “giving”; such as *becwæðan* “bequeath”, *tolæsan* “release, remit”, *ryman* “make room for”, as in the examples below.

[5-33] *gif his ylðran him æhta becwædon*; “if his parents bequeathed him possessions”

(CH18, 197)

[5-34] & *he hine mid micclum wurðmynte underfeng. & for arwurðnysse his halgan*

lifes him cuðlice tolet

“and he received him with great honour, and for glory, familiarly released

his holy life to him” (CH37, 37)

[5-35] *Hwæt þa seo sæ þurh godes hæse utflowende him rymde þreora mila dries færeldes*

“Behold, then the sea, through God’s command, flowing out, made them a room of three miles of dry journey” (CH37, 110)

In all these examples, the genitive nominals have a constant value; they designate some kind of benefit experienced by the person designated by the dative nominal, who has access to the things designated by the root of the genitive nominal. In [5-33, 34], the persons designated by the dative nominals (“him” in both cases) gain access to “possessions” and “his holy life”, and it is implied that they benefit from these things. In [5-35], “the sea” is construed as an agent, and it provides the people “them” with “three miles of dry journey” (journey on the dry land for three miles), from which they benefit.

§5.2.3 Partitive adjectival genitive.

The partitive genitive is observed also with certain types of adjectives. It typically appears with adjectives meaning “full” and its extended senses, as in the following example.

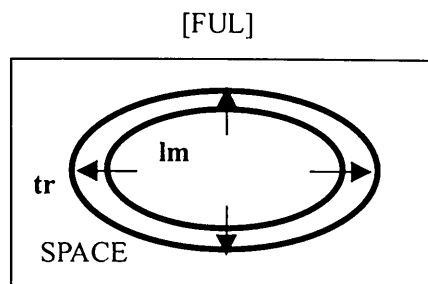
[5-36] *ða betwux þam. brohte se gelyfeda cempa romanus. ceac fulne wæteres.*

“Then amongst them the faithful warrior Romanus brought a vessel full of water”
(CH29, 177)

The whole clause depicts a situation with an action chain from the agent (the designatum of the nominative nominal *se gelyfeda cempa*) to the patient (the designatum of the accusative nominal *ceac*). The adjective phrase consisting of the adjective *fulne* and its genitive complement *wæteres* modifies the accusative nominal (hence the adjective agrees with it in number, gender, and case). The question is how the genitive nominal integrates with the adjective. We start with the adjective. The semantic structure of the adjective *fulne*, or its radical form *ful*, can be said to be

characterised in the domain of space: it presupposes at least two entities both unfolded in space, a container, and what is contained. The interconnection between these two entities which is designated by this adjective is that the contained entity covers as much of the region occupied by the container entity as it can. We can regard the container entity as trajector and the contained entity as landmark, since they enter into a whole-part relationship, and in general a whole is more salient than its parts. The semantic structure of *ful* is diagrammed in *Figure 5-12* below.

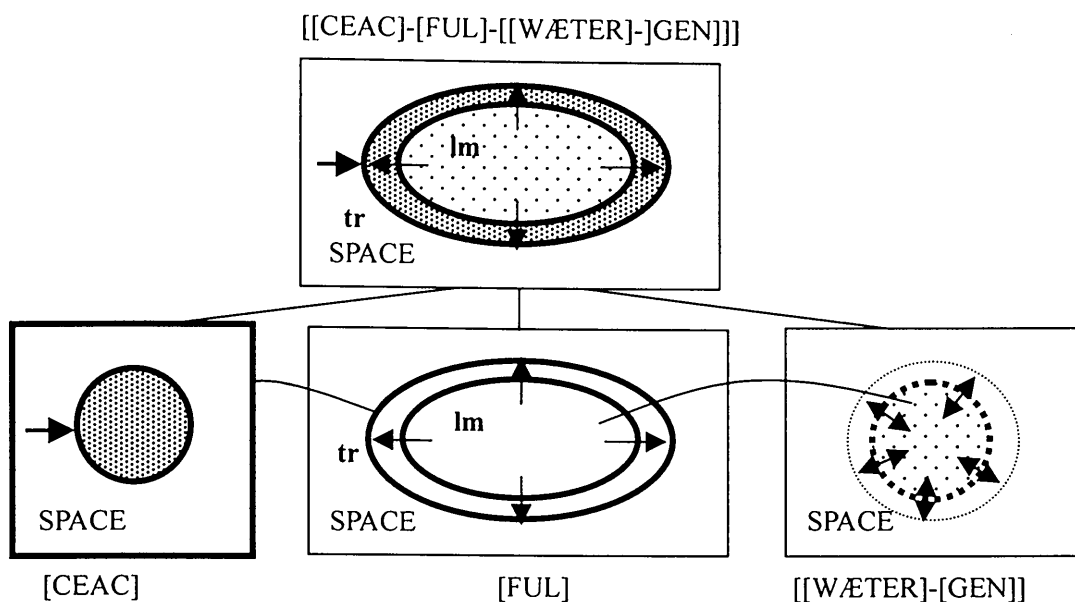
Figure 5-12



The rectangle represents the domain of space, within which the two entities, the container (the outer oval = trajector) and the contained (the inner oval = landmark) are manifested. The diagram shows that the expanse of the inner oval covers the whole region of the outer oval. From this semantic structure it can be inferred that the contained region will be optimally an unbounded region (since it has expansibility), and the container entity will be optimally a bounded region (since it has to have a limit in its expanse, for the contained entity to be able to cover it).

The genitive nominal *wāteres* in [5-36] corresponds to the contained entity in this semantic structure of *ful*, and the accusative nominal *ceac* “vessel” corresponds to the container entity. The genitive nominal, as in the case of adverbial partitive genitive, designates as much of the designatum of its root nominal **wāter* as is manifested in the domain of instantiation. When the genitive nominal integrates with the adjective, it designates as much of “water” as the container “vessel” can contain. This correspondence is facilitated because the genitive nominal is a mass noun, designating a unbounded region, and the accusative nominal a count noun designating a bounded region. The following diagram in *Figure 5-13* shows the valence relationship of the composite structure *ceac fulne wāteres*.

Figure 5-13



At the bottom, the leftmost square represents the semantic structure of the accusative nominal *ceac*, which designates a bounded region in space, construed as a patient (it lies at the end of some schematic energy flow represented by the arrow). The middle rectangle is the semantic structure of the adjective *ful* (the same as in Figure 5-12 above). The rightmost square is the semantic structure of the genitive nominal *wæteres*, which is given a partitive construal (it designates as much of the designatum of its root as is manifested in space). The correspondences as explained in the previous paragraph are shown by lines among these three semantic structures. The topmost rectangle shows the resultant composite structure *ceac fulne wæteres*. The profile determinant is the accusative nominal, and so the composite structure *ceac fulne wæteres* inherits the profile from the accusative nominal, and it designates the bounded region in space, as construed as a patient.

Note that the relationship between the container and the contained in this example is analogous to the relationship between the taker (or drinker) and the taken. in examples of adverbial partitive genitive such as [5-5] above (*ic únforhtmód þæs drences onfó* “I shall take the drink without fear”); in the latter case the genitive nominal designates as much of the designatum of the root “the drink” as the person could take or drink, whereas in the former case the genitive nominal designates as much of the designatum of its root “water” as the vessel can contain.

The same adjective *ful* occurs with a prepositional phrase such as *mid*-phrase, as in the following example.

[5-37] *Hi ða gegaderodon twelf wilian fulle. mid ðam bricum*

“They then gathered twelve baskets full of the fragments (i.e. of bread)” (CH12, 127)

In this case, the contained entity is given a different construal, as an instrument with which for the “baskets” to be filled. In this construal there is not mention of the quantity of “the fragments”, or extent to which it is manifested in space. With the prepositional phrase *mid ðam bricum*, the question of extent is not raised, but attention is drawn to that aspect of the designatum of the root of the dative nominal *ðam bricum* that it is a medium with which some state is brought about. On the other hand, in the case of partitive genitive as in [5-36], the designatum of the genitive nominal is not construed as an instrumental, but as an entity contained in the relevant container. Therefore, we can say that there is substantial difference in terms of construal between the construction *ful* + a genitive nominal (as in [5-36]) and *ful* + *mid* + a dative nominal (as in [5-37])⁸.

Corresponding to the adverbial genitive associated with source of experience, there are adjectives expressing various kinds of emotional or mental states, which take a genitive complement, as in the following examples.

[5-38] *And he wæs þa bliðe þæs behates.*

“And he was then rejoicing with the promise” (CH9, 27)

[5-39] *ða þa he wearð his lifes orwene.*

“When he despaired of his life” (CH5, 149)

[5-40] *Gif heo þære yrmþe forewittig wære;*

“If she was foreknowing of (i.e. was aware before of) the misery” (CH28, 73)

[5-41] *to þi ðæt hi gemyndige wæron þæra worda þe he on his siðe him sæde*

“So that they might be mindful of the words which he said to them

at his departure” (CH21, 116)

[5-42] *Ac he wæs ungemýndig þæs halgan gewrites.*

“But he was unmindful of the holy writing” (CH5, 74)

The genitive nominals with these adjectives can be analysed in the same way as in the case of adverbial genitive of source of experience (cf. §2.1.1 above). The semantic structure of these adjectives is characterised in the domain of experience, which is our knowledge that an experiencer undergoes various kinds of emotional, cognitive, intellectual experience. Taking [5-38] as an example, the genitive nominal *þæs behates* designates the emotional experience of joy, as derived from the event which corresponds to the designatum of the root nominal **se behat* “the promise”. The same analysis applies to the rest of the examples here (in [5-39] the emotional experience of despair, derived from “his life” (but see below); in [5-40], the mental experience of foreknowing, derived from “the misery”; in [5-41, 42], the mental experience of remembering and not remembering, derived from “the words”, “the holy writing”). It would appear that a genitive nominal associated with the source of experience is so well-entrenched and it occurs highly productively both with verbs and adjectives expressing various kinds of emotional or mental states.

Recall that in §5.2.1.1 certain types of adverbial genitive of source of experience have been noted as well-entrenched; especially a type that cluster around the idea of compassion, consideration, sympathy, for a person, and those types which cluster around either positive or negative emotional or mental states. Our expectation would be that there would be corresponding types with adjectival genitive. As for the first type, however, it is not clear from the examples in CH or other sources (Wülfing 1894, Shipley 1903, Rudanko 1983, Mitchell 1985) that the combination of an adjective expressing emotional or mental state and a genitive nominal designating a person has attained any degree of entrenchment; as far as the data in CH is concerned, there are only three examples of such combination. A definite conclusion cannot be made at this stage, but it seems that constructions involving a non-adnominal genitive which are associated with the idea of compassion, mercy, consideration, etc. for a person are limited to

adverbial genitive. On the other hand, the second and third type, those cluster around positive and negative emotional or mental states are found ([5-38] is a positive one, and [5-39], and probably [5-42] are a negative one). These two types will be discussed in the sections below on the genitive of goal and of separation.

§5.2.4 Adverbial partitive genitive.

Here I deal with only one example of adverbial genitive nominal whose construal seems to be that of positive (partitive genitive) construal. There occurs a phrase *sumera þinga* twice in CH, and this phrase is often translated as “in some respects”, “in one sense”, or “somewhat” (Bosworth & Toller 1898:s.v. *þing*; Thorpe 1844:190, 237).

[5-43] *Nu is geþuht þ him sy sumera þinga eaðelicor to arærenne þone deaðan*

of ðam duste. þonne him wære towyrçenne ealle gesceafta. of nahte;

“Now it seems that (it) might be somewhat easier for him (= God) to raise the dead from the dust than (it) would be for him to make all creation from nothing”

(CH16, 116)

[5-44] *Soð hi sædon sumera þinga* “They said the truth in some sense” (CH12, 131)

I follow Langacker’s analysis of adverbial, according to which an adverbial is a relational predicate that has a relation as its trajector (Langacker 1987: 242). The genitive nominal *sumera þinga* in both examples can be analysed in analogous manner to adverbials. The semantic structure of this nominal has as one of its substructures a proposition that is expressed in the rest of the clause: “(it) might be easier for him to raise the dead from the dust than (it) would be for him to make all creation from nothing” in [5-43], and “they said truth” in [5-44]. The genitive nominal designates, as in all the other cases we have looked at above, as much of the designatum of its root nominal **sume þing*, as is manifested in the domain of instantiation. The domain of this predicate, in other words, the context in which this predicate is characterised, seems to be

associated with our knowledge about propositions; we express concepts through some statement; we make judgement as to whether statements are true or false, or right or wrong; statements are judged with respect to various respects (factuality, credibility, logic, public acceptability, originality, etc.). We can think of a domain in which such various respects or aspects of things as criteria for judgement of a proposition are unfolded. It is in this domain that the designatum of the genitive nominal has its manifestation. What is meant by the genitive nominal in these sentences is that there exist “some things” (or more specifically “some senses or respects”) about the proposition made in the clause with respect to which the proposition can be judged as true. There is a non-zero region manifested in the domain of “respects for judging a proposition”, according to which the propositions made in the rest of the clause (“it would be easier for God to...” in [5-43], and “they said truth” in [5-44]) can be regarded as right.

This analysis has an analogue in the genitive of negation, in which case it is implied that there is no sense in which a given proposition can be regarded as true. We will see such examples in §5.5.1 below.

§5.3 Genitive of boundary.

In the following sections I will analyse various types of non-adnominal genitive nominals which belong to the category of the genitive of boundary, as explained in §5.1.1 above: in this construal, the genitive nominal designates only the boundary of the designatum of the root nominal. The examples are further divided into the following classes: adverbial genitive (§5.3.1, where I also included prepositional genitive), and adjectival genitive (§5.3.2).

§5.3.1 Adverbial genitive of boundary

A genitive nominal in this category is construed as designating only the boundary of its root nominal. In the case of adverbial genitive, i.e. when it is used as a complement of a verb, this construal has a semantic effect that it is implied that the action expressed by the verb affects the entity designated by the genitive nominal only on its surface. The energy flow is construed as merely reaching the designatum: the energy exerted by an agent (typically designated by a

nominative nominal) over the patient is only attempted or tried, but it does not influence internal states of it. Probably Grimm’s description of the meaning of genitive in contrast with accusative explains this construal well:

“The accusative shows that an object is overcome most completely and most definitely by the concept which is contained in the verb of the sentence subject. In the genitive, objectification is more limited; with the genitive, the active power is merely attempted and raised, but it is not used up. Therefore this genitive is not, unlike the accusative, transferable to a passive nominative. The accusative expresses a pure, more certain effect, the genitive expresses hampered, modified effect.”⁹

Such semantic effect can be observed in cases where a genitive nominal appears with verbs meaning “touch”, which imply such action, as in the following example.

[5-43] *for an ic beo hal gyf ic hys reafes æthrine* “I will be healed if only I touch his garment”
(Matthew 9, 21)¹⁰

In this example, the genitive nominal *hys reafes* “his garment” is construed as a reaching point of the energy flow which does not undergo any internal change as a result.

The problem that might arise is that it is not that all OE verbs meaning ‘touch’ take a genitive complement (cf. §1.1.3.1 above). According to Visser’s (1970: 382) list of verbs taking a ‘causative’ object, it is only verbs having *hrinan* element in their morphology that take a genitive complement, such as *æthrinan*, *hrinan*, *onhrinan*, and *ophrinan*. There are other verbs glossed as “touch” such as *grapian*, *hrepan*, and as far as my database on CH shows, they regularly take an accusative nominal for their complement, as in the following examples.

[5-44] *Se hælend astrehte his hand & hine hrepode.*

“Jesus stretched his hand and touched him” (CH8, 27)

[5-45] *for þan ðe hi sceawedon. & grapodon. þa dolhswaðu cristes wunda*

“because they saw and touched the scars of Christ’s wounds” (CH21, 113)

Possible explanation for the use of accusative is that the verbs with *hrinan*-element do not

mean the same thing as other verbs like *hrepan*, *grapian*: that the former implies an even more non-effective touching than the latter¹¹ Such possible semantic differences between these verbs must be investigated with a wider range of data in OE and beyond. But also we may experience something of what examples like [5-43] might mean by comparing this with other examples of genitive nominal of the same construal. For example, there is another cluster of verbs taking a genitive nominal as complement which receive this construal. They are verbs meaning “test”, “try”, “tempt”, “search”, such as *afandian*, *fandian*, *costnian*, as in the examples show.

[5-46] *þa ða crist axode philippum & he his afandode*

“When Christ asked Philip and he tested him” (CH12, 99)

[5-47] *gað to smiððan & fandiað þyses goldes. & þyssera gymstana;*

“Go to the smith and test this gold and these gemstones” (CH4, 91)

[5-48] *Godes gast afandað ealra manna heortan.*

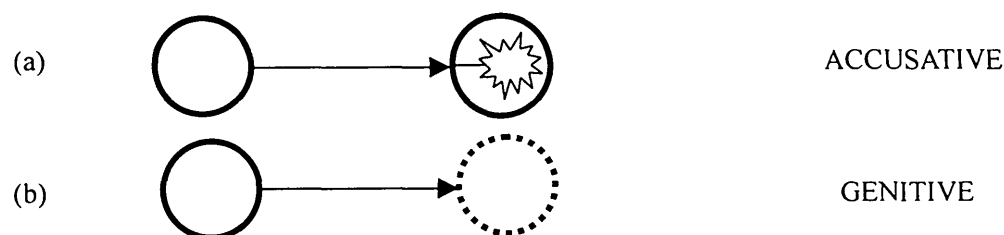
“God’s spirit tests/searches hearts of all men” (CH20, 187)

The reason why these verbs take a genitive complement must be again explained in terms of construal: the tested/tempted/searched entity is construed as only merely reached by the energy flow, but not affected. This entity is, in other words, construed in the same way as *hys reafes* in [5-43] is construed; or visa versa, i.e. the entity *hys reafes* in [5-43] is construed in the same way as the entities *his* in [5-46], *fandiað þyses goldes. & þyssera gymstana* in [5-47], and *ealra manna heortan* in [5-48]. What all of these examples have in common is that in the depicted scene, some agent entity (designated by the nominative nominal) comes to see what the designated entity is like. In [5-46], the person *he* (= Jesus) tried the other person *his* (= Philip) to see what he was like (perhaps, e.g. how strong his faith is, etc.). In [5-47] (this sentence is uttered by John the Apostle, who did a miracle by breaking gemstones into fragments and brought them back to the same gemstones again), John told people to go and see what the restored gemstones were like (i.e. to see if they were the same gemstones). In [5-48], God’s spirit is said to search men’s hearts to see what they are like. In the same way, we can interpret the example [5-43]

above (this sentence is uttered by a woman who wanted to be healed by touching Jesus' garment). It is implied that the woman intends to approach Jesus to see what happens if she touched his garment. What I am intending to show by paraphrasing these examples is that in all of them the entities designated by the genitive nominals are not affected at all: they are merely seen, just the object of seeing, despite the fact that there may be (in some cases there *are*) actual physical contacts.

On the other hand, in the case of the accusative nominal, as in [5-44, 45], the entities that are touched (designata of *hine* "him" in [5-44] and of *pa dolhswadu* "the scars" in [5-45]) are seen as end-point of the energy flow, thus as a second participant in the transitive activity of touching, and therefore construed as being affected (though unprototypical examples of affected entities). It is important to note that it is part of our encyclopedic knowledge that in the act of touching in general, the touched entity will not be affected so much (as in the acts of e.g. knocking down or kicking). However, in the cases of [5-44, 45], the fact that the direct object is in the form of an accusative nominal means that a conceptualiser construed a touched object as a patient (an entity that absorbs the energy transmitted via externally initiated physical contact and thereby undergoes an internal change of state), though merely as an unprototypical instance of patient (this is the act of partial sanction: cf. §2.1.2.2). The subtle difference in construal between the accusative and genitive nominals is illustrated in the diagrams in *Figure 5-14*.

Figure 5-14



There are clauses containing a verb and a prepositional phrase consisting of a prepositional (particularly *wip*) and a genitive nominal which receives the construal of the genitive of boundary. Verbs in such constructions are those expressing "rest", "lie", etc., as in the following

examples (though the case in both examples is ambiguous, I took them both as genitive for semantic reasons).

[5-49] ... *swa þ ða cristenan bealdlice ineodon. & gemetton niwe þruh of marmanstane
on cyrcan wisan gesceapene. & þæs halgan cyþeres lic þærbinnon
þurh engla þenunge gelogod. & þone ancran wið his sidan licgende;*

“...so that the Christians boldly entered, and found a new coffin in church made
out of marble, and the holy martyr’s body laid therein through the service
of angels, and the anchorite lying by his side”

(CH37, 113)

[5- 50] *seo fyrd wicode wið ðære éá. eufraten.*

“The army encamped along the river Euphrates” (CH30, 248)

In both cases, the verb is stative indicating a location, and does not itself imply any action from agent to patient, but the combination of the verb and the prepositional phrase (*wiþ* + genitive nominal) imposes on the conceived situation here a construal that some entity’s location merely touches the boundary of the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal (hence, the translation *along, by*).

§5.3.2 Adjectival genitive of boundary.

There is only one type of adjectives which can be said to take a genitive complement which receives the construal of the genitive of boundary; the adjective *wyrðe* “worthy” regularly takes a genitive nominal, for the entity (especially, reward, honour, etc.) of which someone is worthy, as in the following examples.

[5-51] *for ðon þe nan gesceaft nis wyrðe þæs wyrðmyntes buton se ána. se
ðe scyppend is ealra þinga*

“because no creature is worthy of the honour except the one who is

a creator of all things” (CH11, 118)

[5-52] *Rihtlice swa halig wif wæs þæs wyrðe þ heo moste witighgean embe crist*

“rightly such a holy woman was worthy of it, that she may prophesy
about Christ” (CH9, 187)

The semantic structure of the adjective *wyrðe* is characterised in some kind of value system; certain things are deemed “worthy” when they are located in some “high” place in a relevant value system. The locating an entity may be sometimes relative, i.e. the value of a thing is determined in relation to another entity as a reference point; a certain thing is deemed “worthy” when it reaches a certain point, or is equal to some other entity. It is this reference point in some value system that is designated by the genitive nominal. It is construed as a reached point within a value system. In [5-51], it is stated that there is no creature which reaches “the honour” in a value system. In [5-52], such a holy woman is said to reach a point where she would be allowed to prophesy about Christ.

§5.4. Genitive of goal and genitive of separation

In this section I will deal with various types of non-adnominal genitive nominals that receive the construal of either genitive of goal or genitive of separation, as introduced in §5.1.1. These two types of construal are similar in that a genitive nominal of both types implies the absence of the designatum of its root nominal in the domain of instantiation, but it also implies some change in its state as part of the scope of predication; in the case of the genitive of goal, the designatum absent from the domain of instantiation is expected to appear in the domain, whereas in the case of the genitive of separation, the designatum is construed as having disappeared from the domain of instantiation. These two construals have various semantic effects depending on contexts. In the following sections, I will analyse adverbial genitive (including prepositional genitive), with two place verbs (§5.4.1) and with three place verbs (§5.4.2), adjectival genitive (§5.4.3).

§5.4.1 Adverbial genitive of goal and separation, with two place verbs.

Adverbial genitive of these categories is observed with verbs whose semantic structure presupposes that some entity is expected to appear in some domain, or to disappear from the domain. Adverbial genitive of the first category is seen typically with verbs meaning “wait for”, “ask for”, “desire for”, “long for”, that of the second category is seen typically with verbs meaning “lose”, “cease” or “stop doing”, or “need”. Here are some examples of these two categories.

(genitive of goal)

[5-53] *for þi andbidað god ofi þæs yfelan mannes*

“Therefore God waits for the evil man” (CH19, 170)

[5-54] *Oððe gif he bitt fisces; sylð he him nædran;*

“Or if he (a child) asks for fish, will he (= his father) give him a snake?” (CH18, 57)

[5-55] *for ðan ðe ða geseoð þa heofenlican englas; þa ðe mid bræðum godra weorca. gewilniað*

þæs uplican færeldes;

“Because then the heavenly angels see those who, with odour of good works, desire (or wish to go on) an upward journey (CH15, 84)

(genitive of separation)

[5-56] *& þu ðolast þære écan méddé;* “And you lose the eternal reward” (CH9, 101)

[5-57] *Min cild geswic þines wopes* “My child, stop your weeping” (CH29, 39)

[5-58] *On ðisum life we behofiað. hlafes & lare. & huselganges*

“In this life, we need bread, teaching, and Holy Communion” (CH19, 195)

In the examples [5-53, 54, 55], there is a presupposition in the semantic structure of the whole clause that the entities designated by the genitive nominals *þæs yfelan mannes*, *fishes*, *opra manna æhta*, *wlitiges wifes* are not physically present at the hand of the persons designated by the nominative nominals: in other words, these designata of the genitive nominals are absent from the domain of instantiation which is in this case space (“the evil man”, “fish”, “possession” are

both manifested in space) and time (“journey”, as an event, is manifested in time). This presupposition bases the meanings of the verbs *andbidað*, *bitt*, *gewilnað*, which specify that these entities absent from the relevant domain are expected to appear in the domain.

In the examples [5-56, 57], on the other hand, there is an opposite presupposition that the entities designated by the genitive nominals *þære ecan mede*, *þines wopes* have been present in their relevant domains (for “the eternal reward”, the relevant domain is space, or some more abstract domain of value system, depending on how one thinks that “the eternal reward” may be manifested; for “your weeping”, the relevant domain is time, within which the designated activity is unfolded). This presupposition is the basis of the semantic structure of the verbs *ðolast* and *geswic*. They specify that these entities that were previously present in the relevant domains are now absent from it (or, in the case of [5-57] with the imperative, it is commanded that the entity be absent from the temporal domain). [5-58] is a special case. The genitive nominals *hlafes*, *lare*, & *huselganges* designate the entities which, supposed to be present, are lacking from the domain of instantiation (space), as experienced by “we”.

As in the other cases we have seen above already, verbs of similar meanings to these verbs in [4-54, 55, 56, 57, 58], or the same verbs, can take an accusative complement, as in the following examples.

[5-59] *þu ungesæliga; þas estmettas ic symle gewilnode ; Hi beoð me to wuldre; & þe to wite*

“You, unhappy one, those rich foods I always desired; they are glory for me, and torment for you ” (CH29, 135: here “those rich foods” refer to various tools of torture which the speaker of this sentence , a martyr, was shown as a threat: see the discussion below) .

[5-60] *we forluron þa gesælpe ure saule*. “We lost the health of our soul” (CH1, 163)

[5-61] *lc ðe secge. forgáng ðu anes treowes wæstm*.

“I say to you, abstain from (eating) a fruit of one tree” (CH1, 79)

In [5-59] the verb *gewilnian* “desire”, which take a genitive complement in [5-55], here takes an

accusative complement. In [5-60] and [5-61], the verbs *forluron* “lost” and *forgang* “abstain from”, which apparently have similar meanings to the verbs *ðolast* in [5-56] and *geswic* in [5-60], also take an accusative complement. Again, the uses of the different cases must be attributed to the difference in construals, not to any difference in objective situations which these clauses depict. When an accusative nominal is employed as in [5-59, 60, 61], the desired, lost, or abstained entity is construed as a patient, if a very unprototypical one, of the processes designated by the corresponding verb (desiring, losing, or abstaining from). This is an evidence for the entrenchment of the transitive clause structure with a nominative nominal for subject and an accusative nominal for direct object, to symbolise any event structure with two participants, no matter how high or low the degree of transitivity is.

On the other hand, in the case of a genitive complement, the designated entity is not construed as a patient: since it is construed as absent from the domain of instantiation, it cannot lie at the end of any energy flow.

Such difference in construal can be tangibly experienced. For example, [5-59] is a sentence uttered by a martyr Lawrence, who, under threat of the emperor Decius, was shown tools for torturing. The intention of Lawrence’s words is that what the emperor thought would be the object of fear for Lawrence is actually the object of his desire (so he calls such tools “those rich foods”). Moreover, the designatum of the accusative nominal *þas estmettas* refers to something that is present before the speaker Lawrence’s eyes, and he can easily see it as an endpoint of his desire, which can be construed as a kind of energy flow (Langacker 1991: 303-4). So there is a good reason for an accusative nominal to be employed to code this entity. On the other hand, in [5-55], there is more focus on the absence of the entity “an upward journey” at the scene depicted by the clause, and on the designated experiencer’s wish for it to be realised.

In the case of the verb *ðolian*, used in [5-56], the distinction between accusative and genitive complement seems to be employed to bring out more salient semantic difference. This verb’s basic meaning seems to be “to suffer” (cf. Bosworth & Toller 1898 s.v. *þolian*), and it has this meaning when it takes an accusative nominal, as in [5-62] below.

[5-62] *gif symon þis ne deð. he sceal þæt wite þolian þe he ðe gemynte*

“If Simon does not do this, he shall suffer the punishment which he intended against you” (CH26, 120)

In this case, the source of the suffering (“the punishment” in this example) is construed as (unprototypical) patient and this shows the high degree of entrenchment of a transitive clause structure with an accusative nominal for direct object. The experience of suffering receives a construal as an energy flow, though unprototypical, and the designated entity is regarded as lying at its endpoint. However, in the case of a genitive complement as in [5-56], this construal is not possible, since the genitive nominal does not designate any region in the domain of instantiation (the action chain presupposes the presence of some entities present on the domain of instantiation). Instead, it designates an entity that is disappearing from the domain. The combination of this construal of the genitive nominal as a disappearing entity, and the basic meaning of the verb *ðolian* result in the particular meaning of “lose”, “forfeit” (< “suffer because of the disappearance of something”).

The examples given above are prototypes of the two categories, and there are various types of extension from them. One extension is that whereas in [5-53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58] above the genitive nominals are all non-human, the same verbs can take a human nominal as complement, as in [5-63] below. Such examples as this can further extend to examples with the verb *ehtan* “persecute”, as in [5-63].

[5-63] *ðin me ofhrywð & þinre yrmþe; for þan ðe þin únþidað þ ece forwyrd*

“I feel sorry for you, and for your misery, because the eternal perdition awaits you” (CH38, 328)

[5-64] *saule sawwle; hwi ehtst þu min?* “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” (CH27, 18)

In both of these examples, the persons referred to by the genitive nominals *þin* and *min* are construed as absent from the domain of instantiation (in this case, space) at the moment of

speech. Its implication is that, in [5-63], “the eternal perdition” has not reached “you”, and in [5-64], the persecutor “you” has not affected “me”, but it is expected that these entities designated by the nominative nominal will affect these persons: in other words, the designata of the genitive nominals are expected to appear on the domain of instantiation as patients of the relevant energy flows (of waiting and of persecution).

Another type of extension is seen with verbs expressing various emotional or mental states. It is possible to divide such verbs roughly into verbs of positive emotions/mental states, and those of negative ones. Positive ones include “desire”, “believe in”, “hope for”, “wish for”, and the like. Negative ones are “fear”, “doubt”, “despair of”, “feel ashamed of”, and the like. They often take a genitive complement (and either a nominative nominal when in personal construction, or a dative nominal when in impersonal construction).

What seems to motivate the use of the genitive complement in these contexts is the gap between the presupposed reality and the mental experience undergone by the experiencer. Recall from §2.2.3, that a language often has some grammatical markers which indicate the status of a situation as real or unreal (Langacker 1987: 114), and it seems that the genitive case seems to be used in this context to express the status of the designated entity as unreal, which may be a favoured or unfavoured situation for the relevant experiencer. For example, when one says *He believes in God*, it is presupposed by the conceptualiser that in reality God does not exist, but it is stated that His existence is experienced by the person referred by *He*; in other words, despite the presupposed reality the entity “God” is present as object of belief.

In OE, this object of belief is expressed by a genitive nominal, because of the presupposed reality that the object does not exist, as in the following example.

Examples of positive emotional and mental states

[5-65] *hi hit gesawon. & we his gelyfað þe hit ne gesawon;*

“They saw it, and we believe in it, who have not seen it” (CH12, 134)

[5-66] *Gif hi nellað gelyfan moysen. & þam witegum*

“If they will not believe/trust Moses and the prophets” (CH23, 26)

[5-67] *for ðan þe we beoð hæbbende þæs þe we ær hopedon*

“because we are having what we hoped before” (CH18, 120)

(and also [5-53, 55] above).

In the case of dative complement, as in [5-66] the presence or absence of the designatum of the dative nominal (precisely its root nominal) in the domain of instantiation is not questioned, but it is seen as an experiencer of the belief or trust, emitted by the designatum of the nominative nominal¹².

The similar analysis for genitive applies for [5-67]. In the presupposed reality, the designatum of the genitive nominal (the relative pronoun *þæs þe*¹³) does not exist, but its existence is experienced by the people referred to as “we”.

On the other hand, when one says *He is ashamed of the accident*, it is presupposed by the conceptualiser that “the accident” is a matter of reality, and something that has actually happened, but it is wished by the experiencer “He” that it did not happen, and that the reality was different from the actual reality. In OE, such entity that one is ashamed of is expressed by the genitive nominal, because the entity, that is presupposed to be existent, is wished to be non-existent by the relevant experiencer, as in the following example.

Examples of negative emotional and mental states.

[5-68] *& hī wæron ða nacode. & him ðæs sceamode;*

“And they were then naked, and they were ashamed of it”(CH1, 142)

[5-69] *ðeah ðe hwa þa soþan lufe gýt fulfremedlice næbbe. ne sceal he*

ðeah his sylfes geortruwian

“Though anyway may not have the true love perfectly, he shall not, nevertheless, despair of himself” (CH35, 172)

[5-70] *hu mæg ðe nu twynian þæs ecan leohtes þeah hit ungesewenlic sy;*

“How could you doubt the eternal light, though it may be invisible?” (CH10, 134)

A similar analysis will apply for the examples [5-69, 70], though the nuance is very subtle. In [5-69], the clause *he ...his sylfes geortruwian* (ignoring the negative at this moment) states that the presupposed possibility that “himself” (designatum of the genitive nominal *his sylfes*) may be an object of hope is denied by the experiencer “he”. In other words, “himself” is denied its status as an object of hope. The example [5-70] can also be analysed in a similar fashion. In the clause *ðe ... twynian þæs ecan leohtes* “(for) you.. ..doubt the eternal light” (ignoring the fact that this clause is a question), there is a presupposed possibility that the entity “the eternal light” might be existent (as something true or worthy of trusting), however the possibility is denied by the experiencer “you”.

The expected problem in the analysis presented above is its discrepancy with the analysis given of the adverbial genitive associated with source of experience dealt with in §5.2.1.1 above. There I analysed the genitive nominal designates a relevant experience (emotional or mental) derived from the designatum of the root nominal. Recall that the adverbial genitive of the source of experience is an extension from partitive genitive, where the designatum of a genitive nominal receives positive construal (in other words, the focus is on the presence of a designated entity in some domain). On the other hand, the genitive of goal and of separation is based on the construal of a designated entity as absent in some domain (the entity is either expected to be present or to have been present in some domain). When we extend these three types to various examples with verbs expressing emotional or mental states, there are necessarily some overlapping areas where more than one construal seems to be possible. For example, consider the following example:

[5-71] *Gif ic me ondrede þære rode gealgan. þonne nolde ic þære rode wuldor bodian*

“If I am afraid of gallows of the cross, then I would not proclaim glory
of the cross” (CH38, 205)

This example ([5-16] in §5.2.1.1) has been analysed as instance of the genitive associated with source of experience: the genitive nominal *þære rode gealgan* “gallows of the cross” designates an experience to be undergone by the person “I”, and the designatum of its root nominal

corresponds to the source from which this experience of fear originates. In this construal, the sentence might be paraphrased as “If I’m having an experience of fear because of gallows of the cross”. On the other hand, we may equally analyse this genitive nominal as an extension of the genitive of separation, in analogy to the instance of genitive with verbs like *sceamian* “feel ashamed of”. If we take only the clause *ic me ondræde þære rode gealgan* “I am afraid of gallows of the cross”, there is a presupposed reality that gallows of the cross is exist as a immediate, confronting threat. The experiencer “I” wishes, out of fear, that the reality was different, and that gallows of the cross was not existent as a threat.

At this juncture I will not pursue any further the question of which construals examples like [5-71] should receive. I confine myself to stating that among numerous examples of adverbial genitive with verbs expressing various types of emotional and mental states, there are several salient prototypes.

1. Source (extension from partitive genitive) e.g. with *brucan* “enjoy”
2. Source of experience associated with compassion, mercy, etc. e.g. with *ofhreowan* “feel sorry for (person)”
3. Absence of some entity that is expected to appear, with verbs of positive emotional or mental states e.g. with *gewilnian* “desire, yearn for”, *gelyfan* “believe in”
4. (Expected) absence (or disappearance) of some entity that has been present, with verbs of negative emotional or mental states e.g. with *twynan* “doubt”, *scamian* “feel ashamed of”

There are various prototypical examples which cluster around these prototypes, and also examples which are extension of them, so that it is not clear of what types they are extensions. Examples like [5-70] would belong to such unclear examples, and probably many others (those dealt with in §2.1.1 above).

§5.4.2 Adverbial genitive of goal and separation: three place verbs

There are various types of three place verbs which take as complement a genitive nominal

which is construed as either the genitive of goal or that of separation. First of all, I will deal with examples of the genitive of goal, which is simpler in structure than the other.

Verbs meaning “ask for” such as *bidðan*, whose example we have seen in §5.3.1 above (cf. [5-54]), often appear with a genitive nominal (as a verbal complement), and a dative or accusative nominal of person as well as a nominative nominal (as clausal subject). Here the meaning of the verb is more or less constant. The dative or accusative nominal designates a person to whom someone asks for something, as in the following examples.

[5-72] *Eower heofonlica fæder wat hwæs ge behofiað. ær þan þe ge hine æniges þinges bidðon;*

“Your heavenly father knows what you need, before you ask him for anything”

(CH10, 103)

[5-73] *ne bið he us nanes þinges to edleane his geswincas; buton ure saule hæle*

“He does not ask us for anything as reward for his labour, except for salvation of our soul” (CH2, 100)

Here the genitive nominals *æniges þinges* and *nanes þinges* have the same basic semantic value as in the case of other examples of the genitive of goal. They designate an entity that is not present in the domain of instantiation (in this case, space), but expected to be present. The only difference is the addition of one participant in the depicted scene, a person to whom the request is made.

In the case of the genitive of separation, genitive nominals of this construal are typically observed with verbs whose meanings cluster around the idea of “deprive”, “refuse”, and so forth, as in the following examples.

[5-74] *þeah ðe se reþa reafere us æt æhtum bereafige oððe feores benæme*

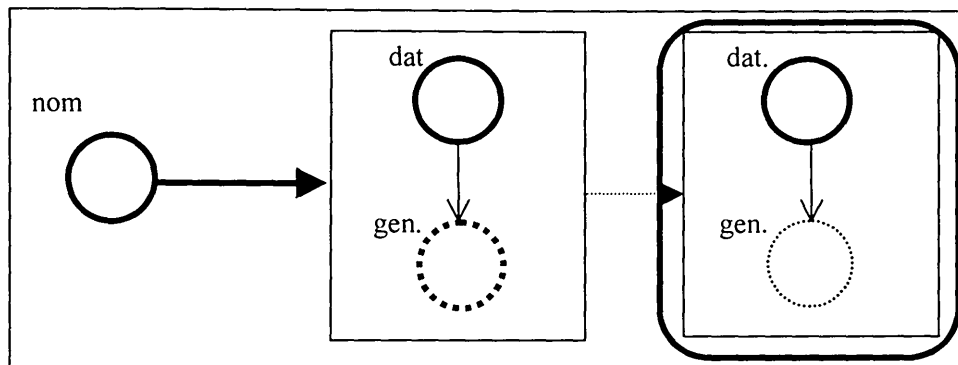
“Though the cruel robber deprive us from possessions, or rid (us) of life” (CH37, 276)

[5-75] *hwi wolde god swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan.*

“Why would God refuse him such a little thing” (CH1, 74)

The genitive nominals in these examples *feores* and *swa lyles þinges* here also receives the same construal as other instances of the genitive of separation: they designate an entity that is disappearing from the domain of instantiation. What differentiates this from the other examples we looked at above is that the nominative nominals *se reþa reafere* and *god* are not experiencers of this disappearance of this entity. It is experienced, in this case, by the persons designated by the dative nominals, and the nominative nominals are construed as agents who bring about the situation in which the persons (designated by the dative nominal) experience the disappearance of the entity designated by the genitive nominal. This construal is given in *Figure 5-15*.

Figure 5-15



This diagram shows that the nominative nominal (represented by the leftmost circle) is an agent that brings about the situation depicted in the right hand side. The situation is that the designatum of the dative nominal, as an experiencer, experiences the disappearance of some entity that is the designatum of the genitive nominal. The situation in which the entity was present is presupposed as part of the predicate, but it is excluded from the immediate scope of predication. This is denoted by the bold lined rectangle enclosing the immediate scope of predication.

§4.3 Adjectival genitive of goal and separation.

There are several adjectives which take a genitive nominal that belong to the categories of the genitive of goal and of separation. Meanings of these adjectives roughly correspond to those of the verbs that take a genitive complement of these categories. Adjectives meaning “desirous of”, “greedy for”, and other extensions of these meanings take a genitive complement of the genitive

of goal, and those meaning “lacking in”, “despaired of” take a genitive complement of the genitive of separation, as in the following examples.

(genitive of goal)

[5-76] (*þam grædian fisce þe*)... *bið þonne grædig þæs æses*

“(the greedy fish which) ... will then be greedy for the carcass” (CH14, 173)

[5-77] *Ða wæs þes man swiðe oflyst þæs hælendes tocymes*

“Then was this man desirous of the coming of Jesus” (CH9, 22)

(genitive of separation)

[5-78] *ða þa he wearð his lifes orwene*. “When he became despaired of his life” (CH5, 149)

[5-79] *wá þære sawle þe orhlyte hyre lif adrihð þæra haligra mihta*.

“Woe to the soul which lives its life, lacking in those holy powers” (CH24, 148)

The explanation for the genitive of goal and of separation in §3.1 with adverbial genitive also applies to these with adjectival genitives. The genitive nominals *þæs æses* and *þæs hælendes tocymes* in [5-76, 77] designates an entity that is absent in the domain of instantiation (space and time respectively in the examples) but is expected to appear as the object of the greediness and the desire of the experiencers (designated by the nominative nominals). Examples of these types correspond to those of adverbial genitive such as [5-53, 55] above (with *abidan* “wait for” and *gewilnian* “desire”). On the other hand, the genitive nominals *his lifes* and *þæra haligra mihta* in [5-77, 78] designate an entity that is presupposed to have been present in the domain of instantiation, but is absent there now. The example [5-77] corresponds to the example of the adverbial genitive in [5-69] (with *ortruwian* “despair of”): the designatum of the genitive nominal *his lifes*, that is presupposed to be existent as an object of hope, ceases to be existent, hence is construed as a disappearing entity. The example [5-79] corresponds to that of the adverbial genitive in [5-58] above. The semantic structure of the adjective *orhlyte* “lacking (in)” presupposes that there is a certain amount of the thing referred to as “the holy powers” that is

presupposed to be sufficient. The genitive nominal *þæra haligra mihta* designates an amount of “the holy powers” which is less than enough.

This last example is opposite in meaning to the example of adjectival genitive with *ful* ([5-36] in §5.2.3 above), these two form two polar opposites (consider their typical dictionary-type definitions: “full” = having as much as possible, “lacking” = having less than enough, from *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 1995). In the case of *ful*, the genitive nominal designates as much of the designatum of its root nominal as is specified by the predicate of the adjective, i.e., as much as the designated container entity can contain. On the other hand, in the case of *orhlyte*, it designates less of the designatum of the root nominal than is expected, i.e. is considered to be sufficient. It is important that this difference derives from differences in specifications in the semantic structures of the adjectives *ful* and *orhlyte*; the genitive nominals in isolation have identical semantic values, that a signal is given by the genitive case as to the extent to which the designatum of the relevant root nominal is manifested in the domain of instantiation.

§5.5 Genitive of negation.

In the following sections I will analyse examples of non-adnominal genitive nominals that are categorised as instances of the genitive of negation. As has been already outlined in §5.1.1 above, a genitive nominal of this category designates none of the designatum of its root nominal. The close relationship between the genitive of negation and partitive genitive has been mentioned in various literature (cf. Brugmann 1911: 611-2; Dal 1952: 22), and this relation can be also supported in a Cognitive Grammar framework. If a partitive genitive nominal designates as much of the designatum of its root nominal as is manifested in the domain of instantiation, its negative counterpart will express that *not any* of the designatum of the root nominal is manifested in the domain¹⁴. So basically any example of partitive genitive in negative sentences may be regarded as examples of the genitive of negation. Examples we have here in my database from CH are of two types, adverbial genitive and adverbial genitive. I will deal with them in separate sections below.

§5.5.1 Adverbial genitive of negation.

As I stated above, any instances of partitive genitive in negative sentences can be regarded in the sense of the genitive of negation. Some of the verbs that were considered in §5.2.1 above as those that take as complement a genitive nominal of partitive genitive appear in negative sentences, as in the following examples.

(*onbyrgan* “taste, partake of”)

[5-80] & he þær andbidiende ne *onbyrigde ætes ne wætes* binnon þreora daga fæce

“And he, waiting there, did not taste any food or water during the period of three days”

(CH27, 25)

(*abyrgan* “taste, partake of”)

[5-81] He bið mære ætforan gode; ne *abyrigð he wines ne nan þæra wætana*

þe men of druncniað

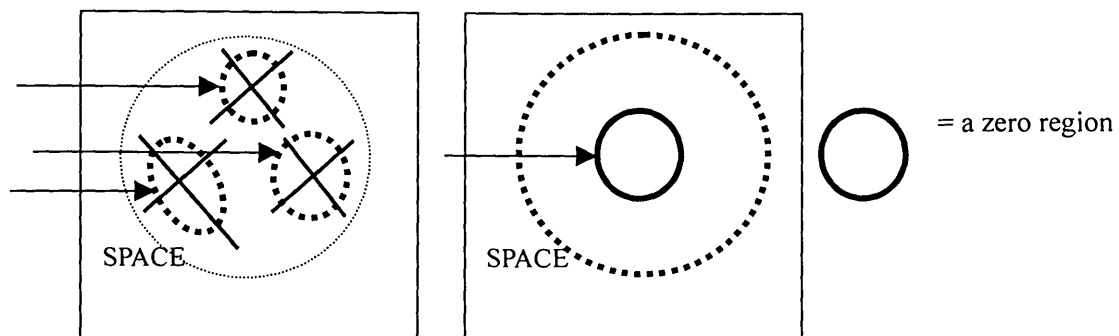
“He is famed before God, he does not taste any wine (or) none of those drinks that men get drunk from” (CH25, 14)

Note that in the second example, the verb *abyrigð* takes the genitive nominal *wines* and then the accusative nominal, followed by the adnominal genitive nominal of partitive genitive (cf. §4.4.7) *nan þæra wætana*. Both nominals *wines* and *nan þæra wætana* express more or less the same objective situation, absence of the designatum of the root of these genitive nominals in the domain of instantiation (in this case, space), i.e., as patient of the activity *onbyrigð* “tastes” (neither “wine” nor “those drinks” is drunk by the person “he”). However, in the case of *nan þæra wætana*, the accusative nominal *nan* specifies a zero-region in the domain of instantiation, and this zero-region is the patient of the activity of tasting (hence, none of the drinks was tasted). Consider a PDE sentence *We drank no wine last night*. The noun phrase *no wine* would still be analysed as bearing the semantic role of patient, and this is to be attributed to the fact that the noun phrase designates a region in the domain of instantiation, even if the magnitude of the region amounts to zero.

On the other hand, in the case of *wines*, there is no specification as to how much of the designatum of the root nominal is manifested in the domain. Construal here is that whatever possibility there might be for any part of the region designated by the root nominal to be manifested in the domain of instantiation is denied. As a result, it designates no region in the domain of instantiation (hence no wine was drunk). This difference in construal is illustrated in diagrams (a) and (b) in *Figure 5-16* below.

Figure 5-16 (a)

(b)



In the diagram (a), the largest circle with a dotted thin line represents the designatum of the root nominal of a genitive nominal (i.e. the designatum of **win* < *wines*), and the small circles with a dotted bold line are any entities that might be regarded as part of the designatum of the root nominal **win* (here only three are shown). The cross lines on each of the smaller circles show that anything that might be part of the designatum of the root is denied possibility for it to be manifested on the domain of instantiation (space), i.e., in this case, possibility to be a patient of the activity expressed by the verb *abyrigð* (the arrows are possible energy flows of the activity, here only three of them are shown). On the other hand, in the diagram (b), the largest circle with a dotted bold line represents the designatum of the genitive nominal (*þæra watana*). The designatum of the accusative nominal *nan* is represented by the circle with a unbroken bold line, which is a zero region in the domain of instantiation. This zero-region lies at the endpoint of the energy flow. The difference resides in the fact that in (a) none of the possible energy flows has an endpoint (because none of the designatum of the root nominal is manifested in the domain of

instantiation), whereas in (b) the energy flow does have an endpoint, a zero-region in the domain of instantiation. Therefore, comparing these two, (b) is stronger in terms of transitivity, since at least there is a region in the domain where the energy flow can end.

Whereas in the case of the verbs *onbyrgan*, *abyrgan* they take a genitive complement both in affirmative or negative sentences, some other verbs take a genitive complement only in case there is some negative element in the sentence. The verbs meaning “know” such as *cunnan*, *witan* are cases in point.

[5-82] *þ folc ne cuðe þæra goda þ hi cwædon þ he god wære. ac sædon þ he witega wære.*

“those people (who were contemporary with Jesus) did not know the advantages, that they could have proclaimed that he was God, but they said that he was a prophet”

(CH12, 144)

[5-83] *Hit wæs gedafenlic þæt se gesceadwisa engel hine cydde. þam*

gesceadwisum iudeiscum þe godes æcuðon & þam hæþenum. þe

ðæs godcundan gesceades nyston; na þurh stemne ac þurh tacn wæs geswutelod;

(CH7, 54)

“It was appropriate that the prudent angel made him (= Jesus) known to the wise Jews who knew God’s law; and to those heathens who did not know the divine prudence, (it) was revealed not through voice but through sign”.

In these cases, the relevant domain is a mental field of knowledge or awareness: it is our experiential knowledge that we acquire information, skill, through observation, inquiry, intuition, or education. We can regard “things that we know” as entities that occupy some region in this mental field of knowledge. The genitive nominals *þæra goda*, *ðæs godcundan gesceades* in [5-82, 83] express that none of the designata of their root nominals has any manifestation in this domain. These examples contrast with examples of the same verbs with an accusative complement as in the following example.

[5-84] *þu ne cuþest þone soðan freond*. “you do not know the true friend” (CH4, 140)

In this case, the entity designated by the accusative nominal *þone soðan freond* does have a region in the domain of knowledge (in other words, the designatum is construed as known to the experiencer *þu* “you”). It is this interconnection between the two entities on the domain of knowledge, the experiencer (= the knower) and the known thing, that is denied.

This argument is based on Jakobson’s discussion on the genitive complement with verbs meaning “know” in Russian. According to Jakobson, there seems to be a nuance between them. Jakobson draws Russian examples of accusative and genitive object such as

(1) *ja ne slychal etoj sonaty* (with genitive) “I have never heard such a sonata (as this)”

(2) *ja ne slychal etu sonatu* (with accusative) “I have never heard this sonata”

He says of sentence (1) that “An emphasis is placed on “the sonata’s unknowness” to the speaker”, whereas in (2) there is no such emphasis, and “the situation that ‘I do not know it’ becomes a matter of accident, which cannot exclude the sonata in question out of the fact-relation of the statement--- the reality of the sonata predominates¹⁵. In other words, in the case of (1) it is *the presence of the sonata itself in the speaker’s mental view of reality* that is denied, whereas in the case of (2) it is *the statement* “I have heard this sonata” that is denied --- the sonata itself is present.

§5.5.1 Adverbial genitive of negation.

Recall the discussion on the adverbial genitive *sumera þinga* in §5.2.4 above. There I followed Langacker’s analysis of adverbials, according to which adverbials are relational predicates with a relation as a trajector. Then examples with the adverbial genitive *sumera þinga* were analysed. There I assumed a domain in which various respects for judging a proposition may be manifested: my analysis of the examples there, for instance *soð hi sædon sumera ðinga*, was that

the genitive nominal designates as much region in this domain as the relevant proposition “they said truth” can be judged as right (in other words, there are some senses in which they can be regarded as having said truth”). Once this analysis is established, then its negative analogue can be easily explained. In the case of example like the following (from outside CH), with the genitive nominal *nanes þinges*, it is implied that there is no sense in which a given proposition can be regarded as true or right.

[5-85] *ne wene he nanes þinges hine selfne beteran*

“Let him not consider himself better in any way” (Cura Pastoralis 107: 16)

The genitive nominal *nanes þinges* designates no region in the domain of respect for judgement, in other words, there is no sense or respect, according to which “he” should consider himself as better.

The example of adverbial genitive of negation we have in CH makes reference to the domain of time.

[5-85] *& hi wurdon þa on þysum dægþerlicum dæge wuldorfullice gemartyrode; na swa þeah þæs gearæs ðe crist acenned wæs. ac æfter twegra geara ymbrene. æfter þæs wælhreowan hamcyme;*

“And they (babies who were the same age as Jesus) then were gloriously martyred then on this very day , not yet during that year when Christ was born, but after the period of two years, after the homecoming of the cruel one (= King Herod)” (CH5, 61)

This genitive nominal *þæs gearæs* designates none of the designatum of its root nominal **se gear* “that year” (in which Jesus was born): it expresses that there is none of this designatum manifested in the domain of time. The genitive nominal makes reference to some event which might be considered to have taken place at some period of time. In this example, the relevant

event is expressed by the main clause “the babies were martyred”. The adverbial genitive nominal then states that in the domain of time, there is none of the time designated by the root “that year” in which this event might have taken place. There is some emphasis felt in the combination of the negative *ne*, the adverbial phrase *swa þeah* “still, yet”, and the partitive genitive *þæs gearas*, and the whole negative phrase *ne swa þeah þæs gearas*, correlated with *ac æfter ...*, brings out the sharp contrast between the two periods of time “(the babies were gloriously martyred) not quite during that year .. but after...”.

The following example makes reference to the domain of space.

[5-86] *Ure eard soðlice is neorcsenawang; to þam we ne magon gecyrran þæs weges*

þe we comon; “Our native land is truly heaven. To there we cannot go (through) the way we came. (CH7, 249)

The context of this passage is that Ælfric is talking about the three wise men who came to see Jesus born, and they did not go back to the King Herod as they were told to by him. It was as if the wise men were saying, according to Ælfric, “since our native land is heaven, we cannot go back the way we came any more”. The genitive nominal *þæs weges* designates none of the designatum of the root nominal **se weg (þe we comon)* “the way we came”. This predicate makes reference to events that may take place in a given place. In this case, the relevant event is that “we may go back”, as expressed in the main clause here. So the genitive nominal states that in the domain of space, there is no part of the way which we came that “we” may take in order to go back.

§5.6 Conclusion for Chapter 5

This chapter has shown my analysis of non-adnominal genitive nominals. As in a case of adnominal genitive, the predicate [GEN] deprofiles the designatum of the root nominal, but unlike adnominal genitive, a conceptualiser’s attention still falls onto this deprofiled designatum. The semantic effect of this deprofiling has been explained with reference to Jakobson’s theory of

case, particularly what he calls ‘extent’; paraphrased within a Cognitive Grammar framework, the schematic predicate of a genitive nominal [[NOMINAL]-[GEN]] in non-adnominal contexts designates as much or as little of the designatum of the root nominal as is manifested in the domain of instantiation. Depending on the contexts (predicates of the root nominal, verb), there are two basic varieties; positive (= partitive genitive) and negative, the latter is further divided into four sub-categories, i.e. genitive of boundary, genitive of goal, genitive of separation, and genitive of negation (a negated counterpart of partitive genitive).

The primary purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate how these varieties of non-adnominal genitive are linked together, by virtue of sharing this common semantic unit [GEN], which deprofiles the designatum of the root nominal. In other words, the use of the genitive nominal in non-adnominal contexts are semantically motivated, and the semantic structure [[NOMINAL]-[GEN]] contributes to the interpretation of the whole clause which contains it. The data also showed, however, that there are numerous examples of other constructions, especially a transitive construction with a nominative nominal as subject and an accusative nominal as direct object, which seem to describe more or less the identical situation to that which is described by a clause containing a genitive nominal. But such alternate constructions describing an identical situation should be attributed to the difference in construal of a situation, i.e. different structures imposed on a situation for interpretation. Such difference in construals constitutes a substantial part of the meaning of an expression. Therefore, as has been demonstrated in this chapter, the use of a genitive nominal in non-adnominal contexts indeed contribute to the meaning of the whole clause.

¹ In this regard, my analysis will differ from Langacker’s approach towards case, where the characterisation of case is made primarily in terms of semantic roles (Langacker 1991: 384).

² This table is drawn with reference to Bartschat’s (1998) review of Jakobson (1936) and (1958). See Bartschat (1998:294).

³ “Der Akkusativ besagt stets, daß irgend eine Handlung auf den bezeichneten Gegenstand gewissermaßen gerichtet ist” (Jakobson (1936/1971;31)).

⁴ “Aus dem Vergleiche des G-s mit dem N und dem A ergibt es sich, daß der G stets die Grenze der Teilnahme des bezeichneten Gegenstandes am Sachverhalte der Aussage ankündigt” (Jakobson 1963/1971: 38).

⁵ This distribution of an accusative and a genitive complement is reminiscent of the distribution between *for*-phrase and *about*-phrase with the adjective *sorry*. *I am sorry about it/what I've done* but *I am sorry for this man*.

⁶ There may even be a reanalysis in the construal of the designatum of the root of the genitive nominal. It may be construed more as a person towards which thoughts such as compassion, sympathy, etc. are directed, rather than as a source from which these thoughts are derived.

⁷ This gradation explains why in various literature dealing with adverbial genitive in impersonal construction where the genitive is associated with the semantic role of SOURCE, the examples quoted are mostly of the type dealt with in §5.2.1.1 ff., but never those dealt with in §5.2.1 (such as *onfon*, *brucan*).

⁸ In this respect, it is not correct to label such use of adjectival genitive as in [5-36] as “instrumental genitive” (as found in neogrammarian accounts of the use of genitive, such as Delbruck 1907: 216).

⁹ “Der Akk. zeigt die vollste, entschiedenste Bewältigung eines Gegenstandes durch den im Verbo des Satzsubjekts enthalten Begriff. Geringere Objektivisierung liegt in dem Gen., die tätige Kraft wird dabei gleichsam nur versucht und angehoben, nicht erschöpft. Daher auch dieser Gen. nicht, wie jener Akk., umsetzbar in einen passiven Nom. erscheint. Der Akk. drückt reine, sichere Wirkungen aus, der Gen. gehemmte, modifizierte.”
Grimm (1857:646 translation is mine)

¹⁰ In CH there is no instance of the verb with *hrinan* element, so the example is taken from other source.

¹¹ Consider PDE pairs like *taste vs have a taste of; look at; have a look at*, etc. The second ones imply a partially affecting activity, less seriously committed, compared to the first ones.

¹² The use of the genitive and the dative seems to be in parallel with the PDE phrasal verb *believe in* and the single verb *believe*. When one says *I believe him*, there is no question about the fact that the person referred to by *him* is existent, and it is presupposed. On the other hand, in *I believe in God*, it is assumed that the entity referred to by *God* is not existent.

¹³ The use of the genitive case for this relative pronoun might as well be influenced by the construction *beon* + present participle. Cf. Visser 1970: 357-8.

¹⁵ “der Nachdruck liegt auf Unbekanntsein der Sonate für den Sprechenden”; “... unter Umstand, daß ich sie nicht gehört habe, wird infolgedessen zu einer Akzidenz, die die frgaliche Sonate aus dem Sachverhalte der Aussage nicht imstande ist auszuschalten die gegebenheit der Sonate überwiegt” (Jakobson 1936/1971:41).

Chapter 6 Discussion and conclusion

This chapter will discuss the issues that were raised as regards the history of the genitive case from OE to ME, in the light of the analyses of the genitive nominals in OE made in Chapters 4 and 5. The issues which concern us in this chapter are fourfold: (1) the status of the genitive case in OE, (2) the ill-balanced distribution of the different types of genitive nominals, especially adnominal and adverbial genitive, (3) the *of*-phrase as “a periphrastic genitive”, and (4) the change of the status of a genitive nominal from a case-form to a determiner.

§6.1 The status of the genitive case in OE

In Chapter 1, it has been pointed out that the genitive case underwent a grammatical change from a case-form bearing the “genitive case” to a determiner in the course of the history of the English Language (morphologically, and phonologically, the genitive inflectional ending changed from an inflection to a clitic attached to a noun phrase). This explanation has been given without explicating what is meant by “a case form bearing the genitive case”. One of the main purposes of this dissertation has been to give a conceptual content to this term. In the light of Chapter 4 and 5, we can state the following points.

A genitive nominal in OE is a nominal predicate, in the sense that, following Cognitive Grammar’s account for the word class of noun, it designates a thing, i.e. a region (a set of interconnected entities) in some domain. The semantic structure of a genitive nominal consists of a nominal predicate (schematically [NOMINAL]) and the predicate of the genitive case [GEN]. The meaning of the genitive case, i.e. the predicate [GEN], consists in the deprofiling of the designatum of this root nominal. Following Langacker’s definition of profile, the designatum of the genitive nominal receives less attention from the conceptualiser. But nevertheless the genitive nominal profiles (with less acuity) a region in some domain.

If a genitive nominal is indeed a nominal predicate, then it will preserve various kinds of properties attributed to nouns. The syntactic distribution is one thing: a genitive nominal can occur in most syntactic contexts in which other types of nominal predicate could occur (as complement of a verb, an adjective, a preposition, though not as a subject nominal; this point will

be discussed shortly). Moreover, a genitive nominal inherits various nominal properties of its root nominal. A genitive nominal can derive from a count noun, a mass noun, abstract noun, etc. Let us take an example of a genitive nominal deriving from a mass noun. Such genitive nominals have been categorised as partitive genitive, both in adnominal and adverbial uses. Note the example below, and its literal translation into PDE.

OE partitive genitive & *gif he forlyst an þæra sceapa* “And if he loses one of those sheep”
(CH24, 24)

PDE literal translation *if he lose those sheep's one* (where *sheep* is a plural)

Following the semantic analysis of a plural noun in Cognitive Grammar, a plural noun belongs together with a mass noun in that they both profile an unbounded region, whereas in the case of former, it is said to profile a replicate mass (Langacker 1991: 78). The genitive nominal *þæra sceapa* is a composite structure, consisting of a plural noun **þa sceap* “those sheep (plural)” and the genitive case. The property of this root nominal **þa sceap* as designating a replicate mass is inherited in the predicate of the composite structure *þæra sceapa*. Because of this preservation of the nominal property of the root nominal, when the genitive nominal *þæra scapa* is integrated with the head noun *an* “one”, the designatum of the latter can correspond to and elaborate one of the substructures within the predicate of former, i.e. one of infinitely replicated discrete individuals all of the same, each representing the type specified by the singular *sceap*. As it were, the designatum of *an* can “go into” the semantic structure of *þæra scapa*. This analysis does not apply to the PDE genitive plural. In the expression *those sheep's one*, what *one* designates has to be something “external” to the whole sheep (e.g. *(their) shepherd, sheep-pen, meadows, etc.*), cannot designate one of the replicated individual sheep, which is “internal” to the semantic structure of *those sheep*.

The status of a genitive nominal as a nominal predicate also explains its morphology. When a genitive nominal consists of some “modifiers” (such as adjectives, demonstratives) and a noun, all of them will be inflected (either strong or weak for modifiers, depending on the presence or

absence of a determiner), as in [*anes ealdormannes*] *dohtor*, [*ðæs ealdormannes*] *dohtor*, [*ðæs ælmihtigan godes*] *sunu*. This inflectional pattern is the same as in the case of nominals in other cases (nominative, accusative, dative). A nominal with modifiers, whether nominative, accusative, or dative, as well as genitive, will be inflected on both the modifiers and the noun which they modify:

nominative [*se ælmihtiga god*]

genitive [*þæs ælmihtigan godes*] *sunu*

dative [*þæm ælmihtigan gode*]

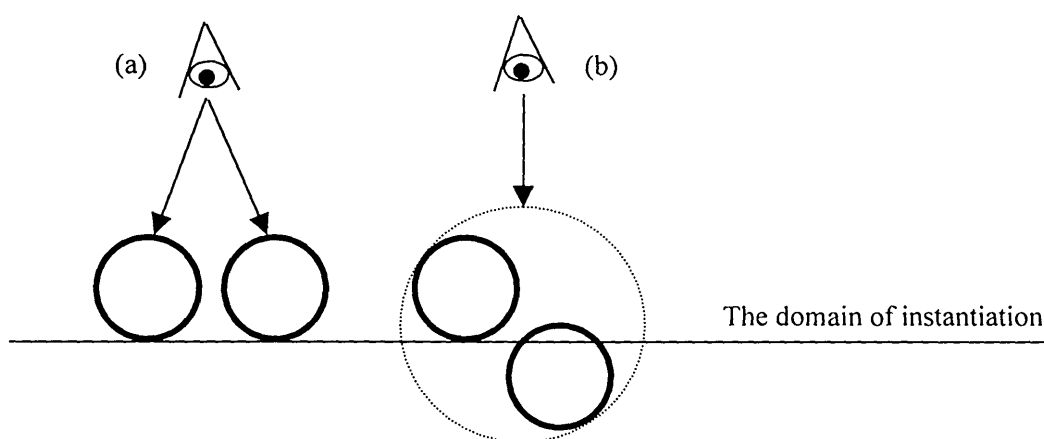
accusative [*þone ælmihtigan god*]

This inflectional patterning shows that a genitive nominal is on a par with nominals in other cases as a nominal expression. It is when the genitive nominal was beginning to be construed not as a nominal predicate but as part of a nominal predicate that the inflectional endings of the modifiers started to level, and we have forms such as **þe ealdormannes dohtor* (the inflectional ending only on the noun, not on the demonstrative/definite article).

§6.2 The ill-balanced distribution of the different types of genitive nominals

In Chapter 2 we also saw the distribution of genitive nominals in various syntactic contexts. It has been noted that adnominal genitive nominal is far more productive than other types of genitive, especially adverbial genitive. This imbalance in the distribution is attributed to the nature of the meaning of the genitive case, i.e., deprofiling of the designatum of a root nominal. Deprofiling can be said to be a means to make two “things” (designata of nominal predicates) into one thing, or into a single coherent gestalt, by reducing the level of attention which one of these two things would receive. When two noun phrases in nominative are juxtaposed, such as *se aldormann, dohtor*, they will each designate one thing, and the two things will be seen as two things, and they will not form a coherent concept, unless some kind of dependence is signalled. The genitive case makes one of the things less attention-attracting or prominent, so that the other

thing will stand out more than the other. This comparison act (§2.2.2) facilitates for the two things to be “coordinated” and “interconnected” (§3.2.2). As a result, the two things will be construed as forming a single coherent entity. Recall Langacker’s definition of a region in some domain (a designatum of a nominal predicate) as “a set of interconnected entities” (§3.2.2). The two nominal predicates, with one of them inflected for the genitive case, thus its designatum deprofiled (made less prominent), will be construed as one nominal predicate, because the two designata are interconnected. This can be explained by referring to the domain of instantiation (cf. the Billiard-Ball Model §3.1). Two things, in non-genitive case, can be metaphorically described as two physical objects manifested on the domain of instantiation (or two billiard-balls on the board). In order for the two to be seen as forming a single figure, one of them “sinks in under the domain of instantiation”, so there will be only one object on the domain, but it is somehow related to the other, so they will be seen as forming a single concept. This situation is illustrated by the following figure.



Each pair of circles represents two designata of two nominal predicates, and the horizontal line is the domain of instantiation: things above this line are those objects that are made manifested (visible to our eyes). The picture of the eye represents a conceptualiser, and the arrow is his construal relationship. (a) shows that both designata are on the domain of instantiation, and the conceptualiser attends to both of them with the same energy level of cognitive processing). In the case of (b), only one object is manifested, and the other is not manifested (at least not fully) on the domain of instantiation. Recall from Chapter 5 that the genitive case signals “the extent” to

which the designatum of the root nominal is manifested on the domain of instantiation. As a result, the one that is manifest will be more prominent than the other, and as a result of this comparison act they will be seen as a single object.

The genitive case itself does not specify what interconnection there is between the two designata, but the context (the predicates of the both nominals) specifies. If the head noun is a kinship term and the genitive nominal is a noun designating a person, then the interconnection will be that of kinship relation. If the genitive nominal is a kind of mass noun (a mass noun proper or a plural noun) then the interconnection will be that of partitive relation.

Amongst all the four cases in OE, it is only the genitive case that deprofiles. Other cases signal other aspects of the designatum of a noun to which the relevant case ending is attached. The accusative case indicates that the designatum of a root nominal lies at an endpoint of some energy flow. The dative case indicates that the designatum of a root nominal is some kind of experiencer. The nominative case does not indicate anything but its name (Jakobson 1963/1971). All these three cases do not mention anything about the extent to which the designatum of the root nominal is manifested on the domain of instantiation.

Then, if there is need for a speaker to refer to two objects of some kind, not as unrelated matters but as related, and so coherent concepts, the genitive case is the only means of expression, since otherwise the two concepts will be of more or less equal prominence (compare expressions, *the professor, Edinburgh University; my friend, father; this child, book, with the professor of Edinburgh University, my friend's father, this child's book*). This is why the genitive case is a productive means of expression in the context [N+N] which we have looked at in Chapter 1. The use of the preposition is another means to show some interconnection between two things. However, in the case of prepositions, their semantic structure specifies the kind of interconnection the two things enter into. In the case of the genitive case, it does not specify the interconnection between the two things, and the predicates of the two nominals provide a necessary context to specify the interconnection. So the genitive case has a wider range of use than any prepositional phrase.

On the other hand, when it comes to a transitive clause, the genitive nominal does not suit for

the expression of a direct object. Recall from §3.1 that we conceive of the world as populated by physical objects moving around and making contact with each other. This conception is the basis of our conception of a basic transitive event, in which one object (as agent) makes a physical contact with another (as patient), and as a result energy is transmitted, as in *The boy kicked the ball*. In order for a conceptualiser to conceive of such an event optimally, it is desirable that the two relevant objects are manifest (visible to his eyes), in other words, that they should be fully present on the domain of instantiation. Nominals in cases like nominative, accusative, and dative suit for the purpose of designating interacting objects in action chain. Especially, as has been noted already in §5.1.2, the construction [nominative nominal]-[transitive verb]-[accusative nominal] has been a well-entrenched construction to symbolise a transitive activity, to such an extent that the construction is employed to symbolise any event construed as involving two participants, even where there is no physical contact between them. On the other hand, the genitive case makes the designatum less prominent, less manifest (or not manifest at all) in the domain of instantiation. Therefore, the genitive case, by virtue of what it does (deprofiling), is not suited for designating an entity that takes part in a prototypical transitive activity. The genitive nominal is used only when a situation favours for such non-prominent, non-manifest participant. This is why the genitive nominal in the context [N+V+N] is not a productive structure, as we saw in Chapter 1.

§6.3 The *of*-phrase as “a periphrastic genitive”

In this study, we did not deal with the preposition *of* at all. The question of “when the periphrastic genitive made its first appearance in the history of English” is not within the scope of the present study. But from the discussion made above, we can say that there is a great difference in the semantic structure of the prepositional phrase with *of* and the genitive nominal.

As mentioned above, the genitive case makes the designatum of its root nominal less attention-attracting, and as a result, when the genitive nominal is used with another nominal, its deprofiled designatum makes the other designatum more prominent, and the comparison act between them facilitates the integration of the two. The genitive case does not specify the nature of

interconnection by itself, which is characterised by the context. On the other hand, the predicate of the prepositional phrase with *of* not only interconnects two things, but also specifies the nature of the interconnection: it indicates that a trajector entity, which has been included within a landmark entity, has moved out of it. Therefore, the *of*-phrase will be used to describe a situation involving two things, to the extent that they are construed by a conceptualiser as being in such [IN] [OUT] relation.

The question of the *of*-periphrasis has been dealt with in various studies. It is often the case in such studies that examples of *of*-phrases are picked up which seem to express “genitive relationship” (Thomas 1931: 3), without defining what “genitive relationship” is. The present study offered a conceptual definition of what the genitive case means, and it is hoped that the study of the *of*-periphrasis will be made in the light of this study, so that the question of what the *of*-periphrasis is supposed to have replaced (= “genitive relation”) may be considered in a principled way.

§6.4 The change of a genitive nominal from a case-form to a determiner.

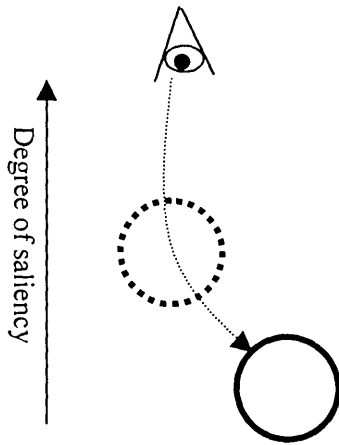
The final point of discussion is the grammatical change of a genitive nominal from a case form to a determiner. This grammatical change has been pointed out in various studies in various forms (Rosenbach 2002: 224; Allen 2003). But in these studies what the genitive nominal was before it turned into a determiner has not been elucidated (the studies all deal with the history of genitive only after the end of the OE period), so the grammatical change that has been assumed to have happened over the end of the OE period has not been properly dealt with. Now that in the present study the conceptual import of a genitive nominal has been discussed sufficiently, we can now consider the question of what became of this genitive nominal, and how it turned into a determiner.

We have seen in Chapter 4 that some categories and subcategories of adnominal genitive have several common characteristics:

1. The genitive nominal typically designates a human entity.
2. The genitive nominal is typically a grounded expression.
3. The genitive nominal typically precedes the head noun.

These characteristics are observed especially with the genitive of interpersonal relations, of possession, and some of the genitive of process, especially when the genitive nominal designates the semantic roles of agent/experiencer. We have evidence that when the genitive nominal is accompanied with a demonstrative, and is preposed to the head noun, then the head noun is never accompanied with a demonstrative, though if the genitive nominal is postposed to the head noun, then the head noun may be accompanied with a demonstrative (§1.2.1.2). So, we can say that the preposed genitive nominal accompanied with a demonstrative made the use of a demonstrative to determine the head redundant; in other words, such a preposed genitive nominal determined the head. By extension, we can say that the genitive nominal that had the three characteristics determined the head. But this is so with the exception that the genitive nominal specified the type of the entity designated by the head, as in *se godes sunu* (this would belong to the category of descriptive genitive), in which case the genitive nominal did not determine the head, as the use of the demonstrative *se* indicates.

How can we explain that only in certain cases of adnominal genitive the genitive nominal determined the head but in other cases it did not? Recall from the discussion in (2) above that the genitive case made the designatum of its root nominal less prominent and less manifest. This is the effect of deprofiling. However, in some cases, when the first two characteristics above were met, the designatum of the genitive nominal was more *salient* to the conceptualiser, though it was less manifest. In these cases, the genitive nominal designated an entity that is inherently salient to the conceptualiser, because it is a human, a grounded expression (known to the conceptualiser). The adnominal genitive phrase of this type can be said to have a special status, because it had a potentiality to be used as a reference point to single out some entity through the medium of a relatively more salient entity. This semantic import of the adnominal genitive phrase of this type is illustrated in the following figure.



The circles represent things, and the one with a dotted line is the designatum of a genitive nominal, (= a deprofiled entity) and the one with an unbroken bold line is the designatum of the head (= profiled entity). The dotted arrow is a mental path which a conceptualiser (represented by the eye) establishes. In this diagram, the higher the circle is the more salient to the conceptualiser. This diagram captures a construal relationship in which the destination of the conceptualiser's attention is the profiled entity, though it first goes to the other entity that is more salient. This construal is in harmony with both the specification of the meaning of the genitive case as established in this study, and also with the reference point analysis (§3.8ff). In this construal, the profiled entity is still the focus of attention, and not the deprofiled entity. However at the same time the deprofiled entity is inherently more salient to the conceptualiser, therefore it is available as a reference point to establish a mental path to a less salient entity. It is when the asymmetry in terms of attention and the figure/ground alignment (= trajector/landmark) are in opposite directions that the genitive nominal can be seen as a determiner. When such is the case, then it is also likely that the genitive nominal precedes the head, probably to symbolise the mental path (from trajector to landmark) iconically.

During the OE period, the genitive nominal as designating a deprofiled entity and the genitive nominal as a determiner could stand side by side. Moreover, as we saw in (1) above, the genitive nominal was a nominal predicate. This suggests that there was not a clear distinction between a determiner and a nominal predicate. What seems to be happening towards the end of the OE period and the beginning of the ME period is the analogy of a genitive nominal as a determiner

(as well as a nominal predicate) to the other determiner class words. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (§1.2.1.2), the ME period saw the emergence of the invariant definite and indefinite articles (Rosenbach 2002: 225), deriving from the OE demonstratives and the numeral *an*. Rosenbach states:

“It may therefore be assumed that the evolution of the definite article in English made a structural determiner position available in English in the course of Middle English. Structurally, so to speak, there was now a place for POSS’s to fit in as a determiner” (Rosenbach 2002: 225).

It seems that she assumes that the emergence of the genitive nominal as a determiner started only after the end of the OE period. My hypothesis is slightly different from this: as stated above, the genitive nominal as a determiner was already prevalent during the OE period, but there was not a clear distinction between a determiner class and a nominal class. This made it possible for a genitive nominal to occur not only in a determiner context but also in nominal context (as complement of a verb, etc.). The fundamental change that happened to the genitive nominal in the course of Middle English is the gradually clearer distinction between a determiner class and a nominal class (this split is analogous to the similar split between auxiliary verbs and lexical verbs). The genitive nominal falls into a determiner class. As a result, all the genitive nominals that do not function as a determiner went into gradual disuse and became obsolete. This includes all the other categories and subcategories of adnominal genitive which did not have the two characteristics above (non-human, non-grounded expression), let alone non-adnominal genitive. They were replaced by the *of*-phrases, or some adnominal genitive phrases seem to have undergone internal change and became a “possessive compound” (Taylor 1996: 287ff). The genitive nominal as a determiner, in analogy to the other items of determiner class, have also developed an invariant form *-(e)s* in the course of Middle English, and lost all the other various forms.

The present study has made various suggestions as to the genitive case in OE. Using Cognitive Grammar as a theoretical framework, I defined the meaning of the genitive case as “deprofiling”,

which made the designatum of its root nominal unprofiled, which is less attention-attracting, less prominent or less manifest. The pivotal claim is that the genitive nominal in OE is basically a nominal predicate, in that it still designates a region in some domain. In Chapter 4 and 5 I accounted for the various types and subtypes of adnominal and non-adnominal genitive as various extensions and elaboration of this highly schematic meaning of the genitive. In the various literature it has been common practice to separate the adnominal and non-adnominal genitive (especially adverbial) in OE, and I owed a lot to Jakobson (1936/1971) for its treatment of the genitive case in Russian, which gives a coherent account of both adnominal and non-adnominal genitive. My account is a recasting, updating, of his theory within a Cognitive Grammar framework, and its application to the OE genitive case. It is hoped that this study will open up more studies on the OE genitive case as a whole.

This study also offered some basis for further studies of the history of the genitive case from OE to ME and beyond. As mentioned earlier, one of the greatest gaps in the literature on this subject has been the lack of our understanding of what the genitive case in OE was like. This study has given a substantial characterisation of the meaning of the genitive case. Again, the crucial point is that a genitive nominal was a nominal predicate in OE. Furthermore, I claimed that a genitive nominal as a determiner also existed side by side with a genitive nominal as designating a deprofiled entity, and that there was no clear boundary between a determiner and a nominal predicate. The fundamental change in the history of the genitive case from OE to ME has been characterised as this split of these two grammatical classes. This change seems to be paralleled by similar changes happening through the history of the English Language, as regards the regrouping of word classes, such as the emergence of auxiliary classes, of modal verbs, and so on.

Appendix

§ 1 Unprototypical examples of the adnominal genitive phrases of interpersonal relations (§4.3.2).

(1) Examples of adnominal genitive phrases where the genitive nominal is an ungrounded expression.

& manna bearn sceolon witigian.

“& children of men shall prophecy” (CH22, 61)

Betwux wifa bearnum ne aras nan mærra man; þonne is iohannes se fulluhtere (CH25, 104)

“Among children of women, there arose no one greater than is John the Baptist”

& gehet hine abraham þæt is manegra þeoda fæder.

“and called him Abraham, that is father of many nations” (CH6, 35)

for ðan ðe heo is ealra lybbendra modor;

“for she is mother of all living” (CH1, 94)

mancynna fynd “enemy of mankind” (CH38, 182)

weroda drihten “lord of host” (CH35, 114)

mancynna ealdor “chieftain of mankind” (CH38, 189)

heres hlaford “lord of army” (CH35, 114)

drihten weroda god. “Lord, God of host” (CH37, 166)

alysend ealra halgena “saviour of all saints” (CH36, 290)

þu ne cuðest manna hælend.

“you do not know the Saviour of men” (CH4, 140)

(2) Examples of adnominal genitive phrases where the genitive nominal designates an inanimate entity.

ðu deaðes bearn “you child of death” (CH38, 268)

siones dohtor is seo gelaðung geleaffulra manna

“Daughter of Zion is the church of faithful men” (CH14, 94)

ac he is fæder wlcere leasunge;

“but he is father of every deception” (CH11, 64)

swa bið eac gehwylc cristen man gastlice þære halgan gelaþunge sunu

“so every Christian man will be spiritually son of the Holy Church” (CH33, 21)

þæra sawla fynd sind þa hellican gastas

“enemy of the souls are those spirits of hell” (CH28, 135)

... wile beon freond þyssere worulde

“... will be friend of this world” (CH40, 90)

cristes geleafa wære wiðerwinna þære ealdan gesetnysse;

“Faith in Christ would be adversary to the Old Law” (CH27, 69)

& wæs þa soðfæst bydel godes gelaðunge

“and was then a true messenger for God’s church” (CH27, 93)

ac he bið þæra æhta þeowa.

“but he will be a servant/slave to those possessions” (CH4, 121)

ne bið he þæra æhta hlaford

“he will not be a master of those possessions” (CH4, 120)

mægðhád is ealra mæгна cwen

“virginity is queen of all virtues” (CH36, 129)

ðæra ðeostra ealdras “chieftain of those darkness” (CH4, 265)

ic eom þære stowe hyrde. “I am a shepherd of the place” (CH34, 31)

þu eart ealra þinga god; “you are God of all things” (CH29, 204)

Se ælmihtiga fæder ... is scyppend ealra gesceafta.

“The Almighty Father is .. Creator of all creations” (CH29, 122)

§ 2 Examples of adnominal genitive phrases of “various relations between non-human entities” (§4.4)

This section shows various examples of adnominal genitive phrases of this category. I will not present all the examples that belong to this category. The purpose of this presentation is to show the heterogeneity of the category, and demonstrate how variously the semantic structure of the genitive nominal can determine the primary domain for the semantic structure of the whole noun phrase.

1. Part-whole relationship

for angynne þære wucan “for the beginning of the week” (CH6, 168)

þa ðæ þæra treowa bogas heowon “those who cut off the boughs of the trees” (CH14, 133)

& þæs muntres cnol “the mountain’s top” (CH34, 55)

& cyrcan duru “door of (the) church” or “(a) church door” (CH4, 112)

under swurdes ecge “under the edge of a sword” (CH37, 182)

Ac seo gitsung is ealra yfelra þinga wyrtruma;
“But the covetousness of root of all evil things” (CH18, 193)

2. The relationship between some property (concrete or abstract) and a thing to which it belongs.

... dælde þære cyrcan maðmas “and distributed treasures of the church” (CH29, 43)

hi sumne dæl heora landes wurþes æthæfdon
“They withheld some part of the price of their land” (CH22, 91)

Ac we habbað nu miccle maran endebyrdnyse þære cristes bec gesæd
“But now we have said greatly famed statement of the book of Christ” (CH15, 71)

Se halga papa gregorius us onwreah þa digelnyse þisre rædinge;
“The holy pope Gregory unfolded for us the mystery of this reading” (CH23, 30)

3. The cause/effect relationship

Sume beladunge mihte se rica habban his uncysste
“The rich man might have some excuse for his ignorance” (CH23, 50)

to gyfe hire dehter hleapunge “as a reward for her daughter’s dancing” (CH32, 180)

& gif we mid hlisan godra weorca urne drihten secað
“And if we seek our Lord with the fame of/for good works” (CH15, 82)

4. The relationship between a thing and its locational source

ðyses middaneardes wæstm is hryre “Fruit of this world is destruction” (CH40, 108)

God us forbead þæs treowes wæstm “God forbade us (to eat) fruit of the tree” (CH1, 130)

þa æddran his wylspringes “the spring of his well” (CH37, 71)

To this group I add examples where the relationship holds between people and a place or a people from where/whom they come. These examples have genitive nominals (and head nouns) designating humans, so they do not belong to the present category by definition, but they have a closer relationship to this category than others.

togeanes þære burhware sepontiniscra ceastre
“against the citizens of Sepontina city” (CH34, 41)

þa wanspedigan cristenan þæra earda
“the poor Christians from those regions” (CH37, 29)

... & gemette nigontyne wera & wifa his hiwiscas
“... and met nineteen men and women from his household” (CH29, 253)

for eallum mancynne; ealles ymbhwyrftes
“for all mankind of all world” (CH27, 170)

5. The relationship between a measured point in time and its starting point.

on þam endleoftan dæge cristes upstiges
“on the eleventh day of Christ’s ascension” (CH21, 51)

Eft þæs on merien com se apostol ...
“Again on the morning after that came the apostle ...” (CH31, 70)

ða þæs ymbe fiftig daga sette god þam folce æ
“Then around fifty days after that God established law for the people” (CH22, 17)

§3 Examples of adnominal genitive phrases of process, classified according to roles involved in a process.

This subsection explains defining characteristics of each of the categories, based on roles in some particular kind of process, and shows some prototypical examples of each of these categories. The following table shows the classification of examples.

1. Agent
 - a. Agent of some affective activities
 - b. Agent of some effective activities
 - c. Agent of giving
2. Experiencer
 - a. Experiencer of emotional states
 - b. Experiencer of mental activities
 - c. Experiencer of perception
 - d. Experiencer of events
3. Patient
 - a. Human patient of some affective activity
 - b. Non-human patient of some affective activity
 - c. Comitative
 - d. Beneficiary of some affective activity
 - e. Person for whom something is made
 - f. Unprototypical examples of non-human patient
 - (f-1) A person resembled
 - (f-2) What is lost
 - (f-3) What is revealed
 - (f-4) What is signified
 - (f-5) What is accepted
4. Theme-like roles
 - a. Human mover
 - b. A person present
 - c. Non-human theme
5. Cause (and its extended meanings)
 - (a) Cause of emotion
 - (b) Object of mental activity
 - (c) Object of perception
 - (d) Topic of verbal activity
6. Instrumental
7. Places associated with movement
 - (a) Place into which one moves
 - (b) Place from which one moves
8. Period

1. Agent. Agent is typically “a person who volitionally initiates physical activity, resulting, through physical contact, in the transfer of energy to an external object” (Langacker 1991: 285). The examples that belong here can be further classified in terms of the types of activity involved.

1(a). Agent of some affective activity

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of affective activity in which typically a human volitionally influences on some other entities, such as beating, killing, helping, touching, preparing, etc. The designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for an agent role in the activity.

Nis to ondæredenne þwyrra manna ehtnys; ac ma to forþyldgienne.

“Perverse men’s persecution is not to be feared, but more to be endured” (CH36, 240)

hi ... þæs heahengles michaheles fultum bædon

“they asked for the Archangel Michael’s help” (CH34, 44)

ac he geswutelode þæt his hrepung is swiðe halwende geleaffullum;

“but he showed that his touching is very healing for the faithful” (CH8, 34)

to þy ðæt he mancyn fram deofles anwealde alysde

“so that he may save mankind from devil’s control” (CH8, 18)

1 (b) Agent of some effective activity

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of activity which result in some product (either concrete or abstract). Included are verbal activities (both in writing and speaking, from which result speech, saying, book, commentary, laws, etc.), creating (from which result creature), doing (from which result deeds), working (from which results work in its concrete sense), sinning (from which result sins), etc. The relationship between an effective activity and its result are so close, and it often happens that the same head noun can designates either the activity itself or some resultant product of it (e.g. PDE *work* (an activity, as in *what time will you finish your work?*) and *work* (its result, as in *when will you be able to submit your work?*). I included examples with such head nouns regardless of whether the predicate designates a relevant activity or some resultant product. I also included examples with a head noun whose predicate directly designates a resultant product of some effective activity without making the activity salient: e.g. *book* is a resultant product of the act of writing, even though in the predicate the activity of writing is not so salient as in the case of, e.g., *writing* (in the sense of “what is written”, as in *Shakespeare’s writing*).

With these head nouns, the designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to a person who effects the activity.

Ac þæs witegan cwyde ioheles is nu gefylled;

“But the saying the prophet Joel is now fulfilled” (CH22, 59)

ðu cyning hlyste anes leases fisceres wordum;

“you king, listen to some false fisherman’s words” (CH26, 179)

& me ofhreow þ hi ne cuðon ne næfdon ða godspellican lare on heora gewritum.

“and I feel it a shame that they did not know or have the teaching of Gospel in their writings” (CH Pre.53)

Moses æ forbead to hreppenne ænigne hreoflan.

“Moses’ law forbids (us) to touch any lepers” (CH8, 30)

he ... demð wunderlice oþra manna dæda;

“he .. amazingly judges other men’s deeds” (CH24, 135)

He besargode mid wope oþra manna synna.

“he lamented over other men’s sins with weeping” (CH27, 114)

1.(c) Agent in giving

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of activity which involves giving of something, including granting or permitting. Such head nouns often also designate things that are given (cf. PDE *offering* in the sense of the act of giving something, as in *offering is obligatory* and *offering* in the sense of “what is offered”, as in *she placed her offering upon the altar*). Whether the head noun designates the act of giving or what is given, the designate of a genitive nominal of this category that is integrated with it corresponds to a person who does the giving.

geswicað eowera offrunga þy læs ðe ge wyrstan pinunge þrowian þonne ic
“Stop your offerings lest you may suffer worse suffering than I” (CH31, 116)

Paule. þe genihtsumað min gifu “Paul, my gift is sufficient to you” (CH31, 300)

...fela wundra gelumpon æt þæra apostola byrgenum. þurh þæs hælendes tiðe
“... many miracles happened at the apostles’ graves through Jesus’ granting
(= permission)” (CH26, 294)

... beheold hu þ folc heora ælmessan wurpon into þam maðmhuse.
“(Jesus) observed how the people threw their alms into the treasure-house” (CH38, 98)

2. Experiencer.

Experiencer is typically “a person engaged in mental activity (be it intellectual, perceptual, or emotive). Examples that belong to this category are further classified in terms of what experience the designated experiencer undergoes.

2 (a) Experiencer of emotional states

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of emotional state (joy, sadness, desire, etc.) that is experienced by a human. The designatum of the genitive corresponds to the entity associated with the entity for an experiencer role of the relevant emotional state.

His ærist wæs þæra engla blis.
“His resurrection was a joy for the angels” (CH15, 99)

& ure sarnyssa he sylf bær; “and our sorrow he himself carried” (CH8, 53)

he fulgæð his lustum. “he followed his desires” (CH4, 125)

2 (b) Experiencer of some mental activities

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of intellectual activity (thinking, believing, doubting, understanding, worshipping, deciding, caring, remembering, etc.). The designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to a person who undergoes the intellectual activity.

þæs unrihtwisan caseres andgit “the unrighteous emperor’s understanding”
(CH30, 231)

drihten wundrode þæs hundredes ealdres geleafan;
“The Lord was amazing at the centurion’s faith” (CH8, 139)

ðeahhwæpere þeah heo synderlice iohannes gymene betæht wære
“However she was specially entrusted to John’s care” (CH30, 53)

þ tacen ... we sceolon symle on urum gemynde healdan. (CH2-125)
“The sign ... we shall always keep in our memory”

Note that the examples that belong here can be said to an extension of the genitive of possession expressing body parts. The mental activities such as “understanding”, “faith”, “care”, “memory” designate not only process but also invisible “places” as parts of our body in which such activities are carried out (compare “I will remember this” with “I will keep this in my memory”).

2 (c) Perceiver in some kind of perception (specifically seeing)

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of perception (such as seeing, hearing, smelling, etc.). The designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to a person associated with a perceiver role in the perception.. As in the case of 1(b) above, the predicate of the head noun which primarily designates a perception as a process may, in some uses, designate some results of the perception, as in the following examples:

He derode manna gesihþum; & heora lichaman mid mislicum untrumnyssum awyrde.
“He injured men’s sight and their bodies with various illnesses” (CH31, 12)

Se biscop rehte his gesihþe þam burhwarum
“The bishop explained what he saw to the citizens” (CH34, 34)

Soðlice ualerianus het beheafdian on ypolitus gesihðe ealle ys hiwan.
“Truly, Valerianus commanded (someone) to behead, in the sight of Ypolitus (= in an area where he can see), all his household” (CH29, 261)

In the first example, the head noun *gesihð(um)* designates the perception of seeing, whereas the second one designates the result of seeing (what he sees, in this context, a vision), and the third one designates some space in which one can see (i.e., in front of someone). In this category, I included all examples, regardless of whether the predicate designates the perception itself, or some resultant entity of it.

Because of this shift of designatum (from a perception process to the result of it), examples of this category can also be taken as belonging to the category of possession. What one sees (such as “vision”) may well be said to be what one has.

2(d) Experiencer of some events

In this category the head noun designates some event which a human experiences, typically without intention (such as affliction, death, disease, good or bad fortune, loss, need, poverty, temptation, resurrection/ascension, conversion, etc.). The genitive nominal corresponds to the person that experiences it. Here are some examples:

Witodlice þa modдру on heora cildra martyrdome þrowodon;
“In fact the mothers suffered at the martyrdom of their children” (CH5, 109)

Soðlice he sylf ætbræd ure adlunga.
“Truly, he himself took away our diseases” (CH8, 53)

& þæs mæran witegan deað “the famed prophet’s death” (CH32, 121)

þære synfullan sawle deað “death of the sinful soul” (CH33, 88)

3. Patient

Patient roles is “an inanimate object that absorbs the energy transmitted via externally initiated physical contact and thereby undergoes an internal change of state” (Langacker 1991: 285). Prototypically this role is represented by an inanimate entity. However, there are a number of examples of adnominal genitive nominal designating a person as well as an inanimate object

which represents such a role by extension. Examples are classified according to whether a patient is a human or a non-human, and also according to the type of activities involved.

3 (a) Human patient of some affective activity

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of affective activity, but one which causes harm to another person (hence the opposite to 3 above), such as murdering, persecuting, etc. The designatum of the genitive nominal designates a person to whom the harm is done.

æfter cweale þisra apostola “after killing these apostles” (CH26, 281)

þa ða he ealle his euenealdan adilegode. for his anes ehtnysse;
“when he annihilated all his coevals in order to persecute him only” (CH5, 81)

3.(b) Non-human patient of some affective activities.

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of affective activity in which typically a human affects a non-person in some way (e.g. cutting off, eating, establishing, purifying, destroying, etc.). The designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to a non-person that carries a patient role in the relevant activity.

þær bið wóp & toþa gebit;
“there will be weeping and biting (gnashing) of teeth” (CH35, 24)

& for þigene þæs forbodenan bigleofan
“because of eating the forbidden food” (CH7, 251)

his muðes geopening getacnað ... “opening of his mouth signifies ...” (CH16, 178)
Andreas gehyr me & awend þinne ræd. for ágotennysse þines blodas;
“Andreas listen to me and change your advice, instead of letting your blood shed”
(CH38, 278)

ðe ah geweald heofenas & eorðan.
“(God) ... who have authority/ruling over heaven and earth” (CH Pre. 98)

3(c) Comitative (a person with whom)

The head noun here designates some state or activity which is or is done with the accompaniment of some other humans. (for instance, unity (with someone), friendship (with someone), sexual intercourse (with someone)) The designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to a person with whom the state is or the activity is conducted.

his fæder; mid þam he leofað & rixað on annysse þæs halgan gastes;
“His Father, with whom he lives and reigns in the unity with the Holy Spirit” (CH12, 148)

þonne he mid genyþerunge. fram geferrædene his gecorenra hi totwæmð;
“then he separated them, with humiliation, from companionship with his chosen (people)” (CH28, 179)

ne oncneow heo weres gemanan. “she did not know any sexual intercourse with men”
(CH2, 197)

3.(d) Beneficiary

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of effective activity, but one which is done to a human for his benefit (e.g. salvation, improvement, enlightenment, comfort, protection, giving, etc.). The designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for a beneficiary role in the activity.

Ac se fæder sende þone sunu to ure alysednysse.
“But the Father sent the son for our salvation” (CH15, 189)

Sodlice maria is se mæsta frofer & fultum cristenra manna
“Truly Mary is the greatest comfort and help for Christian men” (CH30, 188)

& her we behofiað þæs halgan husles þigene. for ure beterunge;
“And here we need the Holy Communion for our improvement” (CH19, 201)

Gif þu þis nelt þonne scealt þu for ware ura goda mislice wita þrowian.
“If you will not do this, then you shall suffer various punishments because of defending our gods” (i.e. “for not defending our gods”)(CH38, 266)

for þi ic preatie þe to ura goda offrunga
“therefore I threaten you to making offering to our gods” (CH38, 260)

3. (e) Person for whom something is made

The head noun designates some effective activity (service, building something) which is made particularly to someone. The designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to a person for whom something is dedicated.

hi dæghwomlice þær godes þenunge ... gefyldon.
“they everyday there fulfilled service for God “ (CH34, 111)

for þan ðan he us alydde fram deofles þeowdome.
“because he saved us from service/slavery to devil” (CH22, 25)

*þa æt nextan sende se biscop to þam papan. & hine befran hu him ymbe
þæs heahengles getimbrung to donne wære;*
“then on the next day the bishop sent to the pope and asked him how he should conduct things as regards building (something) for the Archangel” (CH34, 76)

3.(f) Unprototypical examples of a non-human patient

In this sub-category, I include examples of adnominal genitive nominals which designate an entity which is involved in a process requiring at least two participants but which does not undergo any internal change through the process. They are here regarded as unprototypical instances of a patient role.

3.(f-1) A person resembled

The head noun designates a state of resemblance, and the designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to a person whom something resembles. Examples that belong to this category are unprototypical in the sense that the entity designated by the genitive nominal is scarcely affected by being resembled.

þa wearð se lichama eall toslopen swa þæt his eagan wendon on gelicnysse sweltendra manna.
“then the body became loose so that is eyes turned to the likeness of (those of) dying men” (CH5, 146)

Ac we þe sind to godes anlicnysse gesceapene....
“But we who are made in the image of God ...” (CH6, 100)

3.(f-2) What is lost

The head noun is characterised in the process of losing or needing, and the genitive nominal

corresponds to the entity for things that are lost or in need (these two are similar in that both are not present in the conceived situation).

Ne beoð ða eadige þe for hynþum oððe lyrum hwilwendlicera hyðða heofiað
“Those are no blessed who lament because of injury or loss of temporary gains”
(CH36, 206)

Nis gode nan neod ure æhta “For God there is no need for our possessions” (CH9, 95)

3(f-3) What is revealed.

The predicate of the head noun is characterised in the process of revealing, and the designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for things or persons that are revealed.

hi mid þreora daga fæstene swutelunga þæs wundres æt gode bædon (CH34, 22)
seo micelnys godes onwrigenyssa me ne onhebbe
“(so that) the greatness of the revelation of God may not exalt me” (CH31, 298)
(= so that I may not become exalted because of the greatness of God being revealed)

3(f-4) What is signified

The predicate of the head noun *getacnung* or *tacn* are characterised in the domain of signification or symbolisation. The genitive nominal that appears with them corresponds to the entity for what is signified or symbolised.

man offrode gode hryperu & scep & culfran. for getacnunge cristes þrowunge;
“man offered to God oxen, sheep, and doves, for signification of (= to symbolise)
Christ’s suffering” (CH28, 90)

þæt synd soðre lufe & arfæstnysse tacna; “that are signs of true love and kindness”
(CH21, 190)

3(f-5) What is accepted

The head noun designates the process of accepting, and the genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for things/persons that are accepted.

criste bið geþenod þurh ðearfena anfenge. “Christ will be served by accepting the poor”
(CH23, 131)

swa álysde he us fram ure sawla synnum þurh anfenge ures flæsces.
“so he save us from sins of our souls by accepting our flesh” (CH8, 52)

4. Theme

The term “theme” is used by Langacker to refer to a participant of a relationship which is “comparatively simple, autonomous relationship involving just a single participant” (Langacker 1991: 287). In analogy to this characterisation, the examples that belong here have a genitive nominal designating a person who is involved in an activity or state which typically requires only one participant.

4. (a) Human mover in the activity of moving

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of moving activity of humans (journey, approaching, departing, etc.). The predicate of a genitive nominal that integrates with it has a designatum that corresponds to the person for a mover role.

& þa ða he gehyrde þæs folces fær mid ðam hælende.

“and when he heard the people’s journeying with Jesus” (CH10, 12)
æfter þæs wælhreowan hamcyme; “after the homecoming of the cruel one” (CH5, 62)

& ge beoð swa micclum orsorgan on tocyme þæs ecan deman
“and you will be so much more sorrowful at the coming of the eternal Judge” (CH40, 178)

4. (b) A person who is present.

The head noun designates a state of a person or people being existent in some way (such as “presence”, “resting”, “gathering”, etc.). The designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to the entity of a human or people who are present.

& for ðæs folces gepryle wæs þ gesthus þearle genyrewed.
“and because of the crowding of the people the guesthouse has extremely narrowed”
(CH2, 97)

for þæs halgan godes þegenes neawiste;
“for the holy servant of God being near” (CH31, 20)

... þ he us geswutelige þa arwurpfullan anwerdnysse. his halgan cyperes;
“... that he may show us the honourable presence of his holy martyr” (CH37, 109)

4.(c) Non-human theme

Examples of this category have a genitive nominal which designate a non-human entity involved in a process that typically involves only one participant. In this category, the head noun designates some changes in state or in location of a typically non-person (such as fading, weakening, beginning, corrupting, falling, rising, etc.).

& betwux þæra stana hryre. “and among falling of those stones” (CH3, 102)

swa swa he his acennednysse. þurh ðæs steorran upspringe geswutelode;
“Just as he revealed his nativity by uprising of the star” (CH7, 85)

Ure alysednysse angin. we gehyrdon ... “Beginning of our salvation we heard ...”
(CH13, 65)

5. Cause (and its extended meanings)

There are a number of examples which represent the role of cause of various types of emotion, or object of mental activities (intellectual, perceptual), and they are all treated under the category of cause.

5. (a) Cause of emotion

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of emotion. The designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for a cause of the relevant emotion.

for þan ðe þær ne bið nan besargung þæra manfulra yrmðe;
“for there will be no sorrow for the misery of the wicked” (CH23, 110)

he bodade þa blisse þisre freolstide “he proclaimed the joy of this festival” (CH15, 95)
He wæs swiðe rihtwis; & hæfde mycelne godes ege
“He was very righteous, and had a great fear of God” (CH9, 18)

seo gitsung þæra æhta “the covetousness for the possessions” (CH27, 145)

Witodlice þurh ðines feondes lufe þu bist godes freond;

“Truly, by loving your enemy you will be God’s friend” (CH3, 176)

5.(b) Object of mental activity.

In this category, the head noun designates some kind of mental activity, and the designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for object of the mental activity (e.g. things about which one thinks, some deity in which one believes in, things that one remembers, person or thing which one honours or worships, etc.)

þ is gēþoht ures drihtnes willan “that is the thought of Our Lord’s will” (CH39, 72)

humeta bodað he cristes geleafan? “how does he proclaim faith in Christ?” (CH27, 42)

To eorðan heo bið astreht þurh hyre scylda oncnawennysse.

“To the ground she is stretched by recognising her sins” (CH28, 144)

... *Swa eac þæra oðra heahfædera gemynd mid langsumere race ætforan him geniwode*

“(Stephanus) also renewed the memory of the other Patriarchs by a long narrative before them” (CH3, 35)

... & *geswican þære herunge þines cristes* “.. and stop the praising of your Christ”
(CH38, 255)

5.(c) Object of perception (specifically of seeing).

The head noun is characterised in the process of seeing, and the designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for things that are seen.

sibbe gesihð “sight of peace” (CH14, 93)

seo gesihð godes wuldres “the sight of God’s glory” (CH21, 91)

5.(d) Topic of verbal activities

This category is an extension of the previous three categories, from mental activity to verbal activity. In this category, the head noun designates some kind of verbal activity (either in writing or in speaking), or any resultant product of it. The designatum of a genitive nominal corresponds to the entity for the topic or content of the relevant verbal activity.

ac he wolde mid soþre andetnysse. þæs rihtan geleafan. adwæscan þone leasan wenan dweliendra manna;

“But he would destroy the false belief of deceiving men by confession of the right faith”
(CH26, 25)

ðis is se cwyde þæs godcundlican domes “this is the decree of the divine judgement”
(CH32, 133)

lc wille mid tintregum æt þe ofgán þises þinges insiht

“I will take away from you the arguing about this thing by means of torture”
(= I will make you stop arguing about ...) (CH38, 221)

Nu wille we eow gereccan þæs dægðerlican godspelles traht.

“Now we will narrate for you the commentary on today’s Gospel” (CH15, 72)

6. Instrument

This category seems not to be defined in terms of the type of process designated by the head noun. It designates some kind of activity, either effective or affective. The designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to an entity for instrumental role involved in the activity (e.g.

decoration - with gemstones, touching -- with hands, punishment -- with death, etc.)

... *he miccle swiþor sohte. & lufode þære heortan clænnysse; þonne dæra stana frætunge*

“He sought and loved purity of the heart much more than decorating (things) with those gemstones” (CH34, 105)

Swa swa crist mid his handa hrepunge þone hreoflian gehælde;

“Just as Christ healed the leper by touching (him) with his (= Christ’s) hand” (CH8, 51)

he ... þone micclan deofol mid sige his þrowunge oferswiðde

“He ... overcome the great devil with the victory of/with his suffering” (CH25, 148)

7. Places associated with movement

Examples of this category have a genitive nominal designating a place associated with various type of movement-type activity.

7.(a) A place into which one moves

The predicate of the head noun is characterised in the process of entering, and the designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to a place into which the entrance is made.

him ne bið getiþod naþor ne synna forgyfenys. ne infær þæs heofonlican rices

“he will not be granted neither forgiveness of sins nor entrance into the heavenly kingdom” (CH26, 96)

7.(b) A place out of which one moves

The head nouns here are designated, specifically, in the domains of abstinence, and of releasing. The designatum of the genitive nominal corresponds to the entity that is abstained from, and the entity that one is released from (in general term, an elative (= from which) entity) as in the following example.

on synna forhæfednysse “in abstinence from sins” (CH36, 102)

Hwæt hi ealle þa micclum blissodon. & gode þancodon heora geswincas lisse

“Behold they all them rejoiced greatly and thanked God for releasing from their labour” (CH37, 80)

8. Period or point of time.

This category, as in the case of the category above, cannot be characterised by means of the type of process designated by the head noun. It designates some kind of activity, and the designatum of the genitive noun corresponds to either some point of time when the activity takes place or the length of time during which the activity lasts.

þises dæges þenung “today’s service” (CH39, 2)

þreora daga fæsten “three days’ fasting” (CH18, 10)

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